

THE GODS OF THE CELTS AND THE INDO-EUROPEANS

**THE GODS OF THE CELTS AND THE INDO-EUROPEANS
(REVISED)**

BY

GARRETT OLMSTED

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Preface to the Revised 2019 Edition

Just as Julius Pokorny's 1959-69 *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (IEW) is still invaluable to Indo-Europeanists, I consider the 1994 edition of *the Gods of the Celts and the Indo-Europeans* still to be of value to those interested in the structure and origin of Celtic and Indo-European deities and the myths and rituals in which they played a major role. It is also the only coherent analysis of Gaulish names with the etymologies examined in *Zusammenhang*, generating a semantic context in which to select the most likely significance of the several linguistically-possible interpretations of a given name. The index lists over 500 different Gaulish names and over 1500 other IE deity names, all provided with etymologies in the text. Published etymologies of deity names generated in isolation from the context of the analysis of the other bynames relating to a single deity have little value other than padding the resume of the author. I have felt little need to list single-item etymological articles published since 1994 in this 2019 revised edition. Where they agree, the 1994 edition is prior. For the most part, where they disagree, I feel that the 1994 analysis still stands because it examines the names within the context of the whole.

The *Gods of the Celts and the Indo-Europeans* was ground-breaking in its conclusions and in the use of the comparative analysis of the structure of the deity bynames and of the deity systems themselves. The resultant reconstructed Celtic deity system was then compared to the mythology preserved in Greece, Rome, Iceland, and India to reconstruct Proto-Indo-European (PIE) religion as a whole. The *Gods of the Celts and the Indo-Europeans* was also the first work to analyze the Irish Sagas as a whole since Rudolf Thurneysen's 1921 *Die irische Helden- und Königsage*. As long as such works readily are available, they will always prove useful. The first edition of the *Gods of the Celts* has been out of print for 5 years now and is only available in major university libraries. Thus, 25 years after the publication of the first edition by *Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft* and *Archaeolingua-Budapest* in 1994, this revised edition is made available to all, down-loadable on *Academia's* web site.

I have limited the revisions I have made in this new edition to include only items necessary to bring the etymologies of deity names to be in line with the discoveries made more recently in Indo-European (IE) linguistics. Indeed, the pagination of the 1994 and 2019 editions is basically unchanged so that references to either edition remain the same. Here, to the original Proto-Celtic (PC) and Proto-Indo-European (PIE) etymologies and reconstructions, I have added references to Ranko Matasović's (2009) *Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Celtic* (DPC), to Dagmar Wodtko's, Britta Irslinger's, and Carolin Schneider's (2008) *Nomina im Indogermanischen Lexikon* (NIL), to Martin Kümmel's, Thomas Zehnder's, Reiner Lipp's, and Brigitte Schirmer's (2001) *Lexikon der Indogermanischen Verben* (LIV). I have also utilized the recent *Brill Series* etymological dictionaries of Hitite, Greek, and Latin. These additional references will supplement and bring up to date the etymologies in the 1994 edition, based primarily upon Pokorny's 1959-69 work (IEW).

The major discovery in PIE linguistics which has taken place since the first edition of my work is the role the laryngials played in the earliest reconstructable language of the Indo-European peoples. Thus in Proto Celtic: $*h_1e > *e$, $*h_2e > *a$, $*h_3e > *o$; $*eh_1 > *\bar{e}$, $*eh_2 > *\bar{a}$, $*eh_3 > *\bar{o}$; and $*CHC > *CaC$ (DPC: 6). All of the etymologies in this new 2019 edition of the *Gods of the Celts and the Indo-Europeans* now include the role of these laryngials.

I wish here to outline another reason for the importance of making the *Gods of the Celts and the Indo-Europeans* again available to scholars. For the last 10 years I have been engaged in researching and comparing the relationship of the reconstructed PIE deity system, of the reconstructed PIE system of yearly rituals, and of the structure of the reconstructed PIE mythology, to the structure of the same systems to be found in Mesopotamia preserved in early

cuneiform sources. When I completed the *Gods of the Celts and the Indo-Europeans* over 25 years ago, I was totally ignorant of the vast mythic sources preserved in Old Babylonian and Sumerian. Indeed, the investigation and publication of these Mesopotamian sources has literally exploded in the last 30 years. Analysis of the nature of much of this material had yet to be published before 1990. I make no apologies for limiting my research on the *Gods of the Celts and the Indo-Europeans* to material preserved in Indo-European languages, the only languages in which I then could read and research the primary source material. I had assumed at the time that the mechanisms by which the languages spread provided the basis for the spread of the religion. I also felt that connections outside of the IE linguistic/cultural group were too remote to be relevant. Attempting to reconstruct PIE religion solely through the comparative method seemed iffy enough!

Perhaps my ignorance of the ancient Mesopotamian sources of information was fortunate, in that the new comparisons I have made during the last 10 years lead consistently to the seemingly incredible conclusion that the Proto-Indo-European and early Semitic religions have the same source in the ancient Near East some 8000 years ago. The great similarity between the reconstructed picture I drew in 1994 of Proto-Indo-European religion and that which is apparent in the recent publication of ancient Mesopotamia sources, the hymns to deities and mythical and the epic sources preserved on cuneiform tablets, cannot be seen as my own invention. I was totally unaware of the Mesopotamia sources when I published my 1994 work. Thus, the near structural identity between the Mesopotamian religion of 2500 to 2000 BC and my reconstruction of the PIE religion of the same period can mean only that they had the same source. Indeed, this great similarity between the two systems, unknown to me at the time, also verifies the validity of the comparative method in making this reconstruction, as well as my conclusion that many of the euhemerized tales of the Ulster Cycle are rooted in earlier Celtic myth. Otherwise, the Irish, PC, PIE, and Mesopotamian deity systems would not be convergent toward a common source, nor could there possibly be so many similarities between the projected Irish deities and those described in the clay tablets of ancient Mesopotamia.

The most likely explanation for this convergence is that PIE religion was taken to Europe along with the first domesticated animals, plants, and farming technology when the first farmers colonized Europe from Anatolia around 6000 BC. As recent genome studies as well as archaeology have shown, the origins of the first farmers and their farming technologies ultimately lie in the Fertile Crescent. In my new work I will show that the origins of their common religion lie there as well. However, it should be noted that the similarity between the Babylonian *Enuma Elish* and the earliest version of the Irish *Táin bó Cualnge* may be due to the influence of the Proto-Indo-Iranian-speaking Kassite rulers of Babylon during the latter half of the second century BC. These Indo-European elites may have brought with them in their migration (probably from Europe) a variant of an important Celtic myth. It is clear that a Gaulish version of the *Táin* is portrayed on the Gundestrup cauldron dating to ca. 70 BC (see Olmsted 1976, 1979b, 2001c), so it does not surprise me to see the same myth associated with the rituals of spring dating to some 1500 years earlier being utilized by peoples of common linguistic origin. Nonetheless, then major deities of this early Celtic myth and their basic attributes would appear to go back twice as far into the past as episodes of the tale itself.

My new research shows clearly that many of the major characters of the Ulster Cycle, especially those of *Táin bó Cualnge*, have much in common with their Near Eastern equivalents. Thus Medb and Inanna (Astarte) are nearly identical in their role and attributes, while Cú Chulainn and his son Fraech share much in common with the Sumerian protector of herds Dumuzi and his son Damu. As noted above, Cú Chulainn's role in the *Táin* also has much in common with that of Marduk in the Babylonian *Enuma Elish*. Yet, there has been resistance on the part of some Irish scholars, brought up in the belief that all things Irish are rooted in Saint Patrick, to admit that the *Táin* was not the composition of Irish monks, after having imbibed too much of their own elixir. James Carney maintained that such was the

Táin's origin until his death in 1989, and some of his former students continue to do so. It is difficult for one such as James Carney, educated by the priests of the Christian Brothers School on Synge Street in Dublin, even remotely to engage in promoting paganism to a devotedly Catholic Ireland. The *Táin* is to Ireland what the *Kalevala* is to Finland and the *Nibelungenlied* was to prewar Germany, the great national epic! It was impossible for James Carney to contemplate that the statue of the dying Cú Chulainn in front of the Dublin Post Office (commemorating the martyrs of the Easter Uprising) actually might be that of an earlier pagan god and that the queen portrayed on the Irish one-pound note could be equivalent to the Sumerian goddess of prostitutes!

My 1994 *Gods of the Celts and the Indo-Europeans* went far beyond reconstructing what Proto-Celtic pagan religion may have looked like 1000 to 500 BC (aspects of which continued in Ireland long after Patrick). It also gave a far-reaching view of what Proto-Indo-European religion may have looked like 3000 to 2500 BC. In my new work on the *Gods of the First Farmers: the Religion of the Early Indo-Europeans and the Early Semites* I reconstruct the religion of the first farming communities which spread out from the ancient Fertile Crescent around 6000 BC. Thus, it is all the more important that my 1994 work be made available widely so that all may see the validity of the seemingly untenable conclusion that the religion of the first Eurasian farmers had been preserved practically unchanged before being first committed to writing. This religion was developed and preserved by the oral chants of poetic priests who lived, like the new land-controlling elites, off the surplus of exploited farmers. Before being committed to writing, the gods and rituals of the first farmers were preserved practically unchanged orally for some 4000 to 5000 years in the ancient Near East and in Europe.

Before the wholesale takeover of their earlier polytheistic system by the storm god Yahweh, the religion of the Jews and the Aryans was nearly identical and had the same origin. This conclusion is not surprising in that David Reich's recent studies indicate that the same genome (nearly identical to that of modern-day Sardinians) gave rise to the first farmers of Europe and to those of the Levant. Many linguists in the 20th century, such as Holger Pedersen, Saul Levin, and Herman Möller, surmised a connection between Semitic and Indo-European languages. Indeed, Allan Bomhard's research and writings from 1996 to 2016, if not validating his wider Nostratic hypothesis, have at least demonstrated the possibility that Indo-European, Semitic, and even Dravidian languages may have a common origin some 8,000 to 10,000 years in the ancient Near Eastern farming communities, a conclusion which the Cambridge archaeologist Colin Renfrew has been promoting for the same 30 years. Of course, it was only half way through their current developmental history that any of these languages become discernible as separate language families. Thus PIE language dispersal was posterior to the wheel (3300 BC). Proto-Indo-European was not the language of the first Europe farmers (6000-5500 BC). But, this conclusion does not deny the possibility that the PIE language developed in Europe out of the language brought with them by the first farmers into Europe.

With near certainty, the PIE religion developed out of the religion of the first European farmers, who definitely crossed over from Anatolia around or shortly after 6000 BC, but whose ancestry originated in the Fertile Crescent. This conclusion has far-reaching implications. Germans and Jew ultimately are cousins both culturally and in their blood line, as are the other peoples of Western and Eastern Europe, the Mediterranean, and the Near East. In this light, as Schiller said some 200 years ago, "*alle Menschen werden Brüder*".

Foreword to the 1994 Edition

My previous study of Celtic gods, myth, and iconography (Olmsted 1979b) constituted an inquiry into all that could be gleaned from an in-depth analysis of the Gundestrup cauldron, a single complex piece containing a large repertoire of iconographic detail. This in-depth study of the Gundestrup cauldron formed the impetus for undertaking a larger broader-based analysis of all the information which could possibly relate to Celtic gods. Although the completed work presented here emphasizes Celtic cultures, it also incorporates an in-depth comparative analysis of gods, myths, and deity names from throughout the area occupied by Indo-European (IE) speakers.

I should note, however, that the research for this work began as a narrowly-based etymological analysis of surviving Gaulish and British deity names. This etymological analysis still forms the basic corpus of the Glossary. It also forms the vantage point from which the comparative analysis of IE deities proceeds in the core of the work itself. The first task in the original etymological analysis was to separate names deriving solely from the names of places (venerating particular deities) from names based upon functional aspects of the deities. Only the functional names give attributes descriptive of the nature of the gods in question.

The functional names can be sorted into groups according to linkage chains arising from inscriptions with overlapping multiple bynames, yet dedicated to a single deity. As often a specific name will be found in more than one such multiple-name single-deity dedication, it is possible to create large groupings of bynames common to single god. Such specific overlapping names provide the linkage to connect the clusters of bynames together. Through determining the significance of the bynames within such interconnected blocks, one gains much information on the nature of the invoked deity. When the functional names are analyzed in the light of their *Zusammenhang* in this fashion, one realizes that early Celtic gods were similar in function to the Gods of Greece, Vedic India, and Scandinavia.

By aligning the attributes derived from the significance of functional names with the attributes derived from iconographic portrayals, one may develop a motif repertoire for each of the gods venerated in Gaul, Celtic Spain, and Celtic Britain. When this repertoire is compared to the attributes of the counterpart characters to be found in the euhemerized mythology preserved in early Welsh and Irish manuscripts, one may develop a fairly complete outline of the structure of the early Celtic system of gods. This Celtic motif repertoire may then be compared to similar repertoires from Greece, Rome, Iceland, Vedic India, Avestan Persia, and Lithuania to develop a prototype structure ancestral to all of the above groups. Thus, the information from a comparative study of the pantheons of other IE cultures provides a check on the conclusions generated from purely Celtic sources. Comparing the resultant Celtic pantheon (and the attributes associated with the individual gods) with the pantheons of other IE cultures not only provides credibility but exhausts the sources of information available for scrutinizing the Celtic gods. Such a comparison in itself then naturally leads to a reconstruction of the Proto-Indo-European (PIE) pantheon.

I would suggest that, for the most part, this prototype religious structure derives from an origin in a PIE cultural horizon. PIE culture dispersed outward from its original homeland, most likely in Central and Eastern Europe, to eventually encompass most of Europe and Anatolia, as well as the Indian subcontinent. This dispersal occurred presumably at the very beginning of the Bronze Age in Central and Eastern Europe, around 2500-2300 BC, if not shortly before, during the final phases of the rather complex cultures to be found in late Neolithic/Chalcolithic horizons of the Hungarian Plain.

Particularly close details in certain Roman and Celtic rituals and myths, however, may presume some later mutual borrowing of traits. However the similarities between Celtic and

Indo-Iranian tradition, culturally separated by much greater distances in both time and space, must surely reflect the same common PIE heritage as the languages. In the least, such a comparative method verifies the accuracy of the reconstructed structure of the early Celtic pantheon. Thus one might evoke later borrowing to explain the many close similarities in detail between the Cybele and Attis ritual in Rome and the mythic motif repertoire surrounding Irish Boand and Fraech. Perhaps these similarities arose even by way of the Galatians. The Tolistobogii controlled Pessinus, the goddess's cult center, and used it as their capital from 278 BC to 230 BC. Thus they controlled the goddess's cult center for a considerable period before her adaption by Rome (204 BC). However, other similarities between the Irish characters Medb, Boand, Mac ind Óc, and Nechtain-Fraech and the Vedic gods Mādhavī (Uṣāh), Sārasvatī (Rātrī), Agnīh (Sūryah), and Apām Napāt suggest that many details of the myth and ritual do indeed have a PIE origin. The ultimate goal of this study is then an attempt to reconstruct the PIE pantheon, primarily through the vehicle of comparing Celtic, Grecian, and Vedic Indian gods.

The repertoire of the Irish *Dindsenchas* and the Ulster Cycle largely has been ignored in previous studies of comparative Indo-European religion. Here, however, these sources have been utilized extensively. When the whole body of material from Irish manuscripts is combined with the epigraphic evidence from Gaul, Britain, and Celtiberia, the data on the nature of early Celtic gods and myths is of a size comparable to that found in Greek and Vedic sources. To these three major resource areas, Celtic, Greek, and Sanskrit, one may add the smaller and more fragmentary material preserved in Scandinavian, Latin, Lithuanian, and Iranian sources. Through these combined sources one then may reconstruct the nature of the Proto-Indo-European pantheon. One may also reconstruct much of the associated mythology which gave rise to each of the attested historical religions.

The corpus of mythological material preserved from throughout the Indo-European area is immense and the level of detail, on the linguistic side alone, is daunting. I have attempted to present the material collected here in the most consistent fashion possible. I must ask the reader's forbearance where I have failed in this endeavor. During the 15 years in which I have been researching and writing this work, I have read most of the published secondary sources in addition to the primary sources relating to early Celtic society and religion (although this is not necessarily reflected in the bibliography given here, which lists only the quoted and most useful sources for this study; some other useful sources, not listed here, are included in Olmsted 1979b: 252-79). I cannot say the same for the secondary sources relating to Indian, Persian, Greek, Roman, and Icelandic gods, epics, and myth. Here I have had to be more selective, limiting myself mainly to the primary sources and those secondary sources whose repute is widely recognized. Doubtless I have missed many items which would have proved useful. The published scholarship is simply too vast, and life is too short.

What I present here which is new is a thorough study of the Celtic pantheon and mythology utilized to shed light upon the study of other Indo-European myths and pantheons, and vice versa. From my view, the light from this Celtic window shows up the details in what has, hitherto, been a darkened room. Thus, the first stage in this process of reconstructing the Proto-Indo-European pantheon was to reconstruct the Proto-Celtic pantheon. As noted, I had attempted this task through a comparative study of Gaulish and Romano-Gaulish deity-name inscriptions and Irish manuscript sources. However, one should note from the start that the etymologies of Gaulish deity names are highly ambiguous. Developing unambiguous etymologies can be accomplished only through analyzing a large body of bynames for each of the individual deities in question. With a large number of names, the names themselves provide the context of a semantic field with which to restrict the ambiguity.

In this analysis I have indicated two levels of etymological probability for the translated names, giving first those names whose etymological significance is reasonably clear, to be followed by those names whose etymological significance is more obscure. Here the

translations of the more-obscure names are enclosed in question marks, as in *Moritasgos* “?Sea-Seeking?”, and indicate no more than possibilities which are consistent with the semantic field generated by the more certain names. Some may feel that such names are best left with unattempted etymologies. However, much information is gained in the realization that etymologies are possible (if not necessarily probable) for the less certain names which would render them consistent with the more certain names. For many of the questionable names, although the etymological analysis in isolation would seem little better than guess work, the context of the etymological field of the more certain names provides the substantiation required to put them forward as suggestions. It is these names whose translations I enclose within question marks. However, the reader should note carefully that for the less certain names the context of the more certain names provides the rationale for choosing between the etymological possibilities and not necessarily the subtlety of the linguistic rationalization. Thus for the names enclosed in question marks all etymologies which are *linguistically possible* stand on an equal footing to be judged by the semantic context of the more certain names utilized within the same contextual field. Finally, I have indicated the most uncertain names simply by “?”. But even here, I have often indicated remote possibilities within the text of the Glossary.

But the ambiguity of the Gaulish names is by no means the sole problem to be confronted in this task. The Irish sources have their own special problems. The Irish sources are not only abstruse and of various dates but are partially euhemerized, obscuring their vital structure. At the time of their preservation in the manuscripts, the original association between different bynames of the same deity was not always clear to the compilers themselves. Original connections were thereby obscured. One must be particularly careful to give greater weight to the earliest sources (dating to the seventh-century AD).

The Irish sources are extremely difficult to master or to criticize philologically. The manuscript copies of the originally oral tales were first written down at varying dates and in varying phases in the evolution of their social utilization. What begins as myth ends up as courtly saga (on this process see Puhvel 1974: 175-84). Scholarly sources of information are also widely dispersed. For these reasons, in their comparative studies previous IE researchers, such as Dumézil, have largely confined themselves to a single Irish source, *Cath Maige Tuired*, concerning whose mythic origins there was universal agreement among scholars.

However, *Cath Maige Tuired* comprises less than one percent of the total early Irish corpus of primary tales and variants. Many of the other tales also have relevance to the nature of Celtic myth and the Celtic pantheon. I suspect that Dumézil, for example, was largely unaware of many of the important Irish sources utilized here. In the least, he seems to have been unaware of the mythological significance of many of these tales. Further, Dumézil lacked an adequate glossary of the Gaulish deity names and their etymological significance.

Thus, Dumézil, the most prominent of earlier IE comparativists, was forced to work with only minor recourse to Celtic sources (such as his analysis of Medb and Mādhavī or that of Nechtain and Boand). Additionally, his methodological assumption that the Greek sources were greatly contaminated by the Minoan world (Dumézil 1970: I, 61-62) then led him, for the most part, to limit his major analysis to documents from four regions, India, Iran, Rome, and Scandinavia. Thus Dumézil restricted his study to considerably less than half of the relevant primary data.

Of the data from these four regions utilized by Dumézil, Roman sources are particularly difficult and suffer from the fact that Roman cult passed through a phase of casuistry and formalism before entering manuscript tradition (Dumézil 1970: I, 112). Such formalism led to a puritanical and juridical attitude toward the deities. This formalistic phase generated a multiplication in the development of omens and a degradation of the mythology. Such a “demythologized religion, surviving only in rites whose mythological and theological

justifications have been forgotten” is almost unknown elsewhere among IE cultures (Dumézil 1970: I, 58).

The Iranian sources utilized by Dumézil are closely tied to the Vedic Indian. Ultimately the data from Iran and India must be studied in conjunction. Excluding the Greek and the Celtic sources from thorough consideration, Dumézil was then forced to work with but one major source, Indo-Iranian, combined with two minor sources of information. Thus Dumézil compared the data from India and Iran to that obtained from a demythologized and puritanical Rome as well as to that from the highly condensed and metaphorical Icelandic *Eddas*.

Nonetheless, Dumézil was fortunate to have begun with Indo-Iranian sources for his early work on PIE gods, *Mitra-Varuṇa* (1948, first published in 1940). The oldest complete source of information on an IE pantheon is that contained in the *Rig Veda* (some of the hymns of which date to ca. 1200 BC). Thus Dumézil’s earlier work is perhaps his best. It is this work which depends most heavily upon the *Vedas*.

In contrast to Dumézil’s work, my own study began as an analysis of Celtic sources and utilizes the Greek and the Indo-Iranian sources as well as the minor sources. Thus the work presented here is based upon a comparison of three major sources and several minor sources of information. A multi-source comparison provides much greater credibility in the detail of reconstruction than a work based mainly upon a single major source.

Under the light of the semantic field and structure provided by the *zusammenhangend* linkage of Gaulish bynames, the Irish sources may be sifted for material relevant to the nature of the earlier Celtic deities. The Celtic sources, in turn, show ample linkages to the Greek as well as to the Sanskrit sources, making it clear that (contra Dumézil) the Greek sources should not be excluded from any study of IE gods. Without the Celtic and Greek sources, the Sanskrit sources, even with the admixture of the Roman and Scandinavian fragments and allusions, provide too few comparative points from which to reconstruct the original prototype religion. For this reason, Dumézil’s works, significant as they are for structural details of specific motifs, such as Mādhavī and Medb or the correlatives of Mitrāḥ/Váruṇaḥ, fail in reconstructing the basic pantheon or in outlining the nature of PIE myth and cult.

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As this work has occupied around fifteen years of research and writing, many of those who were most helpful during its conception are no longer here to see its completion. First of all I recall the memory of those whose inspiration and encouragement helped me to continue with my task. Ole Klindt-Jensen’s faith in the correctness of the alignments between the Gundestrup Cauldron and the Irish *Táin* gave me the fortitude to launch the next stage of my research, this present work. So too, Heinrich Wagner examined my preliminary list of etymologies of Gaulish and British deity names and made many useful suggestions. But most important, his enthusiasm at a particularly depressing stage of the research in 1984 enabled me to take up my work again in a more earnest fashion. For similar reasons, I also owe a debt to Edouard Bachellery which can never be repaid.

The scope of the present work was formulated while I was an A. D. White Fellow at Cornell University in 1978-79, where I completed a preliminary survey of the etymological analysis to be required in the study of the Gaulish names. Were it not for discussions with Jay Jasanoff during that year in Ithaca, the comparative IE aspect of this study would never have been undertaken. Ralph Rowlett played a critical role in encouraging this work, in his periodic invitations to lecture on topics generated by this research at the University of Missouri. For similar encouragement I must also thank Homer Thomas. It is safe to say that were it not for Edgar Polomé and Roger Pearson, I would never have finished this work. Lori Lynaugh put in many hours helping with the layout of the tables. Charles Olmsted assisted me during the

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My largest debt of gratitude, however, is due to Wolfgang Meid. Meid proofread the draft saving this work from numerous mistakes in linguistic interpretation and judgement as well as in orthography and transcription. That this work finally achieved a publishable condition is due largely to his efforts. The remaining faults are entirely my own responsibility, some undoubtedly the result of my obstinacy in continuing to include a very small percentage of the numerous items he felt it would be best to transform or leave out entirely. I sincerely thank him for undertaking such a tedious and tiresome task.

Sources of Information and their Utilization in this Study
Editions, Transcriptions, and Translations of Celtic, Vedic, and Greek Texts

Important for the study of early Irish mythology are the Prose and Metrical versions of the *Dindsenchas*, a compilation of stories supposedly explaining the origin of Irish place names. Also important is the cycle of stories surrounding the *Táin bó Cuailnge*, collectively labeled the Ulster Cycle by nineteenth-century scholars. Stokes (1894-5) and Gwynn (1903-35) are the primary editors and translators of the *Dindsenchas*. The 100-plus tales of the Ulster Cycle have been edited piecemeal by scholars too numerous to mention here. Concerning the *Cath Maige Tuired*, the most important tale of the so-called Mythological Cycle, Grey (1983) falls short of providing a definitive translation. The reader should also consult Stokes (1891a). On the significance of Irish names, the *Royal Irish Academy Dictionary* (RIAD) is an indispensable source of information, but one should not overlook the partially completed etymological lexicon of Old Irish, which was begun by Vendryes (1959 ff.), added to by Bachellery, and is still being compiled by Lambert.

Of the Indian sources which throw light upon the nature of Proto-Indo-European (PIE) deities, the *Rig Veda* is by far the most important. In this work I have utilized Geldner (1951-7), MacDonell (1917), and Griffith (1896-7) for the quoted translations of the *Rig Veda*, and I have utilized Aufrecht (1863-77) for the transliterated lines. However, Aufrecht's lines have been retranscribed according to Whitney's (1896) system of transcription, thus *r*, *s*, *ṣ* in place of Aufrecht's *ri*, *ṣ*, *sh*, etc. I have rendered the Vedic deity names after Mayrhofer's (1953 ff.) etymological lexicon of Sanskrit (here termed KEWA), but one should not overlook the Sanskrit and Avestan items in Pokorny (1959), indicated in Partridge's Index (Pokorny 1969: 11-60). In my analysis of the Vedic sources I wish to point out from the start my debt to MacDonell's (1897) carefully cross-referenced corpus and to Nobel's cross-referenced indices to Geldner (1951-7). Without these two sources the comparison of Greek and Celtic gods and myths to Sanskrit deities and hymns would have been infeasible. MacDonell (1924) also provides a quick reference dictionary, supplementing Mayrhofer's (1953 ff.) indispensable lexicon.

Nearly lacking glossaries, Gaulish can only be reconstructed from a comparison to Irish, Welsh, and Breton and through the use of etymological derivations from Indo-European (IE) roots and stems. Many of the less obscure names have been the subject of multiple studies, extending back over 100 years. I have tried to provide full references to these earlier works. Here I am solely responsible for the proposed translations of the more obscure stems utilized in the deity names, etc. However, my debt is manifest to Vendryes, Watkins, Wagner, Fleuriot, Schmidt, Lambert, Evans, Lejeune, Tovar, Thurneysen, Meid, and Pokorny.

Similarly in my analysis of the Greek sources I owe a great debt to Farnell (1896 ff.) and Burkert (1985). Here as well, the *Loeb Classical Library*, the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, the Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Encyclopädie* (1894 ff.), and the etymological dictionaries of Frisk (1960-72; here termed GEW) and Hofmann (1950) EDG (2009) make these Greek sources (like the Sanskrit sources) more accessible than the Gaulish or Irish sources. For quotes from Latin and Greek sources I have utilized chiefly the translations and editions of the *Loeb Classical Library*. Here, I have transliterated Greek to the corresponding Latin characters, with the vowels indicated by *alpha* = *a*, *á*,; *iota* = *i*, *í*; *ēta* = *ē*, *é*; *epsilon* = *e*, *é*; *upsilon* = *y*, *ý* in isolation, but *u*, *ú* in diphthongs; *omega* = *ō*, *ó*; and *omicron* = *o*, *ó*; etc. Thus comparative terms should be apparent even to those untutored in the Classics. Sanskrit vowels correspond to those of Greek for the most part: thus *a*, *á*, *ā*, *ǎ*; *e*, *é*, *ē*, *é*; *i*, *í*, *ī*, *í*; *o*, *ó*, *ō*, *ó*; and *u*, *ú*, *ū*, *ú*; noting that *ǎ*, *é*, *í*, *ó*, *ú* represent the tonally accented long vowels utilizing the closest available *Microsoft Word* symbol set corresponding to *é* and *ó*. I apologize for this inconsistency, but

customly-designed characters do not survive transmission over the Internet. Otherwise, the orthography is the standard one utilized in a text of this sort. But, please note well in referencing the names and texts: **ǎ** = **accented ā**, **ǐ** = **accented ī**, and **ǔ** = **accented ū**.

Besides EDL (2008), Ernout's and Meillet's (1932) lexicon (DELL) is essential for the etymology of Latin words, but one should also consult the Walde and Hofmann (1938-54) etymological dictionary. De Vries (1962) provides an etymological study of Old Norse, supplementing Jóhannesson's (1956) detailed analysis of Icelandic (ISEW). For a lexicon of IE roots and stems I have taken Pokorny work (1959-69; here termed IEW) as my standard and referenced all of the terms utilized here to the pages of this corpus, but I have made occasional references to Watkins (1985; also see Buck 1949). I have followed Pokorny, as well, in the phonetic symbols utilized to indicate IE terms, but with slight modifications to fit the *Microsoft Word* Character Set. Thus, I have indicated vocalic liquids and nasals by *l*, *r*, *n*, and *m*, while the consonantal liquids and nasals are indicated by *l*, *r*, *n*, and *m*. Consonantal *i* and *u*, sometimes indicated by *y* and *w* in other sources, are here, following Pokorny, indicated by *i* and *u* to more clearly show that these forms usually are dependent simply on the presence of an immediately following stem vowel (as in **dnghū* and **dnghūā*; IEW: 223). The long vowels are indicated by *ā*, *ē*, *ī*, *ō*, *ū*, and schwa by *ə*. I have followed Pokorny for the determination of which of the needed apophonic variations, the full-grade (e-grade), the o-grade, and the zero-grade (ø-grade) form of a root, are actually attested elsewhere (as in **peik-*, **poik-*, **pik-*, IEW 794; **ster-*, **stor-*, **str-*, IEW: 1029; **geno-*, **gono-*, *-gno-*, IEW: 373; and the lengthened series, **rēt-*, **rōt-*, *rət-*, IEW: 866, developed through the influence of a laryngeal). For the most part as well, I am also dependent on Pokorny for the attestation of the presence of the thematic stem vowel variations (as in o-stem forms versus ā-stem forms). In transforming from PIE to Proto Celtic in this 2019 revised edition, I have adopted the laryngeals from NIL (2008), LIV (2001), and DPC (2008) as follows: **h₁e* > **e*, **h₂e* > **a*, **h₃e* > **o*; **eh₁* > **ē*, **eh₂* > **ā*, **eh₃* > **ō*; and **CHC* > **CaC*.

To be consistent, I have rendered all anthropomorphic names, whether of deities, personal names, or authors, as direct transcriptions in the nominative case from the original languages: thus Óðinn for Odin, Zeús for Zeus, Iuppiter for Jupiter, Kallímachos for Callimachus, Váruṇaḥ for Varuna, and even Hómēros for Homer. Classical writers of the Imperial period, however, are often rendered in Latin orthography, whatever their nationality. Since a comparison of names and their etymologies is a major aspect of this work, it seemed best to forego the use of the standard English forms usually utilized for Classical and Scandinavian names. I have not extended this practice to the titles of works, however, utilizing transcribed titles for some, such as *Ergai kai Hēmerai*, and standardized English or Latin titles for others, such as *Rig Veda* for *Rg Veda*, *Iliad* for *Iliás*, and *Odyssey* for *Odýsseia*.

The Vedic Sources

With the huge corpus of Sanskrit material spanning a period of at least a thousand years, sifting the earliest material from the various Vedas and Brahmanas can be treacherous and misleading without a comparison to the vast Greek and Celtic sources. I think that Dumézil was particularly misled in his work on *L'idéologie tripartite des Indo-Européens* (1958) through overemphasizing the later Sanskrit sources. The division of the pantheon during the period of the *Brāhmanas* into the threefold structure of the Ādityāḥ, the Rudrāḥ, and the Vāsavaḥ is contrived and artificial, and, contra Dumézil, probably not an aspect of PIE religion. Furthermore, contra Durkheim and the French sociological school of thought to which Dumézil adhered, there is no particular reason why the human social division should dominate the pantheon of the gods.

The threefold division of the *Brāhmanas* rather reflects the Vedic and PIE threefold division of the universe into an Upper Realm of the sky (which in most IE cultures usually includes the clouds), a Middle Realm including the earth's surface (in the Vedas and later

Indian texts the clouds are in this realm), and a Lower Realm on and under the earth's surface. Thus Mitrāḥ and Vāruṇaḥ, the most important of the gods who became known as Ādityāḥ, were the respective day-time and night-time controllers of the Upper Realm (the sky at night being seen as different from the sky during the day); Índraḥ, the most important of the gods who became known as Rudrāḥ, was the controller of the Middle Realm; and Sárasvatī, the Mother of Waters, was the major goddess of the Lower Realm. At a later date, these three earlier Vedic divisions of the universe were populated with representative deities, even to the extreme of putting differing bynames for a single deity into differing divisions.

Thus, during the period of the *Brāhmanas*, the *Ādityāḥ* (the gods of the Upper Realm) consisted of Dyāuḥ, Vāruṇaḥ, Mitrāḥ, *Sūryaḥ*, Savitā, Pūṣā, Viṣṇuḥ, Vivasvat-, Uṣāḥ, Aryamán-, and the Ásvínau. The *Rudrāḥ* (the gods of the Middle Realm) consisted of Índraḥ, Rudrāḥ, Apām Napāt, the Marutaḥ, Parjanyaḥ, Tritāḥ Āptyāḥ, Áhi- Budhnyā-, Mātariśvan-, Ajāḥ Ēkapāt, and the Āpaḥ (Waters). The *Vásavaḥ* (gods of the Lower Realm) consisted of Sárasvatī, Prthivī, Agniḥ, Bṛhaspātiḥ, and Sōma-. The goddess Áditiḥ is said (RV: 8, 90, 15) to be a daughter of the *Vásavaḥ* (thus presumably of Prthivī) and the mother of the *Rudrāḥ*. She is also considered to be the mother of Mitrāḥ and Vāruṇaḥ (RV: 8, 25, 3; 10, 36, 3), as well as of Aryamán- (RV: 8, 47, 9), and thus clearly of the *Ādityāḥ*, to whom she gave her name.

The brief outline on the development of Vedic theology prepared by MacDonell at the very beginning of the systematic study of Sanskrit sources still validly describes their limitations.

The hymns [of the *Rig Veda*]..., having been composed with a view to the sacrificial ritual, especially that of the Sōma- offering, furnish a disproportionate presentment of the mythological material of the age. The great gods who occupy an important position at the Sōma- sacrifice, and in the worship of the wealthy, stand forth prominently; but the mythology connected with spirits, witchcraft, with life after death, is almost a blank, for these spheres of belief have nothing to do with the poetry of the Sōma- rite.... The more popular material of the *Atharva Veda* deals mainly with domestic and magical rites.... Individual gods exhibit a later phase of development.... The *Yajur Veda* represents a still later stage. Its formulas being made for the ritual are not directly addressed to the gods, who are but shadowy beings having only a very loose connection with the sacrifice.... The gods [of the later period] having lost their distinctive features, there is apparent a tendency to divide them into groups. Thus it is characteristic of the period that the supernatural powers form the two hostile camps of the *Dēvāḥ* or gods on the one hand and the *Ásurāḥ* or demons on the other. The gods are ... divided into the three classes of the terrestrial *Vásavaḥ*, the aerial *Rudrāḥ*, and the celestial *Ādityāḥ*. (MacDonell 1897: 4-5).

The Irish Manuscript Sources

In the study of Irish myth six manuscripts stand out as having major importance: *Lebor na hUidre* (LU), the *Book of Leinster* (LL), the *Yellow Book of Lecan* (YBL), the *Stowe Manuscript* (S), *Egerton 1782* (E), and the *O'Curry Manuscript* (C). Of these, the LU, the oldest manuscript containing the *Táin*, is datable by the phrase *Probation pennaie Máil Muri* on pages 55 and 70 of the folio. An entry on page 37b requests, "a prayer for Máel Muire son of Célechar, grandson of Conn na mBocht, who copied and searched out this book from various books" (Best and Bergin 1929: x). The *Annals of the Four Masters* refer to Máel Muire as having been slain by marauders at Clonmacnoise in 1106 AD (1929: ix, xii). It seems certain that this Clonmacnoise scribe was the one who signed the manuscript, giving a terminus date for its origin. An unknown scribe had earlier penned sections of the beginning of the manuscript. The LL manuscript dates to 1160 AD, and the YBL dates to around 1390 AD. The manuscripts E and C date to the sixteenth century, and S is slightly later.

Although these manuscripts all date to the eleventh century or later, much of the material contained in them (such as *Táin bó Cuailnge*, the central and most important of the Irish mythical epics) is considerably older, having been copied from earlier sources. Here, the reader should recall that the oldest manuscripts containing Caesar's *de Bello Gallico* (a text of the first century BC) date from the ninth to the eleventh century AD (Edwards 1917: xvii). The last work of classical mythology, Nonnos's fifth-century *Dionysiakōn*, is separated from the oldest Irish myth, the seventh-century versions of the *Táin*, by only two hundred years. Thurneysen outlined the process of transmission of the *Táin* in the Irish manuscripts.

Die älteste Handschrift, die uns Sagentexte aufbewahrt, LU ..., is rund um 1100 geschrieben. Das gibt aber nur den Endpunkt für die zeitliche Bestimmung. Denn die verschiedene Gestalt der Sprache, die ihr Inhalt zeigt, lehrt ohne weiteres, dass manche Bestandteile viel älter sind. Sie ist, wie viele spätere Handschriften, ein Beleg für die erfreuliche Tatsache, dass die alten Texte auch von späteren Schreibern sprachlich meist recht getreu wiedergegeben werden, abgesehen etwa von ortografischen Neuerungen. (Thurneysen 1921: 14).

For example, the language of somewhat less than one half of the episodes of the original LU/YBL versions of the *Táin* can be dated with certainty to the ninth century by comparison with the dated glosses to the hymnals and psalters (Thurneysen 1921: 109-10). Although the language of the other episodes is clearly later (see Olmsted 1979b: 187-9), the ninth-century episodes of the *Táin* do not represent the beginning of the history of the tale. Crucial episodes of the *Táin* are outlined in earlier seventh-century Archaic Irish poems: *Conailla Medb michuru* (ed. Olmsted 1993a, 1988c: 44-72), *Mórrígan rosc* (ed. Olmsted 1982: 165-72), and *Verba Scáthaige* (ed. Olmsted 1979b: 230-8) from the now lost *Lebor Dromma Snechta*. The eighth-century *Lebor Dromma Snechta* was the source for over a dozen prose tales recopied into later manuscripts but datable to the first half of the eighth century. As far as the *Táin* is concerned, these seventh-century poetic references do not form the earliest extant version of the tale. A narrative portrayal of a Gaulish version would appear to be engraved on the five inner plates of the Gundestrup cauldron datable to around 80 BC (Olmsted 1976, 1979b: 211-23, 1993), just as an earlier Gaulish version of *Fled Bricrend* would appear to paraphrased briefly by Poseidōnios (MacCana 1972: 91).

The Greek Sources

The earliest attested literary works in Greece, particularly those attributed to Hēsíodos (Hesiod) and Hómēros (Homer), manifestly reflect their oral origins (see Parry 1987). As Havelock (1982: 86) has noted, after its reintroduction during the seventh century, written Greek was used primarily to record the already existing oral literature of Greece. This poetic oral literature had sustained Greek culture during the preceding non-literate "dark age" as well as during the earlier Linear-B phase of written Greek (1450-1100 BC), whose utility was largely limited to inventories and accounts and was not utilized for transcribing myth or poetry.

Thus Havelock (1982) would see Hēsíodos and Hómēros not as actually existing poets, but as pseudohistorical figures to whom the anonymously and collectively created oral literature was attributed. As a repository of an ancient oral mythic tradition, Hēsíodos's *Theogonia* is perhaps the most important work, while Hómēros's *Iliad* gives other significant details concerning the nature of individual Greek gods. As with the Vedic sources, here again, the gods are divided into three realms: the Sky presided over by Zeús, the Sea and the Earth's surface presided over by Poseidōn, and the Underworld presided over by Hádēs.

Also important as a source for Greek mythology are the hymns attributed to Hómēros (most likely of preliterate origin), the hymns of Píndaros (Pindar) (518-438 BC), and the hymns of Kallímachos (Callimachus) (c. 305 to c. 240 BC). In Kallímachos's hymns, however, there is a marked literary and contemporary propagandistic theme, reflective of the much later date of development. What purports to be the work of Apollódōros (Apollodorus), the famous Athenian grammarian (c. 180 BC), collected under the title of *Apollodōrou Bibliothēkē*, is actually a work of the first or second century AD. Nonetheless, it preserves a straight-forward summary of earlier works. As such, it ranks alongside of the *Metamorphoseon* of the Latin poet Ovidius (Ovid) (43 BC to 17 AD) as a compendium of traditional Greek mythology.

Another source of particular importance to the nature of Greek cult and ritual is the *Periēgēsis tēs Helládos* "Description of Greece" of Pausanias of Lydia (fl.c. 150 AD), which records the rites and customs of temples and festivals throughout Greece. Of particular interest are the large number of deity bynames utilized by Pausanias. The *Dionysiakōn* of Nonnos of Panopolis in Egypt (c. 5th cent. AD) provides a lush conflation of mythological learning and sensual description. Fully 27 of the 48 books deal with Diónysos's conquest of India. Its major interest is the light it throws upon pagan imagery at a late date in the Roman Empire.

The Nature of Vedic, Greek, and Celtic Deity Names

The study of both place-names and personal names must be carried out on a statistical basis, and ... the isolated treatment of individual names is to a large extent mere guesswork (O'Brien 1973: 217).

O'Brien's conclusion about place names and personal names applies equally to deity names as well. It is clear that an etymology of a byname for a particular deity can only have relevance in the context of other bynames. Taken as a whole, the suggested etymologies of the functional attributive bynames utilized in the cult of a particular deity form a semantic context from which to view the nature of the deity.

Anwyl (1906) noted some 374 deity names from Gaul and Britain, with 305 of them occurring only once. Being unfamiliar with the study of Greek deity names, most observers of Celtic religion have seen this large number of names as the result of a lack of structure in the Celtic deity system. They have interpreted these names to indicate a large number of distinctive regional and tribal deities or, even worse, a hodgepodge of totemistic animal worship, such as envisioned by Ross (1967). Such observers, however, have failed to perceive that Greece provides ample parallels to the seeming chaos of the Celtic system. The Grecian deity system provides an equally large number of attributive bynames; Pausanias, alone, lists some 67 bynames for Zeús and 58 bynames for Apóllōn (Jones 1928: I, xxii-xxv).

Indeed, the analysis of Gaulish and Irish deity bynames (of which this study forms the major and most nearly complete published treatise) shares much in common with the analysis of Greek deity bynames, a field carefully analyzed by Farnell, Burkert, and other Classical scholars. In fact, many of the deities of Greece and Gaul had an origin in common PIE cult, and the bynames form an overlapping and often cognate semantic field for the attributes of the corresponding deities. It would seem best to turn first to the conclusions of these earlier Classical scholars regarding the closely related field of Greek deity names before venturing on to the less explored field of Gaulish and Irish deity names (but note Gaulish personal names have been dealt with more thoroughly by Evans, 1967, and Schmidt, 1957).

Like the Greeks and the Vedic Indians, the Celts shared a tendency toward the use of several bynames rather than a single epithet to give reference to a particular god. Similarly in Iceland, Óðinn was known by many attributive names as well. We are safe in concluding that this tendency dates back to the period before the dispersion of Proto-Indo-European (PIE)

culture. But the Celts and especially the Greeks were fond of the use of multitudinous bynames to refer to their favorite gods.

[In Greece] hymnic poetry, doubtless following ancient tradition, loves to heap divine epithets one upon the other; epic art constructs its formulae from them; in the cult it is the task of the officiant who speaks the prayer to encircle the god as it were with epithets and to discover the just and fitting name. In an established cult there will always be a fixed, well-proven name, but this did not inhibit the search for further epithets.... Many are formed spontaneously to denote the realm in which divine intervention is hoped for; in this way each god is set about with a host of epithets which draw a complex picture of his activity. [For example] Zeus as rain god is *Ómbrios* or *Hyétios*, as center of court and property *Herkeios* and *Ktēsios*, as a guardian of the city *Polieús*, as protector of strangers *Hikēsios* and *Xénios*, and as a god of all Greeks *Pan-héllēnios*. ... Occasionally an epithet of this sort will appear on its own. (Burkert 1985: 184).

In each of the IE culture regions such practices led to considerable confusion and occasionally to the development of new individual deities, as different cults focused attention on particular bynames. The original identities were occasionally forgotten, as in the presumable connection between Vedic Rudráḥ and one of the *Aśvínau*, anciently forgotten, which is paralleled by a similarly-lost connection between Grecian Apóllōn and one of the *Dióskoroi*. Of course, this practice of formulating and reformulating bynames makes it unlikely that corresponding IE deities will possess cognate major names. In each of the regions under study, epithet invention was a continuous ongoing process.

Like the Greek and Celtic gods, many of the Vedic deities also have more than one byname. Thus, for example, Aryamán-, whose name signifies “Friendship; Hospitality” (IEW: 67; **ario-*), is undoubtedly but a byname for Mitráḥ “Friendship” (IEW: 710; **mi-tro*). As MacDonell (1897: 45) noted, “the conception of Aryamán- seems to have differed little from that of the greater *Ādityāḥ*, Mitráḥ”. Parjanyaḥ was almost certainly a byname for Dyāuḥ, and perhaps Vivasvat- was as well. *Sūryaḥ* “the Sun” is simply a form of Agníḥ “Fire” placed in the heavens by the gods (RV: 10, 88, 11). Agníḥ, the *Yúvan-* “Youth” or the *Yáviṣṭaḥ* “Youngest”, is also known as *Sūnúḥ* “the Son” in reference to his relationship to Rātrī “Night” and to the Waters. Savitá is apparently a byname for a deity also known as Apām Napāt “Descendent of Waters”, but originally probably **Apōm Nepōts* “Nephew of Waters” (IEW: 51, 764; < **ap-* < **h₂ep-* “water, river”). One of the pair, Apām Napāt and Agníḥ (or both of them converging), became Rudráḥ. Together they are known as *Rudrávartani-* “Having a Red Path” or the *Aśvínau* “the Horsemen” or “Possessed of Horses”. In later India this process of byname formulation went even further. Daniélou (1985: 151-91) notes that Viṣṇuḥ and Śiváḥ each have over 1000 bynames (1008 names of Śiváḥ are given in the *Śivapurāṇa*).

Although several of the Vedic names for deities represent natural phenomena, as in *Dyāuḥ* “Heaven”, *Prthivī* “Earth”, *Agníḥ* “Fire”, *Sūryaḥ* “Sun”, *Uṣáḥ* “Dawn”, and *Rātrī* “Night”, most of these deities have other bynames as well, giving them a more complex and fuller personality. The natural phenomena were then thought of as aspects of these deities, rather than vice versa. Thus the supposed Vedic tendency to deify naturalistic phenomena, a view widely held at the time of MacDonell’s study, probably does not represent any original Vedic proclivity.

Once one identifies the bynames with the particular deities to whom they correspond, whether in India, in Greece, or in Gaul, much of the apparent chaos in the religion evaporates. Most of the major Gaulish gods have several bynames cognate with the names of the corresponding Irish gods. Other names are unique to each region, as they were gradually lost or added regionally to the repertoire with advancing time. Some names may have always held

popularity in only a single region. However, given the large number of bynames in each region, it is not difficult to make the corresponding identifications.

Unlike the comparison of Greek, Vedic, and Irish gods, which show few cognate names, Ireland and Gaul share many cognate deity names. These many cognate Irish and Gaulish names are reflective of the comparatively recent separation of Irish and Gaulish from Common Celtic. Considering the much greater span of time separating the various IE cultures from the original PIE phase, it is a wonder that any of the names of major gods coincide from different IE cultures. Yet, we do find the possibility of overlapping cognate names in the case of Irish Nechtain (Niadol), Latin Neptūnus, and possibly Vedic (Apām) Napāt from *Neptionos (*Nepōtulos), *Neptunos, or *Nepōts “the Nephew”, but (in the case of the Latin and Irish gods) perhaps instead from *Nebhtunos “the Water God”. Similarly Vedic Dyāuṣpītā, Greek Zeūs-patēr, and Latin Iu-ppiter all derive from *Djēus-patēr “Sky Father”. Lithuanian Vėlinas, Gaulish Vellaunos, and perhaps Vedic Váruṇaḥ may derive from *ǁelonos, *ǁelunos, or some other n-derivative of *ǁel- “see” (Watkins 1985: 75). But note that both of the names Zeús and Vellaunos are applied to the sons of original deities indicated by the cognate bynames from other regions.

In the study of the PIE gods, however, if one restricts one’s search to cognate correspondences in the names (as if one were searching for cognate words) and insists on considering only gods with linguistically cognate names as having a common origin, one would draw the false conclusion that PIE religion was sparsely populated with gods in comparison to the later cults. Instead of concentrating totally upon the phonology of a particular name (which is but a single aspect of the entire complex of motifs surrounding a particular deity), one must look at the whole attribute structure surrounding each of the otherwise cognate gods (a major aspect of which is the total semantic field generated by all of the bynames of the particular deity). One should recall that in the comparative field of folklore, changing the names of the characters in a folktale does not change the tale’s location in the Motif Index. Thus a deity, like a folktale, must be defined by the total motif repertoire. The complex of bynames is but one subfield among the total field of all of the attributes of a particular deity.

In the evolutionary sequence traversing from the PIE pantheon to the Gaulish pantheon, and from thence to the Irish pantheon, the major differences are to be found in going from the Proto-Indo-European system to the Gaulish system. Here the most singular transformation is the rise in importance of the Celtic deity corresponding developmentally to Vedic Pūṣā. This Celtic deity in his evolutionary trajectory takes over (from his father) most of the traits corresponding to Vedic Váruṇaḥ as well as those corresponding to Pūṣā, his developmental cognate. In contrast there is little difference between the Gaulish and the Irish pantheon systems.

Even this singular Celtic development, the rise in importance of the deity corresponding to Pūṣā, finds parallels elsewhere in the IE world. In Greece, Apóllōn, a deity developmentally correlative with Vedic Mitráḥ, has also taken on the traits of the deity corresponding to Rudráḥ. In the process Apóllōn became a younger and more potent god. So too, in India, the young savior/champion Víṣṇuḥ (Kṛṣṇáḥ), apparently originally a byname of Pūṣā, gained in cult and importance during the post-Vedic period. Thus each region provides a unique developmental pattern. Yet, what is striking is not the structural changes, but rather how much remains unchanged and essentially parallel in each of the regions under study.

Rose (OCD: 401) divides Grecian deity epithets into the following categories. The first category (1) includes purely local names, signifying that the deity has a temple or altar at the indicated spot (as in the Roman-Empire-phase goddess Bona Dea Subsaxana, which gives “rather the address of her temple than any characteristic of her own”). The second category (2) includes titles indicating an association with other deities. The third category (3) includes attributive epithets giving “the functions of the god or goddess, either in general or with

reference to some particular occasion on which his or her power was manifest” (thus Zeús has a considerable number of epithets indicating his control of the weather).

Usually the method [grouping together the cults under the various names of the divinities] is justified, for the divine name, especially in ancient religion, was a powerful talisman, a magnet attracting to itself a definite set of cult-ideas and legends, and often has certain ethical-religious character of its own, so to speak. (Farnell 1910: V, 87).

Many Gaulish names (as catalogued previously by Anwyl 1906) also belong to deities named after locals. In these localizing epithets the etymologies do not describe attributes of the deity in question. Of the 69 names recorded by Anwyl which occur more than once, the most frequently mentioned are Epona (whose name was spread with Gaulish auxiliary cavalry), (epithets of) Mercurius, Rosmerta (who was often the consort of Mercurius), and the deities associated with healing cults: Grannos and S(t)irona, or Bormo and Damona (Vendryes 1948: 268-9).

Here then, the reasons for the multiple preservation of a particular byname have little to do with the importance of the specified god in the hierarchy of deities. The gods referred to most often are those for whom monuments were most frequently erected (ie. for healing one of disease or protecting one in battle). The highest gods need not be the ones specifically controlling the areas of greatest need. These deities need not have been called on as frequently as the gods controlling minor areas in great demand. More important to the actual significance of the deity in contemporary cult is the total number of bynames which became associated with his cult.

Gaulish Deity Names

In this study, first the Gaulish bynames (from the various sources of inscriptions) are grouped according to the respective deities with whom they were associated, often through a *zusammenhangend* chain. This technique is exemplified in the case of *Vellaunus Mercurius* and *Vellaunus Mars*, where some inscriptions contain as many as five bynames for the same deity. The etymologies of these names then provide information about the nature of the deity whom they describe. This study then follows much along the lines of Farnell’s *Cults of the Greek States* (1896-1909). The structure and nature of the Gaulish deity system that emerges here is then based almost entirely upon inscriptions.

Mais tous les renseignements que l’on tire des littératures classiques sont suspects d’avoir été déformés par légèreté ou par ignorance, quand ils ne l’ont pas été volontairement pour obéir à certaines tendances ou flatter certains partis pris. Une source d’information plus riche et plus sincère est fournie par l’épigraphie. (Vendryes 1948: 251).

Vendryes (1948: 266) also points out that there are few inscriptions from west and northwest Gaul, probably because “*l’usage romain des tablettes votives ne s’y était pas développé comme ailleurs.*” The bynames of deities in Gaul and Britain include several classes. Some are not diagnostic. On the one hand, names may refer to place-names or tribal elements with which the god (often a local nymph or genius) was associated. On the other hand, they can be attributive bynames (which may be associated with other deities as well) utilized as attributes associated in the mind of the dedicator with the god in question. Names of this class may not even be particularized.

Latin attributive bynames from Britain illustrate this point. From South Shields (Durham) comes an inscription to the DIS CONSERVATORIB(VS) (RIB: 1054) “to the Gods, the

Preservers". The same attributive byname is used of Iuppiter in an inscription from Old Carlisle to I(OVI) M(AXIMO) C(ONSERVATORI) (RIB: 898). An inscription from Manchester (Lancs.) refers to FORTVNAE CONSERVATRICI (RIB: 575). An inscription from Lemington (Glos.), engraved below the primitive relief of a goddess holding a staff, refers to the DEA REGINA (RIB: 125) "to the Queen Goddess", while an inscription from Newstead (Roxburgh) uses this epithet for Diana in DIANA REGINAE (RIB: 2122). In no way could one conclude that *Regina* was anything more than a descriptive term used to convey more information about the deity and scarcely to be considered as a byname. Only when such a term becomes associated with a particular deity can it be elevated to the status of a byname.

From the region along the Rhine there are several inscriptions to the *dii Casses*. Without seeking an etymology, one might be tempted to see the cult of a particular group of Gaulish deities behind this phrase. Yet as Whatmough (DAG: §178) has argued, the basic term simply means "sacred" in Gaulish and is probably cognate with Irish *cais* "proper"; it is explained by the gloss *caddos* "sanctus" (see Evans 1967: 169 for other possibilities). Thus the inscription to the *dii Casses* is simply an inscription to the "Sacred Gods". On the other hand, the inscription from Gallia Lugdunensis to *Cassiciatis* or *Cassiciata* (CASSICIATE; CIL 3071) probably refers to a goddess associated with a place name apparently with the same meaning as *nemeton* (DAG: §179). As Vendryes (1948: 248) has pointed out, this same stem often forms the second element of tribal or local names, such as *Tricasses* "Troyes", *Veliocasses* "Vexin", *Durocasses* "Dreux", and *Bodiocasses* "Bayeux". The term also is used in the Agri Decumates to describe a single deity, *Casius* or *Casebonus*: SANCTO CASEBONO (CIL III: 8256). Without reference to other names it is difficult to type such an inscription to any particular deity.

Of the purely descriptive attributive bynames, some of the more important inscriptions are those to the [DEO] MARTI LENO [S]IIVE OCELO VELLAVN(O) (RIB: 309), to the DEO MERCVRIO VICTORI MA[G](E)NIACO VE[L]LAVNO (CIL XII: 2373), and to MARTI LATOBIO HARMOGIO TOVTATI SINATI MOGENIO (CIL III: 5320). Here eight distinctive bynames are linked together in a *zusammenhangend* connection to give us much information about a Gaulish deity equated with both Mars and Mercurius. Inscriptions such as these then provide a framework of information from which to make comparisons to Ireland.

The pantheon structure developed for Gaul in this fashion may then be compared to the complex of characters to be found in the whole of Irish and Welsh mythology and in the sources preserved in early Irish manuscripts. Here one must include all of the tales of the Ulster Cycle and the *Dindsenchas*, and not just the few tales of the Túatha dé Danann, commonly referred to later by philologists as the Mythological Cycle. The early Irish themselves made no such distinction in their stories between mythological and heroic categories. Many of the Irish deities have multitudinous bynames, as we have seen was the case for the deities of Gaul. Many of these Irish bynames are in fact cognate with the bynames of their Gaulish counterparts, permitting unique and certain correlations to be made. From the merger of the information from both Irish and Gaulish sources, a rich and complex picture of pagan Celtic religion emerges, which may in turn be compared to mythologies around the Indo-European world: Vedic India, Greece, Iran, Scandinavia (including Iceland), Rome, and Lithuania.

The Transmission Process
The Date and Origin of Proto-Indo-European Culture

Considering the thesis presented here that the various Indo-European (IE) pantheons of deities have a common origin along with the languages, it would be wise to outline where and when Proto-Indo-European (PIE) culture may have existed. The small number of changes apparent in traversing from the reconstructed PIE religion to the various historically attested IE religions would argue for as late a date as possible for the origins of this culture. I would suggest that PIE society should be placed somewhere in the region of Central and Eastern Europe (in the area in which developed the Unětice culture, 2300-1700 BC, and the Otomani-Füzesabony cultures). The people who spoke the PIE language most likely began to disperse at the very beginning of the Early Bronze Age (2500-2300 BC) or possibly shortly before this time (see Coles and Harding 1979: 67 for the relevant corrected C-14 dates for the Early Bronze Age in these areas).

Certainly, the picture which emerges for the terms concerning social structure from any reconstruction of PIE words (and their corresponding semantic fields) is that PIE society had attained the stage of a complex chiefdom (Johnson and Earle 1987: 225-245). PIE society possessed a well-differentiated class structure (as indicated by Benveniste, 1969, and Binchy, 1970), which was fed by a surplus from agricultural production; both of which are consistent with a long development in settled farming communities during the Neolithic phase (Goodenough 1970: 253-65). This differentiated class structure included not only petty kings (chiefs), nobles, and farmers, but also colleges of priests who spent long periods mastering a large oral corpus of poetic mythic and legal literature.

Thus, PIE society apparently was composed of a **teutā* “people” with graded ranks, including a **rēgs* “king”, **ariōs* (**h₂erj-o-*) “nobles” (DPC: 43), and **uenejes* “common (families of) farmers” (IEW: 1084, 854, 67, 1147; also see Schlerath 1987: 251-5). These people were not only organized into units such as a **demə-* “household”, but also commonly inhabited a **ueik-* “village” or even a **pelə-* or **dhūno-* “fortified high place” (Watkins 1985: xxi; also see table in Buti 1987: 11). They were bound together into clientship structures through **bhendh-*, **leig-*, or **ned-* “bonding” and through **uadh-* “pledging” a **serk-* “oath”. For injuries to one another they had to **kuei-* “pay compensation” (Watkins 1985: xxiii).

Among the Celts, the farming classes were all expected to take part in the warlike campaigns of a king (Gaulish *rīx*, Irish *rí*) or noblemen (Gaulish *arios*, Irish *aire*) (as explicitly required in *Críth Gablach*). A passage from the *Bretha Nemed* tract H2.15b (CIH: 1122.34-36), hitherto untranslated, points out this fact most cogently for the early Irish.

Dotae friot // fer sainsealbha
bunaidh beo // a cheithirfine
cuig duirn a sgiath // se dorna a chalg
miodhach theora cham // cundail a mhéd
urdhairc a sgoth // ni dlegar dhe
deichde a bhuar // bóaire fíor.

Protected from you is the man who has individual property.
A spirited race is his family group (*ceithirfine*).
Five hands [is the length of] his shield, six hands his sword.
[He has] a stallion of three battles, a lance its measure.
Very fierce is its image. Naught can be required from him.
Ten are the number of his cattle, a true *bóaire* “cow yeoman”.

It is clear that the Irish *filid* “poetic seers” (*filid* < **uelēts*; IEW: 1136; DPC: 412) correspond to other IE sacred classes, including the Hindu *brahmán*- class and Roman *flāmen* class (both derived from IE **blagh-men-* according to Pokorny, IEW: 154, and Dumézil, 1970: 81; but seen as doubtful by Mayrhofer, KEWA II: 452-6). However, all of the Irish *fēni* (< **yenejes*; IEW: 1147), who obtained their wealth from the control of land and cattle, were engaged in both warfare and husbandry or agriculture, whether kings, nobles, or commoners (much the same as in the Iceland of *Njáls Saga*). Such a state of affairs probably existed in PIE society as well. Seeing as warrior/farmers all men who were not specialized priest/lawyer/poets or craftsmen probably reflects more accurately the state of affairs of PIE society than seeing a specialized division of warriors apart from farmers, as was later the case in India. In Ireland the *aire* “noble” class (< **h₂erjo-*; DPC: 43) attained their rank from yearly payments from their feudal-like *céli* “clients” (see *Crith Gablach*), to whom they loaned out cattle. In early Ireland there was a degree of social mobility. Any *aithech fine* “yeoman family” with double the wealth and power of the *aire désso* for three or more generations (possessing the allegiance of five *sóerchéli* “free client families” and five *dóerchéli* “unfree client families”) attained *flaith* “noble” status (Binchy 1941: 10), and its members were entitled to increased *díre* “atonement payment”, *éraig* “wergild”, and *enech* “honor price”.

In India the darker-skinned Dravidian *dāsa*- class were subjugated by the minority lighter-skinned IE *aryá*- “noble” class (< **h₂erjo-*; DPC: 43). It is easy to see how the original PIE division of graded ranks of warrior/farmers would be transformed in India into a separate class of warrior lords dominating a subjugated class of farmer peasants. In arguing for a threefold division of PIE society, Dumézil (1958) then simply conflated this later threefold division of the Indian social classes of priest/lawyer/poets, warriors, and farmers with the earlier PIE and Vedic threefold division of the gods into the classes of celestial, atmospheric/aqueous, and earthly deities. Dumézil saw both of these threefold divisions as outgrowths of a supposed PIE social division. Here his thinking shows a debt to the outmoded social philosophy of Durkheim and is not really reflective of the state of affairs in non-Asiatic IE cultures or in original PIE culture itself.

It seems probable that the twofold Celtic clientship system (poet/lawyer/priests and warrior/farmers of various ranks) more accurately reflects the state of affairs in PIE society than does the threefold Indian system (poet/lawyer/priests, warriors, and farmers of various ranks). Since clientship reflects a more basic social structure than the later Indian castes, it is difficult to envision a fully developed threefold caste system within a Bronze Age context (much less during the Neolithic period). To project such a caste system upon PIE society would give it a social structure more complex and more rigid than that of later Iron Age France or early Christian Ireland, where clientship systems were still the norm.

One may also reconstruct a general view of the nature of PIE poet/lawyer/priests. It is clear that PIE culture included oral poetry composed by such poet/lawyer/priests. Linguistic reconstruction suggests that the poet/lawyer/priest was referred to as a **uekuōm tekson* “weaver of words” (Watkins 1985: xxiv; on **uekuos* see IEW: 1135 and KEWA III: 125). Sacrifice to the gods was presided over by such poet/lawyer/priests, also perhaps alluded to as **bhlaghmenes* “priests” (IEW: 154). These priests utilized the term **kred-dhə-* “(Latin) *crēdō*” and were called upon to **senguh-* “sing incantations”, including such formula as **pā- ūiro- peku* “protect, keep safe, man and cattle”, in the performance of **spend-* “making offerings” (as outlined by Watkins 1985: xxiii-xxiv). As we shall see, they worshiped PIE gods with a characteristic structure to the pantheon, with distinctive attributes associated with the deities, and with systematic yearly rituals and gatherings at which the major gods played a role. They also possessed a characteristic body of mythology, the general outline of which is reconstructible through the comparison of Greek, Vedic, and Celtic gods and myths.

The various IE daughter languages show a common terminology for detailed parts of the chariot as well as overlapping terms for farming, metals, and social hierarchy, demonstrating

their presence during the PIE phase (for a concise summary of these terms see Watkins 1985: xvi-xxiv; also see Mallory 1989: 117-27). The wide-spread root **arə-*; **h₂erh₃-o-* “to plow” was utilized by PIE people, as was the noun **h₂erh₃-trom* “plow”. The end result of plowing in an **agro-*; **h₂egro-* “field” is indicated by two terms **perk-* and **selk-* “furrow”, an unlikely event among a people who had not long been accustomed to the plow. The point of the ard plow which enters the ground was called a **uog^hhnis*. For attaching the plow to the oxen, there was the **ieug-* “yoke”. There were also names for the various kinds of grains: **grāno-*, **ieuo-*, and **pūro-* indicating “wheat”, **urughjo-* “rye”, and **bhares-* “barley”. There was also a term **serp-* “sickle” for the tool with which to **kerp-* “harvest” these grains. To **al-*; **h₂el-* or **melə-* “grind” the grain, the PIE people used a **g^herən-* “quern”. They also knew **sjūa-* “sewing”, **snē-* “spinning”, and **uebh-* “weaving”.

The PIE people had various domesticated animals. Particularly important was the **h₁ekyo-* “horse”. Horses were probably not hunted in the wild as a food source as some have speculated, for the term **demə-* “to tame horses” refers specifically to them (Watkins 1985: xxii). It would be absurd to conclude in the light of taming horses and the raising and harvesting of grain that the other animals known to them were not domesticated as well. Thus, they raised the **g^hou-* “cow”, the **aig-* (**h₂egH-*) or **ghaido-* “goat”, the **oui-* (**h₃eui-*) and **ag^hhno-* (**h₂eg^hhno-*) “sheep” and “lamb”, the **sū-* and **porko-* “swine” and “pig”. The domestic **kyon-* “dog” is distinguished from the **gh^hyer-* “feral, wild” **ulkyo-* “wolf” (Watkins 1985: xxii). The PIE people also had a special term for an unfruitful or young unbred cow **ster-* “steer, heifer”, attested in Sanskrit, Greek, and Germanic with this specialized sense (as opposed to generalized Latin *sterilis*) (IEW: 1031). The root is also known in the Gaulish deity name S(t)irona “the Heifer” (see Glossary).

The PIE people harnessed the horse and/or the ox with a **iugo-* “yoke” (IEW: 508) to draw vehicles, such as the **uegh-no-* “wagon”, a stem attested in Irish (*fén*), Anglo-Saxon (*wægn*), and Sanskrit (*vāhana-*) (IEW: 1118-9). Such vehicles had an **aks-* “axle” (**h₂eks-*), a root attested with this meaning in Sanskrit, Latin, Lithuania, and Irish (IEW: 6; DPC: 50). In Greek it even came to mean “wagon” (*axōn*). Similarly **roto-* “wheel” (*(H)roth₂o-*), attested with this significance in Latin, German, and Irish, came to mean “wagon” or “chariot” in Sanskrit (*rātha-*) (IEW: 866; DPC: 314). Another term **kyekylo-* “wheel” was also used and attested in Sanskrit *cakra-* and Anglo-Saxon *hwéol* (IEW: 640). So too, this term came to mean “wagon” in Phrygian and Tocharian.

The PIE peoples knew the precious metals **auso-* “gold”; **h₂euso* (IEW: 86) and **arg-* “silver” (**h₂erg-nt-o-*) (IEW: 64; DPC: 41). The root **ajos-* (**h₂eijos-*) came to mean simply “metal, ore” in Sanskrit (*āyas-*) (IEW: 15). In Latin *aes* and Old North German *eir* the meaning is clearly “copper, bronze”. The term **kolo-* “struck” (IEW: 545-6) probably relates to smith craft. It gave Lithuanian **kálvis* “smith”, *kalù* “to smith”, and perhaps Irish *Culann* the name of a mythic smith (< **Colionos*, see Glossary: Cú Chulainn). So too, the root **k^hued-* “sharpen, whet” (IEW: 636) implies a knowledge of metallic weapons (made of copper, if not, more likely, of bronze) (see Watkins 1985: xxii).

The conclusion of this study is that not only the languages and institutions of many of the later IE cultures had an origin in PIE culture, but also having such an origin were the whole religious structure of the pantheon of the gods, many of the religious rituals, and even many of the attested myths. The findings of this study go a long way toward settling the debate over PIE origins. Indeed, these findings add another dimension to Palmer’s (1955) study. The religious structure may now be added to the social structure. The attested pantheons, correlative deity attributes, and associated myths, differ only in detail and not in substance, much the same as in the reconstructed social institutions. Wherever one looks among IE cultures, whether from seventh-century AD Ireland to Vedic India or to fifth-century BC Greece, the attributes of the correlative gods and the associated rituals and myths look little changed from their projected PIE prototypes.

But already by the time of Palmer's study (1955: 18), it was clear that many of the social institutions of later IE language speakers could be attributed to PIE culture as well. Although similarities in the social institutions of each of the regions might be seen as independent responses to similar challenges, in the case of these later IE cultures, cognate linguistic terms derived from the PIE language are used for corresponding elements of the structure. The linguistic sound patterns used to describe these institutions are orthogonal to and independent from the institutions themselves (although they may derive from a limited subset of possible terms).

Given the large number of cognate terms describing the social structure in each attested culture, the large number of terms which each culture could have used to denominate each attribute of the social structure, and the large geographical separation of the peoples, the implication is clear that the terms and the institutions have a common origin. The point of convergence of the cognate terms also defines the convergence point of the institutions themselves in the culture of the people postulated linguistically as PIE.

In traversing outward geographically and in time from this origin in Early Bronze Age Eastern or Central Europe, the PIE language, PIE religious structure, and PIE social structure were transformed differentially but systematically in the attribute details in each new area of settlement. Ultimately, these differentiations became large enough to form the historically attested Celts, Germans, Latins, Slavs, Greeks, Persians, and Indians (etc.). If we go backward in time from any of these historically attested peoples, they eventually merge toward the PIE people.

The simple fact is that little did change in Europe economically and in farming technology in traversing from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age. The chiefdom cultures of Wessex (although these were probably not IE speakers) do not differ significantly in wealth or material culture from the chiefdoms of the later British Iron Ages, nor are the finds from the Unŕtice chieftain's grave at Helmsdorf or the Otomani hoards from Tufalau and Smig (Gimbutas 1965: 215-7; 262-3) to be radically differentiated from those from the Late Hallstatt Hohmichele. Indeed, Gimbutas (1965: 245) speaks of a central European continuum in the single term Unŕtice-Tumulus-Urnfield culture (confirmed by Coles and Harding 1979: 367), which may now be seen to cover the period 2300-700 BC.

But if little of substance in either the structure of society, religion, or language did change in Europe in traversing from the Early Bronze Age to the Iron Age (and the earliest historical attestations), let us not forget that changes in detail did take place. Indeed the changes in language are well-known. They are catalogued in Meillet (1922, 1937) and outlined briefly in Arlotto (1972: 110-19) and in Lockwood (1972).

The important point is that all the innovations which did occur in the language can be explained by a derivation through systematic changes from reconstructed Proto-Indo-European (as in the explanation given by Watkins, 1962: 124-45, of the origins of the Irish s-subjunctive verb). Here I wish to make the same point in reconstructing the structural system of the PIE pantheon (including the attributes and myths associated with each of the major deities) and in outlining the changes which occurred in the later attested religious systems (particularly in the Celtic branch). Significant changes did occur in each region in the relative importance of the major gods and consequently in which god possessed the major attributes of power. In each region, however, the religious pantheons and the distribution of these attributes may be explained by systematic changes from a reconstructed PIE pantheon.

One would probably be safe enough in concluding that certain of the central European Urnfield cultures (1300-700 BC) spoke languages and worshiped gods with names and attributes which had differentiated enough from PIE to be recognizably Celtic, while others spoke languages and worshipped gods with names and attributes which had differentiated slightly differently from PIE to be recognizably Italic (see Coles and Harding 1979: 315-7, 415). However, in going back any earlier than Urnfield culture in Central Europe, we begin to

approach the PIE culture phase. It is also perhaps safe to conclude that by the time we reach back to 2000 BC most of the peoples of central and eastern Europe represent only slightly differentiated PIE peoples.

However, it is only with the advent of the Iron Age, ca. 700 BC, that we may assume that France, northern Spain, and the British Isles have become IE Celtic. It is possible that IE speakers began moving west at the same phase as the disruptions in the east, around 1200 BC and perhaps even earlier, considering the disruptions in the cultural continuity during the Middle Bronze Age in Britain (Burgess 1974: 198-200). Although these disruptions may have been caused by IE speakers of some sort or another, we are not safe in assuming they are yet Celts. Of course, by the time of Caesar's excursion to Britain, the British Isles as a whole were controlled by peoples who were thoroughly Celtic in language and culture, many of the tribes probably recent immigrants from Gaul (see Olmsted 1979b: 103-19).

Thus, roughly 1000 to 1200 years after the original dispersal (around 2500-2300 BC), we begin to detect characteristics of the Greeks in the language and commonly-used deity names of Linear-B (1450-1100 BC), and we begin to detect characteristics of the Indians and Persians in the deity names and numerals indicated in Mitannian tablets (1600-1300 BC) and in the early Indian *Vedas*. After some 2000 years in the late Iron Age inscriptions of southern France and northern Spain, we detect characteristics of the Celts in the language and commonly-used deity names. The earliest attested Latin and Italic language usage occurs slightly earlier in Italy.

The earliest inscriptions among the Continental Celts are found in Northern Spain. These Celtiberian inscriptions are written in a syllabary based upon Phoenician. From Southern France come Celtic inscriptions on stone written in Greek lettering. Few, if any, of these Gaulish or Celtiberian inscriptions date before the end of the third-century BC (see Evans 1977; Schmidt: 1977b, 1979a; Lejeune: 1955, 1986; Tovar: 1977). Although a few of the Gaulish inscriptions bearing deity names date to second-century BC, for the most part the deity names are contained in Latin inscriptions of the first and second centuries AD.

Irish *ogam* inscriptions date to two or three centuries after the Romano-Gaulish inscriptions, from the fourth to the sixth century AD (Laing 1975: 164-5). The *ogam* inscriptions end with the beginning of the fully literate manuscript tradition, which followed closely upon Patrick's mission (405 AD). As mentioned earlier, the Irish literary period begins only a couple of centuries after the end of the final phase of Classical tradition, as exemplified in Nonnos's *Dionysiakōn* of the fifth-century AD.

The earliest inscriptions among Italic speakers are found among the Veneti of Northern Italy and date to the fifth-century BC. One should note that they predate the earliest Celtic inscriptions by only a few centuries (Whatmough 1937: 177; Hencken 1955: 24).

Greece and Anatolia preserve a much longer written record than any found in western Europe. Here extrapolations into the early development of the languages are less speculative. The earliest attested Greek is that found in tablets bearing Linear-B inscriptions from Late Minoan-II (at Knossos) and Mycenaean contexts in Greece and Crete (Ventris and Chadwich 1956: 48 ff.; Tayour 1983: 31-42). These Linear-B tablets contain a signary of 199 signs plus numerals. This syllabary, still containing ideograms, was only utilized during the period 1450-1100 BC (Havelock 1982: 42, 66, 86, 90, 93). Linear-B was used exclusively for "inventories and accounts and for ownership marks on vases" (Burkert 1985: 22).

These Linear-B tablets throw light on later Greece, not only in establishing the existence of the Greek language during the second millennium BC, but they also mention by name many of the later Greek gods. One should note that Grecian alphabetary writing, useful for recording myth as well as history, did not begin until much later, around 700 BC. Greece remained the predominantly oral society it had been even during the Linear-B phase down to around 450 BC. The so-called Dark Age period in Grecian history from 1100 to 700 BC is only "dark" in that it produced no written documents. The Linear-B tablets, however, establish for us that

many elements of the culture were already in place before the development of written literature.

The earliest Hittite tablets were written in a hieroglyphic script (utilizing IE $k > s$, as in Sanskrit) by the ruling class of the Hatti in northern Syria and southern Asia Minor. These tablets date no earlier than 1500 BC. Another group of so-called Hittite tablets come from central Asia Minor and are written in a cuneiform script (utilizing IE $k > k$). These tablets date from 1400 to 1200 BC. Other tablets containing IE terms come from the kingdom of the Mitanni in Northern Mesopotamia and the Kassite dynasty in Babylon. These tablets date to no earlier than 1600 BC. From southern Asia Minor also come slightly later Luwian tablets, and from northern Asia Minor come Palaic tablets. Both are written in a language akin to Hittite (Barnett 1953: 93) (for a concise and still relevant summary see Hencken 1955: 6, 35, 40-42; more recently Mallory 1989: 25-65).

The *Rig Veda* is generally assumed to contain parts which were probably composed around 1200 BC (Arlotto 1972: 104), but these hymns were first written down at a much later phase. It is difficult to date them precisely. Canonized within an exact oral tradition, their language and poetic technique may be compared to that in the *Avestas* (MacDonell: 1897: 7). The earliest portions of the *Rig Veda* have been dated, therefore, to a period just after the divergence of Indo-Iranian. The Persian Avestan *Gathas* of Zarathuštrō, dating to 600 BC, are later than the *Rig Veda* and show considerable development from the linguistic stage of common Indo-Iranian suggested by the Mitannian documents, some 800 to 1000 years older.

Mitannian texts are important in establishing the spread of IE peoples. The Mitanni controlled a region of northern Mesopotamia, bordering on the Hittite empire, and their chief men bore names similar to those in Sanskrit. The Hittite-Mitannian documents are particularly significant because contained in a Hittite text by Kikkuli the Mitanni is a treatise on chariot racing which describes the courses by numerals which are also close to those of Sanskrit and Persian, as in Mitannian *panzawartanna* compared to Sanskrit *pañcavartanam* (Mayrhofer 1953: 5-6; 1965: 8) (Archaic *aika, tera, panza, satta, ?na[..]?* compared to Sanskrit *ēka-, tri-, pāñca, saptá, náva* and Avestan *thri, panca, hapta, nava*). Also the names of the gods in a Mitannian treaty with the Hittites bears a clear relationship to Vedic and Avestan deities (Archaic *In-da-ra, Na-sa-at-tiya, Mi-it-ra, Aru-na* compared to Sanskrit *Índrah, Násatya, Mitráḥ, Váruṇah* and Avestan *Indra-, Nāñhaithya-, Mithrō*) (Mallory 1989: 37-38). Mitannian tablets are otherwise written in a non-IE Hurrian language.

One text of a Mitannian treaty dating to the 14th century BC particularly suggests a close connection between Anatolia and Persia and India. The treaty invokes MI-ID-RA AS-SIL U-RU-WA-NA AS-SI-EL (Dumézil 1948: 77). Elsewhere, references similar to this Mitannian inscription to *Midra* and *Uruwana*, both phonologically and in the juxtaposition of these two particular bynames, are found only in the Vedas. The wording of the Mitannian text is extremely close to references to Vedic *Mitráḥ- Váruṇah* (including the original o-stem vowel transformed to *-a-* in *U-ru-wa-na* and *Váruṇah*; see Meillet 1922: 98). In the Vedas, *Mitráḥ* and *Váruṇah* are also called *ásurā ... aryā* “noble lords” (RV: 7, 65, 2). This dual deity reference and the common numerical terms associated with chariots suggest that the origins of Avestan Persian and Vedic Indian should be sought in a region close to that occupied by the Mitanni (Kammenhuber 1954: 120-4).

Inscriptions from further east in Asia throw little light on PIE origins. The Tocharian texts unearthed in central Asia date only from the seventh century AD (Arlotto 1972: 104). These peoples could have had any of several diverse origins. Similarly the earliest Armenian texts date to the fifth century AD. All these Asiatic IE speakers, including the Hittites, Luwians, Persians, and Vedic Indians, as well, can be derived from Asia Minor within an early second millennium context.

Although the earliest IE languages in Asia Minor are attested no earlier than 1600 BC, tablets of Assyrian merchants from Kanesh (in the territory of the Hatti) in central Anatolia

indicate people with IE names among indigenous non-IE peoples (Steiner 1981: 150-73; Mellaart 1958: 9-33; Lloyd 1956: 112-26; Gurney 1952: 17-21; 117-31). These tablets date to shortly after 2000 BC. However, it is difficult to determine dialects within these Assyrian names. They simply indicate IE speakers in Anatolia around 2000 BC. Significantly, at this date these IE peoples were but a small element in an alien population.

Thus Zimmer has summed up all that can be concluded from a linguistic and historical point of view.

The only thing we can speak of sincerely is the *terminus ante quem* set by the first historical records of an IE language: Anatolian proper names of the IE type mentioned by Assyrian traders in Kanesh during the 19th c. BC. In the following centuries, the Hittite, Palaic, and Luwian languages emerge with written texts... Allowing for some future chronological refinement, we are safe to say that IE begins to be recorded ca. 2000 BC. Therefore, this *terminus ante quem* is the last secure date in IE linguistic history and the starting point for every chronological extrapolation aiming at a date for the reconstructed 'PIE' as well as the postulated 'language of the PIEs'. (Zimmer (1988: 373).

The essentials of most of these linguistic and historical facts concerning the earliest attested examples of the various IE languages were known to archaeologists as far back as Childe (1924, 1926). However, in his search for Indo-European origins, Childe and all subsequent observers before 1970 were greatly restricted by the derivative dating techniques then current in archaeology. Dates for Europe ultimately rested upon supposed influences from the Aegean, where historical connections give good dates back to 3000 BC. Elaborate *zusammenhangend* linkages of assemblages from region to region were postulated, with the ultimate end point the historically dated Aegean artifacts. Unfortunately under these schemes, the European Neolithic was compressed to within a span of some 500 years. The Neolithic Starčevo cultures of the Balkans were seen to begin as late as 2700 BC. The Bronze Age in the Balkans was not seen to begin until 1900 BC. Even Gimbutas (1965: 31) saw the Early Bronze Age in eastern and central Europe as beginning only after 1800 BC.

As we have seen, the earliest attested IE languages are from Greece and Asia Minor. The clay tablets on which documents in these languages were written are dated ultimately by historical references. These historical references may occur in the written documentation themselves. However, the historical references may occur in written sources from Egypt, Babylon, or other literate cultures from a time-phase with archaeological assemblages (containing trade goods, etc.) similar to those in which the clay tablets with IE terms have been found. Through this process, a date derived from an historical reference is obtained. Here then the dating of these ancient tablets is absolute in actual years and not based upon dating by counting the percentage of carbon-14 surviving in organic samples from the archaeological strata in question.

Given the presence of IE names in central Anatolia around 1900 BC and the attested Hittite language tablets dating to 1500 BC, with the Aegean-derived chronologies devised by Childe, the PIE origins had to be seen within a Neolithic context (since the European Bronze Ages supposedly began ca. 1800 BC). Thus on analogy with Attila and Genghis Kahn, Childe set forth the theory of PIE horse-taming pastoralists coming out of the Steppes to invade the settled Neolithic cultures of Europe and to sack cities in Anatolia. The area between the Carpathians and the Caucasus continued to be seen as the region of origin of PIE culture by Piggott (1965: 78-83) and Gimbutas (1965: 22-3). Seeing this region as the PIE homeland is a view still commonly held today (as suggested as the best guess by Mallory 1989).

As Renfrew (1974: 96-97, 103-5) was one of the first to suggest, however, carbon-14 dating has made supposedly historically derived chronologies for Europe during the Neolithic

and Early Bronze Ages untenable. He speaks of a “chronological fault line” (1974: 103) whereby the European cultural assemblages are dated by carbon-14 and the bristle-cone pine calibrations (and have been shifted back earlier by a considerable period), while the Aegean and Anatolian assemblages are still rigidly anchored in their historic contexts. The Early Bronze Age Baden cultures of Balkans are now known to be contemporary with the Early Bronze Age cultures in the Aegean and Anatolia. Both are now dated to 2500 BC. Even the central European Unětice culture can be seen as beginning no later than 2300 BC. The new carbon-14 dating shifts the beginning of the Neolithic in the Balkans and in eastern and central Europe to an even greater degree, back to 5500 BC.

Shifting back the dates of the European cultures during the Early Bronze Age by some 500 years has enormous consequences for the potential origins of IE cultures. Under the new dating, the beginning of the Bronze Age in the Balkans and central Europe occurs 800 to 1000 years earlier than the earliest tablets containing texts in Hittite or Linear-B Greek. One can now project a central or eastern European origin for the Proto-Indo-European *heimat* within a Bronze Age context and still have ample time for the earliest attested cultures to have evolved differentially. Under the previous historically-derived dating schemes for Europe, such a view would have been untenable. Under the new dating, the 2500-2300 BC date for the PIE culture phase suggested by Childe and others now fits an Early Bronze Age context rather than a Neolithic context.

Unfortunately, the implications of these new dates have remained largely unexploited even by Renfrew (1988). Renfrew is probably correct in his surmise that few if any new groups entered Europe after the Neolithic *landnahme*. Accepting the theory that PIE culture arose outside of Europe, he could only see them as arising in Anatolia in the period before 5000 BC and spreading to Europe at that time. However, both the date and the cultural context (at least within the European setting) are too early to fit the settled mixed farming economies and advanced hierarchial societies implied by such comparative studies of IE terminology as those of Benveniste (1969), Palmer (1955), and Dillon (1975). Renfrew’s chronology is also too long to account for the close similarities in vocabulary and grammatical and phonological structures to be found among the earliest attested IE languages.

As an alternative to Renfrew’s theory of early Neolithic invasion from Anatolia (ca. 5000 BC), I would suggest that the final stage of PIE society (the period of the initial dispersal of IE cultures) should be placed in Europe itself within an Early Bronze Age context (2500-2300 BC), providing at least 2500 years for PIE society to have developed during the Neolithic before the dispersal (toward Greece and Anatolia in the east and northern France and Germany in the west). It is, after all, only the final stage of PIE society that the IE comparativist is able to reconstruct. However, PIE society would be seen as arising in the settled mixed-farming Late Neolithic communities of Central and Eastern Europe to reach its florescence in the Early Bronze Age at the time of its dispersal to other regions. The final stage of PIE culture could then be seen as occurring in the area in which developed the Unětice culture, 2300-1700 BC, and the Otomani-Füzesabony cultures. From this final stage of PIE common cultural unity during the Early Bronze Age, the various widely-dispersed historically-attested IE peoples began their separate developmental trajectories.

Irish and Gaulish Priest/Poet/Lawyers

Cognate with Irish *fili* (gen. *filed*) “seer, poet, priest” would be Gaulish **velīts* and the attested name of a Germanic seeress, *Veleda* (IEW: 1136; DAC: 412). Corresponding to Irish *druí* (gen. *druad*), *fáith*, and *bard* “druid, seer, and poet” are Gaulish **druīds*, **vātis*, and **bardos* (attested as *druídai*, *ouáteis*, and *bárdoi* in the Greekized Gaulish terms given by Poseidónios, below; here **bardos* perhaps from IE **gʷer-d(h)o-s* (**gʷrH-dʰh₁o-*) “Praise Giver”; IEW: 478; DPC: 56; see Campanile 1987: 23). Acting in his capacity to interpret *recht*

“law”, the Irish *fili* was known as a *breithem* “judge”, a term containing the same root as Gaulish *vergobretos* “supreme magistrate”, who apparently interpreted the Gaulish *rectus* “law” (see glossary in Dottin 1920).

Poseidōnios gives information confirming that the original three classes of Irish *filid* were essentially equivalent to their Gaulish cognates.

Among all the tribes, generally speaking, there are three classes of men held in special honor: the Bards, the Vates, and the Druids (*Bárdoi te kai Ouáteis kai Druídai*). The Bards are singers and poets (*hymnētai kai poiētai*); the Vates interpreters of sacrifice, and natural philosophers (*hieropoioi kai physiológoi*); while the Druids, in addition to the science of nature, study also moral philosophy (*pròs tē physiología kai tēn ēthikēn philosophían*). They are believed to be the most just of men and therefore entrusted with the decision of cases affecting either individuals or the public. (Strabo: IV, IV, 4; Tierney 1960: 241, 269).

In probably another of Poseidōnios’s passages quoted by Caesar, the picture of the druids is expanded.

The former [the *Druides*] are concerned with divine worship (*rebus divinis*), the due process of sacrifices, public and private (*sacrificia publica ac privata*), and the interpretation of ritual questions (*religiones*).... In fact, it is they who decide in almost all disputes (*controversiis*), public and private... If any person does not abide by their decision, they ban such from sacrifice, which is their heaviest penalty. Those that are so banned are reckoned as impious and criminal.... Of all these druids one is chief (*praeest unus*), who has the highest authority among them.... All that have disputes ... obey the decisions and judgements (*decretis iudiciisque*) of the Druids.... Many young men assemble of their own motion to receive their training; many are sent by parents and relatives. Report says that in the schools of the druids they learn by heart a great number of verses (*magnum ibi numerum versuum*), and therefore some persons remain twenty years under training (*in disciplina*). (Caesar: *de Bello Gallico*, VI, 13-4; Edwards 1917: 334-9).

Aside from Celtic philology, which has given us a vision of the druids on analogy with the brahman priests of India (as in Dillon 1975), many archaeologists (such as Piggott 1968) have tended to draw their parallels from anthropological studies of Uganda or Siberia, where both the levels of accumulated wealth and its resultant hierarchy and social stratification were much less developed than in Iron Age Gaul. However, Classical writers described the preliterate druids (from **dru-uid-* “highly wise” IEW: 215; DAC: 107) as a class specializing in poetry, philosophy, law, religion, and astronomy. Their functions as poets, judges, and priests are eminently exemplified in the abundant material surviving in manuscripts from early Christian Ireland (as in the Archaic Irish poetry in CIH; also see Olmsted 1979b: 178-81, 229-40, and 1982: 165-72). Their function as astronomers is exemplified by the Coligny calendar.

With its elegant and highly accurate counting schemes (capable of keeping track of the sun and the moon to within 1 day in 455 years; Olmsted 1988d: 270-90, tabs. 6-11; Olmsted 1992a) the Coligny calendar has far-reaching implications for Caesar’s statement that the druids had “many discussions touching the stars and their movements” (BG: VI, 14). The concept of the Gaulish and British druids as wise men and philosophers was given widespread credence not only in the ancient world but continued into the pre-scholarly speculations of the antiquarians of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Much twentieth-century literature from both classicists and Iron Age archaeologists, however, has tended to relegate the druids to the realm of the shaman of contemporary preliterate cultures and see the classical commentary on

them, whether from Plinius or Poseidōnios as exaggeration and glorification of the “noble savage”.

Yet the earliest Irish texts (dating as early as the sixth and seventh centuries AD) give ample confirmation to Poseidōnios’s statement that the druids were not only priests but judges and lawyers who studied in schools for up to twenty years (Binchy 1978: ix; Caesar, *de Bello Gallico*, VI, 13-4: *annos nonnulli vicens in disciplina permanent*). To judge from the accomplishments of the later *filid*, in their schools the Irish druids apparently memorized an enormous corpus of prescriptive law, preserved and handed down orally in poetic composition. The Irish sources also confirm that the *ollamhain filed* were lawyers as well as poets, who could extemporize esoteric compositions at a whim to either praise or satirize (as in *Bretha Nemed*). They were the custodians of the foundation myths and pseudo-histories of the kingly dynasties they served. The druids and the *ollamhain filed* then played a larger role in Celtic society, a role which went beyond originally being the priests of the yearly cycle of religious festivals and its corpus of accompanying mythology, all as in Indian, preserved orally.

The Means by which PIE Myth, Ritual, and Laws Were Preserved

By its very nature the corpus of material which could be preserved in the institutionalized oral literature of the Greeks, Indians, Romans, and Celts, as Havelock has noted, had to be poetic.

[Poetic] language of this kind becomes a sophisticated instrument overlaid upon the vernacular of an oral society or, to change the metaphor, an enclave of contrived speech existing within it, the vernacular. The responsibility for maintaining it is likely to fall into the hands of specialists. These become the “bards of the people” (Heraclitus) and also the musicians, seers, prophets, priests. They guard the formulaic language noted by Parry as the basis of oral poetry -- a language also likely to become a somewhat archaic one... since it is built on the instinct to conserve rather than to create.... But by what means can the general tradition be taught and commended to the population at large so that they share it and live by it? ... The poets of orality were... aware of the emotional impact of the poetry they employed. (Havelock 1986: 73-5).

More important than the impact, only poetry with its regular rhythmic patterns and repetitions of similar sounds could provide a channel which could be memorized readily without error and taught orally in an institutionized fashion by the specialized and highly organized priest/poet/lawyers of the various IE cultures (see Meid 1978; Olmsted 1991: 259-307).

When recorded history begins in each area, India, Greece, or Ireland, the earliest attestations of mythic, legal, and gnostic thought (usually presented in a poetic format) reflect the recent adoption of writing. The earliest attested literary works in Greece (such as those attributed to Hēsiodos and Hómēros) manifestly reflect their oral origins (see Parry 1987; Havelock 1982). As Havelock has noted, the first Greek writing simply records the earlier oral poetry.

The alphabet was not originally put at the service of ordinary human conversation. Rather it was used to record a progressively complete version of the “oral literature” of Greece..., which had been nourished in the non-literate period and which indeed had sustained the identity of the previous oral culture of Greece. Although today we “read” our Homer, our Pindar, or our Euripides, a great deal of what we are “listening to” is a fairly accurate acoustic transcription of the contrived [poetic] forms in which oral speech had hitherto been preserved. (Havelock 1982: 86).

Much the same situation existed in Ireland as in Greece. The earliest mythic record (from the 6th or 7th century AD) is recorded in poetic meters, reflective of the same oral origins as the earliest legal poetry. Binchy (1978: ix) has discussed the oral origins of the earliest portions of Irish law (CIH) and has outlined the process by which this oral material was recorded in the earliest manuscripts. Much the same process occurred for the earliest mythic material as well.

[Irish law] is concerned with secular institutions formulated by a privileged caste of jurists who, like the *filid* [poet-lawyers] (from whom they were never completely separated), had developed as an independent branch of the original druidic monopoly of culture. But though the basic structure of their law was pre-Christian (as was that of classical Roman law), it was profoundly affected by the adoption of Christianity.... Indeed, since one of the most significant by-products of the religious revolution was the gradual replacement of an oral culture by written documents, we must attribute the first formulation of the law-tracts in writing to the spread of this new art from the monastic schools to the traditional schools where the *fénechas* had hitherto been preserved by 'the memory of the ancients, transmission from one ear to another, the chanting of poets' (1896.23f., etc). (Binchy 1978: ix).

In India the *Dharma-sūtras*, the earliest works on law (mostly legal aphorisms) (see MacDonell 1899: 217-223), were also preserved by commentators who were separated from the originals by several hundred years. In India the commentators all spoke classical Sanskrit, preserved as a language of culture much in the same way as was Medieval Latin in the West or Greek in Byzantium. In Ireland, however, the process of later manuscript transmission and preservation was slightly different from that in Greece or in India. Irish law, for example, gives "the canonical tracts only in the form ... transmitted by scribes working several centuries after it had been compiled" (Binchy 1978: xiii).

In India classical Sanskrit language had been enshrined in *Pāṇini's Grammar*. In Ireland, however, the commentators attempted to modernize the language of the classical text at a date at which these texts were only partially understood. "The possibilities of corruption by subsequent generations of uncomprehending scribes are almost unlimited" (Binchy 1978: xiii). Fortunately most of these problems of corruption to be found in the legal texts are avoided in the mythic texts, which were set down in many cases in earlier manuscripts in the classical Old Irish in which they were first recorded.

One should note, however, that although these Old Irish mythic texts may contain tales, aspects of whose narrative structures and referenced characters are very old, the material culture of the texts nearly always was brought up to that of the period of the language in which the texts were composed. As Mallory recently pointed out (at the 1993 Harvard Celtic Colloquium), phrases descriptive of weapons, clothing, and other material forms refer to things familiar to the redactors of the tales themselves. As with the semantic referential field of the words as well, descriptive prose changes in its referential field to keep pace with the material culture. At least in the prose texts, an archaic phrase, whose meaning could not keep up with the changing material culture and which was no longer comprehensible, would be changed to become understandable, or it would be dropped altogether. An analogous process is portrayed vividly in the case of Medieval stained-glass windows in cathedrals. Here for example, texts of the *Gospels* and events recorded in *Genesis* are portrayed as if they concerned contemporary Europeans. Thus Biblical warriors, Roman or Judaic, are portrayed as knights in full suits of armor, and Biblical cities are depicted as Medieval walled towns. Nonetheless, the Biblical narration depicted is clear even to the modern observer.

Previous to the adoption of writing, these three IE cultures, the Vedic Indians, the Greeks, and the Irish had preserved their institutions orally through a specialized priest/poet/lawyer elite. Aspirants to this class were required to undergo a long period of training in schools or colleges in which learning transpired in large recitation classes. Such an elite, when properly trained in memorizing poetic material and engaged in periodic recitation contests, is capable of orally preserving vast amounts of traditional material. Such a process of information preservation goes far beyond the feats of common singers of tales (as witnessed by the Brahmanic Vedic recitations and the example of the public recitations in Greek given by a modern Western intellectual who has memorized the whole of the *Iliad*).

We must be careful to distinguish between the institutionalized oral preservation of cultural tradition and individual or familial folklore. In the case of folk songs and folk tales, individual singers or families of singers may easily innovate and transform what they have learned from others. Learning takes place from father to son, mother to daughter, master to apprentice, etc. Anyone, merchant, knight, or peasant, no matter what his capacity, may take part in the process. The folk ballads collected together by Childe were preserved by an illiterate peasantry during a phase when the nobles, clergy, and townsmen were literate. However, the capacity for accurate transmission and preservation is limited in this folklore process. There will be many variations; material, of necessity, will be of limited content.

Institutionalized oral poetic preservation of tradition in a settled agricultural society (such as that of PIE society), which knows no writing but which has a rich economic basis from which to support a hierarchical class differentiation, is completely different from folklore. Teaching occurs in formalized institutional settings. Each teacher has a large number of carefully selected students. Instruction takes place in large classes, which usually repeat by rote the words of the ancient masters (a process outlined at an early date in the Vedic *Maṇḍūkā*-hymn; RV: 7, 103, 5). Lacking writing, one cannot peruse or pursue in private a large number of competing view points or variations.

Innovation even within the confines of different schools may be limited by the practice (as in India, Gaul, Rome, and Ireland) of colleges of priests (or later poet/lawyers) meeting periodically in recitation contests, etc (as with the Irish *filid* in *Imbolc na Tromdhaine*; Connellan 1860: 1-132). With highly intelligent individuals memorizing the same standardized (and usually poetic) body of information, and where the whole key to advancement is the *accurate* ability to memorize large quantities of information, the channels of transmission are far less innovative than in individualized oral folklore. Such channels of transmission are also capable of preserving within a single “corpus” a much larger body of information than in folklore. Individuals may stay in the schools for twenty years before they are rated a master. Such an educational process (although text aided) continued throughout Europe into the early Medieval period (Ariès 1962: 137-88). Here a would-be scholar would repeat the same standardized recitation classes until mastery was attained.

Such channels of oral preservation of information can be highly accurate or “conservative”. Innovation is minimalized. Such a process, assuming a common PIE origin, explains why the earliest written sources in India, Greece, or Ireland show so many similarities, even though the earliest *Vedas* are separated from the source by a little less than 1500 years, while the earliest Irish myths and laws are separated from the source by nearly 3000 years.

Though it eventually led to the demise of the whole oral process, the written word also preserved the earlier poetic oral material by transcribing it into the initial manuscripts. With the advent of writing, however, one could ponder an individual text in private and write at one's leisure. With the advent of writing, individual philosophies and the resulting separate lines of thought proliferated like weeds on fallow ground. Thus, ironically, institutionalized oral transmission could be more conservative than writing in the transmission of myth or ritual.

Although in Ireland and India, the oral development of the social institutions during a preliterate phase is historically attested, in Greece the case has only been admitted recently. Prejudice against the accomplishments of peoples who cannot read or write holds a strong sway among learned men of books. However, during the so-called Grecian Dark Age period, 1100 to 700 BC, writing died out altogether. The largely oral-literate society, in which all of the laws and myths had been kept during the Linear-B period (Linear-B was used only for lists and inventories), continued even through the early phase of the literate society following the invention of alphabetic writing around 700 BC (Havelock 1986: 82-3).

According to Havelock, oral literature continued to play the same dominant role in Greece it had held during the earlier preliterate period until as late as 450 BC. Like the poetic laws and myths of the Celtic Irish and formulaic hymns of the Vedic Indians, for the greater part, Greek laws, myths, and even pre-philosophical speculations were formulated within a preliterate oral poetic tradition (Havelock 1986: 12-3).

The earliest poetry from Ireland, Greece, and India (examples of which may be found from throughout the text of this work) most likely derives from a common PIE prototype. For a reconstruction of the PIE verse line, I would see a long line of around 16 syllables (4 cola) (corresponding to the Greek Sapphic verse line), a medium line of around 12 syllables (3 cola) (Watkins's "longer line"), and short line of around 8 syllables (2 cola) (Watkins's "shorter line") (see Olmsted 1991: 259-309). Watkins has outlined the basic nature of the gnomic-epic verse usually utilized to preserve traditions in various IE culture areas. Watkins also projects for this verse type a common PIE ancestry. One should note, however, that Watkins analyzed only the 2-cola and 3-cola verse line.

What is of significance is that this gnomic-epic verse ... with its paroemiac close, whether of 10, 11, or 12 syllables, was the relatively longer line; it contained three cola, and was opposed to a relatively shorter line of similar structure but only two cola and fewer syllables. This dual organization, the opposition of a longer to a shorter line, is a characteristic feature of all three metrical systems inherited from Indo-European, Greek, Vedic, and Slavic; it may safely be attributed to the common original. (Watkins 1963: 195).

Constructed cadenced patterns of quantitative durational rhythm form the basis of ancient Sanskrit and Greek poetry, since Sanskrit and Greek were tonal rather than accented (stressed) languages (see Kurylowicz 1970: 421-30). Tone, itself, had no effect on the poetic meters. Thus, ancient Sanskrit and Greek are characterized by the elevation and duration of the vowel sounds rather than by the intensity of breath. Syllabic placement of tone served grammatical purposes and was a distinctive marker of significance, rather than following positional rules as in the placement of stress in the accentual languages of western Europe.

Meillet (1922: 141-2) demonstrated that the PIE language had a tonal pattern close to that found in Greek and Sanskrit, many of whose cognate words show elevation of tone in identical positions. Unlike the differential application of tone apparent in the Greek and Sanskrit languages, Latin, Germanic, and Celtic languages show a variation in the application of stress to different syllables. Although few rules can be stated for the differential application of tone (the placement being grammatical rather than positional; MacDonell 1916: 448-469), within each stressed language there are exact rules for the application of stress.

Just as Old Irish was stressed rather than tonal, the earliest Irish poetry was also stressed rather than syllabic. In opposition to Greek and Vedic quantitative syllabic meters, all from the East and all showing similarities suggestive of a development from a common syllabic prototype, in the West one may set forth Celtic, Latin, and Germanic stressed meters, all showing similarities equally suggestive of development from a common stressed prototype.

Thus, Watkins (1963: 195) was apparently wrong in his attempt to see the later Irish syllabic meters resulting as a *direct* Celtic development of a common PIE syllabic meter (as

represented by the Greek, Sanskrit, and Slavic syllabic meters). Nonetheless, I would suggest that the Irish syllabic meters are *indirect* developments of PIE syllabic meters, since the stressed meters of the West can be seen themselves as developments from the earlier PIE syllabic meters. The development of the later Irish syllabic meters must be seen by way of the intermediate and intervening stressed meters, which arose from the earlier syllabic meters with the development of stress in Common Celtic.

As noted in Sanskrit and Greek syllabic meters, Western stressed meters also show a long, a medium, and a short line. Again as with the syllabic meters, these stressed meters show a midline caesura, but usually after the stressed unit corresponding to the mid-line colon of the Greek or Vedic meters. Thus the Western stressed meters exhibit a 2/2 stressed *long line* with 4 stresses, a 2/1 stressed *medium line* with 3 stresses, and *short line* with 2 stresses. If a hypothetical Western metric unit composed of a stressed word and the surrounding unstressed words is equated with the preceding Eastern poetic colon, normally of 3 to 5 syllables in length, then the two poetic systems would be structurally similar in their basic metric units (see Olmsted 1991: 259-309). Significant as well, both Vedic and Irish poetry show a similar utilization of 4 lines organized into a stanza or a quatrain. The 4-line quatrain of the western meters is especially suggestive of the Vedic stanza composed of four *pādaḥ*. It is this combination found in both Celtic and Sanskrit poetry, of a 2-unit short line, a 3-unit medium line, and a 4-unit long line, all organized into 4-line quatrains, which is suggestive that all these meters share a common PIE origin.

It seems clear that these two poetic systems (stressed and syllabic) have a common origin behind them, just as the Eastern tonal and Western accentuated languages are all derivable from PIE. Too much has been made of the distinctions between these two metric systems. Clearly languages lacking stress have to devise some other means, such as syllable count, for establishing the poetic line. Conversely languages with stress can do away with the necessity of syllable count and count stress alone instead of homosyllabic cola. The neat geographical division of east and west, setting the two metric systems apart, suggests that one developed from the other shortly after an initial PIE dispersal.

Meillet (1922: 141-2) demonstrated that the accentuated IE language systems are later than the tonal (also see Kurylowicz, 1952). The later historic loss of final syllables as an effect of stress in the Romance and Celtic languages gives further argument for the priority of the tonal system. If the Western stressed languages developed from an earlier tonal prototype, one must accept the stressed meters as having developed from quantitative syllabic meters. Murphy (1961: 7) has outlined the development of stressed meters in the West. He notes that the Western languages “having lost the sense of quantitative rhythm owing to the disturbing influence of the development of stress, adopted a [verse] system ... based on stress and alliteration”. As noted, these languages then switched from a verse line composed of set number of cola, the final of which had a fixed cadence, to a system of verse based on a set number of stresses in place of the cola. As a decoration they used alliteration in place of the fixed cadence.

Thus the apparent PIE cola of fixed syllabic length ending in a word division was transformed into a unit composed of a stressed word and its surrounding enclitic and other unstressed elements, originally of approximately equal syllabic length to the cola of the preceding period. As the accentuated stress destroyed the ability to hear the subtler sounds of the original pattern of duration, the necessity for a cadence pattern of fixed syllabic length disappeared. But even in the West a tendency toward end-line rhyme caused a repetition of similar stress patterns in the final words of rhyming lines.

The functions of these meters, whether East or West, was similar. Whether East or West, they served various gnomic legal and mythic as well as heroic functions. Gnostic poetry has preserved hundreds of pages of legal and mythical material in Celtic Ireland. The law verses go back to the sixth century in manuscript tradition. The Irish laws and myths, poetic in their

earliest surviving format, were apparently developed through a long history of oral tradition, to be incorporated into the manuscript tradition with the beginning of the Christian period. This Irish gnomic poetry bears a remarkable similarity to the earliest Welsh poetry as well as to early poetry from Iceland and Rome. It is the same poetic meter, ultimately of PIE origin, which preserves our earliest information on Irish mythology.

There are also parallels between Ireland and India in seeing breath as the source of divine and poetic inspiration. The following two passages (in a 2/2 stressed meter) from the *Bretha Nemed* tract have obvious parallels to Yoga or Zen.

Do-glind anáil
 ailibh caoinibh // inghen gaoithe
 foirneis anma // tuarusgbháil bethad
 eisimh teisimh // eallaing teallanc
 sruth sáor // siris bronnghaotha
 buime con-ail // curpa daoine
 escongá ima ling // cuirp féthe. (CIH III: 1128, 1-5).

I select breath
 through fair desires, daughter of wind,
 declaration of name, characteristic of life,
 ...
 sound, noble, constant breast sound,
 mother which nourishes the body of man,
 eel which leaps, substance of breeze.

Fo cen aoi
 ingen tsoifis // siur chelle
 inghen menman // miadhach mordha
 moaighthech mainbthech // moaighes drucha
 dluthaibh cerda // ceird chaomh choir
 con-can bretha // beridh darbha
 muchaidh ainbfios // in-féd anba
 insluinne gach ran // gach recht gach miadh
 gach mes gach saor // gach soifétheadh gach suidhiughadh
 gach n-ord gach n-ard // gach n-airiomh gach n-airenach.
 (CIH III: 1129, 11-14).

Welcome inspiration,
 daughter of wisdom, sister of reason,
 daughter of mind, noble and exalted,
 great and worth, which increases ...,
 which knits together art, art fair and proper,
 which utters judgement, which brings plenty,
 which stifles ignorance, which tells ...,
 expresses every verse, every law,
 every judgment, every freedom, every eloquence, every arrangement,
 every order, every height, every reckoning, every chief place.

So too in India, the inspiration of controlled breathing in inducing states of meditation is legend. I cite but a single passage from the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, which conceived breath in much the same way as the Irish *Bretha Nemed*.

The introductory (sacrifice) is expiration, the concluding (sacrifice) is out-breathing, the *Hótr* is common, for expiration and out-breathing are common, for the arrangement of breaths, for the discrimination of breaths. (*Adhyāya II*, ii, 1; Keith 1920: 111).

Taken together the Irish and Vedic sources suggest that even during the PIE phase, priests had already developed the concept of controlled breathing to induce a meditative state, whereby one could perceive the immortal soul substance behind all being.

Truth and the Inauguration of Kings

One can reconstruct considerably more information about PIE kingship than the term **rēgs* (IEW: 854). The inauguration pledges made by kings in Ireland, Greece, and India are nearly identical in formulaic expression and substance and must derive from a common prototype. In each of these three widely separated regions the king had to personify truth, justice, and the fulfillment of his proper duties, or else his lands would become infertile. In each of these areas the king had to make a pledge at his inauguration that he would discharge his duties according to the way of Truth. Tracts preserved in the *Audacht Morainn* in Ireland and in Hēsíodos's *Ergai kai Hēmerai* in Greece suggest in the closeness of their repetitive formulation that they have a common PIE origin, as outlined previously by Watkins.

Watkins (1979: 181-98) has shown that Irish *Audacht Morainn* shares significant parallels with Vedic tradition as well as with Hēsíodos. Similar parallels with the Vedic tradition had been previously pointed out by Dillon (1975). Here, I shall deal first with the Vedic tradition before quoting at length from *Audacht Morainn* and from Hēsíodos.

Lüders (1951, 1959) noted that in the *Rig Veda*, *Váruṇaḥ* is the guardian of truth. Vedic verse outlines that *ṛtá-* “truth, right” is the sustaining power of the universe, controlled by *Váruṇaḥ*; indeed *ṛtá-* was seen as the very life-giving principle behind the universe (see Meid 1987b: 162-4). *Ṛtá-* “truth” was seen as the highest power and the cause of all being. As a “mighty blaze of light”, Truth was thought to live in the waters of the highest heaven (Lüders 1951: 24-25). According to the *Rig Veda* (I, 105, 12), “the rivers flow with Truth, and the sun has spread out Truth” (*ṛtám arṣanti síndhavaḥ satyám tātāna sūryo vi*; Aufrecht 1877: 89). The gods themselves can only act by means of Truth. They are *ṛtá-jāta* “born of Truth; sacred” and *ṛtá-vrīdh* “grown on Truth; holy” (Dillon 1975: 127). According to the *Mahā-nārāyana Upaniṣad*, *satyá-* “Truth” is the foundation of all (note *satyá-*, whose opposite is *anṛtá-* “untruth, falsehood”, replaces *ṛtá-* in the post-Vedic period).

By means of Truth (*satyena*) the wind blows; by means of Truth the sun shines in the sky. Truth is the foundation of speech; everything is founded upon Truth.” (Jacob 1888: ‘22, p. 23.8).

The *Viṣṇu purāṇa* states much the same belief in the beneficial effects of Truth.

By means of Truth (*satyena*) the sun is warm; by means of Truth the sun shines; by means of Truth the wind blows; by means of Truth the earth endures. (VIII: 27-30; translation after Dillon 1975: 128).

The Irish *Audacht Morainn* shows a similar concern for *fír* “truth” (cognate with Latin *vērūm* “truth”). In Ireland as in India, through the Truth, enemies are kept at bay, the lands are fertile, and the weather follows its natural course. But the Irish *Audacht Morainn* follows the

same pattern as in Hēsíodos in placing the responsibility for the relationship between the Truth and the well-being of the land directly in the hands of the king.

Of the two recensions of *Audacht Morainn*, recension B is older than recension L. All of the manuscript versions show some degree of corruption in their transmission. In the lines chosen from *Audacht Morainn* I have tended to follow the manuscript versions of the B-recension more conservatively than does Kelly (1976: 2-21) (see Thurneysen 1917b: 90-8; Olmsted 1979a), only reconstructing those forms supported by the B-manuscripts.

Apair fris
 is tre fír // flaitheman
 mortlithi mórslóg // no márlóchet di doínib dingabar
 is tre fír // flaitheman
 conat- márhúatha mármuine // -midetar
 is tre fír // flaitheman
 fo- síd sáime // sube
 soad sádile // -sláine
 is tre fír // flaitheman
 at- mórcatha fri crícha // connámat -cuirethar
 is tre fír // flaitheman
 cech comarba cona chlí // ina chainorba clannus
 is tre fír // flaitheman
 ad- manna mármesa // márfeda -mblaisiter
 is tre fír // flaitheman
 ad- mblechte márbóis // muínigter
 is tre fír // flaitheman
 ro-bbí cech etha // ardósil imbeth
 is tre fír // flaitheman
 do- iubla uisce // éisc ar srothaib -snáither
 is tre fír // flaitheman
 clanda caine // cain-tuismiter deraib dethe.

Say to him: through the Truth of a prince,
 great plagues, a great army, or a great lightning is kept from men.
 Through the Truth of a prince,
 he may control great peoples and great riches.
 Through the truth of a prince,
 he may secure tranquility, peace, wealth, pleasure, riches, and health.
 Through the Truth of a prince,
 great battalions, sent against enemy lands, return.
 Through the Truth of a prince,
 every heir sets his house pole on his rightful share of land.
 Through the Truth of a prince,
 large masts from the great forests of the bog are increased.
 Through the Truth of a prince,
 bountiful milk cows keep giving milk.
 Through the Truth of a prince,
 comes the great abundance of every grain.
 Through the Truth of a prince,
 water fruits and fish are taken from streams.
 Through the Truth of prince,
 legitimate children are conceived ?of conceded girls?.

Stanza ‘25 of the L-version of *Audacht Morainn* goes further and directly attributes the qualities of the weather, as well, to the prince’s Truth (the reconstructed lines here being taken from Thurneysen 1917b: 89; Kelly 1976: 62). In being repeated in India as well as in Greece, the theme must go back to the PIE culture phase.

Is tre fír // flathemon
 sína cáine // cach treimsi
 techtaide do-cengat // a ré
 gaim cáin // cuisnech
 errach tírim // gaithech
 sam toirnech // frossach
 fogomur tromdruchtach // toirthech
 ar is gó // flathemon
 do-ber sína // saíba
 ancessa for túatha // clóena
 co-secca talman // torad.
 Through the truth of a prince,
 fair weather in its fitting season
 properly proceeds in order:
 winter fine and frosty,
 spring dry and windy,
 summer thunderous and rainy,
 fall heavy with dew and fruitful.
 For the falsehood of a prince
 brings perverse weather
 and debility on wretched peoples,
 drying up the fruit of the earth.

The ancient Greek poetry preserved in the works attributed to Hēsíodos, also contains much ancient material related to the proper roles of princes as well as to proper decorum in general. The admonishment not to make water in springs and rivers (ll. 755 ff.) sounds very much like a similar reference in the *Laws of Manu*. Hēsíodos’s list of unclean things, such as washing in a woman’s bath water, is the very essence of the *Mānavadharmasāstra*. Hēsíodos, likewise, gives two accounts which are reminiscent of *Audacht Morainn*.

As in *Audacht Morainn*, in *Ergai kai Hēmerai* the landscape will be fertile and the women will bear legitimate children in the realm of a prince who practices true justice. As Gagarin has noted, Hēsíodos also contrasts *díkē* “law, justice” and *hýbris* “violence, wrongdoing”, just as *Audacht Morainn* contrasts *fír flathemon* and *gó flathemon*.

“This opposition has a general aspect, namely the contrast between observing and violating the norms of the society, and a more specific aspect referring to the observation or violation of rules for the proper operation of the legal process.” (Gagarin 1986: 47).

In *Ergai kai Hēmerai* the prosperity of the whole society depends upon the prince’s observance of *díkē*.

Neither famine nor disaster ever haunt men who do true justice,
 but lightheartedly they tend the fields which are all their care.

The earth bears them victual in plenty, and on the mountains the oak bears acorns upon the top and bees in the midst.

Their woolly sheep are laden with fleeces;
 their women bear children like their parents.
 They flourish continually with good things
 and do not travel on ships, for the grain-giving earth bears them fruit.

(Oudé pot' ithydíkēsi met' andrási limòs opēdei
 oud' átē, thalífēs dè memēlóta érga némontai
 toisi phérei mèn gaia polýn bíon, oúresi dè drys
 akrē mén te phérei balánous, méssē dè melíssas,
 eiropókoi d' óies mallois katabebríthasin
 tíktousin dè gynaikes eiōkóta tékna goneusin
 thállousin d'agathoisi diamperés, oud' epì nēōn
 níssontai, karpòn dè phérei zeídōros ároura.)

But for those who practice violence and cruel deeds far-seeing Zeús, the son of Krónos, ordains a punishment. Often even a whole city suffers for a bad man who sins and devises presumptuous deeds, and the son of Krónos lays great trouble upon the people, famine and plague together, so that the men perish away, their women do not bear children, and their houses become few, through the contriving of Olympian Zeús. And again at another time, the son of Krónos either destroys their wide army, or their walls, or else makes an end of their ships on the sea. (Evelyn-White 1914: 19-21, ll. 230-37, 238-47).

The prince “wise in heart” of Hēsíodos’s *Theogonia*, who “settles cases with true judgements”, is almost identical to Morand’s just prince, who “smiles upon justice when he hears of it and exalts it when he sees it”. Hēsíodos notes that when his wise prince “passes through a gathering, they greet him as a god with gentle reverence”. It is Morand’s just prince “whom the living ... brighten with blessings”.

Other lines in Hēsíodos’s *Ergai kai Hēmerai* also find parallels in Irish tradition. Here, however, as in the Ten Commandments of Hebrew tradition, Hēsíodos admonishes that which should not be done. The Irish *Cath Maige Tuired* preserves the same negative admonishments in a vision of a coming age of chaos. In the Irish *Cath Maige Tuired* the falsehood of man brings into being all bad things. Again the vision is almost identical to that of Hēsíodos. At the end of the *Cath Maige Tuired* (‘167), Mórrígan or Badb predicts the evils which will arise at the final stage of the world. This prophesy is not only remarkably close to that given by Hēsíodos in *Ergai kai Hēmerai* but also to that contained in the Eddic *Völuspá*.

Ni accus bith // nom-beo baid
 sam cin blatha // beti bai cin blichda
 mna cin feli // fir gan gail
 gabala can righ // rinna ulcha
 il moigi // beola bron
 fedha cin mes // muir can toradh
 tuir bain b[e]thine // i-mmet moel
 rátha fás // a forgnam
 locha diersit[er] // dinn atrifit[er]
 linn lines // sech[m]il[fad]ar
 flathie faoilti // fria holc
 ilach imgnath // gnuse ul[a]

incrada do credb[a]d // gluind
 ili imairecc catha // toebh fri ech
 delceta imda dala // braith m[a]c flaithi
 forbuid bron // sen saobretha
 brec fásach // mbrithiom[an]
 briathiomh cech fer // foglaid cech mac
 ragaid mac // i lligie a ath[ar]
 ragaid ath[ar] // a lligie a mac
 cliamain cach // a brat[har]
 ni sia nech mnai // a ssatigh
 gignit[er] cenmair // olc
 aimser immera // mac a ath[air]
 imera ingen // [a máthair].
 (Stokes 1891a: 110; Thurneysen 1918a: 406).

I shall not see a world which will be pleasing to me.
 Summer [will be] without flowers, cattle without milk,
 women without modesty, men without valor,
 conquests without a king, spears (in the hands of the) bearded,
 many slaves from the mouth of the womb,
 woods without mast, sea without produce,
 sweet women shall have recourse to a quantity of cretins,
 the construction of empty forts,
 lakes abandoned, hill-forts overrun,
 many (family) lines extinguished,
 nobles contented through evil,
 many unusual things before the tomb,
 misdeeds which erode support,
 many conflicts of battle, tribute in horses,
 crimes at every encounter, the betrayal of nobles' pledges,
 a slashing of wombs, false judgements from the ancient,
 false rules from judges,
 every man a betrayer, every boy a thief,
 son will enter his father's bed,
 father will enter his son's bed,
 everyone will be his brother's brother-in-law,
 every woman will be insatiable,
 contentment will arise from evil,
 a time when son will deceive father,
 and daughter will deceive mother.

Differing only slightly from Mórrián's description of the world to come is Hēsíodos's description of the end of the Age of Iron.

The father will not agree with his children, nor the children with their father, nor guest with his host, nor comrade with comrade; nor will brother be dear to brother as before. Men will dishonor their parents as they grow quickly old and will carp at them, chiding them with bitter words; hard-hearted they not knowing the fear of the gods. They will not pay their aged parents the cost of their nurture, for might shall be right, and one man will sack another's city. There will be no favor for the man who keeps his oath or for the just or for the good; but rather men will praise the evil-doer and his violent

dealing. Strength will be right and reverence will cease to be; and the wicked will hurt the worthy man, speaking false words against him, and will swear an oath upon them. Envy, foul-mouthed, delighting in evil, with scowling face, will go long with wretched men one and all. And then Aidōs and Némesis (“reverence and righteous indignation”), with their sweet forms wrapped in white robes, will go from the wide-pathed and forsake mankind to join the company of the deathless gods; bitter sorrows will be left for mortal men, and there will be no help against evil. (Hēsíodos: *Erga kai Hēmerai*: ll. 181-201; Evelyn-White 1914: 16-17).

So too, in Icelandic tradition, the *Voluspá*, though shorter, deals with the same theme, which is equivalent to the *Kali Yuga* of later Hindu tradition.

Brothers will battle to bloody end,
and sister’s sons their sib betray;
woe’s in the world much wantonness:
[axe-age, sword-age, sundered are shields,
wind-age, wolf-age, ere the world crumbles;]
the spear of no man will spare the other.
(*Voluspá*: ‘45; Hollander 1962: 9; Kuhn 1962: 10-11).

The Otherworld and the Concept of the Transmigration of the Soul

As with the concept of Truth in its relationship to nature’s cycle proceeding in its proper sphere, the concept of the cycle of birth, life, death, and rebirth is perhaps Proto-Indo-European in origin as well. Irish and Greek tradition overlap almost completely on the good effects which will accrue to the natural order from the truth of a sovereign. They also agree on the resulting consequences of misrule and falsehood. It seems likely that these traditions have a common source. That this common source lies in a common PIE heritage is demonstrated by the parallels in the Irish and Greek traditions to the Vedic and Eddic traditions. The concept of the cycle of rebirth and the immutability of the soul finds an equally broad attestation among IE cultures.

According to Ovidius (*Metamorphoseon*: XV, 453-77), Numa declares the following about the immutable soul.

We also change, who are a part of creation, since we are not bodies only but also winged souls (*volucres animae*) and since we can enter wild-beast forms and be lodged in the hearts of cattle. We should permit bodies which may possibly have sheltered the souls of our parents or brothers or those joined to us by some other bond, or of men at least, to be uninjured and respected, and [we should] not load our stomachs as with a Thyestean banquet! ... Make not flesh your food, but seek a more harmless nourishment. (Miller 1916: 396-9).

Plátōn (Plato) in the *Phaedo* expounds much the same philosophy.

The souls ... of the evil ... are compelled to wander about ... in payment of their former evil way of life, and they continue to wander until through the craving after the corporeal, which never leaves them, they are imprisoned finally in another body. And they may be supposed to find their prisons in the same natures which they have had in their former lives. ... Men who have followed after gluttony, wantonness, and drunkenness, and [who] have no thought of avoiding them, would pass into asses and animals of that sort. ... And those who have chosen the portion of injustice, tyranny,

and violence, will pass into wolves or into hawks and kites. The soul of a philosopher will reason in quite another way.... She will calm passion, follow reason, and dwell in the contemplation of her, beholding the true and divine; ... thence deriving nourishment... after death, she hopes to go to her own kindred and to that which is like her, and to be freed from human ills.... A soul which has been thus nurtured ... will at her departure from the body be scattered and blown away by the winds and be nowhere and nothing. (Kaplan 1951: 106-110).

Also in the *Phaedo* (Kaplan 1951: 146-55; as in the *Republic*, Kaplan 1951: 376), Sōcratēs gives another version of the purification of the soul. Here the soul suffers for a year in Tártaros to be cleansed in the fires of Pyriphlegéthōn, one of the rivers in Hádēs. If those such souls have wronged forgive them, they may then journey back to the Stygian lake, eventually to be born again and “dwell in the purer earth”. Those who have purified themselves with philosophy “live henceforth altogether without the body, in mansions fairer still which may not be described”.

Virgilius in the *Aeneid* (VI, 724-51) gives much the same view.

Fiery is the vigour and divine the source of those life-seeds, so far as harmful bodies clog them not, nor earthly limbs and mortal frames dull them... when at their last day life is fled, still not all the evil, alas!, not all the plagues of the body quit them utterly.... Therefore are they schooled with penalties, and for olden sins [they] pay punishment: some are hung stretched out to the empty winds; from some the stain of guilt is washed away under swirling floods or burned out in fire. Each of us suffers his won spirit; then through wide Elysium are we sent, a few of us to abide in the joyous fields; till lapse of days, when time’s cycle is complete, takes out the inbred taint and leaves unsoiled the ethereal sense and pure of spirit. All these, when they have rolled time’s wheel through a thousand years, the god summons in vast throng to the river Lethe, so that, reft of memory, they may revisit the vault above and conceive desire to return again to the body. (Fairclough 1916: 556-9).

This same doctrine is recorded by Caesar among the Gauls. According to *de Bello Gallico* (VI, 14), the druids believed that the soul was immortal.

The cardinal doctrine which they (*druides*) seek to teach is souls do not die, but after death pass from one to another (*non interire animas, sed ab aliis post mortem transire ad alios*); and this belief, as the fear of death is thereby cast aside, they hold to be the greatest incentive to valor. (Edwards 1917: 338-9).

Edgerton (1974: 122-3) has noted that even in the early *Upaniṣads*, there are “definite statements of the theory of rebirth or transmigration”. This same doctrine forms the core of the *Bhagavad Gītā*, which likens one existence following another to different stages of life.

The *Upaniṣads* also begin to combine with this doctrine of an infinite series of reincarnations the old belief in retribution for good and evil deeds in a life after death; a belief which prevailed among the people of Vedic India, as all over the world. With the transfer of the future life from a mythical other world to this earth, and with the extension or multiplication of it to an infinite series of future lives more or less like the present life, the way was prepared for the characteristically human doctrine of *kárma* or “deed”. This doctrine ... teaches that the state of each existence of each individual is absolutely conditioned and determined by that individual’s morality in previously existences.... An early *Upaniṣad* says: “Just as (the Soul) is (in this life) of this or that

sort; just as it acts, just as it operates, even so precisely it becomes (in the next life). If it acts well, it becomes good; if it acts ill, it becomes evil.”... If in the present life a man is on the whole good, his next existence is better by just so much as his good deeds have outweighed his evil deeds. (Edgerton 1972: 123).

So too, in the *Bṛhad-āraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (6.2.15-16; Daniélou, 1985, 73-4) a similar transmigration of the soul is postulated. For those who only follow the *pitṛyāna* “the way of the fathers” and who merely approach life through “sacrifices, charity and penance”, the soul passes into other life forms and does not remain in heaven.

They who through sacrifices, charity, and penance
 have conquered the worlds
 pass into the smoke [of the funeral pyre],
 from the smoke into the half month of the waning moon,
 from the half month of the waning moon
 into the half year when the sun moves southward,
 from these months into the world-of-the-fathers (*pitṛ-lokā*),
 from the world of the fathers into the moon.
 Reaching the moon, they become food themselves,
 and the gods feed upon them,
 just as if ordering King Sōma- (the moon) to increase and decrease.
 And once the fruit of their acquired merits is exhausted,
 they again enter into space, from space into air,
 from air into rain, from the rain into the earth;
 reaching the earth, they become food
 [and] are offered into the fire of man
 and the fire of woman.
 Once born they grow up in this world
 and again start the cycle of existence.
 But those who do not follow either of these ways
 become the crawling and flying insects
 and whatever there is here that bites.

On the other hand, a way out of the cycle of regeneration is also postulated. For those men following the *devayāna* “the way of the gods” and who “in the forest piously worship”, the soul passes into the eternal realm of the gods to remain forever.

Those who know this and, in the forest, piously worship,
 pass into the flame [of the funeral pyre]
 from the flame into the day, from the day
 into the fortnight of the waxing moon,
 from the fortnight of the waxing moon
 into the half year when the sun moves northward,
 from these months into the world-of-the gods (*deva-lokā*)
 from the world of the gods into the sun,
 from the sun into lightning.
 A pure spirit comes to this world
 where lightning dwells
 and leads them into the causal world.
 In this immense world they remain forever.
 From here there is no return.

Píndaros (*Fragments*: 131, 133) describes a cycle of rebirth as well. His description is remarkably similar to that in the *Upaniṣads*.

And while the body of all men is subject to over-mastering death, an image of life (the soul) remains alive, for it alone comes from the gods. But it sleeps while the limbs are active; yet to them that sleep, in many a dream it gives presage of a decision of things delightful or doleful.

But, as for those from whom Persephónē shall exact the penalty of their pristine woe, in the year she once more restores their souls to the upper sun-light; and from these come into being august monarchs and men who are swift in strength and supreme in wisdom; and for all future time, men call them sainted heroes. (Sandys 1915: 591-3).

As with the *Upaniṣads*, Píndaros (*Olympian*: II, 67-77) also describes a more blessed life for the righteous. Here again the vision is remarkably similar to that in India. Further, in the description of the blazing flowers of gold, where “ocean breezes blow around the Islands of the Blessed”, we come remarkably close to Irish conception of “the floral plain of Mag Mon, in the realm beneath the sea”, where “flowers nurture streams of nectar”. Thus we continue with Píndaros’s description.

But, those who, while dwelling in either world, have thrice been courageous in keeping their souls pure from all deeds of wrong, pass by the highway of Zeús unto the tower of Krónos, where the ocean breezes blow around the Islands of the Blessed, and flowers of gold are blazing, some on the shore from radiant trees, while others the water fosters; with chaplets thereof they entwine their hands, and with crowns, according to the righteous councils of Rhadámanthos, who shares for evermore the judgement seat of the mighty Father, even the lord of Rhéā with her throne exalted beyond all beside. (Sandys 1915: 24-5).

For them the sun shines in his strength, in the world below, while here it is night; and, in meadows red with roses, the space before their city is laden with golden fruits. ... Some of them delight themselves with horses and with wrestling; others with draughts and with lyres; while beside them blooms the fair flower of perfect bliss. And over that lovely land fragrance is ever shed, while they mingle all manner of incense with the far-shining fire on the altars of the gods. (Sandys 1915: 590-1).

All that survives in Irish tradition of the nature of the otherworld and the transmigration of the soul is the description of the Isle of the Blessed. But here the description is very close to that found in the Greek tradition of Píndaros. There can be little doubt (when this description is combined with Caesar’s statement about the belief of the druids in the soul’s immutability) that the Celts shared the views of the Vedic Indians and the early Greek philosophers.

Manannán’s Irish otherworld realm beyond the sea is described in *Imram Brain*, a poem apparently cast in a monastic setting from pagan bits and pieces (MacCana 1972b, 1975; but note, Carney, 1976, sees Monastic inspiration for all this material). The poem opens with Bran’s encounter with the otherworld sea god, who chants it to him in greeting. Here I give a few of the more pertinent lines (see Murphey 1962: 92-101, for the Irish poem).

Sea horses shine in summer
in the scenic view Bran can scan.
Flowers nurture streams of nectar
in the land of Manannán mac Lir.

The glow of the sea you're on,
 the brightness of the ocean you row on,
 spreads forth green and yellow;
 this land does not lie fallow.

Speckled salmon leap from the womb
 of the fair ocean you behold.
 These calves and lambs of brilliant color
 have friendship without slaughter.

Though you see a single chariot rider,
 on Mag Meall with unnumbered flowers,
 besides him, many unseen horses
 are within the realm (beneath the sea).

The vast plain and the great host
 shine brightly with brilliant yellow.
 A fair stream of silver and stairs of gold,
 welcome all who would drink and feast.

A pleasant and delightful game,
 they play in happy rivalry,
 men and gentle women, without sin,
 beneath the boughs in innocence.

Over a wood's rolling hills,
 (unaware) your vessel sails.
 There lies a luscious fruit grove
 below your sleek ship's prow.

A wood of bloom and fruitful (trees),
 (sweet) with scent and (flowing) vines,
 without rot or withering mold,
 their very leaves are colored gold.

Thus in PIE tradition the otherworld fires apparently cleansed the souls of the sins and corruptions of life; after being purged in fire, these were born again. Such an outcome could be avoided only by attaining an heroic afterlife in the equivalent of the Elýsion Pedíon or by being deified (see, below, *Greek Plóúton and Persephónē* for parallels with Hēsíodos). As this PIE concept developed later in Samkara's Vedánta philosophy (Edgerton 1972: 144), it led to the concept of *māyā* "illusion" and the opposition of *nirvāna-* to the material world. In this later Sanskrit tradition the otherworld is attained through linking the soul with the universal spirit, Brahmán-, the controlling all-expansive consciousness behind the universe.

All-Father and Controllers of Upper, Middle, and Lower Realms
The Division of Realms: Who Has the Thunderbolt?

In India the division of the gods into three realms goes back to the Vedic period. The *Rig Veda* (1, 139, 11) states that 11 of the gods dwell in the heavens, 11 dwell on earth, and 11 dwell in the waters (also see RV: 3, 6, 9).

Yé devāso divy ékādaśa sthá
prthivyám ádhy ékādaśa sthá
apsukṣíto mahinaikādaśa sthá
té devāso yajnáṃ imám juṣadhvam.
(RV: 1, 139, 11).

The gods are said to form three separate troops (RV: 6, 51, 2), each troop apparently connected with either the heavens, the waters, or the earth (RV: 7, 35, 11; 10, 65, 9). The *Atharva Veda* (10, 9, 12) also divides the gods into dwellers of three regions: heaven, air, and earth (on the later Vedas and Brāhmanas see MacDonell 1899: 145-205).

The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* divides the gods into 12 Ādityāḥ, 11 Rudrāḥ, and 8 Vāsavaḥ (MacDonell 1897: 19); each of these three groups dwells in a different realm. The *Nirukta* (7, 5) divides the gods into three orders: (1) *dyuṣṭhāna*- “celestial”, (2) *antarikṣasthāna*- “aerial” or *madhyamasthāna*- “intermediate”, and (3) *prthivīsthāna*- “terrestrial” (1897: 19; *sthāna*- “place, region”). Unique to Vedic India, the Middle Region (the *madhyamasthāna*-) included the air as well as the waters. The Upper Realm, the celestial heavens, excluded the clouds and the aerial regions beneath them, which were assigned to the Middle Realm.

Since they block out the light of the sun in the day and that of the moon and the stars at night, even with the naked eye it is an easy task to determine that the swift-moving clouds are situated in a region below the celestial heavens. Also, many mountain peaks penetrate above the region of cloud cover. Thus it is not surprising that the peoples of the mountainous regions of the northern Indian subcontinent saw the celestial heavens as a realm distinct from that of the clouds and everything below them. Another factor in this differentiation may have been the low-flying clouds of the monsoons, which could have been perceived as very different from other celestial phenomena. Whatever the cause, in Vedic India the *madhyamasthāna*-, the Middle Region, included the clouds as well as the waters.

For the Greeks and most of the other IE peoples, however, the heavens included the clouds and everything above them (including some mountain peaks as well). In the *Iliad* (XV: 187-193) Poseidōn describes how the three sons of Krónos cast lots. Zeús wins dominion of the sky (the Upper Realm) “the broad heaven amid the aether and the clouds” (*ouranòn eurýn en aithéri kai nephélēsi*), Poseidōn wins dominion of the “grey sea” (the Middle Realm), and Ploútōn or Hádēs wins “the murky darkness” of the Underworld (the Lower Realm); though the earth and Olympos remain common to all three. As Poseidōn says, “three brothers are we, begotten of Krónos and born of Rhéa ... and in three-fold wise are all things divided; to each has been apportioned his own domain” (Murray 1919: II, 120-1). In contrast to the situation in India, the *Iliad* clearly states that the Greek Upper Realm included in the heavens: the clouds and the celestial air (opposed to the earthly air) (*aithéri kai nephélēsi*).

No matter to which realm they assigned the clouds, a simple observation was apparent to all of the IE peoples. Thunder and lightning originated in the storm-filled clouds, the bringers of rain. This semantic differentiation as to whether or not the clouds were included in the designation of “heaven” (PIE **dejeu-*, *djeu-*, *dju-*; IEW: 184; NIL: 69-81) is highly significant to the later functional and developmental differentiation of the deities in the various regions to which the original PIE tribes dispersed. The most important consideration is that he who controls the clouds controls the thunder and lightning, and thus the thunderbolt, as well.

He who controls the thunderbolt is the champion who battles such exotic beasts as the Vedic Vṛtráḥ, the Eddic Miðgarðr Serpent and the Frost Giants, or Hēsíodos's Typhōeus and the Titans. Along with the control of the clouds and their rain also goes great sexual potency and appetites. In Greece the thunder bolt belonged to Zeús, the controller of the Upper Realm (which in Greece included the clouds), whereas in India the thunder bolt belonged to Índraḥ, the controller of the Middle Realm (which in India included the clouds as well as the waters they shed). In Scandinavia the thunder bolt belonged to Thórr, the son of the controller of the Upper Realm. In taking on the thunderbolt, Thórr left to his father more esoteric and magical concerns. Since he no longer controlled the thunderbolt, within the group of the Upper Realm controllers Óðinn came to look like Váruṇaḥ, whose realm of control also did not include the clouds, the thunder, or the thunder bolt.

In Ireland, however, the control of the thunderbolt was apparently not the exclusive right of one deity. Three gods (or euhemerized gods) have a claim to being a wielder of what might be considered the thunderbolt: (1) Cú Chulainn, the son of the nocturnal Upper-Realm controller, (2) Lug (equivalent to Vedic Mitráḥ and Roman Fidius, controllers of the Upper Realm during the day), and (3) Dagda, the Irish equivalent of the original PIE Sky Father. Throughout the whole of the Ulster Cycle neither Conchobar, the nocturnal Upper-Realm controller, nor Fergus, the Middle-Realm controller, utilizes anything which can be considered a thunderbolt.

Cú Chulainn, on the other hand, with his wondrous slinging which never misses even in the dark, holds off the whole of Medb's army killing 100 every night. Noteworthy, Cú Chulainn's nighttime slinging is paralleled by Lug's daytime slinging. In the *Cath Maige Tuired* (" 133-5), Lug uses a sling stone (*liic talma*) to slay the demon Balor, who has an evil piercing eye. Elsewhere in *Cath Maige Tuired*, Dagda states that he will cause "three showers of fire (*teorai frasaie tened*) to pour on the faces of the Fomoiré hosts". This fire shower could scarcely correspond to anything but lightning.

So too, Dagda has a *lorg mór* "great staff", which is noted to have a "smooth end and a rough end. One end slays the living and the other end brings the dead back to life". In India, Índraḥ, the controller of the Middle Region, has an *aṅkuśáḥ* "hook, goad" which accomplishes the same thing as the Dagda's staff. In Scandinavia, Thórr, the son of the controller of the Upper Realm, controls the hammer *Mjollnir* with the same properties as the *aṅkuśáḥ*. As these latter two gods utilize the club or hammer in the production of lightning (or at least possess lightning), the Dagda originally must surely have done so as well.

Again as in Irish sources, there is some ambiguity in Roman sources as to who controls the thunderbolt. Archaic Roman Iuppiter is a development of the original PIE Sky Father. He is the progenitor of the other gods and all beings through his mating with Mother Earth by means of the life-giving fertile rains. In Rome as in Greece, the realm of the Sky included the clouds as well as the heavens. In bringing the rain clouds, this deity would naturally also have a tendency to control the thunder and lightning which came with them. But the son of this Sky Father, the one who is the king and controller of the realm of the Sky, would also have a claim to hurling lightning.

Thus we find the archaic Roman god Summanus associated with lightning at night (*fulgur submannus* or *fulgur summanus*) and Fidius associated with lightning in day (*fulgur dium*). This division of the Upper-Realm controller gods of Rome into binary pairs corresponding to night and day exactly fits the pattern of Váruṇaḥ and Mitráḥ, the Vedic night-and-day controllers of the Upper Realm. However, it also fits the pattern of Irish Cú Chulainn and Lug as well. Under this view, in the Roman three-generation triad (Iuppiter / Mars / Quirinus), Mars would be seen as but a byname for Summanus. Under this byname Mars, the Upper-Realm controller has neither thunder or lightning, but preserves only his role as warlike champion and his sacred animal the wolf. His son Quirinus-Romulus, similarly associated with the wolf (as was Óðinn), would correspond to Vedic Pūṣá and to Irish Cú Chulainn.

The Gods in Relation to the Division of Realms

As we have seen, the Greeks divided the regions of being into the Upper Realm (the celestial realm of the sky and the heavens, including the clouds), the Middle Realm (earth and the surrounding waters), and the Lower Realm (the underworld). Corresponding to each realm was a son of Krónos (Krónos being himself, in turn, the son of Ouranós “Sky”). Thus, Zeús ruled over the clouds, the sky, and the heavens, Poseidōn ruled over the earth and the seas, and Hádēs ruled over the underworld. In ruling the celestial region, Zeús was more important than either Poseidōn or Hádēs. Indeed, Zeús had ultimate dominion over all the other gods. At one point, Poseidōn was exiled for his rebellion against Zeús’s greater authority.

In Greek myth two gods correspond to the original Sky Father; one (Ouranós) is mutilated, and the other (Krónos) is banished to rule over the Elysian Fields near where Tartaros meets the western ocean. The role of Ouranós “Sky” is then limited in Greece to the procreation (with Gaia) of Aphrodítē, Krónos, Rhéā, the Kýklōpes, the Hekatóncheires, and the Tītanēs. The role of Krónos is limited to the procreation (with Rhéā) of the gods Zeús, Poseidōn, Hádēs, and the goddesses Héra, Hestía, and Dēmētēr (3 gods and 3 goddesses with a god and goddess corresponding to each realm).

The important consideration here is that Zeús was supposed to rule from the peak of Mount Olympos upwards. The Upper Realm was considered to include the clouds as well as the celestial regions containing the sun, the moon, and the stars. Thus Zeús is said to be the controller of thunder and lightning. The Greeks felt that the Middle Realm extended over the earth and the waters and did not extend into the sky. Thus Poseidōn controls the sea and earthquakes, but not thunder and lightning. The Lower Realm supposedly included everything under the earth. Thus Hádēs rules over the underworld where souls are recycled.

MacDonell (1897: 5) notes a similar three-fold division of the Vedic deities during the period of the *Brāhmanas*. Thus occupying the Upper Region (the celestial heavens) are the Adityāḥ, the most important of which is Váruṇaḥ, son of Dyāuḥ “Sky” or “Heaven”. Occupying the Middle Region (the waters and the area immediately above the surface of the earth up to and including the clouds) are the aerial Rudrāḥ, the most important of which is Índraḥ, son of Dyāuḥ. Since he controls the clouds as well as the earthly waters, Índraḥ is responsible for earthquakes as well as thunder and lightning. Occupying the Lower Region, the earth and water sources, are the terrestrial Vāsavaḥ (*vásu-*), who included the river goddess Sárasvatī and the earth goddess Pṛthivī, as well as her son Agnīḥ “Fire”, also the son of Dyāuḥ.

In the *Rig Veda* one does not find a son of Dyāuḥ ruling over a Lower Region under the earth, as in Greece Hádēs son of Krónos rules over the underworld. Perhaps this Vedic absence of an underworld god is an aspect of shifting the three regions of being upward, reflecting a division between the Heavens, the Air, and the Earth, rather than the division between the Sky, the Earth, and the underworld of the Greeks. Only in the later first and tenth books of the *Rig Veda* is any information given about a controller of an otherworld of the dead. These books were, of course, the last to have been put together.

In the first and tenth books of the *Rig Veda*, with his four-eyed dogs the first mortal man Yamáḥ rules over the highest heaven (RV: 10, 14, 1; 10, 23, 6). His consort is his twin sister Yamī, and their abode is surrounded by songs and the sound of flutes (RV: 10, 135, 7). Here then is not the realm of the underworld of the Greeks where souls are recycled, but rather an equivalent of the Elysian Fields (*Elýsion Pedíon*) ruled over by Krónos. According to the *Rig Veda* (RV: 10, 13, 4), Yamáḥ chooses death and abandons the body. It is he who has found the path, that others might follow. Only at a later period in Indian myth does Yamáḥ become a god of the dead who punishes the wicked. The myth of the primeval twins who founded the human race goes back to the Indo-Iranian stage, for in the *Avesta* (*Yasna*: 30, 3) and in later literature

the cognate twins Yimō (*Yima-*) and Yimeh are the first humans and rule over an earthly paradise during the Golden Age of Man (MacDonell 1897: 171-174).

The Irish tilted the PIE Upper, Middle, and Lower Realms on their axis to reorient them on the basis of a Northern Region, a Middle Region, and a Southern Region. Here the relationship of the thunder bolt to a specific region of existence is no longer so apparent. These three regions were ruled by Irish mythological figures corresponding to Greek Zeús, Poseidōn, and Hádēs, the sons of Krónos (Ouranós). The Irish Upper- and Middle-Realm controllers also correspond to Vedic Váruṇaḥ and Índraḥ, the sons of Dyāuḥ. Thus, equating to Greek Zeús, Poseidōn, and Hádēs, all sons of Krónos, are Irish Conchobar, Fergus, and Cú Rói, all sons of Eochaid (whose bynames include Dagda, Dáire, Aedh Ruaid). In this structural developmental framework, Eochaid-Dagda corresponds with Krónos (Ouranós). Of Eochaid's sons, Conchobar is associated with the Upper Region (Ulster in the North), Fergus with the Middle Region (Mide, Connaught, and Leinster), and Cú Rói with the Lower Region (Munster in the South). Just as Poseidōn is exiled for rebellion against Zeús, so too Fergus is exiled for rebellion against Conchobar.

The differences to be found among equivalent controller deities from various IE subcultures can be explained through mutual inter-borrowing or usurping of traits by several deities within a three-generation group: (1) the Sky Father, (2) his sons (the controller gods of the three realms), and (3) the son of the Upper-Realm controller. Thus Zeús has acquired traits (including his name) from his father, the original PIE Sky Father. These traits, such as his fathering Persephónē and Apóllōn, should more properly belong to Krónos or Ouranós (as they are preformed elsewhere by Dyāuḥ and Dagda, gods equivalent to Ouranós). Most of the attribute transferences among the gods, however, arose not around father-son disputes over the control of power, but around who controls the thunderbolt. As noted, which god has which attributes depends to a large extent on whether the clouds and their resulting rain, thunder, and lightning are included in the Upper or the Middle Realm of being.

Nonetheless, generational transferences of attributes did play a significant role in the evolution of the gods of each IE region. Through the presumed shifting of traits from his father, Cú Chulainn (who in his evolutionary development corresponds to Vedic Pūṣá) has acquired many attributes which in the Vedas are found in Váruṇaḥ. Without this shifting of traits from father to son, Cú Chulainn's traits would more properly belong to Váruṇaḥ's evolutionary cognate Conchobar. Further, in stripping the thunderbolt from his father, Cú Chulainn also takes on a host of other attributes which one would expect to belong to the Upper-Realm controller. Nonetheless for comparative purposes, when taken as group rather than individually, Conchobar and his son Cú Chulainn correspond precisely to Vedic Váruṇaḥ and Pūṣá. It is more the distribution of the attributes within these generational pairs which gives them their distinctive personalities rather than the attributes themselves.

As ruler of the Upper Realm, Irish Conchobar is also easily equatable with Greek Zeús. Irish Fergus, who would seem to have developed from a god who controls the waters as well as earth's fertility, corresponds to Greek Poseidōn. With his huge appetites (sexual and otherwise) and his striking the three hills with his sword just prior to Medb's releasing the waters, Fergus may also be equated with Vedic Índraḥ. However, many of Índraḥ's traits are also shared by Irish Dagda, who in the generational grouping should correspond wholly with Vedic Dyāuḥ. Again this similarity is simply because both Índraḥ and Dagda share some control over the realm of the clouds, conceived as being in the Middle Region in India. Unlike the other controller deities with their ambiguity as to who controls the clouds, Irish Cú Rói may be unequivocally equated with Greek Hádēs. Cú Rói's spouse Bláthnat, whom he, like Hádēs, has abducted, also corresponds to Persephónē in many overlapping details.

Archaic Roman religion also shows many points of overlap with Vedic Religion. Iuppiter corresponds in name as well as in function to Vedic Dyāuḥ. Like Irish Dagda, Iuppiter also corresponds generationally to Dyāuḥ. Both Iuppiter and Dagda are grandfathers of deities who

correspond to Vedic Pūṣā. Thus through Mars, Iuppiter is the grandfather of Romulus-Quirinus, and through Conchobar, Dagda is the grandfather of Cú Chulainn. Both Iuppiter and Dagda control lightning as well as the club apparently used to hurl it. As we have seen, however, Vedic Dyāuḥ does not possess the thunderbolt because the Vedic conception of the celestial heavens or the sky does not include the realm of the clouds. Thus in India it is Índraḥ, the controller of the Middle Region, who possesses both the clouds and the thunderbolt.

The Hittites had as “head of their pantheon a deity associated with thunder and lightning and the epithet ‘father’” (Justice 1983: 67). In the combination of these attributes, the Hittite god is reminiscent of Greek Zeús and Roman Iuppiter. However, neither the cognate Vedic god *Dyáuspitā* nor the Irish god Eochaid Ollathair “Eochaid All Father” is the celestial ruler, but rather each is the corresponding progenitor of the celestial ruler. Thus the epithet “Father”, to be found among these deities derived from the original PIE Sky Father, results from this god’s being the progenitor of most of the other gods, including the rulers of the Upper, Middle, and Lower Realms. Conspicuously, the original PIE Sky Father is not the progenitor of a god corresponding to Vedic Pūṣā. This deity is the son of the controller of the Upper Realm.

As a name, Sanskrit *Dyáuspitā* is cognate with Greek *Zeús patér*. Both derive from Proto-Indo-European **Djéus-ph₂tér* “sky-father” (NIL: 75, note 26; IEW: 184). In turn Latin *Iuppiter* derives from *Iū-piter*, (Umbrian *Jupater*, in the vocative, as in Greek **Zeũ páter*; IEW: 184). As Justice (1983: 67) has noted Vedic, Greek, and Latin sources confirm a reconstructed **Djéus patér genātēr* (Buck 1949: 1464 f.). The Irish Dagda’s epithet *Ollathair* “Great Father” is certainly reminiscent of **Djéus-ph₂tér*, but it is even closer to the cognate Icelandic term *Alfoðr* “All Father”, a byname of Óðinn (IEW: 25).

As we have seen, however, not all of these deities with cognate names are functionally and developmentally cognate. Archaic Roman Iuppiter, Vedic Dyāuḥ, and Irish Dagda belong to the first generation of the gods, the Sky Father who couples with the Mother Earth to produce the rest of the gods and the whole of existence. Zeús and Óðinn belong to the second generation, each a controller of the Upper Realm, although each has taken traits from the original Sky Father (in Greece even usurping his name).

In Greece two deities, Krónos, spouse of Rhéa, and Ouranós “Heaven”, spouse of Gaia “Earth”, still preserve aspects of the role of the original Sky Father who couples with Mother Earth. It is possible that Krónos and Ouranós together correspond developmentally to archaic Roman Iuppiter and Sāturnus. Thus Roman Iuppiter would be cognate with Vedic Dyāuḥ, in name as well as in function, but also could have usurped traits as an oath enforcer from Summanus or Mars, who would have developed from a PIE god cognate with Váruṇaḥ. These traits would have been usurped through Iuppiter’s absorbing aspects of the original Mars preserved under the byname Summanus, which came to be associated with Iuppiter.

Yet it is possible to take another view here. Zeús, in being the brother of Poseidōn and Hádēs (all sons of Krónos) and the father of Hermēs (who corresponds with Pūṣā and Cú Chulainn), is of the generation corresponding to Vedic Váruṇaḥ and Índraḥ (the sons of Dyāuḥ) and Irish Conchobar, Fergus, and Cú Rói (the sons of Dagda). Clearly many of the Sky Father’s traits were absorbed by Zeús, the controller of the Upper Realm. It is Zeús who shows great sexual potency and many lovers, not his father Krónos. It is Zeús who is the father of Persephónē (in contrast to Ireland where the Dagda is the father of Fand (Bláthnat). It is also Zeús who controls the thunderbolt and brings the rain.

Zeús is unusual then in being the only Upper-Realm controller to possess the thunderbolt. In Rome and Ireland the thunderbolt belongs to the Sky Father. In India the thunderbolt belongs to the Middle-Realm controller, and in Scandinavia it belongs to the son of the Upper-Realm controller. It is possible that Zeús has taken the thunderbolt from the original Sky Father. Thus projecting back to the PIE period, it is difficult to say who controlled the thunderbolt, the Sky Father or his son, the controller of the Upper Realm. Perhaps it belonged to both of them. Most likely, however, it belonged to the Sky Father.

Besides this shifting of traits between generations and around who controls the thunderbolt, other confusions result from the use of many bynames. In some cases the original identity of a god who has taken on a new alias is not always set forth clearly. Several of the Vedic gods are transregional, having slightly different forms and bynames in each of the three regions. Thus some texts state that Agnīḥ had three forms: Agnīḥ, Rudrāḥ, and *Sūryaḥ*. Agnīḥ “Fire” is his form on earth, Rudrāḥ “the Red One” or “the Wild One” (KEWA III: 66; also used of Apām Napāt) is his form in the clouds, and *Sūryaḥ* “the Sun” is his form in the celestial heavens. Savitā is the form of Apām Napāt in the heavens. Uṣāḥ and Rātrī “Dawn” and “Night” apparently are heavenly forms of the water and earth goddesses Śarasvatī and Pṛthivī, for they give birth to *Sūryaḥ*, the heavenly form of Agnīḥ.

Another complication of Vedic myth is that the heavens at night are differentiated from the sky at day. Indeed, the star-filled heavens present a radically different panorama from the sunlit sky. Thus the control of Upper Region was divided between the night-time celestial god Váruṇaḥ and the day-time sky god Mitrāḥ, who together form the dialectically opposing pair Mitrāḥ/ Váruṇaḥ. This bipolar nocturnal/diurnal (as well as winter/summer) division dates back to the PIE period. In both Indo-Iranian and in Irish tradition this opposition of day and night is a fairly wide-spread notion. Thus as with Uṣāḥ and Rātrī “Dawn” and “Night”, one may contrast the underworld goddess Boand to Medb. So Agnīḥ and Apām Napāt may well correspond to day and night and find parallels in Irish *Maccan and Nechtain. The opposition of the white Tištrya- to the black Apaoša- is paralleled by the Finnbennach and the Donn. This opposition is also preserved in the Irish contrast of Cú Chulainn and Lug, who control and protect opposite halves of the year. This opposition is found in the Roman contrast of Numa and Romulus (as well as that of Fidius and Summanus) and in the Eddic contrast of Óðinn and Týr. These bipolar gods (corresponding to Mitrāḥ/ Váruṇaḥ) and their contrasting traits will be discussed in the next section.

Gaulish Gods of the Upper and Lower Regions

The Gaulish Sky Father

It is not certain that only one deity is represented by the Romano-Gaulish portrayals of Iuppiter. Among the Gaulish deity inscriptions associated with Iuppiter, only the epithets *Tanaros* and *Taranis*, meaning “Thunderer”, and *Bussurigos* and *Bussumaros*, meaning “Kingly Lipped” and “Great Lipped”, provide us with specific attributive names which might be keys to the nature of the Celtic god who used them. The byname *Uxelli(s)amos* “the Greatest” tells us little about the nature of the god.

As a name, *Taranis* < *Tanaros* by metathesis and is cognate with Scandinavian *Thórr* (< **tṛ-ro-s* (**(s)tonH-ro-/*stnoHr-o-*); IEW: 1021; DPC: 384). It is somewhat surprising that a byname of Gaulish Iuppiter should be cognate with *Thórr*. *Thórr* does not possess the *imperium caelestium* of Roman Iuppiter. As noted, that function is held by Óðinn. However, as the hurler of the lightning bolt, *Thórr* does share a major trait with Roman Iuppiter. In this capacity *Thórr* also shares traits with Vedic *Índraḥ*. Thus seeing Romano-Gaulish Iuppiter-Taranis as possessing *Thórr*’s function as a hurler of lightning would seem rather appropriate.

Thórr also has a great ability to drink mead, which corresponds to *Índraḥ*’s great capacity to drink ale or *sóma-*. So too, the Irish *Dagda* shows a renowned capacity to eat and drink. *Dagda* also shows other attributes and aspects of behavior found in *Índraḥ* as well as *Thórr*, not the least of which is a life-dealing or death-dealing club and the ability to hurl showers of fire (lightning). Although these three gods (*Thórr*, *Índraḥ*, and *Dagda*) correspond to functionally different controllers and different generations, they all share the control of the clouds and their rain. From this control of the clouds arises their control of the thunderbolt as well as their huge appetites for drink (to the extent that they actually personify the rain clouds). If the Gaulish

god corresponding to Roman Iuppiter also shared Thórr's and Índraḥ's traits of huge appetites as well as their lightning bolt, one could explain these Gaulish bynames. This Gaulish god must have been cognate with Dagda, the Irish Sky Father, who also shows these same traits associated with the rain clouds.

Confirmation of this supposition comes from Britain. Here have been found a number of portrayals of a Celtic god usually equated with Iuppiter. At Corbridge the bearded and helmeted god is portrayed with a wheel, a shield, and a crooked club (Ross 1968: pl. 65a). This portrayal with the crooked club and the wheel fits descriptions of Dagda contained in early Irish sources. In the *Cath Maige Tuired*, Dagda is described as having "behind him a forked branch with a wheel (*gaból gicca rothach*) which required eight men (to pull it)" (Stokes 1891: 87). A portrayal from Vienne (Esp.: 829) gives another depiction of this deity with the wheel, here standing by a bull. Again this portrayal fits Irish Dagda, who under his byname Dáire is the owner of the bull Donn Cuailnge. When he accompanies Mórrígan to drive a cow to be bulled by Donn Cuailnge, he carries his wheeled club with him.

Under this scheme, the Gaulish Iuppiter could be equated with the Irish Dagda, a god who is developmentally a cognate of Dyāuḥ, but a god who also shows traits correlating with Índraḥ, the Vedic controller of the clouds and thunder. As we have seen, Índraḥ apparently usurped traits from the original Sky Father, when in India the Middle Realm was extended to include the clouds as well as the earth's surface. Thus the control of the clouds likely would have been an original attribute of Gaulish Iuppiter, just as the clouds apparently were originally under control of the PIE Sky Father.

In Rome wheel-shaped cakes were given to (Iuppiter) Summanus, as a representation of the thunderbolt. Perhaps such a thunderbolt wheel is what is intended by portrayals of the British Iuppiter with the wheel. On plate C of the Gundestrup cauldron a Gaulish deity (apparently Vellaunos-Esus), whose actions correlate in the narrative portrayal to those of Irish Cú Chulainn in the *Táin*, is depicted using a broken wheel to confront a deity whose actions correlate to those of Fergus (see Olmsted 1979b: 216-219). In the final battle of the *Táin* (O'Rahilly 1976: 123, 236), Cú Chulainn confronts Fergus using his broken chariot wheel as a weapon. The Irish god Cú Chulainn is a slinger par excellence, never missing even in the dark. In the *Táin*, Cú Chulainn also uses his nighttime sling casts to ward off Medb's entire army, killing hundreds each night. Here Cú Chulainn's slinging probably corresponds to an original hurling of the thunderbolt, as is suggested by the portrayal on Gundestrup plate C, where the wheel might be seen in this light (as with the wheel held by Iuppiter on the north Gaulish Iuppiter columns).

From Belgica and Germania Superior come columns surmounted by statue groups depicting a horseman holding either a wheel or an actual depiction of a thunder bolt (again demonstrating that the wheel represents the thunderbolt). This horseman is usually depicted riding down a giant whose legs extend into snake tails. It is possible that these Iuppiter columns with the horseman attacking the Gigás Anguipes provide a Celtic parallel to Índraḥ's attacks against the serpent Vṛtráḥ. However, the late date and the influx of Germani into the region make it as likely to be a Roman depiction of a Germanic theme such as Thórr's final struggle with the Miðgarðr serpent as any Celtic depiction.

Although it has been proclaimed as Celtic in inspiration by de Vries and others (perhaps because of the rider with the wheel), the motif group depicted on these Iuppiter columns is most likely classical in its inspiration. The depiction probably has nothing to do with either the Celts or the Germans. According to Nonnos (*Dionysiakōn*: I, ll. 158-60, 415), the giant (*gígas*) Typhōeus in battle against Zeus had feet ending in snakes (*echidnaíō podòs*). We must recall again the Roman wheel-shape cakes offered to (Iuppiter) Summanus (OCD: 1023). Thus the later-period statues representing Iuppiter riding down a fallen Gigás Anguipes likely depict Roman Iuppiter's borrowing the battle against Typhōeus from Zeús, as described by Nonnos.

These Iuppiter columns thus depict a theme which is apparently late Classical rather than a theme which is Celtic or Germanic.

Gaulish God of the Lower Region and his Consort: Sucellos and Nantosvelta

From Roman Gaul, mostly from grave sites, come a series of over two hundred portrayals of a god holding a long-poled hammer or an axe in his left hand. In these portrayals a dog lies at his feet or to his left, and a goddess, usually holding a cornucopia, stands to his right. Inscriptions identify this pair as the god Sucellos and his goddess companion Nantosvelta. The name *Sucellos* apparently derives from **su-kel-no-* “good striker” (IEW: 1037, 546), as noted in the Glossary. Nantosvelta possibly means “Sun-Warmed Valley” (< **nm-to-* “valley” + a form of **suel-* “sun light” + the adjectival suffix *-to-*; IEW: 1045; Meillet 1922: 268). However, Meid would prefer to see here a *tatpuruṣa* compound rather than an inverted *bahuvrīhi* compound (MacDonell 1916: 276-7; Evans 1967: 53). Thus Meid has suggested to me for Nantosvelta the significance “Who Makes the Valley Bloom”. He would derive the name from a *-to-* suffix of **suel-* “swell, make flourish” (IEW: 1045). In this case the name would be suggestive of Irish *Bláthnat*, probably meaning “Little Flower” (assuming the Irish diminutive suffix *-nat*).

Barthélemy (1870: 6) was perhaps the first one to point out the association between the portrayals of Sucellos and the Etruscan god Charun. Charun was assimilated to Roman Charon (Greek *Chárōn*), the ferry-man who took the souls of the dead over the river Styx (Greek *Stýx*). The Etruscan Charun is usually portrayed alongside a dog evoking *Kérberos*, the multi-headed dog guarding *Hádēs*. Charun always holds a hammer or a club to knock on the head those men who are consecrated to Death (1870: 6).

The portrayal is suggestive of a quote from Tertullianus (*ad Nationes*: I, 10): *Dis pater, Iovis frater, gladiatorum exequias cum malleo deducit* “Dispater, Jove’s brother, leads the funeral processions of gladiators with a hammer”. The Roman *Dis* (*Dītis*) was of course the god of the underworld.

Ensuite le maillet est le symbole du dieu de la mort qui frappe impitoyablement. Voilà pourquoi l’esclave qui retire de l’arène le corps des gladiateurs morts s’appelle Dispater. Il est armé du maillet. Mais souvent le marteau ou la hache qui servaient à mettre à mort les gros animaux offerts aux divinités domestiques, semblent symboliser le sacrifice même, domestique dans l’occurrence. Aucun rapprochement avec le marteau de *Thórr* scandinave ou germanique ne me semble permis ... (Linckenheld 1929: 83-4).

Thus it is almost inevitable, considering the funerary symbolism of the monuments, that Sucellos with his axe or mallet would be associated with Charun. As Reinach (1894: 166) noted, “*l’analogie du Dispater au maillet avec le Charun étrusque ... est, à mon avis, certaine*”. Indeed, according to Caesar (BG: VI, 18), the Gauls affirmed that they were all descended of Dispater (*ab Dite patre prognatos*). As Reinach (1903: 229) noted, the sole Gaulo-Roman portrayal recalling the infernal deity of the Classical peoples is that of Sucellos, reaffirming the correspondence of the two deities.

Irish Dagda; Conchobar, Fergus, and {Cú Rói, Manannan}

Eochaid Ollathair

An Old Irish fragment edited by Bergin (1927: 402) from YBL (fol. 176) gives several different bynames for the Irish god known as Dagda. The text states the following.

Aed Abaid Essa Ruaid misi .i. Dagdia druidechta Tuath De Danann 7 in Ruad Rofhessa 7 Eochaid Ollathair mo tri hanmanna.

I am Aed Abaid Essa Ruaid; i.e., the Good God of druidic wisdom of the Túatha dé Danann, the Mighty One of Great Knowledge, and Eochaid All-father are my three (other) names.

The second story of Macha from the *Dindsenchas* is also significant toward identifying the Dagda. In this myth about the founding of Emain Macha, Aedh Ruaidh is stated to be the father of Macha.

Macha, daughter of Aed the Red (*ingen Aedha Ruaidh*), the son of Badurn, (Emain was marked out by her), was buried there when Rechartaid of the red forearm killed her. To lament her, Oenach Macha “Macha’s Fair” was established, whence Mag Macha. (Stokes 1894-5: 44-46).

Combining these two texts, one may conclude that Eochaid Ollathair, the Dagda, is the father of Macha. The Aedh Ruaidh of this *Dindsenchas* text can be none other than the Aed Abaid Essa Ruaid of the YBL text.

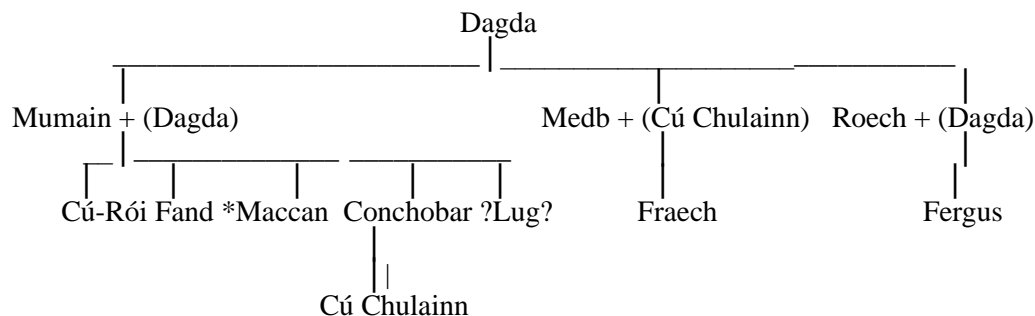
The *Cóir Anmann* (Stokes 1891b: 406-7) informs us that Roich ingen Eocach maic Dhaíre was Fergus’s mother. Much the same information is to be found in a genealogical tract from LL 331c 34 (O’Brien 1962: ‘158, 5), “Fergus thus accordingly (was named) through his mother as a son of Roech daughter of Echach mac Carpre” (*Fergus dano fodeisen iarna máthair mac do Roích ingen Echach meic Carpri*). Fergus’s father is said to be Rosa Ruaid. Rosa Ruaid (from **Ro-fhessa Ruaid* or **Ro-essa Ruaid*) is apparently simply a variant of Essa Ruaid. So too, Ailill is said to be a son of Rosa Ruaid.

It is interesting to note that Roech, like Medb and her sisters Clothra (a byname for Ness, mother of Conchobar) and Eithne (a byname for Mumain), is descendent from a man called Echach (v. Eocach, Eochaid) (as in *Cath Boinde*). This character Eochach mac Dáire can be identified with Eochaid Ollathair, Eochaid “the Great Father” or “the All-father”, otherwise known as the Dagda “Good God”. As we shall see, Roech “Great Horse” is simply an alternative name for Macha. Thus all three, Fergus, Roech-Macha, and Ailill were sired by Eochaid-Dagda.

Sanas Cormaic, the Glossary of Cormac, provides additional information, this time on Brigit. This text states, “Brigit: female poet, daughter of the Dagda (*banfile ingen in Dagdae*)” (Meyer 1912a: 15). Brigit can be shown to be a byname for Eithne-Boand-Mumain (see section on Brigit and Saint Brigit), who in *Cath Boinde* is said to be a daughter of Eochaid. With Brigit daughter of Dagda identified with Boand “White Cow”, one gains the additional information that the eponymous goddess of the Boyne was also a daughter of Eochaid-Dagda. Thus *Cath Boinde*, *Sanas Cormaic*, and the *Dindsenchas* make it clear that the goddesses of the Lower, Middle, and Upper Realms (Boand-Mumain, Medb, and Roech-Macha) were all descended of Eochaid-Dagda.

The name Eochaid All-father is appropriate. In siring Mumain, Medb, and Macha, the Dagda sires the three Great Mothers, who in turn are the mothers of all the other gods and of

all existence. Mating with his daughter Boand (Mórrígan Eithne Mumain Ness), wife of Nechtain, the Dagda fathers Oengus Mac ind Óc, as found in *Tochmarc Étaíne*, the *Dindsenchas* of Boand II, and the *Cath Maige Tuired* episode outlined below. Boand (Mórrígan Eithne Mumain Ness) is the mother of Lug and Conchobar as well. Roech Macha is the mother of Fergus, while Medb Aife is the mother of Fraech (Nechtain Conlae). The genealogical relationships may be indicated as follows.



Thus the Eochaid Feidleach “the Eternal Horseman” of *Cath Boinde*, the Echach meic Carpri of the *Genealogical Tracts*, and the Eocach maic Dhaíre of the *Cóir Anmann* are but bynames for the Dagda, the Dagdia Druidechta of the YBL text (*echaid*: “horseman”; *feidlech* “enduring, constant”). The above byname Aedh Ruaid can be translated after *aed* “fire” and *ruad* “red; mighty”. The fuller Aed Abaid Essa Ruaid contains the additional bynames Abaid (perhaps after *abbaeth* “lustful”) and Essa, apparently the genitive or plural of *ess* “rapidly flowing stream, water fall”; thus “the Mighty Fire Lustful (for) the Flowing Water” or “the Lustful Fire (of) Mighty Streams”.

Eochaid’s filial attribution *mac Dáire* is probably indicative that Dáire is just another byname for Eochaid himself. As the Dagda says in a passage expunged from Stoke’s version of *Cath Maige Tuired*, “there will be a pool of my semen in each bulling here after” (*bieid latrach mo belosai ion cech dair gobrath; beoil, gs. bela* “juice, gravy”; *dáir* “bulling”) (Thurneysen 1918a: 402). As Pokorny (IEW: 256) points out, the name Dáire (< **dhario-s*: IEW: 256; **d^herh₃-io*: DPC: 91) is derived from the same root as *dáir* “to bull”. The verb *dáir* comes from **dhor-* (< **d^herh₃-*), the o-grade form of the full-grade IE root **dher-* “to bull, to cover (a mare)” (IEW: 256). Dáire mac Fiachnai (Fiachrach) is the owner of the great bull Donn Cuailnge, while Dáire mac Dedad is the father of Cú Rói mac Dáire. In *Táin bó Regamna*, Dáire accompanies Mórrígan in taking Nera’s cow to be bulled by Donn Cuailnge. He is described in the YBL version (Windish 1887: 243) as *fer mor i comair in charpaid, funa forptha imbi 7 gaballorg findchuill fria ais ic imain nam-bo faithi* “a great man beside her (Mórrígan) in the chariot, a cropped tunic about him and forked club of hazel on his back, driving the cow before her”. This cropped tunic and the forked club (*gabal-lorg*) are the hallmarks of the Dagda. In the *Cath Maige Tuired*, Dagda is described in the following fashion.

Around him was a dark tunic as far as the swelling of his rump. Moreover it was long-breasted with a hole in the peak. He had two shoes of horsehide, with the hair outside. (He had) behind him a forked branch with a wheel (*gaból gicca rothach*) which required eight men (to pull it). (Stokes 1891a: 87).

Thus, it is clear from these descriptions that Dáire is simply another byname for the Dagda.

Note here that I dismiss Sayers (1988) inclusion as bynames for the Dagda the poetically alliterative comic slurs and epithets from *Cath Maige Tuired* (also implied to be bynames and left untranslated in the edition of Grey 1983: 49). The daughter of Indech (of the Fomoiré)

hurls this satirical *rosc* at the Dagda and his huge belly (full of porridge) as he is attempting intercourse with her. I provide a tentative translation of these difficult poetic lines only to clarify the nature of this text.

F(e)r benn brúaic[h] // brogaill broumide
 cerbad caic // rolaig builc
 labair cerrce // di brig oldathair
 both athgen // mbethai brightere
 tri carboid // roth rimaire
 riog scotbe // obthe olaithbe
 drennar rig // d-dar fringar (fegar) frendirie.
 (Grey 1983: 49).

Large-bellied prong man, ...
 ... excrement who lies with a bag,
 cackle of a hen ...
 of licentious appearance, feeder of spells
 the three corruptions of many-fold virtue,
 cut off by a king, denied (even) a ?cow?,
 quarreled (with) by a king, ... who seems penalty-prone.

The derogatory slurs “excrement who lies with a bag” and “cackle of a hen (*cerrce*)” can scarcely be considered bynames, nor can any of the other lines of this poetic satire be seen as such.

The attested bynames of the Dagda may then be outlined as follows.

Dagda: “Good God, Capable God”.
 Eochaid: “the Horseman”.
 Eochaid Feidleach: “the Eternal Horseman”.
 Eochaich Salbudi: “the Horseman of the Yellow Brine”.
 Eochaid Ollathair: “All-Father, the Horseman”.
 Eocach maic Dhaíre: “the Horseman, the Son of Bulling”.
 Dáire mac Fiachnai (Fiachrach): “He who Bulls, the Son of Vigor”.
 Aedh Ruaid: “Mighty Fire”.
 Aed Abaid Essa Ruaid : “the Lustful Fire (of) Mighty Flowing Streams”.
 Rosa Ruaid: “of Great and Mighty (Flowing Streams) (or Knowledge).
 Ruaid Rofhessa: “Mighty One of Great Knowledge”.

A fragment from the YBL text contains a description of the Dagda’s *lorg mor* “great club”, undoubtedly the same device as the forked club (*gabal-lorg*), described above (a description of the *lorg mor* is also found in *Mesca Ulad*: l. 629; Watson 1941). According to the YBL text, the *lorg mor* has “a smooth end and a rough end: the one end kills the living and the other end brings to life the dead” (*cenn ailgen aqi 7 cenn ainbthean: indara cend ag marbad na mbeo 7 in cenn ele ag tathbeougud na marb*) (Bergin 1927: 402, 405). In *Cath Maige Tuired*, the Dagda also has a great cauldron (*coiri an Dagdai*). “No company ever went from it unthankful” (Stokes 1891a: 58-9). To obtain Ailill’s daughter Étaín for Midir in *Tochmarc Étaíne*, the Dagda clears twelve plains (as Poseidōn builds Troy). Thus like Macha, the Dagda has a hand in bringing the land to its full agricultural potential.

In spite of equating him with Iuppiter, the Dagda never hurls a stone or an object which can be compared to Índraḥ’s or Thórr’s thunderbolt. However, in the *Cath Maige Tuired* when Figol mac Mamóis boasts of what he will do in the battle, the Dagda responds, “the power

which you boast, I shall wield it myself". It could be argued that his three showers of fire correspond to lightning.

I will cause three showers of fire (*teorai frasaē tened*) to pour on the faces of the Fomoiré hosts, I will take out of them two thirds of their valor, bravery, and strength, and I will bind their urine in their bodies and in the bodies of their horses. (Stokes 1891a: 82-3).

The Dagda's major exploits in *Cath Maige Tuired*, however, are gustatorial and sexual. Dagda (along with Lug) leads the war against the Fomoiré, much as Zeus and his two brothers lead the struggle against the Titans (Hēsiodos, *Theogonia*: ll. 617-744), and Óðinn and his two brothers lead the struggle against the Frost Giants (*Gylfaginning*: '6). The first part of the text of *Cath Maige Tuired* which I quote here is simply a doublet of the Dagda's union with Boand, as found in *Tochmarc Étaíne* and the *Dindsenchas* of Boand II.

In the north, the Dagda (Good God) had a house at Glenn Etn. Now the Dagda had a tryst with a woman at Glen Etn on a day of the year close to Samain. The river Unius of Connacht roars to the south (of where the tryst was to be). He saw the woman (before him) in the Unius at Corand, washing herself, with one of her feet at Allod Echae, i.e. Echumech, south of the water, and the other at Loscond, north of the water. Nine loosened tresses were on her head. The Dagda conversed with her and they made a union (*oentaith*). The Bed of the Couple (*Lige ina Lánomhnou*) has been the name of that place since then. The Mórrígan (Great Queen) is the woman mentioned here.

She then told the Dagda that the Fomoiré (Under-Sea People) would land at Magh Scene and that the Dagda should summon the specialized men of skill and art (*oes danu*) of Ireland before her at Ath Unsen, the ford of the Unius. ... That was the week before Samain, and each of them separated from the other until all the men of Ireland could come together on Samain. Six times thirty hundred were their number, i.e., twice thirty hundred in every third.

Then Lug sent the Dagda to spy on the Fomoiré and to delay them until the men of Ireland should come to the battle. Then the Dagda went to the camp of the Fomoiré and requested from them a truce of battle. They gave him what he asked for. Porridge was then made for him by the Fomoiré. That was to mock him as he had a great love for porridge. They filled for him the king's cauldron of five-hands depth with porridge, into which went four-score gallons of new milk and the same quantity of meal and grease. Goats, sheep, and pigs were put into it and boiled together with the porridge. This was poured for him into a hole in the earth. ...

Then the Dagda took his ladle, which was big enough for a married couple (*lanomain*) to lie in the middle of it. The morsels that were in it were a salted side of pork and a quarter of lard. The Dagda then said, "Good nourishment is this if the broth attains what its flavor attains". But when he put the full ladle in his mouth he said, "This does not violate their hospitality. This is not a drink of the stream." Then he put his crooked finger over the bottom of the hole. He helped (himself) to earth and gravel. Sleep came upon him then after eating his porridge. His belly was bigger than a household cauldron, so that the Fomoiré laughed at it.

Then he went away from them to the strand at Eba (Tracht Eba). Traveling was not easy for this warrior (*laech*) with the size of his belly. His clothing was unseemly, (with) a cape to bend of his elbows. Around him was a dark tunic as far as the swelling of his rump. Moreover it was long-breasted with a hole in the peak. He had two shoes of horsehide, with the hair outside. (He had) behind him a forked branch with a wheel (*gaból gicca rothach*) which required eight men (to pull it), so that its track after him

was enough for the boundary ditch of a province. Wherefore it is called Slicht Loirge an Dagda “the Boundary Ditch of the Dagda” (translated from Stokes 1891a: 82-7).

Because of abbreviations, obscure wording, and an unusual subject matter, the rest of the text is difficult to translate and was left out of the Stokes (1891a) edition. The tentative translation offered here of the portion left out by Stokes differs in details from that of Grey (1983: 46-51). The text (where quoted) is taken from Thurneysen (1918a). It seems likely that a sense of *double entendre* is intended in the original text, adding to the difficulties and ambiguities of translation. There is also a degree of earthiness which goes beyond the lakes made by Medb’s *fual* “urine, fluids” in the *Táin*. It is clear why Stokes expunged it.

He was thus traveling when he saw a girl before him of surpassing appearance. She (had) fair tresses. The Dagda then went to her, but he did not find appeasement from her. His belly caused the girl to mock him. ... “Who is your father?” he asked. “I am indeed the daughter of Indech son of Dé Doman (king of the Fomoiré),” she replied. He made love to her repeatedly ... since she had mocked his belly. But she mocked him three (more) times so that he would take her on his back. He said (then) that it was a taboo (*ges*) for him to take anyone with him unless he gave his name to him. ... Then he moves out ... after releasing from his belly everything which was in it. ... He arose then and took the girl on his back and produced three stones (which were) in his belt (pouch). He set each stone in turn before her and said, “These are (?for?) my penis and testicles (*ferdai*).” ... He made bare her pubic hair (*caíther*) to his vision.

The Dagda then pierced fiercely against his mistress (*abancaroid*) and made love after that. There resulted from that the great pool (*al-latrach*) over the Eoboile Strand (Tracht Eoboile) which adjoined against (where they made love)... Then said the Dagda..., “There will be a pool of my brine (*latraoch mo saulu-sau*) apart from the girl forever” (*saile* “brine”, as in the Dagda’s byname Eochaich Salbudi “Yellow Brine”; or *sal* “heel”).... “There will be a pool of my semen (*latrach mo belosai*) for every bulling (*dair*) hereafter” (*láthrach* “pool” or “imprint”; *beoil, gs bela*, “gravy, juice” or *biail, gs bela* “axe”). Thus it is said from this, Pool of Semen (or ?Mark of the Axe?) of the Dagda (*Latrach Beluo an Dagdae*). (Translated from text of Thurneysen 1918a: 400-2).

Conchobar, Fergus, and Cú Rói

Cú Rói’s name is similar to Conchobar’s name in that both contain a root signifying “hound”. This similarity might be seen as an aspect of the fact that both Cú Rói and Conchobar are descended of Dagda-Eochaid-Dáire. Cú Rói’s name derives from Celtic *Cuo Rōviās “Hound of the Plain, Hound of the Earth” (< **kuyō rōviās*; IEW: 632, 874; with the o-grade of IE **reyə-* “open”, giving Irish *róe, rói* “level field” and Latin *rūs* “land”). As we shall see, Cú Rói’s name probably relates to an earlier Celtic version of Kérberos. In Gaul, Sucellos was portrayed with a hound, as with the Etruscan Charun. Thus the parallel in the names Conchobar and Cú Rói is probably fortuitous (but see McCone 1987: 104-5).

Conchobar’s name could be seen to derive from an inverted *bahuvrīhi* compound of substantive plus adjective *Cunocoboros “He who has a Victorious Hound”, as Evans (1967: 53) suggests as one possibility for Atepomaros “He who has a Very Great Horse”. Conchobar’s name might then derive from IE **kuno-kob-ro-*, with **kuno-* “hound” (IEW: 632)

and **kob-* “victory” (IEW: 610) combined with the adjectival suffix *-ro-* (Meillet 1922: 267). Under this interpretation the name might well refer to Cú Chulainn “the Hound of Culann the Smith”, Conchobar’s champion in the *Táin* and throughout the Ulster Cycle. Indeed, *Feis Tighe Becfoltaig* implies that Cú Chulainn is Conchobar’s son.

However, Evans (1967: 53) notes that Atepomaros might also be seen as a tatpuruṣa compound of substantive plus adjective, “He who is Great by Reason of his Horse”. Seeing a similar compound for Conchobar would give “He who is Victorious by Reason of a Hound (i.e. Cú Chulainn)”. A tatpuruṣa compound of substantive plus substantive (Evans 1967: 103) is equally possible here (see MacDonell 1916: 276-9). Thus for Conchobar, Meid has suggested to me, “He who has the Craving of a Wolf”, seeing it derived from IE **kuno-kup-ro-*, with IE **kup-ro-* “desire, wish” (IEW: 596) as in Irish *ad-cobra* “desires” (for *-pr-* > *-br-* see Thurneysen 1946: 139; on the development of the secondary vowel see Thurneysen 1946: 70). Although such a significance might be likely as a personal name for a warrior, it holds little meaning in terms of Conchobar’s role in the Ulster Cycle. Thus, I prefer the suggestion above for Conchobar, “He who Victorious by Reason of a Hound”.

Fergus mac Roech’s name is illustrative of his nature. An etymological analysis suggests that the first term in Fergus’s compound name is clearly *fer* (o,m) < **uirHo-s* “man” (IEW: 1177; DPC: 423), while the second term is *gus* (u,m) “force, vigor” (< **gus-tu-s*, a formation with *-tu-* from the zero-grade of IE **geus* “choose, select” (IEW: 399; DPC: 169). As Meid has suggested to me, a similar form occurs in Old Norse *gum-kostr* “man’s prowess”. Thus Fergus mac Roech’s name indicates something like “Virility the Son of Great Horse”.

Like Cú Rói and Conchobar, Fergus also is said to be descended of Rosa Ruaid, another byname of Dagda-Eochaid-Dáire. Though he once was of the Ulaid in the North, Fergus took up his abode with Medb in the Middle Region. It is significant that Fergus makes his abode in the Middle Region. It intermeshes neatly with Conchobar’s being the king of the Ulaid in the North, while Cú Rói has his stronghold in Kerry in the South. Thus Conchobar, Fergus, and Cú Rói, sons of Dagda, correspond to Greek Zeús, Poseidōn, and Hádēs, sons of Krónos, as controllers of the Upper, Middle, and Lower Regions. So too, Váruṇaḥ, the Vedic controller of the celestial Upper Realm, and Índraḥ, the Vedic controller of the airy Middle Realm, are sons of Dyāuḥ. The correspondence is complete in that Dagda, Krónos (Ouranós), and Dyāuḥ are all correlatives of the original PIE Sky Father. Thus it is clear that the Irish simply shifted the contrast of the Upper, Middle, and Lower Realms of being to North, Middle, and South. Indeed, the Túatha dé Danann “the tribe of the goddess Danu” are said to have come from the North, indicating their derivation from the celestial regions, just as in Vedic tradition the Ādityāḥ “the descendants of the goddess Áditiḥ” are the celestial gods.

Conchobar

In the *Macgnímrada* section of the *LU-Táin*, Fergus relates that Conchobar spends a third of his day watching the three-times-fifty youths play on the playing field at Mag Muirthemne, a third of his day playing the board game *fidchell*, and a third of his day drinking beer till he falls asleep (*oc ól chorma conid gaib cotlad de*) (O’Rahilly 1976: 13, 136). In the *Táin* itself, however, Conchobar plays almost no role whatsoever. Doing all of the fighting are Cú Chulainn and (later in the struggle) the same troop of boys which Conchobar spends the third of his day watching. His role in the *Táin* is limited to the following episode.

Then Conchobar went to meet Fergus. He raised against him his shield, the Óchaín, which had four gold points and four coverings of gold. Fergus struck three blows on it, but not even the rim of the shield above his head touched Conchobar. “Who of the men of Ulster raises the shield (against me)?” asked Fergus. “One who is better (than you),”

said Conchobar. "One who drove you into exile to dwell with wolves and foxes, one who today will hold you at bay in the presence of the men of Ireland by dint of his own prowess." (O'Rahilly 1976: 234).

The shield wielded by Conchobar recalls to mind the shield which Iuppiter sends from the heavens as a sign to Numa and the Romans (Ovidius, *Fasti*: III, 360-76). When Fergus lifts his great sword to punish Conchobar for his boast, Cormac stops him, saying, "Wicked are these blows that you strike, friend Fergus". Fergus strikes three hills instead, lopping off their tops.

According to *Scéla Conchobar maic Nessa* from LL (106ff.), Conchobar's mother Ness ingen Echach Salbudi (a byname of Mórrígan-Boand-Eithne) obtains the kingship of the Ulaid for him by guile.

She went one day there [in Ulster] to bathe, when to her came the same champion Cathbad. He came between her and (her) spear shafts and seized her, and they forgathered, so that she became his beloved wife (*mnái gradaighthe*) and bore him a son. That, then, was the son, Conchobar son of Cathbad. (Stokes 1908a: 23).

In the next paragraph, however, the text states that Ness was unmarried (*i n-oentama*). It seems clear in that if Ness is to be identified with the goddess Boand, she could not have been married to Cathbad the druid. The next episode is much more in keeping with her nature.

Fergus mac Rossa was then in the kingship of Ulster (*i rrígu Ulad*). He desired the woman, even Ness, for his wife. "Not so," quoth she, "till I get a payment (*log*), to wit, a year's kingship for my son, so that it may come to pass that his son may be called the son of a king." "Grant it," says everyone, "and the kingship will still be yours, though he will be called by the name of king (*ainm rige*). So after this, the woman slept with Fergus, and Conchobar was called king of Ulster. (Stokes 1908a: 24-5).

Through Ness's instruction, Conchobar then stripped the wealth of every other man and bestowed it to the next. In this way he built loyalty for himself. At the end of the year, the Ulstermen voted in the matter.

They deemed it a great dishonor that Fergus had given them (to Ness) as a bride-price. But they were thankful to Conchobar for his good bestowal on them. This was then their decision, "What Fergus sold, let it part from him. What Conchobar bought, let it stay with him." (Stokes 1908a: 24-5).

Thus Fergus lost the over-kingship (*ardrige*) of Ulster to Conchobar in order to sleep with Ness. Soon thereafter he lost Ness as well, who conceived Cormac by her son Conchobar.

Indeed Conchobar enjoyed the right of first night with all the girls of Ulster. When any man of the Ulaid married a grown-up girl, she slept with Conchobar on the first night (*a feiss la Conchobar*), so that he became her first husband. No wiser man has ever been born into the world. He never delivered a judgement at a time when it was not permitted him, in order that he might not deliver a false judgement, so that his crops might not be the worse thereof. On earth there has been no mightier champion. ... Champions, war-veterans, and valorous heroes used to be in front of him in battles and conflicts, so that there might be no danger to him. When any man of the Ulaid used to give him hospitality for the night, he used to sleep that night with the man's wife. (Stokes 1908a: 24-5).

In *Cath Boinde* from the *Book of Lecan* (351b ff.), besides being wed to his mother Ness, Conchobar is wed in turn to all the other daughters of Eochaid Feidleach (another name for Echach Salbudi “Yellow-Brine”, both names equivalent to Eochaid Ollathair, the Dagda). The text relates that Conchobar is wedded to Mumain Etanchaithrech “the Mother with Gorse-like Public Hair” (a byname of Ness) resulting in the birth of Glaisne. He is also said to be wedded to Eithne (another byname of Ness) resulting in the birth of Furbaide (Diarmaid), for whom “the river [Eithne] takes its name”. He is said to be wedded to Clothra (another byname of Ness) resulting in the birth of Cormac Conloingeas (or as the text states as an alternative *Neasa ingen Echach Sulbaidi mathair Chormaic*). Besides stating that Conchobar was married to Ness under three different bynames, *Cath Boinde* also states that he was wedded to Ness’s sister Medb resulting in the birth of Amalgad. But the text goes on to state that Medb left Conchobar against his will through pride of mind (*tre uabar meanman*).

Most of these bynames for Eochaid’s daughter equivalent to Ness are also the names of rivers. Though the rivers have separate names, they are equivalent to one goddess. Only Medb is a distinct personality. In being wed to the Waters, as well as born of the Waters, Conchobar shares a trait with Vedic Váruṇaḥ. According to the *Taittirīya Samhitā* (6, 4, 3, 2), the Waters are the wives of Váruṇaḥ. Born of the Waters, he makes his abode within their midst (*Vājasaneyi Samhitā*: 10, 7). In the *Yajur Veda*, Váruṇaḥ is the *śísuh* “child” of Waters (MacDonell 1897: 26). So too, in Hēsíodos (*Theogonia*: 886, 901, 921), Zeús is said to have wed in turn Mētis (daughter of Ōkeanós “Ocean”), Thémis (daughter of Ouranós “Sky”), and then Hēra. Zeús also couples with the other daughters of Ōkeanós. By Eurynómē he engenders the Chárites (Graces), and by Stýx he engenders Persephónē (*Theogonia*: l. 907).

As Cathbad supposedly overpowered Ness bathing in the river to father Conchobar, so Conchobar overpowered Medb while bathing in the water. This rape is said to be one of the causes of the great cattle raid, the *Táin*.

Conchobar stayed after the others in the fair (*aenach*), watching Medb. As Medb happened to go to the Boyne to bathe, Conchobar met her there, overcame her, and violated her. (O’Neill 1905: 179-81).

To gain vengeance on Conchobar, Medb names all of her seven children by Ailill, Maine, since it was prophesied that Conchobar should fall by Maine (1905: 184-5). Perhaps all of these motifs of mating following the ritual bath may be related to the ritual bath of Hēra before mating with Zeús in the *Iliad* (XIV: 153-351).

Fergus and Flidais

In *Scéla Conchobair maic Nessa*, Fergus mac Roech is the king of Ulster (*i rrígu Ulad*) before Conchobar. “He [Fergus] desired the woman, even Ness, for his wife. “Not so,” quoth she, “till I get a payment (*lóg*), to wit, a year’s kingship for my son” (Stokes 1908: 24-5). Through desire for Ness, Fergus thus abdicates his rule for a year to Conchobar, who at the end of the year does not give it back. Here Fergus, like his father Rosa, the Dagda, is described as having huge appetites, sexual as well as culinary.

Secht n-artim na luirg.
 Bolg meich inna thistu.
 Secht mna dia ergaire,
 mani thairsed Flidais.
 Secht mucca 7 secht ndabcha,

7 secht n-aige do chathim dó,
7 nert DCC and.
(Stokes 1908: 26-7).

Seven fists are in his penis.
A bushel bag is in his scrotum.
Seven women [are needed] to curve him,
unless Flidais should come.
Seven pigs, seven vats [of ale],
and seven deer are consumed by him;
the strength of 700 [men] are in him.

In *Táin bó Cuailnge* and *Cath Boinde*, Medb is married to her young nephew Ailill, whom she has reared herself, but finds sexual gratification from her older paramour Fergus. Fergus alone can satisfy Medb's sexual appetites. In the LL-*Táin* (l. 37), Medb is stated to have "never had one man without another waiting in his shadow." In *Aided Ailella ocus Conaill Chernaig* (§3; Meyer 1896: 102-11), Medb requires thirty men a day, or Fergus, to satisfy her. As Thurneysen suggested, Fergus is undoubtedly a deity and, moreover, noted for his fertility.

Der riesenhafte Fergus, dessen Name etwa "Manneskraft" bedeutet und dessen grosses *membrum* in den Sagen so auffallend oft erwähnt wird, is gewiss ein alter Zeugungs- und Fruchtbarkeits-Gott. Also wohl auf ein Götterpaar, Fergus und Medb, führte der Stamm der Conmaicne sein Herkunft zurück. (Thurneysen 1929: 108-9).

The Conmaicne are generated from one of the *trí meic Medba fri Fergus dar cenn nAilella: Ciar, Corc, Conmacc* "three sons of Medb by Fergus over Ailill's head: Ciar, Corc, Conmacc" (O'Brien 1962: '157, 33).

As Fergus had earlier lost his kingdom for the love of Ness (also known as Mórrígan, Boand, Clothra, and Eithne), he later loses his sword for love of Medb.

The lovers [Medb and Fergus] remained behind while the warriors went on ahead. Cuillius came to where they were, but they did not hear the spy. Fergus's sword happened to be beside him, and Cuillius drew it out of its scabbard, leaving the scabbard empty. Then he came back to Ailill. "Well indeed," said Cuillius, "here is a proof for you.... As you thought I found them lying together." Ailill answered, "She is right (to behave thus). She did it to help in the cattle-driving. Make sure that the sword remains in good condition. Put it under your seat in the chariot, wrapped in a linen cloth." Then Fergus rose up to look for his sword.... Fergus went off, taking his charioteer's sword in his hand. In the wood he cut a wooden sword. (O'Rahilly 1976: 154-5; ll. 1042-62).

