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PRE-CHRISTIAN BRITAIN 1360

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BY

DONALD A. MACKENZIE

Author of "Ancient Civilizations" "Ancient Man in Britain" "Footprints of Early Man" &c.

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By Donald A. Mackenzie

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PREFACE

In his inscribed records of Buddhist missionary activities, Asoka, the "Emperor-monk" of India, claims to have made religious " conquests " in Europe, but some modern scholars are openly sceptical regarding this assertion, and for no better reason than the lack of confirmatory evidence from either Greece or Rome. Nor is serious weight attached to the striking statement of Origen, the early Christian Father, that Britain of the third century proved to be favourable ground for the growth of Christianity, having "long been pre-disposed to it through the doctrines of the Druids and Buddhists, who had already inculcated the unity of the Godhead ". It is usually assumed that Origen was misinformed regarding Britain and the character of its pre-Christian religious cults. But the discovery in a dried peat moss in Jutland of the Gundestrup bowl, on which the Celtic god Cernunnos is postured like a typical Buddha and given, as is pointed out for the first time in this volume, the attributes of the Hindu-Buddhist god Virūpāksha, suggests that, after all, Asoka and Origen must be taken quite seriously.

This Gundestrup Celto-Buddhist figure is not an isolated example. It is really an illuminating link with those mysterious "squatting" figures of Cernunnos on certain Gaulish stones and coins, which Rhys regarded as of remote "Aryan" origin, and it throws light on the Celtic pre-Christian fasting customs which S. Baring-Gould inclined to connect with the ancient people who set up the megalithic monuments in Western Europe and India,

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PREFACE

PREFACE

leaving us to explain away the entire absence of similar phenomena in other megalithic areas. The Cernunnos cult reached our own shores. Cernunnos is remembered in Wales as " Bran the Blessed ", who introduced Christianity into Britain, and this may have been the same Bran who, in ancient Gaelic literature, leaves Ireland to explore the ocean for the " Isles of the Blest ", as do some Emperors and their daring navigators in the ancient literature of China. In England Cernunnos degenerated into a forest demon, known as "Herne the Hunter", regarding whom Shakespeare has left an interesting record in one of his plays. The same deity was known in Scotland, and appears to have contributed to the traditions connected with St. Kentigern, the patron saint of Glasgow, who may, or may not, have existed in the flesh. As is shown in this volume, Cernunnos is associated on the Gundestrup bowl with the wolf and the stag, and St. Kentigern yokes these cult animals to a plough and, with their aid, renders fertile the barren land of Glasgow.

The Gundestrup Cernunnos is of especial interest in another connexion. Celtic scholars have long puzzled over the "horned serpent" sculptured on Gaulish stones and frequently referred to in Celto-British and Celto-Irish folk-lore. The god is found to be grasping this composite monster in his left hand, as does also the Hindu Buddhist god Virūpāksha, a Tibetan representation of whom is given as the frontispiece of this volume. Apparently the mysterious Celtic "horned serpent" is no other than the Hindu Nāga (serpent deity) which, as De Visser has shown, was the prototype of the Chinese horned serpent-dragon; it appears to have been the prototype also of the Scottish "Bride's serpent". The Nāgas were taken over by a heretical Buddhist sect and Buddha himself was transformed into the "Naga King". He thus became the controller of the water supply, the giver of crops and the deity who caused the seasons to revolve in their proper order. As the "Naga King", and Guardian of the Western Paradise, Buddha is the god Virūpāksha, and Cernunnos was manifestly transformed to represent that deity in Western Europe.

The clues afforded by the Gundestrup bowl and other archæological relics, and by the comparative evidence provided in this volume, which throws light upon the problem of Druidism, emphasize that some of the prevailing ideas regarding the ancient Celts must undergo revision. The opening chapter in this volume deals with the " Celtic question ", which is found to have a curious history. It is surely contrary to the facts of history to hold, as many still do, that the Celts were untouched by higher civilization before coming into contact with Rome, and that they remained, more or less, in a state of semi-savagery until brought under the direct influence of their Roman conquerors. The loose confederacy of Celtic states and of states tributary to the Celts, extending from Asia Minor to Ireland, may not have constituted an Empire in the Roman sense of the term, but they appear to have constituted an avenue along which for centuries "flowed" or "drifted" those alien cultural influences which can be traced in Celtic religious complexes and Celtic sociology.

DONALD A. MACKENZIE.

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This volume deals with the spread of Buddhism in pre-Christian times from Asia to the British Isles. It is shown that the squatting Celtic god Cernunnos, who survives in Shakespeare as "Herne the Hunter", and whose attributes were acquired by St. Kentigern, the patron saint of Glasgow, is no other than Virūpāksha, a Hindu-Buddhist god of the West-that is, a form of the Western Buddha, Amida, whose greatness is extolled in those Buddhist Sūtras which speak of the Western Paradise as the home of pure souls after death. Like Virūpāksha, Cernunnos grasps in his left hand a horned snake which is the Naga (serpent-dragon deity) of a Hindu cult absorbed by the Northern Buddhists-the Nāga which was the prototype of the Chinese dragon. As is shown, the horned god, Cernunnos, is himself a "Nāga king" who controls the water supply, renders the land fertile, and promotes the welfare of human beings in this world and the next. As chief of the four Buddhas of the cardinal points, he is also the controller of the seasons. He thus links with the Celto-Irish god known as "the Dagda ", who played on his " living harp " so that spring, summer, autumn, and winter might follow one another in their proper order. Like Cernunnos-Virūpāksha, the Dagda is a giver of crops and provider of the porridge to which he himself is very partial. Like Cernunnos, too,

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he is associated with the oak tree, as are also Shakespeare's

"Herne the Hunter" and St. Kentigern the patron saint of Glasgow. The oak figures prominently in Glasgow's coat of arms, in which the gold ring (a solar symbol) and the salmon (a form of the dragon) are included. "Let Glasgow flourish", the motto of Scotland's largest city, has thus a history rooted in a Buddhist cult.

The cult animals of Cernunnos include the wolf and stag, and it is significant to find that St. Kentigern is reputed to have yoked these animals to a plough and to have thus transformed nine acres of barren land in Glasgow into a fertile field which yielded " the best and the richest wheat ". That grotesque story, which is incorporated in Joceline's Life of the saint, can now be fully understood. It is manifestly a survival from the pre-Christian faith in which the Celto-Buddhist god Cernunnos was the chief deity.

The evidence of Buddhist influence in the Celtic area which is provided in this volume not only sheds fresh light on certain aspects of Celtic mythology and religion, and emphasizes the importance of certain elements in Celtic folk-lore hitherto neglected, but opens up a new chapter in ancient Celtic history. It is evident that the Celts were influenced not only by the civilization of the Ægean area and by that of the Iberians with whom they mingled in the West, but that they had been brought as well into intimate touch with the civilizations of Western and Central Asia. Buddhist missionaries and Buddhist pilgrims, who searched for the Western Paradise, appear to have reached Great Britain and Ireland before Julius Cæsar crossed the English Channel. The silver bowl found at Gundestrup in Jutland, on which the Celtic god Cernunnos figures as a Buddha, is dated

about 100 B.C. It cannot, however, be regarded as evidence of the earliest arrival in the West of Buddhist missionaries. The religious sect which it represents must have been long established in the West before such a complete fusion of the various cult symbols on this bowl took place. These symbols represent ancient cults which had long been flourishing in areas as far separated as Gaul, South-eastern Europe, Asia Minor, and India. In one direction only is unity achieved. The whole mass is a distinctively Buddhist complex. It was the policy of the Northern Buddhists, wherever they went, to adopt the deities of local religions and to transform them into Buddhas. As is shown, the missionaries of Mithraism, another Asiatic faith which reached Britain, in like manner became the patrons of the deities and doctrines of a great variety of faiths, to which, however, they invariably imparted a strong Mithraic complexion.

The evidence of Buddhist activities in Western Europe here provided must make certain Buddhist scholars revise their views regarding the pillar and rock inscriptions of the famous Asoka, the Emperor-monk of India who flourished in the third century B.C. Asoka sent out Buddhist missionaries to distant lands east and west. They not only preached the Buddhist faith, but established hospices for travellers, cultivated medicinal herbs and dug wells. No one doubts the accuracy of Asoka's claim with regard to the activities and influence of his missionaries in Ceylon and eastward across the ocean to the Malay Peninsula, Burmah, and Java. It is otherwise, however, with his claim that he achieved conquests " not by the sword but by religion " in the West. His thirteenth edict makes mention of religious embassies sent to the realms of the Greek Kings of Egypt,

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Syria, Macedonia, Epirus, and Cyrene. Dr. Rhys Davids, for instance, is prepared to doubt the truth of this record. " It is difficult," he writes in his Buddhist India (pp. 298-9), "to say how much of this is mere royal rhodomontade." Even if the emissaries had been actually sent to the West, "there is," in his opinion, "little reason to believe that the Greek self-complacency would have been much disturbed." Dr. Rhys Davids " can scarcely imagine them (the Greeks) discarding their gods and their superstitions at the bidding of an alien king." That may be true of the Greeks as a whole. But reference is made in this volume to at least one Greek who became a Buddhist missionary, and it cannot be overlooked that so prominent a Greek as was Pythagoras had, before Asoka's time, established a cult which was decidedly non-Greek and probably owed much to Asia, and that a notable teacher like Plato was not thirled to the Greek tradition in religion, but had his "self-complacency" disturbed by Oriental speculations.

There were, however, other peoples in Europe besides the Greeks, and, as one may remind some scholars, besides the Romans. The Celts were before the period of the Roman Empire a numerous and influential people whose loosely-connected Empire extended from Asia Minor westward to Britain and Ireland. It may not have been as well organized or administered as the later Empire of Rome, for, like the ancient Egyptian Empire in Asia, it was little more than a mosaic of "spheres of influence". It was, however, an avenue which was taken advantage of by traders and one along which cultural influences "flowed" steadily. In Asia Minor a group of the Celtic people became converts to the Attis cult; Greek writers expressed the opinion that it was owing to contact with

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their own country that the Celts embraced doctrines similar to those professed by Pythagoras. Apparently the Druids were not afraid of having their "self-complacency disturbed" by the doctrines of alien teachers, but were inclined to welcome the missionaries of another faith and to fuse the new religion with the old, as was undoubtedly the case with the Gnostics. The Celtic Druids were, in the main, men of comparatively high culture. Cicero entertained as his guest in Rome a learned Druid named Divitiacus whom he held in high esteem, and Julius Cæsar, who had been instructed in his youth by a scholarly Celt, not only cultivated the friendship of the Druids in Gaul but wrote of them with evident interest and appreciation. Indeed, the references to the Druids in classical literature as a whole are not, to say the least of it, other than respectful.

The archæological evidence provided by the Gundestrup bowl and the Gaulish sculptures referred to in this volume, as to the influence exercised by Buddhist teachers in the Celtic area, is confirmed by the statement by the Early Christian Father, Origen, that there were Buddhists as well as Druidical teachers in pre-Christian Britain. It is evident from what Origen says that the religion of the Druids was of loftier character than is usually assumed by those students of Celtic religion who interest themselves mainly in folk tales and mythology, and that Christianity reached Britain at an earlier period than is usually assumed by historians, or can be gathered from the mediæval Lives of the saints, in which, as is shown in this volume, so many curious pagan traditions survive in Christianized form.

In dealing with the various relics of Buddhist influence in Britain, the writer has found it necessary to (D 852) 2

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provide a good deal of comparative evidence. This method has yielded as its first fruits the identification of Cernunnos with the Hindu god Virūpāksha, who was taken over by the Buddhists, and the mysterious horned snake of Gaul which has hitherto puzzled the Celtic scholars, with the Hindu Nāga (serpent deity). It also proves fruitful in connexion with the problem presented by the Celtic "Isles of the Blest" and "the Purgatory of St. Patrick" in Donegal.

Many grave problems emerge, including that of the diffusion of culture from centres of origin over wide areas. When, for instance, it is found that the beliefs and practices connected with the Irish cave which leads to Paradise, are so like those that obtained among the Zapotecs at Mitla in pre-Columbian America, a problem arises which cannot be left unconsidered. It is " a far cry " from Lough Derg in Donegal to Mitla in Mexico, but it cannot be doubted that in those widely-separated localities a common influence had been at work. Ireland and Mexico were never in direct touch in ancient times, but both countries apparently were influenced by the Buddhist doctrines imported from Asia. The horned serpent of the Celts and the horned "feathered serpent" of pre-Columbian America were manifestly of Buddhist origin. As is shown, the history of the Buddhist complexes can be traced in India and elsewhere in Asia, but neither in Ireland nor in America. In my Myths of pre-Columbian America I have shown that there are many cultural links between the Maya, Mexican and Peruvian civilizations and those of India and Eastern Asia. The "little leaven" which "leavened the whole lump" of pre-Columbian American civilization was apparently the Buddhist leaven. Small companies of Buddhist teachers influenced wide areas like China, Japan, Burmah, Siam, &c., in the Old World, and small companies of teachers similarly influenced America. Those who doubt that the Pacific Ocean was crossed in pre-Columbian times, overlook the fact that Polynesia was reached by daring and enterprising seafarers from Indonesia. The Polynesians were only one of the Asiatic peoples who were accustomed and equipped to undertake long voyages. Authorities on shipping do not share the scepticism of some archæologists in this connexion and freely admit that the ancient mariners were as capable of reaching America as they were of reaching so remote a spot as Easter Island. The absence of records of voyages across the Pacific is certainly no justification for the refusal to consider the possibility of their having been made. Those who positively deny that such voyages were ever accomplished are simply attaching a positive value to negative evidence.

While, however, some readers may prefer to suspend judgment as to how Buddhist influence reached America, the evidence provided in this volume regarding the spread of Buddhist influence into Western Europe raises a problem more easy of solution. Buddhist teachers reached Asia Minor from India and the Parthian area, and the eastern wing of the Celts was in Galatia. It is difficult to believe that the Celtic Druids did not come into touch with Buddhist teachers and pilgrims, and it is unlikely that the missionaries who were sent out from India to achieve religious conquests, would have ignored so numerous and influential a people as the Celts. When, therefore, we find that the Celtic god Cernunnos bears so striking a resemblance in essential details to a Buddha, and especially to Virūpāksha, and that Origen testifies to the presence in pre-Christian Britain of Buddhist

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teachers, it surely cannot be denied that Buddhist influence did really penetrate to the Celtic area and left a deep impress upon Celtic religion.

It is apparent that the popular view, derived from prejudiced historians, regarding "the savage and barbarous Celts" must be thoroughly revised. The first chapter in this volume is devoted to the Celtic question, because it is necessary that the available evidence regarding the ancient Celts should be considered afresh so as to prepare readers for the study of the problem presented by the Gundestrup Buddha. The Celts were not "savages", nor yet "barbarians" in the modern sense of the term. Those who inhabited England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland in Julius Cæsar's time had been influenced by the La Tène culture of the Continent regarding which archæologists are inclined to grow lyrical. Their artifacts are comparable with those of any other ancient European people, including the Greeks and Romans. Indeed, British metal-working was much superior to Roman. Ancient British civilization with its chariots and high kings and tribal heroes was of Homeric character, but those historians who write eloquently and enthusiastically regarding the Achæans and Trojans show little if any tendency to do justice to the ancient Britons, whose high code of chivalry, as revealed in the Celtic manuscript tales, was as foreign to both the Romans and the Greeks as were their lofty religious ideas regarding the destiny of the human soul.

BUDDHISM IN PRE-CHRISTIAN BRITAIN

CHAPTER I

The Continental and British Celts

SECTION I-THE "CELTIC QUESTION"

The so-called "Celtic question" has, during the past half-century, been productive of a very considerable literature. It cannot be said, however, that general agreement has yet been reached as to how the term "Celtic" should properly be applied either in the racial or the cultural sense. The historians, the archæologists, the anthropologists, and the poets are found to have varying points of view.

Some writers still assume that there was an ancient and homogeneous "Celtic race" which originated and developed a distinctive culture in isolation from the rest of mankind—a people of the mists and shadows who yearned constantly for unattainable things. The modern representatives of this strange race are supposed to have inherited that elusive thing called the "Celtic temperament", which finds expression in either beautiful but

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hazy poetry, or bewilderingly intricate ornamental designs of vague symbolic significance, and is, withal, accompanied by mysterious "psychic faculties" such as "second sight", the "power to heal", &c.

Matthew Arnold was in no small measure to blame for popularizing the half-mythical Celt of Victorian literature. He wrote with assurance of the " Celtic race " at a time when the "Celtic question" had assumed a political aspect, emphasizing that "race's" "quickwittedness and spirituality" and "want of patience with ideas"; and he grew lyrical regarding "the Titanism of the Celt, his passionate, turbulent, indomitable re-action against the despotism of fact ", of his " nervous exaltation" and his inevitable doom, declaring, with a fine literary flourish, that " for ages the world has been constantly slipping, even more and more, out of the Celtic grasp". The practical bolt-hurling Anglo-Saxon Zeus was more than a match for the Celtic Titan! In his In Memoriam Tennyson, entering the lists against the "knights" of the "Celtic Fringe", made scornful reference to

> "the schoolboy heat, The blind hysterics of the Celt."

The poets of the Neo-Celtic school have, however, despite Tennysonian censure, been caught in the glamour of Arnold's superficial generalization, with the result that their "literary renaissance" has been tinged by it. William Sharp, who, for a time, pretended to be a Gaelic lady named "Fiona Macleod", specialized in "Celtic gloom" which "to many Gaels, if not to all, is," he would have us believe, "so distinctive in the remote life of a doomed and passing race. The Celt," he sighs, "has

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at last reached his horizon. There is no shore beyond." He forgot, for the time being, the many enterprising Celts among the pioneers of Britain's world-wide empire, including the Mackenzie who wrote his name across Northern Canada, and his friend Fraser whose name was given to Fraser River.

Sharp's West Highlanders betray symptoms of nervous disorders which threaten their mental health. Even young children, he would have us believe, sound "the lamentation of a race", muttering as they look up "through dark, tear-wet eyes", the tragic words, "I have the gloom!" while their elders make similar moan, and add "If it be Destiny!"¹ Scottish Highlanders, however, find it difficult to recognize the Highlanders depicted by Mr. Sharp, who, it may be noted, was not himself a Highlander either by descent or upbringing. In Highland life he discovered what he looked for through Arnoldian spectacles.

The Celts of some of the historians, and especially those with a pronounced racial bias, are, similarly, more fanciful than real. To Freeman, for instance, the Teutons were invariably "the heroes" and the Celts "the villains of the piece". He regarded all Englishmen and a goodly proportion of Scotsmen as Anglo-Saxons and therefore of Teutonic origin. "The greatness of Scotland", in his opinion, should be credited to the Teutonic element in its population. The Celts "could not have made Scotland what it really became. . . The truth", he declared, "is that there were two English kingdoms in Britain, each of which had a troublesome Celtic background which formed its chief difficulty."²

¹ Introduction to The Sin-Eater.

² The Historical Geography of Europe, Vol. I, p. 548. The italics are mine.

Freeman, be it noted to his credit, ultimately recognized that there was some justification for the charge made against him that he was a "pro-Teutonic extremist". Indeed, after Professor Sayce had delivered his Presidential address, in the Anthropological Section of the British Association in 1887, in which he showed that the sub-stratum of the British race goes back to pre-Saxon times, the historian virtually renounced his old views, insisting that he had never meant the British race was Teutonized, but merely the British nationality, and that he had really never spoken of an Anglo-Saxon "race".

Professor Sayce, in his delightful *Reminiscences* (pp. 139-40) informs us that "Freeman was accustomed to opposition on my part: his Teutonic theories, as I used to tell him and Green, were contradicted by the names and physical and temperamental characteristics of both of them, Freeman being a typical 'Red Kelt ' and Green a Neolithic survival. The ancestors of both must have been Saxon serfs."

But although Freeman, "constrained to yield to the accumulating archæological and anthropological evidence", changed his mind somewhat, the deplorable spirit of racial prejudice which he created has been perpetuated in varying degrees of intensity by many of his disciples. Not, indeed, until Europe was plunged in the Great War did the "Teutonic myth" receive its death-blow in our own country.

A new view of the Celtic question, which might be suspected of Freemanism were it not that its exponent considers that the Saxons, as well as the Celts, were "semi-savage", is urged with enthusiasm and much literary charm by Mr. H. J. Massingham, the author of Downland Man. He informs us that the Celts were

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mere parasites on an ideal "archaic civilization" which flourished during the Neolithic and Bronze epochs of the archæologists. England had its "Golden Age" in these far-off days, for all men were brothers and exemplary Communists. "Degeneration, manifested both materially and in *the heart of man*," writes Mr. Massingham, " is the keynote of the Celtic period of Britain."¹ Gaul was similarly afflicted by the Celtic blight, for there the bloodthirsty Celtic kings were "little Macbeths"² who achieved power by armed strength and superior generalship against the foe. One wonders in this regard what evidence exists for the statement that under the "irresponsible" Gaulish Macbeths "the bulk of the population was undoubtedly more oppressed" than "under the earlier warrior kings".

Mr. Massingham bases some of his opinions regarding the Celts on his random gleanings from what he calls "the (Welsh and Gaelic) rubbish heap of jewelled story", from tales of the so-called "sun heroes"³ of the Celts, whose "careers resemble the records of a Police Gazette" and from "Gaelic mythology" which he confesses to have found "indeed a terrible tangle". He has failed, however, to explain away certain outstanding traits of Celtic civilization of which there are definite records, which is more than can be said of his idealized "Archaic civilization", or to make us ignore the manifest virility and refinement of the exquisite art and skilled craftsmanship of British "Iron Age" relics, including the enamels (the highest achievement of any of the ancient British artisans and chemists), the greatly improved pottery, &c.,

¹ Downland Man, London, 1926, p. 321. The italics are mine.

²The reference must be to Shakespeare's Macbeth for the real Macbeth of history was an enlightened king who established a "pax Scotorum" and promoted trade by land and sea.

³ They were no more " sun heroes " than were the heroes of the Iliad.

usually credited to the "degenerate" Celt. Mr. Massingham refuses, however, to be fair, having hardened his heart like the Pharaoh. "The Celts," he insists, "came down like a wolf on the fold; their object was predatory." Pytheas, Poseidonius, and Cæsar have consequently all written in vain of Celtic traders, sea-farers, and agriculturists, and the door is slammed against the evidence regarding civilized conditions afforded by the Celtic manuscripts and Celtic art relics.

A somewhat similar spirit of hostility to the Celts is displayed by classical scholars who have no regrets to express regarding the predatory and destructive habits of the Romans, although even Tacitus confesses that they occasionally "made a desolation and called it 'Peace'". To some of these scholars the ancient Celts were in Scotland "wild hillmen" (although "Caledonian" probably meant "woodlander"), "wolves", &c., while elsewhere they were really half-savage and uncultured brigands who lived mainly by plunder and constituted a constant and dangerous menace to all civilized states which had the misfortune to have them on their frontiers.

When we turn from these conflicting views of literary men, historians, and anthropologists to the literature of ethnology, with desire to discover the racial stock represented by the Celts, we find that one "school" identifies them with the "broad-headed" Armenoids—also called the "Alpine race"—while another insists that they were tall, long-headed, and fair. To add to the confusion, the philologists divide the Celts into two branches—the Q-Celts and the P-Celts, some insisting on the unhistoric spelling "Kelt" to urge a theory that need not concern us here.

As even Celtic scholars are at variance with regard

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to the ethnics of their ancestors, it is not surprising that archæologists should find themselves confronted by difficulties when they attempt to connect this or that "wave" of the Celts with one or another of their "Ages", especially as these "Ages" have not everywhere the same chronological significance. In the British Museum *Guide to the Antiquities of the Early Iron Age*, for instance, it is noted that the Celts (or Kelts) of Professor Ridgeway are "the tall, fair-haired and blue-eyed peoples who from time to time came into contact with the small dark race of the Mediterranean area" (p. 9), but the "official view," which was favoured by Sir Hercules Read when the *Guide* was written, is as follows:

"The true Kelt was of medium stature, with a short head 1 and a round prominent forehead, contracting towards the temples: the nose almost straight, the chin rounded, and the eyes and hair dark brown or black."

The fair type with long skull and "eyes and hair of a light colour" is called "Belgian", and it is held that "there was, indeed, little to distinguish him (the Belgian) from his neighbour the German, but in the course of time there was a considerable fusion of Belgic and Keltic blood in Gaul" (p. 13). The same *Guide* suggests (p. 83) that the Goidels (Q-Celts) reached Britain about 1000 B.C. and introduced cremation, that the Brythons (P-Celts) arrived between 400 B.C. and 300 B.C., and the "Belgæ (partly Teutonic)" came about 200 B.C. Celtic scholars are, however, now agreed that the Q-Celts first of all occupied Ireland, whence sections of them migrated to Scotland, Wales, and South-western England during the Romano-British period. "Such evidence as we have," writes Professor W. J. Watson, "goes to show that the

¹ This type of head is rare in Ireland. In Scotland it is found chiefly in the north and east.

Celtic type of Scotland at this period was of the P-type, like Old British and Gaulish. . . . The Caledonians were of the P-group."¹ It is evident, therefore, that the cremation custom could not have been introduced into Britain by the Goidels (Q-Celts). Dr. Joyce says that he has found only one direct allusion to cremation in ancient Irish Gaelic literature. "Yet we know," he adds, "that cremation was extensively practised in pagan Ireland."² It looks as if Mr. Massingham has been blaming the innocents.

Archæologists are not at one with regard to the "Celtic question". This need not surprise us, because their interests are confined mainly to the origin, development, and diffusion of material culture, and they have to recognize that there is no essential connexion between a culture and a race. Inventions spread from people to people, and the use of certain artifacts might, in a particular area, be confined to a single class of the community. The weapons of an archæological "Age" may have been possessed only or mainly by intruders who formed a military aristocracy. It would appear to be fairly certain, however, that the "carriers" of "Iron Age" artifacts into Western Europe and Britain were peoples of Celtic speech. Some of these artifacts were, at any rate, in use among the Celts when they came into contact with the Greeks and Romans, and there are descriptions of them in ancient Gaelic literature.

> ¹ Celtic Place-Names of Scotland, Edinburgh and London, 1926, p. 70. ² A Smaller Social History of Ancient Ireland, 1906, p. 535.

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SECTION II—CELTIC TRADE, GOVERNMENT, AND RELIGION

Several archæologists have, in their writings, drawn attention to the interesting fact that the carriers of "Iron Age" culture showed a marked partiality for those areas in Central and Western Europe in which deposits of salt were to be found. It would appear, therefore, that the motive which impelled their migrations had a basis in their economic life—that, in short, they required and used large quantities of salt. Now, the Celts were certainly salt users on a big scale. Strabo (IV, c. 4, § 3), who appears to have had his information from the lost writings of Poseidonius of Apamea,¹ states in this connexion regarding the Celts of Gaul:

"They have large numbers of sheep and swine and supply salted pork in plenty, not only to Rome but most parts of Italy."

The Celts themselves, according to the same authority, lived chiefly on milk and all kinds of flesh, their commonest diet, however, being pork, which they ate "both fresh and salted".

Both as traders and agriculturists the Celts of Gaul appear to have been much more advanced than the Germans. Cæsar informs us, in fact, that the latter hardly cultivated the soil at all (*De Bello Gallico*, VI, 22), and he tells of a Celtic tribe which conquered and settled on German territory and then deteriorated; they "sank," he says, "to the level of the surrounding population, reproducing the well-known features of German poverty, destitution, and general discomfort, with the same rough style of living and dress." Tacitus also refers

¹ The philosopher, scientist, and geographer of the first century B.C., under whom Cicero studied at Rhodes. He travelled in Western Europe.

to the indolence of the Germans (Germania, Chap. 45).

Cæsar (VI, 24) considered that the progress achieved by the Celts of Gaul was partly due to the nearness of the Roman provinces, and partly to their introduction of articles of sea-borne commerce, but in this latter connexion he does not make mention of the Greek colonies, or of the Etruscans and Carthaginians, leaving us to infer that the Roman influence was supreme. Polybius (II, 17) informs us, however, that when the Etruscans occupied the northern plains of Italy, their chief intercourse was with the Celts. The Carthaginians and Greeks were likewise in touch with the Celts in Gaul before the period of Roman expansion. We gather, too, from the evidence of archæology that Iron Age culture in Central Europe owed nothing in particular to Italy. Indeed, there are some who would have it rather that Italy owed much to Central Europe. It was evidently not in consequence of Roman influence alone that, as Cæsar notes, the national wealth of Gaul tended constantly to increase and the Gaulish standard of living to rise steadily (De Bello Gallico, VI, 24). We cannot, of course, overlook the fact, in this connexion, that when Cæsar wrote his account of his Gaulish campaigns, he had a political purpose to serve and considered it expedient to flatter his countrymen.

Strabo (IV, c. 4, § 3) tells us that the Celtic governments were mostly aristocracies, and that formerly the people elected a chieftain every year. He writes satirically about the "simplicity" and "arrogance" of the Celts and their love of ornaments, stating that they wore golden collars, wristlets, and bracelets, and favoured dyed garments (apparently tartan ¹) worked with gold.

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It is evident from these and other statements by classical writers, as well as from the data afforded by archæology and the old Gaelic manuscripts, that the Celts were possessed of considerable wealth and lived in wellorganized and well-governed communities. They were the pork merchants of ancient Europe and engaged in commerce with profit to themselves and benefit to other peoples. As traders, they could not have had any particular desire for isolation from the rest of mankind. If they were guilty of occasionally attacking other states, and achieving conquests, so were the Romans themselves when they became powerful enough.

It is probable that some of the communities of Continental Celts resembled the Britons of Cornwall and Devon who, according to Diodorus Siculus (V, 22), quoting from Poseidonius of Apamea, were very friendly towards those strangers who crossed the English Channel to obtain cargoes of tin. The same writer informs us that the Celtiberians were generous and kindly to their guests (V, 34), and that the Celts of Gaul had acute minds and were ever ready to receive instruction (V, 31). Strabo writes in similar vein; he says that although the Celts were warlike and passionate and ever ready to fight, they were otherwise simple and devoid of malice, while many were easily induced to engage in useful pursuits and accordingly engaged in science and letters. According to Suetonius, the tutor selected to instruct Julius Cæsar in his youth was a Celt. Virgil, who had himself a Celtic name, studied rhetoric under a Celtic scholar.

