



Ana / *Danu

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ANA / *DANU

INTRODUCTION

Some people may be amazed by the subject of this study when many searchers seem to think that the problem of Ana / Dana is solved: Ana is Dana. But fortunately everybody do not agree with this: “[...], Anu, who was especially connected with Munster, was considered to be *mater deorum hibernensium*, while the deities of Ireland were known as *Tuatha Dé Danann* [...]. . There has been a great deal of confusion between Anu and Danu and it is in question whether they are actually distinct persons in origin or not¹.” But does one need to be a specialist to notice that Ana is related to Neolithic, milk and the country, whereas *Danu is mother of three gods related to warrior tribes, invading an island.

In this study we have chosen to follow the steps of the two characters, each one separately. The first one *Danu will bring us to the great rivers of Siberia, the second one Ana till the Hittites and Neolithic farmers of Anatolia. But obviously both are said to be Mother Goddesses. One more remark: we think to have succeeded in getting rid of the legend of Anna’s early Christian cult in Brittany.

*DANU

The first thing to notice when examining Dana’s name closely is that it is found nowhere in the Old Irish texts. From the genitive Danann, as in the well-known Tri Dé Danann for example or Tuath Dé Danann², the nominative *Danu has been built up again. The Dana entry is not even found in the Dictionary of the Irish Language neither in the Lexique Etymologique de l’Irlandais Ancien, only *Danu wherefrom the reader is sent to the genitive Danann. The form *Danu is very close to the hypothetic Indo-European *Donu ha *Donuva both deduced from Indo-European actual languages. Concerning the invisible character under this name we only know that she is a goddess, moreover a prehistoric watercourse which would have been named *Donu and personalized in several Indo-European civilizations³.” The Tri Dé Danann are well known : Brian, Iuchar and Iucharbha, as *Danu’s sons, herself Delbaeth’s daughter and also Tuireann Picreo’s wife, himself her father “because Tuireann Picreo is only an other name of Dealbáeth⁴.”

Etymology

*Danu is a Mother Goddess whose name is derived from watercourses known by searchers as Don, Dnieper, Donets, Dniester, all names built on Danuvian roots. The list can be lengthened with the Proto-Indo-European *Deh3nu or Dehanu. Although there is a large consensus about

¹ ROSS, Ann. Pagan Celtic Britain. London ; New York, 1967, p. 209. Sjoestedt, 1949: 24 f.

PEB, Cw. In KOCH, John T. *Celtic culture*. Santa Barbara, Cal. ; Denver, Col., 2006. ANU [...]. « Danu, Danann or Donann sometimes alternates with Anu as a variant form, but was probably originally a different mythological figure whose name has a distinctly separate origin”, p. 78.

² LAMBERT, P.-Y. LEIA (Lexique Etymologique de l’Irlandais Ancien). Paris ; Dublin, 1996 ; D-24 : « *Danu est parfois comparé au nom de déesse *Anu*; mais il semble préférable de l’identifier au gall. *Don*, nom de la mère de nombreux dieux dans la mythologie du Mabinogi : c’est la déesse-mère, SJOESTEDT, M.-L. Dieux et Héros des Celtes, 35, 52. »

³ DEXTER, M. Whence the goddesses. New York, Oxford, Beijing, 1990, p. 45

⁴ STERCKX, Claude. Contribution à l’étude des concepts théogoniques dans la mythologie des Celtes pré-chrétiens. Bruxelles, Université Libre, 1973 ; p. 12-13.

*Danu's philological analysis, this does not prevent the scientists to stay uneasy about the character herself:

“In summary, one may deduce that there was a prehistoric, probably Neolithic tribe, which inhabited an area near a watery place, perhaps river or stream. This water became personified as a feminine deity, and the goddess gave her name to the tribe. The tribe was probably not Indo-European but one with which the Proto-Indo-Europeans came in contact early on⁵.”

It is well known today that Indo-Iranians separated from Proto-Indo-Europeans at the end of the third millennium B.C. Anyway, the scientific unity on *Donu's etymology broke finally because of new phonological considerations :

The Slavic river-names *Don*, *Dnieper*, and *Dniestr* are borrowings from Scythian **Dānu*, **Dānu apara* ‘upper river’, **Dānu nazdya* ‘lower river’. [...], Welsh *Donwy* leaves no doubt that Celtic and Iranian had the same inherited river-name. Despite the views of earlier scholars [...], who took Danube to be Iranian in origin, a Celtic source cannot be ruled out on linguistics grounds, and the name *Dānuvius* is first attested in the Celtic-speaking western region of the Danube basin⁶.

