More Celtic Influences:

Númenor and the Second Age

by Marie Barnfield

The genesis of the legend

In my article on Celtic influences on the First Age (in *Mallorn* 28) I claimed that the Second Age was "worthy of separate study in its own right", despite the fact that it is dominated not by the encouragingly Arthurian-sounding Beleriand but by the island of Númenor, which owes its story to the Greek legend of Atlantis, its culture to ancient Egypt and its religion to the Hebrews[1]. I shall start by stressing that Tolkien's purpose in beginning his island tales was not to invent a new Celtic mythology. The work that he planned was an Anglo-Saxon English mythology, needed, he felt, because England lacked "stories of its own (bound up with its tongue and soil) ... of the quality that I sought (and found) ... in legends of other lands. There was Greek, and Celtic, and Romance, Germanic, Scandinavian, and Finnish (which greatly affected me); but nothing English, save impoverished chap-book stuff."[2] The Numenor story as it finally appeared in *The Silmarillion* incorporates elements of *The Book of Lost Tales* originally connected either with Tol Eressëa, or with that remnant of Beleriand known in the Second Age as Leithian, Lúthien or Luthany. The island of Leithian itself was viewed as a fairy isle comprising what are now the separate islands of Britain and Ireland, which at that time, we are told, formed a single mass. Of the sundering of the two parts Tolkien wrote:

> "Ossë is wroth at the breaking of the roots of the isle he set so long ago ... that he tries to wrench it back; and the western half breaks off, and is now the isle of Iverin."[3]

Quenya *Iverin* is clearly cognate with "real" names for Ireland derived from the tribal name *Iverni*, (such as Ireland, Erin, Hibernia). Elsewhere we learn that:

> "... that part that was broken was called Ireland and many names besides, and its dwellers come not into these tales."[4]

(I should stress that the concept of Britain and Ireland having once formed a single island has no historical validity; both were originally joined to the continental mass, and Ireland broke away much earlier than Britain.[5])

The pre-Akallabêth legends all centre around the coming of a Saxon elf-friend, Eriol or Ælfwine, to an Elvish island; in the earliest versions the story was to end with the Elves conveniently annihilated by other agencies and, in due course, the Saxons inheriting the land. So far we have a very anglocentric tale, with the *Brithonin* and *Guidlin* dismissed as hostile mortal invaders who preceded the Saxons and had insufficient reverence for the fairies.[6] However, the theme of mortals coming to reside in a land hallowed by earlier divine inhabitants is one that we find in Celtic myth; it is the same motive that lies at the heart of the Irish conquest of the Tuatha Dé Danann[7], and as I demonstrated in my previous article it was very largely on the Tuatha Dé Danann that Tolkien's Elves were based.

And immediately we find a second Celtic link. In order to turn Tol Eressëa into England, Tolkien apparently planned a scenario under which it would be drawn by a great whale from its position far out in the ocean, coming to rest close to the Great Lands "nigh to the promontory of Ros"[8], which Christopher Tolkien tentatively identifies as Brittany[9] (*ros* is, incidentally, the Irish word for "promontory"). The great battle of Ros at which the Elves were to be attacked and defeated by the forces of evil may be a reference to the cosmic conflict upon Mont Dol christianised as a battle between St. Michael and the Devil.[10]

Perhaps Tolkien himself felt uneasy at

the way in which he had been forced to dismiss Britain's Celtic past and the Roman occupation as interludes inconveniently sandwiched between the Elvish days and the coming of his Saxons, particularly as England has in the Arthurian cycle a strong tradition of Celtic-derived myth. Anyway, he gradually abandoned the identification of Ælfwine's elvish isle with England, though still retaining the notion that elves had once dwelt here. Instead, he sent his hero westward from England to a second island where the elves still dwelt.[11] But his purpose remained that of rooting his elvish "traditions" firmly in England's Anglo-Saxon past. Eriol/Ælfwine's sojourn amongst the Elves, whether in England or the new place, was a device enabling him to commit to writing that which he had seen for the benefit of his own people: "thus it is that through Eriol and his sons the *Engle* have the true tradition of the fairies, of whom the *Iras* and the *Wealas* tell garbled things."[12]

