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NAMA NOTES

Welcome to the second issue of new my zine about one of my favorite writers, Robert E. Howard.

I hope I'm including something worthwhile. The piece I reprint contains some ideas Howard later used, but I don't know if Howard knew about this essay in particular or if it influenced him. It's at least 155 years-old. When I first discovered this piece, I don't think it was very accessible. However, thanks to Google Books, you can now find it on the Internet. This time out, I'm including "On the Cimmerians of Herodotus and the Migrations of the Cymric Race" by George Rawlinson with the assistance of his brother Henry C. Rawlinson. Published in 1859, this essay grabbed my attention since Robert E. Howard's most famous character, Conan, is a Cimmerian. Wait! There's more. This essay made me wonder if Rawlinson may have been either a direct or an indirect influence on Howard's creation of Conan's Cimmerians. See, some historians have identified the Cimmerians as Thracians or maybe even Iranian. Rawlinson championed a different theory. In this essay, he argues that the Cymric Celts descended from the Cimmerians. He argues that the Cymry, the Cimbri, and the Cimmerians (a.k.a. the Cimmerii) are the same people. This theory is now discredited, but Howard also made his Cimmerians the ancestors of Celts. The difference is that Howard makes the Gaels rather than the Cymry ancestors of the "pure-blooded" Cimmerians. Howard still gives the Cymry a Cimmerian ancestry though. In his pseudo-historical essay, "The Hyborian Age," Howard wrote:

The Gaels, ancestors of the Irish and Highland Scotch, descended from pure-blooded Cimmerian clans. The Cymric tribes of Britain were a mixed Nordic-Cimmerian race which preceded the purely Nordic Britons into the isles, and thus gave rise to a legend of Gaelic priority. The Cimbri who fought Rome were of the same blood, as well as the Gimmerai of the Assyrians and Grecians, and Gomer of the Hebrews. Other clans of the Cimmerians adventured east of the drying inland sea, and a few centuries later, mixed with Hyrkanian blood, returned westward as Scythians. The original ancestors of the Gaels gave their name to modern Crimea. (*The Coming of Conan* 397)

Compare that passage to "On the Cimmerians of Herodotus and the Migrations of the Cymric Race." Rawlinson also links the Cimmerians to the Cymry, the Cimbri, and the name Crimea as

well as identifying the Cimmerians as the Gimmerai and as Gomer. So, I wonder if Howard read this essay. The online *Robert E. Howard Bookshelf* which lists books Howard owned or mentioned contains no entry for either Herodotus or Rawlinson.

The bookshelf does list *The Story of Assyria* by Zénaïde A. Ragozin which contains several passages about the Cimmerians and cites Herodotus. The Rawlinson brothers also appear. The front matter of *The Story of Assyria* lists George Rawlinson as the author of *The Story of Phænica*. On page forty-five, Sir Henry Rawlinson garners attention for his scholarship. However, I couldn't find any mentions by Ragozin of the Cimmerians being either the Gaels or the Cymry. The now discredited theory of a Cymric connection to the Cimmerians through the Cimbri predates Rawlinson though, so Howard may have encountered it from a source not tied to Rawlinson. The OCR doesn't seem to have been very good. Cimmerian references don't come up in a search, but if you go to the book's index, you can locate Ragozin's mentions of the Cimmerians. Google Books also has *The Story of Assyria* and some, but not all, of the Cimmerian mentions come up via the search feature.

"On the Cimmerians of Herodotus and the Migrations of the Cymric Race" appeared in an appendix to early editions of Rawlinson's translation of Herodotus. I don't remember the used book store's name. It might have been the Book Barn or something like that. I just remember it was an old barn converted to a bookstore. It might have been in New Hampshire. Jim O'Keefe and his brother-in-law Bob brought me there on one of our book hunting expeditions of the early 1990s. In that book barn a little over twenty years ago, pulps and 1950s science fiction digests hung in protective sleeves from posts. Upstairs in the former hayloft, I found the history section and a four volume set of Rawlinson's translation of *The History of Herodotus*. I bought it. It was the American printing. Volume III, published in 1862, had the Cimmerian essay. (The British edition of Volume III appeared in 1859.)

George Rawlinson (1812-1902) graduated from and taught at Oxford. From 1861-1889, he was the Camden Professor of Ancient History at Oxford. Established in 1622, the Camden Chair is the oldest history professorship in England. Since 1910, it has focused on Roman history.

One of the essay's footnotes carries Henry Rawlinson's initials and another footnote cites his work. In the introduction, George Rawlinson noted that his brother's help was invaluable when it came to material involving the Eastern Nations. Major General Sir Henry Creswicke Rawlinson (1810-1895) conducted invaluable studies of the ancient Near East while serving in Persia, India, Afghanistan, and Baghdad in various military and diplomatic posts. Henry Rawlinson played an important part in transcribing and translating the Behistun Inscription which contained text in Old Persian, Elamite, and Babylonian. This inscription was as important to deciphering cuneiform as the Rosetta Stone was to deciphering Egyptian hieroglyphs. Sir Henry scaled a cliff to transcribe the Old Persian text. Years later, he returned and used a bridge of planks to cross the chasm between the Old Persian and Elamite inscriptions. The Babylonian inscriptions were above the Elamite ones. Sir Henry made paper mâché casts of the Babylonian text, and he was among the scholars who studied and deciphered the texts.

Although Henry Rawlinson eventually reached the rank of Major General, he had only attained the rank of Colonel by 1859. His published work includes:

The Persian Cuneiform Inscription at Behistun (1846–51)
A Commentary on the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Babylon and Assyria (1850)
Outline of the History of Assyria (1852)
Notes on the Early History of Babylonia (1854)

England and Russia in the East (1875).