Where is the problem then? The Danube's name <**Dānouio*- has been associated with *Danu, the Irish Goddess' name. Here is the point, following the author: “the Irish has a short *a* or short *o*, the Welsh a Celtic short *o*, and *Danube* < **Dānouio*- a long *ā*.⁷” However, when one remember that *Danu is not a Celtic word, but, as we have seen, a word adapted in Celtic from the Indo-European *Donu, and “because the Danuva tribe were borrowings into Celtic (rather than formulated in Celtic), as well as the other IE languages, one does not have to account so closely for the vowels as one would if *Danu had been of Celtic origin⁸.”

*Origin of the word *Donu*

In order to go forward regarding this point, one has to turn on Neolithic Siberia. When one try to understand early Evenk concepts, there is a word often met with: *buga* meaning the world around, the world as a whole. Everything around the Tungus, earth, living place, taiga, country, region was *Buga* or *Dunne* :

The stem *dun* || *don* is apparently of very ancient origin, and existed before the crystallization of the linguistic stocks [which form the basis of] modern language families. In Sanskrit the word *dhuni* meant “river.

With this form *dhuni* one recognize the Proto-Indo-European form **deh3nu* mentioned previously⁹. Vasilevich explains to us:

“A. Afanasyev points out that [the] word *dhuni* was introduced into the Slavic languages from the east (“Don,” “Danube,” and, in general, “river” in the songs of the Poles and Galicians). [...]. As, it developed further, its original meaning,

⁵ DEXTER, Miriam Robbins. Reflections on the goddess *Donu. *The Mankind Quarterly*, XXXI, 1&2, 1990, p. 58

⁶ CW Peb. Ibid. « The Danube (Dānuvius)”, p. 569.

⁷ CW, *ibid.* However, the *o* of Don (see n. 2) is long.

⁸ DEXTER, Miriam. Private e-mail.

⁹ CW, *ibid.*, who finds better **deh2nu*-

“surrounding nature” (mountains, rivers, forests) was restricted differently in the different linguistic stocks: in some to “land” (mountains, forest), in others to “river”¹⁰.

River banks used to be inhabited because of the fish and the animals in the neighbouring woods. The elk would come to quench their thirst in them. Therefore we think to have found a tribe which would meet Miriam Dexter’s requirements, the Evenk of the Podkamennaya Tunguska¹¹ for instance. The Evenk have produced the concept *Bugady Enintyn* : mother of the universe, the plants, the animals, and the people, which explains her animal and human shapes.

“The Evenks of the Podkamennaya Tunguska called by the name “mother” the taiga, mountains, and rivers, and even their place of settlement, saying of the latter that it is their clan mother-land¹².”

The same could be said also of Evenk Yenisei of the north, for whom the earth is a mother and call her *dunne enin* “mother earth”. As we can see it is easy to give a Tungusic origin even a far one to the Indo-European *Donu which will split diachronically later on in two Celtic roots, Brythonic Don and Gaelic *Donu / *Danu.

ANA

This does not bring us back the name Ana, which could derive by analogy from Nana or from Anāhita as well:

“If Tanaïs and Dānav are, as it seems, borrowings to the pre-Iranian languages, one may find may be in Tanaï- / Nanaï an old name of water or of river changed later as Nana as if it were a Lallname¹³.”

And although we know that “Tanaïs, the name of the Great Goddess in Asia Minor, means in the Scythians country the river which later on will be called Don¹⁴”, there is no linguistic evidence as far as we know, which would enable to pass from Nana to Ana or from Anāhita who is also an Indo-European river goddess to Ana.

In Hittite though, which is the oldest written Indo-European language, we have *Hanna-* for ‘grandmother’, “the name of the goddess *HannaHanna* which is built up by the doubling of Hittite substantive *hanna-* c. ‘grand-mother’ and means probably ‘great-grand-mother’ or ‘ancestress’¹⁵.” *Hanna-* became ‘*anna*’ for “mother”, a hypocoristic as seen earlier. The Hittite therefore gives us the best way to explain Ana (Anna)’s Celtic origin till now.

