In this paper I will attempt to offer a general overview of two very different working perspectives, the first by other researchers and the second my own, whose confluence has gradually been imposed in recent years, and which I believe should be submitted for public debate, taking advantage of the minutes of the meeting held on the subject of Indo-European tradition and material culture.

The work by other researchers I refer to is essentially that published by the ethnologist from Brittany, D. Laurent (1979, 1987, 1990, Laurent – Treguer 1996: 85–130) on the troménie of Locronan, a festival held every six years that follows a particular itinerary which, as this author has demonstrated, faithfully reproduces the Celtic view of the yearly cycle. Around the same time, M. Almagro discovered the monumental pool of the Gallic oppidum of Bibracte which at least partially signifies the implementation of a similar action of fixing the yearly cycle within a specific landscape, at the same time as it was constructed artificially using the pool, and naturally, with the relevance of particular elements of the local landscape.

My own work is basically that which I have produced together with Manuel Santos Estévez, an archaeologist specializing in rock art, on the petroglyphs of A Ferradura, in the district of Amoeiro (Galicia, Spain), in which we believe we have identified another specific way of fixing the yearly cycle within a specific landscape.

At first glance it appears that there is nothing in common between a local Christian festival, a monument of the ancient Gauls and a rock art station from protohistoric Galicia, other than the way in which they show types of relationships between time and landscape that appear to be specific to ancient Celtic culture, manifested in different ways. However, here we come across two problems, as on the one hand there is no generalized conscience that this may be the case, and on the other, in accordance with a well-established method, it is opportune to look to the Celtic mythology of the islands for parallels that explain the religious customs of continental Celts in ancient times. This article will attempt to respond to both questions by showing that this relationship exists between space and time in the Celtic religion and is manifested in different ways, including as a legacy in Christian culture, and will present a passage from an Irish epic in support of this.

This said, this proposal can be nothing more than an initial approximation, and new observations are required in other locations and of other monuments with a similar conception of the relationship between space and time, as well as studies by specialists in texts from the islands that may eventually shed further light on the relationships between time and landscape that may be read in them. I will start with a brief summary of the discoveries made by D. Laurent in Locronan, to then explore other comparative elements from Galicia, Gaul and Ireland.

1. The Troménie of Locronan

The troménie (from the Breton tro – turn or spin – and minihi – monachia, a monastic domain – Laurent 1996: 87) of Locronan is held in the Breton town of the same name, close to the port of

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Douarnenez. Every six years, for eight days between the second and third Sunday in July, the participants hold a ‘penitential march’ following a route that covers some twelve kilometres, in a rectangular shape perfectly indicated by a series of landmarks whose relevant topographical, toponymical, religious or folkloric aspects are mixed together in different ways. In particular, there are twelve ‘stations’ where the festivalgoers halt to pray or enact rituals. The starting point and finish is the church of Locronan, dedicated to Saint Ronan, a bishop from the High Middle Ages who arrived from Ireland to convert the region to Christianity. Records of the festival exist from 1585, although other relevant materials are a chronicle of Saint Ronan (Vita Ronani) from the thirteenth century, different oral traditions (LA VILLEMARQUÉ 1997: 471–6; LE BRAZ 1996: 1060–88) and other data. D. Laurent hypothesizes that the 12 stations where the penitents halt are a translation into space of the characteristic features of specific key moments of the Celtic calendar. To verify this hypothesis he crosschecks his data on these ‘stations’ with other data on key dates from the Celtic calendar.

Here he discovers the relationship between the first station, dedicated to Saint Eutropius, with the festival of Samain on November 1st, the start of the Celtic year and the six dark months of winter. The common feature between this station and the old festival are its associations with magic healing. The fourth station, at the north-eastern corner of the route, is dedicated to Saint Anne (the mother of Mary), and would correspond to February 1st, in the middle of winter and the marking the half of the season closest to Spring. Saint Anne and Notre-Dame de la Bonne-Nouvelle, to whom the fifth station is dedicated, are the only stations ‘presided over’ by women, and their analysis reveals that the cult to them is inherited from the festival of Imbolc, presided over by Brigit. The seventh station, dedicated to John the Evangelist, corresponds to May 1st, the celebration of Beltane – the fire of Bel – marking the summer or ‘light’ half of the Celtic year. In this case numerous texts recommended for recital refer to the idea of the light that overpowers the darkness, in line with the significance of the date in the Celtic concept of the year. The tenth station corresponds to August 1st, the festival of Lugnasad, and is marked by different rites and celebrations. Here, D. Laurent indicates the similarities between the glowing, solar character of Saint Ronan, and the god Lug, analogies that were given further support by the discovery of a gold mine from the time of Charlemagne on the northern face of the mountain where this station is situated (LAURENT – TREGUER 1996: 101–2, 98–102; see Fig. 1).

And so, in Locronan the yearly solar cycle is fixed in the landscape, identified through a Christian festival that possibly harks back to an ancient Celtic background, as revealed by a series of archaeological data. However, this archaeological record is the protagonist of the rock art station of A Ferradura in Galicia, Spain.

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1 The area was a major crossroads in Gallic and Gallo-Roman times, and much of the route follows an old paved road (LAURENT 1990: 2–4 and more details in ÉVEILLARD 1995, GUIGON 1995). On its eastern section, two menhirs of uncertain date form two other relevant points of the itinerary (LAURENT 1990: 11). There is what may be a barrow in Menez Lokorn, the highest point of the route (LAURENT 1987: 25). A manor house from the time of Charlemagne has been excavated on the hillside, and a game of noughts and crosses found carved into a slab of slate (GUIGON 1994). This is nothing exceptional, although the gaming board is reminiscent of the territory defined by troménie with its most relevant solar and symbolic axes, as indicated by Guigon.
2. Archaeoastronomy in A Ferradura

On the banks of the river Miño, some 20 km to the west of the city of Ourense, the district of Amoeiro is situated in a flat highland area, with an average height of 400 m and known as Chao de Amoeiro, flanked by the courses of the Barbantiño and Miño rivers. A Ferradura is situated on a plain forming a kind of balcony that looks out over the steep hillsides to the west formed by the Barbantiño river. To the south, other steep slopes descend to the Miño river. To the north, the plain is interrupted by the course of the Formigueiro river. Finally, to the east is the hill of Coto da Portela, which serves as a visual barrier. Standing in A Ferradura, visibility is first directed to the west, and then to the south and north (Fig. 2).

The area has a wealth of archaeological remains (García – Santos 2000, 2004a, 2004b). Of particular importance are the hill forts of San Cibrán de Las and San Trocado, and the Indigenous-Roman settlement of Laias. Elsewhere, in the village of Formigueiro is an Iron Age relief with
geometric motifs and frieze with horses, one of which has a rider (COBAS forthcoming). The area of A Ferradura contains a rock art station with some thirty carved rocks distributed in twenty groups, which we have described below by zones.

Fig. 2. The archaeoastronomical landscape of the Bajo Barbantiño region (Ourense, Galicia, Spain).