In one sense this statement reinforces the view that Tolkien's mythology was to be specifically English and not Celtic. Looked at the other way, however, he seems to have been suggesting that he planned to tell the "true" version of the stories told in garbled form by the Irish and Welsh - *i.e.*, that the English mythology he is about to invent is to be at base a reconstruction of Celtic myth, which he was later to like to "a broken stained-glass window reassembled without design."[13] Indeed, where else would he turn for inspiration for an English mythology? He himself bemoaned the fact that there was no English material to draw on save "impoverished chap-book stuff"; Germanic materials would be useful, but only to a limited extent: they were ethnically related to any tales the English might have told, but not "bound up with [England's] ... soil". The legends of the insular Celts would provide for these the ideal complement: they were not Germanic, but were sprung of the soil of Luthany and looked out upon the world from the same vantage point as Eriol Elf-friend.

Indeed, in adopting so whole-heartedly the vision of a happy Otherworld in the West, Tolkien was posing himself a problem. He had declared that the dwellers of Ireland "come not into these tales", but Ireland, Wales and Cornwall all lie between England and the Atlantic. A mythology based on westward voyages from England which had no reference to these Celtic areas would seem a little false. Also, the tradition of the Land of Promise is at best only inferred in the British Celtic material: it was in the Irish *Imrama*, or voyage tales of mortals to a western Otherworld, that Tolkien found his garbled memories of Valinor.[14] It was perhaps inevitable, therefore, that Ireland should eventually find its way into the Ælfwine soup.

In the 1930s the development of the "island saga" took a new turn, for Tolkien made a bargain with C.S.Lewis to write a time-travel story, and he chose the theme of Atlantis. Thus was begun *The Lost Road*, in which the name *Númenor* appears for the first time. For this book Tolkien retained the story of Eriol/Ælfwine's voyage to the West, but took him not to a fairy paradise but, via the lost Straight Road, back in time to a mortal island-kingdom located far across the Sea but yet east of the Elvish Isles. Tolkien's notes show that in fact he planned to work backwards to the story of Númenor via the voyages of several Ælfwine figures. These included a twentieth-century father and son named Alboin (Lombardic version of Ælfwine) and Audoin Errol, who seem to represent Tolkien himself and one of his sons (probably Christopher).

The Professor's other choice of westward voyagers to complete the tale altered as work progressed. The original conception seems to have been for a purely Germanic selection.[15] However, as plans progressed, Irish matter began to intrude in the shape of an outline story of a Saxon father and son who fled from the Danish victory at Ircingafeld to Dyfed, and thence to Ireland. It was in Ireland that the pair were to hear tales of the Western paradise attained by Brendan and Maelduin (these two are the subjects of *Imrama*), and from Ireland that they were themselves to set out on the same quest. The outline of this story ends: "this leads to Finntan".[16]

Tolkien had apparently read of the story of Finntan (usually spelt *Fintan*), the Irish sage

who had survived the Deluge, in Magnus Maclean's *Literature of the Celts*.[17] How he planned to use the testimony of "the oldest man in the world", his notes do not make clear, but presumably "Finntan" would have remembered the Isle of Númenor and its Downfall and the parting of Earth from the Straight Path to the West. Nothing came of these plans other than the poem "The nameless Land", reproduced in Christopher Tolkien's edition of *The Lost Road*. Nothing, that is, except for one small philological detail.

In his papers on the subject, the Professor glossed *Finntan* as "*Narkil* White Fire". "White Fire" would more normally be rendered into Elvish as *Narsil*[19], so that it would be interesting to know whether Finntan had anything to do with the naming of Elendil's long-lived sword.

In the end, of course, Ælfwine himself was discarded, together with any attempt to link - at least in print - the history of Númenor, or indeed any of the invented mythology, to the English or to a historically identifiable England. As Christopher Tolkien summed it up: "these notes were written down in his youth, when for him Elvish magic 'lingered yet mightily in the woods and hills of Luthany'; in his old age all was gone West-over-sea ...." The tales of the Four Ages belong, in their final form, merely to the north-west of the Old World, and that is the most that we can say.[20] Yet I hope that the summary I have given of the route by which Tolkien came to create this land has been more than mere digression. For I believe that it does cast considerable light on his intentions regarding the use of Germanic and Celtic material in his compositions. In its first conception, the mythology was to be purely Anglo-Saxon and to extol the origins of the English inhabitants of Britain at the expense of their Celtic neighbours. But Tolkien's weakness here was that he was smitten by the essentially Irish vision of a fair immortal race and their Otherworld paradise in the West. Yet I also believe that it was the abandonment of the early patriotic purpose that freed Tolkien to make use of a wider range of inspiration than had been evident in the early work, that range which gave to his invented world the sense of depth and reality that has been so great a part of its appeal.

