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# THE CELTIC REVIEW

JANUARY 1914

## CIUTHACH

WILLIAM J. WATSON

At the present day in Lewis one expresses admiration of a young fellow's vigour (*tapachd*) by the expression 'Bu tu fhéin an Ciuthach,' ('It's yourself that's the Ciuthach'). In the parish of Uig, in Lewis, there is an ancient fort on Borronish (i.e., *borgar-nes*, fort-point), near the manse of Uig, called *Dùn a' Chiuthaich*, and in the same locality a rock called *Creag a' Chiuthaich*. The legend connected therewith is still current in Uig, and has been written down by the Rev. Malcolm MacIennan, Edinburgh, who has kindly communicated it to me, as follows:—

An uair a bha an Fhéinn an Eadar-a-fhaodhail chaidh iad aon là a mach a shealg, agus dh' fhàg iad Fionn agus na mnathan agus a' chlann aig an tigh. Bha duine a' tàmh faisg orra ann am Boronis d' am b'ainm an Ciuthach. Tha dùn ann an sin gus an là an diugh ris an abrar Dùn a' Chiuthaich.

An uair a chuala an Ciuthach gu 'n d'fhalbh an Fhéinn gu léir ach Fionn agus na mnathan agus a' chlann, chaidh e far an robh e agus thoisich iad air sabaid. Bha e dol cruaidh ri Fionn agus dh' iarr e dàil bheag air a' Chiuthach gus an deanadh e tiomnadh do bhalachan beag a bha 'n a ogha dha, agus shéid e 'n fheadag.

'S ann gu beannaibh Barbhais a stiùir Oscar a chùrsa, agus thug e leis gille agus Mac an Luinn. Thachair duine riu anns na beannaibh sin agus claidheamh aige air an robh truaill mhaiseach. Nise 's e truaill ghrannda a bha air Mac an Luinn. 'S ann a rinn Oscar agus an duine cumha gu 'n deanadh iad iomlaid anns na claidhmhean gun an toirt as na truailean. 'S e claidheamh meirgeach a thachair a bhi anns an truaill bhregha. An uair a thainig an oidhche laigh Oscar agus an duine sios agus chaidil iad, ach cha do chaidil gille Oscar.

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An uair a bha càch 'n an cadal chuir an gille Mac an Luinn anns an truaille bhreagha agus mar sin bha e aig a mhaighistir air ais.

Anns a' mhaduinn chuala iad feadag 'g a séideadh. Dh'aithnich Oscar gur i feadag a sheanar a bha ann, agus thuirt e :

'Tha cath 'g a chur is tha feum air fir,  
Tha gaoth bharr sluaigh ach is truagh gun Mhac an Luinn.'

An uair a bha iad aig sruth Lìnseadair chuala iad an fheadag a rìs, agus thuirt Oscar mar a thuirt e an uair a chuala e anns a' mhaduinn i. Dh'fhaighnich an gille dheth dé dheanadh e na 'm biodh e aige. 'Chuirinn treas earrann a' chath,' thuirt Oscar. Ghabh iad air an aghaidh agus aig sruth Locha Rôg chuala iad an fheadag a rìs. Thuirt Oscar mar a thuirt e an uair a chuala iad an toiseach i. Dh'fhaighnich an gille dé dheanadh e na 'm biodh Mac an Luinn aige. Thuirt Oscar gu 'n cuireadh e dà thrian a' chath. Bha iad a' gabhail rompa agus aig Lag na Clibhe chuala iad an fheadag a rìs agus thuirt Oscar mar a thuirt e roimhe. 'Dé dheanadh tu,' ars' an gille, 'na 'm biodh e agad?' 'Chuirinn an cath 'n am aonar,' arsa Oscar. 'Tha e agad,' ars' an gille, 'agus cha 'n e thu féin a choisinn dhuit e.' Tharruinn Oscar an claidheamh a mach as an truaille a shealltuinn an e a bha aige. A chur dearbhaidh air, sgud e 'n ceann bharr a' ghille—gnìomh bu duiliche leis a rinn e riamh.

Ach ghabh e air aghaidh agus an uair a rainig e an t-àite anns an robh a sheanair bha e 'n a sheasamh agus a dhruim ri creig agus e ri cumail dheth a' Chiuthaich. 'Sgoch a mach a sheanair agus leig mi féin gheis 'n a d'àite,' arsa Oscar. Ghabh e àite a sheanar, agus chuir e an ceann bharr a' Chiuthaich le aon sguab de 'n chladheamh agus dh'fhalbh e (an ceann) tri iomraichean treabhaidh, 's e sin mar a their sinne tri feannagan.

(When the Fiann were in Eadar-a-fhaodhail,<sup>1</sup> they went out one day to hunt, and they left Fionn and the women and the children at home. A man lived near them in Borronish called the Ciuthach (*Kewach*). There is a fort there to this day, called the Ciuthach's fort.

