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TRANSACTIONS
OF
THE CELTIC SOCIETY
OF MONTREAL.

COMPREHENDING SOME OF THE PAPERS READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY DURING
SESSIONS 1884-85 TO 1886-87.

MONTREAL:
W. DRYSDALE & CO.,
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P R E F A C E .

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The office-bearers of the Celtic Society of Montreal have great pleasure in sending a copy of this, the first volume of its Transactions, to the various members of the Society. The hope is strongly entertained, that the members of the Society will regard the appearance of this volume as a satisfactory indication, that the Society intends to carry on with diligence and faithfulness the purposes for which it was established.

It is stated in the Constitution "that the object of the Society shall be the promotion of the study of the Celtic Language and Literature." It occurred to those who were instrumental in founding the Society, that important services could be rendered to the Celts of Canada by a Society, which would endeavour to subserve the purpose of which mention has been made. So far as the earliest friends of the Society were aware, there was not in Canada at that time a Society which aimed largely, if not entirely, at the study of the Language and Literature of the Celt, and at the collection of whatever accurate information may still be gathered regarding the immigration and earliest settlement of the Celts in the several provinces of Canada.

It will be granted, with any amount of cheerfulness, that the other nationalities of Canada are to be commended for regarding with pride and satisfaction the benefits which they have conferred on our common country, as well as for cherishing a great veneration for their respective languages and traditions. The Celtic element in the population of Canada has always been important and influential. Celts have performed severe labour in cutting down the primeval forests of Canada, and in making material contributions to the development of the varied resources of our country. Celts have been successful in rising to positions of eminence in the various professions and industries of Canada. As members of the Governments and Legislatures of the Dominion; as professors in our Colleges and Universities; as merchants of extensive business and com-

mercial relations; as earnest ministers of the several Churches in the country; as learned and able judges; as prominent members of the Bar, and as eminent members of the medical profession; as enterprising agriculturists, and as ingenious and successful toilers in other avenues of labour—Canadian Celts are always to be found.

The promoters of the Society knew that Celtic Scholarship was cultivated by not a few Celts in the Dominion; and that, if their co-operation could be enlisted, the Society could not fail to be useful and successful. Due deference was paid to the fact, that we are now laying the foundation of a new, or Canadian, nationality in Canada; and that it, accordingly, behoves all the inhabitants of our country to be faithful to the claims which are thus made upon them. It was felt, however, that if the Celts of Canada were led to turn a more than casual attention to their Language and Literature, and to the traditions of their forefathers, their loyalty to Canada and their zeal in promoting the prosperity of the Dominion need not on that account become less warm and consistent. Indeed, it was surmised, that if intelligent attention could be drawn to the brave and honourable character and traditions of the Celts in the past, Canadian Celts would be led to cultivate a loftier ambition and to take a deeper interest in everything that conduces to the happiness and development of our country. The propriety was early recognized of founding the Society on a broad and liberal basis, so as to attract to it, and to have as earnest and contented members of it, as many representatives as possible of the several divisions of the Celtic family. There are, therefore, to be found in the membership of the Society, Celts of different creeds and early associations. No religious questions are discussed, and every effort is made to preserve in every particular the strictly Catholic character of the Society.

The Society was organized on the 6th December, 1883, and the first regular meeting was held on the 25th January, 1884. The membership of the Society, consisting as it does of Honorary, Life, Corresponding, and Ordinary members, already approaches the number of two hundred and fifty. In the membership are to be found prominent Canadian statesmen; well-known Celtic scholars; Celtic gentlemen of high standing in the country; eminent Celtic scholars, and poets, and professors, in Great Britain and Ireland, on the Continent of Europe, in the United States, and elsewhere. The earliest friends of the Society may be excused for having a feeling of pardonable pride, that it has been possible, in so short a time, to

secure for the Society the sympathy and co-operation of so many distinguished Celts and scholars. It has to be frankly admitted, that as so many influential gentlemen have, in a manner which deserves to be gratefully mentioned, consented to become members of the Society, there devolves on the Society an additional obligation to be energetic, to perform work which will be useful and which can command respect, and thus to furnish to the gentlemen in question no cause whatever to regret that they became members of the Society.

Several papers have been already contributed to the Society regarding the settlement of Celts in various portions of the Dominion. Four of those papers are to be found in this volume. They cannot fail, it is believed, to be very interesting and acceptable to the members of the Society. The intention is, as the facilities of the Society increase, to gather all the information that is still obtainable respecting the early presence and doings of the Celts, in all the Celtic settlements from Cape Breton to Vancouver Island. The present volume contains a few papers which have been selected from the several papers that are in the possession of the Society. In addition to the four instructive papers to which reference has been made, it will be seen, that there are two papers by Celtic scholars whose home is across the Atlantic. One of those scholars is lending material assistance to the study of Manx Literature; the other finds leisure, as his paper testifies, in the midst of onerous duties, to devote great attention to Gaelic and to the Ethnology of the Gael.

As this volume has the rare honour of being the first volume of a literary character that has hitherto been issued by any Celtic Society in Canada, it must be gratifying to the members of the Society, that in the volume there is contained a very important paper, by Professor Campbell, "*on the Monumental Evidence of an Iberian Population of the British Islands.*" Peculiar satisfaction will, doubtless, be felt, that the same learned member of the Society has been successful, at so great a distance from the ancestral home of Celtic learning, in throwing a flood of light on the *vezata quaestio* as to what the real meaning of the Etruscan Inscriptions is, and in adducing powerful evidence to show, that the language of the Umbrian Inscriptions is Gaelic; and that, accordingly, they contain the oldest specimen of Gaelic of which there is any knowledge.

It is hoped that another volume of Transactions will soon be published, and that the members of the Society will render such efficient assistance as will make it possible and easy to publish a volume of Transactions at regular intervals.

An appeal is soon to be made to the Canadian members of the Society for money to purchase a Celtic Library, which will contain the best books that are obtainable in the various Celtic languages. Such a Library is very much needed by the Society, in order that its members may have ready access to the best Celtic authorities that exist, as well as to the venerable books and authors that are most highly prized by Gael and Cymro.

It will be the object of the Society to countenance, so far as the fundamental principles of its Constitution may permit, other methods and appliances which, commendable in themselves, will tend to unite in closer intimacy and harmony the numerous Celts of Canada.

MONTREAL, OCTOBER, 1887.



MONUMENTAL EVIDENCE
OF AN
IBERIAN POPULATION OF THE BRITISH
ISLANDS.

BY JOHN CAMPBELL, M.A.,

Professor in the Presbyterian College, Montreal.

To decide the ethnic relations of any people by simple reference to their physical features is unjustifiable. It is doubtful if there be anywhere on the face of the earth a population of unmixed blood. Certainly there is no such population in any part of the British Islands. Nevertheless the predominance in any region of a peculiar physical type is a fact demanding investigation, and furnishing a starting point for scientific affiliation. Such a physical type is presented by the dark complexioned Celts of the South of Wales and South-West of England, the West and South-West of Ireland, and of many regions in the Scottish Highlands. It is known among Ethnologists as the Silurian type. These medium-sized or small, lithe and sinewy people, with dark hair, dark or gray eyes, and dark complexion, are thought to represent

1

an ancient Iberian stock. In history they are known as the Silures and, perhaps, the Brigantes of England, the Picts of Scotland, and the Tuatha de Danans of Ireland. In feature their descendants exhibit many affinities to the Basque or Iberian population of the Pyrenees. "In their mode of warfare both Picts and Silures resembled the Iberians. They did not engage the Romans with all their force at once, but encountered them in guerilla warfare. According to Polybius, the Spaniards were armed with swords made for cutting and thrusting; and from Roman writers we learn that the Picts were armed with daggers and short spears. Strabo informs us that the Romans found it more difficult to conquer the Iberians than the Gauls, owing to their different modes of warfare. One battle broke down the Caledonians of Tacitus, while the Silures withstood the Roman arms for nine years. The Silures were a dark race, like the Iberians; the Caledonians resembled the ancient Gauls and Germans."¹ Tacitus was the first to suggest the Iberian origin of the Silures: "*Silurum colorati vultus, torti plerumque crines, et posita contra Hispania, Hiberos veteres trajecisse easque sedes habitasse fidem faciunt.*"² This passage is quoted with approbation by Richard of Cirencester, a writer of the 14th century, in his work on "The Ancient State of Britain."³ The Silurian name, of which the initial *s* was probably a Roman euphonic addition,

¹ The Scottish Highland Language and People. By Hector McLean. Journal Anthropological Institute, August, 1877, p. 9.

² Tacitus; Agricola., XI.

³ Richard of Cirencester on the Ancient State of Britain. Book I., Chap. 3.

marks an Iberian, or, at least, a Turanian people in geographical and tribal nomenclature.⁴ It appears in ancient Spain as an element and the chief one of the tribal names Ilergetes and Ilercaones, while in the Iberian reign of Gaul, the city Iluro, now Oleron, rendered it more perfectly. The Illyrians bore the same name, and reproduced in their Liburnia the Lapurdum of the Gallic Iberians, or the Lapurta of the Basques, while, at the same time, their town Vendum marks an original of the Silurian capital Venta. Still farther east, in Armenia, we find an ancient home of the same people, the Alarodians of Herodotus.⁵ In the annals of Sargon they are mentioned, in company with other Armenian tribes, as the people of Alluria, among their companions being those of Allapur, an early Liburnia and Lapurta, and the men of Kubuskia, an Oriental Guipuscoa.⁶

⁴ The south-western part of Scotland, Kyle, Carrick and Cunningham, was anciently Siluria, and the adjoining Galloway, Brigantia : A summary of the Chronicles of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1756, pp. 12, 119, 121. The Silurian name is an Iberian or Hittite lunar designation, the same as the Basque *illargi* or *hilargi*, hence the Iberian Ilergetes and Ilercaones. On this continent it is almost perfectly reproduced in *hullyar* of the Californian Yumas, whence the Peruvian *coyllur*, which, however, denotes a star. This is the same as the Trojan Callirhoe, which has nothing to do with, the beautifully flowing. It is found in the ancient Hittite region east of the Dead Sea, where Josephus—(Wars of the Jews, I. 33-5), Pliny (H.N., v. 16), and Jerome (in Quæst)—place Callirhoe, a warm spring, identified by the latter author with the Biblical Lasha. It is in the neighbourhood of the river Nahaliel, which preserves the original Hittite word Haliel in another form. Alalis, Alalalis, Aleria, Alesia are other forms of the same, corresponding with Alilat, an Arabian lunar divinity. The everlasting Lelo of the Basques is a reminiscence of the Hittite ancestor from whom the name descended as a tribal and geographical designation. The Trojan Ilus and Ilium are much abbreviated forms of this wide-spread name. The Assyrian records (Monolith Inscription of Shalmanezar) preserve the word as Saluara of Syria and Saluri of Armenia. Records of the Past, Vol. III., pp. 89, 94.

⁵ Herodot. III., 94. See Rawlinson's notes upon them.

⁶ Records of the Past, Vol. VII., 36, 37.

Various Spanish and French writers upon the origin of the Iberians and Basques have derived them from Armenia, to the north of which lay the ancient Iberia or present Georgia.⁷ The Georgian is regarded as the best modern representative of the Alarodian languages. In the Assyrian and Armenian inscriptions, the Alarodians are said to belong to the Nahri or Nairi, who are classed by Professor Sayce among the Hittite tribes.⁸ In thorough consistence with such a classification, I have shown that the Georgian, with other Caucasian languages, the Etruscan and the Basque, belong to the same Hittite or Khitan family, thus uniting the eastern and western Iberians in one category.⁹

Pritchard and other writers have established the eastern origin of the Celts. I think it can be proved that wherever in ancient history Celts are mentioned, Iberians are to be found conterminous with, or mingled among, them. That the Albanians, who inhabited the Caucasus side by side with the Iberians, were Celts, has not been determined, but in Asia Minor Galatians dwelt to the north of Hittite Cappadocians and Phrygians. According to Strabo, Celtic tribes were found mingled among the Thracians and Illyrians.¹⁰ The Iberian Etruscans of Italy bordered upon the Celtic Umbrians.¹¹ The

⁷ Francisque-Michel, *Le Pays Basque*, p. 13.

⁸ The Monuments of the Hittites. *Transactions Soc'y Bib. Archæol.*, Vol. VII., p. 253; also 269, 292, 293.

⁹ In my papers on *The Khitan Languages*, *Proceedings Canad. Inst.*

¹⁰ Strabo, VII., 5, 1.

¹¹ The Celtic origin of the Umbrians is proved by the translation of the Umbrian Eugubine tables as archaic Gaelic. It was first stated by Cornelius Bocchus, who is quoted by Solinus II., 11, and by Isidore, *Origines* VIII., 2.

name Celt-Iberian, denoting the population of Spain, affirms the same fact. And even in Britain, Silures, Picts, and Tuatha de Danans, accompanied the Cymri and the Gael. The fusion of these two distinct stocks in many parts of Europe, with all the physical, intellectual and moral results produced thereby, is one of the most interesting subjects of ethnological study, a subject which has received little attention, owing largely to the entire disappearance of the Iberian as a distinct language from all its ancient European seats, with the exception of the Basque country in France and Spain. There are doubtless many who at the present day descant largely on the wrongs of the Keltic race, in whose veins Iberian blood predominates, and who, could they trace their pedigree, might have cause to curse on account of more ancient wrongs, the Celts that left their forefathers without a name.

There are two curious passages, in the poems of Taliesin, the Welsh bard, and in one by an anonymous author, which seem to point not only to an Iberian connection of the Welsh, but to the fact that the Iberians were their instructors in mythology and many things beside. In his *Angar Cyvyndawd*, Taliesin says :

“Traethator fyngofeg
Yn Efrai, yn Efroeg.”

Davies translates this : “ My lore has been declared in Hebrew, in Hebraic.”¹²

The other poem, entitled *The Praise of Lludd the Great*, contains the following passage in a

¹² Davies, *Mythology of the British Druids*, p. 572.

foreign tongue, which Davies thought might be Phœnician :

“ O Brithi Brith oi
Nu oes nu edi
Brithi Brith anhai
Sych edi edi eu roi.”¹³

The same writer says: “ Taliesin has elsewhere informed us that the spotted cat of Mona, one of the idols which pertained to this superstition, was attended by men of a foreign language.”¹⁴ Instead of Hebrew, I incline to think that Iberian or Iberic is the word employed by Taliesin, and that the curious formula or invocation is an ancient Basque prayer to a god, who may have been the same as the Syrian

¹³ Ibid, pp. 563, 564. Matthew Arnold, in his Lectures on the Study of Celtic Literature (p. 34 seq.), quotes Mr. Nash, the author of “ Taliesin, or the Bards and Druids of Britain,” in reference to this invocation, which he holds to be “ a piece of unintelligible jargon in mockery of the chants used by the monks at prayers.” Mr. Nash translates the whole passage in which it occurs as follows:—“ They make harsh songs, they note eight numbers. On Monday they will be prying about. On Tuesday they separate, angry with their adversaries. On Wednesday they drink, enjoying themselves ostentatiously. On Thursday they are in the choir; their poverty is disagreeable. Friday is a day of abundance, the men are swimming in pleasures. On Sunday certainly five legions and five hundreds of them, they pray, they make exclamations: O Brithi, Brith oi! Like wood-cuckoos in noise they will be, every one of the idiots banging on the ground.” I cannot agree with Mr. Arnold “ that a flood of the broad daylight of common sense has been suddenly shed over the panegyric on Lludd the Great; ” nor, while pitying the Arkite delusions of Davies, do I feel disposed to be “ very grateful to Mr. Nash.” Mr. Nash has made up his mind that nothing in Welsh literature is older than the twelfth century, and translates accordingly, allowing himself great latitude. The translation is very amusing, but very obscure and very un-Celtic, and most unlike the reverence of the twelfth century, nor does it give the slightest rational explanation of the invocation. Surely the funny bard could have thought of something more like a Christian prayer than “ O Brithi, Brith oi! ” Genius is a dangerous thing in the possession of a translator, and if it accompany a love for that work of the imagination called the higher criticism, it is capable of obliterating an original document by one entirely new.

¹⁴ Davies' Mythology of the British Druids, p. 564, note.

Baal Berith. It is probable that Berith was a Hittite god, for Berothai, named after him, was a city in the Hittite country of Hamath Zobah. This city was also called Chun, a name inviting comparison with Chiun, supposed to denote Saturn; so that Chun or Beroth may have been an eponymous hero or deity of a branch of the Hittite family.¹⁵ He may thus be identical with the Brutus of the British chroniclers, and, at the same time, with the Bharata of Indian mythology, who is always associated with Himavat, an oriental Hamath. Bharata was not a Brahmin, but a Kshatriya or Indo-Scythian.¹⁶ Accordingly, the proud name of Briton is improperly applied to a mixed Celtic and Teutonic people, for it marks a period when a Hittite or Iberian race had the ascendancy. In a poem of Taliesin on the Sons of Llyr, we read: "Three tribes, cruel from native disposition, the Gwyddelians, the Britons and the Romans, disturb the tranquility (of the Cymri) with their tumults."¹⁷ And in another poem of the same bard, entitled *Mic Dinbych*, the Brython or Britons are called *Fichti* or *Picts*.¹⁸ The Welsh Triads seem to mark a distinction between the Brython or *Fichti* and the Gwyddelian *Fichti* or Gaelic *Picts*, who came

¹⁵ Baal Berith (Judges viii. 33. ix. 4, 46) was a god of the Shechemites, an Amorite, not a Hittite, people. For Berothai or Chun, see II. Sam. viii. 8, and I. Chron. xviii. 8. Compare Amos v. 26.

¹⁶ Muir's Sanscrit Texts, Vol. I., p. 354. Viswamitra, a Kshatriya, belongs to the race of Bharata. Bharata and Himavat are two of the nine sons of Agnidhra. Himavat also denotes the Imaus or Himalaya mountains. There is a remarkable agreement between the nine springs of Hymettus mentioned by Herodotus (VI. 134), the nine wells of Hammath or Amathus in Peræa of Palestine, the Norse Heimdall, born of nine mothers, and the nine sons of Agnidhra, of whom Himavat was one.

¹⁷ Davies' Mythology, p. 506.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 507.

by way of Ireland. I propose, as a reading of the Iberic invocation, which has led to this excursus :

O Brithi, associate of Brith !
Pay attention to me, hear me.
Brithi, brother of Brith,
Do thou hear, hear this measure.¹⁹

The adoption of a foreign name, religious rites, and mythology, by the Celts of Britain, is not without parallel. The Semitic Assyrians and Babylonians adopted the religion and mythology of the Turanian Accadians of Chaldea, and the Hebrews were with difficulty prevented from following a similar course. The sacred books and mythological treatises of the Persians and Indians are full of Turanian deities and traditions. The Greeks borrowed the greater part of their mythology from Turanian peoples in Syria, Asia Minor, and Thrace ; their ancestral deity, Ouranos, even being a Scythian of Phrygia.²⁰ The Romans drew largely upon the Pantheon of the Iberic Etruscans. The Germanic and Scandinavian mythology was originally the property of the Lapps and Finns and Esthonians, whom the Teutons sub-

¹⁹	O Brithi Brith oi Nu oes nu edi Brithi Brith anhai Sych edi edi eu roi	O Brithi Brith oi Nu o-etsi nu adi Brithi Brith anai Zac adi adi au arau.
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In mod. Basque *oi* means, common, ordinary, habitual. *Nu* is the Etruscan oblique case of *ni*, I ; here dative. *Oetsi* stands for the present *o-artu*, to pay attention. In my *Etruria Capta* I have suggested, with illustrations, the original identity in meaning of *etsi* and *artu*, both signifying, to hold. *Edi*, which is now *adi*, meaning, hearing, understanding, is here an imperative, hear. The word *anai*, *anaye*, denotes in mod. B. a brother. In Etruscan the mod. B. *zac*, or rather its plural *zazu*, is *zizu*. Hence *sych edi* is *zac adi*, do thou hear. The demonstrative *eu* is now *au*, this. I suppose *roi* to be an old form of *arau*, rule.

²⁰ Steph. Byzant. verbo *Aconia*.

dued or displaced.²¹ But for the benign influence of Christianity, we who inhabit Canada would doubtless have become worshippers in some measure of the Iroquois Tharonhiawakon, and the Algonquin Nenaboju.

The origin and nationality of the Picts has been a disputed question since the days of George Buchanan. I do not propose to enter upon a discussion of the diverse conclusions of Pinkerton, Chalmers, and scores of other writers, who have regarded them as Scandinavians, Gaels, Welsh Britons, etc., but rather to present the evidence that bears directly upon the subject. The first Latin author who mentions them by name is Ammianus Marcellinus. He separates the Picts from the Scots and Attacotti, and divides them into the Dicalidones and Vecturiones²² They are also referred to more than once by the poet Claudian :

“nec falso nomine Pictos
Edomuit.”

“Incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule.”

“Venit et extremis legio praetenta Britannis
Quae Scoto dat fraena truci, ferroque notatas
Perlegit examines Picto morienta figuras.”²³

It is from such passages as these that Buchanan drew the inference, often repeated, that the name Pict was no patronymic, but a term applied by the Romans to a tattooed race. Yet he allowed that the Britons

²¹ Heimdall, the doorkeeper of the gods, see above note 16, is a case in point. The word connects with Bab Hamath and Yamato, the mountain door, or native name of Japan.

²² Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum Gestarum*, lib. XXVII., 8.

²³ Cl. Claudianus, *De 3 tio consulatu Honorü* 54 ; *De 4 to consulat. Hon.* 32 ; *De Bello Getico*, 562.

called the Picts Pichtiades, that the English called them Pichtes, and the ancient Scots, Peachtes.²⁴ The truth is that the word Pict is a tribal designation. In Gaul it was borne by the Pictones or Pictavi, who have left their name to Poitiers. In Spain it appears somewhat disguised, denoting the Vescitani, who dwelt to the north of the Ilergetes and Ilercaones. In Illyria, the Peucetiae mentioned by Pliny, preserved the name.²⁵ Strabo informs us that the Illyrians and Thracians punctured their bodies.²⁶ In Thrace, the Paeti, who inhabited Pactya and the country to the north of it, were the most eastern of European Picts. Herodotus names two nations of Pactyans, one of which dwelt in Armenia, or in close proximity to the land of the Alarodians, and the other in Cashmere, where Alexander the Great found the Cathaei, or eastern Hittites.²⁷ In Jeremiah 1, 21, the Armenian Pactyans are called the inhabitants of Pekod, and are connected with the land of Merathaim, a Hebrew form of the Egyptian Naharina and the Assyrian Nairi, belonging to the Hittite family. And in the annals of Sargon and George Smith's Early History of Babylonia, the Indian Pactyans, under the name Pukudu, are referred to as a people living, at the time when the original documents were written, in the neighborhood of Elam, or Susiana.²⁸ Their

²⁴ Geo. Buchanan, *Rerum Scotiae Historiae*, lib. II., cap. 18.

²⁵ H. N. III. 25.

²⁶ Strabo, *Geog.* VII., 5, 4.

²⁷ Herodot. III. 93, III. 102. For the Cathaei, see Arrian. *Exped. Alex.*, lib. V., 22, seq., Strabo XV., 1, 31. Their capital, Sangala, is thoroughly Hittite in name. See for proof that Sangala was Indo-Seythic, Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 517, note.

²⁸ *Records of the Past*, Vol. V., 102, Vol. VII., 43, 47.

migration to Cashmere must, therefore, have taken place posterior to the 8th century B.C.

The Irish historians, according to Keating, derived the Picts from Thrace, and brought them to Ireland by way of Gaul, where they founded Pictavum or Poitiers. At first they aided Heremon, the Irish king, against the Britons, but, afterward rebelling, he expelled them, together with the Brigantes and the Tuatha de Danans, to Britain. Keating also relates that the Picts asked for Milesian women in marriage, promising that royalty should remain in their line.²⁹ This latter is a fable to account for the Pictish custom of counting descent in the female line, a custom that existed among the Iberians, the Etruscans, and the Lycians of Asia Minor, and that still exists in many American tribes. To the period of this expulsion, Mananan Mac Lir, or Oirbhson, the founder of Manx sovereignty, must belong, for he was of the race of the Tuatha de Danans.³⁰ The Scottish Chronicle states that the Picts came from Denmark and landed first in Orkney, not being permitted to make settlements in France, Britain, or Ireland. It repeats the story of the marriage and promise given by the Irish historians, but replaces Milesian by Scottish women.³¹ The Irish and Scottish historians differ widely in their dates, the former placing the arrival of the Picts in 1250 B.C., and the latter in 320 B.C. There can be no doubt that the Scottish chronicler is nearer the truth

²⁹ Keating's General History of Ireland, Dublin, 1865, p. 149 seq.

³⁰ Ibid, p. 94. See an interesting essay upon Mananan by Mr. Brash in the Manx Society's Manx Antiquities, Vol. I., p. 119.

³¹ Summary of the Scottish Chronicles, p. 6.

in this respect. The British side of the story is told by Geoffrey of Monmouth, who states that, during the reign of Marius, a British king contemporary with the Emperor Claudius, the Picts came from Scythia under their king, Rodric. They were vanquished by Marius, who refused them wives, but allowed them to inhabit the northern parts of Albania, or Scotland.³² Last of all, the venerable Bede says that the Picts came from Scythia, landed in Ireland, married Scoto-Irish wives with the traditional promise, and then occupied north Britain, which was an uninhabited land.³³

The conclusion I draw from these various statements is, that the Picts, whose ancestors had dwelt in Thrace and in European Scythia, by which term Mœsia and Dacia may be denoted, established themselves for a time in the neighborhood of Poitiers in Gaul; but, being unable, thus separated from their Iberian relatives in Spain and Italy, to withstand the pressure of Celtic tribes, they took refuge in the British Islands. That Ugrian tribes, Lapps and Finns from Norway, preceded them, is not improbable, but, as themselves a people of a receding frontier, it is unlikely that they ever dispossessed branches of the Celtic family. All the Celtic chronicles agree that the invading Britons, Milesians, and Scots found the lands of which they took possession inhabited by another race. Yet it is possible that Iberians and Celts migrated contemporaneously to different parts of the three kingdoms. This event, or rather series of events, must have taken

³² Geoffrey of Monmouth, Bk. IV., c. 17.

³³ Bede's Ecclesiastical History, Bk. I., c. 1.

place within a very few centuries prior to the Christian era.

My reasons for including the Brigantes in the Iberian population of the British Islands are, first of all, the statement of Keating, that they were expelled from Ireland along with the Picts and Tuatha de Danans;³⁴ then the fact that Caractacus, King of the Iberian Silures, when defeated by Ostorius, fled for refuge to Venutius, King of the Brigantes, rather than to neighboring Cymric princes³⁵ and, in particular, because the Brigantine and connected names belong elsewhere to Iberian peoples. Brigantium, a city in the northwest of Spain, can hardly be adduced in the argument, because its ethnical relations are undetermined, but the names Eborā, Eburo, Iberus, in the same peninsula, which are but forms of the word Iberia, furnish some originals of Eboracum or York, the capital of the British Brigantes. The Brigantii, again, on the borders of Rhætia and Vindelicia were not Celts; and Livy's statement that the Rhaetians were of the same race as the Etruscans, helps to place them in the Iberic class.³⁶ Anthon, without giving his authority, connects the Brigantes with the Briges of Macedonia and the Phrygians of Asia-Minor.³⁷ Herodotus and Strabo concur in identifying the two latter peoples, and the former author makes them akin to the Armenians.³⁸ The chief element in the name is probably the Basque *buru*, the head, as in Burridava,

³⁴ Keating, p. 152.

³⁵ Richard of Cirencester, Bk. I., ch. 6, sec. 23.

³⁶ Livy, lib. V., c. 33, s. 8.

³⁷ Classical Dictionary, Brigantes.

³⁸ Herodot. VII., 73. Strabo, VII., 3, 2.

Burridensii of Dacia, and Burgos of Spain. Varica, a city in the ancient Iberia of the Caucasus, may present the original of the name. The river Briga was the eastern boundary of the Irish Brigantes, and furnishes the root.

The Iberian colonists of the British Islands were by no means uncivilized. They had left behind them the culture of Etruria and Spain, and already we have found them the teachers of the Welsh in religious mysteries. "They are always mentioned in old Irish writings as Cruithnigh, or painted men, who excelled in magic, poetry and arts, and are distinguished from the Gaedheals or Scots and the Firbolg."³⁹ A similar character is given by Keating to the Tuatha de Danans.⁴⁰ And the Scottish Chronicle says of the Picts: "They were a civil (that is, civilized) people, right ingenious and crafty, both in peace and war."⁴¹ This is a fact which has been almost or altogether lost sight of. With the exception of that of the Umbrian Kingdom, of which we know very little, we can point to no ancient seat of Celtic civilization. Before the Romans took them in hand, the Celts seem to have been little less barbarous than their German neighbors, possessing none but the most elementary and useful arts. In Britain and Ireland the Iberians must have been their teachers and their craftsmen, and when, in 838 A.D., the Picts ceased to exist in Scotland as an independent people, they doubtless remained in the same capacity as the vassals of their Celtic lords.

³⁹ Hector McLean, see note 1 for article, p. 10.

⁴⁰ Keating, p. 86.

⁴¹ Summary of Scottish Chronicles, p. 7.

Instead, therefore, of regarding the most primitive remains of British antiquity as the work of the Picts, it is more natural to attribute to them those works which display the highest art, especially if that art exhibit any resemblance to the remains of Etruscan and Celt-Iberian civilization.

One ancient seat of Iberian culture was the Isle of Man, the founder of whose sovereignty was Mananan Mac Lir, a typical representative of the ingenious and magic-working Tuatha de Danans.⁴² In the early Celtic days of Britain it was regarded as a seat of learning, for to that island the grandsons of Durstus, the eleventh King of Scotland, are said to have been sent for their education.⁴³ The finest specimens of the carver's art are found in the Isle of Man. On account of the runes which are found upon these monuments, and the carving frequently being in the form of a cross, they have been regarded as the work of Christianized Norsemen.⁴⁴ Now, the Norse occupation of Man is undoubted, but there is no evidence that the monuments belonged to their period. It is allowed that the Manx runes differ from the Norse, and that, as now read, they violate rules of grammar and, sometimes, common sense as well.⁴⁵ The cross, which is by no means a purely Christian emblem, for it may be found everywhere, from Egypt to Mexico and Peru, in Pagan countries, is frequently accompanied on these Manx monuments

⁴² See note 30.

⁴³ Buchanan, *Historia*, lib. IV., c. 18.

⁴⁴ See *Manx Antiquities*, Vol. I., p. 1. *The Ornamentation on the Runic Monuments of the Isle of Man*, by the Rev. J. G. Cumming, M.A.

⁴⁵ See the same, p. 19. *The Runic Inscriptions of the Isle of Man*, by the Rev. J. G. Cumming, M.A.

with figures so grotesque as to make it plain that there was no intention to represent the symbol of redemption.⁴⁶ In his *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, Dr. Daniel Wilson says: "The Manx Runic inscriptions are associated with ornamental accompaniments, some of which are sufficiently common on the sculp-

⁴⁶ The Manx design appears, from a comparison of monuments, to have been a Maltese cross within a circle, the cross itself containing a small circle in its centre. A comparison of the two faces of the Bressay Ogham Stone from Shetland (Wilson, *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, Vol. II., pp. 215 and 240) with the Manx crosses and with one another, shows that the cross was an expedient to fill up a circle, the circle, ring, or whorl being the chief element in Iberian ornamentation, as lines and angles were in that of Greece. On one face of the Bressay Stone, the circle contains a rude Maltese cross of knot-work; on the other it is filled up with eight devices surrounding a central ring, of which the four essential ones are ovals disposed in the form of a Saint Andrew's cross, the others being arrangements of knot-work to fill up the interstices. The model of the ovals was probably the petals of a flower. The circle or round oval inscribed with a cross is the Hittite hieroglyphic *ma*, *mo*, *mu*. Alone, or accompanied by a cross below it, it appears largely in the ancient seats of Hittite power in Asia-Minor; see the works of Texier and Perrot, and Professor Sayce's comments upon these representations, *Trans. Soc'y Bib. Archæol.*, Vol. VII., p. 254. In Mathura and elsewhere in India these inscribed circles are found accompanying the old form of writing which I have connected with the Hittite; the small central ring being surrounded by four or more petal-like ornaments, as on one side of the Bressay Stone. See *Archæological Survey of India*, Vol. III., pl. VIII., X., XII., XXVI., XXX., XXXI. In a copy of a Siberian Inscription sent to me by Mr. V. Youferoff of St. Petersburg, beneath a circle inscribed with written characters and within a triangle that encroaches upon the circle is a perfectly-defined cross surmounting a hat. For the occurrence in Britain, India and America of the ring handle within a circle, see Dr. Charles Rau's *Observations on Cup-shaped and other Lapidarian Sculptures in the Old World and in America*. The rude representations of men and animals on the Manx crosses are similar to those which appear on the Siberian monuments and on the relics of the Mound Builders. See an article by Mr. Spassky in the *Journal of the Imperial Society of Geography at St. Petersburg*, Vol. XII., p. 111, seq.; and compare plates 1 and 2 in the *Account of the Discovery of Inscribed Tablets*, *Proceedings Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences*, Vol. II., p. 103. On pp. 414, 415 of Dr. Short's *North Americans of Antiquity*, are representations of human figures from Mexico that would not be deemed at all out of place if found in Scotland. With the left-hand figure on p. 415 compare the queen chess-piece on p. 343, Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, Vol. II.

tured memorials of the Scottish mainland and isles, *though never found on contemporary native monuments of Scandinavia.*"⁴⁷ Concerning the ornamentation on these monuments, called Runic knot-work, the same authority says: "It may be traced in early manuscripts, monuments and relics of Scoto-Irish, Pictish, Scandinavian, Anglo-Saxon and Norman origin, and, indeed, constitutes one of the most familiar characteristics of early Christian art."⁴⁸ Beyond the fact that the Norsemen made use of runes, somewhat similar to, but not identical with, those found upon the Manx crosses, there is no evidence to show that they were the authors of these monuments. The testimony of history is that the ancient Scandinavians, Germans, and Celts held handicraft in contempt, and relegated it to their Ugrian and Iberian slaves.⁴⁹ What these slaves were able to do for their Celtic and Norse masters, they must previously, in a state of independence, have done for their own flesh and blood. The very runes, Celtic, Germanic, Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian, show unmistakably, by comparison with the Etruscan and Celt-Iberian written characters, that they were adaptations of these, and not independent creations of the Celtic and Teutonic mind.⁵⁰

For an account of researches among ancient Turanian alphabets and the discovery of their signification, I must refer the reader to my Etruria

⁴⁷ Prehistoric Annals of Scotland, Vol. II., p. 292.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ See Mallet's Northern Antiquities, Chap. XI.

⁵⁰ "Alphabets were never invented. They were formed gradually, and purely phonetic alphabets always point back to earlier, syllabic or ideographic, stages." Max Müller's Sanskrit Grammar for Beginners, p. 1.

Capta, published by the Canadian Institute of Toronto. Commencing with three systems of writing, the phonetic values of whose individual characters are known, namely, the Cypriote, the Corean, and the Aztec, I have shown their relations as descendants of an original Hittite hieroglyphic system. This hieroglyphic system, which is furnished by Hittite monuments from Hamath, Carchemish, and various regions in Asia-Minor, to which has recently been added an engraved stone bowl found at Babylon, I have, along with the Cypriote, Corean, and Aztec systems, compared with the so-called alphabets of northern India, Siberia, and the American Mound Builders, and, in the west, with those of Phrygia, Lycia, Etruria, Celt-Iberia, and Britain. By this comparison I have determined the phonetic values of the Etruscan characters, and, by the syllabary thus obtained, have read, I think intelligently and grammatically, in an ancient, yet easily recognized form of the Basque language, all the inscriptions presented to me as tests of my process, with one obscure exception. The Manx runes, though more slender and elongated than the Etruscan characters, exhibit many points of accordance with them, but their closest relations are with some of the Celt-Iberian inscriptions. Strabo refers to the different forms of the Iberian alphabets as possessed by different tribes, and the same thing has been noted by many writers upon the ancient Spanish characters.⁵¹

⁵¹ Strabo, Geog. III., 1, 6. See an article by the Rev. Wentworth Webster on Kelt-Iberian Inscriptions in Spain, *American Antiquarian*, Vol. IV., No. 4, p. 323.

It may be asked what ground there is for rejecting the present translation of the Manx inscriptions by means of the runic staff and Norse language. The first ground I have already stated; the Manx crosses, viewed as the work of Scandinavians, are unique, without counterpart anywhere in the area of Norse occupation. Like almost all Norse inscriptions, they are unhistorical and uninteresting, which such elaborate monuments ought not to be. They present variations in orthography, unjustifiable within so small an area as the Isle of Man. Thus the word *thana*, this, is written *thana*, *thano*, *thona*, *thono*, *thann*, *thna*, *thenr*, *thensi*. The word *aftir*, to, is written *aiftir*, *aft*, *af*, *eft*, *eftir*; and *raisti*, erected, is written *risti* and *raiti*. Such proper names as Sandulf, Arinbiorg, Mailbrigdi, are made up of two words separated by the colon-like divider of words and clauses common to Etruscan, Celt-Iberian, Lycian, Phrygian, Indian, Siberian and American Mound Builder inscriptions. Many of the Manx inscriptions require extensive additions, in order to make sense. Some that do not, yield strange epitaphs, such as one which has been read, "Whom Asketil deceived in security, contrary to his pledge of peace;" but also, "Here Osketel bewailed in a drinking feast Aitha, his mother-in-law."⁵² There occur in the inscriptions, when read by the Iberian syllabary, and from right to left, formulas common to the sepulchral monuments of the Etruscans and other Khitan peoples. One of these formulas has

⁵² See the Rev. J. G. Cumming's Runic Inscriptions of the Isle of Man, Manx Antiquities, Vol. I., p. 19, in which the author, with perfect candour, admits the difficulties mentioned.

been read in Norse, *risti crus thono, raisti crus thano, raisti crs thana, raisti crus thona, risti crus thna*. Five such variations for the same words, "raised this cross," in only eighteen inscriptions, several of which do not possess the formula, are irreconcilable with the statement of the Rev. J. G. Cumming: "I have traced over many hundred feet of such knot-work in rubbings from the Manx crosses, and have never found a mistake."⁵³ Those who were so careful to avoid errors in a mere matter of tracery, would surely not be slovenly in the far more important matter of writing.

⁵³ Ornamentation of Runic Monuments, in the same, p. 12.

The Pictish Symbology

1. A, A, A aa a b, f, y ma > | u ra t, t. na is t ag
 2. A, A, A aa, ga s f, y da, ga s t, f, pi s t, t. sa : aianallt nath aia elama
 3. A A in s y, T ao go s, f, T in, pa is. f. chi. u a nath by aning g d a n p a

Inscriptions

1. ... A A b : A A A b | b A A A : A : A b : A A A b y : b y d y : y y b : b b b b : b A A y : y b b | A : A A A
2. = b | b | b y : A A b : y | b y A : y y : b b b : b A A y : y b b | A : y | b y A A A
3. = b | b : A A A y : A A A y : y y : b b b : b A A y : y b b | A : b | b : b y | b b y : A A b : A y | b | A
4. A b : A b : y A A : A y y b : b b : b A y : y b b | A : A A b : b | b | A A A : A b | b | y A y
5. = A A b : A A y : y A A b : b | b : A y y b : b b b : b A A y : y b b | A : y | b A b : b b : y y b : y b b

PLATE I.

In the first inscription (see Plate No. 1), the words read *risti crus thono*, are the 2nd, 3rd and 4th groups from the end, read from right to left, for I have inverted the inscriptions for convenience of reading. Read from left to right, as Iberian characters, they give *egin agi du · maragogo · obimaika*, He commands to make a memorial by the grave tablet. In the second inscription, *raisti crus thano*, are also the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th groups from the end. As Iberian they read, *aginza da · maragogo obi mai so ka*, a memorial is offered by the sight of the grave tablet. The meaning of the other variations will appear in the sequel. The corresponding Etruscan forms are abundantly represented in my Etruria Capta. Nevertheless, I am far from pretending that the reading of these Manx inscriptions, as Iberian, is without difficulty. The Etruscan syllabary of 21 characters is in them reduced to one of 13. Some of the characters, in particular 10 and 11, are unlike anything found in Etruscan. There is a form resembling 10 in Celt-Iberian, and in the Lycian inscriptions and in those of Siberia, similar characters occur. But 11, so far as my present knowledge goes, has no counterpart nearer than Corea. The hieroglyphic, of which it is the cursive form, was a representation of a human foot. The straight line in every case represents the leg; but while the Etruscan represented the sole of the foot by a line ascending from its base, and the Indian, by one at right angles with it, the Pictish represented the instep by a descending line, like the Corean. The Manx syllabary has no character to denote the powers of *l*. This letter, however, appears in many

Pictish names, so that *r* and *l* must have been interchangeable in that language, as in Egyptian and in Lycian. The 12th character was a linear expedient for *c*, and the 13th, which, in Etruscan, is like No. 12, was inverted for the sake of distinction. Among the Khitan syllabaries the Pictish attained the highest degree of simplicity, which, so far from being meritorious, represents the lowest degree of completeness and exactitude.

The Pictish syllabary, as represented in the Manx inscriptions, contains one vowel character denoting the long vowels *o* and *u*, any diphthong, and a vowel preceded by the aspirate *h*. This is No. 7, to which I have given the conventional value *u*. It contains three liquids, No. 1, which denotes all the powers of *r* and *l*, and to which I give the conventional value *ra*; No. 4, with all the powers of *m*, and No. 10, with all the powers of *n*. Etruscan has separate characters for *l* and *r*, for *m* with a short and with a long vowel, and for *n* with the same. The Pictish is richest in gutturals, of which it has four, like the Etruscan. No. 13 denotes *ag*, *eg*, *ig*, and sometimes *gi*; No. 2 denotes *ga* and *ka*; and No. 5, *gu*, *ku*, *go*, *ko*. No. 6 is an erratic character in Etruscan, Celt Iberian, and Pictish, doing duty for both 2 and 5. When accompanied by 5 it corresponds to 2, and when accompanied by 2 it corresponds to 5. Otherwise its standard value is *go*, *ko*. There is only one character in the Manx syllabary for all the powers of *d* and *t*, No 3, while in Etruscan there are four dental symbols. But, as in Etruscan, there are two labials, No. 8 representing *b* and *p* with a weak vowel, *be*, *bi*, *pe*, *pi*; and No. 9, representing the

same with a strong vowel, ba, bo, bu, pa, po, pu. Also, as in Etruscan, there are two sibilants, No. 12 with a weak vowel, se, si, che, chi, ze, zi, is, iz; and No. 11, with a strong vowel, sa, so, su, za, zo, zu. These thirteen characters seem to indicate that the Picts did not bring their syllabary from Italy or Spain, but from some other seat of Khitan culture in Europe, probably from Rhætia or Vindelicia, whence they may have passed directly into Gaul. From such a seat they may easily have communicated their syllabary to the neighbouring Suevi and Marcomanni, by whom it was carried to other German peoples, and, perhaps, to the Scandinavians.