Foundation and culture

Númenor, as the Drowned Land, carries echoes not only of Atlantis but of the foundered kingdoms of Celtic myth. The name Westernesse is reminiscent in form of *Lyonesse*, the sunken land beyond Cornwall of Arthurian legend[21], and the motif of a deluge sent by God to end the influence of a demonic power over the ruling family is also to be found in the Breton legend of Is.[22] The motif of the Land of Gift may have been derived from the wishful thinking of Irish myth, according to which the goddess Eriu ceded Ireland to the mortal Milesians with these words:

> "To you who have come from afar this island shall henceforth belong, and from the setting to the rising of the sun there is no better land. And your race will be the most perfect the world has ever seen."[23]

On the other hand, the culture of Númenor as described in *The Silmarillion* and *Unfinished Tales* shows little of either Celtic - or indeed Germanic - influence. The only significant cultural detail I have noticed that may have a Celtic inspiration is the custom that the King should abdicate and surrender his life before senility. According to ancient (particularly Celtic) tradition, the health and fortunes of the land were bound up with those of the king. In Arthurian legend the lands of the Fisher King were wasted because of his lameness[24]; a well-known Irish myth tells of how King Nuada Airgetlam was forced to abdicate because of the loss of his hand in battle[25]; in a related Breton tale the wicked Rivod deprives his young nephew of his rights to his patrimony by cutting off from the boy a hand and a foot.[26] Even in Christian times, it was the tradition in Gaelic Ireland that a chieftain must be of sound mind and body: this practice extended to some of the more hibernicised Norman families, and was responsible in the fifteenth century for the earldom of Kildare falling into abeyance for a period of approximately twenty years, during the lifetime of the sixth Earl's son, John Cam or "Crooked John".[27]

Aside from the moral desirability of the King's voluntary surrender of his life, therefore, his abdication and death while in good health is mythologically necessary to maintain the fortunes of the land. It is notable that the coming of the shadow upon Númenor coincided with the refusal of the kings to surrender either power or life, clinging on until death took them "perforce in dotage".[28]

Topography and division

If Celtic influence upon the culture of Númenor is slight, the physical structure of the island as described in *Unfinished Tales* shows by contrast an enormous debt to Celtic sources. In the following study of the topography and division of Númenor, comparisons with ancient Ireland and wales are based on the analysis given in A. and B. Rees' *Celtic heritage*. Though I have no evidence that Tolkien was familiar with this book it is a major work on the subject and the similarities between the theories it propounds and the arrangements in Númenor are striking. Its publication in 1961 also coincides well with the time of writing of *A Description of Númenor*, which "was certainly in existence by 1965, and was probably written not long before that."[30]

The Centre

In the centre of Numenor stood a high mountain, the Meneltarma, "and no other likeness of a temple did the Numenoreans possess in all the days of their grace."[31] The Meneltarma was, in other words, the Sacred Centre of Númenor, that place familiar to ancient peoples and representing an axial or umbilical link with the Otherworld.

The Meneltarma was the source of the great river Siril that rose in springs underneath it. The other major river of Númenor, the Nunduine, is also shown as having had its source near the centre of the island, about fifteen miles from the mountain. The Centre as a source of the great rivers is a belief to be found in many cultures; according to Norse myth, for instance, eleven rivers flow from the Spring of Hvergelmir at the root of Yggdrasil.[32] Of the twelve chief rivers of Ireland, a legend says that they were formed by a great hailstorm that fell upon the sacred centre, the hill of Uisnech. In Wales Pumlumon (Plinlimmon) is the source of the rivers Wye and Severn, and there is other evidence that this mountain marked the centre

The Provinces of Ireland

'Cross'

'Pentagram'