When the Ciuthach heard that all the Fiann were gone, except only Fionn and the women and the children, he went where Fionn was, and they began to fight. It went hard with Fionn, and he asked the Ciuthach for a little delay till he might make a will (testamentary dispositions) to a little lad who was his grandson, and he blew the whistle.

It was to the hills of Barvas that Oscar had shaped his course, and

<sup>1</sup> 'Between two fords,' called in English Ardrol.

he had taken with him a lad and Mac an Luinn (*i.e.*, Fionn's magic sword). In those hills a man met them who had a sword with a goodly sheath. Now it was an ugly sheath that was on Mac an Luinn. Oscar and the man agreed to exchange swords without taking them out of the sheaths. It fell out that it was a rusty sword that was in the fine sheath. When night came, Oscar and the man lay down and slept, but Oscar's attendant did not sleep. While the others slept he put Mac an Luinn in the fine sheath, and so his master had it back.

In the morning they heard a whistle blow. Oscar knew that it was his grandfather's whistle, and he said :—

‘Fight is on foot, and need is of men,  
Wind blows from host, but it is sad without Mac an Luinn.’<sup>1</sup>

When they were at the stream of Linshader, they heard the whistle again. Oscar said as he had said when he heard it in the morning. The lad asked him what he would do if he had it. ‘I would take on me the third part of the battle,’ said Oscar. They went on, and at the current of Loch Roag they heard the whistle again. Oscar said as he had said when he heard it first. The lad asked, what he would do if he had Mac an Luinn. Oscar said that he would take on him two-thirds of the battle. They were going ahead, and at Cliff Hollow they heard the whistle again, and Oscar said as he said before. ‘What would you do,’ said the lad, ‘if you had it?’ ‘I would fight the battle alone,’ said Oscar. ‘You have it,’ said the lad, ‘and it was not yourself that won it for you.’ Oscar drew the sword forth from the sheath to see if it was it he had. To prove it, he swept the head off the lad—the deed of all the deeds he ever did that he was most sorry for.

But he went on, and when he came to the place where his grandfather stood, he was standing with his back to a rock trying to keep the Ciuthach off him. ‘Slip out, grandfather,’ said Oscar, ‘and let myself a while in your place.’ He took his grandfather's place, and sent the head off the Ciuthach with one sweep of his sword, and it shot over three rigs of plough-land, that is, as we say, three lazy-beds.)

The Rev. Malcolm Macleod, Broadford, who belongs to Uig, writes that Creag a' Chiuthaich is on a *machair* across a *faodhail* (sea-ford) from the Dùn. Four or five miles

<sup>1</sup> Compare J. F. Campbell's *West Highland Tales*, iii. 360.

away, and not far from Gallon Head is *Uaigh a' Chiuthaich*, the Ciuthach's grave, ten feet long or more, also called *Uaigh Og rìgh Bhàsain!* In local tradition, says Mr. Macleod, the Ciuthach was a giant and a real hero, a man not only of great size but of great dignity. 'Cha bu diù leis lamh a chur ann an duine cumanta,' 'he would scorn to lay hand on a common man.' When the Feinn came, Fionn and his band came opposite the Dùn, and offered the Ciuthach 'cogadh no cumhachan sìthe,' 'war or conditions of peace.'

Cha do chuir e 'dhiù annta na sheall e an taobh a bha iad, ach thainig e a mach as an Dùn agus morgha aige 'n a làimh, agus chaidh e sìos an tràigh a mharbhadh leobag a bhial na tuinne. Chaidh so air aghart fad seachdanach, Fionn is an Fhéinn a' toirt dùlan dha is gun esan a' cur a dhìù annta na shealladh e an taobh a bha iad. Ach fa dheireadh bha e air a thàmailteachadh leis a' ghràisg a thainig a chur dragh air, agus smaoinich e a' mhaduinn so gu'n d'rachadh e agus gu'n deanadh e sgoltadh a' chudaig air buidheann no dhà dhiubh. Chunnacas a tighinn e, ach bha moran de an Fhéinn air falbh anns a' bheinn sheilg, agus bha iad a smaoin-eachadh nach tigeadh an Ciuthach an taobh a bha iad. Thainig e nuas am machair, is mar a bha iad a tachairt ris, bha e sgudadh a' chinn dhiubh gus 'na ràinig e Fionn, ceann na Féinne, ach chur esan stad air. Ach ma chuir, cha b'fhada, is e gun Mhac-an-Luinn. Bha Osgar is gaisgich eile a deanamh cluich airm le Mac-an-Luinn air Cnoc na Cuthaig. Agus, ma bhà, cha b' fheairrde Fionn sin. Bha an Ciuthach 'g a chur gun sgur an comhair a chùil. 'Antà,' arsa esan, 'bu mhaith a nise Mac-an-Luinn'; is shéid e an fheadag. Is ma shéid, leum Osgar is dh' eugh e, 'tha mo sheanair an teinn, ach ma thà, cha bhì fada. . . . Sguch a mach, a sheanair, is leig mi fhéin le Mac-an-Luinn 'n ad àite.' Bha Mac-an-Luinn ag gearradh is a' leon is thoisich an Ciuthach a' dol an comhair a chùil, is b'e sin an dà latha. Rinn e air a' chiad chreig a b'fhaisge dha gus tac fhaighinn, ach leis an t-sion a bha air is Osgar le Mac-an-Luinn 'n a dhéidh, chaidh e troimhe 'n chreig, agus tha làrach a mhàis is a dhà shlinnean an Creag a' Chiuthaich gus an latha an duigh.