Later Fergus journeys to parley with Cú Chulainn.

I see two chariots coming towards us," said Láeg. "There is a tall dark man in the first chariot.... Across his thighs is a sword as long as a boat's rudder." "That great rudder carried by my master Fergus is empty," said Cú Chulainn, "for there is no sword in the scabbard, only a sword of wood. I have been told," said Cú Chulainn, "that Ailill came unawares upon Fergus and Medb as they slept; he took away Fergus's sword and gave it into the keeping of his charioteer, and a wooden sword was put into the scabbard". (O'Rahilly 1976: 161; ll. 1300-10).

The *Cóir Anmann* (Stokes 1891b: 406-7) informs us that Roích ingen Eocach maic Dhaíre was Fergus's mother. Much the same information is to be found in a genealogical tract from LL 331c 34 (O'Brien 1962: '158, 5), *Fergus dano fodeisen iarna máthair mac do Roích ingin Echach meic Carpri*. As I have suggested elsewhere (see section on Irish Macha-Roech), Roech "Great Horse" is simply an alternative name for Macha. Fergus's father is said to be Rosa Ruaid. As noted above, Rosa Ruaid is probably a variant of Essa Ruaid (from *Ro-fhessa Ruaid) and is thus simply a byname for the Dagda.

Fergus's association with Medb begins in his exile from Ulster, which is described in *Longes mac n-Uislenn* (Hull 1949: 47-8, 65-6). Here Fergus, Dubthach, and Conchobar's son, Cormac, guarantee the safety of the three sons of Uisliu, who have come back to Ulster with Deirdre at Conchobar's invitation. Nonetheless, Conchobar has all three killed at a feast which he gives in their honor. In revenge for breaking their surety, Dubthach kills the maidens of Emain Macha, and Fergus burns Emain Macha to the ground. Much as Poseidōn (along with Apóllōn) is forced into exile under servile subjugation for rebellion against Zeús (Hómēros: *Iliad*: XXI, 441 ff.), Fergus (along with Cormac and Dubthach and their followers) is then forced into exile for this rebellion against Conchobar.

Fergus and his companions seek refuge from Ailill and Medb, who welcome them for the help they can provide for their planned cattle raid against Ulster. The essential elements of this Middle Irish tale *Longes mac n-Uislenn* are confirmed in the seventh-century poem *Conailla Medb Michuru* (quoted more fully in Glossary: Cú Chulainn; see Olmsted 1989 for a discussion and complete line by line glossary; also see Olmsted 1992b, 1992c; Carney 1983: 114-30). According to *Conailla Medb michuru* (ll. 3-4), when Fergus goes into exile with Medb, she places him under lasting captivity. Yet, she also supplies him (and his band) (l. 29) for the role he can play in her struggle against Conchobar.

3 Cuir sir for Fergus // forcomal

4 coí innaiscth airm // dumenair.

25 Cach ecomul naisc // nuall fuatachtae

26 forra caib forra claind // croaithlich

27 torgi fian // la Fergus fuacarta

28 focrad crib // la Conchobur

29 a comand erred // ecnach n-Ulath

30 chura h-iath // nis-tornebad

31 torund ceort // cumachtae.

3 She (Medb) put upon Fergus lasting captivity.

4 He expected the way of a captive in that place.

25 She binds every lack of unity which might snatch away fame

26 over her victory, over her conquest severe,

27 when she supplies the roving band with banished Fergus.

28 Swiftly it is made known to Conchobar,

29 their (Fergus's band) fitting out in strength slandering Ulster,

30 (after) expelling (them) from land he did not share with them

31 in a proper sharing of powers.

Binchy (1952: 34) has noted that Fergus mac Leti, who is known only in the *Echtra Fergusa maic Léti* (except for being listed in ranks of the warriors in the *Táin*: '82), is simply "a doublet of Fergus mac Roich". A poem in the *Táin* would seem to make it clear that Fergus mac Roich is identical to Fergus mac Léti. Here Fergus greets his sword (which Ailill had

taken from him when he lay with Medb) as “the sword of passionate Léte”. The sword must then have belonged to Fergus’s father. Since Fergus’s father was Rosa Ruaid (the Dagda), Léte, Leide (?= *lite*, *leite*, *littiu* “porridge, gruel”) would then be another byname for the Dagda, perhaps after his eating escapade in *Cath Maige Tuired*. The poem in the *Táin* goes as follows.

Fochen colad // miel macrad
 caladc[h]olc claideb // Leidi lasinta
 huath óenhúair // Bodba beisemil
 macrad nai // ar doirsib
 ata re tánic // a ndígail diu.
 Pa feithi fairtbe // a cend consuidfea
 na cotaigfe coimdiu // in claidiub-sa
 coirdib combaig // aithscélaib.
 Ní firba foraib // galnas mo chlaidiub.
 Atan rí úallach // ria feraib nÉrend.
 (O’Rahilly 1976: 121, ll. 4026-4031).

Welcome destroyer of sweet offspring,
 stinging, sharp-pointed sword of passionate Léte,
 terror at one time of the mortal offspring
 of noble Bodb because of oppressions
 which there were before their vengeance came from it.
 It would be a skillful slaying when I gather the heads
 together [of those] who will not obey the master of this sword
 in compacts of combat through repetitions.
 It is no blemish upon them, (their) slaughter by my sword.
 I am a proud king before the men of Ireland.

In *Echtra Fergusa maic Léti*, Fergus falls asleep beside the sea. *Lucorpain* (dwarfs?) from the sea try to carry off Fergus while he sleeps. When his feet touch the sea water, he awakens. One of the dwarfs (*abac*) grants him his three wishes. Fergus asks for “knowledge for passing under seas, pools, and lakes” (*eolas fobarta fo muirib 7 lindaib 7 lochaib*). The *lucuirp* then give him “herbs to put in his ears, ... to travel about with them under seas” (Binchy 1952: 38, 41). Fergus, however, is warned not to go under Loch Rudraige.

One day Fergus essayed to pass under Loch Rudraige... When he dove under the lake he saw there a *muirdris*, a fearful water monster (*peist uiscide uathmar*) which kept alternatively inflating and contracting itself like a smith’s bellows. At the sight of it, his mouth was wrenched back as far as his occiput, and he came out on land in terror. (Binchy 1952: 38, 42).

Later a bond maiden reveals Fergus’s blemish to him, in spite of attempts to keep it from him.

Thereupon he turned away and went under Loch Rudraige; for a whole day and night the loch seethed from [the contest between] him and the *muirdris*, and the surge of the waves kept coming on to the land. Eventually he emerged on the surface of the loch, holding the head of the monster, so that the Ulaid saw him, and he said to them, “I am the survivor.” Then he fell down dead, and for a whole month the loch remained red from [the battle between] them. (Binchy 1952: 38-9, 43).

The ending of the tale, Fergus's emergence from the water with the head of the monster though suffering a mortal wound himself, has been influenced by *Táin bó Fraích*. In *Táin bó Fraích* this sequence of events also occurs to Fraech. However, the fight with the monster in the water would appear to be an episode which independently happens to both Fraech and Fergus. In this fight Fergus may show a connection to Indraḥ, who battles and slays Vṛtráḥ, a connection to Thórr, who battles the Midgardr serpent, and a connection to Bēowulf, who battles Grendel's mother.

In *Táin bó Flidais* (from LU), with the help of Ailill and Medb, Fergus and his Ulster exiles attack the fort (*dún*) of Ailill Finn to make off with Flidais Foltcháin (from **uḷdā* "feast"; IEW: 1136) and the *bancuri in duni* "women troops of the fort", the herds and flocks (*cethrib*) which were there, constituting "a hundred milk cows, one hundred and forty does, and three thousand small hoofed animals" (*cet lulgach 7 da fichet ar cet do damaib 7 tricho cet di minchethri*) (Windisch 1887: 215, ll. 82-3). Such is the herd of Flidais (*búar Flidais*). Flidais then goes with Fergus that Ailill and Medb might have sustenance on the great cattle raid as outlined in the *Táin*. During this cattle raid, Flidais would support the men of Ireland with the produce of her cows, by milking them every seven days. Flidais then becomes Fergus's wife. With her cattle she provides all of Fergus's needs in his household, whatever he might desire for himself (*ar ba sisi no frithailed Fergus im cach tincur bá hadlaic do*) (Windisch 1887: 215, l. 94). The *Cóir Anmann* provides additional information on her cattle. The tale states that Flidais's cattle are of two sorts: cows and does. Both the cows and does are milked (*bá 7 eillti do bhliaghan*), for the does are like cows (Stokes 1891: 294-5). But significantly by Dagda, rather than by Fergus, Flidais conceives Fand "the Tearful", who becomes the wife of Manannán.

The detail that Flidais provided all the needs of Fergus's household is reminiscent of Macha, the wife of Nemed. It might at first be supposed that Flidais is simply a byname for Macha and Nemed a byname for Fergus, but Flidais shows none of the horse-like nature displayed by Macha (a full account of the race against Conchobar's horses is given in LL 125b; Windisch 1884: 336-42; it is outlined in the section on Irish Macha/Roech). However, Medb, who is Fergus's other paramour and who controls the kingship of Ireland, may have shared some of the horse-like nature of Macha. Fergus comments on the army led by Medb at the end of the *Táin*.

"That is what usually happens," said Fergus, "to a herd of horses led by a mare. Their substance is taken away [and] carried off ..., as they follow a woman (actually *tóin mná* "the ass of a woman") who has mislead them" (O'Rahilly 1976: 237).

Macha ingen Ruad maic Dithorbai also secures control of the kingship when she binds the five sons of Dithorba to her in unfree service (*fo daoire di foghnum*). After having them sexually, she requires them to build the *rath* at Emain Macha (*claided dano in raith immácuairt*) (Meyer 1907b: 324-6). Here Macha is directly associated with the kingship and takes over an active role in battle, reminiscent of Medb.

No such identification with Macha can be made for Flidais, however. The detail in *Táin bó Flidais* that Flidais was surrounded by *banchure* "troops of women" in her dwelling positively identifies her. With her *banchure* "troops of women" and her *cet lulgach* "hundred milk cows" who can provide sustenance for the whole of Medb's army on the *táin* "cattle raid", Flidais sounds very much like a doublet for Boand-Mórrígain. Fraech and Boand bring similar cattle with them in the *Táin* to provide sustenance for all of the host. In *Táin bó Flidais*, Fergus, Medb, and Ailill attack the dwelling of Ailill Finn to make off with Flidais and her cattle. Flidais then becomes the wife of Fergus. Ness, a byname of Boand, was said to be the wife of Fergus before Conchobar displaced him. Thus seeing Flidais as another byname of Boand

would be consistent with the other sources which state that Boand under the byname Ness was the wife of Fergus.

Clearly Ailill Finn, who controls the fort attacked by Fergus, Medb, and Ailill, is not the same as Ailill “the Nurtured”. The byname Finn “White, Fair” is reminiscent of Gaulish Vindo(v)roicos “the Fair Heather” and Bovinda “White Cow”. Finn would apparently denote Ailill’s polar opposite twin, Nechtain-Fraech. If so, Flidais could unambiguously be equated with Boand (< *Bovinda), who for at least part of the year is married to her nephew Fraech “Heather”.

That Flidais is the mother of Fand (= Bláthnat) makes this equation between Flidais and Boand certain. Fand-Bláthnat is the Irish equivalent of Persephónē, the daughter of Dēmētēr. In Arcadian tradition Dēmētēr is married to Poseidōn, who as we have seen is the equivalent of Fergus in being the controller of the Middle Region. Thus Dēmētēr, a goddess of the Lower Region, is not married to Hádēs. Her daughter Persephónē is the wife of Hádēs. So too, Bláthnat (Fand) is the wife of Cú Rói (Manannan), the Irish god of the Lower Realm, rather than her mother Flidais. Flidais is married to Fergus, as Dēmētēr is married to Poseidōn.

Irish Cú Rói and Bláthnat, and Welsh Lleu and Blodeued

The Irish tale *Aided Conrói* (Best 1905: 20-1) explains that Bláthnat ingen Mind was carried off by Cú Chulainn during a raid on the Fer Failgi. The obscure archaic *Forfess fer Falgae* from the now lost *Cín Dromma Snechta* contains the earliest reference to this raid. As Thurneysen (1913a: 54-55) suggested, the word *forfess* (v. *forbais*) means “keeping a watch by night” and does not contain the carnal implications of *feis*, *fess*, the verbal noun of *foaid* “spends the night with”. Thus the title of the tale may be rendered as “*die Nachtwache gegen die Fir Falchae*”.

It is significant that in the *Forfess fer Falgae*, as in the *Táin*, Cú Chulainn takes solely upon himself the night action against his foes. Cú Chulainn cuts down all of his foes among the Fer Falchae in single combat: *luid Cú Cul- fiu foress fer Falchae 7 selaig firu Faal huli ar galaib oínfir* (Thurneysen 1913a: 56). The rest of the text concerns a poem sung by Airnbertach (*is intaig de Ultaib*) about the battle between Cú Chulainn and Gét, the king (*rí*) of the Fer Falgae. In killing Gét, Cú Chulainn uses the familiar weapons from the *Táin* (*gai bolcae, claidiub, chaindil, cleittiniu*). A gloss equating the Fer Falgae with the Fer Manann suggests an underworld raid upon the land of Manannán, who supposedly inhabited the Isle of Man.

The future struggle against Cú Rói is outlined in the lines which follow Cú Chulainn’s killing Gét (Thurneysen 1913a: 58).

Firfithir bága.
 Baigfithir fer find
 ar foibne feis.
 Fiibthir Falchaeo feis
 feis hi crolecht
 Caunrai roe
 i ngalne Get
 haicillne do Conchob(air)
 crich iar nDeda dail.

Fights will be issued.
 The fair man will be fought
 because of the night watch booty.
 Because of the night watch of Falgae, there will be passed
 the night watch in the slaughter
 of Cú Rói of the plain,
 during the warlike deeds against Gét,
 the base client to Conchobar,
 (from) beyond the land of the Dal Dedaid (the Erenn).

Aided Con Rói explains that the booty carried off at *forbais fer Failgi* included not only Bláthnat, but the *teóra herca Iuchna* “three cows of Iuchna”, the *eóin bega nobítis for hóib na mbó* “the little birds that used to be on the ears of the cows”. These birds were known as the three men of Ochain. The booty also included a cauldron (Best 1905: 20-1). The cauldron itself would hold the milk of thirty cows, which was what the three cows of Iuchna produced daily. The text of this saga also contains a poem in which Cú Chulainn states *dobert-sa in core sin la hingin in rí*g “I carried off the cauldron with the daughter of the king”.

When the booty was being divided from the siege of the Fer Failgae, Cú Rói was not given his share. Since justice (*cert*) was not given Cú Rói, he took the woman.

He ran in among the cows and gathered them before him; [he] collected the birds in his girdle, thrust the woman under one of his armpits, and went from them, with the cauldron on his back. (Best 1905: 20-1).

When Cú Chulainn pursued him, Cú Rói got the better of him.

Cú Rói thrust him in the earth to his armpits, cropped his hair with his sword, rubbed cow-dung into his head, and then went home.” (1905: 22-3).

After that, Cú Chulainn went to meet the woman Cú Rói had carried off, Bláthnat the daughter of Iuchna, king of the Fer Falgae, “for he had loved her even before she was brought over the sea” (1905: 22-3). Cú Chulainn made a tryst to meet her on *samain*, the first day of winter. On *samain* then Cú Chulainn set forth with a province of Ireland (*cóiced Erend*) to take the fort built for Cú Rói by the Cland Dedad (Cathair Con Rói).

This was the token that was between her and Cú Chulainn, namely to pour the milk of Iuchna’s cows down the river in the direction of the Ulstermen, so that the river might be white when she was washing him (Cú Rói)... Thereupon he (Cú Rói) went inside. The woman washed him. She bound his hair to the bedposts and rails, took his sword out of its scabbard, and threw open the stronghold. He heard nought, however, until the men had filled the house and had fallen upon him. (Best 1905: 22-3).

Cú Chulainn and the Ulstermen then killed Cú Rói and took the fort, though they also had to battle the Cland Dedaid, for Cú Rói was their king (1905: 26-7). Cú Rói’s *fili* “poet” Ferchertne then grabbed Bláthnat and leapt off the cliff holding on to her to avenge her betraying Cú Rói.

Bláthnat, the daughter of Mend, was slain
 in the slaughter above Argat-glenn.
 (It was) an incredible deed for a wife to betray her man.
 On account of it, judgment went against her. (Best 1905: 300).

The Welsh story of Blodeued “Flower-Faced”, contained in *Math uab Mathonwy* (ed. Williams 1930: 67-92), the fourth story of the *Mabinogi*, contains many parallels to the Irish story of Bláthnat “Little Flower”. Here through magic and enchantment, Math uab Mathonwy makes a wife for Llew Llaw Gyffes out of flowers.

And then they took the flowers of the oak, the flowers of the broom, and the flowers of the meadowsweet (*blodeu y deri, a blodeu y banadyl, a blodeu yr erwein*); from them they called forth the very fairest and best endowed maiden that mortal ever saw ... [and] named her Blodeued”. (Jones and Jones 1949: 68).

When Llew goes to visit Math, Gronw Pebyr appears nearby Llew’s castle hunting a stag. Blodeued invites Gronw to visit her. Blodeued and Gronw had fallen in love at first sight. After declaring their mutual love, they sleep together. The next night they discuss how they might stay together. Gronw tells her to learn from Llew “how his death may come about, and that under pretext of loving care for him” (Jones and Jones 1949: 69). Blodeued then gets Llew to tell her how he might be slain.

“By making a bath for me on a river bank, making a vaulted frame over the tub, and thatching it well and snugly too, thereafter. By (next) bringing a he-goat,” said he, “and setting it beside the tub. By my placing one foot on the back of the he-goat and the other on the edge of the tub. Whoever should smite me when [I am] so (positioned) would bring about my death.” (Williams 1930: 86-7; Jones and Jones 1949: 70).

Blodeued then sends word to Gronw to prepare a spear, and they set a day for her to give Llew a bath. When Llew is in the pose described, Gronw sneaks up and throws the poisoned spear through his side. Llew flies away as a wounded eagle. Word reaches Math and Gwydion of this treachery. Gwydion finds Llew as a wounded eagle in an oak beside two lakes and heals him of his wound. Blodeued and her maidens flee Llew in fear of his vengeance. All of the maidens are drowned in crossing the Cynfael river. In revenge for her betraying him, Llew changes Blodeued into a owl, that she dare not show her face in the light of day.

Several points make it clear that the episodes in question of *Aided Conrói* and *Math uab Mathonwy* have a common origin. The names Blodeued and Bláthnat both derive from IE **bhlō-t-* “flower, blossom” (IEW: 122). Both women tryst with their lovers and plot to kill their husbands. Both women make arrangements to be bathing the husband when the lover attacks. The lover makes a successful attack on the husband while the wife bathes him.

Llew Llaw Gyffes, however, is cognate with Irish Lug and Gaulish Lugus, while Cú Rói is probably to be associated with the Gaulish underworld god Sucellos and the Latin underworld god Dis Pater. The Irish name Bláthnat “Little Flower” (with the diminutive suffix *-nat*) is suggestive in its significance of the Gaulish name Nantosvelta, which possibly signifies “Who Makes the Valley Bloom” (see Glossary). Nantosvelta is the goddess companion of the underworld god Sucellos. Bláthnat’s name is also suggestive of attributes of the Greek goddess Persephónē, who is abducted while picking flowers. It is thus likely that the Welsh story has innovated in substituting Llew for a character cognate with Sucellos.

The Irish story of Bláthnat and Cú Rói has much in common with the Greek story of Dēmētēr, Persephónē, and Hádēs. The stories differ, however, in that in the Irish story Bláthnat’s mother plays no role, whereas in the Greek story Persephónē’s mother plays a very large role. In the Irish story, Bláthnat is first carried off as booty from the Isle of Mann by Cú Chulainn and then abducted by the euhemerized Lower-Region god Cú Rói. In the Greek story, Persephónē is abducted from island of Sicily directly by the Lower-Realm god Ploutōn.

Through the efforts of her mother Dēmētēr to retrieve her, Persephónē eventually spends the summer two thirds of the year in the Middle-Realm on earth and the winter third of the year in the Lower-Realm of the underworld.

In the Irish story Bláthnat's lover Cú Chulainn, rather than her mother, plays the active role in retrieving Bláthnat from Cú Rói's Lower-Realm in the south of Ireland. In this task Cú Chulainn is aided, of course, by Bláthnat's betraying Cú Rói in the bath, as Blodeuedd betrays Lleu in the bath. No trace remains of Bláthnat sharing her time between two realms, as does Persephónē in the Greek story. Strangely, Bláthnat's rescue occurs on *samain*, the first day of winter, and not in the spring. Nonetheless, the Welsh story preserves the motif of turning the betrayer into an owl (here Blodeuedd herself), just as Dēmētēr turns Askaláphos into an owl for telling of his witnessing Persephónē eat the pomegranate while in Hádēs.

Manannán and Fand

Although no trace remains in *Aided Conrói* of Bláthnat's sharing her time between two realms, in *Serglige Con Culainn* a trace of this motif may survive. Here Fand "the Tearful" apparently plays a role close to that of Bláthnat in *Forfess Fer Falgae*, from which *Serglige Con Culainn* may have developed. Both Fand and Bláthnat are island dwellers. In both stories Cú Chulainn must fight a battle to obtain the woman's love. In both stories the woman in question forsakes her underworld-god husband for Cú Chulainn. In both stories the tryst with Cú Chulainn is made at *samain* (the beginning of winter).

Fand is probably simply a byname for Bláthnat. In *Serglige Con Culainn*, Fand spends part of her time with her lover Cú Chulainn, but is then retrieved by the otherworld god Manannán (*Manann* + *án* or *Manan* + *nán* "? of the Isle of Man"). Manannán has a Welsh counterpart in Manawydan (*Mana* + *wydan* "? of the Isle of Man (in the West)"). In Welsh tradition Bran Bendigeit and Manawydan, both sons of Llŷr, play the same role as Conchobar and Cú Rói, both sons of the Dagda, as controllers of the Upper and Lower Regions respectively. Thus Manawydan is apparently the Welsh equivalent of Cú Rói and was borrowed into the Irish repertoire at a comparatively late date as Manannán.

In Irish tradition Cú Chulainn, as lover, plays the same role vis a vis Fand that Dēmētēr, as mother, plays vis a vis Persephónē. In the *Dindsenchas* (' 55), Fand is the daughter of Flidais, the wife of Fergus, for whom does were like cows. In *Serglige Con Culainn*, Fand is the daughter of Áed Abrat, a byname of the Dagda. Fand is also a sister of Oengus, elsewhere the son of Dagda and Boand, confirming the identity of Boand and Flidais. So too, Persephónē's mother Dēmētēr is married to Poseidōn, but Zeús is Persephónē's father. As we have seen, Poseidōn corresponds to Fergus. Zeús and Krónos together correspond to Dagda. Thus Zeús's fathering Persephónē on Dēmētēr, the wife of Poseidōn, finds an exact correspondence in Dagda's fathering Fand on Flidais, the wife of Fergus.

In *Serglige Con Culainn* (Dillon 1953) while the Ulaid celebrate the oenach at Samain, a flock of beautiful birds settles upon the lake nearby. The women of the Ulaid are seized with a desire to have a bird set upon each of their shoulders. Leborcham goes to Cú Chulainn to tell of the women's desire. All of the women love Cú Chulainn, and all of them share their beds with him as well as with their husbands. He comes in his chariot and strikes the birds lightly with his sword, so that their wings cling to the water. All but his wife Ethne Inguba, or Emer (he seems to have had two wives), receive a pair of the birds. To console her, Cú Chulainn promises to get Ethne the loveliest pair of any other birds that may show up later.

Soon afterwards two birds, linked by a golden chain, alight upon the lake. Cú Chulainn casts a sling stone at them, but strangely, for the first time ever, misses the mark. He misses

three times in succession. He then casts his spear, which goes through a wing of one of the birds. At that, Cú Chulainn falls into a trance.

In his sleep Cú Chulainn sees two women coming towards him, one dressed in a green cloak, the other in a purple cloak. They come up to him smiling, but then they begin striking him with their horse whips. They beat him till he is almost dead. When he finally awakens, he is so weak he cannot speak. The Ulaid then carry him to Fergus's house to spend a year in bed in a wasting sickness induced by unsatisfied longing.

A year later at Samain, Oengus, son of Aed Abrat (since Aed Abrat is a byname of the Dagda, this Oengus is Oengus Mac ind Óc), journeys from over the sea to tell Cú Chulainn that his sisters could heal him. Oengus tells Cú Chulainn that Lí Ban will come to him with a message from his sister Fand, the wife of Manannán. Cú Chulainn then awakens and tells of his vision. He arises from bed and journeys again to the lake side.

While Cú Chulainn is at the lake, Lí Ban comes up to him. She tells him that her sister Fand has come to live with her. Because Manannán has deserted her, Fand is now in love with Cú Chulainn. Lí Ban tells Cú Chulainn that if he will fight for her husband Labraid but a single day, Labraid will give Fand to him. She promises to heal Cú Chulainn before the fight. She is emphatic that of Fand's beauty no woman can compare.

Over clear waters Labraid dwells
 where bands of women stay.
 Leaving his people, you would not be weary,
 if you visit Labraid Lúath.
 (ll. 421-4).

...

Two kings dwell in that hall
 Failbe Find and Labraid.
 Three times fifty [stand] about each king,
 such is the great hall's size.

...

There before the entrance to the west,
 where the evening sun goes down,
 are grey horses with gleaming manes
 and others purple brown.

There before the entrance to the east
 are three trees of purple glass.
 From these trees birds always gently call
 to children of that kingly hall.

There is a tree at the hall's entrance;
 the singing from it is not unpleasant.
 Through the shining sun this silver tree
 gleams like gold in its brilliance.

Before [the hall] stand sixty trees.
 In touching their boughs touch not.
 From each tree three hundred feed
 on plentiful nuts which have no hulls.

In the *síd* hall is a well
 with three-times-fifty brook trout.
 On the side of each speckled trout
 is a fin of brilliant gold.

There stands a cauldron of spirited mead
 to share among those in the hall.
 They keep a custom there
 that it always shall be full.

Within the hall is a girl
 with flowing yellow hair,
 beautiful and skilled in arts,
 surpassing all Irish women.

...

Beautiful women, unsurpassed in virtue,
 are the daughters of Aed Abrat.
 Fand's form, renowned for brilliance,
 no king's queen has attained.
 (ll. 478-556).

Cú Chulainn journeys to the land of Lí Ban. There he fights Eogan Inbir and men summoned from Manannán. He defeats them all. In return, as promised, he is given Fand. He then sleeps with Fand and stays with her for a month. But after a month he decides to leave her and return to Emain Macha. Before he leaves, he makes a tryst to meet her again.

Before setting out to meet Fand, however, Cú Chulainn tells his wife Emer of the tryst. Emer demands to know why she is dishonored before all. Cú Chulainn explains that Fand is clean, fair, chaste, clever, and fit for a king. She is a girl from the waves beyond the fair seas, with beauty, grace, and nobility. Moreover, she has skills in embroidery and crafts. She has sense and wisdom, and is also steadfast. She has many horses and herds of cattle.

Emer accompanies Cú Chulainn to his tryst with Fand. Emer tells Fand and Cú Chulainn that all that is new is bright, all that is lacking is delight, whereas all that is familiar is neglected.

"Let him leave me then," Fand responds.

"It is more just that he leave me," replies Emer in turn.

"No," says Fand, "it is I who should be abandoned, though I have come through danger from afar to be with him." Fand has grown sad and faint of spirit. She feels ashamed that Cú Chulainn had already left her once before, after being with her but a month. The love that she has given Cú Chulainn troubles her, and she begins to lament.

Manannán then comes to retrieve Fand, since she has been dishonored. On perceiving him, Fand makes a lay.

When Manannán first brought me home
 I was a steadfast fitting wife.
 He gave me a bracelet of solid gold
 as the price of my maidenhead.

...

As for me, I got what I deserved.
 Foolish are the senses of women.

The one I loved exceedingly
has brought me to distress.
(ll. 783-806).

Fand then sets off with Manannán, who asks her if she really will come with him or would rather stay with Cú Chulainn. She answers that though she would rather stay with Cú Chulainn, she will go with Manannán since Cú Chulainn had abandoned her. She also goes with Manannán because he has no other wife, and his need is greatest. The druids give Cú Chulainn a drink of forgetfulness, so that he cannot remember Fand. Manannán then shakes his cloak between Cú Chulainn and Fand, that they may never meet again.

Cú Rói as Sucellos

In *Fled Bricrend*, Cú Chulainn competes with Lóegaire Buadach and Conall Cernach to see who will receive the *curadmir* “champion’s portion” of the boar at the feast (*fled*). They hold many contests and seek out many judges, in all of which Cú Chulainn is obviously the victor and the champion. But at the feast, Conall and Lóegaire refuse to admit that Cú Chulainn is the champion. Finally a huge peasant (*bachlach*) appears who is twice as tall as any normal man.

Horrible and ugly was the carl’s guise (*a innas in bachlaig*). Next to his skin he wore an old hide with a dark dun mantle around him, and over him [was] a great spreading club-tree (branch) the size of a winter shed, under which thirty bullocks could find shelter.... In his left hand [was] a stalk, a burden for twenty yoke of oxen. In his right hand [was] an axe weighing thrice fifty glowing molten masses [of iron]. Its handle would require a plough-team to move it. Its sharpness [was] such that it would lop off hairs [from] the wind blowing them against its edge. (Henderson 1899: 116-7).

Cú Rói requests of any of the warriors, “that I may cut off your head tonight; you cut off mine tomorrow night” (Henderson 1899: 120-1). When no one can be found to agree to this, he changes the condition. “[He] is to cut off my head tonight; I [am] to cut off his tomorrow” (1899: 98-9). First Munremur beheads the *bachlach*, who arises and takes his head, block, and axe, and leaves the hall. The next night he returns, but Munremur refuses to be beheaded in turn.

“Who of the warriors that contest Ulster’s Champion’s Portion (*cauradmir*) will carry out a covenant tonight with me? Where is Lóegaire Buadach?”, asked he. “Here,” said Lóegaire. He pledged him too, yet he would not keep his pledge. The *bachlach* returned the next day and similarly pledged Conall Cernach, who came not as he had sworn.” (1899: 124-5).

The *bachlach* returned the fourth night and requested that Cú Chulainn make a covenant with him.

“No covenant do I desire with you,” said Cú Chulainn. “Likely is that you wretched fly (*cuil*), greatly do you fear to die.” Whereupon Cú Chulainn sprang towards him and dealt him a blow with the axe, hurling his head to the top rafter.... Cú Chulainn again

caught up the head and gave it a blow with the axe and smashed it. Thereafter the *bachlach* rose up. (Henderson 1899: 124-5).”

The next night the *bachlach* appeared again to see if Cú Chulainn would be beheaded in turn.

Then Cú Chulainn stretched out his neck so that a warrior’s full-grown foot would have fitted between any two ribs; he distorted his neck till it reached the other side of the block. The *bachlach* raised his axe (*bial*) till it reached the roof-tree of the hall. The creaking of the old hide that was about the fellow and the crashing of the axe, both of his arms being raised aloft with all his might, were as the loud noise of a wood tempest tossed in a night of storm. Down it came then ... on his neck, its blunt side below.” (1899: 128-9).

Cú Chulainn then arose having attained the *rige laech nEirenn* “the sovereignty of the warriors of Ireland”. He had won the *curadmir gen chosnum* “the champion’s portion undisputed”. The text then goes on to state that “it was Cú Rói mac Dairi, who in that guise had come to fulfill his promise to Cú Chulainn” (1899: 128-9). Medb awards Cú Chulainn a goblet of precious metal full of wine.

In this guise Cú Rói is remarkably like Sucellos “the Good Striker”, who is portrayed with his axe or hammer in his left hand. In fact, Sucellos would be a good epithet for Cú Rói, who uses his axe to determine the champion. This suggestion is given credibility by the fact that Poseidónios apparently recorded a tale very similar to *Fled Bricrend* in Gaul toward the beginning of the first-century BC. Indeed, similar motifs occur in the same order in both *Fled Bricrend* and in the Poseidónios’s narrative from *Athenaeus* (IV, 40, 154).

And in former times ... when the hindquarters were served up, the bravest hero took the thigh piece, and if another man claimed it, they stood up and fought in single combat to death. Others in the presence of the assembly received silver or gold or a certain number of jars of wine, and having taken pledges of the gift and distributed among their friends and kin, lay stretched out face upwards on their shields; another standing by cut their throats with his sword. (Tierney 1960: 247).

As MacCana noted, Poseidónios probably recorded an earlier Gaulish version of the tale.

There are in fact good grounds for believing that there once existed an oral narrative which featured the *curadmir* and which constituted a lineal connection between Poseidónios source and the extant narrative of *Fled Bricrend* and *Scéla Mucce Maic Dathó*. (MacCana 1972: 91).

The significant fact about the beheading scene in *Fled Bricrend* is that Cú Rói is a development of Sucellos, the Gaulish Dis Pater, the god of the underworld. It is the very axe he uses to dispatch the dead which he here uses to determine the champion.

Welsh Manawydon, Bran, and Branwen: the Offspring of Llŷr

Bromwich (1961: 287) suggests that the name Branwen “White Crow” derives from *Bronwen “White Breast”. The name probably indicates the same goddess as Irish Boand “White Cow”. Branwen is a major character on the second tale of the *Mabinogi* (*Branwen Verch Lyr*; Thomson 1961). The details relating to Branwen are unimportant as they find few mythological parallels elsewhere. Only important is that her brothers are Bendigeit Vran “Bran the Blessed” and Manawydan. All are offspring of Llŷr, as Bromwich has noted.

Whatever may be the origin of the relationship, the Welsh Manawydan undoubtedly corresponds with the Irish sea-god Manannán mac Lir.... In other Irish tales (*Immram Brain, Serlige Con Culainn*) Manannán's mythological character is more apparent: he presides over the Otherworld Island to which Bran and Cú Chulainn are invited. (Bromwich 1961: 441-2).

As noted above, in Welsh tradition Bran Vendigeit and Manawydan, both sons of Llŷr, play roles similar to those of Conchobar and Cú Rói, both descended of the Dagda. Conchobar and Cú Rói are the controllers of the Upper and Lower Regions respectively. Thus Manawydan is apparently the Welsh equivalent of Cú Rói and was borrowed into the Irish repertoire at a comparatively late date as Manannán. Bromwich has noted that Bran is ultimately a deity as well, and of course he is cognate with the Bran of Irish tradition. Indeed, Bran also was probably borrowed from Wales into Ireland.

The portrayal of Bran Fendigaid in the second branch of the *Mabinogi* forcibly suggests that Bran is a euhemerized deity. His size is such that no ordinary house will hold him, he crosses the sea by wading, and carries his army on his back across the River Liffey. He is the possessor of a magical cauldron of regeneration, and after his death his dismembered head serves as a marvelous talisman for the satisfaction of all human needs, and when buried, it is a defence to his country. (Bromwich 1961: 284).

As with the character of Branwen, herself, little of the original mythological structure survives in these tales from the *Mabinogi*. Their debt to international folklore as well as Irish folklore genre has been dealt with by MacCana (1958) and Jackson (1961: 100-3). However, what is important here is not the narrative structure but the genealogical connections of the major players, which, like the names Mabon and Modron, are apparently ancient in origin. The fact that Branwen, Bran, and Manawydan are all the offspring of Llŷr suggests that Llŷr should be equatable with Dagda and Krónos. If so, the name Llŷr, Lir, "Sea" may relate to an Otherworld Island similar to that ruled over by Krónos, the Elysian Fields, on the extremes of the western ocean. Llŷr's island could then be the origin of the Otherworld Island of his son Manawydan.

Vedic Dyāuḥ; (Lower-Realm God), Índraḥ, and Váruṇaḥ

Dyāuḥ and Pṛthivī

As Sky Father, Dyāuḥ "Sky" (IEW: 184, KEWA II: 70-1; on connections to Zeús also see Hofmann 1950: 102) is the progenitor of many of the gods of the *Rig Veda*. The twin horsemen, the Aśvínau "Possessors of Horses" (functional cognates of the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux), are said to be the *nápātaḥ* "offspring" of Dyāuḥ. However, Agníḥ, the god of fire, is given special mention as the *sūnúḥ* "son" or *śísuḥ* "child" of Dyāuḥ (MacDonell 1897: 21). As we shall see, the Aśvínau were apparently developed from bynames for Agníḥ and Apām Napāt taken together as a pair. Dyāuḥ is also the father of Índraḥ (RV: 4, 72, 3), while Uṣáḥ "Dawn" is his daughter. The Angirasah, Parjanyaḥ, Sūryaḥ, the Marutaḥ, and the Ādityāḥ (Mitrāḥ, Váruṇaḥ, etc.) are all said to be the *putráḥ* "children" of Dyāuḥ (*putra* < **pu-tlo-s*; IEW: 842-3). His *putráḥ*, the Ādityāḥ are six in number in one hymn from the *Rig Veda* (2, 27, 1). These six are Mitrāḥ, Váruṇaḥ, and Amśah "the Apportioner" (RV: 2, 27, 1), as well as three amorphous deities, Dákṣah "the Dexterous, the Skillful" (KEWA II: 10), Aryamán- "Friend, Comrade", and Bhágaḥ "Dispenser, God" (whose cognates *Bagha-* in the

Avesta and *Bogu* in Old Church Slavonic simply mean “God”; MacDonell 1897: 43-5; KEWA II: 457-8; from IE **bhag-* “dispense”; IEW: 107).

The *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (1, 1, 9, 1) says there were eight rather than six Ādityāḥ, adding Indraḥ and Vivasvat- to the list. This inclusion of Indraḥ in the Ādityāḥ is supported by a passage in the *Rig Veda* (7, 85, 4) which also states that Indraḥ was one of the Ādityāḥ. That Indraḥ should be counted among the sons of Dyāuḥ seems without a doubt; perhaps he was even a son of Āditiḥ as well. Indraḥ’s filiation is probably what is implied by the above passages. Indraḥ’s usual inclusion among the Rudrāḥ during the period of the *Brāhmaṇas* (*Nirukta*: 7, 5; MacDonell 1897: 4, 19) and exclusion from the Ādityāḥ in much of the *Rig Veda* probably reflects a functional differentiation between Indraḥ and the celestial gods, rather than his genealogy. Indraḥ was a deity of the Middle Realm (*madhyamasthāna-*) rather than of the Upper Realm (*dyuṣṭhāna-*).

Āditiḥ thus gave her name to her celestial offspring the Ādityāḥ (RV: 8, 25, 3; 8, 10, 14). She was said to be also the mother of the Rudrāḥ (RV: 8, 90, 15). Strange to say, the same hymn says that she was a daughter of the Vāsavaḥ, perhaps a reflection of her status as an earth goddess. She is probably to be equated with Prthivī and Sārasvatī, both terrestrial goddesses (if not bynames for a single goddess). In the *Atharva Veda* (9, 1, 4) the mother of the Ādityāḥ is said to be Madhukāsa “Brilliant Mead” (*mādhu-* “honey, mead” < **medhu-* “honey, mead”; KEWA II: 570-2; IEW: 707). Madhukāsa was apparently another byname for Āditiḥ “the Infinite” (ie. “Not Bound”; Sanskrit negative prefix *a-* + *diti-* “bound”; KEWA I: 129; from the participle *ditá-* < IE **dā-tó-s-*; IEW: 183).

In the *Rig Veda* (1, 153, 3; 8, 90, 15; 10, 11, 1), Āditiḥ “is spoken of as a cow, and in the ritual a ceremonial cow is commonly addressed as Āditiḥ (MacDonell 1897: 121). *Sōma-* is the milk of Āditiḥ (RV: 9, 96, 15). Rudrāḥ is also said to be the father of the troop (*gana*) of the three times seven Marutaḥ (RV: 2, 33,1) by the cow Prśniḥ (RV: 5, 52, 10; 8, 83, 1). Thus, the Marutaḥ are called the *Gomātaraḥ* “Having a Cow for a Mother” (RV: 1, 85, 3). It seems most likely that Prśniḥ “the Speckled” (KEWA II: 336) is but another byname for Āditiḥ (Prśni - < **prk-n-*, a zero-grade suffixed form of **perk-* “speckled; speckled animal, salmon, cow” (IEW: 820-1; DPC: 128), giving Irish *erc* “speckled; salmon, cow”).

Āditiḥ is said to be both the mother and the daughter of Dākṣaḥ “the Skillful, the Clever” (RV: 10, 72, 4-5) (< IE **dek-* “good, capable”; IEW: 189-90; DPC: 94; giving Irish *dech* “the best” and Sanskrit *dākṣa-* “skillful”; KEWA II: 10). If Dyāuḥ is equated with Dākṣaḥ, then Āditiḥ is herself descended of Dyāuḥ. With Dākṣaḥ seen as a byname of Dyāuḥ one should note that the name is essentially cognate with the Irish deity-name Dagda, a deity functionally and developmentally equivalent to Dyāuḥ.

Āditiḥ grants her worshiper protection, welfare, and safety (RV: 10, 100; 1, 194, 13). She loosens the bonds of sin (RV: 7, 93, 7). All that is existent and nonexistent is said to come from the womb of Āditiḥ (RV: 10, 5, 7). All the gods are born of Āditiḥ, the Waters, and the Earth (RV: 10, 63, 2). MacDonell (1897: 46) sees Dākṣaḥ and Āditiḥ as universal parents, which would make them simply bynames for Dyāuḥ and Prthivī. The *Naighantuka* (5, 5) says that *Gāuḥ* “cow” and *Prthivī* “Earth” are synonyms for Āditiḥ (1897: 123).

Dyāuḥ “Sky” and Prthivī “Earth” are often paired in the *Rig Veda* as *Dyāvāprthivī* (1897: 21). Dyāuḥ is also referred to in the vocative as *Dyāuṣ Pítāḥ* “Sky Father”, while in the same line Prthivī is called in the vocative *Prthivī Mātar* “Earth Mother” (RV: 6, 51, 5). The name *Dyāuṣpitā* is in itself cognate with Greek *Zeūs patēr* and Latin Iuppiter (from *Iū-piter*; *Iu*, gen. *Iovis*) (IE: **djēus-ph₂tér* “sky-father” (NIL: 75, note 26; IEW: 184, 829). Prthivī derives from IE **plth₂-yih₂* “the Great, the Wide” or “the Earth” (KEWA II: 334; IEW: 833; DPC: 135).

The *Vedas* liken Dyāuḥ to a bull (RV: 1, 160, 3; 5, 36, 5). He is a red bull who bellows downwards. As the *Rig Veda* (5, 58, 6) states, “The waters are disturbed, the woods are shattered; let Dyāuḥ the Red Bull send his thunder downward” (*kṣódanta āpo riṇatē vānāny āvosríyo vṛṣabháh krandatu dyaúḥ*) (Aufrecht 1877: 375). Through being the *mahé yát pitrá*

“Mighty Father” (RV: 1, 71, 5; Aufrecht 1877: 60), he is the father of Índraḥ and called *Suretāḥ* “Rich in Seed” (RV: 4, 17, 4; MacDonell 1897: 21). Dyāuḥ’s seed is the rain, as a Vedic hymn (RV: 5, 17, 3) notes in comparing Agníḥ to the lightning which comes “*durch den Samen des Himmels*” (*divó ná yásya rétasā bṛhác chócanty arcáyah*) (Geldner: II, 18; Aufrecht 1877: 339). Here as well as elsewhere the rains are also spoken of as the “(*Ströme*) *des Himmelssamens*” (*divó ná yásya rétasó dúghānāḥ*) (RV: 1, 100, 3; Geldner: I, 128; Aufrecht 1877: 83). With Pṛthivī, Dyāuḥ is the progenitor of Agníḥ (RV: 4, 17, 4; 10, 5, 3). Agníḥ is said to make Dyāuḥ roar for men (RV: 1, 31, 4). Adorned with constellations, Dyāuḥ “Sky, Heaven” is likened to a black steed decked with pearls (*abhí śyāvām ná kṛśanebhir áśvaṃ nákṣatrebhiḥ pitáro dyām apinśan*) (Aufrecht 1866: 351; RV: 10, 68, 11). Dyāuḥ dwells in a lofty abode and smiles through the clouds (*kṛṣṇ_dhvā tápū raṇvás ciketa dyaúr iva smáyamāno nábhobhiḥ*) (RV: 2, 4, 6; Aufrecht 1877: 179).

Vedic Parjanyaḥ

Like Dákṣaḥ, Parjanyaḥ is probably an alternative name for Dyāuḥ. According to Pokorny (IEW: 818-9), Parjanyaḥ’s name derives from IE **per-g-*, a suffixed form of **per-* “to strike”, apparently with the additional suffix *-onjo-* (also see KEWA II: 222). Perhaps also possible is a derivation from **per-* “spray, squirt, blow” (IEW: 809). According to the *Rig Veda* (5, 83, 1), Parjanyaḥ is “a loud-roaring bull with swift-flowing drops, (who) places the germ seed in the plants” (*kánikradad vṛṣabhó jírádānū réto dadhāty óśadhīṣu gárbham*) (Aufrecht 1877: 389; Griffith 1896: 549).

The shedding of rain is his [Parjanyaḥ’s] most prominent characteristic.... The winds blow forth, the lightnings fall, when Parjanyaḥ quenches the earth with his seed (RV: 5, 83, 4).... As the shedder of rain Parjanyaḥ is naturally in a special degree the producer and nourisher of vegetation.... Parjanyaḥ places the germ not only in plants, but in cows, mares, and women (RV: 7, 102, 2), and [he] is invoked to bestow fertility (RV: 5, 83, 7; 5, 53, 16). He is the bull that impregnates everything.... His wife is by implication the Earth (RV: 5, 83, 4; 7, 10, 3).... He approximates the character of Dyāuḥ ..., whose son he is once called (RV: 7, 102, 1). (MacDonell 1897: 83-4).

Vedic Índraḥ

Índraḥ embodies the exuberance of life, of the cosmic and the biological energies; he unlooses the waters and he opens the clouds, quickens the circulation of the sap and the blood, governs all moisture, and ensures all fecundities. The text name him as the god “of a thousand testicles”, the “master of the field”, the “bull of the earth”, [and the] fertilizer of the fields, of animals, and of women. (Eliade 1960: 139).

As MacDonell has noted, some 250 hymns of the *Rig Veda* are dedicated to Índraḥ (Mittanian *Indar*; IE **Hi-n-dro-* “strong”; KEWA I: 88-9; IEW: 774), nearly one quarter of the total. In terms of sheer number of hymns, he is by far the most important god in the Vedas. “He is the dominant deity of the Middle Region” (MacDonell 1897: 54). All other gods yield to him in might and strength (RV: 3, 51, 7). Índraḥ, alone, is said to be king of the whole world (*bhúvanasya rájā*) (RV: 3, 46, 2). He is king of men and all moving creatures (RV: 5, 30, 5). As controller of the Middle Region, which in Vedic India included the clouds as well as the earth and waters, Índraḥ creates the lightning of heaven (RV: 2, 13, 7) and directs the waters in their downward ascent (*sá prācínān párvatān dṛṇhad ójasādhārācānam akṛṇod apām ápaḥ*) (RV: 2, 17, 5). It is also Índraḥ who settles the quaking of the earth and who sets at rest the

agitated mountains (*yáḥ pṛthivīm vyáthamānām ádṛṇhad / yáḥ párvatān prákupitān áramṇāt*) (RV: 2, 12, 2; 10, 44, 8).

Índraḥ has huge appetites at the sacrifice as well as gigantic sexual appetites. He drinks milk and honey (RV: 8, 4, 8), eats bull's meat (RV: 10, 28, 6), and consumes a hundred buffalo (RV: 6, 17, 11). Three hundred buffalo are roasted by Agníḥ for him (RV: 5, 29, 7). He also consumes offerings of cakes and grain (RV: 3, 52, 7; 3, 53, 3; 3, 43, 4; 1, 16, 2), as well as 30 lakes of *sóma-* (*sárāṇsi triṅśátam ... sómasya*) (RV: 8, 66, 4). He is overindulgent in *sóma-*. *Sóma-* enables him to perform great cosmic feats, such as supporting earth and sky (RV: 2, 15). He is the “*lippenöffnender Meister der Gwinne*” (*śíprin vājānām pate śácīvas táva dansánā*) (RV: 1, 29, 2; Aufrecht 1877: 21; Geldner 1951: 31).

His belly is often spoken of in connection with his powers of drinking *sóma-* (RV: 2, 16, 2). It is compared when full of *sóma-* to a lake (RV: 3, 36, 8). His lips ... are often referred to, the frequent attributes *Susípra-* or *Śíprin-* “fair-lipped”, being almost peculiar to him (as in 1, 29, 2). He agitates his jaws after drinking *sóma-* (RV: 8, 65, 10). (MacDonell 1897: 54-55).

Being the major deity of the Middle Region, Índraḥ is the universal monarch (*samrāj-*) (RV: 4, 19, 2) and the king of all things which move and of men (RV: 5, 30, 5). Índraḥ bestows manifold wealth on his worshippers (RV: hymn 10, 47), particularly cattle and horses (RV: 1, 16, 9). Índraḥ is likened to a bull, and he is the offspring of a cow (*gārṣṭeyó*) (RV: 10, 111, 2). He is also said to have the same father as Agníḥ (RV: 6, 59, 2), whose parents were Dyāuḥ and Pṛthivī. His father is also directly mentioned as Dyāuḥ (RV: 4, 17, 4; 4, 72, 3). However, in one hymn (RV: 4, 18, 12) his father is Tváṣṭā (*Tváṣṭar-*, KEWA I: 539), the artificer, who fashions the thunderbolt and whom Índraḥ kills to obtain *sóma-*.

Índraḥ's mother was also said to be Áditiḥ, for he is coupled in the dual with Váruṇaḥ as an Ádityāḥ (*Ádityā-*; RV: 7, 85, 4). The *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (1, 1, 9, 1) says there were 8 rather than 6 Ádityāḥ, adding Índraḥ and Vivasat. Áditiḥ is herself said to be a cow (RV: 1, 53, 3; 8, 90, 15; 10, 11, 1). In the *Atharva Veda* (3, 10, 12-3) the mother of Índraḥ and Agníḥ is said to be Ēkāṣṭakā (MacDonell 1897: 56), apparently another byname for Áditiḥ.

At Índraḥ's birth, his mother gives him *sóma-* to drink (RV: 3, 48, 2-3), and he sets the wheel of the sun in motion (RV: 1, 130, 9). Índraḥ has a staff, hook, or club, called the *aṅkuśáḥ* (< **ank-* “to bend, to bow”; IEW: 45), which he uses either to bestow wealth (RV: 8, 17, 10; AV: 6, 82, 3) or as a weapon (RV: 10, 44, 9). Índraḥ also controls and uses the thunderbolt, *vájra-* (< **uog-ro-* “strong”; IEW: 1117), fashioned for him by Tváṣṭā (RV: 1, 32, 2) or Kāvya- Usaná- (RV: 1, 121, 12). The *vájra-* is a weapon exclusively utilized by Índraḥ. The *vájra-* is sharp (RV: 7, 18, 10), and Índraḥ whets it like an ax, knife, or sword. It is said to be “metallic” *vájram āyasám* (RV: 1, 52, 8). In its construction there are four angles to it (RV: 4, 22, 2). Elsewhere, the thunderbolt is stated to be a stone (*ásman-*) or rock (*párvata-*) (RV: 7, 104, 19).

Índraḥ's distinctive epithet in the *Vedas* is *Vṛtrahá* (*Vṛtrahan-*), equivalent to *Vəṛathragnō*, the god of Victory in the *Avesta* (MacDonell 1897: 66). This byname *Vṛtrahā* is a definite reference to an exploit of Índraḥ. With his thunderbolt (*vájra-*) Índraḥ struck the *Vṛtráḥ*, the *áhiḥ*, a snake-like beast who encompassed the waters (RV: 6, 20, 2), lay around the waters (*parisayānam*) (RV: 14, 19, 2), or lay on the waters (RV: 5, 30, 60) (*Vṛtráḥ* “the Encloser [of the Waters]”; IEW: 1161; KEWA III: 247-8). Índraḥ slew the serpentine beast hidden within the waters, which obstructed the waters and the sky (RV: 2, 11, 5).

In slaying *Vṛtráḥ*, Índraḥ lets loose the streams (RV: 4, 19, 8). He is also said to cleave the mountain to let loose the streams, to take possession of the cows (the waters) (RV: 1, 57, 6; 10, 89, 7). With thunder for his weapon and all victorious might, Índraḥ lays open the great mountain and lets loose the obstructed torrents that they may flow.

Tvám tám Indra párvatam mahám urúm
 vájreṇa vajrin parvaśás cakartitha
 ávāsrjo nívr̥tāḥ sártavā apāḥ
 satrá víśvaṃ dadhiṣe kévalaṃ sáhaḥ.

You who have thunder for your weapon, Índraḥ, with your bolt
 you have shattered into pieces this broad massive cloud.
 You have sent down the obstructed floods that they may
 flow: you have, your own forever, all victorious might.
 (RV: 1, 57, 6; Aufrecht 1877: 49; Griffith 1896: 79).

Índraḥ slays the Dānaváḥ (RV: 5, 33, 1; from *dānu-* “fluid, flowing”; KEWA II: 33). He frees the sources of waters (RV: 5, 32, 1-2) and makes the seven rivers (*saptá síndhūn*) flow (RV: 1, 32, 12; 2, 12, 12). He opens the closed orifices of the waters in slaying Vṛtra (*apām bílam ápihitām yád āśīd vṛtrám jaghanvāṇ āpa tát vavāra*) (RV: 1, 32, 11). In this same hymn (RV: 1, 32, 1-2), Índraḥ is said to have slain the dragon lying on the mountain and to have pierced the belly of the mountain to release the waters.

Indrasya nú vīryāṇi prá vocaṃ
 yāni cakāra prathamāni vajrī
 áhann áhim ánv apás tatarḍa
 prá vakṣāṇā abhinat párvatānām

áhann áhim párvate śísriyāṇām
 tváṣṭāsmāi vájraṃ svaryāṃ tatakṣa
 vāśrā iva dhenávaḥ syāndamānā
 ānjaḥ samudrām áva jagmur āpaḥ.

I will declare the manly deeds of Índraḥ
 the first that he achieved, the Thunder-wielder.
 He slew the Dragon, then disclosed the waters,
 and cleft the channels of the mountain torrents.

He slew the Dragon lying on the mountain
 and cleft the channels of the mountain torrents.
 Like lowing cows, in rapid flow descending,
 the waters glided downward to the ocean.
 (Aufrecht 1877: 24; Griffith 1896: 43).

In opening the channels, his bolts are spread over ninety rivers (RV: 1, 80, 8). When Índraḥ slays Vṛtráḥ, all the other gods (except the Marutaḥ) run away through fear (see the *Marutvatīya Śāstra*; Keith 1920: 177). So too, all the others crouch in fear in the *Eddas* when Thórr is engaged in similar exploits.

Váruṇaḥ

(Here I deal only with certain aspects of Váruṇaḥ particularly those related to his role as the controller of the Upper Realm. For a contrast with Mitráḥ see the section on Mitráḥ/Váruṇaḥ).

According to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (11, 6, 1), Váruṇaḥ is the lord of the celestial universe. He is “the all-infinity that illuminates”, able to see all with immense knowledge. His commands determine the celestial movements and the circulation of the waters. He traces the sun’s path. Seated in the midst of heaven, “he surveys the places of punishment situated all around him” (MacDonell 1897: 23).

Váruṇaḥ is stated to be the *rājā* “king” of all, both gods and men (RV: 10, 132, 4). He is the *samrāj-* “the universal monarch”. He embodies the attribute of *kṣatrā-* “sovereignty” and is himself the *kṣatriya-* “ruler”. The term *ásura-* “lord” is specifically applicable to him (MacDonell 1897: 24). “[*Ásuraḥ*] is connected with Váruṇaḥ, alone or accompanied by Mitráḥ, more often than with Índraḥ and Agníḥ, and taking account of the proportion of hymns, it may be said to be specifically applicable to Váruṇaḥ.” (1897: 24). The term *māyā* “cult, craft, magic, illusion” is also specifically applicable to skills of Váruṇaḥ and Mitráḥ. All of the gods follow Váruṇaḥ’s law (RV: 8, 41, 7). He severely punishes those who infringe upon his natural law (RV: 7, 86, 4).

Kím āga āsa Varuṇa jyéṣṭham
yát stotāram jíghāṇsasi sákhāyam
prá tán me voco dūlabha svadhāvó
‘va tvānenā námasā turá iyām.
(Aufrecht 1863: 64).

What has been my chief transgression, Váruṇaḥ,
that you would slay the friend who sings your praises.
Tell me, Unconquerable Lord,
and quickly sinless will I approach you with my homage.
(Griffith 1897: 82).

He has *páśāḥ* “fettters, ropes” to bind those who tell lies or sin against his law (RV: 1, 24, 15; 1, 25, 21; 6, 74, 4).

Váruṇaḥ established heaven and earth and upholds the natural law of the universe (RV: 8, 42, 1). He regulates the seasons of the year and “the twelve moons with their progeny (the days)” (*véda māśó dhrtávrato dvādasā prajāvataḥ* (RV: 1, 25, 8; Aufrecht 1877, 17); he regulates the “year, month, and then the day, night, and holy verse” (*śarādam māśam ād áhar yajñám aktúm cād ṛcam*) (RV: 7, 66, 11; Aufrecht 1866: 51). The rivers flow unceasingly according to his rules (RV: 2, 28, 4). He is the lord of rivers (*síndhupatiḥ kṣatriyā*) (RV: 7, 64, 2). The seven rivers flow into the jaws of Váruṇaḥ (RV: 8, 58, 12). Váruṇaḥ clothes himself in the Waters and moves in their midst (RV: 9, 90, 2; 7, 49, 3). According to the *Taittirīya Samhitā* (6, 4, 3, 2), the Waters are the wives of Váruṇaḥ. Born of the Waters, he makes his abode within their midst (*Vājasaneyi Samhitā*: 10, 7). In the *Yajur Veda*, Váruṇaḥ is the *śíśuḥ* “child” of Waters (see MacDonell 1897: 26), a view which would equate the cow-like Áditiḥ with the Waters.

Avestan Ahurō Mazdā

Ahurō Mazdā (KEWA I: 65) commenced the initial act of creation on the first day of solar spring (March 21). Later *Naurōz*, the first day of spring and also of the new year, was celebrated as the festival of Ohrmazd (Ahurō Mazdā), the creator and dialectical twin of Mihr (Mithrō). *Naurōz* commemorated the day on which Ahurō Mazdā performed the sacrifice which produced the creation of the six major deities, the Yazatō (venerables), as well as the *xwarənah*- “royal halo” (**suel-* “sun, burn”; IEW: 881, see Dumézil 1971: 282-9). According to the *Bundahišn* (II), Aura Mazdā (KEWA I: 65) also created the earth and water, the universe, the paths of the sun, moon, and stars. On earth he set out a tree, a white ox, and a man Gayomart, who shone like the sun (*Zad-Spram*: II; *Bundahišn*: III, X, XIV; West 1880: 15-35).

Since *ahurō* is cognate with *asura* (KEWA I: 65), Dumézil (1948: 109) has proposed that the Avestan god Ahurō Mazdā corresponds to Váruṇaḥ, “*le grand Asura védique*”. To the Mazdeist, Ahurō Mazdā was the primal creator. Ahurō Mazdā was also said to be the father of Atarš “Fire”. In this, Ahurō Mazdā shows aspects of Vedic Dyāuḥ, who is the creator and also the father of Agníḥ “Fire”. Thus Ahurō Mazdā cannot be equated solely with Váruṇaḥ. Like the Greek god Zeús and the Scandinavian god Óðinn, Ahurō Mazdā is derived from the PIE gods who gave rise to both Dyāuḥ and Váruṇaḥ. Developmentally he is cognate with Váruṇaḥ, but he has taken on many other traits which are like Dyāuḥ. In Iran and Scandinavia the two earlier gods merged to form a single more powerful deity, leaving little vestige of the former independent Sky Father (except for Eddic Njordr and Borr). In Greece the Sky Father survived in Krónos and possibly in Ouranós, with Zeús having absorbed many of his attributes.

Greek {Ouranós-Krónos}; Hádēs, Poseidōn, and Zeús

Ouranós and Gaia; Krónos and Rhéā

According to Hēsíodos (*Theogonia*: ll. 116 ff.), in the beginning, Cháos came into being (*prōtista Cháos génet*). From Cháos sprang Gaia “Earth”, then Tartaros, the dark place in the depths of Chthónios “the Nether World”. Later, there followed Eros “Love”, Éreboš “Darkness”, and Nýx “Night”. From Nýx and Éreboš was then born Aithēr “Ether” and Hēmére “Day”. Nýx was also the mother of the Moiraí “the Fates”. Unaided, Gaia begot Ouranós “Sky” and Póntos “Sea”. Póntos was the father of Nēreús (*Theogonia*: l. 239), a sea god who was eclipsed by Poseidōn. Nēreús’s epithet was Gérōn “the Old One”. Nēreús was also the father of the Nērēídes.

According to Apollódōros (*Bibliothēkē*: I, 1; also see Hēsíodos), Ouranós “Sky” and Gaia “Earth” first produced Briareús, Gýēs, and Kóttos, collectively known as the Hekatoncheires “the Hundred Handed” (who are described as having fifty heads each), and Argēs, Sterópēs, and Bróntēs, collectively known as the Kýklōpes. The Kýklōpes are described as each having only one eye in the center of his forehead. Ouranós then cast these offspring into Tartaros in Hádēs. Ouranós and Gaia then produced the Tītanēs. The male Tītanēs were Ōkeanós, Koios, Hyperíōn, Kriós, Iapetós, and Krónos. The female Tītanēs (the Tītanidēs) were Tēthýs, Rhéā, Thémis, Mnēmosýnē, Phoíbē, Diónē, and Theía.

Gaia grieved for her ugly first children, whom Ouranós had cast into Hádēs, and convinced the Tītanēs, led by Krónos, to attack Ouranós. Krónos cut off Ouranós’s genitals with a flint sickle and threw them into the sea. From the drops of blood on the genitals were born the Furies: Alēktō, Tisiphónē, and Mégaira. From the foam (*aphros*) sprang Aphrodítē. Krónos then became king of all earth. His first act was to send the Kýklōpes back to Hádēs. His sister Rhéā became his consort. Tēthýs became the consort of Ōkeanós. Together Tēthýs and Ōkeanós produced all the Rivers of the world and the Ōkeanides (including Stýx and the other

river spirits). Thémis became the consort of Iapetós. Hyperíon and his consort Theía produced Hélios “the Sun”, Selénē “the Moon”, and Ēōs “the Dawn” (*Bibliothēkē*: I, 2-4; *Theogonia*: 371).

Rhéā, the consort of Krónos, was commonly identified with Kybélē (Rose 1959: 45), as in Nonnos (*Dionysiakōn*: X, 140), where she is referred to in the genitive as “*Kybelēidos ... Rheíēs*”. She, herself, is nearly indistinguishable from Gaia. Krónos and Rhéā then produced as female offspring Hestía, Dēmētēr, and Héra, and they produced as male offspring Plóútōn and Poseidōn. But Gaia and Ouranós warned Krónos that he would be overthrown by one of his sons. Krónos therefore swallowed all of Rhéā’s children as they were born (Hēsíodos *Theogonia*: 453 ff.). Since Krónos swallowed all these offspring, Rhéā went to Crete to bear Zeús, her third son, in a cave (Diodorus Siculus: V, 65). Rhéā gave Zeús to the Kouírētes to raise for her, and he was nursed by the nymphs Adrásteia and Áda, the daughters of Melisséus “Honey”. Zeús and Mētis (daughter of Ókeanós), or Rhéā herself, then beguiled Krónos into disgorging his offspring.

Zeús and his siblings next raised war against Krónos and the Tītanēs. Gaia prophesied that Zeús would be successful if he allied himself with the Kýklōpes. The Kýklōpes then gave Plóútōn a helmet; Poseidōn a trident; and Zeús thunder, lightning, and the thunderbolt (Hēsíodos *Theogonia*: 501 ff; Apollódōros *Bibliothēkē*: I, I, 6-7; I, II, 1). After a ten-year battle in which Zeús used the thunderbolt and the Hekatóncheires “Hundred Handed” threw stones, the gods then overthrew the Tītanēs and sent them to Tartaros with the Hekatóncheires as guards. According to Hēsíodos (*Erga kai Hēmerai*: ll. 168-74), Krónos was banished to rule over the Elýsion Pedíon “Elysian Fields”, the Isles of the Blessed in the western ocean (but also see Ovidius, *Metamorphoseon*, I, 113, *Saturno tenebrosa in Tartara misso*).

It is clear that Zeús’s battle with the Tītanēs bears a close similarity to the Dagda’s and Lug’s struggle with the Fomoiré “Under Sea” in the Irish *Cath Maige Tuired*. Also similar in theme are Ódinn’s and Thórr’s struggles with the frost giants, as outlined in Snorri’s *Edda*. These battles between the gods and the giants must date to the phase of PIE culture.

After Zeús banished the Tītanēs to Tartaros, Gaia next brought forth the monster Typhōeús. From his shoulders grew a hundred heads, [each like that] of a snake, a fearful dragon, [the heads had] ... dark, flickering tongues. From under the brows of his eyes in his marvelous heads flashed fire, and fire burned from his heads as he glared.... And truly a thing past help would have happened on that day, and he would have come to reign over mortals and immortals had not the father of men and gods [Zeús] been quick to perceive it.... Great Olympus reeled beneath the divine feet of the king [Zeús] as he arose and earth groaned thereat. And through the two of them heat took hold on the dark blue seas, through the thunder and lightning, through the fire from the monster, and the scorching winds and blazing thunderbolt. The whole earth seethed, and sky and sea; the long waves raged along the beaches round and about, at the rush of the deathless gods, and there arose an endless shaking.... So when Zeús had raised up his might and seized his arms, thunder and lightning and lurid thunderbolts, he leaped from Olympus and struck him, and [he] burned all the marvelous heads of the monster about him. But when Zeús had conquered him and lashed him with strokes, Typhōeús was hurled down, a maimed wreck, so that the huge earth groaned. And flame shot forth from the thunder-stricken lord [Typhōeús].... A great huge part of earth was scorched;... the earth melted in the glow of the blazing fire. And in bitterness of his anger Zeús cast him into wide Tartaros. (Hēsíodos: *Theogonia*, 819-30; Evelyn-White 1914: 138-9).

With the Tītanēs and Typhōeús banished, the gods could get on with their tasks. First was the division of the universe. As noted, the most important of the sons of Krónos are Zeús,

Poseidōn, and Hádēs. As Poseidōn said, “three brothers are we, begotten of Krónos and born of Rhéā ... and in three-fold wise are all things divided, and to each has been apportioned his own domain” (*treis gár t’ek Krónou eimèn adelpheoí hoùs tèketo Rhéa ... trichthà dè pánta dédastai, hékastos d’ émmore timēs*) (*Iliad* XV: ll. 187-93; Murray 1925: II, 120-1). The *Iliad* describes how the three gods cast lots. Zeús got dominion of the Sky (the Upper Realm) “the broad heaven amid the air and the clouds” (*ouranòn eurýn en aithéri kai nephélēsi*), Poseidōn got dominion of the Sea (*hála*) (the Middle Realm), and Ploutōn or Hádēs won “the murky darkness” (*zōphon ēeróenta*) of the underworld (the Lower Realm).

The major gods descended from Ouranós were thus Krónos, Rhéā, and Aphrodītē. Descended from Krónos were Zeús, Poseidōn, Hádēs, Hestía, Héra, and Dēmētēr (Hēsíodos, *Theogonia*: 453-8). Descended from Zeús were Hephaistos, Hermēs, Árēs, Apóllōn, Athēna, Ártemis, and Persephónē. Hádēs and Persephónē lived in the underworld. Excluding Krónos, Rhéā, Hestía, and Persephónē, the above gods then constituted the twelve Olympian gods. But there were other gods. Pán wandered the mountains. Amphitritē was the wife of Poseidōn (elsewhere Dēmētēr). As noted above, the Greek gods included various river gods and nymphs, as well as Hélios “the Sun”, Selénē “the Moon”, and Ēós “the Dawn”.

Greek Ploutōn and Persephónē; Roman Dispater and Proserpina (Flora)

It may be significant that Dēmētēr’s first husband was supposedly Poseidōn, master of horses and ruler of the sea, the Middle Realm in Greek tradition. According to the *Homeric Hymn to Dēmētēr* (*Eis Dēmétran*) and Hēsíodos (*Theogonia*: 912ff.), however, Persephónē was the daughter of Zeús and Dēmētēr, not the daughter of Poseidōn and Dēmētēr. The Homeric Hymn *Eis Dēmétran* describes that Dēmētēr’s daughter was attracted to flowers.

She was playing with the deep-bosomed daughters of Ōkeanós and gathering flowers over a soft meadow, roses, crocuses, beautiful violets, irises also, and hyacinths; and the narcissus, which earth made to grow at the will of Zeús and to please the Host of Many, [would] ... be a snare for the blooming girl, a marvelous, radiant flower. (Evelyn-White 1914: 288-9).

Then the Son of Krónos (Hádēs, Ploutōn) with his immortal horses sprang out from the yawning earth to steal the girl. According to Ovidius (*Fasti*: IV, ll. 419 ff; *Metamorphoseon*: V, ll. 346 ff; see Fraser 1921: 34-5), Dis, the god of the Underworld or Lower Realm, fell in love with Persephone (Latinization of Persephónē, also Proserpina) and abducted her from Sicily, again while she was gathering flowers (*Metamorphoseon*: V, ll. 392, 553). So too, in Irish tradition Bláthnat “Little Flower” was first carried off from the Fer Falgae, which a gloss equates to the Fer Manann (supposedly inhabiting the Isle of Man), and then she was abducted by Cú Rói.

Thus as the tale in *Metamorphoseon* (V, ll. 438 ff.) and *Bibliothēke* (I, v, 1-5) narrates, Ploutōn takes Persephónē to the underworld, while Dēmētēr searches for her daughter, wandering about (to Eleusis, etc., where she holds Keléos’s child in the fire hoping to make it immortal). Dēmētēr refuses to bless the harvest, bringing on winter and infertility to the world. To save the earth, Zeús orders Ploutōn to send up Persephónē, but Ploutōn gives her a pomegranate to eat before she leaves, an action witnessed by Askaláphos.

Dēmētēr punishes Askaláphos for this deed of witnessing Persephónē’s eating the pomegranate by turning him into an owl (Ovidius: *Metamorphoseon*, V, ll. 548-50), just as in the *Mabinogi*, Lleu turns Blodeued (Blodewedd) into an owl. Because she was witnessed

eating the pomegranate, Persephónē is compelled to spend a third of every year with Plóútōn, although the rest of the year she may dwell with Dēmētēr, her mother, as well as the rest of the gods (Apollódōros, *Bibliothēkē*: I, v, 3; Fraser 1921: 40-1).

Persephónē was often known as Persephónē-Kórē “the Girl Persephónē” or simply Kórē “the Girl” (GEW I: 920; Hofmann 1950: 154; IEW: 577). Kórē Soteira “the Saviour” was worshipped at Cyzicos and Erythrae. According to Farnell (1907: III, 198), “Kórē was called ‘the Saviour’ because of the blessings she dispensed to her *mystae* after death; and we may bear in mind the same mystic use of *soteria* or ‘salvation’ occurred in later Dionysian-Attis rites”. As an aspect of Persephónē’s role as Queen of the Underworld, suckling pigs were thrown into a subterranean shrine in her honor (1907: III, 118). In connection with this underworld cult, associated with burials are inscriptions on lead tablets, such as: “I commit this tomb to the guardianship of the nether divinities, to Plóútōn, Dēmētēr, Persephónē, and the Erinýes” (Farnell 1907: III, 65).

The Grecian spring-time festival, the Thesmophória, was in honor of Dēmētēr and Persephónē. Farnell (1907: III, 101) mentions “the exclusion of men, the sexual license, the beating of rods”. The Latin goddesses equivalent to Persephónē and Dēmētēr were Flōra “the Blooming One” and Bona Dea “the Good Goddess”. At the advice of the Sybil, the Romans dedicated a temple to Flora on April 28 in 238 BC. They also annually celebrated games on her account, the *Ludi Florales* (Ovidius, *Fasti*: 5, 329 ff.).

As noted, the name of the Gaulish goddess Nantosvelta perhaps refers to the portion of the mythological realm over which she supposedly presides. The *nanto-* “valley” (DPC: 283) possibly referred to in Gaulish deity name **Nantosvelta* would then be equivalent to the Elýsion Pedíon of Greek tradition at the western ends of the earth bordering on Ōkeanós (*Odyssey*: IV, 563). Hēsíodos (ca. 700 BC) also refers to the nymphs Aíglē, Erytheia, and Hesperéthousa Boōpis (“Ox-eyed”), who supposedly live on an island in the far west beside Ocean (Evelyn-White 1914: 280-1). They live near the Islands of the Blessed, where happy souls dwell and keep guard over a magic orchard with fruits of the gods. So too, Hēsíodos (*Erga kai Hēmerai: Opera et Dies* II. 168-74) refers again to these Isles of the Blessed.

But to others [of the heros of the Trojan wars] father Zeús, the son of Krónos, gave a living and an abode apart from men, and [he] made them dwell at the ends of earth. And they live untouched by sorrow in the Islands of the Blessed along the shores of deep swirling Ocean, happy heros for whom the grain-giving earth bears honey-sweet fruit bearing twice a year, far from the deathless gods, and Krónos rules over them. (Evelyn-White 1914: 15).

The fifth-century BC Greek poet Píndaros (*Olympian*: II, 67-77 and *Fragments* 129-130) also describes this otherworld “Isle of the Blessed”, which is strikingly reminiscent of realm controlled by Manannán (see section on The Otherworld and the Concept of Transmigration of the Soul).

Poseidōn and Dēmētēr

[Poseidōn] belongs to the Olympian dynasty, claiming equality with Zeús, having the sea allotted to his realm; ... he is the giver of famous horses and is learned in horse craft; he is the father of monsters like Polýphēmos, ... which agrees with his wild and stormy character; he is *Ennosígaios* and *Enosíchthōn*, the earthquake-god, the shaker of land, the destroyer of the rampart on the shore; he is worshipped with the sacrifice of bulls, lambs, and boars, and even far inland an oar may be erected ... in his honor.... In Pindar (Píndaros) and Aeschylus we find him recognized as a deity, not only of the sea, but of the rivers also and fresh streams. Lastly, the genial prayer of Aristophánēs

sums up most of the traits with which the popular imagination depicted the god: “Hail King Poseidōn, the God of Horses, you love the tramp and neighing of the brazen-shod steeds, the swift triremes with their dark-blue beaks of onset, and the strife of youths who glory and suffer hardship in the chariot-race, Lord of the Golden Trident, and Fosterer of Dolphins.” (Farnell 1907: IV, 4).

Poseidōn (Doric Poteidán) was the Greek “God of Tremors” (Fox 1987: 235); he was the god of earthquakes, water, and the sea (OCD: 866-7). He can thus be seen to be the god of the Middle Region and bears a clear relationship to Irish Fergus. Like Fergus in the *Táin*, in the *Iliad* Poseidōn is said to have a huge sword. “Then when they had clothed their bodies in gleaming bronze, they set forth, and Poseidōn, the Shaker of Earth, led them, bearing in his strong hand a dread sword, long of edge, like unto the lightning” (*Iliad*: XIV: 383-5; Murray 1925: II, 94-5).

The name *Poseidōn* (*Poteidán*) appears to be a combination of *pósis* “husband” (EDG: 1225) and *dā* (*dan*) “earth” (relatable to *gē* < **gǵhō*; *gǵhōm*) (but EDG: 269 doubtful), variants of the apophonic forms **ghǵhem-*, **ghǵhom-*, *ghǵhm-* “earth” (IEW: 414; GEW II: 583) (**d^hg^h-ém-*, **dhégh-om-*, **d^hg^h-m-*: NIL: 86-7). This name seems to reflect that the Dorians believed that his first consort was Damátēr. His epithets were Híppios “Lord of Horses”, Enosíchthōn and Ennosígaios “Earth Shaker”, and Gaiéochos “Possessor of the Earth (Goddess)” (on the epithets see Farnell 1907: IV, 5 ff.). In connection with the sea he was Epaktaios “on the Shore”, Pelágios “of the Sea”, Petraios “of the Rocks”, Póntios “of the Sea”, Phýkios “God of Sea-weed”, Póρθmios “Sea-man”, and Prosklýstios “Wave-washed”.

Also like Irish Fergus (son of Roech “Great Horse”), Poseidōn has other epithets associating him with horses: Hippokourios and Hippogetēs “Leader of Horses”. In connection with his epithet Hippios, he fathered Pégasos on Médousa (Medusa) the Gorgon. According to Pausanias (8, 8, 2), Arcadian legends said that Krónos was tricked into swallowing a foal rather than swallowing the young Poseidōn. So too, in horse-form Poseidōn mates with Dēmētēr. The Illyrians threw a horse into the sea to honor Poseidōn. Poseidōn supposedly produces the first horse by smiting a rock (Farnell 1907: IV, 15). Although horses were sacrificed to Poseidōn, the bull was the predominant animal sacrificed to him (1907: IV, 26). Hēsíodos describes him as “the Bull-god, the Earth-Shaker” (1907: IV, 33).

Other epithets include Phytálmios “Nourisher” (Plutarchus, *Quaestiones Convivales*: 675 f.), where he seemed to play the role of a god of vegetation, for he was also known as the Krēnouchos “God of Waters” (*krēnē* “well, spring”). In connection with the waters, he was called Nymphagētēs “Leader of Nymphs”. As the god of fertilizing streams, the first fruits were offered to him at Troezen, and grain offerings were made to him at Athens. Thus he was Poseidōn Chamaízēlos “Ground-seeking” (Farnell 1907: IV, 6-7). With a stroke of his trident Poseidōn could call forth the stream from a rock, as Pégasos, the Poseidōn-horse, could bring forth water by stomping his hoof (IV, 21-30).

Poseidōn was a god of the people, being called Laoítas “God of the People”, Genésios “the Progenitor”, Phrátrios “God of the Phratry”, and Patrígénios (*Patrígaios*) “Progenitor of the Fathers”. He was Helikōnios “God of the Helikōn”; he was also Poliouchos “Holder of the City” and Dōmatítēs “Builder of the House”; he was called Basileús “the King”.

In the *Iliad* (XXI, 441 ff.), Apóllōn and Poseidōn supposedly worked for a year in servitude to Lāomédōn, father of Príamos, and built the walls around Troy. The reason for Poseidōn’s exile and servitude was his rebellion against Zeús (just as Irish Fergus is exiled into servitude with Medb for his rebellion against Conchobar, the Irish equivalent of Zeús). Héra, Athēna, and Poseidōn sought to bind Zeús, but Thétis came to his aid with Briareús, one of the Hekatóncheires (*Iliad*: I, 396-406). To atone for this rebellion, Héra was hung by her wrists by golden bracelets with an anvil about each ankle (*Iliad*: XV, 15-45). Poseidōn went into exile and servitude (see Rose 1959: 54, 66). According to the Scholiasts on the *Iliad* (XXI, 444),

Apóllōn went with him. Indeed in the *Iliad*, Poseidōn assists the Greeks against Zeús's will, partly in hatred of his servitude to Lāomédōn, who refused to pay him, but partly as an aspect of his continuing independence from Zeús.

According to Hēsíodos (*Theogonia*: l. 930), Amphitrítē (<*ambhi- <*h₂emb^hi- on both sides" and *trīto- "sea"; DPC: 32; IEW: 34, 1096; Hofmann 1950: 17) is the wife of Poseidōn, by whom she bears Trítōn. Here she is called a Neriad (ll. 243, 254). The *Odyssey* (III, 91; V, 422; XII, 60, 97) only mentions her as a sea goddess and does not mention her consort.

In early times [Poseidōn] was ... [probably] associated with Gaia at Delphi, the fertilizing water-god being regarded as the natural consort of the earth-goddess; as we find him united with Tilphossan Erinýs in the territory of the Minyan Haliantos and with Thelpusan Dēmētēr in Arcadia, both being merely disguised forms of Gaia. (Farnell 1907: IV, 27).

According to Farnell (1907: IV, 181, 187-8), the cavern at Delphi would have originally been consecrated to Gaia or Gē-Thémis (Gē = Megálēn Theón; Pausanias: 1, 31, 4), with the serpent Pýthōn as her embodiment and probably Poseidōn as a husband (in his role as Gai_ochos "Earth Upholder"). It is perhaps noteworthy that the Delphic oracle was always a woman. The oracle received her inspiration from drinking the sacred spring.

Perhaps Dēmētēr is to be equated with the *Potiniya Iqeja* "Mistress of Horses" found on a tablet from Pylos. As Burkert (1985: 44) has noted, Erinýs "Fury", the goddess byname of Dēmētēr, appears to be mentioned in a linear B tablet from Knossos. This Dēmētēr Erinýs is reminiscent of Irish Mórrígan (Boand), for Dēmētēr Erinýs also inspired battle rage besides being the goddess of the grain. From Mycenae there is a goddess-name *Sitopotiniya* "Mistress of Grain" (Burkert 1985: 44; PY An 1281, MY Oi 781), almost certainly equatable with Dēmētēr. The linear B tablets show that Poseidōn (*Poseda[one]* in the dative; KN V 52; GEW II: 583) had a consort *Posedaeja*. For this archaic Poseidōn there was a special ceremony, "the spreading of the bed" *reketorterijo = lechstroterion* (PY Fr 343), perhaps indicating a marriage ceremony (1985:44). A tablet from Pylos (PY Un 718) lists as gifts "for Poseidaon", "wheat, wine, a bull, ten cheeses, a ram's fleece, and honey" (Burkert 1985: 46).

In Arcadian tradition Dēmētēr was the consort of Poseidōn. Plutarchus (*Quaestiones Convivales*: 4, 4, 3) lists him as "the Shower of Dēmētēr's Temple (*Dēmētros Synnaos*)". The Dēmētēr Erinýs "Dēmētēr the Fury" (from Thelpusa) and the horse-headed Dēmētēr Melaínas "the Black Dēmētēr" (from Phigaleia) mate with Poseidōn in horse shape, in spite of the fact that each had become a mare in hopes of avoiding his overtures.

Disheartened at not finding Persephónē, Dēmētēr was not inclined to yield to Poseidōn's advances without a struggle. She changed herself into a mare, but Poseidōn turned himself into a stallion and covered her (see Píndaros *Pythian Odes*: VI, 50). Supposedly, this pair Poseidōn and the Dēmētēr of Phigalia thus became the parents of the wild horse Aríōn and the local horse goddess Déspoina (Pausanias: 8, 25, 3-5 ff.; 8, 42, 1 ff.). These were not Dēmētēr's most famous offspring. Dēmētēr's most important ritual role was as the mother of Persephónē, otherwise known as Kórē "the Virgin". Nonetheless, the Phigalians consecrated a temple in a cave to this horse-like Dēmētēr; this temple held a statue of Dēmētēr bearing a horse head. Petersmann (1987: 180) sees Déspoina "Mistress", the daughter of Poseidōn and Dēmētēr, as a variant of Persephónē. According to Farnell (1907: III, 31-2), the worship of the Megálē Mētēr, Kybélē, was associated with the cult of Déspoina and Dēmētēr in Arcadia. In his work *Helena*, Euripídēs directly identified Dēmētēr with Kybélē.

In the Irish *Serlige Con Culainn*, Dagda is the father of Fand (equivalent to Persephónē), although her earth-goddess mother Flidais (Boand) is wedded to Fergus (equivalent to Poseidōn). So too, according to Hēsíodos (*Theogonia*: ll. 912-13), Zeús is Persephónē's father, not Dēmētēr's husband Poseidōn. According to Hēsíodos (*Theogonia*: 969 ff.),

Dēmētēr also lies with Iasíōn to produce Ploutos (*ploutos*: “wealth, riches”), the god of wealth, to whom Dēmētēr sends those she favors. In the *Odyssey* (5, 125 ff.) when Zeús hears of this, he kills Iasíōn with a thunderbolt.

Ploutos is obviously connected to Plóútōn “the Rich One”, the Lord of the Dead and the husband of Persephónē. If Plóútōn is seen as a byname of Hádēs, however, one must recall that Hádēs is the son of Krónos and the brother of Zeús. Hēsíodos also uses the byname Hádēs (Aidēs, Aidōneūs) (*Theogonia*: ll. 768, 913) to describe the Lord of the Dead as the husband of Persephónē. However, if Ploutos is indeed the son of Iasíōn, one could not identify him with Hádēs.

The Dorian variant of Dēmētēr is Damátēr, probably a compound of *dā* “earth” (<IE *d^hég^h-o- “earth”; IEW: 414; NIL: 86-7; EDG: 324) and *mātēr*, *mētēr* “mother”. Petersmann (1987: 176-7) relates the forms *Dēmētēr*, *Damētēr*, *Damátēr*, *Dammátēr* to Thessalian *Dōmátēr* (GEW I: 379). In turn, he relates *Dōmátēr* to the reduplicated name of the Illyrian earth goddess *Dōdōna* as found in Strabo (8, 5, 3) and Pausanias (10, 12, 10). *Dōdōna* can then be analyzed as *dō-dō-ona*, with the reduplicated *dō-* as a *Lallnamen* for earth, “*die Verbindung eines Lallnamens für die Erde (Gaia) mit dem suffix -nā*” (Petersmann 1987: 178; but Frisk, GEW I: 379, suggests that *dōm-* derives from **dms-*, gen. of **dem-* “house”).

Dēmētēr controls the fruits of the earth, especially the grain. Pausanias (8, 53, 7) records her byname Karpophóros “Fruit Bringer”. She was also known as Anesidóra “Sender-up of Gifts” (1, 31, 4). A hymn preserved by Kallímachos, the *Hymnus in Cererem*, (*Kallimachou Hymnoi: eis Dēmétrā*: VI, ll. 134 ff.) ends with the following request.

Hail, Goddess, ... save this people in harmony and in prosperity, and in the fields bring us all pleasant things! Feed our cows, bring us flocks, bring us the corn-ear, bring us harvest, and nurse peace, that he who sows may also reap. Be gracious, O thrice-prayed-for, great Queen of Goddesses (*méga kreíōisa Theáōn*)! (Mair 1921: 134-5).

The bull, the cow, and the pig were sacrificed to Dēmētēr; also sacrificed to her were the first crops, fruits and cereals (Farnell 1907: III, 32, 44). In Athens some of Dēmētēr’s duties were kept by Athēna, originally the local earth goddess. Athēna taught the Athenians the use of the plow. The *Heirós Arotos* “Rites of the Cornfield” were carried out below the old city (Farnell 1907: III, 40). Dēmētēr was also a goddess of childbirth. At Athens Dēmētēr was known as “Cherisher of Children” (1907: III, 65).

In dealing with the cycle of fertility and infertility of earth in the yearly cycle of summer and winter, Dēmētēr became associated with the underworld as well as the earth’s surface. As an attribute of this underworld aspect, in Arcadia the serpent was regarded as a symbol of Dēmētēr (Farnell 1907: IV, 44). According to Plutarchus (*de facie in orbe lunae*: 943b), the Mysteries of Agrae took place in the spring and led up to the summer harvest. The Mysteries of Eleusis took place in the early autumn (see OCD: 324). Both dealt with the cycle of rebirth and immortality, associated with both the grain and human generations. The rites of Eleusis were performed by a priestess, and men had no part in them. These rites included merry-making, license, and games, as well as offerings of cereals and fruits. The Halōa threshing festival in her honor (Alōás “Goddess of the Threshing Floor”) was held at Midwinter, but it seems to have originally been a harvest festival (Farnell 1907: III, 46).

Zeús and his Consorts

Zeús’s name derives from IE **djēus* “luminous (sky); the heavens or the luminous day” (EDG: 498; IEW: 184; GEW I: 610-11; Hofmann 1950: 102). PIE also contained a compound form of this root **djēus* in **djēusph₂tér* “sky father” (NIL: 75 note 26) as survives in Greek Zeús patēr (vocative Zeũ páter). The correlatives are Sanskrit Dyāuḥ “Sky” and Dyáuspitā

(voc. Dyáušpítah), Latin Iuppiter, Old Latin Diovis, Latin Diēspiter (Vēdiovis: underworld god), and Illyrian Deipatyros (IEW: 184; Euler 1987: 37-8). A linear-B tablet from the archives at Pylos contains a list detailing the dispatch of gifts to various sanctuaries, including those destined for the “Zeús Sanctuary”, to be dedicated to “Zeús, Hēra, and Drimios the son of Zeús” (PY Tn 316; Burkert 1985: 43). The goddess consort of Zeús is referred to as *Diwija*.

Zeús’s main role in Greek literature is to provide the life-giving rains to earth. Thus, it is he who controls the thunderbolt. In this capacity he takes on not only the role of Vedic Dyáušpítah and Índraḥ (who controls thunder) but also that of the Irish Dagda. Yet unlike these other two gods, Zeús is also the controller of the Upper Region, a role reserved in Ireland for Conchobar and a role reserved in India for Váruṇah. Moreover, in each of these regions this Upper-Realm leadership role is distinctly not a role of the Sky Father.

Thus Zeús is either a Sky-Father god who has usurped the role reserved in India for Váruṇah, or Zeús is the Greek equivalent of Váruṇah, who has apparently stripped traits from the original Sky-Father, as represented by Krónos and Ouranós. Since Krónos and Ouranós preserve other aspects of the Sky-Father god which are found in Dyāuḥ and Dagda, it seems most likely that Zeús corresponds developmentally to Váruṇah. Clearly, however, Zeús has stripped attributes from Krónos and Ouranós. Like Germanic Óðinn, Zeús plays the dual role of Sky-Father and the Controller of Heaven (although Óðinn does not control the thunder).

The *Iliad* (VIII: 10-27) emphatically states that Zeús is the most powerful of gods.

Nay come make trial, you gods, that you all may know. Make fast from heaven a chain of gold, and lay hold thereof, all you gods and all goddesses; yet you could not drag out of heaven Zeús the counsellor most high, not though you labored sore. But when so I were minded to draw of a ready heart, I should draw you with the wide earth itself, [and the] sea besides; and should I thereafter bind the rope about a peak of Olympus, all those things should hang in space. By so much am I above gods and above men. (Murray 1924: I, 340-1).

The *Orphicorum Fragmenta* (Kern 1922: 58) says that when Rhéa warned her son Zeús not to marry because of his lustful nature, he threatened to violate her. She changed into a snake to protect herself, but Zeús did likewise and had her anyway. Zeús went on to marry several wives. Hēsíodos (*Theogonia*: 886, 901, 921) and Apollódōros (*Bibliothēkē*: I, 3) state that Mētis “Wisdom”, the daughter of Ōkeanós, was Zeús’s first consort. But Mētis was prophesied to bear a god who should rule the gods. Thus Zeús attempted to thwart the birth of a rival. At the conception of Athēna, Zeús swallowed her and kept “Wisdom” within him. Athēna was later to be born from Zeús’s head. Zeús’s next consort was Thémis “Law” the daughter of Ouranós. It is Thémis who rescued Zeús from the rebellion of Athēna, Hēra, and Poseidōn. By Thémis, Zeús engendered the Moirai (Fates): Klōthō, Láchesis, and Atropos; and the Seasons, Peace, Order, and Justice.

But Zeús had many other paramours as well. By Euryνομē, daughter of Ōkeanós, Zeús engendered the Chárites. According to Apollódōros, by Stýx, daughter of Ōkeanós, Zeús engendered Persephónē, but undoubtedly Hēsíodos (*Theogonia*: 912) and the *Homeric Hymn to Dēmētēr* (1 ff.) are correct in seeing Dēmētēr as her mother. Considering that the equivalent Irish goddess Boand gave her name to the River Boand, it is possible that the river Stýx and the goddess Dēmētēr were at one point the same entity. By mating with Diónē, Zeús supposedly begot Aphrodítē, but according to Hēsíodos (*Theogonia*: 188 ff.), she was engendered by the sea-foam about Ouranós’s severed genitals.

For nine days in Pieria, Zeús lay in intercourse with Mnēmosýnē, daughter of Ouranós. For these nine days she bore him nine daughters, all of one mind. Thus did Zeús engender the muses: Kalliópē, Kleiō, Tháleíá, Terpsichórē, Melpoménē, Eutérpē, Polýmniá, Ouraníē, and Erató (*Theogonia*: ll. 53-80). By lying with Lētō, Zeús engendered Apóllōn and Ártemis. By

Maía “Foster Mother”, daughter of Átlas, Zeús engendered Hermēs (see the *Homeric Hymn to Hermēs*; *Theogonia*: ll. 937-8)). Last of all, Zeús married his sister Hēra “Protectress”, daughter of Krónos (Hēra < *ser- “keep, preserve”; IEW: 910; but EPG: 524 doubtful). By Hēra he begot Hēbē (wife of the deified Hēraklēs, who at the end of his labors joined the immortal gods in Olympos; *Theogonia*: 949-55). Also by Hēra, Zeús begot Eileíthya (Goddess of Childbirth), and Árēs (Apollódōros, *Bibliothēkē*: I, 3, 1). In this sexual progenitor role, Zeús corresponds to Vedic Dyāuḥ, Irish Dagda, and the original PIE Sky-Father.

The *Iliad* describes the ritual mating of Zeús and Hēra.

Therewith the son of Krónos clasped his wife in his arms, and beneath them the divine earth made fresh-sprung grass to grow, and dewy lotus, crocus, and hyacinth, thick and soft, that bare them up from the ground. Therein lay the pair and were clothed about with a cloud, fair and golden, wherefrom fell crops of glistening dew. (*Iliad*: XIV: 346-51; Murray 1925: II, 92-3).

According to Hēsíodos (*Theogonia*: 56), Zeús’s special weapon was the thunderbolt, which only he might wield. He also wore the *aegis* as a sort of protective shield or garment. Hēsíodos (*Erga kai Hēmerai*: 256 ff.) invokes Zeús as the protector of law and morals, and he places at Zeús’s side Díkē “Justice”, who reports the wrong-doings of men. Zeús ordered the heavenly bodies, enforced oaths, and gave laws. According to Kállímachos (*Hymnoi I: Eis Dia*: ll. 75-80), kings were especially associated with Zeús. Here then Zeús is more like Vedic Várūṇaḥ and Irish Conchobar.

Smiths ... belong to Hēphaístos; to Árēs [belong] warriors; to Ártemis of the Tunic [belong] huntsmen; to Phoibos [belong] they that know well the strains of the lyre. But from Zeús come kings; for nothing is diviner than the kings of Zeús. (Mair 1921: 44-5).

Zeús has many bynames. For the most part, I have followed Farnell’s suggested interpretation for the significance these epithets (though I have cross-checked his suggestions against Liddell and Scott 1889, Hofmann 1950, and Frisk 1960 ff.). Thus, Zeús is known as Krētagenōs “Cretan-Born” (Farnell I: 36) and Némeios “Nemian” (I: 63). He is Hyétios “Rain Giver” (I: 44), Ómbrios “Rain-maker” (I: 42), Ikmaios “(Giver) of Moisture” (I: 44), Brontōn “Thunderer” (I: 44), Kataibátēs “Descending in Lightning” (I: 46), Maimáktēs “Stormy” (I: 64), Keraúnios “Wielding Thunder” (I: 44), Oúrios “God of Fair Winds” (I: 44; Hofmann 1950: 245), Astērios, Asterōpaios, “Starry, Star-Faced” (Farnell I: 44), Leukaios “the Brilliant” (I: 43), and Lýkeios “the God of Light” (I: 41-3). He is Amários, Ēmarios “God of the Day” (I: 43) and Panāmérios, Panēmérios “God of the Whole Day” (I: 43).

He is Kosmētās (*Kosmētēs*) “Director” (Farnell I: 59), Hēgētōr, Hāgētōr “Commander” (I: 59), Boulaios “God of the Council” (I: 180), Stratēgós “the Commander” (I: 60), Strátios “Warlike” (I: 60), Tropaios “Giver of Victory” (I: 60), Chrysáōr “With a Sword of Gold” (I: 59), and Sthenios “the Mighty” (I: 60).

Zeús is Agoraios “Patron of Traffic” (Farnell I: 58), Geōrgós “Farmer” (I: 66), Eleuthérios “the Deliverer, the Bountiful” (I: 61), Klārios, Klērios “the Allotter” (I: 56), Ólbios “Wealth-Giver” (I: 55), Ploúsios “the Opulent” (I: 55), Tīmōrós “the Helper” (I: 67), Sōtēr “the Preserver” (I: 47), and Téleios “the Fulfiller” (I: 53). He is Apotrōpaios “Averting Evil” (I: 67), Hikésios “(Protector) of Suppliants” (I: 67), Meilíchios “(Protector) of the Propitious” (I: 64), and Kathársios “Purifyer, Cleanser” (I: 67). He is Panomphaios “Author of All Divination” (I: 40).

Zeús is Xénios “Protector of Hospitality” (Farnell I: 71), Hetaireios “(Protector) of Fellowship” (I: 75), Phílios “God of Friendship” (I: 74), Gamélios “(Protector) of the Wedding

Feast" (I: 53), and Lecheátēs "(Protector) of the Marriage-Bed" (I: 267). He is Genéthlios "(Protector) of the Race" (I: 53), Gonaios "(Protector) of Offspring" (I: 37), Herkeios "(Protector) of the Household" (I: 54), Homógnios "(Protector) of the Family" (I: 53), Phrátrios "(Protector) of the Clan" (I: 55), Polieús "(Protector) of the City" (I: 56), and Pan-héllēnios "God of All Greece" (I: 44). He is Hórios "(Protector) of Boundaries" (I: 55), Hórkios "God of Oaths" (I: 70), Palamnaios "Avenger of Blood" (I: 40), and Patrōos "(Protector) of Paternal Rights" (I: 52).

Roman Iuppiter

Lo, through the clouds the father of the gods scatters red lightnings [and] then clears the sky after the torrential rain; never before or since did hurtling fires fall thicker. The king [Numa] quaked, and terror filled the hearts of the common folk. To the king the goddess [the water nymph Egeria, wife of Numa,] spoke: "Fear not over much. It is possible to expiate the thunderbolt, and the wrath of angry Iuppiter can be averted. But Picus and Faunus, each of them a deity native to the Roman soil, will be able to teach the ritual of expiation.... Thus Numa spoke: "Gods of the groves, ... show me in what way a thunderbolt can be expiated." Thus Numa spoke, and thus, shaking his horns Faunus replied: "...Iuppiter will come hither, drawn by powerful art ..." They drew (*eliciunt*) you from the sky, O Iuppiter, whence later generations to this day celebrate you by the name of Elicius. Sure it is, the tops of the Aventine trees did quiver and the earth sank down beneath the weight of Iuppiter. [Numa spoke:] "King and father of the high gods (*altorum rexque paterque deum*)," he said, "vouchsafe expiations sure for thunderbolts" The god granted his prayer, but [he] hid the truth in sayings dark and tortorous, and [he] alarmed the man by an ambiguous utterance. "Cut off the head," said he. The king [Numa] answered him, "We will obey. We'll cut an onion, dug up in my garden."

...
[Numa said then], "The time has come to receive the promised boon; fulfil your promise, Iuppiter." ... A loud crash rang out from the heaven's vault. Thrice did the god thunder from a cloudless sky, thrice did he hurl his bolts.... Lo swaying gently in the light breeze a shield fell down." (Ovidius, *Fasti*: III, 285-376; Frazer 1931: 141-5).

The archaic Roman pantheon of Iuppiter, Mars, Quirinus, represents a three-generation group, with Quirinus (Romulus) the son of Mars corresponding to Vedic Pūṣā (as outlined in the next section). This equation implies that Roman Iuppiter should correspond to Vedic Dyāuṣpitā, with whom he is cognate in name (DELL: 329). The major difference between the two gods (from what little information can be garnered about the archaic Roman gods) lies in the fact that Iuppiter controls the thunderbolt, and Dyāuḥ does not. Iuppiter is *imperator caelestium*, while Dyāuḥ is not. In these functions, Iuppiter corresponds to Greek Zeús. However, unlike Greek Zeús, who is the father of Hermēs, another deity who corresponds to Pūṣā, Roman Iuppiter is the grandfather of the correlative deity Quirinus-Romulus. Iuppiter is also the deity who brings vengeance against those who break their oaths. Thus it seems clear that Iuppiter has absorbed traits from Mars which one normally would associate with Váruṇaḥ.

Scandinavian {Njordr, Borr}; (Hel), Freyr, and Óðinn

Borr

The *hrímthurs* “frost giant” Ymir was formed out of the drops of running fluid from the ice melting in Ginnungagap. When the frost thawed, “it became a cow (*kýr*) called Audhumla, and four rivers of milk ran from her teats, and she fed Ymir” (*Gylfaginning*: ‘6; Young 1954: 34). In licking the ice, Audhumla formed Búri, who had a son named Borr. Borr then married Bestla, daughter of Bolthorn. Borr and Bestla then had three sons Óðinn, Vili, and Vé. Thus, “Óðinn, in association with his brothers, became the ruler of heaven and earth” (*Gylfaginning*: ‘6; Young 1954: 34). Borr’s sons then killed the giant Ymir. From Ymir the sons of Borr created the world in the middle of Ginnungagap: the earth from his flesh, the sea and rivers from his blood, the mountains from his jaws, and the rocks and peoples from his teeth. From his skull they made the sky.

When they were going along the sea-shore, the sons of Borr found two trees, and they picked these up and created men from them. The first gave them spirit and life; the second understanding and power of movement; the third, form, speech, hearing and sight... The man they called Ask and the woman Embla, and from them sprang the races of men, ... given Midgardr to live in. (*Gylfaginning* ‘9; Young 1954: 37).

In *Völuspá* (*Volospá*) (16-17) the man and woman, Ask and Embla, are not said to have been made by Óðinn, Vili, and Vé, the sons of Borr. Here they are said to have been made by Óðinn, who gave them spirit, Hoenir, who gave them sense, and Lóðurr, who gave them heat and healthy hue. Hoenir and Lóðurr must then be alternative names for Vili and Vé.

The Scandinavia correspondent to the Sky Father is not clear. Borr, the descendent of the frost giant Ymir and the cow Audhumla (through Búri), is the father of Óðinn, Vili, and Vé. Together Óðinn, Vili, and Vé control heaven and earth. This triad might be supposed to correspond to Greek Zeús, Poseidōn, and Hádēs. Certainly Óðinn corresponds to Zeús. If so, then Borr would correspond to Krónos. However, nothing is known about Vili and Vé, nor is anything known about either god under the byname Lóðurr. All that is known about Hoenir is that he is the god the Aesir give to the Vanir as a counter hostage for Njordr.

As we shall see, the god called Njordr has better grounds for being a counterpart to Krónos, in being the father of Freyr and Freyja. Freyr is the Scandinavian counterpart of Poseidōn, the controller of the Middle Realm. Freyja parallels Dēmētēr, the earth and underworld goddess. The six offspring of Krónos are Zeús, Poseidōn, and Hádēs; Dēmētēr, Héra, and Hestía. Between them, Borr and Njordr father three Scandinavian counterparts to these six Greek gods fathered by Krónos. Perhaps originally Borr was but a byname for Njordr.

Njordr

The third god is the one called Njordr (Niordr). He lives in heaven at a place called Nóatún “Ship-Yard” [*?equivalent to the Elysian Fields?*]. He controls the path of the wind, stills sea and fire, and is to be invoked for seafaring and fishing. He is so wealthy and prosperous that he is able to bestow abundance of land and property on those who call on him for this. Njordr is not one of the Aesir. He was brought up in Vanaheim, but the Vanir gave him as a hostage to the gods and accepted as a counter ostage one called Hoenir... Njordr has a wife called Skadi, daughter of the giant Thjazi. (Snorri Sturluson *Edda*: ‘23; Young 1954: 51).

Tacitus (*Germania*: 40, 3) recounts the worship of Nerthus or Mother Earth (*nisi quod in commune Nerthum, id est Terram matrem*) among the Anglii and tribes along the Baltic.

In an island of the ocean is a holy grove, and in it a consecrated chariot, covered with a robe. A single priest is permitted to touch it; he feels the presence of the goddess in her shrine and follows with a deep reverence as she rides away drawn by cows. Then come days of rejoicing, and all places keep holiday They make no war, take no arms ...; peace and quiet are then and then alone, known and loved, until the same priest returns the goddess to her sacred precinct, when she has her full of the society of mortals. After this, the chariot and the robe, and, if you willing to credit it, the deity in person, are washed in a sequestered lake. Slaves are the ministrants and are straightway swallowed by the same lake: hence a mysterious terror and ignorance full of piety as to what that may be which men behold only to die. (Hutton and Warmington 1914: 196-7).

The name Njordr is close linguistically to Nerthus, above (de Vries 1962: 410-11). Pokorny (IEW: 765) and Jóhannesson (ISEW: 548) relate both names to IE **ner-tu-* “vigor, vitality” (**h₂ner-to-*; DPC: 289, as in Irish *ner* and Welsh *nerth* “strength”). The *io-* stem of the same root **ner-io-* “skill, strength” is to be found in the Gaulish deity name Nerios “the Strong One” and in Irish Nera, a byname of Fraech. In Snorri’s account Njordr (Niordr) is the father of the important god and goddess pair Freyr and Freyja. Supposedly, he is married to the giantess Skadi. However, she can scarcely be the original mother of so important a pair as Freyr and Freyja.

Freyr and Freyja’s original mother must have been Nerthus, the Terra Mater, herself. Njordr would then be the later name of the spouse of this goddess. If so, he would correspond to Vedic Dyāuḥ, Irish Dagda, and Greek Krónos. According to Píndaros, Krónos ruled over the dead on the Isle of the Blessed, the Elysian Fields, apparently the same island ruled over by his Welsh counterpart Llŷr (and his son Manawydan). Can the island of the goddess Nerthus or, considering the Scandinavian ship burials, Njordr’s Nóatún “Ship Yard” have been very different?

Hel

According to Snorri’s *Edda* (*Gylfaginning*: ‘3), while the righteous will be with Óðinn in Gimlé or Vingólf, the others will be with the goddess Hel in Nifhel, the Ninth Realm. In *Gylfaginning* (‘34), Loki has three children: one is the Midgardr Serpent, one is the wolf Fenrir, and the other is Hel, his daughter. Óðinn casts Loki’s daughter Hel into Niflheim, giving her authority over nine worlds. Men who die of disease or old age go to her. Being half black and half flesh-color, she is grim and gloomy in appearance. When Hermódr rides to Niflheim seeking to bring back Baldr, Hel tells him that Baldr may return to the gods only if all creatures will weep for him (‘49). Loki, in the form of the giantess Thokk, refuses to weep for Baldr. Thus Baldr stays in Niflheim. Keeping company with Baldr in Niflheim is his wife Nanna. At Baldr’s funeral, Nanna had been consumed with grief, from which she died, so that she was burned on the pyre to join Baldr in the otherworld. Nanna “Mother”, a clear equivalent of Irish Mumain, then resides in the otherworld with Baldr.

Freyr and Freyja

The description of Fergus in *Scéla Conchobair maic Nessa* as having seven fists in his penis and a bushel bag in his scrotum is reminiscent of the Norse god Freyr “Lord” (<

Germanic *fraujaz* < IE **pro-u-jo-s*; **pro-* “before”; IEW: 815; ISEW: 548; de Vries 1962: 142), whose image at his temple at Uppsala was described by Adam of Bremem (IV, 26) as *cum ingenti priapo* “with an enormous penis”. At Uppsala he was called Fricco, apparently “Lover” (< **priH-ko-*: “love”; NIL: 568-9; IEW: 844; Branston 1955: 134).

Snorri Sturluson’s *Edda* (‘24) gives the following information on the nature of Freyr and his sister Freyja “Lady” (de Vries 1962: 142).

Njordr of Nóatun (*Njordr í Nóatúnun*) had two children after this, a son called Freyr (“Lord”) and a daughter Freyja (“Lady”). They were beautiful to look at and powerful. Freyr is an exceedingly famous god; he decides when the sun shall shine or the rain shall come down, and, along with that, the fruitfulness of the earth. He is invoked for peace and plenty. (Young 1954: 52-3).

Together Freyr and Freyja possess the golden boar Gullinbursti. The boar is made by the same dwarfs who form a ring for Óðinn and hair for Sif (Thórr’s wife). Perhaps significant in this association with the boar is that one of Freyja’s bynames is Sýr “Sow”. With their fecund natures, the association of this god and goddess pair, Freyr and Freyja, with the boar and the sow would be natural. According to Snorri (*Gylfaginning*: § 35), Freyja is also called Mardoll, Gefn, Vanadís, and Horn (“the Flax Goddess” according to ISEW: 193). The reason for Freyja’s many names is that she supposedly wanders about among strange peoples looking for her husband Óðr, who is always away on long journeys. In her journeys in search of him, Freyja supposedly calls herself now this name and then that name. Reminiscent of Dēmētēr in her search for Persephónē, Freyja is always weeping for this lost husband, and in her weeping she cries tears of gold.

Snorri preserves another attribute of Freyja (*Gylfaginning*: ‘24). She drives a chariot pulled by cats. When she rides to battle, Freyja takes half of the corpses, and Óðinn takes the other half (*hálfan val hon kýss á hverian dag, enn hálfan Óðinn á*) (*Grímnismál*: ‘ 14). Freyja seems close in her nature to the Greek goddesses of the Lower Realm, Dēmētēr and Persephónē, who taken together control fertility on earth and see over the recycling of the souls in Hádēs.

Snorri Sturluson’s *Edda* (‘ 37) contains a story of how Freyr loses his sword through the love of a woman, just as Fergus in the *Comrac Fergus fri Coin Culaind* episode of the *Táin* (ll. 2496-2527) loses his sword while he makes love to Medb. Thus Freyr will be without his sword when he encounters Beli, as Fergus goes without his sword to encounter Cú Chulainn. In each case the loss of the sword through the love of a woman leaves the god in question weaponless when he goes to encounter his opponent.

In the Norse tale Freyr sees a beautiful woman at Hlidskjálf. Sick with love he can not speak, sleep, or drink. Freyr tells Njordr’s chamberlain Skírnir the cause of his troubles.

He had seen a beautiful woman and on her account was so distressed that he would not live long if he could not obtain her. And now you are to go”, [he said], “and woo her for me. And bring her here whether her father wishes it or not”... Skírnir answered saying that he would go on that errand, but Freyr was to lend him his sword, which was such a good one that it would fight by itself. Freyr agreed to that and gave him the sword.... This was the reason why Freyr had no weapon when he fought with Beli, but [he] killed him with a hart’s horn.... The time will come when Freyr will find it worse to be without a sword, when the sons of Muspell ride out to harry. (*Edda*: ‘37; Young 1954: 61-3).

Norse sources mention that horses were sacrificed to Freyr at Thronðheim (as they were sacrificed to Poseidōn in Greece). His byname Atriði (< **reidh-* “to ride”; ISEW: 702-3) may be significant here. Hrafnkel’s Saga tells of a stallion dedicated to Freyr in Iceland. The

stallion was allowed to roam free with mares. Under pain of death, it was forbidden for anyone to ride this horse. So too, in Snorri's account of King Hákon, the king was forced to eat horse flesh and drink from the broth of a cauldron in which it was cooked for the prosperity of the land. Apparently, bulls were also sacrificed to Freyr. *Glum's Saga* mentions a ox which Glum's enemy sacrifices to Freyr and succeeds in gaining his aid (Davidson 1969: 85).

Hákon's episode with the cauldron of horse flesh is reminiscent of Giraldus Cambrensis's account of the Ulster king eating the flesh and drinking the broth from the cauldron in which the sacrificed horse was boiled at his inauguration ceremony. We must also recall the Roman ritual of the Equus Octobris performed on the Ides of that month, in which the outside horse of the winning team was sacrificed to Mars. Also pertinent is the Indian festival of the Ásvamedha, where the horse to be sacrificed was allowed to roam about during the period before he was killed.

Freyr's connection with horses also reminds us of Poseidōn, whom, as noted above, Aristophánēs greeted with, "Hail King Poseidōn, the God of Horses, you love the tramp and neighing of the brazen-shod steeds ..." (Farnell 1907: IV, 4). We also must recall Poseidōn's epithets Hippokourios and Hippogētēs "Leader of Horses". The Arcadians preserved a legend that Krónos was tricked into swallowing a foal rather than swallowing the young Poseidōn. So too, in horse form Poseidōn supposedly mated with Dēmētēr. The Illyrians threw a horse into the sea to honor Poseidōn. Also sacrificed to Poseidōn were the bull and the boar. The bull sacrifice is again reminiscent of the ox sacrificed to Freyr in *Glum's Saga*. The boar sacrifice reminds one of Freyr's connection with the golden boar Gullinbursti.

The division of the Norse gods into the *Aesir* and *Vanir*, with Freyr and Freyja as Vanir, finds interesting parallels elsewhere in the IE world. Thus Dumézil (1970: 71) has suggested that this division corresponds to that between the Romans and the Sabines as well as to the fighting factions in the *Mahābhārata*. One may note, too, that Medb and Fergus (representing the Érin in the *Táin*) perhaps correspond to Freyja and Freyr (but Flidais/Boand is a more likely equivalent of Freyja, and Flidais is in fact the wife of Fergus). In the *Táin*, Medb and Fergus fight Conchobar and Cú Chulainn (representing the Ulaid), who perhaps correspond to Óðinn and Thórr. In each area of the IE world then a feminizing highly fertile branch of gods or divine heros (Romulus versus the Sabines and their women) is opposed to deities of the Upper Realm. So too, the struggles in the *Iliad* are fought by the masculine Greeks against the feminine Páris (representing the Trojans) to regain Helénē. As Romulus corresponds to Cú Chulainn, it is possible that each of these struggles represents the development of a PIE epic struggle, probably originally much like the earliest episodes of the Irish *Táin*.

Thórr

Iordin var dóttir hans ok kona hans, af henne gerði hann hinn fyrsta soninn, en that er Ása-Thórr. Honum fylgdi afl ok sterkleiker, thar af sigrar hann oll kvikvendi.

The earth was his [Óðinn's] daughter and his wife; by her he had his first son, Ása-Thórr. Might and strength were Thórr's characteristics, by these he dominated every living creature. (*Gylfaginning*: '9; Holtsmark and Helgason 1968: 11; Young 1954: 37).

Thórr's name derives from IE **ton-* "thunder" (ISEW: 872; IEW: 1021). His name, from Germanic **thun-ra-z* (< **stñH-ro-s*) (see de Vries 1962: 618; DPC: 386) is directly comparable with Gaulish Tanaros. As a thunder god, Thórr's role is nearly identical to that of Índraḥ. However, like Vedic Pūṣā rather than Índraḥ, Thórr drives a chariot pulled by goats.

In Snorri Sturluson's *Edda* (*Gylfaginning*: '47), Thórr has an enormous stomach capacity. Here he drinks from a horn, thinking he is slow at lowering its level. All the while, he is attempting to drink the sea at the other end of the horn. Útgarda-Loki tells him the following.

[In] the contest in which you strove against my retainers ... when you were drinking from the horn and thought you were slow, ... the other end of the horn was the sea. (Young 1954: 77).

So too, in the *Poetic Edda* when Thórr goes disguised as Freyja to Thrymr's hall to regain his hammer (*Thrymskviða*: '24), at dinner he eats a great quantity of food.

[He] ate there an ox and eight salmon,
bolted all dainties dealt for women,
three measures of mead drank Mjollnir's wielder.
(Hollander 1962: 108).

In Snorri Sturluson's *Edda* ('5), Thórr owns three precious things.

One is the hammer Mjollnir His second treasure is his belt of strength, and when he buckles that on, his divine might is doubled. And he owns a third thing of great value in his iron gauntlets; he cannot do without these when he grips the handle of his hammer. (Young 1954: 50-1).

It is this hammer Mjollnir, equivalent to the thunderbolt, which Thórr throws or wields to kill giants. But the hammer has power of life as well as of death. Thórr is accustomed to slaughtering his goats and eating them, but he is careful to save the skins and bones. He then consecrates these with his hammer and makes them whole again.

This motif of saving the skin and bones of the slaughtered animal to revive it and make it whole again is the same as that in the Irish stories collected by MacNeill (1962) of Saint Patrick killing, eating, and reviving a pagan bull. However, the motif of the killing and reviving hammer is reminiscent of the staff or club of the Dagda and the *aíkuśáh* of Índraḥ. Both of these items also have this dual function, but neither of these functions as a thunderbolt as well. The Dagda does not have a thunderbolt, although he can cause "showers of fire", and Índraḥ's thunderbolt is a separate item (the *vájra*-).

Besides slaying many giants such as Thrymr with his hammer (*Thrymskviða*: '31), in the *Hymiskviða* ('22-4) Thórr takes on even bigger prey.

Egndi á ongul // sá er oldom bergr
orms einbani // uxa hofði
gein við ongli // sú er goð fiá
umgiorð neðan // allra landa.

Dró diarfliga // dáðraccr Thórr
orm eitrfán // upp at bordi
hamri kníði // háfiáll scarar
ofliótt ofan // úlfs hnitbróður.

Hreingálcn hlumðo // enn holcn thuto
fór in forna // fold oll saman
søcthiz síðan // sá fiscr í mar.
(Kuhn 1962: 92).

To the hook [was] fasted the head of an ox
 [by] the serpent slayer and saviour of men;
 gaped on the angle [of the hook then was] the all-engirding
 mighty monster, the Midgardr worm (i.e., serpent).

Doughtily drew, undaunted, Thórr
 the baneful worm on board the boat;
 his hammer hit the high hair-fell [head]
 of greedy Garmr's grisly brother.

Then screeched all scars and screamed all fiends,
 then shook and shivered the shaggy hills,
 in the sea then sank the serpent again.
 (Hollander 1962: 87).

The Midgardr serpent is the same one Thórr will confront again in the final battle of the gods, as described in *Volospá*.

Comes then Mjollnir's mighty wielder;
 gapes the grisly earth-girdling serpent
 when Thórr strides forth to slay the worm.
 (Hollander 1962: 11).

Like Fergus and Índraḡ, who cleave the mountains as well as slay the serpent-dragon in the waters, Thórr also cleaves the mountains. Utgarda-Loki tells Thórr in *Gylfaginning* ('47) how he has deceived him with spells. Thórr has attempted to hit Utgarda-Loki, in the form of sleeping Skrymir, with his hammer. Skrymir, however, awakes and asks if a leaf has fallen on his head.

Where you saw a saddle-backed hill close to my stronghold and in it three square-shaped valleys, and one very deep, they were the marks left by your hammer. I put the saddle-backed hill in front of your blows, but you didn't see that. (Young 1954: 77).

On the whole, this contest with Útgarda-Loki, attempting to down the drinking horn, the other end of which is the sea, attempting to lift the cat which is the Midgardr serpent, etc., is reminiscent of *Fled Bricrend* with Thórr playing the same role as Cú Chulainn. Thórr shows another similarity to Cú Chulainn in being the son of the controller of the Upper Realm. The answer to this similarity lies in the fact that both Thórr and Cú Chulainn share many traits found in Vedic Pūṣá. Like Pūṣá, Thórr drives a chariot pulled by goats. Like Pūṣá, Cú Chulainn is the guide of ways and the protector of cattle.

Heiðrun and Eikthyrnir

A goat called Heiðrún stands up [on its hind-legs] in Valhalla biting the buds of the branches of that very famous tree called Laerafð. From her teats runs the mead with which every day she fills a cauldron, which is so big that all the Einherjar can drink their fill from it... Still more remarkable is the hart Eikthyrnir, which stands in Valhalla devouring branches of this tree. Such a stream comes from its horns that it falls down into Hvergelmir and thence flow the rivers... about the dwellings of the gods. (Young 1954: 64).

This description of the hart and goat as the origin of rivers and the mead of the gods finds parallels in both Vedic sources, where cows are the source of the rivers, and in Irish sources, where Flidais (Boand) has cows and deer who can supply milk for the whole of Medb's army. As a motif it is apparently ancient.

Óðinn and Frigg

He [Óðinn] lives for ever and ever, and rules over the whole of his kingdom and governs all things great and small.... He created heaven and earth and the sky and all that is in them... His greatest achievement, however, is the making of man and giving him a soul.... All righteous men shall live with him and where it is called Gimlé or Vingólf.... (*Gylfaginning*: '3; Young 1954: 31).

In *Gylfaginning* ('3), Hár "the High One" (Óðinn) gives his own bynames as Allfoðr "All-father", Herran or Herian "Lord", Nikarr or Hnikarr "[Spear]-Thruster", Nikuz or Hnikuðr "[Spear]-Thruster", Fiolnir "Much Knowing", Óski "Fulfiller of Desire", Omi "Speech-Resounding", Bifliði or Biflindi "Spear Shaker", Sviðarr, Sviðrir, Viðrir "Ruler of Weather", Iálg or Iálk "Gelding". He is also known as Valföðr "Val-father", Hangaguð "God of Hanged Men", Haptaguð "God of the Gods", and Farmaguð "Cargo God" ('20; also see ISEW: 287, 469). As Snorri (Young 1954: 48) notes, "Óðinn is called All-father because he is father of all the gods. He is also called Valfather because all who fall in battle are his adopted sons. He allots them to Valhalla and Vingólf, and then they are called Einherjar (belonging to an army)".

Snorri goes on to list other bynames of Óðinn. Most important here are the names Herian "Raider", Hiálmberi "Helmeted One", Herteitr "Glad of War", and Hnikarr "[Spear] Thruster", which indicate a war-like nature as with Roman Mars. In *Skáldskaparmál* ('5; Holtsmark and Helgason 1968: 90-1), Loki gives Óðinn a famous spear (*geirr*) called Gungnir. "The spear never missed its mark" (Young 1954: 109).

Also important as bynames for Óðinn are Bileygr "One-Eyed" and Báleygr "Flame-eyed One", which are reminiscent of Gaulish Ocelos "of the Eye", to be discussed in the next section. Like Irish Cú Chulainn, the Ríastartha "Distorted One", who in this condition became one-eyed, Óðinn was a shapeshifter. In the *Ynglinga Saga* ('6), Snorri notes that in peace, among friends, Óðinn was beautiful and dignified, but when in war, he appeared dreadful to his foes. According to Snorri, Óðinn was "able to change his skin and form in any way he liked" (Branston 1970: 113). Thus Svipall "Changeable One" and Fiolnir "?Many-shaped" are significant as well.

Heitumzk Grímr,	I am called Masked One,
ok Gangleri,	...
Herian, Hiálmberi,	Raider, Helmeted One,
Thekkir, Thriði,	Pleasant One, Third,
Thuðr, Uðr,	Thin One, ...,
Helblindi, Hár,	Blinds with Death, High One,
Saðr, Svipall,	..., Changeable One,
Sanngetall,	One who guesses right,
Herteitr, Hnikarr,	Glad of War, [Spear-]Thruster,
Bileygr, Báleygr,	One-Eyed, Flame-Eyed One,
Bolverkr, Fiolnir,	Worker of Evil, ...,
Grímnir, Glapsviðr, Fiolsviðr,	Masked One, ..., Very Wise One,
Síðhottr, Síðskeggr,	Deep-hooded, Long-bearded One,

Sigfoðr, Hnikuðr,	Father of Battle, [Spear]-Thruster,
Allfoðr, Atríðr, Farmatýr,	All-father, ..., Cargo God,
Óski, Ómi,	Fulfiller of Desire, ...,
Iafnhár, B[if]lindi,	Just as High, ...,
Gondlir, Hárbardr,	..., Grey-Bearded One,
Svidurr, Svidrir,	..., ...
Ialkr, Kialarr, Viðurr,	...,
Thrór, Yggr, Thundr,	..., Terrible One, ...,
Vakr, Skilvingr,	Alert One, ...,
Váfuðr, Hroptatýr,	..., ...
Gautr, Veratýr.	..., God of Men.

(*Gylfaginning*: ‘20; Holtsmark and Helgason 1968: 24-5; Young 1954: 49).

Óðinn has two wolves, Geri and Freki, and two ravens, Hugin and Muninn. These ravens fly out over the world to observe all that is happening and report back to Óðinn at sunset (Young 1954: 63-4). “Óðinn is the father of all the gods and men and everything that he and his power created” (*Gylfaginning*: ‘9; Young 1954: 37). For this reason he is called Alfóðr “All-father”.

Óðinn’s wife is Frigg “Beloved” (< Germanic *frijjō < IE *priiā < *priH-iah₂-“beloved”; de Vries 1962: 143; IEW: 844; NIL: 569). Frigg knows the fates of all men. She is Fjorgvin’s daughter. From her arise the gods who inhabit Ásgarðr known as the Aesir (*Gylfaginning*: ‘20). Snorri also states, *Iorðin var dóttur hans ok kona hans, af henne gerði hann hinn fyrsta soninn, en that er Ása-Thórr* “the earth was his daughter and his wife; by her he had his first son, Ása-Thórr” (*Gylfaginning*: ‘9; Young 1954: 37). Thus it seems clear that Iorð “Earth” was another name for Frigg. If so Frigg must be but a later byname for Nerthus.

An Outline of the PIE Pantheon

Traits of the Prototype Pantheon

The major change which occurred in the development of the Vedic pantheon from the PIE pantheon was a shift in control of the clouds and thunder from the PIE Sky Father to the Vedic Middle-Realm controller. The *Rig Veda* otherwise preserves with little change the mutual interrelationships of the earlier PIE gods. Here I shall outline the nature of the original PIE pantheon by indicating the traits the correlative deities from the other linguistic culture areas share in common with the Vedic deities.

In the *Rig Veda*, the Sky Father Dyāuḥ is the father of the major gods: Váruṇaḥ (the controller of the Upper Realm at night) and Índraḥ (the controller of the Middle Realm). Presumably there was originally a controller of the Lower Realm, as well, who is not preserved in the earlier portions of the *Rig Veda*, since he did not figure in the sacrificial ritual (but in the later portions of the *Rig Veda* the first man, Yamáḥ, plays this role). Dyāuḥ is also the father of an Upper-Realm daytime controller, Mitráḥ, who is the dialectical opposite of Váruṇaḥ. Váruṇaḥ actually controls the heavens only at night. Also important here is the PIE predecessor of Pūṣá. This PIE god was apparently the son of the PIE deity who developed into Vedic Váruṇaḥ.

Irish Eochaid Ollathair (Dagda) developed from a PIE deity corresponding to the Vedic Sky Father Dyāuḥ. Dagda, however, shows other traits found in Vedic Índraḥ rather than Dyāuḥ. Both Dagda and Índraḥ control the clouds as well as thunder and lightning, a trait originally held by the PIE Sky Father. The control of the clouds and thunder shifted to Índraḥ with the shift in the location of the clouds from the Upper Realm during the PIE period to the Middle Realm during the Vedic period. Here then, Irish Dagda conserved more of the traits of the original PIE Sky Father than did Dyāuḥ, who thus lost the clouds and the thunder to Índraḥ. Dagda shows little differentiation from the original PIE god.

Greek Krónos and Ouranós show some traits of the original PIE Sky Father (corresponding to Vedic Dyāuḥ), but most of the other traits of the PIE Sky Father have been absorbed by Zeús. Roman Iuppiter also developed from the PIE Sky Father, but he shows other traits found in Váruṇaḥ rather than Dyāuḥ. Scandinavian Njordr corresponds functionally to the Vedic Sky Father Dyāuḥ. However, during the development of the PIE pantheon into the Germanic pantheon, the PIE Sky Father gave most of his traits to Óðinn.

Ahurō Mazdā and Óðinn developed from the PIE deity corresponding to the Upper-Realm controller Váruṇaḥ, but both show other traits corresponding to the Sky Father Dyāuḥ. Zeús similarly developed from the PIE equivalent of Váruṇaḥ, but shows other traits corresponding to the Sky Father Dyāuḥ and the Middle-Realm controller Índraḥ (again because in India Índraḥ gained control of the clouds and the thunder). Roman Mars and Irish Conchobar also developed from the PIE deity corresponding to the Upper-Realm controller Váruṇaḥ, but in both Rome and Ireland most of this god's traits were absorbed by the deities corresponding to Pūṣá. Mars failed to receive other traits from the PIE Upper-Realm controller which went to Iuppiter, instead. The Lithuanian god Vėlinas also developed from the PIE correspondent to Váruṇaḥ, but he shows many traits corresponding to Pūṣá.

The Vedic Middle-Realm deity Índraḥ apparently usurped the thunderbolt along with the clouds from the original PIE Sky Father. As noted, this transference occurred because in India the early Aryans (*aryàḥ*: "lord, noble; one of the honorable castes"; KEWA I: 52) relocated the clouds from the Upper to the Middle Realm. Along with the clouds and the thunderbolt came the life-or-death dealing club. Among the later correlatives of the PIE Middle-Realm controller only Índraḥ possessed the thunderbolt. The original PIE Middle-Realm controller apparently did not throw a thunderbolt. Like Fergus, Poseidōn, and Freyr, the PIE god most probably used a sword (or some similar weapon) instead. In addition to being noted for using a sword, both

Fergus and Poseidōn were exiled into servitude for rebellion against the celestial controller (Conchobar or Zeús), against whom they later took opposing sides in an epic struggle (the *Táin* or the *Iliad*). Thus Fergus and Poseidōn suggest that the PIE Middle-Realm controller also was exiled into servitude through rebellion against the Upper-Realm controller.

The Irish god Fergus corresponds more or less directly with the original PIE god corresponding to the Middle-Realm controller Índraḥ, as does the Greek god Poseidōn. Índraḥ, minus the clouds, the thunderbolt, and the resulting battle with Vṛtráḥ, fits the same pattern as well. Freyr also corresponds to Índraḥ stripped of the clouds, his thunderbolt, and the resulting battle with Vṛtráḥ. The thunder and rain-cloud aspects of Vedic Índraḥ are rather to be found in the Icelandic god Thórr.

Thórr developed from the PIE god corresponding to Vedic Pūṣá. But having acquired the thunderbolt and the associated attributes, which originally belonged to the PIE Sky Father, Thórr shows many traits found in the Vedic god Índraḥ as well. Índraḥ acquired these cloud-related traits from PIE Sky Father, the same source from which Thórr acquired them. Irish Cú Chulainn also developed from the PIE equivalent of Pūṣá, but absorbed many other traits from the PIE god corresponding to Váruṇaḥ. These Váruṇaḥ-like traits should have gone to his father Conchobar. As we shall see, Hermēs and Romulus also developed from the PIE god corresponding to Pūṣá, but some of the traits one would expect to find in Hermēs are found in Apóllōn instead.

Thus in Ireland, of the first generation and corresponding directly with Sky Father, Dagda has a *lorg mór* “great staff”, which is noted to have a “smooth end and a rough end”. The rough “end slays the living and the other end brings the dead back to life” (Bergin 1927: 402-3). In India, of the second generation and corresponding with the Controller of the Middle Region, Índraḥ has an *aṅkuśáḥ* which accomplishes the same thing as Dagda’s staff. In Iceland, corresponding to the third generation, Thórr is the son of the controller of the Upper Region. Yet Thórr controls the hammer *Mjollnir* with the same properties as the *aṅkuśáḥ*. Unlike Índraḥ and Thórr, however, Dagda never directly hurls a thunderbolt. Nonetheless in *Cath Maige Tuired*, Dagda states that he will follow Figol’s example and cause “three showers of fire (*teorai frasae tened*) to pour on the faces of the Fomore hosts”. These showers of fire must surely refer to lightning.

As we shall see, the only Irish characters who hurl anything like Índraḥ’s thunderbolt (*vájra-*) are Lug and Cú Chulainn. In the *Cath Maige Tuired* (§ 133-5), Lug uses a sling stone (*liic talma*) to slay the demon Balor, who has an evil piercing eye (*biruderc suil milldagach*). Lug’s cast carries the evil piercing eye through Balor’s head (Stokes 1891a: 100-1). But, the slinger par excellence in Irish myth is Cú Chulainn, who in the *Táin* uses his nighttime casts to ward off Medb’s entire army, killing a hundred each night.

In the *Eddas*, Óðinn corresponds developmentally to Vedic Váruṇaḥ, the controller of the Upper Realm, but Óðinn also has acquired for himself nearly all of the traits to be found in Vedic Dyāuḥ as well (and thus presumably of the original PIE progenitor Sky Father). If one compares Irish Fergus to the Norse gods, Fergus shows many aspects which are found in Freyr, implying that Freyr, rather than Thórr, developed from PIE Middle-Realm controller. Snorri’s *Edda* (§ 124) states that Freyr (as the descendent of the controller of the Middle Realm) “decides when the sun shall shine or the rain shall come down, and along with that the fruitfulness of the earth” (Young 1954: 52-3). In this, he is like Índraḥ, who directs the rains downward and is the bestower of bounty on earth. Both Índraḥ and Freyr also have great sexual potency. Seeing Freyr as the controller of the Middle Realm implies in turn that a vestigial correlative of Dyāuḥ may survive in Njordr, father of Freyr and Freyja.

However, many of the other traits associated with Índraḥ are not found in Freyr, but are found in Thórr, instead. Thórr, in turn, shows traits corresponding to both Índraḥ and Pūṣá, though developmentally he corresponds to Vedic Pūṣá. Indeed, he is a son of Óðinn, the controller of the Upper Realm (the PIE correlative of Pūṣá is the son of the PIE correlative of

Váruṇaḥ, as Váruṇaḥ is in turn a son of Dyāuḥ). However if Thórr developmentally corresponds to Pūṣá, as seems most likely, Thórr in acquiring the thunderbolt, has become, for all intensive purposes, functionally equivalent to Índraḥ.

In having acquired the thunderbolt, like Índraḥ, Thórr controls the thunder hammer (or club or ax). Also like Índraḥ, Thórr battles the world serpent in the waters. However, Thórr does share at least one major attribute with Vedic Pūṣá. He is a notable chariot driver and his chariot is pulled by goats. Thórr's father Óðinn was noted as a night rider in the skies. Óðinn originally could have controlled the clouds as well as the heavens above them. Thus developmentally Thórr could have acquired the thunder hammer from the god who developed into his father Óðinn (perhaps even including the byname Thórr "Thunderer"), just as Cú Chulainn presumably acquired his deadly night-time slinging from his father Conchobar.

Thus, functionally Eddic Óðinn relates to both Dyāuḥ and Váruṇaḥ, Eddic Thórr relates to Índraḥ and Pūṣá, Irish Dagda relates to Dyāuḥ and Índraḥ, and Irish Conchobar and Cú Chulainn relate to Váruṇaḥ and Pūṣá. Thus in comparing Norse and Irish tradition, one must correlate Óðinn to attributes of Dagda, Conchobar, and Cú Chulainn, and Thórr to attributes of Dagda and Cú Chulainn. Though developmentally each of these gods arises from the merger of traits from no more than two earlier gods, in a cross comparison of Norse to Irish gods one must look at three Irish gods to find the traits of each Norse deity.

The easy lateral transfer of attributes between these functionally similar deities (mostly between the adjacent generations and around who controls the thunderbolt) makes impossible a simple one to one relationship when comparing the Norse and the Irish gods. Cú Chulainn is bivalent to Váruṇaḥ and Pūṣá, while Thórr is bivalent to Índraḥ and Pūṣá. Dagda is bivalent to Dyāuḥ and Índraḥ, while Óðinn (like Zeús) is bivalent to Dyāuḥ and Váruṇaḥ. Once these relationships are sorted out, however, the comparisons become straightforward. The evolutionary sequence is clear for each of the cultural areas. In each cultural area much of the vital structure of the original Proto-Indo-European complex survived.

The Motif Complexes

The following tables show the distribution of the fundamental identifying traits among the attested deities within the IE linguistic cultures areas. These tables then enable one systematically to outline the process of shifting and borrowing motifs. One may also see at a glance the degree to which deities having a common developmental heritage share traits.

TABLE 6: LOWER-REALM CONTROLLER

	steals flower	weds loses flower	king flower	hammer lower	axe guard	dead
SKY FATHER						
Dyāuh						
Krónos/Uran						
Dagda						
Iuppiter						
Taranis						
Njordr/Borr						
UPPER (NIGHT)						
Várunah						
Ahurō Mazdā						
Zeús						
Conchobar						
Vélinas						
Summanus						
Mars						
Ódinn						
CHAMP SON						
Pūṣā						
Viṣṇuḥ						
Hermēs						
Cú Chulainn						
Esus						
Romulus						
Thórr						
MIDDLE						
Índrah						
Poseidōn						
Fergus						
Freyr						
LOWER						
Hádēs	X	X	X	X		X
Sucellos		X			X	X
Cú Rói	X	X	X	X	X	
UPPER (DAY)						
Mitrāh						
Míthrō						
Apóllōn						
Lugus						
Lug						
Fidius						
Numa						
Týr						

TABLE 7: UPPER-REALM CONTROLLER (DAY)

	invent arts	guard law	guard contract	light fire	great judge	fall festival	law festival	grain first fruit	guard of peace	wisdm knowl	guard priest	guard day	king uper	long reach
SKY FATHER														
Dyāuh														
Krónos/Ouran														
Dagda														
Iuppiter														
Taranis														
Njordr/Borr														
UPPER (NIGHT)														
Várurah														
Ahurō Mazdā														
Zeús														
Conchobar														
Vēlinas														
Summanus														
Mars														
Óðinn														
CHAMP SON														
Pūṣā														
Viṣṇuh														
Hermēs														
Cú Chulainn														
Esus														
Romulus														
Thórr														
MIDDLE														
Índrah														
Poseidōn														
Fergus														
Freyr														
LOWER														
Hádēs														
Sucellos														
Cú Rói														
UPPER (DAY)														
Mitráh		X	X	X					X	X	X	X	X	
Mithrō		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X
Apóllōn	X					X	X	X	X					X
Lugus	X		X	X				X						
Lug	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Fidius			X	X				X	X			X		
Numa		X			X				X	X	X		X	
Týr		X			X		X							

What is apparent from the tables is that in the evolutionary process in each of the linguistic-culture areas certain motif complexes associated with the original PIE gods have been preserved intact in the earliest records from Ireland, Greece, and India, (and to a certain extent in those from Iceland, Rome, and Iran). These motif complexes have been preserved intact even though they may have been shifted away from the PIE deity who originally possessed them. Thus in any given linguistic-cultural region the same motif complex may be possessed by differing members of a four-deity group: (1) the Sky Father progenitor, (2) the son of the Sky Father who is the nighttime controller of the Upper Realm, (3) the savior-like son of the Upper-Realm controller, who is usually a champion, the god of ways, and/or the protector of herds, (4) the son of the Sky Father who is the controller of the Middle Realm.

The most mobile motif complex is that associated with the control of the clouds and thunder. This control of the cloud complex apparently originally belonged to the Sky Father (as in Ireland and archaic Rome). However, in Greece it belonged to the Upper-Realm controller Zeús (son of the Sky Father). In Iceland it belonged to Thórr, the son of the Upper-Realm controller. In India it belonged to the Middle-Realm controller Índrah.

Another sort of shifting is the acquisition of other traits by the Upper-Realm controller from the Sky Father (such as the fathering of the Flowerful Maiden). Thus in Greece Zeús has acquired many traits in this way which should belong to Krónos. In Scandinavia Óðinn has apparently acquired traits which should belong to Borr-Njordr. Another shift is the acquisition of traits by the savior-champion from his father the Upper-Realm controller. Thus in Ireland Cú Chulainn has traits one would expect in Conchobar.

In Lithuania the opposite transfer has occurred. Vėlinas, the Upper-Realm controller god, has also acquired, as additional traits, the traits one should expect in the savior-champion son. As we shall see, Perkúnas, with his thunder hammer and chariot pulled by goats, looks very much like a carbon copy of Thórr. Vėlinas looks a lot like Óðinn, except that Vėlinas also shows the traits of being a guide of ways and the protector of horned beasts. In Scandinavia these traits of being the guide of ways and the protector of horned beasts have disappeared completely. Although they are normally possessed by the savior champion, such traits are found in neither Óðinn nor Thórr, nor have they been passed to any other god.

In all of the linguistic-culture areas, associated with the god who controls the clouds are a series of motifs relating to rain and thunder. These motifs include the original release of the rain from the clouds (which are often seen as like cows, bulls, or hills, etc.) and the freeing of the clouds from a serpent-like beast who devours them. Thus the controller of the clouds usually also is the rain-bringer. The controller of the clouds usually will have a club or a hammer, of which one end kills the living and the other end brings the dead back to life. This club or hammer may itself be the thunderbolt or he may possess an independent thunderbolt in addition to the specialized club. This thunderbolt is used to slay the serpent or dragon who attempts to possess the waters. The controller of the clouds shows a capacity to drink huge quantities, perhaps an aspect of the vast quantities of water released by the clouds. He usually also shows an enormous sexual potency as well; it is his rains which fertilize the earth. The controller of the clouds, in also controlling the thunderbolt, is the greatest of champions, often being of huge proportions.

In Vedic tradition the clouds are considered to be a part of the Middle Realm, the province of Índrah, the controller of the Middle Realm. Thus in India it is the Middle-Realm controller who possesses the above traits. In Ireland, Rome, Greece, and Scandinavia, the clouds belong to the realm of the sky and heaven. Thus the Middle-Realm controller shows none of the above motif complex. However, the remaining three Upper-Realm gods each has a claim to the clouds. It is with the rains that the original Sky Father fertilizes barren Mother Earth at the beginning of creation. However, the Upper-Realm controller has the ultimate say in all that occurs in his realm. His young savior-like champion son is able to travel between realms and is more accessible to man. Ultimately the rain and the lightning do fall from the sky to the earth.

Thus any of the gods within this three-generation group may end up with a thunderbolt or a lightning wheel.

In Rome and in Ireland, he who releases the original rains continues to control the clouds and their thunder. Thus in Rome it is the Sky Father Iuppiter who possesses the above motif complex. But in addition, Summanus also has a nighttime lightning wheel. In Ireland it is also the Sky Father Dagda who possesses many of the traits from the above motif complex. Nonetheless, Dagda apparently shares the nighttime thunderbolt with Cú Chulainn, the son of the Upper-Realm controller. Thus Dagda controls the club and the three showers of fire, but Cú Chulainn is the champion who throws the nighttime sling bolts and utilizes a wheel in battle.

In Scandinavia, however, the Middle-Realm controller Freyr is responsible for apparently “attracting” the rains. As the Middle-Realm controller, it is Freyr who controls fertility on earth. Thunder and lightning and presumably the clouds are under Thórr, who is the son of the Upper-Realm controller and who possesses most of the above traits. In Greece the control of the clouds as well as the rest of the above complex reside with Zeús, the Upper-Realm controller.

In the IE linguistic-culture areas most of the other motifs associated with these four gods (the Sky Father, the Upper-Realm controller, the champion savior-like son of the Upper-Realm controller, and the Middle-Realm controller) were more stable than the control of the clouds and the thunderbolt. Having dealt with the easily shifted motif complex associated with the clouds and the thunderbolt, I shall outline the nature of the more stable traits to be associated with each of these four gods.

As noted in Scandinavia, Njordr (the father of Freyr and Freyja) and Borr (the father of Óelinn, Vili, and Vé) together correspond to the Sky Father. In Greece, Krónos and Ouranós “Sky” correspond to the Sky Father. In the *Rig Veda*, Dyāuḥ alone plays the role of the Sky Father, as does Dagda in Ireland under his many bynames. The Archaic Roman Iuppiter also apparently played the role of an original Sky Father, corresponding to Dyāuḥ and Dagda. However, during the course of Roman history Iuppiter became more and more contaminated by Greek Zeús, the Controller of the Upper Realm.

Thus in all of the regions but Scandinavia, the original Sky Father shows great sexual potency, as he must, to fertilize Mother Earth. In his vastness he is able to bring great abundance (even in Scandinavia). Appropriately known as All-Father, almost universally in the IE culture areas he is the father of the controller of the Upper Realm, the father of the controller of the Middle Realm, and the father of the controller of the Lower Realm. The Sky Father is also usually the father of the Young Son, personified as Fire and/or the Sun, whom the Sky Father engenders with the cow-like Earth goddess, the Mother of Waters. He is usually also the father of the Flowerful Maiden, who spends part of each year (the unfertile winter part) in the underworld. In Greece, however, it is Zeús who fathers the Young Son and the Flowerful Maiden. Perhaps for this reason Zeús also usurped the title Sky Father from the father whom he drove into exile (Krónos).

The controller of the Upper Realm, discussed above, is actually only the controller of the Upper Realm during the night and during the winter. Thus this god rules over the stars and the twilight at dawn, but also over the winter and the spring (when the sun is rising in the sky). His festival usually falls around the vernal equinox. The control of the daytime skies, the summer, and the fall (when the sun is falling in the sky) belongs to his opposite twin. The festival of this opposing twin usually falls around the autumnal equinox. As the relationship between these dialectically opposite twin controllers will be the topic of the next section, I shall add little more here.

In the *Rig Veda* the controller of the Upper Realm is Váruṇaḥ. In Ireland, Conchobar has lost many of his aspects as Upper-Realm controller to his savior-champion son Cú Chulainn. In archaic Rome this god is found under two names, Summanus and Mars (the father of

Romulus). Váruṇaḥ 's Avestan counterpart Ahurō Mazdā would seem to be an amalgam of the Upper-Realm controller and the Sky Father, much as in Greece Zeús has assimilated many of the original attributes of Krónos, and in Scandinavia Óðinn has assimilated many aspects of the Sky Father as well. What seems to have happened here is that Óðinn and Zeús have taken on the age and the majesty of the Sky Father, whose traits they have usurped. Such age and majesty do not appear to have been aspects of their correspondent Váruṇaḥ. His twin Mitráḥ was apparently also young, like his cognates Mithrō, Lug, Apóllōn, and Týr.

Thus in Greece we have Krónos father of Zeús, Poseidōn, and Hádēs. But Zeús is the father of both Hermēs and Apóllōn. As we shall see, many attributes of Apóllōn correspond to Mitráḥ. One might, therefore, expect Apóllōn to be another son of Krónos, as Mitráḥ, like Váruṇaḥ, is a son of Dyāuḥ. However, all the sons of Krónos are older rulers. Perhaps because of Apóllōn's youth (along with the youth of Hermēs the son of Zeús, both in contrast to the older sons of Krónos), Apóllōn has been made a son of Zeús as well. In Scandinavia, Óðinn is the father of both Thórr and Týr. Týr in corresponding to Mitráḥ should also be in the same generation as Óðinn.

According to the description of Tailltiu and Oenach Tailten in the *Lebor Gabála*, Lug is the son of "Cian son of Dian Cecht" (Macalister, 1941, IV, 1215-119). He is also the son of Eithne (given as the daughter of Balor, but actually a byname for Boand-Mórrígan). As Dian Cécht, the physician god in *Cath Maige Tuired*, cannot possibly be the original father of Lug, it seems likely that he is another son of Eochaid-Dagda (like Conchobar, Fergus, and Cú Rói). Lug's mother Eithne is the same goddess as Conchobar's mother, since Ness is but another byname of Boand. At any rate, Lug is not the son of Conchobar. Thus Lug and Mitráḥ stand witness against Apóllōn and Týr, who might otherwise suggest that the PIE god corresponding to Mitráḥ should be a son of the Upper-Realm god.

Although Óðinn is the creator of man and the progenitor of many of the gods (though conspicuously not of Freyr, just as Zeús is not the father of Poseidōn), it is clear that Óðinn corresponds with the controller of the Upper Realm in his evolutionary development. He apparently fashioned the first man from sticks or a tree. With the killing of Ymir, from whom he fashions the world and sky, Óðinn shows traits reminiscent of Krónos's defeat of Ouranós. So too, both Óðinn's and Thórr's struggle with giants is reminiscent of Zeús's struggle with the Titānes. In Scandinavia, however, it is Thórr who wields the thunderbolt, not Óðinn.

In all of the regions the controller of the Upper Realm is responsible for truth and order in the cosmos. He is thus a god who is vengeful on all those, mortal or immortal, who challenge the ways of truth and the foreordained paths. His ropes usually ensnare the breaker of oaths. Hanging is his usual means of vengeance. He is usually associated with the wolf or the hound (as with Mars, Conchobar, and Óðinn). In the countries bordering on the North Sea and the Baltic, he is the father of poetry, and he gives up an eye to gain insight. He or his dialectical twin battle giants or demons to make the world safe for men. It is also usually he who fashions the first man, apparently from sticks as in Iran and Scandinavia. This god is usually associated with the goddesses of waters, who at some point are all his wives (as in Ireland, India, and Greece).

The controller of the Upper Region also begets a savior-champion son who is a famous chariot driver (pulled by goats?), the protector of cattle, and the god of ways. In Ireland the youthful savior-champion son of the Upper-Realm controller corresponds to Cú Chulainn. However, Cú Chulainn is not just the protector of cattle and the guide of ways as with Vedic Pūṣá, his Indian correspondent. Cú Chulainn has also absorbed many traits from his father Conchobar (such as restoring order and fertility to the earthly gods after the chaos of winter), which will be discussed fully in the next section. This acquisition of traits from the Upper-Realm controller appears to be pan-Celtic. The Gaulish god Esus-Vellaunos, who is linguistically cognate with Vedic Váruṇaḥ, was identified with Mercurius as well as Mars in Roman Gaul.

Greek Hermēs (the son of Zeús) and the Roman god Quirinus-Romulus (the son of Mars) correspond more or less precisely to Vedic Pūṣá. Thus one finds a very valid comparison in the contrast of Lug / Cú Chulainn to the contrast of Fidius / Summanus in this use of night and day lightning wheels. However, these lightning wheels are very different motifs from the club and the actual thunderbolt which Dagda, Índraḥ, and Iuppiter control. Thórr has assimilated this whole thundercloud complex found in Iuppiter, Dagda, and Índraḥ. Thus Thórr, with his thunder hammer and huge appetites, is more difficult to place in this group than Hermēs or Romulus. Nonetheless, Thórr is the champion son of the Upper-Realm god Óðinn. Like Cú Chulainn, Thórr wins a strength-determining contest. Like Pūṣá, Thórr also drives a chariot pulled by goats.

Thus both deities, Thórr and Cú Chulainn, would appear to have developed in an evolutionary sense from the PIE god who gave rise to Pūṣá. Both deities, Thórr and Cú Chulainn, apparently have stripped a large number of additional traits from another god. Thórr also shows traits found in Índraḥ, while Cú Chulainn shows traits found in Váruṇaḥ. Cú Chulainn seems to have usurped many traits from his father Conchobar, since Conchobar also shows other traits of Váruṇaḥ. If Thórr is a developmental correspondent of Pūṣá and Cú Chulainn, his most unusual trait is the thunder hammer Mjolnir. In contrast, Cú Chulainn is a nighttime slinger who never misses his mark. In holding off Medb's onslaught, Cú Chulainn kills one hundred of her army every night. Cú Chulainn's nighttime slinging is perhaps an aspect of his once using a lightning wheel, as suggested by his fighting with his chariot wheel as a weapon in the final battle of the *Táin*. Indeed, Cú Chulainn's nighttime slinging is analogous to Summanus's nighttime throwing of the lightning wheel. If Cú Chulainn controls the lightning wheel, however, he apparently received it from the Upper-Realm controller, for it more properly belongs to his father Conchobar. In the descent of the gods, Summanus corresponds to Conchobar's generation, not to Cú Chulainn's.

As noted, Thórr's thunder hammer with its ability to kill and revive is analogous to Índraḥ's *aṅkuśáḥ* and the Dagda's *lorg mór*. It is very different from the lightning wheel. With the control of the thunder hammer and apparently the clouds as well, Thórr gained a whole motif complex, which probably originally belonged to the PIE Sky Father. Índraḥ received this same complex when the clouds were shifted from the Upper to the Middle Realm at some point in pre-Vedic India. Thórr, however, probably gained the thunder and lightning complex from his father Óðinn, who in turn (like Zeús) stripped it, along with other traits, from the Sky Father. In this manner, Thórr gained the thunderbolt, the name "Thunderer", the killing/reviving hammer, and the struggle with the Miðgardr serpent. As a motif complex all of these items taken together correspond to the Cú Chulainn's lightning wheel. In an evolutionary sense both gods, Cú Chulainn and Thórr, apparently obtained lightning from their fathers, each the corresponding controller of the Upper Realm.

As we shall see, in most of the regions this savior-champion son of the Upper-Realm controller is a youthful god who at an early age organizes a set of youthful companions (as in Rome and Ireland). When the god is not able to join them, these youthful companions run nude to save a herd which is being stolen. This youthful god is unequivocally the protector of herds and cattle (except for Thórr). He is also the guide of ways as well as the Otherworld Traveler (except for Thórr and Romulus). As with Hermēs, Pūṣá, and Thórr, this god usually has some association with goats or rams. Normally his chariot is pulled by goats. In Ireland and Rome, he is either suckled by a she-wolf or kills a large herd-guard hound to take over its name and role. In Ireland and in Rome, this god kills his son or brother for the glory of his people. In Ireland and in Rome, twins (human or horses) are associated with the birth of this god.

The Middle-Realm controllers, Poseidōn, Fergus, and Freyr, are fairly straight-forward in their attributes. Only Vedic Índraḥ shows a complication in his nature caused by the association of the clouds and thunder with the Middle Realm in India rather than the Upper Realm. Thus in Greece, Poseidōn has control of the earth and the seas. He is married to the

earth goddess Dēmētēr, but he is not the father of Persephōnē, the Flowerful Maiden (Zeús is her father). Poseidōn is exiled into servitude for rebellion against the celestial controller Zeús. In Ireland, Fergus is married to the earth goddess Flidais (apparently a byname of Boand), but he is not the father of Fand, the Flowerful Maiden (Dagda is her father). Fergus is exiled into servitude with Medb for rebellion against the Upper-Realm controller Conchobar. Poseidōn, Fergus, and Freyr each have a magnificent sword. Fergus uses this sword to lop off the tops of hills just before Medb releases her waters. So too, Índraḥ uses his thunderbolt to split the mountains and release the waters. Fergus and Freyr lose their swords through love of a female and later sorely miss it in combat. Índraḥ, Freyr, and Thórr all show great sexual potency, as they are responsible for fertility on earth.

The ambivalence to be found in the interchange of traits between the deities of the Upper and Middle Regions (mainly in who controls the clouds, thunder, and lightning) is not to be found in the deity of the Lower Region. In Irish tradition Cú Rói makes off with Bláthnat “Little Flower” (Latin Flora), otherwise known as Fand “the Tearful”, the daughter of Flidais, a goddess whose cows give great quantities of milk. As we have seen, Flidais is most likely a byname of Boand, the goddess of the Lower Realm.

Bláthnat’s Welsh cognate Blodeued “Flower Face” betrays her lord and is turned into an owl. In Greek tradition Persephōnē is carried off by Hádēs while she is picking flowers. Her mother Dēmētēr is, of course, the controller of bounty in the crops and fertility on earth, as well as the goddess of the Lower Realm. Before Persephōnē’s return from Hádēs, Askaláphos betrays the fact that she has eaten a pomegranate. For his betrayal he is turned into an owl.

It seems clear that this betrayal and transformation into an owl was part of the PIE myth of the Flowerful Maiden, whose mother was a controller of fertility on earth. But exactly who was turned into the owl is not clear. It also seems certain that this Flowerful Maiden (like Irish Fraech) had to spend the winter part of the year in the Lower Realm, while the earth became infertile. She was associated not only with a cavernous Lower Region in the bowels of the earth, but, as both Greek and Irish tradition suggest, with an isle in the western ocean where special heros could dwell among blooming fruit trees and fragrant greenery (Elysian Fields, Tír na n-Óg).

Toward a Reconstruction of PIE Mythology

It seems clear that this original PIE Sky Father *Djēus-pətēr (< *djēus-ph₂tér; NIL: 75, 554) was the progenitor of the gods and most of existence. The original PIE Sky Father would appear to have been a deity who was associated with abundance and who brought the nourishing rains to his consort Mother Earth. Thus he controlled thunder and lightning and possessed a huge club, one end of which killed the living, the other end of which brought the dead back to life. At some point he used this thunderbolt to rescue the clouds (likened to cows) from a serpent-like monster which attempted to control them. All of these traits would appear to go along with the control of the clouds, the rain, and the thunder.

This motif complex associated with the Sky Father rescuing the clouds has been preserved best in the *Rig Veda*. In the *Rig Veda*, usurping this role from his father, Índraḥ slays the “dragon that lay around (*parisáyānan*) the waters” (RV: 4, 19, 2), he overcomes “the dragon lying on the waters” (RV: 5, 30, 6) (MacDonell 1897: 59). This dragon is most likely the Vedic equivalent of the Míðgarðr Serpent, taken on by Thórr. Índraḥ also releases the waters which have been pent up or imprisoned by a dragon (RV: 2, 11, 2). He “slays the dragon lying on the mountain, releases the waters, and pierces the belly of the mountain” (1897: 59).

In the Irish *Táin*, Fergus and Cú Chulainn slice off the top of mountains, and Medb releases her pent up waters. In Greece, with his thunderbolt Zeús battles the dragon-like Typhōeús, cleaving open the earth in the process. Thus it would appear that in the original PIE myth, the god who controlled the thunderbolt also used it to battle the snake-like monster and

release the pent-up waters (presumably the rains). The original god who controlled the thunderbolt would appear to have been *Djēus-pətēr.

*Djēus-pətēr had huge appetites for drink, perhaps another aspect of his controlling the clouds and bringing the fertile rains. *Djēus-pətēr also possessed great sexual potency, apparently likened to a bull, and was the ultimate source of all semen (again akin to the nourishing rains). It was he who provided the seed at every bulling. He was the father of the controllers of the Upper, Middle, and Lower Realms. He was also the father of the three goddesses associated with each of these realms. For these reasons, he was known as All Father.

*Djēus-pətēr is given special mention as the father of the Flowerful Maiden (Persephónē, Bláthnat), who had to spend the infertile part of the year in the underworld. He was also the father of the Son *Maghūnos (Vedic Agnīh, god of fire). Both gods are sired of the Lower-Realm goddess (probably at least one of whose names was *Gʷoʷoʷindā “White Cow”) over the head of two of her consorts. Normally she was the spouse of either or both the Controller of the Middle Realm and the dying/reviving source deity named *Neptionos (*Nepōtulos) “the Nephew” or *Nebhtunos “Lord of Waters”. This White Cow goddess was clearly of PIE origin. In the *Rig Veda*, Áditiḥ is spoken of as a cow, and in the ritual, a ceremonial cow was addressed as Áditiḥ, giving ample parallels to Irish Boand “White Cow”. Both Irish and Greek sources note that she (Dēmētēr, Boand) was associated with snakes or eels.

Reconstructing from Arcadian and Irish tradition, for at least part of the year the Flowerful Maiden’s mother, the goddess of the Lower Realm (everything on or below the earth), was the consort of the controller of the Middle Realm (the waters and the earth’s surface). The Flowerful Maiden, however, was conceived of the Sky Father, not of the controller of the Middle Realm. Scandinavian and Irish sources suggests that the mother *Gʷoʷoʷinda was associated with does and cattle who gave great quantities of milk. The Flowerful Maiden then spent the summer half of the year either with her lover (as in *Serglige Con Culainn*) or with her mother (as in Greece).

The Irish stories of Fergus and the Scandinavian stories of Freyr suggest that the Controller of the Middle Realm lost his sword through trysting with a woman. The sword would be greatly missed in a time of need (at the final battle as in the confrontation with Cú Chulainn or the Götterdamerung). Both Freyr and Fergus are said to have enormous penises and noted sexual excess. So too, Índraḥ is noted for his huge appetites, sexual and in consuming the sacrifice. As Índraḥ slew Vṛtráḥ, Fergus slew the beast in a water fight in Loch Rudraige. So too, Thórr took on the Midgardr serpent. The exile of both Greek Poseidōn and Irish Fergus for rebellion against the celestial controller suggests that such an exile belongs to the Proto-Indo-European stage.

Perhaps the struggles between Zeús and Krónos in Greek myth do not reflect an original PIE conflict between the Sky Father and the Controller of the Upper Realm. In Ireland the struggle is between the controller of the Upper Realm (Conchobar) and the controller of the Middle Realm (Fergus). Indeed, in Irish tradition Conchobar drives out Fergus taking his kingdom from him. The fact that both Vedic Dyāuḥ and Irish Dagda retain much of their original vigor, whereas their Greek cognate Krónos is a mere shell, suggests that originally no such father-son conflict occurred. The struggle was rather between brothers (the controller of the Upper Realm and the controller of the Middle Realm), perhaps over who controlled the clouds and the thunder.

The Daytime Celestial Controller, the Nighttime Celestial
Controller, and the Young Champion

The Correlatives of Mitráḥ/ Váruṇaḥ

The original PIE Upper Realm apparently was divided into two spheres: (1) the sky at night consisting of the celestial heavens dominated by the stars, and (2) the sky at daytime dominated by the sun. These spheres were controlled by two opposite but paired gods, corresponding to Vedic Váruṇaḥ and Mitráḥ.

In his work *Mitra-Varuna*, which first appeared in 1940, Georges Dumézil postulated two aspects of the original Proto-Indo-European deities behind Vedic Váruṇaḥ and Mitráḥ as “*le borgne et le manchot*” (Dumézil 1948: 163-88). Although these attributes, being one-eyed and being one-handed, are not manifestations of the Vedic deities, they are characteristics of their Germanic correlatives **Wōđanaz* (Óðinn) and **Tīwaz* (Týr). As additional supposed correlatives of his postulated one-eyed god and one-handed god, Dumézil included the heroes of Roman pseudo-history, Cocles and Scaevola, and the Irish gods Lug and Nuada.

Casting doubt on Dumézil’s paradigm, the trait (on but a single occasion) of appearing one-eyed and the trait of being one-handed are all that connect these Irish deities Lug and Nuada to the attributes supposedly possessed by the postulated PIE gods. With little else upon which to build his case, Dumézil himself (1974: 21; 1977: 199) later recanted his suggestion that Lug and Nuada were the Irish correlatives of Vedic Váruṇaḥ and Mitráḥ.

Thus, Dumézil came to realize that Lug is in no way a correlative of Váruṇaḥ and Óðinn. Lug’s magical grin, made by closing one eye, is not a mutilation, nor does it lead to gaining knowledge or insight. Nuada, the deity Dumézil proposed to be a correlative of Týr, can be shown to be a god of river-source springs. Indeed, a careful analysis of the Irish myths reveals that Nuada is in fact a byname for the source deity Nechtain-Fraech. Nuada’s hand loss is not at all functional nor the result of a pledge. Some versions of the Irish god’s hand loss state that it was bitten off in a fight with a water beast; in *Cath Maige Tuired* it was cut off in battle.

Nuada bears no relationship to Mitráḥ and has little in common with Týr, except for the trait of losing his hand. As noted, neither Mitráḥ nor Váruṇaḥ is one-eyed or one-handed. After eliminating Lug and Nuada, Dumézil’s list of supposed correlative contrasting gods with the trait of being either “*le borgne*” or “*le manchot*” is reduced to Óðinn and Týr, along with the two Roman heroes, Cocles and Scaevola (who are in no way deified). With the removal of Lug and Nuada, Dumézil’s suggestion holds too small a basis to bear consideration.

In spite of the fact that Óðinn is the only deity with the trait of being “*le borgne*” in the list prepared by Dumézil, I shall present evidence (in producing an additional correlative not utilized by Dumézil) that the one-eyed trait does appear to be a genuinely early reflex of the PIE god who was a prototype to Váruṇaḥ. Ireland also preserves a correlative to Mitráḥ. However, the concept of a supposed one-handed trait for the opposing PIE twin deity should probably be abandoned (as Týr is the only correlative deity who has this trait).

Dumézil was entirely correct in recanting his earlier suggestion that Lug should be a correlative of Váruṇaḥ and Óðinn. Indeed, here we shall examine evidence that Lug actually corresponds to Mitráḥ and Týr. Although Lug does not lose a hand, he possesses many other traits fundamental to Týr. He is even closer to Mitráḥ, as both Mitráḥ and Lug keep their hands. In being a correlative of Mitráḥ and Týr rather than of Óðinn and Váruṇaḥ, Lug cannot possibly be the “one-eyed god” sought by Dumézil.

However, Ireland does possess a “one-eyed” euhemerized hero in Cú Chulainn (Sétanta), the renowned warrior of the *Táin bó Cuailnge*. This fact was apparent to Dumézil in 1940 (1948: 172), but because of his original equation of Lug with the “one-eyed” god, he failed to perceive this trait as an identifying attribute of this other Irish character (1948: 181-2). As Cú Chulainn, like Cocles, possesses his one-eyed nature only when he goes into battle rage,

Dumézil saw it as “*une gesticulation héroïque apparemment traditionnelle* (1948: 172). Thus Dumézil connected the trait, but not the character, with the original PIE god.

With the proviso of removing the “one-handed” trait from the PIE prototype deity behind Mitráḥ and Týr, I think that Dumézil’s formulation of the attributes of the PIE gods corresponding to Vedic Mitráḥ and Váruṇaḥ is essentially correct. Thus, his analysis still remains enlightening and instructive. Nonetheless, his analysis needs to be reformulated in certain details. As demonstrated in the previous section, in examining the correlatives of Váruṇaḥ, one must consider a three-generational descent group of IE deities who are functionally quite close.

In order to understand the IE correlatives of Váruṇaḥ, one must examine the three-generation group of gods corresponding to Vedic Dyāuḥ (1), Váruṇaḥ (2), and Pūṣá (3). In their subsequent evolutionary development in each of the linguistic-culture areas, the correlatives of these deities passed traits back and forth among themselves, with each culture area developing a slightly different pattern. Furthermore, as we have seen, in Vedic India thunder and lightning belonged to Índraḥ rather than to a member of this three-generation group, a consequence of the clouds being included in the Middle Realm rather than in the Upper Realm.

Also, as we have seen, Eddic Óðinn shows traits corresponding to both Vedic Dyāuḥ and Váruṇaḥ, while Thórr, with his thunderbolt and hammer, shows traits of Índraḥ as well as his developmental cognate Pūṣá. Thórr is thus not a correlative of Váruṇaḥ, but he does share traits with other gods or euhemerized heros who have inherited traits from deities corresponding to Váruṇaḥ and Pūṣá, such as Cú Chulainn. Like Cú Chulainn, the Lithuanian god Vėlinas also shows traits corresponding to both Váruṇaḥ and Pūṣá. In Rome, the god who utilized the byname Summanus corresponds to Váruṇaḥ, while archaic Mars and his son Quirinus-Romulus correspond to Váruṇaḥ and Pūṣá.

In Greek cult and mythology the major PIE deities survived, with Krónos (plus Ouranós) as the original Sky Father corresponding to Dyāuḥ. Thus Greek Zeús, the controller of the Upper Region, corresponds to Vedic Váruṇaḥ. Greek Poseidōn, the controller of the Middle Region, corresponds to Vedic Índraḥ. Greek Hermēs corresponds to Vedic Pūṣá. Zeús, however, has absorbed many of the pan-generic traits associated with the original Sky Father from Krónos (Ouranós). In Ireland, Dagda still has his pan-generic traits and probably preserves the original nature of the undifferentiated PIE Sky Father. Irish Conchobar and his son Cú Chulainn, taken together, correspond to Vedic Váruṇaḥ and Pūṣá. Here, however, Conchobar has been left as a mere shell representing the sovereign deity, while Cú Chulainn has absorbed most of the traits associated with both Váruṇaḥ and Pūṣá. Much the same thing occurred with archaic Roman Mars and his son Quirinus-Romulus.

The Vedic polar twins Mitráḥ and Váruṇaḥ are ancient in Indo-Iranian tradition. The *Zend Avesta* presents a view of Mithrō (cognate with Mitráḥ) contrasting with Ahurō Mazdā (functionally cognate with Váruṇaḥ), demonstrating that the two gods go back at least to the stage of common Indo-Iranian. The Mitannian text of the fourteenth century BC (close to the stage of common Indo-Iranian) demonstrates that these opposing twin deities of the Vedas were present at a very early period indeed. As we have seen, this text invokes *Mi-id-ra As-sil U-ru-wa-na As-s-el* to protect a treaty (Dumézil 1948: 117).

Corresponding to Vedic Mitráḥ, Irish myth shows a single god Lug, Scandinavia shows a single god Týr, and Greece shows a single god Apóllōn. In Rome, however, two correlatives of Mitráḥ appear in the myths and pseudo-histories: Sēmo-Sancus-Dius-Fidius (if this deity is separate from Iuppiter Summanus) and Numa. In a similar fashion, Summanus and Mars are both correlatives of Váruṇaḥ. The differentiation between Summanus and Mars, however, would appear to result from the early Romans coming to see two bynames for the same god as representing two distinct deities. This separation of these bynames to form two new gods then

resulted in the early Romans dividing the traits of the original deity between these two new deities.

The reconstructed structure and function of the three-generation PIE deities and their associated mythic roles (discussed in the previous section) would then appear to be as follows. A Sky-Father progenitor was seen to have mated with the Earth Mother to create the controllers of the Upper, Middle, and Lower Regions, as well as their corresponding goddess consorts. The control of the Upper Region originally was divided into two spheres, corresponding to lightness and darkness, and was in fact ruled over by a pair of polar contrasting twins (as represented by *Mitráḥ* and *Váruḥ*). The controller of the Middle Region governed the seas as well as the lands. The controller of the Lower Region held a subterranean realm and looked after the souls in death.

In our analysis of the Irish correlative of *Váruḥ*, it is the third generation which is our primary concern here. In the third generation, through his association with calving and the rituals surrounding the beginning of calving season early in the spring, the youthful PIE god who was the protector of cattle (corresponding to Vedic *Pūṣá*) became associated with his father. The father was the dark (winter/spring) god of the Upper Region as well as the god of the heavens at night (corresponding to Vedic *Váruḥ*). A similar process happened in Scandinavia between the second- and third-generation gods *Óðinn* and *Thórr*, although here *Thórr* received traits associated with the clouds and the thunderbolt remaining with the first-generation god *Dagda* in Ireland. In their subsequent evolutionary development these second- and third-generation father-and-son deities then began exchanging traits differentially in each of the linguistic culture areas of the IE world.

In Celtic regions the evolutionary trend apparent in the development of this father-and-son group, preserving the traits of the original one-eyed god, may then be outlined as follows. The PIE gods corresponding to *Mitráḥ* and *Váruḥ* originally formed a contrasting polar pair, with the deity corresponding to *Mitráḥ* controlling daytime and the summer half of the year (when the solar path is daily lowering in the sky) and the deity corresponding to *Váruḥ* controlling the nighttime and the winter half of the year (when the solar path is daily rising in the sky). The Celtic deity corresponding to *Váruḥ* lost traits to his younger son (corresponding to *Pūṣá-Viṣṇuḥ*). In the course of time the son came to replace more and more of his father's functional role in myth and ritual.

In spite of this Celtic transference of traits from the nighttime Upper-Realm controller to his son, there was still a need to preserve the polarity of the original contrast exemplified by Vedic *Mitráḥ* and *Váruḥ*. Thus, as the youthful deity corresponding to *Viṣṇuḥ-Pūṣá* (Irish *Cú Chulainn*) began to take over the role of his father (Irish *Conchobar*), the opposite deity corresponding to *Mitráḥ* (Irish *Lug*) then began to take on aspects of a younger deity as well. Thus the youthful Irish *Cú Chulainn* forms a polar contrast to the youthful god *Lug*, whose autumnal festival corresponds exactly to the Iranian autumnal festival to *Mithrō*. In Gaul both of the corresponding deities *Esus* and *Lugus* were assimilated to Roman *Mercurius*.

This dialectical twin balance is a critical aspect of *Mitráḥ* and *Váruḥ*, and apparently it was already in place during the PIE stage. In Celtic regions this original PIE balance continued to apply even though the original god corresponding to *Váruḥ* lost to his son the role of being the opposing deity to the god of the daytime sky. To maintain the balance, the god of the daytime sky became youthful as well. Thus in both Ireland and Iran, opposing gods continued to control dual sides of the year. In Ireland the youthful *Cú Chulainn* controlled the winter half of the year with a festival on the first day of spring (perhaps in coordination with his father *Conchobar*), and *Lug*, now turned youthful as well, controlled the summer half of the year with a festival on the first day of autumn. Together the two youthful gods (as with the year as well) formed a unity in the cosmos. Thus the youthful pair *Lug* and *Cú Chulainn* functionally played the same role in Ireland as did the older *Mithrō* and *Ahurō Mazdā* in Iran, although only *Lug* is developmentally cognate with *Mithrō*.

Gaulish Lugus and Vellaunos

Romano-Gaulish Mars-Mercurius

Caesar stated that the Gauls considered Mercurius to be the inventor of arts, the guide for roads, and the aid in money-making.

Deum maxime Mercurium colunt. Huius sunt plurima simulacra: hunc omnium inventorem artium ferunt, hunc viarum atque itinerum ducem, hunc ad quaestus pecuniae mercaturasque habere vim maximam arbitrantur. (BG: VI, 17).

Among the gods, they most worship Mercurius. There are numerous images of him; they declare him the inventor of all arts, the guide for every road and journey, and they deem him to bring the greatest influence for all money-making and traffic. (Edwards 1917: 341).

Inscriptions from Gaul support Caesar's statement that Mercurius was the most important god (see Even 1952: 290). They also verify the functional traits Caesar attributed to Gaulish Mercurius. There are some thirty places named after Mercurius, such as Marcouray (Vosges) and Marcorignar (Aude), attesting to the wide-spread popularity of the god (Even 1952: 293). Corresponding (although somewhat vaguely) to the attribute *omnium inventor artium* "inventor of all arts", there are inscriptions to the DEO MERCVRIO CVLTORI "to the God Mercurius, the Cultivator" (CIL: XIII, 6476; CIR: 1591). Corresponding to attribute *viarum atque itinerum dux* "guide for every road and journey" is an inscription to [ME]RC[VRIO] VIAT[ORI] "to Mercurius, the Traveler" (CIL: XII, 5849), although this inscription may refer to his role as otherworld traveler. An inscription to the DEO QVI VIAS ET SEMITAS COMMENTVS EST ... "to the god who devised roads and paths ..." (RIB: 725) from Cutlerick, Yorkshire, apparently refers to the same deity, augmenting the inscription to Mercurius Viator. Corresponding to Mercurius's role *ad quaestus pecuniae mercaturasque* "for money-making and traffic" are inscriptions to MERCVRIO LVCRORVM POTENTI (CIL V: 6594) and MERCVRIO LVCRORVM POTENTI ET CONSERVATOR(I) "to Mercurius, the Power (behind) and Preserver of profits" (CIL V: 6596).

As we shall see, two Gaulish gods, Lugus and Vellaunos-Esus, were identified with Mercurius. To shed light on why Lugus would have been identified with Mercurius, one may have recourse to his Irish cognate Lug. Irish Lug is the Samildánach "Equal in (Any) Art". A similar role for Lugus would explain his identification with Mercurius, whom Caesar noted was *omnium inventor artium* "inventor of all arts". To shed light on why Vellaunos-Esus would have been identified with Mercurius, one may have recourse to his Irish equivalent Cú Chulainn. Irish Cú Chulainn is the protector of cattle as well as the guide of ways. Cú Chulainn's byname Sétanta (<*sent- "way, path"; DPC: 330, IEW: 908) amplifies his role as guide of roads. A similar role for Vellaunos-Esus would explain his identification with Mercurius, whom Caesar noted was *viarum atque itinerum dux* "guide of every road and journey".

Cú Chulainn also has a youthful and warlike nature. A similar nature for Vellaunos-Esus would explain why, under several of his multitudinous bynames, he was identified with Mars as well as Mercurius. As noted, Cú Chulainn also functioned as protector of cattle and herds, and Lug functioned as the patron of arts and crafts. Similar roles would have allowed the Gaulish prototypes to these youthful Irish gods each to have been identified with Mercurius's ability *ad quaestus pecuniae mercaturasque habere vim maximam* "to bring the greatest influence for all money-making and traffic"

As we shall see, inscriptional evidence verifies that each of the two Gaulish gods, Lugh and Vellaunos-Esus, were identified with Mercurius. That the two gods identified with Mercurius functioned as the chief gods of Gaul is demonstrated not only by Caesar's comment, but by the frequency of their portrayal, as well. Of 2216 stone portrayals in the first ten volumes of Espérandieu (1907 ff.), 20% portray Mercurius, 10% Hercules, 9% Apollo, 9% Iuppiter, 9% Minerva, 9% Matres, 8% Iūno, 6% Mars, 6% Venus, 3% Diana, 2% Neptūnus, 2% Volcanus, and 1% Silvānus. Other deities make up another 6% of the portrayals. This evidence amply supports Caesar's (BG: VI, 17) statement that the most important god of Gaul was Mercurius and that after him they held as important Apollo, Mars, Iuppiter, and Minerva.

The inscriptions follow much the same pattern as the portrayals. Duval (1957: 67) and De Vries (1961) recorded 440 inscriptions to Mercurius and 111 inscriptions to Hercules, the second most numerous. Of 39 temple dedications in Gaul recorded by Lewis (1966: 48), 13 were to Mercurius (5 of these to Mercurius and Rosmerta), 7 to Mars, 4 to Apollo, 3 to the Matres, 2 to Iuppiter, and 10 to local gods.

Inscriptions from Roman Britain, on the other hand, have a very different distribution. Of 364 examples from RIB, 32% are to Iuppiter, 18% to Mars, 13% to the Matres, 7% to Fortūna, 6% to Silvānus, 5% to Victoria, 4% to Hercules, 4% to Mithra, 4% to Minerva, 3% to Apollo, 2% to Mercurius, 2% to Neptūnus, 1% to Diana, 1% to Volcanus, and 1% to Ascalapeus. Here it is clear that the chief god was not identified with Mercurius. It would appear that Vellaunos-Esus, who was usually identified with Mercurius in Gaul, was normally identified with Mars in Britain. Thus Mars and Mercurius together in Britain make up 20% of the total, which does not compare unfavorably with 26% for Mars and Mercurius taken together in Gaul.

The great difference in the total distribution of the inscriptions from the two regions is that Iuppiter accounts for 32% of the inscriptions from Britain as compared to 9% of the inscriptions from Gaul. However, if one excludes Iuppiter from the count, of the remaining inscriptions Mars and Mercurius together make up 29% of the total from both Gaul and Britain. Silvānus, Victoria, and Mithra have large distributions in the British inscriptions, making up jointly 17% of the total, whereas they are scarcely represented from Gaul. Thus, including these deities in the count of the British inscriptions, 7% are to Fortūna, 6% to Silvānus, 5% to Victoria, and 4% to Mithra. From Gaul, in contrast, Silvānus makes up only 1% of the total, and Mithra, Fortūna, and Victoria are scarcely represented at all. Excluding Iuppiter, Silvānus, Victoria, Fortūna, and Mithra from the British figures and Iuppiter and Silvānus from the Gaulish figures, we may generate the following table:

Deity	Gaul	Britain
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Mercurius	22%	4%
Mars	7%	40%
Merc-Mars	29%	44%
Matres	10%	29%
Iūno	9%	
Venus	7%	
Mat/Iūn/Ven	26%	29%
Hercules	11%	9%
Minerva	10%	9%
Apollo	10%	7%
Ascalapius		2%
Apol/Ascl	10%	9%
Neptūnus	4%	2%
Diana	3%	2%
Volcanus	2%	2%

As noted above, Vellaunos-Esus, normally identified with Mercurius in Gaul, was usually identified with Mars in Britain. Examining the above table, the distribution of the Mars inscriptions from Britain is at least 50% larger than what might be expected from the combined total of the Mars and Mercurius inscriptions projected from Gaul. This increased distribution in the inscriptions to Mars in Britain coincides with the increase in the inscriptions to Iuppiter, Fortūna, Silvānus, Victoria, and Mithra, noted above. Otherwise, the distribution in inscriptions to the other gods is nearly identical for both Britain and Gaul.

To explain the large number of British inscriptions to Iuppiter, Victoria, Fortūna, and Mithra, as well as the larger-than-expected number of inscriptions to Mars, we may note that most of the inscriptions from Britain come from military sites, including outposts in Wales and stations on Hadrian's Wall. The Gaulish portrayals, on the other hand, come largely from civilian sites. The cult of Mithra was largely confined to the military (see OCD: 695). Since most of these military sites were in mountainous and wilderness regions of Britain, the rationale for dedicating a large number of inscriptions to Silvānus is obvious. The large number of inscriptions to Iuppiter from Britain probably also reflects that these inscriptions come primarily from official military sites. The chief god of the Roman pantheon would have played a prominent role at such military outposts.

Thus the apparent difference in distribution of the British and Gaulish dedications reflects more the different sources from which the two figures arise: the British material coming largely from military sites, and the Gaulish material mainly from civilian sites. There was probably no appreciable difference in the nature of British and Gaulish ritual. Only the Gaulish material, arising primarily from civilian sites, actually reflects the relative importance of the various Romanized deities to Romano-Celtic religious life.

As noted, inscriptions associate the deity-name Esus with both Mars and Mercurius. Esus was also identified by the commentators on Lūcānus with both Mars and Mercurius. The text of Lūcānus in which Esus is mentioned reads as follows.

Et quibus inmitis placatur sanguine diro
Teutates, horrensque feris altaribus Esus
et Taranis Scythicae non mitior ara Dianae.
(*de Bello Civili*: 1, 444-6; Zwicker 1934: 50).

Like the inscriptions, the well-known glosses of the Berne scholiasts on this quotation identify Esus with both Mercurius and Mars: (1) *Hesus Mars sic placatur: homo in arbore suspenditur usque donec per cruorem membra digesserit*, and (2) *Hesum Mercurium credunt, siquidem a mercatoribus colitur* (Zwicker 1934: 50). These glosses may be translated: (1) "Esus Mars was thus placated: "a man was hanged in a tree until his arms and legs (*membra*) would gorily fall off", and (2) "They identify Esus with Mercurius, since he is worshiped by merchants."

The ambivalence in the identification of Esus is also found in the deity-name Teutates. Inscriptions utilize the bynames in *teuto-*, *touto-* for both Mars and Mercurius. Teutates is also identified with both Mars and Mercurius in the *Comenta Lucani* (Lūcānus: *de Bello Civili*: I, 445) as well.

Mercurius lingua Gallorum Teutates dicitur Teutates Mercurius sic apud Gallos placatur: in plenum semicupium homo in caput demittitur ut ibi suffocetur.... Teutates Mars "sanguine diro" placatur.... (Zwicker 1934: 47-8).

The fact that Lūcānus lists Teutates and Esus as two separate deities united in a ruling triad, while in this study they are projected to be bynames for the same deity, probably means little. As Vendryes pointed out, Lūcānus's observation was probably not very accurate.

Il semble donc que l'idée de trouver dans les vers de Lucain une trinité de grands dieux celtiques résulte de l'interprétation abusive d'une information elle-même assez légèrement établie. (Vendryes 1948: 265).

As Vendryes noted, Lūcānus may have thrown together three names at random which were associated with major deities. Two of these names, Esus and Teutates, probably applied to the same deity without Lūcānus's knowledge.

It is also possible, however, that Lūcānus wished to convey the Gaulish equivalents of the archaic Roman triad Iuppiter, Mars, and Quirinus. Thus it is significant that in his reference Taranis corresponds to Iuppiter, Teutates may be identified with Mars, and Esus may be identified with Mercurius (and equally interchanging the identification of Teutates and Esus). Here one could find the original three-generation celestial gods: the Sky Father, the Upper-Realm controller, and the Savior/Champion son.

Gaulish Lugus: the Daytime Upper-Realm Controller

In connection with the identification of Lugus with Mercurius, an inscription from the temple to Mercurius at Lyons (Lugdunum), dating to Tiberius's reign, is dedicated to MERCVRIO AVGVSTO ET MAIAE AVGVSTAE SACRVM EX VOTO (CIL XIII: 1769), thus "to august Mercurius and to (his) august (mother) Maia". At Tailtiu in Ireland the festival of Lughnasad "Lug's Feast" was dedicated to Lug and to his foster-mother Tailtiu. Thus the dedication to Lug and his foster mother occurring at the oenach at Tailten and that to Mercurius and his mother found at the Romano-Gaulish temple show a similar pattern in being dedicated to a god and his mother, a pattern which is found elsewhere only in inscriptions to Gaulish Apollo and the goddess of sources.

There are several inscriptions from Gaul and Celtiberia to the *Lucoves* or *Lugoves*, in the plural as was commonplace in Gaulish inscriptions (see DAG: '82), apparently as a sign of respect. The most important Continental dedication to Lugus occurs in a Celtiberian inscription from Peñalba de Villastar (Martinez 1962: 92; see Glossary: Lugus), which is possibly poetic. In this Celtiberian inscription the deity is referenced as LVGVVEI, the dative singular of a u-stem. Lejeune (1955: 17) has suggested that the middle three lines of the five-line inscription should be translated "qu'annuellement avec des chevaux, à chaque fois au mois d'O., [...] offre à Lugus les offrandes rituelles". The basic significance of these three lines as indicating an offering seems probable. Seeing the lines as poetic, I would suggest reading the three middle lines as follows.

...
 Trecaias to Lugei // araianom
 com eimu eniorosei // equei
 suique ogru // olocas to(n)gias.
 ...

Of ... to Lugus (is) the ...
 with ... at the annual (festival) ?in (the month of) Equos?
 and ?with a pig?, ?with fruit? from the invoker's field.

Meid has communicated to me his hypothesis that in this inscription *Eniorosei* and *Equeisui* are possibly dative epithets of Lugus. If Meid is correct about seeing *Equeisui* as a byname, it would negate the possibility of the lines being poetic. To me, the metric nature of the lines seems compelling (Olmsted 1991; see Glossary: Lugus). I dismiss Meid's reading *Equeisui*

“*Eques* or Horseman” solely for this reason, seeing *equei* as the locative of the month name *Equos*. In any case, *Eniorosei* would remain as a possible dative byname and would indicate “Mountain Dwelling”, rather than Lejeune’s “*annuellement*”.

The Peñalba inscription was dedicated to *Luguei*, with *ogru olocas tongias* possibly “with the ?fruit? from the invoker’s fertile field” (note here Tovar reads *ogris*). An Old Irish poem (from Harl. 5280; fo. 35 b, 2; with the first three lines in essentially the same 2/1 stressed meter as I would see for the first three lines of the Peñalba inscription) refers to *fromad cech toraid co m-blaid* “tasting every renowned fruit” on *Lugnasad* “the Feast Day of Lug”.

Lugnassad luaid // a hada
 cecha bliadna // ceinmara
 fromad cech toraid // co m-blaid
 biad lusraid // la Lugnasaid.
 (Meyer 1894: 48-9).

Lugnasad, make known its customs
 in each wondrous year:
 tasting every renowned fruit,
 the food of plants on the day of Lugnasad.

More succinctly, as a gloss on this poem states in one of the manuscripts, *la aipchi na h-uili thorad immarach .i. la Lughnasad* “tomorrow is the day all fruits ripen, *Lugnasad*”. In a similar light one may understand the Peñalba inscription to *Lugus*. The inscription possibly offers up thanks to *Lugus* for a plentiful harvest.

This god is known from Gaulish and Celtiberian sources as *Lugus* and as *Lucus*, from Irish sources as *Lug*, and from Welsh sources as *Lleu* (see Glossary: *Lugus*). One may thus reconstruct a Common Celtic u-stem form **Lugus*. Gaulish and Celtiberian *Lucus*, most likely, is simply an orthographic variation of *Lugus*, but there remains a possibility that it is a distinct byname in itself. *Lugus* possibly derives from a projected theoretical Celtic root **lug-* “burn, enflame” (of unknown origin), which Lambert (1979: 159) would see behind Breton *losk* “burn” (with the addition of the suffix *-sko-*). In this case, *Lugus* would indicate something like “Bright” (DPC: 248). *Lugus* “Bright” could then be seen as falling together with *Lucus*, in this case, seen as a distinct Celtiberian and Gaulish deity-name. If *Lucus* is not just an orthographic variation of *Lugus*, *Lucus* could represent the zero-grade of the apophonic forms **leuk-*, **louk-*, **luk-* “light” (IEW: 687), which are usually presented as i-stems or o-stems. *Lucus* would then have a significance “Light”, slightly different from that of *Lugus*, seen as “Bright”.

An alternative and possibly more likely etymology for **Lugus*, favored by Meid and Hamp, is to see an origin from the zero-grade of the apophonic forms **leugh-*, **lough-*, **lugh-* “oath, vow” (**h₂leugh^h-*) (as suggested by Wagner, 1970, 24). One should note, however, that this root is usually presented as an io-stem and only attested in Celtic (*lugiō-*; DPC: 247) and Germanic (IEW: 687; only the full-grade and the zero-grade are attested). From this view, the deity-name *Lugus* likely meant “God of Vows”, giving *Lugus* a role as a god of contracts like *Mitrāh* and *Mithrō*. Meid would see *Lucus* as simply an orthographic variation of *Lugus*.

Mercurius has several bynames from Gaul which suggest an identity with *Lugus*. A fairly widespread inscription from Gaul refers to him as *Mercurius Arvernorum* “*Mercurius*, King of the Arverni”. There can be little doubt that this epithet arises from the earlier hegemony the Arverni controlled in Gaulia Lugdunensis. By extending the name to the area under their control, one may reformulate *Mercurius Arvernorum* as **Mercurius Lugdunorum*.

According to Plinius (*Historia naturalis*: XXXIV, 45), Zenodoros worked for ten years on a colossal statue of *Mercurius* for a temple which stood on the height of Puy de Dôme in Gallia Lugdunensis. Plinius put the cost of this statue at 400,000 sesterces. Some idea of what this

statue may have looked like is provided by a bas-relief on an altar from Horn by Ruremonde (Esp.: 6610). The altar bears the inscription MERCVRIO ARVERNO. The altar displays a seated Mercurius holding a caduceus in his left hand and a purse in his right hand. Behind him lies a he-goat. On one of the side-faces is a caduceus with a cock atop it, and on the other side of the altar is a purse. A nearly identical portrayal, but without inscription, comes from Langres (Gallia Lugdunensis; Esp. 3340). In light of the inscription to Mercurius Arvernus from the height of Puy de Dôme, it seems likely that these unusual Mercurius portrayals were actually copied from the original statue of Zenodoros.

Other Mercurius temples on heights occurred at Mont du Chat (Savoie), Mont de Sène (Bourgogne, near Chagny), and at Donon (Vosges) (see Monceaux 1887: 238; Even and Le Roux 1952: 290-7). This association with heights is important in identifying this chief god of the region once controlled by the Arverni with his Irish counterpart. In this connection with heights, one should possibly accept Meid's interpretation of *Eniorosei* as a byname of Lugus indicating "Mountain Dwelling" in the Peñalba inscription. As he has noted to me, the Peñalba is 1000 meters in altitude. Whatever the interpretation of *Eniorosei*, the height of Peñalba is still significant in the association with Lugus. As Mac Neill (1962: 78, 79, 83) noted, pilgrimages to mountain heights such as Croagh Patrick (Co. Mayo) on Lugnasad have a long tradition in Ireland. Mac Neill sees these pilgrimages, associated with Patrick during the Christian period, as holdovers from earlier pilgrimages associated with the god Lug during the pagan period.

That Lugus-Mercurius had a special relationship to heights is clear not only from the temple on Puy de Dôme and on other heights, but also from the epithets *Mercurius Dumiatris*: "of the Dome" and *Mercurius Clavari(gi)atis*: "who Rules the Mountain". Most interesting is an inscription to *Mars Leucimalacos*: "the Light of the Mountain" from Giacomo near Demonte and from Demonte, Cuneo, probably referring to this same deity Lugus.

Another interesting inscription to Mercurius comes from Trier and is dedicated to *Mercurius Vassocaelis* "Mercurius Protector of Vassals". *Ri(g)ocalatis* is a similar byname contained in a dedication to the god Cocidios Mars identified with Vellaunos (to be discussed below). It seems most likely that these two names should be interpreted as *Ri(g)ocalatis* "Protector of Kings" and *Vassocaelis* "Protector of Vassals". As a pair, these epithets have interesting implications for Vellaunos as a counterpart to the Vedic *Váruṇaḥ*, the sovereign controller of the universe, and for Lugus as a counterpart to Vedic *Mitráḥ*, the controller of law, contracts, and bonding between men. Thus *Vassocaelis* "Protector of Vassals" was a god for whom bonding and contracts would be important, while *Ri(g)ocalatis* "Protector of Kings" bore a special relationship to sovereignty.

Gaulish Vellaunos-Esus: the Nighttime Upper-Realm Controller

The major bynames *Vellaunos* and *Esus* as well as the minor byname *Iovantucaros* are found on inscriptions to both Mars and Mercurius. It is clear that we deal here with a single Gaulish deity who was assimilated to both Mars and Mercurius rather than the use of identical Gaulish bynames for two separate gods. The iconography as well as the *zusammenhangend* linkages demonstrate that here we have an earlier Gaulish god and his attributive names who was identified with both Mars and Mercurius after the Roman conquest. In the text which follows I shall refer to this major deity by his most important bynames as Vellaunos-Esus or simply Vellaunos.

There are many other bynames connected to Vellaunos through the *zusammenhangend* linkage of overlapping names common to separate inscriptions, most of which are dedicated to Mars, but some to Mercurius. Other bynames may be brought into the group as variations in

the suffixes or prefixes of names connected through overlapping inscriptions. I list the major inscriptions here so that these important linkages may be seen from the onset, making it clear that these all refer to a single Celtic god.

[DEO] MARTI LENO [S]IVE OCELO VELLAVN(O)₁ (RIB: 309).
 DEO MERCVRIO VICTORI MA[G](E)NIACO₂ VE[L]LAVNO₁ (CIL XII: 2373).
 MARTI LATOBIO HARMOGIO₃ TOVTATL₄ SINATI MOGENIO₂ (CIL III: 5320).
 MARTI MOGETIO₃ (CIL XIII: 1193).
 DEO MARTI MEDOCIO₁₀ CAMPESIVM (RIB: 191).
 TOVTATL₄ MEDVRINI₁₀ (CIL III: 1182).
 ME(R)CVRIO TOVTENO₄ (CIL XIII: 6122).
 RI(G)OCALATI₅ [TO]VTATL₄ M[AR(TI)] COCID(I)O₆ (RIB: 1017).
 MARTI RIGISAMO₅ (RIB: 187).
 MERCV(RIO) DEO ANDES(VI)₈ COCI(DIO)₆ VO(S)VCO₉ (RIB: 193).
 MERC(VRIO) AVG(VSTO) VISVCIO₉ (CIL XIII: 577).
 MERCVRIO (front) [...]ESVM[ARO]₈ (rear) (Esp.: 1609).
 ESVS₈ (wood cutter icon.) (CIL XIII: 3026).
 DEO VERNOSTONO COCIDIO₆ (RIB: 1102).

Here then the inscription (CIL XII: 2373) with Vellaunos and Mageniacos is linked by the presence of the name Vellaunos to the inscription (RIB: 309) with Vellaunos, Ocelos, and Lenos. The inscription (CIL XII: 2373) with Vellaunos and Mageniacos is linked by the presence of Mageniacos to the inscription (CIL III: 5320) with Mogenios (both form **magenio-*; DPC: 274, IEW:696) and the other bynames Latobios, Armogios, Toutatis, and Sinatis. The inscription (CIL III: 5320) with Toutatis, Latobios, Armogios, Sinatis, and Mogenios is linked through Toutatis to the inscription (RIB: 1017) with Toutatis and Cocidios. Toutatis also links the inscription (CIL III: 5320) with Mogenios, Latobios, Armogios, Toutatis, and Sinatis to the inscription (CIL III: 1182) with Toutatis and Medurinis. The inscription (RIB: 1017) with Cocidios, Ri(g)ocalitis, and Toutatis is linked through Cocidios to the inscription (RIB: 193) with Cocidios, Andes(us), and Vo(s)ucos as well as to the inscription (RIB: 1102) with Cocidios and Vernostonos.

In this fashion I shall then examine as a block the following bynames linked by *Zusammenhang* to the major Celtic deity-name Vellaunos: Ocelos, Lenos, Mageniacos, Magenios, Armogios, Latobios, Sinatis, Toutatis, Cocidios, Ri(g)ocalitis, Medurinis, Andes(us), and Vo(s)ucos. The use of the same roots, but with variations in the suffixes and prefixes (p/s/c), add to this group Toutenos, Esus, Esum[aros] and Visucios. Semantic considerations suggest that Moccus and Iovantucaros, bynames of Mars and Mercurius, should be connected with Mogenios (*Magenios) and Mageniacos through the association with youth.