- Area with petroglyphs in A Ferradura.
- Main carved rock panels.
- Castros or hill forts, habitats dating from the Iron Age.
- Directions of visibility from the podomorphs in A Ferradura.
- Archaeoastronomical alignments.
- Present-day village of Formigueiro with relief from the Iron Age.

The white line shows the area visible from the A Ferradura carvings. The Coto do Castro hill fort and San Trocado hill fort are 6 km. away.

*Outeiro de A Zarra*, is a small hill to the extreme south west of the station on the slopes of the Barbantiño valley, and has a profile reminiscent of a hill fort, although its small size and lack of defensive structures makes this unlikely. Here there are three carvings with circular combinations, rocks with cup marks, and a sheltered outcrop with a carving in its interior.
At the north-eastern end of the station, Coto do Castro is an Iron Age hill fort with a complex system of terraces. From its summit it is possible to see all of A Ferradura (whose name, in Galician, means ‘the Horseshoe’). In the settlement, close to the acropolis, there is a highly eroded carving which reads [·]EBA{. [·]}E, as well as a carved serpentiform shape, with numerous parallels in Galician hill forts.

Next is Chan de A Ferradura, a flat area with numerous rocks and boulders. Those on the edges of the plain, between 3 and 5 meters high, are usually carved with cup marks. A different rock is O Raposo, (the Fox), the popular name for a rock standing some 3.5 m high with a hollow in its interior, with an irregular carving similar to that found in A Zarra.

In the centre of the Chan is the most complex carving, which gives its name to the area. It is 10 m long, 3.2 m wide and 1.5 m high (Fig. 3), and its surface is carved with podomorphs, semi-cylindrical and quadrangular incisions, crosses, horseshoes, cup-marks, figures with concentric circles, a serpentiform shape and other irregular shapes. The podomorphs are the most numerous group known in Galicia and are highly detailed, with the toes visible on several of the carvings. We excavated this petroglyph in 2002, having observed that the surrounding area had been seriously affected by agricultural work in different modern periods.

![Fig. 3. The petroglyph of A Ferradura (The Horseshoe) in the area of the same name.](image)

The rock art station of A Ferradura has a similar distribution of carvings to those found in other Iron Age stations in Galicia that we believe should be considered as sanctuaries (SANTOS – GARCÍA 2003, GARCÍA – SANTOS forthcoming). Around the edges are simple carvings, as if they were defining an enclosure, although in this case A Zarra and O Raposo stand out for their greater complexity. The most complex carving is in the centre, decorated by motifs that almost completely cover the rock. A series of archaeo-astronomical observations are also significant, as the outcrops of A Zarra and O Raposo, as well as the central carving, reveal that they were constructed according to the position of the sun on specific dates of the year.

In order to fully understand this, it is necessary to consider that A Ferradura is situated in the centre of a triangle, whose vertices are hill forts overlooking the course of the Barbantiño river, Coto do Castro, a settlement from the start of the period of Roman occupation (around 19 BC), San Trocado, occupied in the early Iron Age, and then abandoned, San Cibrán de Las, one of Galicia’s largest hill forts, founded around the second century BC and abandoned at the end of the first century AD, replaced by the growth of the Indigenous-Roman settlement of Laias next to the Miño river. Taking this into account, we will now examine the archaeo-astronomical phenomena.
Fig. 4. Raposo. 1. General view over the rock known as O Raçoso (The Fox), the inside of which is hollow. 2. The petroglyph, inside the hollow, lit at sunset at the winter solstice. 3. At this time the sun is over the summit of San Trocado. 4 and O Raçoso projects its shadow towards the hill fort of Coto do Castro, precisely where the sun rises at the summer solstice.

Fig. 5. The petroglyph in the rock shelter of A Zarra. 1 & 2 views of the shelter on the slope of the hill. 3. Petroglyph carved inside the shelter. 4. Interior of the rock shelter, lit at sunset at the summer solstice.
In O Raposo, at the time of the winter solstice, the sun sets on the summit of the hill fort of San Trocado, illuminating the interior of the rocky outcrop and the petroglyph. Also, at this time of year O Raposo throws its shadow to the north east, pointing towards Coto do Castro, which in turn is the point where the sun rises at the summer solstice, when seen from O Raposo (Fig. 4). However, on this date it points towards a large opening in the outcrop that does not appear to be significant, nor does it appear relevant that at the equinox the sun enters through an overhead opening and illuminates the rock, and neither are the points where the sun rises and sets as clearly marked as at the solstices. In A Zarra a similar effect occurs around the summer solstice, when as the sun sets it illuminates the interior of the outcrop, with the light entering from its southern end. However, the points of the sunrise and sunset are not related to relevant points in the landscape, meaning that it is of little religious or cultural interest (Fig. 5).

Finally, the rock of A Ferradura includes a transversal crack some 80 cm long and 10 cm wide that points towards the summit of the hill fort of San Cibrán de Las. In this case, when the sun sets over San Cibrán de Las in early February, it sets exactly over the crack. If this happens forty days after the winter solstice, then the same will occur forty days earlier, at the start of November. In the opposite direction, to the east the sun rises over the summit of Coto do Castro at the start of May, pointing towards the same crack in A Ferradura, a phenomenon which is then repeated at the beginning of August (Fig. 6).

Fig. 6. Crack in the petroglyph of A Ferradura with sun at sunset crossing it on 1st February. The photo on the left shows the sun over the hill fort of San Cibrán de Las, to the left (to the south, in the landscape) is the summit of San Trocado.

Having reached this point, it does not appear to be necessary to emphasize the similarities between the troménie of Locronan and a specific way of fixing the yearly solar cycle within a specific
landscape, at the same time as there are many obvious differences between this festival and the rock art station of A Ferradura. However, it does call for other parallels to be sought. Starting with Galicia, we will consider an ethnoarchaeological study carried out by X. AYÁN (2005) in the parish of San Pedro de Cereixa.

3. The ethnoarchaeology of San Pedro de Cereixa

The parish is situated in the district of Pobra de Brollón (in the province of Lugo). X. AYÁN (forthcoming) has distinguished between cults to saints with ancient roots and devotion that spread as a result of the ‘counterreforms’. Amongst the former is the counterpositioning between the celebration held for San Blas on 3rd February, and San Lorenzo, on 10th August. Both are related with locations that are well defined in the local topography; San Blas with the area of Os Carballos, the site of an ancient oak wood, now cut down, next to the parish church and neighbouring graveyard. San Lorenzo lords over ‘Castro da Lende’, where the remains of the hermitage dedicated to him may still be seen.

On the eve of San Blas, a festival is held known as “a noite dos Cepos” (the night of the boughs) or “a festa dos vellos” (the festival of the old ones), which consists of burning dry oak boughs in Os Carballos (whose name means ‘the oaks’ in Galician). The pagan origins of this ritual are discussed in ecclesiastical reports dating as far back as the end of the seventeenth century. Xurxo Ayán’s grandfather provided us with information on the rituals of San Lorenzo; his grandmother (and therefore our author’s great grandmother) in turn told him how during times of drought the saint’s image was taken in procession from the chapel to the river, and after it was bathed it would start to rain. Curiously, local folklore is insistent on this relationship between the summit of Castro da Lende and the river, indicating that both locations were joined together by a chain, which in some versions of the tale is said to have been made of gold. Local folklore also separates areas of human inhabitation, small settlements that follow the course of the river Saa and through the parish, and the area known as the mourindá, a name derived from the legendary figures known as mouros of Galician folklore, situated to the north of an imaginary parallel line running alongside the river on its northern border, where Castro da Lende and San Lorenzo are both situated (Fig. 7).