(He cared not for them enough to look their way, but he came out from the Fort with a fish-spear in his hand, and he went down to the strand to the wave-mouth to kill flounders. This went on for a week, Fionn and the Feinn challenging him, while he cared not

for them enough to look their way. But at last he was affronted by the rabble that had come to trouble him, and he bethought him that on this morning he would go and would cuddy-cleave a troop or two of them. They saw him coming, but many of the Feinn were away in the hunting hill, and they thought that the Ciuthach would not come their way. He came down through the plain, and as they met him he slashed off their heads till he reached Fionn, the chief of the Feinn, and he stopped him. But if he did, it was not for long, since Fionn was without Mac an Luinn. Oscar and other warriors were at weapon-play with Mac an Luinn on Cuckoo Hill. And, if they were, Fionn was none the better of that. The Ciuthach was driving them backwards without stop. 'Well,' said Fionn, 'good now would be Mac an Luinn'; and he blew the whistle. If he did, Osgar leaped and cried, 'My grandfather is in straits, but if he is, he will not be so long. . . . Slip out, grandfather, and let me with Mac an Luinn in your place.' Mac-an-Luinn was cutting and wounding, and the Ciuthach began to go backwards, and that was a new thing for him. He made for the nearest rock for support, and what with the impetus of him with Osgar and Mac-an-Luinn after him, he went through the rock, and the mark of his buttocks and his shoulders is in the Ciuthach's Rock to this day.)

Mr. Macleod adds: 'Of course no man could overcome the Ciuthach: it was the "uncanny" Mac-an-Luinn that killed him, and not wholly that: it was his own impetus and strength against the rock that killed him. The impression of him left on my mind (through these *Uig sgeulachdan*) is that of a "big" man with a big soul, a man of great strength and prowess, conscious of his own capacities and strength, yet never showing them off.'

It is to be noticed that both the tales given above are current in the parish of Uig: both versions are known to each of the gentlemen who have written down the tradition for me. Yet the conception of the Ciuthach's character differs. In the former he is the aggressor, taking a rather mean advantage of an old feeble man. In the latter he is a proud and noble personage, slow to anger, but pitiless when roused. So far as I can make out, there may be said to be a pro-Ciuthach and an anti-Ciuthach feeling in Uig.

As to the tradition of Eigg, Mr. Kenneth Macleod says:

'I remember distinctly two old people in Eigg—dead some twenty years—talking about "an ciuthach a bha fuireach anns an uaimh" (the *ciuthach* who once lived in the cave). When in Eigg last summer I tried to find out something more about the *ciuthach*, but nobody even recognised the word, except one man who said: "Theirinn ciuthach ri biast de dhuine" (I would apply the term *ciuthach* to a beast of a man). I have heard the word used in that sense elsewhere: "Nach b' e an ciuthach e!" (Is he not a ciuthach!) It is possible that the two Eigg men who spoke of the *ciuthach* in the cave used the word in the sense of "wild man." In Cromarty the word *ciutharn* is applied by the fisher-folk to an unkempt or unpleasant sort of person.'

The Ciuthach is still remembered in Barra, but my sailor informant—a young man—could not give details of the tradition. I have found no tradition of him with Skye people, nor with the people of the mainland. That he was at one time known on the mainland, however, appears from the following statement by Alexander Graham of Duchray, written in 1724: 'On the north side of the Loch (Loch Lomond) and about three miles west from the paroch church,<sup>1</sup> upon a point of land which runs into the Loch called Cashell is the ruins of an old building of a circular shape, and in circumference about sixtie paces built all of prodigious big quhinstone without lyme or cement, the walls in some places of it are about nyne or ten foot high yet standing. And its incredible how such big stones could be reered up by the hands of men. This is called the Gyants Castle and the founder thereof said to be one Keith MacIndoill or Keith the son of Doillus, who is reported to be contemporary with the famous Finmacoell and consequently to have lived in the fifth century of the Christian Epocha.' This Keith, according to Graham, was also credited with the construction of 'ane artificiall Island' in Loch Lomond at a little distance from the point on which the old castle stands.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* of Buchanan.

<sup>2</sup> *Macfarlane's Geographical Collections*, i. 346.

