



Ptolemy's Map of Ireland

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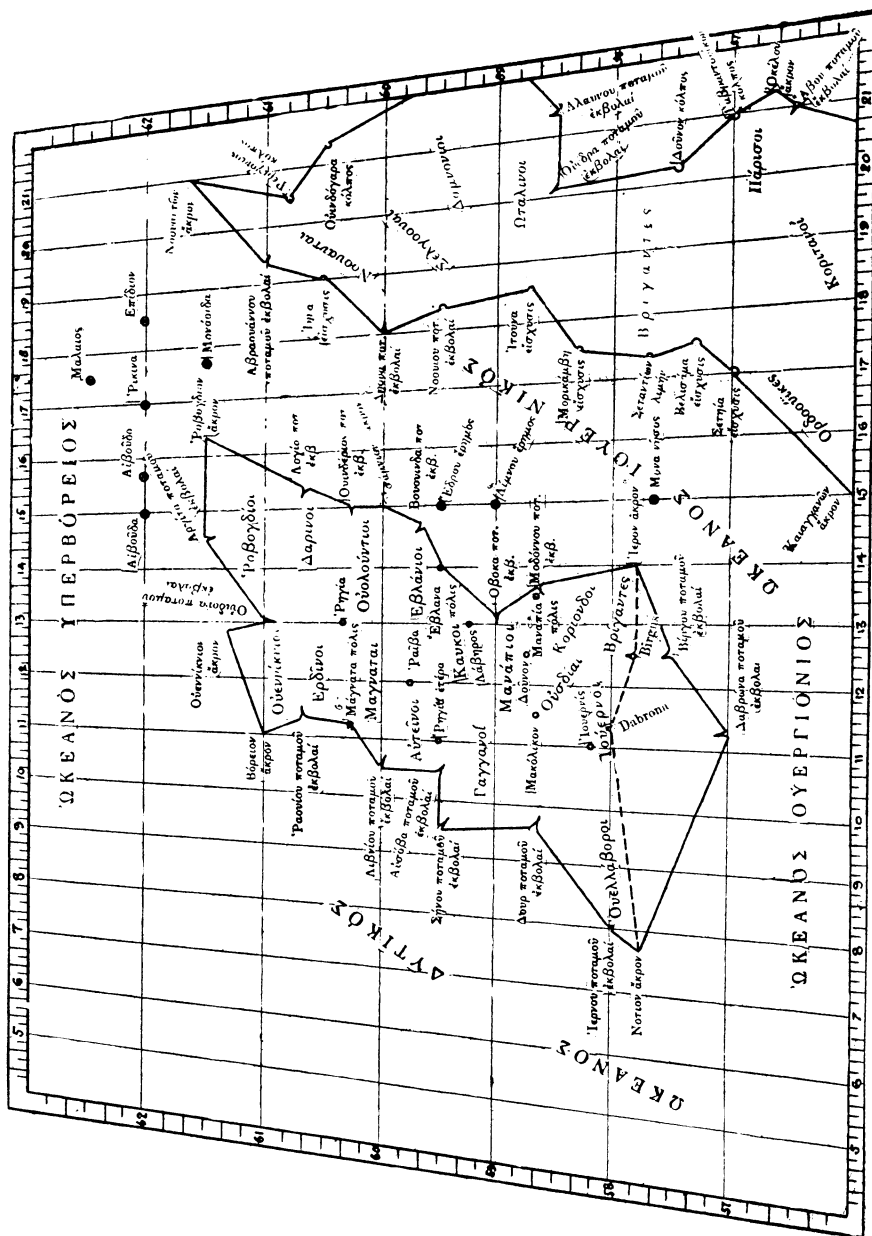
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ἸΟΤΕΡΝΙΑ (Νῆσος Περτανική).

Projected according to the text of Ptolemy's Geography (K. Muller, Paris, 1883).

Suggested correction of southern coast line marked - - - - -

1° Latitude = 500 stades; 1° Longitude on 60th; parallel = 250 stades; 83 stades = 1 mile.



PTOLEMY'S MAP OF IRELAND.

By GODDARD H. ORPEN, B.A.

“*Ιουερνία Νῆσος Πρεττανική.*”

THE map which accompanies this Paper is intended to represent all that is really known of Ptolemy's conception of Ireland, and has been drawn with a view to assist Celtic scholars in identifying the names mentioned by Ptolemy, or at least in bringing them into relation with what is otherwise known. Probably Ptolemy's treatise was originally supplied with maps, though this has been doubted. The maps reproduced in the early editions printed at Rome, in 1478, 1490, 1507, and 1508, are faithful copies of those drawn by Nicolaus Germanus in the fifteenth century, “on an improved projection, but in other respects strictly following the Greek originals.”¹ The Map of Ireland, however (to confine myself to it), departs in several respects from the best texts of the Geography, sometimes for the better, and sometimes for the worse, while by indicating, in a purely imaginary way, the course of the rivers, and by marking the coast with a waving outline, it obscures rather than increases the light to be derived from the text itself.

In this text the positions of 15 river mouths (not rivers), 5 promontories, 11 towns (taking Isamnion as a town), and 9 islands are precisely fixed by latitudes and longitudes, the relative positions of 16 tribes around the coasts are indicated, and the names of the 4 surrounding “oceans” are given. More than this is guess-work. Accordingly, on the present map, the points on the coast so fixed have been simply joined by straight lines.² The most recent and most critical text, that of Karl Müller (Paris, 1883), has been followed, though on one important point I shall give some grounds for dissenting from his conclusion. The names are given in the original Greek, as even in converting them into Latin there is a risk of begging some questions and of losing some analogies. The projection employed in the earliest printed editions, consisting of rectilinear equi-distant parallels and meridians converging towards the Pole, has been adopted, the proportion between the degrees

¹ See A. E. Nordenskiöld's “Facsimile Atlas,” translated by J. A. Ekelöf and C. R. Markham. (Stockholm: 1889.)