Sir John Gardiner Wilkinson, another contributor to George Rawlinson's Herodotus translation, compiled an impressive track record as "the father of British Egyptology." However, Wilkinson didn't contribute to the Cimmerian essay as far as I know.

In the mid-90s, not wanting to press a 130 year-old book (at the time) flat in a photocopier, I transcribed "On the Cimmerians of Herodotus and the Migrations of the Cymric Race." I've used the essay before, and I also supplied it to Jim O'Keefe for him to use in his old REHupa zine. However, I think this version is an improvement. Previously, I tried to transcribe accurately, but I'm betting I made many mistakes. This time I scanned the essay using a scanner app on my iPad. No need to press a book flat on a scanner bed now. The app I use, DocScan HD, even allows you to compensate for curves in the pages. I wanted a searchable version, so I OCRed the scans using ABBYY Fine Reader Pro for Mac. I have Scan+ from the makers of PDFPen on my iPad, but Fine Reader Pro gives more accurate results. Even with a good OCR app, there were plenty of mistakes. Some of the text is small. There are some archaic characters. Plus while Rawlinson wrote the essay in English, he quoted passages in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. Fine Reader Pro allowed me to set the scan for all four languages.

I had a choice of output. The two most likely suspects were PDFs of the original scans or Word docs. Even with PDF there were choices. I could choose a version that looked like photos of the pages or a version that shows the pages yellowed from age or a black and white version. Well, Google Books's version is black and white so I wouldn't be adding much if I did that. On the other hand, my American printing does have a few differences from the British version. In the American version, the essay starts on page 151. The footnotes on the bottom of the essay's first page aren't in a double column. I've chosen to adhere to the American layout for this reprint. If you're curious, check out the Google Books version.

The other PDF choices were a little less readable, but they provided a different look with a greater degree of verisimilitude of reading from the actual book. The page photo look (with sharper, clearer text than my attempts to photograph pages with a cheap camera) was the most realistic since the pages don't actually have the yellowed, orangey look that color scans gave me. The PDF versions provide the most accurate text to look at, but I also wanted accurate search text. For instance, you might see Mæotis in the PDF, but maybe it doesn't come up with a search. Fine Reader Pro for Mac doesn't seem to provide a way to go in and correct OCR results. Adobe Acrobat does provide this for OCR conducted in Acrobat, but unless you're correcting suspects that Acrobat detects, the process can be very roundabout. Correcting suspects found by Acrobat is pretty straightforward and I wish I could view and correct every word in this way, but I can't. Just the suspects. I've found that uncorrected Fine Reader Pro results are more accurate than Acrobat's OCR results even after I've checked and fixed suspects. So, the best way I could figure out for correcting Fine Reader Pro for Mac's OCR results was by opting for Word doc output. I have Word for Mac, but I have the unpaid, read only version. So, I used Pages to edit the Word doc output.

Editing the OCR output seems to have taken longer than transcribing the document did, but I hope the results are better. Typing and proofreading my transcription was a painstaking process, but the OCR results still needed proofing. Instead of typing this time, I spent inordinate amounts of time dealing with formatting issues which often prevented editing until I figured them out. Years ago, I struggled with the Greek text, finding Greek letters or the closest matches thereof that I could in the special characters section of an early version of Microsoft Word. (I was run-

ning Windows 3.1 at the time.) I won't claim it's perfect this time, but I think the Greek text is more accurate. I now have the entire Greek alphabet and many diacritics at my disposal. In fact, I can switch my keyboard to Greek. I still had many problems. For instance, the circumflex used over some of the ancient Greek letters looks like an inverted breve. I couldn't figure out a way to do that, but an acceptable alternative is a tilde. So rather than the inverted breves of the original text, you'll see tildes over some letters. On Page 152, Footnote 6 the word $\lambda\eta\sigma\tau\dot{\alpha}\varsigma$ has two dots underneath the η . It should look like umlauts underneath the letter. I couldn't replicate that.

I can't recall how I dealt with the one Hebrew word when I transcribed the essay roughly twenty years ago. Now I have access to the Hebrew alphabet, and I can change my keyboard to type Hebrew letters.

I also had an issue with a Latin word. On page 156, Gallia looks on close examination in the text like Galliu with the front half of the u shortened and a dot placed above the front half. It also looks like it may be curving to form a never completed a. I spent quite a while looking for some kind of diacritic that combined with u in this manner, but I couldn't find one. Gaul is called Gallia in Latin, so I went with that while wondering if some partially formed u or a with a single dot was an archaic usage.

In a strange coincidence as I reprint this, Ukraine, the old homeland of the Cimmerians is at the center of international attention and Russian aggression involving the Crimea and the eastern Ukraine. Another strange coincidence, Sir Henry Rawlinson opposed Russian ambitions in his own time. (Not in Ukraine or the Crimea though which were safely controlled by Czarist Russia. No, Sir Henry's concern was that Russian intrusions in Central Asia, if left unchecked, could lead to a Russian move against British India.)

Anyway, enjoy the essay. I hope it proves useful.

APPENDIX TO BOOK IV.

ESSAY I.

ON THE CIMMERIANS OF HERODOTUS AND THE MIGRATIONS OF THE CYMRIC RACE.