The ruins of this ancient fort may still be seen on Strachashell Point opposite Inchlonaig. It was excavated by Mr. David MacRitchie, and found to contain chambers, like those of the brochs. Its walls and door also resemble those of the brochs, but whether it possessed galleries seems uncertain. Mr. MacRitchie states, on the authority of Buchanan of Auchmar, that the fort was also called *Cairistéal nam Fiann*, of which Duchray's 'Gyants Castle' is possibly a translation.<sup>1</sup> In the light of what follows it will be seen that 'Keith MacIndoill' is to be read as Ciuthach (or Cithich) mac an Doill. Thus the tradition of the fort on Loch Lomond side agrees so far with that of the fort on Borronish in Lewis. Both are named after Ciuthach, who is made contemporary with Finn mac Cumhail.

In the tales of the Fionn-cycle the Ciuthach plays a part in the story of the elopement of Diarmad and Grainne. J. F. Campbell's *Leabhar na Féinne* contains two versions of the ballad 'Is moch a ghoireas a' Chórr,' wherein Diarmad reproaches Grainne for faithlessness in deserting him for the giant. In the second of these Diarmad says :—

An té dhibir rígh na Féinne  
 'S a thug spéis do 'n Fhamhair mhóir (p. 155a).  
 (The woman who forsook the king of the Fiann  
 And gave love to the great giant.)

Grainne replies :—

Ge do dhibir mise Fionn  
 O na b' annsa leam do ghlóir,  
 Cha do thaobh mi am Fámhair treun :  
 Is mór a b' éibhinne do cheól.  
 (Though I did abandon Fionn  
 Since I preferred your speech,  
 I did not turn to the mighty giant :  
 Pleasanter far was your music.)

The first version concludes with the lines, in the mouth of Diarmad :—

Gabhaidh mi riut fein mar mhnaoi,  
 Ged roghnaich thu am Fómhair mór.

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<sup>1</sup> Compare : Tubernafeyne of the grett or kemppis men callit ffenis is ane well (gloss on charter of Alexander II. to the monks of Kinloss, dated 1221).



(I will accept you as my wife  
Though you did choose the great giant.)

The giant's name is not mentioned in the ballads. The arguments prefixed to them, however, give the tradition on that point. 'They [Diarmad and Grainne] came over to Scotland, and on their travelling they found a cave at Lochow side in Argyleshire where a Giant was living named Ciach, meaning fierceness. He and Diarmad began to play on dice; the Gigantic gained the play, and took from Diarmaid his wife (for she rather stay than be travelling any more with Diarmaid), and since he had nothing more to give.'

After this Diarmid wandered about like a beggar, and at last came back to Ciach's cave, where he was recognised by Grainne, fell out with Ciach and killed him. In the fight Grainne took the giant's side and stabbed a knife in Diarmid's thigh. Diarmid went away, leaving Grainne. She followed him, and having overtaken him at Sliabh Gaoil in South Knapdale begged to be forgiven and taken back.

The above is the story of the argument to the first ballad. In that to the second ballad, the giant is called Cithich mac Daol, and the cave is not located.

In August of 1913 my wife and I were taken by Dr. MacArthur, Aberfeldy, to see some forts on the family property of Barbreck on the north side of Loch Awe, near Taychreggan. Two of these are named Dun Mhungain Mór and Dun Mhungain Beag.<sup>1</sup> The third is called Dun Chuthaich or Dun Chaoich (both heard). It is on an eminence right at the back of Taychreggan Hotel. The remains are slight, and neither it nor the other forts seem to have been places of importance. Somewhere near the foot of the hill there is a cave on the loch-side, which is reputed to issue at the Pass of Brander (*Cumhang a' Bhrannraidh*). We heard no further tradition, however. An eminence to the north of Dun Chuthaich is called *Barr na h-Uamha* (Cave-ridge).

In *Tales of the West Highlands* (vol. iii. p. 49), Campbell

<sup>1</sup> Mungan mac Seirc (Gillies, p. 317), or mac Seircein (*Rel. Cel.*, i. 284) was killed by Oscar.

gives a prose version of the tale. In this version the couple go to Carraig an Daimh near Cille Charmaig in Knapdale. The giant is 'bodach mor cragach ris an abradh iad Ciofach mac a' Ghoill' ('a great thickset old fellow called Ciofach, son of the stranger.') Ciofach and Grainne agreed to kill Diarmad, but Diarmad overpowered Ciofach, whereupon Grainne stabbed him in the thigh. Diarmad left, came back after a time, was recognised by Grainne and killed Ciofach. He then left, and Grainne followed after him.

On p. 65, another version says 'a *ciuthach* came into the cave, and Diarmad killed him with a spear, for Grainne was unfaithful even to her lover. When Diarmad gave out the cry of death after his wounding by the poisoned bristle of the boar, Fionn said to Grainne, 'Is that the hardest shriek to thy mind that thou hast ever heard?' 'It is not,' she said, 'but the shriek of the *ciuthach*, when Diarmad killed him.' In a note Campbell adds, 'pronounced *kewach*, described in the Long Island as naked wild men living in caves.'

