

THE STONE HINGE

On Salisbury Plain a Wonderfull Ille of Antiquity.

R.H

A

CRITICAL HISTORY

OF THE

CELTIC RELIGION,

AND

LEARNING:

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF THE

DRUIDS;

OR, THE

PRIESTS AND JUDGES,

OF THE VAIDS, OR THE DIVINERS AND PHYSICIANS; AND OF THE BARDS, OR THE POETS AND HERALDS;

OF THE

ANCIENT GAULS, BRITONS, IRISH AND SCOTS.

BY JOHN TOLAND, M. A.

WITH THE

HISTORY

OF

ABARIS, THE HYPERBORIAN, PRIEST OF THE SUN.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

An Abstract of the Life of the Author.

333979
8.12.36

EDINBURGH:

PRINTED BY JOHN FINDLAY; AND, SOLD BY GILBERT AND HODGES, AND THE OTHER PRINCIPAL BOOKSELLERS IN DUBLIN.

1815.

The Ultimate
LIBRARY of the OCCULT

This compilation © grand vintage store uk

May not be resold under any circumstances

TO THE

REV. PAUL O'BRIEN,

PROFESSOR OF THE IRISH LANGUAGE, &c.

ROYAL COLLEGE OF ST. PATRICK,

MAYNOOTH.

SIR,

I take the Liberty of DEDICATING this Edition of Toland's HISTORY OF THE DRUIDS *to you, as a Testimony of High Esteem for your great Learning; Veneration for your Christian Virtues; and, as a public Acknowledgement of the liberal Encouragement, and generous Assistance which you have rendered*

YOUR MUCH OBLIGED,

AND OBEDIENT SERVANT,

JOHN FINDLAY.

The Editor having followed the Original Copy in order to make no alteration in the Work, believes the following to be a necessary Eratta thereto:

For the following wherever they occur,	Read,
48 Fourbery,	Forgery,
53 Instignation,	Instigation,
78 Contemt,	Contempt,
... Atchievments,	Atchievements,
... Diverse,	Divers,
80 Symboll,	Symbol,
90 Controll,	Controul,
... Exemted,	Exempted,
91 Dunegall,	Donegal,
92 Moveing,	Moving,
... Dy,	Die,
93 Succedeing,	Succeeding,
... Murdrung,	Murdering,
94 Then,	Than,
96 Foren,	Foreign,
... Brittish,	British,
... Ilands,	Islands,
... Ile,	Isle,
97 Pyramyds,	Pyramids,
99 Theater,	Theatre,
100 Is,	His,
103 Contemtible,	Contemptible,
104 Throout,	Throughout,
106 Volum,	Volume,
109 Travellors,	Travellers,
.... Fairfetched,	Farfetched,
112 Entrals,	Entrails,
115 Troble,	Trouble,
119 lewish,	Blueish,
122 Excede,	Exceed,
133 Barran,	Barren,
.... Entitling,	Entitleing,
.... Mettals,	Metals,

For the following wherever they occur,	Read.
136 Onely,	Only,
... Bein,	Been,
138 Soverain,	Sovereign,
143 Neighbors,	Neighbours,
146 Vocobulary,	Vocabularly,
150 Judgements,	Judgments,
151 Sufficiant,	Sufficient,
153 Welcom,	Welcome,
... Somthing,	Something,
154 Gray,	Grey,
156 Hony,	Honey,
160 Olde,	Old,
... Croos'd,	Crossed,
161 Shoos,	Shoes,
165 Maritim,	Maritime,
166 Neighboring,	Neighbouring,
167 Scepter,	Sceptre,
179 Felow,	Fellow,
184 Shipwrack,	Shipwreck,
188 Submitt,	Submit,
190 Endeavored,	Endeavoured,
196 Vail,	Veil,
201 Sault,	Salt,
... Begetting,	Begeting,
203 Harbors,	Harbours,
205 Ly,	Lie,
... Ey-witness,	Eye-witness,
210 Mony,	Money,
212 Suteable,	Suitable,
... Widdow,	Widow,
215 Harken,	Hearken,
216 Faboulously,	Fabulously.

ABSTRACT

OF THE

LIFE OF JOHN TOLAND.

JOHN TOLAND was born on the 30th November, 1670, in the most northern Peninsula in Ireland, on the Isthmus whereof stands Londonderry. That Peninsula was originally called *Inis-Eogan*, or *Inis-Eogain*, but is now called *Enis-Owen*. Toland had the name of *Janus Junius* given him at the font, and was called by that name in the school roll every morning; but the other boys making a jest of it, the master ordered him to be called *John*, which name he kept ever after.

Mr. Toland, as far as now can be collected, was the son of a Popish Priest; and, he hath been abused by *Abbot Tilladet*, *Bishop Huetius* and others, on the ground of his alleged illegitimacy: which, were it true, is a most base and ridiculous reproach; the child, in such a case, being entirely innocent of the guilt of his parents. Had Mr. Toland been really illegitimate,

which was not the case, no infamy could have attached to him on that account, unless he can be supposed to have had the power of directing the mode of his coming into existence. The following testimonial given him at *Prague*, where he was residing in 1708, will however, sufficiently remove so foolish and groundless an imputation. It runs thus:

Infra scripti testamur Dom. Joannem Toland, ortum esse ex honesta, nobili et antiquissima familia, quæ per plures centenos annos, ut Regni Historia et continua monstrant memoria, in Peninsula Hiberniæ *Enis-Owen* dicta prope urbem *Londino-Deriensem* in Ultonia, perduravit. In cujus rei firmiorem fidem, nos ex eadem patria oriundi propriis manibus subscripsimus, Pragæ in Bohemia, hac die 2. Jan. 1708.

Joannes O'Niell superior Collegii Hibernorum.
L. S. Francisus O'Deulin, S. Theologiæ Professor.
Rudolphus O'Niell, S. Theol. Lector.

TRANSLATION:

"We Subscribers testify, that Mr. John Toland is "descended of an honourable, noble, and very ancient "family, which resided several centuries on the Pen- "insula of Ireland, called *Enis-Owen*, near the city of "Londonderry in Ulster, which the history of that "kingdom, and continual mention of the family "clearly establish. For the surer credence of this, "we natives of the same country have subscribed with

" our own hands at *Prague* in Bohemia, this 2d Jan.
" 1708."

The Reader will see from this Certificate of the Irish Franciscans at Prague, that Mr. Toland was honourably, nobly and anciently descended.

We may however take it for granted, that his relations were Papists; for in his preface to Christianity not Mysterious, he tells us, " that he was educated from " the cradle in the grossest Superstition and Idolatry, " but God was pleased to make his own reason, and " such as made use of theirs, the happy instruments " of his Conversion." He again informs us, in his *Apology*, " that he was not sixteen years old when " he became as zealous against Popery, as he has ever " since continued."

From the school at Redcastle, near Londonderry, he went in 1687, to the College of Glasgow ; and after three years stay there, visited Edinburgh, where he was created Master of Arts on the 30th of June, 1690, and received the usual Diploma from the Professors, of which the following is a copy.

Universis et singulis ad quos præsentes literæ pervenient, NOS universitatis Jacobi Regis Edinburgenæ Professores, Salutem in Domino sempiternam comprecamur: Unaque testamur ingenuum hunc bonæ Spei Juvenem Magistrum Joannem Toland Hibernum, moribus, diligentia, et laudabili successu se nobis ita ap-

probasse ut post editum Philosophici profectus examen, Solenni more Magister in Artibus liberalibus renuntiaretur, in Comitiis nostris Laureatis anno Salutis Millesimo, Sexcentesimo et Nonagesimo, trigesimo die Junii: Quapropter non dubitamus eum nunc a Nobis in patriam redeuntem, ut egregium Adolescentem, omnibus quos adire, vel quibuscum versari contigerit, de meliori nota commendare, sperantes illum (opitulante divina gratia) Literis hisce Testimonialibus fore abunde responsurum. In quorum fidem inclyta Civitas Edinburgum Academiæ hujus parens et Altrix sigillo suo publico literas syngraphis Nostris porro confirmari jussit.

Al. Monro, S.S.T.D. Professor Primarius.
Jo. Strachan, S.S.T.D. ejusdemque Professor.
D. Gregorie, Math. P.
J. Herbertus Kennedy, P. P.
L. S. J. Drummond, H. L. P.
Tho. Burnet, Ph. P.
Robertus Henderson, B. et Academiæ ab Archivis &c.

Dabamus in supradicto Athenæo Regio 22do. die Julii anno Æræ Christianæ 1690.

TRANSLATION.

" To all and every one, to whom the present letter " may come, We the Professors of the University of E- " dinburgh, founded by King James, wish eternal salva- " tion in the Lord: and at the same time testify, that

" this ingenuous youth, Mr. John Toland of excellent " promise, has so highly satisfied us by his good conduct, " diligence and laudable progress, that after a public ex- " amination of his progress in Philosophy, he was after " the usual manner declared Master of the liberal Arts, " in our *Comitia Laureata*, in the year of Redemption " 1690, 30th June: Wherefore we do not hesitate to re- " commend him now returning from us, to his native " country, as an excellent young man, to all persons of " better note, to whom he may have access, or with " whom he may sojourn, hoping that he (through the " aid of Divine Grace,) will abundantly answer the cha- " racter given him in this Diploma. In testimony of " which, the ancient city of Edinburgh, the Parent and " Benefactress of this Academy has ordered this writ- " ing with our subscriptions, to receive the additional " confirmation of their Public Seal."

Given in the aforesaid Royal Athenæum, 22d July, 1690.

Mr. John Toland having received his Diploma, returned to Glasgow, where he resided but a short time. On his departure, the magistrates of that city gave him the following recommendation.

" We the Magistrates of Glasgow under subscribing, " do hereby certifie and declare, to all whom these pre- " sents may concern, That the bearer John Toland, " Master of Arts, did reside here for some yeares, as a " student at the Universitie in this City, during which

" time he behaved himself as ane trew Protestant, and
" Loyal Subject, as witness our hands at Glasgow, the
" penult day of July one thousand six hundred and nine-
" tie yeares, and the common Seal of Office of the said
" City is hereunto affixt.

" JOHN LECK.

" L. S. GEORGE NISBITT."

It is worthy of remark, that Mr. Toland resided at Glasgow during the years 1688 and 1689, the two last of the Bloody Persecution of the Church of Scotland, and must have been an eye witness of many tyrannical and relentless scenes. It is well known, that the students of Glasgow, as a collective body, repeatedly joined the citizens, in repelling several of the military parties sent against them; and there can hardly remain a doubt, that *Toland* made one of the number. This sufficiently accounts for the Certificate given him by the Magistrates of Glasgow.

Mr. Toland dates his conversion, from the 16th year of his age, which nearly coincides with his arrival in Glasgow; for it will be recollected, that he did not complete his 20th year, till the 30th of November after leaving this city. It is therefore most probable, that he was here converted from Popery, and imbibed these notions of the simplicity and purity of Christianity which he afterwards retained.

Instead of returning to Ireland, Mr. Toland went to

England, where he lived, (as he informs us in his *Apology,)* in as good Protestant families as any in the kingdom, till he went to the famous university of Leyden, to perfect his studies, under the celebrated *Spanhemius*, *Triglandius*, &c. There he was supported by some eminent Dissenters in England, who had conceived great hopes from his uncommon parts, and might flatter themselves, he would one day become the Colossus of the party; for he himself informs us, in a Pamphlet published at London in 1697, that he had lived in their communion, ever since he quitted Popery. "Mr. Toland (says he, in answer to the imputation of being a rigid Non-conformist) will never deny but the real simplicity of the Dissenters' worship; and the seeming equity of their discipline, (into which, being so young, he could not distinctly penetrate,) did gain extraordinarily on his affections, just as he was newly delivered from the insupportable yoke of the most pompous and tyrannical policy that ever enslaved mankind, under the name or shew of religion. But, when greater experience and more years had a little ripened his judgment, he easily perceived that the differences were not so wide, as to appear irreconcileable, or at least, that men who were sound Protestants on both sides, should barbarously cut one anothers' throats; or indeed give any disturbance to the society about them. And as soon as he understood the late heats and animosities did not totally, if at all, proceed from a concern for mere religion, he allowed himself a latitude in several

things, that would have been matter of scruple to him before. His travels increased, and the study of Ecclesiastical History perfected this disposition, wherein he continues to this hour; for, whatever his own opinion of these differences be, yet he finds so essential an agreement between French, Dutch, English, Scottish, and other *Protestants*, that he is resolved never to lose the benefit of an instructive discourse, in any of their churches, on that score ; and, it must be a civil, not a religious interest that can engage him against any of these parties, not thinking all their private notions wherein they differ, worth endangering, much less subverting, the public peace of a nation. If this (pursues he,) makes a man a *Non-conformist*, then Mr. Toland is one unquestionably."

In 1692, Mr. Daniel Williams, a Dissenting Minister, published a Book, entitled, *Gospel Truth Stated and Vindicated*, in opposition to Dr. *Crisp*. Mr. Toland desired the Author of the *Bibliotheque Universelle* to give an Abstract of it in that Journal. The Journalist complied; and, to the Abstract of Mr. William's book, prefixed Mr. Toland's recommendatory letter, and styles him *Student* in Divinity. *Bibliotheque Universelle, tom 23rd, page 506.*

Having staid about two years at Leyden, he returned to England, and soon after went to Oxford, where, besides the conversation of learned men, he had the advantage of the public library. Here he collected ma-

terials on various subjects; and, composed some pieces, among others, a Dissertation, wherein he proves the received history of the tragical death of Atilius Regulus, the Roman Consul, to be a fable; and, with that candour which uniformly characterizes him, owns himself indebted for this notion to *Palmerius.*

In 1695, he left Oxford, and came to London. In 1696, he published his *Christianity not Mysterious;* or, a *Treatise, shewing that there is nothing in the Gospel contrary to reason, nor above it; and, that no Christian Doctrine can properly be called a Mystery.* Mr. Toland defines, MYSTERY to be, a thing intelligible in itself, but which could not be known, without special Revelation. And, to prove the assertion, he examines all the passages in the New Testament, where the word MYSTERY occurs; and shews, 1st, That MYSTERY is read for the Gospel; or, the Christian Religion in general, as it was a future dispensation, totally hid from the Gentiles, and but imperfectly known to the Jews. Secondly, That some peculiar doctrines, occasionally revealed by the Apostles, are said to be *manifested mysteries;* that is, *unfolded secrets: and* 3dly, that *mystery* is put for any thing veiled under parables, or enigmatical forms of speech. But, he declares, at the same time, that, if his adversaries think fit to call a *mystery,* whatever is either absolutely unintelligible to us, or whereof we have but inadequate ideas; he

is ready to admit of as many *mysteries* in religion as they please.

So far, the candid reader will be apt to think there is no great harm done. If Mr. Toland's adversaries did not choose to adopt his definition of the word *mystery*, he professes himself willing to accede to theirs; and indeed, all that has been advanced on either side of the question, is merely a dispute about words. He pretends, that he can give as clear and intelligible an explanation of the *mysteries of the gospel, as of the phœnomena of nature:* and, do not our divines do the same thing, by attempting to give a rational explanation of the *Trinity,* and the *Resurrection,* the greatest mysteries of the Christian religion? Such explanations are the tests of the soundness of their doctrine; and, who knows but Mr. Toland's explanation, had he given one, might have been orthodox.

This Treatise alarmed the public; and several clergy replied to it. Messrs. *Beconsal, Beverley, Norris,* and *Elys;* Doctors PAIN, and STILLINGFLEET; the *Author* of the Occasional Papers; Messrs. *Millar, Gailhard,* and *Synge,* all entered the lists. It was even presented by the Grand Jury of Middlesex; but, this measure had no other effect, than to promote the sale of the book, mankind being naturally prone to pry into what is forbidden them.

This same year, Mr. Toland published a Discourse

on Coins, by Signior *Bernardo Davanzati*, a gentleman of Florence, delivered in the academy there, *anno* 1588 ; translated from Italian by John Toland.

Christianity not Mysterious having found its way into Ireland, made some noise there, as well as in England ; but, the clamour was considerably increased, on the author's arrival there, in the beginning of 1697. Mr. Mollineux, in a letter to Mr. Locke, dated 10th April, 1697, says, "The Irish clergy were alarmed a- "gainst him to a mighty degree; and, that he had his "welcome to that city, by hearing himself harangued "against, from the pulpit, by a Prelate of that "Country."

Mr. Toland himself tells us, in his *Apology*, that he was hardly arrived in that country, when he found himself warmly attacked from the pulpit, which at first could not but startle the people, who till then, were equal strangers to him and his book ; but that in a short time, they were so well accustomed to this subject, that it was as much expected, as if it had been prescribed in the *Rubrick*. He also informs us, that his own silence respecting the book in question, made his enemies insinuate that he was not the author of it.

When this rough treatment of Mr. Toland from the pulpit proved insignificant, the Grand Jury was solicited to present him, for a Book written and published in England. The presentment of the Grand Jury of Mid-

dlesex, was printed with an emphatical title, and cried about the streets. Mr. Toland was accordingly presented there, the last day of the term, in the Court of King's Bench.

At that time, Mr. Peter Brown, Senior Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, published a book against Mr. Toland's Christianity not Mysterious, in which he represented him, as an inveterate enemy to all revealed religion; a knight errant; one who openly affected to be the head of a sect, and designed to be as famous an impostor as Mahomet. Mr. Brown was afterwards made bishop of Cork; and Mr. Toland used frequently to say, "That he made him a bishop." This is the same *jacobitical gentleman*, who, because he could not bear that any person should drink the health of King William, wrote a pamphlet against health-drinking, as being a profanation of the *Lord's Supper!*

Mr. Mollineux sent Mr. Brown's book to Mr. Locke, and in a letter to him, dated 20th of July, 1697, says, "Mr. Toland has had his opposers here, as you will "find by a book I have sent you. The author is my "acquaintance; but, two things I shall never forgive, "in his book: the one, is the foul language and op- "probrious epithets he has bestowed on Mr. Toland. "The other is, upon several occasions, calling in the "aid of the civil magistrate, and delivering Mr. To- "land up to secular punishment. This indeed is a *kil- "ling argument*; but, may dispose some to think,

" that where the strength of reason failed him, there " he flies to the strength of the sword," &c.

Mr. Toland, it seems, was dreaded in Ireland as a second Goliath, who at the head of the Philistines defied the armies of Israel, in so much, that Mr. Hancock, the Recorder of Dublin, in his congratulatory harangue, to the Lords Justices of that kingdom, in the name of his corporation, begged their Lordships would protect the Church from all its adversaries; but, particularly from the Tolandists.

But to give the last and finishing stroke to Mr. Toland's book, it was brought before the parliament. Several persons eminent for their birth; good qualities, and fortune, opposed the whole proceedings; but, finding themselves over-ruled in this, they urged, that the objectionable passages should be read. That Toland should be heard in his defence personally; or at least, by letter. All these propositions were rejected, and Mr. Toland, unheard and undefended, was ordered to be taken into the custody of the serjant at arms. Mr. Toland made his escape, but his book was burnt by the common hangman, on the 11th September, 1697, before the gate of the parliament-house; and also, in the open street, before the town-house; the sheriffs and all the constables attending.

Dr. South in the preface to his third volume of Sermons, compliments the Archbishop of Dublin, on his

treatment of Toland, whom he calls a Mahometan Christian; and particularly, that he made the kingdom too hot for him, without the help of a *faggot*. The faggot had been kindled in Scotland from the one end to the other, during the twenty-eight years persecution, and innocent and holy men burnt alive, merely for being *non-conformists*: or in other words, for not preferring the dogmas of arbitrary and interested men, to the sacred Scriptures. Toland's crimes appear to have been much of the same kind, and it was very consistent in the Doctor to hint at a similar punishment.

On Mr. Toland's return to London, he published his Apology, giving an account of his conduct, and vindicating himself from the aspersions and persecutions of his enemies.

In 1698, party-disputes ran high. The partizans of the house of Steuart wished to facilitate the Pretender's return, by keeping up no standing army at all. Their opponents took different ground.——Several pamphlets appeared; and among the rest, one from the pen of Mr. Toland, wherein he recommends modelling the militia on such a plan, as to render it adequate to the maintenance of internal tranquillity, and repulsion of foreign invasion. Indeed, on every occasion, we find Mr. Toland a staunch friend to the revolution, and the Protestant succession; and, though this was not the ostensible, still there is every reason to reckon it

the real cause of his persecution ; his enemies, almost to a man, entertaining very different sentiments.

This same year, he published the life of John Milton, which was prefixed to his works, in three volumes folio. In the course of Milton's life, Mr. Toland proved that *Icon Basilike* was not written by Charles Ist, but by Dr. Gauden, and took occasion to remark, that, when this imposition was practised on the nation, at no greater distance of time than forty years, he ceased to wonder how so many suppositious pieces, under the name of Christ and his Apostles, should be published, approved, &c. Had he denied the *Trinity*, or blasphemed the *Holy Ghost*, it would have been nothing in comparison of curtailing the literary fame of the royal *Martyr* of the church of England.

Accordingly, Mr Blackall, chaplin to the king, in a Sermon preached before the house of commons, 30th January, 1689, says, " We may cease to wonder, that " he (Mr. Toland,) should have the boldness, without " proof, and against proof, to deny the authority of " this book, who is such an *Infidel* to doubt, and is " shameless and impudent enough, even in print, and " in a Christian country, publicly to affront our holy " religion, by declaring his doubt, that several pieces " under the name of Christ and his Apostles, (he must " mean those received by the whole Christian church, " for I know of no other,) are supposititious," &c. The

reader will here smile, to see that Mr. Blackall rests the whole stress of Mr. Toland's Infidelity, on his own ignorance. Mr. Blackall expressly says, "Mr. To-" land must mean the Books of the New Testament," because he knows of no other. Excellent Logician!

In order to vindicate himself, Mr. Toland published *Amyntor*, in which he re-doubles his arguments, to prove Dr. Gauden the author of *Icon Basilike;* and, at the same time, published a list of supposititious pieces, ascribed to Christ, his Apostles, and other eminent men, extending to no less than forty-three octavo pages. After having given that catalogue, he proceeds thus:

"Here is a long catalogue for Mr. Blackall, who, "it is probable, will not think the more meanly of "himself, for being unacquainted with these pieces; "nor, if that were all, should I be forward to think the "worse of him on this account: but I think, he is to "blame, for denying that there were any such, be-" cause he knew nothing of them; much less should "he infer from thence, that I denied the Scriptures; "which scandal, however, as proceeding from igno-" rance, I heartily forgive him, as every good Christian "ought to do."

What a calm, dignified, Christian reply to the very man, who, without the least shadow of fact, proclaim-

ed Mr. Toland an impudent and shameless Infidel, before the whole House of Commons. Poor Mr. Blackall was obliged to say something or other in his own defence. He published a pamphlet, wherein he labours hard to prove, that Mr. Toland's words were liable to misapprehension; and says, "I charged Mr. Toland with doubting of the books of the New Testament, but he declares, he does not mean those books, therefore we are now agreed: there can be no dispute between us on that subject."

In the same year, 1699, Mr. Toland published the *Memoirs of Denzil, Lord Hollis, Baron of Ifield in Sussex*, from 1641 to 1648. The manuscript was put into his hands, by the Duke of Newcastle, who was one of his patrons and benefactors; and he dedicated the work to his Grace.

In 1700, he published in folio, Harrington's *Oceana*, with some other pieces of that ingenious author, not before printed, to which he prefixed the life of the author. From the preface to this work, which is dated 30th November, 1699, we learn Mr. Toland's exact age, for he there informs us, that this very day he was beginning his thirtieth year.

About the same time, appeared a pamphlet, entitled *Clito*; or the force of Eloquence. The printer gave Mr. Toland as the author. This piece, consists of a

dialogue between *Clito* and *Adeisidæmon*. This is a poetical performance. Mr. Toland is known by the name ADEISIDÆMON, which he translates, *unsuperstitious*. This was animadverted on, by an anonmyous clergyman, who, after a torrent of Billingsgate abuse, translates Adeisidæmon, (in open violation of all the rules of etymology and common sense,) *one that fears neither God nor devil*. To such pitiful lengths will the rancour of party-spirit drive men, when they are determined to calumniate with, or without reason.

In the beginning of 1701, he published, *The Art of Governing by Parties*, which he dedicated to King William the IIId.; and, about the same time, published a pamphlet, in quarto, entitled *Propositions for uniting the two East-India Companies*.

In March following, the lower and upper house of Convocation, with the concurrence of the bishops, resolved to proceed against Mr. Toland's CHRISTIANITY NOT MYSTERIOUS, and his AMYNTOR, with all possible rigour. After passing some resolutions against these books, they found they could not proceed without a license from the king. Rather than solicit this BOON, they dropped their proceedings against Mr. Toland. Can any circumstance speak more strongly in the vindication of Mr. Toland? Can any thing shew the innocence of our author, in a clearer point of view, than that the whole united English hierarchy, durst not so-

licit a license from the king to prosecute him, because they were sure it would be refused? This circumstance affords more than a presumption, that Mr. Toland's principal crimes, in the eyes of his enemies, were his predilection for Presbyterianism; and, attachment to King William.

Be that as it may, when on the death of the Duke of Gloucester, an act was passed in June, 1701, for the better securing the Protestant succession to the crown, Mr. Toland published his ANGLIA LIBERA; or the Limitation and Succession of the Crown of England explained and asserted; as grounded on his Majesty's Speech; the proceedings of Parliament; the desires of the People; the safety of our Religion; the Nature of our Constitution; the Balance of Europe; and, the Rights of Mankind. This Treatise, he dedicated to his patron, the duke of Newcastle.

The king having sent the earl of Macclesfield to Hanover, with the act of succession, Mr. Toland accompanied him, and presented his ANGLIA LIBERA to her Electoral Highness the Princess Sophia; and was the first who had the honour of kneeling and kissing her hand, on account of the act of *succession*. The Earl of Macclesfield recommended him warmly to her Highness. Mr. Toland staid there five or six weeks, and at his departure, their Highnesses the Electress Dowager, and the Elector presented him with several gold medals, as a princely remuneration for the book he had

written, about the succession, in defence of their title and family. Her highness condescended to give him likewise, portraits of herself, the Elector, the young Prince, and of her Majesty the Queen of Prussia, done in oil colours. The Earl of Macclesfield, on his return, waited on the king at London, and presented Mr. Toland, who had the honour of kissing his Majesty's hand.

The Parliament was dissolved 11th November, and a new one summoned to meet the 30th December. The Tory party appeared horribly afraid that Mr. Toland would obtain a seat in the ensuing Parliament, and circulated a report that he was to be returned for Blechingley in Surry, a borough in the interest of Sir Robert Clayton. Mr. Toland, who had no intention whatever of this kind, contradicted the report, by an advertisement in the Post-man. Even this harmless act could not pass without censure, but gave occasion to an anonymous author to publish a pamphlet, entitled "Modesty mistaken; or a Letter to Mr. Toland, up-"on his declining to appear in the ensuing Parlia-"ment."

On the opening of parliament, Mr. Toland published his *Paradoxes of State*, grounded chiefly on his majesty's princely, pious, and most gracious speech.

Soon after, he published "Reasons for addressing his "Majesty to invite into England, the Electress Dow-"ager, and the Electoral Prince of Hanover; and for "attainting and abjuring the pretended Prince of

"Wales," &c. This was answered by Mr. *Luke Milburn.* But, Mr. Toland had the high gratification to see parliament attend to his suggestions. An act was accordingly passed for the attainder of the pretended Prince of Wales; and another, for the better security of his Majesty's Person, and the Protestant succession, &c. and enjoining an oath of abjuration of the Pretender. Thus, instead of an enemy to religion, or civil liberty, we find him strenuously recommending the most efficacious measures for the preservation of both.

Some difference having arisen between the lower and upper house of Convocation, on a point of jurisdiction, respecting their proceedings against *Christianity not Mysterious,* the year before, a paper war commenced between them, and several pamphlets appeared on both sides. Those written by the partizans of the upper house, were favourable to Mr. Toland; but, those written in favour of the lower house, the reverse. He therefore, seized this opportunity of publishing his *Vindicius Liberius;* being a vindication of his *Christianity not Mysterious*;—a full and clear account of his religious and civil principles; and, a justification of those called *Whigs and Common-wealth men,* against the mis-representations of all their opposers.

After the publication of this book, Mr. Toland went to the courts of Hanover and Berlin, where he was very graciously received by the Princess Sophia, and the Queen of Prussia. He was often admitted to their

conversation ; and wrote some pieces, which he presented to her Majesty. There he wrote also, an account of the courts of Prussia and Hanover.

On his return to England, 1704, he published several philosophical letters ; three of which, he inscribed to the Queen of Prussia, under the designation of *Serena.*

1st, The Origin and Force of Prejudices.

2d, The History of the Soul's Immortality among the Heathens.

3d, The Origin of Idolatry, and Reasons of Heathenism.

4th, A Letter to a Gentleman in Holland, shewing *Spinoza's* System of Philosophy, to be without Principle or Foundation.

5th, Motion essential to Matter ; in answer to some remarks, by a noble Friend, on the confutation of *Spinoza.* Mr. Toland informs us, that the Queen of Prussia was pleased to ask his opinion, respecting the Subjects treated of, in the three Letters inscribed to her.

These Letters were animadverted on, by Mr. Wotton, in a pamphlet, entitled, " Letters to Eusebia."

At the same time, he published an English translation of the Life of *Æsop,* by *Monsieur De Meziriac,* and dedicated it to Anthony Collins, Esq.

In 1705, he published the following pieces.

1st, Socinianism truly stated, &c.

2d, An Account of the Courts of Prussia and Hanover, dedicated to the Duke of Somerset.

3rd, The Ordinances, Statutes and Privileges of the Royal Academy at Berlin. Translated from the original.

The same year, Counsellor Pooley, and Dr. Drake, wrote the *Memorial of the Church of England*, with a view to influence the ensuing parliamentary election, by representing the *Whig Administration*, as plotting the ruin of the *Church*.

By the direction of Mr. Harley, secretary of state, this memorial was answered, by Mr. Toland, in a Pamphlet, entitled, "The Memorial of the State of "England, in Vindication of the Queen, the Church, "and the Administration: designed to rectify the mu- "tual mistakes of Protestants; and, to unite their af- "fections, in defence of our Religion and Liberty." On the suggestion of Mr. Harley, who was one of Mr. Toland's patrons and benefactors, this treatise was published, without the author's name.

This pamphlet was answered, by *Thomas Raulins*, Esq., who made a direct attack on the duke of Marlborough's, and Mr. Harley's conduct. Mr. William Stephens, rector of Sutton, in Surry, being found the publisher; and, refusing to bear evidence against Mr.

Raulins, was sentenced to stand on the pillory ; but, the sentence was afterwards remitted.

Mr. Toland was directed by Mr. Harley to answer this Pamphlet, which he did ; but, for some reasons, now unknown, the design was dropped, after part of Mr. Toland's answer had been printed.

Mr. Harley having found among his manuscripts, a *Philippic* against France, written in Latin, by one Cardinal Matthew, in 1514, gave it to Mr. Toland who edited it, both in English and Latin : along with other violent expressions, it contains the following, *Gallorum Ungues non resecandos, sed pentius evellendos esse* ; i. e. That the nails of the French were not to be pared, but torn out by the roots.

Soon after, he published the Elector Palatine's Declaration, lately published in favour of his Protestant Subjects, &c. This Mr. Toland did, at the particular request of the Elector Palatine's minister.

In the Spring, Mr. Toland went to Germany, and visited Berlin, Hanover, Dusseldorp, Vienna and Prague in Bohemia. At Dusseldorp, he was most graciously received by his Electoral Highness, who, in consideration of the English pamphlet, published by him, presented him with a gold chain and medal, besides a hundred ducats. From Prague, he returned to Holland, where he staid till 1710.

In Holland, he published the following Dissertations,

viz. 1st, *Adeisidæmon, sive Titus Livius a Superstitione Vindicatus*, &c.

2*do. Orignes Judaicæ*, &c. In the course of this Dissertation, he animadverted on *Huetius' Demonstratio Evangelica.* He ridicules Huetius for affirming that several eminent persons recorded in the Old Testament are allegorized in the Heathen Mythology; and particulary Moses under the names of Bacchus, Typho, Silenus, Priapus, and Adonis. Though Mr. Toland was unquestionably in the right, Huetius was greatly incensed, and expressed his resentment in a letter, first published in the Journal of Trevoux, and afterwards printed by Abbot *Tilladet.* It will be recollected, that these are the two gentlemen, who endeavoured to convict Mr. *Toland* of the high and unpardonable crime, of not directing his parents to propagate him legitimately.

In 1709, he published at Amsterdam, a second edition of his *Philippic* against France.

In 1710, he published without his name, a French pamphlet, relating to Dr. Sacheverell.

While in Holland, he had the good fortune to get acquainted with prince Eugene of Savoy, who gave him several marks of his generosity.

After his return to England in 1711, he published

the *Humours of Epsom*; and at the same time, a translation of four of Pliny's Letters.

In 1712, he published 1*mo*. a Letter against Popery, written by Sophia Charlotte, late Queen of Prussia. 2*do*. Her Majesty's reasons for creating the Electoral Prince of Hanovera *Peer* of that realm. 3*tio*. The Grand Mystery laid open; namely, by dividing the *Protestants*, to weaken the Hanoverian Succession, &c.

About the same time, he published a new edition of *Cicero's works*, an undertaking for which he was eminently qualified. This work alone, is sufficient to transmit Mr. Toland's name to posterity. It is extremely scarce, he having printed only a few copies, at his own charge, to serve his particular friends.

In 1713, he published "An Appeal to Honest People, against wicked Priests," &c.: And much about the same time, a pamphlet on the necessity of demolishing Dunkirk.

In 1714, he published a pamphlet relative to the restoration of Charles the IId. by General Monk; also, a collection of letters, written by the General relating to the same subject.

The same year, he published the Funeral Elogy of her royal highness, the late Princess *Sophia*, &c.; and much about the same time, "Reasons for naturalizing the Jews in Great Britain," &c. This he dedicated ra-

ther ironically, to the *Archbishops and Bishops of both Provinces.*

In 1717, he published the *State Anatomy of Great Britain.* This was answered by Dr. *Fiddes,* chaplain to the Earl of Oxford, and by Daniel De Foe. In reply, Mr. *Toland* published the second part of the State Anatomy.

In 1717, he published *Nazarenus.* In this treatise, according to Mr. *Toland,* the original plan of Christianity was this : " that the Jews, though associating with the converted Gentiles, and acknowledging them for brethren, were still to observe their own laws ; and that the Gentiles, who became so far Jews as to acknowledge one God, were not, however, to observe the Jewish law : but, that both of them were to be ever after, united into one body or fellowship, in that part of Christianity particularly, which, better than all the preparative purgations of the philosophers, requires the sanctification of the Spirit, and the renovation of the inward man ; and wherein alone, the Jew and the Gentile; the Civilized and and the Barbarian; the Free-man and the Bond-slave, are all in one *Christ,* however differing in other circumstances." This treatise was animadverted on, by Messrs. *Mangey and Paterson ;* and by Dr. *Brett.*

This year, he also edited a pamphlet, called the *Destiny of Rome;* or, the speedy and final destruction

of the Pope, founded partly on natural and political reasons, and partly on the famous prophecy of St. *Malachy*, Archbishop of Armagh, in the thirteenth century, *&c.*

In the beginning of 1720, Dr. *Hare* published the fourth edition of his Visitation Sermon; and, animadverted on *Christianity not Mysterious*; asserting that Mr. Toland often quoted Mr. Locke, to support notions he never dreamed of. As this assertion was totally groundless, the doctor had Mr. Locke, and Mr. Toland on his back at once. Finding his ground untenable, he published the following advertisement in the Daily Courant.

" Just published, the fourth Edition of

" The Dean of Worcester's Visitation Sermon. In " the Postscript, line ninth from the end, instead of, *is* " *often quoted*, read, *makes great use of Mr. Locke's* " *principles.*

" London, Feb. 1st. 1720."

Thus the reverend doctor had the contemptible meanness to shelter a bare-faced falsehood, under the subterfuge of a typographical error.

This pitiful conduct of Dr. Hare, produced from Mr. Toland, a pamphlet, entitled *a Short Essay on the Art of Lying; or, a Defence of a Reverend Dignitary,*

who suffers under the Persecution of Mr. TOLAND *for a LAPSUS CALAMI.*

About this time, he published *Pantheisticon; sive formula celebrandæ Sodalitatis Socraticæ*, &c. Some of his enemies pretended this tract was written to ridicule the Romish, and Episcopal Liturgies; and, as it was made up of Responses, Lessons, a Philosophical Cánon, and aLitany; and, the whole written both in red and black ink, their opinion is perhaps well founded. Mr. Toland was, at all times, a rigid advocate for the primitive apostolic simplicity of the Christian religion. This tract, instead of being a proof of our author's heterodoxy, is so far the reverse, that had John Knox been alive, I am persuaded, he would have thanked him for it. To this treatise, he prefixed the name of *Janus Junius Eoganesius*, which, though it was his real Christian name, and the name of his country, was as good a disguise as he could have invented.

A Bill having been introduced into the House of Lords, to make the parliament of Ireland more dependent on that of Great Britain, Mr. Toland wrote a Treatise in opposition to that measure.

Some time after, he published a book, entitled *Tetradymus*: containing 1*mo. Hodegus*; or, the Pillar of cloud and fire that guided the Israelites in the wilderness, not miraculous, *&c.* 2*do. Clydophorus*; or the *Exoteric* and *Esoteric* Philosophy of the antients,

&c. 3*tio. Hypatia*; or, the History of a most beautiful, most virtuous, most learned, and every way accomplished young Lady, who was torn to pieces by the clergy of Alexandria, to gratify the pride, emulation and cruelty of their Archbishop *Cyril*, commonly, but, undeservedly styled St. *Cyril.* 4*to. Mangoneutes*; or, a Defence of Nazarenus, addressed to the right Rev. John Lord, Bishop of London, against his Lordship's Chaplin Dr. Mangey, his dedicator Mr. Paterson, and the Rev. Dr. Brett, once belonging to his Lordship's church.

In this last Address to the Bishop of London, Mr. Toland, states the injurious treatment he had received from Dr. Hare at considerable length; and, concludes with the following account of his own conduct, and sentiments: "Notwithstanding, says he, the imputations of Heresy and Infidelity, so often published by the clergy, as lately, in the vauntingest manner, by one not unknown to you; the whifling and the ignorant, being ever the most arrogant and confident, I assure your Lordship, that the purity of religion, and the prosperity of the state have ever been my chiefest aim. Civil liberty, and religious toleration, as the most desirable things in this world; the most conducing to peace, plenty, knowledge, and every kind of happiness, have been the two main objects of all my writings. But, as by *liberty*, I did not mean *licentiousness*; so by *toleration*, I did not mean *indifference*,

and much less an approbation of every religion I could suffer. To be more particular, I solemnly profess to your Lordship, that the religion taught by Jesus Christ and his Apostles, but not as since corrupted by the subtractions, additions, and other alterations of any particular man, or company of men, is that which I infinitely prefer before all others. I do over and over again, repeat Christ and his Apostles, exclusive of either oral traditions, or the determinations of synods, adding what I declared before to the world, that religion as it came from their hands, was no less plain and pure, than useful and instructive; and that, as being the business of every man, it was equally understood by every body. For, Christ did not institute one Religion for the learned and another for the vulgar," &c.

In 1721, Dr. Hare published a Book, entitled "Scripture Truth vindicated; from the misrepresentations of the Lord Bishop of Bangor," &c.; and, in the Preface, takes occasion to observe, that none are prevented from settling in Carolina, but down-right *Atheists*, such as Mr. Toland; and most unjustly asserts, that in some copies of the *Pantheisticon*, he inserted a prayer to the following effect: *Omnipotens et sempiterne Bacche; qui humanam societatem maxime in bibendo constituisti; concede propitius, ut istorum capita, qui hesterna compotatione gravantur, hodierna leventur*; *idque fiat per pocula poculorum. Amen. i. e.* "Omnipotent and everlasting Bacchus, who foundedst human society

principally by drinking, propitiously grant, that the heads of those, which are made heavy by yesterday's drinking, may be lightened by this day's, and that by bumper after bumper. Amen."

M. Maizeuz, a Frenchman, and Mr. Toland's biographer assures us, that Mr. Toland never dreamed of such a matter. He assures us, that he knows the author, but forbears to mention him, on account of his profession. Indeed, there can hardly be a doubt, that Dr. Hare himself was the author.

The same year, Mr. Toland published Letters from the Earl of Shaftesbury to the Lord Viscount Molesworth; as also, two Letters written by Sir George Cropsley.

Mr. Toland had these four years past lived at Putney, whence he could conveniently go to London, and return the same day. Being in town about the middle of December, he found himself very ill, and an ignorant physician, by his improper prescriptions, very much increased his disorder. But, he made a shift to return to Putney, where he grew better, and entertained some hopes of recovery. In the interval, he wrote two Treatises; the one, entitled, *Physic without Physicans*; and the other, *The Danger of mercenary Parliaments.* This last, he did not live to finish; for, he died on Sunday the 11th March, 1722, about four o'clock in the morning. He behaved himself throughout the

whole course of his sickness, with the greatest calmness and fortitude ; and, looked on death without the least perturbation of mind ; biding farewell to those about him, and telling them, *he was going to fall asleep.*

A few days before his death, he composed the following

EPITAPH :

H. S. E.

JOANNES TOLANDUS.

Qui, in Hibernia prope Deriam natus,
In Scotia et Hibernia Studuit,
Quod Oxonii quoque fecit Adolescens ;
Atque Germania plus semel petita,
Virilem circa Londinum transegit ætatem.
Omnium Literarum excultor
Ac Linguarum plus decem Sciens.
Veritatis Propugnator
Libertatis Assertor:
Nullius autem Sectator, aut Cliens,
Nec minis, nec malis est inflexus,
Quin, quam elegit, viam perageret,
Utili honestum anteferens.
Spiritus cum Æthereo Patre,
A Quo prodiit olim, conjungitur :
Corpus item naturæ cedens,
In Materno grœmio reponitur.
Ipse vero æternum est resurrecturus,
At Idem futurus TOLANDUS nunquam.
Natus Nov. 30. 1670.
Cætera ex Scriptis pete.

TRANSLATION.