THE MANX INSCRIPTIONS.

No. 1. (see Plate)

This is No. 3 in the Rev. J. G. Cumming's Essay on The Runic Inscriptions of the Isle of Man, and is also represented in Dr. Wilson's Prehistoric Annals of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 299.

Conventional Transliteration :

. . . ne ra ma · ne ga ra sa uchi ka ra tu · ne u · ne
u ma · ka ra tu sa go · sa ku ag ka go · bagosa ·
ag ne ag tu · ma ra ka ku · u ba ma u ka · ka ba
ra.

Basque.

. . . ni erama · nigarrez hitz karratu · nio · nio ema ·
karratu so ka · Sakuag gogo · bagasa · egin agi
du · maragogo · obi mai ka · Kabara.

Literal Translation.

. . . I bring · tears with word engrave · I-to-him-
do · I-to-him-give · writing sight by · Sakuag
memory · departed · to make command does ·
memorial · grave tablet by · Kabara.

Free Translation.

. . . I bring. With tears I write the word for
him. By the sight of the writing I give him
the memory of Sakuag departed. By the sepul-
chral tablet Kabara commands a memorial to be
made.

Analysis.

ni, the Basque and Etruscan pronoun I.

erama, in Basque *eraman*, to bring, bear. The
modern Basque 1st sing. pres. ind. of *eraman* is
damarat. The initial *d* and final *t* of such verbs
are not found in Etruscan. The original Etrus-
can and Pictish form of the word was probably
ni rama, I bring.

nigarrez or *negarrez* is the modern Basque com-
pound of *negar*, *nigar*, a tear and *ez*, the post-
position by, with, on etc., meaning, in tears.

hitz, the mod. B. for word, is in Etruscan repre-
sented by K or IC as here. *Karratu* is not a
mod. B. word. In Etruscan *zaratu* is exceedingly
common as a verb, to engrave, write. The
comparison of *karatu* with *zaratu* shows a dialectic
difference of Etruscan and Pictish. The
modern Basque word which represents them is
zarrapo, *karamitcha*, scratching. The old verbal
forms *zaratu*, *karatu*, to scratch, and hence to

engrave, have fallen out of use, but it is interesting to find the Basque preserving the two forms of the radical, *zara* and *kara*.

nio is not mod. B. which has *diot* for, I it to him do.

But *dio* is, he it to him does, and *nion* is, I it to him did. The form *nio* is Etruscan, and its Basque analogies are plain. It is hard to account for the origin of such modern forms as *diot* and *daramat*.

ema is here the 1st sing. pres. ind. of *eman*, to give.

In Etruscan it appears, generally in this form, represented by a single letter, but also occasionally as *eman*, *emat*, *ematen*. In Etr. and Pict. it may have been originally *ma*, for the Basque, on comparison with other Khitan languages, exhibits the peculiarity of prefixing vowels to the root. See my papers on the Khitan Languages in Proceedings Canadian Institute, Vol. I. Fas. No. 4, p. 282, and Vol. II. Fas. No. 2, p. 158.

karatu soka. In this place *karatu* is a noun, the writing. The Basque verb is really such a present participle conjugated with auxiliaries. The following *soka* is a common B. term meaning by the look, or, by the sight, from *so*, look, and *ka*, the postposition, by.

Sakuag. The probable form of this name is *Askoegi*, making joyous, and should denote a woman. The Celtic writers would make it *Ascoig*.

gogo, in Etr. and Pict. *gago*, is the modern B. word for memory, mind, thought, desire. It governs *Askoeg* in the genitive of position.

bagasa is not mod. B., but *baga*, a synonym of *gabe*, without, deprived of, is. The verb *gabetu*, *gabetzen*, means, to deprive, to be deprived, to lose, as in *jabe onaz gabetua dago*, he has lost a good support. In Etruscan final *sa* denotes personality, agency, as in *lanesa*, a workman, *zekesa*, a niggard, *imbisa*, a messenger. Thus I propose to read *bagasa* or *bagosa* as, the departed, the lost. It is thus not an adjective, but a noun in apposition to Askoege.

egin agi du. The mod. B. verb *egin* means, to make. The following *agi* is in mod. B. *agin*, to command or promise, more commonly *agindu*, *agintzen*. In Etr. it frequently appears in the Pict. form. The final *du* is mod. B. 3rd sing. pres. ind. of *du*, he has or does.

maragogo, or in Etr. and Pict. *maragogo*, is not mod. B. but occurs hundreds of times in the Etruscan sepulchral inscriptions. Its composition is obscure. If *mara* represent the B. *marra*, limit, bound, line, mark, it should govern *gogo* in the genitive by following it, as in the Etr. *zeru marra*, the limit of the sky or horizon. It means a memorial.

obi mai ka. In Etr. and Pict. *oba* is the form of the mod. *obi*, the grave. The connected *mai*, generally accompanied by *zaratu* or *aginza*, occurs in hundreds of Etruscan inscriptions. In mod. B. it means, a table, but in Etr. it denotes a tablet, space, inscription. Final *ka* is the post-position, by.

Kabara is probably the name of a Pictish king of Man, and may be represented by the Gaelic and

Erse Carbre. He is mentioned again in inscription 6. He and his wife Askoege should appear in the Celtic annals.

2. (MR. CUMMING'S No. XI.)⁵⁴

Transliteration.

ma u sa ne u pi ku · ne ra ma · ku u sa go ra · ba go
sa · agne sa tu · mara ka ku · u ba ma u sa ka ·
pi u ba ma ku ka ra tu.

Basque.

mai zuen obego · ne erama · Kuoskar · bagasa · aginza
da · maragogo · obi mai soka · Pioba · mako ·
karratu.

Literal Translation.

tablet you which regard · to me brings · Kuoskar ·
departed · offered is · a memorial · grave tablet
sight by · Pioba · curve · engrave.

Free Translation.

The tablet which you behold brings to me the departed one, Kuoskar. A memorial is offered by the sight of the grave tablet. Pioba engraved the curves.

Analysis.

mai, tablet, see No. 1.

zuen is the mod. B. personal pronoun *zu*, you, combined with the relative *en*, which here refers to *mai* as its antecedent.

obego is not mod. B. nor have I found it in Etruscan. It is a compound of *o*, attention, heed,

⁵⁴ See also Manx Antiq., plate opp. p. 12.

which now only occurs in composition, as in *o-artu*, pay attention, give heed, and *bego*, the Pict. equivalent of the B. *beha*, to regard, or its synonyms *begistatu*, *begiratu*, derived from *begi*, the eye. It thus means, to regard attentively.

ne erama ; for *erama* see No 1. In this place *ne* must be the dative of *ni*, now *niri*. In Etr. the dative of *ni* is *no*, but the Pict. has only one character for all the powers of *n*.

Kuoskar : this may be the name which appears in the Pictish chronicle as Gestgurtich. The supposed Gaelic name Oscar is the chief element in the word ; but this name was originally Iberian, being the Basque *Euskara*, a national designation. The Scandinavians have the name in their mythology as *Askr*, the first man of the people of *Asgard*, just as the Greeks had, in their *Dioscuri*, the twin brethren, and as the Iroquois of Canada have, in their former god *Tawiscara*. It is as hard to say what the value of the prefixed *ku* is, as it is to determine that of the prefixed *di* and *ta* of *Dioscuri* and *Tawiscara*. Yet the Assyrian, or probably native Hittite, name *Khupuscai* is to the Hebrew *Tiph-sach* and Greek *Thapsacus*, as *Kuoskara* is to *Dioscuri*. Even the Peruvians preserve the honoured name as *Huascar*. He was the great eponymous hero of the Hittite race. The *Kuoskar* here mentioned is again referred to in inscription 6, and must have been a man of note, probably king of Man.

bagasa, see No. 1.

aginza da ; *agintza* is in mod. B. an offering. Here, with the well known flexibility of the Iberian, which can verbalize any part of speech, it becomes a verb. Had the Pict. any other character for *t* syllables it should have been employed here, but its poverty compelled it to use the same symbol for *du* and *da*. The latter is the 3rd sing. pres. ind. of *naiz*, it is.

maragogo, see No. 1.

obi mai soka, see No. 1.

Pioba, the name of a Pictish engraver of Man. It occurs again in No. 13, and thus helps chronology.

mako is a mod. B. word meaning hook, crook, curl. It connects with *makur*, meaning bent, curved, folding, winding, and may denote the knot or ring-work rather than the runes.

karratu, see No. 1. It is here used without auxiliary.

3. (MR. CUMMING'S No. 5.)

Transliteration

sa ne u ma · ka ra tu ra go · ra tu u ka go · bagosa
ag ne ag tu · ma ra ka ku · u ba ma u ka · sa tu
ra sa ka · ma ne u sa · ma go pi ra ka ra tu · ka
ne ra ma · ka u go pi sa ra u.

Basque.

zuen o ema · karratu rako · artu Ukago · bagasa · egin
agi du · maragogo · obi mai ka · Satursoka · Man
oisa · makobiri karratu · kian erama · gai jabe
Sarau.

Literal Translation.

Ye who attention give · writing towards · behold
Ukago · departed · to make command does ·
memorial · grave tablet by · Saturdaysoka · Man
king · curve circle to engrave · he did bring ·
capable chief Sarau.

Free Translation.

Ye who give heed to the writing, behold Ukago, the
departed. Saturdaysoka, the king of Man, commands
a memorial to be made by the grave tablet. To
engrave the knot-work, he brought the skilful
chief Sarau.

Analysis.

zuen, ye who, see No. 2. Here the relative *en*
refers to *zu*.

oema, the common Pictish form, give heed. The
B. is *o-artu*, take heed. Both forms occur in
Etr. For *ema* see *nio ema* in No. 1.

karratu rako; here *karratu* is a noun, and *rako*, the
mod. B. postposition, towards.

artu Ukago; *artu* is the verb, to take, hold, re-
ceive, lead, treat. In Etr. it has an interjectional
or imperative force, behold! It may also mean,
it holds *i. e.*, in memory. The Ogygian or Agag
like Ukago, makes one think of the name
Angus Oge applied to Mananan Mac Lir. It
is probably a man's name, that of Saturdaysoka's
predecessor, and may be the same as the Eoch-
aidh of the Irish chroniclers. Keating relates
that the mother of Conrigh, son of Daire, was
Morann Manannach, the sister of Eochaidh

Eichbheoil, and the daughter of Ir, son of Virsighe.⁵⁵ Now, Morann Manannach looks suspiciously like the queen of Man, and Keating elsewhere connects the family of Daire with the land of the Picts, which, however, he places in Scotland.⁵⁶

bagasa, see No. 1.

egin agi du maragogo obi mai ka, see No. 1.

Satursoka, or *Astarsaka*, is a name for which I know of no nearer Pictish equivalent than *Dadrest*. It is, however, as Iberian a word as *Kuoskar*, adding the Asturian name to the Euskarian, and *Castor* to the *Dioscuri*.

Mane, shows that the island retains its original name. The poverty of the Pictish syllabary, making no distinction between *m* with a broad and with a weak vowel, deprives the etymologist of sure ground for a Basque derivation of the word. The Etruscan *Mantua* in Cisalpine Gaul, and the Spanish *Mantua*, now *Madrid*, probably present the same root, *men* or *man*, power, authority, dominion.

oisa is not a B. word, nor can I find its root in that language. But the Japanese, which explained *o-ema* by its verb *uyamau*, to respect, reverence, also gives a noun *uye*, meaning the top, superiority, whence *Uye sama*, his highness. In B., *oi* and *obi* have the meaning of covering, which may go back to a radical denoting, over, above, top. Then *oi-sa* will mean, he who is above, the *sa* being the Etruscan mark of per-

⁵⁵ Keating, p. 219.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 227.

sonality or agency. See No. 1 *sub bagasa*. Compare this form with *oi ema* of No. 5. Among the Khitan languages, the only old world member beside the Basque, of which I have a complete lexicon, is the Japanese. It is much to be desired that the languages of the Caucasus and Siberia were set before the student as amply as are the Iroquois, the Choctaw, the Aztec, and many other languages of this continent. It would then be possible to explain Etruscan and Pictish, or old Basque terms, by comparison with sources less widely separated geographically.

makobiri: for *mako* see No. 2. The connected *biri* is probably the root of the mod. B. *biribil*, round. The Jap. verb *mawaru*, to revolve, whirl, as compared with *maku*, to wind about, and *wa*, a ring or circle, agrees with the Pict. *magobiri*, which may be regarded as a noun designating the rope, knot, or ring work characteristic of the Manx crosses.

karratu is in the infinitive to *erama*.

kian erama is in mod. B. *zeraman*, he brought. But the past auxiliary *kian* appears in other B. verbs, as in *zeraus-kian* from *erausi*, to speak. In Etr. *kian* is a common sign of the past tense, and, as in Pict, often precedes the verb. Initial prefixed d, z, &c., denoting in mod. B. the person of such verbs, has no place in Etr. or other ancient forms of the language.

gai jabe Sarau; *gai* shows dialectic difference as compared with the Etruscan form. In Etr. its first character is that corresponding to No. 13

in the Pict. syllabary, while in Pict. it is No. 2. The latter answers to the mod. B. *gai*, apt, capable, fitting. The Etr. word should be read *egia* which is the mod. B., truth, showing that the original meaning of *gai* was, true.

One of the most frequently recurring words in the Eugubine Tables is *kube*, *kobe*, the Pict. *gobe* and mod. B. *jabe*, *jaube*, lord, master. The use of the word in this place indicates the dignity of craftsmen among the Picts, and in particular of Sarau, whose name does not occur elsewhere.

4. (MR. CUMMING'S No. X.)

Transliteration.

ne u ma · nerama · kukara · kau ba go u sa · sa ne
sa tu · ma ka ku · u ba ma u sa ka · ka ne ra
ma · chi pi ra u ka ag tu · ka-chi u sa pi ka ag tu.

Basque.

ne o ema · ni erama · Kukara · gai бага oisa · zu ne
azte · magogo · obi mai soka · kian erama ·
Chipira au ka-egi du · kachi au azpi ka-egi du.

Literal Translation.

to me attention give · I bear · Kukara · dear de-
parted king · you to regarding · memorial ·
grave tablet sight by · he did bring · Chipira
this engrave does · words his inferior engrave
does.

Free Translation.

Behold me! I bear Kukara, dear departed king.
To you who regard he brought a memorial by

the sight of the grave tablet. Chipira engraves this, and his servant engraves the runes.

Analysis.

This inscription presents difficulties, such as to make the reading tentative.

ne o ema; in another place the same group has been read *nio ema*. Here the sense requires what in Etr. would be *no o ema*, to me give heed. Generally, Etr. denotes the dative by the postpositions *ne* and *ra*, to. But the oblique cases of *ni* are represented by S, M, *na*, *no*, *nu*, while E represents *ni*.

ni erama, see No. 1

Kukara: as there is no separate character for *l* in the Pict. syllabary, we may read *Kukala*; yet *Kukara* is found on Etruscan tombs. It is probably the mod. B. word *gogora*, the hard, strong. In Celtic literature it survives as Cuchullin, Congcullion, Cathulla, Cuthullin. In the An T-Octar Gael, Mananan is represented as instructing Cuchullin in the use of poisoned weapons. Mananan is himself identified with Cuilleán or Guilleán, the magic smith of the Isle of Man.⁵⁷ The name appears again in No. 5, where it seems to denote the husband of a certain queen Gope. Now, according to Keating, Congcullionn, who is Cuchullin, married in Scotland a lady named Aoife, who became the mother of Conlaoch, whom Congcullionn slew, as he also did Conrigh, son of Morann Manan-

⁵⁷ For these references see Mr. Richard R. Brash's *Mananan Mac Lir*, *Manx Antiquities*, p. 119.

nach, whom I have already regarded as a queen of Man. These are coincidences not to be overlooked. In No. 6 Karku appears, who may represent Conrigh or Conlaoch, as Kukara may represent Congculionn.

gai бага оisa : here *gai* (see No. 3, *gai jabe Sarau*) must be translated by a term of endearment or respect rather than by, capable. The following *бага* is an adjective qualifying *оisa*, the king (see No 3, *Mane оisa*).

zune azte ; *zu ne*, to you. Etr. *ne* answers to the mod. B. dative and locative postposition *n*, *en*. The verb *azte* is an abbreviated form of mod. B. *azteitu*, to regard.

magogo is composed of *ema*, give, and *gogo*, memory. It is not mod. B.

obi mai soka · kian erama ; see Nos. 2 and 3. It is hard to say what the subject of *erama kian* is; hence the obscurity of the inscription.

Chipira is evidently the name of the master-carver.

au or *hau* is the Etr. and mod. B. demonstrative, this. It is also used frequently in Etr. for the possessive, his. Here it seems to relate to the work as a whole.

ka-egi du is not mod. B. The monosyllable *ka* is perhaps an old B. word having the meaning of the Jap. *kaku*, to write, scratch, draw. It is here, like B. monosyllabic roots, conjugated with *egin*, to do or make, such as *so egin*, look, *hatz egin*, scratch. For *du* see No. 1, *egin agi du*.

kachi is not mod. B., nor do I know it as Etr. It is related doubtless to the mod. B. *ikasi*, to learn. As in Jap. *kaku* is the verb to write, scratch, so the related *gaku* means, learning and, at the same time, inscription. It may, therefore, indicate the writing, that which is to be learned, in contradistinction from the carving which is simply to be seen.

au azpi: here *au* has possessive value as in Etr. The full form of *azpi* would be *azpiko*, now meaning, a slave, but in Etr. a servant or subject. The literal meaning of *azpi* is inferior, below, under.

ka-egi du: see above.

5. (MR. CUMMING'S No. IX.)

Transliteration.

ag ne u ma · ag ne u ra ku · ku ka ra sa u chi · ne
u ka sa · ka u ba go sa · sa ne ag tu · ma ra ka
ku · u ba ma u sa ka · u ba ka sa ra ma · ma
ne u ma · go pi ra · ba ne sa ma.

Basque.

agin oi ema · egi nio rako · Kukaraz utzi · nio ikasi
· gai bagasa · zu ne egi da · maragogo · obi mai
soka · obi ikasa erama · Man oi ema · Gopi ra ·
banaiz ema.

Literal Translation.

command queen · make I her do towards · Kukara
from departed · I to him indicate · dear de-
parted · you to made is · memorial · grave

tablet sight by · grave indication to bring ·
Man queen · Gopi to · I am given.

Free Translation.

I do reverence to (her who was) the ruling queen.
Lost to Kukara, I show him (where rests) the
dear departed. To you a memorial is made by
the sight of the sepulchral tablet. To bring
an indication of the grave I am given to Gopi,
the queen of Man.

Analysis.

agin oi ema: *agin* is mod. B., command, governed
in the genitive of positive by *oi ema*. With
the latter compare *oisa* in No. 3 and 4. The
ema, eme, means in mod. B., female, a woman.
Literally, female superior of command, the
words may be rendered, ruling queen, as dis-
tinguished from the consort of a king.

egi nio rako: for *nio* and *egi*, see No. 1. The fol-
lowing *rako* is really a postposition, meaning,
towards. In Basque, however, any word may
be verbalized, even postpositions, such as *gana*,
to, towards, for, which, as *ganatcea*, means to
draw towards. In Etr. the verbal termination
tcea, tze, is more frequently omitted than in-
serted. The postposition *rako* is the root of
the mod. B. words *erruki*, compassion, *errukitsu*,
merciful, *urriki*, regret, *urrikitu*, to have com-
passion. Literally, these words mean, a to-
warding, hence sympathizing and offering.
Perhaps, instead of, I do reverence, it would
be better to read, I testify regret.

Kukaraz utzi : for Kukara, see No. 4. The final *z* or *ez* is the postposition by, with, from, at. The verb *utzi* in mod. B. means, to leave, cease, abandon. Kukara was living, therefore, at the time of her death, so that this inscription is earlier than the preceding one.

nio ikasi : for *nio*, see No. 1. I treat *kasa* as the verb *ikasi*, to learn; see No. 4 sub *kachi*. The latter would be a better form for *ikasi*, which would make *ikasa* in the 3rd sing. pres. ind.

gai bagasa : see No. 1 and 3.

zu ne egi da : may be *zu ne age da*, to you appears, *age* denoting appearance, in mod. B., and being employed in Etr. as a verb, to appear.

maragogo obi mai soka : see No. 2, &c.

obi ikasa erama : here *ikasa* is used as a noun, the learning, or indication of the grave. Properly, *erama* as infinitive should be *eraman*.

Man oi ema : for *Man*, see No. 3, and for *oi ema*, this inscription, above.

Gopi ra : Gopi, the name of the queen. See note or Kukara, No. 4. The postposition *ra* means in mod. B., to.

banaiz ema : the Etr. employs some of the present modified indicatives as ordinary indicatives; *bonaiz* is one of these, now meaning, if I am. In Etr. it consistently stands for *naiz*, I am. The verb is *ema*, *eman*, to give. The sculptor makes no mention of himself, perhaps out of respect to the queen's memory, and the *banaiz ema* may be a delicate way of excusing the absence of such mention.

6. (MR. CUMMING'S No. 2.)

Transliteration.

u ra ka ku · ka ra ku · ka sa ne ka u chi · ka ne ra
ma · u tu ka ra ku · ka ba ra ba ku · ne u · ne
u ma · ka ra tu ra ba go · ku u sa go ra · gosa ·
sa ne sa tu · ma ra ka ku.

Basque.

orogogo · Karaku · ikasen ikasa hitz · kian erama ·
aita Karaku · Kabara baga · nau no o ema ·
karratu erabaki · Kuoskar · jasa · zu ne azte ·
maragogo.

Literal Translation.

to remember · Karaku · to learn learning word ·
did bring · father Karaku · Kabara deprived
he · me has · to me heed give · writing causing
to cut · Kuoskar · descendant · you to to show
· memorial.

Free Translation.

He brought a word of indication to keep Karaku
in remembrance. From me, Kabara, my father
Karaku is departed. Behold me causing the
writing to be engraved which shows to you a
memorial of the descendant of Kuoskar.

Analysis.

This is No. 2 in the Rev. J. G. Cumming's Runic
Inscriptions. The first two groups are obscure
in the original, and may not be *orogogo Karaku*.
orogogo is common in the Etr. inscriptions, but

this is its only appearance in the Manx ; hence it is doubtful. It is not mod. B., but is a compound of *oroï*, *oroitu*, to remember, and *gogo*, remembrance. This tautological form has superlative force.

Karaku is the name I have suggested as the original of the Celtic Conrigh or Conlaoch. The second name in the Pictish Chronicle is Circui or Kirkui. The same element is found in the name Caractacus, who, it is to be remembered, was king of the Silures. Cathulla, according to Ossian, dwelt in the Castle of Carric-Thura in Inistore, supposed to be the Orkneys.

ikasen ikasa hitz : the first, *ikasa*, is followed by the postposition *ne*, denoting the infinitive ; the second is an adjective, qualifying *hitz*, word.

kian erama probably refers to Kabara, mentioned farther on. The change of person is perhaps due to the fact that the anonymous engraver personates his patron.

aita Karaku : *aita* is mod. B., father. It occurs in Etr., which also denotes the relationship by *pabe*, *babe*.

Kabara baga nau : for Kabara, see No. 1, where he is the husband of Askoeg. The following *baga*, in Pict. *bago*, is the postposition, without, employed as a verb like *gabetu*, to deprive, be deprived. I prefer to read *nau*, he me does, as similar formulas are found in Etr., thus *baga nau*, will mean, he is lost to me.

no o ema : see No. 4.

karratu erabaki: in mod. B., *ebaki*, *epaki*, means, to cut. The prefixed *er* is causative, hence the literal meaning is, cause to cut, but in B. *erabaki* now means, to decide.

Kuoskar: see No. 2. It is unlikely that Karaku was the son of Kuoskar. If the history of these Manx monarchs is preserved in the Irish and Scottish traditions, it is probable that Kukara or Cuchullin was the father of Karaku, and that Kuoskar was a distant ancestor.

jasa is a provisional reading for *gosa*. Among words meaning descent there are in B. *jachi*, *jatzi*, descend, *egotzi*, cause to descend. But what the Scotch call "a downpour of rain" is in B. *huri-jasa*, of which *huri* is rain, and *jasa* a descent or fall.

zu ne azte; *azte* must be in the infinitive to *karratu erabaki*, and must mean, show or indicate, rather than, regard.

7. (MR. CUMMING'S No. 4.)

Transliteration.

ma ka chi sa ma · ne rama · ka ra tu ra ka chi · ne
u ma · nerama · kuseina go · ba go sa · ag ne
ag tu · ma ra ka ku · u ba ma u ka · u ku sa
ma ne · ka chi sa pi ka ra tu.

Basque.

Makachi asma · ni erama · karratu ra Kachi · no o
ema · ni erama · Kusamago · bagasa · egin agi
du · maragogo · obi mai ka · ukhasa Man ·
Kachi azpi karratu.

Literal Translation.

Makachi indication · I bring · writing to Kachi · to
me heed give · I bear · Kusamago · departed ·
to make command does · memorial · grave
tablet by · holding Man · Kachi inferior writes.

Free Translation.

I Kachi bring the mind of Makachi to the writing.
Behold me, I bear the departed Kusamago.
The lord of Man commands a memorial to be
made by the grave tablet. Written by the ser-
vant of Kachi.

Analysis.

I am far from satisfied with this reading, but give
it forth tentatively as a ground for something
better. Its weak points are the readings of
Kachi as proper names.

Makachi asma: I do not know Makachi as a
Pictish name, and doubt that it is such in this
place. Yet the Irish annals mention Magach
as the father of Ceat, a famous warrior of Con-
naught. Ceat is the Pictish name Cait, Gudach,
Get, Gede. The following *asma* in mod. B.
means, resolution, thought, indication, trace.

karratu ra Kachi: if the carver's name is men-
tioned in this inscription it must be Kachi, who
bears the name of his profession, a learner.
See *Kachi azpi* at end of inscription. Kachi
will thus be the subject of *erama* and in apposi-
tion to *ni*. The preceding *ra* is the postposi-
tion, to. One might read *ra Kachi* as *erakasi*,
to cause to learn, or teach.

Kusamago is the name of the subject of the epitaph as the following *bagasa* indicates: compare Nos. 1, 2, 3. The Pictish *Gurthinmoch* is not the same name, but exhibits some resemblance. Geoffrey of Monmouth calls the giant whom Corineus, the companion of Brutus, threw over the cliff at the Haw, near Plymouth, *Goe-magot*. This is probably a corruption of the Pictish name, and, though the story is fabulous, indicates an occupation of Britain by the Picts prior to the arrival of the Cymri.

ukhasa Man: this is full of difficulty. In Etr. the verb *ukhan*, to have, contains the equivalent of the Pictish character 2, *ka*, and not 5, *ku*. Also the final *sa* should mark personality or agency, in which case as a noun it ought to follow *Man*, governing it in the genitive of position. It may be *oi egotz Mane*, being over *Man*.

Kachi azpi karratu: compare 4, which may require alteration, if *Kachi* be the name of a person.

8. (MR. CUMMING'S No. 13.)

Transliteration.

u pi ka sa ra ma · ma ne u · ma go u ka ku.

Basque.

obi ikasa erama · Manei · Magoi gogo.

Literal Translation.

grave indication brings · Man to · Magoi memory.

Free Translation.

The indication of the grave brings to Man the memory of Magoi.

Analysis.

obi ikasa erama: if this be correctly read, the engraver of the monument or his copyist has made a mistake, putting *obi* for *oba*. If there be no mistake, we must read Obikasa, Upikasa as a proper name.

Manei is in the Etr. dative. In mod. B. this dative is generally obscured by a prefixed euphonic *r*.

Magoi gogo: the Celtic name Mogha or Modha may be an adaptation of the Pictish, which may mean, the warrior, from an old verb *maka*, to strike. See Van Eys, Dictionnaire Basque-Français, sub *makilla*. It is governed by *gogo* in the genitive of position.

9. (MR. CUMMING'S NO. 14.)

Transliteration.

ne ra go ra ka · ba go sa · sane tu · ma ra ka ku · u
ba ma u ka · ku u ra ma.

Basque.

Nerago rako · bagasa · Sanetu · maragogo · obi mai
ka · koi erama.

Literal Translation.

Nerago towards · departed · Sanetu · memorial ·
grave tablet by · willingly brings.

Free Translation.

Towards the departed Nerago, Sanetu willingly brings a memorial by the grave tablet.

Analysis.

Nerago: this would seem to be a woman's name. The Irish annals mention Nar Tath Chaoch, daughter of Laoch, son of Daire, who lived in the land of the Picts, or Scotland.⁵⁸ The name may be B. *anre* or *andre go*, the great or exalted lady.

rako, the postposition, towards. It is here in the common Etr. form.

Sanetu is probably the Pict. name Ciniod. In the Pictish Chronicle this name appears twice, denoting the sons of Luthrin and Viredeg. It also appears as Canut, who is called Ulachama. Now, the chief officer of the Etruscan confederacy, the Lucumo of the Latins, is in the Etr. inscriptions called Alaukama. The son of Nar Tath Chaoch (see above, Nerago) was Fearaidhach Fionfachtnach, the first part of whose name is the same as the Pict. Viredeg. A great deal of Pict. history seems to have crept, unawares, into the Irish annals.⁵⁹

koi erama: *koi* means, desirous, in mod. B. It occurs frequently in Etr., and may be rendered, willingly.

⁵⁸ Keating, 227.

⁵⁹ In the Genealogy of St. David, Sandde is given as his father, and he was son or grandson of Ceredig, a prince of South Wales. See Parry's Cambrian Plutarch, p. 73.

10. (MR. CUMMING'S No. 1.)

Transliteration.

Line 1.—ne ra sa go u · sa pi *sa* ku ra sa · ag ne sa
tu · u tu ka u ku.

Line 2.—ba ra sa ku · ne u ra ku ra ka chi · ne u
ma · sa ne u ma · ra pi sa ma · karago · ag ne
sa tu · ma ra ka ku · u ba ma u sa ka · tu u go
ma · ma ne sa ku sa tu sa · ka ne ra ma · u ba
ku u ka chi · pi u sa go.

Basque.

Line 1.—anre Sagoi · Sapisa sortze · aginza du · aita
Kauku.

Line 2.—Barasaku · nio irakurri *kachi* · no o ema ·
zuen o ema · *erpetz* ema · Karago · aginza du ·
maragogo · obi mai soka · dio gomu · Man esku
estutza · kian erama · obi *koya kachi* · Piusago.

Literal Translation.

Line 1.—lady Sago to · Aspisa *nata* · offer does ·
father Kauku.

Line 2.—Barasaku · I to him reading indicate · to
me heed give · ye who heed give · attention
give · Karago · offer does · memorial · grave
tablet sight by · she him remembering · Man
power holder · did bring · grave chamber indi-
cator · Piusago.

Free Translation.

Line 1.—To the lady Sago (Asko), daughter of
Aspisa, her father Kauku offers a memorial.

Line 2.—I set forth Barasaku in the reading. Behold me! Ye who give heed, mark well: Karago offers a memorial by the sight of the grave tablet. To preserve his memory, the wielder of power in Man brought the engraver of sepulchres, Piusago.

Analysis.

There is no visible connection between the two lines. The principal one is the 2nd, which runs along the edge of the cross. The 1st, in much inferior and irregular characters, is inscribed on the face of the cross, and, if my reading be correct, must have been a later inscription, probably for a member of the same family, by one who was unable or unwilling to make a greater offering to the dead than the scratching of a few inelegant runes.

Line 1.—*Anre, Sagoi*: *anre* or *andre*, mod. B. woman, wife, lady married or single. The name is perhaps *Asko*, in the dative; see *Askoeg* No. 1, and for dative in *i*, see *Manei* No. 8.

Sapisa sortze.—The difficulty is that in Etr. the equivalent of mod. B. *sortze*, *natus*, is written with *N*, the equivalent of Pict. 2, and not with *Y*, the equivalent of Pict. 5. In my *Etruria Capta*, I have shown the relation of *karasa* and *sortze* to the Jap. *hara-mu*.

aita Kauku.—The name *Kauku* is that rendered *Chaoch* by the Irish writers; see No. 9 sub. *Nerago*.

Line 2.—*Barasaku*: This is the subject of the inscription. He must be the *Virsighe* of Keating,

father of Ir and grandfather of Eochaidh Eibheoil and Morann Manannach, the mother of Conrigh. He will also be one of the Viredegs or Feredechs that appear in the Pictish Chronicle. The mod. B. *buruzagi* a chief, may represent the word, for Iberian names are always significant.

nio irakurri kachi might read *nio raku* or *rako erakasi*, I teach reverence to *i.e.* towards him. The verb or noun *irakurri* in mod. B. is in Etr. ANA, as here. For *kachi*, see No. 4.

erpetz ema.—For this form without *ema*, see No. 11 below. The Etr. *erpe* or *arrapa* stands frequently for *artu* to take. *Artu* again is used imperatively for behold! *Artu* unites with *eman* to form *artu-emon*, intercourse. In Pict. *erpetz ema*, seems to mean, give a grasp, mark well.

Karago.—The name of a woman; see No. 11 below. In form it is very like *Karaku* of No. 6. It may be *Garaigo*, an Iberian Victoria. In the Etr. inscriptions *Kukara* appears, denoting in the one place a man, in the other, a woman.

dio gomu.—*dio* in mod. B. is, he or she to him or her does. The following *gomu* which now survives only in *gomuta*, a souvenir, appears often in Etr. as a synonym of *gogo*. I have not yet found a case of *dio* with infinitive or participial power; but the corresponding *nau*, he me does, is found with *gabe* as *nau gabetu*, lost to me.

Man esku estutza.—*Esku* means hand and power. The following *estutza* is doubtful. As the Manx

syllabary has no sign for *ich*, *itch*, as the Etr. has, it may be allowable to read *itsatsa*, the holder.

obi koya kachi.—*Koi* which means, desirous, in mod. B. has also, as a different word of course, the meaning of a compartment, chamber, etc., in Etr. : thus *lurrezkoi* means an earthen chamber or tumulus, *maranckoi*, a stone chamber or vault. This meaning of *koi* appears in Jap., which has *koya*, a small house, hut, pen. Here *kachi* must denote a learner, a man of the literary class, whose literary achievements were sepulchral inscriptions!

Piusago, whose name does not occur again, may be *Bihotzgo*, the man of heart or courage.

II. (MR. CUMMINGS' No. 7.)

Transliteration.

Line 1.—Ra pi chi u ku ka ra go · sa ne u ma ne ra
ma · ka u ba go sa · u ba ma u sa ka · ka ne ra
ma · ba u ka ku u tu ba · ka u ra ma sa · ba sa
ku u ku ra.

Line 2.—ka sa ne ra ka · ba ma u sa ka . tu u ka ra
tu · ma ra ka ku · ba ma u ka ku ra ma u.

Basque.

Line 1.—erpetze uga Karago · zu ne o ema ni erama
· gai bagasa · obi mai soka · kian erama · bahi
gogo Utuba · gai Ramasa · fetchoka uga ra.

Line 2.—ikasen rako · (o)bi mai soka · dio karratu ·
maragogo *ba mai gogo ramau*.

Literal Translation.

Line 1.—Behold mother Karago · you to attention
giving I bring · dear departed · grave tablet
sight by · did bring · pledge mind Utuba · able
Ramasa · tender mother to.

Line 2.—to teach towards · grave tablet sight by ·
he to her writes · memorial ? ? ?

Free Translation.

Behold mother Karago! To you who give heed
I bring the dear departed by the sight of the
grave tablet. The faithful soul, Utuba, brought
the able Ramasa to teach sympathy towards
the gentle mother. By the sight of the grave
tablet, he writes her memorial. * * *

Analysis.

erpetze.—See No. 10 *erpetza ema*.

uga.—In Etr. is written IN not IY. The differ-
ence may be dialectic. The word *uga* only
survives in mod. B. compounds such as *ugatz*,
mother's milk. It is the Jap. *okkaa*.

Karago.—See No. 10.

bahi gogo Utuba.—*bahi* means a pledge, and is
sometimes used in Etr. to denote a spouse as one
pledged or engaged. Here the language favours
the idea that a child, son or daughter, erects
the monument. A pledged mind or heart may
be rendered, a faithful soul. The name Utuba
is peculiar. The only Pictish king whose name
contains similar elements, is Deoar Tavois, with
which may be compared the Diatheba and Dia-
thorba of the Irish historians, and the Cathba

of Ossian,⁶⁰ Adeba, Edeba, and many similar names of Iberian localities in Spain, evidence the Basque character of the word.

gai Ramasa.—The latter should be the name of the sculptor. Aireamh was the surname of one of the Eochaidhs, and is said by Keating to mean a grave. Aramis was an ancient Hittite name.⁶¹ The only corresponding word in mod. B. is *armazoi*, a tool or implement.

fetchoka uga ra: The Etr. *basa*, generally *basaraka*, is the equivalent of the mod. B. *fetcho* rendered by the French *gentil*. The *ra* following *uga* is the postposition, to.

ikasen rako.—*Ikasi ne* must mean to indicate, rather than, to learn, and *rako* the postposition is employed to mean, a towards, sympathizing, or, like the mod. B. *uriki*, regret.

bamaisoka.—This expression occurs again in No. 14, and is inverted in Nos. 17 and 18 as *sakabama*. It is thus not permissible to suppose the omission of an initial I, as has been done in the Basque rendering above. The word is obsolete, but the first part *bama* is the root of the mod. B. *pan-toka*, a pile of stones, and the Jap. *ban-jaku*, a large stone or boulder. Thus the B. *pantoka* is a synonym of *harri-toki*, a pile of stones. The following *soka*, *saka* is harder to determine. The only B. word that at all suits the sense is *chukun*, elegant, but the Jap. has *sogu*, to chip or dress. The probable meaning of *bama au saka* is, this dressed stone.

⁶⁰ Ossian, Fingal.

⁶¹ Keating, 225. Transac. Soc. Bib. Archæol., Vol. VII, p. 291.

dio karratu.—He writes (*maragogo*, a memorial) to her.

bama au gogo eramai; *bama*, the stone, *au gogo*, her memory. The final *eramai* is a form unknown to me; it may be a variant 3 sing. pres. ind. of *eraman*, meaning it bears.

XII. (MR. CUMMING'S No. 8.)

Transliteration.

. . . ra ka chi · ka ra tu ka u sa go · ba go sa · u ba
ma sa ka · neag neag · ne u · nerama · raka . . .

Basque.

. . erakasi · karratu ka Usago · bagasa · obi ma
soka · Anagin egi · nio · ni erama · rako . . .

Literal Translation.

. . . To teach · writing by Usago · departed · grave
tablet sight by · Anagin make · I him do · I bring
· regret . . .

Free Translation.

. . . I, Anagin, make (a memorial) by the sight
of the grave tablet to indicate by the writing
Usago. I bring regret . . .

Analysis.

This inscription is fragmentary.

erakasi.—To teach in the sense of indicating.

karratu ka.—By the writing.

Usago.—If *karratu* is the subject of *erakasi*, the

ka will belong to the name, which will thus be *Kaosgo*. Then the first part of the word will be similar to that in *Cuas-tain*, the name of a Pictish monarch. It may be the B. *goizeko*, pertaining to the morning, a Pictish Aurora, and thus probably a woman's name. Without the *ka* it may be *Otsego*, the famous. *Osazagi* was an ancient royal name among the Japanese.⁶²

obi ma soka.—The character read *ma* may be *u*. In this case we must read, by the sight of this grave. In Etr. *mai* is frequently abbreviated to *ma*.

Anagin egi nio.—The general similarity of this formula to others preceding, such as *egin agi du*, *aginza du*, *zu ne azte*, are not in favour of reading part of it as a proper name; yet, if it be copied correctly, I do not see that it can be anything else. I know of no similar name in Etr. The surname of *Criomhthan*, father of *Fearaidhach*, to whom I referred in the analysis of No. 9, sub *Nerago* and *Sanetu*, was *Niadhna*r. The interchange of *ch* and *th* as in *Cuchullin* or *Cuthullin* was common in Gaelic. Hence *Niadhna*r may have been originally *Niachna*r. Instead therefore, of reading *Anagin*, we may read *Niagni* or *Niagna*. A distinct name among the *Tuatha de Danans* was *Neachtain*, the *Necton* of the *Pictish Chronicle*.

egi for *egin*: to make.

ni erama rako: *rako* used substantively, I bring regret.

⁶² Titsingh, *Annales des Empereurs du Japon*, p. 22.

XIII. (MR. CUMMING'S No. 12.)

Transliteration.

ne u u ma · sa ka sa ag ma · tu u sa · ra ku u ka ba
· u · u ba pi u ra · pi u ba u ku ma ag · ka ag . . .

Basque.

nio o ema · Sakasa Agma · diozu · rako Ukaba · au .
obi beharri · Piuba ukumaag · ka-egi . . .

Literal Translation.

I to him attention give · Sakasa Agma · do you to
him · reverence Ukaba · his · grave stone ·
Piuba engraving · write.

Free Translation.

I, Sakasa Agma, give him attention. Do you
reverence the grave stone of Ukaba. Piuba
executes the carving.

Analysis.

The translation of this baffling monument is tentative in the extreme, nor does it fare better as Norse, for it is the "Osketil who bewailed his mother-in-law in a drinking feast." It is by Piuba, the author of No. 2, but the inscriptions are quite unlike.

nio o ema: this peculiar formula can be rendered in no other way; hence

Sakasa Agma must be the name of the presenter of the monument. *Ogma* was a common name among the Tuatha de Danans, as was also *Juchorba*, which may be a corruption of *Ukaba*.

In Etr., Agma becomes Aginno, a common name. I am inclined to think that *Agam* or *Agma* is a title, and the origin of the Irish Ogam, Ogham, the name of the inventor of letters.⁶³ It would thus be composed of *age*, appearance, and *ema*, give. *Agertu*, composed of *age* and *artu*, means to declare, manifest. With *ema* it would have the same meaning. A famous man among the Tuatha de Danans was Oghmagrian Eigis.⁶⁴ While Oghma represents Agema or Agma, the final Eigis may be a corruption of Sakasa or Askasa; not that Askasa Agma of this inscription was the hero so called, but the agreement of the names indicates tribal relationship.

diozu rako.—A common formula in the Etr. monuments is *zazu erruki* or *rako*, have sympathy or compassion. Here *diozu* meaning, you to him have, has similar imperative force.

Ukaba.—Is the name of the subject of the epitaph. The surname of an Eochaidh to whom I have already alluded as the brother of Morann Manannach, was Eichbheoil. In B. this word is *ukabil*, the fist, and *Ukaba* seems to be an abbreviation of it.

au obi beharri.—*Au* is here used possessively, as it places in the genitive of position the preceding *Ukaba*. The word *beharri* in mod. B. means, an ear. Here it is a compound of *harri*, a stone, and *be*, a prefix which appears in *be-atz*, a finger,

⁶³ Vallancey's Specimen of a Dictionary of the Irish Language, pp. 17, 34.