It is fortunate that this large group, which can be linked with certainty to the Gaulish god Vellaunos through the *Zusammenhang* of overlapping inscriptions, provides a semantically significant block of traits. This large block of traits allows one to make a positive identification of this deity with his Irish and other IE correlatives. The following bynames then belong to this important group. I list first those names, linked by *Zusammenhang*, whose etymologies are reasonably transparent.

Andes(us): “Great Lord” or “Very Sacred” (Mercurius, RIB: 193, p/s/c varia: *esu-*).

Armogios: “the Very Mighty” (Mars, CIL: 5320, p/s/c varia: *mogio-*).

Esus: “the Lord” or “the Divine” (Mars/Mercurius: *esu-*).

Esum[aros]: “?Great? Lord” or “?Great? in Divinity” (Mercurius, p/s/c varia: *esu-*).

Iovantucaros: “Friend of Youth” (Mars/Mercurius, semantic: *magu-*).

Latobios: “Striker of Warriors” or “Warrior-like Striker” (Mars, CIL: 5320).

Mageniacos, Mogenios: “the Youth” or “of the Plain” (Mars/Mer., CIL: 2373, 5320: *magu-*).
Marmogios: “the Great and Mighty” (Mars, p/s/c varia: *mogio-*).
Medocios: “who Renders Judgement” (Mars; p/s/c varia: *medo-*).
Medurinis: “who Renders Judgment” (CIL: 1182).
Mogetios: “the Mighty” (Mars, p/s/c varia: *mogio-*).
**Mogios (Magios)*: “the Mighty” (Mars: *mogio-*).
Ocelos: “the Seer” or “of the Eye” (Mars, RIB: 309).
Ri(g)ocalatis: “the Protector of Kings” or “Sovereign Protector” (Mars, RIB: 1017: *rigo-*).
Segomo: “the Victory Giver” (Mars, semantic: *sino-*).
Sinatis: “Torque Holder” (Mars, CIL: 5320: *sino-*).
Toutatis, Toutenos: “(Protector of) Tribe” (Mars/Mercurius, CIL: 5320, 1182; RIB: 1017).
Vellaunos: “the Seer” (Mars and Mercurius, RIB: 309, CIL: 2373).
Vernostonos: “Wounds with Thunder” or “Shields from Thunder” (RIB: 1102).
Visucios, Vo(s)ucos: “the Worthy” (Mercurius, RIB: 193).

The Gaulish god indicated by the deity-name *Vellaunos* “the Seer” gained special insight, like Scandinavian Óðinn, as indicated by the byname *Ocelos* “the Seer” or “of the Eye”. Through the bynames *Mogenios* (**Magenios*), *Mageniacos* “the Youth” and *Iovantucaros* “Friend of Youth”, one can be reasonably certain that this Gaulish god was not only youthful, but that he was considered to be a special guardian of young men. The bynames *Toutatis*, *Toutenos* “(Protector of) Tribe” and *Ri(g)ocalatis* “the Protector of Kings” or “the Sovereign Protector” indicate that he was the special guardian not only of the people or tribe, but especially of the sovereignty of that people. He was a warrior as indicated by the names *Segomo* “the Victory Giver” and *Latobios* “Striker of Warriors”. He apparently had control of some sort of thunderbolt, as indicated by the byname *Vernostonos* “Wounds with Thunder” or “Shields from Thunder”. Like Vedic *Váruṇaḥ* he must have played a role in bringing law breakers to justice, as indicated by the bynames *Medocios* and *Medurinis* “Who Renders Judgement”. Most important in identifying him with iconographic portrayals is the byname *Sinatis* “Torque Holder”, which would give him a positive correlation with the portrayals of the cross-legged god holding a torque, identified on the monument of the Nautae Parisiaci as *[C]ern[u]nnos* “(Protector of) Horned (Animals)”.

Next I list those names, connected by the same *zusammenhangend* linkage, whose names are uncertain in their etymological significance. As indicators of attributes of the deity, they must be viewed with considerably more caution. Guesses as to the significance of these names (see Glossary), however, suggest that they may overlap with the same semantic field as the more certain names.

Cocidios: “?” (Mars/Mercurius, RIB: 1017, 193, 1102, icon: 1207).
Lenos: “?” (Mars, RIB: 309).
Moccos: “?” (Mercurius, semantic: *?magu-?*).

An important inscribed iconographic portrayal of *Cocidios* depicts him with a stag to the right and a hound, a serpent, and a tree to the left (also found on the Augustian silver cup from Lyons and on the Gundestrup cauldron plate A; Olmsted 1979b: pls. 63-5). Thus the iconography links the now headless god on the altar from Risingham dedicated to *Cocidios* (RIB: 1207; Ross 1967: fig. 112) to the portrayal of the antlered god from Paris dedicated to *[C]ern[u]nnos*.

DEO COCIDIO₆ ET SIL[VANO] (hound/stag icon.)₁₀ (RIB: 1207).
 [C]ERN[V]NNOS (hound/stag icon.)₁₀ (CIL XIII: 3026).

Thus we find a verification of the linkage of Vellaunos to [C]ern[u]nnos implied by the inscription to Sinatis “Torque Holder”, above. [C]ern[u]nnos may thus be added to the list of bynames for this god.

Other Gundestrup cauldron portrayals (on interior plates C and E) would link motifs associated with this antlered, cross-legged, torque-holding god (as depicted on interior plate A) with the actions of Cú Chulainn in the *Táin*, as I have noted previously (Olmsted 1979b: 211-223). As we shall see, most of the reasonably certain attributes for Vellaunos derived by the etymological analysis of the names linked by *Zusammenhang* could apply to Cú Chulainn. The iconographic portrayals merely add credibility to what it is already implied by the etymology of the bynames.

Semantic considerations suggest adding to the above group the bynames of Mars and Mercurius involving the root **smer-*: Smertullos, Smertrios, Smeratios, and Adsmerios, indicating “the Foresighted”. In addition, Anvallos “the Strong”, Rigisamos “the Most Sovereign”, Rigonemetis “with Kingly Sanctity”, and Lanovallos “the Completely Strong”, bynames of Mars or Mercurius, probably belong to this group. Other interesting inscriptions are to Mercurius *Excingiorigiatos* “He who Rules through Striding” (if not, as Meid suggests, “King of Warriors”) and to Mercurius *Cimi(n)acinos*: “the Strider” or “God of Roads”. In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (1, 9, 3, 6), Viṣṇuḥ acquires the all-pervading power of the gods through striding through the three worlds. Viṣṇuḥ has bynames *Urugāyá-* “Wide-going” and *Urukramá-* “Wide-Striding” (MacDonell 1897: 37). The epithets *Excingiorigiatos* and *Cimiacinos* would seem to connect Gaulish Vellaunos-Esus (Mercurius) with Vedic Viṣṇuḥ as well as with Pūṣā. The following bynames then belong to a second group which probably associated with Vellaunos. I list first those names whose etymologies seem reasonably clear.

**Andovellicos*: “the Great Seer”.

Anvallos, Anvallonnacos: “the Strong”.

Atesmerios, Adsmerios: “the Highly Foresighted” (Mercurius).

Belatucadros: “Mighty in Destruction” (Mars, EE 3: 125 no.4).

Beladonnis: “the Noble Destroyer” (Mars).

[C]ern[u]nnos: “(Protector of) Horned (Beasts)” (icon. of Mercur., icon: B1207, *cern-*).

Cimi(n)acinos: “the Strider” or “God of Roads” (Mercurius).

Degovexis, Vectirix: “the Good Fighter”, “King of Fighters”.

Dunatis: “(Protector) of the Fortified Town” (Mars, AcS I: 1373).

Excingiorigiatos: “He who Rules through Striding” or “King of Warriors” (Mercurius).

Lanovallos: “the Completely Strong”.

Loucetios: “(Hurler) of Lightning” (Mars).

Naissatis: “Who Satisfies Warriors” (Mercurius).

Rigisamos: “the Most Sovereign” (Mars, p/s/c varia: *rigo-*).

Rigonemetis: “with Kingly Sanctity” (Mars, p/s/c varia: *rigo-*).

Smertatios, Smertrios: “the Foresighted” (Mars).

Semantic considerations also suggests adding Arixos “?Noble?”, a byname of Mars, to the Vellaunos group, as well. Semantic considerations in the association with herds and cattle suggest that Arcecios, a byname of Mercurius, should be connected to [C]ern[u]nnos, although the uncertainty surrounding the etymology of this name make this speculative (see Glossary). Probably Cissonios “?the Charioteer?” belongs to this group, as well. One should note that the etymological significance of the names whose translations are enclosed in question marks is obscure, and I only indicate here what I consider to be possible interpretations of what otherwise must remain enigmatic (see Glossary).

Arcecios: “?” (Mercurius).
Arixos: “?Noble?” (Mars, semantic: *esu-*).
Bagulos: “?” (EE 3: 125 no. 4).
Bell[latu]maros: “Great in ?Destruction?”.
Biav(e)sios: “?” (Mercurius).
Camulos: “?of Conflicts?” or “?the Warrior?” (Mars).
Camulorix: “?Ruler of Conflict?” or “?King of Warriors?”.
Cissonios: “?the Charioteer?” (Mercurius).
Ollov(e)dios: “?the All Seeing God?” (Mars).
Vitucadros: “?Mighty in Appetite?” (Mars).

There are a number of attributive names for the Romano-Gaulish and Romano-British Mars which relate to warrior aspects of the god. These bynames probably go back to the pre-Roman Gaulish deity, but the linkage of these names is less certain than for the above names. The names listed here either arose during the early Roman period among Celtic speakers and refer solely to the Roman deity, or they were used for a pre-Roman Celtic deity assimilated to Mars. Most likely the latter case is correct, and the names probably refer to Vellaunos-Esus, who was commonly assimilated to both Mars and Mercurius. They all refer to warlike attributes of the deity. They are purely attributive and refer to a deity who was evoked in battle. They convey little other specific information about the nature of the deity.

Before analyzing this group of names, I will first list a few Latin epithets from Roman Britain to provide analogies from which to view the less certain significance of the Gaulish names. Thus, we find Latin inscriptions to the DEO MARTI CONSERV(ATORI) (Chester, RIB: 454), MARTI MILITARI (Maryport, RIB: 838), PACIFERO MARTI [...] (Ribchester, RIB: 584), [DEO MARTI] VI[TORI...] (Corbridge, RIB: 1132), and to MARTI VICTORI (Risingham, RIB: 1221). Thus, Mars is referred to simply as the “Preserver, the Soldier, the Pacifier, the Avenger, and the Victorious”.

It seems most likely that the Gaulish names, which are exactly analogous to these Latin names, refer to a single deity as well. The evidence of these Latin epithets thus speaks against seeing a separate Gaulish god behind each epithet. Probably all refer to the Gaulish god Vellaunos in his warlike nature. If there were any doubt in the matter of these being bynames of a single deity and not separate deity names, the inscription from Sekau listing five epithets of Mars, found elsewhere separately, proves the point: (MARTI LATOBIO HARMOGIO TOVTATI SINATI MOGENIO; CIL III: 5320). The following bynames then belong to this third group. I list first those names whose etymological significance is reasonably clear.

Bar(o)rix: “Ruler of Rage” (Mars).
Budenos, Budenicos: “the Victorious” or “of the Troops” (Mars).
Cariocicos, Carocicinos: “the Fierce, the Ravenous” (Mars).
Caturix: “the Ruler of Battle” (Mars).
Corotiacos: “the Warlike” (Mars).
Dinomogetiomaros: “the Great and Mighty Protector or (Striker)” (Mars; CIL XII: 4218).
Neto: “the Warrior” (Mars).
*Rudianos, *Rudiodivos*: “the Robust”, “the Robust God” (Mars).
Vicinnos: “the Warrior” (Mars).

I list next those names whose etymological significance is less certain. One should view these names with some caution as indicators of the attributes of the god.

Britovios, Britos: “?the Giver of Bounty?” (Mars).
Cicollus: “?the Very Fierce?” or “?Fiercely Glowing?” (Mars).
Divanno: “the God of ?” (Mars; CIL XII: 4218).
Leusdr[u]nos: “?” (Mars).

There are also a number of inscriptions to Mars, though sometimes to Mercurius, where the epithet represents a place name or tribal name. There are several possible reasons for this practice. In many cases the dedicator probably wished to identify the major Gaulish god worshipped under the guise of Mars with his own people or town. The place-name epithets would then be a way to specify an earlier Celtic deity, assimilated to Mars, without actually specifying his earlier Celtic name. Another possibility is that a local genius is evoked in the guise of Mars to aid in military matters.

In any case, the etymologies of the epithets contain no information about the nature of the god in question, except perhaps to specify him in his role as Toutatis “Protector of the People”, Dunatis “Protector of the Town”, or Mageniacos “Protector of the Plain”. The iconography from Mavilly (Esp.: 2067) actually tells us more about the nature of Gaulish Mars than do these place name and tribal name inscriptions. Here we glimpse a Gaulish view of the god, young and wearing chain mail, standing beside Minerva on his left, both touching a shield. He holds a lance in his right hand, with a ram-headed serpent beside it.

The following bynames probably refer to place-names or tribal names.

Mercurius Alaunos: “Mercurius of the Alaunes”.
Mars Albiorix: “Mars, King of the Albionenses” or “King of the World”.
Mars Bolvinnos: “Mars of the Vicus of Bolvinnus”.
Mars Buxenos: “Mars of the Wood (of Buxenos)”.
Mercurius Canetonnesis: “Mercurius of the Vicus of Canetonnum”.
Mars Cemenelon: “Mars of the Vicus of Cemenelum”.
Mars Condatis: “Mars of the Vicus of Condatis”.
Mars Giarinos: “Mars of the Vicus of Giarinus”.
Mars Lacavos: “Mars of the Vicus of Lacavus”.
Mars Mullo: “Mars of the Hills of Mullo(n)”.
Mars Nabelcos: “Mars of the Valley of Nabelcus”.
Mercurius Ov(e)niorix: “Mercurius, King of the Ovenii”.
Mars Ra(n)dosati: “Mars of the Vicus of Randanum”.
Mars Tilenos: “Mars of the Telenus Mountains”.
Mars Tritullos: “Mars of the Tritulli”.
Mars Vintios: “Mars of the Vicus of Vintium”.
Mars Vorocios: “Mars of the Vicus of Vorocium”.

The Irish Gods Lug and Cú Chulainn Irish Lug: the Correlative of the Daytime Upper-Realm Controller

Like Cú Chulainn, the Irish god Lug (Gaulish Lugus) is a youthful god, full of a vigorous, ardent nature. In the Middle Irish tale *Aided Clainne Tuirenn*, Lug is described as a “young noble-faced boy”. At seeing the radiance of Lug’s face, Bres exclaims, “It is a wonder to me that the sun should rise in the west today and in the east every other day” (Cross and Slover 1936: 52, 56; trans. O’Curry). Indeed in most of the sources, Lug has an epithet Grianaineach “Sun-faced”, reminiscent of Avestan Mithrō’s epithet Hvāraoxšna- “Endowed with Light” (Gershevitch 1959: 144-5). As noted above and in the Glossary, like Gaulish and Celtiberian *Lugus* from which it apparently derives, Irish Lug’s u-stem name possibly may derive from a

projected theoretical Celtic root **lug-* “burn, enflame” of unknown origin (Lambert 1979: 159). An alternative etymology, favored by Wagner, Meid, and Hamp, is to see an origin for *Lug* from the zero-grade of the apophonic forms **leugh-*, **lough-*, **lugh-* “oath, vow” (**h₂leugh-*; DPC: 247, IEW: 687). Thus although the Gaulish and Celtiberian variant form *Lucus* is probably merely an orthographic variant of *Lugus*, it is the only form of the name which could be cognate with the basic root **luk-* “light” (IEW: 687) found in the final stem *raoxšna* “brilliant” of *Hvāraoxšna-*. However, the form *Lugus* possibly may have had a similar meaning and indicated “Bright” (DPC: 248). But, it is more likely that *Lugus* meant “God of Vows” and would indicate a function for the deity behind *Lug* not unlike *Mithrō*’s role as god of contracts.

Although the name *Lug* likely meant “Vow” rather than “Bright”, *Lug* is clearly associated with the daytime and summer. When *Lug* and *Balor* meet in combat in the *Cath Maige Tuired* it is in the day. *Lug* then hurls a sling-stone at *Balor*. In this, *Lug* may be compared to Roman *Fidius*, the hurler of lightning during the day, a deity whom *Dumézil* suggested corresponds to *Mitrāh* (*Mithrō*). When *Balor* had his eyelid raised to turn his eye against *Lug*, “*Lug* cast a sling-stone at him, which carried the eye through his head” (Stokes 1891a: 100-1). Another of *Lug*’s epithets *Lámfota* “Long-armed” is also suggestive of *Mithrō*, who in the *Mihr Yast* has “long arms [which] reach out to catch the violators of the contract” (Gershevitch 1959: 125).

The sling is not the only weapon available to *Lug*. Like *Óðinn* (*Skáldskaparmál*: ‘ 5), *Lug* is said to have a famous spear. As *Cath Maige Tuired* states, “out of *Gorias* was brought the Spear that *Lug* had (*an tsleg boi ac Lug*). No battle was ever won against it or him who held it in his hand” (Stokes 1891: 56-7). Strangely, nowhere is *Lug* ever said to use the spear.

Lug bears a special relationship to kingship. In *Baile an Scáil*, *Lug* appears beside the female personification of the “Sovereignty of Ireland” (*flaith Érenn*) and tells *Conn* of the kings to come in the future (O’Curry 1861: 618-22). *Lug*, however, is not the primary king of the *Túatha dé Danann*, but rather he takes over that role from *Nuada* when the *Túatha dé Danann* must battle the *Fomoir*. *Lug* comes from the outside and plays the role of a savior.

As with *Mithrō*, *Lug* is a god of truth and law. *Lug* is, moreover, patron of the *oenach*, a ritual, legal, and festive gathering held at *Tailtiu* and *Carman* on *Lugnasad* “*Lug*’s Feast”, at which horse racing was a prominent feature. *Lug* is also said to have invented horse racing. According to *Sanas Cormaic* (Meyer 1912: 66), *Lugnasad* was considered to be the first day of fall (*im thaite foghmair*). Although this autumnal festival was held on August 1 in early Christian Ireland, the original Celtic festival apparently occurred on the new moon close to the actual equinox.

An understanding of the functioning of the Gaulish calendar (Olmsted 1992a; Duval and Pinault 1986) explains how the date of the beginning of autumn was displaced. On the Gaulish calendar, festivals (indicated by *ivos*) have a fixed date vis-a-vis the lunar months. Both the 25-year and 30-year Gaulish calendars show a progressive displacement of the solar reckoning vis-a-vis the lunar calendar of approximately one day every 24 years. A similar displacement in the calendar used by the Celts who became the Proto-Irish would have led, after some 1400 years, to the celebration of *Lug*’s autumnal festival 55 days earlier (the Gaulish equinox festival occurs in the first year of the first 25-year or 30-year calendar cycle from *Equos* 26 to *Elembivios* 4, September 12-18, but varied from August 21-27 to October 5-11 with the oscillation of the moon with respect to the sun; see Olmsted, 1988d, 336-7; 1992a: 130-134). Thus it seems likely that the Irish reckoning of the first day of fall as August 1 was simply the result of a calendar displacement from an original date close to the equinox. The Irish festival of *Lugnasad* “the first day of fall” then as an earlier Celtic festival more probably occurred originally near the autumnal equinox.

The *LL-Dindsenchas* informs us that *Oenach Carmain*, held on *Lugnasad*, was not just a gathering for games, horse-racing, music, and trading goods and cattle, but to conduct legal affairs as well.

There they would discuss with strife of speech the dues and tributes of the province; every legal enactment most piously was settled every third year. (Gwynn 1903-35: II, 18-9).

During the *oenach*, “the king might pledge his subjects to observe certain important public obligations” (Binchy 1941: 102). Here he could proclaim *cairde* “friendship”, a compact settling disputes with a neighboring tribe and proclaiming peaceful coexistence with them. Thus the *oenach* held for two weeks at Lugnasad is entirely comparable to the Scandinavian *thing*, held for two weeks at midsummer, with Týr as its patron (see *Njals Saga*).

The *oenach* on August 1 was also a first fruits’ festival. It was a time to give thanks for the beginning of harvest.

For holding it the Leinstermen (were promised) corn and milk, ... every fruit like a show (?), and nets full (of fish) from waters. But if it was not held, they should have decay and early greyness, and young kings. (Stokes 1894-5: 314).

As a patron of the first fruits’ festivals, Lug was also, like Mithrō, the protector of the vegetation, particularly the grain. As noted earlier, the Old Irish poem from Harl. 5280 (fo. 35 b, 2) refers to tasting fruits on Lugnasad.

Lugnasad, make known its customs
in each wondrous year:
tasting every renowned fruit,
the food of plants on the day of Lugnasad.
(Meyer 1894: 48-9).

In the *Dindsenchas* story of *Oenach Carmain*, Lug leads the Túatha dé Danann against Carman and her sons, who had come to Ireland “blighting the corn” (Stokes 1894-5: 314). Similarly, in *Cath Maige Tuired*, the Túatha dé Danann unseat Bres as their king, not only because his niggardliness and injustice (*anfír*) break the contractual relationship implicit in the kingship, but also because, through this, the people are stripped of “their cattle, their treasures, and their own food” (*setaib 7 mainaib 7 a mbiadh fesin*) (Stokes 1891a: 72). Lug then leads the Túatha dé Danann in their struggle against Bres and the Fomoiré. Here, however, the battle takes place on the week before Samain (the beginning of winter; *sechtmad ria samain*; *Cath Maige Tuired*: ‘ 87). On capturing Bres after his defeat, Lug obtains from him, for the men of Ireland, knowledge of “how they shall plow, how they shall sow, and how they shall reap” (*co conebrad, co silfad, co chobibsad fir Erenn*) (Stokes 1891a: 106).

The Celtiberian Peñabla inscription may refer to the sacrifice to Lugus of a “pig” (*sus*; possibly as in Latin with dat. sing. *suī* from **sueuei* (IEW: 1038, DPC: 359) as well as “fruit” (dat. sing. *ogru*) (**agre-*; **h₂eg-r-*; DPC: 28) (see Glossary: Lugus), although Meid would see *Equeisui* “Horseman” here, as an epithet of Lugus. The inscription may also refer to a celebration of the annual summer festival (*eniorosei*), although here again Meid would see *Eniorosei* as an epithet of Lugus in the dative “of the Mountain”. In any case, these references are all reminiscent of the Irish festival of Oenach Taillten.

As for Tailltiu, daughter of Mag Mor king of Spain, queen of the Fir Bolg, she came after the slaughter was inflicted upon the Fir Bolg in the first battle of Mag Tuired to Coill Cuan, and the wood was cleared by her, so it was a flowering clover plain before the end of the year. ... As for Tailltiu, she settled in Tailltiu and slept with Eochu Garb ..., and Cian son of Dian Cecht ... gave her his son in fosterage, namely Lug. Eithne, daughter of Balor the strong smiter, was his mother. Thereafter, Tailltiu died in

Tailltiu. Her name was imposed on the place, and it is her grave which is northeast from the Seat of Tailltiu. The games were made every year by Lug, a fortnight before Lugnasad and a fortnight after Lugnasad. Lugnasad, the “assembly” of Lug son of Eithne. (Macalister 1941: IV, 1215-119).

Lugnasad became a day traditional for pilgrimages to heights and the gathering of bilberries, as catalogued by Mac Neill (1962). The similar association of the earlier Celtic god Lugus with heights undoubtedly explains the Gaulish epithets Dumiatīs (< **dhum-iati-*) “God of the Mound” and Clavariatīs (< **klomo-*) “God of the Hill”) used by Gaulish Mercurius, who would have been equated with Lugus in his role as the inventor of arts and crafts. In light of the Irish first-fruits’ festival we may comprehend the sacrifice of *ogros* “?fruit?” and *araianos* “?the plow-work bread?” (DPC: 43 **h₂erh₃-iē-*) to Lugus in the Peñabla hymn.

In certain aspects Lug seems to correlate with Vedic Mitrāḥ, but the Irish god Lug plays the role of a youthful savior, perhaps like Vedic Viṣṇuḥ (who appears to be a deity developed from a separated byname of Pūṣā). This role as youthful savior would appear to have developed to allow Lug to contrast with Cú Chulainn. As noted, Cú Chulainn took over much of his father’s (Conchobar’s) original nature corresponding to Váruṇaḥ.

In *Cath Maige Tuired*, Lug comes to the Feast of Tara held by Nuada (Nechtain-Fraech), but he is not admitted by the gatekeepers till he can prove himself capable of some craft, “for no one without a craft (*nech cin dán*) enters Tara” (Stokes 1891a: 76-7). To repeated questions, Lug is a wright (*saer*), a smith (*gobhae*), a champion (*trénfer*), a harper (*crutiri*), a warrior (*níadh*), a poet (*file*), an historian (*senchaid*), a sorcerer (*corrguinech*), a leech (*liaich*), a cup-bearer (*deogbore*), and a brazier (*cert*). He is admitted on the basis of being “the single man who possesses all the arts (together) (*oeinfer codogabai ina danu-sae ule*)” (Stokes 1891a: 76-9). Indeed, Lug is the *Samildanach* “Equal in (any) Art”.

The doorkeeper announces, “a warrior has come before the gate of the fort, Samildanach; all the arts which the men of your household practice, he alone possesses, so that he is the man of each of all the arts” (*tanaic oclaeach iondorus lis,*” *al se,* “*Samílldánach 7 na huili dano arufognot det muntir-si atat les ule a oenor, conedh fer cacha danai ule ei*) (Stokes 1891a: 78). In being the patron of crafts, Lug parallels Ullr, “*patron des techniques précises*” (Dumézil 1948: 145), who as Dumézil has suggested is the Norwegian equivalent of Týr.

The Túatha dé Danann may have been known originally as the *Túatha dé Dána “Tribe of the Gods of Craft”. Supporting this contention is the fact that their ranks only admit those who possess a *dán* “poetic, artistic, or craftsmanly skill”. These gods correspond to the *áes dána* “men of craft” and the *filid* “poet lawyers”. In *Uraiccecht Becc* (ALI: V, 2-115; MacNeill 1923: 272-81), these two groups form a separate division of rank and status from the *féni*, whose ranks were originally differentiated into the three categories of *rí*, *flaith*, and *aithech* “king, noble, and subject”. The wealth of the first group derived from the exercise of their craft or skill (*dán*), while that of the second group derived from their clients (*céili*). Just as Numa was patron of the *flāmines*, Mitrāḥ patron of the *brāhmana*, Lug is patron of the *filid* (< **uel-* “see”), whose ranks would appear to have originally included the *druids* (*druí*), *vatis* (*fáith*), and *bardos* (*bard*). The *filid* are thus directly comparable to the *flāmines* and *brāhmana*, just as Lug is comparable to Numa and Mitrāḥ.

Irish Cú Chulainn: the Son of the Nighttime Upper-Realm Controller

Cú Chulainn, who is said to be one-eyed (*caech*), could function as the “One-Eyed God” theorized by Dumézil (1948; 1974: 21; 1977: 199). To determine whether or not he did play such a role, one must examine the attributes associated with his characterization in the Ulster Cycle of tales. Cú Chulainn’s name is itself transparent as “the Hound of Culann the Smith”. As noted above, it is in this light that one should possibly view Conchobar’s name as “Who

has a Victorious Hound”, indicating Cú Chulainn’s special role as protector of the Ulaid in general and of Conchobar in particular. Cú Chulainn’s byname Sétanta probably derives from the same root apparent in Irish *sét* “road, way” (**sentō-* “way”; DPC: 330, IEW: 908), but another Irish word *sét* “wealth, cattle” may have played a role as well. The byname Sétanta then would indicate Cú Chulainn’s role as the “Guide of Routes and Roads”, making him cognate with this aspect of Gaulish Mercurius.

Like Lug, Cú Chulainn bears a special relationship to human kingship. In the interpolation to *Serlige Con Culainn*, Cú Chulainn gives instructions to Lugaid Réoderg on how to be a proper king (Dillon 1941: 8-10). In this, Cú Chulainn embodies the concept of truth (*fír*), for it is only through Truth that one may be a proper king. One may also note that in the final combat of the *Táin*, Cú Chulainn enters the battle only when Conchobar is endangered by Fergus and his great sword. Cú Chulainn, himself, also could be said to be a king. In *Mesca Ulaid* (ll. 18-28), Fintan, Conchobar, and Cú Chulainn originally share the rule of Ulster, which is divided into three parts. Fintan and Cú Chulainn then give their rule voluntarily to Conchobar that he may be an over-king. It is clear, nonetheless, that Cú Chulainn maintains control over Mag Muirthemne, his special domain. However, like Lug in *Cath Maige Tuired*, Cú Chulainn in *Táin bó Cuailnge* comes to the court of a reigning king (his father) as an outsider and takes over his role as battle leader (Cú Chulainn alone is spared the *noiden Ulaid*, the special debility cursed upon the Ulaid by Macha).

In Version I of the birth of Cú Chulainn (*Compert Con Culainn*), as found in the LU and other manuscripts (van Hamel 1933: 1-10), Conchobar and his daughter (or sister) Dechtine spend the night in the home of a mysterious couple at the Brug of the Boyne (Boand). That day they had pursued a mysterious flock of birds (geese or swans) which were linked in pairs by silver chains. These birds had grazed the pasture land around Emain Macha down to the roots. In the house that night Dechtine helps at the birth of a child born to the couple. A pair of twin colts is born at the same time. Dechtine takes the boy and the colts with her back to Emain Macha, but the boy dies of an illness. Later as she drinks, a small creature leaps into her mouth from a copper vessel. Thereby she becomes pregnant.

Lug appears to Dechtine in a dream and explains that he is the father of the boy who will be reborn to her through the medium of the small creature. The boy is to be called Sétanta. However, the Ulaid all feel it is Conchobar who has fathered the child on his own daughter that night in the Brug. After the birth of Sétanta, Conchobar gives Dechtine to Súaldaim mac Róich. Dechtine then gives her child Sétanta to Caulann Cerd “Caulann the Smith”.

In Version II, the *Feis Tige Becfoltaig* from Egerton 1782 (Meyer 1905: 500-4), Dechtire, the sister of Conchobar, takes off with fifty of her maidens. Later Dechtire and her maidens return as a bird flock to Emain Macha and eat the grass down to the roots. Conchobar, Fergus, and Bricriu take off after them in their chariots. When night overcomes them, Bricriu goes in search of shelter. In the house where Bricriu seeks shelter he is welcomed by Dechtire with her maidens, who are accompanied by a mysterious man. When Conchobar finally shows up, Bricriu does not reveal to him that the woman is his sister. Not knowing that the woman is his sister, Conchobar demands his usual privilege of sleeping with her, thinking that she is the mysterious man’s wife. Fergus requests a respite for the woman because she is supposedly pregnant. Nonetheless, Conchobar lays down beside her anyway. In the morning the boy Sétanta is found in the fold of Conchobar’s cloak. Bricriu then reveals that the woman is Conchobar’s own sister. The mysterious stranger was supposedly Lug.

Sencha, the king’s advisor offers to raise the boy, as does Blai Briuga, a landed man, Fergus, and Amorgen. Morann (mac Maine) then gives judgement that the boy should be Conchobar’s, but taught eloquence by Sencha, provided for by Blai Briuga, and taken on Fergus’s knee. Amorgen can be his teacher, Conall Cernach (son of Amorgen and Finnchaem) his foster-brother, and Finnchaem can supply the teats of a mother. In this manner Cú Chulainn

is formed by all, chariot-fighter, prince, wealthy landowner, and sage. The boy is then given to Amorgen and Finnchaem, sister of Dechtire, to be raised on Muirthemne plain.

The two versions of this tale seem to imply that in the archetype tale, a mysterious bird flock lures Conchobar and his daughter or sister, Dechtine or Dechtire, to the Brug (Carn Oengus at the source of the Boyne, the underworld home of Nechtain and *Maccan Óc). Here Dechtine becomes pregnant by her brother or father Conchobar with the boy Sétanta. Associated with the boy's birth is the birth of twin horses. The interjection of Lug would seem to be a bit of monkish prudishness on the part of the original compiler at the incest committed by Conchobar. Certainly Lug has nothing to do with the Brug. Thus like Zagréous, who is engendered by Zeús on his daughter Persephónē, Sétanta is apparently engendered by Conchobar on his daughter or sister Dechtine or Dechtire. But perhaps this device of interjecting Lug into the story was also a way to suggest that Cú Chulainn was fathered by both Conchobar and Lug, the opposite twin controllers of the Upper Realm.

We have seen that Lug was associated with light, using the epithet *Grianaineach* "Sun-face". His festival Lughnasad (the beginning of fall) occurs in the middle of the summer/fall period of the year, when the sun is daily lowering in the sky. In contrast, Cú Chulainn is associated with darkness. Cú Chulainn plays a special role at night. His triumph on the *Táin* during the festival of Imbolc (the first day of spring) occurs in the middle of the winter/spring period of the year, when the sun is daily rising in the sky. Cú Chulainn attacks Medb with his sling-stone almost exclusively at night.

On each of three nights that they were there, he killed a hundred of them. He let fly at them with his sling from Ochaine near them. (O'Rahilly 1976: 159).

Because of these severe and deadly night attacks, Medb and Ailill attempt to make a truce with Cú Chulainn. He agrees to stop attacking them with his sling at night on condition "that for a day and a night the cattle shall not be taken from the ford on which he shall fight in single combat..." (O'Rahilly 1976: 159). Medb and Ailill agree to these terms, for as Ailill notes, "It is better for us indeed ... to lose one man every day than a hundred every night" (O'Rahilly 1976: 160). In contrast, when Lug and Balor meet in combat in the *Cath Maige Tuired*, it is in the day. When Balor had his eye-lid raised to turn his eye against Lug, "Lug cast a sling-stone at him, which carried the eye through his head" (Stokes 1891a: 100-1). Indeed, this is the only combat Lug has in the *Cath Maige Tuired*, and Lug may scarcely be called a warrior at all.

Because of Lug's knowledge (*coime*) the men of Ireland had made a resolution not to let him go into battle. His nine fosters were left to protect him. (Stokes 1891a: 88-9).

The use of slings at night, in the case of Cú Chulainn, and in the day, in the case of Lug, might represent the vestiges of an earlier more potent practice. Thus Cú Chulainn and Lug might be seen to provide parallels to Roman Summanus, hurler of lightning at night, and Fidius, hurler of lightning at day.

Cú Chulainn obtains his name and his major role as protector of herds in the *magnímrada* episode of the *Táin*. Here he kills the ferocious hound which protected Culann's herd, and the smith laments the loss of his hound.

"My livelihood is now a livelihood wasted, and my husbandry is a husbandry lost, without my hound. The servant who has been taken from me, my hound, maintained life and honor for me. He was defense and protection for my goods and cattle. He guarded all my beasts for me in field and house," [said Culann]. "That is no great matter," said the boy [Sétanta]. "A whelp of the same litter will be reared by me for you, and, until such action, I shall be a hound to protect your cattle and to protect

yourself. And I shall protect all Muirthemne; neither flock nor herd shall be taken thence from me without my knowing it.” “Your name shall be Cú Chulainn [the hound of Culann] then,” said Cathbad [the Druid]. (O’Rahilly 1976: 141-2).

The details of the death of the hound are particularly important. Cú Chulainn kills the ferocious animal as it rushes upon him by bashing it with his hurly club. Apollódōros (*Bibliothēkē*: II, V, 10) describes an episode in the tenth labor of Hercules in a similar fashion. Both episodes undoubtedly go back to a common prototype.

As a tenth labor he was ordered to fetch the cows of Gēryōn from Erythia.... The two-headed hound ... was a watch-dog.... And having reached Erythia, he lodged on Mount Abas. However, the dog, perceiving him, rushed at him, but he smote it with his club. (Frazer 1931: 210-215).

Cú Chulainn’s role as the protector of cattle and beasts of the plain should be clear not only from this passage of the *macgnimrada*, but from the rest of the *Táin* as well. Cú Chulainn’s combats elsewhere in the *Táin* attempt to prevent Medb from making off with the cattle of Ulster, including the bull, Donn Cuailnge. Here Cú Chulainn protects the herds of Muirthemne Plain from Medb and her army. In *Táin bó Regamna* this role is explicitly stated. When Mórrígan accompanied by Daire attempts to drive off a cow, Cú Chulainn stops her challenging her right to it. He tells her, “the cows of Ulster are my proper care” (*Is dir dam-sa bai Ulad*) (Windisch 1887: II, 243).

As protector of cattle, Cú Chulainn is directly comparable to Lithuanian Vėlinas. Furthermore, Cú Chulainn shares with Romulus the trait of being associated with a forceful canine or wolf in his youth. Also like Romulus, Cú Chulainn is accompanied by a band of youthful companions, the *maccrad* (in the *macgnimrada* as well as ll. 3887-9). In fact his whole career takes place in a boyhood which is full of precocious deeds. He is only 17 when he single-handedly engages Medb and her army on the *Táin*.

Like Váruṇaḥ, Pūṣá, and Romano-Gaulish Mercurius, Cú Chulainn has knowledge of roads, ways, and paths. In *Mesca Ulad* (Watson 1941: 13-6), Cú Chulainn has knowledge of the mountains and places of the alien territory in which they find themselves.

Conchobar asked, “Who will ascertain for us in what territory we are?” “Who should ascertain it for you but Cú Chulainn?” said Bricriu....” “I know,” said Cú Chulainn. “This is to the south of Cenn Abrat of Sliab Cain. The mountains of Eblinne are these to the northeast.... I will give guidance to the Ulstermen in return of the same way” They went on in the straight direction of the road to Tara Luachran with Cú Chulainn as a guide before them. (Cross and Slover 1936: 222-3).

In *Serglige Con Culainn*, Cú Chulainn more specifically may be seen as the underworld traveler. Here he journeys to the otherworld to do battle in order to sleep with Fand, the wife of Manannán. In this, he finds another role overlapping with that of Romano-Gaulish Mercurius.

Like Vėlinas and Pūṣá, Cú Chulainn is not only the protector of cattle and herds, but also like them, he has a special relationship with water. In the *Táin*, Cú Chulainn summons the river Cronn to rise up against Medb’s army and prevent it from entering Muirthemne Plain.

Cú Chulainn spoke:... “I beseech the river to come to my help. I call upon heaven, earth, and especially the river Cronn to aid me.” The plaintive river Cronn offers them resistance and will not let them cross into Muirthemne until the work of warriors is finished in the mountains north of Ochaine. Thereupon the river rose in flood as high as the tree-tops. (O’Rahilly 1976: 157).

So too, in Nonnos (*Dionysiakōn* XXII: 250), the rivers take part in Diónysos's battle against the Indians, rising up before their armies. In light of the bull-like nature of Diónysos and his cognate relationship with the Donn Cuailnge, one should recall that Cú Chulainn engages in battle to save the Donn Cuailnge from Medb. Perhaps a cognate survival of the original PIE motif is the origin of Nonnos's episode.

When Cú Chulainn is riddled with wounds from his individual combats in the *Táin*, Senoll Uathach and the two Meic Fice take him and wash him in the rivers of Ulster to cure him.

They brought Cú Chulainn back to the streams of Conaille Muirthemne to heal and bathe his wounds therein. These are the names of those rivers: Sás, Buan, Bithshlán, Finnglas, Gléoir, Bedg, Tadg, Talaméd, Rind, Bir, Breindide, Cumang, Cellend. Gaenemain, Dichu, Muach, Miliuc, Den, Delt, Dubglaise. (O'Rahilly 1976: 208).

When Lugaid and Fergus come to see Cú Chulainn, he offers to share his food with them. Everything he eats is procured from the water.

If birds fly over Mag Muirthemne, you shall have a barnacle goose and a half. Or else, if fish swim into the estuaries, you shall have a salmon and a half. Or else, you shall have three sprigs: a sprig of cress, a sprig of laver, [and] a sprig of seaweed. A man shall take your place (to fight) at the ford. (O'Rahilly 1976: 157).

All the single combats in which Cú Chulainn engages in the *Táin* take place at or actually in fords. His special weapon, the *gae bolga*, is only operable in the water. The first combat in which he engages after taking up arms as a youth is with the sons of Nechtan Scene. This combat also takes place at a ford. Moreover, it is dubious that these combats in fords reflect an actual place of battle; they rather reflect, in a fundamental way, the mythical association of the chief hero of the *Táin* with water.

Like Óðinn, Cú Chulainn is a "One-eyed God". Unlike, Óðinn, however, he does not sacrifice an eye to gain insight and wisdom, but rather like Roman Cocles his one-eyed nature gives him a fierce appearance in battle. In *Serglige Con Culainn* (ll. 37-46), Ethne scolds Cú Chulainn for being angry with the women of Ulster, saying, "the third blemish which the women of Ulster have is because of you, the blindness of one eye" (*ár is tríut atá in tres anim fil for mnáib Ulad .i. guille*) (Dillon 1941: 2). The text goes on to explain Cú Chulainn's condition.

Each woman who loved Cú Chulainn, one of her eyes would become blind afterwards resembling Cú Chulainn for love of him. For he had a gift that when his mind was upset (with anger), he would draw in one of his eyes so that a crane could not reach it in his head. He would thrust the other of them out to the size of a cauldron which could hold a calf. (Dillon 1941: 2).

Because of this gift or skill (*dán*) of blindness in one eye (*guille*), in the *Táin*, Cú Chulainn is known as the "Distorted One" (*Ríastartha*) (O'Rahilly 1976: l. 1659). This condition first comes upon him when he journeys as a youth to join the boys on the playing fields at Emain Macha. Upon entering the playing fields there, all of the youths (*macraide*) attack him at once, for he had not asked their permission to join them.

They threw their thrice fifty javelins at him, and they all stuck in his toy shield.... Thereupon he became distorted (*ríastartha*).... He closed one eye so that it was no

wider than the eye of a needle; he opened the other until it was as large as the mouth of a mead goblet. (O’Rahilly 1976: 136-7).

This condition comes upon Cú Chulainn at several points in the *Táin*. In this state he glowed with virulent fierceness.

The torches of the war goddess, virulent rain-clouds, and sparks of blazing fire were seen in the air over his head with the seething of fierce rage that rose in him. (O’Rahilly 1976: 187).

Significantly, Cú Chulainn goes under the condition of being *riastartha* just before the fight at the ford with Gaile Dána and his twenty-seven sons (O’Rahilly 1976: 187, 195). Here the motif of catching spears on his shield is repeated as in the *macgnímrada*. The LL *Táin* (ll. 2547 ff.) gives the fullest account of this engagement, referring to Gaile Dána as Calatín Dána.

And when Calatín reached the spot where Cú Chulainn was, they cast at him at once their twenty-nine spears... Cú Chulainn performed the edge-feat with his shield, and all the spears sunk half-way their length into the shield. (O’Rahilly 1967: 210).

Here combined as motifs are distortion from rage in combat, blindness in one eye, the fight at the ford, and the motif of catching all the spears in his shield. The same combination of motifs occurs for Roman Cocles in Livius’s account, where Cocles captures all of the spears cast at him on his shield and holds the Etruscans off with the fierce glance of his eye. We may plausibly imagine a common origin for these two events. Parallels may also be noted between other events in the *Táin* and those of the pseudo-history of Romulus, as well as those concerning Ahurō Mazdā in Iranian tradition.

The *Táin* takes place between *Samain* (November 1) and *Imbolc* (February 1) (O’Rahilly 1976: 104, ll. 3441-2). *Imbolc* was later known as *la feill Bride* and was felt to be the first day of spring in both Ireland and Scotland (Carmichael 1928: I, 167). On *Imbolc*, Cú Chulainn captures Medb, who then has her first menstrual period since *Samain*. Cú Chulainn presides in triumph over *Imbolc*, the first day of spring, just as his counterpart, Lug, presides over *Lughnasad* (August 1), the first day of autumn.

The two Irish festivals *Imbolc* and *Lughnasad*, the first day of spring and the first day of autumn, stand at the opposite ends of the year. They provide exact parallels to the Iranian festivals of *Naurōz* (the first day of solar spring), sacred to Ahurō Mazdā, and *Mithrakána* (the first day of the solar autumn), sacred to Mithrō. Indeed, each festival is, thus, presided over by the equivalent and corresponding deity. These parallels are confirmed by the fact that Týr, the Germanic equivalent of Mithrō, presides over the midsummer gathering, the *thing*, and Romulus (together with Mars), the Roman equivalent of Ahurō Mazdā, presides over the *Lupercalia* on February 15, also a celebration of the beginning of spring. All these spring-time festivals were associated with the calving and lambing seasons just as *Lughnasad*, the fall festival, was associated with the grain harvest. In Ireland, Cú Chulainn, as protector of cattle and herds, would appear to have been patron of *Imbolc*, just as Lug was patron of *Lughnasad*.

Imbolc is probably related semantically to the Roman festival the *dies Februatus* or *Lupercalia*. Vendryes connects the etymology of *Imbolc* to *imb-folc* (*folcaid* “washes”; *imb-* “reciprocity”) indicating a semantic equivalence to *februare* and *lustrare* (1924: 241-4). So too, *Imbolc* was noted as a time for lustration, the cleansing of the hands, feet, and head (*diunnach laime is coissi is cinn*), as stated in an Old Irish poem (from Harl. 5280: 35b, 2).

Fromad cach bíd // iar n-urd,
 issed dlegair // i n-Imbulc,
 díunnach laime // is coissi is cinn,
 is amlaid sin // atberaim.

Tasting of every food in order,
 that is what is required at Imbolc,
 Washing of hand, foot, and head,
 It is thus I say. (Meyer 1894: 49).

In the *Táin*, Cú Chulainn, and later Conchobar and the Ulstermen, attempt to prevent Medb from making off with the Ulster cattle. Significantly, the *maccrad* “boy troop” fight a separate engagement in this battle, attempting to rescue their herd. Cú Chulainn takes no part in this engagement. Rather, he lies wounded in an *otharlighe* “sick bed”. Cú Chulainn first asks his charioteer if the Ulstermen have yet begun to fight. “I have aroused them,” said the charioteer. “They have come into battle stark naked except for their weapons” (O’Rahilly 1976: 231). The *maccrad*, as we shall see, are equivalent to Romulus’s youthful companions. The *maccrad* run nude into battle to rescue their herd before Conchobar and his men come forward to fight. In this nude run they are reminiscent of the nude run of the Roman youths to rescue their cattle.

“See a herd (*albani*) coming from the western encampment to the encampment in the east,” said the charioteer to Cú Chulainn, “and see a band of youths come to meet them.” [Cú Chulainn responded], “Those youths will meet, and the herd (*albani*) will go across the plain.... It were right that they should fall in rescuing their flock (*eiti*).... “The beardless warriors are fighting now,” said the charioteer.... “Alas that I have not the strength to go to them,” said Cú Chulainn. (O’Rahilly 1976: 230, ll. 3887-3899).

As we shall see, in Rome the Luperci whip the women they pass while running to bring them fertility, commemorating Romulus’s cure of the infertile Sabine women. This action of the Luperci also finds a parallel in the final battle of the *Táin*. Only when Cú Chulainn defeats Medb’s army and Medb is in retreat to Cruachu does she have her menstrual period. From *Samain* to *Imbolc* she had been infertile. Regaining her fertility, “Medb passed her water, and it made three great trenches” (O’Rahilly 1976: 269-70).

Just before this conquest of Medb, Cú Chulainn goes against his foster father Fergus in combat. As a weapon Cú Chulainn brings only his chariot with its two wheels upon his back. As agreed earlier, Fergus flees before him.

It was midday when Cú Chulainn came to the battle. When the sun was sinking behind the trees in the wood, he overcame the last of the bands, and of the chariot there remained but a handful of the ribs of the framework and a handful of the shafts around the wheel (*dorn dona hasnaib imon creit 7 dorn dona fer[t]sib imon droch*). (YBL-*Táin*: ll. 3638-9; O’Rahilly 1976: 123 l. 4113; 236).

As I noted previously (Olmsted 1979b: 216-9), this action with the broken wheel is paralleled in the narrative sequence on plate C of the Gundestrup cauldron, where the deity correlating with Cú Chulainn uses a broken wheel to confront the deity correlating to Fergus (who is also found on plate e as the older of the companions of the goddess of plate A). As MacDonell (1897: 39) noted, “in post-Vedic literature, one of *Vṛṣṇuḥ*’s weapons is a rolling wheel which is represented like the sun (cp. *Rig Veda*: 5, 63, 4)”. Other similarities are the wheel-like cakes offered to Roman Summanus as well as the wheel which takes the place of the thunderbolt in the portrayals of Iuppiter in Roman Gaul.

The Vedic and Avestan Correlatives of Gaulish Lugus and Vellaunos

Vedic Mitráḥ/ Váruṇaḥ

In Ireland most of the gods are members of the *Túatha dé Danann* “the Tribe of the Goddess Danu”, all descended of Danu. Similarly, in Vedic tradition Mitráḥ and Váruṇaḥ along with Súr्याḥ, Savitá (Savitár-), Vivasvat-, Bhágaḥ, Pūṣá (Pūṣān-), Aryamá (Aryamán-), and Rudráḥ are all children of the goddess Áditiḥ. As we have seen, Lug and Cú Chulainn bear a certain resemblance to Mitráḥ and Váruṇaḥ, in that Lug derives from the PIE god who gave rise to Mitráḥ, and Cú Chulainn and Conchobar share traits derived from the gods who gave Pūṣá and Váruṇaḥ. Here then Mitráḥ is the controller of the daytime sky, and Váruṇaḥ is the controller of the nighttime sky.

Váruṇa- as a god of oath watched over the truth in water, Mitrá- as a god of contract did the same in fire; Indo-Aryan contracts ... are probably for this reason concluded in front of a blazing fire, as oaths were sworn in the presence of water. (Gershevitch 1959: 30).

Thus Lüders (1951: 28) has stated, “*Es ist also die Wahrheit, die Váruṇa- und Mitrá- schützen, der eine im Wasser, der andere wahrscheinlich im Feuer*”. In Vedic tradition “the truth is situated in a primordial spring inside the highest heaven” (Gershevitch 1959: 7). Mitráḥ and Váruṇaḥ are foremost gods of truth and law (RV: 7, 66, 11-13). Mitráḥ for his part, embodies the peaceful interactions and contractual relations that protecting laws makes possible between men (Gonda 1975: 45). Váruṇaḥ, in contrast, embodies the vengeful retribution applicable to those who break the dictates of the law or their own vow.

Mitráḥ’s nature is implied in at least two possible etymologies of his name as well as in traits attributable to him. Thieme (1975: 24) recognized Proto-Aryan **mitra-* “contract” as lying behind both Mitráḥ and his Avestan cognate Mithrō. The Indo-European roots **mei-* “friend, contract” and **mei-* “exchange” (IEW: 710), possibly originally not separate, were both apparent to Dumézil (1948: 80-1) behind the name Mitráḥ, and Mayrhofer (KEWA II: 633-4) relates Mitráḥ to both Sanskrit *mitráḥ* “friend” and *mitrám* “contract, friendship”. The exchange of gifts to cement friendships and inter-relationships between men was a universal phenomena in the ancient world, as described succinctly by Mauss (1925). Indeed, exchanges, whether of women or goods, are the basis of most extra-familial interactions, and Mitráḥ presided over their peaceful fulfillment. The Vedic deity Aryamá (Aryamán-), whose name signifies “Friendship; Hospitality” (KEWA I: 52; IEW: 67: **ario-*; DPC: 43: **h₂er₁-o-*), particularly of “the social ingroup” (Puhvel 1978: 336), is undoubtedly but a byname for Mitráḥ “Friendship, Contract” (IEW: 710; **mi-tro*). As MacDonell (1897: 45) noted, “the conception of Aryamán- seems to have differed little from that of the greater Ādityāḥ, Mitrá-“.

Váruṇaḥ’s name, on the other hand, may implicate him as the vigilant observer. Possibly involved in its etymology is the root **uel-* signifying “sight, insight, foresight, observance, vigilance” (IEW: 1136; DPC: 412), as Watkins (1985: 75) and Jakobson (1969: 587) have noted. However, Pokorny has seen Váruṇaḥ as “the Binder”, with his name derived from **uer-* “protect, shield” (IEW: 1161). Thieme (1952: 27) would derive it from **uēro-* “truth” (**uēh₁-ro-*) (IEW: 1166; DPC: 424) (for other possibilities see KEWA III: 150-3). Jakobson’s and Watkins’s suggestion of seeing a connection to **uel-*, however, would make Váruṇaḥ cognate with Lithuanian Vėlinas and Gaulish Vellaunos, a god identified with both Mars and Mercurius. Indeed, through his attributes, Váruṇaḥ may be identified with these deities independently.

In the *Rig Veda* (3, 54, 10), Mitráḥ and Váruṇaḥ are both “*die jugendlichen Allkönige, Mitrá-, Váruṇaḥ, die Ādityā-’s, die weit und breit bekannten Seher*” (*mitráḥ samrājō várūṇo*

yúvāna / ādityāsaḥ kavāyaḥ paprathānāḥ) (RV: 3, 54, 10; Geldner 1951-7: I, 398; Aufrecht 1877: 263). But it is Váruṇaḥ who binds men to their oaths as well as to the law. He is the ever-vigilant observer on guard against those who break the truth (*ṛta-* “world order”; see Meid 1987: 162-3). As Lüders (1959) has observed, Váruṇaḥ is primarily the guardian of truth. He severely punishes sin (RV: 7, 87, 3-4) and the infringement of his laws. Hymns (RV: 1, 24, 15; 1, 25, 21; 6, 74, 4; and 10, 85, 24) specifically mention the fetters (*páśāḥ*) with which he binds sinners. In other hymns (RV: 2, 152, 1; 7, 60, 5; and 7, 66, 13), Váruṇaḥ hates falsehood and is the one who punishes it. So too, the *Atharva Veda* (4, 16) directly refers to the ropes or slings which Váruṇaḥ uses to bind those who speak falsehood.

The three times seven slings which you possess, Váruṇaḥ, shall bind him who speaks untruth (*ánṛta-*, the opposite of *ṛtá-* “truth”); they shall release him who speaks the truth. (Wagner 1971: 5).

The *Rig Veda* (1, 24, 12-5; 1, 25, 1-2; 2, 28, 5) also makes it clear that Váruṇaḥ is indeed the binder as well as the avenger against those who go against the truth or the law. A hymn (RV: 7, 86, 3-4) asks, “What has been that chief sin (*āga ... jyēṣṭham*), Váruṇaḥ, that you desire to slay your praiser” (*stotāraṃ jíghāṅsasi*). This theme is made explicit in another hymn (RV: 1, 25, 1-2).

Yác cid dhí te víso yathā
prá deva varuṇa vratám
minímási dyávi-dyavi

má no vadháya hatnáve
jihīlānásya rīradhaḥ
má hrñānásya manyáve.
(RV: 1, 25, 1-2; Aufrecht 1877: 17).

Wenn wir gleich Tag für Tag wie die Untertanen dein Gebot übertreten, Gott Váruṇa-, so gibst uns nicht deiner tödlichen Waffe preis, wenn du ärgerlich bist, nicht deinem Zorn, wenn du unmutig bist. (Geldner 1951-7: I, 26).

Thus Dumézil (1948: 117) has suggested that Mitráḥ, the overseer of contracts, protects the good debtor, and Váruṇaḥ, as the binder, seizes the bad debtor. As he phrased it, “*l’un président avec bienveillance aux échanges réguliers, l’autre liant les mauvais payeurs*”. Moreover, this role of “Mitráḥ and Váruṇaḥ ... [as] Lords of Truth” (*ṛtēna yāv ṛtāvṛdhāv / ṛtāsya jyōtiṣas pātī / tá mitrāvāruṇā huve*; Aufrecht 1877: 15; RV: 1, 23, 5) is an ancient one for these two deities. The Mitannian text of the fourteenth-century BC, mentioned above, invokes them to protect a treaty (Dumézil 1948: 117).

Although Váruṇaḥ punishes those who break the law, the *Rig Veda* and the *Atharva Veda* make it clear that Váruṇaḥ’s special domain is not the law of men, which was apparently reserved for Mitráḥ, but rather the law of nature and cosmic order (Gonda 1975: 41-2). As Griffith has observed, “his activity displays preeminently in the control of nature” (1896: I, 31). A passage in the *Rig Veda* (1, 24, 8-10) explicitly states his control of the heavens.

Urúṃ hí rájā váruṇas cakāra
sūryāya pánthām ánvetaṁ u

...

amí yá ṛkṣā níhitāsa uccá
náktam dádr̥sre kúha cid díveyuḥ

ádabdhāni vaḥṇasya vratāni
vicākaśac candrāmā náktam eti.
(Aufrecht 1877: 17).

Denn König Váruṇa- hat der Sonne den weiten Weg bereitet, um ihn zu wandeln ... Jene Sterne, die oben befestigt des Nachts erschienen sind, sie sind am Tag irgendwohin gegangen. Unverletzlich sind Váruṇa's Gesetze: des Nachts wandelt Umschau haltend der Mond. (Geldner 1951-7: I, 25).

Váruṇaḥ would appear to have a special relationship to the sun at night. He captains a ship likened to the golden swing of the sun (RV: 7, 87, 5; 7, 88, 3). Indeed the *Rig Veda* (1, 23, 17) associates the setting sun directly with the waters. The sun is further stated to be “the eye of Mitráḥ and Váruṇaḥ” (*cákṣur mitrásya váruṇasya*; RV: 7, 63, 1). If the sun is the eye of both Mitráḥ and Váruṇaḥ, it is clear that Váruṇaḥ is primarily associated with the sun at night, when it joins the waters.

Váruṇaḥ controls not only the path of the sun in the sky, but the flow of streams to the sea (RV: 2, 28, 4; 7, 87, 1-7; 8, 41, 1-2). As Lüders (1951) has pointed out, Váruṇaḥ is above all the controller of waters. Indeed, later portrayals depict him as the God of Oceans mounted on a sea monster. Even in the *Rig Veda* the waters represent not only Váruṇaḥ, but the truth which he embodies.

Because transcendental truth is situated in a primordial spring inside the highest heaven, water everywhere is the ‘Womb of Truth’. This is why Váruṇaḥ the guardian of Truth, is to be found in waters. (Gershevitch 1957: 7).

In the *Rig Veda* (RV: 7, 87, 1), Váruṇaḥ “(liess) die zum Meer gehenden Fluten der Ströme laufen wie ein abgelassenes Rennen die Rennstuten, den rechten Weg einhaltend” (*prārṇāṅsi samudryā nadīnām / sárgo ná sṛṣṭó árvatīr ṛtāyāṅ*) (Geldner 1951-7: II, 258; Aufrecht 1863: 65). In another hymn (RV: 2, 28, 4), “die Ströme gehen den regelrechten Weg des Váruṇa-“ (*prá sīm ādityó asṛjad vidhartāṅ / ṛtām síndhavo váruṇasya yanti*) (Geldner 1951-7: I, 311; Aufrecht 1877: 201). In yet another hymn (RV: 8, 41, 2) Váruṇaḥ dwells at “der Mündung der Flüsse” with the “Sieben Schwestern (eben den Flüssen)” (*yáḥ síndhūnām úpodayé saptávasā sá madhyamó nábhantām*) (Geldner 1951-7: II, 354; Aufrecht 1863: 139). Váruṇaḥ clothes himself in the waters (RV: 9, 90, 2; 8, 69, 11-2), and he is a bestower of rain (RV: 5, 69, 2; 7, 64, 2). He grants raining skys and streaming waters (RV: 5, 68, 5). In the *Atharva Veda*, Váruṇaḥ is no longer the universal monarch, but he does control the Waters. In the *Taittirīya Samhitā* (5, 5, 4, 1), the Waters are the wives of Váruṇaḥ.

However, in the *Rig Veda*, Váruṇaḥ is still the universal monarch. As he is the embodiment of natural law, the *Rig Veda* (4, 42, 2) states that Váruṇaḥ is the king over the other gods, “Ich Váruṇa- bin der König... des Váruṇa- Rat befolgen die Götter” (*ahám rájā váruṇo...krátuṃ sacante váruṇasya devā rájāmi*) (Geldner 1951-7: I, 474; Aufrecht 1877: 314). Another hymn (RV: 1, 136, 1) states that Mitráḥ and Váruṇaḥ together “sind die beiden Allkönige (*samrája*)” (Geldner 1951-7: I, 190). Váruṇaḥ's power is so great that neither the birds in flight nor the flowing rivers can reach the limits of his realms (RV: 1, 24, 6). He embraces the abodes of all beings (RV: 8, 41, 1-7). His knowledge is infinite as well. He is the all-knowing pathfinder. He knows the flight of birds in the sky as well as the paths of ships on the ocean. He knows the twelve moons with their progeny. He knows the course of the far-ranging winds (RV: 1, 25, 7-8).

Védā yó vīnām padám
 antárikṣeṇa pátatām
 véda nāvāḥ samudryaḥ
 véda māsó dhṛtāvrató
 dvādasa prajāvataḥ
 ...
 véda vātasya vartaním
 urór ṛṣvāsya bṛhatāḥ.
 (Aufrecht 1877: 17-18).

Lines 10-12 (RV: 1, 25) continue and expand these themes.

Ní ṣasāda dhṛtāvrató
 váruṇaḥ pastyāsv
 á sámrajyāya sukrátuḥ
 ...
 sá no viśvāḥ sukṛátur
 ādityāḥ supáthā karat
 prá ṇa āyūṅṣi tāriṣat.

Váruṇa-, der Gesetzwollstrecker,
 hat sich in den Gewässern niedergelassen
 zur Ausübung der Herrschaft, des Umsichtige.

...
 Dieser umsichtige Sohn
 der Áditi- möge uns jederzeit
 gute Wege bereiten.
 (Aufrecht 1877: 18; Geldner 1951-7: I, 27).

Váruṇaḥ is also a giver of wealth and cattle (RV: 2, 8, 2; 2, 54, 18; 4, 42, 10). Jakobson speaks of Váruṇaḥ's relationship to cattle.

The weighty role assigned to cattle by myths surrounding Váruṇaḥ [is notable].... The cow and sheep emerge as god's relatives. He is protector and holder of ... good milk cows.... The cow permeates Váruṇaḥ's body. A herd of one hundred cows conceal and saves the god's virility.... The relation of this deity to cattle is a current topic in the *Rig Veda* as well as in ritual literature.... (Jakobson 1969: 589-90).

Váruṇaḥ is moreover the creator, and perhaps from this role arises his function as a wealth-giver, particularly of animals. It may also be significant that the horse-headed men, the Gandharvāḥ, are stated to be the people of Váruṇaḥ; indeed they restore his lost fertility (Dumézil 1948: 49, 54). These beings, noted for their excess of passion and energy, have a rapport both with the horses of the solar chariot as well as with the horses of men (1948: 34). They function as the go-betweens of the gods and men. They are the exact opposites of the *brāhmaṇa*-, who embody the concepts inherent in Mitrāḥ, their presumed patron (1948: 55).

Dumézil thus sees Mitrāḥ and Váruṇaḥ as forming a unity in which both gods have recourse to the domain of sovereignty. He sees this unity as a synthesis of the dialectical opposition directly embodied in Mitrāḥ/ Váruṇaḥ.

In the *Atharva Veda* (13, 3, 13) Mitrā- at sunrise is contrasted with Váruṇa- in the evening, and in the *Atharva Veda* (9, 3, 18) Mitrā- is asked to uncover in the morning

what has been covered up by Váruṇa-. These passages point to the beginning of the view prevailing in the *Brāhmanas* that Mitrá- is connected with day and Váruṇa- with night. (MacDonell 1897: 29).

Significant as well, in the *Śatapatha Brāhmana* (2, 4, 4, 18) Váruṇaḥ is compared to the waxing moon and Mitráḥ to the waning moon. The *Rig Veda* (3, 59, 1) says of Mitráḥ that he brings men together (*yātayati*) and “watches the tillers with unwinking eye”.

Mitró jánān yātayati bruvāṇó
mitró dādhāra pṛthivīm utá dyām
mitráḥ kṛṣṭīr ānimiṣābhī caṣṭe
mitráya havýām ghṛtāvaj juhota.
(Aufrecht 1877: 269).

Mitrá- brings men together when invoked.
Mitrá- sustains both the heaven and earth.
Mitrá- watches the tillers with unwinking eyes.
To Mitrá- bring oblation with holy oil.
(MacDonell 1897: 29; Griffith 1896: 386).

Within his sphere of action, Mitráḥ has a greater affinity with agriculture, prosperity, and peace; Mitráḥ is the god of contracts and treaties and, thus, of peace and wergeld. Váruṇaḥ is the god of natural order and oaths and, thus, of war and revenge. Mitráḥ’s domain is this world; Váruṇaḥ’s is the other world. In the *Satapatha Brāhmana* (4, 1, 4, 1), Mitráḥ and Váruṇaḥ are contrasted as intellect and desire, as decision and action (Dumézil 1948: 84). Within the realm of sovereignty, Mitráḥ is the spiritual power and Váruṇaḥ the temporal power, corresponding respectively to the *brāhmana*- and the *kṣatriya*- (Dumézil 1968-73: III, 149). Váruṇaḥ in his role as avenger has a bloody side to his nature; whereas Mitráḥ, as the god of contracts, friendship, and order, is opposed to all violence, even sacred violence.

Mitrá- est le souverain sous son aspect raisonnable, clair, réglé, calme, bienveillant, sacerdotal; Váruṇa- est le souverain sous son aspect assaillant sombre, inspire, violent, terrible, guerrier. (Dumézil 1948: 185).

Avestan Mithrō/Ahurō Mazdā

The *Rig Veda* contains much information about Váruṇaḥ and little about Mitráḥ. Only one hymn, containing scanty information, is dedicated solely to Mitráḥ. In contrast, eleven hymns are dedicated to Váruṇaḥ. When Mitráḥ is mentioned, it is usually in the dual declension signifying the pair Mitráḥ/Váruṇaḥ. When the two are mentioned together, they often possess merely the same attributes as Váruṇaḥ alone (MacDonell 1917: 118).

Fortunately in the *Mihr Yast* of the *Zend Avesta*, probably dating to the fifth century BC (Gershevitch 1959: 3), Iranian tradition preserves additional information about this Indo-Iranian god *Mitra-. It is clear that the *Avestan* god Mithrō (Mithra- from *mithra*- “contract, treaty”; KEWA II: 633-4) corresponds exactly to his *Vedic* equivalent Mitráḥ. Indeed, the two gods have a common historical development in earlier undifferentiated Indo-Iranian tradition. Similarly, the *Avestan* god Ahurō Mazdā may be seen to correspond to Váruṇaḥ, “*le grand Ásura- védique*” (Dumézil 1948: 109), as has been proposed by Jakobson as well as Dumézil. Here Mazdā “Recollection” is cognate with *Vedic* *mēdhā* “insight” (IE **m̥ndh-tā*; IEW: 730) (**m̥nsd^hh₁-áh₂*-; NIL: 493), while Ahurō is cognate with Ásuraḥ (KEWA I: 65-6) and signifies “Lord”. Mayrhofer (KEWA I: 65-6) relates Ásuraḥ to *ásuḥ* “life, vital strength”.

In these names the Indic *asu-* and Iranian *ahu-* “genius, chief” go back to IE **esə-os/ *es-u-*, literally “existent, essential”, derived from the verb **es-* “to be” and reflected as well in Latin *erus* < *esus* “master”, Greek *eús*, and Hittite *assus* “good, suitable”. The name of the Celtic god Esus belongs to this same family. (Jakobson 1969: 591).

In the *Mihr Yast*, like his *Vedic* counterpart Mitráḥ, Mithrō is foremost a god of contract. He is “the Guarantor of orderly international relations, the god of international treaty” (Gershevitch 1959: 27). He is referred to as “Grass-land magnate Mithrō ... whose long arms reach out to catch the violators of the contract” (1959: 124-5). He also “shoots from afar with long arrows” (1959: 122-3). He is the judge who makes the abode gain prominence (1959: 110-11). Even in later Zoroastrian religion, because of his truthfulness, Mithrō (Mihr) is the judge of the soul at death. His festival *Mithrakána* (*Mihragan*) “feast of Mithra-“ is in fact in honor of “Mithra- Judge of Iran” (Hinnells 1973: 78). In the *Mihr Yast*, Mithrō is a “god who bestows progeny, raises vegetation, and is, moreover, identified with the first light of the morning” (Gershevitch 1959: 32-3). His role as a god of the day is exemplified by his epithet, *Hvāraoxšna-* “Endowed with his own Light” (1959: 31; 144-5, ‘34, 142). Here *raoxšna-* “brilliant” probably derives from IE **louk-s-no-* “luminary, light” (IEW: 687), utilizing the o-grade of **leyk-* “light” (DPC: 245), as in the personal name *Vohuraočah-* “with Good Light” (Mayrhofer 1979: no. 389). Mithrō is not only associated with the daylight sun, but moreover with the sun in summer and autumn. His festival *Mithrakána*, foreshadowing the end of the world, takes place on the first day of solar autumn (September 21).

On the other hand, the first day of solar spring and also of the new year (March 21), known as *Naurōz*, was later celebrated as the festival of Ohrmazd (< Ahurō Mazdā), the creator and dialectical twin of Mihr (< Mithrō). This day commemorated the act of creation.

En effet, les grandes fêtes de l’année sont moins faciles à réformer que les dogmes... Le mazdéisme n’a fait que “sanctifier” l’état de choses préexistant en équilibrant son année sur deux grandes fêtes, séparées par l’intervalle maximum (équinoxe de printemps, équinoxe d’automne), et dont la signification et les mythes sont nettement antithétiques. Or ces fêtes sont placées sous l’invocation l’une d’Ahura Mazdā, l’autre de Mithra. (Dumézil 1948: 109-10).

In Mazdaism, Ahurō Mazdā (Ohrmazd) is the primal creator. Ahurō Mazdā is also said to be the father of Átarš “Fire”. In this, Ahurō Mazdā shows aspects of Vedic Dyāuḥ, who is the creator and also the father of Agníḥ “Fire”. Thus Ahurō Mazdā cannot be equated solely with Váruṇaḥ. Like the Scandinavian god Óðinn, Ahurō Mazdā is derived from the PIE gods who gave rise to both Dyāuḥ and Váruṇaḥ. In Iran and Scandinavia the two earlier gods merged to form a single more powerful deity.

Naurōz commemorates the day on which Ohrmazd, or earlier Ahurō Mazdā, supposedly performed the sacrifice which produced the creation of the six major deities, the Avestan Yazatō (venerables), as well as the *xwarənah-* “royal halo”. According to the *Bundahišn* (II), Ohrmazd went on to create the universe, the paths of the sun, moon, and stars, as well as the earth and water. On earth he set out a tree, a white ox, and a man Gayomart, who shone like the sun. Details of the myth of Gayomart and the ox are given in the *Zad-Spram* (II) as well as the *Bundahišn* (III, X, XIV) (see West 1880: 15-35).

These texts relate that two primordial beings, Gayomart and the white ox, stood in holiness on two sides of the central river. Ahriman (< Angra- Mainyu-), the god of evil, sent forth abominations and diseases which caused their deaths (on *Naurōz*), but in dying Gayomart and the white ox assured fertility on earth. Ohrmazd had planned that vegetation should arise from the ox’s blood and all specimens of animals from his seed. A plant which split into two humans, the father and mother of mankind, grew from Gayomart’s seed.

Avestan Vohu- Manah-

Perhaps corresponding to the two-generation deity pair, Conchobar and Cú Chulainn, are the pair of Avestan gods, Ahurō Mazdā and Vohu- Manah-. Here, Manah- is equatable with *manah-* “sense, spirit” (KEWA II: 573), while *vohu-* “good” derives from IE **u̯ēsu-* “good” (IEW: 1174; DPC: 418), as in Gaulish *Vīsucios* (< **u̯ēsu-kio-*) and *Vo(s)ucos* (< **uosu-ko-*), bynames of Vellaunos Mercurius, with whom Vohu- Manah- apparently was cognate. Vohu- Manah- is said to be the first form of God (Hinnells 1973: 50-2). He sits on the right hand of Ahurō Mazdā. Vohu- Manah- greets the righteous soul at death and leads it into heaven. He also protects useful animals. In these roles, Vohu- Manah- is equivalent to Vedic *Pūṣā*. Ahurō Mazdā and Vohu- Manah- taken together are equivalent to *Váruṇah* and *Pūṣā*.

Vedic *Viṣṇuḥ* and *Pūṣā*

Although *Viṣṇuḥ* (KEWA III: 231-2) plays a large role in the *Brāhmanas*, he plays only a minor role in the *Rig Veda*. In the *Rig Veda*, *Viṣṇuḥ* is depicted as a youth of vast proportions (RV: 1, 155, 6). He has many forms. A hymn (RV: 7, 100, 6) asks him not to conceal his form (as he assumes another one in battle). *Viṣṇuḥ* is said to be beneficent (RV: 1, 156, 5), bountiful (RV: 8, 25, 12), and a generous deliverer (RV: 1, 155, 4).

The most characteristic physical attribute *Viṣṇuḥ* possesses is that he takes three giant strides. Two of these steps are visible to men, but the third is beyond the flight of birds (RV: 1, 155, 5). In the *Śatapatha Brāhmana* (1, 9, 3, 9), one step occurs on earth, the next in the air, and the third in heaven. Thus *Viṣṇuḥ* is able to traverse in his three strides the Lower, Middle, and Upper Regions. He has bynames *Urugāyá-* “Wide-going” and *Urukramá-* “Wide-Striding” (MacDonell 1897: 37). In this ability to traverse the three realms, *Viṣṇuḥ* perhaps shows something of the Greek god *Hermēs*, but also of the Romano-Gaulish *Mercurius* whose epithets were *Excingiorigiatos* “He who Rules through Striding” (or possibly “Ruler of Warriors”) and *Cimi(n)acinos*: “the Strider” or “God of Roads”.

All beings dwell within reach of *Viṣṇuḥ*’s strides (RV: 1, 154, 2). In the *Śatapatha Brāhmana* (1, 9, 3, 6), *Viṣṇuḥ* acquires the all-pervading power of the gods through striding through the three realms. Corresponding to these three strides, *Viṣṇuḥ* is said to have three dwellings (*triśadhastha-*). In his highest abode, the third place of *Agníḥ* (RV: 10, 1, 3) (ie., the Upper Realm), there is a well of honey (RV: 1, 154, 5) where the gods rejoice (RV: 8, 29, 7). *Viṣṇuḥ*, himself, guards the highest abode of the gods (RV: 3, 55, 10).

Viṣṇuḥ is called the “Lord of Mountains” in the *Taittirīya Samhitā* (3, 4, 5, 1). The *Rig Veda* (1, 154, 2-3) refers to him as *Giriḥṣit-* “Mountain Dwelling” and *Giriṣṭhā-* “Mountain Abiding”. *Viṣṇuḥ* and *Índraḥ* are the two undecivable ones who have stood on the summit of the mountains (RV: 1, 155, 1). He is the “Ancient Germ of Order” and he who ordains (RV: 1, 156, 2-4). In the *Aitareya Brāhmana* (*Adhyāya*: i.4), “*Agníḥ* and *Viṣṇuḥ* are the guardians of consecration of the gods” (Keith 1920: 109). *Viṣṇuḥ* is the guardian of the highest abode. The *Aitareya Brāhmana* (1, 30) states that *Viṣṇuḥ* is the “doorkeeper of the gods” (MacDonell 1897: 42).

Viṣṇuḥ has a solar element to his character, which MacDonell has aptly commented on. In the *Atharva Veda* (5, 27, 7), *Viṣṇuḥ* is besought to bestow heat on the sacrifice. In the *Śatapatha Brāhmana* (14, 1, 1), *Viṣṇuḥ*’s head becomes the sun when it is cut off by his bow starting asunder. *Viṣṇuḥ*’s use of a wheel as a weapon suggests Cú Chulainn’s confrontation against Fergus with his broken chariot wheel in the *Táin*.

In post-Vedic literature, one of *Viṣṇu-*’s weapons is a rolling wheel which is represented like the sun (cp. *Rig Veda*: 5, 63, 4), and his vehicle is *Garudá-*, chief of birds, who is brilliant in lustre like *Agní-*. (MacDonell 1897: 39).

Viṣṇuḥ is a constant companion and friend of Índraḥ (a correlative of Cú Chulainn's foster-father Fergus). One hymn (RV: 6, 69) is dedicated to the two gods together. Índraḥ is often coupled with Viṣṇuḥ in the dual (1897: 39). Accompanied by Índraḥ, Viṣṇuḥ opens the cows' stalls. Viṣṇuḥ presses *sōma-* into three cups to be drunk by Índraḥ. Viṣṇuḥ shares Índraḥ's powers of drinking *sōma-* (RV: 6, 69). Viṣṇuḥ is allied with Índraḥ in the fight with Vṛtráḥ, the boar (RV: 6, 20, 2) who plunders wealth and keeps the Ásurāḥ on the other side of seven hills. According to the *Rig Veda* (1, 61, 7; 8, 66, 10), having drunk *sōma-* and at the urging of Índraḥ, Viṣṇuḥ takes milk and 100 buffalo from Vṛtráḥ (as Cú Chulainn makes off with the cows and the cauldron in *Forfess Fer Failgae*).

According to *Taittirīyā Saṃhitā* (6, 2, 4), Viṣṇuḥ carries off the boar as a sacrifice to the gods, after Índraḥ kills it. In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (14, 1, 2, 11) this boar is the being which raises the earth from the waters (MacDonell 1897: 39, 41). So too, Índraḥ and Viṣṇuḥ are companions in other exploits. Índraḥ with Viṣṇuḥ's help triumphs over Dāsáḥ and destroys Sámbarah's 99 castles to conquer the armies of Varcín- (RV: 7, 99, 4-5).

The name Pūṣá (Pūṣān-) "Prosperer" is apparently cognate with that of the Greek god Pán (< *Pāusōn; IEW: 790). Pūṣá occurs slightly more frequently than Viṣṇuḥ (120 versus 100 times, with a total of 8 hymns for Pūṣá versus 5 hymns for Viṣṇuḥ; MacDonell 1897: 35). Pūṣá has as bynames *Puṣṭimbhara-* "Bringing Prosperity", *Paśupā-* "Protector of Cattle" (RV: 6, 58, 2), and *Anaṣṭapaśu-* "Losing no Cattle" (1897: 36). Like Váruṇaḥ, Pūṣá is known as *ásura-* (RV: 5, 51, 11). Like the deity called Viṣṇuḥ, Pūṣá also is a close companion of Índraḥ, being coupled in the dual with Índraḥ (RV: 6, 57) and with Sōma- (RV: 2, 40). In this close role with Índraḥ and Sōma-, Pūṣá can be identified with Viṣṇuḥ, having developed as a byname whose original identity was lost. The characterizations of Pūṣá as well as of Viṣṇuḥ correlate with aspects of both the cognate deities, Greek Hermēs and Irish Cú Chulainn.

In Vedic tradition Pūṣá is all-pervading (RV: 2, 40, 6). He is the Lord of Great Wealth and produces a Stream of Riches (RV: 6, 55, 2-3). He confers prosperity. Pūṣá is a seer and protecting friend of priests (RV: 10, 26, 5). Pūṣá was born on the far path of heaven and earth and knows them both (RV: 6, 17, 6). Knowing the way, Pūṣá conducts the dead on the far path to the fathers, to where the righteous have gone and to where they and the gods abide (RV: 10, 17, 3-5). Knowing all paths, Pūṣá is the guardian of roads and every path (*pathás-pathaḥ páripatiṃ vacasyā*) (RV: 6, 49, 8). He is the Lord of the Road (RV: 6, 53, 1). It is he who removes danger, either the wolf or waylayer, from the path of men (RV: 1, 42, 1-3): "*Den bösen unheilvollen Wolf der uns bedroht, O Pūṣān-, den jage von dem Wege fort*" (*yó naḥ pūṣann aghó vṛko duḥśéva ādīdeśati / āpa sma tám pathó jahi*) (Aufrecht 1877: 34; Geldner 1951-7: I, 52). In the *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā* (22, 20), Pūṣá is the guide (*prapathya*) on every road. "On the forward road of the roads has Pūṣá been born, on the forward road of heaven, on the forward road of the earth; unto both the dearest stations, both hither and yon, goes he, foreknowing" (*Atharva Veda*: 7, 9, 1; trans. Whitney; Watkins 1970: 347). As the *Rig Veda* (6, 54, 2) states, "We would also go with Pūṣá, who shall guide us to the houses" (*sám uṇ Pūṣṇá gamemahi / yó gṛhān abhiśāṣati*) (MacDonell 1917: 112).

Beasts are sacred to Pūṣá (RV: 1, 15, 1-2). Pūṣá (RV: 1, 5, 1-2) is the producer of cattle (*Maitrāyāni Saṃhitā*: 4, 3, 7). It is he who protects cattle and horses (RV: 6, 54, 5-7).

5 Pūṣá gá ánv etu naḥ
Pūṣá rakṣatv árvataḥ
Pūṣá vājāṃ sanotu naḥ.

7 Mākīr neśan mākīṃ riśan
mākīṃ sám śāri kévaṭe
áthāriṣṭābhīr á gahi.

Let Pūṣā go after our cows;
 let Pūṣā protect our steeds;
 let Pūṣā gain booty for us.

...
 Let not any one [of them] be lost; let it not be injured;
 let it not suffer fracture in a pit:
 so come back with them uninjured.
 (Aufrecht 1877: 447; MacDonell 1917: 113-4).

Pūṣā is the only god called *Paśupā-* “Protector of Cattle” (RV: 6, 58, 2). Pūṣā is also the best of charioteers. He has even driven down the golden wheel of the sun (RV: 6, 56, 3). However, his chariot is pulled by goats (*ajāśva*) rather than by horses (RV: 1, 38, 4; 6, 55, 3-4). He is also the ruler of heroes (RV: 1, 106, 4) and assists them in battle (RV: 6, 48, 19). As a protector and defender (RV: 1, 89, 5), he is unconquerable (see MacDonell 1897: 35-7).

Exactly like Hermēs, Pūṣā is the go-between, the mediator, the intermediary. His boats traverse the space between Heaven and Earth... and with them he acts as messenger of the sun (*dútyām yāsi*, RV. 6.58.3)... It is Pūṣā who conducts the dead to their abode, just as Hermēs does (first at *Od.* 24.1-5, of the suitors of Pēnelópē). In RV. 10.17.3 (the lines are addressed to the dead man): ... `Pūṣān- soll dich von hier befördern... *Er übergebe dich diesen Vätern*’. (Watkins 1970: 347).

Greek Apóllōn, and Zeús and Hermēs

Greek Apóllōn

(For a further discussion of Apóllōn, in particular the traits correlating with Irish Fraech and Vedic Rudráḥ, see the section on Apóllōn in the chapter on the Gods of Water. Here I deal with traits correlating with Irish Lug and Cú Chulainn and Vedic Mitráḥ and Pūṣā. The bynames of Apóllōn listed here are to be found interspersed from pages 98-252 of Farnell, 1907; see index in 1909, V, 486-496, for the exact page references of the individual names. For the most part, I have followed Farnell’s suggested interpretation of the significance of the epithets, though I have cross-checked his suggestions against Liddell and Scott 1889 and Frisk 1960 ff. to avoid misunderstandings and errors)

Apóllōn’s attributes, taken as a whole, would seem to have arisen from an amalgam of the traits of at least two PIE gods and cults. One of Apóllōn’s aspects is closely akin to Irish Lug and thus derives from the PIE god behind Mitráḥ. To correlate other aspects of his wide-ranging personality with the cognate Irish deities, one must deal with the three-generation Greek entity Zeús/ Apóllōn (Lýkeios)/ Asklēpiós and compare this group to the three generation Irish entity Conchobar/ Cú Chulainn / Fraech (Conlae). Thus Apóllōn also has traits which correlate with Irish Cú Chulainn and Fraech and with their Vedic correlatives Viṣṇuḥ and Rudráḥ. Besides Lug, to a small extent, Apóllōn also correlates with Irish Cú Chulainn and Vedic Viṣṇuḥ. For the most part, however, Apóllōn’s other attributes which are unlike those of Mitráḥ correlate with Irish Fraech (Conlae) and Vedic Rudráḥ (Apām Napāt).

In Ireland, Cú Chulainn is the father of the source god Fraech (Conlae). In Greece, on analogy, one would expect Hermēs to have played this role. However, Apóllōn was considered to be the father of the god of springs and healing (Asklēpiós). This unexpected development would seem to be an aspect of an early Apóllōn’s absorbing some traits from an early Hermēs

(in particular, the fathering of Asklēpiós). Apóllōn also absorbed traits from his newly acquired son Asklēpiós as well. Thus Apóllōn correlates only roughly with the correspondent gods from the other IE culture areas. When Apóllōn is grouped with Hermēs and Asklēpiós, however, the triad may be favorably compared to the corresponding functionally cognate triads from other regions (i.e., Greek Apóllōn, Hermēs, Asklēpiós = Vedic Mitráḥ, Viṣṇuḥ, Rudráḥ = Irish Lug, Cú Chulainn, Fraech).

As Burkert noted, the name of the god Apóllōn is of unknown non IE origin (GEW I: 124), the oldest form of which is *Appaliunaš* (EDG: 119) in a Hittite treaty with Alaksandus of Wilusa. Apóllōn was associated with annual gatherings, as Lug was associated with Lugnasad in Ireland.

The name in the earlier pre-Homeric form Apellon is scarcely to be separated from the institution of the *apellai*, annual gatherings of the tribal or phratry organization such as are attested in Delphi and Laconia, and which from the month name Apellaios, can be inferred for the entire Dorian-northwest Greek area. One of the earliest Apollo [Apóllōn] temples has been identified in Thermos, the center for the annual gatherings of the Aetolians. (Burkert 1985: 144).

In this function then, Apóllōn takes on the exact role of Irish Lug, who was the protector of the oenach on Lugnasad. In the *Iliad*, Apóllōn is Hekatēbólos “the Far-Shooter”. So too, Lug is *Lámfota* “of the Far-Reaching Hand”, and Mithrō “shoots from afar with long arrows” (Gershevitch 1959: 122-3, ‘26, 102). Hēsíodos (*Theogonia*: ll. 79-91) gives information which confirms this equation of roles between Apóllōn and Lug. Here, just as Lug is the god of craftsmen, Apóllōn is responsible for the singers and harpers (men of craft), while Zeús is responsible for the princes.

For it is through the muses and far-shooting Apóllōn that there are singers and harpers upon earth; but princes are of Zeús. (Evelyn-White 1914: 84-5).

Another interesting aspect of the practice at Delphi was Apóllōn’s function as a witness and guarantor of good faith in the legal enfranchisement of a freed slave. At Thespiai, slaves were set free in the presence of Asklēpiós and Apóllōn (Farnell 1907: IV, 177). A large number of inscriptions discovered at Delphi, belonging to the second century BC, depict Apóllōn as purchasing the slave in order to set him free. One of these inscriptions is described by Farnell.

On these conditions Nikias, the son of Kallon, sold to Apóllōn Pythios, a male slave, whose name was Sosandros, a Gaul by race, at the price of four minae of silver, according as Sosandros entrusted the god with the transaction of the sale, on condition that he should be free and immune from seizure all his life.... But if anyone lays hands on Sosandros with a view to enslave him, let the seller Nikias and the guarantor Xenocrates maintain for the god the terms of the original sale. (1907: IV, 178).

Here the slave bought his own freedom out of his savings. However, since slaves had no legal rights or property, it was hazardous to attempt to buy freedom directly from a master, lest the master keep the money and the slave. Thus the temple mechanism was devised at Delphi, with the supposition that Apóllōn purchased the slave, but allowed him to go wherever he wished. Thus Pythian Apóllōn played the role as mediator between slave and master. This role of Apóllōn is reminiscent of the Gaulish epithet of Mercurius, *Vassocaletis* “Protector of Vassals”, presumably originally an epithet of Lugus.

The cult of Apóllōn was particularly associated with the swan. When Apóllōn was born, sacred swans circled Ortygia island. Shortly after his birth, Zeús gave Apóllōn a chariot drawn by swans as well as his lyre.

With music the swans, the gods' own minstrels, left Maeonian Pactolus and circled seven times round Delos, and [they] sang over the bed of child-birth, the Muses' birds, most musical of all birds that fly. Hence that child in later days strung the lyre with just so many strings: seven strings, since seven times the swans sang over the pangs of birth. No, eight times they sang ere the child leapt forth, and the nymphs of Delos, offspring of an ancient river, sang with far-sounding voice the holy chant of Eileithyia. (Kallímachos, *Hymnoi: Eis Delon*: ll. 249-55; Mair 1921: 104-5).

In *Biliothēkē* (III, x, 2), Apóllōn obtains the lyre from the infant Hermēs in exchange for the cattle which Hermēs has stolen from him. So too, Apóllōn gives a golden wand, which he used when he herded the cattle, and the art of divination for the pipes which the infant Hermēs invented. Thus Apóllōn obtains the pipes and the lyre. Apóllōn is the patron of arts and crafts, if not necessarily the inventor.

Apóllōn became the chief god of the Hyperboreans and set a fixed time of the year to receive their homage. When he returned to Greece, he reached Delphi at Midsummer. Apóllōn then attacked Pýthōn because of his attempt on Lētó. In connection with this summer festival at Delphi, a first fruits' festival, the Karneia, was held at Athens in August (on this and the following festivals see Farnell 1907: IV, 254, 262-9, 286-91). Apóllōn Karneios was the deity of vegetation in these rites. Again in this role as god of vegetation, and of the first fruits in particular, Apóllōn is reminiscent of Irish Lug.

At Athens the epiphany of Apóllōn took place near Midsummer. The Laconians held the festival of Hycynthia on the seventh day of Hekatombaion (the last half of May through the first half of June), which was sacred to Apóllōn. In Attica the people celebrated the Pyanepsia on the seventh day of Pyanepsiōn (in late autumn). This festival was named after the custom of cooking beans (*pyanoi*) as an aspect of the consecration of the later fruits and cereals to Apóllōn, the harvest god (a role in which Apóllōn corresponds to Lug and Mithrō). Delios celebrated a similar festival earlier in the summer for the coming of the first fruits, cereal, and vegetation. This festival was also sacred to Apóllōn. Servius recorded the legend that Apóllōn arrived to spend the six summer months in Delos after spending the six winter months in Lycia.

The bloodless altar at Delos was built to receive the Hyperborean offering of cereal. The celebrants at Delios believed that Apóllōn's birthday was on the seventh day of Thargelion (the eleventh month from mid-May to mid-June). A harvest festival was also held at Pythia on the seventh day of Bukations (the second summer month). These festivals honored Apóllōn "as a deity of the harvest and a giver of fruit" (Farnell 1907: IV, 267). Apóllōn's birthday was celebrated at Delphi on the seventh of Busios, the first spring month. Mainly in honor of Apóllōn, the Boetians celebrated the Daphnephoria, which Farnell (1907: IV, 284-5) likens to a May-Day festival. The central aspect of this festival involved taking a olive log decorated with flowers and metal balls to the temple of Apóllōn.

Every year Apóllōn was said to leave Delphi at the end of autumn to journey to the land of the Hyperboreans. According to Aristotelēs (Aristotle) (*Historia Animalium*: 580a, 15 ff.), Lētó herself was supposedly a Hyperborean, but she had left the north and come to Delos in the guise of a she-wolf. Because of his supposed absence in the winter, Apóllōn shared Delphi with Diónysos, who held the sanctuary during the three winter months. Diónysos's grave was supposedly in the inner sanctuary (OCD: 323). The Greeks held no celebrations to Apóllōn in the winter.

Apóllōn also had bynames corresponding to attributes of Lug and Lugas (Lucus). Apóllōn was known as Phoibos “God of Light” or “the Brilliant”, Xanthós “Golden Haired”, Chrysókomēs “of the Golden Locks”. Perhaps corresponding to Lug’s epithet Lámfota “of the Far-reaching Hand”, Apóllōn was known as Tetrácheir “Four-handed”. He was Isótimos “God of Equal Rights and Privileges”. He was called Hórios “Guardian of Boundaries”. He was Eleuthérios “Guardian of Freemen”. Demonstrating Apóllōn’s deep concern with law, the court of law at Athens was said to be *rò epì Delphino* “by the Delphinion” (Farnell 1907: IV, 176). At Branchidai, Apóllōn was called Phílēsios and Phlíios “Guardian of Friendship and Social Intercourse”. He was Agoraios “God of the Market” and Boulaios “God of the Council”. Apóllōn was the “predominant patron of music and song” (Farnell 1907: 244-5). As a patron of arts, particularly music and poetry, Apóllōn was known as Mousaios “God of Muses”, Mousagētēs “Leader of Muses”, and Donaktos “of the Pipes”.

Corresponding to Irish Lug’s relationship to hill-tops and hill-top festivals, Apóllōn was known in Argos as Deiradiotēs “God of the Hill”. In Achaea he was known as the Theozēnios, which is derived from the “annual festival at which he was supposed to give hospitable entertainment to other deities” (1907: IV, 174). He was also Enagōnios “Who Presides over Games”. He was Daphnēphóros “Laurel-Bearing God”.

Corresponding to Lug’s aspect as a god of the grain and vegetation, Apóllōn was the Sītaphýlakos “Protector of Grain”. In this function he was not without reward, for he was also known as Dekatephóros “God of the Tithe”. As protector of grain he was also known as Erythíbios “Averter of Mildew” and Hérosos “Sender of the Dew and Rain”. Among the Boeotians he was also Pornópios “Averter of Locusts (*parnopos*)”. As the deliverer from the plague of field mice (*sminthos*), he was known as Smintheús, although this name may be derived from Sminthē, a town in Troas. In Sparta he was known as Kárneios, after the harvest festival held in his honor during the month of Metageitnion (the later half of August and the first half of September) (Farnell 1907: IV, 131). In spite of Farnell’s (1907: IV, 144) conclusion “that Apóllōn-Hélios was a late by-product in Greek religion”, his association with the sun may have been an ancient aspect of his association with Midsummer and the harvest.

As noted, Apóllōn also had traits correlating with those of Lug’s opposite twin Cú Chulainn. Corresponding to Vellaunos and Cú Chulainn (associated with the vicious hound of the smith) as well as Roman Romulus (raised by the she-wolf), Apóllōn was known as Lykeios “Wolf-like” (with an adjectival formation in *-eio-*) and Lykogenēs “Born of the Wolf”. The wolf brought Apóllōn the purifying laurel-bough after the slaughter of Pýthōn. In Argos wolves were sacrificed to Apóllōn (Farnell 1907: IV, 255). Lētō herself was supposedly one of the Hyperbóreoi, but she had left there and come to Delos in the guise of a she-wolf. Continuing this wolf-like theme, Apóllōn was known as Hylátēs “God of the Woods”, Agraios and Agréutēs “God of Hunting and Game”, and Hekatēbólos “the Far Shooter” or “the far Hurler”, and Nómios “Pasture Roaming”. As protector of cattle he was Kereátas “God of Horned Beasts”, a name reminiscent of Gaulish [C]ern[u]nnos. He was Galázios “Giver of Abundant Milk” (*gála* “milk”). He was also known as Thóraios and Thórates “God of Semen” (*thorós* “semen”). Corresponding to Cú Chulainn’s byname Sétanta, is Apóllōn’s byname Agueiús “Guardian of Roads”. As a protector of youth Apóllōn was known as Kourídios “God of Youth” (possibly also “Protector of Marriage”) and Kourēios “(Protector) of Youth”. Corresponding to Romulus, head of the Luperci, Apóllōn was known as Dromaieús “the Runner” or “the Swift One”. Apóllōn was also Oikētēs and the Dōmatítēs “Guardian of the Household”. He was Kōmaios and Epikōmaios “God of the Town” and Patróos “God of the Fatherland”. He was Hēgemón “the Leader” and Archēgētēs “the Chief” or “the Founder”. Like Cú Chulainn, war-like as well, Apóllōn was called Chrysáoros “Armed with a Golden Sword”, Eleleús “God of the War Cry”, and Boēdrómios “the God who Charges with Battle Rage”. He was Stratágios “God of Military Strategy” and Thóurios “God of Rage”.

Greek Zeús

(See the previous section for a discussion of Zeús's correlation with *Váruṇaḥ* as the controller of the Upper Realm. As Apóllōn's father, Zeús is scarcely to be seen as a contrasting twin with Apóllōn, himself.)

Greek Hermēs

Hermēs occurs in Mycenaean as Hermāhās (EDG: 462, meaning unknown). Apollódōros gives details about Hermēs's youth. Outlined in this late text are Hermēs role as a protector of livestock as well as his role as a messenger between the Upper, Middle, and Lower Realms.

Maía, ... as the fruit of her intercourse with Zeús, gave birth to Hermēs in a cave of Cyllene. He was laid in swaddling-bands on the winnowing fan, but he slipped out and made his way to Pieria and stole the cattle which Apóllōn was herding. Lest he should be detected by the tracks, he put shoes on their feet, brought them to Pylus, and hid the rest in a cave... Before the cave he found a tortoise browsing. He cleaned it out, strung the shell with cords made from the cows he had sacrificed, and having thus produced a lyre, he invented also a plectrum.... Having discovered the thief by divination, Apóllōn came to Maía at Cyllene and accused Hermēs.... So Apóllōn brought him to Zeús and claimed the cattle. When Zeús bade him restore them, Hermēs denied that he had them, but not being believed, he led Apóllōn to Pýlos and restored the cattle. However, when Apóllōn heard the lyre, he gave the cattle in exchange for it. And while Hermēs pastured them, he again made himself a shepherd's pipe and piped on it. Wishing to take the pipe also, Apóllōn offered to give him the golden wand which he owned while he herded cattle. But Hermēs wished both to get the wand for the pipe and to acquire the art of divining by pebbles.... And Zeús appointed him herald to himself and to the infernal gods. (Apollódōros *Bibliotēkē*: III, X, 2; Frazer 1920: II, 5-11).

However, the *Homeric Hymn to Hermēs* more explicitly defines these roles of being the protector of flocks and herds as well as the messenger of the gods.

For she [Maía] bore a son [Hermēs] of many shifts, blandly cunning, a robber, a cattle driver, a bringer of dreams, a watcher by night, a thief at the gates, one who was soon to show forth wonderful deeds among the deathless gods. (ll. 13-5).

...

Father Zeús ... commanded that glorious Hermēs shall be lord over all birds of omen and grim-eyed lions, and boars with gleaming tusks, and over dogs, and all flocks the wide earth nourishes, and over all sheep; also that he should be appointed messenger to Hádēs, who though he takes no gift, shall give him no mean prize. He consorts with all mortals and immortals; a little he profits, but continually throughout the dark night he cozens the tribes of mortal men. (ll. 566-78; Evelyn-White 1914: 365, 405).

So too, Hēsíodos (*Theogonia*: ll. 443-5) informs us that Hermēs, together with Hecate, increases the flocks in the byre.

Farnell (1909: V, 1-31) examines the bynames of Hermēs (GEW I: 563-4). Although the analysis here for the most part follows his suggestions, again the names have been checked against Liddell and Scott (1889) and Frisk (1960 ff.) to avoid misunderstandings and errors. Hermēs would seem to be nearly a carbon-copy of Vedic Pūṣā. However, Pūṣā (*Vīṣṇuḥ*) also shares traits with Apóllōn, who seems to have absorbed some of the traits of the earlier PIE

god preceding Pūšá. As a result of Apóllōn's taking over many traits one would expect to find in Hermēs, Hermēs "plays only a subordinate role in Greek life in comparison to the higher divinities of the state" (1909: V, 1).

As with Apóllōn, Hermēs has several place-name bynames. He was known as Kyllēnios after Mt. Kyllēne, his supposed birth place when he was born to the goddess Maía. He was known as Akákēta after Akákēsion where he was supposedly nurtured. He was called Pylaios after the festival at Pylae. He was called Aipytos after a local ancestor cult. He was called Kadmilos in the Kábeiroi mystery ceremony.

Hermēs was the companion of men on their journeys in life as well as in death. In the Homeric Hymn *Eis Hermēn* (IV, 570-4), Zeús declares Hermēs "the only ... appointed messenger to Hádēs". As the underworld traveler and messenger to Hádēs he was called Psychompós "the Conductor of Souls" and Kataibátēs "the God who Descends". As Psychompós he was a major participant of the Athenian All-Souls Festival, the Anthestēria "the Feast of Flowers". This festival was held in honor of Diónysos in the month called Anthestēriōn (between the second half of February and the first half of March) (Farnell 1909: 14-5). Hermēs also sent dreams and sleep, perhaps an aspect of his role as Psychompós. In this vein he was also known as Chthónios "of the Underworld", a standard phrase used in curse formulae and magic spells (1909: V, 13-4).

At Tanagra there was a Black Hermēs to whom human beings might even be sacrificed (1909: V, 31). But Hermēs had a dual nature consistent with his role as a traveler between the Upper and Lower Realms. Hermēs was also called Sōtēr "the Saviour". It is he who supposedly conveyed "the prayers and aspirations of men" to the high god Zeús; thus Hermēs became the Homósītēs "Mediator" (1909: V, 21).

"In the popular religion he [Hermēs] was pre-eminent as a god of ways" (1909: V, 17). As the god of ways he was responsible for the boundaries, thus he was called Epitērmios "God of the Boundaries". Perhaps combining his role as Psychompós as well as god of ways, his emblem, the *phallós*, was set up at cross-roads surmounted by three or four faces of the god, "in consequence of an ancient and wide-spread superstition about cross-roads, which ... have been generally believed to be haunted by ghosts" (1909: V, 17). The Hermēs Agalma "Image", the *phallós*, would be erected to divert these ghosts.

These cross-roads monuments may have also developed from placing up a pile of stones, the *Hermaios lóphos*, as a means of honoring Hermēs the god of ways (Farnell 1909: V, 7). Thus he was Triképhalos "Three-Headed" or Tetraképhalos "Four-Headed". In this role he was also the protector of gateways, being called Propýlaios "Before the Gate", Pýlios "Gate (Guardian)", Pylédókos "Watching at the Gate", Thýraios "At the Door", and Strophaios "Standing at the Door-hinge".

He was the protector of youths and known as Paidokóros "He who Cares for Boys". He was called Amúētos "Protector of the Uninitiated" at the Acropolis. He was also the patron of athletic contests, being known as Agónios and Enagónios "Protector of Contests" (1909: V, 29), perhaps indicating an original role like that of Cú Chulainn, who presided over the boy troop (frequently engaged in athletic contests). He was Hēgētōr, Hāgētōr "Leader of Men" and Hēgemónios "Leader of the Army". He was Prómachos "Who Fights in Front".

Having developed from the PIE deity who was apparently the Lord of Wealth, primarily cattle, Hermēs expanded this role to include trade as well. Thus Hermēs was known as Kerdōos "the Gainful" or "the Crafty" and Dólios "the Crafty" or "the Deceitful", the patron god of thieves. He was Týchōn "the God of Success in Trade" and Agoraios "the God of the Market Place". He was Empolaios "God of Trade", who invented weights and measures. He was Charidótēs "Giver of Boons", Heriounios "the Luck Bringer", and Euángelos "who Brings Glad Tidings".

His original role as protector of herds survives in his cult names as well. The most primitive character in which Hermēs appeared, and which was never abandoned, was the pastoral. He is the Lord of Herds, Epimēlios and Kriophóros, who leads them to sweet waters, bears the tired ram or lamb on his shoulders, and assists them with the shepherd's crook, the *kērykeion*. Those whose wealth was derived from pasture owed their fortune to Hermēs.... It is noteworthy that the god of the Arcadian pastures never becomes an agricultural deity. (Farnell 1909: 9-10).

Aristophánēs gives a prayer which begins, "I pray to Hermēs, the pasture-god, to Pán, and to the Nymphs beloved" (1909: V, 10). In the Homeric Hymn *Eis Hermēn* (IV, 498), Apóllōn "put his shining whip in Hermēs hand and ordained him keeper of herds (*boukolías*)".

Zeús himself commanded that glorious Hermēs should be lord over all birds of omen, grim-eyed lions, boars with gleaming tusks, ... dogs, all flocks that the wide earth nourishes, and ... all sheep. (*Eis Hermon*: IV, 568-74; Evelyn-White 1914: 405).

Animals sacrificed to him included sheep, goats, and swine. Hermēs was, himself, known as Kriophorós "Bearer of Rams", a frequent subject of his iconography, and Epimēlios "who Manages (Herds)". He was also Auxídēmos "the God who Increases the People". He was known as Phálēs, after the *phallós*, his emblem, the symbol of fertility and life.

According to Apollódōros (*Epitome*: VII, 39), Hermēs was the father of Pán. "Pán seems in fact to be a more primitive form of that Arcadian god of the flocks who also evolved into Hermēs" (Pinset 1969: 40). Ovidius (*Fastorum Libri*: II, 277-8) states that sacrifices were made to Pan to save the lambs: *Pan erat armenti, Pan illic numen equarum; munus ob incolumnes ille ferebat oves*, "there Pan was the deity of the herds, and there too of mares; he received gifts for keeping safe the sheep" (Bonniec 1969: I, 100-1; Frazer 1931: 76-7). Wilhelm Schulze (*Kleine Schriften*: 217) etymologically equated Paōn (*Páoni*), the Arcadian form of Pán, with Vedic Pūṣá (Pūṣán-) (GEW II: 470-1). As Watkins (1970: 350) has noted, "in the Arcadian figures of Pán transformed into Hermēs = Pūṣá, we have to deal with the reflexes of an Indo-European divinity reconstructible in name and in function". Although Watkins (1970: 350) notes a certain expected "haziness" in the form of the divine name, due to "tabu-deformation", he accepts this connection between Pán and Pūṣá.

Besides being the god of ways, the protector of cattle, and the protector of wealth, Watkins (1970: 345-50) has noted that Hermēs shares with Pūṣá another more fundamental role.

He [Hermēs] is the go-between, the *mediator* between the earth and the underworld, between heaven and earth, between the sphere of the divine and the sphere of mortal men. It is this function as intermediary which is paramount in Hermēs as the 'messenger of the gods'.... As the envoy of Zeús, Hermēs is the intermediary, as it were, from up to down. But this is only one aspect of the total notation; the direction is reversed (movement down to up) in Hermēs' function as announcer of the sacrifice to the gods, which appears in the archaic formula ... *sponde sponde* uttered by Hermēs in Aristophánēs, *Pax* 433. (Watkins 1970: 345-6).

Roman Mercurius

As Rose (OCD: 672) noted, "it is highly probable that he [Mercurius] is Hermēs introduced under a name or title suggestive of his commercial activities (cf. *merx, mercārī*)" (< *merk-: see EDL: 376; DELL: 400; IEW: 739). Supporting Rose's suggestion, Numa's

calendar does not mention Mercurius. He does not have a flamen indicative of an early cult. The Roman god, therefore, appears to have been borrowed directly from Greece.

Thracian Árēs

What we accept as certain is that there was a divine personality in the Thracian religion whom the Hellēnes interpreted as their Árēs; and we gather that he was a war-god, who sometimes assumed the form of a wolf, who gave oracles, delighted in human sacrifices, and who at times died and was buried. (Farnell 1909 V: 400).

In sacrifice to Árēs, a dog was offered in Thrace as in Laconia and Karia (1909 V: 399). In contrast, the Grecian Árēs (Mycenaean *are-*; EDG: 130, unknown meaning) was “solely a war-god” and “conveys no hint of a wider function or a more complex character” (1909 V: 396).

The Ancient Roman Correlatives of Vedic Mitráḥ/Váruṇaḥ

Roman Fidius/Summanus

The Roman gods Fidius and Summanus (possibly not separate) functioned as deities of truth and oath besides having an association respectively with day and night. Festus (*Glossaria Latina*: 254, 3) differentiated Summanus from Iuppiter, noting that Summanus was the god who sent nocturnal thunderbolts. He noted further that wheel-shaped cakes, *summanalia*, were offered to Summanus (*Glossaria Latina*: 474, 17; Rose: OCD: 1023).

L'éclair de jour est dit *fulgur dium* et passe pour venir de *Dius Fidius* (alias *Semo Sancus*) ou de Iuppiter ..., et l'éclair de nuit est dit *fulgur submanum* (ou *summanum*) et passe pour venir d'un dieu qui est appelé soit seulement *Summanus*, soit *Iuppiter Summanus*. (Dumézil 1948: 88).

Although both Fidius (DELL: 233) and Summanus (DELL: 666) were assimilated to Iuppiter, one preserves the ancient aspect of a god who was the guardian of the day, and the other preserves the aspect of the guardian of the night. Iuppiter in his role as the guarantor of oaths also preserves a trait inherited from these older deities, although “good faith” is still specifically associated only with Fidius. Like Váruṇaḥ, Iuppiter is concerned with oaths from the point of view of the avenger who destroys those who break his truth or law. Here his function as “the Striker” is preeminent. So too, Fidius is connected with oath and treaties, as Rose has noted (OCD: 972); whence the oath *medius Fidius*. Like Mitráḥ, however, Fidius is concerned with the positive side of the affair. Fidius is concerned with the bond of faith between two parties in a contract and with the mutually ordered interactions thereby specified (Dumézil 1948: 90-4).

Sēmō Sancus apparently contains a reference to “seed” in the first byname Sēmō (IE **sē-men-* “seed”; Latin *sēmen*; DELL: 617-8; IEW: 889-890). The second byname is apparently related to *sancio, sancire* “to consecrate”. From these bynames, Rose (OCD: 972-3) suggests a connection to the Semunes of the Arval Hymn, assumed to be gods of sowing. This unusual juxtaposition of contracts and sowing in the functional concerns of this god agrees remarkably with Irish Lug, whose festival was both a celebration of the harvest home and a time for trying legal cases. Mitráḥ and Mithrō show this same duality.

Archaic Roman Iuppiter, Mars, and Romulus

Dumézil (1970: 161) compared the ancient Capitoline triad Iuppiter, Mars, and Quirinus to the Vedic formulation Mitrāḥ-Váruṇaḥ, Índraḥ, and the Násatyau (the twin Aśvínau). He also compared each god separately to the Scandinavian gods, Óðinn, Thórr, and Freyr. In this equation he attempted to relate each member of the Roman triad to the Hindu social divisions of *bráhmaṇa-*, *ḡṣatriya-*, and *vaiśya-* (1970: 171). Dumézil saw this triadic social structure as Pan-Indo-European (see especially Dumézil 1958). Thus like the ancient Hindus, Dumézil defined the First Function as that of the priests (*bráhmaṇa-* “sacred principle”), the Second Function as that of the warriors and nobles (*ḡṣatrā-* “power”), and the Third Function as that of the farmers and peasants (*víśaḥ* “clans, peoples”; IE **uik-*; IEW: 1131).

However, as I have noted previously (see the Introduction and Olmsted 1979b: 178-181), the divisions of Celtic society do not precisely fit those of ancient Hindu society. Here the major division is between (1) those who make their living from land, cattle, and agriculture, either directly and or through yearly payments from *céli* “feudal-like clients”, and (2) those who make their living by their skills and knowledge. In Ireland all of the farming class were expected to take part in the warlike campaigns of the king or lord. Thus although the Irish *filid* do correspond to the sacred class which included the Hindu *brahmán-* and Roman *flāmen* (suggested as both derived from IE **blāgh-men-* by Pokorny, IEW: 154, and Dumézil, 1970: 81, but see DELL: 239; KEWA II: 452-6; EDL: 225 doubtful), all of the Irish *féni* were engaged in both warfare and husbandry and agriculture. Seeing all men who were not specialized priest-lawyer-poets as warrior-farmers probably reflects more accurately the state of affairs of Proto-Indo-European society than seeing a specialized division of warriors apart from farmers. The only triad to be found in PIE society is that reflected in the gods of the Upper, Middle, and Lower Realms (corresponding to Greek Zeús, Poseidōn, and Hádēs), a division which is explicitly stated in at least two source cultures and is not a postulate derived from observation.

At any rate, this Dumézilian structural triad is functionally equivalent to that proposed earlier by psychoanalyst Carl Jung. Jung added spiritual phenomena to Freud’s “sexuality” and Adler’s “will to power”. Jung thus divided psychic phenomena (of which he included myth and dreams as an aspect) into Spirit, Aggression, and Eros (see his *Two Essays on Analytical Psychology*). Dumézil’s three functions are in fact precisely equivalent to Jung’s. Indeed, the same source lies behind both studies, the myth and cosmology of the Indian subcontinent.

Unfortunately, both Jung and Dumézil have a tendency to mold their observations into these arbitrary triadic divisions, obscuring otherwise valid conclusions. Much of Puhvel’s work (such as his studies of 1974 and 1975) suffers from the the same tendency. Attempting to determine into which of the three supposed functional groups an otherwise multivalent deity should be placed would seem to be a futile effort. The solution offered here is simply to compare the generational, narrative, functional, and semantic structure of the gods and myths from the different cultural areas and see what is similar. Otherwise, I make no classifications or assumptions about their significance or meaning.

Thus Dumézil saw Iuppiter as a First Function god, Mars as a Second Function god, and Quirinus as a Third Function god. In this, he ignored the many scholars who have concluded that the ancient Roman Mars (Māvors, Marmers) was a god of agriculture as well as war. This conclusion has been succinctly summarized by H. J. Rose.

It is ... not surprising that he [Mars] was considered a war-god and equated with Árēs. But it has been pointed out that he has agricultural functions also (Cato, *De Agricultura*, 141, 2ff.; hymn of Arval Brethren, Henzen, *Acta Arvalium*, cciv) and that some at least of his feasts can be interpreted as agricultural from their date and the ceremonial [context]. (OCD: 651).

Dumézil must also build a case for the Third Function of Quirīnus out of very sparse data. Again Rose has summarized what little is known about Quirīnus.

His functions resembled those of Mars and ... he had sacred arms (*Festus*, 238, 9, Lindsay); [otherwise] we know little of him. He regularly forms a third with Iuppiter and Mars (e.g. Livius: 8.9.6); his *flamen* is the lowest of the three *flamines maiores* and the third *spoila opima* belong to him (Servius on *Aeneid* 6, 859). (OCD: 908).

Significant, however, is the fact that Quirinus's festival occurred on February 17 (OCD: 908). This date is particularly close to that of the Lupercalia or Februum "Festival of Religious Purification" held on February 15, the *dies februatus*. This day was sacred not only to Iūno Februa, probably originally a reflection of the fact that calving and lambing began close to this time, but also to Faunus or Pan, the god of cattle and beasts. Indeed, this festival was a ritual expression of the beginning of spring, which was officially felt to take place on February 9. Noteworthy, the myths of Romulus, who was equated with Quirinus, are also tied to the rituals surrounding the Lupercalia.

The juxtaposition of the festival to Quirinus and the Lupercalia sacred to Romulus is not surprising. Poets of the Augustan period saw Quirinus as Romulus deified after death (Dumézil 1970: 247, 250-1). Indeed this equation of Romulus and Quirinus was so complete that Ovidius (*Fasti*: III, 41) speaks of the growth of Remus and Quirinus in the womb of Silvia the vestal (*crescente Remo, crescente Quirino*), rather than the growth of Remus and Romulus. Noteworthy as well, the etymology suggested for Quirinus's name by Kretschmer (1921, 147 ff.) and accepted by Dumézil (1970: 108) and Rose (OCD: 908) is that it derives from **co-uirī-* "assembly of the men", also giving *Quirites*. One should note, however, that Ernout and Meillet (DELL: 559) dismiss Kretschmer's suggestion as "*insoutenable*", and they conclude that the name Quirinus has an "*origine obscure*".

In this proposed etymology of Quirinus we are reminded of the Gaulish god Toutates, Toutenos, "Protector of the Tribe", who was equated with both Mars and Mercurius, and who had as other bynames (among many equated with Mars): Dunatis "Protector of the Town", Camulorix "?King of Warriors?", and Corotiacos "Warrior". Thus Quirinus, and by implication Romulus as well (if he is equated with Quirinus), could be seen as a counterpart to Irish Cú Chulainn, the god equivalent to Romano-Gaulish Vellaunos-Esus (identified with both Mars and Mercurius). As we have seen, Cú Chulainn was intimately associated with the festival of Imbolc (February 1 in Early Christian Ireland), considered to be the first day of spring and a festival of ritual cleansing.

Cú Chulainn is also stated to be the son of Conchobar, who is in turn the son of Eochaid-Dagda-Ollathair. Interesting is the fact that both Cú Chulainn "the Hound of the Smith" and Conchobar "Victorious by Means of a Hound (i.e. Cú Chulainn)" have names derived from hounds or wolves. The wolf was the sacred animal of Roman Mars (a dog was sacrificed to his Greek counterpart Árēs-Enyálios "the Warlike Árēs", OCD: 103). The woodpecker was also sacred to Mars (Wissowa 1894: 141 ff., 555 ff.; OCD: 651). Both animals raised the sons of Mars, Romulus and his twin Remus, who were suckled by a she-wolf. Thus as Dumézil (1970: 250) notes, the wolf was also sacred to Romulus. If the original Roman Mars shares anything with his Greek counterpart Árēs (a son of Zeús), from whom his later mythology in Rome was borrowed, archaic Mars should be the son of Iuppiter.

Thus Iuppiter should be the father of Mars, who is in turn the father of Quirinus-Romulus. As we have seen previously, Irish Dagda is equatable with Iuppiter. Dagda-Eochaid is the father of Conchobar. Conchobar in turn is the father of Cú Chulainn. This suggests that the Capitoline triad Iuppiter, Mars, Quirinus has nothing to do with Dumézil's supposed three functions (priest, warrior, farmer), but rather represents the three generational group also to be found in the Irish Dagda, Conchobar, Cú Chulainn. In fact, the Roman gods of the triad are

individually equivalent to each of these Irish gods. Indeed, the Romans themselves apparently considered this triad Iuppiter, Mars, Quirinus to represent three generations (in the least Quirinus was the son of Mars), as the Irish considered Dagda-Eochaid, Conchobar, Cú Chulainn to represent three generations.

Each of these groups of three Roman and Irish gods, in turn, correspond to Vedic Dyāuḥ, Váruṇaḥ, and Pūṣā. The Greek structure has been shifted somewhat, in that Zeús has assimilated many of the traits of Krónos. Furthermore, Apóllōn has become such an all-important god that he has taken traits from both his son Asklēpiós (for whom dogs were sacred) and his brother Árēs. Other traits of Árēs apparently went to Hermēs. Thus Árēs “Revenge” (IEW: 337) became a war god. Nonetheless, the evolutionary three-generational structure still survives in Krónos / Zeús / (Árēs, Hermēs, Apóllōn). Notably as well, there is a fourth generation in both the Irish and the Greek mythology. Both the Celtic and Greek gods of this fourth-generation are gods of healing. Conlaech “Hound Warrior” (also known as Fraech) is the son of Cú Chulainn, and Asklēpiós is the son of Apóllōn (see section on Gods of Water). Adding an additional generation going the other direction (apparently an innovation in Greece and Rome), the four-generation Greek gods Ouranós, Krónos, Zeús, and Hermēs correspond to Roman Sātūrnus, Iuppiter, Mars, Quirinus-Romulus. Asklēpiós, of course, adds a fifth generation to the Greek group through Hermēs’ brother Apóllōn.

Roman Romulus/Numa

Livius (1, 3, 10 ff.) and Plutarchus (*De fortuna Romanorum*: 3 ff.) relate that Numitor’s daughter Rhea Silvia, a vestal virgin, was violated by Mars and bore twins. Thus Amitor, king of Alba Longa, who had deposed his older brother Numitor, had her imprisoned and her infants thrown into the Tiber. According to Livius’s account, the receptacle (in which they were placed) floated ashore (at Ficus Rumanalis), and the infants Romulus and Remus were then raised by a she-wolf and a wood-pecker, the animals sacred to Mars. Suckled by the she-wolf, the twins were found later by Faustulus, the royal herdsman and shepherd (whom Rose, OCD: 936, sees as a variant of Faunus).

As they grew up, the twins, Romulus and Remus, became leaders of a group of young men. Later they deposed and killed Amitor, restoring Numitor as king, and went on to found Rome. After Remus leaped over the wall built by Romulus around Rome, Romulus or his lieutenant Celer killed him. Giving asylum in his city to all fugitives, Romulus found wives for them by stealing the women from the Sabines. After a long and successful reign, Romulus vanished in a storm to become the god Quirinus.

A parallel myth survives for the founding of the city of Praeneste, preserved in an interpolation to the *Aeneid* by Servius Danielis (7.678) (see Dumézil 1970: 253). The correspondences are strong enough to demonstrate a common origin for the two stories. Nonetheless, details suggest an archetype in which the hero did not have a twin as in the Roman Romulus and Remus. If a parallel to Irish sources may be drawn, perhaps in this version it was not Romulus’s brother who was killed for the honor of Rome, but his son (as Cú Chulainn kills his only son Conlaech-Fraech for the honor of Ulster).

In the founding myth of Praeneste the role of the twins is taken up by the two shepherd brothers, the Depidii, uncles of the hero Caeculus (*caecus* “blind, hidden”; DELL: 83; EDL: 79), who plays the same role as Romulus. While the sister of the shepherd twins is sitting near the hearth, a spark jumps into her lap. From this spark she conceives Caeculus. Not wishing to be caught with the illegitimate child, she exposes him near a spring, where he is found by two girls. The girls take the boy to the Depidii brothers, who raise him. After spending his youth among these twin shepherds, he forms a band of boys of his own age and founds Praeneste.

The circumstances of Cú Chulainn’s birth and childhood are remarkably similar to these Latin tales of Romulus and of Caeculus. Possibly both of the opposing twin gods (Lug and

Conchobar) are involved in the conception of Cú Chulainn. The boy Sétanta is abandoned by his mother because of his illegitimacy (his father is his mother's brother Conchobar). The twin colts (in the LU version) born at the same time then give parallels to the twins of the Roman tales. The boy Cú Chulainn is raised by several men. In his youth he forms a band of youths. Like a shepherd, he protects the cattle and flocks of the plain. After killing the hound of the smith, he takes on the role of watchdog of the plain. In the final battle of the *Táin*, on Imbolc, February 1, the first day of spring, the youths take his place in rescuing the stolen cattle, an event which, as we shall see, also happens to Romulus. In this same battle he kills his own son for the honor of Ulster, as Romulus kills his brother for the honor of Rome.

As we noted earlier, Cú Chulainn has taken so many of the original traits of Conchobar (in the equation of Conchobar to Váruṇaḥ) that Conchobar retains only the shell from his evolutionary development. Much the same process seems to have occurred between Mars and Romulus. Romulus has taken over many traits from his father Mars (the original god Mars, not the later god of Greek influence). Indeed the many similarities between Mars and Romulus, on the one hand, and Conchobar and Cú Chulainn, on the other, suggests a period of co-evolutionary development between Latin and Celtic society, post-dating the PIE period.

As we have seen, Conchobar, as controller of the Upper Realm, functionally corresponds to Váruṇaḥ. Since many of the earlier PIE traits corresponding to Conchobar were passed on to his son Cú Chulainn, in the analysis of the Irish equivalents of Vedic Váruṇaḥ, one must consider Conchobar and Cú Chulainn together. Cú Chulainn shows other traits derived from a god equivalent to Vedic Pūṣā. In Cú Chulainn's evolutionary development one must compare him to both Váruṇaḥ and Pūṣā, although developmentally he derives from Pūṣā.

In his earlier work *Mitra-Varuṇa* (1948), Dumézil recognized the fact that Romulus also shares many traits found in Vedic Váruṇaḥ (which, as we have seen, should properly belong to his father Mars). In his later work on *Archaic Roman Religion* (1970: 252), however, he equated Romulus and Remus to Greek Kástōr and Polydeúkēs and to the Vedic Áśvínau (<*h₂ekyo- "horse"; IEW: 301; DPC: 114; NIL: 234). Nonetheless, Dumézil did not lose sight of his earlier observation that Romulus and Numa, together, form an opposition similar to that in Vedic Váruṇaḥ and Mitráḥ (also to be found in Irish Cú Chulainn and Lug).

For Vedic India in particular, the duality of sovereign action is fundamental and is summed up in the association of two antithetical and complementary gods: Váruṇa-, a violent, disquieting god, even in his role as guarantor of oaths, and Mitrá-, who is the personification of the covenant. The topological parallelism between Romulus and Váruṇa- and that between Numa and Mitrá- has been observed in great detail.... The antiquity of this articulation, and the distinction between the creative and the deliberately violent action of the sovereign, even for good, even in defence of justice, and the action of the sovereign who confines himself to the limits of order and of agreements, suggests that perhaps Iuppiter and Dius Fidius were originally distinct. (Dumézil 1970: 199).

Significantly, Romulus, who thus possessed many traits associated with Váruṇaḥ, held Iuppiter as his special deity, as Livius has noted (*Ab urbe condita libri*: I, 12).

Romulus himself was swept along by the fugitive rabble, but, as he rode, he waved his sword above his head and shouted, "Hear me, O Iuppiter! At the bidding of your eagles, I laid the foundations of Rome here on the Palatine. Our fortress is in Sabine hands, basely betrayed; thence are they coming sword in hand across the valley against us. Father of Gods and men, suffer them not to set foot on the spot where we now stand. Banish fear from Roman hearts and stop their shameful retreat. I vow a temple here to you, O Iuppiter, stayer of Flight, that men may remember here that after that

Rome in her trouble was saved by your help.” It was almost as if he felt that his prayer was granted; a moment later, “Turn on them Romans,” he cried, “and fight once more. Iuppiter himself commands it.” The Romans obeyed what they believed to be a voice from heaven. (Sélincourt 1960: 47).

On the other hand, Numa, who has much in common with Mitráḥ, held Fidius as his special deity.

Believing as they [the Romans] now did that the heavenly powers took part in human affairs, they became so deeply absorbed in the cultivation of religion and so deeply imbued with the sense of their religious duties, that the sanctity of an oath had more power to control their lives than the fear of punishment for law-breaking. Men of all classes took Numa as their unique example and modelled themselves upon him... Thus two successive kings each, though in opposite ways, added strength to the growing city: Romulus by war, Numa by peace. (Livius, *Ab urbe condita libri*: I, 21, 22; Sélincourt 1960: 56).

Thus in their devolution from the original deities, Romulus and Numa still possess vestiges of their original characterization. Romulus, in turn, is associated with the founding of the *Luperci*, who may be likened to the Vedic Gandharvāḥ in their energy. The Gandharvāḥ were sacred to Váruṇaḥ. Numa is associated with the *flamines* “priests”, possibly cognate with the Vedic *brahmán-* (< **b^hleh₂g^h-men-* “priest”; IEW: 154; EDL: 225). The *brāhmana* were sacred to Mitráḥ.

L’opposition Romulus / Numa recouvre jusque dans son principe l’opposition Luperque / flamine: là, tumulte, passion, impérialisme d’un *iunior* déchaîné; ici, sérénité, exactitude, modération d’un *senior* sacerdotal. (Dumézil 1948: 62).

Numa was the founder of the major Roman institutions, the law and the priesthood. He created the three-fold *flamonium* and was the patron of the *flamines maiores*. In his role as the creator of Roman law, it is noteworthy that he was also the founder of the temple of Fides Publica (Livius, *Ab urbe condita libri*: I, 20). In his own personality he embodied the concepts of *fides* and *gravitas*, traits highly valued by the *flamines* and *vestales*. Supposedly, he was always wise and respectful of justice. He was deeply versed in all law, divine and human (*omnis divini atque humani iuris*) (Livius, *Ab urbe condita libri*: I, 18). He was moreover a peace-giver. War never disturbed his reign (Livius, *Ab urbe condita libri*: I, 19-20). He was completely free of violence and ambition (Plutarchus, *Vitae Parallelae: Numa*: 15; Dryden 1932: 78-9). Like Mitráḥ, from his basic nature Numa was opposed to bloody sacrifice (*Numa*: 15), but he was most punctual in the sacrifice of grain and wine as an act of commerce, “l’exécution de contrats d’échanges entre l’homme et la divinité” (Dumézil 1948: 73).

In contrast to Numa, who founded Roman law and was maintainer of her institutions, Romulus founded and created the state of Rome itself. Romulus’s every act was forensic, and his nature was warlike and violent. Even from childhood, nursed by a she-wolf, Romulus began a series of wondrous adventures with his *iuvenes* companions (Plutarchus, *Vitae Parallelae: Romulus*: 26; Livius, *Ab urbe condita libri*: I, 4-5). As Dumézil (1948: 61) noted, “en réalité, sa carrière, d’un bout à l’autre, est une carrière de garçon”.

Noteworthy, the myths of Romulus are tied to the rituals surrounding the Lupercalia or Februum “Festival of Religious Purification” held on February 15, the *dies februatus*. This day was sacred not only to Iuno Februa, probably originally a reflection of the fact that calving and lambing began close to this time, but also to Faunus or Pan, the god of cattle and beasts. Indeed, this festival was a ritual expression of the beginning of spring, which was officially felt

to take place on February 9. In this, the *dies februatius* is comparable to Naurōz sacred to Ohrmazd (Ahurō Mazdā). The Roman festival was called Lupercalia after the young men, the Luperci (*lupus* “wolf”), whose actions were central to it. In connection with the Luperci, it may be significant that a dog was burned and sacrificed on this day along with a goat. Significant as well is the she-wolf’s nursing of Romulus and Remus during their infancy (Ovidius, *Fasti*: II, 415-22), since the Luperci, who were *equitis ordinis iuuentus*, represented the youthful companions of Romulus and Remus (*Romulus et frater pastoralique iuuentus*) (Valerius Maximus: II, 2; also see Plutarchus, *Vitae Parallelae: Romulus*: 26). It is because of their youthful energetic fecundity that Dumézil compares them to the Vedic Gandharvāḥ.

In running nude, the Luperci commemorated an important myth concerning Romulus, Remus, and their companions. Here one is reminded of Cú Chulainn and the troop of boys who run nude to rescue the cattle in the *Táin* (O’Rahilly 1976: 230-1). One day Romulus and his youthful companions were all resting nude while roasting meat, when word came that strangers were raiding and stealing their herds of cattle. Two teams, one lead by Romulus, the other by Remus, set out in haste to recover the cattle without taking time to dress. The group led by Remus was the one to find and recover the stolen cattle. When the two teams returned to camp, Remus would allow only his victorious troop to eat the roasted meat, which was consumed half-cooked (Ovidius, *Fasti*: II, 363-74; Bonniec 1969: 109).

Cornipedi Fauno caesa de more capella
 venit ad exiguas turba vocata dapes.
 Dumque sacerdotes veribus transuta salignis
 exta parant, medias sole tenente vias,
 Romulus et frater pastoralisque iuuentus
 solibus et campo corpora nuda dabant;
 vectibus et iaculis et misso pondere saxi
 brachia per lusus experienda dabant:
 pastor ab excelso, “Per devia rura iuencos
 Romule, praedones, et Reme”, dixit “agunt”.
 Longum erat armari: diversis exit uterque
 partibus, occursu praeda recepta Remi.
 Ut rediit, veribus stridentia detrahit exta
 atque ait, “Haec certe non nisi victor edet.”
 Dicta facit Fabiique simul. Venit inritus illuc
 Romulus et mensas ossaque nuda videt;
 risit et indoluit Fabios potuisse Remumque
 vincere, Quintilios non potuisse suos.
 fama manet facti: posito velamine currunt,
 et memorem famam, quod bene cessit, habet.
 (Frazer 1931: 82-5).

A she-goat had been sacrificed as usual to hoof-footed Faunus, and a crowd had come by invitation to partake of the scanty repast. While the priests were dressing the innards, stuck on willow spits, the sun then riding in mid heaven, Romulus and his brother and their shepherd youth were exercising their naked bodies in the sunshine on the plain; they tried in sport the strength of their arms by crowbars and javelins and by hurling ponderous stones. Cried a shepherd from a height, “O Romulus and Remus, robbers are driving off the bullocks across the pathless lands.” To arm would have been tedious; out went the brothers both in opposite directions; but it was Remus who fell in with the freebooters and brought the booty back. On his return he drew the hissing innards from the spits and said, “None but the victor surely shall eat these.” He

did as he had said, he and the Fabii together. Thither come Romulus foiled, and he saw the empty tables and bare bones. He laughed and grieved that Remus and Fabii could have conquered when his own Quintilii could not. The fame of the deed endures: they run stripped, and the success of that day enjoys a lasting fame. (Frazer 1931: 82-5).

Thus in running nude, the Luperci imitated Romulus and Remus and the teams who ran nude to battle those who were stealing their cattle. The Luperci, in striking any woman they might pass with goat-hide whips, commemorated another of Romulus's actions: his causing the Sabine women to be whipped to make them fertile. After making off with the Sabine women, Romulus perceived that they were infertile. The Romans went to Iūno's sacred grove at the foot of Mount Esquiline and prayed to her. The goddess was heard to reply, "let the sacred he-goat go into the Italian matrons" (*Italidas matres ... sacer hircus inito*) (Ovidius, *Fasti*: II, 441). An augury interpreted this cure of penetration by a sacred buck in a more decent manner, and women were struck by ram-hide whips to make them conceive (II, 425-50).

Roman Cocles

Horatius Cocles's one-eyed nature (*cocles* "one-eyed"; DELL: 130; EDL: 79) gave him a ferocious appearance in battle. In this one-eyed nature as well as certain of his actions in battle, Cocles shows traits found in Irish Cú Chulainn which are not preserved in the myths of Romulus. In Livius's account (*Ab urbe condita libri*: II, 10), when all the other Roman troops ran away Cocles positioned on a bridge single-handedly held off Porsenna's Etruscan army, casting his menacing eye over them (*truces minaciter oculus*). "One man against an army", alone he thus saved Rome from capture. This action by Cocles precisely parallels Cú Chulainn's struggles against Gaile Dána and his sons. Both must derive from the same prototype story. The episode concerning Cocles is as follows.

There was scarcely anything left of the bridge.... Then, darting glances of defiance around at the Etruscan nobles, he [Cocles] now challenged them in turn to fight, now railed at them collectively as slaves of haughty kings.... They hesitated for a moment, each looking to his neighbor to begin the fight, then shame made them attack, and with a shout they cast their javelins from every side against their solitary foe. But then he [Cocles] caught them all upon his shield, and resolute as ever [he] bestrode the bridge and held his ground.... (Foster 1919: 70-1).

Scandinavian Týr/Óðinn

Icelandic Týr, Anglo-Saxon Tīw, and Old High German Zīo represent the development of an original Germanic deity (**Tīwaz < Teiwaz < *deiwo-s* "god, heavenly"; de Vries 1962: 603; ISEW: 469; IEW: 185). The deity name still has its general sense "god" in the byname of Óðinn, Hanga-týr "Hanging God" (Meid 1991: 17; Euler 1987: 39). Elsewhere the word is restricted to the particular appellative sense of the god Týr. This deity **Tīwaz* was apparently identified with Mars under *interpretatio-Romano*, since *Martis dies* equals Tuesday. Snorri Sturluson's *Edda* ('25) says that Týr has power over victory in battle, for he is the bravest and most courageous of gods. As witness of his courage, Týr put his hand in the wolf Fenrir's mouth as a pledge that the gods should free him after tying the noose on him. When it turned out they would not free him, the wolf bit off Týr's hand. Týr paid dearly for his courage. However, one searches in vain throughout Germanic or Scandinavian literature for a scene where Týr actually takes action upon a field of battle (Dumézil 1959: 68).

Týr was associated above all with the *thing*, the yearly summer gathering (held for two weeks in late June in Iceland) during which law cases were settled. In this light, one may note a Roman dedication by Germanic cavalry to the *DEO MARTI THINCISO* (RIB: 1593) found at Housesteads on Hadrian's wall. Similarly English *Tuesday* "Day of Tīw" and Danish *Tirsdag* "day of Týr" correspond to Middle Low German *Dingesdach* "Thing day".

[Tīwaz-Mars] est donc sûrement, en dépit d'interminables discussions, protecteur de *thing* (allemand *Ding*), du peuple assemblé en corps pour juger et décider.... Tīwaz-Mars reste juriste. (Dumézil 1948: 149).

Dumézil has suggested that another aspect of this Germanic god Tīwaz has been preserved by Norwegian Ullinn, Ullr (Saxo's Ollerus) (<**uel-* "see" and equivalent to Gothic *wulthus* "splendor"; Meid 1991: 16), who was a patron of crafts and inventions such as skis and skates. Furthermore, Dumézil has noted with interest "*l'harmonie, parfois l'union, des notions de juriste et d'artisan*" (1948: 145). Such an association probably arose because the original PIE deity was not only a patron of law, but also a god of craftsmen and those whose livelihood derived from their skills and knowledge.

Icelandic Óðinn, Anglo-Saxon Wōden, and Old High German Wōtan represent the development of an earlier Common Germanic deity named **Wōðanaz* according to Dumézil; Meid (1991: 16) and de Vries (1962: 416), however, see the name as an enlargement from Óðr (< **Wōðuz*; German *wut* "ecstasy, inspiration"). Like Gaulish Vellaunos-Esus, **Wōðanaz* was identified with Mercurius under *interpretatio Romano* (*Mercurii dies* = Wednesday). Óðinn was also considered to be a "one-eyed god". His name, which is probably cognate with Gaulish **vātis* (Latin *vātes*) and Irish *fáith* "prophet, seer" (see ISEW: 102; IE **uāt-* "spiritual, to be excited"; IEW: 1113; DPC: 404), may be an aspect of his one-eyed nature. In the *Vo lospá* (28-9), Óðinn has hidden his eye in the well of Mimir to gain insight and prophetic wisdom (*alt veit ec, Óðinn, hvar dú auga falt í inom maera Mímis brunni*; Kuhn 1962: 7). Through this knowledge, Óðinn knows where all treasures are hidden and is wise in all things (Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla: Ynglingasaga*: §7; Jónsson 1893: 18-20). Through this insight he is master of prophecy as well as poetry.

Óðinn is also chief of the Ulfhednir, who dress in wolf skins and (according to *Ynglingasaga*: §6) are savage like wolves. These warriors are noted for their excessive energy and their invincibility in battle. The wolf is not only associated with the Ulfhednir, but Óðinn, their chief, has two wolves beside him while presiding over the otherworld feast at Valhalla. Óðinn is, moreover, the king of the gods known as the Aesir as well as the chief of the Ulfhednir. Óðinn, in being king of the gods, is also the protector of human kings.

Mais, il est le dieu aussi qui, parfois, réclame leur sang en sacrifice, car c'est à lui qu'on voit presque uniquement "offrir" le roi dont la vertu ne suffit plus à faire prospérer les moissons. (Dumézil 1959: 40-1).

According to Tacitus (*Germania*: 12), hanging was the punishment the Germans allotted to traitors and deserters, while cowards and perverts were drowned in the marshes. It seems certain that many of these executions were dedicated to **Wōðanaz*; for later Icelanders, Óðinn was the chief of hanged men (*Ynglingasaga*: §7). Such executions or sacrifices to the deity are directly implied by Tacitus (*Germania*: §9), who states that they were made to a god whom he identified with Mercurius: "*Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt, cui certis diebus humanis quoque hostiis litare fas habent*" (Hutton and Warmington 1970: 142-5). Óðinn's role as chief of hanged men probably thus derives from an original function as the avenger of those who break their vows or contracts. The Valkyrja in *Sigrdrífomál* (§23) would seem to reference such a fate in terms reminiscent of *Várunaḥ*, the binder.

That raed ec thér annat, at thú eið né sverir,
 nema thann er saðr sé
 grimmar símar ganga at trygðrofi
 armr er vára vargr.
 (Kuhn 1962: 194).

This is my second advice, that you may not swear an
 oath but that which be true;
 terrible ropes follow breach of contract;
 miserable is the wolf (ie. the breaker) of vows.
 (Wagner 1971: 1).

According to the *Hávamál* (§§ 138-9), Óðinn was himself hanged for nine days to a wind-tossed tree, transfixed by a spear, sacrificed himself to himself. Through this sacrifice he gained the knowledge of runes. It would seem that hanging teaches the lesson of truth.

Veit ec, at ec hecc vindgameiði á
 naetr allar nío
 geiri undaðr oc gefinn Óðni
 siálfr siálfom mér.
 (Kuhn 1962: 40).

As with Vedic *Váruṇah* and Latin *Summānus*, Óðinn is directly associated with the night. In Danish and South Swedish tradition he is the rider of a dark horse galloping through a stormy night while wearing a long-flowing robe. Riding with him across the sky are wild horsemen, who leave traces of flame in pursuit of game (Dumézil 1959: 46). Óðinn also possesses a vestige of *Váruṇah*'s association with the sea. According to *Ynglingasaga* (§ 7), he has a boat *skidblaðnir* in which he plows through the vast sea (Jónsson 1893: 18-9). We should also note that, like the Avestan god *Ahurō Mazdā*, Óðinn creates mankind from a tree (*Volospá*: §18). From two tree trunks left on the seashore by waves, Óðinn and his two brothers fashion the first human couple.

Russian Perun and Volos, and Lithuanian Vėlinas

The Russian *Primary Chronicle* relates that the Slavs worshiped a pantheon of gods including Perun, Khors, Da)bog(u), Stribog(u), Simargl, and Mokosh.

And Vladimir began to rule Kiev alone, and he set up idols on a hill outside the palace court: a wooden figure of *Perun*, ... [whose] head was of silver..., [of] *Khors*, [of] *Da)bog*, [of] *Stribog*, [of] *Simargl*, and [of] *Mokosh*. He and his people made a sacrifice to the idols.... Vladimir also placed Dobrynya, his uncle, in Novgorod; after Dobrynya came to Novgorod, he set up an idol of *Perun* above the river Volkhov, and the people of Novgorod revered him as a god. (Gimbutas 1971: 156).

Dažbog(u)'s name is transparent as the "God who Gives Wealth". Stribog(u)'s name contains the same stem *bogu-* "wealth, god". Mokosh was a goddess. Little else is known about these gods except for Perun.

Nestor, the author of the *Chronicle* relates that in 945 AD the warriors of Prince Oleg in swearing by their arms invoked the gods Perun (Lithuanian *Perkúnas*) and Volos "God of

Herds". Gimbutas (1971: 165) describes Lithuanian Perkúnas as usually portrayed or described "riding in a chariot drawn by a he-goat and holding in one hand an axe or hammer, which he throws at bad people and evil spirits, and which later returns to his hand". Perkúnas's name literally means "Thunder" (*perkúnas* "thunder", IEW: 822, from **perkūus* "oak"; Watkins 1970: 350 relates the name to Greek *keraunós* < **ker(p)aunos* "thunder"). At any rate, it seems clear that Perkúnas (Perun) was essentially identical to Scandinavian Thórr. The Balto-Slavic and Germanic deities apparently developed in consort.

Later Volos, the "God of Herds" of the *Chronicle*, was identified with Saint Vlas (Vlasy), whose festival was on March 11. Volos was prayed to to bring sleek heifers and fat oxen. His icon was carried at outbreaks of diseases among cattle, and churches dedicated to him were on the edges of pastures. This Russian god was cognate with the Lithuanian god Vėlinas. Aside from his role as the god of herds, other traits suggest that this god was essentially cognate with Óðinn.

Confirming this identification, Jakobson (1969: 587) has suggested that the Balto-Slavic god represented by Lithuanian Vėlinas (Old Lithuanian Veliónis, Old Russian Veles and Volos, Czech Veles) is etymologically equivalent to Vedic Várunaḥ (**uel-* "sight, insight", IEW: 1136; DPC: 412). He refers to the original Balto-Slavic god as a controller over "spheres alien and recondit to ordinary mortals, namely over the animal world, the hereafter and the magic art" (Jakobson 1969: 599). To men, the god was a "steadfast protector of peaceful settlements and a stern chastiser of their violation" (1969: 589). Vėlinas was also "the dispenser of fertility and wealth, and the ruler of the underworld" (Gimbutas 1974: 92). In sixteenth century Lithuanian sources, Veliónis is called "god of the dead". Perhaps for this reason, in Lithuania Veles "is now a term for the 'devil'" (1974: 87).

Vėlinas's dwelling place or kingdom is supposedly in the swamps or lakes. It is significant that many Lithuanian lakes and rivers are named for him, such as Velionà and Vėleno Riastas. Vėlnio Akis "Vėlinas's Eye" is also a frequent name for a pond in a forest (1974: 88-9). The Lithuanian god's association with water is confirmed by the association of the Czech god Veles with the sea (Jakobson 1969: 590).

As is implied in Jakobson's proposed etymology of his name, Vėlinas was considered to be a seer. In Lithuania a byname for him was Ragius "Seer". Gimbutas gives further evidence that like Óðinn, Vėlinas is one-eyed. She refers to Henneberger's sixteenth-century description of the holy spring Golbe near Insterburg. Here men journeyed to become one-eyed and thus clairvoyant. More recently, insight was said to be acquired by moistening one eye with "Vėlinas's Water" (Gimbutas 1974: 89).

Throughout the Balto-Slavic regions, Vėlinas or Veles was considered to be the protector of cattle and often referred to directly as the "God of Cattle". The Old Russian god Velos-Volos was called *skotiji bogi* "cattle god", being described in this way in the eleventh-century *Primary Chronicle* (*Volos'm', skot'em' bog'm'*) (Jakobson 1969: 581). Latvian songs refer to the "cows of Veli". Horses, bulls, and buck-goats were sacrificed to the Lithuanian "God of Herds", readily identifiable with Vėlinas.

[Vėlinas] was implored to guard the cattle against wolves and other beasts of prey. The [term] "God of Pastures" was used apparently as a taboo substitute. Even in twentieth-century legends, Vėlinas has his own herd and his shepherd who takes care of the herds. (Gimbutas 1974: 90).

As a vengeful god, Lithuanian Vėlinas was felt to have a bloody nature. Especially toward evening, taking the form of a person or some strange bird, "he lures people into the swamps or lakes and drowns them." However, his usual method of killing is by hanging, giving him a direct association with Óðinn. Thus "if an individual toys with a rope, making a noose for hanging, Vėlinas finishes the game" (Gimbutas 1974: 91). But Vėlinas was also a giver of

wealth, perhaps as an aspect of his role as protector of cattle. Gimbutas refers to the association of Vēlinas with wealth and commerce.

Vēlinas helps the poor and good people by stealing things, misleading swindlers, bringing supernatural gifts, completing their labors, as solving instantly their difficult problems. Occasionally he appears as a fiery or crowned snake. A person who received his crown would become clairvoyant and omniscient, would see hidden treasures, and would understand animal language. (Gimbutas 1974: 89).

Interesting is the fact that Vēlinas shows essentially the same combination of traits to be found in Vedic Váruṇaḥ and Pūṣā́ as does Irish Cú Chulainn. It seems clear that the attributes of Vēlinas have arisen from two separate IE gods. The question is whether Vēlinas developed from the god who gave Pūṣā́ and took additional traits from the Upper-Realm controller (as did Cú Chulainn), or whether Vēlinas developed from the god who gave Váruṇaḥ and Óðinn and took traits from his son, the saviour champion. If, indeed, Perkúnas corresponds to Thórr in all respects, then Vēlinas must correspond to Óðinn, since Thórr developed from the saviour champion and Perkúnas must have as well. Thus Vēlinas and Cú Chulainn apparently have converged from opposite directions.

Toward an Evolutionary Relationship of the Correlative Gods

The IE Gods Corresponding to Mitráḥ

It would appear that the control of the Upper Realm in the PIE pantheon was divided between two gods. One god controlled the nighttime sky with its stars, darkness, and vast complexity. The other god controlled the daytime sky with its light and single gleaming orb, the sun. The nighttime sky was in turn associated with the winter/spring half of the year, when the sun's pathway is rising in the sky, but when darkness, damp, and cold are the rule. Yet this period was also the time of gestation and birth. The daytime sky was associated with the summer/fall half of the year, when the sun's pathway is lowering in the sky, but when light, dryness, and heat are the rule. This period was a time of maturation and harvest. The PIE deity of the daytime sky corresponds to Vedic Mitráḥ, while the deity of the nighttime sky corresponds to Vedic Váruṇaḥ.

Within his sphere of action, Mitráḥ has a great affinity with agriculture, prosperity, and peace. Significantly, Mitráḥ is connected with day, in contrast to his opposing twin Váruṇaḥ, who was connected with night. Significantly as well, in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, Váruṇaḥ is compared to the waxing moon, and Mitráḥ is compared to the waning moon. The *Rig Veda* (3, 59) states that Mitráḥ “brings men together and watches the tillers with unwinking eye...”.

Thus it is clear that Irish Lug's and Iranian Mithrō's roles as guardians of the summer and fall half of the year, when the sun was daily lowering in the sky, were already developed in the PIE god who gave rise to Mitráḥ. So too, it is from the PIE correlative of Mitráḥ that Lug and Mithrō received their roles as guardians of the harvest and their name-sake festivals at the beginning of autumn. The practice of trying legal cases at these fall gatherings for games, markets, and religious ceremonies, undoubtedly goes back to PIE society as well. Here too, the PIE correlative of Mitráḥ played his role as the greatest of judges. From this role as judge the god behind Mitráḥ became the god of contracts and treaties, and thus of peace and wergeld. As the god of contracts, friendship, and order, this god was opposed to all violence, even sacred violence. In most of the sources, Lug has an epithet Grianainech “Sun-faced”, reminiscent of Avestan Mithrō's epithet Hvāraoxšna- “Endowed with Light”.

As noted, Greek Apóllōn also shows some traits which are reminiscent of Mitráḥ. Apóllōn's pre-Homeric form Apellōn is possibly connected with the *apellai*, annual gatherings of the tribe or phratry. Apóllōn was also known as Enagonios "Who Presides over Games". He was Daphenophóros "Laurel Bearing God". In this function then Apóllōn takes on the exact role of Irish Lug who was the protector of the oenach on Lugnasad. In the *Iliad*, Apóllōn is Hekatēbólos "the Far-Shooter". So too, Lug is *Lámfota* "of the Far-Reaching Hand". Corresponding to Lug's aspect as a god of the grain and vegetation, Apóllōn was the Sitaphýlakos "Protector of Grain". In this function he was not without reward, for he was also known as Dekatephóros "God of the Tithe". As protector of grain he was also known as Erythíbios "Averter of Mildew". Like Lug, who was known as Grianainech "Sun-faced", and Lughus, who apparently was known as Leucimalacos "Light of the Mountain", Apóllōn was known as Phoibos "the Brilliant", Xanthós "Golden Haired", Chrysókomēs "of the Golden Locks". Perhaps corresponding to Lug's epithet *Lámfota* "of the Far-reaching Hand", Apóllōn was known as Tetrácheir "Four-handed". Corresponding to Irish Lug's relationship to hill-tops and hill-top festivals, Apóllōn was known in Argos as Deiradiotēs "God of the Hill".

Thus it would appear that the original PIE god corresponding to Mitráḥ was god of the summer half of the year (when the sun is daily lowering in the sky). He was a god who had a harvest-home festival around the autumnal equinox at which legal cases were tried. In being the greatest of judges, he became a god of contracts and concord among men.

The IE Gods Corresponding to Váruṇaḥ and Pūṣá

As we have noted, the three-generation Greek gods Krónos, Zeús, and Hermēs correspond to the three-generation Irish gods Eochaid-Dagda, Conchobar, and Cú Chulainn. They also correspond to the three-generation Roman gods Iuppiter, Mars, and Quirinus-Romulus and to the three Vedic gods Dyāuḥ, Váruṇaḥ, and Pūṣá -Vīṣṇuḥ. The Greek, Roman, and Irish three-generation groups of gods make it clear that this three-generation concept dates back to Proto-Indo-European culture. The Irish paradigm preserves the original PIE structure accurately: the Sky Father *Djēus-pətēr; his son the Upper-Realm controller, probably known as *U̯elonoḥ; and his son the saviour champion *U̯ēsus or *Pūsonos (IEW: 790) (Vīsucios or Esus, Pūṣá -Vīṣṇuḥ, Vohu- Manah-, Pán or Hermēs, Cú Chulainn, Romulus).

In the first generation of this group (see previous section), the PIE Sky Father, through the sexual powers of the life-giving fertile rains, engendered all creation in his coupling with the Earth Mother. His correlative gods were Dyāuḥ, Dagda, Taranis, Krónos, Njörðr-Borr, and Iuppiter. In Greece many of the original Sky Father's attributes devolved to Zeús. In Scandinavia many of his attributes devolved to Óðinn, and thence ultimately to Thórr. The Sky Father's original attributes included fathering the controllers of the Lower, Middle, and Upper Realms, as well as the three goddesses and the Son of Waters. His attributes also included the thunderbolt, the control of the clouds, and the killing/reviving club.

It is the second and third generations of this deity group that have concerned us in this section. To these second and third generations belong archaic Roman Mars and his son Quirinus (otherwise known as Romulus), Irish Conchobar and his son Cú Chulainn, Greek Zeús and his son Hermēs, Iranian Ahurō Mazdā and his son Vohu- Manah-, Vedic Váruṇaḥ and Pūṣá, and Scandinavian Óðinn and his son Thórr (though many aspects of Thórr correspond to Índraḥ). Lithuanian Vėlinas and Perkūnas reduplicate the situation found in Scandinavia. For the third-generation, the Gaulish correspondent was Vellaunos. The second generation leaves little trace in the Gaulish inscriptional record.

As we have seen, in both Rome and in Ireland the third generation god has absorbed many traits from the second generation god. In these regions the father (as Irish Conchobar, or Roman Summanus or Mars) survives only as a shell. Thus in Rome and in Ireland the myths

and rituals associated with the spring-time festival of the recreation and revitalization of life revolve primarily around Romulus and Cú Chulainn. As in Vohu- Manah- and Pūṣá, the primary role of the PIE god of the third generation was as the protector of herds and flocks. Everywhere in the IE world the celebration of spring centered around the beginning of calving and lambing season. It was perhaps only natural that in Rome and Ireland the Protector of Herds would play a larger and larger role.

Greek, Vedic, and Irish sources agree that the PIE predecessor of Vedic Váruṇaḥ was married to the goddesses of waters. Though his dwelling was in the highest abode, he lived among the waters. The original deity corresponding to Váruṇaḥ was the protector of the winter/spring half of the year, when the sun is daily rising in the sky. This period is the dark and cold half of the year, corresponding to night. The spring is also the period of procreative gestation in life and the time for giving birth. Thus Vedic Váruṇaḥ is compared to the waxing moon, as he is the controller of the waxing part of the year. He is also associated with the night, the gestation period of the new-born sun, which rises on each new day (as in Vedic tradition).

The nighttime sky with its thousands of visible stars is complex in comparison to the daytime sky dominated by the sun. The night has always been a time of things hidden and mysterious, when the otherworld merges with the real world. It is perhaps only natural that Váruṇaḥ is not so straight-forward or beneficent as Mitráḥ. But the cosmos also shows an order and a regulation in the flow from season to season as the years progress and in the yearly rotation of the stars and constellations. Thus the god corresponding to Váruṇaḥ was a god of Truth and Order. According to Scandinavian, Baltic, and Vedic sources, he was a vengeful god, whose ropes ensnared the speaker of untruths.

Scandinavian, Irish, and Latin sources agree that the PIE god corresponding to Vedic Pūṣá was associated with a wolf or a large hound. Twin horses were also born at the time of his birth or associated with his birth. This god may have been fathered by two brothers, who correspond to Mitráḥ and Váruṇaḥ, on their sister. The Irish and Latin sources state further that in his own youth this god was associated with a gang of youthful companions. These youths apparently ran nude to fight for him when the cattle were carried off. Associated with shepherds or cowherds and perhaps taking over the role of a watchdog, his primary role was as the protector of horned beasts. From this role he went on to be the protector and the giver of wealth in general.

It is difficult to say which god, the PIE correlative of Váruṇaḥ or the PIE correlative of Pūṣá, was the hurler of nighttime lightning. Cú Chulainn makes use of his sling at night, which never fails to hit its mark. Thórr, the son of Óðinn, is also the one who controls the thunder hammer. Though he is developed from the PIE god behind Pūṣá, Thórr has the control of the clouds and their thunder, and along with them a whole repertoire of motifs. Similar motifs are held by Iuppiter, Taranis, and Dagda, all of the first generation.

In India, Índraḥ, the controller of the Middle Realm, hurls lightning and controls the club for the simple reason that in India the clouds were included in the Middle Realm rather than in the Upper Realm. The killing/reviving club and its association with the thunderbolt would seem to have belonged originally to the PIE Sky Father. It is easy to explain how Índraḥ acquired this club after the clouds became included in his realm. So too, in Greece it is Zeús, another son of the Sky Father, who acquired the original PIE god's name as well as the thunderbolt as additional aspects of the control of the Upper Realm. Unlike Váruṇaḥ and Summanus, Zeús is not associated exclusively with the night. It is only natural that he should acquire full-time use of the thunderbolt. In place of thunder, his opposite correspondent Apóllōn has a bow, whose arrows, like Mithrō's, are long-shooting and cause disease.

The lightning controlled by Summanus, Cú Chulainn (Esus), and perhaps Vīṣṇuḥ (who used a wheel as a weapon) is unusual in that it is shaped like a wheel rather than a bolt. It is probable that Lug's daytime slinging and Fidius's daytime thunder were also associated with

the wheel. The bolt as a representative of thunder apparently was a trait which went along with the killing/reviving club and the control of the thunder clouds. The throwing wheel was purely a means of seeking vengeance on those who broke their oath or contract. In contrast, in the *Iliad*, Apóllōn's far-shooting arrows, which accomplish much the same thing, inflict disease.

Perhaps in juxtaposition to the Sky Father with his club and thunderbolt, the opposing-twin day-and-night Upper-Realm controllers could utilize a lightning wheel to seek vengeance on those who broke their ordinance, the one slinging it in the day and the other at night. This lightning wheel may have been an Italo-Celtic entity or it may go back to the PIE period. In Celtic regions with the down-grading of the father in favor of his saviour-champion son, the son gained the lightning wheel along with many other traits from the father. Thus Lug and Cú Chulainn (Lugus and Esus), rather than Lug and Conchobar, came to form the contrasting day and night pair corresponding to Fidius and Summanus.

Perhaps from the Celts, the Germans took over the concept that the saviour-champion son held the lightning rather than the father (the Upper-Realm controller). But in Germanic areas, as to a lesser extent in Greece, the nighttime Upper-Realm controller had already stripped most of the traits from the original Sky Father (perhaps including his club and thunderbolt). In contrast, the Celts and the Romans still had a perfectly functional Sky Father (in Taranis, Dagda, and Iuppiter), who still utilized his club and thunderbolt. In Rome and in Gaul the Upper-Realm controller had never had anything beyond the lightning wheel. In taking the thunder and lightning paraphernalia from his father, the Germanic saviour-champion gained more than did the Celtic saviour-champion, who gained only a wheel. Perhaps in this manner Scandinavian Thórr gained the thunderbolt, the name "Thunderer", the killing/reviving hammer, and the struggle with the Midgardr serpent. As a motif complex all of these items taken together correspond to the Roman and Celtic lightning wheel.

Earth Mother and Lower-, Middle-, and Upper-Realm Goddesses

The Nature of the PIE Goddesses

From Vedic, Greek, and Irish sources it seems clear that the PIE pantheon included at least three goddesses associated with rivers and river sources. Both Greek and Irish myths suggest that each of these three goddesses presided over a different realm, one over the Upper Region, one over the Middle Region, and one over the Lower Region. A fourth goddess Mother Earth (Pṛthivī, Tailtiu, Gaia) was usually seen as the mother of these three goddesses. These goddesses were fathered by the Sky Father (Krónos, Dyāuḥ, Dagda), who also, as we have seen, fathered the controllers of the Upper, Middle, and Lower Regions. Mother Earth (Pṛthivī, Tailtiu, Gaia) may share the association with rivers to be found in her daughters, but usually she does not. Vedic, Greek, and Irish sources suggests that this Earth-Mother goddess was actually the consort of the Sky-Father god. Through this association with Father Sky, in Ireland Mother Earth (as Macha-Roech) became merged with the goddess of the Upper Realm. She also lent much of her personality to Boand (Mór Mumain). Nonetheless, Ireland still preserves an independent Earth Mother known as Tailtiu.

It also seems clear from Greek, Vedic, and Irish sources that the PIE goddess of the Lower Realm had a cow-like nature and was possibly named *G̃uou̯indā “White Cow” (IE *g̃^hou- + *u̯ind-; IEW: 482, 1125; DPC: 71, 423), *Mātrona (IE *māter-; IEW: 700; *meh₂tēr: DPC: 260), or *Mōrorēgnī “Great Queen” (*mōrh₁o- + *rēgnih₂-; IEW: 704, 854; DPC: 258, 311). She was capable of shifting her shape into an eel or a serpent as well as a wolf. The goddess of the Middle Realm apparently had *Medh̥a “Intoxicatress” (IE *medhu-; IEW: 707; DPC: 261) as one of her bynames and bore a direct relationship to human kingship. Through intercourse with the Sky Father, the goddess of the Lower Realm conceived *Sūnus “the Son” or *Magh̥onos “the Son” (IE *maghu-, IEW: 696, DPC: 274; *sūnus, IEW: 913), associated with fire. Through intercourse with the controller of the Upper Realm or his son, the goddess of the Middle Realm *Medh̥a conceived a god named *Nepōts “the Nephew”, *Nepōtulos “the Nephew”, *Neptionos “the Nephew” (IE *neptih₂-; IEW: 764; DPC: 286), or *Nebhtunos “God of Waters” (IE *neb^h-tu-; NIL: 499; IEW: 315-316; DELL: 438). In any case, this god was associated with hot springs. This god apparently was known as “the Nephew” since his mother *Medh̥a was a sister of the Lower-Realm goddess, who was the mother of “the Son”. *Magh̥onos “the Son” (son of *G̃uou̯inda) then married his aunt *Medh̥a. *Neptionos (*Nepōtulos) “the Nephew” (son of *Medh̥a) then married his aunt *G̃uou̯inda.

The correlatives of *G̃uou̯inda, *Neptionos (*Nepōtulos), *Magh̥onos, and *Medh̥a show considerable variance in their conceptualization. The Vedic goddesses Uṣāḥ “Dawn” (RV: 10, 127) and Rātrī “Night” are sisters, both the daughters of Dyāuḥ “Sky”. Uṣāḥ “Dawn” nurtures and then marries her nephew *Sūryaḥ* “Sun”, the Son of Rātrī “Night” by Dyāuḥ “Sky”. Uṣāḥ’s son was apparently originally Apām Napāt. Vedic Apām Napāt “the Descendent of Waters”, but derived from PIE *Apōm Nepōts “the Nephew of Waters” (< *ap- < *h₂ep- “water, river”), would then have been the Nephew of Rātrī “Night”, the mother of the more renowned god *Sūryaḥ*. As Uṣāḥ married her nephew *Sūryaḥ*, Rātrī in turn probably married her nephew Apām Napāt. Kybélē and Attis of later Phrygian and Roman cult form another more earthy extreme of the theme of marriage between Uṣāḥ and *Sūryaḥ*. In Ireland, Medb “Intoxicatress”, the sister of Boand-Ethne, nurtures and marries her nephew *Maccan “Son” (under his byname Ailill). *Maccan is the son of the Lower-Realm goddess Boand “White Cow” by the Sky Father god Dagda. Medb’s son Nechtain-Fraech (Niiothfraech, Niadol) “Nephew Heather”, in turn, marries his aunt Boand, the mother of the more renowned *Maccan.

The Gaulish Goddesses

The Gaulish Lower-Realm Goddess *Bovinda: the Virgin White Cow Goddess.

Inscriptions, mostly from eastern France, pair the Gaulish goddess S(t)irona “the Heifer” with Grannos “(God of) Hot Springs”. Other inscriptions refer to this goddess and god pair as Damona “the Cow” and Bormo “the Boiler, the Bubbler”. The goddess companion of Bormo is sometimes referred to as Bormana “the Boiler”, so that it is clear that Bormana is simply another byname for Damona “Cow” and S(t)irona “Heifer”. Other inscriptions refer to *Bormobovindona or *Borvobovindona [BORVOBO(V)ENDO(N)A] “the Boiling White Cow”, which apparently contains the same root as Bormana for the first element in the name. The byname Bormana then allows *Bormobovindona to be brought directly into this group containing S(t)irona and Damona. Similarly, the last element of the name Borvobo(v)indo(n)a is the same as that in Ptolemaeus’s Bovinda or Bovovinda “White Cow” (Irish Boand, Boind), the name he gives for the River Boyne.

There is also an inscription from Rivières, Charente, which connects the byname Damona “Cow” with the byname Matuberginnis “the Good High One”. Semantic considerations suggest that Ald[a]me[...]s “?the White Cow of ...?”, from a problematic inscription, belongs to this group as well. Her companion is called Vroicos “Heather”. Thus the connection between the following bynames is clear from the evidence of Gaulish inscriptions alone: S(t)irona “the Heifer”, Damona “the Cow”, Bovinda “the White Cow”, Ald[a]me[...]s “?the White Cow of ...?”, Bormana “the Boiler”, Borvobo(v)endo(n)a “the Boiling White Cow”, and Matuberginnis “the Good High One”.

Other bynames for this goddess (but without inscriptional linkages) apparently included the following: Belisama “the Most Brilliant”; Brigantia, *Brigintī, Brigintona, Brigana, “the High, the Exalted, the Exalted Pure One”; Divona “the Goddess”; Glanica “the Pure One”; Idunica, Idennica “(She who) Gives Birth”; Matra, Matrana “the Mother” (Welsh Modron); Mogontia “the Youthful” (Irish Mugain); Rīgana “the Queen” (Irish Mórrígan); Solimara “Great Warmth”; Verbeia “?the Cow?”; Sulevia, Sulis, sometimes paraphrased as Sulevae Matres, and Sulevae Sorores: “With Pure Eyes”, “the Warming Purifier”, “the Solar Mothers”, and “the Warming Purifying Sisters”.

There are also river-goddess names from Gaul which are clearly connected to the above goddess group. Matrana, the goddess of the Marne (the Matrana), had a name which can be translated simply as “Matron” or “Mother”. As a goddess she can be identified with Bovinda “White Cow”, the goddess of the Boand River. The Welsh goddess cognate with Matrana was Modron (< *Mātrona “Mother”), the mother of Mabon “Son” (< *Maponos). As the Welsh deity name Mabon, son of Modron, is equivalent to the Irish deity name *Maccan (Mac ind Óc), son of Boand, it is clear that Welsh Modron is equivalent to Irish Boand. From this connection it follows that the earlier goddess Matrana is equivalent to the earlier goddess Bovinda. In Insular Celtic myth this goddess (*Mātrona) was married to her nephew (*Neōtulos, *Nectinos, or *Nebtunos), but she was also the mother of a son removed from her shortly after birth (*Makukūonos).

In many of the Gaulish river names it is clear that the goddess referenced is equivalent to Bovinda-Matrana or that she can be seen as one of Bovinda-Matrana’s sisters. Among these names are Adsalluta “(She who Flows) towards the Sea”, Bricia “the Brilliant”, Clutoida “the Pure Waters” or “the Renowned (Waters)” (Irish Clothra), Sequana “the Flowing”, and Souconna “the Suckler, the Flowing”. Portrayals often show these goddesses handling serpents or eels. *Ex voto* carvings found at the source temples are usually associated with gynecological problems. These carvings demonstrate the association of both the goddess and her companion god with a healing cult.

The Gaulish Cognate of the Irish Goddess of the Middle Region

The Irish goddess Medb, goddess of the Middle Region (corresponding to Meath, Leinster, and Connacht), has a name which is cognate with several Gaulish deity names. Thus the name Medb “the Intoxicatress” corresponds to the Gaulish bynames Comedova and Meduana “the Intoxicatress”. The personal name Medugenos “Descendent of Medb” was undoubtedly taken from the name of the goddess (rather than being descriptive, ie. “Conceived through Drunkenness”). The name of the Gaulish king Epomedvos suggests a combination of the deity names *Medva and Epona. From Lusitania comes the tribal name Medubricenses, which may be analyzed as *medu-briga*, perhaps a combination of *Medva and Brigantia. Irish Medb’s byname Aife (possibly < *Api-via < *h₂eph₃i-ui-a* or *Api-svia < *h₂eph₃i-sui-a* the Winding Water”; IEW: 1, 53, 1041; 1120; PC *abon < IE **h₂eph₃on-* with **ph₃* > **b*, DPC: 23-4) is reminiscent of such Gaulish names as Aveda and Aventia “the Flowing (Water)”.

Gaulish Epona: Earth Goddess of the Upper Region

Iuvenālis (Juvenal) (*Satirae* VIII, 155ff.) informs us that reliefs of Epona were portrayed in horse stables. Minucius Felix (*Octavianus*: XXVII, 7) states that asses in their stables were consecrated to Epona (*totos asinos in stabulis ... Epona consecratis*). Further, Apuleius (*Metamorphoses*: III, 27) informs us that a shrine to the goddess Epona, whose portrayal was decorated with flowers, was usually dedicated in the horse stalls, perhaps accounting for the great number of altars to her (see Linduff 1979: plate XXXVI, showing that the concentration of the monuments clusters around military sites where Gaulish cavalry was stationed).

The Guidizzolo calendar lists Epona’s festival as the XV *Kalendas Januarias* (December 18) (Thevenot and Magen 1953: 41). This festival overlaps with the festival to the goddess of abundance and to the Mother of Iuppiter (the *Ops Consiva*, December 19 on the Julian calendar; Gricourt 1954: 31). Thus the festival to Epona took place close to Midwinter’s Eve and the first day of winter. According to *Serglige Con Culainn* (Dillon: 1953: 1), an *oenach* “festival gathering” was held by the Ulaid (on Mag Murtheimne). This festival was dedicated to Macha (the Irish equivalent of Epona) and took place during the week surrounding *samain* “the first day of winter” (*tri lá ría samfuin 7 tri laa íarma 7 lathe na samna feisne*).

The significance of Epona’s name is transparent as “Horse Goddess” from IE **ekyo-nā* (IEW: 301). There are few certain bynames for Epona. Several inscriptions refer to her in Latin as *Rēgīna* and in Gaulish as *Rīgana* “Queen” (**rēg-nīh₂*; IEW: 854-7; DPC: 311). The inscription from Rom appears to me to be a dedication to Epona (see Glossary: Eponina), although any attempt to provide a translation would be speculative and out of place here (but see Olmsted 1991: 291 ff.). Nonetheless, it would appear to me that Epona possibly is referred to in the inscription by eight different bynames in the vocative: ?Atanta “Mother?”, ?Dibonia “Goddess?”, ?Dunna “?”, ?Vovesia “?”, ?Catona “Battle Goddess?”, ?Epotia “Horse Goddess?”, ?Eponina “Little Horse”? and ?Imona “Swift One?”. Supporting the readings ?Epotia? and ?Eponina?, *Epotius* and *Epponina* occur elsewhere as personal names (DAG: “212, 237). The last byname ?Imona “Swift One”? would be cognate with Irish *Éim* (< **imonis* < IE \emptyset -grade of **pej-m-* “rash, quick”, giving Irish *éim* “rash, quick”; IEW: 795). Thus **Imona* provides a possible etymology for *Émain Macha* (the ritual center of the Ulaid), supposedly named after Macha, the Irish horse goddess equivalent to Epona. In this light, *Émain Macha* could be translated as the “Swift One of the Plain” rather than the “Twins of Macha” or “the Twin Hills of the Plain”.

Irish Cognate Names for the Gaulish Goddess of the Upper Region

Macha, the Irish goddess of the Upper Region (here Ulster in the North), has several bynames with Gaulish cognates. As noted above, the Rom inscription may contain eight

bynames for Epona. Possibly here she is called ?Imona “Swift One”?, which would correspond to the Emain of Emain Macha. Elsewhere Epona is called Rēgīna or Rīgana “Queen”, corresponding to Welsh Rhiannon (<*Rīganona). Roech “Great Horse” (< **pro-h₁ekyo-*), another Irish byname for Macha, is essentially cognate with Epona (< **h₁ekyo-nā*: DPC: 114).

Irish Ana-Boand-Mórrígan, Medb-Aife, and Macha-Roech

Medb and Her Sisters

In *Cath Boinde* (O’Neill 1905: 174-7), Eochaid Feidleach (Dagda) has as daughters Eithne, Clothra, Deirbriu, Medb, Eile (ingen Echach), and Mumain Etanchaithrech “Mumain of Furze-like Public Hair” (see Thurneysen 1921: 93; elsewhere this epithet Aitencathrech, LU: 3246, is also used with the bynames Ethne and Mugain). Of Eochaid’s daughters, Medb, Clothra, Eithne, and Mumain are said to have been given to Conchobar as wives. Mumain bears Conchobar a son Glaisne, Eithne bears Conchobar a son Furbaide, and Clothra bears Conchobar a son Cormac. According to the text, Medb “forsook Conchobar through pride of mind (*tre uabar meanman*) and went to Tara, where dwelled the High King of Ireland” (O’Neill 1905: 176-7).

In *Aided Meidbe* (Hull 1938: 54ff.), Medb’s sister Clothra held the sovereignty of Connacht at Inis Clothrand before Medb. Thus it was Clothra who used to enjoy the tribute of Connacht (*dlegeda Connacht*) rather than Medb. Supposedly, on Inis Clothrand there is a well in which Medb used to bath at the entrance of the island (*tiprait ar dorus na indsi*). The story relates that Clothra has sexual union with each of her three brothers before they fight with and are killed by their father Eochaid Feidlech (Dagda). By all three brothers (Bres, Nár, and Lothar) she bears Lugaid Riab-nDerg. In *Cocad Fergus a ocus Conchobair* (Dobbs 1923b), Clothra becomes the wife of Fergus.

In *Cath Boinde*, Clothra is the mother of Cormac, but elsewhere (listed as an alternative story even here) Ness is said to be the mother of Conchobar’s son Cormac. In *Compert Conchobuir* (Hull 1934; Plummer 1883-5), Ness is the mother of Conchobar as well. In *Scela Conchobar maic Nessa* (Stokes 1908a), Ness is first the wife of Cathbad, then the wife of Fergus, and then the wife of Conchobar. In *Compert Conchobuir*, Ness is also said to be a daughter of Eochaid (here Eochaid Salbuide, another name for Dagda). Since both Ness and Clothra are said to be wives to Fergus and Conchobar, both Ness and Clothra are said to be the mother of Cormac, and both Ness and Clothra are said to be the daughters of Eochaid, it seems clear that Clothra is simply a byname for Ness.

In the LU-*Táin* the name of Conchobar’s wife is Mugain, not Ness or Clothra. It is she who goes to meet Cú Chulainn with bare breasts to shame him when he returns in battle frenzy (O’Rahilly 1976: 25, 147). However, the Recension-I *Táin* from the O’Curry MS says that this woman was called Mumain (1976: 25). It seems likely that Clothra and Ness are simply bynames for Mumain (Mugain) rather than being her sisters. As we shall see (in the section on the Gods of Water), Eithne is another name for Mumain.

Eithne also bears the same name as the river Ethne. As *Cath Boinde* (O’Neill 1905: 176-7) says, “it is from her the river takes its name, i.e., Eithne” (*is uaithisi sloindter in aband .i. Eithne*). The present-day Inny flows from Lough Sheelan through Loch Keinail, Loch Derevaragh, and Loch Sron into Loch Ree. There was apparently another river of that same name, according to some sources, near Cruachu (Hogan 1910: 403-4). *Tochmarc Étaíne* states that Eithne is simply another name for Boind (Boand) (Bergin and Best 1938: 142-3). Each byname became associated with a particular river.

Eile “Charm, Incantation” also bears the same name as a river in Munster (Hogan 1910: 394). Her sister Clothra may bear the same first stem in her name as the Gaulish source goddess Clutoida. Clōta is also the name of the Clyde in Ptolemaeus (2, 31) and in Tacitus (*Agricola*: ‘23). In *Cath Boinde* supposedly Clothra enjoyed the tributes of Connacht at Inis Clothrand before Medb was granted them. It would seem reasonable to assume that Inis Clothrand (*cloth* “fame”) was named after her (but cf. *clothar* “assembly”; *clothra* “famous places”). Presumably it was in Clothra’s well that Medb bathed daily. So too, under her byname Ness, Nesa, (*ness* “island, narrow channel”), Clothra may have lent her name to another river. The river Ness flows from Loch Ness to the sea, passing Inverness (Hogan 1910: 555), but Ness here may be simply an attributive place name.

Here we find the association of a single goddess with different rivers using a different byname for each river. The best way to understand this association is to think of the river as a personification of the goddess, each river personifying her under a different byname. The rivers are the same, and yet they are different. In the *Dindsenchas* all the world’s rivers flow up and out of the Boand source. The Boand, in turn once reaching the sea, flows around and out of all the world’s rivers. The rivers are one and the same, and yet they are sisters.

Just how Deirbriu “Maiden-breast” (listed in *Cath Boinde* as one of Medb’s sisters; v. Derbriu, Drebiu) fits into this picture is unclear. Perhaps she lent her name to Loch Derevaragh. According to the *Dindsenchas*, she was the first love of Oengus Mac ind Óc, the son of Boand and the Dagda, who (as we shall see) under the byname Ailill marries Medb. Deirbriu was the foster mother of the three boars, Froechán, Banbán, and Brógarbán, and three brothers, Cráinchrin, Coelchéis, and Treilech, all the children of Dalb Garb. When the boars were threatened with being eaten, they sought help from Oengus and Derbriu. However, they were all hunted and killed by Medb at Brógarbán (Stokes 1894-5: 471-2).

In spite of *Cath Boinde*, it seems clear that several of Medb’s sisters functioned simply as bynames for Mumain, though they lent their names to distinct rivers. In the mythology, however, Medb is definitely a distinct character from Mumain, though she, too, is her sister. As *Cath Boinde* states, Medb left Conchobar and went to Tara. Thus, Medb may be identified with Medb Leth Derg, who was said to preside at Tara.

It seems clear that in Irish myth, Ireland was originally divided into three rather than five parts (see for example *Cath Maige Tuired*: § 82, which refers to a *trin* rather than a *coiced*). Thus Mide, the middle portion originally included Leinster and Connacht, explaining why Medb was the goddess of all three, Mide, Leinster, and Connacht. Mumain was the goddess of Munster, the southern part of Ireland, while Macha presided over Ulster, the northern part of Ireland, at Emain Macha. These goddesses then form an original group of three distinctive sisters. The other goddess names are most probably bynames for one or the other of these three sisters.

In the case of Mumain, whose identity with rivers was most marked, the proliferation of bynames and sister rivers developed to a considerable degree. All these rivers shared the same mythology, all were wed to their nephew, Nechtain, all were wed at some point to Conchobar, and all produced a son Mac ind Óc through union with the Dagda. In Irish myth, however, Medb maintained her basic name, whether Medb Leth Derg or Medb Cruachan. Macha also did not produce a large proliferation of bynames.

Irish Goddess of the Lower Realm (Munster): Mórrígan as Ana and Mumain

In the YBL-*Táin* (ll. 1720-24; Strachan and O’Keeffe 1912: 63-4), Mórrígan goes to Cú Chulainn as a beautiful young woman and offers her love.

Cú Chulainn saw coming towards him a young woman of surpassing beauty, clad in clothes of many colors. “Who are you?”, asked Cú Chulainn. “I am the daughter of Búan the king,” said she. “I have come to you for I fell in love with you on hearing your fame, and I have brought with me my treasures and my cattle.” “It is not a good time at which you have come to us, that is our condition (here) is bad, (there is) even famine (*nachis olc ar mbláth amin gorti*). So it is not easy for me to meet a woman while I am in this strife.” “I shall help you in it.” “It is certainly not for a woman’s rear end that I have undertaken this (struggle).” (*Ni ar thóin mná dano gabus-sa inso*). “It will be the worse for you,” she said, “when I go against you as you are fighting your enemies. I shall go in the form of an eel under your feet in the ford so that you shall fall.” “That seems more likely to me than your being a king’s daughter (*Dóchu lim ón oldás ingen rí*g). “I shall seize you between my toes so that your ribs are crushed, and you shall suffer that blemish until you get a vow rendering blessing (*bráth bennachtan*).” “I shall drive the cattle over you in the ford while I am in the form of a grey she-wolf.” “I shall throw a stone at you from my sling and smash your eye in your head, and you shall suffer from that blemish until you get a vow rendering blessing.” “I shall come at you in the guise of a hornless red heifer in front of the cattle, and they will rush upon you at many fords and pools, yet you will not see me in front of you.” “I shall cast a stone at you,” said he, “so that your legs will break under you, and you shall suffer thus until you get a vow rendering blessing.” Whereupon she left him. (O’Rahilly 1976: 57, 176-7).

When Cú Chulainn is engaged in the struggle with Lóch, Mórrígan comes in her bovine form as a *samuisc maél derg* (*samaisce muile dergi*; YBL-*Táin*: l. 1722) “a red hornless heifer”. She leads the cattle, who are not otherwise specified, against Cú Chulainn in the pool and in the ford (*muiri riasna búai b forsá linní 7 na háthu*) (YBL-*Táin*: ll. 1722-3). As in *Táin bó Regamna*, Cú Chulainn breaks the eels ribs in the YBL-*Táin* (*benaid in nescongain co memdadar a hasnai indi*, l. 1717), he casts a sling stone crushing the she-wolf’s eye in her head (*co memaid a shúil ina chind*, ll. 1721-2), and he breaks the heifer’s leg (*co mmemaid a gergairi fáil*, l. 1724-5). Lines 1732-3 state that Cú Chulainn thus fulfilled what he had promised in *Táin bó Regamna*. Though this episode presents a sinister aspect of the goddess of the Lower Realm, she also had a more positive and maternal role to play. As we shall see, in these essentials she is reminiscent of the Sumerian/Babylonian goddess Ishtar.

The *Dá Cích* “Two Teats” of Boand, of Rígan “the Queen”, exactly parallel the *Dá Chigh Anna* “the Two Teats of Ana” over Luachair Degad, which are noted in the *Cóir Anmann* (Stokes 1891b: 288-9). *Cormac’s Glossary* (Meyer 1912a: 3) gives us further information on this goddess Ana, noting *Ana: mater deorum Hibernensium ... de cuius nomine Dá Chíc[h] hAnund iar Luachair* “Ana, Mother of the gods of Ireland ... for whom are named the two tits of Ana beyond Luachair”. A note in O’Curry’s *Brehon Laws* manuscript (l. 1409) similarly states *iathe nAnand .i. Ériu .i. Anu mater deorum* (*iath*: “country”; RIAD).

A note on Mórrígan in the *Lebor Gabála* states that another name for her was Ana or Anand (*tri ingena aile dano oc Ernmais .i. Badb 7 Macha 7 Mórrigu .i. Anand a hainmside*) (LL 10a, ll. 43-4; Best, Bergin, and O’Brien 1954: 37). Elsewhere, *Lebor Gabála* refers to Ana directly as one of three daughters of Ernmais, using this name in place of Mórrígan: *Badb 7 Macha 7 Anand, dia tát Cichi Anand i Iluachair, tri ingena Ernbaire na bantuathige* (LL: 9b, ll. 38-9; Best, Bergin, and O’Brien 1954: 35). The name Ana undoubtedly derives from **anna*, **amma* “mother” (IEW: 36; **h₂en-a*). Thus it seems clear that Ana was but a byname for Mórrígan.

Another name for Ana would appear to be Mumain. In the *Cath Boinde*, Mumain’s full name is given as Mumain Etancathrach, while in LU: 3246 this epithet Aitencáithrech “having

furze-like pubic hair” is used of Eithne, and in LU: 8405 it is used of Mugain (Aitengaethrech). The *Coir Anmann* gives an interesting etymology under the entry Muma (Mumu) “Munster”, which undoubtedly refers to the genitive Muman or the goddess name Mumain, for it does not fit the nominative Mumu: *Mó a hana nás ana cach coigidh aili a nEirinn* “greater its wealth than the wealth of every other province of Ireland” (Stokes 1891b: 288-9). The etymology plays upon *mo ana* and *Mumain*, and the text goes on to note, *ar is innti nó adhradh bandía in tsónusa .i. Ana a hainm-sein* “for in it [Mumu “Munster”] was worshipped the goddess of prosperity: Ana was her name” (Stokes 1891b: 288-9). Here then Mumain or Mór Muman “the Great One of Munster” is undoubtedly the same goddess as Ana. Mór Mumain (*Mōromamianī) could be more directly translated as “the Great Mother”, for Irish *muime* (ia, f) (**mamia*), to which the name is related, means “nurse, foster mother”.

As MacCana (1955: 78-85) has argued, the story of *Mór Mumain ocus Cuanach meic Ailchine* (O’Nolan 1912: 261-82) outlines the role of Mór Mumain as a goddess of kingship besides being the personification of the land in Munster itself, much as Medb is the personification of the kingship and of the land at Cruachu and Temair. In the story of *Mór Mumain ocus Cuanach*, Mór Mumain goes into derangement (*fualang*) and leaps over the walls of her father’s fort (*liss*) to wander about for two years dressed in rags.

The idea of the goddess changing her form and her raiment, when she is without her proper spouse and king, is very common in the whole of our literature, and [it] enshrines the ancient belief that the land gained or lost fruitfulness and prosperity according as it gained or lost its true and rightful king. (Mac Cana 1955: 84).

Finally Fingen, the king at Cashel in Munster (*Mumu*), sleeps with Mór and takes her as his queen. She then takes on a beautiful aspect. After Fingen dies, she goes to Cathal king of Glendomain. As the text explains, the kingship of Munster was centered for the first period in Cashel, for the second period in Glendomain, and for the third in Aine. Thus Mór Mumain represents the province of Munster (Coiced Muman) and, like Medb, is wed in turn to whomever is king.

As MacCana (1955: 86-7) notes further, two other tales with similar themes refer to the goddess as Eithne, rather than Mór Mumain, confirming the suggestion in *Tochmarc Étaíne* that Eithne is another name for Boand. These tales also confirm the linkage between Boand, Mórrígan, and Mór Mumain. In the tale of *Nia, Son of Lugna Fer Trí* (Carney 1940: 187-97), Cormac ua Cuinn dreams that his wife (*banc[h]éile*) Eithne sleeps with Eochu Gunnat and returns to him. His druids interpret this to mean that his kingship will “sleep” with Eochu, but for one year only, and then will return to him.

Do bhanchéile immorra do fheis leis ised dofóirine do ríge faifes leis 7 ní bia acht oen-bliadain i flaitius Temra. (MacCana 1955: 86-7).

In *Esnada Tige Buchet* from LL 270a.45-271a.46 (Best, Bergin, and O’Brien 1967: 1192-4) and in *Echtra Cormaic* (Windisch and Stokes 1884-1909: III, l. 194), Eithne is the foster child of Buchet the hospitaller, who through poverty, engendered by the demands of Cathaer Mór’s many sons, is forced to flee from Leinster to Meath. One day while Eithne is milking, drawing water, and cutting rushes, Cormac ua Cuinn passes by and sees her. Cormac takes her by force from Buchet, but Eithne stays only one night with Cormac before she escapes. However, during that night she conceived Coirpre Lifechair by Cormac. Eithne then returns to Cormac as his queen. Thus as MacCana (1955: 88) notes, the goddess as represented by Eithne is not wedded to the proper king of the province, but is herself seen as the mother of the king and the “ancestress of a royal line”.

Brigit and Saint Brigit

The fact that Brigantia was the name of a Gaulish and British goddess and perhaps a byname of Bovinda suggests that Brigit (<*brigintī < *bhṛghntī; IEW: 140; DPC: 77) “the High One” (also Brigh) may have been but another byname for Mórrígan “the Great Queen”. Nonetheless, Mórrígan and Brigh appear as distinct goddesses in *Cath Maige Tuired*. Here, however, Mórrígan plays a large role, while Brigh is only mentioned in a just-so tale purporting to explain the origin of crying in Ireland.

The *Cath Maige Tuired*, although it may have developed around a core tale of a battle between the gods and titans or between two separate deity moieties, is for the most part a secondary myth, having developed in early Christian Ireland to explain events in the *Lebor Gabála*. It is thus a conglomeration constructed from the flotsam and jetsam of the Celtic mythology which happened to accumulate in the *Lebor Gabála* along side of early medieval pseudo-history and Biblical material. It is no more surprising to find here myths of the same goddess preserved under two separate bynames (whose connection had been forgotten) then it is to find similar myths of this sort preserved in the *Dindsenchas*.

In *Cath Maige Tuired*, Brigh is a daughter of the Dagda (*Brigi ingene in Dagdai*). To Bres she bears a son whose name is Ruadán. Bres, the father of her child, is the son of Elotha, king of the Fomoiré. Ruadán of the Fomoiré then is killed fighting against Goibniu of the Túatha dé Danann.

Then Brigh came and bewailed her son. She shrieked at first, she cried at last (*Eghis artós, goilis fodeod*). So that then, for the first time, crying and shrieking (*gol 7 egem*) were heard in Erin. Now it is this Brigh who invented a pipe or flute (*feit*) for signalling at night. (Stokes 1891a: 96-7).

This account of how Brigh initiates the first crying and shrieking (*gol 7 egem*) in Ireland, for her dead son, sounds like a garbled account of how the music of weeping, laughter, and sleeping began in Ireland (*goltraide, gentraide, and suantraide*). The story, which is preserved in *Táin bó Fraích*, explains the origin of the three musicians born of the Dagda’s harper. The harper creates for Boand, their mother, “the music of crying, the music of laughing, and the music of sleeping”. Through the influence of the music, she cries at the birth of the first son, laughs at that of the second, and sleeps at that of the third. “For there, for cattle and for women who shall bring forth under Ailill and Medb, are Music of Sleeping, Music of Smiling, and Music of Weeping” (Meid 1967: 4-5, ll. 100-12; Carney 1955: 4-5). As we shall see, all these motifs bear a relationship to ritual aspects of the Roman Springtime Festival to Cybele and Attis, in particular, the *Tristia* “Day of Sadness”, the *Hilaria* “Day of Joy and Laughter”, and the *Requietio* “Day of Rest”.

Sanas Cormaic “the Glossary of Cormac” (again a conglomeration) provides additional information on this goddess, this time referred to as Brigit.

Brigit: female poet, daughter of the Dagda (*banfile ingen in Dagdae*). It is this Brigit who was a woman of the order of divine poets (*bé n-éxe*), in other words, the goddess (*bandéa*) whom poets (*filid*) adore. For her creations were very great and very splendid. It is from this that they call her [the] goddess of poetry (*deam ... poetarum*), whose sisters were Brigit, the woman doctor (*bé legis*), and Brigit, the woman smith, (*bé Goibne*), [both] daughters of the Dagda, from whose names by all Irishmen a goddess was called Brigit (*omnes Hibernenses dea Brigit vocabatur*). (Meyer 1912a: 15).

Most likely Brigit's role, here as goddess of poetry, arose from Boand's control of Topur Segsa, into which fall the nuts of poetic inspiration. Under the earlier bynames of Sulis and Brigantia, the British goddess of hot springs was identified with Minerva, probably for the same reason. Boand, under the byname Mórrígan, was also grouped in a triad with Badb and Macha, whence the triple nature ascribed to Brigit. Since both the Dagda and Brigit were said to be of the Túatha dé Danann, it is not surprising that her sisters were given skills as well.

It can hardly be doubted that under the byname Brigit this goddess was assimilated to Saint Brigit. In Gaelic Scotland "Bride (Saint Brigit) is said to preside over fire, over art, over all beauty, *fo cheabhar agus fo chuan* `beneath the sky and beneath the sea'" (Carmichael 1928: I, 165). Under church traditions associated with Saint Brigit, wider aspects of the goddess were preserved. Once these aspects of the goddess became associated with an official saint of the Catholic church, the cult and ritual of the saint became preserved by the custodians of the new religion.

In the Hebrides, Saint Bride (Brigit) is known as the *Banochudeachaidh Moire* "the Aid-woman of Mary" and the *Muime Chriosda* "the Foster-mother of Christ". It was she who went "to aid and minister to the Virgin Mother and to receive the Child (Christ) into her arms". For Bride is also "the aid-woman of the mothers of Uist in their humble homes". Carmichael notes further that "when things go well it indicates that Bride is present and friendly to the family; when they go ill, that she is absent and offended" (Carmichael 1928: I, 164-66). One cannot help but think of Boand's musicians "for cattle and for women who shall bring forth under Ailill and Medb".

Thus under the guise of Saint Bride, Mumain "the Nurse Mother", a byname of Mórrígan, became Muime Chriosda "the Nurse Mother of Christ". As Mórrígan took on the aspect of an eel, so too, Saint Bride is associated with the serpent. As Mórrígan was the withered old woman with a mauled leg, eye, and hand, who was blessed and renewed by Cú Chulainn on Imbolc, the first day of spring, Saint Bride is renewed in her ritual as well, again occurring at Imbolc (*la feill Bride*). In Scotland as well as in Ireland, *la feill Bride*, considered the first day of calving season as well as of spring, is the day the flocks and herds are dedicated to Saint Bride. Aspects of her ritual were recorded by Carmichael during the previous century.

The older women are also busy on the Eve of Bride, and great preparations are made to celebrate her Day, which is the first day of spring. They make an oblong basket in the shape of a cradle, which they call *leaba Bride*, "the bed of Bride". Then they take a choice sheaf of corn, generally oats, and fashion it into the form of a woman. They deck the Icon with gay ribbons from the loom, sparkling shells from the sea, and bright stones from the hill. ... This lay figure is called Bride, *dealbh Bride* "the icon of Bride". ... The women then level the ashes on the hearth In the early morning the family closely scan the ashes. If they find the marks of the wand of Bride, they rejoice, ... for this is sign that Bride was present with them during the night, ... and that there [is to be] increase in family, in flock, and in field during the coming year. Should there be no marks on the ashes, and no traces of Bride's presence, the family are dejected. It is to them a sign that she is offended and will not hear their call. To propitiate her and gain her ear, the family offer oblations and burn incense. The oblation is a cockerel, some say a pullet, buried alive near the junction of three streams, and the incense is burnt on the hearth when the family retire for the night. ... [Further], the serpent is supposed to emerge from its hollow among the hills on St. Bride's day, and a propitiatory hymn is sung to it.

Early on Bride's morn
the serpent (*nimhir*) shall come from the hole (*toll*),
I will not molest the serpent,
nor will the serpent molest me.

(On) the Feast Day of Bride,
the daughter of Imhir shall come from the knoll (*chnoc*).

...
On the day of Bride of the white hills (*La Bride nam brig ban*),
the Noble Queen (*Rigan Ran*) will come from the knoll (*tom*).
I will not molest the Noble Queen,
nor will the Noble Queen molest me.
(Carmichael 1928: I, 168-9).

The association of Saint Bride with the hearth is a survival of Saint Brigit's sacred fire, which was kept at Kildare in early Christian Ireland. So too, in early Christian Ireland, Saint Brigit's festival occurred on Imbolc. As we have seen, Imbolc, February 1, considered to be the first day of spring, was known as *la feill Bride* "the Feast day of Bride" in the Hebrides. As we shall see, the ritual of Cybele in Rome reached its climax on March 25, considered there to be the first day of spring. Carmichael (1928: I, 164-7) also gives an account of the nineteenth-century procession of Bride, which took place on February 1 in the Hebrides.

On Bride's Eve the girls of the townland fashion a sheaf of corn into the likeness of a woman. They dress and deck the figure with shining shells, sparkling crystals, primroses, snowdrops, and any greenery they may obtain. ... The girls call the figure *Bride, Brideag* "Bride, Little Bride", and carry it in procession, singing the song of *Bride bhoidheach oigh nam mile beus*, "Beauteous Bride, virgin of a thousand charms". The *banal Bride*, "Bride maiden band", are clad in white and have their hair down symbolizing purity and youth. They visit every house, and every person is expected to give a gift to Bride and make obeisance to her. (1928: I, 166-7).

This procession of Bride to bless and protect the townland is reminiscent of the procession drawing a statue of the goddess Berecynthia to the adulation of the citizens of Augustodunum (now Autun, Saône-et-Loire) "*in carpento pro salvatione agrorum et vinearum*", described by Gregorius Turonensis (Gregory of Tours: ca. 538-594 AD) (Zwicker 1934: 180). Elsewhere in the *Vita Sancti Symphoriani* (1934: 163), we learn that especially sacred to the town were Berecynthia, Apollo, and Diana. Anwyl (1906: 42) has suggested that when Gregorius used Berecynthia, a poetic name for Cybele, he really had in mind the Gaulish goddess Brigantia. Brigantia's bynames Damona and Matu-berginnis are found on an inscription from Charente, Rivière (DAG: 155), in association with (Apollo) Bormo. This association makes Anwyl's suggestion at least palatable, if not necessarily likely.

Medb, the Irish Goddess of the Middle Realm (Meath, Leinster, Connacht)

As noted, the name Medb derives from IE **medh₂yo-* (**medhu-* "honey, mead"; IEW: 707; DPC: 261) and apparently signifies "the Intoxicating One". A passage in the *Book of Leinster* states that Medb Lethderg presides over the coronation festivals at Temair (Tara, Meath).