- 1. Early importance of the Cimmerians—their geographical extent. 2. Identity of the Cimmerii with the *Cymry*—close resemblance of the two names. 3. Historical confirmation of the identity—connecting link in the Cimbri. 4. Comparative philology silent but not adverse. 5. Migrations of the Cimmerians—westward, and then eastward. Existing Cimbric and Celtic races.
- 1. That a people known to their neighbours as Cimmerii, Gimiri, or (probably) Gomerin, attained to considerable power in Western Asia and Eastern Europe, within the period indicated by the date B. C. 800-600, or even earlier, is a fact which can scarcely be said to admit of a doubt. If the information gained by Herodotus in Scythia were considered as not sufficiently trustworthy for the establishment of such a conclusion, yet the confirmation which his statements derive from Homer, from Æschylus, from Callinus, from Aristotle, and from geographical nomenclature, must be held to remove all uncertainty on the point. The Cimmerians of Homer have not indeed a very definite locality: they dwell "at the furthest limit of the ocean stream, immersed in darkness, and beyond the ken of the light-giving sun," 2—words which might
- 1. The ethnic name of *Gimiri* first occurs in the Cuneiform records of the time of Darius Hystaspes, as the Semitic equivalent of the Arian name Saka (Σάκαι). The nation spoken of contained at this time two divisions, the Eastern branch, named Humurga (Αμύργιοι of Herodotus and Hellanicus), and the Tigrakhuda, or "archers," who were conterminous with the Assyrians. Whether at the same time these Gimiri or Saka are really Cymric Celts we cannot positively say. Josephus identified the τως of Genesis with the Galati of Asia Minor (Ant. Jud. i. 6), in evident allusion to the ethnic title of Cymry, which they, as so many other Celtic races, gave themselves. But it must be observed, that the Babylonian title of Gimiri, as applied to the Sacæ, is not a vernacular but a foreign title, and that it may simply mean "the tribes" generally, corresponding thus to the Hebrew λ , and the Greek $\Pi \acute{a}\mu \varphi \nu \lambda oi$. In this case it would prove nothing concerning the ethnic character of the race designated by it.—[H. C. R.]

2. Odyss. xi. 13-22.

Ή δ' ές πείρα Ξ΄ ἵκανε βα Ξυρρόου 'Ωκεανοῖο· Έν Ξα δὲ Κιμμερίων ἀνδρῶν δῆμός τε πόλις τε, Ήέρι καί νεφέλη κεκαλυμμένοι· οὐδέ ποτ' αὐτοὺς 'Ηέλιος φαέ Ξων καταδέρκεται ἀκτίνεσσιν, κ.τ.λ.

perhaps be understood of a region outside the Pillars of Hercules; but considering the condition of Greek geographical knowledge and Greek navigation in Homer's day, it is far more likely that he intended by them some part of the northern coast of the Black Sea.³ Here Æschylus places Cimmeria⁴ in close proximity to the Palus Mæotis and the Bosphorus; and here in the time of Herodotus were still existing a number of names, recalling the fact of the former settlement in these regions of the Cimmerian nation.⁵ The Greek colonists of the various towns planted upon the northern coast of the Black Sea, in the seventh and eighth centuries before our era, could not fail to form an acquaintance with the inhabitants of those parts, and would spread the knowledge of them among their countrymen. Further, there are grounds for believing that during the period of which we are speaking, frequent invasions of the countries towards the south were made by this same people, who, crossing the Danube and the Thracian Bosphorus, sometimes alone, sometimes in combination with plundering Thracian tribes, 6 carried their arms far and wide over Asia Minor, and spread the terror of their name throughout the whole of that fertile region. Of one at least of these incursions the poet Callinus appears to have been a witness.⁷ It was universally recognised by the Greeks that these incursions proceeded from a people dwelling north of the Danube, in the tract between that river and the Tanais, and there seems no reason to doubt this location.

From the Cimmerians of this region it appears to have been that certain permanent settlements of the same race in Asia Minor were derived. Sinôpé, on occasion of one of their raids, was seized and occupied,⁸ while probably on another the town of Antandros fell into their possession. In the first-mentioned of these two places the Cimmerians were after a while superseded by Greek colonists; but it is conjectured, with some reason, that they still, under the name of Chalybes (or "Ironworkers"), remained the principal place in the vicinity. In Antandros they retained their position for a century, when the Æolians recovered it from them.

Further, there is evidence to show that more to the east, in Armenia and Central Persia, a race known nearly by the same name existed about this same time—a race whom we may *probably* connect with the Cim-

²Aristot. 1. s. c.

³ Comp. Eustath. ad Hom. Od. loc. cit. and Riccii Dissert. Homeric. p. 432. See also Mr. Gladstone's 'Homer and the Homeric Age,' vol. iii. p. 294.

⁴ Prom. Vinct. 748-750.

⁵ Herodotus mentions, besides the Cimmerian Bosphorus and a Cimmerian Ferry, some Cimmerian forts or castles and a tract called Cimmeria (iv. 12). Hecatæus spoke of a town Cimmeris (Fr. 2). Strabo has a "Mons Cimmericus (ὄρος Κιμμέριον) in Taurica, a "Vicus Cimmericus" (κώμη Κιμμιρική) on the Asiatic side of the Straits of Kertch, and an old town "Cimmericum" (vii. p. 447, and xi. P· 721).

⁶ The Treres especially. See the Essays appended to Vol. I. Essay i. pp.

⁷ See Callinus, Fr. 2, and comp. the remarks of Bach, pp. 9-13.

8 Harad iv 12

9 Aristot Fr 190

⁸ Herod, iv. 12. Aristot. Fr. 190.