¹⁰ VASILEVICH G.M. Early concepts about the universe among the Evenks (materials) in *Studies in Siberian Shamanism*; Toronto, 1963; p. 77, n.6

¹¹ A Tunguska tributary

¹² ANISIMOV, A.F. Cosmological concepts of the peoples of the North, in *Studies in Siberian shamanism, ibid.*, p. 175

¹³ PRZYLUŠKI, Jean. La grande déesse. Paris : Payot, 1950 *Ibid.*, p. 37

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ KELLERMAN, Galina. La déesse Hannahanna, in *Hethitica*, VII, 1987, p. 110.

Contrary to the goddess Dana, the form Ana is testified in the Dictionary of the Irish Language : “**Ana** name of a goddess [...] : A. .i. mater deorum Hibernensium¹⁶.” She is a goddess and a mother as *Danu. Sovereign but regional in the same time, she personifies Ireland : *Anann .i. Eireann*¹⁷.

A very well known detail helps us to distinguish between the two goddesses: Dā Chīc[h] nAnund or Da Chigh Anann¹⁸. On top of being national she is also regional. How can we do in order to conciliate these two aspects of her social role and nature? In the CMT we know that the TDD have no knowledge of agriculture. This enables Dumézil to write :

“[...] before the battle, the Tutha Dé Danann did not have all the competences necessary in a sedentary community: they had command of druidic magic, warrior prowess, all the arts and crafts, and the techniques of medicine and smithcraft, but they lacked competence in agriculture¹⁹.”

This remarks is followed by another one on the Indo-European teomachy or gods war : “which he interprets as a war between representatives of the first two functions and those of the third, leading to the incorporation of the later into the community of the former²⁰.”

This is what happened to the defeated: they have been incorporated in the Tuatha Dé Danann’s community. Their Neolithic agricultural deities also known sometimes as two hills symbolizing the milk of the earth as if it were a mother. This tribal “native” deity has been given the Celtic name Ana and be raised to the level of the island, symbolising now Irish sovereignty as becomes a warrior people. Ana will take place *Danu’s social function. The process at least fits in the concepts of the History of Religions. One must keep in mind that most goddesses assimilated into Indo-European pantheons have their origin in neolitik Europa and the Near East, not in the Indo-Europeans²¹. Their origin does not mean their name. They have been assimilated in the “Celtic social organisation,” a syncretism constituted by the three Dumézil’s functions, obvious in the three *Danu’ sons for instance: Brian, Iucharba and Iuchair, in which remain the archaic traces of the Indo-European twin brothers or Dioscures²².

*Mingling Ana / *Donu*

I made a rapid survey in part 7 of the Lebor Gabála Erenn, and listed the phrases mentioning Ana: out of 6 occurrences²³, I found only one mingling Danann²⁴ with Ana:

¹⁶ STOKES, Whitley, Ed. *Sanas Chormaic* = Cormac’s glossary. Calcutta, 1868, p. 4

¹⁷ QUIN. *Dictionary of the Irish Language*. Dublin, 1998. “O’Cl.”, p. 40.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*,

¹⁹ Ó CATHASAIGH, Tomás. *Cath Maige Tuired as exemplary myth*, in *Folia Gadelica*. Cork, 1983, p. 8 quotes (n. 43, p. 17) *Jupiter, Mars, Quirinus* (Paris 1941) 171-2, *Mythe et épopée* (Paris 1986) 289-90.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ DEXTER, M. *Whence the goddesses*. New York, Oxford, Beijing, 1990 ; p. 51.

²² GUYONVARCH, Christian-J. *Textes mythologiques irlandais* 1. Rennes, 1980. « Dagda et Ogme, qui sont deux « frères », forment le dyptique de la grande divinité double correspondant à Mitra-Varuna en définition védique ». [...]. « Lug, Dagda-Ogme forment la triade fondamentale du panthéon », p. 98.

²³ MACALISTER, Robert Alexander Stewart. *Lebor Gabála Érenn, Part IV, Levrenn XLI*. Irish Texts Society : Dublin, 1941; pp. 123 (x 2), 155, 161, 183, 189.

²⁴ CAREY, John. *Tuath Dé in Celtic culture*, Santa Barbara, Vol. V, 2006. It should be noted that the confusion between the two names occur with “the variant *Tuatha Dé Danann* [...] of the later Middle Ages, [succeeding to] *Tuath(a) Dé Donann*, [after] the sporadic shift *o > a* characteristic of the modern Gaelic languages” occurred; p. 1693.