Independent versions got by the Rev. J. Gregorson Campbell give the same tale with some variation of locality and incident. In one the cave is in Kenavarra Hill in the west end of Tiree. The giant is *Ciuthach mac an Doill* (Ciuthach, son of the blind man). In the other, Ciuthach and Diarmad played *tàileasg* in the *Uamh Mhór* and Ciuthach won. As his prize he asked the woman. Diarmad took off the Ciuthach's head. On the death of Diarmad, Grainne is questioned by Fionn and answers as above, whereupon she is buried alive.<sup>1</sup>

The *New Statistical Account of Argyllshire* mentions (p. 400) that 'Dun Chifie about the middle of Gigha appears to have been a strong fortification. Keefie, the king of Lochlan's son, who occupied this stronghold, was killed there by Diarmid, with whose wife he had run away.' This statement serves as a connecting link with the references that follow to Ciofach, Ciothach, or Ciuthach mac righ Lochlann.

The earliest mention of this character that I have come

<sup>1</sup> *The Fianns*, pp. 53 *seqq.*

across is in the Irish tale entitled ' the Chase of Síd nam Ban Finn ' (written in 1419), edited by Professor Kuno Meyer in the Todd Lecture Series, where he is called Cédach Ciothach.<sup>1</sup> He comes to avenge his brothers on Fionn and the Fian ; but on seeing the hounds and men of the Fian he fell in love with them and stayed with Fionn. He fought on Fionn's side, and finally Emer Glunglas son of Aedh son of Garadh and he fell at each other's hands.

In *Leabhar na Féinne* are given four versions of *Turus Fhinn do Lochlann*, Fionn's expedition to Lochlan. Manus, King of Lochlan, asks :—

An d'thug sibh am ionnsuigh Cithich nam buaidh ?

(Have you brought to me victorious Cithich ?)

Is mise a mharbh Cithich nam buaidh

Thubhairt Mac Cumhail nan arm ruaidh

Air an traigh tha shiar mu thuath

Am Feinne far an do thuit mor shluagh (p. 84a).

('Twas I slew victorious Cithich,

Said Mac Cumhail of red weapons,

On the western strand in the north

Among a warrior troop where many fell.)

In the second version (p. 84 b), the question of Manus is :—

Co mharbh mo mhac-sa Ciothach nam buadh ?

(Who slew my son, victorious Ciothach ?)

And Goll replies that it was he who slew him. The third version (p. 85 b) gives Ceothach, slain by Goll. In the fourth version the name is given as Cithuch and Ciuthich, and he is slain by Diarmad, in a fray (*an iorghuill*).

Another version of *Turus Fhinn* is printed in *Reliquiæ Celticæ*, vol. i. p. 405, from Sir George Mackenzie's Collection, from which I quote the following :

Sin 'n uair thuir Rìgh Lochlain ruinn,

'Fhinn, an d'thug thu leat mo chuid mhac ?

An d'thug thu leat Ciothach mo mhac,

No an d'thug thu leat Beatoir buineach

No Lann nam beud mo mhac eile,

Am feidhnigh phropadh an iorghail ?'

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ceudach mac Rìgh nan Collach (Cedach, son of the king of the men of Coll), *The Fians*, pp. 12, 28, 229.

(’Twas then said the king of Lochlan to us,  
 ‘Have you taken with you my sons ?  
 Have you taken Ciuthach my son,  
 Or Beatoir buineach,  
 Or Lann of deeds, my other son,  
 Who in a warrior band would support the fray ?’)

The king is told that Ciuthach has been slain by Raoine,  
 Beatoir by Diarmad,—

Air traigh Chliathan fuidh thuath  
 Am feidhnigh mu’n do thuit am mór shluagh.

(On Clian strand in the north,  
 Among a warrior band around whom  
 fell the great host.)

Lann, who is now called *an Lann*, was slain by Oscar.

Yet another version appears in the ballad of *An t-Athach Iodhna*,<sup>1</sup> the argument prefixed to which states: ‘S ann tamull beag an diaigh latha Blàr na tràghad a thachair an eachdruì so a leanas,’ (The events in the following account took a little time after the day of the Battle on the Shore, *i.e.* traigh Chliathan). Here the name of the King of Lochlann’s sons are Ciochnais, Gormshuil, am Biugal-briagha, slain by Goll, Oscar and Diarmad respectively.