The myths and rites connected with these ancient martyrs have a clear relationship in which they oppose and complement each other within the symbolic landscape of Cereixa. Their feast days, six months apart, are very close to the Celtic festivals of Imbolc and Lugnasad. Furthermore, San Blas is on the side of the area where the social life of the parish takes place, and San Lorenzo on the side of the “mourindá”, although both spaces are brought together through their rituals.

This said, debate has arisen on whether San Blas inherited aspects of Imbolc. S.C. McCluskey (1989: S8) rejects this possibility in Great Britain, although this does not mean it is untrue for other areas. In Ireland, V. GUIBERT DE LA VAISSEIÈRE (2003: 212–13, 217) points out on a number of occasions that San Blas inherited several aspects of Imbolc. In effect, the saint and Brigit share their care for animals, their powers of healing and their affinity with fire. Thanks to these features, the pre-Roman cult could have been ‘Christianized’; curiously, elements such as fire, abundance (resulting from caring for animals) and healing powers, particularly for young people, are all present in the festival of Os Cepos in Cereixa. Although this cannot be stated with full certainty, it is worth noting that the ‘Christianization’ of pagan cults took place in a highly dispersed manner, so that significant

2 Apart from the data presented by Ayán on the antiquity of the diffusion of their cult in Galicia, see also VORAGINE 1967: I, 196–199 on San Blas, who died in 283, and II, 68–82 on San Lorenzo, who died in 257.
relations in one region were not the same in others, meaning that each case has to be explored without the support of a stable model.

Fig. 7. Symbolic map of the parish of San Pedro de Cereixa.

† Parish boundary markers (crosses).
○ Hill forts; those with a cross have different Christian symbols.
— Frontier between the central space – Christian and inhabited by man – and the mythical, peripheral space, inhabited by the mythical beings known as ‘mouros’.
•••• Axis of sunrises and sunsets in relation to the dates on which Celtic mid-season festivals were held, and the most important locations within the symbolic landscape of the parish.

Once again this is the case with San Lorenzo – St. Lawrence in English – absent amongst the heirs to the cult that worshipped Lug (MCCLUSKEY 1989: S10–S12), in the same way as there is no mention of St. Ronan in Locronan, who D. Laurent has established as his probable heir. The saint is paradigmatically linked to the fire under the grille on which Lawrence was martyred, and in Cereixa reveals the features of a mediator: he brings water in midsummer, is on high and descends, is found in the symbolic area of the “mourindá” yet preserves his human life. Further afield, the characteristic meaning of Irish folk festivals that took over from Lugnasad is the preservation of the crops (MACNEILL 1962, GUIBERT DE LA VAISSIÈRE 2003: 355–74). A further important feature of the god Lug is that he brings together those in conflict, is both young and old, man and woman, his name
evokes light, and is represented by a crow (García Quintela forthcoming). It may even be said that the god is genetically conditioned to represent the unity of opposites, as his mother Eithne belongs to the race of the Fomoire, sworn enemies in the Irish myth of the tribe of the goddess Diana, to whom Lug’s father Cian belonged (HILY forthcoming).

The figure as a mediator between those in conflict is also a feature of Saint Lawrence in the church tradition. He is a saint who is paradigmatically linked to fire as a result of his death on the grille. The fathers of the Church and J. de Voragine both explored the gory details of his demise in considerable detail. Even Saint Maximus, quoted by de Voragine, tells how the saint overcame his martyrdom by contrasting it with three sources of cold: “the desire to reach paradise that cooled the flames… while his spirit was concerned with meditating on the commandments of Jesus, all he suffered was cold to him… he thought of nothing more than the kingdom of God, and his conscience was refreshed, allowing him to arise victorious from his suffering” (VORAGINE 1967: 81). It is impossible to know if this sophisticated consideration upholds the rites of Cereixa which, in any case, reveal a similar exchange of opposites, as “…the prayers [to St. Lawrence] are offered when there is a drought; one year when it had not rained at all, the procession travelled from the hill fort (of Lende) to the river, and once the saint was wet, it started to rain, saving the crops” (AYÁN forthcoming).

Drought is typical of midsummer (and can be truly harsh in Galicia, particularly in the interior), around the time of the saint’s feast day on 10th August. To end the drought his image must be refreshed with river water, in the same way as the theological ideas refreshed Lawrence as he suffered his martyrdom (see Table 1). In this way, the rite of bringing the river water together with the saint produces the union of holy water with the earth, as rainfall that saves the crops, and as a result, the human community as a whole. It is still relevant that the myth is in some way twisted, with the plaster image of the saint coming down to the river to cause the rain, controlled by God, to fall upon the dry fields in which the crops grow.

Table 1. San Lorenzo as a mediatory in the symbolic landscape of Cereixa.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘MOURINDÁ’</th>
<th>HIGH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Humans</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rainwater</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dry earth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>God</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Highs and lows at parish level, highs and lows at cosmic level, local fire and water, dry earth and cosmic water, mourindá and humans, god and humans. We may therefore see a situation similar to that in Locronan, from the point of view of maintaining a relationship between the landscape and annual cycle that probably originates from the Celtic tradition, as part of the Christian calendar of celebrations. A further observation about Os Carballos and O Castro da Lende we see that from north to south, they form the same angle seen in the area of A Ferradura between the hill forts of Coto do Castro and San Cibrán de Las.

Put it in another way, the relative position of the places in Cereixa where San Blas and San Lorenzo are worshipped is equivalent to the relative position between the hill forts related to the sunrise on dates coinciding with the Celtic festivals in A Ferradura. If we add to this what has already been said about the dates when the festivals are held in Cereixa and the features of Blas and Lorenzo in this place, then everything would seem to indicate that we are seeing the use of an identical model to that detected in the archaeological landscape from the Iron Age in the Lower Barbantiño region, this
time conserved in celebrations with their roots in early Christianity. Other data is available to further support these relationships.

The symbolic axis that runs between Os Carballos and the Castro da Lende covers the valley of the river Saa, with the village laid out along both banks. To the south of this inhabited area and from the position of Os Carballos, X. Ayán (2005: 126–128) has shown how the limits of the parish are marked out by a line that joins a series of mamoas, or Neolithic burial sites. In turn, to the north of the inhabited area, with the boundaries marked by the hillfort of Castro da Lende, the space known as the Mourindá is characterized in archaeological terms by hill forts from the period of Roman occupation, dedicated to mining. These three strips of territory, defined by local boundaries, also coincide with the Celtic concepts of relationships between space and time.