² When I drew this map I was ignorant (to my shame be it confessed) that Mr. H. Bradley had adopted a similar plan in his Map of Ptolemy's British Isles (“Archæologia,” vol. xlviii. (2), p. 380). It is, however, satisfactory to have my judgment in the matter confirmed independently by so great an authority. Owing to the reduced scale of the map accompanying this Paper, some of the names are indistinct, and the accents in many cases are not distinguishable.

of longitude and those of latitude being correct for the 60th parallel. It may be mentioned that Ptolemy's degrees of latitude, like ours, are counted from the equator, while his degrees of longitude are reckoned from the Fortunate Islands (the Canaries). It must also be borne in mind that his estimate of the circumference of the earth was one-sixth too small.

It will be observed that Ireland is called a *Περραινὴ νῆσος*. This appears to have been the earlier form of the adjective afterwards corrupted into *Βερραινική* through the influence of the Roman name Britannia. There is good reason to suppose that it was the form used by Ptolemy, though the *β* is found in the MSS. It is the form given by the best MSS. of Strabo and Diodorus; while Stephanus of Byzantium (*circa* 460–527 A.D.) expressly says (*sub voce* *Βερρία*) that both Marcian and Ptolemy used the form with *Π*. Professor Rhys considers that the name, *Περραινὰ νῆσοι*, means the Islands of the Picts, and is to be connected with the *Ynys Prydein* of Mediæval Welsh, and with the word *Cruithne* applied by the Goidels to the Irish Picts. It has no etymological connection with Britannia, a name formed by the Romans from that of the *Britanni*, as they at first called the Brythons of South Britain.¹

Many attempts have been made, but without much success, at identifying the names given by Ptolemy with those occurring in the literature and annals of Ireland. The conditions of the problem have not generally been appreciated. It is obvious that a mere resemblance of sound between Ptolemy's names and modern Irish is not a safe guide. We must take the very earliest known forms of the language, and applying the laws of Celtic phonology, reconstruct still earlier forms before we can gain even a probable basis for comparison, and we must always bear in mind that some of the names are possibly not Celtic at all. Unfortunately the present writer is quite unequipped for this task. The identifications provisionally offered in the following pages are founded primarily on the relative positions of headlands and river-mouths as fixed by Ptolemy, compared with the actual natural features of Ireland. In a few cases the more recent conclusions of eminent Celtic scholars are reproduced, while occasionally I have ventured tentatively to point out apparent analogies of nomenclature on my own account.

The first thing that strikes one on looking at this map is that Ireland is placed at least 5° too far north from the equator, and about 2° too far north relatively to England. The length and the breadth of the island, in angular measurement, are given tolerably correctly, though the projection of Mayo and Galway cannot be recognised, and the general lie of the land is not sufficiently north and south. While the general outline of Ptolemy's Ireland is not so easily recognisable as that of his England; he has made no such glaring mistake as he did in the case of Scotland, which

¹ "Rhind Lectures," 1889, pp. 115–117.

he makes to extend towards the east instead of towards the north. Mr. Bradley endeavours to account for this last mentioned error by the ingenious supposition that Ptolemy "had before him three sectional maps representing severally what we call England, Scotland, and Ireland, and drawn approximately to scale, but without meridians or parallels. . . In fitting the three maps together, Ptolemy fell into the mistake of turning the oblong map of Scotland the wrong way." On the same supposition, Ptolemy may also have fallen into the mistake of placing the map of Ireland too far north relatively to that of England. To take the northern coast first: it is easy to recognise in the great central depression called the mouth of the Οἰδοῦα the modern Lough Foyle, Ir. *Loch Febhail*. Herr Müller suggests that we should read Οἰλοῦα (Λ for Δ) as being nearer the sound of the modern name, but this would remove only a part of the difficulty of equating the names. The Ἀργίτα, from its position, is evidently the Bann. The name is perhaps to be connected with the Irish word for silver, *airgead* or *arget* (Latin *argentum*), a word entering into many place names in Ireland. Thus there was the famous Arget-ros (silver-wood) in Ossory, and as applied to rivers Arigideen (*airgidin*) at Courtmacsherry, Co. Cork, and Glasheen-anargid near Castleisland, Co. Kerry (Joyce, ii. 71). Possibly, indeed, the old name for the Bann actually survives in Moyarget, a district in Antrim, four miles S.W. of Ballycastle, and about twelve miles from the mouth of the river Bann.

The three northern promontories are probably the Bloody Foreland, Malin Head, and Fair Head, respectively. As regards the tribal names the Οἰεννίκνιοι are placed to the west, and the Ποβόγδιοι to the east. The former occupied the later Tir Chonaill, including Inis Eoghain, while the district occupied by the latter must have included the modern Co. Antrim. Perhaps the river now written Finn, but in old maps Finne, or Finny (Ir. *Fionna*; Adamnan, *Fenda*), which flows through Donegal into Loch Foyle, is connected with the name οἰενν-ίκνιοι, the Irish initial *F* as usual taking the place of the Indo-Germanic *V*, represented by the Greek *ov*. The river name is certainly not derived from *finn* = white: see Joyce's "Irish Names," i. 174-5, where the wild legend of the origin of the name is told. *Na trí Fionna* of the "Four Masters," A.M. 3520, refer apparently to this river and its tributaries.