The Celts who were "ever ready to fight" were certainly no "home-stayers". Xenophon states that Celts were employed as mercenaries by Dionysius of Sicily to help his Lacedæmonian allies in the Peloponnesian war

¹ Diodorus Siculus (V, 30) refers to the Celtic dyed tunics of many colours and their striped cloaks with floral patterns.

(369-368 B.C.). Twenty triremes conveyed the Celtic and Iberian fighting men to Greece.¹ Pyrrhus employed Celts from Gaul when he invaded Macedonia against Antigonus, son of Demetrius, and Antigonus had likewise a Celtic force under his command. According to Plutarch, Pyrrhus won his "greatest victory" with the aid of the Celts. Poseidonius reminds us that the Celts captured Rome, pillaged the temple of Delphi, and rendered much of Europe and part of Asia tributary to them, and that they settled in the lands of conquered peoples. A section of them mixed with the Greeks and were known as Gallo-græcians.² When Alexander the Great was contemplating the conquest of Italy and Carthage, he received at Babylon Celtic and Iberian envoys. He had, previous to this, some dealings with Celts.³ It is evident that the Celts were in ancient times in touch with many peoples in Europe, and in contact with Asia.

The only recorded evidence of an isolated or exclusive Celtic state is that given by Cæsar regarding the Nervii. The Nervii territory lay between the upper reaches of the Scheldt and the Meuse. As Prohibitionists, this Celtic people anticipated the Americans of the United States, and, like them, they had strict alien immigration laws. Julius Cæsar (*De Bello Gallico*, II, 15) informs us that in the Nervii state the importation and consumption of wine were strictly forbidden as were other luxuries, lest by their use the physique and courage of their manhood should decline. Foreign traders were forbidden to enter the Nervii country.

These strict laws were not survivals from remote

Hellenica, VII, 1, § 20.
Diodorus Siculus, V, 32.
Arrian, Anabasis, I, 4, § 6, and VII, 15, § 4.

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Celtic times: they had evidently been framed to prevent abuses resulting from close contact with the wine merchants of Southern Europe.

Athenæus (IV, 151) states, on the authority of Poseidonius, that the wine drunk by the Gauls came from Italy and the district round Marseilles. It was consumed chiefly by the upper classes; the poorer people drank Celtic beer flavoured with honey. We gather from Polybius (II, 19) and other writers that the Celts as a whole were very partial to intoxicating liquors. When campaigning they plundered freely; they took tribute from subject states and, as when they captured and sacked Rome (c. 390 B.C.), heavy indemnities from those they defeated.

Wine and other luxuries were not the only acquisitions made by the Celts from the various peoples with whom they came into contact. If their modes of living underwent a change, so did their modes of thought. Their religious ideas, as we find, were strongly influenced by alien teachers. Indeed, like the Romans, and in a lesser degree the ancient Egyptians and Babylonians, they were not averse, upon occasion, to adopting the gods of other peoples and including them in their pantheons, of which there were several. Nor were their Druids uninterested in the doctrines professed by the priesthoods of other peoples. Evidence of the operations of non-Celtic influences in Celtic religious life can be detected in our own day in surviving or recorded beliefs, and some of these influences were noted by ancient writers who interested themselves in certain of the Celtic communities. Diodorus Siculus (V, 28), for instance, informs us-apparently on the authority of Poseidonius -that among the Celts the doctrine of Pythagoras (D 852)

regarding the transmigration of souls was quite current. "The Gauls . . . ," he says, "believe that the souls of men are immortal, and come to life again after a certain term of years, entering other bodies. . ." "One would have laughed," a Roman declared, "at these long-trousered philosophers (the Druids), if we had not found their doctrine under the cloak of Pythagoras."¹

We may not agree with the Greek and Roman writers as to the particular source of the Celtic doctrine of metempsychosis. It was, however, undoubtedly acquired from an outside source; it cannot be regarded as having been of spontaneous generation in the Celtic area. A statement by Valerius Maximus (II, vi, 10) shows clearly that the doctrine of the transmigration of souls was not professed by all the Celts. He says that the Gauls lend one another very large sums of money on the mere promise of repayment in the next world. These men of strong faith must have therefore believed in a Heaven to which all souls passed direct when the earthly life came to an end. In Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, the doctrine of metempsychosis was an exotic, as it really was in Greece as well.

Another instance of the adoption by the Celts of the elements of an alien religion is given by Pausanias (VII, 17), whose authority appears to have been Hieronymus of Cardia (born between 370 and 360 B.C.). He states that the Celtic Galatæ of Anatolia, who dwelt in Pessinus, became worshippers of the god Attis, and because that god had been slain by a boar, they ceased to eat pork. They thus abandoned Celtic modes of thought and life, for, as has been indicated, the Celts were a pig-rearing

¹ Quoted by Elton in Origins of English History, p. 275.

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and pork-eating people, and in their religion the pig was certainly not a demon.

It must be recognized, in view of such evidence regarding the Continental and Anatolian Celts, as well as the evidence obtained from an intensive study of Celtic folk-lore in Britain and Ireland, that Celtic religious beliefs and practices were no more homogeneous than were the physical characters of the various communities of Celtic speech. All the peoples who spoke Celtic languages were not representatives of the same cult or the same race. As in our own day, so in ancient times, a single language might be spoken by a variety of peoples-by aliens, as well as by half-breeds. English, for example, is at present the language of many Red Indians and negroes in Canada and the United States, of Hindus and Moslems in India, and of Polynesians in New Zealand and elsewhere, as well as of the descendants in Great Britain of the Celts, the Iberians, the Angles, the Saxons, the Jutes, the Norwegians, the Danes, and the Normans. Celtic languages were similarly spoken by various peoples in ancient Europe who came under the influence of Celtic rule and culture, or had intimate trading relations with the Celts.

SECTION III—THE MIXING OF RACES AND CULTURES

Although the peoples of Celtic speech who occupied Gaul in Roman times were a mixture of races, there was originally a distinctive Celtic type or sub-type. The Celts who migrated gradually from the Danube valley into Central and Western Europe and Northern Italy were a tall, fair people. Apparently they were a branch

of the Nordic race, but whether they came originally from Northern Europe or Northern Asia is uncertain. In the "Danubian cultural area" of the archæologists they had acquired a culture similar to that of the Achæans with whom some are inclined to identify them. Arrian (Anabasis, I, 4, § 6) quoting Ptolemy of Lagus, who served under Alexander the Great and died in 283 B.C., informs us that the Celts who visited Alexander at Babylon were of large stature. This statement regarding Celtic characters is confirmed by Pausanias (X, 20), quoting Hieronymus of Cardia, and by Diodorus Siculus (V, 28) who states that the Celts were not only tall but fair, and that (V, 32) their women were tall also, and their children at birth had white hair which, as they grew up, assumed the colour of their fathers'.

In Western Europe, however, the tall fair Celts met and mingled with the Iberians who were mainly a dark, long-headed short people of the Mediterranean race, but blended in varying degrees in different areas with the more heavily-built, broad-headed peoples of Alpine (Armenoid) stock. Diodorus Siculus (V, 33), apparently quoting Poseidonius of Apamea, who had travelled in Western Europe, states that the Celts and Iberians waged war against one another for a prolonged period. Ultimately, however, they entered upon an understanding and held the country in common, and marriage alliances caused the fusion of the two peoples who then became known as the Celtiberians. Other fusions of like character occurred in various areas, as is made manifest by classical references to the " Celto-Scythians ", the " Celto-Lyges ", the "Celto-Thracians", the "Celtillyrians", and the "Gallo-græcians" already referred to.

The Celts reached Southern Britain and the extreme

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north of Scotland before the time of Pytheas (c. 332 B.C.), for Timæus, the contemporary of Pytheas, quoted by Diodorus Siculus, refers to Cape Orcas, a Celtic placename, the root of which survives in "Orkney", on the Pentland Firth.¹ The "Orcs" were a section of the Picts whose organization was dual, the other section being "Cats". Apparently the Picts were congeners of the sea-faring Pictones of Gaul who supplied Julius Cæsar with ships to fight against their rivals, the Veneti. They appear to have migrated by sea direct from the country of the Pictones to the north of Scotland; there were no Picts in England, Ireland, Wales, or the south of Scotland.²

It should not be rashly assumed that the intruding Celts exterminated the pre-Celtic peoples of Great Britain and Ireland. They appear instead to have formed military aristocracies and to have cleared and occupied certain areas which had previously not been inhabited, finding these suitable for their particular mode of life. That the Celts of Ireland were well aware of the mixture of races in their own country is shown clearly by the Gaelic traditions regarding the "three different races which are in Erinn ". These are given, in one instance, as the descendants of the Firbolgs (" men with sacks ") and the Galiuins ("strangers" = Gauls), the Tuatha Dé Danann (" tribe of the goddess Danu or Anu ") and the Milesians (" descendants of Mile "). Eugene O'Curry³ quotes from Duald MacFirbis's immense Book of Genealogies, compiled in the seventeenth century from earlier records, the following descriptions of the three outstanding Irish peoples:

1 W. J. Watson, The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland, 1926, pp. 29 et seq.

²W. J. Watson, op. cit., pp. 56, 59-68.

³ Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History, Dublin, 1861, pp. 223-4-

"Every one who is white [of skin], brown [of hair], bold, honourable, daring, prosperous, bountiful in the bestowal of property, wealth, and rings, and who is not afraid of battle or combat; they are the descendants of the sons of Milesius, in Erinn.

"Every one who is fair-headed, vengeful, large; and every plunderer; every musical person; the professors of musical and entertaining performances; who are adepts in all druidical and magical arts; they are the descendants of the Tuatha Dé Danann, in Erinn.

"Every one who is black-haired, who is a tattler, guileful, tale-telling, noisy, contemptible; every wretched, mean, strolling, unsteady, harsh, and inhospitable person; every slave, every mean thief, every churl, every one who loves not to listen to music and entertainment, the disturbers of every council and every assembly, and the promoters of discord among people, these are the descendants of the Firbolgs, of the Galiuins, of Liogairné, and of the Fir Domhnanns (Dumnonii = "diggers"), in Erinn. But, however, the descendants of the Firbolgs are the most numerous of all these."

In various areas in the ancient world the fusions of peoples of different racial origin, of different cultures and with different traditions, were invariably accompanied by the fusions of religious beliefs and practices. As the Celts intermixed with widely-separated peoples in different parts of Europe and in Asia Minor, it is not surprising, therefore, to find that the statements made by ancient authorities with regard to Celtic religion should be at variance.

The Celtic religious complexes were not only varied, however, by the fusions of peoples in different areas, which caused local pantheons to assume a political aspect, but also by the teachings of individuals. "Schools" of theological thought were in existence, and, as will be shown, these came under the influence of missionaries

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from distant areas who were brought into direct touch with the priestly leaders of thought in the Celtic areas.

Among the Celts, as among certain other ancient peoples, the control of religious practices, and the development of religious ideas, was mainly an affair of the priesthood. The Celtic Druids did not submit their doctrines, old or new, for the consideration and judgment of the military aristocrats. Indeed, as is gathered from Gaelic evidence, a king could not address a Druid, but a Druid could address a king, just as a commoner could not speak to a king until a king had first spoken to him. The Druids formed an exclusive caste in Celtic society. In this respect they resembled the Brahmans of India and the Levites of Israel (Leviticus, xvii) who insisted that all sacrifices should be offered through the medium of the priesthood. Diodorus Siculus (V, 31), drawing upon Poseidonius of Apamea, states that it was an established custom among the Celts that no one should sacrifice except in the presence of a Druid. It was believed by the Celts, as we are explicitly informed, that a sacrifice was not pleasing to the gods except when offered through the medium of the learned men who understood the supernatural and were in some way in communion with it, and that it was absolutely necessary to ask for favours from the gods through the Druids. Apparently, the Druids decided what gods should be worshipped as well as what doctrines should be embraced. As we have seen, the Anatolian Celts included Attis in their pantheon, while certain "schools" of Druids adopted the doctrine of Metempsychosis.

In dealing with Celtic religion, therefore, we should not expect to find the same consistent religious system in every area in which Celtic languages were spoken, but

rather varying mosaics of beliefs and practices. Indeed it may be said of Celtic as of ancient Egyptian religion, that it was full of contradictions. One is reminded in this connexion of what Dr. Alfred Wiedemann says of the ancient Egyptian theologian:

"He never attempted to systematize his conceptions of the different divinities into a homogeneous religion. It is open to us to speak of the religious ideas of the Egyptians, but not of an Egyptian religion."¹

We should similarly speak of "Celtic religious ideas" rather than of "Celtic religion".

Among the ancient writers who have left us information regarding the Druids, none is more interesting or more to be relied upon than Julius Cæsar. As has been stated, he had been tutored by a Celtic scholar. This man was probably of the Druidical caste, and he may well have influenced Cæsar to take an interest in Gaulish politics. At any rate, it is a historical fact that Cæsar cultivated the friendship of the Druids of Gaul. He embraced the cause of the Druidical party when he intervened in Æduan politics (*De Bello Gallico*, VII, 33). On that occasion he deposed a magistrate who had been chosen by the Young Gaulish party and confirmed the appointment of the man who had been elected under the presidency of the Druids.

Cæsar wrote as follows regarding the Gaulish priestly caste:

"As a class the Druids take no active part in war, and pay none of the ordinary taxes for that purpose; not only from direct military service but from other state burdens also they are uniformly exempt. Through the attractions held out by such a career no less than from private choice, large numbers join the ranks of the

¹ Religion of the Ancient Egyptians, London, 1897, p. 3.

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priesthood, and are sent by their parents and relatives to undergo the necessary training. In their schools they are said to learn by heart an extraordinary number of lines, and in consequence sometimes to remain under instruction for as many as twenty years. Although for most other purposes, in both their public and private accounts, they have adopted the Greek alphabet, yet they still retain a superstitious objection to committing the secrets of their doctrine to writing. In acting so they would seem to be guided by two main considerations. The first is their natural repugnance to the unrestricted publication of their tenets; the second is a fear lest their pupils, by too close a reliance on the written text, should relax the cultivation of their memory; experience generally showing that the constant presence of a manuscript serves only to weaken the natural powers of application and retention possessed by the mind.

"With regard to their actual course of studies, the main object of all education is, in their opinion, to imbue their scholars with a firm belief in the indestructibility of the human soul, which, according to their belief, merely passes at death from one tenement to another; for by such a doctrine alone, they say, which robs death of all its terrors, can the highest form of human courage be developed. Subsidiary to the teaching of this main principle, they hold various lectures and discussions on astronomy, on the extent and geographical distribution of the globe, on the different branches of natural philosophy, and on many problems connected with religion."¹

Pomponius Mela, the first-century Spanish writer, informs us, in his *De Situ Orbis*, that the Druids instructed their pupils in caves or secluded groves, and Lucan in his *Pharsalia* also makes mention of the Druidical groves. Strabo (IV, c. 4, § 4), quoting obviously from Poseidonius of Apamea, refers to the three classes of the non-military Celtic caste as "Bards, Seers, and Druids". The Bards composed and sung the hymns, the Seers (*ouateis* = vates) ¹ De Bello Gallico, VI, 13, translation by the Rev. F. P. Long, Oxford, 1911, pp. 175-6.

attended to sacrifices and studied the sciences, and the Druids studied natural science and moral philosophy. According to Ammianus, quoting Timagenes, the Druids were the highest class in the priestly caste. There was a "Chief Druid" in Ireland, and there was also an "Arch-Druid" in Gaul, as Cæsar informs us (De Bello Gallico, VI, 13).

Not only were the Druids supreme among the Celts in religious matters: they were the judges of the people, forming a "College of Justice", and they consequently exercised a powerful influence in social and political life. Strabo (IV, c. 4, § 4) informs us that the Celts referred all private and public disputes to them, and especially murder cases. On many occasions the Druids made peace between armies-apparently Celtic tribal armies-drawn up for battle. Diodorus Siculus (V, 31) states in this connexion that often when two armies met, and swords were drawn and lances levelled to attack, representatives of the Druidical class-he mentions particularly the bards in this connexion-would throw themselves between the opponents and pacify them, just as one might by magic, as he puts it, subdue wild animals. Thus, Diodorus remarks, even among the non-Greeks, wrath submitted to wisdom and Ares (Mars) respected the Muses.

It is evident that when we seek to account for the different aspects presented at different periods and in different areas by what is known as "Celtic religion", we must take into consideration the direct influence of the Druidical "schools". When the Celts and Iberians were fused in Western Europe, any religious compromises which were affected must have been arranged between the priests on both sides. Doctrines imported from outside by choice rather than compulsion must have been adopted,

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in the first place, by the Druids, for they were the scholars, the theologians, and the political leaders of the people.

In Cæsar's time it would appear that the most influential school of Druidism existed in our own country. Cæsar himself bears interesting testimony in this connexion, for he states that the Druidical cult was supposed by many to have had origin in Britain, and that the Gaulish theologians who desired to acquire deeper knowledge of the esoteric side of Druidism were in the habit of sojourning in Britain so as to complete their studies (De Bello Gallico, VI, 13).

Considered in the light of the evidence with regard to Buddhism in the chapters that follow, this statement is one of considerable importance and significance. Cæsar must have had his information regarding the British Druidical " school " from his friends the Druids of Gaul. We have no reason to doubt its correctness. The old Irish Gaelic manuscripts similarly afford evidence of the high respect in which British Druidism was held. When Queen Medb (Meave) of Connaught decided to wage war against Ulster, as related in the Irish epic, Táin Bó Cualnge ("the Kine Raid of Coolney"), and had assembled her army, she visited "her Druid" and "craved light and augury from him". This Druid summoned a prophetess, "a lone virgin of marriageable age". She was weaving lace with a "bordering rod of silvered bronze " and wore a many-spotted green mantle.

"Medb gazed at her. 'And what doest thou here now, O maiden?' asked Medb.

"' I impart to thee thine advantage and good fortune in thy gathering and muster of the four mighty provinces of Erin against the land of Ulster on the Raid for the Kine of Cualnge.'

"' Wherefore doest thou this for me?' asked Medb.

"' Much cause have I. A bondmaid 'mid thy people am I.'

"' Who of my people art thou and what is thy name?' asked Medb.

"' Not hard in sooth to say. The prophetess Fedelm from the Sid (the fairy mount) of Cruachan, a poetess of Connacht am I.'

"' Whence comest thou?' asked Medb.

"' From Alba after learning prophetic skill,' the maiden made answer.

"' ' Hast thou the form of divination?'

"' Verily have I,' the maiden said."

The maiden then delivered her prophecy.¹

Not only did the ancient Irish Druidical "foretellers" study in Alba: Irish warriors like Cuchulain, Ferdiad, &c., were trained in the same country and were in the habit of boasting of the fact. Alba was, indeed, the "spiritual home" of the ancient Irish.

The Gaelic "Alba", genitive "Alban", originally referred to England and Scotland, but was ultimately applied to Scotland alone. Rhys informs us in this connexion that Albion was the most ancient name of Britain, and that it occurs "in a treatise respecting the world which used to be ascribed to Aristotle". Pliny also refers to "Albion", but in his time it "had fallen out of use in the case of Latin authors".

Rhys goes on to say in connexion with the ancient name:

"Albion would be a form of the name according to the Brythonic pronunciation of it, and between the latter and Alban there is precisely the same difference of vowel as one finds between the genitive of the Latin word *oratio*, prayer, namely *orationis*, and the *orthan* which the Irish made of it when they borrowed it into their own language. It would thus appear that the name Albion is one that has been restricted to a corner of the island, to the whole of

¹ J. Dunn, The Ancient Irish Epic Tale: Tain Bo Cualnge, London, 1914, pp. 13-5.

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which it once applied. If so, we ought to be able to indicate an intermediate point of this retreat, and we can: in a work associated with Cormac, a learned Irishman of the ninth century, the name Alban is found given to a part of Britain which extended to the Ictian Sea or the English Channel; nor does the author of it appear to have been the only Irish writer who has spoken of Alban as reaching so far. Cormac goes on to specify that within his Alban (Alba) were situated the town of Glastonbury and an unidentified fort of the Cornish Brythons. Thus it would seem that at the time he referred to, approximately the end of the Roman occupation, the name Alban meant all those portions of the west and north of Britain which his kinsmen, the Goidels of this island, had been wont to call their own."

Rhys notes that the meaning of Alba or Alban is unknown, and adds that "possibly the word is not Celtic".¹

SECTION IV—HOMERIC CIVILIZATION OF ANCIENT BRITAIN

In their anxiety to attribute directly and indirectly to the Romans all progress achieved in ancient Britain, some writers assume, as has been noted, that the British Celts were living in a semi-savage state prior to the period of Roman occupation. Even Elton, who refers to the Roman conquest as "something at once mean and tragical", will not credit the Britons with anything greater than "a homely culture".² There are no English, Welsh, or Scottish Celtic manuscripts to throw light on the problem. But it may be noted in this connexion that Tacitus, writing regarding Ireland,³ says that "the manners and customs of the natives differ little from those

¹ Celtic Britain (fourth edition), London, 1908, pp. 205-7. See also W. J. Watson, The Celtic Place-names of Scotland, Chapter I.

² Origins of English History, pp. 302-3.

⁸Agricola, Chapter XXIV.

of Britain ", from which we may conclude that the Celtic civilization of Britain was similar to the Celtic civilization of Ireland.

Now, Irish civilization is visualized for us in the ancient manuscript tales dating back to the seventh century, which were collected from oral sources and refer to events in the first century of the Christian era and earlier. The data afforded by these tales can be checked by the statements regarding Britain in the writings of Julius Cæsar and Tacitus and by the evidence afforded by archæological relics.

It would appear that pre-Roman British and Irish civilization was something more than "homely": it would be more aptly described as "Homeric". The war chariot was in use long after it had been discontinued on the Continent. It was the " armoured car " of the insular Celts, as it had been that of the " carriers " of the Continental cultures known to archæologists as "Late Hallstatt" and "La Tène". With the chariots came what may be referred to as "the chariot civilization" which had Danubian and Ægean elements. Iron was being utilized, but bronze was still manufactured and worked with consummate skill. The craft of enamelling reached Britain, where it was brought to a higher degree of technical and artistic perfection than anywhere on the Continent. Helmets, shields, chariots, personal "ornaments ", &c., were decorated with enamels on bronze.

"As the (British) craftsman became more skilful," writes an archæological authority, "he succeeded in covering larger surfaces with enamel and evolved the champlevé process, in which the ground is scooped out to form a bed for the fused material." The fame of the British artisans went far and wide. "They say," a Greek



permission of the National Museum, Copenhagen

symbols

bird and other

boar,

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Horsemen wear

blow trumpets with serpent mouths.

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writer in Rome recorded, "that the barbarians who live in Ocean pour these colours on heated bronze, and that they adhere, become as hard as stone, and preserve the designs that are made in them."

Irish enamels have been found in County Meath and Scottish at Traprain in the Lothians and in Perthshire. An enamelled "terret" picked up in the Fayum, Egypt, was probably carried thither by a Roman collector. The great masterpiece of British enamelling is the Battersea shield, already referred to. The red enamel was used along with or as a substitute for red coral—an interesting indication of a cultural connexion between Celtic and Ægean civilization.¹

The civilization revealed by the Irish manuscripts was decidedly non-Roman, and its form of government, its elaborate laws, its system of education, and its commerce, industries, &c., indicate that this civilization was of a much higher character than is generally assumed by those who ignore Celtic evidence.²

Although some extreme pro-Roman writers have endeavoured to be-little Celtic civilization, the Romans themselves were not slow to avail themselves of the Celtic lead in some directions. Julius Cæsar bears tribute to the superiority of Celtic ships (*De Bello Gallico*, III, 13) and subsequently built vessels of similar type. Pliny, quoting Varro, states that Helicon, a Helvetian Celt, was employed in Rome instructing the local craftsmen in the industrial arts of his native land. Polybius (or some writer who added to his historical narrative) states that the Celtiberians excelled all other peoples as sword-smiths. Their swords were two-edged and had sharp and strong points.

¹ British Museum Guide to the Antiquities of the Iron Age, pp. 86 et seq.

² A popular digest is afforded by Dr. P. W. Joyce's Social History of Ancient Ireland.

After the Hannibalian war, the Romans abandoned their ancestral swords and adopted the Celtiberian swords, but they were never able to manufacture as excellent steel as did the Celtiberians, nor give as fine a finish to the swords as did the sword-smiths whom they imitated.

This interesting information contradicts the statement by Polybius (II, 33) to the effect that the iron swords of the Gallic tribes bent after a blow was struck and had to be straightened by a foot against the ground before another blow could be delivered. Perhaps Polybius was misled in this connexion after seeing the ceremoniallybent swords taken from graves in the north of Italy or elsewhere, which had been rifled by the treasure-hunting Roman colonists. Neither Cæsar nor Tacitus state that the swords used by the Celts were of inferior quality. The specimens taken from ancient Celtic graves in this country are certainly of excellent workmanship.

It is not surprising that there should have been manifested in Britain, during the archæological Iron Age, a high degree of progress in connexion with the imported crafts. The artisans of the Bronze Age were impressively skilful and resourceful, and, in some cases, more than the equals of those of the Mediterranean area. British bronzes are superior to Roman.

For a long period cultural influences from the ancient civilizations had been drifting steadily towards Britain, which was famed for its metals. "Britain," wrote Tacitus,¹ "produces gold, silver, and other metals, the profits of our victory." He also says that "the approaches and harbours" of Ireland "are well known through the intercourse of traders". Pearls were appreciated in Britain as far back as Neolithic times, when pearl-shells were laid in

¹ Agricola, Chapter XII.

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graves, but the Roman appreciation of pearls dates, according to Pliny, from the time of Sulla, when Egyptian fashions and beliefs were being adopted in aristocratic circles.

Long before Rome was built, sea-farers carried to Britain Egyptian blue beads of the Eighteenth Dynasty, c. fourteenth century B.C. Specimens taken from "Bronze Age" graves in South-western England are preserved in Devizes museum¹ and in the British Museum. These beads could not possibly have been manufactured in any country except Egypt, the blue colour being due to the presence of soda and lime in the Egyptian material. Beads of similar design manufactured elsewhere, including Crete and Britain, are green and grey; "Egyptian blue" was essentially an Egyptian product, despite what some archæological sceptics may say. The question is, after all, really one regarding which analytic chemists alone are capable of giving a decision.

As the technique of the beads was adopted throughout Britain, it would appear that the "carriers", whoever they may have been, established colonial settlements which included artisans familiar with the bead-manufacturing process. Withal, as the beads had a magico-religious significance, the elements of an alien faith must have been imported with them. The mixing of these beads with beads of amber, jet, &c., in the complete necklace preserved in Devizes museum, indicates, further, that there was "culture mixing "—the fusion of local and imported religious ideas and practices.²

The Mediterranean area was not, however, the only

¹ The Journal of Egyptian Archæology, Vol. I, Part I.

² Amber appears to have been given a religious value, because in Egypt resin was a "life giver". Bede (Chap. I) says jet "drives away serpents" and, when rubbed, holds fast light objects "like amber". The symbolism of amber was imparted to jet in ancient England.
(D 852)

source from which cultural influences reached Britain. For a long period before that of the Roman occupation there were trading connexions with the peoples across the North Sea, as well as with those across the English Channel.

It is of significance to note in this connexion that when Pytheas, the explorer, set out on his famous voyage from Marseilles (c. 322 B.C.), apparently to obtain for the Greek merchants of that commercial centre information regarding the northern sources of wealth drawn upon by their rivals in trade, he paid more attention to the east than the west coast of Britain. He had little to say of the Hebrides, except that their inhabitants were not agriculturists and lived solely on fish and milk (C. Julius Solinus, Polyhistor, c. 22), and he could not have visited Ireland, for he stated that its inhabitants were " absolutely savage" (Strabo, II, c. 5, § 8), a view which conflicts with the evidence of archæology. Celts had already reached the north of Scotland, for Pytheas mentions, as has been stated, "Cape Orcas"-probably Dunnet Head. The sea-faring Picts (Orcs and Cats) had apparently taken possession of Orkney and Shetland (in Gaelic "Isles of the Cats ") and Caithness (ness of the Cats).

Crossing the North Sea, Pytheas visited the country of the Cimbri, which was Jutland, and he appears to have regarded the Cimbri as Celts —those "stout-hearted" people who "took up arms to resist the waves of the sea"¹. The Cimbri were Celtic according to Diodorus Siculus (V, 32) also.

Pytheas entered the Baltic, and he tells of the island of Basilia, "in the Scythian region beyond Gaul", where amber was washed up in large quantities in the springtime

¹ Pseudo Arist., Ethica Eudemia, III, c. 1, § 25.

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and collected by the natives (Diodorus Siculus, V, 23). Probably it was from Pytheas, or some writer quoting him, that Tacitus (Germania, XLV) obtained his information regarding the amber-collecting Æstyi "whose customs and attire are those of the Suevi, while their language is nearer to the British".





Wemyss Cave "swimming elephant". The only one of its kind in Scotland.



"Elephant" from Canna stone. Drawn by man who saw "elephant" symbols but never saw an elephant.



Dromedary from Hebridean stone. (From the life—or a memory of one who had seen a real dromedary.)

Camel from Meigle—another indication of Eastern influence in Scotland.

ORIENTAL SYMBOLIC FIGURES IN SCOTLAND

An interesting fact about the Æstyi is that their chief religious emblem was the wild boar. Those who wore this amulet in battle believed it protected them even more than did their arms. The Pictish Orcs (Boars) venerated the same animal, and there is an ancient boar stone (plate VI, p. 53) at Inverness, which became during the Romano-British period the Pictish capital. Boar

emblems were worn on armour by Celtic intruders in South-eastern England.¹

During the archæological "Bronze Age" a broadheaded people, referred to as the "Beaker Folk" because beaker urns are found in their graves, settled along the eastern coast of Britain and in Western Germany. Some would have it that they migrated across the North Sea to Britain, but others take the view that they came originally from the Mediterranean and settled on both sides of the North Sea.

The fact that Pytheas crossed the North Sea suggests that traders were constantly doing likewise; the explorer's interest was in existing trade routes.

As will be shown, it was probably across the North Sea that Buddhist cultural influence was carried to ancient Britain at least half a century before Julius Cæsar became a political force in Rome.

¹ British Museum Guide to the Antiquities of the Iron Age, pp. 90-3, 135.