" Here lies JOHN TOLAND, born in Ireland, near " Londonderry, who in his youth studied in Scotland, " Ireland, and at Oxford; and, having repeatedly vi- " sited Germany, spent his manhood about London. " He was a cultivator of every kind of Learning; and " skilled in more than ten languages: the champion " of Truth, and the asserter of Liberty, but the fol- " lower or client of none; nor was he ever swayed " either by menaces or misfortunes, from pursuing the " path, which he chalked out to himself, uniformly " preferring his integrity to his interest. His Spirit " is re-united to his heavenly Father, from whom it " formerly proceeded; his Body yielding to Nature, " is also re-placed in the Bosom of the Earth. He " himself will undoubtedly arise to Eternal Life, but " will never be the same *Toland*. Born 30th No- " vember, 1670. Seek the rest from his Writings."

Mr. Toland's belief, *that he will never be the same Toland* after the resurrection, is not heterodox, though his enemies have not failed to represent it in this light. The gospel uniformly declares, that a considerable change will take place in the human body at the resurrection; and, that we shall all be changed. Mr. *Toland* must therefore not be considered as here denying his *absolute* future Identity, but merely as alluding to that partial change which the Scriptures so clearly point out.

Hitherto, I have almost implicity followed M. *Maizeuz ;* and, as far as the nature of this Abstract would admit, have adopted his own words, being well aware, that by so doing, no body will accuse me of partiality to Mr. Toland. M. Maizeuz was a Frenchman, a friend to Popery and arbitrary power,—he did not undertake our Author's Biography voluntarily, nor from any motive of respect. On the contrary, when requested by a friend of our author's, (who was at the same time the Frenchman's benefactor,) to undertake the task, he positively declined it. A second request more peremptory than the first had the desired effect. M. Maizeuz has not in one single instance, made the slighest allusion to the complexion of the times in which Mr. Toland lived, without a knowledge of which, it is impossible duely to appreciate either his principles, or the scope of his writings. He seems, however, to have been under great obligations to his benefactor, and knowing him to be a friend of our deceased author, was obliged to confine himself to matters of fact. But, what will place the conduct of M. Maizeuz in a very unfavourable point of view, is, that when Mr. Toland's works were printed at London, in 1726. M. Maizeuz not only with-held his own name from his life, but also, that of the gentleman, at whose request it was written.

This gentleman, having been guilty of these unpardonable omissions, I shall endeavour, as concisely as possible, to remedy the defect, and shall principally

confine myself to Mr. Toland's *Christianity not Mysterious*, which has made so much noise in the world.

Previous to the Reformation, the infallibility of the Pope, in spiritual ; and, the divine right of Kings in temporal matters, were carried to the very highest pitch, and the servile, ignorant and debased state, to which mankind were reduced, by the operation of these abominable doctrines, is too well known to need any comment. At the dawn of the Reformation, a better order of things began. The Scriptures were read and studied, and the monstrous impositions, for more than ten centuries, practised on mankind clearly displayed. Neither the infallibility of the Pope, nor the divine right of Kings, could stand the criterion either of reason, or Revelation ; and, both were discarded. After a long struggle, during more than a century and a half, our civil and religious liberties were effectually secured, by the glorious Revolution. That the Whig interest placed King William on the throne ; and, that the Tory-party, to a man, were attached to the cause of the abdicated Monarch, are facts that can admit of no dispute. From the date of the Revolution, the Torys, as far as regarded state affairs, were obliged to alter their tone. To have declaimed in support of the Indefeasible, Hereditary right of Kings, would have been a direct insult to King William, who had encroached on this right, and might have been construed high-treason. The Toleration Act secured all denominations in the free exercise of their religion. This

was another source of discontent to the Torys, who had uniformly aimed at religious and exclusive supremacy.

That the Torys thwarted King william's measures, meditated the restoration of the abdicated Monarch; and, shook the stability of the Protestant succession, for more than half a century, needs no demonstration. Their absurd tenets, respecting civil and religious tyranny were founded on a perversion of the Sacred Records. With the exception of the Whig-party, all ranks of mankind were kept in profound ignorance of the Divine Writings, under pretence of mystery and unintelligibility. By these means, the bulk of mankind were blindly led, without using their senses, or their reason.

To drive arbitrary power from this last resource, Mr. Toland wrote CHRISTIANITY NOT MYSTERIOUS. In this Treatise he clearly proves, that man's reason was not given him, in order to lie dormant. That if he was allowed to judge for himself in the ordinary occurrences of life; and respecting the Phœnomena of Nature, he cannot be denied the same privilege, as far as respects matters of Religion, and the principles of Christanity. Mr. Toland was well aware, that if he could once induce mankind to read the Scriptures with impartial attention, no man's interpretation on earth could mislead them.

However convenient this mode of conduct might be

for the interests of true religion, it was in fact, a death blow to Popery, which had reared its monstrous fabric on ignorance, mystery and superstition. The gospel was by the Popish priests, as carefully kept from the vulgar, as if it had contained the *antidote*, instead of the *means* of their salvation. When Mr. Toland wrote, not one-fourth of the population of the British empire were allowed to read the Scriptures; and, even at the present day, nearly five millions are denied this important privilege.

Had Christianity been so intricate and mysterious, as designing and interested men have represented it, certainly the twelve Apostles were very ill calculated to propagate the Gospel. In many Popish countries, not one of them would have been considered qualified to read or explain a single verse of it. That the conduct of Christ, and of his pretended Vicegerents, has been widely different, I readily admit, but, the simple question is this, "Whether Christ was, or was not, best qualified to judge of the nature of the Christian System, and the instruments best calculated to promote it?"

When we have duly weighed Mr. Toland's definition of the word Mystery; CHRISTIANITY NOT MYSTERIOUS, means no more, than, *Christianity intelligible to all Christians.* This was certainly sapping the very foundations of *Papal* and *Tyrannical Power*, by asserting that every Christian had a right to read and under-

stand the Gospel, That the Treatise was considered by the adherents of the abdicated Monarch, as having this tendency, is evident from this circumstance, that Mr. Toland's antagonists, were to a man, advocates for arbitrary power; and, religious intolerance. The Church of Scotland, has at all times been forward to stem the torrent of impiety and irreligion; but, it is not known that any one of that venerable Body, ever objected to Mr. Toland's Orthodoxy; a circumstance which could not have happened, had his writings been hostile to true religion. On this head, I shall only add, that the same party which persecuted Mr. Toland, would have treated *King William*, and the CHURCH OF SCOTLAND with as little ceremony, had they stood as unprotected as the *illustrious* Subject of these Memoirs.

Mr. Toland's *Amyntor*, and his *Pantheisticon*, have been already taken notice of. The first, proved that King Charles was not the author of *Icon Basilike*; and the last, is supposed to contain a sarcastical allusion to the *Romish* and *Episcopal Liturgies*;—The torrent of abuse consequently poured on him, by the Torys, is no more than might have been naturally anticipated.

His Biographer has descended so low, as to inform us, that Mr. Toland was sometimes under pecuniary difficulties, and as running in debt for his Wigs, &c. But, as this was a charge of the same nature, with his

Deism, Atheism, Mahometanism, Pantheism, Illegitimacy, &c. I shall not detain the Reader with a confutation of it.

Mr. TOLAND's CHARACTER.

It is difficult to determine in what department of Literature this great man most excelled. He seems to have been a kind of universal genius.—In controversy he was irresistible; and, at the very moment when his adversaries thought they had confuted him, they found they had only furnished materials for their own degradation.—He was skilled in more than ten Languages, and the *Celtic* was his native tongue.—Educated in the grossest superstition of Popery, at the early age of sixteen, he became a Convert to Presbyterianism, and remained steadily attached to it, till the hour of his death.—Popery, Prelacy, and arbitary Power he utterly detested; and, on every occasion, resisted them to to the utmost of his power.——To the Revolution in 1689, he was a warm and steady friend.—Real and unaffected piety, and the Church of Scotland, which he thought bore the greatest resemblance to the primitive simplicity of the Apostlic times, always found in him, an able, and inflexible advocate.—Though his pen was his estate, yet he never prostituted it to serve the interest of his party, at the expence of truth.—There was interwoven with his whole frame, a high degree of stubborn and inexorable integrity, which totally unfitted him for the tool of a party; and, like *poor Yorick*, he

invariably called things by their right names, regardless of the consequences.—There was not in his whole composition, one single grain of that useful quality which *Swift* calls *modern discretion*. Like an impregnable rock in the midst of the tempestuous ocean, he stood immoveable, against all his assailants ; and, his calm, dignified answers, in reply to their most virulent and unmerited calumnies, equally characterize the Hero, the Philosopher, and the Christian.—To his transcendant literary abilities even the most inveterate of his enemies have paid the most ample tribute of respect.—His Latin compositions, in point of classical purity, have not been excelled, even by *Cicero* himself. To him the Celtic tribes are highly indebted for that unequalled production, the HISTORY OF THE DRUIDS.—Pinkerton, as often as his *Gothic Mania* led him to controvert any of Toland's positions, respecting the *Druids* and *Celts*, is obliged to shrink from the contest.—Dr. Smith with a non-candour, for which, even his best friends must blush, has borrowed the whole of Toland's materials, for his History of the Druids ; not only without making any acknowledgement, but, with a studied and deliberate design to conceal the plagiarism. Wherever Mr. Toland enters into detail, Dr. Smith is concise ; and, wherever Mr. Toland is concise, Dr. Smith enters into detail. The important history of *Abaris*, the *Hyperborean Priest of the Sun*, is dismissed by Dr. Smith in a few words ; whereas, in Mr. Toland's history, it takes up several pages.——In the

space of twenty-five years, Mr. Toland published about one hundred different works; some of them on the most intricate subjects; but, the far greater part, on controversial matters, in opposition to those, who wished to restore the abdicated Monarch, and re-establish arbitrary power, and religious intolerance. As it was the first, so it was the last effort of his pen, to render Civil Government consistent with the unalienable rights of mankind; and, to reduce Christianity to that pure, simple, and unpompous system, which Christ and his Apostles established. It has often been objected to *John Knox*, as well as Mr. Toland, that he was a stubborn, ill-bred fellow. But, when the *Augæan Stable* of Civil and Religious corruptions is to be cleansed, the Herculean labour, requires Herculean instruments. Perhaps the delicacy and refinement of the present day, might have shrunk from the arduous task, and left the desireable work not only unfinished, but unattempted. Toland's fame has triumphed over all opposition; and, will be transmitted to the latest posterity. That very party which branded him, when alive, with the Epithets of *Atheist*, *Infidel*, *Deist*, *Mahometan*, &c. have now discovered, that he was only tinctured with *Socinianism*; and, in less than fifty years, the same party will discover, that he was a *rigid Presbyterian*,—peace to his *Manes*.——It were ardently to be wished, that the British Empire, in all great and critical emergencies, may possess many Christians, like JOHN TOLAND.

THE FIRST

LETTER,

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD VISCOUNT MOLESWORTH.

SOME men, my Lord, from a natural greatness of soul, and others from a sense of the want of learning in themselves, or the advantages of it in others, have many times liberally contributed towards the advancement of letters. But when they, whose excellent natural parts are richly cultivated by sound literature, undertake the protection of the Muses, writers feel a double encouragement; both as they are happily enabled to perfect their studies, and as their Patrons are true judges of their performances. 'Tis from this consideration alone (abstracted, My Lord, from all that you have already done, or may hereafter deserve from your country, by an unshaken love of liberty) that I presume to acquaint your Lordship with a design, which I form'd several years ago at Oxford, and which I have ever since kept in view; collecting, as occasion presented, whatever might any way tend to the advantage or perfection of it. 'Tis to write *the History of the Druids*, containing an account of the ancient *Celtic Religion and Literature*; and concerning which I beg your patience for a little while. Tho' this be a

subject, that will be naturally entertaining to the curious in every place ; yet it does more particularly concern the inhabitants of antient Gaule, (now France, Flanders, the Alpine regions, and Lombardy) and of all the British Islands, whose antiquities are here partly explain'd and illustrated, partly vindicated and restor'd. It will sound somewhat oddly, at first hearing, that a man born in the most northern (1) Peninsula

(1) This peninsula is *Inis-Eogain*, vulgarly *Enis-owen*, in whose Isthmus stands the city of Londonderry, itself a peninsula, and, if the tradition be true, originally a famous Grove and School of the Druids. Hence comes the very name *Doire*, corruptly pronounced *Derry*, which in Irish signifies *a Grove*, particularly of Oaks. The great COLUMBA changed it into a College for Monks (who in his time were retir'd Laymen, that lived by the labour of their hands) as most commonly the sacred places of the Heathens, if pleasant or commodious, were converted to the like use by the Christians after their own manner. This Derry is the *Roboretum* or * *Campus roborum*, mentioned by BEDE in his *Ecclesiastical History* : but not *Ardmacha*, now *Armagh*, in the same province of Ulster, as many have erroneously conceived ; nor yet *Durramh*, now *Durrough*, in that of Leinster, as some have no less groundlesly fancied, among whom Archbishop USHER. *Dearmach* is compounded of *Dair* an *oak* and the ancient word *Mach* (now *Machaire*) a *field*. They who did not know so much, have imagined it from the mere sound to be *Armagh*, which, far from *Campus roborum*, signifies *the height or mount of* MACHA, (surnamed *Mongruadh* or redhair'd) a Queen of Ireland, and the only woman that ever sway'd the sovereign sceptre of that kingdom. But Armagh never was a monastery founded by COLUMBA, who in BEDE's time was called † COLUIM-CILLE, as he's by the Irish to this day : whereas it was from the monasteries of *Derry* and *I-colmkill* (which

* Fecerat autem (COLUMBA) prius quam in Britanniam veniret monasterium nobile in Hibernia, quod a copia roborum *Dearmach* lingua Scotorum, hoc est *campus roborum*, vocatur. *Hist. Eccles. lib. 3. cap. 4.*

† Qui, videlicet COLUMBA, nunc a nonnullis, compositio a *Colle & Columba* nomine COLUMCELLI vocatur. *Ibid. lib. 5 cap. 10.*

of Ireland, shou'd undertake to set the antiquities of Gaule in a clearer light than any one has hitherto done. But when 'tis consider'd, that, over and above what he knows in common, relating to the *Druids*, with the learned of the French nation, (whose works he constantly reads with uncommon esteem) he has also certain other advantages, which none of those writers have ever had: when this, I say, is consider'd, then all the wonder about this affair will instantly cease. Yet let it be still remember'd, that whatever accomplishment may consist in the knowledge of languages, no language is really valuable, but as far as it serves to converse with the living, or to learn from the dead; and therefore were that knowledge of times and things contain'd in Lapponian, which we draw from the Greec, and that this last were as barren as the first: I shou'd then study Lapponian, and neglect Greec; for all its superiority over most tongues, in respect of sonorous pronunciation, copiousness of words, and variety of expression. But as the profound ignorance and slavery of the present Greecs does not hinder, but that their ancestors were the most learned, polite, and free of all European nations; so no revolution that has befallen any or all of the Celtic colonies, can be a just preju-

last, though the second erected, became the first in dignity) that all the other monasteries dedicated to COLUMBA, whether in Scotland or Ireland, were so many colonies. This is attested by the just mentioned ‡ BEDE, no less than by all the Irish *Annalists* since their several foundations.

‡ Ex quo utroque monasterio perplurima exinde monasteria, per discipulos ejus, & in Britannia & in Hibernia propagata sunt; in quibus omnibus idem monasterium insularum, in quo ipse requiescit corpore, principatum tenet. *Ibid. lib.* 3. *cap.* 4.

dice against the truly antient and undoubted monuments they may be able to furnish, towards improving or restoring any point of Learning. Whether there be any such monuments or not, and how far useful or agreeable, will in the following sheets appear.

II. Among those institutions which are thought to be irrecoverably lost, one is that of the *Druids*; of which the learned have hitherto known nothing, but by some fragments concerning them out of the Greec and Roman authors. Nor are such fragments always intelligible, because never explain'd by any of those, who were skill'd in the Celtic dialects, which are now principally six; namely *Welsh* or the insular British, *Cornish* almost extinct, *Armorican* or French British, *Irish* the least corrupted, *Manks* or the language of the Isle of Man; and *Earse* or Highland Irish, spoken also in all the western Ilands of Scotland. These, having severally their own dialects, are, with respect to each other and the old Celtic of Gaule, as the several dialects of the German language and Low Dutch, the Swedish, Danish, Norwegian and Islandic; which are all descendants of their common mother, the Gothic. Not that ever such a thing as a pure Gothic or Celtic language either did or cou'd exist in any considerable region without dialects, no more than pure elements: but by such an original language is meant the common root and trunk, the primitive words, and especially the peculiar construction that runs thro' all the branches; whereby they are intelligible to each other, or may easily become so, but different from all

kinds of speech besides. Thus the Celtic and the Gothic, which have been often taken for each other, are as diffrent as Latin and Arabic. In like manner we conceive of the several idioms of the Greec language formerly, in Greece itself properly so call'd, in Macedonia, in Crete and the Ilands of the Archipelago, in Asia, Rhodes, part of Italy, in Sicily, and Marseilles; and at this time of the Sclavonian language, whose dialects not only prevail in Russia, Poland, Bohemia, Carinthia, and Servia, but in a great many other places, too tedious to recite. But of this subject we shall treat professedly in a (2) *Dissertation*, to be annex'd to the work, whereof I am giving your lordship an account. Neither shall I in this Specimen dwell on some things, whereof I shall principally and largely treat in the designed History; I mean the Philosophy of the Druids concerning the Gods, human Souls, Nature in general, and in particular the heavenly Bodies, their magnitudes, motions, distances, and duration; whereof CÆSAR, DIODORUS SICULUS, STRABO, POMPONIUS MELA, and AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS write more specially than others. These subjects, I say, will be copiously handled and commented in my History. In the mean time I do assure you, My Lord, from all authors, that no Heathen Priesthood ever came up to the perfection of the Druidical, which was far more exquisite than any other such system; as having been much better calculated to beget ignorance, and an implicit disposi-

(2) A DISSERTATION *concerning the Celtic Language and Colonies.*

tion in the people, no less than to procure power and profit to the priests, which is one grand difference between the true worship and the false. This Western Priesthood did infinitely exceed that of ZOROASTER, and all the Eastern sacred policy: so that, the *History of the Druids*, in short, is, *the complete History of Priestcraft*, with all its reasons and ressorts; which to distinguish accurately from right religion, is not only the interest of all wise princes and states, but likewise does especially concern the tranquillity and happiness of every private person. I have used the word Priestcraft here on purpose, not merely as being the best expression for the designed abuse, and reverse of religion, (for superstition is only religion misunderstood) but also because the coining of the very word was occasioned by the DRUIDS: since the Anglo-Saxons having learnt the word *Dry* (3) from the Irish and Britons for a *Magician*, did very appositely call *Magic* or Inchantment *Drycræft* (4); as being nothing else but trick and illusion, the fourbery of Priests and their confederates.

III. Now, this Institution of the Druids I think myself, without any consciousness of vanity, much abler to retrieve (as having infinitely better helps in many respects, of which, before I have done) than Dr. HYDE was to restore the knowledge of the ancient Persian Literature and Religion; which yet he left imperfect for want of due encouragement, as I have

(3) Pronounced as *Dree* in English.

(4) *Dry* magus, *Drycræft* incantatio, *Ælfric. in Glossar.*

shown in the first chapter of *Nazarenus*. From undoubted Celtic monuments, join'd to the Greec and Roman remains, I can display the order of their Hierarchy, from the ARCH-DRUID down to the meanest of their four orders of Priests. Of these degrees, the ARCH-DRUID excepted, there's little to be found in the Classic authors, that treat of the Druids: but very much and very particularly, in the Celtic writings and monuments. For many reasons their History is most interesting and entertaining: I mean, as on the one hand we consider them seducing their followers, and as on the other hand we learn not to be so deceiv'd. They dextrously led the people blindfold, by committing no part of their Theology or Philosophy to writing, tho' great writers in other respects; but their dictates were only hereditarily convey'd from masters to disciples by traditionary Poems, interpretable (consequently) and alterable as they shou'd see convenient: which is a much more effectual way, than locking up a book from the Laity, that, one way or other, is sure to come first or last to their knowledge, and easy perhaps to be turn'd against the Priests. The Druids, as may be seen in the 6th book of CÆSAR'S *Commentaries*, drew the decision of all controversies of Law and Equity to themselves, the distribution of all punishments and rewards; from the power that was first given, or afterwards assumed by them, of determining matters of Ceremony and Religion. Most terrible were the effects of the Druidical (5) Excommunication

(5) If the learned reader, who knows any of the passages, or the unlearned reader who wants authorities for proving

on any man, that did not implicitly follow their directions, and submit to their decrees: not only to the excluding of private persons from all benefits of society, and even from society itself; but also to the deposing of the princes who did not please them, and often devoting them to destruction. Nor less intolerable was their power of engaging the nation in war, or of making a disadvantageous and dishonourable peace; while they had the address to get themselves exempted from bearing arms, paying taxes, or contributing any thing to the public but *charms:* and yet to have their persons reputed sacred and inviolable, by those even of the contrary side, which veneration however was not always strictly paid. These privileges allur'd great numbers to enter into their communities, for such Sodalities or Fraternities they had; and to take on them the Druidical profession, to be perfect in which, did sometimes cost them twenty years study. Nor ought this to seem a wonder, since to arrive at perfection in Sophistry requires a long habit, as well as in juggling, in which last they were very ex-

the following assertions, should wonder I do not always cite them; let it be known to both, that as in this *Specimen* I commonly touch but the heads of things (and not of all things neither) so I would not crowd the margin with long passages, nor yet curtail what in my *History* shall be produced at large: and therefore all the following citations (the original manner of writing Celtic words excepted) are either samples of the quotations I shall give, or proofs of what I would not for a moment have suspected to be precariously advanced, or, finally, for the better understanding of certain matters which come in by way of digression or illustration. Otherwise they wou'd not be necessary in a mere Specimen, though in a finished work indispensable.

pert: but to be masters of both, and withal to learn the art of managing the mob, which is vulgarly called *leading the people by the nose*, demands abundant study and exercise.

IV. The children of the several kings, with those of all the nobility, were committed to the tuition of the Druids, whereby they had an opportunity (contrary to all good politics) of moulding and framing them to their own private interests and purposes; considering which direction of Education, *Patric*, had they been a *landed clergy*, wou'd not have found the conversion of Ireland so easy a task. So easy indeed it was, that the Heathen monarch *Laogirius* (who, as some assert, was never himself converted) and all the provincial kings, granted to every man free liberty of preaching and professing Christianity. So that, as *Giraldus Cambrensis* remarks, this is the only country of Christians, where nobody was obliged to suffer (6) Martyrdom for the *gospel*. This justice therefore I wou'd do to Ireland, even if it had not been my country, *viz.* to maintain that this tolerating principle, this *impartial liberty* (ever since unexampled there as well as elsewhere, China excepted) is a far greater honour to it, than whatever thing most glorious or magnificent can be

(6) *Omnes sancti terrae istius confessores sunt, & nullus martyr; quod in alio regno Christiano difficile erit invenire. Mirum itaque quod gens crudelissima & sanguinis sitibunda, fides ab antiquo fundata & semper tepidissima, pro Christi ecclesia corona martyrii nulla. Non igitur inventus est in partibus istis, qui ecclesiae surgentis fundamenta sanguinis effusione cementaret: non fuit, qui faceret hoc bonum; non fuit usque ad unum.* Topograph. Hibern. Distinct. 3. cap. 29.

said of any other country in the world. *Girald* on the contrary (as in his days they were wont to over-rate Martyrdom, Celibacy, and the like, much above the positive duties of religion) thinks it a reproach to the Irish, *That none of their Saints cemented the foundations of the growing Church with their blood, all of them being Confessors,* (says he,) *and not one able to boast of the crown of Martyrdom.* But who sees not the vanity and absurdity of this charge? It is blaming the princes and people for their reasonableness, moderation and humanity; as it is taxing the new Converts for not seditiously provoking them to persecute, and for not madly running themselves to a voluntary death, which was the unjustifiable conduct of many elsewhere in the primitive times of Christianity. 'Tis on much better grounds, tho' with a childish and nauseous jingle, that he accuses the Irish Clergy of his own time: and so far am I from being an enemy to the clergy, that I heartily wish the like could not be said of any clergy, whether there, or here, or elsewhere, from that time to this. Well then: what is it? *They are Pastors,* (says he) (7), *who seek not to feed, but to be fed: Prelates, who desire not to profit, but to preside: Bishops, who embrace not the nature, but the name; not the burden, but the bravery of their profession.* This, My Lord, I reckon to be no digression from my subject, since what little opposition there happen'd to be in Ireland to

(7) *Sunt enim pastores, qui non pascere quaerunt, sed pasci: sunt praelati, qui non prodesse cupiunt, sed praesse: sunt episcopi, qui non omen, sed nomen; non onus, sed honorem amplectuntur.* Id. Ibid.

Christianity, was wholly made by the Druids, or at their instignation: and that when they perceiv'd this new religion like to prevail, none came into it speedier, or made a more advantageous figure in it, than they. The Irish however have their *Martyrologies* (lest this shou'd be objected by some trifler) but they are of such of their nation as suffered in other countries, or under the Heathen Danes in their own country, some hundreds of years after the total conversion of it to Christianity.

V. Those advantages we have nam'd in the two last Sections, and many the like articles, with the Druids pretences to work miracles, to foretel events by augury and otherwise, to have familiar intercourse with the gods (highly confirm'd by calculating Eclipses) and a thousand impostures of the same (8) nature, I can by irrefragable authorities set in such a light, that all of the like kind may to every one appear in as evident a view; which, as I hinted before, cannot but be very serviceable both to religion and morality. For true religion does not consist in cunningly devis'd fables, in authority, dominion, or pomp; but in spirit and in truth, in simplicity and social virtue, in a filial love and reverence, not in a servile dread and terror of the Divinity. As the fundamental Law of a Historian is, daring to say whatever is true, and

(8) The heads of the two last Sections, with these here mentioned (though conceived in few words) will yet each make a separate chapter in the *History*; this present *Specimen* being chiefly intended for modern instances, as by the seqnel will appear.

not daring to write any falsehood; neither being swayed by love or hatred, nor gain'd by favour or interest: so he ought of course to be as a man of no time or country, of no sect or party; which I hope the several nations concern'd in this enquiry, will find to be particularly true of me. But if in clearing up antient rites and customs, with the origin and institution of certain religious or civil societies (long since extinct,) any communities or orders of men, now in being, should think themselves touched; they ought not to impute it to design in the author, but to the conformity of things, if indeed there be any real resemblance: and, in case there be none at all, they should not make people apt to suspect there is, by crying out tho' they are not hurt. I remember, when complaint was made against an honourable person (9), that, in treating of the Heathen Priests, he had whipt some Christian Priests on their backs; all the answer he made, was only asking, *What made them get up there?* The benefit of which answer I claim before-hand to myself, without making or needing any other apology. Yet if the correspondence of any Priests with heaven be as slenderly grounded as that of the Druids, if their miracles be as fictitious and fraudulent, if their love of riches be as immoderate, if their thirst after power be as insatiable, and their exercise of it be as partial and tyrannical over the Laity: then, I am not only content they should be touched, whether I thought of them or not; but, that they should be blasted too, without the pos-

(9) Sir Robert Howard.

sibility of ever sprouting up again. For truth will but shine the brighter, the better its counterfeits are shewn: and all that I can do to shew my candour, is to leave the reader to make such applications himself, seldom making any for him; since he that is neither clear-sighted, nor quick enough of conception to do so, may to as good purpose read the *Fairy-tales* as this history.

VI. Besides this impartial disposition, the competent knowledge I have of the Northern languages, dead and living (though I shall prove, that no Druids, except such as towards their latter end fled thither for refuge, or that went before with Celtic invaders or colonies, were ever among the Gothic nations) I say, these languages will not a little contribute to the perfection of my work, for a reason that may with more advantage appear in the book itself. But the knowledge of the ancient Irish, which I learnt from my childhood, and of the other Celtic dialects, in all which I have printed books or manuscripts (not to speak of their vulgar Traditions) is absolutely necessary; these having preserved numberless monuments concerning the Druids, that never hitherto have come to the hands of the learned. For as the Institutions of the Druids were formerly better learnt in Britain, by CÆSAR said to be the native seat of this superstitious race, than in Gaule where yet it exceedingly flourished: so their memory is still best preserved in Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland, comprehending the *Hebridæ*, *Hebrides*, or Western Isles, among which is the *Isle of Man*; where they continued long after their extermination in

Gaule and South-Britain, mostly by the Romans, but finally by the introduction of Christianity. Besides, that much of the Irish Heathen Mythology is still ex tant in verse, which gives such a lustre to this matter, and of course to the Greek and Roman Fragments concerning the Druids, as could not possibly be had any other way.

VII. Thus (to give an example in the Philological part) the controversy among the Grammarians, whether they should write *Druis* or (10) *Druida* in the nominative case singular, can only be decided by the Irish writings, as you may see demonstrated in the margin; where all Grammatical remarks shall be inserted among the other *Notes* of the *History*, if they do not properly belong to the annexed *Dissertation concerning the Celtic Language and Colonies.* This conduct I observe, to avoid any disagreeable stop or perplexity in

(10) The Irish word for Druid is *Drui*, corruptly *Droi*, and more corruptly *Draoi*; yet all of the same sound, which in Etymologies is a great matter; and in the nominative plural it is *Druidhe*, whence comes no doubt the Greek and Latin *Druides*; as *Druis* in the singular was formed by only adding *s* to *Drui*, according to those nation's way of terminating. But as these words in Irish as well as the British *Drudion*, are common to both sexes; so the Romans, according to their inflection, distinguished *Druida* for a She-Druid (which sort are mentioned by authors) whereof the nominative plural being *Druidæ*, it ought by us to be used in that sense only: and so I conclude, that in our modern Latin compositions *Druides* and *Druidæ* should not be confounded; as they have frequently been by the Transcribers of old writings, who mislead others. We are not to be moved therefore by reading *Druidæ* in any Latin author in the masculine gender, or in the Greek writers, who certainly used it so. All equivocation at least will be thus taken away.

the work itself, by uncouth words or of difficult pronunciation. For as every thing in the Universe is the Subject of writing, so an author ought to treat of every subject smoothly and correctly, as well as pertinently and perspicuosly: nor ought he to be void of ornament and Elegance, where his matter peculiarly requires it. Some things want a copious stile, some a concise; others to be more floridly, others to be more plainly handl'd: but all to be properly, methodically, and handsomely exprest. Neglecting these particulars, is neglecting, and consequently affronting, the reader. Let a Lady be as well-shap'd as you can fancy, let all her features be faultless, and her complexion be ever so delicate: yet if she be careless of her person, tawdry in her dress, or aukward in her gate and behavior, a man of true taste is so far from being touched with the charms of her body, that he is immediately prepossest against the beauties of her mind; and apt to believe there can be no order within, where there is so much disorder without. In my opinion therefore, the *Muses* themselves are never agreeable company without the *Graces*. Or if, as your Lordship's stile is remarkably strong, you wou'd, with (11) CICERO, take this simile from a man; you'll own 'tis not enough to make him be lik'd, that he has well-knit bones, nerves and sinews: there must be likewise proportion, muscling, and coloring, much blood, and some softness. To relate facts without their circumstances, whereon depends all instruction; is to exhibit a skeleton without the flesh, wherein consists all comeliness. This I say

(11) *De Oratore*, lib. 1.

to your Lordship, not pretending to teach the art of writing to one, who's so fit to be my master; but to obviate the censures of those, and to censure 'em in their turns, who not only do not treat of such subjects as I have now undertaken in a flowing and continu'd stile, but peremtorily deny the fields of Antiquity and Criticism to be capable of this culture: and indeed as suffering under the drudgery of their hands, they generally become barren heaths or unpassable thickets; where you are blinded with sand, or torn with bryars and brambles. There's no choice of words or expressions. All is low and vulgar, or obsolete and musty; as the whole discourse is crabbed, hobbling, and jejune. Not that I wou'd have too much license taken in this respect; for though none ought to be slaves to any set of words, yet great judgement is to be employ'd in creating a new, or reviving an old word: nor must there be less discretion in the use of figures and sentences; which, like embroidery and salt, are to set off and season, but not to render the cloth invisible, or the meat uneatable. To conclude this point, we are told by the most eloquent of men, that a profuse (12) volubility, and a sordid exility of words, are to be equally avoided. And now after this digression, if any thing that essentially relates to my task can be properly call'd one, I return to the Druids, who were so prevalent in Ireland, that to this hour their ordinary word for Magician is *Druid* (13), the art Magic, is

(12) CICERO *de Oratore*, lib. 1.

(13) *Drui.*

call'd *Druidity* (14), and the wand, which was one of the badges of their profession, *the rod of Druidism* (15). Among antient Classic authors Pliny is the most express concerning the Magic of the Druids, whereof the old Irish and British books are full: which Legerdemain, or secrets of natural Philosophy, as all magic is either the one or the other, or both, we shall endeavour to lay open in our history of the Druids; not forgetting any old author that mentions them, for there's something particular to be learnt in every one of them, as they touch different circumstances. Having occasionally spoken of the Wand or Staff which every Druid carry'd in his hand, as one of the badges of his profession, and which in a chapter on this subject will be shewn to have been a usual thing with all pretenders to magic, I must here acquaint you further, that each of 'em had what was commonly call'd the *Druid's Egg*, which shall be explain'd in the history, hung about his neck, inchas'd in gold. They all wore short hair, while the rest of the natives had theirs very long; and, on the contrary, they wore long beards, while other people shav'd all theirs, but the upper lip. They likewise all wore long habits; as did the Bards and the Vaids: but the Druids had on a white surplice, whenever they religiously officiated. In Ireland they, with the graduate Bards and Vaids, had the privilege of wearing six colours in their *Breacans* or robes, which were the striped Braccae of the Gauls, still worn by the Highlanders, whereas the king and

(14) *Druidheacht.*

(15) *Slatnan Druidheacht.*

queen might have in theirs but seven, lords and ladies five, governors of fortresses four, officers and young gentlemen of quality three, common soldiers two, and common people one. This sumtuary law most of the Irish historians say, was enackted under King (16) *Achaius* the 1st.; tho'. others, who will have this to be but the reviving of an old law, maintain it was first established by king *Tigernmhas*.

VIII. As the Druids were commonly wont to retire into grots, dark woods, mountains, and (17) groves, in which last they had their numerous schools, not without houses as some have foolishly dreamt, so many such places in France, Britain, and Ireland, do still bear their names: as *Dreux*, the place of their annual general assembly in France; *Kerig-y-Drudion*, or Druid-stones, a parish so call'd in Denbighshire, from a couple of their altars there still remaining. In Anglesey there is the village of *Tre'r Driu*, the town of the Druid, next to which is *Tre'r Beirdh* or Bards-town: as also in another place of the same island *Maen-y-Druu*, that is, the Druid's stone; and *Caer-Dreuin*, or the city of the Druids, in Merioneth-shire. The places in Ireland and the Hebrides are infinite. The present ignorant vulgar, in the first of the last-mention'd places, do believe, that those inchanters were at last themselves inchanted by their

(16) Eochaid Eudghathach.

(17) These Groves for pleasure and retirement, as well as for awe and reverence, were different from the lurking places in forests and caves, into which they were forc'd when interdicted in Gaule and Britain.

Apostle Patric and his disciples, miraculously confining them to the places that so bear their names; where they are thought to retain much power, and sometimes to appear, which are (18) fancies like the English notion of Fairies. Thus the Druid O Mumin inhabits the hill of Creag-a-Vanny, in Inisoen; Aunius (19) in Benavny from him so call'd in the county of Londonderry, and Gealcossa, (20) in Gealcossa's mount in Inisoen aforesaid in the county of Dunegall. This last was a Druidess, and her name is of the Homerical strain, signifying *White-legg'd* (21). On this hill is her grave, the true inchantment which confines her, and hard by is her temple; being a sort of diminutive Stone-henge, which many of the old Irish dare not even at this day any way prophane. I shall discover such things about these temples, whereof multitudes are still existing, many of them entire, in the Hebrides, in Orkney, and on the opposie Continent; as also many in Wales, in Jersey and Guernsey, and some in England and Ireland, the most remarkable to be accurately describ'd and delineated in our history, I shall discover such things, I say, about the famous Egg of the Druids, to the learned hitherto a riddle, not to speak of their magical gems and herbs: as also a-

(18) Such fancies came from the hiding of the persecuted Druids, from the reign of TIBERIUS, who made the first law against them (having been discountenanced by AUGUSTUS) but strictly put in execution by CLAUDIUS, and the following Emperors, till their utter extirpation by the general conversion of the people to Christianity.

(19) AIBHNE or OIBHNE.

(20) GEALCHOSSACH.

(21) *Cnuc na* GEALCHOSSAIGH.

bout their favourite All-heal or (22) Misselto, gather'd with so much ceremony by a Priest in his white Surplice, as PLINY (23) tells us, and with a gold pruning-knife; as well as about the abstrusest parts of their Philosophy and Religion, that the like has not yet appear'd in any author, who has treated of them. The books of such are either bare collections of fragments, or a heap of precarious fables; I mean especially some French writers on this subject, as PICARD, FORCATULUS, GUENEBAUT, with others of no better allay in Britain and Germany; for as I admit nothing without good authority, so I justly expect, that, without as good, nothing will be admitted from me.

IX. But, My Lord, besides these Druids, the antient Gauls, Britons, and Irish, had another order of learned men, call'd Bards, whereof we shall sufficiently discourse in our propos'd work. *Bard* is still the Irish and Scottish word, as *Bardh* the Armoric and British. There's no difference in the pronunciation, tho', according to their different manner of writing in expressing the power of the letters, they vary a little in the orthography (24). The Bards were divided into

(22) All these heads will be so many intire Chapters.

(23) *Sacerdos, canaida veste cultus, arborem scandit: falce aurea demetit.* Hist. Nat. Lib. 16. Cap. 44.

(24) Let it be noted once for all, that as in other tongues, so in Irish and Welsh particularly, *t* and *d* are commonly put for each other, by reason of their affinity; and that *dh* and *gh* being pronounc'd alike in Irish, and therefore often confounded, yet an exact writer will always have regard to the origin as well as to the analogy of any word: and so he'll write *Druidhe* (for example) and not *Druighe*, much less *Draoithe* broadly and aspirately; nor will he use any other

three orders or degrees ; namely, to give an example now in the British dialect, as I shall give their turns to all the Celtic colonies, *Privardh*, *Posvardh*, and *Aruyvardh :* but, with regard to the subjects whereof they treated, they were call'd *Prududh*, or *Tevluur*, or *Clerur;* which words, with the equivalent Irish names, shall be explain'd in our history, where you'll find this division of the Bards well warranted. The first were Chronologers, the second Heralds, and the third Comic or Satyrical Poets among the vulgar : for the second sort did sing the praises of great men in the heroic strain, very often at the head of armies, like him in VIRGIL

> *Cretea musarum comitem, cui carmina semper*
> *Et citharae cordi, numerosque intendere nervis ;*
> *Semper equos, atq ; arma virum, pugnasq ; canebat :*
> VIRG. AEN. Lib. 9.

And the first, who likewise accompany'd them in peace, did historically register their genealogies and atchievments. We have some proofs that the panegyrics of the Gallic Bards did not always want wit no more than flattery ; and particularly an instance out of *Atheneus*, who had it from *Posidonius* the Stoic, concerning (26) *Luernius*, a Gallic Prince, extraordinary

mispellings, tho' ever so common in books. This is well observ'd by an old author, who writing of CONLA a heathen freethinking Judge of Connacht, thus characterizes him ; *Se do rinne an choinbhliocht ris na Druidhibh :* 'twas he that disputed against the Druids. These Criticisms, some wou'd say, are trifles : but

Hae nugae in seria ducunt.

[26] Whether it be LUERNIUS, or as STRABO writes it

rich, liberal, and magnificent. He was the father of that same *Bittus*, who was beaten by the Romans. Now this *Luernius*, says (27) my author, "Having "appointed a certain day for a feast, and one of the "Barbarous Poets coming too late, met him as he "was departing; whereupon he began to sing his "praises and to extol his grandeur, but to lament "his own unhappy delay. *Luernius* being delighted, "call'd for a purse of Gold, which he threw to him, "as he ran by the side of his chariot: and he taking "it up, began to sing again to this purpose; THAT "OUT OF THE TRACKS HIS CHARIOT HAD PLOW'D ON THE "GROUND, SPRUNG UP GOLD AND BLESSINGS TO MAN-"KIND." As some of the Gallic Bards were truly ingenious, so were many of them mere quiblers: and among the bombast of the British and Irish Bards, there want not infinite instances of the true sublime. Their Epigrams were admirable, nor do the modern Italians equal them in conceits. But in stirring the passions, their Elegies and Lamentations far excede those of the Greecs, because they express nature much more naturally. These bards are not yet quite extinct, there being of them in Wales, in the Highlands of Scotland, and in Ireland: nor did any country in the world abound like the last with this sort of

LUERIUS, the name is frequent either way in the antientest Irish Writers, as LOARN, and LUIRE or LUIGHAIRE.

(27) Aphorisantos d' autou prothesmian pote tes thoines, aphysteresanta tina ton Barbaron poieten aphikesthai; kai synantesanta met' odes hymnein autou ten hyperocheu, heauton d' hypothreinein hoti hysterēke: tonde terphthenta thylakion aitesai chrysiou, kai ripsai auto paratrechonti; anelomenon de ekeinon palin hymnein, legonta, dio kai ta ichne tes ges (eph' hes harmatelatei) chryson kai euergesias anthropois pherei. *Edit. Lugd. Lib.* 4. *Pag.* 152.

men, whose licentious panegyrics or satyrs have not a little contributed to breed confusion in the Irish history. There were often at a time, a thousand *Ollaws* (28) or graduate Poets, besides a proportionable number of inferior Rhymers, who all of 'em liv'd most of the year on free cost: and, what out of fear of their railing, or love of their flattery, no body durst deny them any thing, be it armour, fewel, horse, mantle, or the like; which grew into a general custom, whereof the Poets did not fail to take the advantage. The great men, out of self-love and interest, encourag'd no other kind of learning, especially after they professed Christianity: the good regulation, under which they were in the time of Druidism, as then in some manner belonging to the temples, having been destroyed with that religion. In a small time they became such a grievance, that several attempts were made to rid the nation of them: and, which is something comical, what at least our present Poets would not extraordinarly like, the orders for banishing them were always to the Highlands of Scotland; while they were as often harbour'd in Ulster, till upon promise of amendment of their manners I mean and not of their poetry, they were permitted to return to the other provinces. At last, in a general national assembly, or parliament, at Drumcat, (29) in the country we now call the county of Londonderry, under [30] *Aidus Anmireus*, XIth. Christian king, in the year 597, where

(28) *Ollamh* is a Professor or Doctor in any faculty.

