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Esipuhe

Tämän *Studia Celtica Fennican* numeron artikkelit perustuvat Helsingissä 24.-26.8.2016 järjestetyssä XV International Symposium of Societas Celtologica Nordica –symposiumissa pidettyihin esitelmiin. Symposiumi juhlisti Suomen Keltologisen Seuran 25-vuotista taivalta ja siihen osallistui noin 50 tutkijaa Suomesta, Ruotsista, Norjasta, Venäjältä, Irlannista, Skotlannista, Englannista, Pohjois-Irlannista, Yhdysvalloista, Belgiasta, Itävallasta ja Sveitsistä. Kolmen päivän aikana pidettiin 28 esitelmää ja lisäksi saimme nauttia kuudesta keynote-esitelmästä, jotka pitivät Máire Herbert, John Carey, Robin Chapman Stacey, Tomás Ó Cathasaigh, Jan Erik Rekdal ja Joseph Nagy. Onnistuneen tapahtuman järjestäminen ei olisi ollut mahdollista ilman Suomen Keltologisen Seuran aktiivisten jäsenten ja muiden vapaaehtoisten panosta. Haluamme kiittää myös Tieteellisten Seurain Valtuuskuntaa, Suomen Kulttuurirahastoa, Suomen Tiedeseuraa ja Letterstedtska Föreningiä avokätisestä tuesta, joka mahdollisti symposiumin järjestämisen. Lisäksi olemme kiitollisia Tieteellisten Seurain Valtuuskunnalle ja Helsingin yliopiston Tutkijakollegiumille tiloista ja Irlannin suurlähetystölle Suomessa vastaanoton järjestämisestä symposiumin osallistujille.

Editorial

The articles in this volume of *Studia Celtica Fennica* are based on papers given at the XV International Symposium of Studia Celtica Fennica held in Helsinki in 24.-24.8.2016. The symposium celebrated the 25-year history of the Finnish Society for Celtic Studies and gathered together about 50 scholars from Finland, Sweden, Norway, Russia, Ireland, Scotland, England, Northern Ireland, United States, Belgium, Austria, and Switzerland. During the three days there were 28 papers presented and we also got to enjoy six keynote lectures held by Máire Herbert, John Carey, Robin Chapman Stacey, Tomás Ó Cathasaigh, Jan Erik Rekdal, and Joseph Nagy. Organising this successful event would not have been possible without the help of the active members of The Finnish Society for Celtic Studies and other volunteers. We wish to thank Federation of Finnish Learned Societies, Finnish Cultural Foundation, the Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters, and Letterstedtska Förening for their generous funding, which enabled us to organise the symposium. We are also grateful for Federation of Finnish Learned Societies and the Collegium for Advanced Studies of University of Helsinki for giving us the venues and for the Embassy of Ireland in Finland for hosting a reception for the delegates of the symposium.

Binding the Wolf, Leashing the Hound: Canid Eschatologies in Irish and Norse Myth

Phillip A. Bernhardt-House

Medieval Irish Christian culture had a great interest in eschatology, the study of which has been tremendously aided by University College Cork's *De Finibus* project, and in particular its production, under the editorship of John Carey, Emma Nic Cárthaigh, and Caitríona Ó Dochartaigh, of the two-volume collection *The End and Beyond*—a major accomplishment indeed, and an invaluable resource to anyone interested in these subjects. Outside of Christian traditions, however, Irish culture does not appear to have definite, surviving creation or eschatological myths.[1] The same is not true of certain other Indo-European cultures, with probably the most notable European instance of eschatological myth being the Norse account of Ragnarök, the "doom of the gods," which will end the current era and usher in a new one. At least four different canids feature prominently in this myth: Sköll, the wolf who will devour the sun goddess Sunna; Hati, the wolf who will devour the moon god Máni; Garmr, the hound who fights the god Týr, each dying as the result of the other; and the Fenrisúlfr, the son of Loki, who will devour Óðinn.[2] Much more will be said of the Fenrisúlfr in particular, but it would be interesting to take a short detour based on that particular canid for a moment.

Some variety of eschatological thinking in pre-Christian Celtic myth may potentially involve wolves, and might have left a few interesting traces in both iconography and in language. The Welsh term *gweilgi*, cognate with the Irish *fáelchú*, does not mean 'wolf' (or, more literally, 'howler-dog') as it does in Irish, but instead is a term used to mean 'the sea'.[3] In 1913's volume of *Revue Celtique*, H. Hubert discussed this term, and how it might relate to several figures in later Insular Celtic narratives who are connected with canids as well as with water or the sea. He likewise pointed towards a panel on the Gundestrup Cauldron showing a two-headed wolf-figure devouring youthful warriors, which in that context might in some way suggest a canid figure connected to the sea, flooding, or drowning.[4] While a great deal more could be said in relation to this on the basis of various

1 Mac Cana 1970, 136-137. Why these might not have survived, or if they existed at all for the pre-Christian Irish, is a matter too large for the present inquiry.
2 Sturluson, *Edda* (Young 1984), 86-88.
3 Bernhardt-House 2010, 347-349.
4 Hubert 1913. On the potential Thracian (or perhaps Thraco-Celtic/Gallo-Thracian) origins of the cauldron, see Mazarov 1991, 50 (where this panel is discussed), 67-68 (where wolf imagery in general is discussed).

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medieval Welsh sources, something intriguing about the entirety is that the finding of the Gundestrup Cauldron in a Danish bog (which is more circumstantial than substantial evidence in the present case, but is nonetheless noteworthy), potential sea- or water-connections and canids, and the Fenrisúlfr's name seems to indicate a fen or marsh-dwelling creature of some sort,[5] all of which may suggest that there is some common background to the elements of flooding, wolves, and a potential eschatological scenario.

It is well to remember that in Strabo's *Geography* 4.4.4, there is a formulation of Gaulish eschatological beliefs which he attributes to the teachings of the druids, wherein fire and water occasionally overcome the eternal world and immortal souls.[6] Such a fiery-and-watery cosmic destruction is part of the Norse Ragnarök,[7] and is likewise indicated in a number of Irish medieval narratives as well, whether separately or together, including in *Immram Snedgusa ˷ Mac Ríagla*.[8]

However, long before any of this in narrative terms, something else involving the monstrous Fenrir occurs, detailed in Snorri Sturluson's *Gylfaginning* and also alluded to in the *Lokasenna*: because it was seen that the wolf was able to cause a great deal of death and destruction, he is bound by a chain made of improbable materials, and only agrees to be restrained by it via the surety of Týr's hand being placed in his mouth while it is done, which then results in the Fenrisúlfr biting off Týr's hand and devouring it when he learns that he will not be able to break free.[9] While an interesting and indeed under-studied tangent could be inserted here reflecting another binding until Ragnarök of the Fenrisúlfr's father, Loki, by the entrails of his son Narfi who was slain by his other son Váli when the latter had been turned into a wolf after Loki's slaying of Baldr, which is also found in Snorri's *Gylfaginning* and is alluded to in *Lokasenna*.[10] I leave that matter aside for the moment, but hope to return to it in a future study.

It was suggested by Mary Gerstein that Óðinn, Loki, and the Fenrisúlfr are all different aspects of a proto-Germanic 'binder wolf god',[11] which is an interesting idea, since Óðinn has wolves (Geri and Freki) and is associated with them as well as with magical bindings (including in his hanging from Yggdrasill in obtaining the knowledge of the runes). Loki also is a father of a wolf (the Fenrisúlfr) and of another son who becomes a wolf (Váli), and is also bound for his crime of the slaying of Baldr; the Fenrisúlfr is a wolf that ends up being bound in advance

5 Jacoby 1974, 69-77; Simek 1993, 81.
6 Str. 4.4.4. Fortson 2003, 18.
7 Caution might be warranted here on placing too much emphasis on this similarity, or on positing influences of one culture on the other—see Egeler 2013, 50-53, especially 52.
8 Murray 2014.
9 Sturluson, *Edda* (Young 1984), 56-59; Hollander 1962, 98 §39.
10 Sturluson, *Edda* (Young 1984), 85; Hollander 1962, 100 §49, 103.
11 Gerstein 1974, 144.

of Ragnarök. The relationship of Óðinn (as a figure associated with wisdom, writing, and being a psychopomp) to the 'Gaulish Mercury,' and possibly being related to or synonymous with the Gaulish god Lugus as described by Julius Caesar, as well as the relationship of the Gaulish Lugus to the Irish god Lug and his son Cú Chulainn (amongst several others) has also been suggested.[12] A complex of canid associations, with dogs and wolves generally falling on the Irish and Norse sides, respectively, can be found throughout these characters and their relationships, possibly connecting them to a broader canid complex in Indo-European mythology.[13] While Lug will come into the present discussion later, our investigation now moves to the specifically Irish context, focusing on Cú Chulainn. Just as the Fenrisúlfr is more often simply called 'the wolf' in Norse sources, so too could we say that Cú Chulainn would be easily recognizable if one were to refer to 'the hound' in an Irish heroic context.

There are many stories in Ireland having to do with the existence or slaying of a monstrous canid, including some which closely resemble what is foretold of the death of the Fenrisúlfr at Ragnarök, with the latter's jaws being wrenched apart—two such potential parallels being the tale of *Aided Cheltchair maic Uthechair* when Celtchar slays the Luchdonn (whose name may mean 'brown wolf'),[14] and Cú Chulainn slaying the hound Conbél in *Aided Guill maic Carbada ocus Garb Glinne Rige.*[15] However, it is not the death of the Fenrisúlfr which is of interest in comparison to Irish tales, it is the story of his binding. Comparanda associated with the details of Cú Chulainn's birth have been outlined in earlier studies,[16] but the situation which I think most closely parallels the story of the binding of the Fenrisúlfr in the Irish context is a further death-tale than the ones involving the two monstrous canids from the Ulster Cycle previously mentioned: namely, *Brislech Mor Maige Muirthemne*, the earliest version of Cú Chulainn's own death from the 12th century Book of Leinster.

The tale has many intriguing elements, including the multiple portents (including an appearance of the Morrígan) foretelling the hero's death, the background of Medb and the children of Calatín Dána conspiring against him to bring it about, the

12 Bernhardt-House 2009b.

13 Though it should also be noted that specifically Gaelic (both Irish and Scottish) influence on Icelandic literature (including Snorri Sturluson's 13th century writings, which postdate the 12th century manuscript text to be discussed in relation to Cú Chulainn) via the Viking populations of both areas traveling to Iceland is highly likely, and would provide an easier, more direct vector for common mythic motifs than a common Indo-European background; see Sigurðsson 2000. The motif discussed herein is not mentioned in Sigurðsson, however.

14 *Aided Cheltchair maic Uthechair* §10 (Meyer 1906, 28-29); McCone 1985, 175-176; McCone 1986, 16.

15 *Aided Guill Meic Carbada ocus Aided Gairb Glinne Rige* §41 (Stokes 1904, 422-423).

16 Bernhardt-House 2009a.

violation of the Hound of Ulster's *geis* not to eat hounds being violated simply by association, and the slaying of his charioteer Lóeg mac Riangabra, the wounding of his horse the Liath Macha, and the hero's own mortal wound coming from a spear-cast made by Lugaid son of Cú Roí. After Cú Chulainn makes light of his own death in various ways, and at last binds himself to a pillar-stone so that he might face his enemies even in death, and the Liath Macha comes and defends him for a time, it is at last revealed that the hero is dead when a scald-crow alights on his shoulder. What happens immediately after this is the detail of note: Lugaid mac Con Roí arranges Cú Chulainn's hair, and then cuts off his head, but as a result of doing so, Cú Chulainn drops his sword, which cuts of Lugaid's arm. In recompense, the heroic hound's arm, then, is cut off as well.[17]

There have been a variety of Indo-European comparative mythology studies which have examined the motif of '*Le Borgne et Le Manchot*', the 'One-Eye and One-Hand' mytheme and its various associations and potential meanings, most studies of which take into account the story of the binding of the Fenrisúlfr and likewise at least a few Irish examples of the motif,[18] but I know of none at present which look at this particular incident from Cú Chulainn's death-tale. Further, the death of Cú Chulainn's similarities to the crucifixion of Jesus have been suggested by John V. Kelleher[19] and Kim McCone,[20] and as an event which is an eschatological forerunner, this is an important parallel which may suggest why this story's details were preserved in the form currently known as something of continued relevance and allegorical import for the medieval Christian Irish readership of the tale. But that may not be the only reason that these details as preserved in medieval tradition occurred in this form, nor do I think it likely that such comparisons are the source of their existence. It is important to note that both Cú Chulainn's binding to the standing stone and Jesus' crucifixion are intentional actions which each undergoes,[21] which makes these quite different from the situation of the Fenrisúlfr's non-consensual binding through trickery. Such a potentially-upright facing of death for an Irish pre-Christian warrior is paralleled in Tírechán's *Collectanea* §12, in which Loíguire son of Níall asks to be buried on the ridge of Tara armed for war, 'until the day of *erdathe*',[22] which seems to be a form of the term *airtach*, 'act of restoring/refreshing' or 'act of celebrating/festival/

17 Brislech Mor Maige Muirthemne lines 14051-14061 (Best and O'Brien 1956, 450; Carey 2003, 140-141).
18 E.g. Dumézil 1974.
19 Kelleher 1971, 121-122.
20 McCone 1990, 197-198.
21 To an extent, Cú Chulainn's death in general, both in the *Brislech Mor* text and in his earliest boyhood deeds (O'Rahilly 1976, 19-20, 142-143), were things that he freely chose to embrace.
22 Bieler 1979, 132-133.

ceremony',[23] which might be an interesting indication of a future eschatological hope, if Tírechán's words can be trusted.

In both the narratives of the binding of the Fenrisúlfr and the death of Cú Chulainn, we have a superlatively canid or canid-identified character who, through trickery and subterfuge of various sorts (in Cú Chulainn's case, the situation of his weakening leading to his death comes about through his forced breaking of *gessi*, which is manipulative), is ultimately bound. This is the primary purpose of the subterfuge in the story of the Fenrisúlfr, but it is a secondary and in fact self-imposed detail in the story of Cú Chulainn when he fastens himself to the pillar-stone. A primary difference between the two tales is that the entire situation of the Irish hero's story is aimed toward bringing about Cú Chulainn's death rather than his simple restraint from further destruction. What follows in both tales, however, is that one of those directly responsible for the plot against the canid character loses a hand or an arm as a result. While the possibility that the entire story of Ragnarök and thus the Fenrisúlfr's involvement in it might have been developed under Christian influence[24] or Norse-Christian syncretism,[25] we are on more secure ground with the story of the Fenrisúlfr's binding, which seems to be shown in a c. 6th century CE bracteate that is certainly of pre-Christian provenance.[26] It is possible, according to Paul-Marie Duval, that a Gaulish coin of the 3rd or 2nd century BCE might likewise show a wolf-related motif that may be eschatological in its implications.[27]

This parallel is intriguing enough to note, however I think we might be able to go further with it if we consider the ways in which the two canid characters differ. Loki and two of his children by Angrboda—the Fenrisúlfr and Jormungandr, the Midgard Serpent, who is called a 'sea-wolf' in an Eddic poem[28]—are all generally considered antagonistic figures, and all will be involved in bringing about the destruction of the world and of the gods at Ragnarök. Until that time, the gods had to take stern measures to ensure the Fenrisúlfr's ravagings would be limited through his binding. Cú Chulainn, on the other hand, is considered the very paradigm of heroism in medieval Irish narrative, though he is far from perfect. His fury in battle—not unlike that of the Norse *úlfhéðnar*[29]—is even occasionally compared to eschatological imagery, as examined by Joan Radner and William Sayers.[30] In the

23 Bieler 1979, 218.
24 Nielsen 2002.
25 Pluskowski 2001.
26 Hauck 1978, 210.
27 Duval 1989, 349-361.
28 Pluskowski 2001, 114 notes the translation of Larrington 1996, 81; Hollander 1962, 87 has a different rendering.
29 Van Zanten 2007.
30 Radner 1982; Sayers 1986, 101.

Norse case, the wolf is bound; in the Irish instance, the hound 'leashes' himself, as it were, to be perhaps unleashed in the future. Canid imagery—with dogs, but most particularly with wolves—is generally ambivalent, and can be given a positive or a negative valence in both Irish[31] and Norse[32] sources, where they are often found as synonymous with 'warriors' (like Cú Chulainn) as often as they are with 'outlaws' (like the Fenrisúlfr).

The eschatological imagery associated with certain expressions in Irish may have its earliest counterparts in Continental Celtic formulations like that of Strabo already discussed, but also in its specific watery dimensions may have earlier echoes potentially in incidents reported by Aristotle and Strabo regarding *Keltoi* fighting the waves of the sea.[33] With these details considered, we might return to Hubert's study mentioned earlier, and the possible connections of it to various divine figures in Ireland, including Núada. One of the Welsh cognates of Núada is the Welsh Nudd, best known as the patronym of Gwyn ap Nudd, of whom it is said in *Culhwch ac Olwen*'s list of thirty-nine *anoetheu* in a mixed statement showing Cambro-Christian syncretistic imagery: 'Twrch Trwyth will not be hunted until you get Gwyn son of Nudd in whom God has put the ferocity of the fiends of Annwfn lest the world be destroyed; he will not be spared thence'.[34] Further, Gwyn is said to take part in an eternal battle for Creiddylad every *Kalan Mai* that will not be concluded until doomsday.[35]

John Carey examines the figures of Núada, Nudd, and Nodons in their various Insular Celtic contexts and suggests that all of them may derive from a water-connected earth-shaker figure, not unlike the Roman Neptune or the Greek Poseidon.[36] Jumping to the Greek milieu for a moment, something else which is an interesting parallel in the present context is the little-known story of Poseidon, who in collaboration with Hera and Athena attempts a coup against Zeus, who is only freed via the intervention of the sea-goddess Thetis, which is outlined briefly in Homer's *Iliad* and is also alluded to in Ion of Chios, Statius, Quintus of Smyrna and Nonnos.[37] There, a potential overthrow of Zeus, and thus a potential eschatological situation, involving one sea-deity and earth-shaker is averted by another sea-deity. As eschatological imagery often involves the surging of the sea and the shaking of the earth, a deity connected to such natural forces seems obvious to include

31 McCone 1986; Bernhardt-House 2010, 344-345, 356, and passim.
32 Gerstein 1974; Jacoby 1974; Guðmundsson 2007, 284-288 (discussing the 13th c. *Völsunga saga* and its multiple wolf-related and werewolf characters, including one who is a son of Óðinn); Riisøy 2010, 20-22; Schjødt 2012, 198-201 (also on *Völsunga saga*).
33 Sayers 1986, 99.
34 Ford 1977, 142-143.
35 Ford 1977, 151.
36 Carey 1984.
37 Kerényi 1980, 24.

in any potential apocalyptic narrative. The sea-wolf Jormungandr, the Fenrisúlfr, and Loki struggling under his own binding are each connected to flooding, water, and earthquakes respectively as well. In *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, Sualtaim mac Roích wonders at one point if it is the sky cracking, the sea overflowing, or the earth splitting if it is not his son, Cú Chulainn, fighting against fierce odds.[38] Even if Cú Chulainn is never said to bring about an apocalyptic situation, it is at least implied that his own powers are like such a scenario, and thus perhaps the potential is in him as much as it was in the state of Gwyn ap Nudd.

The primary contrast remains, however, in that—to use rather morally simplistic terms—the Fenrisúlfr is almost wholly 'bad,' while Cú Chulainn, though flawed, is 'good.' The Fenrisúlfr is bound in order to forestall the destruction of the gods, but Cú Chulainn is killed to fulfill his expectable heroic destiny as a result of a coordinated effort by his chief enemy Medb and the children of several of his earlier heroic casualties, particularly Calatín Dána and Cú Roí mac Dáire. As neither of these situations is directly eschatological, the question might remain, especially in relation to Cú Chulainn, what or how eschatological themes might have anything to do with his death.

While this is highly conjectural, I suspect that what may be going on with Cú Chulainn's death is that he is not merely being killed, but instead he is being gathered in or recruited, so to speak, at the height of his powers (which are only compromised through treachery to bring about his death) still during his youth, for an apocalyptic battle to come. Such a battle is best understood in parallel with the Norse Ragnarök, in which the best warriors have been gathered from those slain in battle by Óðinn in Valhalla and by Freyja in her hall Sessrúmnir in the field called Fólkvangr.[39] In an 'averted eschatology' parallel in Greek myth, the birth of Achilleus to Thetis by the mortal Peleus is one such situation, which would thus circumvent the prophecy that any offspring born to Thetis fathered by either Zeus or Poseidon would overthrow the ruling order of the Olympian gods.[40] Achilleus has been compared to Cú Chulainn on countless occasions,[41] and perhaps his death, too, in fulfillment of his heroic ethos in a similar manner to that of Cú Chulainn, and his being taken to the Isles of the Blessed in the afterlife,[42] is an analogous situation to what I am conjecturing about Cú Chulainn's in the present instance. Perhaps the greatest warriors of the past heroic ages are cut down in their prime so that they might be at their best in whatever apocalyptic battle is to come in a given culture—Norse, Greek, or Irish.

38 O'Rahilly 1976, 103, 216.
39 Sturluson, *Edda* (Young 1984), 53.
40 Kerényi 1978, 309.
41 E.g. Nutt 1900.
42 Kerényi 1978, 354-355.

One final detail in the Irish situation suggests that this could potentially be the case. The two Irish deities to whom Cú Chulainn is closest and has the most frequent direct contacts—both primarily in the context of *Táin Bó Cúailnge*[43]—are Lug and the Morrígan. Both of them were also prominent in various ways in the narrative of *Cath Maige Tuired*, which Hilda Ellis Davidson has suggested has eschatological overtones in various ways.[44] Perhaps these two Irish deities, like Óðinn and Freyja, are collecting the slain for deployment at a later date. The Morrígan has been discussed as valkyrie-like in certain respects,[45] and likewise Freyja is related to valkyries in various ways, and is one of the *valkyrjar* ('choosers of the slain') in the sense that she does (according to Snorri's *Gylfaginning*, as mentioned above) have a choice of those who are slain.[46] Cú Chulainn, as a son of Lug and therefore favored by that god, or as a worthy adversary of the Morrígan (who, it should be noted, ultimately attempted to forestall his death by sabotaging his chariot the night before his final battle[47]) and thus respected by her, may have been in a situation in which either deity might have been the recipient of his soul in an afterlife in preparation for a final conflict of fire and flood in the cosmos. This is impossible to know with any certainty, as these two deities do not interact much in attested Irish medieval mythic literature. But, perhaps they share the hero in death, and the entire effort of collecting such heroes as recruits in a battle-to-come is a shared effort between both of them and various other deities as well in the Irish context.

To conclude rather simply, then, in the Irish situation, the potential world-destroying force of Cú Chulainn may have been marshaled on what we might consider the side of 'the good' for that culture's future eschatological battle when he (and others) are unleashed, rather than as the situation is with the Fenrisúlfr, who will be one of the chief destroyers at Ragnarök when he breaks his bonds and brings about the death of Óðinn.

43 E.g. O'Rahilly 1976, 57- 67, 176-185.
44 Davidson 1988, 188-195.
45 Epstein 1998, 272.
46 Näsström 1995, 124-177; Motz 1998, 32, 39.
47 *Brislech Mór Maige Muirthemne* (Carey 2003), 136.

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The Last Native Manx Gaelic Speakers. The Final Phase: 'Full' or 'Terminal' in speech?[1]

George Broderick

Introduction

The term 'Last Native Manx Gaelic speakers' refers to those seventy informants[2] interviewed, in the form of either sound-record or questionnaire, etc., between 1909 and 1972.[3] These interviews were conducted in three phases, the "Final Phase" of which refers to the last fifteen informants (Phase 3):

> Phase 1: The Vienna Recordings (1909). Interval of 20 years follows between 1 and 2.
> Phase 2: The Marstrander Recordings (1929-1933). Interval of 14 years follows between 2 and 3.
> Phase 3: The Final Phase (1947-1972)[4]

The intervals between the phases were sufficiently long enough to ensure that the informants for each individual phase were almost exclusive to that phase. Nevertheless, there was some overlap between Phases 2 and 3. Common to Phases 2 and 3 were the following four informants: Daniel Caine, John Kneen (The Gaaue), Thomas Leece, and Wilfred Wade. In Phase 2 they may have been 'noted' and perhaps visited, but were certainly visited in Phase 3. This article will concentrate on the fifteen endspeakers of Phase 3. The task in hand here is to determine whether any or all of the endspeakers could be regarded as 'terminal' or 'full' in their speech.

'Terminal' here refers to the speakers who had not learned their mother-tongue fully (in this case Manx), including the nuances of idiom, before circumstances obliged them to shift to the dominant language (English) to be able to communicate with monolingual English-speaking Manx men and women. That is to say, their

1 I would like to thank Nancy C. Dorian for helpful comments and Max Wheeler for additional biographical material in the preparation of this article. Copies of all photographs of the native Manx Gaelic speakers recorded by the Irish Folklore Commission (April-May 1948) were donated in 1948 to the Manx Museum, now Manx National Heritage. All photographs courtesy of Manx National Heritage, Douglas, Isle of Man.

2 For details of these informants see Broderick (forthcoming II).

3 Details of the recordings can be found in Broderick (1999, 54-76).

4 Viz. IFC (1948), FJC (1949), HW (1950), KHJ (1950/51), MM (1950-52), YCG (1951-53); PR1 (1947), PR2 (c. 1960), PR3 (1962), LSS (1972).

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knowledge of Manx was not complete before the change-over from Manx to English.

'Full' here refers to the speakers who had in fact learned their mother-tongue fully and were competent in all aspects of its use, including the nuances of idiom, before the change-over.[5] Nancy Dorian (2010, 106) uses the term *formerly fluent speakers*, in the case of East Sutherland Gaelic, for those who

> were raised in homes where Gaelic was the normal language of family interactions. They had siblings [...] whose full fluency reflected the family's regular use of Gaelic, but these individuals had married English monolinguals [who had] spent a major part of their lives in an entirely English-speaking environment. Their fluency had suffered as a result, and they frequently struggled with lexical retrieval; less commonly used grammatical constructions tended to elude their grasp, and English influence could be seen not just in borrowings but sometimes also in the way they put Gaelic sentences together (Dorian 2010, 106).

Dorian's *formerly fluent speakers* would equate with the term 'full' here.

The last native Manx Gaelic speakers

Below is a listing of the last fifteen native Manx speakers, the so-called 'endspeakers'. Attached to each name is information relating to those bodies and individuals 'in abbreviated form' who noted the names or made recordings of the speakers concerned in the year(s) entered. The speakers are as follows:

> 1. BOYDE, Harry (1870/71-1953), Bishop's Demesne, Ballaugh. (ASBD1946, IFC1948, FJC1949, MM 1950-52, HW1950, KHJ1950/51, YCG1951-53).

5 Even those competent in Manx will have learned some English at school (though it was not until 1858 that Man became part of the English compulsory education system - before then it was evidently a 'hit and miss' affair; (cf. Clamp 1988a-c). Even then there was no guarantee that they were competent in English, as John Tom Kaighin tells us: Tra ren mee goll dy schoill va mee bunnys hoght vleeaney [sic] as va mee toiggal Gailck foddee share na va mee toiggal Baarle, as ren ad goll dy gynsaghey mee son dy gra...'nane' - they were saying 'one' and I was saying nane, and they were saying 'two' a[s] va mee gra 'jees', as ren ad gra 'three' as ren mee gra strass [sic], as v'ad gra 'four' as va mee gra 'kiare', as ren ad goll dys y mainshter dy geddyn yn fer shoh, 'Cha jarg mee gynsaghey, cha jarg mee gynsaghey, t'eh loayrt Gailck [...] ('when I went to school I was almost eight years old, and I was understanding Manx far better than I was understanding English, and they went to teach me for to say "one" - they were saying "one" and I was saying nane, and they were saying "two" and I was saying jees, and they were saying "three" and I said strass (i.e. trass [= a third; rect. tree], and they were saying "four" and I was saying kiare, and they went to the master to get this one (sorted) [and said], "I cannot teach him, I cannot teach him", he's talking Manx...') (HLSM/I, 286-287).

2. CAIN, Danny (1861/62-1952), Little London, Michael (of Eary MI) (CM1929 Noted, YCG1952).
3. KAIGHIN, John Tom (1861/62-1954), Ballagarrett, Bride (ASBD1946, IFC1948, FJC1949, HW1950, MM1950, 1951, KHJ1950/51, YCG1952, 1953).
4. KARRAN, John (1866/67-1955), Cregneash (also given as Cregneish), Rushen (FJC1949).
5. KARRAN, Mrs. Eleanor (1870/71-1953), his wife, Cregneash, Rushen (ASBD1946, IFC1948, FJC 1949, HW1950, KHJ1950/51, MM1952).
6. KARRAN, Tom (1875/76-1959), Cregneash, Rushen (MM1950, YCG1953).
7. KINVIG, John Dan (1860/61-1953), Garey Hollin, Arbory (of Garey Mooar AR) (ASBD1946).
8. KINVIG, Mrs. Sage Jane (1869/70-1962), his wife, Garey Hollin, Arbory (ASBD1946, IFC1948, YCG1952, 1953).
9. KNEALE, Mrs. Annie (1864/65-1949), Ballagarrett, Bride (ASBD1946, IFC1948).
10. KNEEN, John (The Gaaue) (1858/59-1958), Ballaugh Curragh (of Andreas) (CM1929 Noted, ASBD 1946, IFC1948, FJC1949, HW1950, KHJ1950/51, MM1952, YCG1951/52).
11. LEECE, Tommy (1859/60-1956), Kerrookeil, Kerroomooar, Malew (CM1929 Noted, ASBD1946, IFC1948, KHJ1950/51, YCG1952).
12. LOWEY, Mrs. Emily (1868/69-1947), Kirkill, Rushen (ASBD1946, PRI/1947).
13. MADDRELL, Ned (1877-1974), Glenchass, Rushen (of Corvalley, Rushen) (ASBD1946, PR1/1947, IFC1948, FJC1949, HW1950, KHJ1950/51, YCG1952/53, PR2/1960, PR3/1962, LSS1972).
14. WADE, Wilfred (1868/69-1948), Sandygate, Jurby (CM1929, ASBD1946, PRI1947).
15. WATTERSON, Mrs. Catherine (1859/60-1959), Colby, Rushen (of Glenchass, Rushen) (ASBD1946, FJC1949, HW1950, KHJ1950/51).
The Semi-Speaker:
16. CHRISTIAN, Ewan (1907/08-1985), 58 Patrick Street, Peel (LSS1972).

The birth-dates of the fifteen range from 1858/59 (John Kneen) to 1877 (Ned Maddrell) and their death-dates from 1947 (Emily Lowey) to 1974 (Ned Maddrell), the total span covering the years 1858/59-1974. The semi-speaker Ewan Christian is not included in this exercise, though his details are given in the interests of completeness.

In seeking to establish the status of the Manx of the last native speakers of Phase 3, the following points are observed:

1. Comments from the interviewers. Comments made on the speakers and their Manx by the various interviewers (Marstrander, Carmody, Wagner, Jackson), or from the sound-recordings themselves are first taken into consideration. In the cases of Wagner and Jackson, for instance, they provide personal details only[6] against each of their informants' names, but supply general comments about them as a body separately later on (see §4).

6 Sometimes (especially with Jackson) additional information is also provided.

2a. Information from the census returns. Family details are then supplied from the relevant census returns which set the particular speaker's acquisition and use of Manx in context.
2b. Information from local Manx field-workers. Additional general information on the informants provided by the field-workers follows, where appropriate.
3. Comments on the speaker and his / her connection with Manx. After brief personal details, comments are then provided on the native speaker and his / her connection with Manx.

Additional information on some of the speakers is provided in the footnotes, either from various documentary sources, from the sound-recordings themselves, or from local Manx field workers.

All the known original material gleaned from the sound-recordings was published as texts with English translation in HLSM/I, 168-479, or in sentence form in HLSM/II (Dictionary). A thorough assessment of the Manx of the last native speakers can be found in LDIM 77-171.

The speakers

1. BOYDE, Harry (1870/71-1953), Bishop's Demesne Farm, Ballaugh.

1. Comments from the interviewers:

Davies: 'Harry Boyde, Ballaugh' (Davies 1946[1948]).

Carmody: 'Harry Boyd, about 80, recounted his stock of short yarns with fixed end-formulae or "punch-lines", mi[l]dly amusing but not autobiographical; when retold, these stories vary slightly in wording except for the end-formulae, in which appear certain definite archaisms. He has been speaking Gaelic actively since 1935; his fund of lexical knowledge, notably of names of plants and animals, is very extensive'[7] (Carmody 1954, 59-60).[8]

Wagner: 'Mr. Harry Boyde, of Ballaugh (bɑ'l:ɑ:) [N], age: 82' (Wagner LASID I, xxii).

Jackson: 'Mr. Harry Boyde, of Ballaugh, now in the [Mannin] Infirmary, Douglas. Aged 82. Blind. Another very good speaker, who was most useful'[9] (Jackson 1955, 3).[10]

7 This was confirmed to me by Manx field-worker, the late Chalse Craine, at his home at Mwyllin Squeen, Ballaugh, on 8 July 1974. It was on the same occasion that he also told me he had 'discovered' Harry Boyde, along with the Gaaue and John Tom Kaighin in 1936. See also fn. 23 below. Of the three, he said, he got on best with Harry Boyde, from whom he learned much of his Manx and obtained a number of Manx traditional songs, including Hie mee stiagh (cf. Broderick 1982, 20-21).

8 For personal profiles of each of the speakers, see Broderick (forthcoming II).

9 Thus confirming Wagner's view, related to myself c. 1983, of Harry Boyde. In a discussion I had with Wagner during 1983 in the DIAS about the native Manx speakers he interviewed I mentioned to him that on the sound-recordings of them they show much hesitancy in their speech, thus leading to difficulties in their grammar. I asked him about their general competence in Manx outside the formal interviews. Wagner said that they were much more at ease in an informal setting. One of the best speakers was Harry Boyde, Ballaugh, he said.

10 For details of HB's recorded contributions, see HLSM/I, 270-283.

2. Information from the census returns:
1881: So far as is known, Harry Boyde (HB) first appears in the 1881 census as William H. Boyde, 11, scholar, of Ballaugh, grandson to John Boyde, 74, 'farmer of 70 acres', and his wife Isabella, 72, living in Bishop Court farm, Ballaugh. Also living there were William Cottier, 54, John Boyde's brother-in-law, of Ballaugh, and Margaret Cottier, his sister-in-law, also of Ballaugh (RG11/5598 74 28).

1891: HB next appears in the 1891 census as Harry Boyde, 22, 'farmer's grandson', along with his grandfather John, 85, and John's daughter Jane, 45, of Ballaugh, as well as Isabella Wade, John's granddaughter, 13, and William, 5, another grandson, of Ballaugh, and his brother-in-law William Cottier, all living in 'Bishops Domain' (i.e. Bishop's Demesne) farm (RG12/4684 14 14).

1901: HB here as Henry Boyde, 30, agricultural labourer, and nephew to John J. Boyde, head, M, 54, farmer, own account, and his wife Catherine, M, 48, both of Ballaugh, living in Bishops Domain along with their children Robert, 13, Thomas, 11, Anne, 17, and John J.'s sister Jane, 53, and his niece Bella, 23, all of Ballaugh.

Manx: All, including Harry, are entered here as English only speakers (but see Note below) (RG13/5300 44 20).

1911: HB here as Harry Boyde, 40, nephew, single, farm labourer, of Ballaugh, living in Bishop's Domain along with his uncle John J. Boyde, head, 60, M, farmer of 100 acres, employer, of Ballaugh, and his wife Catherine, 56, M, of Ballaugh, along with their children William H., 26, S, Thomas D., 21, S, John J.'s sister Jane, 64, S, all of Ballaugh. Also living with them were John J.'s other nephew's and nieces, viz. Isabella, niece, 33, S, Florence Wade, niece, 9, and Bertie Wade, 5, nephew, all of Ballaugh. The parents of Harry Boyde are to date unknown.[11]

Manx: As in 1901 all are entered as English speakers (s.v. 1901), though we know from later interviews and recordings (see above) that Harry Boyde could also speak Manx, and no doubt his grandparents (and his parents), and probably his uncle John J. Boyde, but not necessarily his uncle's wife or children (RG14/34637 0035 18).

3. Comments on the speaker and his connection with Manx:
BOYDE, Harry:
Born: 1870/71.
English introduced into the household: c. 1900/01.
Manx as the home language: c. 30-31 years.
Harry Boyde died on 2 February 1953, aged 82, and was buried in Ballaugh on 6 February 1953 (GR, LIB).

11 Former field-worker the late Chalse Craine, Ballaugh, told me privately in July 1974 that Harry Boyde was born illegitimately.

Comment: I have taken it that HB's grandparents spoke Manx, as did his parents (though they are to date unknown), as well as his uncle John J., but not necessarily his uncle's wife or their children. It may be, of course, that English was introduced into the household when HB's grandfather John and his grand-daughter Isabella Wade, 13 (1891), came on the scene c. 1878 (ie. some seven years or so after HB's birth), but we just do not know. I have therefore taken the introduction of English into the home to start from 1901 when we know for certain that English was already the language of the household, though it may well have started much earlier.

However, given the evidence of Jackson (backed up in a later interview with Wagner, see fn. 9 above) that Boyde was regarded as 'a good speaker', i.e. competent in Manx, and the evidence by Carmody (backed up later in interview with former field-worker Chalse Craine) that Boyde had an extensive lexcial knowledge of plants and animals, which could only have been acquired though long contact with Manx, we are inclined to believe that Boyde's constant use of English began later rather than earlier, and posit c. 1900/01 as the most likely date when he started to speak English regularly.

2. CAIN, Daniel ('Danny') (1860/61-1952), Little London, Michael (of Braddan).

1. Comments from the interviewers:

Marstrander: 'As a good Manx speaker he [John Kisack MI] mentioned Daniel Cain[12] in Little London, 2-3 miles further south on the Douglas road (the place is marked on the map). But the place was too far off my route' (CM1929 *Dagbok* 37 top).[13]

2. Information from the census returns:

1871: So far as we are aware, Daniel Cain (DC) first appears in the 1871 census as Daniel H. Cain, 9, scholar, of Braddan, son to William Cain (1811-1895), M, 59, labourer, of Braddan, and his wife Ellen, M, 55, labourer's wife, also of Braddan. They lived in Pisco House (SC3683), Baldwin, Braddan, with their other sons William, S, 29, farmer of 5 acres, Philip, S, 21, tailor, and James, S, 14, labourer, all of Braddan (RG10/5777 52 32).

1881: DC here as Daniel Caine, S, 18, farmer's son, of Braddan, living now in Eary farm, Michael with his parents William Caine, head, M, 69, farmer of 130 acres, and wife Ellen, M, 62, also of Braddan, and his elder brother William, S, 35, farmer's son, and sister Eleanor, S, 30, both of Braddan (RG11/5598 46 13).

12 Daniel Cain, noted but not visited by Marstrander, was recorded briefly by YCG in April 1952 (YCG21). For details of his recorded contributions, see HLSM/I, 310-311.

13 For details of Marstrander's visits to Man, see Oftedal (1982, 11-19), LDIM 54-61, 67-69.

1891: DC here as Daniel H. Caine, S, 28, farmer's son, of Braddan, still living in Eary farm MI along with his parents William, head, M, 80, of Braddan, and Eleanor (*sic*), M, 74, also of Braddan, as well as his sister Eleanor, S, 42, farmer's daughter, and brother James, S, 31, farmer's son, both of Braddan (RG12/4683 128 34).

1901: DC here as Daniel Caine, S, 38, of Braddan, still living in Eary farm MI, but now with his mother Eleanor, head, widow, 83, of Braddan (his father William having died in 1895). Also living in the same household were Daniel's sister Eleanor, S, 52, and brother James, S, 42, 'farmer's son farm relief', both of Braddan.

Manx: All four are entered as Manx speakers (RG13/5300 22 4).

1911: DC here as Daniel Caine, S, 49, farmer, is entered as born in Michael. He is still living and working in Eary farm MI, but now with his older brother James, head, M, 53, and his wife Elizabeth, 34, of German, both married 10 years (c. 1900/01). Also living with them were their children William, 9, 'school', Eleanor, 7, 'school', Maggie, 5, Annie, 3, and Fanny, 1, all of Michael.

Manx: Listed as a speaker of Manx is Daniel alone; his brother James and his wife English only. No entry is made for the children. We know from the 1901 census (above) that James was also a Manx speaker, but his much younger wife Elizabeth (of [the parish of] German) was probably not, and neither were their children (RG14/34730 0057 29).

3. Comments on the speaker and his connection with Manx:
CAIN, Daniel:
Year of birth: 1861/62.
English introduced into the household: c. 1900/01.
Manx as the home language: c. 39-40 years.
Daniel Caine died, aged 84, and was buried in Michael on 19 August 1952 (LIB).

Comment: Daniel alone is listed as a speaker of Manx in the 1911 census; his brother James and his wife Elizabeth (married c. 1900/01) English only. No entry is made for the children. We know from the 1901 census that James (53) was also a Manx speaker, but his much younger wife Elizabeth (34) (of German) probably was not, and also their children. For the reasons given above, and considering the date of marriage of James and his wife (c. 1900) I would estimate that English was introduced into the household around that time (1900/01). Nevertheless, it is likely that Daniel and his brother James continued to speak Manx together when on their own. Marstrander is given Cain's name as 'a good Manx speaker.' Given also the fact that Manx was his home language for some 40 years there is no reason in my view to doubt his competence in that language.

3. KAIGHIN, John Tom (1861/62-1954), Ballagarrett, Bride.

1. Comment from the interviewers:
Davies: 'John Tom Kaighin, Ballagarrett, Bride' (Davies 1946[1948]).
Carmody: 'John Tom Kaighin, then 88, was born in and lives at Ballagarrett [Bride], was awhile at Ballaugh[14] with his grandfather, spent his life as a farmer and used Gaelic regularly at the market. His fluency returned quickly when he was discovered in 1946 [*rect*. 1936]. His speech is careless and his articulation often obscure; but he was eager to propose interesting words and constructions and to translate key sentences from English' (Carmody 1954, 59).