CHAPTER II

Mithraism, Manichæism, and Buddhism

Before examining the evidence regarding the spread of Buddhism into the Celtic area, it will be helpful to deal briefly with the diffusion in the West of the doctrines of the Central Asiatic cults of Mithraism and Manichæism, and further, to give some consideration to Buddhist missionary enterprise.

Mithraism was a Persian religion, and its " carriers" to ancient Britain were groups of soldiers—not necessarily all Asiatics, however, as Professor Cumont would have it—in the Roman army of occupation. The Mithraism which reached Britain had been contaminated by other religious systems, having been subjected to the process of " culture mixing" during the period occupied by its long " drift" across the Continents. In Asia Minor, for instance, the bull-slaying myth had been incorporated in Mithraism, and the god acquired the so-called " Phrygian cap and mantle", which suggests the influence of the Attis cult. Even a goddess cult appears to have incorporated the Persian faith. At any rate Herodotus (Book I, c. 131), referring to the worship of Urania, says:

"Mylitta is the name by which the Assyrians know this goddess, whom the Arabians call Alitth, and the Persians Mitra (Mithra)."

33

As Mithraism spread from Anatolia along the Danube valley and along the Rhine valley towards Cologne, it was, no doubt, further influenced by other faiths. Roman religion, as we know, was placidly incorporated in Mithraism. Many soldiers became converts in areas where the new and complex religion was becoming fashionable, and groups of them, when drafted into other areas, became the " carriers " of its doctrines. That was how Mithraism reached our native land. "Generally speaking," writes Professor Cumont in this connexion, "the Iranian cult was in no country restricted to fortified places as in Britain." The Mithraic monuments "are almost completely missing in the central and western parts of Gaul, in the Spanish peninsula, and in the south of Britain "; because "in these places no permanent army was stationed ".1 But north of York the "Asiatic troops" followed in the train of the Roman soldiers who " protected the territory of the army from the incursions of the Picts and Caledonians". Cumont notes, with reference to Hadrian's wall, that "all the stations of this line of ramparts appear to have had their Mithraic temple, where the commander of the place (præfectus) furnished an example of devotion for his subordinates", and goes on to say:

"It is evident, therefore, that the Asiatic god had penetrated in the train of the (Roman) army to these northern regions, but it is impossible to determine precisely the period at which he reached this place or the troops by whom he was carried there. But there is reason for believing that Mithra was worshipped in these countries from the middle of the second century and that Germany served as the intermediary agent between the far Orient

' et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos'."

* The Mysteries o Mithra, translation by T. J. M'Cormack, Chicago and London, 1910 pp. 57 et seq, and 79 et seq.



THE FRONT OF AN ALTAR PIECE FOUND IN THE TEMPLE OF MITHRA AT DIEBURG

Inscribed with the sculptor's name and representing various scenes from the Mithraic legend, including a three-headed figure on right, a pre-Christian trinity.

Photograph by Dr. Friedrich Behn

Facing p. 34

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A Mithraic slab discovered during excavations near Bond Court in London in 1889 was, according to Professor Haverfield, inscribed for Ulpius Silvanus, a Roman legionary. It states that he had been "initiated at Orange" (*Factus Arausione*). In what particular temple this slab was deposited we have no means of knowing. It may have been a Mithraic temple, and it may have been a Romano-British one in which Mithraism was tolerated.

Manichæism was a heresy which spread over different portions of the early Christian Church. The sect was founded by a young Babylonian of ancient family in the third century after Christ. His real name was Cubricus, but he assumed that of Mani, which in Persian means "artist" or "painter". According to tradition, he acquired religious "merit" by making mural paintings similar to those found in Buddhist rock-monasteries before he actually began his career as an influential teacher of a new religious faith. After living for a time in Northern India, where he was in close contact with Buddhism, he returned to Persia. The magi were hostile to him, and during the reign of Hormisdas I of the Sassanian House, he was executed by being flayed, and his skin, stuffed with straw, was hung over the gates of Persepolis.

Those who have written studies of Mani's religion are not in agreement regarding it. Professor Arthur Lloyd, for instance, following the views expressed in Kessler's *Mani*, says that Mani's father belonged to a half-Christian, half-pagan sect, while "the Persians, who ruled the country, were Zoroastrian fire-worshippers" and "there were many Jewish colonies in Babylon". Mani was evidently "accustomed to a jumble of religious notions".

The future prophet was in his youth adopted by a

wealthy widow, and he found amongst her books two which Professor Lloyd considers were Buddhist because their professed author was Scythianus and they had been enlarged or re-edited by his disciple Terebinthus "who afterwards assumed the title of Buddha". These and other books "hailed from Alexandria", which in the reign of Tiberius "swarmed with Indian merchants". Incorporated with Buddhist doctrines in these books were the doctrines of "pagan-Gnosticism" and "Christian-Gnosticism". Professor Lloyd thinks that the works in the library of Terebinthus formed "the basis of the Manichæan heresy".¹

Dr. F. C. Burkitt² points out that even in ancient times there were two main theories about the origin of the system of Mani.

"Most Christian documents, from Mark the Deacon onwards, treat Manichæism as in the main a Christian heresy, while Eznik of Kolb, the Armenian writer of the fifth century, writing against Zoroastrianism, treats Manichæism as a variety of Persian religion."

Dr. Burkitt is of opinion that in the original teaching of Mani there was "no sure trace of Buddhism as a formative element". Mani mentions Buddha "with respect, as he mentions Plato and Hermes Trismegistus", but "he knew very little about these thinkers except their great names."³

Dr. Burkitt traces in the original Manichæism Greek influence "through a Syriac channel " and of the teachings of Bardaisān (in Greek Bardesanes) "the Aramæan Philosopher", born in 154, who became a Christian convert but was declared a heretic, as well as the teachings

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of Marcion, the Early Christian "Dissenter". The recently-discovered Manichæan fragmentary manuscripts of Turkestan, however, reveal the influence of Buddhism. "There can be little doubt," says Dr. Burkitt, "that Buddhist ideas, mythology, and literature had a great share in the general civilization of the Manichæan communities in that part of the world". A Turkish fragment, published in Berlin in 1909, "goes far to show that the famous story of Barlaam and Joasaph, so popular all over the Christian world in mediæval times, reached the West through a Manichee channel, or rather that it was through the Manichees that it reached the Arabic-speaking world and so became known to Greeks in Western Syria".¹

" After his (Mani's) death," writes Professor Arthur Lloyd,² " his religion spread with great rapidity, adapting itself, wherever it went, to the religion of the country. We find Manichæans in Syria, Palestine, Asia Minor, Egypt (Manes, speaking to Christians, calls himself the Apostle of Christ, or the Paraclete), in North Africa (St. Augustine), in France and Spain. It is mentioned as a great honour to Ireland that there were no Manichæans there, and among the tenets and practices for which the Knights Templars were suppressed were some that were Manichæan." In China, and elsewhere in the East, Manichæism was strongly influenced by Buddhism. It is possible that the influence of Manichæism is to be detected in the pre-Columbian American faiths. The foliated cross of the Manichees resembles the foliated cross of the Maya of Central America.

The American crosses puzzled the Spaniards greatly, and the belief became prevalent among them that St. Thomas had crossed to the New World and preached

¹ Ibid., p. 97. ² Op. cit., pp. 204 et seq.

¹ Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. XXXV, Part 2, pp. 203 et seq.

² The Religion of the Manichees, Cambridge, 1925, pp. 72 et seq. ⁸ Ibid., 98.

the gospel there. Boturini relates that he found a cross painted blue with five white balls on an azure shield which he considered to be "without doubt emblems of the five precious wounds of our Saviour". It was stated with regard to a cross discovered in a cave in Lower Mixteca that angelic music issued from it on every vigil of St. Thomas. Wooden crosses were venerated in the state of Oaxaca and in Aguatolco among the Zapotecs. The Spaniards found crosses in Florida and Paraguay and among the Incas of Peru. The latter venerated a jasper cross. So convinced were the Spaniards of the Christian character of the Mexican crosses that some identified the god Quetzalcoatl with St. Thomas and others identified him with the Messiah.¹

It may be that one or other of the many sects or subsects of Buddhism, which had been influenced by Manichæan doctrines, reached the Americas in pre-Columbian times. There were American traditions regarding ancient teachers who came from the west, and Bancroft says of them:

"They are all described as white, bearded men, generally clad in long robes; appearing suddenly and mysteriously upon the scene of their labours, they at once set about improving the people by instructing them in useful and ornamental arts, giving them laws, exhorting them to practise brotherly love and other Christian virtues, and introducing a milder and better form of religion; having accomplished their mission, they disappear as mysteriously and unexpectedly as they came; and finally, they are apotheosized and held in great reverence by a grateful posterity."²

Sea-faring Buddhists were not uncommon. Kern refers in his Buddhismus (Vol. II, p. 279) to Yas'as, the third

¹ Bancroft, The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America, Vol. V, p. 25. ² Bancroft, op. cit., Vol. V, p. 23.

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patriarch in the Northern succession, and tells that during Buddha's lifetime he had been a merchant-sailor ("Seehändler").

Nor were all Buddhist missionaries natives of India. Among those sent out after the Third Council under Tishya-Maudgaliputra was Dharmarakshita, "the Greek", who laboured with success among the nations of Western Asia.¹ Scythian and Parthian missionaries were likewise active.

Some bands of missionaries left India of their own accord to spread their doctrines. When immediately after Buddha's death a Buddhist conference met and drew up a body of scriptures near Rajagriha, a rival conference was simultaneously held by those who had listened to Buddha's later teachings, at which another body of scriptures was compiled. The secessionists afterwards "trekked across the frontier into non-Indian lands", and some settled among the Scythians.² Scythian Buddhists served as soldiers. When Darius carried out his expedition against the European Scythians he had in his army Asiatic Scythians, as Herodotus has recorded.

After the conquests of Alexander the Great, India and Europe were brought into closer touch than had been the case during the period of the Persian Empire. It was from the Greeks that the Buddhist Hindus learned "the arts of sculpture and building in stone". There were ample opportunities for peaceful Buddhist missionaries from India and Central Asia to reach Europe.

Asoka, the Buddhist King of India, has left records of his missionary enterprise. He claims to have sent missionaries to the land of the Seleucid monarch Antiochus

¹ Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. XXXV, Part 2, p. 227, Note 1. ² Ibid., Vol. XXXV, Part 2, pp. 226-7.



BUDDHIST SYMBOLS IN OLD AND NEW WORLDS

The Buddhist sacred wheel symbol with revolving "magatamas" (comma-shape symbols) in centre. 1, Hindu-Buddhist. 2, Japanese-Buddhist. 3 and 4, on Scottish sculptured stones. 5, pre-Columbian shell disc from Tennessee.

II who ruled in Mesopotamia and Syria, and to have achieved conquests not by the sword but by the Dhamma (Buddhist modes of thought and life) "in the realms of the Kings of Syria, Egypt, Macedonia, Epirus, and Kyrene", as well as in South India and Ceylon.

Dr. Rhys Davids doubts if Asoka ever sent emissaries to the Greek kings. "Even had they been sent," he says, "there is little reason to believe that the Greek selfcomplacency would have been much disturbed. . . .

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We may imagine the Greek amusement at the absurd idea of a 'barbarian' teaching them their duty; but we can scarcely imagine them discarding their gods and their superstitions at the bidding of an alien king."¹ As Asoka's statements regarding his Eastern missions have been proved to be accurate, it may be that this is too sweeping a view regarding his Western missions. That one of the peoples influenced by Buddhism was, as will be shown in the next chapter, the Celts (not all the Celts but sections of them) is of very special interest. It is possible that converts were made among other European races of which no records or relics have yet been discovered.

Long after Asoka's time Buddhists continued to reach Europe. There appears to be a very pointed reference to one in the New Testament. His name was, as is ascertained elsewhere, Zarmanochegas. He was a member of an Indian political mission sent by King Porus to Rome in 37 B.C. At Athens he performed the religious act of voluntarily burning himself to death. Strabo tells of the monument erected at Athens to his memory. St. Paul must have seen that interesting monument. In his First Epistle to the Corinthians (xiii, 3) he appears, indeed, to make direct reference to the Buddhist's fiery suicide in the words,

"And though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing."

Religious self immolation was highly commended by one of the Buddhist sects.²

The available evidence regarding the operations of Buddhist missionaries among the Celts may now be considered.

¹ Buddhist India (The Story of the Nations Series), pp. 298-9.

² Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. XXXV, Part 2, p. 238, Note 2.
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CHAPTER III Buddhism in the Celtic Area

SECTION I-A CELTO-BUDDHIST GOD

Buddhist missionaries, or Celtic converts to Buddhism, were giving instruction in Britain in the early years of the Christian era. An important and explicit authority in this connexion is Origen, the Christian Father, who was born about the year A.D. 185, probably at Alexandria, and died in prison at Tyre, whither he had been consigned in 254 during the reign of the anti-Christian Roman Emperor Decius. He was a prolific writer and he deeply interested himself in the spread of the Christian faith in various lands. It is known that he visited Rome and there, no doubt, he received special and confidential information regarding Britain. At any rate, writing about 230, he referred to our native land as a Christian country.

"When," he asked, "did Britain, previous to the coming of Christ, agree to worship the one God?" (Fourth Hom. on Ezek.).

He inquires elsewhere (Commentary on Ezekiel) into the reason for the rapid spread of Christianity in Britain and writes:

"The island has long been predisposed to it (Christianity) through the doctrines of the Druids and Buddhists, who had already inculcated the doctrine of the unity of the Godhead." The Buddhists had, as has been indicated, reached Egypt long before Origen was born. Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie writes in this connexion:

"From some source—perhaps the Buddhist mission of Asoka —the ascetic life of recluses was established in the Ptolemaic times, and monks of the Serapeum illustrated an ideal to man which had been as yet unknown in the West. This system of monasticism continued, until Pachomios, a monk of Serapis in Upper Egypt, became the first Christian monk in the reign of Constantine. Quickly imitated in Syria, Asia Minor, Gaul, and other provinces, as well as in Italy itself, the system passed into a fundamental position in mediæval Christianity, and the reverence of mankind has been for fifteen hundred years bestowed on an Egyptian institution." 1

Buddhism, however, did not reach the Celtic area either directly or indirectly from Egypt. The new faith appears to have been carried westward through Europe by Buddhist missionaries, Buddhist pilgrims, and local converts to Buddhism.

An important relic of Buddhist missionary effort among the Celts in pre-Christian times is that important archæological find, the silver bowl of Gundestrup which is preserved in the National Museum at Copenhagen (Plates II and IV). It was discovered in the dried peat bog of Raevmose in the district of Aalborg in Jutland.

This remarkable bowl, which was found in pieces and has been restored, is formed by riveted silver plaques jointed with English tin, and has an iron ring round the rim. Dr. Sophus Müller has dated it tentatively about the first century B.C.

A number of figures in repoussé work adorn the various plaques. On one of these is a remarkable representation of a well-known ancient Celtic god, named

¹ The Religion of Ancient Egypt, London, 1908, pp. 92-3.

Cernunnos (Plate IV). He has stag's horns on his head and he wears a collar, probably of gold, a tight-fitting costume, apparently knitted in a single piece, a waist-belt, and shoes or sandals. Perhaps the "trousered Druids" of the Roman writer, already quoted, were similarly attired. All over the plaque are lotus symbols depicted in triads.

The artistic craftsman has depicted the god squatting cross-legged in one of the Buddhist postures to be seen on Indian Buddhist stones. There can be no doubt as to the Buddhist character of the figure. The eyelids





FELINE "MAKARAS'

From sculptured stone Largo, Scotland. (Stuart's Sculptured Stones of Scotland.)

From Buddhist Rails in India. (Archæological Survey of India, Vol. III, 1873.)

droop, or are closed, and the face is tranquil: the god appears to be meditating, with intense absorption, on some mystic doctrine. The form of the mouth suggests that he is repeating a $S\bar{u}tra$.

In his right hand this Celtic Buddha holds a ring symbol and in his left a horned serpent. This serpent's body forms a single coil like that of a typical Hindu makara (carrier or form of a god), suggesting that it was believed to have an essential connexion with the water supply. It is obviously a Hindu water-confining and rain-bringing Nāga (serpent deity), a mythological being



On one side is a stag and on the s of dragons) like the pair shown

and ring (a torque). "wonder dogs" (for

The Celtic horned

which, as De Visser has shown in his The Dragon in China and Japan, closely resembles the Chinese dragon, that dragon itself having outstanding features which were imparted to it by the Buddhists.

That this form of the Celtic god Cernunnos was strongly influenced by Buddhism there can be no shadow of doubt, for it can be identified by reference to Buddhist literature as the chief god of the world of one of the Buddhist cults.

According to the doctrines of "Northern Buddhism" four Nāga gods support the world as "kings" of the four cardinal points (the North, East, South, and West). The chief of these is the king-god of the West, and he is known to the Buddhists as Virūpāksha. The four gods are in Buddhist texts referred to as the "Guardians of the World".

Grundwedel¹ explains that the Buddhist "Guardians of the World" are also designated the "Four Great Kings" (*Catur-mahā-rājas*), and he makes the statement, which helps us to identify the Buddhist god who influenced the Celtic Cernunnos, that the attributes of the Western Buddha-god Virūpāksha "are a caitya² in the right hand and a serpent in the left hand"³ (frontispiece).

It is apparent that the Celtic god Cernunnos of the Gundestrup bowl was closely related to the Buddhist Virūpāksha. The "caitya" of the latter is supplanted by a torque symbol which, however, was evidently a sacred symbol—probably a sun symbol. As is shown in Plate V, a photograph of an interesting image of the Hindu

¹ Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und der Mongolie, p. 181.

² Kern (*Manual of Indian Buddhism*, Strassburg, 1896, p. 91) explains that Caitya is the most general term for a sanctuary, but applies also to sacred trees, memorial stones, holy spots, images, religious inscriptions. "Hence all edifices having the character of a sacred monument are Caityas, but not all Caityas are edifices."

² Quoted by De Visser in The Dragon in China and Japan, Amsterdam, 1913, p. 3. (D 852) 5

god Shiva in the author's possession and brought to him from India by Dr. George Hunter, a ring (of beads) is held in the right hand while Nāgas are on the head and coiled round the neck and arms of the god. Here, Shiva, who has Nāga attributes, is an ascetic, and his right hand touches the ground, indicating renunciation, while he gives birth to Krishna from his head. The influence of Buddhist art and doctrines is apparent in the image. The Babylonian god Shamash, as figured on the Hammurabi monument engraved with his code of laws, likewise holds a ring symbol in his right hand.

It should be constantly borne in mind that the Celtic god Cernunnos of the Gundestrup bowl is not the original Gautama Buddha (Prince Siddhartha), but an image of the Western Buddha of Northern Buddhism. One of the several cults of Northern Buddhism had taken over from earlier faiths the four ancient gods of the North, East, South, and West who were supposed to control the universe and the seasons. The pre-Buddhist cults regarded one or other of the gods of the cardinal points as supreme over the others. The solar cult favoured the East. In the Hindu "epic" the *Mahábhárata* (Açwameda Parva, section XLIV) occurs the passage:

"Of all the cardinal and subsidiary points of the horizon, the Eastern is said to be the foremost and first born."

Gautama Buddha himself, at the beginning of his career as a teacher, reverenced the East. When he was about to attain Buddhahood (enlightenment) he sat at daybreak at the foot of the holy tree facing the East. In the evening "after taking a survey of the quarters, he went to the East, the seat of all Buddhas, facing the West".¹ To

¹ H. Kern, Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 19.

THE HINDU GOD SHIVA With rosary-ring symbol and nāgas (serpent deities) entwining his body. From his head emerges Krishna. Facing p. 46













SCOTTISH AND HINDU MAKARAS

1, 2, 3, 4, Swimming Elephants (1, From a Forfarshire sculptured stone. 2, 3, and 4, From Stuart's Sculptured Stones of Scotland.) 5, 6, Elephant-fish from Archæological Survey of India, Vol. XV (1894), plates XLIII and XLIV. 7, Dog-headed fish from a Scottish sculptured stone; on face is "S" symbol (a serpent symbol).

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the Hindu Shiva cult the North was the holiest cardinal point, and in the *Mahábhárata* (Açwameda Parva, section XLIII, sloka 10), it is stated:

"The North is Lord of all the points of the compass."

Other cults in and outside India favoured the West. Varuna, the Iranian god imported into India with Mitra (Mithra) in Vedic times, was a god of the West and "Lord of the Waters", and in the West was the cowmother goddess Surabhi and Mount Asta (sunset hill), while all the rivers were supposed to have their source in the West, flowing from "the extensive lake adorned with golden lotuses" (Mahábhárata: Udyoga Parva, CIX).

The Chinese Buddhists, who were originally, in the main, the converts of the Parthian Buddhists, believed in a Western Paradise, but the Southern Buddhists of Ceylon and Burmah knew nothing of that Paradise. A Buddha called "Boundless Age" was placed in the Western Chinese Paradise, which is still remembered in Northern China as the "Peaceful Land of the West".¹ The Buddhists of Japan also believed in the Western Paradise.

In one of their Māhāyana books Buddha "discourses of the merits of another Buddha, as great as, or greater than Himself, who presides over a Western Paradise into which nothing that is undefiled may enter, and admission to which may be gained, quite irrespective of a man's *Karma*, simply by faith in and invocation of the name of Buddha Amitābha". In India, in the middle of the first century A.D., the Western cult had so influenced Buddhism that a saint called "Nāgarjuna died with his face set towards the Western Paradise". BUDDHISM IN THE CELTIC AREA 49

Discussing the "formative elements of Japanese Buddhism" Professor Arthur Lloyd, from whom I am quoting,¹ states that the Western Paradise, or "Western Buddha field", presided over by Amida, is discussed in three Sutras the "Larger Sukhavati Vyuha", the "Amitayur dhyani", and the "Smaller Sukhavati Vyuha". In these Sakyamuni (Buddha) refers to the Western Buddha, and Professor Lloyd notes that the fall of Babylon and its occupation by Cyrus took place when Buddha was a young man. The merchants of India must have heard of the catastrophe, and heard also of the predictions of Babylon's doom by the Hebrew prophets. "It was a tale that would not lose by the telling in the bazaars of India." Lloyd writes in this connexion:

"The Western Buddha field, presided over by Amida, would seem to be an echo of the spiritual teachings of the Jewish prophets of the Exile."

Although, as has been mentioned, the Western Paradise was unknown in Ceylon, which was converted to Buddhism as a result of the mission of Prince Mahinda in 250 B.C. (during the reign of King Asoka), it may well be that a northern sect of Buddhists were influenced by the "Cult of the West" long before Asoka's time. Their doctrine of a "Western Buddha field" may have been rejected by one of the Cave Councils of Buddhists which settled the rules and doctrines of their faith and suppressed heresies. Numerous sects came into existence before and after Asoka's time. According to the Ceylon chronicles of the "second Council of Vaisāli, Buddhism had become divided into eighteen sects.²

The history of the "Cult of the West" dates back

¹ Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. XXXV, Part 2, pp. 221 et seq. * T. W. Rhys Davids, Buddhism, London, 1903, p. 218.

¹ My Myths of China and Japan, p. 210.

to the Pyramid Age of Egypt when the Cult of Osiris ("First of the Westerners") and the Cult of Re (the sun god), were struggling for supremacy. "It is the East," writes Professor Breasted, "which with constant reiteration is affirmed (in the Pyramid Texts) to be the most sacred of all regions, and that to which the dead king should fare. Indeed, he is explicitly cautioned against the West." But in one passage "the dead is adjured to go to the West in preference to the East in order to join the sun god". A compromise was effected in a text which declares that "King Unis rests from life (dies) in the West. . . . King Unis dawns anew in the East".¹

Ultimately the ancient Egyptian cults of West and East were fused, and the complex Osiris-Re faith became more highly complex, bristling, as it did, with contradictions, but the Cult of the West survived in Asia and, as has been shown, lingered long in India in association with the imported Cult of Varuna.

It is possible that one of the powerful sects of Buddhism was strongly enough influenced by the ancient cult of the West to regard the Western Buddha as supreme and to locate the Earthly Paradise in the "Western Buddha field".

Buddhist pilgrims, as is well known, searched for the Western Paradise, and Buddhist missionaries, as has been indicated, were sent to Western Asia and Europe by the Emperor Asoka. These western-moving Buddhists appear to have come into touch with the Celtic Druids with the result that Cernunnos became transformed into the Western Buddha with attributes similar to those of the Hindu Virūpāksha, the "Guardian" or "King" of the West.

¹ J. H. Breasted, Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt, pp. 100-1.

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The horned snake held in the left hand of Cernunnos (Plate IV) is of very special interest. It is evidently a $N\bar{a}ga$ (serpent deity), as has been stated. The Hindu $N\bar{a}gas$ were taken over by the Northern Buddhists, and they became, as De Visser states, "the obedient servants of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and saints".¹

The Nāgas were often shown worshipping the Buddha, and each became in time a Buddha. "In the same way Northern Buddhism adopted the gods of the countries where it introduced itself and made them protectors of its doctrine instead of its antagonists."²

Buddhism was thus, like Mithraism and Manichæism, ever ready to incorporate a local faith and take on a local colouring. Writing of Mithraism in this connexion,³ the Archbishop of Wales notes that it spread rapidly and disappeared rapidly in Europe.

"Various causes may be assigned for this. To its syncreticism may be attributed in some measure its easy popularity and its early decay. No one fought for it, and no one fought against it. Its attitude of complacent acquiescence towards Roman paganism was in the strongest contrast with the uncompromising attitude of Christianity. . .

"What, then, was the secret of the wide sway it obtained, for a time? There was a moral element in the character of Mithra, who was depicted as the champion of truth and holiness and as mediator between the supreme being and suffering humanity. Such a creed brought the sin-laden under the spell of reconciliation, and braced up the despairing with the hope of immortality. In doing this, it has been said that Mithraism was so like Christianity that it helped to open the door for its advent. In Gaul and Britain it would seem that Mithraism found a congenial soil. The Druids,

¹ Kern explains: "A being destined to develop into a Buddha is called a Bodhisattva: he is, we may say, a Buddha *potentiâ*, not yet *de facto*" (Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 65). ² De Visser, The Dragon in China and Japan, p. 7.

* The Times, 30th Dec., 1925.

like the Mithraists, had their Pythagorean *sodalicia* or brotherhoods, and they trained their pupils in the knowledge of numbers and of the movements of the heavenly bodies, while the one doctrine which they put in the forefront of their system was that of immortality."

Section II—Cernunnos, Bran, "Herne the Hunter", and St. Kentigern

Traces of Cernunnos, the Celtic Buddha, have been detected in Britain and Ireland.

In his *Hibbert Lectures* the late Sir John Rhys identified him with the Welsh god Bran, son of the sea god Llyr. As "Bran the Blessed ", this deity was taken over by the early Welsh Christians, who credited him with having introduced Christianity into Britain.

As we shall see, a Bran, and a St. Brendan of Ireland, set forth, like the Buddhist heroes of the Far East, in search of the "Isles of the Blest".

According to De Jubainville, cern signified "horned". He consequently identified Cernunnos, the horned god, with the famous Irish hero Conall Cernach, the contemporary of Cuchulainn. In Conall's birth story, it is told that his mother, who was the daughter of the druid Cathbad and wife of Amirgen, lamented because she had no son. A certain druid took her to a well over which he sang spells. "The damsel drank a draught out of the well, and with the draught she swallowed a worm, and the worm was in the hand of the boy as he lay in his mother's womb, and it pierced the hand and consumed it".¹ Here the "worm" is manifestly a form of the dragon (horned-snake, or Nāga) and Conall (the horned one) is consequently a "dragon-man" like

¹ Quoted in The Voyage of Bran, Vol. II, p. 74.

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Cernunnos. A secondary meaning of "Cernach" is "the victorious".

As "Herne the Hunter", Cernunnos, in his most sinister aspect, survived for long in the folklore of England. Shakespeare refers to him in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. In that play Falstaff is prevailed upon to disguise himself and wear horns like this "forest demon". Mrs. Page provides the lore regarding Herne:

"There is an old tale goes that Herne the Hunter, Sometime a keeper here in Windsor Forest, Doth all the winter-time, at still midnight, Walk round about an oak, with great ragg'd horns, And there he blasts the tree, and takes the cattle, And makes milch-kine yield blood, and shakes a chain In a most hideous and dreadful manner: You have heard of such a spirit, and well you know The superstitious idle-headed eld Received and did deliver to our age This tale of Herne the Hunter for a truth."

Act IV, scene iv.

The Scottish links with Cernunnos are of fuller character. In Highland folklore the water-confining snake grasped by the god figures prominently, while both the stag and the wolf are found among the cult animals depicted on that class of ancient sculptured stones which are devoid of Christian symbols.

The wolf and stag, which on Plate IV stand on either side of Cernunnos, are likewise associated with St. Kentigern (St. Mungo), the patron saint of Glasgow, as will be shown.

Some doubt if a Christian saint of the name of Kentigern ever existed. Perhaps, like "Bran the Blessed", he should be regarded as a Christianized form of the

Celto-Buddhist deity Cernunnos, or of a druid of the cult of Cernunnos.

Several legendary biographies of St. Kentigern are in existence. One is a fragment of a twelfth-century work carelessly copied in the fifteenth century; the other was written by Joceline, a monk of Furness, who flourished about 1185.

St. Kentigern is usually referred to as one who "succeeded to the labours of St. Ninian" in Scotland. St. Ninian, however, died in the fifth century, and St. Kentigern was not born until about 200 years later. Nothing is known of his successors in Glasgow till the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The history of the Glasgow See really begins about 1115 with the appointment by King David I of Bishop John.

In Joceline's biography St. Columba, accompanied by many of his disciples, pays a visit to St. Kentigern, and St. Kentigern appoints St. Asaph as his successor in the government of a Welsh monastery. There is, however, no mention of St. Kentigern in the lives of either St. Columba or St. Asaph. In the Welsh Triads of Arthur, the mythical King Arthur is referred to as the "chief lord at Penrionyd in the north", and "Cyndeyrn (Kentigern) Garthwys the chief bishop". This association of St. Kentigern with "King Arthur" takes us into the realms of romance, as does also the story of St. Kentigern's meeting with Merlin in Bower's *Scotichronicon* (Book III, c. 31). Merlin was at the time 181 years of age!

Dr. A. P. Forbes, in his Introduction to his translation *Lives of St. Ninian and St. Kentigern*,¹ assumes that the dedications to St. Kentigern of churches in Scotland, Cumberland, and Wales afford proof of the saint's

¹ Edinburgh, 1874.