¹ See Grote's Greece, vol. iii. p. 336. This connexion is perhaps implied in the Χάλυβος Σκυθῶν ἄΠΟΙΚΟς of Æschylus (Sept. c. Th. 725).

merians of our author. The Prophet Ezekiel, who writes about B.C. 600, speaks of Gomer as a nation,³ and couples it with Togarmah, which he places in "the north quarter," i. e. Armenia; and similarly the Armenian historians speak of Gamir as the ancestor of their Haichian race of kings.⁴ It is also very remarkable that in the Achæmenian inscriptions the Sacan or Scythic population, which was widely spread over the Persian empire, receives in the Babylonian transcripts the name of Gi*miri*, ⁵ which looks as if this were the Semitic equivalent for the Arian name of Saka or Scyths. Perhaps both names originally meant "nomads" or "wanderers," and only came in course of time to be used as ethnic appellatives. It is clear, however, that by Herodotus the term "Cimmerian" is used distinctly in an ethnic sense; and the point to be now considered is, who these Cimmerians were, to what ethnic family they belonged, and whether they can be identified with any still existing race. When these questions have been settled, it will be interesting to trace the history and migrations of a people which has an antiquity of above twenty-five hundred years, and has spread from the steppes of the Ukraine to the mountains of Wales.

- 2. To build an ethnographical theory upon a mere identity of name is at all times, it must be allowed, a dangerous proceeding. The Jazyges of modern Hungary are a completely different race from the Jazyges Metanastæ who in ancient times occupied the very same country; the Wends are distinct from the Veneti, the Persian Germanii from the Germans, the Iberi of Spain from those of Georgia—yet still identity of name, even alone, is an argument which requires to be met, and which, unless met by positive objections, establishes a presumption in favour of connexion of race. Now certainly there is the very closest possible resemblance between the Greek name *Kıμμέιοι*. and the Celtic *Cymry*; and the presumption thus raised, instead of having objections to combat, is in perfect harmony with all that enlightened research teaches of the movements of the races which gradually peopled Europe.
- 3. The Cimmerians, when the Scythians crossed the Tanais, and fell upon them from the east, must have gradually retreated westward. The hordes which from time to time have issued from Asia, and exerted a pressure upon the population of Europe, have uniformly driven the previous inhabitants before them in that direction.⁷ Wave has followed wave, and the current, with the exception of an occasional

³ Ezek. xxxviii. 6. "Gomer and all his bands: the house of Togarmah of the north quarters, and all his bands: and many people with thee."

⁴ Mos. Choren. i. 11, sub fin

⁵ See Sir H. Rawlinson's Memoir on the Babylonian and Assyrian Inscriptions in the Journal of the Asiatic Society, vol. xiv. part i. p. xxi. and compare above, note ¹ on § 1.

⁶ According to Festus and Plutarch the name "Cimbri," which we shall find reason to identify with Cimmerii, in the old Celtic and German tongues meant "robbers" (Fest. de Verb. Signif. iii. p. 77, "Cimbri linguâ Gallicâ latrones dicuntur." (Plut. vit. Mar. c. 11, "Κίμβρους επονομάζουσι Γερμανοὶ τοὺς ληστάς"). But this meaning may have grown out of the other, just as "robber" is connected with "rover."

⁷ See Niebuhr's Researches, &c., p. 52

⁸ Such as the Cimmerian inroad into Asia by the Caucasus, and the after wanderings of the Gauls.

⁹ Herod. v. 9. ¹ Ibid. iv. 49. ² Ibid. ii. 33, and iv. 49.

³ See Appendix to Book i. Essay i. "On the Chronology and Early History of Lydia," pp. 289 et seqq.

⁴ Prichard's Physical History of Mankind, vol. iii. ch. 3; Amm. Marcell. xv. 9.
⁵ Niebuhr's conclusion, from an elaborate analysis of all the materials which can be brought to bear on the early history of the Celtic people (Hist. of Rome, vol. ii. p. 520, E. T.), is, that "the two nations, the Cymry and the Gael, may appropriately be comprised under the common name of Celts."

⁶ The Celts of the Spanish peninsula seem to have been Cimbri, for, as Niebuhr shows (l. s. c.), they formed the bulk of the Gauls who invaded Italy, and these are expressly said to have been of the Cimbric branch (Diodor. Sic. v. 32.) The Belgæ were exclusively Cimbrians, as also were the inhabitants of northern Gaul, who were supposed to have been British immigrants. In the British islands, Cimbric Celts (Belgæ), at the time of Cæsar's landing, occupied the south coast (Bell. Gall. v. 12).

TStrabo (vii. p. 426) and Tacitus (German. 37) speak of the Cimbri as Germans; but this is probably a mistake, consequent upon their holding large tracts east of the Rhine, which was considered to separate Gaul from Germany. Diodorus, who declares them to have been Gauls or Celts, probably follows the excellent authority of Posidonius (see Niebuhr's Rom. Hist. vol. ii. p. 520, note 1157, E. T.) Appian also identities the Cimbri with the Celts (De Bell. Illyr. p. 758. Κελτοῖς τοῖς Κίμ-βροις λεγομένοις). The whole subject is well discussed by Dr. Prichard (Physical Hist. of Mankind, vol. iii. ch. 3, § 8.

⁸ Wales still continues to be known as *Cambria*, and one of our northern counties as *Cumber*-land. In France *Cambrai* and (possibly) *Quimper* are a legacy of the Cymry. Spain has a small town, *Cambrilla*, and Portugal a city, *Coimbra*, relics, probably, of the same people. In like manner the Cimmerii left their name to the Tauric peninsula, which has continued to be known as the *Crimea* and *Crim*-Tartary to the present day.

the march of events, and especially the pressure upon them of the great Gothic or Teutonic race, has for the most part wiped out at once their nationality, their language, and their name, yet they continue to form the substratum of the population in several large European countries, while in certain favoured situations they remain to the present day unmixed with any other people, retaining their ancient tongue unchanged, and, at least in one instance, their ancient appellation. The identity of the Cymry of Wales with the Cimbri of the Romans seems worthy of being accepted as a historic fact upon the grounds stated by Niebuhr and Arnold. The historical connexion of these latter with the Cimmerii of Herodotus has strong probabilities, and the opinion of Posidonius, in its favour; but cannot, it must be admitted, in the strict sense of the word, be proved.