Great indeed was the strength and power of Medb over the men of Ireland, for it was she who would not allow a king of Tara without his having her as his wife. By her was built the royal rath on the side of Tara, i.e. Rath Medbae, and she made a select home in that rath in which kings and masters of every art where went to congregate. (O'Maille 1928: 138).

A poem in RIA 23 H6i (199a) substantiates the account in the *Book of Leinster*. When the Leinstermen wished to give the kingship to Cormac mac Airt after the death of his father, “not until Medb was united [*fhaidh*] to the son did Cormac become king of Eire” (Power 1917: 43). Thus it is clear that only through ritual union with Medb during a coronation ceremony, the *feis Temra* “the Wedding Feast of Tara”, could one become king of Temair. As MacCana (1955: 60, 86) has noted, the word *fess*, *feis* embodies both the concepts of “sexual union, espousal” and “feast, festival”. Thus the *banais rí* (*banais* <*ban* + *feis*) involved both the sexual union of the king with the goddess as well as the wedding festival itself. In this wedding feast, wine would be proffered by the goddess and drunk by the king. In *Baile in Scáil*, Ériu dispenses a drink of liquor from her vat to each successive king of Ireland.

In *Fled Bricrend* (Henderson 1899), Medb awards each of the three Ulster champions a cup of wine to signify his status as champion. To Lóegaire she gives a cup of bronze, decorated with a silver alloy bird, full of luscious wine (*cúach créduma ocus én findruini for a lar ...a lán do fín aicnetai and*). To Conall she gives a silver alloy cup with a gold bird on its bottom (*cúach findruini dano ocus én óir for a lar*). To Cú Chulainn she gives a gold cup of wine with a bird of precious stone set in the goblet (*cúach dérgoir dó ocus a lán do fín sainemail and ocus én do lic lógmair for a lár*) (1899: 74-9).

In the *Táin*, Ailill tells Medb that she must use her wine to entice a warrior to fight Cú Chulainn.

“No one will be got,” said Ailill, “unless you employ some trickery in this matter. Give wine to every man that comes to you until he is gladdened in mind (*tabraid fín dó corop maith a menma*, ll. 1810-11), and tell him, ‘That is all that is left of the wine that was brought from Cruachain. We are grieved that you should have only water to drink in the camp.’ Let Findabair be placed at his right hand, and tell him, ‘You shall have her if you bring back the head of the distorted one.’” (O’Rahilly 1976: 175).

Later in the battle no one can be found to encounter Cú Chulainn.

Then Fergus was begged to go against him. But he refused to encounter his foster son Cú Chulainn. He was plied with wine until he was greatly intoxicated (*dobreth fín do 7 ro mescad do co trén*, ll. 2502-3), and he again was asked to go and fight. So then he went forth, since they were so earnestly importuning him. (O’Rahilly 1976: 193).

Similar themes are repeated in the *LL-Táin*.

Then Láiríne mac Nóis was summoned to the tent of Ailill and Medb, and Findabair was placed beside him. It was she who used to serve him goblets, she who used to kiss him at every drink, and she who used to bring him his food. “Not to all and sundry does Medb give the liquor that is served to Fer Báeth or to Láiríne,” said Findabair. “She brought only fifty wagon-loads of it to the camp.” (O’Rahilly 1967: 192).

Here of course, in this later version of the story the themes of exaggeration and humor have become dominant in the style of the story teller. It is clear from these episodes that Medb, like Ériu, is the dispenser of intoxicating liquor, the very function implied by her name Medb “the Intoxicating One”.

Medb ingen Eochach Feidlech (v. Eochaid) also presided over the periodic gatherings (*oenechi*) held at both Rath Cruachan and at Temair. *Cath Boinde* informs us that the festivals could not be held without Medb present.

Eochaid Feidleach ... set up Medb in the royal seat of Cruachan, ... so that it was in Cruachan with Medb the fairs (*aenaichi*) of Ireland were wont to be held The festival of Tara was held by Eochaid Feidleach with the provinces of Ireland about him, (all) except Medb and Tindi. The men of Ireland bade Eochaid bring Medb to the gathering. Eochaid sent Searbluath, his female messenger, to Cruachan for Medb. Medb set out the next day to Tara, and the fair races were run by them for a fortnight and a month. (O'Neill 1905: 178-9).

A large portion of the Ulster cycle deals with aspects of Medb's preparations to make off with the magnificent bull, Donn Cualnge. In the climax of the *Táin*, Medb has the two bulls fight, ending in the death of at least one of them (O'Rahilly 1976: 237; YBL-*Táin*: 3649-67). There is just a hint that in an earlier version of the *Táin*, the seven Maines (all sons of Medb), who go forward to kill the victorious Donn bull (Stowe-*Táin*: 5064-7), are not prevented from doing so (Olmsted 1979b: 223).

In the case of the Irish bull killing, it may be significant that Gaul has furnished some 60 *taurobolium* altars (see for example Esp: 576, 1737), more than any other country (Duval 1957: 103). The *taurobolium*, the act of killing a bull and letting the blood run over the initiate in a pit, was a ritual part of ceremonies in honor of the goddess Cybele (as the *suovetaurilia*, the sacrifice of a pig, sheep, and a bull was a ritual to Iūno). Apparently like much of the Cybele and Attis ritual this blood baptism took place on the first day of spring. The relevant passages from the *Táin* suggest that this ritual was also a rite of the equivalent Celtic goddess. Indeed, Plinius (*Naturalis Historia*, XLVI, 249) describes the ritual sacrifice of white bulls by druids in Gaul.

An altar from Bordeaux (Esp: II, 1073) is suggestive of such a Gaulish ritual, showing a goddess holding a cornucopia with a dog at her left side in the style of the Mater from Naix. However, to her right is a bull (below is the inscription TVT(ELAE) AVG(VSTAE)). The *tarbfeis*, the ritual killing of a white bull, was a prominent rite in the initiation of early Irish kings (*Serglige Con Culainn*), a ritual in which the goddess played a great role as well. In the *feis Temro* "the marriage feast of Tara", the king was ritually wedded to Medb.

This is how that bull-sleep (*tarbfeis*) used to be made: [one had] to kill a white bull, ... [one had to have] one man eat enough of its flesh and [enough] of its broth, ... [one had to have him] sleep after that meal; and [one had to have] four druids chant a spell of truth over him. And the form of the man to be made king would be shown to him in a dream, his shape and his description, and the act that he was then performing. The man would awake out of his sleep and tell his dream to the kings. (Dillon 1941: 35; 1953: 9).

If Medb, like Cybele, is linked to a ritual bull killing, Medb and her son Fraech (who is married to Medb's sister Mumain-Boand) would have been the Irish equivalents of Cybele and Attis (rather than Mumain-Boand and Fraech). In the Cybele ritual (see section on Cybele and Attis) the dead Attis, represented by an evergreen tree, went into the mound for three days and emerged renewed and resurrected. The old evergreen was then flung into the river, the same one in which the image of the goddess was washed.

This Roman ritual of the Phrygian goddess is the very essence of the drowning of Fraech "Heather", husband and nephew to Boand, in the *Aided Fraích* episode of the *Táin*. This drowning of the god named for an evergreen was followed in turn by the fight and death of the two bulls. The question then is simply which goddess, Medb or her sister Boand, played the role of Cybele. Indeed, it may be that both Irish goddesses, taken together, played the equivalent role of the single Phrygian goddess.

Irish Medb was also a fertility goddess, which is an aspect of her being a goddess of both the land and its king. As such, she had an enormous sexual appetite. The word *feis*, used to describe the union of the king with Medb, is the verbal noun of *foid* “spend the night with” in the sense of “have sexual union with”. Thus the *Feis Temra* was the marriage feast of the Medb and the celebration of the new king’s sexual union with her.

As a fertility goddess (see Thurneysen 1929: 108-9), Medb required thirty men a day or Fergus mac Roích (ingen Eochach) alone. As *Goire Conaill Cernaig i Crúachain* (Meyer 1896: 104) states, “Great was the power, the wonder, and [the] dignity of Medb, and great was her desire about everything.... She used to exchange thirty men every day or go with Fergus once” (*mor tra cumachta 7 armitin 7 ordan inti Medba 7 ba mor a hacobur im gach ní .i. tricha fer cach lai do claemcloidh di nó tagall (=tadall) Fergus[a] aonfecht*).

Like Ailill, Fergus took his lineage after his mother Roech, who in being a daughter of Eochach would appear to have been a sister to Medb ingen Eochach. Fergus is Medb’s major lover in the Ulster cycle of tales culminating in the *Táin*, but he is not her husband. Rather she had a succession of husbands corresponding to the kings. During the *Táin*, Medb’s husband is Ailill mac Mata, her nephew. According to *Cath Boinde*, Ailill has “neither jealousy, fear, nor niggardliness” (O’Neill 1905: 183), least Medb make him feel inferior or he resent her lovers. Earlier Medb, like her sisters Mumain, Deirbriu, Clothra, and Eithne had been married to Conchobar, the son of Ness, the daughter of Eocaid Sulbaide. In the *Táin*, Medb sleeps with Fergus, ostensibly to insure his help in the venture. Ailill states that “she is right (to behave thus),” as she does it “to help in the cattle taking” (O’Rahilly 1976: 33, l. 1053; 155).

Like Medb, Fergus “Virility” has great sexual powers as well. *Scéla Conchobuir mac Nessa* states that Fergus had “seven fists in his penis, a bushel-bag in his scrotum, [and required] seven women to curb him” (Stokes 1908a: 26-7). A passage from the LL-*Táin* throws further light on the fertility side of Medb in her role as one of the three landscape and source Mothers, a role which is overtly sexual.

Then Medb covered the retreat of the men of Ireland, and she sent the Donn Cuailnge around to Crúachu together with fifty of his heifers and eight of Medb’s messengers, so that whoever might reach Crúachu or whoever might not, at least the Donn Cuailnge would arrive there as she had promised. Then her issue of blood came upon Medb (*is and drecgais a fúal fola for Meidb*), and she said, “Fergus, cover the retreat of the men of Ireland that I may pass my waters.”

“By my conscience,” said Fergus, “it is ill-timed, and it is not right to do so.”

“Yet, I cannot help but do so,” said Medb, “for I shall not live unless I do” (*dáig nída béo-sa meni síblur-sa m’fúal úaim*). Fergus came then and covered the retreat of the men of Ireland. Medb passed her water (*fúal*), and it made three great trenches (*trí tulchlassa móra*) in each of which a household could fit. Hence the place is called Fúal Medba. (O’Rahilly 1967: 133, ll. 4824-32; 269).

Medb’s association with waters seems clear. Not only does she give her name to Fúal Medba in the *Táin*, but in *Cath Boinde* sexuality and waters are once again central themes surrounding Medb.

Conchobar stayed behind after the others in the yearly gathering (*aenach*) watching Medb. As Medb happened to go to the Boyne to bathe, Conchobar met her there, overcame her, and violated her (*condusrala do Meidb dola co Boinde dia fothrucad, co tarla Conchobar di ann co rosaraich hi 7 co ndeachaid na gnais da n-aindeoin*). (O’Neill 1905: 178-81).

Similarly the theme of washing is repeated in *Aided Meidbe*.

Medb assumed the kingship of Connacht and took Ailill into sovereignty with her, and she was wont to enjoy (*do-meil*) the tribute (*dligeda*) of Connacht in Innis Clothrand (in Loch Ree on the Shannon). It was taboo for her not to bathe herself every morning at the entrance to the island (*et ba geis di-ssi cen a fothrucud cecha maitni assin tiprait ar dorus na indsi*). (Hull 1938: 55, 60).

The Insular Celtic Goddess of the Upper Realm (Ulster)

Irish Macha-Roech

Ireland provides a cognate goddess to Epona in Roech “Great Horse”, the mother of Fergus mac Roich (*Roech*, gen. *Roich*), who, like Conchobar, took his name from his mother. The *Cóir Anmann* (Stokes 1891b: 406-7) informs us that *Roich inghen Eocach maic Dhaíre* was Fergus’s mother. Much the same information is to be found in a genealogical tract from LL 331c 34 (O’Brien 1962: ‘158, 5), *Fergus dano fodeisen iarna máthair mac do Roích ingin Echach meic Carpri*. It is interesting to note that Roech, like Medb and her sisters, is descended from a man or a god called Echach (v. Eocach, Eochaid). This character is to be identified with Eochaid Ollaithe, “Eochaid the Great Father” or “Eochaid the All-father”, otherwise known as the Dagda “Good God”, who was also the father of Brigit (apparently another byname for Eithne).

Roech would seem to be an alternative name for Macha, the great horse goddess of the Ulaid, of whom Fergus mac Roich was king before Conchobar mac Nessa. Thus it seems clear that Eithne-Mumain was the goddess of kingship in Munster, Medb was the goddess of kinship in Mide (including Leinster and Connacht), and Roech-Macha was the goddess of kingship in Ulster. All are descended of Eochaid Ollaithe. Macha gave her name to Ard Macha “Macha’s height” (now Armagh) and Mag Macha “Macha’s Plain”, as well as Emain Macha “the Twins of Macha”, the site of the Ulster kingship.

The name Macha, itself, may be a secondary development. As RIAD notes, Macha “is strictly a genitive singular (of a noun meaning “field” or “?plain?”), but also used absolutely”. The name is thus undoubtedly related to Irish *macha* (m, gen. *macha*, nom. plur. *machada*) “an enclosure for milking cows, a milking yard (or field?)” and *machaire* (io,m) “a large field or plain” (RIAD). Thus as noted, through the use of the genitive qualifier in absolute terms (as Jesus of Nazareth became Nazareth), Macha may have arisen from Emain Macha, indicating “the Twin (Hills) of the Plain” but perhaps originally indicating “the Swift One of the Plain”. Such an etymology would suggest that Macha, like Vedic Aditiḥ (the mother of Mitráḥ/Váruṇaḥ, etc.), was in origin an earth goddess assimilated to the Upper Realm through the espousal of Mother Earth with Father Sky.

Macha could then be cognate functionally with Latin Maia “the Great, the Mother” and Sanskrit Mahí (*máhi* “the great”, *mahí* “the Earth”; IEW: 708-9; from IE **megh₂*- “great” > PC **magos*: “plain”; IEW: 708; DPC: 253). Thus as a “Great Earth Mother”, Macha would be functionally equivalent to Tailtiu “the Earth, the Plain”, who was the foster mother of Lug and in whose honor the festival gathering *Oenach Tailten* was held at Tailtiu (Teltown near Navan, Meath) on Lugnasad “the Marriage Feast of Lug”. As noted, Lugnasad was considered to be the first day of fall. It may be significant (as noted by Jubainville 1884: 139), in light of this connection between Lug and Tailtiu, that all the inscriptions from Lugudunum “Lugus’s

Town” to Mercurius (with whom Gaulish Lugus was identified) are offered to MERCVRIO AVGVSTO ET MAIAE AVGVSTAE (CIL XIII: 1768, 1769a-c).

As for Tailltiu, Queen of the Fir Bolg, daughter of Mag Mór “Great Plain”, king of Spain, she came after the slaughter was inflicted upon the Fir Bolg in the first battle of Mag Tuired to Coill Cuan. The wood was cleared by her, so it was a flowering clover plain before the end of the year.... As for Tailltiu, she was settled in Tailltiu and slept with Eochu Garb..., and Cian son of Dian Cecht ... gave her his son in fosterage, namely Lug. Eithne, daughter of Balor the Strong Smiter, was his mother. Thereafter, Tailltiu died at Tailltiu, her name was imposed on that place, and it is her grave which is north-east from the Seat of Tailltiu. The games were made every year by Lug, a fortnight before Lugnasad and a fortnight after Lugnasad. Lugnasad, the assembly of Lug son of Eithne. (Macalister 1941: IV, 115-9).

This motif of clearing the wood to create a plain is also associated with Macha in the *Dindsenchas* tale below. This association verifies the connection between Macha and Tailltiu, and demonstrates that this goddess was responsible for the agricultural productivity of the land. The *Dindsenchas* of Ard Macha (now Armagh) relates not just this one myth but three myths associated with Macha under three different names. In the second story Macha marks out Emain Macha (*is le rothornedh Emoin*, Stokes 1894-5: 45). Furthermore, the great festival Oenach Macha was established in her honor, exactly paralleling Tailltiu, in whose honor Oenach Tailltiu was established (though held on *Samain* at Mag Muirthemne rather than at *Lugnasad*).

Macha wife of Nemed son of Agnomon died there (on Mag Macha) and was buried [there], and it is the twelfth plain which was cleared by Nemed. He bestowed it on his wife so that it might bear her name. Whence Mag Macha “Macha’s Plain”.

Otherwise: Macha daughter of Aed the Red (*ingen Aedha Ruaidh*), son of Badurn, by her Emain was marked out. [She] was buried there when Rechtaid of the red forearm killed her. To lament her, Oenach Macha “Macha’s Fair” was established, whence Mag Macha.

Otherwise: Macha, wife of Crond son of Agnomon, went thither to race against Conchobar’s horses, for her husband had said his wife was swifter (than they). Thus, then was the wife big with child; so she asked a respite till her womb should have fallen, and this was not granted to her. So then the race was run, and she was the swiftest. When she reached the end of the green, she brought forth a boy and a girl. Fir and Fial “True and Modest” were their names. She said that the Ulaid would abide under feebleness of childbed whenever need should befall them. Whereupon the Ulaid suffered feebleness.... After this, she died and her tomb was raised at Ard Macha; her lamentation was made and her gravestone was planted. Whence Ard Macha “Macha’s Height”. (Stokes 1894-5: 44-6).

The second story of Macha from the *Dindsenchas* is significant because it makes it clear that Eochaid Ollathair, the Dagda, is the father of Macha. Here Macha’s father is said to be Aedh Ruaidh. A fragment from YBL (176) edited by Bergin (1927: 402) states, “*Aed Abaid Essa Ruaid misi .i. Dagdia druidechta Tuath De Danann 7 in Ruad Rofhessa 7 Eochaid Ollathair mo tri hanmanna*”, which he translates as “I am Aed Abaid Essa Ruaid, i.e., the Good God of druidic wisdom of the Tuatha De Danann, the Mighty One of Great Knowledge, and Eochaid All-father are my three (other) names.” The Aedh Ruaidh of the *Dindsenchas* can be none other than the Aed (Abaid Essa) Ruaid of the YBL text.

A fuller account of the digging of the *rath* at Emain Macha is given in a story from RIA 23 N 10 p. 68 (Meyer 1907b: 324-6). Here Macha, ingen Ruad maic Dithorbai, secures the kingship of Ireland, which she inherits from her father, by defeating in battle Cimbaeth and Dithorba, who ruled Ireland jointly (*i comflaithius*) with Ruad. Finally, Macha binds the five sons of Dithorba to her in unfree service (*fo daoire di foghnum*) after having them sexually and requires them to build the *rath* at Emain Macha (*claided dano in raith immácuairt*). Thus Macha is associated directly with the kingship and takes over an active role in battle, reminiscent of Medb.

A fuller account of the race against Conchobar's horses is given in LL 125b (Windisch 1884: 336-42). In this story, Macha comes to Cruinniuc mac Agnomain, a "hundredfold innkeeper" (*briuga cetach*), after his wife dies. She sleeps with him and takes over providing for the household. "Because of her, not a thing was scarce to them of every produce including food, clothing, and wealth". Not long after this, Cruinniuc goes to the *oenach* at Emain Macha. Macha warns him not to "say anything of great indiscretion at the *oenach*". When Conchobar's horses win the chariot race over the *blai* (race course), the crowd shouts out that nothing is faster than they. Cruinniuc, however, yells out, "My wife is faster than they (are)."

Conchobar has Cruinniuc seized for his impertinence, and Macha, although pregnant, is forced to race on foot against the king's horses, lest Cruinniuc be killed. As the race is about to begin, Macha has birth pangs, but a respite is not granted her from running the race. She must race the king's horses while in labor. She beats the king's chariot and, moreover, is so fast that she gives birth to twins before the horses reach the end of the course. She declares that her name will be upon the *oenach* forever and also that the name of her twins (*emain*) will be upon the site of the *oenach* forever, whence Emain Macha "the Twins of Macha". Moreover, everyone of the Ulaid who heard her cry out from the pangs of labor must suffer debility for five days and four nights. The curse would befall them and their offspring for nine generations. Whenever a time of strife should arise, for five days and four nights they would have "the strength of a woman in childbed". Only Cú Chulainn and the women and children are exempt from this curse.

The detail of giving birth to twins at the end of the horse race is reminiscent of north-east Gaulish portrayals of Epona standing between two colts. Although in the Irish myth Macha gives birth to a boy and a girl, not colts, it is possible that in an earlier version she bore colts. Cú Chulainn's famous horses, who had human understanding, are the Dub Sainglenn "the Black of Sainglenn" and the Liath Macha "the Grey of Macha" (Thurneysen 1921: 91). Perhaps the Liath Macha still bears a clue to his origin. Also according to *Compert Con Culainn*, twin colts are born at the same time as Cú Chulainn.

Significant is the fact that elsewhere the two sons of Crond mac Agnomain, Macha's husband, and thus also possibly the two children that she bore after the horserace, are Rucht and Rucne. Rucht and Rucne are the two swine herds who become the bulls of the *Táin* (Finnbennach and Dub or Donn) after progressive transformation through various forms (*Dindsenchas* of Ath Luin; Stokes 1894-5: 466). Thus the portrayal of Gaulish Epona between two colts could easily fit Irish Macha as well.

One of the epithets used of Macha would appear to have been *ind Mórrígan* "the Great Queen", also used by Boand-Mumain-Anand. In the *Lebor Gabala* (LL 10a 11.28-46, Best, Bergin, and O'Brien 1954: 37; also see *Cath Maige Tuired*, Stokes 1891a: 108-9), Macha is listed alongside of Anand and Badb as one of three daughters of Ernmas. O'Mulconry's Glossary (l. 813) also states, "*Machae .i. Badb no asi an tres Mórrígan*", translated as, "Macha: i.e., Badb or it is she who is the third Mórrígan".

Welsh Rhiannon

As pointed out by Gricourt (1954) and other scholars, Macha's role as a horse goddess is shared not only by Gaulish Epona, but also by Welsh Rhiannon. Her name Rhiannon (< *Rīganona) is essentially equivalent to Mórrígan "Great Queen" (< *Mōro-rīgana) or Mórrígain (< *Mōro-rīgānī) and may be seen to be cognate with Epona Rēgina from Karlsburg and Klausenburg. In *Pwyll Pendeuic Dyuet* (Williams 1930: 1-27), the first tale of the Welsh *Mabinogi*, Pwyll sat on the mound called Gorsedd Arberth, above the court at Arberth to see a vision.

He sat upon the mound. And as they were sitting down, they could see a lady on a big fine pale white horse, with a garment of shining gold brocaded silk about her, coming along the highway that led past the mound. ... "Let one of you go and meet her," said he [Pwyll] "to find out who she is." One arose, but when he came to the road to meet her, she had gone past. He followed her as fast as he could on foot, but the greater was his speed, all the farther was she from him. ... Pwyll [said], "Go to the court and take the fleetest horse you know and go after her. He took the horse and off he went. He came to the open level plain and showed his horse his spurs; and the more he spurred on his horse, all the further was she from him. Yet she had the same pace as that she had started with. ... He returned to where Pwyll was. "Lord," said he, "it is idle for anyone to follow yonder lady. I knew of no horse in the kingdom swifter than that, but it was idle for me to follow her." (Jones and Jones 1949: 9-10).

Later when a child is born to Pwyll and Rhiannon on May-Eve (in Ireland the first day of summer), it is mysteriously stolen away from her at birth. Along with a colt, the child is later rescued from a clawed monster by Teyrnnon "Great Lord" (< *Tigernonos) (see Gruffydd 1953; DPC: 378-9). The colt is given to the boy, and both are raised by Teyrnnon (Jones and Jones 1949: 20-1). Rhiannon, who is blamed for the disappearance of the boy and suspected of killing him, is forced to do penance. She must sit beside the horse block and carry upon her back all and sundry who came to the court (Jones and Jones 1949: 22). In *Manawydan uab Llyr* (Williams 1930: 49-65), Rhiannon is made to have "the collars of the asses about her neck, after they had been carrying hay" (Jones and Jones 1948: 54).

Hubert (1925: 187 ff.) was one of the first to propose the equation of Welsh Rhiannon with Gaulish Epona. The side-saddle portrayals of Epona are particularly reminiscent of the description of Pwyll's first encounter with Rhiannon, the mysterious lady riding a horse, which, like Macha, no horse can catch. Particularly relevant to Rhiannon is the portrayal of a goddess seated side-saddle on a pre-Roman British coin. As Allen (1958: 51, pl. IV) has noted, the goddess "is in the position of countless reliefs of the horse goddess Epona on Gallo-Roman altars". She is appropriately riding a rather fantastically stylized horse.

Also the Roman-Gaulish portrayals of Epona riding side-saddle and holding a small bird are particularly relevant to Rhiannon. *Culhwch ac Owain* refers to the birds of Rhiannon, "they that wake the dead and lull the living to sleep" (Jones and Jones 1949: 115-6). This phrase has suggested to MacCana (1958: 107) an "otherworld" nature to Rhiannon. The association of Epona with funerary monuments finds a parallel as well.

Indian Correlatives of Celtic Goddesses

Mādhavī from the *Mahābhārata*

In its 90,000 lines the *Mahābhārata* (which Renou and Filliozat, 1949: 401, have dated in its formative phase to between 400 BC and 400 AD) preserves episodes whose origins date

back to at least the *Vedic* period. The *Mahābhārata* thus contains embedded within it the fragments of an older mythology transformed into epic (Dumézil 1968: 46). The fifth book of the *Mahābhārata* (ll. 3718-4046) contains an outline of the life of Yayātiḥ and the four sons of Mādhavī. In this episode Gālavaḥ (KEWA I: 334) asks his spiritual master Viśvāmitraḥ how he may repay him for his training. Thinking the one hundred years of service Gālavaḥ has rendered sufficient, the guru does not reply. Gālavaḥ persists in asking his question, and finally in irritation the guru demands 800 white horses each with a black ear.

Gālavaḥ goes to Yayātiḥ for aid. Yayātiḥ gives him his only daughter Mādhavī. Mādhavī's special trait is that she has the ability to become virgin again each time she bears a child. Taking Mādhavī with him, Gālavaḥ goes in turn to each of the four kings of the world. Since none can pay the full bride price, Gālavaḥ obtains two hundred of these white horses from each king in exchange for each procuring a son by Mādhavī. Thus Mādhavī bears a child to each of the kings of the world. After bearing each child in turn, she becomes virgin again. Since she is virgin to each king, from each king Gālavaḥ obtains a quarter of the bride price he has sought. Thus Gālavaḥ obtains the sum he needs to pay his guru.

The name Mādhavī is apparently formed from *mādhvī*, *mādhavī* “intoxicating drink, sweet” (*mādhu* “honey, mead”; KEWA II: 570-2), but one must also take note of *mādhava* “spring” and *mādhumādhavī* “a nectar-rich spring flower”. Dumézil (1971: 328-9) argues for the sense “mead, liquor” for the name and would derive it from IE **medh^u-* (“honey, mead”; IEW: 707; DPC: 261). Like Irish Medb, Mādhavī would thus be the “Intoxicating One”.

La confrontation des fonctions, des comportements de l'irlandaise Medb et de l'indienne Mādhavī confirme cette étymologie, au sens soit d’“Ivresse”, soit d’“Enivrante”. Mais elle découvre en outre un rapport de plus longue portée entre le père de Medb, roi suprême d'Irlande, et le père de Mādhavī, le roi universel Yayāti-, et c'est toute une spéculation précoce sur la royauté, spécialement sur la royauté suprême qui se reflète, malgré des évolutions différentes, dans la légende irlandaise et dans la légende indienne. (Dumézil 1971: 330).

Śūrpaṅakhā from the *Rāmāyaṇa*

The *Rāmāyaṇa* contains what appears to be a variant of the episode of Mórrígan's offer of aid to Cú Chulainn in the *Táin*, his refusal, and subsequent struggle with the goddess. The episode is particularly significant since Rāmáḥ “the Dark One” (KEWA III: 54-5) is an avatar of Viṣṇuḥ (another incarnation of whom is Kṛṣṇáḥ “Black”; KEWA I: 264). As we have seen, Viṣṇuḥ (of whom Pūṣá apparently was a byname) probably developed from the same PIE god as did Cú Chulainn. A Gaulish version of this struggle would also appear to be portrayed on plate C of the Gundestrup cauldron.

Here we deal with a motif which has an ancient and widespread currency. The sixth tablet of the *Sîn-leqi-unninní* text of *Gilgamesh* from thirteenth-century-BC Babylon contains the nearly identical tale (Gardner and Maier 1984: 148-63). An earlier version of the tale is found in the Sumerian poem of *Bilgamesh (Gilgamesh) and the Bull of Heaven*, dating to the late third millennium BC, but essentially the same story (Kramer 1981: 189-90). In this tale, Inanna offers Bilgamesh her love and the favor of great fertility to all his animals. He spurns her offer, asking her which of her lovers she has not abandoned after enslaving. Inanna flies off in a fury and obtains the bull of heaven to attack Bilgamesh.

In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Śūrpaṅakhā, sister of the *asura* demon Rāvaṇa and herself a forest demoness, comes to Rāmáḥ under the guise of Kāmavalli, a beautiful young *brahmán* woman, the daughter of the sage Viśravaṣ- (though her mother is an *ásura*-). She offers Rāmáḥ her

love. Rāmāḥ spurns her love, asking ironically if a life with her is the reward for his life of penance and sacrifices. Later when Rāmāḥ 's brother Lakṣmaṇaḥ finds her about to attack Sītā, Rāmāḥ 's wife, he grabs Sūrpaṅakhā and cuts off her nose, ears, and breasts. Rāmāḥ then explains to Sūrpaṅakhā that his mission in life is to root out the *rākṣasa* demons, such as she, from the face of the earth. She persists, though mutilated, and offers her help in the endeavor. She reveals that she is not Rāvaṇa's inferior in valor and can (like Irish Mórrígan) take on any shape. Rāmāḥ spurns her again; she takes off at his threatening to kill her (for a summary see Narayan 1972: 66-93). She then inspires the dreaded warrior demon Kārā and others to attack Rāmāḥ.

Vedic Sārasvatī and her Sisters

In the *Rig Veda* (Geldner 1951-57; also see MacDonell 1897: 59, 85-7), the Waters (*Āpaḥ*; KEWA I: 74) are personified as goddesses and young mothers. As mothers, the waters are the wives of the world. They are equal in age and origin (RV: 10, 30, 10). These goddesses are often associated with honey. They mix their milk with honey as mothers. (*Die Mütter ... die Schwestern ziehen ihre Wege, ihre Milch mit Süßigkeit durchtränkend (ambáyo yanty ádhvabhír / jāmáyo adhvarīyatām / pṛṇcatīr mádhunā páyaḥ)*; RV: 1, 23, 16; Geldner 1951-57: I, 23; Aufrecht 1877: 15). The wave of the waters is rich with honey, dripping with butter. The waters, rich in honey, are evoked to pour the wave which intoxicates, the drink of Índraḥ, which is produced in the sky (RV: 10, 30, 8-9).

- (8) Prásmai hinota mádhumantam ūrmīṅ gárbho
yó vaḥ sindhavo mádhva útsaḥ
ghṛtápr̥stham íḍyam adhvarésv
āpo revatīḥ śṛiṇutā hávam me
- (9) tám sindhavo matsarám indrapānam
ūrmím prá heta yá ubhé íyartī
madacyútam auśánáḍ nabhojám
pári tritántum vicárantam útsam.

Für ihn [Índra-] sendet die süsse Welle, die euer Kind ist, ihr Flüsse, (und) der Quell der Süßigkeit, (die Welle) die Schmalz auf dem Rücken trägt, die bei den Opfern herzurufende. Ihr reichen Gewässer, erhöret meinen Ruf!

Ihr Flüsse, sendet diese berauschte, von Índra- getrunkene Welle, die beide (Welten) anregt....(Aufrecht 1866: 308; Geldner 1951-57: III, 176).

Índraḥ armed with his thunderbolt digs out the channels for the Waters (RV: 7, 47, 4; 7, 49, 1). Índraḥ with his thunderbolt kills the dragon Vṛtráḥ and releases the streams, which are likened to imprisoned cows (RV: 1, 61, 10; 1, 80, 10). Like lowing cows, the waters flow to the ocean (RV: 1, 32, 1-2).

- (1) Índrasya nú vīryāṇi prá vocam
yāni cakāra prathamāni vajrī
āhann āhim ānv apás tatarda
prá vakṣāṇā abhinat párvatānām
- (2) āhann āhim párvate śísriyāṇám
tváṣṭāsmāi vājraṁ svaryām tatakṣa

vāśrā iva dhenávaḥ syāndamānā
 ānjaḥ samudrām āva jagmur āpaḥ.

- 1 Des Indra- Heldentaten will ich nun verkünden,
 die ersten, die der Keulenträger getan hat:
 Er erschlug den Drachen, erbrach die Gewässer;
 er spaltete die Weichen der Berge.
- 2 Er erschlug den Drachen, der sich auf dem Berge gelagert hatte.
 Tvāṣṭṛ- hatte ihm die sausende Keule geschmiedet.
 Wie die brüllenden Kühe (zu den Kälbern) eilend
 liefen die Gewässer stracks zum Meere.
 (RV: 1, 32, 1-2; Aufrecht 1877: 24; Geldner 1951-57: I, 36).

These Waters are among four goddesses likened to cows: Ēkāṣṭakā, Áditiḥ “the Infinite” (KEWA I: 29), Sárasvatī “Lake Goddess” (< *selos- “lake”; IEW: 901), and Pṛśniḥ “Speckled (Cow)” (KEWA II: 336). One hymn (RV: 10, 63, 2) says the gods were born of Áditiḥ “the Infinite”, the Āpaḥ “Waters”, and Pṛthivī “Earth” (*yé sthá jātā áditer adbhyás pári yé pṛthivyás*; Aufrecht 1863: 343). A line from the tenth book of the *Rig Veda* (RV: 10, 63, 10) mentions Áditiḥ along side of Dyāuḥ and Pṛthivī. Áditiḥ is the mother of the heavenly gods, including Mitráḥ and Váruṇaḥ. In several hymns Áditiḥ is singled out as a cow (RV: 1, 53, 3; 8, 90, 15; 10, 11, 1). It seems clear that Áditiḥ may be identified with Pṛthivī.

Produced in the sky, the Waters are beside the sun (RV: 1, 23, 17). The sun dwells with them. Váruṇaḥ, also, moves within the waters, looking down on the truth and falsehood of men (RV: 7, 49, 3).

Yásāṃ rájā váruṇo yāti mádhye
 satyānṛté avapásyaṇ jānānām
 madhuścútaḥ śucayo yāñ pavakás
 tā āpo devīr ihá mām avantu.

In deren Mitte König Váruṇa- wandelt,
 Wahrheit und Lüge der Leute erspähend,
 die honigträufenden, reinen, lauterer,
 diese Göttlichen Gewässer sollen mich hier betreuen.
 (Aufrecht 1863: 40; Geldner 1951-57: II, 227).

The most important goddess of rivers is Sárasvatī. She is the best of all mothers and the best of all rivers (RV: 2, 41, 16-18). She has a seven-fold nature, being one of seven sisters (RV: 6, 61, 10-12). As one of seven, she is the “Mother of Streams”.

Ā yāt sākām yaśáso vāvaśānāḥ
 sárasvatī saptáthī síndhumātā
 yāñ suśváyanta sudúghāñ sudhārā
 abhí svéna páyasā pípyānāḥ.

Coming together, glorious, loudly roaring,
 Sárasvatī, Mother of Floods, the seventh,
 with copious milk, with fair streams, strongly flowing,
 full swelling with the volume of their water.
 (RV: 7, 36, 6; Aufrecht 1863: 32; Griffith 1897: II, 41).

As MacDonell (1897: 86-7) notes, “the connection of the goddess with the river is ... always present to the minds of the poets”. A major function of the Goddesses of Waters is to cleanse and purify from defilement. Śārasvatī, in particular, is the purifier (RV: 1, 3, 10). In bathing in the waters, the supplicant comes from them clean and pure (RV: 10, 17, 10). The Goddesses of Waters cleanse from sins of violence as well as sins of immorality and lying (RV: 10, 98).

They are the great healers as well as cleansers, and they bestow long life (RV: 6, 50, 7; 10, 9, 5-7). They provide both a remedy and a protection for the lives of men (RV: 1, 23, 19-21). They even watch over a man’s health in the house as well as in bathing in them (see the *Hiraṇyakeśi Gṛhya Sūtra*: 2, 4, 5; MacDonell 1897: 85). In the sacrifice by the Sōma-priest, Śārasvatī is invoked to come “swelling with streams” (*Śārasvatī śindhubhiḥ pīnvamānā*) (RV: 6, 52, 6). She is the bestower of wealth, progeny, and immortality (RV: 10, 30, 12). Śārasvatī assists procreation (RV: 10, 184, 2) and bestows progeny and offspring (RV: 2, 41, 17). Men implore the blessing and aid of these Goddesses of Waters (RV: 7, 47, 4; 7, 49, 1-4; 10, 9, 30).

Vedic Rātrī and Uṣāḥ: Night and Dawn

The *Rig Veda* refers to two sisters Rātrī “Night” (< *rē- “dark”; IEW: 853) and Uṣāḥ, “Dawn” (< *h₂us-ōs- “dawn”; NIL: 358; IEW: 86), who are commonly called (in the dual) “Mothers” (*Mātārā*) (RV: 1, 142, 7; 9, 102, 7). These two sisters Dawn and Night also are joined together in the dual as *Uṣāsānaktā* or *Náktoṣāsā* (RV: 1, 113, 2-3; 10, 127, 3). In the *Rig Veda* (RV: 1, 124, 8), Uṣāḥ is the elder sister of Rātrī. Other details are revealed in another hymn from this same collection (RV: 3, 55, 11-14).

11. The twin sisters [yamyā] have put on different colors, of which one shines while the other is black. The dark and the red are two sisters [svāsārau]...
13. Licking the other’s calf, she bellowed ...
14. The multiform one dresses herself in beautiful colors, she holds herself upright, licking a year-and-a-half-old calf. (RV: 3, 55, 11-14; Dumézil 1970: I, 53; Aufrecht 1877: 265-266).

Uṣāḥ “Dawn” is a young goddess who is born again and again. Though ancient, she always shines forth in the same fashion (RV: 1, 92, 10). She rides in a shining chariot which is massive and all-adorning (RV: 7, 78, 1; 1, 48, 10; 7, 75, 6), resplendent in steeds (RV: 5, 79, 1-10), or drawn by bulls (RV: 1, 92, 2; 5, 8, 30) (as her Irish correspondent Medb is notably portrayed in her chariot). Uṣāḥ comes with the morning light driving away the darkness of night (RV: 5, 80, 5-6). She awakens the birds in their nests and all other living beings (RV: 1, 24, 1; 1, 92, 9). Even the gods are said to waken with Uṣāḥ (RV: 1, 14, 9). She protects men from the evil spirits, dispelling the dark shadows (RV: 6, 65, 2). Her beams are likened to herds of cattle (RV: 4, 52, 2-4). It is she who spreads out the cattle; thus she is called “Mother of Cattle” (*mātā gāvām*) (RV: 4, 52, 2-4) (for further references see MacDonell 1897: 46-8).

Rātrī “Night” is invoked in but a single hymn (RV: 10, 127). Like her sister Uṣāḥ “Dawn”, Rātrī is a daughter of Dyāuḥ “Heaven, Sky” (RV: 3, 1, 9; 10, 70, 6). Yet Rātrī is also said to dwell in the waters (as in the association of her Irish correspondent Boand with the Waters). She is not dark, but bright as the starlit sky. She drives away the darkness with her light. In another hymn from the *Rig Veda* (RV: 8, 89, 10-11), she is called the “Queen of the Gods” (see MacDonell 1897: 124).

As Dumézil (1970: I, 52) has noted, Uṣāḥ acts violently toward the demonic shades, but she acts respectfully towards her sister Rātrī. Like the Sisters of Waters, together they raise a common child.

In the *Rig Veda* the word *syāsṛ-* “sister” is applied only thirteen times to a divinity; in eleven cases it refers to Uṣāḥ or to a divinity called a sister of Uṣāḥ, and it is with night Rātrī, a divinity of the same type, that she forms the most constant “sisterly couple”.... To the same extent the Dawn acts violently against the demonic shades, she is respectful and devoted toward Night, who, like herself, belongs to the grand scheme of the world, the *ṛtá-* or cosmic order, of which they are conjointly called “the mothers (RV: 1.142.7, 5.5.6, 9.102.7). But it is another child of these collaborating mothers who gives rise to the most characteristic expressions; either, by a peculiar physiological process, they are the two mothers of the Sun, or of Fire, sacrificial or otherwise, “their common calf” (RV: 1.146.3; cf. 1.95.1; 1.96.5); or Dawn receives the son, the Sun or Fire, from her sister Night, and cares for him in her turn. (Dumézil 1970: I, 52).

In two hymns (RV: 1, 95, 1; 1, 96, 5), Dawn suckles the child born of Night. Thanks to this action “this child, the Sun (or in liturgical speculations, the Fire of the offerings, and all Fire), which has emerged from the womb of Night, arrives at the maturity of day” (Dumézil: 1970: I, 53). Having raised *Sūryah* “the Sun”, the son of her sister Rātrī “the Night”, Uṣāḥ “Dawn” then marries *Sūryah*. According to one hymn (RV: 7, 75, 5), Uṣāḥ “Dawn” is the wife of *Sūryah*. Another hymn (RV: 4, 5, 13) speaks of the plural Dawns as the wives of *Sūryah*. Agnīḥ is also said to be her lover (RV: 1, 69, 1; 7, 10, 1). It is she who caused Agnīḥ to be kindled as fire (RV: 1, 113, 9). Uṣāḥ is also said to be the mother of the *Aśvínau* (RV: 3, 39, 3), as her Irish correspondent Medb is the mother of Fraech.

Rātrī “Night” and Uṣāḥ “Dawn” (the daughters of Dyāuḥ, *Dákṣaḥ*) (RV: 9, 10, 9) bear many analogies to Boand, the Irish goddess of the Lower Realm, and to Medb, the Irish goddess of the Middle Realm (both the daughters of Eochaid Dagda). As we have seen, Dyāuḥ and Dagda correspond to one another as the developments of the PIE Sky Father. Boand is a river goddess, just as Rātrī is said to dwell in the waters. Boand is the mother of *Maccan Óc “the Young Son”, conceived of Dagda. Rātrī is the mother of Agnīḥ (*Sūryah*), conceived of Dyāuḥ. Elsewhere Agnīḥ is referred to as the Son of Strength as well as “the Youngest” (*Sūnúḥ Sáhasaḥ*; *Yáviṣṭaḥ*). Agnīḥ, the god of fire, whose heavenly form was *Sūryah* “the Sun”, is given special mention as the *sūnúḥ* “son” or *śiśuḥ* “child” of Dyāuḥ (MacDonell 1897: 21). Rātrī does not raise her Son; rather her sister Uṣāḥ does so. So too, Boand does not raise *Maccan Óc; rather under the byname Ailill he is raised by Medb, whom he later marries. So too, Uṣāḥ marries *Sūryah*, the child of her sister, whom she has raised.

Avestan Anāhitā

According to the *Zend-Avesta* (*Yast*: 5), Anāhitā was the Persian goddess of the fertilizing waters (see Dumézil 1968: 104-5). Through Persian influence she supposedly spread to Lydia, Armenia, and the Pontus (Strabo: 532-3). In Lydia she was assimilated to Kybélē and Ártemis Ephesia. She was also known as the Persian Ártemis and seems to have been associated with a fire cult (Pausanias: 5, 27, 5-6).

Greek Correlatives of Celtic Goddesses

The Daughters of Krónos

(These goddesses are also discussed in the section on the Sky Father).

Rhéā, the consort of Krónos was commonly identified with Kybélē (Rose 1959: 45), as in Nonnos (*Dionysiakōn*: X, 140), where she is referred to as Kybelēís Rheíē (*Kybelēidos ... Rheíēs*). She herself is nearly indistinguishable from Gaia. Krónos and Rhéā first produce as offspring the sisters Hestía, Dēmētēr, and Héra and the brothers Ploutōn and Poseidōn. But Gaia and Ouranós warn Krónos that he will be overthrown by one of his sons. Krónos therefore swallows all of Rhéā's children as they are born (Hēsíodos, *Theogonia*: 453 ff.). Since Krónos swallows all these offspring, Rhéā goes to Crete and bears Zeús, her third son, in a cave (Diodorus Siculus: V, 65). Just as Irish Eochaid-Dagda is the father of Boand, Medb, and Macha, so Krónos is the father of three goddesses, Héstia, Dēmētēr, and Héra. As seen earlier, Dēmētēr corresponds to Boand-Flidais as the goddess of the Lower Realm. Héra is clearly a goddess of the Upper Realm.

Like Mādhavī from the *Mahābhārata*, Héra has the property of becoming virgin again. "Héra - doubtless her statue - was bathed every year in the water of Kanathos near Nauplion and so, it was said, recovered her maidenhood; thus she was escorted to Zeús anew" (Burkert 1985: 133). Such ritual cleansing of Héra is perhaps described in the *Iliad* (XIV: 170 ff.).

With ambrosia first did she cleanse from her lovely body every stain, and [she] anointed her[self] richly with oil, ambrosial, soft, and of rich fragrance She combed her hair, and with her hands plaited the bright tresses, fair and ambrosial, that streamed from her immortal head. Then she clothed her about in a robe ambrosial.... (Murray 1925: 78-9).

One might expect Héra to correspond developmentally to the Irish horse-goddess Macha. However, as we have seen, Macha is probably in origin an Earth Mother who was assimilated to the Upper Realm through her marriage to the Sky Father. Thus, it is Dēmētēr, not Héra, who mates with Poseidōn in horse form. Also Hestia and Medb would seem to have little in common, though both correspond to the Middle Realm. Only Dēmētēr and Boand clearly show their common origin in the PIE goddess of the Lower Realm. The important theme, however, is that the Greeks, like the Irish, preserve three goddesses corresponding to the three sons of Krónos, each associated with the Lower, the Middle, or the Upper Realm.

Athēna and the Rites at Argos

Zeús had intercourse with Mētis [daughter of Ōkeanós and Tēthýs], who turned into many shapes in order to avoid his embraces. When she was with child, Zeús, taking time by the forelock, swallowed her, because Earth (Gaia) said that after giving birth to the maiden, Mētis would bear a son who should be the lord of heaven. For fear of that, Zeús swallowed her. And when time came for the birth to take place, Promēthéōs or, as others say, Hēphaístos smote the head of Zeús with an axe, and Athēna, fully armed, leaped from the top of his head at the river Trítōn. (Apollódōros, *Bibliothēkē*: I, iii, 6; Frazer 1917: I, 25).

From this birth at the river Trítōn, arises Athēna's byname Trítogénia (IEW: 1096). It was Trítōn who then brought up Athēna alongside of his daughter Pallás. Later, in practicing the arts of war, Zeús startled Pallás with a goatskin *aegis*, so that she lost her timing and was wounded by Athēna. From this wound she died. Athēna in grief made a wooden image of

Pallás, wrapped it in the *aegis*, set it up beside Zeús, and honored it (Apollódōros, *Bibliothēkē*: III, xii, 3). One should note that Pallás “Maiden” is itself a byname of Athēna, and wearing the *aegis* is one of her attributes. This late legend of Apollódōros undoubtedly arose from an alternative version of the birth of Athēna, that she was herself born of Trítōn.

Writing between 270 and 240 BC, Kallímachos composed his *Hymns*, the first of which (5.33, 53, 100-1) describes the yearly washing of Athēna’s statue at her shrine in Argos. In this ritual the admiring Argive women called to the goddess to come out of her temple. The robed wooden image was brought forth from the temple. As Kallímachos notes, “whoever sees Pallás, keeper of cities, naked, shall look on Argos for the last time”. Kallímachos next recounts the myth of Theiresias and Athēna. Theiresias spies on the goddess in the bath. She is obliged to blind him for seeing her unrobed, but in compensation she makes him a seer, giving him insight into the ways of the gods (see Fox 1986: 114).

The Reconstructed PIE Goddess Archetypes

Scholars such as Jaquetta Hawkes and Maria Gimbutas are clearly wrong in projecting for PIE peoples (supposedly horse-riding pastoralists from the open plains of the Steppes) only a Sky Father god, apart from any Earth Mother goddess. These scholars would then see Central and Eastern European Neolithic farmers (whom their speculations suggest the PIE horsemen conquered) as the original worshippers of the Earth Mother. Thus they project a Sky Father on the supposed PIE pastoralists and an Earth Mother on the European Neolithic farmers. In reality, the evidence of comparative mythology and etymology supports the presence of an Earth-Mother Goddess among the Proto-Indo-Europeans as fully as it does a Sky-Father God. Hawkes and Gimbutas developed their *Mutterrecht* theories from L. H. Morgan’s misguided speculations in his book *Ancient Society* (1877). Morgan projected that matrilineal societies preceded patrilineal societies in the evolutionary development of human societies, and that the former worshiped goddesses and the later worshiped gods. Twentieth-century ethnographic studies have shown such ideas to be utterly without foundation (see for example Johnson and Earle 1987), and I dismiss them without further comment.

Vedic, Greek, and Irish sources clarify that corresponding to the PIE *Diēus Pətēr “Sky Father” (IEW: 184), there was a PIE *Ghđom Mātēr or *Dhghom Mātēr “Earth Mother” (IEW: 414-6, 700; Euler 1987: 39). She was also probably known as *Mātrōna “Mother”, *Mōromamianī, *Mōromamiana “Great Mother” (Irish Mór Mumain, Mór Muman; Hittite Mamma; IEW: 694), *Mōrorēgana or *Mōrorēgnī “Great Queen”, *Plitəqia or *Pltqī “Earth” (Greek Plátaia, Vedic Pṛthivī, Gaulish Litavis; IEW: 833; see Euler 1987: 51), and *Anna “the Old Mother” (*h₂en-) (Irish Ana, Latin Anna Perenna “the Everlasting Old Mother” with her festival on March 15; IEW: 36).

Many of these bynames became utilized as well for the goddess of the Lower Realm. It is difficult to discern a distinction in their usage for one or the other goddess. Impregnated by the fertile rains of the Sky Father, the primary role of the Earth Mother was to give birth to the three major gods and the three major goddesses of the Upper, Middle, and Lower Realms. Thus in Greece and in Ireland she became merged with these other goddesses, as in Dēmētēr and Boand.

The Vedic and Irish sources make clear that the PIE pantheon included sister goddesses (daughters of Mother Earth and Father Sky) who were associated with rivers and their sources. These goddesses were not nymphs but primal mothers of creation. Although the Vedic sources state that Sárasvatī and her sisters made up a total of 7 goddesses, the Irish and Greek sources make clear that there were originally only 3 PIE goddesses. As with the controller gods (Greek Zeús, Poseidōn, and Hádēs), these three PIE goddess sisters were associated with the Upper, the Middle, or the Lower Regions, respectively.

The Vedic and Irish sources, as well as the evidence of Gaulish deity names, make clear that the rivers with which these three goddesses were associated were conceived of as flowing and fertile, likened to milk-giving cows. Their waters were believed to cleanse and purify from defilement, and their sources were believed capable of curing diseases. The primary responsibility for making the waters available to man rests with the controller of the Middle Region (the seas and the land; Fergus, Índraḥ, Poseidōn), who carved out the channels to allow the waters to flow from their sources.

The PIE goddess of the Lower Region, possibly known as *Gʷoʷoinda “White Cow”, *Mātrona “Mother”, *Mōromamianī, and *Mōrorēgnī “Great Queen”, apparently had a bovine-like nature, which went beyond the Vedic metaphor of likening the rivers to cows. Being the goddess of rebirth in the process of recycling the souls at death, as well as in the rebirth of the vegetation each spring (as in the case of Dēmētēr), she was conceived of as a very powerful goddess, maternal to be sure, but only partially benevolent.

As the *Táin*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and similar variant Babylonian and Sumerian myths of Ishtar record, this goddess apparently enslaved anyone unwise enough to become her lover. Thus it is that the young savior god or divine hero (Gilgamesh, Rāmāh-Viṣṇuḥ, or Cú Chulainn) spurns her love when it is offered. In revenge she attacks him when he is in need. This goddess was the mother of *Maghūonos “the Son”, a deity associated with fire (Vedic Agnīḥ). However this goddess was married to the son of her sister *Medhūa, who was called *Nepōtulos and *Neptionos “the Nephew”; or *Nebhtunos “Lord of Waters” (Vedic Apām Napāt, Irish Nechtain, Latin Neptūnus).

The goddess of the Middle Region *Medhūa “the Intoxicatress” was associated with human kingship, and she was the mother of each region (**teuta*), both its people and its landscape. Each king **rēgs*, in succession, was wed to this goddess in a *hieros-gamos* ceremony. If the **rēgs* carried out his proper role and embodied truth (**uēros*) and justice, the goddess in turn would play her part and grant fertility to the land. This goddess was not only associated with a vat of intoxicating liquor (apparently an aspect of the *heiros gamos*) but was felt to have the property to regain her virginity after ritual bathing (as in the case of Greek H_{ra}) or after giving birth (as in the case of Mādhavī). This goddess was apparently the mother of *Neptionos (Nepōtulos) “the Nephew”, but married to *Maghūonos “the Son”.

Specific details of the goddess of the Upper Region in PIE myth are difficult to discern. Greek sources preserve much information on Dēmētēr (who should correspond to Irish Boand). Dēmētēr is clearly an otherworld goddess. Yet aspects of her cult associate her with Poseidōn, the god of Middle Realm. In her association with Poseidōn, she had a horse-like nature, an aspect of Macha/Roech, the Irish goddess of the Upper Realm. Such a connection would suggest that Macha, a goddess of the Upper Region (Ulster), was in origin an Earth goddess. Ritual associated with Héra, the Greek goddess of the Upper Realm, is scanty. Irish Macha is the mother of the two shape-shifting gods of tree fruit who fight as bulls. Semélē, the mother of the corresponding Greek god Diónysos, begins as a mere mortal and must be rescued from Hádēs by her deified son.

The Gods of Water

Bovinda, *Neōtulos (or *Nectinos), and Maonos

Bovinda: the Virgin White Cow Goddess

*(On this page, for clarity and to maintain the independence of the structural analysis of each section, I review the information found above in the section on the Gaulish Lower-Realm goddess *Bovinda. The Gaulish information is scanty. Here I outline the relationship between the goddess and her male companion.)*

Many inscriptions from eastern Gaul pair the god Grannos “(God of) Hot Springs” with the goddess S(t)irona “the Heifer”. Other inscriptions refer to this god and goddess pair as Bormo “the Boiler, the Bubbler” and Damona “the Cow”. The goddess companion of Bormo is sometimes referred to as Bormana “the Boiler”. Thus, it is clear that Bormana “the Boiler” is simply another byname for Damona “the Cow” and S(t)irona “the Heifer”. The byname Bormana then allows the byname *Bormobovindona (Borvobo(v)endo(n)a) “the Boiling White Cow”, which contains the same root as Bormana for its first element, to be brought directly into this group which includes S(t)irona and Damona. Significantly, the last element of the name *Bormobovindona is equivalent to Ptolemaeus’s Bovinda (Bovovinda) “White Cow” (Old Irish Boand), the ancient name of the River Boyne.

An inscription from Rivières, Charente connects the byname Damona with the byname Matuberginnis “the Good High One”. Ald[a]me[...]s “?the White Cow of ...?” clearly belongs to this group as well, as is suggested by the significance of her name, which would appear to be similar to that of Damona and S(t)irona, above; it would seem especially close to that of Bovinda “White Cow”. Ald[a]me[...]s’s god companion is called Vroicos “Heather”. Vroicos “Heather” may then be then be grouped with the bynames Grannos “(God of) Hot Springs” and Bormo “the Boiler”. Similarly the connection between the goddess bynames S(t)irona “the Heifer”, Damona “the Cow”, Bovinda “the White Cow”, Ald[a]me[...]s “?the White Cow of ...?”, Bormana “the Boiler”, Borvobo(v)endo(n)a “the Boiling White Cow”, and Matuberginnis “the Good High One” is established from the evidence of Gaulish inscriptions alone.

Other goddess names from Gaul and Britain bear a striking semantic similarity to the above names (some even derived from the same roots). Such considerations suggest that other bynames for this goddess were Verbeia “?Cow?”, Belisama “the Most Brilliant”, Brigantia, *Brigintī, Brigintona, Brigana: “the High, the Exalted”; “the Exalted Pure One”, Divona “the Goddess”, Glanicas: “the Pure Ones”, Idunica, Idennica “(She who) Gives Birth”, Matra “the Mother”, Matrona “the Mother” (Welsh Modron), Mogontia “the Youthful” (Irish Mugain), Rīgana “the Queen” (Irish Mór-rígan), Solimara “Great Warmth”, Sulevia, Sulis, Sulevae Matres, Sulevae Sorores: “With Pure Eyes”, “the Warming Purifier”, “the Solar Mothers”, “the Warming Purifying Sisters”.

As noted, river goddess names from Gaul clearly also are connected to the above goddess group. Matrona, the goddess of the Marne, has a name which means “Mother” or “Matron”. As a goddess she can be identified with both Bovinda “White Cow”, the archaic goddess of the river Boyne (Boand) and the cognate Welsh goddess Modron “Mother” (< Matrona), the mother of Mabon “Son” (< Maonos). The Welsh deity name Mabon, son of Modron, is also equivalent to the Irish deity-name *Maccan (Mac ind Óc), son of Boand. It is thus clear that the Welsh goddess Modron is equivalent to the Irish goddess Boand. It follows that the earlier Gaulish goddess Matrona is equivalent to Bovinda. In Irish myth this goddess Boand “White Cow” or Mumain “Nurse Mother” (*Mamianī) was married to her nephew Niadol “the

Nephew” (< *Nepōtulos) or Nechtain (< *Neptionos), but she was also the mother of Mac ind Óc (Mac ind < *Maccan < *Makukūonos) “the Young Son”, who, like his Welsh counterpart Mabon, was removed from his mother shortly after birth.

Many other Gaulish river goddesses were also either equivalent to Bovinda-Matrona or can be seen as one of Bovinda-Matrona’s sisters. Among these names are Adsalluta “(She who Flows) towards the Sea”, Bricitia “the Brilliant”, Clutoida (Irish Clothra), “the Pure Drink”, “the Pure Waters”, or “the Renowned”, Sequana “the Flowing”, and Souconna “the Suckler, the Flowing”. Portrayals show these goddesses handling serpents or eels. *Ex voto* carvings found at the source temples are usually associated with gynecological problems. These carvings demonstrate the association of both the goddess and her companion god with a healing cult, the pair apparently taking a special interest in women and problems relating to childbirth.

*Neōtulos (or *Nectionos)

The above bynames all denote a goddess of healing sources associated with a companion god known as Grannos “the Warm, the Brilliant”, Bormo “the Boiler”, Albios “the Fair”, and Vroicos “the Heather”. In Roman Gaul this god was commonly equated with Apollo.

According to the *Incerti panegyri Constantino Aug. (d. 21)*, Gaulish Apollo was a god of hot springs, but further, a god in whose heated waters, perjurers were punished. In this, we are reminded of the spring of the equivalent Irish god Nechtain (Topur Nechtain), whose overflowing waters pursue the false-swearing goddess Boand (see next section).

Iam omnia te vocare ad se templa videntur praecipueque Apollo noster, cuius ferventibus aquis periuria puniuntur, quae te maxime oportet odisse. (AcS I: 493).

Now, it is proper for you to detest greatly everything reported by you (which was) observed at this temple, and in particular (that concerning) our Apollo, in whose heated waters are punished those who swear falsely.

Caesar (BG: VI, 17) states that the Gauls, “have the opinion that Apollo drives away diseases” (*habent opinionem: Apollinem morbos depellere*). This curative role was undoubtedly an aspect of Gaulish Apollo’s association with hot springs. From Saint-Sabine (Esp.: 2037) comes a standing nude Apollo holding the traditional lyre in his left hand, while in his right hand he holds a serpent, in a pose reminiscent of S(t)irona. Thus the cult of Gaulish Apollo at hot springs and his nature as a god of healing are practically one and the same. The cult of hot springs as a source of healing is not only an ancient one but continues to the present day (as with the hospital complex surrounding the healing hot springs at Bourbonne-les-Bains).

Although two distinct Gaulish gods, Maponos “the Son” and *Neōtulos (or *Nectionos) “the Nephew” were assimilated to Apollo, only Neōtulos (or *Nectionos) seems to have functioned specifically as the god of hot springs and healing. The names I have utilized for this Celtic god are derived from the Irish bynames Niadol and Nechtain, thus *Neōtulos (< *Nepōtulos “the Nephew”; NIL: 520) and *Nectionos (< *Neptionos “the Nephew” or, alternatively, Nechtain < *Nebhtunos “Lord of Waters”; IEW: 764, 315; NIL: 499). To refer to this god, I utilize these reconstructed names indicating “the Nephew” because they contrast with Maponos “the Son”, giving the relationship of the god in question to the Lower-Realm goddess Matrona or Bovinda (Irish Boand). Many bynames of this god of hot springs can be connected together through *zusammenhangend* linkages (with several bynames on a single inscription or associated with a single hot spring as at Glanum). The most important

inscriptions relating to Gaulish Apollo and his goddess companion (his aunt *Bovinda “White Cow”) are as follows (see the Glossary for provenances, etc.).

BORVOBOENDOAE (Gutenbrunner 1936b: 211, S. 75, B5).
 BORMANO ET BORMAN[AE] (CIL XII: 1567).
Aqvae Bormonis (AcS I: 492).
 DEO APOLLINI BORVONI ET DAMONAE (Orelli: 5880).
 BORMONI ET DAMONAE (AcS I: 1225).
Borvo Albios and *Damona Matuberginnis* (DAG: 155).
Aqvae Grani (AcS I: 2039).
 APOLLO GRANNO ET SIRONAE (CIL VI: 36).
 DEAE ÐÐIRONA[E] (CIR: 814).
 DEO APOLLINI GRANNO AMARCOLITAN(O) (CIL XII: 2600).
 APOLLINI GRANNO MOGOVNO (CIL XIII: 5315).
 APOLLINI BELENO (CIL V: 741).
 [BE]LEN[OV] (Glanum) (RIG: I, G-63).
 GLANI ET GLANICABVS (Glanum) (Roland 1958: pl. 30, no. 1).
 VALETVDINI (Glanum) (Roland 1958: pl. 36, no. 3).
 VROICIS ET ALD[A]ME[...SIBVS (AcS III: 455).
 MINERVAE BELISAMAE (CIL XIII: 8).
Belisamaros (DAG: 181).

Thus Apollo Bormo “the Bubbling Agitator” is linked directly in inscription to Albios “the White or Brilliant”. Semantically Albios is equivalent to Belenos “the White or Brilliant”, who in turn is linked to Glanis “the Bright or Pure” and to the Latin epithet Valetudo “Good Health”. The place name *Aquae Granni* “the Waters of Grannos” suggests that Grannos must be the same god of hot springs as the god who presides over the *Aquae Bormonis* “the Waters of Bormo”. Apollo Grannos “the Warm or Brilliant” is further linked in inscriptions to *Amarcolitanos* “with Wide-ranging Horses” and *Mogounos* “the Youthful”.

For the most part, the other names in this study associated with *Neōtulos (*Nectinos) “the Nephew” are semantic or suffixed variations of the above names. Thus, for example, *Vindo(v)roicos* “the White (God) of Heather” is linked semantically to Albios and Belenos, both also signifying “White”. The stems in this compound name *Vindo-(v)roicos* are linked directly to *Vindoridios* “?the Fair Coursing God?”, *Vindonnos* “the White (God)” and *Vroicos* “the Heather”. Latin *Valetudo* is linked semantically to Gaulish *Viroitutis* “Healer of Men”, *Toutiorix* “King of Healers”, *Matuicis* “the Good Healer”, *Siannos* “?God of Health?” or “?the Shrub?” (in which case a semantic linkage to *Vroicos* “Heather”), and *Anextlomaros* “the Great Protector”.

Other bynames include *Nerios* “?the Submerged?” or the “?Valiant?” (Irish *Nera*), *Cermillinos* “?(God) of Hot Springs?”, *Belisamaros* “the Great and Brightest”, *Atepomaros* “Of the Very Great Horses”, *Bassovledulitanos* “of Wide-Ranging Festivity”, *Cobledulitavos* “With Great Feasts”, *Cunomaglos* “Hound Prince” or “with Noble Hounds”, and *Moritasgos* (possibly) “?Sea Seeking?”. At Lydney temple, overlooking the Bristol channel, one of the deities of early Irish settlers in Wales was known as *Nodonts* “the Youth” or “He who Gives Renewal” (equated to Mars). This god is linked by associated finds to the healing cult of Apollo *Vindonnos*, whose temple site near Essarois, Côte d’Or, contained a nearly identical assemblage of feminine ex votos.

Maponos

References to the god Maponos “the Son” include that found in the Chamalières inscription addressed (in the accusative) to *Mapon(on) Arveriiatin* “the Son, (Born) of the Passion of the Waters”. There are also inscriptions from Hadrian’s wall and Roman army sites in Britain to APOLLINO MAPONO. Being “the Son” of Bovinda (Matrona) (Irish Boand, Welsh Modron), Maponos (Irish Mac ind Óc, Welsh Mabon) is an oppositional twin of *Neōtulos (*Nectonos) “the Nephew”, who was the son of Bovinda’s sister.

The most important Gaulish evidence relating to this god is that found in the Chamalières inscription. The lead *tabella* bearing the Chamalières inscription was found in 1971 at the thermal source of the Roches near Clermont-Ferrand. The *tabella* was found in association with a great quantity of votive wooden carvings of diseased and whole parts suggestive of a healing source temple like that to Sequana. Also in abundance were a number of wooden tablets originally waxed to take inscriptions. The ex-votos, which are similar to those from the source temple to Sequana, appear to date the lead tablet to the first half of the first century AD (Fleuriot 1977: 173).

The inscription gains added significance in that it is probably poetic. Lejeune (1984: 703-13) has recently suggested from a comparison to the Larzac inscription that the Chamalières inscription is malevolent and private. Fleuriot, however, suggested seeing the *tabella* as “*une incantation druidique*”. His statement that the inscription must be an invocation rather than a malediction (a *defixio*) because of the association with a healing spring (“*une source bénéfique*”) bears little weight, however. The fact that perjurers were punished in Gaulish Apollo’s hot springs shows the malevolent side to these waters. On the other hand, the fact that the inscription is on lead does not necessarily indicate that it must be a malediction.

In Irish sources, water can harm as well as cure, as with the *Topur Nechtain* at Segais, the source of the Boand (Boind). According to the *Dindsenchas* (Boand 2), the waters of *Topur Nechtain* leap out and make Boand lame, blind in one eye, and one-handed. These elements take on a special significance since Boand is the mother of Mac ind Óc (< **Maccan Óc* < **Makukyonos Iovincos*; IE **Maghūonos Iuūinkos*; IEW: 510; 696). Mac ind Óc is the Irish cognate of Maponos (< **Makūonos*), to whom the Chamalières inscription was dedicated. The inscription must be examined in its own light without preconceptions (for the complete inscription plus a discussion see Glossary: Maponos).

Andedion vediiumi diivion
ris (s)unaritu Mapon(on) Arveriiatin
lotites sni eddic sos brixtia anderon
...
addedilli etic secovi toncnaman toncsiiontio
meion ponc sesit buetid ollon
regu-c cambion exops pissiiumi
isoc canti rissu ison son bissiet.
...
I pray for the sake of the good strength
of the nether gods to Maponos Arveriiatis.
?...? through the magic of underworlds:
...
?...? are these who swear this oath.
Small, when accomplished, will be the great one.
I subdue the crooked one; blind, I foresee
by the tablet of incantation thus he shall be.
...

Irish and Gaulish Cognate Names
for Bovinda, *Neōtulōs (or *Nectinos), and Maponos

Most important for determining the nature of the Gaulish Apollo (see etymologies in Glossary: 380-401, below) are those Gaulish names cognate with bynames for the Irish deity known as Fraech “the Heather”, Niōthfraech “the Nephew Heather”, Niadol “the Nephew”, Nuada Necht “the Pure Youth”, Nechtain “the Pure” (from an earlier *Nebhtunos “the Wet”, NIL: 499, or *Neptionos “the Nephew”, NIL: 520), Nuada Argetlaim “the Youth of the Silver Hand” (= Welsh Lludd Llawereint). Thus the Irish name Fraech is cognate with Gaulish Vroicos “Heather”, the Irish byname Belend is cognate with Gaulish Belenos “Brilliant”, and the Irish byname Nera is cognate with Gaulish Nerios “?the Submerged?”. Furthermore, the Irish bynames Conlae (<*Cunolios) “With Hounds” and Conlaech (<*Cunolacos) “Hound Warrior” are certainly close to Gaulish Cunomaglos “Hound Prince”. Another byname of particular significance to Irish Fraech is Gaulish Atepomaros “Of Very Great Horses”, for Fraech was a horseman (*marcach*), in contrast to most of the Irish deities, who utilize chariots.

The name of the Irish epic figure Mac ind Óc or Mac in Óc was apparently derived from a misunderstanding of *Maccan Óc (< *Maghūonos iuun̄kos; DPC: 274, 436) “the Young Son”, as is demonstrated by his alternative name In Mac Óc “the Young Son”. This Irish character is cognate with Welsh Mabon and the Gaulish and British god Maponos. Before the advent of Christianity in Ireland, *Maccan Óc clearly functioned as a deity. This deity apparently displaced Nechtain-Fraech in occupying the Brug of the Boind. The Gaulish god Maponos Arveriiatis “the Son (Born of) Passion of the Waters” certainly provides a parallel to Welsh Mabon son of Modron, considering that Modron is cognate with Matrona, goddess of the Marne. So too, Mac ind Óc is the son of the river Boind (Boand). Perhaps the oscillation between Mac ind Óc and Nechtain-Fraech in occupying the Brug finds a parallel in Bres and Nuada oscillating in occupying the kingship of the Túatha dé Danand in *Cath Maige Tuired*. Such a situation would imply that Bres (*bres* “great, mighty”) is also a byname for Mac ind Óc. Ailill “the Fostered One” (< PC *al-illos “nourish”; Irish *ailid* “nourish, foster”; **h₂el-*; DPC: 30) is the byname used by this deity in association with his aunt Medb, who raises him and then marries him (Mac ind Óc is removed from his mother at an early age).

So too, the Irish goddess of the Lower region (Mór Mumain corresponds to Munster in the South) has bynames cognate with her Gaulish equivalent. Irish Boand (Boind) “White Cow” (Bovinda of Ptolemaeus or Ptolemaïos), goddess of the river Boand, is cognate with Gaulish *Bormobovindona. Boand’s bynames Ind Agda “Cow Goddess” and Eithne (*Eitonia) “the Milk Cow” confirm the etymology as well as draw closer the parallels to Gaulish S(t)irona “the Heifer” and Damona “the Cow”. Boand’s other bynames Ana (*Annan) “the Mother” and Mór Mumain (*Mōromamianī) “the Great Mother” are both essentially equivalent to Matrona “the Mother”. The byname Mugain is undoubtedly developed from the Gaulish Dea Mogontia “the Youthful”. The Irish bynames Mórrígan “Great Queen” (Mórrígan < *Mōrorēgana or Mórrígain < *Mōrorēgnī) and Rígan (Rīgana) “the Queen” are both cognate with Gaulish Rīgana. Danu (g.s. Danand) (< *Danō) “River Goddess” is semantically equivalent to Souconna “the Suckler, the Flowing” and Sequana “the Flowing”. The Gaulish goddess who gave her different bynames to the Seine, the Saône, and the Marne is thus equivalent to the Irish goddess who gave her bynames to the river Boind and the river Inny. Irish Clothra “Gloriously Famous” is basically cognate with Clutoida “the Pure Waters”, “the Famous Waters”. Irish Brigit (< *Brigintī) is cognate with Brigantia.

The Irish Gods of Waters: Boand (*Bovinda), *Maccan (*Makukunos), and Niadol (*Neotulos) or Nechtain (*Nectionos)

Bynames of Irish Deities

The connections between the Gaulish bynames S(t)irona “the Heifer”, Damona “the Cow”, Bovinda “the White Cow”, Ald[a]me[...]s “?the White Cow of ...?”, Bormana “the Boiler”, Borvobo(v)endo(n)a “the Boiling White Cow”, and Matuberginnis “the Good High One” are clear from the evidence of Gaulish inscriptions alone. These bynames are all associated with a single goddess of healing sources, whose companion god was known as Grannos “the Warm, the Brilliant”, Bormo “the Boiler”, Albios “the Fair”, and Vroicos “the Heather” (see etymologies in Glossary: 353-70, below).

Much information relevant to these two deities has survived in early Irish manuscripts. Gaulish {*Borvo*}-bo(v)endo(n)a is directly cognate with Irish Boand (Boind) “White Cow”, the eponymous goddess of the Boyne river, which Ptolemaeus listed as Bovinda. Boand under the byname Eithne is the sister of Medb “Intoxicatress”. Vroicos is directly cognate with Irish Fraech “Heather”, the nephew-husband of Boand. The Irish sources also give additional bynames for both the goddess Boand and the god Fraech. The connections between these bynames may be reestablished by sifting through the variant recensions of corresponding tales (which often use a different byname for the major character), by sifting through the glosses identifying one name with another, and by sifting through the variant references to genealogical relationships.

Here I shall set forth material from Irish sources demonstrating that Boand is also known as Rígan “Queen”, Mórrígan “Great Queen”, Mumain “the (Nurse) Mother”, Mór Mumain “the Great Mother”, Ana “the Mother”, Mugain “the Youthful”, Eithne “the Milk Cow”, Agda “Cow Goddess”, Danu (g.s. Danand) “River Goddess”, Muireasc “Sea Fish”, Mata “Eel”, and Escung “Eel”. I shall also set forth material demonstrating that Fraech is also known as Nechtain “the Pure” (but probably originally *Neptionos “the Nephew” or *Nebhtunos “the Wet”), Niadol “the Nephew”, Nera “the Valiant” or “the Submerged”, Nuada “the Youthful”, Conlaech “Hound Warrior”, and Belend “the Brilliant”. Fraech is both the nephew and husband of the goddess Boand. The son of the goddess Boand is Mac ind Óc or Mac in Óc “the Son of the Young One”, apparently from *Maccan Óc “the Young Son”. This god is also known as Ailill “the Fostered”, Oengus “Single Conception”, and possibly Bres “the Mighty”. Under his byname Ailill, he is married to Medb.

In the Irish *Dindsenchas*, Boand is a source goddess of a powerful gushing spring, as is the Continental goddess referred to as S(t)irona, Damona, and Bormana. It would seem that Nechtain, the owner of the spring, plays the same role vis a vis Boand as Apollo Grannos and Apollo Bormo do for Boand’s Continental counterparts. Boand is elsewhere connected with two Apollonian figures, her nephew Fraech and her son Oengus (Mac ind Óc).

Dindsenchas Account of the Conception of Mac ind Óc

An important myth concerning Boand is outlined in the poetic *Dindsenchas* tale of Boand-II. The story is repeated elsewhere, the first part in the beginning of *Tochmarc Étaíne* and the second part in the poetic *Dindsenchas* tale of Boand-I. As we shall see, however, the tale of Boand-I has combined the myth of Nechtain’s well with the confrontation between Cú Chulainn and Boand (under her byname Mórrígan) from *Táin bó Cuailnge*. The tale of Boand-II, however, puts the story of Nechtain’s well in its proper juxtaposition with the birth of Oengus (a byname of Mac ind Óc with Mac ind or Mac in < *Maccan < *Makukunos as above).

Thither (to Carn Oengus) from the south came Boand,
wife of Nechtain, to the love-tryst,
to the home of Elcmaire, lord of horses,
a man that gave many a good judgement.

Thither came by chance the Dagda
into the house of famous Elcmaire.
He fell to importuning the woman;
he brought her to the birth in a single day.

It was then they made the sun stand still
to the end of nine months, strange the tale,
warming the noble ether
in the roof of the perfect firmament.

Then said the woman here:
“Union with you, that is my one desire (*oen gus*)”.
“And Oengus shall be the boy’s name,”
said the Dagda in noble fashion.

Boand went from the house in haste
to see if she could reach the well (*tiprait*: “well, spring, source”).
She was sure of hiding her guilt
if she could attain it to bathe in it.

The druid’s three cup-bearers
Flesc, Lesc, and Luam,
were set by Nechtain mac Namat
to watch his fair well (sic. spring).

There went gentle Boand
toward the well in the south;
the strong fountain rose over her,
and drowned her finally.
(Boand-II, lines 25-52; Gwynn, 1913, III, 36-37).

Topur Segais: the Source of the Boand River

In the tale of Boand-I the fountain’s gush from the spring did not drown Boand, but rather the three waves disfigured her. The spring then rushed forth in pursuit of Boand giving rise to the present river Boand.

She [Boand] rushed to the sea (it was better for her)
to escape her blemish,
so that none might see her mutilation;
on herself fell her reproach.

Every way the woman went
the cold white water followed

from the *síd* to the sea (not weak it was),
 so that thence it is called (the river) Boand.
 (Boand-I, lines 65-72; Gwynn 1913: III, 30-31).

The poem goes on to explain that Boand had a lap dog, Dabilla. Dabilla followed after her as the river chased her to the sea. When they reached the sea, the water overtook both Boand and her lap-dog (Gwynn 1913, III: 32-33, ll. 81-84).

Although the waters disfigured Boand, it is clear that she went to them seeking to be purified. In connection with the spring or well of healing, the *Cath Muige Tuired Cunga* gives further details of the curative effects of a well. It states: *Rocl(aid)ed loch-tobur ice acu do slanachan a cned*, “They (the Túatha dé Danann) dug a well of healing to heal their wounded” (Fraser 1915: 30-1). Thus the waters can be bivalent, both healing and destructive.

Nechtain meic Labrada’s spring is located at Síid Nechtain. Another name given for this spring is Topur Segsa (Gwynn 1913, III: 26-7, ll. 1-12). Sruith Segsa or Sruith Segais is the name given to the Boand or Boind river (now Boyne) before it emerges from Síid Nechtain. This detail is confirmed by Hogan (1910: 594), who states that the Boyne arises at Tiprait Segsa (Carbery Hill, Kildare). None dare approach the spring but Nechtain and his cup bearers (*deoglaire*), namely Flesc, Lam, and Luam. Supposedly, to look to the bottom of the spring would cause one’s eyes to burst (ll. 41-6). According to the *Dindsenchas* (Gwynn 1913 III: 26-9, ll. 9-36), all the major rivers in the world flow up to emerge from Topur Segsa at Síid Nechtain, including the Severn, the Tiber, the Jordan, and the Euphrates. So too, in Greek tradition Hómēros portrayed Ōkeanós “Ocean” as a great river *Ōkeanos Potamós* which compasses the disk of the earth before returning into itself (*apsórroos*) (Liddell and Scott 1889: 905).

Tochmarc Emire provides the following different names for the source and the river Boand itself (also found in the beginning of *Boand-I* (Gwynn III: 26-7).

Segais a ainm isin tsíth, sruth Segsa ón tsíth co Linn Mochai, Rig Mná Núadat 7 Colptha Mná Núadat íar sin, Bóann i mMidi, Mannchuing Arcait í ó Findaib co Tromaib, Smiur Mná Fedelmai ó Tromaib co muir. (van Hamel 1933: 38, ‘41).

Segais is its name in the *síth*, Segsa brook from the *síth* to Linn Mochai, the Arm of Nuada’s Wife, and the Calf of Nuada’s wife after that, Long Hair of Silver is it from the Finda to Troma, the Oil (or Marrow) of Fedlimid’s (Dagda’s) Wife from Troma to the sea.

Another detail of Tobur Segsa emerges from *Immacallam in dá Thuarad*, (LL: 186b, ll. 37-41; Best and O’Brien 1965: IV, 818; ed. and trans. Stokes 1905: 18). Here Néde mac Adnai says that he has come from the “hazels of knowledge” (*a callib crínmond*), which a gloss explains *a nóí collaib na Segsa ... a callib dí assa mbenaiter cless na súad tanacsá* (ll. 37-41) “from the nine hazels of the Segais ..., from hazels out of which one obtains the skills of the sages”. A gloss in this text states that another name for Nechtain was *Nuadu Necht*. This gloss would imply (if *Nuadu Necht* is the same as Nuada Argetlaim; v. *Nuadu Argetlaim*) an identification of Nuada Argetlaim with Nechtain, which is also implied in the name given to the stretch of the river Boind (Boand) known as Rig mná Núadat.

The significance of the hazels at Topur Segsa is made clear in the *Rennes Dindsenchas* tale of Sinand. The story of the Sinand (Shannon) (see Stokes 1894-5: 456-7) is obviously borrowed from that of the Boind (Boand) (Stokes 1894-5: 315-6). Here is found the same motif of the woman going to the spring (*do Tiprait Connla*) and being overwhelmed by the waters which overflow their banks to form the river. Here Connla can be seen to be a byname

of Nechtain, so that both springs have the same warden. Here also at the spring are “the hazels and inspiration of wisdom, that is the hazels of the science of poetry”.

Tipra sin fo' tat cuill 7 imbois na heicsi .i. cuill crinmoind aiusa. [7 a n-aen uair bruchtais a meas 7 a mblath 7 a nduilli.] 7 i n-oen frois dofuitet forsin tiprait, co tuarcaib rígbroind chorcarda fuirri, [co cocnaid na bradana in mes, conad he sug na cno cuirtheas suas ina mbolcaib corcardaib,] 7 bruinnit secht srotha éicsi as, 7 imsoat and afrithisi. (In brackets from the *Dindsenchas* from *Lec.* 479a rather than *Rennes*).

That is a well [sic. “spring”] at which are [found] the hazels and the inspirations of wisdom, that is the hazels of the science of poetry, and in the same hour their fruit, their blossoms, and their foliage break forth. These fall in the well in ... [one] shower, which raises on the water a royal surge of purple. Then the salmon chew the fruit, and the juice of the nuts is apparent on their purple bellies. Seven streams of wisdom spring forth and turn there again. (Stokes 1894-5: 456-7).

The *Dindsenchas* of Sinand then gives further details of the hazels also found at Topar Segsa. There can be little doubt that the *cuill crinmoind* “the hazels of poetic art” are the same as those found at Topar Segsa in LL 186b (ll. 37-41). As we shall see, the hazels at Topar Segsa or at Topar Sinand are essentially equivalent to the ash at the Icelandic otherworld spring known as Mímisbrunnr “Mímir’s Spring”. Other details of this otherworld spring emerge from *Serglige Con Culaind*. A poem in this text describes the hall in the otherworld land “over clear waters” where Labraid dwells. Here with his sister Fand (Bláthnat) dwells Oengus (son of Aed Abaid, the Dagda), otherwise known as Mac ind Óc. Oengus normally dwells in the *síth* at Topar Segsa, the source of the Boand river. It is clear that this description could fit Brugh na Bóinne, the *síth* at Topar Segsa, as well.

Atát arin dorus sair
tri bile do chorcor-glain
dia ngair in énlath bán bláith
don macraid assin rígráith.

Atá crand i ndorus liss
ní hétig cocetul friss
crand airgit ris tatin grían
cosmail fri hór a roníam.

Atát and tri fichit crand
comraic nát chomraic a mbarr
bíatar tri cét do chach crund
do mes ilarda imlum.

Atá tipra sint síd thréll
cona tri cóectaib breclend
7 delg óir cona lí
i n-óe checha breclenni.
(Dillon 1953: 17-18).

There before the entrance to the east
 are three trees of purple glass.
 From these trees birds always gently call
 to children of that kingly hall.

There is a tree at the hall's entrance;
 the singing from it is not unpleasant.
 Through shining sun this silver tree
 gleams like gold in its brilliance.

Before [the hall] stand sixty trees.
 In touching their boughs touch not.
 From each tree three hundred feed
 on plentiful nuts which have no hulls.

In the síd [hall] is a spring
 with three times fifty trout.
 On the side of each speckled fish
 is a fin of brilliant gold.
 (ll. 494-509).

The Conception of Mac ind Óc from *Tochmarc Étaíne*

The story of Boand-II from the *Dindsenchas* is set forth in greater detail in *Tochmarc Étaíne* (Bergin and Best 1938) from the YBL. In this story, the Dagda “Good God”, otherwise known as Eochaid Ollathair, goes to visit Elcmar an Broga (*elcmar* “envious, spiteful”), whose wife is supposedly Eithne. The scribe also adds that another name for this wife was Boand. The use of Eithne as a byname for Boand is interesting here because Eithne or Ethne is the mother of Lug. The *Lebor Gabála* in LL 10b (l. 31) couples Lug and Mac ind Óc (*Mac in Óc, Lug mac Eithne*), implying that according to at least one tradition Eithne was indeed the mother of both. In *Cath Maige Tuired* (Stokes 1891a: 74-5), Lug is the son of *Cian meic Diancecht 7 Ethne ingine Baloir*. In *Cath Boinde* (O’Neill 1905: 174-77) and elsewhere, Eithne is the daughter of Eochaid Feidlech (the Dagda), not of Balor. She is also the sister of Medb.

Eithne’s name probably derives from an earlier Celtic form *Eitonia from IE **pej-t-onio-*, with IE **pej-t-* “milk, juice, drink” (IEW: 794), seen as giving Irish *eit* (f) “cattle”. Thus Eithne is the “Milk Cow”. Like Boand she gives her name to a river, the Eithne (Inny). A variant of her name would appear to be Ethlend “the Milky Pool” or “the Source of the Milk Cow”, a name reminiscent of Borvobo(v)endo(n)a “the Bubbling White Cow”. Again Ethlend “the Milky Pool” is reminiscent of Topar Segsa “the Milky Spring” (Segais from Irish *seg* “milk “and as “milk”). Thus Eithne would indeed simply be a byname for Boand.

But *Tochmarc Étaíne* probably innovates in making Elcmar her husband. In Boand-II from the *Dindsenchas*, Boand’s husband is Nechtain. Boand journeys to Elcmar’s dwelling for the tryst with the Dagda. However in *Tochmarc Étaíne*, the Dagda finds a pretext for sending Elcmar on a journey to visit Bres mac nEalathan. The Dagda sets spells upon Elcmar that he will not be hungry, will not perceive night, and will think that he has been away for only one day. In reality, he will have been away for nine months. Thus Boand could deliver the child conceived of the Dagda, and Elcmar would not perceive that she has been pregnant (Best and Bergin 1938: 142-3).

The *Dindsenchas* would seem to preserve the older tradition. Here the Dagda makes “the sun stand still till the end of nine months” (Gwynn 1913: II, 36-7, ll. 33-4). This *Dindsenchas* account is the only one which is consistent with the name of the son born to the Dagda and Boand. Here he is called *An Mac Óc* “the Young Son”. As his mother Boand says, “Young is the son (*mac*) who was begotten at the break of day and born between it and evening”. It would seem that the detail of Boand’s being married to Nechtain rather than Elcmar “Jealousy, Envy” is an earlier tradition as well. That Nechtain is Boand’s nephew need not speak against his being her husband. In the *Cath Boinde*, Ailill is both Medb’s nephew as well as her husband. It is also possible that Elcmar is simply a byname for Nechtain.

The Birth of Mac ind Óc and the Disfigurement of Boand

Carn Oengus, the Irish name for the huge Neolithic cairn at New Grange, was also known as Brugh na Bóinde (v. Bóinne). In the poem on *Brugh na Bóinde* (composed by Cináed úa hArtacáin, d. 987, and preserved in the LL), Elcmaire (v. Elcmar) is Boand’s brother, not her husband (Gwynn 1914: 220-21, 231, ‘12-’13). Here Nechtain is Boand’s husband as in the *Dindsenchas*. Elcmaire, as the brother of *Boand a síd*, is responsible for her chastity while she visits him. As before, the Dagda sends Elcmaire off on a day’s journey, where he is wined and dined at his destination. The Dagda lies with Boand for nine months, while he holds the sun still in the sky so that Elcmaire will remain away drinking ale. On his journey back at “the completion of nine months, when the sun at last went down”, Elcmaire perceived “that a strange ripeness was across the fields” and that “the bloom on all the flowers had changed” (1914: 223, 232, ‘30-’33).

- 36 Birthpangs seized the woman in the strong hill-fortress in the north; on a site of bright auspice, she brought forth a goodly son.
- 37 She spoke: “Since I yielded to happiness, he is my sole valor (*oén-gus*); but so long as earth is strong, I shall not bring him with me to my house.”
- 38 “Young (*óc*) is the child (*in mac*)”, answered the swart Dagda, “who sets foot on Banba’s soil. *Oengus in Mac Óc* let him be called by any who would call him by a pleasant name.”
- 39 Then fear came upon them over the grey estuary, as the warrior Elcmaire came home to his *liss*. They parted before him to south and north and left the child unknown upon the cold plain.
- 40 It chanced that crafty Midir was at hand in his *síd* by the wayside; he brought the child home to his dwelling, where he grew to strength and fame. (Gwynn 1914: 233).

On her return, Nechtain accuses Boand of having slept with the Dagda. Boand swears that she has not.

- 72 Yonder rise the springs of Segais (*topair Segsa*) ... whoever approaches them with a lie goes not from them in like guise.
- 73 There the cupbearers dispense the cold water of the well (sic spring), no arduous tale is this, the four of them pose round guarding it.

- 74 “I will make my way to the pleasing Segais to prove my chastity beyond doubt; thrice shall I walk counter-clockwise around the brimming waters, inviolate.”
- 75 But the dire well (sic. spring) burst forth towards her, true is my tale. With a cry she lamented her dishonor, when she found no protection in her undertaking.
- 77 Fast fled she, but the stream pursued her across the land; nor was [there] more seen of the lovely lady, till she reached the sea.
- 78 And the stream keeps fast her name, for as long as the hills shall stand. Boand is the swift water’s name by every reach of its flowing course. (Gwynn 1914: 236).

It is clear that in *Tochmarc Étaíne* the name of Boand’s brother, Elcmar “Envy, Spite”, has been substituted for that of Nechtain, if the name itself is not an earlier byname of Nechtain. That Elcmar (or Nechtain) might not perceive that Boand has conceived and given birth to Oengus in Mac Óc, the Dagda has the boy sent off at birth to Midir in Brí Leith. Midir raises the boy till he is nine years old. At that age, Midir obtains the Dagda’s help in getting *Brug na Bóinde* away from Elcmar (Nechtain) that he may give it to *in Macc Óc* (Bergin and Best 1938: 142-7), whence it becomes known as *Bruig Maicc in Óc*, and he becomes known as *Oengus in Broga* (O’Rahilly 1946: 516). In *De Gabail in tSída* (LL 245b.43-246a.16; Best, Bergin, and O’Brien 1967: 1120), the inhabitant of the Síd in Broga is called Dagán. *In Macc Óc* asks for the *Brug* but for a day and a night, but there is a trick in this request. As generalized conceptions Day and Night make up the whole of existence (*is laa 7 adaig in bith uile*).

Now the term *in Macc Óc* is only a reformation of an earlier *Mac in Óc*, which is preserved in the genitive in LU 2942 (*Bruig Meic ind Oc*) and LU 4117 (*maig Meic ind Óc*). Thus O’Rahilly (1946: 516-7) suggests that the name developed from an earlier *Maccan Óc “The Young Son”. Here then the name *Maccan is cognate with Welsh Mabon. In this connection it is significant that *Maccan Óc spends the first part of his life in the *síd* with Midir and not with his mother Boand. In the Welsh *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*, Mabon ap Modron is one of the Three Exalted Prisoners of Britain (*Tri Goruchel Garchravr Ynys Brydein*) (Bromwich 1961: 140 ‘52). Similarly in *Culhwch ac Owein* the motif of the prisoner is continued, where Mabon is again cruelly imprisoned.

Mabon uab Modron yssys yma ygcarch(ar) ac ny charcharvyt neb kyn dosted yn llrv
carchur a mil. (Evans 1907: 492).

In this tale we learn that Mabon was taken from his mother Modron when he was only three days old, but no one knew what had become of him since being taken away (Evans 1907: 491-2). It is the salmon of Llyn Llyw (recalling the salmon who eats the nuts from Tobur Segsa) who has heard him lamenting in his imprisonment and reveals what has become of him since he was taken from his mother (see Bromwich 1961: 433-6).

The detail that *Mac ind Óc* was taken from his mother shortly after his birth and raised by Midir correlates well with the detail that Mabon is taken from his mother Modron when he is only three days old. O’Rahilly’s suggested etymology of *Mac in Óc* from *Maccan Óc thus finds confirmation. *Maccan may be readily correlated with Welsh Mabon and Gaulish and British Maponos. All these names derive from an earlier *Makukonos, *Makunon (IE *Maghunon). The implication is that Boand may be equated with Modron. Modron in turn derives from the earlier Gaulish Matrona “the Mother”, eponymous goddess of the river Marne. The fact that Modron derives from a river and source goddess Matrona confirms the identification with Boand, herself the eponymous goddess of the Boind.

Fraech's Mother

According to *Táin bó Fraích* (Meid 1967: 1, ll. 1-6), Fraech mac Idaith of Connacht (v. Fróech, Fróich) had an aunt named Boind “White Cow” or “Fair Cow”. Fraech’s mother was Bé Find “Fair Woman” of the *síd* (a *sídib*), Boind’s sister (*derbsiur saide do Boind*) (see Ahlqvist 1980 for the relationship of these names Boind and Bé Find). From his mother, Fraech got 7 hunting hounds linked by a silver chain, 7 hornblowers, 3 harpers, 50 grey horses, and 12 cows (*báe*), all white with red ears (*it é finda óiderga*). These cows produced so much milk that they would be able to feed the whole of Medb’s army on the *táin* “cattle raid”.

In *Tochmarc Étaíne* (Bergin and Best 1938: 180-1), Bé Find is said to be another name for Étaín, daughter of Ailill, whom Oengus Mac ind Óc obtains for Midir as a wife. Later Étaín and Midir fly off as swans to Síd Ban Find “Bé Find’s *síd*” (1938: 184-5). As we have seen, however, *Táin bó Fraích* states that Bé Find was the name of Fraech’s mother, Boind’s sister. It is difficult to see how these two Bé Finds can be the same. The name of Fraech’s father Idaith (v. Fidaig, *fidach* “wooded; trees”) is obscure, not occurring apart from Fraech (Meid 1970: 69). The full name Fraech mac Fidaig is probably poetic and descriptive, thus “Heather the son of Trees”, and is not likely to help us in our search for Fraech’s parentage.

At *Ráth Crúachan*, Medb’s supposed capital and presumably the center of her cult as a goddess, is a cave (*uam Cruachan*) considered to be the entrance to the otherworld (*síd Crúachan*). On the roof of this cave is an interesting *Ogam* inscription. This inscription gives an alternative and much earlier suggestion as to Fraech’s mother. The inscription reads VRAICCI MAQVI MEDVVI (Macalister 1945: ‘12) and dates to the fifth century, from within a pagan context. Although the double -v- is difficult to explain, a reference to *Medva* in the genitive following *maqui* would be expected at Cruachu (Medb’s capital). The inscription would make sense if the name were declined as a feminine *ā*-stem. However, the -i ending in *Medvvi* indicates a masculine o-stem genitive, which is difficult to explain in the context of Cruachu and Medb, especially since the inscription occurs on the roof of a very dark cave. Perhaps the inscriber had been influenced by adjectival **medvo-* “intoxicating” (O. Irish *medb*) and mistakenly had left off from the inscription a final -a. One should note that -a- is indicated by a single dot in *Ogam*, and it would be easy to overlook. What was intended was probably **Medvvia*. As Thurneysen (1946: 188) notes “already in the *Ogam* inscriptions there are certain genitives in -ia(s), -eas which have been, rightly it would seem, ascribed to *ā*-stems”. It would not be inappropriate to see a feminine genitive following *maqui* “son”, in the case of a deity, as in Fergus mac Roech, named after his mother.

The genitive *Vraicci* indicates that *síd Crúachan* was originally considered to be the property of *Vraiccas*. Indeed, this would appear to be the original site of *Síd Fraích*. One must take note that the inscription occurs in a cave where it can be seen only with great difficulty. One must lie on one’s back aided by an artificial light to see it at all. It occurs at what was considered to be the entrance to the otherworld. In *Táin bó Fraích*, the *bantróch Boinne* “woman troops of Boand” (Meid 1970: 38, ‘219-’221) carry off Fraech into this cave to be healed from his battle with the water monster. There can be little question of the ritual nature of the *Ogam* inscription and that Fraech and Medb are intended here.

Cath Boinde gives evidence supporting that Medb was Fraech’s mother. *Cath Boinde* states that Ethne, an alternative name for Boind (Boand), was one of Medb’s sisters. If Fraech were the son of Medb it would automatically make him a nephew to Boind. *Táin bó Fráich*, above, states that Fraech was Boind’s nephew. The question then arises whether or not Findabair, whom Fraech woos in *Táin bó Fráich*, is actually his half sister. Since the Irish were polygynistic, perhaps if Fraech (seen here as a deity) could marry his aunt Boind, he could marry his half-sister as well. Also, it is possible that originally Findabair is only a daughter to Ailill and not to Medb. As we shall see, it is also certain that Ailill is not Fraech’s father.

Again such a situation is not surprising. That Medb had many lovers and offspring is notorious.

The poem *Carn Fraoich* from the *Book of Ui Maine* preserves additional information about Fraech. Although the origin of his twelve cattle is the same as in *Táin bó Fraích*, *Carn Fraoich* would seem to have preserved a different tradition on the mother of Fraech. Here Fraech's mother is Aife, daughter of Dearg Dianscothach.

Mathair Fraich radh gan bine,
Aibfe ainm na h-ingene
ar seilg findfleadh nir mothaidh
ingen in derig dianscothaigh.

Da bhiathadh a beagan cruaidh
a sluaigh uile sa aighdhi
na treasaib is na tuili
gan easbaid ar aenduine.

Na ba sin nir cradh cealga
siad coimfinda cluasderga
fuair Fraech fa lith sona sin
a sith in Brogha buidni.

Oct mbliadna na ba fa smacht
gan dair achu gan athlacht
cradh blaith nir thadg dis ateach
ni fhagdis a saith sotheach.
(Carney 1952: 158, 186).

Fraoch's mother, a statement without fault,
the woman's name was Aoife
daughter of Dearg Dianscothach;
it was not a sparce time for hunting fair feasts.

His cattle were wont to feed
his entire hosts and guests
in great multitudes,
and nobody was left in want.

These cows, who were not deceptive cattle
but of an equal whiteness with red ears,
Fraoch obtained (that was a happy occasion)
from the mound of the populous Brugh.

Eight years the cows were under his rule
though without bulling, without failing milk,
the sleek cattle could not obtain sufficient (milk) vessels.
His house was not insignificant to poets.

Indeed Fraech's mother, referred to as Aife or Aoife, does bear a son to Cú Chulainn in *Tochmarc Emire* (Meyer 1890: 433-57). Cú Chulainn subdues Aife during his training at

arms. In return for letting her go, he makes her promise to conceive a son by him. According to this tradition, since Aife only had one son, the implication is that Cú Chulainn is Fraech's father. In *Aided óenfir Aife* "The Death of Aife's One Son" (von Hamel 1933: 11-15), Cú Chulainn wrestles in the water with his only son when he threatens Ulster's honor. The fight continues in the water until Cú Chulainn kills him.

In the *Aided Fraích* episode of the *Táin*, Cú Chulainn wrestles with Fraech in the water and drowns him. Since Cú Chulainn has no other wrestling matches in the water, Aife is said to have only one son, and *Carn Fraoich*, from the *Book of Ui Maine*, says that Aife's son was Fraech, the implication is a strong one that the son Cú Chulainn drowns is Fraech. It is possible that this tale *Aided óenfir Aife* (which has much in common with the theme of the Persian epic of Sohrab and Rustum) actually developed out of *Aided Fraích*. Perhaps countering this suggestion is the tradition of *Foghlaim Con Culainn* which merely portrays Fraech as one of the Irish warriors who went with Cú Chulainn to train under Scáthach (Stokes 1908b: 138-9).

Aife's name may derive from *Apisvia "Winding Water" (IE *ap-: < *h₂ep- "water", IEW: 51; NIL: 311) (IE *sui- "wind", IEW: 1041). In origin she would appear to have been a source goddess as with the Gaulish source goddess Aventia "the Flowing". Aife is said to have been a great female warrior. It is possible that here is simply another byname for Medb, whose prowess in battle is also notorious. In the YBL-*Táin* ('90, ll. 4020-55, O'Rahilly 1976: 234), Medb "too took up her weapons and rushed into battle" with Fergus. She was three times victorious before being driven back. In the late *Fochann Loingsi Fergusa*, Bricriu makes the observation that "the greatest warrior is Medb" (MacKinnon 1905: 217). Lending confirmation to this suggestion, *Foghlaim Con Culainn* (ll. 65-71) states that Aife was the daughter of Aed Ruaid. Aed Ruaid, as we have seen in the previous section, is simply a byname for Eochaid (Dagda), whom *Cath Boinde* says was the father of Medb. Thus Aife must either be a byname of Medb or that of one of her sisters. Aife (the mother of Fraech) cannot be a byname of Medb's sister Boind, since *Táin bó Fráich* says that Boind was Fraech's aunt. The implication is clear that Aife is but a byname for Medb.

In *Tochmarc Emire* (von Hamel 1933: 53-6, " 74-77), Cú Chulainn stays with the great female warrior Scathach to receive his training in arms. While he is with Scathach, she and her sons engage in battle with the other great female warrior Aife (*baí cath for Scáthaig dano insin aimsir sin fri túatha aili 7 is forru sin ba banflaith Aife*). Here *banflaith* "sovereign woman, queen" is an interesting term to describe Aife. A tract in *Irishes Recht* (4, '1; Thurneysen 1931) defines it thus *banflaith .i. ben ... amal Meidb Cruachna "banflaith, that is, a woman... like Medb of Cruachu"*. Thus describing Aife as a *banflaith* is suggestive indeed of an equation between Aife and Medb. Aife is also described as *bannfénnid ba hansam isin domun* "the woman warrior who was the most difficult in the world", again much as Bricriu described Medb.

In his battle with Aife, Cú Chulainn at first has great difficulty and is almost defeated by her. She breaks all of his weapons, including his sword, which is broken off at the hilt. However, Cú Chulainn still defeats her by telling her that her chariot, with charioteer and horses, has fallen off the cliff. Aife's chariot is the thing she holds most dear of all (*móam serc lee*) (again like Medb, who in the beginning of the *Táin* is accustomed to circling her army in her chariot to bring luck upon it). At this, Aife looks up to check on her chariot. As soon as she looks up, Cú Chulainn grabs her by the breasts and throws her over his back. Before agreeing to free her, he makes her agree to bear him a son. She becomes pregnant by him. As in *Aided óenfir Aife*, Cú Chulainn tells Aife to name the boy Conlae, giving her a ring to give him.

This name Conlae is highly significant. The story of the source of the Sinand (Shannon) (see Stokes 1894-5: 456-7) is obviously borrowed from that of the Boind (Stokes 1894-5: 315-6). Here is found the same motif of the woman going to the spring and being overwhelmed by the waters which overflow their banks to form the river. Here also is a spring at which are "the hazels and inspiration of wisdom, that is the hazels of the science of poetry". But here the

name of the source spring is Tipra Connla (*dodechaid do Tiprait Connla*, Stokes 1894-5: 456) rather than Topur Nechtain (*Nechtain ... a chóem thiprat*, Gwynn 1913: III, 36). It is then clear that Conlae is but another byname for Nechtain, as is Fraech as well.

The death of Conlae in *Aided óenfir Aife* (the YBL version dating to the ninth century) is also nearly identical to the death of Fraech in the *Táin*. In this tale, at the age of seven Conlae leaves his mother Aife and goes to Ulster (at Tracht Eisi) to seek his father Cú Chulainn. The men of Ulster go down to ask his name and challenge him when he will not tell it. The boy first defeats Conall Cernach by knocking him down with a stone from his sling and tying him up with his shield strap. Next Cú Chulainn sets forth against him.

“Do not go down!”, said she [Emer]. “It is a son of yours that is down there. Do not murder your only son! It is not fair fight or wise to rise up against your son. ... the boy down there is Conlae, the only son of Aife.” Then said Cú Chulainn, “Forebear, woman! Even though it were he who is there,” said he, “I would kill him for the honor of Ulster (*ar inchaib Ulad*). (Meyer 1904: 120; Van Hamel 1933: 14).

Cú Chulainn goes against the boy. At the boy’s continued refusal to tell his name, they exchange blows. The boy cuts off Cú Chulainn’s hair with a sword slash.

“Tíagam do imthrascrud didiu.”... Lotar didiu isin muir do imbádud, cora mbáid in mac fo dó. Luid risin mac íarom asin uisciu, coro bréc cosin gaí bulga Dacorustar don mac tríasind uisce, co mboí a inathar foa chossaib... Gaibid in mac íarom eter a dí láim 7 nos ucca co tall ass 7 na mbeir co tarlaic de ar bélaib Ulad. “Aso mo macsa dúib, a Ultu,” ol sé.... celebráid dia athair 7 atbail fo chétóir. Ro lád tra a gáir gubai 7 a fert 7 a liae ocus co cend trí tráth nícon reilcthea loíg dia mbuaib la hUltu ina diaid. (Van Hamel 1933: 15).

“Now let us wrestle” Then they went into the sea to drown each other, and twice the boy dunked him. Thereupon Cú Chulainn went at the boy from the water and played him false with the *gáe bolga*... He sent it at the boy through the water, so that his bowels fell about his feet. ... He [Cú Chulainn] took the boy between his arms, and carried him till he let him down before the men of Ulster. “Here is my son for you, men of Ulster,” said he... [The boy] bade farewell to his father and forthwith died. Then his cry of lament was raised, his grave made, his stone set up, and to the end of three days no calf was let to their cows by the men of Ulster to commemorate him. (Meyer 1904: 120).

In the *Aided Fraích* episode of the *Táin*, the events are almost identical, except for the detail of the *gáe bolga*. In the *Táin*, Cú Chulainn uses the *gáe bolga* in his fight in the ford with Lóch. First he has a hard time with Lóch because Mórrígan attacks him as well, in the form of an eel, a she-wolf, and a hornless red heifer. After he successfully defeats Mórrígan, he defeats Lóch with the *gáe bolga*, which enters him through the anus (*i timthirecht a chuirp*) (O’Rahilly 1976: 62, 181). Otherwise, the death of Fraech in the *Táin* and the death of Conlae in *Aided óenfir Aife* agree, leaving little doubt that Conlae is but a byname for Fraech. Here then is the description of Fraech’s battle from the LU/YBL *Táin*.

“Indeed I shall go,” said Fraech, “so that we may meet in the water, and give me fair play.” “Arrange that as you please,” said Cú Chulainn. “Let us each clasp the other (and wrestle),” said Fraech.

For a long time they kept wrestling in the water, and Fraech was submerged (*bátir Fraech; varia: contrascartar Fraech insin uisciu*). Cú Chulainn lifted him up again.”

Now this time will you yield and accept your life?" said Cú Chulainn. "I will not," said Fraech. Cú Chulainn thrusts him under again and Fraech died. He came to land. His people carried his body to the encampment. Ever after that the ford was Ath Fraích.

The whole encampment mourned for Fraech. They saw a band of women (*banchuri*) dressed in green tunics bending over the corpse of Fraech mac Idaid. They carried him off to the *síd* mound, which was call Síd Fraích ever afterwards. (O'Rahilly 1976: 26-7, 148-9).

Obtaining the Underworld Cattle and Musicians

In the poem of *Carn Fraoich*, Fraech obtains his cattle from the Brugh (i.e., *Brug Meic in Óc, Brug na Boind*), directly from his aunt and wife Boind rather than from his mother Bé Find (Carney 1952: 158). That Fraech is married to Boind again confirms the equation of Fraech and Nechtain. Nechtain is also said to be married to Boind. In *Carn Fraoich*, Fraech's few cattle are capable of feeding "his entire hosts and guests in great multitudes, and nobody was left in want". According to *Táin bó Fraích*, Fraech also goes to Boind "his mother's sister" in Mag Breg (which is where the Brug is located) to get his seven horn blowers (*morfessar cornaire*) and his three harpers (*triar cruittine*) (Meid 1967: 1-2, ll. 16, 38-9). Thus it is clear that the cattle indeed come from his wife Boind. These *báe* "cattle", who are *finda óiderga* "white with red ears", provide a clue to the name Boind (< Bovinda) "White Cow".

The three harpers which Fraech obtains from Boand (v. Boind) in *Táin bó Fráich* are three sons to her by Uaithne, the Dagda's harper. Their playing makes labor easier for cattle and women, but men die from the sweetness of the music. Men also die if they hear the hornblowers play.

Fair and melodious were these three, and they were the playthings of Uaithne. This famous three were three brothers: Goltraiges, Gentraiges, and Suantraiges. Boand from the otherworld (*Boand a ssídib*) was the mother of the three. It is from the music played by Uaithne, the Dagda's harper, that the three were named. When the woman (Boand) was in travail, it seemed to be like weeping and sorrow at first with the sharpness of the pangs; then in the middle it was laughter and gladness that he played on account of the eagerness for the two sons; it was sleep and gentleness for the last son on account of the heaviness of the birth, so that from it a third of the music was named. Thereby Boand awakened from her sleep. "Accept", said she, "your three sons, passionate Uaithne, for there, for cattle and for women who shall bring forth under Ailill and Medb, are Music of Sleeping, Music of Smiling, and Music of Weeping. Men will die at hearing them play. (Meid 1967: 4-5, ll. 100-12; Carney 1955: 4-5).

Topur Segais and the Three Musicians

A tale preserved in the *Bretha Nemed* tract from CIH (1120.16-32) combines the tradition of the music which makes travail easier for women (and which makes men die from the rapture of hearing it played) with the theme of the hazels of knowledge at the Boind's source. Here the music is used to neutralize Cú Chulainn's fighting ability (also see *Comracc Conchulaind re Senbecc*, Plummer 1883-5: 182-3).

Senbheg ua Eibric a síodhaibh do luidh a muigh Seghaisi a ndeghaidh an iomhais. Go ccomharnig Cú Chulainn fris for Boinn ar an-gaibh sidhe. Co nebert fris ba i

ndegaidh thoraídh cnó cuill caoinmhesa. Do luidh naoi ccuill chaoimhesa. Ate a ccno do fuair an iomhus con tuited isna tiobradoibh conad tóxla an sruth an iomhus isin mBóinn. Cachain Senbecc dho drecht a choimhghne 7 laoidh.

Nidam mac, nidam fer,
nidam ferdomhan.
Fesa rom dánsattar
dé diamra Abhcánsa.
Saoí fealbhais
file a Seghais
Senbhecc mo ainm
ua Ébhric a siodhaibh.
Ité anmanna
na naoí ccoll:
.i. Sal, Fall, Fubhall,
Fiondam, Fonnám,
fo fuigheall crú,
Críonam, Cruanbla.
Do fuairged an iomhus.

Do fairgidh Senbheag iaram lóighe móra do Choin cCulainn. Ar a légadh as 7 ní for-étt Cú Chulainn. Ro-ithidh siomh a lamh dia chruit. Seafainn golltraighe dhó go bfeic for ghol 7 caoi. Senfainn gentriadhe go bfeic for ghaire 7 seafainn suantraighe dhó fá dheóigh conad corusdair ina súan 7 ad-laoí Senbecc iarmh in naoi umha iar mBóinn.

Senbheg ua Eibric from the *síd* went to mag Segais seeking poetic inspiration. He encountered Cú Chulainn before him blocking his way (*in-gaib*). He said to him that he was seeking the fruitful nut of the hazel of fair mast. He went to the nine hazels of fair mast. It is these nuts, which induce poetic inspiration, which fall into the spring from which arises the stream of insprition in the Boind. Senbecc sang to him stanzas of lays and lore.

I am not a youth; I am not a man.
I am not a *ferdomhan*.
Knowledge has come to me,
from the hidden lore of Abcansa,
the noble poetic art.
Senbheg is my name
grandson of Eibric of the *síd*.
Here are the names
of the nine hazels:

...

He uttered the poetic inspiration.

Senbheg then uttered a great lay to Cú Chulainn. And from that song Cú Chulainn was powerless (before him). He placed his hand to his harp. He played the music of weeping to him till he saw him weeping and wailing. He played the music of mirth to him till he saw him laughing. He played the music of sleeping to him until he professed him asleep. Then he brought the nine copper (nuts) from the Boind.

The Wounding of Fraech

In the beginning of *Táin bó Fraích*, Fraech is not yet married (l.7: *cen tabairt mná chuca*). Thus he goes to woo Findabair, daughter of Ailill and Medb. Dressed in fine array, Fraech journeys with his retinue to Cruachu. As they approach, the watchman first sees them coming and comments on their array. Never before has there ever approached a company fairer or more renowned. The steward announces Fraech's presence to Ailill. Ailill welcomes Fraech into his hall, as Fraech is a noble warrior. After playing chess for three days the company spend three days and nights in banqueting. The story develops a rather complex plot, which can only be outlined here. Briefly, Ailill decides to arrange for Fraech's death rather than have him elope with Findabair. The story contains a rather interesting theme, reminiscent of *Beowulf*, that of Fraech's battling a water monster in a pool (*beist assind uisci*), the means by which Ailill has determined to bring about Fraech's death.

Ailill, Medb, Fraech, and Findabair go to a pool in the river to bathe. Ailill asks Fraech to go into the river since he has heard that Fraech is good in water. He asks Fraech to go into the pool that all might see him swim. (*Adfiadar dam ... at maith i n-uisciu. Tair issind linni sea con-accamar do snám.* ll. 180-1). Ailill asks Fraech not to come out of the water until he fetches berries (*cáera*) on a branch of a rowan tree (*croib ... din chaírthend*) growing on an island in the pool (Meid 1967: 8-9, ll. 194-200). Fraech swims across the pool with the first branch. However, the berries are not enough to satisfy Ailill and Medb. They ask for more of the berries. While he is in the middle of the pool, a water beast (*beist assind uisci*) seizes Fraech in the side. Although Fraech initially battles the beast barehanded, he requests his sword that he may kill it. Against Ailill's wishes, Findabair takes him a sword. With this sword Fraech succeeds in beheading the beast. He brings the head and the sword with him to shore. As he returns to Cruachu, wounded from this battle, his hornblowers (*cornairi*) play so that thirty men die from the sadness of the music (ll. 230-231).

In *Táin bó Fraích* to heal him from the wound he has received from the beast, Fraech is washed in a vat or tub filled with broth made from fresh bacon and the flesh of heifers (l. 226: *úrsaille agus cárna samaisci*) and then carried off into the Síd Crúachan by the woman troop of Boind (*bantrochta Bóinni*) (ll. 240-242). He returns healed the next day. Ailill and Medb agree to the betrothal with Findabair, provided Fraech comes on the *táin* "cattle raid" to Cualnge bringing with him his musicians (ll. 166-7: *áes chúuil*) and his cattle (l. 158: *cethraí*). Lines 311-315 (1967: 12-13) reiterate that he must come on the *táin na mbó a Cúailngiu* "the taking of the cattle from Cualnge", bringing his cattle (*cot búaiib*), before he may sleep with Findabair.

Two middle Irish poems, *Carn Fraoich* and a poem by An Caoch ó Chluain in the *Book of the Dean of Lismore*, contain a slightly different and fuller account of this water battle, probably derived from a parallel tradition to that of *Táin bó Fraích*. In *Carn Fraoich* (" 55-7) the loss of Fraech's hand (supposedly cut off in combat by Fuithne son of Conall Cernach) is described as occurring right after the battle with the water beast. The poem states that the beast only injured his hand that day. In the other poem from the *Book of the Dean of Lismore*, however, it is the beast which bites off Fraech's hand.

- 8 A rowan tree (*caorthann*) there was upon Loch Máigh; we could see the strand in the south; every quarter, every month, ripe fruit there was upon it.

Choice food were these berries, sweeter than honey was the rowan's bloom; the red rowan sustained a man without other food for the space of nine days.

- 10 A year could this tree add to the life of every man, a true tale; a remedy for such as were hurt was to taste its fruit when it was red.

Though it was a healing physician (*liaigh chabhartha*) to the people, yet ever near it, ready to attack, was a venomous beast (*péisd nimhe*) to check all men from plucking its fruit.

A heavy sickness fell upon Meadb (Medb), inghean Eachach, of noble goblets; to inquire the cause of her complaint, she sent for Fraoch (Fraech).

Meadb declared she could never be well until she could get the fill of her soft palms of the rowan berries of the cold lake, no man to pluck but Fraoch.

...

- 15 Fraoch, who excelled in fight, set out from us to swim the lake; he found the monster asleep, its head aloft against the tree.

Fraoch, the keen-weaponed son of Fiodhagh, came back unseen by the monster; he brought a great armful of red berries to Meadb in her house.

“Though what you have brought me is good,” said Meadb fair of form, “naught avails me, you haloed hero, save to cut a sapling from the root.”

Fraoch was willing, no faint youth, to swim once more the watery pool; nor might he, though great his valor, flee the death that was his lot.

He seized the rowan by the top and pulled the stem from its root; the beast this time perceived him as he drew near the shore.

- 20 It seized him as he swam and grasped his hand in its mouth (*gabhais a lámh ‘na craos*); he laid hold of the beast by the jaw; alas that Fraoch should lack his knife (*sgian*).

Fionnabhair of noble curling locks threw to him a knife set with gold; the beast mauled his fair skin, it mangled and bit off his hand (*teasgaidh a lámh ar leódh*). (Ross 1939: 200-3).

Interesting here is the account of the healing powers of the berries which Fraech obtains for Medb, particularly when set alongside the healing abilities of Fraoch’s musicians as far as women and cattle are concerned. But perhaps even more interesting is the account that the beast bites off Fraech’s hand.

Immacallam in dá Thúrad explains *Rig mna Nuadat*, the name for a stretch of the Boand river, as *iar nirt filidechta Nuadat .i. Nuado Necht ainm filed do Lagnib 7 is dó ba ben Boand* “(named) after the *filidech* power of Nuadu, that is Nuadu Necht the name of a *fili* of the Leinstermen; it is he who had Boand as a wife” (LL 186b ll. 52-3; Best and O’Brien 1965: 818). Since Boand’s husband is given as Nuadu Necht rather than Fraech or Nechtain, this gloss implies that yet another name for Fraech or Nechtain was Nuadu (gen. Nuadat) Necht.

The fact that the beast in the above poem bites off Fraech’s hand, indeed, makes a good case for identifying Fraech, Nechtain, and Nuadu-Necht with Nuadu Argetlaim (contra Carey 1984: 9, who sees Nechtain as “a deity who shared with Nuadu the proprietorship of the waters of knowledge”). Indeed, the names Fraech, Nuadu, and Nechtain have a mutually exclusive

distribution within the Irish tales, consistent with their being bynames for one and the same character. That Nuadu Argetlaim does belong to an old strata of the *Cath Maige Tuired* tradition is shown by the fact that O'Briens's Genealogical tracts (CGH: 135a 10) refer to Nuadu Finn Fáil, who was deposed by Bres Rí, demonstrating that the myth of Nuadu's being deposed by Bres was current at the time of composition of the genealogies.

Indeed, it would appear that the deities equivalent to Gaulish *Nectonos and Maponos each reign part of the year in the underworld. In the *Cath Maige Tuired*, Bres deposes Nuadu, who then again deposes Bres. So too, in *Tochmarc Emire*, Oengus Mac ind Óc deposes Nechtain from the Brug. These mutual depositions could simply represent the earlier oscillation in and out of the underworld (much as with Greek Persephónē). Here then in *Cath Maige Tuired*, Nuadu would be equivalent to Nechtain, while Bres would be equivalent to *Maccan (but note that in *Cath Maige Tuired*, Bres is not said to be a son of the Dagda).

In *Cath Muige Tuired Cunga* (Fraser 1915: 16-7, 46), Sreng mac Eochaid, *airdrig* "high king" of the Fir Bolg, cuts off Nuada mac Echtaigh's right arm at the shoulder. However, this tale is very late and is obviously taken from the *Lebor Gabála* for most of its material. The *Lebor Gabála* says merely that Nuada's hand was cut off at the first battle of Maige Tuired (*co ro benaid a lám dé i cét chath Maige Tuired*) (Macalister 1941: IV, 112-5). In this detail, Nuada's loss of the hand by a sword in battle fits the account in the poem *Carn Fraoich*, where Fraech's hand is cut off by a sword in combat (just after the fight with the beast). Both the *Cath Maige Tuired* (Stokes 1891b) and *Lebor Gabála* agree that Bres is king over the Túatha dé Danann until Nuada's hand is healed (*co ro íccad lám Nuadat*).

According to *Cath Maige Tuired*, Bres turns out to be niggardly and is not a good king. Supposedly Dían Cecht in *liaig* fashions Nuada a new hand of silver, whence the epithet Argetlaim. Nuada Argetlaim then again rules over the Túatha dé Danann until, either (in *Cath Maige Tuired*) he voluntarily gives the kingship to Lug, or (in *Lebor Gabála*) he is killed in the battle and Lug is made king at his death (Macalister 1941: IV, 118-9). In Nuada's place Lug then leads the fight against the *Fomoir* "from under Sea", led by Balor *rí na h-innsi* "king of the isles" (Stokes 1891b: ' 50). The battle begins *sechtmad ria samain* "the week before Samain (the beginning of winter)" (Stokes 1891b: '87).

The Otherworld Cattle and Mórrígan's Disfigurement in the *Táin*

Fraech presumably obtains his twelve cows from his aunt and wife Boind (Boand), rather than from his mother (here the Bo(f)ind, herself, is probably intended by the reference to Bé Find). *Táin bó Fraích* (l. 5) is probably wrong in referring to Bé Find as Fraech's mother and stating that Fraech obtained his cattle from his mother. These twelve cattle are interesting in that they are white with red ears (*find óiderga*). If Fraech is to give them along with 30 grey horses as a bride-price for Findabair or at least bring them with him on the *Táin*, they must be going to play a role in that story. Fraech's role is clear from lines 737-56 of the LU-YBL *Táin* (trans. O'Rahilly 1976: 148-9). He is to wrestle with Cú Chulainn in the water and be drowned by him. The cattle, who are white with red ears (*find óiderga*), however, are not specifically mentioned in the *Táin*, although a female figure who takes on their shape is mentioned. It is the Mórrígan who takes on this form in leading the cattle over Cú Chulainn when he is battling in the ford.

Táin bó Regamna (Windisch 1887: 246-7), fortunately does preserve the story of the role Fraech's white cattle will play in *Táin bó Cuailnge*. Here the Mórrígan foretells what she will do to Cú Chulainn on the *Táin*. When he is fighting in the ford in his hardest struggle, she will come as an eel (*escaing*) about his feet to trip him in the ford. Cú Chulainn answers that he

will break her against a stone in the ford. Mórrígan then says she will come as a grey bitch or she-wolf (*sod*, note *sodach* “a state of heat in dogs”) against him in the ford. He answers that he will beat her with a spear and break out one of her eyes. Mórrígan then replies that she will come at Cú Chulainn as a white red-eared heifer (*samaisce find oghdeirg*) and lead a hundred white red-eared cows (*cet m-bo find n-oderg*) against him in the pool of the ford. Here then are Fraech’s cattle, although they have been greatly magnified in number. Cú Chulainn responds to Mórrígan that he will cast a sling stone at her and break her leg.

In the YBL-*Táin* (ll. 1720-24), Mórrígan goes to Cú Chulainn as a beautiful young woman and offers her love.

Cú Chulainn saw coming towards him a young woman of surpassing beauty, clad in clothes of many colors. “Who are you?” asked Cú Chulainn. “I am the daughter of Búan the king,” said she. “I have come to you for I fell in love with you on hearing your fame, and I have brought with me my treasures and my cattle.” “It is not a good time at which you have come to us, that is our condition (here) is bad, (there is) even famine (*nachis olc ar mbláth amin gorti*). So it is not easy for me to meet a woman while I am in this strife.” “I shall help you in it.” “It is certainly not for a woman’s rear end that I have undertaken this (struggle) (*ni ar thóin mná dano gabus-sa inso*)”.

“It will be the worse for you,” she said, “when I go against you as you are fighting your enemies. I shall go in the form of an eel under your feet in the ford so that you shall fall.” “That seems more likely to me than your being a king’s daughter (*dóchu lim ón oldás ingen rí*g). I shall seize you between my toes so that your ribs are crushed, and you shall suffer that blemish until you get a vow rendering blessing (*bráth bennachtan*).”

“I shall drive the cattle over you in the ford while I am in the form of a grey she-wolf.” “I shall throw a stone at you from my sling so and smash your eye in your head, and you shall suffer from that blemish until you get a vow rendering blessing.”

“I shall come at you in the guise of a hornless red heifer in front of the cattle, and they will rush upon you at many fords and pools, yet you will not see me in front of you.” “I shall cast a stone at you,” said he, “so that you legs will break under you, and you shall suffer thus until you get a vow rendering blessing.” Whereupon she left him. (O’Rahilly 1976: 57, 176-7).

When Cú Chulainn is struggling with Lóch, Mórrígan comes in her bovine form as a *samaisce muile derg* or *samuisc maél derg* “a red hornless heifer”. She leads the cattle, who are not otherwise specified, against Cú Chulainn in the pool and in the ford (*muiti riasna búuib forsa linni 7 na háthu*) (YBL-*Táin*: ll. 1722-3). As in *Táin bó Regamna*, Cú Chulainn breaks the eel’s ribs (*benaid in nescongain co memdadar a hasnai indi*, l. 1717), he casts a sling stone crushing the she-wolf’s eye in her head (*co memaid a shúil ina chind*, ll. 1721-2), and he breaks the heifer’s leg (*co mmemaid a gergairi fáil*, l. 1724-5). Lines 1732-3 state that Cú Chulainn thus fulfilled what he had promised in *Táin bó Regamna*.

The LL-*Táin* presents the events slightly differently and more in line with *Táin bó Regamna*. Here Mórrígan *ingen Ernmais a stodaibh* (l. 1989) comes to destroy Cú Chulainn.

She had vowed on the foray of Regamain that she would come and destroy Cú Chulainn when he was fighting with a major warrior on the Foray of Cuailnge. So the Mórrígan came there in the guise of white red-eared heifer accompanied by fifty heifers (*samhaisci finne óderge co cóicait samasc uimpi*), each pair linked together with a chain of white bronze. (O’Rahilly 1967: 194; LL-*Táin* ll. 1990-94).

Here it is clear that Mórrígan has brought the cattle out of the *síd* with her. These cattle, who in *Táin bó Regamna* are specifically called *bo find n-oderg*, are undoubtedly the same

cows, white with red ears (*it é finda óiderga*), which Fraech obtains from the *síd* (*assint síd*) in *Táin bó Fraích* (Meid 1967: 1, ll. 1-6). In *Táin bó Fraích*, Fraech promises to bring these cattle with him on the *táin bó Cuailnge* “the cattle raid of Cualnge” (ll. 311-5; Meid 1967: 12-3). Thurneysen (1921: 311, note 1) noted this fact earlier when commenting on *Táin bó Regamna*, that “*die weissen kühe mit roten Ohren stammen aus Táin bó Fraích*”.

Now the Mórrígan’s cattle, as I argued earlier, are more properly the cattle of Boand (v. Boind) “the White Cow”, for they have come out of the *síd* at *Brug na Boind* “the dwelling of the White Cow”. The *samhaisce find oghdeirg* accompanied by the *bo find n-oderg* (Windish 1887: 247) who goes against Cú Chulainn in the pool is undoubtedly none other than Boand or Boind, the Bó Find “White Cow”, herself. This identification of Mórrígan with the *bo find* suggests that the name Mórrígan in the *Táin bó Regamna* and in *Táin bó Cuailnge* is simply an alternative byname for Boand.

Mórrígan, itself, simply means “Great Queen”, for (contra Stokes, 1891a: 128) the forms with *mór-* are equally prevalent in the early texts of the Ulster Cycle as those with *mor-* (as in *in Mórrígan*, LU 5320). In the *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*: I, 2, 6 (Stokes and Strachan 1903), however, the form *morigain*, used generically, is glossed *lamia*. Nonetheless, too much has been made over the occurrences without the accent in the attempt to see a connection to Old English *mare* “incubus” from IE **mer-* “harm” (IEW: 735). As Thurneysen (1946: 20) notes, “length in vowels is often, though *by no means consistently*, marked by placing over the syllable an acute accent”. The accent is as often left off the second syllable as it is off the first syllable, with no attempt at seeing a shift in meaning.

Now as mentioned earlier, in the metrical *Dindsenchas* story of Boand-I, the fountain gush from Nechtain’s well does not drown Boand directly, but rather disfigures her.

As thrice she walked round
about the well heedlessly,
three waves burst from it;
whence came the death of Boand.

They came each wave of them against a limb;
they disfigure the soft-blooming woman,
a wave against her foot (*ria cais*), a wave against her perfect eye (*ria súil slan*);
the third wave shatters one hand (*leth-láim*). (Gwynn 1913: III, 30-31, ll. 64-71).

This disfigurement of Boand here exactly parallels that of the “the Great Queen” (*in Mórrígan*) in the *Táin* (YBL-*Táin* ll. 1747-8). Cú Chulainn cracks her ribs with his foot, crushes her eye with one sling-stone cast, and breaks her leg with another (ll. 1713-25). Here the *Dindsenchas* simply preserves a memory of the disfigurement of Boand (apparently also portrayed on plate C of the Gundestrup cauldron; Olmsted 1979b: 216-9). In *Mórrígan* “the Great Queen” may be seen simply as a byname for Boand “White Cow”.

Just as many modern scholars investigating Gaulish deity names have lost sight of the fact that a single god can have several bynames, so too, after the coming of Christianity the custodians of Irish tradition no longer kept a careful tab on the full range of bynames by which the now euhemerized deities had formerly been known. So the myth of *ind Mórrígan* in the *Táin* diverged from the myth of *Boind* in the *Dindsenchas*. Known as Boind, in the *Dindsenchas* the Mórrígan’s disfigurement became accounted for by a gush of water from the well.

The connection between Mórrígan and the cattle is further elaborated in another episode of the *Táin*. Cú Chulainn has disfigured her apparently rendering her blind in one eye (*caech*), lame in one leg, and probably one-handed (although in the *Táin* this disfigurement is done to

her while she is in her eel form; thus of necessity, where her hand would have been, a rib is cracked instead).

Then came the Mórrígan, daughter of Ernmas, from the elf-mound (*a sídib*) in the guise of an old woman, and in Cú Chulainn's presence she milked a cow with three teats (*bo tri sine*). The reason she came thus was to be succored by Cú Chulainn, for no one whom Cú Chulainn wounded ever recovered unless he himself aided in his (or her) cure. Maddened by thirst, Cú Chulainn asked her for milk. She gave him the milk of one teat. "May this be swift wholeness for me." The one eye of the queen (*na rígha*) was cured. Cú Chulainn asked her for the milk of another teat. She gave it to him. "Swiftly may she be cured who gave it!" He asked for the third drink, and she gave him the milk of the third teat. "The blessings of the gods and non-gods (nether gods) be on you woman (*Bendacht dee 7 andee fort a ingen*)". The magicians (*in t-áes cumachta*) were their gods (*dee*), and the husbandmen (*in t-áes trebair*) were their non-gods (*andee*). And the Queen (*in Rígha*) was made whole. (O'Rahilly 1967: 196-7, ll. 2104-13).

The LL-*Táin* only mentions specifically the curing of the eye. In the YBL-*Táin* (ll. 1748) the Mórrígan appears to Cú Chulainn as an old woman, "one-eyed and half blind" (*caéach losc*). Here interestingly the first teat makes her head whole (*íctha a cendsi*), the second teat cures her eye (*slán a súil*), and the third teat cures the lower part of her leg (*slán a fergairi*) (ll. 1753-5). The statement that her head is cured is obviously wrong. It is first her ribs (*a hasnai*), then her eye (*súil*), then her leg (*gergairi*) which are injured. Cú Chulainn can hardly cure her head because it is her ribs which have been broken when she is in the form of an eel.

As Dumézil (1948: 163-88; 1974) has noted, the themes of being blind in one eye and being one-handed are important disfigurements in IE mythology. In *Serglige Con Culainn* (ll. 37-47), Cú Chulainn is himself said to be blind in one eye (*guille*). It is through love of him that this trait arises as the third blemish (*tres anim*) of the women of Ireland (Dillon 1941: 2). Nuada loses his hand in the *Cath Maíge Tuired, I*, (Stokes 1891a: 58-9) to have it replaced by a silver one, whence his epithet *argetlám*. Further, in *Cath Maíge Tuired*, Lug sings a chant in a special manner to strengthen (*nerfad*) the Túatha Dé Danand in their struggle against the Fomoir.

Then Lug sang the chant below, as he went round the men of Erin, on one foot and with one eye closed (*conid and rocan Lug an cetul so sios for lethcois 7 letsuil timchell fer nErenn*). (Stokes 1891a: 98-99).

Thus what Nechtain's well supposedly does to Boand in the poem of Boand-I, "a wave against her foot (*ria cois*), a wave against her eye (*ria súil*), and a wave against her hand (*leth-lám*) is merely repeating a motif of ancient mythic significance. This disfigurement is apparently the same disfigurement originally rendered to her by Cú Chulainn in the *Táin*.

Mórrígan as Eel or Water Snake

In connection with Mórrígan's transformation into an eel to battle Cú Chulainn in the *Táin*, a poem of Tadhg Dall O'Huiginn preserves an interesting motif concerning Bóinn (v. Boand, Boind) and her alias Eithne, *Eithne agus Bóinn dá eithre óir a haoineirr* (Knott 1920-1: 191, l. 19), "Eithne and Boand, two fins of gold from one tail" (*eithre*: "tail, fin, appendage"; *err* (a,f)

“hind part, end, tail”). Here he seems to have preserved a memory of the eel-like nature of the river goddess.

In the *Cath Boinde* (O’Neill 1905: 175-6), Ailill is the son of Mata, son of Medb’s sister Eile and Fergal mac Mágach, and he is at least once said to be the son of Mágach (Thurneysen 1921: 92). In the LL-*Táin*, however, Ailill states *dáig ar bíth Máta Murisc ingen Mágach mo máthair* “Mata Murisc the daughter of Maga was my mother” (O’Rahilly 1967: 2, l. 50; 138). In either case, Ailill is married to his aunt Medb.

In the *Dindsenchas* (Rennes: ‘4, ‘28; Stokes 1894-5: 292, 329), Mata is a water creature of some sort and is associated with the *Brug Maic ind Óg* (Brug na Boinne). Here Mata is glossed as a *seilc[h]i* (sometimes translated as “tortoise or snail”). The Mata is described as a beast with “seven score feet and seven heads” (*secht fíchit cos lais 7 secht cind*). Muirese or Murisc is presumably formed from *muir* + *iasc* “sea fish”. We must remember that in the *Táin*, Cú Chulainn battles Mórrígan (Boand) as a *escong* “eel” or *esc-ung* “water snake” (**angui-* < **h₂engui-* “snake”; IEW: 43), undoubtedly the same creature as Mata Muirese.

The metrical *Dindsenchas* poem of *Brug na Boinde*, II, preserves greater detail of this Mata (also see LL 194b). Here she is called Mátha (v. *Mata, ind Mada*) (Gwynn 1906: II, 22-25). The place where Mata dwells is referred to as *Mórrígan múad áitt i mbith* “the place where the great Mórrígan was smitten” (l. 64). According to this source, the *Mátha mall* was slain there “after the incursion of lithe hosts” (l. 71). The Ulstermen strived against the “sluggish Matha so his (sic. her) limbs (*baill*) were broken on Lecc Bend” (ll. 83-4). The *Caisel n-Oengussa* was supposedly built as a *duma ndúr* “solid barrow” *for cnámaib in míl* “over the bones of the beast”. This place is also known as Carn Oengus (later New Grange). As we shall see, this story of the Mata beast being killed and its bones preserved at Carn Oengus bears a remarkable similarity to story of the Pýthōn beast at Delphi. According to Hyginus (*Fabulae*: 140), Pýthōn’s bones were supposedly placed in a cauldron and kept in the Pythiōn. Since Farnell (1907: III, 10) sees Pýthōn as “an incarnation of the earth goddess”, the relationship between Mórrígan and Mata becomes clearer. Further evidence suggests that Mata is but an aspect of the underworld goddess Mórrígan.

The Rennes *Dindsenchas* of *Ath Cliath Cualann* (‘28) also refers to the struggle with Mata. When the men of Erin broke the limbs of Mata (*baill in Matae*), who was slain in the Bruig Maic ind Óc before the Liacc Benn (*i mBrug Meic in Óic for Lig Bend*), they threw it limb by limb into the Boyne (*Boind*). Its shinbone (*colptha*) went to Inber Colptha (the estuary of the Boyne), whence Inber Colptha is said, and the hurdle of its frame (i.e. its breast) went along the sea coast of Ireland till it reached yon ford (*áth*); whence Ath Cliath is said. (Stokes 1894-5: 329).

The *Dindsenchas* contained in LL (194b, ll. 27-30) adds the following interesting information.

In mil ingnad ro gab tas
ro slas for Bruig Meic ind Óc

Cia sáer ro fích in cleith
inna meit dosfuc sin n-ath.
(Best and O’Brien 1965: IV, 891).

The wondrous beast became still
which was slain before Brug Meic ind Óc.
With what noble skill the warrior [Mongan] fought
in his greatness he attacked her in the ford.

These tales of Mata would appear to be yet another variant of the struggle between Cú Chulainn and Mórrígan outlined in the *Táin*. Out of such variants of the tale undoubtedly grew

the stories of the struggles between Patrick and a water beast. One of these tales describes how Patrick fought an eel in Lough Derg.

Patrick had a hard struggle to banish the demons from the Reek. When he had put them on the demons' side of the Reek, he had to overcome their mother. He went to Lough Derg, where an eel was killing all passers-by. He spent two days and nights in the lake fighting her with a sword. At last he found the vulnerable spot in her side and killed her. Half the lake has been red ever since. (Mac Neill 1962: 507, H8).

Other versions of this tale speak of a "great snake or land fish" (1962: 504, H4) or a serpent (1962: 505, H6).

Mágach (< **Māg-aca* or **Mōg-aca*), the other name given for Ailill's mother, is probably just a variant name for Magain, Maghain (< **Magonī*), and Mugain (< **Mag-ionī*). These names can be related to Gaulish Mogontia "the Ever Youthful" (see Glossary). MacCana (1955-58: 91-100) has shown that Mugain is an alternative name for Mór Mumain "the Great Mother". As we shall see, Mór Mumain was in turn another name for Mórrígan "the Great Queen". In *Betha Finnhua*, the queen, the wife of Cathal, is referred to as Mughain early in the text and later as Mumain. In the *LU-Táin*, Mugain or Mumain is the wife of Conchobar who goes to meet Cú Chulainn with bare breasts (O'Rahilly 1976: 25, 147), while the Recension-I *Táin* from the *O'Curry MS* says that this woman was Mumain (1976: 25). So too, *Cath Boinde* refers to Conchobar's wife as Mumain Aitenchaithrech, whereas elsewhere she is normally referred to as Mugain Aithenchathrech. Yet it is easy to see how these names, differentiated by only a single letter, could be easily confused.

In the *Táin*, when Cú Chulainn returns hot with battle fury, Mugain leads naked women to meet him, an action certainly compatible with the nature of Boand or Mórrígan.

Then the women folk of Emain came forth to meet him led by Mugain, the wife of Conchobar mac Nessa, and they bared their breasts to him. "These are the warriors who shall encounter you today," said Mugain. He hid his face. Then the warriors of Emain seized him and cast him into the tub of cold water. That tub burst about him. (O'Rahilly 1976: 147-8).

If this equation of Mugain and Mumain is accepted, it is probable that Ailill mac Mágach is to be identified with Mac ind Óc. At any rate, Ailill is almost certainly Boand's son as is Mac ind Óc. In *de Chophur in da Muccida* from *Egerton 1782*, the swineherd who will become transformed into the Donn Bull, but who is now in the form of a worm in the spring (*tiprait*) at Uarán Garad, tells Medb the following.

"Ro-fetamar duit é," ar in míol, "fer iss aínium, ocus is áillium, ocus iss amrum fil .i. Ailill mac Rosa Rúaid do Laignip ocus mac Máta Muirisce di Connachtaib hinginiu Mágach .i. Moéthóclach sin locht gin ainim gin ét gin úallc[h]us. Da-n-uc chugud, ni-gébu fort. Iss maith hi cruth, ocus a bruth, ocus hi brig hin fir-sin. Ocus domm-[f]ísiuth biad húait gach día connigi in dtipraid-siu. Cruinniuc mu ainm-si," olse fria Meidb. (Roider 1979: 54).

"We will make known to you then," said the animal, "the man who is the most radiant, the most beautiful, and the most wonderful there is, namely Ailill son of Rosa Rúad of Leinster and Mata Muiresce of Connachtaib, daughter of Mágach. He is an excellent youth without defect, without blemish, without jealousy, without arrogance. Take him to you. He will not place you in his shadow. Pleasing is the form, the

temperament, and the nobility of this man. And let nourishment be brought to me every day at this spring. Cruinniuc is my name,” said he to Medb.

In the LL-*Táin*, Ailill is one of three sons of Rosa Ruad. The other two are Cairbre Nia Fer, king of Tara, and Find, king of Leinster. Medb gives the bride price for Ailill.

I gave you a contract and a bride-price as befits a woman, namely the raiment of twelve men, a chariot worth three times seven *cumala*, the breadth of your face in red gold, the weight of your arm in silver-gold (*finddruini*). Whoever brings shame, annoyance, and confusion on you, you have no claim for compensation or for honor-price for it except what claim I have,” said Medb, “for you are a man dependent on a woman’s marriage-portion.” (O’Rahilly 1967: 138).

Cath Boinde states that Ailill went to Cruachu as a young child (*ba leanb óc Ailill in tan sin*). [Ailill went to Cruachu] that he might be reared by Medb, because of Medb’s relationship to him, ie., Ele, the daughter of Eochaid Feidleach was his grandmother. Ailill was reared in Cruachu after that until he was a great spirited warrior in battles and conflicts and a battle-sustaining tower against Conchobar, defending the province of Medb, so that it was he who was chief of Medb’s household afterwards. Medb loved him for his virtues, and he was united with her and became her lover.... (O’Neill 1905: 182-3).

The name of Ailill’s father, Rosa Ruad, is derived from *Ro-fhessa Ruad or *Ro-essa Ruad, and is simply a byname for the Dagda. Thus Ailill’s parentage is the same as Mac ind Óc’s, being a son of the Dagda and Mórrígan (Boand). Also like Mac ind Óc, Ailill is taken from his mother at an early age. The fact that Ailill is fostered by his aunt Medb from an early age is probably the origin of his name *Ailill* (gen. sing. *Ailella*) “the Fostered” (< **al-illis*; **al-* “nourish”, IEW: 26; DPC: 30; Irish *ailid* “nourish, foster”). So too, in Vedic tradition *Sūryah* (the Sun), the son of Rātrī (Night), is fostered by his aunt Uṣāh (Dawn), who later becomes his wife.

If Ailill is identified with Mac ind Óc, who goes into the Brug at Samain, it would explain why in the YBL *Táin*, he plays little active role. In the earliest version he was possibly absent. However, equating Ailill with Mac ind Óc creates certain problems for *Táin bó Fraích*, in that presumably Fraech has left the Brug because Mac ind Óc has taken it over. Yet Ailill plays a large role in *Táin bó Fraích*.

The Conception of Mac ind Óc in *Cath Maige Tuired*, etc.

Another interesting detail in the connection between Boand (Boind) and Ind Mórrígan emerges from the *Dinsenchas* poem of *Brug na Bóinde* (II, 9).

Behold the Bed (*Imdai*) of the Red Dagda
on the slope, without rough vigor;
he paid noble court after the chase
to a fair woman free from ill and sorrow.

Behold the two Paps of the kings consort
 here beyond the *síd* mound west of the *síd* enclosure (*síd-blai*);
 the spot where Cermaid the fair was born,
 behold it on the way, not a far step.

...

17 Whither came the wife of the son of Noble Nemed
 to a tryst (*dail*) to meet the swift Dagda,
 and her lap dog came after her,
 though it was a long journey from afar.

Whither came Midir from Bri Leith
 to bear off the prince, it was a lucky find;
 so he bore the Mac ind Óc from the ford (*ath*)
 with a shield in his protection, though he was weary.
 (Gwynn 1906: II, 18-19).

Here it is clear that the place where Boand and the Dagda mate is known as the *Imdai nDagdai* (l. 17) “the bed of the Dagda”. This bed is strangely close to the river. The son born of one day through holding back the course of the sun is taken off by Midir, from the ford itself, presumably to prevent Nechtain or Elcmar from getting the boy.

The *Cath Maige Tuired* records a similar tradition, but this time the woman with Dagda is called Mórrígan rather than Boand. In *Brug na Bóinde-II*, above, the *síd* of the *Brug* is called a “king’s dwelling” (*treb rí*), having been built by the “firm Dagda” (*lasin Dagda ndúr*) (Gwynn 1906: II, 18-19, ll. 6-7). Many of these details are repeated in the *Cath Maige Tuired*. Here the tryst takes place at the River Unius near a dwelling of the Dagda.

The Dagda had a house in Glenn Eitin in the north. Now the Dagda had to meet a woman on that day of the year close to Samain of the battle (*imon samain an catha*). The (river) Unius of Connaught roars to the south of it. He beheld the woman in the Unius in Conrann, washing herself (*og nige*), with one of her two feet at Allod Echae (i.e. Echumech), to the south of the water. Nine loosened tresses were on her head. The Dagda conversed with her, and they made a union. “The Bed of the Couple” (*Lige ina Lanomhnon*) is the name of this place thence forward. The woman that is here mentioned is the Mórrígan. (Stokes 1891a: 82-85).

The connection between *Brug na Boinde-II* and the episode in the *Cath Maige Tuired* is confirmed by two stanzas from the poem *Brug na Boinde-I*.

I see the clear pool of Fiacc of the warriors (*lind find Féic na Fían*)
 west of you [*tech Mic ind Óc*, l. 9], not feeble the deed,
 till the day of Doom, mighty the boast,
 shall he abide on the slope of the royal rath.

Here slept a married pair (*lánamain contuiled sund*)
 after the battle of Mag Tuired (*cath Maige Tuired*) yonder,
 the Great Woman (*in Ben Mór*) and the noble Dagda (*in Dagda donn*),
 not insignificant is their dwelling (*adba*) yonder. (Gwynn 1906: II, 10-11).

Interesting here is the detail that the woman the Dagda sleeps with is called *in Ben Mór* “the Great Woman” rather than *in Mór-rígan* “the Great Queen”. Mention of the battle of Mag Tuired in connection with her mating with the Dagda makes it clear that *in Ben Mór* may be identified with Mórrígan. Mention of *tech Mic in Óc* allows her to be identified with Boand. Here the place where this *lanamain* “united couple” mate is identical to *imdai in Dagdae derg* of *Brug na Bóinde-II*. The implication is that the *imdai in Dagdae* is the same place as the *Lige ina Lanomhnon* of *Cath Maige Tuired*.

Thus in *Cath Maige Tuired*, the mating of the Dagda with Mórrígan refers to the Dagda’s mating with Boand to produce Oengus Mac ind Óc. The *Cath Maige Tuired* gives us the important detail that the mating took place on *samain*, considered by the Irish to be the first day of winter. Mac ind Óc is then born on the same day as his conception, on *samain*, the first day of winter, originally Midwinter.

There are other vestiges in *Brug na Bóinde-II* (Gwynn 1906: II, 18-9) of the fact that Mórrígan and Boand are simply bynames of the same euhemerized goddess. The *Brug na Bóinde* “Abode of the White Cow” is called *Brug Mic in Óc* (l. 4) “Abode of the Young Son”. Furthermore, from the Brug one can behold the two teats of the Queen of the King (*Dá Cích rígnai in ríge*), which are to the west of the *síd blai* “*síd* enclosure” (ll. 13-14). The Dagda is the *ríge*, for he has built the Brug, and it is a “king’s dwelling” (*treb ríge*) (l. 6). The *rígan* is Boand, who has come there to tryst with the Dagda (l. 18). Here Boand is directly referred to as *ind rígan* exactly as is Mórrígan in the *LL-Táin* (l. 2113).

The Mórrígan as Ana and Mór Mumain

The *Dá Cích* of Boand, of *Rígan* “the Queen”, exactly parallel the *Dá Cích Anna* “the Two Teats of Ana” over Luachair Degad, which are noted in the *Cóir Anmann* (Stokes 1891b: 288-9). *Cormac’s Glossary* (Meyer 1912a: 3) gives us further information on this goddess Ana, noting *Ana: mater deorum Hibernensium ... de cuius nomine Dá Chíc[h] hAnund iar Luachair* “Ana, Mother of the gods of Ireland ... for whom are named the two tits of Ana beyond Luachair”. A note in O’Curry’s *Brehon Laws* manuscript (1409) similarly states *Iathe nAnand .i. Eriu .i. Anu mater deorum (iath: “country”; RIAD)*. A note on Mórrígan in the *Lebor Gabála* states that another name for her was Ana or Anand (*tri ingena aile dano oc Ernmais .i. Badb 7 Macha 7 Mórrigu .i. Anand a hainmside*) (LL: 10a, ll. 43-4; Best, Bergin, and O’Brien 1954: 37). Elsewhere, the *Lebor Gabála* refers to Ana directly as one of three daughters of Ernmais, using this name in place of Mórrígan: *Badb 7 Macha 7 Anand dia tát Cichi Anand i lluachair . tri ingena Ernmais na bantuathige* (LL: 9b, ll. 38-9; Best, Bergin, and O’Brien 1954: 35). The name Ana surely derives from **anna*, **amma* “mother” (**h₂en-*) (IEW: 36).

Another name for Ana would appear to be Mumain. In the *Cath Boinde*, Mumain’s full name is given as Mumain Etancathrach, while in LU: 3246 this epithet *Aitencáithrech* “having furze-like pubic hair” is used of Ethne; in LU: 8405 it is used of Mugain (*Aitencáithrech*). The *Cóir Anmann* gives an interesting etymology under the entry Muma (Mumu) “Munster”, which undoubtedly refers to the genitive Muman or the goddess name Mumain, for it does not fit the nominative Mumu. *Mó a hana nás ana cach coigidh aili a nEirinn* “greater its wealth than the wealth of every other province of Ireland (Stokes 1891b: 288-9).

The etymology in the *Cóir Anmann* plays upon *mo ana* and *Mumain* and goes on to note, *ar is innti nó adhradh bandía in tsónusa .i. Ana a hainm-sein* “for in it [Mumu “Munster”] was worshipped the goddess of prosperity: Ana was her name” (Stokes 1891b: 288-9). Here then Mumain or Mór Muman “the Great One of Munster” is undoubtedly the same goddess as Ana. Mór Mumain may be more directly translated as “the Great Mother”, for Irish *muime* (ia, f) (< **momia* or **mamia*), to which the name is related, means “nurse, foster mother”.

Obtaining the Underworld Cattle According to Echtra Nerai, etc.

In *Táin bó Regamna* (Windisch 1887: 242-7), Ind Mórrígan brings a cow from Síth Cruachan to Mag Muirthemne to be bulled by the Dub bull of Cuailnge, *tarb Dairi maic Fiachna*. Accompanied by Daire (a byname for Dagda), after the bulling, she drives the cow before her back to Cruachu in a chariot pulled by a one-legged red horse. Cú Chulainn thinks she has stolen the cow and tells her “all the cows of the Ulaid are my responsibility” (*is dir dam-sa bai Ulad*). When Cú Chulainn attacks her, she turns into a black bird on a tree limb above him (*ba hen-sa dub forsin craib ina farrad*). She tells Cú Chulainn of the origin of the cow and that his life is to be tied to that of the bull calf carried in the cow. When grown to be a bull, this calf will be the cause of the *Táin bó Cuailgne*. At this point, Mórrígan tells Cú Chulainn in what animal forms she will attack him on the *Táin*.

The story of the cow that the Mórrígan takes to Mag Muirthemne to be bulled by the Donn Cuailnge is described in *Echtra Nerai* (Meyer 1889). Also described is a descent into the *síd* to obtain the otherworld cattle. Here as well, Nera meic Nuado meic Niaduil, steward (*rechtaire*) to Ailill and Medb, weds a woman of the *síd*, who is probably Mórrígan. The name Nera is cognate with the Gaulish deity name Nerios “the Submerged” or “the Valiant” from Nérís-les-Bains. Here, the supposed father and grandfather of Nera are simply other bynames. Nuada is thus an alternative name for Nechtain, while Niadol (o,m) is a development of *nia* (gen. *niad, niath*) “nephew” (Niadol < **nepōt-ulo-*). In the *Dindsenchas*, the *Dindgnai in Broga* refers to *Firt mBoinne mna Nechtain meic Núad[a]t* “the tomb of Boand wife of Nechtain mac Nuadat” (Stokes 1894-5: 292-3), utilizing the bynames in much the same way.

On *samain*, Nera follows a troop (*sluaig*) from the underworld into the cave at Cruachu (*uaim Cruachaon*). This cave is itself the entrance to Síth Cruachan (Meyer 1889: 216-7, ‘6), where the *banchuire* carry the wounded Fraech in *Táin bó Fraích* (on the roof of the cave is the inscription to Vracca maqui Medvvi(a)). The troop from the *síd* take Nera to their king (*ríg*), who tells him to go to the house (*taig*) of a single woman (*ben aentomu*), who will make him welcome (Meyer 1889: 218, ‘6). Nera is supposed to return everyday to the king with a load of firewood.

The woman welcomes Nera and tells him that a vision he had before entering the cave indicates that on the next *samain* the *síd* inhabitants will destroy Rath Cruachu along with Ailill and Medb and their whole household, unless they destroy (*do orgain*) the *síd* first (Meyer 1889: 230, ‘8). To convince Ailill and Medb that he has been in the *síd*, Nera takes summer fruits (*toirthe samruid*) (Meyer 1889: 220, ‘10) with him when he journeys back to warn Medb. Though it had seemed like three days and three nights, Nera returns to Rath Cruachu the same night that he left. He stays with Ailill and Medb for a year till the next *samain*, at which point Ailill says to Nera, “Go and bring your people and your cattle from the *síd*, that we may go to destroy the *síd*” (*eirc co tucca do muinnter 7 do cetra assin tsid, connicsim-ni do orguin in tsido*) (Meyer 1889: 220, ‘11).

Nera returns to the *síd* to find that the woman has born him a son and that she has carried firewood to the king everyday in his stead. Nera goes back to tending his cattle in the *síd*, one of whom the *síd* woman had given to her son as soon as he was born. On the day Nera returns, they notice that this cow is missing, but they note that it too returns in the evening. The *síd* woman tells Nera that the cow has come from Cualnge, having been bulled by the Donn Cuailnge (Meyer 1889: 222 §12, §14). This cow is then the same cow as the one Mórrígan drives before her in *Táin bó Regamna*.

Nera brings the cattle and his family out of the *síd*, and the bull calf that is born of the cow battles the white-horned bull Finnbennach at Mag Cruachan (Meyer 1889: 226, ‘18). The bulls fight for a day and a night. The bull calf says that if its sire, the brown bull Donn Cuailnge,

were to fight Finnbennach, it would beat him all over the plain. Medb vows that she must see the two bulls fight, whence arises the *Táin*.

Nera's two sons, Err and Innell, are to be the first to be killed by Cú Chulainn (at Ath Gabla), and their heads are impaled on the branches of a tree (O'Rahilly 1967: 50, 153). The seventh-century *Verba Scathaige* refers to this event in the lines *tithis fíthog foibaramnus, fethal feula fedclassaib* "keenly pointed flesh-adorned timber will attest to wood feats" (Olmsted 1979b: 229-30). In the LU-*Táin* (ll. 303-6), Cú Chulainn cuts the tree at Ath Gabla. He cuts the tree with four forks, with one slash of his sword, and casts it into the ford with one hand. He then fights and beheads Err and Innell, who are the foster sons (*macdalta*) to Ailill, and their chariot drivers. He impales these heads on the four forks of the tree and sends back the bloody corpses and chariots. Medb's army arrives and attempts to read the Ogam message Cú Chulainn has cut in the side of the tree. The message puts a *geise* (taboo) on anyone passing that point unless he can cut and cast a similar tree one-handed. Fergus breaks fourteen chariots pulling out the forked tree.

Undoubtedly, Nera may be identified with Fraech and his *síd* wife with Mórrígan. *Echtra Nerai* would seem to preserve an alternative tradition of Fraech's obtaining the cattle from the *síd*. As we noted previously in the LL-*Táin*, the Mórrígan is one of the *síd* (*a síodaibb*) (l. 1989) and comes with her white red-eared cows from the *síd*. The woman from the *síd*, who gives Nera his cattle, bears him a son (or two sons), and owns the cow taken to be bulled by the Donn, is apparently none other than Mórrígan herself.

The story of the bulling in *Táin bó Regamna* and in *Echtra Nerai* is also preserved, though distorted, in the *Dindsenchas* poem of Odras (Gwynn 1903-35: IV, 196-201). Here Odras is the wife of Buchat "lord of cattle" (*Buchatt balcc búasach*; according to Rennes *Dindsenchas* ' 113, he is a *bóaire* of *Cormaic húi Cuind*). In the late tale *Esnada Tige Buchet* from *Echtra Cormaic* (Windisch and Stokes 1884-1909: III, l. 194), Eithne, another name for Boand, is the foster child of Buchet the hospitaller. In the *Dindsenchas* the connection between Mórrígan and Boand is made more explicit. The Mórrígan is called *ben in Dagda* "wife of the Dagda" (l. 19) and *dia sóach* "shape-shifting goddess" (l. 20). She lives in Uam Cruachan, where Nera goes to obtain his wife and cattle and were the *banchuire* carry the wounded Fraech in *Táin bó Fraích*. Significant as well is the fact that the river created by Odras flows toward the Segais, the site of Tobur Segsa and Síd Nechtain. The bull Slemon is known as *in dóel donn-sin* "that brown savage", preserving a clue that he is in origin the Donn Cuailnge.

The envious Queen fierce of mood (*in Rígan garb gnáthach*),
 the curious raven caller (*in fiachaire fáthach*),
 brought off with her the bull that lived in merry Liathmuine.
 The bull bulled a cow (*dairis boin*),
 the bull from the mound who was visible (*tarb túamann nar-taidhinn = no-ro-do-aitni*)
 from Temair to Sliab Fraích in Oiriu.

Slemon "Sleek" was that bull's name.
 Wild was that brown savage (*in dóel donn sin*),
 a mettlesome unmastered beast;
 his name stayed with that lowland.

There came to the blood-stained Cruachu,
 according to that weird and terrible tale,
 the mighty Mórrígan (*in Mórrígan mórda*),
 whose pleasure was in mustered hosts.
 (Gwynn 1903-35: IV, 198-9).

The Mórrígan then takes the bull and the cow to Uam Cruachan. The cow bulled by Slemon belongs to Odras who follows after the cow (see Stokes 1894-5: 65, ‘113). She falls asleep at Síd Cruachan, and Mórrígan turns her into a pool of water, which becomes the Shannon. The metrical *Dindsenchas* here refers to Mórrígan as *ind Agda*, which I translate as “cow goddess” after *in Dagda* “the Good God”, rather than Gwynn’s questionable and unattested “owner of kine”. Here Odras flows away to Segais, the source of the Boind.

The terrifying Mórrígan (*in Mórrígan úathmar*)
out of the cave at harmonious Cruachu (*a húaim Cruachan cubaid*)
came upon her (Odras) sleeping (*ina tathum*),
alas the combat on the hill.

The cow goddess (*ind agda*) chanted over her
with fierceness unabating
toward Bodbgna every spell
of power; she was full of guile.

The mighty woman (*in ben brígach*) melted away
toward Segais in a sleepy stream,
like a pool void of lustre.
She lost her victorious powers.

Odras is the sweet-sounding noble name
of the sluggish pallid streamlet.
(Gwynn 1903-35: IV, 200-1).

Obtaining the Underworld Cattle According to *Táin bó Fraích*

Táin bó Fraích preserves a shortened version of the more expanded tale *Echtra Nerai*. Fraech has agreed to go on the *táin na mbó Cúailngiu* with his cows (*búaib*) (ll. 312-3), as a condition for spending the night with Findabair (*fibaidi in n-aidchi sin d’adaig 7 Finndabair*) (l. 314). His mother arrives to tell him that his cattle (*baí*), his three sons, and his wife (*ben*) have been carried off to the Alps (*Sleib Aelpa*) (ll. 320-1). In a polygynistic society such as pagan and early Christian Ireland, there is nothing strange about having one wife and wooing another. However, the beginning of *Táin bó Fraích* disagrees with his later having a wife, stating outright that he had no wife (*can tabairt mná chuca*) (l.7). In *Táin bó Fraích*, Fraech then enlists Conall Cernach’s help in getting his cattle and his wife and sons back from a fort (*less*) guarded by a serpent (*naither*). A woman of the Ulstermen, otherwise unnamed, helps him in this task.

The poem of *Carn Fraoich* from the *Book of Uí Maine*, contains an important detail in that it provides a name for the woman who aids Fraech in taking the *less*. She is *Mumain ingen Feidlimed* (Carney 1952: 179, ‘78). In the poem, Mumain has been abducted and is in the *síth* when Fraech comes for his cattle. It is she who opens the gates to let him in. It is interesting that Mumain is said to be a daughter of Feidlimid, because Eithne is said to be the daughter of Eochaid Feidlech (the Dagda), while the lower part of the Boind in *Tochmarc Emire* is called Smuir mná Fedelmai. This Mumain who is Fraech’s wife is then none other than Mór Mumain. The text goes on to explain that “Mumain was Fraech’s original wife (*bean bunaidh*) before that in his kingly mound (*rightulaigh*); he did not bring hither Fionnabhair since he had got another like her” (Carney 1952: 184, 194; ‘78). As we have seen above, Mumain can be identified with Boand, who in *Táin bó Fraích* is Fraech’s mother’s sister (*siair a máthar*; l.

16). This implies that Boand, like Medb, was married to her nephew, verifying the equation between Fraech and Nechtain (< *Neptionos “the Nephew”).

Thus known as Nechtain, Fraech originally inhabits Brug na Boind before he is expelled by his cousin Oengus Mac ind Óc. Some yearly periodic festival may lie behind this theme, with the Brug occupied part of the year by Fraech and part of the year by Oengus. We should note that Fraech is presumably drowned by Cú Chulainn on *Imbolc*, the first day of spring. Also Mac ind Óc is conceived and born on the same day, *Samain*, the first day of winter. He takes over the Brug when he is nine years old.

Carney (1955: 31 ff.) has suggested that in *Táin bó Fraích* the phrase *cen tabairt mná chuca* (l.7) should be emended to *cen tabairt [tairb-dar]mna chuca* “without bringing a bull for bulling to them” after a phrase in *Carn Fraoich*.

Oc[h]t mblíadna na ba fá [a] smac[h]t
gan dáir aca gan athlacht.

Thus Meid (1970: 79) suggests the phrase in *Táin bó Fraích* should read, if one follows this emendation, *boí trebad occu co cenn ocht mblíadnae cen tabairt tairb darmae cuccu*, “He kept husbandry with them for eight years without bull to bull them.” Thus Fraech could have been married to Mumain or Boand all along with no conflict with line 7 of *Táin bó Fraích*.

However, there yet remains the probability that the whole episode of the cattle being taken is a development of an independent tale of Fraech’s obtaining the cattle in the first place. Here Fraech would actually be raiding the otherworld mound (*síd*) when he raids the fort (*less*) guarded by the serpent (*nathair*). Most likely it is Boand, the Mórrígan, who is this *nathair*, as when she fights Cú Chulainn in the form of an eel in the *Táin*. Cú Chulainn had resisted her wiles in the *Táin* saying, “It is not for a woman’s rear end (*níar thóin mná*) that I have come”, but rather to fight Medb’s army (O’Rahilly 1976: 176; YBL-*Táin*: ll. 1616). However, Fraech accepts the goddess’s wiles and goes under her power and influence (as with those who sleep with Macha ingen Ruad; Meyer 1907b: 324-6). Cú Chulainn, himself, also succumbs to an underworld goddess (Fand) in *Serglige Con Culainn*, so that Fraech’s succumbing to Mórrígan need not seem a total weakness of character.

Fraech’s Battle with Cú Chulainn in the *Táin*

According to the *Táin*, Nera’s sons from the *síd* are Err and Innell. The implication of the identification of Nera with Fraech and of Mórrígan with Boand is most profound for interpreting the *Táin*. Thus in the *Táin*, Cú Chulainn first kills Mórrígan’s and Fraech’s two sons Err and Innell, planting their heads on a forked tree he has cut with one stroke. Next, in the earliest reconstructed version, he battles Mórrígan, who under the byname Boand, is Fraech’s wife as well as his aunt. He breaks her ribs when she is in the guise of an eel. He breaks her eye when she is a wolf-bitch. He breaks her leg when she is a heifer. As we have seen, Fraech’s mother is none other than Medb, but the most profound implication of equating Medb and Aife is that Cú Chulainn is Fraech’s father. Thus Cú Chulainn wrestles and drowns his own son Fraech in the waters. In its original location in the *Táin* the battle takes place on *Imbolc*, considered to be the first day of spring. As noted elsewhere (Olmsted 1979b: 219-22), a Gaulish version of this episode is apparently portrayed on plate E of the Gundestrup cauldron. The episode from the *Táin* (LU/YBL-*Táin* ll. 733-61) may be outlined as follows.

Attempting to prevent the removal of the cattle, Cú Chulainn then cuts an oak tree in the path of the army at Mag Muicceda. He writes in *ogam* on the oak that none may pass it until a warrior has leaped over it (in his chariot). Thirty horses fall on the spot. Thirty chariots are

smashed there. Medb's army waits there until morning. Medb sends Fraech out with nine of his men to wrestle with Cú Chulainn.

Fraech set forth, a company of nine men, early in the morning and reached Ath Fúait. He saw a warrior bathing in the river. "Wait here," said Fraech to his followers, "till I fight with yonder man. He is not good in water (*Ní maith i n-uisciu*)." He took off his clothes and went into the water to Cú Chulainn. "Do not come against me," said Cú Chulainn. "You will die if you do, and I should be sorry to kill you."

"Indeed I shall go," said Fraech, "so that we may meet in the water, and give me fair play." "Arrange that as you please," said Cú Chulainn. "Let us each clasp the other (and wrestle)," said Fraech.

For a long time they kept wrestling in the water, and Fraech was submerged (*bátir Fraech*; varia: *contrascartar Fraech insin uisciu*). Cú Chulainn lifted him up again. "Now this time will you yield and accept your life?" said Cú Chulainn. "I will not," said Fraech. Cú Chulainn thrust him under again and Fraech died. He came to land. His people carried his body to the encampment. Ever after that the ford was Ath Fraích.

The whole encampment mourned for Fraech. They saw a band of women (*banchuri*) dressed in green tunics bending over the corpse of Fraech mac Idaid. They carried him off to the *síd* mound which was call Síd Fraích ever afterwards. Fergus leaped over the oak tree in his own chariot. (O'Rahilly 1976: 26-7, 148-9).

In his 1955 work Carney attempted to show that the *Aided Fraích* episode in the *Táin* was grafted into the *Táin* during the eighth century by the supposed composer of *Táin bó Fraích*. This eighth-century "Macpherson" supposedly adopted his *Táin* interpolation after a genuine incident undertaken by Fergus earlier in the story. As O'Rahilly has pointed out, however, the Fraech episode is not really modeled after the one proposed by Carney; only the tree cutting and the use of chariots are common to both.

As I subsequently pointed out (Olmsted 1978, 1979b, 1992b), a more plausible explanation for the discrepancies in the *Aided Fraích* episode is that it was simply shifted by the *Táin*'s compiler from its original location elsewhere in the story. The episode is *only* out of context in its present location, where it occurs before the individual combats are arranged. It is not out of context when it is returned to its original location toward the end of the tale. Thus it is only on first superficial examination that it *seems* to be an interpolation to the story.

As no eighth-century manuscripts containing the *Táin* survive, convenient for Carney's theories, it is impossible directly either to verify or to refute Carney's suggestion that an eighth-century Irish monk tampered with one of the manuscripts containing the *Táin* to further his own ends. Other considerations, however, suggest this tampering did not occur. One of the earliest poetic summaries of the *Táin* comes from the now lost eighth-century *Lebor Dromma Snechta*. This early poetic summary, the seventh-century *Verba Scáthaige*, refers to the confrontation between Fraech and Cú Chulainn (see Glossary: Cú Chulainn, also Olmsted 1979b: 229-238). Thus Fraech was clearly included in the *Táin* prior to 700 AD.

Lines "25-27 of the poem contain one of four references in the *Verba Scáthaige* to the exploits of Cú Chulainn in the *Táin*. Here women-troops (*banchuire*) mourn the death of a feat-performing (*clesamnach*) warrior (*belend*) after he is killed in a bare-handed (*banderneck*) combat with Cú Chulainn. Only in episode '18 of the *Táin* (ll. 733-761) do *banchuire* mourn the slaying of one of Cú Chulainn's opponents. Here as in the seventh-century poem, the combat is a bare-handed one. After wrestling with him in a river, Cú Chulainn drowns Fraech. The *banchuire* then carry the drowned Fraech off to the otherworld (*Síd Fraích*), presumably the abode of his aunt Boand, to be made whole again (as in *Táin bó Fraích*). It is, thus, unlikely

that the *Aided Fraích* episode was an eighth-century interpolation into the *Táin* since it is referred to in the seventh-century *Verba Scáthaige*.

The ending of *Cath Findchoradh* (Dobbs 1923: 414-9) was apparently adapted from the final battle of the *Táin*. Fergus's using the Caladbolg to attack the Ulstermen and being stopped by Cormac from attacking Conchobar is identical to the final battle of the *Táin*. Fraech is sent into battle alongside of Fergus. Unfortunately, here the fragmentary text ends. It does suggest that Fraech's drowning takes place after Fergus enters the foray. As I have shown elsewhere (Olmsted 1978: 544-5), the metrical *Dindsenchas* (Gwynn 1913: III, 364-5) is undoubtedly correct in identifying *Síd Fraích* with *Carn Fraích* (Carnfree, Roscommon). This identification places the original storyteller's localization of *Aided Fraích* between Gairech and Irgairech, where Cú Chulainn battles Fergus, and Cruachu, where the Donn bull kills Finnbenach. Here, too, is the detail that Medb quit the field (of battle) at the death of Fraech.

101 By the hand of Cú Chulainn, famed for goodly feats,
the slender youth surely perished,
in a river-fight, though it be a reproach,
he fell by the hand of the strong Hound.

...

After his drowning in the brimming stream,
his head was severed and his war-cry silenced;
the army leaned on their spears
while their great prince fought a fatal match.

All the army made a pause
around the head awhile;
they utter around the head a cry of mourning;
it had been better for them to avenge it.

Before Medb quitted the field (*dofacaib in mag*)
she saw a strange sight drawing nigh,
women folk, sweet voiced (*bantrocht guth-bind*), famous long after,
their beauty reflected in the streams shining waters.

The blooming women folk bear
the body away with them to the peaceful *síd*;
they utter wailing and vehement grief;
unbefitting was their general woe. (Gwynn 1913: III, 362-5).

It is clear, however, that in the process of being displaced, *Aided Fraích*, as it stands in the *Táin*, has undergone considerable curtailment. The episode of jumping the tree length-wise in chariots is also a farce. Furthermore, Fraech was a noted *marcach* "horseman" and did not use a chariot. As Thurneysen (1921: 286) noted, "*der Held nicht in einem Wagen fährt... sondern mit seinen Genossen reitet*". In *Táin bó Fraích* we learn that each of Fraech's men rode a "light grey horse with golden bridle bits" (*gabor bocglass fo suidiu cach fir ocus beillge óir friu*) (Meid 1970: 33, l. 20). Thus in the original version they must have attempted to jump the tree on horseback.

According to *Táin bó Fraích*, Fraech also goes to Boind "his mother's sister" in Mag Breg (which is where the Brug is located) to get his seven horn blowers (*morfessar cornaire*) and his three harpers (*triar cruittine*) (Meid 1967: 1-2, ll. 16, 38-9). One of Ailill's demands in the bride-price for Findabair is that he come with him and "in full force" and with his "musicians

to carry off the cattle from Cuailnge” (*tuidecht duit linn cot lín uiliu ocus cot áes chíuil do thabairt ina mbo a Cuailngiu*) (Meid 1970: 36, ll. 146-7).

These musicians must be destined to play some role on the *Táin*, yet they are not mentioned in the *Aided Fraích* episode. Other sources describe what this role would be. The three harpers which Fraech obtains from Boand are three sons to her by Uaithne, the Dagda’s harper. Their playing makes labor easier for cattle and women, but men die from the sweetness of the music. Men also die if they hear the hornblowers play. In *Táin bó Fraích* as he returns to Cruachu, wounded from battle with the water beast, Fraech’s hornblowers (*cornairi*) play so that thirty men die from the sadness of the music (ll. 230-231).

The role these hornblowers are to play in the confrontation between Cú Chulainn and Fraech is specifically spelled out in Senbheg’s poem from the *Bretha Nemed* tract.

Senbheg ua Eibric from the *síd* went to mag Segais seeking poetic inspiration. He encountered Cú Chulainn before him blocking his way (*in-gaib*). He said to him that he was seeking the fruitful nut of the hazel of fair mast.

...

Senbheg then uttered a great lay to Cú Chulainn. And from that song Cú Chulainn was powerless (before him). He placed his hand to his harp. He played the music of weeping to him till he saw him weeping and wailing. He played the music of mirth to him till he saw him laughing. He played the music of sleeping to him until he professed him asleep. Then he brought the nine copper (nuts) from the Boind. (CIH: 1120.16-32).

In the struggle between Fraech and Cú Chulainn, the role the hornblowers are to play while he is engaged in battle is simply to put Cú Chulainn to sleep so that Fraech may deal with him unhampered. Like the Seirénes (Sirens), they are to render Cú Chulainn powerless while he is engaged in the battle.

Further, the episode of women troops (*banchuire*) carrying the dead Fraech into *síd Fraích* has been given short shift in the *Táin*. In *Táin bó Fraích* to heal him from the wound he has received from the beast, Fraech is washed in a vat or tub filled with broth made from fresh bacon and the flesh of heifers (l. 226: *úrsaille agus cárna samaisci*). Fraech is then carried off into the Síd Crúachan by the woman troop of Boind (*bantrochta Bóinni*) (ll. 240-242) and returns healed the next day. It is this event, the most important detail, which has been left out of the episode in the *Táin*. Fraech is to return the next day out of the underworld, alive and whole, after being drowned by his father Cú Chulainn. To the early Christian’s monks this must have gone too far. In the LL *Táin*, the *Aided Fraích* episode was dropped altogether.

The Earliest Version of the *Táin*: Seventh-Century Poetic References to *Táin bó Cuailnge*

There are three seventh-century poetic references to the *Táin Bó Cuailnge* (see Olmsted 1992b, 1992c). These poetic descriptions of events in the *Táin* occur in *Verba Scathaige* (for a glossary and analysis see Olmsted 1979b: 227-240), in *Conailla Medb Míchuru* (Olmsted 1988c: 3-72; 1992b; 1992c), and in *Mórrígan Rosc* (Olmsted 1982: 165-172). (*Verba Scathaige*, *Mórrígan rosc*, and the first half of *Conailla Medb* are quoted in full in the Glossary: Cú Chulainn). Putting these three sources together provides the earliest glimpses of the nature of the *Táin*. These glimpses largely agree with a reconstruction of the ninth-century text from a philological analysis of the manuscript versions of the prose tale (Olmsted 1979b: 186-211; 241-251).

The prose introduction to Lucreth's poem *Conailla Medb Míchuru* from the *Laud Genealogies*, apparently written at a considerably later date than the poem itself, serves mainly as an outline of the poem by someone to whom the language of the texts and the traditions were less remote than they are to us today. His reference to the *Táin* is limited to the following.

For Fergus fought the Ulstermen on account of a woman, that is on account of Medb Cruachan. He waged battle against his own people for a woman's rear.

Unlike the prose introduction, the poem itself dates to the second half of the seventh century, sometime shortly after the composition of *Verba Scathaige*, considerably later than the date of 600 AD suggested by Carney (for a discussion of the date see Olmsted 1988c: 36-39). Actual references to the *Táin* as opposed to references to the *rémscela* are also limited in Lucreth's poem itself (also contra Carney).

- 6 Being in an area of wilderness of bad measure
 badly were her clients situated.
 She [Medb] sought the readiness of her armies,
 expectant of wealth from Ailill,
10 firmly demanding gifts of aid.
 He sent forth the full consent of a great warrior.
- ...
- 15 The force of valor of Fergus excited
 the men of the muster of the lands of Ireland.
 The leader of the troops of foreigners,
 of the skilled Ulstermen of swift conflict,
 not quiet was this warrior with his bloody stroke of battle,
20 with a cry not feeble of commands with the lustful sound
 of a lustful king who would make deafening outcries
 in the contention for the ox of the Ulstermen,
 to which Medb set out by word of vow.

In Lucreth's poem lines 8-12 refer to Thurneysen's episode #1, lines 15-16 refer to episodes #1 and #7, lines 17-21 refer to episodes #90 and #91, and lines 22-23 refer to episode #92b.

We may compare this witness to the *Táin* to that of the nearly contemporary and probably also seventh-century *Mórrígan Rosc* from the LU-YBL *Táin*.

- 5 Unaccustomed is the fine
 enemies impose
 on the Brega people.
 It has been in men.
- ...
- 11 If you [the Black Bull] graze in the plain
 the bog-lands of grass,
 (what was) deep green is (now) deep black.
 By fire would the ox be overpowered from his plain.
- 15 The armies beguile the spirit hero of Bodb (*scoith nía[b] Boidb*).
 A fierce bellowing
 is the payment for the dead man.
 Saying of sorrow,
 the shelter of Cuailnge (will be)

- 20 five days from his death
 after the fight of the great
 youths of his people to death.

In this poem lines 5-8 refer to episode #25, and lines 11-14 refer to episode #27. Line 15 may possibly refer to episode #18 (which was shifted from its original location in the midst of #92). In line 15 Bodb (o-stem, gen. sing. Boidb) more probably refers to Bodb, king of the *síd* before Femun in Munster, the original owner of Findbennach. Lines 16-20 refer to episode #93, and lines 21-22 refer to episode #84.

As noted above, also bearing witness to the *Táin* is the seventh-century *Verba Scathaige*.

- 3 Alone against an extensive herd
 warriors will surround you [Cú Chulainn];
 5 necks will be cut through by you.
 From a back-slashing blade, Setanta
 will be bloody in the stream.
 Keenly pointed flesh-adorned
 timber will attest to wood-feats.
 10 Cattle will be carried off from Brega;
 hostages will be sworn from the people.
 Through a showery fortnight
 your cattle will stride through passes.
 ...
 17 The army which will swarm with fires
 is a legion they lead in many companies.
 ...
 21 You will suffer a wound of vengeance,
 afflicted from encounters with hedges of spears.
 By an iron point will the red-shield be splintered,
 blazing against pierced skin.
 25 Against the bare-handed warrior
 goes a warrior performing feats;
 women-troops (*banchuire*) will mourn the deed.
 Overwhelming Medb and Ailill,
 a sickbed awaits you,
 30 facing Echtga in angry fierceness.
 I see that Finnbennach will fight
 against loud-bellowing Donn Cuailnge.

Here line 3 refers to episode #6, lines 6-7 refer to episode #52b, lines 8-9 refer to episode #10, lines 10-11 refer to episodes #25 and #27, lines 12-13 refer to #32a, #44, and #45, lines 17-18 refer to episode #27, lines 21 to 24 refer to episodes #52b and #68, lines 21-24 refer to the shifted episode #18, line 28 refers to episode #92d, line 29 refers to episodes #69 and #84, and lines 30-32 refer to episode #93a.

Weaving together these sources after the original order of the two ninth-century versions of the *Táin* in the LU and YBL manuscripts, one may piece together a composite picture of the *Táin* as it appeared in the seventh century. Of course, this picture is fragmented and incomplete, because not all of the original episodes necessarily are covered by the references in the poems. Nonetheless, the composite picture of the *Táin* which emerges from these three seventh-century sources differs little from the picture of the prose tale which emerges from selecting the genuinely early episodes from the manuscript sources (see Olmsted 1979b: 186-

211, 241-251, which gives an outline of the episodes of the *Táin* that a linguistic analysis indicates to be ninth-century or earlier). The following table outlines these correlations.

Episode	<i>Táin</i>	<i>Con. Medb.</i>	<i>Mór. Rosc.</i>	<i>Verb. Scath.</i>
1	19-20	8-16		
6	214-225			3
7	226-242	15-16		
10	303-365			8-9
25	842-857		5-8	10-11
27	867-871		11-15	10-11
32a	914-912			12-13, 17-18
44	1348-55			12-13
52b	1709-38			6-7, 21-24
68	2182-99			21-24
84	3427-42		21-22	29
90	3540-88	17-21		
91	3597-03	17-21		
92	3603-39	21-23		
18*	731-761		15	21-24
93	3649-67		16-20	30-32

Weaving together these sources into a composite, one may generate the following seventh-century summary of the *Táin* (which obviously leaves out many other episodes also current in the *Táin* during the seventh century, but not referenced in the selective view of these poems).

Being in an area of wilderness with poorly situated clients (in Cruachu in Connaught), Medb, in seeking the readiness of her armies, is expectant of aid from Ailill. Thus she firmly demands aid from Ailill. Ailill, the great warrior sends forth his consent (from Tara in Leinster). Medb musters the men of Ireland for her army. Alone against this extensive army is Cú Chulainn. Fergus (the Ulster exile in refuge with Medb) is placed in charge of Medb's armies. The men of Medb's army are excited to have Fergus with his force of valor leading them. Killing several men at the onset, Cú Chulainn places their heads on the branches of a tree, which he has cut with one stroke, attesting to his wood feats.

In attacking Brega, Medb imposes an unusual fine demanding payment in human bondage from the countryside. Collecting the women, children, and cattle together, from Brega she carries off cattle and hostages. Her army then divides into companies and scours the countryside setting it ablaze so that the cattle are overpowered from the plain, and what was once deep green is now deep black. Medb drives the cattle and hostages through the passes of Cualnge into the north, and for a rain-filled fortnight she raises villages making off with more cattle and women. Medb's army captures the great bull Donn Cuailnge.

Cú Chulainn, alone confronting Medb's army, fights an opponent (Loch) in the stream. With a back-slashing blade this opponent (Loch) reddens the stream with Cú Chulainn's blood. Cú Chulainn suffers a wound of vengeance inflicted by so many opponents at once that they form a hedge of spears (Gaile Dána and his 27 sons). His own red shield is splintered by one of these spears, blazing against his pierced skin. Exhausted from overwhelming Medb and Ailill, a sickbed awaits Cú Chulainn. Thus the youths of Ulster go out to fight Medb's army, fighting till all are killed. Fergus goes into the fight with his bloody stroke of battle. As a lustful king he makes

deafening outcries in battle. Fulfilling her word of vow, Medb sends the bull Donn Cuailnge off toward Cruachu.

Cú Chulainn, now roused and in spite of his wounds, seeks to prevent Medb's making off with the cattle, facing the Echtga mountains of Connaught in angry fierceness. Against Cú Chulainn (in the stream) goes the barehanded warrior (*belend*) performing feats. Cú Chulainn kills him (Fraech) and women troops (*banchuire*) mourn his death. Next, the bull Finnbennach fights loud-bellowing Donn Cuailnge. In vengeance for the death of the spirited hero of Bodb (*scoith nía[b] Boidb*), the Donn Cuailnge is killed, five days after the Ulster youths are killed.

A Tentative Attempt at Reconstructing The Archetype Celtic Myths from the Irish Sources

*Medva Conceives *Neōtulos or *Nectionos

The prototype for this reconstructed myth of the conception of Fraech is derived from several sources. *Carn Fraoich* tells us that Aife (?<*Apisvia “Winding Waters”?) was the name of Fraech's mother. The *ogam* inscription at Uam Cruachan identifies the mother of Vraiccas as Medvv(a). The end of *Tochmarc Emire* and the beginning of *Aided Óenfir Aife* provide the actual details of the myth. Here as elsewhere in this section, I have reconstructed the supposed earlier names of the Irish deities in question. To draw attention to the tentative nature of this attempt as well as the tentative nature of this section in general, I have utilized an asterisk * before all these names.

While *Sentonotios is training in arms, his instructress becomes embroiled in battle with *Medva. After a considerable struggle in which his sword is shattered, *Sentonotios makes her look up to check on her chariot, the thing she holds most dear. When *Medva looks up he grabs her by the breasts and throws her over his back. Before he will let her go, he makes her promise to bear him a son. The son she bears is *Vroicos, otherwise known as *Nectionos (< *Neptionos) or *Neōtulos (< *Nepōtulos), the nephew of *Mamianī.

*Nectionos Obtains the Underworld Cattle and Weds *Mamianī-*Mōrorīgana

The details of this myth come from *Carn Fraoich*, the end of *Táin bó Fraích*, and *Echtra Nerai*. *Táin bó Fraích* informs us that Mumain is the name of Fraech's wife. She helps him obtain the cattle from the otherworld. A variant of this same myth is found in *Echtra Nerai*.

*Nectionos-*Vroicos journeys into the underworld on Midwinter's eve (Samonios) seeking the white red-eared cows who provide milk for eight years from a single bulling. Their production is so abundant that the milk overflows all vessels and a dozen cows can feed an entire army. The underworld fortress is guarded by a serpent or an eel, none other than *Mamianī, herself, *Nectionos's aunt. *Mamianī takes on the guise of a beautiful woman and offers her love to *Nectionos-*Vroicos, who succumbs to her advances and falls under her power after sleeping with her. *Vroicos stays in the underworld with *Mamianī for most of the year.

*Nectinos Rules the Underworld Waters

Details of this myth come from the *Dindsenchas* tale of *Boand* and *Brug na Bóinde*, the *Bretha Nemed* tale of *Senbheg*, and *Táin bó Fraích*.

In being wed to the goddess *Mamianī-*Mōrorīgana-*Bovinda, the goddess of the great river (here *Bovinda), *Nectinos gains control of the source from which ultimately all rivers flow. Three cup-bearers to *Nectinos dispense the waters of the spring. Over the spring grows a hazel tree, which bears foliage, blossoms, and fruit all within a single hour. The fruit fall into the spring, in which live trout or salmon with golden fins who eat the nuts. These nuts turn their bellies purple. The hazels induce poetic wisdom in whomever eats them. From the spring flow the seven streams of wisdom.

Besides his white red-eared cattle, *Nectinos-*Vroicos also obtains from *Mamianī-*Bovinda three magic hornblowers, whom she conceived from *Dagodivos's harper. It was this harper who first played the music to her as she bore the three hornblowers. The music that he played and the music of these three hornblowers is the Music of Weeping, the Music of Laughing, and the Music of Sleeping. Their music makes parturition easier for cows and women, but men are rendered powerless on hearing it and even die from the rapture of listening to it. The waters controlled by *Nectinos-*Vroicos also play a role in healing as well, especially for problems of women.

*Mamianī (Matrona) Conceives *Makukuonos (Maponos)

This myth is reconstructed from the *Dindsenchas* tales of *Brugh na Bóinde* and *Boand*, *Cath Maige Tuired*, and *Tochmarc Étaíne*.

*Mamianī-*Bovinda-*Mōrorīgana-*Eitonia, wife of *Nectinos, makes a tryst with *Dagodivos, for union with him is her sole desire. *Nectinos is sent off on a day's journey so that *Bovinda and *Dagodivos may have their tryst. After bathing in the river by the underworld entrance, *Mōrorīgana meets *Dagodivos on the banks of the *Bovinda river, one leg on each bank with nine loose tresses in her hair. They fall to love-making on Midwinter day. The place where they make love is known as the bed of the couple. To prevent *Nectinos from finding out about their union, *Dagodivos causes the sun to stand still for nine months so that the child is conceived and born on the same day, Midwinter. On his way back, *Nectinos perceives a strange ripeness across the fields, for the day has in fact been nine months long. The son born to *Mōrorīgana and *Dagodivos is called *Makukuonos-*Iovincos "the Young Son" since he is conceived and born on the same day.

*Makukuonos (Maponos) is Taken from *Mamianī (Matrona)

This myth is reconstructed from the *Dindsenchas* tales of *Brugh na Bóinde* and *Boand*, *Cath Maige Tuired*, and *Tochmarc Étaíne*.

*Mamianī-*Bovinda gives birth to *Makukuonos, saying that as long as earth is strong, she will not bring him home with her to *Nectinos. *Dagodivos and *Bovinda part, leaving the boy on the plain by the river. The child is taken up by another (Irish

Midir), kept hidden away, and raised apart from his mother, *Mamianī-*Bovinda, for whom he weeps. Finally the one who raises him helps him to obtain his mother's underworld abode from *Nectionos. He asks for the underworld fortress but for a day and a night, but it is in days and nights that the whole world is measured. At that point *Nectionos goes to stay with his mother *Medva.

*Nectionos-*Vroicos battles the Lake Monster

This myth is taken from *Táin bó Fraích*.

*Nectionos-*Vroicos comes out of the underworld to the realm of his mother *Medva to seek the hand of *Makukuonos's daughter. For *Makukuonos (Irish Ailill) is now wed to his aunt *Medva. Since *Nectionos-*Vroicos is good at swimming he is asked to swim across a pool where a water monster (*beist assind uisci*) dwells to fetch from an island berries (*cáera*) growing on a branch of a rowan tree (*chroib ... din chairthend*) (Meid 1967: 8-9, ll. 194-200). Although he initially battles the beast barehanded, *Makukuonos's daughter takes *Nectionos-*Vroicos a sword with which he beheads the beast. As he returns to *Medva's dwelling, wounded from this battle (his hand apparently being bitten off), his hornblowers play so that thirty men die from the sadness of the music. To heal him from the wound he has received from the beast, he is washed in a vat or tub filled with broth made from fresh bacon and the flesh of heifers. He is then carried off into the underworld cave by the woman troop of *Bovinda. He returns healed the next day.

*Mōrorīgana-*Mamianī's Cow is Bullied by *Donnotarvos

This myth is reconstructed from *Táin bó Regamna*, *Echtra Nerai*, *Verba Scathaige*, and the *Dindsenchas* tale of Odras.

*Nectionos-*Vroicos returns to the underworld from his abode with his mother *Medva to obtain his cattle and horn blowers given him by *Bovinda-*Mōrorīgana. He finds that in his absence she has born him two sons. One of *Nectionos's twelve white red-eared cows is missing. *Mōrorīgana tells it will soon be back from being bullied by *Donnotarvos.

In driving the cow before her after it is bullied, *Mōrorīgana is challenged by *Sentonotios, who tells her that all that cattle of the plain are his responsibility and concern. She transforms herself into a raven, alights on a tree branch and tells him that the Great Cattle Raid will arise through this calf.

*Nectionos brings the cows and his two sons out of the underworld (*síd*), and the bull calf that is born of the cow fights the white-horned bull *Vindobennacos, which belongs to *Medva. The bulls fight for a day and a night. The bull calf says that if its sire the brown bull *Donnotarvos were to fight *Vindobennacos, it would beat him all over the plain. *Medva vows that she must see the two bulls fight, whence arises the Great Cattle Raid.

The Beginning of the Great Cattle Raid

This episode is reconstructed from the *Táin*. A goddess (?*Medva?) is also portrayed in an elephant biga on Gundestrup plate B, as with goddess portrayals in Greek and Roman coinage; see Scullard 1974: tabs. XV d, XX c, XIV a; Olmsted 1979b: 211-214; 1993; 2001c: 236).

*Medva gathers together her army to set out on the raid to get the great bull *Donnotauros. To bring luck on the expedition, she makes a clockwise circuit of her army in her chariot. *Nectinos two sons are the first to be killed by *Sentonotios in the Great Cattle Raid, and their heads will be impaled on the branches of a tree cut by *Sentonotios with one blow. Keenly pointed flesh-adorned timber will attest to his wood feats.

*Mamianī Offers her Love to *Sentonotios

At the start of the Great Cattle Raid, *Mōrorīgana-*Bovinda is attracted to *Sentonotios's great prowess and valor. She comes to him in the guise of a beautiful young woman and offers him her love him, as Ishtar does to Gilgamesh (Gardner and Maier 1984: 148-9). But, (like Gilgamesh) *Sentonotios scorns her love. Details of this offer come from *Táin bó Regamna* and LU/YBL-*Táin*. The actual struggle would seem to be portrayed on Gundestrup plate C (Olmsted 1979b: 216-8; 2001c: 236). Here the horned serpent or eel is the White Cow goddess in her guise as an eel, the panther-like creature is the wolf bitch, and the magic cattle (the hornless red heifers) have been portrayed as griffins.

*Sentonotios sees coming towards him a young woman of surpassing beauty, clad in clothes of many colors. He asks who she is, and she tells him that she is the daughter of a king. She tells him that she has come to him because she fell in love with him on hearing of his fame. She offers him her treasures and her white red-eared cattle. He replies that it is not a good time to come to him on a tryst. The conditions are bad, there is even famine. It would not be easy for him to meet a woman while engaged in the strife. Then she tells him that she will help in the struggle, thus giving away her identity. His reply is stern and emphatic, reaping scorn on her. He tells her that he certainly didn't undertake this struggle for a woman's rear end. She replies that it will be so much the worse for him when she goes against him as he is fighting his enemies. She vows to go in the form of an eel under his feet in the ford, so that he will fall. He again mocks her stating that her being an eel seems more likely to him than her being a king's daughter. He responds that he shall seize her between his toes so that her ribs are crushed, and she shall suffer that blemish until she gets a vow rendering blessing.

She replies in turn that she will drive the cattle over him in the ford while she takes on the form of a grey she-wolf. He tells her that he will throw a stone at her from his sling and smash her eye in her head. She next threatens to come at him in the guise of a white red-eared heifer in front of the cattle and force the cattle to rush upon him in the fords and pools. He counters that he will cast a stone at her so that her legs will break. Whereupon she leaves him.

*Sentonotios Kills the Sons of *Nectonos and *Mamianī

The following episode is reconstructed from the *Táin* and the *Verba Scathaige*.

*Mōrorīgana's two sons by *Vroicos are the first of *Medva's warriors to be killed by *Sentonotios on the Great Cattle Raid. Their heads are impaled on the branches of a tree. Keenly pointed flesh-adorned timber will attest to wood feats. *Sentonotios cuts the tree with four forks, with one slash of his sword, and casts it into the ford with one hand. He then fights and beheads *Mōrorīgana's sons and their chariot drivers. He impales these heads on the four forks and sends back the bloody corpses and chariots. *Medva's army arrives and attempts to read the message *Sentonotios has cut in the side of the tree. The message puts a taboo on anyone passing that point unless he can cut and cast a similar tree one-handed.

*Mamianī Battles *Sentonotios in the River

The following episode is reconstructed from the *Táin*. It is also found on Gundestrup plate-C (Olmsted 1979b: 216-219; 2001c: 236).

When *Sentonotios is battling his opponent in the ford, *Mōrorīgana comes in the form of an eel in the ford, rapping herself around him so that he falls. His opponent hacks with his sword till the ford is red with his blood. *Sentonotios arises striking the eel with his feet so that her ribs are crushed. She next drives the cattle over him in the ford while she takes on the form of a grey she-wolf. He throws a stone at her from his sling and smashes her eye in her head. She next comes at him in the guise of a white red-eared heifer in front of the cattle and forces the cattle to rush upon him in the fords and pools. He casts a stone at her and breaks her legs. *Mōrorīgana then runs off, and *Sentonotios kills his opponent with a spear cast upwards from under the water.

Next *Mōrorīgana comes in the guise of an old woman and, in *Sentonotios's presence, milks a cow with three teats. The reason she comes is to be succored by him, for no one whom *Sentonotios has wounded ever recovers unless he himself aids in his (or her) cure. Maddened by thirst, *Sentonotios asks her for milk. She gives him the milk of one teat. *Sentonotios blesses her so that her eye is cured. He asks her for the milk of another teat. She gives it to him. He thanks her, giving her another beneficial blessing. He asks for a drink from the third teat, and she gives it to him. He gives her the blessings of the gods and the nether gods. Thus the Great Queen *Mōrorīgana is made whole again.