Obverse and Reverse of a coin of the Celtic Remi, a Gaulish tribe whose name clings to Rheims. On one side is a boar with bristles on its back and above it is a serpent; on the other side is a squatting Cernunnos with a ring and something not identified in one hand, and what may be a first-fruits symbol in the other instead of the horned serpent.



THE INVERNESS "BOAR STONE"

This "man-pig" (Gaelic name) has human feet. The ear is represented by a comma-form symbol and S-form symbols are incised on the body. Above the animal is a solar symbol.

PLATE VI

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activities as a missionary in these areas. The same doubtful argument has been used in connexion with commemorations of St. Ninian in northern Scotland. It appears, however, that churches erected no earlier than the twelfth century were dedicated to saints who had been dead for hundreds of years, in districts they had never visited. The existence of St. Paul's Cathedral in London is no proof of a visit paid by Paul to England.



SEAL OF CITY OF GLASGOW, 1647-1793 Showing Tree, Bird, Salmon, and Bell; earlier only a twig represented the holy tree

There are several links between St. Kentigern and Cernunnos. In the Glasgow coat of arms the saint's tree is the oak, and, as we have seen, "Herne the Hunter" is associated with the oak, while Cernunnos (see next section) is depicted on one of the French monuments pouring out acorns from a bag. It may be that the Glasgow saint's other name, Mungo, was due to his association with the sacred oak tree. The spelling "Mungo"

may well have been a copyist's error for "Mugna" (or Mogno). In the Rennes Dindsenchas, a collection of tales connected with the names of noteworthy places, the interesting place-name "Mag Mugna" ("Plain of Mugna") is dealt with. According to one view "Mugna" means "greatest of noteworthy things", i.e. "greatest of oaks" or "greatest of sacred trees". According to another view "Mugna" means "greatest of sister's sons", but this may be a secondary meaning due to early Christian influence. Whitley Stokes, in a footnote, says that the Virgin Mother was called "our sister". It would appear, therefore, that the "greatest of sister's sons" was Christ. In the Gaelic Mugna story "He is the Upholder" who puts fruit upon "the tree of Mugna". It is told of this sacred tree that there were "three fruits upon it, namely acorn, apple and nut, and when the first fruit fell another fruit used to grow.... Thirty cubits was its (the tree's) girth and its height was three hundred cubits, and its leaves were on it always. Whence Mag Mugna (Plain of Mugna)."1

Here the three everlasting, life-giving, sacred trees, the oak, apple, and hazel of the Celtic Paradises, are combined and made a symbol of Christ. Christ supports the god of the tree and the Druid of the tree. St. Columba sang, "Christ the son of God is my Druid." Kentigern, as Christ's representative on earth, was, perhaps, regarded as the Druid of Mugna. As such he was the Mugna (? Mungo), "the greatest of oaks", the tree being a god, or the form of the god connected with it, while the spirit of the tree-god possessed the priest or Druid, so that he acted not only for but as the god. The god was also manifested as the dragon and

1 Revue Celtique, XV, pp. 418-20.

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the oracular bird. Cernunnos was a dragon god, as we have seen, and therefore dragon and bird in one.

Beneath the Kentigern oak is a salmon with a ring in its mouth, and in Gaelic legend the ring-swallowing salmon is a form of the dragon-guardian of the life-giving tree ¹ which is sometimes the acorn-yielding oak, and sometimes the apple tree, or may be the hazel, the mountain ash, the yew, the fir, or the alder. There were "cult trees" as there were "cult animals".

Nor is the salmon the only suggestion of the saint's connexion with the Cernunnos ram-headed snake-dragon. In Joceline's biography one of the "sons of the stranger" who accompanied St. Columba when he visited Glasgow, seized a ram from St. Kentigern's flock and cut off its head. Then a miracle happened.

"The ram with his head cut off rushed back with unaccountable speed to his flock, and there fell down; while the head, turned into stone, stuck firmly, as by some cohesive glue, in the hands of him who held it and had struck it."

St. Kentigern forgave the robber and his friends, and allowed them to take away the carcass of the ram.

"But the head turned into stone remaineth there unto this day, as a witness to the miracle, and, being mute, yet preacheth the merit of holy Kentigern."²

Buddhist Ram-fish "Makara" from India (Elliot Smith's Evolution of Dragon)

The reference may be to an ancient stone monument of the Celto-Buddhist ram-headed fish-dragon. On a Rheims sculptured monument (see next section)

> ¹ See my Ancient Man in Britain, pp. 184 et seq. ² Life of St. Kentigern, pp. 107-8.

Cernunnos is associated with a bull and stag. There are bulls or cows, controlled by men with staves and accompanied by dogs, on an inner plaque of the Gundestrup bowl, while at the bottom there is a bull-hunting scene. Evidently Cernunnos had a connexion with wild and domesticated bulls and cows, and was therefore a " controller" of the milk supply. Shakespeare's "Herne the Hunter" could withdraw milk from cows, as do the fairies in many folk-tales; like these fairies he was, no doubt, also supposed to be able to ensure an abundant supply of milk. As we shall see, the Scottish sacrificers of bulls poured oblations of milk on the hills.

St. Kentigern was a notable milk-consumer, a patron and protector of domesticated cows and a tamer of wild bulls.

Joceline tells that on one occasion St. Kentigern sent a large supply of milk to an artisan. It was contained in jars, which were placed in a Clyde ferryboat. An accident took place and the milk fell into the river, but being milk from the wonder-working saint, it was not lost.

"The milk poured out did not mix with the water, and was not altered as to colour and taste, but all at once it became curded, and was turned into cheese. In fact, the cheese was no less properly made solid by the beating of the waves, than in other cases it is compacted by the pressure of the hands."¹

In another instance a man stole a cow from Glasgow, but next morning the animal "was found living and bound to the foot of the thief, who had been deprived of life".²

St. Kentigern was led to Glasgow by two bulls. He had nursed an aged saint, who, before dying, said,

¹Life of St. Kentigern, p. 105.

² Ibid., p. 117.

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"To-morrow attend to my burial, as it pleaseth thy providence, the Lord inspiring thee."

The saint acted as he had been instructed and Joceline tells:

"Next day St. Kentigern yoked two untamed bulls to a new wain, in which he placed the body, whence the spirit had departed, and having prayed in the name of the Lord, he enjoined upon the brute beasts to carry the burden placed upon them to the place which the Lord had provided for it."

The bulls went straight to "Cathures which is now called Glasgu . . . they halted near a certain cemetery



Bull, from sculptured stone, Burghead, Scotland

which had been long before consecrated by St. Ninian ".1 It is evident that these bulls, like the ox and stag associated with Cernunnos, were cult animals.

In the next story we find St. Kentigern making use of the other cult animals (stag and wolf) of Cernunnos which are shown on the Gundestrup bowl (Plate IV).

Joceline tells how the saint worked wonders in Glasgow by increasing his own store of religious merit as well as that of his followers, and how he caused crops to grow in abundance.

1 Life of St. Kentigern, pp. 51-2.

"The man of God (Kentigern) joined to himself a great many disciples, whom he trained in the sacred literature of the Divine Law, and educated to sanctity of life by his word and example. They all with a godly jealousy imitated his life and doctrine, accustomed to fastings and sacred vigils at certain seasons, intent on psalms and prayers, and meditation on the Divine word, content with sparing diet and dress, occupied every day and hour in manual labour."

The saint had at the time no oxen and called upon the deer to draw his plough. One day a hungry wolf attacked a stag "which was wearied with its labour" and killed and devoured it. Kentigern stretched his hand towards the wood in which the wolf was and said:

"In the name of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, I command that the wolf, who hath wrought this injury on me who deserved it not, appear before me to make satisfaction."

The wolf appeared, crouched at the saint's feet, and Kentigern commanded:

"Arise, and I command thee, by the authority of God Almighty that thou place thyself in the plough in the place of our labourer the stag, whom thou hast devoured, and applying thyself to the yoke, plough over all that remaineth of the little field."

The narrative continues:

"Verily the wolf obeyed the word spoken by the saint, and, yoked with the other stag, ploughed up nine acres, whereupon the saint freely allowed him to depart."

The sandy soil was sown " and at the proper time brought forth the best and the richest wheat, at which all who heard and saw were struck with the utmost astonishment".¹

¹ Lives of St. Ninian and St. Kentigern (translation), Edinburgh, 1874, pp. 66-8.

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Here Joceline is attempting to explain and rationalize St. Kentigern's association with the stag and wolf of Cernunnos the Buddhist god who, by means of his accumulated store of religious "merit", regulated the seasons and caused the land to yield abundant harvests.

The saint, as a "fertility deity", was able to produce fruit even in the midst of winter. Joceline tells of a Christmas visitor from Ireland who was asked by King Rederech what particular gift he would be willing to receive. The man expressed a wish for "a dish full of fresh mulberries", and the king "betook himself to St. Kentigern" and appealed to him to procure the fruit. Nor did he appeal in vain. St. Kentigern instructed him to proceed to a certain bush of thorns under which mulberries would be found "still fresh and fit for gathering", and "the king did as the bishop ordered, and found all as he had predicted".

The Kentigern birth story is to the effect that his mother, St. Thenew, who admired and venerated "the fruitful purity of the Virgin mother", was "found with child". Joceline mentions that "the stupid and foolish people, who live in the Diocese of St. Kentigern, go so far as to assert that he was conceived and born of a virgin". The biographer suggests, however, that Thenew may have "drunk the potion of oblivion, which physicists call Letargion" (Mandragora),¹ or had "her chastity stormed" by "the sleight of hand of soothsayers".

The girl's royal father, King Leudonus (a monarch in East Lothian), commanded that she should be thrown over the cliff of Dunpelder (Traprain). She survived this ordeal and was set adrift on the Firth of Forth in a boat

¹See on this reference Sir J. Young Simpson, Anæsthesia, Hospitalism, and Hermaphroditism. Edinburgh, 1871, p. 11. (D 852) 6

without sail or oars. The boat went ashore next morning at Culenros (Culross) and there the child was born. St. Servanus (St. Serf), who really lived much later, took charge of the child and cared for the mother.

This birth story suggests that of the Hindu Karna, son of the sun-god and the virgin princess Pritha, the story of Attis, and several other miraculous birth myths of similar character. Dr. A. P. Forbes in his notes to the Life of St. Kentigern, comments,

"The whole of Joceline's narrative here is directed at undoing the weird legend in the earlier life, which gives an unedifying account of the conception of Kentigern, and yet it would almost seem that the British mind seemed to take delight in the contemplation of such a birth as this. When Vortigern retired to the mountain of Erir or Heremus to build a tower to secure him against barbarians, the materials vanished, and on inquiring of his wise men, he was told to find a child born without a father, whose blood was to be sprinkled on the ground. A boy being found, his mother said, 'In what manner he was conceived I know not, for I never had intercourse with any man'."

The ancient people of Glasgow, who are censured by Joceline, were apparently perpetuating a legend connected with an ancient god who was displaced by St. Kentigern, or was transformed into a Christian saint.

It may not be without significance that Kentigern was born in the East and was subsequently carried by bulls to the West like a sun-god.

An interesting fact about the Glasgow saint is that he had two names—Kentigern and Mungo—and Joceline explains these as meaning "head lord" and "very dear friend", but Celtic philologists find the names difficult. A "Caintigern", it is of interest to note, figures in the Irish poem which describes the "Voyage of Bran" to the Celtic "Isles of the Blest", but the name is that of a woman. She is the wife of Fiachna, wizard and king, and mother of Mongan (Finn-ma-Coul reborn) by the sea-god Manannan mac Ler.

Fiachna is, in another story, located on the island of Mag Mell, one of the Celtic "Isles of the Blest", and he has a daughter significantly named "Sun-tear". Caintigern, whose name is translated by Kuno Meyer as "Fair One", was evidently a goddess.

How, then, it may be asked, can the goddess Caintigern be connected with St. Kentigern? As will be shown, Cernunnos is associated on a French monument with goddesses who, like the horned snake, the stag, the bull, and the wolf, may have symbolized certain of his specialized activities.

Some ancient gods had goddess forms and some ancient goddesses had god forms. Herodotus,¹ as stated, refers to the god Mithra as a goddess; there was a female Apollo; the Hindu god Shiva is sometimes shown with his right side masculine and his left side feminine. The "bearded Aphrodite", and other instances of like character, might be cited in this connexion.

The Northern Buddhists had likewise their sexchanging deities. In the three Buddhist Sutras of the Amida (Western Buddha) sects, Amida is "accompanied by two Bodhisattvas who aid him in his works of mercy. Their names in Sanskrit are Avalokites'vara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta—'Infinite Mercy' and 'Divine Strength' —in Japanese, Kwannon and Seishi. Kwannon in the Pure Land books is male, not female." The Buddhist

¹ Book I, Chapter CXXXI.

deity Kwannon "is always male in India and nearly always female in China and Japan".¹

Although St. Kentigern is not horned like Cernunnos, there is a suggestive reference in Joceline's biography to a symbol which appeared on his head. St. Columba, on the occasion of his visit to Glasgow, was asked regarding the saint as he was revealed to his own spiritual vision and said:

"I see a fiery pillar in fashion of a golden crown, set with sparkling gems, descending from heaven upon his (Kentigern's) head, and a light of heavenly brightness encircling him like a certain veil, and covering him, and again returning to the skies."²

If there really was a man named Kentigern who lived and preached the Christian faith in Scotland (unknown to St. Columba) and in Wales (unknown to St. Asaph), it may be that, as in the case of other saints, the floating legends of wonder-working druids or pagan gods were attached to his memory.

One Scottish saint, who undoubtedly displaced a pagan god in folk-memory, was St. Maelrubha (Mourie). He died in the parish of Applecross, Ross and Cromartyshire, in April, 722, and his grave is still pointed out. An ancient pagan festival celebrated on 25th August became the saint's festival.

The Mourie-god gave his name to Loch Maree, in which is an island with a sacred tree and sacred well; his cult survived in the parish of Gairloch, Ross and Cromartyshire, until the seventeenth century. The records of the Presbytery of Dingwall from 1656 till 1678 contain references to "abominable and heathenish

¹ Professor Arthur Lloyd in the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. XXXV, Part 2, pp. 229-30 and 238, Note 1.

² Life of St. Kentigern, p. 107.



Photo. A. G.

ALTAR IN THE MUSEUM, RHEIMS

The Gaulish god Cernunnos is squatted between the Celtic Apollo and Mercury, who are standing, and he is pouring from a bag "a profusion of acorns or beech-mast". These "drop down between an ox and a stag". Above the god's head is a carving of a rat or mouse. The sculpture is attributed to the time of the Roman occupation of Gaul.

Facing p. 64

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practices " in the parish in question. These included the sacrificing of bulls,

"At a certaine tyme uppon the 25 of August, which day is dedicate, as they conceive, to Sⁿ Mourie as they call him . . . as also in pouring of milk upon hills as oblationes . . . and with all their adoring of wells and uther superstitious monuments and stones, tedious to rehearse."¹

On 6th August, 1678, the Presbytery of Dingwall received a letter from the Rev. Roderick Mackenzie of Gairloch, stating that he had summoned Hector, John, Duncan, and Kenneth Mackenzie (a father, two sons, and a grandson) to appear and answer for themselves " for sacrificing a bull in ane heathenish manner in the iland (island) of St. Ruffus, commonly called Ellan Mourie in Lochew (Loch Maree) for the recovering of the health of Cirstane Mackenzie ", but the summons was ignored. As Mrs. Mackenzie recovered, the other Mackenzies must have considered themselves justified in defying the Presbytery.

St. Columba's attitude towards Druidism is of special interest. According to Adamnan, he had conflicts with powerful Druids when he visited the Pictish king at Inverness. In a Gaelic poem attributed to him he says:

"I do not reverence the voices of birds, nor sneezing, nor any charm in the wide world; Christ, the Son of God, is my Druid."

The Druid, as an intercessor between God and mankind, is here supplanted by Christ. It will be recalled in this connexion that the Celts would not offer up a sacrifice unless a Druid were present. It was their firm belief that sacrifices would not be accepted by the gods except through the medium of the clergy. Diodorus

¹ From minutes dated 5th September and 9th September, 1656.

Siculus (V, 31), from whom I am quoting, tells also that the druidical "prophets" predicted the future from the flight of birds. Gaelic folk-stories tell of "seers" who had learned "the language of birds" and drew auguries from the movements of birds. The reference in the St. Columba poem to "the voices of birds" is therefore of very special interest.

Before leaving the Christian saints to whose memories cling legends regarding Druids and Celto-Buddhist deities, further reference may be made to Kentigern's meeting with Merlin.

The famous wizard is in Bower's Scotichronicon depicted as a madman "naked and hairy" and "destitute as it seemed of all worldly comfort"; he "was commonly called Lailoken". He tells St. Kentigern that being guilty of the blood of many who were slain, he heard a voice from heaven which declared to him, "Thou alone shalt do penance for the sins of all; seeing that, given over unto Satan, thou shalt have thy dwelling among the beasts, until the hour of thy death. . . . "Whereupon, Merlin adds, "the evil spirit seized me, who had turned away from myself, and gave me a place, as thou seest, among the wild beasts".

St. Kentigern laments and prays for "this most wretched of wretched men . . . among the beasts, himself like a beast naked, and outcast, fed only on the pasture of herbage".

Although Merlin, on meeting St. Kentigern, declares "I am a Christian", he is in this narrative more like a memory of some half-demented Celto-Buddhist ascetic who engaged in doing penance like a typical Hindu ascetic living "on roots" among wild animals.

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SECTION III—CERNUNNOS AND THE HORNED SERPENT IN FRANCE

Cernunnos and the horned serpent are to be seen in various forms on the monuments of ancient Gaul. On an altar in the museum of Cluny a god, who was identified during the Roman period with Mercury, is shown with raised club about to strike and slay a serpent.

De Jubainville writes with regard to the engraved Celtic monuments in France:

" In most representations . . . this serpent has a ram's head. He is represented as one of the attributes of Gaulish divinities on monuments found at Autun, Montluçon, Epinal, Vandœuvre (Indre) and La Guerche (Cher). One of the most curious of these is at Autun. The god is represented crouching, with three heads bearing horns; and two serpents with ram's heads form a sort of girdle for him. . . . On the altar at Vandœuvre (Indre), the horned god, still crouching, is not three-headed; but he is accompanied by two other gods, standing, who complete the triad; and the two serpents, instead of serving as a girdle, are placed at the ends of the bas-relief. . . . The name Cernunnos is inscribed on the third side of the altar, number 3, in the museum of Cluny; below, a horned human figure is clearly discernible. The lower part of the body is defaced, but, considering the height of the monument, it is certain this god was in a crouching attitude, like the two other horned gods on the altars of Autun and Vandœuvre (Indre). There is no serpent accompanying him; the sculptor has made two designs of this myth; after placing Cernunnos on the third side of the altar, he has represented the murder of the serpent on the fourth side."1

The late Sir John Rhys in his Hibbert Lectures discusses the various forms of Cernunnos on the Gaulish

¹ H. D'Arbois de Jubainville, *The Irish Mythological Cycle*, pp. 218-9 (English translation, London, 1903).

monuments, and he notes that the Latinized form of the god's name is given on a wax tablet at Pesht "in a mention of a funerary college holding its meetings in the temple of a Jupiter Cernenus". This identification of Cernunnos with Jupiter, it may be noted in passing, affords further proof of my view that the Celto-Buddhist god of the West was the chief deity in the late Gaulish pantheon.

Rhys quotes M. Mowat's reference to Cernunnos sitting on the ground "cross-legged . . . like a Buddha", but rejects his conclusion that squatting having been anciently "familiar to the Gauls", the god was depicted in this posture. He thinks that "both the squatting position and the horns had a mythological signification reaching back beyond the history of the Celts as a distinct branch of the Aryan family, though we may never be able to find out its precise meaning".¹ The Aryan theory breaks down, however, when we are reminded that no squatting god was known to the Greeks, the Romans, or the Germans, who must surely be included in the "family" as well as the Celts.

Rhys shows that in the sculpture at Vendœuvres-en-Brenne, Cernunnos is "holding a *follis* or sack in his lap, and on either side there stand two figures of a diminutive Genius, with their feet planted on the coils of a serpent, while each grasps with one hand either horn of the central personage; the other hand of the one Genius holds a torque, and that of his fellow a purse".

On the Rheims monument Cernunnos is squatted between the Celtic Apollo and Mercury, who are standing, and he is pouring from a bag "a profusion of acorns or beech-mast". These "drop down between an ox (or

¹ Rhys, op. cit., p. 82.

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bull) and a stag"; above the god's head is a carving of a rat (? mouse) (Plate VII).

The rat or mouse was in India connected with the elephant-headed god Ganesha, who combined among other attributes those of Indra as a rain-bringer and ruler of the seasons. Professor Elliot Smith identifies the longnosed god of the Maya of Central America with the Hindu-Ganesha.

Two goddesses are associated on the block from Saintes with Cernunnos, who holds in his right hand the "torque" and in his left a bag. The chief goddess "sits in a seat near him, with a cornucopia resting on her left arm, while a little female divinity stands close to her ".¹

"The squatting attitude of the god," says Rhys, "has been observed also in the case of a little bronze figure discovered at Autun, now in the museum at Saint Germain, and in that of certain Gaulish coins, on one side of which is seen a squatting figure holding a torque in its right hand."² This Autun figure has instead of the three faces or heads in other representations of the deity, small faces above his ears. "The Autun figure," says Rhys, "combined all his most salient attributes, the horns, the three faces, the cross-legged posture, the torque round his neck and another resting on his lap and separating two ram-headed serpents."³ Rhys also draws attention to the fact that on the Paris altar the god wears a beard, and that two torques hang from his horns⁴ (Plate VIII).

Dealing with the gods associated with Cernunnos, Rhys notes that Apollo was connected with mineral springs as a source of health and Mercury was "the genius of commerce and money-making". He thinks

> ¹ Rhys, op. cit., p. 80. ² Rhys, op. cit., pp. 80-1.

⁸ Rhys, op. cit., pp. 93-4. ⁴ Rhys, op. cit., p. 79.

that, like Dis, Cernunnos was "the god of the dead or the nether world", and he reminds us that in this connexion the classical gods of the Underworld were "gods of riches or the lords of the metallic wealth of the world".

De Jubainville compares the three-headed god at Autun to the Gaulish triad Teutates, Esus and Taranis, and to the Irish triad Bress, Balor, and Tethra. But the form of the deity as depicted on the monument is quite Hindu in character, and it seems undoubted that it was of Buddhist importation. As has been noted, sects of Buddhists took over existing pantheons, adding Buddha as the chief god. The three-headed Hindu god resulted from the arbitrary union in India of Brahma, "the creator", Vishnu, "the preserver", and Shiva, "the destroyer".

The Celtic god who is shown in the act of smiting the serpent is strongly suggestive of the Hindu god Indra who, at the birth of each year, slays the serpent-demon Vrittra, the water-confiner. His usual weapon is the thunderbolt, but there are references also to his hook, his net, and his bow and arrows. When the enemy is slain "the waters released from their imprisonment, descend in torrents to the earth, fill all the rivers, and roll along to the ocean".

As the slayer of the water-confining demon, and thus, as has been shown, the bringer of the New Year, Indra was a controller of the seasons. "Thou (Indra)," one of the texts declares, "hast ordained the (course of the) months in the heaven: the father (the sky) has a circumference divided by thee." Further, he was the supporter of the earth, which was "the universal nurse", and he was lauded because "by his skill he has propped up the sky from falling ".1

¹ Muir's Sanskrit Texts, 1884, Vol. V, pp. 86 et seq.

PLATE VIII



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There are sky-propping figures on the Gundestrup bowl. Sky-propping "Buddhas" are found among pre-Columbian Mexican figures (Plate XI). Krishna, the Nāgas and other deities prop the sky in India.

The Indra myth was imported into China as well as into the Celtic area, and can be traced in the rainbringing ceremony, described by De Groot, in which the Azure dragon is invoked. De Visser writes in this connexion, referring to the Buddhists who face the East:

"The Azure dragon has nothing to do with Buddhism. The Chinese Buddhists only copy an ancient Indian rite. Indra, the rain-god, is the patron of the East, and the Indra colour is *nila*, dark blue, or rather blue black, the regular epitheton of the rain clouds. . . Facing the East . . . seems to point to an old rain ceremony in which Indra was invoked to raise the blue-black clouds."¹

The serpent-dragon myth in its connexion with Buddhism will be dealt with more fully in Chapter IV.

SECTION IV-" FASTING TO THE DEVIL "

The Buddhists, like the Brahmans before them, accumulated religious "merit" by means of fasting, self-torture and meditation. They thus obtained power over the gods and over the forces of nature which were supposed to be controlled by the gods; and they dictated terms to the gods and through the gods controlled nature in all its aspects.

After the heretical Buddhists had transformed the gods of a particular cult into Buddhas, these gods acted

¹ De Visser, The Dragon in China and Japan, pp. 30 and 31 and the Mahábhárata, Book III, Chapter III, § 2.

as Buddhas, accumulating power by fasts and the reciting of spells. Cernunnos, the Celto-Buddhist god, controlled the world by means of his accumulated religious merit.

When in early Christian times the pagan gods, including Cernunnos who had been transformed by Buddhist teaching, had been displaced by the saints, those gods were regarded as "devils".¹ It is of special interest, therefore, to find that "fasting to the devil" (fasting to a pagan god) was known in half-pagan Ireland. O'Curry² gives the following significant narrative:

"Conall Dearg Ua Corra was an opulent landholder and farmer in the province of Connacht. He had to wife the daughter of the Airchinnech, or lay impropriator of the Church lands of Clothar; with whom he lived happily for some years, keeping a house of hospitable entertainment for all visitors and strangers. Not being blessed with children, however, though praying ardently to the Lord for them, they became, but particularly the husband, impatient and discontented; and so far did his despair carry him, that at last he renounced God, and persuaded his wife to join him in prayer and a three days' fast to the Devil, to favour them with an heir to their large inheritance.

"It would seem that the evil spirit heard their petition, for, in due time after, the wife brought forth three sons at one birth. These sons grew up to be brave and able men, and, having heard that they had been consecrated to the Devil at their birth, they resolved to dedicate their lives to his service. As if for that special end, they appear to have collected a few desperate villains about them, and to have commenced an indiscriminate war of plunder and destruction against the Christian churches of Connacht and their priests, beginning with the church of Tuaim dá Ghualann (Tuam), and not ceasing till they had pillaged or destroyed more than half the churches of the province."

¹Bede in his *Ecclesiastical History* (Chap. X) quotes the letter from Pope Boniface IV to King Edwin, which says, "All the gods of the Gentiles are devils".

² Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History, Dublin, 1861, pp. 289-90.

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Another instance of the revival of a pre-Christian cult is to be found in the *Book of Lismore*. It is told there that three sons of the King of Ireland undertook to gain lands and wealth by "fasting on the Tuatha dé Danann" in the New Grange tomb—that is, "fasting on" a group of Celtic pagan deities who were the children of the mother-goddess Danu or Anu. The fast lasted for three days and the gods favoured the princes. Angus, son of the Dagda, appeared to them and gave instructions how the desired lands and wealth could be obtained.¹

The early Christian saints fasted against individuals and even against God so that their wishes might be granted. When a saint fasted against a pagan or halfpagan king or chief, the king or chief retaliated with a counter-fast. If the compelling fast had not been of pre-Christian origin, the pagan kings would have ignored it. It is evident that the discipline of the old religion forced the pagan rulers to take heed of the fasts of the early Christian saints.

On one occasion St. Patrick is said to have fasted against King Laoghaire on humane grounds. The royal serfs who cut down timber were supplied with blunt axes and their palms were raw and bleeding. When the saint began to fast the king fasted in return, and according to custom his fast involved his wife and family. It is told that the queen scolded her son because he ate mutton, but the lad protested that Patrick was fasting against his father and not against himself.² In *The Lives of the British Saints*, S. Baring-Gould and John Fisher refer to a similar fast in Wales:

"St. Cadoc was offended with Mælgwn Gwynedd. Some of

¹ Standish H. O'Grady, Silva Gadelica, Vol. II, pp. 109-11. ² Tripartite Life, p. 557.

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the king's men had carried off a beautiful girl from his land, the daughter of the steward of the establishment. The men of Cadoc's ecclesiastical tribe went in pursuit, and in revenge massacred three hundred of Mælgwn's attendants. The king, 'in raging and furious anger ', marched against Cadoc's tribe to wreak vengeance. Cadoc could not resist by force of arms, so he and all his men instituted a fast against the king, who at once gave way."¹

A famous Irish fast was against King Diarmid, the last ruler at Tara. Laymen might "fast against" an ecclesiastic. On one occasion the men of Leinster fasted against St. Columba to force him to promise that no foreign king would defeat them, and, after hesitating, the saint had to grant their appeal.

Saints fasted to bring success in battle. St. Caimin of Iniskeltra was employed by the King of Ulster to fast against the Kingdom of Connaught for three days and three nights to ensure the destruction of the Connaught army. St. Adamnan is reported to have punished a murderer by "fasting against him". This was Irghalach, who had killed the saint's kinsman Niall. Adamnan fasted "to obtain a violent death for him". Irghalach, becoming aware of this, "fasted against" the saint. Adamnan stood in a river with the water up to his neck for a whole night, but the murderer did likewise. In the end Irghalach was tricked into breaking his fast and he met with a violent death.

The attitude of some of these early Celtic saints towards God was strangely Hindu in character. "When," writes S. Baring-Gould and John Fisher,² "they desired to obtain something from a chief, they fasted against him, and God was to them the greatest of all chieftains, so they supposed that to obtain a favour from God they must proceed against him by levying a distress. This lies at the root of all *fakir* self-torture in India.¹ The ascetic dares the Almighty to let him die of starvation. He is perfectly assured that He will not do it, lest He should fall into disrepute among the people, assured also that He will be brought to submit, however reluctant He may be, in the end, just as would a human chieftain."