⁶⁴ Keating, 93.

be-lawn, a knee, and perhaps in *bidarri*, pavement.

ukumaag I can make nothing of by the B. lexicon, and without some B. connection, however distant, it is useless to suggest foreign etymologies. It must mean the work of the carver.

ka egi.—See No. 4. Final *du*, he does, is wanting, owing to the mutilation of the inscription.

XIV. (MR. CUMMING'S NO. 6.)

Transliteration.

. . . ka u ba go sa · ka ne ma tu · kasa ne raka · ba
ma u sa ka · ka u ra ka ma ag ne u.

Basque.

. . . gai bagasa · kian emat · ikasen rako · bama au
saka · Kaura gomu egi nio.

Literal Translation.

. . . dear departed · he did give · to learn sympathy · stone this *saka* · Kaura memorial make I him do.

Free Translation.

. . . the dear departed he gave to testify regret this *engraved* stone. I, Kaura, make the memorial.

Analysis.

The cross, or rather the inscription, is much mutilated, the name of the subject of the epitaph and its donor being absent.

kian emat.—The *ma* may be a *sa*, *kian azte*, he showed. In Etr. *emat* of *eman*, *ematen* is written Oll; but the Pict. has only one form for dental syllables.

Kaura gomu egi nio.—The name of the engraver survives. *Kaura* is the element Gair which appears in such Pictish names as Gairtnoch, and in the Danan names Cearmod and Cairbre.. For *gomu*, see No. 10.

XV. (MR. CUMMING'S No. 15.)

Transliteration.

. . . ka u ba go sa · sa ne tu · ma ra ka ku.

Basque.

. . . gai bagasa · Sanetu · maragogo.

Translation.

. . . dear departed Sanetu's memorial.

Analysis.

The mutilation of the inscription makes the reading uncertain. Generally the name of the deceased precedes the formula *gai bagasa*. The only B. words that *sanetu* could represent, if we refuse to see in it a proper name, are *asan du*, he builds, or *asan da*, is built. These readings would require a dative sign after *bagasa* or the name it qualifies. As a proper name Sanetu has occurred in 9, not as the subject, but as the author of an epitaph.

XVI. (MR. CUMMING'S NO. 16.)

Transliteration.

o ba ma u sa ka . . . ba ra ka ra u ku sa ba · sa
ne u ma · ra ne ra ku · u tu u ka ma sa · ka u
ba go sa · u ma ne sa tu · ma ra ka ku.

Basque.

obi mai soka . . . borrokara Ukusaba · zu ne o
ema · ranorako · aita Ukamasa gai bagasa · o
ema ne azte · maragogo.

Literal Translation.

grave tablet sight by . . . warrior Ukusaba · you
to attention giving · towards towards · father
Ukamasa · dear departed · attention giving to
to show · memorial..

Free Translation.

By the sight of the grave tablet . . . The warrior
Ukusaba presents to you who pay attention his
dear departed father Ukamasa, showing a me-
morial to him who gives heed.

Analysis.

borrokara Ukusaba: *borroka* is in mod. B., a strug-
gle, and *borrokatu* is, to fight, to wrestle. In
Etr. a warrior is *borrokatar*: here it is *borrokar*.
Van Eys supposes the *t* of words ending in *tar*
to be euphonic merely, the particle being *ar*,
male.⁶⁵ The name Ukusaba may be that of
which the Irish annalists have made Eochaidh

⁶⁵ Van Eys, Dictionnaire Basque-Français, sub *ar*.

Salbuidhe.⁶⁶ That his line was Pictish seems to be indicated by the fact that his grandson, the famous Connor, is called the son of Neasa, who was Eochaidh's daughter, descent being thus counted in the female line. Eochaidh as a name first appears in Irish history among the Fir Bolg and the Tuatha de Danan.⁶⁷ Hittite names from the Egyptian monuments are Aagam and Aakitasebu.⁶⁸ With the latter may be compared Kustaspi and Uas-survi, names of Hittite kings of Commagene and of the Tibareni,⁶⁹ and the names of two northern Canaanitic cities, Achzib and Achshaph. The meaning of Ukuzaba in mod. B. is, the master of the house.

ranorako is compounded of two forms of the post-position, towards, *rano* and *rako*. In the Eugin Tables the verb *ranone* means, to yield to, side with, be in accord.

aita Ukamasa: this name must be that which appears in the Pictish Chronicle as Combust or Usconbust. Kamaiz was a Hittite leader of mercenaries at the battle of Kadesh⁷⁰ Car-chemish was the Hittite capital in Syria.

o ema ne azte: this seems tautological. But for the prefixed *o*, which may be *au*, this, I should prefer to read Mane as Man: see Nos. 2, 5, 7. In No. 10 we have *Mane esku itsatsa*. Hence, *au Mane atzitu* might be the possessor of Man.

⁶⁶ Keating, 215.

⁶⁷ Ibid, 84, 92.

⁶⁸ Transac. Soc. Bib. Archaeol., Vol. VII., p. 288.

⁶⁹ Ibid, 291.

⁷⁰ Ibid, 285.

17. (MR. CUMMING'S No. 17.)

Transliteration.

u ba sa · u ma u tu sa · maag · sa ne ag ku · ma pi
sa ku go ra ba · ka u pi ag ba · sa ne u ma · sa
ka ba ma ra go · rakarago · pi sa go · ka u ba
go sa · sa ne sa tu · ma ra ka ku · u ba ma u sa
ka · ne ra ku go ra pi · pi sa u ne.

Basque.

obiz · o ema autetsa · maag · zu ne agi ko · ema
Pisago Gorabo · gai *begiba* · zuen o ema · saka-
bama rako · rakorako · Pisa go · gai bagasa · zu
ne azte · maragogo · obi mai soka · ni rako
Goraba · Pisa huni.

Literal Translation.

grave at · attention give choosing · maag · you to
indicate will · gives Pisa of Goraba · worthy
spectacle · ye who attention give · carved stone
towards · to sympathize · Pisa of · dear de-
parted · you to indicates · memorial · grave
tablet sight by · I offer Goraba · Pisa this to.

Free Translation.

To you who choose to pay attention to the grave,
the runes will indicate that Goraba gives of
Pisa a worthy monument. Ye who pay atten-
tion to the carved stone, sympathizing, it shows
you a memorial of Pisa, the dear departed one,
by the sight of the grave tablet. I, Goraba,
offer (regret) to this Pisa.

Analysis.

obiz : *obi* with the postposition *z*, *ez*.

o ema autetsa : the verb *autetsi*, *haututu* means, to choose. Here we have either the 3, sing. pres. ind. *autetsa*, or a noun formed in Etr. fashion by adding *sa*, the sign of agency or personality.

maag : unexplained, see No. 13. It must denote the writing like the Jap. *moji*, character, word, letter.

zu ne agi ko : *agi* or *age*, appearance, becomes a verb in Etr. meaning, to indicate. The following *ko* or *go* is one of the signs of the future case in B., and the almost invariable sign in Etr.

ema Pisa go Goraba : the construction is thoroughly Japanese, and shows the syntactical decay of the Pictish. Instead of *ema* it should be *eman duela*, that he gives. *Pisa* is in the genitive, *go* and *no* being gen. particles. The postposition is required by the distance of the governing words, "*gai begiba*."

Goraba, towards the end of the inscription is *Gorapi*. One or other of these transcriptions is a mistake, most likely the latter, as it would be a simple matter for *ba* to lose one of its upper limbs. This name is probably the same as the Carvorst of the Pictish Chronicle, and competes with *Kabara* for connection with the *Danan Cairbre*, *Carbre*. Two Hittite names preserved on Egyptian monuments are *Garbatus* and *Khilip-siri*.⁷¹ *Garparuda*, a Hittite *Car-*

⁷¹ *Ibid*, 285.

vorst, was king of the Gangumians or Zamzumim, in the 9th cent. B.C., and Girparuda, of the Patinians, at the same time.⁷² Among Etr. proper names Chirapisa appears, as well as Kukara and Kuraka.

Pisa, evidently the wife of Goraba, is a peculiarly Etr. name, denoting a woman as well as the city so-called. In ancient Hittite it was also a man's name, for the Pisiris of the Assyrian inscriptions is, on the Hittite monuments of Hamath, *Pisa zari*, or the commander *Pisa*. *Pais* is a Hittite name preserved by the Egyptians. The Pictish *Wid*, *Vaid*, *Vechta*, may be forms of this name, disguised.

gai begiba : here *gai* means suitable, as in mod. B. In the Eugubine Tables the mod. B. *begi*, eye, is written *beag*. There is no mod. B. word *begiba*, but final *ba*, *bo*, *be*, often occur, as in *aldapa*, *atherbe*, *ichurba*, *mempe*, &c., answering to the fuller termination *pen*, which forms substantives, and agrees with the Jap. *ba*, literally place or room, which forms nouns in the same way. Thus *begiba* will be, a place or thing of the eye, a spectacle.

sakabama : see No. 11 *bama au saka*. This compound word denotes the carved cross. In Jap. *seki-ban* denotes a lithographer's stone or a slate.

rakorako, a compound of *rako*, towards : see *rano-rako*, No. 16.

Pisa huni : *huni* is mod. B. dative of *au*, to this.

⁷² Ibid, 291.

18. (MR. CUMMING'S No. 18.)

Transliteration.

ne sa pi u · ne ag ma · ne sa tu · ne sa tu ra ku · sa
ka ba ma ra go · sa go u sa pi · mama · saka ba
ma. . . .

Basque.

Nesapiu · ni age ema · Nesatu · Nesatu rako · saka-
bama rako · Sago au azpi *mama* · sakabama . . .

Literat Translation.

Nesapiu · I indication give · Nesatu · Nesatu to re-
gret · engraved stone towards · Sago his inferior
· *mama* · engraved stone. . . .

Free Translation.

I, Nesapiu, indicate Nesatu. Towards the engraved
stone (testifying) regret (for) Nesatu, the ser-
vant of Sago, &c.

Analysis.

The chief difficulty is the appearance of two forms
of the *m* syllable in *mama*, which, so far, I can-
not account for. The Norse scholars find diffi-
culty with this inscription also, making it, by
various additions and emendations, to read:
“To foster father, Isleif, the good foster father,
towards an evil son.”

Nesapiu: the Etr. name Nochipi is similar in
form. The Irish Carbre Niadhfar may be, in
its latter part, a distortion of the Pictish
original. Nazabia was the name of a Hittite
country in the 12th cent. B.C., according to

the Assyrian monuments, and on the earlier Egyptian is called Nishapa.⁷³

ni age ema, I give appearance or indication.

Nesatu must be the Pict. name Nectū, also written Necton.

Sago au azpi or *Sagou azpi*: see No. 10 *anre Sagoi* for the same word, which is there a woman's name. Also, in the same inscription *Piusago* is the name of the engraver.

This and the preceding inscription are said to be later than those they follow. Yet No. 10, with which No. 18 shows some connection, is probably the oldest.

Conclusion.

These eighteen monuments furnish the names of seventeen persons whom they commemorated, of whom three are stated to have been kings, and one a queen, of Man. They contain the names of nine other personages of importance, who caused the monuments to be erected, and of seven or eight engravers or scribes. One of the oldest monuments is that of Kuoskar, No. 2, for he is said to have been an ancestor of Karaku. The sculptor of this monument was Piuba; therefore, No. 13, which is by the same artist, must contain contemporary names. These are Ukaba, the subject of the epitaph, and Sakasa Agma, who ordered it to be made. After Kuoskar, we should, perhaps, place Barasaku, Virsighe, or Feredech, of No. 10, with his wife Karago and son Utuba in No. 11. Then may follow Kukara of 5 and 4, with his queen

⁷³ *Ibid*, 298, 289.

Gopi; after whom should come Karaku of 6, with his son Kabara and his wife Askoegei of 7. Beyond this, all that we know is that Nerago of 9 precedes Sanetu or Ciniod of 15; that Ukamasa was the father of Ukusaba; and that Pisa was probably the wife of Goraba. If the Irish annals are to be relied upon and the points of connection I have indicated are tenable, this Pictish dynasty in Man must have commenced about a century before the Christian era, which accords with the story that makes Mananan and Cuchullin contemporaries. It continued in power till the 6th century A.D., when the Irish and Welsh contended for sovereignty. While the population, during this period of contention, became Gaelic, it seems to have been ruled by Welsh princes till the 9th century, when the Norsemen superseded them. Nennius, who is supposed to have written his history of the Britons in the 8th century, says that the Picts, who had occupied the Orkney Islands, "laid waste many regions and seized those on the left-hand side of Britain, where they still remain, keeping possession of a third-part of Britain to this day."⁷⁴ If the statement of Ordericus Vitalis be correct, that Magnus of Norway, in the beginning of the 12th century, found the Isle of Man a desert and colonized it, the Norsemen must have been its depopulators, and the colonists must have been Gaels from the Scottish coast.⁷⁵

The fusion of the Picts with the Welsh, Irish, and Scottish Celts became so complete that, while the former lost their language, the latter lost their

⁷⁴ Nennius, *History of the Britons*, § 12.

⁷⁵ Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, ch. 9.

history, if they had any to lose. For it is plain, from a casual survey of the traditions of the three peoples, that their principal heroes, not excepting Brutus, Leir, Ossian, Oscar, Cuchullin and Conrigh, were not Celts, but Iberians, and that such royal names as Dardan, Durst, Eder, Eochaidh, &c., belong to the same race. The Trojan descent of the Britons is a myth, but the Trojan relationship of the Etruscans of Italy, from whom the Romans borrowed their genealogies, and of the Piets of Britain, from whom the Welsh borrowed theirs, is undoubted, for they also were Hittites. The Irish historians, wittingly or unwittingly, stated the truth when they derived Mananan Mac Lir and his race from Armenia and Canaan.⁷⁶ The triquetra on Lycian coins is the original of the three legs of Man, which appear in the knot-work of the crosses as three interlaced loops. The Irish story of Labhradh Loingseach, the king who had horse's ears, is that of the Phrygian Midas, a story carried west and northward by the Iberian Brigantes, and from them borrowed by Erse Celts. The same monarch is represented as the inventor of green-headed battle-axes, thus recalling Jupiter Labradeus or Labran-deus, of Caria and other regions, who carried an axe. He is the eponym of Allapur in Armenia, Liburnia in Illyria, Labronis Portus or Portus Herculis Liburni in Etruria, Lapurdum and the Labourd of the Basques. He is the Lubara or god of pestilence of the Accadians, and the Lupercus as well as the Februus, whom the Romans borrowed from the

⁷⁶ Mr Brash on Mananan Mac Lir, *Manx Antiquities*, Vol I., pp. 126, 27.

Etruscans. The *svastika* or Buddhist cross, so common in India, is found upon monuments in Scotland, England, and the Isle of Man. It is also found upon many of Dr. Schliemann's Hissarlik relics, and upon ancient pottery from Cyprus, and is regarded by Professor Sayce as of Hittite origin.⁷⁷ The cupped stones of Man and other British Islands, Dr. Charles Rau has shown, have their counterparts in many regions of Europe, in India, and largely on the American continent.⁷⁸ I have not detected the tip-tilted Hittite boot in Pictish representations of the human figure, but in Assyrian representations of the Armenians, in the Hittite sculptures of Asia-Minor, and in those of the Etruscans, it appears. It is still worn by the Coreans of eastern Asia.⁷⁹ The Dardanian descent claimed by the Britons is justified when transferred to the Picts by the statement of the Chronicon Paschale that the Dardani descended from Heth,⁸⁰ by the Hittite character of Trojan remains, by the presence of Dardanii among the Illyrians,⁸¹ and many similar coincidences in geographical and tribal nomenclature. When a so-called Scottish monarch bears the name Dardanus we may take it for granted either that the name is borrowed from Pictish history, or that, in his reign, the Scots were under Pictish domination. The many names into which *eder* enters, such as the

⁷⁷ Trans. Soc. Bib. Archæol., Vol. VII., p. 274, note.

⁷⁸ Observations on Cup-shaped and other Lapidarian Sculptures in the Old World and in America.

⁷⁹ Narrative of the Voyage of H.M.S. Samarang, by Captain Sir Edward Belcher, R.N., C.B., Vol. II., p. 446.

⁸⁰ Chronicon Paschale, Migné's Patrologia, p. 29.

⁸¹ Strabo, VII., 5, 7.

Scottish Ederus and Irish Eidersgeoil, are Pictish ; *eder* being the Basque, beautiful, a common element in the formation of proper names. Among the Tuatha de Danans, Eathoir and Eadarlamh exhibit this element, and the Pictish Derili, Drest and Drust, show it with the loss of the initial *e*. The Basque *Edergallu*, an ornament, and *ederets*, to find or esteem agreeable, indicate the source of Eidersgeoil and Drest. The Pictish name Morbet appears in an Etruscan epitaph as Morabaita. Another Pictish name, Garnat di uber, also called Garnat *dives*, displays the Basque *aberats*, *aberax*, rich, from *abere*, cattle. Pictish or Iberian influence in the British Islands must have been very great, affecting history and literature, religion, language, culture of all kinds, together with physical type and national character. To this source more than to any other are probably due the lofty pride and independent spirit of the British Celt, for no prouder or more independent man walks the earth to-day than the Basque peasant of the Pyrenees.

AN HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE MANX
LANGUAGE, WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF
ITS LITERATURE.

BY MR. A. MOORE, M.A.I., F.R.H.S., F.R.M.S.,

Isle of Mann.

The Manx is a dialect of the Gad-helic branch of the Celtic language—a branch which is represented also by two other dialects, the Irish and the Scotch Gaelic. There is no doubt that during the early period of the Celtic occupation of the Isle of Mann, the language of the inhabitants was substantially identical both with that of Ireland and that of the Highlands of Scotland, though probably showing such slight divergences as naturally arise whenever a population is spread over a wide area of territory. At the present day the mutual difference between the three dialects is considerable, though the resemblance between Irish and Scotch Gaelic is much greater than that which either of them bears to Manx. In their written forms, indeed, the dissimilarity between Manx and its sister dialects is so wide that an Englishman, on comparing a passage, for instance, in a Manx Bible with the corresponding passage in the Irish or Gaelic version, might sometimes fail to perceive that the languages had any affinity whatever. If, however, the two passages were read to him slowly and distinctly by natives of the respective countries, he

would easily recognise that they differed merely as dialects of a common language. The striking difference in the two languages, as written, is largely due to the diverse principles on which their orthography is framed. The Irish language (the orthography of which is mainly followed in Scotch Gaelic) was reduced to writing, at least, as early as the sixth century, and its spelling still, to a great extent, represents the pronunciation of that period, though even before the separation of the three dialects, the sounds had undergone very important changes. The modern Irish orthography, therefore, contains an abundance of silent letters, and of letters which no longer represent, phonetically, the actual corrupted pronunciation, and it was, in addition, based on the analogies of the contemporary English spelling, which was very imperfectly suited to render the peculiarities of Celtic sounds. The real differences which exist between Manx and its kindred dialects, as they are actually spoken, are to some extent the natural result of their separate development, although they are also due, in part, to the fact that Manx has borrowed a certain number of Scandinavian and English words. The following specimen verse from the Manx, Irish, and Scotch Gaelic Bible will give some notion of the relation between the three languages:—

Manx.—Son lheid y ghraih shen hug Jee da'n theihll, dy dug eh eynrycan vac v'er ny ghed-dyn, nagh jinnagh quoi-erbeee chredjagh aynsyn cherraghtyn, agh yn vea ta dy bragh y chos ney.

Irish.—Oir is mar so do ghrádhúigh Dia an domhan, go dlúg sé a einghein Meic fein, ionnus gidh bé chreideas ann, nach rachadh sé a mughá, achd go mbeith an bheatha shiorruidhe aige.

Gaelic.—Oir is ann mar sin a ghrádháich Dia an saoghal, gu'n d'thug e 'aon-ghin Mhic féin, chum as ge b'e neach ach reideas ann, nach sgriosar e, ach gu'm bi a'bheatha shiorruidh aige.

English.—For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life. (St. John iii., 16.)

The earliest evidence which we have of the existence of a Manx language is found in a few names of persons and places on the Runic Stones, in the Chronicon Mannice (1017-1376), in the Statute Law Book (1417), and in the Manorial Rolls of 1511 and 1515. It is, however, not until near the end of the sixteenth century that we find the language mentioned by English writers. It is somewhat interesting to observe that the first authors who refer to it were aware of its essential identity with Irish. The earliest English book in which it is mentioned is Camden's "Britannia," * published in 1586. Camden says that the inhabitants of the north of the Island speak like the Scots, and those of the south like the Irish. Whether there really existed any such difference of dialect between the

* Except when otherwise stated, the references to English writers are taken from Vols. I., II., VI., X., and XVIII. of the Manx Society's publications.

two divisions as is here asserted it is impossible to ascertain. The statement is, perhaps, based rather on intrinsic probabilities than on actual evidence. It is, however, worth noting, as Camden's account of the Isle of Mann was, in part, supplied by John Meryk, bishop of the Island from 1577 to 1599, who would be a competent witness for the fact that two different dialects were used in the northern and southern districts, though we cannot regard him as an authority on the question of their respective degree of resemblance to Irish or Scotch Gaelic. At the present day there is scarcely any difference between the Manx spoken in the different parts of the Island.*

In Speed's "Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine" (1627), the author observes that "the common sort of people, both in their language and manners, come nighest unto the Irish, although they somewhat relish and savour of the qualities of the Norwegians." This interesting remark would be still more noteworthy, if we could suppose that Speed's informant had arrived at his conclusion without knowing the history of the Island; but this is not very probable.

The next writer in order of date whom we are able to quote is Chaloner, who was appointed by Lord Fairfax one of the two Commissioners for governing the Island in 1652, and was Governor in 1659 and 1660. He was a close observer of manners and customs. He remarks that "their language is the very same with that of the Scottish-Irish. * * * Many of their words are derived

* In the south they say Shen, in the north Shan, for old—

from Latin and Greek, and some of pure English. Chaloner adds that "few speak the English tongue." The knowledge of English must, however, have made great progress during the seventeenth century, as, in Bishop Gibson's translation of Camden (1695), it is stated that the gentry are more willing to discourse with one in English than in their native language ; * * * not only the gentry, but likewise such of the peasants as live in the towns or frequent the town markets, do both understand and speak the English language." Gibson repeats Chaloner's statements respecting the character of the Manx language, and says that "the people are styled Manksmen and their language Manx." This appears to be the earliest extant mention of this name, which is possibly derived from *Manninagh*, the native word for a Manxman (an adjectival formative from *Mannin*, the name of the Island.

Sacheverell, who was Governor of the Isle of Mann in 1692-1696, and who wrote about the beginning of the eighteenth century, says—"The Manks language, according to the best information I could get, differs no more from Irish than Scotch from English, though Bishop Philips, a native of North Wales, who translated the Common Prayer into the Manks tongue, observes most of the radixes to be Welsh." It is remarkable that he should have been acute enough to discover the resemblance between the Manx and Welsh, disguised as it is by sound changes. Of course, the likeness between these two languages is less—not, as Philips' supposed, greater—than that between Welsh and Irish. His translation of the Prayer Book is the earliest

work in the Manx Language now extant. In the Litany there is a prayer for Charles I. and his Queen, but not for their son. This circumstance proves that the MS. must have been completed between 1625, when Charles I. ascended the throne, and 1630, when Charles II. was born. The original MS., which has never been printed, is in the possession of the Rev. Hugh Gill, Vicar of Malew. The early portion, as far as the commencement of the Athanasian Creed, is missing, but, excepting that three or four pages are torn out, the remainder, to the 9th verse of the 144th Psalm, is in a good state of preservation. All the rubrics are in Manx instead of in English, as in the later version. From the specimens given it will be seen that the difference between it and the Manx of the eighteenth century does not appear to be so great as stated by Sacheverell and Bishop Wilson. It will, however, also be seen that the Lord's Prayer differs much less than the Psalms. This is just what we should expect, as the former, being in every one's mouth, could not be easily altered. The chief divergence is in the particles, on which the intelligibility of a language greatly depends, which are, of course, very important in fixing its idiomatic character:—

“THE LORD'S PRAYER.”

Bishop Philips' Version.

Aer áin ta ayns neau,
kasherick gy row t'-
enym. Dy jigg dy
ririught, T'agneys gy
row jeant er talu, mar

Later Version.

Ayr ain, t'ayns niau ;
Casherick dy row dt'En-
nym. Dy jig dty ree-
riaght. Dt'aigney dy
row jeant er y thalloo,

te ayns neau. Toev
duin ju nan aran gagh
la. As loyi uin nan
loghtyn mar ta shuinyn
lyoi dausyn ta iana logh-
tyn nan yoi. As na lü
shuin ayns mioulaghey;
agh lifree shuin vei olk,
erson leyts yn ririyght,
yn gniart as y gloer er
son gy bragh, as gy
bragh. Amen.

myr te ayns niau. Cur-
dooin nyn arran jiu as
gagh laa. As leih dooin
nyn loghtyn, myr ta
shin leih dauesyn ta ja
nnoo loghtyn nyn'oï as
ny leeid shin ayns mio-
lagh; agh livrey shin
veih olk: son lhiats y
reeriaght, as y phooar,
as y ghloyr, son dybragh
as dy bragh. Amen.

THE 23RD PSALM—"THE LORD IS MY SHEPHERD."

Bishop Phillips' Version.

1. She yn Chiarn my
voghil y keragh: she-
nyfa gha vod feim ve
aym er red erbi.

2. Ni é mi véaghey
ayns pastyr glass: as
liédji é mi magh rish
lietty ny huiskaygyn
dy gyrjaghey.

3. Chyndai O m'œ-
nym: as ver O magh
mi ayns cashanyn ny
kayrys erson grayi y
aeynym.

4. Gy jaru, ga ta mi
ginniaight tryid kóyn
dy ka yn váys, gha

Later Version.

1. She'n Chiarn my
vochilley: sheny-fa cha
bee'm feeme Nhee er-
bee.

2. Nee eh faossaghey
mee ayns pastyr glass:
as m'y leeideil magh
rish ny ushtaghyn dy
ooraghey.

3. Nee eh m'annym
y hyndaa: as my choyrnt
lesh magh ayns ny cas-
sanyndy chairys er
graih e Ennyn.

4. Dy jarroo, ga dy
vel mee shooyl ayns
coan scadoo yn vaaish,

goym agil d'olk erbi :
erson ta vs mârym ; ta
dtgy latt as dtgy loyrg
dy my gyrjaghey.

5. Ni vs arlu bôyrd
rûyms nan yn syn ta
dy my húa : toûs ein'
ally my ghian rish uil,
as bi my ghapan layn.

6. Agh ni eiri dtgy
ghúghys graiguill as
dtgy vyghin mish ully
laghyn my gyl ; as
niym vagey ayns téi yn
Chiarn erson gysragh.

cha goym aggle roish
olk erbee : son t'ou uss
marym ; ta dty lhatt as
dty lorg dy my gher-
jaghey.

5. Nee oo boayrd y
yannoo aarloo roym
ayns yn enish ocsyn ta
er my heagh ney : t'ou
er ooilaghey my chione,
as bee my chappan lane.

6. Agh eiyree dty
chenjallys ghraihagh as
dy vyghin orrym ooil-
ley laghyn my vea : as
nee'ms thaaghey thie'n
Chiarn choud as vee'm
bio.

Sacheverell intimates that this translation was the first attempt to reduce the language to writing ; but he says that "it is scarce intelligible to the clergy themselves, who translate it off-hand more to the understanding of the people."

Bishop Wilson, writing about 1720, also remarks that Philips' Prayer-book "is of no use to the present generation." The clergy, he says, are generally natives, the English language not being understood by two-thirds, at least, of the population, although there is an English school in every parish.

Bishop Hildesley, Wilson's successor, repeats this statement as to the proportions of the Manx

and English-speaking part of the people, and in his will (1772) he directed that his funeral sermon should be preached in Manks, "for the benefit of the greater part of the hearers."* It is to the exertions of this bishop that the Isle of Mann owes the translation of the Bible into Manx. This work was completed in 1772, and is regarded as the standard of orthography and of correctness of grammar and idiom. In 1756 the *London Chronicle*, referring to the subscriptions received by Bishop Hildesley, then newly-appointed, and by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge "for the Promulgation of the Gospel and the circulation of books of devotion in the Manks tongue," states that the population of the Island was then 20,000, very few of whom understood English.

In 1798, however, we learn, from Feltham, that English was generally understood by the lower classes, although they were "more ready at, and more attached to, their Manks." †

About the beginning of the present century, the period of the commencement of the emigration which has since so largely denuded the Island of its native population, the author of an anonymous MS., among Dr. Kelly's papers, laments the rapid disuse of the language, and its consequent decline in grammatical purity. The same testimony is borne by George Barrow, ‡ who, writing in 1825, expressed the anti-

* Life of Bishop Hildesley, by Butler.

† John Edward Harrison, Vicar of Tarby (1818-1858), one of the best Manxmen of this century, thought Feltham the most reliable of all writers on the Isle of Mann.

‡ Author of "The Bible in Spain."

cupiation that in sixty years Manx would cease to exist as a spoken language, a prediction which has not been fulfilled. In the preface to Cregeen's Manx Dictionary (1835), the author remarks that "numerous corruptions have crept into the dialect in general use, and so many Anglicisms have been adopted that the language is seldom spoken or written in its original purity."

In 1869, the Rev. Wm. Gill writes as follows:—
"The decline of the spoken Manx, within the memory of the present generation, has been marked. * * * In our churches the language was used, by many of the present generation of clergy, three Sundays in the month. It was afterwards restricted to every other Sunday, and is now entirely discontinued in most of the churches. * * * It is rarely now heard in conversation, except among the peasantry. * * * Let it not, however, be thought that its end is immediate. Among the peasantry it still retains a strong hold. * * * In English, even where they have a fair knowledge of the tongue, they speak with hesitation and under restraint. In Manx, they are fluent and at ease. There is little probability, therefore, of their soon forgetting their *chengey-ny-may rey* (mother-tongue)."

The number of persons who speak nothing but Manx is now extremely small. In 1884, the Rev. E. B. Savage was able to find only eight. It may be of interest to mention their names and places of residence:—

Two persons, named KEGGEEN, at Craigneish, in the Parish of Rushen.

WILLIAM KINLEY, of Ronague, and JANE COSTAIN (aged over 80), of Cronk-y-dooiney, both in the Parish of Arbory.

JOHN CLAGUE (aged 73), of Ballavarrane, in the Parish of Lonan. He returned to his native place in 1883, after having lived seventeen years in Douglas.

JOHN COWLEY, of Ballacaunell, in the Parish of Lonan.

JOHN OATES (aged 80), in the Parish of Ballaugh.

THOMAS MYLECHARAINE (aged 80), of Cronaberry, in the Parish of Onchan.

It is thus substantially correct to say that the whole population of the Isle of Mann now speaks English. Manx, however, is still far from being an extinct language, although visitors to the Island seldom discover the fact, as the people are very shy of making use of their native tongue before strangers. In Glen Rushen and the remoter parts of the parishes of Bride and Jurby, it is still the ordinary means of communication among the inhabitants, and in other places is still fluently spoken by many who also speak English—even in the towns, to which the country people often resort in their old age.

Its ultimate extinction is, of course, certain; but the process may be a slower one than most persons suppose. In the meantime, it deserves more careful study than it has yet received from Celtic Philologists, and from all who are interested in the character and customs of the population of the Isle of Mann.

The sources from which a knowledge of the Manx language can be acquired are the Grammars and Dictionaries written by Kelly and Cregeen.

The first who reduced the language to grammatical rules was John Kelly, born at Douglas, Isle of Man, in 1750. He was not only a good classical scholar, but had an unsurpassed knowledge of his native tongue. He revised the translation of the Bible into Manx, which arduous task he completed in 1772, when only 22 years of age. In 1794 he graduated LL.B. at Cambridge, and in 1799 LL.D. In 1804 he published "A Practical Grammar of the Antient Gaelic, or Language of the Isle of Mann, usually called Manks." It is a praiseworthy production, but fails in its attempt to reduce Manx to Latin rules. For instance, it gives five declensions when there are practically only two—the masculine and the feminine. In 1808 he completed his Triglot Dictionary; the annexed specimen will give a good idea of his method:—

<i>Manks.</i>	<i>Irish.</i>	<i>Erse.</i>
Light.* f. sollys, sollyssid, soilshey, soils-haght, glass, glassyntee, leayr, coleartys, loss, lossy, lossan, loan, loan-dyrnee, linn, trilinn, leas, falleas, laa, cainle, gah, goull, chenn, chenny, chenny cheabane, gillid minjeig-lossanagh.	Solus, soillsid, la, coinnioll, trill-sidh.	Sollus, soilse les, leos, reil, fosd-harc, glinn, forcha, glus, gogor, soils-eachd ban geasta.

* Several of these words appear to have but a faint connection with "light."

It was printed as far as “lightning,” when, unfortunately, a fire at the printer’s reduced the whole impression to ashes, excepting one copy. This copy with the MS., as far as “valuable,” is in the possession of the Manx Society.

In 1835 appeared “A Dictionary of the Manks Language, with the corresponding words or explanations in English, * * * by Archibald Cregeen.” This Dictionary, which its author, in his Preface, modestly calls a “Vocabulary,” is, though very imperfect, perhaps the most trustworthy guide a student of the Manx Language can have.* Unfortunately, the counterpart, “English rendered into Manks,” never appeared. The “Outlines of a Manks Grammar,” prefixed to the Dictionary, which treat “of the letters and their sounds,” “of Verbs,” “of Plurals,” “of the Termination of Verbs,” “of Adjectival Nouns,” “of Peculiarities,” “of Mutable Initials,” are practical, concise, and, in the main, correct. Prince Lucien Buonaparte, no mean judge, considers Cregeen’s Dictionary much more valuable than Kelly’s. Cregeen was a man of great natural powers, but he had not had the advantage of a good literary training. He was a fervent admirer of his native tongue, of which he wrote—“I cannot but admire the construction, texture, and beauty of the Manks language, and how the words initially change their cases, moods, tenses, degrees, &c. It appears like a piece of exquisite network, interwoven together in a masterly man-

* He received considerable assistance from John Edward Harrison, Vicar of Jurby, and also frequently consulted the Rev. William Drury, at present Vicar of Braddan, then Curate of St. Jude’s, Andreas.

ner, and framed by the hand of a most skilful workman.”*

In 1859 the Manx Society reprinted Dr. Kelly's Grammar, with an Introduction by the Rev. William Gill, Vicar of Malew, and in 1866 they issued a Dictionary, both Manx-English and English-Manx, which was edited by the Revs. W. Gill and J. T. Clarke, from the Triglot of Dr. Kelly, referred to above. The Rev. Wm. Gill had the superintendence of the whole, and wrote the Manx-English portion entirely, while the Rev. J. T. Clarke, who was assisted by Ivon Moseley, is mainly responsible for the English-Manx. If the Editors had confined themselves to reproducing the Manx portion of the Triglot, with some pruning of Kelly's exuberance of words, the Dictionary would have been a more satisfactory one; but, unfortunately, they have introduced numerous strange etymological explanations of their own, such as—“ar, an old word for water,” “aal-caayr, the city or place of Baal,” “Bwoaillee” from “Boa-oayl-oie,” * * * “the abode of the cattle by night, &c.,” and there are, moreover, many omissions. Many of the English-Manx explanations are still more fantastic. The Rev. William Gill, however, was, undoubtedly, the best Manx scholar of the latter part of the nineteenth century, and the Rev. J. T. Clarke, who is still living, though not so well versed in the grammar, is unrivalled in his colloquial knowledge of the language, so that it is not likely that any other Manxman could have done the work as well.

* Introduction to Dictionary.

ON THE ORIGIN AND THE LANGUAGE OF
THE SCOTTISH HIGHLANDER.

BY MR. HUGH MACLEAN :

Tarbert, Argyllshire, Scotland.

Owing to the affinity which exists between Sanscrit, the parent language, whence many of the dialects of India have sprung, and the Zend, or ancient Persian, and also the Greek, Latin, and other Romanic tongues, as well as the Celtic and Teutonic, all these languages have been deemed by philologists to have had one common origin, and that origin they designate as the Hindoo-European, or Aryan. The people using these languages are therefore of the Aryan race, or group of nations.

In Europe the Celtic appears to have been very widely diffused, but although of very great antiquity it was not the first spoken, or original language of that Continent. The earliest inhabitants of Europe are to be met with in its northern and western extremities, and they are represented by the Basques, or Euscaldunac, on the west, and the Finns, Lapps and Samoieds of the north and north-east, which nations are believed to be non-Aryan origin.

As the primitive Laurentian rocks, which are the oldest known formation on the crust of our globe, are, except in the outer Hebrides, not to be met with in Scotland, being overlaid by later formations, so also the pristine races of Europe have been over-

whelmed, defaced, or driven back to mountainous chains, desolate islands in the Atlantic, or to cold and snowy regions, being supplanted by later waves of peoples.

The Celtic tongue in various dialects was at one period of European history most extensively spoken. This is proved by the researches of learned men, and by the numerous traces of the language that have survived the tumultuous changes of races, and of dynasties which have shaken the bonds of society in that Continent for many centuries back.

The "Garōnne," rough river, the "Sāone" smooth flowing river, and the "Rhine," the boundary or division river, are instances of such survivals.

The Teutonic, or German races, immigrated from Asia at a much later date than the Celtic tribes who preceded them ; and as the latter forced the Lapps and the Finns to the borders of the Arctic circle, so the Teutons forced the Celts to the west, and the Lapps and the Finns still farther north, taking possession of the derelict country, which in time became known to the world as Scandinavia.

Scandinavia has an important bearing on the subject now before us.

Cæsar invaded Britain in the years 55 and 54 B.C. He had previously encountered and defeated the Germans under Ariovistus, 58 B.C., and the Belgians in 57, and again defeated the Germans immediately before crossing over to Britain. The Germans were described to him by the Gauls before he encountered Ariovistus, as tall, ferocious, and of great courage. They were of florid complexion, and yellow beard, and derived their name "German" from the Celtic

word for a yell, it being their practice to endeavour to intimidate their foes by a dreadful shout before the assault.

Cæsar describes the Britons as expert horsemen, accustomed to fight in chariots, acting with the swiftness of cavalry, and the firmness of infantry. They are further described by the Romans as tall in person, clad in skins, having the naked parts of their bodies painted with figures of the sun, moon and stars—as feeding on milk and flesh. They gave the Romans much trouble ere they were finally brought under their rule.

The southern portion of Britain, which was the part invaded by Cæsar, was called by the Romans “Albion” from its white cliffs. He confined himself to the country adjacent to the Straits of Dover, and ultimately retired.

The Romans, on a subsequent invasion, found that there were two nations in the island—the Britons, whom they were then encountering, and the Caledonians who inhabited the northern part of the island.

Long after Cæsar’s expeditions against the southern or British nation, the Romans under Agricola directed their arms against the northern nation in 79 A.D. They were forced to do so as they were subjected to incessant attacks from the northern tribes.

Tacitus describes the Caledonians as red-haired, large-limbed, barefooted, living in tents, of pastoral habits, fighting in chariots, armed with spears and daggers. It is said that their bodies were smeared with a blue pigment. This was derived from a plant

of the Cruciferous tribe (Cruciferæ) called Woad (Isatis tinctoria) which Mr. Medlock, F.C.S., in his translation of F. Schœdler's Book of Nature, says "is employed in the preparation of a dyestuff similar to indigo. With this plant it is supposed that the ancient Britons stained their naked bodies—that they might be the more terrible to their enemies, *quo hostibus terribiliores essent.*"

The nation was called *Picti* by the Romans, but it is believed that the Caledonians called themselves "Pechts." The name Picts is now the general name used when they are spoken of, and for our purpose we shall use it in like manner.

This nation was supposed by the Romans to be of Gothic origin, but modern writers repudiate that theory. In any case their true origin is a matter of speculation. Mr. Skene, from various words of the ancient Pictish, has discovered that the language is neither Gaelic nor Welsh, but that it is like to Gaelic, with a Welsh formation,

There is, therefore, good reason to believe that the Picts were a Celtic race.

For upwards of four hundred years the Romans ruled the Southern portion of the British island, not as a subjected or enthralled country, but as an integral portion of the Roman empire. They inaugurated wise legislation during their rule, and finally introduced the Christian religion among their heathen subjects. The Roman arms defended the Britons from the ravaging inroads of the Picts from A.D. 79 to 446 A.D., but all their efforts to subdue the latter proved abortive. The inaccessible mountain fastnesses to which the red-haired warriors retreated,

combined with the uncertainty and ferocity of their attacks, prevented the Roman generals from following up with effect such victories, as their superiority in discipline and equipment enabled them to gain. The time came, however, when the long Roman rule over Britain must end.

Already the Eternal City and Italy were hard pressed to repel foreign invasion, and every Roman was summoned to the rescue.

The legions in Britain obeyed the call, and left its shores never to return.

There can be no doubt at all but that a military occupation of Southern Britain for upwards of 400 years must have had a corresponding effect upon the resident population. Inter-marriages between Roman and British families must have occurred, as is common in our own colonies between settlers and natives at the present day, and thus the population of Southern Britain must have acquired an admixture of Roman, Italian, Iberian, and Gaulic blood, and that of other nationalities of which it is well known the legions were formed. The homogeneous character of the British race must therefore have been, to a considerable extent, especially in some districts, lost. Indeed, the inhabitants of the southern division of Britain were not all of one race even before the advent of the Romans.

The Belgae had settled in some portions of it, and part of the eastern coasts were inhabited by a race supposed to be Jutes.

The Britons appear to have submitted to the Romans without any very protracted struggles for their independence. After the suppression of the

insurrections under Caractacus and Boadicea they seem to have quietly yielded to the Roman sway—and possibly that rule was found to be an easier one than that of their own *bergobretum*.*

Whenever the Romans had evacuated South Britain, the Picts under Drust, a monarch of great ferocity, assailed the enervated and defenceless Britons, and plundered their country, committing dreadful rapine and massacre. The Britons, for centuries unaccustomed to arms, sent an epistle to the Roman prefect in Gaul, Oetius, by name, which was headed “The groans of the British,” and which was couched in the following mournful strain: “The “Barbarians chase us into the sea. The sea throws “us back upon the Barbarians, and we have only “the hard choice left us of perishing by the sword, “or by the waves.” The Romans, alas! had their own country to defend, and were utterly unable to send the poor Britons any succor. In this dilemma the Britons applied to the Saxons—a Teutonic tribe which inhabited the northern coast line of Germania, in the neighbourhood of the Elbe.

This tribe, which was famed for its valour, accepted the application of the Britons to come to their assistance, and to settle amongst them as their protectors and allies. They accordingly came, to the number of 1,600 warriors, in three ships under the leadership of Hengist and Horsa, two brothers, and the isle of Thanet, on the Thames, was assigned to them as their residence.

With the assistance of the Saxons the Picts were repelled and driven back to their own country.