“The Morrigu, daughter of Delbaeth, was mother of the other sons of Delbaeth, Brian, Iucharba, and Iuchair: and it is from her additional name “Danann” the Paps of Ana in Luachair are called, as well as the Tuatha De Danann²⁵.”

I extended the survey to 8 other writings : Keating, Cath Maige Tuired, Coir Anmann, Cormac’s glossary, O’Clery’s Irish glossary, Eriu XIII, O’Donovan, hag O’Davoren’s glossary, all chosen in entries Ana and *Danu of the Dictionary of the Irish Language. In Keating I have found “dá chich Dhanann²⁶” in O’Donovan “Dá chich Danainne, *i.e.* the two paps of Danann²⁷”, and in Sanas Chormaic, again on the part of O’Donovan “Ana, or as she is most usually called Danann, [...]”. That is only three confusions, on the part of two recent authors (without forgetting Macalister himself who mingles the names twice²⁸). On the other hand, out of 9 occurrences I have found 8 times *Danu as the Tri Dé Danann’s mother in the LGE part 7²⁹. Here is the phrase which best characterises *Danu in my view:

“The six sons of Delbaeth, s. Ogma s. Elada s. delbaeth s. Net were Fiachna Ollom Indui, Brian, Iucharba, Iuchar, Donann daughter of the same Delbaeth was mother of the last three. Of her are named the three gods of Dana, and the Tuatha De Danann, and the Hill of the Three Gods. And that Delbaeth had the name of Tuirell Biccreeo³⁰.”

Let us now compare the two characters:

*DANU	ANA
Delbaeth / Tuirell Biccreeo’s Daughter and Housewife	
Mother-Goddess	Mother-Goddess
Mother of three sons – (the future TDD)	Mother of the Gods of Ireland (the TDD)
Hill of the Three Gods	Two Hills of Ana
	Water and Milk

It seems obvious that *Danu is earlier than Ana or else how could the Tuatha De Danann exist if there had not been before them the three gods named after their mother: Trí Dé Danann? “They [Brian and Iuchar and Iucharba] were the three gods of Dana, from whom were named the Tuatha De Danann, [...]”.³¹ In our view, Ana as *Mater deorum hibernensium* plays the same role of Mother Goddess as *Danu but in a previously nomadic society now settled on farmers land after the final victory of CMT 1 and 2.

Chronology

We cannot give dates to the Tuatha Dé Danann because these mythological texts are no ordinary ones to read. All the same the Dagda’s cauldron in CMT2 is in brass³² (or bronze)

²⁵ MACALISTER, *ibid.*, p. 189.

²⁶ KEATING, Geoffrey. The history of Ireland. In *Irish Texts Society* : London, 1902, p. 214, book I, l. 93.

²⁷ O’DONOVAN, John. Supplement to O’REILLY, Edward. An Irish-English dictionary. Dublin, 19..., p. 614.

²⁸ MACALISTER, *ibid.*, p. 103. See D.A. Binchy in *Celtica* Vol. II, p. 195-209.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 129, 133, 135, 153, 157, 161, 163, 193, (217 is not clear).

³⁰ *Ibid.* p. 161.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

³² GRAY Elizabeth A. Cath Maige Tuired. Naas, 1982. “Crédne [...]. A gold, silver, and bronze smith (*cerd*). Crédne’s epithet, *cerd*, “craftsman, artisan,” is used of a gold and silver smith or a worker in bronze or brass,” p. 120.

which can be dated no earlier than the tenth or even twelfth century BC³³. But we find “iron³⁴” in the first battle of Moytura (between the TDD and the Fir Bolg), the language of which is more recent³⁵.

But there is another archaeological information in CMT1 about where the first sheep that landed in Ireland:

“The wind freshened, and the storm drove Gann and Sengann till they put in at Inber Douglas, where Corcamruad³⁶ and Corcabaisginn meet. There they landed, and this is the first place to which sheep were brought in Ireland, and Sheep’s height is its name³⁷.”



Figure 4.2 - **Contemplating some awful(ly interesting) vistas**³⁸
Neolithic settlement in Ireland and Western Britain. Oxford, 2003.