Baring-Gould and Fisher instance, in this connexion, St. Patrick's reputed fast of forty days and forty nights on the summit of the mountain Cruachan Aigle or Croagh Patrick, so as to obtain the privilege of sitting in judgment over the Irish people on the Day of Doom. The story is manifestly a relic of Paganism—of some famous fast by a Celto-Buddhist Druid which has been attached to St. Patrick's memory. "Black birds of evil haunted this evil mountain for a time, but ultimately an angel brought white birds", and then Patrick's demand was granted.² St. Madoc of Ferns similarly fasted against God for fifty days. His demand was that none of his successors should go to hell nor any member of his tribe be lost eternally.³

Coemgen, the Irish saint, was reputed, according to the traditions attached to his memory, to have fasted every Lent for "a fortnight and a month without food or somewhat longer". According to an Irish Gaelic poem, which celebrates his longest fast,

> "He would stand on a rough bare flag-stone Though the cold hurt his feet."

So long did he remain with arms upstretched that

¹ Cambro-British Saints, p. 94, and Gould and Fisher, op. cit., p. 18. ² Lives of British Saints, Vol. I, pp. 17 et seq.

¹ It must not be overlooked, however, that the man who fasted in meditation was supposed to accumulate "merit". The longer the fast the greater the store of "merit" accumulated. Having "merit", he could bargain or even command, "merit" being spiritual power.

² W. Stokes, Tripartite Life, London, 1887, p. 115.

⁸ Cambro-British Saints, p. 243, and Lives of British Saints, p. 20.

"A blackbird hopped from a branch And made a nest in the hand of the saint."

The saint remained with "the nest of the blackbird on his palm till her birds were hatched ", but ultimately an angel came down from heaven and said:

"Thou shalt not be torturing thyself any longer; Depart from thy bondage without delay, Thy business is ready with God."

Coemgen refused to desist from self-torture, however, until his wish was granted. The poem proceeds:

"God gave power to Coemgen Such as He gave not to every saint in the world, That he should be strong in His assemblies Where the children of Adam will be trembling.

"When the judgment of doom shall come, Dread will be the power over every one, The people of the glen will not be decreed to imprisonment, But (will be) like mist on the top of the twigs.

"Coemgen takes with him to paradise His own true family without condition; After the judgment of the mighty king, And (with) a spear of red gold in his hand.

"God granted him (Coemgen) everything he asked Till the end of the world comes; He granted heaven to the soul of every fair body That should be (buried) under the pure soil of Coemgen."¹

Many other instances of these terrible fasts could be given. St. Finnchua is said to have given away his place in heaven to another. To obtain a new place for himself

¹ Charles Plumer, Lives of Irish Saints, Vol. II, pp. 136-8 (London, 1922).

he spent seven years suspended by iron shackles placed under his armpits. This saint and St. Ite "are said to have caused their bodies to be eaten by chafers or stag beetles". St. Findan tortured himself by wearing a girdle of iron which cut through his flesh to the bone.¹ Other saints slept on stone and on the earth, or lay all night, as St. Columba is said to have done, according to an Iona tradition, in a hollowed stone, submerged in cold water. The Scottish ascetics known as the Culdees (*Céli Dé*, i.e. " companions of God ") of whom so much has been written, but little is really known, also underwent terrible penances.

Fasting to get rid of evil spirits was practised at a comparatively late period. According to a Newlyn story given by Miss M. A. Courtney in her *Cornish Feasts and Folklore*, a Cornish evil spirit was subdued by a parson who prayed and fasted. "The spirit was commanded to empty the sea by using a limpet shell with perforated bottom and " is supposed to be still busy at this task".

On the Continent fasting and prayer were recommended for the purpose of getting rid of evil spirits, and Brognoli, who was an exorcist, describes the appropriate formula, which is of decidedly Hindu character.²

Fasting to recover a debt was known in Ireland. Dr. P. W. Joyce, dealing with the old Brehon laws, tells of the custom of a plaintiff "fasting on" a defendant:

"It was done in this way. The plaintiff, having served due notice, went to the house of the defendant, and, sitting before the door, remained there without food; and as long as he remained, the defendant was also obliged to fast. It may be inferred that the debtor generally yielded before the fast was ended, i.e. either paid

¹ Anwyl, in Hastings' Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. II, 71-3. ² Brognoli, Manuale Exorcistarum, p. 351, § 693. (D 852)

the debt or gave a pledge that he would settle the case. This fasting process—which still exists in India—was regarded with a sort of superstitious awe; and it was considered outrageously disgraceful for a defendant not to submit to it. It is pretty evident that the man who refused to abide by the custom, not only incurred personal danger, but lost all character, and was subject to something like what we now call a universal boycott, which in those days no man could bear. He had in fact to fly and become a sort of outlaw."¹

S. Baring-Gould and John Fisher point out² that this custom obtained in Wales as well as in Ireland. A court did nothing to enforce its judgments. The debtor or wrongdoer had therefore to be either cursed or "fasted against":

"The process was this. He (the creditor) made formal demand for what was due to him. If this were refused, and he were unable otherwise to enforce payment or restitution, he seated himself at the door of the debtor and abstained from food and drink.

"In India the British Government has been compelled to interfere and put down this process of *dharma*. The (Celtic) fast of a levy or a fast against a man at once doubled the *eric* or fine due for the offence. In India it was etiquette for the debtor to fast also; but in Ireland the only means that one man had of meeting a fast against him without yielding was to fast also."

If a fasting creditor died, a blood feud ensued.

S. Baring-Gould and J. Fisher express the view that although monachism among the Celts may have received an impulse from the writings of Palladius and Sulpicius Severus, "it did not originate from the perusal of these books (*Historia Lausiaca* and *Life of St. Martin*)", but "had existed as a system from a remote antiquity among the pagan forefathers of the saints". They suggest a

> ¹ A Smaller Social History of Ancient Ireland, p. 88. ² The Lives of British Saints, Vol. I, p. 17.

racial origin for the custom, asserting that, "the very same race which underlies the Hindu population of India underlay the Goidel in Ireland and the Brython in Britain. That race which to this day sets up menhirs and dolmens there (in India) strewed Ireland and Cornwall with them at a remotely early period".

Sir John Rhys in his *Hibbert Lectures*, as we have seen, thought the squatting position of the god Cernunnos had "a mythological signification reaching back beyond the history of the Celts as a distinct branch of the Aryan family".

These pre-Celtic and Aryan origin theories, however, scarcely carry conviction, and are opposed to one another. Why should the Hindu and Celtic megalithic areas have been the only megalithic areas which retained the ancient fasting customs, and why should the Celtic and Hindu branches of the "Aryan race" have remembered " the squatting god" and the Greek, Latin, German, and other branches forgotten him? Quetzalcoatl, the Aztec god of Mexico, is shown squatting in one of his figures and there were squatting deities in North America. Were the " Redskins" Aryans? There is no essential connexion between a race and a culture or religion.

The late Professor Anwyl rejected the theories favoured by Rhys and S. Baring-Gould and J. Fisher. He considered that Celtic Christian asceticism owed its origin "to transmission from Egypt through Massilia (Marseilles), a port which under the Empire had a vigorous Egyptian trade. . . The main impetus to the growth of the monastic movement in these islands undoubtedly came through the anti-Pelagian mission of Lupus and Germanus." He grants, however, that "in spite of its relation to the general movement in

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Christendom", Celtic asceticism "had certain wellmarked features of its own which were mainly conditioned by the tribal organization in which it took root".¹

Anwyl makes too much of the very slight proof of contact afforded by the twelfth-century Life of the fourthcentury Scottish Saint Ninian, in which it is said that St. Ninian met St. Martin of Tours. Bede and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle refer to a church dedication only. His theory certainly does not explain why the Irish pagan chiefs and kings should have been terrorized by the fasts of Celtic saints, or why there should have been non-Christian Irish fasts to the gods known as the "Tuatha dé Danann " and to the devil. Nor does it explain why in Scotland the mysterious saints of folk-memory should have shown as great a partiality for caves as did the Buddhists and Druids. "The lives of the Celtic saints", Anwyl cannot help noting, " sometimes describe their ascetic practices in terms not unlike those of Indian yogis and fagirs". Had he known of the evidence afforded by the Cernunnos-Virūpāksha figure on the Gundestrup bowl, which throws a flood of light on the problem presented by the Gaulish squatting god, the horned snake, &c., he could scarcely have persisted in his theory of the Egyptian origin of Celtic asceticism.

Anwyl dated the origin of Christian asceticism in Celtic countries as late as "the fifth and sixth centuries". There were, however, Celtic saints in pagan times. Sir John Rhys quoted in his *Studies in the Arthurian Legend*² the following interesting and significant statement by Plutarch:

"Demetrius further said that of the islands around Britain

many lie scattered about uninhabited, of which some are named after deities and heroes. He told us also, that, being sent by the Emperor with the object of reconnoitring and inspecting he went to the island which lay nearest to those uninhabited, and found it occupied by few inhabitants, who were, however, sacrosanct and inviolable in the eyes of the Britons. Soon after his arrival a great disturbance of the atmosphere took place, accompanied by many portents, by the winds bursting forth into hurricanes, and by the fiery bolts falling. When it was over, the islanders said that some one of the mighty had passed away. . . Moreover there is there, they said, an island in which Cronus is imprisoned with Briareus keeping guard over him as he sleeps; for, as they put it, sleep is the bond forged for Cronus. They add that around him are many deities, his henchmen and attendants."

Rhys, commenting on Plutarch's narrative, says that it is "paralleled by what Pomponius Mela has left on record as to the inhabitants of the islands on the coast of Brittany", and adds with regard to the island-dwelling habit of pagan saints that "it discloses a motive which may possibly have been present to the early (Christian) recluses who were so fond of withdrawing to the islands; for it is not wholly improbable that some of them expected to derive advantage from the wall of inviolability which the pagans of former times had built round the person of the islander".

Dealing with the slumbering Cronus, Rhys is reminded "of many a Welsh shepherd's vision of Arthur and his men dozing away in a cave until the peal of destiny rings them forth to the field of battle", as well as of the slumbering Bran and Merlin. In Scotland Fionn (Fingal) and his men slumber in the Smith's Rock in Skye, in Ross-shire and Perthshire caves, and under the hillock of Tomnahurich at Inverness. Thomas

¹ Hastings' Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. II, pp. 71-3. ² Oxford, 1901, pp. 367-9.

the Rhymer is one of the Inverness sleepers, and he is, as a sleeper, connected also with Dumbuck Hill near Dumbarton and the Eildon Hills in East Lothian. There are various sleepers on the Continent and in Arabia. The Phrygians believed Cronus slept in winter and awakened in summer, and Hindu farmers believe that the god Vishnu sleeps during the rainy season.¹ In the Mahábhárata² the god Shiva commands the god Indra to remove a boulder from the mouth of a cave. Indra does so and sees four other Indras sleeping within. He is ordered to lie down with the others until the time comes "when all of ye shall have to take your births in the world of men ". The form in which the sleepers legend survives in Scotland and Wales is very like that found in the ancient Indian epic. The five Indras come forth as the five Pandava brothers to take part in a great war, and the Welsh and Scottish sleepers still await the call to battle. A Gaelic poem tells that when Thomas the Rhymer comes forth from Dumbuck Hill

> "The day of spoils will be on the Clyde. Nine thousand good men will be slain And a new king will be set on the throne."

There are many parallels in Hindu sacred literature to the stories of the Celtic fasting saints. The *rishis* accumulate so much religious merit that they terrorize the gods and impose their wills upon them. One famous ascetic practised austere penances because he "had set his heart upon the destruction of the world".³ Another named Vishwamitra achieved such great success that "at

^a The Mahábhárata, Adi Parva (Roy's translation), p. 512.



On either side are "swimming elephant

nist symbol. O walking swan.

Buddhist

en intended for a

of a swan in Scotland. Th on the left is a figure which

figures;

The earliest sculptured or incised representation

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¹ W. Crooke, Native Races of Northern India, p. 159.

² Adi Parva (Roy's translation), pp. 553 et seq.

last he drank soma (the liquor of immortality) with Indra himself ".1

In the Hindu stories the gods, becoming alarmed because of the divine power accumulated by ascetics, sent down Apsaras (celestial nymphs) to tempt them. Those ascetics who are tempted successfully abandon their rigid austerities. In one case Indra had an ascetic tempted by several "lovely damsels" who made "various gestures of love, displaying their fine figures", but in vain, and Indra, in his wrath, slew the ascetic with his thunderbolt.²

I was the first to draw attention to the interesting fact that this type of Hindu story was carried to pre-Columbian America, the " carriers " having been one of the Buddhist sects.3

Boturini relates the story of the American love goddess's temptation of the Mexican ascetic called Yáppan, whom Bancroft compares to Simeon Stylites. Yáppan engaged in penance on a rock and the gods, in time, began to think " he was worthy to be transformed to some higher form of life". When, however, the beautiful Tlazolteotl, goddess of love, tempted him, he fell and was slain, his soul becoming a scorpion "with the forearms fixed, lifted up as when he deprecated the blow of his murderer ".

1 Ibid., p. 504.

* The Mahdbhárata, Udyoga Parva (Roy's translation), pp. 18 et seq. ³ My Myths of Pre-Columbian America, pp. 222 et seq.

SECTION V—THE CELTIC DOCTRINES OF METEMPSYCHOSIS AND THE WORLD'S AGES

The doctrine of metempsychosis (the Transmigration of Souls) was, as has been stated (Chap. I, Section II) prevalent among certain of the Celts in Gaul. Diodorus Siculus assumed they had acquired it from the Pythagoreans. He was followed in this connexion by early Christian theologians. Origen mentions the view obtaining in his day that the Druids had received instruction from Zamolxis, the servant of Pythagoras, the Greek philosopher and the reputed pioneer of the doctrine in his native land. Clement of Alexandria accepted this view.

The Greek historian and the Christian theologians may, however, have been misled by "the superficial resemblance between the Druidic doctrine of the soul's future and the teaching attributed to Pythagoras". As will be shown, there are differences between the Celtic and Greek doctrines. The Irish evidence regarding metempsychosis is more Hindu than Greek in character, and it is possible therefore that the Buddhists who transformed the horned Cernunnos into a Buddha and placed in his right hand an Indian $N\bar{a}ga$ (serpent deity), also instructed the Druids regarding the Transmigration of Souls.

"In Buddhism," as Professor D. Alfred Bertholet has pointed out, "the limitation of metempsychosis to the animal world became a dogma."¹ Pythagoras left no writings; "the 'Golden Sentences' attributed to him were the work of other hands," and we cannot be certain

¹ The Transmigration of Souls, translation by the Rev. H. J. Chaytor, London, 1909, p. 84.

whether or not he believed that souls entered plants as well as animals. He is credited with having believed that he "passed through four previous earthly lives in human form". His disciple Empedocles, the Greek philosopher of Agrigentum in Sicily, certainly included plants among the habitations of human souls, as is made manifest in his precise statement:

"Thus in former lives I have been a boy and a girl, a bush and a bird, and a fish without speech in the depths of the sea."

The Celts of Gaul did not teach that the soul entered plants. Julius Cæsar, who had intimate relations with the Gaulish Druids, informs us (*De Bello Gallico*, VI, 14) that they believed in the indestructibility of the human soul, which, after death, "passed from one individual to another".

Clement of Alexandria regards "the Druids of the 'Galatæ' along with the prophets of the Egyptians, the 'Chaldæans of the Assyrians', the '*philosophers of the Celts*' and the Magi of the Persians, as the pioneers of philosophy among the barbarians before it spread to the Greeks". Pliny detected a resemblance between the Magi of Persia and the Druids of the Celts and wrote, "Brittania to this day celebrates the art (of magic) with such wondrous ceremonies that it seems as if she might have taught the Magi of Persia".¹

Professor Anwyl remarks with regard to the passage quoted from Clement of Alexandria:

"The reason for the distinction drawn in this passage between the Druids of the Galatæ' and 'the philosophers of the Celts' is not clear."²

Perhaps, however, the Buddhist missionaries who trans-

¹ Hist. Nat., XXXIII, 21.

² Celtic Religion, London, 1906, p 46.

formed Cernunnos, the horned Celtic god, into a Buddha —the Western Buddha—also founded the Celtic school of philosophy which so greatly impressed ancient writers. Diodorus Siculus, as already stated, notes that there were different grades of Druids—" philosophers and theologians" and, in addition, "seers and bards". Timagenes (quoted in Ammianus) also refers to the three grades:

"The highest class...," he says, "were, in accordance with the rule of Pythagoras, closely linked together in confraternities, and by acquiring a certain loftiness of mind from their investigations into things that were hidden and exalted, they despised human affairs and declared the soul immortal."¹

Strabo (IV, c. 4, § 4) makes mention of the Druidic belief that although the soul and the universe were immortal "fire and water would sometimes prevail " an evident reference to the Hindu Doctrine of the Ages of the World (Yugas).

The doctrine of the Transmigration of Souls is an exotic in Britain and Ireland, as has been indicated. It is confined chiefly to notable men. In Ireland the hero Finn-mac-Coul was reborn after two hundred years as Mongan, a King of Ulster. Cuchulainn, the Ulster warrior, was an incarnation of the god Lugh, and, in "The Wooing of Emer" narrative, he is urged by his friends to marry, because they believed "that his rebirth would be of himself". He was destined to die young.

When, however, we come to consider the Irish Christian redaction of the legend of Tuan Mac Cairill, we meet with the Hindu and not the Pythagorean doctrine of the Transmigration of Souls. Further, it is in-

¹ Anwyl, op. cit., p. 51.

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corporated in the Hindu doctrine of the Ages of the World.

Tuan is met by St. Finnen who had just arrived in Ireland with his celebrated Gospel of which St. Columba made a copy with the result that a fierce dispute broke out between them. One day he fasted in front of a stronghold occupied by a powerful and ill-natured warrior who was not a Christian, and this man was compelled, because of the "power" accumulated by the saint, to open his door. Next day the warrior paid a return visit to Finnen, who took him into his private cell. The visitor informed the saint that he was Tuan Mac Cairill, "but once," he added, " I was called Tuan, son of Starn, son of Sera, and my father Starn was the brother of Partholon". This statement indicated that he had lived through the different Ages of the World. "Tell us the history of Ireland," said Finnen, " and all that was done in this island from the time of Partholon, son of Sera. We will not eat with you until you tell us all the old tales we want to hear."

Tuan then proceeds to tell the story of his various forms in the different Ages. De Jubainville notes that "he had lived in all three hundred and twenty years", the calculation being as follows:

Tuan was a man for the first time for		100 years		
He lived as a stag for			80	>>
He lived as a boar for		••	20	>>
He lived as a vulture or eagle for		••	100	"
He lived as a fish for			20	>>
T				in the second
10	otal		320 y	rears

Giraldus Cambrensis states, however, that Tuan "reached the age of fifteen hundred years."¹

¹ Topographia Hibernica, III, 2, Dimock's edition, V, p. 142.

In his story, as told to Finnen, Tuan says, according to one version, that no people reached Ireland until 312 years after the Deluge, but in another version he is made to say "1002 years after the Deluge".

In the first Age Partholon arrived with twenty-four men each of whom had a wife. This race increased to 5000 and then "a mortality came upon them" and all perished except one. That man was Tuan himself and he grew old and fell into decrepitude.

Then Nemed took possession of Ireland, and one evening Tuan fell asleep and awoke to find that he was a stag. Nemed's company had sailed in thirty-four ships in each of which were thirty persons, but lost their way and perished of hunger and thirst. Only nine survivors reached Ireland, Nemed himself and four men and four women. The race of Nemed increased until there were 4030 men and an equal number of women. Then, like the former race, all perished.

Tuan next became a black boar—the king boar of Ireland. Then the Fir Domnan (Dumnonii) and the Firbolg (men with sacks) settled in Ireland under Semion, son of Stariat.

Tuan was subsequently transformed into a "great vulture" or "a great eagle of the sea". The island of Ireland was then seized by the Tuatha dé Danann (the tribe of the goddess Danu or Anu) "from whom . . . the Irish men of learning are sprung". The leader of the Tuatha dé Danann was Beothach, son of Iarbonel the prophet, and the races in Ireland were subdued.

Tuan grew old as a vulture and, having fasted for nine days "in the hollow of a tree by a river" he fell asleep and awoke to find that he was a salmon. After a time the salmon was caught in a net by a fisherman who carried it to the wife of King Carell. It was grilled. "The woman," said Tuan, "desired me, and ate me by herself, whole, so that I passed into her womb. I remember the time I was in the womb of the wife of Carell." He was born as the son of the king and became a "prophet".

Another Irish myth makes Cessair and not Partholon the first pioneer in Erin. De Jubainville thinks it is a pure invention of a tenth-century churchman, but it may be that this writer drew upon genuinely ancient tradition. The story is put into the mouth of Fintan, who tells that Cessair was a granddaughter of Noah's. When the ark was being built her father Bith asked that accommodation should be provided for Cessair and himself, but Noah refused and said "Go forth unto the most western border of the world, for the flood will assuredly not come there." Another version states that Cessair was given this advice by an idol which she worshipped.

Three ships sailed westward, and after seven years of wandering one arrived at a bay in County Cork with Cessair, Bith, two men named Ladru and Fintan, and fifty maidens. Forty days after their arrival the Deluge came and all perished except Fintan, who lived until the sixth century of the present era. He told that for the space of a year during the Deluge he "enjoyed sleep on the height of a mighty wave ". He subsequently witnessed the arrival in turn of Partholon from the East, the land of the Greeks, of Nemed, of the Fir Bolg, the Fir Galian (" men of Gaul "), and the Fir Domnan, the Tuatha dé Danann, and the Milesians " out of Spain and the South ". Fintan then declared, "I had come to a great age, I do not conceal it. . . . I am the fair Fintan, son of Bochra; I proclaim it aloud. Since the flood came here I have been a great man in Ireland."

Fintan, however, was not the sole survivor of the Deluge as we gather from the following fragment of old mythology.¹

"There are four cardinal points . . . the East and the West, the North and the South. Now, each of these has had its man. There were four men appointed to record all the wonderful events that had taken place in the world. Two of them were born before the Deluge and escaped from the waters, namely, Fintan, son of Bochra, son of Lamech, whose duty was to preserve the histories of Spain and Ireland, or the Western world, and who lived for 5550 years, 50 before the Deluge, and 5500 after; and Fors, son of Electra, son of Seth, son of Adam. It fell to his (Fors') lot to record the events that happened in the East; he lived 5000 years, and died at Jerusalem in the reign of Augustus in the year in which Christ was born. The other two were a grandson of Japhet, and a great-grandson of Shem. The first, whose mission was to do the Northern World, died on the banks of the Araxus in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius, when he had lived for 4000 years. The other, who was entrusted with the South, died in Corsica when Cormac, son of Art, was High King of Ireland, that is, in the second century of the present era."

In this narrative the ancient gods or guardians of the cardinal points are substituted by long-lived heroes connected with Biblical characters, as follows:

> Guardian of the North, Grandson of Japhet. Guardian of the East, Fors. Guardian of the South, Great-grandson of Shem. Guardian of the West, Fintan.

Fintan takes the place of the Celto-Buddhist god Cernunnos.

In the Hindu-Sanskrit " epic " the Mahábhárata, the long-lived sage, Mārkandeya, visits the exiled Pandavas

¹De Jubainville, op. cit., p. 46.

and relates to them the stories of the Deluge and of the four Yugas (Ages of the World) through which he had lived. The goddess Saraswati had instructed Markandeya how to engage in religious exercises so that he might live for as many years as there are hairs on the body of a sacred cow. The sage tells of Manu who practised austerities for 10,000 years and then rescued a small horned fish which he placed in an earthen water vessel. When the fish had grown too large for this vessel he transferred it to a tank, and subsequently he placed it first in the River Ganges and then in the ocean. The fish warned him of the approaching Deluge and advised him to build a ship. After the waters had covered the earth the fish towed the ship by a rope fastened to its horn. The fish informed Manu, "I am Brahma, the Lord of all Creatures", and instructed him how to re-people the world with the four castes.

Mārkandeya, having related the Manu legend, is asked to tell about the four Yugas (Ages of the World). "Thou alone," says the Pandava leader, "hast witnessed many things by thy senses."

Mārkandeya then gives an account of the Yugas in the following order:

Krita Yuga, 4800 years. Tretā Yuga, 3600 years. Dwăpara Yuga, 2400 years. Kali Yuga, 1200 years.

These four Ages are found in Mexico, where the first is 4800 years in length—the identical length of the first Hindu Age.

A caste is created in each Hindu Yuga, the Brahman caste coming first in the most perfect age and the Sudra

or slaves' caste in the last and least perfect age, "The Kali or Iron Age". Then the world is destroyed by fire and covered with water—" one dread expanse of water".

As Tuan Mac Cairill lived through the Irish Ages, so did Mārkandeya live through the Hindu. Fintan survived the Deluge on "the height of a mighty wave", and Mārkandeya similarly survived the Hindu deluge; he relates:

"Wandering over that dread expanse of water, my heart becometh afflicted in consequence of my not beholding any creature! And, O King, wandering without cessation, through that flood, I become fatigued, but obtain I no resting place."¹

The Hindu Ages were connected with the four cardinal points and the gods of these points. Each god had his colour and the winds each god sent were coloured. When the four gods were displaced by the god Brahma, he assumed in turn the colours of the gods of each cardinal point in each of the four Ages as follows:

> Krita Yuga, White Age. Tretā Yuga, Yellow Age. Dwăpara Yuga, Red Age. Kali Yuga, Black Age.

The Buddhists took over the Brahmanic system of colouring the cardinal points. The colours revolved in accordance with the ancient complicated Hindu system. In every country reached by Buddhists the cardinal points are found to be coloured. The Irish colours are North, black; East, purple; South, white; West, dun. Ceylon gives North, yellow; East, white; South, blue; West, red. Tibet, Java, China, Mexico, and Maya (Central America) have all their coloured cardinal points.

¹ Vana Parva of the Mahábhárata (Roy's translation), pp. 541 et seq.

As the Celtic doctrine of metempsychosis, as revealed in the Tuan legend, is connected with the doctrine of the Ages of the World and with the coloured cardinal points, each of which has a god, it is more probable that the Buddhists, and not the Pythagoreans of Greece and Southern Italy, instructed the ancient Celtic Druids. Hesiod gives the Greek system of Ages as (1) the Golden Age, (2) the Silvern Age, (3) the Bronze Age, (4) the Age of Heroes, and (5) the Iron Age. But there is no indication that the Greeks connected their Ages, as did the Hindus and Celts, with the doctrine of Metempsychosis, and there are no Greek stories of sages like the Hindu Manu and Mārkandeya and the Irish sages like Tuan and Fintan.

Before leaving the *Mahábhárata* it may be of interest to note at this point that in it is found the Celtic legend, already referred to, of the daring warriors who shot arrows into the sea. The Celtic story, as it survives, is meaningless, but in the Hindu narrative a king shoots hundreds of arrows into the deep until Ocean rises and appeals for mercy, saying, "With these mighty arrows shot by thee, those creatures who have taken shelter in me are being killed. O tiger among kings, do thou, O lord, grant them security."¹

In the ancient Irish epic tale Tain Bó Cúalnge (" the Kine Raid of Coolney "), the doctrine of the Transmigration of Souls is mixed up with belief in shape-shifting. The two bulls, the Brown Bull of Ulster and the White Bull of Cruachan, at the conclusion of the great war they had caused, engage in a fight to the death. Originally they were two swineherds who fell to fighting regarding a feeding-place for their swine. They became

¹ The Mahábhárata (Açwameda Parvan, Section XXIX). (D 852)

ravens and fought for two years, then they became water beasts who fought in two rivers, and then they became warriors who fought for rival kings and were both mortally wounded. They came to life again as manycoloured water-worms. A Cruachan cow drank from a stream and swallowed one worm and an Ulster cow, while similarly drinking, swallowed the other. Both gave birth to bulls—the Red of Ulster and the White of Cruachan.

In the Welsh Mabinogion,¹ the bardic hero Taliesin changes shapes like the Irish swineherds and has many lives like the Irish Tuan. He is pursued by the woman Caridwen because he had obtained the "three blessed drops" of Inspiration from her cauldron, which she intended to have for herself, and became a seer. Taliesin assumed various animal forms to escape his pursuer, the last being that of a boar. Then he became a grain of wheat, but Caridwen assumed the shape of a "highcrested black hen" and "found him out and swallowed him". The story tells that she gave birth to him as her son. The wheat-grain form is non-Buddhist.

In one of his poems Taliesin presents a Christianized form of the longevity legend:

" I was with my Lord in the highest sphere, On the fall of Lucifer into the depth of hell; I have borne a banner before Alexander; I know the names of the stars from north to south; I have been on the galaxy at the throne of the Distributor; I was in Canaan when Absalom was slain; I conveyed the Divine Spirit to the level of the vale of Hebron; I was in the court of Dion before the birth of Gwdion. I was instructor of Eli and Enoc; I have been winged by the genius of the splendid crosier;

¹ Lady Guest's translation.

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I have been loquacious prior to being gifted with speech; I have been three periods in the prison of Arianrod; I have been the chief director of the work of the tower of Nimrod; I am a wonder whose origin is not known.

I have been in Asia with Noah in the Ark, I have seen the destruction of Sodom and Gomorra; I have been in India when Rome was built; I am now come here to the remnant of Troia.

I have been with my Lord in the manger of the ass; I strengthened Moses through the water of Jordan; I have been in the firmament with Mary Magdalene; I have obtained the muse from the cauldron of Caridwen; I have been bard of the harp of Lleon of Lochlin. I have been on the White Hill, in the court of Cynvelyn, I have suffered hunger for the son of the Virgin, I have been fostered in the land of the Deity, I have been teacher to all intelligence, I am able to instruct the whole universe. I shall be until the day of doom on the face of the earth; And it is not known whether my body is flesh or fish.

> "Then I was for nine months In the womb of the hag Caridwen; I was originally little Gwion, And at length I am Taliesin."

The lore regarding the sixth century Welsh bard was probably attached to some earlier Celtic hero. In Scottish Gaelic Thomas the Rhymer displaced the earlier Goll mac Morna as the man who, as Dunbar puts it,

"From his mother's womb was shorn."

Macduff, in Shakespeare's Macbeth, was similarly

"from his mother's womb Untimely ripped."

Julius Cæsar was reputed to have been similarly brought into the world. But originally it was the god Set of Egypt who was born in this manner.

As will be seen, the Celtic doctrine of re-birth is more like that of the Buddhists than that of the Greeks.

Another interesting link between the Buddhists and the Celts is the custom of accumulating "religious merit" by depositing precious metals in sacred places. According to Strabo (IV, c. I, § 13) Poseidonius stated that the wealth found by the Romans at Toulouse amounted to about 15,000 talents. Part of it was hidden in temples and part of it in sacred lakes. The Romans "put up these sacred lakes to public sale and many of the purchasers found solid silver in them". There was a sacred temple in Toulouse and none dared touch the gold and silver deposited in it.