Wagner: 'Mr. John Tom Kaighin, of Ballagarrett, Kirk Bride [N], age: 89' (Wagner LASID I, xxii).

Jackson: 'Mr. John Tom Kaighin, of Ballagarrett, Kirk Bride. Aged 89. Blind' (Jackson 1955, 3).

2a. Information from the census returns:
1871: So far as is known, John Tom Kaighin (JTK) is first noticed in the 1871 census as John T. Kaighin, 8, scholar, grandson to Thomas Kaighin,[15] head, widower, 74, farmer, and son to John Thomas Kaighin Sr., M, 27, both of Ballagarrett Farm House, Bride. Living with them is Jane Kaighin, S, 30, and Eliza Alice Kaighin, 23, daughters to Thomas and sisters to John Thomas Sr., as well as Thomas's remaining grandchildren: William, 5, scholar, Ann Jane, 7, Cathrine, 8 months, all of 'Isle of Man'. Also living with them is Thomas Martin, servant, S, 16, farm servant indoor, also of 'Isle of Man' (RG10/5773 16 65).

1881: JTK here as John Thos. Kaighin, S, 18, farmer's son, of Bride, son to John Thos. Kaighin Sr., head, M, 38, farmer of 53 acres, of Lezayre, and his wife Jane, M, 41, of Andreas, living in Ballagarrett BR along with their remaining children: Ann Jane, S, 17, farmer's daughter, William, 15, scholar, Catharine, 10 scholar, Elizabeth, 9, scholar, Sophia A., 7, scholar, Esther M., 5, scholar, Elenor, 3, and Isabella, 1, all of Bride. Living with them is John Thomas Sr's father Thomas Kaighin, widower, 84, farmer, here entered of Jurby, and Elizabeth Kaighin, John Thomas Sr's sister, S, 33, farmer's daughter, of Lezayre (RG11/5599 64 14).

1891: JTK here as John T. Kaighin, 28, S, farm labourer, employed, of Bride, son to John T. Kaighin Sr., head, M, 49, farmer, of Lezayre, and his wife Jane, M, 54, of Andreas, living now in Ballamin, Bride, along with their remaining children: Margaret E., S,23, dressmaker, Elizabeth, S, 19, dressmaker, Sophia A., S, 17, scholar, Esther M., S, 15, scholar, Eleanor, S, 13, scholar, and James J. S,

14 At Close Rhenney, Ballaugh (cf. HO107/2523 350 31).
15 Born 1791 in Jurby, died aged 72 and buried in Jurby on 6 January 1863 (cf. HO107/2523 350 31; LIB).

6, scholar, all of Bride. Living with them is William B. W. Lawson, S, 16 farm servant, of Ballaugh (RG12/4684 102 10).

1901: JTK here as John Thos. Kaighin, S, 38 farmers son, worker, at home, of Bride, son to John T. Kaighin Sr., head, M, 59, farmer, employer, of Lezayre, and his wife Jane, M, 61, farmers wife, of Andreas, living still in Ballamin along with their other children: Henry, S, 18, farmers son, worker, at home, James J., S, 17, farmers son, worker, at home, Esther M, S, 24, worker, at home, Eleanor, S, 22, worker, at home, Annie, gdr. 9, and Alice J., gdr. 6, all of Bride. Living with them is Thomas Crennell, S, 18, cattleman, worker of Bride.

Manx: entered here as Manx speakers are John T. Kaighin Sr, his wife Anne, and the following children: John Thomas, Henry, James J., Esther M, and Eleanor. Entered as English only speakers are the granddaughters Annie and Alice J. and the cattleman Thomas Crennell (RG13/5302 39 10).

1911: JTK here as John Thomas Kaighin, 48, S, farmer's son working on farm, worker, of Bride, son to John Thomas Kaighin Sr., head, 69, farmer, employer, of Lezayre, and his wife Jane, 71, of Andreas, both married 49 years (c. 1861/62). Living with them now in Ballagarrett BR are their other children: William, 44, M, farmer's son working on farm, worker, of Bride, Eleanor, 33, S, farmer's daughter, worker, of Bride, Jane Alice Kaighin, granddaughter, 16, S, milliner, of Bride, John William Kaighin, grandson, 14, S, school, of Douglas, and Thomas Ernest Kaighin, grandson, 2, of Douglas. Also living with them is William Cannell, servant, 15, working indoor, of Douglas.

Manx: entered here as Manx speakers are John Thomas Sr., his wife Jane, John Thomas Jr., and his brother William. The rest, viz. Eleanor, and the grandchildren Jane Alice, 16, and Thomas Ernest, 2, and the servant William Cannell, are entered as English only speakers (RG14/34648 0049 25).

2b. Information from local Manx field-workers:

John Tom Kaighin, son of John Thomas Kaighin Sr., a farmer in Ballagarrett, Bride, and Jane Cormode, was born in 1862 in Ballagarrett and christened at Bride parish church on 7 September 1862. The Kaighin family, according to John Tom, had their origins in Kirk German but moved to Jurby parish where they were some three generations in Ballachrink. John Tom's great-grandfather was William Cowley of The Close, Braddan, near the upper reaches of the Sulby River. He was better known as Illiam y Close and was a renowned Methodist preacher (cf. MM Tape 32). He was buried in Ballaugh in 1848 'at a ripe age' (MNH MS 0147A). Illiam y Close is celebrated in the Manx traditional song *Ushtey Millish sy Gharee* ('sweet water in the common') (cf. Moore 1896, 56) which dates from c. 1770-75; his father, also William and also from The Close, was buried in Ballaugh 16 March 1788. John Tom Kaighin died on 10 June 1954. He was reared in a Gaelic-speaking

environment, and, according to local knowledge, used Manx regularly with local farmers. His diction could at times be jerky and uneven. He was blind when the sound-recordings were made of him.[16]

3. Comments on the speaker and his connection with Manx:
KAIGHIN, John Tom:
Born: 1861/62.
English introduced into the household: c. 1884/85.
Manx as the home language: c. 21 years.
John Tom Kaighin died on 10 June 1954, aged 91, and was buried in Bride on 12 June 1954 (GR, LIB).
Comment: From the 1901 census we learn that the parents and all six children, from John Thomas downwards to Eleanor, are entered as Manx speakers. Only the two granddaughters Annie and Alice J. are entered as English only speakers. From the 1911 census, however, we learn that only the parents and the two eldest children John Thomas and his brother William are entered as Manx speakers, Eleanor is entered as an English only speaker along with the three grandchildren. However, from the 1901 census Eleanor is entered as a Manx speaker. It may be that in the meantime she had chosen to speak English. The situation seems to be that Manx was the language of the household as far as the parents and children were concerned, but that English was spoken to the grandchildren. If this is the case, then the parents made a conscious decision not to pass on Manx to the grandchildren, the eldest of whom, James J. was born c. 1884/ 85. That is to say, English was formally introduced into the Kaighin household in that year, in which case John Tom Kaighin had over 20 years' experience of Manx in the home. In addition, Carmody comments that he lived for a time with his grandfather Thomas Kaighin (1791-1863) (in Close Rhenney, Ballaugh, which would suggest that he was in receipt of good Manx there). The sound-recordings make clear that John Tom Kaighin was competent in Manx.

4. KARRAN, John (1866/67-1955), Cregneash, Rushen.

1. Comment from the interviewers:
Carmody: "I note[d] several constructions used by Mr. Karran [...]" (Carmody 1954: 60).

2. Information from the census returns:

16 Information also from the late William Radcliffe, Ramsey. For details of JTK's recorded contributions, see HLSM/I, 284-305.

Karran, Mrs. Eleanor (1870-1953), Cregneash, Rushen, 1948.

1881: So far as is known, John Karran (JK) is first noticed in the 1881 census as John Karran, 15, fisherman, of Rushen, aboard the fishing-boat *Seek* CT50 (RG11/5609 88 31).

1901: JK here as John Karran, head, M, 34, stonemason, worker, of Rushen, living in Cregneash, Rushen, with his wife Eleanor C. (qv), M 29, of Rushen, along with their daughter Emily, J., 1, of Rushen.

Manx: Both John and Eleanor are entered as Manx speakers; no entry is made for the daughter, as under-aged (RG13/5301 108 149).

3. Comments on the speaker and his connection with Manx:

KARRAN, John:
Born: 1866/67.
English introduced into the household: c. 1900.
Manx as the home language: c. 34 years.
John Karran died, aged 88, and was buried in Rushen on 16 July 1955 (LIB).
See next.

5. KARRAN, Mrs. Eleanor (1870/71-1953) (wife of foregoing),[17] *Cregneash, Rushen.*

1. Comment from the interviewers:

Carmody: '[...] and have excellent Bible readings by his wife [Mrs. Eleanor Karran] [...]' (Carmody 1954, 60).

Wagner: 'Mrs. Eleanor Karran, of Cregneash [S], age: about 80' (Wagner LASID I, xxii).

Jackson: 'Mrs. Eleanor Karan, of Cregneish.[18] About 80. She was my chief source, with whom I worked right through the questionnaire' (Jackson 1955, 2).[19]

17 Although Eleanor Karran bore as her maiden name the same surname as her husband John before their marriage, to our knowledge, the two families are unrelated.

18 Walter Clarke told me some years ago (1980s) that when they went to visit Mrs Eleanor Karran, there came a point in the interview where Jackson asked Mrs. Karran for the Manx word for the moon. When Mrs. Karran told him [eːʃt] eayst, he dropped his notebook in apparent disbelief at the survival of Early Irish éasca, éisce in Manx, as he had been expecting the euphemism gealach 'the bright thing', as in Irish and Scottish Gaelic. Jackson then asked Mrs. Karran to repeat what she had just said, which she did, and again still under the spell of disbelief asked her a third time, to which in some apparent irritation at the question she said, 'I've just told you twice, yn eish, yn eish!'

19 For details of her recorded contributions, see HLSM/I, 382-383.

2. Information from the census returns:
1881: So far as is known, Mrs. Eleanor Karran (EK) is first noticed in the census for 1881 as Eleanor Karran, 9, of Rushen, daughter of Isabella Karran, 36, fisherman's wife, of Rushen, living in Cregneash RU, with her other children: Jane, 7, Thomas, 5, James, 3, all of Rushen (RG11/5609 8 55).

1891: EK here as Eleanor Karran, S, 20, of Rushen, daughter of Thomas Karran, head, M, 51, farmer, of Rushen, and his wife Isabella, M, 46, also of Rushen, living in Cregneash Farm, Cregneash RU, along with their other children: William, 12, scholar, John F., 9, scholar, Isabella, 4, Margaret A., 1, all of Rushen (RG12/4692 48 97).

1899: Marriage, Rushen, 22 April 1899 John Karran, 32, bachelor, mason, Cregneish, f. Henry Karran, farmer ~ Eleanor Catharine Karran, 27, spinster, -, Cregneish, f. Thomas Karran, fisherman and farmer (IMPR Marriage, Rushen, 22 April 1899, 942).

1900: Baptism, Rushen, 18 February 1900 Emily Isabel, John Karran / Eleanor (Karran), Cregneish, mason, C. H. Leece, Vicar (IMPR Baptism, Rushen, 18 February 1900, 42).

1901: EK here as Eleanor Karran, M, 29, of Rushen, wife of John Karran (qv), head, M, 34, stonemason, of Rushen, living in Cregneash along with their daughter Emily J., 1, of Rushen.

Manx: Both John and Eleanor Karran are entered as Manx speakers (RG13/5301 108 149).

1911: EK here as Eleanor Karran, wife, 40 M, of Rushen, married 12 years (c. 1898/99), living in Cregneash, Port St. Mary, with her three children: Emily Isabel, 11, Catharine Millicent, 7, Stanley James Maddrell, 8, all of Rushen.

Manx: Only Eleanor Karran is here entered as a Manx speaker; the rest English only (RG14/ 34746 0089 41).

3. Comments on the speaker and her connection with Manx:
KARRAN, Eleanor:
Born: 1870/71.
English introduced into the household: c. 1900.
Manx as the home language: c. 30 years.
Mrs. Eleanor Karran died, aged 83, and was buried in Rushen on 11 October 1953 (LIB).
Comment: Given that John and Eleanor Karran (1901) and Eleanor alone (1911) are alone listed as Manx speakers, it is clear that they had decided not to pass on Manx to their children. English would have likely been introduced into the household, as elsewhere, on the birth of their first child Emily Isabel (c. 1899/1900) (baptised 18 February 1900). Both Carmody's and Jackson's comments make clear that Mrs.

Eleanor Karran was a competent, and threfore a 'full' speaker of Manx. This is also backed up by the 30 years (34 in the case of her husband) that Manx had been the home language.

6. KARRAN, Tom (1875/76-1959) (brother to Eleanor Catherine), Cregneash, Rushen.

1. Comment from the interviewers:
Jackson: 'Mr. Thomas Karran, her brother, now of 30 Peel Street, Douglas. About 75. I had no opportunity of using him' (Jackson 1955, 2).[20]

2. Information from the census returns:
1881: So far as is known, Thomas Karran (TC) is first attested in the census for 1881 as Thomas Karran, 5, of Rushen, son to Mrs. Isabella Karran, M, 36, fisherman's wife, of Rushen, living in Cregneash, Rushen, along with her other children: Eleanor, 9, Jane, 7, and James, 3, all of Rushen (RG11/5609 8 55).

1891: TC here as Thomas Karran, S, 15, fisherman, of Rushen, boat *Sylph* CT 59 (RG12/4692 78).

1899: Marriage, Rushen, 03 March 1899 Thomas Karran, 23, bachelor, mariner, Cregneish, f. Thomas Karran, farmer ~ Annie Louisa Collister, 20, spinster, -, Port Erin, f. William Collister, boatsman (IMPR Marriage, Rushen, 03 March 1899, 939).

1911: TC turns up next in the 1911 census as Thomas Karran, head, 35, M, mariner, of Rushen with his wife Annie, 32, also of Rushen, both married 12 years [c. 1898/99], living on Dandy Hill, Port Erin, Rushen, along with their children: Wilfrid, 10, school, Lena, 9, William, 8, James, 6, Emily Jane, 3, and Edith, 1, all of Rushen.

Manx: Only Thomas Karran is entered as a Manx speaker, the rest English only (RG14/ 34745 0123 109).

3. Comments on the speaker and his connection with Manx:
KARRAN, Tom:
Born: 1875/76.
English introduced into the household: c. 1899.
Manx as the home language: c. 24 years.
Thomas Karran died, aged 83, and was buried in Rushen on 17 March 1959 (LIB).
Comment: English would have been introduced formally into the family when Thomas married his wife Annie (03 March 1899), as Annie was an English only speaker. Tom's experience of 24 years Manx as the home language would speak for him as a 'full' speaker.

20 For details of his recorded contributions, see HLSM/I, 384-385.

7. KINVIG, John Dan (1860/61-1953), Garey Mooar, Ronague, Arbory.

1. Comment from the interviewers:
Davies: 'John Kinvig, Ronague, Arbory' (Davies 1946[1948]).
Jackson: 'Mr. and Mrs. Kinvig, of Garee Hollin, Ronague. Aged about 90 and 80. Mrs. Kinvig can read Manx. I was unable to visit them at all' (Jackson 1955, 3).

2. Information from the census returns:
1871: So far as is known, John Dan Kinvig (JDK) is first noticed in the census for 1871 as John Kinvig, 9, scholar, of Arbory, son to Elenor Kinvig, M, 35, fisherman's wife, of Patrick, living in Garey Mooar, Arbory,[21] also with her other children: Jane, 7, William, 5, Ann, 3, Robert, 1, all of Arbory (RG10/5778 32 59).

1881: JDK here as John Kinvig, S, 19, agricultural labourer, of Arbory, son to Eleanor Kinvig, M, 47, fisherman's wife, farming 10 acres, of Patrick, living still in Garey Mooar AR, also with her other children: Ann, 13, fisherman's daughter, Robert, 12, scholar, George, 8, scholar, Alfred, 4, all of Arbory (RG11/5608 79 54).

1891: JDK here as John Kinvig, S, 29, stonemason, employed, of Arbory, son to Daniel Kinvig, head, M, 66, farmer, employer, of Arbory, and Eleanor Kinvig, wife, M, 58, of Patrick, living in Ronague AR also with their other children: George, S, 17, farm servant, employed, and Alfred, 14, employed, both of Arbory (RG12/4691 82 27).

1892: Marriage, Arbory, 01 November 1892 John Kinvig, full [31/32], bachelor, farmer, Gearey Moar [Garey Mooar], f. Daniel Kinvig, farmer ~ Sage Jane Clarke, full [22/23], spinster, [no entry], Ronague, f. William Clarke, farmer (IMPR Arbory, 01 November 1892, 378).

1901: JDK here as John Kinvig, head, M, 39, farmer, own account, of Arbory, living now in Gaa helen [Garey Hollin], Arbory, along with his wife Sage Kinvig (qv), M, 30 of Arbory, and their children: John F., 7, Eleanor J., 6, Elizabeth E., 4, Gertie M., 3, all of Arbory. Living with them is Jane Clarke, mother-in-law, widow, 62, retired farmer's wife, of Arbory.

Manx: The following are entered as Manx speakers: John and Sage Kinvig, John F. Kinvig, and Mrs. Jane Clarke; the rest are English only (RG13/5301 169 37).

1911: JDK here as John Kinvig, head, 49, M, farmer, own account, of Arbory, living still in Gahelen (Garey Hollin) AR, along with his wife Sage Kinvig, 40, M, assisting, of Arbory, both married 18 years [c. 1892/93], and their children: John F., 17, worker, William D, 9, school, Nellie, 16, domestic servant, Bessie, 14, school,

21 The father was Daniel Kinvig (1835-1916) (IMPR-Arbory, Baptisms 1834-1883, MS.10356-2).

Gertie, 13, school, Blanche, 11, school, Elsie, 6, at home, and Myra, 1, at home, all of Arbory.

Manx: Entered as Manx speakers are John and Sage Kinvig, the rest English only. Note that John F[letcher] was entered as a Manx speaker in 1901, but English only in 1911. The latter may represent his later developed preference for English.[22] (RG14/34635 0027 14).

3. Comments on the speaker and his connection with Manx:
KINVIG, John Dan:
Born: 1860/61.
English introduced into the household: c. 1895.
Manx as the home language: c. 33-35 years.
John Dan Kinvig died, aged 92, and was buried in Arbory on 28 April 1953 (LIB).
Comment: In 1901 we learn that the Manx speakers comprise John Dan Kinvig, his wife Sage Jane, their eldest son John F. (7), and Sage Jane's mother Mrs. Jane Clarke. This suggests that John Dan and his wife Sage Jane ceased to pass on Manx after their first born, introducing English after the birth of their second child Eleanor (c. 1895).

See next.

8. KINVIG, Mrs. Sage Jane (1869/70-1962) (wife to John Dan), Garey Hollin, Ronague, Arbory.

1. Comment from the interviewers:
Davies: 'Mrs. Kinvig, Ronague, Arbory' (Davies 1946[1948]).
Jackson: 'Mr. and Mrs. Kinvig, of Garee Hollin, Ronague. Aged about 90 and 80. Mrs. Kinvig can read Manx. I was unable to visit them at all' (Jackson 1955, 3).

2a. Information from the census returns:
1870: Baptism, Arbory, 6 November 1870: Sage Jane daughter, f. William Clarke and m. Jane (Kelly), Ronnag, farmer, J. Qualtrough, Vicar (IMPR Baptism, Arbory, 06 November 1870, 1860).

1871: So far as is known, Sage Jane Kinvig (SJK) is first notice in the census for 1871 as Sage J. Clarke, 6 months, of Arbory, daughter to William Clarke, head, M, 47, farmer of 10 acres, employing 1 man, of Malew, living in Gar helen (*sic*) [Garey Hollin], Arbory, along with his wife Jane, M, 30, farmer's wife, of Arbory. Also living with them is Elizabeth Kelly, sister-in-law, S, 28, general servant,

22 For comment here see Broderick (forthcoming II, §7.2.1.4).

of Arbory, and Edward Kelly, brother-in-law, S, 20, farm servant indoor, also of Arbory (RG10/5778 30 35).

1881: SJK here as Sage Clarke, 10, scholar, of Arbory, daughter to William Clarke, head, M, 57, farmer (13 acres), of Malew, living in Ballaquinney, Arbory, along with his wife Jane, M, 42, farmer's wife, of Arbory. Living with them is Elizabeth Kelly, sister-in-law, S, 40, general servant domestic, of Arbory, and Esther Clarke, mother, widow, 85, farmer's widow, of Patrick (RG11/5608 76 31).

1891: SJK here as Sage Clarke, S, 20, dressmaker, of Arbory, daughter to William Clarke, head, M, 69, farmer, of Patrick, living still in Ballaquinney AR along with his wife Jane, M, 57, farmer's wife, of Arbory (RG12/4691 84 38).

1892: Marriage, Arbory, 01 November 1892 John Kinvig, full [31/32], bachelor, farmer, Gearey Moar [Garey Mooar], f. Daniel Kinvig, farmer ~ Sage Jane Clarke, full [22/23], spinster, [no entry], Ronague, f. William Clarke, farmer (IMPR Arbory, 01 November 1892, 378).

1901: SJK here as Sage Kinvig, M, 30, of Arbory, wife to John Kinvig (qv), head, M, 39, farmer, own account, of Arbory, living in Gar helen [Garey Hollin], Arbory, along with their children: John F., 7, Eleanor J., 6, Elizabeth E., 4, Gertie M., 3, and Blanche, 1, all of Arbory. Living with them is Mrs. Jane Clarke, mother-in-law, 62, widow, retired farmer's wife, of Arbory.

Manx: Entered as Manx speakers are John and Sage Kinvig, their eldest son John F., and the mother-in-law Mrs. Jane Clarke, the rest English only (RG13/5301 169 37).

1911: SJK here as Sage Kinvig, 40, M, assisting, of Arbory, wife to John Kinvig, head, 49, M, farmer, own account, of Arbory, living still in Gahelen [Garey Hollin], Arbory, both married 18 years [c. 1892/93] and their children: John F., 17, worker, William, 9, school, Nellie, 16, domestic servant, Bessie, 14, school, Gertie, 13, school, Blanche, 11, school, Elsie, 6, at home, and Myra, 1, at home, all of Arbory.

Manx: Entered as Manx speakers are John and Sage Kinvig alone, the rest English only. As noted under John Dan Kinvig above, John F. is entered as a Manx speaker in 1901, but English only in 1911, which likely reflects his developed preference for the latter or a result of his being taunted by non-Manx-speaking children at school for having Manx when seven years old (c. 1901/02) (cf. Broderick (forthcoming II, §7.2.1.4)) (RG14/34635 0027 14).

2b. Information from local Manx field-workers:

Mrs. Sage Kinvig was born Sage Clarke in 1870 in Garey Hollin, Ronague AR, where she lived all her life. She was the daughter of William Clarke of Glen Rushen PA and Jane Kelly and was christened in Arbory parish church on 06 November 1870. She learned her trade as a dressmaker in Castletown and conducted her business from the house. On 01 November 1892, aged 22, she married John Dan

Kinvig of nearby Garey Mooar AR and he came to live with his wife and her parents in Garey Hollin. He was also known locally as 'The Contractor' from his time as a stonemason (cf. 1891 census). He lived from 1860 to 1953; his wife Sage passed away on 13 April 1962. So far as is known, she was one of three of the few surviving native speakers who could read Manx (the others being Mrs. Eleanor Karran and Wil Wade). She was apparently not given much to conversation, that being the domain of her husband. Her command of Manx was seemingly deficient as, on her own admission, her husband accused her of being scrappy with her Manx: *ren yn dooinney aym's gra dy vel mee jannoo brooillagh jeh* 'my husband said that I am scrappy with it' (cf. HLSM/II, 48 s.v. *brooillagh*) (Information also from Manx lexicographer, the late Douglas C. Faragher, c. 1975. For details of SJK's recorded contributions, see HLSM/I, 376-381).

3. Comments on the speaker and her connection with Manx:
KINVIG, Mrs. Sage Jane:
Born: 1869/70.
English introduced into the household: c. 1894/95.
Manx as the home language: c. 24-26 years.
Mrs. Sage Jane Kinvig died on 13 April 1962, aged 91, and was buried in Arbory on 17 April 1962 (GR, LIB).
Comment: As noted under John Dan above, in 1901 we learn that the Manx speakers comprise John Dan Kinvig, his wife Sage Jane, their eldest son John F. (7), and Sage Jane's mother Mrs. Jane Clarke. This suggests that John Dan and his wife Sage Jane ceased to pass on Manx after their first born, introducing English after the birth of their second child Eleanor (c. 1894/95).

Nevertheless, the years of experience of Manx as the home language (33-35 John Dan, 24-26 Sage Jane) would speak for both as full speakers. Manx lexicographer and former field-worker, the late Douglas C. Faragher, who knew the Kinvigs very well, told me (late 1970s) that John Dan had better Manx than Sage Jane. Witness the comment allegedly made by John Dan that her Manx (in later years) was scrappy (cf. above). Her "rustiness" in Manx, in view of the years Manx was her home language, would be more due to lack of use than an imperfect learning of it when young.

9. KNEALE, Mrs. Annie (1864/65-1949), Ballagarrett, Bride.
1. Comment from the interviewers:
Davies: 'Mrs. Kneale, Ballagarrett, Bride' (Davies 1946[1948]).

2a. Information from the census returns:
1901: So far as is known, Mrs. Annie Kneale (AK) is first noticed in the 1901 census as Ann J. Kneale, M, 36, of Bride, wife to Charles Kneale, head, M, 44, farmer, own account, here of Bride, living in Ballagarrett, Bride, with their children: Hilda, 14, Wilfred, 9, Louise, 4, John C., 3, Willie A., 1, and Bertha J., 4 months, all of Bride.

Manx: Entered as Manx speakers are Charles Kneale and his wife Ann J., the rest English only. No entry for those children under 3 years (RG13/5302 46 1).

1911: AK here as Annie Kneale, 46, M, of Bride, wife to Charles Kneale, head, 56, M, farmer, of Bride, living in Ballagarrett, Bride, both married 15 years [c. 1895/96] along with their children: Wilfred, 18, S, farmer's son working on farm, Louise, 14, farmer's daughter, dairy work, John-Chas, 12, school, William Allen, 11, school, Bertha, 10, school, Margaret A., 8, Eva Edith, 6, Robert, 4, and Fred[er]ick Edward, 1, all of Bride.

Manx: Entered as Manx speakers are Charles Kneale and his wife Annie, the rest English only (RG14/34649 0001 1).

2b. Information from local Manx field-workers:
Mrs. Annie Kneale was recorded only once (by IFC1948), as she died the following year (1949). She lived with her husband Charles (1856/57-1946) and children on the same quarterland as John Tom Kaighin (Ballagarrett BR), and was therefore a neighbour of his. Mrs. Annie Kneale (née Howland) was born in Ballaghennie Cottage BR, c. 1864. After about two years there she moved with her family to Larkhill BR where she remained till she married Charles Kneale, Ballacregga BR, c. 1893-94. Mr. Kneale inherited a farm at Ballagarrett BR from his grandfather, but as there was no house to live in there, they stayed in Ballawannal BR for some two years while the new house at Ballagarrett was being built. Mrs. Kneale farmed at Ballagarrett with her husband Charles till her death on 1 May 1949; she was aged 85. She was reared with Manx and spoke it all the time at home with her husband (Information also from Manx field-worker, the late William Radcliffe, Ramsey. For details of AK's recorded contributions, see HLSM/I, 306-309).

3. Comments on the speaker and her connection with Manx:
KNEALE, Mrs. Annie:
Born: 1864/65.
English introduced into the household: c. 1886/87.
Manx as the home language: c. 22-23 years.
Mrs. Annie Kneale died on 1 May 1949, aged 85, and was buried in Bride on 4 May 1949 (GR, LIB).

Comment: In both 1901 and 1911 Mrs. Annie Kneale and her husband Charles are entered as Manx speakers. Nevertheless, they chose not to pass on Manx to their offspring. This would likely start from the birth of their eldest child Hilda (c. 1886/87). Hilda's non-appearance in the 1911 census may be for various reasons, e.g. she may have died in the meantime. Nevertheless, the decision of Charles and Annie Kneale to introduce English into the household is in my view to be taken from Hilda's birth. Nonetheless, the 22-23 years' experience of Manx as her home language would support classifying her as a 'full' speaker.

10. KNEEN, John (The Gaaue) (1858/59-1958), Ballaugh Curragh, Ballaugh (of Andreas)

1. Comment from the interviewers:
Davies: 'John Kneen, Lhen Mooar, Andreas' (Davies 1946[1948]).
Marstrander: 'Furthermore [the man from Sartfield gave me as a good Manx speaker] Mr. Kneen,[23] Lane [Lhen] (a short distance from Sartfield...)' (CM1929 *Dagbok* 57).

Carmody: 'Jackie Kneen, then 96, was born at Kirk Andreas of local parents and spent his active days as a blacksmith in Jurby East, in constant contact with Gaelic speaking farmers. He speaks clearly, converses with enthusiasm, describes old-time situations and tells anecdotes of his early life; none of his stories show[s] traces of fixed wording or narrative techniques. He was able to propose Gaelic translations for English sentences

Kneen, John (The Gaaue) (1859-1958) & Kaighin, John Tom (1862-1954), IFC 1948.

23 Although recommended to Marstrander, Kneen was for some reason not visited by him and thereby passed temporarily into oblivion. He was 'rediscovered' some seven years later, c. 1936, as John Kneen (The Gaaue) (1859-1958), Ballaugh Curragh, by Manx fieldworker, the late Chalse Craine, Mwyllin Squeen, Ballaugh, then a counter clerk in the Isle of Man Bank, Ramsey (later its manager). Craine told me in July 1974 that around the same time he also 'discovered' John Tom Kaighin (1861/62-1954), Ballagarrett, Bride, and Harry Boyde (1870/71-1953), Ballaugh, as all three used to come into his bank every Saturday morning to deposit their week's takings. He said they all looked old enough to be Manx speakers and one Satuday, he said, he bucked up enough courage to speak to them in Manx when they came to his counter. They each replied in Manx, Craine said, and he then introduced himself to them, and thereafter spoke to them in Manx whenever they would come to his counter.

submitted to him orally, and gave these with conviction. His speech, hesitant in 1948, was completely free in 1949'[24] (Carmody 1954, 59).

Wagner: 'Mr. John Kneen, of Ballaugh (skil'ə bɑ:'l:ɑ: 'parish of Ballaugh') [N], age: 97' (Wagner LASID I, xxii).

Jackson: 'Mr. John Kneen, of Ballaugh. Aged 97' (Jackson 1953, 3).

2. Information from the census returns:

1861: So far as is known, John Kneen (The Gaaue) (JK) is first noticed in the census for 1861 as John Kneen, 1,[25] of Andreas, son to John Kneen, head, M, 42, blacksmith, of Andreas, and his wife Eleanor K., M, 33, of Kirk German, living at Cross Four Ways, Andreas, along with their other children: Esther A, 14, agricultural labourer, of Kirk German, William, 13, scholar, also of Kirk German, Eleanor, 10 scholar, of Andreas, Catherine, 7, scholar, of Andreas, and Elizabeth, 4, also of Andreas (RG9/4410 45 91).

1871: JK here as John Kneen, 10, scholar, son to John Kneen, head, M, 53, blacksmith, of Andreas, and his wife Ellen, M, 48, of Michael, living in Lheaney Voar House, Jurby, along with their children: William, S, 22, blacksmith's son, of German, Catharine, S, 16, blacksmith's daughter, of Lezayre, Elizabeth, S, 13, blacksmith's daughter, of Andreas, Thomas, 4, and Robert, 1, both of Andreas (RG10/5772 138 49).

1881: JK here as John Kneen, S, 21, blacksmith, of Andreas, son to John Kneen, head, M, 62, blacksmith, of Andreas, and his wife Eleanor M, 58, blacksmith's wife, of German, living still in Lheaney Voar, Jurby, along with their other son Robert, 11, scholar, of Jurby (RG11/5598 113 4).

1891: JK here as John Kneen, S, 31, blacksmith, of Andreas, son to Ellan Kneen, head, widow, 67, of German, living still in Lheney Voar, Jurby, along with her daughter: Ellan, S, 40, farmer's daughter, of Andreas, as well as her granddaughter Florence, 7, scholar, of Liverpool, and her two grandsons: John A. Pooley, 5, of Liverpool, and John R. Corlett, 17, blacksmith's apprentice, of Jurby (RG12/4684 4 13).

1897: Marriage, Jurby, 21 August 1897 John Kneen, full, bachelor, blacksmith, Jurby, f. John Kneen, blacksmith ~ Esther Kennish, full, spinster, - , Jurby, Caesar Kennish (IMPR Marriage, Jurby, 21 August 1897, 127).

24 John Kneen was better known by his contemporaries as 'The Gaaue' (blacksmith). Most of the material we have of him is folklife in character, along with a number of stories, mostly of his younger days (cf. HLSM/I, 230-269). His articulation on the sound-recordings presents some problems of interpretation, and he is one of the more difficult of informants to understand (GB).

25 Christened on 22 February 1860 in St. Jude's Church, Kirk Andreas, f. John Kneen, m. Eleanor Margaret Cannan (IMPR Baptisms Andreas, St. Jude's 1849-1863 (MS09992/3/1, 624).

1901: JK here as John Kneen, head, M, 42, blacksmith, of Andreas, living in Lheaney Voar with his wife[26] Esther, M,[27] 26, of Andreas, along with their two children: Ethel M, 2, of Jurby, and John F. 9 months, of Liverpool, and their nephew John A, Pooley, 15, blacksmith's apprentice [of Liverpool].

Manx: Entered as a Manx speaker is solely John Kneen, the rest English only (RG13/5302 67 12).

1911: JK here as John Kneen, head, 49, M, blacksmith, own account, of Andreas, living now in Loughan, Jurby, along with his wife Esther, 36, M, also of Andreas, both married 13 years [c. 1897], and their children: Ethel May, 12, John Francis, 10, school, Edward, 9, school, Esther Mildred, 6, and Emily Florence, 2, all of Jurby.

Manx: Entered as a Manx speaker is solely John Kneen, the rest English only (RG14/34694 0021 13).

3. Comments on the speaker and his connection with Manx:
KNEEN, John (The Gaaue):
Born: 1858/59.
English introduced into the household: c. 1897.
Manx as the home language: c. 28-29 years.
John Kneen (The Gaaue) died on 6 June 1958, aged 99, and was buried in Andreas on 8 June 1958 (GR, LIB).
Comment: As John Kneen's wife had no Manx, it was clear that English would be the language of the household. This would likely be formally introduced into their household on their marriage on 21 August 1897.

Although many of the examples of grammar collapse to be heard on the sound-recordings of John Kneen may given the impression that Kneen had learned Manx imperfectly, the following would in my view speak for the opposite:

1) that Marstrander was given Kneen's name 'as a good Manx speaker',

2) that Carmody makes clear that he 'speaks clearly, converses with enthusiasm' and that 'he was able to propose Gaelic translations for English sentences submitted to him orally, and gave these with conviction. His speech, hesitant in 1948 [i.e. probably at the time of the IFC recordings], was completely free in 1949', and

3) David Craine, author of *Manannan's Isle* 1955 (qv) who apparently knew the Gaaue during his younger days c. 1915, said of him that he had good Manx (irrespective of what it might later have become), thus confirming the view

26 John Kneen was married to Esther Kennish on 21 August 1897 in St. Patrick's Church, Jurby (IMPR 1598-2009, Film Nr., 005837064, MNH).

27 Esther Kneen (alias Kennish), f. Caesar Kennish, m. Ann Cormode, was christened on 2 November 1873 in St. Jude's Church, Kirk Andreas (IMPR Baptisms, Andreas, St Jude's, 1863-1908; MS09992/3/2, 618).

Kneen, John (The Gaaue) (1859-1958) & Boyde, Harry (ca.1870-1953), centre right.

that Kneen was reputed to have been 'a good Manx speaker' recommended to Marstrander. I received this information from the late Michael Dolley (1927-1983), former Professor of Numismatics in the Queen's University of Belfast, during the summer of 1975, who in turn had received it, according to him, from people he had met in Man at that time who had been close to David Craine himself.

Along with the foregoing his 28-29 years of Manx at home would speak for him as a 'full' speaker.

11. LEECE, Thomas ('Tommy') (1859/60-1956), Kerrookeil, Kerroomooar, Malew (of Arbory).

1. Comment from the interviewers:
Davies: 'Thomas Leece, Moaney Mooar, Malew' (Davies 1946[1948]).
Jackson: 'Mr. Tommy Leece, of Kerroomooar, Rushen [*rect*. Malew]. Aged 91. A very good speaker, from whom I got some valuable material. He remembered an old woman living next door about 80 years ago who spoke no English' (Jackson 1955, 3).

2a. Information from the census returns:
1861: So far as is known Thomas (Tommy) Leece (TL) is first noticed in the 1861 census as Thos. Leece, 1, of Arbory, son to Samuel Leece, head, M, 35, lead ore washer, of Arbory, living on the Ronague Road AR with his wife Margaret, M,

26, of Patrick, and their other children: Edna, 5, and Louisa, 3, both of Arbory (RG9/4409 41 13).

1871: TL here as Thomas Leece, 11, scholar, of Arbory, son to Samuel Leece, head, M, 46, lead miner, of Arbory, living in Ronague, Arbory, with his wife Mary Ann, M, 36, lead miner's wife, of Patrick, and their other children: Louisa, 13, scholar, Edward, 10, scholar, and Robert, 8, scholar, all of Arbory (RG10/5778 31 51).

1881: TL here as Thomas Leece, S, 21, labourer, of Arbory, living in Malew, boat Hope (fishing boat based in Castletown) (RG11/5609 101 103).

1901: TL here as Thomas Leece, M, 41, farmer, employer, of Malew, living in Ballarobbin AR/ML with his father-in-law William Watterson, head, M, 67, farmer, own account, of Malew, and his wife, M, 66, of Malew, along with his (TL's) wife Elizabeth Leece, 34, of Malew, and the Watterson children: William E., S, 27, general farm servant, worker, at home, of Malew, and Elenor J., S, 24, also of Malew, as well as their grandchildren (Thomas Leece's children): Annie, gdr., 10, Florie, 7, Bertha, 3, and Thomas H., 4, all of Malew.

Manx: Entered as Manx speakers are: William Watterson and his wife Ann, and Thomas Leece, the rest English only (RG13/5308 68 18).

1911: TL here as Thomas Leece, head, 50, M, farmer, employer, of Arbory, living in Moaney Moar, Malew, along with his wife Elizabeth Ann, 45, M, of Patrick, both married 25 years [c. 1885/86], and their children: Florence,17, S, dairy worker, Thomas Henry, 11, Isabel, 7, and Alfred, 5, all of Malew.

Manx: Entered as a Manx speaker is solely Thomas Leece Sr., the rest English only (RG14/ 34714 0017 9).

2b. Information from local Manx field-workers:

Thomas Leece was born in 1860 in Ronague AR of local parents Samuel Leece, a farmer, and Mary Cain, and went to school in Ballabeg AR. He began work at nine years of age on the farm. After a while in Ronague he went to Ballayack AR and from there farmed at Earystane AR. During the winter he would mine at the slate quarries on (South) Barrule and worked for a while with his father, a lead-miner by profession, on the plantation there. He then worked in the mines at Foxdale and c. 1885 he went to South Africa for a year to work in the mines there. He also mined in England, as well as spending some time at the fishing, as he himself says, when he was about seventeen. He fished out of Port St. Mary, Castletown and Peel. He left the fishing to work in the mines. On 03 February 1887, he married Elizabeth Ann Watterson of Kerrookeil ML, where he was then living, and shortly after moved to Ballarobin ML a short distance away. He was eleven years farming Moanee Mooar ML and ten years in Glen Cam ML. He came to Kerroomooar ML in 1925 and lived there till his death on 12 April 1956, aged 96 (Information also

from Manx lexicographer, the late Douglas C. Faragher, c. 1975. For details of TL's recorded contributions, see HLSM/I, 374-375).

3. Comments on the speaker and his connection with Manx:
LEECE, Thomas:
Born: 1859/60.
English introduced into the household: c. 1885/86.
Manx as the home language: c. 26-27 years.
Thomas Leece died, aged 96, and was buried in Arbory on 15 April 1956 (LIB).
Comment: In 1901 Thomas Leece along with his parents-in-law are entered as Manx speakers. Thomas Leece is entered as the sole Manx speaker in his household in 1911. As his wife and their children are entered as English only speakers, English is likely to have been introduced formally into the family on TL's marriage to his wife Elizabeth Ann in 1885/86. Although Tommy Leece comes across as somewhat hesitant on the few sound-recordings we have of him (see above), nevertheless, Jackson, who experienced him first hand, was of the opinion that Leece was a 'very good speaker, from whom I got some valuable material.' Although he was away from home for long stretches working in various mines, his time spent at home as a bachelor would have been sufficient to guarantee that he had learned Manx as a 'full' speaker.

12. LOWEY, Mrs. Emily (1868/69-1947), Kirkill, Rushen.
1. Comment from the interviewers:
Davies: 'Mrs. Lowey, Kirkill, Rushen' (Davies 1946[1948]).[28]

2. Information from the census returns:
1867: Baptism, Rushen, 29 September 1867 Emily Jane Taylor, Lingague RU, m. Margaret Taylor, illegitimate (MNH iMuseum, Baptism, Rushen, 29 September 1867).

1871: So far as is known Mrs. Emily Lowey (EL) is first noticed in the census for 1871 as Emily Taylor, 3, scholar, of Rushen, granddaughter to Henry Taylor, head, M, 66, labourer, of Rushen and his wife Elizabeth, M, 63, of Rushen, living on the Lengage [Lingague] Road RU, along with their children: Richard, S, 22, miner, and Margaret, S, 25, general servant, both of Rushen.

1881: EL here as Emily Taylor, 13, of Rushen, granddaughter to Henry Taylor, head, M, 76, formerly farm labourer, living in Lingague with his wife Elizabeth, M, 72, of Rushen, and their daughter Margaret, S, 35, also of Rushen (RG11/5608 85 29).