4. It is to be regretted that we have no means of submitting the question of this connexion to the test of comparative philology. Of the Cimmerian language we know absolutely nothing beyond the single word Cimmerii. No names of Cimmerians even, on which any reliance can be placed, have come down to us; and although some of the Scythian river-names, which connect closely with Celtic roots, may be conjectured to belong to Cimmerian rather than Scythic times, yet this is only a surmise; and though an argument of some slight weight, as it accords with what we should have expected if the people driven out by the Scyths were Celts, yet it is scarcely sufficient to put forward as a distinct ground on which to rest the identification. All perhaps that can be said is that comparative philology is *not adverse* to the identification, which, if regarded as historically probable, would help to explain the formation of certain words, whereof it would otherwise be difficult to give a satisfactory account.

5. It is probable that when the Cimmerians fled westward before

⁹As (Michelet, Hist. de France, vol. i. ch. iii.) France, Belgium, and Lombardy. ¹⁰The Cymric language is still spoken by the Bretons and by the Welsh. The latter call themselves "Cymry." I am not aware if the name is in use among the former.

¹¹ Hist. of Rome, vol. i. pp. 521-9

¹ Fr. 75. δ Κιμμέριος Βόσπορος οἶον Κιμβρικός, Κιμμερίους τοὺς Κίμβους ὀνομασάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Compare Plut. Vit. Mar. c. ii. τῶν βαρβάρων, Κιμμερίων μὲν ἐξ αρχῆς, τότε δὲ Κίμβρων προσαγορευομένων.

² The name *Lygdamis*, given by Callimachus (Hymn. ad Dian. v. 252), as that of the Cimmerian general who headed the great irruption into Asia Minor, is so manifestly a Greek name that nothing can be gathered from it. Strabo's *Madys* (i. p. 91) might furnish a basis for speculation if we could be sure that he had not by mere inadvertence transferred the name of a Scythic leader (Herod. i. 103) to a prince of the Cimmerians. *Madys* might well represent the *Madoc* of the British Cymry.

³ As *Hypan-is* with *Avon*, *Tana-is* with *Dinas*, &c. See the following Essay.

⁴ The Scythian river-names are made up of distinct elements, each signifying "river" or "water" (see the following Essay). It helps us to understand the formation of such names to suppose that the Cymry, coming first, called the streams, *Avon*, *Dinas*, &c., which were their words for water; that the Scyths, following them, took these words to be proper names, and proceeded to speak of one stream as the "Avon-river" (*Hypan-is*), of another as the "Dinas-river" (*Tana-is*), &c. Finally, the Greeks, hearing these words, took Hypanis, Tanais, and the like for the appellations of the streams.

the Scyths,⁵ they found the central and western countries of Europe either without inhabitants, or else very thinly peopled by a Tatar race. This race, where it existed, everywhere yielded to them, and was gradually absorbed, 6 or else driven towards the north, 7 where it is found at the present day in the persons of the Finns, Esths, and Lappes. The Cymry, or rather the Celtic hordes generally (for in the name of Cimmerii may have been included many Celtic tribes not of the Cymric branch), spread themselves by degrees over the vast plains of central Europe, lying between the Alps on the one side, and the Baltic Sea and German Ocean on the other. It probably required a fresh impulsion from the east to propel the Celts yet further westward, and to make them occupy the remoter regions of Gaul, Spain, and Britain. This impulsion seems to have been given by the Goths and other Teutons, who by degrees possessed themselves of the countries between the Danube and the Baltic. The Celts found central and northern Gaul occupied by a Tatar population, while towards the south coast they came in contact with the Ligurians, most probably an Illyrian race. 8 In the Spanish peninsula it is not quite certain whether on their arrival they found Iberians or no; but if not, these latter must have shortly crossed over from the African main, and it was in consequence of the gradual pressure exerted by this people upon the Celts in Spain that the further migrations of the Celtic tribes took place. The struggle in Spain was probably of long duration; but at length the Celts were compelled to cross the Pyrenees in vast numbers, and to seek a refuge with their kinsmen in Gaul. These, however, were themselves too numerous and too closely packed to offer more than a temporary asylum to the refugees, who consequently had to seek a permanent abode elsewhere. Hereupon they crossed the Alps into Italy, and made themselves masters of the whole plain of the Po; after which they separated into two streams, and overran, on the one hand, the whole of middle and lower Italy, even reaching Sicily, according to some accounts; while, on the other hand, crossing the Alps to the north of the Adriatic,² and following down the streams which run into the Danube, they spread over the great

⁵ I have spoken of this migration as belonging to the latter half of the seventh century B. C., but it may have commenced very much earlier. The Cimmerians, who after maintaining themselves some considerable time in the Tauric Chersonese, were at length driven across the strait into Asia, would probably be the last to leave their country. It is their invasion of Asia Minor which falls between the

years B. C. 650 and 600. ⁶ It is now generally believed that there is a large Tatar admixture in most Celtic races, the consequence of this absorption.

⁷ It may likewise have been in part driven westward. The mysterious Cynetians of Book ii. ch. 33 (cf. also iv. 49), who dwelt west of the Celts, may have been a remnant of the primitive Tatar occupants. Such too may have been the Iberians of the Spanish Peninsula.