The Buddhists referred to "gold, silver, pearls, coral, cornelian, glass, and crystal" as "the seven treasures" by means of which "religious merit" could be accumulated. In *The Diamond Sutra* the "Lord Buddha" is made to say:

"If within this universe of universes, the seven treasures were heaped together . . . and if a disciple were to select a stanza of this Scripture, rigorously observe it, and diligently explain it to others, the merit thus obtained would so far exceed the former excellence that it cannot be stated in terms of proportion, nor comprehended by analogy."¹

Cortez, the Spanish conqueror of Mexico, found in the palace of Montezuma a secret chamber in which a great hoard of precious metals, precious stones, &c., had been accumulated by successive Aztec kings. According to Father Duran:

¹ W. Gemmell, The Diamond Sutra, London, 1912, pp. 90-1.

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"On the death of the king, the same day that he died, all the treasure that he left of gold, stone, feathers, and arms, and finally all his wardrobe, was put in that room, with much care, as a sacred thing and of the gods."¹

¹ My Myths of Pre-Columbian America, p. 11.

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CHAPTER IV

The Celtic and Chinese Dragons

The horned snake held in the right hands of the Celtic Cernunnos and the Northern Buddhist god Virūpāksha is, as has been indicated, the ancient Hindu Nāga (serpent deity). In the Vedic hymns of India the waterconfining serpent is called Vrittra, and it is slain by the thunderbolt-wielding god Indra so that the drought may be ended with the release of the fertilizing waters. In the Persian Zend legend the god Trita performs this function.¹

When the Northern Buddhists took over the serpent $(N\bar{a}ga)$ or dragon-slaying myth, it was transformed in accordance with Buddhist doctrine. The idea that the waters were confined by the Nāga king and his tribe during the period of drought and decay was retained, but instead of slaying the serpent-king, Buddha was supposed to convert him and win his obedience. As converts, all the Nāgas recognized Buddha as their king. When, therefore, the Hindus longed for rain, they did not pray to Indra to slay the serpent, but to Buddha, as King of the Nāgas, believing that he would command the water-confiners to send fertilising showers.

This concept can be traced in various texts. The close connexion between the Nagas and the water supply is

¹ Muir's Old Sanskrit Texts, Vol. V, pp. 117, 419.

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emphasized in an Indian tale, translated into Japanese, which tells that a wonder-working ascetic once caught all big and small dragons (Nāgas) and shut them up inside a rock.

" Owing to their absence not a drop of rain fell for a long time, and the crops were spoiled by the heavy drought."

The king took steps to accomplish the downfall of the ascetic. The wonder-worker was seduced by a beautiful woman, with the result that he lost his supernatural power, became a common man and died.

"The dragons, no longer under his influence, flew away to the sky, and caused the winds to blow and the rains to fall."¹

Buddhist Sūtras were recited to cause the waters to be released. The most important Sūtra of the Northern Buddhists is *Mahāmegha sūtra* ("The Sūtra of the Great Cloud"). Buddha, taking the place of Indra, but as a missionary, not a warrior, visits the realm of the Nāga King, who is attended by 185 serpents. The Nāgas salute and worship the Buddha, and their king asks "the Venerable One" how all the troubles of the snakes may subside, so that, gladdened and blest, they may "send forth rain torrents" and "make all grasses, bushes, herbs, and forest trees to grow", and "produce corn and give rise to all juices whereby the men of Jambud vīpa may become blessed".

The Buddha's advice is that the Nāgas should be "reborn in the Brahma-world by exercising charity", and when this is accomplished the Buddha as their ruler becomes the giver of rain.

"Tathāgata (Buddha)," says the Sūtra, "holds in his hands (and directs) the clouds and the rain." He is

¹ De Visser, The Dragon in China and Japan, pp. 21-2.



"Great raiser of the clouds", "Great disperser of wind and clouds", "Great cloud wheel", &c. The Buddha utters a spell "which causes rain in time of drought and checks excessive rain".¹

Cernunnos and Virūpāksha, grasping the horned serpent (Nāga) in one hand and the ring or *caitya* symbol in the other, are therefore, like the Buddha, controllers of the water supply and promoters of the growth of crops.

In the "Great cloud-circle" (or wheel) rite in the Sūtra, the following prescriptions are given:

"He who desires a mighty rain must perform this rite in an open space, overspread by a blue canopy, shaded by a blue banner, on a clear spot of earth; (being) a prophet of the Law, seated on a blue seat, fasting according to the *ashtānga*, with well-washed limbs, clad in pure raiment, anointed with fragrant odour, wearing the three white stripes, he must recite it for a day and night continuously facing the east. . . . At a season of drought, he shall recite this chapter, 'The Great cloud circle', for one day or for two, until it needs shall rain seven nights."²

There were originally four Nāga guardians of the world (the gods of the North, East, South, and West), and the Buddha, as king of the Nāgas, becomes the chief of these. As Virūpāksha (in Celtic Cernunnos), the god of the West, he is chief of the four Buddhas (formerly Nāgas) and therefore "the sovereign of all the Nāgas". De Visser shows that the old Iranian and Vedic god Varuna, who was taken over by the Nāga worshippers, is at the same time "guardian of the West", and comments:

" It is remarkable that there were apparently two beings of the same name, both deities of the water and of the West, Varuna the deva (god) and Varuna the Nāga king."³

> ¹ De Visser, op. cit., pp. 25 et seq. ² De Visser, op. cit., p. 27. ³ De Visser, op. cit., pp. 28-30.

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Krishna, the avatar of Vishnu, is also mentioned as a prominent Nāga, and Shiva was a Nāga king. It need not surprise us, therefore, to find in Gaul the various gods of the Hindu pantheon who were taken over by the Buddhists, including the triad Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva, the demon-slaying Indra and Virūpāksha. Among the Buddhist pilgrims and missionaries who found their way westward at different periods there were, no doubt, representatives of various cults.

To understand fully why Cernunnos-Virūpāksha grasps the serpent in his right hand instead of slaying it, reference must be made to the literature of Northern Buddhism. It was believed that the spells, which were more powerful than any weapon, came from the heart, which was the seat of the intelligence as well as the seat of life. The Nāgas, as we have seen, became converts to Buddhism, and ultimately attained to Buddhahood. They were consequently believed to give rain from their hearts. De Visser gives the following significant extract from the rain-getting Sūtra referred to above which emphasizes this point:

"It (the rain) does not come from his (the Nāga's) body but from his heart. . . In the same way the beautiful words of the Buddha rain everywhere upon the Universe."¹

Thus the Nāga grasped in the god's hand is under control of that god's heart (mind), and, having become a Buddha like the god, it gives forth its rain from its heart. At the same time, it will be noted, the looped body retains, as has been indicated, a memory of the original waterconfining serpent, as does the Chinese dragon "in repose" which is symbolized by "the flat spiral". The spiral is

1 De Visser, op. cit., pp. 24-5.
a prominent Buddhist symbol; it was taken over into Buddhism from earlier faiths as were the four gods of the cardinal points; and it is a prominent Celtic symbol.

Originally the spiral symbolized the rain-bringing whirlwind and the life-giving whirlpool, the "navel" of the primordial waters.¹ The original connexion between the whirlwind and rain was not forgotten by the Buddhists. One of the chapters of "The Sūtra of the Great Cloud" (symbolized by a circle) is significantly named



SERPENT SPIRALS From a Scottish sculptured stone.

"Whirlwind Chapter" and also "The Heart of All Serpents".²

As has been stated, both Cernunnos-Virūpāksha and the horned serpent (Nāga) are Buddhas. The god not only grasps the Nāga but is a Nāga himself, for when Buddha became king of the Nāgas, he also became himself a Nāga.

Nāgas had various shapes, as De Visser has shown. He tells us in this connexion:

"Indian Buddhist art represents the Nāgas as serpents, or as men and women with snakes coming out of their necks and rising over their heads, or as snake-tailed beings with human upper bodies and snakes appearing above their heads."³

¹ My The Migration of Symbols.
 ² De Visser, op. cit., p. 27.
 ³ The Dragon in China and Japan, p. 232.

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The "fertility serpent" figures prominently in the Gaelic folk-lore of Scotland. Like the Chinese dragon, it sleeps all winter and awakens in the spring. It is associated with the goddess Bride (Brigit). She appears to have been the same deity as the goddess of the British Brigantes who were in England and Scotland and had also settled in Ireland. There is a Romano-British dedication to the goddess Brigantia at Birrens in Scotland " with a winged figure of the deity, holding a spear in her right hand and a globe in the left". A Roman altar found at Chester was dedicated Deæ Nymphæ Brig. The globe and spear may have been symbols of serpent and sun as in the case of Cernunnos.

The Scottish Gaelic "Bride's Day" (Feill Bride) is "the first day of spring" (1st Feb., Old Style). On that day Bride's "fertility" serpent (the Scottish Nāga) is supposed to come from its hole after its winter sleep. The following interesting Gaelic charm, collected by Dr. Carmichael, was supposed to protect human beings against attack by the serpent:

> "To-day is the day of Bride, The serpent will come from his hole; I will not molest the serpent And the serpent will not molest me."

De Visser gives the following serpent-dragon charm from China:

"If we offer a deprecatory sacrifice to them (the dragons), they will leave their abodes. If we do not seek the dragons, they also will not seek us."¹

The only possible explanation of the remarkable resemblance between the Chinese and Scottish serpent-

¹ The Dragon in China and Japan, p. 46, and Legge, Chinese Classics, Vol. V, Part II, pp. 674 et seq.

dragon charms is that they are versions of the same Buddhist charm. As Indian Nāga lore was imported into China, so, apparently, was it imported into Britain. In neither case, however, did it necessarily pass directly from India.

Buddhism exercised a profound influence in the Celtic area some time before it was really established in China.

The first Chinese mission consisted of two Buddhists who died "within four years after their arrival" in the first century A.D., and it was "a comparative failure". The next mission reached China in A.D. 148. It was headed by a Parthian prince who had renounced the throne so that he might become a Buddhist monk. His father, Chosroës, King of Parthia, had been forced by the Roman Emperor Trajan to evacuate Mesopotamia, and a new king was selected to supplant him. But when Trajan withdrew, the usurper was expelled. Trajan died in August, 117 A.D.

The Emperor Hadrian evacuated the conquered territories still held by Rome and her allies, and the old Parthian boundary was recognized. A Parthian princess who was kept captive in Rome was sent home about A.D. 130. She had been captured at Susa by Trajan's soldiers about fourteen years before that date. Another prince divided the Parthian kingdom with Chosroës during his latter years, and it may be that the troubles of the Royal House were not unconnected with the crown prince's decision to become a Buddhist monk.

The interesting fact which emerges is that Chinese Buddhism was derived to begin with mainly from Parthia and from Afghanistan, Bokhara, and Samarcand. "India proper," as Professor Arthur Lloyd has emphasized,



VIRUPAKSHA

From a Chinese-Buddhist marble relief, Tang Period. In his left hand he holds a miniature pagoda and in his right a sword (a form of dragon).

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"took no share in the work until much later. The Indian Buddhists at this time were far too busy fighting their religious and political enemies, the Brahmans, to have any time to attend to foreign missions, and they were only too glad to avail themselves of any help that came from their brethren in Central Asia. It is to these missionaries from Central Asia that China owed its first translations of the books which speak of the Great Vow of Amida (the Western Buddha)."¹

In view of these facts, it does not, after all, seem so surprising that a link should be found between the serpent-dragon lore of China and the serpent lore of Scotland. Buddhist pilgrims passing through or travelling from Central Asia may have carried the same charm to Western Europe as their brethren carried to China.

The serpent lore of Scotland is as a whole, however, more like that of India than that of China—apparently because it was of earlier importation. As has been shown, the Hindu water-confining serpent was slain by Indra, and on a Gaulish monument the god raises his club to slay the serpent. In Scotland it was considered necessary to kill serpents at sight. "A serpent, wherever encountered," writes Campbell of Tiree, "ought to be killed. Otherwise, the encounter will prove an omen of evil. . . A person stung by one should rush to the nearest water. Unless he reaches it before the serpent, which also makes straight for it, he will die from the wound."²

Here the serpent is intimately connected with water, as are the water-confining serpents which are attacked and slain in India by the Hindu god Indra.

¹ Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. XXXV, Part II, pp. 198-9. ² Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, pp. 223-4.

There is a great deal of serpent lore in Scotland. J. F. Campbell, in his *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, refers to stories about the "white snake" in the county of Sutherland:

"It never rests by day or by night, and besides running along the ground, has a revolving motion peculiar to itself, turning over through an ivory ring which is loose on its body. This is formed from its own slime and sometimes slips off—in which case the snake makes another, and the finder of the ring is safe against all diseases and enchantments."

Campbell, referring to Sir Emerson Tennent, who wrote on Ceylon, quotes from him as follows:

"There is a rare variety (of snakes) which the natives fancifully designate the King of the Cobras. It has the head and the anterior half of the body of so light a colour that at a distance it seems like a silvery white."

"Serpent beads" with spiral ornamentation were supposed to have been manufactured by serpents.¹

The revolving snake of Scotland recalls the revolving dragon of China. De Visser states ² that in the biography of the Chinese Emperor Wu of the Early Han Dynasty (140-87 B.C.) it is told that the king's father and the royal ladies of his harem "saw a red dragon coiling and revolving between the rafters". Another emperor saw "a yellow dragon coiling and winding about one mile in length".³

De Visser also gives a Chinese legend regarding a dragon which appeared as a white snake:

"A child . . . met a white snake on the road; tied it with a rope and swayed its head to and fro till it fell down. In a moment

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a thunderstorm arose and the child was carried into the air, where it was struck with lightning and dropped dead on the ground."¹

The white snake is in Scotland a source of medical knowledge. Famous magicians cooked snakes of this class, and acquired their power to cure from the "juice". In China parts of the dragon were used as medicines. Amber, one of the ancient "life-givers", was in China supposed to be a product of dragon's blood.² In Northern mythology amber was reputed to be the congealed form of the tears of the goddess Freyja.

In China the serpent dragon with Buddhist attributes has the horns of a stag³ as has the Celto-Buddhist god Cernunnos (in his form as King of Nāgas) on the Gundestrup bowl. The deer and serpent were likewise associated in pre-Columbian Mexico and connected with the rainbringing god Tlaloc who had a serpent-dragon form.⁴

The ram and the serpent were associated in Asia at a very early period. Dr. Langdon informs us that ancient "Elamitic art constantly connects the serpent and the ram as symbols of the dying god (Tammuz)".⁵ He notes that "Toscane has explained the ram as an opponent and foe of the serpent", but says, "I doubt this", and adds, "In Elamitic art the female goat occasionally represents the goddess."⁵ The serpent with or without a dragon head is "an important object of religious symbolism in Babylonian art". The serpent was "a protecting deity".⁶ Tammuz, who goes to the Underworld and returns to bring fruitfulness and fertility to earth, was originally a serpent god.⁷ He was also a pig god.

* De Visser, op. cit., pp. 35 et seq.

- ⁴ My Myths of Pre-Columbian America, pp. 234 et seq.
- ⁵ Tammuz and Ishtar, Oxford, 1914, p. 125 and footnote 5.
- ⁶ Ibid., pp. 118-9 and footnote 1 of p. 119.

7 Ibid., pp. 114 et seq.

* De Visser, op. cit., pp. 190 et seq.

¹ J. F. Campbell, Popular Tales of the West Highlands, Vol. II, pp. 377 et seq (1890 edition). ³ The Dragon in China and Japan, p. 43. ³ De Visser, op. cit., pp. 53-4.

¹ The Dragon in China and Japan, p. 129.

Rams, goats, pigs, antelopes, and deer are reputed to be slayers of snakes. Highland gamekeepers and American cowboys tell that one or other of these animals prey on snakes. In his *The Virginian*¹ Mr. Owen Wister makes his characters converse as follows in this connexion:

"' An antelope knows a snake is his enemy,' said another to me. 'Ever seen a buck circling round and round a rattler?'

"' I have wanted to see that,' said I, heartily. For this I knew to be a respectable piece of truth.

"' It's worth seeing,' the man went on. 'After the buck gets close in, he gives an almighty jump up in the air, and down comes his four hoofs in a bunch right on top of Mr. Snake. Cuts him all to hash. Now you tell me how the buck knows that.'

" Of course, I could not tell him."

Goats are connected with the devil in English and Scottish folk-lore, and they also raise winds as do the Far Eastern dragons with Buddhist characteristics. Martin in his *Western Isles* refers to the ancient custom among the Hebrideans of hanging a he-goat to a boat's mast, "hoping thereby to procure a favourable wind".

Pliny in his Natural History (Book XI) says, "The breath of the elephant will attract serpents from their holes, while that of the stag scorches them. . . . Swine will even eat serpents which to other animals are poisonous."

It is evident that the group of figures on the Cernunnos plaque of the Gundestrup bowl (Plate IV) has a history rooted in remote antiquity in various lands. The horned snake alone takes us back to the very dawn of civilization and its survival in Buddhism is of very great interest. It appears to be due to the Buddhists that it reached the Celtic area in Western Europe.

¹ Chapter XVI.

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Apparently, as has been noted, Buddhism, during its westward drift, was influenced, as was Mithraism at a later period, by various cults. As much is indicated by the lion (a Buddhist animal), the Anatolian goat, the man riding a dolphin like Arion (the lyric poet of Lesbos who was carried by a dolphin to Tænarus), and the two dragon-dogs placed in heraldic opposition, all of which figure on the Cernunnos plaque. But the essentially Buddhist character of this plaque is emphasized by Cernunnos and his attributes as well as by the lotus triads which were used to fill in vacant spaces, and, perhaps, also to indicate the sacred character of the various figures.



ELEPHANT-FISH "MAKARA" RIDDEN BY A MAN From a Buddhist marble carving in India.

Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. XV (1894), Plate XXXVIII

(D 852)

CHAPTER V

The Celto-Buddhist Otherworld

Section I—Culture Drifts to Far East and America

In widely-separated areas we find similar religious practices and similar conceptions regarding the Otherworld. Those writers who apply to Anthropology the principles of Biological Evolution express no surprise; they are prepared to prove that at different periods in various parts of the world similar dreams were dreamed under similar circumstances-that at various stages of mental development similar groups of deities and similar theological systems are bound to emerge as a matter of course. They, however, place a severe strain on the credulity of the average man or woman when they undertake to explain by the theory of Independent Origin not merely simple everyday beliefs and customs based upon ordinary everyday experiences, but even groups of highly-complex concepts and practices which have no history in a particular area under consideration but are found to have a history elsewhere—a history which reflects political happenings that have brought about an arbitrary and illogical association of ideas and practices, a history rooted in the experiences and discoveries of a particular area.

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When we find similar religious systems in widelyseparated areas we should, if we are to be consistent, assume that they are products of similar experiences gained in the struggle for existence, including similar fusions of similar peoples—in short, that, time and again, in different parts of the world, history has repeated itself.

It is difficult to accept this view. When we find marked resemblances in the religious systems of certain peoples in different parts of the world, we cannot help wondering and inquiring if direct or indirect transmission of ideas has not taken place at some period or another. Those who favour the Independent Origin theory, and recite arguments based upon it, as if reciting a creed, have nothing more to say in this connexion than that the various communities were living too widely apart even to have come into contact. It is hazardous, however, to base an anthropological dogma on our ignorance of the past. Our knowledge of "racial drifts" is, after all, deplorably sparse. The archæologists and ethnologists are unable to say definitely where certain groups of peoples had their area of origin, and they are unable to follow their movements with that preciseness and fullness of detail which all seekers after knowledge so greatly desire to have provided.

Of late years specialists in other fields have, however, provided data which throw light on some problems that hitherto were obscure. Authorities on shipping, for instance, emphasize that the sea was less a barrier to migrating peoples than used to be supposed. Some groups of seafarers made long voyages. They were more skilled and more enterprising than is assumed by those archæologists whose own knowledge of boatbuilding and navigation is very much more limited

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than was that of the ancient mariners. The Phœnicians who manned Solomon's ships which went on three years' voyages, and those of Pharaoh-Necho, with which they circumnavigated Africa, were great explorers and mariners, but they were not the pioneers who first invented ships and ventured on uncharted seas. Egyptian and Ægean seafarers had explored the Mediterranean long centuries before the Phœnicians were heard of. Egyptian vessels sailed down the Red Sea to "Punt" and discovered the Indian Ocean in early Dynastic and perhaps in pre-Dynastic times; seafarers who explored the Persian Gulf founded stone-built Eridu, the oldest city of Lower Mesopotamia in which the pre-Babylonian Sumerian civilization was ultimately established before "the dawn" of history. Sumerian monarchs subsequently sent expeditions to the Red Sea to procure metals and stone for which there was a demand in their homeland.

Withal, great migrations by sea, of which no records survive or were ever made, took place before "the dawn" towards India, round its coasts, and beyond to Indonesia. From Indonesia there were successive migrations to Polynesia, and round the coasts of China to Japan and Eastern Siberia. For many centuries the Chinese knew a mysterious stone-using people, the "Su-chen", who were the "Vikings of the Pacific". In the south there were other "Vikings" who discovered and peopled every habitable island in Oceania, including the remote Easter Island. Longer voyages were undertaken from one end to another of the islands of Oceania than were necessary for the discovery of the Americas, where stone-building and metal-working peoples established centres of civilization in the early years of the Christian era.

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The earliest known pre-Columbian American civilization is that of the Maya, which was founded in Central America. According to Mr. Herbert J. Spinden, an outstanding authority on the ancient civilizations of America, the "Early Period "of Maya history should be dated A.D. 176 till A.D. 373; the "Middle Period", A.D. 373 till A.D. 472; the "Great Period", A.D. 472 till A.D. 620; the "Transition Period", A.D. 620 till A.D. 980; the "Period of the League of Mayapan", A.D. 980 till A.D. 1200; and the "Period of Mexican Influence", A.D. 1200 till A.D. 1450. It is assumed there was a "Protohistoric Period" "before A.D. 176". Those who believe that Maya civilization had origin in America assume that there must have been one or two thousand years of local development before A.D. 176. But there may have been no such local development at all.

The Early Han Dynasty of China was established about 200 B.C., and at that time several peoples in the Far East were possessed of excellent sea-going vessels and had considerable knowledge of navigation. The crossing of the Pacific was an undertaking quite within their powers as experienced navigators. When one of those seafaring peoples, the Polynesians, first ventured on the Pacific they possessed much larger vessels than they do in our time. As we know from missionary and other records, these Polynesian seafarers carried supplies of preserved food and of water for long voyages: they steered by night by observing the stars, and had charts to guide them by day; these charts "were", as Mr. S. Percy Smith has demonstrated, "formed of strings stretched on a frame, with little pieces of wood on them to indicate islands, and on them were shown also the direction of the

currents and the regular roll of the waves before the Trade-wind."¹ The fact that the seafarers prepared and used such charts indicates how far they had advanced in the science of navigation.

There are no records of voyages to America across the Pacific; there are only suggestive Polynesian traditions of men who set out on voyages to distant places and never returned. But there are undoubted proofs of voyages. The coco-nut, the banana, and the "sweet potato" were carried across the Pacific by ancient mariners and the boats in use along the American coasts were of Eastern Asiatic type. Withal, many religious symbols, myths, doctrines, and practices which have histories in the Old World were transferred to America and given there a local coloration which does not, however, conceal their fundamental significance.

In a British Association lecture, delivered in 1894, Professor E. B. Tylor drew attention to a striking cultural link between Japan and Mexico. He showed that in the Mexican Vatican Codex there were depicted four pictures which corresponded closely with the pictures of Buddhist hells or purgatories in Japanese temple scrolls, and he held that,

"The appearance of analogues so close and complex of Buddhist ideas in Mexico constituted a correspondence of so high an order as to preclude any explanation except direct transmission from one religion to another."²

An even more remarkable cultural link can be shown to have existed between Ireland and Mexico. These two countries were never, so far as is known, in direct

² Report of the British Association, 1894, p. 774, "On the Diffusion of Mythical Beliefs in the History of Culture ".



FIGURES OF QUETZALCOATL SHOWING BUDDHIST INFLUENCE

1, Quetzalcoatl representing Xipe Totec, from pyramid at San Dieguito, near Tezcoco. 2, Quetzalcoatl resembling Chinese Virūpaksha. 3, Quetzalcoatl Buddhist-like figure in Trocadéro Museum, Paris. 4, Quetzalcoatl sphinx from same locality as No. 1. A characteristic of all the © The Warburg Institute. This material is licensed under a Creative Commons Atribution Non Commercial 3.0 Unported License breast ornaments. On the breast of No. 2 is the "sliced-above the wigs and "star-fish shaped" breast ornaments.

¹Hawaiki (fourth edition), 1921, p. 186.

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touch in pre-Columbian times, but as the link is one of decidedly Buddhist character, it can be reasonably assumed that Mexico on the one hand and Ireland on the other were influenced by the teachings of Buddhist missionaries.

SECTION II—THE ZAPOTEC PARADISE

The Mexican evidence may first be given. At Mitla in Western Mexico are the ruins of a famous temple. The Zapotecs, who inhabited this area, called it Yoopaa, or Lio-baa, and the Mexicans knew it as Mictland. The names signify "burial-place" or "place of the dead".

It was believed by the Zapotecs, the Mixtecs, the Aztecs, and other American peoples that their ancestors originally emerged through caves from the Underworld. They consequently buried their dead in sacred caves, "the realm of their fathers, their ancient home". Dr. Eduard Seler¹ writes in this connexion:

"The peculiar notion connected with caves in specially favoured situations, namely, that they indicated the places where their ancestors of the race had come forth from the earth, was without doubt the reason why Yoopa, or Mictland, was not only a burial place, but also the most important sanctuary of the country and the residence of the high priest. This high priest was called Uija-tao, 'Great Prophet', and even kings were as submissive to him as were the Celtic kings to the Druids."

Seler translates the description of the buildings at Mitla which was written by Father Torquemada,² who told that the Christian priests while preaching in the

¹ Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 28, Washington, 1904, pp. 247 et seq. ² Monarquia Indiana, V, 3, Chapter XXIX.

province of Zapoteca "came to a village which was called Mictland, that is 'underworld (hell)'".

The palace "of the living and of the dead" was occupied by the high priest of the Zapotecs. It was of rectangular shape "with portions rising above the earth and portions built down into the earth, the latter in the hole or cavity which was found below the surface of the earth. . . There were four chambers above ground and four below". The first underground chamber was a chapel, in which human victims were sacrificed; the second was the burial-place of the high priests; the third that of the kings; the fourth "had a second door at the rear which led to a dark and gruesome room". The Zapotec Paradise was reached through the latter chamber. Its rear door at the mouth of a cave was closed with a stone slab.

"Through this door they threw the bodies of the victims and of the great lords and chieftains who had fallen in battle, and they brought them from the spot where they fell, even when it was very far off, to this burial place; and so great was the barbarous infatuation of these Indians that, in the belief of the happy life which awaited them, many who were oppressed by diseases or hardships begged this infamous priest to accept them as living sacrifices and allow them to enter through that portal and roam about in the dark interior of the mountain, to seek the great feasting-places of their forefathers. And when anyone obtained this favour the servants of the high priest led them thither with special ceremonies, and after they had allowed him to enter through the small door, they rolled the stone before it again and took leave of him, and the unhappy man, wandering in that abyss of darkness, died of hunger and thirst, beginning already in life the pain of his damnation; and on account of this horrible abyss they called this village Liyobaa."

Father Torquemada goes on to tell that after the

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Zapotecs were converted to Christianity, the priests learned "from the stories which had been handed down that all were convinced that this damp cavern extended more than thirty leagues underground". The priests

"in order to convince these ignorant people of their error, went into this cave accompanied by a large number of people bearing lighted torches and firebrands, and descended several large steps. And they soon came upon many great buttresses which formed a kind of street. They had prudently brought a quantity of rope with them to use as guiding lines, that they might not lose themselves in this confusing labyrinth. And the putrefaction and the bad odour and the dampness of the earth was very great, and there was also a cold wind which blew out their torches. And after they had gone a short distance, fearing to be overpowered by the stench, or to step on poisonous reptiles, of which some had been seen, they resolved to go out again and to completely wall up this back door of hell."

Dealing with the name Yoopa, by which the Zapotecs knew this cave tomb and "the palace of the living and the dead" connected with it, Dr. Seler notes that Burgoa's translation is *Lugar de Descanso*, "resting-place", and emphasizes that the meaning "resting-place", "taking breath", is contained in the root *paa*. The allied form *pee* means "breeze", "wind", "breath", and the extended meaning "happiness", "blessedness", "peace", "wealth" can, he thinks, "be traced back to this root." 1

The dead were believed to obtain new life in the cave, and, with new life, peace, joy, and all that "wealth" meant to a people who attached a religious value to precious metals and gems.

Several of the American peoples, as has been indi-

¹ Seler, op cit., p. 247.

cated, buried their dead in these "life-giving" caves which led to the "realm of the forefathers"-to the Underworld Paradise. The Mixtecs kept in one of their sacred caves "a large transparent chalchiuitl (sacred stone 1) entwined by a snake whose head pointed towards a little bird ". According to Burgoa, this relic was supposed to support the earth. It was the "Heart" symbol, and in pre-Columbian America that symbol had the same significance as the "Heart of Buddha", the "Heart" being the centre of life, the symbol of the "life-force", and the seat of the intelligence. The "Heart" supported and controlled the world because there was accumulated "merit" (power) in it. The Mixtec cavesnake was one of the forms of the dragon which had been imported from the Old World and the dragon was a Buddha.

In Japan, as De Visser shows, the dragon acquired "Chinese and Indian features" as a result of Buddhist influence. The old Japanese "water fathers" were "pacified by human sacrifices" before they gave way "to the (Buddhist) Rain-masters and Dragon-kings of the West".² In America the cult which sacrificed human beings was opposed by the Quetzalcoatl cult.

SECTION III-ST. PATRICK'S PURGATORY

The Irish Buddhist link with pre-Columbian America is provided by "St. Patrick's Purgatory", which was for long famous not only in Ireland but throughout Europe. This "Purgatory" was entered through a cave on an island in Lough Derg in the southern part of County

> ¹ Like the Japanese shintai it was a "god body". ² The Dragon in China and Japan, pp. 233-4.