*Nectonos Battles *Sentonotios in the River

This myth is reconstructed from *Táin bó Fraích*, the *Aided Fraích* episode of the *Táin*, the *Verba Scathaige*, *Aided Óenfir Aife*, *Carn Fraích*, and *Senbecc's Poem* from the *Bretha Nemed* tract. It is also portrayed on plate E of the Gundestrup cauldron (Olmsted 1979b: 219-222; 2001c: 235). In the narrative portrayal passing clockwise around the plate, first four men on horseback attempt to jump over a tree lengthwise. Then nine men march out (or alternatively are standing leaning on their spears, as in *Carn Fraích*). Three of these nine marching men are horn blowers and one, with the boar helmet, can be identified with one of the horsemen who jump the tree. The god who is shown cracking the eels ribs on plate C is seen again on this plate E, now holding a man over a vat and about to drown him.

In attempting to stop *Medva from making off with the cattle, *Sentonotios cuts the tree putting a taboo on it that no one may cross that point until they have jumped the tree lengthwise on horseback. Thirty horses fall in the attempt. Early the next morning, *Vroicos, the only son of *Sentonotios (by *Medva), sets forth in a company of nine men including his three hornblowers to seek *Sentonotios. He sees the warrior bathing in the river. *Vroicos tells his followers to wait until he fights with *Sentonotios. He takes off his clothes and goes into the water to confront *Sentonotios. *Sentonotios tells him not to come against him, for he will die if he does so, and he would be sorry to kill him (his only son).

*Vroicos tells him that he shall come indeed, so that they may meet in the water. He requests fair play. *Sentonotios tells him to arrange their combat as he pleases. *Vroicos request that each clasp a hand about the other and wrestle in the river. For a long time they wrestle in the water, while the hornblowers play their Siren-like music. *Vroicos is submerged, but *Sentonotios lifts him up again. He ask *Vroicos to yield and accept his life. *Vroicos replies that he will not yield. For the honor of his people, *Sentonotios thrusts his only son under again, thus killing *Vroicos. He carries the body to the shore, stating, "Behold my son for you, my people". *Medva's people carry *Vroicos's body to the encampment.

The Resurrection of *Nectonos

This myth is reconstructed from *Carn Fraích*, *Táin bó Fraích*, and *Aided Fraich*.

*Medva and all of her people mourn the body of the slain *Vroicos. The women of *Bovinda, dressed in green, then come to mourn the body as well. Wailing, the women of *Bovinda carry the body off into the underworld. But the next day a wondrous sight is seen. *Vroicos returns again alive from out of the underworld with his horn blowers or trumpeters playing before him.

The Two Bulls Fight in the Lake

This myth is reconstructed from *Táin bó Cuailnge*. It is also portrayed on plate D of the Gundestrup cauldron (Olmsted 1979b: 222-223; 2001c: 236).

The two great bulls, one white and the other black, fight in the cosmic waters. After the Black Bull kills the White Bull, he scatters bits and pieces of him about the land, forming prominent landscape features. *Medva's host then kills the Black Bull.

As we shall see (section on Diónyosos), these two bulls are the end result of transformations of two gods of two fruit, who battle each other as men, lions, fish, and bulls, as portrayed on Gundestrup plate A (see Olmsted 1979b: 214-216; 2001c: 235).

IE Correlatives of the Celtic Gods of Water

The Anglo-Saxon Account of Bēowulf's Fight with Grendel's Mother

Bēowulf begins with an account of the murderous attacks of Grendel, one of the monstrous brood of Cain. Grendel comes out of a Danish mire, attacking king Hrōthgār's hall and carrying off men in their sleep into a lake in the mire. Because of Grendel's attacks, Hrōthgār's hall stands empty for twelve years. Word of the menace spreads far and wide (Wrenn 1953: §§ I-II).

On hearing about Grendel, Bēowulf the Geat decides to take up the challenge of ridding Hrōthgār and his Danes of this menace. Bēowulf and his war band make sail for Denmark, arrayed in fine clothes and equipped with splendid weapons. On landing, Bēowulf and his men are challenged by a coastal watchman. The watchman comments on the fine array of Bēowulf's noble war band. The watchman states that, unless appearance and splendor lie, never before has one greater than Bēowulf approached his shores (*Næfre ic māran geseah / eorla ofer eorþan, ðonne is ēower sum, / secg on searwum*; ll. 247-249). Bēowulf makes known the purpose for which he has come. The watchman leads them to the road to Hrōthgār's hall (§§ III-IV).

On reaching Hrōthgār's hall, Bēowulf is announced by the steward (§ V). Knowing of Bēowulf's noble birth, Hrōthgār welcomes him into his hall. Already Bēowulf's reputation has reached Hrōthgār. Hrōthgār has heard that Bēowulf has "in the grip of his hand the strength of thirty men" (*thæt hē thrītiges manna mægen-cræft on his mund-gripe*; ll. 378-9). Bēowulf describes to Hrōthgār how he has hunted sea monsters at night while swimming in the ocean, killing them one by one (*ýðde eotena cyn, ond on ýðum slōg / niceras nihtes, nearo-thearfe drēah, / wræc Wedera nīð - wēan āhsodon - forgrand gramum*; ll. 421-4). Because of his great skill he will disdain to use weapons against Grendel. His hands alone will suffice to struggle against the claws of the monster (*ac ic mid grāpe sceal / fōn wið fēonde ond ymb feorh sacan, / lād wið lāthum*; ll. 438-9) (§ VI).

Hrōthgār gives a banquet in Bēowulf's honor (§ VII). Unferð relates that Bēowulf swam with Brecca for seven nights in the ocean in winter, contending as to who was the better swimmer. Bēowulf adds that each carried a naked sword while swimming. As he swam through the night, a mighty sea monster (*mihtig mere-dēor*) attacked Bēowulf, but he killed it with his sword (*hilde-bille*; ll. 557-8) (§ VIII). Bēowulf boasts that he killed all the other monsters that crowded around him in that stretch of ocean, rendering the sea safe for ships. At the banquet Wealhthēow, Hrōthgār's queen, pours drink from a jeweled cup (§ IX).

That night Bēowulf strips off his armor and gives over his sword to meet Grendel barehanded, should he appear (§ X). When Grendel attacks the men sleeping in the hall, Bēowulf grabs Grendel by the arm and fights him strength for strength, tearing Grendel's arm from his shoulder socket (§§ XI-XII). Armless, Grendel returns to the lake to die. The poet relates Sigmund's struggles against the dragon and his making off with its wealth, comparing Bēowulf's deed to Sigmund's (§ XIII).

Hrōthgār rewards Bēowulf with wondrous armor, an ancient sword, and gold for his deed (§ XV). There is much drinking and feasting (§§ XVI-XVIII). Unfortunately, the celebration comes too soon. Grendel's mother stalks the hall that night to avenge her son. She carries off Hrōthgār's advisor, Æschere (§ XIX). The next day Hrōthgār relates that the common people had seen two such monsters as Grendel, the other a female, Grendel's mother (§ XX).

Bēowulf journeys to the lake where Grendel's mother has fled. Fantastic serpents swim in the boiling waters and sea-beasts lie on the rocks (*gesāwon dā æfter wætere wyrm-cynnes fela, / sellīce sæ-dracan sund cunnian, / swylce on næs-hleoðum nicras licgean*; ll. 1425-8). Bēowulf girds on his chain-mail armor to descend into the lake. Unferð gives Bēowulf his own

sword to use in the confrontation with the monster (§ XXI). Bēowulf descends into the lake and for hours sinks beneath its waters. Grendel's mother beholds Bēowulf in her wet realm and grabs him in her claws (§ XXII). Unable to penetrate the chain-mail with her claws, she carries him into her hall at the bottom of the lake. In the hall Bēowulf is finally able to bring his sword into action, but its blade will not cut her flesh. Nor does his helmet stop her fangs. Bēowulf throws aside his sword and the two wrestle together. Bēowulf uses his hands and the strength of his fingers (*mund-gripe mægenes*; l. 1534). Grendel's mother is stronger and throws him to the floor. But for his chain-mail, she would have killed him (§ XXII).

When at the last of his own resources, Bēowulf sees hanging on the wall of the hall a heavy victory-blessed sword forged by giants (*sige-ēadig bil, eald-sweord eotenisc*; ll. 1557-8). Bēowulf draws the sword from its scabbard. With it, he cuts off the she-monster's head. Bēowulf then finds Grendel's seemingly lifeless body and strikes off his head as well. Grendel's body gives up its final vestige of life (§ XXIII).

The warriors on shore fear that Bēowulf is dead. The waters seethe and boil with blood. They speak of Grendel's mother as a she-wolf (*brim-wylf* "she-wolf of the sea", l. 1599). Bēowulf leaves Grendel's mother's hall. Although the hall is full of riches, Bēowulf takes with him only Grendel's head and the hilt of the sword, whose blade has melted in the monster's blood. With the death of the monsters who dwell in it, the lake becomes calm (§ XXIII). Bēowulf gives the head and the hilt of the sword to Hrōthgār (§ XXIV).

The story teller goes on to describe the events which occur on Bēowulf's return to the land of the Geats. First he reiterates the battle with Grendel and his mother. Next he goes on to an entirely separate episode. A peasant steals a cup from a hoard guarded by a dragon. The dragon attacks the land, burning it with his fiery breath. Bēowulf and his cousin then struggle with sword and iron shield against this fire-breathing beast. Bēowulf is smitten in the neck by the venomous dragon. However, his cousin and eventual heir, the only one of his men who stays to help him, succeeds in killing the beast. Bēowulf's funeral pyre is heaped high with the dragon's treasure (§§ XXV-XVIII).

The Relationship Between *Bēowulf* and *Táin bó Fraích*

As has been pointed out by Puhvel (1973), Carney (1955: 77-128), and others, Bēowulf's battle with Grendel's mother shows much in common with Fraech's battle with the lake beast (*beist assind uisci*) in *Táin bó Fraích*. Drawing the parallels closer, in the *Aided Fraích* section of the *Táin*, Fraech chooses wrestling in water as the preferred means of combat.

In the beginning of *Táin bó Fraích*, as outlined earlier, Fraech goes to woo Findabair, daughter of Ailill and Medb (who in *Fled Bricrend* serves the assembled warriors from a jeweled chalice). Dressed in fine array, Fraech journeys with his retinue to Cruachu. As they approach, the watchman sees them coming first and comments on their array. Never before has there ever approached a company fairer or more renowned. The steward announces Fraech's presence to Ailill. As Fraech is a noble warrior, Ailill welcomes him into his hall. After playing board games for three days, the company spends three days and nights in banqueting.

Ailill decides to arrange for Fraech's death rather than risk his eloping with Findabair. Fraech is to be forced to battle a water monster in a pool, the means by which Ailill has determined to bring about his death. Ailill, Medb, Fraech, and Findabair go to a pool in the river to bathe. Ailill asks Fraech to go into the river since he has heard that Fraech is good in water. He asks Fraech to go into the pool that all might see him swim. Ailill asks Fraech not to come out of the water until he fetches berries on a branch of a rowan tree on an island in the pool. While Fraech is in the pool, Ailill notices Findabair's ring in Fraech's purse, which has been given to him by Findabair as a pledge. Ailill throws it into the water, where a salmon swallows it.

Swimming across the pool, Fraech fetches the first branch with rowan berries without arousing the beast and swims with it across the pool. Ailill and Medb ask Fraech to bring them more of the berries. In the middle of the pool during his second crossing, the water beast (*béist assind uisci*) seizes Fraech in the side (ll. 207-8). Although he initially battles the beast barehanded, he requests his sword (*claideb*) that he may kill it. Against Ailill's wishes, Findabair takes him a sword. With this sword Fraech beheads the beast (*comben a chend den míl co mbaí fora thóeb*; ll. 218-9). Fraech then brings the dead beast to land.

After returning to Cruachu, Fraech is carried off by a group of women from Boand (*bantrachta Bóinni*) into the otherworld of *síd Cruachan* to be healed of his wound (ll. 240-2). With his horn blowers (*cornairi*) blaring their trumpets, he returns to Cruachu, where he saves Findabair from the wrath of her father by producing the ring demanded by Ailill. He produces the ring by cutting open the fish which has swallowed it. Ailill and Medb agree to the marriage with Findabair, provided Fraech comes on the *Táin* with his otherworld cattle. In a subsequent final episode of the tale, Fraech journeys with Conall Cernach to a dwelling beyond the Alps to obtain his cattle and the treasure guarded by a monstrous serpent. To all appearances this episode is extraneous to the earlier story.

In common to both *Bēowulf* and *Táin bó Fraích* are then the noble array of the heroes, Bēowulf and Fraech, and their retinue of companions. In each story it is the watchmen who first becomes aware of the hero's arrival, commenting that no finer or more noble warrior has ever before appeared. In each story, after being announced by a steward, because of his noble character the hero is welcomed by the host king. In each story the host king then gives a banquet in the noble visitor's honor. In each story someone relates the great renown of the hero (Fraech or Bēowulf) in the water at swimming. Each hero has wrestling as his preferred means of combat.

Both Fraech and Bēowulf battle the water monster in the pool. Each is initially overcome by the beast, through lacking a sword or the failure of a sword. To each a sword then appears at the climatic moment to enable him to behead the beast. Each then comes ashore with the remnants of the beast or one of the beasts they have beheaded while in the water. In the final seemingly extraneous episode both Bēowulf and Fraech struggle with a dragon or serpent to obtain its treasure. In this struggle each is aided by a single companion.

These common themes flowing one right after the other can hardly have developed by chance. Some common archetype tale must lie behind the two stories. The explanation of the connection between the major episodes of these two tales most likely lies in a common inheritance from an earlier archetype tale. Contra Carney 1955 (see Olmsted 1978, 1988c, 1992b), the late composition of the archetype story by an Irish monk seems extremely unlikely. Nor is it likely that the stories were then preserved and transmitted solely within a monastic setting. One need only consider the similarity of the core of both the Irish and Anglo-Saxon stories to earlier Grecian stories of Apóllōn and Pýthōn to see otherwise. The archetype story behind *Bēowulf* and *Táin bó Fraích* surely lies much earlier within the ancient European oral-literary and mythic tradition.

Around the genuinely early central themes of these two tales, later themes obviously have accrued. Of these accrued themes, indeed, some are monastic in tradition, such as the *Bēowulf* motif of the descent of the monstrous broods from Cain (Donahue 1950: 167-75; Carney, 1955: 95). Some are common to folklore in general, such as the ring in the fish motif of *Táin bó Fraích*, (the Ring of Polykrates; see Thompson 1955-8: I, B 548. 2. 1.). Others are locally eccentric, such as the grabbing hand of *Bēowulf*, found predominantly in Irish and Welsh tradition (see Murphey 1953: 184 ff.).

However, Carney has gone beyond simply seeing a connection between the two tales. He sees *Táin bó Fraích* as the "small scale model" (Carney 1955: 121) around which *Bēowulf* was developed. First, Carney attempts to monasticize *Táin bó Fraích*. Should he succeed at this endeavor, he would be able to monasticize *Bēowulf* as well. For similar reasons, Carney has

also argued for a late date for *Táin bó Cuailnge* (1983: 113-31), of which the *Aided Fraích* episode is an integral part (against Carney's view of *Conailla Medb míchuru* and the origins of the *Táin*, see Olmsted 1988c, 1992b).

Indeed, if Carney were right about the original monastic composition of *Táin bó Fraích*, then the fact that *Bēowulf* could be seen as a more elaborate version of the same tale would indicate that it had an ultimate monastic origin as well. However, for the many reasons outlined in the previous section, *Táin bó Fraích* can scarcely be envisioned as the invention of Irish monks. Since the prototype story behind *Táin bó Fraích* is undoubtedly quite ancient, *Bēowulf* need not have been copied from *Táin bó Fraích*. The most likely supposition is that both of these tales are descended from a much older archetype.

In the attempt to see the hand of Irish monks behind the composition of *Bēowulf* as well as *Táin bó Fraích*, Carney's work simply carries to Ireland a trend in Anglo-Saxon studies fashionable among some scholars since the early 1950's. Exemplifying this trend is E. G. Stanley's scathing critique belittling the search for pagan survivals in Anglo-Saxon literature in general. Underlining Carney's adoption of this methodological framework from Anglo-Saxon studies, it is significant that *Bēowulf* is the ultimate target of Carney's attack on the mythological origin of *Táin bó Fraích*.

Seeming to echo Carney, Stanley has decried Anglo-Saxonists who, in the study of *Bēowulf*, have "followed the scent of paganism for too long to be willing to admit that they had been on a false trail" (Stanley 1975: 49; first published as a series of articles in 1964-5). Elsewhere Stanley writes, "The wish to see pagan implications in a wide range of Old English writings has yielded to proper scholarly skepticism" (1975: 91). In the case of Carney such skepticism, actually envisioning a monastic creation, has clearly gone too far. It is this same supposition of the "false trail" of paganism which is Carney's *modus operandi* for the study of the Old Irish literature as well.

But "proper scholarly skepticism" is a two-edged sword, and it can be applied equally to the dubious attempts to see only monastic origins for these two bodies of literature. One must be especially skeptical of Carney's particular attempt to see, via the wide-ranging travels of Irish monks, a common monastic origin for these two suggestively similar tales, *Táin bó Fraích* and *Bēowulf*. According to Carney, the *Vitae* of Kentigern and Columba, both interwoven with common folklore themes, form the basis for the monastic production of *Táin bó Fraích*. In turn, if the newly composed story had been carried to English monasteries by Irish monks, *Táin bó Fraích* could have been utilized there as the basis for *Bēowulf*. In this view, too, Carney echoes Stanley (1975: 48), who concluded of *Bēowulf*, "the poem as we have it is Christian in every part".

In adopting the methodology of Anglo-Saxon scholars such as Stanley to the study of Old Irish literature, Carney has clearly gone too far. Utilizing the comparative method in the analysis of the Old Irish literature does not involve seeking pagan vestiges in a literature of purportedly Christian context, as in the search for heroic survivals in the Old English *Dream of the Rood*, *Genesis*, and *Elene*. Although this is not the place to unravel the strands which connect the Anglo-Saxon tale *Waldhere* to the Aquitanian Latin poem *Waltharius* (c. 850), the *Nibelungenlied*, and the heroic *Eddic* poem *Atlakvida*, the pagan heroic origins of *Waldhere* can hardly be in doubt. As Dronke (1969: 41) suggests, the archetype tale behind *Waldhere* must have arisen in fifth- and sixth-century Burgundian legend. The *Finnesburgh* fragment also demonstrates that *Bēowulf* is not the only tale which could be seen to have developed from an archetype surviving from the Migration Period repertory.

As we have seen, like the Icelandic *Eddas* Old Irish manuscripts preserve a whole cycle of material which is manifestly mythological and pagan in origin. Indeed, most of the major characters of these tales have bynames which are cognate with Gaulish deity names. Here, to name but a few, I simply reiterate the etymological connection between the Irish Nera and Gaulish Nerios, Irish Fraech and Gaulish Vroicos, Irish Mac ind Óc (Welsh Mabon) and

Gaulish Maponos (<*makū(ku)o-ono-), Irish Lug (Welsh Llew) and Gaulish Lugus, Irish Medb and Gaulish Meduana, Irish Clothra and Gaulish Clutoida, Irish Mórrígan (Welsh Rhiannon) and Gaulish Rīgana, Irish Mumain (<*mamianī) and Gaulish Matrona (*mater-ono-) (Welsh Modron), Irish Mugain and Gaulish Mogontia, Irish Boand and Ptolemaeus's Bovinda as well as Gaulish {Borvo}bo(v)endo(n)a, Irish Brigit and Gaulish and British Brigantia, and Irish Ogma and Gaulish Ogmios.

In *Táin bó Fraích* in particular, Fraech is the nephew of Boand (< Bovinda “White Cow”), who is also the mother of Mac ind Óc (Maponos “the Son”) and the eponymous goddess of the river Boyne. He journeys to her home in the underworld to obtain his horses, his cattle to feed the host on the *táin bó Cuailnge* “cattle raid of Cualnge”, and his magic horn-blowers and harpers, whose playing makes parturition easier for cattle and women. As noted, Fraech has a Gaulish cognate in Vroicos, who is linked up in an inscription from Rognes, Bouches-du-Rhône, with the goddess Ald[a]me[...]*s* (*al-damo-[...]) “White Cow of ...”. *Bēowulf* should then be seen simply as an Anglo-Saxon and ultimately Germanic variant of the Celtic story preserved in *Táin bó Fraích*. In reality both stories are but variants of the theme preserved in the story of Apóllōn killing Pýthōn at Delphi.

Icelandic Equivalents of Celtic *Makūkuonos and *Neōtulos (*Nectinos)

Snorri Sturluson's *Edda* (Holtsmark and Helgason 1968; trans. Young 1954) contains information about Heimdallr (Snorri *Edda*: §27) suggesting that he is the Icelandic equivalent of Irish Fraech (Vroicos) and Vedic Apām Napāt.

One is called Heimdallr. He is called the White God (*hvíti áss*), and he is great and holy. Nine maidens gave birth to him, and all of them were sisters. He is also known as Hallinskíði and Gullintanni “Goldtooth”; he had teeth of gold. His horse is called Goldtuft. He lives in a palace called Himinbiorg “Cliffs of Heaven” by Bifrost. He is the warden of the gods and sits there at the end of heaven to guard the bridge from the cliff giants. He needs less sleep than a bird and can see hundreds of leagues ahead of him by night as by day. He can hear the grass grow on earth.... He has the trumpet known as the horn Gjoll, and its blast can be heard over all the worlds. (Young 1954: 54).

Here, Heimdallr “the Bright Shining God” (ISEW: 522) is born of nine maiden sisters, undoubtedly equivalent to the river-goddess sisters of Vedic and Celtic tradition. Like Irish Fraech, whose horn blowers make men die of rapture on hearing the music but parturition easier for women, Heimdallr has the horn Gjallarhorn, whose blast can be heard over all the worlds. He rides a horse (*Gulltoppr*) in opposition to Freyr, who drives a chariot pulled by a boar, in opposition to Thórr, who drives a chariot pulled by goats, and in opposition to Frigg, who drives a chariot pulled by cats (Snorri *Edda*: §49; Young 1954: 82). In this trait, too, Heimdallr is like Fraech.

So too, the otherworld spring in the *Gylfaginning* from Snorri's *Edda* is nearly identical to Nechtain's Topur Segais. Here Mímir drinks from the spring out of Gjallarhorn (Snorri *Edda*: §15), the same horn blown by Heimdallr, which is again reminiscent of the magic horn blowers at Topur Segais, the source of the Boind, the present-day Boyne River (in the episode of Sénbheg and Cú Chulainn). In *Gylfaginning*, Óðinn must give one eye to drink from the otherworld spring. In the Irish *Dindsenchas*, Topur Segais makes Boand one-eyed.

Another important detail on Mímir's spring comes from Snorri's *Edda* (§ 16) indicating that, like Delphi and Topur Segais with their eel-like or serpentine beast (Pýthōn and Mata), snakes were associated with Mímir's spring (*Mímisbrunnr*). Snorri's *Edda* quotes from

Grímnismal (§ 34; Kühn 1962: 64), “*ormar fleiri liggja undir asci Yggdrasils enn than uf hyggi hverr ósvidra apa*”, “more serpents lie under the ash Yggdrasils than fools imagine”. In Snorri’s *Edda*, Hár describes the spring to Glangeri.

The chief place or sanctuary of the gods ... is by the ash Yggdrasil.... The ash is the best and greatest of all trees; its branches spread out over the whole world and reach up over heaven. The tree is held in position by three roots that spread far out; one is among the Æsir, the second among the frost ogres where once was Ginnungagap, and the third extends over Nifheim. Under that root is the well Hvergelmir, but Nidhogg gnaws at the root from below. Under the root that turns in the direction of the frost ogres lies the spring of Mímir, in which is hidden wisdom and understanding; Mímir is the name of the owner of the spring. He is full of wisdom because he drinks [water] from the spring. All-father (Allfoðr) came there and asked for a single drink from the spring, but he did not get it until he had given one of his eyes as a pledge.... The third root of the ash tree is in the sky, and under that root is the very sacred spring called the spring of Urðr. There the gods hold their court of justice.... There is a beautiful hall near the spring under the ash tree, and from it come three maidens whose names are Urðr, Verðandi, and Skuld (Past, Present, and Future). These maidens shape the lives of men, and we call them Norns. (Snorri *Edda*: §15; Young 1954: 42-3).

It would simplify things to be able to say that in contrast to Heimdallr, who may be equated with Irish Fraech and Vedic Apām Napāt, Baldr is the Icelandic equivalent of Gaulish Maponos and Vedic Agníḥ. However, Baldr (Snorri *Edda*: §§ 22, 49) also has traits which more probably belong to the prototype god behind Fraech. Undoubtedly traits of **Nepōtulos* (**Neptionos*) and **Maghūonos* became merged as the gods became confused in the various traditions. Baldr’s wife is Nanna Nepsdóttir (Nanna < IE **nana* “mother”; IEW: 754), whose name is certainly reminiscent of Irish names Ana and Mumain (< **Mamianī*), bynames of Boand, who was married to her nephew Fraech.

Another son of Óðinn is called Baldr, and there is nothing but good to be told of him. He is the best of them, and everyone sings his praises. He is so fair of face and bright that a splendor radiates from him, and there is one flower so white that it is likened to Baldr’s brow; it is the whitest of all flowers. From that you can see how beautiful his body is and how bright his hair. He is the wisest of gods, and the sweetest-spoken, and the most merciful, but it is a characteristic of his that once he has proclaimed a judgement it is never altered. (Snorri *Edda*: Young 1954: § 51).

Also, the death of Baldr by the mistletoe has all the earmarks of the “dying/reviving god” associated with the evergreen that we see in Fraech (Vroicos). Here (Snorri *Edda*: ‘49; Young 1954: 81-4), Frigg, Baldr’s mother, exacts oath of the three elements “fire, water, and iron and all kinds of metals” (*elldr ok vatn, iárn ok allzkonar málmr*), and all other things not to harm Baldr. However, she does not exact an oath from the mistletoe, thinking it “too young”. Loki then directs blind Hodr in throwing the dart he has fashioned of mistletoe, which kills Baldr. At this disaster the Æsir are struck dumb and cannot speak from wailing.

Hermódr rides Óðinn’s horse Sleipnir to Hel to try to obtain Baldr’s release from Hel. Hel’s reply is that, “If everything in the world, both dead or alive, weeps for him, then he shall go back to the Æsir, but he shall remain with Hel if anyone objects or will not weep” (Young 1954: 83). However, Loki, sitting in a cave in the form of the giantess Thokk, refuses to weep for Baldr. Baldr and his wife Nanna, who died of grief at his death, remain in Hel.

Vedic and Avestan Correlatives
of Celtic *Makukunos and *Neotulos (*Nectonos)

Agnīḥ

As the personification of the sacrificial fire, Agnīḥ “Fire” (< IE **egnis* or the o-grade **ognis* “fire” (**h₃egni-*) (IEW: 293; KEWA I: 18) is the foremost terrestrial deity of the *Rig Veda* (MacDonell 1897: 88). That this deity is ancient is demonstrated by the Hittite deity-name Agnis (IEW: 293), with whom Agnīḥ is cognate. It is Agnīḥ who carries the *sōma*- sacrifice to Índraḥ. He eats wood and butter, and he drinks melted butter. Like Váruṇaḥ, Agnīḥ is also said to dwell in the waters. The Mothers, the Waters (*Āpah*), have produced Agnīḥ (RV: 10, 91, 6). Agnīḥ is the “Embryo (*Gárbhaḥ*) of Waters” (RV: 3, 1, 12-13). He is kindled in the Waters (RV: 10, 45, 11). Agnīḥ is said to be the offspring of Tváṣṭā and the Waters. The *Rig Veda* also says that Agnīḥ is the son of Dyāuḥ and Pṛthivī (RV: 3, 2, 2; 3, 3, 11; 3, 25, 11; 10, 1, 2; 10, 2, 7; 10, 46, 9).

The *Rig Veda* refers to Agnīḥ’s daily birth through the friction of the fire stick (*aráṇi-*) (RV: 3, 29, 7; 3, 23, 2-3; 7, 1, 1; 10, 7, 9). Here, hymns invoke Agnīḥ as the *Sūnúḥ Sáhasaḥ*, the *Yúvā Sáhasaḥ*, and the *Putráḥ Sáhasaḥ*: the “Son of Strength”, the “Youth of Strength”, and the “Child of Strength” (*sáhas-* “strength, victory” < **segh-*; IEW: 888; on *sūnúḥ* and *putráḥ* see Euler 1987: 35). Like Irish ind Mac Óc or Mac ind Óc (< **Maccan Óc*) “the Young Son”, with whom Agnīḥ is apparently cognate, Agnīḥ is called the *Yáviṣṭaḥ*, the *Yáviṣṭhya-* “the Youngest” (IE **iūuen-* “young”, **iūuenkos*; IEW: 510), or simply *Yúvā* (*Yúvan-*) “Young, Youth” (RV: 6, 16, 21). As fire rekindled, Agnīḥ is the ever young (RV: 1, 36, 6). MacDonell (1897: 91) speculates that this epithet perhaps arose because he is “produced every morning for the sacrifice”.

Agnīḥ is the charioteer (*rathyàṃ*) of the sacrifice (RV: 10, 92, 1). He is carried in a lightning chariot (*vidyúrathaḥ*) (RV: 3, 14, 1): one that is luminous, bright (RV: 1, 140, 1), brilliant (RV: 10, 1, 5), golden (RV: 4, 1, 8), and drawn by several horses (RV: 1, 14). Some texts state that Rudráḥ is a form of Agnīḥ in the air, but more likely Rudráḥ can be equated with Apām Napāt. *Súryaḥ* “the Sun” (< **sūlio-* “sun”; IEW: 881) is said to be a form of Agnīḥ placed in heaven by the gods (RV: 10, 88, 11). Like Agnīḥ, *Súryaḥ* ‘s father is said to be Dyāuḥ (RV: 10, 37, 1). After his birth, *Súryaḥ* is first hidden in the ocean and then raised by the gods (RV: 10, 72, 7), just as Irish Mac ind Óc is taken from his mother at birth and raised elsewhere. *Šúryaḥ* ‘s path in the sky has been prepared for him by Váruṇaḥ (RV: 1, 24, 8; 7, 87, 1). Pūṣā is his messenger (RV: 6, 58, 3).

Apām Napāt

Also associated with the Waters is Apām Napāt “Descendent of Waters”, but whose name probably is derived from IE **Apōm Nepōts* “Nephew of Waters” (< **ap-* < **h₂ep-* “water, river”, IEW: 51; KEWA I: 74-5; < **nepōt-* “grandson, nephew, descendent”, IEW: 764; KEWA II: 132-3). The Avestan Apām Napāt is a nearly identical deity, so it is clear that this Vedic deity is older than the *Rig Veda*. The Avestan god drives with swift steeds, is surrounded by females, and often is invoked by women. He lies in the depths of the Waters. He has seized the brightness in the depths of the oceans (MacDonell 1897: 69-70). This Vedic and Avestan deity is apparently cognate with the Irish god known as Niadol (< **Nepōtulos*) “the Nephew” or Nechtain.

The *sōma*- priest invites Apām Napāt to the sacrificial offering along with the Waters, and he is invoked in a hymn to the Waters (RV: 10, 30, 3-4; 10, 30, 14-5). In the hymn devoted to him (RV: 2, 35; see MacDonell 1917: 67-78 for an edition, translation, and analysis), the Waters are said to stand around the brilliant Apām Napāt. The youthful Waters go around the

youthful god. Three divine females bring nourishment to him. He is the first born of the Waters and sucks their first milk (v. 5). The swift Waters carry butter as food to their son (v. 14). Without firewood he glows in the Waters with his brilliance and gives light to them (v. 4). Growing strong in the Waters, he shines forth (v. 7). Carrying him who is clothed in lightning (*vidyútaṃ*), the swift Waters, golden in color (*hiraṇyavarṇāḥ*), go around him (v. 9). As a child he sucked milk from them, and they kissed him. When grown, like a bull, he impregnates them (v. 13).

- (3) ...
Tám ū súciṃ súcayo dīdivāṃsam
Apāṃ nāpātaṃ pári tásthur āpaḥ
- (4) tám ásmerā yuvatáyo yúvānaṃ
marmṛjyámānāḥ pári yanti āpaḥ
sá súkrébhiḥ śíkvabhī revád asmé
dīdāyānidhmó ghṛtānirñiḡ apsú
- (5) asmái tísro avyathyáya nārīr
deváya devír didhiṣanty ánnam
kṛtā ivópa hí prasarsré apsú
sá pīyúṣaṃ dhayati pūrvasūnam
- (7) ...
svá á dáme sudúghā yásya dhenúḥ
svadhāṃ pīpāya subhv ánnam atti
só apāṃ nāpād ūrjáyann apsv àntár
vasudéyāya vidhaté ví bhāti
- (8) yó apsv á súciná daívyena
ṛtāvājasra urviyá vibhāti
vayá íd anyá bhúvanāny asya
prá jāyante vīrúdháś ca prajābhiḥ
- (13) ...
sá īṃ vṛṣājanayat tásu gárbhaṃ
sá īṃ śísur dhayati tám rihanti
só apāṃ nāpād ánabhimlātavarṇo
'nyásyevhá tanvá viveṣa.

3. Him, the pure, the shining Son of Waters,
the pure waters stand around.
4. Him, the Youth, the young maidens,
the Waters, surround; not smiling, [they are] making him bright.
He with clear flames shines bountifully on us,
without fuel in the waters, having a garment of ghee.
5. On him, the immovable god, three
divine women desire to bestow food: for he has stretched
forth as it were to their breasts in the waters.
He sucks the milk of them that first bring forth.

7. He, in whose own house is a cow yielding good milk,
nourishes his vital force, he eats the excellent food;
he, the Son of Waters, gathering strength within the waters,
shines forth for the granting of wealth to the advantage of the worshipper.
8. Who in the waters, with bright divinity,
holy, eternal, widely shines forth;
as offshoots of him other beings
and plants propagate themselves with progeny.

13. He, the Bull, generated in them that germ;
he, as a child, sucks them; they kiss him;
he, the Son of Waters, of unfaded color,
works here with the body of another.
(RV: 2, 35; Aufrecht 1877: 210-11; MacDonell 1917: 69-77).

Thus in his house Apām Napāt has a milk cow who is a benefit to his livelihood. This cow provides abundant nourishment (RV: 2, 35, 7) (like the otherworld cattle of Irish Nechtain/Fraech). Apām Napāt is golden in appearance and color. Born of a golden womb, he grants food to his supplicants (RV: 2, 35, 10). Maidens enkindle him, whose food is butter and whose color is gold (RV: 2, 35, 11). Stallions (*vr̥ṣaṇaḥ*) swift as thought carry Apām Napāt (RV: 1, 186, 5), who is himself the *āsuhemā* (*āsuheman-*) “the swiftly speeding” (RV: 2, 35, 1). He is invoked along with the river sources (RV: 2, 35, 1). He engenders all beings, who are but branches of him (RV: 2, 35, 2).

Occasionally associated with Apām Napāt and said to resemble him is Áhi- Budhnyà- “the Serpent (of the) Deep” (RV: 1, 186, 5; KEWA I: 68, II: 438). Áhi- Budhnyà- is the “serpent born in water” (*abjām*). His worshipper asks him not to give him over to injury (RV: 5, 41, 16). Áhi- “serpent” (**ogʰh-*; **h₃egʰh-* IEW: 43-4) is a term which is commonly applied to Vṛtrāḥ, the beast killed by Indraḥ to release the waters. Like Grendel’s mother, Vṛtrāḥ lies at the bottom of the waters (RV: 1, 52, 6). Áhi- Budhnyà- is probably to be identified with Vṛtrāḥ.

Another name for Apām Napāt would appear to have been Savitár- “Sets in Motion” (KEWA III: 488-9). A hymn of the *Rig Veda* (1, 22, 6) identifies Savitá with Apām Napāt. Like Apām Napāt, Savitá is golden in color (RV: 6, 71, 1-6), with golden or yellow hair (RV: 10, 139, 1). His chariot is drawn by radiant horses (RV: 1, 35, 2). He is said to be *súryasya raśmibhiḥ* and *súryaśmir* “shining with sun rays” (RV: 5, 81, 3-4; 10, 139, 1). As MacDonell (1897: 33) notes, in the *Rig Veda*, Savitá is distinguished from *Súryaḥ*, who is identified with Agníḥ.

Vedic Rātrī and Uṣáḥ “Night and Dawn”, Mothers of *Súryaḥ*

The *Rig Veda* refers to two sisters Rātrī and Uṣáḥ, the Night and the Dawn, who are commonly called “the Mothers” (dual *Mātárā*) (RV: 1, 142, 7; 5, 5, 6; 9, 102, 7). These two opposing sisters are both the daughters of Dyāuḥ (RV: 3, 1, 9; 10, 70, 6), just as Irish Boand and Medb are both the daughters of Eochaid-Dagda.

11. The twin sisters [*yamyā*] have put on different colors, of which one shines white,
the other is black. The dark and the red are two sisters [*svásārau*]....
13. Licking the other’s calf, she bellowed

14. The multiform one dresses herself in beautiful colors, she holds herself upright, licking a year-and-a-half-old calf. (RV: 3, 55, 11-14; Dumézil 1970: I, 53).

As Dumézil (1970: I, 52) has noted, Uṣāḥ acts violently toward the demonic shades, but respectfully towards her sister Rātrī. Like the Sisters of Waters, together they raise a common child.

In the *Rig Veda* the word *svāsṛ-* “sister” is applied only thirteen times to a divinity; in eleven cases it refers to Uṣāḥ or to a divinity called a sister of Uṣāḥ, and it is with night Rātrī, a divinity of the same type, that she forms the most constant “sisterly couple”... To the same extent, the Dawn acts violently against the demonic shades, she is respectful and devoted toward Night, who, like herself, belongs to the grand scheme of the world, the *ṛta-* or cosmic order, of which they are conjointly called “the mothers” (RV: 1, 142, 7; 5, 5, 6; 9, 102, 7). But it is another child of these collaborating mothers who gives rise to the most characteristic expressions; either, by a peculiar physiological process, they are the two mothers of the Sun, or of Fire, sacrificial or otherwise, “their common calf” (1, 146, 3; cf. 1, 95, 1; 96, 5); or Dawn receives the son, the Sun or Fire, from her sister Night, and cares for him in her turn. (Dumézil 1970: I, 52).

In the *Rig Veda* (RV: 1, 95, 1; 1, 96, 5) Dawn suckles the child born of Night. Thanks to this action “this child, the Sun (or in liturgical speculations, the Fire of the offerings, and all Fire), which has emerged from the womb of Night, arrives at the maturity of day” (Dumézil 1970: I, 53). Having raised *Sūryaḥ* “the Sun”, the son of her sister Rātrī “the Night”, Uṣāḥ “Dawn” then marries *Sūryaḥ*. According to one hymn (RV: 7, 75, 5), Uṣāḥ is the wife of *Sūryaḥ*. Another hymn (RV: 4, 5, 13) speaks of the plural Dawns as the wives of *Sūryaḥ*. Agnīḥ is also said to be her lover (RV: 1, 69, 1; 7, 10, 1). It is she who caused Agnīḥ to be kindled (RV: 1, 113, 9).

As Dumézil goes on to point out (1968: I, 52-3, note 7), this mythical expression of the *Rig Veda* is confirmed by the *Mahābhārata*. Here the great epic tells the tale of the birth of Karṇaḥ. Like *Sūryaḥ*, the Sun, Karṇaḥ has two successive mothers, Kuntī, his natural mother, who abandons him the night he is born, and his adoptive mother Rādhā, who raises him (1968: I, 127-9). Immediately after Karṇaḥ is born, Kuntī becomes virgin again.

Later Ārjunaḥ, the son of Indraḥ, overthrows Karṇaḥ, the son of the Sun god, when a wheel of his chariot sinks into the ground. Giving confirmation to Dumézil’s suggestion that Karṇaḥ in fact represents *Sūryaḥ* and Ārjunaḥ represents Indraḥ, the *Rig Veda* (RV: 1, 175, 4) refers to Indraḥ as “robber of the wheel of the Sun’s chariot” (*muṣāyā sūryam kave cakrām āśāna ójasā*) (Aufrecht 1877: 162). Another hymn refers to Indraḥ as “detaching” (RV: 5, 29, 10) or “stopping” (RV: 4, 30, 4) “the wheel of the Sun’s chariot for Kutsa” (*yárotā bādhitébhyaś cakrām kútsāya yúdhyate muṣāyā indra sūryam*) (Dumézil: 1968: 131; Aufrecht 1877: 302).

It seems clear that the two sisters Rātrī and Uṣāḥ, the Night and the Dawn, are but variants of the cosmic waters, above, who are said to be the mothers of Agnīḥ, the *Sūnūḥ Sáhasaḥ* “Son of Strength”, the *Yáviṣṭhya-* “the Youngest”. Agnīḥ-*Sūryaḥ*-Karṇaḥ thus corresponds totally with Irish Mac ind Óc “the Young Son”, who is similarly conceived and born in a single day, and then abandoned by his mother Boand to be raised by his aunt Medb. Here then Irish Boand-Mórrígan, goddess of the Lower Realm, corresponds to Kuntī and to Rātrī, the goddess Night. Irish Medb, goddess of the Middle Realm, corresponds to Uṣāḥ, the goddess of Dawn. Vedic Dyāuḥ, the father of Agnīḥ, corresponds to Irish Dagda, the father of Mac ind Óc.

The symbolism of Night giving birth to the daily Fire as well as to the Sun then explains the naming of Irish *Maccan Óc and Nechtain. The Night was identified with the goddess of

the Lower Realm. The goddess Dawn is then the midwife of the goddess Night in giving birth to the Sun each day. Afterwards, she then marries the Sun. Thus Irish *Maccan Óc shows the same heritage of the metaphor of “Young Son” in his name as that to be found in India. Under the byname Ailill, *Maccan Óc is married to his aunt Medb, who has raised him. However *Maccan Óc is the son of the Lower Realm goddess Boand. Boand does not care for her son, just as Rātrī does not care for hers. Indeed, *Maccan Óc is taken from Boand shortly after birth. Medb’s son Fraech is then the nephew of his wife Boand (who corresponds to Night), whence the byname Niadol (<*Nepōtulos “Nephew”; i.e. the nephew of Night as opposed to the son of Night). Taken together, these gods form a pair of dialectically opposing twins, the Son and the Nephew of the Cosmic Waters. This opposition originated in the PIE period, representing the contrast of night and day, winter and summer, gestation and life.

The Vedic Aśvínau

The Vedic twin gods the dual Aśvínau apparently preserve an alternative aspect of the IE antithetical twin gods represented by the Son of Waters Agníh- *Sūryah* (also the Son of Night) and the Nephew of Waters (Apām Napāt < *Apōm Nepōts) (**h₂ep-om nepōts*). Only the Son of Waters Agníh- *Sūryah* is said to be a son of Dyāuḥ “Heaven” or “Sky”, just as only one of the Aśvínau is said to be a son of Dyāuḥ: “*Der eine von euch, der sieghafte Lohnherr, gilt als (Sohn) des Sumakha, der andere als der beliebte Sohn des Himmels*” (*ihéha jātā sám avāvaśītām arepāsā tanvā nāmabhiḥ svaīḥ jiṣṇúr vām anyāḥ sūmakhasya sūrír divó anyāḥ subhágaḥ putrá ūhe*) (RV: 1, 181, 4; Geldner 1951: I, 261; Aufrecht 1877: 166).

The name Aśvínau undoubtedly contains the same root found in *ásvah* “horse” (**ekuos*, IEW: 301; **h₁ekuo-* DPC: 114) as the first element, though the Aśvínau’s chariot is sometimes said to be drawn by swans or birds (RV: 4, 45, 4; 6, 63, 6; 10, 143, 5) rather than horses (RV: 1, 117, 2). Their chariot is sun-like or golden (RV: 8, 8, 2; 4, 44, 4-5). Their name implies, at any rate, that they were somehow associated with horses. Epithets refer to them as *Rudrávartani-* “Having a Red Path” and *Hiraṇyavartani-* “Golden-pathed” (MacDonell 1897: 49). *Rudrávartani-* probably identifies one of them with Rudráh (Apām Napāt), and thus *Hiraṇyavartani-* would identify the other with Agníh.

The *Rig Veda* (5, 73, 4) states that the Aśvínau were born separately, though they are twins and inseparable (RV: 3, 39, 3). Their mother was supposedly “the Ocean”: *sín-dhumātarā*, according to one hymn (RV: 1, 46, 2), though the Aśvínau are often associated with Uṣāḥ “Dawn” (RV: 1, 44, 2). They follow Uṣāḥ “Dawn” in their chariot (RV: 8, 5, 2).

Assuring the identity of the Aśvínau with the Son of Waters and the Nephew of Waters, *Nirukta* (12, 2) states that “one (of the Aśvínau) is called the son of Night, the other the son of Dawn” (MacDonell 1897: 49). They are said to appear at the sacrificial fire or at dawn (RV: 1, 157, 1; 7, 72, 4). Like Uṣāḥ, they dispel darkness and chase away evil spirits (RV: 3, 39, 3; 7, 73, 4). The *Taittirīya Samhitá* (7, 2, 7, 2) states that the Aśvínau are the youngest of gods, while the *Rig Veda* confirms that they are young (RV: 7, 62, 10). In this respect they are much like Irish *Maccan Óc and Nechtain-Fraech, confirming the identification of the Aśvínau with Apām Napāt and Agníh.

The Aśvínau are frequently invoked in the dual as the *Násatyau* “the Two Helpers in Need” (IEW: 766). The two together function as divine physicians (RV: 8, 18, 8); with their remedies they heal diseases (RV: 8, 22, 10). They cure the sick and the maimed, even restoring lost sight (RV: 10, 39, 3; 1, 116, 16). When Viśpalā’s leg is cut off, they fashion her a new one of iron (MacDonell 1897: 52). They save and cure great numbers in miraculous fashion (RV: 1, 112; 1, 116-9). They are capable of granting children even to the wife of a eunuch (RV: 1, 116, 13; 1, 117, 24) and finding a husband for the old spinster Ghóṣāḥ (RV: 1, 117, 7; 10, 39, 3; KEWA I: 364). They rejuvenate an old man making him the husband of maidens (RV: 1,

116, 10). They make the barren cow yield milk (RV: 1, 112, 3). They are requested to grant fertility to the bride at a wedding (RV: 10, 184, 2).

Vedic Tritáḥ Āptyáñ and Avestan Thrīta- and Thraētaona-

Both the bynames Tritáḥ and Āptyáñ possibly signify “water”. Tritáḥ may derive from IE **trito-* “water, sea”, giving Irish *triath* (gen. *trethan*) “sea” (<**triaton-*) (IEW: 1096), but certainly by the Indo-Iranian period and possibly much earlier the name was seen to mean “Three” (KEWA I: 534-5). Hypothetically, this same stem may be found in the name of the Greek sea god Tritōn (but note Tritōn is of unknown origin according to Frisk, GEW II: 933-4). Āptya derives from IE **āp-* “water, river” (KEWA I: 75-6; IEW: 51). In the later tradition of the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* (1, 2, 3, 1-2) and the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (3, 2, 8, 10-11), Tritáḥ is one of three sons of Agníḥ, all born of waters: Ēkatá- (*ēka-* “one”), Dvitá (*dvi-* “two”; KEWA II: 85), and Tritáḥ (*tri-* “three”). Sāyanañ, commenting on the *Rig Veda* (1, 105), says that Tritáḥ was cast into a well by his two brothers (see MacDonell 1897: 68). These two names Ēkatá- and Dvitá are possibly inventions, based upon a supposed etymology connecting the name Tritáḥ to the number three. Ēkatá- is not mentioned in the *Rig Veda*, and Dvitá is only mentioned twice, once alongside of Tritáḥ (RV: 8, 47, 16) and once identified with Agníḥ (RV: 5, 18, 2). After all, functional names are supported only by the independently existing attributive word from which they were formed. If this word ceases to exist, the name must shift its significance to another word or cease to be significant.

In the *Avesta*, Thrīta- dwells in Apām Napāt (*Yasht:* 5, 72; 13, 113) and is the third man to prepare *hauma-* (*Yasna:* 9, 10) (MacDonell, 1897: 68, notes the second man to prepare *sōma-* was Āthwya- = Āptyá-; KEWA I: 75). Thus the supposed etymology from the numeral *tri-* goes back to the Indo-Iranian period. Thrīta- receives from Ahurō Mazdā ten thousand healing plants, which grow about the white Haoma, the tree of immortality (*Vend:* 20, 2). Thrīta- is the first healer. The *Avesta* also preserves the tradition of Thraētaona- (KEWA I: 534), who slays a three-headed serpent, Aḥi- Dahaka-. In his expedition against Aži- Dahaka-, Thraētaona- is accompanied by two brothers who attempt to slay him (1897: 68-9).

So too, in the *Rig Veda*, Tritáḥ Āptyáñ is the preparer of *sōma-*. *Sōma-* occupies the sacred place near the two pressing stones of Tritáḥ (RV: 9, 102, 2). One hymn (RV: 2, 11, 20) says that *sōma-*pressing Tritáḥ strengthens Índraḥ. In several hymns, Tritáḥ is associated with Agníḥ, the Marutaḥ, and Índraḥ (RV: 1, 109; 5, 41; 8, 47; 10, 8). In one hymn (RV: 1, 105, 17), Tritáḥ is stuck within a well or spring (*kūpe*) and asks the other gods for help. Bṛhaspátīḥ frees him from his imprisonment. A hymn (RV: 8, 41, 6) refers to Tritáḥ as he within whom all prophetic vision is centered, as the hub of a wheel, perhaps an aspect of his having been stuck in the well. In another hymn (RV: 1, 163, 2-3), he has a steed given to him by Yamáḥ and fashioned from the sun. The *Taittirīya Samhitā* (1, 8, 10, 2) says that Tritáḥ is the bestower of long life, suggesting that he embodies some of Thrīta-’s healing properties.

As *Avestan* Thraētaona- slew the three-headed serpent, a hymn of the *Rig Veda* (1, 187, 1) states that Tritáḥ, strengthened by the power of *sōma-*, chops up Vṛtráḥ limb-by-limb. Another hymn (RV: 8, 7, 24) relates that Tritáḥ, the Marutaḥ, and Índraḥ gain victory over Vṛtráḥ, a task usually attributed to Índraḥ alone or accomplished with the help of the Marutaḥ (RV: 1, 187, 1). One version of this episode (RV: 10, 8, 8) says that Tritáḥ Āptyáñ, urged by Índraḥ, slays the three-headed son of Tváṣtā and releases the cows. In the next stanza of this same hymn, this feat of slaying Viśvarūpa- is attributed to Índraḥ.

It seems likely that Tritáḥ Āptyáñ “Sea and Water” is a byname of Apām Napāt “Descendent of Waters”. Sāyanañ, commenting on a hymn (RV: 8, 47, 15), explained Tritáḥ Āptyáñ as “Child (*putrá-*) of Waters” (MacDonell 1897: 69; **pu-tlo-* “child” IEW: 842-3). The slaying of Vṛtráḥ by Índraḥ and Tritáḥ is duplicated in Irish tradition where Fergus and Fraech

slay the water beast in separate episodes of Irish myth, but episodes described in similar wording (*Táin bó Fraích* and *Echtra Fergusa maic Léti*; Binchy 1955: 33-48).

Vedic Rudráḥ and the Marutaḥ

In the *Rig Veda*, Rudráḥ, the “Red One” or the “Wild One” (KEWA III: 66-7), displays little of the destructive side of the later Hindu deity who developed from him. This later god Rudráḥ was also known as Śíváḥ “Health, Happiness, Life” (< *ki-uo- “life”; IEW: 539-40). In the *Rig Veda*, Rudráḥ has traits reminiscent of the healing aspects of Greek Apóllōn. He is associated with his sons the divine singers, the Marutaḥ “Winds”, who strengthen Índraḥ and Tritáḥ (on Rudráḥ and the Marutaḥ see MacDonell 1897: 74-81). From his epithet Rudráḥ and his healing abilities, this deity may be identified as a development of one or both of the Áśvínau, who were known as the *Rudrávartani-*, “Having a Red Path” or “the Brilliant” (KEWA III: 67). Probably, like Tritáḥ, he corresponds to Apām Napāt.

In the *Rig Veda*, Rudráḥ is said to be armed with a bow and arrows (RV: 2, 33, 10-11; 5, 42, 11; 10, 125, 6) which are strong and swift (RV: 7, 46, 1). He is an archer god (RV: 1, 28, 1; 6, 93, 1; 15, 5, 1-7). He is called in the accusative the *Tryāmbakam* “Having Three Mothers” (RV: 7, 59, 12). This is perhaps a reference to his being nourished by the waters, like Apām Napāt, who in his infancy was nourished by three divine females. Apām Napāt was the first born of the waters and sucked their first milk (v. 5). Also like Apām Napāt, Rudráḥ is identified with Agníḥ in the *Rig Veda* (RV: 2, 1, 6), in the *Atharva Veda* (7, 87, 1), and in the *Taittirīya Samhitā* (RV: 5, 4, 3,1; 5, 5, 7, 4). He is the ruddy boar of heaven (RV: 1, 114, 5). He is also a ruddy-brown and whitish bull (*babhrāve vṛṣabhāya śvitīcé*) (RV: 2, 33, 8; MacDonell 1917: 62). He is a great *ásura-* of heaven (RV: 2, 1, 6). He makes the streams flow over the earth and moisten everything (RV: 10, 92, 5). In this control of waters he may be likened to Irish Nechtain-Fraech.

Although in the *Rig Veda* Rudráḥ can be malevolent, for he is asked not to slay his worshipers, their families, or their cattle (RV: 1, 114, 7-8), this malevolent aspect of the deity’s role is largely confined to the later texts. In the latter texts he is said to assail with fever, cough, and poison (AV: 11, 2, 22-6). He also destroys with his strung bow and arrows, so that the gods themselves fear him (RV: 9, 1, 1). In this ability as an archer to send disease, he is very much like Grecian Apóllōn.

In the *Rig Veda*, however, Rudráḥ’s primary role is healing (also like Apóllōn). His epithets are *Jālāṣa-* “Healing” and *Jālāṣabheṣaja-* “Possessing Healing Remedies” (RV: 1, 43, 4; AV: 2, 27, 6). One seeks him for preservation against calamity (RV: 5, 51, 13), to bestow blessings (RV: 1, 114, 1-2), and to increase the welfare of men and beasts (RV: 1, 43, 6). One seeks him to remove sickness from the worshipper’s children (RV: 7, 46, 2). He grants remedies (RV: 2, 33, 12), controls all remedies (RV: 5, 42, 11), and has at his disposal a thousand remedies (RV: 7, 46, 3). Significantly, his hand restores and heals (RV: 2, 33, 7). He is the greatest physician (RV: 2, 33, 4). Through his remedies one may live a hundred winters (RV: 2, 33, 2). In a hymn which evokes deities from their attributes rather than by their name, he is “one (who is) bright, fierce, possessing healing remedies, (who) holds a sharp weapon in his hand” (RV: 8, 29, 5; MacDonell 1891: 76). He is called “the best of physicians (*bhiṣáktamaḥ ... bhiṣájāḥ*)” (RV: 2, 33, 4; MacDonell 1917: 59).

Like Tritáḥ, Rudráḥ is apparently an aspect of Apām Napāt, having developed from one of his bynames. Rudráḥ is the father of the troop (*gaṇáḥ*) of the three-times-seven Marutaḥ (RV: 2, 33, 1) by the cow Pṛśniḥ (RV: 5, 52, 10; 8, 83, 1). Thus, the Marutaḥ are called *Gómātarah* “Having a Cow for a Mother” (RV: 1, 85, 3). Another epithet *Síndhumātarah* indicates the ocean was their mother (RV: 10, 78, 6). Thus Pṛśniḥ “Speckled Cow” is undoubtedly a byname of Áditīḥ, Pṛthivī, or the Āpaḥ. Pṛśniḥ’s offspring the Marutaḥ “Winds” (Mayrhofer

1965: 48) were associated with thunder (RV: 1, 23, 11), lightning (*vidyut*; RV: 5, 24, 2-3; 1, 64, 5), and were clothed with rain (RV: 5, 57, 4).

A very important element in attempting to identify the Marutaḥ is that they are also the singers of heaven (RV: 5, 27, 5). They are all born on the same day from the laughter of lightning (RV: 1, 23, 12). They sing hymns while Índraḥ kills Vṛtráḥ (RV: 8, 7, 24; 8, 78, 1-3). Like Rudráḥ, the Marutaḥ are supplicated to bring healing remedies (RV: 8, 20, 23-6). The Marutaḥ would seem to have a relationship to the three magic horn blowers born to Irish Boand “White Cow” (similar horn blowers are displayed on plate E of the Gundestrup cauldron in a portrayal which is reminiscent of *Aided Fraích*). These horn blowers (or harpers) are all born to Boand on the same day at the playing of the music of weeping, the music of laughing, and the music of sleeping. They are the constant companions of Fraech, who is probably cognate with Rudráḥ. Thus the Marutaḥ and the horn blowers and harpers of Irish tradition have in common their birth from a goddess who is called “Cow”, they are born to the music of laughter, all on the same day, and they are the companions of a deity developed from *Neptionos. They all are associated with healing, they all produce divine music, and they all play music while a companion god is engaged in combat.

Avestan Rapithwa-

The Zoroastrian celebration of the first day of spring Naurōz occurs on the vernal equinox March 21 and is known as the festival of Ohrmazd (Ahura- Mazdāh-) (see Dumézil 1948: 109-10). In Mazdeism, Ahura- Mazdāh- is the primal creator. Naurōz commemorates the day on which he created six major deities, the Yazatō (venerables), and the *xwarənah-* “royal halo”. Coinciding with the festival of Naurōz is the feast of Rapithwa-.

The myth of Rapithwa-, as preserved in the *Zād Spram*, provides another instance of the theme of creation and recreation associated with the vernal equinox (Boyce 1968: 201-3). Supposedly on Naurōz, Rapithwa- (*ra-pithwá* “noon” < **pi-tu* “drink, nourishment”; IEW: 794; KEWA II: 280), who is the lord of noon and of the summer months, returns again to the earth from his sojourn beneath its surface during the winter. Warmed by him, the subterranean waters have kept alive plants and trees through the period of cold. His return to the earth’s surface engenders both warm weather and the return of fertility. Rapithwa- is probably but a variant of Apām Napāt.

Greek and Roman Correlatives

The Dioscuri (Dióskoroi)

Virgilius (*Aeneid*: VI, 121-2) implies that Pollux alternated staying in Hades in place of his mortal brother Castor, *si fratrem Pollux alterna morte redemit itque reditque viam totiens* “if Pollux, dying in turn, ransomed his brother and so often comes and goes his way” (Fairclough 1916: 515). The same cycle is recorded by Lucianus (*Dialogi Mortuorum*: I, *init.*). Thus the twin gods the Dioscuri form a pair of dying and reviving gods each akin to Attis. As MacDonell (1897: 47) and many others have pointed out, the Dioscuri form an exact parallel to the Vedic Aśvínau, apparently twin horsemen from the name, but whose chariot was sometimes said to be pulled by swans. Together they form a pair equivalent to Vedic Agníḥ (= Pollux) and Apām Napāt (= Castor), and Irish *Maccan Óc (= Pollux) and Fraech (= Castor).

In Homeric Greece the Dióskoroi Kástōr and Polydeúkēs are the sons of Lédē, whom Zeús visited as a swan, whence they are the brothers of Helénē (*Iliad*: III, 237 ff.). The Latin author Horatius (Horace) (*Satirae*: 2, 1, 26) makes both Castor and Pollux born of an egg, like Helénē. According to Píndaros (*Nemeonikai*: X, ll. 73-80), only Polydeúkēs was the son of Zeús, while Kástōr was the son of Tyndáreos. Thus only Polydeúkēs is potentially immortal.

Together the Dióskoroi are said to be *leukópōloi* “riders on white steeds”. As noted, Kástōr, the mortal member of the pair, is not a son of Zeús. However, Kástōr is the twin who is especially noted as a horseman (Rose, OCD: 354). In this horsemanship he bears an exact correspondence to Irish Nechtain-Fraech. Fraech is killed by Cú Chulainn and is not a son of the Dagda (as is his polar opposite cousin *Maccan Óc), but Fraech is especially noted as a *marcach* “horseman”. Fraech is killed during the course of a cattle raid.

According to Apollódoros (III, X, 3), Leukíppos (whose name signifies “White Horse”) had three daughters, Hiláeira, Phoíbē, and Arsinōē. Apóllōn had intercourse with Arsinōē to produce Asklepíos. The first two daughters were carried off by the Dióskoroi, who married them. Theocritus (*Idylls*: 22, 137 ff.) makes this rape of Hiláeira and Phoíbē the subject of the pursuit and killing of Kástōr by Leucippos’s nephews Ídas and Lyncheús. Píndaros (*Nemeonikai*: X, 60 ff.) makes the death of Kástōr the result of his rustling cattle, drawing the parallel even closer to Irish Fraech.

Ídas, being in some sort angered about his oxen, stabbed Kástōr with the point of his brazen spear. Keenly gazing from Taygetus, Lyncheús saw them seated in the hollow of an oak.... Lyncheús and Ídas, those sons of Apharéos, at once with swift feet reached the spot, quickly contrived a great deed, and themselves suffered dread punishment by the hands of Zeús, for immediately the son of Lédē (Polydeúkēs) came in pursuit. But they were stationed hard by the tomb of their father, Apharéos; thence did they seize the cavern stone that adorned the grave and flung it against the breast of Polydeúkēs, but they crushed him not, nor drove him backward; but rushing forward with his swift javelin, he thrust its brazen point into the ribs of Lyncheús. Zeús hurled against Ídas a smoldering thunderbolt of fire. ... Then did ... (Polydeúkēs) swiftly return to his mighty brother and found him not yet dead, but drawing his breath in convulsive gasps. Then it was that shedding hot tears, amid moanings, he said aloud: “O Father, son of Krónos! when, O when will there be a release from sorrows? Bid me also die, O King, with this my brother.” ... He ceased, and before him came Zeús, who spoke to him in this fashion: “You are my son, whereas Kástōr was begotten by your mother’s husband, of mortal seed, after your own conception. But lo! I grant you your full choice in this; if you desire to escape death ... and to dwell yourself in Olympus with me, ... you can have this lot.... But if you contend for your brother and are minded to have an equal share with him in all things, then may you breathe for half your time beneath the earth and for half your time in the golden homes of heaven. (Sandys 1915: 422-5).

Cybele and Attis

The goddess Cybele (Kybélē) is usually depicted riding in a lion-drawn chariot (as in the *taurobolium* altar in the Vatican; Vermaseren 1977: 59, fig. 22) or flanked by two lions (1977: 73, fig. 27). The *Homeric Hymns* (Hymn XIV; Allen 1952: V, 80) describe Kybélē as surrounded by “howling wolves and roaring lions”. As Graillot (1912: 445-53, 470) and Puhvel (1987: 208-9) have noted, the cult of the Romanized goddess Cybele was spread far and wide by the legions of the Roman army in Gaul, Germany, and Britain; in Wiesbaden she even supplanted the cult of S(t)irona and Diana Mattiaca. Overall in Gaul sixty-three *taurobolium* altars have been found, more than in any other province of the Roman Empire. Lugdunum (Lyons), especially, was an important center of the cult of Cybele. Already during the sixth-century BC, Kybélē’s cult had been imported into Massalia. Such easy acceptance would tend to indicate much overlap with a pre-existing cult.

In Rome themes of fertility dominated the month of Martius. The original Roman god, Mars, for whom the third Latin month was named, was a god of agriculture as well as war. The

first day of the month saw the celebration of the Matronalia, dedicated to the Roman matrons. Most important, Martius 22 to the 28 was dedicated to the rituals of Cybele and Attis, who were adopted by Rome in 204 B.C., an event instigated by the Sibylline oracle supposedly to insure Hannibal's departure from southern Italy.

Many of Rome's prominent families gave credence to the legend of their Trojan origins, as set forth later by Virgilius. Thus they wished to bring the goddess of Ilium and Troy to Rome, where she would be worshipped as the "Mother of the Trojans and of the Romans" (Vermaseren 1977: 11). The Apollonian oracle at Delphi gave his blessing as well and supported his sister oracle at Cumae. Ovidius (*Fasti*: 263-88) describes the transport of the goddess to Rome. Cybele's chief sanctuary had been at Pessinus in Galatia, not far from modern Ankara. King Attalus I of Pergamum agreed to her removal. The goddess in the guise of a black meteorite was then transported to Rome. Shortly after her arrival, Hannibal left Italy as predicted by the oracle.

The detail that Cybele's chief sanctuary had been at Pessinus (the site of the supposed grave of Attis and from which center she was brought to Rome) is most interesting. Pessinus was the capital of the Tolistobogii, one of the three Celtic tribes who crossed the Hellespont in 278 BC to settle in what was formerly Phrygia. The other two tribes, the Tectosages and the Trocmi, had their capitals at Ancyra and Tavium respectively. The three Celtic peoples had a common council which met at Drynemetum (Drunemeton "Deeply Sacred Grove"). Having engaged in continuous warfare since their initial settlement in Galatia, in 230 BC these Celtic tribes were confined by Attalus I of Pergamum to an area from the river Sangarius (Sangariós) to east of the Halys.

Although Cybele herself was a Lydian and Phrygian goddess (Hēródotos: 5, 102, gives the Lydian form of her name as Kybébē), it is possible that her cult at Pessinus was influenced by the Galatians. Pergamum was another cult center of the goddess. If the cult at Pessinus had been tainted by the fifty-years of Celtic Galatian rule, it might explain the favorable response of Attalus I to Rome's request for the national goddess of Phrygia (in her form as the meteorite from Pessinus). The priests of Cybele were in fact known in Rome as the *Galli* "Gauls; cocks" (sing. *Gallus*; DELL: 266-7). According to tradition, the name derives from that of the river Gallus, whose waters supposedly made men mad. According to Rudd (1973: 292), "this derivation is suspect, but no other has been suggested".

In a second-century AD poetic hymn from Pergamum, Kybélē is invoked in the following way. Here it is clear that she was identified with Rhéā, the consort of Krónos.

[Kybélē is] the mother of the immortal gods. She prepares a fast-riding chariot drawn by bull-killing lions, she who wields the scepter over the renowned pole, she of the many names, the Honored One.... "You [Kybélē] occupy the central throne of the cosmos, and thus of the earth, while you provide soft food; by you were brought forth the races of mortal and immortal beings, by you the rivers and the entire sea...." [She is] wealth-giving, since she bestows on mankind good gifts of all sorts.... "Go to the feast, Lofty One, delighting in drums, tamer of all, savior of the Phrygians, bed-fellow of Krónos, child of Ouranós, the Old One, life-giving, frenzy-loving, Joyful-One, gratified with acts of piety." (Quandt 1941: 22, nr. 27; Vermaseren 1977: 10).

Possessed of many names, Cybele (Kybélē) was known as Magna Mater (Megále Mētēr) "Great Mother" and the Mater Deum (Mētēr Theón) "Mother of the Gods". In Greece she was called the Pambotis or Biothrépheira "All-nurturing One", the Mētēr Pantóteknos "All-generating Mother", and the Pammētēr "All Mother". She was the Phrygian Thrépteira Leónton "Nurse of the Phrygian Lions". In Rome she was the Augusta "August One", the Alma "Nourishing One", the Sancta "Holy One", and the Sanctissima "Most Holy One". She was the Mountain Goddess as in the *Mater deum magna Idaea*, associated with Mount Ida,

Mount Agdos, Mount Dindymus, and Mount Sipylus. She was later known as Berecynthia after the Berecynthia Mountains (Vermaseren 1977: 81-5).

At Sardis in Lydia, Kybélē was identified with Ártemis. A relief from nearby Kula (now in the Louvre) is inscribed to Dēmētēr, Ártemis, and Níkē. Ártemis, however, is the central figure. She is seated in a central throne with each hand on a lion, exactly as with many portrayals of Kybélē. A snake coils up on her left, while another snake coils upward over Dēmētēr, with its head counterbalancing the snake on the left and directly pointing at Ártemis's head (Vermaseren 1977: 30, fig. 16).

Cybele (Kybélē) was a goddess of fertility. In Phrygia she was supposedly the inventor of fruits and corn (*frumentum-frugmentum*) (1977: 33). She was also referred to directly as the "Mother Earth". Supposedly, from her womb comes forth all life, plant, animal, or man. So too, she was a goddess of death, for all that proceeds from the earth will once again return to her womb, as noted in a reference to Cybele in second-century AD eulogy to Tellus.

The food of life
 you meet out in eternal loyalty.
 And, when life has left us,
 we take our refuge in you.
 Thus everything you dole out
 returns into your womb.
 Rightly you are called the Mother of the Gods,
 because by your loyalty
 you have conquered the power of the Gods.
 Verily you are also the mother
 of the peoples and the Gods.
 Without you nothing can thrive or be;
 you are powerful; of the Gods you are
 the Queen and also the Goddess.
 You, Goddess and your power, I now invoke;
 you can easily grant me all that I ask,
 and in exchange I will give you, Goddess, sincere thanks.
 (Vermaseren 1977: 87).

Cybele also could cure (as well as cause) diseases; she could protect her people when they were threatened or engaged in war, and she was the giver of oracles. In inducing prophetic rapture, she also produced insensitivity to pain. She was the mistress of wild animals and had attendant lions (see Catullus, *Pro Sulla*: 63; Graillot 1912: chap. 1; and OCD: 303). Near the Spina of the Circus Maximus in Rome, her statue depicted her riding side-saddle on a lion (see Vermaseren 1977: 53, pls. 37-8), as with many Gaulish portrayals showing Epona in a similar posture on a horse. She was frequently worshipped in caves, where she was supposedly surrounded by nymphs and kouretes (1977: 22-3).

The earliest Anatolian names for Cybele and Attis were Ma and Wanax (OCD: 58). Strabo (469-567) (ca. 64 BC - 3 AD) records that at Pessinus, Cybele was called Agdistis. According to a Phrygian tale preserved in Pausanias (7, 17, 10-11) and Arnobius (*Adversus Nationes*: 5, 5-7), Zeus desired Rhéā, who had taken on the form of Mount Agdus. In the struggle, the drops of Zeus's sperm spilled over the mountain rather than into the fertile womb of the goddess. From this semen of Zeus was born the wild and androgynous Agdistis. Ascertaining the spring where Agdistis drank and bathed, Diónyos was called by the gods to mix wine with the water. Thus Agdistis became drowsy with intoxication on next drinking the waters. When Agdistis was asleep, Diónyos then tied a cord around Agdistis's genitals. On awakening, Agdistis castrated himself when the cord reached its end. An almond tree grew from the severed male

parts. The goddess Nana “Mother” picked some of the almonds from the tree and held them in her lap. One of the nuts disappeared, and thus Atys was conceived from the fruit of this tree.

Later when Nana’s father, the god of the river Sangarios, finds her pregnant he wants to kill her, but Agdistis arranges for the premature birth of the child Atys. Sangarios orders that Atys be abandoned, but he is kept alive by a goat and raised by shepherds. Atys grows up into a handsome shepherd, whom the Mother of the Gods cannot resist. The now no-longer androgynous Agdistis (Kybélē) then falls in love with (her son) Atys. When Atys wants to get married, Agdistis appears at the wedding, driving all to madness and despair. The bride stabs herself in the breast. Atys rages madly until falling exhausted under a pine tree, where he emasculates himself and dies. Atys’s body lies uncorrupted, while his hair still grows.

The Latin poet Ovidius (*Fasti*: IV, 221-44) preserves a slightly different story of Cybele and Attis. According to Ovidius, Cybele falls in love with the shepherd boy Attis, who pledges to her his eternal fidelity. However, Attis falls in love with the nymph Sangaritis, daughter of the river god Sangarios. Through Cybele, Sangaritis is slain and Attis made insane. Thinking himself pursued by the Erinýes, Attis cuts off his genitals with a sharp stone. Flowers spring from his blood, and he is turned into a pine tree.

Diódōros (III, 58-9) preserves yet another variant of the tale. According to Diódōros, Phrygia and Lydia were once ruled by king Maióon, whose wife Díndymē bore him a daughter. Looking forward to a male heir, he ordered the girl abandoned on Mount Kybelon. Wild animals, however, kept the child alive until shepherds chanced to come upon her. They took the child home, adopting her and caring for her as if she were their own. The shepherds called her Kybélē after the mountains in which they had found her. Later when she is grown she meets the shepherd Atys, falls in love with him, and grows pregnant by him. However, Maioon discovers that she is his daughter. Bringing her back to his palace, he discovers that she is pregnant by a mere shepherd. Maióon has Atys and all the shepherds who nurtured Kybélē killed. Weeping like Dēmētēr, Kybélē roams the countryside in mourning. The fields become barren and desolate. An oracle advises the hungry people to bury Atys and worship Kybélē as a goddess. However, Atys’s corpse cannot be found. Instead they erect a statue in Atys’s likeness and hold an annual memorial for him.

Hēródotos (I, 34-45), writing in the sixth-century BC, records the story of Atys, son of Kroísos (Croesus), who is killed in a boar hunt by Adrastos. Kroísos has a dream that his son will be killed by an iron spearhead. Like Parsifal’s mother, Kroísos will not allow the accoutrements of war around his son and refuses to allow him to take part in battles or hunting. Kroísos gives Adrastos refuge when he is exiled for accidental fratricide. A monstrous boar appears on the Mysian Olympus. An expedition is organized to hunt the boar. Atys prevails over his father’s worries against letting him go on the hunt, arguing that boars’ tusks are not iron. Thus the boar cannot be the object of the king’s dream-induced worry. Kroísos asks Adrastos to watch over his son. When circling about the wounded boar, Adrastos’s spear, though launched at the boar, goes astray and kills Atys. In despair, Adrastos kills himself at Atys’s tomb.

In most of these minor tales the recurring theme is the vengeance of Cybele (Kybélē) for Attis’s (Atys’s) infidelity. Having sworn love to the great goddess, Attis succumbs to a mere mortal. Attis then makes a renewed vow to the goddess, which is enforced by his emasculation. When Attis succumbs to this wound, the goddess repents. In some of the tales, Attis’s lover commits suicide on his grave at Pessinus, as did the protector Adrastus described by Hēródotos. In Attis’s honor are created commemorating festivities, which include the Tristia, in sorrow for his dying, and the Hilaria, “feasts of joy for his resurrection, even if only partial” (Vermaseren 1977: 92).

A calendar of Furius Dionysus Philocalus (354 AD) (CIL I: 260) gives the dates for the Attis festivals in Rome (see Vermaseren 1977: 113).

Martius 15:	<i>Canna intrat</i>
Martius 22:	<i>Arbor intrat</i>
Martius 24:	<i>Sanguem (Tristia)</i>
Martius 25:	<i>Hilaria</i>
Martius 26:	<i>Requietio</i>
Martius 27:	<i>Lavatio</i>
Martius 28:	<i>Initium Caiani.</i>

Although Lambrechts (1962; 1952: 461-71) has argued that these festivals were added to the Attis cult in two stages, the Tristia by Claudius (41-54 AD) and the Hilaria by Antoninus Pius (138-61 AD), Vermaseren (1977: 113-5) has shown that the Tristia and the Hilaria must date to an earlier period. Perhaps the single most important piece out of the array of evidence he brings to bear in this matter is that the Pythagorean Basilica near the Porta Maggiore, dating to the reign of Tiberius (14-37 AD), displays a winged Attis, leading Ganymedes to Olympus and immortality, as the central figure in the vault of the nave. Thus Attis must have also been immortal at this stage and had a place in Olympus next to the Mother of the Gods. At the Metroon on the Palatine, terracotas excavated in a context dating them to 25 BC display a dancing Attis suggestive of gaiety and thus of the Hilaria.

Thus it would appear that the Tristia and Hilaria, “the Festival of Sadness and the Festival of Gaiety”, corresponding to Attis’s death and resurrection respectively, must date at least to the first century BC, if not considerably earlier. These two festivals on the 24th and 25th day of March were followed on the 26th by a day of resting, the Requietio. Whether the themes are late or early, they apparently derive from a common source with similar themes, which crop up later in Ireland. Indeed the names and the festivals themselves are suggestive of “the music of weeping (*goltride*), the music of laughter (*gentride*), and the music of sleeping (*súantride*)” played by Fraech’s horn blowers (Meid 1967: 4-5) or the *gol 7 egem* “crying and shrieking” with which Brigh bewails her dead son. These themes must have a common source, with Irish myth apparently preserving the names of music played at the ritual and Latin sources preserving the names of the festival days. Whether or not the seven-fold festival in Rome represents an innovation on an earlier three-fold festival remains an open question. It may be significant that the Gaulish Coligny calendar shows a block of festival days marked IVOS from the 13th to the 20th of Rivros, the third month, corresponding to March (Olmsted 1992a: 87-88, tab. 11a).

Servius (*Scholia Danielis ad Aeneidi*: XII, 836) records that the Romans adopted a Phrygian tradition in the passion plays of Attis in the spring. Ovidius describes the Roman festivals to the goddess. “Eunuchs will march and thump their hollow drums, and cymbals clashed on cymbals will give out their tinkling notes; seated on the unmanly necks of her attendants, the goddess herself will be borne with howls through the streets in the City’s midst.” (Ovidius, *Fasti*: iv: ll. 183-6).

The festivals to Cybele and Attis in Rome thus began on March 15 (*canna intrat* “the entry of the reed”) with a procession of reed-bearers (*cannophori*) and a sacrifice for the crops. The reed-bearers commemorated Attis’s supposed abandonment as a foundling on the river Gallus (Graillot 1912: 108-49). According to Lydus (*de Mensibus*: IV, 49), the reed bearers and the high priest also sacrificed a bull on this day to promote the fertility of mountain pastures. The cut-off stalks of the reeds may also have commemorated Attis’s emasculation. On the sixteenth of March began a nine-day fast in which the faithful abstained from bread and wine, as well as fish, fowl, pork, and certain fruits (Vermaseren 1977: 115). They also underwent a period of sexual abstinence, corresponding to the period in which Cybele, the Mother of the Gods, was separated from her lover.

On the 22nd day of Martius (*arbor intrat* “the entry of the tree”) the pine tree associated with Attis was cut and swathed like a corpse to be taken to the temple of Cybele, which

signified the beginning of the festival proper. The pine tree represented the tree under which Attis collapsed after his emasculation. According to Firmicus Maternus (*De errore profanarum religionum*: XXVII, 1), an image of the god Attis was suspended in the pine tree (*in media arbore simulacrum iuvenis subligatur*), which is verified by portrayals such as those from Ostia, Glanum, and Perigueux (see Vermaseren 1977: pls. 63, 68, 70). The pine cone seems to have played a special symbolic role in the Attis cult, perhaps in relation to the severed parts of the god. A society of tree bearers (*dendrophori*), mostly wood-cutters and timber merchants, then carried the pine-tree, cut before sun-rise and warped with a purple ribbon, to deposit it in the temple (Arnobius: V, 16). A sacred pine grove (*pineae silva*) was to be found near every temple dedicated to Cybele (*lucus Matris Deum*).

Then the tree was laid in state in the temple as Attis himself. Amid ululations (*ulatibus*) and to the rhythmic beatings of tambourine, Attis was mourned (*per tympana plangitur Attis*). These lamentations continued all through the next day. March 23 was the day of mourning. On this day the 'dancing priests of Mars' (*Salii*) performed and then cleansed their trumpets (*tubilustrium*). From a statement of the emperor Julian we know that in the fourth-century this feast of Mars, originally a fertility god, became part of the ceremonies on the Palatine. To the flourish of trumpets, the priest marched around the temple of Cybele, martially beating their shields like Corybants. (Vermaseren 1977: 115).

According to Frazer (1922: 405-8), the chief ceremony on the 23rd day was the blowing of trumpets. These trumpet blowers can be compared only to the magic horn blowers of Fraech "Heather". These horn blowers similarly played trumpets as the drowned Fraech was deposited in the otherworld of the Irish Mother of Gods, Boand. In Rome the 24th day was the Day of Blood (*dies sanguinis*), when the priests whipped themselves until drawing blood (Arnobius: V, 17) and mourners of Attis gashed their bodies with knives or emasculated themselves to spatter the altar and the tree with blood, commemorating the castration and death of Attis. This was also the day on which a *taurobolium* took place, the ritual baptism by the bull's blood as part of the *dies sanguinis*.

The celebration of the *taurobolium* included a sacramental meal and a baptism by bull's blood. After receiving the sacramental bread and wine, ending the period of fast, the devotee went into a pit. A bull was stabbed to death on a grating over the pit, and its blood flowed over the supplicant and baptized him (Prudentius, *Peristaphonon*: 10, 1011-50). He was assumed to be born again and to have his sins washed away (Frazer 1922: 408; also see OCD: 304; Duthoy 1969; and Cumont 1929). A late text in ILS (4152) states *taurobolio criobolique in aeternum renatus* "the *taurobolium* and the *criobolium* (give) a rebirth in eternity". According to Firmicus Maternus (*De errore profanarum religionum*, 18) and Clemens Alexandrinus (*Protrepticus*, 2, 15), other aspects of the ritual involved a procession carrying a ritual vessel to receive the bull's genitals and a descent into a ritual "bridal chamber" (*pastos*). It may be significant in relation to similar rituals earlier in Gaul that, as Duval (1957: 103) has noted, France has furnished more *taurobolium* altars, utilized in this ritual, than any other country (more than 60).

On the night of March 24-25, the first day of spring, the pine-tree representing Attis was at last taken from the temple of Cybele and buried (Servius, *Scholia Danielis ad Aeneidi*: IX, 115). This holy night preceding the Hilaria (when Attis would rise again from the grave) was known as the *pannychis* or *mesonyctium* (Vermaseren 1977: 116). According to Macrobius (*Saturnalia*: I, 21, 10), this mystery of the burial of the pine tree involved a descent (*katabasis*) similar to the Eleusian mysteries. In the night preceding the burial, the faithful kept watch over the pine-tree body of Attis.

Firminus Maternus (*De errore profanarum religionum*: XXII, 1), writing around 350 AD, apparently describes the rituals surrounding this evening of mourning.

During a certain night the statue is put on its back on a bier and is rhythmically mourned amid wailing. When they have busied themselves long enough with this pretended mourning, light is brought in. Then the throats of all those who have cried are anointed by the priest, and after this anointing the priest mumbling slowly whispers the following words: "Be of good heart, you novices, because the god is saved. Deliverance from distress will come for us as well". (Vermaseren (1977: 116).

Early in the morning of the 25th day, reckoned to be the first day of spring, the god Attis supposedly rose again from the dead, and the day was dedicated to joy and festivity on account of Attis's resurrection. The feast of joy, the Hilaria, occurred on this day, which according to Iulianus (Julian) (*Orationes*: VIII, 168d) was signaled by a trumpet. Firmicus Maternus (III, 2) explains the significance of death and resurrection of Attis, as the grain of corn which is sown every year and then comes back to life. (*Mortem ipsius dicunt, quod semina collecta conduntur, vitam rursus quod iacta semina annuis vicibus reconduuntur*). So too, Firmicus Maternus (XVIII, 1) also gives certain formulae involved in these mysteries: *de tympano mandudavi, de cymbalo bibi, et religionis secreta perdidici*. These formulae are repeated in Greek by Clemens Alexandrinus (*Protrepticus*: II, 15).

From the tambourine I have eaten, from the cymbal I have drunk; I have born the cernus; the room I have entered. (Vermaseren 1977: 116).

Only by entering the inner "bridal chamber", the *pastós* or *cubiculum* of the goddess Cybele, does one become a *mystes* of Attis. Vermaseren (1977: 117) points out similarities to this expression in the Orphic formula, "I have crept to below the bosom of the mistress", as far as the womb of Persephónē, mistress of the underworld (*Orphicorum fragmenta*: no. 32; Kern: 1922: 106).

This is the highest initiation (*teleté*) and will gain the *mystes* a better lot. In the Isis mysteries, at Eleusis, and probably also in the Mithra cult, a similar initiation occurs, which is designated by the term 'voluntary death' (*voluntaria mors*). The *kólpos* of the Orpheans is then the *pastós* of the Attis *mystes*, ie. a cave, a subterranean or hidden space in or near the temple. The terms used for it are *megaron*, *penetalia*, *adyton*, and sometimes *thaláme* or *cubiculum*. The term *adyton* or *abaton* 'out of bounds' or the *sacrarium intimum* means that it is accessible only to the highest initiates, the space representing Hádēs, as becomes clear from the description *edyn dómon Aidon eiso* "I have entered the house of Hádēs"... On the analogy of the other mysteries, the Attis *mystes* also knew this so-called voluntary death. After Attis had been laid in his grave, he himself descended (*katabasis*) into the underworld in order to acquire, by means of the ceremonies, salvation (*ex Aidon soteria*) already during his lifetime. And then he is, as it were, reborn (*renatus*), since he has seen the Goddess herself in the crypt.... (Vermaseren 1977: 117-8).

Perhaps these cults involved an attempt to avoid the cycle of life, death, descent into Hádēs, the cleansing through fire to be reborn again. Perhaps they promised to the pure, a deification like Attis to attain the Olympian kingdom of the gods and bypass the continuous cycle of life and rebirth, the provenance of the goddess.

The 26th day was a day of rest (*requietio*), while on the 27th day (*lavatio*) the image of Cybele was drawn in an oxen-pulled wagon to the Almo to be washed in the brook (Frazer,

1922, 405-8). In Rome the silver statue containing the goddess in the form of a black meteorite was taken in a wagon (*carpentum* or *plaustrum*) from the Palatine Hill to the small sanctuary on the Alma to receive her bath. On her trip to and from the Alma, the goddess was accompanied by the faithful, who followed her with flowers, song, and dance (Vermaseren 1977: 124).

Valerius Flaccus (*Argonautica*: VIII, 239-42) (c. 80 AD) depicts Cybele in a joyful mood following her bath in the Almo. He states, "From the moment that the sacred Almo has cleansed [her] and Cybele, rejoicing, is now borne through the town, accompanied by festive torches, who would still remember that bloody wounds were recently inflicted in the temple?" Arrianus (*Tactica*: 33, 4) writing in 136-7 AD describes "as to the bath, Rhea (Cybele) is bathed in the manner of the Phrygians, that is at the end of the mourning". This ritual bathing of the goddess statue in the Alma then concluded the festival.

It should by now be clear the mythology surrounding Fraech in the *Táin bó Cuailnge* and in *Táin bó Fraích* shows much in common with the rituals of Cybele and Attis as practiced in Rome. Fraech's very name "Heather" is reminiscent of the evergreen tree utilized in the ritual of the *arbor intrat* "the entry of the tree". The pine tree associated with Attis was cut and swathed like a corpse to be taken to the temple of Cybele. To the blare of trumpets the tree was placed in the temple of the Goddess Cybele. These trumpet blowers can only be compared to the magic horn blowers of Fraech "Heather". These horn blowers similarly play trumpets as the drowned Fraech is deposited in the otherworld of the Irish goddess Boand. Fraech's musicians are noted for the Music of Weeping (*Goltride*), the Music of Laughing (*Gentride*), and the music of sleeping (*Súantride*), as the Roman festival celebrated the *Tristia*, the *Hilaria*, and the *Requietio*. If the events of *Táin bó Fraích* may be taken as witness, it would appear that like Attis, after the proper interval, Fraech would return again to the living, after being restored in the underworld. As we shall see, Fraech's drowning is also significant. Many of the rites of Ádōnis (similar to those of Attis) involved flinging plants or trees, especially evergreens, into the water along with images of the dead Ádōnis (Frazer, 1922, 396). Even the myth that Attis was killed while hunting a boar may bear a relationship to Fraech's wounding by the water beast (especially considering that in the myths of Índraḥ and Tritáḥ Āptyāñ, Vṛtráḥ is sometimes a dragon or water serpent and sometimes a boar). Ádōnis, of course, was supposedly killed by a boar.

Aphrodítē and Ádōnis

According to Apollódōros (*Bibliothēkē*: III, xiv, 3-4; also Ovidius, *Metamorphoses*: 10, 298-559, 708-739), Ádōnis was conceived when, through the complicity of her nurse, Mýrra had an incestuous union with her father (Kinýras) king of Cyprus (who was ultimately descended of Hermēs). Apollódōros also records an alternative tradition taken from Panysis that Smýrna, the daughter of Theias king of Assyria, had had an incestuous union with her father, which resulted in the conception of Ádōnis. Apollódōros notes yet a third tradition, supposedly from Hēsíodos, that Ádōnis was the son of Phoínix and Alpheisiboía (undoubtedly the same Phoínix who is credited with founding the Phoenicians, OCD: 827).

When Theias or Kinýras found out that he had slept with his own daughter, he pursued her with his sword. To escape, Mýrra or Smýrna turned herself into a myrrh tree (the *smýrna*).

Ten months afterwards the tree burst, and Ádōnis ... was born, whom for the sake of his beauty, while he was still an infant, Aphrodítē hid in a chest unknown to the gods and entrusted to Persephónē. But when Persephónē beheld him, she would not give

him back. The case being tried before Zeús, the year was divided into three parts, and the god ordained that Ádōnis should stay by himself for one part of the year, with Persephónē for one part, and with Aphrodítē for the remainder. However, Ádōnis made over to Aphrodítē his own share in addition; but afterwards in hunting he was gored and killed by a boar. (*Bibliothēkē*, III, xiv, 4; Frazer 1917: II, 86-7).

According to the Latin writer Hyginus (c. 2nd cent. AD) (*Poetica Astronomica*: II, 6), who Latinized the Greek names in his narration, Calliope the muse acted as an arbitrator between Persephone and Aphrodite. She determined that Adonis should spend half the year with Aphrodite and half the year with Persephone. Enraged, Aphrodite incited the Thracian women to tear apart Calliope's son Orpheus. A Greek scholiast on Theócritos of Syracuse (c. 300-250 BC) (*Idylls*: III, 48) recorded that the dead Ádōnis stayed half the year with Persephónē and half the year with Aphrodítē, which he explained as a mythical description of the grain. After sowing, the grain lies half the year in the earth and half the year above the ground (see Frazer 1917: 87-8, note 3). Similarly, the Latin writer Eusebius of Caesarea (ca. 260-340 AD) (*Praeparatio Evangelica*: 3, 11, 12) indicated that Adonis was a deity association with the fertility of the fields. His descent into the underworld coincided with the harvesting of the grain.

Lucianus (*de Syria Dea*: 6-9) indicates that Byblos in Phoenicia (now Gebeil, Lebanon) was a sacred center of the Ádōnis cult. His death supposedly annually stained the nearby name-sake river Ádōnis with his blood. He was also worshiped at Amathus in Cyprus, and his cult in association with Aphrodítē is indicated at an ancient date in Athens. In connection with this cult, swine were sacrificed to Aphrodítē, a goddess not only of generation and fertility, but also of the sea and sea-faring. In Sparta she even took on war-like attributes (OCD: 80). Her chthonian aspects are indicated by her epithet at Delphi, *Epitumbia* "Over the Tomb" (Plutarchus, *Quaestiones Romanae*: 9, 27, 5). At Athens and Thebes she was hailed as *Pandemos* "Goddess of all the People".

If the name Ádōnis was borrowed from elsewhere (for etymologies from Semitic and Greek, possibly from *handánō* "fallen", see GEW I: 22), the god may have simply displaced a pre-existing spring-time cult of Aphrodítē and Eros, as existed in Athens (OCD: 8, 407). At Alexandria the festivals of Ádōnis and Aphrodítē included a celebration of their wedding. At the death of Ádōnis, the next day, his image was carried to the seaside by women amid great lamentation (Theócritos, *Idylls*: 15). Similarly the mourning of the women for Ádōnis was a centerpiece of the April festival to Ádōnis at Athens. The women also set out his gardens on rooftops.

Many of the rites of Ádōnis involved flinging plants or trees, especially evergreens, into the water along with images of the dead Ádōnis (Frazer 1922: 396). The themes of the dying reviving Ádōnis may also have been adopted by the early Christian church in the Easter festival (1922: 401). It may be significant that in Roman Gaul and Phrygia, the early Christian church celebrated Easter at the vernal equinox (1922: 418).

There is really no basis for the wide-spread assumption that these myths of Ádōnis were borrowed from Crete or Assyria. As the Celtic evidence suggests, these myths were probably common to all of these regions, extending back to a very ancient period. A relationship to Babylonia Tammuz and Ishtar, if such a relationship is not coincidence, need not indicate a borrowing at all, or at least not one since the dispersal of PIE culture. The cult of Ádōnis was established in Athens at least by the fifth century BC (OCD: 8). Although the name Ádōnis is generally assumed to have come from Semitic *adon* "lord", the name could easily have usurped that of already existing Greek character who played the same role. In Ireland Manannán was said to be a sea merchant from Man, and Aife was said to be from the Alps. The attribution of Adonis's father, Theias or Kinýras, to Assyria and Crete respectively signifies little more than that the story teller gives them a distant and exotic origin.

Recalling the statement of the Greek scholiast on Theócritos (*Idylls*: III, 48) that Ádōnis stayed half of the year with Persephónē and half the year with Aphrodítē, there would seem to be a definite connection in these myths of Aphrodítē and Ádōnis to those of Boand, Medb, *Maccan Óc, and Fraech. *Maccan Óc (identifying him with Ailill, as above) is in the otherworld with his mother Boand (Mórrígan) and absent from his wife, the landscape goddess Medb, during the winter, while Nechtain-Fraech “the Nephew-Heather” (the god of hot springs or underworld warmth) is on the surface with his mother Medb and absent from his wife Boand during the same period. In making a connection to the myths of Aphrodítē and Ádōnis, it is significant that heather is an evergreen. With the coming of spring, Nechtain-Fraech “the Nephew-Heather” is drowned and returns to the otherworld, when presumably *Maccan Óc returns to the increasing daylight of spring and summer. *Maccan Óc (Ailill) is then reunited with the earth goddess and fertility returns to the world.

It is then with the combination of these two Ádōnis-type rituals, the drowning of Fraech (Nechtain) and the return of *Maccan Óc, that we deal in the Irish myths. Both Fraech and *Maccan Óc are dying and reviving gods (Fraech explicitly so in *Táin Bó Fraích*) and both have ancient connections to the Vedic son of waters, Agníḥ “Fire” (the dying/reviving god par excellence), and the Vedic fire in waters, Apām Napāt, from *Apōm Nepōts “the Nephew of Waters” (**h₂ep-o-*; IEW: 51-2). Since Maponos and Vroicis-Bormos were both associated with Apollo in Roman Gaul, a solar aspect is apparent as well. Perhaps Vroicos may be associated with the sun in winter and Maponos with the sun in summer. It is this dual solar theme which gives an association to the Ádōnis myths and the revival of spring vegetation.

Neptūnus

Under Greek influence the Latin god Neptūnus was identified with Poseidōn. Thus Neptūnus was said to be the brother of Iuppiter (Livius, *Ab urbe condita libri*: 29, 27, 5). However, as Rose (OCD: 728) points out, Neptūnus was originally a god of waters and not of the sea. His cult partner was Salacia, a goddess of spring water (*salire*) (Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*: 13, 23, 2). In this respect, Neptūnus is directly equatable to Gaulish Bormo and to Irish Nechtain-Fraech. Neptūnus’s festival, the Neptūnalia, was held on the 23 of July. On this day arbors of boughs were erected (Festus, *Glossoria Latina*: IV, 519).

According to Pokorny and Meid, the Latin name Neptūnus and the Irish name Nechtain derive from IE **nebh-tū-* “water” (IEW: 315-6; also see DELL: 438). Dumézil (1973: 21-38), Pinault (*Ogam* 1964: 221-3), and Ford (1974: 67-74), however, have suggested an origin for these names in the variant IE form **neptio-* (IEW: 764), which gives rise to Avestan *naptya* “descendent, offspring”, and is also used in Greek *a-nepsiós* “brother’s or sister’s son” and Russian *netijb* “nephew”. It is possible that **neptio-* lies behind Irish Nechtain as well as Latin Neptūnus. Dumézil (1973: 42) has suggested an original **Neptīnos*, influenced by the name of Portūnus (the god of harbors), to give Neptūnus. If the names Nechtain and Neptūnus are related to that of the Vedic god Apām Napāt and the Avestan god Apam Napāt, then Nechtain must derive from **neptio-* “brother or sister’s son, offspring”, which is no longer productive in the existing Insular Celtic languages.

Trítōn

Apollódōros (*Bibliotēkē*: I, v, 1) gives the following account of the birth of Trítōn, son of Poseidōn and Amphitritē.

Poseidōn wedded Amphitritē, daughter of Ōkeanós [and Tēthýs], and there was born to him Trítōn and Rhódē, who was married to [Hylíos] the Sun. (Frazer 1917: I, 35).

So too, it was at the river Trítōn (a stream in Boeotia or Libya) that Athēna, daughter of Zeús and Metis (daughter of Ōkeanós and Tēthýs) was reborn out of Zeús's head (*Bibliothēkē*: 1, iii, 6). From this birth at the river Trítōn arose Athēna's byname Trítogéneia (IEW: 1096). Supposedly Trítōn then brought up Athēna, alongside of his daughter Pallás (Apollódōros, *Bibliothēkē*: III, xii, 3). As noted above, there was undoubtedly an alternative tradition that Trítōn was the father of Athēna, rather than Zeús. Perhaps Trítogéneia should simply be interpreted as "Born of the Sea" (from an otherwise no longer productive *trīto-* "sea").

The IE root **trīto-* "water, sea" (IEW: 1096), which gives Irish *triath* (gen. *trethan*) "sea", possibly occurs in Trítōn's name as well as in that of his mother Amphitritē "on Both Sides of the Water" (see IEW: 1096; OCD: 1095; but false according to Frisk, GEW II: 933-4, and of unknown etymology). This same root possibly may be found in Vedic Tritáh Āptyáh and Avestan Thraētaona-, who would then form cognate deities with Trítōn. In Greek tradition Trítōn, commonly interpreted as a merman, is usually portrayed playing a conch shell. At Lake Trítōn, Trítōn appears to the Argonauts in human form. Virgilius (*Aeneid*: 6, 161 ff.) also records an interesting episode concerning Triton (Trítōn). It may be significant that Triton drowns Aeneas's horn blower after he challenges him to a contest. This motif is suggestive of the drowning of Fraech, who has noted horn blowers. Here too, as in the Irish tale *Aided Fráich*, is the element of an evergreen (mistletoe) and a descent to the underworld.

In Book six of the *Aeneid*, Aeneas journeys to Apollo's peak and cavern in Diana's grove on the heights above Cumae's coast-line to visit the cave where the Sybil dwells. The priestess who attends the god is Deiphobe, daughter of Glaucus (a sea god renowned for his prophecies, OCD: 468). She tells Aeneas to offer seven bullocks, seven ewes, and a herd without corruption, which he does before approaching the peak and cavern of Apollo. Here is the cavern of the Sibylla (Sibyl). The Sibylla in frenzy utters the words of Apollo, who requests a prayer from Aeneas.

Aeneas asks that the Trojans may be allowed to stay in Latium. In return, Aeneas pledges to build a temple of marble to Apollo and Diana and decree feast days in Phoebus's name. Aeneas also promises to build a shrine to the Sibylla and place there her lots and mystic oracles along with priests to attend them. Aeneas then asks the Sibylla to utter her prophecy directly to him. The god Apollo subdues the Sibylla to make her utter his words. Through her, the god warns of greater dangers on land than by sea, the Tiber foaming with blood, etc. Aeneas next requests of the Sibylla, herself, that he may journey through the Sibylla's cavern to Pluto's realm beneath, that he may visit his father in Hecate's realm. As with the Irish cavern of Fraech and Boand at Cruachu, the cavern of Apollo and the Sibylla leads directly to the underworld. The Sibylla answers that the descent into Arvernus's grove in the underworld is easy. It is the ascent back again which is hard.

To cross the Stygian lake and return again, the Sibylla tells Aeneas that he must pluck from the dark tree the golden bough sacred to Proserpina (Persephónē). For Proserpina, the Queen of Darkness, requires a tribute, a gift, of the golden bough as a passport to the land of darkness. He must search overhead for the golden bough, which will pluck easily if fate allows, but otherwise iron could not tear it loose. She tells him further what he could not know, that at this very moment one of his comrades lies unburied, polluting him and his fleet. She tells him to bury him with honor, to slaughter black cattle in expiation for him, and to raise a burial mound for him.

When he returns to his fleet, Aeneas finds on the shore the body of a comrade. And ... they see on the dry beach Misenus cut off by untimely death; Misenus, son of

Aeolus, surpassed by none in stirring men with his bugle's blare and in kindling with his clang the god of war. He had been great Hector's comrade, at Hector's side he braved the fray, glorious for clarion and spear alike; but when Achilles, victorious, stripped his chief of life, the valiant hero came into the fellowship of Dardan Aeneas, following no meaner standard. Yet on that day, while haply he makes the seas ring with his hollow shell, madman, and with his blare calls the gods to contest, jealous Triton, if the tale can win belief, caught and plunged him into the foaming waves amid the rocks (*Triton ... inter saxa virum spumosa immerserat unda*). So with loud lament, all were mourning round him, good Aeneas foremost. Then weeping, they quickly carry out the Sibyl's commands and toil in piling trees for the altar of his tomb and in rearing it to the sky. (*Aeneid*: 6, 162-180; Fairclough 1916: 518-9).

In falling wood for the funeral pyre, Aeneas, son of Anchises and Aphrodite, sights his mother's birds, twin doves, which lead him to a dark oak from which grows a golden bough, gleaming like mistletoe in winter. He breaks off the golden bough and takes it with him. After the funeral rites of his fallen horn blower, Aeneas hastens to the Sibylla with the branch, that he might make his journey to the underworld. Before beginning the journey, he makes a sacrifice of four black bullocks to Hecate, the Queen. He offers up a black lamb to Night (Mater Eumenidum), and a barren heifer to Proserpina (Persephōnē).

Kádmos Agēnōridēs

The following story, preserved by Nonnos, is reminiscent of the story of Cú Chulainn and Senbheg. Here Kádmos plays the pipes while Zeús steals back the thunderbolt from the dragon-like Typhōeos.

And so Kádmos Agēnōridēs remained there by the ankle of the pasturing woodland, drawing his lips to and fro along the tops of the pipes, as a pretended goatherd; but Zeús Kronídēs, unspied, uncaught, crept noiseless into the cave and armed himself with his familiar fires a second time. And a cloud covered Kádmos beside his unseen rock, lest Typhōeos might learn his crafty plan and the secret thief of the thunderbolts, and wise too late might kill the turncoat herdsman. But all the Giant wanted was to hear more and more of the mind-bewitching melody with its delicious thrill. When a sailor hears the Seir_nes perfidious song and [is] bewitched by the melody, he is dragged to a self-chosen fate too soon. (Nonnos, *Dionysiakōn*: 2, 1, 1 ff.; Rouse 1940: I, 44-5).

The Roman Ritual of the Matralia

The Romans celebrated the *Matralia*, the Feast of the Mater Matuta, on June 11, close to the summer solstice. As Dumézil (1970: I, 50) has pointed out, *Matuta* was deified as the "break of day" and thus corresponds exactly to Vedic Uṣāh, the goddess of Dawn. Dumézil summarizes the ritual from Plutarchus (*Moralia*, 592D) and Ovidius (*Fasti*, 6, 551-61).

(1) While the temple of Mutata is normally forbidden to the servile class, the ladies assembled for the feast bring into the enclosure a slave woman, whom they drive out with slaps and blows; (2) the ladies bear in their arms, "treat with respect", and commend to the goddess not their own children, but those of their sisters. (Dumézil 1970: I, 51).

In the Vedas, Uṣāḥ “Dawn” (or the Uṣāsaḥ “the Dawns”) is described as doing this action every day, in driving back the “demonic shadows” (represented in Rome by the slave) and caring for *Sūryaḥ* “the Sun” or *Agnīḥ* “Fire”, the child of her sister *Rātrī* “the Night”. Thus Dumézil (1970: I, 47-57) surmises that the Roman ritual represents a survival of a more ancient ritual corresponding to the myth outlined in the *Rig Veda*.

Romano-Greek Apóllōn (Apollo) and Asklēpiós

(Here I deal only with the traits and bynames of Apóllōn correlating with Irish *Fraech-Nechtain* and Vedic *Rudráḥ* (*Apām Napāt*). For a discussion of the traits and bynames associating Apóllōn with Irish *Lug* and *Cú Chulainn* and Vedic *Mitráḥ* and *Pūṣā*, see the section on Greek Apóllōn, and *Zeús* and *Hermēs*.)

As Farnell (1907: v, 144) has noted, “Apóllōn-Hélios was [probably] a late byproduct in Greek religion rather than the god of the aboriginal cult”. Contrary to a widely-held misconception, “Apóllōn was not the Greek Sun God” (Fontenrose 1978: xiv). His major function was noted by *Hermēs* in the Homeric Hymn *Eis Hermēn* (470-5). Here *Hermēs* states, “from the utterance of *Zeús*, you, Far-Worker (*Hekáergos*) [Apóllōn], have learned both the honors due to the gods and the oracles from *Zeús*, even all his ordinances” (Evelyn-White 1914: 396-7).

Indeed, the god called Apóllōn would seem to be an amalgam of several PIE gods and cults. To correlate one aspect of his wide-ranging personality with cognate Irish deities, one must compare him to *Lug*. To correlate another aspect of his personality, one must deal with the whole three-generation Greek entity *Zeús* / Apóllōn (*Lýkeios*) / Asklēpiós and compare this group to three generation Irish entity *Conchobar* / *Cú Chulainn* / *Fraech* (*Conlae*).

In the *Iliad*, Apóllōn is *Hekatēbólos* “the Far-Shooter”. So too, *Lug* is *Lámfota* “of the Far-Reaching Hand”. Burkert is thus perhaps correct in noting Apóllōn’s arrows as a major functional attribute and connecting him to his full sister *Ártemis* (the other child of *Lētō*), who is also noted for her arrows. “In the first book of the *Iliad*, the arrows of Apóllōn signify pestilence: the god of healing is also the god of plague” (1985: 145). Burkert goes on to draw a connection to the Hittite Guardian God, also associated with the stag and arrows, whence *Ártemis* and the hunt. But *Ártemis* herself was also a goddess of childbirth, who could take the life of any woman in childbirth, just as Apóllōn could bring the plague.

And so he [Chrysē] spoke in prayer, and Phoibos Apóllōn heard him. Down from the peaks of Olympus he strode, wrathful at heart, bearing on his shoulders his bow and covered quiver. The arrows rattled on the shoulder of the angry god, as he moved; and his coming was like the night. Then he sat down apart from the ships and let fly a shaft, terrible was the tang of the silver bow. The mules he assailed first and the swift dogs, but thereafter on the men themselves he let fly his stinging arrows and smote; and ever did the pyres of the dead burn thick. (*Iliad*: I, 43-52; Murray 1924: 7).

So too, *Héra* states of *Ártemis* in the *Iliad* (XXI: 481-4), “you bear the bow, since it was against women that *Zeús* made you a lion, and [he] granted you to slay whomever of them you would” (Murray 1925: 443). Indeed, it seems likely that Apóllōn and *Ártemis* began as a god and goddess pair.

Because he apparently developed from the PIE god who gave *Lug* and *Mitráḥ*, Apóllōn shares traits with them (see section on Greek Apóllōn, and *Zeús* and *Hermēs*). Apóllōn also absorbed traits from a prototype *Hermēs* as well. Apóllōn absorbed many other attributes,

however, from his own son Asklēpiós. Although Irish Cú Chulainn absorbed many attributes from his father Conchobar (who corresponds to Zeús), he absorbed little of the nature of his son Fraech (Conlae). Through the developmental connection between Cú Chulainn and Hermēs, from whom Apóllōn also took traits, Apóllōn corresponds in some of his attributes and functions to Cú Chulainn. Since Apóllōn took many more traits from his son Asklēpiós, developmentally descended from the same PIE god as Fraech (Conlae), Apóllōn must be correlated primarily with Fraech. Thus in a comparative scheme, one would be mostly correct if one equated Apóllōn with the three Irish gods Lug, Cú Chulainn, and Fraech.

As I have already examined the bynames of Apóllōn indicating traits corresponding to Lug and Cú Chulainn, here I treat only those names relating to similarities to Fraech. Thus one may also look at the relationship between Gaia (Themis at Delphi) and Apóllōn and compare this relationship to the relationship between Boand and Fraech (Nechtain). Other aspects of the original Greek and Roman gods cognate with Boand and Fraech (Nechtain) were absorbed in Greek and Roman cult by the importation of Phrygian Kybélē and Attis.

Like Irish Nechtain-Fraech and Gaulish Vroicos, Apóllōn was associated with the sea and bodies of water. Thus he was Nasiótas “Island God”, and he was Myrikaios and Aktaios “Shore God”. Also corresponding to these gods, at Thermion in Lesbos, Apóllōn was known as Thérmiōs “God of Hot Springs”. He was also called Oýlios “Wound Healer”, Akésios “the Healer”, Paiēōn “the Physician”, and Iatrómantis “Healer, Seer”. According to Farnell (1907: IV, 235), Maleátas was “a cult-name which came to connote the healing power of the god”. Apóllōn was also the healer god Alexíkakos “Defender against Evil” (IE **kakka-* “excrement”; IEW: 521), who drove away disease. He was Prostátēs “the Protector”. Prophecy and healing were also the primary emphasis of Apollo’s cult in Rome during the Republic. The Vestals addressed him as Apollo Medice and Apollo Paeon (Macrobius, *Saturnalia*: 1, 17, 15).

Some of Apóllōn’s epithets refer solely to place names, such as Dēlios, Delphínios, Pýthios, and Pythāeús for Delos and Claros. Other local name epithets include Ptōos (Ptōieús), Ismenios, Didymáios (of Didyma), Malóeis, Killaios, Phymbraios, Grýneos, and Phanaios, as well as the tribal epithet Kynēeios.

According to Farnell (1907: IV, 208-10; 274-5), as with Germanic Óðinn, human sacrifice was made to Apóllōn during the early stages of his cult. “At Megara, in ancient times, human victims [probably] were offered [even] to Apóllōn” (1907: IV, 274). Farnell cites as further examples the sacrifice of the Locrian maidens and the offering of a youth and a maiden in the worship of Ártēmis Tríklaria at Patrai. Such practice was in fact encouraged by the Delphic Oracle. The Delphic Oracle usually called for such measures only under dire circumstances, such as following a long draught or crop failure. The Thessalians yearly promised human sacrifice to Apóllōn Kataibásios, but did not give it. The usual practice was the use of a *pharmakos*, the sacrifice of a scapegoat who would offer himself in expiation for the sins of his people, a practice which probably stopped in the fifth or fourth centuries BC. There also may have been human victims in the Italian rituals of Iuppiter and Saturnus at Dodona (IV, 209), so that the resort to human sacrifice must be seen in context to be judged.

Apollódōros (*Bibliothēkē*: I, iv, 1) states that Apóllōn and his sister Ártēmis (goddess of the hunt and, significantly, childbirth) were children of Zeús and Lētó. Like Ártēmis, Apóllōn too was an archer. He used his bow to slay the serpent Pýthōn.

Apóllōn learned the art of prophecy from Pán, the son of Zeús and Hybris, and came to Delphi, where Themis at that time used to deliver oracles; when the snake Pýthōn, which guarded the oracle, would have hindered him from approaching the chasm, he killed it and took over the oracle. (*Bibliothēkē*: I, iv, 1; Frazer 1917: I, 26-7).

According to Pausanias (10, 5, 6), the earliest oracles at Delphi were Gaia and Poseidōn, whose oracular powers were then passed to Themis. The detail about Themis is interesting

because according to the Homeric Hymn, “Lētō did not give Apóllōn ... her breast; but Themis duly poured nectar and ambrosia with her divine hands” (*Eis Apóllōna [Dēlion]*: ll. 123-5; Evelyn-White 1914: 332-3).

Plutarchus (*de Pythiae Oraclulis*: 402) also refers to Gaia’s temple at Delphi. Farnell (1907: III, 10) simply sees Pýthōn as “an incarnation of the earth goddess”. Pýthōn’s bones were supposedly placed in a cauldron and kept in the Pýthiōn (Hyginus, *Fabulae*: 140).

A unique system of divination by means of sacred serpents survived in Epirus.... The same animal was found in some of the shrines of Asklēpiós, where a medical divination was practiced by means of incubation, and the tame serpent was supposed to creep by night to the sleeper and whisper remedies into his ear. (Farnell 1907: III, 10).

The Homeric Hymn *Eis Apollōna [Dēlion]* (III, 300 ff.) also gives an account of Apóllōn’s slaying of Pýthōn. Here the beast is referred to as a “great she-dragon or she-serpent” (*drákainan*).

But nearby was a sweet flowing spring [Telphousa], and there, with his strong bow, the lord, the son of Zeús, killed the bloated great she-dragon, a fierce monster wont to do great mischief to men upon earth, to men themselves and to their thin-shanked sheep; for she was a very bloody plague.

...

Whoever met the dragoness, the day of doom would sweep him away, until lord Apóllōn, who deals death from afar, shot a strong arrow at her. Then she, rent with bitter pangs, lay drawing great gasps for breathing and rolling upon that place. An awful noise swelled up unspeakable as she writhed continually this way and that amid the wood; and so she left her life, breathing it forth in blood. Then Phoibos Apóllōn boasted over her: “Now rot here upon the soil that feeds men! You at least shall live no more to be a fell bane to men who eat the fruit of all-nourishing earth and who bring hither perfect hecatombs. Against cruel death neither Typhōeüs shall avail you nor ill-famed Chímaira, but here shall the earth and shining Hyperion make you rot.” Thus said Phoibos, exalting over her and darkness covered her eyes. And the holy strength of Hēlios made her rot away there; whereupon the place is now called Pythō [later Delphi], and men call the lord Apóllōn by another name, Pýthion; because on that spot the power of piercing Hēlios made the monster rot away. (Evelyn-White 1914: 344-51).

According to Apollódōros (*Bibliothēkē*: I, iv, 1; also see *Eis Apollōna [Dēlion]*: ll. 14 sq.), Lētō, daughter of the Tītanēs Koíos and Phoíbē, gave birth first to Ártemis, who then acted as midwife in the birth of Apóllōn at Delos. Ovidius (*Metamorphoseon*: 1, 437 sqq) describes that after killing the snake Pýthōn at Delphi to gain the oracle, Apollo instituted the Pythian games once every eight years in commemoration.

Hēródotos (IV, 33, 3-35), Hyginus (*Fabulae*: 140), and Kallímachos (*Hymnoi: Eis Dēlon*, IV, 36 sq) give additional details of events at Delphi concerning Apóllōn. Kallímachos notes that at the moment of Apóllōn’s birth, Héra sent Pýthōn against Lētō, and she forbade any land to give Lētō refuge. But Hyginus notes that Poseidōn had hidden Ortygia island (Delos) under the waves so that Pýthōn could not find it. When Apóllōn was born sacred swans circled Ortygia island.

She spoke and with music the swans, the gods’ own minstrels, left Maeonian Pactolus and circled seven times round Delos. They sang over the bed of child-birth, the Muses’ birds, most musical of all birds that fly. Hence that child in later days strung the lyre

with just so many strings, seven strings since seven times the swans sang over the pangs of birth. No, eight times they sang ere the child leapt forth and the nymphs of Delos, offspring of an ancient river, sang with far-sounding voice the holy chant of Eileithyia. (Kallímachos, *Hymnoi: Eis Delon*: ll. 249-55; Mair 1927: 104-5)

Zeús gave Apóllōn a chariot drawn by swans as well as his lyre. In connection with the swans, one should recall that the Vedic Aśvínau have a swan chariot as well. So too, Zeús mated with Lédē as a swan to produce Polydeúkéēs, the divine one of the twin Dióskoroi. Before taking Apóllōn to Delphi, the swans flew north with Apóllōn to their homeland, the land of the Hyperboreans. Apóllōn became their chief god and set a fixed time of the year to receive their homage. When he returned to Greece, he reached Delphi at Midsummer. Apóllōn then attacked Pýthōn because of his attempt on Lētó. In commemoration of this event, the Delphians held a festival. Connected with this summer festival at Delphi, a first fruits' festival, the Karneia, was held at Athens in August (on this and the following festivals see Farnell 1907: IV, 254, 262-9, 286-91). Apóllōn Karneios was the deity of vegetation in these rites.

Thus every year Apóllōn was said to leave Delphi at the end of autumn to journey to the land of the Hyperboreans. According to Aristotélēs (*Historia Animalium*: 580a, 15 ff.), Lētó herself was supposedly a Hyperborean, but had left there and come to Delos in the guise of a she-wolf. Thus Apóllōn shared Delphi with Diónysos, who held the sanctuary during the three winter months when Apóllōn was absent. Diónysos's grave was supposedly in the inner sanctuary (OCD: 323). The Greeks held no celebrations to Apóllōn in the winter.

The Greek writer Plutarchus (c. 50-120 AD), who for the last thirty years of his life was the priest at Apóllōn's temple at Delphi, records that Apóllōn had to go to the temple to be purified after slaying Pýthōn (*de Defectu Oraculorum*: 15; also see Aelianus, *Varia Historia*: iii, 1). A solemn festival reenacted this slaying and purification at eight year intervals at Delphi (coinciding with the Greek calendar cycle of three intercalations in eight years). Ovidius (*Metamorphoseon*: I, 437 ff.) records that the Pythian games at Delphi were run in honor of the dead Pýthōn. The slaying of Pýthōn was an offence to Gaia "Earth" and cause of continuous resentment by her. The Homeric Hymn *Eis Apollōna Pythion* (l. 300) gives the earliest version of this killing of the beast to attain the oracle. Here the serpent or dragon is an unnamed female, rather than Pýthōn. This battle between Apóllōn and Pýthōn or the female beast has obvious implications for the Irish tales of the water battle between Fraech and the beast guarding the rowan berries, as well as for *Bēowulf*.

One of Apóllōn's functions at Delphi was as a healer and cleanser of sins, such as murder, for which he played the role of purifier. In the Homeric Hymn *Eis Apollōna Pythion* (l. 500), Delphínios Apóllōn tells his followers to come to him singing the hymn (*le Paeon*) "Hail, Healer". At Delphi the sinner underwent a complex system of purification under Apóllōn's tutelage (Farnell 1907: IV, 297-305).

In Apollódōros's *Bibliothēkē* (III, x, 3), Apóllōn has intercourse with Arsinōē or Korōnis producing Asklēpiós. When Arsinōē next cohabits with Ischýs, she is killed by Apóllōn (or Ártemis; see Píndaros, *Pythian Ode*: III). As she is burning, Apóllōn snatches the infant Asklēpiós from the pyre. He gives the infant to the centaur Cheírōn to bring up. Cheírōn teaches Asklēpiós the arts of healing and hunting.

Having become a surgeon and carried the art to a great pitch, he (Asklēpiós) not only prevented some from dying, but even raised up the dead; for he had received from Athēna the blood that flowed from the veins of the Gorgón. While he used the blood that flowed from the veins on the left side for the bane of mankind, he used the blood that flowed from the right side for salvation, and by that means he raised the dead. (*Bibliothēkē*: III, x, 3; Frazer 1917: II, 16-7).

Asklēpiós's major cult center was at Epídauros, where he was associated with Apóllōn Maleátas. In instituting a new shrine, a sacred snake, representing the god, was brought from Epídauros (OCD: 129). In being healed, the patient underwent an incubation period (Aristophánēs, *Plutus*: 653-747) to be followed by baths, often in thermal springs, as at Pergamum (OCD: 129). Assisting in the cures were sacred snakes and dogs, as at Pireaus (IG II: 4962), as well as hymns, sacrifices, and processions. At Epídauros, Asklēpiós was portrayed in a famous statue by Thrasymedes (Pausanias: 2, 27, 2) as seated with his left hand above a serpent and a dog reclining by his throne.

In connection with Asklēpiós, it is interesting to note that in Republican Rome, the cult of Apollo was devoted primarily to him as a god of healing, although he was still noted for his prophecy. The Vestal virgins hailed him as Apollo Medice (voc. of Apollo Medicus) and Apollo Paean "Apollo the Medicator, Apollo the Healer" (Macrobius, *Saturnalia*: 1, 17, 15). A temple was erected to him outside the Porta Carmentalis in consequence of his aid during the plague of 433 BC.

Clemens Alexandrinus (*Stromateis*: 5, 8, 47, 4) (ca. 200 AD) notes that Apóllōn of Didyma ridded Miletus of the plague through the help of an alphabetic hymn. At Hierapolis, Apóllōn used an alphabet oracle, which may shed some light on this alphabetic hymn (*Epigrafiá Greca* IV: 102-3). One must note as well the fragmentary text on stone (ca. 250 AD) from Didyma (*Inscriptiones Didyamae*, ed. Rehm: 217) suggesting that Apóllōn preferred songs to other offerings, particularly songs which were old. Through them in the past he had "driven away plagues, putting to shame the grievous threats of fate". So too, in the epidemic around 160 AD, people turned to Apóllōn at Claros for protection. An inscription from Odessos in Thrace by a pilgrim returned from Claros credited the supplication of Apóllōn with having kept the disease from his fellow citizens (Fox 1986: 219, 231).

Supplicants from Callipolis (near modern Gallipoli) and Caesarea Trochetta in Lydia (Kaibel 1878: 1034; IGRR: 4, 1498) record the remedies prescribed by Apóllōn at Claros. In the Caesarea inscription, the plague was depicted as brandishing a sword of vengeance in one hand while raising the mournful ghosts in the other. Divine law required the supplicants to draw pure water from seven fountains and sprinkle these waters on their houses. In the middle of the plain they had to set up the image of Apóllōn the archer, bow in hand, to ward off the plague. At Callipolis they were told to set up a similar image of Apóllōn "who wards off the plague", to offer the blood of sacrificial black goat and black sheep to the "gods below the earth", and to burn the sacrificed animal carcasses with spices after pouring over them libations of wine and sea water (Fox 1986: 232).

During the Roman Empire, for his oracular properties the Apollo (Apóllōn) at Claros was consulted with vexing questions by men from the whole area between Hadrian's wall (in the north of England) and Cuical in Africa (Fox 1986: 195). In the *Annals* (2, 54), Tacitus describes how Germanicus consulted Apollo at Claros, and in so doing, he gives a description of the oracular process.

[At Claros] there is not a woman, as at Delphi, but a priest chosen from certain families, generally from Miletus, who ascertains simply the number and the names of the applicants. Then descending into a cave and drinking a draught from a secret spring, the man, who is commonly ignorant of letters and of poetry, utters a response in verse answering to the thoughts conceived in the mind of any inquirer. It was said that he prophesied to Germanicus, in dark hints, as oracles usually do, an early doom. (Hadas 1942: 84).

As Farnell (1907: IV, 112) notes, during the early period "caves and woods were the proper haunts of Apóllōn". At Claros two tunnels ran underground to Apóllōn's sacred spring.

At the end of a thirty-yard-long winding corridor, roofed in marble, were two stone chambers. In the first chamber were stone benches and an *omphalos*. Another tunnel ran from this first chamber to the sacred spring. Iamblichus (*de Mysteriis*: 3, 11) states that the prophet drank this water to gain inspiration, after which “he is not in control of himself and does not follow what he is saying or where he is, so that he finds it hard to recover himself even after uttering his oracle”. At Didyma there was also a sacred spring, but here it formed a pool above ground, and a prophetess rather than a prophet merely made contact with its surface and inhaled the vapors to gain inspiration rather than drinking the waters (see Fox 1986: 175, 183). At Kyanaei prophesy was made by throwing the offering to sacred fish in a tank and watching their dartings (Farnell 1907: IV, 230).

According to Aeschýlos (*Eumenides*: 1 ff.) and Pausanias (10, 5, 5), Gaia “Earth” was the first oracle at Delphi before Apóllōn. This goddess was followed by the Titanide Themis, a goddess who was herself originally either akin to or identical with her mother Gaia (Hesíodos, *Theogonia*: 135; also see Frazer 1917: 10, note 1, and OCD: 1052). So too, there had been an oracle of Gaia at Olympia as well (Pausanias: 5, 14, 10). Plinius (*Naturalis Historia*: xxvii, 147) and Pausanias (7, 25, 13) record that at Aegira in Achaia, a prophetess delivered the oracle of Gaia from a subterranean cave. As in the Irish *tarbdeis*, this prophetess drank bull’s blood to gain inspiration. The sibyl at Erythrae also had a cave and a spring of inspiration, which was visited by the Emperor Verus in 162 AD (Pausanias: 10, 12, 4-8; Plutarchus: 398E, 566E).

At Lebadeia in Boeotia, one who sought advice from the oracle fasted and abstained from bathing, awaiting the appropriate night for the ritual. Then at the favorable moment, determined by the diviners from examining ram’s entrails, the supplicant was washed and anointed, dressed in a linen tunic, and taken to drink from the springs of Memory and Forgetfulness. After a period of prayer and worship, he climbed down a ladder into a chasm. Holding two honey cakes, he was passed feet first through a narrow entrance into a chamber, where he received inspiration. To render the divination, on his return above ground an attendant noted all he had seen and heard (Pausanias: 9, 39, 4).

Wherever there was water, indeed, there was a possible source of prophecy. The major oracular shrines used its powers. Claros and Didyma had their springs, while Delphi’s Cassotis was piped down to the oracular temple, appearing to enter it, although it cannot be linked exactly to the rites of inspiration. At a simpler level, people threw offerings into water to see if they swam or sank, while holy springs everywhere upheld the sanctity of oaths. ... Everywhere springs were able to heal and cure, helping men and also their animals on whom life depended. (Fox 1986: 205-7).

The association of Pýthōn with Delphi perhaps indicates that it was not just Gaia and Themis who preceded Apóllōn as the oracle. At Paphlagonia, a snake called Glýkōn rendered oracles through a prophet called Alexander. Lucianus (*Alexander*: 5-11) (ca. 160 AD) satirized this cult, but as Fox (1986: 242-9) has shown, Asklēpiós also gave oracles. When a new temple was founded to him, a snake would be brought from Epídauros to establish the god in the new temple. Such practice would seem to lie behind Glýkōn. At his Shrine in Abonouteichos, women consulted Glýkōn in order to conceive children, as well as for other ailments. Here during the reign of Antonius, the local coinage (depicting Asklēpiós meeting the goddess Hygieia “Health”, each divinity holding a snake) suggests that Abonouteichos was a cult center of Asklēpiós before the advent of Glýkōn.

TABLE 10: *TWIN BULLS

	bull form	rend apart	white black	fight rival	shape shift	fight lake	contrl nut/frt	first men	snake fish	feline canine	final bull
TWIN BULL											
Tiŝtr/Apaoš	X		X	X	X	X		X			
Diónyŝos	X	X			X	X	X				
Zagréous	X	X			X			X	X	X	X
Donn/Finn	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

MAGHŬONOS

Agnih
Sūrya/Karna
*Maccan
Mabon
Maponos
Pollux

NEPTIONOS

Apām Napāt
Rudráh
Áśvínau
Fraech
Vroicos
Apóllōn
Attis
Ádōnis
Castor
Heimdallr
Baldr
Bēowulf

MUSICIANS

Hornblowers
Harpers
Marutah

GŬOŬOŬINDA

Sárasvatī
Rátrī
Boand
S(t)irona
Dēmētēr
Cybele
Freyja
Nerthus

MEDHŬA

Mādhavī
Uśāh
Medb

UPPER GODDESS

Epona
Macha
Hēra
Frigg

TABLE 12: *MIDDLE-REALM GODDESS

	waters	virgin	mother	king	mead	bull	weds
			Nekton	ship	epith	death	kings
TWIN BULL							
Tiŝtr/Apaos							
Diónyŝos							
Zagréous							
Donn/Finn							
MAGHŪONOS							
Agníh							
Sūrya/Karna							
*Maccan							
Mabon							
Maponos							
Pollux							
NEPTIONOS							
Apām Napāt							
Rudráh							
Aśvínau							
Fraech							
Vroicos							
Apóllōn							
Attis							
Ádōnis							
Castor							
Heimdallr							
Baldr							
Bēowulf							
MUSICIANS							
Hornblowers							
Harpers							
Marutah							
GŪOŪOŪINDA							
Sárasvatī							
Rátrī							
Boand							
S(t)irona							
Dēmētēr							
Cybele						X	
Freyja							
Nerthus							
MEDHŪA							
Mādhavī		X		X	X		X
Uŝáh							
Medb	X		X	X	X	X	X
UPPER GODDESS							
Epona							
Macha							
Héra		X					
Frigg							

TABLE 13: *CELESTIAL MUSICIANS

	cow/low mother	laugh born	born in day	compn Nept-	heal- ing	celes music	play in fight
TWIN BULL							
Tiistr/Apaos̄							
Diónyos							
Zagréous							
Donn/Finn							
MAGHUONOS							
Agniḥ	X						
Sūrya/Karna	X						
*Maccan	X		X				
Mabon							
Maponos							
Pollux							
NEPTIONOS							
Apām Napāt							
Rudrāh							
Aśvínau							
Fraech							
Vroicos							
Apóllōn							
Attis							
Ádōnis							
Castor							
Heimdallr							
Baldr							
Bēowulf							
MUSICIANS							
Hornblowers	X			X	X	X	X
Harpers	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Marutaḥ	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
GŪŌŪŌŪINDA							
Sárasvatī							
Rátrī							
Boand							
S(t)irona							
Dēmētēr							
Cybele							
Freyja							
Nerthus							
MEDHŪA							
Mādhavī							
Uśāḥ							
Medb							
UPPER GODDESS							
Epona							
Macha							
Hēra							
Frigg							

(Here I again utilize the asterisk * to indicate both the tentative nature of the reconstructed names as well as the tentative nature of the reconstructed deities and myths).

The Greek and Irish sources suggest that there were three PIE goddesses, each one associated with one of the three realms of being. The Roman and Vedic sources give other details as to the nature of these PIE goddesses. The goddess of the Lower Realm, probably known as *G̃uoũinda “the White Cow”, represented the waters on and under the earth. *Medh̃a, the goddess of the Middle Realm (earth and the waters), was associated with kingship and had the ability to become virgin again after each birth. The tribal kings were ritually married to her in a *heiros gamos*. She apparently represented the waters on earth as well as the rains and intoxicating drink.

The PIE goddess of the Upper Realm may have had a horse-like nature, as in Gaulish Epona (< *Ek̃ona < *h₁ek̃oneh₂) “the Horse”(IEW: 301). The Irish correlative Macha was associated with the Northern (Upper) Realm of the Ulaid. In the Welsh and Irish myths this horse goddess traveled so swiftly across the plain that no one could catch her. This goddess may have represented the waters in the sky, as the purifier whose waters cleansed from sin. However, the horse-like goddess in Greek tradition was an aspect of Dēmētēr of the Lower Realm. Hēra, the Greek goddess associated with the Upper Realm, had little which could be seen as horselike. Furthermore, the goddesses of Vedic tradition, even when in the Upper Realm, were seen as aspects of the Lower-Realm and Middle-Realm goddesses. Thus the sisters Uṣāḥ and Rātrī (or Nākta) “Dawn and Night”, seen in the dual as Uṣāsānaktā, were but celestial aspects of the Waters, Sārasvatī and her sisters (and perhaps Pṛthivī). In much the same way, Sūryah, the son of the Uṣāsānaktā, was but a celestial aspect of Agnīḥ, the son of the Waters (or Pṛthivī). Thus the original nature of this Upper-Realm goddess (or goddesses) must remain obscure. Most probably the Earth Mother had become associated with the Upper Realm through her espousal of Father Sky. It is also likely that the opposition Mother Earth versus Father Sky precluded the possibility of there originally having been goddesses for any but the Lower Realm under the earth and the Middle Realm on the earth’s surface.

The Irish, Vedic, and Roman traditions of *Maccan Óc and Agnīḥ (the Sūnūḥ Sāhasaḥ and the Yúvā Sāhasaḥ), on the one hand, and Niadol (Nechtain), Apām Napāt, and Neptūnus, on the other, suggest that there were two antipodal PIE twin gods: *Magh̃onos-*Iũenkos* “the Young Son” and *Nep̃otulos (*Neptionos) “the Nephew”. For the Apām Napāt group, however, Meid feels that only the Irish and Latin names Nechtain and Neptūnus are cognate. Like Pokorny (IEW: 315-6), he would derive these names from *Nebhtunus “Lord of Waters”. Thus Meid feels that Apām Napāt from *Ap̃m Nep̃ots “Nephew of Waters” (*h₂ep-om nep̃ots) should be seen as an entirely separate name (see Glossary: Nechtain). Because of the bipolar relationship with *Magh̃onos, I shall follow Dumézil here (see his argument 1973: 34-43) and refer to this god as *Neptionos “the Nephew of Waters”. In any case, Irish Niadol from *Nep̃otulos provides the missing link to Apām Napāt, if one eliminates Nechtain from consideration. The basic argument would remain unchanged. Thus, the byname Nechtain would still be linked to Neptūnus through the IE stem *neb̃h-tu-, and the byname Niadol would still be linked to Apām Napāt through the IE root *nep̃ōt-.

The Son of Waters and the Nephew of Waters were born of sister goddesses, the Mothers of Waters. The Son of Waters was the son of *G̃uoũinda “the White Cow Goddess” (Goddess of Lower Realm), who in Vedic tradition was also identified with Night (when in the Upper Realm). The Nephew of Waters was the nephew of *G̃uoũinda and the son of *Medh̃a “the Intoxicatress” (Goddess of Middle Realm), who in Vedic tradition was also identified with Dawn (when in the Upper Realm).

The Son of Waters, the Young Son, was further identified with fire, and thus called *Ognis or *Egnis “Fire” (IEW: 293; *h₃egni-, *h₁egni-) when in the Lower or Middle Realm. When in

the Upper Realm he was called *Sūlios “the Sun”. Conceived and born of his mother Night, *Sūlios was raised by his aunt Dawn, whom he wedded. Rekindled each day as either *Ognis (*h₃egni-) “Fire” or *Sūlios “Sun”, he was thought of as *Iuuenkos “the Ever Young”. Associated with fire, he was the Young Son rekindled every morning. Indeed, he was conceived and born in but a single day. His conception and birth were associated with the action of the fire stick on wood. *Diēus-pətēr “the Sky Father” was the father of the Young Son. *Diēus-pətēr was also father of the controller of the Upper Realm. Greek and Irish sources imply that the controller of the Upper Realm or his son was the father of Nepōtulos (*Neptionos) “the Nephew”.

Irish, Phrygian, and Imperial Roman sources suggest that fuller myths of *Maghūonos and *Neptionos date back to the PIE period. The archetype for one of the myths associated with *Maghūonos probably went somewhat as follows. As suggested by Irish sources, after uniting with the White Cow of Waters, the Sky Father makes the sun stand still during *Maghūonos’s gestation, so that he is born on the day of his conception. Irish and Vedic sources suggest that *Maghūonos “the Son” is then taken from his mother at his birth at midwinter. He eventually goes at an early age to live with his aunt *Medhūa “the Intoxicatress” and is eventually married to her. She also has as a lover the controller of the Middle Realm.

*Maghūonos is then married to the goddess of the Middle Realm, the Intoxicatress *Medhūa. *Maghūonos apparently resides underground during the period when *Nepōtulos (*Neptionos) “the Nephew” is above ground. It is not certain whether *Maghūonos is above ground during the winter when man needs fire for warmth (when *Neptionos would warm the underground waters) or whether *Maghūonos is above ground during the summer.

Phrygian, Imperial Roman, Irish, and ancient Near Eastern myths suggest that the Nephew *Neptionos is married to his aunt the White Cow Goddess, who is the goddess of the underworld. He has succumbed to her embraces and been enslaved by her. He apparently attempts to woo another and is possibly emasculated in association with this attempt. Irish, Vedic, Greek, and Scandinavian sources suggest that *Neptionos is a noted horseman. He is arrayed in fine splendor, and accompanied by noble youths, perhaps the Winds, the Breezes. He apparently is the father of these youths born of the White Cow Goddess. *Neptionos is said to be both golden in color and brilliant white.

Irish, Gaulish, Greek, and Vedic sources suggest that the Nephew is the controller of hot springs and fermentation. He dwells in the midst of the waters. He is the first born of the waters and sucks their milk. He is the fire in water. The source springs associated with him promote healing and divination. The Nephew is particularly apt at healing female reproductive problems. Associated with him are three magic horn blowers (also the offspring of *G_uo_uqinda), who can make birthing easier for cattle and women. They also play while he is engaged in combat and when he returns from the otherworld. Men die of rapture in hearing the music. The music they play is the music of weeping, the music of laughing, and the music of sleeping, associated with his death, revival, and recovery during his festival near the vernal equinox.

Anglo-Saxon and Irish sources suggest that *Neptionos is particularly apt at swimming and wrestling in the water. He is the protector of boats and ships on lakes and seas, having rid them of water monsters. He sometimes uses a sword in his combats in the waters. Vedic and Greek sources suggest that on the land he shoots far-reaching arrows, the diseases and plagues, which he can send as well as cure.

Irish and Greek sources suggest that in taking charge of the spring source, *Neptionos must fight and overcome a shape-shifting beast, perhaps an aspect of the underworld goddess. This underworld goddess can take on the forms of a cow, a huge python-like serpent, and a she-wolf or panther. At any rate, *Neptionos wrestles with a she-monster in the water and loses a hand, but a sword is given to him with which he beheads the beast. His hand is replaced

by one of silver. This monster is the same one with which the controller of the Middle or Upper Realm wrestles to release the cosmic waters.

But in the case of *Neptonos, his struggles result in his gaining the waters of inspiration and divination for himself. According to Greek and Irish sources, the bones of the beast are associated with the source of divination. The waters are associated with a cosmic tree and are located at the omphalos of the earth. According to Irish and Scandinavian sources, serpents gnaw at the root of the tree and birds roost in its branches. The nuts of inspiration fall into the waters, which also contain salmon or trout. In gaining inspiration, one must give up one eye to the spring.

Irish sources suggest that in defeating the dragon-like serpent, *Neptonos also obtains treasure and magic cattle who give quantities of milk. The milk from the cattle is so abundant as to feed huge armies. These cattle are to prove useful when he takes the side of his mother *Medh̄a “the Intoxicatress” and her husband *Magh̄onos “the Son” during a winter-long struggle to gain the heavenly cows and, in particular, the Black Bull. Rituals associated with this myth would appear to have been a vital aspect of the vernal equinox festival.

As suggested by Irish, Indian, and Babylonian sources, during this struggle, the Lower-Realm goddess *Ḡuoūinda offers her love and aid to the Savior-Champion father of the Nephew when he is engaged in this struggle with the army of *Medh̄a during the winter. The Savior-Champion scorns *Ḡuoūinda’s love, unlike his son who has accepted it and been enslaved by her. After the Savior-Champion beheads *Ḡuoūinda’s sons conceived by the Nephew, she attacks him, when he is engaged in struggling in the waters, in various animal forms. The Irish saw these forms as an eel, as a cow, and as a wolf.

According to the Irish sources (and Gaulish portrayals), *Neptonos then wrestles with his father in the water and is drowned by him. According to Irish and Imperial Roman sources, after being drowned, he enters the otherworld cave of his aunt-wife *Ḡuoūinda. *Neptonos is associated with evergreens (pines, heather, or furze) in representing the source of warmth and life in earth during the winter. Apparently an evergreen was utilized to represent the body of *Neptonos during this ritual. *Neptonos is brought to life again after three days in the underworld. In an epiphany to the accompaniment of trumpets, he emerges from the underworld.

Irish, Phrygian, Iranian, and Gaulish sources indicate that *Neptonos represents the warmth of the underground waters, the hot-spring sources. He also represents the life of the seeds during the winter. The old evergreen representing him from the previous year is cast into the water, perhaps after being lit afire as part of the spring festival. This festival apparently represented his being drowned to return the warmth to the surface waters for the spring and summer. The new evergreen, representing his rebirth with the spring, is put into the otherworld entrance associated with his temple. After three days this evergreen representing the god is brought forth in an epiphany.

Irish and Greek sources suggest (perhaps as an alternative version) that *Neptonos would have stayed in the underworld during the period from the vernal equinox to midwinter. He would then have been above ground from midwinter to the vernal equinox. During the period above ground from midwinter to spring, he resided with his mother, *Medh̄a “the Intoxicatress”, the goddess of kingship and the land (as Apóllōn left the source sanctuary at Delphi and resided with Lēt_ in the land of the Hyperbóreoi from midwinter to spring, and Fraech left the source of the Boand and resided with Medb during the same period). During this phase, *Magh̄onos would have been below ground. During the period from spring to midwinter, *Magh̄onos would have been above ground while *Neptonos resided below ground with his aunt (and wife) *Ḡuoūinda “the White Cow. Iranian sources suggest, however, that *Neptonos was associated with keeping vegetation alive through the winter months. Here then, *Neptonos would have been below ground during the winter months.

The castration motif of the myths of Cybele and Attis is probably associated with the harvesting of the grain. *Neptionos may have been associated with fermentation of the grain and perhaps represented the spark of life in the seed during the winter. Irish *Maccan and Nechtain suggest a pair of oscillating gods (like the Dióskoroi), in contrast to the single god Attis. Attis and Rapithwa- would suggest that *Neptionos was under ground during the winter. *Neptionos's period underground during the winter would correspond to the storing of the harvested grain in pits. Gaulish bynames suggest that he was indeed seen as the spirit of the fermentation of the grain and was specifically associated with beer. Thus it is appropriate that he was the son of the Intoxicatress *Medh̥a.

Hindu tradition would appear to give confirmation to the suggestion of Gaulish personal names that the intoxicant of the fermented grain was associated with the vital spirit of the grain and vegetation. In the Vedas, *sóma-* replaces beer or wine as the medium of sacrificial ritual. The Sanskrit word *sóma-* means both “moon” and the juice of the *sóma-* plant (IE **seu-* “juice”; IEW: 912). The moon was conceived to be a cup of *sóma-*.

The ritual *sóma-* used in the Vedic sacrifices was prepared from a creeper thought to be the *Sarcostemma viminale* or *Asclepias acida*. The stalks were pressed between two stones (*adri-*) by priests, then strained, mixed with clarified butter, and fermented. *Sóma-* is identified with the beverage-of-immortality (*amṛta-*), the beverage of the gods, first produced at the time of the churning of the ocean. *Sóma-* is also semen, the essence of life. “Whatever is moist, that he created from semen and that is *sóma-*” (*Bṛhad-āraṇyaka Upaniṣad*: 1.4.6. [93]). (Daniélou 1985: 65-6).

So too, those souls who nearly sacrificed passed from the *pitṛ-lōká* “world of the fathers” into the moon, from which they fell as rain to the earth to “be offered into the fire of man and the fire of woman” to be born again and to continue the cycle of existence (*Bṛhad-āraṇyaka Upaniṣad*: 6.2.15-16; Daniélou 1985: 74).

A similar association with the vital spark of life would explain the mystery cults of Cybele and Attis, the drowning of Fraech, or the similar mystery cults associated with Diónyosos, who controlled the fermented juice of tree fruit. All these cults related to the ultimate mystery of the seemingly “dead” seed’s ability to produce the living plant, whether a grain of wheat or a grape seed, or the brown vine in winter. So too, might the dead corpses of men come to life again. Indian sources (associating semen, *sóma-*, and the moon) would suggest that if *Magh̥onos is associated with the sun and fire, then *Neptionos should be associated with the moon and fermentation.

As we shall see in the next section, there was not just a single bull god in the original myth associated with the god who becomes Diónyosos. The original PIE spring festival was associated with two antipodal bull gods, the Black and the White. According to Irish sources the bull gods were the twin offspring of *Ek̥uona (**h₁ek̥uoneh₂*) “the Horse Goddess” (Gaulish Epona), a sister of the two goddesses *Medh̥a and *G̥uou̯inda. From Irish and Greek sources it appears that these bull gods were the gods of tree fruit and the mast, as well as the gods of the wine and cider made from fruits. The White Bull (white for snow?) was apparently associated with the Lower Realm and the winter half of the year, while the Black Bull (black for thunder clouds?) was associated with the Upper Realm and the summer half of the year (or vice versa).

As we shall see, Iranian, Greek, and Irish sources clarify that the bulls fought each other continuously under various incarnations: as sea beasts under the water, as wolves or panthers on land, as birds of prey in the air, and finally as the Black and White bulls. The fight between the Black and White Bulls was seen as another aspect of the vernal-equinox festival. Supposedly the Black Bull defeated the White Bull and ripped him to pieces, forming various aspects of the landscape. The Black Bull was then perhaps killed himself as an aspect of a

ritual associated with the vernal-equinox ritual. Greek and Imperial Roman sources suggest that his blood baptized his supplicants and was associated with the (fruit) wine in a eucharist.

Greek, Germanic (through Tacitus), and Roman sources suggest that, as an aspect of this vernal-equinox festival (apparently at the end), *Medhva's statue was drawn to the river to the accompaniment of song and dance and ritually cleansed to represent the return of fertility to the land. Indian sources suggest (in the myth of Mādhavī) that this washing perhaps symbolically represented her return to virginity each spring.

(A narrative portrayal of most of the aspects of this vernal-equinox festival are to be found on the inner plates of the Gundestrup cauldron of Gaulish manufacture around 80 BC, as set forth in Olmsted 1979b and 2001c. See especially plate D, with the triplicate portrayal of a bull-slaughter; and plate E, with horn blowers, tree, and drowning motif, elsewhere associated with Fraech, Attis, and Ádōnis. Most of this narration, seemingly portrayed in an ordered sequence on inner plates B, A, C, E, and D of the cauldron, survived in the Irish Táin bó Cuailnge, as indicated in the above section: A Tentative Attempt at Reconstructing the Archetype Myths from the Irish Sources.)

The PIE Gods of Tree Fruit

The Nature of the PIE Gods

The Greek god *Diónyšos* was originally a deity of all tree fruit and not just a god of wine. Even within the classical repertory *Diónyšos* was seen as a shape-shifting deity, most frequently appearing in bull-like guise. In the associated myth of *Zagréous*, the god is described as shifting through several animal forms in attempting to escape the Titanes before being finally torn apart as a bull. From the Irish and Iranian sources it is clear that the PIE conception which gave rise to *Diónyšos* had a dual nature. There were, in fact, twin contrasting gods, one black and the other white. In the Iranian myth of *Tištrya-* and *Apaoša-* these two polar opposite deities fight each other in several different animal guises beside the cosmic waters.

Irish sources preserve the best record of the nature of the original PIE deities. Here originating as swineherds and the controllers of the mast, the two gods fight as men, as dolphins or whales, as wolves, and finally as the two great bulls, the *Donn Cuailnge* and the *Finnbennach*. In bull form they fight each other on *Imbolc*, the first day of spring, beside and in a lake. Finally the *Donn* bull kills the other bull scattering bits and pieces of him about the landscape.

Gaulish *Donnotaurus-Tarvos-Trigaranus*

On one of its faces, the famous Tiberian (14-37 AD) monument of the *Nautae Parisiaci* from Notre Dame (Paris) depicts *Esus* chopping a tree with an axe. Directly adjacent to this face, the monument portrays an unusual scene with a bull. On this face of the monument, a stately bull stands behind a tree with three cranes (cattle egrets) perched on his back and head. One crane stands on the bull's head facing forward, and two cranes stand on the bull's back, one facing forward, the other facing rearward (Duval 1956: 81-7, figs. 10-11). Over this bull, who is clearly deified (since the other three faces of the monument portray *Iuppiter*, *Volcanus*, and *Esus*), is the inscription *TARVOS TRIGARANVS* "Bull with Three-Cranes".

This deified bull with the cranes on his back is also portrayed on a monument from Trier depicting *Mercurius* and *Rosmerta*. In this Trier portrayal, the bull seems to be above the foliage of a tree (apparently to indicate that the bull is behind the foliage and is placed in perspective). Beside the tree stands a deity with an axe engaged in the act of chopping the trunk, as on the Notre Dame monument, where he is identified by an inscription as *ESVS* (Olmsted 1979b: pls. 61-2). Schindler (1970: 32; pls. 90-1) dates the Trier monument to the first century AD.

At Trier this bull-like deity was considered important enough to dedicate to him a small square Romano-Gaulish temple (Gose 1972: 85). This small square temple can be dated from coins and shards to a period of utilization from the first to the fourth centuries AD. Apparently during the second century (Schindler 1970: 38, pl. 96), a limestone statue of the bull was added to the temple. This bull stands 72 cm. high, set upon a rectangular base, 80 cm. long, curiously decorated with relief figures of fish (Esp: 7578; Olmsted 1979b: pl. 59). On the left side of the bull is the fragmentary portrayal of a woman wearing a dress and a mantle. One of the more unusual aspects of this bull, however, is that between his front legs is a fallen nude man. This theme of the bull standing over a fallen nude man is also seen on a stone statuette of a bull (25 X 31 cm) found in an early Roman-Gaulish temple at Montjustin near Besançon (Gose 1972: 86).

A small tinned-bronze statuette of a bull surmounted by three birds, whose heads are shaped like those of women or young boys (Olmsted 1979b: pl. 60), was uncovered by Wheeler (1943: 75, 133) in the Romano-Celtic temple complex at Maiden Castle hill-fort in Dorset. The bird-like nature of these creatures surmounting the bull's back draws obvious parallels to the Paris and Trier portrayals of Tarvos-Trigaranus.

A sequence of fighting animals ending in bulls would also appear to be portrayed as part of the depiction on plate A of the Gundestrup cauldron (of Gaulish origin and dating to the time shortly before the Roman conquest). Here the sequence in the upper right corner of the plate is a panther or a lion, a dolphin surmounted by a boy, and a bull. Another bull stands at the opposite corner of the plate. Beneath the first group, a combat is portrayed in the form of panthers or lions fighting. In my study of the cauldron, I identified this sequence as being an earlier Gaulish version of the transformations of the swineherds into the bulls Finnbennach and Donn Cuailnge (as noted in Olmsted 1979b: 215b, pl. 2a). The Gundestrup cauldron also portrays the death of at least one of these bulls on plate D and on the Base plate (Olmsted 1979b: pls. 3D, 5e).

The Trier Altbachtal bull statue also provides iconographic parallels to the bulls of the Irish *Táin*. Here a large bull is portrayed standing over a fallen nude man. This man, depicted as trampled under the bull's hoofs, is reminiscent of the death of Bricriu in the *Táin*. Bricriu is trampled by the two bulls, Finnbennach and Donn Cuailnge, in their struggle against one another (O'Rahilly 1976: 237). After trampling Bricriu and fighting and killing the white-horned bull Finnbennach, the black bull Donn Cuailnge plunges into the lake which is supposedly beside Cruachu. The fish on the base of the Trier bull statue are suggestive of this theme of the plunge into the lake. In addition, there are a series of Lughnasa legends, such as that at Loch an Tairbh (MacNeill 1962: 474, C-2), where Patrick banishes a furious bull to a lake.

Like Zagréous and Diónyssos, the two bulls of the *Táin* are shape-shifters. They are the result of transformations from other animal forms, in each of which the two beings struggle against one another. All of these themes, the transformations, the black and white animals, and their fight beside and in the lake, are most likely echoes of the same PIE theme which occurs in the Avestan fight between the white and black shape-shifting beings Tistrya and Apaoša- beside the cosmic ocean.

The iconography of the Paris and Maiden castle portrayals of bulls with three bird-like female creatures on each of their backs also finds parallels in episodes of the Irish bull Donn Cuailnge. In the *Táin* (O'Rahilly 1976: 152), Mórrígan perches in bird form beside the bull to issue her warning of what will befall him during the cattle raid (see *Mórrígan Rosc* in section on poetry and Olmsted 1982: 165-72). The triplicate grouping together of the goddesses of the Upper, Middle, and Lower Realms in Irish myth is reminiscent of the triple egrets or cranes portrayed in the Gaulish iconography. However, the masculine epithet Trigaranus (found beside Gaulish Tarvos, it is not a Latinized o-stem) would appear to be applied as a byname for the bull. Pokorny (IEW: 1091) translates it as "*mit drei Kranichen*" (IEW: 383-4; DPC: 151) (**gerh₂no-* an n-extended form of **ger-* "to cry out loudly", likely indicating an o-stem instrumental plural in *-ūs*, meaning "accompanied by" as in Sanskrit).

As suggested originally by Jubainville (1898: 246-7), the tree-chopping theme on the Paris monument, as well as that on the similar Trier Mercurius and Rosmerta monument, is suggestive of the *Mag Muicceda / Aided Fraích* episode of the *Táin* (O'Rahilly 1976: ll. 825-58). Here Cú Chulainn cuts an oak tree in the path of Medb's army attempting to prevent them from making off with the Donn Cuailnge. A sequence reminiscent of this episode, ending in Fraech's death by drowning, is portrayed on Gundestrup plate E (Olmsted 1979b: 219; pl. 3E). In the *Táin* this event occurs after Fraech fails to clear the oak cut by Cú Chulainn.

*Donnotarvos or *Deivotarvos were apparently alternative names for Tarvos Trigaranus. Both occur only as personal names, but the first is undoubtedly cognate with the name of the

Irish bull Donn Cuailnge. Donnotaurus (< *Donnotarvos) occurs as the name of the leader of the Helvii mentioned by Caesar (BG: 7, 65, 2). Deiotarus is another personal name, whose inscriptional distribution concentrates in Dacia (Schmidt 1957: 196), but was also known in Galatia (Weisgerber 1931: 172). In the first name, *taurus* is a Latinization of Celtic *tarvos* “bull” (Dottin 1920: 291; DPC: 371), derived from IE **tāuro-s* “bull” (IEW: 1083). The Irish and Welsh correlatives are *tarb* and *tarw* respectively.

Nearly all observers agree that *Donnotarvos may be connected to the Donn Cuailnge. As Evans (1967: 85) has noted, “Caesar’s Donnotaurus, which may have originally been a divine name, would be almost an exact equivalent to Irish *Donn Tarbh”. Müller-Lisowski (1953-4: 21-9) had earlier set forth evidence that *Donn Tarbh was an alternative name for Donn Cuailnge. She has proposed that the original name for a rocky island off Ireland, now known as Tech Duinn and An Tarbh, was *Tech Duinn Tairbh. Jubainville (1906a: 159) and Dottin (1920: 252) also had no hesitation in equating the Gaulish and Irish names for the great bull.

The significance of the dark color of the Donn Cuailnge in Irish tradition may have something to do with the fact that he was sought by Medb, a landscape goddess of fertility. As Fox (1986: 90) has noted, “gods of the earth and underworld tended to receive dark animals, which were offered by night and burnt in full... Other gods tended to receive light animals”. Another suggestion is that the white animal represents winter (the goddess of the Lower Realm is called Boand < *Bovinda “White Cow”), while the black bull represents the thunder clouds of summer. In Iranian tradition the black animal represents drought and is defeated by the white animal, just the opposite of what occurs in Ireland.

Irish Donn Cuailnge and Finnbennach

In the morning after the battle, the bull [Donn Cuailnge “the Dark Bull of Cuailnge”] was taken away. He met the bull Finnbennach [“the White Horned Bull”] in combat in the place now called Tarbga in Mag nAi. Tarbga means Bull Sorrow or Bull Battle. Roí Dedond was the former name of that hill. Everyone who had survived the battle now did nothing except watch the two bulls fighting. Bricriu Nemthenga had been in the west convalescing after Fergus had fractured his skull with the chessmen. He came now with all the rest to watch the bulls fight. In their violent struggle the two bulls trampled on Bricriu, and so he died. That is the tragic death of Bricriu.

The Donn Cuailnge’s foot was impaled on the horn of the other bull. For a day and a night he did not draw his foot away, until Fergus urged him on and struck him with a rod. “It was bad luck,” said Fergus, “that the belligerent old calf that was brought here should dishonor his clan and lineage.” Thereupon Donn Cuailnge drew back his foot. His leg broke, and his opponent’s horn sprang out onto the mountain beside him. So Slíab nAdarca was afterwards the name of that place.

He carried off the Finnbennach then for a day and a night’s journey and plunged into the lake beside Cruachu. He came out of it with the loin, shoulder blade, and liver of his opponent on his horns. The hosts advanced with the intent to kill him, but Fergus did not allow it and insisted that he should go wherever he pleased.

So then the bull made for his own land. As he came, he drank a draught in Finnleithe and left there the shoulder blade of his opponent. That land was afterwards called Finnleithe. He drank another draught at Ath Lúain and left the other bull’s loin there. Hence the name Ath Lúain. At Iraird Cuillinn he bellowed so loudly that he was heard throughout the province. He drank again in Troma. There the liver of his opponent fell from his horns. Hence the name Troma. He went then to the place called Etan Tairb and rested his forehead against the hill at Ath Da Fherta. Hence the name Etan Tairb in Mag Muirthemne. Thereafter he travelled along Slige Midlúachra to Cuib. In Cuib he used to abide with Daire’s dry cows. There he pawed up the earth.

Hence the place-name Gort mBúraig. Then he went on and died in Druim Tairb between Ulster and Uí Echach. That place is called Druim Tairb. (YBL-*Táin*: 4126-55; O’Rahilly 1976: 237).

An interpolation to the *Stowe* version of the *Táin* preserves a slightly different ending, suggesting that Medb’s men may have originally killed or wounded the bull. Here Medb’s sons by Ailill, the seven Maines, go to battle the Donn in revenge for the death of Finnbennach. “Where are those men going?”, asked Fergus. ‘They go to kill the Donn Cuailnge,’ said everyone” (*Stowe Táin*: 5064-7). According to the *Dindsenchas* of Ath Luain, the bull fight takes place *hi sechtmad ló erraig* “on the seventh day of spring” (Stokes 1894-5: 465). The LU/YBL-*Táin* states that the events took place between *samain* and *imbolc* “the first day of winter to the first day of spring”.

An interesting and apparently seventh-century summary of the events concerning the Donn Cuailnge in the *Táin* occurs in the poem *Mórrígan rosc*, Mórrígan’s warning to Donn Cuailnge (see Glossary: Cú Chulainn; also see Olmsted 1982: 165-72 for a glossary and an analysis). Here it is clear the Donn Cuailnge dies or is killed after the fight with Finnbennach. The “spirited hero of Bodb” (*scoith nía[b] Boidb*) probably refers to Finnbennach, originally belonging to Bodb, King of the *síd* before Femun in Munster.

...
 The armies beguile
 the spirited hero of Bodb.
 A fierce bellowing
 is the payment for a dead man.
 Saying of sorrow,
 the shelter of Cuailnge (will be)
 five days from his death
 ?after the fight of the great youths
 of his people to death?
 (Olmsted 1982 165-172).

The origin of the two bulls Finnbennach and Donn Cuailnge is the result of shape-shifting transformations of two swine herds. These transformations are outlined in *de Chophur in da Muccida* from the *Book of Leinster* (246a-247b) and *Egerton* 1783 (73b-76b). Both versions have been edited and translated into German by Roider (1979), while the LL version has been translated by Kinsella (1969: 48-9). A third version occurs in the *Dindsenchas* of Ath Luain (‘66; Stokes 1894-5: 464-7).

Ath Luain, how was it named? Such is not difficult. Ath Mór was its name at first till the contest of the Donn Cuailnge and the Finnbennach. *Echtra Nerai* relates the story of the two Swineherds, who were (incarnate) in seven shapes a full year in each of them. Those were [Macha’s husband] Crond son of Agnoman’s two sons, named Rucht and Rucne (when they were swineherds), and Ette and Engan “Wing and Talon” were their names when birds. Cú and Cethen were they when wolves. Bled and Blod were they when trout (*breac*) of the Boyne. Cruinniuc and Dubmuc (leg. Duinniuc, Tuinniuc?) were they when they were worms.

Then Cruinniuc went to Glas Cruinn “Crond’s Stream” in Cuailnge, and Dubmuc went and lay down in (the spring called) Uaran Garaid. A cow belonging to Daire mac Fiachna drank a drink out of Glas Cruinn, and the worm (*duirb*) therein entered her womb and afterwards became a calf. A cow of Medb’s drank a drink out of Garad’s spring, and the other worm entered her. Afterwards it became a calf in her womb.

Now the two cows died in calving (the two bull calves). The bull in the east was dark (*donn*), the bull in the west was red (*derg*), white-horned (*findbendach*). Afterwards Nera's cow came with her bull calf behind her so that Finnbennach perceived him. They fought and the yearling prevailed. Whereupon, Medb rose to encourage her bull. The bull which Aingen's wife had brought fell, so that Aingen's wife said, "Beware the sire of my bull!", that is the Donn Cuailnge. (Stokes 1894-5: 464-6).

The fuller stories from the *Book of Leinster* and *Egerton 1782* (Roider 1979) relate that Bodb, the king of the *síd* before Femun in Munster, had a swineherd named Friuch; further, Ochall Oichne, the king of *Síd Cruachan* in Connacht, had a swineherd named Rúcht. The two swineherds had the ability to change themselves into any shape they wished. The two swineherds were on good terms with one another. When there were acorns and other tree fruit (*mess*) in Munster, the one would come down with his swine from the north. When there were acorns and other tree fruit in Connacht, the other would come up from the south.

Contention arose between the two swineherds over who had the greater power. To prove his power was greater, when there was a mast in Munster, Bodb's swineherd cast a spell over the other's swine so that the acorns gave his pigs no benefit. Ochall's swineherd went back to Connacht with his pigs so thin and wretched that they hardly reached home. The next year when there was plentiful tree-fruit in Connacht, Bodb's swineherd came north. Ochall's swineherd cast a spell on Bodb's swine so that acorns had no benefit for them. Bodb's swineherd returned south with his pigs similarly thin and wretched. Their power was judged to be the same. Bodb dismissed his swineherd and Ochall did the same.

Afterwards the two swineherds fought each other. The first year they fought as hawks (*sénen*) over Dún Cruachan. The next year they fought as hawks over the *síd* before Femun. When people marveled at the birds fighting, they became the swineherds again. They told all of the men standing about watching the fight that they would bring a plenitude of friends' corpses. They then fought in the form of water beasts (*míl n-uiscce*). For one year they battled each other under the Síúir and for another year under the Sinnan (Shannon). The *Egerton* text explains that they were each as big as a hill. They then fought for two years as stags (*oss*), then as warriors (*fénnid*), then as phantoms (*siabuir*), and then as dragons (*draic*). They then came down out of the air as two worms (*dorb*). One fell into the source spring (*topur*) of the river Cronn in Cuailnge, where a cow of Daire mac Fiachna drank it, and the other fell into Garad's spring in Connacht, where a cow of Ailill's and Medb's drank it. The first became the Donn; the second became the Finnbennach.

Avestan Tištrya- and Apaoša-

Ahura- Mazdaḥ-'s summer-time sacrifices were supposedly responsible not only for the initial creation of mankind and the universe, but for the creation of the life-sustaining rains as well. During the summer Ahura- Mazdaḥ- also made sacrifice to Tištrya- who battled the demon Apaoša- (KEWA III: 248). Tištrya-'s victory assured the appearance of the rains, which according to the *Bundahišn* (VII, IX), gave rise to the seas, lakes, and rivers. Supposedly, two rivers are on the north side of the fountain of the sea created by these rains.

Two rivers flowed out, and [one] went to the east and one to the west As these two rivers flowed out, and from the same place of origin ..., eighteen navigable rivers flow[ed] out They all flow back to the Arag river and the Veg river, from which arises the fertilization of the world. (West 1880: 28-9).

In the *Tir Yast*, Tištrya- is the first star and seed of waters. Through him come the rains as well fertility. Tištrya- takes on the forms of a man, a bull, and a white horse. In this last form as a white horse, he battles the Daēva- Apaoša-, demon of drought, who appears as a black horse of terrifying form.

13. For ten nights ... Tištrya-, the bright and glorious star, mingles his shape with light, moving in the shape of a man of fifteen years of age.

16. The next ten nights ... the bright and glorious Tištrya- mingles his shape with light, moving in the shape of a golden-horned bull ...

18. The next ten nights ... the bright and glorious Tištrya- mingles his shape with light, moving in the shape of a white, beautiful horse, with golden ears and golden caparison....

20. Then ... the bright and glorious Tištrya- goes down to the sea Voura-Kasha in the shape of a white, beautiful horse, with golden ears and a golden caparison.

21. But there rushes down to meet him the Daēva- Apaoša-, in the shape of a dark horse, black, with a black tail, stamped with brands of terror.

22. They meet together, hoof against hoof, the bright and glorious Tištrya- and the Daēva- Apaoša-. They fight together for three days and three nights. And then the Daēva- Apaoša- proves stronger than the bright and glorious Tištrya- and overcomes him

24. [Then says Tištrya-,] “If men had worshipped me with sacrifice in which I had been invoked by my own name,... I should have taken to me the strength of ten camels, the strength of ten bulls, the strength of ten mountains, the strength of ten rivers.”

25. “Then I, Ahura- Mazdāh-, offer up to the bright and glorious Tištrya- a sacrifice in which he is invoked by his own name”

28. They meet together hoof against hoof ... the bright and glorious Tištrya- and the Daēva- Apaoša-; they fight together ... till the time of noon. Then the bright and glorious Tištrya- proves stronger than the Daēva- Apaoša-; he overcomes him.

29. Then he goes from the sea Voura-Kasha..., [saying], “Hail unto me, O Ahura- Mazdāh- The life of the waters will flow down unrestrained to the big-seeded pasture fields and to the whole of the material world”

31. He [Tištrya-] makes the sea boil up and down; he makes the sea stream this and that way; all the shores of the sea Voura-Kasha are boiling over, all the middle of it is boiling over.

32. And the bright and glorious Tištrya- rises up from the sea Voura-Kasha ..., and vapors rise up above Mount Us-hindu

33 Then the vapors push forward in the regular shape of clouds; they go following the wind, along the ways which *haoma* traverses, the increaser of the world. Behind him travels the mighty wind made by Mazdāh, and the rain, and the cloud, and the sleet, down to several places, down the fields, and down to the seven Karshvares of the earth. (Darmesteter 1883: II, 97-101).

Tištrya-’s transformation into a golden-horned bull just before he becomes the white stallion for the fight against Apaoša- is very suggestive of the white-horned bull Finnbennach of Irish tradition. It is possible that in Irish tradition the color of the two combating animals has

been reversed. The name Donnotarvos is probably best translated as “Lordly Bull”. If this name were originally a byname for *Vindobennacos “the White-Horned Bull”, it is just possible that its mistranslations as “Dark Bull” led to the transformation. The byname Finnbennach may have been misapplied to his adversary, originally known as the Dubh “the Black”.

Zagréous

Nonnos (*Dionysiakōn*: VI, l. 154-206; XXVII, 228), Diodorus Siculus (Diódōros) (V, 75, 4), and the *Orphicorum Fragmenta* (Kern 1922: 210 ff.) outline the myth of Zagréous, which closely resembles that of Diónysos. In Orphic literature the reincarnated Zagréous was sometimes identified with Íakchos, who figured in the Eleusian rituals. In Euripídes (*Kýklōps*: 69), Íakchos was identified with Bákchos (Bacchus), while in Roman tradition he was identified with Liber Pater in the triad Demeter, Iacchus, and Kore (Ceres, Liber, and Libera) (see OCD: 537).

In the Orphic myth, having transformed himself into a huge serpent or a dragon (*drákōn*), Zeús assaulted his daughter Persephónē before she was taken to the underworld by Plou̓tōn. Dēmētēr had hidden Persephónē in a cave guarded by the same two snakes or dragons she had harnessed to pull her cart. However, “Zeús changed his face and came, rolling many a loving coil through the dark into the corner of the maiden’s chamber” (*Dionysiakōn*: VI, 157-9; Rouse 1940: 224-5). Zagréous was born from this violent union.

Zeús set the cradle in the Idaean cave to be guarded by the Cretan Kou̓rētes, the same ones who had clattered their weapons and had hidden the cries of Zeús in his infancy. In a passage supposedly inspired from Orpheic literature (Reinach 1899: 211), but more likely reflecting that of Diónysos, Nonnos (*Dionysiakōn*: VI, l. 165) called him the *keróen bréphos* “the Horned Infant”. While still an infant, Zagréous climbed upon Zeús’s throne and brandished the thunderbolt.

Jealous, Héra incited the Tītanēs against him. Waiting until the Kou̓rētes slept, the Tītanēs whitened themselves with gypsum, so that they would be unrecognizable and induced the infant to leave the cave by offering him a cone, golden apples, a bull-roarer, a knuckle bone, a mirror, and a tuft of wool. First they amused themselves with him. Then they threw themselves at him to devour him.

Like the infant Diónysos, Zagréous tried to escape the Tītanēs, taking the form of various animals and other shapes. He became successively Zeús in a goat-skin coat, Krónos making rain, a lion, a horse, a curling horned-serpent (*drákōn ... kerástēs*), a tiger, and a bull. In this bull form, the Tītanēs seized him by the horns and feet, tore him to pieces, and devoured him.

The end of his (Zagréous’s) life was the beginning of a new life as Diónysos. He appeared in another shape and changed into many forms: now young like crafty Kronídēs shaking his aegis-cape, now as ancient Krónos heavy-kneed, pouring rain. Sometimes he was a curiously formed baby, sometimes like a mad youth with the flower of the first down marking his rounded chin with black. Again, [as] a mimic lion he uttered a horrible roar in furious rage from a wild snarling throat, as he lifted a neck shadowed by a thick mane, marking his body on both sides with the self-striking whip of a tail, which flickered about over his hairy back. Next, he left the shape of a lion’s looks and let out a ringing neigh, now like an unbroken horse that lifts his neck on high to shake out the imperious tooth of the bit, and rubbing, whitened his teeth with hoary foam. Sometimes he poured out a whistling hiss from his mouth, a curling horned serpent (*drákōn ... kerástēs*) covered with scales, darting out his tongue from his gaping throat, and, leaping upon the grim head of some Tītan, encircled his neck in

snaky spiral coils. Then he left the shape of the restless crawler and became a tiger with gay stripes on his body; or again like a bull emitting a counterfeit roar from his mouth, he butted the Titans with sharp horn. So he fought for his life, until Héra with jealous throat bellowed harshly through the air, that heavy resentful stepmother, and the gates of Olympus rattled in echo to her jealous throat from high heaven. Then the bold bull collapsed; the murderers each eager for his turn with the knife chopped piecemeal the bull-shaped Diónysos. (Nonnos, *Dionysiakōn*: VI, 175-206; Rouse 1940: 226-9).

Just at the end of this dismemberment, Athēna entered and grabbed up Zagréous's heart. She enclosed his heart in a gypsum figure, breathing life into it or taking it to Zeús, who swallowed it. Zeús was then able to beget Zagréous again on Semélē. Zagréous became immortal. Supposedly his bones were collected to be buried at Delphi (Diodorus Siculus: V, 75, 4; and *Orphicorum Fragmenta*, Kern 1922: 210 ff.).

It is interesting that not just Dēmētēr and Persephónē, but Zagréous also, played a role in the mysteries of Eleusis. Zagréous is a son of Dēmētēr and Zeús or of Persephónē and Zeús. Just as Dēmētēr makes the world infertile until she gets back Persephónē, so in the Irish version of the Diónysos myth Medb makes the world infertile until she gets the Donn Cuailnge. In the case of Zagréous, however, the myth of rebirth and immortality is patently clear.

Latin Liber Pater

The seventeenth day of Martius was the Liberalia, named after the god Liber, who presided over agriculture and was later identified with Bacchus (Ovidius *Fastorum Libri*, Liber Tertius). Virgilius (*Georgics*: 2, 385 ff.) describes the festival of Liber Pater, which was held in the countryside around Rome on a date close to the vernal equinox. Revilers sang crude songs and wore masks which also were hung on trees. In being a god of the wine as well as of fertility, Liber Pater assimilated the myth and cult of Diónysos (see Bruhl 1953; OCD: 607). That he was associated with Iuppiter is also clear from the designation *Iuppiter Liber* (see Wissowa 1912: 138; Altheim 1938: 125, 149). The significance of this association must be tempered with the fact that Attis was known as Zeús Papas (OCD: 146).

In 493 BC, the sibyl of Cumae recommended as a means of alleviating a famine that a temple be constructed on the Aventine to Ceres, Liber, and Libera (Liber's goddess companion). Cultwise, this shrine was in reality a shrine to Dēmētēr, Íakchos (the son and husband of Dēmētēr), and Persephónē, for it adopted the Greek interpretation of the deities, and instituted in Rome, the cult of the Eleusian mysteries (see OCD: 223, 537).

Phrygio-Grecian Diónysos

Sophoclēs (*Antigone*: 1. 1119) equated Diónysos with Íakchos. The scholiasts to Aristophánēs's *Frogs* preserved a prayer invoking Íakchos, rather than Diónysos, as Son of Semélē. Thus, clearly, Íakchos was but a byname for Diónysos. Nonnos (*Dionysiakōn*) also equated Diónysos with Zagréous. As a deity, Diónysos lies at the very core of Greek tradition, his name perhaps from *Dios-nyos (GEW I: 396). As Burkert (1985: 45) has noted, a thirteenth-century BC Linear-B tablet from Pylos (PY Xa 102) contains a reference to Diónysos. The story of Diónysos's plunging into the sea to avoid Lykourgos is also outlined in the *Iliad* (VI: 134-143; Murray 1924: II, 272-3). Thus, the god could not have been a late

addition to the Greek pantheon, but was already present at the earliest stage. A multitude of bynames are associated with Diónysos or Bákchos. As Farnell (1909: V, 87) has set out as his basic method, these bynames provide a framework from which one can examine the functional nature of the deity.

Farnell lists the bynames of Diónysos interspersed throughout his text, so that I reference him but once here in the beginning of the analysis (see Farnell 1907: V, 96ff and index at 489). Associating him with trees at Philippi, Diónysos was called Prinophóros and Dryophóros “the Bringer of Oaks”, and presumably of their mast of acorns as well. Clemens Alexandrinus (*Protrepticus*: 33P) notes an epithet Choiropsálas “Controller of Swine”, which would indicate he was responsible for the swine who fed on the mast as well. At Kallatis he was known as Dasýllios “God of the Thicket and Wildwood”. He is elsewhere known as Dendritēs and Endendros “He who Lives in Trees”, Thyllophóros “Bearer of Boughs”, and Phloiós “God of Bark”. He was also associated with the fig tree, being known as Sykítēs “God of the Fig”. It was he who put the bloom on the fruit trees, for he was Anthinós “God of Blossoms” and Próblastos “God of Early Bloom, God of Germination”. He was Kárprios “the Fruit Bearer”. He was also associated with ivy, being known as Kissós “God of Ivy” and Perikiónos (*Perikiōnios*) “About the Pillar”.

Associated with the grape, Diónysos was Omphakítēs “God of the Grape”, Bótrys, Staphylítēs, and Eustáphylos “God of the Grape Cluster”. He was also known as Lēneús (*Lēnaios*) “God of the Wine Press”. He was associated with other intoxicating liquors as well, being known as Meilíchios “God of the Honeyed Drink”. In Phrygia he was known as Sabázios, the first to put oxen to yoke, whom Farnell identifies with a “Beer god”. Another of his epithets was Leibenos “God of Libation”.

A leather or wooden phallus was carried in the procession of the god, perhaps indicating he was the source of the generative element. He was known as Physízōos “Source of Life”. He was Orthós “the Prosperous”. As an infant deity he was Hēbōn “the Youthful”. He was known as Bougenés “Son of the Cow” or “Bull-Born”, indicative of his bull-like nature. He was also associated with the water, being known as Halieús “Seaman”, Pelágios “of the Sea”, and Aktaios “Shore God”. Diónysos was also a healing god known as Paiōnios “the Healer”, Ktístēs “the Restorer”, and Iatrós “the Physician”.

Other bynames determine Diónysos as an underworld deity. Thus he was Nyktélios “Lord of Night”, Melanthídēs “the Dark God”, and Melánaigis “with Dark Aegis”. Associated with the sacramental meal, he was Isodaítēs “God of the Communal Feast” and Thyōnídas “god of the Sacrificial Offering”. He was Saótēs “the Savior”, Lyaios “Deliverer”, and Lýsios “God of Deliverance”. Perhaps as an aspect of the orgiastic Manaeds, he was known as Enórchēs “He-Goat, Uncastrated; Dancing”. In association with the rending of the sacrificial victim, he was Ōmádios “the Devourer of Flesh” and Anthrōporraístēs “the Render of Men”. He was Bákcheios “of the Frenzied Bacchoi”. Perhaps associated with the shorn head of Orpheús, in Lesbos he was known as Kephalēn “of the Head”. In Paionía, Diónysos was known as Dýalos “Raving, Mad” (IEW: 266).

Bearing a close association with Apóllōn, Diónysos also shared Apóllōn’s role as one who unites men. Diónysos was known as Dēmotelēs “the Adopted One of the People, the Peoples God”, Dēmósios and Polítēs “the Citizen”, and Kathēgemón “Leader of the Colony”. He was known as Aisymnētēs “God of Righteous Judgement” and Paídeios “God of Learning”. He was Dithyrambos “God of Lyric Poetry” and Parapaízōn “God of Music Festivals”.

The god also took on local names. In Crete he was known as Krēsios “the Cretan”. In Phrygia he was known as Zamolchis after the name of a local mountain. At Patrai he was known as Kalydónios after a local city, where the ritual of human sacrifice was practiced in his name. In Lesbos he was known as Briseús after a local promontory.

According to Nilsson and Rose, the earliest Diónysos was “a god of the vegetation, not of the crops, but of the fruit of the trees including the vine” (OCD: 353). Farnell has also noted

that Diónyos did not begin his career as a specialized god of wine. “Many of his appellations mark him out as a divinity of vegetation in general, and particularly of tree-life...; *dendrophoriai* or tree-processions were frequent in his honor” (1909: V, 118). However, Diodorus Siculus (4, 4, 2) does associate him with the corn. Nonetheless, ivy is the plant he supposedly loved the most. Athenaus (3, 78c) associates him with the fig. Masks of the god were also commonly hung in trees. A phallus was carried in the procession of the god as an aspect of his control of the fertility of tree fruit. He was apparently identified with the bull and the goat as aspects of animals embodying this phallic principle of fecundity (see Farnell 1909: V, 97).

The essential cult of Diónyos involved a promise of rebirth and redemption after death. Plutarchus refers to Diónyos as “the god who is destroyed, who disappears, who relinquishes life, and then is born again.” Diónyos thus became a symbol of everlasting life. An Attic drama attributed to Euripídēs (*Hecuba*: 1267) notes this promise of eternal life. The poet states that Rhesos, though dead, shall yet live.

[He] shall lie in secret in a cavern of the silver land, half human, half-divine, with clear vision (in the dark), even as a prophet of Diónyos took up his abode in the rocky Pangaean Mount, a holy god to those who understand. (Farnell 1909: V, 100).

Bákchos (a foreign word of unknown origin according to GEW I: 212), the alternative name for Diónyos, is perhaps a Lydian word and is the term used for the god at Pergamum. The name is also used to describe the votaries of the god, a male votary being called *bákchos* and a female votary being called *bákche*. The god was actually felt to enter the inspired individual, so that he bore his name (1909: V, 151). Although it is generally assumed that the cult of Diónyos came to Greece from Thrace or Phrygia (see Farnell 1909: V, 85-6) (the Phrygian’s were themselves originally a Thracian tribe), Diónyos is mentioned in a Linear-B tablet, so that he was known in Greece in ancient times. Boeotia and Attica were his chief centers, but Thracian and Macedonian women were particular adepts of his cult (OCD: 352).

From the earliest period Diónyos was conceived of as a bull-god in Greece. As Farnell (1909: 126-7) has noted, “the god was incarnate in the bull, and ... assumed bovine form wholly or in part; ... [the god was] a phallic deity, associated with the pasturing herds, and himself sometimes conceived of as horned”. In an Elean hymn, Diónyos is hailed by the women as “Noble Bull” (reminiscent of Irish Donn Cualinge or Gaulish Donnotarus), and he is invited to come to the shrine “charging with his bull’s feet”. One of his epithets was Bougenés “Bull-Born”, perhaps implying that his mother Semélē had a cow-like nature as well.

Diónyos was admitted by Apóllōn to his side at Delphi, and his worship became an aspect of the state religion. At Delphi, Diónyos was pictured as a child in a winnowing fan. In reference to the myth that the Titans devoured the young god, Plutarchus (*Moralia: De Iside et Osiride*: 35, 365A) states that the supposed remains of the dismembered god were stored at Delphi. The infant Diónyos, torn apart, would then be restored as a whole. “The young god that is to be summoned back to life will be the infant that was recently dismembered and devoured” (see Farnell 1909: V, 186). Diónyos, himself, was the source of the oracle at Delphi during the three winter months when Apóllōn was silent (1909: V, 113). Farnell (1909: V, 114) has noted that “the brotherly union of the two Delphian divinities [Diónyos and Apóllōn] is so close that the personality of each at certain points merged in that of the other; and each borrows the other’s appellations”. At Didyma, Apóllōn supposedly told the people of Rhodes to propitiate Attis-Ádōnis-Diónyos, running the names together into one (Socrátēs, *Historia Ecclesiastica*: 3, 23; Fox 1987: 218).

Diónyos also had a special connection with water and water spirits. Farnell (1909: V, 124) describes him as a “deity of rivers and streams”. Common to almost all Dionysian cults is the spring-time festival of the epiphany of Diónyos coming from the sea (OCD: 353). Plutarchus

(*Moralia: De Iside et Osiride*: 35, 364F, 671E) describes this festival in Argos. According to Plutarchus, “the Argives threw a bull into the deep and summoned Bull-Born Diónyos (*Bougenés Diónyos*) to rise up from the waters with the blowing of trumpets, and at the same time they threw a lamb into the bottomless pool as an offering to the ‘warder of gates’“. At Rhodes a mighty wind instrument the “water organ” was used “to awaken the dead or slumbering god” (Farnell 1909: V, 183-4). As Fox (1986: 116) notes, the trumpet is “an instrument which had heralded many epiphanies of the god, not least in Kallímachos’s own Alexandria”.

These lake legends would appear to have arisen from the widespread ritual practice of throwing an incarnation of the deity into the water (1909: V, 124). Functionally, such a practice may have been seen as ridding the land of the decaying spirit of the tree-fruit god in order to bring a fresher more vigorous incarnation, a practice which might be seen as a ritual pruning of sorts (see Farnell 1909: V, 169, 181). Thus Lykourgos drives Diónyos into the sea. Perseús flings Diónyos into a lake, while in Thracian legend Diónyos leaps by himself into the sea. Lake Alkyonia, near Lerna, was supposedly the body of water into which Perseús flung the dead Diónyos. Pausanias (2, 37, 5) says that Diónyos descended into this lake to journey to the underworld to bring his mother Semélē back to the earth’s surface.

Farnell attempts to reconstruct the ritual at this lake.

We can believe that the practice or memory of it survived in this locality of throwing the dead or decaying image or incarnation [of Diónyos] into the water, ... whereby the myth might be developed that Diónyos descends into the lower world and becomes one with the lord of souls; [we can believe] that later the trumpet was blown over the water and the warder of the gates of Hádēs placated [with the lamb offering]. In response to this magic evocation Diónyos was supposed to ascend, bringing with him Semélē back into light; and from this mention of the goddess in the ritual-legend we can conclude that this evocation and the ceremonies with the resurrection took place in spring. (Farnell 1909: V, 183-4).

This throwing the god into the sea or lake is also reminiscent of the Irish myths of Donn Cuailnge going into the lake at Cruachu. Furthermore, the association of the cult of Diónyos and Apóllōn at Delphi reminds one that the drowning of Irish Fraech (equivalent to Apóllōn) and the fight of the Irish bulls apparently both take place on the same day, the first day of spring (Imbolc). So too, bull sacrifice and bull-blood baptism was an aspect of the rites of Cybele and Attis in Rome (equivalent to Boand and Fraech-Nechtain in Ireland).

The Phrygians believed that Diónyos was bound or slept during the winter and was free or awake during the summer. Plutarchus (*Moralia: De Iside et Osiride*: 69, 378E) also notes that the spring-time festival of the resurrection of Diónyos, the *anegerseis*, was preceded by the winter rites of burial, the *kateunasnoi*. According to Clemens (*Recognitio*: 10), the Thebians displayed what was supposed to be the grave of Diónyos (*Liberer (sepulcrum)*), so that the death of the god was projected as a real event. It may have been associated with the Lēnaia, the mid-winter festival of the wild women of Diónyos. Thus unlike the Attis festival in Rome, where the god died and was resurrected within three days, in the Lēnaia festival only the resurrection of Diónyos took place in the spring. His death supposedly occurred earlier in the winter. However, it is clear that in Phrygia the worship of Diónyos was partly fused with that of Attis. According to Himerius (*Or.*: 3, 5), the Lydians greeted Diónyos’s return in the spring with a joyous chorus (see Farnell 1909: V, 174-6, 183-5).

According to Hesíodos (*Theogonia*: 940 ff.) and Apollódōros (*Bibliothēkē*: III, iv, 3), Diónyos’s parents were Zeús and Semélē (also called Thyónē “the Fragrant”), daughter of Kádmos. Farnell (1909: V, 92) notes a Phrygian inscription *me Dios ke Semelo = né Dai kai Gen* “by heaven and earth”, which he sees as evidence for equating Semélē with an earth

goddess. According to Nonnos (*Dionysiakōn*: VII, 319-43), Zeús takes on many forms in uniting with Semélē, just as Zagréous takes on many forms to evade the Tītanēs.

Now he [Zeús] leaned over the bed, with a horned head on human limbs, lowing with the voice of a bull, the very likeness of bull-horned Diónysos. Again, he put on a shaggy lion's form; or he was a panther, as one who begets a bold son, a driver of panthers and a charioteer of lions. Again, as a young bridegroom he bound his hair with coiling snakes and vine-leaves intertwined, and twisted purple ivy about his locks, the plaited ornament of Bákchos. A writhing serpent crawled over the trembling bride and licked her rosy neck with gentle lips, then slipping into her bosom, [it] girdled the circuit of her firm breasts, hissing a wedding tune, and sprinkled her with sweet honey of the swarming bees instead of the viper's deadly poison. (Rouse 1940: 268-9).

Jealous of Zeús's dalliance with Semélē, Héra disguises herself and provokes Semélē to ask for Zeús's thunderbolt, which kills her (*Dionysiakōn*: VIII). From her body Zeús saves the embryo Diónysos and puts him in his thigh.

And the Queen knew not beside him,
till the perfect hour was there;
then a horned God was found,
and a god with serpents crowned;
for that are serpents wound
in the wands his maidens bear.
(Euripides, *Bacchae*: ll. 102 ff.).

When Diónysos is born, according to Nonnos (*Dionysiakōn*: IX, 14-15), "the childbed Seasons crowned him with an ivy-garland in presage of things to come; they wreathed the horned head of bull-shaped Diónysos with twining horned snakes under the flowers" (Rouse 1940: 304-5).

Pausanias (8, 37, 3) and Diodorus Siculus (3, 62) record that despite Diónysos's transformations, at Héra's instigation the Tītanēs tear the Child Diónysos into shreds and boil the shreds in a cauldron. From his blood grows a pomegranate tree. From this tree Rhéā brings Diónysos to life again. Given charge of the child, Hermēs gives him to Athámas and his wife Inó, where he is reared disguised as a girl. Héra makes mad his foster parents so that they kill their own son Léarchos, mistaking him for a stag. Then Zeús turns Diónysos into a kid (Apollódōros *Bibliothēkē*: III, iv, 3), and Hermēs conveys him to the nymphs of Nysa.

According to Nonnos (*Dionysiakōn*: XI, 263 ff.), Diónysos's boyhood friend Ampelos is killed riding a wild bull. Diónysos swears vengeance.

I will avenge your death, [Ampelos], untimely dead, and drag to slaughter over your tomb that runaway bull. I will not fell your murderer with an axe, to let him share the lot of bulls killed with shattered skull; but I will tear open all the bull's hateful belly with the point of my horn, because he mangled you with that long horny spike of his. (Rouse 1940: 376-7).

In *Dionysiakōn* (Book XII: ll. 173-88), however, Ampelos is brought to life again. First he takes the form of a snake, then the heal-trouble flower. Then he takes on the form of the vine, and "his long neck become a bunch of grapes" (Rouse 1940: 410-11). From this vine Diónysos discovers the art of making wine. With his discovery Diónysos declares that he is better than Héra with her corn or Athēna with her olive oil.

“For they have no heart-bewitching fruit to shoot man’s cares to the winds! ... Without wine there is no pleasure in the table-feast, without wine the dance has no bewitchment.... When [the man who mourns] shall taste of delicious wine, [he] will shake off the hateful burden of ever-increasing pain”. (*Dionysiakōn*: XII, 260-69; Rouse 1940: 416-7).

Driven mad by Hēra, Diónysos roams about Egypt, Syrian, Thrace, and India. In his travels, Lykourgos of the Edonians insults and expels him, driving the bull-like god into the sea with an ox-goad; Diónysos, in turn, drives Lykourgos mad. In his madness Lykourgos strikes his own son Dryás dead with an axe mistaking him for a vine. When Lykourgos’s land becomes barren as a result of this filicide, his people bind him between two horses and pull him apart (*Bibliothēkē*: III, v, 1).

In Apollódōros’s *Bibliothēkē* (III, v, 2) and in Euripídēs’s *Bacchae*, Diónysos comes to the court of Pentheús, king of Thebes, who like Diónysos is a grandson of Kádmos. Although it was there that his mother had died, Diónysos himself proclaims Lydia as his fatherland (*Bacchae*: ll.453-70). Pentheús, in an interrogation reminiscent of that of Pontius Pilot to Christ, spurns his divinity. Diónysos himself refuses to reveal the emblems of his divinity given to his hand by Zeús, for only his elect may know them.

Pentheús locks Diónysos in a manger. In attempting to bind him, Pentheús binds a bull instead. Diónysos then asserts his control over Pentheús’s will and leads him dressed as a woman to the Bacchanal. Pentheús’s mother Agaúē is one of the primary participants of the crazed and excited maidens and women of Thebes. Wearing masks and fawn skins, the women roam over the countryside, whirling in dance with torches, seizing any animals they come across (especially cattle), tearing them to pieces, and devouring them as a Eucharist to Diónysos.

Pentheús is himself to be a Eucharist. As Diónysos precedes him, Pentheús exclaims of Diónysos.

And is it a Wild Bull this, that walks and waits
before me? There are horns upon your brow!
What are you, man or beast? For surely now
the Bull is on you. (Euripídēs, *Bacchae*: 922-5;
Oates and O’Neill 1938: 262).

Later one of the bacchanals calls to him, “Appear, appear, whatever your shape or name, O Mountain Bull, Snake of the Hundred Heads, Lion of Burning Flame, O God, Beast, Mystery, come” (*Bacchae*: 1015ff; Oates and O’Neill 1938: 267). Commonly referred to as a Bull and Bull-Horned, it is clear that Diónysos had a bull-like nature (OCD: 352). He would appear from this passage to have been a shape-shifter, also taking on a serpent and lion form.

Dressed as one of the women, Pentheús then mounts a pine tree which Diónysos makes bend down to receive him. Spied by the bacchanals, the women all gather around the tree and uproot it toppling Pentheús to the ground. His mother Agaúē is the first to get to him. She pulls his arm off. The other women join in and Pentheús is torn to pieces to be devoured by the women. He is torn apart on the very spot where Ártemis changed Aktaíōn, son of Autono_ (like Semélē, another daughter of Kádmos), into a stag to be chased and torn apart by his own hounds for spying on her (see Pausanias: 9, 2, 3; OCD: 7; according to Apollódōros, *Bibliothēkē*: 3, 30, Zeús was Aktaíōn’s rival in love for his aunt Semélē). The women scatter bits and pieces of Pentheús hither and thither over the countryside. After tearing him apart, Pentheús’s mother brings his head back to court thinking it is that of a lion.

Nonnos’s version of the death of Aktaíōn (*Dionysiakōn*: V, ll. 316 ff.) makes it clear that the story is simply a doublet of the death of Pentheús. In this tale Aktaíōn (473-96) climbs an

olive tree (“Pallas’s tree”) to spy on Ártemis as she baths in a mountain pool. The Nāiádes spy him and inform Ártemis, who changes him into a stag. Aktaíon slips from the tree and finds himself changed into a stag amidst his hunting dogs. The dogs tear him to pieces, scattering the bones of the “changeling strong-horned shape” (*nóthen keraelkéa morphén*, i.e. Aktaíōn in stag form).

After dealing with Pentheús, Diónysos journeys to Argos, where he is again not honored. This time he makes the women mad and drives them into the mountains, where they devour their own infants. Boarding a pirate ship to make the journey to Naxos, the crew make for Asia, instead, intending to sell him. Diónysos turns the mast and oars into snakes and fills the vessels with ivy and songs. The pirates leap into the sea and turn into dolphins. After this, Diónysos journeys to the underworld and brings his mother back with him (*Bibliothēkē*: III, v, 4; Pausanias: 2, 37, 5), renaming her Thyōnē. Having established his religion throughout the world, Diónysos ascends into heaven with his mother to sit on Zeus’s right hand side.

In the Homeric hymn to Diónysos *Eis Dionyson* (VII: ll. 43-51), a vine spreads out over the top of the sail of the pirates’ ship.

But the god changed into a dreadful lion there on the ship, in the bows, and roared loudly. Amidships also he showed his wonders and created a shaggy bear which stood up ravenously, while on the forepeak was the lion glaring fiercely with scowling brows. And so the sailors fled into the stern and crowded bemused about the right-minded helmsman, until suddenly the lion sprang upon the master and seized him; and when the sailors saw it, they leaped overboard one and all into the bright sea, escaping from a miserable fate, and were changed into dolphins. (Evelyn-White 1914: 430-3).

The motif of the lion, bear, and dolphins probably all represent original forms taken by Diónysos. The two swineherds of the Irish stories fight as wolves and water beasts. In the tale of Zagréous the forms are a lion, a horse, a horned-serpent, a tiger, and a bull.

Similar to the myth of Pentheús is that of Orpheús (*Bibliothēkē*: I, iii, 2). Here the Maenads of Diónysos dismember and devour Orpheús because he was thought to despise Diónysos. Like Pentheús, Orpheús’s head was recovered after the Maenads had scattered his limbs into the sea. His head was buried by the men of his country in a shrine closed to women. According to other legends, Orpheús’s head floated over to Lesbos. Even in death his head continued to sing sweetly. Orpheús’s descent into the underworld to retrieve Eurydíké, who was bitten by a serpent, is reminiscent of Diónysos’s descent to retrieve Semélē. Farnell (1909: V, 105) sees both Orpheús and Pentheús as doublets of Diónysos.

As Farnell (1909: V, 159) has noted, in the Bacchic *orgia* “we may note at once a certain salient fact, the prominence of women in the ritual... . Of unique importance ... is the solemn marriage of the queen-archon and Diónysos.” Indeed, Diónysos is himself a very effeminate deity. Apollódōros (*Bibliothēkē*: 3, 5, 1) notes that Diónysos learned his mysteries and borrowed his costume from the Phrygian Kybélē. As noted above (*Bibliothēkē*: 3, 4, 1), Hermēs had the infant Diónysos raised as a girl.

Another interesting aspect of these *orgia* is the rending into pieces and the devouring of the sacrificial victim, animal or human, as noted by Plutarchus (*Moralia: De defectu oracularum*: 14, 417C). The cult name Anthrōporraístēs “Render of Men” utilized in Tenedos confirms Plutarchus’s statement. Porphýrios (Porphrey) (*de Abstinētia*: 2, 55) says that a man was torn to pieces in Chios as well as in Tenedos in honor of Diónysos Ōmádios “the Eater of Raw Flesh”. When Strabo (198), quoting from Poseidōnios, noted that women at the mouth of the Loire dismembered one of their members in honor of a Celtic god, the Greek ethnographer naturally identified that god with Diónysos.

Farnell (1909: V, 167-8) argues that Pentheús in Euripídēs *Bacchae* represents the god Diónysos himself. Pentheús is lead solemnly through the city in the female attire of the deity.

He is hung in a tree and pelted at, as Diónyšos's image was hung in a tree, and then he is dismembered and his flesh consumed in a sacramental banquet of flesh. (Perhaps in this light the bull seemingly in the tree on the Romano-Gaulish Trier monument is not simply to indicate that the bull is behind the tree).

Although the bull, the goat, and the fawn were all probably torn apart in sacrifice to Diónyšos, only the bull is actually attested directly as a sacrifice. Thus the Elean women hailed the god as "the Worthy Bull", and at Tenedos a bull-calf was torn apart in this fashion after being dressed up as Diónyšos. The flesh of the calf was then sacramentally devoured in association with the drinking of the hot blood of the animal. However, the other two animals, the goat and the fawn, were also incarnations of the god, and Farnell (1909: V, 164-7) argues that they met the same fate as the bull-calf in Dionysiac ritual.