* A man to judge.

The Saxons, finding that the soil of Britain was more fertile than that of their country, conceived the idea of appropriating it to themselves, and with this object in view they clandestinely invited strong reinforcements of their countrymen to come over and assist them in wresting it from the Britons.

This aroused the Britons to resistance, and for one hundred and fifty years a series of bloody wars took place between them and the Saxons.

It was well for the Britons that the Picts in the meantime had troubles of their own to keep them occupied at home.

They had no invading enemy to contend with except the Romans until the year 503 A.D., when one appeared in a tribe from Erin, of Celtic origin, called the Scoti, a branch of an agricultural people which was termed the Cruinich (Cruithnich), in allusion to their being eaters of wheaten bread, which people, it is said, had been driven to Erin by the Picts at a much earlier period than that under consideration. This tribe, the Scoti, was under the leadership of Fergus, the son of Erc, who had been previously converted to Christianity by St. Patrick.

The Scoti landed in Kintyre, and laid the foundation of what was known as the Dalriadan Kingdom. They were opposed by the native population, headed by the author of the Douglas race. "Look," said Fergus, "who is that dark gray warrior? Save him." The dark gray warrior, whose bravery in opposing them attracted the king's attention, was spared, and became one of his greatest friends thereafter, and "Sholto," "Look," is the motto of the Douglas to this day, and "*Dark grey*" is his name.

The Scots having acquired Kintyre made an incursion into Galloway and Dumfries-shires, and that district was peopled by them.

The Picts, in the meantime, resisted the invasion with all their might, but the Scots having obtained a firm hold of the country of Argyll and Ross, and the western part of Inverness, maintained their footing. The country so acquired was called Alban.

The Scots and Picts had a long series of bloody wars with each other under their respective monarchs. The Picts, up to the Scots' invasion, were Pagans. The southern section were, however, converted to Christianity by St. Ninian soon after, and the northern section by St. Columba at a later period.

During the above wars between the Scots and Picts the Saxons and Britons still continued to fight, but at length the Saxons were victorious, and the Britons, or Welsh, as the Saxons termed them, from their being Romanised Celts, fled to the country now called Wales and Cornwall, and likewise to Cumberland in England, and a numerous section of them crossed into the Pictish and Scottish territory, taking up their residence in Strath Clyde, which comprehended the counties of Dumbarton, Lanark, Renfrew, Ayr, and part of Stirling.

Here they founded the Kingdom of Balclua, or Balclutha. In old annals the names of five British princes who came to Alban are given, viz.: Caw, Hoel, Arthur, Rederc, and Owen.

Rederc is said to have been the friend of St. Mungo, the patron Saint of Glasgow. Arthur is supposed to have been the prince Arthur of British

romance, and the Arthur from whom Ben Arthur on the Argyllshire side of Loch Long derives its Celtic name, the same that is now in danger of being lost by the new name "Cobbler," given on account of the resemblance of a rock at its summit to a man sitting and stitching.

The Britons of Strath Clyde, in the Kingdom of Balclua, were assailed by the Scots at one time, at another by the Picts, and again by the Saxons, who had by this time penetrated into the Lothians. It was not until the year 972 A.D., that the Britons, of Balclua, finally became an integral part of the Scottish nation. It is interesting to find that an ancient charter of much later date than 972, viz., 1154 A.D., is addressed by Malcolm IV. to the "Francis et Anglices, Scotis, et Galweiensibus, et Walensibus, et omnis ecclesiae, Sancti Kentigerni de Glasgo, et ejusdem episcopi parochianis," showing that Normans, Saxons, Scots, Galwegians and Welsh, or the Britons of Strath Clyde were separately classed, even so recently as his time, and included in the Bishopric of the church of St. Kentigern as such.

In the year A.D. 843, being one hundred and twenty-nine years before the Britons were admitted as joint subjects, the Scots and Picts became one nation under Kenneth the Second.

This union, and the subsequent addition of the Balclutha Britons, was the salvation of Scotland, now so called, from the dreadful anarchy and intestinal broils that proved the bane of Erin, and which, in another form, but with the same tendency to ruin its prosperity, are perpetuated to this day in that unhappy island.

Reverting to the Saxons we find that soon after their monarch, Egbert, in A.D. 827 had consolidated the seven Kingdoms of Kent, South Saxons, East Angles, West Angles, Northumberland, and Scotland to the Forth, North Angles and Mercia, all into one great Kingdom called England, the Danes—a piratical Scandinavian race—invaded the eastern parts of it, massacring its inhabitants, carrying off cattle and other booty, and that they continued to harass the combined Saxons and Celts of England for many centuries later.

About the same time the Danes, Norwegians and Swedes, or Norsemen, also invaded and plundered the new Kingdom of Scotland along its eastern, northern, and western coasts. It seems incredible, or rather it fails to impress us so much as an invasion of later occurrence would undoubtedly do, that for upwards of 400 years the Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes, were dominant in the Orkney and Shetland islands, in the Outer and Inner Hebrides, comprehending the Lewis, Skye, Mull, Islay, and the smaller islands; as also in Kintyre, Arran, Bute, and the Island of Man—but such was the case during that very long period of time, the length of which can only be realised by us, if we substract it from this present, 1885, and see how far back into old Scottish history it would land us.

Ultimately, Haco, King of Norway, in attempting to recover some of the Hebrides that had been wrested from him by the Kings of Scotland, was defeated at Largs in the year 1263, and with that decisive defeat the power of the Scandinavian sea

kings was broken, and their invasions were not repeated.

It will be observed that a few hundred years' occupation of the Western Hebrides by the Scandinavians must have had a decided effect in mixing the races of the North and West of Scotland.

In the year 1066, the Saxon dynasty of England was overthrown by William of Normandy, who then acquired the English Crown by conquest. The Normans, who had for some time settled in France, were the same people as the Saxons, but spoke a French dialect. They came, many of them, to Scotland, and by marriage and otherwise were soon mixed up with the influential families that had the ruling power under the Scottish Kings.

Thus far we have found that the races which possessed Scotland up to 1263 consisted of—

- I. The Picts, who inhabited the coast from the Frith of Forth to the Pentland Firth.
- II. The Scots, who settled in Argyle and Ross, parts of Sterling, Perth and Inverness, and in Wigton and Dumfries-shires.
- III. The Britons, or Cumri, who inhabited the mid-land Counties of Dumbarton, Renfrew, Lanark and Ayr, and part of Stirling.
- IV. The Saxons and Normans, who possessed the Counties south of the Forth not above mentioned.
- V. The Scandinavian Norsemen, who acquired in great part the Hebrides and the sea board of Argyll, Inverness, Ross, Sutherland, Caithness, and the Orkney and Shetland islands.

We therefore deduce that the Scottish highlanders, who can trace their original residence in Scotland to any of the above sections of country, may (irrespective of their ethnological peculiarities of genus) have their origin fairly ascribed to one or other, or all of the above races.

Tradition of the migration of clans from one part of the country to another likewise helps to corroborate what is otherwise apparent in the physiological outlines of families. It would be contrary to all reasonable judgment to give a Scandinavian origin to a dark-eyed and dark-skinned individual, and the flaxen hair and fair skin which is so common in the East and North, and the sea board of the west, could never by any analytical reasoning be correctly attributed to a race of Spanish extraction.

II.

That the Picts and Scots were Celts may, without fear of error, be conceded. That they spoke different dialects of the Celtic tongue is a certainty, because the country that was inhabited by the Picts has names that are decidedly Celtic, but at the same time, these names are not always similar to like descriptive names on the western coast. On the west coast the word "Inver" is applied to the mouth of a river, on the east the word "Aber." "Inner Aar" the mouth of the Ayr, or "Aar," "Inner Aray" the mouth of the Aray, "Inner Kip" the mouth of the Kip, are western names. *Aberdeen* the mouth of the Dee, or as pronounced in Gaelic, "Aberdoin," the mouth of the Don, are east country names. Aber is also applied inland in

Perthshire, but it is more generally used along the east of Scotland than elsewhere ; for instance, Abergeldie, Aberiachin, Aberleddie, Aberlour, Abernethey, etc.

There can be no doubt but that the word “aber” is Pictish-Gaelic—or ancient British—as it occurs in Wales.

The language of the Court of Scotland, in the reign of Malcolm Ceanmore, was Gaelic. It is said that when the Queen—Margaret of England—wished to impress upon the Scots that they were not keeping Easter and Lent at the proper dates, the king had to translate her Saxon into Gaelic.

In the time of St. Columba, who laboured so much to convert the Picts to Christianity, there was probably no greater difficulty in his making himself understood to the Picts than there would be at the present day by a native of Galway or Connaught in endeavouring to make himself intelligible to an Argyllshire man.

As a proof of its antiquity, the Celtic, in common with Sanscrit and ancient Greek, and the Zend or Parsee languages, has the dual number, which is wanting in later and more corrupted offshoots from the Aryan dialects.

To explain what is meant, the Latin, German, and other languages of Europe have only two numbers, Singular and Plural. The Gaelic has three, Singular, Dual, and Plural : for example, “*aon duine*” is literally one man, “*da dhuine*” is literally two man (not two men), “*tri daoine*” three men ; one woman is “*aon bhean*,” two women is “*da bhean*,” literally two woman ; three women

“*tri mnathan*” (mraan), and so on with every declinable noun in the language. The form of the dual is identical with the singular number, the distinction being in the use of the numerals. The form of the plural begins with the third numeral, and continues the same with all succeeding ones, and is entirely different from the other two numbers.

Modern Greek and Latin drop the dual form—the Latin, indeed, retain it in one word, “ambo.” Teutonic dialects have no dual.

A peculiarity of the Celtic is the closeness with which it imitates natural sounds. If the cow or “*Bo*” lows, it is said to *gēum*, *gēumanāch*, lowing. If the dog or *cu* barks, it is “*tāffan*,” if he wails, it is “*caonaidh* (kaoni). The lion is “*lyō ghān*,” almost an imitation of his roar. A man sneezes, and his doing so is described as “*srohairt*,” he shivers, and it is “*cri*.” The wind blows, and it is *Gaō sheidja*, imitating the dreary, weird-like sound. Laughter is *Gār*, which cannot be pronounced properly without opening the mouth. The waves of the sea are “*garich*,” laughing—showing their white teeth, *i.e.*, the billows. Thunder is “*Tārnach*.” Lightning, “*jällänäch*,” a whistle is *fēd*, pronounced short and sharp. To swallow is “*glug*.” To yawn, “*māinānich*,” a bogle is “*bōchgan*.”

The Gaelic fable of the language of the two bulls, given in the late Mr. John Campbell of Islay’s *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, is one of the most extraordinary productions known, and, if properly read, imitates the roaring and bellowing of

the two bulls in a most correct manner. From the closeness with which Gaelic copies nature a strong proof of its antiquity exists. There is also proof of its antiquity from Celtic names of places having survived the introduction of the Saxon language. The generality of names in the Highlands are purely of Celtic origin, but there are many prefixes and affixes that are Scandinavian. There is the affix "a" in Car-a, Ila, Deura, Scarba, Mulla, Ulava, Gometra, Staffa, Geoā (Gighu), Cauna, Barra, Colla, Oronsa, Colonsa, I-honā (Iona), Rona, &c. In each of these cases there is a sound or channel between the island named and some other island or the mainland, which sound or channel is the "a," as "Isla," the sound of Islay, "Jura," the sound of Jura, &c., &c.

There is in the case of Tiree a sound between it and Cole, which sound is sufficiently marked in the Gaelic of Cole, viz: "Colla." The name Tiree occurs from its being the property of the Church of I., or Iona, but it probably had a more ancient name, now lost.

The affix "aig," which occurs very frequently in the West of Scotland, is not Gaelic. It is believed to be of Scandinavian origin, and always means a "bay," e.g., *Grianaig* (Greenock), *Gowraig* (Gourock), *Ardrishaig*, *Kilchamaig*, *Orgaig*, *Clon-aig*, *Arisaig*, and the island of *Egg*, which last is noted for its bay.

The word "bus" occurs in Islay in the case of several farms.

The word "Dal," a field, is also supposed to be of Scandinavian origin, but this is not clear, as it

occurred in Ireland in "*Dalriad*," long before the Scandinavian invasion, and it also occurs inland.

Perhaps the best proof we have of the Scandinavian custom of giving names of their own to places in this country can be seen in the case of the island of Sanda (Kintyre).

The old name of this island and the name it is still known by in Gaelic is "Avon." There is an island of Sanda in the Orkneys, and an island of Sandø in Scandinavia.

We can also see in the case of the name "Holm" or "Hom," such as Denholm, Holm of Grilister, Holms of Haip, Holms of Spurness, that wherever a "holm" occurs, it is flat land surrounded by water, it may be by the confluence of rivers or an island formed by the sea. Thus Stockholm, capital of Scandinavia, is on an island of that name.

But, although we owe much to Scandinavia in names, the essence of the language of the Highlands is Celtic, and this is clearly shown by its having survived all the changes that took place in its history.

There is another Scandinavian or Saxon word which should be referred to, and that is the word "Bay." It is incorporated with Gaelic in the lands and islands of the West Highlands, as well as throughout Britain. *Sroneâbhaïdh* (Stornoway), *Baidhâ carra* (Kintyre); the bay of the carradh or standing stone. These words are pronounced Stornabhay, Bay â carra. The Scandinavian word "Oe" rarely occurs, but when it does occur it signifies an island, and a precipitous one, for example, the Oe in Islay. The word "Stornobhay" occurs in Argyllshire as well as in the Lewis.

One more Scandinavian word, "Ness," promontory or point, can be traced all over the British island, but the Ness, *par excellence*, is Loch Ness, which is remarkable for its "nesses" or promontories.

There is much similarity of sound and signification between the first four words of Virgil's *Æneid*, "Arma virumque cano," and similar words occurring in a Gaelic poem attributed to Ossian, "Arm agus na fir canum." Whether the Gaelic is genuine or otherwise is not the point before us. The similarity of sound and of signification is remarkable. In the one case the translation is "Arms and the hero I sing." In the other, "Arms and the heroes I sing."

Many words in Gaelic bear a close resemblance to Latin, and if we compare the numerals of Latin, Greek, Celtic and Sanscrit, the relationship is obvious.

The Cymric or Strath Clyde language does not appear to have made any great impression on the language of the Scots. Although the Welsh and Gaelic are cognate tongues, there is a very marked difference between them. Nouns are in general understood by each nation, but the peculiarity of Welsh is that the letters in words when used as a sentence or combined with other words are changed when each of these words are used separately. The Welsh for "father" is "tad," and for "my" is "fy." One would suppose that "my father" would therefore be "fy tad," but it is not. Owing to the fact of these words being used together, the words must be "fy nhad." After "ei," "tad" becomes "dad" or "thad." *

* See Chamber's Encyclopædia, article Welsh Language.

There is no such peculiarity in Gaelic, and the Britons did not introduce their forms into any of the Scots or Pictish dialects.

It is notable that the word "stuc," the word for a cliff, is used inland about Loch Long and Loch Fine in the Cowal division of Argyle, and the word "binnain" takes its place in Kintyre Mull, &c. The inference is that "stuc" is an imported word. "Stuc a Chroin," a mountain in Perthshire, is another instance. The word is likely to be Cymric. It is rare, except inland. It is used, however, in the north.

All names in the Highlands are highly descriptive of the locality, and that is one of the charms of a visit to a district so named.

The same holds good all over Europe, wherever the Celtic tongue had any influence on local names.

"Alban" means the same thing in Gaelic that "Albania" does in the language of the Skipetars or Albanians of Turkey, and the features of the land of the old Graeco-Celtic colony, as described by Byron, are as applicable to Scotland as they are to Albania, because the countries are similar and the names the same:—

"Morn dawns, and with it stern Albania's hills,
Dark Sulis' rock, and Pindus' inland peak,
Rob'd half in mist, bedewed with snowy rills,
Array'd in many a dull and purple streak,
Arise. And as the clouds along them break,
Disclose the dwelling of the mountaineer.
Here roams the wolf. The eagle whets his beak.
Birds, beasts of prey, and wilder men appear,
And gath'ring storms around, convulse the closing year."

—(*Childe Harold.*)

Alban means "high or mountainous land." The particles "all," "alp," "alt," are to be found in most European tongues, and mean the same thing in all.

Alba Longa was the name of an ancient city of Italia, situated on an eminence along a lake of the same name, which lake, being the mouth of an extinct volcano, was 1,000 feet above the level of the sea, hence its name—the high lake.

Hamilcar, the Carthaginian, in the 5th century B.C., called the British island "Albiones," and Aristotle referred to "Albion" as the name of our island.

The Romans called it "Albion," not from its height, but from its white cliffs; but as the root "Alb" means high, it also may come to be placed for white, as when a high mountain is clad with snow, it is white; or when snow does not lie on it, it is white with detritus from the weathering of its peaks. "Alp" is also high. "Alt" may mean "high up" or "low down"—deep, in other words.

If it be any consolation to the Highlander of Scotland to be descended from old and heroic races, and to have a language that is one of the oldest tongues in the world, he has such a consolation; but it will little avail him to sit still and dream that he is of a noble race, and ancient. That will neither feed nor clothe him. It behoves him, therefore, to cast off the lethargy which the mists of his mountains generate—to be up and doing—to excel in the arts of peace even as his ancestors excelled in war, to prove to the world that he can be great under any circumstances. Let him by all means

preserve his language and his pride of race, and study to do nothing that will disgrace the stock he has sprung from, but rather to add to its lustre another name that after ages will preserve and revere.

ON THE EARLY SETTLEMENT OF THE
LOWER PROVINCES BY THE SCOTTISH
GAEL: THEIR VARIOUS SITUATIONS
AND PRESENT CONDITIONS.

BY THE REV. D. B. BLAIR,

Barney's River, Nova Scotia.

As the leaves of the forest are strewn over the fields and plains by the winds of Autumn, so the sons of the Gael have been scattered abroad over the face of the earth by the violent hurricane which, bursting upon their native mountains, blew across the moor of Culloden, and swept over the whole land from Tarbet Ness to the point of Ardnamurchan, and from Dunkeld to Cape Wrath. The great dispersion of the Gaelic tribes began at that time, or owed its commencement to that catastrophe. When the power of the Celtic chiefs was broken, and the system of clanship was shattered to pieces by the sledge-hammer of Cumberland and his myrmidons, the clans who adhered to the unfortunate house of Stuart, in great numbers left the land of their fathers, and emigrated to North America in quest of new habitations. Also, after the American revolutionary war, numbers of Scottish Highlanders, belonging to the disbanded regiments, took up lands in the Lower Provinces of British N. America, and settled in that country.

About one hundred years ago, in 1784, Alexander MacDonald, Esq., of Glenaladale, in Moidart, Inverness-shire, a gentleman adhering to the Church of Rome, came to Prince Edward Island, and having obtained a grant of land there, brought out a number of his Gaelic countrymen and co-religionists to settle as a colony in that Island.

Previous to this, also, in the year 1773, the ship "Hector" had come to Pictou with more than thirty families from Lochbroom, from Inverness-shire, and the North-west Highlands. This was the first emigrant vessel from Scotland to Pictou, or the Lower Provinces. The tide of immigration to these Provinces from the Scottish Highlands, which, in after years, flowed not only into Pictou, but also over much of the eastern part of Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, Prince Edward Island, and part of New Brunswick, began with the arrival of the "Hector," and took its origin therefrom, as by the representations of those who came out in that ship to their friends and relations at home in Scotland, others also were induced to follow in great numbers. The stream which then began to pour in continued to flow deeper and wider, increasing in volume every year in succession, until the eastern part of Nova Scotia, along the shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and the Islands of Prince Edward and Cape Breton, became filled with colonies of Gaelic people, so as to appear as if the Counties of Inverness and Argyle had been conveyed across the Atlantic Ocean and transplanted to these regions.

The ship "Hector" was followed by other vessels in succession, at different periods, bringing out

numbers of emigrants from the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. In 1784 a vessel arrived at Halifax, having on board eight Gaelic families, who proceeded to Pictou immediately after landing; and in 1785 another ship came to the Port of Pictou with emigrants. It was about this time, on the 4th of June, 1784, that the Rev. James MacGregor, D.D., left Greenock in the brig "Lily" for Pictou, for the purpose of preaching the Gospel to his Gaelic countrymen in Nova Scotia and in the Maritime Provinces. He laboured in Pictou County and its neighbourhood for the space of 45 years, until the time of his death, which took place in 1830.

In the year 1791 two vessels, loaded with emigrants, from Moidart, Arisaig, and the Western Isles, arrived at Pictou. The people, being chiefly adherents of the Church of Rome, did not choose to live among the Protestants of Pictou, but went to reside, as a separate colony, in the County of Antigonish and in the Island of Cape Breton.

At the commencement of the present century the cruel system of "Highland clearances" began. The Lairds took it into their heads that it was more profitable for them to have their lands placed under sheep than to be left under men; they, therefore, drove away the human inhabitants to make room for sheep, converting their estates into large sheep farms. In consequence of this depopulation, numbers of the people emigrated to North America, where their friends and countrymen were settled before in Pictou, Cape Breton, and Prince Edward Island.

In the year 1801 several ships came with emigrants to Pictou from the Highlands of Scotland. Two of these ships were owned by a man called Hugh Dunoon—the one called “The Sarah,” bringing 700 persons, and the other “The Pigeon,” having a smaller number. As the majority of these were of the Roman Church, they went to reside in Antigonish and Cape Breton, where their friends were. Those of them who were Protestants remained in Pictou, and settled at McLennan’s Mountain, above New Glasgow, and in the upper regions of the East River. Among these last were many of the name Fraser, who had come out from the estate of Lord Lovat, near Inverness. There were also several persons from Glen-Urquhart and Glen-Morrison, near Loch Ness. A large body of the Roman Catholics were probably from Strath-Glass, for in the year 1801 numbers were evicted from that place. The Glen was cleared almost to a man of its ancient inhabitants. William Chisholm, of Chisholm, was in a delicate state of health, and the management of the estate fell into the hands of his wife, a hard-hearted and cruel woman, who imitated the conduct of her mother, *Marsaili Bhinneach*, on the Glengarry estates.

In 1801 about 799 persons, from Strath-Glass, the Aird, Glen-Urquhart, and its neighbourhood, sailed from Fort William for the Port of Pictou; and in the following year 128 persons, from the same region, left Fort William for Pictou, and 473 for Upper Canada. There was another ship that sailed from Knoydart with 550 persons on board, many of whom were from Strath-Glass. And in

1803 four different groups of 120 persons each, by four different ships, left Strath-Glass for Nova Scotia. These all landed at Pictou, and those of them who adhered to the Church of Rome went to reside in Antigonish County, where their descendants are to this day. Antigonish is so full of Strath-Glass people that it may be called, with propriety, "New Strath-Glass."

In 1802 another band of 370 persons, adherents of the Church of Rome, came out from the Isle of Barra; they also went to reside in the County of Antigonish and in Cape Breton. In the latter place there are large colonies of Gaelic Roman Catholics from Barra, Uist, and other Western Isles, the estate of the Clan-Ranald family. There is a settlement in Cape Breton called "Boisdale," from the fact of its being colonised by people from that place in the Isle of Uist, in Scotland. In the County of Antigonish, also, in like manner, there are places called Moydart, Arisaig, Knoydart, and Lochaber, after the names of the districts in the Highlands of Inverness-shire, from which the people originally came.

In 1803 the ship "Favourite," of Kirkcaldy, sailed from Ullapool, in Ross-shire, on the 3rd of August, with 500 passengers on board, from Lairg and the adjoining parishes in Sutherlandshire. These settled in Pictou, and called the place of their residence "New Lairg," in memory of their native parish. The brig "Alexander," of Stornoway, came out at the same time with a load of emigrants from the Isle of Lewis; these settled along the Gulf shore of Wallace, in the County of Cumberland, not

far from the town of Pugwash. And in 1805 a vessel came out with emigrants from Gairloch, in Ross-shire; they came to Pictou and settled there, calling their new residence "Gairloch," after the name of the place which they had left in Scotland. They are situated between the upper streams of the Middle and West Rivers of Pictou.

In consequence of the system of cruel evictions begun and carried on by the Countess of Sutherland and her factors at the commencement of this century, vast numbers came out during the period between 1813 and 1817 from the parishes of Lairg, Rogart, and Clyne, in Sutherland, and settled in the County of Pictou at Roger's Hill, Middle River, and West Branch of River John; also at Earltown, in the County of Colchester, which was chiefly peopled by these Sutherland emigrants. Some of them settled at Barney's River, on the east side of the County of Pictou, where they were joined afterwards by others of their friends from Sutherland in 1820 and 1821, and some even as late as 1830 and 1840.

About the same time (A.D. 1817-20) William Ross, from Glen-Urquhart, with others from the same place, settled at Blue Mountain, in Pictou, and planted there a congregation of Presbyterians.

Vast numbers also came out between the years 1820 and 1830 from the Islands of Lewis, Skye, Uist, Tyree, and Rum, as well as from Lochaber, Moydart, Arisaig, Lochalsh, Kintail, Ardgour, Sunart, Rannoch, Atholl, Glenco, Lismore, and the parish of Laggan, in Badenoch. Almost all of these settled in the Islands of Prince Edward and Cape

Breton. There are also numerous colonies in Prince Edward Island from the Isles of Mull and Colonsay, with some from Kintyre. The last deportation of any consequence was from the Isle of Skye, and took place about 1840. At that time the districts of Strath-Albyn, Granville, Brown's Creek, and Valleyfield, in Prince Edward Island, were settled by emigrants from Skye, chiefly from the regions north of Portree.

The places in the Maritime Provinces, where the Gaelic language prevails, or is still spoken, are the Counties of Pictou and Antigonish; Earltown, in the County of Colchester; a corner in the County of Guysborough; the Island of Cape Breton; Prince Edward Island; and some settlements along the Bay of Chaleur, in New Brunswick.

The Gaelic people in Cape Breton and Prince Edward Island are chiefly from the Western Isles, as well as from the western sea-coast of Inverness and Ross-shire. The Gael of Pictou, Antigonish, and Colchester, are mostly from the interior of Inverness, Ross, and Sutherland, with a few from Rannoch, Atholl, Kenmore, and Glenlyon, in Perthshire. In New Brunswick there is a colony of Gaels, from the Isle of Arran, settled near Bathurst, along the Intercolonial Railway, about the River Charlo and its vicinity, not far from Dalhousie.

The hardships endured by the first settlers are indescribable, and to the people of the present generation in a great measure incredible. They are described, at length, by the Rev. Dr. George Patterson, in his "History of the County of Pictou,"

and in the "Life of his Grandfather," the late Dr. MacGregor. Their children of the present generation, with few exceptions, are in a state of comparative ease and comfort. The country is opened with good roads for wheeled carriages almost everywhere. There are schools, school-houses, and churches in every district where there is a considerable number of inhabitants. The Gospel is preached in Gaelic, to those who prefer or need that language, by able and faithful ministers, every Sabbath Day. And, with few exceptions, there is hardly a settlement—where Gaelic is needed—without preaching in that language regularly, and at stated seasons. The people can worship God under their own vine, and their own fig-tree, with none to make them afraid. Where they are industrious and frugal, they live in comparative affluence, being amply supplied with abundance of the good things of this life. How changed from the state of things in the days of their emigrant forefathers! who were compelled, by the tyranny of poverty and despotic landlords, to leave their native country, and seek for new homes in the heart of the dense, unbroken forests of Nova Scotia! where they had to encounter inconceivable hardships and toils! If the grandfathers were to rise from the dead, and to behold the present state of things among their descendants, they would be greatly astonished, and be ready to adopt the words applied to General Wade, who made the military roads in the Highlands of Scotland during the reign of William and Mary:—

" Had you seen these roads before they were made,
You would have lifted your hands and blessed General Wade!"

Had you seen these woods before they were cleared,
you would have lifted your hands and blessed those
who persevered!

—:—

— me vestigia terrent

Omnia te adversum spectantia, nulla retrorsum.

Hor. Epist. I. I. 75.

THE EARLY SETTLEMENT OF GLENGARRY.

BY MR. JOHN MACLENNAN, EX-M.P.,

Lancaster, Ont.

After the taking of Quebec in 1759, and the rout of the French that followed, and with the confirmation of Great Britain in the possession of all that now forms Canada, at the peace of Paris in 1763, the land had rest for a season. Fort Frontenac and Fort Niagara were no more, and the place that had known them had no more stirring visitors than the savage and the fur trader for a period of twenty years. It was when the strife between the English colonists and the mother country had come to a head (a strife that was foretold by some "seers" of that day as the natural outcome of the cessation of warfare with the French) that the northern shores of the St. Lawrence and the lakes were looked to as a place of refuge by those subjects of Great Britain who desired to maintain the national relation. The settlement of the province of Quebec must then have extended westward to the vicinity of the province line, for I find in the record of one of the early settlers, Mr. John McDougall, that upon his discharge at Montreal from military service in 1780 he took up his residence at Coteau-du-Lac, where he remained till 1784, then taking up land along with his fellow countrymen in Lancaster. The American loyalists appear to have remained in their places to the close of the struggle,

although their condition must have been one of great hardship; the "Tories" having been looked upon and treated as traitors by their fellow-colonists who revolted. The fact that many of them had acquired valuable real property accounts for this, and particularly as the success of the revolt was quite uncertain from year to year during the war. Upper Canada appears to have been reached in 1783, and by the greater number not till 1784, of those who came through the forest to the St. Lawrence and the lakes, fugitives for their lives, bearing with them of all their possessions only what they could carry in their hands. They were for weeks on the journey, and frequently in peril of starvation, as well as from Indians and wild beasts. A man whom I knew as an useful member of the community, was the subject of the following incident. His mother carried two young children on her back. In the weary journey through the woods she thought her burden had become lighter, and discovered that she had dropped one. On retracing her steps for some distance, she found the youngster quietly sleeping beside a decayed log over which she had passed, with hands begrimed with earth. He lived to old age, well-known by the name of "Spogan Dubh" (black paws)—the exclamation of his mother on finding him. One of the party, coming all the way from Georgia, told the story of the company feasting on a dog, to avoid starvation—his meagre share being a paw.

The settlers in Glengarry came chiefly from the neighborhood of the Mohawk river in the State of New York, and took up their land along the border

of the St. Lawrence and Lake St. Francis, and beside the River Raisin as far as the sites of the villages of Williamstown and Martintown. They were joined in 1784 by disbanded officers and soldiers of Sir John Johnson's regiment and the 84th. The U. E. loyalists and private soldiers were granted 200 acres of land each, and a similar grant was afterwards made to each of their children, including those born here; the officers received much larger grants. Williamstown became a centre of the settlement; it was named after the well-known Sir Wm. Johnson, father of Sir John, who built the mill there. A large proportion of the people were Scotch, and most of those of whom I find a chronological record had come to the colonies in 1773. There is a solid body of their descendants on the lands they took up in the front of Charlottenburgh: Grants, McLeans, Murchisons, Roses, Mrs. Bethune (who inherits from the McKay family) and others.

There were natives, too, of other parts of the Empire. Among those who came to Lancaster were William and Ralph Falkner with their families. They were originally from Lancashire, and gave the township its name. Their descendants continue to occupy portions of the land granted them adjoining the village. Mr. William Falkner had been in the Commission of the Peace in England, and performed the ceremony of marriage during the years until a clergyman appeared in 1787.

A number of loyalists from the State of New York came into the east side of the township in May, 1785; the families of Curry (Irish), Young (Scotch), and Snider and Cline (Schneider and Klein, German.)

These latter were probably of the Hessian soldiers of George III, as well as the family of Summers ("Sommer") who settled in the front of Charlottenburgh. The colony on the east side of Lancaster planted corn and harvested a supply for their first winter; they also planted orchards, and one of them, Jacob Snider, built a mill. Their women and children came by way of Lake Champlain and the Richelieu river. I am indebted to Mr. Isaac Curry, born in 1798, now occupying the homestead of his family, for this information. Among the officers who obtained grants of land in Lancaster were Col. Sutherland and Mr. Gunn. A grandson of the latter occupies a part of the grant near the village. Mr. Charles Westley, a man of education, and good position, who left a valuable property in the State of New York, settled on the property now occupied by his grandson of the same name.

In 1786 Captain John Hay established himself on an arm of the River Raisin, naming the locality "Gleana-feoir" (Glen of hay.) He had come in 1773 from Glenbrae, near Huntly in Aberdeenshire, to Prince Edward Island. When the colonial war broke out he joined the 84th regiment, serving until the peace in 1783. A Presbyterian, he married a Highland Catholic lady. His son, Mr. John Hay, a well known "veteran," served in 1812, and died not many years ago. Another well-known son was the Rev. George Hay, Vicar-General of the diocese of Kingston, and parish priest of St. Andrews.

The Rev. John Bethune was chaplain to the Royal Militia in North Carolina, was taken prisoner and confined in jail by the revolutionists. After much

suffering he obtained his release and was appointed chaplain to the 84th Regiment. In 1787 he joined the small colony, settling at Williamstown, where he organized the first Presbyterian Church in Upper Canada, preaching also at Lancaster, Cornwall, and Martintown. The old frame building which stood but a few years ago at Lancaster was erected in 1796—the first for Presbyterian worship in Upper Canada. In the cemetery are monuments bearing the date of 1785. The stone church at Williamstown was built in 1812.

Among the early settlers was Colonel John McDonell, who came from Schenectady, N.Y. He built the stone house on Glengarry Point, and was the first representative of the Eastern District in the Parliament that met at Niagara in 1792, and was chosen Speaker of the House.

Conspicuous among the early men of the country was Lieutenant-Colonel Duncan McDonell, of Greenfield, a brother of the gallant Col. John McDonell, who served as A.D.C. to General Brock, and fell beside his chief at Queenston. Col. Duncan also served in 1812, and was at the taking of Ogdensburg. His fine property in Charlottenburgh is now occupied by John Logie, an enterprising Scotch farmer.

The family of the well-known Father John McDonald, who died a few years ago at nearly one hundred years of age, settled at St. Raphaels in 1786.

The country, becoming noted as a Scottish colony, attracted immigrants as they arrived from time to time from all parts of Scotland. Several families of

McPhersons from Badenoch settled in Lancaster, among them Mr. Murdoch McPherson, who lived to the age of 107 years, and whose place is worthily occupied by a grandson. It is said that the first settlement was made in Lochiel in 1796, probably by some of the Cameron men.

In 1802 three vessels came from Fort William to Quebec, emigrant laden. Among them were the disbanded soldiers of the Glengarry Fencibles—a regiment that had been raised by Alexander McDonell, chief of Glengarry, for service in Ireland in the repression of the rebellion of 1798. They were granted free land, and were accompanied by their chaplain, the Rev. Alexander McDonell, afterwards Bishop of Kingston and the first in the province, and who lived to the age of 80, much esteemed by all classes. His influence over the men who were his clansmen as well as his flock was deservedly great. They formed a compact colony in the centre of the country, and built the fine church of St. Raphaels. The object of the Bishop was good and patriotic, but it is probable that the people would have advanced more rapidly if scattered among other settlers. Time, however, has made good farmers of many of their descendants.

In the same year and in those vessels, came a number of people from Glenelg and Kintail and other parts, as well as from Glengarry and Knoidart. Great Britain was then suffering extremely from the wars of Napoleon and the pressure of his "continental system." My father's family were among those from Kintail. My grandfather, Murdoch McLennan, gave up a valuable holding on the Seaforth estate, in

order to keep with his friends and neighbors who were emigrating. They were 1100 souls in the vessel, and were four months at sea, encountering wintry weather on the coast of Labrador, a rough introduction to the New World. My father (John McLennan) was but thirteen years of age; he had the good fortune to have been at school up to that time. At the call to arms in 1812 he enlisted in the Militia, with the appointment of Sergeant. He was with the company in the march across the ice and the taking of Ogdensburg, and became Lieutenant and Quartermaster at the close of the campaign. After the war, he taught for several years the school at Williamstown, which continues as a High School under the present system. In 1823, he retired to "hew out" a farm in the woods of Lancaster, and was at the same time appointed to the Commission of the Peace. He commanded a company for frontier duty in 1838-39 and died in 1866.

In the same immigration was Mr. Donald Fraser who, after some years residence and business in Williamstown, purchased from Sir John Johnson the property of Point-du-Lac (now Fraser's point) where his son, Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Fraser of the Glengarry Militia, hale and hearty at the age of 84 years, now resides. To him I am indebted for much information for this paper.

The early settlers had many and serious difficulties to encounter, coming, as so many did, with small means and with scarcely any knowledge of woodcraft, and a great proportion knowing very little of farming after they had cleared away the woods; but they overcame them by the courage and endurance

of their race. The value of their exportable timber, and the discrimination in its favor in the British tariff, helped them very greatly, as did also the high price for pot and pearl ashes, which they manufactured from the timber burned in clearing the land. Fortunately for them (and for their posterity) they were of frugal habits; they followed from the beginning the practice of their country in the establishment of schools, so that their descendants are able to hold their own in the now greatly accelerated pace of development.

During the lifetime of the first immigrants the Gaelic language was much in use, so much that a knowledge of it was considered a necessary qualification for the Presbyterian pulpit. The common school, however, has brought the new generation to use the English tongue, and a Gaelic sermon is now rarely heard, though in some isolated sections the Gaelic language is in some measure of use.

In my early days there were in the county a number of retired officers of the North West Fur Company. Among them Mr. Duncan Cameron, father of Sir Roderick Cameron, now of New York and Staten Island, the Hon. John McGillivray, whose eldest son Mr. Neil McGillivray, has retired to an estate in Scotland; Mr. John McDonald of Gray's Creek, and Mr. Hugh McGillis of Williamstown. There lived also at Williamstown Mr. David Thompson, who had served as Astronomer Royal on the Northwest Pacific coast. The Rev. Mr. Bethune and Mr. Thompson were successively builders and occupants of the house on the river Raisin near the village,

now the residence of my worthy friend Murdoch McLennan.

I shall be glad if this slight contribution to the history of the county may be the means of drawing information of interest from parties whom I have not had the good fortune to meet.

“THE LITERARY ASPECT OF THE KELTIC
SETTLEMENT IN THE COUNTIES OF
STORMONT AND GLENGARRY.”

BY MR. GEORGE SANDFIELD MACDONALD, B.A.,

Cornwall, Ont.

The subject in hand is the literary aspect of the Keltic settlement in the area covered by the counties of Stormont and Glengarry. Starting with the fact that, except a few Gaelic songs without any striking merit, no literary work has been produced in that section, it might be concluded, at the first blush, that the undertaking is to build where no foundation has been laid. Further consideration forcibly suggests that the annals of the settlement present materials for history and fiction, and though little use has been made of them, nevertheless the mine is there, full of the richest veins. The last statement may justly be uttered, in more emphatic language, to the effect that not merely the historian and the novelist, but any one who aspires to give a complete account of the social, political, and religious development of the Canadian people, will have to keep in mind what the Keltic race in Eastern Ontario has done. This is the general point of view, and is taken from four different standpoints:—

(1). Excepting Prince Edward Island, the first direct immigration of Kelts came into the Eastern district.

(2). The character of the immigrants and its transformation on American soil.

(3). Further migrations.

(4). The position in Canadian history.

Let us amplify the first heading—except Prince Edward Island, the Eastern district was the first settling ground of Keltic immigrants.

It is to be noticed, in passing, that the settlers of Prince Edward, and their descendants, have restricted their sphere of action to their own province, whereas the Kelts of the Eastern district have spread themselves over so wide an extent of country, that they may be reckoned an appreciable factor in the general national development. With regard to the Scotch and Irish element in the U. E. Loyalists, their number was too small, as compared with the preponderating English and German, to be taken into account. Several counties cling to the illusion of a U. E. basis to their population, but a cursory review of the facts show, in most instances, how the Loyalist stock consisted of a streak of settlement on the first two concessions bordering the river or lake shore. The dozens of back concessions were opened up by European emigrants who, in the Eastern district, were mainly of Keltic origin. From these facts, namely, the combined insular character of the Prince Edward men and the small proportion of Scotch and Irish among the Loyalists, and the restriction of the line of settlement to the water fronts, I draw the conclusion that the dawn of the Keltic day in Canada dates from the year 1786, when the first band arrived at Quebec, and after a journey of extraordinary toil up the St. Lawrence,

took up their lands in the district. Within the first generation after, men of commanding influence and character emerged from that district. The vigour of the stock manifested itself, especially, at first in the political and military field. The most prominent Keltic politicians and soldiers, in the first twenty-five years in the history of Upper Canada, were from the Eastern district. Subsequently, though by slow degrees, new sources of Keltic influence were started. This expansion, however, has been largely assisted by descendants of the Eastern district settlers seeking new homes in other parts. At any rate, accepting, for the moment, the correctness of the slight sketch of the rise and expansion of the Keltic race in Upper Canada, what is the conclusion? I submit it to be that the settlement of 1786 is the first link in the chain of cause and effect which has brought about the present position of the Keltic race in Canada.

The second heading of the theme is—the character of the Keltic immigrants and its transformation on this continent; a wide and most interesting subject for literary effort. The first point worth noting is that the immigrants were peasants. As such, the reason of their immigration was to obtain a larger share of material prosperity. It may be safely concluded that high rents, eviction, and clearance to make room for sheep or deer, were the prime causes of removal to America. Religious intolerance, it is true, crops out in some instances, but only as a pretext for exaction. Unlike the Puritans of New England, the Catholics of Maryland, the Cavaliers of Virginia, the Huguenots of

South Carolina, and the followers of William Penn, the compelling force, leading to change of country, may be termed a physical one, in contrast to the motives of a higher order which prevailed in the latter cases. The Keltic settlers in Canada, of the period spoken of, had no mental qualifications to entitle them to take rank with the founders of the American plantations. Long subjection to the despotism of chiefs and landlords had numbed the finer qualities and instincts. Even the physique had degenerated under oppression. The evidence is good that the first generation born on Canadian soil were, in stature and muscular development, greatly the superior of the immigrants. The freedom of the new continent brought about a change in the race, which was a restoration of the vigour and hardihood associated with the mountaineer type—a type which the oppressed Highlanders of the eighteenth century were departing from. But the transformation of character on Canadian soil was not confined to the physical side. The status of a freeholder, the democratic constitution of the country, the exercise of the rights of citizenship in a system of representative government, the hitherto unfelt exhilaration of liberty, were circumstances which roused all the latent activities which had lain dormant under the crushing rule of Scotch landlords. There was, in a few years, such an expansion, physically and mentally, that the supposition of previous existence in a dormant state is almost necessary. The humble and ignorant crofters of the Highland fastnesses became men of action, enterprise, and business. Time will not permit to

enlarge on the causes of this change. It is sufficient for the present to remember that, in leaving Scotland, they bade good-bye to institutions which for centuries had repressed intelligence and freedom, that their settlement in Canada brought them in contact with other institutions having more or less the effect of waking intelligence and fostering freedom, and imparting, by their working, the elements of a political education. Other causes were the easy alienation of land, local self-government, and a general system of education. It must, however, be recalled that the operation of these causes were not only gradual, but to a certain extent successive. The effect of centuries of stunting influences on the Keltic character was not to be counteracted in a few years. There is not a more interesting chapter in Canadian history than the rapid elevation of the Keltic population, from the condition of peasant, in which they arrived, to the status of freeman, as contemplated in the modern political system. The chapter is yet unwritten, still we may be confident that another John Richard Green will appear to show us how the nation has been moulded into its present shape. The literary aspect of the course of progress is manifold, and is suggested from the first beginnings of our social organism. It may be asked, What does it profit us to enter into doings and thoughts of men whose experience and ideas were confined within the smoke of their bush fires? Because the trials and struggles of the Keltic pioneers produced a race superior, physically and mentally, to the Scotch and Irish. The fact is recognized by MacKenzie, of the "Keltic Magazine," who states his

opinion, in plain words, to the effect that between the American Kelt, who is a freeholder, and the British Kelt, who is a tenant, there is small ground for comparison—one is a freeman and the other a peasant. But the Keltic peasant on the new continent soon catches the spirit of American progress, and is transformed thereby. The annals of this transformation in the Eastern districts teem with the richest material for literature.