28 For details of her recorded contributions, see HLSM/I, 386-387.

1896: Marriage Rushen, 22 February 1896 Henry Lowey, full [34/35], bachelor, farmer, Kirkill, f. William Lowey, farmer ~ Emily Jane Taylor, full [28/29], [no entry], Lingague, [father unknown] (IMPR Marriage, Rushen, 22 February 1896, 887).

1901: EL here as Emily Lowey, M, 35, of Rushen, wife to Henry Lowey, head, M, 40, farmer, own account, of Rushen, living in Kirkill, Rushen. with their two sons William, 5, and John, 4 both of Rushen.

Manx: Both Henry and Emily Lowey are entered as Manx speakers, their sons English only (RG13/5301 128 9).

1911: EL here as Emily Lowey, 42, M, of Rushen, wife to Henry Lowey, head, 50, M, farmer, worker, of Rushen, both married 15 years [c. 1896], living in Kirkill, Colby, Rushen, along with their children: William H., 15, S, working on farm, John, 14, school, Margaret A., 6, Elenor, 5, Richard W., 8, and Thomas E., 1 [all of Rushen?]. Living with them is Henry Taylor, boarder, 72.

Manx: Both Henry and Emily Lowey are entered as Manx speakers, William and the rest English only (RG14/34748 0047 83).

3. Comments on the speaker and her connection with Manx:
LOWEY, Mrs. Emily:
Born: 1868/69.
English introduced into the household: c. 1895/96.
Manx as the home language: c. 27-28 years.

Mrs. Emily Lowey died, aged 79, and was buried in Rushen in 1947 (MBMD 208, 606).

Comment: In 1901 and 1911 both Henry and Emily Lowey are entered as Manx speakers, their children English only. English would likely have been introduced into the household on the birth of their eldest child William H. c. 1895/96. Mrs. Lowey comes across as somewhat shy on the sound-recording of her. But her experience of 27-28 years with Manx at home would support the view of her being a 'full' speaker.

13. MADDRELL, Edward (Ned) (1877-1974), Glenchass, Rushen.

1. Comment from the interviewers:
Davies: 'Edward Maddrell, Glenchass, Rushen' (Davies 1946[1948]).
Carmody: 'Ned Maddrell, then 71, of Glen Chass, was born at Corvalley (The Howe) and lived with his grandparents[29] at Cregneash. He was at sea for many years with a Scottish engineer, and claims to have learned something of his language. He

29 Apparently not so. According to Maddrell himself, he was reared by a great-aunt (see next).

landed in Southern Ireland frequently and spoke Gaelic with the Irish. I cannot believe that any part of his usage shows foreign influence' (Carmody 1954, 60).

Wagner: 'Mr. Ned Maddrell, of Glenchass [S], age: 72' (Wagner LASID I, xxii).

Jackson: 'Mr. Ned Maddrell, of Glenchass, near Cregneish. Aged 72 [...]. He learned his Manx when he went at the age of five to live with an aunt[30] who knew no English' (Jackson 1955, 2). 'Unluckily the youngest and much the most fluent and alert of the surviving speakers, Mr. Maddrell, was in hospital until the last day of my stay, when I got some very valuable material from him' (Jackson 1955, v, vi).

2a. Information from the census returns:

1881: So far as is known, Edward (Ned) Maddrell (NM) is first noticed in the census for 1881 as Edward Maddrell, 3, of Rushen, son to Margaret Maddrell, wife, M, 27, fisherman's wife, of Rushen, living in Rushen with her other son: John T., 1, of Rushen. Also living with them was her aunt Margaret Taubman [Paaie Humman], widow, 72, of Rushen, and Ann Kelly, servant, S, 21, of Rushen (RG11/5609 9 67).

1891: NM here as Edward Maddrell, 13, scholar, of Rushen, son to Margaret Maddrell, wife, M, 36, fisherman's wife, of Rushen, living in Port Erin, Rushen, along with her other children: John, 11, scholar, Isabella, 8, Sarah, 6, William, 4, George, 2, and James, 6 months, all of Rushen (RG12/4692 45 50).

1906: Marriage, Rushen 03 January 1906 Edward Maddrell, 28, bachelor, mariner, Cregneish, f. Thomas Maddrell, mariner ~ Mary Margaret Skelly, 24, spinster, -, Croit e Caley, f. John Skelly, mariner (IMPR Marriage, Rushen, 03 January 1906, 49).

30 Cf. HLSM/I, 361: Tra va mee queig bleeantyn dy eash va mee goit son sheshaght da my çhenn naunt, as tra veagh shin ayns y lhiabbee cooidjagh yinnagh ee gra rhym: 'My bee uss guilley mie as my nee uss fuirraghtyn aynsh sho son sheshaght dooys, yiow oo yn thie shoh as ooilley ny t'ayn tra ta shinyn marroo'. As tra va mish tree bleeantyn jeig ren ee geddyn baase, as hoght bleeantyn lurg shen yn vac (sic) eck geddyn baase as hooar mee [...] yn thie as [...] ooilley ny va ayn, as ta ny reddyn er cooid aym ayns y thie aym nish. Shen v'ad gyllagh ree, Paaie Humman. V'ee naunt da my vummig as naunt vooar dooys (Ned Maddrell YCG13, 18 February 1953).
('when I was five years old I was taken for company for my old aunt. And when we would be in bed together she would say to me, "if you are a good boy and stay here to keep me company, you will get this house and everything in it when we are dead". And when I was thirteen she died [17 July 1890, aged 82], and eight years after that her son [Thomas (1836-1898)] died [25 May 1898, aged 62], and I got the house and everything in it, and this is what I have now in my house. That is what they were calling her, Paaie Humman. She was an aunt of my mother's and a great aunt of mine').

Ned Maddrell, the last reputed native speaker of Manx, died on 27 December 1974 (cf. IMFHS Burials Index Vol. 187, page 689). The Isle of Man census for 1881 records Margaret Taubman living in the Maddrell household and as an aunt to Margaret Maddrell, Ned's mother. Ned Maddrell himself is entered as her three-year-old son (RG11/5609 9 67).

1911: (Census for England and Wales, Barrow in Furness, hence no reference to language(s) known / spoken) NM here as Edward Maddrell, crew, 33, M, AB seaman, Isle of Man Steam Packet, worker, of Rushen.

Manx: not requested on the form (RG14, PN25702 RD 482 SD1 ED52 SN0).

1911: NM's wife is entered as Mary M. Maddrell, wife, 29, M, of Rushen, married 5 years [1906], living in Howe, Port St. Mary, with her two children Emily M., 5, and Stanley, 3, both of Rushen.

Manx: All are entered as English only speakers (RG14/34746 0037 15).

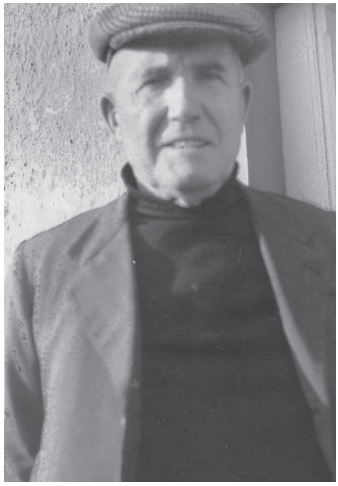
2b. Information from local Manx field-workers:

Edward (Ned) Maddrell was born in the Corvalley, near Cregneash, RU on 20 August 1877, son of Thomas Maddrell and Margaret Watterson, both of Cregneash. Because of the size of the family Ned was farmed out at an early age to be reared by a great-aunt (Paie Humman / Margaret Taubman, 1809-1890), who had little or no English. In his youth Ned sailed with the herring fleet from Port St. Mary, fishing mainly in the Hebrides and around Shetland, and for mackerel off the southern Irish coast around Kinsale. Most of his adult life, however, was spent as an able seaman apparently working for the Isle of Man Steam Packet Co. Ltd. Following his retirement he became skipper of the vessel belonging to the former Marine Biological Station in Port Erin, then curator of the Manx Folk Museum, Cregneash, in 1948. After 1962 he was regarded as the last reputed native speaker of Manx Gaelic (Catherine Taubman (1879-1966), Cregneash, later of Port Erin RU, a native Manx speaker, was at that time unknown) and many came to visit him. The visit he cherished most (as he told us at an LSS interview with him in August 1972), was that made on him in Cregneash in July 1947 by the then Taoiseach Éamon de Valéra. Ned Maddrell died on 27 December 1974, aged 97, and was buried in Rushen on 30 December 1974 (Burial Register Rushen 1926, no. 365) (Additional information also from Manx lexicographer, the late Douglas C. Faragher, c. 1975-80, who, according to him, was a cousin to Ned Maddrell from whom he learned his Manx; cf. also FEMD vi. For details of NM's recorded contributions, see HLSM/I, 342-381).

3. Comments on the speaker and his connection with Manx:

MADDRELL, Ned:
Born: 1877.
English introduced into the household: c. 1906.
Manx as the home language: c. 29 years.
Edward (Ned) Maddrell died on 27 December 1974, aged 97, and was buried in Rushen on 30 December 1974 (Burial Register for Rushen for 1926, no. 365).

Comment: Ned Maddrell seems to have been the only Manx speaker in the household. This would suggest that English was introduced formally into the household on his marriage to Mary Margaret Skelly in 1906.



Maddrell, Ned (1877-1974), Glenchass, Rushen, 1948.

Although English was, according to himself, Maddrell's home language for the first five years of his life, he was then (c. 1882) allocated to live with a great-aunt who apparently had little or no English (see above) and was from then on until her death eight years later (1890) spoken to in Manx both by the great aunt and by her son Thomas (d. 1898). He was also often at the fishing where, he said, Manx only was spoken.[31] However, he was aware that after he had left Cregneash to go out to work his Manx left him almost, but it came back to him when he came back home.[32] Nevertheless, Maddrell experienced 29 years of Manx at home, and because he was brought up with a great-aunt born in the first decade (1809) of the 19th century, his Manx, unlike that of his peers, would be of that vintage. He is the only one of the last fifteen speakers who makes use of the inflected synthetic tenses of the verb (cf. HLSM/I, 342-373) and distinguishes between the imperfect and conditional forms of the verb 'be' (cf. Broderick 2011, 307-332). Jackson regards Maddrell as 'the youngest and much the most fluent and alert of the surviving speakers', making clear that he belongs to the family of 'full' speakers.

31 Tra va mee guilley veg hie mee magh gys y skaddan un oie ayns baatey enmyssit yn 'Puffin'. Hie shin woish Purt Çhiarn. Va shiaght deiney aynjee as cha row un ockle dy Baarle loayrt, ooilley Gaelg (Ned Maddrell HLSM/I: 372-373). ('When I was a small boy I went out to the herring one night in a boat called the "Puffin". We went from Port Erin. There were seven men in her and there was not one word of English spoken - all Manx').

32 Ta cooinaghtyn aym tra va mee abyl loayrt yn Gaelg cha mie as y Baarle, ny share na'n Baarle neesht, agh cha nel mee son... lurg mee faagail Creneash as goll magh ayns y theihll cha row mee clashtyn monney Gaelg as ren eh bunnys faagail mee, as neayr's ren mee çheet er y thalloo reesht ta paart jeh er çheet rhym as ta mee abyl jannoo bit beg, agh cha nel mee jannoo eh cha mie as bare lhiam (Ned Maddrell HLSM/I, 362-363). ('I remember when I was able to speak the Manx as well as the English, better than the English as well, but I am not able... after I left Cregneash and went out into the world I wasn't hearing any Manx and it almost left me., and since I came back some of it has come (back) to me and I am able to do a wee bit, but not as much as I'd like to').

14. WADE, Wilfred (1868/69-1948), Sandygate, Jurby.

1. Comment from the interviewers:
Marstrander: 'From there [West Nappin] I called on carpenter Wilfred Wade, Sandygate, Jurby, who is hardly much of a number. His pronunciation seems quite clear. He can read quite a lot of the Manx Bible[33] (which he has at least one copy of), which one notices in all his conversation. Provided I can manage to work with Gawne, Wade might be useful [some exx.]. Wade was extremely dissatisfied with my pronunciation' (CM1929 *Dagbok* 38-39).

2. Information from the census returns:
1871: So far as is known, Wilfred Wade (WW) is first noticed in the census for 1871 as Wilfred Wade, 8, scholar, of Jurby, grandson to Isabella Cottier, head, widow, 71, domestic servant, of Ballaugh, son to her daughter Sophia Wade, widow, 31, domestic servant, of Jurby, living in Ballaworrey Cottage, Jurby, also with her (Isabella's) other grandchildren: Sophia Cottier, granddaughter, 8, scholar, of Maughold, James, grandson, 11, scholar, of Jurby, and Frederick, grandson, 8, scholar, also of Jurby (RG10/5772 126 19).

1881: WW here as Wilfred Wade, 12, scholar, of Jurby, grandson to Isabella Cottier, head, widow, 81, annuitant, of Ballaugh, son to Sophia Wade, widow, 44, annuitant, of Ballaugh, living in Ballavarran Cottage, Jurby, along with Thomas Cottier, son to above Isabella, widower, 56, agricultural labourer, of Ballaugh, and Frederick Wade, grandson, S, 18, joiner, of Jurby (RG11/5598 107 27).

1891: WW here as Wilfred Wade, S, 22, joiner & builder, of Jurby, nephew to Thomas Cottier, head, widower, 66, gardener, of Ballaugh, living in Ballavarran, Jurby, with Sophia Wade, sister, widow, 54, housekeeper, also of Ballaugh (RG12/4684 44 25).

1898: Marriage, Jurby, 15 October 1898 Wilfred Wade, 30, bachelor, joiner, Ballavarran [JU], f. Robert Wade, farmer ~ Sophia Kewin, 29, spinster, -, [Jurby], f. John Kewin, farmer (IMPR Marriage, Jurby, 15 October 1898, 179).

1901: WW here as Wilfred Wade, M, 32, joiner, own account, at home, of Jurby, son-in-law to Ann Kewin, head, widow, 73, living on own means, of Patrick, living at Sandy Gate, Jurby, along with Frederick Kewin, son, S, 36, of Jurby, Sophia Wade, daughter, M, 31, of Jurby, Sophia M. Wade, granddaughter, 2, of Jurby, and Lillian I. A. Wade, granddaughter, 5 months, of Jurby.

Manx: Entered as Manx speakers are Ann Kewin and Wilfred Wade, as English only Frederick Kewin and Sophia Wade. No entry for the very young children (RG13/5302 62 25).

33 Note that, along with Mrs. Eleanor Karran, Cregneash, and Mrs. Sage Jane Kinvig, Ronague, Wil Wade could also read Manx (GB).

1911: WW here as W. Wade, head, 42, M, joiner, worker, at home, of Jurby, living at Lough, Sandygate, Jurby along with his wife Sophia Wade, 41, M., assisting in the business, of Jurby, both married 12 years [c. 1898/99] their daughter Sophia M., 12, S, school, Lillian I. A, 10, school, Mona E., 8, school, Elizabeth M. B., 6, at home, and Esther A. C., 4, at home, all of Jurby.

Manx: Entered as a Manx speaker is Wilfred Wade, the rest English only (RG14/34693 0063 30).

3. Comments on the speaker and his connection with Manx:
WADE, Wilfred:
Born: 1868/69.
English introduced into the household: c. 1898.
Manx as the home language: c. 29-30 years.
Wilfred Wade died, aged 79, and was buried in Lezayre on 14 March 1948 (LIB).
Comment: As Wilfred Wade alone is entered as a Manx speaker, it is clear that English would be the language of the household. This would likely be introduced formally on his marriage to Sophia Kewin in 1898. Marstrander regarded Wade as 'all right' but nothing brilliant. Nevertheless, Wade's experience of 29-30 years of Manx as his home language would support the view of his being a 'full' speaker.

15. WATTERSON, Mrs. Catherine (1859/60-1951), Colby, Rushen.
1. Comment from the interviewers:
Davies: 'Mrs. Watterson, Colby, Arbory' (Davies 1946[1948]).
Carmody: 'Mrs. (Catherine Kinley) Watterson, then 89, living at Colby, was born in Glen Chass and brought up with her grandparents in Port-Erin;[34] they refused to use English. She speaks readily and with enthusiasm, tells stories and experiences of former times, but with no trace of fixed wording. I made no attempt to have her translate from English; she had spoken very little before 1949' (Carmody 1954, 60).

Wagner: 'Mrs. Watterson of Colby[S], age: 91' (Wagner LASID I, xxii).

Jackson: 'Mrs. Watterson, of Colby. Aged 91' (Jackson 1953, 2).

2. Information from the census returns:
1890: Marriage: Rushen, 06 March 1890 James Watterson, full [32/33], bachelor, mariner, the Howe, f. James Watterson, mariner ~ Catherine Ann Kinley, full [28/29], spinster, [no entry], Glenchass, f. William Kinley, farmer (IMPR Marriage, Rushen 06 March 1890, 805).

34 In fact in Fistard Road in nearby Port St. Mary.

1891: So far as is known, Catherine Watterson (CW) is first noticed in the census for 1891 as Catherine Watterson, M, 30, lodger, of Rushen, daughter to Ann Kinley, head, widow, 57, living on own means, of Rushen, living in Glensast [Glenchass], Rushen, along with her two sons Thomas, S, 19, farmer's son, and John, S, 16, shoemaker's apprentice, both of Rushen (RG12/4692 51 136).

1901: CW here as Catherine Watterson, 40, wife to James Watterson, head, M, 44, mariner, of Rushen, living in Glenchass, Rushen, along with their three daughters: Edith A., 7, Janet C., 5, and Marion, 1, all of Rushen.

Manx: Entered as Manx speakers are James and Catherine Watterson, their daughters English only (RG13/5301 105 101).

3. Comments on the speaker and her connection with Manx:
WATTERSON, Catherine:
Born: 1859/60.
English introduced into the household: c. 1893/94.
Manx as the home language: c. 34-35 years.
Mrs. Catherine Watterson died, aged 91, and was buried in Rushen on 5 August 1951 (LIB).
Comment: As Catherine Watterson and her husband James were enumerated as Manx speakers, but not their daughters, this would indicate that a conscious decision was taken not to pass on Manx to their offspring. As in other similar cases (qv), English was likely introduced into the household on the birth of their first child Edith A., c. 1893/94.

Nevertheless, Carmody's comments (above) about Mrs. Watterson's ability in Manx would be reflected in the 34-35 years' experience of Manx as her home language before she got married and had a family, which would speak for her as a 'full' speaker.

16. The Semi-Speaker: CHRISTIAN, Ewan (1907/98-1985), 58 Patrick Street, Peel.
[Ewan Christian] told LSS (Aug. 1972) that he first learned Manx from two old ladies in the same street when he was about five years old, and later from farmers and fishermen in and around Peel. He admitted to us that he had also attended Caesar Cashen's Manx classes that were held in Peel before the Second World War. In the recording sessions Jackson's questionnaire was not used because it became clear that Clement was beginning to experience the same problems Jackson had had earlier, e.g. he could not remember plurals forms, etc. Instead Christian would reel off *stante pede* the Manx names of various birds and fish, sometimes giving the Peel variant. The information obtained was mainly elicited by Louis Crellin who knew what Christian could offer. Without being asked Christian would relate a couple of stories in Manx about incidents in and around Peel during his younger

days. He was also literate in Manx and could recite long passages from the Manx Bible. One suspects that some of his vocabulary was derived from literary sources, and at times his grammar was somewhat shaky, owing either to lack of practice or to imperfect learning, or both. Nevertheless, it was quite clear from his pronunciation that he had had contact with native Manx speakers at an early date in his life, and in that respect his contribution is valuable. Christian was apparently great friends with Ned Maddrell, and he told us that they would visit each other fairly regularly to talk Manx together (GB, LDIM 75).[35]

Ewan Christian died [aged 77] in Douglas in [January] 1985 (MBMD 10211 115).

Additional general comments made by Carmody, Wagner and Jackson

As can be seen above, sometimes Carmody but mainly Wagner and Jackson provide no additional information, other than personal details, for each of their informants, but enter general comments on their informants and their situation as a whole afterwards. Their comments are in turn commented on by myself in order to complete the picture.

1. Carmody's additional comments (Carmody 1954, 59)

1.1. The nature of the Carmody recordings:

The notes include a few selected constructions translated into Manx by the speakers and the recordings are completely free conversations between the speakers and one of the local field workers, in almost all cases Mr. Leslie Quirk of the Manx Museum. This sort of material is not calculated to yield extensive lexical information, which I reserve for a new dictionary.[36] Nor did it produce the traces of dialectal usage which I had hoped to find.

The free conversation and the notes, set forth in the first place entirely in phonetic symbols, are as free from literary or grammatical considerations as possible. (Carmody 1954, 59)

35 I myself made two tape recordings of Ewan Christian in May and August of 1978, and visited him on occasion thereafter to make some notes in phonetic script until 1983. The material collected was similar to that of LSS, but with additional vocabulary plus some traditional songs and chants in English. Christian died in January 1985 (GB, LDIM 75).

36 Nothing seems to have come of this dictionary.

1.2. General comment on the native speakers themselves:
The few remaining native speakers are very old; several happened to be brought up with grand-parents, went to school totally ignorant of English, and used Gaelic to some extent in later life. Their Gaelic had become rusty when field-workers began, in some cases as early as 1938, to speak with them in Manx; these field-workers know more and purer Manx than native speakers, but it is obvious that the latter have learned nothing from them. The language of the native speakers is no doubt more advanced today than it was in their youth, with extensive loss of nuances; but the proximity of English cannot be said to have had any significant part in the surviving constructions. (Carmody 1954, 59)

Comment:
So far as I am aware, some of the native speakers were 'discovered' as early as 1936, e.g. the three Northern speakers John Kneen, John Tom Kaighin and Harry Boyde, according to former field-worker the late Chalse Craine, Ballaugh (see above).

2. Wagner's comments (LASID I, xxi-xxii):
IX. *Isle of Man* (point 88, not represented geographically on our map). In 1950, I collected a fair amount of material from the remaining native speakers of Manx Gaelic, which is practically dead now. It was from the same speakers that Professor *Carmody* had collected the material for his article 'Spoken Manx' (*ZCPh* 24, 58ff.) and that Professor Jackson subsequently collected material for his booklet 'Contributions to the study of Manx Phonology' (Edinburgh 1955). Further details on recent Manx studies are found in my review of Jackson's book in *Modern Language Review* LI, I, p. 109. A section of my own Manx material will be published in my book 'Das Verbum in den Sprachen der britischen Inseln' (*Beiheft zur ZCPh*, Tübingen 1959).

Owing to a statement made by C. Marstrander some twenty years ago, it was generally believed that spoken Manx had died out completely. But during the late thirties and the forties a small group of Manx enthusiasts, having acquired a knowledge of literary Bible Manx, began to comb the countryside in search of surviving Manx speakers. Finding about twelve to twenty old people who spoke some Manx in their youth, they sought to revive the old native tongue in these people by visiting them at regular intervals. Gradually the old people began to remember phrases of ordinary conversation, little sayings and stories which they had used or heard many years before.

The pronunciation of our informants was mostly unclear and therefore an accurate acoustic reception was seldom forthcoming. Our phonetic notations must be used with great care. In how far our material is 'corrupted' is hard to say (cf. also

Jackson *op. cit*. 3 s.) Manx is a Gaelic language which has been influenced in its structure by Britannic Celtic and later by English, in its phonetics and vocabulary also by Norse. It is a very mixed Celtic dialect [...]. All these [listed] informants belong to the rural population of the island (LASID I, xxi-xxii).

Comment:
Contrary to the general layout of LASID, in which the Irish and Scottish Gaelic material gathered is arranged according to a 1175-item questionnaire (with or without additional vocabulary and texts), the Manx material appears in alphabetical order under English headwords. Wagner told me (1982) that this arrangement was decided upon, as he had difficulty applying the questionnaire, he said, owing to the imperfect memory of his informants. The Manx material is presented in sentence form (LASID IV, 172-188), thus giving the realisation of each word as it naturally appears in connected speech. But the individual lexical items would need to be marshalled into some sort of order before any phonological study could be made of them.

There are one or two curious phrases in the collection that deviate from the norm, e.g. [ta la:m l'eʃ ɛrə 'va:njə] N 'there is a lot of froth on the milk', with [la:m] probably for [ra:m] *ram* 'a lot' and [l'eʃ] for [keʃ] *kesh* 'froth', with [l'] likely influenced from [l] in [la:m]. Wagner puts this down to the 'mostly unclear' pronunciation of his informants (see above). That may be. But more likely he was generally unfamilar with Manx sounds (as apparently was Marstrander on his own admission, cf. *Dagbok* 16).[37] Like Marstrander, Wagner was likely dependent on his knowledge of Irish when dealing with Manx, and, like Marstrander, probably realised that Manx did not behave like Irish phonetically.[38] Nevertheless, in spite of some odd forms, Wagner's material contains vocabulary and idiom not encountered on the sound-recordings, or even in other collections, and in that respect it is of much value (cf. also Wagner 1956 & 1959).

37 'His [Taggart's, qv] pronunciation appears to me to be inarticulate, not only in Manx but also in English (which, however, doesn't say much, because my knowledge of Manx is practically nil)' (CM1929 Dagbok 16).

38 Later, when he started working with his main Northern informant, Thomas Christian, Marstrander realised that getting round Manx was not going to be an easy task. He admits, 'Manx is going to be a complicated study when it comes to phonetics. It is not possible at this stage to make detailed phonetic notes. I'll have to work my way into the language first and then check details later on when my ear is more attuned to it. The phonetic system is much different from Irish, and I will have to orientate myself from scratch' (CM1929 Dagbok 53).

3. Jackson's comments:

3.1. On the speakers he interviewed (1955, 3-4):
Some of the above are a good deal more fluent than others, but all have long ceased to use Manx as their daily medium of intercourse, mostly for many years, though the efforts of the new generation of Manx students have caused them to rub some of the rust off more recently. Hence they frequently forget, especially since in addition they are almost all very old, and it was often impossible therefore for me to get anything like all the words and phrases I asked for. Thus some would often know a singular but not its plural, and so on, and would be unable to give the Manx for the commonest things. In addition it is probable that their Manx pronunciations have been considerably influenced by English, as is only to be expected now that Manx is no longer used in daily conversation, and is only more or less dimly remembered by a handful of people who have regularly spoken nothing but English for years. This appears to account for one aspect of the treatment of *r*-sounds (see p. 18), and may also explain a number of other features in the speech of these people which appear un-Gaelic. The uncorrupted fluent Manx which was still available to Marstrander exists no longer in its purity. (1) (Jackson 1955, 3-4)

3.2. On dialect differences in Manx (1955, 4):
Some previous writers, such as Rhys, claim to have noted certain features of dialect difference between North Side and South Side, and some of these are clearly based on popular tradition going back to a time when solid blocks of Manx speakers, divided by the mountain massif of the centre, made such differences easy. Nowadays it is no longer possible to trace divergences of this sort, and such generalizations break down when tested by the actual pronunciations of the surviving speakers. (2) (Jackson 1955, 4)

3.3. On his visit to Man (Jackson 1955, v, vi):
I took with me a questionnaire already prepared to cover the phonology of Manx from a historical point of view, but circumstances prevented my collecting information quite as complete as I could have wished (hence the qualified title of this book [Jackson 1955, v]). Some of the words and forms in the questionnaire were not known to my informants (cf. p. 3); for instance, where a genitive was included to illustrate attentuation, they could very rarely give anything but the nominative (3). Only two speakers had any real fund of continuous narative material, in the form of little anecdotes or verses; and the inaccesibility of their homes, the number of distracting casual visitors present, and the fact that of the two one is blind [Harry Boyde] and the other very old [Thomas Leece], made in their case an insuperable barrier to the accurate recording of phonetic texts other

than single words and brief phrases (4). Unluckily the youngest and much the most fluent and alert of the surviving speakers, Mr. Maddrell, was in hospital until the last day of my stay, when I got some very valuable material from him. In spite of these difficulties, I was able to make use of seven of the ten remaining native speakers of Manx, and to get quite enough matter recorded in phonetic script to constitute a pretty complete picture of the outlines of the phonology of present-day spoken Manx. (Jackson 1955, v, vi)

Comment:
Note 1: It is not certain what Jackson means here by "uncorrupted" and "purity". Presumably he felt that Marstrander's informants had a firmer command of Manx than his. However, a perusal of the Manx of some of Marstrander's informants (or even of those of Rhŷs for that matter[39]), shows that it also had its imperfections.

Note 2: It is perhaps easy for Jackson to make this claim, given that his material concentrates largely on phonology. However, when we assess the native-speaker corpus now available to us as a whole it is in my view possible to discern some measure of dialect difference between North and South. In this regard I make preliminary notes in Broderick 2010, 353.

Note 3: The genitive as a distinct case form, except perhaps in fossilised phrases or in other circumstances, had by and large disappeared from Manx altogether (cf. Broderick 1999, 107-116). It is therefore not surprising that Jackson found little evidence of the genitive in Manx. It is not that his informants could not remember it; it was no longer present in the language in the first place.

Note 4: Nevertheless, the sound-recordings make clear the extent of textual material gleaned from the last native speakers, which in a number of cases is quite considerable. For details see HLSM/I, 168-405, (translations) 406-479.

General comment on the sound-recordings

The difficulties Jackson experienced, as he tells us above, would need to be seen in the context of the informant being subjected to a questionnaire and asked to produce words and phrases in a non-natural environment. This would also apply to the sound-recordings, as Carmody (1954, 59) makes clear when talking about John Kneen: 'His speech, hesitant in 1948, was completely free in 1949'. As noted earlier, 1948 would no doubt refer to sound-recordings made by the Irish Folklore Commission, during which informants would be interviewed on their own, or in some cases be brought together to talk to each other in Manx. This is the case with the Northern speakers, John Kneen, John Tom Kaighin, and Harry Boyde. Kneen was brought together with Kaighin and with Boyde. Dr. Caoimhín Ó Danchair,

39 For details see Rhŷs (1895), Broderick (forthcoming I).

who set up the IFC recording sessions for the Irish Folklore Commission in 1948, told me in an interview on 27 May 1981 in UCD that the above speakers knew each other and they would meet fairly frequently as part of their daily work, or in the bank on Saturdays when they came to Ramsey to deposit their earnings (Chalse Craine). But whenever they would meet, although they all knew that the others could speak Manx, they would speak to each other in English. Ó Danchair remarked to me that when they were brought together to speak Manx to each other, initially he had to give them some time to acclimatise and to feel at ease before he would start the recordings. He did say that outside the recordings they were all much more at ease.

In other words, we cannot assume one hundred percent reliance on the recordings themselves as such as examples of everyday Manx, given the unnatural ambience of the scene. At most they can only give us a hint of what the individual speakers were capable of. Nevertheless, the evidence, albeit circumstantial, from all those who had to do with the speakers - the interviewers, the field-workers, etc., - makes clear that the Manx of the speakers on the recordings was not as good as it was when they were not being interviewed or recorded.

Conclusion

In this article we have set ourselves the task to come to some sort of decision as to whether we regard the 'endspeakers of Manx Gaelic' as 'terminal' or as 'full' speakers, or perhaps something in between. In working towards this end, we have sought to assemble as much evidence concerning the speakers and their Manx, etc., as possible.

In the context of the Manx speakers, so far as is known, we have no record of the Manx of the last native speakers during their early days from which we can form a judgement, only in their latter years. Nevertheless, in looking at the evidence from the comments made by the various interviewers (Marstrander, Carmody, Wagner, and Jackson) and field-workers (with whom I was in regular contact 1970s-90s), and that of the sound-recordings and questionnaires, I am of the opinion that *all* fifteen of our speakers are to be regarded as 'full' (i.e. 'formerly fluent') speakers of Manx. That is to say, they had gone through the gamut of the language during their formative years (their pronunciation is largely consistent with what is to be expected), but that there is clearly some loss to be seen is due, in my view, not to imperfect learning when young, but to lack of use in later life.

Manx parish abbreviations

AN - Andreas.
AR - Arbory.
BA - Ballaugh.
BN - Braddan.
BR - Bride.
CO - Conchan.
GE - German.
JU - Jurby.
LE - Lezayre.
LO - Lonan.
MA - Maughold.
MI - Michael.
ML - Malew.
MR - Marown.
PA - Patrick.
RU- Rushen.
SA - Santan.

Other abbreviations

ASBD - A.S.B. Davies (1946[1948])
CM - Carl J. S. Marstrander (1929, 1930, 1933)
CRD - Central Registry Douglas
DIAS - Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies
DLMS - *Defunctae Linguae Manniae Specimina* (Masrtarnder 1929/33a)
E > + year - English introduced + year
FEMD - *Fargher's English-Manx Dictionary* (Fargher 1979)
FJC - Francis J. Carmody (July 1949)
GB - George Broderick
GR - General Registry (Douglas)
HLSM - *Handbook of Late Spoken Manx* (Broderick 1984-86)
HW - Heinrich Wagner (Summer 1950)
IFC - Irish Folklore Commission Recordings (April-May 1948)
IMFHS - Isle of Man Family History Society
IMPR - Isle of Man Parish Registers
Ir. - Irish
KHJ - Kenneth H. Jackson (Christmas/New Year 1950/51)
LASID - *Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish Dialects* (Wagner 1958-69)
LDIM - *Language death in the Isle of Man* (Broderick 1999)
LIB - Lawson's Index of Burials (IMFHS online resource)
LSS - Linguistic Survey of Scotland Recordings (August 1972)
MFLS - Manx Folklife Survey (Manx National Heritage)
MM - Manx Museum Recordings (Early 1950-Autumn 1952)
[N] - North (Wagner 1969)

PR1 - Private Recording 1: Mr. Gelling (1947)
PR2 - Private Recording 2: Walter Clarke (c. 1960)
PR3 - Private Recording 3: Brian Stowell / Bernard Caine (1962)
RDC - David Clement (LSS August 1972, 1973)
rec. - sound-recording
rect.- *rectius* 'more correctly'
[S] - South (Wagner 1969)
ScG. - Scottish Gaelic
SHK - Speaker of the House of Keys
SPCK - Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge
UCD - University College Dublin
VR - Vienna Recordings (August 1909)
YCG - Yn Çheshaght Ghailckagh Recordings (late 1951-?mid-1953)
ZCP - *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*

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Celts Ancient and Modern: Recent Controversies in Celtic Studies

John R. Collis

As often happens in conferences on Celtic Studies, I was the only contributor at Helsinki who was talking about archaeology and the Ancient Celts. This has been a controversial subject since the 1980s when archaeologists started to apply to the question of the Celts the changes of paradigm, which had impacted on archaeology since the 1960s and 1970s. This caused fundamental changes in the way in which we treat archaeological evidence, both the theoretical basis of what we are doing and the methodologies we use, and even affecting the sorts of sites we dig and what of the finds we consider important. Initially it was a conflict among archaeologists, but it has also spilt over into other aspects of Celtic Studies in what has been termed 'Celtoscepticism'. In 2015–2016 the British Museum and the National Museum of Scotland put on exhibitions (Farley and Hunter 2015) based largely on these new approaches, raising again the conflicts from the 1990s between traditional Celticists, and those who are advocates of the new approaches ('New Celticists'), but it also revived, especially in the popular press, misinformation about what the conflicts are all about.

Celtoscepticism comes from a Welsh term *celtisceptig* invented by the poet and novelist Robin Llywelin, and translated into English and applied to Celtic Studies by Patrick Sims-Williams (1998); it is used for people who do not consider that the ancient people of Britain should be called Celts as they had never been so-called in the Ancient World. Indeed, Strabo said that another Greek author, Hipparchus, had got confused between Celts and Britons. At most the ancient authors say that the Britons were 'like' the Celts, but even that implies that the Britons were not Celts. The term Celt was applied to people in Britain for the first time in 1582 by George Buchanan in his history of Scotland, and the concept of Celtic languages, often used as the basis of defining the Celts, only appears early in the 18th century in the writings of Paul-Yves Pezron (1703) and of Edward Lhuyd (1707). This critical approach is nothing new—the inventing of the Insular Celts was discussed a century ago by the Irish historian Eoin Mac Néill (1913–14). What has happened in the meantime is the linking of the Ancient Celts not only with a group of languages, but also with an art style ('Celtic Art') and an archaeological 'La Tène Culture Group' whose origin was sought in southern Germany in the 6th–5th centuries BC, and whose expansion has been used to document the supposed spread of the Celts (Duval 1977; Megaw and Megaw 1989; Collis 2003/6). All of this was being

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brought into question by a number of scholars, mainly English, but also on the continent, for instance in Spain (Ruiz Zapatero 1990, 1993, 1996; Fernández Götz 2008), Germany (Rieckhoff 2012) and the Balkans (Popa and Stoddart 2014).

The true nature of the debate was, however, masked by a number of misunderstandings and misinformation, some of which is still rife today. One of these is that Celtosceptics such as me were saying that the Ancient Celts never existed. This was simply not true. It is something, I think, first invented by Ruth and Vincent Megaw (1998) at a conference on the Celts held in Cardiff in 1991 at which I had contributed a paper showing the change and increasing precision of nomenclature in the Greek and Latin literature for the peoples who lived north of the Alps, from Hyperboreans to the names of specific tribes in Caesar's *De bello Gallico* (Collis 1997). The Megaws, who had been asked to give the summing up of the conference turned up with a pre-prepared lecture with slides including a completely blank one showing 'John Collis's view of the Ancient Celts'! Their summary bore no resemblance to what I said. The same accusation was also made of Simon James's book on *The Atlantic Celts* (1999) though again he never said this in his article or his book. The article he wrote for *The Guardian* in 1997 was indeed headlined 'The tribe that never was' and said 'the Ancient Celts are a bogus modern invention', but his article referred only to the insular Celts, not the continental (James 1997); it was the journalists who wrote the headlines, not James (pers. comm. 2017), and not with his agreement. However, the belief that it referred to all Ancient Celts became widely disseminated not only among continental scholars but also in the more popular literature, e.g. Ellis 1998/2003 xiv–xxx. It re-emerged recently in the reviews of the British Museum exhibition—'Golden age of art by a Celtic race that never was' (Maev Kennedy, *The Guardian* July 10, 2015), and 'The stunning legacy of a people who apparently did not exist' (Jonathan Jones, *The Guardian*, September 22, 2015). All that was being claimed by people such as me was that the term 'Celtic' in the ancient world was continental, not insular. However, it does also carry implications about the theoretical and methodological basis of how we define the Celts, and this in turn has important political and 'racial' implications as I shall argue below.

Celtoscepticism questions many of the basic assumptions that are made in Celtic Studies: Why are Scots, Irish, Welsh and Bretons called 'Celts' if their ancestors were not so called in ancient times? If, as is argued, it is because they speak Celtic languages, then why are Celtic languages called 'Celtic'. Why is 'Celtic Art' called Celtic (Collis forthcoming 1)? For archaeologists what is 'La Tène Culture' and why is it equated with 'Celts'? And why do we think the Celts originate from southern Germany or, for some archaeologists and linguists, in southwestern Iberia, and can these claims be justified? All these questions require an understanding of the historiography of the Celts and of Celtic Studies, and this is what I tried to do in my book *The Celts; origins, myths and inventions*, but further progress has been

made since the revised edition was published in 2006, and in this paper I will look at some of the developments in my own thinking in the last few years.

Defining the Celts

The disagreements between the Celtosceptics and the traditionalists start with fundamental matters like how to define a Celt. For the traditionalists Celts are defined by the language, and within linguistics there are well accepted characteristics which distinguish the Celtic group of languages from other Indo-European groups. It is the next stage where the disagreement takes place, as many linguists argue that speaking a Celtic language is the primary characteristic of Celts. So for instance on the cover of Wolfgang Meid's 2010 book on the Celts he says "'Celtic' is, in the first instance, a linguistic concept", or Graham Isaac (2010:165): "without language there are no Celts, ancient or modern", or Thomas Clancy (2015a; 2015b) in reference to the exhibition *The Celts: art and identity* in the British Museum: "This is the fundamental, defining characteristic of the people who can be called 'Celts' that they spoke or speak, Celtic languages". It is also followed by some archaeologists such as Barry Cunliffe (2010:20) referring to the Ancient Celts: "Celts identifiable presumably in that they were Celtic speakers".

This is simply not true. The classification of languages only starts in the Renaissance, but attempts at this time and up to, and including, Sir William Jones who is wrongly credited as the discoverer of the family of Indo-European languages (Campbell 20005/2006), were confused and often contradictory, and it is not until the rise of the German school of comparative linguistics in the early 19th century that we have reliable classifications (see van Hal 2014 for discussion of early attempts at classification). What are now called the 'Celtic languages' were originally recognised as a group by George Buchanan (Collis 1999), but he used the term '*Lingua gallica*', while languages labelled '*Linguae celticae*' only formed a subgroup within it (Irish and Scottish Gaelic). Pezron wrongly identified the language of the Bretons as descended from that of the Ancient Celts described by Caesar; Breton has long been recognised as an introduction from Britain in the 5th – 6th centuries AD (Snyder 2003), but Pezron (1703) did not include Irish and Scots Gaelic in his book, and it is not until Lhuyd (1707) that all the languages we now call 'Celtic' were included, and he followed Pezron rather than Buchanan in calling them 'Celtic'. Using the language as the defining characteristic for calling people Celts before the 18th century is clearly not historically acceptable as the grouping of the languages was simply not recognised.

For me the commonly used defining characteristics of Celts can be ranked in a 'hierarchy of conservatism of change': genetics is the most conservative, followed by ethnicity; then language, followed by social structure and religious beliefs; and

finally material culture as the most ephemeral (Collis 2010). These are different types of data, so not directly inter-changeable and cannot be used as a proxy for one another, i.e. language does not necessarily define ethnicity, and though genetics may influence ethnicity (e.g. the colour of one's skin or the physiognomy of the face), they are not the same. Genetic make-up usually changes slowly and takes many generations, indeed will not affect the whole of a given population whereas material culture can change several times in an individual's life-time and the new ideas adopted by many communities at the same time. Thus in archaeology, if we cannot use archaeological data (e.g. material culture) as a proxy for ethnicity or for language, then looking for 'origins' using archaeological data is pointless. We can however compare them, e.g. to what extent is the spread of La Tène ('Celtic') Art influenced by language?