In this case, D. Laurent (1990: 9; Laurent – Treger 1986: 93–4) has explained how the Celts’ view of the world and that of the Indo-Europeans in general was based on considering an axis running from west to east, always looking towards the point where the sun rises. In this way, south is right and north is left. Also, towards the north, between the points where the sun rises and sets on 1st May and 1st August, and the points where the sun rises and sets at the Summer solstice, a strip of territory is defined that was symbolically related to the brightest half of the light part of the year. In turn, to the south, between the points where the sun rises and sets on 1st November and 1st February, and the points of the sunrise and sunset at the Winter solstice, another strip of territory was defined that was symbolically related to the gloomiest half of the dark part of the year. In this context, the festivals of Imbolc and Lugnasad – San Blas and San Lorenzo in Cereixa – are important, as they take place halfway through each season (Laurent 1990: 27), and with regard to the perception of how the sun moves across the landscape, the limiting points between the purely light and dark areas, and the area shared by both seasons, in the yearly movement of the sun towards the south in autumn, and towards the north in the spring (Fig. 8). Table 2 shows the relationships between time and space shared by the Celts and those found in Cereixa, revealing exactly how closely connected they are.

Table 2. Space-time in the Celtic culture and in the symbolic landscape of Cereixa.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CELTS</th>
<th>CEREIXA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st May to</td>
<td>NORTH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st August</td>
<td>Light zone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mourindá/ hill forts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WEST</td>
<td>EAST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st August to</td>
<td>Mixed zone (Spring,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st November. /</td>
<td>Autumn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st February to</td>
<td>Village, peasants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st May</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st November to</td>
<td>Dark zone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st February.</td>
<td>Tumuli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOUTH</td>
<td>Os Carballos</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

And so, based on the model seen in Locronan, we have found two comparable situations in Galicia: A Ferradura, which uses the archaeo-astronomical aspects present in Locronan, and Cereixa, which displays another way in which Christianity adopted the relationships between the yearly cycle and the landscape taken from the Celtic tradition. We will now go on to explore other comparable elements outside of Galicia.
Fig. 8. Diagram of Celtic space-time relationships with the examples studied. The irregular shape in the middle corresponds to the route of the troménie of Locronan. The rectangle to the left represents the Bajo Barbantiño. The two chapels represent the relative locations of San Lorenzo and San Blas in the parish of San Pedro de Cereixa. The arrow indicates the epiphany of Lug before Cú Chulainn according to the Tain (infra). The circles indicate relevant locations in the legend of St. James the Apostle (infra).

4. Archaeoastronomical elements in Gaul

We will start with a series of studies by M. Baudouin, an archaeologist who explored podomorphic rock carvings in France in a number of publications that culminated with a book published in 1914 (DEONNA 1915). One of the podomorphs from the island of Yeu (Vendée) he published had the heel pointing towards the sunrise at the winter solstice (BAUDOUIN 1915: 437), meaning that the toes were pointing to where the sun set at the summer solstice. M. Baudouin applied a method that was very much of his time, although we have no reason to argue with his observations, which are similar to those made in A Ferradura, where podomorphs and solstice alignments are both present.

In turn, A. AUDIN (1962; 1979: 98–101) analyzed one of the motifs represented in the aureus of Lyon issued by Mark Anthony in 45 BC. On its reverse there is an image of the Genie of Lugdunum (possibly Lug), with his right foot on a globe, possible the emblem of the calendar, and next to the

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3 A doctor by profession, he was also a pioneer of the study of rock art, and highly sensitive to archaeoastronomical observations (BAUDOUIN 1913) as well as folklore (BAUDOUIN 1911, 1912).
same foot is a rock upon which is perched a bird. A. Audin believes that this rock would have been the omphalos of the city of Lugdunum, on what is today the summit of the hill of Fourvière and was once the first Roman forum. More specifically, this rock, associated with other elements such as columns or pillars that market the rotational points of the sun, would be a heliotropos. If we reconsider this idea, it would be in Lugdunum the equal to that of O Raposo.

Our third parallel is the Monumental Pool of Bibracte, capital of the Gallic civitas of the Eduii, excavated by M. Almagro Gorbea and J. Gran-Aymerich in 1987. Built immediately after the conquest, between 40 and 30 BC, presumably with the intervention of the druid Diviciacus, the work required complex astronomical and mathematical knowledge; full details of this are given in the magnificent publication by its discoverers. Here the point of interest is that the minor axis of the pool is in line with the sunrise at the winter solstice, extending in a straight line towards the sunset in the north-west at the summer solstice (Almagro – Gran-Aymerich 1991: 158–62; Goudineau – Peyre 1993: 40–5). A further observation has been made by A. Gaspani – S. Cernuti (1997: 125–7), according to which this same axis points towards the point where the star Antares is first seen as it rises in the sky, an astronomical event which according to these authors dates the celebration of Samain, and as such the start of the Celtic year. Another detail from the pool of Bibracte allows us once again to refer to A Ferradura. As M. Almagro Gorbea and J. Gran-Aymerich wrote: “But also, according to this alignment [the general alignment of the lesser axis of the pool], at the winter solstice, the sun rises and sets over the two most important peaks of Bibracte, Porrey and Thérouet de la Roche, giving evidence of a preoccupation for topographical-astronomical aspects that may be analyzed in other details related to the oppidum” (Almagro – Gran-Aymerich 1991: 236). Meaning that thanks to a show of monumental art that contrasts with the minimalism of A Ferradura, the Gallic pool and the petroglyphs we study are situated in the landscape according to similar criteria.4

We cannot stress enough the similarity of the elements considered, both in terms of their date and the way in which they appear before us. This means it is recommendable to make multiple observations in order to establish specific subseries of Celtic space and time, for example in rock carvings or other archaeological contexts, or the way they were altered in Christian interpretations. It is also fitting to examine all of the isolated events, and in this case we believe it is worth examining a passage from The Cattle Raid of Cooley that is open to an interpretation in line with those presented in this article.

5. The dream of Cú Chulainn in the landscape

A passage from the epic of Cú Chulainn tells of the conditions thanks to which he was able to rest from his never-ending battle against the mighty armies of Medb and Aíllil. “The four great provinces of Ireland set up their camp and headquarters at Breslech Mor, on the plains of Murthemne” where Cú Chulainn looked upon them in a rage, and let out a great shout that caused fear and death in the camp. Then something happened:

http://www.paddybrown.co.uk/ulstercycle/tain.html

“a solitary man crossed the countryside of the four provinces of Ireland, from the north-east (anairtuith) – coming directly towards him [Cú Chulainn].

- A solitary man, here, now comes towards us, O Cucucán, says Laeg.
- What kind of man is he? Says Cuchulainn.