The third line of reflection is—the migratory propensity of this Keltic settlement. There can be little doubt that, for the last decade, Eastern Ontario has been the theatre of a movement *out* of the Kelts, their place being taken by the Canadian French. The change has already gone sufficiently far to lead a stranger to believe that the original settlement must have been as much French as Keltic. A less acceptable inference, made by others than strangers, is to the effect that the replacement of one race by another marks degeneracy in the former. It would be no easy task to find another opinion, plausible enough at first sight, and yet so completely a reversal of the truth. To abandon, voluntarily, the domicile of birth is a proof of energy, and in this respect the Kelts of the district have shown themselves energetic to the point of audacity. The quietness of an old settlement does not suit an impetuous and restless disposition. The stirring life and new openings of the West have attracted so large a portion of the fresh blood of the district, that a large decrease has resulted. Hence the common sight of a farm inhabited by the heads of the family, whilst the younger members are in

other regions nearer to the Pacific. In many cases the homestead has been left altogether, and is taken up in turn by the French-Canadian. He is content where the former owners were grumbling, more modest his aspirations, less strong the migratory instinct which bids to go when the best has been taken from the soil. In this readiness to cast off the influence of home associations and of local attachments, I do not scruple to say that the Kelts of the district have surpassed every other part of the Dominion. The result has been that, in proportion to size of territory and population, the district has sent more lumbermen to Michigan forests, more settlers to Minnesota prairies, more hands to assist and direct the construction of railways, than any other on the American continent. The statement is based on information from persons who operate extensively in lumber, and on statistics given off-hand by contractors. It is to be admitted that census returns, blue-books, and congressional reports would be more satisfactory evidence of the truth of what is here maintained. In the absence of proof of this description, effective reference may be made to the settlement in Dakota, where a new Glengarry is springing up, stalwart and vigorous as the vegetation of the virgin soil, a magnificent testimony to the statement put forth in the present paper—that the Kelt in America has improved and developed, physically and mentally, beyond his British prototype.

Reverting more closely to the migratory propensity, the American Kelt possesses the characteristic to a far higher degree than the trans-Atlantic

Scotch and Irish. In the former instance, ambition is not unlikely the prevalent impulse; in the latter, the necessity of want or eviction is the commoner motive. When, therefore, we behold an old Keltic settlement in process of abandonment, the inference of degeneracy is the reverse of the truth. But, however much we may examine and discuss the why and wherefore of this migratory trade, and whatever conclusion may be reached, whether favourable or otherwise to the race, no one can controvert that, from a literary aspect, the topic glows with interest for the student, the littérateur, the sociologist, and the historian. The story of the migrations has two acts: the first, opening with that never-forgotten picture of the departure from the shore of Tobermory. As McCrimmon's lament was wafted to the fading shore, prompted by the anguish of parting from the native heaths to go to a region of which there was but the vaguest conception, there is presented, in vivid contrast, the second act, where the farewell is bidden to the homesteads of the old district. But how different is the scene! There is no wholesale deportation forced by the tyranny of landlords and so-called chieftains, no heart-rending leave-taking, which could only find utterance in song, no fear of what the new land may be like. This manly confidence in the future, and readiness to take up a new abode and trust in their strength is, to repeat, a striking contrast to the uncertainty and dejection which possessed the souls of the first comers. A problem, perhaps of little profit to speculate on, and yet of some interest, may be thus put: Take the localities

in the West and North-west, where Eastern district Kelts have grouped themselves; is there a probability of a third migration? The present generation may well witness the spectacle. Railways are forcing their way to the Pacific coast, giving rise to centres of population. Cities are beginning to rise in view of the ocean—so many magnets attracting the enterprising spirit of the West. In this migration to the Pacific, the descendants of Kelts from the district will, I hope, take their usual position in the van. Still more, I hope by that time the literature of Canada will have commemorated the deeds of this wonderful race of colonizers!

In the recorded events of our history, the Kelts of the district have borne a part altogether disproportionate to their numbers and situation. The term situation is used here to denote the fact that the district is rural. Except within the last fifteen years, the manufacturing industries have been insignificant. As a rule, the preponderance of influence attaches more to the manufacturing than to the agricultural localities, more to the cities than the country. The Eastern district has shown itself an exception to the rule. From the first parliament of Upper Canada (the speaker of which was from Glengarry) to the present, no city or manufacturing centre has been the mother of more men deserving well of their country. The temptation is strong to give the list of advocates, jurists, statesmen, constructors of public works, and directors of world-known enterprises, and to descant on their high standing. But this would be trenching on the

domain of history, though I might plead in justification that it has only been barely touched. The historians of Canada (with the conspicuous exception of Garneau) have been literary baloonists. Ascending to a high altitude, they have observed what was on the surface, whilst the character of the Canadian people and its changes in different stages of growth, from the present settlements of the eighteenth century to the confederate nation of to-day—all this has not as yet been written. The people of Canada have been left out of Canadian histories. Those who are the authors have given us some fair narratives of events, with the addition, in some instances, of parliamentary annals and biographical sketches. Consequently, the youth of the land are growing up with the vaguest knowledge of the national organism—the present type of which they represent. Such being the department of history, to keep within the literary line is no slight difficulty in treating of the present subject. Whilst endeavouring to point out the abundance of literary material lying untouched in the district, there is the constant temptation to strike an unworked historical vein. The inclination to adhere less closely to the literary aspect, when speaking of the prominent men of the district, is not prompted by insufficient biographies. Records of this description are numerous and adequate. The deficiency consists in the failure on the part of Canadian writers to show how the characters of these men are the products of their age, and how far circumstances had modified or brought out the racial traits of their forefathers. Without such an analysis—call it psychological, sociological, or what

you will—we cannot grasp the full significance of the lives and actions either of prominent individuals or the people among whom they moved. Without such an analytic inquiry, we can have only a poor conception of the term Canadian. The term implies the type. Are our countrymen distinguishable from Americans as these two last are distinguishable from each other? Is there a Canadian type? The answer is surely yes. If we analyze that type, I believe we shall find that its main constituent is Keltic; and if we go still further, and investigate this constituent, we are finally brought around to the Keltic settlement in the Eastern district.

The view just taken of the position in history of the settlers of the Eastern district and their descendants may be an exaggeration of the truth, or perhaps a total mistake; but, in either case, I fear no contradiction from any histories of the Canadian people, since, for reasons just hinted at, I consider that such a history has not yet been written.

To sum up. The literary aspects under which we may view the settlement in the Eastern district are—first: The priority of Keltic influence and character belongs to this section; secondly: The gradual transformation of character, brought about by change from the position of small tenant, at rack-rent, to that of freeholder, by the democratic spirit of the country, by institutions of local self-government, and by a broad system of general education; thirdly: The migratory propensity, leading to the formation of new settlements between the Mississippi and the Rockies, the wonderful pioneering

spirit so evidenced, suggesting the probability of centralization in the cities of the Pacific slope; fourthly: The settlement's position in Canadian history; the view was taken that no work, deserving to be called a history of the Canadian people, has yet been written; that when it is produced, the historian, in all likelihood, will attribute to the Keltic emigration of 1786 a very great importance, as leading, eventually, to the Keltic constitution of the Canadian type.

THE CELT IN THE NORTH-WEST.

BY

THE REV. PROFESSOR BRYCE, LL.D.,

Winnipeg.

It lacks but a year of a century since the daring and successful combination of the fur traders, known as the "North-West Company of Montreal," was formed to secure the trade of the Indian Territories. It was twenty years before this that, in 1766, the first British trader—a Scotchman, named Thomas Curry—followed the route of the French voyageurs, which had been deserted since the capture of Canada in 1759 *by the English*. Curry penetrated to Cedar Lake on the Saskatchewan, and was so well recompensed by his one season's trade that he never needed to venture on the "watery ways" again. The next season another Celt, James Finlay, persevered even farther up the Saskatchewan, and returned to Montreal with a rich cargo of furs. The enterprise of the Montreal merchants began to tell upon the supply of furs which had for a century been carried down by the Cree and Chippewyan Indians to the shores of Hudson Bay. In 1774 the Hudson's Bay Company had abandoned its policy of timidly clinging to the sea-coast along the Bay, and had thrown down the gauntlet of opposition by building the Cumberland House on the Saskatche-

wan river. Pond, an American, Wadin, a Swiss, and the brothers Frobisher, Englishmen, all merchants from Montreal, had, in the year 1775 and succeeding years, carried the fur trade by their canoe route even to the distant Lake Athabasca. So early as the year 1783 we find that well-known Nor'wester and leading Celt, Simon McTavish, making an effort to combine the Montreal traders into one company. His was long one of the names to conjure by among the fur traders. Another firm of Scottish merchants in Montreal—Messrs. Gregory and Macleod—assumed an independent attitude, and undertook, like "Ta' Phairson," of the Highland legend of the flood, to have a "boat o' their ain."

It was in July, 1787, that the combination we have mentioned was formed among these Montreal merchants to trade to the Nor'west; and it is quite surprising to find the large number of Celts in the enterprise. Some of the Montreal Highlanders were Jacobites; a number of them had even fought as Rads. in the battle of Culloden, and had, after the '45, fled to New France to find new homes. More of them, however, were disbanded soldiers and their families, of the 78th and *Fraser Highlanders*, who had settled in Canada in 1764. Others, again, had been connected with the Montgomery Highlanders, and some even with the 42nd, or "Black Watch."

When, according to Lemoine, we know that "Fraser's Highlanders are now settled all over Lower Canada, and their descendants number more than three thousand," it is not surprising that such

names as McTavish, McGillivray, McLeod, McDonell, McKenzie, Campbell, Cameron, Murray, and Fraser occupy a leading place in the fur trade, and that these adventurers were raised to positions of command by their daring, and by the “*perfervidum ingenium Celtarum.*”

Archbishop Taché, in his “North-west Sketches,” says :—

“At that time two great rival companies competed for the fur trade. The North-west Company, formed of, or, at least, directed by, Scotchmen, required that its members should speak French, and all its junior employés were French-Canadians, so that the company appeared to be a continuation of that formerly established in Nouvelle France. The Indians, when referring to this company, always spoke of it as ‘the French.’ The English, on the contrary, was the designation universally used in referring to the members of the Hudson’s Bay Company, although its officers were generally Scotch, and its employés Orkneymen.”

Although the Montreal merchants had united in 1787, yet, having been so long accustomed to a life of freedom and independence, they found it impossible to preserve their combination. Accordingly, in nine years after the union, viz., in 1796, a division took place. The offshoot took the name X. Y. Company. It was carried on with much vigour, and posts were built in many places contiguous to those of the Nor’westers. Two names stand out prominently among its leaders—one the Hon. Edward Ellice, the other a notable Celt, worthy of fuller notice. This was—

SIR ALEXANDER MACKENZIE.

Born in the Highlands of Scotland, Alexander Mackenzie came as a lad to Canada. In the year 1779 the young Celtic adventurer entered the counting-house of Gregory and Macleod, Montreal; in 1784 he joined the firm as a partner, being in charge of an expedition to Detroit. In 1785 the young partner pushed on through Lake Superior to the Grande Portage, and on the union of the different fur interests became, in 1787, a partner of the Northwest Company. This company was an extensive concern. It employed, at this time, fifty clerks, seventy-one interpreters and clerks, one thousand one hundred and twenty canoe-men, and thirty-five guides. As already mentioned, most of the partners and clerks were Celts, the employés French-Canadians. In 1789 Mackenzie was stationed at Fort Chippewyan on Lake Athabasca, and in that year undertook his great journey of discovery to the north. With four canoes, containing his mixed crews of French-Canadians and Indians—both men and women—he discovered the great river which bears his name, and by it, about the end of July in that year, reached the Arctic Sea. On this voyage the young adventurer was without books or necessary instruments, and knew nothing of the sciences of astronomy and navigation. With great perseverance, on his return, he undertook a journey to Great Britain, and spent the winter of 1791 in England perfecting his knowledge for future enterprises. Having returned to Lake Athabasca, in October, 1792, the fearless explorer undertook his celebrated

voyage, through the Rocky Mountains, to find the Pacific Ocean. He ascended the Peace River, spent the winter in trapping, and was ready on the first approach of spring, in 1793, to pass through the mountains. After incredible hardships, and amidst hostile Indians, he reached the Pacific Ocean, and, in token of his success, inscribed on a sea-side rock, with vermilion and melted grease—"Alexander Mackenzie, from Canada, by land, 22nd of July, 1793;" the first white man to cross the Rockies north of Mexico, and the first to set foot in British Columbia. It was but a fitting tribute to the Celtic discoverer, and the leading Celts of the North-west Company, that the country west of the Rocky Mountains should be called New Caledonia. A few years after Mackenzie's return to Lake Athabasca and Canada, he retired to Britain, where, in 1801, he published his interesting book of voyages, received the honours of knighthood on account of his great discoveries, and spent his remaining years.

Another of the daring kings of adventurers was a Scotchman—David Thompson—who held, with great credit, the position of

"ASTRONOMER" AND SURVEYOR OF NOR'WEST
COMPANY.

He was one of the hardiest and most enterprising explorers ever in the North-west. He had come from Britain to the Bay in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, but had given up his position, in a few years, on account of the unwillingness he had found, on the part of the company, to prosecute exploration. In 1796 Thompson, on the expiry of

his former engagement, placed himself in communication with a leading Celtic trader of the Nor'west Company, Alexander Fraser. He was gladly welcomed by the Montreal traders, and entered their service in the capacity mentioned. Leaving Fort William, on Lake Superior, in August, 1796, Thompson passed by the Grande Portage to Lake Winnipeg, then to Lake Winnepagoosis to the upper Assiniboine River, down this river to the Souris, up the Souris and overland in a south-westward direction to the Missouri, back again to the Assiniboine (this Missouri journey being accomplished in the dead of winter), down the Assiniboine to Red River, and on March 7th, 1798, reached the junction of the Assiniboine and Red Rivers, where the city of Winnipeg now stands, but where, in that year, there seems to have been not even a fur trader's post.

Ascending the Red River to Red Lake, Thompson found the sources of the Mississippi much south of what the Commissioners in the Treaty of 1783 had supposed them to be. The hardy adventurer reached Lake Superior in the month of May, 1798. He continued in the service of the Nor'west Company years after this, being a most capable official, and succeeded in fixing the latitude and longitude of most of their posts. In July, 1811, we hear of Thompson arriving at the mouth of the Columbia River, and one of the rivers of the Pacific slope bears his name. On the occasion of this visit his work was the location of a fort for the company on the Columbia River. A journal of Astronomer Thompson, in manuscript, is known to be in existence.

The hardy explorer, after his days of service, spent the evening of his life at Williamstown, County of Glengarry, Ontario.

NOTED PIONEERS.

Of the adventurous race of Celtic pioneers in the fur trade was Peter Grant, who, probably, about 1790, built the first fort on Red River, very near the boundary line (49° N.), between Manitoba and the United States. From the Grant stock, and from an Indian intermarriage, sprang a very distinguished half-breed leader, of whom we shall afterwards speak—Cuthbert Grant. The McGillivray family rose to great prominence in the fur trade. There was a Donald McGillivray, a John, a Joseph, and a Simon McGillivray, but the head of the clan was Hon. William McGillivray, who was a Colonel in the Militia of Canada, a man of much local and political influence in Montreal, with strong connections in Britain, and one whose name is preserved in Fort William at the mouth of the Kaministiquia on Lake Superior.

Another noted Highlander, who was a daring Nor'wester explorer, was Simeon Fraser. In 1806 he crossed the Rocky Mountains by the same route taken by Sir Alexander Mackenzie. On the headwaters of Fraser River, named after him, and on Lake Fraser, he erected the first fur trader's post, on the west side of the Rocky Mountains.

During the same period the most noted trader of Northern Minnesota was a Celt, named Cameron. Numerous incidents remain of his generosity and hospitality. He died in 1811. The spot of his

burial was long sacred to the voyageurs, and was known as "Cameron's grave."

THE PACIFIC FUR TRADERS.

Early in the present century the North-west Fur Company had pushed its trade, as we have mentioned, beyond the Rocky Mountains. Shortly after, in consequence of the celebrated overland journey of the American captains, Lewis and Clarke (1804-6), John Jacob Astor, of New York, undertook to establish a fur company at the mouth of the Columbia River. It is quite surprising to note the number of Celts who were selected in both these companies to carry out the purposes of the traders beyond the mountains. One of the most prominent of Astor's Company was Alexander McKay, figuring so greatly in Washington Irving's "Astoria" and other works of the period. It is said he had accompanied Sir Alexander Mackenzie on both his voyages. The ship "Tonquin," which afterwards met so sad a fate, sailed from New York on Sept. 6th, 1810, under the command of a harsh and blustering American officer, Captain Thorn. From Ross Cox's account we learn that—"Four partners of the Astor enterprise, namely, Messrs. Alexander McKay, Duncan McDougall, David and Robert Stuart, embarked in her, with eight clerks, &c., all destined for the company's establishment at Columbia." Capt. Thorn played the tyrant, "but," continues Cox, "Messrs. McKay, McDougall, and the Stuarts had too much Highland blood in their veins to submit patiently to the haughty and uncivil treatment of the captain." Irving describes,

with graphic effect, the loss of the "Tonquin" by the attack of the savage natives, and we know from other sources how Partner McKay was cruelly put to death.

Another of the Astor fur traders was one well-known afterwards on our own Red River. This was

ALEXANDER ROSS,

the Sheriff of Red River. He was a native of the Highlands, and came to Canada in 1802, having been born in the year 1781. In 1802 three vessels sailed from Fort William, in Scotland, to Quebec, laden with Highlanders. Many of these were McDonell's Highlanders—a regiment largely of Glengarry men—who had served in repressing the Irish rebellion of 1798. There were among these people colonists from Glenelg and Kintail, and elsewhere in the Highlands. There were some thousands of these settlers. They chiefly settled in Glengarry County, Ontario, and they have given a backbone to that part of Canada at every crisis in its history since their arrival. Among these Celts was Alexander Ross. He taught school in their settlements for a number of years, and at about the age of forty, in 1810, entered Astor's Company. On the transfer of the affairs of the Pacific Fur Company, in 1813, to the Nor'westers, he accepted service in the latter, and was placed in charge of Oakinagau, a post on the western slope of the Rockies. Here he obtained his Indian wife, the daughter of a chief; she died in Winnipeg only a couple of years since. In 1816 Ross was placed in charge of the Nor'west post at Kamloops, but in 1825 he left the fur trade, crossed

the Rocky Mountains, and took up his abode at a spot since included in the City of Winnipeg. He was for a number of years Sheriff of Assiniboine. He wrote a number of books on the country: "Red River Settlement," "The Fur Traders of the Far West," "Adventures on the Oregon and Columbia," and it is said an essay on "Agriculture." Sheriff Ross was a principal mover in obtaining the appointment of the late Rev. Dr. Black, of Kildonan. Two daughters of Sheriff Ross were married to clergymen, Dr. Black, and Rev. George Flett (Indian Missionary). One son of the Ross family—James—took high honours in Toronto University, and was one of the editors of the *Toronto Globe*. Numerous streets of Winnipeg are named after members of the Ross family. Sheriff Ross died in October, 1856.

OTHER NOR'WESTERS.

In addition to the well-known Simon McTavish, leader of the fur traders already mentioned, there was the redoubtable John George McTavish, as also a Donald, an Alexander, and a James McTavish, actively engaged in the fur trade. There was a partner, Angus Bethune, and a trader, McMillan, a courageous man, who maintained himself among the Flatheads, a treacherous tribe on the Pacific. Trader McMillan afterwards became a chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, and was put in charge of the great experimental farm begun on the Assiniboine by Sir George Simpson. He did not succeed in farming, however, so well as he had done in the fur trade among the Flatheads. Alexander Stewart,

Alexander Fraser, and Alexander McKenzie were also among the energetic Montreal fur merchants.

A GOOD MARKSMAN.

Another noted Celt on the west coast was a partner, Donald McKenzie. He had been one of the adventurers of the Astor Company, but afterwards joined the Nor'west Company. "He was an experienced trader, and possessed an accurate knowledge of the fur trader's country. He could, with his rifle, drive a dozen balls consecutively, at one hundred paces, through a Spanish dollar, which accomplishment alone was enough to secure him the respect of the Indians. To the most cautious prudence he united the most dauntless intrepidity; in fact, no hardships could fatigue, no dangers intimidate him." Mr. Mackenzie was afterwards Governor of the Red River Colony for eight years (1825-33).

THE GREAT SMALL-POX CHIEF.

Duncan McDougall was one of the four partners mentioned by us as entering the Astor Company. He was a somewhat petulant and selfish Celt, it is said, but was evidently a man of action and decision. We learn, from "Astoria," that when the ill-fated ship "Tonquin" sailed up the coast, McDougall was left in charge of their fort. The massacre of the crew of the "Tonquin" inspired the natives to make an attack on the ill-prepared fort. McDougall had but a handful of whites with him. He adopted a most daring expedient. Knowing the extreme dread of the natives for the small-pox, the trader assembled the chiefs of the neighbouring Indians;

told them he had heard of the treachery of those who had attacked the "Tonquin," and declared he would have vengeance. Raising before them a corked bottle, he said—"The white men among you are few in number, but they are mighty in medicine. I have but to draw the cork of this bottle and the scourge will sweep man, woman, and child from the earth." The chiefs believed him; they implored him not to carry out his threat, and asserted themselves friends of the whites. McDougall kept the vial of his wrath sealed up, and was ever after known as "the great small-pox chief." In the course of time McDougall entered into wedlock with the daughter of Comcomly, the Chinook chief.

MCDONALD "GRAND."

One of the most daring of the Nor'westers who went to the Pacific slope was a partner, John McDonald. He was well-connected in Scotland, and had, with his family, emigrated from Invernessshire to Canada while a lad. His first language was Gaelic, he had learned English, and in Canada, French, while he was a proficient in half-a-dozen Indian dialects. "He was six feet four inches in height, with broad shoulders, large bushy whiskers, and red hair, which he allowed to grow for years without the use of scissors, and which, sometimes falling over his face and shoulders, gave to his countenance a wild and uncouth appearance." On the Pacific coast he married an Indian woman of the Spokane tribe. McDonald was feared as well as loved by the natives. He had a most uncontrollable temper, and in his rage would indulge in a

wild medley of Gaelic, English, French, and Indian objurgations. The name given him, "le grand," was certainly suitable. Another Nor'wester, John McDonald, was known as "le prêtre." This name was given because Mr. McDonald, a rigid Roman Catholic, had insisted on the observance, on the voyage, of the Church fasts by his French-Canadian employés. He retired to the Ottawa, and there spent his declining years. Another Nor'wester, McDonald, was also known as "le bras croché" (crooked arm). This habit of giving soubriquets was not uncommon in the North-west, as, indeed, it seems to be customary in all Highland communities, where many of the same name are found. Of the Nor'west Mackenzies, for example, there were four well-known—"le rouge," "le blanc," "le borgne" (one-eyed), and "le picoté" (pitted or marked).

A BRAVE MACKAY.

Another man distinguished, even among the better-known Nor'westers, was Colonel William Mackay. He came west to trade about 1793, along the rivers tributary to the Mississippi. He was a brother of the unfortunate Alexander Mackay, already mentioned, killed in the attack on the "Tonquin." After much wandering he took up his position at the great trading post of Michilimackinac. When the war of 1812-15 came on between Canada and the United States, he entered heartily into it, led the voyageurs, and distinguished himself in the battle of Lacolle Mill, on the St. Lawrence. During the war Mackay is said to have traversed the whole country lying north of Lake

Huron, and to have travelled nineteen thousand miles. As Major of the Michigan Fencibles, he co-operated with Colonel Macdouall in the bloodless capture of Prairie du Chien. On this expedition Col. Macdouall, a Celt, held Michilimackinac; Major Mackay, who, for his success on this occasion, was made Colonel, commanded the mixed party of whites and Indians; while another Highlander, Lieutenant Duncan Graham, had the immediate leadership of the Sioux and Chippewas, those staunch friends of the British. Colonel Mackay married from the family of Judge Davidson, of Montreal, and on retiring from the fur trade became Indian Superintendent, and spent his last days in Montreal, dying of cholera in 1832. Judge Mackay, of Montreal, is one of his sons.

A CELTIC COLONY.

It is an oft-told tale, the coming of the expatriated Sutherlandshire crofters, under the patronage of Lord Selkirk, to the banks of the Red River. The enterprising colonizer, Lord Selkirk, was not a Celt. But while a student at College in Edinburgh he had, in common with his friend, Walter Scott, formed a passionate attachment for Highland life and customs, and for the Celtic race. In 1792 he had undertaken a tour through the Highlands; he was able to speak the Gaelic language, and for his benefactions to the Celtic race, he deserves adoption or affiliation at their hands. Of that forced emigration, from 1811-15, we may not now speak at length. In the presence of their burning homes, all the Celtic attachment to their native glens burnt forth more fiercely; driven from their native shores,

they went forth with a calm despair somewhat akin to the desolate determination with which the Israeliteish captives went forth to Babylon; burnt into their hearts, the recollection of the "Highland clearances" of the first quarter of this century blazes forth in the memory of tens of thousands of Celtic settlers all over America, and the wrong is treasured up in their bosoms, and remembered as only a Highlander can remember.

The inhospitable shores of Hudson's Bay; the iron-coast in winter; men and women trudging over the ice and snow with bleeding feet; the starving wives and children; the wearying journey of six hundred miles from the Bay to Red River; and the arrival at a destination houseless and without sufficient food. These, and the subsequent hardships, are but the successive scenes of the gloomy panorama of the early Selkirk settlement. Sutherlands and McKinnons, McKays and Coopers, McLeods and Smiths, McPhersons and McLeans, Mathesons and McEacherns, McBeths and Frasers, Macdonalds and Campbells, Livingstones and Polsons, Bannermans and Gunns, Munroes and McIvors, were the components of this Celtic movement; for, though a few of the names given are Norse, yet these families had all intermarried with the Celts. Something less than three hundred was the number of the four bands who, in four successive years, proved the Hudson's Bay route feasible.

A CELTIC FEUD.

No Greek can meet Greek with more spirit in deadly conflict than Celt meets Celt. Lord Selkirk's

Colony was in charge of Celtic officers, and they found in the Nor'wester traders "foemen worthy of their steel." It matters not for our present purpose who made the onset. There are two sides to this question. Miles Macdonell, one of the Glengarry men, who had been a captain in the Queen's Rangers, was in charge of the Selkirk Colony, and seems to have been in Niagara in 1798, where he was married; and in 1808 was Sheriff in York. The Nor'westers looked with jealousy on an agricultural settlement in the fur traders' country. Governor Macdonell made a proclamation forbidding the export of pemican, and seized a portion of the stock at one of the Nor'west forts. This he did to provide food for the settlers, and he offered payment in full for the quantity seized. The Nor'westers resented the seizure. In 1814 the partners of the Nor'westers met at Fort William, and determined on reprisals. They appointed two Celts to proceed to Fort Gibraltar, their fort, within the present site of Winnipeg. These were

DUNCAN CAMERON

and Alexander Macdonell. Of these, Cameron was the more noted. He was crafty and determined. He lived at Fort Gibraltar with a considerable state. He wore a captain's uniform—a red coat, and a formidable-looking sword. He signed himself Captain Commanding, Voyageur Corps. He seemed a man of much importance to the Indians. To the Selkirk Colonists he devoted his attention. Speaking, as he did, their own Gaelic tongue, he reached the hearts of many of them. He fared sumptuously every

day. The colonists, none too well provided with food, were welcome at his hospitable table; and in the spring of 1815 the skilful diplomatist, with true Celtic warmth, provided three-fourths of the colonists with farms in Western Ontario, on Government land, and gave them free transport down the canoe route to their new home. Blood proved, to these Highlanders, thicker than water. The remaining colonists, reinforced by new arrivals from Britain, had another Celt, an officer of Lord Selkirk, to whom they were much indebted. This was Colin Robertson, who afterwards became a Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company. In 1816 the Nor'-westers success of the previous year induced still greater exertions, and now the Bois-brûles, or French half-breeds, with their Celtic leaders, came sweeping down from the west to destroy the colony. They were led by a Scoto-French half-breed, Cuthbert Grant. This man, who had command of the party which killed Governor Semple, was, on the whole, humane. He had much influence among half-breeds and Indians. He was a stout, and yet energetic man, who rose to a prominent position in late years. His home was at White Horse Plains, twenty miles or so west of Winnipeg. When the Council of Assiniboia was organized in 1835 he was made a member of it, and bore the high-sounding, but somewhat vague, title of "Warden of the Plains." This was probably a reference to a leadership among the plain hunters, who chased the buffalo. For the better carrying out of the hunt certain rules were needed, and Cuthbert Grant was seemingly a judge and leader among the wild spirits

of the Prairies. His children and grand-children are well-known to the old settlers of Red River.

AN IRISH CELT.

But few of the Irish Celts have made the Northwest their home. They do not seem, as a class, to have taken hold of the fur trade, and few of them have come as settlers to this country. It is well that we are able to find one who stands out so prominently, and for so long a period in the affairs of Red River, as Andrew McDermott. He was born in the Green Isle in the year 1791, and embarked at Sligo in the first ship of Selkirk Colonists in 1811. He is said to have been so Celtic as to have been able to trace his lineage back to the celebrated Dermot McMurrough, the Leinster Chieftain. In the service of the company he was active and pushing. He became more familiar with the use and structure of the Indian language than even the Indians themselves. We are told that he was "an excellent walker, ran like a deer, and could endure cold with any Eskimo dog." Leaving the Hudson's Bay Company in 1824, he made his first adventure as a "free trader." He became an extensive merchant, and was on good terms with everybody. His business was multifarious. "He could lend a horse, change an ox, or barter a sleigh dog, as circumstances required." He gradually obtained control of the main freighting business of the country. When the Canadian immigration set in, the Celtic trader was ready for the change, and lent a helping-hand to many a new comer in beginning business in the then little village of Winnipeg.

Mr. McDermott had, in 1835, become one of the Council of Assiniboia, and was a favourite with the Governor as with the people. He possessed a large fund of information about the early settlement and condition of Red River, and was somewhat given to venturing on that very uncertain task of foretelling the weather and the seasons. In 1881 the portly form of the Celtic merchant, who had reached the age of ninety, and had actually spent three-score and ten years, save one, in business on Red River, passed forever from our view.

A CELTIC EMPEROR.

One of the most striking figures in Montreal society, forty years ago, was the bustling, short-statured, rather domineering, man, Governor Simpson, of the Hudson's Bay Company. A native of "the land of the mountain and the flood," he first saw its heather hills in 1796. Like so many Scotchmen, he had gone to London to seek his fortune. A successful clerk in a counting-house in the capital, he came out to Canada at the instance of London fur traders, to complete, if possible, a reconciliation between the Nor'westers and Hudson's Bay Company, who, by their feuds—on which we have shortly touched—had both succeeded in bringing themselves to the verge of bankruptcy. The young commissioner was a born diplomat. McLean, in the second volume of his "Twenty-five Years' Service in the H. B. Territory," has given an account of the means adopted by the young officer in 1821 to effect the coalition, and organize the new company. Difficulties begirt the new Governor on every side.

Red River affairs were in confusion ; the fur trade was demoralized ; the partners were quarrelsome ; and nothing but an iron will and consummate skill could bring order out of such a chaos. But it was done, and the word of the Governor was felt as powerfully in far-distant Mackenzie River as the Czar of Russia's commands in any part of his empire. Forty canoe journeys up the lakes, and by the Grande Portage, are said to have been performed by the little Emperor. His canoe was the best, his men the most athletic, and his speed in excess of that of any travellers by the canoe route. Leaving Liverpool in March of the year 1841, he sailed to Boston, came up the lakes, crossed the Rockies, reached San Francisco, sailed to the Sandwich Islands, then N. E. to Sitka, in Russian-America, across to Siberia, passed by the overland route through Siberia and Russia, and reached London October, 1842. Sir George was likewise a friend of exploration, and did much to assist travellers on their way through the country. He approved the expedition which tracked the coast of the Arctic Ocean from the Mackenzie River to Point Barrow, and from the Coppermine to the Gulf of Boothia, in 1836-39. It is stated that it was for this successful work that he received the mark of knighthood, although the task was planned and performed by Thomas Simpson, Sir George's relative, and the explorer Dease. Many incidents are met with all through the Territories, in the mouths of the old residents, of the impulsive, energetic little Governor during his career of well-nigh forty years. He died near Montreal in 1860.

Closely associated with the Hudson's Bay Company magnate, just described, is the career of his kinsman, already named,

THOMAS SIMPSON,

noted in the records of exploration. This discoverer was born at Dingwall, Ross-shire, July 2nd, 1808, the son of a magistrate of the county. Intended for the church, young Simpson, at the age of seventeen, entered King's College, Aberdeen. At the close of his academic career he carried off the "Huttonian" prize, a high distinction, and received his Master of Arts degree. He gave up the intention of studying for the ministry in 1829, having taken one year in the study of theology, and on the invitation of Governor Simpson, entered the Hudson's Bay Company service. As second in command, his senior officer being Peter Warren Dease, an experienced officer of the Hudson's Bay Company, Thomas Simpson explored the coast of the Arctic Ocean. He completed the survey between Mackenzie River and Point Barrow, explored the "barren grounds" between Great Slave and the Coppermine River, and in 1838 performed a remarkable pedestrian journey along the sea-coast. In 1840 Simpson left the service of the Company. He left Fort Garry in company with a band of half-breeds to cross the plains of Minnesota, and his death is one of the most melancholy episodes of North-western exploration. On 13th or 14th of June, Simpson shot two of his companions, and whether this was an act of insanity, or was done in self-defence in a quarrel, cannot be determined. His

body was brought back to the Red River settlement, and is buried in the St. John's churchyard, in the City of Winnipeg. The British Government, in the very month of his death, intimated its intention of bestowing upon him, for life, a pension of £100 per annum, and the Royal Geographical Society presented him their gold medal in 1839, which, however, never reached him.

During the forty years of Sir George Simpson's regime, many Celts rose to prominence in connection with the fur trade or exploration. Shortly after the flood on the Red River, in 1826, by which a number of cattle were destroyed, a considerable French trader, Joseph Rolette, living at Prairie du Chien, on the Mississippi, sent in a large herd of cattle for sale in the settlement. For the management of this enterprise a Celt was at hand. This was Duncan Campbell, a most agile and enduring traveller. So ubiquitous was he among the settlements of the west, that he was commonly known as the "Wandering Jew." Another most indefatigable explorer, who was for many years in the Hudson's Bay Company service, and well-known to us, is Chief Factor Robert Campbell, now of Strathclair, in this Province. He was a favourite of Governor Simpson, who was fond of his officers who were not deterred by hardships. The retired officer has frequently recounted to the writer the details of his journeys. With but few supplies, trader Campbell wandered off to the country west of the Rockies from the Mackenzie River. To Chief Factor Campbell belongs the honour of really discovering the Yukon River. He erected the fort now marked

on the maps of the region near Alaska as Selkirk Fort, which was long known as Campbell's Fort, and would have remained so but for the modesty of the founder. Another officer worthy of notice in this same region, and during this period, is Chief Trader Murray, from whom Sir John Richardson obtains so much information about the Yukon country, and who retired to the banks of Red River to spend his last days. Time fails to tell of more than the names of Celtic Hudson's Bay officers, such as Roderick Ross Macfarlane, Ross, Mackenzie, Matheson, Macdonald, McIntyre, McTavish, and many others who have, in later Hudson's Bay Company times, worthily sustained the fame of the Celts—a fame unapproached by any other class in the history of the fur trade and exploration.

RECENT CELTS.

The immigration to the North-west in the last fifteen or twenty years has had a very large Celtic strain in it as well. We have had nothing to do in this paper with the Lowland or Orkney elements, so large and powerful a part of the Scottish people, nor of the Irish people of English or Lowland descent. Recent immigration has had a large proportion of its strength from these sources. It could not have happened, however, that so large an influx of people from the Counties of Huron, Bruce, and Perth, in Ontario, from Central Canada, from Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, and Prince Edward Island, and from Scotland itself, could have taken place without many Celts being included. I can but call your attention to a point or two, and then leave the matter.

In these later years have come to us, among others, many Scottish and Irish Celts. They are strong among the clergy of all the churches, and, no doubt, the fervour of the Celtic nature has something to do with this fact:—Machray and McRae, McLean, Gordon, Mackay, McKellar, Mackenzie, Matheson, O'Meara, Farquharson, McLaren, McFarlane, Munroe, Robertson, Cameron, Ross, Campbell, McWilliam, Urquhart, Sutherland, and many others whose Celtic origin is masked by their bearing Norse and Saxon names.

The lawyers and doctors have McDonalds, McLeans, McBeth, Macarthur, Sutherland, Fisher, Mackenzie, Bain, and Archibald, O'Donnell, Ferguson, Dawson, and McDiarmid, all of whom have, I presume, Celtic blood in their veins.

The bankers and business men have an endless round of Highland names among them. These are: McKeand, Macarthur, Mackenzie, Murchison, McIntyre, McKilligan, McNee, McNab, McFarlane, Macdonald, McPherson, McMicken, McLellan, McBain, Alexander, McColl, McVicar, McCharles, McNeil, McCrossan, McKercher, McCracken, McCreary, Campbell, McDougall, McKechnie; while the farmers include all these names, and many more, as Grant, Fraser, McFayden, Mawhinney, McGurn, Cameron, McCabe, McKay, McOuat, McAlpine, McEwen, McIntosh, McQuarrie, McCausland, Calder, &c., &c., McQueen, McCorquodale, Shaw.

CONCLUSION.

Our City Council has a considerable Celtic element, and this may account for its thrift; while,

in building up our new Canadian nation, we welcome, with equal warmth, Celt and Saxon, Teuton and Frenchman, to our broad prairies.

A TRANSLATION OF THE OLDEST CELTIC
DOCUMENT EXTANT, AND OF ITS
ETRUSCAN COMPANION.

BY JOHN CAMPBELL, M.A.,

Professor in the Presbyterian College, Montreal, &c.

In the year 1444 there were disinterred, in the neighbourhood of Gobbio, on the site of the ancient Iguvium, in Umbrian Italy, seven bronze tablets. These tablets are engraved with characters of two kinds—the one being Roman, and the other the same as is found on Etruscan monuments. Many attempts have been made to interpret the inscriptions by some of the most learned of Italian scholars, as well as by those of other nationalities, from the end of the sixteenth century onwards to the present time.¹ The theory which now obtains regarding them is that, although written in distinct characters, their language is one, and that language a Pelagic dialect akin to the Latin. Thus translated, they yield a historically meaningless mass of verbiage, relating to the worship of Jupiter Grabovius, and other Umbrian deities, otherwise unknown.²

¹ Pignotti, *Storia di Toscana*, L. I., c. II., p. 95. See also Bréal, *les Tables Eugubines*, and the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, art. *Eugubine Tables*.

² The following is a specimen of the way in which they have been translated :—

Teio subokau suboko, Dei Grabovi, okriper Fisiv, totaper Jiovina, erer nomne-per, erer nomne-per.

Te invocavi invoco, Jupiter Grabovi, pro monte Fisio, pro urbe Iguvina, pro illius nomine, pro hujus nomine.

The true text is :—Teio subocav suboco dei Crabovi, ocriper fisiv, totaper

Some two years ago my attention was drawn to the five tables which are in Etruscan characters. Having discovered the phonetic values of these characters, I translated the tables by the medium of the Basque, a language still spoken by the inhabitants of the French and Spanish Pyrenees, but which once covered a great area in southern and western Europe. This translation, with grammatical and historical notes, is now in the possession of the Canadian Institute of Toronto.³

Turning to the two tables, which are in Roman characters, in company with the learned President of this Society, it soon became apparent to us that we were face to face with Celtic words and grammatical constructions. The connection of these ancient documents with Umbria recalled to our minds the statement of Bocchus, as quoted by Solinus, Servius, Isidore of Seville, and the scholiast in Lycophron, that the Umbrians were a branch of the Gallic people.⁴ On this double basis of evidence, internal and external, we proceeded to unravel the mysteries of Umbrian phonetics and grammatical structure, until the tables yielded up their secret, and, at the same time, confirmed the story of the

Ijovina, erer nomneper, erar nomneper; and the translation:—To gather together a gathering to Cremona be ye well disposed; do ye join Iguvium; on the east do ye incline; on the west do ye incline.

In the translation of Lepsius the preposition, *to*, is converted into Jupiter, the verbal adjective *acarach*, obliging, is turned into a hill, and the verb, to be, *bhi sibh*, gives it a Fisian name. This is called Science!

³ It constitutes the second part of my *Etruria Capta*, the first part dealing with Sepulchral Inscriptions.

⁴ Solinus II. 11. Bocchus absolvit Gallorum veterum propaginem, Umbros esse. Servius ad *Æn.* XII., 753; Isidore, *Orig.* VIII., 2; Tzetzes in Lycophron. *Schol.*, p. 199.

accompanying Etruscan record. Dr. MacNish is now doing for the Umbrian tablets what I have done for the Etruscan, so that the world will soon have an opportunity of spelling its way through the Umbrian text with his invaluable aid.

The Umbrian language is most closely akin to Irish Gaelic, and it is natural that it should be so, as the Umbrians, in the inscription, call themselves the Fenian race.⁵ The archaic form of the verb, to be, *fisim, fise, fisiv*, answer to *bhis me, bhi se, bhi sibh*. The terminations of other verbs in *mor* and *per*, such as *ararmor* and *totaper*, are the Irish *mar* and *bhar*, characterizing the first and second persons plural respectively. These, together with *dar* of the third person plural, and the endings of such collective nouns as *buar*, explain the Umbrian plural of nouns and adjectives in *r*, such as *martier*, cows, and *piquier*, goats, *totar*, united, and *esonier*, rebellious. These words indicate the difference between the Umbrian and the modern Gaelic orthography. Other examples occurring in the first table near the beginning are *este*, now *ais de*, *enetu*, now *an aite*, *dersua*, now *tairis*, *peica*, now *feachd*, *ancla*, now *angclu*, *anclome*, now *anghlonn*, *ancluto*, now *anghlaodh*. The dative in *f*, as in *anclaf*, from *ancla*, corresponds to the modern dative plural in *ibh*.