M Meath
◇ Tara
● Uisnech

9
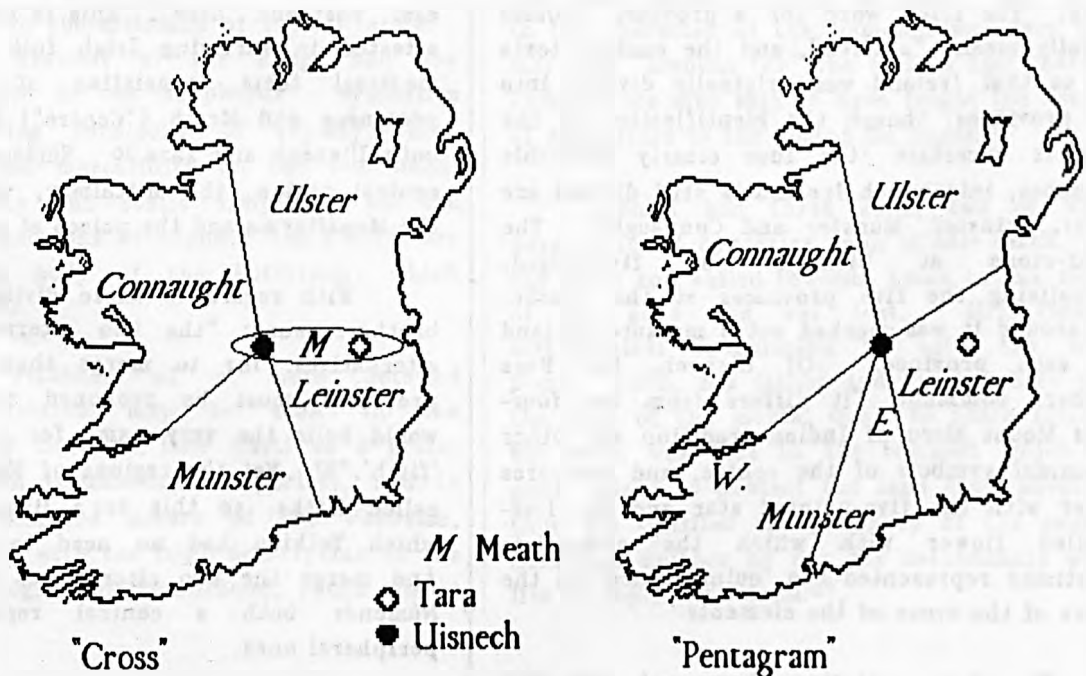
of the country.33

The position of the royal capital, Armenelos, to the east of the Meneltarma, parallels the Irish arrangement, in which the High King's palace of Tara lay many miles to the east of Uisnech. The relative positions of Uisnech and Tara are almost certainly not accidental. If Tara belonged to the King, Uisnech seems to have belonged to the mother goddess, and was called "the navel of Ireland". The Rees brothers link these two sites with the stipulation in the Indian Brahmanas that every sacrificial site should contain two fires, one reserved for the consorts of the gods, and the other to the east of it for the worship of the (male) gods and representing their celestial cosmic world. In ancient Rome the hearth of Vesta and the *templa quadrata* to its east probably represented the same concept.

The divisions

Tolkien tells us that "the land of Numenor resembled in general outline a five-pointed star or pentangle ..." with a central portion from which extended five large peninsular promontories, each of which was regarded as a separate region.34

The five-pronged form is similar to a method of division used in Ireland in ancient times. The Irish word for a province (*coiced*) literally means "a fifth", and the ancient texts tell us that Ireland was originally divided into five provinces, though the identification of the fifth is uncertain (the four clearly definable provinces, into which Ireland is still divided are Ulster, Leinster, Munster and Connaught). The pillar-stone at Uisnech was five-ridged, symbolising the five provinces at the Centre, and around it was marked out a measure of land for each province. Of Uisnech, the Rees brothers comment: "it differs from the four-sided Mount Meru of Indian tradition and other pyramidal symbols of the centre, and compares rather with the five-pointed star and the five-petalled flower with which the alchemists sometimes represented the 'quintessence' in the centre of the cross of the elements.

The above quotation shows not only how

closely the conceptual division of Ireland resembled the structure of Numenor, but also how unusual a pentagram division appears to have been. T.F.O'Rahilly indeed assumed it to be due to pure scribal invention, and devoted a whole chapter of his *Irish History and Mythology* to demonstrating that: "In pre-Goidelic times ... the country was divided into four quarters, corresponding to the four points of the compass ...."35 I would guess that Tolkien was familiar with O'Rahilly's book, first published in 1946, as its arguments are largely philological, but it seems that he rejected him on this occasion in favour of five points, which link in so neatly with the star symbolism already established for Numenor. The Rees brothers, unlike O'Rahilly, accept the fitness of the fivefold division on symbolic grounds, for in our world, as they point out, five is the number of completeness, of life.