4 Although in A Ferradura nothing is comparable to the mathematical models used to define the proportions of the pool. See Sergent 2004 for details on the mythological and ideological background to the pool.
It is not difficult. A large, handsome man, with great tonsure, with blonde, curly hair. He is wrapped in a green cape, with a white silver pin at his chest. He has a royal tunic embroidered in red gold to his knees, with a belt over his white skin. He carries a black shield with a hard circle of white bronze, a lance with five points in his hand, and a hatchet at his side. The arts, games and entertainment he enjoys are strange. Yet no-one pays attention to him, and he pays attention to no-one, as if no-one saw him in his camp in the four provinces of Ireland.” (GUYONVARC’H 1994: 143–44)

This is one of the epiphanies of Lug, with features related to the sun (Gricourt, Hollard 1997: 240). Yet the episode continues, as Lug’s mission consists of making Cuchulainn sleep for three days, as he was greatly fatigued after having fought without sleep “from the Monday before Samain up to the Wednesday after Imbolc” (GUYONVARC’H 1994: 144; LE ROUX – GUYONVARC’H 1995: 189–191).

However, if Lug came from the north-east, as the text states, he was heading towards the south-west, and here, as the text also makes clear, is the hero who has not slept between Samain and Imbolc, which as we know is the same point in a given landscape. Correlatively, the point of origin in the north-east would have been determined by the dates of Lugnasad and Beltane. The direct relationship between the first and Lug is evident, although this is also true of Beltaine (SERGENT 1990; LE ROUX – GUYONVARC’H 1995: 201–2; GRICOURT – HOLLARD 2002: 133–6).

Furthermore, as we have seen, the darkest part of the Celtic year was between Samain and Imbolc, and during this period Cú Chulainn’s mission involved incessantly hurrying the men of Ireland to their deaths. Correspondingly, Lug came from the light part of the year seen in this specific landscape, and between both points, as indicated in the text, is his camp. These relationships may be indicated on a chart (Fig. 9), with evident similarities with what we have seen up to now.

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**Fig. 9. The epiphany of Lug according to the Tain bo Cualnge.**
6. The ethnoastronomy of the landscape of St. James

We will now focus our attention on the landscape in which the final stage of the *translatio* of the body of the Apostle St. James took place, from the Holy Land to his final resting place in Compostela. In this case we have to consider the courses of the river Tambre to the north and the Ulla to the south; to the west, the course of the river Sar that forms the valley known as *Amaia*, with the eastern limit less defined, with the mountain known as the *Pico Sagro* or ‘Holy Peak’ (530m) apparently conforming this boundary.

The legend of St. James is undoubtedly Mediaeval, with few high Mediaeval testimonies, meaning that it is difficult for the story of its text to offer us clues about its age. For this reason, and based on the previous analyses discussed in this article, I suggest exploring the history of the landscape in which it takes place. If all or many of the relevant locations have a more or less coherent temporal horizon (pre-Roman, Roman, high Mediaeval, etc.), then we may consider that these ‘scenarios’ were chosen to fill the legend with meaning when they were fully operational (although the effect of evoking unknown locations may also work) and thereby give some indication as to its date (see in this case BRODERICK 2003). The comparative method may also provide us with information. In our case, the aim is to seek out one or more precise structural parallels, far apart in space and time, and that it may not be reasonable to consider the influence of one tradition on another, imposing the explanation of a common, more ancient origin of the underlying structure, updated in each of the horizons considered.

We will continue on this path, comparing the legend of St. James with the *troménie* of Locronan, although now we will focus on the legend of its patron saint, San Ronan, united with the territory of the parish of Locronan and the route followed by the great *troménie* every six years. The southern boundary is marked by the crest that descends from the summit of *Menez Lokorn* to the west, where the forest of Nevet is situated (the ancient *nemeton*), following a Roman road. To the west is the forest and a boggy area, marking out the north-western corner. The northern side is less topographically defined, but to the east, on the boundary with the parish of Quéménéven, is the spring where the river Stiff rises, and the route for ascending *Menez Lokorn*, which forms the south-eastern corner of the route.

Furthermore, in Locronan and Santiago, the axes formed by the sunrise and sunset at the time of the Celtic festivals half way through the season are of particular relevance. In the area of Compostela, if we take the *Pico Sagro* as our central point, something imposed by its physical nature, we see that in three of the four points marked by sunrises or sunsets on the dates of the Celtic festivals, there were or still are points of religious interest (*Fig. 10*).

Towards the south-east, following the ridge of hills that ends with the *Pico Sagro*, some five kilometres away on the left bank of the Ulla river is the hill fort of San Miguel. On the north-western slope on which the hill fort is built, over the banks of the river, is the sanctuary of *Santa María de Gundián*. There is nothing to indicate its possibly prehistoric roots, other than the closeness of the hillfort; the sanctuary was established by a community of monks who settled on the right bank of the Ulla, and who remained there until a flood in the sixteenth century destroyed the monastery. However, a place of worship remained in Gundián. Still today, in a local ritual the statue of the Virgin of Gundián temporarily resides in the parish church of Santa María Magdalena in Ponte Ulla from May to September, once again on the right bank of the river (FERNÁNDEZ CASAL 2003). Also, this point is situated in a significant solar alignment. If we use the *Pico Sagro* as our observatory, at the start of November and in early February, the sun rises to the south-east over the area of the hill fort of San Miguel. It is true that the difference in height means that seen from the peak, San Miguel is not
particularly visible, but in a straight line in the same direction, cutting across the horizon at a great distance, is the peak known as Monte Faro, which rises to 1177m.

Fig. 10. Landscape of the translatio of the body of St. James and of the inventio of his tomb in the ninth century.

Solar axes at the mid-season festivals of the Celtic calendar, using the Pico Sacro as an observation point. Route taken by the body of the Apostle St. James to his place of burial. Route taken by the Bishop Teodomiro when he 'discovered' the tomb of St. James in the ninth century. ▲ Relevant locations in the rites and traditions associated with St. James. □ Relevant ancient or prehistoric archaeological/historical sites.

We now return to the top of the Pico Sagro, looking towards the south-west. The town of Padrón is nineteen kilometres away, which inherited the legacy of Iria Flavia, the town where the body of St. James is said to have arrived and seat of the local bishop Teodomiro who, in the ninth century, discovered the tomb of St. James in Compostela. Next to Padrón and on the right hand bank of the Sar river, a tributary of the Ulla, is the hill known as Santiaguiño do Monte, where a popular festival is held on the saint’s feast day, 25th July, and whose origins are recorded as far back as the fifteenth century (E. Rodríguez Carbia, a specialist on local traditions, is about to publish a paper describing how the festival was celebrated back then). Neither in this case are there any archaeological clues as to the age of the landscape, although the Roman town of Iria Flavia is very close nearby, as well as the hill forts along the left hand bank of the Sar, although these are some distance away from Santiaguiño do Monte.

In this case, the astronomical alignment is not as clear as it is in Gundián. In fact, at the beginning of November and February, the sun sets further to the south (towards the town of Pontecesures). Neither are there any natural landmarks that may serve as a point of reference, apart from references to the legend of St. James that were generically situated in the direction of the sunset on those days. However, the lack of precision in the calendar is compensated in this case with the precision of the
legend itself, which explicitly links the point where the Apostle’s body was brought ashore with the *Pico Sacro*, looking for a place to bury his body by following the meanders of the Ulla.