This event brings us back to about the fourth millennium BC that is the beginning of Neolithic in Ireland. In Corcomroe Co. Clare (Munster) they still take care of sheep³⁹ today. Killarney, Co. Kerry is still in Munster where also lies “Dá Chích Anann”, the two fabulous hills: “There

³³ KOCH, John Thomas. An atlas for Celtic studies. Oxford, 2007 : “Late Bronze Age Irish cauldrons [...] 12th to 7th century BC.” p. 136

CUNLIFFE Barry. Facing the ocean. Oxford, 2001. “Cauldrons seem to have originated in Ireland in the tenth century BC”, p. 284.

³⁴ MALLORY, J.P. The Indo-Europeanization of Atlantic Europe, in KOCH, CUNLIFFE *Celtic from the West 2*. Oxford; Oakville, CT, 2013 “[...] the earliest silver known in Ireland does not date earlier than the Late Bronze Age [...]. [...], we do not find the use of lead in Irish metallurgy until about c. 1500 onwards. [...]. Proto-Celtic *isarno ‘iron’ [...] should date to about the 1st millennium BC. p. 28. See also KOCH, *ibid.*, p. 3.

³⁵ FRAZER, *ibid.*, “a text which may, in parts, go back to the early Mlr. Period.”, p. 3

³⁶ LEWIS, Samuel. A topographical dictionary of Ireland, Vol. 1. London, 1839, p. : « Abbey, a parish and village, in the barony of Burren, county of Clare. [...]»

³⁷ FRAZER, *ibid.*, p. 13

³⁸ TRESSET, Anne. French Connections II: of cows and men in *Neolithic Settlement in Ireland and Western Britain* / School of archaeology and palaeoecology (Belfast). Oxford, 2003 ; p. 24.

³⁹ LEWIS, *ibid.* : «Large quantities of com, butter, sheep, and pigs are shipped here [Burren] [...] » .

is a stream running between the hills. One half flows north into a small lake called Lough Nageeha and the other half flows south into the Clydagh River⁴⁰.” The presence of water which is never noticed, is nevertheless as much important as the famous two paps, from the point of view of a farmer landing in a new land. All the animals that the Neolithic people have brought with them on the island and in Europe on top of agriculture, sheep, cattle and goat produce milk. So that water can be associated with the milk they get from their beasts. They came to Ireland from the Atlantic shores as we know. In Armorica the “Milk Virgins⁴¹” were known as the “Fountain Mothers” round Briec. This evidences the bond between water and milk for the people. Around Carhaix⁴²: “It was the nurses’ duty to clear and clean the water basin and then to throw needles in it from their blouse as a gift, and recite this short prayer :

*Lady of the Frount, mother and Virgin
Good health to the child, and to us milk⁴³!”*



Two breasts close to the chamber

<http://www.sherry29.com/article-mougau-bihan-85678001.html>

Commana in the Are mountains is a good example of the complex because of the name Ana in the name, but also because of the Neolithic grave called “Ti lia ven⁴⁴” in Mougev Vihan dated to the 3rd millenium BC⁴⁵, which has been built close to the source of a watercourse,

⁴⁰ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paps_of_Anu

⁴¹ AR BRAZ, Anatole. Les saints Bretons d’après la tradition populaire en Cornouaille (1893-1894), in *Magies de la Bretagne*, Paris, 1994 : « C’est à elle que les nourrices accouraient, naguère, la Vierge des sources étant aussi la « Mère du lait ». » ; p. 868

⁴² *Ibid.* : « Il n’était pas dans le pays de mère ni de nourrice qui ne se crût tenue de s’y rendre une fois l’an invoquer ou remercier la « Vierge au lait » connue sous le nom de « Mère aux sources ». Des sources il en jaillit de toutes parts dans le petit chemin pierreux et encaissé qui descend vers l’oratoire. Leur eau canalisée, venait remplir un bassin circulaire creusé dans l’enclos béni » ; p. 934.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, « Itrôn ar Frount, mamm ha gwerc’hès, / Yéched d’ar buguel ha d’emp les! »

⁴⁴ LE GOFFIC, Michel. Commana et les monts d’Arrée, Rennes, 1984, p. 7.

HEMON, Roparz. Geriadur istorel ar brezhoneg. Levrenn III, 1995-1998. (?) **liac’h** f. pierre plate, mégalithe. (p. 1773). (?) **liac’hven** f. pierre plate, mégalithe. (p. 1774).