In connexion with the position assigned to the Ποβόγδιοι, it is remarkable that the "Book of Invasions"¹ gives the names *Boe* and *Roboc* as those of certain of the Fomori, who in the days of Nemid built Rath Chinnech in Ui Niallain, now the barony of Oneilland in the north of Co. Armagh, and Rath Cimbaoith in Seimhne in Dal Aradia (Co. Antrim). This Roboc may have been the ancestor, historical or legendary, of the Rhobogdii, just as Fenda may have been of the Vennicnii, and the two tribes were probably pre-Celtic.

¹ "Book of Leinster," p. 6a, ll. 26-32.

We might expect the western coast to be the least known to the Romans, and it is certainly the hardest to recognise from Ptolemy's indications. The river Σῆννος is generally taken to be the Shannon (*Sionainn*, or, according to an earlier form, *Sinand*, genitive *Sinda*) from the similarity of the name, though the Δούρ is nearer the proper position for that river. If the Σῆννος be the Shannon, then the Δούρ and the Ἰεπρος would represent two of the estuaries in Kerry and Cork. The four points given between the Shannon and the northern promontory may probably be regarded as dividing the distance into five days' sail. We should look for the Αἰσόβα, then, in Galway Bay, perhaps the river which drains Loch Corrib (Ir. *Loch Oirbsen*), and the Αἰβνιος in Clew Bay. The new editor prefers the form Μάγvara to Νάγvara, which has hitherto usually appeared, and gives good reasons for thinking that the epithet ἐπίσημος, hitherto appended to the name of the town, has crept in from the margin where it was a sort of gloss on the name, which may have been simply Μάγva. The site of this town should probably be looked for somewhere on Killala Bay, where we find the names Moyne Abbey (Ir. *Maighin*, representing an older *Magen*), and *Magh-eó* (or *Mag neó*), from which the Co. Mayo derives its name (Joyce, i. 425, 510). Lastly, the Παούιος would be somewhere in Donegal Bay, probably the Erne, also called the Samhair, and known at the cataract at Ballyshannon as *Eas Ruaidh*. Indeed, it is just possible, as Prof. Rhys has suggested to me, that Ruaidh was originally some proper name more nearly *Ruai*, which might have been fairly represented by Παούιος. "The appending of the *dh*, after those letters had become silent, in this position, would be easily done by the scribes, and having got so far as *Ruaidh* this looked like an epithet, and so an Aedh Ruadh was posited, and the place came to be called *Eas Aedha Ruaidh*, the cataract of Hugh the Red."—"Four Masters," A.M. 4518; "Ogygia," iii. 36. It is noteworthy that the form Eas Ruadh, or Eas Ruaidh, is more frequent than the form Eas Aedha Ruaidh; and, in fact, an alternative traditionary derivation from a woman's name "Ruad" (Lat. *rufa*) is given in the Book of Ballymote. (See passage quoted in "Silva Gadelica," Translation, pp. 479, 526.)

In locating the Irish tribes mentioned by Ptolemy, we have less to guide us than in the case of England, where the chief towns are mentioned in connexion with the tribes in whose territories they were situated; whereas, in the case of Ireland, Ptolemy gives little more than the order in which the tribes succeeded each other along the coast. Of the tribes on the west coast the Ἐρδῖνοι appear to be placed in the district watered by the river Erne. Of this district the "Four Masters," A.M. 3751, record "a battle against the Ernai of the Firbolg on the plain where Loch Erne now is. After the battle was gained from them the lake flowed over them, so that it was from them the lake is named, i.e. the lake over the Ernai." Other forms of the name are *Ernaigh* and *Ernaidhe*. This suggests the correction Ἐρνιδοί for the reading in the

text, or the supposition of some such derived forms as 'Ερδνᾶδοι or 'Ερδνᾶοι. To this identification it may be objected that Ernai is only a later form of Ivernji or 'Ιουέρνιοι (Ir or Er = Iver or Ever),¹ and that the two forms could not be contemporary. The Erna of Loch Erne are, however, expressly distinguished by Irish genealogists from the Erna of Munster (the former having a Fírbolgian, and the latter a Heremonian descent, ascribed to them),² and the similarity of name may be only a coincidence. It may also be remarked that the text of Ptolemy, as it has come down to us, does not always appear to be consistent in the forms adopted. Thus in this very map we have the intermediate form *ἔρνος* as a river name.

The next people, the *Μαγνᾶται*, are of course associated with the town *Μάγνατα*. The *Αὔτεινοι* (*v. l.* *Αὔτενοι Αὔτειροι*) follow, with perhaps *Ῥηγία* as their chief seat. If this word be connected with the Irish *rí, ríq*, a king, we might guess it to be still represented by Athenry, *Ath na Ríogh*, which is in about the right place. It must be observed, however, that it is not the Latin *regia*, but the Greek *ρήγία*, that we have to deal with. With the *Γαγγανοί*, placed near the Shannon, we may compare the *Γαγγανῶν ἄκρον* (according to the ordinary reading) of modern Carnarvonshire. Perhaps we may look upon the legendary Gann as the eponymous ancestor of the Gangani. The name occurs under the forms Gann and Genann, as chiefs of the Fomori, and under those of Gann, Genann, and Sengann, as leaders of the Fírbolg, to the two latter of whom the districts on each side of the Shannon are traditionally assigned.³

The *Ουέλλάβοροι* (*v. l.* *Ουτέλλαβοροι*), whom Ptolemy places in the extreme S.W. corner of the island, are mentioned by Orosius (floruit *circa* 417 A.D.) in the following passage:—"Hibernia insula inter Britanniam et Hispaniam sita longiore ab Africo in boream spatio porrigitur. Hujus partes priores intentæ Cantabrico Oceano Brigantiam Gallæciæ civitatem, ab Africo sibi in Circium occurrentem, spatioso intervallo procul spectant, ab eo præcipue promontorio, ubi Scenæ fluminis ostium est ubi Velabri Lucenique consistunt." From this passage, which seems to have reference to the S.W. extremity of Ireland, thus agreeing with the position clearly assigned by Ptolemy to the *Ουέλλάβοροι*, I feel inclined to identify the *ostium fluminis Scenæ* (or in the parallel passage of the Pseudo-Æthicus, *Sacanæ*), not with the Shannon, as is usually done, but with the *inbher Scène* of the bardic literature, *i.e.* with the great estuary now known as the Kenmare River. The Luceni of these writers might represent the later *Lwighne*, a tribe-name now surviving in the baronies of Leyney in Sligo, and Lune in Meath.