⁸ Niebuhr (Roman Hist. vol. i. p. 165, E. T.) connects them with the Liburnians of the Adriatic, and these with the Venetians, who were Illyrians according to Herodotus (i. 196).

⁹ Niebuhr's Rom. Hist. vol. ii. p. 520, E. T. The Iberians are thought to remain in the modern Basques.

¹ Justin, xx. 5.

² Part stayed between the Alps and the Adriatic (Scylax. Peripl. p. 13).

central European plain, the modern kingdom of Hungary. Here for a time they found ample room, and the torrent of emigration paused awhile upon its course;³ but a century later fresh movements of the Celtic tribes took place. About the year B. C. 280 vast hordes of Gauls from these regions entered Macedonia, and pressing towards the south threatened Greece with destruction. Repulsed, however, from Delphi, they returned northwards; and crossing the Dardanelles, invaded Asia Minor, the whole of which for many years they ravaged at their pleasure.⁴ In course of time the native inhabitants recovered from them most of their conquests; but the Gauls permanently maintained themselves in the heart of Phrygia, and gave their name to the northern portion, which became known as *Galatia*. They also, during this same period, carried their victorious arms into Scythia, and avenged themselves on their former conquerors, whom they subdued, and with whom they intermixed, forming thereby the people known in history as Celto-Scythians.⁵ At this period they warred with the Greek town of Olbia; and advanced as far as the Mæotis,⁷ from which they had been driven by the Scyths five hundred years earlier. Here, however, they were met and overpowered by a movement of nations from the east. The progress of the Sarmatic tribes commenced; and the Celts fell back along the valley of the Danube, leaving traces of their presence in the names Wallachia and Gallicia, 8 but everywhere sinking and disappearing before the antagonism of more powerful nations. In Eastern and Central Europe the Celtic race has been either absorbed or destroyed; in the West, as has been observed already, it still remains. Northern Italy deserves its German appellation of Wällschland, for neither the Roman nor the Lombard conquest, nor the ravages of Goths, Huns, or Vandals, ever rooted out the offspring of those Gallic hordes which settled in the plain of the Po four centuries before our era. France is still mainly Gallic. Rome indeed imposed her language there as elsewhere, except in one remote corner of the land, where the Celtic is still spoken; but the people continued Gauls, and the country Gallia. The Teutonic bands, Franks, Normen, Burgundians, caused the name of Gaul to disappear; but the conquerors, as a race, were absorbed among the conquered. In the British Islands, the Anglo-Saxon Teutons, in their earlier conquests, displaced the Cymry, and drove them beyond their borders; but these last maintained themselves in various places—in Cornwall, Wales, the Scotch Highlands, and Ireland—until the inauguration of a new policy. When the Cymry of Wales and Cornwall, the Gaels in Scotland, and the Erse in Ireland, submitted to Anglo-Saxon supremacy, they retained

⁵ Strabo, i. p. 48.

Brittany. See Prichard's "Celtic Nations," § 3; and Michelet's "Histoire de France," vol. i. pp. 139-143.

³ From these Celts came the ambassadors to Alexander (Arrian, Exp. Alex. i. 4).
⁴ Livy, xxxviii. 16.

⁶ See the Inscription of Protogenes, edited by Köhler. The modern Wallachs and Gallicians may not indeed be descendants of the ancient Gauls, but the names can scarcely have come from any other source. The theory which would derive them from the old German use of wälschen, walli, for strangers, foreigners," is somewhat fanciful.

their lands, their language, and even their name. ¹Amalgamation of race has since been effected to a certain extent, but still in many parts of Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, the mass of the population is mainly or entirely Celtic. Four Celtic dialects—the Manx, the Gaelic, the Erse, and the Welsh ²—are spoken in our country; and the pure Celtic type survives alike in the Bretons, the Welsh, the native Irish, the people of the Isle of Man, and the Scottish Highlanders, of whom the two former represent the Cimbric, and the three latter the non-Cimbric branch of the nation.

¹ Cornwall was the country of the *Cern-Walli*, or Welsh of the Horn. A Celtic dialect was spoken in Cornwall till late in the last century.

² The Welsh is akin to the Breton and the Cornish dialects; the Gallic and the Erse, which are closely allied, differ considerably from the three first-mentioned. In the former we have the Cimbric, in the latter the more ordinary Celtic tongue.

KA NAMA KOMMENTS

Lee Breakiron/The Nemedian Chroniclers #14 (Winter Solstice 2013 Mailing)

I appreciate your year by year overview of *The Cimmerian*. I bought a few issues, but I traded them for something else. I intended to buy replacement copies, but I never got around to it. I seem to recall extra issues getting destroyed at one point. What I saw of *The Cimmerian* showed a great deal of care and hard work. There was a time when I wished I could have bought the Howard fanzines of the 1970s, *The Howard Collector* in the 1960s-70s and even *Amra* when they were being published. I had the chance to buy the 21st century equivalents of those fanzines, but for various reasons, I passed on them, opting to spend money elsewhere. It was partly due to poor organization on my part. I'd hear about a project, but I'd take so long to get around to buying a copy that either I'd forget about it, or it would become unavailable. Also, for a time I lost enthusiasm for paying to read what others had to say about Howard. In contrast, my enthusiasm for reading Howard remained strong. I enjoyed the Wandering Star/Del Rey Howard books with restored text. What I'm trying to say is that I missed out on *The Cimmerian*, so I'm thankful for your summaries.

PAGE 4:

If I'd previously heard of Van Hise's *Sword & Fantasy*, I'd forgotten about it until seeing your mention

PAGE 6:

Thus far you've mentioned Steve Harbin, Gary Romeo, and John Haefele all of whom have at various times been in the SSWFT, the Sword & Sorcery & Weird Fiction Terminus, another amateur press association I'm in.