The pentangle arrangement is stated in the *Book of Invasions* to be pre-Goidelic in origin and is implicit in most of the early Irish literature, which speaks of two Munsters, East and West. However, this pentagram arrangement would appear to be only one of two methods of fivefold division applied to Ireland in ancient times. The other represented the cross of the elements with its quintessential centre and may be equated with the Rig Veda's description of space in terms of north, south, east, west and "here". This is the arrangement attested in surviving Irish folk tradition and medieval texts, consisting of four modern provinces and Meath ("Centre") which included both Uisnech and Tara.36 Númenor too had its central region, the Mittalmar, which embraced the Meneltarma and the palace at Armenelos.

With regard to these divisions, the Rees brothers warn: "the two alternatives ... *are* alternatives, for to merge them together six provinces must be reckoned with, and that would belie the very name for a province - a 'fifth'."37 Yet the regions of Númenor are not called fifths, so this is a linguistic pit into which Tolkien had no need to avoid falling. And merge the two alternatives he did, giving Númenor both a central region and five peripheral ones.

The Rees brothers show that in Irish, as in Indian, tradition the five directions reflect the fivefold division of society. Fintan, whom we met earlier, described the functions of the directions thus: "knowledge in the west, battle in the north, prosperity in the east, music in the south, kingship in the centre." Also, as we have seen, the western (mountain) centre may be classified as feminine and the eastern capital as masculine.

Within Númenor, the Mittalmar, with its royal capital, certainly represents kingship. There is also a clear east-west division between materialism and knowledge and between the masculine and feminine functions. Both in *Akallabêth* and in *Aldarion and Erendis*, eastern Númenor, looking towards Middle-earth, is represented as concerned with deeds, riches, temporal glory, and even war; its people speak a mortal tongue (Adunaic). In contrast, the Westlands, facing towards Aman, represent spiritual values, wisdom and remembrance of old lore; its people speak an elven tongue.[38] This division of function is exemplified in the description of the two sons of Ar-Gimilzôr: "For Inziladûn [Flower of the West] the elder was beloved of his mother and of mind with her; but Gimilkhâd [Sword of the East?] the younger was his father's son ...."[39] In *Aldarion and Erendis* the two sub-divisions of the Mittalmar - the eastern Arandor of the Kings and the western Emerië of the Shepherds - symbolise the contrasting functions of royalty, high civilisation and masculinity on the one hand, and femininity and rustic simplicity on the other. The functions of Arandor and Emerie are unite in the body of the Mittalmar, which embraces both.

Some evidence of a more detailed functional division may be seen in the description of Orrostar (the East) as a grain-growing region (indicating Prosperity), and in the stony, deserted nature of the Forostar, which fits well with the Irish description of the North as a region of "hardihood, rough places ...."[40]

We are told that the summer following the marriage of Aldarion and Erendis was particularly fruitful; there is more than ordinary symbolism behind this detail for, particularly in Celtic tradition, it is the King's marriage to the goddess that ensures the fertility of the land. A second detail of the story which may relate to Celtic myth is the decision of Aldarion's father Tar-Meneldur to abdicate in his favour when the threat of Sauron grows in Middle-earth. The Irish King Nuada likewise abdicated (albeit briefly) in favour of the youthful Lug, whom he believed to be better fitted to lead the Tuatha Dé Danann against the demonic Balar of the Evil Eye.

The early, beneficial visitations of the Númenoreans to Middle-earth may be seen as the "source" of many tales of culture heroes in European and Near Eastern mythology[41], amongst which may be included the Irish belief that the home of the gods lay across the Atlantic. The Númenoreans' later tyranny, when "they laid the men of Middle-earth under tribute, taking now rather than giving"[42], is also echoed in the Irish legend of the Fomorians, oppressors of both gods and mortals, who laid the Tuatha Dé under tribute and who had their abode either in or across the sea; they appear often as pirates. The change in the character of the Númenoreans over time may also "account for" the curious fact that the Fomoire are also said to have taught the secrets of agriculture to the Tuatha Dé Danann.