Looking out from the *Pico Sagro* towards the north-west we see the city of Santiago de Compostela, which despite having less than 100,000 inhabitants stretches from east to west, meaning that it appears larger when seen from the south. In this direction is the hill fort of *Castrilão de Conxo*, four and a half kilometres away in a straight line, but which cannot be seen from the peak as the view is blocked by the summit of Montouto. One of the most interesting features of this hill fort is that it is alongside one of the few petroglyphs showing weapons from the Bronze Age known in Galicia. This is an important fact, as it has been observed that these carvings are distributed according to a uniform pattern throughout the south-west of Galicia, possibly serving as meeting points for Bronze Age peoples who lived within a radius of between 25 and 35 kilometres (SANTOS ESTÉVEZ 2004: 177–83). Seen from *Pico Sagro*, the sun sets over Montouto, which blocks the view of the *Castrilão de Conxo*, at around the beginning of May and beginning of August, without coinciding with any visible natural landmark.

This means that none of these points offer unequivocal proof of having any ancient relationship with the *Pico Sagro*. However, all of the points form a system, without any significant point corresponding to where the sun rises at the start of May and August, defined by the relationships between Celtic festivals and the local religious landscape. Under these conditions, we cannot forget the hypothesis that the system became significant at the same time as a population with Celtic culture lived in the region, identified in pre-Roman times with the *celtici praestamarci*.5

In summary, we may state that a series of points used for religious gatherings in the landscape from ancient times, all the way from the Bronze Age to the present day, fall into place as a system once a significant feature from Celtic culture, their mid-seasonal festivals, are used as a mortar to bind these points together.

The legend of St. James is set within this landscape. The body of St. James came ashore from his boat of stone in Padrón/Iria Flavia, the point that marked the limit between inhabitable lands and the dark zone on the map (Fig. 8) which in this case coincides with the course of the Ulla river. The party then travelled onwards to the *Pico Sacro*, following a route marked by the solar axis which connects the sunset on the indicated dates with the sunrise on 1st May and 1st August and which, seen from Padrón or nearby, coincides with the location of the *Pico Sacro*. This is where a series of events took place according to the legend with the local queen, Lupa. The Apostle’s body then continued on towards Compostela, towards the point where the sun sets at the two Celtic festivals, also considering that seen from Compostela, the sun rises in early November and February precisely over the *Pico Sagro*.

However, an imprecision arises along the axis defined by San Miguel-Gundián / Pico Sagro / Conxo, to the south of the cathedral with the tomb, all situated on a clearly elevated point that dominates the initial part of the route, from east to west, with the Sar river and valley of *Amaia* – in other words, the ‘light’ part of the Celtic year. On this symbolic horizon, the body of St. James appears

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5 Pliny IV, 111; Pomponius Mela, III, 11. Normally they are situated in the Barbanza peninsula (TRANOY 1981: 59), this is the result of a large area attributed to the Copori that was also referred to by Pliny (IV, 111) and to who Ptolomy, in the second century AD, attributed the cities of *Lucus Augusti* and Iria Flavia. Based on this information from ARIAS et al. 1979: 60–1 reconstruct the name of the *populus* with the origin of the deceased in an epitaph of *Lucus Augusti* as *Cofpororum* ..., although TRANOY (1981: 57–8) suggests that this immense expanse of the Copori could have been the result of a Roman territorial re-organization. This is the issue, although if we consider that the praestamarici are those from this side of the Tambre river, as opposed to the well-documented superstamarici, from north of the river, it is acceptable to believe that the legends we are examining situated between the Tambre and Ulla rivers took place within the territory of this Celtic *populus*. 
out of the dark part of the year, crossing through the intermediate zone corresponding to the band
defined between February and early August, to then finally find rest in the ‘light’ zone, to the north.

This system continues to this day. The terms of the legend of St. James are brought up to date.
Specific festivals are held in all three directions: the festivals of Sta. María de Gundían, Santiaguínodo Monte, Santiago and the Pico Sacro itself, where festivals are held for St. Sebastian on 20th
January, and then on the 22nd for St. Vincent, patron saint of the local council of Boqueixón, whose
emblem is the peak. In two cases we are able to corroborate, our relevant points have their roots in the
Bronze Age. We have already referred to this with the petroglyph with weapons in Castriño de Conxo,
but it is also true if we consider the site of Devesa do Rei, situated in the valley at the foot of the Pico
Sacro, where a large amount of bell-beaker pottery, a lack of any inhabited structures and the
peculiarities of the type of food consumed (cereals, milk products, beer and honey, or derivatives such
as mead), lead us to believe that this was place where religious gatherings were held (Prieto Martínez
et al. forthcoming, GARCÍA QUINTELA 2003b).

7. The legends of St. James and Ronan in the landscape

The itinerary of the troménie in Locronan is marked by natural elements (the fountain of the Stiff,
Menez Lokron), archaeological elements (two or three menhirs, what may be a barrow, and part of a
Roman road) and folkloric elements (related to episodes from Ronan’s life, and particularly his battles
against the witch Keben). D. Laurent has shown how the common factor behind these elements is their
particular relationship with relevant dates in the Celtic calendar, known through the Irish festival
calendar and the Galo-Roman calendar of Coligny. In the first part of this text we explained how the
spatial and temporal structure of A Ferradura corresponds closely in archaeological terms with the
“Locronan model”. Now we will see how this model once again appears in the landscape connected
with the legend of St. James, with the archaeological remains moving into the background,
compensated by the legend of St. James as a bond uniting different parts of the landscape. In order to
establish this comparison we have to bear in mind the places where Keben appears, Ronan’s enemy,
always in outlying areas.

Firstly, Keben lived in Kernévez, to the west of the route followed by the troménie, on the
boundary between the parishes of Locronan and Quéménéven. The people of Kernévez would wash
their clothes in a fountain on the stream known as ‘Stiff’, where Keben came face to face with the
group carrying the body of Ronan on his final voyage of penitence. The witch took up a washboard
and hit one of the horns of a wild ox that was pulling the cart with the coffin,6 which fell at the tenth
station named Plas ar c’horn on the summit of Menez Lokorn, the highest part of the route and which
forms its south-eastern angle. Finally between the eleventh and twelfth stations is Bez Keben, where
the earth swallowed Keben, “in unblessed ground, along the great route, far from the tomb of the saint,
to serve as an example to the wicket, on the hill between the two parishes, so that the memory would
remain for every. While there is still earth in this place, it shall be called Bez Keben” (LAURENT 1987:
27; LA VILLEMARQUÉ 1997: 473). This point is situated on the crest of the hill that serves as the
boundary between the parishes of Locronan and Plogonnec, and defines the southern branch of the
itinerary of the troménie.

All of these points have correspond precisely with astronomical events considered in the lay of the
land, as established by D. Laurent, of the astronomical centre of the “holy square”, defined by the

route walked by penitents in Locronan. Kernévez is where the sun rises at the winter solstice; to the south, the fountain of Kernévez is where it rises on the first days of May and August; and finally, the sun rises over Menez Lokorn on 1st November and 1st February (LAURENT 1990: 22–23).