PAGE 7:

Re:"The Black Stranger' story is set on the coast of Pictland prior to the cataclysm that would alter it into the North American continent."

Not currently having any issues of *The Cimmerian*, I don't know if you paraphrase Steve Tompkins accurately here in his discussion of editing *The Black Stranger and Other American Tales*. In his introduction to *The Black Stranger*, Steve does not say the Cataclysm altered Pictland into North America. Instead he says, "the western edge of Pictland scarcely camouflages the eastern shore of North America." (*The Black Stranger and Other American Tales*, ix) While Pictland substitutes as a Hyborian version of the American Frontier with the Picts replacing Native Americans, Pictland did not physically become North America. The relationship is symbolic, not geographical. I believe that substitution is what Steve meant with his "scarcely camouflages" comment. Likewise, Novalyne Price Ellis reported that Howard put a lot of Texas into "Beyond the Black River." This doesn't physically locate Pictland where Texas is today. Its Americansim lies in the emotion and the atmosphere Howard absorbed from talking to old-timers who remembered Texas's frontier days. "Beyond the Black River" is an American frontier tale transported to a sword & sorcery fantasy land.

The real Picts themselves later merged with the Gaelic Scots, originally pirates and raiders

from Ireland, to form modern Scotland. (Well, Britons from Strathclyde, Angles from Northumbria, and even Vikings joined the blend too along with Normans, themselves ultimately of Viking descent, as the nobles.)

I love The Science Fiction Hall of Fame, also edited by Silverberg. It's disappointing that The Fantasy Hall of Fame didn't include Howard. That's a jaw dropping travesty. From the selection of stories, I see that a broader definition of fantasy is at play rather than just the swordplay and sorcery most people think of when they think of the genre. Thus, this volume includes Bradbury's "Small Assasin" and Bloch's "Hellbound Train." That opens the volume to considering Howard's "Pigeons From Hell" and other stories besides his Conan, Kull, and even his Solomon Kane stories. I don't know what Silverberg thinks of Howard. If the selection process worked the same as the process for *The Science Fiction Hall of Fame*, however it says much about the late 1970s/80s membership of the Science Fiction and Fantasy Writers of America that they didn't vote a Howard story into the collection. I could understand if there was only one Howard story if the fantasy anthology followed the same rule as the Science Fiction anthology in allowing only one story per writer. The voters have one possible and rather lame excuse ... I see that *The Fanta*sy Hall of Fame originally appeared in 1983 and got reissued in 1998. Not owning a copy, I noted the original publication date via Google Search. However, I really need to see a copy of this book because some of the online info is contradictory. For instance, one Amazon.com reviewer said the Science Fiction & Fantasy Writers chose these stories in 1992. (So what about the 1983 edition? Or was 1992 a typo for 1982?) The same reviewer says voters could only choose stories published between 1939-1990. Howard died in 1936, and much of his best work first got published prior to 1939. The reviewer says this cutoff date relates to John W. Campbell, Jr. starting Unknown. Thus, the voters couldn't consider many of Howard's best stories. If true, I disagree with this cutoff date. While Campbell was a revolutionary figure in his early years as a science fiction editor, he wasn't as important a figure in other forms of fantasy (if one accepts the big tent definition that makes SF a type of fantasy). By all accounts, *Unknown* was a fine pulp, but if we're going to throw a cutoff date out there for fantasy short stories, why not 1923, the year Weird Tales started? (The short story volume of The Science Fiction Hall of Fame was limited to 1929-1964. There is no tie to Campbell taking over Astounding in the late 30s in a field where Campbell had much greater impact.) Despite Unknown's influence, Weird Tales had a greater impact, so why not reach back another sixteen years, a mere six years earlier than The Science Fiction Hall of Fame reached? The voters could have considered some of Robert E. Howard, Clark Ashton Smith, and H.P. Lovecraft's best fiction along with the work of several others. Of course, even 1923 is arbitrary. Since the volume includes dark fantasy, 1923 cuts off other worthy writers such as Edgar Allan Poe.

PAGE 13:

When the semi-annual, NecronomiCons ceased for a time, Grin's claim that Lovecraft fans had nothing like Howard days MIGHT have been temporarily true. Even then there was still the Lovecraft film festival. Now the NecronomiCon is back, and, yes, Rhode Island is a small state, but we are talking about a city, a state capital, celebrating its native son. (Danvers, Massachusetts hosted the first NecronomiCon, but the event now occurs in Providence.) Howard Days is cool, and if I ever get the chance, I'd love to go. I've been to NecronomiCon because I can drive to Providence in an hour and a half at most. I just want to mention that Lovecraft too has his events, one of which has seen a state capital rename a street after him and devote displays to him in one

of its libraries like the Cross Plains library does for Howard. I'm talking about the Providence Atheneum and not Brown University's John Hay Library which is also in Providence. The John Hay Library houses Lovecraft's papers, but the Atheneum unveiled a Lovecraft statue, and (by arrangement with the John Hay Library I'd assume) had Lovecraft manuscripts on display. There were poetry readings, panels, Lovecraftian films, and even an old time radio style show performed live.

I'm not trying to say this is better than Howard Days, just that Lovecraft does have something like Howard Days. It was on hiatus for a time, but it's back. As for Clark Ashton Smith, I don't know that he has anything comparable.

Also, I disagree with typecasting all Lovecraft or Smith fans as thinking that Howard was half the writer that Smith and Lovecraft were. Sure, some fans might believe that, but there are people who admire all three writers.

PAGE 14:

I actually debated *The Hour of the Dragon*'s title with de Camp in REHupa. This was around 1993 or 1994. I wrote a mini-essay citing the verse heading and several mentions in the text of a dragon symbolizing Nemedia.