¹ See Rhys, "Rhind Lectures," p. 41; "Hibbert Lectures," p. 588.

² O'Flaherty, "Ogygia," iii., cc. 25, 42, 44.

³ "Ogygia," iii. 8.

I have drawn the southern coast of Ireland according to Müller's text, but there appears to be good MS. authority for placing the river "Dabrona" in lat. 58, and the river Birgus in lat. 57. 50, while one MS. places the Sacred Promontory in lat. 58. The editor says that these changes are due to some learned man who thought it impossible that the Dabrona should be placed more to the south than the south-western promontory. But it is not certain that this was so, while it is certain that the positions so laid down conform much closer to the truth, and it is probable that this part of Ireland would be fairly well known. The editor also speaks as if the position of the Sacred Promontory was confirmed by Marcian; but here I think he makes a mistake which it seems worth while to take some trouble to point out. Marcian says nothing about the position of the Sacred Promontory, nor does he mention it at all. His words (to quote the Latin translation) are as follows:—
 "Est autem Ivernæ insulæ Britannicæ (Περειαννικῆς) longitudo quidem maxima a Notio promontorio incipiens et ad Rhobogdium desinens: adeo ut insulæ longitudo sit stadiorum 2170 (βρο'). Latitudo autem incipit quidem ab eodem promontorio (ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἄκρου) terminatur vero ad Rhobogdium promontorium: adeo ut insulæ latitudo sit stadiorum 1834 (αωλδ')."

At first sight it may seem strange to measure both the length (longitudo, μῆκος) and the breadth (latitudo, πλάτος) from the same two points. The explanation of this is that as the Rhobogdium promontory was at once the most northern and the most eastern point, while the Notium or southern promontory was also the most western point, Marcian takes the difference of longitude between these two points as measuring the length (from west to east) of Ireland, and the difference of latitude between the same points as measuring the breadth (from south to north).¹

Now, according to Ptolemy, the difference of longitude between the Rhobogdium promontory and the Notium promontory is 8° 40', and the difference of latitude between the same two points is 3° 45'. Taking 250 stadia to one degree of longitude (which is right for the middle parallel of Ireland), and 500 stadia to one degree of latitude (which was Ptolemy's computation), the sums work out as follows:—

$$8^{\circ} 40' \text{ or } 8\frac{2}{3} \times 250 = 2166\frac{2}{3} \text{ stadia.}$$

$$3^{\circ} 45' \text{ or } 3\frac{3}{4} \times 500 = 1875 \text{ stadia.}$$

Thus it will be seen that Marcian's figures yield very nearly (within 5') Ptolemy's angular measurements. But the discrepancy in the breadth

¹ Not seeing this, Herr Müller, when editing Marcian, instead of ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἄκρου, reads, without any authority, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἄκρου, so as to make the measurement of the breadth of Ireland start from the Sacred or south-eastern promontory. In his edition of Ptolemy, however, he adopts the view above taken as regards the longitude of Ireland (p. 77, note 1), but he still speaks as if Marcian estimated the latitude of Ireland from the Sacred Prom. (p. 78, note 4).

of Ireland, slight as it is, admits of explanation. From a subsequent passage, the figures in which are ingeniously corrected by Müller, it appears that Marcian placed the Notium promontory in lat. $57^{\circ} 50'$ instead of in Ptolemy's $57^{\circ} 45'$. This passage runs:—"Occiduum vero ejus promontorium ab æquatore (distat) stadia * 8317 ($\eta\tau\epsilon\zeta'$)," and Müller corrects the figures into 28917 (prefixing β and replacing the τ with the less familiar sign *Sampi* = 900, which it somewhat resembles), but strangely applies them to the Sacred Promontory (p. 78, n. 4). Now if we take 28917 stadia as whole numbers for 28916 $\frac{2}{3}$, and divide by 500 stadia, we get $57^{\circ} 50'$ as the lat. of the Notium promontory, according to Marcian, instead of Ptolemy's $57^{\circ} 45'$. This then subtracted from $61^{\circ} 30'$, the lat. of the Rhobogdium promontory, gives $3^{\circ} 40'$ or $3\frac{2}{3}$ as the difference. $3\frac{2}{3} \times 500 = 1833\frac{2}{3}$, or in whole numbers 1834, which is exactly Marcian's figure for the breadth (from south to north) of Ireland.

I have thought it worth while to correct this slip of Herr Müller, though the correction proves little directly as to the southern coast-line. Indirectly, however, the plan of measurement adopted by Marcian supplies an argument of some force bearing on the positions of the rivers Dabrona and Birgus. It is plain that Marcian had Ptolemy's geography before him. The fact then that he measures the maximum breadth of Ireland (from south to north), by the difference of latitude between the Notium and the Rhobogdium promontories strongly supports the correction suggested as to the position of those rivers, for if Ptolemy placed the Dabrona in lat. 57, why did not Marcian take his measurement of the greatest breadth from it?