(29) *Druim-ceat* alias *Druimcheat*.

[30] AODHMHAC AINMHIRE.

was also present (31) *Adius* king of Scotland and the great (32) *Columba*, it was decreed: that for the better preservation of their history, genealogies, and the purity of their language, the supreme monarch, and the subordinate kings, with every lord of a cantred, should entertain a Poet of his own, no more being allowed by the antient law in the iland; and that upon each of these and their posterity a portion of land, free from all duties, shou'd be settl'd for ever; that, for encouraging the learning these Poets and Antiquaries profest, public Schools shou'd be appointed and endow'd, under the national inspection; and that the Monarch's own Bard should be Arch-poet (33), and have super-intendency over the rest. 'Tis a common mistake, into which father *Pezron* has fallen among others, that the Bards belonged to the body of the Druids: but this is not the place to rectify it. They made hymns for the use of the temples, 'tis true, and manag'd the music there; but they were the Druids that officiated as Priests, and no sacrifices were offer'd but by their ministry.

X. In the *History* likewise shall be fully explain'd the third order of the Celtic Lilerati, by the Greecs called Ouateis, and by the Romans Vates; which yet is neither Greec nor Roman, but a mere Celtic word, *viz.* Faidh, which signifies to this day a prophet in all Irish books, and in the common language, particularly in the

(31) Aodhanmhac Gaurain.

(32) Coluim-cille.

(33) *Ard-Ollamh.*

Irish translation of the Bible ; where *Druids* (34) are also commonly put for Inchanters, as those of Egypt, and especially for the *Mages*, or as we translate, *the wise men* (35) that came from the East, to visit JESUS in his cradle. So easily do men convey their own ideas into other men's books, or find 'em there ; which has been the source of infinite mistakes, not onely in Divinity, but also in Philosophy and Philology. The Celtic (36) VAIDS were Physicians and Diviners, great proficients in natural Philosophy, as were likewise the *Druids*, who had the particular inspection of Morals, but CICERO, who was well acquainted with one of the prime *Druids*, remarks, that their predictions were as much grounded on (37) conjecture, as on the rules of Augury : both equally fortuitous and fallacious. For the saying of EURIPIDES will ever hold true, that (38)

(34) *Draoithe.* Exod. 7. 11. Anois Draoithe na Hegipte dorinnedursanfos a anmodhgceadnal nan droigheachtuibh.

(35) Mat. 2. 1. Feuch Tangadar Draoithe o nairdshoir go Hiarusalem.

(36) The word is *Faidh* (or *Vait* by the usual conversion of the Letters *F* into *V* and *D* into *T*) whence the Latins made *Vates* ; and their Critics acknowledge, that they took many words from the Gauls. The *Euchages* and *Eubages*, in some copies of AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, are false readings, as in time will appear. So are *Drusi*, *Drusides*, and *Drusiades* for *Druides :* as likewise *Vardi*, from the Brittish and Irish oblique cases of *Bard.*

(37) *Siquidem & in Gallia Druides sunt, e quibus ipse* DIVITIACUM *Aeduum, hospitem tuum' laudatoremque, cognovi* (inquit QUINTUS) *qui & naturae rationem, quam physiologiam Graeci appellant, notam esse sibi profitebatur ; & partim Auguriis, partim conjectura, quae essent futura dicebat.* De Divinat. lib. 1. cap. 41.

(38) Mantis aristos, hostis eikazei kalos.

the best guesser is the best Prophet. He that is nearly acquainted with the state of affairs, that understands the springs of human actions, and, that, judiciously allowing for circumstances, compares the present time with the past: he, I say, will make a shrewd guess at the future. By this time, My Lord, you begin to perceive what is to be the subject of the *History* I intend to write; which, tho' a piece of general learning and great curiosity, yet I shall make it my business so to digest: as to render it no less intertaining than instructive to all sorts of readers, without excepting the ladies, who are pretty much concern'd in this matter; throwing, as I told you before, all my Critical observavations, and Disquisitions about words, into the margin, or the *Dissertation* annext to the *History*. As to what I say of the ladies being concern'd in this *History*, there were not only *Druidesses*; but some even of the highest rank, and Princesses themselves were educated by the Druids: for in our own *Annals* we read, that the two daughters of king (39) *Laogirius*, in whose reign Patric preach'd Christianity, were educated by them; and we have the particulars of a long dispute those young ladies maintained against this new Religion, very natural but very subtil. Several other ladies bred under the Druids became famous for their writings and proficiency in learning, of some of whom we shall occasionally give an account: but lest I shou'd be thought in every thing to flatter the Sex, how much soever I respect them, I refer the reader to a story in my third Letter. But, in order to complete my design,

(39) LAOGHAIRE.

so as to leave no room for any to write on this subject after me ; and also to procure several valuable Manuscripts, or authentic copies of them, well knowing where they ly, I purpose towards the Spring to take a journey for at least six months : which, at our next meeting, I shall do myself the honour to impart to your Lordship very particularly.

XI. The Irish, a few Scandinavian and Danish words excepted, being not only a Dialect of the antient Celtic or Gallic, but being also liker the mother than her other daughter the British ; and the Irish Manuscripts being more numerous and much antienter than the Welsh, shows beyond all contradiction the necessity of this language for retrieving the knowledge of the Celtic Religion and Learning. CAMDEN and others have long since taken notice of the agreement between the present British and those old Gallic words collected by learned men out of Greec and Roman authors : and the industrious Mr. EDWARD LHUYD, late keeper of the *Museum* at Oxford, perceiv'd this affinity between the same words and the Irish, even before he study'd that language, by the demonstration I gave him of the same in all the said instances. Nor does he deny this agreement in *the comparative Etymologicon* he afterwards made of those languages, where he quotes CAMDEN and BOXHORNIUS affirming it about the Gallic and British; *but there being*, says he (40), *no Vocabulary extant*, meaning no doubt in print, *of the Irish, or antient Scottish, they cou'd not collate that language therewith, which the*

(40) In the preface to his *Archæologia Britannica*, pag. 1.

curious in these studies will now find to agree rather more than ours, with the Gaulish. That it does so, is absolute fact, as will be seen by hundreds of instances in this present work. I am aware that what I am going to say will sound very oddly, and seem more than a paradox; but I deserve, My Lord, and shall be content with your severest censure, if, before you have finish'd reading these sheets, you be not firmly of the same mind yourself: namely, that, without the knowledge of the Irish language and books, the Gallic Antiquities, not meaning the Francic, can never be set in any tolerable light, with regard either to words or to things; and numerous occasions there will occur in this *History* of illustrating both words and things even in the Greec and Roman authors. I shall here give one example of this, since I just come from treating of the several professors of learning common to the antient Gauls, Britons, and Scots, *viz.* the Druids, Bards, and Vaids. *Lucian* (41) relates that in Gaule he saw HERCULES represented as a little old man, whom in the language of the country they call'd OGMIUS; drawing after him an infinite multitude of persons, who seem'd most willing to follow, tho' drag'd by extreme fine and almost imperceptible chains: which were fasten'd at the one end to their ears, and held at the other, not in either of HERCULES's hands, which were both otherwise imploy'd; but ty'd to the tip of his tongue, in which there was a hole on purpose, where all those chains center'd. *Lucian* wondering at this manner of portray-

(41) Ton Heraclea hoi Keltoi OGMION onomazousi phone tē ephichōric, *et quæ sequuntur in* HERCULE GALLICO: *Græca etenim longiora sunt, quam ut hic commode inseri possint.*

ing HERCULES, was inform'd by a learned Druid who stood by, that HERCULES did not in Gaule, as in Greece, betoken *Strength of Body*, but the *Force of Eloquence*; which is there very beautifully display'd by the Druid, in his explication of the picture that hung in the temple. Now, the Critics of all nations have made a heavy pother about this same word OGMIUS, and laboriously sought for the meaning of it every where, but just where it was to be found. The most celebrated BOCHART, who, against the grain of nature, if I may so speak, wou'd needs reduce all things to Phenician; says it is an oriental word, since the Arabians (42) call strangers and barbarians *Agemion:* as if, because the Phenicians traded antiently to Gaule and the British Ilands, for Colonies in them they planted none, they must have also imported their language; and, with their other commodities, barter'd it for something to the natives, naming their places, their men, and their Gods for them. Our present Britons, who are at least as great traders, do not find they can do so in Phenicia, nor nearer home in Greece and Italy, nor yet at their own doors in this very Gaule: besides that *Lucian* does positively affirm OGMIUS was a Gallic word, *a word* (43) *of the country*. This has not hinder'd a learned English Physician, Dr. EDMUND DICKENSON, from hunting still in the East for a derivation of it; conjecturing HER-

(42) In *Geographia Sacra, sive Canaan*, part. 2. cap. 42.

(43) Phonē te epichoriō. *Ubi supra.*

CULES to be (44) JOSHUA, who was surnamed OGMIUS, for having conquer'd OG King of Bashan:

> *O! sanctas gentes! quibus haec nascuntur in hortis Numina.*
>
> JUVENAL. *Sat.* 15 ver. 10.

I could make your Lordship yet merryer, or rather angrier, at these forc'd and far-fetch'd Etymologies, together with others hammer'd as wretchedly out of Greec, nay even out of Suedish and German. But the word OGMIUS, as *Lucian* was truely inform'd, is pure Celtic; and signifies, to use TACITUS's (45) phrase about the Germans, *the Secret of Letters*, particularly the Letters themselves, and consequently the learning that depends on them, from whence the *Force of Eloquence* procedes: so that HERCULES OGMIUS is *the learned* HERCULES, or HERCULUS *the protector of learning*, having by many been reputed himself a (46) Philosopher. To prove this account of the word, so natural and so apt, be pleas'd to understand, that, from the very beginning of the Colony, OGUM, sometimes written

(44) JOSUAM *quoque spectasse videtur illud nomen, quo Galli antiquitus* HERCULEM *nuncupabant. Unde vero* Ogmios? *Annon ab* Og *victo?* Delph. Phœnicizant. cap. 3.

(45) *Literarum Secreta viri pariter ac foeminae ingnorant.* De moribus Germanorum, cap. 19.

(46) En de tois chronois tēs Basileias tou Phoinikos ēn Heraclēs ho Philosophos Tyrios hostis epheure ten congchylēn, &c. *Palaephati fragmentum in Cronico Alexandrino.* Heraclēs Alkmēnēs hyios, Touton Philosophon hystorousi, &c. *Suidas in Voce* Heraclēs. *Et diu ante Suidam audiebat apud Heraclitum,* in *Allegoriis Homericis,* Anēr emphron, kai sophias ouraniou mystes, hosperei kata Batheias achlyos epithēdykyian ephotize ten philosophian, Kathaper homologousi kai Stoikōn hoi dokimōtatoi.

Ogam, and also (47) Ogma, has signify'd in Ireland the Secret of Letters, or the Irish Alphabet; for the truth of which I appeal to all the antient Irish books, without a single exception. 'Tis one of the most authentic words of the language, and originally stands for this notion alone. Indeed after Patric had converted the nation, and, for the better propagating of Christian books, introduc'd the use of the Roman letters, instead of the antient manner of writing, their primitive letters, very different from those they now use, began by degrees to grow obsolete; and at last legible only by Antiquaries and other curious men, to whom they stood in as good stead as any kind of occult characters: whence it happen'd that *Ogum*, from signifying the *secret of writing*, came to signify *secret writing*, but still principally meaning the original Irish Characters. There are several Manuscript Treatises extant, describing and teaching the various methods of this Secret Writing; as one in the College-Library of (48) Dublin, and another in that of his Grace the Duke of (49) *Chandois*. Sir *James Ware*, in his *Antiquities of Ireland*, relating how *the antient Irish did, besides the vulgar characters, practise also divers ways and arts of occult writing, call'd* Ogum, *in which they wrote their*

(47) As in the Dublin College Manuscript, to be presently cited.

(48) 'Tis, among other pieces, in *the Book of Ballimore*; being the 255th volume in the Dublin Catalogue, in parchment, folio, D. 18.

(49) *Anonymi cujusdam Tractatus de variis apud Hibernos veteres occultis scribendi formulis, Hibernice* Ogum *dictis.*

secrets; I have, continues (50) he, *an antient parchment book full of these*, which is the same just now said to belong to the Duke of *Chandois:* and *Dudley* (51) *Forbes*, a hereditary Antiquary, wrote to the rather laborious than judicious Chronologist (52) *O Flaherty*, in the Year 1683, that he had some of the primitive (53) *Birch-tables*, for those they had before the use of parchment or paper, and many sorts of the old occult writing by him. These are principally the *Ogham-beith*, the *Ogham-coll*, and the (54) *Ogham-craoth*, which last is the old one and the true. But that the primary Irish letters, the letters first in common use, which in the manner we have shown, became accidentally occult, were originally meant by the word *Ogum;* besides the appeal made above to all antient authors, is plain in particular from *Forchern*, a noted Bard and Philosopher, who liv'd a little before *Christ*. This learned man ascribing with others the invention of letters to the Phenicians, or rather more strictly and properly to *Phenix*, whom the Irish call *Fenius farsaidh*, or *Phenix the antient*, says, that, among other Alphabets, as the Hebrew, Greec, and Latin, he also compos'd that of (55) *Bethluisnion an Oghum*, the *Alphabet*

(50) *Præter characteres vulgares utebantur etiam veteres Hiberni variis occultis scribendi formulis seu artificiis*, Ogum *dictis, quibus secreta sua scribebant: his refertum habeo libellum membranaceum antiquum.* Cap. 2.

(51) DUALTACH MHAC FIRBIS.

(52) RUDHRUIGH O FLAITH-BHEARTUIGH.

(53) Ogygia, *part.* 3. *cap.* 30.

(54) Ogum-branches.

(55) FENIUS FARSAIDH *Alphabeta prima Hebræorum*,

of Ogum, or the Irish Alphabet, meaning that he invented the first letters, in imitation of which the Alphabets of those Nations were made. *Ogum* is also taken in this sense by the best modern writers: as *William* (56) *O Donell*, afterwards Archbishop of Tuam, in his preface to the Irish *New Testament*, dedicated to King *James* the First, and printed at Dublin in the Year 1602, speaking of one of his assistants, says, that *he enjoin'd him to write the other part according to the Ogum and propriety of the Irish tongue*; where *Ogum* must necessarily signify the Alphabet, Orthography, and true manner of writing Irish. From all this it is clear, why among the Gauls, of whom the Irish had their Language and Religion, *Hercules*, as the protector of Learning, shou'd be call'd *Ogmius*, the termination alone being Greec. Nor is this all. *Ogma* was not only a known proper name in Ireland, but also one of the most antient; since *Ogma Grianann*, the father of King (57) *Dalboetius*, was one of the first of the Danannan race, many ages before *Luican's* time. He was a very learned man, marry'd to *Eathna*, a famous Poetess, who bore, besides the fore-mention'd Monarch, *Cairbre* likewise a Poet: insomuch that *Ogma* was deservedly surnamed (58) *Grianann*, which is

Græcorum, Latinorum, et Bethluisnion AN OGHUIM, *composuit.* EX FORCHERNI libro, octingentis retro annis Latine reddito.

(56) WILLIAM O DOMHNUILL.

(57) DEALBHAOITH.

(58) *Grian* is the Sun, and *Grianann* Sun like, or belonging to the Sun.

to say *Phebean*, where you may observe Learning still attending this name. The Celtic Language being now almost extinct in Gaule, except onely in lower Britanny, and such Galic words as remain scatter'd among the French ; subsists however intire in the several (59) dialects of the Celtic Colonies, as do the words *Ogum* and *Ogma* particularly in Irish. Nor is there any thing better known to the learned, or will appear more undeniable in the sequel of this work, than that words lost in one dialect of the same common language, are often found in another : as a Saxon word, for example, grown obsolete in Germany, but remaining yet in England, may be also us d in Switzerland ; or another word grown out of date in England, and florishing still in Denmark, continues likewise in Iceland. So most of the antiquated English words are more or less corruptly extant in Friezland, Jutland, and the other Northern countries ; with not a few in the Lowlands of Scotland, and in the old English Pale in Ireland.

XII. Now, from the name of HERCULES let's come to his person, or at least to the person acknowledg'd to have been one of the Heros worship'd by the Gauls, and suppos'd by the Greecs and Romans to be HERCULES. On this occasion I cannot but reflect on the opposite conduct, which the learned and the unlearned formerly observ'd, with respect to the Gods and divine matters. If, thro' the ignorance or superstition of the

(59) These are British, Welsh, Cornish, Irish, Manks, and Earse.

people, any fable, tho' ever so gross, was generally receiv'd in a Religion; the learned being asham'd of such an absurdity, yet not daring openly to explode any thing wherein the Priests found their account, explained it away by emblems and allegories importing a reasonable meaning, of which the first authors never thought: and if the learned on the other hand, either to procure the greater veneration for their dictates, or the better to conceal their sentiments from the profane vulgar, did poetically discourse of the elements and qualities of matter, of the constellations or the planets, and the like effects of nature, veiling them as persons; the common sort immediately took them for so many persons in good earnest, and render'd 'em divine worship under such forms, as the Priests judg'd fittest to represent them. Objects of divine worship have been coin'd out of the rhetorical flights of Orators, or the flattering addresses of Panegyrists: even metaphors and epithets have been transform'd into Gods, which procur'd mony for the Priests as well as the best; and this by so much the more, as such objects were multiply'd. This is the unavoidable consequence of deviating ever so little from plain Truth, which is never so heartily and highly reverenc'd, as when appearing in her native simplicity; for as soon as her genuine beauties are indeavour'd to be heightn'd by borrow'd ornaments, and that she's put under a disguise in gorgeous apparel: she quickly becomes, like others affecting such a dress, a mercenary prostitute, wholly acting by vanity, artifice, or interest, and never speaking but in am-

biguous or unintelligible terms; while the admiration of her lovers is first turn'd into amazement, as it commonly ends in contemt and hatred. But over and above the difficulty, which these proceedings have occasioned in the history of antient time, there arises a greater from time itself destroying infinite circumstances, the want whereof causes that to seem afterwards obscure, which at the beginning was very clear and easy. To this we may join the preposterous emulation of nations, in ascribing to their own Gods or Heros, whatever qualities were pre-eminent in those of others. That most judicious writer (60) about the nature of the Gods, commonly call'd PHURNUTUS, tho' his true name was CORNUTUS, a Stoic Philosopher, whom I shall have frequent occasion to quote hereafter, "Owns the great "(61) variety, and consequently the perplexedness and "obscurity, that occurs in the history of HERCULES; "whereby it is difficult to know certainly what were "his real atchievments, or what were fabulously father-"ed upon him: but having been an excellent General, "who had in diverse countries signaliz'd his valor, he

(60) Phournoutou theoria peri tēs tōn theōn physeōs, *vulgo: sed, ut Ravii codex & Vaticanus legunt (notante doctissimo Galeo) verus titulus est* Kornoutou epidromē tōn kata tēn Hellēnikēn theōrian paradidomeuōn.

(61) To de dysdiakrita gegonenai ta tou theou idia, apo tōn peri tou Hērōos historoumenōn. Tacha d'an hē leontē kai to ropalon ek tēs palaias theologias epi touton metenēnegmena eiē; stratēgon gar auton genomenon agathon, kai polla merē tēs gēs meta dynameōs epelthonta ouch' hoion te gymnon edoxan perielēlythenai xylō monō hōplismenon: alla tois * episēmois tou theou, meta tōn apathanatismon, hypo tōn euergetoumenōn kekosmēsthai; symbalon gar hekateron eiē rōmēs kai gennaiotētos, &c.

* *Alii* pisynois.

" thinks it not probable, that he went onely arm'd " with a Lion's skin and a Club; but that he was re- " presented after his death with these, as symbols of " generosity and fortitude, for which reason he was " pictur'd with a bow and arrows." To this let me add, that several valiant men in several nations having, in imitation of some one man any where, been called or rather surnam'd HERCULES; not only the works of many, as subduing of Tyrants, exterminating of wild beasts, promoting or exercising of commerce, and protecting or improving of learning have been ascrib'd to one: but that also wherever any robust person was found represented with a skin and a club, a bow and arrows, he was straight deem'd to be HERCULES; whence the Egyptian, the Indian, the Tyrian, the Cretan, the Grecian or Theban, and the Gallic HERCULES. This was a constant way with the Greecs and Romans, who, for example, from certain resemblances perfectly accidental, conjectur'd that ISIS was honour'd by the (62) Germans, and BACCHUS worship'd by the (63) Jews, which last notion is refuted even by their enemy (64)

(62) *Pars Suevorum & Isidi sacrificat. Unde causa et origo peregrino sacro parum comperi; nisi quod signum ipsum, in modum Liburnae figuratum, docet advectam Religionem.* TACIT. de mor. German. cap. 9.

(63) PLUTARCH. Symposiac. lib. 4. *quem prolixius disserentem otiosus consulas, lector.*

(64) *Quia sacerdotes eorum tibia tympanisque concinebant, hedera vinciebantur, vitisque aurea templo reperta, Liberum patrem coli, domitorem Orientis, quidam arbitrati sunt, nequaquam congruentibus institutis: quippe Liber festos laetosque ritus posuit, Judæorum mos absurdus sordidusque.* Lib. 5. cap. 5.

TACITUS. Such superficial discoveries about the Celtic Divinities I shall abundantly expose. Yet that OGMIUS might be really the Grecian HERCULES, well known in Gaule, it will be no valid exception that he was by the Druids Theologically made the symboll of the Force of Eloquence, for which that country has been ever distinguish'd and esteem'd: since even in Greece he was, as PHURNUTUS assures us, mystically accounted (65) *that Reason which is diffus'd thro' all things, according to which nature is vigorous and strong, invincible and ever generating; being the power that communicates virtue and firmness to every part of things.* The Scholiast of APOLLONIUS affirms, that the natural Philosophers understood by HERCULES, *the* (66) *intelligence and permanence of beings:* as the Egyptians held him to be (67) *that Reason, which is in the whole of things, and in every part.* Thus the learned allegoriz'd away among others, as I said before, the fabulous atchievments and miraculous birth of this Hero, on which we shall however touch again, when we come to explain the Heathen humor of making all extraordinary persons the Sons of Gods, and commonly begot on Virgins; tho' this last is not the case of *Hercules*, who was feign'd to be the Son of *Jupiter* by *Alcmena*,

(65) Hēraclēs de estin ho en tois holois logos, kath' hon hē physis ischyra kai krataia estin, anikētos kai aperigennētos ousa: metadotikos ischyos, kai tēs para meros alkēs hyparchon.

(66) Para tois Physikois ho Hēraclēs synesis kai alkē lambanetai.

(67) Ton en pasi, kai dia pantōn, logon; *non* Hēlion, *ut corrupte legi cum* GALEO *suspicor in* MACROBIO, Saturnal. lib. 1. cap. 20.

another man's wife. This would be reckoned immoral among men, but *Jupiter*, said the Priests, can do with his own what he pleases: which reason, if it contented the husbands, could not displease the batchelors, who might chance to be sometimes *Jupiter's* substitutes. The Druidical allegory of *Ogmius*, or the Gallic *Hercules*, which in its proper place I shall give you at large, is extremely beautiful: and as it concerns that Eloquence whereof you are so consummate a master, cannot but powerfully charm you.

XIII. In the mean time 'tis probable your Lordship will be desireous to know, whether, besides the language and traditions of the Irish, or the monuments of stone and other materials which the country affords, there yet remain any Literary records truly antient and unadulterated, whereby the History of the Druids, with such other points of antiquity, may be retriev'd, or at least illustrated? This is a material question, to which I return a clear and direct answer; that not onely there remain very many antient Manuscripts undoubtedly genuine, besides such as are forg'd, and greater numbers (68) interpolated, several whereof are in Ireland itself, some here in England, and others in the Irish Monasteries abroad: but that, notwithstanding the long state of barbarity in which that nation hath lain, and

(68) As the *Uraiceacht na neigios, i. e.* the Accidence of the Artists, or the Poets; which being the work of FORCHERN before-nam'd, was interpolated, and fitted to his own time, by CEANN FAOLADH the Son of OILIOLL, in the Year of *Christ* 628.

after all the rebellions and wars with which the kingdom has been harrass'd; they have incomparably more antient materials of that kind for their history, to which even their Mythology is not unserviceable, than either the English, or the French, or any other European nation, with whose Manuscripts I have any acquaintance. Of these I shall one day give a catalogue, marking the places where they now ly, as many as I know of them; but not meaning every Transcript of the same Manuscript, which wou'd be endless, if not impossible. In all conditions the Irish have been strangely sollicitous, if not in some degree superstitious, about preserving their books and parchments; even those of them which are so old, as to be now partly or wholly unintelligible. Abundance thro' over care have perished under ground, the concealer not having skill, or wanting searcloth and other proper materials for preserving them. The most valuable pieces, both in verse and prose, were written by their Heathen ancestors; whereof some indeed have been interpolated after the prevailing of Christianity, which additions or alterations are nevertheless easily distinguish'd: and in these books the rites and formularies of the Druids, together with their Divinity and Philosophy; especially their two grand doctrines of the eternity and incorruptibility of the universe, and the incessant Revolution of all beings and forms, are very specially, tho' sometimes very figuratively express'd. Hence their Allanimation and Transmigration. Why none of the natives have hitherto made any better use of these treasures; or why both they, and such others

as have written concerning the History of Ireland, have onely entertain'd the world with the fables of it, as no country wants a fabulous account of its original, or the succession of its Princes, why the modern Irish Historians, I say, give us such a medley of relations, unpick'd and unchosen, I had rather any man else shou'd tell. The matter is certainly ready, there wants but will or skill for working of it; separating the Dross from the pure Ore, and distinguishing counterfeit from sterling coin. This in the meantime is undeniable, that learned men in other places, perceiving the same dishes to be eternally serv'd up at every meal, are of opinion that there is no better fare in the country; while those things have been conceal'd from them by the ignorant or the lazy, that would have added no small ornament even to their classical studies. Of this I hope to convince the world by the lustre, which, in this work, I shall impart to the Antiquities not only of Gaule and Britain, but likewise to numerous passages of the Greec and Latin authors. How many noble discoveries of the like kind might be made in all countries, where the use of Letters has long subsisted! Such things in the mean time are as if they were not: for

Paulum sepultæ distat inertiæ
Celata virtus.

HORAT. *lib.* 4. *Od.* 9.

The use of letters has been very antient in Ireland, which at first were cut on the bark of trees (69), prepar'd for that purpose; or on smooth tables of birch-

(69) *Oraium.*

wood, which were call'd [70] *Poets tables;* as their characters were in general nam'd [71] *twigs and branch-letters*, from their shape. Their Alphabet was call'd *Beth-luis-nion*, from the three first letters of the same, B, L, N, *Beth, Luis, Nion* [72]: for the particular name of every letter was, for memory-sake, from some tree or other vegetable; which, in the infancy of writing on barks and boards, was very natural. They had also many characters signifying whole words, like the Egyptians and the Chinese. When *Patric* introduc'd the Roman letters, as I said above, then, from a corruption of *Abcedarium*, they call'd their new Alphabet [73] *Aibghittir;* which, by the Monkish writers, has been Latiniz'd [74] *Abgetorium*. But there florished a great number of Druids, Bards, Vaids, and other authors in Ireland long before *Patric*'s arrival; whose learning was not only more extensive, but also much more useful than that of their Christian posterity this last sort being almost wholly imploy'd in scholastic

[70] *Taibhle Fileadh.*

[71] *Feadha: Craobh Ogham.*

[72] *Birch, Quicken,* and *Ash.*

[73] At first it was very analogically pronounc'd *Ab-kedair*, since the letter C then in Latin, as still in Irish and British, had the force of K no less before E and I, than before A, O, U; having never been pronounc'd like S by the antient Romans, who said KIKERO, *kenseo, koecus*, but not SISERO, *senseo, soecus*, when the words CICERO, *censeo, coecus*, or such like occurr'd: so that *Abkedair* did naturally liquidate into *Aibghittir*, in the manner that all Grammarians know.

[74] *Scripsit Abgetoria* [*scilicet Patricius*] 355, *et eo amplius numero.* NENN. Hist. Britan. cap. 59.

Divinity, Metaphysical or Chronological Disputes, Legends, Miracles, and Martyrologies, especially after the eighth century. Of all the things committed to writing by the Heathen Irish, none were more celebrated, or indeed in themselves more valuable, than their laws; which were deliver d, as antiently among some other nations, in short sentences, commonly in verse, no less reputed infallible Oracles than the Lacedemonian *Rethræ* (75): and, what's remarkable, they are expresly term'd (76) *Celestial Judgements;* for the pronouncing of which, the most famous were *Forchern, Neid, Conla, Eogan, Modan, Moran,* King *Cormac,* his Chief Justice *Fithil, Fachma, Maine, Ethnea* the daughter of *Amalgad,* and many more. The Celestial Judgements were only preserv d in traditionary poems, according to the institution of the Druids, till committed to writing at the command of (77) *Concovar* king of Ulster; who dy'd in the year of Christ 48, whereas *Patric* begun his Apostleship but in the year 432. The Poets that wrote were numberless, of whose works several pieces remain still intire, with diverse fragments of others. The three greatest incouragers of learning among the Heathen Irish monarchs were, first, King (78) *Achaius,* surnamed *the Doctor of Ireland,* who is said to have built at Tarah an Academy, call'd *The Court of the Learned* (79). 'Twas he that

(75) Rētrai.

(76) *Breatha nimhe.*

(77) Conchobhar Nessan, *i. e. Mac* Neassa.

(78) Eochaidh Ollamhfodla.

(79) *Mur-Ollamhan.*

ordain'd, for every principal family, hereditary Antiquaries; or, in case of incapacity, the most able of the same historical house, with rank and privileges immediately after the Druids. The next promoter of Letters was King (80) TUATHALIUS, whose surname is render'd Bonaventura, tho' not so properly, and who appointed a triennial revision of all the Antiquaries Books, by a committee of three Kings or great Lords, three Druids, and three Antiquaries. These were to cause whatever was approv'd and found valuable in those books, to be transcribed into the royal (81) *Book of Tarah*; which was to be the perpetual standard of their history, and by which the contents of all other such books shou'd be receiv'd or rejected. Such good regulations I say there were made, but not how long or how well observ'd: or, if truth is to be preferr'd to all other respects, we must own they were but very slightly regarded: and that the Bards, besides their poetical license, were both mercenary and partial to a scandalous degree. The ordinance however is admirable, and deserves more to be imitated, than we can ever expect it to be so any-where. The third most munificent patron of Literature was King CORMAC, surnamed (82) Long-beard, who renew'd the laws about the Antiquaries, re-built and inlarg'd the Academy at Tarah for history, law, and military prowess: besides that he was an indefatigable distributer of justice, having written

(80) TUATHAL TEACHTMHAR.

(81) *Leabhar Teamhra.*

(82) ULFHADA.

himself abundance of laws still extant. So is his (83) *Institution of a Prince (84)* or his *Precepts* to his son and successor CARBRE *(85)* LIFFECAIR, who in like manner was not superficially addicted to the Muses. CORMAC was a great proficient in Philosophy, made light of the superstitions of the Druids in his youth; and, in his old age having quitted the scepter, he led a contemplative life: rejecting all the Druidical fables and idolatry, and acknowledging only one Supreme Being, or first Cause. This short account of the primevous Irish Learning, whereof you'll see many proofs and particulars in the more than once mention'd *Dissertation concerning the Celtic Language and Colonies*, to be annext to our *Critical History*, will, I am confident, excite your curiosity.

XIV. The custom therefore, or rather cunning of the Druids, in not committing their rites or doctrines to writing, has not deprived us as some may be apt to imagine, of sufficient materials to compile their History. For, in the first place, when the Romans became masters of Gaule, and every where mixt with the natives; they cou'd not avoid, in that time of light and learning, but arrive at the certain knowledge of whatever facts they have been pleas'd to hand down

(83) 'Tis, among other most valuable pieces, in the Collection call'd O DUVEGAN'S, folio 190. a, now or late in the possession of the right honourable the Earl of CLANRICKARD. There are copies of it elsewhere, but that's the oldest known.

(84) *Teagarg Riogh.*

(85) CAIRBRE LIFIOCHAIR.

to us, tho' not alway rightly taking the usages of other nations: as it must needs be from a full conviction of the Druidical fraudulent superstitions, and barbarous tyranny exercis'd over the credulous people, that these same Romans, who tolerated all religions, yet suppress this institution in Gaule and Britain, with the utmost severity. The Druids however were not immediately extinguish'd, but only their barbarous, tyrannical, or illusory usages. And indeed their human sacrifices, with their pretended Magic, and an authority incompatible with the power of the magistrate, were things not to be indured by so wise a state as that of the Romans. In the second place, the Greec colony of Marseilles, a principal mart of Learning, could not want persons curious enough, to acquaint themselves with the Religion, Philosophy, and Customs of the country, wherein they liv'd. STRABO and others give us an account of such. From these the elder Greecs had their information, not to speak now of the Gauls seated in Greece it self and in Lesser Asia, as the later Greecs had theirs from the Romans; and, by good fortune, we have a vast number of passages from both. But, in the third place, among the Gauls themselves and the Britons, among the Irish and Albanian Scots, their Historians and Bards, did always register abundance of particulars about the Druids, whose affairs were in most things inseparable from those of the rest of the inhabitants: as they were not only the judges in all matters civil or religious, but in a manner the executioners too in crimi-

nal causes ; and that their sacrifices were very public, which consequently made their rites no less observable. One thing which much contributed to make them known, is, that the King was ever to have a Druid about his person ; to pray and sacrifice, as well as to be judge for determing emergent controversies, tho' he had a civil judge besides. So he had one of the chief Lords to advise him, a Bard to sing the praises of his ancestors, a Chronicler to register his own actions, a Physician to take care of his health, a Musician to intertain him. Whoever was absent, these by law must be ever present, and no fewer than three Controllers of his family : which Decemvirate was the institution of King Cormac. The same custom was taken up by all the Nobles, whereof each had about him his Druid, Chief Vassal, Bard, Judge, Physician, and Harper; the four last having lands assign'd them, which descended to their families, wherein these professions were hereditary, as were their Marshal, and the rest of their officers. After the introducing Christianity, the Druid was succeeded by a Bishop or Priest, but the rest continued on the antient foot : insomuch, that for a long time after the English Conquest, the Judges, the Bards, Physicians, and Harpers, held such tenures in Ireland. The ODuvegans were the hereditary Bards of the OKellies, the OClerys and the OBrodins were also hereditary Antiquaries : the O Sheils and the O Canvans were such hereditary Doctors, the Maglanchys such hereditary Judges, and so of the rest ; for more examples, especially in this place, are needless : it

wou'd be but multiplying of names, without ever making the subject clearer. Only I must remark here, from the very nature of things, no less than from facts, that, tho' CESAR be silent about it, there were civil Judges in Gaule just as in Ireland, yet under the direction and controll of the Druids. This has led many to imagine, that, because the Druids influenc'd all, there were therefore no other judges, which is doubtless an egregious mistake.

XV. Further, tho' the Druids were exemted from bearing arms, yet they finally determined concerning Peace and War: and those of that order, who attended the King and the Nobles, were observed to be the greatest make-bates and incendiaries; the most averse to Peace in Council, and the most cruel of all others in Action. Some of them were ally'd to Kings, and many of them were King's sons, and great numbers of them cull'd out of the best families: which you see is an old trick, but has not been always effectual enough to perpetuate an order of men. This however made Historians not to forget them, and indeed several of them render'd themselves very remarkable; as the Druid TROSDAN, who found an antidote against the poyson'd arrows of certain Brittish invaders: (86) CABADIUS, grandfather to the most celebrated champion (87) CUCULAND; (88) TAGES the father of MOR-

(86) CATHBAID.
(87) CUCHULAID.
(88) TADHG.

NA, mother to the no less famous (89) FIN MAC CUIL: DADER, who was kill'd by EOGAN, son to OLILL OLOM King of Munster; which EOGAN was marry'd to MOINIC, the daughter of the Druid DILL. The Druid MOGRUTH. the son of Sinduinn, was the stoutest man in the wars of King CORMAC: nor less valiant was (90) Dubcomar, the chief Druid of King FIACHA; and *Lugadius Mac-Con* the abdicated King of Ireland, was treacherously run thro' the body with a lance by the Druid (91) *Firchisus.* IDA and ONO, Lords of Corcachlann near Roscommon, were Druids; wherof ONO presented his fortress of *Imleach-Ono* to Patric, who converted it into the religious house of *Elphin*, since an (92) Episcopal See. From the very name of (93) LAMDERG, or *Bloody-hand*, we learn what sort of man the Druid was, who by the vulgar is thought to live inchanted in the mountain between Bunncranach and (94) Fathen in the county of Dunegall. Nor must we forget, tho' out of order of time, King (95) NIALL *of the nine hostage's* Arch-Druid, by name (96)

(89) FINN MHAC CUBHAILL.

(90) DUBHCHOMAR.

(91) FEARCHIOS.

(92) *Ailfinn*, from a vast Obelisc that stood by a well in that place; and that fell down in the year 1675. The word signifies the *white Stone*, and was corrupted into *Oilfinn*. Some wou'd derive the name from the clearness of the fountain, but 'tis by torture: others from one OILFINN, a Danish commander.

(93) LAMBHDEARG.

(94) *Taobhsaoil-treach.*

(95) NIALL NAOIGHI-ALLACH.

(96) LAIGHICHIN MHAC BARRECHEADHA.

Lagicinus Barchedius; who procured a most cruel war against Eocha King of Munster, for committing manslaughter on his son; and which the Druids making a common cause, there was no honor, law, or humanity observ'd towards this King; whose story, at length in our book, will stand as a lasting monument of Druidical bloodiness, and a Priest-ridden State. I conclude with Bacrach, chief Druid to Conchobhar Nessan King of Ulster, who is fabl'd by the Monks long after the extinction of the Druids, to have before it happen'd, others say at the very time, describ'd the Passion of *Jesus Christ*, in so lively and moveing a manner; that the King transported with rage drew his sword, and with inexpressible fury fell a hacking and hewing the trees of the wood where he then was, which he mistook for the Jews: nay, that he put himself into such a heat as to dy of this frenzy. But even *O Flaherty* fully confutes this silly fiction, (97) not thinking it possible that such circumstances cou'd be any way inferr'd from an Eclipse, which is the foundation of the story, nor that a clearer revelation shou'd be made of those things to the Irish Druids, than to the Jewish Prophets; and, finally, by shewing, that Conchobhar dy'd quietly in his bed fifteen years after the crucifixion of Christ. Bacrach however was a great man, and the King himself had a *Druid* for his step-father and instructor.

XVI. It can be no wonder therefore, that men thus

(97) *Ogyg.*

sacred in their function, illustrious in their alliances, eminent for their learning, and honour'd for their valor, as well as dreaded for their power and influence, should also be memorable both in the poetry and prose of their country. And so in fact they are, notwithstanding what DUDLEY FORBES, before mention'd, did, in a letter to an Irish writer, (98) in the year 1683, affirm: namely, that, in PATRIC's time no fewer than 180 Volumes, relating to the affairs of the Druids, were burnt in Ireland. Dr. KENNEDY says, (99) that PATRIC burnt 300 *volumns, stuft with the fables and superstitions of Heathen Idolatry: unfit,* adds he, *to be transmitted to posterity.* But, pray, how so? why are Gallic or Irish superstitions more unfit to be transmitted to posterity, than those of the Greecs and Romans? Why shou'd PATRIC be more squeamish in this respect than MOSES or the succeding Jewish Prophets, who have transmitted to all ages the Idolatries of the Egyptians, Phenicians, Caldeans, and other Eastern nations? What an irreparable destruction of history, what a deplorable extinction of arts and inventions, what an unspeakable detriment to Learning, what a dishonor upon human understanding, has the cowardly proceeding of the ignorant, or rather of the interested, against unarm'd monuments at all times occasion'd! And yet this book-burning and letter-murdring humor, tho' far from being commanded by CHRIST, has prevail'd in Christianity

(98) O FLAHERTY.

(99) *Dissertation about the Family of the* STUARTS, Pref. page 29.

from the beginning: as in the *Acts of the Apostles* we read, (100) that *many of them which believ'd--and us'd curious arts, brought their books together, and burnt them before all men; and they counted the price of them, and found it fifty thousand pieces of silver*, or about three hundred pounds sterling. This was the first instance of burning books among Christians; and ever since that time the example has been better follow'd, then any precept of the Gospel.

XVII. From what we have hitherto observ'd, you see that our Historians, My Lord, do, in spite of all chances, abound with matter enough to revive and illustrate the memory of the Druids. Besides that the rites and opinions of other nations serve not only to give light to theirs, but were many of them of Druidical or Celtic extraction. This no body will deny of the Aboriginal Italians, who having been often overrun by the Gauls, and having several Gallic Colonies planted among them, they partook both of their Language and Religion; as will be very easily evinc'd in our Dissertation, and has been already tolerably done by father PEZRON in his Celtic Originals. *Diogenes Laertius*, in the Proem of his Philosophical History, reckons the Druids among the chief Authors of the Barbarous Theology and Philosophy, long anterior to the Greecs, their disciples: and *Phurnutus*, in his treatise *of the nature of the Gods*, says most (101) expresly, that

(100) Acts 19. 19.

(101) Tou de pollas kai poikilas peri theōn gegonenai para tois palaiois Hellēsi mythopoias, hōs allai men epi Magois gegonasin, allai de par' aigyptiois

among the many and various fables which the antient Greecs had about the Gods, some were derived from the Mages, some from the Egyptians and Gauls, others from the Africans and Phrygians, and others from other nations: for which he cites *Homer* as a witness, nor is there any thing that bears a greater witness to it self. This however is not all: for, over and above the several helps I have mention'd, there are likewise numerous monuments of the worship of the Druids, their valor, policy, and manner of habitation, still remaining in France, in Britain, in Ireland, and in the adjacent Islands; many of 'em intire, and the rest by the help of these easily conceiv'd. Most are of stone, as the lesser ones are of glass, and others of earth bak'd extremely hard. The two last kinds were ornaments or magical gems, as were also those of Chrystal and Agat, either perfectly spherical, or in the figure of a lentill; or shap'd after any of the other ways, which shall be describ'd and portray'd in our book. The Glass Amulets or Ornaments are in the Lowlands of Scotland, call'd *Adder-stanes*, and by the Welsh *Gleini na Droedh*, or Druid-Glass, which is in Irish *Glaine nan Druidhe, Glaine* in this language signifying *Glass*, tho' obsolete now in the Welsh dialect, and preserv'd only in this *Gleini na Droedh*. But the more massy Monuments shall, in a day or two, be the subject of another Letter from, My Lord,

Your Lordship's most oblig'd and very

June 25, 1718. Humble Servant.

kai Keltois, kai Libysi, kai Phryxi, kai tois allois ethnesi. *Cap.* 17. *Thus the Manuscript very accurately: but the printed copy has* tois allois Hellēsi *superfluously in the end, and wants* Phryx. *before, which is very essential.*

THE SECOND

LETTER,

To the Right Honourable the Lord

VISCOUNT MOLESWORTH.