⁵ Ijovine does not denote Iguvium but a people, and that people belonged to Cisalpine Gaul, Liguria, and Venetia, as well as to Umbria proper. In more than one place, *Ijovein aicme*, or the tribes of the eis o Feinne, are mentioned. So in ancient Irish documents part of Ireland is called Feinniath, or the land of Feinne (Vallancey's Specimen of an Irish Dictionary, Introd., p. 17). The name belongs not to Fionn, the head of the celebrated militia, but to Feniusa Farsa, the so-called mythic ancestor of the race of the Gadeliens. The Latin equivalent of Ijovine is Sappinia. See Livy XXXI., 2; per Umbriam (quam tribum Sappiniam vocant); also XXXIII., 37.

But I must not anticipate our honoured President, compared with whom I am the veriest tyro in Celtic studies. Nevertheless, at his request, I submit my rendering of these ancient Gaelic documents, conscious of its many imperfections, yet confident that, in the main, it tells the story recorded by the Umbrian scribe.

The narrator is no less a person than the king of the Ijovine, who are the *eis o Feinne*, or Fenian people, including not only the inhabitants of that Umbria, of which Ijovine or Iguvium was the capital, but many Celtic and Iberic or Pictish tribes, extending from the mountains of Switzerland and the Tyrol to the Gulfs of Genoa and Venice, and from the French Alps to Carinthia and Trieste. The Etruscan document fitly calls him "the great lord of lords of the dominion of Umbria." His name is Herti, an ancient Art or Arthur.⁶ The tables were engraved at his command in the year 177 B.C. This we know, not from the Umbrian, but from the Etruscan, story, which mentions the Venetian or Istrian campaign of A. Manlius Vulso and M. Junius Brutus, who completed that campaign in the year after their consulship, which was in 178 B.C.⁷ The author of the Etruscan tables was one of the famous race of the Cilnii, who, as prince of Arretium, in North-eastern Etruria, was the contemporary, near neighbour, and faithful ally of King

⁶ See Keating's General History of Ireland, Dublin, 1865, pp. 172, 176, for Irish monarchs of this name, and especially 248, where the story of Art Aonfhir exhibits some remarkable coincidences with the Umbrian record.

⁷ Livy XLI., 10, 11.

Herti.⁸ I submit my translation of his longer record for comparison with the Umbrian.

The two groups of tables, Umbrian and Etruscan, tell the same story from the standpoint of different interests. It is the story of a revolt of the colonies of the two states in Liguria, Cisalpine Gaul, and Venetia. The Umbrian colonial rebellion arose out of an election. The army of occupation in Venetia and Transpadana was composed chiefly of a collection of tribes called the Perscler, who represent the Partholanians of Irish history, including the Vocontii, Eporedians, Brixentes, Vicetiates, Atestini, Asseriates, and other peoples of Transpadana and Venetia. These tribes elected their generalissimo by rotation. At the time when the narrative begins, the Asseriates had the right to elect; but Parfa, their choice, was distasteful to the other tribes, who adhered to Appei, their former general. With Appei these tribes revolted, and speedily roused most of the peoples of Transpadana and Venetia to seek exemption from Umbrian exactions. They were encouraged in their revolt by the city of Concordia in Venetia, which, although originally Umbrian, was, at the time, an Etruscan colony; and by Populonium, the only inimical Etruscan state. The only Roman possessions in the region of revolt were the colonies of Cremona, planted in the midst of the Grabovian tribe, and of

⁸ That the Cilnii were the ruling family in Arretium, we have the testimony of Livy X., 3, 5, and Silius Italicus VII., 29.

Cilnius Arreti Tyrrhenis ortus in oris.
Clarum nomen erat, &c.

To this family belonged Maecenas, the favourite of Augustus. See Macrobius, Saturnalia II., 4, Cilniorum smaragde.

Placentia, similiarly placed among the Sensii. These colonies were attacked, the former by the Grabovians and the revolted Perscler, and the latter by the Genoese of Liguria. Herti helped the Romans by raising the siege of these two cities, although he does not deign to mention the name of Rome. He succeeded in bringing many of his subjects into obedience, but lost control over the Taurisci, Cenomani, Flamonieneses, Tigurini, and Isarci.

Arretium engaged in warfare first to help the lord of Luna, who was beset by rebels in Liguria. With the aid of Manlius Vulso, the consul, the Prince of Arretium delivered Luna and captured Ricina, a centre of revolt. Then, to restore to their loyalty his own colonies in Venetia, of which Topium was the centre, he, with Manlius and Junius, and the Iguvine army, entered Venetia, reduced Concordia, and pacified the country. On his return, he found that Annogu of Luna had superseded him in command by the lord of Veiturii, north of Genoa, and had accepted the services of Appei, the rebellious general of King Herti, thus severing the alliance with Umbria, of whose forces the lord of Arretium had been appointed generalissimo. The prince of Arretium and the Umbrian king commemorated their alliance by the tables, telling in different ways the story of their campaign, and of the wrongs they had suffered at the hands of the ungrateful and hostile Etruscans.

These documents are probably the last wail of two expiring states. Skilfully Rome had interfered in their quarrels in order to destroy their unity, to deprive them of their colonial possessions, and

finally to extinguish their quasi-independence. While some of both peoples submitted, and were incorporated with the Latin-speaking Italians, the majority seem to have migrated into Rhaetia and Helvetia, into Gaul, Spain, and the British Islands, carrying with them their Celtic and Iberic speech and confused traditions of a glorious past, which, divested of geographical and, to a large extent, of chronological data, became the legendary history of Celtic and Pictish Britain.⁹

Of the two narratives, the Etruscan is the more historical, and historically valuable. The Umbrian is full of Celtic fire—an exhortation more than a history; but its enumeration of tribes is invaluable to the ethnologist. The Celt, naturally, looked towards the tribe or clan; the Etruscan, to the city or state. Many British tribes are mentioned, such as the Cantii, Atrebates, Durotriges, Cornavii, Ordovices, Brigantes, Attacotti, and Novantes, and many Hibernian, such as the Voluntii, Auterii, Nagnatæ, Venicnii, and the famous Partholians and Nemedians. Such a foundation for Celtic history, both Gaelic and Cymric, has hardly been dreamt of as these tables present; for they identify the Cymri with the Insubres, who dwelt in northern Transpadana under the Rhaetian Alps, and thus account for the hordes that struck terror to the

⁹ The identification of ancient historic traditions with modern seats of population is common to all nations, except the Jews, and arises from many causes; one of which is the transportation of local names from one country to another; another, the continuance of tribal propinquity, even of diverse races, from one tract to another; and a third, the unwillingness of semi-civilized peoples to admit that they have suffered banishment.

heart of Rome in later years.¹⁰ It is interesting to note, in the Umbrian narrative, the occurrence of the Irish name O'Hara or O'Gara, in the form Eno O'Gar, who is an ancient Eana O'Gara. He was a chief of the Pihaner of the Umbrians, the Vicunniæ of the Romans, who were ancestors of the Irish Venicnii; and is, unfortunately for the reputation of the family, held up to obloquy by King Herti as a rebel, led astray by Ander Vacose of the Vocontii.

The translations must speak for themselves in the meanwhile, as a large volume would not suffice for the literature that may be illustrated by them. The translations are as nearly literal as English sense will admit of, and no attempt has been made to embellish them even in the slightest degree, or to present that grammatical concord which is required in an English composition.

THE UMBRIAN TABLES.

TABLE VI. A.

From among the Perscli the Asseriates set Parfa over the army in the place of Appei.¹¹ The army

¹⁰ The question has often been asked, whence came the hordes of the Cimbri who invaded Gaul and Venetia, and suffered so crushing a defeat, on the plain of Verocellæ, from the army of Marius in 101 B.C.? Florus III., 3? They came from the Rhaetian Alps, to which, as Insubres, they had retired before the Roman advance in Cisalpine Gaul.

¹¹ Parfa is the Arfau of the Etruscan tables, and Appei is their Agbe. Perscler is a generic name including many tribes, of which the tables mention six. They were the Belgæ of Cisalpina and Venetia. A branch of the Perscli were the Volsci, who possessed Fregellæ, Anxur, Feroniæ, Frusino, in southern Latium. This Anxur is the same word as Ancyra, the capital of the Gallio Volcæ Tectosages in Galatia; and among the Volcæ Tectosages of Gaul it appeared as Consoranni. It is also the Etruscan Anichartu, and Um-

deserted from the champion of the Asseriates. Afterwards the dispossessed sacked Tarvisium to be avenged, in going away, of Asseria, which set Parfa over the deserting army.¹² The army deserts, it deserts; Appei deserts, a champion of rebellion. The dispossessed marched the rebels away. Because of Asseria, which set Parfa over the deserting army, the army deserts, it deserts. To Appei, the deserting champion of rebellion, the tribes of Ijovine threaten to join themselves. I determine, we determine, to subdue the chiefs rising up against the champion of the Asseriates.

It is ascertained from someone, that somebody said, the champion of the Asseriates hastened back to Concordia to plunder the city.¹³ The lord of

brian Andirsa, pronounced Anchirsa, which I have rendered Concordia. See note 13. In Belgic Britain it survived to Roman days as Anderida or Anderesio of the Cantii; and in Belgic Gaul, gave name to the Condrusi. Fregellae of Latium answers to Vercellae of Transpadana, an abode of the Perscler. The name survived in the Irish Firgailians of the Fir Bolg, and in the Partholians, whom Geoffrey of Monmouth (III., 2) calls Barclenses. As Fregellae of the Volsci represented Vercellae of the Perscler, and Anxur, Anichartu, so Feroniae and Frusino were forms of Eporedia and Brixia, two other Persclian cities.

The Asseriates are mentioned by Pliny (III., 23) as a Venetian people.

They probably dwelt in the place called Ascelum by the Romans, now Asolo.

¹² Tarvisium; in Umbrian Tremnu. The Umbrian name connects it with the loyal tribe of the Tremitu, who were represented by the Belgic Atrebatas of Gaul and Britain. In Venetia the Romans called them Tarvisians, and Tarvisium was their city.

¹³ Concordia; in Umbrian Andirsa, in Etruscan Anichartu. See note 11, where it is connected with Anxur, Ancyra, Consoranni, Condrusi. As belonging to the Tectosages, it must have been a foundation of the Umbrian Daetomest, who are the Atestini of Venetia, the namers of Ateste and the Athesis, to the west of Concordia. At this time it was in the possession of the Etruscans (note 14), who called it Anichartu; and this, to become euphonious and significant to Roman ears, became Concordia. It was on the Liguentia: Pliny III., 23.

Motta warns him, saying that Pisa and Luna alternately befriend Concordia.¹⁴ In vain the dispossessed tempts Bobium to separate the well-disposed Vicunnians.¹⁵ The story is confirmed to me from the appeal of Tetellus.¹⁶ I give heed to the cry: "He advances to attack me; make haste, get out of danger, he advances to attack me; Appei will take the city for a prey!" From the country a cry arises: "Appei takes you for a prey!" I come, I give ear to the call of Tetellus, I make haste, I come.

They come to harass the people of Tetellus, from Tetellus trying to sneak away. Knowing that, when Appei took the city for a prey, they came from Tetellus to Bedriacum, I lie in wait for the faithless ones at Brixellum.¹⁷ To powder I crush

¹⁴ Motta; in Umbrian Muieto. It does not appear in the system of ancient geography, unless as the Mutila of Livy, who erroneously identifies it with a town of that name in the Istrian peninsula: XLI., 11. It is the present Motta, north of Concordia. The Nesatrium of Livy, mentioned in the same place, must be Concordia under its old name; and Faveria, which accompanies it and is not to be found in the peninsula, will be at once a town of Pliny's (III., 23) Venetian Varvari, and a reminiscence of the Volsian Fabrateria. All of these towns probably were under the joint protection of Luna and Pisa.

¹⁵ Bobium; in Umbrian Pofe, in Etruscan Bebane. It was in Liguria on the Trebia near the border of Cispadana, and, from the evidence of the Etruscan tables, appears to have been the capital of the Ligures Epanterii. Vicunniae; in Umbrian Pihaner. These were north of Bobium and east of Clastidium. In the Etruscan tables they are probably the people of Vaniente or Vanhiente, and, in migration, may be identified with the Venicnii of Hibernia and the Vennicontes of Scotland.

¹⁶ Tetellus; in Umbrian Tuder, in Etruscan Datera. This colony of the famous city Tuder, in southern Umbria, was north-west of Brixia towards the country of the Insubres, and is now Baitella. It is not at all likely that this Welsh name has any connection with the Greek Theodore; Parry's Cambrian Plutarch, p. 111. As Cymric, it is appropriately found among the Insubres.

¹⁷ Bedriacum; in Umbrian Ebetra. It lay between Mantua and Cremona, not far north of the Padus: Tacitus, Hist. II., 23; Suetonius, Otho IX. Brixellum; in Umbrian Presolia. This probable ancient abode of the Pers-

the spoilers. I save the captives, led into captivity when Appei took the city for a prey. I put the hirelings to flight; I defeat the Orobii; I destroy the Naunes; I destroy the Salassi; I put to flight the Euganei; I crush the Medulli.¹⁸

At the time when the Insubrian destroyers advanced out of Tetellus, Parfa, who was placed over (the army), desired to harass the Insubres out of Tetellus. The army refuses to harass its champions of the deserting army, being bought over by the

cler was south of Bedriacum on the other side of the Padus: Pliny III., 20; Suetonius, Otho IX.

¹⁸ These are the tribes of the Subra or Insubres:—

Orobii; in Umbrian Ruffer, in Etruscan Orobabeich. They dwelt about Comum (Pliny III. 21), and, in migration, were the Ordovices of North Wales.

Naunes; in Umbrian Noniar. These were situated near the Orobii, but in the time of the classical geographers were in Rhaetia, below the Brixentes.

Salassi; in Umbrian Salier. They dwelt in the angle formed by the Pennine and Graian Alps: Strabo IV., ch. VI., 6, 7.

Euganei; in Umbrian Hoier. The Euganei dwelt about the north of Lacus Benacus: Pliny III., 24. They bore the name of Hu, the Cymric ancestral deity, whose sanctuaries in Britain were Mona and Iona: Davies' British Druids, 117, 479. They may have been the people afterwards known to Tacitus (Germania 43) as the Osi or Osii, who were not Germans, but spoke the Pannonian language; and the Iouii of Ammianus Marcellinus (XXVII., 8), who connects them with the Batavians.

Medulli; in Umbrian Padellar. Pliny (III., 24) enumerates them among the Alpine nations; and Strabo (IV., ch. VI., 5) says they were situated above the confluence of the Rhone and the Isere. In migration they were the Meduli of Aquitania, Pliny XXXII., 21. Compare Ausonius Ep. VII.:—

Ostrea Baianis certantia quae Medulorum
Dulcibus in stagnis reflui moris aestus opimat
Accepi, dilecte Theon, numerabile munus.

It is no mere coincidence that makes Mediolanum the capital of the Insubres: Polybius II., 6; Pliny III., 21; and, of the Cymric Ordovices, Richard of Cirencester I., ch. VI., 24; and that places a Mediolanum immediately above the country of the Gallic Meduli.

spoils of Tarvisium. Those inclining towards the dispossessed conspired to drive away Parfa, who was placed over the deserting army. The army deserts; it deserts to Appei. The tribes of Ijovine take the side of the deserting champion of rebellion. I determine, we determine, to satiate the infatuated rebels.

The Populonians ravage the borders of the well disposed Vicunnians:¹⁹ I tell them to desist. The savage Triumpilini incite the well disposed Vicunnians to withhold from the lord of Perugia the tribute which they paid. (They do) the same to the free people of the Ticinates, and to the free people of the Boii.²⁰

¹⁹ Populonians; in Umbrian Popler. The people of Populonium were the only inimical Etruscans, and their enmity is frequently alluded to in the tables. The Etruscan document also hints at this enmity in the warning the prince of Arretium gives Ingube to have no dealings with the Populonians.

²⁰ Triumpilini; in Umbrian Treblanir. They dwelt (Pliny III., 24) below the Euganei and above Brixia. In an older Bulgarian home in Moesia they were known as the Triballi; and, in migration, were the Tarbelli of Aquitania. In Cisalpine Gaul they were in part tributary and in part independent.

Perugia; in Umbrian Pureto. This identification is conjectural.

Ticinates; in Umbrian Tesenocir. Pliny (III., 21) makes Ticinum, now Pavia, a foundation of the Laevi and Marici. It is more likely that it received its name from the Tugeni or Toygeni (Strabo IV., ch. I., 8), who dwelt, in the time of the classical geographers, about the head waters of the Ticinus in Helvetia. Pliny (III., 23) places the Togienses, another branch of this family, in Venetia; and Pomponius Mela (II., 5) makes Narbo-Martius a town of the Gallic Atacini. In further migration they were probably the Toxandri of Belgic Gaul.

Boii; in Umbrian Vehier. They dwelt between the Padus and the Apennines. In the Etruscan tables they are called the people of Nopimi and Amrōma, or Forum Novum and Umbranum. They may be traced in the east to Bohemia, and on the west to the Liger in Lugdunensis, where, as in Italy, they dwelt with the Senones, Aedui, and Ambarri. An earlier seat of this nation was southern

The Cremonenses call to the independent Triumpilini: "From you mercenaries were got for the asking. Be ye well disposed to gather together a host to Cremona; do ye join Ijovine; on the east do ye incline, on the west do ye incline; still let your valour appear." They were well disposed, they said, to join Ijovine, inclining on the east, inclining on the west, to gather together a host to Cremona. It is said, whosoever gathers together a host to Cremona is the associate of the Cremonenses in the expectation of the spoil of victory.²¹

Etruria, where they were known by their Umbrian name Veientes. Cremera, Sabatinus, and other geographical names there associated with them, are not Etruscan, but Celtic. For the presence of a Gallic people in Etruria at an early date see Livy V., 17.

²¹ Cremonenses, Cremona; in Umbrian Crabovei and Crabove, in Etruscan Grabobe. The Crabovian or Grabovian tribe, for Umbrian does not distinguish between C and G, occupied the country in which Cremona was situated. The tribe is recognized in the *Fasti Capitolini* A. U. C. 531:—

"M. Claudius M. F. M. N. Marcellus
Cos. de Galleis Insubribus et Germaneis
K. Mart. isque spolia opima retulit
duce hostium Viridomaro ad Clastidium
interfecto."

These Germani were Galli equally with the Insubres. Mascou, in his *History of the Ancient Germans*, translated by Lediard, London, 1738, vol. I., p. 7, rightly says that the German name was then unknown, and suggests that the Cenomani may be meant. It is far more likely that the Cremonenses were the Germani, as the Romans were well acquainted with the Cenomani. The double labial in Crabovi could not be tolerated by the Romans, and was the unstable element in the word.

This tribe appears in Bulgaria, the land of the Bolg or ancient Moesia, where, in the extreme east, dwelt the Crobyzi, their neighbours being the Triballi or oriental Triumpilini. Strabo (VII., ch. V., 12) associates the Crobyzi with the Triballi and Scordisci, and (VII., ch. V., 2) expressly states that the latter were Celts. For the Celtic occupation of this region see Robiou, *Histoire des Gaulois d'Orient*, Paris, 1866. Corfinium of the Peligni was an older home of this people in Italy, and of such importance that it was made the Italian

Well disposed be ye ; do ye join Ijovine ; on the east do ye incline, on the west do ye incline, to the Cremonenses. The lords are well disposed to place over them the prince of the Arretines. We say, appoint him general to the united people of Feinne, a decision from which nobody dissented.²²

The chiefs taking part with the Cremonenses, the Perscli, the Vocontii, the Vicetiates, the Eporedians, the Brixentes, the Atestini, these allied Perscli, from far and near, pour out to the Cremonenses. The deserting chiefs are expecting the spoil of victory from the conquest of Cremona.²³

capital in the Marsic war ; Velleius Paterculus II., 16. Its allies, the Marsians and Vestinians, were southern Marici and Vocontii. In Gaul the name of the city became Gergovia, which Caesar (Bell. Gall. VII., 9) calls a city of the Boii. In Britain, the tribe reasserted itself as the Cornabii or Carnavii, who dwelt to the east of the Ordovices, but whom Richard of Cirencester also finds in Cornwall and in the north of Scotland : I., ch. VI., 17, 27, 54. See also what Strabo says (X., ch. III., 21) of the historical Corybantes of Phrygia called Galli.

The city of Cremona was made a Roman colony shortly before the second Punic war, and its garrison was frequently swept away by the Gauls, who sought to regain their sanctuary.

²² This election of the prince of Arretium as generalissimo of the allied armies is stated more fully in the Etruscan tables. In the Umbrian, he is called *pir Ortoest* or *Ortomest*, the lord of the Arretines.

²³ These are the five disloyal tribes of the Perscler : The Vasetomest (compare Ortomest above) or Vocontii possessed Novaria in the time of Pliny (III., 21), but also dwelt in Narbonensis, where their capitals were Vasio and Lucus Augusti (III., 5). At the time when the events recorded took place they probably inhabited Vercellae, as the first tribe of the Perscler. The Pesetomest or Vicetiates inhabited Vicetia or Vicentia in Venetia. In migration they were the Pictavi of Aquitania, who dwelt to the north of the Vasates, between whom and them Burdigala lay. Compare Ausonius, *Præfat. 2* ; *Vasates patria est patri ; gens Aedua matri De patre ; Tarbellis sed genitrix ab Aquis. Ipse ego Burdigalæ genitus.* In Britain they were the Picts, whom Ammianus Marcellinus (XXVII., 8) connects with the Attacotti. See Daetomest below.

The Peretomest or Eporedians west of Novaria. It was Gallic, for Pliny (III., 21) says the Gauls called horse-tamers Eporediæ. Compare

Well disposed to conquer, to conquer the Cremonenses is united Ijovine. Well disposed to conquer are the united Ijovines. "Faithful adherents," I said, "the warrior Hasdrubal was conquered by you: still let your valour bring death."²⁴ Well

Juvenal, Sat. VIII., 65; dominos pretiis mutare jubentur Exiguus, trito ducunt *epiredia* collo Segnipedes, dignique molam versare Nepotis. These, in migration, were the Belgic Britanni, and the namers of Britain. According to Cymric tradition, they were not Celts but Picts. See Davies' British Druids, pp. 506, 507, where Brython and Fichti are interchangeable terms. Here the allied tribes are not necessarily of the same race.

The Frosetomest or Brixentes dwelt about Brixia, now Brescia. In migration, they were the Brixentes of Rhaetia (Pliny III., 24), and the Brigantes of Vindelicia, whose chief cities (Strabo IV., ch. VI., 8) were Brigantium and Campodunum. Richard of Cirencester (I., ch. VI., 32) mentions Cambodunum as one of the towns of the British Brigantes in Yorkshire. In the Scottish Chronicle, Brigantium, or the Brigantinus Sinus in north-western Spain, is made a stage in the migration of the Brigantes. Some distance to the south of it dwelt the Braacalii. In Keating's Ireland, p. 152, it is stated that king Heremon, along with the Picts, expelled the Brigantes and the Tuatha de Danans. Tracing this tribe back to an earlier home, we find Strabo and Herodotus asserting that the Briges of Thrace were the same people as the Phrygians of Asia-Minor, and the latter author connecting them with the Armenians: Strabo VII., frag. 25; VII., ch. III., 2; Herodot. VII., 73. Anthon (Class. Dict. Brigantes) connects the British tribe with the Thracian Briges and the Phrygians.

The Daetomest or Atestini possessed Ateste in Venetia and named the Athesis. See notes 11 and 13, where they are identified with the Tectosages of Gaul and Galatia. Their name appears in the Sabine area as Teate of the Marrucini. For the Umbrian or Celtic origin of the Sabines, see Pezron's Antiquities of Nations I., 20, and compare with Sabine the Sappinia tribus of Livy referred to in note 5. In migration, they also appear as the Aduatici of Belgica, the Attacotti connected by Ammianus with the Picts, in Scotland, and the Tuatha de Danans of Ireland. They named the Tweed or Tueda.

²⁴ Hasdrubal; Castruo in Umbrian. The text emphasizes the initial *ayin* of Hasdrubal's name, just as the Septuagint represents that letter by *Gamma* in the transliteration of Hebrew proper names; and omits the final *bal*. Herti takes credit to the Ijovine for the conquest and death of this Carthaginian warrior, at the battle of the Metaurus in northern Umbria, Livy

disposed is united Ijovine, inclining on the east, inclining on the west, to conquer the Cremonenses. United Ijovine is well disposed to subdue the Cremonenses. Well disposed are the united Ijovines to conquer. "Faithful adherents," I said, "the warrior Hasdrubal was conquered by you: still let your valour bring death." Well disposed is united Ijovine, inclining on the east, inclining on the west.

The associates of the Cremonenses are expecting the spoils of victory. Be ye well disposed; do ye join Ijovine; on the east do ye incline, on the west do ye incline, to gather together to Cremona. The associates of the Cremonenses are expecting (to share) the spoil of victory among them. Well disposed be ye; do ye join Ijovine; on the east do ye incline, on the west do ye incline, to Cremona. The lords are well disposed to set over them the prince of Arretium. We, the united Ijovine, say, appoint him general, a decision from which no one dissented.

The chiefs siding with the Cremonenses, the Perseli, Vocontii, Vicetiates, Eporedians, Brixentes, Atestini, the allied Perseli, from far and near, empty out to the Cremonenses. The deserting chiefs are expecting (to divide) the spoil of victory among them from the conquest of Cremona. United Ijovine is well disposed to conquer; the united Ijovines are well disposed to subdue the Cremonenses. "Faithful adherents," I said, "the warrior Hasdrubal was

XXVII., 47-49; Ampelius, *clarissimi duces Romanorum*. Livy does, indeed, speak of the *socii* slain in this engagement, but gives the Umbrians no credit. Their valour is celebrated by Nicholas of Damascus (ap. Stobaeum VII., 89). Pobybius (II., 5) mentions the valuable aid which they, with their subject Sarsinates, Venetians, and Cenomani, rendered to Rome at the time of the war with Viridomarus.

conquered by you : still let your valour bring death." Well disposed is united Ijovine, on the east inclining, on the west inclining, to subdue the Cremonenses. Well disposed am I to subdue the Cremonenses to united Ijovine. Well disposed are the united Ijovines that I should conquer. "Faithful adherents," I said, "the warrior Hasdrubal was conquered by you : still let your valour bring death." Well disposed is united Ijovine, inclining on the east, inclining on the west.

The companions of the Cremonenses are expecting (to divide) the spoil of conquest among them. Be ye well disposed; do ye join Ijovine; on the east do ye incline, on the west do ye incline, to gather together to Cremona. At last the companions of the Cremonenses are expecting the spoil of victory. Well disposed be ye; do ye join Ijovine; on the east do ye incline, on the west do ye incline, to Cremona. I am well disposed to place over the lords the prince of Arretium. We say, appoint him general to the united Ijovines, a decision from which nobody dissented.

The chiefs siding with the Cremonenses, the Perscli, Vocontii, Vicetiates, Eporedians, Brixentes, Atestini, the allied Perscli, from far and near, empty out to the Cremonenses. The deserting chiefs are expecting the spoil of victory at last from the conquest of Cremona. I am well disposed to conquest, to conquer the Cremonenses to the united Ijovines. Well disposed are the united Ijovines to conquer. "Faithful adherents," I said, "the warrior Hasdrubal was conquered by you : still let your valour bring death." Well disposed is united Ijovine, on

the east inclining, on the west inclining, to subdue the Cremonenses. Well disposed am I that I should subdue the Cremonenses to united Ijovine. Well disposed are the united Ijovines that I should conquer. "Faithful adherents," I said, "the warrior Hasdrubal was vanquished by you: still let your valour bring death." Well disposed is united Ijovine, inclining on the east, inclining on the west.

The companions of the Cremonenses are expecting the spoil of conquest at last. Well disposed be ye; do ye join Ijovine; on the east do ye incline, on the west do ye incline. The associates of the Cremonenses are assuredly expecting the spoil of victory. Be ye well disposed; do ye join Ijovine; on the east do ye incline, on the west do ye incline, to gather together to Cremona; I, the leader, exhort you.

In exchange for independence they asked the helpful alliance of the people of Brixia. The people of Brixia, regardless, sundered the bond (of fealty), to get corn from the rebels, to get gold rings and gold money, to get increase of land.²⁵

Ye tributary Triumpilini, since Comum, by your means, got Opitergium, be ye well disposed; do ye join Ijovine, to get cattle, to get corn, to get money; I, the leader, exhort you.²⁶ Asking independence from the free Triumpilini, the people of Brixia tore asunder the bond (of fealty).

²⁵ The people of Brixia, in Umbrian Prosesetir. This is but another form of Frosetomest (note 23), denoting the inhabitants of Brixia, however, rather than the Brixentian or Brigantine tribe.

²⁶ Comum; in Umbrian Comia. Pliny (III., 21) connects the Comenses with the Orobii. Livy (XXXIII., 36) mentions them as a people distinct from the Insubres.

Opitergium is not recognizable in Trebo Jovie, the Umbrian name. It was in Venetia above Concordia, and between Tarvisium and the

TABLE VI. B.

Ye free Ticinates, by you Marcius got Cremona ; be ye well disposed ; do ye join Ijovine, to get corn, to get increase of land, to get money ; I, the leader, exhort you.²⁷ The people of Brixia broke asunder the bond to ask independence from the free Triumpilini.

Ye tributary Ticinates, since by you Philippus got Placentia, be ye well disposed ; do ye join Ijovine, to get money, to get cattle, to get corn ;²⁸ I,

Tiliavemptus. Its component parts are found in the Dravus which traverses Pannonia and Noricum, and in Jovia and Jovalia, situated upon it. For the Gallic occupation of Pannonia, see Justin XXIV., 4., and Pausanias X., 19. The Romans inverted the order of Trebo Jovie, making it Jovie Trebo, and this was corrupted to Opitergium. Florus (IV., 2) mentions the people of this city, as does Lucan (IV., 462) :—

“ Hic Opiterginis moles onerata colonis
Constitit.”

The name suffered still further reduction in Gaul, where it survived in the Bituriges, who dwelt near the Pictones, and who were surnamed Cubi : Caesar, Bell. Gall. VII., 5 ; Pliny IV., 33. As the Triumpilini helped Comum to gain this city, it must have been to the east of them. For evidence that Venetia was a more or less uninhabited country open to colonization by Celtic tribes, see Livy XXXIX., 22.

²⁷ Marcius ; in Umbrian Marte, pronounced Marche. This is Q. Marcius Philippus, consul 186 B.C., who (Livy XXXIX. 22) made an unsuccessful invasion of western Cispadana and Liguria. The Latin historian does not mention his retaking Cremona and Placentia, here recorded.

²⁸ Philippus ; in Umbrian Filiv, is the same person, to whom Herti economically gives but one name at a time.

Placentia ; in Umbrian Fiso Sansie, elsewhere called simply Fiso. It was thus Fiso of the Sansii. Inghirami in his supposed forgery, Etruscorum Antiquitatum Fragmenta, p. 135, says Placentia was originally called Pacantia. The Sensii dwelt in Dacia just above the Crobyzi or oriental Grabovians ; and, with the prefix Fiso, we may find the same people in the Picensii who dwelt in Moesia in the angle formed by the Margus and the Timacus. For the tribal termination *ensii*, as in Predavensii, Rhatacensii, &c., see Latham's Ethnology of Europe, p. 184. Without sufficient authority, Dr.

the leader, exhort you to reject the crafty messages which the independent Triumpilini send to you to ask from them freedom. The people of Brixia tore asunder the bond, by which they were deprived of mutual aid. Because, disregarding their engagement, they were divided, the Genuates got to Placentia.²⁹ Be ye well disposed; do ye join Ijovine. I invite those faithful to their engagement to gather together a host to Placentia. Well disposed be ye; do ye join Ijovine; on the east do ye incline, on the west do ye incline: still your valour is wanted. United Ijovine is well disposed, they say, inclining on the east, inclining on the west, to gather together a host to Placentia. It is said, I grant money and independent union to whosoever assembles at Placentia. I exhort those disregarding to disregard the companions of Placentia rather than Placentia.³⁰ Be ye well disposed; do ye join Ijovine; incline on the east, incline on the west. Well disposed are the united Ijovines to attack the deserters and the causers of desertion, whether free or tributary, whom Appei, by deceiving speeches, got to rebel against you. Still let your valour bring

Latham regards the termination as Slavonic. The tribe of Sansa appears to have been merged in that of the neighbouring Vocontii, whose capital was Vasio, a transplanted Fiso. It is probable that Vesontio of the Sequani (Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.* I., 28) was a seat of this tribe.

²⁹ Conecos or Gonecos, the Genuates of Genoa. The Etruscan tables speak of their enmity, and indicate the extension of their arms in the north. They were friendly to the Carthaginians (*Livy* XXVIII., 46), and were doubtless among the Ligurian spoilers of Placentia: *Insubres, Cenomanique et Boii, excitis Salyis, Iivatibusque et ceteris Ligustinis populis* * * * *Placentiam invaserant*, *Livy* XXXI. 10.

³⁰ Herti has a regard for Placentia as a Roman colony, but none for its invaders.

death. Well disposed is united Ijovine, on the east inclining, on the west inclining, to conquer for Placentia. Well disposed am I to conquer for Placentia to united Ijovine. The united Ijovines are well disposed. "Faithful adherents," I said, "the warrior Hasdrubal was vanquished by you: still let your valour bring death." Well disposed is united Ijovine, on the east inclining, on the west inclining, to disregard the companions of Placentia rather than Placentia. Be ye well disposed; do ye join Ijovine; on the east do ye incline, on the west do ye incline, to gather together to Placentia.

Whosoever assembles at Placentia, of the Perscli, of the Cenomani, repenting the desertion of his loyalty, by whom Verona of the Brixentes is brought back to me, to him I will give help to cause the subjects, whom the Genuates scattered, to return into regard for their engagement.³¹ I incite the Anamani to drive away the deserters. I persuade the Comenses to conquer Cameliomagus. To the

³¹ Cenomani; in Umbrian Semu, Schemu, Schemeniar. Livy (XXI., 55, XXXI., 10) calls them Caenomani. See also Polybius II., 5. They dwelt to the south-east of the Insubres. Branches of this family were found in Lugdunensis, where they were surnamed Auleri (Caesar, Bell. Gall. VII., 75), and in Britain, where Richard of Cirencester (I., ch. VI., 30) makes them a sub-division of the Iceni.

Verona of the Brixentes; in Umbrian Purdinsust Proseseto. Catullus LXV., ad Januam, says:—

Brixia Veronae mater amata meae.

Verona, as the daughter of Brescia, must be this Purdin sosda. The original name is better retained in Parthanum in the south of Vindelicia. Verona was near the centre of revolt, and was thus an important basis for military operations. See Tacitus, Hist. III., 8.

lawful chief let them confess their fault, for benefits let them confess their fault.³²

Ye independent Boii, it was by you Valerius got mighty Cremona.³³ Be ye well disposed; do ye join Ijovine, to get increase of land, to get gold rings and gold money, to get corn; I, the leader, exhort you. The people of Brixia, regardless, sundered the bond, asking free union from the independent Triumpilini.

³² Anamani; in Umbrian Eno, Enom; in Etruscan Ennomioyeche. Polybius (II., 6) calls them Anamares. The true name seems to have been Eno. Compare Eno-durum, in northern Aquitania, near the Boii, with Boiodurum in Noricum on the Ænus. The river Ænus derived its name from this tribe, which shared the fortunes of the Boii, who, in Cæsar's time (Bell. Gall. I.), dwelt about the Ænus in Noricum, whence they passed into Gaul about Enodurum. At the time of these tables, they dwelt to the west of the Boii on the borders of Cispadana and Liguria.

Insubres; in Umbrian Subra. See note 18 for the tribes of this family.

When defeated by Herti, instead of returning to the Alps, they took refuge in western Cispadana north of eastern Liguria. Strabo penetrates the disguise of the word Insubres, calling its possessors Symbri (V., ch. I., 9). Plutarch (in vita Marii) connects the Cimbr with the Cimmericans. For all the ancient authorities on this people, see Mascou's History of the Ancient Germans I., ch. VII., seq. They were the ancestors of the British Cymri.

The Comenses; in Umbrian Comatir, the people of Comum or Comia.

Cameliomagus; in Umbrian Comoltu. This Pictish town was south of the Padus near Vicunniæ, and may have belonged to the Salluvii, who possessed the neighbouring Ticinum. Cemenelium of Narbonensis was near the country of the Gallic Salluvii or Salyes. In Britain the name appears as Camulodunum and Camunlodunum. As the Pictish capital, it is called Camelon in the Scottish Chronicle, and is said to have been situated on the water of Carron. The form Comoltu survived more perfectly in the Camelot of the Arthurian legends.

³³ Valerius; in Umbrian Calersu or Galersu. The low Latin Galerius answers to the classical Valerius, as Gallia to Wallia, and Guotan to Woden. He is L. Valerius Flaccus, who defeated the Boii and the Insubres, seventeen years before, or in 195 B.C. Consul reliquum ætatis circa Padum, Placæntiæ et Cremonæ exercitum habuit, restituitque quæ in iis oppidis bella diruta fuerant; Livy XXXIV., 22, compare 46.

Ye tributary Boii, by you Vannia got Bergomum.³⁴ Be ye well disposed; do ye join Ijovine, to get spoil, to get towns, to get corn, to get money; I, the leader, exhort you. The people of Brixia tore asunder the bond to ask free union from the Triumpilini.

By this, Vannia and the city Verona came together. From Vannia and Verona the loyal chiefs whom they sent, in order to excite each other to alacrity in getting the confederate chiefs to desist from offending me, having come to Arnipo, asked him, as general of the confederates, to be loyal to his engagement together with them. He rejected their exhortation.³⁵

³⁴ Vannia; in Umbrian Habina. The Welsh historical Triads state that the Cymry came originally, under the leadership of Hu, from Deffrobani in the land of Hav. Now, the Cimmericians dwelt between the Hypanis and the Tauric Chersonesus, where the Deffro of Deffrobani survived in Taphrae on the isthmus, and perhaps in the name of the Dnieper. A still more ancient Cimmerician seat was Armenia, where lake Van invites comparison with the Hypanis; and both may be compared with the British river names Abona, Aufona: Rawlinson's Herodotus, App. Book IV., Essay 1. Habina here denotes a city or state, and must be one of the places named Vannia by the Romans, of which one was in Venetia on a branch of the Liguentia, the other, on the Ollius north of lacus Sevinus. The latter belonged to a powerful Rhaetian tribe called the Vennonnes, who bordered on the Naunes and other Insubrian tribes. It therefore must be the Habina of the text.

Bergomum is not readily recognized in Tefre Jovie, the Umbrian name.

It lay to the west of lacus Sevinus. The first step in converting Tefre Jovie into Bergomum was the removal of the initial Te. This being done, Frejovie invites comparison with Bersovia of Dacia, Burdova of Spain, with Brocavum and Borcovicus of Britain. But these names answer to Perekop, which has taken the place of Taphrae, to denote the isthmus uniting Crimea or the Tauric Chersonesus with the main land: Pliny IV., 26. As Taphrae is to Perekop, so is Tefre Jovie to Bergomum. It is, therefore, likely that they were Cymric, and that the Deffrobani and Hav of Cymric tradition relate to Tefre Jovie and Habina, to Taphrae and the Hypanis, to Toprak Kaleh and lake Van, as stages in their westward route.

³⁵ Arnipo is the Nabepara of the Etruscan tables. These inform us that he was the lord of Forum Novum and Umbranum. He must thus have been

I incite the loyal to gather together a host to Bergomum. Be ye well disposed; do ye join Ijovine; on the east do ye incline, on the west do ye incline: still your valour is wanted. Well disposed is united Ijovine, they say, on the east inclining, on the west inclining, to gather together a host to Bergomum. It is said, whosoever gather together a host to Bergomum are its associates in exciting each other to alacrity in carrying off the spoils of victory. Be ye well disposed; do ye join Ijovine, on the east do ye incline, on the west do ye incline, to Bergomum. The lords are well disposed to place over them the prince of Arretium. We, the united Ijovine, say, appoint him general, a decision from which nobody dissented.

The chiefs siding with Bergomum, the Perscli, Vocontii, Vicetiates, Eporedians, Brixentes, Atestini, the allied Perscli, from far and near, pour out to Bergomum. The deserting chiefs excite each other to alacrity (to gain) the spoils of victory from the conquest of Bergomum. Well disposed is united Ijovine to conquer Bergomum. Well disposed to conquer are the united Ijovines. "Faithful adherents," I said, "the warrior Hasdrubal was conquered by you: still let your valour bring death." Well disposed is united Ijovine, on the east inclining, on the west inclining, to subdue Bergomum. Well disposed is it that I should conquer Bergomum to

the regulus of the Boii, in whose country these places were. We learn from them, that he undertook to relieve the loyal cities in Venetia, but, instead of fulfilling his engagement, oppressed the Arusnates dwelling near Patavium. He thus deserted the cause of the allies, although his subjects remained faithful. As in the country of the Arusnates, he was within reach of the Veroneses and the Vannienses.

the united Ijovines. Well disposed are the united Ijovines. "Faithful adherents," I said, "the warrior Hasdrubal was conquered by you: still let your valour bring death." Well disposed is united Ijovine, on the east inclining, on the west inclining.

The companions of Bergomum excite each other to alacrity in carrying off the spoils of conquest. Be ye well disposed; do ye join Ijovine; on the east do ye incline, on the west do ye incline, to gather together to Bergomum.

I exhort those of the Perscli, of the Cenomani, repenting their desertion, to excite each other to send chiefs, who asked to get the independent confederate chiefs to relinquish their independence. From the diligence with which they excite each other, the city Verona of the Brixentes came back to me. From the diligence of the diligent loyal ones whom they sent to persuade the lord, Verona city came back to me. I send to the loyal, who ask the independent chiefs to return to me. They excite each other to diligence to cause the contumacious towns to incline from the disloyal chiefs to me.

The enemy vie with them in exciting each other. The Insubres harass the Apuates. Arnipo stirs up the Comenses to harass Nerviano. The Pisans harass the chiefs of the Vagienni. I, the lawful lord, incite the Comenses to attack Cameliomagus.³⁶

³⁶ The Apuates; in Umbrian *Habiest*. These are the Apuans, who dwelt in eastern Liguria, and whose ravages extended into Etruria on the one hand, and, on the other, as far as the Padus. *Translatum deinde ad Apuanos Ligures bellum, qui in agrum Pisanum, Bononiensemque ita incuraverant, ut coli non posset: Livy XXXIX., 2.* They were faithful to the allied powers.