The question may also be approached from an entirely different point of view. Ptolemy in all probability derived his information as to Ireland directly or indirectly from merchants who traded in her ports. Tacitus expressly says of it "*melius aditus portusque per commercia et negotiatores cogniti*."¹ Now Cork Harbour is much the most important natural harbour on the south coast or indeed in the whole of Ireland, and it would be strange if Ptolemy omitted to notice it. The site of Cork city, too, must always have been an important site. The ancient name for the river Lee, which flows into Cork Harbour, was the Sabhrann (see "Four Masters," sub anno 1163), the equivalent of the Latin *Sabrina* and the Welsh *Hafren*, and I suspect that Ptolemy's $\Delta\alpha\beta\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha$ (v. l., $\text{O}\delta\alpha\beta\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha$) is a corruption of $\Sigma\alpha\beta\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha$. If then the mouth of the Sabrona be Cork Harbour, and if we are justified in supposing that Ptolemy placed it in lat. 58° , the town of $\text{I}\omega\epsilon\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ would occupy approximately the site of the city of Cork. This must always have been an important site, and the Great Island in Cork Harbour, under the name of Oilén Arda Neimhedh, is associated with one of the earliest legendary colonists, the Nemidians.

¹ "Agricola," c. 24—*Melius cogniti* does not mean "known better than those of Britain," for such was not the case, but (referring to the preceding clause), "more accurately known than the habits of the people." See Frost's note.

The town of 'Ιουερνίς, being homonymous with the island, was presumably in Ptolemy's time its chief town. It and Rheba are mentioned in the 8th Book, as being the notable (ἐπίσημοι) towns, and under the form 'Ιουέρην it is mentioned by Stephanus of Byzantium and is the only town in Ireland mentioned by him. A special interest attaches to the identification of 'Ιουερνίς as it was evidently the chief town of the 'Ιούερνοι, the people who gave their name to the island, and who are now generally regarded as the principal representatives of the pre-Celtic or non-Aryan stock in Ireland. This tribe, whose name is connected with the Emher or Ebher = Ever of the Milesian legend, is usually placed in the extreme S.W., but this position is not warranted by Ptolemy's text, where they are placed on the south coast after the Ουλλάβοροι with the Οὔσδῃαι above them and the βρύγαντες more to the east, in the S.E. corner, in fact. Besides, they cannot be dissociated from the town 'Ιουερνίς. I should suppose that their territory extended along the south coast from Waterford to perhaps Kinsale, and that they were separated from the Οὔσδῃαι by the river Suir.¹

For this last-mentioned tribe it will be observed that Müller selects the form Οὔσδῃαι (Usdiæ) as the best, though some MSS. read Οὐδοῃαι or Οὔδῃαι. This reading has recently suggested to Professor Rhys, that the well-known tribe or group of tribes called in Irish Osraighe or Osraidhe (Ossory) was intended. The distinctive parts of the two names may be equated, while *raidhe* or *raighe* in the Irish name is a mere termination (perhaps indicating descent like the Greek -ιδης) and is common to many tribal names. It would naturally be replaced by a Greek termination. The remaining *os* or *oss* would represent an early *osd*, *ost*, *ods*, or *ots*, in which combinations the dental, according to the laws of Irish phonology, would become assimilated to the sibilant.² Ptolemy appears to place the Οὔσδῃαι in the counties of Tipperary and Kilkenny, and this agrees with what is stated to have been the early position of Osraighe between the Barrow and the Suir.³ The town called Μακόλικον was probably in this territory, and may possibly have been the Rock of Cashel, which must always have been an important stronghold. Professor Rhys, in the passage quoted, where he is tracking out non-Aryan elements in the Celtic tongue, goes on to refer to the race of the Leinster Faelcu or wolf in Ossory, mentioned in the Irish Nennius and in Giraldus, and suggests that the *oss* of Ossory, and Ptolemy's Οὔσδῃαι "may be derived from a Pictish word related to the Basque *otso*, a wolf, whence *otso-gizon* loup garou or wolf-man."⁴ Professor Rhys goes on to notice how frequently

¹ In accordance with the above arguments, I have added to my map a suggested correction of the southern coast-line.

² See "Proceedings of the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland, 1892," pp. 349-50—"The Inscriptions and Language of the Northern Picts."

³ "Book of Rights," p. 17 n. (a.)

⁴ For the older derivation of Osraighe from *os* = a wild deer, see the story of Eithne Uathach and the Deisi, told by O'Curry ("Manners," &c., ii., pp. 205-8).

the names Faelan and Faelcair appear among the chieftains of Ossory in the seventh and eighth centuries. He might have added St. Faelcu, or Aelcu, son of Faelcair King of Ossory, mentioned by Mac Firbis in his list of certain Bishops of Erin.¹ O'Huidhrin, too, mentions "O'Faolain of manly tribe" in Magh Lacha, a plain in the barony of Kells, Co. Kilkenny.² Indeed examples of the name in this district might easily be multiplied.