The tale or ballad of the Battle on the Shore, in which the King of Lochlann’s sons were slain, is printed in *Rel. Celt.*, i. 415-419, from Sir George Mackenzie’s *Collection*, and also in the *MacCallum Collection*, p. 171. In the former it is entitled *Dan Eibhin &* (sic). The argument prefixed states: ‘Thachair an Fhein air la araid ri gaisgich ro-mhòir g’am b’ainm Eibhin agus Trostan is thug iad cath fiadhaich ri cheil air traigh Chlian,’ (‘The Feinn on a certain day happened on (two) exceeding great warriors called Eibhin [Eyvind] and Trostan, and they fought a fierce battle on the shore of Clian’). The ballad begins:—

Air bhas gus an deach’ an Fhiann  
 Cha d’thug i ceum teichidh riabh  
 Ach nodag beag air an traigh  
 Air an taobh siar do dhun Gallan.

<sup>1</sup> *Rel. Celt.*, i. 256.

Cha d'fhuair sinn Ciuthach 's an duin  
 Nam faigheadh bu mhiste dhuinn;  
 Fhuair sinn iomanadh agus gràin  
 Bho Eibhin agus bho Trostan.

(Till the Fiann-band died, it never took a step in flight, save only a little *nodag* on the shore westward of Dun Gallan. We did not find Ciuthach in the fort; had we found him, it had been the worse for us. We got driving and horror at the hands of Eibhin and Trostan.)

The MacCallums' version is styled *Dàn Chiuthaich*. It has no argument, beyond a comparison of the Fiann with Wellington and Buonaparte, to the disadvantage of the latter commanders. The two versions are similar, except for a slight difference in arrangement and that the MacCallums' version ends in a 'Macphersonic' style with reference to 'Seallama' 'Ardbheinn' and 'slige creachainn.' In brief the ballads run as follows: Goll engages Eibhin; Oscar engages Trostan. Eibhin and Trostan get the better not only of Goll and Oscar, but of the rest of the Fiann—Clanna Morna, Clanna Sgainne, Clanna Ceardal, Ryn mac Fhinn, and the (three) Bailbh. The Fiann retreat. Oscar goes against Mac an Nuamharan (Mackenzie) or Mac Nuadh-rain (MacCallum), and slays him. Goll bids Oscar take the head to Fionn. Oscar refuses, and buries head and body in a grave seven feet deep. The Fiann in general, including Ossian, threaten Oscar; the general *mêlée* which is imminent is avoided through Oscar's self-restraint, aided by Fergus (Filidh). Ciuthach (returns, and finding his comrades or brothers slain) sends a message to Fionn demanding the heads of Oscar, Goll, and Conan. This he demanded for seven days. (Meantime Oscar is absent elsewhere.) Ciuthach and Fionn fight (or are about to fight). Oscar returns on the seventh day at the critical moment, and addressing 'Ciuthach mac an Nuamfhir' (or 'C. mac Nuarain' in the MacCallums' version) declares that it is he (Oscar) who has slain his brothers and the clan of his grandmother, and though Ciuthach were the name of each and every man who came across the sea eastward, none would escape him. Thereupon Oscar smites Ciuthach's head off

in presence of the Fiann of Erin. Incidentally it appears that Ciuthach had carried off Emer, the wife of Ossian. When Emer saw the head of Ciuthach on the moor she wept tears of blood. The MacCallums' version has it that the Fiann sailed to the city of Nuaran, and Oscar had to wife the king's daughter. Sir George Mackenzie's version mentions Dun Chiuthaich, the other does not.

From the above *résumé* it is, I think, evident that the Uig Fenian tales, as given above, in which Oscar comes to succour Fionn against the Ciuthach, are survivals of the heroic ballads recorded by Sir George Mackenzie and Hugh and John MacCallum, which latter, it should be stated, was communicated to the MacCallums by George Mackenzie in Gruineard, Lochbroom.

The spellings of the name are as follows: Cithach (Ciothach) (*Síd na mBan Finn*); Cithich, Ciach, Ciothach, Ceothach, Cithuch, Ciuthich (*Leabhar na Féinne*); Ciofach, Ciuthach (*West Highland Tales*); Ciuthach (*The Fians*); Ciochnais (*Rel. Celt.*, i. 258); Ciothach (*ib.*, i. 407); Ciuthach (*ib.*, i. 415-419); Ciuthach (MacCallum); Keith (*Macfarlane's Geog. Coll.*, i. 326); Keefie (*N. Stat. Acc. of Argyll*, p. 400); Ciuthach (present day).

At the present day, and once in the *W. H. T.* and once in the *MacCallum Collection*, Ciuthach is used as a generic term or common noun, with the article. Elsewhere it is a proper noun. In the expression Cétach Ciothach, the latter term is an adjective.