Nerviano; in Umbrian *Andervomu*. This place does not appear in the scheme of classical geography, but its site and name are probably

I entreat you, Oxybii banished from Bononia. Vetulonii through you got a captain; it got Marte Ijorse. Rather than the Populonians, do ye join the united Ijovines, to get from Ijovine increase of land, to get money, to get corn; I, the leader, exhort you.³⁷ The people of Brixia broke asunder the bond to ask independence from the people of the Triumphilini.

I entreat the Claternians. Vetulonii got a captain from you; it got Honde Serfi. Rather than the Populonians, do ye join the united Ijovines, to get increase of land, to get corn, to get gold rings

retained by the present Nerviano, south of Como and a little to the west of Milan.

Vagienni; in Umbrian Pesnis, in Etruscan Basinek. The Vagienni or Bagieni of northern Liguria are mentioned by Pliny III., 7, 24, and by Silius Italicus VIII., 605 :—

Tum pernix Ligus et sparsi per saxa Vagenni
In decus Annibalis duros misere nepotes.

The Pisans; in Umbrian Pisher. The Etruscan tables inform us that the Pisans under their prince Ichentenela joined the lord of Luna in Liguria.

³⁷ Oxybii banished from Bononia; in Umbrian Joviv Ponneovi forfant. The Etruscan tables call the Oxybii, Ugabeyeche and the Iguvines, Ugabemineyechi. These are Ijovi and Ijovein. They were banished from Ponneo. Now, in Gaul, Bonna was a town of the Ubii, over against whom in Germany dwelt the Usipii or Usipetes: Cæsar, *Bell. Gall. I.*, 54; Tacitus, *Germania*, 32. An intermediate stage in the wanderings of this tribe was about the river Hubaye in the vallée de Barcelone in Savoy, where the Alpine Esubiani dwelt: Pliny III. 24. Other Oxybii were found in Osopum in Venetia, but their chief seat was Asta on the Tanarus in northern Liguria.

This branch was banished from Ponneo or Bononia when Rome made it a colony in 189 B.C.: Livy XXXVII., 57; Paterculus I., 15.

Vetulonii; in Umbrian Vitlu, in Etruscan Betulane. This Tuscan state was friendly to Umbria, as the Etruscan tables indicate. It was, apparently, the first possessor of Bononia, then called Felsina: Pliny III., 20. Compare Livy XXXVII., 57: *Ager captus de Gallis Boiis fuerat; Galli Tuscos expulerant.*

Marte Ijorse, a contemporary Etruscan commander, whom king Herti further on incites to exterminate the Salluvii and Marici. The Populonians were evidently bidding against Umbria for alliances.

and gold money ; I, the leader, exhort you.³⁸ The people of Brixia cut the bond in twain to ask independence from the manhood of the Triumpilini.

Ander Vacose, lord of the Vocontii, seduced to rebel against me Eno O'Gar, lord of the Vicunniaë. He got him to revolt to Appei, the rejected of the Asseriates, by means of the aid of the Triumpilini.³⁹

The insurgents, plotting together, offered gold money of Populonium to Appei for a free place of the Asseriates to march (through), by which to subdue the well disposed Vicunnians to Appei of Tetellus. On which account, I told Anovi-himu to send a summons to the turbulent champion to withdraw from the border of Compiano. The contumacious chief gave Anovi-himu money to rebel against me. I told Bobium to turn the lord of Entella back from the border. The Apuates united to send to turn back from them. In order to remain faithful, they refused their border to strangers.⁴⁰

³⁸ Claternians ; in Umbrian Coredier, in Etruscan Karatura. South-east of Bononia was the city the Romans called Claterna. It had also been a Vetulonian colony. The old Etruscan name of Bononia was Felsina : Livy XXXIII., 37 ; XXXVII., 57 ; Pliny III., 20. In Etruria proper, Vulsinii and Caetra were in propinquity, as were Felsina and Claterna in the country of the Boii. An original Charadra became Caetra and Claterna on Roman lips. The final *na* of the latter may be the Umbrian town termination *nu* : compare Tremnu in note 12.

Honde Serfi, another Vetulonian general not otherwise known, save as an aid of king Herti.

³⁹ Ander Vacose, Vasetome fust, or chief of the Vocontii. His name contains an element common to it and the town Ander Vomu.

Eno O'Gar or O'Gar, lord of Vicunniaë, is plainly an ancient Eana O'Gar or O'Hara. The initial *O*, like the *o* of Ijovine, denotes a descendant.

⁴⁰ Anovi-himu is the same as the Etruscan Annovi-Gabe, lord of Alba in Liguria, whose story occupies much of the Etruscan tables. He deserted the confederate lords, and was afterwards deserted by Appei.

Compiano ; in Umbrian Combifiansi ust. It is not marked on the ancient

The mercenaries refused to march for me with Parfa over them. United Ijovine, plotting independence, Appei takes you for a prey, no one hindering. The tyrant over Compiano, from whom Appei took away the authority over Compiano, refused to rebel against me, that he might expect benefits from refusing to rebel against me.

I established Patavium as a protection for myself on the border.⁴¹ I told the Apuans, I had interposed for them, I had interposed the Pisans, the united Tyrrhenians, the three-fold Tyrrhenians, the Tuscans, the Navarrese, the Guipuscoans, who were got to take side, except the Populonians, who refuse to interchange help.⁴² The lord of the Populonians

map of Italy, but the Etruscan tables, perhaps, mention it by the name Imbenon. It is on the upper waters of the Taro, near the ancient border of Liguria.

Entel ust, the city Entella. The river Entella is now the Lavagna in eastern Liguria. No other document known to me mentions a town of this name, the nearest place to it being Ad Solaria, which the Etruscan tables call Ilerda.

⁴¹ Patavium; in Umbrian Hebetafeben ust, in Etruscan Patubenon. As the two main seats of war were Liguria and Venetia, Herti guarded the gates of each as a protection for Umbria. The Patavine revolt is mentioned by Livy XLI., 27. In migration the Patavines were the Batavi of north-eastern Belgica. Cæsar, Bell. Gall. IV., 10; Pliny, IV., 29.

Tacitus, Germania, 29, calls them Germans, and, if he be right, they must have been Germanized Celts, of whom there were too many.

⁴² Without this and corresponding passages in the Umbrian document, the existence of the Etruscans in three tribes, Tuscans, Navarrese, and Guipuscoans (Tuscer, Naharcer, Japuscer), would probably have been for ever unknown. Their Basque connection is thus evident, and besides, they are, by means of the identification, traced back to Mesopotamia, in the Hittite area of the Nahri, to whom the Khupuscai belonged, as well as the Tuskha. The Naharcer must have been the founders of Novaria in Transpadana. The Umbrian word for Tyrrheni is Tarsinater. See Etruria Capta, Sepulchral Inscriptions, Cippus of Perugia, Front., line 5. To the Umbrian the tribe or clan was everything; to the Etruscan, the place. Thus, even now, the Basque desires to be known as the *jaun*, or lord of his property, be it a mere hovel or a garden patch, rather than by his family name.

entreated the Apuan tribe to help Populonia. By flattery he got from the rebels the chiefs of the rebels. I interposed the people of Tria for their protection, in order to keep them loyal.⁴³ I told the Ijovines, I reiterated to them, to place the Anamani, in order to keep the Anamani loyal, expecting benefits, in Umbranum, by whose Umbranci, as a protection, I protect the inhabitants of Venetia, in order to keep them loyal.⁴⁴

I command the captains Serfe and Martie bitterly to crush the Salluvii and the Marici, bitterly to smite the Salluvii and the Marici.⁴⁵ To the united

⁴³ The people of Tria, in Umbrian Trioper. It was also called Iria, and lay between Clastidium and Ritubium in northern Liguria. Polybius (II. 6) makes Clastidium a city of the Trian tribe. With Clastidium, Ritubium is always connected. The British Rutupiae bore the name of the latter, and its neighbouring Durobrivae and Durovernum, together with the Trinobantes, gave back the Umbrian form Trioper. The Etruscan tables state the loyalty of Ritubium.

⁴⁴ Umbranum and Umbranci; in Umbrian Ambretu and Ambrefurent. Umbranum was north of Etruria, and in the east of the country of the Boii. Its regulus was Arnipo, the deserter, but its people remained loyal. In Lugdunensis they were known as the Ambarri, who dwelt to the south-east of the Boii.

Venetia and the Venetians; in Umbrian Benuso and Benurent. These forms indicate the stability of the initial labial, and afford no support to Strabo's identification of the Veneti with the Heneti of Paphlagonia (V., ch. I., 4). The Veneti of Brittany were, doubtless, a branch of the same race, and another branch, the Gwynedd of the Welsh, probably dwelt about Ghent.

⁴⁵ Serfe and Marte are Honde Serfe and Marte Ijorse, mentioned above, as Vetulonians from Bononia and Claterna. The second name of the first and the first of the second were probably taken to make alliteration with Serfer and Martier.

Salluvii; in Umbrian Serfer. Pliny (III., 7) calls them Ligurians, and (III., 21) says that they founded Vercellæ. Livy (V., 35) states: post hos Salluvii, qui præter antiquam gentem Laevos—Ligures incolentes circa Ticinum amnem expulere. The same people were the Salyes, who dwelt to the north of Marseilles; Livy, Epitome LX. The Saravus and Mosella in Belgica continued the association of the

Tyrrhenians, the three-fold Tyrrhenians, Tuscans, Navarrese, and Guipuscoans, incline the faithful adherents of the united Tyrrhenians, the three-fold Tyrrhenians, Tuscans, Navarrese, and Guipuscoans (namely), the Statielli, the Consuanetes, the Oxybii of Asta, the Venostes, the Taurini, the Tarvisians, the Cenetians, the Celelates, the Nantuates, the Novites, the Sontians, the Sabatinians, the Veleiates, and the Figlinians.⁴⁶

Salluvian and Massilian names. At the time indicated in the tables they seem to have dwelt in western Transpadana.

Marici; in Umbrian Martier, pronounced Marcher. Pliny (III., 21) says that the Marici founded Ticinum. An earlier home of theirs was Sabinum, where they were the Marsi. In migration they were the Marsacii, who dwelt on the Rhine above the Batavi. Marcomagus and Marcodurum, north of the Treveri in Belgica, denote their presence in the vicinity of their ancient allies; and these names carry us back to an older habitat, Marcodava on the Marisus in Dacia.

⁴⁶ The loyal tribes of Ijovein, fourteen in number.

Sihitu or Sihitir in Umbrian; the Statielli of the Romans, who may have evolved the final *elli* out of the Umbrian plural in *r*. They are not named till 173 B.C. (Livy XLII., 7, 8), and are then spoken of as a tribe that had not borne arms against the Romans. The Sessites river in western Transpadana, the Sesterrio in the country of the Anamani, and Sestinum in Umbria, as well as Cestiae in north-western Liguria, are accordant names. But an earlier mention of this tribe is found in Polybius (II., 4, 6), under the name Gesates. They had dwelt, he says, about the Rhone and the Alps, just in the country where the Sessites rises. He also adds that they were called Gesates because they were mercenaries. Plutarch (in vita Marcelli) calls them Gesatæ, and makes Viridomarus their king. Now, a king of mercenaries is absurd. The victory of Marcellus over the Gesatæ was at Clastidium, to the north-east of the Statielli. Strabo (V., ch. I., 10) says the Gesatæ formerly dwelt in Liguria. In migration the Sihitu were the Suanetes of Rhetia, the Segusiani and Segusini of Gaul, the Segontiaci and Sistuntii of Britain.

Ansihitir have no separate record in Liguria, being, doubtless, regarded as a branch of the Statielli. As the Suanetes of the Rhetian Alps represent the Sihitir in migration, so the Consuanetes (Pliny III., 24) represent the Ansihitir. In Spain the two tribes may have been

Serfe, Martie, crush bitterly the Salluvii and the Marici, smite bitterly the Salluvii and the Marici: still again let your valour be death to the hirelings of Populonium. The united Ijovines

represented by the Cosetani and the Contestani; and the Ansitarii, a tribe of the Istævones, were probably Germanized Ansihitir.

Jovie Hostatu, Jovies Hostatir, the Oxybii of Asta. The Oxybii are several times referred to in the Etruscan tables as dwelling in Liguria with the Albans, Vagienni, and Vedicanti. In Pliny's time (III., 5, 7) they had crossed the Alps, and dwelt in the extreme east of Narbonensis. At the period of the tables they dwelt about Hasta or Asta on the Tanarus, north of Alba Pompeia. In migration they were the Acitavones of the Alpine trophy (Pliny III., 24), who are mentioned between the Salani and the Medulli. They must thus have been between the Pennine Alps and Lacus Lemanus, where Octodurus was their memorial. In Hibernia they were the Auterii on the river Ausoba, which preserved the Oxybian name.

Anhostatu. These are not mentioned as a district tribe in Liguria. In Rætia (Pliny III., 24) they were known as the Venostes, who are supposed to have dwelt in Venosco at the source of the Adige. In Narbonensis, Uctia, and Anducia seem to mark abodes of these related tribes, and in Britain, Vectis, and Antivestaeum. Dr. Latham, Handbook of the English Language, Pt. 1., ch. 2, shows that the Vectienses or Jutes were no Germans, but Celts.

Tursitu. These were the Taurini of the Romans, whose capital, in the days of the classical geographers, was Augusta Taurinorum or Turin: Pliny III., 21; Strabo IV., ch. VI., 6. The integral Umbrian name appears in the English Dorset, the home of the Durotriges, whose chief city was variously called Durinum and Durnovaria. In Gaul, Taruenna, Turnacum, and the Tricasses, probably belonged to this tribe. In Liguria they must have possessed Dertona, which was most likely their capital when the tables were written.

Tremitu. The names are put together, not in topographical but in alliterative order. The Tremitu can only represent the Tarvisians of Venetia, and the possessors of Tremnu: see note 12. They may have been the original inhabitants of Trebia in southern Umbria, and the namers of the river Trebia in Cispadana. In migration they accompanied the Tursitu; for in Belgic Britain the Atrebatas and Durotriges were neighbours, as were the Atrebatas and Morini in Gaul. But Richard of Cirencester (I., ch. VI., 15) says that the Durotriges were called Morini.

Hondu are the people of Ceneta, north-east of Tarvisium, called Kunetu in the Etruscan tables. Guntia in Vindelicia, and Condates in Lugdunensis, represent them in migration, but their great historical seat

joining Ijovine, faithful to her, Statielli, Consuantes, Oxybii of Asta, Venostes, inclining to her, on the west inclining, I told to extend the Ijovines' border from the Anamani, dwelling from the Tarus

was Kent in England, where dwelt the Cantii. The Cantæ in the north of Scotland, in whose country Tarbet Ness is found, were the same tribe.

Holtu were the ancestors of the Caleti of Gaul and of the Caledonians proper in Britain. They were in Liguria, for Livy (XXXII., 29) places them under the name of Celelates, in the vicinity of Clastidium and Ritubium. In migration they are the Gallitæ of the Alpine trophy: Pliny III., 24. The Thracian Celelatæ dwelt above Rhodope, the Ligurian Celelates near Ritubium; Rotomagus was in the vicinity of the Gallic Caleti, and the Caledonia silva began not far from the Cantian Rutupie. This Caledonia silva was also called Anderidan, and extended through the countries of the Bibroci and Segontiaci to the confines of the Hedui: Richard of Cirencester I., ch. VI., 8.

Ninetu is not recognizable in the Latin Ad Nonum on the Tanarus north-east of Asta, nor in the corresponding Etruscan Nouno or Nohno. This tribe, in migration, was that of the Nantuates, south of Lemanus Lacus, and north of that Octodurus, which I have associated with the Oxybii of Asta or the Hostatu. Again, in Hibernia, it appears as the tribe of the Nagnatæ above the Auterii, whose Oxybian relationship is attested by the bay of Ausoba. It is possible that Ningum in Istria marks a settlement of the tribe.

Nepitu is the name of the Boian tribe inhabiting Nobemi of the Etruscan tables, the Forum Novum of the Romans. It remained loyal when Arnipo or Nabepara rebelled. In migration it may be represented by the Nementuri of the Alpine trophy: Pliny III., 24; but the Nepitu were certainly the Nemetes of Belgic Gaul, whose chief town was Noviomagus, and who dwelt about the source of the Saravus. In Britain this tribe regained its name, being that of the Novantes, which was bordered on the north by the Selgovæ or Scottish Salluvii. The Nemedians, of Irish history, identified with the Fir Bolg, were the same people.

Sonitu. The only tribe in the Ijovine area at all corresponding in name is that of the Ambisontes in southern Noricum, west of Santicum. Originally, they must have had their abode about the river Sontius in eastern Venetia. In migration, they were probably the Sunci of Belgic Gaul north of the Treveri. They may, however, have been the Senones of the Umbrian coast, and of Lugdunensis, above the Boii.

The Savitu are mentioned in the Etruscan tables as the Gubetunoyeche,

to the Idex, by whom I protect the Apuans, who dwell from Tarus city to Umbranum. I grant free union to the helpful ones, free union to the Aedui, to the Anamani, finally to the Umbranic, by whom

along with the Orbabeich or Orobii and the Kara Maratunoyeche. They were the dwellers about Lacus Sevinus, who, migrating into north-western Noricum, were called Sevaces. Sabate and Sabatinus Lacus in south Etruria, about the country of the Veii, furnish the originals of the names Savitu and Gubetuno. In Aquitania, Gabate or Anderitum, with the Cebenna mountains, under which it lay, preserved the two forms; and Cebenna suggests a relationship with Gobaneum in south Wales, favoured by the connection of the Gabetunoyeche with the ancestors of the Ordovices and the founders of Caer Marthen.

Veleiates; in Umbrian Pre-Plotatu or Pre-Plohotatu. The initial *pre* is no part of the tribal name. It is more likely *fire*, genuine, intact, that is independent, in opposition to *post*, tributary, than *fear*, a man. The Veleiates, on the eastern border of Liguria, according to Pliny (III., 30), were anciently called Regiates. In migration they may have been the Velauni of the Alpine trophy. In the west they were the founders of Pollentia on the Tanarus, and of many Valentias, such as that on the Rhone in the country of the Vellavi. In Hibernia they were known as the Velatorii, whose metropolis was Regia and their river Durius, and as the Voluntii, whose city was Lebarum, and whose rivers were Vinderius and Buvinda: Richard of Cirencester I., ch. VIII., 12, 15. These names are Ligurian; Regia confirms the statement of Pliny; the Durius corresponds to the Tarus; Lebarum to Libarna; Vinderius to Epanterii; and the Buvinda to Bobium. The Voluntii also dwelt in the south of Scotland, in close alliance with the Sistuntii: Richard I., ch. VI., 24. The latter represent the Sihitir, or neighbouring Statielli.

Figlinians; in Umbrian Pre-Vilatu or Pre-Vislatu. This name connects at once with Vesulus in the Cottian Alps, with Apicilia in Venetia, with Basilia, Vosalia, and other places in Belgic Gaul. In Liguria it is represented by Figlinæ, north of Geneva. That this is the place whose people are called Vislatu, I infer from the presence of another Figlinæ on the north-western border of Narbonensis, between Forum Segusianorum and Valentia. The name is of Samnite origin, for in Samnium (Pliny III., 17) dwelt the Ficolenses; and the Samnite Pentri, with their capital Bovianum, were originals of the Ligurian Epanterii and Bobium. The Samnite name was disguised in Liguria, for Livy mentions the regions of Suismontium and Balista (XXXIX., 2), the former representing it. This must be the part of the Ligurian Apennines now known as Diamante. In tracing the Figlinian or

I protect Venetia. Free union I grant, free union to the Aedui and the Anamani to keep them loyal, to warn the great dignitaries of Venetia to refuse to rebel.⁴⁷

TABLE VII. A.

I grant free union to the Aedui and to the Anamani to keep them loyal, to warn the great dignitaries of Venetia to refuse to rebel.

Ye tribes of the Epanterii, by you Serfe and Martie got golden spoil, golden torques. Rather

Vislarian name, it is found in company with the Samnian or Damnian, but generally without the initial labial, which seems to have been lost through emphasizing the following sibilant. Thus, the capital of the Gallic Cadurci, called Uxellodunum by Cæsar, Ptolemy calls Divona. In the south of Britain Uxella was the chief town of the Damnonii, whose river Tamarus challenges comparison with the Tanarus of Liguria. The Damnii of Scotland were separated from the Novantes and Selgovæ by the Uxellan mountains. The Irish Damnii dwelt to the north of the Voluntii. The same connection is found in Thrace, where Strabo (VII., ch. VII., frag. 36) associates the Odomantes and Bisaltes. The original name must have had z for its initial letter, whence the variant Samnian and Damnian forms.

⁴⁷ Tarus city and the dwellers on the Tarus; in Umbrian Dersic ust and Dersicurent. The river Tarus, now Taro, rises in the mountains of eastern Liguria, and flows through the country of the ancient Anamani into the Po. Tarus city is probably marked by the present Taro. Compare Tiriscum or Taros in Dacia.

The Idex; in Umbrian Etato, bounded the country of the Boii on the east, as did the Tarus on the west.

The Aedui; in Umbrian Etaia. These must be the Aedui who, according to Livy (V., 34, 35), entered Italy at an early date, but whose nationality seems to have been merged in that of the Boii. In Lugdunensis, where they once were supreme, they were bordered on the north by the Senones and Lingones, on the west by the Boii, and on the south by the Ambarri. In Cisaipina they were bordered on the north by the Lingones, on the south by the Senones, and on the west by the Umbranici and the Boii. Richard (II., ch. I., 9) mentions an invasion of Britain by the Aedui, who, as Hedui, occupied Somerset. The Welsh triads associate Aedd and Gwynedd, or the Aedui and Veneti.

than the Populonians do ye join the Ijovines, to get from Ijovine increase of land, to get money, to get corn; I, the leader, exhort you. The people of Brixia, regardless, sundered the bond to ask independence from the Triumpilini; on account of which Compiano city brought Sesterrio back to me.⁴⁸

Ravenna, by you Porcius got spoil, even torques. Crush bitterly the Salluvii and the Marici. Rather than the Populonians, do ye join the united Ijovines, to get from Ijovine cattle, to get money, to get corn. I, the leader, warn you, that, asking independence from the free Triumpilini, the people of Brixia tore asunder the bond, by which they were deprived of mutual aid. To restore the loyalty of the Perseli to me, crush bitterly the Salluvii and

⁴⁸ Epanterii; in Umbrian Fondlire. These are indeed the Vindelicians, but the Vindelicians within the Italic area, and thus the Panteri of the Etruscan tables, and the Ligures Epanterii of the Romans. The Pentri of Samnium were their kinsmen, whose town Bovianum answers to that of Bobium, which the Etruscan tables make the capital of the Epanterii. In Vindelicia the name is disguised as Pomone. They made their way to western Gaul, where the Vindilis insula, off the southern coast of Brittany, commemorated them. Probably Finisterre is a significant adaptation of the old Pentrian name. In Britain we find another Vindelis insula to the south of the Cantii, and a Vindelia promontorium south of the Durotriges. Vanduarium of the Scottish Damnii is the same name, but it appears with a galaxy of Ligurian topographical terms in Hibernia, as the Vinderius river which separated the Voluntii from the Damnii, while the Buvinda, a reminiscence of Bovianum, Bobium, and Pomone bounded the same people on the south, containing between them Lebarum, a transplanted Ligurian Libarna and Samnite Liburnus.

Sesterrio; in Umbrian Traha Sahata. The word Sahata recalls Sihitu, with which I have compared the river named Sessites. Now, to the north of Compiano, the Combifiansi just here mentioned, flowed the Sesterrio, a Latin compound of Sessites and Traha. There was anciently a town on this river, whose name inverts Traha Sahata. As a people, in migration, the Sesterrians may have been the Suetri of the Alpine trophy (Pliny III., 24), and the inhabitants of Segustero in Narbonensis. The Sturius river in Cantium may represent the Sesterrio.

the Marici. Rather than the Populonians, do ye join the united Ijovines.⁴⁹

I incite Ijovine to restore to me the Fiscaglians and the Adrians; to crush bitterly the Salluvii and the Marici, and their companions the Fiscaglians and the Adrians. Rather than the Populonians, do ye join the united Ijovines; to Ijovine on the east do ye incline, on the west do ye incline, to crush bitterly the Salluvii and the Marici.⁵⁰

The hostile prince took Edro.⁵¹ To the united Tyrrhenians, the three-fold Tyrrhenians, the Tuscans, Navarrese, and Guipuscoans, inclining, the faithful adherents of the united Tyrrhenians, the three-fold Tyrrhenians, the Tuscans, Navarrese, and Guipuscoans, Statielli, Consuanetes, Oxybii of Asta, Venostes, crush bitterly the Salluvii and the Marici :

⁴⁹ Ravenna; in Umbrian Rubine, in Etruscan Rabane. Strabo (V., ch. I., 7, 11) calls it an ancient colony of the Umbrians; and Pliny (III., 20) terms it a town of the Sabines, by which name he must mean the Sappinia tribus or Umbrians of Livy (XXXI., 2; XXXIII., 39). Compare Martial III., 56; *Sit cisterna mihi, quam vinea, malo Ravennae*. Richard (I., ch. VIII., 13), preserves the Umbrian form, making Rhufina the capital of the Irish Ibernii.

Porcius; in Umbrian Porca, is L. Porcius Licinus, praetor in Gallia Cisalpina, who joined Nero and Livius in Umbria to take part in Hasdrubal's overthrow: Livy XXVII., 46-48. To his command the Ravennians must have largely contributed, a fact not mentioned by the historians of Rome. The contingent would join Porcius at Ariminum south of Ravenna.

⁵⁰ Fiscaglians; in Umbrian Vesclir. These must have been neighbours of the Adrians. Their city, unmentioned so far as I know in antiquity, was probably the place now known as Massa Fiscaglia on the Volano or Latin Volana, south of Adria. As there was a Massa Vetornensis in Etruria, the Vesclir may have been colonists of Faesulae in the north of that country.

Adrians; in Umbrian Adrir. Pliny (III., 20) calls the city Aetria, and makes it Tuscan. It must, therefore, have been reconquered by the Populonians in this war, for Herti claims it as his.

⁵¹ Edro; in Umbrian Atero. This is Elro portus, north of Adria, and perhaps the port of Patavium.

still let your valour bring death to the Populonians. United Ijovines to me, to united Ijovine, inclining on the east, inclining on the west, faithful Statielli, Consuanetes, Oxybii of Asta, Venostes, crush bitterly the Salluvii and the Marici; conquer the Populonians. United Ijovines, united Ijovines, for united Ijovine, crush bitterly the Salluvii and the Marici, and conquer the Populonians. "United Ijovines, united Ijovines, faithful adherents," I said, "by you the warrior Hasdrubal was conquered: still let your valour bring death to the Populonians." United Ijovines joining Ijovine, on the east inclining, on the west inclining, crush bitterly the Salluvii and the Marici, and their companions the Fiscaglians and Adrians. Rather than the Populonians, do ye join the united Ijovines; to Ijovine on the east do ye incline, on the west do ye incline, to crush bitterly the Salluvii and the Marici. Gather together, crushing bitterly the Salluvii and the Marici. A reward to whosoever gathers together, to bring back those of the Perscli into my power.

To crush bitterly the Salluvii and the Marici, and their companions the Fiscaglians and Adrians, rather than their blood relations, the Populonians, do ye join the united Ijovines: to Ijovine on the east do ye incline, on the west do ye incline, to crush bitterly the Salluvii and the Marici: gather together, crushing bitterly the Salluvii and the Marici. A reward to whoso assembles, repenting the desertion of my service, to restore the loyalty of the Perscli to me. To crush bitterly the Salluvii and the Marici, rather than the Populonians, do ye join the united Ijovines. For Ijovine, for me, I

warn you, withdraw your help from the Fiscaglians and the Albans, especially from those contumacious ones, the Adrians. I command to crush bitterly the Salluvii and the Marici, and their companions the Fiscaglians and Albans. Rather than the Populonians, do ye join the united Ijovines. To Ijovine on the east do ye incline, on the west do ye incline, to crush bitterly the Salluvii and the Marici.⁵²

The covetous prince took Edro for the Populonians. United Ijovines, faithful Statielli, Consuanetes, Oxybii of Asta, Venostes, inclining to it (Iguvium), on the west inclining, crush bitterly the Salluvii and the Marici, that I may conquer the Ijovines united to the Populonians. Conquering for the united Ijovines, crush bitterly the Salluvii and the Marici, that I may conquer the Populonians. "United Ijovines, united Ijovines, faithful adherents," I said, "the warrior Hasdrubal was vanquished by you: still let your valour bring death to the Populonians." United Ijovines, joining Ijovine, inclining on the east, inclining on the west, crush bitterly the Salluvii and the Marici, and their companions the Fiscaglians and Albans. Rather than the Populonians, do ye join the united Ijovines: to Ijovine on the east do ye incline, on the west do ye incline, to crush bitterly the Salluvii and the Marici. Money to whoso gathers together to bring back those of the Perscli into my power. I com-

⁵² Albans; in Umbrian Alfir, in Etruscan Albenak. They were the Ilvates Ligustici of Livy (XXXI., 10; XXXII., 29), the inhabitants of Alba Pompeia in north-western Liguria, and the subjects of Anovi-himu or Annovi-Gabe, who, having gained Pedona, his great desire, took part with Umbria's enemies.

mand to crush bitterly the Salluvii and the Marici, and their companions the Fiscaglians and Albans. Rather than their blood relations, the Populonians, do ye join the united Ijovines: to Ijovine on the east do ye incline, on the west do ye incline, to crush bitterly the Salluvii and the Marici. Gather together, crushing bitterly the Salluvii and the Marici.

Money to those who gather together, repenting the desertion of their loyalty to me. Because, disregarding their engagement, they were divided, the Genuates got to Placentia. Rather than the Populonians, do ye join the united Ijovines. I will give help to bring back to their loyalty those regardless ones asking independence of Ijovine from the tributary Ticinates. To drive away the Insubres I ask a place from Sesterrio, from which Sesterrio may be helpful to me. I exhort Cameliomagus and the Comenses to confess their benefits to their chief.

Ye Sesterrians, Vetulonii, through you got to lament bitterly the Salluvii and the Marici. Rather than the Populonians, do ye join the united Ijovines, from Ijovine to get money, to get cattle, to get corn; I, the leader, exhort you. The people of Brixia tore asunder the bond to ask independence from the Triumpilini.

Bobium having separated Verona from it (Brixia), the wicked ones were hindered from returning. On which account, in order to return, they plotted among them to send the Anamani back to Ravenna. At Sesterrio they plotted to send the Anamani back to Ravenna. I exhort Cameliomagus and the Comenses among them to help the place, acknow-

ledging benefits to me, the chief. I persuaded Cameliomagus and the Comenses to help Sesterrio for me, the lawful lord.

By the authority of Populonium, the lord of Concordia extends his border to the tributaries. I told the Apuates, in order to keep the strangers loyal, to give a place to the captains from among the Taurini. I persuaded Dertona to incline to the united Tyrrhenians, the three-fold Tyrrhenians, the Tuscans, Navarrese, Guipuscoans.⁵³

United Tyrrhenians, three-fold Tyrrhenians, Tuscans, Navarrese, Guipuscoans, faithful adherents, Statielli, Consuanetes, Oxybii of Asta, Venostes, Taurini, Tarvisians, Cenetians, Celelates, Nantuates, Novites, Sontians, Sabatinians, Veleiates, Figlinians (adhering to), Dertona: still let your valour bring death to the Populonians.

The united Ijovines, faithful ones, joining Ijovine on the west, Statielli, Consuanetes, Oxybii of Asta, Venostes, to me inclining, on the west inclining, from those of Tria to the Anamani, are awaiting information that the Taurini invade the border. I told the Apuans to keep the place loyal at the time when the Cenomani deserted them, joining Pisa. Through you, Bobium, I gave gold to the Apuans, in order to get them to me instead of to them.

⁵³ Taurini; in Umbrian Tursar, another form of Tursitu.

Dertona; in Umbrian Tursa Jovie. This Jovie of the Tursitu or Taurini I suppose to be Dertona in eastern Liguria, otherwise unmentioned, rather than Augusta Taurinorum. Turnacum of the Gallic Morini, Durnovaria of the British Durotriges, Turicum or Zurich, and the Moesian Dorticum, are forms of Tursa Jovie, out of which the Latins may have evolved Dertona.

Dertonians, rather than the Populonians, do ye join the united Ijovines. Seeking independence of Ijovine from the Triumpilini, to get corn, to get cattle, the people of Brixia broke asunder the bond. I, the leader, exhort you to get money.

TABLE VII. B.

By the authority of Pisa, the Taurisci broke out into rebellion. He who communicates with their chiefs is the friend of rebels. Refuse to exchange aid with the rebels.⁵⁴

Hereafter be ye warned regarding the Taurisci, the seditious ones stirring up rebellion against me, to refuse money and information to the evil disposed towards Herti.

With Appei, the dispossessed, with the Taurisci, with Populonium, with the lord of Concordia, let no one exchange help, (even) with those by whom the Insubrian destroyers were moved to rebellion. The year of the era 300.

TABLE V. B.

Against Herti, the illustrious lord over them, the Taurisci rebelled, refusing to give from among them, as tribute, IV p. tamed horses, goats, and

⁵⁴ Taurisci; in Umbrian Atiersir. They dwelt in eastern Venetia near the Carni (Pliny III., 24), where they possessed Noreia; Strabo IV., c. VI., 9, 12; Pliny III., 23. Strabo also places a branch of them further east (VII., ch. V., 2), and calls them Celtic. The Deurici and Daorizi of Dalmatia, who possessed Narona, were the same people; Pliny III., 26.

cows: instead of which, by fear of strangers, they go astray to give their enemies even VI a.⁵⁵

Rebelling against Herti, the illustrious lord over them, the Taurisci, Cenomani, Tigurini, Flamonienses, Isarci, refused, as tribute, X score coverings and V score select mantles from among them; instead of which they give even VI a.⁵⁶

Against Herti, the gentle superior over them, the Taurisci rebelled, refusing to give as tribute, from among them, VI p. quiet horses, goats, and cows; instead of which, by fear of strangers, they go astray to give their enemies even VI a.

Rebelling against Herti, the gentle one over them, the Taurisci, Cenomani, Tigurini, Flamonienses, Isarci, refuse, as tribute, XV score coverings and V score carts: in place of which (they give) even VI a.

⁵⁵ The letters *p* and *a* represent numerals, the value of which I do not know. O'Reilly, in his Irish Dictionary, says that *b* in Irish was a numeral letter, and denoted 300. The word I have rendered score is *vef*.

⁵⁶ Tigurini; in Umbrian Dequrier. These are the Tigureni of Strabo (VII., ch. II., 2), who, quoting Posidonius, makes them associates of the Cimbr. Caesar (Bell. Gall. I.) mentions the Tigurini as a Helvetic tribe. See also Florus III. 3; Eutropius V., 1.

Flamonienses; in Umbrian Pelmner. These are the Flamonienses of Pliny (III., 23), who dwelt in and about Flamona in Venetia. This town was in the centre of Venetian revolt against Umbria and Arretium, Topium, near at hand, being the head and front of rebellion against Arretium, while Artegnia, Osopum, and the town of the Alutrenses remained loyal.

Isarci; in Umbrian Sorser. The Isarci dwelt above Comum between Larius and Verbanus. They are mentioned on the Alpine trophy: Pliny III., 24. They probably named the river Isargus in Vindelicia; and Isurium, a town of the British Brigantes, may have been the seat of a remnant of this tribe, which, together with the Taurisci, must have been merged in the Brigantine nation in Vindelicia.

THE ETRUSCAN TABLES.

TABLE I. A.

I passed my word to Annogu to bring under terms of union the cities which the chief of the Ingauni causes to disobey us. I withheld the help of his allies, the army which I promised him, until he decided to engage, uttering the word to come for help, if he, the lord of Luna, were able to engage. Gragu Begira, being the Lanth, has a true regard for the city of Arretium. Though possessing little ability, he gives for the help of the lord of Luna what he has to give.⁵⁷

“If he meet him before we are united he will overthrow him.” Whereupon I sent word to the lord of Luna, that we were calling to receive union with Arretium. As for the help I promised him, I said that I had convoked the most famous cities to aid the lord of Luna, when he decided to engage. He cried: “if he meet him before we are united, he will overthrow him.”

Nabepara, lord of Forum Novum, has a sincere regard for the city of Arretium in the matter of

⁵⁷ Annogu, the lord of Luna in northern Etruria: compare the Pictish Aongus.

The Ingauni Ligures, in the south-west of Liguria. They are mentioned frequently by Livy: Ingauni (Ligurum ea gens est) bellum ea tempestate gerebant cum Epanteriis montanis, XXVIII., 46. See also XXXI., 2; XL., 34.

Gragu Begira is otherwise unknown, and the office which he held, under the name Lanth, is not referred to by any classical author known to me. Inghirami, in his supposed forgery (pp. 57, 144), mentions an officer called the Larth, whom he makes president over the Lucumones, and thus the highest Tuscan dignitary. His name Gragu would seem to connect the Gracchi with Etruria.

Arretium is the city of which the author of the inscription is the lord. He is thus the *pir Ortoest* of the Umbrian tables.

helping the lord of Luna. I sent him word that we were calling to receive union with Arretium.⁵⁸

I had difficulty to make the army which I promised reach him, even if the lord of Luna were able to engage. What we have to consider is the call to come to the help of the lord of Luna: "if he meet him before we are united, he will overthrow him." Gragu Begira, being the Lanth, has a true regard for the city of Arretium in the matter of helping the lord of Luna. I sent him word that we were calling to receive union with Arretium.

We had difficulty to make the aid which I promised reach him. I said that I had convoked it, and it will march to Luna before the enemy can annoy the lord of Luna. "If he meet him before we are united, he will overthrow him." Nabepara, lord of Forum Novum, has a sincere regard for the prince of Arretium in the matter of helping the lord of Luna.

To Manlius, the commander of the army, a sincere lord, I send, saying: "if he meet the lord of Luna before he is in shelter, to tell that we are eager to help, that they are required to desist from annoying him, that we are eager to help, that they are required to cease distressing him, for we are united to overthrow them. I sent him word that we were calling to receive union with Arretium.⁵⁹

I gave orders to the army which I promised, to engage together with the lord of Luna if he were

⁵⁸ Nabepara, lord of Forum Novum, in Etruscan Nobemi, is the Arnipo of the Umbrian. As regulus of the Boii, he was in a good position for aiding Luna's army among the rebellious Ligurians.

⁵⁹ Manlius is A. Manlius Vulso, consul with M. Junius Brutus in 178 B.C. For his campaigns in Liguria, Cisalpinga, and Venetia, see Livy XLI., 5-11.

able; to protect him if he were unable. The lord of Luna continues to utter the cry to come for help: "if he meet him before we are united, he will overthrow him." Gragu Begira, being the Lanth, though with small ability, gives what he has for the lord of Luna's help. He has a true regard for the city of Arretium. I sent him word that we were calling to receive union with Arretium.

I commanded the aid which I promised him, to engage together with the allied Umbrians to help the lord of Luna. He cried: "if he meet him before we are united, he will overthrow him." As a place of refuge, the lord of Luna looked towards Ichentenela. I am vexed with the lord of Luna. The city of Arretium has a sincere regard for the help of the lord of Luna. I sent him word to keep secret: "it is better to hold to this Arretium."⁶⁰

On former occasions I fought to help Arfau, the elected leader of the Umbrians. I laid him under obligation to place the commander of the army of the Anamani to the lord of Luna. The army which lord Laeca commands accompanies him. The lord of Luna cries: "if he meet him before we are united, he will overthrow him." We undertook to have him under watch until the lord of Luna is placed in safety under the union.⁶¹

⁶⁰ The Umbrians; in Etruscan Amra, but also called Ugabemineyeche, or those of Iguvium.

Ichentenela is afterwards called lord of Pisa or Pisae. It may be the name out of which the Romans made Centumalus.

⁶¹ Arfau, the Parfa of the Umbrian tables, who was rejected by the army. Anamani; in Etruscan Ennomioyeche, mentioned before in the Umbrian tables.

Laeca is P. Porcius Laeca. Praetores deinde provincias sortiti. . . .
P. Porcius Laeca, Pisas, ut ab tergo Liguribus esset. * * * Et.

I am in accord with Arfau. On former occasions I fought to help him, though with difficulty. I laid him under obligation to hinder the advance of the lord of Luna's enemies. Up speaks the general of the army of the Anamani, even lord Laeca: "if he meet him before we are united, he will overthrow him."

To win over Arfau to the help of the lord of Luna, to undertake to have the lord of Luna under watch until he is placed in shelter under the union, many times and very willingly, though with difficulty, I said that I had helped him. Instead of the Umbrian allies, I heard that Ichentenela, the famous lord of Pisa, Ichentenela attends to the cry of which I sent him word.

TABLE I. B.

Expectant under watch, preparing to assemble to give our ranks to side for his help when he calls, whether the enemy come or conquer, this most we have to consider, until we are united for the lord of Luna's rescue to prevent the attack, that, before we are united, he will be overthrown. Gragu Begira, being the Lanth, has a sincere regard for the city of Arretium in the matter of helping the lord of Luna. I sent him word that we were calling to receive union with Arretium.

Expectant under watch, I desired him to issue the proclamation to assemble, let the enemy come,

P. Porcio Laecae ad Etruriam circa Pisas duo millia peditum et quingenti equites ex Gallico exercitu decreti: Livy XXXIII., 43. This was in 195 B.C., or seventeen years before the events here recorded took place, so that Laeca must have had a long service in Tuscany.

let him conquer. I have a great mind to tell the lord of Luna, until we are assembled for his rescue to forbid the attack, that we are uniting to prevent the attack. Gragu Begira, being the Lanth, has a sincere regard for the lord of Luna and the city of Arretium.

The lord of Artegnia places his desire to our misfortune. With little ability, he gives what he has to give for the help of the lord of Luna. I sent them word that we were calling to prefer to hold with Arretium.⁶²

The Albans, having regard to the Oxybii who are pledged to Umbria, promise me aid. The people of Forum Novum warn me to exclude from the league the sympathetic care of Annovi-Gabe, and advise me to place Ingube to it that he may reform.⁶³

The famous commanding lord orders the lords of the loyal cities to march, without deliberating to engage, until Annovi-Gabe gives aid to the lord of Luna.⁶⁴

Until Ingube, the chief who caused the cities to rebel, gives what he has towards help to place under the relief, even under the Lanth, in order that he

⁶² Artegnia in eastern Venetia, now Artegnia. There was a Tuscan Artenia or Artena, which early fell before the power of Rome: Livy IV., 61. Its root appears also in Arretium, of which the Venetian Artegnia was a colony.

⁶³ The Albans, already mentioned in the Umbrian tables, were the subjects of Annovi-Gabe, the Anovi-himu of these tables.

Ingube was the chief of the Ricinates in eastern Liguria, whose chief town was Ricina on the coast, now Recco. They are called Ragagonek. The Anamani, dwelling near the Ligurian border, were acquainted with both parties. The Oxybii of Asta, subjects of Umbria, are the inducements for Alba to join.