Elendil had three sons, two of whom were to found dynasties upon Middle-earth. But the third son sailed towards Aman to ask mercy of the gods and was lost. His clearest mythological association is with the Irish Donn. Donn, his father and his brothers were the first of the mortal Gaels to reach Ireland, but Donn was lost in the tempest which the gods, raised to protect the land from invasion; thus was fulfilled the prophecy of the goddess Eriu that neither he nor his descendants would live to enjoy the island.[43]

Of Ar-Pharazôn and the mortal warriors who embarked with him upon the shores of Valinor, Tolkien tells us that they "were buried under falling hills: there it is said that they lie imprisoned in the Caves of the Forgotten, until the Last Battle and the day of Doom."[44] Here we have echoes of Celtic legends regarding sleeping warriors under hillsides, many of which centre around the figure of King Arthur. About ten miles from my own home in Cheshire there is a sheer hill known as Alderley Edge, riddled with caves as the result of ancient copper working; according to local legend, King Arthur and his knights lie sleeping within behind a huge concealed doorway, ready to ride forth at the hour of England's need.

As for the Faithful and their westward gazing, Tolkien wrote of this in a way which echoes a haunting passage in Irish myth describing how the mortal Milesians (Gaels) in their original continental home first came to descry the island of Ireland:

"In this country Bregon ... had built a watchtower from which, one winter's evening, Ith saw, far off over the sea, a land he had never noticed before. It is on winter evenings, when the air is pure, that a man's eyesight reaches farthest ..."[45]

In *Akallabêth* we read of the Númenoreans that:

"at times, when the air was clear and the sun was in the east, they would look out and descry far off in the west a city white-shining on a distant shore, and a great harbour and a tower."[46]

And in *Of the Rings of Power and the Third Age* we are told that after the Downfall Elendil would repair to the Tower Hills:

"and thence he would gaze out over the sundering seas, when the yearning of exile was upon him; and it is believed that thus he would at whiles see far away even the Tower of Avallónë upon Eressëa."[47]

Conclusion

I think it is plain from the above that as regards the actual story-lines specific debts to Celtic sources in the tales of the Second Age are present, but far from overwhelming. And yet the reason for this is not that sometimes

assumed - that Tolkien was choosing Germanic sources in preference. For whilst the Germanic motifs are certainly present in the early versions of Tolkien's myths, in the finished texts they are hardly more in evidence than their Celtic neighbours. For Tolkien's field of inspiration expanded: Númenor is culturally more akin to Athens or Luxor than to Uppsala or Tara, and Eriador includes the whole of modern France. Yet in one significant area it seems Tolkien may have borrowed a Celtic model lock, stock and barrel, and that is in the method of division he chose for the Land of the Star.

In general, however, the Celtic influence is, as with the First Age, one of vision more than of detail, and in this respect its pervasiveness is hard to overestimate. The reasons which may have drawn Tolkien towards the Irish vision of the Otherworld rather than, say, the Norse, are admirably summed up by the Celtic scholar Nora Chadwick:

"A beautiful dignity hangs over Irish mythology, an orderliness, a sense of fitness. All the gods are beautifully dressed and most are of startlingly beautiful appearance. It is only by contrast with other mythologies that we realise that the 'land of promise' contains little that is ugly. There is no sin and no punishment. There are few monsters, nothing to cause alarm, not even extremes of climate. There is no serious warfare, no lasting strife. Those who die, or who are lured away to the Land of Promise, the land of the young, leave for an idealised existence, amid beauty, perpetual youth and goodwill. The heathen Irish erected a spirituality - a spiritual loveliness which comes close to an ideal spiritual existence."[48]

This is the ideal towards which the doomed Númenoreans looked in longing and envy, the vision of a fair immortal land descried from the top of a high tower at times "when the air is pure".