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Donegal. It was made the subject of an interesting work by Mr. Thomas Wright.¹ This writer dealt with it in relation to the legends regarding purgatory, hell, and paradise, which were current during the Middle Ages, and those surviving from Greek and Celtic Pagan sources.

St. Patrick's Purgatory, situated in the Underworld, was, as stated, approached through a cave. Its fame was first made known outside Ireland by the Benedictine monk, Henry of Saltrey, who was born and educated in Huntingdonshire. His legend of the descent of Owain in 1153 was written in Latin, and it was soon translated into the modern languages. Wright says of it:²

"There still exist three different Early French versions, all metrical: the first, by the celebrated poetess Marie of France, was written in the early part of the thirteenth century; the other two are probably works of the latter end of the same century, or the beginning of the next. There are also two English metrical versions, both under the titles of 'Owayne Miles'. The first is contained in the Auchinleck manuscript at Edinburgh, and seems to have been written early in the fourteenth century. It is probably a translation of one of the French poems, and like them is very long. . . . The other English version, in which the story is condensed, is more modern, and is contained in a manuscript of the fifteenth century in the British Museum."

In the later English poem of "Owayne Miles" (MS. Cotton, Calig. A II, fol. 89 vo.) the author refers to the "holy byschoppes" who taught men of "Goddes lore (doctrine)", and tells:

" In Irlonde preched seynt Patryke, In that londe was non hym lyke: He prechede Goddes worde fulle wyde,

¹ St. Patrick's Purgatory.

² St. Patrick's Purgatory, pp. 61 et seq.

And tolde men what shullde betyde. First he preched of heven blysse, Who ever go thyder may ryght nowgt ¹ mysse: Se then ² he preched of helle pyne,³ Howe wo them ys ⁴ that cometh therinne: And then he preched of purgatory, As he fonde ⁵ in his story. But yet the folke of the contré Beleved not that hit ⁶ mygth ⁷ be; And seyde, but gyf ⁸ hit were so That eny mon myth ⁹ hymself go, And se alle that, and come ageyn, Then wolde they beleve fayn."¹⁰

In response to a prayer that God might enable him to show unbelievers a convincing token, Christ appeared to St. Patrick and gave him a book of the gospels and a staff which was afterwards called "baculus Jhesu" (the staff of Jesus). The saint was then led to the lonely place where there was a "pryvé entré" (secret entrance) to Purgatory, and, as the poem tells, Christ spoke as follows regarding it:

> What mon," he sayde, " that wylle hereyn wende, And dwelle theryn a day and a nygth (night), And holde his byleve and rygth,¹¹
> And come ageyn that he ne dwelle,¹²
> Mony a mervayle he may of telle.¹³
> And alle tho ¹⁴ that doth thys pylgrymage, I shalle hem graunt for her ¹⁵ wage, Whether he be sqwyer or knave,¹⁶
> Other purgatorye shall he non have."

¹ right nothing. ² afterwards. ³ pain, punishment. ⁴ how woe is to them, i.e. what woe they have. • it. ⁵ found. 7 might. * if. 10 gladly. ⁹ any man might. 11 belief and right. 12 stay. ¹⁸ he may tell of many a wonder. 14 those. 16 boy. 15 their.

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Having spoken thus, Christ went away. St. Patrick immediately set about the work of having a "fair abbey" erected. A door bound with "iren and stele" was placed at the mouth of the cave. It was locked and the key was given to the prior of the abbey.

According to the legend, a number of men entered the cave during St. Patrick's lifetime. Some died and others told on coming forth of their visions and torments. By St. Patrick's order, records were kept of the statements made by those who had been locked in the cave.

Mr. Thomas Wright informs us regarding the visits paid to the cave:

"The ceremonies which Patrick had ordered to be observed by the penitents, previous to their entrance into this purgatory, were, it seems, for a long time strictly adhered to. The visitor must first go to the bishop of the diocese, declare to him that he came of his own free will, and request of him permission to make the pilgrimage. The bishop warned him against venturing any further in his design, and represented to him the perils of his undertaking; but if the pilgrim still remained steadfast in his purpose, he gave him a recommendatory letter to the prior of the island (of Lough Derg). The prior again tried to dissuade him from his design by the same arguments that had been previously urged by the bishop. If, however, the pilgrim still remained steadfast, he was taken into the church to spend there fifteen days in fasting and praying. After this the mass was celebrated, the holy communion administered to him, and holy water sprinkled over him, and he was led in procession with reading of litanies to the entrance of the purgatory, where a third attempt was made to dissuade him from entering. If he still persisted, the prior allowed him to enter the cave, after he had received the benediction of the priests, and, in entering, he commended himself to their prayers, and made the sign of the cross on his forehead with his own hand. The prior then made fast the door, and opened it not again till the next morning, when, if the penitent

were there, he was taken out and led with great joy to the church, and, after fifteen days' watching and praying, was dismissed. If he was not found when the door was opened, it was understood that he had perished in his pilgrimage through purgatory; the door was closed again, and he was never afterwards mentioned."

According to the "Owayne Miles" poem, the knight, who was of Irish birth, had served the English king, and in the wars had been guilty of violence and rapine; "he had even violated churches and made free with consecrated things". Repenting, he resolved to visit St. Patrick's Purgatory "with the hope of washing out the guilt of these misdemeanours". He passed through the preliminary ceremonies, and was conducted to the cave and locked in it.

Sir Owain groped his way in darkness through the cave until a faint light suffused the lonely interior. He quickened his steps and ultimately reached a great wilderness without trees or grass. A great hall "bothe longe and wyde" attracted his attention and he entered it. There he found fifteen men with shaven heads, who wore white garments. One of them told him all he would have to endure in the course of his pilgrimage, and instructed him how to defend himself when he was attacked by evil spirits. He was given the following prayer:

> "Jhesu, as thu arte full of mygth, Have mercy on me synfull knygth."

He was also advised to have Jesus constantly in his thoughts.

Owain then went on his way and soon met with fiends—devils and wicked ghosts from hell—who hailed him as their zealous servant and said they would permit him to return to earth so that he might spend the re-

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mainder of his life in pleasure. The knight spurned this sinful proposal, and the fiends made a fire of pitch and brimstone and cast him into it. Owain cried aloud to Jesus for help and mercy, and the fire was immediately quenched. All the fiends then vanished.

But other devils subsequently appeared and led the knight to a country of eternal night which was intensely cold. Half-frozen, he went on and on until he heard loud cries. He found that these cries came from men and women nailed to the ground and tortured by devils. In another place the souls were punished by being roasted over fires; in another they were whirled round on a fiery wheel. Owain was pushed into one of the many pits in which men and women were being tortured in another "field", but once again he called upon Jesus and was rescued, although severely scalded. Next he came to a lake of extreme coldness in which many souls suffered terrible agonies. At length he reached a perilous bridge which spanned a great water ¹ into which the devils threw sinners, drawing them out only to throw them in again.

Owain was told that he must cross the narrow bridge. He prayed to God for help and went on, but when he reached the middle of it, the devils raised so terrible a yell that he nearly tumbled off it. He, however, reached the other side in safety, and to his joy he ascertained that the devils could not follow him.

Owain had now reached a fair country, and he saw in front of him a high wall which was as white and bright as glass. The gate was made of precious metals and was studded with gems from which issued a delicious perfume. In his pleasing surroundings he completely forgot the horrors and the stench of hell.

¹ This "Brig of Dread " is mentioned in American mythology.

Towards him came a procession of religious men in fair garments, followed by emperors, kings, dukes, earls and barons, and goodly women. These bade him welcome and led him through a beautiful country in which were green meadows, flowers of many colours and trees that always bore fruit. He saw the "Tree of Life" growing in that land of peace and happiness.

A bishop informed Owain that he had passed through Purgatory, in which all men and women dwelt until they had done penance for their sins. He had also reached the "Earthly Paradise" in which Adam and Eve had dwelt before they ate the apple. The souls in that Paradise awaited the time when they should be called by Christ to greater joy in Heaven.

Owain was permitted to eat of the food of Paradise, and when he had partaken of it, he desired to remain there, but the bishop told him he must return to earth and live out the allotted span, leaving his flesh and bones behind him.

The knight was then sent back to the entrance of the cave by a shorter way than he had come. When he reached the house in the wilderness, he told the fifteen men there what he had seen and endured, and they revealed to him all that should happen to him before he died.

Next morning the door of the cave was opened and Owain was found waiting to be taken out. He stayed at the abbey for fifteen days, and there he related all his experiences in Purgatory and the Earthly Paradise. He afterwards went on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

Giraldus, referring to St. Patrick's Paradise, says that the island in Lough Derg was divided into two parts. One part was fair and pleasant and the church was situated

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in it; the other was rough and wild and inhabited, as the natives believed, by demons. There were nine pits in this wild part. If a person were bold and brave enough to pass the night in one of these pits, "he would be so much tormented by the demons that it was a chance if he were found alive in the morning; and it was reported that he who escaped alive, would, for the torments he suffered there, be relieved from the torments of the other world ".¹

So famous did St. Patrick's Purgatory become that it was celebrated in the literature of Italy and Spain as well as in that of France. A Florentine named Andrea Patria dealt with it in a fourteenth-century romance which ran through about a dozen editions, and was translated into French. The Spanish poet Calderon made it the subject of his religious drama *Purgatorio de San Patricio*. Another famous work was the account of the vision of William Staunton of Durham who spent a night in the cave in 1409.

In 1497 the Pope Alexander VI ordered the destruction of the "Purgatory". Complaint had been made to him by a Dutch monk, who had visited Lough Derg and been shut up in the cave. That monk had seen no visions, and he travelled to Rome to expose the imposture.

Belief in the Purgatory, however, was not stamped out even by the Pope. During the reign of Queen Elizabeth the Lords Justice of Ireland found it necessary to order the complete destruction of the cave and prohibit a convent on the island. An Act of Parliament in Queen Anne's reign set forth:

"Whereas, the superstitions of popery are greatly increased ¹Girald. Cambr., Topographia Hiberniæ, and Wright, op. cit., pp. 129-30. (D 852) 10

and upheld by the pretended sanctity of places, especially of a place called St. Patrick's Purgatory, in the County of Donegaul, and of wells, to which pilgrimages are made by vast numbers at certain seasons, by which, not only the peace of the public is greatly disturbed, but the safety of the government also hazarded by the riotous and unlawful assembling together of many thousands of papists to the said wells and other places: be it further enacted that all such meetings and assemblies shall be deemed and adjudged riots and unlawful assemblies, and punishable as such, in all or any persons meeting at such places as is aforesaid. And all sheriffs, justices of the peace, and other magistrates, are hereby required to be diligent in putting the laws in force against all offenders in the above particulars in due execution."

The Irish, however, continued to pay pilgrimages to Lough Derg. Richardson in his *Folly of Pilgrimages in Ireland* (1727), tells that large numbers visited Lough Derg, but the site of the Purgatory had been moved to a smaller island farther from the shore, because a bridge gave ready access to the original island. A Frenchman conducted excavations to discover the entrance on the latter, and considerable alarm was caused when he laid bare a window with iron stanches. It was subsequently found, however, that the window was that of an old cellar.

In the early part of the nineteenth century, Mr. Barron, in his *Tour round Ireland*, lamented that the pilgrimages still continued. During the summer months it was not unusual to see nearly a thousand people on the island at once. "What", he asked, "is to be said of the proprietor who raises a revenue of $\pounds 200$ or $\pounds 300$ a year by renting this spot?"

The Buddhist character of the "Purgatory" is emphasized by its dragon legends which will next be dealt with.

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Section IV—The Celtic and Buddhist Dragon-worm

In his St. Patrick's Purgatory Wright notes that, according to Irish legend, Lough Derg (the Red Lake) was formerly known as Lough Fin (" the White Lake "). This earlier name may have been the direct cause of the lore connected with it being attached to the memory of Finn or Fionn¹ and his warrior band.

An Irish folk-tale relates that on one occasion Finn and his followers, Goll and Conan, pursued, from a hill in East Munster northwards to Donegal, a fearsome Hag and her giant son.

The giant carried his mother on his back, but she was killed by a silver arrow shot by Finn from his bow. When the giant reached Donegal on his long flight, he discovered that his mother's body had been broken in pieces and nothing remained except her legs, backbone and two arms. He threw these on the ground, and continuing his flight from the heroes, vanished from sight and was never again seen.

A similar legend attaches to Loch Lurgainn (Shank Loch) in Lochbroom, Ross and Cromartyshire. But, according to the Scottish story, Finn himself was the giant in flight. When he discovered that of his mother's body naught remained but the shanks, he flung them into the loch, thus giving it its name.²

Another version of the Irish folk story connected with the Donegal lake is related by Joyce.³

¹Pronounced "fewn".

² W. J. Watson, Place-names of Ross and Cromarty, Inverness, 1904, p. 257.

³ The Origin and History of Irish Names of Places, Dublin, 1891 (sixth edition), Vol. I, pp. 173-5.

It tells of a pig hunt in which Fergomann, a Fingalian, was mortally wounded by an enormous wild sow. His sister swam across the lake to rescue him, but was so deceived by the echoes of Fergomann's dying shouts that she crossed and recrossed the loch until, overwhelmed with grief and terror, she sank and was drowned.

Joyce considers that the lough, which is referred to in Irish as "Finne", was named after a woman and "bears only one interpretation, Finn's or Finna's lake".

The female in question may have been an old goddess. Like the cave-dwelling Scottish Cailleach (Beira) and the cave-dwelling Black Annis of Leicester, she had long claw-like fingers. These hags resemble closely the mother of Grendel in *Beowulf* who dwelt in a cave reached through a lake. As the Grendel story is not found in the North German cycle of romance, it may have been introduced into the Beowulf story when it was cast into epic form in England.

In one of the versions of the Irish story connected with Lough Derg, the thigh bone of the Hag contained a long hairy worm. A red-headed dwarf warned the Fingalians that if this worm were liberated and could find water to drink, it would likely destroy the whole world.

Conan, the impulsive Fingalian, broke the bone with his spear. A small worm crawled out, and Conan, taking it on the end of his spear, flung it into the lough, exclaiming, "There is water enough for you".

The worm at once became "an enormous beast" which "overran the country, spreading destruction on every side, and swallowing hundreds of people at a mouthful".

Finn knew that the monster had on its left side a mole which was its vulnerable spot. By piercing the mole

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with his sword, he disabled it. The monster's blood gushed forth and coloured the waters, and that is why the lake came to be called Lough Derg (Red Lake). St. Patrick ultimately secured the writhing "worm" at the bottom of the lake, but

"when the lake is ruffled by tempest, the monster is still sometimes seen rolling and roaring among the waves, to the terror of any solitary traveller who may chance to behold it as he hurries on his way through the storm."¹

In Buddhist dragon lore, a dragon may exist for a time in miniature form, but it becomes large and powerful when vitalized by water. De Visser, in his Tokyo lecture on "The Tengu", gives the following summary of a representative legend:

"A dragon having the shape of a small snake is basking in the sun on the bank of a lake in which he lives. Suddenly a kite swoops down and carries him off to the mountains where the bird drops its prey into a deep cleft in the rock. It is a Tengu who plays this trick on the dragon, knowing quite well that the latter cannot take his own shape or fly into the air without the aid of water, though even a single drop. The cleft is quite dry and the dragon is about to die miserably, when, after four or five days, a second victim is thrown into the aperture. This time it is a priest, who, coming out with his pitcher on the veranda of his house in the midst of the night, has been caught by the Tengu. . . The dragon, strengthened by the drop of water that is left in the pitcher, changes at once into a little boy, flies into the air amidst thunder and lightning, with the priest on his back, and puts him safely down at his house."

The dragon subsequently slays the Tengu.² In his masterly treatise, *The Dragon in China and Japan*,³ De Visser emphasizes the important part played by the

¹ Thomas Wright, St. Patrick's Purgatory, pp. 3-4.

² Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. XXXVI, Part 2, p. 41. ³ Amsterdam, 1913.

Hindu Nāga (serpent deity) in Far Eastern Buddhism, and shows that the serpent dragon's transformations are unlimited. We find it sometimes no bigger than an earthworm, or "a little snake which crept out of a small crack of the unplastered wall of a house" and "became bigger and bigger, changed into a dragon and flew away amidst storm and rain". Sometimes it was seen as a little snake creeping behind the tomb of a priest who, after death, became a dragon, as did the Irish Hag; often it caused destruction and death in villages. A Chinese story tells of a little white reptile which was preserved in a box by a general who had found it:

"One day some guests advised him to examine its nature by means of water. It was laid in a hollow dug in the earth, and some water was sprinkled over it. After a little time the animal began to wriggle and seemed to grow. In the hollow a well bubbled up, and all of a sudden a black vapour, like incense smoke, rose and went straight out of the eaves. The crowd beyond was afraid and ran home, convinced it was a dragon. But, before they were some miles away, suddenly the wind arose, the rain came down, and several heavy thunderclaps were heard."

A Buddhist dragon might appear as a beautiful woman or as a fierce Hag. The female dragon Zennyo ("The Good Woman") of Japan once appeared to a Buddhist priest who lived as a hermit in a "Dragon hole" on Mount Murōbu. She came as "a lady, noble looking and beautifully dressed". The priest desired to see her face, which was veiled, but she said:

" My shape is so terrible that no man can look upon it."

She, however, consented to display her Hag form.

"She rose into the air and stretched out the little finger of her

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right hand. It proved to be a claw, more than ten shaku long, which spread a five-coloured light. Then she vanished at once."¹

Here, then, we have the dragon as a claw-handed Hag who closely resembles the English, Scottish, and Irish Hags referred to above.

In the Highland Gaelic story Nighean Righ Fo Thuinn ("The Daughter of King Under-waves"),² the Fingalians were visited "on a wild night" of "pouring rain and falling snow from the north" by "a creature of uncouth appearance", a "strange, hideous creature". She was rejected by all except Diarmid. Then she changed her shape, and Diarmid saw "the finest drop of blood that ever was from the beginning of the universe till the end of the world at his side". In his enthusiasm he called to the others, "Is not this the most beautiful woman that man ever saw?"

The woman subsequently vanished and Diarmid followed her to the Underworld where he "found her languishing for water" from a certain well.

"The Wife of Bath's Tale" in Chaucer's The Canterbury Tales is a version of this "loathly hag" story. A knight is compelled to marry an ugly "old wife" whom he met in a forest. Fairies had been dancing on a green but vanished at his approach, leaving the woman there. After the marriage ceremony takes place he exclaimed with horror:

"Thou art so loathly, and so old also,"

and she admits,

" I am foul and old."

She asks him to kiss her, and when he does so she becomes

¹ The Dragon in China and Japan, pp. 110, 111, 113, 170, 171, 195.

* J. F. Campbell, Popular Tales of the West Highlands, Vol. III, Tale LXXXVI.

" as fair to seen As any lady, emperess, or queen, That is betwixt the East and eke the West."

The Melusina stories of Europe and the Far East are all dragon stories of Hindu origin.

SECTION V—BUDDHIST AND PRE-BUDDHIST "DRAGON CAVES"

In his treatise, St. Patrick's Purgatory, Mr. Wright shows quite convincingly that the beliefs regarding the Lough Derg cave were derived from an ancient faith "antecedent to the introduction of Christianity". His view is that the pre-Christian legends connected with it were based upon the belief that Ireland, "situated in the extreme West" was the "Land of Shades".

In his quest for parallels Wright does not, however, go farther afield than Greece. He gives prominence to the vision of Timarchus as related by Plutarch in "The Demon of Socrates" narrative. Timarchus ventured into the cave of Trophonius and remained there for two nights and one day.

"At first he found himself surrounded by thick darkness; then he began gradually to see around him. He beheld a great sea, with islands floating in it; two fiery rivers rushed into it from opposite quarters. When he looked downwards, he perceived 'a vast round gulf, as of a truncated sphere, very fearful and deep, full of much darkness, which, however, was not tranquil, but frequently troubled and disturbed, whence were heard thousands of howlings and groans of living beings, and the wailings of thousands of children, and the mingled lamentations of men and women; and all sorts of noises and uproars were transmitted to his ears faintly, as being from a

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great depth below, with which he was exceedingly terrified.' This was Tartarus."¹

Dragon caves which lead to Paradise are common in Far Eastern Buddhist lore. In his *The Dragon in China and Japan*, De Visser tells of various "dragon holes (caves)". He writes of Japan:

"A dragon's hole in a Shinto temple is mentioned by the Zoku Kojidan. This hole was said to be in the hoden ('treasure hall', where the shintai, or 'god bodies' of the gods are preserved) of the Gion shrine at Kyoto. In 1221, when the temple was destroyed by fire, Nashimoto, the Buddhist head-abbot (zasu) of Hieizan, tried to measure the depth of the hole, but even at a depth of fifty jo (five hundred shaku) the bottom was not yet reached."²

There is a famous "dragon hole" on Mount Murōbu. In this cave was kept "the Dragon-king's venerable shape", and a Buddhist bishop, named Kenkei, observed religious austerities on the mountain. Another Buddhist, Niltai by name, entered the cave to see and adore the Dragon-king:

"The entrance was pitch-dark, but after having penetrated into the inner part of the hole, he arrived at a splendid palace under a blue sky."

He peered through a "window blind made of pearls" and saw a Buddhist sutra "lying on a jewel table".

A voice instructed him to leave the "dragon-hole" and meet the dragon-king some distance from the entrance. He obeyed this command and the dragon appeared to the Buddhist, rising out of the earth in human form, and was worshipped by him.³

In the Fuse lake in Etchū province there once dwelt a dragon, but it subsequently took up its abode in a cave, ¹Quoted by Wright, op. cit., pp. 114-5. ³The Dragon, &c., p. 202. ³Ibid., pp. 168-9.

known as a "Dragon-hole", situated "under the ground". "Dragon vapours" or "Dragon breath" used to rise "as a sign of the demon's presence."¹

The Chinese, De Visser tells, had a famous "Dragonden " (cave) on Mount K'iu in Hu-kwang province. Another " den " is referred to in the Cheh-kiang memoirs:

"On mount Pien in Hu-cheu there is a Yellow Dragon's cavern. At the top there is a spring which dashes forth from the cave, called 'Golden Well spring': the cave is also called the 'Golden Well cave'. The cavern is so deep that one cannot see its end. At the time of the Liang dynasty a yellow dragon appeared in it. For this reason King Yueh of Wu erected a shrine in order to sacrifice to the dragon."²

"A 'Dragon-rearing well' in a 'Dragon-king's temple' was said to be inhabited by a dragon. Nobody dared draw water from the well, because, if one did so, strange things happened, and the person who had ventured to thus arouse the dragon's anger fell ill.

"Another temple of a Dragon-king on a mountain, near a white dragon's pond and (on the top of the mountain) a dragon's den are mentioned in the *Kwah i chi*. In time of drought the peasants used to pray before the cavern, which always contained water in spring and summer, and when they took this water and worshipped it, abundant rains came down. Near to the same spot was the Dragon-mother's grave."³

This "Dragon mother" came out of an egg found beside the pool, and, assuming the form of a snake, disappeared. The Irish Hag, as we have seen, emerged from a bone in the form of a "worm".

In America, as in Japan and China, the serpentdragon-worshipping priests believed in a Paradise situated in the West, and were of opinion it could be reached through a cave. Mexican ascetics "went into the moun-

¹ The Dragon in China and Japan, pp. 185-6. ² Ibid., p. 87. ³ Ibid., pp. 133-4.

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tains to sacrifice and do penance" and "fasting was observed as an atonement for sin".¹ Chinese and Japanese Buddhist ascetics did likewise.

As has been indicated, certain pre-Columbian American religious complexes closely resemble those of China and Japan. The history of these complexes can be traced to some extent in India and Iran where heretical Buddhist cults came into existence after Buddha's time in consequence of the mixing of Buddhist ideas with local religious systems. The easterly drift of heretical Buddhism was certainly not arrested by the Pacific Ocean.

Reference has been made to the seafaring activities of the Polynesians. But it does not follow that they were the carriers of Buddhist ideas into America. They were, however, one of the peoples who, like the Hindu god Yama in another connexion, "opened the way for many". It is of interest to note in this connexion that, as has been indicated, Tongan traditions refer to Polynesian voyages of 2400 miles and even of 4200 miles.²

Nor was the westerly drift of Buddhism arrested by the deserts and populous plains of Asia, or the valleys and forests of ancient Europe. The Cernunnos Buddha alone provides evidence which cannot be ignored.

It is of importance to note, in this connexion, that in Ireland, as in China, Japan, and America, it is the Buddhist form of the old Paradise or Purgatory which has survived. Earlier beliefs regarding the Underworld which may have been acquired from seafarers or from the Ægean peoples with whom they came into contact in South-eastern Europe, were evidently coloured by

¹ Seler, op. cit., pp. 280-1, Bancroft, The Pacific States, Vol. III, pp. 435 et seq., and D. A. Mackenzie (quoting authorities) in Myths of Pre-Columbian America, p. 229.

¹ For evidence regarding these long voyages see S. Percy Smith's Hawaiki.

Buddhist ideas, as they were in later times coloured by Christian ideas.

Some of the representative pre-Buddhist or non-Buddhist myths of the Underworld cave-passages may here be given.

An interesting variant of the myth of a hero's visit to the Underworld through a mountain cavern is found in the version of the Ramáyana given in the Vana Parva of the Mahábhárata.¹ Hanumān undertook to search for Rāma's lost wife, Sita, and subsequently related his experiences:

" Having searched the southern region with all its hills, forests, and mines, for some time, we became very weary. At length we beheld a great cavern. And having beheld it, we entered the cavern, which extended over many Yojanas. It was dark and deep and overgrown with trees and infested with worms. And having gone a great way through it, we came upon sunshine and beheld a beautiful palace. It was, O Rāghava, the abode of the Dāitya Maya. And there we beheld a female ascetic named Prabhāvati engaged in ascetic austerities. And she gave us food and drink of various kinds. And having refreshed ourselves therewith and regained our strength, we proceeded along the way shown by her. At last we came out of the cavern and beheld the briny sea, and on its shores, the Sahya, the Malaya, and the great Dardura mountains. And ascending the mountains of Malaya, we beheld before us the vast ocean."²

Hanuman is informed by Sampati, King of Birds, whose wings had been burned by soaring too near the sun, in competition with his brother Jatāyu, that Sita is in Lanka, the capital of the demon king, Rāvana. Hanuman and his monkey army decide to invade Ceylon (Lanka). Some proposed to cross the ocean in boats, but

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they could not assemble a sufficient number, and it was not considered advisable to seize boats and thus "raise . . . obstacles in the way of merchants ". The monkeys proceed to erect the chain of islands known to Hindus as "Rama's Bridge" and to Moslems as "Adam's Bridge " so as to cross over to Ceylon.

The reference to the trading vessels of merchants is of special interest. It is of further interest to note that an imported Sumero-Babylonian myth, to which had been added the Greek myth of Dædālus and Icărus, was incorporated in the Rāma story. The monkey-god Hanuman takes the place of Gilgamesh, who in the famous Babylonian "epic" searches for the Plant of Life because he fears to die. He goes westward until he reaches Māshu, the "Mountain of Sunset", the cave of which is guarded by a scorpion man and his wife. Gilgamesh is terrified, but the scorpion man takes pity on him, and learns from him that he is searching for his ancestor, Ut-napishtim (the Babylonian Noah) who had been made an immortal. The hero is told that he must go through the mountain, but, for the first twenty-four hours, must walk in thick darkness.

Gilgamesh undertakes this awesome journey; and when he had passed through the mountain, he came to a sunny garden in which the trees bore gems like fruit. He passed on to the seashore and met there the Princess Sabitu who dwelt in a palace. She advises him to return home and

> " Day and night be merry, Daily celebrate a feast, Day and night dance and be merry."

He decides, however, to cross the "Sea of Death " in the

¹ Roy's translation, pp. 832 et seq. Ramáyana is pronounced ra-my'ana. ² "Abode of Varuna" in the original.

ship of Arad Ea, and in this vessel he reaches the island on which his ancestor dwells like a god. He subsequently obtains the "Plant of Life", but it is stolen from him by the dragon called "Earth Lion", which creeps out of the earth in the form of a serpent when he is stooping over a brook to drink.¹

In ancient Egypt we meet with the Osirian and solar Underworlds. The Paradise of Osiris has its judgment hall. Sinners are destroyed or driven as black pigs to outer darkness: the faithful live in a fairer and more fertile Egypt where great crops are grown and where trees yield an abundance of fruit, while there are immense herds and flocks of domesticated animals.

The Underworld of the solar cult is another Egypt but the river—the Underground Nile—flows through "solid darkness" (Keku samu). There are twelve divisions, each of which takes an hour to traverse. This Underworld is entered through the Mount of Sunset ("Horn of the West"), and the sun-god Re voyages along the Underground Nile to the "Mount of Sunrise" in the east.

On his way he overcomes fiery serpents and demons, and passes through divisions in which the wicked are punished by "murderous fiends". There are lakes of fire and a region of blazing fire, souls and fiends are hacked to pieces or a fire-spitting Hag tortures them.

In the "Book of that which is in the Underworld", Horus tells that the spirits of sinners have had their shadows rent asunder and their heads cut off so that existence in the future may be impossible for them:

"They will be cast down headlong into burning furnaces from

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which there is neither escape nor deliverance, and Set, the everlasting snake, will drive his flames against them, and the Lady of furnaces, and the Lady of fiery pits, and the Lady of slaughtering blocks, and the Lady of swords, will drive against them the flames which come forth from their mouths."

The gods " are said to live upon the voices of enemies who are slain, and on the shricks and cries of the souls and shadows which are cast down into the blazing fiery pits ".¹

The Solar and Osirian paradises were fused by the priests, and sinners whose earthly offences had not been great were permitted to rejoice for a single hour in the twenty-four hours, when their region was entered and made bright by the sun-god.

The Hindu hell, as described in the *Mahábhárata*, is entered by a dark and doleful and difficult path. It is a dismal region and smells horribly. Birds with iron beaks and evil spirits with sharp protruding mouths torture and tear the dead; there is a boiling river difficult to cross, there is a forest in which the trees have leaves sharp as swords, and there are deserts of burning sand, iron cliffs and iron pots of boiling oil into which the dead are plunged. The god Indra explains to the hero Yudhish'thira, who visits the dark and doleful region, that hell must be seen by every human being. He who goes to Paradise after death must subsequently go down to hell; and he who suffers for a time in hell, afterwards goes to Paradise.