The name of Cormac Mac Art's chief druid was Ciothruadh or Cithruadh.<sup>1</sup> Cioth Flann is the name of a mythical king of Ireland, who is yet to reign.<sup>2</sup> In Gaelic, these are two words *cith*, one meaning 'a shower,' the other 'rage, ardour.' The names Cithruadh and Cioth Flann both apparently mean 'red wrath.' If our hero's name is Gaelic, it may be from this latter, meaning 'the wrathful or raging one.' But it may be suspected to lean rather on Welsh *go-gof* (*go*=sub, *+cof*, cave); *ceu*, a cave; Breton *kéô*, a cave, with the meaning 'cave-man,' 'troglodyte.' It

<sup>1</sup> O'Curry.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*

is possible that (*f*)ach of Ciuthach, Ciofach should be compared with the ending *-veccas* in the Ogham *Lugurvecca*, Gaulish—*vic-es*; O. Ir., *fichim*, fight.<sup>1</sup>

The Ciuthach is described as: Cétach Cithach mac rí Lochlann (*Sid na mBan Finn*); Cithich mac righ Lochlunn (*L. na F.*, 84, 86); Cithich mac Daol (*L. na F.*, p. 154); Ciofach mac a' Ghoill (*W. H. T.*, iii. 51); Ciothach mac righ Lochlann (*Rel. Celt.*, i. 407); Ciuthach mac an Nuamhfhir (*ib.*, 418, 419); Ciuthach Mac Nuarain (MacCallum, 175); Ciuthach mac an Doill (*Fians*, 53); Keith mac Indoill, a giant (*Macf. Geog. Coll.*, i. 346); Keefie, the king of Lochlann's son (*N. Stat. Acc. of Argyll*, 400); foghmhair mór, f. treun, a great giant, a mighty giant (*L. na F.*, 154, 155).<sup>2</sup> J. F. Campbell records that in the Long Island the Ciuthaich were regarded as naked wild men dwelling in caves (*W. H. T.*, iii. 65). The tradition of Eigg, as given by Mr. Kenneth Macleod, bears this out. In the Diarmad story the Ciuthach is a cave-dweller. On Loch Lomond side he is connected with a broch-like structure, possessing chambers, which are elsewhere called in Gaelic *uamh*.<sup>3</sup> In Uig, Lewis, his name goes with a fort which Mr. David MacRitchie describes as being similar in plan and structure to the Loch Lomond fort.<sup>4</sup> The Gigha fort is not known as a broch. Diarmad when living with Grainne in the Ciuthach's cave complains:—

Mar a bhios an uaimh thaisgte  
Dhomhsa ni aobhar ghàire,  
Ag coimhead uamha bige:  
Do mhilleas mis', a Ghrainne.

(The way in which I am stowed in a cave  
To me is no cause of laughter,  
Guarding a little cave:  
Thou hast undone me, O Grainne.<sup>5</sup>)

<sup>1</sup> Cf. John MacNeill, *Notes on Irish Ogham Inscriptions*.

<sup>2</sup> Ceothach, Gillies's *Collection*, p. 251; Ciothach *Duanaire Finn*, p. 26, both warriors of the Fiann, but without further designation.

<sup>3</sup> *E.g.* in *Ach na h-uamhach*, cave field, so called from the broch near the farmhouse; now Birchfield, Strathkyle, Ross-shire.

<sup>4</sup> *The Antiquary*, December 1906.

<sup>5</sup> Dean of Lismore, *Rel. Celt.*, i. 89.



Here one recalls the incidents of the occupation of the broch of Mousa in Shetland by eloping couples, first by Bjorn Brynulfson and Thora, Roald's daughter, before 900 A.D.; second by Earl Erlend Ungi and Margaret, widow of Maddad, Earl of Athol, more than two hundred years subsequently. We may compare also the expression of Gildas, who writes: 'De artissimis foraminum cavernaculis fusci vermiculorum cunei, tetri Scottorum Pictorumque greges,' (swarthy columns of vermin from their little caves of very narrow outlet, loathsome hoards of Picts and Scots).<sup>1</sup> A somewhat later writer than Gildas speaks in the same strain of 'populi bestiales Pictorum,' the beastly tribes of Picts, as issuing from the bags and sacks of the North,<sup>2</sup> expressions curiously similar to the Eigg man's description of a Ciuthach. Among the phrases descriptive of the Ciuthach, that of Mac an Nuaimhfhir may certainly mean 'the Giant's son.'<sup>3</sup> But the writers, and probably also the reciters, of the tales clearly had in their minds 'son of the Cave-man' as the meaning.

In the ballads, Ciuthach of Dun Chiuthaich is associated with Eibhinn and Trostan. One of these heroes, apparently Trostan, is designated Mac an Nuamharan, which makes him Ciuthach's brother. Trostan is a distinctively Pictish name. It occurs in at least two place names in Lewis. There was a Trostansfjord in Iceland. Eibhinn is Norse Eyvind. A chief of that name accompanied King Magnus Barelegs on his famous expedition to the Sudreyar in 1098, when he fought a battle in Lióðhús (Lewis) and harried the country. This Eyvind, called Olnbogi, was the king's high steward.<sup>4</sup> A younger contemporary of his was

<sup>1</sup> Gildas, ed. Mommsen, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Eddi's *Life of St. Wilfred* (c. A.D. 700); quoted by Skene, *Celt. Scot.*, i. 261.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Tigh 'n Fhuamhair, Giant's House, the Gaelic of Novar, in Ross-shire.