⁴⁵ L’HELGOUARC’H, Jean in [<http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Commana>].

called the Mougau⁴⁶. On the northern pillar of the passage grave⁴⁷ can be found the breasts of a Mother-Goddess or “stela idol” as it is called by archaeologists. The name Commanna is usually analysed this way : Komm means “valley”, which suits well “the high place of the village between two nascent hills⁴⁸”, and Ana (or Anna)⁴⁹.

With this name we have to face immediately the problem of Christian Anne whose cult would have been earlier in Brittany than anywhere else. This is the way after Lallemand⁵⁰: in 610 saint Colomban landed in Nantes for Ireland on a ship coming from the island to bring goods to the harbour, and may be also some pilgrim to the Vannes country, who had been to Jerusalem with saint Arculphe⁵¹ on saint Anne’s and Joachim’s grave⁵². Following saint Anne’s words herself who appeared to Nicolazic for the first time in August 1622, a small chapel had been built in honour to Anna at the time in the field called the ‘Bocenno’⁵³, close to a source⁵⁴, before the very existence of Kêr Anna. “It’s been 924 years and 6 months since it has been ruined⁵⁵” said Anna to Nicolazic, that is the 25 of January 700.

First of all Lallemand makes a Breton out of Arculfe, and of Adamnan an abbot from saint Colomba instead of Iona. Secondly he deduces that the idea to build a sanctuary to Anna must

⁴⁶ A tributary to the Elorn

⁴⁷ Passage grave = Mougev in Breton = VALLÉE, Fr. Grand dictionnaire français-breton. Gronwel, 1980. Allée-couverte : *hent-korriganed*, h.-kor(n)andoned m. pl. *hēñchoù-*, *mougeo* f.-pl. –*gevioù*, voir *fée* ; p. 19.

⁴⁸ TANGUY, Bernard. Dictionnaire de noms de communes, trèves et paroisses du Finistère, 1990, p. 56

⁴⁹ or even Mana after LOTH (Les noms des saints Bretons, in *Revue Celtique*, 1908-1909, XXIX, XXX, quoted by LARGILLIERE (Les saints et l’organisation chrétienne primitive dans l’Armorique bretonne, Crozon, 1995, p. 29). But when you see Mana (p. 141) you are sent to Anna. Mana therefore is only a pronunciation. The oldest form is *de cummanna* in a list of other place names like for instance *de Pleiben* or *de Bratberth* (LA BORDERIE, Arthur de. Cartulaire de l’abbaye de Landevenec. Rennes, 1888, p. 160-161), which is contemporary with XIth century « Cummana » (TANGUY, *ibid.*). Two ecclesiastics mingle the place-name with « *Coummand*, *coumanha*, qui veut dire donner une terre en fief, inféoder, d’où est venu le mot *Kemened*, *Commendatio* et *Convenant* (Le Gonidec). DESHAYES, Albert. Dictionnaire des noms de lieux. Douarnenez, 1999. « *Commenant* (p. 561) v. **Komanant** « conenant » tenue d’un domaine congéable (évêché du Trégor) », p. 175. DESHAYES, Albert. *Dictionnaire étymologique du breton*. Douarnenez, 2003. « **Komanant** (*commanant*, 1464), « Coumanāt » in the Katolikon (Tréguier, 1499), est un emprunt à l’ancien français *covenant*, accord, stipulation, promesse, parole (1155), avec fausse restitution de la syllabe interne » ; pp. 407-408.

PEYRON, ABGRALL Notices sur les paroisses de Quimper et de Léon, in *Bulletin de la commission diocésaine d’architecture et d’archéologie*, n°3, 1906 : « Le Cartulaire de Landévenec nous apprend que le monastère possédait en Commanna (*de Cummanna*), deux terres, Caer Niuguinen et Caerthnou. », p. 135. LA BORDERIE, *ibid.* « [...] au temps de Wrdisten, au IXe siècle, l’abbaye de Landevenec ne possédait aucun bien dont elle fit remonter l’origine à une concession de Gradlon. », p. 64. « [...] seulement depuis le XIe siècle, depuis qu’a été écrite la seconde partie, la partie *diplomatique* de notre Cartulaire, où on ne trouve pas moins de vingt pièces présentant Gradlon comme donateur de tous les domaines anciens de l’abbaye [...], il est évident que ce sont les moines de XIe siècle, fabricants-rédacteurs de ces chartes, qui ont inventé cette tradition, non en suivant ou en développant le récit de Wrdisten, mais au contraire en le niant, en lui opposant une contradiction aussi intéressée que mensongère. » p. 66.