For many archaeologists there was a change in the aims of mainstream archaeology in the 1960s–1970s (Trigger 1989). Firstly there was a rejection by many western archaeologists of the Philology/Language based 'Culture-Historical paradigm' of Gustaf Kossinna (1911) and Gordon Childe (1929) in which the main aim was defining 'Culture Groups' or 'Cultures' to document 'racial' origins, migrations, etc. It meant that there was a major emphasis on chronology to date these supposed events (e.g. the origin and expansion of the Germans and of the Celts). Instead under the 'New Archaeology' there was greater emphasis on economic and socio-economic questions, e.g. urbanisation, trade, agricultural and industrial production (my own doctoral thesis was on urbanisation in the later Iron Age in temperate Europe, Collis 1984, and my early excavations were primarily dealing with economic reconstructions of agricultural systems using animal bones, seeds, etc.). But there was also an interest in cultural change, e.g. the increasing complexity of society, its causes and evolution, with classifications such as bands, tribes, chiefdoms, states, based mainly on American anthropological theories of social evolution, the so-called 'Processual Archaeology'. We were also investigating long-term processes like changes in landscape, environment and settlement patterns, looking at ideas like 'core-periphery models', 'world economies' and 'central place theory' taken over from anthropology and geography. This in turn led to changed methods of fieldwork, with techniques like field walking and 'open area' excavation (Collis 2001).

It was not merely a change in emphasis, but the basic tenets of the 'Culture-History' approach were also under attack. Ultimately its theoretical basis lay in racist and colonialist ideas of the late 19th and early 20th century, which were to reach their most extreme form in Germany in the 1930s where the Nazis were trying to differentiate a German 'master race' from lesser groups of humans. They used language to distinguish Germans from Slavs, physical characteristics such as the shape of the nose, or ancestry ('blood') to distinguish Jews from Aryans,

and envisaged racially 'pure' Germanic groups in danger of contamination by interbreeding with 'racially inferior' groups such as the Jews and Slavs. In archaeology, they used 'Culture Groups' defined by burial rites, settlement types and styles of pottery and ornaments to identify these racial groups following the ideas of Gustaf Kossinna, who, though he died in 1931 before the Nazis came to power, was looked up to as the 'father' of Nazi prehistoric archaeology (Stampfuss 1935). It is against this background that we need to query the correlation of 'Celts = Celtic languages = La Tène Culture Group'. Some scholars rejected this concept of race (e.g. de Navarro 1936:237 'I should state at the outset that I employ the word "Celtic" in no racial sense, but merely to describe peoples who, in the period I am concerned with, are thought to have spoken Celtic languages'). For others it was fundamental (e.g. Jacobsthal 1944:160 'In my opinion the whole of Celtic art is a unit. It is the creation of one race, the Celts').

This idea of a package encompassing language, art and social structure indicating a way of life and thinking that permeated all members of a 'race', something decided at birth, lingers on for instance in the work of Barry Cunliffe (1983, 1984) in which he constructs an ideal hierarchical 'Celtic Society' based on a combination of Caesar's description of Gaul in the 1st century BC and the written sources from early Christian Ireland in the 7th – 8th centuries AD. This social structure could then be imposed on the presumably Celtic-speaking society that lived in southern England in the 5th century BC. Thus, the hill-fort of Danebury was seen as the residence of a 'chief' or 'king' even though there was no evidence that the inhabitants of the hill-fort were of higher status than the people living on the smaller settlements. At the Museum of the Iron Age in Andover where the Danebury finds are exhibited, there is the model of a 'Celtic warrior' who is wearing objects from all over Europe from 5th century BC Bavaria and Champagne to 1st century BC objects from East Anglia in Britain (depicted on the cover of *Current Archaeology* April 2004). These approaches presume that we can take anything from anywhere to reconstruct ancient Celtic societies as long as they spoke a Celtic language. Such an approach to the Celts leads on to the platitudes, generalisations and 'racial stereotyping' that we find in the classical literature of Greece and Rome, but also in 19th century depictions of the Celts (warlike, drunk, spiritual, etc.). Even referring to 'The Celts' as though they form some sort of unity invites such stereotyping which should play no part in our studies of the past, and fails to cover the great variation of the culture of ancient Celtic-speaking peoples, from the urban settlements of the Celtiberians, which share more in common with Mediterranean urbanism, to the more tribal and rural settlements patterns of Ireland and northern Britain in early medieval times. It also fails to recognise the very real differences among modern populations of Celtic speakers for whom national identity (Welsh, Irish, etc.) is more important than the larger category of 'Celt' (e.g. Martyn 2016).

Celts past and present

I think that it is important to make a clear distinction between the Ancient and Modern Celts; they are different phenomena (though linked as speakers of Celtic languages) and we need to study them in different ways. For the Modern Celts I would suggest that we can use language to define them (though some Celticists are unhappy to use the word except as a linguistic term); indeed, as they are a living phenomenon, we are justified in making our own definition and this can be changed over time, though who makes the decision about who is or is not a Celt? The most widely accepted definition is as 'Speakers of Celtic languages or whose recent ancestors spoke Celtic languages', so it can be self-defining, but how do we deal with groups like the Galicians and Asturians in northwestern Spain who claim they are Celtic, even though it is at least fifteen hundred years since Celtic languages were spoken in those areas (Zarandonna 2015). What are the opinions of modern Celtic-speaking communities, or can the modern Celts be defined by outsiders such as me?

For studying the Ancient Celts what criteria do we use to define them? The choices are: only from the usage of ancient authors; by language like the Modern Celts; or by material culture as has been claimed by archaeologists. As an archaeologist I reject the third possibility as I discussed above. I also reject the second, because there was no classification of languages in the classical world, and languages tended to be named after the people who spoke them; so, Britons spoke *lingua Britannica*, not *Celtica* or *Gallica* even though the similarities might be recognised. But there is also the problem of people who spoke what we call a Celtic language, but where the people considered themselves, or were considered by others, to belong to another ethnic group. So the Celtic-speaking people around Marseille were considered to be *Ligyes* (Ligurians); Tacitus says the *Treveri* on the Mosel considered themselves to be *Germani*; and there is also the case of the Celtic-speaking inhabitants of Britain and Ireland, the *Britanni* and *Hiberni*. Also, using the name Celts for speakers of Celtic languages in the early medieval period is to misrepresent history; in that period there was no-one who considered themselves to be Celts or were thought by their contemporaries to be Celts; the name had disappeared. Using the term wrongly hides historically important processes like the disappearance of the people called Celts at the end of the Roman period, and the reappearance of the term in the 16th century.

Thus, we are left with the first possibility, that we use the classification of the ancient writers. Here the question is what were the criteria used to define Celts, and how was the word used by each writer and in what context? An example of the problem is the ancient city of *Narbo*, the modern Narbonne. Stephen of Byzantium says that the earlier writers Strabo and Marcian called the city a *polis keltike* (Νάρβων 'εμπόριον και πολις Κελτική) but it is in an Iberian-speaking area,

and it lies west of the Rhone which was considered in one of the Massiliote sailing manuals to be an area inhabited by Iberians, not Celts. Often the term has been taken as ethnic, 'a city of the Celts', but it is more likely to be a geographical or administrative term (i.e. 'in Narbonese Gaul') rather than ethnic (Gayraud 1981, Collis 2003/6, 2010). In late Roman sources such as Ammianus Marcellinus we encounter a fighting unit called *Celtae seniores*, again often taken to be ethnic, but it has to be seen in the context of units given nick-names such as *Petulantes*, *Sabini*, *Latini* and *Invicti* very much as modern rugby and baseball teams are given names (Rance 2015).

A periodisation of the Celts

For the purposes of analysis the term Celt and the language can be divided into a number of phases which require different methodologies to study them:

Prehistoric Celts. We know there were people called Celts before written records appear in the 5th century BC because, if we accept the information of the oldest sources, Hecataeus and Herodotus, they locate Celts in southwest Iberia, in central France (inland from Marseilles) and probably in southern Germany. Likewise inscriptions in Celtic languages, perhaps going back to the 7th century BC are to be found in northern Italy, southern France, northeastern France, and possibly in Spain. We also have a certain number of place and river names, which probably go back to this time as well. Thus people called Celts and Celtic languages were already widespread across Europe by the 5th century BC and it must mean that the expansion of both the languages and the ethnic group (not the same thing!) belong at latest to the Early Iron Age, but probably much earlier. Models of Celtic expansion such as linking it with the spread of La Tène Culture or Art in southern Germany in the 5th century and later are clearly not sustainable.

The Ancient Celts 500 BC – AD 500. References to the Celts in the Ancient World occurred over a period of about a thousand years (Collis 2003/6), from around 500 BC (Hecataeus) to the 5th century AD (Sidonius Apollinaris). We have no definition of a Celt other than stereotypes and a description by Caesar of the geographical area they occupied in Gaul, but there are two authors who considered themselves to be in part at least Celts: the poet Martial from *Bilbilis*, near modern-day Catalayud in Spain) and Sidonius Apollinaris, bishop of Clermont-Ferrand in the mid-5th century AD, and there is also the historian Pompeius Trogus of the tribe of the Vocontii, which was certainly Celtic-speaking and probably a Celtic tribe. Under the Roman Empire people of Celtic origin prospered, and one, Avitus from the Auvergne, became emperor in Rome, and another Flavius Rufinus aimed at becoming emperor of the eastern empire, but was assassinated by his troops (Collis 2009). Identifications of Celts were made by the ancient authors,

and cannot be re-written—using the modern definition of language is 'presentism' and causes unacceptable anomalies (e.g. the Celtic-speaking Ligurians around Marseilles). Inscriptions in Celtic languages start in the mid-first millennium BC, and continue into the Early Roman period at sites such as Botorrita in Spain and La Graufesenque in southern France. The names of individuals with Celtic names on inscriptions (Rabould and Sims-Willams 2007, 2009) and place-name evidence also give us information about areas which were once Celtic-speaking (Sims-Williams 2006), but individuals moved around, especially in the Roman army, and many major settlements with Celtic endings are linked with early imperial Roman names—*Augustonemeton*, *Augustodunum*, etc., so these are only a rough guide to the pre-Roman situation. Some elements of La Tène Art appear in Early Roman versions, not, I suspect, as some sort of resurgence in an anti-Roman context as is often claimed, but as an official acceptance of the style in much the same way as the native gods were absorbed into the Roman pantheon.

Medieval AD 500-1500. The last classical author to mention the Celts is Isidore of Seville in the early 7th century, but already by then the Celts seemed to be historical. References to them virtually disappear for the next thousand years, and no people from this period considered themselves to be Celts, or were so considered to be by others. Among the rare uses of the term is a Byzantine author using *Celtae* to refer to the Franks taking part in the Crusades (Chapman 1992). It is thus ahistorical to refer, for instance, to speakers of Celtic languages in areas such as Ireland at this time as 'Celts', and it is best to refer to them by contemporary names or their modern translations such as Irish, Breton, Cymry, etc., and to avoid terms which are derived from this misnaming, like 'Celtic Art' and the 'Celtic Church', etc. The indigenous inhabitants of Gaul were now all called *Galli* so even in France the name '*Celtae*' had died out. However, along the Atlantic the languages that are now called Celtic, did still survive, along with some terms like Druid and the name of the god Lug. To what extent Early Christian Art (Insular Art) retained motifs such as the triskele from prehistoric art rather than as a re-invention is problematic, but some of the characteristic elements such as knotwork are certainly taken over and developed from Late Roman art (Goldberg 2015).

Modern Celts AD 1500/1700 onwards. With the Renaissance and a shift in interest from the genealogies of the nobility to the origins of ethnic groups, which would lead on to the formation of nation states, there was a raised interest in the ancient peoples mentioned in the Bible and in classical sources. It was in this context that Celts make their re-appearance, but the only source of additional information to identify the groups and their descendants was considered to be through the study of their languages. The Celts and Gauls were one of the peoples identified from the classical sources and so attempts were made to identify elements of their language (e.g. Boxhorn 1654)), and, as the still extant 'Celtic' languages became

better known to scholars, the affinities for instance between Welsh and the ancient languages of Gaul were recognised. Thus language became the major diagnostic in the recognition of the supposed descendants of the Ancient Celts, and with the work of Edward Lhuyd, Celtic languages became the pioneer subject for developing what was to become 'Comparative Linguistics'. Thus the accepted definition of Celts became speakers, or people whose recent ancestors were speakers, of 'Celtic' languages. This was boosted firstly in the late 18th century with the birth of the Romantic Movement, and later, in the late 19th century, the concept of 'race' for which language was the main criterion, along with physical appearance (Collis 2007). Thus in the 1930s the Nazis were defining the differences of Germanic peoples from Jews and Slavs using language, measurement of facial characteristics and family origins, based on a concept of 'purity' of race and 'contamination' caused by intermarriage, the mixing of 'blood'. Most of these 'racial' characteristics were believed to be inherited and fixed at birth, ideas still employed by racist extremists such as Anders Behring Breivik.

The future

For many aspects of Celtic Studies this development in archaeology is not relevant, but it should have an impact when we attempt to write the history of the Celts. As I have stated, it means that we can ignore the standard interpretations of the origin and the spread of the Celts, either from southern Germany (Duval 1977, Megaw and Megaw 1989), or from Iberia (Cunliffe and Koch 2010; Koch and Cunliffe 2013, 2016); archaeology is simply incapable of solving this question. I would suggest that it also presents problems when looking at the origin of the language, but that is a matter for linguists to decide. What I do urge is that in the teaching of Celtic Studies, defined as the study of all aspects of the history and culture of Celtic speaking peoples, the historiography of Celtic Studies should be taught as an essential component. Perhaps we can then all agree on what terms like 'Celtic' mean in specific cases such as the naming of the language group, and this should clearly indicate what we can and cannot do with such information (Collis, forthcoming 2).

It was also argued both by Thomas Clancy (2015b) and by one of the anonymous reviewers that using the term 'Celtic' for periods such as the early medieval period along the Atlantic seaboard is no different from what we normally do, imposing names and classifications retrospectively which the people at the time would not have recognised, like Iron Age for a period before the Roman conquest. One example used was the First World War which was only so named retrospectively after the beginning of the Second World War. For me, they are not comparable. 'The Great War' was the term used at the time, but if the Second World War had

to the modern day, and in the London exhibition with a map in the first room (based on one of mine) showing where we have evidence of people called 'Celts' in the Ancient World. We can perhaps agree that more should have been made of the language and culture of the Welsh, Irish and Scottish Gaelic speakers, and the thread of language, which links the Ancient and Modern Celts, but I would suggest that the Celticists could not have put on such an exhibition. For the Ancient Celts, the main areas of study are in Archaeology, Art History and Ancient History, and the greatest expertise in these is to be found among an international group of scholars most of whom, like me, do not speak any Celtic languages let along being brought up in Celtic-speaking communities. I would suggest that the history of ancient Celtic speakers is part of our shared European history and culture. My own home town of Winchester (*Venta Belgarum*) first appears as a defended site (Qualmann *et al.* 2004) constructed by, we assume, Belgic people who spoke a Celtic language, but its history is more relevant to me as an archaeologist than any modern Celtic speakers. How many modern Celticists have been to the key sites associated with the Ancient Celts – Hallstatt, La Tène, Numantia, Alesia, Gergovia or Aydat – and who is to investigate and write the history of these sites, or investigate their history, or topics like urbanisation, trade, art, culture change, etc.? There should be no divide between us, and there should be no resentment when it seems that the message put across in such exhibitions and books is dominated by people whose first language is English, French, German, Czech or Spanish. It should not be interpreted in terms of political, economic and cultural dominance as in a centre-periphery type of model, though these often racist approaches do occur in the literature both the past and the present. Some of us at least are trying to move beyond that. So I hope that dialogue between the various interest groups will be ones of mutual co-operation and open discussion, a recognition of different viewpoints and expertise that we share with one another rather than use to foster mutual antagonism. So, the question is, where do we go from here?

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Bachal Ísu: the Symbolism of St. Patrick's Crosier in Early-Medieval Irish Hagiography

Grigory Grigoryev

Introduction

The image of a saint's staff, or *bachal*, bears significant symbolism in the early medieval Irish hagiographical[1] tradition, which can be seen from the texts of Saints' Lives, and with the help of *A List of Motifs in the Lives of the Early Irish Saints* by Dorothy Bray (1992). Miraculous staffs appear in Irish hagiography with high regularity and are employed by Irish saints to bless, heal and curse (Bitel 2007). This paper is dedicated to the analysis of the symbolism of one particular pastoral staff—the crosier of St. Patrick, in later lives known as the Staff of Jesus (*Bachal Ísu*).[2] Acknowledging the complex nature of Irish hagiography, which can be viewed as an amalgam of pre-Christian beliefs, 'popular religion', and the continental hagiographical canon, my intention here is to investigate the symbolism of the *Bachal Ísu* as a literary construct. Dorothy Bray reasonably remarks that the Lives of Irish saints were works created by the literate for the literate (Bray 2001, 270), and, in this paper, I will treat Irish hagiography as such. Thus, I will be viewing the *Bachal Ísu* as a symbol consciously constructed by Irish hagiographers with regard to preceding literary Christian tradition. I will trace the origin of St. Patrick's staff by looking into written Christian sources, which could have directly or indirectly influenced Irish hagiographers (Bray 1992, 17–20). I have analysed the relevant staff-related passages from the texts of the Apocrypha, the Vulgate and *Patrologia Latina*, focusing on keywords such as *virga, baculum* and *sceptrum*.[3] These passages are compared with selected quotations from the early medieval lives of St. Patrick, which are typologically grouped into six major categories

1 The paper builds on and develops the ideas presented in the proceedings of the Seventh Celto-Slavica Colloquium held at Bangor University, Wales (2014), which are yet to be published in the first half of 2017.

2 In the earliest Irish Lives of the seventh century, the staff of St. Patrick has no name, while, in the later Vita Tripartita, the staff is called Bachal Ísu, which translates as 'Staff of Jesus'. This is not to be confused with the staff of Jesus in Judeo-Christian tradition that will be discussed in the first part of the paper. The terms 'staff' and 'crosier' are used interchangeably in the paper.

3 The difference between virga and baculum in the Vulgate is not always evident: very often these two words are interchangeable. However, virga is more often associated with the idea of punishment, while baculum can be in some instances related to the idea of support. As for sceptrum, the meaning is easier to grasp: in most cases it signifies authority.

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or motifs according to the function of the saint's staff. Determining the sources, which may have inspired Irish hagiographers, and comparing St. Patrick's crosier with staffs and rods of Judeo-Christian tradition allows me to explicate the unique features of *Bachal Ísu*. This comparison also allows me to distil the ideological messages and references that the readers of the Lives perceived (and the messages and references the hagiographers wanted the readers to perceive) when they read or heard passages associated with the miraculous staff of St. Patrick.

A Staff of Jesus?

While staffs and rods are primarily associated with shepherds and travellers, they have also served as symbols, which identify political and spiritual leaders, as well as messengers and legates. In other words, staffs and staff-like objects often act as symbols of direct or delegated authority. That is why, when we read the words of Jesus, 'I am the good shepherd: the good shepherd giveth his life for the sheep' (John 10:11), it is reasonable to assume that a spiritual leader who was in a sense a legate of God and called himself *a shepherd* should possess a staff.

Notwithstanding the fact that nowhere in the New Testament is it mentioned that Jesus actually possessed a shepherd's staff, the earliest Christian authors and artists depicted him with one and reflected upon the significance it could bear. The symbolic functions of the staff in the Christian context were perhaps first explicitly described by Gregory the Great and Isidore of Seville. The following lines are cited from *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis*, an early-medieval Hiberno-Latin text. The source that I have chosen demonstrates that the Irish monks were familiar with the continental tradition of staff symbolism:

> *Essidorus:… Huic cum consecratur datur baculus, ut eius indicio subditam plebem uel regat uel corrigat uel infirmitates infirmorum sustineat*
>
> Isidore:… When he is consecrated he is given a staff, so that by its sign he may rule and correct the community subject to him, and sustain the weaknesses of the weak.
>
> *Gregorius: Quid per baculum nisi pastoralis cura signatur? Baculus enim sustendat, custodit et regit.*
>
> Gregory: What is signified by the staff if not pastoral care? For the staff sustains, defends, and governs. (Flechner 2014, 8, 535–536)[4]

The *imagined* pastoral staff finally emerged as a visible and compulsory iconographic element and found its place in Christian tradition as the episcopal

4 See also Bracken 2002.

crosier. But what, indeed, is the origin of the staff of Jesus, and therefore the origin of episcopal crosiers?

In order to make the first approach towards the problem of the staff of Jesus, I now turn to three parallel passages from the Synoptic Gospels, accompanied by a commentary by Augustine of Hippo. In the Gospel of Mark, Jesus sends his disciples out to preach and commands: 'take nothing for the way, but a staff only: no scrip, no bread, nor money in their purse, but to be shod with sandals, and that they should not put on two coats' (Mk. 6:8). At the same time, in the parallel passages from the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, Jesus explicitly forbids his followers to take staffs (Mt. 10:9–10, Lk. 9:3). Augustine of Hippo addressed this problem by stating that in the Bible one word can have different meanings: 'the staff which, according to Mark, was to be taken, bears one sense, and that the staff which, according to Matthew and Luke, was not to be taken with them, is to be interpreted in a different sense' (Salmond 1888).[5] According to Augustine, there were two staffs: the first symbolizes authority and power (Moses' *virga Dei,* which he used to send the Plagues on Egypt, is a good example); the second symbolizes humility and reliance on God's will (for instance, the *baculus* from Psalm 23, which comforts the believer). The explanation made by St. Augustine was eagerly embraced by Christian literati: the Venerable Bede, Rabanus Maurus and Sedulius Scottus (Hill 2012, 150–154).

The Staff of Jesus in Early Christian Art

In his paper, *The Staff of Jesus in Early Christian Art*, Lee M. Jefferson draws attention to the examples of early Christian catacomb art of the third and fourth centuries which contain 'puzzling images of Jesus performing miracles holding a staff or a wand' (Jefferson 2010, 221). The most common image of this type shows Jesus resurrecting Lazarus by touching him with a rod.

It is noteworthy that in Roman catacombs the resurrection of Lazarus is often placed near the Old Testament image of Moses striking the rock with a rod (Ex. 17:1–7). Moses, according to Jefferson, 'is depicted quite like Jesus in dress and style as he touches the rock with his miracle-working staff, a mirror image of Jesus' instrument' (Jefferson 2010, 228). Jefferson concludes that 'the artistic examples illustrate an insistent desire to connect Jesus and Peter to Moses in paint, in stone, and in the minds of viewers.' (Jefferson 2010, 222)

In these images, the authority and legitimacy of Jesus was being proved through the authority of Moses. Jesus is shown as the New Moses, in fulfilment of the Old Testament prophecy. Considering the fact that Moses is the most notable miracle-worker of the Old Testament and Jesus is the greatest miracle-worker of the New

5 See also Hill 2012, 151.

Testament, and that the miraculous powers of the former were associated with the staff of the latter, it seems logical that the two were iconographically connected through the depiction of similar instruments in their hands.

Furthermore, let us turn to the role of Peter in early Christian catacomb art. On the image labelled *Anatomy Lesson*, which is found in the catacomb on Via Latina, we can see a figure surrounded by a group of people; one of them is pointing a rod at the recumbent figure that seems to be a corpse (Jefferson 2013, 169). Jefferson proposes that:

> …the, painting demonstrates the inherent dominion of the church by rendering the miracle of raising the dead to life, in this case performed by the disciple brandishing the staff-like instrument, a disciple that can be identified as Peter... an image exhibiting apostolic authority over the church on earth (2013, 172).

The logic of iconographic metaphors in these images can be hypothetically reconstructed as follows. Moses had the *virga Dei*, which symbolized his divine authority over Israel and allowed him to work miracles. His authority as a miracle-worker and leader was unmatched until the coming of Jesus. In these early Christian images, Jesus is the symbolic heir of Moses, and one can assume that he symbolically inherited the wondrous *virga Dei*.[6] Although Jesus is no longer physically present in this world, he has left an heir—St. Peter—and therefore the images of Peter performing miracles with a staff represent apostolic succession.[7]

6 Of course, Jesus is God, and from this angle, Moses' virga Dei was, in a sense, given to him by Jesus. To continue this casuistry, according to rabbinical commentaries, Aaron and Moses shared one rod (Yalḳ. on Ps. ex. § 869). In another legend, God created this rod on the sixth day of Creation and it first belonged to Adam (Ab. v. 9, and Mek., Beshallaḥ, ed. Weiss, iv. 60), see 'staff' and 'Aaron's rod' in Jewish Encyclopedia 1906. These examples cannot be linked with Irish material, for they emerged much later, but they still serve as illustrations of basic recurring patterns of staff symbolism. These patterns may, of course, go beyond the Judeo-Christian tradition; see for instance the 'imperishable rod' of Agamemnon described by Pausanias: 'Of all their objects of worship the people of Chaeronea venerate most the sceptre which Homer says Hephaestos made for Zeus, which Hermes received from Zeus and gave to Pelops, and Pelops left to Atreus, and Atreus to Thyestes, from whom Agamemnon had it. This sceptre they worship, naming it a spear; and that there is something divine about it is proved especially by the distinction it confers on its owners' (Shilleto 1900, 216).

7 The passing of the baton is generally a perpetual process and it is reasonable to assume that St. Peter should have left his staff to the popes of Rome. However, according to the medieval legend, St. Peter gave his staff to his disciple, Eucharius, so the latter could resurrect his colleague, Maternus. St. Eucharius became the first bishop of Trier, and the fact that the staff of St. Peter ended up in Trier was used as an explanation for why the Pope of Rome does not use the crosier; see Pugin 1868, 195.

Jesus—the Rod of Jesse

The final point concerning the staff of Jesus will be made from the perspective of genealogical symbolism. According to the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, the Hebrew terms for 'tribe' are *shebbet* or *matteh*, and the same words also signify 'branch', 'rod', 'staff', 'sceptre'. In the Book of Isaiah, there is a passage which was often referenced in the New Testament as a proof of the true messianic nature of Jesus Christ: *et egredietur virga de radice Iesse et flos de radice eius ascendet*, 'There shall come forth a Rod from the stem of Jesse, and a Branch shall grow out of his roots' (Isaiah 11:1). The Tree of Jesse is a separate and complicated Christian concept, but even this preliminary glimpse into the prophecy of Isaiah and genealogical metaphors gives us one more link between Jesus and staff symbolism, for, in this instance, Jesus himself becomes a staff.

Staffs in Irish Hagiography

After a brief speculation on the symbolism of the staff in Christian tradition, I now turn to Irish hagiographical material. I believe that nowhere in the early-medieval Christian hagiographical tradition did a crooked staff develop into such a prominent symbol as in the Lives of Irish saints. Whereas Irish saints employed their *bachala* when cursing enemies and protecting allies, destroying pagan shrines and founding monasteries, their counterparts from Continental Europe, Northern Africa and the Middle East mostly relied on oral formulas to perform miraculous deeds.

St. Patrick's crosier, in later lives known as the *Bachal Ísu*, is the first miraculous staff to be regularly mentioned in early medieval Irish hagiographical literature. The crosier of St. Patrick is an excellent example of an Irish *bachal*: not only did it help the saint to heal and curse, but it was also an essential tool in the baptism of Ireland—arguably the most important episode in the Christian history of the island. To illustrate the symbolic function of St. Patrick's staff, in this part of the paper, I examine the six most prominent staff-associated motifs.

The Sign of Recognition

I will begin with the two Lives of St. Patrick, the first compiled by Muirchú, the second by Tírechán. Both lives were created towards the end of the seventh century and are the earliest known examples of Patrician hagiography except for *Confessio* and *Epistola* where the objects of interest are not mentioned (White 1905).

In Muirchú's work, known as *Vita sancti Patricii*, the staff is mentioned only once in a prophecy which predicts the mission of St. Patrick: *Adueniet ascicaput cum suo ligno curuicapite*, 'There shall arrive Shaven-head, with his stick bent in the head' (Bieler 1979: I.10). The crooked stick is a characteristic element that distinguishes the saint: it is the object that will allow the people of Ireland to recognize him as the legate of the new faith. It is also important to note that the

stick is 'bent in the head'. A curious analogy can be found in Irish iconography, particularly Irish early medieval stone reliefs: Lisa Bitel writes that the crooked staff is sometimes the only element of the image that makes it possible to identify a figure on a relief as a Christian cleric (Bitel 2007).

The description of the form of the staff in the passage allows us to assume that it is not just any *stick*, but a Christian symbol primarily associated with pastoral care and church authority. Although the staff of St. Patrick does not have a name in Muirchú's text, the hagiographer explicitly compares the saint with Moses, the most prominent staff-bearer of the Old Testament (Bieler 1979: I.2; II.5).

The Instrument of Resurrection

According to Tírechán's *Collectanea* St. Patrick and his followers came across a gigantic tomb at some point during their travels. St. Patrick's disciples doubted that a man of such size ever existed, so the saint raised the body from the grave:

> Si uolueris uidebitis eum eidixerunt uolumus et percussit baculo suo lapidem iuxta caput eius et signauit sepulchrum signaculo crucis et dixit aperi domine sepulcrum.
>
> 'If you wish you shall see him,' and they said: 'We do,' and he struck the stone on the side of the head with his staff and signed the grave with the sign of the cross and said: 'Open, o Lord, the grave.' (Bieler 1979, 40)

The theme of resurrection is one of the cornerstones of Christian teaching and is explicitly illustrated in the raising of Lazarus (John 11:1–44). The story of Lazarus and the episode from the *Collectanea* do have some similarities: (1) a spiritual leader and a group of people in doubt or even disbelief, (2) a gravestone, (3) the public raising of the dead person by invoking the power of God. It is important for our case, however, that Jesus uses an oral formula, whereas, in the case of St. Patrick, the oral formula is supported by the employment of the staff. An episode of resurrection where a staff is mentioned can also be found in the Old Testament, in the Second Book of Kings. Prophet Elisha gives his servant, Gehazi, a staff (*baculum*) and sends him to resurrect a dead child (II Kings 4:29). Gehazi fails to fulfil the mission and Elisha raises the child from the dead without the help of the staff. Although the object of interest is presented in the story of Elisha and Gehazi, the biblical episode differs greatly from the one in *Collectanea*. The connection between the theme of resurrection and staff-like objects (rods, sceptres, sticks and branches) can also be typologically reconstructed through the symbolism of the palm branch, which connotes victory over death in Christian tradition (Danielou 1964). Branches of almond, palm tree and other plants (depending on the region) similarly symbolised blossoming and rebirth in the mythologies of Ancient Egypt,

the Middle East and Ancient Greece, but I intend to avoid this avenue of thought and limit the focus to Christian sources.[8]

The Instrument of Divine Creation

All of the following episodes are taken from the *Vita Tripartita Sancti Patricii*, which was compiled in the ninth century and significantly influenced the later lives of St. Patrick. Here the saint's staff is for the first time called *Bachal Ísu*, a circumstance, which not only focuses the reader's attention on the instrument, but also inevitably makes its semantics more complex.

In the first passage of interest, the hagiographer draws a curious picture of a realm around crosiers: *Ticfat tailcind conutsat ruama, / noifit cella, ceoltigi béndacha / ben[n]chopuir ili: fla[i]th himbachla*, 'Adzeheads will come, who will build cities / Who will consecrate (?) churches / pinnacled music-houses / Many conical caps (for belfries), a realm round crosiers' (Stokes 1887, 35). Later, St. Patrick is shown measuring Rath Airthir: *Dororaind Patraic Raith nAirthir abachaill duantith*, 'Patrick measured Rath Airthir with (?) his crozier' (Stokes 1887, 71). Then the saint symbolically measures the site of the future monastery of Armagh (Stokes 1887, 237).

These episodes indicate a strong connection between the idea of construction of future sacred locations and the image of St. Patrick's staff. Armagh and Rath Airthir have yet to be built, and Ireland has yet to become 'a realm round crosiers'.[9] St. Patrick acts as a divine architect, employing his staff as a measuring rod. This image closely resembles the episode from the Book of Ezekiel: *et in manu viri calamus mensurae sex cubitorum et palmo: et mensus est latitudinem aedificii calamo uno, altitudinem quoque calamo uno*, 'and in the man's hand a measuring reed of six cubits long by the cubit and an hand breadth: so he measured the breadth of the building, one reed; and the height, one reed' (Ezek. 40:5). A similar image is found in the Revelation: *Et datus est mihi calamus similis virgae, et dictum est mihi: Surge, et metire templum Dei*, 'And there was given me a reed like unto a rod: and the angel stood, saying, Rise, and measure the temple of God' (Rev. 11:1).

8 As for Irish saints employing bachala to heal and resurrect, see: Stokes 1890, 179 (St. Columba resurrects a youth who was bitten by a snake); Stokes 1890, 287 (St. Mochua saves Ireland from the Yellow Plague by absorbing the disease into his staff); Bray 1992, 129.

9 It is likely that the idea that Armagh was founded with the use of Bachal Ísu (thus not only according to the will of the saint, but also with the divine sanction of Jesus himself) allows the hagiographer to make an investment in the ideological capital of the monastery; see McCone 1984.

The Instrument of Punishment

St. Patrick is known for destroying pre-Christian places of worship. In *Vita Tripartita*, the saint points *Bachal Ísu* at pagan shrines and idols, which results in their destruction (Stokes 1887, 91). Sometimes, the saint marks pagan flagstones with the sharp tip of his staff (Bray 1992, 102). The action leads to destruction, both physical and ideological. After destroying one pagan shrine, St. Patrick threatens the worshippers, saying that his crosier can easily carve human flesh:

> *Dofornde Patraic crois isindlice conabachaill, ocus atá and beos dísert for leic Patraic, ocus roben incloich amal bid ere maeth. 'Manibatainmnet,' ol Patraic, 'nut scáilfeth nert cumachta Dé amal roscail in bachall in cloich'.*
>
> Patrick marked out with his crozier a cross in the flagstone, and cut the stone as if it were soft clay. 'If I were not patient with thee' saith Patrick, 'the might of God's power would cleave thee as the crozier cleft the stone.' (Stokes 1887, 79)

The phenomenon of cursing saints in the Irish context is extensively discussed in the works of Lisa Bitel and Dorothy Bray (Bitel 2007; Bray 2003). The employment of staffs as instruments of punishment may have come to Ireland from biblical texts, particularly from the Book of Exodus. The rod of Moses was a necessary tool in bringing all the Plagues to Egypt (Ex. 8:16, 9:23, 10:13). The same instrument served as a miraculous war banner in the battle against the Amalekites (Ex. 17:9, 11). The rod as a symbol of punishment can also be found in the First Epistle to the Corinthians: *si justitias meas profanaverint, et mandata mea non custodierint: visitabo in virga iniquitates eorum, et in verberibus peccata eorum*, 'What will ye? shall I come unto you with a rod, or in love, and in the spirit of meekness?' (I Cor. 4:21).

The Sign of Protection

The staff can symbolize divine protection and support. In the cornerstone episode of the *Vita Tripartita*, St. Patrick communicates with God on Mount Hermon:

> [*C*]*oroárdraig dó inCoimdiu hi suidiu, ocus conerbairt fris techt doprocédupt do Góedilaib, ocus cotárat bachaill nlsu dó; ocus atrubairt ropad fortachtaigthid do hi cech guasacht ocus hi cech écomnart imbíad.*
>
> 'And there the Lord appeared to him and told him to go and preach to the Gael, and gave him the staff of Jesus, and said that it would be a helper to him in every danger and in every unequal conflict in which he should be'. (Stokes 1887, 30)

Although this passage incorporates several staff-related motifs, let us, for now, focus on the metaphor for guidance, support and protection. *Baculum*, in the

Vulgate, can sometimes be translated as 'support', such as in the phrase *baculum panis* from the Book of Ezekiel (Ez. 4:16; 5:16; 14:13). Furthermore, in the Book of Psalms, there is a line which bears strong resemblance to the passage from the *Vita Tripartita*: *non timebo mala, quoniam tu mecum es. Virga tua, et baculus tuus, ipsa me consolata sunt*, 'I will fear no evil: for thou art with me; thy rod and thy staff they comfort me' (Ps. 23:4).[10]

The episode from *Vita Tripartita* describing St. Patrick receiving the order from God 'to go and preach to the Gael' (Stokes 1887, 30) resembles the previously mentioned episode from the Gospel of Mark (Mk. 6:7–12). It seems that the hagiographer took one step further and amplified God's command by including the symbolic bestowal of the staff. In other words, what was an oral command from Jesus to the Apostles in the Bible transforms into a ceremonial performance centred around a miraculous staff in *Vita Tripartita*.

The Sign of Legacy

The second important motif in the above-mentioned passage is the staff symbolizing legitimized authority. St. Patrick received the staff from God, thus becoming God's representative and therefore the highest possible authority in Ireland. The clearest biblical parallel is the acquisition of *virga Dei* by Moses (Ex. 4:2–20). In both cases, the motif of deputized authority also contains an idea of a covenant, where the staff becomes a symbolic seal and serves as physical evidence of the divine contract between the giver and the recipient. The idea is illustrated in the Book of Zechariah where the staff serves as a metaphor for a pact (Zech. 11:10). In the *Acts and Martyrdom of St. Matthew*, a mysterious child gives St. Matthew a rod with the order to go and preach to the land of the man-eaters and to plant the rod so that it will become a tree (Walker 1870, 374).

After receiving the staff from God, St. Patrick begins deputize his disciples by symbolically giving them his staff. In the following episode, Patrick meets Mochoa, a youth who is herding swine:

> *Ropritchai Pátraic do, ocus rombaitsi ocus romberr, ocus doratt soiscela ocus menistir dó. Ocus doratt dó, dano, fecht aile bachaill tucad doib oDia acénd inucht Pátriac ocus acoss inucht Moclue.*
>
> Patrick preached to him and baptized him, and tonsured him, and gave him a gospel and a credence table. And he gave him, also, at another time, a crozier

10 *Hinc David ait: 'Virga tua et baculus tuus, ipsa me consolata sunt'. Virga enim percutimur, baculo sustentamur. Si ergo est districtio virgae quae feriat, sit et consolatio baculi quae sustentet.* 'Hence David says, "Your rod and your staff, they have comforted me" [Psalm 23:4]. For with a rod we are smitten, with a staff we are supported. If, then, there is the constraint of the rod for striking, there should be also the comfort of the staff for supporting', Gregory, *Regula pastoralis* 2,6 (PL 77, 38).

> that had been bestowed on them by God, to wit, (it fell from heaven with) its head in Patrick's bosom and its foot in Mochae's bosom. (Stokes 1887, 41)

Here I should also note that in the episodes where the staff is acquired the object generally comes from the liminal space. St. Patrick acquired his on a mysterious island or on top of Mount Hermon; Mochua's staff fell from the sky (Bray 1992, 99).

Later St. Patrick symbolically gives his staff as a symbol of protection to Conall Gulbán, who earns the right to have an image of the *bachal* on his shield. This will protect Conall and his descendants in battle; St. Patrick names him *Conald Scíathbachall* 'Conall Crozier-Shield' (Stokes 1887, 197). Afterwards, St. Patrick gives his crosier to Muinis:

> *Forruim Muinis abachaill for cróib. Nos dermanat and inmbachaill ocus lotar ass. Cóiniss Muinis a bachaill fri Patraic. Fosrecat aracinn forecróib. 'Bad do bachallsa bes limsa,' ol Patraic, 'ocus bíth indísin latsa,' ocus dognith saralaid. Oín innammind fil iForgnaidiu insin laMuinis. Erpais Patraic aili deac Erend dó do baithis.*
>
> Muinis set his crozier on a branch. They forget the crozier there and went thence. Muinis lamented to Patrick (the loss of) his crozier. They find it before them on (another) branch. 'Let thy crozier be mine,' saith Patrick, 'and let this be thine,' and so it was done. That is one of the relics which Muinis hath in Forgnaide. Patrick entrusted a twelfth of Ireland to him to baptize. (Stokes 1887, 83)

I believe that, in the metaphorical logic of the *Vita Tripartita*, the loss of the staff was not the fault of Muinis. On the contrary, it was the staff that had left the cleric according to God's (the hagiographer's) plan, so that Muinis could acquire a new *proper* staff, which would fit the cleric's new status. In other words, the loss of the old staff and the acquisition of the new one may symbolize a *rite de passage*, which Muinis went through.

Bachal Ísu

Having observed the imagery of the staff of Jesus in Judeo-Christian tradition and staff-associated motifs from the Lives of St. Patrick, we can now approach the problem of the name of the saint's staff. I propose a hypothesis: by constructing the complex concept called the *Bachal Ísu*, Irish compilers of the *Vita Tripartita* were aiming to achieve several ideological goals, thus legitimizing and elevating not only the figure of St. Patrick, but the whole Irish Christian community (Bray 1992, 11).

Firstly, the hagiographers established a solid connection between the narrative of the Old Testament and the life of the saint. As I have shown, in many instances, the staff of St. Patrick resembles the rod of Moses. The resemblance creates a

link between the story of the Apostle of Ireland and the story of one of the most prominent prophets of the Old Testament. This link is of great importance for Irish monks—for, if St. Patrick is the New Moses, then the Irish Christian community becomes the New Israel, the Chosen People. Although this is rather common for the hagiographical genre (Bray 2001, 274), the uniqueness of the Irish case lies in the *Bachal Ísu*, which functions as a prominent symbol of this connection.

Secondly, the passage from the *Vita Tripartita* that shows St. Patrick receiving the order to go and baptise Ireland can be understood as an inclusion in the narrative from the Gospel of Mark (Mk 6:8), where Jesus sends the Apostles to preach and commands them to take a staff for this journey. In order to be embedded in the line of apostolic succession, the saint is being metaphorically transported to the layer of narration where he can receive orders from God himself. The episode's significance is amplified by adding *Bachal Ísu* to the narrative, which serves as physical proof of St. Patrick's legitimacy.

I believe that the *Bachal Ísu* can be viewed as a multipurpose ideological tool, which functions on several levels. Intratextually, the staff appears to be a tool, which works for the benefit of the Christian community in Ireland, for it gives St. Patrick the divine sanction to perform miracles and illustrates the power of the new faith. On the extratextual level, however, the *Bachal Ísu* becomes a tool, which may be aimed at the outside Christian world, for it solves the problem of St. Patrick not being sent to baptise Ireland by the Pope by supporting the narrative of St. Patrick being sent to Ireland directly by Jesus. By connecting St. Patrick with Jesus and Moses, the *Bachal Ísu* as a literary construct restores the broken link of apostolic succession and turns an ideological problem into an advantage. From the perspective of Church hierarchy, the concept of *Bachal Isu* transforms a person who could initially be perceived by The Holy See as an impostor into a figure comparable to the First Apostles.