<sup>4</sup> In this expedition it is recorded that Magnus seized Lögman Guthrodson, king of the Western Isles. It seems fairly certain that it is this Lögman who is referred to in the ballads as Laomunn Mór (Big Lamond). He is designated Mac Coineal (*Rel. Celt.*, i. 395)—(i.e. Mac Dhomhnaill) and Laomunn mór mac an Nuaimhfhir



Eyvind Melbrigdi's son, a chief evidently of Celtic descent on his father's side, who followed the banner of Earl Paul Hakonsson. The name Eyvind must have been well known in the west.

The geography of the Battle of the Shore, where Eibhinn and Trostan were engaged, is vague. It was fought on Traigh Chliathan (*Rel. Celt.*, i. 407) or Traigh Chlian (*ib.*, 415), on the west side of Dun Gallan, in the north. In one of the ballads of *Leabhar na Féinne* it is located,

Air tràigh a' Chliabhain fa thuath  
Siar o rudha na mórchuan.

(On the beach of Cliavan in the north,  
Westwards from the point of the great seas (? inlets)).

This sounds as if meant for Ardnamurchan.<sup>1</sup> Traigh Chliathan recalls Tonn Cliodhna, Cleena's wave, but this celebrated wave was in the very south of Munster. Uig, in Lewis, possesses both Dùn a' Chiuthaich and Gallon Head, westwards of it, also Uaigh a' Chiuthaich, but I have not heard of Dun Gallan or Traigh Chliathan there. The difficulty is not lessened by the expression put in Oscar's mouth in *Dàn Chiuthaich* or *Dàn Eibhinn* :—

Ge bu Chiuthach ainm gach fhir  
'S na thainig dhiubh air sàile soir.

(Though Ciuthach were the name of each man,  
For as many of them as have come on sea eastwards.)

Unless, indeed, we may translate 'on the eastern sea.' It

(*ibid.*, 420). In Gillies (p. 302) the title of the ballad is 'Laoidh Laomuinn Mhic an Uaimh-fhir.'

Laoch a chuir Alba fo chàin  
Le neart a dhà laimh 's a chleas.

(A hero who put Alba under tribute  
By the strength of his two hands and his feats.)

In the Campbell collection (*Rel. Celt.*, i. 214) he is styled 'mac Rìgh nuaidh.' In Gillies, p. 301, 'Laomunn mac Roidh' (? mac Goraidh). Laomunn, Ciuthach, and Trostan are the only heroes designated as Mac an Nuamh fhir. Laomunn Mór was killed by Oscar, according to the ballads.

<sup>1</sup> The popular, though erroneous, explanation of Ardnamurchan is 'Point of the great seas.' The cape is called, pleonastically, *Rudha Àird-na-murchan*.

is remarkable that among the forts of Colonsay there are Dun Eibhinn and Dun Gallan. On the north side of the latter is a beach, where, according to Colonsay tradition, a great battle was fought. The men of Colonsay used faggots of blackthorn in the fight, whence it is called 'Latha Chatha nan Sguab,' the day of the battle of the Sheaves. This beach must on no account be dug, for it contains quantities of human bones. There is Dùn nan Gallan in Loch an Dùin, Bornish, South Uist, also Dun a' Ghallain in N.W. of North Uist. The ultimate reference may be to the battle fought by King Magnus in Lewis. But perhaps it is useless to try to locate the site of this 'dim battle in the West.'

Ciuthach's relations with the Fiann, of whom he is always made a contemporary, are hostile, except that in *Síd nam Ban Finn*, Cithach (if indeed he is to be equated with Ciuthach) becomes a friend. In the Diarmad tale he carries off Grainne. In *Dàn Chiuthaich* he carries off Emer, the wife of Ossian. Both ladies prefer him to their own lords.

In view of the fact that traces of Ciuthach are found, one may say, from Clyde to the Butt of Lewis, it is clear that at one time he played a great rôle in the traditions of the West. Among all the confusion of the traditions as they have come down to us, there may be, and probably is, an ultimate historical basis. It may not be unreasonable to surmise that the Ciuthach was a broch-dweller, who degenerated in the tales, and perhaps in fact, into a cave-dweller. His appearance as *Mac rìgh Lochlann* may be due to confusion with another personage altogether, or to the tendency on the part of the Gael to rank all their opponents on the west as Lochlannaich. Throughout the references to him there runs the feeling that Ciuthach was a hero, or the hero, of a race different from the Gael. This feeling comes out most clearly in the second of the two Uig tales given above, which seems to have originated among his admirers. The other accounts of him are rather from the standpoint of his enemies. The conclusion suggested is that Ciuthach was a hero of the Picts.