⁶⁴ The famous commanding lord is Manlius Vulso.

may be restored, I, for purposes of help, took away from the confederate cities bringing aid to the enemy, the notorious Agbe.⁶⁵

The lord of Umbria has difficulty in leaving the Iguvines under the relief, because he has to ask Rome's permission. He is awkwardly situated for helping, because he has, and this is awkward for helping, to ask Rome's permission.⁶⁶ We detected a chief counselling the Iguvines to prepare to place their ranks to the enemy. The lords going to join him were overthrown.

The famous lord of Volaterræ failed to keep his word to march, for the purpose of placing Luna in safety. Ingube threatened to withdraw in case of Annovi-Gabe being placed in command. The chief whom the army refuses to recognize leaves the army of lord Ingube, until the lord of lords of the dominion of Umbria comes to an understanding in regard to our help.⁶⁷

Ingube sends to ask permission of the Iguvines to reach the city of Topium. We are forbidden to transgress the boundaries. We are forbidden to go below the Sabatines, below the Caer Martites, without permission, below the Orobii, without permission. But the Umbrian sovereign promises me to send aid under a succouring chief to Annogu, the lord of

⁶⁵ Agbe is the Appai of the Umbrian tables.

⁶⁶ This quasi subjection to Rome is not hinted at in the Umbrian document.

⁶⁷ Volaterræ; in Etruscan Bahilahiri, was one of the greatest of Etruscan cities or states. It maintained its nominal independence till a short time before the reign of Augustus.

The chief whom the army refuses to recognize is Arfau or Parfa.

Luna ; instead of giving it to the union, to give it to Annogu.⁶⁸

Seeking to help, the chief whom the army refuses to recognize, unable to bring the enemy to obedience, gives heed to my call. Meeting some Iguvines sent to come to our protection, he attacks them without considering. Ingube, desirous of authority, receives the Iguvines and aids them. For purposes of help, I took the side of the divided army.⁶⁹ I sent word to the Iguvines that I had overthrown the lord of Nuceria who had undertaken to hinder union. I sent word to the chief giving division to the army, also endeavouring to hinder union, that, for undertaking to prevent union, I had overthrown the lord of Nuceria. Lord Ingube sends to the chief whom the army of the Iguvines refuses to recognize, desiring to bring him back to obedience. The chief whom the army refuses to recognize sends to lord Ingube, promising.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Topium in eastern Venetia, now Toppo. This was the centre of the revolt against the authority of Arretium.

Sabatines ; in Etruscan Gubetunoyeche, the Savitu of the Umbrian tables, a people about Sevinus Lacus, whose track northward to the Sevaces of Noricum is marked by Sabium, Sabio, Sebatum, and Sabatina.

Caer Martites ; in Etruscan Kara Maratuyeche. They lay between the Savitu and the Orobii, in the country of the Insubres. As these were Cymric, Kara Maratu is an ancient Caer Marthen, which the Romans called Maridunum. Its site was probably marked by Martinengo to the south-east of Bergomum.

Orobii ; in Etruscan Orobabeichyeche, the Insubrian Ruffer of the Umbrian tables, and the ancestors of the Cymric Ordovices.

The Arretine army was thus forbidden to enter Transpadana.

⁶⁹ The divided army is that commanded by Parfa or Arfau, not that of Appei or Agbe.

⁷⁰ Nuceria, to the south of the Padus (Ptolemy, p. 64), formed a triangle with Bedriacum and Brixellum. This event probably took place at the time when Herti of Umbria defeated the Insubres at Brixellum. There were other Nucerias in Umbria and Campania.

Alba thought in his mind, that, if he seized the boundaries alone instead of under the league, he would see the united chiefs refusing tribute to the lord of Luna.

Gragu Begira, being the Lanth, has a sincere regard for the lord of Luna and the prince of Arretium in the matter of the lord of Luna's help. I sent him word to keep secret, to receive union with Arretium.

Instead of this alliance, I undertake alone in place of the league to protect; to restore to the army of the lord of Luna the inimical confederate cities. I had a desire to see those withholding tribute and refusing tribute.

The city of the Epanterii has a true regard for the lord of Luna and the prince of Arretium. It agrees to cease disturbing the bond of protection; and constrains its general, under a word of command, to take sides for the help of the lord of Luna. I sent it word, to be kept secret, to receive union with Arretium.⁷¹

It is said that, assembling, they are come to undertake to annoy us. I had a desire to show the lord of Luna the chiefs withholding tribute and refusing tribute. To the lord of the city of the Epanterii, a sincere lord to the lord of Luna and the prince of Arretium for the help of the lord of Luna, I sent word secretly to receive union with Arretium.

For purposes of help, I refused to aid in protect-

⁷¹ Epanterii; in Etruscan Panteri, in Umbrian Fondlire. The city of the Epanterii is proved by these tables and comparison of geographical nomenclature to have been Bobium.

ing Ingube, if he had any dealings with the Populonians.⁷² I summoned the great illustrious souls to extend help. I summoned Ravenna to come to us, to help us instead of the enemy. Instead of helping the enemy, instead of making alliances, I summoned the famous lord of Volaterræ to come to us. The famous city of Volaterræ heaps up provocation to the Ingauni to attack. I summoned Angabe to come to us instead of making alliances, instead of helping the enemy.⁷³ I sent him word to consider our call, to reach the famous commanding lord at Ricina.⁷⁴ Angabe agrees to cease disturbing the bond of protection. His general, who desires to excite disturbance, he deprives of command. I sent Angabe word that Annovi-Gabe, the chief desiring to aid, with his Albans, considers our call, to meet the famous commanding lord at Ricina.⁷⁵

Annovi-Gabe has a desire to take charge of the relief, to bring the Albans to fight under the relief. He leaves to the union to make choice of the best of the lords as protector. He set the cry in motion to extend the union; that, rejecting the chief whom the army refuses to recognize, the Lanth take to command the very lord of lords. The great lord of Umbria, perceiving the difficulty of deciding whom to give to so great an undertaking instead of Alba, on that account chooses me protector.⁷⁶

⁷² This statement confirms the Umbrian references to the enmity of Populonium.

⁷³ Angabe was the lord of Ravenna.

⁷⁴ Ricina; in Etruscan Ragago, now Recco in south-eastern Liguria, a centre of Ligurian revolt against Luna.

⁷⁵ The famous commanding lord is still Manlius Vulso.

⁷⁶ Herti of Umbria is here represented as conferring the command, which his own tables represent as the gift of the allied lords.

The prince of Arretium, a sincere lord for the help of the lord of Luna, told the lords of the lord of Luna to undertake to reach this Topium. I sent word secretly to the lord of Luna at the city of the Epanterii, to receive union with Arretium. I insisted that he should have undertaken the word of command, he promising to withdraw from Agbe, whose desires are more to the enemy than to us.⁷⁷

TABLE III.

Annovi-Gabe far extends the authority of the city of Alba. To whatever place his mind turns, it rests, as a place of true desire, on the country of the Vedicanti. Expecting to attain his great desire, he sends an army to join the lord of Umbria. He has first to subdue the Oxybii, who cherish friendly relations with the Vedicanti.⁷⁸

We are of one mind to support the authority of the league. Under the league I placed the Albans.

Withdrawing without noise, he informed the league of his design first to subdue the Oxybii. Withdrawing without noise, he prepares first to compel the lord of Genua to cease troubling the people of Ad Novum. I had a mind to help him to

⁷⁷ Having decided to relieve Annogu of Luna alone, the lord of Arretium makes Topium the destination of the allied lords, thus regarding his own interests there.

⁷⁸ In the time of the classical geographers and historians the Vedicanti dwelt, with the Oxybii, beyond the Maritime Alps in Narbonensis: Strabo IV., ch. VI., 2; Pliny III., 5, 7. At the time of the events here recorded the Oxybii inhabited Asta on the Tanarus north of Alba, and the Vedicanti, Pedona in the south-west.

subdue the Genoite tribe, to warn them to cease annoying the Iguvines.⁷⁹

I had a mind to aid the desire of the lord of Bobium regarding the Vedicanti, to place them under the union. As we are placed, inclining towards the Iguvines, we are desired to put the chief of the Vedicanti out of Arretium, because he has ceased to obey. I gave them a word of warning to cease troubling the lord of Pedona.⁸⁰

We are ready, according to the desire of the lord Lanth, to undertake to withdraw from Arretium. To Annovi-Gabe, attentive to hear, a chief tells the news of our intention to withdraw from Arretium in order to engage. The lord of Alba, withdrawing also to engage, leaves the council of the lords.

The lord of the Ricinates gives the Oxybii money in order to send an army. He is in an awkward place when he buys the protection of the Oxybii. The lord of the Ricinates tells Luna of his good regard. The lord of the Ricinates undertakes to give good regard to Luna. The lord of the Ricinates withdraws money to Nobilior to purchase protection of his boundaries towards the Romans, of which I deprived him. He has a mind desirous of submis-

⁷⁹ Genoa appears in these tables as one of the most determined, and, for a time, successful opponents of the Etruscans. She also injured the Iguvines or Umbrians by attacking Ad Nonum on the Tanarus, east of Asta. This Ad Nonum, the Etruscan Nohino, was the abode of the Ijovine tribe Ninctu, afterwards known as Nantuates and Nagnatae.

⁸⁰ Bobium; in Etruscan Bebane, in Umbrian Pofe, the capital of the Epanterii, was well disposed towards the Vedicanti or Vediantii, whose capital was Pedona. The Boduni in Britain who possessed Badon were probably descendants of these Vedicanti, whose Etruscan name was Betu or Betuk. Their chief afterwards proved friendly.

sion. He undertakes to give to Luna the territory which is round about his boundaries towards the Romans. He has a mind desirous of submission. He withdraws money to Nobilior, the chief of command. He has a mind desiring to sympathize with the Romans.⁸¹

Ingube refuses the Ingauni to expel the notorious Agbe, to expel Annovi-Gabe. I gave Arfau word to watch the notorious Agbe. I placed them under a word to receive the pledge of the lord of the Ricinates, who expects protection from them because he has consented to cease disturbing.⁸²

Wherever the lord of Bobium went, the union dividing lord sent an army, telling it to fight him. Whosoever will come to us instead of to the enemy, I united to the league. I forewarn him, among the causers of rebellion, who desires to disturb the good union of the Romans, that we are united to put a stop to assault, and that it is better to come to an understanding to desist from assaulting.⁸³

Bobium's lord informs the Iguvines where the lord of Genoa reaches under the mountains. The

⁸¹ The lord of the Ricinates is Ingube, whose good faith did not last long. The Roman Nobilior must be M. Fulvius Nobilior, military tribune of the second legion, who, according to Livy's chronology, was banished for misconduct in 180 B.C. The events here recorded took place in 178 B.C., so that Livy must have anticipated: XL., 41. The Roman possessions or boundaries were those about Cremona and Placentia, in which latter city Nobilior was.

⁸² The Ingauni, still counting upon Ingube's aid to the rebellion, demand the dismissal of Agbe and Annovi-Gabe, who were in the territory of the Ricinates, a strip extending from Ricina to Placentia, which is generally filled up with the name of the Frimiatas. They possessed a sanctuary in Auginus Mons: Livy XXXIX., 2. This statement agrees with that in the Umbrian tables, which represents Appei and Anovi-himu as together in the vicinity of Compiano.

⁸³ Probably we should read "union dividing lords," although the plural is not marked; these are the Ingauni, Genoa, and their associates.

lord of the Ravennians leaves the aid which he sent to the relief under the mountains where the lord of Claterna reaches. The better to protect, as we are placed face to face, I joined the league of the lord of the dominion of Umbria.⁸⁴

I forewarn him, causing rebellion, who desires to molest the good union of the Romans, that we are united to put a stop to assault; and that it is better to agree together to put a stop to assault and to cease disturbing.

The city of Ritubium is attentive to hear of the coming of Gragu, being the Lanth, to the lord of Luna. He tells the Epanterii to inform the lord of Luna. I am free from anxiety, in informing these very obedient lords of the lord of Luna that we are come.⁸⁵

Perceiving the desire of the Novarians to bring under union those ceasing to obey the protecting lord of Patavium, the helpful lord, the capable lord, gives them a commander instead of the enemy, the lord of Artegnia. The Iguvines request the Novarians, who have come desiring to see them, to inform their lord that we are come. The help which he sent, to place those ceasing to obey the protecting lord of Patavium in the path of obedience, he leaves to the relief.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ Claterna; in Etruscan Karatura, in Umbrian Coredier. The call of Herti bore fruit in the activity of the lord of Claterna, who was apparently under the sway of Ravenna.

⁸⁵ Ritubium; in Etruscan Ritubiag, as Arretium is Aretiang. Livy (XXXII., 29) calls it Litubium. Its inhabitants constituted part of the Trioper of the Umbrian story. Lying to the north-west of Bobium with no intervening city, it was best fitted to communicate with the Epanterii.

⁸⁶ Novarians; in Etruscan Nobarak. Pliny (III., 21) says that Novaria was founded by the Vertacomocori, but in his time belonged to the Vocontii.

TABLE II. B.

I told the lord of Bobium where to place those calling to us. He places to me, to put under the protecting army, those who incline towards the Genoese, of the city of Florentia, of the city of Fidentia, twelve cities rebelling against us and the environs of twelve cities rebelling against us; the dwellers in Etchesaragi, and the dwellers in the environs of Etchesaragi; the inhabitants of the city Ospaten, and the inhabitants of the environs of the city Ospaten; those who skirt the course of the Nura, and those who are on the outskirts of the Nura; the dwellers in the city Vaniente, and those who dwell in the environs of the city Vaniente; the inhabitants of the country Gurasane, and the inhabitants of the environs of the country Gurasane; the dwellers in the city Imbenon, and the dwellers in the environs of Imbenon; the tribe of the Apuans, and those who are round about the tribe of the Apuans; those who dwell where the Ausar springs, those who dwell in the environs of the springs of Ausar, and those who dwell in the lofty abode where Ausar springs.⁸⁷

As the Umbrian tables make no reference to it, and as it bears the Navarrese name, it was doubtless of Etruscan origin; but, like Mantua, had shaken itself free of control. It was some distance north and a little west of Ritubium to which its contingent came, not for service in Liguria but in Venetia, where the army of the Lanth and Nabepara was going. The name of the protecting lord of Patavium is not given, unless he be the lord of the Alutrenses, dwelling in Patavium, afterwards mentioned. The Patavine revolt is referred to by Livy (XLI., 27), who places it in 174 B.C., which is four years too late. Strabo (V., ch. I., 7) greatly extols Patavium, and Livy (X., 2) relates with pride the story of his countrymen's ancient valour.

⁸⁷The topography of the country between Placentia and Ritubium on the north, and the Apennines from the Etruscan border to the river Entella on the south, can hardly be said to have engaged the attention of the geographers and historians of antiquity. For the sterility, poverty, and consequent unattrac-

The lord of Genoa sent to receive those adhering to their union, saying he will meet me to fight the lord of Luna. The lord of Vignano told the lord of Bobium where he reached, and where the lord of Claterna reached.⁸⁸ The lord of Claterna, a sincere lord, adheres to the prince of Arretium to extend help. Where he reached to aid at Ad Solaria, he gives to the help of the lord of Luna; though with little ability, he gives.⁸⁹ The lord of the Cremonenses annoys him to join the protecting army of the union dividing chiefs.⁹⁰ The lord of Vignano told the lord of Bobium where he reached. The union

tiveness of Liguria in the eyes of the historian and geographer, see Diodorus Siculus: IV., 6; V., 26. Even the names that do survive are translations or Latinized adaptations of the originals. Thus Florentia is the Basque Lora-mendi, the flowery hill, and Fidentia is Pabemibanetu or union gives support. Etchesaragi, the house making praise, may be Casalaggio. For Ospaten, the famous, I can find no ancient or modern equivalent. The modern Nura, south-east of Placentia, represents the Etruscan Nura-churru. The city Vaniente or Baniente is probably the same as Vicunniae, with whose inhabitants I have identified the Pihaner of the Etruscan tables, and whom I traced to Hibernia in the Venenii. Gurasane may be represented by the modern Gora on the Taro or Tarus. Imbenon I believe to be the Etruscan form of Compiano, the Combifiansi of the Umbrian. The tribe of the Apuans presents no difficulty. But the city where Ausar springs, and the fortress in that region, although permissible enough renderings of the Etruscan terms, require confirmation on Italian ground.

⁸⁸ Vignano; in Etruscan Agineune, lies north-west of Recco and north-east of Genoa, being thus favourably situated for observations.

⁸⁹ Ad Solaria; in Etruscan Ilerda. This name is a compound of *illar*, *illargi*, the moon in Basque. Among the uncivilized Khitan, the same word does duty for the sun and the moon: see my articles on the Khitan languages in the Transactions, Canadian Institute, Vol. I., Fas. 4; Vol. II., Fas. 2. That this was the case in Etruscan cannot be asserted, yet it is evident that the Latins made Solaria and Ad Solaria out of Ilerda. The same Illyrian name they changed to Silures in south Wales. Ad Solaria was near the coast, to the east of the river Entellus, and may be the Entel ust of the Umbrian tables.

⁹⁰ This is *Grabobe jabe*, the lord of the Grabovian tribe, the Cremonenses of the Romans. See note 21.

dividing lord commands the lord of Claterna to fail to obey Luna.

Ingube tells the helpful lord that we are unable to succour the lord Lanth. The lord of Artegnia engages with me to reach the lord who is in Pata-vium, with the protecting army of the lord Lanth. I made known to them the request of the Cremonensian chief to Manlius, to dismiss the lord Lanth. He tells me what the lord Lanth is doing towards help round about; he tells me what the incapable lord Lanth should have taken care to do; he tells me what the beaten lord Lanth does. But, as commander instead of the lord Lanth, I promised to consider him. Wonderful to think, he (? Manlius) causes the lord Lanth to withdraw, for the lord Lanth's safety. Towards the help of the lord Lanth, I subdued the united deserters of Luna.

The lord of the Cremonenses annoys the helpful lord under the protecting league, the lord of command. I sent word to the army, telling it to fight. I had sent him word that I promised to consider him; I now sent him word that I deprived him of command. He incites the mercenary chiefs. The lord of Ratevansa, a chief cherishing desire towards the enemy, under a word of command, instead of merely aiding the enemy, joins the enemy.⁹¹

⁹¹ Ratevansa or Ratebanesa was somewhere in north-eastern Venetia, although it does not appear either on the ancient or on the modern map of Italy. Ratmansdorf in Carinthia is probably a trace of its people in migration, and Ratisbon in Bavaria is another. The latter was called Ratispona as well as Regina, and was in the ecclesiastical province of Rhaetia secunda: Bingham's *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, IX., 5. The Praedavensii of Dacia bore a similar name, with the termination of which that of Placentia, the Umbrian Fiso Sansie, may be compared. That Ratevansa is Celtic seems to be established by the presence of Ruthven in Wales and Scotland. "Ruthven, cog.

Without money, I sent him word; for help I sent him word; without means, I sent him word; alone, I sent him word. Hearing of my necessity, the sincere lord comes instead of pursuing, until he gives what he has towards my help. At Solaria first he hears the lord of Anneianum under the mountains calling to battle. Promising without consideration the request of Vetulonii to go for help to Anneianum, the lord of the dominion of Umbria leaves the call under Annogu. Hearing the cry of battle, he is annoyed. He comes to aid under Annogu, instead of pursuing the lord of Anneianum.⁹²

Unable to succeed in protecting his boundaries, the lord of Genoa calls a union to undertake to hinder union, instead of pursuing the lord of Claterna. Telling them to fight the lord of Luna, he desired to bring the chiefs causing rebellion into a league to join Tetellus of Agbe. For purposes of help, until he sympathize with such a union, he leaves him under shelter.⁹³

I communicated to Ravenna that we undertook to adhere to the lord of the dominion of Umbria.

antiquae familiae, ejus principes primum Ruveniae reguli, postea Goreae comitas appellati:" Buchanan, *Rerum Scot. Hist.*, Index. The Rhaetian name may possibly have originated with this tribe.

⁹² Herti of Umbria is the sincere lord of the text. He was at Solaria in Etruria, on the Arnus, north-west of Florence, called, like Ad Solaria in Liguria, of which it was probably the parent, Ilerda. The Iberic population of Etruria and Liguria is established by this name: "aut vincetus mitteris Ilerdam," Horace, *Ep. I.*, 20.

Herti's alliance with Vetulonii, which gave him the aid of Marte Ijorse and Honde Serfie, is here confirmed.

Anneianum was below the Apennines in north-eastern Etruria near the Umbrian border, now Incastra. It thus appears that the revolt had crossed the mountains.

⁹³ Tetellus; in Etruscan Datera, in Umbrian Tuder. For Tuder as a proper name personal, see Tacitus, *Germania*, 42.

He has a mind to return to Manlius. I informed the helpful lord of Ravenna that we undertook to adhere to the lord of the dominion of Umbria. He leaves himself under the relief.⁹⁴

The prince of Arretium is a sincere lord for the help of the lord of Luna.

TABLE II. A.

For purposes of help, he protected those joining me to conquer. Those causing rebellion he passed to our protection. Agbe I took away to place under a word of Claterna. Under Annogu I united Annovi-Gabe to the league of the lord of Luna. Those adhering to their insubordination I put far away, far from me. The lord of Claterna in the union protected those joining me to conquer. He passed to our protection those causing rebellion.⁹⁵

The chief of the Vedicanti is willing to side with Luna. He had rather extend help to Luna than to Ingube, the desirous of command, asking, irritatingly asking, to cease troubling, saying that he reached the union with the intention of fighting Alba. The lord of Tigulia reached the union to join me to conquer. He told Begabe, the lord of Antion (Anidus), to cease troubling. I am free from anxiety. The prince of Arretium has a sincere regard for the lord of Luna.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ See Umbria's appeal to Ravenna.

⁹⁵ The first subject seems to be Angabe of Ravenna.

⁹⁶ Vedicanti; in Etruscan Betu.

Tigulia; in Etruscan Tunno-gura. For a similar metamorphosis, see Tenkelusha and Teucros: Renan, *Essay on the Book of Nabathæan Agriculture*, London, 1862, p. 94. Compare Achish and Anchises:

For purposes of help, I sent word secretly to the lord of Luna to receive union with Arretium. For purposes of help, I reminded Begabe that, on former occasions, I fought to help him. He said, he willingly placed protection to the lord of Luna, until he was in shelter under the union.

The army which the lord of Luna commands, on former occasions, fought to help Ravenna. I caused Ravenna to hear this. Angabe, the lord of the place, promises to consider the call. I sent him word that, to consider our call, the Roman lord Opiag Oba proposed to reach the union.⁹⁷

The lord of the Epanterii Intemelii has a sincere regard to the prince of Arretium for the help of the lord of Luna. Begabe follows, desiring to see the Roman lord. The lord of Luna reached the union. I told those true lords to the prince of Arretium, the lord of the Alutrenses dwelling in Patavium, and the lord of Artegnia, to go to the lord of Luna among the Epanterii, for the help of the lord of Luna. I desired to find the lord of Luna. The lord of Luna reached the union.⁹⁸

Hitzig, *Urgeschichte und Mythologie der Philistaer*, I., 58. Pliny (III., 7) calls the people Tigullii, and gives them Tegeste as well as Tigullia in south-eastern Liguria. In migration, they were probably the Tungri: Tacitus, *Germania*, 2.

Begabe of Antion. Livy (XL., 38) mentions Anidus mons in eastern Liguria in connection with the Apuani. Begabe is the Etruscan name of which the Romans made Pacuvius, denoting first the Etruscan Pacuvius Calavius of Capua (Livy XXIII., 2), and afterwards a Roman gens, to which the poet M. Pacuvius belonged: Aulus Gellius XVII., 21; I., 24.

⁹⁷ Concerning this Roman lord history is silent, unless he be Q. Fabius Buteo (Livy XL., 18), or Appius Claudius (XXXIX., 32), both of whom were in Liguria.

⁹⁸ I do not know of any ancient author who makes the Intemelii a branch of the Epanterii. Livy (XL., 41) connects them geographically with the In-

I ascend to instruct the greatly desired city, to withdraw the protection of the enemy, to extend a place of true desire to Annogu. Ricina hears. Instead of taking vengeance, instead of looking for tribute, what I have I give to it. The Lanth takes the repentant lord of Ad Solaria to command. He took vengeance upon those who caused the city to rebel against us. We desire the lord of the city of Ad Solaria to execute the principal of the chiefs. The lord Lanth instructs the greatly desired city. The city of Arretium gives a commander instead of the enemy, the commander Laeca.

Helpless, Ingube is astonished with a great astonishment. Wonderful to think, Rome withdraws the word of command to place the lord Lanth to subdue the deserter and the causer of desertion, because the lord of the Ricinates has surrendered.

Annovi-Gabe told the lord of Luna of his great desire in helping him. Where he reaches, he instructs the union dividing chiefs to cease disturbing. Annovi-Gabe desired to bring the rebellious chiefs under a confederacy, to join the union of the city of Topium.

I instructed the lord of Alba, among the Epanterii, to tell Nobilior the reason why I dismissed Nabepara, the lord of Umbranum. He takes away the protection of the Arusnates at the gate of Patavium. His desire is far from undertaking to see

gani. See Pliny III., 7; Strabo IV., ch. VI., 2. In migration they were the Nemaloni of the Alpine trophy: Pliny III., 24.

Alutrenses; in Etruscan Alrano. Pliny (III., 23) places the Alutrenses in north-eastern Venetia with the Asseriates, Flamonienses, Vanienses, &c. Alrano would naturally become Altrano on Roman lips, just as Bahilaherri became Volaterrae.

the city of the Arusnates left alone under the union.⁹⁹

The lord of Mantua, the protecting lord, desirous of command, who is the chief of the Roman mercenaries, refusing to help the enemy, tells the helpful lord, the capable lord, for the help of the city of Arretium, that he sympathizes, but can do nothing without recompense. The chief of the Roman mercenaries has a desire to help; has the desire, but no ability. The lord of Genua informs Aulenti, that we are given to the league to help the lord Lanth without recompense, and that the Lanth has undertaken to see Annogu left alone.¹⁰⁰

I sent to give word to the commanders of the army of the lord Lanth, to place those from Forum Novum under the union. I instructed him to inform the chiefs that we were come, desiring to care for them. I made known the good regard of the protecting lord of Patavium. He undertakes to see him left alone. To the lord of Patavium he gives a commander instead of the enemy, the commander Laeca. The helpful lord, the capable lord, instructs the lord of Artegnia.

⁹⁹ Arusnates; in Etruscan Arbasinek, the Rucinates of the Alpine trophy (Pliny III., 24). They dwelt to the east of Lacus Benacus, between Verona and the Euganei. They were, perhaps, of the same family as the Albocensii of Dacia, the Aravisci of Pannonia, and the Arevaci of Hispania.

¹⁰⁰ Aulenti is the lord of Mantua; in Etruscan *Mene'tua*. It was the only Etruscan city in Transpadana (Pliny III., 23):—

Ille etiam patriis agmen ciet Ocnus ab oris,
Fatidicae Mantus et Tusci filius amnis,
Qui muros, matrisque dedit tibi, Mantua, nomen: Virgil, *Æn.* X., 198.

With Aulenti compare the Aulestes of verse 207:—

It gravis Aulestes, centenâque arbore fluctus
Verberat assurgens.

I sent to give the union dividing cities word that he protected those asking to return to their allegiance. I besought them to come to my necessity. I sent to give them word that Nabepara has a mind to go and join the Novarians. I deprived him of command. I sent to give them word of the place I marched to.

The protecting lord, desirous of command, who is the chief of the Roman mercenaries; the lord of Ratevansa, a chief cherishing desire towards the enemy; and Nabepara, coming to help the enemy, unite their army under the enemy.

I asked Marcus, the famous lord Junius, to consider an alliance with me. I pledged the lord the protection which Ingube promised him.¹⁰¹

Aulenti informs the lord Lanth, that they had passed from their word in the matter of help: "Behold we are given to sympathize with Luna, under a word of promise to subdue the chiefs deserting and causing desertion. The chief thing to consider is the safety of the lord Lanth." Thus spoke the protecting lord, desirous of command. He desired to bring the rebellious chiefs under a confederacy, to join the city of Topium, to take away union. I rejected him.

I sent to give them word where he reaches, taking away the union of my pledged cities, asking them to pass from their word of good regard. I sent to give them word that I deprived him of command. I sent to give them word where he reaches, interviewing my pledged cities which desert from

¹⁰¹ M. Junius Brutus, consul with A. Manlius Vulso, then in Gallia Cisalpina: Livy XLI., 5.

us or cause desertion from us. I sent to give them word where the protecting lord, desirous of command, who is the chief of the Roman mercenaries, reaches. The subject chiefs of my pledged cities he subdued.

Lord Agbe, seeing Marcellus approach towards me, leaves the famous commanding lord helpless, to make his submission. Where he reaches I sent to give them word secretly. I marched to him to place my command to his help. I made known to the famous lord Junius the inability of the caring lord, in order to the help of the caring lord. He promises to consider the call of the commander given instead of the enemy, of the commander Laeca, telling him to approach Nobilior. Until the lords promising to come to help did help him into safety, I sent to give them word that we attended to his cry, who descended to Ricina on our behalf.¹⁰²

The lord, cherishing desire towards the enemy, sends to him to give the news, that, to join Nobilior, the Roman lord, Annovi-Gabe, the lord desiring to help, the lord of Alba, withdraws from our protection. I am grieved that the lord of Alba should have undertaken the word of command. I received him, promising me to keep far away from Agbe, being more desirous of our good than of his.¹⁰³

[Some Tables are wanting in this place.]

¹⁰² Marcellus; in Etruscan Merkala, is M. Claudius Marcellus, junior, whose presence in Gaul some time before is mentioned by Livy XL., 1.

The famous commanding lord and the caring lord are equally Annovi-Gabe of Alba.

¹⁰³ The lord cherishing desire towards the enemy is the chief of Ratevansa.

TABLE IV.

The commander whom the helpful lord, the capable lord, considering Concordia, gives instead of the enemy, even the lord Junius, I place to its protection. The Iguvines, looking to the desire of Ceneta, request the Novarians to undertake to announce that we are come.¹⁰⁴

Wherever the army extends, he extended the command to place in the path of obedience those ceasing to obey the protecting lord of Patavium. To him who sends to the relief the help he asks, the helpful lord, the capable lord, gives a commander instead of the enemy; desiring to bring to join us, the good to the good.

Considering the great obedience of the lord of Artegnia, I pledged him protection. He extended a command to the aid which he sent to see that it joined, to see that it rendered perfect obedience to, the helpful lord, the capable lord.

I pledged protection to him who asks to approach us. I gave a promise to consider him who desires to be in the good path. I withdrew from him who made trouble.

I sent them word that I deprived of command the chief unable to take away union, the lord of Ratevansa, the chief cherishing desire towards the enemy. Where he reached, I sent them word to place in the path of obedience those who desert us and those who cause defection from us.

¹⁰⁴ Concordia; in Etruscan Anichartu. See note 13, and compare the Nesatrium of Livy XLI., 11. Eutropius (VIII., 10) mentions Concordia.

Ceneta; in Etruscan Kunetu, on the Liquentia, north-west of Concordia, now Ceneda, an ancient abode of the Cantii, in whose country was Anderida or Anderesio.

He extended a promise to rank with the relieving army him who sent help. Until one sent help, I sent to give them word that they were free from obligation to rank him with the relieving army. To him who sent help, desirous of ranking with the relieving army, he extended a promise of ranking with the relieving army as soon as he sent the help.

I joined to the relief one who is in the path of obedience, the submissive lord of Osopum, which is in the path of obedience, and refuses to help the enemy. I made known to Manlius, the commander of the army, the helpful lord, Osopum's pledge to us. He who calls, asking protection from me, obtains protection.¹⁰⁵

I march to Ravenna to move it. Whoever will side with us instead of with the enemy, wherever the helpful lord, the capable lord, reaches, he causes to side with us, the far sheltering lord. I laid the commanders of the army of the Iguvines under obligation to extend help to whosoever was in the path of obedience. Wherever the helpful lord, the capable lord, reached, he who calls, asking protection from me, obtains protection. I placed the commanders of the army under obligation to subdue those refusing to recognize the helpful lord. Widely uniting those who are in the path of obedience wherever he went, he extends shelter to those asking protection from me, this helpful lord, so capable.

I reminded the Iguvines that we call on them to hand over to us Ingube, the chief ceasing to obey

¹⁰⁵ Osopum; in Etruscan Ugabeyeche or the Oxybii. The place called Osopum by the Romans was a stage in the northern migrations of the Oxybii, who had formerly possessed Bononia. It was to the north-east of Flamonica, and is now Osopo.

orders. I informed this lord of the Ricinates that we are set to care for the Iguvines, to march towards the enemy wherever he reached, that the helpful lord, the capable lord, might force the army deserting Iguvium to leave Alba. I sent to give them word where he reached.¹⁰⁶

He who sent help to the relieving army, asking it to undertake to withdraw from the Iguvines, I deprived of command. We pursued him, until I sent them a report of where he reaches. He extended a command to the aid which he sent to promise me the relieving army which the Iguvines ask, but he gives it to the united cities of Concordia. Secretly I inform the lord of the Ricinates and the Iguvines.¹⁰⁷

The lord of Ceneta promises to consider the call of the Iguvines. He receives protection. I sent to give them word that the lord of Quercum considers our call. I extend the appeal.¹⁰⁸

Annovi-Gabe, coveting the lord of Pedona, without true accord, gives a chief to the league of the lord of the dominion of Umbria. To the lord of the dominion of Umbria and to us, Arfau leaves a great declared enemy. The lord desiring to help, the lord of Alba, because he has attained his great desire, joins the army opposing Umbria, until, being engaged in helping rebellious Pedona, he conceived aversion to the Umbrian dominion.

¹⁰⁶ The Umbrian tables indicate that the Albans were in Venetia helping the Adrians, Fiscaglians, and Populonians.

¹⁰⁷ He who promises help to the lord of Arretium and gives it to the revolted allies of Concordia, namely, Motta and Faveria, is Annovi-Gabe of Alba.

¹⁰⁸ Quercum; in Etruscan Etcherkane. Pliny (III., 23) calls its people Quarqueni. It was on the Flavis at the Rhaetian border of Venetia.

TABLE V. A.

The rebels desire to remove me from the care of the league. I had rather they had separated the good-will of the Vagienni from the good-will of the Vedicanti!¹⁰⁹ The Lanth takes us to command, us to extend protection instead of the enemy. He engages me to join the Albans to the relief. I give warning that I removed every one giving ear to the friendly overtures of the rebels. Does the city Veituri, does Veituri call to the army in the power of the city of the dominion of Umbria? I will remove it. He who gives help, desiring my authority, I removed.¹¹⁰

If he did cease troubling Ad Nonum, if he did reach the union, he who is lord of command takes away from our help the lord of Bobium. Greedy of command, desiring to replace me in authority, he withdraws from the engagement to help Umbria. Instead of this lord, who is lord of command, reaching the enemy on this side, he transgresses the boundaries.

The Lanth takes this lord, greedy of authority, to command. He engages me to unite the Albans

¹⁰⁹ Vagienni; in Etruscan Basinek, in Umbrian Pesnis. See note 36.

¹¹⁰ Veituri; in Etruscan Betura, was situated on the river Urbs above the Apennines, north of Genoa. "A curious fact illustrative of the history of Genoa, was brought to light by the discovery of a brazen tablet, in 1506, near the city. This monument informs us that a dispute having arisen between the Genuatae and Veituri, on the subject of their respective boundaries, commissioners were appointed by the Roman Senate A.U.C., 636, to settle the limits of the two territories; and the tablet gives the result of their labours: "Anthon's Classical Dictionary, Genoa.

The lord of this city was chosen by Annogu of Luna and the Lanth to supersede the Arretine prince as commander of the allied armies in Liguria. The army in the power of the dominion of Umbria was in reality not in its power but in revolt.

to the relief. Ceasing to obey, I removed them. He who calls to me, I promised to help. He advised Luna, in order to gain assistance, to request the rebellious chiefs to come under the league; desiring to gain to the army the cities of the dominion of Umbria, thus deprived of union. He promises the army, desirous of support, that Agbe shall protect instead of opposing.

The rebels desire to remove me from the care of the league. I had rather they had sundered the good-will of the Vagienni and that of the Vedicanti. Should we, would Scipio Corculum, the illustrious Roman, withdraw, considering these rebels? I forewarn whosoever befriends the rebels that he withdraws the help of Ravenna and the subjects of Ravenna, and deprives of union the cities of the dominion of Umbria.¹¹¹

He commands the army, desirous of support, to request that Agbe protect instead of opposing. He thus withdraws from help the lord of Ravenna, desirous to aid, and the Albans. The cities of Umbria, without union, he deprives of their lords. Desirous of support, requesting Agbe to protect instead of opposing, he withdraws from help Ravenna, which goes far from the league to join Novaria, and the Albans. The cities of the dominion of Umbria, without union, he deprives of their boundaries. Desirous of support, requesting Agbe to protect

¹¹¹ Scipio Corculum or Nasica; in Etruscan Sipiag Tentu or the discreet, called the best man in Rome: Valerius Maximus VIII., ch. XV., 6.

“Eloquentiâ primus, juris scientiâ consultissimus, ingenio sapientissimus: unde vulgo Corculum dictus:” Aurelius Victor, in vita P. Scipionis Nasicae. Compare Cicero, Tusculans I., 9: et Nasica ille prudens, bis consul, Corculum.

instead of opposing, Angabe leaves them and joins Ravenna to a league for subduing the withholders of tribute.

The city of Luna withdraws from her promise to give me alone of the confederates the word of command to rule. Promising to me, he gives the place which he promises to me to this lord of Veitirii. Promising to join me instead of the enemy, instead of sheltering under the league, he helps the rebel chiefs under Pisa, a soul bereft of shame. This lord of Veitirii, to whom instead of me the place of the army is given, marches the disobedient army which has its soul in the dust. Promising to join me instead of the enemy, under the league, he helps the rebellious chiefs under Pisa, a soul bereft of shame. Did the lord of Veitirii, to whom is given the place of the army which has its soul in the dust, did he do better in my stead, if with difficulty, under the league?

TABLE V. B.

The city of Luna withdraws from her promise to give to me alone of the confederates the word of command to rule, willing to fight, willing to help. The Lanth takes me to command, willing to fight, willing to help, under the league.

Instead of protecting, joining the rebellious chiefs instead of opposing them, he helps them under Pisa. A soul bereft of shame the Lanth takes to command instead of me. If he says, he gives to union a famous soul to help it, a lord sympathetic of desire, a helpful lord, let the Lanth take me to command.

LIST OF PAPERS

READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY SINCE ITS INAUGURATION :

- "The British—Who are They, and What are They?" By Wm. Greig, Senior, Montreal. Read 28th February, 1884.
- "Geographical and Historical Account of the Isle of Man." By J. K. Ward, Esq., Montreal. Read 28th February, 1884.
- "Rudiments of Gaelic Grammar." By Rev. D. B. Blair, Barney's River, N.S. Read 27th March, 1884.
- "Influence of Eisteddfods on the Welsh Language." By Neil MacNeil Brodie, Halifax, N.S. Read 30th Oct., 1884.
- "Celtic Prosody." By Neil MacNish, B.D., LL.D., Cornwall, Ont. Read 5th Feb., 1885.
- "The Early Settlement of the Lower Provinces by the Scottish Gael, their Various Situations and Present Condition." By Rev. D. B. Blair, Barney's River, N.S. Read 5th Feb., 1885.
- "The Literary Aspect of the Celtic Settlements in the Counties of Stormont and Glengarry." By Geo. Sandfield MacDonald, B.A., Cornwall, Ont. Read 5th Feb., 1885.
- "Sketches of Highland Settlements in Western Ontario, and Literary Production of Highlanders there." By Hugh MacColl, Strathroy, Ont. Read 26th Feb., 1885.
- "The Madoc or Welsh Indians." By D. W. Rowland, St. Thomas, Ont. Read 26th Feb., 1885.
- "The Influence of St. Columba on Celtic Literature." By Rev. Robt. Campbell, M.A., Montreal. Read 12th March, 1885.
- "Historical Sketch of the Isle of Man." By J. K. Ward, Esq., Montreal. Read 12th March, 1885.
- "Similarity between the Irish and the Scottish Gaelic." By Neil MacNeil Brodie, Halifax, N.S. Read 26th March, 1885.
- "Who are We?" By Wm. Greig, Sen., Montreal. Read 26th March, 1885.
- "The Celt in the North-West." By Rev. John Mackay, Strathclair, Man. Read 30th April, 1885.
- "The Cornish Language." By Rev. Neil MacNish, B.D., LL.D., Cornwall, Ont. Read 30th April, 1885.
- "Is it Right to Encourage the Perpetuation of the Celtic Language?" By Neil MacNeil Brodie, Halifax, N.S. Read 29th Oct., 1885.
- "The Early Settlement of Glengarry. By John MacLennan, Esq., M.P. Read 3rd Dec., 1885.

- "The Gaelic Race—the Original Inhabitants of Caledonia or North Britain." By Rev. D. B. Blair, Barney's River, N.S. Read 3rd Dec., 1885.
- "Manx Literature." By A. W. Moore, M.A., Crankbourne, Isle of Man. Read 17th Dec., 1885.
- "The Origin and Language of the Scottish Highlanders." By Hugh MacLean, Tarbert, Scotland. Read 17th Dec., 1885.
- "The Literature of the Isle of Man." By A. W. Moore, M.A., Crankbourne, Isle of Man. Read 4th March, 1886.
- "Les Gateaux Alphabetiques." By H. Gaidoz, Paris, France. Read 4th March, 1886.
- "Les chrétiens de la grande Irlande ou Escociland a-la-legend Saint Columba chez les Mexicains du Moyen Age." By Monsieur Eugène Beauvois, Corberon, Côte d'Or, France. Read 25th March, 1886.
- "Affinity of the Greek Article to the Gaelic Article." By Rev. John Mackay, Strathclair, Man. Read 25th March, 1886.
- "Monumental Evidence of an Iberian Population of the British Islands." By Prof. Campbell, M.A., Presbyterian College, Montreal. Read 25th April, 1886.
- "The Celt in the North-West." By Prof. Bryce, of Winnipeg. Read 29th April, 1886.
- "Are the Kelts of Kimmerian Origin?" By Rev. A. MacLean Sinclair, Springville, N.S. Read 28th Oct., 1886.
- "Highland Chivalry." By Neil MacNeil Brodie, Halifax, N.S. Read 25th Nov., 1886.
- "Highland Settlers of Western Ontario" (supplementary to former Paper). By Hugh MacColl, Esq., Strathroy, Ont. Read 25th Nov., 1886.
- "Are the Poems of Ossian of Irish or Scottish Origin?" By Rev. Neil MacNish, B.D., LL.D., Cornwall, Ont. Read 9th Dec. 1886.