⁵⁰ LALLEMAND, Alfred. Notice historique sur la très ancienne chapelle de sainte Anne et la statue miraculeuse qui en provient, et sur la précieuse relique donnée par Louis XIII au pèlerinage de Sainte-Anne d’Auray. Vannes : Galles, 1863, p. 25.

⁵¹ ADAMNAN. Des lieux saints : livre II, in *Voyageurs anciens et modernes / Édouard Charton*. Paris : Magasin pittoresque, 1854 [<http://remacle.org/bloodwolf/historiens/adamnan/lieuxsaints1.htm>]

⁵² LALLEMAND, *ibid.*, p. 23

⁵³ Lumps

⁵⁴ HUGUES DE SAINT FRANCOIS : Les grandeurs de sainte Anne [...]. Paris, Pas de Loup, 1657. The fountain has been built later on by Dom Yves Richard, p. 180.

⁵⁵ HUGUES DE SAINT FRANCOIS, *ibid.* Saint Anne would speak Breton because Nikolazic knew only the vernacular, but we’re only left with a French translation, p. 185.

date back to 610, that is during Columban's time who died in 615. But actually: "Arculfe was a Franc bishop from the second half of the 7th century, [...]. Around the year 670 he went on pilgrimage to the Holy Land and stayed 9 months in Jerusalem."

J.-P. Migne mentions the year 690⁵⁶ when Arculfe became famous⁵⁷. Anyway if the small chapel would have been built just after Arculfe's pilgrimage, that is between 690 (or 670) and 700, how is it that the remains: "stones of a church window and else, hewed and squared⁵⁸," found out by the eyewitness Hughes de saint-François⁵⁹ looked gallo-roman to Lallemand, who uses the word 'destroyed' by brigands⁶⁰, instead of 'ruined'...in the course of time. In what way does the use of the term 'gallo-roman' strengthens the necessary 'destruction' without which Lallemand could not bear his incredible thesis of a cult of Sainte Anne in Brittany brought in 610 by a travelling companion to Arculfe in the Holy Land? All this sounds contradictory. I think therefore in a possible slip of the pen⁶¹. On top of that, in the place-name *Treanna* Largillière thinks of Anna as being undoubtedly a Celtic name. So what more do we need in order to consider the Anna Christian cult in Brittany a legend⁶²? But all this does not tell us who pre-Celtic Ana is.

Archaeology shows us what is called a "stele idol" in Armorika. One of the oldest found in Mane Vihan (Morbihan) dates back to the beginning of the 5th millennium BC⁶³. In Locmariaquer there will be found another one inside the passage grave called the Merchants Table, but which had been outside before⁶⁴. The change must have taken place at the eve of the 4th millennium BC. There is a theory which says that the 'stele idol' had been placed under ground because death had been added to the Mother-Goddess' function as can be seen in Kommana for instance dated to the 3rd millennium BC, not in Killarney. The ultimate

⁵⁶ Patrologiae, latinae tomus LXXXVIII. J.-P. Migne editorem, 1862. Saeculum VIII, annus 700 : « Arculfus, urbis cujusdam in Gallia episcopus, claruit 690. Suscepto, religionis causa, in Orientem itinere, ac lustratis locis sanctis, Damascus quoque, Constantinopolim, Alexandriam aliaque loca adiit, ac demum in Galliam rediens, vi tempestatis in occidentalia Britanniae littoral delatus, et ab Adamano abate Hyensi hospitio benigne exceptus est. », p. 721-722

⁵⁷ DELIERNEUX, Nathalie. Arculfe, sanctus episcopus gente Gallus : une existence historique discutable. Revue Belge de philologie et d'histoire, 1997, Vol. 75, N° 75-4 p. 911-941. Arculfe, « whose Gaulish see has still to be identified », (Y. Hen) p. 916. « On ne peut guère imaginer qu'Arculfe, naufragé, ait pu atteindre le monastère d'Adamnan, encore moins que la tempête l'ait poussé jusque là », p. 931-932. « Or l'on sait que des représentations de la Vierge et du Christ furent introduites en Grande-Bretagne à la fin du VI^e siècle, par les missionnaires de Grégoire le Grand. », p. 940

⁵⁸ HUGHES, *ibid.* « pierres d'un vitrage d'église, et autres taillées et écarées, » p. 219

⁵⁹ LALLEMAND, *ibid.* p. 10, 11.