To the west, Laurent continues, the astronomical coincidences are less significant, as although they coincide with changes in the route, they are not marked either by stations, by archaeological remains, or by references in local folklore. It is possible to illustrate the relationships revealed in the two landscapes we have studied (Fig. 11).

![Fig. 11. Comparison between the relative positions of the significant elements of the legend of St. James and legend of St. Ronan.]

**Saint James / Pico Sagro**
1. Pico Sacro. Centre of the legend surrounding St. James, and the realm of the queen Lupa. Devesa do Rei, Bronze Age sanctuary.
2. Iria Flavia/Padrón. The point where the body of St. James arrived. Santiaguño do Monte. Sunset on 1st November / 1st February.
2–3. Route of the Ulla river, southern limit of the territory associated with the legend of St. James.
4. Castríño de Conxo, petroglyph; Iron Age hill fort. Sunset on 1st May, 1st August.
5. Santiago de Compostela, the tomb of the Apostle St. James.

**Saint Ronan / Locronan**
1. Le Menec, centre of the troménie, considered by D. Laurent as a suitable point for the astronomical observations.
2. Kernevez, Keben striking an ox pulling the cart bearing the coffin of St. Ronan. Sunrise, 1st May, 1st August.
3. Plas ar c’horn. Place where the horn of the beaten ox fell. Sunrise, 1st November, 1st February.
3–4. Roman road, southern section of the troménie and boundary between parishes.
4. Bez Keben. Place where the earth swallowed up Keben, an unholy “no-man’s land”.
5. The village of Locronan, tomb of St. Ronan.

This said, the landscape related to the legend of St. James the Apostle turns the Indo-European ‘norm’ on its head. If the observations in Locronan and other areas work from west to east, the opposite is true in the case of the Pico Sagro. This is not just because nothing relevant appears to the north east, nor because the festivals and rites of Santa María de Gundián, to the south east, appear to be similar to those in the rest of the ‘system’. It is true that some branches of the Way of St. James run through the area, although none of the types of worship related to the area of the cult to St. James. However, to the west, Santiaguño do Monte coincides with the point where the Apostle arrived, and Castríño de Conxo with where he was buried. In both places the main festival is that of St. James, held on 25th July.
Another interesting inversion occurs between Locronan and the landscape of St. James, considering the points where the saints are located. St. Ronan clearly occupies the centre in Locronan, (LAURENT 1987: 38–9; 1990; 1995). In turn, Keben occupies outlying areas, lives in Kernevez towards the north-east, and is buried in Bez Keben, to the south-west, with both places on the boundaries of the parish of Locronan with those of Quéménéven and Plougonnec respectively(TANGUY 1995). On the contrary, in the landscape of the legend of St. James, the centre is occupied by the Pico Sagro, the place where queen Lupa lived, who challenged the group of disciples accompanying the Apostle’s body. She, in turn, reigns over the limits of the landscape in Santiaguín do Monte and Santiago, where the funerary procession arrived and ended its procession in Galicia. Finally, the natural axis that connects Santiaguín do Monte with Santiago, the valley of A Mahia, is symbolically defined by the itineraries of Teodomiro, bishop of Iria, when he discovers the Apostle’s tomb.

Other minor similarities make it possible to see how we are faced with the same symbolic structure in both landscapes and traditions. To start with, we may consider the parallels found in the lives of St. James and Ronan. Both were preachers, the first from the Holy Land, and the second from Ireland, who arrived in boats hewn from stone, the first already dead, the second arriving to convert the local population to Christianity. After their death, their funerary processions are barred by an evil woman who causes changes to the route until the final moment of burial, routes which also have similarities. Furthermore, both saints have ambiguous relationships with wolves and oxen, in a curious dual symmetrical opposition.

Lupa, the she-wolf, is the enemy of St. James, who is finally converted. In Locronan, one of the evil ploys of Keben involves accusing Ronan of lycanthropy, of possessing wolf-magic, leading to him being tried at the court of king Gradlon in Quimper. In another tradition the roles are swapped, and Ronan tames a wolf (MILIN 1995), an action which in symbolic terms may be seen as parallel to that of the final conversion of Lupa, although we know nothing of the affinities St. James may have had with wolves. As regards the oxen that appear in the tales, in a curious interplay of contradictions, the tradition of Locronan states how the oxen that pulled the cart were “wild”. However, in the legend of St. James, Lupa attempts to chase away the procession, attacking them with a herd of miraculously tamed bulls (Codex Callixtinus III, 1; in the ‘Pseudoepistle of León’, instead we find it attacked by a dragon). Here we find the same motif occupying different positions in each tradition, wild oxen connected with the saint in the case of Locronan, and enemies of Keben, and bulls connected with Lupa in the legend of St. James, enemies of the Apostle.

In both tales, sacred forests play an important part. In Locronan, the southern half of the route winds through the forest of Nevet, a word derived from the ancient term nemeton, a standard term in Celtic tongues for sacred forests (TANGUY 1995: 115–7). The legend of St. James states that before the conversion of Lupa to Christianity, the Pico Sacro was named mons Ilicinus (DÍAZ Y DÍAZ 1999: 561–3; GARCÍA QUINTELA 2003a: 56–7). In this paper I studied another episode from the legend of St. James, when Teodomiro opened the lucus where the Apostle’s tomb was situated, evoking other etiological legends of the assemblies of Taltiu or Cormac, as well as the Latin rites of lucaria.

However, here also the values of these places are different. In the argument presented by D. Laurent in his studies on the troménie, the forest of Nevet is important as a result of its name that evokes a Celtic sanctuary, but is not the location of any significant episode in the celebration of Locronan – although it is the place where Ronan’s first miracles occur (LE BRAZ 1996: 1064–5). On

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7 For St. James, ALONSO ROMERO 1991: 75–83; for Ronan, LOCRONAN: the ‘stone mare’: (gazeg vean) has a diameter of close to 13 metres, also known as Kador sant Ronan (the chair of St. Ronan) or bag sant Ronan (the ship of St. Ronan), used to go to Ireland. Women sat or laid on the stone or kissed it respectfully, as a rite of fertility. (LAURENT 1987: 28, 30).
the contrary, in the tradition of St. James, the two locations considered reverse their initial positions. The *mons Ilcinus* becomes the *Pico Sacro*, and the tangled forest in which the Apostle’s tomb was lost becomes an open space, literally a *lucus*, thanks to the intervention of Teodomiro.

In closing, we have to consider the alternative between the copying of one tradition to another, or the use of a common Celtic cultural source. With regard to the first option, there can be no doubt that the legend of St. James spread extremely quickly throughout France (DÍAZ Y DÍAZ 1999: 529), and seagoing relations in the Middle Ages between Galician and Brittany have been detected (ALONSO ROMERO 1991: 83–7). But above all, we must recall the insistence of A. J. GOURREVICH (1996) on the extraordinary similarity and duration of the components of popular Mediaeval culture in different parts of Europe. However, the conclusions of two experts in the traditions of both saints come out in favour of the second option. In his last work on the life of St. Ronan, B. MERDRIGNAC (1995; see MERDRIGNAC 1985–1986) established that the saint lived in the last third of the ninth century, although the text was not formally composed until the thirteenth century, and is riddled with a large number of external elements, mainly from aspects that are strictly limited to Brittany. In turn, M. Díaz y Díaz (1999) in his study on the Pseudo-epistle of Pope León, describes how the original, simpler version has features more typical of the ninth to tenth centuries or even earlier, with the themes and motifs being extended in subsequent version, particularly with the incorporation of elements from the legend of St. James.