PERMIT me at this time, My Lord, according to the promise with which I concluded my last, to send to your Lordship *A Specimen of the Monuments relating to the Druids*, that are still extant, either intire or imperfect. I have ever indeavour'd to avoid deserving the blame, with which an approv'd author charges those; who, while very conversant in the history of other places, appear to be absolute strangers in their own country: and as I know no man better versed in foren affairs or in our own, which an able statesman will never separate, nor a greater master of antient or modern history than yourself; so I am apt to hope, that the collection of Brittish and Irish Antiquities I here take the liberty to present to your Lordship, may not prove altogether disagreeable. The French examples, a few excepted, I reserve for the larger work, and in the mean time I procede. On the tops of mountains and other eminences in Ireland, in Wales, in Scotland, in the Scottish Ilands and in the Ile of Man, where things have been least disorder'd or displac'd by the frequency of inhabitants, or want of better ground for cultivation, there are great heaps of

stones, like the(1)MERCURIAL *heaps* (2) of the Greecs, whereof when we treat of the Celtic MERCURY in particular. The heaps, which make my present subject, consist of stones of all sorts, from one pound to a hundred. They are round in form, and somewhat tapering or diminishing upwards: but on the summit was always a flat stone, for a use we shall presently explain. These heaps are of all bignesses, some of them containing at least a hundred cartload of stones: and if any of 'em be grown over with earth, 'tis purely accident in the long course of time wherein they have been neglected; for NO such thing was intended in the first making of them, as in the sepulchral barrows of the Gothic nations, which are generally of earth. Such a heap is in the antient Celtic language, and in every dialect of it, call'd CARN; and every Carn so dispos'd, as to be in sight of some other. Yet they are very different from the rude and much smaller pyramyds, which the old Irish erect along the roads in memory of the dead, by them call'd *Leachda*, and made of the first stones that offer. From the devotional rounds perform'd about the Carns in times of Heathenism, and which, we shall see anon, are yet continued in many places of the Scottish Highlands and the Hebrides, any circle, or turning about, is in Armoric called *cern* (3) as CERNA in that dialect is to make such a

(1) Prossōreuousi de tous lithous tois Hermais hecastos tōn parion ōn; hena tina autois prostetheis, &c. PHURNUT. *de Nat. Dor. cap.* 16.

(2) Hermaia, *i. e. Acervi Mercuriales.*

(3) *C* is pronounc'd as *K*.

turn. On the Carn call'd *Crig-y-dyrn*, in the parish of *Tre'lech* in Cærmarthenshire, the flat stone on the top is three yards in length, five foot over, and from ten to twelve inches thick. The circumference of this Carn at the bottom is about sixty yards, and 'tis about six yards high; the ascent being very easy, tho' I suppose there was originally a ladder for this purpose.

II. Let this Carn serve for an example of the rest, as to their form and bulk; only we may take notice here by the way, what odd imaginations men are apt to have of things they do not understand. Thus Mr. WILLIAM SACHEVERELL, Governor of the Ile of Man under the right honorable the Earl of *Derby* in part of King William's reign, mistaking these Carns in his (4) Description of that Iland, "The tops of the mountains (says he), seem nothing but the rubbish of nature, thrown into barren and unfruitful heaps, as near two thirds of the Iland are of this sort. Some seem particularly worthy our remark, as the two Barrowls, Skeyall, the Watch-hill of Knock-a-low: but particularly Sneafeld, where it is not unpleasant," (continues he), "when the weather is clear and serene, to see three noble nations surrounding one of the most obscure in the universe: which is, as it were, the center of the Brittish empire." These heaps our author thought the work of chance, tho' artfully contriv'd in all the Celtic countries; as Dr. MARTIN thought a Carn in the Ile of SAINT KILDA, wherof pre-

(4) Page 13.

sently, to be a signal effect of Providence: But as for the Mannian nation, which is visibly the center of the Brittish world, it is very undeservedly become obscure, whether we consider what has been transacted in former ages, it having been the theater of many surprizing revolutions: or the particular usages in religious and civil affairs, that even now obtain there, especially their laws, which still continue mostly unwritten, for which reason they call them *Breast-laws*, being without expense or delay, and undoubted remains of the justice of the Druids. For, wherever they were not themselves a party, neither the Egyptians, nor Persians, nor Greecs, nor Romans, did surpass the wisdom, equity, and strictness of the Druids in the sanction or execution of their laws; which made all sorts of men leave their controversies of every kind to their determination, without any further appeal. Nor without some regard in fact, and a vast deal more in profession, to moral virtue, cou'd any set of Impostors in any country possibly support their false doctrines and superstitious observances; which receive credit from hence, as the teachers of 'em do all their power and authority, in proportion to the austerities they practise, or the appearances they have of devotion. I say appearances, because this in most, join'd to real self-denial in a few, who by the rest are deem'd silly tho' useful creatures, will long uphold an institution both erroneous and tyrannical: which is the reason that, to this hour, the memory of the Druids is highly venerable among those of the Ile of Man; and that their laws are infinitely

preferr'd to all others by the Manksmen, who say the family of *Derby* comes nearest their excellence of any race of men now in the world. Wherefore, as well in these regards, as in many others essential to my design, I shall, in the body of the history, give a true idea of the past and present customs of this antient, though mixt people. Their numerous Carns, of whose origin anon, are not the onely monuments they have of the Druids. But that the chief College of these Philosophers was ever establish'd there, and much less any such College appointed by the Kings of Scotland, as *Hector Boethius* feign'd, I shall demonstrate to be pure romance: and at the same time will not fail doing justice to the memory of the great Hero and Legislator of the Iland, MANANNAN; reported, after the manner of those ages, to have been the Son of (5) LEAR, or the God of the Sea, from his extraordinary skill in navigation and commerce. He was truely the son of (6) ALLADIUS, who was of royal blood, and is own name Orbsen; but call'd Manannan from his country, and kill'd by one ULLIN near Galway, in Ireland: of all which the particulars will be given in their proper place, especially *the Republic of* MANANNAN; who, from his instruction by the Druids, was reputed a consummate Magician, and was indeed most happy in stratagems of war both by land and sea. Mr. Sacheverell, except in affirming Manannan, whom he mis-names Mannan, to have been

(5) MANANNAN MHAC LEIR.

(6) ALLAID.

(7) *the father, founder, and legislator of the Iland,* is out in every thing he says concerning him : for, instead of living about the beginning of the fifth century, he liv'd as many centuries before Christ ; and so cou'd not be contemporary with Patric, the Apostle of Man as well as Ireland. Neither was Manannan the son of a King of Ulster, nor yet the brother of FERGUS II. (8) King of Scotland : and as for his not being able to get any information what became of him, I have already told that he was kill'd in Ireland, and by whom.

III. In process of time the Carns, to which we now return, serv'd every where for beacons, as many of them as stood conveniently for this purpose : but they were originally design'd, as we are now going to see, for fires of another nature. The fact stood thus. On May-eve the Druids made prodigious fires on those Carns, which being every one, as we said, in sight of some other, cou'd not but afford a glorious show over a whole nation. These fires were in honour of *Beal* or *Bealan,* latiniz'd by the Roman authors into (9) *Belenus,* by which name the Gauls and their colonies understood the Sun : and therefore to this hour the first day of May is by the Ab-original Irish call'd *La Bealteine,* or *the day of Belen's fire* (10). I remember one of those Carns

(7) Page 20.

(8) Ibid.

(9) *Herodian. Auson. Capitolin. Tertul. &c. Videantur etiam Gruter. et Reines. in* Inscriptionibus.

(10) *Etiam* Bealltaine, *& antiquitus* Beltine.

on Fawn-hill within some miles of Londonderry, known by no other name but that of *Bealteine*, facing another such Carn on the top of Inch-hill : and GREGORY of *Tours*, in his book *de Gloria Confessorum*, mentions a (11) hill of the same name (12) between Artom and Riom in Auvergne in France, from which Riom might be fairly view'd. But tho' later writers affirm with Valesius, in his *Galliarum notitia*, this hill to be now unknown; yet Belen's heap on the top of it, is a sure mark whereby to discover it. His circular temple, as we shall see hereafter, is still there, if not the the Carn, having certainly existed in Gregory's time. Abundance of such heaps remain still on the mountains in France, and on the Alps. Those writers however are not to be blamed, as being strangers to the origin or use of such heaps ; and not able to distinguish them from certain other heaps, under which robbers and traitors were bury'd. These last are call'd in general by the Welsh *Carn-Vraduyr* and *Carn-Lhadron* (13); or particularly after the proper names of the underlying criminals, as *Carnedh-Leuelyn*, *Carnedh-David*, and such like. As far from Auvergne as the Iland of Saint KILDA, in the 58th degree of northern latitude, there is another hill denominated from *Belenus*, which more consonant to the Celtic idiom *Herodian* (14)

(11) *Cum* [ex Artonensi vico] *venisset in cacumen montis Belenatensis, de quo vici Ricomagensis positio contemplatur, vidit hos, &c.* De Gloria Confessor. cap. 5.

(12) Mons Belenatensis.

(13) Traitor and thiefs Carn : *in Irish* Carn-bhrateoir & Carn an Ladroin.

(14) Lib. 8. Cap. 7.

writes *Belin*, corruptly call'd *Otter-Veaul (15)*, or *Belen's heigth*; on which is a vast heap, whereof Doctor *Martin*, in his account of that Iland, did not know the use, as I said before (16): but the Carn being on the hill just above the landing place, he thinks it so order'd by Providence; that by rouling down these stones, the inhabitants might prevent any body's coming ashore against their will. In the church of Birsa, near which stands a very remarkable Obelisc, at the west end of the Iland call'd *Pomona*, or the mainland, in Orkney, there is an erect stone, with the word BELUS inscrib'd on it in antient characters. Yet whether this be any remembrance of BELENUS, better according to the Irish idiom BELUS, or be the Monument of a native Prince so call'd, I shall not here decide. The fact it self is told us by Mr. BRAND (17), in his Description of Orkney and Zetland. I wish he had also told us, of what kind those antient characters are, or that he had exactly copy'd them: and if there be a man's portraiture on the stone, as Dr. *Martin* affirms (18), the dress and posture will go a great way towards clearing the matter.

IV. But to make no longer digression, May-day is likewise call'd *La Bealteine* by the Highlanders of Scotland, who are no contemtible part of the Celtic

(15) Uachdar BHEIL.
(16) Page 64.
(17) Page 14.
(18) Page 358.

off-spring. So it is in the Ile of Man: and in Armoric a Priest is still call'd *Belec*, or the servant of *Bel*, and Priesthood *Belegieth*. Two such fires, as we have mention'd, were kindl'd by one another on May-eve in every village of the nation, as well throout all Gaule, as in Britain, Ireland, and the adjoining lesser Ilands, between which fires the men and the beasts to be sacrific'd were to pass; from whence came the proverb, *between Bel's* (19) *two fires*, meaning one in a great strait, not knowing how to extricate himself. One of the fires was on the Carn, another on the ground. On the eve of the first day of November (20), there were also such fires kindl'd, accompany'd, as they constantly were, with sacrifices and feasting. These November fires were in Ireland call'd *Tine tlach'd-gha*, from *tlach'd-gha* (21), a place hence so call'd in Meath, where the *Arch-Druid* of the realm had his fire on the said eve; and for which piece of ground, because originally belonging to Munster, but appointed by the supreme Monarch for this use, there was an annual acknowledgement, call'd *sgreaboll*, paid to the King of that Province. But that all the Druids of Ireland assembl'd there on the first of November, as several authors injudiciously write; is not only a thing improbable, but also false in fact: nor were they otherwise there at that time, nor all at any time together in one place, but as now all the Clergy of England are said

(19) Ittir dha theine Bheil.

(20) Samhbhuin.

(21) Fire-ground.

to be present in their Convocations; that is, by their representatives and delegates. Thus *Cesar* is likewise to be understood, when, after speaking of the *Arch-Druid* of Gaule, he says that (22) *the Druids at a certain time of the Year assembl'd in a consecrated grove in the country of the Carnutes* (23), *which is reckon'd the middle region of all Gaule.* But of these assemblies in their place. On the foresaid eve all the people of the country, out of a religious persuasion instill'd into them by the Druids, extinguish'd their fires as intirely; as the Jews are wont to sweep their houses, the night before *the feast of unleavened bread.* Then every master of a family was religiously oblig'd, to take a portion of the consecrated fire home, and to kindle the fire a new in his house, which for the ensuing year was to be lucky and prosperous. He was to pay however for his future happiness, whether the event prov'd answerable or not: and tho' his house shou'd be afterwards burnt, yet he must deem it the punishment of some new sin, or ascribe it to any thing, rather than to want of virtue in the consecration of the fire, or of validity in the benediction of the Druid; who, from officiating at the Carns, was likewise call'd (24) *Cairneach*, a name that continu'd to signify a Priest, even in the Christian times.

(22) *Ii* [Druides] *certo anni tempore in finibus Carnutum, quae regio totius Galliae media habetur, considunt in luco consecrato.* De bello Gallico. lib. 6. cap. 13.

(23) Now *le Pais Chartrain*, the place *Dreux*.

(24) This is the true origin of the word *Cairneach*, as signifying a Priest: but not deriv'd, as men ignorant of

But if any man had not clear'd with the Druids for the last year's dues, he was neither to have a spark of this holy fire from the Carns, nor durst any of his neighbors let him take the benefit of theirs, under pain of Excommunication; which, as managed by the Druids, was worse than death. If he wou'd brew therefore or bake, or roast or boil, or warm himself and family, in a word, if he wou'd live the winter out, the Druids dues must be paid by the last of October: so that this trick alone was more effectual, than are all the *Acts of Parliament* made for recovering our present Clergy's dues: which *Acts* are so many and so frequent, that the bare enumeration of them wou'd make an indifferent volum. Wherefore I cannot but admire the address of the Druids, in fixing this ceremony of rekindling family-fires to the beginning of November, rather than to May or Midsummer, when there was an equal opportunity for it.

V. A world of places (25) are denominated from those Carns of all sorts, as in Wales *Carn-Lhechart, Carn-Lhaid;* in Scotland *Carn-Wath, Carn-tullock, Drum-cairn, Glen-cairn;* in Ireland *Carn-mail, Carnaret, Carnan-tagher, Carnan-tober* (26); and in Northumberland, as in other parts of the North of England, they are sometimes call'd *Laws* or *Lows*, a name

antiquity fancy, from *Coroineach*, alluding to the crown-form'd tonsure of the Monks, not near so old as this word.

(25) The places are numberless in all these countries.

(26) *Carnan* is the diminutive of *Carn*.

they also give the Gothic Barrows. The Lowland Scots call 'em in the plural number Cairns, whence several Lordships are nam'd, as one in Lennox, another in Galloway, to mention no more, from which the surname of CAIRNS. The family of CARNE, in Wales, is from the like original: but not, as some have thought, the OKEARNYS (27) of Ireland; one of which, Mr. JOHN KEARNY, Treasurer of Saint PATRIC's in Dublin, was very instrumental in getting the *New Testament* translated into Irish, about the end of the last century but one. As to this fire-worship, which, by the way, prevail'd over all the world, the Celtic nations kindled other fires on midsummer eve, which are still continued by the Roman Catholics of Ireland; making them in all their grounds, and carrying flaming brands about their Corn-fields. This they do likewise all over France, and in some of the Scottish Iles. These Midsummer fires and sacrifices, were to obtain a blessing on the fruits of the earth, now becoming ready for gathering; as those of the first of May, that they might prosperously grow: and those of the last of October, were a Thanksgiving for finishing their Harvest. But in all of 'em regard was also had to the several degrees of increase and decrease in the heat of the Sun; as in treating of their Astronomy, and manner of reckoning time, we shall clearly show. Their other festivals, with their peculiar observations, shall be likewise explain'd each in their proper Sections; especially that of New-year's day, or the tenth of March, their fourth

(27) *O Cearnaigh*, besides *O Ceatharnaigh*.

grand festival, which was none of the least solemn: and which was the day of seeking, cutting, and consecrating their wonder-working *All-heal*, or Misselto of Oak. This is the ceremony to which VIRGIL alludes by his *golden-branch*, in the sixth book of the *Aeneid*, for which there is incontestable proof, which we shall give in a section on this subject. 'Tis PLINY who says, that the Druids call'd it, in their language, by a word signifying (28) *All-heal;* which word in the Armorican dialect is *oll-yach*, in the Welsh *ol-hiach*, and in the Irish *Uil-iceach*. Here by the way, we may observe, that as the Greecs had many words from the Barbarians, for which PLATO in his (29) *Cratylus*, judges it would be lost labor to seek Etymologies in their own language: so it is remarkable, that certain feasts of APOLLO were call'd (30) *Carnea*, from the killing of no body knows what Prophet CARNUS. Some said that he was the son of JUPITER and EUROPA, kill'd for a Magician by one ALES; and others yet, that *Carni* was a common name for an order of Prophets in Acarnania. APOLLO himself was surnamed CARNUS (31); and, from him, May was call'd the *Carnean Month*. Nay there were *Carnean Priests*, and a particular kind of Music, which we may interpret the *Cairn-tunes*, was appro-

(28) *Omnia-sanantem appellantes suo vocabulo, &c.* Lib. 16. Cap. 44.

(29) 'Ei tis zētoi tauta kata tēn Hellēnikēn phōnēn, hōs eoikotōs keitai; alla mē kat' ekeinēn, ex hēs to onoma tynchanei on, oistha hoti aporoi an- *Inter opera, edit. Paris.* Vol. 1. Pag. 409.

(30) Ta Karnea.

(31) Karneios mēn.

priated to those festivals in May, perfectly answering those of the Celtic tribes. It is therefore highly probable, that the Greecs did learn these things from the Gauls their conquerors, and in many places seated among them; or from some of their travellors in Gaule it self, if not from the Phocean colony at Marseilles. We know further, that the making of hymns was a special part of the Bards office; who by STRABO, are expresly term'd *Hymn-makers* (32): and I show'd before, that the antient Greecs, by their own confession, learnt part of their Philosophy, and many of their sacred fables, from the Gauls. So that this criticism is not so void of probability, as many which pass current enough in the world. However, I fairly profess to give it onely for a conjecture; which I think preferable to the farr-fetcht and discordant accounts of the Greecs: who, in spight of PLATO and good sense, wou'd needs be fishing for the origin of every thing in their own language. In the mean time it is not unworthy our remark, that as (33) Prizes were adjudg'd to the Victors in this *Carnean* Music among the Greecs: so the distributing of Prizes to the most successful Poets, was no less usual among the Gauls and their colonies; whereof there is undeniable proof in the Brittish and Irish Histories, as will be seen in our Section concerning the Bards.

VI. Another Criticism relating immediately to

(32) Hymnētai.

(33) Timotheos——ta Karneia agōnizomenos. *Plutarch. in Apophthegm.*

Apollo, for which I think this a proper place, I give as something more than a conjecture. In the Lordship of Merchiston, near Edinburgh, was formerly dug up a stone with an Inscription to *Apollo Grannus;* concerning which Sir *James Dalrymple* Baronet, in his second edition of *Cambden's* Description of Scotland, thus expresses himself after his (34) author. *Who this* Apollo Grannus *might be, and whence he should have his name, not one, to my knowledge, of our grave Senate of Antiquaries hitherto cou'd ever tell. But if I might be allow'd, from out of the lowest bench, to speak what I think; I wou'd say that* Apollo Grannus, *among the Romans, was the same that* (35) Apollon Akersekomes, *that is,* Apollo with long hair, among the Greecs: for Isidore calls the long hair of the Goths Grannos. This consequence will by no means hold: for what are the Goths to the Romans, who exprest this Greec by *intonsus* Apollo? And since Goths speaking Latin had as little to do in the shire of Lothian, it will not be doubted, but that it was some Roman who paid this vow; as soon as 'its known, that, besides the man's name Quintus Lusius Sabinianus, *Grian,* among the many (36) Celtic names of the Sun, was

(34) This passage in Cambden is in the 897th page of Churchill's edition, anno 1695.

(35) Appollōn akersekomēs *item* akeirekomēs.

(36) Besides the Sun's religious attribute of Bel, Beal, Belin, or Belenus, it is call'd *Hayl* in Welsh, *Heul* in Cornish, *Heol* in Armoric; in all which the aspirate *h* is put for *s*, as in a world of such other words: for any word beginning with *s* in the antient Celtic, does in the oblique cases begin with *h*. Yet *s* is still retain'd in the Armoric *Disul*, in the Cambrian *Dydhsye*, and the Cornubian *Dezil*;

one, being the common name of it still in Irish: and that, from his beams, *Greannach* in the same language signifies *long-hair'd*, which is a natural epithet of the Sun in all nations. There is no need therefore of going for a Gothic derivation to *Isidore*, in whom now I read *Scots* instead of *Goths*; and not, as I fancy, without very good reason. It wou'd be superfluous to produce instances, the thing is so common, to show that the Romans, to their own names of the Gods, added the names or attributes under which they were invok'd in the country, where they happen'd on any occasion to sojourn. Nor was this manner of topical worship unknown to the antient Hebrews, who are forbid to follow it by Moses in these words: (37) *Enquire not after their Gods, saying, how did these nations serve their Gods? even so will I do likewise.* GRIAN therefore and GREANNACH explain the (38) Lothian Inscription

that is to say, *Sunday*. It was formerly *Diasoil* in Irish, whence still remain *Solus* light, *Soillse* clearness, *Soillseach* bright or sunny, *Solleir* manifest, and several more such. 'Tis now call'd *Dia Domhnaigh*, or *Dies Dominicus*, according to the general use of all Christians.

(37) Deut. xii. 30.

(38) This Inscription, as given us by CAMBDEN from Sir PETER YOUNG, preceptor to King JAMES VI. [for the Laird of Merchiston's *Exposition of the Apocalyps* I never saw] runs thus:

APOLLINI
GRANNO
Q. LUSIUS
SABINIA
NUS
PROC *

* Procurator.

very naturally, in the antient language of the Scots themselves, spoken still in the Highlands and Western Iles, as well as in Ireland, without any need of having recourse to Gothland, or other foren countries.

VII. To return to our Carn-fires, it was customary for the Lord of the place, or his son, or some other person of distinction, to take the entrals of the sacrific'd animal in his hands, and walking barefoot over the coals thrice, after the flames had ceas'd, to carry them strait to the Druid, who waited in a whole skin at the Altar. If the Nobleman escap'd harmless, it was reckon'd a good omen, welcom'd with loud acclamations: but if he receiv'd any hurt, it was deem'd unlucky both to the community and to himself. Thus I have seen the people running and leaping thro' the St. John's fires in Ireland, and not onely proud of passing unsing'd: but, as if it were some kind of lustration, thinking themselves in a special manner blest by this ceremony, of whose original nevertheless they were wholly ignorant in their imperfect imitation of it. Yet without being appriz'd of all this, no reader, however otherwise learned, can truely apprehend the beginning of the Consul FLAMINIUS's speech to EQUANUS the Sabin, at the battle of Thrasimenus, thus intelligently related by (39) SILIUS ITALICUS.

AUG *	* Augusti.
V. S. S. L. V. M *	* Votum susceptum solvit lubens merito.

(39) *Tum* Soracte *satum, praestantem corpore et armis,*

Then seeing EQUANUS, *near Soracte born,*
In person, as in arms, the comelyest youth;
Whose country manner 'tis, when th' archer keen
Divine APOLLO *joys in burning HEAPS,*
The sacred Entrals thro' the fire unhurt
To carry thrice: so may you always tread,
With unscorch'd feet, the consecrated coals;
And o'er the heat victorious, swiftly bear
The solemn gifts to pleas'd APOLLO'S *Altar.*

Now let all the Commentators on this writer be consulted, and then it will appear what sad guess-work they have made about this passage; which is no less true of an infinite number of passages in other authors relating to such customs: for a very considerable part of Italy follow'd most of the Druidical rites, as the inhabitants of such places happened to be of Gallic extraction, which was the case of many Cantons in that delicious country. But this is particularly true of the Umbrians and Sabins, who are by all authors made the (40) antientest people of Italy, before the coming thither of any Greec Colonies. But they are by (41)

AEQUANUM *noscens; patrio cui ritus in arvo,*
Dum pius Arcitenens incensis gaudet ACERVIS,
Exta ter innocuos late portare per ignes:
Sic in APOLLINEA *semper vestigia pruna*
Inviolata teras; victorque vaporis, ad aras
Dona serenato referas Solennia PHŒBO.

Lib. 5. ver. 175.

(40) *Dionys. Halicarnass. Antiq. Rom.* lib. 1. *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. 3. cap. 14. *Flor.* lib. 1. cap. 17, &c.

(41) BOCCHUS *absolvit Gallorum veterum propaginem Umbros esse.* Polyhist. cap. 8.

Solinus from the historian *Bocchus*, by (42) *Servius* from the elder *Marc Antony*, by (43) *Isidore* also and (44) TZETZES, in direct terms stil'd *the issue of the antient Gauls*, or a branch of them: and *Dionysius Halicarnasseus*, the most judicious of Antiquaries, proves out of *Zenodotus*, that the Sabins were descendants of the Umbrians; or, (45) as he expresses it, *Umbrians under the name of Sabins*. The reason I am so particular on this head, is, that the mountain (46) *Soracte* is in the Sabin country, in the district of the Faliscans, about twenty miles to the north of Rome, and on the west side of the Tyber. On the top of it were the Grove and Temple of APOLLO, and also his *Carn* (47), to which SILIUS, in the verses just quoted out of him, alludes. PLINY has preserved to us the very (48) name of the particular race of people, to which the performing of the above described annual ceremony be-

(42) *Sane Umbros Gallorum veterum propaginem esse,* MARCUS ANTONIUS *refert.* In lib. 12. Aeneid. ante fin.

(43) *Umbri Italiae gens est, sed Gallorum veterum propago.* Origin. lib. 9. cap. 2.

(44) Ombroi genos Galaticon ē Galatōn. *Schol. in Lycophron. Alex. ad ver.* 1360.

(45) Sabinous ex Ombrikōn. *Antiq. Rom. lib.* 1.

(46) Now *Monte di San sylvestro.*

(47) *Acervus.*

(48) *Haud procul urbe Roma, in Faliscorum agro familiae sunt paucae, quae vocantur* HIRPIÆ; *quaeque sacrificio annuo, quod fit ad montem Soracte* APOLLINI, *super ambustam ligni struem ambulantes, non aduruntur: et ob id perpetuo senatus consulto militiae, aliorumque munerum, vacationem habent.* Hist. Nat. lib. 2. cap. 2. *Idem ex eodem* Solin. Polyhist. cap. 8.

longed: nor was it for nothing that they ran the risk of blistering their soles, since *for this they were exemted from serving in the wars, as well as from the expense and troble of several offices.* They were called HIRPINS. VIRGIL, much elder than SILIUS or PLINY, introduces ARUNS, one of that family, forming a design to kill CAMILLA, and thus praying for success to APOLLO,

O patron of SORACTE's *high abodes,*
PHEBUS, *the ruling pow'r among the Gods!*
Whom first we serve, whole woods of unctuous pine
Burn on thy HEAP, and to thy glory shine:
By thee protected, with our naked soles
Thro' flames unsing'd we pass, and tread the kindl'd coals.
Give me, propitious pow'r, to wash away
The stains of this dishonourable day (49).

DRYDEN's Version.

A Celtic Antiquary, ignorant of the origin of the Umbrians and Sabins, wou'd imagine, when reading what past on *Soracte,* that it was some Gallic, Brittish, or Irish mountain, the rites being absolutely the same. We do not read indeed in our Irish books, what preservative against fire was used by those, who ran barefoot over the burning coals of the Carns: and, to be sure, they wou'd have the common people piously be-

(49) *Summe Deum, sancti custos Soractis,* APOLLO,
Quem primi colimus, cui pineus ardor ACERVO
Pascitur; et medium, freti pietate, per ignem
Cultores multa premimus vestigia pruna:
Da, pater, hoc nostris aboleri dedecus armis.

Aen. lib. 11. ver. 785.

lieve they used none. Yet that they really did, no less than the famous fire-eater, whom I lately saw making so great a figure at London, men of penetration and uncorrupted judgements will never question. But we are not merely left to our judgements, for the fact is sufficiently attested by that prodigy of knowledge, and *perpetual opposer of Superstition*, MARCUS VARRO; who, as SERVIUS on the above-cited passage of VIRGIL affirms (50), *describ'd the very ointment of which the* HIRPINS *made use, besmearing their feet with it, when they walked thro' the fire.* Thus at all times have the multitude, that common prey of Priests and Princes, been easily gull'd; swallowing the secrets of Natural Philosophy for Divine Miracles, and ready to do the greatest good or hurt, not under the notions of vice or virtue: but barely as directed by men, who find it their interest to deceive them.

VIII. But leaving the Druids for a while, there are over and above the Carns, in the Highlands of Scotland, and in the adjacent Iles numberless OBELISCS, or stones set up on end; some thirty, some twenty-four foot high; others higher or lower: and this sometimes where no such stones are to be dug, Wales being likewise full of them; and some there are in the least cultivated parts of England, with very many in Ireland. In most places of this last kingdom,

(50) *Sed* VARRO, *ubique Religionis expugnator, ait, cum quoddam medicamentum describeret*, eo uti solent HIRPINI, qui ambulaturi per ignem, medicamento Plantas tingunt. Ad ver. 787, lib. 11. Aeneid.

the common people believe these Obeliscs to be men, transformed into stones by the Magic of the Druids. This is also the notion the vulgar have in Oxfordshire of *Roll-wright stones*, and in Cornwall of the *Hurlers ;* erect stones so call'd, but belonging to a different class from the Obeliscs, whereof I now discourse. And indeed in every country the ignorant people ascribe to the Devil or some supernatural power, at least to Giants, all works which seem to them to excede human art or ability. Thus among other things, for recording their traditions will have its pleasure as well as usefulness, they account for the Roman Camps and Military Ways, calling such the *Devil's-Dykes*, or the like : while the more reasonable part are persuaded, that the erect stones of which we speak, are the Monuments of dead persons, whose ashes or bones are often found near them ; sometimes in Urns, and sometimes in Stone-coffins, wherein scales, hammers, pieces of weapons, and other things have been often found, some of them very finely gilt or polish'd. Dogs also have been found bury'd with their masters. The erect stones in the midst of *stone-circles*, whereof before I have done, are not of this funeral sort ; nor does it follow, that all those have been erected in Christian times, which have Christian Inscriptions or Crosses on them : for we read of many such Obeliscs thus sanctify'd, as they speak, in Wales and Scotland. And, in our Irish Histories, we find the practice as early as

PATRIC himself; who, having built the Church of *Donach-Patric* on the brink of *Loch-Hacket* (51) in the county of Clare, did there on three Colosses, erected in the times of Paganism, inscribe the proper name of CHRIST in three languages: namely, JESUS in Hebrew on the first, SOTER in Greec on the second, and SALVATOR in Latin on the third. That Obelisc, if I may call it so, in the Parish of Barvas, in the Iland of Lewis in Scotland, call'd the *Thrushel-stone*, is very remarkable; being not onely above twenty foot high, which is yet surpass'd by many others: but likewise almost as much in breadth, which no other comes near.

IX. Besides these Obeliscs, there is a great number of FORTS in all the Iles of Scotland, very different from the Danish and Norwegian *Raths* in Ireland, or the Saxon and Danish *Burghs* in England: nor are they the same with the Gallic, Brittish, and Irish *Lios*, pronounc'd *Lis (52)*; which are fortifications made of unwrought stones and uncemented, whereof there are two very extraordinary in the Iles of Aran, in the Bay of Galway in Ireland. *Dun* is a general Celtic word for all fortifications made on an eminence, and the eminences themselves are so call'd; as we see in many parts of England, and the Sand-hills on the Bel-

(51) Formerly *Domhnach-mor* and *Loch-sealga*.

(52) *Lios* in Irish, *Les* in Armoric, and *Lhys* in Welsh, signifies in English a *Court*; as *Lis-Luin*, *Lynscourt*.

gic Coast. Yet *Rath* and *Lis* are often confounded together, both in the speech and writing of the Irish. But the Forts in question are all of wrought stone, and often of such large stones, as no number of men cou'd ever raise to the places they occupy, without the use of Engines; which Engines are quite unknown to the present inhabitants, and to their ancestors for many ages past. There's none of the lesser Iles, but has one Fort at least, and they are commonly in sight of each other: but the *Dun* in St. KILDA, for so they call the Old Fort there, is about eighteen leagues distant from North Uist, and twenty from the middle of Lewis or Harries, to be seen only in a very fair day like a blewish mist: but a large fire there wou'd be visible at night, as the ascending smoak by day. In this same Ile of Lewis, where are many such Duns, there's north of the village of Brago, a round Fort composed of huge stones, and three stories high: that is, it has three hollow passages one over another, within a prodigious thick wall quite round the Fort, with many windows and stairs. I give this onely as an example from Dr. MARTIN an eye-witness, who, with several others, mention many more such elsewhere: yet, which is a great neglect, without acquainting us with their dimensions, whether those passages in the wall be arch'd, or with many such things relating to the nature of the work; and omitting certain other circumstances, no less necessary to be known. I mention these Forts, my Lord, not as any way, that I yet know, appertaining to the Druids: but, in treating

of the Monuments truely theirs, I take this natural occasion of communicating, what may be worthy of your Lordship's curiosity and consideration; especially when, like Episodes in a Poem, they serve to relieve the attention, and are not very foren to the subject. Considering all things, I judge no Monuments more deserving our researches; especially, if any shou'd prove them to be Phenician or Massilian Places of security for their commerce: since 'tis certain that both People have traded there, and that PYTHEAS of Marseilles, as we are informed by STRABO, made a particular description of those Ilands; to which CESAR, among other Descriptions, without naming the authors, does doubtless (53) refer. But my own opinion I think fit at present to reserve.

X. From the conjectures I have about these numerous and costly Forts, in Ilands so remote and barren, I pass to the certainty I have concerning the TEMPLES OF THE DRUIDS, whereof so many are yet intire in those Ilands, as well as in Wales and Ireland; with some left in England, where culture has mostly destroy'd or impair'd such Monuments. These Temples are *Circles of Obeliscs* or erect stones, some larger,

(53) *In hoc medio cursu* [inter Hiberniam scilicet & Britanniam] *est insula, quae appellatur* Mona. *Complures praeterea minores objectae insulae existimantur, de quibus insulis nonnulli scripserunt, dies continuos* 30 *sub bruma esse noctem.* De Bello Gallico, lib. 5.

some narrower, as in all other Edifices, some more and some less magnificent. They are for the greatest part perfectly circular, but some of them semicircular: in others the Obeliscs stand close together, but in most separate and equidistant. I am not ignorant that several, with Dr. CHARLTON in his *Stone-henge restor'd to the Danes*, believe those Circles to be Danish works; a notion I shall easily confute in due time, and even now as I go along. But few have imagin'd 'em to be Roman, as the famous Architect INIGO JONES wou'd needs have this same *Stone-henge*, according to me one of the Druid Cathedrals, to be the Temple of CELUM or TERMINUS, in his *Stone-henge restor'd to the Romans*. Nevertheless, My Lord, I promise you no less than demonstration, that those Circles were Druids Temples: against which assertion their frequenting of Oaks, and performing no religious rites without Oak-branches or Leaves, will prove no valid exception; no more than such Circles being found in the Gothic countries, tho' without ALTARS, whereof we shall speak after the Temples. The outside of the Churches in Spain and Holland is much the same, but their inside differs extremely. As for INIGO JONES, he cannot be too much commended for his generous efforts, which shows an uncommon genius, to introduce a better taste of Architecture into England, where 'tis still so difficult a thing to get rid of Gothic Oddnesses; and therefore 'tis no wonder he shou'd continue famous, when so

few endeavour to excede him: but we must beg his pardon, if, as he was unacquainted with History, and wanted certian other qualifications, we take the freedom in our Book to correct his mistakes.

XI. In the Iland of Lewis beforemention'd, at the village of Classerniss, there is one of those Temples extremely remarkable. The Circle consists of twelve Obeliscs, about seven foot high each, and distant from each other six foot. In the center stands a stone thirteen foot high, in the perfect shape of the rudder of a Ship. Directly south from the Circle, there stand four Obeliscs running out in a line; as another such line due east, and a third to the west, the number and distances of the stones being in these wings the same: so that this Temple, the most intire that can be, is at the same time both round and wing'd. But to the north there reach, by way of avenue, two straight ranges of Obeliscs, of the same bigness and distances with those of the Circle; yet the ranges themselves are eight foot distant, and each consisting of nineteen stones, the thirty-ninth being in the entrance of the avenue. This Temple stands astronomically, denoting the twelve signs of the Zodiac and the four principal winds, subdivided each into four others; by which, and the nineteen stones on each side the avenue betokening the Cycle of nineteen years, I can prove it to have been dedicated principally to the Sun;

but subordinately to the Seasons and the Elements, particularly to the Sea and the Winds, as appears by the rudder in the middle. The Sea, consider'd as a Divinity, was by the antient Gauls call'd ANVANA or ONVANA, as the raging Sea is still call'd *Anafa* in so many Letters by the Irish (54); and both of 'em, besides that they were very good Astronomers, are known to have paid honor not only to the Sea, but also to the Winds and the Tempests, as the (55) Romans were wont to do. But of this in the account of their worship. I forgot to tell you, that there is another Temple about a quarter of a mile from the former; and that commonly two Temples stand near each other, for reasons you will see in our *History*. East of Drumcruy in the Scottish Ile of Aran, is a Circular Temple, whose area is about thirty paces over: and south of the same Village is such another Temple, in the center of which still remains the Altar; being a broad thin stone, supported by three other such stones. This is very extraordinary, tho', as you may see in my last Letter, not

(54) They vulgarly call the sea *mor* or *muir*, *mara*, *cuan*, *fairge*, &c.

(55) *Sic fatus, meritos aris mactavit honores:*
Taurum NEPTUNO, *taurum tibi, pulcher* APOLLO;
Nigram HYEMI *pecudem,* ZEPHYRIS *felicibus album.*
Aen. lib. 3.

Videatur etiam Horatius, Epod. 10. *ver. ult. Cic. de nat. Deor. lib.* 3. *Et Aristoph. in Ranis cum suo Scholiaste.*

the onely example ; since the zeal of the Christians, sometimes apt to be over-heated, us'd to leave no Altars standing but their own. In the greatest Iland of (56) Orkney, commonly call'd the *Mainland*, there are likewise two Temples, where the natives believe by Tradition, that the Sun and Moon were worshipt : which belief of theirs is very right, since the lesser Temple is semi-circular. The greater is one hundred and ten paces diameter. They know not what to make of two green Mounts erected at the east and west end of it : a matter nevertheless for which it is not difficult to account. There's a trench or ditch round each of these Temples, like that about *Stone-henge ;* and, in short, every such Temple had the like inclosure. Many of the stones are above twenty or twenty-four foot in heighth, above the ground, about five foot in breadth, and a foot or two in thickness. Some of 'em are fallen down : and the Temples are one on the east and the other on the west side of the Lake of Stennis, where it is shallow and fordable, there being a passage over by large stepping stones. Near the lesser Temple, which is on the east side of the Lake,

(56) The Iles of *Orkney* are denominated from *Orcas* or *Orca*, which, in DIODORUS SICULUS and PTOLEMY, is the antient name of Caithness; and this from *Orc*, not a salmon [as by some interpreted] but a whale : so that in old Irish *Orc-i* is the *Whale Ilands*. The words of DIODORUS are, To de Hypolipomenon (tēs Bretanias) anēkein men historousin eis to pelagon, onomazesthai de Orcan. *Lib.* 4.

as the greater on the west, there stand two stones of the same bigness with the (57) rest; thro' the middle of one of which there is a large hole, by which criminals and victims were ty'd. Likewise in the Iland of Papa-Westra, another of the Orkneys, there stand, near a Lake, now call'd St. TREDWELL'S (58) LOCH, two such Obeliscs, in one of which there is the like hole; and behind them lying on the ground a third stone, being hollow like a trough.

XII. These few I only give for examples out of great numbers, as I likewise take the liberty to acquaint you, My Lord, that at a place call'd *Biscau-woon*, near Saint Burien's in Cornwall, there is a circular Temple consisting of nineteen stones, the distance between each twelve foot; and a twentieth in the center, much higher than the rest. But I am not yet informed, whether this middle stone has any peculiar figure, or whether inscrib'd with any characters; for such characters are found in Scotland, and some have been observ'd in Wales; but, except the Roman and Christian Inscriptions, unintelligible to such as have hitherto seen them. Yet they ought to have been fairly represented, for the use of such as might have been able perhaps to explain them. They would at least exercise our Antiquaries. The Circle of

(57) Brand, *pag.* 44.

(58) Brand, *pag.* 58.

Rollrich-stones in Oxfordshire, and the *Hurlers* in Cornwall, are two of those Druid Temples. There is one at Aubury in Wiltshire, and some left in other places of England. In GREGORY *of Tours* time there was remaining, and for ought I know may still be so, one of those Temples on the top of BELEN's *Mount*, between Arton and Riom in Auvergne. It was within this inclosure that MARTIN, the sainted Bishop, stood taking a (59) view of the country, as before mention'd. Now of such Temples I shall mention here no more, but procede to the Druids ALTARS, which, as I said before, do ordinarily consist of four stones; three being hard flags, or large tho' thin stones, set up edge-wise, two making the sides, and a shorter one the end, with a fourth stone of the same kind on the top: for the other end was commonly left open, and the Altars were all oblong. Many of 'em are not intire. From some the upper stone is taken away, from others one of the side-stones or the end. And, besides the alterations that men have caus'd in all these kinds of Monuments, Time it self has chang'd 'em much more. Mr. BRAND speaking of the Obeliscs in Orkney, *many of 'em*, says (60) he, *appear to be much worn, by the washing of the wind and rain, which*

(59) *Extat nunc in hoc loco cancellus, in quo Sanctus dicitur stetisse.* Gregor. Turon. de Gloria Confessor. cap. 5.