Galen (*de Antidot.*: 1, 6, XIV, 45k) speaks of rending vipers asunder in a similar fashion in honor of Diónyšos. Phrygian worshippers of Sabazios-Diónyšos also consecrated the serpent to him (Farnell 1909: V, 98). We must remember that Euripídēs has the Bacchinae refer to the god as "Mountain Bull, Snake of the Hundred Heads, Lion of Burning Flame, God, Beast, Mystery" (*Bacchae*: 1015 ff.). Farnell (1909: V, 166-7) has proposed that the purpose of this "rending [of snakes] was to devour the sacred flesh of the snake, in which at the beginning of the hot season the god was supposed to incorporate himself."

The Reconstructed PIE Myth

In the Iranian myth of Tištrya- and Apaoša-, the transformation sequence for Tištrya- is from a man to a golden-horned bull to a white stallion. Beside the cosmic waters and in the form of this white stallion, Tištrya- then fights Apaoša-, who takes on the form of a black stallion. On the Gaulish Gundestrup cauldron, manufactured just before Caesar's conquest, the sequence on inner plate A is a panther or a lion, a dolphin, and bulls. The animals are portrayed fighting in the form of panthers or lions. In the Irish *Book of Leinster* the elaborated sequence is as swineherds, hawks, water beasts, stags, warriors, phantoms, dragons, and bulls. In the Irish *Dindsenchas* the sequence is as swineherds, birds of prey, wolves, trout, bulls. In all of the Irish sources the swineherds, who control the mast, fight each other under each of the transformed states.

Finally as the white-horned Finnbennach and as the black Donn, the two Irish swineherds fight as bulls beside and in the lake at Cruachu. The Donn rends the Finnbennach into pieces. In Nonnos's myth, Zagréous transforms himself into a baby, a youth, a lion, a horse, a horned serpent, a tiger, and a bull. Finally in a bull form identified as Diónyšos, the Tītanēs rend him to pieces. We also must recall that Euripídēs has the Bacchinae refer to Diónyšos, originally a god of all tree fruit and not just the vine, as "Mountain Bull, Snake of the Hundred Heads, Lion of Burning Flame, God, Beast, Mystery". So too, we must recall that Perseús flings Diónyšos into a lake, while Diónyšos plunges into the sea to avoid Lykourgos. In emerging from out of the waters, the epiphany of Diónyšos is accompanied by the blare of trumpets.

There can be little doubt that these very similar myths from Iran, Greece, Thrace, Gaul, and Ireland are themselves the final products of an original PIE myth concerning the transformation of the PIE polar opposite gods of tree-fruit. Greek epithets refer to Diónyšos as the "Controller of Swine" and the "Bringer of Oaks" and their mast, the very substance of the Irish myths. Since both the Iranian and the Irish correlatives involve two manifestations of the deity, one black and the other white, it seems clear that the original PIE god was bivalent. Thus

the Iranian and Irish myths and the Gaulish portrayal make it clear that the original PIE myth included two beings who confronted each other in each of their transformed states. In the original PIE myth it was not just a single being who was torn apart as in the myth of Zagréous.

The Iranian, Irish, and Greek or Thracian myths all agree that the first shape in the shape-shifting transformation of these two gods of tree-fruit is as men. The Irish and Greek myths make it clear that the final shape, under which one of the deities is rendered asunder, is as bulls. Intermediate forms could then include lions or panthers, horses, serpents, and fish. The Iranian and Irish sources make it clear that the final combat, originally as bulls, one of which is white and the other black, occurs in and beside a lake. The Greek and Irish sources demonstrate that one of the bulls is rendered asunder into fragmentary pieces.

The amazing thing in this reconstruction is the extent to which the Irish sources would appear to preserve the original PIE myth. Other sources collaborate the Irish myth in each of its important details. Furthermore, it is clear that the Greek god Diónysos was not a foreign god imported into Greek cult, but one of a very ancient origin and presumably of PIE origin. Indeed, he arose out of two polar-opposite deities. These deities were in origin the gods of tree-fruit.

In their bivalent natures, one god may have represented the manifestation during the three winter months, while the other descended into the Lower Realm. Perhaps this ritual descent into the Lower Realm was associated with the winter storing of fruit wines and ciders. At the spring-time ritual, the warm-weather manifestation of the god then came forth from the otherworld and battled the winter manifestation of the deity. These battles would have taken course through various shape-shifting manifestations, including an original man-like form, serpents, sea creatures, and wolves or lions.

The Greek and Celtic myths show that the final animal incarnations were as bulls. In this form they battled in and beside the cosmic waters, the triumphant god emerging from the waters in an epiphany to the blare of trumpets. The winter manifestation of the deity would then have been killed and dismembered, the supplicants both drinking the blood and being baptized in the blood of the dismembered bull, in hopes of gaining a similar rebirth and immortality.

Appendix

Purely Celtic or Local Goddesses

Cathubodva

Early Irish mythology lists three goddesses who often appear on the battle field and usually operate in triplicate: Mórrígan “Great Queen”, Nemain “Battle Frenzy”, and Badb “Crow”. A gloss in H 3.18 (82.2) states that Badb, Macha, and Mórrígan are the *tres Mórrígna*. The goddess referred to as Mórrígan here may not necessarily be the same as the goddess utilizing that name who is equivalent to Boand. Indeed, the three goddesses above may represent a later saga transformation of the earlier pagan goddesses. These three goddesses Mórrígan, Nemain, and Badb (or Mórrígan, Macha, and Badb) periodically change their shapes into crows.

In the *Táin*, however, Mórrígan-Boand does appear to the bull Donn Cuailnge in this bird form. Also in *Táin bó Regamna*, Mórrígan-Boand again appears to Cú Chulainn as a crow. It is clear that the Mórrígan of *Táin bó Regamna* and *Táin bó Cuailnge* is equatable with Boand. The same stem found in the Gaulish byname *Rīgana* “Queen” also gave Welsh *Rhiannon* (< **Rīganona*) and is cognate with the second element in Irish *Mór-rígan*. The Latin epithet *Rēgina* was used by Epona. It is clear that a Celtic Mother Goddess could take part in warfare, just as Athēna, Héra, and occasionally even Aphrodītē take part in warfare in the *Iliad*.

The use of the term Badb “Crow” to refer to the Irish goddess who takes part in warfare would appear to have its roots in the Gaulish phase of Celtic prehistory. Hennessy (1870: 33) was the first to note the relationship between the Irish term *Badb catha* and Gaulish deity name [*C*]athubodva. He went on to outline (1870: 32-57) the role of Badb and Nemain in early Irish mythology.

Cormac’s *Glossary* states that Nemain was the wife of Neit (Meyer 1912a: 82), which is confirmed by LL (11^a, 16), “*Neit mac Indui sa di mna; Badb agus Nemaínd cen goi*” (Best, Bergin, and O’Brien 1954: 45), listing both Badb and Nemain as wives of Neit. Van Hamel’s edition of *Tochmarc Emire* (‘50), mainly from *RIAD 4.2* (*Stowe*), describes Mórrígan in the following fashion.

I Ross Badb .i. na Mórrígnae. Ar is ed a ross side .i. Crích Roiss 7 is sí dano in Bodb catha í 7 is fria asberar Bé Néid .i. bandé in chatha úair is inand Néid 7 díá in chatha. (van Hamel 1933: 42).

To the Ross of the Badb, that is, of the Mórrígan. For this is the Ross which is indicated by Crích Ross. She is moreover the *Bodb catha*, and from her [the term] Bé Néid is said; [she is] moreover goddess of battle, for Neid is the same as the god of battle.

In *Bruiden da Choca*, Badb is described as *Bodb bel derg gairfid fon tech*, “the red-mouthed Badb, who will shriek around the house”. Her cries foreshadow the carnage about to take place (see Hennessy 1870: 38). In this shrieking, she takes on very much the role of the crow of battle.

Carman and Garmangabis

The goddesses known as the Gabiae or the Matronae Gabiae appear to be mostly Germanic and from Germanic regions in Germania Inferior, but also spilling over into Celtic regions in

Germania Superior. As with other Matronae, the Gabiae were apparently conceived as having a triplicate nature. This triplicate nature is reminiscent not only of the triplicate Celtic Mothers and war goddesses, as above, but also of the Icelandic Norns. In Snorri's *Gylfaginning* "three maidens, whose names are Urð, Verdandi, and Skuld ... shape the lives of men and ... [are called] Norns". The widely-spread Gabiae, like the Matres (*mater* "mother") and Matronae (*mātrōna* "matron"), did not honor ethnic boundaries. The Gabiae were truly both Celtic and Germanic. The interpretation of the meaning of *gabi-*, however, depends upon whether the root is seen as Celtic or Germanic.

Although both the Germanic and Celtic roots derive from IE **ghabh-* "fasten, take" (**g^hHb^h-*) (IEW: 407-8), the Germanic stem *gabio-* means "give" (Much 1920: 68; de Vries 1931: 99; Gutenbrunner 1936b: 90-1), while the Celtic stem *gab-jo-* (DPC: 148) means "take", continuing the original IE significance (**ghabh-*; **g^hHb^h-* "take, hold"; IEW: 407-8) as in Irish *gaibid* "take, hold, conceive, hold sway" (RIAD). Thus the Celtic Ollogabias would be the "All Controllers" or the "Great Controllers", while the Germanic Alagabios would be the "All Givers". However, Meid has suggested to me that names in *ollo-* would simply be Gaulicisms of the Germanic forms in *ala-* in the phonetically mixed names of the borderland. Thus, Meid sees the significance "Who Gives Willingly" for all these names. Fleuriot (1982: 123), on the other hand, sees the inscriptions to GABIABVS and other names involving the root *gab-* as Gaulish translations of CONSERVATRICIBVS. Just as likely, the Latin is a translation of the Gaulish. In any case, the *Ollogabiae* would be "*celles qui gardent tout*" (1982: 123).

Although Garmangabis (in the singular) may indicate the "Germanic Giver" (Much 1920: 66; Gutenbrunner 1936: 92), Meid sees a connection to German *gern*, *begehren*. Thus, as above he indicates "Who Gives Willingly" as the significance of this name, which he sees as purely Germanic. Also possible is a Celtic interpretation for this goddess name as well as for the coin inscriptions to Garmanos or Carmanos. The term *carman-* or *garman-* in these coin inscriptions and in the goddess name may be related to Irish *garman* (a,f) "weaver's beam" and Welsh *carfan* "weaver's beam". As Thurneysen (1946: 135) has noted, "the reason for the initial variation in *garmain* "weaver's beam" and Welsh *carfan* is obscure" (see Glossary: Carman). Most likely the Irish and Welsh terms derive from apophonic variations of two separate IE roots, **ker-* and **gher-*. Welsh *carfan* "weaver's beam" thus would derive from a suffixed form of IE **ker-* "twine, woven yarn, weave, knit" (IEW: 577-8), probably from the zero-grade. In the Welsh word, IE **ker-* may be combined with **mono-* "neck, throat" (IEW: 747) or a derivative of **men-* "stay" (IEW: 729) to give the significance "weaving beam". Irish *garman*, on the other hand, apparently would derive from the o-grade of IE **gher-* "fasten, grip" (IEW: 442), again combined with the stem *mono-*, as above, to give "fastening beam" or "weaving beam". This analysis then suggests there were two separate Celtic stems **garmano-* and **carmano-* both indicating "weaver's beam", which undoubtedly merged in their usage. Irish *garman* and Welsh *carfan* "weaver's beam" are then possible cognates of these names.

Thus Garmangabis may be equivalent to the Irish goddess Carman, who gave her name to Oenach Carmain in Leinster. The Celtic deity name **Carmana*, apparently giving the Irish name Carman, would then have indicated "(She of) the Weaving Beam" or "the Weaver". Under this interpretation, Garmangabis and the Garmangabae would be the "Controllers (who utilize) the Weaving Beam", the "Weaver Controllers", or the "Weavers of Fate". They would then correspond to the Latin Matres Parces "the Mother Fates" (Collinwood 1923: 128) and the North Italian Fatae Dervones "the Certain or Sure Fates" or the Matronae Dervonnae "the Certain or Sure Mothers", described in the section on Matronae. Irish Carman would then be the "Weaver" and would be the Irish correlative of the north Gaulish goddess Garmangabis "Weaver of Fate". Such imagery is prevalent in Greek tradition, dating to the earliest period.

In the epics the gods spin, with a thread, the great realities (death, trouble, riches, homecoming) around a man, as if he were a spindle. From this image come the “harsh spinners”, *Klōthés* (*Odyssey*: 7, 197), and the spinning Moirai (Callinus: I. 9 f.). Hesiod (Hesíodos) made the Moirai (*moira* “share”), like the Hōrai, a group of three, daughters of Zeus and Thémis, with the names Klōthō “Harsh Spinner”, Láchesis “Getting-by-Lot”, and Atropos “Irresistible” (*Theogonia*: 904-6)... The Moirai, bringing good fortune, attend the marriage of Pēleús and Thétis... On these occasions the Moirai did not spin, but rather sang...; later they both spin and sing for Peleus (Catullus: 64. 320-83)... The Latin Parcae were assimilated in all respects to the Moirai.... In funerary epigrams the Parcae determine a person’s fate by saying, *dicere*, or chanting, *canere*, *carmen*. (Robertson, OCD: 431-2).

It is also possible, however, that the name Carman is simply a late borrowing into the Irish repertoire and that it derives from Latin *carmen* “song, incantation”, supposedly lying behind Irish *cairmion* with the same meaning (RIAD). Such an etymology would seem to have been apparent to one of the compilers of the *Dindsenchas*. In the *Dindsenchas* story of Oenach Carmain, Lug leads the Túatha dé Danann against Carman and her three sons who come to Ireland bringing destruction with them.

By spells, charms, and incantations (*brichtu 7 dicetla 7 cantana*), the mother ruined every place. By plundering and dishonesty, the men destroyed. So they went to Ireland to bring evil on the Túatha dé Danann by blighting the corn (Stokes 1894-5: 312-3).

After Lug and the Túatha dé Danann drive away the sons, they keep the mother Carman as a hostage.

Their mother died of grief here in her hostageship, and she asked the Túatha dé Danann to hold her fair (*oenach*) at her burial place and that the fair and this place should always bear her name. And the Túatha dé Danann performed this as long as they were in Erin. (Stokes 1894-5: 312-3).

The detail of the goddess dying and her mound being raised on the site is probably a later development. It also occurs in the *Dindsenchas* story of *Macha ben Crund mac Agnomain* (Stokes 1894-5: ‘94), although in the earliest version of the story from LL 125^b the goddess Macha does not die, but returns to the otherworld. At any rate, the festival of *Oenach Carmain* was held on Lughnasa (the marriage feast of Lug), like that at Oenach Tailten.

For holding it the Leinstermen were promised corn, milk, and freedom from control of any other province in Ireland; that they should have men, royal heroes, tender women, good cheer in every home, every fruit like a show (?), and nets full of fish from waters. But if it were not held, they should have decay and early grayness and young kings. (Stokes 1894-5: 314).

The Matres

The Nature of the Matres

As Petersmann (1987: 173) has pointed out, “*Wir dürfen nicht vergessen, dass auch die Indogermanen schon in alter Zeit mehre göttliche Mütter auf das engste zusammengefasst und verehrt haben*”. Throughout the Indo-European world these goddesses played the same

role as “*fruchtbarkeitsfördernden Dämonen*” (1987: 187). In Sicily the *Damatéres* “*Dēmētērs*” were portrayed in plural form (double or triplicate), and the *Cereres* are well known from Italy; at Engyon the *Damatéres* are known simply as the *Mētéres* (1987: 190). All of these IE Mother Goddesses tend to have a chthonian aspect, as seen in the relationship between the Vedic *Mātaraḥ* “*Mothers*” in opposition to the *Pitā* “*Father*”, leading to the dual expression encompassing both concepts *Dyāvāpṛthivī* “*Heaven-earth*” (1987: 187).

The Gaulish form utilized in inscriptions apparently was *Matrebo* “*to the Mothers*” (as in MATREBO GLANEIKABO), the dative of the plural form **Matres*, derived from IE **māter*- “*mother*” (IEW: 700). Corresponding to these goddesses were the gods apparently referenced in an inscription to the masculine ATREBO AGANNTOBO “*to the Fathers of Aganntos*” (Schmidt 1987: 134-5). Since the place-name modifier is a masculine o-stem (Aganntos), there can be little doubt that the **Atres* rather than the **Matres* are indicated here.

The south Gaulish inscriptions to the MATREBO NAMAVSICABO and to the MATREBO GLANEICABO give the earliest examples of Gaulish inscriptions to the Mothers. Apparently under this same group belong the inscriptions to the ANDOOVNNABO and the ROCLOISIABO. The use of the plural *Matres* (*Matribus*, Latinized dative plural of *māter*) is found throughout Gaul and Britain. *Matrae* (dat. *Matrabus*) is also used in Germania Superior and Gallia Lugdunensis, and it is the exclusive plural form in Gallia Narbonensis. The root is the same in both Latin and Gaulish, so that only the ending need be borrowed.

The form *Matronae* (dat. *Matronis*) is found almost exclusively in the North along the Rhine, from both Germania Superior and Germania Inferior, but it is also known from Cisalpine Gaul. People in Germanic Gaul thus preferred the Latin term *matrona* “*matron or noble woman*”. The Gaulish plural form corresponding to *Matronae* (*Matronis*) would be **Matronas* (**Matronabo*). The use of the term *Matronae* in Germanic Gaul probably has only a fortuitous connection to the use of same term in Cisalpine Gaul. Thus no contiguity is implied between the two regions. Because the use of *Matronae* in the North is usually associated with goddesses with German names (in spite of Whatmough 1970: 211), I keep the analysis of the two groups separate here, although there was apparently little semantic distinction in the differentiated Latin usage of *Matres* and *Matronae*. There is little difference in the portrayals.

With the *Matres*, as with the *Matronae* of Cisalpine Gaul, may be associated the grouped goddess called *Iūnones*, who are mentioned in a votive inscription at Nîmes (CIL: XII 3067) as IVNONIB(VS) MONTAN(IS) and at Aigues-Mortes, Gard (410) as IVNONIBVS AVG(VSTIS). These *Iūnones* appear to have also been worshipped in the zone of the central health resorts: Neris-les-bains (Allier) NVMINIBVS AVGVSTORVM ET IVNONIBVS NERIOMAGIENSES; (Langres) DEABVS IVNONIBVS. (Anwyl 1906: 32).

Temples might be dedicated to the *Matres* for various reasons. An inscription from Bowness-on-Solway (Rüger 1987: 21) to the MATRIBVS DEABVS gives the reason for the temple dedication as the gaining of offspring (presumably cattle) *fetura quaestus*. As Rüger notes, the inscription is poetic and bears repeating here.

MATRIBVS DEABVS AEDEM
ANTONIANVS DEDICO
SED DATE FETVRA QVAESTVS

SVPPLEAT VOTIS FIDEM
AVREIS SACRABO CARMEN
MOX VIRITIM LITTERIS.

Anwyl (1906: 26-51) made one of the first careful studies of the Matres. The latest study by Rüger (1987: 2-3) divides the Matres and Matronae into eight categories according to the significance of their names. The monuments and inscriptions date from the first-century into the fourth-century AD, but of course the Gaulish inscriptions from Glanum to the ROKLOISIABO are probably considerably earlier. The Glanum inscriptions have been dealt with elsewhere in this work under the Mothers of Waters. In reality, the Matres and Matronae represent a Romanization of what was originally a Celtic and Germanic concept.

Rüger's first category, geographic names, includes deities such as the *Ambirenae*, *Ambiorenses*, *Ambiamarcae*, *Campestres*, *Silvanae*, *Montes*, and *Alpes*. His second category includes roadway deities such as the *Semitae*, *Viales*, *Biviae*, *Triviae*, and *Quadriviae*. His third category includes source deities such as the *Nymphae*, *Lymphae*, *Fontes*, and *Suleviae*. His seventh category includes functional categories such as the *Nutrices*, *Victrices*, *Medicinae*, *Parcae*, and *Fatae*. His other categories are perhaps less certain in their significance. These include animal names (fourth category) such as *Gantunae* and *Cervae*, names with ancestral significance (fifth category) such as *Proxumae* and *Veteres*, which are probably no more than respectful titles as found in his sixth category: *Dominae*, *Deae*, *Digines*, and *Virgines*. His eighth category is simply the pluralization of already existing goddesses, such as: *Cereres*, *Maiae*, *Iūnones*, *Eponae*, *Suleviae*, *Nehalenniae*, *Dianae*, and *Silvanae*.

Only the first category, geographic names, will then have much significance for us here, concerned as we are with names which are Celtic in origin. The *Nymphae* are dealt with elsewhere in this study, as with *Epona* as well. Also of little significance here is the differentiation in title between *Matronae*, found mainly in Cisalpine Gaul and along the middle to lower Rhine, and the *Matres*, who are found mainly along the Rhone, Hadrian's Wall, and to some extent on the Rhine and in Northern Spain. The British examples, mostly from military sites, were clearly imported by auxiliary troops, as indicated in the inscriptions to the *Deae Matres Tramarinae* (Rüger 1987: 11).

As Schauerte (1987: 56-9) has shown, terracotta figurines round out the stone inscriptions showing that the Matres were found throughout Roman Gaul, Germany, and Britain. In these portrayals, the goddesses are often depicted as a group of three (although also often portrayed singly). They hold infants, baskets of fruit, bread, or nuts, sometimes in association with lapdogs, small birds, or cranes. They are occasionally depicted with hens, bulls, or rams (Schauerte 1987: 77).

Although these regional goddesses from Gaul are sometimes depicted on stone monuments as a single seated matron holding some particular aspect of fecundity, most often the portrayals show a group of three goddesses, one with bread and the others with fruit. Sometimes there are three separate panels, with a goddess seated separately in each one, essentially a three-fold representation of the single portrayal. In other representations there is a single seated goddess, flanked by two other standing goddesses. The attributes of fecundity may vary. Besides the usual basket of fruit or bread, the Mater or Matrona may hold an infant or a cornucopia. Often associated with these goddesses is a songbird, a flower, or a lapdog, either held or at her feet. In the portrayals they sometimes appear to be young and maternal; sometimes they hold infants, as occurs with the *Dea Nutrix*, but often they are older in appearance. The epithet *augustae* would be entirely appropriate. The dedications to the SENOMATRIS "Ancient Mothers" (Latin *senio*- "old", Irish *sen*, IE **seno*-; IEW: 907) from Belgica and the Agri Decumates probably refer to the goddesses worshiped since ancient times, rather than to the physical age of the goddesses.

One may then note portrayals with the triple seated goddesses, two holding fruit on their laps and one a cornucopia (Esp.: Lyon: 1741, 1742); triple seated goddesses, one holding an infant, one holding wrapping, and one holding a cornucopia and or a patera (Esp.: Autun: 1815, 1816, 1819, 1827, 1831); triple seated goddesses each of whom holds a patera and cornucopia (Esp.: Bresse-sur-Tille: 3593); a single seated goddess holding a patera and or a

cornucopia with fruit (Esp.: Chalon: 2146; Autun: 1820, 1825, 1833, 1834, 1835; Vertault: 3375; Saint-Moré: 2926; Nantes: 3018); a single seated goddess holding fruit in a patera or a basket and sometimes a cake (Esp.: Alise-Saint-Reine: 2350; Autun: 1826, 1838; Langres: 3237, Melun: 2939); a single seated goddess holding apples (Esp.: Nantes: 3209); a single seated goddess with a lap dog (Esp.: 2823). The triple portrayal is thus but a single attribute and probably not diagnostic in differentiating this triplicate goddess group from the singly portrayed goddesses, found most commonly in Gallia Lugdunensis.

In the light of goddesses in elephant bigas from coinage throughout the classical world and the portrayal of Venus in such guise on a mural from Pompeii, we need not be surprised at the stylization of goddess in an elephant biga on plate B of the Gundestrup cauldron (Olmsted 1993). The Gundestrup portrayal probably represents a Gaulish adaption of this classical theme. Only diagnostic from the point of view of myth is the presence of the wagon or chariot. The portrayal of the goddess in a biga on plate B can be compared to the portrayal of three Matres seated in a chariot from Auxois (Esp.: 2325).

In the goddess portrayal on plate B of the Gundestrup cauldron, the stylization with the goddess flanked by two star-rosette wheels is clearly to indicate a wagon or chariot. Contemporary Gaulish coinage (such as BN: 6903, BN: J-27, BN: 8933, BN: 7360, BN: 6767, BN: 6768-6793; Olmsted 1979b: 66, pls. 76-84) clearly depicts similar portrayals with star-rosette wheels for chariots as developments of Apollo in his chariot from the original Grecian-style portrayals depicted on the staters of Philip II of Macedonia (Jenkins 1972: fig. 232). Gaulish sheet-metal bronze work extends the repertoire of that on the coinage. The Marlborough vat contains a mask-like head similar to those on Gundestrup plates e and g, as well as a goddess flanked by elephants as on Gundestrup plate B (Olmsted 1979b: pls. 27-30). Other motifs are again similar to those on Gaulish coins. As noted, these Gundestrup and Marlborough elephant-flanked goddesses relate to contemporary Roman portrayals such as Venus flanked by elephants on a wall-painting from the via dell'Abbondanza at Pompeii (Scullard 1974: pl. XX) or the pair of elephants pulling a chariot depicted on a coin of Metellus 113 BC (Scullard 1974: pl. XXIVa). The portrayal of Athena in an elephant quadriga on a coin of Antiochus I (Scullard 1974: pl. XV.d) is worth mentioning as well. The artist of Gundestrup plate B composed the elephants flanking the goddess in the biga from the rear end of his oxen combined with the front end of his panther. He then added to these composite beasts s-curve trunks as on the horse-elephants of Gaulish coinage. Elephants portrayed as horses with trunks occur on pre-conquest coinage of the Parisii and Bellovaci (BN: 7796, 7798, 7901, 7903). An anatomically correct elephant occurs on Hirtius's coin (BN: 9235) minted in Gaul just after the conquest (see Olmsted 1979b: 83-86, pl. 51). That Gundestrup plate B should portray a goddess in an elephant biga is not really surprising, presuming a north Gaulish origin for the cauldron.

One should note that an iconographic repertoire similar to that of the Matres is found for Epona as well, although she is never shown with elephants. Here the goddess is usually single, either riding side-saddle or between two colts. Otherwise the attribute repertoire is identical. Noteworthy is the fact that there is little difference between the single mother-goddess portrayal (as opposed to the triplicate portrayal) and the portrayals of Epona, except for the absence of the horse or colts. Linckenheld (1929: 67) has noted that the terra-cotta figurines depicting a single *mater* are often found in tombs. These Matres are also portrayed on funerary *stella*, such as the triple and single seated portrayals from Metz (ESP 5: 4291, 4360).

The best contemporary description of the rites associated with the Germanic conception of the Latinized Matronae is apparently that to be found in Tacitus (*Germania*: 40, 2-5).

These tribes are protected by forests and rivers, nor is there anything noteworthy about them individually, except that they worship in common Nerthus or Mother Earth (*Terram matrem*).... They conceive her as intervening in human affairs and riding in

procession through the cities of men. In a island in the ocean is a holy grove, and in it [is] a consecrated chariot (*vehiculum*), covered with a robe. A single priest is permitted to touch it; he feels the presence of the goddess in her shrine and follows with deep reverence as she rides away drawn by cows. Then come days of rejoicing, and all places keep holiday, as many as she thinks worthy to receive and entertain her. They make no war, no arms; every weapon is put away; peace and quiet are then, and then alone, known and loved, until the same priest returns the goddess to her sacred precinct, when she has had her fill of the society of mortals. After this the chariot and the robe, and, if you are willing to credit it, the deity in person, are washed in a sequestered lake. Slaves are the ministrants and are straightway swallowed by the same lake, hence a mysterious terror and an ignorance full of piety as to what that may be which men only behold to die. (*Germania*: 40, 2-5; Hutton and Warmington 1914: 196-7).

These early Germanic rites are very close to Hebridean processions of Saint Bride during the nineteenth-century. The procession of Bride to bless and protect the town land is reminiscent of the procession drawing a statue of the goddess Berecynthia (Cybele) to the adulation of the citizens of Augustodunum (now Autun, Saône-et-Loire). This goddess was drawn “*in carpento pro salvatione agrorum et vinearum*” as described by Gregorius Turonensis (538-594 AD) (Zwicker 1934: 180). Elsewhere in the *Vita Sancti Symphoriani* (1934: 163), we learn that Berecynthia, Apollo, and Diana were especially sacred to Augustodunum. Indeed, Polomé (1988: 80) compares Nerthus to Cybele.

Names of Gaulish Mothers

The names of these Mothers are largely Celtic, Latin, Ligurian, or Germanic. I divide the names which are Celtic in origin into categories according to the entities over which they presided, the only classification which can have any functional significance.

Localized Landscape Names

The Celtic conception of the “Earth Mother” was often localized to specific regions of the land. Thus each of the many groups of Matres was responsible for a particular subdivision of the landscape. In each region the goddess or triple-goddess group essentially was conceptualized identically. The differentiation by name apparently did not indicate a conceptual difference, but rather it indicated that these goddesses were localized to particular individual regions over which they had power. In this well-defined geographical localization, the landscape goddess is analogous to the river goddess, whose domain was confined to the course and source of a particular river. Perhaps the most cogent example of the localized nature of these goddesses is the inscription from Bewell (Northumberland) to the MATR(IBVS) TRIBVS CAMPES[T]R[I]B(VS) ET GENIO ALAE PRI(MAE) HISPANORVM ASTVRM “to the three parade-ground Mothers and the Genius of the first Cavalry Regiment of Astrium Spaniards” (RIB: 1334).

That the Matres were responsible for the fertility and fecundity of their particular region or domain is clear not only from the portrayal of the attributes mentioned above, but also from the historic record of contemporary observers on the Continent as well as from Irish manuscript sources dating back to the six-century AD. In the Irish sources, the king of each domain (*túath*) at his coronation was wedded to the landscape goddess of that domain (Mór Mumain in

Munster, Medb in Leinster, Meath, and Connacht, Macha in Ulster). Through his embodying truth (*fír*), the king helped to regulate the fecundity of the goddess.

Although one can determine minor regional differences in the portrayal of the goddesses, the conception of the goddess type was remarkably similar from throughout Roman Gaul and Britain (as well as from Ireland), and from the almost exclusively Germanic regions bordering on the lower Rhine (Germania Inferior). In the light of the many Matronae-type portrayals bearing Germanic names from Germania Inferior, the conception may have been pan-Germanic as well as pan-Celtic. But the later Scandinavian manuscript records on Germanic religion do not seem to support this view. It seems more likely that Tacitus's Nerthus was conceived as a universal earth goddess. Perhaps the Germanic peoples of Germania Inferior borrowed the conception of the localized goddess from their Celtic neighbors.

The concept of the three goddesses in Ireland is illustrated in the *Lebor Gabála in Fotla 7 Banba 7 Ériu*, the daughters of the goddess *Donand (Donand mathair na ndea)*, whose name is embodied in the *Túatha dé Danand* "Tribe of the Goddess Danu" (LL 9b: ll. 30-1, 10b: ll. 25-28; Best, Bergin, and O'Brien 1954: 35, 38). *Ériu* gave her name to the whole island. *Ériu*, *Fotla*, and *Banba* formed the triplicate goddesses of Ireland as a whole. *Badb 7 Macha 7 Anand* (LL 9b: l. 39) also were used in formulaic repetitions of three goddess names, two of whom (*Badb* and *Anand*) may represent the same goddess, equatable to *Mór Mumain*.

The original formula probably included *Mór Mumain* in Munster; *Medb* in Leinster, *Meath*, and *Connacht*; and *Macha* in Ulster. The most ancient concept behind this triad probably represents the Mothers of the Lower, Middle, and Upper Regions; just as in Greece, *Hádēs*, *Poseidōn*, and *Zeús* are the controllers of the Lower, Middle, and Upper Regions. These three Irish goddesses would then correspond to *Dēmētēr*, *Hestía*, and *Héra*.

Interestingly, the *Dindsenchas* lists three separate *Machas*. The *Dindsenchas* of *Ard Macha* (now *Armagh*) relates not just one myth but three myths associated with *Macha* under three different names. In the second story *Macha* marks out *Emain Macha (is le rothornedh Emoin; Stokes 1894-5: 45)*. Furthermore, the great festival *Oenach Macha* was established in her honor, exactly paralleling *Tailtiu* in whose honor *Oenach Tailtiu* was established (though held on *samain* at *Mag Muirthemne* rather than at *Lugnasad*).

Macha wife of *Nemed* son of *Agnomon* died there (on *Mag Macha*) and was buried there, and it is the twelfth plain which was cleared by *Nemed*. He bestowed it on his wife so that it might bear her name. Whence *Mag Macha* "Macha's Plain".

Otherwise: *Macha* daughter of *Aed the Red (ingen Aedha Ruaidh)*, son of *Badurn*, thus by her *Emain* was marked out. [She] was buried there when *Rechtaid* of the red forearm killed her. To lament her, *Oenach Macha* "Macha's Fair" was established. Whence *Mag Macha*.

Otherwise: *Macha*, wife of *Crund* son of *Agnomon*, went thither to race against *Conchobar's* horses, for her husband had said his wife was swifter (than they). Thus, then was the wife big with child; so she asked a respite till her womb should have fallen, and this was not granted to her. So then the race was run, and she was the swiftest. When she reached the end of the green, she brought forth a boy and a girl. *Fir* and *Fial* "True and Modest" were their names. She said that the *Ulaid* would abide under feebleness of childbed whenever need should befall them. Whereupon the *Ulaid* suffered feebleness.... After this she died, her tomb was raised at *Ard Macha*, her lamentation was made, and her gravestone was planted. Whence *Ard Macha* "Macha's Height". (Stokes 1894-5: 44-6).

It is clear, in any case, that people from outside of a particular region recognized the sovereignty of the local goddess over that region, just as they recognized regional differences

in sovereignty as well as geographical divisions throughout the country-side as a whole. Each region had its particular Mothers, and everyone recognized and acknowledged their particular area of sovereignty.

An analogous and closely connected concept was that of kingship in general, with the king being wedded to the landscape Mother in question. In seventh-century Ireland, the smallest region of kingship was a *túath* “tribe, domain”, defined as a group of people giving allegiance to a particular king. In Ireland as a whole there were over fifty of these *túatha*. But the kings (*ríg*) were also organized hierarchically, the less powerful kings giving allegiance and tribute in a clientship network to an over-king (*ruirí*), who was deemed to hold sway over several *túatha*. At the highest level was the king of a province, of which there were five in all of Ireland, whence the conception of the *rí cóicid* “king of a fifth” or *rí ruirech* “king of over-kings”.

Perhaps representing a universal conceptualization of Mother Earth was *Tailtiu* (< **Talantio* containing the root **tel-* “flat ground, earth”, which gives Irish *talam* “earth” from **t_el_a-mo-* and Latin *tellus* “earth”; see De Vries 1961: 52; IEW: 1061). In the *Dindsenchas*, *Tailtiu* is described as the foster mother of Lug and is said to have reigned at *Oenach Tailten* (deemed to be the center of all Ireland). This goddess presided at *Tailtiu* (*Oenach Tailten* on *Lugnasad*) in Meath. Also *Carman* was said to preside over *Oenach Carmain* in Leinster. Each of the three landscape goddesses, *Mór Mumain*, *Medb*, and *Macha* was also the focus of festival gatherings. Included in these gatherings were the coronations of kings in a wedding feast or *feis* as well as more periodic yearly gatherings (*oenacha*) to conduct legal cases and to hold pan-provincial games and feasting.

To examine the nature of the Gaulish *Matres*, one must also look at the political units. According to Caesar, the country as a whole was divided into the regions of the *Celtae*, *Belgae*, and *Aquitanti* (BG I: 1). Each of these areas was divided into provinces, which Caesar refers to as *civitates*. These *civitates* represented the familiar divisions of *Helvetii*, *Arverni*, *Carnutes*, *Parisii*, etc., and they are exactly analogous to the Irish *cóicid*, the *Ulaid*, *Connachta*, etc. Each *civitas* was in turn divided into *pagi*, of which the *Tigurini* are an example mentioned by Caesar (BG: I, 12). In the inscriptions to the *Matres* much the same pattern was followed.

Matres of a Civitas, Tribal State, or Province

(For a list of the names whose classifications are discussed here and below see the Glossary. They are purely local and not attributive in nature).

These triplicate goddesses presided over the fertility of the land, people, cattle, and fruits of a region corresponding to the autonomous *civitates*, tribal states, or nations outlined by Caesar in *de Bello Gallico*. The five Irish *cóicid* or provinces are the cognate entities, each composed of several *túatha* with their individual kings (*rí túaithe* “king of a people or tribe”) in turn owing allegiance to the provincial king (*rí cóicid* “king of a province” or *rí ruirech* “king over kings”) (see Binchy 1941: 104-5). The *rí cóicid* was in turn ceremonially wed to the goddess of the province in the *banais rí* “marriage feast of the king” at his inauguration.

In early Christian Ireland the goddesses *Boand* (under various bynames such as *Mórrígan*, *Mór Muman*, *Eithne*, etc.), *Medb*, and *Macha* played the role of the provincial goddess. There originally appear to have been three provinces constructed on analogy with the Lower, Middle, and Upper Regions of the universe. Thus *Mór Muman* (*Mumain*) (1) corresponded to Munster (*Mumu* or *Cóiced Muman*, probably an n-derivative of **máma* also giving rise to Irish *muimne* “foster mother”; < **mommiā* < **mammiā*; IEW: 694). *Medb* (2) corresponded to Connacht

(*Connachta*), Leinster (*Coiced Laigne* or *Laigen*), and Meath (*Mide*) “Middle”. *Macha* (3) corresponded to Ulster (*coiced Ulaid*).

The Gaulish provincial *Matres* (with their portrayals holding baskets full of fruit, loaves of bread, and infants) correspond to the Irish goddesses *Tailtiu* and *Mór Mumain*. *Macha*, *Medb*, and *Carman* correspond to slightly different conceptions of these goddess in Gaulish *Epona*, *Meduna*, and perhaps *Carmangabis* (see *Goddesses of Water*). The concentration of the dedications to the *Matres* in *Gallia Belgica* and *Gallia Germanica* may be fortuitous, as most of the dedications to the *matres* are found along the Rhone or in Northern Gaul. The distribution may also reflect the fact that the provincial kingships (in whose inaugurations the goddesses would have played a role) survived longer in the northern half of Gaul. Indeed, kingship was fully functioning in the north at the time of Caesar’s conquest. *Diviacus* king of the *Suessiones* held sway over domains and tribes in Britain as well as Gaul.

Matres of a Single Pagus or Teuta

(See *Glossary* for a list of the names).

As is the case for the provincial *Matres*, these goddesses presided over the fertility of the land, people, cattle, and fruit of a localized territory and group of people. Here a single *pagus* corresponds to what was later termed a *canton* in Roman Gaul. This region was equivalent to the Irish *túath* (<*toutā* < **teutā* “people, land”; IEW: 1084), the smallest region ruled over by a king, the *rí túaithe*. The portrayal of this goddess as well as the conception behind it is essentially the same as that of the provincial *matres*.

Deae of a Single Pagus or Teuta

(See the *Glossary* for a list of the names).

There are also a number of inscriptions which would seem to refer to the goddess of a single *teuta* or *pagus*. As most of the attributive names are otherwise unattested, this suggestion must be somewhat speculative, but the associated names are certainly suggestive of *Volksnamen*. As is the case with the *Dea Vici*, one may see these goddesses as a singular conception of the *Matres*.

Matres of a Vicus

(See the *Glossary* for a list of the names).

With the rise of urbanization, particularly in *Gallia Narbonensis*, the concept of the protecting mothers became applied to a *vicus* or town.

Dea Loci

(See the *Glossary* for a list of the names).

Bulliot (1870: 309) suggested that *dea loci* represented not “*la personification des villes*”, but “*le culte des fontaines*”. The presence of the *Matres* of *Vici*, such as those of *Augusta Nemausus*, however, combined with the prevalence of the singular portrayal of this class of

goddess in Gallia Lugdunensis, suggests that the *dea loci* represent the same class of deities as the *Matres Vici*. They were simply portrayed in a singular rather than in a triplicate fashion. Thus it would be misleading to suggest that these goddesses were at all distinct in nature from the *Matres Vici*, and perhaps each individual goddess should be thought of as a *Mater Vici*.

The Matronae

(See the Glossary for a list of the names).

Because the bynames of the *Matronae* are almost exclusively Germanic, they are discussed only cursorily here. Other sources on these goddesses worth consulting are Gutenbrunner (1936: 116-195), Heichelheim (1930: 2213-49), Heiligendorf (1934), de Vries (1931: 85-125), and Rüger et al (1987). They are discussed here at all simply because the portrayal of the *Matronae* is nearly identical to that of the *Matres*. The usual portrayal depicts three seated goddesses (but occasionally with the outer two goddesses standing), each holding attributes of fecundity. Also the use of the term *Matronae* is quite prevalent in Cisalpine Gaul, but usually there the attributive byname is left off. That there are inscriptions to the *Matronae* from both Germanic Gaul and Cisalpine Gaul does not imply a connection between the cults of Cisalpine Gaul and Germanic Gaul, but simply that each region probably independently borrowed the same Latin term. The connection between the cults, whether referred to as *Matres* or *Matronae*, is implicated solely by the presence of a continuum in the stylization of the portrayals from whatever region of Gallia or Germania.

Germanic Goddesses

(See the Glossary for a list of the names).

Gutenbrunner (1936: 122) has shown that the goddesses whose names end in *-henae*, *-ehae*, or *-nehae* are Germanic rather than Celtic. A complete analysis of the phonology of these names will be found in Neumann (1987: 103 ff). Like the Celtic *Matres*, these Germanic goddesses certainly contain references to the Mothers of a Civitas or Tribal State, as well as references to individual *teutas*, *pagi*, or *vici*. Other names of the *Matronae*, according to de Vries (1931: 100-3), may be more general and attributive in their bynames. They may not fit the pattern of the names of the Celtic goddesses in referring only to groups of people. However, it is difficult to differentiate between names referring to the attributes of a group or of a tribe of men and names referring to the attributes of goddesses whose special realms are indicated by the significance of their names. The question must remain open whether or not Germanic practice in this realm was identical to Celtic practice.

It is outside of the scope of this study to comment on the etymologies suggested by de Vries (1931: 100-4) for these names. In way of illustration I list only a few of the better known names of which a fuller list will be found in Neumann (1987). Many correspond to river names, such as *Etrahenae* and *Gesahenae* (Neumann 1987: 115-6) or landscape groupings such as *Chuchenehae* "Hill" and *Fahineihae* "Swamp" (Neumann 1987: 27). In the Glossary I list some of the names corresponding to tribal groups.

Spring Nymphs

(See the Glossary for a list of the names).

Unlike river goddesses who usually take their names directly from the bodies of water they represent, spring nymphs usually take their names from the functional aspects of the spring. Their names usually indicate luck, prosperity, health, or wetness (see Glossary). Where the name of the spring is known, it usually coincides with that of the goddess, but again the name of the spring reflects the same functional qualities associated with the goddess.

Purely Local Gods

Genii

(See the Glossary for a list of the names).

As is the case with dedications to the *Matres Campestris*, *Matres Domestices*, and the *Matres Communes*, dedications to local genii are sometimes rather general in nature. Indeed, the Roman *numen* were often invoked *si deus si dea*. Such *genii* were little more than beneficial spirits, like the Roman *Genius Spiniensis*, who aided in clearing pastures of thorns, or *Stercutius*, who aided in manuring the fields. For the most part, the names of these *genii* incorporate those of the locals over which the deity presided.

River Gods

(See the Glossary for a list of the names).

Various inscriptions indicate that during the Roman Empire, the Rhine and Danube were conceived of as masculine river gods. The question is whether or not this conception had its origin in Celtic tradition or was due to the ultimately Greek conception that all rivers derived from Ōkeanós. In the coin issues of Sicily, for example, the river gods are portrayed as man-headed bulls or horned youths (Hammond and Scullard 1970: 925). If the two masculine o-stem river names *Rhenos* and *Danuvios* are Celtic in origin, it is clear that not all Celtic rivers were regarded as goddesses. Perhaps the reason for possibly Celtic masculine rivers lies in the hot springs and streams named after *Bormo-Vroicos*, a god of hot springs and sources, who was closely associated with the river goddesses.

Glossary

Bynames of Gaulish Iuppiter

Attributive Bynames of the Gaulish Sky Father

Bussumaros, Bussurigios: “Great Lipped, (Big) Lipped King”.

From Carlsburg in Siebenbürgen comes an inscription to I.O.M. BVSSVMARIO (CIL III: 14215). BVSSVMAROS or the abbreviation BVSSV is also inscribed on certain coins of the Boii (Forrer 1908: 348). Holder (AcS III: 1010) notes that a Greek text (CIG: 4102) refers to BVSSVRIGIOS as a byname of Zeus used by Celtic tribes. The second element of the name *Bussumarios* is relatable to Celtic *māro-* (Irish *mór* < IE **mōh₁ro-* “great”, DPC: 258; IEW: 704; Dottin 1920: 270; on *ā* and *ō* falling together in Celtic see Thurneysen 1946: 36), while the second element of *Bussurigios* is connected to Gaulish *rīx* (Irish *rí* < IE **rēgs* “king”) (DPC: 311; IEW: 704, 855; Dottin 1920: 282). The io-stem *rīgio-* probably indicates “rule” (Irish *ríge* < IE **rēgio-*, IEW: 856). Thurneysen (AcS I: 640) related *busso-*, *bussu-* to Irish *bus* “lips, kiss” (DPC: 84), derived from IE **bu-* “lips, kiss” (IEW: 103). This suggestion was later taken up by Vendryes (1929: 370), who, in noting the exaggerated style of the lips on the coin portrayals, translated *Bussumaros* as “*aux grosses lèvres*”. Since *Índraḡ* is called *Susípra-*, *Śíprin-* “Fair Lipped” in the *Rig Veda* (RV: 1, 29, 2; 2, 12, 6; MacDonnell 1897: 55; 1917: 50), apparently from his habitually drinking *sóma-*, this epithet is not so nonsensical as it first appears. The connection is undoubtedly to the rain clouds, which both *Índraḡ* and the Gaulish Iuppiter controlled. Matasović (DPC: 84) also suggests PCelt. **buzdo-* “penis” beside “lip”.

There can be little doubt that the Celtic stem *bussu-* had the significance “lips, kiss” (Schmidt 1957: 158) in Gaulish. The word *budduton* “kiss” occurs in the spindle whorl inscription *gnata vimpī gabi budduton imon* “pretty girl, take my kiss” (Meid 1980: 15). However, confirmation that a similar significance applied to the deity names cannot be sought in the coin portrayals appearing to show a man with big lips. The geometricized and curvilinear stylization prevalent in late La Tène art almost universally exaggerated the lips, particularly in the coin art (see Olmsted 1979b: pls. 42-3; Olmsted 2001: pl. 82).

Tanaros: “the Thunderer”.

From Chester (RIB: 452) and Blockberg (CIL III: 10418) come Latinized inscriptions to I.O.M. TANARO and to I.O.M. T(ANARO), respectively. Here the form *Tanaros* differs from *Taranus*, below, only in the suffixed vowel and the interchange of the *-n-* and *-r-*. Perhaps *taran-* was formed from *tanar-* by metathesis as Le Roux (1958: 33) has suggested. The o-stem *tanaro-* is clearly related to the Latin verb form *tonare* “thunders”. The deity name is also suggestive of the Ligurian river name *Tanaros* (de Vries 1961: 31). The stem *tanaro-* would be the earlier form, while *taranu-* is probably a later development. *Tanaro-* is also cognate with Old High German *donar* “thunder”.

As a deity name, *Tanaros* is thus cognate with the Icelandic god *Thórr*. Pokorny (IEW: 1021) derives these names from **stono-*, the o-stem o-grade form of IE **stenH-* “to groan, to thunder; a groan”, relating them to Sanskrit *stánati* “thunders, drones”. Although Pokorny (IEW: 1088-9) derives the variant form *toran-* from IE **tor-* “loud”, the fact that the Celtic stem *toran-* is the sole stem in his list meaning “thunder” suggests that one should take seriously the suggestion that *toran-* derives from *tonar-* by metathesis (DPC: 384). Such a shift was probably facilitated by the fact that IE **tor-* was close in significance to IE **ston-*.

Taranus, Taranucos: “The Thunderer”.

From Scardona comes an inscription to IOVI TARANVCO (CIL III: 2804). An inscription from Württemberg refers to the DEO TARANVCNO on a geometrically and florally decorated stele with no other motifs (Esp: 5905; CIL XIII: 6478). Similar inscriptions come from Rheinpfalz (CIL XIII: 6094). Apparently referencing this same deity (but as a u-stem dative without the suffix *-co-*, *-aco-*) is the Gaulish inscription in Greek lettering from near Orgon, Bouches-du-Rhône. Rhys (1906: 17) rendered this inscription VEBRVMAROS DEDE TARANOV BRATV DECANTEM (RIG-I: 52-55). This inscription may be translated “Vebrumaros gave Taranus the title with gratitude” (Wagner 1960: 235-41).

Taranucos and Taranus are obviously just variants of the deity-name *Taranis* mentioned in Lūcānus’s *Pharsalus* (I: 444-6). Lūcānus refers to the three main gods of Gallia Lugdunensis as Teutates, Esus, and Taranis. In Taranucos, the stem *taranu-* is combined with the suffix *-co-*, while Lūcānus gives us an i-stem name. In these names (see above *Tanaros*) the Gaulish stem *taran-* “thunder” (Dottin 1920: 290) is apparent, giving Irish *torann* (o,m) and Welsh *taran*.

At any rate, as with *Tanaros* above, Taranucos, Taranus, and Taranis were clearly identified with Iuppiter in the *interpretatio Romana*. Caesar (BG: 6, 17) informs us that Gaulish Iuppiter was the god who “holds the empire of heaven” (*Iovem imperium caelestium tenere*). As the ruler of heaven, Taranus-Tanaros would have controlled thunder and lightning as in Rome. The *Commenta Lūcāni Bernensia* gives us somewhat conflicting reports on the nature of Taranis, in one case identifying him with Dispater and in the other identifying him with Iuppiter.

Taranis Ditis pater hoc modo apud eos placatur: in alveo ligneo aliquod homines cremantur.

Taranis Dispater is appeased by them in the following fashion: in a wicker of wood, a certain number of men are burned.

Praesidem bellorum et caelestium deorum maximum Taranin Iovem, adsuetum olim humanis placari capitibus, nunc vero gaudere pecorum.

For Iuppiter Taranis, the master of wars and the greatest of the gods of the sky, accustomed formerly to being appeased by human heads, today is honored by (the heads of) beasts. (Duval 1958: 41-58; Zwicker 1934: 50).

Portrayals of Iuppiter from Roman Gaul are often associated with a wheel (see LeRoux 1959: 307-321), apparently representing thunder. From Alzey (Germania Superior) comes a statue (74 cm high) of a now headless Iuppiter seated in a throne with the bas-relief of a wheel to his left. To his right is an eagle with a ring in his beak (Esp: 7749). From Montpellier (Gallia Narbonensis) comes a stone bas-relief of a wheel with the inscription [IO]VI ET AVGVSTO (Esp: 524). A similar bas-relief of a wheel with the inscription [FVLGVR] CONDITVM was found in Nîmes (Esp: 832). From Corbridge comes a pottery mould showing the god with a wheel to his right. He holds a rectangular shield in his right hand, wears a helmet, and leans against a crooked club held in his left hand (Ross 1967: pl. 65a). Vienne has produced a bas-relief in stone of a ithyphallic god with his right hand raised. There is a wheel above the god’s hand. A bull stands to the left of the wheel (Esp: 829).

Uxelli(sa)mos: “the Greatest”.

From Bukovza near Tüffer (Stiermark) comes an inscription to I(OVI) O(PTIMO) M(AXIMO) VXELLIM(O) (CIL III: 5145). It would be difficult to make a case that this Latinized o-stem epithet of Iuppiter, *Uxellimus*, could be anything but a translation of the standard Latin epithet, *Optimus Maximus*. *Uxellimus* is undoubtedly the Latinized superlative of Gaulish *uxello-* “high, great, noble” (Dottin 1920: 295), derived from IE **oupselo-* (IEW: 1107) and giving Welsh *uchel* and Irish *úasal* “high, noble”. *Uxellimus*, showing Latin influence in the suffix *-imo-*, undoubtedly derives from an earlier Gaulish **Uxellisamos*, with the superlative suffix *-isamo-*, derived from IE *-ismo-* (Thurneysen 1946: 236). The Gaulish stem *uxello-* is perhaps related to the Gaulish stem *uxedio-* “*summus*” (Lejeune 1985b: 81-7). As Holder (AcS III: 61) points out, the epithet *Uxellimus* may use a Celtic stem simply to express the same import as the purely Latin inscription from Utrecht to I(OVI) O(PTIMO) M(AXIMO) SUMMO EXSVPERANTISSIMO (CIR: 55). It should also be noted that a hillfort of the Cadurci, which was taken by Caesar in 51 BC, was known as Uxellodunum. If the hillfort were named for the deity, it would give evidence for the use of this byname during the pre-Roman period. But the town name may only mean “the High Fort”.

Latinized Place-name and Tribal Epithets of Iuppiter

Iuppiter Accio Patrius: “Paternal Iuppiter (of) Accion (Lake Geneva)”.

An inscription from Pest invokes IOVI ACCIONI [PA]TRIO (CIL III: 3428). Here *Accioni* is apparently the Latinized dative of an n-stem. The inscription thus refers to *Iuppiter Accio Patrius*. Whatmough (DAG: ‘243) notes that this byname probably refers to Lake Geneva, which the *Avienus Ora Maritima* (682-3) describes as *Vastam in paludem, quam vetus mos Graeciae vocitavit Accion* (AcS I: 15).

Iuppiter Arubianus: “Iuppiter (of) Arubium”.

A series of inscriptions come from a site near Galatz in Moesia Inferior dedicated to I.O.M. ARVB(IANO) (CIL III: 5443, 5575, 5580; also see 5532) or IOM CONSER(VATORI) ARVBIANO (CIL III: 5185). This Latinized o-stem byname *Arubianus* clearly refers to *Arubium*, the earlier name of Matschin near Galatz.

Iuppiter Baginatis: “Iuppiter (of) the Baginenses”.

The inscription to IOVI BAGINATI (CIL XII: 2383) from Morestal (Isère) probably refers to the *Pagus Baginensis* (AcS I: 332) or perhaps to a place name from which the tribe and the deity took their name. The *Pagus Baginensis* occupied the region around Canton du Buis (Drôme). This local Iuppiter is probably the same deity referred to in an inscription to *Baginus* and *Bagina* (AcS I: 332) from Mont Vanige.

Iuppiter Candamius: “Iuppiter of the Candamo valley”.

In the inscription to IOVI CANDAMIO (CIL II: 2695) from Grado near Pravia (Asturias), Iuppiter takes his Latinized io-stem byname from that of the topical deity of the nearby Candamo valley.

Iuppiter Candiedo: “Iuppiter (of) the Candiedon Mountains”.

As in the previous name, the inscription to IOM CANDIEDONI (CIL II: 2599) from Galicia refers to the n-stem name of a local mountain range (AcS I: 733).

Iuppiter Poeninus: “Iuppiter (of) (Mount) Poeninus” (Mont-Joux).

From the great St. Bernhard pass in the Alps comes an inscription to I(OVI) O(PTIMO) M(AXIMO) POENINO (CIL III: 6865). There are similar examples from the surrounding area (CIL III: 6866-88). The original name for Mont-Joux (Mons Iovis) was *Summus Poeninus*, so a place-name attribution for this Latinized o-stem deity name need not be in doubt. The *Summus Poeninus* or the *Vallis Poenina* also gave the goddess name *Poenina Dea* (DAG: ‘17).

Eques et Gigās Anguipes

From Belgica and Germania Superior come a group of statues showing a horseman riding down a giant whose legs extend into snake tails. This group was usually placed at the summit of tall columns dedicated to Iuppiter, which concentrate in the region between the Rhine and the Mosel. There are around 150 of the monuments known today, dating from 170 to 240 AD (de Vries 1961: 31). They are significantly a rather late phenomena. The iconography is somewhat varied. From Luxeuil, there are drawings of a statue group, now lost, which show a horseman, holding a chariot wheel in his right hand, riding down a fallen Gigās Anguipes. To his right is a slightly draped female (Esp: 5357). From Saverne, the surviving fragmentary statue group shows a rider holding a thunder bolt rather than a wheel. In other portrayals, the rider uses a spear rather than a thunder bolt or a wheel. Similar groups, but with the horseman showing no particular attributes, come from Merten (Esp: 4425), Meaux (Esp: 3207), Hommert (Esp: 4557), Épinal (Esp: 4768), and Senon (Esp: 4639). The statue from Vaison, showing a beardless god holding a wheel in his right hand while a snake emerges from a tree-trunk to his left, may represent a different portrayal of this same deity (Esp: 303). The group from Mainz (Esp: 7366), showing a boar treading down a Gigās Anguipes, however, probably represents a different theme entirely.

This motif group, although it has been proclaimed as Celtic by de Vries and others (perhaps because of the rider with the wheel), is mostly classical in its inspiration. According to Nonnos (*Dionysiakōn*: I, ll. 158-60, 415), the giant (*gígas*) Typhōeus in battle against Zeus had feet ending in snakes (*echidnaiō podōs*). Thus the statues of Iuppiter riding down a fallen Gigās Anguipes, most of which are late, undoubtedly represent this motif of Zeus battling Typhōeus, as described by Nonnos.

Gaulish Gods of the Lower Region

Sucellos and Nantosvelta

Sucellos: “the Good Striker”.

Nantosvelta: “Who Makes the Valley Bloom” or “?Sun-Warmed Valley?”.

Over two hundred portrayals survive which depict a Gaulish god holding a long-poled hammer or an axe in his left hand with a dog at his feet or to his left. He usually stands beside a goddess and holds a cornucopia in his right hand, such as in a portrayal from Oberseeboch

(Esp: 5564) or Mavilly (Esp: 2066). At Nîmes the god is portrayed both with and without the goddess (Esp: 435-7). In all the portrayals from Nîmes the god holds an *olla* in his right hand, and his dog is seated under the *olla*. As usual, the god holds a long-poled hammer in his left hand. On one of the portrayals (Esp: 435) a snake is entwined about the hammer handle.

Deviations from the basic pattern established above also occur. At Trouhams, the relief portrayal of the god contains a socket at the crotch, apparently for the insertion of a phallus. He holds a hammer in his right hand and a club in his left (Esp: 3588). At Garnat a barrel stands by the right foot of the god, who holds both a hammer and an *olla*. An axe stands horizontally between the god and a companion goddess. Here, the goddess holds an *olla* and a purse. Placed beneath her is a bird, while two stylized rosette wheels are placed below the whole group (Esp: 882; Esp. 884 is similar).

The names of this Gaulish god and goddess pair are preserved over a relief from Saarbürg to the DEO SVCELLO NANTOSVELT(A)E (Esp: 4566; CIL XIII: 4542; DAG: '213). Here the bearded god is dressed in a tunic and holds an *olla* in his right hand and a hammer or axe in his left hand. The goddess stands to his right and holds a house-shaped object at the end of a long pole, a pose found in many of her portrayals, particularly in the region of the Mediomatrici. Her right hand rests upon a sacrificial altar. Below the group is a raven.

As a whole, the portrayals come mainly from the Rhone Valley, up into Belgica and Germania Superior, as shown by Espérandieu's map of the distribution (Esp: 299). Approximately two-thirds of the 230 monuments listed by Linckenheld (1929: 51, tables 2-3) come from Gallia Narbonensis and Gallia Lugdunensis, where they occur more or less equally in these two provinces of Gaul. The group is poorly represented in Germania Inferior and Aquitania, from each of which Linckenheld lists only six items. Approximately one third of the monuments are domestic portrayals of the deities (for a listing of approximately 200 monuments see Keune in *Pauly-Wissowa: Sucellos*).

There are single inscriptions without portrayals dedicated to Sucellos (see AcS II: 1650), although a greater number of the surviving inscriptions are dedicated to his companion Nantosvelta. For the most part, the inscriptions occur in the same region as the portrayals. From Vicne, Isère, comes an inscription to the DEO SVCELLO (CIL XIII: 1836); while one from Yverdun, Switzerland, refers to SVCELLO IPADCO (?IRADCO?) (CIL XIII: 5057). An inscription from Mainz to IOM SVCAELO ET GEN(IO) (CIL XIII: 6730) probably refers to Iuppiter and Sucellos rather than Iuppiter Sucellos. At Worms the god is evoked alongside of Silvanus: DEO SV[CEL]O [ET S]ILVANO (CIL XIII: 6224). One inscription is known from Britain. Thus a ring from York contains a dedication to the S. V. DEO SVCELO (EE: III, 181). There are also a number of personal names taken from that of the deity: Sucellus, Sucella, Sucele (AcS II: 1650).

The small house on the pole, which the goddess holds in the portrayals, is particularly reminiscent of a funerary *tombe-maison*; these normally occur in the form of a house stylized in exactly the same fashion. These monuments are prevalent in the region of the Mediomatrici and date to the same period of the Roman occupation as do the portrayals of the goddess Nantosvelta (Linckenheld 1929: 85). Also common are funerary *stella* in the form of a similar square house or hut (1929: 67-8). *Terra-cotta* figurines of Venus or of a single Mater or triple Matres are often found in these tombs. Similar figurines were displayed at the domestic hearth.

Linckenheld (1929: 85) also points out that the *olla* held by Sucellos or Nantosvelta was used as a container for the funerary offering for the dead; thus like the model houses, the *olla* is an indication of the funerary nature of the deities. The portrayals of Nantosvelta with a cornucopia are reminiscent of the portrayals of the Matres; thus the *terra cotta* grave figures may represent this goddess as well. The raven was also an attribute of Nantosvelta, further suggestive of her funerary nature. The dog associated with Sucellos is reminiscent of Cerberus, particularly on reliefs from Varhely, Rumania, and Unterseebach on the Lower Rhine where Sucellos's dog is portrayed with three heads (Linckenheld 1929: 84). Votive mallets are also

prevalent from tombs (1929: 53), suggestive of a funerary cult of Sucellos. Particularly interesting is a *terra cotta* Venus from a tomb at Le Saussaye. About her neck was placed a collar of small lead axes (1929: 72).

When Reinach published the altar from Saarbürg with the inscription to Sucellos and Nantosvelta, he also published (1896: 49-50) etymologies for these deity names proposed by Jubainville. Jubainville related *su-* to Gaulish *su-* “good” after Glück (1857: 48) and Stokes (1894: 304). As later with Dottin (1920: 289), Stokes related Gaulish *su-* to Irish *so-*, *su-* and Old Welsh *ho-*, *hu-* “good” derived from IE **h₁su-* “good, well” (DPC: 358; IEW: 1037; also see Schmidt 1957: 272 ff., and Evans 1967: 257-8). Jubainville derived *cello-* from **kel-dō-* “striker” as in Latin *percellō* “beat down, strike”. The attested forms of the PIE root are **kelh₂-*, **kolh₂-*, **klh₂-*, **kelā-*, *klā-* “strike, cut” (DPC: 199; LIV: 350; IEW: 545-6).

As Pokorny (IEW: 546) has pointed out, however, Latin *percellō* probably derives from **kel-nō-*, not **kel-dō-*. The d-extended forms of **kel-* and **klā-* are **kelad-* and **klād-*. It is the form **klād-* which gives Irish *claidid* “dig, excavate” and *claideb* “sword”. Thus Jubainville’s etymology is probably not acceptable. Zimmer (AcS II: 1653), however, suggested a Celtic stem **celdo* “hammer” after Germanic **hilta* “sword grip”. Thus, Drexel (1923: 22) and Schmidt (1957: 170) would see Sucellos as “*Schlägelgott*”. It is possible that the *-ll-* in Sucellos arises from **kel-no-*, as in Latin *percello*, and that Jubainville was on the right track in relating the Gaulish and Latin forms.

As Evans (1967: 408) has indicated, in Irish, “*allo-* and *ollo-* (q.q.v.), *-ll-* may have developed through assimilation from earlier *-ln-*”; thus (Latinized) *ollus* < **olno-* (1967: 237). Jackson (1953: 471) notes that British *-ll-* derives from *-ln-*, *-nl-*, *-ld-*, *-sl-*, *-ls-*, while in Irish *-ln-* similarly gave *-ll-* as in *at-baill* “dies” < **baln-* (Thurneysen 1946: 131). Thus it seems probable that Sucellos means “Good Striker” after all, although the exact process by which the *-ll-* was formed is uncertain.

Jubainville (in Reinach 1896: 51) also gave an etymology for Nantosvelta, relating *nanto-* to Irish *nét* “warrior”, a derivative of *néit* “battle” (IE **nant-* “venture, risk, dare”; IEW: 755). He saw *svelta* as “*le participe passé de la racine verbale *suel- ‘briller’*”, wrongly relating this form to Irish *follus* “clear, open” and *solus* “brilliant” (Reinach 1896: 51-2). Thus in his unacceptable attempt to relate Sucellos and Nantosvelta to Balor and Ethne (Balor’s daughter according to *Cath Maige Tuired*), he saw Nantosvelta as “Brilliant Warrior”, a significance which in no way relates to Ethne. Also this etymology does not take into account the probable relationship between Nantosvelta and Proserpina.

The *Endlicher Glossary* (613.8) (see DAG: 178) lists *nanto-* as “*valle*”. This is the significance for *nanto-* rendered by Dottin (1920: 274), Weisgerber (1930: 20), Schmidt (1957: 247), and Evans (1967: 236). The word may be related readily to Cornish *nans* “stream, valley” and Welsh *nant* “stream, brook” (DPC: 283), derived from the IE suffixed zero-grade form **nṃ-tu-*, a derivative of the IE full grade **nem-* “bow, bend, curve” (IEW: 764). The past participle form **nṃ-to-* “bent” probably lies behind Gaulish *nanto-*. Attention also must be paid to **nemos* “grove”, the nominal form, giving Latin *nemus* “grove” and Gaulish *nemeton* “sacred grove”.

Thurneysen (AcS II: 686) related *svel-* to Irish *sel-* and Welsh *chwel* “turn, course, period”. He suggested that these Insular Celtic forms derive from **suelo-*, a supposed variant of **uel-* “turn, twist” (IEW: 1140; DPC: 362-3). This suggestion was taken up by Dottin (1920: 290) and Schmidt (1957: 274). Indeed, were Nantosvelta derived from a place name, this etymology “twisting stream” or “curving valley” might be acceptable. As Hamp (1976: 14) has noted “the instances of personal names in *nantu-* are all problematic, and very likely are all derived from local names”. However, this place-name derivation for Nantosvelta does not seem likely. Though she is named only once, at Saarbürg as Nantosvelta, her portrayals are among the most widespread of Gaulish goddesses. She appears in over 100 representations. Were she to represent a class of local place-name goddesses, as with the Matres group, one

would expect a whole series of place-name inscriptions to her. It remains possible, however, that the sole surviving inscription is a localized epithet.

It is also possible that Jubainville was on the right track in relating *svelta* to **suel-* “to burn, char” (IEW: 1045), but “brilliant” is probably not the significance of the root here. Pokorny suggests that **suel-* “burn, char” (IEW: 1045; LIV: 609) is the same root as *sāuol-*, *suuel-*, *suel-*, *sūl-* “sun” (IEW: 881). Apophonic variations of this second root give Welsh *haul* and Breton *heol* “sun” (< **sāuel-*) as well as Greek *hēlios*. The verbal form **suel-*, above, gives Sanskrit *sváratī* “sun-warmth, sun light” (with the suffix *-atī-*) and Greek *heílē* “the sun’s heat, warmth”. The root **sūl-*, the zero-grade of the verbal form **suel-* “burn, char”, undoubtedly lies behind the name of the Celtic goddess Sulevia or Sulis (as in Sulis Minerva at Bath) “the warmth of the sun”. It also lies behind the Latin word of similar significance, *sol*, meaning both “sun” and the “light, warmth, and heat of the sun”. Thus, Sulis Minerva, to whom supplicants prayed for aid in childbirth, may be cognate in function with the Greek goddess named Eileithyia (the earlier form of which was Elēuthia). Thus Nantosvelta may bear a relationship to Greek Eileithyia “the goddess who aids women in child-birth”, usually identified with Hēra or Ártemis. The goddess who aided women in childbirth may date back to PIE culture. However, Nantosvelta is probably a different goddess from Sulevia, although her name may contain the same root. In a sense Hamp (1976:14) is possibly correct in his place-name attribution. The name Nantosvelta may refer to the a portion of the mythological realm over which Nantosvelta presides, the “Sun-Warmed Valley” of the Elysian Fields of Greek tradition at the western ends of the earth bordering on Ōkeanós “Ocean”.

Thus Nantosvelta possibly means “Sun-Warmed Valley” (< **nm-to-* “valley” + a form of **suel-* “sun light”, IEW: 1045; with the adjectival suffix *-to-*, Meillet 1922: 268-9). Meid would prefer to see here a tatpuruṣa compound rather than an inverted bahuvrīhi compound (MacDonell 1916: 276-7; Evans 1967: 53). Thus Meid has suggested to me for Nantosvelta the significance “Who Makes the Valley Bloom”. He would derive the name from a *-to-* suffix of **suel-* “swell, make flourish” (IEW: 1045). In this case the name would be suggestive of Irish Bláthnat, probably meaning “Little Flower” (assuming the Irish diminutive suffix *-nat*). The significance of the goddess name Nantosvelta thus probably is “She who Dwells in the ‘Sun-Warmed’ Valley” or “She who Makes the Valley Bloom”. The deity-name Nantosvelta would refer to the Gaulish goddess equivalent to Persēphonē.

Dispater and Aericura

Ericura (Aericura): “?”.

DeVries (1961: 81), following Linckenheld (1929: 48-50), has noted that Nantosvelta and Sucellos are in complementary distribution with Ericura and Dispater. The twenty or so portrayals of Ericura, either alone or standing beside Dispater, concentrate in the Agri Decumates, mainly in South Germany, with approximately three-quarters from Baden-Württemberg. Seven monuments come from the cemetery at Cannstatt; three of these are inscribed. Three monuments to the goddess come from Rottenburg; two of these are inscribed (1929: 48, table I).

Ericura is usually portrayed (Esp. GG: 560, 562, 564, 565) simply as a seated goddess holding a basket of fruit. At Karlsruhe (Esp. GG: 348) she is portrayed in her usual fashion as above, but seated beside a seated god unrolling a scroll. The inscription is to AERICVR(AE) ET DITI PAT(RI). An inscription to DITI PATRI ET PROSERPINAЕ (CIL XIII: 11923) on

monument from Brenztal would appear to give us the Roman equivalent to this goddess Ericura (Aericura). Proserpina (Greek Persephónē) was the daughter of Ceres and Iuppiter carried off by Pluto to be queen of the underworld. Linckenheld (1929: 73) had no difficulty recognizing Dispater and Aericura as simply variants of Sucellos and Nantosvelta.

One of the more interesting inscriptions, however, comes from Numidia. From Announa (Thibilis) comes an inscription on a *taurobolium* altar to TERRAE MATRI AERECVRAE MATRI DEVM MAGNAE IDEAE (Duthoy 1969: 34, no. 70). Here Aecura is invoked as “Earth Mother” alongside of Cybele, who is described as the “Great Mother of the Gods of Mount Ida” (Vermaseren 1977: 129). If Aecura is a Celtic goddess, the inscription shows how far mercenaries serving with the Roman army could spread, carrying with them their native beliefs.

From Corbridge (Northumberland) comes an inscription to the DEO ARECVRIO (RIB: 1123), possibly an erroneous reading of a cursive *MERCVRIO* through interpreting the initial *M* as *AR*, as suggested by Turner (RIB: 1123). If the Latinized o-stem *Arecurius* is correct, it may refer to Dis Pater the companion of Aecuria. I tend to favor Turner’s theory.

Whatmough (DAG: ‘243) lists the following variants for *Aericura* from the Agri Decumates: *Aericura*, *Aecura*, *Ericura*, *Eraecura*, *Erecura*, *Herecura*, *Herecura*, *Hericura*, *Aecurna*, *Aecorna*, *Aequorna*. These variants suggest two forms *Ericura* (*Aericura*) and *Aequorna* as lying behind these groups.

The first element of *Ericura* (*Aericura*) could be *eri-*, which Dottin (1920: 256) sees as an intensive particle parallel to Latin *per-*. This element is supposedly to be found in the Gaulish personal name Eridubnos (Schmidt 1957: 210). This particle is apparently found in Irish *ir-* and *er-* < **peri-* “to go beyond” (IEW: 810). It is also possible that *are-* (v. *ari-*, *ar-*) “before” (Dottin 1920: 228) is indicated here giving Irish *air* “before, for” (< **prH(i)*; DPC: 122), also functioning as a verbal prefix (< **peri-* “before, by” according to IEW: 812).

One is tempted to relate Aericura to Irish *airchor* “act of putting forward, extending”, the verbal noun of *ar-cuirethar* “extend, increase, prolong”. Pedersen (1909: II, 499) analyses the basic elements here as *air-cuir-*. Pokorny (IEW: 933-4) derives *cuirithir*, the archaic form of *cuirid* “put, wage, unite; sow, plant; course, emit” from the o-grade of the IE root **(s)ker-* “to spring”. Irish *cuirid*, however, undoubtedly represents a coalescing of **(s)ker-* “to spring” with **ker-* “to grow, create, nourish” (IEW: 577) (**kerh₃-*; LIV: 529). This second root significantly gives Latin *Cerēs* “the goddess of the fruitfulness of earth and the grain”. In these Irish forms the basic derivative stem would be **koro-*, the o-stem o-grade form of **ker-* as in Greek *kórē* “girl” and *kóros* “adolescent” (see Hofmann 1950: 154).

If Meillet (1922: 102) were correct in his surmise that IE *ō* gives Celtic *ū* in unaccented syllables (“en syllabe inaccentuée”), Aericura could be seen as “the Grower, the Increaser”, “the Great Grower, the Great Nourisher”, or even “the Great Kórē”. Evans (1967: 395), however, notes that *ō* gives *ā* except in final syllables in Gaulish, where it gives *ū* instead. Meid could suggest no instances which would contradict Evans, confirming the error in Meillet’s statement. Thurneysen (1946: 120) also indicates that IE *ō* gives *ū* only in final syllables in Irish; elsewhere it gives *á* (*ā*). The hypothesis that the form **eri-kōro-* or **ari-kōro-* lies behind Aericura would appear to be untenable. As another possibility, the IE stem **kū-ro-* “strong” (IEW: 592) would give her name the significance “the Very Strong”, but the zero-grade of **k_ueru-* “grind, mill, meal, flour” (IEW: 642) is a more likely stem. In this instance the name would mean “Before the Bread”. Otherwise, the name is obscure to me.

Aequorna: “?” .

Only the last of the above forms is likely to lie behind Aequorna (v., Aecurna, Aecorna) (Whatmough, DAG: ‘243) from the Agri Decumates. Here the main stem lying behind the name is possibly the o-grade of **k_ueru-* “grind, mill; meal, flour” (IEW: 642). This stem also

has an n-derivative, as in Sanskrit *cūrṇas* “meal, flour” and Greek *porýnan* “wheat bread” derived from **kūrōnā*. Assuming some corruption in the diphthong, the initial stem (by haplology) could be the *ō*-grade of *ēik-* (**h₃eik-*) “to have influence or power over” (IEW: 298-9). Thus **ōik-kūrōna* could lie behind *Aequorna* (see Evans 1967: 396 on *-ai-*, *-ae-*, and *ē* for IE *-ai-*), whose name would signify “Who Controls the Bread or Meal”. Otherwise, this name is obscure to me. (I am doubtful of all of the above etymology in 2019).

Bynames of Irish and Welsh Gods of the Lower Realm

The Goddess Companion

Bláthnat: “Little Flower”.

Blodeued: “Flower Faced”.

In her name, *Bláthnat* (a,f) undoubtedly contains the same root as that of her Welsh counterpart *Blodeued* (Blodewedd). The Irish name is not derived from *bláthnait*, given as “weasel” in the *O’Curry Commentary on Amra Cholum Chille* (RIAD). Welsh *Blodeued* contains the same root as that found in *blodau* “flower, blossom, bloom”, *blodeuad* “flowering, blossoming”, and *blodeuo* “to flower, blossom, bloom”, apparently combined with *gwedd* “appearance, form, face”, as in the similar compound *blodeuwydd* (*blodau* + *gwýdd*) “flowering shrubs or trees”. Considering that the *Mabinogi* says that *Blodeued* was created from flowers, the etymology of her name seems certain.

Thus *Bláthnat* (a,f) is relatable to Irish *bláth* (u and o, m) “flower, blossom”. Both the Irish and Welsh names thus derive from a Celtic stem *blāto-* “flower, blossom” (Dottin 1920: 235), derived in turn from **blō-t-*, the t-extended form of the lengthened o-grade of the IE root **bhleh₃₋*, **bhlē-* (DPC: 67-8) The form **blōt-* has the significance “blossom, to bloom” (IEW: 122). As Meid has confirmed to me, the suffix *-nat* in the name *Bláthnat* is most likely the Irish feminine diminutive suffix *-nat* (Thurneysen 1946: 173-4), as in the personal name *Findnat* from *find* “fair”. Thus *Bláthnat* could be translated simply as *Floretta* or “Little Flower”.

The final *-t* in *Bláthnat* represents the voiced consonant (as demonstrated by the variant *Bláthnad*; RIAD), apparently developed from *-nt* (see Thurneysen 1946: 117, 174). Thus *Bláthnat* could also have arisen from an earlier **Blōtonanta*, with the stem *nanto-* “valley” the same as that found in *Nantosvelta*. As above, *nanto-* relates to Cornish *nans* “stream, valley” and Welsh *nant* “stream, brook” derived from **n̥m-tu-*, a suffixed derivative of the zero-grade of **nem-* “bow, bend, curve” (IEW: 764). Here then *Bláthnat* “Little Flower” could represent an earlier **Blōtonanta* “Blooming Valley” or “Valley of Flowers”. As with *Nantosvelta*, the name could be, in its ultimate sense, a sort of mythological place name, in that the goddess is named after a portion of the realm she presides over “the Blooming Valley of the Elysian Fields”. In the face of the more obvious diminutive suffix, however, this last suggestion seems too contrived for me to suggest it with much conviction.

Fand: “the Tearful”.

According to the LU (3376) and the *Dindsenchas* (§ 55), *Fand ingen Aeda Abrat*, the wife of *Manannán* in *Serglige Con Culainn*, is the daughter of *Flidais*. *Fand*’s name undoubtedly comes from Irish *fand* (a,f) “a tear”, in turn from IE **h₁uai-no-* “distress” (IEW: 1111). Since *Aed Abrat* is a byname of *Eochaid Ollathir*, it is clear that *Fand*, like *Medb* and her sisters, is a daughter of the *Dagda*. *Fand*’s mother *Flidais*, for whom does were like cows according to the *Coir Anmann*, is the wife of *Fergus* throughout most of the Ulster cycle, although the *Dagda* is *Fand*’s father. So too, *Persephónē*’s mother *Dēmētēr* is the wife of *Poseidōn*, although *Zeús* is *Persephónē*’s father. *Flidais* is undoubtedly a byname for *Boand*, a goddess readily equatable

with Dēmētēr. Flidais's name probably derives from **ul̥dā* “feast” (IEW: 1137) (**ulidā*; DPC: 426), as in Irish *fled* “feast, festival” and Welsh *gwledd* (also note the Gaulish personal name *Vlidorix*; IEW: 1137).

The God of the Lower Region

Cú Rói: “Hound of the (Elysian) Field”.

The name *Cú Rói* derives from an earlier *Cú Ráui* (<**k̥uō(n) rō̥uia*), the form in *Forfess Fer Fálgae*; Thurneysen 1912: 54-6), with Irish *róe*, *rói* signifying “even field”. The IE root here would appear to be **re̥uā-* **Hre̥uō-* “open, wide” (DPC: 325; IEW: 874). The first part of *Cú Rói*'s name is simply Irish *cú* (gen. *con*) derived from **ku̯uō*, the nominative singular of **k̥uon-*, *kun-* “hound, dog” (IEW: 632-3; NIL:436; DPC: 181). Thus *Cú Rói* is the “Hound of the Field”. Considering the underworld connections of this deity, the Field here is probably that known in the Greek world as the Elysian Field, the most noble of the realms of the dead.

Manannán: “Otherworld Being of the Isle of Man”.

It seems most likely the *Manannán mac Lir* (*ler* (o,m) “sea, ocean”) is simply a borrowing from Welsh *Manawydan uab Llŷr* (*llŷr*: “sea”) (PC **liro-*; DPC: 241) (also see Bromwich 1961: 441-3, Gruffydd 1953: 81-2). *Manannán* is composed of the n-stem *Manan-*, giving nominative singular *Mana* (n,f) “the Isle of Man”, and, perhaps as Meid has suggested to me, the diminutive suffix *-án* (Thurneysen 1946: 173). However, it is difficult to see a significance “Little Man from the Isle of Man” in a mythological figure of such stature as *Manannán*.

Another possibility is that *Manan* may be combined with *nán*, glossed in *O'Mulconry's Glossary* as *lucharban*, Latin *nānus* “dwarf” (see *Archiv für celtische Lexikographie*: I, 828. 795; Stokes 1898: 232-324). *Luchorp* is listed in *O'Mulconry's Glossary* as *oirb locha* “water sprite”. Similarly, *Tochmarch Luaine* says that another name from *Manannán* was *Oirbsen* (*oirb* = *luchorp*). Thus the significance of *Manannán* is more likely to be “Otherworld Being from the Isle of Man”.

Caesar (BG: 5, 13) gives the name of this island as *Mona*. The island's name may derive from the stem **moniō-* “mountain” (DPC: 277; IEW: 726), describing the central mountainous range on the island, or from **mā-no-*, *mā-ni-* “wet, damp, liquid”, giving Irish *móin* “swamp” and Welsh *mawn* “peat” (DPC: 255). Considering that *nán* is a borrowing from Latin *nānus*, it would then be unlikely that *Man* received its name from that of the god. It seems most likely that the name of the god arose in Early Welsh or Late British in reference to the ruler of the otherworld dwelling in the Elysian Fields in the West, bordering on Ocean, where the sun sets. The British and Welsh apparently identified this western island with the Isle of Man. The Welsh name for the god was then borrowed into Irish. Irish *Manannán* clearly refers to an otherworld deity.

Welsh Bran and *Bronwen

Bran: “Crow”.

The Welsh *Manawydan uab Llŷr* has a brother *Bendeigeiduran uab Llŷr* “Bran the Blessed son of the Sea” (*bran* “carrion crow”, *bendigeid* “blessed”), who is the ruler of Britain in the opening of *Branwen uerch Lyr*. This Welsh *Bran* also apparently lent his name to Irish *Bran* (*bran*, o,m, “raven”), who journeys to *Manannán*'s realm in *Imrain Brain*. The Welsh *Bran* was probably originally a counterpart to Irish *Conchobar*.

Interestingly, most of the episodes and motifs of *Branwen uerch Lyr* and *Manawydan uab Llŷr* seem to have been borrowed from Irish tales, though none of the plots of the tales as a

whole has been borrowed. We deal here with the *bricolage* of the story-teller who recomposed the whole. But this need not have prevented the original names of the Welsh deities Manawydan and Bran, utilized in these tales, from being borrowed in turn by the Irish.

**Bronwen*: “Fair-Breasted”.

The name of Welsh Bran’s sister Branwen (*bran + gwen*) “White Crow” is undoubtedly a corruption of **Bronwen* “White-Breasted, Fair-Breasted”. The corruption of **Bronwen* to Branwen apparently occurred to create a parallel with the name of her brother Bran (see Bromwich, 1961: 287, who lists as evidence the place name *Ynys Bronwen* the site of the cromlech *Bedd Bronwen*). *Branwen uerch Lyr* states of Branwen, *a honno oed tryded prif rieni yn yr ynys hon; teccaf morwyn yn y byt oed*, “and she was one of the Three Matriarchs in this island; the fairest maiden in the world was she” (Williams 1930: 30-1; Jones and Jones 1948: 26). The Irish parallel forms are Bé Find “Fair Woman, White Woman” and Boind “White Cow”, with whom **Bronwen* is undoubtedly equivalent. One of the other *teir prif rieni* was originally Rhiannon (cognate with Irish Macha), who is wed to Manawydan in *Manawydan uab Llŷr*. (Note the *Triodd Ynys Prydein* lists the *teir pryf rieni Arthur* as three different Gvenhvyuars; Bromwich 1961: 154).

Gaulish Lugus
Bynames of Lugus

Lugus (Lucus): “the Binder” or “?the Brilliant?”.

There are several inscriptions to the god Lugus from throughout the Celtic regions. Perhaps the most famous one comes from Hispania Tarraconensis and was commissioned by L(ucius) L(icius) for the *Urcicus Collegium sutorum*. The dedication reads LVGOVIBVS SACRVM L(VCIVS) L(ICINIVS) VRCICO COLLEGIO SVTORVM D(ONVM) D(AT) (Martinez 1962: 91; CIL II: 2818). *Lugovibus* apparent reflects a “Gallo-Latin dative” plural of a u-stem (Thurneysen 1946: 199). Similarly, from Avenches near Elvetiern (Agri Decumates) comes the simple inscription LVGOVES (CIL XIII: 5078), the “Gallo-Latin” nominative plural of a u-stem (Thurneysen 1946: 198). These two distinct inscriptions from Celtiberia and Gaul clearly indicate a nominative singular *Lugus*, the form suggested by Irish *Lug* and Welsh *Lleu*. Thus, one may reconstruct a Common Celtic form **Lugus* as the prototype behind Gaulish and Celtiberian *Lugus* and Irish *Lug*.

As Whatmough (DAG: ‘223) has noted, the supposed inscription from Bonn to [DO]MESTICIS [LVGO]VIBVS (CIL XIII: 8026) should probably be reinterpreted as [DO]MESTICIS [MAT]RIBVS, and for this reason it is dismissed from consideration here. From the late Roman period in Gaul, there is a reference to the *Genius Lugduni* (Lebel 1962: 970-1). But contra Lebel, this genius probably had little to do with the original Gaulish god, except for taking his name from a city named after the deity.

The most important dedication to the deity Lugus occurs in a Celtiberian inscription from Peñalba de Villaster. In this inscription the deity is referenced as LVGVEI, representing the dative singular of a u-stem. The inscription, in Latin lettering on a rough stone block, was discovered in 1910. The inscription was carefully analyzed by Lejeune in the early 1950’s and later by Ködderritzsch (1985). The inscription is obscured by wear in several places, and here I have followed Lejeune’s suggested text (1955: 7-25). The inscription is particularly important, as both Tovar (1960: 113-4; 1982b: 595) and Lejeune (1955: 9) have noted, because it refers to offerings to the pan-Celtic god Lugus. In referring to an offering to a deity, its closest parallel may be the Rom inscription (see Glossary: Epona).

Details of the translation of the Peñalba inscription, which owes much to Lejeune’s (1955) analysis, must remain tentative. For example, in opposition to Lejeune, Meid would see *eniorosei* as a dative singular byname of Lugus indicating “*montanus*” and *equeisui* as a dative singular byname of Lugus indicating “*eques*” (also see Ködderritzsch 1985: 217). Here one could also see *equei sui*, the locative of an o-stem *equos* (perhaps the month name *Equos*), followed by the dative of a u-stem *sūs* (as in the Latin form *suī* from IE **sueuei*; Buck 1933: 199; **suHejo*- NIL: 683). Pokorny (IEW: 1038) indicates a Gaulish **su-tegis* “swine stall”; and Welsh *hwch* “swine” derives from IE **su-ko-*. **Suevei* could give **suī* by syncope and reduction of intervocalic -v- (Evans 1967: 397); IE -ei- regularly gives -ī- in Gaulish (Evans 1967: 396). The possible use of the o-stem locatives *eniorosei* and *equei* (see Buck 1933: 181; Schmidt 1978: 362) would indicate “at the annual festival” and “in *Equos*”. The last five days of the month *Equos* on the Coligny calendar are indicated to be feast days by the special notation *Ivos* “feast day” and would correspond to an autumn festival (Olmsted 1992a: 86-93, tabs. 10-11), making a reference in the inscription to the month name *Equos* appropriate.

The transcription offered here is after Lejeune (1955: 8-9), except that here I have placed the lines in what I would suggest is their metric format. One should note that Tovar (Martinez 1962: 92) reads *trecaias* rather than Lejeune’s *erecaias*, suggesting considerable uncertainty as to the significance of the line. Also *ogru* could be read equally as *ogris*, the form seen by Tovar. If Meid is correct about seeing *Equeisui* as a byname, it would negate the possibility of the lines being poetic. To me, the metric nature of the lines seems compelling, and I dismiss

Meid's *Equeisui* on this ground alone. *Eniorosei* would still be a likely possibility as a dative byname and would indicate "Mountain Dwelling".

Lejeune (1955: 17) has suggested that the first three lines indicated here should be translated "qu'annuellement avec des chevaux, à chaque fois au mois d'O., [...] offre à Lugus les offrandes rituelles". The basic significance of the inscription as indicating an offering seems probable, even if my suggested translation (based largely upon Lejeune's work) should prove doubtful for specific details (see Olmsted 1991).

Eniorosei uta tigino // tiatunei
 erecaias to Luguei // araianom {Tovar reads first word: trecaias}
 com eimu eniorosei // Equei
 suique ogru // olocas to(n)gias
 sistat Luguei // tiasos to(n)gias.

At the annual (summer) festival, at the ?tumulus? of the king,
 of the ... to Lugus (is) the ...,
 with ... at the annual (summer) festival, ?in Equos (month)?
 and ?with a pig?, ?with fruit? from the invoker's fertile field.
 This is placed here for Lugus by the invoker.

Other inscription from both Gaul and Celtiberia appear to utilize a deity-name *Lucus* rather than *Lugus*. *Lucus* may be simply an orthographic variation of *Lugus*, or it may be a separate byname for this same deity. The deity-name *Lucus*, utilizing the unvoiced guttural and occurring alongside of *Lugus*, has also been seen to give support toward equating the semantic significance of the stem *lugu-* with that of *lucu-*.

Thus *Lucus* is referenced in the Latin dative plural in the inscription RVFINA LVCVBVS V.S.L.M. (CIL XII: 3080; AcS I: 304) from Nîmes. Probably the same dative plural form of the name is to be found in the inscriptions to LVCOVBV ARQVIEN(O) ... and LVCVBO ARQVIENO from Sinoga and San Martin de Liñarán in Galatia (Martinez 1962: 90), as Tovar suggested at the 1979 Celtic Congress in Galway. Here *-oubu* would derive from *-oubus* and result from the well-known tendency of Celtiberian to drop the final *-s*, as in the use of *-o* for *-os* in the nominative and genitive singular endings of *o*-stem nouns.

Schmidt (1957: 51) noted that the tendency to confuse the voiced and unvoiced series, particularly *c* and *g*, was most frequent in Spain and Aquitania (South-west Gaul), which he explained as the result of a Ibero-Aquitanian substratum. Watkins (1955: 9 ff.) saw the *c* and *g* confusion resulting from single voiceless stops being lenes in Gaulish and fortes in Latin, whereas single voiced stops were lenes in both languages. As Evans (1967: 403) has noted, a person attempting to write Gaulish words in Latin "would tend to confuse these [lenes] voiceless [Gaulish] stops", which should be fortes in Latin, with "the corresponding voiced stops, which were also lenes". Thus the forms suggestive of *Lucus* could be explained as confusions for *Lugus*. In this case, the form **Lugus* would be the original one, since the testimony of Irish *Lug* and Welsh *Lleu* verify the presence of the voiced stop in the Common Celtic form of the name.

Interesting is the fact that with the exception of the Peñalba inscription, the inscriptions are dedicated to *Lucoves* or *Lugoves* in the plural. One cannot, however, draw the conclusion, as did Gaidoz (1883-5b), that a plural deity like the Matres is referenced here. As Whatmough (DAG: '82) has observed, "the plural of divine names is, of course, commonplace". He gives as examples *Silvanae* (AcS II: 1556), *Nymphae*, *Martes* (CIL V: 3262), *Mercurii*, *Iūnones*, *Minervae* (CIL XIII: 4475), and *Eponae* (CIL III: 7904). To this list we may add the dative plural name *Vroicis* for Vroicos. As we have seen, Lugus was one of the two most important

gods of Gaul. If the use of the plural reference was a sign of respect as later with royalty, it is not surprising to find such prevalent use of this device with this deity.

There are also a number of personal names which probably have an origin in the god Lugus. Most important of these is the Latinized o-stem Lugenicus (Evans 1967: 220), formed by haplology from *Lugu-gen-ico-* “born of Lugus” or “conceived of Lugus”, giving the Old Irish name Luignech. Also important is the Latinized woman’s name in the genitive *Lucudeca(e)* (CIL XIII: 5926) on a tombstone from Bourbonne-les-Bains. Except for the *g/c* interchange, this name is equivalent to the genitive singular Irish woman’s name *Lugudeccas* found in an Ogam inscription (CIIC: 263). Here it is unlikely that *lucu-* and *lugu-* represent different deities. The same combination gives the Old Irish man’s name Luguid (gen. Luigdech). Here *-deca*, *-deco-* is probably equivalent to Old Irish *dech* “the best” and derives from IE **dek-* “to take, lay hold of, receive”, as in Latin *decet* “put, place” (IEW: 189-90). The significance of *Lugudeca* is probably “Chosen of Lugus”.

Another interesting woman’s name is *Luguselva* (DAG: ‘156). Schmidt (1957: 266) relates *-selva*, the last stem of this name, to Irish *selb* “possession, property” and Welsh *helw* “protection” from **sel-uo-*, a suffixed form of IE **selh₁-* “seize, catch, take” (IEW: 899, DPC: 329). The significance of *Luguselva* is not very different from that of *Lugudeca*, i.e., “Chosen of Lugus”.

Other personal names worthy of mention are *Luguadicos* (CIL II: 2732) and *Luguri* (from Genouilly, Cher). *Luguri* is derived from **Lugurix* (Evans 1967: 99; DAG: ‘145). The name **Lugurix* is especially interesting because of its comparison to *Camulorix*, a name derived from that of the god Camulos. Lejeune (1977b: 115) has also noted the inscription LOVGOVS on a sherd of black-slip Campaniënne ware from Alba (near Viviers), apparently a personal name derived from that of the deity. The Romano-Gaul who called himself *Lugudunolus* (CIL VIII: 27850) is interesting because he takes his name from *Lugudunon* (now Lyon), itself named after the god.

Thus, there are also place names containing the stems *lucu-*, *lugu-*, *loucu-*, or *lougu-*. *Lugudunon* is the best known and gave its name to the Roman Provincia *Lugdunensis*. There are at least 18 Continental cities containing one of the above forms of the u-stem utilized in the name of the deity. Lists of these and other place-names so formed may be found in AcS (II: 305-7), Evans (1967: 221), and Even (1952: 296). Most of these go back to *Lugudūnon* or *Luguvallon*. In the *Lugudūnon* names, *dūno-* relates to ancient Irish *dūnon*, Irish *dún*, Welsh *din*, Latin *dūnum* (borrowed from Celtic), Anglo-Saxon *tūn* (Germanic **tūn-na*), and perhaps Latin *fūnus* “burial”. These words apparently derive from IE **dhūH-no-*, a suffixed zero-grade form of **dheu-* (IEW: 260-3; also see DPC: 108; Schmidt 1957: 200). In the *Luguvallon* names, *vallo-* relates to Irish *fál* (o-stem) “fence, enclosure”, Welsh *gwal* “wall, fence”, and Latin *vallum* (o-stem) “wall” (Evans 1967: 270). All of these names may be translated as “Lugus’s Fort” or “Lugus’s Town”.

I mention only a few of the more important cities. From *Lugudunon* (later *Lugdunum* which gives *Laudunum*) come Laon (Aisne), Laon (Eure-et-Loir), Lion-en-Sulias (Loiret), Lion-en-Beauce (Loiret), *Laudun* (Gard), *Lauzun* (Lot-et-Garonne), *Montlezun* (Ger), *Montlauzun* (Lot), and Lyon itself (Even 1952: 296). From *Lucudunum* comes modern *Loudon* (Sarthe) (DAG: ‘179). Here the stem form is *lucu-* not *lugu-*. Significant as well, many of these names occurred originally as *Mons Lugdunum* as in *Montlahue* (Drôme), an alternative name for *Lugudunum Vocontiorum*. *Carlisle* (Caer Llywelyn) in Great Britain derives from *Luguvallon*, *Luguvallium* (Evans 1967: 221; Even 1952: 296). It is clear that given the widespread nature of the deity-name *Lugus* as well as of the wide-spread nature of places containing the same stem in their name, the place-names must relate to the name of the god and not vice versa.

Prominence of place, however, goes to *Lugudunon* (*Lugdunum*, *Lugdunum*) on the Rhône (now Lyon), whose name undoubtedly predates the colonization by *Munatius Plancus*

in 43 BC. (Jubainville: 1887: 170). Lugudunon was then set up as the administrative and regional center of Celtic Gaul (Tassel-Graves 1965: 167). This city was the site of the *concilium trium Galliarum*, which first met on August 1 in 12 BC. This date of August 1 has been seen as significant by Le Roux and Mac Neill, in that August 1 was the date of Lugnasad “the marriage feast of Lug”, a first fruits festival in early Christian Ireland. However, the coincidence of these dates is probably fortuitous.

The original Celtic festival to Lugus was undoubtedly held on the Autumnal Equinox, as with the cognate Iranian festival Mithrakána. Irish Lugnasad was in fact considered to be the first day of autumn, even though it took place on August 1. The early date of the Irish equinox, however, is explainable by a simple calendar shift. In the Celtic calendar, the lunar festivals progress in relationship to solar time by 1 day every 24 years (Olmsted 1988d: 297, Olmsted 1992a: 130-2). If the original Celtic calendar began around 1000 BC, as now seems likely, without a calendar reform the festival of Lugnasad would have occurred on average 3 weeks either side of the middle of August at the time of the first meeting in Lugudunum in 12 BC. In the absence of a calendar reform, Le Roux suggestion would be likely.

The evidence of the Coligny calendar, however, points to a calendar reform having occurred in Gaul around 100 BC (not occurring in Ireland), which would have returned the festival of Lugus to the period around the equinox. The adaption of a Coligny-type calendar around 100 BC must have coincided with a calendar reform. Otherwise, the significant increase in predictive accuracy derived from this calendar would have been meaningless (see Olmsted 1992a: 11-29). Placing the *concilium* in Gaul on August 1 was then, undoubtedly, more in honor of the Emperor Augustus than of the god Lugus.

One should note that in Gaul and Celtiberia, the forms in *lucu-* are almost as frequent as the forms in *lugu-*. It should be clear that any etymology of the deity-name *Lugus* must also take into account the cognate Irish deity-name *Lug* (gen. *Loga, Logo, Luga*) and the Welsh hero *Lleu* (Evans 1967: 219), both developing from **lugu-*. Thus, the form in **lugu-* is clearly attested in Common Celtic. Rather than seeing *lucu-* as an orthographic variation of *lugu-*, as suggested above, the frequent occurrence of *lucu-* (in the deity names as well as in names of people and places named after the deity) could be taken to suggest an independent stem *lucu-* along side of *lugu-*. The presence of an independent stem *lucu-* would be particularly likely if *lucu-* were close in meaning to *lugu-*, as it already is in form. With these points in mind we may then investigate the significance of this stem or stems.

Lambert (1979b: 159) has seen a Celtic root **lug-* “burn, enflame” behind Breton *losk* “to burn” (with the addition of the suffix *-sko-*). He sees this same root behind Welsh *lloer* “moon” (< **lug-rā*; as does DPC: 248). Furthermore, Evans has suggested that the deity-names Lugus, Lug, and Lleu are related to Welsh *lleu* “light”.

The divine name Lugus (pl. Lugoves) is related to the Irish divine or hero name Lug (u) (gen. *Loga, Logo, Luga*) and the Welsh hero name Lleu, and these are related the Ml. Welsh *lleu* “light” (subst. and adj.) *goleu*, Corn. *golow*, Breton *goulou*, etc. (1967: 219).

Loth (1914: 207) had earlier argued that these deity names were related to Welsh *lleu* “light” and *llug* “bright”, which he saw as derived from a common source. He drew particular attention to Lug’s epithet *grianaineach* “sun-faced” in *Cath Maige Tuired*, as well as to the later assertion of *Oidedh Cloinne Tuireann* (AIT: 56) that Lug’s face and front (*a aightne agus a éadain*) were “like the setting sun” (*fa cosmhail re fuineadh gréine*) or “like the sun on a dry summer day” (*fa comhshoiliseach le gréin a la tirim samhraidh*). But these later comparisons are clearly taken from the epithet *grianaineach*; thus, these later examples merely give corroborating evidence.

Indeed, there can be little doubt of the connection between the u-stem Irish deity-name Lug, the Welsh euhemerized deity-name Lleu, and the Gaulish and Celtiberian deity-name Lugus or Lucus. As Jackson (1953: 441) has noted, “certainly the cognate of Gaulish Lugus and Irish Lugh”, Lleu must “have passed through *Louus”. Here he notes that British -g- regularly gave -u- in the group -ugu-. In this connection, Irish Lug’s epithet *lám fóta* “long-handed” also draws a parallel to Welsh Lleu’s epithet *llaw gyffes* “ready-handed”. There can little doubt that Irish Lug is etymologically and mythologically cognate with Welsh Lleu. Both Insular Celtic deity names derive from a Common Celtic root *lug-.

The significance of this Common Celtic root *lug-, as found in the u-stem deity name *Lugus*, has been the source of much controversy. Lambert (1979b: 159) would see this Celtic root *lug- as a derivative of IE *luk- “light”. Pedersen (I: 98) had earlier argued for a connection between the deity-names Lugus, Lug (u), and Lleu and the Welsh word *lleu* “light” from IE *leuk- “light”. He suggested the connection of Celtic *lugu-* to Latin *lux* through a g/c alternation. It is also to *leuk- that Pedersen saw the origin of Welsh *go-leu* (Lewis and Pedersen 1937: 29). Pokorny, however, sees the origin of Welsh *lleu* “light” in the IE stem *plo-uo- (*pel- “burn, to be warm”; IEW: 805). Thus, Pokorny would see an entirely different root *leuk- “light” (IEW: 689; giving Gaulish *leuxos “bright” and *leuka “white”) as the origin of Welsh *llug* “bright, light” and Irish *luchair* “bright”. Thus Pokorny projects the root behind Middle Welsh *lleu* “light” as distinctly different from that behind Welsh *llug* “light, bright”. Matasović (DPC: 248) sees *Lugu-* as “the shiny one”.

The problem with Loth’s and Pedersen’s derivation of Lugus and Lug from *luk- is that no systematic sound change can develop Irish Lug, Celtiberian Lugus, and Gaulish Lugus from IE *luku-. One cannot derive a Common Celtic root *lug- from IE *luk-. This problem is a fatal one for Loth’s and Pedersen’s theory. A late Gaulish mutation would not have affected the Irish name, unless Lug, itself, is a late borrowing from Gaulish or British. But even if such a late borrowing did occur in the case of Irish Lug, one would still have to explain the independent occurrence of this mutation in Celtiberian Lugus.

A remaining possibility is the coming together of two Celtic roots of similar meaning in these names, one *luc- from IE *luk- “light”, giving Welsh *llug* “bright” and Irish *luchair* “bright” (IEW: 687-8), and the other *lug- “burn, bright” of unknown origin, but projected above by Lambert (1979b: 159) as lying behind Breton *losk* “to burn” (< *lug-sko-) and Welsh *lloer* “moon” (< *lug-rā). An examination of the Irish word *lug* (u,m; g.s. *loga*) “warrior, hero, fighter” adds support to Lambert’s suggestion of an independent Celtic root *lug- “burn”. The Irish word *lug* “warrior” is more likely to have developed from an earlier word meaning “burn, bright” than from an earlier word meaning “lynx” as suggested by Pedersen (I: 186). The genitive singular of this Irish word, *loga*, still means “fiery” as well as “magnificent, heroic, warlike” (RIAD L: 235). Irish *luan* “radiance, light” (< *leuk-s-no-; IEW: 688), of similar significance, also came to mean “warrior”. It is possible that an original Celtic stem *lugu- meaning “burn, bright”, possibly giving Welsh *lleu* “light”, in Ireland came to mean “warrior” as well. The original significance of this stem *lugu- “burn, bright” would then have been lost in Irish (except for the genitive *loga* “fiery”), but *lugamair* “gleaming” is perhaps a composition formed from it which has survived.

Thus, even if not highly probable an argument can still be made that two Celtic roots *lug- and *luc-, of separate origin, have come together in these names, since both could have had the similar meanings “light, bright, or burn”. Thus, it is possible that a separate u-stem *lucu- was nearly equivalent in meaning to the u-stem *lugu-. The variation in the names *Lugus* and *Lucus* need not be simply orthographic. It is clear that such an independent stem *lucu-* would derive from IE *luku- “light” (the IE apophonic series *leuk-, *louk-* *luk-*, usually presented as an i-stem or an o-stem; IEW: 687-9). A possible origin for Lambert’s proposed stem *lugu- “burn” is more problematic.

An etymology of this proposed Celtic **lugu-* “burn” from IE **luk-* “light” (as suggested by Lambert, Evans, Pedersen, and Loth) hinges upon a *g/c* alternation. However, such an alternation would seem possible only for Romano-Gaulish names and not for Common Celtic, since the alternation is not found in Irish. Hamp argued at the 1979 Celtic Congress against seeing a connection between these names in **lugu-* and IE **leuk-* because it is difficult by a regular development of IE *k* in Celtic to see a Common Celtic **lugu-* arising from **luku-*. Indeed it needs to be stated emphatically that Common Celtic **lugu-* cannot be derived from **lucu-*.

But as noted above, Watkins has suggested otherwise for Gaulish names from the Roman period (as opposed to the Common Celtic period), which show a considerable confusion in the voiced and unvoiced stops.

One of the first elements striking the investigator of early Celtic names is the tendency ... for the voiced and unvoiced series to be confused; each occurs in morphs where we would expect the other, with no apparent differing of environment. (Watkins 1955: 17).

This tendency to confuse the voiced and unvoiced series in Gaulish names has been commented on by everyone who has carefully examined the topic (Dottin 1920: 124; Gray 1944: 223; Tovar 1951: 111; Whatmough 1951: 182; Martinet 1952: 195; Schmidt 1957: 100; Evans 1967: 399-404). As Watkins noted, the problem is more general than the interchange of *g* and *c*, though this seems to be the most common of the interchange of voiced and unvoiced stops. It may possibly represent a tendency toward mutation or lenition in Gaulish so characteristic of the later insular Celtic languages.

The evidence for this *c/g* interchange in Gaulish has been catalogued by Holder (AcS I: 650, 1504; III: 1013), Dottin (1920: 63), Schmidt (1957: 100), and Fleuriot (1977: 175). Fleuriot noted in the Chamalière text the presence of *secoui* for *segoui* which he saw as a parallel to the presence of *arcanto* for *argento*, as well as *bercomom/bergonia*; *secori*, *secontia*, *secoueso*, *secolasia*, in face of many examples in *sego-*. Holder noted *deivigiagos* for *diviciacus*, *petrogoricus* for *petrocoricus*, and *andegavenensis* for *andecavenensis*. Dottin added to this list *genabum* for *cenabun* and *congounetodubnus* for *conconnetodumnus*. Schmidt noted *geno-/ceno-*, *dago-/daco-*, *carnugatus/carnucatus*, and *ambigatus/ambicatus*. To this list may be added the coins in the Muret-Chabouillet collection (8677-8678) with both *carmanos*, and *garmanos*, showing the same stem found in the Deae Garmangabes, apparently equivalent to the Matres Parces. These words on these coins apparently show the agentive suffix *-mon-* (Watkins 1962: 182 ff.) added directly to the athematic root.

Falc’hun has attempted to explain the process behind this interchange in examining *tosten*, *tos*, and *tossic* (*tos-* “butte, eminence”), which may have been mutated by a projected Gaulish feminine article **an-* to give *adossi*, *adosi*, *andoss*, *andoxux*, *andossic*, and *andosten*. A similar type of mutation may also be noted in the variation of the deity names Bormo, Borvo, Borbo. We may then note the possibility of a tendency in Gaulish to voice unvoiced consonants in intervocalic position or following *n* and *r*. The initial mutations could possibly derive from the affects of the article ending in *n*, which may have been extended to the word without the article. Dialectal differences might have played a role here. Tovar (1951: 102 ff.) earlier suggested most of the main points on the nature of these mutations as did Dottin (1920: 524), later to be catalogued thoroughly by Falc’hun. This proposed mutation for Gaulish parallels the process of mutation to be found later in Welsh and suggests the possibility that the tendency was already present in at least certain dialects of Gaulish.

Even assuming that the proposed mutation in Gaulish is not simply an orthographic artifact of the type outlined by Watkins (1955: 17) and Evans (1967: 403) above, mutation could still not be used to derive *lugu-* from **luku-*. As noted, the problem with utilizing the mutation

arguments to connect *lugu-* to **luku-* is that the forms in *-g-* are not limited to Gaulish. Thus Irish has Lug and Celtiberian Lugus and Lucus, with the forms in *-c-* perhaps mere orthographic variations. Thus the *g/c* interchange would have to be seen as common Celtic rather than limited to the Gaulish of the Roman period. Such an early date for this suggested interchange is not likely given the regular development of IE *-k-* elsewhere in Common Celtic. Even if one were to postulate, as noted above, that proto-Irish **Lugus* is actually a deity name borrowed from British or Gaulish, such a postulate still would leave unexplained Celtiberian Lugus. Thus *Lugus* derived from IE **luk-* “light” cannot be sustained under any circumstances.

Though not from **luku-*, it is possible that Lambert’s proposed Celtic stem **lugu-* “burn” does derive from a projected u-stem zero-grade form of IE **(s)p(h)elg-* “bright” (IEW: 987), the *g*-extended form of **(s)p(h)el-*, as in Lettish *spulguôt* “bright”. Pokorny suggests that **(s)p(h)el-* may lie behind IE **pel-* “bright” (IEW: 805). It is the zero-grade of this same root **pel-* “bright” which Pokorny sees behind Welsh *lleu-* “light”, as noted above (< **plo-uo-*; IEW: 805). Thus IE **plgu-* would give **plagu-*, which would give a Celtic **logu-* (Thurneysen 1946: 50, 130-1); Celtic **logu-* would give Irish **lug* (1946: 47, 50). The projected proto-Celtic form **logu-* may have changed to **lugu-* on analogy with **lucu-*. Theorizing such a contrived derivation for **lugu-* “bright”, however, is speculative, to say the least, and scarcely convincing, especially for a stem which may not have existed at all. Thus a possible origin for this proposed stem **lugu-* still remains obscure to me.

Simply indicating the possibility that a Gaulish root **lugu-* “burn” (as postulated by Lambert 1979b: 159) may have had a similar meaning to **lucu-* “light” does not demonstrate that this was necessarily the root behind the deity name Lugus, even assuming that Lambert’s hypothesized Celtic root existed at all. The etymology of Gaulish Lugus’s name is not transparent. Many of the attempts at discussing the etymology of *lugu-* begin with the classical and early Medieval pseudo-etymologies for Lugdunum. Thus for example Pseudo-Plutarchus (*de fluviis*: 6, 4) derives the name of the city from *lugos*, which is translated as Greek *kórax* “raven” (see DAG: 484; IEW: 567). Indeed, Ahlqvist (1975: 44) would see the Gaulish word *lugos* “raven” as lying behind Irish *loch* (o, a) “black, dark” and Welsh *llwg* “black”. According to Pokorny (IEW: 686), Gaulish *lugos* would in turn derive from IE **lū-g-* “dark, swamp”. In this light, Whatmough (DAG: 484) has suggested that a connection to *lugos* is indicated by Strabo’s (7, 5, 2) *lougeon* “marsh, swamp” (see IEW: 686).

Indeed, it seems likely that Irish *loch* “black, dark” and Welsh *llwg* “black” do derive from a Gaulish stem *lugo-* “dark; raven”, but this stem, clearly an o-stem, is not likely to be present in Lugdunum, where *lugu-* is clearly a u-stem. Thus one cannot see Lugdunum (< Lugudunon) as “Swampy Town”, “Raven’s Town”, or “Dark Town”. Rather, the town was named after the god, and *lugo-* is clearly not the stem apparent in his name.

For the same reason, I would also dismiss the etymology for Lugdunum given by Heiricus (ob. 880 AD) in his *vita S. Germani* (IV, 295-8). Here he interprets Lugdunum as *Mons lucidus*. Reinach (1916: 277) accepts this etymology, suggesting that Clermont repeats essentially the same significance. Jullian duplicates Reinach’s arguments, seeing *Mons lucidus* as *Mons clarus* “sunny hill”. Indeed, Jullian (1918: 127; 1922: 162-3) denies any connection between the name of the city and that of the god. Blanchet (1940: 54-8) saw support for this etymology in the fact that the first bishop of Lyon took the name *Photinus*. Rather than reflecting any situation of the city, however, these etymologies merely give support to associating *lugu-* with “bright” and *lucu-* with “light”.

I similarly dismiss the *Endlicher Glossary*’s “*mons desideratus*” as a possibility for the etymology of Lugdunum (DAG: 484). Reinach (1916: 277-9) and Blanchet (1940: 57-8) have suggested rather astutely that *desiderato monte* is really a result of a copyist’s error of *pothinon oros* for *photinon oros* in the adopted name of the first bishop Photinus.

Again the comparison of the personal and place names Camulorix, Camulogenos, and Camulodunon with Lugurix, Lugugenicos, and Lugudunon demonstrate clearly that in each

case the person or place has taken his or its name from that of the corresponding deity (as first suggested for Lugdunum by Jubainville 1887: 170 and reaffirmed by Vendryes 1940a: 55). The *Vita S. Germani* then gives a little support for seeing “light, lighten” as a possible meaning of Gaulish *lugu-*. But considering that Lugudunon (Lugdunum) means “Lug’s Town” and not “Bright Mount”, the pseudo-etymologies must be viewed with some suspicion.

Another possible etymology for Lugus and Lug (perhaps the most likely) is simply to equate the root in Lugus, clearly a u-stem, with that behind Irish *luge* (io) “swearing”, the verbal noun of *tongid* “swears”, as suggested by Hamp (1979 Celtic Congress), Ahlqvist (1975: 145), Wagner (1970: 22), and Meid (personally). Irish *luge* clearly derives from an original Celtic **lugio-*. Ahlqvist further sees a connection with the tribal name of the Lugi (o-stem), listed by Ptolemaeus and perhaps giving their name to the river Loth, as well.

In this case, the same root **lug-* would have given a u-stem (the divine name), an o-stem (the tribal name and the adjective), as well as an io-stem (the verbal noun). Thus the tribal names and the divine ones might be connected without it being necessary to assume that the tribal names had changed over from a u-stem to one in -o- or -io-. (Ahlqvist 1975: 145).

Gaulish personal names such as Lugius and Lugiola (Evans 1967: 220), ending in an io-stem, or Lugotorix in an o-stem, however, contrast with other personal names such as Luguselva in a u-stem. Clearly the names in -io- relate to Irish *luge* and Welsh *llw* and derive from **lugijo-* (DPC: 247), IE **h₂leugh-* “oath” (IEW: 687; usually an i-stem and only attested in Germanic and Celtic), while those in -u- could derive from some other root, the same as that found in name of the god Lugus (see Fleuriot 1976-7: 187).

The etymologies of the personal names in the u-stem, discussed above, make it clear that they are derived from the name of the deity. This deity-name derivation does not appear to be the case in such names as Lugius and Lugiola, which apparently mean simply “Loyal”. It thus remains possible that we deal with two separate roots in the stems *lugio-* and *lugu-*. Fleuriot (1976-7: 187) has drawn a similar conclusion in examining names such as Ligidamus and Lugissius, which apparently derive from *lugio-*. He would relate these names to Irish *luige* “swears” and Welsh *llew* derived from IE **h₂lugh-* “oath, swear, bind” (DPC: 247; IEW: 687). The roots behind these names “*semble différent du nom divin Lugus*”.

It is perhaps to the io-group that we should place the inscription to the DEO BEMILVCIOVI(S) (CIL XIII: 2885) from Ampilly-les-Bordes (Côte-d’Or). Here apparently is a Gallo-Latin dative plural ending of an io-stem with -*iovis* for -*iovis*. The inscription is then dedicated to Bemilucios, a compound of *bemi-* and *lucio-*. The initial stem *bemi-* may relate to Irish *béimm* “striking” (<**bhei-smn*; IEW: 117-8; DPC: 64) and Cornish *bommen*. Also possible might be a relationship to the apophonic series **bhā-, bhō-, bhə-* “bright, shine” (IEW: 104) as in Irish *bán* “white”. In this name, *lucio-* is possibly an orthographic variant of *lugio-* “swears, binds”, spelled through the confusion of a Latin speaker (Evans 1967: 403), rather than the mutation noted above. Here, too, it is still possible that IE **luk-* “light” is indicated as an io-stem.

An etymology for Lugus from Lambert’s proposed Celtic stem **lugu-* “bright, burn” is suggested by episodes concerning Lug in Irish mythology as well as from comparison with his cognates from elsewhere in the IE world. Lug’s epithet *grianaineach* “sun-faced” is suggestive of such an etymology for Lugus and Lug. The date of Lug’s festival on Lughnasad, considered by the Irish to be the first day of autumn (*im thaite foghmair*), corresponds with the Iranian festival of *Mithrakána* “the feast day of Mithra-“ occurring on the first day of autumn. The equation of these festivals suggests that Lug may be equated with Mithra-. If so, Mithrō’s epithet from the Avesta, *Hvāraoxšna-* “Endowed with his Own Light” (Gershevitch 1959: 144-5; Avestan *raoxšna-* < IE *leuk-s-no-*; Sanskrit *rócatē*, “light” < a suffixed form of IE **leuk-*;

IEW: 687; LIV: 418) may explain the etymology of Gaulish and Celtiberian epithet *Lucus*, if not that of Common Celtic **Lugus*. In the *Mihr Yast*, Mithrō is referred to as “Grass-land magnate Mithrō, ... whose long arms reach out to catch the violators of the contract” (Gershevitch 1959: 124-5). Irish Lug’s epithet *lám fóta* “long-handed, long-armed” is relevant here as is Welsh Lleu’s epithet *llaw gyffes* “swift-handed”. However, the equation of Lug and Lugus with Mithra- (Mitra-), a god of contracts, could also be used to explain a derivation of the Celtic deity names from **lug-* “swears, binds”.

Unfortunately, the inscription from Haguenau (Bas-Rhin) to the DEO MEDRV (CIL XIII: 6017) does not give corroborating evidence to the use of a name cognate to Avestan Mithra- in Gaul (with Medrus for Mithra-) as de Vries’s (1961: 110) as suggested. The inscription occurs under the bas-relief of a nude, helmeted warrior, wearing a cape, holding a spear in his left hand, and standing in front of a bull (Esp.: 5549, 5560). This iconography is that of the many Continental images of Mithra. The only thing unusual is the epigraphy of the name. At any rate, IE **mi-tro-* “contract” (IEW: 710) would give Gaulish **mitro-*, not **midro-*.

Bynames of Mercurius Suggesting an Identification with Lugus

Mercurius Arvernorum: “Mercurius, King of the Arverni”.

From Miltenberg-am-Main (CIL XIII: 6603; CIR: 1741) comes an inscription to MERCVRIO ARVERNORIGI. This epithet Arvernorum, transparent as “King of the Arverni”, readily associates Romano-Gaulish Mercurius with the Arverni. There can be little doubt that this epithet arises from the earlier hegemony the Arverni controlled in Gallia Lugdunensis. Inscriptions to MERCVRIO ARVERNO come from Gripswald (CIR: 256-7), Grimlinghau near Neuss (CIR: 263), Wenau by Jülich (CIR: 593), and Cologne (CIL XIII: 8253). The most important of these inscriptions, however, comes from the peak of Puy de Dôme (AcS I: 232). An inscription from Riom in the Auvergne directly below the Dôme to the GENIO ARVERNORUM (Orelli: 193; AcS I: 244) probably refers to the same deity.

According to Plinius (*Historia naturalis*: XXXIV, 45), Zenodorus worked for ten years on a colossal statue of Mercurius for a temple which stood on the height of Puy de Dôme. Plinius put the cost of this statue at 400,000 sesterces. Some idea of what this statue may have looked like is provided by a bas-relief on an altar from Horn by Roermond (Esp.: 6610; CIL XIII: 8709). The altar bears the inscription MERCVRIO ARVERNO. Here is a seated Mercurius holding a caduceus in his left hand and a purse in his right hand. Behind him lies a he-goat. On one of the side-faces is a caduceus with a cock atop it, and on the other side of the altar is a purse. A nearly identical portrayal, but without inscription, comes from Langres (Gallia Lugdunensis; Esp. 3340). In light of the inscription to Mercurius Arvernus from the height of Puy de Dôme, it seems likely that these unusual Mercurius portrayals are actually copied from the original statue of Zenodoros.

Remains from the temple complex at Puy de Dôme extend outward over a large area. Here there were originally three enclosures, including a cella and gallery, which constituted one of the grandest temples in Gaul (Morcaux 1887: 234-5). Excavations late in the nineteenth century revealed an enormous debris of rare marble. The magnificence of this temple was described by Gregorius Turonensis (Gregory of Tours) (538-594 AD), who visited it during the sixth century, at which point it still had a lead roof.

Miro enim opere factum fuit atque firmatum. Cuius paries duplex erat, ab intus enim de minuto lapide, a foris vero quadris sculptis fabricatum fuit. Habuit enim paries ille crassitudinem pedes triginta. Intrinsicus vero marmore ac museo variatum erat.

Pavimentum quoque aedes marmore stratum, desuper vero plumbo tectum. (*Historia Francorum* I: 32; Zwicker 1934: 175).

Other Mercurius temples on heights occurred at Mont du Chat (Savoie), Mont de Sène (Bourgogne, near Chagny), and at Donon (Vosges) (see Monceaux 1887: 238; Even and Le Roux 1952: 290-7). This association with heights is important in identifying this chief god of the region once controlled by the Arverni with his Irish counterpart. As MacNeill (1962: 78, 79, 83) noted, pilgrimages to mountain heights such as Croagh Patrick (Co. Mayo) on Lugnasad have a long tradition in Ireland. MacNeill sees these pilgrimages, associated with Patrick during the Christian period, as a holdover from earlier pilgrimages associated with the god Lug during the pagan period.

Caesar (*de bello Gallico*: VI, 17) states of the Gauls, *deum maxime Mercurium colunt* “among the gods, they most worship Mercurius”. Mercurius is further stated to be the *omnium inventor artium* “the inventor of all arts”. Irish Lug is described as the *samildanach* “equal in any craft”. In the *Cath Maige Tuired*, Lug demonstrates that this epithet is worthy of him and that he is indeed possessed of all skills. Irish Lug is a youthful god who displaces Nuada in becoming chief of the *Túatha dé Danann*, making his Gaulish equivalent Lugus a likely candidate to be assimilated to Mercurius. Indeed, Jubainville pointed out this relationship between Lug, Lugus, and Mercurius before the turn of the century (1884: 177-8). This equation of Lugus with Gaulish Mercurius is one of the few identifications which has been universally accepted by Celticists.

However, the association of Mercurius with Lugus was not unique, for Lugus’s counterpart twin Vellaunos-Esus was also widely assimilated to Mercurius. Thus one must be careful to sort the bynames of Mercurius to the appropriate deity. However, Lugus’s lending his name to Lugdunum, the chief center of Gallia Lugdunensis and a former center of the Arverni, as well as the association of rituals concerning Lugus’s Irish counterpart Lug with heights make it clear that Mercurius Arvenorix should be identified with Lugus.

Mercurius Clavari(gi)atis: “Mercurius who Rules (from) the Mountain”.

From Les Granges (Aube) comes an inscription to the DEO MERCVRIO CLAVARIATI (AcS I: 1140). Similar inscriptions come from Vertault (Côte-d’Or) (CIL XIII: 3020) and Marsal (Moselle) (CIL XIII: 4564). The byname Clavariatis must bear a relationship to Clavatium, which was a byname for Lugdunum or Laudunum, now Laon (Aisne), as in *ex civitate Lugdono Clavato* or *Lugdunensi Clavato* (CIR: 592; AcS I: 1140). An inscription to [MER]CVRIO LEVD[VN]ANO (AcS II: 197) from Weisweiler probably refers to the same place.

To explain *clava-*, the first element of this name, Whatmough (DAG: ‘212) has suggested the Gaulish stem *clav-*, *clam-*. He would derive this stem from IE **k̑lmo-* (the suffixed form in *-mo-* of the zero-grade of **kel-* “high”, with the significance “hill”; IEW: 544), also giving Anglo-Saxon *holm* “hill, island”. The second half of the name *-riati-* probably represents an original *ri(gi)ati-* with the agentive suffix *-iati-*, as in the byname of Mercurius *Excingiorigiatos* “He who Rules through Striding” from the Rheinland (*Gallia*: I, 201). The stem here is then IE **rēgio-* “kingly” (IEW: 854-5) from the basic root **Hreg-* “to rule” (DPC: 311), with the somewhat unusual loss of intervocalic *-g-* and syncope of the following *-i-*. A similar loss of *-g-* and *-i-* occurs in RIOCALATI (RIB: 1017) from Old Carlisle, Cumberland, for *Ri(gi)ocalati*. Thus the byname Clavari(gi)atis should probably be translated “Who Rules the Hill” or perhaps better “Who Rules (from) the Mountain”.

Mercurius Dumiatris: “Mercurius of the Dome (or Hill)”.

From the peak of Puy de Dôme comes an inscription to MERCVRIO DVMIATI (see DAG: ‘150, no. 1523; AcS I: 1358). Gregorius Turonensis (*Historia Francorum* I: 29, 32) identified the Mercurius of Puy de Dôme with Mercurius Arvernus. According to Pokorny, this byname Dumiatris relates to Irish *duma* (io) “mound, burrow, hill”, derived from the IE stem **dhumo-* (IEW: 263) related to **dhuno-* < **d^huHno-*; DPC: 108). In the name Dumiatris the Celtic stem *dumio-* shows the addition of the suffix *-ati-*, *-iati-*, usually used to form nouns of agency. Vendryes (1912: 463-6) felt that the significance “hill” was doubtful, suggesting “rampart” instead. Here I favor Pokorny, thus “of the Dome”.

Mercurius Vassocaelitis: “Mercurius Protector of Vassals” or “Mercurius of the Vassocaelites”.

Gregorius Turonensis (c. 538-94 AD) states that another name for (Mercurius) Arvernus was “*Vassogalate*”.

Horum (sc. Valeriani et Gallieni Romanorum imperatorum) tempore et Chrocus ille Alamannorum rex ... Gallias pervagavit ... Qui cum nonnulla inique gessisset ... universas Gallias pervagatur cunctasque aedes, quae antiquitus fabraecatae fuerant, a fundamentis subvertit. Veniens vero Arvernus, delubrum illud, quod Gallica lingua *Vasso Galate* vocant, incendit, diruit atque subvertit. (*Historia Francorum* I: 32; Zwicker 1934: 175).

From Bitburg near Trier comes an inscription to the DEO MERCVR[IO] VASSOCALETI (CIL XIII: 4130). Another partial inscription from the same region is to MER(CVRIO) V[AS]SECA(LE)TE (CIL XIII: 4550). An inscription from Puy-de-Dôme also has been expanded, but with uncertainty, as G(ENIO) V(ASSO) K(ALETI) (CIL XIII: 10017, 958).

Whatmough has concluded the following from Gregorius Turonensis’s statement.

Hence Mercurius Dumias (ie. Arvernus) is supposed to be the same as Vassocaelitis ... that Mercurius should be the defender of *vassi* is not hard to understand. Perhaps *vassocaelitis* is then, as an adjective, “at the shrine of the *vassi*”, as a neut. noun in *-e*, “the shrine of the *vassi*” ... Greg. Tur. I. c. 33 suggests that the correct interpretation of *vasso caletis* is “*servo templi*” or “*delubri*”, so that Stokes may have been on the right track after all (**kel-*). (DAG: ‘158, 475-6).

The root indicated by Stokes (AcS I: 697) and Whatmough here is **kel-* “cover, shelter, hide” (IEW: 553; DPC: 199), giving Latin *cella* and Irish *cuile* “cellar, storehouse”. Here one must see the addition of the agentive suffix *-eti-*, related to *-ati-* above.

Whatmough is undoubtedly correct in seeing *vasso-* (AcS III: 278; VKG I: 34 f.; Thurneysen 1946: 50; Schmidt 1957: 285; Dottin 1920: 296) as related to Irish *foss* “servant” and Welsh *gwas* “young man”, both cognate with Latin *vassus*, *vassalus* and derived from IE **upo-sth₂o-* “underling, subject” (DPC: 404; IEW: 1106). But I am not certain that *caletis* has been interpreted correctly. If so, the name may mean “he who shelters and protects vassals”.

The stem here might also be *calet-*, *caleto-* (Urk. Spr.: 72; Dottin 1920: 239; Schmidt 1957: 160), related to Welsh *calet* and Irish *calath* “hard, harsh, firm”, derived from IE **k^lH-eto-* **kal-eto-* “hard” (DPC: 185; IEW: 523-4). This stem *calet-* is apparently the major element in the tribal name Caletes. The Caleti or Caletes (later the Pagus Caletus) were a Gaulish tribe in the region of the Seine Inferior. The Vassocaeliti may have been a subject people to the Caleti. The byname could then be an attributive one like Arvernus, making one of the two chief gods of Gaul a deity special to this tribe. A major problem with such an

interpretation is that the majority of the inscriptions come from around Trier. It is difficult to associate this distribution with a projected minor tribe in the Seine basin.

In the light of Rigocalatis, a byname of Cocidios Mars below, it seems most likely that these names should be interpreted as Rigocalatis “Protector of Kings” and Vassocaletis “Protector of Vassals”. As a pair, these epithets have interesting implications for Vellaunos as a counterpart to the Vedic *Váruṇah*, the sovereign controller of the universe, who was the special patron of earthly kings, and for Lugus as a counterpart to Vedic *Mitráḥ*, the controller of law, contracts, and bonding between men.

Bynames of Mars Probably Identifiable with Lugus

Mars Leucimalacos: “the Light of the Mountain”.

From Giacomo near Demonte and Demonte, Cuneo, come inscriptions to the DEO MARTI LEVCIMALACO (CIL V: 7862a) and to [LE]VCIMAL[ACO] (CIL V: 7862). Although this byname is identified with Mars rather than Mercurius, the fact that it comes from Cuneo on the Stura south of Turin suggests that different influences may have operated in the identification with the Roman pantheon. The first stem *leuci-* is clearly derived from IE **leuki-* “light” (IEW: 687-8), giving Welsh *llug* and Irish *luchair* “bright”. The second stem **malaco-* is probably cognate with Irish *mullach* “summit, peak”, derived from IE **molu-* (**molā-* “elevation”; IEW: 721), which also gives Malaios, the ancient name for the Isle of Mull.

Bynames of Gaulish Vellaunos

Bynames Mars or Mercurius Linked by *Zusammenhang* to Vellaunos

Andes(us): “the Great Lord” or “the Very Sacred” (Mercurius, RIB: 193, p/s/c varia: *esu-*).

From Colchester (Essex) comes an inscription NVMINIB(VS) AVG(VSTORVM) ET MERC(V)RIO DEO ANDES(VI) COCI(DIO) VO(S)VCO IMILICO AESVRILINI LIBERTVS ARAM OPERE MARONIO D(E) S(VO) D(EDIT) (RIB: 193). “To the Deities of the Emperors and to the God Mercu(rius) Andes(us)-Coci(dios)-Vo(s)ucos, Imilico, freedman of Aesurilinius, from his own resources gave this altar in marble.” This important inscription apparently links three bynames of Gaulish Mercurius, Andes(us), Coci(dios), and Vo(s)ucos, thus connecting the Esus group with the Vellaunos group (also overlapping with Cocidios).

In the byname Andes(us) the first element *and-*, *ande-* is probably an intensive prefix (Schmidt 1957: 126; Thurneysen 1946: 521). The second element *esu-* (<**esu-*, IEW: 342), if this has been expanded correctly, is the same stem as that found in Esus and Esum[aros] below. Most likely, it signifies “good, excellent, capable”, whence “noble, lord”. Evans (1967: 200, 396; following Holder, AcS I: 1479, and Gray 1952: 70) has suggested that Esus may go back to IE **ais-* “reverence, respect, worship”. Thus, the significance of Andesus would be “Most Noble”, “Great Lord”, or “the Very Sacred”.

Armogios: “the Very Mighty” (Mars, CIL III: 5320, p/f/c varia: *mogi-*).

Several inscriptions give reference to this byname of Mars. From the Agri Decumates come inscriptions to HARMOGIO [A]VG(VSTO) (St. Veit on the Klein-Drau, CIL III: 4014) and to MARTI LATOBIO HARMOGIO TOVTATI SINATI MOGENIO (Seckau, CIL III:

5320). As with *Hesus* and *Herecura* (DAG: ‘243), *h-* is an added element before the initial vowel. Whatmough lists another inscription from Germania Superior to *Arm[ogius]* (DAG: ‘236). The Celtic stem *magio-*, *mogio-* (Dottin 1920: 269) clearly is derived from IE **m_eg(h)-* “great, mighty” (IEW: 708) (**megh₂-* DPC: 252), which gives Irish *mag-*, Latin *maius*, and Sanskrit *máhi* (Schmidt 1957: 234; Urk. Spr.: 197). The prefix *ar-* (*are-*) most probably operates as an intensive but could also indicate “before”, as in Irish *air* and Gothic *faur* (see Schmidt 1957: 132).

Cocidios: “?” (Mars/Mercurius, RIB: 1017, 193, 1102, icon: 1207).

From Cumberland comes an inscription to RIOCALATI [TO]VTAT(I) M[AR(TI)] COCID(I)O (RIB: 1017). From Colchester (Essex) comes the important inscription NVMINIB(VS) AVG(VSTORVM) ET MERCV(RIO) DEO ANDES(VI) COCI(DIO) VO(S)VCO IMILICO AESVRILINI LIBERTVS ARAM OPERE MARONIO D(E) S(VO) D(EDIT) (RIB: 193). A typical inscription is that from Lancaster to the DEO SANCTO MARTI COCIDIO (RIB: 602). Similar inscriptions connecting the byname *Cocidios* to Mars come from the region extending from Castlesteads to Stanwix on Hadrian’s Wall (RIB: 2015, 2024) and from Bewcastle, Cumberland (RIB: 993). Also from Bewcastle come inscriptions to COCIDIO or to SANCTO COCIDIO (RIB: 985-9). Here (RIB: 987) the god is primitively portrayed on a silver plaque with a spear in his right hand. From Ebchester (Durham) comes an inscription to the DEO VERNOSTONO COCIDIO dedicated by VILI[L]IS GER(MANVS) V(OTVM) S(OLVIT) L(IBENS) (RIB: 1102). Other inscriptions to the DEO COCIDIO from Hadrian’s wall also come from Birdoswald (RIB: 1872, 1955, 1956, 1961, 1963), Housesteads, Chesterholm (RIB: 1578, 1633, 1683), and Netherby in Cumberland (RIB: 966). The concentration along Hadrian’s wall suggests that we do not deal here with a local British deity, but rather with a god of Gaulish auxiliaries serving with the Roman military.

Another inscription from Housesteads to the DEO SILVANO COCIDIO (RIB: 1578) might be seen to connect the deity *Cocidios* to *Silvanus* rather than Mars, but the inscription to the DEO COCIDIO ET SIL[VANO] (RIB: 1207) from Risingham (Northumberland) makes it clear that this should be interpreted with the addition of *et* “and”. The Risingham altar also portrays the deity standing with a stag on his right and a hound on his left (Ross 1967: 161 fig. 112), connecting him to Gaulish portrayals, such as that labeled [*C*]ern[*u*]nmos from Paris, that portrayed on plate A of the Gundestrup cauldron, and that portrayed on the Lyons cup (see Olmsted 1979b: pls. 63-65).

It is possible that *Cocidios* is a compound name with its final element *dio-* derived from the Celtic stem *divo-*, *devo-* “god” through the loss of the intervocalic *-v-* (see Schmidt 1957: 190), as in the personal names *Deiotarus*, *Deoratus*, *Diocarus*, and *Diona* (Evans 1967: 191-2). This stem *divo-* gives Irish *dia* and Welsh *duiu-* and is derived from IE **deiwo-* “god” (IEW: 185; NIL: 70; DPC: 97). However, as Meid has pointed out to me, *-do-*, *-dio-* is also a common adjectival suffix (Meillet 1922: 268). Thus it is uncertain how to divide the name into its fundamental components.

It might be tempting to see a first stem *coci-* or *cocio-* and relate this stem to Welsh *coch* “red” (as has Ross 1967: 161), but this Welsh word undoubtedly derives from Latin *coccum* “red dye”. Welsh *coch* “red” has no other Celtic cognates. One might also relate a possible Celtic stem **coc-* or **cocio-* to Latin *cocles* “one-eyed man” (see DELL: 83). The Celtic stem **cocio-*, apparent in the deity name, could represent an archaism (as with *Sequana*), with the initial *c-* indicative of an original *ky-*. Thus as with Latin *cocles*, *cocio-* possibly could derive from a shortened form of IE **k^hōk-* “see, seem” (IEW: 638-9), giving the nominal Avestan *caṣu-* “see; eye”. Except for its possible occurrence in this name, however, the root is otherwise unattested in Celtic. Thus *Cocidi(v)os* could be the “All-Seeing God”. However, I set forth this etymology only as a remote possibility. Otherwise, this name is obscure to me.

Esus: “the Lord” or “Divine” (Mars/Mercurius, *esu-*).

Speculation about the nature of the deity named *Esus* has been intense. Of the articles listed here on the nature of the god (rather than the etymology of his name) only Jubainville (1898: 245 ff.) has much value. Other articles include Reinach (1897: 137 ff. and 1905: 233 ff.), Czarnowski (1925), de Vries (1961a: 97 ff.), Le Roux (1955: 33 ff.), Duval (1957: 29 ff.), Deonna (1958: 3 ff.), Thevenot (1957: 442 ff.), and Ross (1960-1: 405 ff.).

The best known inscription to *ESVS* (CIL XIII: 3026) is that occurring above the portrayal of the bearded deity chopping a tree with an ax on the monument of the *Nautae Parisiaci* (Duval 1956: 82-3, fig. c). The iconography of this scene is repeated on the side of a monument to *MERCVRIO* from Trier (Esp.: 4929) depicting the god chopping a tree, beyond which stand the bull with the three cranes (cattle egrets?). The iconography of the bull and the cranes is to be found on figure (d) of the Paris altar (above). The front face of the Trier monument displays *Mercurius* standing besides *Rosmerta*. He is nude, wearing a torque around his neck, and holds a purse in his right hand and the caduces in his left hand.

An inscription from the region around the lower Rhine to *MAR(TI) ESVI* (CIL XIII: 1328), in the Latinized dative of a u-stem, identifies *Esus* with *Mars*. Similarly, from the *Agri Decumates* comes an inscription to *HESVI* (DAG: ‘243, no. 5246). Whatmough (DAG: ‘211, no. 3656) lists a similar inscription from Trier. *Lūcānus* also mentions this deity name.

Et quibus inmitis placatur sanguine diro
Teutates, horrensque feris altaribus *Esus*
et *Taranis Scythicae* non mitior ara *Dianae*.
(*de Bello Civili*: 1, 444-6; Zwicker 1934: 47-8).

The well-known glosses of the Berne scholiasts on this quotation identify *Esus* with both *Mercurius* and *Mars*: *Hesus Mars sic placatur: homo in arbore suspenditur usque donec per cruorem membra digesserit*, and *Hesum Mercurium credunt, si quidem a mercatoribus colitur* (Zwicker 1934: 50). These lines may be translated: “*Esus Mars* was thus placated: a man was hanged in a tree until his members were bloodily separated”, and “They identified *Esus* with *Mercurius* since he was worshiped by merchants.”

There are also a number of Gaulish personal names utilizing *esu-* as a first element and in such a manner as to make it clear that these names are based upon that of the deity. Schmidt (1957: 211) lists Latinized *Esu*-genus “Born of *Esus*” (CIL XIII: 4674), *Esu*-magius “Mighty through *Esus*” (CIL XIII: 3071), *Esu*-mopas (sic. *Esumapos*) “Son of *Esus*” (CIL XIII: 3199), and *Esu*-nertus “Strong through *Esus*” (CIL XII: 2623).

As Vendryes (1948: 263) noted (following Rhys 1892: 61 and Stokes, Urk. Spr.: 43), the deity-name *Esus* is probably cognate with the Avestan deity-name *Ahura-* and the Sanskrit epithet *Ásura-*. He would see all these names deriving from IE **esu-* “good, excellent, capable” (IEW: 342) (**hesu-* (NIL: 239). Pokorny (IEW: 342) and Jakobson see the same source for these names.

In these names Indic *asu-* and Iranian *ahu-* “genius, chief” go back to IE **esə-os/es-u*, literally “existent, essential”, derived from the verb **es-* “to be” and reflected as well in Latin *erus* < *esus* “master”, Greek *eús*, and Hittite *assus* “good, suitable”. The name of the ancient Celtic god *Esus* belongs to the same family. (Jakobson 1969: 591-2).

On the basis of the variant spelling *Haesus* in the text of *Lūcānus* found in the *cod. Montepessulanus H 113* (Zwicker 1934: 47), following Holder (AcS I: 1479) and Gray (1952: 70), Evans (1967: 396) has suggested that *Esus* may go back to IE **ais-* “reverence, respect,

worship” (IEW: 16) (**hes-* LIV:241). Indeed, Lejeune (1973: 635) sees confirmation of this suggestion in the name *aesunos* on face B of the Botorrita inscription. He sees this name as a derivative in *-ono-* of Italo-Celtic **ais* “god”, remarking that **aisono-* > *esono-* indicates “*divinus*” in Ombrian. I list without comment the sources of other less probable etymologies (Jubainville, 1870-2: 259, to Sanskrit *-iṣ* “wish, desire”; Pedersen, VKG I: 56, to Welsh *oes* and Irish *áis* “life, age” (**h₂ej-* DPC: 51); de Vries, 1953: 20, to Old Norse *eir* “honor”).

Esum[aros]: “the ?Great? Lord” or “?Great? in Divinity” (Mercurius, p/s/c variation: *esu-*).

From Lezoux comes a well-known stone statue of a standing bearded Mercurius holding a money bag and wearing petasos (Esp.: 1609). On the front of this statue is the inscription MERCVRIO ET AVGVSTO SACRVM. On the back in Gaulish is APR[ONIOS] IEV[RV S]O[SIN ESVM[ARO] (see Rhys 1911-2: 321; Whatmough DAG: ‘135; Evans 1967: 448; all accept this reading, which is now scarcely legible, see RIG-II: 109-118). Lambert (1979: 207-13) has noted that Gaulish *ieuru* most likely relates to Irish *-ír* the third person conjunct preterite of *ernaid* “offer” and thus translates *ieuru* as “dedicated”. The phrase may then be translated “Apronios dedicated this (statue) to (the deity) Esum[aros]”. With *ieuru* interpreted as “dedicated” rather than “made”, it is clear that Esum[aros] can only be the name of the Gaulish deity to whom the Mercurius statue was dedicated and not the name of the patron who commissioned its production.

Here *esu-* is clearly the same stem found above in Esus, while the uncertain o-stem *-m[āro]*- would be derived from IE **moh₁ro* > *-mōro-*, the lengthened o-grade of **meh₁ro-* > **mēro-* “great, important” (IEW: 704; DPC: 258). **Mōro-* gives Irish *már* and Welsh *mawr* (Urk. Spr.: 201; VKG I: 49; Dottin 1920: 270; Thurneysen 1946: 36). Schmidt (1957: 238) and Evans (1967: 224) note that *māro-* is usually the second or third element in the personal names in which it is found. The dedication is then to the “?Great? (God) Esus”, i.e. to the “?Great? Lord” or “the ?Great? in Divinity”.

Iovantucaros: “Friend of Youth” (Mars/Mercurius, semantic: *magu-*).

Iovantucaros is a deity byname associated with Mercurius in Tholey and with Mars in Trier (CIL XIII: 4256, 10024-6; Weisgerber 1930: 202). Weisgerber derived the name from **iovantūt-* and *caro-* by haplogy, signifying “Lover of Youth” (1930: 202). The first stem derives from IE **iuunt-* (IEW: 511) The expanded form **iuuntūt-* gives Irish *óetiu*, *óitiu* (g.s.: *óited*) “youth, adolescence, early manhood” (on the related Celtic stem *iovinco iovanco* “youth” (< **iuuŋko-* DPC: 436), giving Welsh *ieuanc* and Irish *óc*, see Schmidt 1957: 227; Thurneysen 1946: 122; VKG I: 61). The second stem is *caro-* (Urk. Spr.: 71; AcS I: 766; Dottin 1920: 242; Thurneysen 1946: 119, 207-8; Schmidt 1957: 193). The Celtic stem *caro-* derives from IE **keh₂ro-* > *kā-ro-* “love” (IEW: 515; DPC: 191) and gives Irish *caraid* “love” and Welsh *caraf*. The significance of this name, “Lover of Youth”, reminds one of Mogenios and Mageniacos “the Youth”.

Latobios: “Striker of Warriors”, “Warrior-like Striker”, or “Striker of the Plain” (Mars, CIL III: 5320).

The inscription to MARTI LATOBIO HARMOGIO TOVTATI SINATI MOGENIO (CIL III: 5320) from Seckau (Stiermark) provides five bynames of Romano-Gaulish Mars. The second byname Latobios is found in inscriptions from Seckau as well as from St. Paul in Lavantale (Noricum) to LATOBIO AVGVSTO (CIL III: 5321, 5097-8).

Latobios may be analyzed as a compound of *lato-* plus *bio-*. Weisgerber (1930: 65) relates *-bios* to IE **bhei(ə)-*, *bhī-* “strike” (IEW: 117-8) (**bheiH-* DPC: 65), giving Irish *benaid* “strike” (< **bi-na-ti*).

The first stem *lāto-* (DPC: 233) may be related to Irish *láth* (o,m), also *láith* (i,m), “hero, warrior” (see Dottin 1920: 265). However, Schmidt (1957: 229) suggests that *lato-* is not the same as *lati-* “warrior”. He would see *lato-* as a t-extended form of the zero-grade of **pela* “wide, flat” (IEW: 805-6). According to Schmidt, *lato-* would indicate “plain” (note as well IE **plāt-* “wide, flat”; IEW: 833). On the basis of the Irish stem-form variation, Evans (1967: 216) feels that the Gaulish o-stem forms in *lato-* belong with those in *lati-* (on *lati-* also see Jubainville 1891: 47; AcS II: 150). These analyses suggest for the significance of Latobios the possibilities of “Striker of Warriors”, “Warrior-like Striker”, and “Striker of the Plain”.

Lenos: “?” (Mars, RIB: 309).

From Caerwent (Mon.) comes an inscription to the [DEO] MARTI LENO [S]IVE OCELO VELLAVN(O) ET NVM(INI) AVG(VSTI) (RIB: 309). This inscription was placed on the base of a statue to the god, the feet of which survive along with the feet of a goose. The inscriber M(arcus) Nonius Romanus must have been a Gaul from the region around Trier, for the majority of the inscriptions to LENO MARTI (as in CIR: 840) come from along the Mosel, from Fliessen near Bitburg (as above), Majeroux, Luxemburg, and Trier. From this region comes a particularly early inscription to Lenos in Greek lettering (DAG: ‘236; no. 7661). The deity name was also known in the Agri Decumates and in Germania Inferior as well. The inscription [L]EN(O) M[ARTI] (RIB: 126, Ross 1967: pl. 60b) occurs below a crudely carved bas-relief on an altar from Chedworth (Glos.) depicting a standing god with a spear in his right hand and an ax in his left hand, perhaps drawing a connection to Esus the ax wielder.

Etymologically the name Lenos is difficult to deal with. If the name developed from an original IE **plēnos*, **līnos* would be the expected Celtic form. Although not so common as the *e/i* alternation in Gaulish (Evans 1967: 392), Evans does note the existence of an *ē/i* orthographic variation (1967: 394), as in *Dubnorēx*, *Dumnorīx*. The examples he gives in *-rēx*, however, may simply represent Latinizations of the final stem. Thus Lenos has a remote possibility of representing **līnos* and deriving from IE **plē-no-*, *pl-no-*, which represent *no*-suffixed forms of the zero-grade of **pel-* “fill” (IEW: 798-801) (**pelh₂-* LIV: 470). However, an n-expansion of the zero-grade of **pel-*, *plā-* “thrust, strike, drive” (IEW: 801) is more likely here. This n-derivative form possibly lies behind Irish *lén* (o,m) “defeat, hurt, injury” and **lénaid* “impair, injure, wound”. However, Irish *lén* (o,m) also means “unable to defend oneself because of youth or debility” (RIAD: L), as in *lige lén* “sick bed”. Possibly related as well, in this sense, are Irish *lenab* (o,m) “baby, young man, youth” and Welsh *llencyn* “boy” (*llanc* “youth”). It is possible that a Celtic **leno-*, indicating “debility through youth”, lies behind the above names, but the IE origins of this **leno-* are unknown to me. Thus in this byname, *leno-* might indicate the “debilitater or injurer”, the “wounder”, or the “youth”. However, the etymology of this name still remains largely enigmatic to me.

M(a)genios, *Mag(e)niacos*; *Mag(i)niacos*: “the Youth”, “(Protector) of the Family”, “(Protector) of the Plain” “Born of the Mighty” (Mars and Mercurius, CIL III: 2373, 5320, *mago-*).

From Hières, Isère, comes an inscription to the DEO MERCVRIO VICTORI MA[G]NIACO VE[L]LAVNO (CIL XII: 2373). An inscription from Germania Inferior refers to a slightly altered deity byname, again a Latinized o-stem, as *Macniacus Mercurius* (DAG: ‘223). Assuming that a *c/g* interchange has occurred and that *macniaco-* is the same name as *magniaco-*, Schmidt (1957: 244) suggests that here *magnio-* has arisen from *magenio-* or

mogenio- through the syncope resulting from the addition of the suffix *-aco-*, also found in Corotiacos. Thus Magniacos would be simply a derivative of Magenios, Mogenios, through the addition of the common nominal suffix *-aco-*, *-iaco-* (< **-ako-*), the form *-ācis* denoting personal characteristics in Latin (Buck 1933: 343).

Thus a variation of the same deity byname is referred to in the inscription to MARTI LATOBIO HARMOGIO TOVTATI SINATI MOGENIO (CIL III: 5320) from Sekau (Stiermark). The use of Armogios in this inscription suggests that Mogenios does not contain the same root as Armogios (*mog-* “mighty”), which would render the bynames redundant. In analyzing Mogenios, one should also note the Romano-Gaulish o-stem personal name Maginus, derived from **mag-eno-* (IEW: 708).

In analyzing *macnio-*, *magnio-*, *magenio-*, *mogenio-*, I am drawn to Irish *maicne* (io, m) “sons, progeny, descendants, family, tribe” in seeking a cognate. As noted above, I am thus suggesting as the basic stem IE **magho-*, **maghu-* “young; boy, youth” (also **maghu-*; IEW: 696) rather than a form of the root **m_eg(h)-* “great” from the full-grade **meg(h)-* (IEW: 708-9); with the laryngeal *magjo-* “great” < **megh₂-* (DPC: 253). It is possible, however, to seek a derivation from the compound **magjo-* + *genio-* “born of the mighty” through haplology. But one can also project **magho-enio-* “the Youth” (> **mago-enio-* > *mag-enio-*), with the derivative suffix *-enio-*, as lying behind both Gaulish *magenio-* (*macenio-*) and Irish *maicne*. Schmidt (1979b: 121) has outlined the process by which IE **maghu_o-* gave rise to **magu_o-* and **maku_o-* and thence Welsh *map* and Irish *mac* “son”. The unsuffixed stem (becoming a u-stem) gives Celtic *magu-* “boy, youth” (also see Dottin 1920: 269; Urk. Spr.: 298; VKG I: 97 f.; LEIA M: 70; Evans 1967: 221-2). The o-stem gives Celtic *mago-* “young”. Thus *mago-* with the nominal suffix *-eno-* (usually denoting quality; Buck 1933: 323) would suggest simply “the Young God”. But if a relationship to Irish *maicne* is correct, then *Mageniacos* “(Protector) of Progeny, Family, or Tribe” would suggest a semantic relationship to Toutatis “(Protector) of Tribe”. It should be noted that Toutatis is also referenced in the Sekau inscription. Avoidance of redundancy would suggest “(Protector) of Family” or “(Protector) of Progeny” as the basic sense of Magenios and Mag(e)niacos.

Magniacus was also a common place-name in Gaul (as in *Mons Magniacus*), giving eight towns and villages known today as Magny or Magnac (AcS II: 382). It is possible that the towns are named after this byname of the chief god Vellaunos rather than vice-versa, considering the great number of places named after Vellaunos. However, a relationship to the place names may be fortuitous. Irish *maigen* (a,f) “place” (< **magino-* DPC: 252), *maignech* (o,a) “spacious” (< **maginiākos* IEW: 708) and *maignes* (o,m) “a large field or plain” provide valid cognates for the place names. Here Gaulish *mag(i)niaco-* is the stem which lies behind Irish *maignech* “spacious”. Dottin (1920: 269) lists *magos* as “field” and states that it ultimately lies behind Irish *mag* and Breton *-ma*. Pokorny derives Welsh *maes* “field” from **magesto-* (IEW: 709). All these Celtic forms are ultimately relatable to Sanskrit *mah* “earth”. Behind these names are apophonic variations of IE **megh₂-* > *meg(h)-* “great” (IEW: 708-9; DPC: 253). This analysis suggests a possible significance for the deity bynames Magniacos, Magenios, as “(Protector) of the Plain”.

Marmogios: “the Great and Mighty” (Mars, p/s/c variation: *mogio-*).

From Sziszek in Styria (Upper Pannonia) comes an inscription to MARTI MA[R]MOGIO AVG(VSTO) (CIL III: 10844) and from Perwart comes one simply to MARMOGIO (CIL III: 11815). These inscriptions obviously refer to a Latinized io-stems in the dative. The stem *mogio-* is the same as *magio-* above, derived from the o-grade of IE **meg(h)-* “great” or from **m_eg(h)-* (IEW: 708) (**megh₂-* DPC: 252). The prefix *mar-*, *maro-*, added here is derived from IE **m_ero-*, **m_oro-* “great, important” (IEW: 704) (**meh₁-*, **moh₁-ro* DPC: 258) giving Irish *már* and Welsh *mawr* (Urk. Spr.: 201; VKG I: 49; Dottin: 270; Thurneysen 1946: 36), but

Schmidt (1957: 238) and Evans (1967: 224) note that it is usually the second or third element in personal names. Thus the significance of Marmogios is probably “the Great and Mighty”.

Medocios: “Mars who Renders Judgement” (Mars; p/s/c varia: *medo-*).

From Colchester comes a bronze plate bearing an inscription to the DEO MARTI MEDOCIO CAMPESIVM (RIB: 191) dedicated by *Lossio Veda ... nepos Vepogeni Caledo* “Lossio Veda ... grandson of Vepogenos, a Caledonian”. In *Medocios* the suffix *-ocio-*, *-acio-* is apparently added to a stem *medo-*, from IE **med-*; *mēdo-* “to judge; judgement” (IEW: 705; DPC: 261), giving Irish *mess* “judgement” (<**med-tu-*).

Medurinis: “who Renders Judgment” (CIL: 1182; p/s/c varia: *medo-*).

From Rome comes an inscription to TOVTATI MEDVRINI (CIL III: 1182). In being a byname of Toutatis, *Medurinis* may be seen as composed of the Celtic stem *medur-* (see de Vries 1961: 49, 110), which derives from IE **medu-ro-* (**med-* “to judge”; IEW: 705; DPC: 261), combined with the nominal attributive suffix *-en-* (Buck 1933: 323; Meillet 1923: 262-3), which has been rendered here as an i-stem. Otherwise, the ending is obscure to me. It is possible that we deal with a place name or tribal name here **Medu-Rinis*, perhaps analogous to a hypothetical **Medu-Renos*, which would indicate the “Middle Rhine”. Most likely, however, *medur-* should be analyzed after Irish *midera* “judgements” and *medraid* “judges, estimates” from IE **med-* “measure, weigh” (IEW: 705).

Moccos: “?” (Mercurius, ?semantic: *mago-*?).

From Langres comes an inscription to MERCVR(IO) MOCCO (CIL XIII: 5676). The deity epithet *Moccos* usually has been interpreted after Irish *mucc* and Welsh *moch* “swine” (Dottin 1920: 273) (**mokku-* “pig”; DPC: 274). However, such a significance does not seem to make much sense in the context of the deity, in spite of the great role played by the boar in Irish and Welsh mythology and in Gaulish iconography. It is perhaps possible, as Whatmough (DAG: § 236) suggests, that this byname relates to the modern place-names Moque and Le Moche. In this case, the significance “swine” would relate only to the place after which the byname was taken and would have no significance toward describing the deity.

It is also possible to explain *mocco-* as a k-reflex of **makukyo-* “child” (IEW: 696; associated with **magguo-*, **maghuo-* and **maghu-*). Evans (1967: 391) notes the occasional occurrence of *-o-* in place of *-a-* in Gaulish. In this case, *Moccos* would be cognate with Irish *macc* (o,m) (< *maqas*) and Welsh *map* “boy, son” (**mak^ho-* DPC: 253). Such k-reflexes of IE *ky* are commonplace on the Coligny calendar (see Olmsted 1988d: 296; 1992a: 72) and elsewhere from Gaul (see Sequana). Whatmough (DAG: §§ 16-7) displays the alternation between *-cenna* (as in *Nemeto-cenna* and *Sumelo-cenna*) and *pennos* as evidence for this c/p alternation for *-ky-*.

Pre-dialectal Celtic has a synchronous pattern k:qu : g:b, which if I mistake not is amply attested in Gaul, so that the simple classification of Gaulish as p-Celtic is far from being completely born out, ... and, I think, should be abandoned. (Whatmough 1966: 111).

Otherwise, this name is obscure to me.

Mogetios: “the Mighty” (Mars, p/s/c varia: *mogio-*).

From Bourges comes a pedestal displaying various classical scenes including Hermaphroditus and Cupid as well as the remains of a spear and shield from a broken-off

statue of Mars (Esp.: 1433). The inscription on the pedestal is to MARTI MOGETIO (CIL XIII: 1193). A similar inscription from Gallia Lugdunensis (DAG: '181; CIL XIII: 11280) refers to the same deity. Here the suffix *-etio-* has been added to the root **meg(h)-* "mighty" above (IEW: 708) (**megh₂-* DPC: 252). The stem *mogeti-* is found elsewhere in Gaulish and is clearly cognate with Irish *mochta* (io, ia) "great, mighty" (Schmidt 1957: 243; IEW: 708).

**Mogios (Magios)*: "the Mighty" (Mars, *mogio-*).

From Narbonne comes an inscription in a Latinized o-stem to *Magius Mars* (DAG: '82). Here is transparently the Celtic stem *magio-*, *mogio-* (Dottin 1920: 269), derived from IE **meg(h)-* "great, mighty" (IEW: 708) (**megh₂-* DPC: 252), which gives Irish *mag-*, Latin *maius*, and Sanskrit *máhi* (Schmidt 1957: 234; Urk. Spr.: 197). The inscription is thus to "Mars, the Mighty".

Ocelos: "the Seer" or "of the Eye" (Mars, RIB: 309).

From Caerwent (Mon.) comes an inscription to the [DEO] MARTI LENO [S]IVE OCELO VELLAVN(O) ET NVM(INI) AVG(VSTI) dedicated by M(ARCUS) NONIVS ROMANVS (RIB: 309). This inscription was placed on the base of a statue to the god, only the feet of which survive along with the feet of a goose. As noted above, the inscriber M(arcus) Nonius Romanus must have been an inhabitant of Gaul from the region around Trier, for the majority of the inscriptions to LENO MARTI (as in CIR: 840) come from along the Mosel, from Fliessen near Bitburg (as above), Majeroux, Luxemburg, and Trier. Here the inscriber makes it clear, through the use of *sive*, that *Ocelos Vellaunos* was considered to be an alternative name for Mars Lenos. Confirming this is an inscription from Carlisle to the DEO MARTI OCELO (RIB: 310). This Latinized o-stem byname, *Ocelus* or *Ocellus*, is also known from Gallia Narbonensis (DAG: '82) and Germania Inferior (DAG: '223).

Here I would relate *ocelo-* to Latin *oculus* "eye" and derive it from **ōk^helo-s* (IEW: 776-7). The basic IE root **h₃ok^h-* "to see" (IEW: 775-77) (*h₃ek^ho-*; LIV: 297) also gives Irish *enech* and Welsh *enep* "face" (**enek^ho-* < **h₁en-h₃ek^ho-*; DPC: 115). Since the *Ocelos* inscriptions in Britain derive from Gaulish mercenaries serving as Roman auxiliaries in Wales, seeing *-c-* for *-k^h-* rather than *-p-* does not create the problem it would create for a British inscription. The Gaulish Coligny calendar shows *-q-* or *-c-* for *-k^h-* in the month names *Equos* and *Cutios/Quotios* (Olmsted 1988d: 296; 1992a: 77) (see *Moccus*, above). We should expect similar archaisms in deity names as in month names through archaized hymns. Thus *Vellaunos Ocelos* could be seen as *Vellaunos* "the Seer" or *Vellaunos* "of the Eye".

Ri(g)ocalatis or *Ri(gi)ocalatis*: "Protector of Kings" or "the Sovereign Protector" (Mars, RIB: 1017, *rigio-*).

The inscription to RI(G)OCALATI [TO]VTAT(I) M[AR(TI)] COCID(I)O (RIB: 1017) on a rough sandstone altar is usually ascribed to Old Carlisle, Cumberland. The deity name *Ri(g)ocalatis* or *Ri(gi)ocalatis* shows the loss of intervocalic *-g-* and possibly syncope of the following *-i-* (as in *clava-ri(gi)-ati-* above), the basic stem is either *ri(gi)o-* or it is *ri(g)o-*. Celtic *rīgio-* would derive from IE **rēgio-* "sovereign" (IEW: 854; DPC: 311). The Celtic stem *rīgo-* represents the form of *rīx* "king" (**rīgs* < IE **rēgs*) used for initial or intermediate position in compounds, as in Gallo-Roman *Rigo-magus* "King's Field" (IEW: 856).

The stem *calati-*, *caleti-* probably functions as a modifier of the main stem, *rī(g)o-* "king" or *rī(gi)o-* "sovereign". It is tempting to connect Mars *Ri(g)ocalatis* to the *Mercurius Vassocaletis* found elsewhere in Gaulish inscriptions (see section on *Mercurius* bynames of *Lugus* above). Noteworthy is the fact that *rīgo-* "king" is the exact opposite of *vasso-* "vassel".

The bynames Ri(g)ocalatis and Vassocaletis apparently relate to the opposite members of the originally paired PIE deities exemplified by Vedic Mitráḥ/ Váruṇaḥ. Because of the association with Cocidios Mars, Ri(g)ocalatis can be connected to Vellaunos, the son of the member of the pair corresponding to Váruṇaḥ, who absorbed most of the traits of his father. Because of the association with the Mercurius of Puy de Dôme, Vassocaletis can be connected to Lugus, the member of the pair corresponding to Mitráḥ.

Irish *calath* (o,a) “hard, severe, firm” and Welsh *caled* “hard” (< **klHeto-*; DPC: 185) are possibly cognate with *calati-*, *caleti-* (see Smith 1957: 160). Thus, Ri(g)ocalatis would be “the Firm King”, a not inappropriate attributive byname for a deity equated with Mars. However, Vassocaletis “Firm Servant” does not seem very likely as a deity name. It would have to be interpreted as a tribal name, the genius of which was equated to Mercurius.

However, Stokes (AcS I: 697) and Whatmough (DAG: §152) have suggested, after an etymology of Gregorius Turonensis (see Vassocaletis below), that the full-grade form of the IE root behind *cal-* in Vassocaletis is **kel-* “cover, shelter” (IEW: 553; DPC: 199), giving Latin *cella*. Irish *cuile* “cellar, storehouse” would derive from the o-grade **kolio-*. In both deity names one must see the addition of the agentive suffix *-eti-* or *-ati-* above. This suggestion then gives “He who Shelters or Protects Vassals” for Vassocaletis and “He who Shelters or Protects Kings” for Ri(g)ocalatis. If the adjectival stem *rīgio-* (< **rēgio-*) is seen here instead, the significance would be “the Sovereign Protector”.

Segomo: “Victory Giver” (Mars).

There are various inscriptions to MARTI SEGOMONI or SEGOMONI mainly from the Côte d’Or and the surrounding departments to the south (CIL XIII: 1675 from Lyon; 2846 from Nuits, Côte d’Or; 2532 from Artemare, Ain; 5340 from Arinthod, Jura). Two inscriptions, however, come from Cimiez in the Alpes-Maritimes (CIL V: 7868, 7884). The inscription from Artemare near Culoz (Ain) is interesting because it refers to the DEO MARTI SEGOMONI DUNATI (AcS I: 1373. This same byname Dunatis is evoked in an inscription from Bouhy, Nièvre, to MARTI BOLVINNO ET DVNA[TI] (CIL XIII: 2532; AcS I: 1373). Although Bolvinnos is certainly a place-name epithet for Mars referring to the former name of Bouhy, the distribution of the Dunatis names overlaps with those of Segomo. Dunatis may be an attributive byname as well.

Ogam inscriptions from Waterford, Ireland, refer to NETA SEGAMONAS and NETTA SEGOMONAS. The same name crops up again in the *Cóir Anmann* as Nia Segamain. From Serviers-Labaume comes a dedication to the goddess SEGOMANNAE (DAG: ‘82) in the dative of an *ā*-stem. The Latinized datives in *-i* in the Gaulish names could indicate either an *n*-stem or an *i*-stem. However, the *ogam* genitives in *-as* would indicate the *n*-stem (Thurneysen 1946: 200).

Watkins (1962: 182-4) analyzes the Irish correlative of this name as the Celtic root *seg-* combined with the agent-noun suffix *-amon-* (see Thurneysen 1946: 172). He would see the Celtic suffix *-amon-* developed from the IE agent-noun suffix *-mon-* (as in Latin *-mō*; Buck 1933: 320) through the effects on the following suffix of the laryngeal in roots of the form TERH- (where H represents the laryngeal). Thus “IE TERH-*mon-* yields regularly in Celtic TER*a-mon-*“ (1962: 183). Similarly, Fleuriot (1982: 121) sees *Segomo*, here, as simply a translation of Latin *Victor*.

The basic Celtic root *seg-* often appears as an *o*-stem, *sego-* “strong, bold, strength” (Dottin 1920: 285; DPC: 327; DPC: 327), giving Irish *seg* “strength, vigor” and Welsh *hy* “daring, bold” (Evans 1967: 254-7; also see Jackson 1953: 446; Weisgerber 1930: 254; Schmidt 1957: 265). Germanic **segaz* “victory” is undoubtedly related. All derive from the IE root **segh-* “victory, to conquer” (IEW: 888). Pokorny (1912: 66-7) has suggested that Irish

segond “champion”, although possibly influenced by *secundus*, represents another development of this root.

The *ogam* inscriptions NETA SEGAMONAS and NETTA SEGOMONAS clearly reference the same name as Old Irish Nia Segamain. The *Cóir Anmann* states of Nia Segamain “*is dó robdar eilti ba*”, “for him does were cows” (Stokes 1891b: 295). The first element in this name is *nia* (gs *niad*) “warrior”. *Nia* is a reflex of the word to be found in the inscriptions. It developed from the Celtic stem *neto-*, “warrior” derived from IE **nei-to-* “warrior” (IEW: 760). The stem also crops up in the n-stem Celtiberian name Neto (Evans 1967: 370).

According to the *Cóir Anmann*, Nia Segamain was supposedly the son of Flidais Foltchain, the wife of Fergus mac Roich. She provides milk for Medb’s army from the *buar Flidais*; these “cattle” were apparently does (*Táin bó Flidais*). The reference in the *Cóir Anmann* then undoubtedly fits Flidais better. It is possible that Nia Segamain is a separate minor deity apart from the reflex of bynames derived from the group surrounding Vellaunos-Esus.

However, I think the reference to Nia Segamain’s milking does is more likely to be a development of early Irish etymological speculation, which may predate the *Etymologiae* of Isidorus Hispalensis (Bishop of Seville: 560-636 AD). The glossators connected the name through pseudo-etymologies to *seg* “milk”, *segamail* “milk-producing”, and *ségnat* “a small deer”. Through such etymological speculation a byname of the Vellaunos-Esus group of names apparently became a separate character to the glossators. Significantly this character plays no role in early Irish myth.

Sinatis: “Torque Holder” (Mars, CIL III: 5320: *sino-*).

The inscription to MARTI LATOBIO HARMOGIO TOVTATI SINATI MOGENIO (CIL III: 5320) from Seckau (Stiermark) contains the interesting byname *Sinatis*, which to my knowledge is not attested elsewhere. It may be analyzed as *sino-ati-*. The suffix *-ati-* is usually used to form a noun of agency. The Gaulish stem *sino-* is probably cognate with Irish *sín* “torque, neck ring” (Urk. Spr.: 303; Schmidt 1957: 268). Irish *sín* is apparently derived from a n-derivative of IE **sē(i)-*, *si-* “bind, ribbon, band” (IEW: 891-2) (**sh₂ej-* LIV: 544). Avestan *hinu* “band” would then be cognate.

This byname draws a parallel to portrayals of Gaulish Mercurius wearing or holding a torque, such as the torque worn by the god on the Trier altar (also showing the famous portrayal of the tree cutter on another face), the torque held in the right hand of a small bronze statuette of Mercurius from Vesoul, or the torques displayed on the horns of the god from Paris labeled [C]ERN[V]NNOS (Olmsted 1979b: 160-6; pls. 65-68).

Toutatis, Toutenos: “(Protector of) Tribe” (Mars/Mercurius) (CIL: 5320, 1182, RIB: 1017).

The famous inscription to MARTI LATOBIO HARMOGIO TOVTATI SINATI MOGENIO (CIL III: 5320) from Seckau contains a byname with the interesting composition *touto-ati-*. As in the case of *Sinatis* from the same inscription, the suffix *-ati-*, used to form nouns of agency, is attached to the basic stem, in this case *touto-*. This same byname occurs in an inscription to MARTI TOVTATI (RIB: 219) from Barkway (Herts.), to RI(G)OCALATI [TO]VTATI M[AR(TI)] COCID(I)O (RIB: 1017) from Cumberland, and to TOVTATI MEDVRINI (CIL III: 1182) from Rome. The same stem *touto-* occurs in the inscription to ME(R)CVRIO TOVTENO (CIL XIII: 6122) from Hohenburg by Ruppertsberg. Here the attributive suffix *-eno-* (Buck 1933: 323; Meillet 1923: 262-3) is used rather than the agentive suffix *-ati-* (Buck 1933: 337).

The ambivalence in the use of these bynames in *touto-* by both Mars and Mercurius also is found in the *Commenta Lucani* (Lūcānus, *de Bello Civili*: I, 445) as well.

Mercurius lingua Gallorum Teutates dicitur ... Teutates Mercurius sic apud Gallos placatur: in plenum semicupium homo in caput demittitur ut ibi suffocetur.... Teutates Mars sanguine diro placatur.... (Zwicker 1934: 50).

Jubainville (1893b: 249-53) relates this Teutates of Lūcānus to an original Gaulish *Teutatis, seeing the suffix *-ati-* added to the stem *teuto-*. Here it is clear that *touto-* derives from *teuto-* (**teutā* “people, tribe”; IEW: 1084) (**toutā* < *teuteh₂*; DPC: 386). Irish *túath* (a,f) “people, tribe, nation, country” forms a cognate as does Welsh *tud* “country, people”. There is no need to evoke haplology in deriving Toutatis from *touto-tati-*, as Weisgerber (1930: 68) suggests in seeing the significance “Father of Tribe” (after Welsh *tad* and Latin *tata* from IE **tata-* “father”: IEW: 1056). Rather than seeing *-tati-*, one could project the agentive suffix *-ati-* to suggest the significance “of the Tribe” or “(Protector) of the Tribe”. Fleuriot (1982: 126) sees the significance of *Teutatis as a translation of Latin *vicanus*. (On *teuto-* also see VKG I: 53 f.; Thurneysen 1946: 40; Dottin 1920: 292; Schmidt 1957: 277 ff.; Evans 1967: 266-9).

Vellaunos: “the Seer” (Mars and Mercurius) (RIB: 309, CIL: 2373).

From Caerwent (Mon.) comes an inscription to the [DEO] MARTI LENO [S]IVE OCELO VELLAVN(O) ET NVM(INI) AVG(VSTI) dedicated by M(ARCVS) NONIVS ROMANVS (RIB: 309). This inscription was placed on the base of a statue to the god, the feet of which survive along with the feet of a water bird. From Hières, Isère, comes an inscription to the DEO MERCVRIO VICTORI MA[G]NIACO VE[L]LAVNO (CIL XII: 2373). There are also inscriptions from Le Sablon, Meurthe-et-Moselle, in the region of the Mediomatrici to ICOVEL[LAVNAE] (CIL XIII: 4294-8). Icovellauna was obviously a goddess; perhaps the name was a byname of Rosmerta (see Anwyl 1906: 40). With the exception of one inscription from Trier, all the examples are from Le Sablon. Such a distribution suggests that Icovellauna may have been a local nymph named for a place named after Vellaunos.

Jacobson sees the deity-name Vellaunos as cognate with Vedic *Váruṇaḥ* and Lithuanian *Vėlinas*. Jacobson (1969: 586-90) and Watkins (1985: 75) would see all these Vellaunos-*Váruṇaḥ* names as n-suffixal stems of IE **uel-* “see; sight, foresight, observance, vigilance” (IEW: 1136). But going further, Jacobson connects *Ásuraḥ*, a major byname of *Váruṇaḥ*, with *Esus*, a major byname of Vellaunos. This gives his suggestion more credibility than if only a single name were involved. Evans (1967: 275) has suggested that the suffix *-auno-* in Vellaunos may be analyzed as *-au-no-*. The suffixal stem behind *Váruṇaḥ* would be *-uno-* and that behind *Vėlinas* would be *-eno-*. The IE root **uel-*, above, also has given the name of a Germanic seeress *Veleda* “Seeress” (DAG: ‘223), Welsh *gweled* “sees”, and Irish *fili* (g.s. *filed*; Ogam *velitas* < **uelēts* “seer, diviner” but also “poet”) (**uel-o*; DPC: 412).

Pokorny, however, suggests that the basic root behind Vellaunos is **uel-* “wish, choice” (IEW: 1137) (**uelH-* DPC: 411). Like **uel-* above, this root is equally possible behind Vedic *Váruṇaḥ* and Lithuanian *Velínas*. The significance of these names would then be “the Chosen One”. But in terms of the mythic significance of these deity names, this suggestion seems less likely than “Seer”, above.

Schmidt (1957: 288) has seen the same suffixal context for Vellaunos as Evans, but he relates the Celtic stem *vell-* to names in *vello-* and *velio-*, suggesting (like Dottin 1920: 296) a connection to Welsh *gwell* “better”. He would then derive *vello-* from IE **uer-lo-*, relating it in turn (like Thurneysen 1946: 236 and Pokorny IEW: 1152) to Irish *ferr* “better” and Welsh *gwell*. Although this suggestion is indeed likely for *ferr* and *gwell*, it is difficult to see how the Gaulish correlative of **uer-lo-* could be *vello-* in light of the Irish derivative *ferr*. The Common Celtic correlative behind Irish *ferr* and Welsh *gwell* more likely would be **verlo-*. With a projected **verlo-*, problems would also arise for the correlation between Vellaunos and

Vēlinas (for a discussion of other possibilities see Evans 1967: 252-6, which includes possible connections to Old Welsh *-guallaun* “good”).

There are a number of personal and local name prefixes utilized with *vellauno-*, such as *catu-*, *cassi-*, *ver-cassi-*, and *dubno-* or *dumno-*. As for Latinized personal names containing *vellauno-*, Schmidt (1957: 288) notes Cassivellaunus (the Belgic British king who led the British during Caesar’s second invasion in 54 BC; BG: 5, 11, 8) and Vercassivellaunus (leader of the Arverni, commander of the army which attempted to relieve Alesia, and cousin to Vercingetorix; BG: 7, 76, 3). He also lists Dumnovellaunus and Dubnovellaunus.

Several tribal cognomens and places were named for the deity. Ptolemaeus (Ptolemy) (2, 3, 11) lists the Catuvellauni (Old Welsh *Cat-vuallaun*; Schmidt 1957: 168), a Belgic tribe controlling a large area either side of the Thames. The Catuvellauni were also a client tribe of the Lingones, with their center at Châlons-sur-Marne (Evans 1967: 276). Ptolemaeus also lists (2, 10, 5) the Segovellauni as a tribal name in Narbonese Gaul (also see Strabo: 4, 1, 11; Schmidt 1957: 266). Whatmough (DAG: ‘212) lists as a Belgic village or canton the Pagus Vellaunus. The Senones named their chief city Vellaunodunum (?now Château-Landon, Seine-et-Marne?; AcS III: 149). Holder lists as other place-names Bolvelaunium (*Ravennatis*: 5, 31) in south Britain, Vellaunessa (Villenauxe-la-Petite, Seine-et-Marne), Vellaunissa (Villenauxe, Aube), and Vellanum (Le Bregnet, Lot-et-Garonne).

Catu-vellauni would appear to be a combination of two elements found independently in bynames of the deity. Since *catu-* means “battle” (see *Caturix* below), the name probably indicates “People of Warlike Vellaunos”. *Cassi-Vellaunos* provides a similar compound also utilizing *vellauno-*. From a comparison with the personal name Cassitalos, where *talos* means “brow, forehead”, Evans (1967: 64) has suggested that *cassi-* has some pleasant connotation. I might suggest perhaps rendering Cassivellaunos as “Pleasing to Vellaunos”. Since the function of *ver-* in Vercassivellaunus is probably as an intensive (1967: 120), this name may then be rendered as “Very Pleasing to Vellaunos” (but see also Jubainville 1891: 186 f.). Since *dubno-*, *dumno-* means “deep, world” (< **dheu-b-* “deep”; IEW: 267; DPC: 107), Dubnovellaunos would be the “Deep Seer” or “He who Watches over the World”. This latter name suggests that it was taken from a genuine epithet of the deity.

Vernostonos: “Wounds with Thunder” or “Shields from Thunder” (RIB: 1102).

From Ebchester (Durham) comes an inscription DEO VERNOSTONO COCIDIO VIRI[L]IIS GER(MANVS) V(OTVM) S(SOLVIT) L(IBENS) (RIB: 1102). This byname Vernostonos is a compound of *verno-* and *stono-*. The first stem *verno-* may be the same as that found in Vernodubrum “Alder Water”, derived from IE **uerna* “alder” (IEW: 1169; DPC: 414). IE **uerna* gives Welsh *gwern* and Irish *fern* (a, f), which can also mean “shield” as well as “alder”. It might also be possible, however, to relate **verno-* to IE **uer-* “throng, troop, swarm” (IEW: 1150-1) or **uer-* “rip” (IEW: 1163; LIV: 688), indicating “wound” in the n-derivative. The second stem may relate to IE **stono-* “thunder” (IEW: 1021) (**torano-* < **tonaro-* < **stenH-* DPC: 384). If so, the name would indicate “he who Wounds with Thunder” or “he who Shields from Thunder”.

Visucios, *Vo(s)ucos*: “the Worthy” (Mercurius, RIB: 193).

There are a series of inscriptions to Visucios concentrating on the left bank of the Rhine in the territory of the Nemetii. Indeed, one of the inscriptions from outside of this region was dedicated by a member of the Nemetii. The usual inscriptions are to MERC(VRIO) AVG(VSTO) VISVCIO as from Bordeaux (CIL XIII: 577) or to VISVCIO MERCVRIO as from Hockenheim (CIL XIII: 6347), Trier, and Besançon (AcS III: 406). The presence of an inscription from Köngen, Württemberg, (CIL XIII: 6384) to the DEO MERCVRIO VISVCIO

ET SA(N)CTE VISVCIE, of an inscription from Heiligenberg near Heidelberg (CIL XIII: 6404) to VISVCIO, and of an inscription from Nancy (CIL XIII: 5991) to APOL(LINI) ET VISVC[IO] suggests that a local name may be involved, especially in the light of the concentration of names in a single region. If so, the significance of the place or people is now obscure. Rather what seems to be occurring here is the localized usage of a byname for Vellaunos-Esus.

This conclusion is verified by the fact that from Colchester (Essex) comes an inscription NVMINIB(VS) AVG(VSTORVM) ET MERC(V)RIO DEO ANDES(VI) COCI(DIO) VO(S)VCO IMILICO AESVRILINI LIBERTVS ARAM OPERE MARONIO D(E) S(VO) D(EDIT) (RIB: 193). “To the Deities of the Emperors and to the God Mercu(rius) Andes(us)-Coci(dios)-Vo(s)ucos, Imilico, freedman of Aesurilinius, gave this altar in marble from his own resources.” This very important inscription links the three bynames Andes(us), Coci(dios), and Vo(s)ucos, connecting the Esus group with the Vellaunos group. Vo(s)ucos is probably a variant form of Visucios. Thus Visucia must also be a variant name for Rosmerta, the goddess companion of Gaulish Mercurius.

Visucios and Vo(s)ucos may be derived from Celtic *visu-cio-* and *vosu-co-* respectively, each derived with the agentive suffix **-ko-*, *-kio-*. Clearly here are derivatives of the IE lengthened-grade **uēsu-* “good” and the o-grade form **uosu-* (IEW: 1174; also see Meid 1987: 158; DPC: 418). IE **uēsu-* gives Irish *fíu* “worthy” and Welsh *gwiw*. IE **uōsu-* gives Irish *fó* “good”. These names are then semantically closely related to Esus < **esu-* “good, excellent, capable” (IEW: 342).

Other Bynames Probably Attributable to Vellaunos-Esus

**Andovellicos*: “the Great Seer”.

A number of inscriptions have come from Lusitania dedicated to the DEO ENDOVELLICO (CIL II: 131), ENDOVELICO (CIL II: 139), or DEO INDOVELLICO (Martinez: 1962: 147-154), to list some of the common variants of the name. Schmidt (1957: 205) explains this Lusitanian deity-name *Endovellicos* as a variant form of **Andovellicos*. **Andovellicos* may be analyzed as **ando-velli-co-*. Thurneysen (1946: 521) noted that the first term, Celtic *ande-*, *ando-* (also see Schmidt (1957: 126), besides being a preposition also functions as an intensive prefix. The place name Velliacum (now Villez bei Laroche, Luxemburg; see AcS III: 146) probably contains the same stem *veli-* as that found in the god’s name. On the other hand, the personal name *Vellesius* (*Concil. Aurelian*; see AcS III: 145), like the name of the Slavic god *Veles*, could be analyzed as a derivative of IE **uel-es-io-*, a combination of the main elements in the deity names Vellaunos and Esus. In any case, the root in *Andovellicos* is undoubtedly the same as in Vellaunos, namely IE **uel-* “see; sight, foresight, observance, vigilance” (IEW: 1136; DPC: 412).

Anvallos, Anvalonnacos: “the Strong”.

From Autun come Latin inscriptions to the DEO ANVALO and DEO ANVALLO (AcS III: 638; DAG: ‘181). There is also a Gaulish inscription LICNOS CONTEXTOS IEVRV ANVALONNACV CANECOSDLON (DAG: ‘162, RIG-II: 128-134; also see Bulliot 1900: 349-57). This byname probably relates to a Gaulish deity later equated with Mars.

For the first name *Anvallos*, inscriptions provide the Latinized dative of an o-stem analyzable as *an-vallo-*. For the second name *Anvalonnacos*, an inscription provides the Gaulish dative of an o-stem (see Thurneysen 1946: 181) analyzable as *an-valo-onno-aco-*. The suffix *-onno-* is a variant of the nominal suffix *-ono-* (Meillet 1923: 263-4), while *-aco-* derives from IE **-ko-*, an agentive suffix (Buck 1933: 343-4; Meillet 1923: 269-70). Here *an-* functions as a primitive particle (perhaps the definite article if not an intensive). The basic

stem here is *valo-* “strong, mighty”, derived from the IE root **ual-* “to be strong” (IEW: 1111-2; DPC: 402) giving Old Breton *-wal*, *-gwal*, and it is probably an element in the Irish names Bresal and Conall (Evans 1967: 269-71; Urk. Spr. 262; Dottin 1920: 295; AcS III: 97). This same root is found in Lanovalos below.

Arcecios: “?” (Mercurius, semantic: *cern-*).

From Bregenz (Agri Decumates) comes an inscription to the DEO MERCVRIO ARCECIO (CIL III: 5768). Whatmough also lists the deity name *Arcecios* from Belgica (DAG: ‘213; no. 3600). Assuming assimilation, a tendency toward an intervocalic mutation of *-g-* to *-c-* in Gaulish, or a simple confusion of the voiced and unvoiced stops in Gallo-Latin (as outlined above under Glossary: *Lugus*), *Arcecios* could be analyzed as **par-aghi-kio-*, showing the adjectival suffix **-ko-*, **-kio-*, which could give *Arcecios* through syncope. Providing a parallel but opposite development, Pokorny (IEW: 439) and Thurneysen (1946: 130) suggest that through dissimilation Proto-Celtic **kņgsmn* “step, stride” derives from IE **ghngħsmn* (the full-grade form giving Gaulish *cimi(n)-*; see below *Cimi(n)iacos*).

At any rate **par-agho-* has been projected to lie behind Irish *airgech*, *aircceach* (o,m) “herdsman”, formed from *airge* (f) “herd, herd of cattle”. Stokes (1907: 381) derived *airge* from **ar-agia*, which would in turn arise from the IE root **agh-* < **h₂egH-* “traction animal” (IEW: 7; DPC: 27), giving Irish *ag* (s,n) “cow”. Vendryes proposed this etymology for *airge*.

Airge s’explique par **[p]ar-agiā*, composé tiré de la racine **ag-* “pousser, mener” (v. à part), KZ, XCI, 381. C’est l’endroit où l’on mené le troupeau pour la traite, et par suite le troupeau lui-même. (Vendryes 1959: A, 45).

If the significance of [C]ern[u]nnos is “(Protector) of Cattle”, as discussed below, then *Arcecios* as a byname for the same deity would be plausible as a derivation of **Aragicios* “Herdsman” or “Protector of Herds”. However, as this etymology hinges upon seeing the dropping of *-a-*, the use of *-c-* for *-g-*, and the use of *-e-* for *-i-*, all possible in themselves but unlikely to occur together in the same word, I suggest this etymology only as a remote possibility. Otherwise, *Arcecios* is obscure to me.

Arixos (= **Aricos?*): “?Noble?” (Mars, semantic: *esu-*).

From Loudenville comes an inscription to Mars *Arixus* (CIL: XII: 363). Clearly the byname represents the Latinized dative of an o-stem. It is possible that *arixo-* represents **arico-* (Gaulish *x = c, s, cs, ps, gs*; Evans 1967, 398). Perhaps through syncope, **arico-* derives from **ariaco-*, which is in turn derived from **arjāko-* “lord” (IEW: 67). This stem is a development of IE **h₂erjo-* > **arjo-* “free man” (DPC: 43), and the two give Sanskrit *aryá-* and *āryaka*, and perhaps Irish *aire* and *airech* “lord, noble, chief” (IEW: 24, 67: **ario-*), as well. As Thurneysen (1936, 354) and Evans (1967, 141-142) have noted, however, the Celtic forms *ario-* and *areo-* may relate to *are-* “before” (Dottin 1920, 228). Old Irish *ar-* < **peri-* (IEW 812) indicates “he who is before”. In any case, **arico-* would be cognate with Irish *airech*, indicating “noble”.

Atesmerios, Adsmérios: “the Highly Foresighted” (Mercurius).

Inscriptions to the DEO ME(R)CVRIO ADSMERIO (CIL XIII: 1125; AcS I: 46) and to the D(EO) ATESMERIO (CIL XIII: 3023) come from Poitiers and Meaux respectively. The last name corresponds to a goddess name invoked in a Latinized inscription from the Haute Marne to ATESMERTE (DAG: ‘213). This goddess is undoubtedly the same one referred to in the many inscriptions to the DEO MERCVRIO ET ROSMERTAE (AcS II: 1229-31), such as that from Langres (CIL XII: 5677).

Here then the prefixes *ad-* and *ate-* function to intensify the basic root *smēr-*, as does the prefix *ro-* in the goddess name Rosmerta. On the basis of the cornucopia often held by Rosmerta, Dottin (1920: 287) connected *smēr-* to Welsh *armerth* “provision”. However, it is more likely that the goddess (merely a consort to the god) has taken her name from that of the god rather than vice-versa. The connotation of food preparation does not seem to fit the context of a deity equated with Mercurius. Pokorny (IEW: 969) relates these deity names in *smēr-* to IE **smēr-*, **smert-* “thought, plan; to recall, sorrow” as in Latin *memoria* and Irish *mert* “sorrow, trouble, despair”. Pokorny would relate these names to Irish *airimbert* “contemplating, planning”. Thus Atesmerios would be “the Highly Foresighted”.

Baculos: “?” (EE 3: 125 no. 84).

This byname is found on an inscription to the DEO BELATVCADRO BACVLO (EE 3: 125, no. 84) from Westmoreland. Other inscriptions to the DEO MARTI BELATVCADRO (below) provide the *zusammenhangend* linkage to connect the byname to Mars. Clearly here is a Latinized o-stem byname. The *-c-* in *baculo-* may actually represent *-g-*, under the *c/g* interchange found frequently in Gaulish (discussed under Glossary: *Lugus*). If a *g/c* interchange is seen here, *baculo-* could be analyzable as **bagulo-*, which would contain the same root found in Irish *bág* “battle” (see Dottin 1920: 230; Urk. Spr.: 160). In the deity name the suffix *-lo-* may have been added as a *nomen agentis*. The IE root behind Irish *bág* “battle” would be the lengthened o-grade **bhōgh-* “to fight” (IEW: 115) (**b^heh₂g-*; LIV: 87). The inscription would then be to **Bagulos* “the Strifeful”. This etymology is suggested only as a possibility, not as a probability. Otherwise the inscription is obscure to me.

Belatucadros: “Mighty in Destruction” (EE 3: 125 no. 84).

From Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Northumberland concentrating on Hadrian’s wall come inscriptions to the DEO BELATVCADRO or the DEO MARTI BELATVCADRO (CIL: VII: 318, 746, 957). An inscription from Westmoreland reads to the DEO BELATVCADRO BACVLO (EE 3: 125, no. 84). Clearly here is an o-stem byname analyzable as *belatu-cadro*. The significance of this byname should be seen as not to conflict with the possible significance of the associated byname *Baculos* (**Bagulos*) “?the Strifeful?” (see above).

The first stem in this compound byname *Belatucadros* apparently is also found in *Bel[latu]marus* below from Gallia Lugdunensis (DAG: ‘181). Dottin (1920: 232) associated *belatu-* with Irish *epeltu* (n,f) “death, destruction, slaying”, and Schmidt (1957: 145), after Pedersen (VKG II: 459), has expanded upon this association (noting **epeltiu* < **ebbeltiu* < **eks-beltiu*). Irish *belletus* “destruction” may be relevant here as well, but the ending of this word is obscure to me. It may derive instead from Latin *bellum* “war”. Stokes (Urk. Spr.: 173) lists **bel-* “to die” as the root behind *belatu-*, with a verb *ad-balo-* giving Irish *at-bail* “perish”. At any rate, probably relevant here are Welsh *belu* “to kill, pierce, strike” and English *bolt* as in “arrow” (< the o-grade of **bheld* “knock, strike”, the d-present of **bhel-* “sound, roar”; IEW: 123-4).

Pokorny relates *cadro-* to **kad-* “fine, resplendent, shining, outstanding” (IEW: 516-7), but he also suggests the possibility of a development from **katros* “brave” (from **kat-* “battle”). Schmidt (1957: 159), after Pedersen (VKG I: 323), has suggested that *cadro-* derives from **kat-ro-*; **kat-ro-* also probably gives Welsh *cadr* “powerful”, mighty”. This second possibility seems more likely in the context of *belatu-* “destruction”. Thus *Belatucadros* may be seen as a byname indicating “Mighty in Destruction”. As a byname for the Celtic deity assimilated to Mars, suggested by its independent association with the byname *Baculos* (**Bagulos*), it may well predate Roman influence.

Bel[latu]maros: “Great in ?Destruction?”.

An inscription from Gallia Lugdunensis refers to *Bel[latu]marus* (DAG: ‘181, no. 11224), utilizing a Latinized o-stem. Here the probable stem *belatu-* “destruction”, analyzed above, is combined with the suffix *-māro-* “great”, derived from IE **mōro-* < **moh₁ro-* (IEW: 704; DPC: 258) (Irish *mór, már*; Welsh *mawr*; Old High German *-mar*; Schmidt 1957: 159).

Beladonnis: “the Noble Destroyer”.

From Aix-en-Provence (CIL XII: 503) comes an inscription to MARTI BELADONNI utilizing the Latinized dative of an i-stem. Schmidt (1957: 145) has suggested that this byname arises by haplology from *belatu-* or *belato-* and *donni-*. Evans (1967: 194-5) feels that *donni-* contains the same root as *donno-* “noble, king”, which gives Irish *donn* “noble, judge, king” and Welsh *dwn* “noble”.

Bia(e)sios: “?” (Mercurius).

From Ubbergen comes an inscription to the D[EO] MERCVRIO BIAVSIO (CIR: 97). This deity name possibly is formed from a compound of the two stems *bia-* and *vesio-* with the loss of *-e-*, either through syncope or simple omission. The first stem *bia-* possibly may derive from IE **bheu-* “being” (IEW: 146), giving the Gaulish word *bios* “world” attested in the Gaulish personal name Vindobios (*bios* < **bh_uiios*; IEW: 148). For the interchange of *-a-* and *-o-* see Evans (1967: 391). The second stem *v(e)sio-* is either an io-stem developed from IE **ues-* “stick, pierce” (IEW: 1172), or it possibly developed from the u-stem **uesu-* “good” (IEW: 1174; DPC: 418). Otherwise the name is obscure to me.

Camulos: “?of Conflicts?” or “?the Warrior?” (Mars).

There are various inscriptions from Belgica (DAG: ‘211, ‘213), Germania Superior (DAG: ‘236), and the Agri Decumates (DAG: ‘243), as well as Great Britain (RIB: 2166, Bar Hill, Dunbarton) to the DEO MARTI CAMVLO, MARTI CAMVLO, or CAMVLO (CIL XIII: 3980, Arlon; 8701, Rindern). An inscription from Rome to ARDVINNE CAMVLO IOVI MERCVRIO HERCVLI (CIL VI: 46) shows that he could hold his own among classical deities and that he took the place of Mars in this reference to the pantheon of gods. An early pre-Roman inscription in Greek lettering from Glanum refers to CAMOVLAS (Benoit 1956: 352; with *-ou-* = *-u-*) showing the widespread nature of this deity byname and that this byname was associated with a member of the pre-Roman pantheon of gods. Thevenot (1962: 1487) is surely wrong in suggesting that Camulos was the name of a purely Remian deity.

There are also several personal names giving filiation from the god referenced by this byname. Thus in Caesar’s *de bello Gallico* (7, 57, 3), Camulogenus (*camulo-geno-*) is mentioned as a leader of the Auleri in Gallia Lugdunensis. There is a genitive form from Clermont on a tombstone of CAMVLO[GENI] and another from Hastings on a tombstone of CAMVLOGENI (EE IX: 1310). Glück (1857: 49, 102) regarded these names as equivalent to the Latin Martigena. There is a woman’s name Camulognata (DAG: ‘182). All of these personal names may be freely translated as “Descendent of the God Camulos” (Schmidt 1957: 68; Evans 1967: 60-1). The personal name Andecamulos (Schmidt 1957: 68) apparently was named after the byname of the god with the intensive particle *ande-* as a prefix. Various British strongholds were also named after the deity, such as Camulodunon, the capital of the Trinovates on Lexden Heath between London and Colchester (see Hawkes and Hull 1947; Cunliffe 1974: 69), or Camulodonon in Yorkshire.