⁶⁰ LALLEMAND, *ibid.* : « Ogerius renouvelant à la fin du VII^e siècle les brigandages d'Alvandus au temps de saint Gonneri, et du chef des pillards dont saint Meriadec avait délivré la partie nord-ouest de son diocèse au commencement de ce siècle, telle est, croyons-nous, la cause de la ruine de la très ancienne chapelle de Sainte-Anne, le 25 janvier de l'an 700 », p. 33.

⁶¹ Even though I don't dismiss the possibility that people would still employ the gallo-roman style at the eve of the 8th century.

⁶² CHASSÉ, Charles. Le culte Breton de sainte-Anne et la vénération des vierges noires, in *Annales de Bretagne*, 1945, 52. « jusqu'au XVI^e siècle, même en Bretagne, aucune paroisse ne lui avait été dédiée », p. 61.

BANNISTER, H.M. The introduction of the cultus of St. Anne into the West, in *The English historical review*. London, 1903. Vol. XVIII, p. 107-112.

⁶³ LECORNEC, Joël. *Le Petit Mont: Arzon – Morbihan*. Rennes: Documents Archéologiques de l'Ouest, 1994. Et *Site archéologique du Petit Mont (Arzon)*. Non paginé [4 p.].

⁶⁴ LE ROUX, Charles-Tanguy. Carnac, Locmariaquer et Gavrinis. Rennes, 2001; p. 19

origin of this ‘stele idol’ is not necessarily Anatolia⁶⁵ which the agriculturists left as soon as the 7th millennium BC to south-east Europe⁶⁶.

CONCLUSION

Following our study, it is more enriching to treat separately the two mother-goddesses, *Danu and Ana. They may represent both the same mythological function but not in the same time nor for the same type of society. *Danu still represents a society of warriors with their divinities, invading an island, during Cath Maige Tuired. Whereas there is already with Ana some farmer-breeder traits as water and milk for instance which indicates that the evolution has gone a step farther, after Cath Maige Tuired.

One should not be surprised anymore at the far Sibirian relations involved by *Donu’s name after Jozef Weisweiler’s pioneering works on the bull and deer cults in Europe⁶⁷. The Early Hittites had a deer cult⁶⁸ and traces of one can be found in Buile Suibhne, § 40⁶⁹.

One should also reflect that if we’d go some millennia backwards, about the 7th millennium BC in south Urals area, we could make out hunter-gatherers learning to domesticate animals from people coming from the Levant⁷⁰, that is a place which is not very far from Anatolia that the agriculturists left when migrating to South-east Europe from about the seventh millennium BC. In their turn, people named Kurgans from the steppe, not very far from the southern Urals, made their way to the West in the fourth/third millennia BC and confronted the population of Old Europe. It is the cultural history of these two waves of people which we have tried to document in this study.

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⁶⁵ MALLORY, *ibid.* « Rather than accepting the long abandoned attempt to derive the megaliths of Europe from the east Mediterranean [...] » p. 33

⁶⁶ MAZURIE de KERAOUALIN, Karoline. Genèse et diffusion de l’agriculture en Europe. Paris, 2003 ; carte, p. 160.

⁶⁷ WEISWEILER, Jozef. Die Kultur der Irischen Heldensage, in *Peideuma*. Frankfurt, 1950, p. 149-170, and Vorindogermanische Schichten der Irischen Heldensage, in *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, 24, 1-2, 1953, p. 10-197.

⁶⁸ THIERRY, Nicole. Le culte du cerf en Anatolie et la vision de saint-Eustathe, in *Dossiers Histoire et Archéologie*, n° 121. [S.l.]: [s.n.], 1987.

⁶⁹ O’KEEFFE, *ibid.*, “A mathair na groidhi-si [...]”; p. 78.

⁷⁰ MATYUSHIN, G. The Mesolithic and Neolithic in the southern Urals and Central Asia. In *Hunters in transition* / ed. Marek Zvelebil. Cambridge, 1986; p. 133-150