(60) Pag. 46.

shows they are of a long standing: and it is very strange to think, how, in those places and times, they got such large stones carry'd and erected. 'Tis naturally impossible, but that, in the course of so many ages, several stones must have lost their figure; their angles being exposed to all weathers, and no care taken to repair any disorder, nor to prevent any abuse of them. Thus some are become lower, or jagged, or otherwise irregular and diminished: many are quite wasted, and moss or scurf hides the Inscriptions or Sculptures of others; for such Sculptures there are in several places, particularly in Wales and the Scottish Ile of Aran. That one sort of stone lasts longer than another is true: but that all will have their period, no less than Parchment and Paper, is as true.

XIII. There are a great many of the ALTARS to be seen yet intire in Wales, particularly two in Kerig Y Drudion parish mentioned in my other Letter, and one in Lhan-Hammulch parish in Brecknockshire; with abundance elsewhere, diligently observ'd by one I mention'd in my first Letter, Mr. EDWARD LHUYD, who yet was not certain to what use they were destin'd. Here I beg the favor of your Lordship to take it for granted, that I have sufficient authorities for every thing I alledge: and tho' I do not always give them in this brief *Specimen*, yet in the *history* it self they shall be produc'd on every pro-

per occasion. The Druids Altars were commonly in the middle of the Temples, near the great Colossus, of which presently; as there is now such a one at Carn-Lhechart in the parish of Lhan-Gyvelach in Glamorganshire, besides that which I mentioned before in Scotland. They are by the Welsh in the singular number call'd *Kist-vaen*, that is a stone-chest, and in the plural *Kistieu-vaen*, stone-chests. These names, with a small variation, are good Irish: but the things quite different from those real stone-chests or coffins, commonly of one block and the lid, that are in many places found under ground. The vulgar Irish call these Altars (61) DERMOT *and* GRANIA'S *bed.* This last was the Daughter of King CORMAC ULFHADA, and Wife to (62) FIN MAC CUIL; from whom, as invincible a General and Champion as he's reported to have been, she took it in her head, as women will sometimes have such fancies, to run away with a nobleman, call'd (63) DERMONT O DUVNY: but being pursu'd every where, the ignorant country people say, they were intertain'd a night in every quarter-land *(64)* or village of Ireland; where the inhabitants sympathizing with their affections, and doing to others what they wou'd be done unto,

(61) *Leaba* DHIARMAIT *agus* GHRAINE.
(62) FINN MHAC CUBHAILL.
(63) DIARMAIT O DUIBHNE.
(64) Seisreach & Ceathramhach.

made these beds both for their resting and hiding place. The Poets, you may imagine, have not been wanting to imbellish this story: and hence it appears, that the Druids were planted as thick as Parish Priests, nay much thicker. Wherever there's a Circle without an Altar, 'tis certain there was one formerly; as Altars are found where the Circular Obeliscs are mostly or all taken away for other uses, or out of aversion to this superstition, or that time has consum'd them. They, who, from the bones, which are often found near those Altars and Circles, 'tho' seldom within them, will needs infer, that they were burying places; forget what CESAR, PLINY, TACITUS, and other Authors, write of the human sacrifices offer'd by the Druids: and, in mistaking the ashes found in the Carns, they show themselves ignorant of those several anniversary fires and sacrifices, for which they were rear'd, as we have shown above. The huge coping stones of these Carns were in the nature of Altars, and Altars of the lesser form are frequently found near them; as now in the great Latin and Greec Churches, there are, besides the High Altar, several smaller ones.

XIV. There's another kind of Altar much bigger than either of these, consisting of a great number of stones; some of 'em serving to support the others, by reason of their enormous bulk. These the Britons term CROMLECH in the sin-

gular, *Cromlechu* in the plural number; and the Irish CROMLEACH or *Cromleac*, in the plural *Cromleacha* or *Cromleacca*. By these Altars, as in the center of the Circular Temples, there commonly stands, or by accident lyes, a prodigious stone, which was to serve as a Pedestal to some Deity: for all these *Cromleachs* were places of worship, and so call'd from *bowing*, the word signifying the (65) *bowing-stone*. The original designation of the Idol CRUM-CRUACH, whereof in the next Section, may well be from *Cruim*, an equivalent word to *Tairneach Taran* or *Tarman*, all signifying Thunder: whence the Romans call'd the Gallic Jupiter *Taramis* or *Taranis*, the thunderer: and from these *Cromleachs* it is, that in the oldest Irish a Priest is call'd *Cruimthear*, and Priesthood *Cruimtheacd*, which are so many evident vestiges of the Druidical (66) religion. There's a *Cromlech* in Nevern-Parish in Pembrokeshire, where the middle stone is still eighteen foot high, and nine broad towards the base, growing narrower upwards. There lyes by it a piece broken of ten foot long, which seems more than twenty oxen can draw: and therefore they were not

(65) From *crom* or *crum*, which, in Armoric, Irish, and Welsh, signifies *bent*; and *Lech* or *Lęac*, a broad stone.

(66) Of the same nature is *Cairneach*, of which before: for *Sagart*, the ordinary word for a Priest, is manifestly form'd from *Sacerdos*.

void of all skill in the Mechanics, who could set up the whole. But one remaining at Poitiers in France, supported by five lesser stones, excedes all in the British Ilands, as being sixty foot in circumference (67). I fancy however that this was a *Rocking-stone:* There's also a noble *Cromleach* at Bod-ouyr in Anglesey. Many of them, by a modest computation, are thirty tun weight: but they differ in bigness, as all pillars do, and their Altars are ever bigger than the ordinary *Kistieu-vaen.* In some places of Wales these stones are call'd *Meineu-guyr,* which is of the same import with *Cromlechu.* In Caithness, and other remote parts of Scotland, these Cromleacs are very numerous, some pretty entire; and others, not so much consum'd by time, or thrown down by storms, as disorder'd and demolished by the hands of men. But no such Altars were ever found by OLAUS WORMIUS, the great northern Antiquary, which I desire the abettors of Dr. CHARLTON to note, nor by any others in the Temples of the Gothic nations; as I term all who speak the sevaral dialects of Gothic original, from Izeland to Switzerland, and from the Bril in Holland to Presburg in Hungary, the Boehemians and Polanders excepted. The Druids were onely co-extended with

(67) *La pierre levee de Poitiers a soixante pieds de tour, & elle est posee sur cinq autres pierres, sans qu'on sache non plus ni pourquoi, ni comment.* CHEVREAU, Memoires d' Angleterre, page 380.

the Celtic dialects: besides that CESAR says expresly, there were (68) no Druids among the Germans, with whom he says as expresly that *seeing and feeling was believing*, honoring onely the Sun, the Fire, and the Moon, *by which they were manifestly benefited*, and that they made no sacrifices at all: which of course made Altars as useless there, tho' afterwards grown fashionable, as they were necessary in the Druids Temples, and which they show more than probably to have been Temples indeed; nor are they call'd by any other name, or thought to have been any other thing, by the Highlanders or their Irish progenitors. In Jersey likewise, as well as in the other neighbouring Ilands, formerly part of the Dutchy of Normandy, there are many Altars and Cromlechs. "There are yet remaining in this Iland," (says Dr. FALLE in the 115th page of his Account of Jersey) "some old monuments of Paganism. We "call them *Pouqueleys*. They are great flat stones, "of vast bigness and weight; some oval, some "quadrangular, rais'd three or four foot from the "ground, and supported by others of a less size. "'Tis evident both from their figure, and great "quantities of ashes found in the ground there-

(68) *Germani------neque Druides habent, qui rebus divinis praesint, neque Sacrificiis student. Deorum numero eos solos ducunt,* quos cernunt, *et quorum operibus* aperte juvantur; *Solem, et Vulcanum, et Lunam: reliquos ne fama quidem acceperunt.* De Bello Gallico, lib. 6.

" abouts, that they were us'd for Altars in those " times of superstition : and their standing on emi- " nences near the sea, inclines me also to think, " that they were dedicated to the Divinities of " the Ocean. At ten or twelve foot distance there " is a small stone set up an end, in manner of " a desk ; where 'tis suppos'd the Priest kneel'd, " and perform'd some ceremonies, while the Sa- " crifice was burning on the Altar." Part of this account is mistaken, for the culture of the inland parts is the reason that few *Pouqueleys* are left, besides those on the barran rocks and hills on the sea side : nor is that situation alone sufficient for entitling them to the Marine Powers, there being proper marks to distinguish such wheresoever situated.

XV. But to return to our Cromleachs, the chiefest in all Ireland was CRUM-CRUACH, which stood in the midst of a Circle of twelve Obeliscs on a hill in Brefin, a district of the county of Cavan, formerly belonging to Letrim. It was all over covered with gold and silver, the lesser figures on the twelve stones about it being onely of brass ; which mettals, both of the stones and the statues that they bore, became every where the prey of the Christian Priests, upon the conversion of that kingdom. The legendary writers of PATRIC's *Life*, tell many things no less ridiculous than incredible, about the destruction of

this Temple of *Moyslect* (69), or *the Field of Adoration*, in Brefin; where the stumps of the circular Obliscs are yet to be seen, and where they were noted by writers to have stood long before any Danish invasion, which shows how groundless Dr. CHARLTON's notion is. The Bishop's See of Clogher had its name from one of those stones, all cover'd with gold *(Clochoir* signifying *the golden stone)* on which stood KERMAND KELSTACH, the chief Idol of Ulster (70). This stone is still in being. To note it here by the way, Sir JAMES WARE was mistaken, when, in his *Antiquities of Ireland*, he said Arcklow and Wicklow were foren names: whereas they are mere Irish, the first be-in *Ardeloch*, and the second *Buidhe-cloch*, from high and yellow stones of this consecrated kind. 'Tis not to vindicate either the Celtic nations in general, or my own country-men in particular, for honoring of such stones, or for having stony symbols of the Deity; but to show they were neither more ignorant nor barbarous in this respect than the politest of nations, the Greecs and the Romans, that here I must make a short literary excursion. Wherefore, I beg your Lordship to remember, that KERMAND KELSTACH was not the onely MERCURY of rude stone, since the MERCURY of the Greecs was not portray'd antiently in the

(69) Magh-sleucht.

(70) MERCURIUS CELTICUS.

shape of a youth, with wings to his heels and a caduceus in his hand; but (71), *without hands or feet, being a square stone,* says PHURNUTUS, and I say without any sculpture. The reason given for it by the Divines of those days, was, *that as the square figure betoken'd his solidity and stability; so he wanted neither hands nor feet to execute what he was commanded by* JOVE. Thus *their merry-making* BACCHUS *was figured among the Thebans by a* (72) *pillar onely.* So *the Arabians worship I know not what God,* says (73) MAXIMUS TYRIUS, *and the statue that I saw of him, was a square stone.* I shall say nothing here of the oath of the Romans *per Jovem Lapidem.* But no body pretends that the Gauls were more subtil Theologues or Philosophers, than the Arabians, Greecs, or Romans; at least many are apt not to believe it of their Irish Ofspring: yet 'tis certain, that all those nations meant by these stones without statues, *the* (74) *eternal stability and power of the Deity*; and that he cou'd not be represented by any similitude, nor under any figure whatsoever. For the

(71) Plattetai de kai acheir, kai apous, kai tetragōnos tō schēmati, d' Hermēs: tetragōnos men, to edraion te kai asphales echein——Acheir de kai Apous, epei oute podōn oute cheirōn deitai, pros to anucin to prokeimenon autō. *De Nat. Deor. cap.* 16.

(72) Stulos Thebaioisi Diōnussos polugōthēs. *Clem. Alex. Stromat. lib.* 1.

(73) Arabioi sebousi men hontina d' ouk oida: to de agalma ho eidon lithos ēn tetragōnos. *Serm.* 38.

(74) To aneikuniston tou theou kai monimon. *Id. Ibid.*

numberless figures, which, notwithstanding this doctrine, they had, some of 'em very ingenious, and some very fantastical, were onely emblematical or enigmatical symbols of the divine attributes and operations, but not of the Divine Essence. Now as such symbols in different places were different, so they were often confounded together, and mistaken for each other. Nor do I doubt, but in this manner the numerous Carns in Gaule and Britain induc'd the Romans to believe, that MERCURY was their (75) chief God, because among themselves he had such heaps, as I show'd above; whereas the Celtic heaps were all dedicated to BELENUS, or the Sun. The Roman Historians in particular are often misled by likenesses, as has been already, and will not seldom again, be shown in our *History;* especially with regard to the Gods, said to have been been worship'd by the Gauls. Thus some modern Critics have forg'd new Gods, out of the sepulchral inscriptions of Gallic Heroes. I shall say no more of such pillars, but that many of them have a cavity on the top, capable to hold a pint, and somtimes more; with a channel or groove, about an inch deep, reaching from this hollow place to the ground, of the use whereof in due time.

XVI Nor will I dwell longer here, than our subject requires, on the FATAL STONE so call'd,

(75) *Deum maxime Mercurium colunt. Hujus sunt plurima simulacra, &c.* Caes. de bello Gallico, lib. 6.

on which the supreme Kings of Ireland us'd to be inaugurated in times of Heathenism on the hill of (76) *Tarah* (77): and which being inclos-

(76) *Teamhuir*, or in the oblique cases *Teamhra*, whence corruptly *Taragh*, or *Tarah*.

(77) The true names of this stone are *Liag-fail* or *the fatal stone*, and *Cloch na cineamhna* or *the stone of fortune*: both of them from a persuasion the antient Irish had, that, in what country soever this stone remain'd, there one of their blood was to reign. But this prov'd as false as such other prophesies for 300 years, from EDWARD the first to the reign of JAMES the first in England. The Druidical Oracle is in verse, and in these original words:

Cioniodh scuit saor an fine,
Man ba breag an Faisdine,
Mar a bhfuighid an Lia-fail,
Dlighid flaitheas do ghabhail.

Which may be read thus truely, but monkishly translated, in HECTOR BOETHIUS:

Ni fallat fatum, Scoti, quocunque locatum
Invenient lapidem hunc, regnare tenentur ibidem.

The Lowland Scots have rhym'd it thus:

Except old Saws do feign,
And wizards wits be blind,
The Scots in place must reign,
Where they this stone shall find.

And some English Poet has thus render'd it;

Consider Scot, wher'e'er you find this stone,
If fates fail not, there fixt must be your throne.

The Irish pretend to have memoirs concerning it for above 2000 years: nay Ireland it self is sometimes,

ed in a wooden Chair, was thought to emit a sound under the rightful Candidate, a thing easily manag'd by the Druids, but to be mute under a man of none or a bad title, that is, one who was not for the turn of those Priests. Every one has read of Memnon's vocal statue in Egypt. This fatal stone was superstitiously sent to confirm the Irish Colony in the north of Great Britain, where it continued as the Coronation-seat of the Scottish Kings, even since Christianity; till, in the year one thousand three-hundred,

from this stone, by the poets call'd *Inis-fail*. But how soon they begun to use it, or whence they had it, lyes altogether in the dark. What's certain is, that after having long continu'd at Tarah, it was, for the purpose I have mentioned, sent to FERGUS, the first actual King of Scots; and that it lay in Argile (the original seat of the Scots in Britain) till, about the year of Christ 842, that KENETH the 2d, the son of ALPIN, having inlarg'd his borders by the conquest of the Picts, transferr'd this stone, for the same purpose as before, to Scone. So great respect is still paid by Christians to a Heathen Prophesy! not onely false in fact, as I have this moment prov'd; but evidently illusory and equivocal, it being a thing most difficult to find any prince in Europe, who, some way or other, may not claim kindred of every other princely race about him, and consequently be of that blood. This is the case of our present Soverain King GEORGE, who is indeed descended of the Scottish race, but yet in propriety of speech is not of the Scottish line; but the first here of the Brunswick line, as others begun the Brittish, Saxon, Danish, Saxo-Danish, Norman, Saxo-Norman, and Scottish lines. Yet this not being the sense in which the Irish and Scots understand the Oracle, they ought consequently at this very time to look upon it as false, and groundless.

EDWARD the first of England brought it from Scone, placing it under the Coronation-chair at Westminster: and there it still continues, the antientest respected monument in the world; for tho' some others may be more antient as to duration, yet thus superstitiously regarded they are not. I had almost forgot to tell you, that 'tis now by the vulgar call'd JACOB-STONE, as if this had been JACOB's pillow at Bethel (78). Neither shall I be more copious in treating of another kind of stones, tho' belonging also to our subject. They are roundish and of vast bulk; but so artificially pitch'd on flat stones, sometimes more, sometimes fewer in number: that touching the great stone lightly, it moves, and seems to totter, to the great amazement of the ignorant; but stirs not, at least not sensibly, for that is the case, when one uses his whole strength. Of this sort is *Maen-amber* in Cornwall, and another in the Peak of Derby, whereof Dr. WOODWARD has given me an account from his own observation. Some there are in Wales, one that I have seen in the Parish of Clunmany (79) in the north of Ireland, and the famous *rocking stones* in Scotland; of all which, and many more, in our *History*. Yet I cou'd not excuse it to my self, if I did not with

(78) Gen. xxviii. 11, 18, 19.

(79) *Cluainmaine*.

the soonest, let your Lordship into the secret of this reputed Magic; which the no less learned Antiquary than able Physician, Sir ROBERT SIBBALD, has discover'd in the Appendix to his *History of Fife and Kinross*. That Gentleman speaking of the Rocking-stone near Balvaird, or the Bards-town, "I am informed, (says he), that this "stone was broken by the Usurper CROMWELL's "Soldiers; and it was discover'd then, that its "motion was performed by a yolk extuberant in "the middle of the under-surface of the upper stone, "which was inserted in a cavity in the surface of "the lower stone." To which let me add, that as the lower stone was flat, so the upper stone was globular: and that not onely a just proportion in the motion, was calculated from the weight of the stone, and the wideness of the cavity, as well as the oval figure of the inserted prominence; but that the vast bulk of the upper stone did absolutely conceal the mechanism of the motion; and the better still to impose, there were two or three surrounding flat stones, tho' that onely in the middle was concern'd in the feat. By this pretended miracle they condemn'd of perjury, or acquitted, as their interest or their affection led them; and often brought criminals to confess, what could be no other way extorted from them. So prevalent is the horror of Superstition in some cases, which led many people to fancy, and among them the otherwise most judicious STRABO, that it might be a useful cheat to society: not considering

that in other cases, incomparably more numerous and important, it is most detrimental, pernicious, and destructive, being solely useful to the Priests that have the management of it; while it not onely disturbs or distresses society, but very often confounds and finally overturns it, of which History abounds with examples.

XVII. I come now to the DRUIDS HOUSES, by which I don't mean their Forts or Towns, of of which they had many, but not as Church-lands; nor yet the Houses for their Schools, situated in the midst of pleasant groves: but I mean little, arch'd, round, stone buildings, capable only of holding one person, where the retir'd and contemplative Druid sat, when his Oak could not shelter him from the weather. There's another sort of Druid's houses much larger. Of both these sorts remain several yet intire in the Ile of Sky, and also in some other Iles; being by the Natives (80) call'd *Tighthe nan Druidhneach*, that is, Druids Houses. Many of them are to be seen in Wales, and some in Ireland: but different from those under-ground houses, or artificial Caves, which are in all those places; consisting frequently of several chambers, and generally opening towards rivers or the sea: having been, as those of the

(80) Corruptly *Tinan Druinich*.

Germans describ'd by (81) TACITUS, magazines against the extreme rigor of winter, or hiding places for men and goods in time of war. The vulgar in the Ilands do still show a great respect for the *Druid's Houses*, and never come to the antient sacrificing and fire-hallowing *Carns*, but they walk three times round them from east to west, according to the course of the Sun. This sanctified tour or round by the south, is call'd (82) *Deiseal*; as the unhallow'd contrary one by the north, (83) *Tuapholl*. But the Irish and Albanian Scots do not derive the first, as a certain friend of mine imagined, from *Di-sul*, which signifies *Sunday* in Armorican British, as *Dydh-syl* in the Welsh and *De-zil* in Cornish do the same; but from (84) *Deas*, the *right*, understanding, *hand* and *Soil*, one of the antient names of the Sun, the right hand in this round being ever next the heap. The Protestants in the Hebrides are almost as much addicted to the *Deisiol*, as the Papists. Hereby it may be seen, how hard it is to eradicate inveterate Superstition. This custom

(81) *Solent et subterraneos specus aperire, eosque multo insuper fimo onerant: suffugium hiemi, ac receptaculum frugibus; quia rigorem frigorum ejusmodi locis molliunt. Et si quando hostis advenit, aperta populatur: abdita autem et defossa aut ignorantur, aut eo ipso fallunt, quod quaerenda sunt.* De moribus German. cap. 3.

(82) *Dextrorsum.*

(83) *Sinistrorsum.*

(84) Item *Deis.*

was us'd three thousand years ago, and God knows how long before, by their ancestors the antient Gauls of the same religion with them; who *turn'd round right-hand-wise, when they worship'd their Gods,* as (85) ATHENEUS informs us out of POSIDONIUS a much elder writer. Nor is this contradicted, but clearly confirm'd by PLINY, who says, *that the Gauls, contrary to the custom of the* (86) *Romans, turn'd to the left in their religious ceremonies*; for as they begun their worship towards the east, so they turn'd about, as our Ilanders do now, from east to west according to the course of the Sun, that is, from right to left, as PLINY has observ'd; whereas the left was among the Romans reputed the right in Augury, and in all devotions answering it. Nor were their neighbors, the Aboriginal Italians, most of 'em of Gallic descent, strangers to this custom of worshipping right-hand-wise, which, not to allege more Passages, may be seen by this one in the (87) *Curculio* of PLAUTUS, who was himself one of them: *when you worship the Gods, do it turning to the right hand;* which answers to turning from the west to the cast. It is perhaps from this respectful turning from east to

(85) Houtoi theous proskunousin, epi la dexia Strephomenoi. *Lib.* 4. *Pag.* 152.

(86) *In adorando dexteram ad osculum referimus, totumque corpus circumagimus; quod in laevum fecisse Galli religiosius credunt.* Hist. Nat. lib. 28. cap. 2.

(87) *Si Deos salutas, dextrovorsum censeo.* Act. 1. Scen. 1. ver. 70.

west, that we retain the custom of drinking ove
left thumb, or, as others express it, according t
course of the Sun; the breaking of which ord
reckon'd no small impropriety, if not a downrigl
decency, in Great Britain and Ireland. And no
der, since this, if you have faith in HOMER, wa
custom of the Gods themselves. VULCAN, in the
book of the (88) *Iliad*, filling a bumper to his m
JUNO,

To th' other Gods, going round from right to lef
Skenk'd Nectar sweet, which from full flask he p

But more of the right hand in the chapter of *Au*

XVIII. To resume our discourse about the D
houses, one of them in the Iland of St. KIL
very remarkable; and, according to the tra
of the place, must have belong'd to a Druidess.
be this as it will, it is all of stone, without lim
mortar, or earth to cement it: 'tis also arch'd, a
a conic figure; but open at the top, and a fire
in the middle of the floor. It cannot contain above
nine persons, to sit easy by each other: and from
this whole description 'tis clear, that the edifice call
ARTHUR'S *Oven* in Sterlingshire, just of the same
form and dimensions, is by no means of Roman ori-
ginal, whatever our antiquaries have thoughtlesly
fancy'd to the contrary. Some make it the Temple

(88) Autar ho tois alloisi theois endexia pasin ōnochoei, gluku nektar apo krētēros aphussōn. *Il.* 1. *Ver.* 597.

of TERMINUS, and others a triumphal arch, when they might as well have fancy'd it to be a hogtrough: so little is it like any of those arches. As to the house in St. KILDA, there go off from the side of the wall three low vaults, separated from each other by pillars, and capable of containing five persons a piece. Just such another house in all respects, but much larger, and grown over with a green sod on the outside, is in Borera, an Ile adjacent to St. KILDA; and was the habitation of a Druid, who 'tis probable was not unacquainted with his neighbouring Druidess. Shetland abounds with another kind of stone houses, not unfrequent in Orkney, which they ascribe to the Picts; as they are apt all over Scotland to make every thing Pictish, whose origin they do not know. The Belgae or Fir-bolgs share this honor with the Picts in Ireland, and King ARTHUR is reputed the author of all such fabrics in Wales, except that those of Anglesey father 'em on the Irish. These instances I have given your Lordship, to convince you, how imperfect all *Treatises about the Druids* (hitherto publish'd) must needs be; since they contain nothing of this kind, tho' ever so essential to the subject: and that none of these Monuments, very frequent in France, are there ascrib'd to the Druids, their records about such things being all lost; while very many of ours happily remain to clear them, since the usages were the same in both countries. Nor are those Treatises less defective in the more instructive part, concerning the *Druidical Philosophy and*

Politics, whereof the modern French and Brittish writers, have in reality known nothing further, than the Classic authors furnish'd 'em; or if they add any thing, 'tis absolutely fabulous, ill-invented, and unauthoriz'd. These subjects I reserve intire for my greater work. JOHN AUBREY Esq; a Member of the Royal Society, with whom I became acquainted at Oxford, when I was a sojourner there; and collecting during my idler hours a Vocobulary of Armorican and Irish words, which, in sound and signification, agree better together than with the Welsh, was the only person I ever then met, who had a right notion of the Temples of the Druids, or indeed any notion that the Circles so often mention'd were such Temples at all: wherein he was intirely confirm'd, by the authorities which I show'd him; as he supply'd me in return with numerous instances of such Monuments, which he was at great pains to observe and set down. And tho' he was extremely superstitious, or seem'd to be so: yet he was a very honest man, and most accurate in his accounts of matters of fact. But the facts he knew, not the reflections he made, were what I wanted. Nor will I deny justice on this occasion, to a person whom I cited before, and who in many other respects merits all the regard which the curious can pay; I mean Sir ROBERT SIBBALD, who, in his foresaid *History of Fife*, but very lately come to my hands, affirms, that there are several Druids Temples to be seen every where in Scotland, particulary in the

County he describes. *These* (says he) *are great stones plac'd in a circle, at some distance from each other*, &c. Mr. AUBREY show'd me several of Dr. GARDEN's letters from that kingdom to the same purpose, but in whose hands now I know not.

XIX. I shall conclude this Letter with two examples of such works, as tho' not, that I can hitherto learn, belonging any way to the Druids, yet they may possibly be of that kind: or be they of what kind you will, they certainly merit our notice; as, together with those for which we can truely account, they highly serve to illustrate the Antiquities of our British world. My first example is in the Main-land of Orkney, describ'd among the rest of those Islands by Dr. WALLACE and Mr. BRAND; where, on the top of a high rocky hill at the west end of the Iland near the village of Skeal, there is a sort of pavement, consisting of stones variously figur'd, some like a heart, others like a crown, others like a leg, some like a weaver's shuttle, others of other forms: and so on for above a quarter of a mile in length, and from twenty to thirty foot in breadth. In taking up any of these stones, the figure is as neat on the underside as the upper: and being as big as the life, all of one color, or a reddish kind of stone pitch'd in a reddish earth, and the pavement being so very long; it cannot possibly be any of the tessellated, or chequer'd works of the Romans. " I saw a part of the garden wall of " the house of Skeal, *says* (89) Mr. BRAND, decorat-

(89) Pag. 43.

" ed with these stones: and we intended to have " sent a parcel of them to our friends in the south, " as a rarity; if they had not been forgot, at our re- " turn from Zet-land." Dr. Wallace (90) also says, that many of the stones are taken away by the neighboring gentry, to set them up like Dutch tiles in their chimneys: so that, at this rate, in less than a century this pavement will in all likelihood subsist only in books. All such Monuments, when I go to Scotland, I shall so accurately describe in every respect, and give such accounts of them where accountable; that I hope the curious will have reason to be satisfy'd, or at least some abler person be emulous of satisfying the world, and me among the rest. Wherever I am at a loss, I shall frankly own it; and never give my conjectures for more than what they are, that is, probable guesses: and certainly nothing can be more amiss in Inquiries of this kind, than to obtrude suppositions for matters of fact. Upon all such occasions, I desire the same liberty with Crassus in Cicero *de* (91) *Oratore:* that *I may deny being able to do, what I'me sure I cannot; and to confess that I am ignorant, of what I do not know.* This I shall not onely be ever ready to do my self, but to account it in others a learned ignorance.

XX. But, My Lord, before I take my intended journey, I desire the favour of having your thoughts

(90) Pag. 55.

(91) *Mihi liceat negare posse, quod non potero; et fateri nescire, quod nesciam,* lib. 2.

upon my next example. I speak of a couple of instances, really parallel; brought here together from parts of the world no less distant in their situation and climates, than different in their condition and manners. Egypt, I mean, and the Iles of Scotland. Yet this they have in common, that Egypt, once the mother of all arts and sciences, is now as ignorant of her own monuments, and as fabulous in the accounts of them, as any Highlanders can be about theirs. Such changes however are as nothing in the numberless revolutions of ages. But to our subject. HERODOTUS says, in the second Book of his *History*, that near to the entry of the magnificent Temple of MINERVA at Sais in Egypt, of which he speaks with admiration, he saw an edifice twenty-one cubits in length, fourteen in breadth, and eight in heigth, the whole consisting onely of one stone; and that it was brought thither by sea, from a place about twenty days sailing from Sais. This is my first instance. And, parallel to it, all those who have been in Hoy, one of the Orkneys, do affirm, without citing, or many of them knowing this passage of HERODOTUS, that there lies on a barren heath in this Iland an oblong stone, in a valley between two moderate hills; call'd I suppose antiphrastically, or by way of contraries, the DWARFY-STONE. It is thirty-six foot long, eighteen foot broad, and nine foot high. No other stones are near it. 'Tis all hollow'd within, or, as we may say, scoop'd by human art and industry, having a door on the east side two foot square; with a stone of the

same dimension lying about two foot from it, which was intended no doubt to close this entrance. Within there is, at the south end of it, cut out the form of a bed and pillow, capable to hold two persons: as, at the north end, there is another bed, Dr. WALLACE says, a couch, both very neatly done. Above, at an equal distance from both, is a large round hole: which is suppos'd, not onely to have been design'd for letting in of light and air, when the door was shut; but likewise for letting out of smoke from the fire, for which there is a place made in the middle between the two beds. The marks of the workman's tool appear every where; and the tradition of the vulgar is, that a Giant and his wife had this stone for their habitation: tho' the door alone destroys this fancy, which is wholly groundless every way besides. Dr. WALLACE thinks it might be the residence of a Hermit, but it appears this Hermit did not design to ly always by himself. Just by it is a clear and pleasant spring, for the use of the inhabitant. I wish it were in Surrey, that I might make it a summer study. As to the original design of this monument, men are by nature curious enough to know the causes of things, but they are not patient enough in their search: and so will rather assign any cause, tho' ever so absurd; than suspend their judgements, till they discover the true cause, which yet in this particular I am resolv'd to do.

XXI. Now, my LORD, imagine what you please about the religious or civil use of this stone, my

difficulty to your Lordship is; how they were able to accomplish this piece of Architecture, among the rest that I have mentioned, in those remote, barren, and uncultivated Ilands? And how such prodigious Obeliscs cou'd be erected there, no less than in other parts of Britain, and in Ireland? for which we have scarce any sufficiant machines, in this time of Learning and Politeness. These Monuments of every kind, especially the Forts and the Obeliscs, induc'd HECTOR BOETHIUS to tell strange stories of the Egyptians having been there in the reign of MAINUS King of Scotland: nor do they a little confirm the notion, which some both of the Irish and Albanian Scots have about their Egyptian, instead of Scythian, or as I shall evince, a Celtic original; tho' I assign more immediately a British for the Irish, and an Irish extraction for the Scots. Nor is there any thing more ridiculous than what they relate of their Egyptian stock; except what the Britons fable about their Trojan ancestors. Yet a reason there is, why they harp so much upon Egyptians and Spaniards: but altogether misunderstood or unobserved by writers. But, not to forget our Monuments, you will not say, what, tho' possible, appears improbable, that, according to the ceasless vicissitude of things, there was a time, when the inhabitants of these Ilands were as learned and knowing, as the present Egyptians and the Highlands are ignorant. But say what

you will, it cannot fail diffusing light on the subject; and to improve, if not intirely to satisfy, the Inquirer. The ILE OF MAN, as I said above, does no less abound in these Monuments of all sorts, than any of the places we have named; and therefore sure to be visited, and all its ancient remains to be examin'd, by,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most oblig'd,

And very humble Servant.

July 1. 1718.

THE THIRD

LETTER,

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD

Viscount Molesworth.

I TAKE the Liberty, My Lord, to troble you a third time with the company of the DRUIDS; who, like other Priests, resort always to the place where the best intertainment is to be found: and yet I must needs own, it derogates much from the merit of their visit; that, in the quality of Philosophers they know not where to find a heartier welcom than in your Lordship's study. Tho' I have very particularly explain'd the plan of my *History of the Druids*, in the two last Letters I did my self the honor to send you on this subject; yet the work being considerably large, and containing great variety of matter, have still somthing to impart, in order to give the clearer idea of my design. And it is, that, besides the citations of authors, indispensably requisite in proving matters of fact newly advanc'd, or in deciding of antient doubts and controversies, not to speak of such as come in by way of ornament, or that a writer modestly prefers to his own expressions, I have

sometimes occasion to touch upon passages, which, tho' I cou'd easily abridge, or needed but barely hint with relation to the purpose for which I produce them: yet being in themselves either very curious and instructive, or lying in books that come into few people's hands, I chuse to give them in my *History* intire. This method I have learnt from my best masters among the antients, who practis'd it with much success; tho', like them, I use it very sparingly. One or two instances you'll not be sorry to see. The explication I have given, in the 11th section of my first Letter, of OGMIUS, the antient Gallic name of HERCULES, I am no less certain you do not forget, than that you remember I promis'd to take an opportunity of sending you the whole piece; which I have thus translated from the original Greec, with the utmost accuracy. "The Gauls, *says* (1) LUCIAN, call "HERCULES in their country language OGMIUS. "But they represent the picture of this God in "a very unusual manner. With them he is a "decrepit old man, bald before, his beard extremely gray, as are the few other hairs he has "remaining. His skin is wrinkl'd, sunburnt, and "of such a swarthy hue as that of old mariners: "so that you wou'd take him to be CHARON, or "some IAPETUS from the nethermost hell, or any

(1) Ton Hēraklea hoi Keltoi Ogmion onomadsousi phōnē tē epichōriō, *et quae sequuntur in* HERCULE Gallico: *Graeca etenim longiora sunt, quam ut hic commode inseri possint.*

" thing rather than HERCULES. But tho' he be " such thus far, yet he has withall the Habit of " HERCULES; being clad in the skin of a Lion, " holding a Club in his right hand, a Quiver " hanging from his shoulders, and a bent Bow in " his left hand. Upon the whole it is HERCULES. " I was of opinion that all these things were perver- " sely done, in dishonor of the Grecian Gods, by " the Gauls to the picture of HERCULES: re- " venging themselves upon him by such a repre- " sentation, for having formerly over-run their count- " ry, and driving a Prey out of it; as he was " seeking after the herd of GERYON, at which " time he made incursions into most of the wes- " tern nations. But I have not yet told, what " is most odd and strange in this picture; for " this old HERCULES draws after him a vast mul- " titude of men, all ty'd by their Ears. The " cords by which he does this are small fine Chains, " artificially made of gold and electrum, like to " most beautiful bracelets. And tho' the men are " drawn by such slender bonds, yet none of 'em " thinks of breaking loose, when they might easily " do it; neither do they strive in the least to " the contrary, or struggle with their feet, lean- " ing back with all their might against their " Leader: but they gladly and cheerfully follow, " praising him that draws them; all seeming in " haste, and desirous to get before each other, " holding up the chains, as if they should be

" very sorry to be set free. Nor will I grudge
" telling here, what of all these matters appear-
" ed the most absurd to me. The Painter find-
" ing no place where to fix the extreme links
" of the Chains, the right hand being occupy'd
" with a Club, and the left with a Bow, he
" made a hole in the tip of the God's tongue,
" who turns smiling towards those he leads, and
" and panited them as drawn from thence. I
" look'd upon these things a great while, some-
" times admiring, sometimes doubting, and some-
" times chafing with indignation. But a certain
" Gaul who stood by, not ignorant of our affairs,
" as he show'd by speaking Greec in perfection,
" being one of the Philosopers, I suppose, of that
" nation, said, I'll explain to you, O stranger,
" the enigma of this picture, for it seems not
" a little to disturb you. We Gauls do not sup-
" pose, as you Greecs, that MERCURY is SPEECH
" or Eloquence; but we attribute it to HERCULES,
" because he's far superior in strength to MECURY.
" Don't wonder, that he's represented as an old
" man: for SPEECH alone loves to show its ut-
" most vigor in old age, if your own Poets speak
" true.

All young men's breasts are with thick darkness fill'd:
But age experienc'd has much more to say,
More wise and learned, than rude untaught youth.

" Thus, among your selves, hony drops from NES-

" TOR's tongue; and the Trojan Orators emit a " certain voice call'd *Lirioessa*, that is, a florid " speech; for, if I remember right, flowers are " call'd *Liria*. Now that HERCULES, or SPEECH, " shou'd draw men after him ty'd by their Ears " to his Tongue, will be no cause of admiration " to you; when you consider the near affinity of " the Tongue with the Ears. Nor is his Tongue " contumeliously bor'd: for I remember, said he, " to have learnt certain Iambics out of your own " Comedians, one of which says,

The tips of all Prater's tongues are bor'd.

" And finally, as for us, we are of opinion, that " HERCULES accomplish'd all his atchievments by " SPEECH; and, that having been a wise man, " he conquer'd mostly by persuasion: we think " his arrows were keen Reasons, easily shot, quick, " and penetrating the souls of men; whence you " have, among you, the expression of wing'd words. " Hitherto spoke the Gaul." From this ingenious picture LUCIAN draws to himself an argument of Consolation: that the study and profession of Eloquence was not unbecoming him in his old age, being rather more fit than ever to teach the *Belles Letters;* when his stock of knowlege was most complete, as his Speech was more copious, polish'd, and mature, than formerly.

II. As my first instance is furnish'd by a man,

who, for his Eloquence and love of Liberty, qualities no less conspicuous in your Lordship, deserv'd to have his memory consecrated to Immortality, which was all that the wisest of the antients understood by making any one a God; so my second instance shall be taken from a woman, whose frailty and perfidiousness will serve as a foil to those learned Druidesses, and other illustrious Heroines, which I frequently mention in my *History*. I introduce her in a passage I have occasion to allege, when I am proving, that wherever the Gauls or Britons are in any old author simply said to offer sacrifice, without any further circumstances added, this nevertheless is understood to be done by the ministry of the Druids; it having been as unlawful for any of the Celtic nations to sacrifice otherwise, as it was for the Jews to do so without their Priests and Levites. *The Druids*, says (2) JULIUS CAESAR, *perform divine service, they offer the public and private sacrifices, they interpret religious observances:* and even when particular persons wou'd propitiate the Gods, for the continuing or restoring of their Health; *they make use of the Druids*, adds he (3), *to offer those sacrifices.*

(2) *Illi rebus divinis intersunt, sacrificia publica ac privata procurant, religiones interpretantur.* De Bello Gallico. lib. 6. cap. 12.

(3) *Administrisque ad ea sacrificia Druidibus utuntur.* Ibid.

'Tis the establish'd custom of the Gauls, says (4) DIODORUS SICULUS, *to offer no sacrifice without a Philosopher*, which is to say, a Druid: and STRABO so expresses it, affirming, that (5) *they never sacrifice without the Druids*. This unanswerable proof being premis'd, now follows one of the passages, wherein a Gaul being said simply to sacrifice, I think fit to relate the whole story. 'Tis the eigth of PARTHENIUS *of Nicea's Love-stories*, related before him (as he says) in the first book of the *History* written by ARISTODEMUS *of Nysa*, now lost. This PARTHENIUS addresses his book to CORNELIUS GALLUS, for whose use he wrote it, being the same to whom VIRGIL inscrib'd his tenth *Eclog*. The story runs thus. " When (6) the Gauls had made an in-
" cursion into Ionia, and sack'd most of the cities,
" the Thesmophorian festival was celebrated at
" Miletus; which occasioning all the women to as-
" semble together in the Temple, that was not far
" from the city: part of the Barbarian army, which
" separated from the rest, made an irruption into the
" Milesian territory, and seiz'd upon those women;
" whom the Milesians were forc'd to ransom, giving
" in exchange a great sum of gold and silver. Yet
" the Barbarians took some of them away for do-

(4) Ethos d' autois esti, mēdena thusian poiein aneu philosophou. *Lib.* 5. *pag.* 308. *Edit. Hanov.*

(5) Ethuon de ouk aneu Druidōn. *Lib.* 4. *pag.* 303. *Edit. Amstel.*

(6) Hote de hoi Galatai katedramon tēn Iōnian, *et quae sequuntur.*

" mestic use, among whom was ERIPPE (7) the wife " of XANTHUS (a man of the first rank and birth in " Miletus) leaving behind her a boy onely two years " olde. Now XANTHUS passionately loving his wife, " turn'd part of his substance into money, and having " amass'd a thousand pieces of gold, he crooss'd over " with the soonest into Italy; whence being guided " by some whom he had intertain'd in Greece, he " came to Marseilles, and so into Gaule. Then he " went to the house where his wife was, belonging " to a man of the greatest authority among the " Gauls, and intreated to be lodg'd there; whereupon " those of the family, according to that nation's usual " Hospitality, cheerfully receiving him, he went in " and saw his wife; who running to him with open " arms, very lovingly led him to his apartment. " CAVARA (8) the Gaul, who had been abroad, re- " turning soon after, ERIPPE acquainted him with " the arrival of her Husband; and that it was for her " sake he came, bringing with him the price of her " redemption. The Gaul extoll'd the generosity of " XANTHUS, and strait inviting several of his own " friends and nearest relations, hospitably treated " him; making a feast on purpose, and placing his " wife by his side: then asking him by an interpreter " what his whole estate was worth, and XANTHUS

(7) ARISTODEMUS calls her GYTHIMIA.

(8) So he's nam'd by ARISTODEMUS: and it is to this day a common name in Ireland. *Vid. Act for attainting* SHANE O'NEIL.