Notes

1. Tolkien's description of the Men of Gondor in *Letters* would apply equally well to their Island ancestors, particularly in the latter years of the kingdom: "The Numenoreans of Gondor were proud, peculiar and archaic, and I think are best pictured in (say) Egyptian terms. In many ways they resembled 'Egyptians' - the love of, and power to construct, the gigantic and massive. And their great interest in ancestry and in tombs. (But not of course in 'theology': in which respect they were Hebraic ...)." (*Letters* no. 211)

2. *Book of Lost Tales 1* p.22.
3. *Book of Lost Tales 2* p.283.
4. *Ibid*, p.312.
5. McEvedy, C. *The Penguin Atlas of Ancient History.* Penguin, 1967; *The Course of Irish History,* ed. T.W.Moody and F.X.Martin. Cork: Mercier Press, 1967.
6. *Book of Lost Tales 2* p.294.
7. Squire, C. *Celtic Myth and Legend, Poetry and Romance.* Newcastle Publishing Co. Inc., 1975 (reprint of 191? ed.) p.119.
8. *Book of Lost Tales 2* p.283.
9. *Ibid*, p.285.
10. *Green Tourist Guide BRITTANY.* Michelin, (s.d.); Aubert, O.L. *Legendes Traditionelles de la Bretagne.* Kerengwenn: Coop Breiz, (s.d.).
11. *Book of Lost Tales 2* pp.322 ff.
12. *Ibid*, p. 290.
13. *Letters* no. 19.
14. See: Rees, Alwyn, and Rees, Brinley *Celtic Heritage* Thames and Hudson, 1961. Chapter XVI.
15. *The Lost Road*, p.7.
16. Ibid., p.80. In his own poem *Imram*, based on the Voyage of St. Brendan, Tolkien was to equate two of the islands which Brendan visited with Numenor and Tol Eressëa (see: Kocher, P. *Master of Middle-earth*, Thames and Hudson, 1972. pp. 206 ff.

17. See Christopher Tolkien's discussion in *The Lost Road*, pp.82-83.
18. *Lost Road* p.82.
19. *Narsil* may in fact be simply a later development of the word *Narkil*, as "white shining" is rendered by *GIL*- in the 1930s Etymologies (see *Lost Road* p.358), but by *sil* in the Appendix to *The Silmarillion*.

20. The quotation is from B*ook of Lost Tales 2*, pp. 327-328. J.R.R.Tolkien wrote in 1967 regarding *The Lord of the Rings*: "The action of the story takes place in the North-west of 'Middle-earth', equivalent in latitude to the coastlands of Europe and the north shores of the Mediterranean. But this is not a purely 'Nordic' area in any sense." (*Letters* no.294).

21. Senior, M. *British Myth* Orbis, 1979.
22. Aubert, *op. cit.*
23. Rees and Rees *op. cit.* p.125.
24. Senior *op. cit.* p.218; *The Mabinogion,* tr. Gwyn Jones and Thomas Jones. Dent, 1978.
25. Rees and Rees, *op. cit.* p.78.
26. See the tale *Pied d'Airain et Main d'Argent* in Aubert, *op. cit.*
27. *Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland and the United Kingdom,* ed. G.E.Cockayne, new ed. Vicary Gibbs.

Doubleday, 1910-1959.
28. *Unfinished Tales* p.221.
29. For details, see note 14.
30. *Unfinished Tales* p.7.
31. *Ibid,* p.186.
32. Crossley-Holland, K. *The Norse Myths* Penguin, 1982.
33. See Rees and Rees, *op. cit.* p.175.
34. *Unfinished Tales* pp.165-6.
35. p.172.
36. Such a fivefold division is, of course, a natural progression from division according to the four cardinal directions, and was probably not uncommon in the ancient world. The Rees brothers point out (*op. cit.* p.173) that such a division is suggested by the English regional names Essex, Sussex, Wessex and Middlesex, and even O'Rahilly admits the existence of Meath as a separate province, at least at one stage of Gaelic history.

37. Rees and Rees, *op. cit.* p.121.
38. See *Unfinished Tales* , note 19 to *Aldarion and Erendis.*
39. *Ibid,* p.223.
40. Rees and Rees, *op. cit.* p.123.
41. "...and when they had departed they called them gods, hoping for their return."(*The Silmarillion* p.263)
42. *Ibid,* p.265.
43. Rees and Rees, *op. cit.* pp.126-131; MacCana, P. *Celtic Mythology.* Newnes, 1968. pp.36-38.
44. *The Silmarillion* p.279.
45. From *The Book of Invasions* as quoted in Rees and Rees, *op. cit.* p.121.
46. *The Silmarillion* p.262.
47. *Ibid,* p.292.
48. Chadwick, N. *The Celts.* Penguin, 1979.

Regions of Númenor

Forostar

Andustar

Orrostar

Mittalmar

Arandor

Emerië

Hyarrostar

▲ Meneltarma

■ Armenelos