The deity name Camulos clearly refers to a deity of widespread importance. Unfortunately, the name never occurs alongside another byname of the god. It seems likely that Camulos is simply another byname of Vellaunos-Esus, but this is by no means certain. At any rate, there exists no evidence to link this byname to any god except Vellaunos-Esus. Besides Cú Chulainn, the only other figure in Irish myth possibly developed from a possible Celtic equivalent of Mars, is Conall Cernach, but the names Conall and Camulos have nothing in common etymologically. Also Conall never has a goddess companion as does Camulorix, below. For speculations on seeing this byname as a separate deity, see Jubainville (1889: 172 ff.), Vendryes (1948: 263), and De Vries (1961: 58).

Evans (1967: 160-1) feels that the name Camulos may be analyzed as *camu-* with the suffix *-lo-* added as a *nomen agentis*. He suggests that “if Gaulish Camulos is related to Irish *cám* perhaps the name means ‘a great fighter’” (1967: 49). Irish *cám* may be translated as “battle, conflict, encounter”. Pokorny (IEW: 557) relates Camulos to Breton *caffou* “grief, sorrow”, to Irish *cuma* “sorrow”, as well as to Irish *cumal* “slave”. He derives the Celtic stem *camu-* from the zero-grade of IE **kem-*, “to exert, labor, become weary, fatigued” (see Thurneysen 1946: 125 for vocalic *m* > *am*). It is possible that *cám* has the same origin (from the lengthened a-form). However, Dottin (1920: 240) must surely be wrong to equate *camu-* to Irish *commus* (u) “act of controlling”, the verbal noun of *con-medethar*.

Camulorix: “?King of Warriors?” or “?Ruler of Conflict?”.

From Ponts-les-Bonfeys (Vosges), in the original region of the Leuci, comes an inscription to CAMV(L)ORICI (CIL XIII: 4709). Here *-rici* almost certainly stands for an original *-rīgi* through the well-known c/g alternation (see Glossary: Lugus, above). *Rīgi* is the dative singular of *rīx* “king” (< **rēgs*, IEW: 854; DPC: 311). A goddess companion to the god is apparently indicated in the nearby inscription from Soissons (Suessiones) to the DEA CAM(V)LORIGE VOTVM (CIL XIII: 3460; DAG: ‘184, note XL). The inscription occurs below the bas-relief of the devotee, a male figure wearing a short tunic and holding a purse. This same goddess is evoked in inscriptions from Malton, Yorkshire, to MARTI (ET) RIGAE (RIB: 711). As above, *camulo-* possibly indicates “?agent of conflict?” or “?warrior?”.

[C]ern[u]nnos: “(Protector of) Horned (Beasts)” (icon. Mercurius, icon. of RIB: 1207, *cern-*).

On the monument of the Nautae Parisiaci from Notre Dame is the portrayal of an antlered god seated cross-legged, with a torque hanging from each antler (Duval: 1956: 78-9 fig. c; Olmsted 1979b: pl. 65). Above the portrayal of the god is the inscription [C]ERN[V]NNOS (CIL XIII: 3026; RIG-II: 167-9). The inscription is broken and obscure for several of the letters. As Rh¹s (1906: 50) pointed out, “the first letter is now all gone, and the bottom of the E is all I could trace of that letter [the second]. The left limb of the V is also hard to trace, and there is very little of the S still visible”. Lejeune (RIG-II: 168) feels that an apparent upper fragment of the right limb of the middle letter [V] is sufficient for its reconstruction. Rather than guess a V for the middle uncertain letter, Vendryes (1940: 162) and Whatmough (DAG: ‘172) preferred to reconstruct an E after the inscription from Dacia to IOVI CERNENI (CIL III: 925). As in the inscription to Medurinis, if this Iuppiter inscription were by a Gaulish auxiliary serving in Dacia, I should analyze it as *cern-en-i-*.

The Paris inscription possibly could be analyzed as *cern-[e]nno-*, ending in the agentive suffix *-eno-* (Buck 1933: 321-3). One might then see [C]ern[e]nnos and interpret the inscription after Irish *cern* (o,m) “victory, triumph”. The name would then simply indicate “Giver of Victory”. There also exists the possibility that here is the suffix *-ono-* giving *cern-[o]nno-* (see LeRoux 1953: 328), with geminated *-nn-* as in *Vindonnos* and *Souconna*. Lejeune (RIG-II: 168) prefers *cern-uno-*, not only because of what he sees as the trace of a

limb of the V, but after Latin *cornu-* and the ending of the Gaulish deity name Meduna, although here the goddess name is undoubtedly the resultant of **medu-ono-*. The personal name Olluna, however, certainly shows the feminine form of the suffix *-uno-* (see Glossary: Vroicis). Meid agrees with Lejeune that the inscription should be read as [C]ern[u]nnos. Here then, the suffix *-uno-* probably has both an agentive and attributive function, as in Latin *-ūnus*, which transforms *tribus* “tribe” to *tribūnus* “head of tribe” (Buck 1933: 324, ‘464.11).

Jullian (1907: 186) attempted to equate [C]ern[u]nnos with a river god, but he took note of the deer antlers of the portrayal as opposed to the usual association of river gods with bulls. Nonetheless he suggested an equation with the *super fluvio Cernuni* (AcS 1: 993), a branch of the Meurthe known today as the Sanon. The portrayals of the cross-legged god, as exemplified by that of [C]er[u]nnos, are usually identified with Mercurius in *interpretatio Romana* (see Olmsted 1979b: 160-6). As Lambrechts (1942: 51) noted, each of the separate iconographic traits often found in these portrayals of the cross-legged god, the cross-legged posture, the tricephalic head, and the holding of a serpent are found separately associated with Mercurius. Vendryes noted that tricephalic portrayal, as found on the cross-legged statuette from Saintes (Olmsted 1979b: pl. 67), “*semble qu’il ait été honoré comme dieu des routes et patron des voyageurs*” (Vendryes 1948: 249). The heaviest concentration of these portrayals occurs in Northeast France, in the region of the Reims altar.

We may also add to these traits the association of a stag to the right of the god and a hound to the left of the god, as on the Gundestrup cauldron plate A and on the Reims altar, the closest iconographic portrayal to that on the Paris monument (Olmsted 1979b: plate 65). The late first-century BC silver cup from Lyon shows the duplication of the god of plate A of the Gundestrup cauldron, with a torque in the right hand, a stag to the right, and a serpent and a hound or a wolf to the left (here the god’s head is missing) (Olmsted 1979b: pls. 63-4). There are seven portrayals of cross-legged antlered gods with torques and serpents from north Gaul and an addition 10 without antlers; one should not overlook the famous stone statues from Entremont near Marseille.

The portrayal from Risingham with the inscription DEO COCIDIO ET SIL[VANO] (RIB: 1207) connects another byname, besides [C]ern[u]nnos, with iconographic portrayals identified with Mercurius. Indeed, an inscription from Colchester (RIB: 193) directly equates this byname Cocidios with Mercurius as well. The altar from Risingham depicts a standing god with a stag facing him from the right and a seated hound beside a tree facing him from the left (Ross 1967: 161 fig. 112). Unfortunately, the upper torso of the god is missing. This iconographic linkage then connects the [C]ern[u]nnos inscription to that of Cocidios.

Many observers have seen [C]ern[u]nnos constructed from the Celtic stem *cerno-* and interpreted it as “horn”. But Weisgerber (1930: 55) has suggested, “*die Deutung als Horngott ist unwahrscheinlich ...*”. He went on to observe that *carn-* (see Urk. Spr.: 91) is the Celtic form of the n-derivative IE stem **ker-n-* “horn”. *Carn-* is derived from the zero-grade form of the stem **k̑rn-*, as in Gaulish *carnux* “trumpet” (Thurneysen 1946: 131, *-rn > -arn*) (DPC: 190).

The Celtic full-grade *cerno-* (Urk. Spr.: 81) probably represents a distinct semantic development of IE **kern-*, as in Irish *cern* (a,f) “corner, swelling of the body” or Welsh *cern* “corner, side of head” (**cernā*; DPC: 203). One should note that Old High German also differentiates the significance of the full-grade, the zero-grade, and the o-grade forms of this root. Thus *hrind* “horned animal, cow”, from a t-extended form, is opposed to *horn* “horn, drinking horn, trumpet” (perhaps from an early borrowing of Latin *cornu* from the zero-grade **k̑rn-*; IEW: 576). Le Roux (1953: 327) has already noted that the common significance of the basic IE root **ker-* is “*bêtes à corne en général et le cerf en particulier*”. She goes on to note that most of the words formed from IE **ker-* with the significance “deer” end in *-u-*. She thus favors the significance “deer” for Celtic *cern-u-*. Unfortunately, the correlatives indicating “deer” such as Latin *cervus* and Welsh *carw* derive from **keȓuo-* or **k̑ruo-* (IEW: 576) without the *-n-*, as in Lithuanian *kárve* “cow”.

This reasoning suggests that in certain western IE dialects **k̑n-*, the zero-grade of **ker-n-* “summit, upper most part of body, head, horn, horned animal” (IEW: 574), took the meaning “horn” as in Latin *cornu*, while the full-grade **ker-n-* took another significance. Since interpreting *cern-* in [C]ern[u]nnos as “cornered, angled” would be inappropriate, *cern-* may have meant “horned animal, cow”, as above for Old High German *hrind*. Indeed, the scholar with the pseudonym Vissurix (*Ogam* 3: 1951: 123) drew the same conclusion equating [C]ern[u]nnos with the Breton Saint Cornély “*protecteur du betails, des bovines*”. Thus [C]ern[u]nnos would be “(Ruler of) Horned (Beasts) or “(Protector of) Horned (Beasts)”.

Cimi(n)acinos: “the Strider” or “God of Roads” (Mercurius).

From Ludenhausen, Oberbayern, comes an inscription to the DEO MERCVRIO CIMI(N)ACINO (CIL III: 5773). Here the basic Gaulish stem is *cimin-*, showing the loss of intervocalic *-n-* as in Borvoboe(n)do(n)a and Borvoboendo(n)a (Gutenbrunner 1936b: 211, S. 75, B4, B5). To this root have been added the two suffixes *-aco-* and *-ino-*, *-eno-*. *Cimi(n)-* probably relates to Irish *ceim* (v.n. of *cingid*) and Welsh *cam*, both meaning “step, pace, stride”. Pokorny (IEW: 439) and Thurneysen (1946: 130) suggests that these two forms respectively derive from **kenksmen* (< the IE full-grade **ghenghsm̑n*) and **kanksman* (< **k̑ngsm̑n* < the IE zero-grade **gh̑nghsm̑n*). Late Latin *caminus*, *cheminus*, *chiminus*, “road, highway” are probably related. Dottin (1920: 240) suggests a Gaulish stem *cammino-* as behind French *chemin*. Holder (AcS I: 1116) suggests that *Cimi(n)acinos* is equivalent to Latin *Viator* “Traveller, Messenger”.

Cissonios: “?the Charioteer?” (Mercurius).

Inscriptions to the (DEO) MERCVRIO CISSONIO come from Besançon (CIL XIII: 5373) and Cologne (CIL XIII: 8237). A similar inscription to the DEO MERCVRIO CISSONIO occurs below the bas-relief of a classical Mercurius with all the standard attributes, petasos, caduceus, cock, goat, and money bag, from Rhein Zabern (Esp.: 5894). In addition, an inscription to the DEO CISSONIO (CIL XIII: 4500) occurs on a statuette of Mercurius from Metz. This byname was also known in the Agri Decumates (DAG: ‘243).

This byname may be related to *cissum*, *cissium*, which according to the Gronovius Scholiasts was a name for a “two-wheeled wagon” (Dottin 1920: 246). Irish *cis*, which is probably cognate, denotes “a part of a chariot”, the *fonnad* “wheel rim” according to one gloss. *Fonnad* was sometimes used metaphorically for the whole vehicle. If the above associations are correct, the epithet may have meant “charioteer”. The presence of a goddess *Cissonia* (possibly “Consort of *Cissonios*”), however, also suggests the possibility that we may be dealing with a local god and goddess pair name after a place or people.

Degovexis; Vectirix: “the Good Fighter”; “King of Fighters”.

The Belgic inscription to DEGOVEXI (CIL XIII: 4506) probably also relates to a byname of Mars, although the absence of a reference to Mars in this single inscription makes it again possible that a local *teuta* is referenced instead. The first term *dego-* is probably cognate with Irish *deg-*, *dag-*, and Welsh *da* “good” (Schmidt 1957: 186-9, also see Pedersen 1909: I, 39; Urk. Spr.: 140; AcS I: 1214; GOI: 54; Evans 1967: 188). The second term *-vexi* probably represents *vecti-*, if the inscription is in the dative, with *-x-* as *-ct-* as in *-axius* besides *-actus*). Here *vecti-* would be cognate with Irish *fecht* (a,f) “journey, occasion, fight, raid, attack” and Welsh *gweith* “work, time” (Schmidt 1957: 189). Evans (1967: 282) sees a derivation here from **uiktā* (also see Urk. Spr.: 279). The same IE term is apparently found in Irish *fichid* “to

fight” from IE **uejk-* (IEW: 1128-9; DDPC: 421). Degovexis probably should be interpreted as “the Good Fighter”. Fleuriot (1982: 121) sees inscriptions to *Vectirix* as simply the resultant of a Gaulish translation of Latin *Invictus*.

Dunatis: “(Protector) of the Fortified Town” (Mars, AcS I: 1373).

This byname is united with Segomo in the inscription from Culoz, Ain, to the DEO MARTI SEGOMONI DVNATI (Orelli: 7415; AcS I: 1373). This same byname is evoked in an inscription from Bouhy, Nièvre, to MARTI BOLVINNO ET DVNA[TI] (AcS I: 1373). Although Bolvinnos is certainly a place-name epithet for Mars referring to the former name of Bouhy, the distribution of the *Dunatis* names overlap with those of Segomo. Like Segomo, *Dunatis* may be an attributive byname as well.

This byname *Dunatis* may be analyzed as *duno-ati-*, with the same agentive suffix found in *Toutatis* and *Smertatios*. Here the Celtic stem *dūno-* “fortified town” (Dottin 1920: 254) is derived from the zero-grade of IE **dheu-* “smoke” and “fortified structure” (IEW: 263) (**dhuHno-*; DPC: 108), giving Irish *dún* and Welsh *din*, both meaning “fortified structure, hill”. Rh¹s (AcS I: 1373) interpreted this byname to indicate “the god who presided over the stronghold”. In this, he was probably correct. In signifying “Protector of the Fortified Town”, this byname is similar in meaning to *Toutatis* “Protector of the Tribal People”. The Celtic *dunon* “fortified town” was also the locus of the tribal kingship and the yearly gatherings. Perhaps one should interpret this name as “Protector of the Tribal Center”.

Excingiorigatos: “He who Rules through Striding” or “King of Warriors” (Mercurius).

From Rhénan comes a Latinized o-stem inscription to *Mercurius Excingiorigatus* (*Gallia*: I, 201). The main stem here *cing-io-* differs from that found in *Vercingetorix*, where the form *cing-eto-* shows the enlarging suffix *-et-* (Meillet 1922: 268) and gives rise to Irish *cing* (gen. *cinged*) “warrior”. Although both stems derive from IE **ghengh-* “stride” (IEW: 438-9), Celtic *cing-io-* probably relates to the primary meaning of the root *cing-* “stride”, which also gives the Irish verb *cingid* “strides, steps, paces”.

The Gaulish prefix *ex-*, *es-*, relates to Irish *ess-* “out of” (Schmidt 1957: 212). The final stem *rīgiato-* is composed of *rīgio-* and the suffix *-ato-*. *Rīgio-* would relate to Irish *ríge* (io, n) “ruling” (< **rēgio-*; IEW: 854) rather than *rí* “king” (DPC: 311). The significance of the name is then “He who Rules through Striding”.

Lanovalos: “the Completely Strong”.

From Cadenet (Vaucluse) comes an inscription to LANOVALO (CIL XII: 1065; DAG: ‘82). This o-stem byname is clearly analyzable as *lano-valo-*, with *valo-* “strong” from the IE root **yal-* “to be strong” (IEW: 1111-2); it is the same stem found in *Anvallos* above. Here *lano-* “full” is cognate with Irish *lán*, Welsh *llan*, and Latin *plenus* from the IE stem **pl̥-no-*, the zero-grade of *plē-no-* “full” (IEW: 798-9). The inscription is thus to the god who is “Completely Strong” and probably relates to the Gaulish deity equated with Mars.

Loucetios: “(Hurler) of Lightning” (Mars).

There are inscriptions to MARTI LOVCETIO (as in CIR: 929-930) or to MARTI LEVCETIO from Wiesbaden and Rheinhessen near Mainz as well as from the Agri Decumates, Belgica, and Gallia Lugdunensis (DAG: ‘ 181, 211, 213, 243; AcS II: 193), but

all close to the Rhine. The inscription from Angers should probably be expanded as MARTI LOVC(ETIO) as well (AcS II: 291). The inscription from Bath, PEREGRINVS SECVNDI FIL(IVS) CIVIS TREVER LOVCETIO MARTI ET NEMETONA V.S.L.M. (RIB: 140), specifies that the dedicator, a Treverian, was from the same region close to the Rhine. Loucetios's goddess companion, here called Nemetona "the Sacred" or "of the Sacred Grove", is probably to be identified with Rosmerta.

The stem here, *loucet-*, *leucet-* (Dottin 1920: 265), may be associated with Irish *loche* (gen. *lochet*) and Welsh *lluched* "lightning", derivatives of the IE apophonic series **leuk-*, *louk-*, *luk-* "light" (IEW: 688). The name probably indicates something like "(Hurler) of Lightning". This byname forms a direct parallel to Vernostonos "Wounds with Thunder".

Naissatis: "Who Satisfies Warriors" (Mercurius).

From Zukovac comes an inscription to MERCVRIO NAISSATI (CIL III: 8260). The second stem here is probably a derivative of IE **sā-ti-s* "satisfaction" (IEW: 876) (< **seh₂-t-*, DPC: 324) giving Irish *sáith* "satisfaction". The first stem may be a development of IE **nōi-t-*, *nōi-to-* the lengthened o-grade of **nei-t-*, *nei-to-* "passion, vehemence", which gives Irish *nía* "hero" as well as the n-stem Celtiberian byname Neto (IEW: 760). In *Naissatis* we witness the coalescence of *-t-* and *-s-*, either through syncope or originally, giving *-ss-* (see Schmidt 1957: 101-2). IE *-ō-* fell together with *-ā-* in all the Celtic languages (Thurneysen 1946: 35-6). Irish *níth* "battle" derives from the *ī*-form **nī-tu-*, with the same meaning as **nei-to-* above (IEW: 760). Thus *Naissatis* would signify "Who Satisfies Warriors".

Ollov(e)dios: "?the All-Seeing?".

From Bisley (Gloucestershire) in Britain comes an inscription to MARTI OLLVDIO (CIL VII: 73), and from Antibes in southern France comes an inscription to MARTI OLLVDIO (CIL XII: 166). Here is a Latinized o-stem byname in the dative. As the final stem one might be tempted to see Celtic *divo-* (a variant of *devo-*) giving *dio-* through the loss of intervocalic *-y-* (see Urk. Spr.: 144; Schmidt 1957: 190). The IE stem behind these Celtic stems is **deiyo-* "god" (IEW: 375; Schmidt 1957: 99 f.; Evans 1967: 191-3; GOI: 36; VKG I: 59). However, this name is more likely to be a syncopated form of **Ollovedios*, containing the stem *vedio-* as the final element.

The prefix *ollo-* "all, great" (Evans 1967: 237; Vendryes: LEIA O: 21; Urk. Spr.: 52ff.) gives Irish *oll* "great, ample" and Welsh *oll* "all", derived from IE **h₃ol-no-s* (**al-*, **ol-*; IEW: 24). Germanic *olla* "all" and Latin *ollus* are cognates. The second stem **vedio-* derives from IE **y(e)di-* "see" (IEW: 1125; DPC: 407). The inscription would be to "Mars, the All-Seeing".

Rigisamos: "the Most Sovereign" (Mars, p/s/c varia: *rīgo-*).

From West Coker (Somerset) comes an inscription to the DEO MARTI RIGISAMO (RIB: 187), and from Bourges (Cher) comes an inscription to MARTI RIGISAMO (CIL XIII: 1190; DAG: '150, p. 371). Here the stem *rīgi-* derives from IE **rēgio-* "sovereign" (IEW: 854; DPC: 311) and is combined with the superlative suffix *-isamo-* (see Thurneysen 1946: 236 on the superlative suffix in these inscriptions). Irish *-em* and Welsh *-haf* are derived from Celtic **-isamo-* from IE *-isṃo-*, also giving Latin *-imus*.

Rigonemetis: "with Kingly Sanctity" (Mars, p/s/c varia: *rīgo-*).

From Nettleham near Lincoln comes a dedication slab to *Mars Rigonemetis* found in 1961 (JRS: LII: 1962: 192; Ross 1967: 176). Here again the stem *rīgo-* (Dottin 1920: 65) is a variant

of *rīgi-* above, derived from IE **rēgio-* (IEW: 854). In this byname *rīgo-* is combined with the stem *nemeti-*. This second stem gives Irish *nemed* “sacred, privilege”. *Nemed* supposedly derives from **n̥m-to-*, the *-to-* suffixed form of the zero-grade of IE **nemos* “grove” (IEW: 764), as in Gaulish *nemeton* “sacred grove” (DPC: 288). I suspect that the significance found in the Irish word *nemed* “sacred” was already an aspect of the stem. Thus the inscription is to “Mars with Kingly Sanctity”.

Smertatios, Smertrios: “the Foresighted” (Mars).

From Möhn near Trier come inscriptions to MARTI SMERT[A]TIO (AcS II: 1594) and to MARTI SMER[TR]IO ET [ANC]AMNAE (CIL XIII: 4119). An inscription to the [D]ITI SMER[TRIO] AVG(VSTO) (Duval 1953-4: 224-5) from Grossbuch (Carinthia) and another to MARTI SMERTRIO VINDORIDIO ET BOVD[E]NAE (CIL XIII: 11975) from Liesenich near Trier invoke the deity under the second form of the byname. The inscription also occurs on the monument of the Nautae Parisiaci. It is placed over the bas-relief of the nude upper torso of a bearded deity striking a serpent with a club (Duval 1956: 78-9 fig. d) and may be read either as SMERT[RIOS] or SMERT[VLLOS] (CIL XIII: 3026; RIG-II: 169).

The first byname may be analyzed as *smert-atio-* with the same agentive suffix *-ati-* to be found in Toutatis, Mogontia, and Epotia. The second byname may be analyzed as *smert-rio-* with the agentive suffix *-rio-* or the adjectival suffix *-ro-* (Meillet 1922: 267). Hirschfeld (CIL XIII: 3026) proposed reading Smert[ullos] on the Paris monument and was seconded in this reading by Jubainville (AcS II: 1595), who drew attention to the personal names Vennonius Sm[e]rtulli fil(ius) from Queyras, Hautes-Alpes, (CIL XII: 83) and Smertullus from Cadenet, Vaucluse, (CIL XII: 1065). If this last suggestion is correct and these personal names were taken from that of the deity, the analysis is probably best seen as *smertu-lo-* with the agentive *-lo-* or *smert-ullo-* with the attributive suffix *-ullo-* (Buck 1933: 331). In analyzing these names, we must also take note of the Smertae, a British tribe in Scotland (Ptolemaeus: 2, 3, 8).

Jubainville, however, connected *-ullo-* to Irish *ul* “beard”, drawing upon the phrase *ulcha smérthain* “imitation or smeared beard” used to describe Cú Chulainn in the *Táin*. Cú Chulainn applies the fake beard after Nadcrantail refuses to fight the unbearded youth (LU/YBL *Táin*: 1233-1313; Thurneysen 1921: ‘39; see Olmsted 1979b: 246). Jubainville suggested that this phrase could be used to interpret Smert[ullos], seeing it as a “*beiname des Esus in Gallien, = Cú Chulainn mit falschen barte*” (AcS II: 1594). Indeed on the Paris monument Esus and Smert[ullos] are given an almost identical portrayal, except that one cuts a tree and the other seems to be grasping an eel or drawing a bow. In the *Táin*, Cú Chulainn does battle Mórrígan, who attacks him in the form of an eel. As an eel she wraps herself about his legs and trips him in the ford (Thurneysen 1921: ‘52). In the *Táin*, Cú Chulainn also cuts a tree attempting to prevent Medb from making off with the Ulster cattle (Thurneysen 1921: ‘18). Jubainville (1898: 246-7) argued that these portrayals on the Paris monument actually do depict these episodes of Cú Chulainn in the *Táin*.

I think however that the episode of the *ulcha smérthain*, if it does relate to Smert[ullos], would have arisen at some point in the historical development of the *Táin* as an pseudo-etymological interpretation of the already existing byname. It makes more sense to see the episode arising from the name, rather than see Smert[ullos] as a name arising from the episode. Thus one may dismiss Jubainville’s idea and see *-ullo-* as simply a suffix. Pokorny (IEW: 969) relates these deity names in *smert-* to IE **smert-*, **smert-* “thought, plan; to recall, sorrow” as in Latin *memoria* and Irish *mert* “sorrow, trouble, despair”. Pokorny also would relate these names to Irish *airimbirt* “contemplating, planning”. Thus *Smertrios*, Smert[ullos], and *Smertatios* would be “the Foresighted”.

Vitucadros: “?Mighty in Appetite?”.

Dottin (1906: 226) lists *Vitucadros* as a byname of Mars. The first stem *vitu-* is possibly derived from the IE stem **uīto-* “appetite, desire” (IEW: 1123). Pokorny relates *cadro-* to an *-ro-* expansion of **kad-* “fine, resplendent, shining, outstanding” (IEW: 516-7) (**keh₂d-*; DPC: 183), but also suggests the possibility of a development from **katro-* “brave”, an adjectival development in *-ro-* of **kat-* “battle”. Schmidt (1957: 159), after Pedersen (VKG 1: 323), has suggested that *cadro-* < **kat-ro-* probably gave Welsh *cadr* “powerful”, mighty”.

General Attributive Epithets of Romano-Gaulish Mars

Bar(o)rix: “the Ruler of Rage”.

The significance of the inscription to M(ARTI) BAR(O)REGI (RIB: 947) from Carlisle is fairly clear. Here the first root *bar-* probably is the same as that giving W. *bar* “anger” and *baren* “fury, wrath” as well as that giving Irish *barae* (n,f) “anger, rage”. Latin *ferio* “strike, smite” and *foro* “bore, pierce” also are probably related. Apparently all derive from the IE full-grade **bherH-* or the o-grade *bhor-* “cut” (IEW 133-4; DPC: 56) (the Celtic root perhaps from the lengthened o-grade).

The second element in *Bar(o)regi* is the dative singular of the familiar *rīx* “king”, with *-ē-* rather than *-ī-*, perhaps showing Latin influence. Evans (1967: 243) lists the following orthographic variants: *reg-*, *-ric-*, *-rig-*, *-rix*, *-rex*, *-reix*, *-ris*, *-ri*. (For a list of names in *-rīx* as well as a discussion see Jubainville 1891; Holder AcS II: 1197 ff.; Schmidt 1957: 260 ff.; Evans 1967: 243-4. For *rīx* < **rēg-s* see IEW: 854 ff.; Urk. Spr.: 230; Dottin 1920: 282). Evans (1967: 244) dismisses Schmidt’s (1957: 74-7) suggestion that *-rīx* also might have functioned as a suffix meaning “mächtig, gross, oder reich”, besides its usual significance “König, Fürst” when standing alone and in a compound. Thus the inscription from Carlisle might be rendered “to Mars, the Ruler of Rage”.

However, the root *bar-*, *barr-* in these names may derive from IE **bhar-* “point, bristle” (IEW: 108-9). The Gaulish stem *barro-*, *barri-* “tuft, top” (from IE **bharso-*, **bherso-*; DPC: 58) is probably identical to the stem behind Irish *barr* “point of land”; but the Irish word also means “head, chief”. If the significance “head, chief” was already present in Gaulish, it would suggest *Barrix*, *Bar(o)rix* “the Chief King” as another but less likely possibility.

Britovios, *Britos*: “?the Giver of Bounty?”.

A Narbonese inscription to AVG(VSTO) MARTI BRITOVIO from Nîmes (DAG: ‘82; CIL XII: 3082) contains a Latinized io-stem byname of Mars. The implied Gaulish name *Britovios* contains the stem *brito-* (according to Schmidt 1957: 156, “*Etymologie offen*”), which is possibly derived from IE **bh₁r₁tā-*, the *ā-*stem of the zero-grade of the t-expansion of *bher-* “bring” (IEW: 130; DPC: 62). This stem gives Irish *breth* (a,f) “carrying off, as of bounty”, the verbal noun of *beirid*. As discussed above (under *Naissatis*), IE *-ō* fell together with *-ā-* in all the Celtic languages (Thurneysen 1946: 35-6). Here *-ovio-* (*-ovo-*) functions as suffix (Holder: AcS I: 894; Schmidt 1957: 241-2) This inscription is then probably to “Mars, the Giver of Bounty”. This same stem *brito-* is apparent in the Latinized o-stem inscription to *Britus* from Germania Superior (DAG: ‘236).

Budenos, *Budenicos*: “the Victorious” or “of the Troops”.

The stem apparent in the Latinized o-stem *Budenus* (DAG: ‘82) is undoubtedly the same deity name as that in the Latinized o-stem byname of Mars *Budenicus* found in the inscription

to MARTI BVDENIC[O] from Collias, Gard (DAG: '82; CIL XII: 2973). In the Gaulish form *Budenicos*, the suffix *-ico-* has been added to the stem of the first name. Both bynames could be analyzed as containing the stem **budīn-* “troop” (DPC: 82). *Buden-* may derive from a d-suffix (Buck 1933: 340) of IE **b(e)u-*, **bh(e)ū-* “swell” (IEW: 98-100) combined with the nominal derivative suffix *-en-*. This same stem **budīnā* (DPC: 82) gives Irish *buiden* (a,f) “troop, company” and Welsh *byddin*. Thus the Gaulish name would simply be a translation of *Militaria Mars*, as pointed out by Fleuriot (1982: 121). As he notes, “*dans certains cas, il s'agit simplement d'une traduction en latin des noms indigènes*”. However, it is also possible that these names are a reflex of the *Buden-icenses* “People of Battalions”, a *teuta* in the department of Gard near Nîmes (AcS I: 628).

Both bynames could also be analyzed as containing the Celtic root *bud-* with the addition of the nominal agentive suffix *-eno-* (Buck 1933: 321; Meillet 1922: 262-3). The Celtic root *bud-* (also *boud-*, *bod-*), signifying “victory” (Glück 1857: 53, n.2; Urk. Spr. 175 f.; AcS I: 456, 458, 497, III: 893-4; IEW: 163; Evans 1967: 156) gives Irish *búaid* “victory, profit, excellence”, Welsh *budd* “profit, gain, advantage”, and the British name *Boudicca*. The probable IE form **bhoudhi-* “victory” (IEW: 163; DPC: 72) has been projected behind these Celtic stems. It is also seen as the initial stem in the Germanic goddess name *Baudi-hillia* “the Victorious Fighter” (Gutenbrunner 1936b: 43).

Cariocicos, Carocicinos: “Lover of Fierceness, the Ravenous”.

From Châne (Basses-Alpes) and Tuy (Galicia) come inscriptions to MARTI CARROCICINO (CIL XII: 356) and to MART(I) CARIOCIECO (CIL II: 5612). Here clearly are compound names analyzable as *caro-cico-eno-* and *cario-cico-* respectively. Both names are equivalent; one simply adding the agentive suffix *-eno-* (Buck 1933: 321), the other not adding it and instead using the *io-* stem rather than *o-* stem for the first element.

The first stem *caro-*, *cario-* (Urk. Spr.: 71; AcS I: 766; GOI: 119, 207-8; Dottin 1920: 242; Schmidt 1957: 163; Evans 1967: 162-6; DPC: 191) probably derives from IE **kā-ro-* “love, fondness” (< **keh₂-ro-*, DPC: 191) showing the adjectival suffix *-ro-* added to **kā-* (**keh₂*) “wish, want, desire” (IEW: 515). **Kā-ro-* gives Irish *caraid* “loves”, Welsh *caraf* “I love”, as well as the Irish verbal noun *car* “loving, fond of”.

The second stem *cico-* may be related to Irish *cích* “sharp, keen”, *cíccar* (o,a) “greedy, keen”, *cíccarach* “ravenous”, and *cícharda* “fierce, keen”, used in a laudatory manner of a warrior. Irish *cích* and the Gaulish stem *cīco-* probably represent the IE lengthened-grade **kē-* “sharpen, whet” (IEW: 541) with the addition of the suffix *-ko-*, the thematic form of *-ek-* (Meillet 1922: 269). Irish *cíccar* would seem to combine the same two stems as in *Cariocicos*, but in the reverse order. Here the significance must be similar, giving Mars “the Ravenous” or Mars “the Fierce”. The tribal name *Cicinenses* (DAG: '23) probably is an independent development of this same stem, and it would indicate “the Keen People” rather than bearing a relationship to the deity byname as suggested by Whatmough (DAG: '23).

Caturix: “the Ruler of Battle”.

From Chougny near Geneva comes an inscription: MARTI CATVR(IGI) SACR(VM) PRO SALVT(E) ET INCOLVMITATE DI VAL[ERII] AM(A)TI SEX. CR[IS]PIN(VS) NIGRINUS V(OTUM) S(OLVIT) L(IBENS) M(ERITO) (Vallentin 1879: 10; also see CIL XIII: 5035, 5046, 5054; CIR: 1588 to MARTI CATVRIGI). Here the analysis of *Caturix* is transparently *catu-rīx* “the Ruler of Battle”. The Gaulish stem *catu-* comes from the IE stem **katu-* “battle” (IEW: 534; DPC: 195), giving Irish *cath* and Welsh *cad*. The form *-rīgi* is simply the dative of *-rīx* from IE **rēgs* “king” (IEW: 854). Fleuriot (1982: 121) sees *Caturix*

as a translation of Latin *Propugnator*. Vallentin (1879) has succinctly analyzed the inscription and deserves quoting.

Caturix a été invoqué *pro salute et incolumitate*. Cette expression permet de supposer qu'Amatus a échappé à dangers sérieux qu'il avait dû affronter, et probablement qu'il a pris part à une campagne contre les ennemis de l'empire romain. Avant son départ, Nigrinus, un parent ou un ami dévoué, avait promis un sanctuaire à Caturix, s'il conservait la vie à ce guerrier. Le dieu gaulois se laissa plèchir, et Nigrinus, après l'heureux retour d'Amatus, s'aquitta de sa vœu. (Vallentin 1879: 10).

Cicollus: “?the Fierce Striker?”.

From various points in and around the Côte d'Or come inscriptions to MARTI CICOLLVI or to the DEO MARTI CICOLLVI (CIL XIII: 2887 from Aignay-le-Duc; 5479 from Dijon; 5597, 5599, 5601 from Mâlain). Here then it is clear that we deal with the Latinized dative of a u-stem. This byname might be analyzed as *cīco-ollu-*. As above (under *Cariocicos*), *cīco-* apparently means “keen, fierce”.

The use of *-ollu-* as a u-stem in the second position suggests a significance different than that of the prefix **ol-* “over, ample” (IEW: 24) derived from IE **polu-* “much, many”, the o-grade of **pelu-* “many” (IEW: 798 ff.), as this form apparently occurs only as a prefix. Here *-ollu-* may be simply a nominal or adjectival suffix. Perhaps *-lu-* represents a variant of the adjectival and agentive suffix *-lo-* (Buck 1933: 328). However, I cannot suggest this possibility with much conviction. Perhaps more likely is a compound developed from the IE root **pol-* “burn, bright” (IEW: 805). According to Pokorny, Welsh *go-leu* “light”, arises from the extended form **plo-uo-*. This byname might also be analyzed as **cico-collu-* by haplology. The second stem might be seen as a u-stem derived from IE **kolo-* “struck”. *Cicollus* would then be the “Fierce Striker”.

Corotiacos: “the Warrior” or “the Warlike”.

Possibly similar in meaning to Budenos above is an inscription on the base of a statue supporting the remaining legs of a horse from Martlesham (Suffolk) to the DEO MARTI COROTIACO (RIB: 213). Here we deal with the Latinized dative of an o-stem. It would seem almost certain that represented in *corotiacos-* is the IE stem **koro-* “war” (IEW: 615), giving Irish *cuire* “troop” (from the form **korjo-*; DPC: 218) and Gothic *harjis* “troop, army”. *Corotiacos* may be analyzed as **coro-tio-aco-*, with the agentive suffix *-aco-* added to the suggested stem *coro-*, to which the suffix *-tio-* has already been added (Buck 1933: 339, 343). The significance of the inscription is probably “to the God Mars, the Warrior” or “to Mars, the War-like”.

Dinomogetiomaros: “the Great and Mighty Protector (or Striker)” (CIL XII: 4218).

A Narbonese inscription from St. Pons (Herault) is dedicated to DIVANNONI DINOMOGETIOMARO MARTIB(VS) (CIL XII: 4218). Here Mars is referenced in the dative plural as a sign of respect not plurality. The segment *-mogetio-* “mighty” is the same as that in *Mogetios*, below. The final suffix *-maro-* “great” contains the same root as the prefix in *Marmogios* below.

The first stem *dīno-* is probably cognate with Irish *dín* “protection” (Dottin 1920: 252; Schmidt 1957: 194), which should be a suffixed derivative in *-no-* (Meillet 1922: 263) perhaps of the IE lengthened-grade **dē-* “bind” (IEW: 183) (**deh₁-*; LIV: 102). Pokorny indicates that the n-extended form has the significance of “bond”, as in the bonding tie connecting a *céle*

“client” to a *flaith* “lord” (which brings the client under the lord’s protection). *Dinomagetiomas* would then be the “Great and Mighty in Protection”. However, *dīno-* might also be derived from the lengthened grade of **dhen-* “strike, hit” (IEW: 249). In this case, *Dinomagetiomas* would be the “Great and Mighty Striker”. As Gaidoz (1883-5b: 487-90) has noted, two bynames are united in this inscription to a single deity. The full inscription is to “Mars, the Deified One, the Great and Mighty Protector (or Striker)”.

Divanno: “the God of ?” (CIL XII: 4218).

This byname is found on the above inscription from Narbonne to the DIVANNONI DINOMOGETIOMARO MARTIB(VS) (CIL XII: 4218). Here the stem *divo-*, *devo-* from IE **deiwo-*, **dēiwo-* “god” (IEW: 185; Schmidt 1957: 190) is either combined with the n-stem *-annon-* (DAG: ‘42), whose meaning is obscure, or perhaps through haplology with *vānon*. The significance of *vānon* or *vānonn* is also obscure. A lengthened o-grade of IE **yēn-* “strife, struggle; victory” (IEW: 1146), combined with the suffix *-on-*, may lie behind this form. The significance *Divanno* is possibly “the God of Strife”, but the name is otherwise enigmatic to me.

Leusdr[u]nos: “?”.

From La Penne, Alpes-Maritimes, comes an inscription to the DEO MARTI LEVSDR[V]NO (AcS II: 201-2). The first stem here is possibly **leu-s-* “cut”, an s-extended form of **leu-*, *lu-* “cut, crop” (IEW: 681-2), as in Irish *loss* or *los* (o, m) “point, end” (perhaps from **lu-s-to-*). Welsh *llost* “spear” may be an early borrowing from Irish (IEW: 682). The next stem is even more uncertain, the letter in brackets having been read variously as -I- and as -T-. If -V- is the correct reading instead, IE **dru-no-s* “hard, firm” (IEW: 214-5; DPC: 107), giving Irish *dron* “hard, firm”, would be implicated. Otherwise, the significance of *Leusdr[u]nos* is obscure to me.

Neto: “the Warrior” (n-stem) (Mars).

Macrobius (*Saturnalia*: 1, 19, 5) lists *Neto* as a byname of Mars among the Accitani in Spain.

Martem solem esse quis dubitet? Accitani etiam, Hispania gens, simulacrum Martis radiis ornatum maxima religione celebrant, Neton vocantes. (AcS II: 737).

An inscription from Condeixa-a-Velha refers to NETO (CIL II: 365), while another from Trujillo refers to NETONI DEO (CIL II: 5278) in the dative of an n-stem. Jubainville (AcS II: 737) and Pokorny (IEW: 760) relate this deity name to Irish *nía* (gen. *níath*) “warrior” (PC **nītu-* “battle”; DPC: 291) developed from IE **nei-to-*, **nītu-* “fury” (IEW: 760; also see Evans 1967: 370). Here *Neto* would have to be analyzed as **nē-to-on-*.

Rudianos, **Rudiodivos*: “the Robust”, “the Robust God”.

Inscriptions from Saint Etienne, Saint Andéol, and Saint Genis (Drôme) are dedicated to MARTI AVG(VSTO) RVDIANO (CIL XII: 1566, 2204, 2264), and an inscription from Saint-Michel de Valbonne is dedicated to the DEO RVDIAN(O) (CIL XII: 381). *Rudianos*, occurring as an o-stem deity name in the Latin dative singular (*Rudiano*), may be compared to the name in an inscription on the base of a bronze statuette of a horse from Neuvy-en-Sullias: AUG(VSTO) RVDIOBO SACRVM (CIL XIII: 3071). In isolation *Rudiobo* might be

seen as the Gaulish dative plural of an io-stem *Rudios*, especially considering the Gaulish tendency to drop final *-s* (see Thurneysen 1946: 182). However, occurring in a Latin inscription, this usage does not seem likely (however recall *Lugovibus*, the Gallo-Latin dative plural of *Lugus*). More likely is a Latinized *Rudiobos*, with an otherwise obscure ending. Perhaps through haplology and with *-b-* for *-v-* (as in *Dibios* for *Divios*, Evans 1967: 192), an original **Rudidivos* is indicated here. This first stem *rudio-* is the same as that found in *rudiano-*, which shows the addition of the suffix *-ono-* (*-ano-*). The inscription from Neuvy-en-Sullias probably represents a dedication to Gaulish Mars as well.

As the horse from Neuvy-en-Sullias is fitted with a bridle (Esp: 2978; Reinach: 247), it seems likely that it once had a rider which is now lost. The above inscription to Mars Corotiacos, which was on the base of a statue supporting the remaining legs of a horse, gives a parallel example of a statuette to a mounted Mars. One could perhaps make the unlikely argument that in each case the horse statuette was dedicated to the deity, but more likely the statuette group simply presented a mounted Mars. At any rate, *Rudiobos* is clearly the byname of a deity assimilated to Mars and not the name of a deified horse. One could hardly expect a deified horse to be fitted with a bridle.

In these inscriptions *rudio-* probably derives from IE **rudhio-*, an io-stem zero-grade form of **h₁reyudh-* “red” (IEW: 872; DPC: 316), and would indicate “red, strong, robust” as in Irish *rúad* (see Weisgerber 1930: 65). The inscription to Mars Rudianos would thus be to “Mars the Robust”. **Rudidivos* would be “the Robust God”.

Vicinnos: “the Warrior”.

From Rennes comes an inscription: IN HONOREM DOMVS DIVINAE ET PAGI CARNVTENI MARTI VICINNO (CIL XIII: 3150; DAG 181; also see CIL XIII: 3151). Here the stem *vici-* is apparently combined with the agentive suffix *-eno-*, *-enno-* (Buck 1923: 323). This stem derives from the IE root **uejk-* (IEW: 1128-9; DPC: 421) and gives Irish *fich* “fight, battle” and *fichid* “fights” (see Evans 1967: 281-5).

There is a remote possibility that the inscription refers to Vicinonia, the Vilaine river, or some town bordering it. The Vilaine river forms the boundary between the diocese of Rennes and Le Mans. Most likely the inscription is to “Mars the Fighter” or “Mars the Warrior”.

Tribal and Place names of Local Genii Assimilated to Mars or Mercurius

(These locational bynames denote the god’s role as *Toutatis* “Protector of the Tribe”, *Dunatis* “Protector of the Town”, or *Magenos* “the Protector of the Plain”).

Mercurius Alaunos: “Mercurius of the Alaunes”.

From Mannheim (Agri Decumates) comes an inscription to the GENIO MERCVRII ALAVNI (CIL XIII: 6425). This genitive inscription refers to the Norican tribe of the Alauni.

Mars Albiorix: “Mars, King of the Albionenses” or “King of the World”.

Inscriptions to MARTI ALBIORIGI (CIL XXII: 1300, 1062) from Sablet near Vaison (Vaucluse) refer to the local genius of Mt. Ventoux according to Holder (AcS I: 89). The inscription to ALBIORICE (CIL XII: 1060) from Saint-Saturnin d’Apt, the dative of an *ā*-stem name of a nymph *Albiorica*, tends to confirm the view that we deal here with a local god and

goddess assimilated to Mars. These names can probably be associated with the Pagus Albionensis in the Basses-Alpes region.

These local and tribal names contain the stem *albi-*, *albio-* also found in Albion “Britain” (Irish *Albu*, gen. *Alban*), usually derived from IE **h₂albho-* “white” (DPC: 29; IEW: 30), which gives Latin *albus* (see Weisgerber 1931: 169; Vendryes 1931: 434; Pokorny 1948: 263; Schmidt 1957: 120). However Whatmough (DAG: ‘1) notes that the commentary of Servius on Virgilius (6. 3. 474) glosses *alps* as “*Gallorum lingua alti montes*”. Thus he concludes that “this *alp-*, *alb-* must be distinguished from *albo-* “white”, which may have been Celtic as well as Latin”. Meid has suggested to me a relationship to Welsh *elfydd*, a poetic word for “world”. Thus like Biturix, Albiorix would mean “King of the World”.

Mars Bolvinos: “Mars of the Vicus of Bolvinnus”.

The inscription to MARTI BOLVINNO ET DVNA[TI] (CIL XIII: 2899, 2900) from Bouhy, Nièvre, refers to the earlier name of Bouhy, which was Bolvinnus (DAG: ‘181).

Mars Buxenos: “Mars of the Wood (of Buxenos)”.

From Velleron, Vaucluse, comes an inscription to the DEO MARTI BVXENO (CIL XII: 5832). This inscription associates Mars with the Campux Buxonus, now the Camp Buisson near Velleron (AcS I: 648). According to Whatmough (DAG: ‘80, 82), *buxeno-* may be associated with French *bois*, originally meaning “oak wood”.

Mercurius Canetonnesis: “Mercurius of the Vicus of Canetonnum”.

From Bernay (Eure) come inscriptions to the DEO MERCVRIO CANETONNESI (such as CIL XIII: 3183). These inscriptions undoubtedly identify Mercurius with a local town Canetonnum (now Le Villeret near Bernay, Eure).

Mars Cemenelon: “Mars of the Vicus of Cemenelum”.

The inscription to MARTI CEMENELO (CIL V: 7871) from Cimiez, (Alpes-Maritime) refers to Cemenelum, the earlier name of Cimiez.

Mars Condatis: “Mars of the Vicus of Condatis”.

The inscriptions to the DEO MARTI CONDATI or MARTI CONDATI (RIB: 731, 1024, 1045) from the English counties of Durham and Yorkshire probably have nothing to do with the deity-name Condatis from Allons, Sarthe, other than common etymologies of the towns the deities presided over. According to Holder (AcS I: 1194), these British inscriptions probably refer to a town which once stood at the confluence of the Tee and a smaller stream. As Dottin (1920: 247) has noted, the name apparently indicates “confluence” (**dā-* “to flow”; **deh₂-*; IEW: 175).

Mars Giarinos: “Mars of the Vicus of Giarinus”.

The inscription to MARTI GIARINO (CIL XII: 332) from St. Zacharie (Var) probably refers to the name of some town whose etymology is not Celtic.

Mars Lacavos: “Mars of the Vicus of Lacavus”.

The inscription to MARTI AVG(VSTO) LACAVO (CIL XII: 3084) from Nîmes probably refers to the name of some town whose etymology is not Celtic.

Mars Mullo: “Mars of the Hills of Mullo(n)”.

Inscriptions to MARTI MVLLONI from Nantes (Rennes), Craon (Mayenne), and Allons (Sarthe) (AcS II: 651) apparently refer to a local place. Although Guyonvarc’h (1960c: 457-8) has suggested “pile (of booty)” after the *Glossarium* of du Cange (1678), which lists *mullo* as “*acervus, cumulus*”, the word is undoubtedly related to Irish *mul* “mass, heap; hill”. I would see this byname as a reference to a place name with the significance “hill”. The close distribution in Mayenne and Sarthe supports seeing this epithet as a local name.

Mars Nabelcos: “Mars of the Valley of Nabelcus”.

The various inscriptions to MARTI NABELCO (CIL XII: 1169-71) from St. Didier and Monieux (Vaucluse) apparently refer to the Vallée de la Nesque (AcS II: 670). Whatmough (DAG: ‘23) suggests that the name is not Celtic.

(*Mercurius*) *Ov(e)niorix*: “Mercurius king of the Ovenii”.

From Châtelet-en-Champagne (Haute-Marne) comes a statue of Mercurius with an inscription to the DEO OV(E)NIORIGI (AcS II: 691). It seems likely that here, like the inscription to Mercurius Arvernorum, is a perhaps a reference to a local tribe, in this case, the Ovenii, who are otherwise unattested.

Mars Randosatis: “Mars of the Vicus of Randanum”.

Guyonvarc’h (1964a: 209) has suggested that the inscription to MARTI RA(N)DOSATI (CIL XIII: 1516) from Taragnat near Lezoux (Puy-de-Dôme) may be connected to Randanum, now Randan near Rionn, Puy de Dôme.

Mars Tilenos: “Mars of the Telenus Mountains”.

Holder suggests that the inscription to MARTI TILENO (AcS II: 1846) from La Bañeza, Leon, probably refers to the El Teleno mountains in Hispania Tarraconensis.

Mars Tritullos: “Mars of the Tritulli (Tritolli)”.

The inscription to M(ARTI) TRITVLLO (CIL XIII: 1561) from Saint-Laurent-de-Trèves, Lozère, (Narbonne) probably refers to the Tritolli, a Celtic tribe in Gallia Narbonensis (DAG: ‘80; Plinius, *Naturalis Historia*: 3, 34). The tribal name may be analyzed as *tri* “three” (Dottin 1920: 293) combined with *tol-*, *tul-*. I suggest Irish *tel*, *tol* “shield buckle” (< full-grade **tel-* and o-grade **tol-* “flat”; IEW: 1061) as a possible cognate in analyzing this tribal name. Otherwise the name may relate to Irish *tol* (a,f) “desire” (< **tol-* the o-grade of **tel-* “to draw”; IEW: 1060-1).

Mars Vintios: “Mars of the Vicus of Vintium”.

The inscription to MARTI VINTIO (CIL XIII: 3) from Vence probably refers to Vintion, the earlier name of this town in the Alpes-Maritimes. The similar inscriptions to AUG(VSTO) VIN[TIO] POLLVCI (CIL V: 2558, 2561-2) from Vens near Hauterville, Haute-Savoie, and Seyssel, Ain, probably also refer to another town called Vintion, here giving modern Vens. The similarity in the two names is thus probably fortuitous. Of course, the Pagus Venciensis (Ptolemaeus: 3, 1, 37) may lie behind all of these names, whose stem *vinti-* is probably not Celtic.

Mars Vorocios: “Mars of the Vicus of Vorocium”.

The inscription to the DEO MARTI VOROCIO (CIL XIII: 1497) found on the inside of a votive ring from Auvergne, Allier, near La Palisse, undoubtedly refers to the Vicus of Vorocium, now Vourouy, Allier, near La Palisse. This place name may contain the same root *vor-* to be found in Belgic inscriptions to VORIONI and VOROI (DAG: ‘211) from Trier and Patenburg (Witlich), respectively. The IE root behind these names is apparently the o-grade of **uor-* “water” (IEW: 80-1; NIL: 715; **auer-*, **eh₁r-*, as in Gaulish *avara*).

Whatmough (DAG: ‘209) has suggested that the significance of the last two names might be “God of the Ford”. But it seems immanently more likely, in the light of Vorocium above, that the deities in question simply have place-name epithets. Vendryes (1948: 268) has suggested that the stem *vor-* may not be Celtic.

Bynames of Irish Cú Chulainn

**Cuo Colioni* “Hound of the Smith”

Jubainville (1899a: 89-90) noted that Cú Chulainn can only indicate “Hound of Culann (gen. Culainn)”, since the genitive of the name is Con Culainn, and the dative is Coin Chulainn. The declension paradigm *cú*, *con*, and *coin* is identical to that of *cú* “hound”. Here then *cú* (NS: **k^hū*) derives from IE **k_uō(n)* “hound” (IEW: 632; DPC: 181). Culann, the name of the smith from whose dog Cú Chulainn is named, undoubtedly derives from IE **koldo-* “struck, smithed” (the o-grade o-stem form of the IE root **kel-* “strike”) (IEW: 545; DPC: 212), with the attachment of the agentive suffix *-iono-* (Buck 1933: 323). The significance of Cú Chulainn is then “Hound of the Smith”.

The information contained in three poetic sources provide the earliest information concerning the nature of the *Táin* and Cú Chulainn (Olmsted 1992a, 1992b, and 1992c). Thus, 27 lines which summarize the *Táin* occur in Lucreth’s poem, *Conailla Medb míchuru*, ca. 600 AD (Meyer 1912b: 306-7; see Olmsted 1988c for a complete glossary and analysis).

Conailla Medb míchuru.

L

- 1 Conailla Medb // míchuru
- 2 mauc do Roich // Ruadchuru
- 3 cuir sir for Fergus // forcomal
- 4 coí innai(s)cth airm // dumenair
- 5 timgart cuici // cardini
- 6 cuaird i n-dithrib // drochmoddi
- 7 drog a ceille // cundomne

8 condiacht solam // sochraitte
 9 Saelti Ailill // h-irroidde
 10 h-(a)irthend iarir // ascde
 11 Asfaith moais // mairlatha
 12 lúthag luin // la auromun
 13 auruath niath // nertercride
 14 nad-bo fri nith // fand fulomoin
 15 fogert guss // gaile Fergusa
 16 firu iath // n-Erenn mordale
 17 sithbe sluagid // allmure
 18 n-Ulath n-ecnech // n-ulaichnithe
 19 nibo chuin caór // catha crobuilnig
 20 (ig) cloi cen thim // timne tethiguth
 21 tethrig abud // badarrfodde
 22 bó fri h-Ulath // n-ollchosnam
 23 i-ngab Medb // moethiguth
 24 michor dingeni // gnim nad chum
 25 cach ecomul naisc // nuall fuatachtae
 26 forra caib forra claind // croaithlich
 27 torgi fian // la Fergus fuacarta.

1 Medb enjoined illegal contracts
 2 with the son of Roech (of the) Red Troop.
 3 She put upon Fergus lasting captivity.
 4 He expected the way of a captive in that place.
 5 She requested a pact of friendship (a treaty) with him.
 6 (Being) in an area in a wilderness of bad measure,
 7 bad were the situations of her clients.
 8 She sought the readiness of her armies
 9 expectant of wealth from Ailill,
 10 firmly demanding gifts of aid.
 11 He sent forth the full consent of a great warrior,
 12 possessing the vigorous fight of a blackbird (inspiring) great fear,
 13 the great terror of strong-hearted warriors,
 14 who was not in battle weak and wavering.
 15 The force of valor of Fergus excited
 16 the men of the muster of the lands of Ireland.
 17 The leader of the troops of foreigners,
 18 of the skilled Ulstermen of swift conflict,
 19 not quiet was this warrior with his bloody stroke of battle,
 20 with a cry not feeble of commands with the lustful sound
 21 of a lustful king, who would {make/have} deafening outcries
 22 in the contention (for) the ox of the Ulstermen
 23 to which Medb set about by (that) word of vow,
 24 the illegal contract which she made, in an action without security.
 25 (Thus) she binds every division (of unity) which might snatch away fame
 26 over her victory, over her conquest severe,
 27 when she supplies the roving band with banished Fergus.

Further early information is contained in the seventh-century *Verba Scathaige* (see Olmsted 1979b: 229-40 for a glossary and analysis).

Verba Scathaige.

L	
1	Imbe eirr // hengaile
2	arat-ossa // ollgabud
3	huathad fri heit // n-imleair
4	cotat curaith // ceillfetar
5	Fortat braigait // bibsatar
6	bied do chailcc //culbeimnech
7	cruoch fri sruth // Setanta
8	tithis fithog // foibaramnus
9	fethal feula // fedclassaib
10	fearba do Breig // braitfiter
11	braigit do thuaith // tithsiter
12	tren cithach // coicthigis
13	cichis do buar // belatu
14	be hoin fri slog // sirdochre
15	silfid do fuil // flantedman
16	fernaib ilib // idlochtaib
17	cuan dia lili // loscandaib
18	lin dofedat // ildamaib
19	ilar fule // firfithir
20	for Coin Culaind // cen colainn
21	ceisfe alag // n-enchrìde
22	al de dalaib // dedairbe
23	didirn broderc // brisfithir
24	bruthaich fri toind // trechtaide
25	frissin mbelend // mbandernach
26	belend dichet // clesamnach
27	cichit biet // banchuire
28	baiti Medba // sceo Ailella
29	arat ossa // otharlighe
30	ucht fri hEchtga // irgairgi
31	at chiu firfeith // Findbennach Aie
32	fri Donn Cuailnge // ardburach.

1	Since you will be a warrior of singular valor,
2	great peril awaits you.
3	Alone against an extensive herd,
4	warriors will surround you;
5	necks will be cut through by you.
6	From a back-slashing blade,
7	Setanta will be bloody in the stream.
8	Keenly pointed, flesh-adorned
9	timber will attest to wood-feats.
10	Cattle will be carried off from Brega;
11	hostages will be sworn from the people.
12	Through a showery fortnight
13	your cattle will stride through passes.
14	You will be one against a most destructive horde.

15 Your red-plagued blood will drip
 16 from numerous splintered shields.
 17 The army which will swarm with fires
 18 is a legion which they lead in many companies.
 19 A torrent of blood will be showered
 20 over Cú Chulainn as well as flesh.
 21 You will suffer from a wound of vengeance,
 22 afflicted from encounters with a hedge of spears.
 23 By an iron point will the red shield be splintered,
 24 blazing against pierced skin.
 25 Against the bare-handed warrior
 26 can go a warrior performing feats;
 27 women-troops will mourn the deed.
 28 Overwhelming Medb and Ailill,
 29 a sickbed awaits you,
 30 facing Echtga in angry fierceness.
 31 I see that Finnbennach will fight
 32 against loud-bellowing Donn Cuailnge.

Finally the *Mórrígan Rosc* provides the third source of metrically preserved information on the nature of the *Táin* during the seventh century (Olmsted 1982: 165-172).

Mórrígan Rosc.

L		L	
1	In fitir in Dub	13	forglass forloich
2	dusáim can eric	14	lilestai áed
3	echtaig dáil	15	ág asa mag
4	dés nad fiacht	16	mellait slóig
5	fíach nad éol	17	scoith nía[b] Boidb
6	certite namait	18	bógeimnech feochair
7	ar tuaith Breg	19	fíach fir mairb
8	bíth i ndáinib	20	rád n-ingir
9	tathum rún	21	cluit cuailngi
10	forfiastar dub	22	coicde dia bás
11	dia n-ísa maig	23	mormaicne iar feict
12	muintonna fér	24	muintire do ecaib.

1	Does the Black Bull know	13	deep green is deep black.
2	turmoil without compensation,	14	By fire would the ox be
3	the destructive army,	15	overpowered from his plain.
4	a domain that has not fought?	16	The armies beguile
5	Unaccustomed is the fine	17	the spirited hero of Bodb.
6	enemies impose	18	A fierce bellowing is
7	on the Brega people.	19	the payment for a dead man.
8	It has been in men.	20	Saying of sorrow,
9	I have a secret	21	the shelter of Cuailnge will be
10	the Black Bull will know.	22	five days from his death
11	If you graze in the plain	23	after a fight of great youths
12	the bog-lands of grass,	24	of his people to death.

**Sentonotios* or **Sentovindios*: “Guide of Roads” or “Fair Pathfinder”.

Irish manuscript sources usually list this name as *Sétanta*, *Sétante*, or *Sétantae* (Thurneysen 1921: 690), but RIA D.4.2 f. 48r, a manuscript of circa 1300, uses *Sédana*. The text from this manuscript adds additional information to that contained in the LU. Here Dechtir asks Cet mac Mágach to give a name to her son. Cet names him *Sedana* after *séd*, here a variant spelling of *sét* (u,m) “route, way” (Thurneysen 1921: 270). Irish *sét* is a development of IE **sentu-*, **sentō-* “journey, way” (DPC: 330; IEW: 908), which also gives Welsh *hynt* (also see Vendryes 1974: 98). In *sét* orthographically the *-t* represents the voiced dental. As Thurneysen (1946: 138) noted, “old *nt* which is not the result of syncope > d(d)”.

Another possibility for the etymology of this name is a relationship to Irish *sét* “treasure, fortune, beasts”, but this Irish word derives from **suentō-* “lively, vigorous” (IEW: 1048) according to Vendryes (1974: 98). If this is the case, the Gaulish personal name SINTOR(I)GIS in the genitive (CIL XIII: 4059) from the region around Trier can only refer to **sentō-* “road”, also found in the place name *Gabrosentum* “Goat Road” (Schmidt 1957: 269; also *Gabromagus* “Goat Field”, Thurneysen 1946: 79).

There is also a goddess name *Sentona* from Fiume, which is given in an inscription to SENTONAE (CIL III: 3206). In *Sentona* it is possible that we deal with a local nymph. The British tribal name *Setantii* (Ptolemaeus: II, 3, 3) is presumably from **Sentantii* (Guyonvarc’h 1961: 596) and would derive from **Sent-ono-tio-* (as perhaps does Irish *Sétanta*) or **Sent-anti-* (as in the Latin abstract suffix *-antio-*; Buck 1933: 333). In Irish, *n* is always lost before *t*, but later *nt* resulting from syncope remains unchanged (Thurneysen 1946: 126-7). Thus Guyonvarc’h (1961: 596) is probably correct in seeing *Setanta* as reflex of Gaulish *Mercurius*, “God of Routes and Roads”.

The variant spelling *Sedana* above suggests that the *nt* in *Setanta* could actually represent *nd*, as *nd* often goes to *nn* (Thurneysen 1946: 93). If **Sedanda* is implied here, it could represent a development of **sentō-vindios*, just as *cenand* represents *cenn-find*, *menand* represents *menn-find*, and *boand* represents *bo-find* (Thurneysen 1946: 75).

(*Ríastartha*): “Distorted One” or “Shape-shifter”.

The LU-YBL *Táin* (l. 1456) states “*doratsat fir nOl nEcmacht in Riastartha do anmair do Coin Culaind*”. This byname of Cú Chulainn is an io-stem participle of *ríastraid* “contorts, distorts”. The etymology is otherwise obscure to me.

Gaulish Meduana, *Bovinda, and Epona

Bynames of Gaulish *Bovinda

Ald[a]me[...]s : “the White Cow (of) ?...?”.

From Rognes, Bouches-du-Rhône, comes an inscription to VROICIS ET ALD[.]ME[...]SIBVS (AcS III: 455). The last name was reconstructed by Allmer as ALD[E]ME[HEN]SIBVS after the Matres Mahlineae, Nersihenae, and Vacalhinehae (Aebischer 1931: 312-13). However, his reconstruction seems very doubtful. All these goddess names in *-hena* and *-neha* are Germanic (Gutenbrunner 1936b: 122), whereas the Latinized dative plural VROICIS is definitely Celtic in origin, and the inscription is from the Bouches-du-Rhône. The dedicators of this inscription *Verax Antenorius f(ilius) et Potissima Ollunae f(ilia)* show nothing Germanic in their names. Potissima is Latin from *potissimus*, *potissima* “best of all”, perhaps influenced by *potis summa* “the best attainable”. Also Latin are the names Antenorius from Greek Anténōr, the legendary Trojan founder of Patavium (Padua), and Verax from *verax* “truthful”. Significantly, however, Potissima’s mother has a Gaulish name. Olluna is composed of the Celtic stem *ollo-* “great, ample, all” combined with the suffix *-uno-* and is listed as a Celtic personal name by both Whatmough (DAG: ‘83) and Evans (1967: 238). Thus it is ludicrous to interpret this inscription from the Rhône Basin as Germanic rather than Celtic. Antenorius has simply followed his Gaulish wife in giving a dedication to Celtic gods, as indicated by the extant part of the inscription dedicated to VROICIS.

VROICIS, the other deity or deities to whom the dedication was made *loco [privato aedem fecerut]*, is invoked in the Latinized dative plural of an *ā*-stem or an *o*-stem. Aebischer (1931: 313) chose to interpret this name as *ā*-stem indicating another goddess group, the **Vroicae*. However, deity dedications in the plural are commonplace as a sign of respect (see *Vroicos* entry of the Glossary; DAG: ‘82, p. 196). As we shall see, here is simply a dedication to a god *Vroicos*, apparently cognate with Irish *Fraech*.

In the name ALD[.]ME[...]SIBVS, the ending *-sibus* suggests the dative plural of an *s*-stem (nom. sing.: *-s*) or the dative plural of an *i*-stem suffix (nom. sing.: *-sis*). Gaulish names ending in *-si-* are not common, but are noted by Holder (AcS II: 583), as in *Nemesis* (DAG: ‘213). One might suggest as a guess ALD[A]ME[NE]SIBVS after *Canetonesis* (DAG: ‘181), ALD[A]ME[LEN]SIBVS after the Matres *Candellenses* (DAG: ‘82), or ALD[A]ME[LE]SIBVS after the Matres *Obeleses* (DAG: ‘82). Also possible would be ALD[A]ME[NDE]SIBVS or ALD[A]ME[ND]SIBVS.

A possible interpretation, if the ending is *-ensis*, is to see it as Latin with the same significance as that found in the *Baginensis pagus* and *Deobensis pagus* (Evans 1967: 192). This Latin ending is usually used to form “adjectives, many of them used substantively, derived from nouns denoting place, especially names of towns” (Buck 1953: 334), such as *Narbonensis* and *Hispaniensus* (*Hispania*). If this is the ending here, the inscription should probably read ALD[A]ME[EN]SIBVS giving a nominative singular *Ald[a]me[en]sis*, referring to the goddess of some otherwise unknown tribal group.

One might also project the addition of the suffix *-es-* to the final stem (*v*)e[nd]- to reconstruct **Ald[a]m(ov)e[nde]s* on analogy with **Bovovinda*. The suffix *-es-* is used to form nominal abstracts from the full-grade of a root (Meillet 1922: 259-60). Thus one could envision **vendes* or **vindes* “fairness, purity, whiteness” formed from *vindo-* “white, pure, fair” (IE **ui-n-d* “white”, the *n*-extended form of **ued-* “see”, IEW: 1125). A possible Irish correlative term is *finne* “fairness, brightness”, which is an *iā*-stem, however. One might imagine the proposed *s*-stem, which would give Irish **finne* (Thurneysen 1946: 110) in the nominative singular, might be confused with an *iā*-stem, considering the loss of final and intervocalic *s*.

Here then a reconstructed **vendes* (see analysis of Borvoboendia below) would show the loss of initial *v-*, immediately following *-m* after syncope. Considering the commonplace alternation of *m* and *v* in Gaulish (Evans 1967: 409-10), as in *bormo-*, *borvo-*, the dropping of *-v-* after *-m-* would be likely. Loss of *-v-* is also commonplace between vowels (Evans 1967: 397; Schmidt 1957: 99-100). If the form began as **al-damo-vindes-*, the loss of *-v-* would then be regular in intervocalic position, finally leading to the reduction of the resulting diphthong (Evans 1967: 396): **al-damo-vindes-* > **al-damo-indes-* > *al-dam-endes-*. *Vendo-* for *vindo-* “white” is also commonplace with the alternation of *e* and *i* (Evans 1967: 392).

Although the ending must remain uncertain, the initial part of the name may be more securely reconstructed as *ald[a]m-*, for clearly the missing letter is a vowel. The Gaulish stem *damo-* “ox” (Dottin 1920: 250), as in Irish *dam* (o,m) “ox”, derives ultimately from the o-grade of the IE root **demh₂-*. The IE o-grade o-stem **domo-* (**dm-h₂o-*; DPC: 89) indicates “tame animal”, and the o-grade io-stem **domio-* indicates “tame bull” (IEW: 199-200). The Celtic stem *damo-* is discussed more fully under Damona, with whom this goddess companion of Vroicos must be equivalent. The root preceding this stem, *al-*, may represent **al-* “other” (IEW: 24), whose derivative in *-io-*, *alios*, gives Welsh *eil* and Irish *aile* “other”. *Allo-*, however, is the usual Gaulish form. The form *al-* might also stand for *ol-*, with the alternation of *a* and *o* (see Evans 1967: 391). It is thus possible that *al-* stands for *ollo-* “great, ample” (Evans 1967: 237-38), as in Irish *oll* and Welsh *oll* “all” (<**olnos*; IEW: 24, itself a derivative of **h₃ol-* or **h₂el-*; DPC: 298).

However, there was also an IE root **h₂al-*, **h₂el-* “white, brilliant” (IEW: 29, 31), which gave the stem *albho-* (**h₂elb^ho-* DPC: 29) attested in Celtic in Gallo-Latin Albion “Britain” (IEW: 30) as well as in various Ligurian and Celtic place names, such as Alba and Albium. The root also occurs in Albios, the god referenced beside Damona in the Côte d’Or. The Celtic root **al-*, “brilliant, white” also occurs in *alausea* “shad (fish)” and in Alaunos (IEW: 29-31). Seeing the *AL-* of the deity name as a development of IE **h₂al-* “brilliant, white” seems most likely to me. Thus *Ald[a]me[...]*s would be the “White Cow of?”. Although the fragmentary nature of the inscription makes any attempt at reconstructing the last stem of the name speculative, interpreting the first two stems *al-d[a]m-* as “white cow” has a more firm basis. *Ald[a]me[...]*s “White Cow of?” and Vroicos “Heather” would then correspond exactly to Irish *Boand* “White cow” (< *Bovinda*) and her nephew/husband *Fraech* “Heather”.

**Bovinda*; **Bovovinda*: “White Cow”.

Bovovinda is the form suggested by Ptolemaeus’s (2,2,7) *Buovinda* (v. *Boovinda*) (see O’Rahilly 1946: 3). This form would readily give **Bovinda*, which in turn gives Irish *Boand* or *Boind* (as her name is listed in LL 10a, l. 45), the eponymous goddess of the river Boyne (*Boind*) (see Ahlqvist 1980: 158). Here, *boo-* and *buo-* suggest a development from **bovo-*, derived from IE **g₁u₁uo-* “cow”. The IE nominative form **g₁u₁ōus* (IEW: 482-3; DPC: 71) gives Old Irish *bó* “cow” (genitive *báú*) and Archaic Irish **bāu*. *Vinda* is the Celtic stem *vindo-* “white, pure, fair” (DPC: 423), as above, from IE **u₁-n-d* “white”, the n-extended form of **u₁(e)d-* “see” (IEW: 1125).

Bormana: “the Boiler”.

From a hot spring at Aix-en-Diois, Drôme, comes an inscription to BORMANO ET BORMAN[AE] (CIL XII: 1567). Close again to the Côte d’Or, but this time from a cold-water spring, comes an inscription to BORMANAE AVG(VSTAE) SACR(V)M (see AcS I: 492). In the inscription from Drôme, both the god and goddess names can be analyzed as *bormo-ono-*, giving *Bormanos* and *Bormana*. Most of the inscriptions invoke the god as an n-derivative of *borm-* and refer to him as *Bormo*, an n-stem, and his goddess companion as *Damona*. It seems

most likely that *Bormana* is simply an alternative name for Damona, the usual goddess companion of Bormo. Here, it is apparent that *Bormana* contains the same stem in her name as (Apollo) *Borvo*, *Bormo*, and *Bormanos*, *Borbanos*. This stem is possibly represented in Gaulish *borbā* “bubbling source, hot spring” from the o-grade form of IE **bheru-* “to boil”, an extended or suffixed form of the IE root **bher-* “to be agitated (of water)” (IEW: 143-4). This root **bher-* lies behind Welsh *berw* “boil, seethe, bubble” and Irish *berbait* “cook, seethe”. More likely, the name *Bormana* developed from an m-extended form (IEW: 132-3; DPC: 63) of the o-grade of the same root **bher-*. Thus the projected IE forms would be **bhor̥u-* and **bhormo-*, both with the same significance “bubble, boil”, specifically of hot springs (see Glossary: Bormo for other possibilities). Thus, *Bormana* is “the Bubbler, the Agitator, the Boiler”, the essence of the spring waters.

Borvoendoa (**Borvovindona*): “The Seething White Cow”.

From Utrecht come two very important inscriptions to the BORVOBOENDOAE (Gutenbrunner 1936b: 211, S. 75, B5) and to the DEABVS BORVOBOE(N)DOAE COBBAE (Gutenbrunner 1936b: 211, S. 75, B4). Here Cobba is probably the goddess of a local spring or source. Relating her name to Irish *cob* would give it the significance “Victory or Prosperity”. As both Gutenbrunner (1936: 67b) and Whatmough (DAG: ‘74, note XIV, iii) have noted, *Borvoendoa* is undoubtedly a Celtic name.

Das Bestimmungswort gall. *borvo-* ist aus Ausdruck für warme Quellen und für Bäche, die aus solchen entspringen, geläufig. Das zweite Glied *-boendoa* erinnert an den irische FIN *Buovinda* bei Ptol. 2.2,7, j. Boyne, ir. *Boind*. (Gutenbrunner 1936b: 67-8).

Thus, the name may be analyzed as **borvo-bo-vindo-ono-*. The root behind the first stem *borvo-* is undoubtedly the same as that discussed above under *Bormana*. The second complex *-bo-endoae* probably derives from the dative ā-stem **bo-vendonae* through the common reduction of *-v-* between vowels, as in *deo-* and *dio-* from *devo-*, *divo-* (Evans 1967: 397). In **bo-vendonae* the loss of the intervocalic *-n-* in the form *bo-endoae* may well be epigraphic, noting the dropping of *-n-* before *-d-* in the second inscription above. The dropping of this *-n-* before *-d-* would be expected, however, as Evans (1967: 408) has noted, “between a vowel and a stop consonant it seems that a nasal consonant is occasionally lost”.

The stem *vendo-* is simply a variant of *vindo-* “white” (see *Bovinda*, above) (Dottin 1920: 299) as noted by Schmidt (1957: 289), who lists as personal names *Vendus*, *Vindus*; *Vendobona*, *Vindobona*. The usual form *vindo-* (DPC: 423) gives Welsh *gwynn* and Irish *find* “white, fair”, perhaps derived from **ye-n-d-* rather than **yi-n-d-*, a nasalized form of **y(e)di* “see” (IEW: 1125). Here the *-e-* before a nasal and a stop would usually go to *-i-* (see Pedersen, VKG I: 37; Jackson 1953: 278). However, as exceptions Evans (1967: 392-3) notes forms in *cintu-* beside forms in *centu-/cento-*, *ceng-* beside *cing-*, *vint-* beside *vent-*, *tinc-* beside *tenc-*, *sint-* beside *sent-*, and *pimp-* and *pint-* beside *pemp-* and *pent-*. Watkins (1954: 516) has also suggested that before a nasal and a stop *-e-* and *-i-* may not have been phonemically distinct, and the change from *-e-* to *-i-* was probably not completed during the period of common Celtic. Evans (1967: 393) has also noted that unaccented *-i-* often became *-e-* as in *are-* from *ari-*. Thus *-vendo-* is an acceptable development of either **iindo-* or **iendo-* “white”.

The first stem in *-boendoa* is clearly *bo-*, the compounding form of *bovi-* or *bou-* “cow” (Dottin 1920: 235), as in Irish *bó* “cow” and Breton *bou*, derived from PC **boŷ-* and PIE **g^hōŷ* “cow” (IEW: 483; DPC: 71). As Gutenbrunner realized, the form *-boendoa* (< **bovindona*) developed from the same complex as the goddess name *Bovinda* (**Bovovinda*), suggested by Ptolemaeus’s *Buovinda* (v. *Boovinda*) (see O’Rahilly 1946: 3) and giving Irish

Boand or *Boind* (as her name is listed in LL 10a, l. 45), the eponymous goddess of the river Boyne (*Boind*) (see Ahlqvist 1980: 158).

Damona: “the Cow”.

There are a series of inscriptions, mainly from hot springs bordering on the Côte d’Or, to *Apollō Borvo* and *Damona*. Indeed, the concentration of the inscriptions suggests that *Damona* was simply a local variant of S(t)irona. Thus from Bourbonne-les-Bains (Haute Marne), itself named after Bormo, come inscriptions to the DEO APOLLINI BORVONI ET DAMONAE or to BARVONI ET DAMONAE (AcS I: 493, 494, 1221). Also from Entrains (Nièvre) comes an inscription to the DEO APOLLINI BORVONI ET DAMONAE (Orelli: 5880). Similar inscriptions to BORMONI ET DAMONAE as well as BORVONI ET DAMONAE come from Bourbon-Lancy, Saône-et-Loire, itself known earlier as *Aquae Bormonis*. There is also a Latinized inscription from Rivières (Charente) to *Borvo Albius* and *Damona Matvberginnis* (DAG: ‘155), which connects the byname *Damona* to *Matvberginnis* “the Good High One”.

Like S(t)irona, *Damona*’s name contains a stem signifying cattle with the familiar *-ono-* suffix. Thus *Damona* is almost certainly formed from the Celtic stem *damo-* “ox” (Dottin 1920: 250; DPC: 89) as in Irish *dam* (o,m) “ox”, ultimately from the o-grade of the IE root **demh₂-*. The o-grade o-stem **domo-* indicates “tame animal”, and the o-grade io-stem **domio-* indicates “tame bull” (IEW: 199-200). Welsh *dofi* “to tame, bring under the yoke” and *dafad* “sheep, ewe” are undoubtedly related. Although an ox is a castrated bull, essentially a work steer, the Greek forms *damálē* “young cow”, *dámalis* “young girl”, and *dámalos* “calf”, besides Welsh *dafad* “ewe”, suggest that as with **ster-*, the gender is not necessarily that of a castrated male. Again, the Celtic stem *damo-* takes on the significance of that suggested for **ster-* “barren cow or steer”. *Damona* is thus the “Cow Goddess”.

Matvberginnis: “the Good High One”.

A Latinized inscription from Rivières, Charente, to *Borvo Albius* and *Damona Matvberginnis* (DAG: ‘155) connects the byname *Damona* to *Matvberginnis*. In *Matvberginnis*, *matu-* is a variant of the Celtic stem **mati-* signifying “good” (**mā, mā-tu- mā-ti-*; IEW: 693; DPC: 259), and *bergini-* apparently derives from IE **bhergho-* “height” (IEW: 140; DPC: 77).

S(t)irona: “the Heifer”; “the Planet Venus”.

Inscriptions to APOLLO GRANNO ET SIRONAE come from Rome (CIL VI: 36), Scotland (CIL VII: 1082), Branges (CIL XIII: 2600), Horburg (CIL XIII: 5315), and Bavière (CIL III: 3588). A cult center seems to have been located at Aachen, formerly *Aquae Granni* (de Vries 1961: 74; Aebischer 1934: 34-5). Inscriptions to *Sirona* or *Dirona* thus come from Aquitania Secunda, Gallia Lugdunensis, Belgica, Germania Superior, and the Agri Decumates. Approximately three-quarters of them hale from Germania Superior or Belgica. Thus of 15 inscriptions to DIRONA listed by Holder (AcS I: 1288), two are to the DEAE ĐDIRONA[E] from Trier (CIR: 814) and Sept-Fontaines, Lothringen, (Orelli: 1987), and one is from Wiesbaden to DIR[ONAE]. Inscriptions to SIRONA (without the Đ or ĐĐ variant) come from Rome, Bitburg, Nierstein, Mainz, Wiesbaden, and Granx (Vosges). From Luxeuil comes an inscription to APOLLINI ET SIRONAE (CIL XIII: 5424), while from Baumburg comes an inscription to APOLLINI GRANNO [ET SI]RONAE (CIL III: 5588). The inscription from Sainte-Fontaine is also important because it is engraved on the bust of a goddess wearing a torque, stylized in a mask-like portrayal (Robert 1879: 136). Associated repousée metal images derive from late La Tène and the early Romano-Gaulish period.

From the interior of the cella of a small square temple from near the source of the Koppelbach near Hochscheid comes the upper portion of a high-relief on stone of a young goddess holding a serpent coiled around her right arm and a patera in her left hand (Esp. XIV: 8435). Inscriptions from the temple, which dates to the second half of the first-century BC, show that it was dedicated to Apollo and S(t)irona (Dehn 1941: 104-11). Indeed a mutilated statue of Apollo (Esp. XIV: 8433) was found close to the entrance of the cella. There can be little doubt that the goddess represents S(t)irona.

Gaulish ĐĐ or DD represents an original *ts*, *ds*, or *st* (Evans 1967: 410-19). Furthermore as Thurneysen (1946: 133) noted, original *st-* often gave *s-* in Irish as well as in Welsh (especially before vowels), as in *sruith* “stream” and *ser* “star” (Welsh *seren*). Taken together there can be little doubt that *DDirona*, *Đirona*, and *Sirona* represent an original **Stirona*.

Most observers seeking an etymology for *Sirona* (*Đirona*) have been drawn to IE **stēr-*, *stēra* “star” (IEW: 1027-28; DPC: 355), with the familiar suffix *-ono-*. The problem with this etymology, although attractive to the solar and astrological school of mythology, is that it is without context with other Gaulish deity names. Indeed Stokes (Urk. Spr.: 313), who suggested this etymology in 1894 (*Sterngöttin: Name einer Gottheit, welche mit Apollo Grannus zusammen verehrt wurde*), readily admitted his debt to solar mythology, since Apollo Grannos was identified as a “Sun God” (but, perhaps Astarte “Venus” provides a parallel).

Also attractive is IE **ster-* “barren cow or steer” (IEW: 1031). Irish *serrach* “colt, foal, any young animal” may be an Irish derivative of this root, as Fleuriot (1975a: 435) noted. The root also gives Sanskrit *starī-* “barren cow”, Greek *steīra* “young cow”, Albanian *shtjerrë*, Gothic *stairō*, “infertile”, and Anglo-Saxon *stierc* “calf”. One may suppose the root included a lengthened-grade form **h₂stēr-* to give Gaulish *stīr-* or that we have here another example of the *e/i* alternation, of which Holder (AcS I: 1392) lists several examples. Dottin (1920: 58) notes *divertomu*, *divirtomu* on the Coligny calendar as well as *Alesia*, *Alisiia*. Evans (1967: 392-3) notes the change of *e* to *i* is most regular before a nasal preceding a stop. He also notes *vic-* / *vec-* and *vect-* / *vict-* as well *Bilinos* and *Belenos*. *Divertomu*, *divirtomu* is most pertinent because the *e/i* shift occurs before *-r-*.

Fleuriot (1975a: 435) notes a personal name from Saintes, Charente-Inférieure, in the genitive EPO[STE]ROVIDI “Knowing Horses and Steers”. He also interprets the phrase *sancili-stara* in the Botorrita inscription in this manner (see Olmsted 1988b: 379). Thus S(t)irona “the Heifer” would fit in semantically with *Damona* “the Cow”, *Bovina* “White Cow”, and *Ald[a]me[.]s* “the White Cow of?”. Otherwise *Stirona* is “the Planet Venus”.

Other Bynames Attributable to *Bovina

Belisama: “the Most Brilliant”.

Inscriptions to APOLLINI BELENO (as in CIL V: 741) come from throughout Gallia Lugdunensis, Gallia Narbonensis, and Aquitania (see DAG: “ 82, 86, 150, 155, 181). Most likely the inscription to MINERVAE BELISAMAE (CIL XIII: 8) from Saint-Liziers (Haute-Garonne) is to a goddess who was a companion to *Belenos*. From Vaison-la-Romaine (Vaucluse) comes an inscription in Greek lettering to this same goddess.

SEGOMAROS VILLONEOS TOVTIVS NAMAVSATIS
EIORV BĒLĒSAMI SOSIN NEMĒTON. (Rhys 1906: 13; RIG-I: 205-8).

Segomarus Villoneos of the Namausensis people
dedicated this temple to Belisama.

This goddess also gave her name to places such as Beleymas (Dordogne), Belême (Orne), Balesmes (Haute-Marne), Blesmes (Aisne), and Blismes (Nièvre) (Lot 1928: 315-7). Further, Ptolemaeus (II, 3, 2) lists the name of a brook feeding into the Mersey by Liverpool: *Belisama Eischythis*.

Belisama undoubtedly contains the same Gaulish root *bel-* (Dottin 1920: 232) as does the Apollonian byname *Belenos* (to which the attributive suffix *-eno-* has been added; Buck 1933: 323). In *Belisama* the superlative suffix *-isamo-* has been added to the root (as in the Irish suffix *-em-* and the Welsh suffix *-haf-*, also found in Gaulish *Rigisamos*; Thurneysen 1946: 236). *Bel-* derives from IE **bhel-* “brilliant, white” (IEW: 118-9). This root may also be present in Irish *beltaine* (from *bel* + *taine* “fire”), the name of the Irish festival celebrating the beginning of summer. Similarly Ennodius, an early bishop of the Ticinensis region, lists Gaulish *bala* (*-anis*) as “having a white blaze” (of a horse) (DAG: ‘1). Evans (1967: 148) notes that *bala* is cognate with Welsh *bal* “having a white blaze on the forehead”. Pokorny (IEW: 119) suggests that this word derives from the same root as *bel-* with vowel ablaut. Perhaps Welsh *ufel* “fire” belongs to this **bhel-* group as well, as Guyonvarc’h (1962: 161-7) has suggested, seeing its derivation from **opi-bhelo-*.

The connection of *Belisama* to *Minerva* is also suggestive of *Sulis Minerva*, the goddess of the hot spring at Bath, who was a singular version of the *Suleviae Matres*. Here too, we deal with a goddess byname also equated with Irish *Boand*. Most likely, the Gaulish goddess referred to under the byname *Belisama* should be equated with the Gaulish cognate of Irish *Boand*. At any rate, the wide-spread nature of the byname suggests that it must have belonged to a major deity. Although *Boand* was Irish *Fraech*’s wife and aunt, and *Fraech* can be seen as equivalent to *Belenos*, *Fraech* was also associated with *Findabair*. An equation of *Belisama* with the Gaulish equivalent of *Findabair* remains an open possibility.

The first element in the name *Findabair* is apparently *find*, *finn* (o,a) “white, bright” (< *uindo-*, perhaps derived from **ue-n-d-* rather than **ui-n-d-*, a nasalized form of **u(e)di* “see”; IEW: 1125; DPC: 423). The second element *dabair* or *abair* is more difficult to analyze. The second element here could be seen as a development of *dabar* (o), a variant of *dobur*, *dobar* “water”, glossed *usce*, *uisce* (RIAD). *Dabair* is used in *Acallamh na Senorach* (Windisch and Stokes 1884-1909: IV, 7778) *cachaen imthéachus fonn na Cruaiche 7 ibhas uisci in dabair*. The association with *Cruachu*, *Findabair*’s home, is particularly apt.

Findabair has also been seen as cognate with Welsh *Gwenhwyvar*, wife of Arthur. Here the second stem *hwyvar* suggests a connection to Irish *síabair* (i,m) “specter, phantom”, which Meid (1970: 81) suggests is related to *sída* “supernatural being” from *síd*, *sith* “mound, otherworld mound”. As Bromwich (1961: 380) notes, however, *Gwenhwyvar* may also be analyzed as *Gwenhwy-vawr* (*mawr* “great”) in contrast to her sister *Gwenhwy-vach* (*bach* “small”). Thus the connection of *Findabair* to *Gwenhwyvar* may be fortuitous.

Brigantia, **Brigintī*, *Brigintona*, *Brigana*: “the High One, the Exalted One”.

The Latinized inscription from Rivières, Charente, to *Borvo Albius* and *Damona Matvberginnis* (DAG: ‘155) connects *Damona*, a byname of **Bovinda*, to *Matvberginnis* “the Good High One”. Here the second stem *berginnis* is close to *Brigantia*, *Brigia*, **Brigintī*, *Brigintona*, *Brigana*, and the tribal name *Brigenses*, suggesting that *Matvberginnis* belongs to this group as well.

Inscriptions from Yorkshire include: DEAE BRIGAN(TIAE) D(ONNVN) CINGETISSA P(OSVIT) (RIB: 630) and DEAE VICTORIAE BRIGANT(IAE) (RIB: 627-8). On Hadrian’s wall *Brigantia* is invoked in an inscription to the DEAE NYMPHAE BRIG(ANTIAE) (RIB: 2066). A high-relief from Birrens, Dumfriesshire, is inscribed to BRIGANTIAE (RIB: 2091). Here she is portrayed as what would otherwise be seen as a stylized *Minerva*, with shield, spear, and helmet (Toynbee 1962: no. 77). At Corbridge she is invoked in an inscription to IOVI AETERNO DOLICHENO ET CAELESTI BRIGANTIAE (RIB: 1131).

From Auxey-le-Grand close by Volnay near Beaune, Côte d'Or, comes a Gaulish inscription of considerable importance to this byname group: ICCAVOS OPPIANICNOS IEVRV BRIGINDONI[...] CANTOLON (DAG: '160; RIG-II: 119-27). Here *Brigindoni* is a dative in *-i* of an *ā*-stem *Brigindona*. The original name was probably **Brigintona* with the interchange of *t* and *d* common after *n* (see Thurneysen 1946: 188; Evans 1967: 80; Lejeune and Marichal 1967-7: 155; for Gaulish datives in *-i*, as in the *ā*-stems *Belisami* and *Sequani*, see Evans 1967: 425). This reasoning suggests seeing *Brigindona* as composed of the stem *brigintiā-* combined with the familiar suffix *-ono-*. This same Celtic stem *brigintiā-* gives the Irish deity-name *Brigit* (< **Brigintī*; PIE root **b^herg^h-*; DPC: 77; IEW: 140). In the Gaulish inscription, *ieuru* may be interpreted after Lambert (1979a: 207-8) as “dedicated” and *cantolon* after Vendryes (1928: 331-2) as “stone” (to Irish *cet*, *ceat* “round pillar stone” < **cant-* “circle”). Thus the inscription may be translated as “Iccavos Oppianicnos dedicated this stone to **Brigintona*”.

Evans (1967: 314-5) has suggested “the possibility that *Brigindoni* is a personal name”. This inscription must be examined with some care. Whatmough (DAG: '160) noted that the inscription was found on what was “apparently the lid of a small sarcophagus”. However, the use of the term *ieuru* “dedicated” makes me strongly question that the contents of the sarcophagus are implied in the inscription. Lambert 1979a: 207-8 relates *ieuru* to Irish *ro-ír* “dicavit” the preterite conjunct of *ernaid* “offer” (on the interpretation “fecit” see Wagner 1962: 87). Such an interpretation of *ieuru* almost certainly precludes the possibility that **Brigintona* was a little girl rather than a goddess. Gaulish inscriptions utilizing *ieuru* seem to occur invariably to deities, such as that to *Belisama* from *Vaison* (DAG: '57), to *Alisanos* from *Couchey* (DAG: '161), to *Anvalonacos* from *Aûtun* (DAG: '162), to *Ucvetis* from *Alice-Sainte-Reine* (DAG: '169), and to *Esumaros* from *Lezoux* (DAG: '135). The stone's similarity to the lid of a sarcophagus may be fortuitous. If it is a sarcophagus lid it may have been cut from an earlier stone dedicated to the goddess. It is even possible that a dedication to the goddess was cut on the lid of an infant's sarcophagus to protect the spirit of the dead infant. It should be remembered that the *Matres* are often portrayed on funeral stellae.

From Peñalba de Castro, Spain, comes an inscription to the MA(TRIBUS) BRIGEACIS (CIL II suppl.: 6328; Heichelheim 1930: 2223, 2249; Martinez 1962: 129-30). Here the stem *brig-* has the attributive suffix *-iaco-* added (Buck 1933: 343). As Wagner (1981: 7) has noted, the original name of Lake Konstanz, between Germany and Switzerland, was *Lacus Brigantinus*, apparently named after this goddess. Also Krahe (1964: 60-1) supposed the river *Brent*, a tributary of the *Thames*, to have derived from *Brigantia* (*Brent* < *Bregent* < *Brigantia*). Similarly the tributary of the *Loire*, the *Braye*, apparently derives from *Brigia*, while two tributaries of the *Danube*, the *Brigach* and the *Brege*, derive from *Brigana* (*Brigach* after *Brigine* < *Brigana*; *Brege* < *Bregen* < *Bregana* < *Brigana*; Krahe 1964: 88).

Brigantia played a special role for the British *Brigantes*, who took their name from her (as *Connacht* was known as *Coice Medba*, “the Province of *Medb*”). According to *Ptolemaeus* (2, 3, 10) and *Tacitus* (*Agricola*: 17), the *Brigantes* occupied what is now *Yorkshire* and *Northumberland*. The *Brigantes* are also listed by *Ptolemaeus* (2, 2, 6) as a tribe in *South Wexford*, no great distance from *Kildare*, the center of the cult of the Irish Saint *Brigit* (< **Brigintī* < **Bhṛghntī*; IEW: 140; an *iā*-stem with *-ī* nom.; Thurneysen 1946: 185-7).

One might at first sight conclude that *Brigantia* simply derived her name from that of people with whom she played a special role, as typical of the *Civitate Matres*. However, the byname is too wide-spread to support such a conclusion. Its use as a river name, as well, shows to what group of deity bynames *Brigantia* should belong. *Matuberginnis* (above) shows a similar usage and is probably a related name.

There is also an interesting tribal name from *Lusitania*, *Medubricenses* (CIL II: 760). The *Medubricenses* had their capital at *Medubriga* (*Bell. Alex.*: 46.2; *AcS* II: 526), which may be analyzed as *medu-briga*. The tribal name is simply the name of the capital, to which has been

added the Latin ethnicon suffix *-ensis*. The first stem in this capital name *medu-* could be seen as a derivative of IE **medhu-* (a variant of **medhio-*), which gives Irish *mid-* “middle” (IEW: 706; DPC: 262). Such an analysis would suggest that Briga was a river name, “the Middle Briga Region”.

However, *medu-* could also be seen as a development of IE **medhu-* “mead, honey; intoxication” (IEW: 707). Here we would have the interesting combination of two goddess names Medua and Briga. This same Latin localizing suffix *-ensis* (Buck 1933: 334) is apparent in *Brigantienses* and *Ager Brigendonensis* below. The use of the unsuffixed stem *Briga* recalls the simple reference to the goddess *Brigh* (<**Brigis*) in the Irish *Cath Maige Tuired*.

There are several place names in Gaul and Iberia (as in *Brigin(du)non* and *Litanobriga*) clearly derived from the apophonic variations **bheregh-*, *bhergho-*, *bhrghu-* “high, hill, exalted” (IEW: 140-1; DPC: 77) (on place names in *brig-* see Unterman 1965: 13ff., 26f., Lebel 1962: 966ff., Schmoll 1959: 73-5; Tovar 1957: 82; Krahe 1964: 88; Evans 1967: 315). The Celtic stem *brig-* gives Welsh *bre* and Irish *brí* (accusative *brig*) “hill”. There are also several Gaulish ethnic names, such as the *Brigiani*, a mountain people in Alpine Gaul, who obviously did take their name from this significance of the stem. A local god would seem to be implied as well in the inscription to the DEO BRIXANTV (Orelli: 1975) from Moulons-Englibert (Nièvre), where this local genius has taken his name from a place named after *Brigantia* or *Brigentonis* (such as *Brigantio(n)*, now *Briançon-sur-Durance*; *Brigendonis*, now *Brognot, Côte d’Or*; *Brigantio*, now *Bregenz*; AcS I: 538 and DAG: ‘7). *Brigantio* was a center of the *Brigantienses* and the *Ager Brigendonensis* in *Mâcon*.

However, with the suffix *-inti-*, *-anti-* the stem usually means “high, exalted, noble” as in Welsh *braint* and Cornish *bretyn* (<**brigantinos*) “king”. Similarly, the name of the great Irish goddess and saint *Brigit* derives from **bhrghntī* (**bhrghntī* > **brigintī* > *brigit*) (IEW: 140). The Sanskrit cognate *brhatī-* means “great, uplifted, high, exalted” (IEW: 140; also see Meid 1977: 115). Hamp (1986: 54) translates a projected masculine form **brigantī-no-s* as the title of a ruler “chief of the social group enjoying privilege or exaltation.” Thus the *Brigantes*, if their name denotes an attribute of the people, is more likely to mean “the exalted, noble, or ruling people” than “the hill people”. But the *Brigantes* may have taken their name, instead, from that of the goddess, as was a widespread practice in Gaul and Ireland (as in *Munster* from *Mumain* < **Mamianī*; and on the continent the *Meduaci*, the *Meduli* and the *Medubricenses* from **Medūa*). Thus the goddess *Brigantia* is “the Exalted One”.

Divona: “the Goddess”.

From *Bordeaux* comes an inscription to [DIV]ONAE (AcS I: 1273), the spring/source goddess. The same name was utilized to describe the goddess of the *Fontaine de Chartroux* in *Cahors, Lot*. At *Bagnols-sur-Cèze, Gard*, the name of this fountain goddess occurs as *DIIONA* (CIL XII: 2768). The name of a spring, the *Divonne* in *Ain*, was also originally *Divona*. She apparently was the eponymous goddess of a stream, the *Divona*, now *la Vionne*. *Ausonius’s Ordo Nobilium Urbium* (157-162) informs us that *Divona* was a source goddess, whose imbibed waters had medicinal value, *salve, urbin genius, medico potabilis haustu, Divona, celtarum lingua, fons addite divis* (AcS I: 1273).

The name *Divona* contains the familiar suffix *-ono-* added to the Gaulish stem *divo-*, *devo-* “god” (Dottin 1920: 251), derived from IE *deiyo-* “god” (IEW: 185; DPC: 96-7) and giving Irish *dia* (gen. *dé*) and Welsh *duw* “god”. As Schmidt (1957: 190) notes, the forms *deo-*, *dio-* are common variants for *devo-*, *divo-* through the loss of *-v-*. Thus *Divona* is simply “the Goddess”. The use of the generic term for the particular case is perhaps indicative of the importance of this goddess.

Glanicas: “the Pure Ones”.

On a block from the sacred pathway of the temple at Glanum, Saint-Rémy, is a dedication to GLANI ET GLANICABVS (Roland 1958: 88, pl. 30, no. 1). Another inscription in Greek lettering, obviously Gaulish, refers to the MATREBO GLANEIKABO (RIG: I, 73 ff, G-64), undoubtedly the same goddess or goddess group. The first inscription apparently is dedicated to “Glanis and the Glanicas” (see Belenos above for a discussion of this temple). This temple itself was dedicated to a god referred to by the Latin n-stem name *Valetudo* (Roland 1958: 103, 106, pl. 36, no. 3), “Who Brings Good health”. Another pair of bynames to the god and goddess group from this temple are Belenos “the Bright One” (see below) and Rocloisia. Other inscriptions refer to this pair as Apollo and the Iūnones.

The inscription to Glanis and the Glanicas, as well as the name Glanum, are suggestive of Nechtain and Síd Nechtain, recalling that Nechtain alternatively can be derived from stems meaning “clear, pure, bright”; “water”; as well as “nephew”. Here *glan-* is undoubtedly related to Irish *glan* (o, a) “clean, pure, bright”, derived from the n-extended form of IE **ghlō-*, a member of the apophonic series **ghlē-*, *ghlō-*, *ghlā-* “bright” (IEW: 429) (**ghelh₃-* DPC: 160).

Idunica, Idennica: “(She who) Gives Birth” or “the Wet One”.

From Collias (Gard) come inscriptions to SVL[E]VIAE IDENNICAE MINERVAE VOTVM (CIL XII: 1512; AcS II: 1664) and to SVLEVIAE IDVNICAE, making it clear that *Idunica, Idennica*, is a byname of the *Sulevae Matres*. This name can be analyzed as a stem *id-uno-* or *id-enno-* plus the secondary suffix *-eco-*, often used to form diminutives. *Id-enno-* would seem to be the root *id-* plus the agentive suffix *-enno-* (Buck 1933: 323). *Id-* could be a development of the IE extended form **pi-d-* “spring, wet place” (IEW: 794), as in Irish *esc* “water” (<**pid-skā*). Another stem which is probably a development of this same stem (with the primary significance “wet, spring”) is IE **pid-* “to be born, to bear, give birth”, which gives Irish *idu* (gen. *idan*) “birth pang” (< **idun* < **pidun*; IEW: 830). Thus *Idunica* would be “(She who) Gives Birth” or “the Wet One”.

Matra: “the Mother”.

The river Moder in Alsace was known during the Roman period as *Fluvius Matra* (*Trad. Wiz.* 44, a. 702), after *Matra* its eponymous goddess (AcS II: 468). *Matra* undoubtedly has an etymology, like *Matrona*, from **mātrā-* or **mātro-* (the zero-grade of **māter-* “mother” < **meh₂tēr*, IEW: 700-1; DPC: 260) (also see Krahe 1964: 100). According to Holder (AcS II: 468), the *Mediomatrici* took their name from dwelling along the middle portion of the *Matra* (*medio-mātra-ico-*).

Matrona: “the Mother”.

At the source of the Marne near Marnotte, Haute-Marne, there was a temple to eponymous goddess of the river *Matrona* (Marne). The goddess is referred to in an inscription indicating that *Successus Natalis* paid for building the wall around the temple.

SUCCESSVS NATALIS L(IBERTVS) MACERIEM CAEMENTICIM CIRCA HOC
 TEMPLVM DE SVA PECVNIA MATRONAE EX VOTO SVSCEPTO V(OTVM)
 S(OLVIT) L(IBENS) M(ERITO). (CIL XIII: 5674).

Successus Natalis, a freedman, from his own money raised up the wall of hewn stone around this temple for *Matrona* through a solemn promise and willingly and deservedly fulfilled his vow.

Matrona can be analyzed as the Celtic stem *mātro-*, *mātra-* derived from the zero-grade of IE **māter-* “mother” < **meh₂tēr* (IEW: 700-1; DPC: 260) with the addition of the suffix *-ono-*. This same complex *mātro-ono-* gives Welsh Modron as well. Thus Matrona may be seen to be cognate with Welsh Modron, the mother of Mabon (< Maponos).

Mogontia: “the Youthful”.

From Le Sablon, near Metz, comes an inscription to the DEAE MOGONTIAE (AcS II: 611). Similarly, a series of inscriptions from Old Penrith to the DEO MOG(ON)TI (RIB: 921), from Netherby to the DEO MOGONT(I) (RIB: 971), and from Risingham to the [D]EO MOGONTI (RIB: 1225) demonstrate that here is an original god and goddess pair. The dual reference to the VICVS MOGONTIACVS as the VICVS APOLLINESIS (CIR: 1138) links both names Mogontia and Mogonts to Apollo Mogounos. The basic stem in these names is IE **mogho-* **maghu-* “boy, youth” (IEW: 696; DPC: 274) (see Mogonts below under *Bynames of Gaulish Neōtulos*, etc; for the alternation of *o* and *a*, see Evans 1967: 391 and Thurneysen 1946: 50).

Rīgana: “the Queen”.

There is an early Gaulish inscription on the rim of a pottery bowl from a burial dating to the Tiberian period, i.e., the first half of the first century AD (Lejeune and Marichal 1977: 151-6). The inscription reads E... IRVRI RIGANI ROSMERTIAC, which Lejeune translates as *hoc dicāvi Rēganae atque Rosmertae*. Here Lejeune sees *ieuri* as a first person singular perfect tense of the well-known third singular *ieuru* “dedicated”. *Rīgani* (< **Hrēgnih₂*; DPC: 311) and *Rosmerti* are seen as *ā*-stem dative singular names in *-i*, with *-ac* functioning as the enclitic conjunctive (Lejeune and Marichal 1977: 154-6). *Rīgana* and *Rosmerta* are then the names of the goddesses to whom the dedication is made. *Rīgana* corresponds to Latin *Rēgina* and was utilized as an epithet of Epona. The same stem occurs in the Welsh goddess name *Rhiannon*, a goddess apparently developed from earlier Celtic goddess Epona, but the stem also occurs in Irish *Mór-rīgan*, a byname of Boand, a goddess cognate with Gaulish *Matrona*. This goddess *Rīgana* could then belong to either group of deity names, the complex giving Boand or the complex giving Macha.

Solimara: “?Great Warmth?”.

The inscription from Bourges to SOLIMARAE SACRVM (CIL XIII: 1195) is probably but a variant of the inscriptions to Sulevia and Sulis below. Here added to *solī-* is the familiar Celtic stem *māro-* “great, large” (Dottin 1920: 270), derived from the IE **mō-ro-* “great” (IEW: 704; DPC: 258), as in Irish *már* and Welsh *mawr*. Schmidt (1957: 270) has suggested that *solī-* is a variant of *sūli-* “eye, sun” (IE **sūl-* the zero-grade of **suel-*, *sāuel-*; IEW: 881) (< **seh₂uōl* DPC: 324). To explain this connection, Schmidt suggests the influence of Latin *sol* “sun, solar heat”, which does little to reinforce the significance “eye” suggested by Anwyl (1906: 42). This goddess byname was apparently adopted by several place names, the Vicus Solimariaca (now Saulmery, Loire-et-Cher) and Solimariaca (now Saumery, Loiret).

Sulevia, *Sulis*, **Sulevas Materas*, **Sulevas Svesoras*: “With Pure Eyes”, “the Warming Purifier”, “the Solar Mothers”, “Warming Purifying Mothers”, “Warming Purifying Sisters”.

More than 20 inscriptions have been found dedicated to the Sulevae or to the Matres Sulevae. Inscriptions to the SVLEVIS or SVLEVIABVS come from Cologne (CIL XIII:

12055, 8247), Bath (CIL XIII: 3561), Binchester (CIL VII: 1344b), Nassenfels (CIL III: 5900), Velleron (CIL XII: 1180), and Rome (CIL VI: 31161). Inscriptions to the MATRIBVS SVLEVIS come from Colchester (by *Similis Atti filius ci(vis) Cant(tius)*; RIB: 192) and Rome (CIL VI: 31179, 31171). More interesting inscriptions include a dedication to the SVLEVIS ET CAMPESTRIBVS (Mothers of the Countryside) from Rome (CIL VI: 768), to the SVLEVIS DOMESTICIS (Family Mothers) from Cologne (CIL XIII: 12056), the SVLEVIS SORORIBVS (Sisters) from Ladenburg am Neckar (CIL XIII: 11740); the SVLEVIS IVNONIBVS from Marquis near Calais (CIL XIII: 3561), and to the SVL(EVIS) MON(TANIS) (Mountain Mothers) (CIL III: 160) from Dacia, paralleling an inscription to the IVNONIB(VS) MONTAN(IS) from Nîmes (CIL XII: 3067). The equation of the *dii montes* to the *Suleviae Montanae* in Lactantius's *de morte persecutio* (II) therefore does not type them with a place-name epithet. In Switzerland, at Genf (CIL XIII: 2598), Solothurn (CIR: 3519), Avenches, and Bern (Gutenbrunner 1936b: 227-8), they are referred to simply as the SVLEIS with loss of the intervocalic *-v-*. An interesting inscription from Bois de Vaux, Lausanne, refers to the SVLEIS SVIS QVI CVRAM VESTRA AGVNT "to the Sulevias themselves, who attend to your troubles" (CIL XIII: 5027). An inscription from Collias, Gard, (CIL XII: 1512) refers to the goddesses in the singular SVLEVIAE IDVNICAE.

Another inscription from Collias, Gard, is interesting because it is dedicated to SVL[E]VIAE IDENNICAE MINERVAE VOTVM (AcS II: 1664). Here the byname Idennica or the variant Idunica, above, may mean "(She who) Gives Birth". Now Sulevia Minerva is a name which is very close to Sulis Minerva, the goddess of the hot spring at Bath. Indeed, an inscription from Bath to the SVLEVIS (RIB: 151) makes it clear that Sulis Minerva and Sulevis Minerva are the same goddess. Interestingly, this inscription to the Suleves at Bath was dedicated by Sulinus Scultor. Another inscription to the DEAE SVLI MINERVAE was dedicated by Sulinus Maturi fil(ius) (RIB: 150). Thus two out of eight inscriptions to Sulis at bath were by men bearing this Celtic name. They appear to have been named after the goddess and perhaps felt a special affiliation with her. At Bath five of the nine inscriptions listed in RIB are to the Dea Sulis or Sulis Dea (RIB: 143-5, 147-8), two are to Sulis Minerva, and one is to the Suleves.

Of the hot spring and the goddess at Bath, Solinus (22, 10.18) states the following.

In quo spatio (Brittaniae) magna et multa fluminn, fontes calidi opiparo exculi apparatu ad usus mortalium quibus fontibus praeest Sul Minervae numen, in cuius aede perpetui ignes humquum canescant in fuvillus (AcS II: 1665).

From the hot spring Aquae Sulis, waters gush forth at 120 degrees Fahrenheit (on the Temple complex itself see Cunliffe 1969). It is clear that Sulevia, Sulis, could be visualized as one of the Matres group, but one which was pan-Celtic. Sulis could also be viewed in the singular and identified with Minerva. She was a goddess of hot springs and associated with healing.

The root apparent in the goddess name Sulis is clearly **sūl-*, the lengthened zero-grade of **sūel-* "sun" < **seh₂uōl* (IEW: 881; DPC: 324). In Sulevia, the stem **suli-* may be combined with a development of the IE adjectival suffix *-eu-* (Meillet 1922: 261), which is otherwise unattested in Gaulish deity names. It is more likely that Sulevia represents a compound name. The second element has been seen as *bio-* by Schmidt, through the well-documented interchange of m, v, b, so prevalent in Gaulish deity names (as in *com-nerto*, *cob-nerto*, *cov-nerto*; Schmidt 1957: 97). Weisgerber (1930: 195) would derive *bio-* from *bivo-* through the loss of the *-v-*, as in *dio-* < *divo-* (Schmidt 1957: 99-100, 148). Weisgerber would thus see *bivo-*, *bio-* derived from IE **g₁uiyo-* "life" (IEW: 467-8) (**g^hiHyo-* DPC: 67), giving Latin *vivus* as well as Irish *biu*, *beo* "life" and Welsh *byw* "life".

Although such an etymology in *bio-* might be convincing for a single inscription to *Sulevia*, the fact is that the variations of the name do not fit such a suggestion. Thus we get

Suleva, Sulevia, Sulea, Sulis, all of which are suggestive of the compounding suffix being *-evo-*, *-evio-*. Perhaps here is a development of the IE adjectival suffix *-yo-* (Buck 1933: 318). The Gaulish stem *-evo-*, *-evio-* is also possibly a development of the full-grade of the IE series **peu-*, *peuə-*, *pu-* “to purify, to cleanse” (IEW: 827). The *ro-*-suffixed form **pū-ro-* gives Irish *úr* “fresh, noble”. This is a highly appropriate attribute for a goddess of hot springs and sources.

Glück (AcS 2: 1665) and Dottin (1920: 289) explained the first stem *sūli-* after Irish *súil* “eye”. However, they would see the Welsh correlative as *haul* “sun” (Breton *heol*). Pokorny (IEW: 881) sees a different etymology for *súil* and *haul*. Thus Irish *súil* derives from *sūli-*, but *haul* and *heol* “sun” derive from **sāuel-*, apparently the same stem as **suel-* “burn, char” (IEW: 1045), possibly also found in Nantosvelta. Although Pokorny relates both **sūli-* and **sāuel-* to the significance “sun” (< **seh₂uōl* DPC: 324), Lambert (1980: 177) would derive Celtic *sūli-* “eye” from **su-uli-* “good sight”. Here **su-* “good” (IEW: 1037-8) is seen as compounded with the zero-grade of **uel-* “see” (IEW: 1136-7). Like Gutenbrunner (1936b: 197), Lambert (1980: 176) sees the significance of Sulis Minerava as “Bonne Vue” and goes on to note that Athena had an epithet *glanxopis* “with pure eyes”. Sulevia could be translated in an identical fashion “with Pure Eyes”. But note, in the *Rig Veda*, *Sūryaḥ* is the “eye of Mitráḥ-Váruṇaḥ” (RV: 7, 66, 10), and in the *Avesta*, *Hvarə* is the eye of Ahurō Mazdā (MacDonnell 1897: 30).

However, none of these etymologies speak to the fact that Aqua Sulis is a hot spring, whose waters gush forth at 120 degrees. Also, contra Lambert (1980: 177), *Carmina Gaedelica* contains references to the sun (*grian*) as the “Eye of the Great God” (*súil dhé mhóir*) (Carmichael 1940: III, 306). It seems likely that the name Aqua Sulis, like the name Aquae Bormonis, reflects something of the nature of the water. Furthermore, the IE stem *sāuel-* “sun” (IEW: 881), giving Welsh *haul* “sun”, also gives Latin *sol* meaning not only “sun” but the “light, warmth, and heat of the sun”. If the original Celtic solar stem included these meanings as well, the Aquae Sulis would simply be the “Hot Waters”. Thus the Aquae Sulis and the Sulis Minervae are more likely to relate to a significance of *sūli-* as “sun, solar warmth or heat” than to the purely Irish significance *súil* “eye”.

As noted, Pokorny has suggested that **suel-* “burn, char” (IEW: 1045) belongs to the same apophonic series *sāuol-*, *suuel-*, *suel-*, *sūl-* “sun” (IEW: 881). Further apophonic variations of this second root give Welsh *haul* and Breton *heol* “sun” (< **sāuel-*) as well as Greek *hēlios*. The verbal form **suel-* above gives Sanskrit *svárati* “sun-warmth, sun light” (with the suffix *-ati-*) and Greek *heilē* “the sun’s heat, warmth”. It is also **sūl-*, the zero-grade of the verbal form **suel-*, which undoubtedly gives the Celtic goddess name Sulevia as well as Sulis (as in Sulis Minerva at Bath). Sulis signifies “the warmth of the sun”. The form *sāuel-* with the same significance gives Latin *sol*, both “sun” and the “light, warmth, and heat of the sun”. Thus, Sulis Minerva, to whom supplicants prayed for aid in childbirth, is cognate in function with the Greek goddess Eileíthya (of uncertain origin; GEW I: 455-6), the earlier form of whose name from Knossos was Elēuthia.

Verbeia: “?Cow?”.

Wagner (1981: 5-6) has noted that the relationship of cattle to Boand “White Cow”, the River Boyne (*Bovovinda*), and to Damona “the Great Bovine” may be extended to the British goddess Verbeia. A grit-stone altar from Ilkley, Yorkshire, is inscribed with a dedication to VERBEIAE (RIB: 635). This Verbeia was apparently the eponymous goddess of the nearby River Wharfe. A possible representation of the goddess also comes from Ilkley. Like S(t)irona she holds serpents (Ross 1967: 345; pl. 68a). The *Lacus Verbanus* (Lago Maggiore) in Northern Italy may contain the same stem. Verbeia’s name, like that of Boand and Damona, may be related to cattle. Wagner sees a connection between Verbeia and Irish *ferb* (a,f) “cattle,

deer”, which Pokorny derives from **erbha* “deer” a supposed Celtic derivative of **er-*, *eri-* “cow, sheep”, with a “sekundärem *f-*” (IEW: 326) (**h₁er-* DPC: 117).

Joynt and Knot have suggested (RIAD: F), however, that Irish *ferb* is related to Latin *vervex* “sheep”, so that Pokorny’s suggestion is by no means certain. Pokorny also suggests a possible development of Latin *vervex* from IE **u₁Øren* “sheep” (IEW: 1170), but as he notes the connection is “unklar”, as is a possible connection to **eryo-s* “wool”. It is possible that all of these stems **erbha-* “cow, sheep”, **eryo-* “wool”, and **ueren-* “sheep” are related. At any rate, Irish *ferb* “cattle, deer” need not derive from Latin *vervex*. Semantically such a derivation seems unlikely. However, both the Latin and Irish words may have a common origin in a form **uerbh-*, **ueru-*, or **uerb-*. In spite of this possibility, the connection of the goddess and river name Verbeia to this stem remains uncertain. Another possible origin for the river name is IE **uerb(h)-* “turn, twist, wind” (IEW: 1153), but this has no unnasalized Celtic derivatives. Perhaps referring to the horns, this root may even lie behind Irish *ferb* “cattle, deer”.

Gaulish River Goddesses Equatable to **Bovinda* or Seen as her Sisters.

Adsalluta: “(She who Flows) Towards the Sea”.

From the Saudörfel come several inscriptions to ADSALLVTAE (CIL III: 5134-6; 5138), goddess of the river Saan in Noricum. The basic root apparent in the name is probably an expressive form of IE **sal-*, (**sal-i-*, **sal-u-*) “salt” (IEW: 878), giving Irish *sál* (o,m) “sea, ocean, salt, water, brine” as well as the element *sala-* (< **seh₂l-* DPC: 319) in Gaulish place names. The prefix *ad-* (< IE **ad-* “to, by”; IEW: 3) (< **h₂ed-* DPC: 24) is represented by Irish *ad-* and Welsh *add-* “to, towards”. The suffix *-to-* may represent either an adjectival or abstract suffix (Brugmann 1891: II, 238; Buck 1933: 335). The significance of *Adsalluta* is then clearly “Towards the Sea”.

Brīctia: “the Brilliant”.

Holder (AcS I: 616) has suggested a connection between inscriptions from the Haute-Saône to the goddess BRIXIAE (*Brixia* < *Brīctia*) and the river Breachin in Haute-Saône. The goddess can be analyzed as a derivative of IE **bhrēk-tio-*, with the suffix *-tio-* added to the IE root **bhrēk-* “to shine” (IEW: 141). The significance of the goddess name would then be “the Brilliant”. However, this IE root gives not only Welsh *brych* and Irish *brecc* (o,a) “speckled” (< **prk-* “speckled” DPC: 78; IEW: 820), but also Irish *brecc* (o,m) “the speckled fish, i.e., the trout”. It is possible that both the goddess and the river take their name from the fish found in the river. There is also a Gaulish personal name *Briccios* from the expressive zero-grade form of the root (IEW: 141).

Clutoida: “the Pure Waters”, “the Famous Waters”.

From the spring at Masava (Mesves-sur-Loire, Nièvre) comes an inscription to the DEAE CLVTO[I]DAE ET V[I]CANIS MASAVENSIBV[S] (CIL XIII: 2895). The goddess group denoted by *Vicanae Masavenses* “the (Mothers) of the towns of the Masaves” are dealt with in the section on the *Matres*. A *patera* from nearby Etang-sur-Aroux, Saône-et-Loire, is inscribed to the DEA CLVTOIDAE (CIL XIII: 2802). This goddess *Clutoida* may contain the same root as *Clothra*, the name of *Medb*’s sister in *Aided Meidbe*. According to this tale, there was a spring where *Medb* used to bathe on *Inis Clothrand*.

In *Aided Meidbe* (Hull 1938: 54 ff.), *Medb*’s sister *Clothra* held the sovereignty of *Connacht* before *Medb* and used to enjoy the tribute of *Connacht* (*dlegeda Connacht*) on *Inis Clothrand*, where there was a well in which *Medb* used to bath at the entrance of the island

(*tiprait ar dorus na indsi*). In *Aided Meidbe*, Clothra has sexual union with each of her three brothers before they fight with and are killed by their father Eochaid Feidlech. By all three brothers she bears Lugaid Riab-nDerg. In *Cocad Fergusa ocus Conchobair* (Dobbs 1923b), Clothra becomes the wife of Fergus; thus she is undoubtedly identifiable with Flidais (Mugain).

Clothra's name is seemingly an Irish compound of *cloth* "praise, fame" (Sanskrit *śruta-*) and *rá* (gen. *rán*) "glorious". There is also an adjective *rán* (o,a) "glorious". The Celtic stem *cluto-* "fame" (Dottin 1920: 246; Schmidt 1957: 173), giving Irish *cloth* (o,n) and Welsh *clod* "praise, fame", is derived from IE **klū-* "hear", the zero-grade of **kleū-*; thus **klū-to-s* "famous, praised, honor" (IEW: 605; DPC: 210). Clothra would be the "Gloriously Famous".

The Gaulish deity name *Clutoida* may be analyzed as **klū-to-* + **pi-d-*, the extended grade of **pi-* (the zero-grade of **pej-* "swell"; IEW: 793-4). The *tu*-suffixed form **pī-tu-* means "drink" (IEW: 793, 840). Pokorny (IEW: 794) would see a similar significance for **pi-d-* "spring, source" as in Greek *pidax*. The suffixed form **pid-skā* gives Irish *esc* "water". *Clutoida* could then be "the Famous Waters".

According to Pokorny, the river name *Clota* comes from the IE stem **klō-to-*, formed from **klō-*, the reduced form of the lengthened o-grade of the root **kleu-* "wash, make clean" (IEW: 607). *Clota* is the ancient name of the river Clyde (Welsh *clut*) listed by Ptolemaeus (2, 3, 1) and Tacitus (*Agricola*: 23). There would appear to be no Insular Celtic derivatives of **kleu-* other than place names or deity names. Nonetheless, *Clutoida* could be derived from the zero-grade of *kleu-* and thus mean "the Pure Waters".

Sequana: "the Flowing".

From the temple of the Seine's source at Saint-Germain-la-Feuille (Côte-d'Or) comes the .80-meter-high bronze statuette of a goddess, modeled after a Grecian-styled Abundance and wearing a diadem; she is standing in a duck-shaped boat with a duck-headed prow (Esp. XI: 7676). The graceful statuette dates to the second century AD. A large earthen-ware pot from a priest's room in the temple displays the inscription: DEAE SEQVANA(E) RVFVS DONAVIT (CIL XIII: 2865; Deyts 1971: 68). *Ex votos* are also inscribed DE(AE) SEQVANA and DIA(E) SIQV[A]NNAE (CIL XIII: 2864). Deriving from the marsh beside the temple, the inscriptions leave little doubt that this temple was dedicated to the goddess of the Seine. Other inscriptions to the goddess of the Seine come from Saint-Seine-l'Abbaye, Côte-d'Or, (CIL XIII: 2858-63).

The name of the deity and river Sequana, the Seine, is probably an expansion of IE **seik^h-* "flow, discharge" (IEW: 893) with the suffix *-ono-*, *-ano-*. Indeed, the same stem is apparent in the Irish river name *Sechair*, as well as in the French river name Sèvre (< Gaulish **siparis*; IEW: 893). Pokorny (1940: 136-7) has also suggested on the basis of the *-qu-* that the name Sequana may be Illyrian rather than Celtic in origin. This suggestion can be dismissed outright. The *-qu-* may be explained as an archaism in a deity name (as in the month name Equos on the Coligny calendar; Olmsted 1992a: 135-68), perhaps due to a priestly language of culture or simply a dialect difference (see Lejeune 1973: 637). Such reasoning accounts for the occurrence of Sequana rather than **Sepana*.

A large number of *ex-votos* from the temple site at the Seine source as well as from the marsh beside it indicate that the temple to Sequana was the center of a healing cult (see Esp. XI: 7678, 7681; Deyts 1966 and 1971; Martin 1963 and 1969). Over 1000 stone and bronze votive offerings have been recovered from the temple site, while some 400 well-preserved wooden figures have come from the marsh beside the temple (Deyts 1971: 66-8). The offerings usually represent the afflicted part of the body, thus there are "[stone] effigies of arms, legs, hands, feet, heads, breasts, and sexual organs, and even a few attempts to portray internal anatomy" (Deyts 1971: 68). The bronze plaques usually represent eyes, sexual organs, or

breasts. The votive wood offerings follow much the same pattern as the stone offerings, except they are often repetitive, as if a repeated plea to the goddess.

Souconna: “the Suckler, the Flowing”.

The *Dea Souconna* (DAG: ‘150) was the goddess of the Souconna, now the Saone. Pokorny (1948: 238) has suggested a relationship in the etymology of this name to Welsh *sugno* “to suck” and Latin *sūcus* “juice, sap”, derived from IE **sūk-* “juice, sap, moisture, rain; to suck”, the extended zero-grade of **seu-* “juice, moisture” (IEW: 912-3) (**seuk-* DPC: 351). *Souconna* would derive from the o-grade form of the root. Here the resulting stem is combined with the familiar agentive suffix *-onno-* (Buck 1933: 323), so prevalent in goddess names. The goddess name and river are intricately intertwined, as the goddess is the source of its waters.

Bynames of Irish Boand

Agda: “Cow Goddess”.

The metrical *Dindsenchas* (Gwynn 1903-35: IV, 200-1) refers to Mórrígan as *ind Agda*, which I translate as “the Cow Goddess”, after *in Dagda* “the Good God”, rather than Gwynn’s questionable “owner of kine”. LL (266 b 38) explains Dagda as *dagdia Tuathi Dé Danand*; similarly LL (251 b 10) gives *Dagda .i. dag de* “Good God”. *Agda* may then be seen as compound of *ag* (s,n) “cow, bovine” (< **agh-* “traction animal”; IEW: 7; **h₂egH-* DPC: 27) and *-da*, which I see as a development of *día, dé, de, dea* “god, goddess” in unstressed position (Gaulish *dēvo-*, *dēva* < IE *deiuo-*; IEW: 185; DPC: 96-7).

Ana (**Annan*): “the Mother”.

A note on Mórrígan in the *Lebor Gabála* states that another name for her was *Ana* or *Anand* (*tri ingena aile dano oc Ernmais .i. Badb 7 Macha 7 Mórrigu .i. Anand a hainmside*) (LL 10a, ll. 43-4; Best, Bergin, and O’Brien 1954: 37). Elsewhere *Lebor Gabála* refers to *Ana* directly as one of three daughters of Ernmais, using this name in place of Mórrígan: *Badb 7 Macha 7 Anand. dia tát Cichi Anand i lLuachair. tri ingena Ernmais na bantuatige* (LL: 9b, ll. 38-9; Best, Bergin, and O’Brien 1954: 35).

The name *Ana* undoubtedly derives from IE **an-* “male or female ancestor” (**h₂en-*), a baby word (IEW: 36-7). This root gives Hittite *an-na-as* “mother” and *ha-an-na-as* (*hannas*) “grandmother”, Latin *anna* “foster mother”, and Old High German *ane* “grandmother”. The most important Hittite correspondence is *Hannahanna*, a name for *Grossmutter* (Petersmann 1987: 177). *Ana* is probably connected to **amma* “mother, grandmother” (IEW: 36), **mamma* “mother, grandmother”, and **manna* “mother” (IEW: 694; DPC: 255). *Ana* (gen. *Anand*) would then be an n-derivative of **anna-* “mother”.

Ben Mór: “the Great Woman”.

Brug na Bóinde, I, from the metrical *Dindsenchas* refers to the Mórrígan as *in Ben Mór* “the Great Woman” (Gwynn 1906: II, 10-11).

Boand (**Bovinda*): “the White Cow”.

See **Bovinda* above.

Brigit, Brigh (**Brigintī*): “the High One”.

Brigit occurs as a goddess in *Cormaic’s Glossary*, and Brigh occurs as a goddess in *Cath Maige Tuired*. Brigit derives from Celtic **Brīgintī* (an *iā*-stem with *-ī* nominative; Thurneysen 1946: 185-7), which in turn derives from IE **bhrgh-ntī*, the suffixed zero-grade of **bheregh-* “high, hill, exalted” (IEW: 140-1). The zero-grade **bhrgh-* also gives Irish *brí, brig* (a,f) “power, strength, force, authority, vigour, virtue” (**b^herg^h-* DPC: 77), personified in Brigh.

Clothra: “Gloriously Famous”.

In *Aided Meidbe* (Hull 1938: 54 ff.), Medb’s sister Clothra held the sovereignty of Connacht before Medb. Clothra used to enjoy the tribute of Connacht (*dlegeda Connacht*) on Inis Clothrand, where there was a well in which Medb used to bath at the entrance of the island (*tiprait ar dorus na indsi*). According to *Aided Meidbe*, Clothra has sexual union with each of her three brothers before they fight with and are killed by their father Eochaid Feidlech. By all three of her brothers she bears Lugaid Riab-nDerg. In *Cocad Fergusa ocus Conchobair* (Dobbs 1923b), Clothra becomes the wife of Fergus, and thus she is probably equatable with Flidais, the byname most often used of Boand as wife of Fergus.

Clothra’s name is seemingly an Irish compound of *cloth* “praise, fame” and *rá* (gen. *rán*) “glorious”. There is also an adjective *rán* (o,a) “glorious”. The Celtic stem *cluto-* “fame” (Dottin 1920: 246; Schmidt 1957: 173), giving Irish *cloth* (o,n) and Welsh *clod* “praise, fame”, is derived from the shortened grade of IE **klū-* “hear”; thus **klu-to-s* “famous, praised, honor” (IEW: 605-6; DPC: 210). Clothra would then be the “Gloriously Famous”.

Danu (**Danō*): “River Goddess”.

The basic stem behind Danu (g.s. *Danand*) is an n-derivative of **danu-* “river” (IEW: 175). The name occurs in the phrase *Túatha dé Danand*.

Eithne (**Eitonia*): “the Milk Cow”.

Tochmarc Étaíne informs us that another name for Boand was Eithne. Besides being the mother of Mac ind Óc, Eithne is also the mother of Lug. The *Lebor Gabála* in LL 10b (l. 31) couples the two gods, referring to *Mac in Óc, Lug mac Eithne*, implying that Eithne was indeed the mother of both, according to at least one tradition. In *Cath Maige Tuired* (Stokes 1891a: 74-5) Lug is the son of *Cian meic Diancecht 7 Ethne ingine Baloir*. As Thurneysen (1921: 62) adds about Lug, “*dessen Mutter E(i)thniu (Eithne) ursprünglich wohl nicht verschieden ist von dem gleichnamigen Fluss, eng. Inny*”. Also in *Cath Boinde* (O’Neill 1905: 174-77) and elsewhere, Eithne is the sister of Medb, but here she is the daughter of Eochaid Feidlech, not Balor.

Eithne is probably not named after Irish *eithne* (v. *ethne, eitne*) “nut” (< IE **et(e)n-* “nut, grain”; IEW: 343), but instead the name more likely derives from **pei-tu-enio-* or **pei-tu-onio-*, giving Celtic **Eitonia*. Here IE **pei-t-* means “juice, drink”, most frequently used of milk as in Lithuanian *pýti* “to give milk” (IEW: 793). This stem is probably the origin of Irish *eit* (f) “cattle”. Confirmation of this suggestion is given by the variant use of Lug mac Ethlend for Lug mac Eithne as in LL 10a (l. 10). Here Ethlend apparently combines **pei-t-* with **lendh-* “spring, source, pool” (IEW: 675; DPC: 239: **lindo-*), giving Welsh *llyn* “pool” and Irish *lind* (f) “water, pool” and *lind* (u,n) (v. *lend*) “drink, liquid, beer”.

Mata (**Matia*): “?the Eel?”.

Ailill’s mother is Mata Muireasc (Murisc) or Magach. Mata (g.s., *Mata(e)*) is a water creature of some sort and is associated with the Brug Maic ind Óc (Brug na Boinne) (*Dindsenchas*, Rennes: ‘4, 28). In the *Dindsenchas*, Mata is glossed as a *seilche* (sometimes translated as “tortoise or snail”), and Muireasc or Murisc is undoubtedly *muir* + *iasc* “sea fish”. We must remember that in the *Táin Cú Chulainn* battles Mórrígan (Boand), who attacks him as an *escong* “eel” or *esc-ung* “water snake” (IE **angui-* “snake”; IEW: 43; **h₂engui-*), undoubtedly the same creature as Mata Muireasc.

Mórrígan (**Mōrorīgana*), *Rígan* (*Rīgana*): “Great Queen”, “the Queen”.

As Maud Joynt has noted of Mórrígan, “in the Middle Irish period, the first syllable [of her name] seems to have commonly been equated with *mór* “great” and the vowel is often accented” (RIAD: M). The second element of her name is simply *rígain*, *rígan* (i, later a,f) “queen”. The name, given as *Morigain*, is glossed in *Thesaurus Palaeohibericus* (I, 2.6) as *lamia* “witch” and *regina*, showing that even in the forms without the acute mark the interpretation “queen” was transparent. Although the YBL-*Táin* in line 843 gives her name as *in Mórrígan*, significantly, the older LU-*Táin* at the same line gives the form *in Mórrígan*. The Middle Irish LL-*Táin* (ll. 2113) refers to her simply as *ind Rígain* “the Queen”. Thus, clearly the forms with the article, as in *in Mórrígan*, simply indicate “the Great Queen”. Attempts by Stokes (1891a: 128), Thurneysen (1921: 63-4), and Pokorny (IEW: 736) to connect the first element of her name (because of the gloss *lamia* and the occurrence of the form *mor-*) to Anglo-Saxon *mara*, *mare* (as in English “nightmare”) are unfounded. IE **morā* “nightmare” (IEW: 736) has no attested Celtic derivatives. As Thurneysen (1946: 20) has noted, in Old Irish “length in vowels is often, though by no means consistently, marked by placing over the syllable an acute accent”. The few early forms in *mor-* can be explained in this light. The accent mark is as often left off the second vowel of Mórrígan as it is left off the first vowel. The form Mórrígan would derive from **mōro-rēg_{na}*, whereas Mórrígain would derive from **mōro-rēg(ē)nī*, an *iā*-stem with nominative in *-ī* (Irish *rígain*, acc. *rígnī*; Vedic *rājñī*; IEW: 854-6; Thurneysen 1946: 184-5)(**Hrēgnih₂* DPC: 311).

Mór Mumain (**Mōromamianī*): “the Great Mother”.

The *Coir Anmann* gives an interesting etymology under the entry Muma (Mumu) “Munster”, which undoubtedly refers to the genitive Muman or the goddess name Mumain, for it does not fit the nominative Mumu. *Mó a hana nas ana chach cogidh aili a nEirinn* “greater its wealth than the wealth of every other province of Ireland” (Stokes 1891b: 3-4). The etymology plays upon *mo ana* and *Mumain* and goes on to note, *ar is innti nó adhradh bandía in tsónusa .i. Ana a hainm-sein* “for in it [Mumu “Munster”] was worshipped the goddess of prosperity: Ana was her name” (Stokes 1891b: 3-4).

Here then Mumain or Mór Muman “the Great One of Munster” is undoubtedly the same goddess as Ana. Mór Mumain also may be derived from **Mōromamianī*, more directly translated as “the Great Mother”. Both the goddess name Mumain and the n-stem province name Mumu (gen. Muman) are undoubtedly related to Irish *muime* (ia, f) which means “nurse, foster mother”. This word developed from IE **mammā*, **māmā*, **mānā*, **mannā* “mother”, reduplicated forms of *mā* “mother”, a baby word (IEW: 694; DPC: 255, 260), also giving **mātīr* (**meh₂tēr*; DPC: 260). Pokorny (IEW: 694) lists the form behind *muimme* as **mammiā* (on *a>o>u* see Thurneysen 1946: 50). Mumain, the goddess name, would then derive from **Mamianī*, formed from **mammiā* plus the suffix *-niā* (*-onio-*), a form semantically equivalent

to Matrona. The Latinized name of the province Mumonia or Momonia (RIAD: M) may be older than previously realized. *Mór Mumain* is simply **Mórmumain* “the Great Mother”.

Mugain (**Magionī*), *Mag(h)ain* (**Magonī*): “the Youthful”.

In most of the Irish sagas *Mugain* (v. *Maghain*, HS: 574) *Aitenchathraich* is said to be the wife of *Conchobar* (as in the *Macgnímrada* section of the LU/YBL *Táin* (O’Rahilly 1976: 25), which describes *Cú Chulainn*’s boyhood deeds. It is not surprising that she is absent from the rest of the story, since there she plays her role under the byname *Mórrígan*. However, in the *Cath Boinde*, *Conchobar*’s wife is *Mumain Aitenchaethrech*. Here then are good grounds for identifying *Mumain* and *Mugain*. *Eithne* is said to be the second wife of *Conchobar* in this same tale. As we seen, *Eithne* is but another byname for the same goddess. The deity name *Mugain* is undoubtedly developed from **Mogionī* or **Magionī* and is but a variant of *Mag(h)ain* from **Magonī*, with the interchange of *-a-* and *-o-* (Evans 1967: 391; Thurneysen 1946: 50). The first stem in these names is clearly IE **mag^hu-* **mog^hu-* “youth” (IEW: 696; DPC: 274), as in *ogam* MAGVNO. The earlier Celtic form would probably be **Magionī* (see Thurneysen 1946: 50 on *o* for earlier *a* and subsequent rising to *u*). The Gaulish *Dea Mogontia* “the Youthful”, as at Le Sablon near Metz, probably derives from the *o*-stem *magho-*.

Mumain (**Mamianī*): “the Mother”.

See *Mór Mumain* above.

Muiresc (**Morisca*): “Sea Fish”.

See *Mata* above.

Ness: “Island, Channel”.

Ness, daughter of *Eochaid*, is clearly another name for *Clothra* (*Cath Boinde*). The name derives from Irish *ness* “island, channel”.

Rígan (**Rīgana*), or *Rígain* (acc. *Rígnī*) (**Rīganī*): “the Queen”.

See *Mórrígan* above.

Bynames of Celtic Meduana

?**Apisvia*? (Irish *Aife*): “?the Winding Waters?”.

The *ogam* inscription in the cave at Rath Cruachan states that *Vraiccas* (*Fraech*) (see Glossary: *Fraech*) was the son of *Medvv[a]* (*Medb*) (see Glossary: *Medb*). *Carn Fraoich* says that *Fraech*’s mother’s name was *Aife*, implying that *Aife* was simply a byname for *Medb*. *Aife*’s name may derive from **Apisvia* (IE **ap-* “water”, **h₂ep-*, as in Sanskrit *ápaḥ*, Greek *Ἄπια* “Peloponnese”, and the Gaulish river name *Axona*, DPC: 24; IEW: 51-2); and **sui-* “wind” (IEW: 1041) (**s_ueh₁* > **s_uē-*) as in Irish *sel* “wind” < **s_ui-lo-*. *Aife*, herself, is a notorious warriorress. It is just possible that here is simply another byname for *Medb*, whose prowess in battle is also notorious. In the YBL-*Táin* (‘90, ll. 3540-88), *Medb* rushes into battle with *Fergus* and is three time victorious before being driven back.

Aveta, Aveda, Aventia: “the Flowing (Water)”.

From the Buydères fountain near Donatyre (Münchweiler) in what was formerly the Agri Decumates come inscriptions to the DEAE AVENTIAE or DEAE AVENTIAE ET GEN(IO) INCOLAR(VM) (CIL: XIII: 5071-3). She is also referenced as *Aveta* in an inscription from Avenches to AVETAE (CIL XIII: 5074). She lent her name to a river in Northern Italy, formerly the Fl. Aventia (AcS I: 310), as well as the Fl. Aventio(n), now the Ant in Norfolk.

The Gaulish source-goddess name Aventia probably derives from **aue-*, **auent-* “to wet, to flow” (IEW: 78) (**h₂eue-*). This goddess also may have lent her name to the Aveda, a river in Gard (the Avèze). This river name is analyzable as **ave-id-o-*. Gaulish *id-* would be a development of IE **pi-d-* “spring, wet place” (IEW: 794), as in Irish *esc* “water” (<**pid-sko-*).

Comedova: “The Intoxicatress”.

From Aix-les-Bains, Savoie, the source of the inscriptions to Bormo and Damona, comes an inscription to the COMEDOVIS AVGVSTIS ...EX VOTO (CIL XII: 2445). The inscription undoubtedly is dedicated to a group of Matres, as it is in the dative plural. Schmidt (1957: 175-6) suggests that this name may be analyzed as the prefix *com-* “with” (as in Irish *com-* and Welsh *cyf-* “with”; DPC: 212), added to what is probably the Gaulish stem *medu-* “mead, honey” (1957: 241). The resultant group *com-medu-* then gives *comedu-* through simplification. The Celtic stem *medu-* (Dottin 1920: 271) is derived from IE **med^hu-* “mead, honey” (IEW: 707; DPC: 261), giving Irish *mid* (gen. *medo*), Welsh *medd* “mead, honey”, Old High German *metu* “mead”, and Sanskrit *mádu* “honey”. The Welsh reflex *meddw* “drunk” and the Irish reflex *medb* (o) “strong, intoxicating” (<**medh₂yo-*) are significant to the meaning of the stem in the name of the goddess. Taking *-medovis* as the dative plural of a Latinized *ā*-stem, Schmidt (1957: 241-2) sees *medu-* combined with the suffix *-ovio-*, *-ovo-* (as in *Britovios*, above, a byname of Mars), for which Holder (AcS 2: 894) gives many examples. The goddess name would then be *Comedova* meaning “the Intoxicating One”.

Latis: “Drink (Conveyor)”.

From stations on Hadrian’s wall come inscriptions to the DIE LAT[I] (RIB: 1897; Birdoswald) and the DEAE LATI (RIB: 2043; Burgh-by-Sand). Wagner (1981: 23) has suggested that this goddess name may simply be a byname for a goddess parallel to Irish *Medb*. He notes Irish *laith* “ale, liquor, intoxicating drink” and Welsh *llad* “beer, drink” as providing the significance. These words derive from IE **lat-* “wet, damp; drink, fluid, swamp” (IEW: 654; DPC: 233). Wagner’s suggestion seems eminently more likely than Schmidt’s (1957: 225) attempt to connect the goddess name to Irish *lath* (o,m) “warrior”.

**Medva* (Irish *Medb*): “the Intoxicating One”.

Comedova provides a Continental Celtic parallel to Irish *Medb* (gen. *Medba*), whose name Thurneysen (1929: 110) translated as “the Intoxicating One”. *Medb*’s special province Connacht is referred to as *Coiced Medba* “the Province of *Medb*” and *Coiced n-Olnecmacht* “the Province of the Drink which Renders Powerless”. *Medb*’s name is then directly relatable to Irish *medb* (o) “intoxicating” (<**medh₂yo-*) and is probably simply “*die Femininbildung*” of this word (Meid 1970: 82). The *ogam* inscription from the roof of Uam Cruachan, the underworld cave at Ráth Crúachan, reads VRAICCI MAQVI MEDVVI (Macalister 1945: ‘12) and would date to the fifth century, presumably in a pagan context.

Here *Medvvi* is an interesting form. Although the double *-v-* is difficult to explain, following *maqui*, the *-i* ending indicates an o-stem genitive, perhaps the influence of **medvas* (< **medhuos*) “intoxicating”. However, if the inscriber had thereby mistakenly left off a final *-a* from the inscription (indicated by a single dot in *ogam*), or perhaps simply misread the original copy from which he worked, what was intended was probably **Medvvia*, the genitive of **medvā*. As Thurneysen (1946: 188) notes, “already in the *ogam* inscriptions there are certain genitives in *-ia(s)*, *-eas* which have been, rightly it would seem, ascribed to *ā*-stems”. It would not be inappropriate to see a feminine genitive of *maqui* “son” in the case of a deity, as in Fergus mac Roech, named after his mother. Although Meid (through personal communication) would see a masculine personal name here (named after Medvā), this inscription occurs where it can only be seen with difficulty, aided by artificial light, lying on one’s back in what was considered to be the entrance to the underworld. For me, there can be little question of the ritual nature of the inscription.

That the unsuffixed form of this goddess name was also used on the Continent is clear from the fact that several *teuta* owe their names to this goddess. Dottin (1920: 91) notes the tribal name Meduli (in the plural) which may be analyzed as **medu-lo-*, while from Lusitania comes the tribal name Medubricenses (CIL II: 760), which may be analyzed as **medu-briga*. Here we get the interesting combination of two goddess names **Medva* and **Briga*. These people had their capital at Medubriga (*Bell. Alex.*: 46.2). Similarly a coin in the Mur. Chab. collection (4028-33) contains the interesting inscription IIPOMIIDVOS, apparently the name of a king, Epomedvos. Seemingly, here is the combination of two goddess names; this time Epona and **Medva* (see Schmidt 1957: 209). A Celtiberian coin mentioned by Lejeune (1955: 92, no. M70) is inscribed to METVAINVM. This name may be seen as a Celtiberian genitive plural o-stem, whence a tribal name the Meduainos (nom. plur.). Here the stem *medu-* is combined with *-aino-*. The stem *-aino-* is possibly derived from **api-no-* from IE **ap-* < **h₂ep-* “water, river” (IEW: 51;). *Metu-*, seen as **medu-*, does not derive from IE **med^hio-* “middle” (IEW: 706; DPC: 262) but rather from **medhu-* “mead” (IEW: 707; DPC: 261). Thus Meduainos cannot indicate a people on “the Middle of the River” but a people who revered “the Intoxicating Waters”.

On the other hand, the silver cup from Belgentier, Var, with the inscription in Greek ligature VENICOI MEDV is probably simply a reference to the drink *mead* rather than the name of the goddess (DAG: §19, note iii). However, there are several personal names, such as Medugenos (CIL II: 162), which were derived from the goddess. Medugenos may be analyzed as **medu-geno-* (*genh₁o-* “beget, give birth” as in Irish *gainither* and Welsh *geni-*; Schmidt 1957: 241). So too, Meddugnathos (DAG: §214) probably contains the same stem *medu-* combined with **gnati-* (< **gnh₁to-* as in Gaulish *gnātos* “son” and *gnāta* “daughter” (Dottin 1920: 260; DPC: 162). These names may be translated as “Born of **Medva*” or “Son of **Medva*”. As Evans (1967: 203) notes, the use of the suffixes *geno-* and *gnato-* usually express “mythological filiation” as in Bodugnatos and Cumulognata (1967: 207-8).

**Meduaca*: “The Intoxicatress”.

The tribal name of the *Meduaci* from Northern Italy (Gallia Cisalpina) undoubtedly contains a reference to a goddess name **Meduaca*. She apparently also lent her name to the river in their region, the Meduacos (Latinized Meduacus, now la Brenta) (Strabo: 5, 1.7, p. 213; 5, 1.9, p. 216). For an etymological analysis see Medb above.

Medu(a)na: “The Intoxicatress”.

From the hot spring at Bad Bertrich near Trier comes an inscription to the DE(ABVS) VERCAN(A)E ET MEDVN(A)E (CIL XIII: 7667). Here Vercana may be analyzed as *verc-*

ano-, and Meduna may be analyzed as **medu-ono-* or **medu-ano-* with the dropping of the *-o-* or *-a-* of *-ono-* or *-ano-* following the vowel. *Vercana* probably derives IE **uer-k-* “wind, twist” (IEW: 1155; DPC: 414-5), giving Irish *ferc* “knob, handle” and Welsh *cywarch* “rope”, again with the addition of the suffix *-ano-* (*-ono-*). *Vercana* would then be a perfectly good name for goddess named after a river, but also note Irish *ferc* “anger, rage” from IE **uerg-* “to be puffed up with rage, pride, or anger” (IEW: 1169; DPC: 414).

Gutenbrunner (1936b: 108-9) sought an etymology for Meduna in *medu-* “honey, mead” (IEW: 707). In this, he was undoubtedly correct. This goddess gave her name to several rivers: the Meduna in Venetia and the Meduana (now la Mayenne) in the region of the Loire in what was once the land of the Diablintes (Krüger and Cramer 1918: 8 ff.). The Meduanta Montes in the Seine-et-Oise (AcS II: 526) were probably also named after this goddess. The name may be analyzed as **medu-ano-to-* (i.e., as Meduana with the addition of the adjectival suffix *-to-*); or, more likely, it may be analyzed as *medu-anta*, with *-anta* seen as an abstract suffix (Latin *-antia*; Buck 1933: 333).

Bynames of Gaulish Epona

?*Atanta*?: “?Mother?”.

I would see this byname of Epona occurring three times in the Rom inscription (see Glossary: Eponina). *Atanta* would be the vocative of an *ā*-stem deity name, whose suffix *-anta* parallels *-antia* in Brigantia, as in the Latin suffix *-antia* (Buck 1933: 333). The initial stem *ata-* would be a development from IE **atta* “mother” (IEW: 71; DPC: 46) and makes the name essentially equivalent to *Matrona*. Irish *aite* (io, m) “foster father” (<**attjo-* <**h₂et-* DPC: 46) from **atos* “father” (IEW: 71), the masculine of IE **atta* “mother”, provides an Irish cognate of the same basic root. However, Meid would see Greek *Atan(a)ta* “Immortal” here. The name must remain, otherwise, enigmatic.

?*Catona*?: “Battle Goddess”?

This byname of Epona occurs three times in the Rom inscription (see Glossary: Eponina). *Catona* would contain the IE root **kat-*, usually utilized in Gaulish as the stem form *catu-* “battle” (IEW: 534; DPC: 195), here with the addition of the name derivative suffix *-ono-*. *Catu-* is a common element in Gaulish deity names and personal names (Evans 1967: 173-5).

?*Dibonia*?: “Goddess”?

I would see this byname of Epona occurring in the Rom inscription (see Glossary: Eponina). Here I take Whatmough’s reading with an *iā*-stem, rather than Jullian’s *Dibona*. The most common form of the name, however, is *Divona* (Dottin 1920: 251-2; Evans 1967: 191-2). The name *Divona* or *Divonia* derives from IE **deiuo-* “god” (IEW: 185; DPC: 96-7), with the addition of the attributive suffix *-ono-* (Buck 1933: 323), indicates simply “Goddess”.

?*Dunna*?: “?”?

I would see this byname of Epona occurring in the Rom inscription (see Glossary: Eponina). Here I take Jullian’s reading with the *N* rather than Rhys’s and Whatmough’s *NT* (*Dunta*). Attempts have been made to connect *Dunna* with the Celtic stem *donno-* “noble” (Dottin 1920: 232) as in Irish *donn*. The zero-grade of **dheu-* “run, flow” (IEW: 261) would be more likely and possibly denotes a river-goddess aspect for Epona.

Epona: “Horse Goddess”.

The rustic first-century calendar from Guidizzolo near Verona in Northern Italy lists Epona’s festival as XV KALENDAS IANVARIAS EPONE (corresponding to December 18) (Thevenot and Magnen 1953: 41). Epona’s festival then occurred the day before the Opalia, the festival to Ops Consiva (Iuppiter’s mother and the goddess of abundance), and the day after the Saturnalia on December 17 (see OCD: 753 and Gricourt 1954: 31).

Thevenot and Magnen (1953: 39-43) give a inventory of inscriptions to Epona, which come from throughout France and Southern Germany, as well as Spain, Britain, and Eastern Europe. In general, inscriptions are found wherever Gaulish cavalry units were stationed. Most of these inscriptions are to the DEAE EPONAE, as in examples from Entrains, Nièvre (CIL XIII: 2902-3) and Alise-Saint-Reine, Côte-d’Or (CIL XIII: 5622), or simply to EPONAE (as in CIL XIII: 11601 from Königshoffen). Often she is referred to as EPONAE AVGVSTAE (as in CIL III: 5312 from Windenau near Marburg in Stiermark). Inscriptions from Roman Dacia found in Karlsburg (CIL III: 7750) and Klausenburg (CIL III: 12579) refer to EPONE REGIN(AE), associating the epithet Regina with that of the goddess. In an inscription from Várhely (Dacia), she is referred to along side of “the Mothers of the Parade Ground”: EPONA(E) ET CAMPESTRIB(VS) (CIL III: 7904, here with -B mistakenly for the final -E), suggesting that she may in origin be a *Matēr* herself.

Epona’s association with horses is apparent not only in the statements of Classical writers, her portrayal side-saddle or holding colts, but it is transparent in the etymology of her name, which is composed of Celtic *epo-* “horse” (Dottin 1920: 256) combined with the common suffix *-ono-*. Here *epo-* derives from IE **h₁ek_uo-* “horse” (IEW: 301; DPC: 114) and is cognate with Breton *ep-* and Irish *ech* (o,m) “horse” (also see Glück 1857: 42; Stokes 1894: 26; AcS I: 1446; Schmidt 1957: 209; Evans 1967: 197-8). It is this association with horses which made Epona popular with Gaulish cavalry; in time this association led to a considerable transformation of her original nature.

Fleuriot (1975: 445) has carefully analyzed the significance of the stem *-ono-*, *-onno-*. He suggests that this stem may also be represented by *-ona*, *-onia*, *-onna*, and, perhaps with the loss of the initial vowel, by *-na* as well. As he notes, the Endlicher Glossary translates *onno* by *flumen* “stream”, which Pokorny (IEW: 807) derives from the o-grade of **pen-*, **penko-* “swamp, water”. It may also be present in the river name Abona (Irish *ab* “river”, Welsh *afon* “river”) as well as in the names of the spring goddesses Bebronna and Divona. Weisgerber (1930: 63) noted that the Endlicher Glossary’s *onno* may be represented in Irish *onchú* “river hound” or “otter”, supposedly derived from **ono + cu(n)*.

But as Evans (1967: 371) has noted, “the existence of a Gaulish *on(n)a* ‘stream, water’ in spite of Endlicher’s *onno* ‘flumen’, is extremely doubtful”. Furthermore, Vendryes (1922b: 369) noted “*malgre la forme onno du glossaire d’Endlicher, il est douteux que la finale -onna soit autre chose qu’un suffixe*”. Watkins (1973: 80) comments that in “the Indo-European *-onā* we have a collective in *-ā-* (**-oa-*) built on the thematic adjectival suffix *-ono-*”. Thus the most likely supposition is that *-ono-* is simply a suffix.

De Vries (1961: 124-5) and Linduff (1979: 817 ff.) divide the Romano-Gaulish portrayals of Epona into several types. The middle Gaulish portrayals (type A), of which there are more than 50 examples, show the goddess sitting side-saddle on a horse. The east Gaulish/Rhinish portrayals (type B) usually portray a draped goddess standing or seated between two horses or colts facing away from her (as from Naix, Esp. VI: 4650, dedicated to the DEAE EPONAE ET GENIO LEVC(ORVM)). In other portrayals (type C) from the Danubian provinces, Spain, Italy, and Britain, the two flanking colts or horses usually face towards the goddess. A stella from Dielkirchen shows them eating fruit from a basket in her lap. In the Reichs type, the goddess is portrayed reclining half nude upon her horse (as at Allerey, Burgundy; see Reinach 1895 and 1898).

Thevenot also gives an inventory of portrayals of Epona (Thevenot and Magnen 1953: 44-63). As he notes (1953: 64), some are associated either directly with the Matres or given the attributes of the Matres (nos. 77, 200, 231). Thus from Saintes, Charente-Maritime (Esp: 1716), comes an oak statuette of Epona seated side-saddle on a horse, holding a dog on her lap to the left, while on her lap to the right is an enfant holding a *patera*. From Jabreilles, Haute-Vienne (Esp: 1588), comes an altar showing on one face Epona holding a colt by its bridle, while another face of the altar portrays the triple Matres. Much the same iconography occurs on a block from Nanzweiler (Esp: 5942).

Indeed, Epona is most often portrayed carrying a basket of fruit (as in Esp. V: 4255 from Luxembourg), a cornucopia, a loaf of bread, or a plate (as in a bas-relief from Meursault, Esp. III: 2113, also showing a dog below the horse). These portrayals showing the lap dog, as from Saintes, recall not only Nahelinia, but the Matres from Naix (Esp. VI: 4678). Such portrayals occur quite frequently, as at Rolyillac, Trier, Dalheim, Worms, Marionfels, and Boppard (Vaillart 1951: 17-9). On a side-saddle relief from Trier, noteworthy is the fact that she holds a small bird on her right knee and a lap dog on her left knee (Esp. V: 4219). The Epona from Alise-Sainte-Reine (Esp. III: 2356) is interesting in that she holds a torque rather than a cornucopia or basket of fruit, showing us what she offered to the Gaulish cavalry units besides the well-being of their mares. In the early Roman empire, carrying over its original function as an insignia of rank and status, the torque was then worn on the cuirass rather than around the neck and was awarded for bravery in battle.

As Thevenot has noted, like the Matres, reliefs of Epona are not just associated with military sites, but they are often associated with cemeteries or portrayed on funerary objects (Thevenot and Magnen 1953: 164; see nos. 79, 125, 173, 190, 204, 223, 228, 230, 232). From Courzon, Marne, comes a particularly interesting portrayal of Epona, riding side-saddle. The portrayal is unusual in that her portrayal is carved on a house-shaped funerary *stella*. Similarly, another side-saddle relief of Epona is carved in the side of a sepulchre from Bavay (Thevenot and Magnen 1953: no. 173; Esp: 7564), while a figure of Epona between two horses is carved on the side of a sarcophagus from Arles, Bouches-du-Rhone, (Thevenot and Magnen 1953: no. 204; Esp: 180). At La Horgue-au-Sablon, a *stella* with a bas-relief of Epona was found among the remains of a vast cemetery (Thevenot and Magnen 1953: 190; Esp: 4356).

?*Eponina*: "Little Horse"?

The thin lead plate (7.0 X 11.5 cm.) bearing the Rom inscription was discovered in 1887 during excavations carried out at Rom (Deux-Sèvres), the ancient Rauranum. The plate was found in an ancient well or, more likely, in a ritual shaft (see Ross 1968: 255-85). The plate is inscribed on both sides in a mixture of uncial and cursive Latin script, which has been worn from weathering and over-handling. Superficially the plate is of the same type as commonly found inscribed with Latin defixios. Nonetheless, Jullian, who published the first text of the transcription in 1898 (167-76), concluded it was Celtic rather than Latin. In whatever language, this plate appears to me to contain a hymn dedicated to Epona.

In 1905 Rhys (107-16) even attempted a translation, concluding that at least one side of it constituted a Gaulish prayer to the goddess Dibona. The recent finding of a similar lead plate from Chamalières (Fleuriot 1977: 173-90) inscribed with an incantation invoking the god Maponos, which Fleuriot (1977: 190) has stated is "certainement versifié", makes Rhys's conclusion now less spectacular than it appeared at the turn of the century. However, incorrect readings on the part of Jullian in establishing a text, incorrect word divisions, as well as rather superficial and overly hopeful speculations on the significance of words doomed Rhys's study. Fortunately, Whatmough made a careful study of the inscription in 1929 while it still remained more fully legible, providing a check on the Jullian and Rhys's readings.

Our text of the inscription, which is now even further deteriorated than when Whatmough studied it in 1929, is based upon a comparison of readings from Jullian (1898: 168-76), Rhys (1906-7: 95-7), and Whatmough (DAG: 392-3). A full listing of their various readings will be found in the glossary to Olmsted (1991: 259-309). A difficulty in analyzing the text is that it is written in a continuous run-on ligature without the indication of word breaks on two sides of an oxidized lead plate (A. and B.). The text of the Rom inscription must remain speculative because of the presence of illegible or barely legible lettering in the original lead plate. Of necessity there are inherent difficulties in any attempt to make sense of this somewhat corrupt text. Nonetheless, because of the many repetitions of bynames it appears likely to me that the subject of the inscription is an offering hymn to Epona. Here parentheses indicate uncertain letters and brackets reconstructed letters. I have set off in italics what I would see as bynames of Epona. One should take note in the epigraphy of the text that *h* may have the value of muted or lenited *s*, and *z* may have the value of *st*, *sd*, *dt*, or *d*.

- B. Te voraim[t]o ehza *atant(a)* // te hezzo *atanta*
 te compriato sosio dertino // *ipo(ni)na*
 io ate hotiss *epotia* // te priavimo *atanta*
 on te satimeto // ate te euraiimo
 are sosio derti[n] *imona* // demtisse (*ei*)*p(o)tia*
- A. are cialli carti // eti heiont
 cati *catona* // demtissie
 clotu epaedemtion // tibi cartaont *dibonia*
 sosio deeipia sosio pura // sosio goviva
 sue ioti et sos(i)o poura // t(e) he[i]o[n]t
 sua demti (*e*)*poti[a]* // *dunna vov(es)ia*.

Although Rhys and Jullian recognized the text as Gaulish and probably poetic (Rhys 1905-6: 107-16), Whatmough (DAG: 391), without further analysis, dismissed it as a probable mixture of Celtic words interlarded with vulgar Latin, “unintelligible in the mumbo-jumbo verbiage”. Egger (1963: 348-69) also analyzed the text as Latin. As recently as 1980, Lejeune could conclude “*ce document en graphie continue ... nous demeure parfaitement obscur...*” (1980b: 51-4). Meid has communicated to me that parts of it appear to him to be Greek.

In 1977 Fleuriot suggested that some of these long Gaulish inscription, such as that from Chamalières, might be poetic, and thus the line structures would be useful in deciphering them. As Fleuriot noted, “*la principale difficulté est de trouver les limites des vers,*” (1977: 173-90, footnote 2). Wagner’s (1977) analysis of the *Dind Ríg* poem, published in the same year, provides a stressed-meter format from which one can constructively analyze the Rom inscription.

If Wagner’s (1977: 1-16) structural scheme for the *Dind Ríg* poem were derived from an earlier Common Celtic meter, as comparisons to early Welsh poetry suggest (see Olmsted 1991: 259-306), one could use a similar analysis to determine the line divisions for the Rom inscription, if it turns out to be Gaulish or Vulgar Latin. If the inscription were composed in a stressed meter, the poetic decorations apparent within it would enable one to effect the word breaks as well as the major syntactic divisions of the poetic sentences. Producing these divisions would be difficult without knowledge of the structure of Celtic or rustic Latin stressed meters (see above: *The Means by which PIE Myth, Ritual, and Laws were Preserved*). The line breaks and those at the caesura provide the initial key to analyze the text of the poem.

Whatever its significance, when set forth in its proper line format the Rom inscription is transparently poetic, having the stressed meter expected for Celtic, Germanic, and archaic or rustic Latin poetry. As in Insular Celtic poetry, in the Rom inscription alliteration, rhyme, and consonant harmony link words on each side of the mid-line break at the caesura. Rhys was

apparently correct in seeing the inscription as poetic, as Fleuriot has suggested for the Chamalières inscription. The Rom poem shares the technique of initial-line alliteration found in the early Welsh poem *Canu Aneirin* XXII.b, as well as having an intricate rhyming scheme. As with Gaulish inscriptions in general, any attempt at translation still remains extremely speculative. The most reliable aspect of the inscription would appear to be the bynames of the goddess. (For a glossary and a highly speculative attempt at translation see Olmsted 1991: 259 ff.).

The byname Eponina (*Iponina*) is not certain in the Rom inscription. Jullian reads *ipomm* and Whatmough reads *ipomna*. Considering the nearly illegible writing, it is just as likely to be *iponina*, seeing their supposed *M* as *NI*. The reading with *M* makes little sense, whereas with *NI* the word is analyzable. Also with *NI*, *Iponina* provides a rhyme with *dertino* or *dertina* across the caesura. Both words are formed with the suffix *-ino-*. Here the suffix is apparently added to *ipono-*, analyzable as *ipo-* with the name derivative suffix *-ono-*, as in Epona. The alternation of *e* and *i* is commonplace in Gaulish inscriptions, particularly before a nasal or a stop, as in *Ipadico* for *Epadico* (ACS II: 69) or *Iporiensis* for *Eporediensis* (ACS I: 1451), but also in *vic-*, *vec-* (Evans 1967: 392-3).

Indeed, the apparent use of *Epotia* as an alternative name for *Iponina* in the next line makes it very likely that *epo-* and **Eponina* are indicated here. Both the forms *Epponina* (DAG: §237, p. 1124) and *Epotius* (DAG: §212) occur as personal names, apparently derived from the name of the horse goddess, so that *Epotia* is confirmed and *Eponina* can hardly be in doubt as the implication of *Iponina*.

Epo- is, of course, the familiar Gaulish stem meaning “horse” (Dottin 1920: 256; Evans 1967: 197-9). Irish *ech*, Breton *ebeul*, O. Cornish *ebol* all provide cognates deriving from IE **ekyo-* (IEW: 301; DPC: 114). The most likely surmise is that Eponina and Epotina are alternative names in the vocative for the goddess to whom the hymn was composed. There can be little doubt that this goddess was the familiar Epona of Romano-Gaulish portrayal as well as classical commentary. In the portrayals she is often given the maternal attributes of the Matres (see Thevenot and Magnen 1953). Eponina would be an endearing diminutive, “Little Epona”.

?*Epotia*: “Horse Goddess”?

I would see this byname of Epona occurring in the Rom inscription (see Glossary: Eponina). Jullian’s *Epotea* together with Whatmough’s *Epogia* is suggestive of *Epotia* in the vocative, as noted above under *Eponina* (Ipo(ni)na). The personal name *Epotius* (DAG: §237, p. 1124) supports the reading here. In both names the Gaulish stem *epo-* (**h₁ekyo-* DPC: 114) is combined with the suffix *-tio-*. The use of this suffix in a byname for Epona is probably to provide a rhyme with *pria-* across the caesura.

?*Imona*: “Swift”?

I would see this byname of Epona occurring in the Rom inscription (see Glossary: Eponina). Here *Imona* is taken from Jullian’s reading of the text IMONA rather than Rh¹s’s IMONTA or Whatmough’s I[.]NT[.]. The later reading of *NT* rather than *N* may result from a scratch or an oxidation of the soft lead plate. However, if *Imonta* is correct, it could represent a development from **im-onto-*, taking *-onto-* as a variant of the abstract suffix **-anta* (Buck 1933: 333). On the other hand *Imona* would derive from **im-ono-*, with the suffix *-ono-* as in Epona and Matrona. At any rate, the stem apparent here is probably IE **pi-m-*, which I would see as the zero-grade of IE **pej-m-* “rash, quick” (IEW: 795), giving Irish *eim* “rash, quick” (IEW: 795). As with **peisk-*, *pisk-* “fish”, both variants would then be attested in Celtic (Irish *esc* and the Welsh river name *Wysg*; IEW: 796).

Most interesting is the possibility that *Imona* is cognate with *Emain* (i,f; gen. sing. *Emana*), the alternative name for Emain Macha, the epic capital of the Ulaid. *Emain* may be derived from **Imonis*, for as Thurneysen (1946: 53) has noted, *-oi-* and *-ai-* are completely confused.” The ritual cult center Emain Macha was supposedly named after the Irish horse-goddess Macha, who went there to race against Conchobar’s horses. Medieval Irish etymologists derived the site’s name from *emon* (o,m) “twins” (*don eamon fosfuc ata Magh Macha 7 Emain Macha*) (Gwynn 1903-35: IV, 310), in honor of the twins she supposedly bore on winning the race. However, the name Macha itself is probably derived from “plain, field” as in *macha* (gs *macha*) “a milking yard or field”, perhaps indicative of an earth-mother goddess as in the Gaulish Matres or the Irish Tailtiu and Mór Mumain.

If Emain Macha does not simply preserve two bynames of the goddess, *macha* might be seen to be a genitive singular as speculated in RIAD. Emain Macha could then be translated as the “Swift One of the Plain”. The use of the Macha as byname for the Irish goddess would then be a secondary development in reinterpreting Emain Macha as “the twins of Macha”. In this case, Emain (<**Imonis*) would be the original name for the goddess. But all of this reasoning is speculative and this etymology can only be put forward as a suggestion.

Rīgana: “the Queen”.

Inscriptions from Karlsburg (CIL III: 7750) and Klausenburg (CIL III: 12579) refer to EPONE REGIN(AE), significantly associating the Latin epithet *Rēgina* “Queen” with Epona. The Gaulish inscription to *Rīgana* on a bowl dating to the Tiberian period (Lejeune and Marichal 1977: 151-6) probably refers to the same goddess (DPC: 311; see above).

?*Vovesia*: “?”?

I would see this byname of Epona occurring in the Rom inscription (see Glossary: Eponina). Jullian’s reading here is *Vovseia*, while Whatmough could make out only an *-e-*. I see an interchange of *e* and *s* in the inscription and suggest *Vovesia*, although *Vousuia* and *Vosovia* are other possibilities. Perhaps the stem **uosu-* “good” (IEW: 1174; DPC: 428), giving Irish *fo* “good”, is represented here. Evans (1967: 289) lists a personal name *Vosovia*, perhaps the same stem. Possibly the name should be analyzed as **uo-uisu-* (**uo-* “under”, IEW: 1106), with *visu-*, *vesu-* “good” as variants of **uosu-* (IEW: 1174; DPC: 418). Other possibilities are **uid-tu-* “knowledge” (IEW: 1125), giving Irish *fiss* and Welsh *gwys*, as well as **ues-* “to pass the night”, giving Irish *fess*. Otherwise, this byname must remain obscure.

Irish Bynames of Macha

Emain (?< **Imonis*?: “the Swift One”): “the Twins”.

See *Imona* above.

Macha: “(of) the Plain”.

The name Macha, itself, would appear to be a secondary development. As RIAD notes Macha “is strictly a genitive singular (of a noun meaning “field” or “plain”?), but also used absolutely”. The name is thus undoubtedly related to Irish *macha* (m, gen. *macha*, nom. plur. *machada*) “an enclosure for milking cows, a milking yard (or field?)” (RIAD) and *machaire* (io,m) “a large field or plain”. Thus Macha may have arisen from Emain Macha “the Swift

One of the Plain” or “the Twins of the Plain”, through the use of the genitive qualifier in absolute terms (As Jesus of Nazareth becomes Nazareth).

These Irish words *macha* and *machaire* are apparently not derivable from IE **megh₂-* “great” (IEW: 708-9; DPC: 253). *Meg(h)-* gives Sanskrit *mahī* “the earth; the Great, the Ancient, the Mother”. Pokorny (IEW: 708-9) not only relates Latin and Greek *Maia* (<**magia*) “the Great, the Old, the Mother”, the daughter of Atlas and the mother of Mercurius, to Sanskrit *mahī* “earth” but to Celtic *magio-* “plain” as well. This Celtic stem *magio-* gives Welsh *maes* (<*magesto-*) as well as Irish *mag* “field”, but it also is found in Gaulish place names such as Argantomagos “Silver Field”. The origin of Irish *macha* “enclosure” remains obscure.

Roech: “Great Horse”.

Thurneysen (1921: 92 note 2) noted that *Ro-ich* in the name Fergus mac Roich is the genitive singular of *ro-ech* “das grosse Pferd”.

Tailltiu: “the Earth, the Plain”.

Tailltiu, Tailtiu, undoubtedly derives from IE **telh₂-* “flat, flat floor” (IEW: 1061; DPC: 366), giving Latin *tellus* “earth” and Irish *talam* “earth”. The name is perhaps analyzable as *tel-tio-ōn-*. The IE zero-grade *to-* suffixed form **t_l-to-* means “course (of a river), gangway, canal” and gives Sanskrit *tata* “river bank, shore”. IE **tel-* “bear, carry” and **t_l-to-* “born, carried” (IEW: 1060) provide a secondary significance for the name.

Welsh Bynames of Rhiannon

Rhiannon (**Rīganona*): “the Queen”.

Rhiannon may be analyzed as the suffix *-ono-* attached to the Celtic stem *rīganī-* “queen” from IE **rēg(e)nī* “queen” (IEW: 856) (**(H)rēgnih₂* DPC: 311), giving Irish *rīgain* and Welsh *rhian* “queen”. Her name is essentially equivalent to Mórrígan, Mórrígain “Great Queen” and may be seen to be cognate with Epona Rēgina from Karlsburg and Klausenburg.

The Gods of Water
Bynames of Gaulish Maponos

Arveriiatis: “by the Waters” or “(Conceived) Through the Passion of the Waters”.

This byname of Maponos is found in the Chamalières inscription (see Glossary: Maponos) as *Mapon(on) Arveriiatin*, with *Arveriiatin* occurring as the Gaulish accusative of an i-stem. Fleuriot (1977: 179) has suggested amending this phrase to *Mapon(on) Arverniatin*, thus the god evoked would be *Maponos Arverniatis. Lambert (1979b: 149-50), however, sees **Arveriiatis* as “dispenser”. At first sight it would appear that the abstract suffix *-iati-* (Thurneysen 1946: 171) has been added to the stem *arver-*, *arveri-*, or *arvern-* (the usual form is *-ati-*; in Latin often “denoting rank or origin”, Buck 1933: 332). If the stem here is *arvern-* it would provide a parallel to Mercurius Arvernos. Inscriptions to MERCVRIO ARVERNO come from Gripswald (CIR: 256-7), Grimlinghauen near Neuss (CIR: 263), Wenau by Jülich (CIR: 593), and Cologne (CIL XIII: 8253). In the use of the suffix *-ati-* in attributive place names, parallels are given by Mars Condatis and Mars Radosatis. Such a place-name attribution, however, would be unique for a deity assimilated to Apollo. In the absence of other parallels (considering the many bynames of Gaulish Apollo) such an place-name attribution has little credibility.

The stem here is more likely to be *arver-* or *arveri-*, as indicated by the text of the poem itself. There are a number of functional attributive bynames of Mars also ending in the suffix *-ati-* such as *Toutatis* and *Dunatis*. *Arver-* could be analyzed as *ari-ver-* with the Celtic prefix *ari-* from IE **p_{er}i-* “by, before, through”, as in Gaulish *Aremorica* or *Arebrigium* (IEW: 812), and *ver-* or *veri-* from IE **u_{er}-* “water, river” (IEW: 80), giving Welsh *gwer* “tallow”, which is fluid when warm, and Irish *feraid* “pour, shower” (RIAD). **Arveriiatis* “By the Waters” would an appropriate name for a god associated with hot springs.

In Welsh tradition Mabon (cognate with Maponos) is the son of Modron, while in Irish tradition Mac ind Óc (Mac ind < **Maccan* cognate with Maponos) is the son of Boand; both Modron and Boand are in origin river goddesses. In analyzing the significance of this word, one should recall that it is through the passion of Boand that Mac ind Óc is conceived (Irish *ét* “passion, desire”). This “passion” could be the subject indicated by the form *-iati-* added to *veri-* “water”. Rather than being a simple nominal suffix, the double *ii* more likely indicates *iati-*, here seen as a development from IE **ieh₂-* “desire” or the lengthened o-grade of **iet-* “grow passionate” (IEW: 506-7, 501; LIV: 274; DPC: 434). The lengthened full-grade of **iet-* gives Irish *ét*, above. The u-stem of this root is also found in the Gaulish personal names *Ad-ietu-maros* and *Ad-iat-unnos* (IEW: 507). The name *Arveriiatis* could imply “(Conceived) Through the Passion of the Waters”.

Maponos: “the Son” (Apollo).

Although the Gaulish examples include the very important and possibly poetic incantation to the god from Chamalières, inscriptions to Maponos have come mainly from Britain, where they all have been found at military sites. Thus on the shaft of a rectangular pedestal from Ribchester (Lancashire) there is an inscription to the DEO SAN(CTO) [A]POLLINI MAPONO (RIB: 583). This particular inscription was dedicated by a group of Sarmatian cavalry serving in the Roman army. From Corbridge come inscriptions to APOLLINI MAPONO (RIB: 1120), to [AP]OLLINI MAPON[O] (RIB: 1121), and to the [DEO M]APONO APO[LLINI] (RIB: 1122), all from foreign troops serving with the Roman army. From Hadrian’s Wall in Cumberland comes an inscription on an altar of red sandstone to the DEO MAPONO ET N(VMINI) AVG(VSTI) (RIB: 2063). This altar was inscribed by Durius,

Ramius, Trupus, and Lurius of the Germani. A similar inscription to APOLLONI MAPONO comes from Hexham, Northumberland (CIL VII: 1345).

As Jubainville (1893a: 152) has noted, French attestations of the deity-name *Maponos* include that found on a map of 1090 AD, which lists a *Mapono Fonte* near Lyon, apparently a sacred spring. Similarly, the long inscription to *Maponos Arveriiatis* on a lead plate from Chamalières, to be discussed at some length below, also derives from a sacred spring. The *Ravennus* informs us that there was a *locus Maponi* in the north of England (see de Vries 1961: 76). There is also a Latinized o-stem personal name *Maponus* (CIL XIII: 5924) from Bourbonne-les-Bains.

The name *Maponos* may be analyzed as *mapo-ono-*. Here the Gaulish root *mapo-* is combined with the same attributive suffix to be found in *Epona* and *Matrona*. According to Pokorny (IEW: 696) and Matasović (DPC: 253), the root *mapo-* derives from **makukyo-* < **maggyo-* < **maghuo-* “boy, youth” through expressive gemination. The significance “son”, as in Irish *mac* (Ogam *maqgas*) and Welsh *map*, can hardly be in doubt. Also undoubted is a relationship to the Welsh *Mabon ap Modron* of *Cwlwch ac Olwein*, a direct development of a projected British or Gaulish **Maponos mapos Matronas* (here *ap* < *fap* < *map*; GPC: 172). British **Matrona* is the same name as that utilized by the Gaulish goddess of the Marne, *Matrona*, who gave her name to the river, as well. As O’Rahilly pointed out, the Irish equivalent of *Mabon ap Modron* is *Mac ind Óc mac Boinde* “*Maccan Óc, the son of the goddess of the river Boyne” (1946: 516-7).

The lead *tabella* bearing the Chamalières inscription was found in 1971 at the thermal source of the Roches near Clermont-Ferrand. The *tabella* was found in association with a great quantity of votive wooden carvings of diseased and whole parts suggestive of a healing source temple like that to Sequana. Also in abundance were a number of wooden tablets originally waxed to take inscriptions. The *ex-votos*, which are similar to those from the source temple to Sequana, date the lead tablet to the first half of the first century AD (Fleuriot 1977: 173).

The use of Latin names by the Gauls invoking the god *Maponos* at Chamalières points out the aristocratic nature of the men involved. The adoption of the name *Claudius* by three of these men suggests that they may have received their names during the reign of the Emperor *Claudius*. Fleuriot has noted that nearly all of the Gaulish chiefs historically taking part in the revolt against Rome had Latin names. Fleuriot is undoubtedly correct in seeing the *tabella* as “*une incantation druidique*”. His statement that the inscription must be an invocation rather than a malediction (a *defixio*) because of the association with a healing spring (“*une source bénéfique*”) bears little weight, however. On the other hand, the fact that the inscription is on lead does not indicate that it must be a malediction.

A similar lead tablet, with a Latin rather than a Celtic inscription, was found in 1880 at Bath, also a healing thermal spring. The poetic text was written with each word reversed.

Qui mihi Vilbiam involavit
 sic liquat comodo aqua.
 Ella muta qui eam voravit,
 si Velvinna, Exsupereus, Verianus,
 Severinus, Augustalis, Comitianus,
 Catusminianus, Germanilla, Iovina.

May (s)he who carried off Vilbia from me
 become as liquid as water.
 (May) she who obscenely devoured her (become) dumb.
 Whether Velvinna, Exsupereus, Verianus,
 Severinus, Augustalis, Comitianus,
 Catusminianus, Germanilla, Iovina. (RIB: 154).

It seems that water can harm as well as cure, as with the *Topur Nechtain* at Segais, the source of the river Boand (Boind), which according the *Dindsenchas* (Boand 2) leaps out and makes Boand lame, blind in one eye, and one-handed. As noted, Boand is the mother of Mac ind Óc (Mac ind < **Maccan* < **Makukyonos*), the Irish cognate of Maponos (< **Makukyonos*) to whom the Chamalières inscription was dedicated. Thus these elements take on a special significance. The Chamalières inscription must be examined in its own light. Lejeune (1984: 703-13) has recently suggested from a comparison to the Larzac inscription that the Chamalières inscription is probably malevolent and private. The inscription is also possibly poetic, and I have rendered the lines in the corresponding stressed meters, either the 2/2 long line or the 2/1 short line (see Olmsted 1988b; 1991; but also Meid 1990: 47-8). In the use of personal names woven into the poetic inscription it may be compared favorably to *Y Gododdin XXXI* (Williams 1938: 14; Jackson 1969: 129).

Andedion vediiumi // diivion
 ris (s)unaritu Mapon(on) // Arveriiatin
 lotites sni eddic sos // brixitia anderon
 C(aion) Lucion Floron // Nigrinon adgarion
 Aemilion Paterin(on) // Claudion Legitumon
 Caelion pelign(on) // Claudion pelign(on)
 Marcion Victorin(on) // Asiaticon.
 addedilli etic secovi // toncnaman toncsiiontio
 meion ponc sesit // buetid ollon
 regu-c cambion // exops pissiiumi
 isoc canti rissu // ison son bissiet
 luge dessummiis // luge dessummiis
 luge dessummiis // luxe.

I pray for the sake of the good strength
 of the nether gods to Maponos Arveriiatis.
 ?...? us and these through the magic of underworlds:
 Caios Lucios Floros Nigrinos, ?the invoker?,
 Aemilios Paterinos, Claudios Legitumos
 Caelios, a stranger, Claudios, a stranger,
 Marcios Vicroirinos Asiaticos.
 ?...? are these who swear this oath.
 Small, when accomplished, will be the great one.
 I subdue the crooked one; blind, I foresee (him).
 ?Through the tablet of incantation, he shall be thus?.
 By the oath I arrange these, by the oath I arrange these.
 By the oath I arrange these, by the oath.

The text itself was established by Lejeune and Marichal (1976-7: 151-68). Here the first two lines have been interpreted after the recent analysis of Lambert (1987: 12-3). The rest of the translation mainly follows Fleuriot (1977: 173-90; 1980a: 145-59) and Schmidt (1981: 256-68). On this difficult text also see Watkins (1983: 113-6), Kowal (1987: 243-55), Lejeune (1985: 95-177), Henry (1984: 141-50), Meid (1987: 50 ff., 1989: 27-31), and Lambert (1979b: 141-69).

Lambert (1987: 15-6) interprets *lotites sni eddic* as *lotites snies-ti-c* “may you ... and torment them”, *adgarion* as “accuser” rather than as “invoker”, *secovi toncnaman* as *se-govi*

toncnaman “this false oath” rather than “conquerors and victors”. Emending *regu-c cambion* to *regu cambion*, he notes that the next three lines of the poem are rather obscure.

The juxtaposition of *cambion* and *exops* in these three lines is rather interesting (see Meid 1989: 28) as it recalls what Cú Chulainn does to Boand (in her guise as Mórrígan) in the *Táin* or what happens to Boand through the overflowing of Topur Nechtain in *Boind I*. But it also recalls two of the three blemishes possessed by the Ulster women (*ar it é téora anmi fil for mnáib Ulad*): *clúine* “crookedness”, *minde* “stammering”, and *guille* “blindness of one eye” (Dillon 1953: 2, l. 39), depending on which warrior they love. As Lambert noted (1987: 15-6), *cambo-* “crooked” refers specifically to deformed limbs, as in *cam-chosach* and *cam-gluineach* in Irish and *gar-gam* in Breton.

Exops “blind” (< **eks-okū-*; *okū-* “see” IEW: 775; **h₃ek^h-* LIV: 297) is of course nominative singular. In the next line the verb *bissiet* (“may he be”) is derived from **b^hueh₂-si-* (**b^hueh₂-* LIV: 98) the suffixed zero-grade of **bheu-*; IEW: 146; in the subjunctive or future). The translation of this line follows Fleuriot. In the last two lines *luge* relates to Irish *luige* and Welsh *llw* “oath, vow” from IE **h₂leug^h-* “oath” (IEW: 687; DPC: 247: **lugijo-*).

Bynames of Irish Mac ind Óc

Mac ind Óc (< **Maccan Óc* < **Makukūonos Iuūenkos*): “the Young Son”.

In the *Dindsenchas* tale of Boand-II and in *Tochmarc Étaíne* from YBL, *Mac Óc* (*Mac ind Óc*) is the son of Dagda and Boand. The usual form *Mac Óc* “the Young Son” is only a reformation of an earlier *Mac ind Óc*, which is preserved in the genitive in LU 2942 (*Bruig Meic ind Oc*), in LU 4117 (*Maig Meic ind Óc*), and elsewhere in LL (152b 39, 164b 30, 194b 26, 209b 30). Here interestingly *Óc* is not inflected in the genitive, so it cannot be interpreted as “of the youth” (O’Rahilly 1946: 516, note 2). Evidently *Mac ind Óc* is not the earliest form of the name, and O’Rahilly outlines its original development.

The original name was ... **Maccan* (< Celt. **Makukūonos*)... corresponding to the Welsh Mabon, British Maponos (identified with Apollo in inscription). The idea of youthfulness, inherent in the name, was further emphasized in Irish by permanently affixing the epithet *oac*, Mid. Ir. *óc*, “young”, so that **Maccan* ceased to be employed alone. In **Maccan Óc* the first word was popularly misinterpreted as the common word *macc*, “son, boy”, followed by an unstressed vowel and an eclipsing *n-*, as if the name were *Macc a nÓc*, which by the Middle Irish scribes was written *Macc ind (=inn) Óc* through confusing the middle syllable with one of the forms of the article. (O’Rahilly 1946: 517).

Ailill (< **Ailillis*): “the Fostered One” or “the Brilliant”.

Medb, like Boand, is married to her nephew. In the *Táin*, Medb’s nephew husband is called Ailill. It is probable that Ailill is to be identified with Mac ind Óc. Ailill’s mother is Mata Muireasc (Murisc) or Mágach (Magach). Mata is a water creature of some sort and is associated with the Brug Maic ind Óc (Brug na Boinne) (*Dindsenchas*, Rennes: ‘4, 28). In the *Dindsenchas*, Mata is glossed as a *seilche* (sometimes translated as “tortoise or snail”), and Muireasc or Murisc is undoubtedly *muir* + *iasc* “sea fish”. We must remember that, in the *Táin*, Cú Chulainn battles Mórrígan (Boand), who attacks him as an *escong* “eel” or *esc-ung* “water snake” (IE **ang^hhi-* (**h₂eng^hhi-*) “snake”; IEW: 43), likely the same creature as Mata Muireasc.

The other name for Ailill’s mother is Mágach or Magach. Magach is probably just a variant name for Magain (Mogain, Mugain), itself from the same IE root as Mogontia “the Ever Youthful” (see above). MacCana (1955-58) has shown that Magain is an alternative name

for Mór Mumain “the Great Mother” or “the Great One of Ulster”, which was in turn another name for Mórrígan (Mór-Rígan) “the Great Queen”. Thus it is clear, at any rate, that Ailill is Boand’s son, as is Mac ind Óc. According to *de Chophur in da Muccida* from *Egerton 1782* (Roider 1979: 54), like Mac ind Óc, Ailill also is the son of Rosa Rúad, a byname of the Dagda. Thus Ailill and Mac ind Óc are given the same parentage. Each is also stated to have been raised by someone other than his mother. If Ailill is identified with Mac ind Óc, who goes into the Brug at Samain, it would explain why in the YBL *Táin*, he plays little active role. In the earliest version of the *Táin* he was possibly absent.

The name *Ailill* (gen. sing. *Ailella*) may be derived from **Alillis* with the root **al-* combined with the attributive suffix *-illi-*, perhaps a variant of the agentive suffix *-lo-* (Meillet 1922: 267; Buck 1933: 328-30) as in the Latin secondary suffix *-ilis* (Buck 1933: 331). Here **al-* could be derived from IE **al-* (**h₂el-*) “white, brilliant” (IEW: 29, 31). Other possibilities for the initial root are **al-* “burn” (**h₂el-*) (IEW: 28), as in Irish *alad* “mottled, variegated”; and **al-* (**h₂el-*) “grow, nourish” (IEW: 26), as in Irish *ailid* “nourish, foster”. Since Ailill is raised by his aunt Medb from an early age, this last suggestion “the Fostered One” seems most likely.

Bynames of Welsh Mabon

Mabon uab Modron: “The Son, Son of the Mother”.

This name occurs in the Welsh triad *Tri goruchel garcharavr Ynys Brydein* (Bromwich 1961: ‘52, 140-1; 433-6), where Mabon ap Modron is the second of “three exalted prisoners of Britain”. Details of Mabon’s imprisonment are contained in *Culhwch ac Owein*, where Mabon states, “Mabon son of Modron is here in prison, and none was ever so cruelly imprisoned in a prison house as I; neither the imprisonment of Lludd Silver-hand nor the imprisonment of Greid son of Eri” (*Mabon uab Modron yssyd yma ygcarch(ar). ac ny charcharvyt neb kyn dostet yn llvrv carchar a mi. na charchar Llud Llav Ereint. neu garchar Greit mab Eri*) (WM: 492-3; Jones and Jones 1949: 126).

Mabon had been taken from beside his mother when three nights old, and it was unknown whether he was alive or dead. The oldest animal, the Salmon of Llyn Lliw, revealed that the place of Mabon’s imprisonment was Caer Loyw (Gloucester), from whence he was successfully freed by Kei and Bedwyr... Mabon later in the story pursues the Twrch Trwyth [the boar] into the Severn and takes from him the razor which lay between his ears”. (Bromwich 1961: 435).

The detail that Mabon was taken from his mother when scarcely born finds parallels in Irish Mac ind Óc, also taken from his mother at birth. An early poem in the *Book of Taliesin* (‘38) gives other details of Mabon, *Gogyfarch Vabon o arall vro kat // pan amuc Owein biv y vro* (ll. 22-3) “the demand of Mabon (?), battle from another land, when Owein (< Eugein < *Esugenos*; IEW: 342) defended the cattle of his (own) land” (Bromwich 1961: 434). If Ailill were substituted for Mabon, and Cú Chulainn (identified with earlier Gaulish Esus) were substituted for Owein, these lines could be seen to reference the *Táin*.

Bynames of Gaulish **Neōtulos* or **Nectinos* (**Nebtunos*)

Albios: “the White or Brilliant God” (Bormonis, DAG: §155).

From Rivières, Charente, comes a Latin inscription to *Borvo Albius* and *Damona Matuberginnis* (DAG: §155). Also from Chassenay, Côte d’Or (near Beaune) comes an inscription to AVG(VSTO) SACR(VM) DEO ALBIO ET DAMONAE (CIL XIII: 2840). The

Gaulish root in the deity-name Albios is *albio-*, probably a development of IE **albho-* “white”, an extended form of **al-* (**h₂elb^ho-*) “white, brilliant” (IEW: 29-30; DPC: 29). The place-names Albion “Britain” and Albium “Alpes” apparently contain the same root. But, we also must note Welsh *elfydd* “earth, world”. At any rate, the river Aube, originally the Albis, arising in the Plateau de Langres, bordering on the Côtes d’Or (DAG: §234), probably owes its name to this deity.

Amarcolitanos: “with Extensive Horses”, “of Wide-ranging Horses”, or “of Profound Vision” (Apollo Grannos, CIL XIII: 2600).

From Branges, Saône-et-Loire, comes an inscription to the DEO APOLLINI GRANNO AMARCOLITAN(O) (CIL XIII: 2600). This inscription connects the byname Grannos to Amarcolitanos, which in turn can be semantically linked to Atepomaros. Ernault (AcS III: 582) saw the significance of Amarcolitanos as *valde equis amplus*. The name may be analyzed as **ab-marco-litano-*.

Here the initial *a-* possibly derives from IE **apo-* “from, by” (IEW: 53) (**h₂epo-*), supposedly giving Welsh *o* “from, of” and Irish *ó, úa* “from, by”. Thurneysen (1946: 524) suggested that the primary Irish form was *áu* < **ao* < **apo-*, which is difficult to reconcile with the Welsh form. Schmidt (1957: 108) discussed the difficulties of this etymology. He suggested that the proto-Celtic form should be *ab-* derived from **ambi-* (DPC: 32). Schmidt (1957: 109) proposed that the interesting variant personal name Abiamarca should derive from **ambio-marco-*. IE **ambi-* “around, about” gives Welsh *am-, em-, ym-* and Irish *imb-, imm-, imme-* (Schmidt 1957: 122). The following derivation through assimilation is then possible, with **ab-marco-* > **am-marco-* > *a-marco-* (not the familiar *m, v, b* alternation outlined by Evans 1967: 409-410). At any rate, if the first stem is seen as *ab-*, it is clear that the following stem would be *marco-* “horse, mare” (Dottin 1920: 270), derived from IE **marko-* “horse” (only Celtic and Germanic; IEW: 700) (DPC: 257). **Marko-* also gives Welsh *march*, Irish *marc*, and Old High German *marah*.

The similarity of Amarcolitanos to Atepomaros is so striking as to invalidate any other etymology. Thus I would dismiss Guyonvarc’h’s (1960a: 200) and Weisgerber’s (1930: 191, 292) etymologies, which follow Thurneysen in relating *amarco-* to Irish *amarc* “vision”. The final root *litano-* “wide, broad” (Dottin 1920: 266) derives from **pl̥t̥a-no-*, a suffixed zero-grade form of IE **pl̥āt-* (IEW: 833; see Bassoledulitanos below) (*pl̥th₂-no-* DPC: 135). The Insular Celtic cognates are Welsh *llydan* “broad” and Irish *lethan* (o,a) “broad, wide, widespread”, but also “wide-ranging”. Thus interpreting the name as **ab-marco-* suggests “Apollo Grannos of Wide Ranging Horses”. To follow Weisgerber and Guyonvarc’h and see the name with **amarco-*, however, would give it the significance “of Profound Vision”.

As Thurneysen (1921: 286) noted about Irish Fraech, a cognate of Gaulish Vroicos, “*der Held nicht in einem Wagen fährt ... sondern mit seinen Genossen reitet*”. In *Táin bó Fraích* (Byrne and Dillon 1936: 2; Meid 1967: 2, ll. 26-7), we learn that Fraech keeps about him fifty princes. Each of the fifty princes rides “a light grey horse with golden bridle bits”. Fraech obtains these horses from Boand of the *síd*. Probably a similar aspect of Gaulish Apollo is indicated by this epithet Amarcolitanos. It is also possible that a purely classical conception of Apollo (Apóllōn) (portrayed on the copies of the Phillipian drachmae so widespread in Gaul) is indicated by this epithet. Apóllōn’s horses, driven by Hélios, pull the solar chariot. If so, it is equally likely that such an aspect lies behind Irish Fraech.

Anextlomas: “the Great Protector” (Apollo).

From South Shields comes an inscription to APOLLINI ANEXTLOMARO (EE VII: 1162). This byname was originally listed as *Anextiomaros* but corrected by Haverfield (AcS

III: 612). Haverfield's correction seems confirmed by the Latinized o-stem personal name *Anextlomarus* on a tombstone from Langres (AcS III: 613) (contra Le Roux 1959-60: 219). Another inscription with apparently the same byname comes from Allones (Sarthe) to the [DEO APOLLINI ANEX[TLOMARO]] (CIL XIII: 3190).

Thurneysen (1917: 311) compared the first element of the name, *anextlo-* (DPC: 36), to Irish *anacul* "protecting, sheltering", and this comparison has been accepted by Dottin (1920: 227) and Schmidt (1957: 131). Irish *anacul* is the verbal noun of *aingid* "protects". Vendryes (1959: A, 76-7) suggests that *-cul*, the final stem in *anacul*, derives from *-chtl* (as with Thurneysen 1946: 113, 135). The second stem of this compound is *māro-* "great" (Dottin 1920: 270), giving Irish *mór*, *már* and Welsh *mawr* (IE **moh₁-ro-* "great, important"; DPC: 258; IEW: 704).

Thus Apollo Anextlomarus is "Apollo the Great Protector". This epithet clearly reflects the relationship between springs and sources with healing cults. The inscription to Anextlomara (DAG: §243) from the Agri Decumates, probably does not, as Schmidt (1957: 131) suggests, represent the masculine ā-stem, but rather it reflects the goddess associated with the same healing cult as that indicated by Bormo and Bormona.

Atepomaros: "Of the Very Great Horses" (Apollo).

From Mauvières (Indre) comes an inscription to NVM(INIBVS) AV[G(VSTI)] ET GENIO APOL[L]INIS ATEPOMARI (CIL XIII: 1318). Both Evans (1967: 53) and Holder (AcS I: 257) give a long list of examples of Atepomaros as a personal name. In the analysis of this name, Evans and Holder (Ernault) consider that *at-* (for *ate-*) functions as an intensive, but Dottin (1920: 229) adds that it may also be translated by "re-". The prefix gives the familiar Irish *aith-* "re-, ex-". Thurneysen (1946: 499) derives this Celtic prefix from IE **ati-*, *ato-* "over, beyond" (IEW: 70), functioning as a repetitive or an intensive prefix. The byname may then be analyzed as *ate-epo-marō-*.

Epo- is clearly Dottin's (1920: 256) *epo-* "horse", derived from IE **ekyo-* "horse" (IEW: 301; DPC: 114), which gives Irish *ech*, Welsh *ebol* (<**epālo-*), and Latin *equus*. The final stem is the familiar Gaulish *māro-* "great, important" from IE **mōro-* "great, important" (IEW: 704), discussed above under Anextlomarus. This byname then draws a semantic parallel to Amarcollitanos and may signify "Apollo of the Very Great Horses" or "Apollo the Very Great Horseman". Ernault (AcS I: 257) similarly translates the name "*valde equis magnus*". Dottin (1920: 95) translates the name as "*Grand Cavalier*". Evans (1967: 53) sees it either as a *tutpuruṣa* compound "he who is great by his horse(s)" or as an inverted *bahuvrihi* compound of a substantive plus an adjective "he has (a) great horse(s)".