" answering a thousand pieces of gold; the Barbarian " order'd him to divide that sum into four parts, " whereof he should take back three, one for himself, " one for his wife, and one for his little son, but that " he shou'd leave him the fourth for his wife's ran- " som. When they went to bed, his wife heavily " chid XANTHUS, as not having so great a sum of " gold to pay the Barbarian; and that he was in " danger, if he could not fulfill his promise. He " told her, that he had yet a thousand pieces " more hid in the shoos of his servants; for " that he did not expect to find any Barbarian " so equitable, believing her ransom wou'd have " cost him much more. Next day the wife " inform'd the Gaul what a great sum of gold " there was, and bids him kill XANTHUS; assur- " ing him, that she lov'd him better than her " country or her child, and that she mortally " hated XANTHUS. CAVARA took no delight in " this declaration, and resolv'd in his own mind " from that moment to punish her. Now when " *Xanthus* was in haste to depart, the Gaul very " kindly permitted it, going with him part of " the way, and leading *Erippe*. When the Bar- " barian had accompany'd them as far as the moun- " tains of Gaule, he said, that, before they part- " ed, he was minded to offer a sacrifice; and " having adorn'd the victim, he desir'd *Erippe* " to lay hold of it: which she doing, as at o- " ther times she was accustom'd, he brandished

" his sword at her, ran her thro', and cut off " her head; but pray'd *Xanthus* not to be at all " concern'd, discovering her treachery to him, and " permitting him to take away all his Gold." 'Tis no more hence to be concluded, because no *Druid* is mentioned, that *Cavara* offered this sacrifice without the ministry of one or more such, unless he was of their number himself, which is not improbable, than that a man of his quality was attended by no servants, because they are not specially mentioned; for ordinary, as well as necessary circumstances, are ever supposed by good writers, where there is not some peculiar occasion of inserting them.

III. In my third instance I return again to HERCULES, of whom a story is told in the same book, whence we had the last; which, tho related and recommended by the author as a good argument for a Poem, affords however no small illustration, to what I maintain by much more positive proofs, *viz.* that " Great Britain was denomin- " ated from the province of Britain in Gaule, and " that from Gaule the original inhabitants of all " the Brittish Ilands (I mean those of CESAR's time) " are descended." Listen for a moment to PARTHENIUS. 'Tis (9) said " That *Hercules*, as he drove

(9) Legetai de kai Hēraklea; hote ap' Erutheias tas Gēruonou kous ēgagen, halōmenen dia tēs Keltōn chōras, aphikesthai para Bretannon: tō de ara huperchein thugatera Keltinēn onoma: tauten de, erastheisan tou Herakleous, katakrupsai tas bous; mē thelein te apodounai, ei me proteron autē miekthēnai: ton

" away from (10) Erythia the oxen of Geryon, " had penetrated into the region of the Gauls, " and that he came as far as *Bretannus*, who had " a daughter called *Celtina*. This young woman " falling in love with *Hercules*, hid his oxen; " and wou'd not restore them, till he shou'd in- " joy her first. Now *Hercules* being desirous to " recover his oxen, and much more admiring the " beauty of the maid, he lay with her; and in " due time was born to them a son named *Cel-* " *tus* (11), from whom the Celts are so denomin- " ated." Many of the antient writers mention the incursion of *Hercules* into Gaule, when he made war against *Geryon* in Spain; which the judicious *Diodorus Siculus* shows to have been at the head of a powerful Army, not with his bare Club and Bow, as the Poets feign; and that it was he who built the fortress of Alexia, whereof the Siege, many ages after by *Julius Cesar*, became so famous. *Diodorus* likewise tells this very story of *Parthenius*, but without naming *Bretannus* or *Celtina*. He onely says *(12)*, " A certain illustrious

de Hēraklea, to men toi kai tas bous epeigomenon anasōsasthai: polu mallon to kallos ekplagenta tēs korēs sungenesthai autē: kai autois, chronou periēkontos, genesthai paida Kelton, aph' hou de Keltoi prosēgorenthēsan. *Cep.* 30.

(10) Now *Cadiz.*

(11) GALLUS, GALLI.

(12) Tēs Keltikēs toinun to palaion, hōs phasin, edunasteusen epiphanes anēr, hō thugater egeneto, &c.——michtheisa de tō Heraklei egeznēsen huion onoma Galatēn——periboētos de genomenos ep' andreia, tous hup' auton te-

" man, that govern'd a Province in Gaule, had " a daughter exceeding the rest of her sex, in " stature and beauty: who, tho despising all that " made court to her, being of a very high spi- " rit; yet fell in love with *Hercules*, whose cour- " age and majestic person she greatly admired. " With her parent's consent she came to a right " understanding with this hero, who begot on her a " son, not unworthy the pair from whom he sprung, " either in body or mind. He was called *Galates* " (13), succeeded his grandfather in the government; " and, becoming renown'd for his valor, his subjects " were called *Galatians* (14) after his name, as " the whole country it self *Galatia* (15)." This is plainly the same story, onely that one writer supplies us with the names, which the other omits; and Armorican Britain being probably the Province, wherein *Bretannus* rul'd (since we find it insinuated, that *Hercules* had penetrated far to come to him) 'tis still more than probable, that it was denominated from him: as I shall prove beyond the possibility of contradiction, that our Britain had its name from that of Gaule, as New England

tagmenous ōnomazen aph' heautou Galatas, aph' hōn hē sumpasa Galatia prosēgoreuthē. *Lib.* 4. *pag.* 303.

(13) GALLUS.

(14) *Galli.*

(15) *Gallia.*

has from the Old. *Hesychius,* in the word *Bretannus,* is of the same opinion with me. So is *Dionysius (16) Periegetes,* with his Commentator (17) *Eustathius:* and I am not a little countenanced by PLINY the elder, who places (18) Britons on the maritim coasts of Gaule over against Great Britain. But I have more evidence still. To say nothing at present of CESAR so many ages before *Eustathius, Tacitus* likewise among the (19) antients, BEDA among those of the middle (20) ages, and some of the most celebrated modern writers, are as express as words can possibly make any thing, that Britain was peopled from Gaule. Nor is the epithet of *Great,* added to our *Britain,*

(16) ——————Entha Bretanoi.
Leuka te phula nemontai areimaneōn Germanōn.
Ver. 284.

(17) Tōn de Brettanōn tautōn parōnumoi, hai antiperan Brettanides nēsoi.

(18) A Scaldi incolunt extera Toxandri pluribus nominibus: deinde Menapij, Morini, Oromansaci juncti Pago qui Gessoriacus vocatur: * BRITANNI, Ambiani, Bellovaci Hassi. *Nat. His. Lib.* 4. *Cap.* 17.

(19) In universum tamen aestimanti, Gallos vicinum solum occupasse credibile est: eorum sacra deprehendas, superstitionum persuasione: Sermo haud multum diversus, *&c. Vit. Agric. Cap.* 11.

(20) Haec Insula Britones solum, a quibus nomen accepit, incolas habuit; qui de tractu Armoricano, ut fertur, Britanniam advecti, australes sibi partes illius vindicarunt. *Hist. Eccles. Lib.* 1. *Cap.* 1.

* In quibusdam exemplaribus, sed erperam, *Brianni.*

any more an objection to this assertion; than the coast of Italy, formerly called *Magna Graecia*, cou'd be made the mother country of Greece, when the cities of that coast were all Colonies from thence: besides that *Great Britain* was antiently so call'd with respect to *Ireland*, which, before the fable of the Welsh colony in Gaule was invented, is call'd *Little Britain*, as you'll see anon. These disquisitions come not into *the History of the Druids*, but into the annext *Dissertation concerning the Celtic Language and Colonies*. There you'll see the folly of deriving *Britain* from the fabulous Irish Hero BRIOTAN, or from the no less imaginary BRUTUS the Trojan; nor is the word originally PRIDCAIN, *Prytania*, *Bridania*, or descended from either Phenician, or Scandinavian, or Dutch, or even any Brittish words. The insular Britons, like other Colonies, were long govern'd by those on the continent; and by the neighboring Provinces, who join'd in making settlements here. It was so even as low down as a little before JULIUS CESAR'S conquest; in whose (21) *Commentaries* it is recorded, that *those of Soissons had within their memory*, say the ambassadors of Rheims to him, *Divitiacus* (22) *for their King, the*

(21) Suessones esse suos finitimos, latissimos feracissimosque agros possidere: apud eos fuisse Regem nostra etiam memoria Divitiacum, totius Galliae potentissimum; qui, cum magnae partis harum regionum, tum etiam Britanniae imperium obtinuerit. *De Bello Gallico, Lib.* 2. *Cap.* 4.

(22) Different from DIVITIACUS the Eduan or Bergundian.

most potent Prince of all Gaule: who sway'd the scepter, not onely of a great part of those regions, but also of Britain. In the same *Dissertation*, after exploding the Welsh fable about Britain in France, you'll read as positive proofs, that the ancient Irish, not one of their Colonies excepted, the Nemetes, the Firbolgs, the Danannans, and the Milesians, were all from Gaule and Great Britain; whose language, religion, customs, laws and government, proper names of men and places, they constantly did and do still use: whereas, to forbear at present all other arguments, not one single word of the Irish tongue agrees with the Cantabrian or Biscaian, which is the true old Spanish; the present idiom being a mixture of Latin, Gothic, and Arabic. Besides this, all the antients knew and held the Irish to be Britons, as Ireland it self is by PTOLOMY call'd (23) *Little Britain.* They were reckon'd Britons by ARISTOTLE, who in his book *de Mundo*, calls the country (24) *Ierne;* as *Orpheus* before him (25) *Iernis*, if ONOMACRITUS be not the author of the *Argonautica*, or rather, as *Suidas* asserts, *Orpheus* of Crotona, contemporary with the Tyrant *Pisistratus.* And if this be true, Archbishop USHER did not Gasconnade, when he (26) said, that the

(23) Mikra Brettania, *in Almagest. Lib. 2. cap. 6.*

(24) En touto ge men (okeanō) nēsoi megistai te tunchanousin ousai duo, Bretanikai legomenai, Albion kai Iernē. *Cap. 3.*

(25) Ankaios d' oiokas epistamenōs etitaine,
Par d' ara nēson ameiben Iernida——*Ver. 1240.*

(26) *Primord. Eccles. Britannicar. pag. 724.*

Roman people cou'd not any where be found so antiently mention'd as *Iernis*. *Dionysius Periegetes*, before cited, is of the same opinion in his *description of the (27) world*, that the Irish were Britons: as *Stephanus Byzantius* names it (28) *Brittish Juvernia, the least of the two Ilands*. *Diodorus Siculus* mentions (29) *the Britons inhabiting the Iland call'd Iris*, a name better expressing *Ere*, vulgarly *Erinn*, the right name of Ireland, than *Ierne*, *Juverna*, *Hibernia*, or any name that has been either poetically or otherwise us'd. STRABO stiles Ireland (30) *Brittish Ierna*, as his antient Abridger calls the Irish (31), *the Britons inhabiting Ierna*: and, if we may intermix ludicrous with serious things, where 'tis now read in the same *Strabo*, that the Irish were *great eaters* (32) his said Abridger reads it *herb-eaters* (33); which wou'd induce one to believe, that so long ago *Shamrogs* were in as great request there as at present. PLINY says in express words (34), that " every one of the Brit-

(27) Dissai nēsoi easi Brettanides antia Rēnou. *Ver.* 566.

(28) Iouernia hē Pretannikē, tōn duo elassōn.

(29) —— Hōsper kai tōn Bretanōn, tous katoikountas tēn onomazomenēn Irin. *Lib.* 5. *pag.* 309.

(30) Hoi tēn Bretanikēn Iernēn idontes, &c. *lib.* 1. *pag.* 110.

(31) Hoi tēn Iernen nēson katoikountes Bretanoi. *lib.* 8.

(32) Poluphagoi.

(33) Poēphagoi.

(34) Britannia clara Graecis nostrisque scriptoribus—

" tish Ilands was call'd Britain; whereas Albion was " the distinguishing name of the Britain now pecu- " liarly so call'd, and so famous in the Greec and " Roman writings." These particulars, I repeat it, much below the dignity of our *History*, will be found in the before-mention'd *Dissertation*; which, tho' infinitely less useful, I dare prophesy will be full as much read, if not much more relish'd. The greatest men however have not thought it unbecoming them, to search at their leisure into such Originals: and I, for my part, found it almost a necessary imployment, considering the light it adds to my principal work.

IV. To return thither therefore, there are diverse passages, some longer some shorter, in the most antient Greec authors we have, or copy'd by these from such as are quite lost; which, tho' generally neglected and unobserv'd, will be no small ornament to the *History* I have taken in hand. And, to say it here by the the way, 'tis certain that the more antient Greec writers, such as HECATEUS, EUDOXUS, HIPPARCHUS, ERATOSTHENES, POLYBIUS, POSIDONIUS (not to speak of DICEARCHUS and others) knew a great deal of truth concerning the Brittish Ilands: by reason of the frequent navigations of the Greecs into these parts, after the way was shown them by the Phenicians; so antient an author as HERODOTUS affirming, that his coun-

Albion ipsi nomen fuit, cum Britanniae vocarentur omnes Insulae nempe Britannicae. *Nat. Hist. lib. 4. cap. 16.*

trymen had their Tin from (35) hence, tho' he cou'd give little account of the Iland. But this commerce being interrupted for several ages afterwards, the later writers did not onely themselves vend abundance of fables about these northern parts of the world; but treat as fabulous, what their Predecessors had recorded with no less honesty than exactness. Of this I shall have occasion to give some convincing proofs in this very Letter. But not to forget the passages of the antients, when you call to mind those *Rocking-stones* set up by the Druids, describ'd in the xivth and xvith Section of our second *Letter*, and whereof several are yet standing; you'll not doubt but 'tis one of them, that is mention'd in the Abridgement we have of PTOLOMY HEPHESTION'S *History:* who, in the third chapter of the third book, is said *to have written about the (36)* GIGONIAN STONE *standing near the ocean; which is mov'd with such a small matter as the stalk of asphodel, tho' immoveable against the greatest force imaginable.* This passage needs, in my opinion, no comment. But we are to note, when those old writers talk of any thing near the Ocean with respect to the straights of HERCULES (37), and without specifying the place; that it may then be on the coast of

(35) —— Oute nēsous oida Kassiteridas eousas, ek tōn ho kassiteros hēmin phoita. *Lib. 3. cap.* 115.

(36) Peri tēs peri ton Okeanon Gigōnias petras, kai hoti monō asphodelō kineitai, pros pasan bian ametakinētos ousa.

(37) Now of *Gibraltar.*

Spain, or of France, in the Brittish Ilands, or on any of the northern shores. It is onely to be discoverd either by matter of fact, or by probable circumstances: as this *Gigonian stone* (for example) was necessarily in some of the Celtic or Brittish territories, whose Druids alone set up such stones. So were the Birds, whereof I am now going to speak. " What *Artemidorus* has " deliever'd concerning the Ravens, says (38) *Strabo*, " sounds very much like a fable. He tells us, that " there is a certain lake near the Ocean, which is " call'd the lake of the two ravens, because two ravens " appear in it, which have some white in their wing: " that such as have any controversy together come " thither to an elevated place, where they set a table, " each laying on a cake separately for himself: and " that those birds flying thither, eat the one while " they scatter the other about; so that he, whose " cake is thus scatter'd, gets the better of the dispute." Such fables does he relate! But I wou'd ask *Strabo*, what is there fabulous in all this? or why shou'd the rude Gauls and Britons being influenc'd by the eating or not eating of ravens, be thought more strange or fabulous, than the *tripudium solistimum* of chickens among the polite Romans? which CASAUBON, I will not say how truely, thinks was deriv-

(38) Touto d' eti muthodesteron eirēken Artemidōros, to peri tous Korakas sumbainon. Limena gar tina tēs parōkeanitidos historei duo korakōn eponomazomenon; phainesthai d' en toutō duo korakas, tēn dexian pteruga paraleukon echontas; tous oun peri tinōn amphisbētountas, aphikomenous deuro eph' hupsēlou topou, sanida thentas, epiballein psaista, ekateron chōris: tous d' orneis ephiptantas ta men esthiein, tade skorpizein; ou d' an skorpisthē ta psaista, ekeinou nikan. Tauta men oun muthōdestera legei. *Lib.* 4. *pag.* 303.

ed from these very (39) ravens. If STRABO had said, that the Divination it self was superstitious and vain, or that it was ridiculous to imagine the ravens cou'd discern the cake of the guilty from that of the innocent, tho' they might greedily eat one of them when hungry, and wantonly sport with the other when their bellies were full, no man of judgement would contradict him. As for ravens having some white in their wings, it contains nothing fabulous, I my self having seen such, and no Ornithologists omitting them. I will own indeed, that so uncommon a thing as white in the wing of a raven, and for a couple of them to hold a place so cunningly to themselves, was enough to work upon the superstitious fancies of ignorant people, who laid such stress above all nations upon Augury; so that in this whole story of the two ravens, nothing appears to me either fabulous or wonderful. Nay I am persuaded ARTEMIDORUS was in the right, there being examples at this time of ravens thus securing a place to themselves; and the first I shall give is, for ought any body knows, the very place hinted by ARTEMIDORUS. Dr. MARTIN, in his *Description of the Iles of Scotland*, discoursing of Bernera, which is five miles in circumference, and lyes about two leagues to the south of Harries, " in this Iland, says (40) he, " there's a couple of ravens, which beat away all

(39) In Annotatione ad hunc STRABONIS locum.

(40) Page 47.

" ravenous fowls: and when their young are able to " fly abroad, they beat them also out of the Iland, " but not without many blows and a great noise." In this Iland moreover, to remark a further agreement with ARTEMIDORUS, there's a fresh-water lake called Loch-hruist, where many land and sea-fowl build. He tells us (41) elsewhere of another such couple, which are of the same inhospitable, or rather cautious and frugal disposition, in a little Iland near North-Uist; and still of such another couple (42), in all respects, upon the Ile of Troda near Sky. But as Eagles were no less birds of Augury than ravens, the Doctor, in his account of a little Iland near the greater one of Lewis (43), says that he saw a couple of eagles there; which, as the natives assured him, would never suffer any other of their kind to continue in the Iland: driving away their own young ones, as soon as they are able to fly. The natives told him further, that those eagles are so careful of the place of their abode, that they never killed any sheep or lamb in the Iland; tho' the bones of lambs, fawns, and wild-fowl, are frequently found in and about their nests: so that they make their purchase in the opposite Ilands, the nearest of which is a league distant. There is such another couple of eagles, and as tender of injuring their native country,

(41) Page 60.

(42) Page 166.

(43) Page 26.

on the north end of St. Kilda (44) which Ilands may be viewed in the map of Scotland. I must observe on this occasion, that there is no part of our education so difficult to be eradicated as SUPERSTITION; which is industriously instilled into men from their cradles by their nurses, by their parents, by the very servants, by all that converse with them, by their tutors and school-masters, by the poets, orators, and historians which they read: but more particularly by the Priests, who in most parts of the world are hired to keep the people in error, being commonly backed by the example and authority of the Magistrate. Augury was formerly one of the most universal Superstitions, equally practised by the Greecs and the Barbarians; certain Priests in all nations, pretending, tho' by very contrary rites and observations, to interpret the language, the flight, and feeding of birds: as ENEAS thus addresses HELEN the Priest of (45) APOLLO,

Trojugena, interpres. Divum, qui numina PHOEBI,
Qui tripodas, CLARII *lauros, qui sidera sentis,*
Et volucrum linguas, et praepetis omina pennae,
Fare age.

Now to comprehend what deep root Superstition takes, and how the sap keeps alive in the stump, ready to sprout forth again, after the trunk and branches have for many ages been cut off; I beg

(44) Page 299.

(45) Virg. Aen. lib. 3.

your patience to hear the following story, especially since we are upon the subject of ravens. When I was in Dublin in tho year 1697, I walked out one day to the village of Finglass, and overtook upon the way two gentlemen of the old Irish stock, with whom I had contracted some acquaintance at the coffee-house. They told me they were going a good way further, about a business of some importance; and not many minutes after one of them cried out with joy to the other, see cousin, by heaven matters will go well: pointing at the same instant to a raven feeding and hopping hard by, which had a white feather or two in the wing that was towards us. The other appeared no less transported, nor would they stir till they saw what way the raven flew; which being to the south of them, and with a great noise, they were fully confirmed about the success of their business. This brought to my remembrance that oblative Augury in (46) VIRGIL:

Scarce had he said, when full before his sight
Two doves, descending from their airy flight,
Secure upon the grassy plain alight-----
----------With watchful sight
Observing still the motions of their flight,
What course they took, what happy signs they shew!
They fled, and, flutt'ring by degrees, withdrew----&c.
DRYDEN'S *Translat.*

(46) ——— Geminae cum forte Columbae
Ipsa sub ora viri coelo venere volantes,
Et viridi sedere solo-----vestigia pressit,
Observans quae signa ferant, quo tendere pergant.
Aeneid. lib. 6. ver. 190.

Nor was I unmindful, you may be sure, of that passage in (47) PLAUTUS,

'Tis not for nought, that the Raven sings now on my left;
And, croaking, has once scrap'd the earth with his feet.

Upon my putting some questions to those gentlemen, they said it was certain by the observation of all ages, that a raven having any white in its wings, and flying on the right hand of any person, croaking at the same time, was an infallible presage of good luck. I used a great many arguments to show them the vanity and unreasonableness of this piece of Superstition, comparing it among other extravagancies, to the no less absurd one of dreams; where if one happens by chance to come to pass, while ten thousand fail, these are forgot and the other remembered. But I am persuaded all I did or could say, even my argument AD HOMINEM, in proving that Augury was specially forbid by the Law of MOSES, would have made little impression on them; had it not been that they miscarryed in what they went about, as one of them candidly owned to me some weeks afterwards, who could then listen to my reasons, and seemed to taste them. Thus far have I been led by the ravens of ARTEMIDORUS. But I have not rambled yet so far after birds as the old Gauls, "whereof a part, to use

(47) Non temere est, quod corvos cantat mihi nunc ab laeva manu;
Semel radebat pedibus terram, et voce crocitabat sua.

Aulul. Act. 4. Scen. 3. ver. 1.

" the words of (48) JUSTIN after TROGUS, settled in " Italy, which took and burnt the city of Rome; " while another part of them penetrated into the " Illyric bays, by the slaughter of the Barbarians, and " under the guidance of birds, FOR THE GAULS EX- " CELL ALL OTHERS IN THE SKILL OF AUGURY, " settled in Pannonia:" telling next, how, after dividing their forces, they invaded Greece, Macedonia, and most parts of Asia, where they founded the Gallogrecian Tetrarchy. But still you see they were birds, that guided those famous expeditions.

V. I have by good authorities shown before, that the antientest Greec writers had much greater certainty, and knew many more particulars, concerning the Brittish Ilands, even the most remote and minute, than such as came after them; by reason that the Grecian trade hither, open'd first by the Phenicians, had been for a long time interrupted, or rather quite abandon'd. Thus in time the original Relations came to be look'd upon as so many fables, at which I do not so much wonder in any man, as in the most judicious of all Geographers and the most instructive, I mean the Philosopher STRABO. These later Greecs were implicity credited and transcrib'd by the Roman

(48) Ex his portio in Italia consedit, quae et urbem Romam captam incendit; et portio Illyricos sinus, ducibus Avibus (nam Augurandi studio Galli praeter ceteros callent) per strages Barbarorum penetravit, et in Pannonia consedit. *Lib. 24. cap. 4.*

writers, till Britain came to be fully known, having rather been shown than conquer'd by JULIUS CESAR; and scarce believed to be an Iland, tho' it was constantly affirmed to be so by the most antient discoveries, till VESPASIAN'S Lieutenant, AGRICOLA, found it beyond all possibility of contradiction to be an (49) Iland, part of the Roman fleet sailing round it. But of the remotest Ilands there has been no exact account from that time to this. That of DONALD MONRO, in JAMES the fifth of Scotland's time, is very imperfect: and tho' in our own time Doctor MARTIN, who is a native of one of those Ilands, has travelled over them all to laudable purpose; yet his descriptions are in many instances too short, besides that he omits several observations, which his own materials show he ought to have frequently made. Considering therefore the curious things out of him and others, that may be agreeably read in my two former Letters, together with many more accounts of Monuments there, which I have from good hands, I own that I am passionately desirous to spend one Summer in those Ilands, before the *History of the Druids* makes its public appearance in the world. But I return to the antient writers who mention the remotest Brittish Ilands, of whom PYTHEAS of Massilia, a Greec colony in Gaule, now Marseilles, is the very

(49) Hanc oram novissimi maris tunc primum Romana Classis circumvecta, insulam esse Britanniam affirmavit. *Tacit. in Vita Agric. cap.* 10.

first on record. He liv'd in the time of ALEXANDER the Great, and published his Geographical work, or rather his Voyages, intitled (50) the *Tour of the Earth* before his contemporary TIMEUS wrote, or DICEARCHUS, or ERATOSTHENES, or POLYBIUS; who followed each other, and who in some things disagree. This PYTHEAS, and also one EUTHYMENES, were sent by the Senate of Marseilles to make discoveries; the former to the north, the latter to the south. EUTHYMENES, sailing along the coast of Africa past the line: and PYTHEAS, landing in Britain and Ireland, as well as on the German coast and in Scandinavia, sailed beyond Iceland. Both the one and the other made such discoveries, as long past for fables: but time, by means of our modern navagation, has done both of them justice. PYTHEAS, on his part, was terribly decry'd by STRABO, who without ceremony calls him (51) *a most lying fellow:* tho' he's since found, and now known by every body, to be much more in the right than himself. Nothing is more exact, than what he has related, or that is related after him, of the temperature of the Brittish climate, of the length of the nights and days, of the strange birds and monstrous fishes of the Northern Ocean: nor is it a small loss, that a Treatise he wrote in par-

(50) Gēs periodos. Scholiast. *in* Apollonii *Argonautica*, *Lib.* 4. *ad vers.* 761.

(51) Putheas auer pesudestatos eksētastai. *Lib.* 1. *p.* 110.

ticular *of the Ocean* has perished with his other works, whereof we have onely a few fragments. He was the first, for ought appears, that mentioned *Thule*, meaning thereby the utmost inhabited Iland beyond Britain; from which he says it is about *(52)* six days sail, and near the frozen sea, which perfectly agrees to Iceland. But STRABO denies that there was ever any (53) Thule, or that any thing beyond Iceland, which he places to the north of Great Britain, whereas it is due west of it, either was or cou'd be inhabited. "They, "says he, in his *(54)* first Book, who have seen "Brittish Ireland, speak nothing about Thule, but "onely that there are several small Ilands near "Britain." In the second Book, he (55) says,

(52) —— Dia Thoulēs, hēn phēsi Putheas apo men tēs Bretanikēs heks hēmerōn ploun apechein pros arkton, engus deinai tēs pepēguias thalattēs. *Ibid. pag.* 109.

(53) *Tul* in the ancient language signifies naked and bleak, as Iceland has neither tree nor shrub; so that *Tul-i*, without any alteration, is the *naked Iland*, the most proper name for Iceland, and which foreners must have naturally learnt of the Britons, whether Ibernian or Albionian. *Tul, gach ni nocht*, Tul is every naked thing, says O CLERY in his *Vocabulary of obsolete words*. It was a slender affinity of sound, that made *Ila* (one of the western Scottish Iles) to be taken for *Thule*; for neither is it the utmost land of Europe, nor yet of the Brittish Ilands themselves. See what I have written in the second book concerning the disputes about *Thule*.

(54) Hoi tēn Bretanikēn Iernen idontes, onden peri tēs Thoulēs legousin; allas nēsous legontes michras peri tēn Bretanikēn. *Ibid. pag.* 110.

(55) Ho de ge apo tēs Keltikēs pros arkton, plous eschatos legetai para tois hun, ho eti tēn Iernēn, epekeina men ousan tēs Bretanikēs, athliōs de dia psuchos oikoumenēn: hōste ta epekeina nomizein aoikēta. *Id. Lib.* 2. *pag.* 124.

"The utmost place of navigation in our time, "from Gaule towards the north, is said to be "Ireland; which being situated beyond Britain, "is by reason of the cold, with difficulty inhabit-"ed: so that all beyond it," continues he, "Is "reckoned uninhabitable." This of Ireland, namely, that it is the north of Britain, and scarce habitable for cold, he repeats again in two or three places; from which he draws this conclusion, that there is no Thule at all, since nothing is habitable beyond Ireland: which therefore, according to him, is the most northerly part of the habitable earth. You see here how much more in the right PYTHEAS was, who liv'd in the time of *Alexander*, than *Strabo* who lived in the time of *Augustus* and *Tiberius*; and that it is a proceeding no less impertinent than unjust, to have any man contradicted who was upon the spot, but by such others as were also there: unless the things related be manifestly impossible, or that the relator is no competent judge; as if a travellor, who understands no mathematics, should affirm the Malabarians to be the best Mathematicians in the world. But STRABO, who, notwithstanding all these gross mistakes in the extremities of Europe, is one of the foremost authors in my esteem: STRABO, I say, a little lower in the same book, as doubting whether he was in the right, and pretending it was no great matter should he be in the wrong, affirms that at least

it is not known whether there be any habitable place beyond Ireland, which he still places to the north of Britain, "nor (56) is it of any importance "to the Prince, *says he*, to have an exact no- "tice of such regions or their inhabitants; espe- "cially should they live in such Ilands, which "cannot contribute any thing to our damage or "profit, meaning the Romans, there being no in- "tercourse between us." This reflection might perhaps be true with respect to the Emperor and the Empire: yet it is a very lame reason for a Geographer, who is accurately to describe all places, let them have relation to his Prince or not. But the truth of it is, he would not believe the antient Greec and Massilian sailors; neither had he any better information himself, whereby to supply or to correct them.

VI. As for Ireland, it was very well known to the more antient Geographers, as I showed before; it being directly in the way of the Phenicians, who are said by (57) ARISTOTLE to have discovered it, when they sailed for Britain. Lying therefore so conveniently for the Phenicians, Grecians, Spaniards,

(56) Pros te tas Hēgemonikas chreias ouden an eiē pleonektēma, tas toiautas gnōrizein chōras kai tous oikountas: kai malista ei nēsous oikein toiautas, hai mēte lupein mēte, ōphelein hēmas dunanta mēden, dia to anepiplekton. *Ibid pag. 176.*

(57) En tē thalassē, tē eksō Hērakleiōn stēlōn, phasin hupo Karchēdoniōn nēson eurethēnai erēmēn, echousan hulēn te pantodapē, kai potamous plōtaus, kai tois Soipois Karpois thaumastēn, apechousan de pleionōn hemerōn; *et quae sequuntur illic reliqua, Hiberniae imprimis convenientia.* De Mirabil. Auscultat.

and Gauls, it was always a place of great trade: and for this reason TACITUS (58) says, agreeable to the Irish annals, "that it's ports were better known for "trade, and more frequented by merchants, than "those of Britain." Neither is PYTHEAS's account of the frozen sea, any more than that of Thule, a fable. Whoever was in Greenland, knows it to be literally true. It is therefore, in the antient Greec and Roman books, called the Icy, the slow, (59) the congealed, the dead sea; as I have read that it is in some Arabic books very properly written, the dark sea and the sea of pitch. In the oldest Irish books it is called by words (60) that import the *foul*, and the *foggy* sea; and likewise *Muir-chroinn*, or the coagulated (61) sea, from the word *Croinn*, which signifies close and thick as well as (62) round. From this original, which *Pytheas* and other travellors learnt no doubt from the Britons, this sea was named (63) *Cronium*: and not, as afterwards invented from the mere sound, because *Cronos*, or *Saturn*, was in-

(58) Melius aditus portusque, per commercia et negotiatores, cogniti. *Vit. Agric. cap.* 24.

(59) Mare glaciale, pigrum, congelatum, mortuum.

(60) *Muircheacht, Muircheoach.*

(61) Mare concretum.

(62) *Crunn* has the same signification in Welsh; and *Cronni* or *Croinnigh* in both the languages signifies to gather, to obstruct, to heap, and particularly *Cronni* to thicken or stagnate waters: so that this derivation of the *Cronian*, and *congeal'd sea*, cannot be reasonably call'd in question.

(63) Hals kroniē.

chanted in Ogygia, an Iland west of Britain; which is fabulously reported by (64) *Plutarch* and other writers, who have hitherto been inconsiderately followed by every body. I wonder they do not affirm after them, since they may do so with equal reason, that some of the west and north Brittish Ilands are possest by (65) heroes and departed souls. The northern sea, even before one comes to the Icy part, and perhaps most properly, may be termed *slow* and *dead*, by reason of the *Rousts*, or meetings of contrary Tides; whose conflict is sometimes so equal, that they are a great impediment to the boat or ship's way: nay sometimes, tho' under sail, they can make no way at all; but are very often impetuously whirled round, and now and then quite swallowed up. This kind of shipwrack is no less naturally than elegantly described by VIRGIL, when he relates the fate of ORONTES who commanded a ship under ENEAS:

Ipsius ante oculos ingens a vertice pontus
In puppim ferit; excutitur, pronusque magister
Volvitur in caput: ast illam ter fluctus ibidem
Torquet agens circum, et rapidus vorat aequore vortex.

Aen. lib. 1.

I should not forget here, that, upon the discovery of

(64) *De facie in orbe Lunae: de Defectu Oraculor.* Videndi etiam ORPHEUS *in Argonauticis*, PLINIUS, SOLINUS, ISAACIUS TZETZES in LYCOPHRONIS *Alexandram*, &c.

(65) Iidem consulendi, quorum in Annotatione praecedenti mentio: nec non in HORATII Epodam 16 commentantes legendi.

Thule by *Pytheas*, one *Antonius Diogenes* wrote a Romance in twenty four books, which he intituled *the Incredibilities of Thule*; where he laid his scene, and whereof *Photius* has given some (66) account. I have dwelt the longer upon these Ilands, because they did not onely, like the other parts of Britain, abound with Druids, who have there left various memorials of themselves: but also because the last footing they had in the world was here, which makes it little less than essential to my subject. Nor was it in the *Ile of Man* alone, that a peculiar Government was set up by their procurement or approbation; as you have read in my second Letter of their Disciple, the admirable Legislator *Manannan*. There was likewise another Government of their erection, singular enough, in the (67) *Hebudes*; where better provision was made against the changing of an elective into a hereditary Monarchy, and against all other exorbitances of the Prince, than ever I read in any author antient or modern. *Solinus* speaking of these Ilands, " there is one King, " *says (68) he*, over them all; for they are, as

(66) Tōn huper Thoulēn apistōn logoi kd. *In Bibliotheca, cod.* 166.

(67) Another name for the Western Iles, equivalent to the *Hebrides*: if they were not originally the same, having perhaps by the mistake of Transcribers been written for each other; nothing being easier, than to confound *ui* with *ri*, or *ri* with *ui*, as antiently written.

(68) Rex unus est universis: nam quotquot sunt, omnes angusta interluvie dividuntur. Rex nihil suum habet,

" many as be of them, divided onely by narrow " channels. This King has nothing of his own, " but shares of every thing that every man has. " He is by certain Laws obliged to observe " equity: and lest avarice should make him de- " viate from the right way, he learns justice " from Poverty; as having no manner of pro- " perty, being maintained upon the public ex- " pence. He has not as much as a wife of his " own, but by certain turns makes use of any " woman towards whom he has an inclination; " whence it happens, that he has neither the de- " sire nor the hope of any children." 'Tis pity this author has not specifyed those Laws, by which equity was prescribed to the Hebudian Monarch, in injoying what was proper for him of other men's goods: and that he has not told us, how those vicissitudes were regulated, whereby he had the temporary use of other men's wives, who nevertheless were to father all the children. As I showed this passage one day to a couple of my friends, one of them readily agreed, that the State must needs find their account in this constitution; both as it saved the expence of treasure in maintaining a numerous Royal Progeny,

omnia universorum. Ad aequitatem certis Legibus stringitur; ac, ne avaritia divertat a vero, discit paupertate justitiam: utpote cui nihil sit rei familiaris, verum alitur e publico. Nulla illi datur foemina propria; sed per vicissitudines, in quacunque commotus sit, usurariam sumit: unde ei nec votum, nec spes, Liberorum. *Cap.* 22.

and as it saved the expence of blood in settling their several claims or contentions: but had it not been, said he, for the strict care taken against accumulating riches or power on the Prince, I should have naturally thought, that it was one of those Druidical Priests, who had thus advantageously carved for himself. Hereupon the other replyed, that he fancyed such Priests would be contented to have plentiful eating and drinking, and variety of women, thus established by Law for them; since it was for no other end, he conceived, but to obtain these, that they struggled so hard any where for power and riches. But if this were so, the Druids could be at no manner of loss about their pleasures; considering the sway they bore in the civil authority, and their management of the much more powerful engine of Superstition: "for without the Druids, who "understand Divination and Philosophy, says (69) "DION CHRYSOSTOM, the Kings may neither do "nor consult any thing; so that in reality they "are the Druids who reign, while the Kings, "tho' they sit on golden thrones, dwell in spa-"cious palaces, and feed on costly dishes, are "onely their Ministers, and the executioners of

(69) Keltoi de hous onomazousi Druidas, kai toutous peri mantikēn ontas kai tēn allēn sophian, hōn aneu tois Basileusin ouden eksēn prattein oude boulesthai; hōste to men alēthes ekeinous archein, tous de basileas autōn huperētas kai diakonous gegnethai tēs gnōmēs, en thronois chrusois kathēmenous, kai oikias megalas oikountas, kai polutimōs euōchoumenous. *De recusatione Magistrat, in Senatu, pag.* 538. *Edit. Paris.*

" their Sentence." Judge now what influence those Priests had upon the People, when they might thus control the Prince; and consequently, whether they could possibly want any thing, that brought them either pleasure or power. The Kings bore all the envy, and the Druids possesst all the sweets of authority.

VII. But leaving both a while, I submitt to your Lordship's consideration, upon such evidences and proofs as I am going to produce; whether the *Hyperborean Iland*, so much celebrated by antiquity, be not some one or more of the remotest Brittish Ilands: and particularly the great Iland of Lewis and Harries, with its apendages, and the adjacent Iland of Sky; which in every circumstance agree to the description that DIODORUS SICULUS gives of the Iland of the *Hyperboreans*. Let's mention some of those circumstances. He (70) says that the Harp was there in great repute, as indeed it is still; every Gentlemen having one in his house, besides a multitude of Harpers by profession, intertained gratis wherever the come. He tells us, that above all other Gods (71) they worshipt APOLLO; which, in my first *Letter*, I evidently show they did under the name

(70) Tōn de katoikountōn autēn tous pleistous einai Kitharistas. *Lib.* 2. *pag.* 130.

(71) Ton Apollō malista tōn allōn theōn par' autois timasthai. *Ibid.*

of BELENUS (72). He says further, that besides a magnificent sacred Grove, *Apollo's* remarkable Temple (73) there was round, whereof I have given a particular description and plan in my second Letter (74), it subsisting in great part still. He affirms that they had a peculiar Dialect, which in reality continues the same to this day; it being *Earse*, or the sixth among the Celtic Dialects I enumerated in my first *Letter:* and approaching so near to that of the Irish, that these and the Ilanders discourse together without any difficulty. But, omitting several other matters no less concordant, he adds, that the Iland was frequented of old by the (75) Greecs, and in friendship with them; which will be easily admitted, after perusing the fourth and fifth Sections of this present *Letter*, where I manifestly prove this intercourse. I very well know, that others, who are far from agreeing among themselves, do place the Hyperboreans elsewhere: nor am I ignorant that diverse, after the example of (76) ANTONIUS DIOGENES's *Thulian Romance*,

(72) In the Celtic language BEAL and BEALAN.

(73) Huparchein de kata tēn nēson tēmenos te Apollōnos megaloprepes, kai naon aksiologon, anathēmasi pollois kekosmēmenon, sphairoeidē tō schēmati. *Ibid.*

(74) Section XI.

(75) Pros tous Hellenas oikeiotata diakeisthai, &c. *Ibid.*

(76) See the last Section.

have indeavored to divert their readers, no less than themselves, with Hyperborean fictions; and so made such variations of site or circumstances, as best suited their several plans, to speak nothing of such as were grossly ignorant in Geography. Allowances ought to be made for all these things. And the Hyperborean continent (which was questionless the most northern part of Scythia, or of Tartary and Muscovy, stretching quite to Scandinavia, or Sweden and Norway) this Hyperborean continent, I say, must be carefully distinguished from the Hyperborean Iland; whose soil was more temperate and fertile, as its inhabitants more civilized, harmless, and happy. But, to prevent all cavils, I declare before-hand, that as by *Thule* I mean onely that of *Pytheas*, or Iceland, and not the conjectures or mistakes of people that lived long after him; some making it to be Ireland, others Schetland, which I believe to be the Thule of (77) *Tacitus*, others the northermost part of Great Britain, and others other (78) places: so by the Iland of the Hyperboreans, I mean that described by *Diodorus Siculus* after *Hecateus* and others, as being an Iland *in the Ocean beyond (79) Gaule to the north*, or

(77) Insulas, quas Orcadas vocant, invenit domuitque. Despecta est et Thule, quam hactenus nix et hiems abdebat. *In vita Agric. cap.* 10.

(78) See the *Essay concerning the Thule of the Antients, by* Sir ROBERT SIBBALD.

(79) ——— En tois antiperan tēs Keltikēs topois, kata ton ōkeanon,

under the Bear, where people lived with no less simplicity, than indolence and contentment; and which *Orpheus*, or, if you please, *Onomacritus*, very rightly places near the (80) Cronian or Dead Sea. 'Tis by this situation, as hereafter more particularly marked, that I am willing to be judged: showing it also to be an Iland near the *Scots*, whether Hibernian or Albanian; who are, by (81) *Claudian*, made borderers on the Hyperborean Sea. From this Iland the Argonauts, after touching there coming out of the Cronian Ocean, according to *Orpheus*, sailed to (82) Ireland in the Atlantic Ocean; and so to the (83) Pillars of *Hercules*, where they entered again into the Mediterranean (84). No marks can be plainer,

einai nēson, ouk elattō tēs Sikēlias; tautēn huparchein men kata tous arktous. *Lib.* 2. *pag.* 130.

(80) ——————— Kronionte epiklēskousi
Ponton huperboreēn meropes nekrēnte thalassan.
Argonaut. ver. 1079.