It is true that these last two authors did not direct their research towards presenting the motifs found in the texts they studied in general contexts that are undoubtedly operational. However, what does appear difficult to transmit is the precise relationship between hagiographic legend and the landscape, with such a clear structuring of similar motifs, as may be deduced from the analysis carried out. In other words, although the theme of lycanthropy, for example, was generalized in the Middle Ages and in folklore (MILIN 1995; RISCO 1950; CAREY 2002), the way in which the legends of Ronan and St. James relate it with specific landscapes in a structured manner does not appear to be an easy method of diffusion, and the same may be said of the bulls/oxen, stone boats, meetings with wicked witches, or the use of ancient forests. For this reason I consider as more appropriate, in the lack of new research, the hypothesis that there is a way of reading time in a landscape that is shared and inherited from a backdrop of Celtic culture present in both regions and which, at a coinciding historical moment in both horizons, was filled with contents and underwent a process of adaptation to the new religious climate, in line with Mediaeval hagiographic norms.

8. The yearly cycle, landscape and sovereignty of the Celts

If the similarities we have indicated between the different locations are pertinent, this means that there is was a pan-Celtic way of ‘reading’ the yearly cycle in the landscape which must have been manifested in other ways. There can be no doubt that many of these are lost for ever, although others may be identified using a comparative perspective based on the pioneering work of D. Laurent on Locronan. In this case it is easy to think about more or less ‘Romanized’ ancient Celtic sanctuaries, or in the countless Christian rituals and legends in countries with Celtic traditions that are firmly linked with the landscape. Any new observations that may arise in connection with this idea will be warmly welcomed, in order to complete, add depth to or correct the contents of this article.

However, it may also be fitting to end looking in another direction. D. Laurent himself offers a clue when he indicates that the route followed by the ox-drawn cart carrying the body of Ronan on his last voyage is reminiscent of the space defined by the Vedic ritual in defining sacrificial areas (LAURENT 1990: 24; 1995: 47–9; DUMÉZIL 1954: Rituels indo-européens a Rome Paris : Klincksieck,
1954, 4Zk 198). If we extend this idea to what is seen in the legend and landscape of St. James, we may see how the route of the yokes of Ronan and St. James are in reality complementary in the ideal Celtic space and time we have reconstructed; Ronan defines the peripheral circuit, and St. James part of the inner circuit. Moving on to an Italian context, although still related to the Celtic world, we find the suggestive interpretation of the *situla* of Certosa proposed by Ch. Peyre (2000: 196–9), who considers it to be the representation of a festival or ceremony in which the bearers of the plough would have been responsible for carving out the furrow that established the boundaries of the space dedicated to this activity.

In Rome, references to these situations appear in the sphere of sovereignty; G. Dumézil, in his analysis of the lesser sovereign gods of the Indo-European pantheon, tells how Rome was represented by Terminus and Juventas, who respectively symbolized space and the succession of generations of Romans throughout time. In turn, A. Carandini (2000: 119–34) within the context of a debatable archaeological “demonstration” of the legend of Roman origins, reveals – and we believe correctly in this case – how the mechanism of the *inauguratio* operated in defining the space of the new city. This abstract definition of space, with religious foundations, is otherwise independent of all specific, historical and contingent forms, adopted by the urban layouts inspired by it (Briquel forthcoming; late echoes of this perspective in Miller 1996).

But what part do the Celts play in this panorama? In his book on the sovereign gods of the Indo-Europeans, G. Dumézil pays no attention to them, not from a lack of attention, as he refers to the figure of Mac Oc, the “young son”, as the reference used for the Roman Juventas, in a comparison that is unfortunate due to its insufficiency, as the equivalent Celtic version of Terminus does not appear (Dumézil 1986: 169–71). This is something worth noting, because similarities between the minor sovereigns appear in Vedic, Zoroastrian, Roman and German pantheons – perhaps with lesser clarity. Furthermore, as far as I am aware, in other studies inspired by the works of Dumézil on the Celtic pantheon, this subject has not been explored, and it does not appear reasonable to maintain that this cultural group lived without a mythical and religious physical expression of their considerations of space and time – something that is reasonably well known through the calendar and system of feast days. This said, it is also important to exercise the same caution as that applied by Dumézil himself when he detected a certain level of evolution from the Vedic and Avestic forms of the minor sovereigns towards the more abstract Roman form (Dumézil 1986: 176), which now inspires us without knowing which would be the correct Celtic reference.

This said, I believe it is possible to suggest that independently from the possible correlations in the Celtic pantheon with the themes mentioned in this article, the basic consideration that could support these divine figures was present in their religion, in a particular way of reading the yearly passage of time in different, specific landscapes which, furthermore, were configured as relevant religious centres for more or less extensive social groups. Finally, it may also be said that these points have a particular relationship with the subject of sovereignty.

Once again, Roman references give us the best clue, as the Capitol is also the seat of the sovereign god Jupiter, accompanied by Terminus and Juventas, and on the nearby summit of Arx, the seat of one of the *auguracula* of Rome, from where the inaugurated space was defined, and where it is possible to image rites of investiture being held, such as those described by Numa (independently from his confirmed fidelity, Blaive 2004: 17–36). In our context, we have interpreted the presence of carved feet in A Ferradura as the material remains of investiture ceremonies that were Celtic in origin (García – Santos 2000; Santos – García 2000), and if we connect this with the observations made regarding the relationship between the yearly cycle and the landscape, shown by the rock art in the area, we are faced with a series of observations which, in Rome, invite the viewer to consider them as
part of a complex definition of sovereignty, similar to that proposed by a complex series of sovereign
gods detected in other parts of the Indo-European world.

I would once again emphasize that the names of these gods are not apparent. It is also possible that
the Celtic pantheon developed following other pathways, and the figure of Lug may well have
absorbed different aspects of sovereignty due to his connections with the sun, frontier sanctuaries, and
the feet. Another possibility is that the spread of Christianity amongst the insular Celts may well have
allowed these rituals of investiture to have been conserved, at the same time as their theological
references were wiped off the map, while it appears to be a monumental task to attempt to identify any
of the “minor sovereigns” from the immense list of virtually unknown gods or divine epithets from the
ancient Celtic world. However, aside from all of these difficulties, it is important to emphasize that
despite lacking the words, despite lacking the names of the gods and moreover their theological and
mythological definition, what is clear, and is indeed the conclusion of this article, is that we do have
something. Something that is a particular, pan-Celtic way of reading the solar cycle in specific
landscapes, situating this operation within the realms of sovereignty.

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