The gloomy Underworlds of the Greeks and Romans had their places of punishment and their "happy fields", but it is in Buddhist literature that the memory of the Western Paradise reached by Gilgamesh—the shoreland garden with its gem trees—has been preserved and

¹ Budge, The Gods of the Egyptians, Vol. I, pp. 256-7.

¹L. W. King, Babylonian Religion and Mythology, pp. 165 et seq. M. Jastrow, Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria, pp. 373-4. D. A. Mackenzie, Myths of Babylonia and Assyria, pp. 177 et seq. Recent discoveries in North-West India indicate that long before the Vedic (Aryan) period there were close relations with Sumeria.

elaborated. There are rivers in the Buddhist Paradise which abound with pearls and gems, and the very mud is gold dust. Trees yield gems. "Of some trees the trunks are of coral, the branches of red pearls, the small branches of diamonds, the leaves of gold, the flowers of silver, and the fruits of beryl". Souls acquire "bodies bright as gold and blue eyes".¹

It was evidently not from Egypt, Babylonia, or Greece that the Celts acquired their beliefs in the Underworld regions of bliss, with trees having branches of silver, surrounded by crystal walls, and entered through a door of gold and silver studded with precious stones.

Buddhist teachers and pilgrims, searching for the "Western Paradise" appear to have carried into Western Europe some of the elements which characterize St. Patrick's Purgatory.

"On the whole," wrote Professor Anwyl, "the conceptions of the Other-world which we meet in Celtic legend are joyous; it is a land of youth and beauty. Cuchulainn, the Irish hero, for example, is brought in a boat to an exceedingly fair island round which there is a silver wall and a bronze palisade." But in Welsh literature there is evidence of an old and gloomier Underworld, "the cruel prison of earth . . . the abode of death . . . the loveless land".

In Scotland various caves lead to the Underworld, but the daring men who enter them never return; only their dogs come back, but with the hair stripped from their bodies, and they die soon afterwards.

Traces of the Osirian Paradise are found in Scottish folk-lore. One folk story tells that a young man of Niths-

¹ Buddhist Mahayana Texts (Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XLIX, pp. 16, 17).



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dale was the eye-witness one night of a fairy banquet. Among the fairies he saw "several of his former acquaintances".

Another Nithsdale story tells of a young woman who acted as "wet nurse" for a fairy baby. She was given food which "tasted like wheaten bread, mixed with wine and honey".

The fairy mother one day asked this "wet nurse" to follow her.

"They passed through some scroggy woods skirting the side of a beautiful green hill, which they ascended half-way. A door opened on the sunny side—they went in, and the sod closed after them. The fairy then dropped three drops of a precious liquid into her companion's left eyelid, and she beheld a most delicious country, whose fields were yellow with ripening corn, watered by looping burnies (streams), and bordered by trees laden with fruit. She was presented with webs of the finest cloth, and with boxes of precious ointments. The fairy then moistened her right eye with a green fluid, and bid her look. She looked and saw several of her friends and acquaintances at work, reaping the corn and gathering the fruit. 'This,' said the fairy, ' is the punishment of evil deeds!' She then passed her hand over the woman's eye, and restored it to its natural power."

There are even traces in Scottish folk-lore of the myth of the murder and dismemberment of Osiris by Set, of the restoration of the body by Isis with the aid of Thoth and the posthumous birth of Horus. The Rev. John Gregorson Campbell of Tiree refers to one Gaelic version of the myth which tells " that a woman, whose husband had been cut in four pieces, engaged a tailor, at the price of the surrender of her person, to sew the pieces together again. He did so in two hours time. Some time after the woman died and was buried. Subse-(D 852) 11

quently she met the tailor at night, and leading him to her tomb, the child was found there."¹

The writer has heard a different version of this story. It was to the effect that the woman lay with her husband after his body had been sewn together and that she had consequently to die and go to the grave with him. The son was born in the grave.

Campbell says that in Argyllshire and Perthshire this myth is connected with Thomas the Rhymer:

"He is commonly called ' the son of the dead woman' (mac na mna mairbh), but the accounts vary as to the cause of his name. One account says he was, like Julius Cæsar, taken out of his mother's side, immediately after her death; another that the cry of the child was heard in the mother's tomb after her burial, and on the grave being opened Thomas was found in the coffin."²

Other versions of the "Cæsarian operation" story have already been given.

¹ Superstitions of the Scottish Highlands, p. 270.

² Ibid., p. 269.

CHAPTER VI

The Isles of the Blest

SECTION I-THE CELTIC LEGENDS

There was a time when it seemed reasonable to assume that the Celtic stories regarding the existence of the "Isles of the Blest" were based upon a myth "borrowed" from the Greeks. This view does not nowadays, however, afford a satisfactory explanation of the problem. The Celtic stories are found to be less Greek than they are Hindu, or Chinese, or even Polynesian, as will be shown.

According to an old Irish tale, which exists in various manuscript copies with Christian interpolations, Bran, son of Febal, discovered that

> "There are thrice fifty distant isles In the ocean to the west of us; Larger than Erin twice Is each of them, or thrice."

This statement regarding the number and dimensions of the isles is repeated in a poem addressed by Mongan to St. Columba:

> "Thrice fifty isles are counted, As they were set by the bright king; In every isle, by my lore! There is three times the size of Erin himself."¹

¹ This point has escaped the attention of many who have written regarding the Celtic isles. As in the Hindu system the outer circles of land were the larger. 143

Bran, according to the myth, heard one day sweet music which issued from a mysterious silver branch with white blossoms. He took the branch to the royal house and there saw a woman who was attired in "strange raiment". She sang to him a lay in which she stated that the branch had been brought by her from the silver apple tree (the Tree of Life) in Emain (Paradise) which was "a distant isle around which sea-horses (crested waves) glisten". It was "a lovely land" with "feet" (foundations) of "white bronze". There everyone enjoyed peace, happiness, and longevity.

> "Unknown is wailing and treachery In the familiar cultivated land, There is nothing rough or harsh, But sweet music striking on the ear. Without grief, without sorrow, without death, Without any sickness, without debility, That is the sign of Emain— Uncommon is an equal marvel."

There the people not only listened to music but drank "the best of wine" and in the sports there were chariots of gold, silver, and bronze drawn by horses of gold and crimson and heavenly blue. From "a conspicuous stone" issued music and song and there were "thousands of women", and " peals of laughter ".

Bran was urged to begin a voyage "across the clear sea" towards this "land of women", and the strange woman, evidently a fairy, vanished from sight.

Febal's son set out on his voyage of exploration next day with "three companies of nine". They sailed on for two days and two nights and were then met by the sea-god "Manannan, son of Ler" driving his chariot through the waves. The god sang regarding the "Isles

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of the Blest" which he refers to as "Happy Plain" and "Plain of Sports", telling of their "many flowers", "a fair stream of silver", "the luxurious wine", the "men and gentle women", trees "without decay", and "vines".

After Bran had parted from Manannan he reached an island—the "Isle of Joy"—on the shore of which was "a large host gaping and laughing". He sent a man ashore, but that man began to gape and laugh like the rest and had to be left behind.

Bran sailed on and soon reached the island which was "the Land of Women". The chieftainess hailed him with,

> "Come hither on land, O Bran, son of Febal! Welcome is thy advent."

Bran was unwilling to go ashore, but the woman threw a ball of thread and the thread "clave to his palm". The woman then pulled the boat towards the port and the explorers were conducted to "a large house" in which "was a bed for every couple". They remained for what seemed to be a year, but "it chanced to be many years".

In the course of time one of the men, named Nechtan, was stricken with "home sickness", and appeals were made to Bran to return to Ireland. Bran yielded in the end, but the chieftainess warned them not to go ashore in Ireland after having sojourned on her island.

The adventurers then set sail, picking up their friend whom they had left on the " Isle of Joy ".

In time they reached their native land. Nechtan at once leapt ashore, but as soon as he "touched the earth of Ireland, forthwith he was a heap of ashes, as though he had been in the earth for many hundred years".

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Men on the shore asked the seafarers who they were. "I am Bran, son of Febal," said the leader, but the reply he received was: "We do not know such a one, though the voyage of Bran is in our ancient legends."

Bran then told his story, and afterwards bade Ireland farewell. "And from that hour his wanderings are not known."

Other Irish tales regarding visits paid to the island Paradise include those in which Cuchulainn, Ossian, Maelduin, Cormac, Loegaire Liban, Crimthann Nia Nair, and Connla are the chief actors. St. Brendan's voyage is a Christianized version of the ancient story of Bran.

The heroes are invited to the overseas Otherworld either by the sea-god, as in the case of Cormac, or by a golden-haired god, as in the story of Loegaire Liban, clad in a purple robe, armed with a five-pronged spear, a gold-rimmed shield, and a gold-hilted sword, or it may be that a beautiful fairy lady lures them away.

Loegaire and his warrior band are wanted in the Otherworld to assist a god to recover his wife who has been carried off by a ravisher, as was Sita, the wife of Rama in the Hindu epic the *Ramáyana*. The ravisher was slain by his nephew, son of the King of the Dun (fortress) of Pleasant-Plain island who retained the goddess. Silver and gold are promised as a reward to the human warriors to fight against the enemy gods who are armed with "blue swords" and "white shields adorned with emblems of white silver" and have "red metal-mounted horns".

Loegaire's men reach the Otherworld by diving through a lake. They win a victory in Mag Mell (" Pleasant Plain "), the name of one of the " Isles of the Blest "), and the goddess is recovered. Loegaire is given for wife the god's daughter, named Der Grene (" Sun Tear "), and each of his fifty warriors receives a wife as well. They reside in the Otherworld for a year, and then return to Ireland like Bran and his followers, only however, to tell their story. Having lived in Mag Mell they must return to their fairy wives. Loegaire in his address to the High King of Ireland declares:

"One night of the 'night of the gods', I would not exchange for all thy kingdom."

He presents to the monarch "thirty cauldrons and thirty drinking horns" from the land where the deathless warriors hear "the melodious music of the gods", and where

"When it rains, 't is ale that falls!"

In the story of Cormac, the sea-god carries away his wife and daughter. Cormac follows them after a period and brings them back, but the account of the recovery of the woman and Cormac's return is evidently a modern addition to the tale.

Connla is lured away by a beautiful fairy lady. His father employed Druids to prevent his departure, but he leapt into a "ship of glass" and his father watched this magical vessel till it faded from sight. Connla never returned and no one ever discovered whither he had gone.

Crimthann, High King of Ireland, went across the sea with a goddess, whose name was Nair, and he returned with a chariot of pure gold, a chess board of gold inlaid with precious stones, a sword adorned with serpents of gold, a shield adorned with silver, a magic spear, and a magic sling, and also two dogs which were linked by a chain of silver, as were the bird forms of gods and god-

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desses which occasionally appeared in Ireland. Crimthann died soon after his return, having fallen from his horse. This really means that, like Nechtan, who leapt from Bran's boat, he perished on touching earth, because he had lived in the land of shades.

From these and other stories of the Otherworld, it is gathered that on an island of bliss there grew a Tree of Life which had silver branches and apples of gold or of golden hue. In the story of Teigue, son of Cian, Connla is seen on the island paradise with an everlasting apple in his hand; "a third part of it he would eat, and still, for all he consumed, never a whit of it would be diminished". Connla, after the passage of many years, is still a youth and his fairy companion a girl. "This fruit it was that supported the pair of them, and when once they had partaken of it, nor age nor dimness could affect them." The magical apple is mentioned in several tales. In the Tale of Néde we are told that "the mind of Caier's wife clave unto Néde. She gave an apple of silver to Néde for his love."

There was also a Hazel Tree of Life. When St. Patrick was holding converse with Caeltie a young man comes from Paradise "out of the south" wearing a purple mantle and carrying "a double armful of round yellow-headed nuts and of beautiful golden-yellow apples".

The hazel was a form of a deity. "Coll (hazel) indeed was god to MacCuil", is a reference given by Keating. In Paradise a hazel or a group of nine hazels grows above a well. These bud, blossom, and put forth red nuts simultaneously. The red nuts drop into a well and impart their virtues to the water and to the salmon in the water. These are the nuts which inspire poets and prophets. A single nut is sufficient to provide food for many. Like the magical apple it never diminishes. A rowan Tree of Life is also referred to. Its purple berries intoxicate like wine, and like the nuts and apples promote longevity.

When Cuchulainn was invited to visit the island paradise in a "boat of bronze", Liban sang to him of a great house there:

> "There are at the eastern door Three ancient trees of crimson crystal. . . . There is a tree in front of the court; It cannot be matched for harmony; A tree of silver against which the sun shines. Like unto a tree of gold is its great sheen."

Pork, as well as apples and nuts, was provided for souls. In the Underworld Paradise of Angus " are three trees, fruit thereon for ever, together with a never-failing supply of roast pig and good liquor ". One pig is always alive, another always roasting. After a pig is eaten, the flesh is restored to its bones.

Among the names of the Celtic " Isles of the Blest " are "Airctheach" (Bountiful Land), "Cuin" (Gentle Land), "Imchuin" (Very Gentle Land), "Mag Rein" (Plain of the Sea), "Mag Mon" (Plain of Sports), "Mag Mell" (Happy Plain), "Inis Subai" (Isle of Joy), "Tir na m-ban" (Land of Women), "Tir-nan-'og" (Land of Youth), "Emain Ablach" (Emain abounding in Apples), "Avalon" (Apple Land), &c. The islands lie to the south or south-west of Ireland, as Whitley Stokes has pointed out (*Revue Celtique*, XV, p. 438).¹

The Welsh knew the isles as "the Green Isles of the Ocean", and several heroes, including Madoc, set out

¹The modern poets and re-tellers of old legends omit mention of the fact that an outstanding attraction of these isles was unlimited sexual indulgence.

to search for them. They are inhabited by Tylwyth Teg (the Fair family), the souls of the Druids. "If," a folklorist records, "you take a turf from St. David's churchyard and stand upon it on the sea-shore, you behold these islands." The people of the isles of Arran on the coast of Galway and the West Highlanders of Scotland used to tell that a floating green island was sometimes seen on a bright summer day.

One of the most interesting of the many Scottish Highland stories regarding the "Isles of the Blest" tells of the well which not only heals but restores the dead to life. The "King of Spain" is seized and carried off by a great bird called the "Cromhineach" (a sort of griffin), also referred to as a "dragon". The story runs:

"She seized me then in her talons; she sailed to the back of the ocean with me; and she sprang to the clouds with me. . . . She was lifting me and letting me down (letting me fall), till she saw that I was soon dead on the breast of the sea. . . . She lifted me from the surface of the sea as I was dead, and sailed with me to an island, and the sun was so hot; and she put me myself on the sun side of the island. Sleep came upon herself and she slept. The sun was enlivening me pretty well though I was dead.

"She had come down at the side of a well, and when she awoke she began at working herself about in the well. I understood that there was *iocshlaint* (healing) in the well, because of how the side of me that was nearest to the well was healing with the splashes of water that the dreagan (dragon) was putting from her. And I moved the other side of me towards the well, till that side was healed also. Then I felt for my sword."

He smote off the monster's head, but it sprang on again because of the "healing" in the well. After several efforts, he held the sword "between the head and neck till the hag's marrow froze". Then he cut the body in many pieces. He washed himself in the well and "I grew stronger and more active than I had ever been before".¹

Section II—Hindu, Polynesian, American, Chinese, Japanese, Babylonian, Greek, and Egyptian Isles.

It is in the post-Vedic sacred literature of India that the "Isles of the Blest" legend is found in its fullest state of development. According to the Hindu system the world is divided into seven circular "dvipas" (islands), and these and their surrounding seas form concentric circles. The "circular island occupying the centre of the system" is "Jambu dvipa", and the southern part of "Jambu dvipa" is India. Mount Meru ("world spine") is situated in the centre of "Jambu dvipa" which is surrounded by "a sea of salt water".

The next "dvipa" is Plaksha which is surrounded by "a sea of sugar-cane juice", the next is Salmaki, surrounded by "a sea of wine", the next is Kus'a, surrounded by "a sea of clarified butter", the next is Krauncha, surrounded by "a sea of curds", the next is Saka, surrounded by "a sea of milk", and the next is Pushkara, surrounded by "a sea of fresh water". Beyond Pushkara is "Golden Land" which has no inhabitants.

Other systems give four and thirteen "dvipas".

To the north of the central "dvipa" is Uttara Kuru, a tribal paradise in which grow "milk-yielding trees". As in the Aztec "Children's Paradise", children "drink the milk, sweet as Amrita, of those milk-yielding trees".

¹ De Jubainville, The Irish Mythological Cycle, Dublin, 1903; Standish O'Grady's Silva Gadelica, London, 1892; K. Meyer and A. Nutt, The Voyage of Bran; J. F. Campbell, Popular Tales of the West Highlands.

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Although the people there enjoy excellent health and live long and happily, they are not immortal, however. "A class of birds called *Bhārundā*, furnished with sharp beaks and possessed of great strength, take them up when dead and throw them into mountain caves."¹ The monster bird in the West Highland story of the "King of Spain" seems to be one of the *Bhārundā*.

When Arjuna, the heroic Pandava, makes conquests to the north of "Jambu dvipa", he reaches the area known as "Harivarsha". The "frontier guards", however, warn him that "this country can never be conquered by thee" because "He that entereth this region, if human, is sure to perish. . . . The Northern Kurus live here. . . Even if thou enterest it, thou wilt not be able to behold anything." It is a Paradise. Arjuna received gifts of treasure and turned back.²

The Paradise to the north of the central Hindu "dvipa" resembles the Irish and Scottish paradises which are situated under "fairy knolls".

On the Hindu islands beyond "Jambu dvipa" the inhabitants enjoy long lives. On "Plaksha dvipa" they "live 5000 years free from sickness"; on "Kus'a dvipa" the people are "fair and of very delicate forms", and they live with gods as they also do in the next three dvipas. On "Pushkara dvipa" the inhabitants live for 10,000 years, "free from sickness and sorrow, from affection and hatred" and "there is no distinction among them of highest and lowest". In all the dvipas, the inhabitants "eat prepared food which comes to them of itself".³

¹ The Mahábhárata (Bhishma Parva) and Kingsborough's Antiquities of Mexico, Vol. VI, Plate V, p. 171.

³ Sabha Parva (Section XXVIII) of the Mahábhárata.

³ J. Muir, Original Sanskrit Texts, London, 1890, Vol. I, pp. 491 et seq.

The legends regarding these Hindu "Isles of the Blest" became fused with the beliefs regarding the various paradises of the gods Indra, Yama, Varuna, Kubera, and Brahma. In all these there is "unlimited love-making" as in the Celtic "Isles of the Blest". Apsaras (dancing fairies) are numerous. In Indra's paradise for warriors there are "many charming Apsaras", in Yama's "every object of desire celestial or human", fruit trees, &c., in Varuna's "tribes of Apsaras" and "celestial trees made of gems and jewels", and mountains "rich in jewels", in Kubera's "gold chambers decked with jewels", while "all jewels of earth (personified) worship Kubera"; Apsaras are "numerous". Brahma's heaven has "brilliant gems" and "Apsaras".

In the Mahábhárata the island (dvipa) of Pushkara has "a mountain called Pushkara that abounds with jewels and gems". On another island there are "celestial gems" in profusion which "bestow happiness". On Krauncha island there is a mountain mine containing "all kinds of gems" which is "always adored by all four orders of men". Kusa island has "a mountain variegated with coral" which is "made of gold".

The Polynesians, who migrated from India and Ceylon to Indonesia and thence to Oceania, carried with them a belief in an island paradise. Southey in his notes to "A Tale of Paraguay" quotes a missionary's account of this island:

"The Tonga people universally and positively believe in the existence of a large island lying at a considerable distance to the north-west of their own islands, which they consider to be the place of residence of their gods and of the souls of their nobles and mataboohes. This island is supposed to be much larger than all

their own islands put together; ¹ to be well stocked with all kinds of useful and ornamental plants always in a state of high perfection and always bearing the richest fruits and the most beautiful flowers; that when these fruits or flowers are plucked, others immediately occupy their place. . . The island is also well stocked with the most beautiful birds of all imaginable kinds, as well as with abundance of hogs (pigs) all of which are immortal, unless they are killed to provide food. . . . The moment a hog or bird is killed, another living hog or bird immediately comes into existence to supply its place."

Once upon a time a crew of Polynesians reached this island, but the inhabitants advised them to depart at once "as they had no proper food for them ", and they "promised a fair wind and speedy passage". The inhabitants of the island and the trees and fruit there were like shadows. "They walked through the trunks of the trees" and through the bodies of the inhabitants "as if there was nothing". Ellis tells that the Hawaiians believed in the existence of an island on which there was a "Well of Life".

Certain sections of the pre-Columbian Americans knew of an island paradise called "Land of Souls". A young man who sorrowed for his dead sister "resolved to seek her in the Land of Souls". "His voyage was long and laborious, but he surmounted all obstacles and overcame every difficulty."²

The Chinese and Japanese have legends of the Isles of the Blest. Certain Chinese seafarers contrived in days of old, according to the tales, to reach the fabled isles, and emperors fitted out expeditions to search for them. One view is that there were three islands, another that there were five, and a third that there are ten. They float and disappear like the islands in Scottish Gaelic stories, and like the Hindu "dvipas" they have gardens in which grow trees and plants that bear pearls and gems. The "white souls" of saintly sages who inhabit them dwell in houses of gold and jade. These saints cultivate the "fungus of immortality" which renews youth and restores the dead to life.

The Japanese island, known as Horaizan, has growing on a mountain a Tree of Life which has a trunk and branches of gold, roots of silver, gem leaves and fruit. In some tales there are three life-giving trees—the peach, the plum, and the pine. The "fungus of immortality" and a "grass of immortality" are referred to. A hero, named Wasobioye, reached a beautiful island and found on it a sparkling well, the water of which revived him and made him very happy. The gigantic birds which carry souls to the isles figure in Chinese and Japanese stories.¹

In the Babylonian epic of Gilgamesh, the hero visits the "Isle of the Blest" on which reside his ancestor Ut-napishtim (the Babylonian Noah) and his wife. They have been made immortals like the gods and goddesses. On another island is a fountain of healing and a Plant of Immortality. Before embarking for the island on which his ancestor dwells, Gilgamesh reaches a garden with a wonderful tree:

" Precious stones it bore as fruit,

Branches hung from it which were beautiful to behold,

The top of the tree was lapis lazuli,

And it was laden with fruit which dazzled the eye of him that beheld."

Other trees "were also laden with precious stones", but "Gilgamesh did not tarry among the trees nor stop to "See my Myths of China and Japan, Chapter IX.

¹Here again, as in the Hindu and Celtic systems, the outer island is the larger. ²Lafitau, Sur les Mœurs de Sauvages Amériquains, tome I, p. 401.

gather their fruit ".¹ It may be that it was from Babylonia the Hindus obtained their myths regarding the gem-trees of longevity.

Dr. Morris Jastrow, Jr.² notes that besides this "Island of the Blest" reserved for Ut-Napishtim and his wife, the Babylonians believed in the underworld Aralû, and writes:

"In this respect Babylonia presents a parallel to Greece, where we likewise find the two views—Hades for the general mass of humanity and a blessed island for the rare exceptions—the very rare exceptions—limited to those who, like Menelaos, are closely related to the gods, or, like Tiresias, favoured because of the possession of the divine gift of prophecy in an unusual degree."

The Greek island of the Hesperides, on which grows a tree with golden apples, is mentioned by Hesiod. Its precious fruits were guarded by sleepless dragons. Hesiod does not, however, refer to the island as the abode of souls of great men. Euripides (born 480 B.C.) says that in the west "stands Atlas" and "there", too, "the daughters of Hesperus who watch o'er the golden apples" and "there is the palace where was wedded the king of the immortals", and where " nectar foams and earth yields to the gods the undying food of the blessed life ".3 When Lucian, in the second century of our era, writes of the " Isle of the Blest " with its city of gold, temples of beryl, altars of amethyst, its wells of honey and oil and rivers of milk and wine, he is making use of non-Greek material. If Calypso's island, with its unlimited love-making, which is visited by the hero of Homer's Odyssey, is really an " Isle of the Blest", it can scarcely be regarded as the prototype of the Celtic Isles with their trees of silver and golden fruit, their honey and wine and ale. It would appear that it was the Buddhists who carried into Western and Northern Europe the stories of the isles of longevity with gem trees, &c., as described in their own tales of the "Land of Bliss",¹ in the Hindu *Mahábhárata*, &c. It is possible, and even probable, that the Buddhists adopted the conception of the wonderful isles from colonists in India who had been influenced by the Babylonian legend of Gilgamesh, several versions of which probably existed. The Polynesian beliefs regarding the islands of the dead were probably, as has been suggested, of Indian origin also. The Chinese and Japanese isles were certainly of Buddhist origin.

Of greater antiquity than the Gilgamesh epic are the Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts which tell of an island in the sky-world on which grows the Sycamore of Longevity. From this "Tree of Life" souls of pharaohs procure food and drink.² But there are no gem trees there and no alluring and amorous Apsaras or "fairy ladies", as in the Hindu and Celtic stories which have so much in common.

SECTION III-BRITAIN AS THE "LAND OF THE DEAD"

The reputation which Britain had, in Julius Cæsar's time, acquired in Gaul as a seat of Druidical learning may well have been due to the Buddhist or Celto-Buddhist cult of Cernunnos. Pilgrims searching for the Western Paradise—the Western "Buddha field "—lived in caves and instructed their disciples like the ascetics of India.

¹ Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XLIX, pp. 16-7.

² Breasted, Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt, p. 102. (D 852)

¹L. W. King, Babylonian Religion and Mythology, London, 1903, pp. 167-8.

² Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria, London, 1911, p. 355. ³ K. Meyer and A. Nutt, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 271.

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² Breasted, Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt, p. 102. (D 852) 12

As St. Patrick's Purgatory became famous throughout Europe in mediæval times, so apparently did the Celtic "Isles of the Blest" at a much earlier period. In Gaul it was believed that the "Land of the Dead" was actually part of Britain, as was the Uttara Kuru paradise part of Jambu dvipa of which India was the southern area.

Plutarch, who died about A.D. 120 and Procopius, who wrote four centuries later, quote an unknown writer to the effect that the "Land of the Dead" was situated in the western extremity of Britain, which was supposed to be separated from eastern Britain by "an impassable wall".

De Jubainville summarizes the legend as follows:

"On the northern coast of Gaul is a populace of mariners, whose business is to conduct the dead across from the Continent to their last abode in the island of Britain. The mariners, awakened in the night by the whisperings of some mysterious voice, arise and go down to the shore, where they find ships awaiting them which are not their own, and in them invisible beings under whose weight the vessels sink almost to the gunwales. They go on board, and with a single stroke of the oar, says one text, in one hour, says another, they arrive at their destination, though with their own vessels, aided by sails, it would have taken them at least a day and a night to reach the coast of Britain. When they come to the other shore, the invisible passengers land, and at the same time the unloaded ships are seen to rise above the waves, and a voice is heard announcing the names of the new arrivals who have just been added to the inhabitants of the Land of the Dead." 1

As we have seen, the ancient Irish "foretellers" and heroes regarded Alba (Britain) as their spiritual home. Like the Gauls, they appear also to have thought of it as 159

a land of mystery in which supernatural beings were to be met with. When, for instance, Cuchulainn visits Alba to undergo a training in military feats at the dun (fortress) of the hag (? goddess) Scathach in the Hebridean island of Skye, he has experiences which resemble those of Arjuna, when that Hindu hero travels to the north of "Jambu dvipa" and reaches "Harivarsha", the "god land" (page 152).

In the Irish "Wooing of Emer" narrative it is told that, in the course of his wanderings in Alba, Cuchulainn met a "youth" (a supernatural being), and "inquired of him the way to the dun of Scathach". The narrative continues:

"The youth taught him the way across the Plain of Ill-luck that lay before him. On the hither half of the plain the feet of men would stick fast; on the farther half the grass would rise and hold them fast on the points of its blades.

"The youth gave him (Cuchulainn) a wheel, and told him to follow its track across one-half of the plain. He gave him also an apple, and told him to follow the way along which the apple ran, and that in such wise he would reach the end of the plain."¹

In Irish and Scottish Gaelic stories the heroes who are guided by mysterious wheels and balls are invariably engaged in searching for the "Earthly Paradise". An Irish example is provided in Dr. Douglas Hyde's version of the story of "The Well of D'yerree-in-Dowan" —that is, "The Well of the World's End", which is the "Well of Life", whose waters give healing, renew youth, &c.

A King suffers for many years from a sore foot, and he is informed by Dall Glic, a wise blind man, that

¹E. Hull, The Cuchullin Saga, p. 74.

¹ De Jubainville, The Irish Mythological Cycle and Celtic Mythology, translation by R. I. Best, Dublin, 1903, p. 1301

nothing will cure him but water from the "Well of the World's End". Cart, the King's youngest son, sets out to search for this well, and he reaches, day by day, the homes of hags, and of men who are centuries old. He spends the night in the house of one of these hags, and when he rises up next morning he prays to be directed "on the road of his luck". The story proceeds:

"' How far will you go to-day?' said the hag.

"' I don't know,' said the King's son. ' I'm in search of the Well of Dyerree-in-Dowan.'

"'I'm three hundred years here,' said the hag, 'and I never heard of such a place before; but I have a sister older than myself, and, perhaps, she may know of it. Here is a ball of silver for you, and when you will go out upon the road throw it up before you, and follow it till you come to the house of my sister.'

"When he went out on the road, he threw down the ball; and he was following it until the sun was going under the shadow of the hills. Then he went into a wood and came to the door of a little house."

This was the house of the sister, and she gave him a horse "about the size of a goat" which on the following day carried him seven hundred miles to the house of the Celtic Charon, who took him across a perilous river to the Earthly Paradise, where he found the "Well of Life".¹

In the Cuchulainn story there has apparently been incorporated a fragment of an ancient narrative giving an account of a hero's journey towards Paradise. The fact that the Celtic Earthly Paradise is located in Alba (Britain) is the point of very special interest.

It may be it was owing to the settlement in Britain

¹Douglas Hyde, Beside the Fire: A Collection of Irish Gaelic Folk Stories. London, 1910, pp. 129 et seq.

of a Celto-Buddhist cult, which became very influential, that the ancient Gauls and the ancient Irish thought of "Alba" as a seat of learning and part of it as the "Earthly Paradise" at the "World's End".

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