Conclusion

The staff of St. Patrick, also known as *Bachal Ísu*, appears to be a polysemantic symbol, which functions on multiple levels both within and beyond the Irish hagiographical texts. The extraction and categorization of the motifs associated with St. Patrick's staff and the subsequent comparison of these motifs with the staffs and rods of Judeo-Christian tradition reveals the possible sources, which may have influenced the Irish hagiographers. The idea that the staff functions as a specific symbol that makes its bearer recognizable as a legitimate representative of a higher authority who is fulfilling a certain mission (Motif 1) unites all the six motifs analysed in the paper. Although the association of staff-like objects with authority is common for many cultural traditions and is found in the texts and iconographies of Ancient Greece, the Ancient Middle East and Ancient Egypt, I

believe that Irish hagiographers were indeed inspired by the symbolism of the staff in the Vulgate and the writings of Christian literati (primarily Isidore of Seville and Gregory the Great). The staff as an instrument of resurrection (Motif 2) bears strong Christian connotations and the relevant passage from Tírechán's *Collectanea* resembles the biblical story of Lazarus. The passages in which the staff appears to be an instrument of divine creation (Motif 3), an instrument of punishment (Motif 4) and an instrument of protection (Motif 5) have clear parallels in the Vulgate. The staff as a metaphor for legacy (Motif 6) is both the most evident and the most complicated motif of all, due to its inherent ambiguity. It is not possible to state whether this motif was inspired by an exact line from the Vulgate, as it is also found in the Apocrypha, commentaries of Christian authors and early Christian catacomb art.

Finally, when analysed in the context of the images of the staff of Jesus in the Judeo-Christian tradition, the staff of St. Patrick—the *Bachal Ísu*—can be regarded as a complex ideological concept or as a hagiographical tool, which the creators of the saint's Lives used to advance the spread of Christian teachings inside Ireland and promote St. Patrick's legitimacy to the outside Christian world. In the future I hope to continue work on the symbolism of the Irish *bachal* by focusing on the depictions of clerical staffs in early-medieval Irish stone reliefs, for I strongly believe that the comparison of textual and iconographical evidence will bring a new perspective to the research.

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Some Notes on the Origin of the Motif of the Ulaid's False Beards in *Cáth Áenaig Macha* and *Cóir Anmann*

Mikhail Kiselev

More than 25 years ago William Sayers published the article 'Early Irish Attitudes toward Hair and Beards, Baldness and Tonsure'. In that article he showed perfectly, based on Irish narrative and law tracts, that 'hair and hair styles', especially beards, were 'markers of sex, age and status' (Sayers 1991, 188). Also, he touched slightly on one peculiar topic—false beards, used by beardless youths and women in order to look like mature men, so they could, under special conditions, for example during military affairs, have rights similar to grown men and be treated like men, like warriors (Sayers 1991, 166-167). But Sayers pursued another goal with his article, and his bibliography was not enough to complete the research into this motif. Due to that, let us stop here and widen the topic with some up-to-date details.

In this article, I would like to focus on the description of a particular battle which is given in the saga *Cáth Áenaig Macha* and the tract *Cóir Anmann* (further CAM and CA accordingly), where the motif of the fake beard is presented.[1] However, first, I have to make several notes about the texts' contents, their dating and the connection between them.

Cáth Áenaig Macha[2] tells of the fictional battle between Conchobar and the Ulaid and the Viking invaders; the battle, perhaps, had a real prototype or prototypes. The episode that interests me runs as follows: the Vikings outnumber the Ulaid, and Genann mac Cathbaid offers to attach wool to the chins of all the beardless in order to create an image of beards and therefore *co mba moide bur n-uiregla* [┐] *bur ngrain ar na sloghaib* 'that the utmost fear and horror of you may come on the hosts'; because of this stratagem (i.e. ruse of war), the Ulaid win the battle (Dobbs 1927, 152–155). Unfortunately, there is only one version of the text extant: a manuscript, written around the fifteenth or sixteenth century, which is held in the Royal Irish Academy Library, Dublin (MS. C i 2, fol.16r.-19r.). However, this saga is also mentioned in genealogical compilation *Senchas Síl hÍr* (Dobbs 1921, 316–318), also titled *Senchas Síl h-Ír fo h-Érind* (O'Brien 1962, 270), and *Cóir Anmann*.

1 This article is part of my paper presented at XV International Symposium of Societas Celtologica Nordica organised by the Finnish Society for Celtic Studies in Helsinki on the 24−26 August 2016. The symposium celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Finnish Society for Celtic Studies.

2 This text is only available in the edition and translation by Margaret E. Dobbs in 1927.

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Cóir Anmann is a tract devoted to etymologies of local Irish names (historical and mythological, personal and tribal, and so forth). In §245 (Stokes 1897, 386-387) we can see a version of the origin of the Ulaid's ethnonym:

> *No Ulaid .i. oll leith .i. ulchadha liatha léo h-i cath Áenaigh Mhacha .i. olann líath dochengladar día smechaibh isin cath cétna .i. uilliu leíth léo isin cath.*
>
> Or Ulaid, that is, 'great-grey', that is, they had grey beards in the battle of Oenach Macha, i.e. they tied grey wool to their chins in the same battle, that is, in the battle they had grey beards.

There is also a short retelling of the saga's plot and the episode with the false beards as well, but the last one has some details added to it, which are not present in the main text of the saga (Stokes 1897, 388-389). Whitley Stokes, the first editor of the tract, dates it to the twelfth century (1897, 284-287), while Sharon Arbuthnot dates it to the late twelfth or early thirteenth century (2005, 72). All this lets us to date CAM as early as a twelfth-century text, but there is a possibility that the saga could have been created later as an extended version of the story from CA.

Let us return to the motif that is of interest in this study: we have here people who used available means to change their appearance in order to mislead the enemy about their true identity and their social and professional status. Therefore, in CA: *amail bá rígh-laich sibh*, 'as if ye were kingly champions' (Stokes 1897, 388-389).

This entry that mentions beards is not unique within early Irish literature. In the work of Thomas P. Cross 'Motif-Index of Early Irish Literature', we find the following entry: 'K 1821.4*–Youths wear false beards (of grass, wool)' (1952, 378). There Cross provides links to the following texts: CA; CAM; '*Foras feasa ar Éirin*' by Geoffrey Keating, who cites CA (O'Mahony 1857, 278-279); and, of course, *Táin Bó Cúailnge* (O'Rahilly 1967, 53-57; O'Rahilly 1976, 58-62). However, even Cross does not mention every case: for example, he does not advert to the text called *Immacallam in dá thúarad*, which tells of the young Neidhe mac Adhnai, who makes a fake beard from a handful of grass before sitting in the *ollam*'s chair also claimed by Fer Chertnae, also known as Athairne, in Emain Machae (Stokes 1905, 12-13).

Nonetheless, let us return to *Táin Bó Cúailnge*. There we can see the combat between Lóch Mór and Cú Chulainn. Lóch Mór, the warrior from Ailill and Medb's army, refused to fight with Cú Chulainn, because *úair ní miedh nó maisi liom móethmaccóemh óg gan ulchain gan fhésóig d'ionnsaige*, 'for I deem it no honour to attack a youthful, beardless stripling' (O'Rahilly 1967, 53, 193). Cú Chulainn was a youth, seventeen years old as explained by Fergus,[3] for this reason, according to early Irish law, he was non-adult man called by law tracts – *Uraicecht*

3 *Isin t-sechtmad biladain déc a áes ind inbaid sea*, 'At the present time he is seventeen years old' (O'Rahilly 1976, 12, 135).

Becc[4] and *Críth Gablach*[5]*–fer midboth*, 'man from the middle of the huts' (Binchy 1941, 89-90). *Fer midboth*–legal status of young person, who occupies temporary habitations on his father's land from fourteen years old to twenty, age of majority, in Old Irish called *cuairt ulcaigi*, 'beard-encirclement' (Kelly 1988, 81-83). This is precisely why Cú Chulainn drew a false beard using blackberry juice in order to look mature from his enemy's point of view.

Sayers uses Cú Chulainn's story to prove his theory, and we agree. But what would happen if we go beyond Irish texts and look at something similar in a continental narrative that could have influenced the authors of CAM and CA?

First of all, we know that the writings of Isidore of Seville used to be quite popular among the scholars of Ireland, especially his magnum opus, *Etymologiae sive Origines*, as Thomas O'Loughlin has shown (O'Loughlin 1994, 47; O'Loughlin 1996, 107-114). In book IX.ii.95 there is the following etymology: *Langobardos vulgo fertur nominatos prolixa barba et numquam tonsa* 'The Langobards are commonly said to have been named for their beards, long and never cut'. One can suggest that the author, or authors, of CA were thinking in the same way as Isidore when they created their etymologies using his pattern, and that they could have come up with the idea to look for some connection between the *Ulaid* eponym and the word *ulcha* 'beard', as in the case of *Langobardos*.

Secondly, the author, or authors, of CA and CAM could have been familiar not only with the etymology of Isidore, but also with the following story about the Langobards, as the episode that tells us about them receiving their ethnonym has much in common with CAM. Both stories tell about battles during which the main characters are outnumbered and have to use some kind of trick that they are taught to do. For example, they don fake beards. Yet, in the case of the Langobards, it is done by women instead of young boys, and they use their hair instead of wool. I think that hair can also be interpreted as available means.

My brief research (the results are shown in table 1[6]) into medieval texts describing the invasion of Italy by the Langobards shows that there are only three texts that contain an episode involving false beards. They are *Origo gentis*

4 *Na tri fir mbidbad … a tri n-aesa .i. ceithri bliadna deg fictigi & trictaigi no cuairt ulcaigi*, 'The three *fer-midbads* … their three ages .i. fourteen years, twenty and thirty or until the coming of whiskers' (Hancock et al. 1901, 86-87).

5 *In forcmaidhter o cheteoraibh bliadhnaib deg co fichtigh co cuairt ulcaidh*[?], 'Is there anything determined for him, from fourteen years to twenty, till the encircling of beard?' (Hancock et al. 1879, 302-303).

6 Dating: FH—first half, SH—second half. Unshorn beard—use of Isidorian etymology. False beard—presence of the legend of false beard stratagem. Pannonia—presence of description of Langobardic invasion to Pannonia. There is a description of the invasion but no notes about the territory in Historia Francorum by Gregory of Tours Narsis — note about Narsis the patrician, who 'invited' the Langobards to Italy. Abbreviations for titles of literature appear in the 'Abbreviation' section appended to this paper.

Langobardorum, *Chronicarum quae dicuntur Fredegarii Scholastici* by unknown author, and *Historia Langobardorum* by Paul the Deacon. And, in theory, Irish *literati* were very likely to have been familiar with at least one of them.

Table 1.	Dating (c. century)	Unshorn beard	False beard	Pannonia	Narsis	Invasion of Italy
GregHistFr	SH of sixth			+ / -		+
MarChr	SH of sixth			+		+
GreglMagDial*	SH of sixth					+
IsidChr	FH of seventh			+	+	+
ProspChrContHav	FH of seventh			+	+	+
ChrFredg	Mid-seventh		+	+	+	+
Origo	Mid-seventh		+	+	+	+
BedaChr	FH of eighth				+	+
LibPontif	FH of eighth				+	+
PaulHistLang	SH of eighth	+	+	+	+	+
HistLangCodGoth	FH of ninth	+		+	+	+
AgnAndRav	FH of ninth					+

* Text was known in seventh-century Ireland (Herbert 1988, 137; O'Loughlin 1994, 41)

Still, I would vote for the *Historia Langobardorum*, as it was one of the most popular texts of Medieval Europe. There are at least 115 copies of this text (Pani 2000, 404-12); the earliest is held at the Abbey Library of Saint Gall (Codex Sangallensis 635) and dated the beginning of the ninth century. Still, we cannot completely deny the possibility of a typological similarity between these texts or a deeper relationship between their plots, which is common for Indo-European sources. Also, I would like to note that Paul was not the first to invent the idea of a stratagem of changing appearance, and, in particular, of putting on false beards. As early as the *Stratagemata*, book IV.1, Polyaenus writes about young Macedonian women with faces covered by wreaths, brandishing their *thyrsi* instead of spears; their enemy sounded the retreat (Melber & Woelfflin 1887, 158-159).

To sum up, I would like to say that, in my opinion, the story about false beards from CA and CAM could have originated not only from local tradition but also from the influence of continental texts. While I do not claim to give this problem an elaborate treatment, I strongly believe that there was an overlay of continental influence over Irish native tradition that gave us this unique saga that might hide many wondrous things within itself.

Abbreviations

AgnAndRav	*Agnelli qui et Andreas Ravennatis. Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*
BedaChr	*Beda Venerabilis. Chronicon. De Temporum Ratione LXVI*
CA	*Cóir Anmann*
CAM	*Cáth Áenaig Macha*
ChrFredg	*Chronicarum quae dicuntur Fredegarii Scholastici Libri IV cum Continuationibus*
GestRerFr	*Gesta rerum Francorum*
GregHistFr	*Gregorius Turonensis. Historia Francorum*
GregIMagDial	*St. Gregorius I Magnus. Dialogorum Libri IV, De Vita et Miraculis Patrum Italicorum*
HistLangCodGoth	*Historia Langobardorum Codicis Gothani*
IsidChr	*Isidorus Hispalensis. Chronica*
LibPontif	*Liber Pontificalis*
MarChr	*Marius episcopi Aventicensis. Chronica*
PaulHistLang	*Paulus Diaconus. Historia Langobardorum*
ProspChrContHav	*Prosperi Aqvitani Chronici continuator Havniensi*

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Tochmarc Moméra as *Echtra* to the Otherworld

Ksenia Kudenko

Tochmarc Moméra (*TM*), 'The Wooing of Moméra', is a tale found solely in the Yellow Book of Lecan (TCD MS1318, *alias* H.2.16; cols. 341–343).[1] The tale belongs to the Cycles of the Kings and explores the Spanish journey of Eógan Taídlech, the eponymous ancestor of the Eóganacht, whose *floruit* is allegedly placed in the second century AD. The tale forms part and parcel of the lore of the Eóganacht, along with the early Irish account *Do Bunad Imthechta Eóganachta*, 'Concerning the origin of the wandering of the Eóganacht' (late ninth or early tenth century, Ó Corráin 1985, 53) and the late saga *Cath Maighe Léna* (*CML*), 'The Battle of Magh Léna' (late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, Jackson 1938, xxiv).

According to *Do Bunad*, Eógan is an outsider who comes to Ireland with his fleet and saves the Irish from starvation, after which he or his son Eógan is granted kingship in the south of Ireland (Meyer 1912, 312–314). It has been suggested that *TM*

> represents another attempt to reconcile the Eóghanacht legend with the Milesian. According to the Milesian story, Eóghan was the descendant of Éibher son of Míl of Spain, and a native Irishman, while in *Do Bunad Imthechta Eóganachta* he was a foreigner from Spain. *Tochmarc Moméra* unites the two by making the Irishman Eóghan sail to Spain, marry the daughter of the king (significantly called Éibher) and return to conquer Ireland (Jackson 1938, xxvi–xxvii).

While preserving the crucial link with Spain, *TM* relies on the traditional pedigree of the Eóganacht (O'Brien 1976, 192, 250). Eógan is portrayed as the son of Mug Néit of Síl Ébir and a future progenitor of an illustrious royal dynasty. The tale ends with the birth of Eógan's son, Ailill Aulom, who, as known from genealogies, became the father of Eógan Mór, another eponymous founder of the dynasty (O'Brien 1976, 192, 193).[2]

1 The first edition with a parallel English translation was that prepared by Eugene O'Curry. He transcribed and translated *TM* along with *Cath Maighe Léna* (*CML*), 'The Battle of Mag Léna' (O'Curry 1855). That edition, however, contains a number of mistakes and incorrect expansions. The translation is generally outdated. The editor of *CML*, Kenneth Jackson, made a harsh but ultimately fair assessment of O'Curry's work on the same text: 'It was not a critical edition, and O'Curry took considerable licence with his exemplar, altering spelling and phrasing and inserting or omitting without acknowledgement' (1938, ix). The same can be said of the edition of *TM*, which was published by O'Curry as an appendix to *CML*. The most recent treatment of the subject is Anouk Nuijten's unpublished MA thesis *Tochmarc Moméra. An edition and translation, with introduction and textual notes* (2016).

2 There clearly exists some confusion between Eógan Mór/ Taídlech and his grandson Eógan Mór mac Ailello. O'Rahilly believed that 'the use of the name Eógan as a second appellation of Mug Nuadat is a later development', and the example of *TM*, where Mug

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The tradition credits Eógan with four names, Eógan Mór, Eógan Taídlech, Eógan Fidfecach, and Mug Nuadat. Thus, *TM* is partly an etymological narrative, which explains how Eógan got his sobriquets Taídlech and Fidfecach. The four names are respectively treated in §§36–40 of the longest version of *Cóir Anmann* (*CA*) dated to the first half of the thirteenth century (Arbuthnot 2007, 9–12, 86–88). Entries on the names Eóganacht and Eógan are also given in §29 (Arbuthnot 2005, 85, 125) and §145 (Arbuthnot 2005, 111, 147) of the shorter version compiled in the latter part of the twelfth century.[3]

Eógan is also mentioned in the genealogical tract from the Book of Leinster (TCD MS 1339, 319b42–44), a codex compiled ca. 1160. Since *TM* is given as the source of his nickname, Taídlech, this external evidence assuredly gives us a *terminus ante quem* for our text:[4]

> *Eogan Taidlech ainm aile. amal ro scribsamar i Tochmarc Momera ingine ríg Espaine. Ailill Ólom a mc* (O'Brien 1976, 190; O'Sullivan 1983, 1374).
>
> Eógan Taídlech is another name as we have written in the Wooing of Moméra, daughter of the king of Spain. Ailill Ólom is his son.

Based on this reference, O'Rahilly argues that a version of *TM* was once contained in the Book of Leinster (1946a, 187). Regardless of the veracity of this claim, the tale was already in existence in written form by the middle of the twelfth century.

I give a plot outline as follows:

Nuadat is called Eógan, 'may have had an influence on later writers' (1946a, 184). This innovation was apparently meant to 'amalgamate Mug Nuadat and Eógan, as far as possible, into a single individual' (O'Rahilly 1946a, 185).

3 A detailed review of the sources related to the Eóganacht, from the point of view of their contribution to the compilation of *CML*, is given in Jackson 1938, xxiv–xxxv. The textual relationship between *TM*, *CML*, and §38 of CA drawn on the episode of *TM*, is summarised in Arbuthnot 2005, 66. See also Nuijten 2016, 14–15.

4 In the linguistic analysis, Nuijten shows that the language of the tale is late Middle Irish (2016, 26–32); but she does not ascribe a more precise date to the text. However, the usage of independent pronouns throughout the text points towards its composition about the middle of the twelfth century, by which time infixed pronouns have disappeared from the ordinary language and have been gradually replaced by independent objective pronouns (Nuner 1958–9, 235, 304). The two instances of infixed pronouns in the speech of the druid's sons (*ron-bendachut do chóengníma* 'may your fine deeds bless us' (?); *nit-leicfea* 'she will not allow you') may point towards an Old Irish archetype used for the compilation. The third instance, *nos-roindfithi edruib hí* 'she will be divided between you', represents a pleonastic usage of pronouns, with the independent one used alongside the older, in this case asemantic, infixed pronoun. Such constructions are also characteristic of the twelfth century when the pronominal system becomes blurred. Cf. in the Book of Leinster: *dos ratais…íat* 'you have put them' (LL 35207), *nos beir…íat* 'she bears them' (LL 2549) (McCone 2005, 193).

The story begins with Eógan's encounter, on the green of his father's fort, with three visitors who prophesy his future destiny. They entreat him to go to Spain to marry the daughter of the Spanish king. In this marriage, four children will be born who will rule over Ireland. Eógan asks the messengers how they know this, and they reveal that they are the sons of the chief druid of Spain, Antipater, who has foretold that a man from Ireland should become the husband of the Spanish princess. In order to fulfil the prophecy, the druid has sent his three sons, Fáthe, Fis and Fírinne, to bring Eógan to Spain. The prince agrees and decides to depart the next morning. On the way to Dún na mBárc, where ships are ready for their departure, he climbs a burial mound, a *fert*, and the three young men follow him. Then, the whole company, including Eógan's five foster-brothers, start their overseas journey.

Meanwhile, in Spain, the druid prophesies that the Irish will reach Spain by the end of the day; so it happens. The company receives a warm welcome but no one speaks about the aim of their visit. One of Eógan's foster-brothers, Fiacha Suigthi, wants to stay in Spain till the end of the year in order to observe the bride as well as the customs of this 'strange land' (*tír aneóil*).

However, the king's messengers suddenly interrupt asking when Eógan will fulfil what has been prophesied. Eógan readily answers that he can marry the girl whenever the king says. The latter enquires of the druid to confirm the best time for the marriage; the druid declares that the wedding should be celebrated the same night. The feast is held for three days and three nights. The newly-married couple remains in Spain for a year.

The second part of the tale begins with an account of the Éber (Ebro) river. Every seventh year, a salmon covered in wool of many colours comes to its waters from the secret places of the Universe. One morning, the druid commands the princess to catch the fish and to make a cloak for her husband out of the salmon skin. At this point, the girl is named for the first time: her (nick)name is Lígbratach, 'possessing the beautiful mantle'. When Eógan puts his salmon cloak on, he starts shining. The druid declares that, from this radiance, Eógan will receive a new name—*taídlech* 'the illustrious'.

After that, Eógan states that he wants to go back to his country. The druid predicts that the princess will give birth to a son on the ninth day of their stay in Ireland, and the glory of this boy will spread all over Ireland.

Before the departure, the druid also foretells that Ireland will be divided into two halves between Eógan and another warrior. The company sails to Ireland and lands in Dún Corcan. Cathaír Mór, the king of Ireland, is waiting for Eógan and provides the young hero with three pieces of land. As was predicted, Eógan's wife gives birth to a son. He is baptised in druidic streams and receives the name Ailill. After that, Eógan and his men start the construction of his forts on the land

received from Cathaír Mór. They dig earth with the trunks of trees, which turns out to be very difficult. Eógan fixes horizontal spikes on the trunks, creating a spade, which facilitates the work. From this invention, Eógan receives his third name, Fidfeccach (from *fid*, 'tree', and *fec*, 'spade, spike'). The story ends with the prophecy by one of the druid's sons: he confirms that Eógan will build three forts and conquer half of Ireland.

Although in terms of medieval taxonomy *TM* belongs to *tochmarca*, 'wooings',[5] the plot of *TM* corresponds much more closely to an *echtra*. The definition of the genre of *echtra* is formulated by Mac Cana as follows:

> *Echtra(e)* 'expedition, journey (to the Otherworld), adventure' (lit. 'outing', from **ekster*- 'outside'). The *echtrai* tell of the hero's incursion into the world of the supernatural, whether this is thought of as being beyond the sea, under the earth or a lake, within the depths of a cave, or simply within the confines of a magic mist. He may set forth at the invitation of one of its inhabitants, or one of its factions, in which case the Otherworld realm is normally pictured as a land of wonder and beauty and joy, but when he is the aggressor in an act of heroic self-assertion, then the Otherworld inevitably stands in a different relationship to the world of mankind and is often conceived of as the home of hostile forces whose power and possessions are a challenge to the hero's prowess (1980, 75–76).

A detailed examination of the genre was undertaken by Leonie Duignan. The structural and comparative analysis of the existing *echtrai* allowed the author to establish the list of the main constituents, which form the taxonomic model of this particular genre (Duignan 2011, 65). According to Duignan, the typical *echtrai* contain the following common features: royal site located in proximity to the Otherworld entrance as a spatial location; the royal lineage of the main protagonist; 'the otherworldly nature of the invitation bearer'; 'sovereignty motivations for the expedition', which can imply quest for a woman; the journey to the Otherworld, which can involve a boat trip to an overseas realm; relationship with the otherworldly woman; tangible gifts obtained in the Otherworld; return home (2011, 66–67).

TM follows this pattern closely. The voyage of Eógan to Spain starts with the invitation by the three young men who suddenly appear in front of the fort of Mug Néit, Eógan's father.[6] As John Carey notes: 'that the royal stronghold is

5 The *tochmarca*, according to Mac Cana, are related to *aitheda*, 'elopements'; the main difference being that elopements are initiated by women while in the *tochmarca* 'the man is the active suitor and generally he carries off the woman without the consent of her kinsmen, though with her own collusion' (1980, 74).

6 This suggests that Eógan is recognized as Mug Néit's heir, succeeding his father in his kingly office. Cf. the beginning of *Echtrae Chonnlai* where Connlae is placed 'at his regal father Conn's side on the summit of Uisnech, thus combining pivotal dynastic eminence of the heir apparent […] with a location' (McCone 2000, 54). Notably,

one of the points of Otherworld access is also apparent on those occasions when an Otherworld emissary appears suddenly within its boundaries' (1986, 5). The appearance of the three men is described in the following terms:

> *Nirba cían dó co n-accai trí maccóemu chuige*.
> It was not long before he saw three youths coming towards him.[7]

The formula *co n-accai (ní) ... cucca* 'he saw (something) … towards him' is often used to highlight the first encounter with a supernatural visitor. For example, a similar scene takes place at the beginning of *Echtra Láegaire meic Crimthainn* (*co n-accatar in fer chucu triasin ciaig* 'they saw a man coming towards them through the mist', Jackson 1942, 380–381) and *Echtra Chormaic maic Airt* (*co-faccaidh aen-oclach furusta finn-líath cugi ar faighthi in dúin* 'on the green of the fort he saw (coming) towards him a grave handsome grey-haired warrior', Hull 1949, 875).

Then, after the greetings, the three messengers prophesy his future to the astonished prince. In the context of the tale, which focuses on Eógan's initiation and acquisition of power, the prophecy serves as an indication of the protagonist's potential for kingship. As Passmore stresses in the case of the twelfth-century prose tale *Echtra Mac nEchach Mugmedóin*, 'prophecy, rather than action, indicates the king-candidate's inherent ability and appears to be a major initiating force […] behind Niall's attainment of the rule' (2008, 150). This might explain the seeming passivity of Eógan, who merely fulfils the instructions of the three brothers based on Antipater's prediction. However, his obedience to the druid, along with his acceptance of his fate, reveals him as a future king. Significantly, the three young men predict the future not only for Eógan but for his children as well, and—implicitly—for their descendants. Thus, the prophecy stretches into an unlimited future and is directed not only towards its immediate audience (Eógan) but also towards contemporary listeners of the tale.[8]

Eógan readily accepts his destiny but, nevertheless, asks his visitors to identify themselves. The young men tell that they are the three sons of Antipater the

Eógan's father is mentioned for the second time by the druid when Eógan is ready to leave Spain for Ireland. The druid stresses that Eógan's father is in his royal power before him (*atá th'athair for do chind ina flathus*).

7 The quotations of *TM* used in this essay are from my own transcription and tentative translation of the tale.

8 The nature of kingship implies a notion of inheritance; what matters is the ability to pass the throne to one's descendants. This idea, for instance, shapes the dramatic conflict of Shakespeare's *Macbeth*. As Fomin stresses in relation to an Indian account on the career of Jina, 'when the royal father invites the seers to interpret the dreams, they inform him of the future cakravartin status of a begotten child. Overall, the text attributes particular importance to the prediction of the benevolent future career to a royal off-spring' (2010, 221).

Druid. These characters, whose names are Fáthe, Fis and Fírinne, 'Prophecy, Knowledge and Truth', personify the emanations of the druid, and we could easily imagine them as 'the three qualities required of a druid' among many other professional triads. Moreover, taken as qualities, prophecy, knowledge and truth are believed to have their source in the Otherworld. Thus, it is no surprise that the three young men, who *are* prophecy, knowledge and truth, function in *TM* as mediators between the Otherworld and Ireland. The name of the one of them, *Fis*, 'knowledge', is multiplied in the text to create a sophisticated pun. First, the young men acknowledge that they know the destiny of Eógan (*fil a* ***fhis*** *acainde duit*). Then Eógan asks about the source of this knowledge (*canas tánic dúib-se* ***fis*** *fair sin*). Eventually, we learn that *fis* was first received and elucidated by the druid (*am-sói-seic fora rús* ***fis*** *feib do-chuaid fair* 'he interprets through his great wisdom the knowledge just as he got it'). On the basis of this knowledge (*fis*), the druid formulates a prophecy (*fáthe*) about Eógan's future. He sends this information to Ireland *incarnated* in the figures of his sons, whose names are equal to their function—they actually come to declare truth, knowledge and prophecy. The name of the third man, Fírinne, might allude in this context to the concept of *fír flathemon*, which characterizes the reign of a worthy king.

That Irish *literati* used metatext to create the reality of the Otherworld has been demonstrated by John Carey who observes that

> certain medieval Irish authors deliberately exploited this parallelism between Otherworld and narrative world: that we can point to texts which coordinate shifts in locale with shifts in idiom, and which juxtapose the opposition *this world: Otherworld* with an opposition *real world: world-as-described* (1989, 32).

For instance, *Tochmarc Emire* provides an illustrative parallel to the episode discussed above. Among the dwellers of Emain Macha, the tale mentions Scél son of Bairdéne, the gatekeeper of Emain Macha. It adds that 'it is from him that there is (the expression) 'a story of Scél' (*scél Scéoil*), for he was a great storyteller' (cit. after Carey 1989, 33). Used as a comparandum, *TM* reveals a similar underlying structure of the two episodes: story (*scél*) is the 'son' of *bairdéne*, 'bard'; likewise, prophecy, truth and knowledge are 'sons' of the druid who represent these categories accordingly.

Eógan is about to start his journey, but, before getting into a ship, he climbs a burial mound—*fert*. This episode can also be explicated in terms of his Otherworld quest for royal power. In early Irish tradition, *tumuli* were access points to the Otherworld as 'any sacred spot would *ipso facto* have been a supernatural gateway', but 'most notably ancient burial mounds' (Carey 1986, 6, 13). Such sites also functioned as places of consecration of Irish kings, during which the

candidate was often placed on a hill (Dillon 1973, 3, 4).[9] 'Many of these *tumuli* or hills will doubtless have been *síde* so that their use as inauguration sites furnishes the physical or material correlation of the abstract connections,' those being the Otherworld dimension of a righteous kingship (Ó Cathasaigh 1978, 148).[10] Thus, before departing to the Otherworld—the place which sanctions his royal status—the hero goes to a burial mound. This locus simultaneously represents the entrance to the Otherworld and the place of inauguration. Remarkably, the three messengers, allegories of the qualities, which validate and constitute a righteous kingship, follow Eógan. After the episode with the *fert*, Eógan and his company leave Ireland for Spain and the *echtra* begins.

Obviously, *TM* is not the only tale where a remote land is given attributes of the Otherworld. As Donald Meek observes about the second part of *Táin Bó Fraích*, in which Fróech travels to Lombardy to rescue his family, 'the original expedition may have been to the Otherworld, and not to any recognizable country' (1984b, 71; cf. also Meek 1984a, 6–7; Meek 1984b, 66–67, 71, 72). In discussing the tale *Síaburcharpat Con Culaind*, Mac Cana also stresses that 'in it we already have the characteristic merging of the real Lochlainn in the land of giants and other wonders' (1962, 81). Lochlainn (Scandinavia) shows the same connotations in *Aided Derbforgaill*: 'Derbforgaill is described as the daughter of the king of Lochlainn, which, in the light of the narrative and what we know of her prototype Fann in the *Serglige*, really means daughter of the king of the Otherworld' (Mac Cana 1962, 81).

That Spain, as featured in early Irish texts, is a historicisation of the Otherworld was an idea of Henri d'Arbois de Jubainville.[11] Commenting on Nennius' *Historia Brittonum*, he argues that

> the word Spain in this text is a learned translation of the Irish words *mag mor*, 'great plain'; *trag mar*, 'great strand'; *mag meld*, 'pleasant plain', by which the Irish pagans designated the Land of the Dead, the place whence the living originally came, and their final abode. For these mythological expressions, which testify to the beliefs held in the most primitive ages, Christian euhemerism substituted the name of Spain (d'Arbois de Jubainville 1903, 48).

9 See FitzPatrick 2004 on the use of sepulchral mounds for judicial and royal assembly practices in Gaelic Ireland, including inauguration.

10 For instance, Warner stresses that 'the mound at Navan, by enclosing the "house" of the god, and thereby the entrance to the otherworld, provided a platform on which a priest/ king could "communicate" with that otherworld visibly before his people' (2004, 32). Welsh sources provide us with an image of the legendary Gorsedd Arberth featured, for instance, in the First Branch of Mabinogi. As Charles-Edwards has wittily remarked, Welsh *gorsedd*, as well as Irish *síd*, was a place of assemblies but also a gate to the Otherworld, and 'this worldliness and other-worldliness were, in this instance, intertwined' (2004, 97).

11 I am indebted to Professor John Carey for drawing my attention to this important parallel.

However controversial this idea might be, it is remarkable that in *Lebor Gabála Érenn* (*LG*), Eochu mac Eirc, the last king of Fir Bolg, marries Tailltiu, the daughter of Mag Mór, king of Spain, and brings her from Spain to Ireland (Macalister 1941, 115, 117, 149, 177, 179). This account bears a striking resemblance to *TM*. It is possible to say that Eógan re-enacts this scenario from the immemorial past, as he does with his voyage to Spain and back, imitating, therefore, the Milesian kings. It is also noteworthy that the Spanish king, Mag Mór, bears the name, which is used for the designation of the Otherworld. In the version of *Tochmarc Etaíne*, edited by Windisch, Midir describes his Otherworld dwelling as *íar gnáis maige máir* 'according to the custom of *mag mór*' (Windisch 1880, 132). If we interpret this episode as a word pun created in accordance with the dichotomy *this world: the Otherworld as a verbal world*, the Spanish king Mag Mór represents the idea of the Otherworld, which, in this case, actually overlaps with his kingdom.

As our tale evolves, Eógan arrives in Spain and there are no obstacles to impede his marriage. Since the narrative concerns Eógan's acquisition of kingship, I suggest regarding the wedding of the protagonists as a variation of the widespread 'king-and-goddess' theme. The phenomenon of a king's marriage with a sovereignty goddess is well described in Celtic scholarship (Ó Máille 1928; Thurneysen 1930; Thurneysen 1933; O'Rahilly 1946b; Breatnach 1953; MacCana 1955–6; MacCana 1958–9; Bhreatnach 1982; McCone 1990, 110; Herbert 1992; Eichhorn-Mulligan 2006). The typical scenario involves 'an ugly hag transformed into a beautiful woman by the embraces of the hero destined to be king' (Mac Cana 1958–9, 63; Bhreatnach 1982, 244). Besides, the acquisition of royal status is reached through the consummation of liquor of sovereignty (O'Rahilly 1946b, 14). The most evident prototypes of this myth are the stories of Niall Noígiallach and Lugaid Loígde (O'Rahilly 1946b, 17; Mac Cana 1955–6, 85).

However, the tales, which constitute the core of the seminal research by Mac Cana, are *Mór Muman* [7] *Aided Cuanach meic Ailchine* (Mór Muman being a sovereignty goddess) (1955–6, 78–84), *Esnada Tige Buchet* (Eithne) (87–88), the story of Mis and Dubh Ruis (Mis) (370–382), and *Scéla Cano meic Gartnáin* (Créd) (392). None of these tales corresponds to the aforementioned scheme. On the contrary, the mythic model of royal rule through *hieros gamos* is hidden among the other twists of the plot and disguised as an adventure or a love-story. As Mac Cana explains in relation to Mór Muman, this tale

> has no mention of the symbolic libation which O'Rahilly regards as one of the essential ingredients of the myth or legend of the territorial goddess. But even if that be so, there is of course no reason why all adaptations of the basic theme should preserve the same pattern down to points of detail. In the normal course of things they will differentiate themselves, one from another, by accentuating certain aspects of the general theme at the expense of others and by introducing extraneous or related material (1955–6, 84).

In *TM* there is no explicit mention of symbolic libation either. However, after the marriage is decided, the feast is held for three days and three nights (*batar ann trí lá ⁊ trí h-aidche. Áeibnes acu cach lá, ól cach n-aidche*).[12] Another possible reference is that, when the company arrives in Spain, they are offered *núa bid ⁊ sean lenda*, 'fresh food and old ale'. This phrase is also found verbatim in the passage from *CA* (§72) in which Lugaid Loígde is given 'fresh food and old ale' by the sovereignty goddess:

> *Luidh Lugaid co[a] bhraithribh, ⁊ dobeir gusin tech lais íat. Ocus fogabait* ***núa bídh ⁊ sen leanna*** *inn*
> Lugaíd returned to his brothers and brought them with him to the house. And they received the best food and drink there (Arbuthnot 2007, 22, 98).

The Spanish princess who provides the future king with his royal apparel and—implicitly—with a new name, is typologically similar to, for example, the goddess in *Baile in Scáil* who serves the drink of kingship (Murray 2004, 34, 51), or the sovereignty goddess who gives new names to Lugaid Loígde in *CA* (§72) (Arbuthnot 2007, 20-23; 96-99). Given the passion of the Irish authors for etymologies, there is an important meaning in the princess's nickname, Lígbratach, 'the beautifully mantled one' or 'possessing the beautiful mantle'. In a way, this sobriquet symbolises Eógan's destiny as, in fact, it is *he* who will possess the beautiful mantle, which his wife bestows upon him.

One may ask why the princess, if she is a sovereignty figure, is neither named (the name Moméra appears only in the title of the tale at the end of the text) nor granted the right to speak. However, this can be explained by the fact that her only function in the narrative is to become a wife and thereby validate her spouse as a ruler. Though normally a sovereignty female has an active role, in *Baile in Scáil* she also functions as a passive mediator between Lug and the mortal king, similar to the Delphic Pythia. Máire Herbert explains the mechanical role of the sovereignty goddess in this tale by the fact that 'the locus of power has shifted from female to male' (1992, 270). Herbert concludes that 'female sovereignty is privileged in the era of prehistoric *rois fainéants*, but in the androcentric culture of kingly power, her role as partner is diminished' (1992, 272). Thus, sovereignty is seen 'as a passive female object upon which an active male subject inscribes his right to rule' (Eichhorn-Mulligan 2006, 1016).

Ultimately, the king's wife mirrors the goddess of sovereignty *par excellence*. In *Echtra Chormaic*, the voyage of the king to the Otherworld is determined by

12 A three-day and three-night period is a commonplace in Irish literature. For instance, Nera stays in the *síd* for three days and three nights (Meyer 1889, 221); in *Mesca Ulad*, the Ulstermen spend three days and three nights drinking (*la trí laaib & aidchib ic ól*) (Carmichael 1941, 6).

his will to bring back his wife, Eithne, who has been kidnapped by Otherworld creatures. However, as was convincingly shown by Ó Cathasaigh, 'Cormac's wife, Eithne Thóebfhota, is a version of the chthonic goddess of sovereignty, so that in taking her back from the Otherworld, Cormac is in effect validating his title to kingship' (1978, 141). Another example is Conn's wife Bécuma in *Echtra Airt meic Cuinn*, who is also a personification of sovereignty. Her marriage with Conn is unsuccessful insofar as he is not the righteous king, and the throne is intended for Art. Therefore, Bécuma sends Art to the Otherworld realm where he should marry Delbcháem, Bécuma's *alter ego* and yet another incarnation of the sovereignty goddess (O Hehir 1983, 169–170). Apart from the sacred marriage, among the vital components of the sovereignty *topos*, we find birth of progeny. As Mac Cana stresses in relation to Eithne Thoébfhota, 'the underlying tradition envisages the goddess espoused to the rightful king, but it also regards her as the mother of such a king and the ancestress of a royal line' (1955–6, 88). It is significant, therefore, that the birth of Ailill Aulom is given a prominent place in our tale, and Eógan's spouse is portrayed as *mater genetrix* of the Eóganacht.

The narrative of *TM* is focused on the voyage as part of the *rite de passage*, followed by a return back home with a new status,[13] and is, therefore, similar to other *echtrai* known in the Irish tradition. The protagonist travels to the Otherworld in order to find a wife who represents his sovereignty (cf. *Echtra Airt meic Cuinn*). In the parallel realm, he receives special gifts, attributes of kingship and manifestations of the king's legitimacy to the throne. In *Echtra Chormaic*, Cormac receives a cup of truth; in *Baile in Scáil*, Conn gets staves, cup and vessel. That the cloak of the king represents his power is evident from, for example, *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* where Conaire goes to Tara stark-naked and, first of all, gets a cloak as a symbol of his new kingly status.[14]

The ritualistic scenario of kingship generally comprises three elements, 'designation by gods, recognition by the wise men and acceptance by the people' (Ó Cathasaigh 1978, 143). These elements, in fact, constitute the narrative structure of *TM*. First, Eógan is called upon by the Otherworld visitors. Then, he is recognised by the druid and the king of Spain. Eventually, he comes back to Ireland to be acknowledged by his contemporaries (*ro-hindised fo Éirinn a torachtain ⁊ ba ríg*

13 Van Gennep divided the rite of passage into three stages: separation, transition and incorporation (1960, 81). These elements can be clearly seen in *TM*: first, Eógan is separated from his environment; during his transitional period in the Otherworld he is subjected to bodily mutation; finally, he is incorporated back into society and acts as a cultural hero and a wise ruler facilitating the work of his people. As Scowcroft puts it, 'the building of forts and clearing of plains seem likewise the achievements of sovereign peoples, combined with cosmogonic motifs (the appearance of rivers and lakes) into a formula expressing the basic correlation between earthly and supernatural sovereignty' (1988, 41).