Finally on the south side we have the river *Bípyos*, in the position of the Barrow (Ir. *Berbha*), and the people called *Bpíavres* in the south-eastern corner. The pagan Irish had a goddess Brigit long before their Christian descendants rejoiced in a saint of that name. This name *Brigit*, genitive *Brigte*, implies a primitive *Brigentis*, which may be equated with the goddess *Brigantia*, whose name appears in Roman inscriptions found in the country of the Brigantes in England, and with the Gaulish *Brigindo*.³ Irish writers connect the name with the clanna Breogain of the Milesian legend, a name which, however, ought to include the whole Milesian race. Breogan or Bregond, was grandfather of Mile, and came from Spain, where he had founded the city of Brigantia, now Betanzos, in Galicia, and built a tower (still existing as the Pharos of Corunna),⁴ from which Ireland was descried one fine winter's evening. The Hon. Algernon Herbert, in his notes to the "Irish Nennius,"⁵ has indicated how the story of this remarkably distant vision of Ireland probably arose; and M. D'Arbois de Jubainville⁶ and Professor Rhys⁷ treat this reference to Spain mythologically as a way of tracing the descent of the Milesian Irish from the Celtic Dis, or from the region of the Dead. There is certainly no good ground for dissociating the name Brigantes from the goddess Brigit, but if we suppose that the Irish people of that name were an offshoot from the well-known people of the same name who stretched across Britain, north of the Humber and the Mersey, we introduce a Brythonic element into Ireland which has not, I think, been hitherto recognised.⁸

Professor Rhys has, moreover, called my attention to a passage in the "Book of Leinster," which he thinks may contain a reference to the people whom Ptolemy called Brigantes. This passage is headed, *Clanna herimoin insin*, and proceeds thus: *Is díb dā fothárta tuatha brigit. ocus fachan cluana eidnech. ocus húi ailella ocus húi cheochain de fothartaib*

¹ See *Journal, R.H.A.A.I.*, 1876-8, p. 240.

² "Topographical Poems," p. 97.

³ M. D'Arbois de Jubainville, "Le Cycle Mythologique Irlandais," pp. 145-6; Rhys, "Hibbert Lectures," 1888, pp. 75-7.

⁴ *Proceedings, R.I.A.*, 13th May, 1844.

⁵ "Ir. Nennius, I. A. S.," p. 238.

⁶ "Cycle Mythologique," pp. 85, 137, 229-233.

⁷ "Hibbert Lectures," pp. 90-1.

⁸ Compare, however, Professor Rhys's suggestion that Cúchulainn, under his original name Setanta beg, came from the Setantii of South Lancashire, and that the use by the heroes of the Ultonian cycle of the war-chariot was derived from the Brigantes.—*Journal, R.S.A.I.*, 1890-1, pp. 644-5.

insen uile.¹ Unfortunately this passage is hard to construe. *Tuatha brigit* cannot mean Tribes of Brigit (a woman's name), as the regular and familiar genitive of Brigit is *Brigte*. Brigit, however, according to Professor Rhys, might represent *Briganti* genitive of *Brigantus*. If this passage contains any reference to the Brigantes it is very interesting as suggesting that in the districts known as the Fotharta, of which there were several² (the best known being now represented by the baronies of Forth, in the counties Carlow and Wexford), we have the scattered remnants of the tribe-lands of the Brigantes. As, however, St. Bridget was supposed to have been descended from Eochaidh Finnfuathairt,³ the eponymous ancestor of the Fotharta, and was so much the most illustrious of his descendants that in the "Martyrology of Donegal," where eleven other saints have the same ancestor ascribed to them, in every case there is added the statement, "from whom Brigit is descended," I cannot help thinking that the allusion in the above passage of the "Book of Leinster" (however, the passage is to be exactly construed)⁴ is simply to St. Bridget. I am unable, however, to identify the other names mentioned in the passage,⁵ and I must leave the point for the consideration of Irish scholars.

On the east coast the river *Módonnos*, the first river mentioned north of the Sacred Promontory or Carnsore Point, is probably the Slaney, as so important a river is not likely to have been omitted, though it is placed much too far from Carnsore Point. Mr. Elton, indeed, states that "Inbher Slainge retained its ancient name of Moda, or Modonus, from the time of Ptolemy till after the death of St. Adamnan, six centuries afterwards."⁶ But this was not so. The Moda of Adamnan (the Moadus of Giraldus) is now the river Moy, in Mayo, Irish *Muaidhe*, near Irrus Domhnann.⁷ If the Modonnus is the Slaney, we should look for Manapia and the Manapii somewhere near the site of Wexford, the ancient *Garman* or *Carman*. The Manapii may have been an offshoot from the Menapii of Belgic Gaul, and Professor Rhys, has lately in this *Journal*⁸

¹ "Book of Leinster," f. 14a.

² "Ogygia," iii., 64; "Book of Rights," pp. 211, n., 221, n.

³ "Mart. Don.," p. 35.

⁴ I have a strong suspicion that *tuata brigit* is a copyist's error for *dia tá brigit*. In the facsimile "Book of Leinster" the superposed mark appears to be an accent over the final *a* of *tuata*, rather than an aspiration mark over the *t*; while *dí* (in Irish characters) might easily be mistaken for *tu*. If this supposition be correct, the passage would simply mean "the Fotharta, of whom is Brigit, &c."

While this Paper was going through the Press I mentioned this suggested correction of the text of the "Book of Leinster" to Professor Rhys, and he replied that he thought I had "solved the riddle."

⁵ Possibly *fachan cluana eidnech* is a copyist's error for *fechin* [*fabair 7 finntan*] *cluana eidnech*, as both St. Fechin of Fore and St. Finntan of Clonenagh belonged to the Fotharta.—"Mart. Don."

⁶ "Origins," p. 154.

⁷ Reeves' "Adamnan," p. 30.