PAGE 15:

Ben Szumskyj, founded SSWFT which I mentioned earlier.

I used the Paul Herman edited *Blood of the Gods* as a source for my El Borak essay in *Two-Gun Bob*.

PAGE 18:

I don't think it was so much the personal qualms of the editors and publishers of the spicies that led to their restrictive editorial policies and tame sex scenes by our standards. Many of them had concerns with restrictive laws of the time. In *Men of Tomorrow: Geeks, Gangsters, and the Birth of the Comic Book*, Gerard Jones mentions how Harry Donenfeld, who seized control of DC comics from its founder Malcolm Wheeler-Nicholson, nearly went to jail over his involvement in spicy pulps. Donenfeld and his longtime business partner Jack Liebowitz were both rumored to have connections with organized crime. Donenfeld supposedly helped smuggle liquor across the U.S. and Canadian border during Prohibition for Frank Costello. Donenfeld was in street gangs during his youth in the Lower East Side of New York City. Facing jail time over the spicies, He convinced an employee to take the blame and to serve the jail sentence. In return, Donenfeld promised a favor after the jail term ended. Decades later, a newer DC staffer wondered about a guy who came to work and went as he pleased. When he was there, the guy just sat around making picks in horse races while still getting paid, never getting in trouble, and never getting fired. It was then explained that the guy had once served jail time for Harry Donenfeld and that Donenfeld had given him a job for life.

PAGE 19:

I wonder if another possible inspiration for the humiliated teacher in "Desert Blood" could have been some of Novalyne Price's school teacher friends. Some of Novalyne's friends didn't look too kindly on Howard, but anger towards Novalyne is a strong possibility.

PAGE 20:

Like Morgan Holmes said, the Cimbri who attacked the Roman Republic and the Cimmerians who invaded Asia Minor and found their way into Homer's Odyssey were not the same. However, for centuries some historians, including Plutarch, thought the Cimmerians and Cimbri were the same people. See "On the Cimmerians of Herodotus and the Migrations of the Cymric Race" elsewhere in this zine.

PAGE 21:

It's neat seeing the original manuscript of this Howard letter you bought from Roy Barkley.

PAGE 23:

I think the laser printed Necronomicon Press items are pretty attractive chap books.

PAGE 25:

Most of the Cryptic Publications I own were ones I bought from Necronomicon Press. You say that Donald Sidney-Fryer wrote defending Lovecraft, Smith, and Howard for never being married and living either with their mothers or mother surrogates. Not having read Fryer's article, I don't know if you characterize his point accurately enough. Whether it's an accurate portrayal of what Fryer said or not, as presented here it's incorrect on one essential point. Lovecraft was married. He and his wife Sonia lived together in New York City for a time. They then lived separately as she went west looking for work. Eventually, the marriage failed. Sonia asked for a divorce. Due to the divorce laws at the time, Lovecraft had to claim Sonia had abandoned him. It turns out that the divorce was never actually finalized. Unknown to Sonia, Lovecraft didn't sign some paperwork, and she later married someone else. S.T. Joshi provides a wealth of information about Lovecraft's marriage in *I Am Providence: The Life and Times of H.P. Love-*

PAGE 27:

craft.

Steve Tompkins was right. De Camp was mistaken in saying "Kings of the Night" was Bran Mak Morn's "first appearance on paper." There's the fragment, "Bran Mak Morn" a.k.a. "Bran Mak Morn: A Play." The introductory information on page 237 of *Bran Mak Morn: The Last King* says Howard wrote "Bran Mak Morn" circa 1922-23.

The REH Fiction and Verse Timeline says that on October 5, 1923, Howard mentioned writing a book featuring Bran Mak Morn. Although Bran doesn't actually appear in the fragment of the book which we have (see *The Last King* 287-320), Bran's mention in the letter is another "appearance on paper."

For a complete and extant story, Howard submitted "Men of the Shadows" to *Weird Tales* in 1926

So Bran "appears on paper" in a complete story, a fragment, and a letter all predating "Kings of the Night."

Frank Coffman/ShadowSinger 21 Winter Solstice 2013

PAGE 4:

Re: "The formalists and structuralists have called one aspect of this 'defamiliarization."

As you know, "defamiliarization" is something the Russian formalist Viktor Shklovsky advocated. Maybe it was expected that the original audience for this essay should know about Viktor Shklovsky, Russian Formalism, and concepts like defamiliarization. I wonder if the audience for REHeapa might have broader interests though. I'm speaking of the audience beyond even the current contributing membership. Some readers might be familiar with various literary theories while others might not be interested in literary theory, but may be very knowledgable on other subjects. Some readers might be history experts, for instance, who love fiction and love seeing fiction discussed, but who haven't studied literary theory. For readers like that, a quick explanation of terms like formalism might be nice. And, hey, before you know it, a history or computer expert may have learned a little more literary theory. Plus, even for someone who's encountered the terms before, sometimes a refresher is nice.

As for defamiliarization, it's stimulating when you see it used in artistic endeavors, but even before I knew its name, I noticed defamiliarization's power. For instance, walking along a busy road I'd driven along thousands of times between Westfield's downtown core district and a series of strip malls, I noticed how big the yards were for some of the old houses I passed. I noted more detail to the houses. I noticed an old barn here and there out back which had been converted into a garage. I suddenly could really visualize what that stretch of road, that neighborhood, had been like in quieter, more rural days. It's really neat to take something you've seen so many times you barely notice it anymore and suddenly see it in a new way. It can be very thought provoking.

Well, that's all for this quarter. See you all next time!