14 See Fomin 2010 for the discussion of the royal mantle in Irish and Indian traditions.

Érenn fora chind-som Cathaír Mór 'their arrival was told all over Ireland and the king of Ireland, *Cathaír Mór*, was awaiting him').[15]

Comparing *TM* to *CML*, a longer account of how Eógan gained power with the help of his Spanish allies, O'Rahilly argues, not without disappointment, that 'that part of the story which concerns Eógan marrying a Spanish wife has been worked up into a *tochmarc* or love-story, and at the same time stripped of its political context' (1946a, 187). It is, perhaps, O'Rahilly's failure to see a deeper layer of meaning in the tale, which has resulted in the text's neglect in modern scholarship. However, as the analysis above has demonstrated, *TM* is by no means inferior to *CML*. It is an equally important account imbued with a political agenda which describes the same fact (Eógan's acquisition of kingship after his return from Spain) from another point of view—from a symbolic, ritual and mythological perspective. The *echtra* story-pattern, which is generally associated with sovereignty motifs, served as a perfect vehicle for conveying an elaborate political message, i.e. the future rulership of Eógan and his descendants over the southern part of Ireland, and the division of the country between Eógan and Conn Cétchathach.

This message is already present in *Do Bunad*, where the arrival of the founder of the Dál Cuinn is set in parallel terms with Eógan's one:

> *Is hí amser indatánic in Míl Espane tánaise ind hÉirind, trí cóicit fer a llín* (Meyer 1912, 313);
> At the same time the second Míl from Spain came to Ireland, three fifties men their number.

O'Rahilly notes that this name, *in Míl Espane tánaise*, 'the second Míl from Spain,' represents 'a redactor's substitution for Conn' (1935, 365). The text further contrasts the two parallel settlements, the ascendancy of Eógan being gentle and peaceful in comparison with the Dál Cuinn, who rule Ireland by the sword. The motif of this division becomes especially emphasised at the end of *TM*, logically enough, after Eógan has received his mantle and is preparing to return to Ireland. When Eógan has already boarded the ship, the druid gives him another prediction:

> *Bid mór fích cáich riut isin crích hi tégi dáig ni lécfi-se Erinn do neoch ⁊ ni lécfea nech Éirinn duit ⁊ nos-roindfithi edruib hí.*
>
> Great will be the enmity of everyone towards you in the country where you are going, for you will not leave Ireland to anyone and no one will leave Ireland to you, and it will be divided between you.

15 O'Connor acknowledges the presence of this pattern in the legendary biographies of Conaire Mór and the Old Testament king Saul who might have served as a prototype for Conaire. The threefold conferral of kingship comprises the divine designation (Nemglan, God); recognition by wise men (druids of Tara, Samuel), and acceptance by people (2013, 253).

The same prophecy is repeated in the final passage of the tale and concludes the whole story:

> *Ocus do-géṇtar let na trí dúine tucad duit ⁊ Fidfeccai ainm cech dúine díb ⁊ co ngéba leth Érenn ule léo.*
>
> And the three forts will be built by you, which were given to you; the name of each of them will be Fidfeccai, and you will conquer the half of all of Ireland with them.

Thus, the shadow of Eógan's rival, Conn, who is never explicitly mentioned, is present in the text nevertheless. The motif of the division is aimed at highlighting that Eógan and his descendants do not intend to usurp the power in its entirety and that there is a truce between the two dynasties. This notion is underpinned by the figure of Fiacha Suigthi, the youngest son of Fedlimid Rechtmar and the brother of Conn. In *TM*, he is one of Eógan's foster-brothers, which implies a political union with the Connachta. His figure is ambiguous, however, as during the conversation with Eógan he falsely advises him to remain in Spain for one year before marrying the princess while the best time for the marriage turns out to be the same day.

The truce between Eógan and Conn is further alluded to in the prophecy directed toward new-born Ailill. As the druid says, 'great will be the judgement (?) which he will bring upon the lands around him' (*bid oll ndáile do-béra arna críchaib uimme*). This prophecy focuses on the future reign of Ailill, while the mention of lands under his influence might refer to the descendants of Ailill who will rule over different parts of the country: Eógan Mór, another ancestor of the Eóganacht; Cormac Cas, ancestor of the Dál Cais; and Cían, after whom the Cíanachta are named. The listeners to the tale obviously were aware of the fact that the wife of Ailill and mother of Eógan Mór is Sadb, daughter of Conn Cétchathach, whose marital union cements the alliance between the two competing dynasties (O'Brien 1976, 192-193).[16]

The author of the tale appropriately chooses the genre of an overseas voyage in order to communicate this political message and to validate the right of the Eóganacht to rule in the south, and the full literary sophistication of the tale emerges only after being addressed through this lens. Significantly, Duignan incorporates such tales as *Tochmarc Emire*, *Baile in Scáil*, and *Serglige Con Culainn* in her analysis of the *echtrai*. Although these tales are not labelled as *echtrai*, their plots describe the adventures in the Otherworld and may be fruitfully explored in these terms. These examples show that the borders of medieval genres are sometimes

16 For instance, the reference to Ailill's marriage to Sadb and to the three dynasties founded by their sons opens the ninth-century tale *Cath Maige Mucrama* (O'Daly 1975, 38, 39).

blurred when it comes to giving titles, 'and the very question of genre, or, rather, the applicability of this category to the Irish saga narration, is … still unlikely to be solved with much certainty' (Mikhailova 2014, 230).[17] Although, structurally and stylistically, *TM* corresponds with other *echtrai*, the title *tochmarc* should not be regarded as arbitrary either.[18] In fact, these two genres sometimes overlap, since the voyage to the Otherworld is often motivated by a quest for a wife who embodies kingship for a male protagonist. The title of the tale *Echtra Airt meic Cuinn 7 Tochmarc Delbchaime ingine Morgain* (Best 1907) would be a good example of the connection between the two genres, while O Hehir insisted that the first part of the tale, which describes Conn's marriage, could be more accurately referred to as *Eachtra Cuind Cetchathaig acus Tochmarc Bécuma ingine Eogain Indbir* (1983, 160).

I would suggest that in general, *tochmarca* imply the notion of sacred marriage, with the main heroine personifying the sovereignty goddess.[19] For example, the self-representation of Emer as *Temair ban*, 'Tara of women', in her dialogue with Cú Chulainn in *Tochmarc Emire* prompted Wagner to observe that Emer epitomises the sovereignty goddess (1975, 20–21). Likewise, in *Echtra Airt*, both Bécuma and Delbcháem represent sovereignty figures (O Hehir 1983, 169–170). In *Tochmarc Étaíne*, the serving of drink is chosen as a trial to find out the real Étaín, and although 'we cannot on this evidence alone dub her a sovereignty goddess, we can say that the literal and symbolic wives of the king are fused here in one personage' (Scowcroft 1995, 132). This function of Étaín was also observed by O'Rahilly who tentatively, in a footnote, compared her to Gráinne dispersing a sleep-inducing

17 Cf. *Taín Bó Fraích* which 'for the greater part is rather a story of the "wooing" type (*tochmarc*)' (Meid 2015, 20). In *Tochmarc Becfhola*, the marriage of Becfhola to the king is mentioned in passing and the story concerns the voyage of the main heroine to the Otherworld, which prompted John Carey to call Tochmarc Becfhola a 'female echtra' (2015, 73).

18 It is hard to agree with Nuijten's statement that *TM* 'is not a traditional *tochmarc*', that the 'elements of courtship have been removed or lost in transmission', and that the title *Tochmarc Moméra* is a later scribal addition extrapolated from the passage in the Book of Leinster *ad hoc* (Nuijten 2016, 13). 'Proper *tochmarc*', according to Nuijten, contains the element of *grád ecmaise*, love of protagonists before they meet (2016, 12, 23). However, such tales as *Tochmarc Becfhola* or *Tochmarc Ferbe* do not concern wooing or love either. *Taín Bó Fraích* mentions *grád ecmaise* but is not called a *tochmarc* (although the plot corresponds to this genre, see the previous footnote). In general, although all *tochmarca* focus on the events related, directly or obliquely, to the marriage, from the point of view of their structure and composition they cannot be reduced to any common scheme, and thus, it is hardly possible to talk about a 'proper *tochmarc*'.

19 Cf. the genre of *togla*, 'destructions', which do not describe any destruction, but only 'the destruction of a *bruiden* as the result of the king's breaking of certain royal taboos called *geasa*' (Myrick 1993, 75). Likewise, as Duignan's analysis of *echtrai* has shown, the plot of these tales 'is not in fact as much about contacting the Otherworld as about legitimizing the supremacy of the royal power' (Mikhailova 2014, 236).

drink at her marriage feast with Finn (1946b, 16). The view that Gráinne is a sovereignty goddess in her negative aspect was also expressed by Breatnach (1959, 146).[20] In a recent article, John Carey postulated that disguised Étaín in the scene when Eochaid is to choose his wife among her fifty doubles may be interpreted in the light of the 'king-and-goddess' theme (2016, 32, 37). In *Tochmarc Becfhola* (Bhreathnach 1984), Becfhola is obviously portrayed as a sovereignty goddess who comes to Ireland in search of a husband.

This ubiquitous presence of the sovereignty goddess's reflexes in almost each single heroine of the *tochmarca* was explained by Scowcroft:

> The *banais rígi* sets forth a parallelism between marriage and kingship that can be approached from either side in the literature: if sovereignty is interpreted as a marriage, a king's marriage inevitably suggests sovereignty, and abstract narrative expresses the analogy in literal terms, queen and goddess playing virtually the same role (1995, 132).

Therefore, although the structure of *TM* follows the pattern of an *echtra*, its attribution to the *tochmarca* encapsulates the crux of the tale: Eógan's kingship is endorsed by means of a popular 'king-and-goddess' theme. Unlike Niall, who unites with the sovereignty of Ireland, or Art, who marries an Otherworldly goddess, Eógan gets married to a Spanish princess. Her provenance was carefully chosen to maintain the link of Eógan with Spain (as in *Do Bunad* where Eógan is a foreigner) while complying with the historical doctrine of *LG*. According to it, 'the Eóghanacht had long been settled in Ireland by Eóghan's time, for their ancestor Éibher son of Míl had come there hundreds of years before with his brother Éiremhón' (Jackson 1938, xxv).[21] The same is true in relation to the Connachta, whose ancestor Conn Cétchathach is a descendant of Éremón, the ruler of the northern half of Ireland.

The partition of Ireland into southern and northern halves between Conn and Eógan echoes the division by Éremón and Éber in *LG* (Macalister 1956, 95). The author of *TM* reinforces the connection between Éber son of Míl and his descendant Eógan by naming the Spanish king Éber and making the Tower of Bregon, from which Íth first saw Ireland (Macalister 1956, 10, 11), his royal residence. Thus, by travelling to Ireland from Spain, Eógan symbolically re-enacts the invasion by the Milesian kings who first established human kingship in Ireland.[22] These

20 Notably, in the same article Breatnach also argues that 'Ireland', in which the 'Pursuit of Diarmuid and Gráinne' is imagined, is in fact the Otherworld (1959, 146).

21 See the genealogies of Clann Ébir and Síl Ébir to which the Eóganacht belonged (Macalister 1956, 92–93; O'Brien 1976, 191, 192–193).

22 It is also significant that Eógan starts his journey to Spain from Dún na mBárc, point of landing for the first invasion of Ireland, led by Cesair (Carey 1987, 37). Another reference to this character is found in the druid's prophecy: he reveals that the Spanish

overtones of the Milesian legend contribute to the image of Eógan as a rightful ruler and explain why Spain was chosen as a force behind the validation of Eógan's sovereignty.

Ultimately, *TM* not only appeals to the contemporary Eóganacht but also sends a message to the descendants of Conn. Although the alliance between the two dynasties is violated by Conn, who kills Eógan in the Battle of Mag Léna,[23] the division into Leth Moga (named after Mug Nuadat, i.e. Eógan) and Leth Cuinn (named after Conn) is legitimised through the prophecies, which permeate the text of *TM*, and also, through the archetypal precedent of the partition of Ireland between Éber and Éremón, the ancestors of Eógan and Conn.[24] Their equality is manifested by multiple bonds between Conn and Eógan as exemplified by the figures of Fiacha Suigthi and Ailill. It is also significant that Eógan's authority is acknowledged by Cathaír Mór, who willingly gives him land in the south. This may be contrasted with the account from *LG* where Cathaír Mór is slain by Luaigne, led by Conn who becomes his successor (Macalister 1956, 331, 525); this implicit parallel clearly evokes the antithesis of the Eóganacht's peaceful rule and the Connachta's rule by sword in *Do Bunad*.

Essentially, *TM* is a political allegory seeking to promote the control of the Eóganacht over the southern provinces of Ireland. As so often happens, the history of the immemorial past has been forged in a way to fulfil the hopes of the present. For instance, discussing the composition of *Baile in Scáil*, Máire Herbert notes that 'the myth is co-opted to serve the purpose of projecting the dynasty's claim to the sovereignty of Ireland back to primordial time' (1992, 270). Functionally, *TM* is to the Eóganacht of Munster what *Báile in Scáil* is to the Uí Néill: a tale legitimising the dynasty through the symbolism of their forefather's journey to the Otherworld. Although the rise of the Eóganacht started from about the late sixth century, the dynasty

> promoted the claim that they had dominated the province of Munster for centuries prior to the dawn of the Christian period. This claim forms part and

princess's husband will be from the Island of Cesair (*a h-inis Cesrach*). By means of these remarks, the author of *TM* establishes a dialogue with *LG*, the authority of which supports the veracity and the value of his own compilation.

23 Interestingly, O'Rahilly argues that 'the slaying of Eógan by Conn is analogous to, if not suggested by, the slaying of Éber by Éremón as told in *LG*' (1935, 366). See Macalister 1956, 155–157.

24 The historical perspectives of this division are discussed in Sproule 1984, 31ff. Particularly interesting is his idea that the division was purely fictitious. The southern dynasties promulgated the myth of the southern-northern parallelism to create a southern equivalent to the Connachta and to prove that the Eóganacht enjoyed the same power in the south, as the Connachta in the north, which was far from truth (Sproule 1984, 36). *TM* may have been part of this propagandistic political mythology.

> parcel of the legends of their prehistoric ancestors, which became an integral part of the myth of the high-kingship of Ireland (Wiley 2008, 31).

As I hope to have shown, the author of *TM* undertook the task of creating such a legend with remarkable literary sensibility, creative imagination and intellectual energy, and in the confines of a short text, managed to marry a potent political message to a fascinating Otherworldly adventure.

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Celtic Languages in Education in the United Kingdom's Devolved Jurisdictions of Northern Ireland, Wales, and Scotland

Eugene McKendry

Introduction

The programme of the XV International Symposium of *Societas Celtica Nordica*, organised by the Finnish Society for Celtic Studies, illustrates the broad range of Celtic studies, not only in institutions in the Celtic countries themselves but also internationally. Nevertheless, when considering the local and international study of the modern languages, one can ask why students from Scandinavia or Finland might choose Celtic languages, and how they should be taught. It was in order to investigate such issues that a successful application was made to the European Commission's 2004-06 Action Plan Promoting Language Learning and Linguistic Diversity. The resulting Celtic, Regional and Minority Languages Abroad Project (CRAMLAP)[1] researched *ab initio* provision of Celtic and other Regional and Minority languages in Higher Education across Europe. Most of the partners in the project were present at SCN XV.

It would be a valuable exercise to see how the current provision for Celtic studies internationally compares with 10 years on, and what language teaching approaches or methodologies are being used. The Department of Arts, Heritage, Regional, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs in Dublin, in cooperation with the Fulbright Commission and the Ireland Canada University Foundation makes funding available for the teaching of Irish in foreign universities, providing a valuable foundation for Irish and Celtic studies outside Ireland. But we are faced with the attitude that led to the vice-chancellor of Queen's University Belfast declaring in 2016 that 'society doesn't need a 21-year-old that's a sixth century historian' (*Belfast Telegraph* 30/5/16). Nevertheless, the future of the languages resides in the Celtic countries themselves, not abroad. University departments for Celtic languages in Northern Ireland and Wales, and to a lesser extent Scotland where a large proportion of university students studying Gaelic have not studied the language at school (University of Glasgow: 9), depend upon students progressing from secondary school. This paper will accordingly focus upon school examination entries, language policies and educational practice in the devolved UK administrations of Scotland, Wales and

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especially Northern Ireland. The situation in the Republic of Ireland will not be discussed here.

Languages in Schools

The qualifications framework for England, Wales and Northern Ireland is much the same for the three jurisdictions, with the General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) at the end of Key Stage 4, age 16, and the General Certificate Advanced Supplementary (AS) and Advanced (A) Level examinations in the two subsequent years. The Scottish system follows a distinct structure of National Levels up to Standard Grade/National Qualification 5, the equivalent of GCSE, followed by Highers, which emphasize breadth across a range of subjects similar to Baccalaureate models, while the English, Welsh and Northern Irish systems focus on greater depth of education over a smaller range of subjects post-GCSE (QAA 2014).

Following Curriculum Review in England (2002) and later in Northern Ireland (2006), languages are no longer compulsory at Key Stage 4 (age 14 to 16 years old). In Scotland, the Curriculum for Excellence provides an entitlement from 2021 for every pupil to learn a first additional language from primary one and a second by primary five, but this entitlement to a second modern language only continues post-primary until the end of S3 (age 14-15), with no compulsion thereafter. Outside Wales, United Kingdom pupils including Northern Ireland are now only required to do 3 years of modern language study at Key Stage 3 (age 11-14) in post-primary education–the lowest compulsory language education in Europe. This has led to a marked drop in language study at secondary and university level throughout the United Kingdom, where universities have seen numerous departmental closures and a serious decline in Modern Language applicants (Havergal). It is notable that there is no longer the possibility to do a degree in German in Northern Ireland. Ulster University ceased teaching French, German and Spanish in 2016. Queen's University closed its German Department in 2009 and had earlier dropped Italian and Slavonic Studies. Celtic and Irish are also under threat.

In the non-Anglophone world, English is the language of choice, but which language do we choose in an English-speaking environment? The Nuffield Report of 2000 lamented:

> As each language valiantly fights its own corner, we are losing the greater battle […]We talk about communication but don't always communicate. There is enthusiasm for languages but it is patchy. Educational provision is fragmented, achievement poorly measured, continuity not very evident. In the language of our time, there is a lack of joined-up thinking. (2000, 5)

This lack of joined-up thinking was noted at school level in the 2015/16 Language Trends Wales:

> The Language Trends 2014/15 report found that English, Welsh and MFL were regarded in most schools as quite separate subjects, and that opportunities for the learning of one language to support others were being missed. (Board & Tinsley 2016)

This is despite the fact that the Welsh education system, more than any other in the United Kingdom (UK) or Ireland, supports Triliteracy – working across English, Welsh and Foreign Languages.

Since 2002, the Language Trends Survey by the Centre for Information on Language Teaching and Research (CILT) in London, and then by Tinsley and Board for the Centre for Better Teaching and the British Council have charted the uptake, or more correctly, perhaps, the downturn of language examination entries in England and Wales. The results of the summer GCSE and GCE examinations are provided by the Joint Council for Qualifications (JCQ) in August each year. A few months later, the Department for Education publishes further analysis. These data show that the proportion of the total cohort sitting a GCSE in a language dropped from 76% in 2002 to 48% in 2015. There was a drop of one percentage point (from 49 to 48 per cent) between 2014 and 2015. There had been a rise in entries from 2012, associated with the English Baccalaureate option which included the compulsory study of a modern or ancient language, but this has levelled off.

Examination entries and achievement can be considered a reliable proxy for a language's standing and health, particularly in the case of minority languages like the Celtic languages in the UK where there are few if any monolinguals beyond early childhood and the education system is considered vital to the maintenance and transmission of the languages.

Welsh

The 2011 census reported 19% of the population as 'able to speak Welsh'. Compared to Irish in Northern Ireland and Gaelic in Scotland, Welsh has benefitted from more positive provision in administrative and legislative measures and in the media and education. It is Welsh Government policy that all pupils study Welsh from pre-school, age 3, up to the end of Key Stage 4 (age 16). The language is taught as a first language ('Welsh Language 1-Cymraeg') in Welsh-medium schools. In English-medium schools it is taught as a second language ('Welsh Language 2'). Regarding Welsh-medium primary to secondary transition, an Estyn (Welsh Inspectorate) report reveals that the proportion of Welsh-medium pupils was 19.8% at the end of primary education, Key Stage 2, in 2008; 16.3% in Key Stage 3 in 2011, and 15.3% by Key Stage 4 in 2013 (Estyn, 2014: 9-10). So, while there is some drop-off, the

percentage of pupils receiving full-time education through the medium of Welsh is substantial.

While all students study Welsh until the end of Key Stage 4, it is not mandatory to take a Welsh GCSE examination at the end of that period. The combined GCSE entries in 2016 for Welsh L1 (Cymraeg) and L2 (Welsh and Welsh L2 Applied) GCSE was 16,282, which compares very favourably with the other Modern Languages at GCSE. Welsh Literature is also available as a subject at GCSE Level and 3705 students sat this subject in 2016. For further comparison, English and Maths achieved entries of 35,323 and 30,570 respectively. (JCQ). It can be noted that Welsh-language versions of the full range of subjects are available at GCSE and Advanced level examinations. The tables below give the number of entries for the various subjects, with the cumulative percentages for Grades A*-C, the government benchmark for achievement.

Table 1. GCSE Entries:Wales

GCSE	Cymraeg/ Welsh L1	Welsh L2	French	German	Spanish	English	Maths
2016 A*-C	5331 73.5%	10951 79.4%	4312 77.7%	1196 75.9%	1507 71.3%	35323 57.8%	30570 47.7%

(Figures from JCQ and WJEC Websites)

At Advanced Level, the JCQ statistics show that Welsh A-Level entries (age 18) have fallen from 1020 entries in 2000 to 610 in 2016 (Welsh First and Second Language combined), a drop of 10% from 678 in 2015. The figures on the WJEC site for 2016 record 276 for Welsh L1 and 339 for Welsh L2, a total of 615, the discrepancy of 5 probably due to external entries. When we compare the A-level entries with other Modern Languages (Table 2), however, the 2016 figures for Welsh entries still compare well, although the trend is downwards and the A*-C figure of 63.7% for Welsh Language 2 could be a cause for concern.

Table 2. GCE A-Level Entries 2016:Wales

GCE-A Level	Cymraeg/ Welsh L1	Welsh L2	French	German	Spanish	English	Maths
2016 A*-C	276 84.4%	339 63.7%	416 76.7%	123 80.5%	162 75.3%	3490 75.9%	3719 80.2%

(Figures from JCQ and WJEC Websites)

Scottish Gaelic

The Bord na Gàidhlig response to the 2011 census in Scotland strikes an optimistic note and claims that the reduction in the decline in the number of Gaelic speakers

is attributable to the growth in Gàidhlig/Gaelic-medium immersion education, compensating for the loss of older Gaelic speakers, a difficult enough claim to accept:

> …the growth in the number of children acquiring the language in Gaelic-medium pre-school groups and Primary Education compensat[es] to a degree for the loss of older Gaelic speakers over the period...numerically, the new generation of Gaelic speakers is helping to compensate for the loss of older Gaelic speakers. (Press Release 26/09/2013)

In Scotland, the Gaelic-medium sector in education attracts the most attention and investment, with less apparent focus on Gaelic Learners education provision.

While the situation as presented in the Bord na Gàidhlig reports makes as positive an analysis as possible, there is also realism and awareness of the challenges. So, for example, the 2010 Action Plan, Ginealach Ùr na Gàidhlig, is realistic about one of the greatest challenges facing Immersion Education, whether in Scotland or in Northern Ireland, namely transition from primary to secondary:

> Bòrd na Gàidhlig believes that the expansion of Gaelic education at secondary level is essential. Only through continuation of Gaelic Medium Education (GME) at secondary level can children's language skills and confidence in the use of Gaelic be enhanced. At present, there is an 80% drop-off in numbers of GME pupils between primary school and secondary, largely due to limited secondary provision. (2010)

This limited transition of 20% from primary to secondary GME is fundamental. The Action Plan extract above suggests that the drop-off is largely due to limited secondary provision, but parental and pupil choice must also be an important factor. This has been recognised in Northern Ireland where many parents of primary Irish-medium Education (IME) children choose to send them to an English-speaking secondary school. It is likely to be the same in Scotland and to a lesser extent in Wales.

The Scottish education system proceeds from Nursery to Primary 1-7, followed by Post-Primary S1-S6. National 4 or 5 qualifications (previously Standard Grades) are taken by most pupils as the equivalent in S3-S4, with National 5 accepted as an equivalent to GCSE. Highers are normally offered in S5 (age c. 16 with more Highers and Advanced Highers in S6 (age c. 17).

The Scottish Government's Curriculum for Excellence '1+2' Initiative, Mother Tongue plus 2, is a welcome reassertion of the value of Modern Languages, including Gaelic, but even here a cautionary note is appropriate as languages including Gaelic have to contend with other pressures on the curriculum such as timetabling and the promotion of STEM subjects (Science, Technology, Engineering, Mathematics).

As an article in The Scotsman stated, 'With STEM subjects […] heavily promoted, modern languages are often sidelined' (Garavelli). This STEM pressure is noted across the UK. (Board & Tinsley 2014, 111)

Turning to examination entries, the Gaelic Learners and Gaelic-medium ('Gàidhlig') figures for 2016 at Standard Grade/National Qualification 5, the equivalent of GCSE, Highers and Advanced Highers are given below:

Table 3. Scottish Examination Entries 2016

	Gaelic-Medium/Gàidhlig	Gaelic Learners
Standard Grade/National 5	158	145
Higher	132	84
Advanced Higher	31	24

One can compare attainment in the various languages offered namely, the home or community languages like Chinese and Urdu, the main continental languages, then Latin and finally Gaelic, Language 1 and Language 2. For the sake of comparison, one can note that there were 45,813 entries for English (36% attaining A-Grade) and 41,778 for Mathematics (29% attaining A-Grade). Compared to the other languages, the relatively low percentage (42%) of Gaelic Learners achieving an A-Grade is to be noted.

Table 4:Attainment and Entries for Languages at National Qualification 5 Grade, 2016.

	'A' Grade	Entries
Chinese Languages	74%	98
Urdu	73%	62
Italian	64%	332
Latin	94%	445
Spanish	59%	4417
German	53%	2025
French	54%	9292
Gaelic Learners	42%	145
Gàidhlig	68%	158

(SQA website)

The relatively low percentage (42%) of Gaelic Learners achieving an A-Grade is to be noted.

When comparing the attainment and entries for languages at Higher Grade 2016 (Table 5), the attainment profile for Gaelic learners is again the lowest. With 40% Gaelic Learners and 38% Gàidhlig achieving A-Grade, attainment is closer to that of the main learner languages, French, German, Spanish. The higher attainment in other lesser-studied languages such as Chinese and Urdu, and perhaps Italian, is probably due to home use and more frequent practice of the languages.

Table 5: Attainment and Entries for Languages at Higher Grade, 2016.

	'A' Grade	Entries
Chinese Languages	81%	111
Urdu	78%	92
Italian	73%	219
Latin	68%	310
Spanish	52%	2600
German	50%	1020
French	46%	4581
Gaelic Learners	40%	84
Gàidhlig	38%	132

(SQA website)

Table 6: Attainment and Entries for Languages at Advanced Higher Grade, 2016.

	'A' Grade	Entries
Chinese Languages	94%	32
Urdu	-	-
Italian	59%	22
Latin	53%	79
Spanish	36%	480
German	45%	146
French	39%	697
Gaelic Learners	46%	24
Gàidhlig	31%	52

(SQA website)

Looking at these figures, it is difficult to share Bord na Gàidhlig's assertion that 'numerically, the new generation of Gaelic speakers is helping to compensate for the loss of older Gaelic speakers'.

Irish

Turning to Northern Ireland, the 2011 Census returned 10.65% of the population, some 185,000 people, with 'some ability in Irish' (NISRA, 75). Of these, some 65,000 could 'speak, read, write and understand Irish', probably an aspirational figure. As there is no historical Gaeltacht district in Northern Ireland, this figure is made up of learners, with some small revivalist Irish-speaking communities. The main difference from Gàidhlig in Scotland is that the Irish language has the status of being first official language in the Republic and holds a firm presence in the educational, social, political, and indeed economic arenas. This allows learners in the north to benefit from opportunities such as the summer colleges in the Gaeltacht and the said higher status of the language in the Republic. On the negative side, the Northern Ireland state and the Unionist community in general are opposed to the language, to the extent that it has been dubbed the 'green litmus paper of community relations' (Cultural Traditions Group 1994, 6). The antipathy to the language is well attested. Opposition to Irish-medium schools and an Irish Language Act are policy and manifesto commitments of Unionist parties. Arlene Foster, the leader of the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) and First Minister of Northern Ireland said at the launch of the DUP election campaign for the 2017 Assembly that her party would never agree to an Irish Language Act and that 'if you feed a crocodile it will keep coming back and looking for more', a remark that led to a strong backlash among voters in the election itself with a considerable increase in the votes cast for the anti-Unionist Sinn Féin and SDLP parties. The Democratic Unionist Party has also described Irish-medium Education (IME) as a Sinn Féin vanity project. Not one state-controlled school offers Irish as a subject and it is disappointing to note that the integrated school movement which aims to attract both Catholic and Protestant pupils also ignores it, with a few honourable exceptions. The language is therefore mostly restricted to the Maintained or Catholic schools and Irish-medium *Gaelscoileanna*. Despite this, Irish was the second most popular language in schools and formal examination entries after French when the GCSE examination was first sat in 1988 (Table 7).

Northern Ireland has traditionally operated a selective process at the end of primary school and Irish was widely taught in the non-selective or non-grammar post-primary schools. The Education Act in England (1988) and the Education Reform (Northern Ireland) Order (1989) made language study compulsory at Key Stages 3 and 4 (age 11-16), but the original proposals for post-primary in Northern Ireland would have had an extremely negative effect on Irish, requiring pupils to study one of French, German, or Spanish before being able to choose the language. The budgetary and timetabling burdens for many schools, particularly smaller non-selective schools, and the cognitive burden for many pupils, would have been unmanageable. After a vigorous and highly public and political debate,

a compromise was reached whereby, in order to meet the statutory requirements of the Language Studies area of study in the Northern Ireland Curriculum, post-primary schools were required to offer one of French, German, Italian or Spanish. Only then could they offer Irish as a choice for pupils to fulfil the statutory requirement for modern languages. This discriminatory clause had a very negative effect on Irish in Northern Ireland schools.

When the first cohort of compulsory Key Stages 3 and 4 pupils came to GCSE in 1996 there was a marked rise in GCSE languages entries compared to 1988 (see Table 7 for Northern Ireland). But, as a result of the DfES 2002 Green paper 'Extending Opportunities, Raising Standards' in England and the Education Reform (Northern Ireland) Order 2006 which made language study optional at Key Stage 4, there has been an overall drop at GCSE and GCE A-Level entries, despite a growth in Spanish which has prospered in a way that deserves further analysis elsewhere. Italian has almost disappeared from schools in Britain and Northern Ireland.

Irish remained the second most popular language after French at GCSE until 2002 when Spanish overtook it. Closer inspection of figures for Irish at GCSE and A-Level reveals a significant drop in pupils in English-medium schools. Entries for GCSE Irish fell under 2000 in 2015 with 1980 entries. The percentage for non-grammar school Irish entries in 2015 was 41%.[2] The equivalent non-grammar percentage for French was 31%; Spanish 19.5%; German 13%. Irish GCSE entries dropped further to 1901 entries in 2016.

The Irish total of 1980 for GCSE in 2015 includes 369 Gaeilge/Irish-medium entries. The remaining 1611 candidates include younger pupils from the non-selective post-primary Irish-medium *Gaelscoileanna* which enter pupils early for GCSE, usually at the end of Key Stage 3 (age 14), and some primary *Bunscoileanna* which enter pupils in Primary 7, age 11. This means that probably fewer than 1500 pupils from the English-medium sector sat Irish GCSE in 2015, and a considerable number of these would have transferred from Irish-medium primary to English-medium post-primary.

Table 7: GCSE Entries in Northern Ireland (2016 A-C percentages in brackets)*

	French	Irish	Spanish	German	Italian
1988	8747	1518	942	867	141
1996	13,838	2021	1561	1496	156
2015	5533	1980	3734	1044	
2016	5179 (85.9%)	1901 (96.5%)	3593 (90.3%)	1162 (86%)	

2 Non-Grammar figures for 2016 not available at time of writing.

For further comparison, 22,102 Northern Ireland candidates were entered for English in 2016 and 24,827 for maths.

At A-level, Spanish overtook French in 2016 as the most popular language in Northern Ireland.

Table 8: A-level Entries 2016 (A-C percentages in brackets)*

	French	Spanish	German	Irish
GB & NI	9672	8460	3842	331
N. Ireland	503 (87.5%)	524 (89.9%)	102 (85.3%)	331 (94.9%)

The higher A*-C percentages for Irish at GCSE and A-Level could be due to the number of candidates with an Irish-medium background.

Forty-five per cent of Irish entries at A-level in 2015 are from Non-Grammar schools, mostly due to entries from the non-selective Irish-medium schools. This contrasts strongly with the percentages from the other languages (French 9%; German 4%; Spanish 7%). It is also a common refrain that it is no longer possible to do Irish at A-Level as the language is no longer provided Post-GCSE in many schools which offered A-Level Irish in previous years.

Table 9: Grammar and Non-Grammar at A-Level

A-Level 2015	Grammar and Non-Grammar	Non-Grammar	Grammar
Irish	303	136 (45%)	167
French	524	45 (9%)	479
German	118	5 (4%)	113
Spanish	421	29 (7%)	392

So, while one can acknowledge the achievements of the Irish-medium sector, there is a need to recognise the significant drop for the language in English-medium schools.

Irish-Medium Education

From very humble family and community beginnings in Belfast in the 1960s, Irish-medium Education has flourished in the *Gaelscoileanna*, particularly since the Good Friday Agreement (GFA) of 1998. In the academic year 2016/17, there were 5854 children enrolled in Irish-medium education in Northern Ireland (*DENI Statistical Bulletin* 2, 2017), with 900 in 43 preschool and nursery settings, 3905 in 35 primary schools, and 1049 in 2 second-level *Gaelcholáistí* and 3 second-level Irish language streams in English-medium post-primaries (*Comhairle na*

Gaelscolaíochta). The post-primary IME population (n=1049) is 22% of the pre-school and primary population (n=4805), whereas the total Northern Ireland post-primary enrolment, excluding special and independent schools (n=140,413) is 72% of the pre-school and primary population (n=195,437) (*DENI Statistical Bulletin* 2, 2017). This suggests a low transition rate from primary to post-primary Irish-medium education as most primary IME pupils transfer to English-medium schools. Such a rate can result from personal or parental choice, or as a result of an offer from a post-primary grammar school following the transfer procedure, or due to a lack of post-primary IME provision.

The importance of language was recognised within the context of the Peace Process in Northern Ireland, culminating in the Good Friday Agreement (GFA) of 1998 (The Belfast Agreement). In Paragraph 3 of the section on Economic, Social and Cultural Issues, the Good Friday Agreement states that**:**

> All participants recognise the importance of respect, understanding and tolerance in relation to linguistic diversity, including in Northern Ireland, the Irish language, Ulster-Scots[3] and the languages of the various ethnic communities, all of which are part of the cultural wealth of the island of Ireland.

The main language focus was on the Irish language where the government agreed to 'take resolute action to promote the language', but only 'where appropriate and where people so desire it'. It also sought to remove 'where possible' restrictions on the language. This ambiguous phrasing has impeded progress for Irish.

The only mention of education and Irish in the GFA is the 'statutory duty' to encourage and facilitate Irish-medium Education, rather than the language in general. Unfortunately, it could be argued that this Statutory Obligation to support IME has disadvantaged Irish in the vastly more numerous English-medium Education (EME) schools. Resources and professional support for Irish in EME is very limited when compared to the other curricular languages. Foras na Gaeilge, the body entrusted with supporting the language, acknowledges the limitations placed on the English-medium sector by the Statutory Obligation to support IME (personal communication from Foras na Gaeilge). In response to a letter written by the author to the Department of Education to discuss ways of supporting Irish in English-medium schools, the Department responded by outlining its support for IME (personal communications from the Department of Education Northern Ireland).

3 Ulster-Scots is a local variety of English which has come to prominence particularly since the Good Friday Agreement, where it was introduced by the Unionist parties as a counterbalance to Irish. Note that it is not described as a language.

Languages in Education

We can summarise that languages in general, and Celtic languages in particular, are under severe pressure in UK schools. Pupils are being guided away from languages towards STEM. Timetable provision is also reduced with some pupils only receiving 3 lessons per fortnight. At Third Level, language courses and whole departments in universities continue to be closed across the UK. The Bachelor of Arts degree is now a modular 3-year course, not 4 years as was frequently the case a generation ago. In England, many universities offering the Modern Languages Postgraduate Certificate in Education (PGCE), the Initial Teacher Education qualification, now depend on native speakers from abroad or Subject Knowledge Enhancement courses to attract and support applicants with weaker subject knowledge competences.

Identity and Culture

To seek the positives, in a context where the traditional curricular languages - French, Irish, German, Spanish - are in retreat and the Curriculum in all nations of the UK is less prescriptive, now focusing on skills and values (GTCNI, 6), there is an argument for revisiting the cultural heritage and cross-curricular advantages of Irish, Welsh and Gaelic, from Primary School on.

The 1989 Northern Ireland Curriculum gave statutory force to Cross Curricular Themes which included the linked themes of 'Education for Mutual Education' (EMU) and 'Cultural Heritage':

> Several respondents suggested that there should be opportunities for pupils to gain awareness of aspects of history, culture and traditions which contribute to the cultural heritage of Northern Ireland. The government welcomes and accepts this suggestion as a positive measure aimed at lessening the ignorance which many feel contributes to the divisions in our society. The government also believes it to be appropriate and necessary that the curriculum of every child should contain elements in Education for Mutual Understanding which has already helped to foster valuable cross-community contacts among our schools. (DENI 1988, §2.13)

Lessons or units presenting the Irish language element in place names, personal names, dialect, music, history, etc. could be introduced without controversy and contribute to an awareness of Northern Ireland's cultural heritage, moving from the Local to the National and the International (NICC 1989). Linking language to Cultural Heritage, it was hoped that state (non-Catholic) schools would participate in this broader intercultural approach to language. The themes of EMU and Cultural Heritage were however 'conjoined' after a few years, and then subsumed into the much wider area of Citizenship where language diversity and Irish were marginal.

The Learning about Scotland entitlement (CfE Briefing 9) and the Scottish Studies Award in the Scottish Curriculum for Excellence, the Cwriclwm Cymreig in Wales (ACCAC) and the Cultural Heritage theme in Northern Ireland, together with the more recent emphasis on CLIL, Content and Language Integrated Learning (ECML), all have the potential to introduce all pupils to the language in question, and possibly encouraging them to proceed to further language study. The 1974 Primary Education Teachers' Guide for Northern Ireland lists the linguistic, environmental, and cultural relevance of Irish as an indigenous language for pupils, factors which 'confer certain advantages which no other language can claim to the same extent in Ireland' (DENI 1974, 106), and similarly for Scotland and Wales.

Language Awareness and Integration

The expansion of the European Union in 2004 led to a large inward migration to Great Britain and Ireland, particularly from Eastern Europe, and schools have changed with so many newcomer pupils bringing new cultural and linguistic diversity. This was particularly marked in Northern Ireland where economic weakness and the Troubles conflict had failed to reflect the immigration to Britain of the 1950s onwards. Languages in school should no longer be seen solely in terms of traditional, stand-alone curricular languages (French, German, Spanish, Irish), but in a wider linguistic awareness context. With so many newcomer languages in the classroom after the EU expansion of 2004, as well as the previous community languages like Urdu and Punjabi in Britain, a Language Awareness approach, focusing on the environmental and identity advantages of indigenous languages, might strengthen the profile of the languages.

Out of a total Northern Ireland population of 1.8 million in the 2011 Census, 4.5% of the resident population of Northern Ireland, over 81,000, were born outside of the UK or the Republic of Ireland. This represents an increase of 199% since the 2001 census. The total of newcomer pupils increased from 1366 (0.4% of total enrolment) in 2001/02 to 13,943 (4.1% of total enrolment) in the 2016/17 Schools Census. The first languages of children with English as an Additional Language in primary and post-primary schools in Northern Ireland in the school year 2015/16 are given in Table 10.

Table 10: The Ten Top languages spoken by Newcomer pupils (2015/16)

1	Polish	4,751	6	Latvian	395
2	Lithuanian	2,017	7	Malayalam	384
3	Portuguese	907	8	Arabic	380
4	Romanian	710	9	Hungarian	350

5	Slovak	407	10	Tetum	337

Fostering awareness among local pupils of these different languages could serve to integrate newcomer pupils into classes, make local pupils more linguistically aware, and allow for access to and greater appreciation of the indigenous linguistic and cultural heritage of Welsh, Gaelic and Irish. What is certain is that given curriculum developments militating against languages, the presence of both learner and immersion sectors for Celtic languages, and the change in school population profiles with increased newcomer pupils, one cannot rely on the traditional arguments and mindsets to progress the case for Modern Languages in general, and the Celtic languages in particular.

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H and the First Recension of the *Táin*

Kevin Murray

As is well known, the first recension of *Táin Bó Cúailnge* 'The Cattle-raid of Cooley', the central tale of the Ulster Cycle, does not survive complete in any one manuscript. The standard edition, that of Cecile O'Rahilly, is based on two of the extant witnesses: Lebor na hUidre being the preferred source until it breaks off (at l. 2546) with the Yellow Book of Lecan utilised from that point to the end (l. 4159); readings from other codices are given in footnotes.[1] Alongside the reconstructed text provided by O'Rahilly, the four major manuscript texts of the first recension are also in print;[2] this allows for detailed analysis across the different witnesses and facilitates scrutiny of the authority of O'Rahilly's edition.[3] Furthermore, the overlapping of the manuscript texts of the first recension of the *Táin* would seem to facilitate the reconstruction of a complete narrative.

However, certain problems are inherent in the editorial approach taken by Cecile O'Rahilly, particularly in her use of Lebor na hUidre.[4] The issues involved may be foregrounded by focusing on one significant aspect of the first recension: what position should be taken with regard to the four substantial interpolations, added by H to the LU copy of the text (some on erasures, others on intercalated leaves), a number of which are also found in Eg. and O'C?[5] The sections in question are:

LU 55b34–56a12 (TBC1 ll. 66–112);
LU 70b32–72b (TBC1 ll. 1545–712);
LU 74b38–76b (TBC1 ll. 1904–95);
LU 82b23–44 (TBC1 ll. 2524–46).