(81) ——————— *Scotumque vago mucrone secutus,*
Fregit Hyperboreas remis audacibus undas.
De 3 Cons. Honor. ver. 55.

(82) Ankaios d'oiakas epistamenos etitaine,
Par d'ara nēson ameiben Iernida———————
Ibid. ver. 1140.

(83) Kuma diaprēssontes, ana stoma ternēsoio
Hikometha, stēlaisi d'ekelsamen Hērakleēos.
Ibid. ver. 1240.

(84) *Now the Straits of Gibraltar.*

so there is no other Iland, those of Faroe and Iceland excepted, but the northwest Brittish Ilands, between the Cronian and the Atlantic Ocean, as every one knows that has once looked into a map; which express situation of the Hyperborean Iland, together with its being said by *Diodorus* to ly beyond the Gallic regions towards the north, or the Bear, the frequent use of the Harp there, and the worship of *Apollo* in a round Temple, amounts I think to as full a proof as any thing of this nature requires. *Diodorus* adds, in the place where I last quoted him, that the Hyperborean City and Temple were always governed by the family of the (85) *Boreads* (86), who with no more probability were *the descendants of* BOREAS, an imaginary Person or Deity, than the Hyperboreans were so called, *from being situated more northerly than the* (87) *North-wind:* but in reality they were then, as they are still, governed by their chiefs or heads of tribes, whom they called in their own language *Boireadhach;* that is to say, the Great ones, or powerful and valiant men, from *Borr*, antiently signifying Grandeur and (88) Majesty. The Greecs have in a

(85) Basileueinte tēs poleōs tautēs, kai tou temenous eparchein tous onomazomenous Boreadas, apogonous ontas Boreou, kai katagenos aiei diadechasthai tas archas. *Lib.* 2. *pag.* 130.

(86) BOREADES.

(87) Apo tou prossōterō keisthai tēs borciou pnoēs. *Lib.* 2.

(88) As for these words *Borr* and *Buireadhach* or *Boin-*

thousand instances applyed foren words to the very different sense of other words approaching to the same sound in their own language. Their first sailors into those parts gave the Ilanders the name of *Hyperboreans*, from their lying *so far towards the North* with respect to the straights of HERCULES, *(89)* for which I have indisputable authorities; and after having once thus stil'd them, they greedily catch'd at the allusive sound of their Leaders or Magistrates, Grecizing those Grandees, or BOIREADHACH, into BOREADES: which was literally understood in Greece of the fabulous descendants of BOREAS, very consonantly to their Mythology, or, if you will, to their Theology. But I noted *(90)* before, that PLATO, in his Cratylus, was of *(91) opinion the Greecs had borrow'd many words from the Barbarians; especially*, adds he,

adhach "the vowels *u* and *o* being with us most frequently put for each other" I might appeal to several authentic Manuscripts; but, because such are not obvious to many, I chuse rather to refer my readers to the *Seanasan nuadh*, or printed vocabulary of obsolete words by O CLERY, and to LHUYD's printed *Irish-English Dictionary*: so that these words are no children of fancy, as but too frequently happens in Etymologies. From the same root are *Borragach* couragious, and *Borrthoradh* awe or worship, with the like.

(89) Now of *Gibraltar*.

(90) Letter II. Section V.

(91) Ennoō gar, hote polla hoi Hellēnes onomata, allōs te kai hoi hupo tois barbarois oikountes, para tōn barbarōn eilēphasi. *Inter Opera, Edit. Paris. Vol.* 1. *pag.* 409.

such of the Greecs as liv'd in the Barbarian territories: which may be fairly supposed to include those who navigated, or that drove any traffic among them. And hence the divine Philosopher himself draws this accurate (92) inference, "That "if any man would indeavor to adjust the Ety- "mologies of those words with the Greec lan- "guage, and not rather seek for them in that "to which they originally belong, he must needs "be at a loss." 'Tis farther most deserving observation, that ERATOSTHENES, an antient Chronologer and Geographer of vast reputation for Learning, speaking of APOLLO's famous *Arrow*, with which he slew the Cyclopes, and in honor of which one of the Constellations is so called, says that (93) "he hid it among the Hyper- "boreans, where there is his Temple made of "wings, or a winged Temple," the words being capable of both senses. If the latter was the meaning of ERATOSTHENES, we have already given the Description of such a winged Temple, yet standing there: and if the former, no place under heaven could furnish more feathers, nor of more various kinds, to adorn men or buildings, than those same Ilands; where many of the inhabitants pay their rent with them, and make a

(92) Ei tis Zētoi tauta kata tēn Hellēnikēn phōnēn hōs eoikotōs keitai, alla mē kat' ekeinēn ex hēs to ouoma tunchanei on, oistha hoti aporoi an. *Ibid.*

(93) Ekrupse de auto (to toksikon) en huperboreiois, hou kai ho naos ho pterinos. *In Catastermis, inter Opuscula Mythologica et Physica. Edit. Amst. pag.* 124.

considerable profit besides. For this reason perhaps, and not from its promontories, the Ile of Skie is in the language of the natives called *Sciánach*, (94) or the winged Iland, whereof the English name *Skie* is an abbreviation or corruption. Now, if the Hebrides were the Hyperboreans of DIODORUS, as I fancy it can scarce hereafter be doubted, then the most celebrated ABARIS was both of that Country and likewise a Druid, having been the (95) Priest of APOLLO. SUIDAS, who knew not the distinction of Insular Hyperboreans, makes him a Scythian; as do some others misled by the same vulgar error, tho' DIODORUS has truly fixed his country in the Iland, not on the continent. And indeed their fictions or blunders are infinite concerning our *Abaris*. This is certain however among them all, that he travelled quite over (96) Greece, and from thence into Italy, where he familiarly conversed with PYTHAGORAS; who favoured him beyond all his Disciples, by imparting his doctrines to him, especially his thoughts of nature, in a more compendious and plainer method, than to any others.

(94) *Oilean Sciathanach.*

(95) To men gar hoti ton mēron chrusoun epedeiksen Abariditō Huperboreō, eikasanti auton Apollōna einai ton en Huperboreois, houper ēn hiereus ho Abaris, bebaionta hōs touto alēthes tethrullētai. *Porphyrius in vita Pythagorae. Eadem, et iisdem equidem verbis habet Jamblichus, lib.* 1. *cap.* 28.

(96) Hōsautōs de kai ek tōn huperboreōn Abarin eis tēn Hellada katantēsanta to palaion. &c. *Ubi supra.*

This distinction could not but highly redound to the advantage of *Abaris*. For, the reasons of *Pythagoras*'s backwardness and retention in communicating his doctrines, being, in the first place, that he might eradicate, if possible, out of the minds of his Disciples all vitious and turbulent passions, forming them by degrees to a habit of virtue, which is the best preparative for receiving Truth; as, next, to fit them, by a competent knowlege of the Mathematical Sciences, for reasoning with exactness about those higher contemplations of nature, into which they were to be initiated; and, lastly, to have repeated proofs of their discretion in concealing such important discoveries from the *ignorant* and the *wicked*, the latter being unworthy, and the former incapable of true Philosophy: it follows therefore, that he judged *Abaris* already sufficiently prepared in all these respects, and so he obliged him with an immediate communication of his most inward sentiments; concealed from others under the vail of numbers, or of some other enigmatical Symbols. The Hyperborean in return presented the Samian, as if he had equalled *Apollo* himself in Wisdom, with the *sacred Arrow;* riding astride which he's fabulously reported by the Greec writers, to have flown in the air over rivers and lakes, forests and mountains: as our vulgar still believe, and no where more than in the Hebrides, that wizards and witches waft whither they please upon

Broom-sticks. But what was hid under this Romantic expedition, with the true meaning of the *Arrow* it self, the nature of the predictions that *Abaris* spread in Greece, and the doctrines that he learnt at Crotona; with the conceit of these Hyperboreans that *Latona* the mother of *Apollo*, was born among them, nay that he was so too, and their most exact astronomical cycle of nineteen years: these particulars, I say, you'll read at large in my *History of the Druids*, stript of all fable and disguise; as well as a full discussion of the Question, about which antient writers are divided, "whether the *Druids* learnt their (97) sym-"bolical and enigmatical method of teaching, to-"gether with the doctrine of Transmigration from "*Pythagoras*, or that this Philosopher had borrow-"ed these particulars from the *Druids*?" The communication between them was easy enough, not only by means of such travellers as *Pythagoras* and *Abaris*, but also by the nearness of Gaule to Italy: tho' there will still remain another Question, *viz.* whether the Egyptians had not these things before either of them; and therefore whether they did not both receive them from the Egyptians?

VIII. Yet before all things we must here examine what can be offered, with any color, against

(97) Kai phasi tous men Gumnosophistas kai Druidas ainigmatōdōs apophthengomenous philophēsai. *Diogen. Laert. in prooem. Sect.* 6.

our account of *the Hyperborean Iland*; after that so many circumstances, and particularly the situation, seem to point demonstratively to the true place; nor certainly, when things are duely considered, will the objections that have been started in private conversation, as I know of no other that can be publickly made, be found to have the least difficulty. Thule or Iceland, rightly placed by *Claudian* in the (98) Hyperborean Climate, besides the incongruities of the soil and the intemperateness of the air, is distinguished by *Diodorus* himself from the Iland in question: and the Iles of Faroe, being onely a parcel of barren rocks of very small extent, without any monuments of antiquity, deserve not so much as to be mentioned on this occasion. Neither indeed has any of my acquaintance insisted on either of these. But *Diodorus*, says one of them, tho' exactly agreeing to your situation or that of *Orpheus*, and that your other circumstances do perfectly tally to his description: yet is different in this, that he speaks onely of one Iland, not less than (99) Sicily; whereas you understand this of several Ilands, which altogether have scarce that extent. I answer, that the marks of the right place which I have men-

(98) ---------- Te, quo libet ire, sequemur:
Te vel Hyperboreo damnatam sidere Thulen,
Te vel ad incensas Libyae comitabor arenas.
In Rufin. lib. 2.

(99) Ouk elattō tēs Sikēlias. *Ubi supra.*

tioned already, and such others as I shall presently alledge, will more than counterbalance any mistake, if there be any, about the bigness of the Iland. Travellers and Mariners, who either have not been ashore or not staid long enough in any place to survey it, are known to speak onely by guess, and frequently very much at random. Has not Great Britain it self, so much celebrated, as PLINY justly (100) writes, by the Greec and Roman authors, been taken to be of vast extent, and not certainly known by the Romans to be an Iland, till the time (101) of *Vespasian?* Endless examples of this kind might easily be produced. And as for the multitude of those Ilands, which are separated onely by narrow channels, it makes nothing at all against me. For, besides that such an aggregation of Ilands is often taken in common speech for onely one; as not to go out of our own Dominions, such is Schetland, in name one country, but in effect consisting of more than 30 Ilands: so there are several indications, joined to the Tradition of the Inhabitants, of which see Dr. MARTIN in his *Account of Saint Kilda* and elsewhere, that some of those western Ilands have been formerly united, and many of them nearer each other than at present. However, taking them as they now are, Lewis, otherwise call'd *the Long*

(100) See Section III.

(101) See Section V.

Iland, being at least a hundred miles in (102) length, Skie forty, several of the rest above four and twenty each, and all appearing as one Iland, having many winding bays or inlets, to one who sails without them, or that touches onely at some of the greatest; considering this, I say, the mistake will not be reckoned so enormous in a sailor or stranger, if he compares them in the lump to Sicily for extent. Another person granting all this, objects that *Diodorus* represents the Hyperborean Iland a very (103) temperate region; which, according to my friend, cannot be said of any place in the northern Latitude of 58, and partly of 59. But whoever has travelled far himself, or read the Relations of such as have; will be convinced that the seasons in every region of the world, do not always answer to their position: of which the causes are various, as huge ridges of mountains, the neighborhood of vast lakes or marshes, winds blowing from places covered with snow, or the like. Thus Britain and Ireland are known, not onely to be much more temperate than the places on the Continent of the same position with them, but even than some of

(102) I reckon as Dr. MARTIN and the natives do, from the most northerly point of Lewis to Bernera south of Barrah, this string of Ilands being onely divided by channels mostly fordable: and if it be considered that I make use of Scottish miles, every place is at least a third part more, according to the English or Italian measure.

(103) Ousan d' autēn eugeionte kai pamphoran, eti de eukrasia diapherousan, dittous kat' etos ekpherein karpous. *Ubi supra.*

such as are more southerly; by reason of the sault vapors and continual agitations of the surrounding Ocean, which dissolve, allay, and mitigate the frosts and winds blowing from the Continent.——This holds as true with regard to the Hebrides, which by experience are allow'd to be yet more temperate; the snow not lying near so long as in Britain, and a tepid vapor being very sensible there in the midst of winter. This was enough to fill the greec sailors with admiration, which to us ought to be none; since their learned men often spoke of many places, not as they actually were in themselves, but as in their speculations they imagin'd they ought to be: without considering whether there might not occur some of the diversifying circumstances we have just now hinted, or any others begetting the like influences. But that most sagacious interpreter of nature, HIPPOCRATES, knew better things, when he taught what he learnt by experience, having been an Ilander himself, that Ilands, situated (104) far in the sea, are kindly warm, and that no snow can lie on them in winter; while such as are near the shore become scarce habitable for cold, by reason of the snow and ice remaining on the continent, which from thence transmit bleak winds into those Ilands. The antients, who judged of places where they never were by their bare positions, did

(104) Tōn de nēsōn, hai men engus tōn ēpeirōn, duscheimerōterai eisin; hai de pontiai, aleinoterai ton cheimōna: dioti hai chiones kai pagoi en meu tēsin ēpeiroisin echousi stasin, kai ta pneumata psuchra pempousin es tas engus nēsous. Ta de pelagia ouk echei stasin en cheimōni. *De Diaeta, lib.* 2. *cap.* 3.

consequently enough from thence conclude the torrid Zone to be inhabitable: but since this Zone has not onely been frequently visited, but is daily penetrated to the temperate and cold Zones beyond it, it is not onely found every where inhabited; but those breezes and showers, with other causes, that make living there very comfortable, are the common themes of Philosophers. This brings me to the last, and seemingly the strongest Objection, viz. that the Hyperborean Ilaud of *Diodorus*, or rather of *Hecateus* and others long before him, was so plentiful as to have (105) two crops a year. Yet this expression, upon a fair construction, will be so far from embarassing, that it will highly illustrate my explication. It onely signifies great plenty and abundance, which I could instance by many passages of the antients; but shall chuse the nearest home I can, and that is what (106) *Virgil* says of Italy:

> *Perpetual spring our happy Climate sees,*
> *Twice breed the cattle, and twice bear the trees;*
> *And summer suns recede by slow degrees.*
>
> DRYDEN'S *Translation.*

But who is ignorant, that this is not literally true? and as to the plenty meant by it in general, it is cer-

(105) Read the *Note* immediately preceeding, bateing one.

(106) *Hic ver assiduum, atque alienis mensibus aestas;*
Bis gravidae pecudes, bis pomis utilis arbos.
Georgic. lib. 2.

tain that no country abounds more with the necessaries of life, and at less labor or charge, than the Hebrides. I shall dwell so much the longer on this head, as my *History* may possibly reach further than the Celtic Nations. Wherefore, in the first place, there is known to be in those Ilands a prodigious plenty of Flesh and Fish. Their cattle of all sorts, as Cows, Sheep, Goats, and Hogs, are exceeding numerous and prolific: small indeed of size, as are likewise their Horses, but of a sweet and delicious taste. So are their Deer, which freely range in herds on the mountains. No place can compare with this for tame and wild fowl, there being of the latter no where in the world a greater diversity, many sorts of them extremely beautiful or rare, and utterly unknown elsewhere. The like may be said of their various amphibious animals. Numberless are their fountains and springs, rivulets, rivers, and lakes, very wholesom in their waters, and every where super-abounding with fish, especially the most delicate, as Trout and Salmon: nor is it by Herrings alone that all Europe knows no Seas to be better stored, nor with more kinds, from the shrimp to the whale; as no harbors or bays are superior, whether regard be had to number or commodiousness. Add to this their variety of excellent roots and plants, particularly those of marine growth, every one of them serving for food or physic. Their pastures are so kindly, that they might live on milk alone, with that inconceivable quantity of Eggs they yearly gather of the desart rocks and Ilets. But

flesh and fish, milk-meats, eggs, and sallads in the greatest abundance, some will be apt to say, are slender and comfortless food without the staff of bread. On this assertion, tho' I might fairly dispute it from the practice of whole nations, and the experience of particular persons no strangers to me, I will not however insist; bread, among their other productions, being plentiful enough in the Hebrides, which sometimes cannot be said of the neighboring Ilands. The ground is generally allowed to be much richer than on the Scottish continent, some parts whereof are not seldom supplyed (107) hence with corn: and I have also such proofs of it from Dr. MARTIN, who, when he wrote his *Description* of those Ilands, was far from dreaming of the *Hyperboreans*, as will sufficiently justify the expression of *Diodorus* about their crops or harvests. Lewis is very fruitful: and tho' Barley, Oats, and Rye, be the onely grain sown there at present; yet the ground both in that, and in most of the other (108) Ilands is fit to bear wheat, and consequently Legumes of all sorts. It is truely amazing they have any crop at all, considering how unskilful they are in Agriculture, how destitute of the properest instruments to till the ground, and that they scarce use any other mànure but sea-wrack or tangles. From the ignorance of the inhabitants in these respects, as also in planting, inclosing, and drain-

(107) See Dr. MARTIN's *Description*, page 140.

(108) Page 53, 337, &c.

ing, many fruitful spots ly uncultivated: but the abundance of choice Eatables, and namely the most nourishing shell-fish of various kinds, with which they are richly supplyed by bountiful nature, contributes more than any thing to that Indolence, which the antient Greecs esteemed their Happiness. The goodness of the soil appears by nothing more evidently, than by the want of cultivation, whereof I have been just complaining. Dr. MARTIN, who was an Ey-witness, and strictly examined the fact, affirms (109) that in Bernera, near Harris, the produce of Barley is many times from twenty to thirty-fold; that in Harries and South-Uist (110) one barley-grain sometimes produces from seven to fourteen ears, as in North-Uist from ten to thirty-fold (111) in a plentiful year; that at Corchattan, in Skie, the increase (112) amounted once to thirty-five; that if the ground be laid down for some time, it gives a good (113) crop without dunging, some fields not having been dunged in forty years; and that he was informed a small tract of ground, at Skerry-

(109) Page 42.

(110) Ibid.

(111) Page 53.

(112) Page 132.

(113) Page 139.

breck (114) in the said Ile of Skie, had yielded a hundred-fold. Nay, I have been told my self by a native of that Ile, that the people there believe they might have two crops a year, if they took due pains. For this I beged their pardon, but allowed what was tantamount, since the words of *Diodorus* may no less justly be rendered a double crop, than two (115) crops, which last however is in some respects literally true. For with regard to their pastures, of which somewhat before, nothing is more common than for a sheep to have two (116) lambs at a time. This not onely confirms my construction, and puts me in mind of that verse in (117) *Virgil*,

She suckles twins, and twice a day is milk'd:

but also of what the so often mentioned Dr. MARTIN relates on this (118) occasion; which is, that besides the ordinary rent a tenant paid, it was a custom in the Ilands, if any of his cows or sheep brought two young ones at a time, one of them was to go to the Landlord: who, on his part,

(114) Ibid.

(115 Dittous karpous.

(116) Page 108.

(117) *Bis venit ad mulctram, binos alit ubere foetus.* Eclog. 3. ver. 30.

(118) Page 109.

was obliged, if any of his tenant's wives bore twins, to take one of them into his own family; and that he himself knew a Gentleman, who had sixteen of these twins in his house at a time. It is no wonder they are populous. Even the wild Goats on the Mountains, for such there are in Harries, are observed to bring (119) forth their young twice a year: all which put together, makes the last objection against me to be none, and therefore finally justifies my explication of the passage in DIODORUS. From hence 'tis evident, MY LORD, that those Ilands are capable of great improvement, as they abound likewise in many curiosities, especially in Subjects of Philosophical observation. Nor is it less plain by the many antient Monuments remaining among them, and the marks of the plow reaching to the very tops of the mountains, which the artless inhabitants think incapable of culture, that in remote ages they were in a far more flourishing condition than at present. The ruins of spacious houses, and the numerous Obelisks, old Forts, Temples, Altars, with the like, which I have described (120) before, undeniably prove this: besides that the country was formerly full of woods, as appears by the great Oaks and Firr-trees daily dug out of the ground, and by many other tokens; there being several small woods and cop-

(119) Page 35.

(120) Letter II. Sections VIII, IX, X, &c.

pices still remaining in *Skie*, *Mull*, and other places. Tho' I don't pretend, no more than DIODORUS, that these were *the fortunate Ilands* of the Poets, or the Elyzian-fields of the dead, by some plac'd in those [121] seas, as by others elsewhere; yet the following lines of [122] of HORACE agree to no spot better, than the Ilands we have been just describing.

" ——————— From lofty hills
" With murmuring pace the fountain trills.
" There Goats uncall'd return from fruitful vales,
" And bring stretch'd dugs to fill the pails.
" No bear grins round the fold, no lambs he shakes;
" No field swells there with poys'nous snakes.
" More we shall wonder on the happy plain:
" The watery East descends in rain,
" Yet so as to refresh, not drown the fields;
" The temperate glebe full harvest yields.
" No heat annoys: the ruler of the Gods
" From plagues secures these blest abodes."

CREECH's *Translation.*

The Inhabitants, that I may make a complete commentary on the passage of *Diodorus*, are not to be mended in the proportion of their persons: no preposterous bandages distorting them in the cradle, nor hindring nature from duely forming their limbs; which is the reason, that bodily imperfections of any sort are very rare among them.

(121) *Videas Annotationem* 63 & 64.
(122) ----------*Montibus altis*

Neither does any over-officiously preventive Physic in their infancy, spoil their original constitution; whence they have so strong a habit of body, that one of them requires treble the dose, as will purge any man in the south of Scotland. But what contributes above all things to their health and longevity, is constant Temperance and Exercise. As they prefer conveniency to ornament both in their houses and their apparel, which last I think not disagreeable, so, in their way of eating and drinking, they rather satisfy than oppress nature. Their food is commonly fresh, and their meals two a day, water being the ordinary drink of the vulgar. They are strangers to many of the Distempers, as they are to most of the Vices of other nations, for some of which they have not so much as a name: and it may no less truely be observed of these than of the ancient Scythians, that (123) the ignorance of

Levis crepante lympha desilit pede.
Illic injussae veniunt ad mulctra capellae,
Refertque tenta grex amicus ubera.
Nec vespertinus circumgemit ursus ovile,
Nec intumescit alta viperis humus.
Pluraque felices mirabimur: ut neque largis
Aquosus Eurus arva radat imbribus,
Pinguia nec siccis urantur semina glebis;
Utrumque Rege temperante Coelitum.

Epod. 16. ver. 47.

(123) Tanto plus in illis proficit vitiorum ignoratio, quam in his *(Graecis nimirum)* cognitio virtutis. JUSTIN. *Hist. lib.* 2. *cap.* 2.

vices has had a better effect upon them, than the knowledge of Philosophy upon politer nations. They owe every thing to nature. They cure all disorders of the body by simples of their own growth, and by proper diet or labor. Hence they are stout and active, dextrous in all their exercises; as they are withall remarkably sagacious, choleric but easily appeazed, sociable, good natured, ever cheerful, and having a strong inclination to Music: all which particulars, with the other parts of their past and present character, I have not onely learnt from the concurrent testimonies of several judicious authors; but also from the intimate knowledge I have had my self of many scores of the natives as well in Scotland as elsewhere. They are hospitable beyond expression, intertaining all strangers of what condition soever gratis; the use of mony being still in some of those Ilands unknown, and till a few ages past in all of them. They have no Lawyers or Attorneys: which, no more than several other particulars here specifyed, I do not understand of the Highlanders on the continent; tho' speaking the same language, and wearing the same dress with them. The men and women plead their own causes; and a very speedy decision is made by the Proprietor, who's Perpetual president in their courts, or by his Bailiff as his substitute. In a word, they are equally void of the two chief plagues of Mankind, *Luxury* and *Ambition*;

which consequently frees them from all those restless pursuits, consuming toils, and never-failing vexations, that men suffer elsewhere for those airy, trifling, shortlived vanities. Their contempt of superfluities is falsly reckoned Poverty, since their felicity consists not in having much, but in coveting little; and that he's supremely rich, who wants no more than he has: for as they, who live according to nature, will never be poor; so they, who live according to opinion, will never be rich. It is certain that no body wants, what he does not desire: and how much easier is it not to desire certain things, than otherwise? as it is far more healthy and happy to want, than to injoy them. Neither is their ignorance of vices in these Ilands any diminution to their virtue, since, not being by their situation concerned in any of the disputes about dominion or commerce, that distract the world, they are not onely rigid observers of Justice, but show less propensity than any People to tumults; except what they may be unwarily led into by the extraordinary deference they pay to the opinion of their Chiefs and Leaders, who are accountable for the mischiefs they sometimes bring, as at this very (124) time, on these well-meaning *Hyperboreans*. For Hyperboreans I will now presume to call them, and withall to claim *Abaris* as a Philosopher of

(124) 1719.

the Brittish world, which has principally occasioned this Digression; on that account not improper, nor, I hope, altogether useless in other respects. Be this as your Lordship shall think fit to judge, I will not finish it before I have acquainted you with an odd custom or two, that have from time immemorial obtained in Barra and the lesser circumjacent Ilands, which are the property of MAC-NEIL. The present is the thirty fifth Lord of Barra by uninterrupted lineal descent, a thing whereof no Prince in the world can boast: and he is regarded, you may imagine, as no mean potentate by his subjects, who know none greater than he. (125) When the wife of any of 'em dies, he has immediate recourse to his Lord, representing first his own loss in the want of a meet help; and next that of MAC-NEIL himself, if he should not go on to beget followers for him. Hereupon MAC-NEIL finds out a suteable match, neither side ever disliking his choice, but accepting it as the highest favor, and the marriage is celebrated without any courtship, portion or dowry. But they never fail to make merry on such occasions with a bottle or more of Usquebah. On the other hand, (126) when any woman becomes a widdow, she is upon the like application soon provided with a husband, and with

(125) MARTIN, *page* 97.

(126) Ibid.

as little ceremony. Whoever may dislike this Hyperborean manner of preventing delay, disdain, or disappointment, yet he cannot but approve MACNEIL'S conduct, in supplying (127) any of his tenants with as many Milch-cows, as he may chance to lose by the severity of the weather, or by other misfortunes; which is not the less true charity, for being good policy. Most worthy likewise of imitation is his taking into his own family, building a house hard by on purpose for them, and maintaining to the day of their death, as many old men, as, thro' age or infirmity, (128) become unfit for labor. But I should never have done, if I proceded with the particular usages of the North and West Ilanders. Several of them, retained from the remotest times of the Druids, are explained in this and the preceding Letters. Yet one custom, very singular, I cannot help relating here, tho' long since grown obsolete; or rather that it has been in disuse, ever since their conversion to Christianity. When a man had a mind to have a wife, (129) as soon as he gain'd the consent of the maid he lik'd, he took her to his bed and board for a whole year; and if, upon thus coming thoroughly acquainted with the

(127) Ibid.

(128) Page 98.

(129) Page 114.

conditions both of her mind and body, he kept her any longer, she then became his wife all her days; but if he dislik'd her to such a degree on any account, as to be persuaded she shou'd not make him easy during life, he return'd her (with her portion, if she had any) at the twelve months end to her parents or guardians; legitimating the children, and maintaining them at his own charge in case there were such. Nor was this repudiation any dishonor or disadvantage to the young woman in the eyes of another man, who thought she would make him a better wife, or that he might to her be a better husband. It was a custom, I must own, like to prevent a world of unhappy matches: but, according to our modern ideas, it is not onely unlawful, but also barbarous.

IX. To return whence I digressed, having thus happily discovered and asserted the country of *Abaris*, and also his profession of a *Druid*; I shall give here some account of his person, referring to another place the History of his adventures. The Orator *Himerius*, tho' one of those, who, from the equivocal sense of the word *Hyperborean*, seems to have mistaken him for a Scythian; yet accurately describes his person, and gives him a very noble character. That he spoke Greek with so much facility and elegance, will be no matter of wonder to such as consider the antient intercourse, which we have already prov'd between

the Greecs and the Hyperboreans: nor would the latter, to be sure, send any ambassador, as we'll see presently they did *Abaris*, to the former, unless, among the other requisite qualifications, he perfectly understood their language. But let's harken a while to *Himerius*. "They relate, *(says he,)* that *Abaris* the "Sage was by nation a Hyperborean, become a Gre-"cian in speech, and resembling a Scythian in his habit "and appearance. Whenever he moved his ton-"gue, you would imagine him to be some one "out of the midst of the Academy or very Ly-"ceum" (130). Now that his habit was not that of a Scythian ever covered with skins, but what has been in all ages, as generally at this present, worn in the Hebrides and the neighboring Highlands, it needs onely to be described for removing all doubts and scruples. "*Abaris* came "to Athens, continues (131) *Himerius*, holding "a bow, having a quiver hanging from his "shoulders, his body wrapt up in a plad, girt "about his loins with a gilded belt, and wear-"ing trowzers reaching from the soles of his "feet to his waste." A gun and pistol, being of modern date, could make no part of his equi-

(130) Abarin men sophon genos men Huperboreiōn legousin, Hellēna de phōnēn gegenēsthai, kai Skuthēn men achri stolēs de kai schēmatos. Ei de pou glōttan kinēseie, touto ekeinon ek mesēs Akadēmias kai autou Lukeiou nomizesthai. *Ex Oratione ad Ursicium apud Photium in Biblioth. cod* 243. *edit. Rothomag. pag.* 1135.

(131) Hēken Abaris Athēnaze toxa echōn, pharetran hēmmenos eis ōmōn, chlamudi sphingomenos: Zōnē ēn kat' iksuōn chrusē, anaxurides ek tarsōn akrōn achri kai gloutōn anateinousai. *Id. ibid.*

page: and you see he did not make his entry into Athens ridding on a broom-stick, as faboulously reported, but in the native garb of an aboriginal Scot. As for what regards his abilities, it was impossible for his principals to have made a better choice; since we are informed by the same (132) *Himerius, that* " he was affable and " pleasant in conversation, in dispatching great " affairs secret and industrious, quicksighted in " present exigences, in preventing future dangers " circumspect, a searcher after wisdom, desirous " of friendship, trusting indeed little to fortune, " and having every thing trusted to him for his " prudence." Neither the Academy nor the Lyceum could furnish out a man with fitter qualities, to go so farr abroad and to such wise nations, about affairs no less arduous than important. But if we attentively consider his moderation in eating, drinking, and the use of all those things, which our natural appetites incessantly crave; adding the candor and simplicity of his manners, with the solidity and wisdom of his answers, all which we'll find sufficiently attested, it must be owned, that the world at that time had few to compare with ABARIS.

Thus I have laid before your Lordship a Specimen of my History of the Druids. Give me

(132) En hēdus entuchein, deinos hēsuchē megalēn praxin ergasasthai, oxus to paron idein, promēthēs to mellon phulattesthai, sophias hēttōn, erastēs philias, oliga men tuchē pisteuōn, gnōmē de ta panta pistoumenos. *Id. ibid.*

leave to send you with this Letter two small Pieces which I don't doubt will be agreeable to you. One is Mr. JONES's *Answer to* Mr. TATE's *Questions about the Druids, and the other British Antiquities*, which I transcribed from a Manuscript in the Cotton Library (133); and the other, some Collections mentioned in one of my Letters (134), shewing the Affinity between the Armoric and Irish Language, &c.

I am,

MY LORD,

YOUR LORDSHIP'S

MOST OBLIG'D,

AND

VERY HUMBLE SERVANT.

April 18. 1719.

(133) *Vitel. E. v.* 6.

(134) *Letter II. Sect.* 18. *pag.* 112.

Mr. TATE's

QUESTIONS,

ABOUT THE

DRUIDS,

AND OTHER

BRITTISH ANTIQUITIES;

WITH

Mr. JONES's

ANSWER TO THEM.

Mr. TATE's QUESTIONS.

BY what names were they call'd by the Brittons, which the Latins call *Druidea* or *Druides* ?

II. Whether the Druids and Flamens were all one, and the difference between them ? how the Flamens were called in Brittish, and their antiquity and habits ?

III. What degrees were given to the Professors of Learning ? when, where, and by whom, and their habits or apparel ?

IV. Whether the *Barth* had any office in war answering our Heralds ? their garments and enseigns ?

and whether they used the *Caduceus*? many fetching the original thereof from the Britton's charming of serpents.

V. What Judges and Lawyers had the Brittons that follow'd the King? and what are *Tri anhepcor Brenhin*, and their use?

VI. What Judges and Lawyers were their resident in the country? their number? what Judges were there *per dignitatem Terrae*? and what their duty? and how were they assembl'd to do the same?

VII. It appeareth there were always many Kings and Princes in this Realm before the coming in of the Saxons: were their countries divided into *Talaiths*, as all between Severn and the Sea was after their coming?

VIII. Was there any division into Shires before the Saxon's coming, and what difference betwixt a Shire and a *Swydh*? There were anciently with you *Maenors*, *Commods*, *Cantreths*, answerable whereunto are our *Manors*, *Tythings*, *Hundreds*. And that maketh me to encline that *Swydh* shou'd be like our Shire, as *Swyd caer Bhyrdin*, *Swyd Amwythig*, *Swyd caer Wrangon*; and the General Officers of them were called *Swydogion*, under whom were *Maer*, *Gnghellawr*, *Rhinghill*, *Ophiriat*, and *Brawdur trwyr Swyd*, except all bear the name of *Swydogion*. I find in ancient Book of Landaff *Gluiguis* or *Glivisus* King of Demetia (which of this King is call'd *Glenguissig*) of whom

it is said *septem pagos rexit*, whereof *Glamorgan*, now a Shire, was one; and *pagus* is us'd for a Shire.

IX. Whether the Britons had Noblemen bearing the name of *Duces, Comites, Barones?* and what they were called in Brittish?—In the Book of Landaff I find it thus written, "Gandeleius Rex totam regionem "suam Cadoco filio suo commendavit, privilegiumque "concessit, quatenus a fonte Faennun haen donec ad "ingressum fluminis Nadavan pervenitur, omnes Re-"ges et Comites, Optimates, Tribuni, atque domesti-"ci in Coenobij sui coemeterto de Lancarvan sepeli-"antur." And K. E. I. enquiring of the Laws of the Britons, demandeth how the Welsh Barons did administer justice, and so distinguisht them from Lords Marchers.

X. What is the signification of the word *Assach*? A statute of King Henry VI. saith, some offer'd to excuse themselves by an *Assach* after the custom of Wales: that is to say, by an oath of thirty men.

XI. What officer is he that in the Laws of *Howel Da* is called *Distein*, and the signification of the word?

XII. What do you think of this place of Petrus Ramus in his Book *de moribus veterum Gallorum: Hae civitates Brutos suos habebant. Sic a Caesare nominantur Senatus Eburonicum, Lexobiorum, Venetorum.* Was there any Counsil or Senate in the Brittish Gogernment, and by what name were they call'd?

Mr. Jones's Answers to Mr. Tate's Questions.

TO to the first I say, that *Druides* or *Druidae* is a word that is derived from the Brittish word *Drudion;* being the name of certain wise, discreet, learned, and religious Persons among the Brittons. *Druidon* is the plural number of this primitive word *Drud.* By adding *ion* to the singular number, you make the plural of it *secundum formam Britannorum*; sic *Drud, Drudion.* This primitive word *Drud* has many significations. One signification is *Dialwr*, that is a revenger, or one that redresseth wrong: for so the Justicers call'd *Drudion* did supply the place of Magistrates. Another signification *Krevlon*, and that signifies cruel and merciless; for they did execute justice most righteously, and punisht offendors most severely. DRUD signifies also *glew* and *prid*, that is, valiant or hardy. *Drud* is also dear or precious, unde venit *Drudanieth*, which is Dearth. These *Drudion* among the Brittons by their office did determine all kind of matters as well private as publick, and were Justicers as well in religious matters and controversies, as in Law matters and controversies, for offences of death and title of Laws. These did the sacrifices to the Heathen Gods, and the sacrifices cou'd not be made without them, and they did forbid sacrifices to be done by any man that did not obey their decree and sentence. All the Arts,

Sciences, Learning, Philosophy, and Divinity that was taught in the land, was taught by them; and they taught by memory, and never wou'd that their knowledge and learning shou'd be put in writing: whereby when they were supprest by the Emperor of Rome in the beginning of Christianity, their Learning, Arts, Laws, Sacrifices, and Governments were lost and extinguisht here in this land; so that I can find no more mention of any of their deeds in our tongue than I have set down, but that they dwelled in rocks, and woods, and dark places, and some places in our land, had their names from them, and are called after their names to this day. And the Iland of *Mone* or Anglesea is taken to be one of their chiefest seats in Britain, because it was a solitary Iland full of wood, and not inhabited of any but themselves; and then the Ile of Mone, which is called Anglesea, was called *yr Inys Dowyll*, that is, the Dark Iland. And after that the *Drudion* were supprest, the huge groves which they favor'd and kept a-foot, were rooted up, and that ground till'd. Then that Iland did yield such abundance and plenty of corn, that it might sustain and keep all Wales with bread; and therefore there arose then a Proverb, and yet is to this day, viz. *Mon mam Gymbrv*, that is, *Mon* the mother of Wales. Some do term the proverb thus, *Mon mam Gynedd*, that is, *Mon* the mother of North-wales, that is, that *Mon* was able to nourish and foster upon bread all Wales or North-Wales. And after that this Dark Iland had cast out for many years such abundance of corn where the dis-

closed woods and groves were, it surceased to yield corn, and yielded such plenty of grass for cattle, that the Countrymen left off their great tilling, and turned it to grazing and breeding of cattle, and that did continue among them wonderful plentiful, so that it was an admirable thing to be heard, how so little a plat of ground shou'd breed such great number of cattle ; and now the inhabitants do till a great part of it, and breed a great number of cattle on t'other part.

II. As for the second Question, I do refer the exposition of it to those that have written of the *Flamens* in Latine. The *Drudion* in Britain, according to their manner and custom, did execute the office and function of the *Flamens* beyond the sea : and as for their habits, I cannot well tell you how, nor what manner they were of.

III. To the third Question : there were four several kinds of Degrees, that were given to the Professors of Learning. The first was, *Disgibliysbas*, and that was given a man after three years studying in the art of Poetry and Musick, if he by his capacity did deserve it. The second degree was DISGIBLDISGYBLIAIDD, and that was given to the Profeſſor of Learning after six years studying, if he did deserve it. The third degree was DISGIBLPENKERDDIAIDD ; and that was given to the Prosessor of Learning after nine years studying, if he deserve it. And the fourth degree was *Penkerdd* or *Athro*, and *Athro* is the highest degree of Learning among us, and in Latine is called Doctor. All these

degrees were given to men of Learning as well Poets as Musicians. All these foresaid degrees of Learning were given by the King, or in his presence in his Palace, at every three years end, or by his License from him in some fit place thereunto (appointed) upon an open disputation had before the King or his Deputy in that behalf, and then they were to have their reward according to their degrees. Also there were three kinds of Poets. The one was *Prududd:* the other was *Tevluwr:* the third was *Klerwr.* These three kinds had three several matters to treat of. The *Prududd* was to treat of Lands, and the praise of Princes, Nobles, and Gentlemen, and had his circuit among them. The *Tevluwr* did treat of merry jests, and domestical pastimes and affairs, having his circuit among the Countrymen, and his reward according to his calling. The *Clerwr* did treat of invective and rustical Poetry, differing from the *Prududd* and *Tevluwr*; and his circuit was among the Yeomen of the Country. As for their habits, they were certain long apparel down to the calf of their leggs or somewhat lower, and were of diverse colours.

IV. To the fourth Question, I say, the *Bard* was a Herald to record all the acts of the Princes and Nobles, and to give arms according to deserts. They were also Poets, and cou'd prognosticate certain things, and gave them out in metre. And further, there were three kinds of *Beirdd* (the plural of *Bardd),* viz. Privardd, Poswardd, Arwyddvardd. The *Priveirdd* (plurally,)

were Merlin Silvester, Merlin Ambrosius, and Taliessin ; and the reason they were call'd *Priveirdd* was, because they invented and taught such Philosophy and other Learning as were never read or heard of by any man before. The interpretation of this word *Privardd* is Prince, or first learner, or learned man : for Bardd was an appelation of all learned men, and professors of Learning, and Prophets, as also were attributed to them the titles of Privardd, Posvardd, and Arwyddvard. Bardd Telyn. And they call Merlin Ambrosius by the name of Bardd Gortheyrn, that is, Vortiger's Philosopher, or Learned man, or Prophesyer. Bardd Telyn is he that is Doctor of the Musicians of the Harp, and is the chief harp in the Land, having his abode in the King's palace : and *note* no man may be called Privardd, but he that inventeth such Learning, and Arts, or Science, as were never taught before. The second kind of Bardd is Posvardd, and those Posveirdd were afterwards Prydiddion : for they did imitate and teach what the Priveirdd had set forth, and must take their author from one of them ; for they themselves are no Authors, but registers and propagators of the Learning invented by the others. The third kind is Arwyddvard, that is by interpretation an Ensign-bard, and indeed is a Herald at Arms ; and his duty was to declare the Genealogy and to blazon the Arms of Nobles and Princes, and to keep the record of them, and to alter their Arms according to their dignity or deserts. These were with the kings and Princes in all battles and actions. As for their Gar-

ments, I think they were long, such as the *Prydiddion* had; for they challenge the name of *Beirdd ut supra.* Whereas some writers, and for the most part all foreners that mention the Beirdd, do write that Bard has his name given him from one *Bardus*, who was the first inventor of *Barddonieth*, and some say he was the fourth King of Brittain; I say it is a most false, erroneous, and fabulous surmise of foren writers, for there never was any of that name either a king or a King's son of Brittain. But there was a great Scholar and Inventor both of Poetical verses and musical Lessons that was some time King of Brittain. His name was *Blegywryd ap Geisyllt*, and he was the fifty-sixth supreme king of Great Brittain, and dy'd in the 2067th year after the deluge, of whom it is written that he was the famousest Musican that ever lived in Britain. No writer can show that BARD had his name from *Bardus*, it being a primitive Brittish word that has the foresayd significations. And *Barddonieth* (which is the art, function, and profession of the *Bardd)* is also used for Prophesy and the interpretation thereof, and also for all kinds of Learning among us that the *Beirdd* were authors of.