⁸ "Early Irish Conquests of Wales and Dumnonia."—*Journal, R.S.A.I.*, 1890-1, pp. 651 *et seq.*

given some new grounds for thinking that Carausius, called "Menapia civis" by Eumenius, hailed from the Irish Menapia. The name Manapia may also be equated with one form of that of the Isle of Man, the form which has yielded the Welsh Manaw (see *infra*), and Pliny expressly calls the island Monapia. The Irish form of this name may possibly survive in a place called Carrigmannon on the right bank of the Slaney about five miles above Wexford, where a little stream runs through a deep ravine to join the main river. Joyce mentions this name amongst others under *meann* and *meannan*, a kid, but cautiously adds, "it is possible that the latter part of some of these denominations may be a man's name."¹ There are many indications suggesting an early connection between Man and Ireland. Among these it must here suffice to allude to the common traditions concerning Manannan Mac Lir; to the fact that Ptolemy classes the island with Ireland; while Tigernach records that somewhat later, in A.D. 254, the Cruithne or Irish Picts, driven out from Ulster by Cormac Mac Art, fled to the Isle of Man; and in the fifth century Orosius (i. c. 2) speaks of it as *aeque* (with Hibernia) *a Scotorum gentibus habitata*.

The name Manaw or Manann was not confined to the Isle of Man. It also survives in Clackmannan, and Slamannan in the neighbourhood of the Firth of Forth,² where Ptolemy places the Otadini. The district south of the Forth was the Manaw of the Gododin of Welsh literature³; and it is worth noting that this Manaw, like the district of the Irish Manapii, was conterminous with the territory of the Brigantes and probably subject to their rule. There was also a plain of Manainn, near Fermoy.⁴

The Κοριονδοί are placed by Ptolemy above the Brigantes who, as being mentioned both on the south and on the east coast, must, as already stated, be placed in S.E. corner. But if Manapia was near the site of Wexford, there would be little room for another tribe between the Manapii and the Brigantes. Therefore I should be inclined to place the Coriondi a little more inland, and perhaps we might regard Δούνον as representing their chief seat. This name probably represents the Celtic *dun*, a fort. What particular dun it refers to, it is perhaps vain to inquire. It might from its position be the famous Dinn Righ on the Barrow below Leighlin Bridge. The form *Dunion*, which Ptolemy gives as a town of the Durotriges in the modern Dorsetshire, Professor Rhys regards as more Goidelic than *Dunon*, which would be the Gallo-Brythonic form. If we can rely upon such minute variations of spelling, this would point to the possibility of the Coriondi, like their neighbours the Brigantes, being a Brythonic people.⁵

The Ὀβόκα is probably the Ovoca at Arklow, but the modern name

¹ "Irish Names," &c., ii., 305. See Haliday's "Scandinavian Dublin," p. 82, n.

² Joyce, "Names," ii., 305.

³ Rhys, "Celtic Britain," pp. 110, 152, 219.

⁴ "Topographical Poems," p. 105, note 575.

⁵ "Celtic Britain," p. 292.

has been adopted from Ptolemy, as in the case of Morecambe Bay, in Westmoreland. *Ἐβλανα* is usually identified with Dublin, with the position of which it agrees, but the names cannot be equated. Dublin, *Duibh-linn*, means the black pool, and was originally applied to that part of the Liffey on which the city now stands. The town itself, of which there are no records prior to the ninth century, was called by the Irish *Baile atha cliath*, the town of the ford of hurdles.¹ Of course in the sense in which the word *oppidum* was applied in Romanised Gaul or Britain, it may be said that there can have been no towns in Ireland in Ptolemy's time. His πόλεις must be regarded as referring to the principal duns, cashels, cathairs, or raths, inside of which the chieftains of tribes and their attendants dwelt in either dry-stone clochauns or round wicker-work huts. But there is no record of Dublin ever having been the seat of an Irish king. This, however, is only negative evidence, and the record of its use as such may have been obliterated by the long Scandinavian occupation. The only Irish name which it occurs to me to compare with Eblana is *Sliab Eblinne*, now Slieve Phelim, away in Tipperary. In the story of Eibliu or Eiblenn, however, the lady from whom the name of the mountain is derived, is connected with the Brugh na Boinne adjoining the district of Ptolemy's Eblani. See "*Silva Gadelica*" text, p. 233, Trans., p. 484, the latter quoting the "*Book of Leinster*."

The Καῦκοι who are placed below the Eblani, of course remind us of the German Cauci, but it seems difficult to suppose that the latter tribe could have effected a settlement in Ireland. In St. Patrick's time the Ui Garchon were seated in the neighbourhood of Wicklow, and it is possible that some prototype of that tribe name has got corrupted into the more familiar Cauci, or Καῦκοι. *Ἀδβηρος*, somewhere in the vicinity of Glendalough, appears to have been their chief seat.

In Βοιονύδα (*βονίνδα βονβίνδα*) we undoubtedly have the Boyne, *Boind*, the *flumen quod Scotice Boend vocatur* of Adamnan. It is doubtful whether *Ἰσάμνιον* was a town or a promontory, probably the former, as Marcian reckons eleven towns and five promontories in Ireland, which agrees with Ptolemy if Isamnium is taken as a town. It might be Dundalk, the ancient Dundeargan. Its position negatives the identification with Rinn Seimhne, the ancient name for Island Magee, in Antrim.

The people called Ουολούντιοι north of the Boyne, would appear from name and position to be connected with the ancient *Ulaid*, acc. *Ulu*, or inhabitants of *Uladh*, a name which, with a Norse termination, has given the modern Ulster. If this be so, their chief town *Πηγία* may well have been the earthen fort of Emania, *Eamhain Macha*, near Armagh, which was the traditional "palace" of the kings of Uladh until the fourth century, when it was destroyed by the three Collas, a movement of peoples which

¹ "*Book of Rights*," p. 12, n.; Haliday's "*Scandinavian Dublin*," pp. 2, 3.