1 See O'Rahilly 1976, xxii–xxiii; TBC1.

2 The four manuscripts in question are: Royal Irish Academy MS 1229 (*olim* 23 E 25), Lebor na hUidre (*c.* 1100) [LU]; Trinity College Dublin MS 1318 (*olim* H 2 16), Yellow Book of Lecan (composite; 1391–1401) [YBL]; British Library, Egerton MS 1782 (early 16th century) [Eg.]; Maynooth, Russell Library MS 3a1 [O'Curry MS 1] (late 16th century) [O'C].

3 The editions, corresponding in order to the manuscripts listed in n. 2, are: Best and Bergin 1929, ll. 4479–6722; Strachan and O'Keeffe 1912 [TBCY]; Windisch 1913, 121–58; Ó Fiannachta 1966.

4 This occupies a very important place in our manuscript tradition as it is the oldest vellum to contain vernacular Irish narrative. The principal scribe who wrote *c*. 60% of the codex is designated M; his co-worker, referred to as A, scribed *c*. 12% of LU; while a later interpolator, known as H, was responsible for *c*. 28% of its contents. Recently, it has been suggested by Elizabeth Duncan (2015) that H may actually represent the work of six different scribes.

5 These interpolations are discussed in detail in Thurneysen 1921, 235–410; O'Rahilly 1976, viii–xvii; and Dooley 2006, 64–100: Chapter 3. 'A Scribe and His Táin: The H Interpolations in *Táin Bó Cúailnge*'.

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All of these are written in the hand designated as H1 by Duncan (2015, 51).[6] If we think that a critical edition is a feasible goal for the presentation of the text of the first recension of the *Táin*, the question I would like to pose is whether the additions by H should be included in such an edition as, with a couple of minor exceptions, they are not to be found in YBL.

The possible approaches which may be taken to editing the first recension of the *Táin* are, in theory, quite numerous. However, for a text of this length, attested in a limited number of manuscripts—all of which have been edited separately (see above fns 2–3)—the scholarly consensus determined that a single composite edition was a desideratum.[7] This is what O'Rahilly provided. However, the nature and make-up of her work begs a question that must be repeatedly posed: what is it that we understand Recension 1 to be? Are the H-interpolations to be included in Recension 1 solely because they are present in the oldest manuscript even though we know that they are a later addition to LU? In most of these, H would seem to have been utilising earlier materials, adapting and reworking them to fit the contexts required; he may also have been responsible for the composition of short new supplementary and connective sections.[8] If we believe that the YBL narrative draws upon an uninterpolated version of the *Táin*, should we privilege this text and consequently omit the H-interpolations when editing the first recension, especially when narrative coherence seems to be retained and even improved when this material is discounted? What about the latter sections of this recension (amounting to nearly 40% of the narrative) where we rely primarily though not exclusively on YBL for the establishment of the text?[9] As regards the last 500 lines or so, YBL is our only witness to the first recension, and hence textual readings can only be compared with parallels in the second recension.

Here I briefly itemise the contents of the four H-interpolations and their place and significance within the first recension.

6 Addition of material defines a large part of the nature of H1's interventions in LU; he composed no full texts, but was responsible for significant additions to *Scél Túáin*, *Aided Nath Í*, *Aided Echach meic Maíreda*, *Serglige Con Culainn*, *Senchas na Relec*, *Genemain Áeda Sláine*, *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*, *Fled Bricrenn* and *Tochmarc Emere*, as well as the *Táin*.

7 The various approaches, which may be taken to editing medieval Irish texts are detailed in Murray (2009); this contribution includes a critique of the place of the Lachmannian critical edition within the discipline. To add to the extensive bibliography in that article, one of the anonymous reviewers brought a recent publication edited by Quinn and Lethbridge (2010) to my attention; this deals with similar issues in Old Norse studies. Of particular interest here is the contribution by M.J. Driscoll, which contains, *inter alia*, an excellent discussion (pp 90–95) of 'new' or 'material' philology.

8 This was also the opinion of O'Rahilly 1976, xxii.

9 We might ask if H ever had access to the entire Táin: see the tentative suggestion in O'Rahilly 1976, xvii that there may never have been a complete text of the story in LU.

Interpolation 1: LU 55b34–56a12 (TBC1 ll. 66–112)

This is the only one of the four H-interpolations which is also to be found in Recension 2; due to lacunae in the manuscripts, we do not know if it once formed part of the texts in YBL or O'C, but it is present in Eg. (Windisch 1913, 122–3). It is a syllabic poem of 212 words (in 46 lines) beginning *Atchíu fer find firfes cles* 'I see a fair man who will perform weapon-feats',[10] which serves to augment the famous re-iterated prophecy of Fedelm, *Atchíu forderg, atchíu rúad* 'I see it blood-stained, I see it red'. It is written *in rasura* and O'Rahilly (1976, x–xi), following Thurneysen, suggests that it may have replaced an earlier *rosc(ad)*; she is also of the opinion (p. xi) that there 'seems no reason to doubt than in this instance it was taken by the H-interpolator from a version later than U [Lebor na hUidre] and like Recension II'. The significance of this observation is now not as clear as scholarship moves towards a consensus that scribe 'H is not to be dated much later' than scribes A or M.[11]

Interpolation 2: LU 70b32–72b (TBC1 ll. 1545–712)

The second interpolation begins at the end of LU p.70 and is found mainly on an intercalated vellum leaf (pp. 71–2). It occurs at one of the cyclical points in the text where there are repeated single combats; the structure of the narrative at this point reminds one of a comment by Joseph Nagy (1989, 150) concerning *Acallam na Senórach* that it feels like it 'could begin, resume, or be put on hold at any point'.[12] This narrative contains significant sections replete with Old Irish features alongside very brief passages containing Middle Irish elements;[13] the strong suspicion must be that H was responsible for composing these later lines in order to link together pre-existing written materials and to facilitate their integration into the surrounding narrative. As has been argued in another context: 'Here the weight of literary

10 Discussed in Ó Concheanainn 1984, 224–5 and Miles 2011, 151–2. So unimpressed was Donnchadh Ó Corráin 2015, 26 with this interpolation that he refers to H as a scholar of 'poor taste and slow wit'.

11 Breatnach 2015, 76. Scholarship has not yet had the opportunity to attempt to distinguish between the possible different H hands on the basis of language usage or linguistic choice.

12 This addition treats of the treacherous meeting of Finnabair and Cú Chulainn with Ailill allowing his jester to stand in for him, before detailing numerous other incidents: the battle between Cú Roí and Muinremair; the deaths of the *macrad* of Ulaid; the seizing of Rochad; and Cú Chulainn's killing of the royal mercenaries.

13 This was also the opinion of O'Rahilly 1976, xi: 'the opening and connecting passages... may have been composed at a later date to introduce and join together what Myles Dillon has called the "canonical text"'. Interestingly, the section from ll. 1545–732 contains five examples of the verbal form *guitter* (pass. sg. pres. ind. or pass. impv. sg. of *guidid* 'beseeches'), which is not found elsewhere in LU.

interest falls upon the activity of the *final* redactor, whose artistry requires far more careful attention than it has hitherto been accorded'.[14]

Interpolation 3: LU 74b38–76b (TBC1 ll. 1904–95)

After 9 lines written *in rasura* at the bottom of p.74b, this interpolation is also found mainly on an intercalated leaf, one which is significantly smaller in size than the surrounding leaves.[15] Once more, the substantial Old Irish elements in this addition are linked together with brief sentences and phrases in Middle Irish;[16] again we may suspect H's role as final redactor and as composer of the linking materials.

Interpolation 4: LU 82b23–44 (TBC1 ll. 2524–46).

The short fourth interpolation, *Comrac Maind*, detailing Cú Chulainn's single combat with Mand Muresci mac Dáiri of Fir Domnann, is written in Middle Irish and may well have been composed by H himself (this seems more probable if we accept his authorship of the connective materials in Interpolations 2-3).[17] Significant diagnostic dating features include frequent short Middle Irish alliterative runs (*Ba fer borb brogda íarom im longud ⁊ im ligi ... Fer dothengt[h]ach dobeóil ... Ba fer tailc trebur*, ll. 2526–8); the use of the dative after a preposition which originally governed the accusative alongside an example of an independent object pronoun (*conmél eter mo lámaib hé*, l. 2530); and the attestation of the Middle Irish 1st sg. fut. form of *téit* (*Ragat-sa*, l. 2530). Furthermore, early linguistic features are not present.

14 Rosenberg 1975, 67–94; quoted in Alter 1981, 19–20.

15 This insertion treats specifically of the treachery of Medb in arranging a meeting of deception with Cú Chulainn in her attempts to overwhelm him; this echoes the duplicity of Ailill in Interpolation 2 in arranging a meeting between Cú Chulainn and Finnabair, then getting his jester to stand in for him in proceedings.

16 The Middle Irish aspect of parts of Interpolations 2–3 is readily demonstrated. There is only a small number of examples of the Middle Irish 3rd plural independent pronouns—*íat* and *síat*—attested in the portion of Recension 1 preserved in LU. These are all to be found in these two interpolations. In what follows, bolded forms represent independent object pronouns; italicised examples are used with singular forms of the copula: **íat** (l. 1605); siat (l. 1633); **íat** (l. 1644); siat (l. 1692); **iat** (l. 1693); iat (l. 1941); *iat* (l. 1942); iat (l. 1947); *iat* (l. 1948 [x2]).

17 H's authorship of Interpolation 4 has also been posited by O'Rahilly 1976, xvi–xvii. Interestingly, as pointed out to me by one of the anonymous reviewers, a brief resumé of this narrative is preserved as the first part of the dinnṡenchas entry on Mag Mandachta (Gwynn 1924, 278–9). The brevity of this text, the fact that *Táin Bó Cúailnge* is cited by name, and the circumstance that two of the lines from the *Táin* are quoted practically verbatim therein would point towards its derivation from our interpolation.

Discussion

The way we treat these four H-interpolations depends upon the goals we set ourselves in the editorial process.[18] There are three primary scholarly activities requiring three different approaches we might envisage here:

(**1**) editing the text as part of an edition of LU;
(**2**) an edition of the LU *Táin*;
(**3**) a critical edition of the first recension.

Option (**1**) obviously requires that all H material be included in the edition. This has already been completed with the excellent semi-diplomatic edition of LU produced many years ago by Best and Bergin (1929, ll. 4479–6722); their work also has the advantage of using a smaller type-face for the H-interpolations, further set off by the use of bold square brackets to mark his interventions. Option (**2**), the edition of the LU *Táin*, has been completed but has been imperfectly realised. The text, as it is in the manuscript, is available in Best and Bergin's edition; this does not equate to a complete edition of the LU *Táin* because it does not incorporate or discuss variant readings from other witnesses in the apparatus as one would expect in a traditional scholarly edition. The necessary work has been done, however, by O'Rahilly in her edition (TBC1). The first 77 pages of the edition (ll. 1–2546), the accompanying translation on pp.125–95 and the notes on pp.239–74, are in effect an edition and translation of the LU *Táin*. This is explicitly acknowledged by O'Rahilly (1976, xxii) in her introduction when she tells us: 'The text of the present edition is a transcript of that part of TBC contained in LU, and for the part missing in LU a transcript of the continuation of TBC in YBL. Readings from other manuscripts are given throughout in footnotes'. Consequently, despite the title of O'Rahilly's volume, option (**3**), a full critical edition of the first recension—whether we believe such an undertaking to be feasible or desirable—has not yet been fully realised.

18 There are some themes, which recur throughout these additions which we might briefly note here. The primary interest of H seems to be in continuing 'the process of eulogizing Cú Chulainn' (Herbert, 2009, 214) and in comparing his heroic nature with the treachery of those he is fighting against: consequently, he displays 'a general interest in warp-spasm descriptions' (Dooley, 2006, 79). Thus, we find Cú Chulainn called *in ríastarthe* 'the distorted one' in Interpolation 1 (l. 96); his warp-spasm is described in some detail in Interpolation 2 (ll. 1651–7); and it is mentioned again in his single combat with Mand in Interpolation 4 (ll. 2544–5). Such a focus—which involves lauding one side while denigrating the other—fits well within the framework of Táin *Bó Cúailnge* with its emphasis on the bravery of Cú Chulainn; on his martial prowess in battle (particularly single combat); and on the trickery of his enemies and how he must resort to trickery to counter this (see Miller 2014).

O'Rahilly's approach, while eminently defensible particularly considering the magnitude of her achievement, leaves a number of questions about the nature and make-up of the first recension unresolved. Let us take the four H-interpolations one by one and see what part they might play in a putative critical edition.[19]

Despite the fact that H's initial intervention is written on an erasure, it should be included in any edition of the first recension of the *Táin* as there is no way to restore or regain that which has been removed. Furthermore, as Ann Dooley (2006, 69) has remarked about this particular example, 'it is not really useful to foreclose critical examination of the existing substituted text by viewing its surviving, rewritten versions as a mere consolation prize for the now vanished privilege of access to an older, hence more challenging and more "authentic", discourse'; this is especially true where there is no access to the earlier source. It is also possible, though much less likely, that H inserted what he took to be a better version of the same poem here and that what he erased was similar in content to what now stands there.

The situation with regard to the second interpolation is not as clear. The erasure on the bottom of p.70b most likely contained the material which is reinserted on p. 72b24–46 (TBC1 ll. 1695–712).[20] Significantly, the tale flows perfectly without the interpolation. The last line before the insertion reads (ll. 1543–4):

> *Ni baí imneth foraib trá isind aidchi sin acht adchota fer do dingbáil Con Culaind for áth namá úadib*.
>
> Their only anxiety that night was to get someone from among them to contend with Cú Chulainn at the ford.

The first line of the material re-inserted on p.72b24 is (l. 1695):

> *Guitter dano Cúr mac Da Láth dóib im dula for cend Con Culaind*.
>
> Then Cúr mac Da Lath was asked by them to encounter Cú Chulainn.

This constitutes a coherent follow-on; this is also how the text is presented in YBL and in a condensed and altered format in the Book of Leinster (LL);[21] thus, YBL and LL most likely drew here on an uninterpolated version of the

19 Dooley 2006, Chapter 3 adds consideration of a fifth interpolation into the mix, the last five lines of the poem beginning *Éli Loga* 'The Incantation of Lug' written *in rasura* (ll. 2130–5); because of its brevity, I have not included discussion of it here though, interestingly, it too is focused on Cú Chulainn's battle fury.

20 See O'Rahilly 1976, xi, n.2.

21 Strachan and O'Keeffe 1912, ll. 1360–1, 1487–8 (ll. 1362–486 in their edition are from LU and are not present in YBL); O'Rahilly 1967, ll. 1816–8.

first recension.[22] The interpolation, while not overly intrusive, is not very well integrated with either the preceding or following narrative sections. Although some of the materials in Interpolation 2 are early, and are particularly striking (especially Cú Chulainn's treatment of Finnabair and the jester), its claim for inclusion into a critical edition of Recension 1 rests primarily on the fact that it is scribed by H and preserved in LU. However, both LL and YBL bear witness here to the later existence of an uninterpolated version of the first recension.

Interpolation 3 shares many of the same concerns just noted regarding Interpolation 2, in this case with the issues being (at least to my mind) more clear cut and straightforward. Similar to the previous example, material erased at the bottom of p.74b is likely to have been re-inserted on p.76b (TBC1 ll. 1975–95); however, the short passage excised (similar presumably to TBCY ll. 1709–16) seems to have been expanded, with the passage in LU being twice as long as the one in YBL.[23] With regard to the coherence of the uninterpolated narrative, the text before the insertion reads (ll. 1899–903):

> *Is and sin asbertatár na mná fri Coin Culaind dogníthe a c[h]utbiud isin dúnud úair nád ba*í ulcha *laiss ˛ nícon téigtís dagóic acht siriti ara chend. Ba hassu dó ulcha smérthain do dénam leiss. Conid gní-som aní sin ar dáig cuingthi comraic fri fer .i. fri Lóch.*
>
> Then the women told Cú Chulainn that he was jeered at in the camp since he was beardless and goodly warriors did not oppose him, only mere boys. It were better for him to put on a beard of blackberry juice. So this he did in order to seek combat with a grown man, that is, with Lóch.

The beginning of the material re-inserted after the interpolation on p.76b runs as follows (ll. 1975–6):

> *Tánic dano Lóch i n-agid Con Culaind do dígail a bráthar fair, ar donadbacht dó ba ulcha boí lais.*
>
> So Lóch, since he saw that Cú Chulainn had a beard, came to attack him to avenge his brother's death.

The narrative arc here is good—better than when read with the interpolation included[24]—and this is also how it is presented in YBL and in a slightly expanded

22 In the case of LL, the major point telling against such an interpretation is the presence therein (just noted) of the poem from Interpolation 1.

23 See O'Rahilly 1976, 266n..

24 This brings to mind the comment of Gregory Toner (2009, 120) that H 'appears to have been interested in the historical veracity of the texts in the manuscript but was not attempting to produce coherent, consistent narratives'.

format in LL.[25] Although H made a concerted effort at the start and end of the interpolation to meld his material into the neighbouring text, the main body of what he added is not directly connected with the surrounding narrative; consequently it is not as well integrated into the *Táin* as Interpolation 2.

The fourth intervention by H constitutes the last part of the LU *Táin* before it breaks off incomplete. Scribe M started a sentence with *Foídís Medb*; the rest of the column was erased; the original rubricated title attached to the large initial 'F' was removed; a new title *Comrac Maind* was substituted in its place; and this text was entered by H *in rasura*. The grounds for including it in a critical edition of the first recension are slim. There is a strong possibility that it was actually composed by H himself; furthermore, the next episode in the story, preserved in both YBL and O'C., also begins with the words *Foídis Medb*, and may actually be closer to the original Recension 1 text.

Lebor na hUidre and the Yellow Book of Lecan

Because LU was in North Connacht in the period between 1359 and 1470, Tomás Ó Con Cheanainn (1996, 71–3) saw it as the source of a number of surviving texts in YBL; indeed, he believed (1983) that Giolla Íosa Mac Fhir Bhisigh transcribed the YBL *Táin* directly from LU with omission of the H-interpolations. Such a relationship between LU and YBL (and other North Connacht manuscripts) has not found favour among other scholars and the arguments advanced against such an interpretation have been conveniently assembled recently by Ruairí Ó hUiginn (2015, xviii–xix) and Nollaig Ó Muraíle (2015, 198–203).

Particularly illuminating with regard to the relationship between LU and YBL is Máire Herbert's analysis of *Aided Nath Í* 'The Violent Death of Nath Í', a text preserved in both these manuscripts, as well as in the Book of Ballymote.[26] From a detailed collation of the three witnesses, she concludes (2015, 90) that 'while all ultimately derive from a common archetype, none is a direct copy of another'. She shows how the additions to the LU copy of *Aided Nath Í*, by both M and H,[27] were made from a version which was also the ancestor of the text in YBL. Herbert (2015, 97) also points to the different approaches taken by M and H to the adding of material to the *Aided*: M's additions are 'usually recognisable as secondary' while H is more concerned with physically making space for the interpolations but is not concerned with distinguishing between them and the original M material. Similarly, Liam Breatnach (2015), in an examination of *Immram Curaig Maíle*

25 Strachan and O'Keeffe 1912, ll. 1639–43, 1709 (ll. 1643–708 are taken directly from LU and are not in YBL); O'Rahilly 1967, ll. 1973–83.

26 Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, MS 23 P 12 (compiled *c*. 1384–1406).

27 Duncan 2015, 51 identifies this writer as H1, the same hand she deems responsible for the Táin interpolations.

Dúin 'The Voyage of Máel Dúin's Coracle' (preserved in LU, YBL, Harleian MS 5280,[28] and partially in Eg.), presents detailed evidence to show that the text scribed by M in LU differs significantly from those in YBL/Harl.; that the YBL/Harl. texts are not copied directly or indirectly from LU; and that the YBL/Harl. copies and the part of the *Immram* scribed by H—identified by Duncan (2015, 51) as H3—must derive from the same ultimate source. Thus, both Herbert and Breatnach would posit an earlier source underpinning YBL and parts of LU.

This idea of an earlier source, while it contributes to our understanding of how the first recension of the *Táin* was created, still leaves some important issues unresolved. Similar to *Aided Nath Í*, a significant number of the later additions by M to the *Táin*—many listed by Tomás Ó Con Cheanainn (1983, 176–7)[29]—would seem to come from an earlier source underpinning LU and YBL. More significantly, however, the picture that emerges for the H-interpolations—which in the examples adduced by Herbert (H1) and Breatnach (H3) are seen to derive from such a source—will not work for the first recension of the *Táin* because, as we have seen, apart from some minor exceptions these additions to the LU copy are not present in the version in YBL. We will need to compare the entire range of H's interventions against the extant versions of these texts in YBL (and in other manuscripts) to identify the variety of sources at his disposal. Such an undertaking might help to give non-palaeographical support for the separation of H into a number of different scribes as articulated by Elizabeth Duncan, and to help in their stratification. Finally, in this regard it is salutory to remind ourselves of the comments of the editors of the YBL recension of *Táin Bó Cúailnge* (Strachan and O'Keeffe, 1912, x) who argue that the 'text of the YBL... apart from orthographical peculiarities... is, on the whole, superior to that of the LU'.

Conclusions

The aim here is not to dismiss the importance of the H-interpolations in LU and the notable role they play in our understanding of the make-up and development of the *Táin* narrative complex, particularly as later additions are often as traditional and significant as earlier ones. Nevertheless, I believe that these interpolations have been given undue prominence in our analysis of the first recension of the *Táin*. Despite the fact that they are later additions— though not significantly later if we accept the reasonably early date advanced for H and the fact that he was reworking pre-existing written materials—the central importance attached to these H-interpolations is predicated on their survival in our oldest manuscript witness to the text. If they were present only in YBL (even if they contained materials

28 British Library, London, MS Harleian 5280 (early 16th century) [Harl.].

29 He interprets the evidence of these glosses differently, however, believing (p.175) that the YBL *Táin* 'was redacted directly' from the interpolated text of LU.

dated linguistically early), it is my opinion that they would not have cast the same shadow over scholarship on the *Táin*. Similarly, if only a later copy of the LU *Táin* had survived, the physical singularity of these interventions would not be as observable and they would have taken their place—fully integrated into the text, ironically enough—with other scribal interventions present in the narrative, some recognised as such, some which have probably remained unidentified. However, comparison with other manuscripts, particularly YBL, would always have brought the substance of these particular passages and their additional nature back into focus.

Although an early generation of scholars saw H's interventions in the first recension of the *Táin* (and in LU in general) as 'rude and violent' (Best and Bergin, 1929, xvi), nevertheless, they saw these additions as forming an integral part of the text as we see from the editions of Strachan and O'Keeffe (1912, vii), and O'Rahilly (1967, xxv–xxxvi). The language of the H-interpolations—early materials both linked together and to the central narrative by short sentences and brief passages of Middle Irish which H may have composed—shows us that the written and oral 'matter of Ulster' was a rich and bountiful source in the Middle Irish period, one which had much to add to any telling of this epic, in essence to create another multiform of the original.[30] All the interventions by H are of significance; none should be ignored. However, the fact that they must occupy a central place in an edition of LU, or of the LU *Táin*, should not blind us to the fact that we might need to be more circumspect about their inclusion in any critical edition of the first recension. We might follow the 'Guidelines for Editors of Scholarly Editions' published by the Modern Language Association, where its summary of the editorial discipline reads: 'the scholarly edition's basic task is to present a reliable text: scholarly editions make clear what they promise and keep their promises'. [31]

Abbreviations

A: The scribe who wrote *c*. 12% of Lebor na hUidre; some texts including *Táin Bó Cúailnge* were begun by A and completed by M (the reverse does not occur).
Eg.: British Library, Egerton MS 1782.
H: The interpolator in Lebor na hUidre; *c*. 28% of the manuscript is in his hand. Gearóid Mac Eoin (1994) believes that H may have been a member of the Roscommon Uí Mhaoil Chonaire scribal family. It has recently been suggested

30 For discussion, see Slotkin 1978–9, 449–50.
31 Published by the Committee on Scholarly Editions (2006, 23–46, 47–9, at 48). I wish to thank Prof. Máire Herbert and two anonymous reviewers for their perceptive comments on the final draft of this article.

by Elizabeth Duncan (2015) that H actually represents the work of six different scribes.

Harl.: British Library, London, MS Harleian 5280.

LL: Trinity College Dublin MS 1339 (*olim* H 2 18), The Book of Leinster.

LU: Royal Irish Academy MS 1229 (*olim* 23 E 25), Lebor na hUidre.

M: The principal scribe of Lebor na hUidre, responsible for writing *c*. 60% of the manuscript.

O'C.: Maynooth, Russell Library MS 3a1 (O'Curry MS 1).

TBC1: C. O'Rahilly, *Táin Bó Cúailnge: Recension 1* (Dublin, 1976).

TBCY: J. Strachan and J.G. O'Keeffe, *The Táin Bó Cúailnge from the Yellow Book of Lecan with Variant Readings from the Lebor na hUidre* (Dublin, 1912).

YBL: Trinity College Dublin MS 1318 (*olim* H 2 16), The Yellow Book of Lecan.

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The Pride of Heroes and the Problems of Readers of Medieval Celtic Literature

Anders Ahlqvist Lecture, 2016

Joseph Falaky Nagy

It is both an honor and a pleasure, not to mention a reassuring change of pace, to be invited to give a lecture named in honor of someone who not only is still very much alive but is a distinguished presence in the audience. I thank Katja, Alexandra, Ilona, and all the members of the Society for this opportunity and for all they have done to make Scandinavia a site of stimulating and ground-breaking Celtic studies.

Returning to the scholar who is honored in this lecture, I am sure I speak for everyone in the profession in offering praise to Professor Emeritus Ahlqvist for all he has done for the study of Celtic languages and literatures, for all he has taught us, and for all the solutions he has offered to some of the most difficult problems one can encounter in the field. Compared to him, we are all, or at least I am, merely on the level of the white cat with the Welsh name chasing mice in the famous Old Irish poem that is the subject of Professor Ahlqvist's contribution to a recent *Festschrift*.[1] He of course would be the 'I' of the poem, the scholar who, viewing the cat and its hunting with sympathetic bemusement, approaches his tasks with zest and vigor, on a level of insight all his own.

The first time Professor Ahlqvist visited my then-university to lecture (in Los Angeles), the topic of his illuminating paper was the gender-switching of certain Irish and Latin nouns. It is my hope that what I am about to say carries some trace of what he taught his audience then and on many other occasions since, in many other places, about ambiguity, nuance, and the ability of language and literature to adapt to changing subjects, audiences, and circumstances.

Doubtless many of us as teachers of and proselytizers for medieval Celtic literature have experienced what I am about to describe. For an audience of students, colleagues, or general public interested enough to sample more of what they have only heard about or what they have already tentatively tried, the lecturer assigns or recommends readings of Irish or Welsh texts (in translation of course) that do not require too much of a specialized knowledge and that will, it could be assumed, ably represent the corpus we know and love so well. Then, as the neophytes start to read the texts—particularly texts that we might characterize as heroic tales or sagas—troubling, very basic questions about interpretation start to arise, especially from the more perceptive readers (as good as the translations

1 Ahlqvist 2016.

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might be). Questions such as: 'What just happened'? 'Who is the main character in this story'? 'Isn't there a contradiction between what happened or was said in episode X and what happened or was said in episode Y'? 'Didn't the story go off the rails (or get lost on a tangent)'? 'Is there something wrong with the text, or did something terrible happen to it on the way to us in the present'?

Needless to say, questions from beginning readers are always welcome, and these in particular can lead to illuminating discussions with our initiands about the material in question. In fact, these questions are ones that scholars in the field of medieval Celtic studies are still posing to our texts and to one another, albeit in perhaps a more sophisticated and particularized fashion. And the answers with which we come up are not that different from what we usually give those students and other novice readers who are asking those questions I listed before—queries that are often redolent with frustration and even resentment at the material.

One kind of response accords with the oft-used line of L. P. Hartley's, 'The past is a foreign country: they do things differently there':[2] that to expect medieval texts to be readable with modern eyes is hoping for too much; that they told, read, and wrote things differently 'there'; and that we somehow have to steer our reading competence around that difference onto the other side of it. 'Their' aesthetics, their sense of balance and literary accomplishment, 'their' critical agenda were all, bluntly put, 'other' than ours.

A variant of this approach would urge us as modern readers to shift our critical priorities from what we would consider in art to be pleasing, successfully executed, artfully embedded, and hence 'timeless' to an aesthetic where the whole point of preserving an old text or story—'old' from the perspective of the medieval author—is to plug it into his contemporary circumstances and make it work for current purposes. Once, according to this guide to reading medieval Celtic literature, we are sufficiently apprised of that erstwhile relevance and appreciate its centrality to our reading of the text in question, all its peculiarities will fade in their significance, approximating how these were, supposedly, of lesser import to the author himself and his intended readership than they are to detail-obsessed scholars of a later age. This approach sometimes ends up viewing text as first and foremost a social charter having to do with claims of ownership and privilege, or a *roman à clef* with a heavily political agenda.

A more concrete strategy in the apologetics we have devised for defending medieval Celtic literature from unsympathetic readings is one that, instead of blaming us for being myopic denizens of our own time and place, highlights the logistical difficulties involved in conveying a text from 'then/there' to 'now/here'. Taking this tack, we can point to the vicissitudes of transmission—including

2 These are the opening words of his novel *The Go-Between* (1953, 9).

changes in language, the inevitable instances of human error, and unfavorable historical circumstances, all of which can act in concert to degrade the quality of a text that originally might have been much more coherent and integrated.

A related excuse for the purportedly poor or defective quality of our texts, one that was more popular in the last century than it is now, focuses on the vicissitudes surrounding the birthing of a text, particularly heroic sagas, in the assumption that these are or at least begin as transcriptions of oral performances—attempts to translate oral into written that are taxed by the sheer practical difficulty of doing so in an era long before electronic recording devices: a time burdened by the incompatibility of oral and written media, and perhaps marred by the failure of the transcriber to carry through with the project to what for us would be a satisfying degree. We also encounter in earlier scholarship the argument that proposes a variant of the previous scenario—that what we find and struggle with in the early vernacular narrative corpus are more like sketchy 'crib' notes, jotted down in anticipation of spoken performance, rather than the hastily compiled field notes imagined by the previously described argument.

These various hermeneutic models for understanding why the literature or at least some of our surviving texts are the way they are, may not solve all of our problems as readers and critics, and there is the dangerous assumption of *defect* in each of them. Let us look at some particular texts and at the particular problems they pose—cruces that, while we may just have organized them into different types, often converge, upon closer inspection.

The Middle-Irish saga text from the Ulster cycle, *Mesca Ulad*, 'The Drunkenness of the Ulstermen'[3] gives us a prime example of what seems to be a **narrative *non sequitur*,** a deviating turn in the story arc that takes us in a direction we did not expect to be taking. Of course, the designating title assigned in manuscripts to this text, indexing inebriation and confusion, already hints at an impending difficulty for us in trying to follow the text or even in assuming its underlying coherence. The 'indirection' here abruptly jerks us away from a narrative that has to do with a contention among three characters of the Ulster cycle for the kingship of the province, and for their right to offer the most regal feast to the Ulstermen.[4] This internal discord, once resolved (at least temporarily), leads to a careening ride fueled by too much drink and guided by the hero Cú Chulainn, who usually proves to be a much better guide, down into the province of Munster and the home of that perennial 'other' in the Ulster cycle, the warrior-king Cú Roí, who happens to be hosting Ailill and Medb, the king and queen of Connacht, characters well known

3 Watson 1941.

4 Determining the centers and areas of control associated with these three figures (Conchobar, Cú Chulainn, and particularly Fintan mac Néill Níamglonnaig) in the province is undertaken in MacErlean 2013, 4-8.

to be no more amicably disposed toward the Ulstermen than is their host. The story ends with the hard-won escape of the Ulster heroes from this detour-turned-deadly trap, and with some details of the aftermath.

Another text from the Ulster cycle that has become virtually a poster boy for a certain kind of narratological problem vexing modern readers both beginning and seasoned, is *Táin Bó Fraích*, 'The Cattle Raid of Fráech' (Meid 2015), a late-Old-Irish text that, while featuring a 'friendly appearance' by a genuine Ulster hero, Conall Cernach, primarily works with a Connacht cast of characters—Ailill and Medb again, and the local hero Fráech. The casting, however, is not what occasions the reader's problems. Rather, this text vexes insofar as it features, indeed pivots on, **narrative inconsistency.** Fráech is introduced by the text as an eligible bachelor—a fact that provides the text with the premise for Findabair's (Ailill and Medb's daughter's) falling in love with him on the basis of what she has heard about Fráech. His desire for a (suitable) mate motivates his decision to go forth and woo her with impressive possessions and gifts given to him for the purpose of wooing by his mother and aunt, both women of the *síd* 'otherworld'.

Well more than halfway through the text, Fráech, having with considerable difficulty won Findabair and overcome the obstacles placed in his way by her father Ailill, returns home only to learn—along with the surprised reader—that his wife, children, and cattle have been stolen in his absence by marauders from Lombardy. While we are not surprised to learn that someone so noble and desirable possessed a herd, we are more than a little shocked by the revelation that there were a wife and children to whom Fráech was returning. The hero's mother, who conveys the bad news of the abduction to him, seems equally discomfited by this revelation of previous marital commitment—the twist in the story not only that Fráech already had a family when he set out to woo Findabair, but that the story itself has tricked us into believing that he did not. Specifically, Fráech's mother actually tries to discourage her son from going forth to recover his kidnapped wife, children, and cows—saying that the mission is far too risky, and besides she can easily supply him with more cattle.[5] (It is as if she were saying to Fráech, 'Do not take the story off course and spoil what you have able to bring about in it, no small thanks to my assistance and also to my having brought about your healing from a mortal wound'—the latter detail one that we will examine shortly.)

Fráech, however, ignores his mother and sets out on a new adventure—in effect a 'rebooting' of his story, which, in addition to bringing Conall Cernach into the mix, comes closer to the *táin* genre highlighted in the title assigned to the text. Nevertheless, the latter is still playing tricks on us, for, as Vincent Dunn has

5 *'Do-génae nephthecht dia cuindchid. Ni-tibérae th'anmain forru', olsi.'Rot-biat baí lem-sa cenae Ní-rogébthar', ol a máthair, 'a con-daigi*' (Meid 2015, 48).

pointed out,[6] the main character is not about to commence a raid of someone else's cattle, as is the case in most *tána*, but a quest to recover his own.

Táin Bó Fraích perhaps prepares us for this striking inconsistency about Fráech's marital status or alludes to its centrality in our reception of the text by means of feinting gestures subtly incorporated into the flow of events, both those leading up to and those subsequent to this disruptive revelation that the hero and we receive back home. Back in the 'wooing' part of the narrative, in his climactic speech to the Connacht court, when Fráech is called upon to explain how he had come into possession of the precious thumb-ring Ailill had entrusted to his daughter, and how he had recovered it from the depths of the pond into which Ailill had thrown it with malicious intent, Fráech actually *lies*. He says he found it fallen on the floor—this is not true, according to the narrative: he received it from Findabair as a token of her love. Making this scene all the more worthy of inclusion in an appendix to Philip O'Leary's survey of verbal deceit in Ulster-Cycle tales,[7] what Fráech receives in response to his explanation, a public fabrication, is, says our text, the approval and admiration of all those who heard it. Heroes may deceive in private, as O'Leary points out, but they rarely lie when asseverating in front of an audience, as does the hero of *Táin Bó Fraích*.

Such deceit also occurs earlier in the text, when Fráech swims in the pond at Crúacháin to obtain the especially tasty and beautiful rowan berries for his potential father-in-law Ailill at the latter's request. Of course, there is mendacity underlying Ailill's asking for the fruit. When Fráech is about to set forth into the water to demonstrate the truth of what Ailill has heard, that he is good in the water, he asks Ailill whether there is anything in the pond he should be warned about. No, says Ailill, it is eminently safe for swimming[8]—a lie, since Fráech (whose reputation as a good swimmer receives confirmation in this episode) is being sent into the pond to encounter a deadly monster that Ailill clearly knows is there, a creature that it would seem is guarding the rowan tree and its berries. With Findabair's aid, Fráech survives and triumphs in the encounter with the beast, but he emerges from the pond very badly wounded. He seems to be at death's door when a band of otherworldly women approach Crúacháin, performing a *golgaire*, a lament or keen. Knowing that these women have been dispatched by his supernatural mother and aunt (who may be in the band themselves), Fráech asks that he be entrusted to them, and he is

6 Dunn 1989, 82-91.

7 O'Leary 1986.

8 '*Ad fiadar dam*', *ol Ailill*, '*at maith i n-usciu. Tair issin lindi se co-naccamar do shnámh*'. '*Cindas na linde se?*' *olse*. '*Ni-fetammar nach ndodaing indi*', *ol Ailill, ocus is comtig fothrucud indi*' (Meid 2015, 45); 'They tell me', said Ailill, 'you are good in water. Get into this pool so that we may see your swimming'. 'What kind of a pool is this?' [Fróech] asked. 'We do not know of anything dangerous in it', said Ailill, 'and it is customary to bathe in it'" (Meid 2015, 69).

taken away, only to be returned the next day fully healed and as good as new. But the women of the *síd* who return him and were presumably responsible for his cure *are still singing their gol*—a repeat performance seemingly even more affecting than before, which literally knocks the hearers down, according to the text, and becomes, it claims, the template for the 'otherworldly women's lament music', the *golgaire ban síde*, that mortal musicians thenceforth perform.[9]

One can understand why the female troop would be lamenting on their way to collect the dying Fráech—but why the encore? Is their mournful reprise sending out a message that is meant to contradict what appears to be the outcome of this episode? Or is it anticipating Fráech's demise at the hands of Cú Chulainn in the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*?—after all, the *Táin Bó Fraích* starts out by characterizing its hero as not only unmarried but short-lived, *acht níba suthain*.[10] Or, I would argue what is the most likely possibility, perhaps the text is cross-referring to the alternative tradition attested in later ballad poetry according to which Fráech died as a result of his battle with the pond monster.[11] In any event, it is as if the text were training us to be on the alert for ambiguity at best, deception at worst, not just in the words of the characters and details of the story but in the text's own narrative authority.

Further ambiguation happens beyond Fráech's sly speech about the ring. When on the search for his family and cattle in the Lombard Alps, the hero and his recently acquired companion Conall encounter a female shepherd whose mother was Irish, and then an Ulsterwoman herding the cattle of the reivers whose track Fráech has been following. In each of the heroes' two conversations, with first the one and then the other female, there is a designation of who is *tairisse* 'reliable, trustworthy, a known quantity'.[12] The women the heroes encounter on their quest they deem to be *tairisse*, not least because they are fellow countrymen, while Fráech expresses considerable doubt about whether his wife is *tairisse* now that she has been abducted. Is he doubtful on account of a suspicion that she actually eloped with the Lombards? Does he fear that the unnamed wife has fallen prey to a medieval Irish version of the 'Stockholm Syndrome'? Or is he referring to the instability of this wife as a member of the cast, which was missing her at the beginning of the drama? In any case, the two women he encounters on his quest seem indeed to be trustworthy—they provide good directions, good advice, and even assistance: the cowherd leaves the gates of the fort open, enabling our heroes to launch a surprise attack. But in one respect the *tairisiu*, the trustworthiness of

9 *Ad-agat a ngol oc dul úad co-corastar na doíni bátar issind liss tar cenn. Is de atá golgaire mban side la háes cíuil Érenn* (Meid 2015, 46)
10 Meid 2015, 41.
11 Ross 1939, 198-206; see Meek 1984 [1], 6.
12 Meid 2015, 49.

what is said, particularly by the second female, is rendered highly suspect in light of what actually happens. The cowherd emphatically warns the heroes about the *naithir* 'snake' that is guarding the fortress, a monster that, she says, will give them more trouble than anything or anyone else in their planned attack on the reivers.[13] Yet once the assault commences, the serpent turns out to be pet more than *péist*, jumping into Conall's belt, staying there docilely until the fight is over, and then leaving peacefully with, the text says, neither hero nor serpent having harmed the other.[14] Whatever the reason for this surprising anti-climax's taking place, once again an assertion has been made (this time, by the supposedly trustworthy cowherd) that has proven to be wrong, false, and/or a case of exaggeration. In contrast to the danger lurking in the pond, which Ailill had underplayed with malicious intent, the snake's ferocity is overestimated by the cowherd, or Conall's ability to control such creatures is underestimated. Amidst all these instances of indirection in *Táin Bó Fraích*, the most flagrant of all—that Fráech actually was married—starts to seem almost insignificant or at least of a piece with the rest of what happens in the story as told here.

A text with too many *dramatis personae* (though while Findabair is a presence, we must admit that the 'other' consort of Fráech's is not), *Táin Bó Fraích* presents a contrast to the third text to be considered in this paper. In all of its surviving recensions, *Scéla Muicce Meic Dathó* 'Account of Mac Dathó's Pig'[15] tells a story that in the context of the Ulster Cycle, where it clearly belongs, is pointedly missing a character we would most expect to see under the given narrative circumstances. I characterize this narratological trait apparent here and elsewhere as **intentional omission**. It is not just essential characters, story details, or elements of background that our texts sometimes omit—we also struggle in our reading of medieval Celtic texts with the phenomenon of the text that leaves a story unfinished. This is the case, for example, with a text that has given scholars many opportunities for critical reading, research, and puzzlement over the years, the picaresque *Acallam na Senórach* 'Dialogue of the Old Ones'.[16] Arguably, this late-Middle-Irish Fenian text was designed from the beginning of its existence to lack an ending, because this is supposed to be a never-ending story, centering on characters whose store of

13 '*Ansu dúib cach rét*', *olsi*,'*ind nathir fil oc imdegail ind liss*' (Meid 2015, 49).

14 As the heroes' attack on the fortress commences: *Fo-ceird ind nathir bedg i criss Conaill Chernaig*. . . . [After the fort has been sacked, and Fróech's family rescued,] *ocus léicid Conall in nathir assa chriss, ocus ni dergéni nechtar n-aí olc fria chéile* (Meid 2015, 49-50); 'The serpent makes a dart into the belt of Conall Cernach. . . . And Conall lets the serpent out of his belt, and neither of them had done any harm towards the other' [Meid 2015, 74]).