V. As for the fifth Question, the King had always a chief Judge resident in his Court, ready to decide all controversies that then happen'd, and he was called *Egnat Llys.* He had some privilege given him by the King's houshold officers, and therefore he was to determine their causes gratis. As for the *tri anheb-*

kor brenin, I think it superfluous to treat of them here, seeing you have this matter in my Book of Laws more perfect than I can remember it at this time. Look in the Table among the *trioedd kyfraith*, and those are set down in two or three several places of the Book. And if you cannot find it there, see in the office of *Egnat Llys*, or *Pen tevlu*, or *yffeiriaid llys*, and you'll be sure to find it in some of those places. I do not find it in my Book of Laws, that there were any officers for the Law that did dwell in the King's Palace, but onely his *Egnat Llys*, that was of any name, or bore any great office: for he was one of the *tri anhelkor brenin*.

VI. As for the sixth Question, I say that there were resident in the Country but EGNAT COMOT, that I can understand. But when an Assembly met together for the title of Lands, then the King in his own Person came upon the Land; and if he could not come, he appointed some Deputy for him. There came with the King his chief Judge, and called unto him his EGNAT KOMOT, or County-Judge, together with some of his Council that dwelt in the Komot, where the Lands lay that were in the controversy, and the Free-holders also of the same Place, and there came a Priest or Prelate, two Counsellors, and two *Rhingill* or Serjeants, and two Champions, one for the Plaintiff and another for the Defendant; and when all these were assembled together, the King or his Deputy viewed the Land, and when they had viewed

it, they caused a round Mount to be cast up, and upon the same was the Judgment-Seat placed, having his back toward the Sun or the Weather. Some of these Mounts were made square and some round, and both round and square bore the name of *Gorseddevy dadle*, that is, the Mount of Pleading. Some also have the name of him that was chief Judge or Deputy to the King in that judicial Seat; and it was not lawful to make an assembly no where for title of Lands, but upon the Lands that were in controversy. These Gorsedde are in our Country, and many other places to be seen to this day; and will be ever, if they be not taken down by men's hands. They had two sorts of Witnesses, the one was *Gwybyddyeid*, and the other *Amhiniogev*. The *Gwybyddyeid* were such men as were born in the KOMOT, where the Lands that were in controversy lay, and of their own perfect knowledge did know that it was the Defendant's right. And *Amhiniogev* were such men as had their Lands mearing on the Lands that were in controversy, and hemmed upon that Land. And the Oath of one of those *Amhiniogev*, otherwise called *Keidweid*, was better than the Oath of twain that were but Gwybyddyeid. Look in the Table of my Book of Laws for the definition of KEIDWEID, AMHINIOGEV, and GWYBYDDYEID, and how the king did try his Causes; and that will manifest it more at large. The *Mayer* and the *Kangellawr* had no authority amongst the Brittons for any lands but the king's lands; and they were to set it and let it, and to have their circuit amongst the

king's tenants; and they did decide all Controversies that happened amongst them. Vide in the Table of my Book of Laws for the Definition of *Mayer* and *Kangellawr*.

VII. To the seventh Question, I say that there were in this land about a hundred superial *Kings*, that governed this land successively: that were of the Brittish blood: yet notwithstanding there were under them divers other Princes that had the name of kings, and did serve, obey, and belong to the superial king, as the king of Alban or Prydyn or Scotland, the king of *Kymbery* or Wales, the king of GWNEYDD, or Venedotia. Yet notwithstanding the same law and government was used in every Prince or king's dominion, as was in the superial king's proper dominion; unless it were that some Custom or Privilege did belong to some place of the kingdom more than to another: and every inferior king was to execute the Law upon all transgressors that offended in their dominion.

In the time of Kassibelanus there arose some controversy between the superial king Kaswallawne and Ararwy *king* of London, one of his inferior kings, about a murther committed. The case is thus. The superial King keeping his Court within the dominion of one of the inferior Kings, a controversy falling between twain within the Court, and there and then one was slain, the Question is, Whether the murtherer ought to be tried by the officers and privilege of the

superior King, or of the inferior King. I think that the murtherer ought to be tried by the Law and Custom of the inferior king's Court, because it is more seemly that the superior king's Court, which did indure in that Country but a week or twain, or such like time, should lose his privilege there for that time, than the inferior king's Court should lose it for ever. *Vide in libro meo de legibus.* It may seem to those that have judgement in histories, that this was the very cause that Arārwy would not have his kinsman tried by the Judges and Laws or privilege of Kaswallawne, whose Court did remain in the dominion of Arārwy but a little while, but would have the felon tried by his Judges and his Court. There is no mention made of *Talaith* any where amongst the Brittons before the destruction of Brittain, but that there were in Brittain but one superial Crown and three *Talaith* or Coronets or Prince's Crowns; one for the Alban, another for Wales, and the third for *Kerniw* or Kornwale. There were divers others called kings which never wore any Crown or Coronet, as the kings of *Dyved* in South Wales, the king of *Kredigion*, and such, and yet were called kings, and their Countries were divided as you shall see in the next Question.

VIII. To the eighth Question, I say, that according to the primitive Law of this Land, that *Dyfnwal Moel Mvd* made, for before the Laws of *Dyfnwal Moel Mvd* the Trojan laws and customs were used in this Land, and we cannot tell what division of Lands

they had, nor what officers but the *Druidion*, he divided all this Land according to this manner, thus: *Trihud y gronin haidd*, or thrice the length of one Barley Corn maketh a *Modvedd* or inch, three *Modvedd* or Inches maketh a *Palf* or a Palm of the hand, three *Palf* or Palm maketh a *Troedvedd* or foot, three feete or *Troedvedd* maketh a *Kam* or Pace or a stride, three Kam or strides to the *Naid* or leape, three *Naid* or leape to the *Grwmg*, that is, the breadth of a Butt of Land or *Tir*; and *mil* of those *Tir* maketh *Miltir*, that is, a thousand *Tir* or mile. And that was his measure for length which hath been used from that time to this day; and yet, and for superficial measuring he made three *hud gronin haidd*, or Barley Corn length, to the *Modvedd*, or Inch, three *Modvedd* or Inch to the *Palf* or hand breadth, three *Palf* to the *Troedvedd* or foot, four *Troedvedd* or foot to the *Veriav* or the short yoke, eight *Troedvedd* or foot to the *Neidiav*, and twelve *Troedvedd* or foot in the *Gesstiliav* and sixteen *Troedvedd* in the *Hiriav*. And a Pole or Rod so long, that is sixteen foot long, is the breadth of an Acre of Land, and thirty Poles or Rods that length, is the length of an *Erw* or Acre by the Law, and four *Erw* or Acre maketh a *Tyddyn* or Messuage, and four of that *Tyddyn* or Messuage maketh a RHANDIR, and four of those RHANDIREDD maketh a GAFEL or Tenement or Hoult, and four GAFEL maketh a TREF or Township, and four TREF or Townships maketh a MAENOL or MAENOR, and twelve Maenol or Maenor and dwy dref or two Town-

ships maketh a Kwmwd or Gomot, and two Kwmwd or Gomot maketh a Kantref or Cantred, that is a hundred Towns or Townships. And by this reckoning every TYDDYN containeth four ERW, every Rhandir containeth sixteen Erw, and every Gafel containeth sixty-four Erw. Every Town or Township containeth two hundred fifty-six Erw or Acres, these Erws being fertile arable land, and neither meadow nor pasture nor woods. For there was nothing measured but fertil arable ground, and all others were termed wastes. Every Maenol containeth four of these Townships, and every KWMWD containeth fifty of these Townships, and every CANTRED a hundred of these Townships, whereof it hath its name. And all the Countries and Lords dominions were divided by CANTREDS or CANTRE, and to every of these CANTREDS, GOMOTS, MAENORS, TOWNS, GAFELS were given some proper names. And GWLAD or Country was the dominion of one Lord or Prince, whether the GWLAD were one CANTRED or two, or three or four, or more. So that when I say he is gone from GWLAD to GWLAD, that is, from Countrey to Countrey, it is meant that he is gone from one Lord or Prince's dominion to another Prince's dominion; as for example, when a man committeth an offence in GWYNEDD or NORTHWALES, which containeth ten CANTREDS, and fleeth or goeth to *Powys*, which is the name of another Country and Prince's dominion, which containeth ten other CANTREDS, he is gone from one Country or dominion to another, and the Law cannot be executed upon him,

for he is gone out of the Country. *Tegings* is a Country and containeth but one Cantred, and *Dyfrvn Glwyd* was a Country, and did contain but one CANTRED. And when any did go out of *Tegings* to *Dyfrvn Glwyd*, for to flee from the law, he went out from one Country to another. And so every Prince or Lord's dominion was GWLAD or Country to that Lord or Prince, so that GWLAD is PAGUS in my judgment. Sometimes a Cantred doth contain two Comot, sometimes three, or four, or five; as the CANTREFE of Glamorgan or MORGANWG containeth five Comots. And after that the Normans had won some parts of the Country, as one Lord's dominion, they constituted in that same place a Senescal or Steward, and that was called in the Brittish tongue SWYDDOG, that is an Officer; and the Lordship that he was Steward of was called SWYDD or Office, and of these SWYDDEV were made Shires. And GWYDD is an Office be it great or small, and SWYDDOG is an Officer likewise of all states; as a Sheriff is a SWYDDOG, his Sheriff-ship or Office, and the Shire whereof he is Sheriff, is called *Swydd*. So that Swydd doth contain as well the Shire as the Office of a Sheriff, as SWYDD AMWYTHIG is the Shire or Office of the Steward, Senescal, or Sheriff of Salop, &c.

IX. As for the ninth Question, The greatest and highest degree was *Brenin*, or *Teyen*, that is, a king; and next to him was a *Twysog*, that is a Duke; and next to him was a *Jarll*, that is an Earl; and next to him was an *Arglwydd*, that is a Lord; and next to him was a *Barwn*, and that I read least of. And next to

that is the *Breir* or *Vchelwr*, which may be called the Squire: next to this is a *Gwreange*, that is a *Yeoman*; and next to that is an *Alltud*; and next to that a *Kaeth*, which is a Slave; and that is the meanest amongst these nine several Degrees. And these nine Degrees had three several tenures of Lands, as *Maerdir*, *Vchelordir*, *Priodordir*. There be also other names and degrees, which be gotten by birth, by office and by dignity; but they all are contained under the nine afore said Degrees.

X. As for the tenth Question, I do not find nor have not read neither to my knowledge, in any Chronicle, law, History or Poetry, and Dictionary, any such word: but I find in the Laws and Chronicles, and in many other places this word *Rhaith* to be used for the oath of one hundred men, or two hundred or three hundred, or such like number, for to excuse some heinous fact; and the more heinous was the fact, the more men must be had in the *Rhaith* to excuse it; and one must be a chief man to excuse it amongst them, and that is called *Penrhaith*, as it were the foreman of the Jury, and he must be the best, wisest, and discreetest of all the others. And to my remembrance the *Rhaithwyr*, that is the Men of the *Rhaith*, must be of those that are next of kin, and best known to the supposed offender, to excuse him for the fact.

XI. As for the eleventh Question, I say that I find a Steward and a Controller to be used for a *Distain* in

my *Dictionary*. I cannot find any greater definition given it any where, then is given it in my Book of Laws. Vide *Distaine*, in the Table of my Book of Laws.

XII. To the twelfth Question, I say, that the Brittons had many Councils, and had their Counsellors scatter'd in all the Lordships of the Land. And when any controversy or occasion of Counsel happen'd in *Swynedd*, the king called his Counsellors that had their abode there, for to counsel for matters depending there, together with those that were there of his Court or Guard: for the king and his chief Judge and certain of his Council always in his company; and when the king had any occasion of Counsel for matters depending in Demetia, or Powys, or Cornwal, he called those of his Counsel that dwelled in those coasts for to counsel with them. And they went to a certain private house or tower on a top of a hill, or some solitary place of counsel far distant from any dwelling, and there advised unknown to any man but to the Counsellors themselves; and if any great alteration or need of counsel were, that did pertain to all the land, then the king assited unto him all his Counsellors to some convenient place for to take their advice; and that happen'd but very seldom.

CATALOGUES *vocum quarundam* ARMORICARUM *quas* HIBERNICAS *esse deprehendi, quasque ex libello quem mihi mutuo dedit Cl. et Rev. Dominus, Dominus* Jo. MILLIUS *S. S. T. in Academia Oxoniensi P. ibidemque Aulae Sanct. Edmundanae Principalis, collegi et desumpsi.*

BRITTANNI Armorici Angliam *Bro-saos* vocant, hoc est, Saxonum patriam; quo nomine paululum variato, Hiberni idem regnum indigitare solent: et ipsos incolas *Clan na Sassanach*, id est, Saxones; ad verbum vero *Saxonum filios*, appellant.

Hibernis gentilis sermo *Gaolac* dicitur, quod idem sonat significatque, ac Armoricorum *Gallec*, qua voce Gallorum linguam in hodiernum usque diem intelligunt, ut in ambarum gentium scriptis videre est.

Etiamsi in sequenti Parallelo aliquando litteræ et syllabæ quædam non levem discrepantiam præ se ferre videantur; eadem tamen illis est potestas, et sonus idem. Sic *at, aff*, et *es* finales Armoricæ, respondent *ach, agh*, et *as* Hibernicis. *Guy* initialis cum *fi, b* cum *p, d* cum *t, f* cum *v* sæpissime commutantur.

Sed de hisce fusius, et similis argumenti omnibus, in Dissertatione, quam de veterum Lingua Gallorum, cum primum Romanorum arma experti sunt, annuente summo numine, scripturi sumus.

Oxoniae, 19 Decembris, Anno a Christo nato, 1693.

ARMORICE.	HIBERNICE.	LATINE.
Isel.	Iseal.	Humilis.
Iselhat.	Isealacht.	Humiliatio.
Oan.	Uan.	Agnus.
Oanic.	Uanin.	Agnellus.
Flem.	Flemh *.	Aculeus.
Den.	Duine.	Homo.
Denbihan.	Duinebuineach.	Homuncio.
Caret.	Caraid †.	Amicus.
Carantes.	Carrantas ‖.	Amicitia.
Guyr.	Coir.	Jus.
Hirrahat.	Direachagh.	Elongatio.
Bloaz.	Bliaghuin.	Annus.
Amser.	Amseir.	Tempus.
Gronan.	Gruan *.	Arena.
Asen.	Assil.	Asinus.
Dall.	Dall.	Caecus.
Dallaf.	Dailigh.	Caecitas.
Gonalen.	Gualun.	Humerus.
Querch.	Coire.	Avena.
Ives.	Ives.	Etiam.
Guile.	Oile.	Alius.
Pocq	Pog.	Osculum.
Scubellen.	Scuab.	Stopa.
Scubaf.	Scuabagh.	Verrere, Scopa.
Lezron.	Leasrach.	Femora.
Mat.	Maith.	Bonus
Matgraet.	Maithghnioth.	Beneficium.
Madelez.	Maitheas.	Bonitas.
Cam.	Cam.	Curvus.
Ber.	Bear.	Veru.
Losq	Loscath.	Ustio.
Quarrec.	Carric.	Rupes.
Gouris.	Cris.	Cingu'um.
Ludu.	Luoth.	Cinis.
Codoer.	Caithir.	Cathedra.

* *Gath* etiam Hibernice.

† *Cara* Hibernis Australibus.

‡ *Cardis* etiam Hibernice.

* *Ganibh* etiam Hibernice.

Caboun.	Cabun.	Capo.
Glaouen.	Gualan.	Carbo.
Moall.	Maoil.	Calvus.
Derven.	Dair †.	Quercus.
Gaor.	Gaur.	Caper.
Em ty me.	An ma thi.	In Domo mea.
Quy.	Cu.	Canis venaticus.
Caoll.	Cal.	Brassica.
Ancuff.	Nemh.	Coelum.
Coar.	Ceir.	Cera.
Garan.	Garagh.	
Taig.	Taime.	Clavus.
Coulm.	Coluim.	Columba.
Evel, eguis	Evail, eguis	Ut.
Quillocq.	Cuilloch.	*Gallus Gallinaceus.*
Ilin.	Illin.	
Aer.	Athir.	Coluber.
Laes.	Lis.	Domus regia.
Guiriff.	Gurigh.	Ova ponere.
Goloff.	Foluigh.	Tegere.
Crouezr.	Criathar.	Cribra.
Cridiff.	Credimh.	Credere.
Creven.	S'creavog.	Crusta.
Creiz.	Cre.	Lutum.
Lezr.	Leathir.	Corium.
Dle.	Dliagh.	Debitum.
Dref.	Deregh.	Pone.
Diaoull.	Diabhil.	Diabolus.
Lavaret.	Lauairt.	Loqui.
A creis.	A chreis.	E medio.
Droue.	Droch.	Malus.
Mezuiff.	Misce.	Ebrius.
Choar.	Seuar.	Soror.
Tremenguae.	Dremire.	Scala.
Clezeu.	Claiau.	Gladius.
Teoahat.	Tiuhact.	Spissitas.
Ober.	Obuir.	Opus.
Tan.	Tinne.	Ignis.
Map.	Mac.	Filius.
Moch.	Muc.	Porcus.
Saez.	Suste.	Imbecillis.
Dinerz.	Dineart.	Vis.

‡ Unde forte *droi* Druides, *doire* nemus.

Nerz.	Neart.	Vis.
Poull.	Poll.	Fossa, puteus.
Delyou.	Duillog.	Folium.
Techet.	Tethagh.	Fugere.
Glin.	Glun.	Genu.
Croucq.	Croith.	Patibulum.
Stut.	Sdiuir.	Navis gubernaculum.
Greunen.	Granin.	Granum.
Bloanec.	Blunic.	Pinguedo.
Eurmat.	Uairmhaith.	Auspicium.
Hoary.	Uavar.	Ludus.
Eneseu.	Inis.	Insula.
Teant.	Teangha.	Lingua.
Ledan.	Lethan.	Largus.
Lenfr.	Leabhar.	Liber.
Dorn.	Dorn.	Pugnus.
Ty.	Ti *.	Domus.
Claf.	Clabh.	Aeger.
Drouchoberer.	Drochobri.	Malesicus.
Laesmam.	Leasmhathair.	Noverca.
Mintin.	Madin.	Mane.
Mor.	Muir †.	Mare
Trugarez.	Trocare.	Misericordia.
Coch.	Cac.	Merda.
Quemesq.	Meascagh.	Miscere.
Offeren.	Aiffrin ‡.	Missa.
Manach.	Manach.	Monachus.
Mis.	Mi.	Mensis.
Boucq.	Bog.	Mollis.
Maru.	Marv.	Mortuus.
Bugale.	Buachvill.	Puerulus.
Quelgeuen.	Cuileog.	Musca.
Guenell.	Gineal.	Nasci.
Nedelec.	Nolluic.	Nativitatis Christi festum.
Du.	Du.	Niger.
Duat.	Duach.	Nigredo.
Croaouen.	Croa.	Nuces.
Beuzet.	Baite.	Mersus.

‖ Deac etiam Hibernice.
‡ Morh et Moir etiam.
‖ Haud dubium quin a Latino offero deducendum sit.

Ui.	Ui *vel* Oi,	Ovum.
Plusquen.	Blusc,	
Plusquen un ui.	Blusc na hui.	
Ezn.	Ean,	Avis,
Eznic.	Eanin.	Avicula.
Eznetaer.	Fanadair.	Auceps.
Diegus.	Diabhuin.	Otiosus.
Laeshann.	Leasainm.	Cognomen.
Ivin.	Ighuin.	Unguis.
Colo.	Calog.	Palea.
Bara.	Aran.	Panis.
Rannaff.	Rannagh.	Dividere.
Quetren.	Keavrin.	Particula.
Golven.	Galvun.	Passer.
Crochen.	Crocean.	Pellis.
Crib.	Cir *.	Pecten.
Collet.	Cailte.	Perditus.
Tat.	Athair.	Pater,
Bram.	Brim.	Ventris crepitus.
Troat.	Troith.	Pes.
Truez.	Truaighe.	Compassio.
Leun.	Lan.	Plenus.
Gouelaff.	Gulagh.	Flere.
Goueluan.	Gulan.	Fletus.
Aval.	Avull.	Malus, arbor.
Squevent.	Scavan.	Pulmo.
Breinaff.	Breanagh.	Putrescere, foetere.
Brein.	Brein.	Putidus.
Doun.	Dovuin,	Profundus.
Queiguel.	Cuigeal.	Colus.
Scuillaf.	Scuileagh	Solvere.
Segal.	Segul.	Secale.
Bouzar.	Bovar.	Surdus.
Logoden.	Luchog.	Mus.
Tarus.	Tarv.	Taurus.
Guyader.	Fiadoir.	Textor.
Lien.	Lian.	Linteum.
Bieuch.	Beach.	Bestia †.
Leve.	Laoi.	Vitulus.
Glas.	Glas.	Viridis.
Guyrionez.	Fioriontas.	Veritas.
Bouet.	Biath.	Cibus.

§ Hiberni etiam discunt Criban.

‖ Speciatim Vacca Armoricis.

Beu.	Beo.	Vivus.
Seuzl.	Sal.	Calx pedis.
Amman.	Eim.	Butyrus.
Olen.	Solun.	Sal.
Lousaouen.	Lus, Lussan.	Herba.
Mismeurz.	Mimairt.	Mensis Martius.
Miseprell.	Miobreal.	Aprilis †.
Mismesuen.	Mimheasvach.	Junius ‡.
Misgouare.	Miguare.	Julius A.
Misguengolo.	Mifinfoloi.	September B.
Mistezre.	Miheasri.	October C.
Misdu.	Mi dhu.	November D.
Mesquerdu.	Michrumdu.	December E.
Misguenuer.	Micainvair.	Januarius F.
Mischeurer.	Michuir.	Februarius G.
Sizun.	Seachtuin.	Septimana.
Dillun.	Dealluin.	Dies Lunae.
Doue.	Dia.	Deus.
Aelez.	Aighle.	Angeli.
Kaer.	Caihir.	Civitas.
Menn.	Meannan.	Hoedus.
Crouer.	Cruigheoir.	Creator.
Iffern.	Iffrin.	Tartarus.
Choareil.	Corgas.	Quadragesima.
Ezom.	Eassomh.	Indigentia.
Buanegez.	Baneghas.	Furor.
Marchyat.	Marcuiacht.	Aequitatio.
Tourch.	Torc.	Aper.

* Operarius.
§ Formosus. | Mensis.

A Portuum. B Albitegumenti. C Aratorius. D Niger.
E. Nigerrimus. F Initialis. G Sementarius. | Mensis.

VOCABULARIUM

Armorico-Hibernicum.

ARMORICE.	HIBERNICE.	LATINE.
	A.	
AER.	Aighir.	Aer.
Aur.	Or.	Aurum.
Ar.	Ar, Aras.	Terra.
All.	Oile.	Alius.
Angor.	Ancoire.	Anchora.
Argant.	Argiod.	Argentum.
Arm.	Arm.	Arma.
Alt.	Alt.	Saltus.
Ane, Ene.	Anam.	Anima.
Aval.	Aval.	Pomum.
	B.	
Bara.	Barin.	Panis.
Brun.	Brunn.	Venter, mamilla.
Brech.	Braigh.	Brachium.
Bu.	Bo.	Bos.
Broch.	Broc.	Vas fictile vel ligneum.
Berr.	Bearr.	Brevis.
Bresych.	Praysseach.	Rrassica.
Bach, Bagl.	Batta, Bachull.	Baculus.
Brenn, Brennyn.	Brennin, Breatheamh.	Rex, Judex.
Bardd.	Bard.	Poeta.
Baar.	Barra.	Vectis.
Breur.	Brathair.	Frater.
Bren.	Breun.	Foetidus.

Buch, Bouch.	Buc.	Caper mas.

C

Ci, Cun.	Cu, Cun,	Canis, canes.
Cren.	Cruinn.	Rotundus.
Crou.	Cruaigh.	Durus.
Carr.	Carr.	Carrus aut urrus.
Cat, Caz.	Cat.	Felis.
Canab.	Canaib.	Canabis.
Cantol.	Coinneol.	Candela.
Craou, Craouen.	Cru, Cnu.	Nux.
Coir.	Ceir.	Cera.
Caul.	Cal.	Caulis vel Brassica.
Cist.	Caiste.	Cista.
Can.	Cann, Caintic.	Canticum.
Cana.	Canagh.	Canere.
Cambr.	Seomra.	Camera.
Cam.	am.	Curvus.
Cant.	Cant, Ceud.	Centum.
Canol.	Canal.	Canalis.
Caru, Caro.	Carr-fhiggh.	Cervus.
Chaden.	Caddan.	Catena.
Counicl.	Cunin.	Cuniculus.
Cale.	Coill.	Sylva.
Car.	Cara.	Charus.
Croug.	Cros.	Crux.
Curun, coron.	Coroin.	Corona.
Corf.	Corp.	Corpus.
Coch.	Coch, Corkire.	Coccus, Purpureus.
Crin.	Crian.	Aridus.
Coq.	Cocuire.	Coquus.
Carchar.	Carcan.	Carcer.
Caban.	Caban.	Casula.
Calch.	Cailce.	Creta.
Caus.	Caise.	Cascus.

D.

Deru.	Dair.	Quercus.
Dun.	Dun,	Collis.
Daigr.	Deor.	Gutta, lachryma.
Deilen.	Duille, Duilleog.	Folium.
Dour.	Dorn.	Pugnus.
Dour.	Dur.	Aqua.
Doun.	Domhain.	Profundus.
Di, Deiz.	De.	Dies.
Dec.	Deag, Deich.	Decem.
Dolur.	Dolas.	Dolor.
Dug.	Duibhee.	Dux.
Dor.	Dorus.	Ostium.
Dag.	Daggear.	Pugio.
Dreuc.	Droch.	Malus.
Dol.	Dal.	Vallis.
Den.	Duine.	Homo.

E.

Eduyn.	Eadhan.	Videlicet.
Erigea.	Eirigh.	Surgere.

F.

Forn.	Fuirn.	Furnus.
Fin.	Fin.	Subtilis.
Fin.	Finn.	Candidus.
Feur.	Fear.	Nundinæ.
Foen.	Feur.	Foenum.
Ffruyn.	Sreun.	Froenum.
Fron.	Sron, Sronin.	Nasum, Nares.
Fals.	Falsa.	Falsus.
Fallat.	Fallagh.	Fallere.
Forch.	Forc.	Furca.
Furm.	Foirm.	Forma.
Fest.	Feasta.	Festus.

	G.	
Gouin.	Fion.	Vinum.
Greun.	Grain.	Granum.
Gaour.	Gabhar.	Caper.
Glu, Glut.	Gleu.	Gluten.
Groin.	Grinn.	Porcorum proboscis.
Glas.	Glas.	Viridis.
Glin.	Glun.	Genu.
Gloar.	Gloir.	Gloria.
Glaif.	Claidheamb.	Gladius.
Goaz.	Giagh.	Anser.
Gard.	Gardin.	Hortus.
Garm.	Gairm.	Beatus.
	H.	
Hun.	Sun.	Somnus.
Henn.	Sean.	Vetus.
	I.	
Imaich.	Imhaigh.	Imago.
Isge.	Uisge.	Aqua.
	L.	
Lin.	Linn.	Stagnum, lacus.
La.	Lamh.	Manus.
Lin.	Lion.	Linum.
Lili.	Lili.	Lilium.
Lug.	Lug.	Corvus.
Laguen.	Lag.	Lacuna, stagnum
Lech.	Leac.	Rupes.
Lin.	Linin.	Linea.
Liffr.	Leabhar.	Liber.
Lance.	Langa.	Lancea.
Lacc.	Nask.	Laqueus.
Lys, Les.	Lis.	Aula, Curia.
Leu.	Leomhan.	Leo.
Ledr, Lezu.	Leathar.	Corium.
Logis.	Lostin.	Hospitium.

M.

Mis.	Mi.	Mensis.
Milin.	Mulinn.	Molendinum.
Mantel.	Mantal.	Muliebre pallium.
Mal.	Mala.	Sacci genus.
Moch.	Muc.	Porcus.
Mam.	Mathair.	Mater.
Migu.	Measgah.	Miscere.
Mor, Mar.	Muir, Mara.	Mare.
Mel.	Mil.	Mel.
Mill.	Mile.	Mille.
Mall.	Mallachta.	Malus, sceleratus.
Maestr.	Maghisdir.	Magister.
March.	Marc.	Equus.
Marg.	Meirg.	Ferrugo.

N.

Nos.	Noiche.	Nox.
Neu, neues.	Nua, Nuath.	Novus.
Nef.	Neamh.	Nubes.
Nith, Neis.	Nead.	Nidus.
Neuth.	Snaithe.	Filum.
Neza, Niddu.	Snaighthagh.	Nere.
Niul, Niful.	Neull.	Nebula.
Naou.	Naoi.	Novem.
Nith.	Nigheann.	Neptis.
Natur.	Naduir.	Natura.

O.

Oll.	Oll, uile.	Omnis.
Orgouil.	Orgoill.	Superbus.
Ober.	Obuir.	Opera.
Olea, Eol.	Ola.	Oleum.
Office.	Offig.	Officium.
Oncc.	Unsa.	Uncia.
Or.	Ore.	Terminus.

P.

Pemp.	Pemp, vox antiqua.	Quinque,
Pis.	Pis.	Pisum,
Pez.	Pisa.	Frustum,
Pris.	Pris.	Pretium,
Porth.	Purt.	Portus,
Porfor.	Purfur.	Purpura,
Post.	Posta.	Postis,
Punt.	Punta.	Pondo,
Pobl.	Pobul.	Populus,
Perill.	Pericl.	Periculum,
Plant.	Planta.	Planta,
Parc.	Pairc.	Viridarium,
Pul, Poul.	Poll.	Stagnum, Lacuna, Sinus.

R.

Rhodl,	Ramha,	Remus,
Raden, Radin,	Rathin,	Filix,
Rhy,	Riogh,	Dominus, Rex,
Rac,	Rach,	Enim, nam,
Ræson,	Resun,	Ratio,
Rot, Rhod,	Rhotha, rit,	Rota,
Rousin,	Rosin,	Resina,
Ros, Rosen.	Rosa.	Rosa.

S.

Sebon,	Sopa,	Sapo,
Segal,	Seagul,	Secale,
Saeth,	Saghid,	Sagitta,
Sug,	Su,	Succus,
Sgub, ysgub,	Scuab,	Scopa,
Sul,	Solus,	Sol, Lux,
Siell, Sel.	Seala.	Sigillum.

T,

Taru, Taro,	Tarbh,	Taurus,
Tur,	Tor,	Turris,
Tumbe,	Tumba,	Tumulus, Sepulchrum,
Tir,	Tir,	Terra,
Tec,	Deach,	Domus,
Termen,	Tearmonn,	Terminus,
Ti,	Ti, Tigh,	Domus,
Taran,	Torman, Tarneaoh,	Tonitru,
Torch,	Torch,	Torques,
Titl,	Tiodal,	Titulus,
Teyrn,	Tighearna,	Dominus, Rex,
Teyrnas,	Tighearnas,	Dominatio,
Tasg,	Taisce,	Vectigal,
Tonn,	Tunn,	Cadus,
Teuth.	Tuath.	Gens.

V.

Uy,	Oibh,	Ovum.
Ur, Gur.	Fear.	Vir.

A

SPECIMEN

OF THE

ARMORICAN LANGUAGE.

THE BEATITUDES, Matt. viii. 1. &c.

Eürüs brâs è'on peüryen vès à speret rac rouantelez an eüfaon à apparchant ônte.

Eürüs brâs eo an re debonêr; rac ân douar a possedint.

Eürüs brâs eo an re a gouel, rac consolet vezint.

Eürüs brâs eo ân re hô dêvez nâoûn hâ rechet; rac rassasset vezint.

Eürüs brâs eo an re trugarêaüs ô devezo.

Eürüs brâs eo ân re ô devès hô caloûn nâet; rac güelet à raint Douê.

Eürüs brâs eo ân rê pâcifiq; rac gualvet vezint bugalê Dôuê.

Eürüs brâs eo an rê pêrê à ândur persetion à palamour dâ justicê rac rouantelez an eüffaôn sô dezê.

Blessed are the poor in Spirit, for the kingdom of Heaven is theirs, &c.

PRONUNCIATION.

Cha as *sha*, &c. *C* as *s*. A final *f* is mute. Double *ff* as *v* Consonant. *Ga, go, gu*, hard; *Ge, gi* soft. *Gn* as *ni* in *Opinion*. *H* is always pronounced. *J* Consonant as in Dutch. A final *x* as *s*. *Z* has a particular pronunciation. *Je; an*; Diminutive terminations; as *Map, Mapic*; *Merch, Merchic*; *Gruech, Gruechic*, or *Gruech bihan*, &c.

The Sum of the Law and Gospel.

Te a caro an Antraou da Doue a creis aa calon, a creis da enef, hac a creis da entendarent.	Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy understanding.
Te a caro da nessaff eueldot da hunan.	Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thy own self.
The ten Commandments in verse.	*In English prose.*
I. En un Doue parfaet ez credy,	I. One onely God shalt thou believe,
Ha parfaetamant a quiry.	And perfectly love.
II. Doue e vaen ne touy quet,	II. By God in vain thou shalt not swear,
Na dememes nettra erbet.	Nor likewise by any other thing.
III. An Sulyon hac an Gonelyon Din	III. Sundays and Holydays shalt thou keep
A observy gant pedennou.	In serving God devoutly.
IV. Da tat da mam hep bout fell.	IV. Thy father and mother shalt thou honour,
A enory hac ez bevy pell.	That thou mayst lead a long life.
V. Mountrer yvez ne vizy quet,	V. Thou shalt likewise do no murther,
A volontez nac a effet.	By Will nor Deed.
VI. Luxurius mis ma vizy;	VI. Nor shalt thou be luxurious
Na dre effect na dre desir.	In Deed or Desire.
VII. Laezerez na miret ma daou den	VII. Thou shalt not keep the goods of another
En ep guys ne ry bizuicquen.	Privately or by force.

VIII. Nac a cuep den fals testeny	VIII. Thou shalt not bear false witness
Gaon e lech guir ne liviry.	Nor ly in any wise.
IX. Na desir euffr au quicq bizuicquen.	IX. Thou shalt not do the works of the flesh,
Nemet gaut priet ep muy quen.	But in marriage onely.
X. Madaon da hentez ne hoantai quet,	X. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbours goods
Euit ep raesoun ho miret.	To keep them without reason.

The Lord's Prayer.

	In English.
Hon Tat pehiny so en euffou.	Our Father which art in Heaven.
Hoz hano bezet sanctifiet.	Hallowed be thy name.
Ho rouantelez devet demp.	Thy kingdom come.
Ho volontez bezet graet en douar euel en euff.	Thy will be done on Earth, as it is in Heaven.
Rait demp hizyau hon bara pemdizyec.	Give us this day our daily bread.
Ha pardonet dem hon offancon, euel ma pardonomp dan reen deves ny offancet.	And forgive us our offences, as we forgive those that offend us.
Ha na permettet quet ez coveze m'en tentation.	Suffer us not to fall into temptation.
Hoguen hon delivret a droue.	But deliver us from evil.
Ma Doue ho pet truez onziffervez ho trugarez bras.	Lord have pity upon me according to thy great mercy.

The Creed.

Me a cret en Doue e Tat ollgalloudec, crouer dan Euff	I believe in God the Father, &c.

ha dan donar. Hac en Jesus Christ e map unic hon Antrahou. Pehiny so bet concevet ves an Speret santel, guanet ves an guerches Mary En deves gouzavet didan Ponce Pilat, so bet crucifiet, maru, ha sebeliet. So bet disquennet en iffernaou, ha dan trede dez ressuscitet a maru da beu. (from Death to Life) So pingnet en Euffaon, hac asezet an tu dehou da Doue, e Tat ollgalloudec. A hane ez duy da barn an re beu, hac an re maru. Me cret en Speret santel, hac an Ilis Catholic. Ha communion an sent. Remission an pechedon. Resurrection an Quic.

An buhez eternel.

Eu al-se bezet graet.

Antraou Doue discuezit diff hos enthou, ha quelennet diff ho garantehou. En hanu an Tat, an Map, an Speret santel.

That is,

Lord God shew me thy ways and teach me thy paths, in the name of the Father, Son, and holy Spirit.

Jesus map Doue ho pet trouez ouziff.

Jesus Son of God have pity upon me.

Hanu Doue bezet benniguet.

The name of the God be blessed.

Antraou hoz bet truygarez onzomp.

Lord have mercy upon us.

A bremman, bepret da bizuicquen.

From this time to Eternity. So be it.

Numbers.

Unan, daou, try, penar, pemp, huech, seiz, eiz, nao, dec, unnec, daouzec, tryzec, penarzec, pempzec, seittec, eittec, naontec, uguent.

One, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten, eleven, twelve, thirteen, fourteen, fifteen, sixteen, seventeen, eighteen, nineteen, twenty.

Unan voar n'ugent, &c.	One and twenty, &c.
Tregant, daouguent, hanter cant. try uguent dec a try uguent, penar uguent, aec a penar uguent, Cant, Mil, Million.	Thirty, forty, half a hundred, *i. e.* fifty, threescore, threescore and ten, fourscore, fourscore and ten, a Hundred, Thousand, Million.

Days of the Week.

Dyssull, Dyllun, Demeurz, Demercher, Dizioun, Dergueuer, Dessadorn, un Sizun, *un* Dez.	Sunday, Munday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday, a Week, a Day.
Doue da roiff dez *mat dech.*	God give you a good day.
Ha dechhu lvez.	And to you likewise.
Penaus a hanochhu ?	How do you do?
Yach ouf a tiugarez *Doue,*	I am well by God's mercy.
Pea lech ez *it-hu ?*	Whither go you?
Me govezo *an* guiryonez.	I shall know the truth.

Dii Gallorum.

Taramis.
Hesus.
Teutates.
Belenus, *vel*
Abellio
Onvana. *Anara*, Hib.
Hogmius.
Adraste. Andate.

Officiorum Maxime sacrorum nomina.

Pateræ.
Cænæ.
Bardi. *Bard, Baird*, H.
Druidæ. { *Droi, Druidhe,* Hib.
Eubages. corrupte pro *Vates.*

Summus Magistratus.

Vergobretus. { *Fergobrethr,* Hib.
Alauda.
Caterva.

Militaria Vocabula.

Ger.

Militum Species.

Gaesatæ. *Gaiscioghach*, H.
Vargi.
Crupellarii.

Machinae Bellicae.

Mangae.
Mangana. } Diminut.
Mangonalia. } *Meanghan.*

Curruum Nomina.

Benna.

Bagaudæ. *Bagadai.*
Galearii.

ARMORUM NOMINA.

Spatha.
Gessum.
Lancea.
Cateia.
Matara.
Thyreus. *Tarei,* Hib.
Cetra.
Carnon. { *Carnan,* videas, quæras.

Petoritum.
Carrus.
Covinum.
Essedum.
Rheda.

Vestium Nomina.

Rheno.
Sagus.
Linna †.
Gaunacum.
Bardiacus, pro Bardis.
Bardocucullus, etiam pro Bardis.
Braccae, pro omnibus. *Breaccan.*
Maniaci.

Animalium Nomina.

Marc, Equus.
Rhaphius, Lupus Cervinus.
Abrana, Simia.
Barracaceae, Pellium, &c.
Lug, Cornix. Mus.
Clupea. Piscis species.

† *Linnae,* saga quadra et mollia sunt, de quibus Plaut. Linnae cooperta est textrino Gallia. Isidor.

Linna Diodoro est SAGIS PSILOS, et Varroni mollis sagus, Hibernis hodiernis indusium est non una mutata littera.

FINIS.

AN ELEGY

On the late ingenious MR. TOLAND.

O TOLAND! mighty friend to Nature's laws,
Thou great support of Truth, and Reason's cause;
Art thou more? Is thy last breath expir'd?
And nature to her ancient seat retir'd?
Each jarring element gone angry home?
And Master TOLAND a *Non-ens* become?
Is all thy el'quent breath, thy wond'rous boast
Of argument, in boundless Æther lost?
Earth gone to earth, the mould'ring substance must,
By slow degrees, dissolve to native Dust.
The cooler fluids, and the wat'ry part
That dampt thy blood, and quench'd thy noble heart,
Now leave the stiff unanimated clay,
And to their mother Ocean seek their way.
The purer genial pow'rs, the vital flame,
That mov'd and quicken'd the mechanic frame,
Is flown aloft, a spark, a borrow'd ray,
And re-united to the Prince of Day.
Oh! weep, Britannia's Sons, your Champion's dead,
The Patron of your Liberty is fled.
O Liberty! thou Goddess heav'nly bright!
Thou dost impart thy radiant beams of light
To this blest Isle, which of thy darling train,
Will, like this Hero, thy just cause maintain?
How greatly brave has he undaunted stood

Against a torrent, an impetuous flood,
Of bigotted Enthusiasts, and tricks
Of Pedantry, and priestly Politicks!
Thou pregnant Genius, who thy praise can tell?
Thy Reason did, like morning Sun, dispel
Dark clouds of Ignorance, and break the spell
Of Rome's Inchantments, and the lesser frauds
Of Churches Protestant, and English LAUDS.
To thee we owe, to thy victorious hand,
A rescu'd People, and a ransom'd land.
Thou hast broke off our manacles and chains,
And freed our minds of superstitious pains.
Thy shining lamp has brought resplendent day,
Finely describ'd the plain and easy way,
Clear'd of the rubbish of mysterious Schools,
And mazes intricate of pious fools,
Enslav'd to narrow Forms, and captivating Rules.
Oh! hadst thou liv'd to banish all the Dreams
Of fab'lous Ages, and the Monkish Themes
Of Miracles, of Mysteries, and Tales,
(Where fancy over common sense prevails)
Then might we mourn thy fate with less concern,
With less regret behold thy sacred Urn.
Howe'er, thy great example has inspir'd
A noble emulation, it has fir'd
The glowing breasts of our Britannic Youth,
With love of Liberty, and love of Truth.
Thou hast not left us in the gloom of night,
Some Stars we have, that lend a friendly light,
That shed a kind, auspicious influence,
To cherish Reason, and to ripen Sense.

Printed by J. Findlay.

The Ultimate
LIBRARY of the OCCULT

This compilation © grand vintage store uk

May not be resold under any circumstances