Belenos: "the Bright (God)" (Apollo, Glanum).

The *Scriptores historiae Augustae* (XIX: 22, 1-2) (see Zwicker 1934: 97) identify the Gaulish Apollo with a god named *Belenos* (Latin genitive *Beleni*), as does Ausonius (V: 7, 14) (Zwicker 1934: 105). Inscriptions to APOLLINI BELENO (as in CIL V: 741) come from Romanized Celtiberia as well as from throughout Gallia Lugdunensis, Gallia Narbonensis, and Aquitania (see DAG: §§ 82, 86, 150, 155, 181). A great number of inscriptions to APOLLINI BELENO or BELENO come from Aquileja and nearby Beligna (CIL V: 732-55). An interesting inscription from Rome is to [B]ELINAP(OLLINI) (CIL VI: 12542). A Gaulish inscription in Greek lettering also occurs on a votive basin from Saint-Chamas, Bouche-du-Rhône, [E]PORIX IVGILLIACOS DEDE BRATVTE BELINO "Eporix Iugilliacos dedicated this with gratitude to Belenos" (Lejeune 1968-9: 52-9; RIG-I: 56-8, G-28). Aebischer (1934: 34-5) gives a list of place names derived from Belenos.

An inscription to [BE]LEN[OV] (RIG: I, G-63) also occurs in Greek lettering on a stone basin from Glanum (Saint-Rémy) found in a pre-Augustan first-century BC context. This basin was associated with an altar bearing a Greek dedication to Apóllōn (Lejeune 1968-9: 59-61; RIG-I: 73ff.). The temple complex itself was dedicated to a god who used the Latin byname *Valetudo* (VALETVDINI in the dative singular; Rolland 1958: 103, 106, pl. 36: 3). At this temple complex is a sacred well carved out of solid rock to gather the source water. The well bears an inscription, again in Greek lettering, to [APO]LLINI. Near this well was an altar to the IVNONIBVS (Roland 1958: 51, pl. 17: 3), apparently referring to the Matres. A block found in back of the fountain is inscribed in Gaulish KORNELIA ROKLOISIABO BRATVDE KANT[EN] (Rolland 1958: 54; RIG-I: 73ff., G-65) “Cornelia (dedicated) this monument with gratitude to the Rocloisias”. Rocloisia is a Gaulish byname for the goddess group indicated by Iuones above. On a block from the sacred pathway of the temple is the inscription GLANI ET GLANICABVS (Roland 1958: 88, pl. 30: 1), apparently to “Glanis and the Glanicas”. Glanis and Glanica provide another pair of bynames for Belenos and Rocloisia.

The byname Belenos undoubtedly contains the Gaulish root *bel-* (Dottin 1920: 232), to which the attributive suffix *-eno-* has been added (Buck 1933: 323). *Bel-* derives from IE **bhel-* “brilliant, white” (IEW: 118-9). This root may also be present in Irish *beltaine* (from *bel* + *taine* “fire”), the name of the Irish festival celebrating the beginning of summer. A similar significance for Gaulish *bala* (*-anis*) is indicated by a gloss which renders it as “having a white blaze” (of a horse) (DAG: §1). Evans (1967: 148) notes that this word is cognate with Welsh *bal* “having a white blaze on the forehead”. Pokorny (IEW: 119) suggests that this word derives from **bhel-* with vowel ablaut. Perhaps Welsh *ufel* “fire” also belongs to this group, as Guyonvarc’h (1962: 161-7) has suggested in seeing its derivation from **opi-bhelo-*.

Irish preserves a word, not only containing the root *bel-*, but undoubtedly cognate with the byname Belenos itself. The Irish word *belend* is clearly an o-stem, considering the unraised *-e-* of the final syllable, with accusative and nominative identical in form; it is derivable from **belenos*. *Belend* occurs only in the archaic Irish poem *Verba Scathaige* (see Glossary: Cú Chulainn; Olmsted 1979b: 229-38; 1992b: 5-17; 1992c). I have shown elsewhere (1978: 539-40; 1992b: 5-17) that three lines of this poem containing *belend* can only refer to the water fight between Cú Chulainn and Fraech in the *Táin bó Cuailnge*. In this bare-handed water fight Cú Chulainn drowns Fraech, whose body is then carried off by *banchuire* into the *síd* mound to be made whole again by the goddess Boind. Boind is Fraech’s aunt as well as the eponymous goddess of the River Boyne (see *YBL-Táin*: ll. 758-760). Since Fraech is undoubtedly cognate with Vroicos and Vindovroicos, alternative bynames for Gaulish Apollo, the use of *belend* here has particular significance.

Frissin mbelend mbanderneck
belend dichet clesamnach
cichit biet banchuire.

Against the bare-handed *belend*
can go a *belend* feat-performing;
women-troops will mourn the deed.

Belisamāros: “the Great and Brightest (God)” (Semantic: *beli-*).

The inscription to *Belisamarus*, a Latinized o-stem from Gallia Lugdunensis (DAG: §181), is apparently a variant of Belenos above. It may be analyzed as a development through haplogy of **bel-isamo-māro-*. Here then *bel-* may be interpreted as “bright” from IE **bhel-* “brilliant, white” (IEW: 118-9), as above. To *bel-* has been added the superlative suffix *-isamo-* (Thurneysen 1946: 235-6, ‘374). The resultant stem is then compounded with

māro- “great” (Dottin 1920: 270) from IE *mōro-* “great” (IEW: 704), which gives Irish *már* and Welsh *mawr*. Belisama (Minerva) “the Brightest” (CIL XIII: 8; DAG: §86) is apparently a female counterpart to this god. She is, thus, possibly equivalent to *Bovinda.

Borvo, Bormo, Bormanos, Bormanicos: “the Boiler” (Apollo, DAG: §155).

From a hot spring at Aix-en-Diois, Drôme, comes an inscription to BORMANO ET BORMAN[AE] (CIL XII: 1567). This name is probably to be analyzed as **bormo-ono-*, *bormo-ano-*, with *-ano-* a variant of *-ono-*. Confirming this, in Liguria there was a *Luco Bormani* (AcS I: 492), evoking the deity in the genitive of an o-stem, again with the suffix *-ano-*, *-ono-*. From Caldas de Vizella near Guimarães, Portugal, comes an inscription to the DEO BORMANICO (CIL II: 2403; Martinnez 1962: 171), which can be analyzed as a contraction of **borman-iaco-*. Most of the inscriptions invoking the god refer to him with the suffix *-on* as an n-stem Bormo.

These same inscriptions refer to his goddess companion as *Damona*. Thus from Bourbonne-les-Bains (Haute Marne), itself named after *Bormo* (*Borvo*), come inscriptions to the DEO APOLLINI BORVONI ET DAMONAE or to BORVONI ET DAMONAE (AcS I: 494, 1225). Also from Entrains (Nièvre) comes an inscription to the DEO APOLLINI BORVONI ET DAMONAE (Orelli: 5880). Similar inscriptions to BORMONI ET DAMONAE and BORVONI ET DAMONAE come from Bourbon-Lancy, Saône-et-Loire. Bourbon-Lancy itself was known earlier as the *Aquae Bormonis* “the Waters of Bormo” (DAG: §179; AcS I: 492). A Latinized inscription from Rivières, Charente, to *Borvo Albivs* and *Damona Matvberginnis* (DAG: §155) connects the byname Albios with that of Bormo. A number of place names also would appear to derive from *bormo-*, *borvo-*, or *borbo-* (Aebischer 1934: 34-5).

The Latinized dative singular *Bormoni* and the genitive singular *Bormonis* indicate an n-stem nominative singular *Bormo*. The inscription to Bormanos is analyzable as **bormo-ano-*, with the agentive suffix *-ono-*, *-ano-* (Buck 1933: 323) added to a basic stem *bormo-*. Variants of this basic stem *bormo-* include *borvo-* and *borbo-*. As Evans (1967: 155) has noted *b/m/v* freely alternate in these names due to lenition or dissimilation.

Following suggestions of Much (1920: 43-4) and Pokorny (1940: 76-7), Whatmough sees the derivation of *bormo-* or *borvo-* from IE **g^hhormo-*, an m-extension of the o-grade of **g^hher-* “hot, warm” (IEW: 493-4), giving not only Latin *formus* “warm” but also Irish *gorid* “heats, warms, burns”, Irish *for-geir* “becomes warm”, and Breton *gor* “fire, ardent”. However, this etymology is not convincing since both Insular Celtic forms begin in *g-*, and one would have to counterpoise this *g-* to a Gaulish correlative beginning in *b-*.

Thus Pokorny follows Stokes (Urk. Spr.: 172) and Jubainville (1889-94: 117 ff.) in seeing *borvo-* as a derivative of the o-grade of IE **bheru-* “to boil” from the basic form **bher-* “to be agitated” (IEW: 143-4; DPC: 63). The full-grade stem gives Latin *ferveo*, *fervo* “boil” as well as Welsh *berw* “boil, seethe, bubble” and Irish *berbaid* “boils, cooks”. This etymology is the one favored by Guyonvarc’h (1959b: 170) and Evans (1967: 155). It seems the more likely etymology. Here then, Bormo would be a variant of the more basic Borvo. Thus the *Aquae Bormonis* is the “Boiling or Seething Water”, and Bormo is the “Boiler or Agitator”.

Cermillinos: “?(God) of Hot Springs?” (Apollo, semantic: *grano-*).

From the Agri Decumates comes an inscription to CERMILLI[NOS] in Greek lettering, apparently in association with Apollo (DAG: §243). The first element in this name, if it is indeed Celtic, may relate to *cervisa* “beer” (Plinius XXII: 164) and *corma*, *courmi* “beer, drink of fermented grain and honey” (Atheneus IV: 36, 152; Dottin 1920: 245-8). The first element in this compound name would then relate to Irish *coirm*, *cuirm* and Welsh *cwrwf*, which are

derived from the o-grade of IE **ker-* “burn, mull, heat” (IEW: 571; DPC: 217), suffixed with *-em-*. The zero-grade of the stem **ker-em-* gives Latin *crēmo-* “burnt” and *cremor* “juice, brew” (IEW: 571-2). Here the primitive sense of the root “burnt, heated” is probably apparent in Cermillinos, although the deity is also “the God of Fermentation”.

The second element, probably *lindo-*, would signify “water, pool” (Dottin 1920: 266). Apparently cognate are Irish *lind* “drink, source, potion” and Welsh *llyn* “drink, water”. These two words are derived either from **lendh* “liquid, spring, source” (IEW: 675; DPC: 239) or from **li-n-dh-*, the extended zero-grade of **lei-* “to flow, gush” (IEW: 664). The deity name would indicate “Hot Spring” or “Agitated Water”. It is semantically equivalent to Bormo.

Glanis: “the Pure” (Glanum).

On a block from the sacred pathway of the temple at Glanum, Saint-Rémy, is a dedication to GLANI ET GLANICABVS (Roland 1958: 88 pl. 30: 1), to “Glanis and the Glanicas” (see Belenos above for a discussion of this temple). This temple itself was dedicated to a god with the Latin name *Valetudo* “Who Brings Good Health” (Roland 1958: 103, 106, pl. 36: 3) (see below). The god and goddess pair from this temple are also called Belenos “the Bright One” (see above) and Rocloisia. Other inscriptions refer to this pair as Apollo and the Iūnones.

The inscription to Glanis and the Glanicas, as well as the name Glanum, are suggestive of Nechtain and Síd Nechtain, recalling that Nechtain can alternatively be derived from roots meaning “clear, pure, bright” as well as “cloud, wet, water” and “nephew”. Here *glan-* is undoubtedly related to Irish *glan* (o, a) “clean, pure, bright”, an n-extension of IE **ghlā-*, “bright”, of the apophonic series **glē-*, **ghlō-*, **ghlā-* (IEW: 429; DPC: 160).

Grannos: “(God) of Hot Springs” (Apollo, CIL XII: 2600, XIII: 5315).

Inscriptions to APOLLINI GRANNO ET {SANCTAE} SIRONAE come from Rome (CIL VI: 36), Branges (CIL XIII: 2600), and Bavière (CIL III: 3588), among others. Under this byname, the god is often paired with S(t)irona. From Inveresk, Midlothian, comes an inscription to APOLLINI GRANNO (RIB: 2132). From Horburg-am-Rhein comes an inscription to APOLLINI GRANNO MOGOVNO (CIL XIII: 5315), linking the byname Mogounos with Grannos. Similarly, an inscription from Branges, Seine-et-Loire, to the DEO APOLLINI GRANNO AMARCOLITAN(O) (CIL XII: 2600) links the byname Amocolitanos with Grannos. The hot springs at Aachen were formerly known as the *Aquae Granni* “the Waters of Grannos” (de Vries 1961: 74; DAG: §221). The *Vita S. Deodat* (4, 23 ASS 19. iun. III, p. 881F) refers to these springs as the *Aquasgrani* and *Aquisgrani*. Apparently, the god healed the sick under this byname Grannos. Aebischer (1934: 34-5) gives a list of other place names derived from Grannos.

The root apparent in Grannos is perhaps an n-extension of the *ō*-grade of IE **ghrē-* “shine” (IEW: 441-2) (**ghreh₃-*), most probably relatable to the Irish adjective *grían* “bright, brilliant” rather than to *grían* (a, f) “sun” (<**ghrē-ina*). The epithet would then be synonymous with Vindonnos, but the solar connection would be difficult to deny. De Vries (1961: 75) has suggested, however, that this epithet may rather go back to **g^hhrno-* an n-extension of the zero-grade of IE **g^hher-* “hot, warm” (IEW: 493), the o-stem of which Whatmough has suggested might lie behind Bormo. Since the Irish correlative of this root is found in *fo-geir* “warms”, it would render Whatmough’s suggestion untenable, but give credibility to de Vries’s suggestion. Thus Grannos should probably be interpreted as “(God) of Hot Springs”.

Matuicis: “the Good Healer” (Apollo).

Evans (1967: 231) lists an inscription in the genitive to APOLLINIS MATVICIS. As on the Coligny calendar, *matu-* is undoubtedly the same root as in *mati-* “good” (Evans 1967: 231),

contra Schmidt (1957: 239). Pokorny (IEW: 693) lists both **mā-ti-* and *mā-tu-* as suffixed forms of **mā-* “good, correct” (**meh₂-t-*; DPC: 259). The second stem in this compound name probably relates to *īco-* (**īco-*) from IE **iēk-* “to heal” (IEW: 504), giving Irish *icc* “healing, curing” and Welsh *iach* “health”. Thus Matuicis is undoubtedly “the Good Healer”. One must note, however, *-ico-* is also a common attributive suffix (Buck 1933: 343-4). In this case, however, we should expect **Maticis*. Another possibility is that the second element is *vico-* from IE **uejk-* “fight” (IEW: 1128-9; DPC: 421). However, this interpretation of the byname would fit Mars rather than Apollo.

Mogounos, Mogonts: “the Youthful” (Apollo, CIL XIII: 5315).

The inscription from Horburg am Rhein to APOLLINI GRANNO MOGOVNO (CIL XIII: 5315) connects the byname *Mogounos* to *Grannos* Apollo. As Evans (1967: 222) has suggested, the epithet *Mogounos* probably contains a first element *mogu-*, *mogo-*, a by-form of *magu-*. *Magu-* is derived from **maghu-* (v. **magho-*) “boy, youth” (IEW: 696; DPC: 274), giving Irish *mag*, *mog* “slave, servant” and Cornish *maw* “youth, servant”. In *Magounos* the agentive/attributive suffix *-uno-* (Buck: 1933: 324) has been added to the stem (as in [C]ern[u]nnos). The epithet simply implies that the god was youthful and need not equate him with *Maponos*. Both Irish *Fraech* and *Mac ind Óc* are youthful gods. The name is apparently cognate with *Mugain*, one of *Medb*’s sisters, who marries *Conchobar* (see *Cath Boinde*).

From Le Sablon, near Metz, comes an inscription to the DEAE MOGONTIAE (AcS II: 614). Similarly a series of inscriptions from Old Penrith to the DEO MO(GON)TI (RIB: 921), from Netherby to the DEO MOGONT(I) (RIB: 971), and from Risingham to the [D]EO MOGONTI (RIB: 1225) demonstrate that here is an original god and goddess pair. *Mogonts* contains the same ending in his name as *Nodonts*. An inscription referencing the VICVS MOGONTIACVS as the VICVS APOLLINESIS (CIR: 1138) links both of the names *Mogontia* and *Mogonts* to *Apollo Mogounos*.

Nerios: “?the Submerged?” or the “?Valient?”.

From *Néris-les-Bains*, Allier, come inscriptions to *NERIO DEO* (CIL XIII: 1371-9). One of these inscriptions (CIL XIII: 1377) refers to the FONTES NERII ET THERMAE P[VBLICAE] as well, undoubtedly the *Aquae Neri* (DAG: §148). *Néris-les-Bains* was formerly known as *Neriomagos* “the Plain of *Nerios*” (AcS II: 721) and is situated in what was formerly the territory of the *Biturici Cubi*. Pokorny sees the derivation of *Nerios* from IE **nerio-* “valient, strong, manly” (IEW: 765). The *o-*stem form **nero-* gives Welsh *ner* “hero, warrior” and Irish *ner* (o,m) “boar”, while the *to-*-suffixed form **h₂ner-to-* (DPC: 289) gives Irish *nert* and Welsh *nerth* “strength, valor”. However, one should not rule out a possible relationship to IE **ner-* “under” and **ner-* “dive, submerge; hidden, cave” (IEW: 765-6), which Pokorny sees as the root behind the Scottish river *Nairn* (*Abhainn Narunn*). *Nerios* is cognate with Irish *Nera*, apparently a byname of *Fraech* (note *Thurneysen*, 1946: 47-8, indicates the *-e-* does not always rise to *-i-* before *-i-* or *-u-* in the following syllable).

#Nodonts, Noudonts#: “He who Gives Renewal” or “the Youth, the Child” (probably a God of Irish immigrants to Wales).

What was formerly a Celtic fort on a promontory overlooking the northern bank of the *Severn* at *Lydney Park*, Gloucestershire (near the *Wye* and close by the boundary with *Monmouth*), was utilized during most of the Roman phase as an iron mine and occupation associated with this iron-working complex. However, in the period post 364-7 AD (*Wheeler and Wheeler* 1932: 23, 32, dated with certainty by coin finds) a large temple and bath complex

within a precinct wall was constructed and dedicated to the D(EO) M(ARTI) NODONTI (RIB: 305). Indeed, a lead plate containing a curse specifically refers to the *TEMPLVM [NO]DENTIS* (see below; RIB: 306). This temple complex flourished in the last quarter of the fourth century, which would be a very late date for a pagan British temple. However, as we shall see, the temple was undoubtedly Irish, not British. Wheeler has noted the following concerning this temple.

The marked concentration of feminine offerings ... indicate that the presiding god ... dispensed relief in connection with childbirth and its attendant ills. With the dogs and the bone figurine [of a pregnant woman] ..., the pins [offered at childbirth] and bracelets go far to support the likelihood that Nodonts (doubtless among other attributes) possessed some at least of the attributes of a healing god. (Wheeler and Wheeler 1932: 42).

Laing (1975: 9) has noted that the Roman fort at Cardiff, dating to around 300 AD, was built in an attempt to contain the Irish raiding and settlement. However, Irish settlements followed anyway, shortly in the wake of this fort (Bowen 1969: 45-8). Perhaps the expulsion of the Desi of early Irish annals, genealogies, and legends may provide an historic vista on these settlements. The settlements concentrate in the later half of the fourth and early fifth centuries. Indeed, Irish settlements in Cornwall resulted from colonization “from the Irish settlements of south Wales” (Laing 1975: 9). *Ogam* inscribed stones and Irish placenames extend into Monmouth (Bowen 1969: 54-65, figs. 11-14; Laing 1975: 94, fig. 29).

The late date of the temple, apparently associated with the Irish settlements, explains the unusual identification of Nodonts with Mars rather than Apollo, as was standard with the earlier Gaulish and British interpretations of healing gods. This late date also explains that the temple assemblage reflects the utilization of classic themes to denote the esoteric nature of the Irish god in question. The temple complex did not simply adopt the basic assemblage of the classical Apollo and associated rite. Thus, for example, the *cella* of the temple included a frieze of sea monsters and fish (Wheeler and Wheeler 1932: 42), themes completely in tune with the cult of *Nectonos-Vroicos (Nechtain-Fraech) but not associated with Apollo, with whom *Nectonos-Vroicos was identified in Gaul and Britain. Also from the complex comes the figure of a sea deity holding a shell in one hand and an anchor in the other (1932: 42).

Finally, a bronze object which may have formed part of a head dress, but may on the other hand, be a portion of a bronze vessel, bears a design showing a sort of sun-god holding a whip or flail in his right hand and driving towards the spectator in a four-horse chariot. On each side of him is a *putto* holding apparently a torch, and behind each *putto* are tritons, again holding anchors. (Wheeler and Wheeler 1932: 42).

Other items worthy of mention are a small hollow bronze arm (1932: 41; pl. 26, no. 21) as well as nine representations of dogs in or on bronze. It is interesting to note that at Epidaurus dogs sacred to Asklēpios were kept in the temple to aid in healing by licking. At Lydney one such dog is possibly represented by the small figurine of a greyhound in recumbent position. Another dog, apparently a hound, is depicted on a bronze plate in the characteristic attitude of barking. Below the hound is the inscription *PECTILLVS VOTVM QVOD PROMISSIT DEO NVDENTE M(ARTI) DEDIT* (RIB: 307). There is also a curse on a lead plate.

DEVO NODENTI SILVIANVS ANILVM PERDEDIT
 DEMEDIAM PARTEM DONAVIT NODENTI
 INTER QVIBVS NOMEN SENICIANI NOLLIS PETMITTAS
 SANITATEM DONEC PERFERA(T) VSQVE TEMPLVM [NO]DENTIS.

To the god Nodents: Silvianus has lost his ring and given half (its value) to Nodents. Among those who are called Senicianus do not allow (*petmittas* = *permittas*) health until he brings it to the temple of Nodents. (RIB: 306).

Also indicative of a healing cult is an oculist's stamp of slate (1932: 102, fig. 28.6) associated with the use of Iulius Iucundus's collyrium in either drops, as an ointment mixed with honey, or applied as a tincture with a brush.

As with the temple of Asklēpios at Epidaurus, the Lydney complex contained "a private house of incubation to which the patients, after due preparation, repaired for a holy sleep in which the god of healing was expected to bring them helpful counsel" (Wheeler and Wheeler 1932: 51). The baths, 130 feet in length (1932: 52), were associated with the healing aspects of the cult, as at Epidaurus as well. As the Wheelers have noted, "the size and obvious importance of the baths suggest that they played more than an ancillary part in the functions of the Nodents settlement. ... the prominence of bathing in classical healing-cults may be thought ... to lend a special significance to the bath building at Lydney" (1932: 57). There is evidence that as with Asklēpios and Apóllōn, the cult of Nodents was oracular as well as healing.

The names of dedicators from the temple, Flavius Blandius, Pectillus, and Silvianus, are all Latin, which seems strange if the site is to be interpreted as Irish in inspiration. However, Silvianus's lost ring (indicated in the inscription above) apparently bore the inscription Senicianus (o-stem), which could give later Irish Senchan. No less than four individuals with this name Senchan are listed in the *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae* (O'Brien 1962: 733). Senicianus may be analyzed as *senicio-ano-*, where the stem *senicio-* recalls Latin *senectus* (dat. *senecio*), so that one can view this name as Celtic only with a considerable degree of scepticism. A gold ring with just this inscription was found at Silchester, Hants. (RIB: 306). It would be too much to presume that this is the lost ring mentioned in the inscription. The name was undoubtedly widespread in Gaul as well (AcS: 1473).

If Senicianus (**Senicianos*) was a Celtic name occurring in Ireland, it would explain the following inscription.

D(EO) N(ODENTI) T(ITVS) FLAVIVS SENILIS PR(AEPOSITVS)
REL(IQVATIONI) EX STIPIBVS POSOVIT O[PVS CVR]ANTE VICTORINO
INTER[PRET]E.

To the god Nodents, Titus Flavius Senilis, officer in charge of the supply-depot of the fleet, laid this pavement out of money offerings; the work being in charge of Victorinus, interpreter on the Governor's staff. (Wheeler and Wheeler 1932: 103).

One could imagine that an interpreter certainly would be needed if the majority of the sick coming to the temple were Irish. Undoubtedly, successful cures would spread the attraction of the temple to Britains and Romans as well.

The only other inscription to Nodents comes from the base of a statuette of Mars, now lost, which was found in the Cockersand Moss six miles southwest of Lancaster. This statuette was found in an area equally under the influence of these late fourth-century Irish settlements (Laing 1975: 9). The inscription reads to the DEO MARTI NODONTI AVRELIVS [...]CINVS SIG (RIB: 616). Whatmough (DAG: §236, no. 6740) lists another inscription from Germania Superior as *Deo Mar[ti] Noadat(?)*. The questionable nature of this inscription leaves in doubt that Nodents is implied here. If so it could have arisen from an auxiliary in Roman service.

The declension of the name clearly shows a consonantal stem Nodonts, Nodents, or Nudents. **Noudonts* would give Old Irish Nuadu, Nuado, Nuada (gen. Nuadat) (Thurneysen

1946: 40). In association with the healing cult the significance of this name may be similar to that of Irish *núadad* “act of renewing”, *núaide* “new, fresh, bright, young”. *Tochmarc Emire* contains the interesting phrase in connection with Cú Chulainn’s esoteric poetry *am nuadhái tedmai tataigh conai*, “I am a *nuada* of the disease that visits dogs”, perhaps a reference to his own role as the “Watch dog of the Plain”. Here then would seem to be a reference to “rejuvenation, renewal” as would arise from healing. Such reasoning would suggest a compound name with the first element IE **neyo-*, *neyo-* as in Irish *núa* “new” (IEW: 769; DPC: 293). The second stem here could be analyzed as **do-n-t-*, a nominal construction of IE *dō-* “give” (**deh₃₋*) (IEW: 223; DPC: 86). The name would then be analyzed as a derivative of IE **neu-do-n-t-* “the Giver of Renewal, he who Gives Renewal”. Probably a development from the o-grade of the same root **neu-* “new” is Irish *noídiu* (gen. *noíden*) “child, youth, infant”. Nodents may mean simply “the Youth”. Another possible derivation is from the stem **neudh-* “passion, desire” (IEW: 768), again combined with the form **do-n-t-*. The name would then mean “the Giver of Passion”.

These suggestions are eminently more likely in the context of the other bynames of the deity than Vendryes’s (1922a: 384) association of the name with Gothic *nuta* “catcher, fisher” (< **neu-d-* “to catch in pursuit; profit, produce”; IEW: 768). Vendryes derived his etymology on the basis of the Tritons portrayed at Lydney and an association with the *Roi Pecheur* of *Perceval*, a suggestion which has been defended recently by Wagner (1986). The major problem with Vendryes suggestion has always been that there are no Celtic attestations of this root. More likely, the association of Irish Nuada with rivers and their sources explains the portrayal of the sea god at Lydney. This god undoubtedly controlled the regions where the rivers ended as well as their sources.

Siannos: “?God of Health?” or “?the Shrub?” (Apollo).

The inscription to APOLLINI SIANNO (CIL XIII: 1669) from Lyon probably refers to the same deity as the inscription from Les Bains-du-Mont-Doré (Puy-de-Dôme). Here the god is invoked simply as SIANN(O) (CIL XIII: 1563). The etymology of the name is uncertain, but it may relate to IE **sē-*, *sā-* “satisfy” (IEW: 876) (**seh₁₋*, **seh₂₋*; DPC: 324), giving Irish *sáith* (<**sāti-*) “satisfaction”. Here then *Siannos* would derive from **sē-ono-*. The n-extension of the ā-form **sāno-s* “health, sound” (IEW: 880) gives Latin *sānus*. It is possible that *sianno-* had a similar significance. However, one would expect **sīnos* as the Gaulish development of **sē-ono-*, not *siannos*. A more likely possibility, considering Vroicos “Heather”, is a derivation from IE **stēpo-* “bush” (IEW: 1011). Irish *sab* (f) “shaft” derives from the *-bh-* form **stəbhā* (IEW: 1012) (**stabo-* <**sth₂bho-*; DPC: 353).

Toutiorix: “the King of Healers” (Apollo, p/s/c varia: *tut-*).

From Wiesbaden comes an inscription to APOLLINI TOVTIORIGI (CIL XIII: 7564). The second stem in this byname is the familiar *rīx* “king” from IE **rēg-s* (IEW: 854-5; DPC: 311), as in Irish *rí* (gen. *rig*). The first stem *toutio-* might at first sight appear to come from the Celtic stem *toutā* (Dottin: 1920: 293), from IE **teuteh₂* “people, tribe, state” (DPC: 386), giving Irish *túath* and Welsh *tud*. However, the io-stem here suggests the possibility of another significance. The stem giving Irish *túaithe* (ia, f) “witchcraft, sorcery” is more likely. This stem, arising from IE **teu-tio-* (IEW: 1079), also gives Welsh *tud* “magician”. This same root is to be found in Virototus below.

#*Valetudo*#: (Latin) “Who Brings Good Health”.

From the temple complex at Glanum (Gallia Narbonensis) (see Belenos above) come inscriptions to VALETVDINI (Rolland 1958: 103, 106, pl. 36: 3). Other inscriptions refer to this god as Glanis. Associated with him is a goddess group referred to as the Glanicas. Also utilized as bynames for the god and goddess group from this temple are Belenos “the Bright One” (see above) and the Rocloisias. Other inscriptions refer to this pair as Apollo and the Iūnones. This byname *Valetudo* is apparently associated with a healing aspect of the god. It is undoubtedly Latin signifying “good health”, as in Cicero’s *valetudinem amiseram* (Latin *valētūdo*: “state of health”).

Vindonnos: “the Fair One” (Apollo, p/s/c varia: *vindo-*).

From the base of a statue found at the source temple near Essarois (Côte d’Or) comes an inscription to the DEO APOLLINI VINDON[NO] (CIL XIII: 5644). Another inscription is simply to VIN(DONNO) (CIL XIII: 5646). From the temple also comes a frontis piece, 56 cm. high, in the form of a building portal showing Apollo in classical guise “*ailé et radié*” with the inscription to the [DEO APOLLINI VIND]ONNO ET FONTIBVS (Esp.: 3415) (“to Vindonnos Apollo and to the Goddesses of the Source”).

From the temple site and source spring come groups of ex-votos including woman’s torsos with pronounced sexual characteristics (Esp.: 3428). Other ex-votos show only breasts and bellies or simply female sexual organs (Esp.: 3433). One ex-voto of a leg joint is inscribed VIND(ONNO) (Esp.: 3436). Clearly Vindonnos Apollo was a god of healing, and he seems to have had a particular concern for fertility and gynecological problems among women.

Associated with a source and healing cult in the Côte d’Or, the center of the distribution of inscriptions to Apollo Bormo and Damona, there can be little doubt that Apollo Vindonnos and the Fontis goddess or goddesses represent the same god and goddess pair as Bormo and Damona. Vindonnos may be analyzed as *vindo-* combined with the attributive suffix *-onno-*, *-ono-* (Buck 1923: 323). Gaulish *vindo-* “white” (Dottin 1920: 299), giving Irish *find* and Welsh *gwynn*, derives from IE **ǵi-n-d-* (IEW: 1125; DPC: 423). Vindonnos is semantically equivalent to Albios, a byname of Apollo Bormo from Rivères.

Vindoridios: “?the Fair Coursing God?” (p/s/c varia: *vindo-*).

From Trier comes an inscription in a Latinized io-stem to *Vindioridius* (DAG: §211), and from Germania Superior there is an inscription to VINDORIDI(O) (DAG: §236). The first element in this compound name is *vindo-*, described fully under Vindonnos above. The second element *ridio-* possibly derives by haplology from *riti-dio-*, with *dio-* < *divo-*, *devo-* “god” (Dottin: 1920: 251), discussed previously. The element *riti-* in this compound name is probably a variant of *reti-*, which, along with *ressi-*, *redso-*, and *reto-*, Schmidt (1957: 258) relates to IE **ret(h)-* “run, roll” (IEW: 866) (**Hreth₂-*; DPC: 310). The Irish correlative of this root is *rethid* “runs”, which has *rith* “course, run” as a verbal noun, cognate with Welsh *rhed* “course”. The name could then be analyzed as **vindo-riti-divo-*. Again the name implicates horses, “the Fair Coursing God”, with a hint of solar conception behind the nature of this god.

**Vindo(v)roicos*: “the Fair Heather” (p/s/c varia: *vindo-*, *vroico-*).

From Ebersdorf in the Upper Panonian peninsula (Pannonia Superior) comes the tombstone of [...]IESSILLO F. VINDOROICI, with *Vindo(v)roicus* referenced in the genitive singular of an o-stem (CIL III: 4604). Although here is a personal name, this Celt was undoubtedly named after a deity **Vindo(v)roicos*, with the loss of the *-v-* as in *Bassoledulitanos*, above for **Basso(v)ledulitanos*. Both *Vroicos* “Heather” and Vindonnos “the Fair One” are bynames for

Gaulish Apollo. Considering the wide-spread adoption of deity names by individuals, as in Moritasgus (o-stem) and Camulorix, such a supposition provides the most likely explanation for this personal name. However, Schmidt (1957: 261) has suggested an alternative derivation of this name from **vindo-ro-vici-* “the Fair Great Warrior”, implicating a derivation from Gaulish Mars. However, elsewhere *vindo-* is only used for bynames of Apollo, suggesting that **Vindovroicos* is inherently more likely.

Virotutis: “the Healer of Men” (Apollo, p/s/c varia: *tut-*).

From Jublains (Maine-et-Loire) and Les Fins-d’Annecy (Haute-Savoie) come inscriptions to APOLL(INI) VIROTVTI (CIL XII: 2525, XIII: 3185). The second stem *tuti-* is probably a development of **toutio-* “healer”, also found in Toutiorix, above. The first stem *viro-* “man” (Dotin 1920: 299) is derived from **ūiro-* “man” (IEW: 1177; DPC: 423), giving Irish *fer* (o, m) and Welsh *gwr*. The significance of Virotutis would then be “the Healer of Men”.

Vroicos: “the Heather” (*vroico-*).

From Rognes, Bouches-du-Rhône comes an inscription to VROICIS ET ALD[A]ME[...]SIBVS (AcS III: 455). Although the last name was reconstructed by Allmer as ALD[E]ME[HEN]SIBVS after the German Matres Mahlineae, Nersiheneae, and Vacalhinehae, his reconstruction seems dubious (Aebischer 1931: 312-13). The dedicators of this inscription *Verax Antenorius f(i)lius* et *Potissuma Ollunae f(i)lia* show nothing Germanic in their names. Potissuma is Latin from *potissimo-* “best of all” (perhaps influenced by *potis summa* “the best attainable”). Also Latin are Antenorius from Antenor, the name of the legendary Trojan founder of Patavium (Padua), and Verax from *verax* “truthful”. However, significantly Potissuma’s mother, Olluna, is a Gaul. The name Olluna is composed of the Celtic root *ollo-* “great, ample, all” and is listed as a Celtic personal name by both Whatmough (DAG: §83) and Evans (1967: 238). Thus it is ludicrous to interpret this inscription from the Rhône basin as Germanic rather than Celtic. Antenorius has simply followed his Gaulish wife in giving a dedication to Celtic gods.

The Celtic goddess indicated here in the Latinized dative plural of an s-stem (perhaps for the triple Matres) is possibly *Ald(a)me[...]s* “the White Cow of ?” (see above), drawing parallels to Irish Boand “White Cow”, the eponymous goddess of the Boyne river. The other deity to whom the dedication was made, *loco [privato aedem fecerut]*, is referenced in the Latinized dative plural as VROICIS, an ā-stem or an o-stem. Aebischer (1931: 313) chose to interpret this name as ā-stem, thereby indicating another goddess group, **Vroica* in the singular.

However, both Jubainville (1906b: 320) and Whatmough (DAG: §82, p. 196) have noted that the reference to divine names in the plural is commonplace in Gaul, as in Martes (MARTIBVS, CIL XII: 4218), Mercurii, Minervae, and, especially noteworthy, Lugoves, where the plural form is much more prevalent than the singular. Similar inscriptions commonly refer to a god and goddess group. Thus it seems eminently more likely to see a god Vroicos implicated here. The use of the plural here would then simply be a sign of respect, as in the use of Lugoves for Lugus.

As Aebischer (1931: 322) indicated, the Celtic root *vroico-* is undoubtedly related to Irish *fraech*, *froech* “heather, rage, fierceness” and Welsh *grug* “heather”. *Vroico-* may derive from IE **yreib-*, **urojko-* “heather” (IEW: 1155; DPC: 431), in turn, from the i-extended form of **urgh-*, the zero-grade of *yer-gh-* “turn, twist” (IEW: 1154), but Matasović thinks of non-IE origin (DPC: 431). However, Fraech (<Vroicos) is also the name of Boand’s nephew, who plays a significant role in both *Táin bó Cuailnge* and *Táin bó Fráich*. Thus the inscription to

Ald[a]me[...]s “White Cow of ...” and Vroicos forms a complete parallel to Boand (Boind) “White Cow” and Fraech.

In light of the many ex-votos to Gaulish Apollo indicating that the god was evoked for sexual problems in woman, such as above under Vindonnos, it may be significant that Fraech has three magic harpers or horn blowers, whose playing makes child-bearing easier for women and calving easier for cattle. Significant as well, Boand journeys to Nechtain’s well to be made pure again after bearing Mac ind Óc (*mac ind* < **maccan* < **makūkuono-*).

The deity-name Vroicos also gave place names, such as Vrocomagos, now Brumath near Strassburg (Ptolemaeus: 2, 9, 9; AcS III: 434). There are also many river names in France and Switzerland, as Aebischer (1931: 322) has shown, which derive from *vroico-*, such as the Broye in Switzerland (also the name of two smaller streams; Aebischer suggests the following derivation: *vroico-* > **brouco-* > **brauco-* > *broye*). In these names, Whatmough (1970: 69) suggests that **vrucos* (**brukos*), and **vraucos* (**braucos*) are dialectical variations for *vroikos*. In Ireland there is also Dublind Fráich “the Dark Pool of Fraech” in the Bréi in Connaught. As Aebischer has noted, these river names suggest that the god was honored throughout Gaul.

Si tous ces noms remontaient vraiment à un **Vroico-* ou à une **Vroica*, on pourrait tirer la conclusion que le cult de cette divinité n’était point particulier à la région de Rognes ou à celle du Léman, mais qu’on le trouvait, cá et lá tout au moins, en Gaule (Aebischer 1931: 324).

Bynames of Apollo Probably Equal to **Neōtulos* (**Nectinos*)

Basso(v)ledulitanos: “of Wide-Ranging Festivity” (Apollo, *vledu-*).

From Aquitania comes an inscription to *Bassoledulitanus Apollo* (DAG: §150) with the byname a Latinized o-stem. This name can probably be analyzed as **basso-vledu-litano-* and provides a parallel to Cobledulitavos (**com-vledu-litavo-*), below. Adjetival *litano-*, the last element in *Basso(v)ledulitanos*, is similar in meaning to nominal *litavo-*, *litavī* (**pl̥th₂uīh₂* “the broad one”; DPC: 135), the last element in Cobledulitavos; however, it shows a different stem suffix. *Litano-* means “broad, wide” (Dottin 1920: 260; Urk. Spr.: 246; AcS II: 242 ff.; VKG I: 42 f.; Schmidt 1957: 232; Evans 1967: 216), and it derives from IE **pl̥th₂-no-* (DPC: 135) the suffixed zero-grade of **plet-* “broad, wide” (IEW: 833), giving Irish *lethan* “broad, wide, widespread” and Welsh *llydan*. This same root occurs in Amarcolitanos above.

Here *-ledu-* represents an original *vledu-* with the loss of the initial *v-* preceding the liquid *-l-* and following *-o-*, the final vowel of *basso-*. The Gaulish stem *vledu-* may be seen as indicating “feast” (Irish *fled* and Welsh *gwledd* “feast” < **ul̥dā*; IEW: 1137; DPC: 426), as in Cobledulitavos, below. The first element in this compound name *basso-* is possibly to be interpreted as *bad-so-*, with Gaulish *-ss-* representing *-ds-* as discussed under Moritasgos, below. IE **bhad-* signifies “good, healthy, happy” (IEW: 106), but Pokorny lists no Insular Celtic correlatives. However, Irish preserves a word with the right phonetic and semantic characteristics to have developed from this Celtic form *basso-*. Irish *bais* (a, f) means “play, sport, levity, lust, folly”. *Bassovledu-* could then have meant something akin to “festivity”.

Cobledulitavos: “With Great Feasts” (Apollo, semantic: *vledu-*).

From the temple to the Dea Tutela at the *thermae publicae* in Perigueux, Dordogne, comes an inscription to the [DEA TVTELAE] ET APOLLINI COBLEDVLITAVO (CIL XIII: 939). The second element in this compound name *litavo-* probably derives from the o-thematic stem form of **pl̥tə-uī-* “the great, the wide”, a suffixed zero-grade form of **plet-* “wide, flat” (IEW:

833). Thus *litavo-* differs from *litano-* only in the suffix. This IE stem gives Gallo-Latin Letavia (<*Litavia), Welsh *llydaw*, and Irish *letha*, as well as Vedic *prthivī* “the earth”. As Dottin (1920: 267) notes, Letavia was the name for Gaul among Insular Celts.

The first element in this name *cobledu-* probably derives from *com-vledu-*, with assimilation and simplification (Evans 1967: 409). Here then *co-*, *com-* indicates “with” (Dottin 1920: 246-7; DPC: 213) from IE *com-* “with” (IEW: 612). The form *vled-* is apparently a d-extension of **ulē-* (**uel-*, *ulēi-*) “wish, desire, choose” (IEW: 1137), giving Irish *fled* and Welsh *gwledd* “feast” (<**ulđā* < **uldeh₂*; DPC: 426). This stem also occurs in the Gaulish personal name Vlidorix. The reason, however, for the use of the u-stem *vledu-* in Cobledulitavos rather than the o-stem *vledo-* is obscure to me.

Cunomaglos: “Hound Prince” or “with Noble Hounds” (Apollo).

At the Nettleton-3 temple in Britain, Apollo is referenced by the epithet *Cunomaglus*, a Latinized o-stem (Lewis 1966: 48). Here the first element is *cuno-* “dog, hound” (Dottin 1920: 249), derived from IE **kun-*, the zero-grade of **kuon-* “dog, hound” (IEW: 632-3; DPC: 181). This root gives Irish *cú* (gen.: *con*) and Welsh *cí* (pl.: *cwn*). The second element in this compound name is *maglo-* “prince” (Dottin 1920: 269), derived from **maglo-*, a development from an *-lo-* suffix of IE **m_eg(h)-* “great” (IEW: 708-9) (**megh₂-*; DPC: 252). This stem *maglo-* also gives Irish *mál* “prince, nobleman” and Old Breton *mael* “prince”. Thus the name indicates “Hound Prince” or “with Noble Hounds”.

In *Táin bó Fraích*, Fraech, the Irish development of Vroicos, is noted for his greyhounds (*secht mílchoin i slabradaib argait*; Meid 1967: 2, l. 29). These hounds are described in the poem *Carn Fraoich* from the *Book of Ui Maine* as well. “Fraech had a pack of white hounds with links of gold; they provided for the guests a sufficiency for a host, and [they gave] no trouble to them” (Carney 1952: 158-186). This byname of Apollo, *Cunomaglos*, indicates that this motif of Fraech’s hounds is possibly an ancient one.

Moritasgos: “?Sea Seeking?” (Apollo).

Inscriptions to the DEO APOLLIN[I] MORITASGO (Esp.: 7132-7145) and to the DEO MORITASGO (Orelli: 2028) come from the source temple at Mont Auxois, Alise-Sainte-Reine. Here were temples with interconnecting channels between various springs in the part of the complex associated with the deity. From the channels have come various ex-votos of legs and heads, some inscribed to Apollo Moritasgo, as above (Esp.: 7140, 7144).

Various attempts have been made to link *tasgo-*, the second element in this compound name, to Irish *tadc*, *tadg*, “poet” (Dottin 1920: 291; Schmidt 1957: 276). LeRoux (1959: 222 ff.) has also suggested a connection to Irish *tasc* (u,m) “renown, reputation”, the verbal noun of *do-aissig* (<*to-ad-sech*), but there are problems with this proposed etymology, which Evans (1967: 103) has noted. I also dismiss out of hand any connection to Late Latin *taxo-* “badger” (as has been suggested Mac an Bhaird 1980: 153-4) and Matasović (DPC: 372).

The first element in this compound name has been seen as **mori-* “sea” (Dottin 1920: 273; IEW: 748; DPC: 277), which gives Irish *muir* and Welsh *mor*. The first element has also been interpreted after the *Vita Rigomeri*, which gives *mori-* as “fanum” (a temple or consecrated place) (DAG: §178). Yet, as Evans (1967: 103) has noted, this last form has no known cognates. However, we must bear in mind, in seeking an etymology for this name, the context of Gaulish Apollo as a sacred spring or source god. A significance such as “Temple Poet” or “Renown by the Sea” (“*célèbre par la mer*”) cannot possibly be an accurate interpretation of the name.

Arguing against the possibility that here is a place-name byname, the name of a source, is the Latinized personal name *Moritasgus*, the name of a king of the Senones at the time of

Caesar's arrival in Gaul (*de bello Gallico*: 5, 54, 2). Here the personal name of the king is undoubtedly derived from an attributive byname of the deity who came to be identified with Apollo.

It is possible to relate *tasgo-* to the Irish verb *tascid* (<*to-ad-saig-) "bring near, approach" and its verbal noun *taiscind*, *tascud*, "approaching, coming". In Gaulish *-ds-* is represented by *đđ*, *ds*, *ss*, *s*, *đ*, *dd* (Evans 1967: 399). Here one could project **to-ad-sāg-o-* as the combination of elements behind Gaulish *tasgo-*, produced through elision, syncope, and simplification following the formation of *-ss-* or *-s-* from *-ds-* (**to-ad-sāg-o* > **tadsāgo-* > **tassāgo-* > *tasgo-*). Thus *tasgo-* could be developed from the IE root **sāg-* (**seh₂g-*) "tend toward, seek" (IEW: 876; DPC: 318), also giving Irish *saigid* "go toward, seek something". As Schmidt (1957: 91) has noted, the personal name Arviragus derives from **are-vir-agus* (< **are-viro-agus*) in a similar fashion. Schmidt (1957: 92) also lists Viridomarus for Viridomarus, Divcios for Divicios, Camlorix for Camulorix, and Orgno- for Orgeno-, noting that it is hard to detect any rule which Gaulish syncope follows. Recalling the Irish story of Nechtain's Well, "Seeking the Sea" or "Approaching the Sea" would be a good name for this source god Moritasgos. This suggested etymology for Moritasgos, however, is rather tenuous, and I cannot propose it with much conviction.

Bynames of the Irish Controller of Sources.

Conlae (<*Conolios): "With Hounds".

Conlaech: "Hound Warrior".

The name *Conlae*, an io-stem, may be analyzed as a development of IE **kyono-lío-* with a variant of the the attributive (or diminutive) suffix *-lío-* (Buck 1933: 328) added to the o-thematic stem of IE **kyon-* "hound, dog" (IEW: 632-3; DPC: 181), thus "with Hounds". The second form *Conlaech*, a compound *con* + *laech*, combines *con-* "hound" with *laech* "warrior". Thus, *Conlaech*, the name given to Cú Chulainn's son in *Aided óenfhir Aife*, is essentially cognate with Cunomaglos "Hound Prince" from the Nettleton-3 temple, where Apollo is referenced by this epithet (see above).

Fraech (< *Vroicos*): "Heather".

Fraech (gen. sing. *Fraích*), the name of Boind's nephew, who plays a significant role in both the *Táin bó Cuailnge* and in *Táin bó Fraích*, undoubtedly relates to Irish *fraech*, *froech* (o, m) "heather, rage, fierceness" and Welsh *grug* "heather", derived from IE **ureik-*, **uroiko-* "heather" (IEW: 1155; DPC: 431), in turn, from the i-extended form of **urgh-*, the zero-grade of *uer-gh-* "turn, twist" (IEW: 1154). The etymology of this name is discussed more fully under *Vroicos*, above.

Nechtain (< **Nig^htonos*, **Neptionos*, or **Nebhtunos*): "the Pure"; "the Nephew"; "Water (God)".

Nechtain (gen. sing. *Nechtain*) is the husband of Boand, eponymous goddess of the river Boyne (see Boand II in Gwynn, 1913, III, 36-37). Here the name was probably originally **Nechtan*, with later blending of the nominative and genitive forms (as noted by Thurneysen (1946: 178). Named after *Nechtain* are Síd *Nechtain* and Topur *Nechtain*, the source of the Boyne. *Nechtain*'s name may be related to Irish *necht* "clean, pure, white, brilliant" an adjectival derivative of *nigid* "to wash" (**nig-īo-* < **neig^h-*; DPC: 290). Whatmough (DAG: §178) notes that an early glossary (CGL 5. 374. 13) contains an entry *netcos*: "*murus*", which Stokes (Urk. Spr.) emended to *nectos*: "*merus*", ie. "pure". Stokes then connected this earlier

Celtic form to Irish *necht* “pure”. According to Pokorny, Irish *necht* derives from **nig^h-to-*, the passive participle of IE **neig^h-* “washes” (IEW: 761). In this case Nechtain would derive from **Nig^htonos*.

Nechtain’s name often has been related to the root behind Irish *necht* (f) “granddaughter, niece” and Welsh *nith* “niece” (on *-pt* > *-kt* > *-ith* see Jackson 1953: 404). These Celtic words for “niece, granddaughter” derive from IE **neptī-* “niece, granddaughter” (**neptih₂*; DPC: 286), the feminine form of IE **nepōt-* “nephew, grandson” (IEW: 764; DPC: 286-7; NIL: 520). Indeed, **nepōt-* gives Irish *nia* (*niae*, gen. *niath*) “a sister’s son, a nephew”, Welsh *nai* “nephew”, and Sanskrit and Avestan *napāt* and *nápāt* “grandson, descendent”. It also gives Nechtain’s byname Niadol (< **Nepōtulos*). Most significant is the Vedic god Apām Napāt “Descendent of Waters”. De Vries (1961: 103) and Dumézil (1968-73: III, 36-43) also see a connection between Irish Nechtain and Latin Neptūnus; while Dumézil further sees both of these names connected to Apām Napāt as derivatives of the IE series **nepōt-* “nephew”, **neptī-* “niece”, and **neptjo-* “descendent” and also probably “nephew” (IEW: 764).

However, if Nechtain is to be related to these forms *nepōt-*, *neptī-*, *neptjo-*, it can hardly derive from **neptī-*, the feminine form, which is the only one of these forms occurring in Celtic which is phonetically possible. It cannot derive from **nepōt-*, which is the form semantically possible. Rescuing us from this dilemma is **neptjo-* (IEW: 764), which gives Avestan *naptya* “descendent, offspring”, and is also used in Greek *a-nepsiós* “brother’s or sister’s son” and Russian *netijb* “nephew”. Thus it is possible that **neptjo-* lies behind Irish Nechtain, derived from **neptjo-ono-* (-e- does not always rise to -i-; GOI: 47-8). Dumézil (1968-73: III, 42) suggests that behind Latin Neptūnus (earlier a god of lakes and rivers who functioned in historic Rome as a sea god) lies the form **Neptīnos*, altered to *Neptūnus* on analogy with *Portūnus* (god of sea ports and harbors). If Nechtain is related to the Vedic god Apām Napāt and the Avestan god Apām Napāt as Dumézil (1969-73: III, 21-38) and Ford (1974: 67-74) suggest, then Nechtain can only derive from **neptjo-* “brother or sister’s son, offspring”, which is no longer productive in the existing Insular Celtic languages.

Si le théonyme masculin *Necht-an* est préirlaindais, celtique, comme il semble, et dérive de ce nom de parenté, il est normal qu’il contienne lui aussi la forme courte **nept-* (> **neft-* > **nekt-*) disparue ensuite de la déclinaison et qui était de règle dans la dérivation: *Necht-an* peut prolonger **Nekt-a-no-* ou **Nekt-o-no-*. (Dumézil 1968-73: III, 36)

But as Dumézil failed to perceive, the significance of Celtic **Nectonios* “the Nephew” lies precisely in his relationship to Matrona “the Mother” and Maponos “the Son”. It is this threefold relationship of the Mother, the Son, and the Nephew, playing a prominent role in both Indian and Irish mythology, which makes this etymology so compelling, whatever the phonological or semantic difficulties.

As Meid has noted to me, Nechtain can also be derived from IE **nebh-tu-no-*, a suffixed form of **nebh-*, **enebh-* “cloud, wet, water” (IEW: 315-316; **nebh-tu-no-* > **nebtuno-* > **neptono-* > *nechtan* in Irish; see Thurneysen 1946: 139-40 on *bt* > *pt* > *cht*; 1946: 46 on *u* > *o* before *o*). **Nebh-* gives Sanskrit *nábhās* “cloud”, Greek *nephos* “cloud”, and Irish *nem* “heaven”. Here then Nechtan (but not Nechtain) would derive from **Nebhtunos*. The same etymology from IE **nebh-tū-no-* is possible for Latin Neptūnus (originally a god of springs and rivers), as Pokorny (IEW: 316), as well as Ernout and Meillet (DELL: 438), pointed out earlier. Under this etymology Neptune and Nechtain would still be cognate, although Apām Napāt would no longer be included. Dumézil (1968-73: III, 41) has countered these proposals for seeing **nebh-tu-no-* behind Nechtain and Neptūnus, excluding Apām Napāt, by noting that “un dérivé en *-tu* (**nebh-tu-*) ... n’est attesté dans aucune autre langue indo-européenne”. However, if **Neptionos* does not lie behind Nechtain, Apām Napāt still would be relatable to

Nechtain through the connection to Nechtain's byname Niadol, which derives from **nepōt-ulo-*. It would be the reinterpretation and perhaps original double interpretation of Nechtain (Celtic **Nectinos*) as **nectos* and later *necht* "clean, pure, white, brilliant", which kept the name alive in Irish, even if the original significance "water" or perhaps "nephew" were no longer apparent.

Nera (<*Nerios*): "the Valient, the Strong" or "the Submerged".

Echtra Nerai (Meyer 1889) describes a descent to the underworld to gain cattle. This Old Irish tale appears to have derived originally from a myth about Fraech. The chief protagonist of this story is Nera meic Nuado, meic Niaduil, or meic Nuatair, the steward (*rectaire*) at Cruachu to Ailill and Medb. The name Nera (gen. Nerai) is clearly an io-stem. Thurneysen (1946: 47-8) notes that with an *-i-* or *-u-* in the following syllable, *-e-* is frequently, but not universally, raised to *-i-*. Nera thus could be cognate with the deity name Nerios from Nérises-Bains (DAG: §150; CIL XIII: 1371-9). Pokorny sees a derivation of Nerios from IE **nerjo-* "valiant, strong, manly" (IEW: 765). The basic root-form **ner-* (**h₂nēr*; DPC: 289) gives Welsh *ner* "hero, warrior" and Irish *ner* "boar", while the to-suffixed form **ner-to-* (**h₂nēr-to-*; DPC: 289) gives Irish *nert* and Welsh *nerth* "strength, valour". One should not, however, rule out a possible relationship to IE **ner-* "under" and **ner-* "dive, submerge; hidden, cave" (IEW: 765-6), which Pokorny sees as the root behind the Scottish river Nairn (*Abhainn Narunn*).

Niadol (< **Neōtulos*): "the Nephew".

In *Echtra Nerai*, Nera meic Nuado meic Niaduil, steward (*rechtaire*) to Ailill and Medb, weds a woman of the *síd*, who is probably Mórrígan. Here the supposed father and grandfather of Nera are simply other bynames. Niadol may be analyzed as **nepōt-ulo-*. Here the same suffix to be found in Gaulish Smertullos has been added to IE **nepōt-* "nephew, descendent" (IEW: 764; DPC: 286-7), which also gives Sanskrit *napāt* "descendent".

Niothfraech (<**Niōto-vroicos* or **Neōto-vroicos*): "the Nephew Heather".

The Irish personal name Natfraech, Natfraích (o,m) occurs in the genitive as *Nathfruich* in LL 321a 12 and as *fios Niothfruich* in the *Thesaurus Paleohibernicus* (Stokes and Strachan 1903: ii, 269.34; from the *Book of Armagh*, 15b 1). RIAD suggests that the "first element may be a weakened form of *niath* (*niad*) g.s. of *nia* `nephew'". The first element is then essentially equivalent to Niadol, above, and derives from IE **nepōt-* "nephew" (IEW: 764; DPC: 286-7). The second element is Fraech "heather" as above. This personal name undoubtedly derives from an earlier deity name, demonstrating that Niadol and Fraech were simply bynames for the same deity. Niothfraech indicates "Fraech, the Nephew" rather than the "Nephew of Fraech". Irish *Nioth-*, *nat-*, *nad-* is not used like *mac* or *úa*. Other names utilizing this element are perhaps Nad-Segamain, Nad-Sétina, Nad-Saíglend, Nad-Genaid, Nad-Foglaith, Nad-Ferb, and Nad-Buidb (but also note *nia*, g.s. *niad* "warrior").

Nuada Argatlám (< **Noudonts Argantolamos*): "He who Renews of the Silver Hand".

The king of the *Tuatha dé Danann* in the *Cath Maige Tuired* is Nuada Argatlám. As analyzed above and indicated by Rhys (1892: 125) and Jubainville (1884: 155), Nuada (gen. sing. *Nuadat*) is a development from Nodonts, Noudonts, "he who Renews" or "the Youth", as at Lydney temple. Argatlám is a development of the Celtic root *arganto-* as found in Gaulish placename Arganto-magus "Silver Field" and in the personal name or title Arcantodan[.]

“Mint Master” (IEW: 64; DPC: 41). **Arganto-* is here compounded with *lama* (<**pl̥mā* “hand”, IEW: 805-6) (**plh₂meh₂*; DPC: 132) giving Irish *lám* (a,f) “hand, arm” and Welsh *llaw* “hand”. Nuada Argatlám “Nuada of the Silver Hand” is cognate with Welsh Lludd Llawerient “Lludd of the Silver Hand”, which Vendryes (1948: 255) has suggested developed from *Nudd Llawereint through assimilation and the influence of alliteration. The fact that Nodons is probably a byname of Irish origin, imported into Wales, suggests that *Nudd Llawereint may have been borrowed from fourth-century Irish as well.

Nuada Necht: “the Pure One who Renews”.

Nuada’s byname Necht may be related to Irish *necht* “clean, pure, white, brilliant”, an adjectival derivative of *nigid* “to wash”. Whatmough (DAG: §178) notes that the glossary CGL 5. 374. 13 contains an entry *netcos* “*murus*”, which Stokes emended to *nectos* “*merus*: pure” and connected to Irish *necht* “pure”. Irish *necht* derives from **neig^h-to-*, the passive participle of IE **neig^h-* “washes” (IEW: 761; DPC: 291).

Bynames of Welsh Lludd Llawerient

Lludd Llawerient (**Nudd Llawerient*): “Nudd of the Silverhand”.

Nuada Argatlám “Nuada of the Silver Hand” is cognate with Welsh Lludd Llawerient “Lludd of the Silver Hand”, which Vendryes (1948: 255) and Carey (1984:18) have suggested developed from *Nudd Llawereint through the influence of assimilation and alliteration. Rhys (1892: 179) and Carey (1984: 2) have also pointed out that the name and patronym *Gwynn fab Nudd* parallels *Finn ua Nuadat*, so that the original Nudd has been retained where the alliterative linkage was not a factor and the identity of the character forgotten. The fact that Nodons from Lydney Park is probably a byname of Irish origin imported into Wales, suggests that *Nudd Llawereint may have been borrowed from fourth-century Irish as well. If the name was borrowed and the first element perhaps not well understood, it would explain the transformation from *Nudd to Lludd through assimilation with Llawerient. Carey (1984: 18) has shown that Lideneg, the name given to Lydney Park in a charter (c. 853 AD), would have developed from primitive Welsh **Lūdon(t)-*, showing the same shift from *n-* to *l-*.

Welsh tradition preserves little information about Lludd Llawerient other than his name. His name occurs in *Culhwch oc Owein* (WM 492-3 = RM 131.18-9, Jones and Jones 1949: 126), where he is listed in a variant form of the “Three Exalted Prisoners” of Britain (*Tri Goruchel Garcharavr*; Bromwich 1961: ‘ 52). His name occurs in place of Llŷr Lledyeith. *Culhwch oc Owein* also depicts Lludd as the father of Creiddylad, whom Rhys (1892: 610) and Vendryes (1948: 255) associated with Cordeilla daughter of Llŷr (also see Strachan 1937: 139; seen as false by Carey 1984: 19). As Bromwich (1961: 428) has pointed out, “Llŷr and Lludd are interchangeable names”. As Welsh *llŷr* means “sea”, Welsh tradition may preserve the smallest remnant of the association between Lludd (*Nudd < Nodents) and the sea (*llŷr*). Because of this association, Vendryes (1948: 255) associated Lludd with the *Roi Pecheur* of *Perceval*, a king whose land goes to waste, as does Nuada’s land under Bres’s rule. From this arose Vendryes’s (1922: 384) dubious attempt, following Rhys (1892: 128), to connect Nuada with Gothic *nuta* “catcher, fisher”, discussed above under Nodents. As noted, this root **neu-d* (IEW: 768) is attested only Germanic and Lithuanian.

The Gods of Tree Fruit

Gaulish Tarvos Trigaranus

**Donnotarvos*: “Lordly Bull” or “Dark Bull”.

**Deivotarvos*: “Godly Bull”.

**Donnotarvos* or **Deivotarvos* were apparently alternative names for Tarvos Trigaranus. Both occur only as personal names, but the first name is undoubtedly cognate with the name of the Irish bull Donn Cuailnge. *Donnotaurus* occurs as the name of the leader of the Helvii mentioned by Caesar (BG: 7, 65, 2). *Deiotarus* is another personal name whose inscriptional distribution concentrates in Dacia (Schmidt 1957: 196; AcS I: 1250-9), but it was also known in Galatia (Weisgerber 1931: 172). In the first name, *taurus* is a Latinization of Celtic *tarvos* “bull” (Dottin 1920: 291). The Latin word is derived from IE **tāuro-s*, **tauro-s* “bull” (IEW: 1083; DPC: 371). According to Pokorny, the Celtic form *tarvos* probably developed by metathesis on analogy with *carvos* “stag, buck” (< **kryos*; IEW: 576, 1083). The Irish and Welsh correlatives are *tarb* and *tarw*, respectively.

The first element in Deiotarus is undoubtedly Celtic *dēvo-* “god” (Dottin 1920: 251), giving Irish *día* (gen. *dé*) and Welsh *duw* (derived from IE **deiyō-* “god”; IEW: 185; DPC: 96), here with the loss of intervocalic *-v-*. The first element in Donnotaurus, *donno-*, is probably cognate with Irish *donn* (o,m), glossed as *uasal no brithem no rígh* “a chief, a noble, or a king” in *O’Davoren’s Glossary* (l. 700; Stokes 1903-4); it was used to indicate “princely, noble. Irish *donn* “brown, dark”, derived from IE **dhyosnos* (IEW: 271) (**dheys-*; DPC: 109), is another possibility. Both meanings may have been present at the same time (see Urk. Spr.: 152; AcS: I, 1307; Schmidt 1957: 196; Evans 1967: 194-5). The Irish Donn Cuailnge was also known as Ind Dubh “the Black”.

Nearly all observers are agreed that **Donnotarvos* may be connected to the Donn Cuailnge. As Evans (1967: 85) has noted, “Caesar’s Donnotaurus, which may have originally been a divine name, would be almost an exact equivalent to **Donn Tarbh*”. Müller-Lisowski (1953-4: 21-9) has suggested that **Donn Tarbh* was an alternative name for Donn Cuailnge. She has proposed that the original name for a rocky island off Ireland, now known as Tech Duinn and An Tarbh, was originally **Tech Duinn Tairbh*. Jubainville (1906a: 159) and Dottin (1920: 252) also had no hesitation in equating the Gaulish and Galatian personal names with the Irish names for the great bull.

The significance of the dark color of the Donn Cuailnge in Irish tradition may have something to do with the fact that he is sought by Medb, a landscape goddess of fertility. As Fox (1986: 90) has noted, “gods of the earth and underworld tended to receive dark animals, which were offered by night and burnt in full.... Other gods tended to receive light animals”.

Tarvos: “The Bull”.

The famous monument of the Nautae Parisiacae from Notre Dame, Paris, erected during the reign of Tiberius (14-37 AD), portrays on one of its faces (directly next to one depicting Esus chopping a tree) a stately bull behind a tree with three cranes standing on him. One crane stands on his head facing forward, and two cranes stand on his back, one facing forward, the other rearward (Duval 1956: 81-7, figs. 10-11). Over this bull (who is clearly deified since the other three faces portray Iuppiter, Volcanus, and Esus) is the inscription TARVOS TRIGARANVS. The same bull with the cranes on his back is portrayed on the monument from Trier depicting Mercurius and Rosmerta. The bull seems to be above the foliage of a tree being chopped in the same fashion as that on the Notre Dame monument (apparently to

indicate that the bull is behind the foliage and in perspective). Schindler (1970: 32 plates 90-1) dates the monument to the first century AD.

The Treveri considered this bull to be an important-enough deity to dedicate a small square Romano-Gaulish temple to him at Trier (Gose 1972: 85). This temple can be dated from coins and shards to a utilization during the period from the first to the fourth centuries AD. Apparently during the second century (Schindler 1970: 38, pl. 96), a limestone statue of a bull was added, standing 72 cm. high (Esp: 7587). The bull stands on a rectangular base, 80 cm. long, curiously decorated with relief figures of fish. On the left side of the bull is the fragmentary portrayal of a woman wearing a dress and mantle. One of the more unusual aspects of this bull, however, is that a fallen nude man lies between his front legs. This theme of the bull standing over a fallen nude man is also seen on a stone statuette of a bull (25 X 31 cm) found in an early Roman-Gaulish temple at Montjustin near Besançon (Gose 1972: 86).

A small tinned-bronze statuette of a bull surmounted by three bird-like creatures, with women's heads (or young boy's heads) rather than birds' heads, was uncovered by Wheeler (1943: 75, 133) in the Romano-Celtic temple complex at Maiden Castle hill-fort in Dorset. The bird-like nature of the creatures surmounted on the bull's back draws obvious parallels to the Paris and Trier portrayals of Tarvos-Trigaranus.

Romano-Gaulish statues of bulls in bronze or stone, usually displayed with three horns, are prevalent in the Belgic regions of Gaul and Britain. A bronze three-horned bull, 1.5 meters long, dating to the first century AD from Avrigney (Esp: VII, 5380), now at the museum in Besançon, is one of the more impressive surviving examples of this class. A massive example of a bronze bull, now destroyed, was found at Pisseure, near Luxeu in 1738. The fragments required four wagons to cart them to the foundry (Esp: VII, 5385). In this connection it is worth mentioning the remaining fragments of another bronze bull statue from Martigny, Switzerland, now at the museum in Sion. All that remains are the head and one of the front legs, but the head itself is 42 cm high (Esp: VII, 5389). From the Rue Vauban, Dijon, comes a stone fragment of another large bull, of which only the head (65 X 105 cm) and neck remain (Esp: IV, 3529). This creature would appear originally to have had three metal horns. On the side of his neck, the head and feet of a greyhound remain outlined. Reinach (1894: nos. 288-94) lists other examples of three-horned bull statuettes, of which over forty are known from France alone, most of them small votive or personal statuettes of bronze. The distribution is most abundant in the north.

Trigaranus: "With (His) Three Cranes".

The epithet TRIGARANVS on the Paris monument probably relates to the three cranes on the bulls back. The first element undoubtedly is derived from IE **tri-* "three", the compositional form of **trej-* "three" (IEW: 1090; DPC: 390; Dottin 1920: 293), as in Irish *tri-* "three" (*triar* "three men"), while the second element *garano-* (Dottin 1920: 258) may be related to Welsh *garan* "crane, heron", derived from IE **gerh₂no-* (IEW: 383-4; DPC: 151), an n-extended form of **ger-* "to cry out loudly". The form here could a u-stem singular (placed beside the o-stem TARVOS, TRIGARANVS is not a Latinized o-stem). It more likely indicates an o-stem instrumental plural in *-ūs*, meaning "accompanied by" as in Sanskrit.

Bynames of Gaulish Hercules

Deusoniensis: "from Deusonia".

A Gaulish coin from Germania Inferior minted during the reign of Postumus (258-57 AD) contains an inscription to HERCVLI DEVSONIENSI (AcS I: 1273; DAG: §223; Vendryes 1948: 287). The ending *-ensis* is Latin, as in *Baginensis Pagus* and *Deobensis pagus* (Evans

1967: 192; Buck 1933: 334), and is usually used to form adjectives from proper names or tribal attributive names (and often is used substantively for places). Such is probably the case for *Deusoniensis*, as suggested by Whatmough (DAG: §221).

Magusanos: “?the Fortunate Youth?”.

Inscriptions to HERCVLI MAGVSANO or MACVSANO come from Westkapelle (Zeeland) (CIR: 51), Millingen (Geldern) (CIR: 130), Rummel (Nord-Brabant) (CIR: 134), and Mumrills (Stirlingshire) (RIB: 2140) (obviously by a Roman auxiliary from the mouth of the Rhine). Again a Romano-Gaulish coin dating to the reign of Postumus shows a dedication to HERCVLI MAGVSANO (AcS II: 387). The second stem of this name, *sano-*, undoubtedly developed from IE **sano-* “healthy, whole” (IEW: 880). Irish *son* (o,a) “happy, prosperous” may be significant as well as *sona* (io, ia) “prosperous, fortunate, lucky, happy”. Here the first root *magu-* “youth, slave” (Dottin 1920: 269; Weisgerber 1903: 204; Evans 1967: 221-2) derives from IE **maghu-*, *moghu-* “boy, youth” (IEW: 696; DPC: 274) and gives Irish *mug* “male servant”. In this Hercules byname the significance is clearly “youth”. The same root is to be found in *Mogounos*, a byname of Apollo.

Magusanos has also been claimed as Germanic. Gutenbrunner (1936b: 60) related it to Germanic **magusan-* “to be able, capable”. Norbert Wagner (1977: 417-22) derived it from **maguz-naz* with the significance of **mag-* as in *megin* “craft, strength”. Thus, *Magusanos* may be Germanic rather than Celtic. The coinage would then imply that *Deusoniensis* was also a Germanic place name.

Ogmios: “?The Supporter?”.

Two lead plates from Bregenz invoke the Gaulish god *Ogmios* as a Latinized io-stem *Ogmios*. The first plate, discovered in 1865, invokes O[G]MIO (CIL III: 1882) in the body of a curse. The second plate, discovered in 1930, reads D(IS) P(ATER) AD ERA(M) OGMIVS SALVTE(M) and invokes the god along side of Disater to curse an adversary (LeRoux 1960a: 213). *Ogmios* is also referenced in Lucianus’s *Dialogi Deorum* (*Hercules*: 1, 7), which states that Hercules was known as *Ogmios* by the Celts.

As has been observed many times previously (Weisgerber 1930: 63; Guyonvarc’h 1960b: 47-8; LeRoux 1960a: 209 ff.), the name of the Gaulish god is cognate with that of *Ogma mac Elathan* of the Túatha dé Danann, who was the *trénfer* “champion” of the Túatha dé Danann (*Cath Maige Tuired*: “ 59-60) and the inventor of the *ogam* alphabet (*athair ogaim Ogma*) (*Auraicept na nÉces*: 2813; Calder 1917). The *Cath Maige Tuired* (“ 72, 75, 105, 162-4) mentions the god only briefly. When Lug challenges him to a test of feats, Ogma hurls the flag stone (*mar-licc*), requiring eighty oxen to move it, so that it goes through the house and lands outside of Tara (“ 72). Ogma is supposedly a brother of the Dagda, but this is a dubious identification (“ 75). Ogma, Lug, and the Dagda pursue the Fomoiré after the Fomoiré carry off Uaithne, the Dagda’s harper, who is forced to play *suantraigi 7 genntraigi 7 golltraigi* (“ 163-4) to allow them to escape. Before the battle, Ogma states that he will repel the king of the Fomoiré or capture a third of his battalions (“105). Indeed, during the battle he takes Orna, the sword of Tethra, king of the Fomoiré. After unsheathing the sword and cleaning it, “the sword related whatsoever had been done to it” (“162).

This last motif, the sword relating its past history, is entirely in keeping with the statement in *Auraicept na nÉces* that Ogma invented the *ogam* alphabet. According to Lucianus (*Hercules*: 1, 7), *Ogmios* was a god of oratory. Both actions by the Irish god would be consistent with this role for the earlier Gaulish deity equated with Hercules. As a god of oratory, his devotees were supposedly tied to him by chains from his tongue to their ears. The significance of the Gaulish stem *ogmio-* is uncertain, but Irish *ogma* “a supporting prop” may

be cognate. Indeed, this is probably the significance of the name of Ogma, the champion of the Tuatha dé Danann. Matasović indicates an uncertain etymology as well (DPC: 297)

As a god of oratory, Ogmios is functionally equivalent to the Norse god Bragi, whose name perhaps derives from **bhregh-* “high” (IEW: 141). Snorri Sturluson’s *Edda* (*Gylfaginning*: ‘26) contains the following account of Bragi.

He [Bragi] is famous for wisdom and most of all for eloquence and skill with words; he knows most about poetry, and from him poetry gets its name (*bragr*). From his name ... a man or woman who can use words better than others is called a poet. (Young 1954: 53-4).

Saegon[tios]: “the Victorious”.

The inscription to the DEO HER[CVLI] SAEGON[TIO] (RIB: 67) from Silchester perhaps refers to the earlier name of Caernarvon, which was Segontio or Segontium, but because of the distance separating the inscription find-site and the city, this suggestion is uncertain. The root apparent here is *sego-*, giving Irish *seg* “strength, vigor”, derived from IE **segh-* “victory, to conquer” (IEW: 888; DPC: 327). Thus if not to “Hercules of Segontium”, the inscription would be to “Hercules the Victorious”.

The Gaulish Goddess Rosmerta, Consort of Esus

Rosmerta and Other Names in *Smert-

Atesmertis: “the Highly Foresighted”; “the Greatest Provider”.

From Vineuil (Loir-et-Cher) comes an inscription: [...]RIGA(E) ATESMERTI L VIVA S F (CIL XIII: 3080; AcS III: 719; DAG: §213). The first goddess name, possibly *Riga if complete, is also evoked in an inscription to the DEO MAR(TI) (ET) RIGAE (RIB: 711) from Malton (Yorks.). Whether Riga is a byname of the first goddess Atesmertis or is the name of a separate goddess is not known.

In the deity-name Atesmertis, *ate-* functions in an intensive role as with *ro-* below, though *ate-* is often used in an iterative role, giving Irish *aith-* and Welsh *at-* (Dottin 1920: 229), both derived from IE **ati-* (**h₂eti-*) “over, beyond something, above, very, again” (IEW: 70). One must also take into account Vannetais *armerth* and Welsh *armerth* “provision”, as noted below more fully under Rosmerta. Atesmertis would then be “the Great Provider”. However, this etymology does not make much sense in the context of a companion to Esus Mercurius (see Rosmerta). Pokorny (IEW: 969) relates these deity names in *smer-* to IE **smer-*, **smert-* “thought, plan; to recall, sorrow”, as in Latin *memoria* and Irish *mert* “sorrow, trouble, despair”. Pokorny also draws attention to Irish *airimbirt* “contemplating, planning”. Thus Atesmertis more likely would be “the Highly Foresighted”.

Rosmerta: “the Highly Foresighted”; “the Great Provider”.

Inscriptions to the DEO MERCVRIO ET ROSMERTAE or MERCVRIO ET ROSMERTAE have come from Giséy-le-Vieil (Côte d’Or), Aix, Langres, Grand, Worms, Alzey, Spechbach, Andernach, Nider-Emmel near Bernkastel, Mt. Sion (Meurthe-et-Moselle), Metz, Wasserbillig (Luxemburg), and Chatenoy (Vosges), to list only those given by Holder (AcS II: 1229-31). Nider-Emmel has also produced an inscription to the DEO MERCVRIO ET D(E)AE [R]OSMERTAE MER[CVRIAL]IS (CIR: 863), if this has been expanded correctly. As Anwyl (1906: 39) has noted, Rosmerta was most popular along the Rhine, in Germania Superior and in Belgica.

There is also an early Gaulish inscription on the rim of a pottery bowl from a burial dating to the Tiberian period in the first half of the first century AD (Lejeune and Marichal 1977: 151-6). The inscription reads E... IEVRI RIGANI ROSMERTIAC, which Lejeune translates as *hoc dicāvi Rēganae atque Rosmertae* (1977: 156). Here Lejeune sees *ieuri* as a first person singular perfect tense of the well-known third singular *ieuru*. *Rīgani* and *Rosmertī* are seen as *ā-*stem dative singular names in *-i*, with *-ac* functioning as the enclitic conjunctive (1977: 154-5). *Rīgana* and *Rosmerta* are then the names of the goddesses to whom the dedication is made. *Rīgana* corresponds to Latin *Rēgina* and was utilized as an epithet of *Epona*. The same Celtic stem **rīgana* (DPC: 311) (with the addition of the suffix *-ono-*) occurs in the Welsh goddess name *Rhiannon*, a goddess equivalent to *Epona*, but the stem also occurs in Irish *Mórrígan* (from **mōro-rēg_ana*, but possibly *Mórrígain* from **mōro-rēg_(e)nī*; Vedic *rājñī*; IEW: 854-6). *Mórrígan*, also known as *Boand*, was equivalent to Gaulish *Matrona*.

A bas-relief on a stella from Eisenberg (Germania Superior) inscribed to the DEO MERCVRIO ET ROSMER(TAE) shows a typical portrayal of the goddess. Here she stands, draped, to the right side of a nude Mercurius holding a caduceus in his left hand. She holds a *patera* in her left hand and a purse in her right hand (Esp.: 6039). From Le Kempel (Belgica) comes a standing goddess in early stylization, holding a torque in her right hand and a purse in her left hand, both attributes of Gaulish Mercurius, so that the portrayal probably represents Rosmerta (Esp.: 4543). From Hombourg (Belgica) comes the relief of a standing nude

Mercurius, wearing Petasos, with Rosmerta to his right. She holds a basket of fruit, while he holds a caduceus (Esp.: 4488). From Soulosse comes the portrayal on a stella of the goddess in a niche in a bas-relief. She stands holding a cornucopia in her left hand. Above the goddess is the inscription DEA ROSMERTAE (Bémont 1964: 95-100).

Perhaps the most important portrayal of Rosmerta depicts her beside a torque-wearing Mercurius on a monument from Trier inscribed to ME(R)CVRIO (see Olmsted 1979b: 155-6, pls. 61-2). Schindler (1970: 32, pls. 90-1) dates this monument to the early first century AD. On the side of the Trier monument is the portrayal of a tree-chopping axemen with a bull and three cranes as at Paris on the monument of the Nautae Parisiaci of the same period (Duval 1956: 83, fig. 11). Here the inscription ESVS specifies which of the native gods identified with Mercurius is portrayed beside Rosmerta. Thus the inscriptions and portrayals associating Mars and Mercurius with Rosmerta allow one to connect additional bynames with Vellaunos-Esus: those containing the extended root *smert-*.

In attempting to interpret the significance of the names Rosmerta, Atesmertis, and Cantismerta, one must also take into account inscriptions to *Mars Smertrius* from Lisenich near Trier (CIL XIII: 11975) and to *Mercurivs Adsmerius* from Poitiers (CIL XIII: 1125). Important as well is the tribal name Smertae, a Caledonian tribe mentioned in Ptolemaeus (II, 3, 8) and in the *Ravennata* (5, 31). In Ireland there is also a Mag Smertain, apparently containing the same root. There are Gaulish personal names as well: Smertulinos, Smertomaros, and Smertorix (Schmidt 1957: 269).

In these names the root **smer-* or its extended form **smert-*, usually set forth as an *o-* or *io-* stem, is either unprefixated, has the prefix *ro-* or *ate-* (*ad-*), or is compounded with *canti-*. In Rosmerta it is clear that Gaulish *ro-* functions an intensive prefix, as in Irish *ro-*, Welsh *ry-*, and Latin *pro-*, and it may be translated as “very, great” (Dottin 1920: 282; Thurneysen 1946: 530; Schmidt 1957: 261). Celtic *ro-* is derived from IE **pro-* “before” (IEW: 813-4). Loth (1914: 228) related *smer-* in these names to Irish *smir* (gen. *smero*) “grease” (**smeru-* DPC: 347), but also to Vannetais *armerth* and Welsh *armerth* “provision”. Loth thus saw Rosmerta as “*la grande pourvoyeuse*”. Likewise Dottin (1920: 287) and Vendryes (1937: 134-6) took up these suggestions. Vendryes noted that *armerth* “preparation, provision” should not be derivable from **ari-mobi-bher-t-*, as suggested by Williams (BBCS: I, 36; GPC). Vendryes explained that from **ari-mobi-* one should expect **erym-* not **arm-*. One cannot relate Welsh *armerth* to Vannetais *armerheiu* “to save” or Breton *merzout* “to perceive”, because this would give Welsh **arferth*, not *armerth*. Vendryes then suggested that these forms must derive from **smer-* (1937: 134), and he related them to Irish *airmert*, a variant of *airimbirt* (a,f) “act of preparing, intending”, the verbal noun of *ar-imbirt*.

None of Vendryes’s suggestions is very convincing, however, nor is his explanation of a confusion between **(s)mer-* and **bher-* in these Irish and Welsh words (1937: 135; also see Vendryes 1959 ff: S, 142). Equally unconvincing is Vendryes attempt to relate Rosmerta to Maia on the basis of a very doubtful fragmentary inscription, supposedly to Mercurius and Maia, whose reconstruction has been questioned by Espérandieu as well (Esp.: VII, 5623). In a more convincing etymology Pokorny (IEW: 969) relates Rosmerta to IE **smer-*, **smert-* “to recall, sorrow”, as in Latin *memoria* and Irish *mert* “sorrow, trouble, despair”. Pokorny would see Rosmerta not as the “provider”, but rather he would relate her name to the other meaning of Irish *airimbirt* “contemplating, planning”. Thus Rosmerta would be “the Highly Foresighted”. I agree with Meid that Pokorny’s etymology is the most likely one.

If one searches for an Irish correlative to Rosmerta, the generalized attributes associated with her portrayals are of little help, but the fact that she is a companion of Esus-Mercurius is significant. Romano-Gaulish Esus-Mercurius may be readily correlated with Cú Chulainn of the later Irish sagas (see Vellaunos-Esus in glossary and text; also see Olmsted 1979b: 155). His wife’s name Emer may possibly derive from **es-smera*, perhaps with *es-* “out of” (Dottin 1920: 256) (<**eghs*; IEW: 293), as in *escomgi-* and *excingo-* “warrior” from *cing* “go, stride”

(Schmidt 1957: 171, 212). As Thurneysen (1946: 132) noted “medial *sm, sn, sl* > *mm, nn, ll*”. Thus *Esmera could indicate something like “Through Foresight”.

Emer plays a prominent role only in *Serglige Con Culainn*, *Tochmrac Emire*, and *Fled Bricrend*. The only traits associated with her are those prominent to any young accomplished aristocratic woman, who also happens to be married to Cú Chulainn. In that she is worthy of being Cú Chulainn’s wife, she stands head and shoulder above all others in beauty and accomplishment. She has no children. Cú Chulainn’s only son is born to Aife and is killed by Cú Chulainn in battle (*Aided Óenfhir Aife*). *Serglige Con Culainn* develops Emer’s character to the fullest. In the beginning she requests Cú Chulainn to capture some magic birds which she and the other women of the Ulaid desire to have sit on their shoulders. Later she follows Cú Chulainn on his tryst with Fand, the wife of the otherworld god Manannan, to bring Cú Chulainn back with her.

Cantismerta: “with Hundred-fold Foresight”; “Who Provides for All”.

From Lens (canton Wallis, Alpes Poeninae) comes an inscription to CANTISMERTA(E) (CIL XII: 131), with the prefixed stem *canti-* rather than *ro-* or *ate-*. *Canti-* is possibly equivalent to *canto-* “brilliant” (Dottin 1920: 241), as in Welsh *cann* “white, shining, brilliant” and Breton *cant*, but a derivation from IE **kand-* “brilliant” (IEW: 526) requires the devoicing of the *-d*. Schmidt (1957: 162), after Pedersen (1909: 1, 199), suggests that Dottin’s *canto-* “brilliant” is incorrect, seeing Welsh *cann* and Breton *cant* derived from Latin *candidus*. He also suggests that *Cantismerta* shows Latin influence (Schmidt 1957: 162).

A more likely etymology is that *canti-* represents Celtic *cant-* “hundred” from **dkm̥tom* (DPC: 188) by way of the intermediate form **kantiā* (IEW: 192). Irish *cét* “hundred” derives from *kanton* (see Thurneysen 1946: 127). As above under Rosmerta, in seeking an etymology for *Cantismerta*, one must take account of Vannetais *armarth* and Welsh *armarth* “provision”. Here *canti-* could indicate “assembly” (Irish *céite*; DPC: 188): *Cantismerta* “Who Provides for All”. However, Pokorny (IEW: 969) is probably correct to relate these deity names in *smert-* to IE **smer-*, **smert-* “to recall, sorrow”, as in Latin *memoria* and Irish *mert* “sorrow, trouble, despair”. Pokorny also draws attention to Irish *airimbirt* “contemplating, planning”. *Cantismerta* would then be “with Hundred-fold Foresight”.

Bynames of Rosmerta

Braciaca: “?the Brilliant?”.

From Bakewell (Derb.) comes an altar dedicated to the DEO MARTI (ET) BRACIACAE (RIB: 278). The significance of this byname of the goddess companion of Gaulish Mars/Mercurius is not clear. If *bracis* “malt” (Dottin 1920: 236) (Welsh *brag* and Irish *braich*) is implied here, it suggests the name of a local goddess derived from some landscape feature. In Gaulish place names, this word was very productive giving rise to Bracy (Yonne), Brassac (Puy-de-Dome), Brassac (Tarn-et-Garonne), Bracy (Seine-Inferieure), Braccius (Basse-Alpes), and Braxiacus (c. 900 AD; Pagus Lugdunensis) (AcS I: 509). Also possible is a derivation for *Braciaca* from a projected **bhrōk-*, which would be the lengthened o-grade of IE **bhrēk-* “shining, brilliant” (IEW: 141). The zero-grade **bhr̥k-* gives Irish *brecc* “speckled” and the Gaulish name Briccios (< **pr̥k-* DPC: 78; IEW: 820). Otherwise, the etymology of this name is obscure to me.

Nemetona: “the Sacred” or “of the Sacred Grove”.

From Bath comes an inscription to MARTI ET NEMETONA(E) (RIB: 140) by Peregrinus of the Treveri. Here the attributive suffix *-ono-* (Buck 1933: 323) has been added to the Celtic stem form *nemeto-* or *nemeti-* (Urk. Spr.: 192, Dottin 1920: 214, Thurneysen 1946: 180,

Schmidt 1957: 248). Irish *nemed* “sacred, privilege” is supposedly derived from a suffixed form of IE **nemo-* “grove” (IEW: 764), as in Gaulish *nemēton* “sacred grove” (DPC: 288), Latin *nemus* “grove”, and Old Saxon *nimides* “sacred grove”. Unless Nemetona is a wood nymph, which seems unlikely in the context of Mars, the significance here is probably “Sacred” as in Mars Rigonemetis. Nemetona most likely is a byname for the companion of the Gaulish god equated with Mars.

Riga: “?the Queen?”, “?the Consort?”, or “?the Vigilant?”.

From Vineuil (Loir-et-Cher) comes an inscription to [...]RIGA(E) ATESMERTI L VIVA S F (CIL XIII: 3080; AcS III: 719; DAG: §213). The first goddess name, possibly Riga if complete, is also evoked in an inscription to the DEO MAR(TI) (ET) RIGAE (RIB: 711) from Malton (Yorks.). There is also an early Gaulish inscription on the rim of a pottery bowl from a burial dating to the Tiberian period in the first half of the first century AD (Lejeune and Marichal 1977: 151-6). The inscription reads E... IEVRI RIGANI ROSMERTIAC, which Lejeune translates as *hoc dicāvi Rēganae atque Rosmertae* (1977: 156). Here Lejeune sees *ieuri* as a first person singular perfect tense of the well-known third singular *ieuru*. *Rigani* and *Rosmertai* are seen as ā-stem dative singular names in *-i*, with *-ac* functioning as the enclitic conjunctive (1977: 154-5). *Rīgana* and *Rosmerta* are then the names of the goddesses to whom the dedication is made. *Rīgana* corresponds to Latin *Rēgina* and was an epithet of Epona. The same form *rīgana*, with the addition of the suffix *-ono-*, occurs in Welsh Rhiannon, a goddess equivalent to Epona, but the root also occurs in Irish *Mór-rígan* (**mōro-rēg_(e)na*, but possibly *Mórrígain* from **mōro-rēg_(e)nī*; Vedic *rājñī*; IEW: 854-6). *Mórrígan*, also known as *Boand*, was a goddess equivalent to Gaulish *Matrona*.

Whether Riga is a byname of Atesmerti or is a separate goddess is not known for sure, but like Atesmerti, Riga may be simply a byname for Rosmerta. Here then it is clear that she was a companion of Vellaunos-Esus (equated with Mars/Mercurius), as implied by the Trier monument, rather than being a companion to Lugus, equated with Mercurius. If Riga is identified with the *Rīgana* of the Gaulish inscription, above, it would imply that Riga was a separate goddess altogether from Atesmerti. In this inscription *Rīgana* is clearly separated from Rosmerta by the presence of the enclitic conjunctive *-ac*.

In *Rīga* and *Rīgana* the root *rīgo-* may relate to IE **rēg-* “king” (IEW: 854 f.), as in Gaulish *rīx*. However, through the commonplace Gaulish *e/i* interchange (Evans 1967), *Rīga* may relate to IE **reg-* “see” (IEW: 854), giving Irish *rig* (m) “scout, watchman”. If *rēg-* “king” is implicated here, one would expect **Rīgantona*, *Rīgana*, or **Rīganī*, as in Irish *rīgain* and Welsh *rhian* “queen” (IE **rēg_(e)nī*; IEW: 854-6).

Ritona/Pritona: “the Goddess of Selling/Buying”

Ritona: “the Goddess of Selling”. *Pritona*: “the Goddess of Buying”.

Inscriptions to RITONAE have come from Montaren near Nîmes (Gard) (CIL XII: 2927), Saint-Honoré-les-Bains (Nièvre) (CIL XIII: 2813), and from Trier (Finke 1929: nos. 29-30). Holder (AcS II: 1194) related the goddess name *Ritona* to the name of the River Rieu in Gard. This suggestion was taken up by Anwyl (1906: 33), who stated, “the name Ritona is the name of a River goddess, that of the modern river Rieu.” Indeed, this suggestion seemed plausible before the finding of inscriptions from Trier. After the Trier inscriptions came to light, Thurneysen realized that the goddess name was probably not that of a localized river goddess. Nonetheless, the association with water still remained in his analysis of her name.

Thurneysen (1935b: 188) suggested that the root *ritu-* “ford” (Dottin 1920: 282), combined with the familiar suffix *-ono-*, might lie behind the name of the goddess. The stem *ritu-* is a

common element in Gaulish place names, such as Ritumagus and Agustoritum. The stem derives from the zero-grade of IE **per-tu-* “ford” (of which **por-tu-* is the o-grade variant) (IEW: 817). Apophonic variations of the suffixed root give Welsh and Cornish *rit* “ford”, English *ford*, and Latin *portus* “passage, port”. Thurneysen suggested that Ritona was a specialized and wide-spread goddess of fords.

However, the fact that one of the Trier inscriptions (Finke 1929: no. 29) is to the *Dea Ritona Pritona* makes it unlikely that *ritu-* “ford” is an element in the goddess name Ritona. Nor, as Gutenbrunner (1936a: 397-9) realized, can the name be related to Irish *riuth* “run, course” (from IE **rtu-*, the suffixed zero-grade of **reth* “run”; IEW: 866) (see Schmidt 1957: 258; Evans 1967: 247-8). Rather, Gutenbrunner noted that the contrast in the two roots *rit-* and *prit-* to be found in the juxtaposed and rhyming names *Ritona Pritona* might provide the key to their significance.

Thus, on the one hand, *rit-* can be related to Irish *rithi* “that which is to be sold or is for sale” (RIAD), the participle of necessity of *renaid* “sell, barter, exchange”. Irish *rithi* derives from **prti-*, a suffixed form of the zero-grade of IE **per-* “to sell” (IEW: 817). On the other hand, *prit-* can be related to Irish *crith* “act of buying, purchasing”, the verbal noun of *crenaid* “buy, obtain” (RIAD). Irish *crith* derives from **kuri-t-*, a t-extension of the zero-grade of IE **kurei-* “buy” (*crenaid* < *kuri-nā-*; IEW: 648; DPC: 182). Welsh *prid* “bought” and *pryniad* “to purchase” are cognate forms.

Thus the inscription to the *Dea Ritona Pritona* is clearly to the “Goddess of Selling and Buying”. The inscriptions to Ritona “the goddess of Selling” are more widespread, since the goddess evoked under this name would have particular concern for traveling merchants. Most likely, this goddess of commerce represents a specialized role of a goddess who also dealt with other areas (perhaps Rosmerta). The Gaulish Mercurius had many roles, but he was deemed to have the greatest influence “for all money making and traffic” (*ad quaestus pecuniae mercaturasque*; see *de bello Gallico*: VI, 17). Indeed, an inscription refers directly to this role for Mercurius: *Mercurio lucorum potenti et conservatori*. The same role would be played by the goddess referred to under the epithet *Ritona Pritona*.

The Irish goddess Brigit, cognate with Gaulish and British Brigantia and *Brigintona, also had in her special care the *aes dána* “men of craft”, as in *Brigit bé legis*, *Brigit bé goibne*, Meyer 1912a: 15), even though she was a Mother goddess as well. Indeed, it would seem that Matrona in her role of providing fecundity for agriculture could also provide fecundity for craftsmen in selling their produce. The same process of extending an original agricultural role to include craftsmen also applied to Lugus, one of the Gaulish gods identified with Mercurius.

Gaulish and British Bynames of Bodva

Ancasta: “?the Sacred One?”, “?the Enraged?”, “?Who Herds Corpses”, “?Corps-fed?”.
Andrasta: “?Who Herds Heifers?”.

From Bitterne (Hants.) comes an inscription to the DEAE ANCASTAE (RIB: 97). Falc’hun (1977: 27-8) relates *an-* to the Gaulish definite article *and-*, *ando-*, *anda-*, etc. If this is the case, the second root here would be *casto-*. Dio Cassius (LXII: 2) says Boudicca sacrificed to a goddess *Andrasta* before setting out on her campaign against the Romans. Perhaps **Ancasta* should be emended to *Andrasta* (< **anderā-āsto-* > **anderāsta* > *andrāsta*): **anderā* “young woman, heifer” (DPC: 35) as in Welsh *anneir* “heifer” and Irish *ainder* “girl” (< “heifer”) and **āsto-* (< **peh₂s-to-* “herded, protected, fed”; DPC: 125; IEW: 787), Irish *ás*. *Andrasta* “Who Herds Heifers” would be a byname of Bovinda = Irish Mórrígan-Boand, also called Badb “the Crow”. In this light *Ancasta* could be *ancu-āsto-* > *ancāsta*, with *ancu-* “death, corps” (< **neku-*, **ñku-*; DPC: 37; IEW 762) “Corps-fed” or “Herds Corpses”.

Schmidt (1957: 165-6) relates *casti-* to *cassi-*, which he derives from **cadti-* “outstanding, exceptional” as in Velioathi and Velioasses. Whatmough (DAG: §178) relates *cassi* to *caddi* (see Jackson 1953: 532 for *ss: dd*). Whatmough (DAG: §178) notes that Gaulish *caddos* is glossed as “*sanctus*” (CGL: 5, 493.30). Welsh *cad* “holy” and Irish *cáid* “venerable, holy, pure” would be Insular Celtic correlatives of *caddos*, derived from a suffixed form of IE **kad-* “spectacular, outstanding” (IEW: 516-7). If *casto-* may be seen as derived from the same root as **cadti-*, but here from an o-stem **cad-to-*, then *caddos* “sacred” would be but a variant of *casto-*, both arising from IE **kad-to-*. Ancasta would simply be “the Sacred One”. However, see Evans (1967: 167-71) for other possibilities as well as a list of bibliographical commentary on *cassi-*, most notably Irish *cais* “love, hatred” and Welsh *cas* “bitterness, hatred, rage” (IE: **keh₂d-*; LIV: 319; DPC: 193); also see Weisgerber, 1930: 196 f., and Vendryes, 1948: 248-9, 259). Here then Ancasta equals Gaulish Vercana and Irish Nemain “Rage”

Boudiga, Boudina: “The Victorious”.

Inscriptions to *Boudina* and *Boud[e]na* come from Trier (CIL XIII: 8217; DAG: §211) and Germania Superior (CIR: 3467). Here the attributive suffix *-eno-* (see Buck 1933: 323) is attached to the root *boudi-*. The same complex is found in Budenos and Budenicos (Mars) (DAG: §82). From Bordeaux comes an inscription to the *Tutela Boudig[a]*, (*tutela* “protectress”; DAG: §155), perhaps dedicated by British auxiliaries. Tacitus’s Icenian queen Boudicca (*Agricola*: ‘16) is undoubtedly named for this goddess. Although the suffixed or compounded stem *-igo-*, *-icco-* is obscure (perhaps the attributive suffix *-ico-*; Buck 1933: 343), in all of these names the main root *boudi-* is transparent. Irish *búaid* “victory, profit, excellence” and Welsh *budd* “profit, gain, favor” and *buddig* “victorious”, from **bhoudi-* “victory” (IEW: 163; DPC: 72), are undoubtedly cognate (Urk. Spr.: 175 f.; AcS I: 456, 458, 497; VKG I: 111; Dottin 1920: 235; Schmidt 1957: 154; Evans 1967: 156-8).

Cassibodva: “the Sacred Crow”, “the Enraged Crow”.

From Belgica comes an inscription to [C]ASSI[B]ODVAE (CIL XIII: 4525; DAG: §213). If Schmidt (1957: 165-6) is correct above (under Ancasta) in seeing *cassi-* and *casti-* as derivatives of **kad-ti-* “sacred, spectacular”, then the significance of *cassi-* would be “exceptional, sacred” or “bitterness, hatred, rage” (IE: **keh₂d-*; LIV: 319; DPC: 193), as outlined above. Here *bodva* “crow” is discussed under [C]athubodva.

[C]athubodva, *Bodva*: “Battle Crow”.

Gaulish inscriptions preserve a reference to what can only be the same goddess as the Irish *Badb* (< **bodva*). An inscription from Mieussy (Haute-Savoie) is dedicated to [C]ATHVBODVAE AVG(VSTAE) (CIL XII: 2571; see Schmidt 1957: 167). The first element, reconstructed as *catu-* (Dottin 1920: 244), would be cognate with Irish *cath* “battle”, Welsh *cad* “battle”, and Old Norse *hod* “fight”, derived from IE **kat-*, **katu-* “battle” (IEW: 534; DPC: 195). The second stem in this compound name [C]athubodva is also found as the first stem in *Bodvognatus*, the leader of the Nervii in *de bello Gallico* (2, 23, 4), and in *Bodocenus* (DAG: §143), a personal name from Guéret (Creuse). Evans (1967: 59-60) has followed Jubainville (1899a: 198 f.; 1889: 167) in seeing *Bodocenus* as derived from **Bodvogenos*. Both these names may be interpreted as “Born of Bodva” or “Born of Bodvos”, a formula usual for divine filiation. Evans (1967: 60, 151-2) and Schmidt (1957: 152) see **bodvo-* as “(royal-)crow” or the “(war-)goddess Bodva” (on *bodvo-* “crow” see Urk. Spr.: 176f, AcS I: 461, VKG I: 63, GOI: 123). This Celtic term is apparently derived from Celto-Germanic **boduo-* “battle” (IEW: 114; DPC: 70). If the Latinized o-stem personal name

Bodvognatus does reference a divine name, that of the goddess Bodva is probably indicated. Thus the goddess name [C]athubodva preserves the compound name of this goddess, who was apparently also known as Bodva.

Vercana: “Rage”.

From the hot spring at Bad Bertrich near Trier comes an inscription the DE(AE) VERCAN(A)E ET MEDVN(A)E (CIL XIII: 7667). *Vercana* also is found alone in another inscription from nearby Ernstweiler (CIL XIII: 4551). Jubainville (AcS III: 183) related this name to Irish *ferc* “anger, rage” from IE **uerg-* “to be puffed up with rage, pride, or anger” (IEW: 1169; DPC: 414); but also note IE **uer-k-* “wind, twist” (IEW: 1155; DPC: 414-5).

Garmangabis and the Gabiae

Gabiae: “the Controllers”.

Inscriptions to the MATRONIS GABIABVS (CIL XIII: 7932, 7938 from Rövenich), to the GABIABVS (CIL XIII: 7856 from Müddersheim, 7939 from Rövenich, 8612 from Xanten), or to the IVNONIBVS GABIABVS (CIL XIII: 8192 from Köln) come mostly from the lower Rhine (See Gutenbrunner 1936b: 213-4; Heichelheim 1930: 2225-6; Neumann 1987: 111). The use of the epithet *Iūnones* to describe the Gabiae is reminiscent of inscriptions from Northern Italy to the MATRONIS IVNONIBVS (CIL V: 5450, 3233, 5249) (see deVries 1931: 105). The Gabiae also often have a prefix associated with their name, sometimes Germanic, sometimes Celtic. Thus the inscription from Bürgel to the MATRONIS ALAGABIABVS (CIL XIII: 8529) almost certainly contains the Germanic prefix *ala-* “all” derived from IE **al-*, **ol-* (**h₂el-*, **h₃ol-*) “beyond” (IEW: 25; also see deVries 1931: 99; Gutenbrunner 1936b: 90). The inscriptions to the OLLOGABIABVS from Kastel (Castellum Mattiacorum) (CIR: 3165) and Mainz (Mogontiacum) (CIR: 3166) in Germania Superior almost certainly contain the Celtic prefix *ollo-* “great, ample, all”, giving Irish *oll* “great, ample” and Welsh *oll* “all”, derived from **polh₁-* according to Matasović (DPC: 136), but likely the same IE root **al-*, **ol-* (**h₂el-*, **h₃ol-*) (IEW: 24; see Gutenbrunner 1936b: 156 f.; Much 1920: 68; DPC: 298). Other references to the FRIAGABI “*die liebe Geberin*” (RIB: 1576) by a unit of Hnaudifridus on Hadrian’s wall and to IDIANGABES almost certainly contain Germanic first elements (Gutenbrunner 1936b: 90; IEW: 408).

The Gabiae appear to be mostly Germanic and from Germanic regions in Germania Inferior, but also spilling over into Celtic regions in Germania Superior, so that this widespread goddess group, like the Matres and Matronae in general, did not honor ethnic boundaries. The Gabiae were truly both Celtic and Germanic. The interpretation of the meaning of *gabi-*, however, depends upon whether the root is seen as Celtic or Germanic. Although both the Germanic and Celtic roots derive from IE **ghabh-* “fasten, take” (IEW: 407-8), the Germanic stem *gabio-* means “give” (Much 1920: 68; deVries 1931: 99; Gutenbrunner 1936b: 90-1), while the Celtic stem *gabio-* (**ghabh-* <**g^hHb^h-*; DPC: 148) means “take”, continuing the original IE significance as in Irish *gaibid* “take, hold, conceive, hold sway” (RIAD). Thus the Celtic Ollogabiae would be the “All Controllers” or the “Great Controllers”, while the Germanic Alagabiae would be the “All Givers”.

Meid, however, has suggested to me that names in *ollo-* could simply be Gaulicisms of the Germanic forms in *ala-* in the phonetically mixed names of the borderland. Thus, Meid sees the significance “Who Gives Willingly” for all these names. Fleuriot (1982: 123), on the other hand, sees the inscriptions to GABIABVS and other names involving the root *gab-* as Gaulish translations of Latin CONSERVATRIBVS. More likely, the Latin is a translation of the Gaulish, but in any case the significance would be the same. Thus for Fleuriot, the *Ollogabiae* would be “*celles qui gardent tout*” (1982: 123).

From Lanchester near Durham comes an inscription to the DEAE GARMANGABI (i-stem dative singular) dedicated by a detachment of the Sueborum Long[ovicianorum] (RIB: 1074). Although we deal here apparently with a dedication to a Germanic goddess, given by a detachment of Suebians, another inscription to the ā-stem plural Garmangabae from Germania Superior (DAG: §236 without further reference) suggests that the name, like that of the Ollogabias, may be Celtic. Most observers (Much 1920: 66; Holder, AcS II: 847; Gutenbrunner 1936b: 92) have interpreted the *garman-* as a reference to the people's name, *Germani*, after Bede (*Historia Ecclesiastica*: 5, 9). Bede stated that the British referred to the Latin term *Germani* as *Garmani*. However, to find a non-Latin reference to this people, one must accept that *garman-* in the goddess name is an ethnicon. As Much has stated, "*Leider liegt das wort wieder nur in einem Namen, dem der Göttin Garman-gabis*" (1920: 66). However, elsewhere when this ethnicon *Germani* is applied to the Matres or Matronae, the goddesses are always referred to in a Latinized epithet to the *Germanae Matronae* (Rüger 1987: 30), descriptive of the Roman province. It is not used as a native prefix.

As Gutenbrunner (1936b: 92) has pointed out, (if it does not derive from a Celtic reference to the Germanic people) Latin *Germanus* should relate to a Germanic **Germanōz*. Also there is Bede's rather dubious statement the Celtic term was *Garmani*, as well as certain Celtic coins in the Muret-Chabouillet collection (8671-8) inscribed *Carmanos*, *Garmanos* as well as *Carmo-* and *Garmo-*. To make the connection between the Garmangabias and the Germani, one must then postulate a Germanic form **Garmanōz* (Gutenbrunner 1936b: 92). The only alternative would be to see the Germanic form as **Germanōz* and the Celtic form as **Garmanos*. However, if one grants that the Celtic form is **Garmanos*, then the argument that the goddess name is Germanic no longer holds. So Garmangabia can only be a Germanic ethnocon if the Germanic form of the people's name included a variant **Garmanōz*.

Although it is possible that Garmangabis (in the singular) is the "Germanic Giver", a purely Celtic interpretation for this goddess name, as well as for the coin inscriptions to *Garmanos* or *Carmanos*, is also possible. The root *carman-* or *garman-* in these coin inscriptions and in the goddess name may be related to Irish *garman* (a,f) "a weaver's beam" and Welsh *carfan* "a weaver's beam". As Thurneysen (1946: 135) has noted, "the reason for the initial variation in *garmain* "weaver's beam", and W. *carfan* is obscure." Most likely the Irish and Welsh terms derive from two separate IE roots, **ker-* and **gher-*.

Welsh *carfan* "weaver's beam" thus would derive from a suffixed form of IE **ker-* "twine, woven yarn, weave, knit" (IEW: 577-8). The zero-grade of IE **ker-* gives rise to Greek *chairōs* "twine for winding fabric" and *chairōma* "fabric, weaving". In the Welsh word the o-grade or the zero-grade of IE **ker-* may be combined with **mono-* "neck, throat" (IEW: 747) or a derivative of **men-* "stay" (IEW: 729) to give the significance "weaving beam". Irish *garman*, on the other hand, apparently would derive from the o-grade of IE **gher-* "fasten, grip" (IEW: 442), again combined with the stem *mono-*, as above, to give "fastening beam" or "weaving beam". Evans (1967: 391) indicates the interchange of *-a-* and *-o-* in Gaulish; Thurneysen (1946: 52-3) indicates similar interchanges in Irish. This analysis then suggests there were two separate Celtic stems **garmano-* and **carmano-*, both indicating "weaver's beam", which undoubtedly merged in their usage.

Under this interpretation Garmangabis and the Garmangabae would be the "Weaver Controllers" or the "Weavers of Fate". They would then correspond to the Latin Matres Parces "the Mother Fates" (Collinwood 1923: 128), the North Italian Fatae Dervones "the Certain or Sure Fates", and the Matronae Dervonnae "the Certain or Sure Mothers", described in the section on Matronae.

Under this analysis, Garmangabis "the Weaver of Fate" may then have a cognate in the Irish goddess Carman, who gave her name to Oenach Carma(i)n in Leinster. Irish *garman* and Welsh *carfan* "weaver's beam" are most likely corresponding cognates of these names. Carman would then be the "She (of the) Weaving Beam" or "the Weaver (of Fate)" and would

be the Irish correlative of the north Gaulish goddess Garmangabis. The name Carman, however, may be simply a late borrowing into the Irish repertoire and derive from Latin *carmen* “song, incantation”. Such an etymology would seem to have been apparent to one of the compilers of the *Dindsenchas*.

In the *Dindsenchas* story of Oenach Carmain, Lug leads the Tuatha dé Danann against Carman and her three sons, who come to Ireland bringing destruction with them.

By spells, charms, and incantations (*brichtu 7 dicetla 7 cantana*) the mother ruined every place. By plundering and dishonesty, the men destroyed. So they went to Ireland to bring evil on the Tuatha dé Danann by blighting the corn of this island upon them. (Stokes 1894-5: 312-3).

After Lug and the Tuatha dé Danann drove out the sons, they kept the mother Carman hostage.

Their mother died of grief here in her hostageship, and she asked the Tuatha dé Danann to hold her fair (*oenach*) at her burial place and that the fair and this place should always bear her name. And the Tuatha dé Danann performed this as long as they were in Erin. (Stokes 1894-5: 312-3).

The Gaulish Matres

Matres of a Whole People or Region

Matres Ollototes: “the Mothers of All Peoples”.

An inscription from Binchester (Durham) is dedicated to I(OVI) O(PTIMO) M(AXIMO) ET MATRIBVS OLLTOTIS SIVE TRANSMARINIS “to Iuppiter, Best and Greatest, and to the Ollototae or Overseas Mother Goddesses” (RIB: 1030). Here *-tota* is probably a corruption of *teuta*. Evans (1967: 266) lists as variants *touto-*, *toto-*, and *tuto-*. *Tota* would then be cognate with Irish *túath* (a), indicating the region or people under the domain of the smallest unit of kingship and is often rendered as “tribe, domain, people”. Schmidt (1957: 25) and Gutenbrunner (1936b: 154) have seen *ollo-* as equivalent to Welsh and Breton *oll* “all” and thus interpreted the *Matres Ollototae* as “*Matres omnium gentium*”. Fleuriot (1982: 124) follows Gutenbrunner here, seeing *ollototis* as simply a Gaulish translation of Latin *omnium gentium*, which is found in the inscription to the MATRIBVS OMNIVM GENTIVM (CIL VII: 887). This thesis is given considerable credibility by the inscription from Chesters to the [MAT]RIBVS COM[MVN]IBVS “to the Mothers abiding everywhere” (RIB: 1453).

Inscriptions from Gaulish and British troops serving in Britain make clear the regional nature of the Matres as well as the regional extent of their individual domains. Aurelius Iuvenalis serving with the Roman Army on Hadrian’s wall at Newcastle on Tyne dedicated an altar portraying a bas-relief of the triple Matres to the DEA(BVS) MATRIBVS TRAMARINIS PATRI(I)S “to the Mother Goddesses of his native land from Overseas” (RIB: 1318). In *tramarinis*, Fleuriot (1982: 126) sees a hybrid of Latin and Celtic for normal Latin *transmarinis*. A probably Germanic dedication from Xanten on the Rhine (Germania Inferior) refers to the MATRIBVS ARSACIS PATERNIS SIVE MATERNIS (CIL XIII: 8630) “to the Arsacae Mothers whether (of) the Fatherland or Motherland”. Another inscription from Hadrian’s Wall refers to the MA[TRIBVS] GER[MANIS] “to the German Mothers (RIB: 2064), while an inscription from Winchester refers to the MATRIB(VS) ITALIS GERMANIS GAL(LIS) BRIT(ANNIS) “to the Italian, German, Gallic, and British Mothers” (RIB: 88). Similarly, Marcus Rustius fulfilled a vow in York to the [M]ATRIBVS SVIS “to his own Mothers” (RIB: 654). From Spain come inscriptions to the *Matres Gallicae* (de Vries 1931:

98-9). Also worthy of note are the *Matres Noricae* (CIR: 577) and the *Matres Pannoniorum et Delmatarum* (de Vries 1931: 98-9).

Matres of a Civitas, Tribal State, or Province

Ambireneses Matronae: “the Mothers of the Ambireni”.

Rüger (1987b: 30) links these goddesses to the *Ambireni*, whose name means “along the Rhine”. He also associates the Latinized cognomen *Ambirenius*.

Alounae: “the Alaunian Goddesses”.

Inscriptions from the region around Salzburg refer to the *Alounae* (CIL III: 5572-81), apparently the Matres of the Alauni, a tribal state which was probably ethnically Celtic in Noricum.

Eburnicae Matrae: “the Eburonian Mothers”.

From Yvours-sur-le-Rhône, near Lyon, comes an inscription to the MATR[I]S AV[G(VSTIS)] EBVRNICI[S] (Orelli: 5935), referring to the *Eburnicae Matrae*. The inscription clearly refers to the Matres of the Eburones (**eburo-* “yew” < **h₁eb^hro-*; DPC: 112; IEW: 334; Dottin 1920: 253; Schmidt 1957: 202), a tribal state between the Maas and the Rhine, whom Caesar invited the neighboring states across the Rhine to join him in pillaging (*de bello Gallico*: VI, 34-5). The fact that the inscription comes from Lyon rather than the region occupied by the Eburones probably reflects the mobility of local peoples during the Roman Empire, arising from the advance of urbanization as well as from troop movements. Many of the inscriptions to the Germanic *Matronae* come from troops on Hadrian’s Wall.

Gesehenae: “?the Gesatian Mothers?”.

Rüger (1987b: 30) suggests that the *Gesehenae* correspond to the Matres of the *Gesationes*, probably a Germanic group. He associates the cognomens *Gesatius* and *Gesatus*. I am not convinced of this association, however.

Nemetiales Matrae: “the Nemetian Mothers”.

Nemetona, *Nemeta*: “Goddess of the Nemetes”.

From Grenoble, Isère, comes an inscription to the MATRIS NEMETIALI[B(VS)] (CIL XII: 2221). The *Nemetiales Matrae* probably refer to the Mothers of the Nemetes (*nemeto-* “sacred, noble”; Dottin 1920: 274; Schmidt 1957: 248). The Nemetes were a tribal state on the Rhine. The inscription from Klein Winterheim bei Mainz (CIL XIII: 7253) to *Nemeta* may refer to a singular conception of the protecting goddess of the Nemetes. The same interpretation can probably also be made for *Nemetona* in the inscription from Altrip in Rheinbaiern to MARTI ET NEMETONAE (CIL XIII: 6131) and from Bath to LOVCETIO MARTI ET NEMETONAE (RIB: 140), dedicated by Peregrinus Secundi fil(i)us of the *Civis Trever(i)*. All the other Loucetios inscriptions are from the area from Wiesbaden through Rheinhessen.

Although the distribution of the *Nemetona* inscriptions or that of the origin of their dedicators certainly fits the hypothesis of an association with the Nemetes, nonetheless there are other possibilities. *Nemetona* may simply be a derivative of Gaulish *nemeton* “sacred grove” (**nemos* “grove; IEW: 764; DPC: 288). *Nemetona* may also be a derivative of

nemeto- with the common suffix *-ono-* found in *Epona*, *Ritona*, etc. The Celtic stem *nemeto-* would then have given Irish *nemed* “sacred, noble, privileged”. Many places contain the same stem, such as *Nemetobriga* (now Puente de Mavea, Orense).

It seems clear that *Nemetona* and *Nemeta* are the same goddess, differing only by the presence or absence of the attributive suffix *-ono-* (Buck 1933: 323), but the name itself may refer to some general conception behind the name of the Nemetes rather than the tribal state itself. The distribution, nonetheless, suggests that one may link the two.

Matres Nervinae: “the Nervian Mothers”.

Referring to the Matres of the probably ethnically Germanic Nervii in South Flanders is an inscription from Bavai to the [*Matres*] *Nervinae* (DAG: §213, no. 3569). The conception behind the Matres did not follow ethnic boundaries, but it can be found among both Germans and Celts in the region along the Rhine.

Matres Treveri: “the Treverian Matres”.

From Cleve near Drachenfels comes an inscription to the MATRIBVS TREVERIS (AcS II: 1935; CIR: 149), the Mothers of the Treveri, the ethnically Celtic peoples on the Mosel.

Matres of a Single Pagus or Teuta

Baginatiae, Baginahae: “the Mothers of the Pagus Baginensis”.

Inscriptions from Gallia Narbonensis to the *Baginatiae* or to the *Baginahae* (DAG: §82) probably refer, as Whatmough suggests, to the Matres of the *Pagus Baginensis*, located in Drôme. The *Baginahae* are listed along with a local genius *Baginos* in an inscription from Bellecombe (Drôme) to BAGINO ET BAGINAHABVS (AcS I: 332). Here the people honoring the goddess were probably ethnically Ligurian rather than Celtic, but as was the case with the provincial Matres on the Rhine, the conception was transcultural in southern Gaul as well.

Caudellenses: “the Mothers of the Caudellenses”.

From Cadenet (Vaucluse) comes an inscription to DEXIVAE CAVDELLENSIBVS (CIL XII: 1064), apparently dedicated to the protecting Mothers of the *Caudellenses*.

Elitivae (= *?(H)elvitae?*): “the Mothers of the *?Elitives?*” or the “Mothers of the *?Helvetii?*”.

The *Elitives* were probably an unrecorded people in Narbonese Gaul. If so the inscription from Saint-Christol (Vaucluse) to the MATRIBVS ELITIVIS (CIL XII: 1474) would be to the Mothers of this people. Perhaps this inscription should be emended to **(H)elivitis*, with an interchange of the *t* and *v*, and thus indicate the “Mothers of the *Helvetii*”.

Gerudates: “the Mothers of the Gerudates”.

The *Gerudates* were probably an unrecorded people in Narbonese Gaul. If so, the inscription from Saint-Estève (Var) to the MATRIBVS GERVDATIABVS (CIL XII: 805) may refer to the Mothers of this people.

Helvina Ceres: “?the Ceres of Helvenicus?”.

Iuvenālis (III, 320 ff.) refers to the *Helvinam Cererem*, equating *Helvina* with *Ceres*, the Roman goddess of grain and agricultural (AcS I: 1432; DAG: §82). *Helvina* may have her origin in the *Pagus Helvenicus*, but nothing definite can be stated here.

Mediotautehae (**Mediotouticae*) *Matres*: “the Mothers of the Mediotauteha (**Mediotoutica*)”.

The inscription from Cologne to the MATRIB[VS] MEDIOTAVTEHI[S] (CIR: 329) is probably Germanic (as DeVries, 1961: 122, has suggested). In any case, the inscription undoubtedly refers to the “Middle People”. In Gaulish this tribal name would be rendered the **Mediotoutica* (see Dottin 1920: 271, 291; Schmidt 1957: 241, 277-8), who are not otherwise attested elsewhere. Whatmough (DAG §223, 936), however, has noted that the *-h-* in the ending *-eha* may well stand for *-x-*. If so, it could represent a Germanic influence on Celtic *-eca*, *-ica*. This inscription would represent a dedication to the **Mediotouticae Matres*.

Obeleses Matres: “the Mothers of the Obeleses”.

An inscription from Crossillac (Ardèche) to the MARTIS AVG(VSTIS) OBELESIBVS (CIL XII: 2672) probably refers to the local name Obelanon or Obelum (DAG: §80) and originally denoted a *teuta* inhabiting this region.

Tangonae Matres: “the Mothers of the Tangones”.

The Narbonese inscription to the [MATREBVS] TANGONIS from Vénasque (Vaucluse) probably originally denoted the *teuta* inhabiting this region. Here the local name *donia Tanconisi[.]*, probably tribal in origin, would seem to be indicated, although the place appears later as a Roman Colonia, Tangonis (DAG: §§ 80, 82). Here the concept of the Mothers of a *teuta* may have been adapted by a colony of Roman veterans.

Deae of a Single Pagus or Teuta

Albiorica: “Queen of ?the Pagus Albionensis?” or “Queen of ?the World?”.

An inscription to the ALBIORIC(A)E (CIL XII: 1060; AcS I: 89) from Saint-Saturnin d’Apt may refer to the protectress and matron of the *Pagus Albionensis* in the Basse-Alpes, but the root *albio-* may simply relate to Welsh *elfydd* “world” (<**albīo-*), as noted by Dottin (1920: 225). The IE stem apparent here **h₂elb^ho-* “white” (DPL: 29; IEW: 30) also possibly gave Albion (Britain) and Alpes (the Alps). The second element of *Albiorica* probably contains the familiar Gaulish *rīg-* “king” (Dottin 1920: 282) <**rēg-* (**rēg-s* “king”, **rēg(e)ni-* “queen”, **rēgio-* “kingly”; IEW: 854; DPC: 311) with the common *g:c* interchange.

Ricoria or ?[T]ricoria?: “Goddess of ?the Tricorii?”.

The Narbonese inscription from Béziers (CIL XII: 4225) to RICORIA[E] or [T]RICORIA[E] (AcS II: 1183), if the second reading is correct, may refer to the protecting goddess of the *Pagus Tricurius*. But as Espérandieu (Esp.: 539) notes, the problem with this equation is that “*la place paraît manquer pour la lecture [T]ricoria[e] que propose Hirsfeld*”. The figure portrayed below the inscription is standing holding a *patera*. At any rate the *Tricorii*, the Gaulish tribe giving rise to the *Pagus Tricurius*, occupied the Drac valley in Narbonne south of Grenoble.

Temusionis: “?Goddess of the Temusionii?”.

According to Holder (AcS II: 1793), the inscription to the DEAE TEMVSIONI from Saint-Marcel-lez-Chalon, Saône-et-Loire, refers to a local goddess of the Aedui. He gives no evidence to support this suggestion, however, and the etymology is obscure to me. Perhaps a *vicus* or local *pagus* is referenced here.

Vagdavercustis: “?Goddess of the *Vagdavercustii?”.

Much (1917: 292) related the *Dea Vagdavercustis* (CIL XIII: 8702-3), probably Germanic, to Irish *Fergus* < **viro-gustus*), seeing a Germanic **kustu-* relating to Celtic *gustu-* “choice, select” (< IE **geus*, nominal **gus-tu-*; IEW: 399-400; DPC: 169).

Dea Viradect(h)is: “?the Goddess of the *Viradect(h)ii?”.

Inscriptions from Germania Superior, Germania Inferior, and Belgica to the *Dea Viradectis*, *Viradecdis*, *Virodactis*, *Virodact(h)is*, (DAG: §§ 213, 223, 236, 243) apparently refer to a now lost *Volksname*. Similar inscriptions have also come from Mainz. A particularly interesting inscription states DEAE [VIR]ADECD(I) [DIV]ES TVNGRI [ET] NAVTAE (CIL XIII: 8815). A similar inscription from Birrons, Scotland, reads DEAE VIRADECTHI PAGVS CONDRVSTIS MILI[TANS IN COH(ORTE) II TVNGRO(RVM) (CIL VII: 1073). Thus the rather large distribution of inscriptions to a goddess of a local tribe of the Tungri is explained by the predilection of this people to become mercenaries in the Roman army. Like her worshipers, this goddess was probably Germanic. But one should note that Much (1917: 292) related the etymology of her name to Irish *feardhacht* “manly”.

Visucia: “?Goddess of the *Visucii?”.

Possibly belonging to this class of Matres of a single pagus is the goddess referenced in inscriptions from Germania Superior, Germania Inferior, and Belgica concentrating in the territory of the Nemetii. These inscriptions are typified by that to the DEO MERCVRIO VISVCIO ET SA(N)CTAE VISVCI(A)E from Köngen, Württemberg (CIL XIII: 6384; Espérandieu 1931: 595), that to the DEA V[ISVC]IE (CIL XIII: 3665), and that to [MER]CVRIO [VISV]CIO (CIL XIII: 3660) from Trier. The tribe of people possibly denoted in this epithet are not otherwise attested.

The stem **vīsu-* (< IE **uēsu-* “good”), however, may be related to Irish *fiu* “worthy” and Welsh *gwiw* “proper, suitable” (Dottin 1920: 300; IEW: 1174). It would seem reasonable to postulate a *Volksname*, the **Visucii* “the Worthy People”, behind this epithet. It is also possible that indicated here is *visu-* “knowledge” (< IE **uid-tu-s*, giving Irish *fis*; IEW: 1126; Dottin 1920: 300), perhaps referring to the class of people implicated by Gallo-German *veleda* and Irish *fili* “seer”. The distribution of the names throughout the territory of the Nemetii fits the first suggestion better than the second.

Matres of a Vicus

Andounnas: “?the Very Pure?” or “?(the Mothers) of Andounna?”.

Probably referring to the *Matera* of a Celtic town or *oppida* is an inscription in Greek lettering from Collias (with OV for the V of my Latinized transcription): EKELIOS RIVMANEOS ANDOVNNABO DEDE BRATV DEKANTEN (LeJeune 1980: 136; RIG-I: 250-3, G-183). As Rhys (1906: 41) surmised “these Andounnas were undoubtedly Matres and

took their name from Andaon, later Ville-neuve-les-Avignon”. Perhaps the etymology of *Andounnon* can be explained after Falc’hun (1972: 27-8) as combining through hapology the definite article *ando-* and *dounnon* “fort, town” (the o-grade of **dheu-no-*; IEW: 263), cognate with Irish *dun* and Welsh *din* (< **d^huHno-*; DPC: 108)

However, Lejeune (1982: 108) does not see the reference to ANDOVNNABO as *toponymique*, but rather as *descriptive*. As he notes, Mont Andaon is 30 km from the find site of the inscription. The personal name *Andonnocallos* is suggestive, but here the root is *donno-* “noble” combined with the intensive *an-*, not *douno-*. Lejeune (1982: 110) suggests that the Celtic stem **deuno-*, the o-grade of which is found in the goddess name, is cognate with Irish *den* “pure, clean, strong”. The Andounnas would then be the “Very Pure”.

Brittae Matres: “the Mothers of Britta”.

An inscription from Xanten on the Lower Rhine to the MATRIBVS BRITTIS (CIR: 201, 208) probably relates to a town or placename *Brittiacus* or *Britta*, which was a widespread name in Gaul (such as Britta near Zürich).

Matres Cartovallenses: “the Mothers of Cortovallium”.

An inscription from Binchester reads to the MATRIB(VS) ... ET CARTOVALLENSIBVS (CIL VII: 475), probably referring to the Matres of Cortovallium (v. Coriovallum, now Heerlen), a Roman station in the Netherlands. The name Coriovallium itself provides an interesting juxtaposition of Latin *vallum* “wall” with Celtic *corio-* “troop” (Dottin 1920: 248).

Dea Mairea: “the Goddesses of Mairia”.

The Matres of the *vicus Mairiacum* or *Mericum*, now Méry-sur-Seine (Aube), are referred to in an inscription from Til-Châtel near Dijon to the [D]EABVS MAIR[IS] (CIL XII: 5623). These same goddesses are probably noted in an inscription to the DEAE EPONAE ET DIS MAIRABVS (CIL XIII: 5622).

Masavenses Matres: “(the Mothers) of Masava”.

The inscription to the DEAE CLVTO[I]DAE ET V[I]CANIS MASAVESIBVS (AcS II: 449) from Masava (Mesves-sur-Loire, Nièvre) refers to “the Mothers of Masava”.

Materas Namausicas: “the Mothers of Nimes”.

From Nîmes comes an inscription to the *Materas Namausicas* in Gaulish written in Greek lettering (with OV for the V of my Latinized transcription): [.]ARTAR[.] [.]LLANVIKOS DEDE MATREBO NAMAVSIKABO BRATVDE (Lejeune 1980: 136; RIG-I: 273, G-203) “[C]artar[os] [I]llanviacos greatly gave (this) to the Matras Namausicas” (also see Rhys 1906: 35).

Materas Glanicas: “the Mothers of Glanum”.

Rocloisias: “the Great Hearers”.

From Glanum (Saint-Rémy) have come inscriptions to the *Materas Glanicas*, also referred to as the *Rocloisias*. The inscriptions are in Gaulish on stone and in Greek lettering (again with OV for the V of my Latinized transcription): MATREBO GLANEIKABO BRATV DEKANTEN and KORNELIA ROKLOISIABO BRATV DEKANT (Lejeune 1980: 136; Rolland 1958: 54; RIG-I: 73-115, G-64 and G-65). In the latter inscription Lejeune (1979:

101) has rendered *Rocloisiabo* as “*Auribus*” or “*qui prêtent une oreille attentive*”. Thus the *Rocloisias* are “the Great Hearers”. The inscription was found on a block on the back of the fountain (Rolland 1958: pl. 17:4). It seems probable that it refers to the Glanic Mothers.

The significance of *bratu* or *bratude* in these inscriptions was cleared up by Wagner (1960: 235-41), who related *bratu-* to Latin *gratia* and Oscan *bratud* “given with thanks”, derived from IE **gʷera-* “sing, praise”. This suggestion has been taken up by Szemerényi (1974), Lejeune (1976), and Evans (1977). There also seems little doubt that *dede* represents a third singular reduplicated perfect (<**dhedē*) of **dhē* “place”, indicating “*posuit*” or “dedicated” (Evans 1977: 84). The open question is whether or not *-de-* represents a participle suffix added to the end of *bratu-*, giving *bratude* and an obscure *canten* or *cantem* (rendered variously as “hymn” or “stone”). More likely *bratu* represents an adverb issued from the instrumental followed by *decanten* or *decantem* (<**dekamtā*), the accusative of an *ā*-stem *decanta* “tenth” or “tithe” (Lejeune 1976: 135 ff.), as suggested by Szemerényi (1974: 246-7). The problems are that the accusative *-em* (*-en*) would correspond to the Irish accusative *-en* ending rather than the usual Gaulish and British *-am* (*-an*) ending (Lejeune 1979: 148). In spite of the difficulties, the most likely interpretation is *dede bratu dekanten* “in gratitude dedicated the tithe”, a formula in agreement with expressions from Greece and elsewhere in the IE world.

Vatineae Matres: “the Mothers of Vatinausa”.

The inscription to the MATRAB(VS) VATIN(EIS) from Saargau (Langres) (CIL XIII: 5673) probably denotes Vatinausa (AcS III: 125), a local place name.

Dea Loci

(*Goddesses Considered as Mater Vici or Pagi*)

Bergonia, Bergusia: “?Goddess of Bergusia, now Bergoin?”.

The inscription to B[E]RGONI(A)E (CIL XII: 1061) from Viens (Vaucluse) may refer to Bergusia, now Bourgoin, Isère, in the territory of the Allobroges. But there is also a *Mons Bergus* near Villeneuve de Berg (Ardèche). Probably the same local attribution applies to *Bergusia* in the famous inscription to the DEO VCVETI ET BERGVSIAE from Alise-Sainte-Reine. At any rate, the IE stem **bherghō-* “mountain, high” (IEW: 140; DPC: 77) lies behind both names, with the zero-grade giving Irish *brí* (accusative *brig*) “hill” and Welsh *bry* “high” (<**bh̥rghu-*). The same root of course gives Brigantia.

Bibractis (or *Bibrax*): “the Goddess of Bibracte”.

Bulliot (1870: 307-8) derived the etymology of *Bibracte* from *beber* “beaver” (Dottin 1920: 232), seeing an *ex voto* bronze plaque from the spring at Autun to the DEAE BIBRACTI (AcS I: 415; DAG: §181) as inscribed by someone seeking healing from the nymph of the sacred spring. But unless Mont Beauvry is named after the goddess of the spring at Autun, this etymology cannot be correct (although it has been accepted by Pokorny; IEW: 136). Lebel (1962: 972) has pointed out, from its great and sheer height rising out of the surrounding plain, the etymology of Mount Beauvry or Bibracte from *beber* can hardly be envisioned by anyone who has actually visited the site. The etymology suggested by Vendryes (1905-6: 395) is superior. Vendryes derived the name of the main oppida of the Aedui (BG: I, 23) from **bi-bracto-*, the reduplicated past participle of **bract-*, corresponding to Greek *phraxtos* “fortified”. Thus Mont Beauvry is “*le (mont) fortifié*”. The *Dea Bibractis*, in taking her name from her protected city, differs from the *Matres Nemausicos* only in being referred to in the singular rather than in the plural.

Dunisa: “Goddess of Dunis (now Dun)”.

The inscription to DVNISIAE (AcS I: 1363; DAG: §181) from Bussy-Albieu (Loire) probably refers to Dun (Cher), originally known as Dunis. If the Celtic stem *duno-* “fort” (Dottin 1920: 254; the zero-grade of **dheu-no-*; IEW: 263) (**d^huHno-*; DPC: 108) is apparent in Dunisa, then any number of other sites may be implicated as well, recalling Andounnas.

Genava: “Goddess of Genava (Geneva)”.

Protecting Genava (now Geneva), originally an oppida of the Allobriges (BG I: 6) and a major trade center for the route from Italy to Bavaria and Bohemia, was the goddess *Genava*, referred to in inscriptions to GENAVAE (AcS I: 2000; DAG: §82).

Letinno or *?Letinnonis?*: “?Goddess of Lédenon?”.

The inscription from Nîmes to LETINNONI B(ONNAE) (CIL XII: 2990) may refer to a goddess associated at one time with Lédenon, Gard.

Dea Mogontia: “Goddess of Mogontiacus (now Mainz).”

The inscription from Le Sablon, Metz, to the DEAE MOGONTIAE (AcS II: 611) probably refers to Mogontiacus, now Mainz (AcS II: 611). Anwyl (1906: 40) would see a relationship between this goddess and Mogounos Apollo, but if there is any, it is probably only through the name of the town, which may have been taken from that of the god.

Litavis: “Goddess of Litavicrarus”, “Goddess of Letavia, or “?Earth?”.

The series of inscriptions from Mâtain and Aignay-le-Duc (Côte-d’Or) to the DEO MARTI CICOLLVI ET LITAVI (CIL XIII: 5598-5603) probably refers to the goddess of *Litavicrarus* (CIL XIII: 5708) (Langres) in the territory of the Lingones. *Litavicrarus* might be translated as Charus Plain. The root apparent in *litavi-* is the zero-grade of IE **plet-* “broad, flat, wide” (IEW: 833; DPC: 135). Indeed the same suffixed form is found in Gallo-Latin *Letavia* (<**Litavia*), the name for Armorica (DAG: §179) (Irish *Letha* and Welsh *Litau*), which is essentially identical to the name of the goddess (see Dottin 1920: 266; Schmidt 1957: 232). The name apparently refers to a broad flat plain, as in Irish *lethaid* “spread out, extend” and *lethan* “broad, wide, widespread” and Welsh *lled* “broad”. That the Gaulish goddess *Litavis* might be equated with the Sanskrit goddess *Pr̥thivī* “Earth”, as suggested by Thurneysen (AcS II: 243), is not likely, although it remains a possibility as both names derive from *ṷ*-suffixed forms of the same IE root. There is also an inscription from Mâtain to [MA]RTI CIC[OLLVI E]T BELL[ONAE] (CIL XIII: 5598). Thus Anwyl (1906: 37) has suggested that Bellona must have been identified with Litavis, giving her a role as a war goddess.

Nehalennia: “?” (Germanic).

Although she is undoubtedly Germanic linguistically, the *Dea Nehalennia* from Dombourg provides an in-depth view of the singular Mother. She is portrayed in many of the altars erected to her in essentially the same fashion as the single seated Mothers from Gallia Lugdunensis. Thus *Nehalennia* is usually portrayed as a single seated goddess of youthful appearance, with a lap-dog below her (and to her left) and a basket of fruit below her (and to her right). She wears the characteristic long tunic of the Matres or is covered by a cloak (Esp:

6640-6660; Hondius-Crone 1955: 22-100). Altar number 16 (Hondius-Crone: 1955: 58-9) is particularly significant as it portrays in a bas-relief above the inscription NAHALLENIAE the characteristic triple-seated goddess group of the Matres.

The cult of Nehalennia's temple was also associated with Neptūnus, and he is portrayed on the side of several of her altar stones. There are also altars to Neptūnus alone. Perhaps this relationship explains why she is also portrayed as a standing goddess, wearing a short cape, with her left foot on the prow of a ship, sometimes holding a steering oar. The dedications explain these portrayals. Altar number 23 was erected in gratitude for "some passage of merchandise across the sea", altar number 26 "for the welfare of a son", and altar number 9 "out of gratitude for success in general" (Hondius-Crone 1955: 101).

Gutenbrunner (1936b: 81-2) explains *nēha*, the first element of *Nehalennia*, as "*nahe*" or "near, neighboring", and this seems likely. Seeing the second element *-lenni* as cognate with Anglo-Saxon *linna* "to cease from, desist" or *linna* "soft, mild", however, is not satisfactory. Whatmough (DAG: §221) lists *lina* or *leine* as a local or ethnic name, and Holder (AcS II: 183) notes *Lenna* (*castrum*) as a place name equatable to modern Laine or Laigne. Similarly Lennius is a place-name in Lusitania, while Lein is the name of a stream in Württemberg. Stokes (1894: 241) explained the Celtic root *leino-* by reference to Welsh *llwyn* "grove, woods" and a supposed Irish *lian* "meadow, pasture", which I can find attested nowhere else. However, *llwyn* is undoubtedly related to Welsh *llywf* "elm" (<*lei-mā; IEW: 309), which is cognate with Anglo-Saxon *lime*. Greek *leimon* "field, pasture" derives from the same m-suffixed stem as does Anglo-Saxon *lim* "limb, branch" and Old Norse *limr* "branch".

Hondius-Crone (1955:8, 11) relates a letter of 1647 stating that "the sand around the site [of the temple] is full of treestumps, so that there seems to have been a wood there". Thus the temple itself apparently was situated in a "sacred wood". It is not unlikely that the Germanic name *Nehalennia* simply indicates "the Region of the Grove". At any rate, if this is incorrect, her name probably relates to a place-name and concerns none of her matronly attributes. Polomé (1988: 81) suggests a relationship in the etymology of the name to Latin *necāre* "to kill", seeing a death cult with an otherworld boat signified on the altars rather than navigational prosperity. In light of the dedications above, however, this does not seem likely.

Dea Ratis: "the Goddess of Rata (now Leicester)".

Inscriptions to the DEAE RATI (RIB: 1454, 1903) from Chesters and Birdoswald undoubtedly refer to the goddess of Rata (Ptolemaeus: 2, 3, 11), now Leicester.

Dea Samarobriva: "Goddess of Samarobriva (now Amiens)".

Protecting Samarobriva (now Amiens), the chief oppida of the Ambiani, was the *dea Samarobriva* (DAG: §212). The *Concilium Gallorum* was held there after Caesar's return from Britain (*de bello Gallico* V: 24), so that the goddess was not an unimportant one.

Senia: "Goddess of Zenss".

The inscription from Trier to SENIAE (CIL III: 3016; AcS II: 1471) probably refers to Senia, now Zengg in Croatia. The town is mentioned by Ptolemaeus (2.16, 2) and in inscriptions (such as CIL III: 3016; AcS II: 1475). This name exemplifies the difficulty added to the regional analysis of Celtic names by population mobility during the Roman Empire.

Trittia: “Goddess of Tritis (now Trets)”.

The inscription to TRITTIAE (CIL XII: 255) from Carnoules (Var) may refer to the goddess of Trets (originally Tritis) near Aix (Bouches-du-Rhône) (DAG: §82).

Dea Vienna: “Goddess of Vienne”.

The *Dea Vienna* (DAG: §82) was protectress of Vienna (now Vienne), the chief oppida of the Allobroges.

Vinovia: “Goddess of Vinovion (now Binchester).”

Presiding over Vinovion (now Binchester) was the goddess *Vinovia* (AcS III: 354). She is referenced in inscriptions to VINOVIE(A) (CIL VII: 427).

Visuna: “Goddess of Visuntium (now Besançon).”

The inscription on an altar portraying a jug and patera from Baden-Baden to VISVNAE (AcS III: 40), erected by Sulvius Similiss of the Mediomatrici (Esp VI: 6449), may refer to the protecting goddess of Besançon (Doubs), originally Visuntium or Vesontio(n). But the root *vesu-*, *visu-*, “good, rich”, as in Irish *fíu* “worthy” (< IE **u̯esu-* “good”; IEW: 1174; DPC: 418) is a common element in other place-names such as Vicus Vesonnus (Bezons near Paris) and modern Vesonne (Haute-Savoie). Vesunna (now Vésone, Dordogne) was also the main oppida of the Petrucori. The same stem may occur in the name of the *Matronae Vesuniahenae*.

The Matronae

Matronae from Cisalpine Gaul

Matronae Dervonnae: “Matrons of the Oak (Grove)?” or “?Matrons of Certainty?”.

An inscription to the MATRONIS DERVONNIS (CIL V: 5791) was found in Milan, apparently arising from Celts residing in Cisalpine Gaul. An inscription from Cavalzesio near Brescia apparently refers to these same *Matronae Dervonnae* in an inscription to the FATIS DERVONIBVS (CIL V: 4208). Holder (AcS I: 1271) relates the attributive name *Dervona* to the place-name *Dervo* and *Dervio* near Milan, which he lists as derived from **dervā* “oak” (IEW: **deru-*, *deru-*). The same stem gives Irish *derucc* “acorn”, Welsh *derwen* “oak”, and Irish *derb* “certain” (IEW: 214-5; DPC: 96). Schmidt (1987: 143) accepts this etymology. These goddesses would then be the “Mothers of the Oak (Grove)”.

The fact that the Cavalzesio inscription calls these goddesses *Fates Dervones* suggests that the significance of Irish *derb* “certain, determined, sure” (rather than that of *derucc* “acorn”) might be applied to name of the goddesses. They would then be the “Certain Fates” or the “Mothers of Certainty”.

Matronae Veditantiae: “Matrons of Veditantia”.

The *Matronae Veditantiae* presided over *Veditantia* in North Italy (de Vries 1931: 98). They are denoted in an inscription to the MATRONIS VEDIANTIABVS (CIL V: 7872) from Tourette (Alpes-Maritimes).

Possibly Celtic Matronae from Germanic Gaul

(Of the more than fifty epithets to the Matronae from Germanic Gaul only a few are possibly Celtic linguistically.)

Matronae Ambiomarcae: “the Mothers of the Ambiomarcii”.

The inscription to the AMBIOMARCIS (CIR: 646) from Remagen in Rheinpreussen likely refers to the same goddesses as the inscription to MATRONIS ABIAMARC(IS) (CIR: 635) from Floisdorf. The first stem is possibly Celtic *ambi-* “about, around” (Dottin 1920: 216), giving Irish *imb* and Welsh *amm-* (**h₂emb^hi-*; DPC: 32). Schmidt (1957: 124) sees here the same io-stem *ambio-* to be found in *Ambiorix*. The final stem may be Celtic *marco-* “mare” (Schmidt 1957: 237; Dottin 1920: 270), giving Irish *marc* and Welsh *march* “mare” (IE **marko-*; DPC: 257; IEW: 700). The significance would then be “About Horses”. If the first stem should prove not to be Celtic, it is possible that the second term may be Germanic *mark-* “boundary, frontier” (Gutenbrunner 1936b: 166-7). Thus Schmidt (1957: 124) suggests “*die um die Marken herum Wohnenden*”. In either case the *Matronae Ambiomarcae* would have a tribal attribute. The linguistic origins of the name of the tribe need hardly concern us.

Matronae Anesamin[e]hae: “?”.

Schmidt (1987: 144) relates this name to a Germanization of **Anisaminica*, the superlative of **ana* “rich” (as in Irish *anae* “rich, prosperous”). The name is otherwise obscure to me.

Matronae Boudunneae: “the Mothers of the Victorious People”.

From Cologne comes an inscription to the MATRON[IS] BOVDVNN[EIS] (CIL XIII: 8217). This name may contain the Celtic root *boudi-*, *bodi-* (Dottin 1920: 235), found in Irish *buaid* “victory” and Welsh *budd* “profit” (<**bhoudhi* “victory”; IEW: 163; DPC: 72). Although Gutenbrunner (1936b: 168) relates the *Boudunneae* to Celtic **boudi-*, he also cites *Baudihillia* as a Germanic name containing the same root. Again a tribal name “the Victorious People” is probably referenced here, whether ethnically Celtic or Germanic.

Gabiae: “the Holders or Controllers”.

See above *Carmangabis*.

Matronae Mediotautehae: “Mothers of the Middle Peoples”.

Schmidt (1987: 144) relates *tautehis* as a Germanization of *teutica* containing the stem **teuta* “people” (IEW: 1080; DPC: 386) (see above Matres of a Single Pagus or Teuta).

Matronae Vlauhinehae: “?the Mothers of the Enclosed Area (Town)?”.

Schmidt (1987: 144) believes that this name represents a Germanization of **Vlaucinica*, relating it to the Celtic stem **vlau-* “wall” (Irish *bla* (o,n)). Otherwise, the name is obscure.

Germanic Matres

Matres Frisavae:

The *Matres Frisavae* (CIL XIII: 8633) from Xanten may be seen to refer to the Frisii or Frisiavi and are purely Germanic, although they are termed *Matres* (Specht 1937: 6).

Matres Suebae:

The *Matres Suebae* from Keulen (CIR: 2333, 3175) and Deutz (CIR: 3174) may be seen to fit the same pattern as the *Matres Frisavae*, but here referring to the Suebians (de Vries 1931: 98).

Germanic Matronae

(The following *Matronae*, as DeVries (1931: 97-8) noted, presided over the corresponding *Vicus* for which they are named.)

Matronae Albiahenae: “the Mothers of Albinicum”.

The *Matronae Albiahenae* (CIR: 3084-7) protected *Albinicum* (now Elvenich).

Matronae Hamavehiae: “the Mothers of the Hamii”.

The *Matronae Hamavehiae* (CIL XIII: 7864) from Altdorf bij Jülich most probably contain a reference to the *Hamii* in their name, as pointed out by Specht (1937: 6) and deVries (1931: 97).

Matronae Iulineihiae: “the Mothers of Iuliacum”.

The *Iulineihiae* (CIR: 3159) correspond to *Iuliacum* (now Jülich).

Matronae Lanehiae: “the Mothers of Laciniacum”.

The *Lanehiae* (CIR: 3160) correspond to *Laciniacum* (now Lechenich).

Nersihenae: “the Mothers of Nersiceniacum”.

The *Nersihenae* (CIR: 3193) correspond to Nersiceniacum (now Neersen).

Vacallinehae: “the Mothers of Vacalliniacum”.

The *Vacallinehae* (CIR: 3178-82) correspond to Vacalliniacum (now Wachelndorf).

Matronae Veteranehae: “the Mothers of Veteraniacum”.

The *Matronae Veteranehae* (MATRONIS VETERANEHIS; CIL XIII: 7822) correspond to Vetera near Fürstenberg-bei-Birten (DAG: §223).

Spring Nymphs

Acionna: “?Water Goddess?”.

Presiding over the sacred spring at the Fontaine de l’Etuveé at Fleuri near Orléans was the goddess *Acionna*. Inscriptions to her are dedicated to the AVG(VSTAE) ACIONNAE (Orelli: 1955; CIL XIII: 3063-5). The etymology of her name is possibly derivable from an io-stem of IE **akṷā-*, the a-form of **ēku-* “water” (IEW: 23) (**h₂ek^heh₂*), with the addition of the attributive suffix *-onno-* (Buck 1933: 322-3). According to Pokorny (IEW: 23), the io-stem is found in Icelandic *Aegir* (<**ēkṷjos*) “God of the Sea”. This etymology for *Acionna* involves either assuming her name is Ligurian or accepting the evidence put forth by Whatmough (1966: 111-4) for an alternation between *p*, *qu*, and *c* in Gaulish for IE *kṷ*. On the Coligny calendar forms such as the month names *Equos* and *Qutios/Cutios* occur along side of *petiux* for **petuorio-noux* “fourth night”, and *prinni* for **prinnios* “way, course, path” (Olmsted 1992a: 72-3). Similarly the river Seine was called *Sequana*.

On the calendar and in these deity names, the use of q-forms could be the result of the survival of an archaic priestly language of culture. However, Whatmough (1966: 111-4) gives a list of alternations which are difficult to explain except in seeing both dialectal forms coexisting in Gaul. Thus he lists *pennum/cennum*, *caneco/panicium*, *Aecuria/Aepurita*, *Cracco/Crappus*, *Iccius*, *Eccius/Eppius*, *ICCO/Eppo*, *Epato/Equatia*, *Mapillus/Macculus*, *Pinna/Cinnanius*, *Occo/Oppo*, *roculus/oppus*, *cuctium/-putium*, *Sequana/Sipia (Seiche)*, *Prappo/Pracca*, *Aconius/Aponius*, *Lucco/Luppo*, *Veco/Vepo*, etc. As Whatmough notes the phonemic distinction noted above can by no means be presumed to imply contrasting meanings, especially since the meanings must be deduced mainly from the etymologies of names.

There is a uniformity in the matter of labial and palatal or velar contrast that does not correspond to the historic relationship of Brythonic and Goedelic, and ... the attempt to force the evidence into agreement with that division is misleading. (Whatmough 1966: 114-5).

Unlike personal names, however, deity names often provide a context for the significance of a name. Indeed, usually only one of the competing etymologies fits the pattern established for a particular class of names. The competing etymological theories must be tried by this context and pattern, rather than bending and plying the contexts and patterns to fit preconceived theories. Dialect differences may lie behind these alternations, but personal names, due to the general mobility and mixing of different populations in the urban centers and in the military (the primary sources of named inscriptions) during the Roman period may not provide a means of regionally mapping the distinctions discernable through the name etymologies.

In the case of *Acionna* it is difficult to discern an etymology other than *acio-* “water” (< **akṷio-*). Speaking against a derivative from **akṷā-* is the fact that the root has no insular Celtic derivatives, but, of course, if the name is Ligurian, this would be no problem.

Arnemesta, Arnetmetia: “?”.

The goddess *Arnetmetia*, presiding over the hot springs known as the the Buxton Waters (Richmond 1955: 153), probably also takes her name from that of the spring, which Richmond reconstructs as **Aquae Arnetmetia* (ie., “the Waters beside the Sacred Grove”). The *Ravennatis*, however, gives the name as *Arnetmeze* for *Arnetmetiae* (RIB: 281). An altar now in the Buxton Museum is dedicated to the DEAE ARNOMETE (RIB: 281). Although the *Arnetmetici* (AcS I: 218) were a people dwelling on the right side of the Rhône, the attested

names suggest *Arnometta* or *Arnemesta*, perhaps with *mest-*, *mect-* derived from the IE root **mesg-* “to wash, to sink under” (LIV: 441; IEW: 745). Here would be the verbal form **ar-ni-mest-* as in Irish *arneget* (**ar-ni-guid-*) “pray” and *arneat* (**ar-ni-sed-*) “support”. The significance of the goddess name would be “She who Washes Forth”.

However, one might also see the central stem in this name as a development of IE **nei-bho-* related to Irish *noim*, *noib* “sacred, holy” (< the o-grade **noib^ho-* from **neib^ho-*; DPC: 286; IEW: 760). To this stem would be added the abstract nominal suffix *-ect-* and the intensive prefix *ar-*. The significance would then be “the Very Sacred Goddess”. Relating *nemet-* to Irish *nemed* “sacred, holy, privilege” would give the same significance for **Arnemeta*. Otherwise, the name is obscure to me.

Arvolcia: “the Very Wet”.

Seeing a glide vowel added between the *-l-* and the *-c-* in the name of the British goddess *Arvolecia* (DAG: §74, note XIV B), I reduce *volec-* to *volc-* and then relate it to Irish *folc* (o,m) “heavy rain, wet weather” and *foilc* “wet, rainy”. The o-grade of the IE root **uelk-* “moisture, liquid” (IEW: 1145) also gives Irish *folcaid* and Welsh *golchi* “to wash”. The initial *ar-* may be seen to be the intensive prefix. Thus *Arvolcia* would signify the “Very Wet”, suggesting that she was a source or spring goddess. Relevant is the river name *Volcos*, which Pokorny (IEW: 1145) sees as Illyrian.

Cobba: “Prosperity”.

From Utrecht come two very important inscriptions to the BORVOBOENDOAE (Gutenbrunner 1936b: 211, S. 75, B5) and to the DEABVS BORVOBOE(N)DOAE COBBAE (Gutenbrunner 1936b: 211, S. 75, B4). As both Gutenbrunner (1936b: 67) and Whatmough (DAG: §74, note XIV, iii) have noted, *Borvoboendoa* is undoubtedly a Celtic name. Here, *Cobba* is probably a local spring or source goddess, whose name means “Victory or Prosperity” and is related to Irish *cob* “victory”. Stokes (1894: 90) and Dottin (1920: 246) suggested a Celtic stem **cobo-* “victorious”. However, the IE root **kobo-* means “manage or prosper well” (IEW: 610; DPC: 212). The more general meaning behind the IE root is likely to lie behind the significance of the name of the spring nymph. I would suggest that *Cobba* means “Prosperity” rather than “Victorious”.

Coventina: “?with Waters?”.

From a shallow well at Carrawburgh comes a stone portraying the relief of a single water nymph holding a branch and reclining in the stream she herself pours from a jug (RIB: 1534). The relief is inscribed to the DEA COVENTINAE. She is also portrayed as three water nymphs done in identical fashion, each pouring a stream from a jug held in one hand, while holding a smaller vessel upright in the other (Toynbee 1962: no. 70). Other inscriptions found on altars at her well are to the DEAE CONVENTINAE or to the DEAE COVENTINAE (RIB: 1522-1527). There are also inscriptions from Spain to this goddess, thus from Santa Eufemia de Túy come inscriptions to CONV[ETINAE] and from near Guitiriz to CONVETENE (Martinez 1962: 190-1)

Although Gutenbrunner (1936b: 49-50) attempted to relate *Coventina* to Latin *conventus* “assembly” and see her as a Germanic goddess of the *Thing*, one should seek her etymology elsewhere. *Coventina* was obviously a spring nymph. The first element in her name is *co-* or *con-* “with” (Schmidt 1957). The second element may be derived from IE **aquent-* “to wet; a spring” (IEW: 78), found elsewhere in the name of the goddess *Aventia*, river goddess of the Ant in Norfolk. In *Coventina* the initial *a-* of *avent-* could have been eliminated by haplology,

and in *Conventina* the *a-* could have been eliminated by syncope. It is also possible that used here is a nasalized form of IE **ued-* “wet” (IEW: 78-80) (as in Germanic **uent-*, English *winter* “the wet season”).

It is possible that this goddess is Germanic, as surmised by Gutenbrunner (1936b: 49-50); at least one of the dedicators proclaimed himself a German (*Crotus Germanus*: RIB: 1525). But it still seems more likely that the significance of the name is “water”, not “assembly”.

Icovellauna: “the Healing Seer” or the “Healer of Vellaunos”.

Inscriptions from the region of the *Mediomatrici* are addressed to the DEAE ICOVELLAVNAE SANCTISSIMO (CIL XIII: 3644), the [DEAE] ICOV[ELLAVNAE], to [IC]OVELLAV[NAE] (AcS II: 23) from Le Sablon, Meurthe-et-Moselle, and to the DEAE ICOVEL[LAVNAE] (CIL XIII: 4294) from Trier. The first element of this goddess name, *ico-*, is probably related to Irish *icc* (a, f) “act of curing, healing” and Welsh *iach* “health”, derived from IE **iēkko-*, an expressive expansion of **iēk-* “heal” (IEW: 504; DPC: 171). Irish *icc* is the verbal noun of *iccaid* “heals, cures, mends”. *iccaid* “healer” derives from this verb.

The second root *vellauno-* is apparently the same as in the Gaulish deity name *Vellaunos*, assimilated to both Mars and Mercurius. The basic root here is apparently **uel-* “see, sight, foresight; observance, vigilance” (IEW: 1136-7; DPC: 412), giving Irish *fili* (gen. *filed*) “seer” and Welsh *gweled* “see” (but see Glossary: *Vellaunos* for other possibilities). Thus *Icovellauna* would be the “Healing Seer” or “the Healer of Vellaunos”.

Laurentes Nympae: “The Nymphs of the Laurentes”.

Possibly protecting a local spring were the *Laurentes Nymphae*, referred to in an inscription to the [NY]MPHIS LAVREN[TIBVS] (AcS II: 160; DAG: §236) from Grusenheim near Mainz. The reference to them in the plural is suggestive of *Coventina*, conceived of as a triplicate. However, the local feature referenced by *Laurentis* is not known.

Segeta: “the Propitious”.

Inscriptions from near Moingt (Loire) to the DEAE SEGETAE (CIL XIII: 1644-6) indicate a goddess who presided over the Aqua Segeta. Both the name of the spring and that of the goddess are probably related to Irish *ségda* (io, ia) “lucky, fortunate, propitious” (RIAD), derived from IE **segh-*, *seghi-* “hold, hold fast, strength, victory” (IEW: 888-9; DPC: 327). Pokorny associated *Segetia* with other names such as *Segomō* and *Segomaros*, where the basic meaning of the root **segh-* “victory” is still apparent. However, the significance of the Aqua Segeta was most probably the “Propitious Waters”, and *Segeta*, herself, the “Fortune Bringer”.

Setlocenia: “?the Goddess of the Native Land?” or “?the Goddess of Long Life?”.

Jackson (1953: 325) has suggested that an inscription to the DEAE SETLOCENIAE (RIB: 841) from the Roman Fort at Maryport may be to a Celtic “Goddess of Long Life”. If so, she was undoubtedly a spring nymph, with a name attributable to a supposed quality of the spring. Jackson relates *setlo-* to Welsh *hoedl* “life”. The same root is also to be found in Latin *saeculum* “generation”, as both derive from a *-tlo-* expansion of **sēi-* “throw, let fall” (IEW: 889-90). Jackson relates the second element *cenio-* to a Celtic root **ceno-* (Dottin 1920: 245), giving Irish *cian* “long”. (Also see Schmidt 1957: 267).

However, Jackson’s etymology is called into doubt by the fact that the altar in question was dedicated by *Labareus Ge(rmanus)*. If the expansion of the name is correct, it suggests that the dedicator was a German. Anglo-Saxon *setl* “seat, place, residence” and

setl- “assembly” may be pertinent. The second root could be related to Anglo-Saxon *cennan* “conceive, beget” and *cennan* “declare”. Thus Setlocena could be the Germanic “Goddess of One’s Place of Birth” or the “Goddess of Speech at the Assembly”.

Vesunna: “(She who Brings) Riches”.

Presiding over the *Fontaine de Sainte Sabine* (Périgueux) in the territory originally occupied by the Petrucorii was the goddess referenced in inscriptions to the TVTELAE VESVNNAE (CIL XIII: 949, 955, 956). Her name is probably composed of the root *vesu-* “good, rich” (Dottin 1920: 300; Schmidt 1957: 294; Weisgerber 1930: 213) combined with the suffix *-onno-*, *-ono-*. Celtic *vesu-* derives from a shortened form of IE **u̯esu-* “good” (IEW: 1174; DPC: 418), which gives Irish *fíu* “worthy, fitting” and Welsh *gwiw* “worthy”. Thus Vesunna and her spring bring “worth, status, and riches”.

Wood Nymphs

Ardbenna: “Goddess of the Ardbenna, the High Hills”.

Inscriptions from the area of the Ardennes Forest (*Arduenna Silva*), the highland from the Maas over the Mosel to the Rhine, are dedicated to the DEAE ARDBINNAE (CIR: 589), ARDVENNAE, or ARDVINNE (CIL VI: 46). It is clear that this goddess’s area of influence was focused on the game of the forest. An engraving of a bas-relief, originally in the Vatican but now lost (Krüger and Cramer 1918: 11), displays dedications to ARDVINNE, CAMVLO, IOVI, MERCVRIO, and HERCVLI, while each deity is portrayed below its name. Camulos is portrayed as Mars, while Ardivinna is portrayed as Diana.

The various spellings of the name point to an original *Ardu-benna*, with the first element *ardu-* “high” (Dottin 1920: 228), as in Irish *ard* “high”, derived from IE **r̥d̥yo-* “high” (IEW: 339) (**h₂erHd^h-yo-*; DPC: 40). The full-grade form **h₂erHd-* gives Avestan *arədvā-* “high” as well as Latin *arduus*. The second element *binna*, *vinna*, *venna*, points to a Celtic stem **benno-*, giving Welsh *bann* and Irish *benn* (v. *binn*, *bind*) “mountain, crag, summit, hill, pinnacle”. Thus *Ardvenna Silva* is undoubtedly the “Forest of the High Hills”.

It seems most likely that Ardbenna has simply taken her name from that of the upland forest over whose game she presided. Wagner (1981: 7), however, has suggested a connection between Ardbenna, Ardivinna, and the “old Iranian river goddess *Arədvī* ‘the High One’”. He would then see Ardivinna as “semantically identical” to Irish Brigit. Although the suggestion is tantalizing, the context of the etymology of the goddess name and that of the upland forest, as well as the portrayal of Ardivinna as Diana, suggest that she took her name rather than gave her name to that of the forest. Further, Pokorny (IEW: 334) relates Avestan *arədvī-*, the name of a mythical river, to IE *ered-* “flowing, moist, wet”. This etymology seems more likely for the Iranian goddess name than that proposed by Wagner.

Artio (or *?Artionis?*), *Andarta*: “Goddess of the Bear (Forest)”.

From Muri near Bern comes a small bronze statuette of a seated goddess holding a basket of fruit before a huge bear facing her (Pobé and Roubier 1958: no. 178). The statuette is inscribed to the DEAE ARTIONI (CIL XIII: 5160). Here the ending in *-i* may represent the Latinized dative of an *i*-stem rather than an *n*-stem. Thus to the root *art-* has been added the suffix *-ion-* or *-ioni-*, probably a variant of *-onno-*.

The Celtic *o*-stem form *arto-* “bear” (Dottin 1920: 229) gives Welsh *arth* and Irish *art* “bear” (< **h₂r̥tko-*; DPC: 42). This stem also occurs in an inscription from Drôme to the DEAE

AVG(VSTAE) ANDARTAE (CIL XII: 1554-60). Here the prefix *and-* may represent *and-* “in, into”, which also functions as an intensive or habitual prefix (Evans 1967: 136-7), or it may represent the definite article *ando-*, *anda-* (Falc’hun 1977: 37-50). Thus Andarta means either “Accustomed to Bears” or “the Bear”. In either case, the name of a forest is probably indicated by the name taken by the goddess rather than any totemistic concept of the goddess herself.

So too, the deity-name *Artio* (or ?*Artionis*?) undoubtedly refers to a place name, probably a forest, such as *Artio(n)* (now Arçon, Côte-d’Or) or the *Vicus Artona* (now Artonne, Puy-de-Dôme). Thus, the sculptor of the bronze statuette of the goddess Artionis has also portrayed the bear, whose hunting was good in the area presided over by the goddess responsible for its plenitude.

Diana Mattiaca: “Diana of the Mattiaci”.

The inscription to *Diana Mattiaca* (DAG: §243) from the Agri Decumates may also contain a reference to bears. To the basic stem, here represented by the expressive form *matt-*, has been added the suffix *-iaco-*, as in Corotiacos and Mag(e)niacos. *Matt-* may represent the Celtic stem *matu-* “bear” with a hypocoristic doubling of the *-t-*. The Celtic stem *matu-* “bear” (Dottin 1920: 271; Schmidt 1957: 239) gives Irish *math* (gen. *matho*) “bear”.

It is more likely, however, that the stem represented by the *matti-* of *Mattiaca* is *mati-* “good” (; Dottin 1920: 271; Schmidt 1957: 239), giving Welsh *mad* and Irish *maith* (i-stem) “good, excellent”, derived from a *ti-* suffix added to IE **mā-* “good” (IEW: 693) (**meh₂-t-* DPC: 259) (for a fuller discussion of *mati-*, *mato-*, *matu-*, see Evans 1967: 231). The tribal group from Rheingan, the Mattiaci, perhaps “the Good People”, as well as the *Civitas Mattiacorum* (DAG: §241) suggests that this goddess took her name from that of a people and that her name has nothing to do with bears. Rather than a Mother goddess, the reference to Diana suggests a nymph. It is also possible that both nymph and people derive from the name of a forest.

Percernis: “?”.

From Vaison comes an inscription to the NYMPHIS AVG(VSTIS) PERCERNIBVS (CIL XII: 1329). Pokorny (1940: 156) derives the name of these nymphs from IE **perk_uu-s* “oak” (IEW: 822) and would relate it to Illyrian *percus* and Latin *quercus* “oak”. This IE root gives the Latinized Celtic name *Hercynia Silva* (<**perk_uuniā*) (IEW: 822). If Pokorny’s suggestion is correct, these goddesses were undoubtedly wood nymphs. However, their forest name, beginning with *p-*, would then be Ligurian, not Celtic. Otherwise, the name is obscure to me.

Poenina: “Goddess of the Summus Poeninus”.

The inscription to *Poenina Dea* (DAG: §17) from the *Vallis Poenina* “the valley of the Rhône” (DAG: §15) undoubtedly refers to the goddess presiding over the pass by *Summus Poeninus*, the great St. Bernard pass, which was the center of the cult of *IOM Poeninus* and the *Deus Poeninus* (DAG: §17).

Genii

Celtic Generalized Epithets

Contrebis: “the Neighborhood God”.

Ialonos Contrebis: “God of the Surrounding Glade”.

From Overborough and Lancaster come inscriptions to the DEO SAN(CTO) CONTRE(BI) (RIB: 610) and to the DEO IALONO CONTRE(BI) (RIB: 600). *Contrebis* is probably cognate with Irish *contreb* (o) “community”. The Irish word must derive from *con-*, *com-* “with” (IE **kom-*; IEW: 612-3) plus *treb* “house, household, farm”. There is also an Irish verbal form *con-treba* “inhabitant, frequent”. The Celtic stem *trebo-* “village” (DPC: 388) also gives Welsh *treb* and Old Breton *treb-* “village” (Dottin 1920: 293, Stokes 1894: 137; Schmidt 1957: 280). Behind these words lies PIE **treb-*, meaning “dwelling, building” (IEW: 1090; DPC: 388), but probably also with the significance “village” as in German *dorf* and Anglo-Saxon *thorp* (< \emptyset -grade **trb-*). Thus the *Deus Sanctus Contrebis* is “the Sacred God of the Neighborhood”.

The epithet *Ialonos* in the second inscription probably contains the Celtic stem *ialo-* “clearing, glade” (Dottin 1920: 262), giving Welsh *ial* “hill country, upland country”, derived from IE **jəlo-* “clearing, glade” (IEW: 504). Thus the *deus Ialonos Contrebis* is probably “the God of the Neighboring Glade or Hill-country”.

Vinotonos: “God of the Family Land”.

From Bowes, Yorkshire, comes an inscription to the [DEO] VINOTONO SILVANO (RIB: 732-3). Schmidt (1957: 296) has suggested that *vini-* and *vino-* are variants of the Celtic stem *veni-* “family” (Dottin 1920: 297; Evans 1967: 277-8). *Veni-* (DPC: 413) derives from the IE root **yen-* “strive, live” (IEW: 1146-7), giving Irish *fine* (ia,f), Welsh *gwen*, and Breton *gouen* “race”. Schmidt (1957: 289) cites *Veno-cari* (CIL VII: 693), besides *Veni-carus* “Lover of Family” (CIL XIII: 11806) and *Vini-car* (CIL XIII: 7043), as examples of the variations. If Schmidt is correct in this equivalence of *veni-*, *vini-*, and *veno-*, the first element of *Vinotonos* would be *vino-*, *veno-* “family”. The second element in this name is perhaps relatable to Irish *tonn* (a,f) “wave, surface, land, earth, skin” and Welsh *ton* “wave, skin, surface, turf” (IEW: 1082; DPC: 383). Here then *Vinotonos Silvanus* would be the “God of the Family Land”. Otherwise, *vino-* must be seen as an early borrowing of Greek *oinos* and Latin *vinum* (IEW: 1121) into Celtic, as in Irish *fin* (u,n) and Welsh *gwin*. Trade in wine up the Rhone dates from before the establishment of Massalia. Nonetheless, it is difficult to see how a “God of the Vineyard” could have been of much use in Yorkshire.

Placename Deities

Artaios, Artio: “God of the Bear (Forest)”.

The inscription from Beaucroissant, Isère, to MERCVRIO AVG(VSTO) ARTAIO SACRVM (CIL XII: 2199) probably refers to Mercurius and *Artaios* rather than to *Artaios Mercurius*. Even if *Artaios* is a byname of *Mercurius*, it undoubtedly has a placename attribution. Whatmough (DAG: §82) suggests that *Artaios* would be the local genius of *Ardeia* (now *Ardèche*). If the Celtic stem *arto-* “bear” (Dottin 1920: 229; Schmidt 1957: 135) is implied here, it would denote the place rather than the attribute of the deity. Supporting *arto-* “bear” is the inscription to *ARTIONI* (AcS I: 227) from *Bellendorf*, apparently

referencing a place derived from an n-derivative of *artio-*, *arto-* (< **h₂r̥k-to-* “bear”; IEW: 875; NIL: 343-4; DPC: 42).

Baco: “?God of the Beech (Forest)?”.

From Chalon-sur-Saône, Saône-et-Loire, comes an inscription to the DEO BACONI (CIL XIII: 2603), apparently related to the *Baconens* wood in Saintonge. The temple to this deity is described in the *Acta Sanctorum Coll. Bollandus* (4, 2, 200D).

Deinde ad solis imaginem, quae intra muros Sequanicae portae errore gentilium praecipuo colebatur, nec non ad atrium devi Baconis, ubi effigies olovitrea celso columnae adorabatur collocata fastigio, in secundo miliario civitatis praeside iubente perducitur. (AcS III: 787-8).

Whatmough (DAG: §181) has noted that there are several place names containing the root *baco-*, *bago-*, usually in an n-extension. Thus from Lower Rhine there is the *Silva Bacenis* (BG: 6, 10, 5), presumably Germanic, while from the Marne region there is the form *Baconna* (now Baconne), and from Aquitania there is *Bacon* (CIL XIII: 557), suggesting a g > c interchange when compared to Swiss *bagon-* (DAG: §181 remark). Whatmough related the word to English *bacon* and suggested a pre-Indo-European form for **porko-* “swine”. However, he also noted that “the word may be related to Latin *fagus* [“beech”] so that *Bacon-*, *Baccos* (244), *Bacco* may refer to the food favored by swine” (DAG: §181). Indeed, this last suggestion seems not unlikely and is favored by Pokorny (IEW: 107), who notes that Gaulish *bagos* in the place names *Bagacon* and *Bagonon* derives from IE **bhāgo-* “beech”. For an alternative etymology, however, see Guyonvarc’h (1964b: 195-9). Otherwise, the name is obscure to me.

Bugios: “God of Bugion”.

From Tarquimpol (Lothringen) comes an inscription to BVGIO, referring to the Belgic god *Bugios* (Orelli: 5882; Schmidt 1957: 157). If Thurneysen (in Weisgerber 1930: 195) is correct in seeing here the same root as in Irish *buga* (io) “bluebell”, it undoubtedly refers to the place the god is named after rather than the name of the deity himself. The placenames Adebugius and Bibugius (Latin spellings) support the proposition that a Celtic root *bugio-* “bluebell” lies behind these names.

Entarabos: “God of the Region between the Rivers”.

A place name presumably lies behind the inscriptions to the DEO EN[T]ARABO ET GENIO (CIL XIII: 3632) from Luxemburg and to the DEO INTARABO from Niersbach near Trier (CIR: 855; AcS II: 56). The deity is portrayed standing draped in a wolf, bear, or lion skin, like Hercules, and originally holding a spear. Holder (AcS I: 1441) suggested that the first element *entar-*, *intar-*, signifies “in the middle”, and his suggestion seems likely. One problem with this suggestion is that the expected Gaulish form should be *enter-*, *inter-* derived from IE **h₁enter-* “between” (; DPC: 117; IEW: 313), giving Welsh *ithr* and Irish *eter*, *etir*, *etar* “between”. Although Thurneysen (1946: 511) suggested that Irish *etar* developed from syncopated *etr-* before consonants, it just as likely indicates an original Celtic **entar-*, *intar-*, as above. Evans (1967: 391) has discussed the common Celtic *e* and *a* alternation in some detail, and I would see these forms as examples.

The next element *abo-* would be the resultant of IE **ab-* (**h₂-ep-*) “waters, river” (IEW: 1; NIL: 311). Pokorny notes the Irish form *ab*, *aub* (gen. *abae*) “river” (< PC **abū*; DPC: 23-4)

and *abann*, cognate with Welsh *afon*, the resultant of the more prevalent Gaulish n-derivative *Abona* (< IE **h₂ep-h₃on-*; DPC: 24). Thus *Intarabos* probably indicates “the Region between the Rivers”, the land between the Moselle and the Sarre. (For an alternative but less-likely etymology see Fal’chun 1977: 38).

Matunos: “?God of the Bear (Forest)?” or “?the Propitious Deity?”.

From High Rochester, Northumberland, comes an inscription to the DEO MATVNO (RIB: 1265). This inscription could possibly contain the u-stem variant of *mati-* “good” (DPC: 259) as found on the Coligny calendar, where *matu-* indicates “propitious” (see Olmsted 1992a: 177; Evans 1967: 229). It might also contain a reference to *matu-* “bear” (Dottin 1920: 271; Schmidt 1957: 239; Stokes 1894: 200; AcS II: 479).

Sinquatis: “?”

The inscription to the DEO SINQVATI (Orelli: 7417) or the DEO SILVANO SINQV(ATI) (Orelli: 7416; AcS II: 1574) from Géromont, Belgium, probably refers to a genius of a local woods. Lebel (1962: 970) relates the name of the god to Sequewé near Gérardville, Belgium, and to Cinqueux, Oise, presumably derived from **Sinquatia*. He notes that the same element is probably to be found in the place names Sommeçaise (Yonne) and Saincaize (Nièvre). These names apparently derive from a stem **sinku-* or **senku-*.

The significance of the stem, if Celtic, is obscure to me. Perhaps it represents a Germanic form of the IE stem **sengu-* “to fall, to sink” (IEW: 906) and indicates a low-lying marshy woodland. Pokorny (1948-9: 236; IEW: 893), however, relates it to Sequana. Thus he would derive the name *Sinquatis* from a nazalized form of **seiku-* “to pour out” (IEW: 893), as in Sanskrit *siñcāti* “to pour out”.

Ucvetis: “?(God of the Region of) Pine Saplings?” or “?God of Speech?”.

Toward the center of Alesia is a temple. A Gaulish dedication is engraved on a stone block found south of the edifice, which was excavated between 1908-11 (Martin and Varène: 1973: 11, 157).

MARTIALIS DANNOTALI / IEVRV VCVETE SOSIN / CELICNON ⊇ ETIC /
GOBEDBI DVGIIONTIIO / VCVETIN / IN ... ALISIIA (DAG: §169; RIG-II: 147-
156, L-13).

Confirming that the Gaulish god *Ucvetis* is the subject of this inscription is a vase, found later, with the Latin inscription DEO VCVETI ET BERGVSIAE REMVS PRIMI F DONAVIT VSLM (CIL XIII: 11247).

Possible etymologies for *Ucvetis* suggest that the deity was a local genius. The first element *uc-* is possibly derived from IE **puk-*, **peuk-* “spruce, spear” (IEW: 828), giving the Illyrian people’s name *Peucetii* as well as Irish *octach* “pine, fir, spear” (< **puk-tākā*). The second stem would then be a derivative of IE **yei-ti-* “sapling, reed, wand” (IEW: 1122; DPC: 418), giving Irish *feith* and Welsh *gwden* “wicker”. The apparent place name behind *Ucvetis* would then be “pine sapling”.

Whatmough (DAG: §87) has suggested that the similar inscription to *Ucvetis* (DAG: §181) may represent the same deity, although the occurrence of lost *-v-* is usually between vowels (Evans 1967: 397). If so, the Narbonese placename *Ucetia* (Weisgerber 1930: 69) may be pertinent here. However, Schmidt (1986: 2) has suggested that these names may relate to the IE apophonic variations **ueku-*, **uoku-*, **uku-* “speak” (IEW: 1135-6) as in Irish *foccul*.

The *-cu-* and *-c-* in *Ucuetis* and *Ucetis* would then represent *-qu-* < *-ky-* as in the month names *Cutios/Quitios*, and *Equos* on the Coligny calendar.

Fleuriot (1975b: 443-50) has shown from a potter's inscription that *celicnon* is "an object turned on a potter's wheel". The second term *gobedbi* undoubtedly contains the same root as Irish *gobae* (n, m) "smith" and might be translated as "smithwork". Thus dedicated to the god in the Gaulish inscription would be "pottery and smithwork".

Genii of a Civitas, Tribal State, or Province

Allobrox: "God of the Allobroges"

The inscription to ALLOBROG(I) (CIL XII: 1531) from La Bâtie-Mont-Saléon, Hautes-Alpes, undoubtedly refers to the local genius or guiding divinity of the Allobroges. The cult of *Allobrox* (DAG: §82) was only localized in extent, as indicated by the limited number of inscriptions.

Cimbrius (*o,m*), *Cimbrianus* (*o,m*): "God of the Cimbri".

Inscriptions to Latinized *o-*stem names *Cimbrius* or *Cimbrianus* come from the *Agri Decumates* and *Germania Superior* (DAG: §§ 236, 245). These inscriptions probably derive from the *Atuatuci*, the remnant of the Cimbri left in North Gaul after their southward raids from Jutland late in the second-century BC.

Menapos: "God of the Menapii".

Belgic inscriptions to *Menapos* (DAG: §213) presumably refer to the deity of the *Menapii*, a tribe on the lower Rhine.

Santios: "?God of the Santones?".

Whatmough (DAG: §243), following Zangemeister (quoted in *AcS* II: 1355), has suggested that the inscription to the DEO SANTIO [ET G]ENIO (CIL XIII: 6607) from Miltenberg near Altstadt-Castell (*Agri Decumates*) refers to the Santones or Santoni from Charente-Inférieure (Aquitania). Whatmough has noted that the tribe was earlier located in *Germania-Superior*, but the stationing of auxiliary troops in Miltenberg probably explains the presence of this inscription so far from home. Dottin (1920: 302) suggests that *santon-*, the stem in the tribal name, may be related to Irish *sat* "desire" and Welsh *chwant*.

Genii of a Single Pagus or Teuta

Nennicos Adcenecos: "the God of the Nennecti (who stands) by his People".

Corresponding to the *Pagus Nennecti*, a local Belgic tribe or *teuta*, is the inscription to *Nennicos Adcenecos* (CIL XII: 4476) from Herapel near Kochern. As Whatmough (DAG: §213) has noted, the first byname undoubtedly refers to the tribal attribution. However the byname *Adcenecos* also occurs in an inscription to IOM ADCENEICO from Milan (*Mediolanum*) (CIL V: 5783). The widespread usage of this byname would suggest that it had a generalized significance rather than any connection between Iuppiter and Nennicos. Evans (1967: 204) has noted a concentration of personal names in Southern Gaul with the root

gen- prefaced by *ad-* “at, by” or *con-* “with”. The root in the deity names is probably also *gen-*, through the well-known *g/c* interchange (Evans 1967: 175).

Evans (1967: 204) suggests that the Gaulish complex *adgen-* is related to Welsh *addien* “fine, fair”, which according to GPC derives from the similar British complex *adgen-*. Schmidt (1957: 112), however, has suggested the significance “*zum Geschlechte* (“family, race”) *gehörig*” for *ad-gen-*, seeing the root *geno-*, derived from IE **gen-* “to beget” (IEW: 373 ff.).

If *cen-* with /k/, however, is correct here, it probably derives from the similar IE root **ken-* “to spring from, to derive from” (IEW: 563-4; DPC: 200-1), giving rise to Irish *cenél* “race, lineage, kindred” and Welsh *cenedl* “nation, tribe, clan” (Evans 1967: 175). The byname *Adcenecos* would then signify “With or by the Tribe”, indicating in the case of *Nennicos*, a specific connection to the people who were his special care.

Veriugodumnos: “?(God of the) Veriugodumni?”.

An inscription from Doullens, Somme, gives a dedication to APOLLINI ET VERIVGODVMNO (CIL XIII: 3487). It is possible that this deity byname refers to a local tribal attribution. The probable etymology of his name, at least, suggests that this was the case, although this supposed *teuta* has left no other clues to its existence. Schmidt (1957: 292) has suggested that the name means “Deep in Freedom”. If this etymology is correct, it suggests a tribal attribution rather than a functional attribution for the deity byname.

The first element in the name would then be *ver-* “upper, over” (Pedersen: VKG I: 192; Thurneysen 1946: 501), related to Irish *for-* “on, over” and Welsh *gor-*, derived from IE **upor-*, the o-grade form of IE **uper-* (IEW: 1105; DPC: 399; see Evans 1967: 279-280). The full-grade form gives Gaulish *ver-*. The next element *iugo-* (< **iu-go-* “yoke” IEW: 508; DPC: 437), occurring elsewhere as *iouco-*, *iougo-*, *iugo-* (Schmidt 1957: 292), probably corresponds to Latin *iugum* or Breton *ico* “yoke” (Dottin 1920: 263). Schmidt (1957: 292) thus sees *ver-iugo-* as “over rather than under the yoke” or “free”.

Genius Vosugonum: “the Local God of the Vosugones”.

Grenier (1939: 261) has suggested that the local tribe whose chief center was the Titleberg were known as the Vosugones. At any rate, the inscription to the GENIO VOSVGONVM (Grenier 1936: 43; Oxé 1938: 239; DAG: §211) would seem to refer to the local deity of the Vosugones, wherever they were located. There is also an inscription to VOSEGO (AcS III: 450-1) from Zinsweiler at the foot of the Reibergs (CIL XIII: 6027), from what was formerly Görsdorf near Wörth in Germanic Alsace (CIL XIII: 6059), from Bergzabern (CIL XIII: 6080), and from Speyerbachtul in the Pfälzer Wald (Sprater 1938: 40).

These inscriptions undoubtedly refer to the local god of the *Mons Vosegus*, now the Vosges in Alsace between the Moselle and the Rhine. As with the local genius *Vosegus* (o-stem), the people the Vosugones may have taken their name from *Mons Vosegus* (DAG: §§ 209, 234, 236), and they in turn have given their name to the *Genius Vosugonum*. Perhaps as well, the people took their name from the god, who in turn took his from the *Mons Vosegus*.

Vosugonum is the genitive plural of a Latinized n-stem *Vosugo*. It is perhaps possible that this name arose from an original Celtic **vosugo-*, with the addition of the suffix *-on*. Whatmough (DAG: §211) has suggested that *vosugo-* is simply a variant of *vosego-*. Here *vo-* is probably a particle derived from IE **upo-* (IEW: 1106; DPC: 396), giving Irish *fó* “under” and Middle Welsh *guo-*. *Sego-* may be from IE **segh-* “hold, hold fast, victory” (IEW: 888-9; DPC: 327), giving Irish *seg-* “strong” and Welsh *hy* “bold, brave”, or it may be from IE **seg-* “touch, border on, fasten” (IEW: 887-8). Irish *sén* “noose” derives from the suffixed form **seg-no-*.

Another possibility is that *vosugon-* might be analyzed as *vosu-segon-* by haplology. This etymology recalls *Vosus*, the byname of Esus Mercurius, signifying “good, worthy”. Another byname of this same deity *Vosus* is *Segomo* (n) “Torque of Victory” or “Victory Giver”. Thus *Vosugon-*, *Vosego* (n) could indicate “Worthy and Victorious”. It would be good byname for either Esus Mercurius or for a people. Indeed, the people may have taken their name from that of the deity. In the case of the Genius Vosugonum, however, the reflex has gone full circle, and the later genius has taken his name from that of the people.

Genii of Oppida or Vici

Alisanos: “God of Alisia”.

From Mont Auxois (Alise-Sainte-Reine) have come inscriptions to the DEO ALISANO (CIL XIII: 2843) and to [AL]ISANO (CIL XII: 665), the local genius of Alisia. This same deity is evoked in an inscription *au pointille* on the handle of a bronze pan from Couchey (Côte d-Or).

DOIROS SEGOMARI IEVRV ALISANV.

Doiros son of Segomaros made this for Alisanos. (DAG: §161; AcS I: 94).

Thus the conception behind the god is clearly one of Gaulish origin.

Brixantus: “?God of Brixantion”?

Whatmough (DAG: §181) has noted that the inscription from Moulins-Engilbert (Nièvre) near Autun to AVGV(STO) SACRVM DEO BRIXANTV PROPITIV (Orelli: 1975) apparently refers to *Brixantu* in the ablative singular (not the dative). Thus the inscription would appear to be to the “God from Brixantus”. More likely, however, the engraver has simply left off the final *-I-* of the u-stem dative ending. Even if the inscription does not refer to the town *Brixantion*, the deity is probably still named after some local place name containing the root *brig-*, derived from IE **bhṛgh-* (IEW: 140; DPC: 77). **Bhṛgh-* means either “high, exalted” or “high” as in “hill or mountain”. In Brixantus, the *-x-* could represent *-gs-*. Thus Brixantus probably bears no relationship to the goddess Brigindona or Brigantia. Such local names are commonplace in Gaul, as in *Brigantio(n)*, now Briaçon-sur-Durance (Hautes-Alpes), or *Brigantino-magos*, now Bregançon (Vár).

However, the *-x-* might also stand for an original *-ct-* giving **Brictantus*. Here the basic element might be seen as *bricton-*, *brictio-* “speckled” (Dottin 1920: 237), supposedly giving Irish *brecht* and Welsh *brith*. The Middle Irish *brecht* “varigated, of many colors” is undoubtedly related to Old Irish *brecc* “speckled, varigated”, derived from IE **prk-* “speckled” (DPC: 78; IEW: 820. Brixantus from IE **bhṛk-* “brilliant” (IEW: 141) would then be “the Brilliant One”. Yet another possibility is that *brict-* represents the same element as in *brichtia* (*brixtia*) in the Chamalières poem, which Schmidt (1981: 260 ff.) has interpreted after Irish *bricht* “incantation, charm, magic, spell”. Here the suffix stem *ant-* is seen to give *brict-ant-* the significance “the charmed one”, just as *carant-* “a loved one” similarly derives from *caro-* “love” (see Evans 1967: 162).

Carbantus: “God of Carbantia”.

The inscription from Fayence (Var) to CARPANTO (CIL XII: 248) is probably not dedicated to some abstract wagon god (*carbanto(n)* “wagon”; Dottin 1920: 242; DPC: 190),

giving Irish *carpat* “chariot”, but refers to some *vicus* such as *Carbantia* (AcS I: 778) in Gallia Transpadana which was named after the four-wheeled vehicle.

Condatis: “God of Condatis”,

The inscription to CONDATI from Allonnes, Sarthe, (AcS I: 1095) apparently refers to a local god of Condate (Condé near La Flèche, Sarthe). Condate is a common place name in Gaul and Britain. It was probably the term for the confluence of two rivers and may itself be readily translated “confluence” (Dottin 1920: 247). It is apparently composed of Celtic *com-*, *con-* “with” (< **kom-*; IEW: 612) and Celtic *dāti* (< **dheh₂-ti-*) “set, place, lay” (IEW: 237).

Gisacos: “the God of Gisacus”.

The *Vicus Gisacus* (o-stem) in Le-Vieil-Évreux honored a local god or genius in an inscription to the DEO GISACO (AcS I: 2023), who is probably also evoked in a plaque from Amiens to GESACO (AcS I: 2015).

Genius Leucorum: “the Local god of Leuca or of the Leuci”.

The Belgic inscription to the GENIO LEVCORVM (DAG: §212) probably refers to the *Urbs Leuca* (DAG: §212), recalling as well the tribal name of the Leuci.

Nemausus: “the God of Nimes”.

In Narbonne, *Nemausus* was the local genius of Nîmes, formerly *Nemausus* (o-stem) (DAG: §§ 66, 82), and invoked in inscriptions to the DEO NEM(AVSO) (CIL XII: 3100-2).

Ratis: “the god of the Rata”.

British inscriptions refer to *Ratis* (DAG: §74, note XIV B), the god of the *Vicus Ratae* in Leicester. It is possible that the name is a functional attribute, however, with *rato-* having the significance “grace, fortune”, as in the source-deity name *Ratomatos* (below).

Ussubios: “the God of Ussubium”.

The inscription to the TVTVLAE AVG(VSTAE) VSSVBIO (CIL XIII: 919) from Le Mas d’Agenais (Ariège) almost certainly refers to *Ussubium*, a city in Aquitania, and I have little hesitation labeling this god a *genius loci*. The inscription from Gallia Lugdunensis to *Ussibos* (DAG: §181) may refer to the same deity or to another city or place containing a variant of the same root. *Usuben* is explained in *Dioscorid* (4, 147) as a plant name (“laural”) (Dottin 1920: 295; Schmidt 1957: 283).

Uxellos: “the God of Uxellon”.

The inscription to VXEL[L]O (CIL XII: 387) from Hyères (Var) may refer to the earlier name of Ussel, Gard (AcS III: 61). The similar inscription on a bronze *tessera* at the Bibliothèque Nationale to the AVGVSTO SACRVM / DEO VXELLO (AcS III: 61) may refer to the same deity or to the genius of another Latinized *Vicus Uxellus*. The stem apparent in the name is Gaulish *uxello-* “high” (Dottin 1920: 295), derived from IE **h₃eyp-se-lo-* (DPC: 303; IEW: 1107), giving Welsh *uchel* “high” and Irish *uasal* “noble”. Thus the name equally could fit a place name or a generalized epithet for a deity.

Vaeosos: “?”.

An inscription from Cadenet (Aude) to IANO VAEOSO (CIL XII: 1065; DAG: §82) may contain the stem *vaisio-* from IE **uōiso-*, the o-grade of *ueiso-* “straw, wisp” (IEW: 1133), and may well refer to an earlier name for Vaison. Otherwise the name is obscure to me.

Source Gods

Acianis: “?Water God?”.

From Camaret (Vaucluse) comes an inscription: EX IMPERIO ACIANNI (AcS III: 482). There is probably no direct link between the Orléans goddess *Acionna* and this god from Camaret, except in the etymologies of their names. Thus *Acianis* may be derived from the root **akwā* “water” (IEW: 23), as suggested for *Acionna*. The name may then relate to a local fountain or perhaps simply to a placename such as Aginnon (now Agen, Lot-et-Garonne) mentioned in Ptolemaeus (2, 7, 11). Otherwise, the name is obscure to me.

Avicantos: “Healer in the Market Place” or “Healer of Hundreds”.

Avicantos, the god of the spring at Airan, Nîmes, is evoked in an inscription to MINERVAE, NEMAVSO, VRNIAE, AVICANTO (CIL XII: 3077). His name undoubtedly derives from the protective, helpful qualities of the spring. The first element of his name *avi-, avio-* may be related to IE **awē-, awēi-* “to favor, to be helpful” (IEW: 77) (< **h₂eyH-*; DPC: 49). Schmidt (1957: 143), undoubtedly correctly, has related Celtic *avi-* to Irish *-oi* found in *con-oi* “protect, preserve, keep”. The second element in this deity name is more difficult to discern.

Schmidt (1957: 162) would see a Celtic *canto-* “shire, neighborhood”, giving Welsh *cant* “throng, troop” and Irish *céite* “assembly, meeting place, market place, open space”, both ultimately from IE **dkmtom* “hundred” (IEW: 192, 527; DPC: 188). This stem might also be related to Welsh *cant* “enclosure, outer circle”, derived from **kantho-* “bend” (IEW: 526). Under this interpretation *Avicantos* would be “the Healer of the Market Place” or “the Healer of the Multitudes”.

Graselus: “God of Graselus”.

A dedication to a fountain deity comes from Notre-Dame du Grosel, near Malaucène, formerly known as *Grasellus*. Nearby is the Grosel spring. The inscription in Greek lettering reads as follows (with OV in the transcription Latinized as V) [...]LOVS[OS] [IL]LIACOS [GR]ASELVI [BR]ATV DECANTEM (RIG-I: 188-95, G-148; Rhys 1906: 29). The *bratu decantem* can be translated as “gratefully dedicated the tenth”. The dedication is then from [...]lousos Illiacos to *Graselus*, the deity bearing the same name as the spring. The name, however, is obscure to me.

Lussios: “God of Luxouium”.

As Whatmough (DAG: §§ 234, 236) has noted, the inscriptions from Luxeuil-les-Bains (Germania Superior) to *Lussoios*, *Luxouios*, obviously refer to *Luxouium*, the *aquae calidae*,

giving rise to modern *Luxeuil-les-Bains*. One of the inscriptions to [LU]SSIO ET BRICIAE (CIL XIII: 5425) is interesting because *Bricia* is the name of a local river goddess.

Nonissos: “?”.

The inscription to NONI[S]SO (CIL III: 2834) from the source of the Armançon at Essey refers to the name of a local spring deity, whose significance is uncertain. Irish *náne*, *nán* “luck, fortune” may be related, but the etymology of this Irish word is obscure. It probably represents the nominal suffix *-no-* or *-nio-* added to the IE root **nā-* “helpful, useful, profitable” (IEW: 1156), whence **nā-no-* would be “luck, fortune”. *Nonissos* might be analyzed as a derivative of **nānio-nēso-* through haplology. Here **nēs-*, the lengthed grade of **nes-*, might indicate “to become bound to” (IEW: 758-66) (*Hned^h-*; LIV: 227; DPC: 289). The significance for *Nonissos*, “Who Bonds with Fortune”, seems very dubious to me.

Ratamatos: “the God of Good Fortune”.

Another local spring or fountain god is apparently referred to in an inscription from Châlons-sur-Saône to the DEO RATAMATO (AcS II: 1075). The first element *rata-* is apparently relatable to the Celtic stem *rato-* “grace, fortune” (Dottin 1920: 280) (**prh₃to-*; DPC: 140), giving Irish *rath* (o,n) “virtue, grace, good luck, fortune” and Welsh *rad* “grace, blessing”. The second stem in the name *mato-* would then be a variant of *mati-*, *matu-* “good, fortune” (IE **-mā-*; IEW: 693; DPC: 259), as outlined by Evans (1967: 229). Evans has noted that the root *mat-* occurs in o-stem and u-stem forms (as on the Coligny calendar) as well as in the more prevalent i-stem. Thus *Ratamatos* would simply be the god of “Good Fortune”, an appropriate name for a fountain deity.

River Gods

Danuvios: “the River”.

Originally only the upper part of the river, above the Iron gates, was known as *Danuvios*, the lower part was known as the *Ister* (OCD: 312). Diodoros (V, 25, 31) refers to the upper river as *Danoubios*. Inscriptions to DANVVIO DEFLVENTI (CIL III: 3416) and to DANVVIO (CIL III: 10395) come from Ofen in the Agri Decumates. An inscription from Risstissen near Ehingen, Württemberg, was written on an *ex voto* by Primanus Secundi in honor of the divinities I(OVI) O(PTIMO) M(AXIMO) ET DANVVIO (CIL III: 5863). The root apparent here is **dānu-* “river, stream” (IEW: 175). It is interesting to note that the Welsh river *Downy* apparently derives from **Dānuvia* (Krahe 1964: 93).

Rēnos: “the River” > Latin *Rhēnus*: “The Rhine”.

Pytheas of Massalia gives the name of the river as *Rhenos*. Inscriptions to the deified river come mainly from Germania Inferior and the Agri Decumates (DAG: §§ 223, 243). The Gauls referred to the river as *Renos*, apparently derived from **reinos* “river, stream” (Krahe 1964: 96; also see Dottin 1920: 281; Schmidt 1957: 257), ultimately from a *no-*-suffixed form of IE **HreǵH-* “flow” (DPC: 309; **erei-*; IEW: 330), which gives Latin *rivus*. The same n-derivative or *-no-*-suffixed form gives Irish *rían* (o,m) “sea, ocean”. Lot (1928: 312-3) has compounded a list of other rivers whose names derive from **rēno-*, while Pokorny (1940: 55-6) has suggested, rather dubiously, that the name may be Ligurian, citing the *Rino*, a lake in Corsica.

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