Professor Rhys regards as the advance of the Goidels upon the primitive non-Aryan inhabitants in the north.¹

We next come to a river mouth called Οὐνδέριος (*v. l.* 'Ιουνδέριος), which from its position ought to be near Dundrum Bay, or perhaps Carlingford Lough, and a tribe called Δαρίνοι (*v. l.* Δάρνιοι). This name recalls the *Dairine*, or descendants of Daire Sirchreachtach or the Plunderer,² called *Dairfhine* in the "Book of Rights"; but the silent *fh* was possibly added to bring in the word *fine*, a tribe, as an element in the composition. At any rate the spelling *Dairine*, which was in itself a woman's name,³ has ample authority in old MSS. The best known branch of this line was the Corca Laidhe, or descendants of Lughaidh Laidhe, son of the aforesaid Daire. Their territory, in historic times, was in the south-west of the Co. Cork. Indeed, "though widely did their tribes extend throughout Ireland," I cannot find that they are stated to have left descendants in Ulster. Some of their early heroes, however, seem to have been connected with Ulster. Thus, Lughaidh Mál, said to have been a seventh son of Daire, gained a victory over the Ulstermen at Carn Mail in Magh Uladh or Magh Murthemne.⁴ The *Dairine* or Corca Laidhe were not of Milesian descent, but were classed under the line of Ith, the meaning of which probably is that they were a non-Celtic people.

Lastly, the Λογία⁵ would appear to be the river Lagan at Belfast, called Logan in the map of escheated estates, 1609, and connected by Joyce with *lag* or *lug*, a hollow.⁶ The Irish name for Belfast Lough was *Loch Laoigh*, translated *stagnum vituli* by Adamnan.

We have now mentioned all the names on Ptolemy's Map of Ireland itself, with the exception of the town of Παῖβα, an inland town perhaps intended to be included in the territory of Αἰρεῖνοι. From the position assigned to it we might guess it to be near Lough Ree (*Rib*), perhaps on the important site of Athlone. It cannot have been Rheban in Co. Kildare, a name which perhaps is not older than the *Caislen riabhan*, or greyish castle, built by Robert de St. Michael in King John's time.

As to the islands, the two Αἰβοῦνδαι (*al.* 'Εβοῦνδαι) are probably Islay and Jura, while Μαλαῖος is Mull, the *Malea insula* of Adamnan. Πικίνα is probably Rathlin Island, off the coast of Antrim, Ir. *Rechra*, gen. *Rechrainn*. It is called by Pliny, Rignea (Rienea Riginia), and by the Ravenna Geographer, Regaina. 'Επίδιον, as pointed out by Mr. Bradley, is probably the Mull of Cantire, called by Ptolemy 'Επίδιον ἄκρον, over again. This duplication of the name was owing to the faulty eastern

¹ *Journal, R.S.A.I.*, 1890-1, p. 646.

² See the Tract on the Corca Laidhe, from the "Book of Leacan," in the "Miscellany" of the Celtic Society, p. 5, *n.*

³ "Mart. Donegal," p. 207; O'Curry, "MS. Mat.," pp. 230, 303.

⁴ "Miscellany," Celtic Society, p. 7, and App. A.; "Ogygia," iii., p. 67.

⁵ Misprinted Λογία on the map.

⁶ "Irish Names," i., p. 432.

direction given to the map of Scotland. The point is here fixed relatively to Ireland. Ἐδρου ἑρημος (al. Ἀδρου, Οδρου) is probably the present peninsula of Howth, Ir. *Edar* or *Beann Edair*, which may have been an island in Ptolemy's time, and at any rate is joined to the mainland by such a low narrow neck of land that it may well have been mistaken for an island. It appears to be called Andros (al. Edros) by Pliny. What Ἀίνου ἑρημος represents is more doubtful. From its position it cannot be Lambay, which, too, is probably a Norse name. It may possibly be Dalkey Island, as Ptolemy frequently places his islands much too far from the mainland. It is evidently the Limnus of Pliny. Μονάοιδα is the Isle of Man, the Monapia of Pliny, the Menavia of Orosius, and the Manna (perhaps Manua) of the Ravenna Geographer, Ir. *Manainn*, Welsh *Manaw*. Müller suggests that the form in Ptolemy's text, Μοναοιδα, is a corruption of Μονάοιδα; but might it not be connected with the name Manawydan, son of Llyr, the Welsh counterpart of the Irish god Manannan Mac Lir. If this connexion be phonologically admissible, it seems to bear out the following statement of Prof. Rhys:—"Welsh seems likewise to have had two forms of the name [of the Isle of Man]. We have one the attested Manaw for an early Manavis or Manavja; and Manawydan testifies to a longer one, Manawyð for an early Manavija." Is not this longer form attested by Ptolemy's Μονάοιδα? Finally, Μόρα is Anglesey. Its latitude is not very incorrect relatively to England, though it is of course much too far from her shores.

In the course of preparing this Paper I have been led into venturing upon more surmises and suggestions than I contemplated when I commenced the task. I cannot hope that my incomplete and tentative remarks will in all points stand the test of critical examination and further research. If they direct the attention of competent minds to Ptolemy's work they will not have been useless. But I must end, as I began, by saying that my primary object was to draw a trustworthy map of Ireland according to the latest and most critical edition of Ptolemy's Geography. For I am convinced that, in the hands of those qualified to apply the methods and general conclusions of modern ethnological and philological research, Ptolemy's Map may yet be found to throw some light on the vexed question of the racial elements of the Irish people. I certainly cannot agree with our worthy, but somewhat credulous, countryman O'Flaherty in thinking that to investigate the tribal and topographical names recorded by Ptolemy is *oleum et operam perdere*, or as he in another passage contemptuously phrases it, *ventos venari*.