15 Thurneysen 1935.

16 Stokes 1900.

lore they are eager to share is clearly inexhaustible, their protestations of age and weariness notwithstanding.

Returning to *Scéla Muicce Meic Dathó*, we confront a title that signals a switch in the narrative focus of the text. The problem it sets out at the beginning has nothing to do with the titular pig but centers on the wealthy Leinsterman Mac Dathó's dog, the best of canines and the guardian of the whole province, which is requested by both the king of Ulster and the king and queen of Connacht. Each side promises to reward Mac Dathó more than handsomely for the gift. That such warrior-like competitors are striving for possession of the famous hound makes symbolic sense, as Gregory Toner has pointed out, since the dog of medieval Celtic tradition often serves as an icon of martial character and accomplishment.[17] Diverging from the usual interpretation of the text's depiction of Mac Dathó's wife as misogynistic and misguided, Toner opines that the solution she offers to her husband's dilemma makes more sense than it is usually accorded, given that either side would probably take terrible revenge if their request were refused. Namely, she proposes that he grant both requests, invite everyone to a feast, and then let the two factions vie with each other for the dog, or let the dog decide with whom it would want to leave. Thus, in fighting for possession of the dog, each side will have the chance to demonstrate the validity of their claim to what, Toner proposes, is a symbol of martial superiority: Mac Dathó's dog, a paradigmatic specimen of an animal that the Irish literary imagination regularly aligns with the human warrior.

And yet the tale is not titled *Scéla Con Meic Dathó*—rather, it is the massive pig served up by Mac Dathó to his hostilely-inclined dinner-guests that is the titular mascot of the piece. And the main event that plays out in the story, the contest between the outstanding members of the Ulster and Connacht contingents, is not centered on the issue of who will own the dog but on the privilege of dividing the pig, and on the related matter of which side should receive the bigger and better portions. So why, we may well ask, does the pig replace the dog as the focus of attention and contest? Further, we are left wondering whether the (domesticated) pig carries symbolic weight in this drama comparable to the iconic heft of the dog.

We will return to these questions shortly. I just note now in passing that the seemingly arbitrary backgrounding of the dog and the ominous interprovincial tension centered on it that the narrative effects, and its concomitant foregrounding of a pig contended over in the confines of a Leinster feast, present to our following the story a challenge similar to the disorientation we encounter in the *Mesca Ulad.* There, a provincial squabble gives way to (yet another) interprovincial incident of grave proportions. Here, in *Scéla Muicce Meic Dathó*, the dog at least does return to the story, unleashed by Mac Dathó after a battle commences in and spills out

17 Toner 2010, 267.

of his hostel, after the pig is divided by Conall Cernach, the winner of the contest, who of course favors his fellow Ulstermen in his carving-up of the pig. So, at least in the end, the prized dog is not forgotten about, although it is killed in the end, frustrating the kings of both provinces in their rival attempts to own it.

There remains, however, a telling absence from the story the *Scéla* tells. The main hero of the Ulster cycle, Cú Chulainn, the most likely contender for the top-warrior spot in this cast of characters and for the privilege of dividing the pig, is conspicuously left out of the proceedings. It has been proposed by way of explanation that this absence is more an indication of the story's belonging to a stratum of the Ulster cycle where Cú Chulainn did not yet figure—an argument that goes hand in hand with the surmise that he is a later-introduced member of or even an interloper in the cycle's heroic ensemble. Another approach to explaining the omission is to see it as an authorial assertion that stories about these particular heroes do not *have* to depend upon Cú Chulainn's presence and participation—an intentional demotion along the lines of the inclusion of Cú Chulainn seemingly only as an after-thought in the great battle fought at the end of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*.

There are, though, possible hints that Cú Chulainn *is* present *sub rosa* in *Scéla Muicce Meic Dathó* despite his not being accounted for, a presence-in-absence similar to the way that the alternative, grimmer ending to Fráech's fight with the lake-beast lies under the surface of *Táin Bó Fraích.* I would not be the first to suggest that the Connacht charioteer Fer Loga who slays the dog, hijacks Conchobar and his chariot, and ends up receiving the forced adulation of the women of Ulster is a distorting-mirror image of Cú Chulainn, another 'man of Lug' (his secret supernatural father according to a strand of the tradition),[18] and also, famously, the slayer of a ferocious guard-dog, whose function he actually assumes.[19] After all, like the wily charioteer, Cú Chulainn is another manipulator of Conchobar and usurper of his chariot, and another recipient of the collective love of the Ulsterwomen, although in Cú Chulainn's case, they really do love him.[20]

The possible mention of Lug in *Scéla*, the clear implication that the dog Ailbe, the initial bone of contention among Mac Dathó's guests, came to its owner via divine agency, whether Christian or pre-Christian (*Ailbe do-roid dia; nicon fes cia o tucad*), and the awesome proportions of Mac Dathó's pig, fed on a sinisterly mixed diet of the milk of sixty cows laced with poison—these details point to another hurdle that stands in the way of our reading and understanding of medieval Irish saga, an impediment to which one can grow used, but that, like

18 O'Rahilly 1976, 65 (the stranger says to *Cú Chulainn: Iss messe do athair a ssídib .i. Lug mac Ethlend* 'I am your father from the side, Lug son of Ethliu').

19 This assumption of function and name occurs in a famous *macgním(rad)*: O'Rahilly 1976, 19.

20 This love connection, crucial to its plot, is mentioned in the *Serglige Con Culainn* 'Wasting Sickness of Cú Chulainn' (Dillon 1953, 2).

the other obstruction we have discussed, keeps us guessing as to whether it is just a distraction or a recondite clue to how our texts are constructed and what or how they 'mean'. This problem confronts the reader right away in the previously discussed *Mesca Ulad*, where the text opens with the clear implication that what is about to happen in the story results not from any internal tension among the heroic characters featured, but from an external influence: the troublemaking efforts of the subterranean Túatha Dé Danann among the descendants of the sons of Míl. (The latter, the ancestors of the Irish, banished the Túatha Dé, Ireland's previous occupants, from the surface of the island.)[21] Similarly widening the 'big picture' behind a story is the emphasis placed in *Táin Bó Fraích* on Fráech's supernatural relations, his mother Bé Find and her sister Bóand. Does the text invite us to trace a subtextual link between the vital contribution these otherworldly denizens make to the progress of our hero and the obstacles he faces from two mysterious monsters, the first appearing in 'Part One' and the second in 'Part Two', and to assume a continuation of this supernatural strain in the strange affinity between Conall Cernach and the monstrous snake?

These surfacings of deeper structures point to a **mythological substratum** evident in many other medieval Irish saga texts beyond those we have considered. It consists of embedded characters, motifs, and patterns that arguably pre-date Christianity and the coming of literacy, and that adhere to a world-view co-existing uncomfortably with the perspective of the literary culture that emerges in early medieval Ireland. The presence of this substratum constitutes a problem in that the reader is tempted to see it as offering the key to understanding a story when in fact, at least in some instances, it is probably not a *substratum* but really a *superstratum*, added by the literary author to invest the text with some sort of cachet or to have a desired effect on its reader or audience. Leading questions to be asked about the presence of 'myth' in any given text are: is the author-storyteller 'compelled' by the mythological elements to include them, because they would be deemed necessary to any telling of this particular story by the storyteller and/or the audience? And, to what extent can the author tweak or even shape those obligatory elements to suit his own purposes?

There is a 'mythological' component in *Scéla Muicce Meic Dathó* that has received scant if any attention in scholarly readings of the text. When taken into account, however, it helps us understand the previously mentioned sudden shift from dog to pig and gives a good example of how such components, while coming with their own deep-seated agenda, are flexible enough to serve authorial purposes. This submerged component is the widespread myth of the hunt for a formidable boar. Comparing what transpires in the *Scéla* with the sequence of events and

21 This arrangement is cited in the prologue to the *Mesca Ulad*, which seems to set up a primeval motivation for what will transpire in the story (Watson 1941, 1).

outcomes in various Celtic and other instantiations of this story pattern, which is widely attested in various Indo-European traditions, is to appreciate all the more the inevitability of the pandemonium that ultimately breaks out in the story.[22] The mythological boar-hunt, as we shall see, leads to temporary triumph followed by discord and social disintegration. And just because the mythological pig is already dead in the *Scéla* from the moment it is introduced does not mean that conflicts resulting from the killing of the pig (in this case a domestic one) do not emerge, or that an imperative to distribute the portions of the pig, or the heroic credit for slaying it, does not come into play. Even the cooked pork of a domesticated swine, such as the meat of Mac Dathó's pig, can be as deadly, and as poisonous, as the most ferocious living boar encountered by hunters in the wild.

Two well-known examples from the world of traditional tale demonstrate that, as successful as the chase itself might prove to be, the outcome of a boar-hunt can be as devastating as what happens at the end of *Scéla Muicce*. In the Classical story of the Calydonian boar hunt, as told in full by the Latin poet Ovid in *Metamorphoses*, Book 8,[23] and already attested in the *Iliad*, the huge ravaging beast sent by the goddess Artemis to punish the Calydonians for having ignored her is duly slain by the heroes gathered for the task. The real danger unfolds in the subsequent argument over the distribution of the spoils and over the awarding of credit for having actually killed the boar (different levels of credit symbolized by different pig parts): a process mishandled by the hero Meleager and leading to his slaying his mother's brothers, and ultimately to his own death at the hands of his mother.

In Phoenix's retelling of the story of Meleager in Book 9 of the *Iliad*,[24] where he is being called upon to save his city from invaders who were provoked into attacking it by the botched aftermath of the boar hunt, we find Meleager with his wife Cleopatra, who pleads with him to put family feuding aside, leave the bedroom, and drive away this new threat, just as he previously saved the city of Calydon from the destructively uprooting boar. In Ovid, however, a new love interest is introduced earlier on in the story, possibly imported, according to the late Charles Segal, from a lost play by Euripides about Meleager.[25] The Amazonian Atalanta is part of the all-star hunting team in this version of the story, and Meleager, who takes a fancy to her, wants Atalanta to be awarded the boar's head in acknowledgment of her having drawn the boar's blood first, with her arrow. The

22 On the venerable pedigree of the mythical boar-hunt, see Ford 1990 and Bromwich and Evans 1992, lxiv-lxx.

23 Lines 270-541. Segal 1992 traces the history of the story in extant Classical sources, including the fifth-century Greek poet Bacchylides' Fifth Epinician Ode (lines 75-154).

24 Lines 527-99.

25 Segal 1999, 302, n. 4.

men assembled for the hunt, including Meleager's uncles, will not stand for this judgment, and murderous chaos ensues.

Another well-known example of a boar hunted by heroes that ultimately leads to more of a loss for them than a gain in prestige, is the much closer-to-home medieval Welsh text *Culhwch ac Olwen*.[26] Here too, as in Ovid, *cherchez la femme*—the whole point of Arthur and company's hunt for the mega-boar and erstwhile king Twrch Trwyth is to win the giant's daughter Olwen as a wife for Arthur's cousin Culhwch (a young man whose name paradoxically means 'Pig-Pen', according to the text, or 'Pig-Pig', according to a proposed etymology of the first and the given meaning of the second name-element).[27] The goal of this hunt, however, is not necessarily to slay the boar but to fetch the shaving implements on its head, which Olwen's father demands and needs for his own proper presentation at the wedding.

True, the implements are snatched off Twrch Trwyth's head, though at great cost of life to Arthur's hunting party, Ysbaddaden receives his shave, and Culhwch wins the girl, but the 'collateral damage' is even more grievous (in the context of this heroic milieu) than the many lives lost. Returning proudly from a mission accomplished, with a leash made out of the whiskers of another giant, an implement that will be necessary for employing the right dog to hunt the boar, Arthur's right-hand man Cei is insulted by Arthur, who on the spot unexpectedly composes a poetic quip satirizing Cei. Arthur mockingly claims in the verse that in a fair fight the giant would have killed Cei. The up-until-now ever-reliable companion of Arthur's takes such offense that he leaves the retinue, never to help Arthur again, and so he does not participate in the hunt for Twrch Trwyth, yet to come in the story. Who knows how useful Cei would have been had he stayed, and how much more smoothly the pursuit might have gone?

Not all pig-hunts end on a note of irreparable damage. The hunt for the wild boar can serve as a rite of passage for the young hero with no immediate harm done except to the boar. In the early middle-Irish *Macgnímrada Finn* 'Boyhood Deeds of Finn' the boar ravaging the countryside is slain by the young hero after he obtains both the daughter and his weapons from a Munster *flaithgobann* 'royal smith' named Lochan, who warns him about the dangerous ravaging pig on the road up ahead. Finn returns with the head of this beast and gives it as *coibche* 'bride-price' to the smith, his encounter with the monster serving as the occasion for the attachment of the name *Sliab Muic*(*c*)*e* to the place where it happened.[28] I note here the presence of the motifs of the involvement of a female in the proceedings, and of the dividing of the pig, neither of which, in this case, leads to controversy.

26 Bromwich and Evans 1992.
27 Bromwich and Evans 1992, 1; Hamp 1986.
28 Meyer 1882, 200-1; Nagy 1985, 150-1.

A memorable detail from this episode is the slain pig's name, which Lochan the smith says, is *Béo* 'Living'. Given the parallels between the two texts, both powered by essentially the same mythological narrative pattern, the argument can be made that something similar is going on in the episode of the *Macgnimráda Con Culainn* 'Boyhood Deeds of Cú Chulainn' as embedded in the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* 'Cattle Raid of Cúailnge', where Conchobar, badly wounded and found on the battlefield by the young Cú Chulainn, says that if the latter could produce a *mucc f*(*h*)*onaithe* 'cooked pig' for Conchobar to consume, he would be *béo* (*Díanom thísad mucc fonaithe robadam beó*). Having been given this test to prove his resourcefulness on the battlefield, Cú Chulainn finds what he is looking for. He comes across a stranger cooking a *torc* 'boar', which, being dead, is not formidable, although the cook is: *Ba mór a úathmaire ind fhir* 'Great was the fearsomeness of the man'. Undaunted, the young hero slays him and returns to Conchobar with a (human) head for a trophy, and with the boar ready to eat.

We return from this excursion into the world of multiforms of the boar-hunt story pattern with plenty to apply to *Scéla Muicce Meic Dathó.* We now see that a pig, whether alive or dead, wild or domestic, raw or cooked, can carry as much symbolic valence for a hero as a dog can. Deciding who has the privilege to 'divide' the pig can be as contentious an affair as deciding who should own a fabulous dog, and who thereby will proudly possess its symbolic cachet. We also find that the introduction of a 'pig in contention' can resolve or complicate issues between men and women—as in the pillow-talk between Mac Dathó and his wife at the beginning of the *Scéla*, and the forced musical tribute (*gabáil chepóce*) paid by the Ulstermen's women to the charioteer Fer Loga.[29] These themes enter into the story on the back of the pig substituted for or supplementing the dog, but they do not seem alien to the author's original agenda. Indeed, he makes myth work for him and for the story he wants to tell.

*Non sequitur*s, inconsistencies, omissions, and seemingly distracting substrata—these are the traits that we have examined as they present themselves in particular texts, to see whether they are mere scars of survival, insuperable signs of otherness standing in the way of modern critical understanding, or reflexive clues pointing to unsuspected complexities and depths to be found in old texts. Viewing these traits as 'clues' allowed, implanted, and cultivated in the textual space by the medieval author does open up interpretive vistas offered by the tales we have examined, but they still present roadblocks to reading and to any sense we might be presumptuous enough to have of mastering the texts or understanding the semiotic

29 Thurneysen 1935, 3-4, 19-20. On the connotations of this *cepóc*, see Martin 2008, 130-1. Curiously, in the Middle and Early Modern Irish versions of the text, Fer Loga is said not to have received the adulation in song from the Ulster womenfolk after all (Thurneysen 1935, 20, Breatnach 1996, 88).

systems underlying them. Perhaps, though, this humbling of the reader and of our confidence in the power of language to communicate clearly is another service these traits were designed to produce.

For when we read medieval Celtic literature, our latter-day pride in assessing the past often takes a beating, as did the pride of the boasting heroes in the *Scéla Muicce Meic Dathó*. In that text's climactic encounter between the Connacht champion Cet and Conall Cernach, the former admits defeat but expresses the wish that his fellow provincial champion Anlúan were present, to carry on the war of words with Cet's Ulster nemesis and to best him at boasting. To everyone's surprise, Conall, announcing that Anlúan is in fact present, produces his freshly severed head from his belt and casts it violently at Cet, whose mouth is bloodied by the projectile and silenced for the rest of the story.[30] A vestige of a singing head but one that no longer sings or talks;[31] a blunt instrument that brings a sudden end to prideful bluster; a not-at-all subtle reminder of the insubstantiality of the talk of warriors (and of storytellers and readers as well?), especially when compared to the inescapable evidence of a gruesome severed head; and a fleshly monument almost cannibalistically carved that encapsulates what has happened in the story, not unlike the 'carved' textual artefact itself: Anlúan's dead head, which is all these things and more, is as appropriate a 'mascot' of the tale and the literary project that transmitted it to posterity as are Ailbe the doomed hound and the cooked pig of Mac Dathó. [32]

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30 Thurneysen 1935, 16: ocus do-léici do Chet dara bruinni co-rrōemid a loim fola fora bēolu.

31 On more lively heads in Celtic and other Indo-European traditions, see Nagy 2014, 209-31.

32 Compare Künzler 2016 concerning what Anlúan's head adds to the story: 'Therefore, one may see the head as the ultimate hero's portion as it is an equally symbolic piece of meat that stems not from a (dead) pig but from a possible fellow contestant' (276).

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The Ulster Exiles and Thematic Symmetry in Recension I of *Táin Bó Cúailnge*

Tomás Ó Cathasaigh

In *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, when Ailill and Medb of Connacht assemble a mighty army to invade Ulster in order to capture Donn Cúailnge, they might seem assured of success. King Conchobor of Ulster and his warriors are afflicted by *cess*, a debility that prevents them from defending their province; and in the invading army, the Connachta are joined by a division of Ulster exiles, as well as divisions from Munster and Leinster. The Ulster exiles enjoy a privileged position in the army, and play a pivotal part in the unfolding of the plot, and in its resolution.

TBC I opens with some introductory matter, dubbed *titulrad* (l. 134); this is followed by *In Scél iar n-Urd* 'The Story in Due Order', beginning with an account of the first day of the march of the army from Crúachain into Ulster, which takes them to Cúil Silinne.[1] When Ailill's tent has been pitched there, he and Medb naturally have pride of place within it. Four other men are named as being present, all of them exiles from Ulster: Fergus mac Róich is at Ailill's side; next comes Cormac Conn Longas, Conchobor's son; then Conall Cernach; and finally Fíacha mac Fir Fhebe, the son of Conchobor's daughter (*TBC* I, ll. 141-4; p. 129).[2] The eminence accorded the exiles here[3] is one a number of manifestations of their predominance in the early episodes of the *Táin*. As the invasion takes its course, Fergus has a crucial part to play, but it is not until *In Cath Mór* 'the Great Battle', which brings the raid to its ignominious end, that Cormac Conn Longas and Conall Cernach come into their own, acting effectively to facilitate the outcome of the conflict. An examination of the role of the Ulster exiles in the tale, focusing especially on the early episodes and on the Great Battle, reveals a degree of thematic symmetry that is all the more remarkable when we consider that *TBC* I has been characterized as 'nothing more than a mass of workshop fragments, not yet assimilated or amalgamated' (O'Rahilly 1976, xviii).

1 References to *TBC* I and *TBC* II are to O'Rahilly 1976 and 1967, respectively. Text is cited by line, translation by page.

2 Conall Cernach is not mentioned in the somewhat different account in *TBC* II, ll. 299-302; p. 146.

3 In *TBC* II (ll. 304-05; p. 146), Ailill is said to have situated the Ulstermen at his right hand combo fhacsiti in *cocur ⁊* in *comrád ⁊ na hairigthi bíd ⁊ lenna dóib-sium* 'so that the confidential talk and discourse and the choicest portions of food and drink might be nearer to them'.

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Scél and *Remscél*

It has been said of the *Iliad* that 'the opening books of the poem closely resemble in their function the prologue of a tragedy, explaining the situation and introducing the characters' (Carpenter 1946, 83). For the *Táin*, something of this function is performed in the *remscéla* 'fore-tales, prefatory tales', which elucidate important aspects of the situation, and introduce many of the characters. With regard to the Ulster exiles, the most important *remscél* is *Longes mac n-Uislenn* 'The Exile of the Sons of Uisliu' (Hull 1949), which accounts for the exiles' presence among the invaders of their home province.

The first item in the *titulrad* of *TBC* I is a brief account of the muster by Ailill and Medb: the reader is not at this point told, but is evidently expected to know, their purpose.[4] The last item in the *titulrad* is the itinerary of the raiders on their journey from Crúachain, which ends: *A Findabair Chúalngi is ass fodáilte in tslóig Hérend fón cóiced do chuingid in tairb* 'From Findabair in Cúailnge the armies of Ireland spread out over the province in quest of the Bull' (*TBC* I, ll. 131-2; p. 128.).

The opening lines of *TBC* I are as follows:

> *Tarcomlád slóiged mór la Connachtu .i. la hAilill ⁊ la Meidb, ⁊ hetha húaidib cossna trí chóiced aili. Ocus foíte techta ó Ailill co secht macu Mágach .i. co hAilill, co Ánlúan, co Moccorb, co Cet, co Én ⁊ Bascall ⁊ Dóche, trícha cét la cach n-áe, ⁊ co Cormac Cond Longas mac Conchobair cona thríb cétaib boí for condmiud la Connachta. Tecait uile íarum co mbátar hi Crúachnaib Aí.*
>
> A great army was mustered by the Connachtmen, that is, by Ailill and Medb, and word went from them to the other three provinces. And Ailill sent messengers to the seven sons of Mágu: Ailill, Anlúan, Moccorb, Cet, Én, Bascall and Dóche, each with his fighting force of three thousand, and also to Cormac Conn Longas the son of Conchobor, who was billeted with his three hundred men in Connacht. They all came on then until they reached Crúachain Aí (*TBC* I, ll. 2-8: p.125).

Noteworthy in that passage is the foregrounding of Conchobor's son, Cormac. The summons goes to 'the other three provinces', to seven named Connacht warriors and to Cormac, whose epithet Conn Longas means 'leader of the (bands of) exiles', and should perhaps be given in translation here, to alert the reader to the leadership role attributed to Cormac.[5]

The pre-eminence that Cormac is accorded is amplified in what immediately follows:

4 *TBC* II has of course an introduction that explains why Donn Cúailnge is sought.

5 Kinsella deftly accomplished by this by giving the epithet in both original and translation: 'Cormac Connlongas, the leader of the Ulster exiles' (1970, 58).

Trí luirg didiu do Chormac oc tochim do Chrúachnaib.
In cétna lorg broitt brecca i forcipul co filliud impu. Fortíi berrtha foraib. Léini fo thairinniuth cota nglún, ⁊ fotalscéith foraib ⁊ manaís lethanglas for crund midshing i lláim cech fir.
In lorg tánaisi broit dubglasa impu-side ⁊ lénti co ndercintliud co horcnib sís, ⁊ monga tara cenna síar, ⁊ lubne gela foraib ⁊ slega cóicrinne inna lámaib.
'Ní hé Cormac beus,' or Medb.
Tic an tres lorg dano. Broitt chorcra impu ⁊ lénte culpatacha fo derggintslaid co traigthe, ⁊ berrthai slechtai co guaille, ⁊ cromscéith co fáebraib condúala impu ⁊ turre rígthige i lláim cach fir.
'Is é Cormac inso hifechtsa,' ol Medb.
Doecmalta dano íarum ceithre cóiced Hérend co mbátar hi Crúachnaib Aíi.

Now Cormac's men were in three companies as they marched to Crúachain.
The first band wore vari-coloured cloaks wrapped around them. Their hair was shorn. They had tunics falling to the knee. They carried long shields, and each man bore in his hand a broad, bright spear on a slender shaft.
The second band wore dark-grey cloaks and red-embroidered tunics reaching down to their calves. Their long hair hung down behind. They carried white shields, and in their hands they bore five-pronged spears.
'It is not Cormac as yet,' said Medb.
Then came the third band. They wore purple cloaks and hooded red-embroidered tunics reaching to their feet. Their trimmed hair fell down to their shoulders. They bore curved shields with scalloped rims, and each man carried a spear as great as the pillar of a palace in his hand.
'This is Cormac now,' said Medb.
So then the four provinces of Ireland were gathered together in Crúachain Aí (*TBC* I, ll. 9-22; p. 125).

That elaborate account, in ascending order of magnificence, of the arrival of Cormac's three groups of warriors is apt to arouse the expectation that Cormac will play a vital part in the quest for the bull: in the narrative as we have it, however, he does nothing of the sort. Cecile O'Rahilly observes that '[d]espite the soubriquet Cormac does not play a dominant role as leader of the exiled Ulstermen. Rather it is Fergus who is the dominant figure' (1976, 239). It might be thought that Cormac was deemed titular leader of the exiles by virtue of being the king's son, but I will suggest presently that there was much more to it than that.

The plot of *Loinges mac m-Uislenn* (*LMU*) is well known: a young warrior, Noísiu son of Uisliu, accompanied by his two brothers, elopes with Deirdriu, the young woman that Conchobor, king of Ulster, has brought up from birth to be his own lover. They live in exile for some time, until Conchobor, at the behest of his people, grants them a free pardon, of which the guarantors are Fergus, Dubthach Doél Ulad and Cormac,[6] Fergus being clearly depicted as *primus inter pares*. As the sons of Uisliu and their guarantors make their way to Emain, however, Fergus

6 For a discussion of the guarantors, see Buttimer (1994-95, 21-27).

accepts an invitation to a feast; he remains behind with Dubthach and Cormac, while the sons of Uisliu proceed to Emain in the company of Fergus's son Fíachu. When they get there, the sons of Uisliu are slain at Conchobor's behest; Fíachu dies as he attempts to save Noísiu. When Fergus, Dubthach and Cormac hear of this they go to Emain to exact revenge. Dubthach kills a son and a grandson of Conchobor's, and Fergus kills one Traigthrén son of Traiglethan. All of this is an affront to Conchobor's honour, and a battle ensues in which three hundred Ulstermen die. Dubthach goes on to kill the young women of Ulster, and Fergus to burn Emain Macha.

Fergus, Dubthach and Cormac then go into exile with their followers:

> *Is ed lotar íarum co Ailill ocus co Meidb ar ro-fetatar is sí lánamain foda-róelsat ocus dano ni-bu chúl serce do Ultaib. Tricha cét ba é lín na lloingse. Co cenn sé mblíadna déc niro an gol na crith leu i n-Ultaib acht gol ocus crith leu cech n-óen-aidchi.*
>
> Thereupon they went to Ailill and to Medb, for they knew that that couple would be able to support them; and for the Ulstermen, moreover, it was not a refuge (?) of love. Three thousand was the number of those exiled. To the end of sixteen years neither weeping nor trembling ceased in Ulster through them, but each single night [there was] weeping and trembling through them (Hull 1949, 48; p. 66).

This laconic account tells us neither how they presented themselves to Ailill and Medb, nor how the royal couple received them. The phrase *cúl seirce* is tantalizing. The first word is doubtless for *cúil* 'corner, recess'.[7] Compare Fergus's *Is olc in chúl catha inonfil*, translated 'we are ill-placed for battle' (*TBC* I, l. 1209; p. 158). This latter example is unambiguous: however we may choose to word its translation, it must indicate that the location in which the raiders find themselves is not favorable for fighting a battle. (It is no surprise, then, that when Fergus has spoken those words, the army leaves straightaway for another place.) Of *cúl seirce*, on the other hand, more than one interpretation is possible. Hull tentatively takes the literal meaning to be 'nook of love' (1949, 123-24) and translates 'refuge (?) of love'. Are we to suppose that the reference is to the reception of the exiles by Ailill and Medb? In *TBC* I, when Medb and Ailill urged Fergus to fight against his own kindred in the Great Battle, *asbertadar fris nárbo chol dó ar doradsad mór do maith dó fora lonnges* '[t]hey said that it was not wrong of him to do so for they had shown him great generosity in his exile' (*TBC* I, ll. 4004-05; p. 233). So far from demurral, Fergus in response evinces great enthusiasm for the fray. Another possibility would be to take it as 'a place for love; a place where they could

7 It is suggested in *DIL* (s.v.) that *cúil* may have been a fem. ā-stem, so that *cúl* would be the earlier nominative.

find love'. This seems improbable in view of Fergus's sexual, if not necessarily altogether amorous, relationship with Medb. In the *Táin*, Ailill professes to approve of Medb's adultery. When the charioteer reports that he has found the couple *in flagrante*, Ailill declares: *Is dethbir disi* […] *Is ar chobair ocon táin dorigni* 'She is right (to behave thus) […] She did it to help in the cattle-driving' (*TBC* I, l. 1053; p. 155). On the other hand, in his Death-Tale, *Aided Fergusa maic Róich*, Fergus's death is brought about by Ailill because of his jealousy of the relationship between Fergus and Medb (Meyer 1906, 32-35). We could of course suppose that the narrator of *LMU* is being ironic when he says that Connacht was not a *cúl seirce* for the Ulstermen. Or we could interpret the phrase in the light of James Carney's contention that *LMU* was composed in order to cast Fergus in a new light, to 'whitewash' him as Carney puts it (1983, 125). Thus, the author of *LMU* may have wished expressly to refute the tradition that Fergus was (or became) Medb's lover. It seems more plausible to me, however, that *cúl seirce* is to be taken as 'beloved (or lovable) spot': 'it (the court of Ailill and Medb) was not for the Ulstermen a beloved spot'. That Fergus, for his part, was not entirely at ease there is suggested in the Death-Tale, where we are told that he did many deeds at the court (lit., in the household) of Ailill and Medb, but yet *ba minca nobíd som ˷ a muinter ar fot in tíre cena ná isin tegluch* 'he and his people were more often abroad in the land than in Ailill's household' (Meyer 1906, 32-33). This suggests that Fergus retained a degree of independence of Ailill and Medb, a trait that is evident also in his demeanour in the *Táin*.

While we are not told how Ailill and Medb received the exiles, we know from an episode in the *Táin* that they were bound to the royal couple by *cotach* 'covenant'.[8] At Medb's behest and in breach of *fír fer*, one Gaile Dána, his twenty-seven sons, and his sister's son assail Cú Chulainn at a bog near Ardee. They cast their twenty-nine spears at him, and reach for their swords, but as they raise up their hands against Cú Chulainn, Fíacha mac Fir Fhebe comes out of the invaders' encampment and strikes off their twenty-nine forearms. Cú Chulainn is duly thankful, but Fíacha mac Fir Fhebe speaks darkly of the implications of what he has done: '*A mbec sa,' ol Fiacha, 'is tar cotach dúindi ar nUltaibh. Día rí neach díb a ndúnad, regma-ni ar tríchait cét fo gin claidib* 'Even this little,' said Fíacha, 'is in breach of our covenant for us Ulstermen. If any one of them reach the encampment (to tell of it), our whole division will be put to the sword' (*TBC* I, ll. 2557-58; p. 195). In the event, Cú Chulainn kills the lot of them, with the assistance of two brave Ulster warriors, and thus ensures that no word of Fíacha's action reaches the encampment.[9] The revelation, so late in the *Táin*, of the covenant binding Fergus to

8 *TBC* I, ll. 2547-2566; p. 195.

9 There is a much longer account of this episode in *TBC* II (ll. 2532-605; pp. 209-11), where the paterfamilias is called Calatín Dána. The *cotach* is not explicitly mentioned,

Ailill and Medb, shows us that the *remscéla* do not tell us everything we would like to know, even about the topics with which they deal. I hope to show in what follows that the opening sections of *TBC* I (ll. 1-372) also have a crucial function in laying the groundwork for the ensuing action. While we do not need to be introduced to the *dramatis personae*, or the nature of their enterprise, the depiction of them (and especially of the Ulster exiles) in those early sections not only prepares us for what happens in the course of the raid, but also resonates to a remarkable degree with the Great Battle. In order to explore this resonance, I will first give a summary account of the Great Battle, and then look at the relevant features of the opening sections.

The Great Battle

As the raid upon Ulster occurs while Conchobor and his fighting men are debilitated, defence of the province falls to Cú Chulainn, who is immune from the *cess*. When the Ulstermen recover their strength at winter's end, Conchobor musters an army to wreak vengeance on the invaders. By now the invaders have captured Donn Cúailnge, and are well on their way back to Connacht. Ailill sends his scout, Mac Roth, to observe the Ulster army as it gathers at Slemain Mide. When Mac Roth returns, he describes the leading warriors, and Fergus identifies and praises them. When it is time to describe Erc, son of Cairbre Nia Fer and of Conchobor's daughter, Fergus predicts the outcome of the Great Battle:

> *Is triana ág in meic sin […] brisfithir in cath foraib. Nícon aithigi in mac sin húath ná homun oc far shaigid etorro a medón far catha. Bad ferrda bhúrigfite láithi gaile fer nUlad oc teasarcain luíg a cridi oc sligi in chatha remib. Dos-icfe uile ell condolba oc aicsin in meic isind níth már sin. Rocechlastar rucht claidib Conchobair amail gloim n-árchon ic tesorcain in meic. Focicher Cú Chulaind trí múru doíne immon cath oc saigid in meic bic. Bith condalb donuapérat láith gaili fer nUlad in diáirmi.*
>
> It is because of that lad that you will be defeated in battle. He will experience neither dread nor fear as he makes for you in the middle of your own army. Bravely will the warriors of Ulster roar as they hew down the army before them, rushing to rescue their beloved lad. They will all feel the ties of kinship when they see the boy in that great conflict. Like the baying of a blood-hound will be heard the sound of Conchobar's sword as he comes to that boy's rescue. Cú Chulainn will cast up three ramparts of (dead) men around the battle as he rushes towards that little lad. Mindful of their kinship with the boy, the warriors of Ulster will attack the vast (enemy) host (*TBC* I, ll. 3830-38; p. 228).

Ailill responds to the Ulster threat with a muster of the Men of Ireland. It will be remembered that Cormac Conn Longas was foregrounded in the muster made three months earlier at Crúachain. Now, in this second muster, the focus shifts to

but Fíacha's description of what would follow the discovery of his act is identical with that in *TBC* I.

Fergus: Ailill and Medb beg him to go into battle, saying, in words that I have already quoted, *nárbo chol dó ar doradsad mór do maith dó fora lonnges*, 'it was not wrong for him to do so for they had shown him great generosity in his exile' (*TBC* I, ll. 4404-05; p. 233). When Fergus swears, in extravagant language, to slay many men if only his sword is returned to him, Ailill gives back the sword. He enjoins Fergus not to turn it upon the invaders: *Mád la fír n-einech nád bad fornn n-imbrae do barann borrfad barainn fiad nUlad errathaib* 'For honour's sake do not wreak your fierce anger on us in the presence of the chariot-fighters of Ulster' (*TBC* I, ll. 4024-5; p. 234). True to his oath, Fergus assails the men of Ireland, and *glanais berna cét isin chath cona c[h]laidiub ina díb lámuib* 'holding his sword in both hands he cleared a passage for a hundred through the line of battle' (*TBC* I, ll. 4036-37; p. 234).

Conchobor goes to confront Fergus, and identifies himself to him as:

> *'Fer […] rodatuc for longes i nn-adba con alltai ⁊ sindach ⁊ dotningéba anndiu ar gail gaiscid fiad fheraib hÉrend.'*
>
> 'One […] who drove you into exile to dwell with wolves and foxes, one who today will hold you at bay in the presence of the men of Ireland by dint of his own prowess' (*TBC* I, ll. 4050-52; p. 234).

Fergus aims *bém ndígla* 'a vengeful blow' at Conchobor, but Cormac Conn Loinges grasps him by the arm and upbraids him:

> *'Olcai bémend benai, a popa a Fhergais', ol Cormac.*
> *'Ceist, cóich bíu?' ol Fergus.*
> *'Ben a trí telcha tarsiu. Toí do láim. Slig immud do cach leith ⁊ nísnairle. Imráid ainech nUlad nádcon fárcbad. Nícon fáicébthar muna fácabtha triut-sa indiu.'*
>
> 'Wicked are those blows that you strike, friend Fergus.'
> 'Tell me,' said Fergus, 'whom shall I strike?'
> 'Strike the three hills above them. Turn your hand and strike on all sides of you. Heed them not (?). Remember the honour of the Ulstermen which has not been lost. It will not be lost unless it be through your fault today' (*TBC* I, ll. 4058-4063; p. 235).

Whereas Ailill had appealed to Fergus on grounds of honour *(enech*) not to turn his sword upon the invading army, Cormac Conn Loinges has now commanded him to divert his sword from Cormac's own father, the king of Ulster, in order to save the honour of Ulster.

Cormac then addresses his father: *'Airg-siu 'na leath n-aill, a Chonchobair […]. Nícon méla in fer sa a baraind for Ultu ní bus móo sund*.' 'Go in some other

direction, Conchobor […]. This man will no longer wreak his fierce anger here on the men of Ulster' (*TBC* I, ll. 4064-65; p. 235).

We have to assume that Conchobor does his son's bidding. As for Fergus, Cormac Conn Loinges may have hoped that he would understand 'strike on all sides of you' to mean that he should direct his sword at the invaders. But when Fergus turns aside from the king, he kills a hundred Ulstermen. Then he meets the great Ulster warrior, Conall Cernach:

> *'Ba ramór in bríg sin,' ar Conal Cernach, 'for túaith ⁊ cenél ar thóin mná drúithi.'*
> *'Ceist, cid dogén, a fhírlaích?' or sé.*
> *'Slig na tulchu tairrsiu ⁊ na dusu impu,' or Conall Cernach.*
>
> 'Too great is that force which you exert against (your own) people and race, following a wanton woman as you do,' said Conall Cernach.
> 'What shall I do, O warrior?' asked Fergus.
> 'Strike the hills beyond them and the trees about them,' said Conall Cernach (*TBC* I, ll. 4068-71; p. 235).

Conall Cernach's jibe, rather decorously translated by O'Rahilly,[10] recalls a genealogical source that says: *Ar fecca[i]s Fergus for Ulta di ág mná .i. di ág Medba Cruachan, ar imgeogain ar imt[h]óin mná fria chenél fadessin*. 'For Fergus turned against the Ulstermen because of a woman, that is, because of Medb of Crúachain, for he fought against his own people for the body of a woman.'[11]

This time Fergus does strike the hills, cutting off the tops of what consequently came to be called Máela Mide, the three flat-topped hills of Mide. Cú Chulainn, who is so severely injured that he has hitherto played no part in the battle, hears the noise of the blows struck by Fergus on the hills, or of those struck by him on the shield of Conchobor. Alarmed at the prospect of the bloodshed that (as he thinks) will follow the arrival of Fergus, Cú Chulainn becomes enraged, and as his uncle Conchobor had earlier done, he challenges Fergus. Conchobor had taunted Fergus by speaking of his previous expulsion of Fergus to live among wolves and foxes; Cú Chulainn now ritually incites him. Conchobor's words had provoked a violent reaction from Fergus, and Cú Chulainn's incitement might be expected to do the same, but that is not what happens. Cú Chulainn demands that Fergus withdraw without a fight, and Fergus does so, honouring a promise he made when Cú Chulainn withdrew from single combat with Fergus earlier in the *Táin*.[12] Without further ado, Fergus and his allies from Munster and Leinster abandon Ailill and

10 Edel 2015, 144 favours O'Rahilly's rendering, as being 'neutral' rather than 'sexualized'.
11 Text Henry 1997, 56; transl. Carney 1983, 125.
12 On this, see further below, pp. 167-68.

Medb, reducing the army to the nine divisions of Connacht. Having come to the battle at midday, Cú Chulainn overcomes the rump of the army at sunset.

There are two descriptions, then, of the Great Battle in the *Táin*, and Fergus has a singularly important role in each of them. The first description, in Fergus's own words, predicts that the Ulstermen's love of kindred will inspire them to vanquish the raiders. In the second, Fergus is at first the focal figure. His murderous intent in the battle, as solemnly expressed in his oath, is diffused in three moves, as a result successively of the interventions of Cormac Conn Longes, Conall Cernach and Cú Chulainn. It is in response to Fergus's presence that Cú Chulainn summons up the strength to fight one more time, and once Fergus has withdrawn, Cú Chulainn achieves victory for Ulster. Medb is reduced to begging Cú Chulainn to spare her life, and Fergus speaks of her with the utmost contempt: *'Is bésad […] do cach graig remitét láir, rotgata, rotbrata, rotfeither a moín hi tóin mná misrairleastair'* 'That is what usually happens […] to a herd of horses led by a mare. Their substance is taken and carried off and guarded as they follow a woman who has misled them.' (*TBC* I, ll. 4123-24; p. 237). His words bring to mind what Medb had said at the outset: *'Cach óen scaras sund trá indiu […] fria chóem ⁊ a charait, dobérat maldachtain form-sa úair is mé dorinól in slúagad sa.'* 'All those who part here today from comrade and friend will curse me for it is I who have mustered this hosting' (*TBC* I, ll. 25-26; p. 126).

The Early Sections of the *TBC I*

Fergus's vital role in the raid is already signaled in the *titulrad* of *TBC* I. As the invaders prepare to set out, they meet the poetess Fedelm. Medb asks her to foretell what will come of the raid. Fedelm's prophecy is all the more chilling for being laconic: '*Atchíu forderg, atchíu rúad*' 'I see it bloody, I see it red' (*TBC* I, l. 50; p. 126). Medb consoles herself with mention of the Ulstermen's *cess*. Fedelm repeats her prophecy, whereupon Medb remarks that Celtchar mac Uithechair and a third of the Ulstermen are at Dún Lethglaisse, from which we must presumably infer that they are not available to defend Ulster. She then strikes a positive note: '*atá Fergus mac Roeich meic Echdach lenni sund for longais co tríchait chét imbi*' 'Fergus mac Roeich meic Echdach is here in exile with us with three thousand men' (*TBC* I, l. 57-58; p. 126). However reassuring this may be for Medb, it does not move Fedelm to change her prophecy.[13]

Coming so soon after the foregrounding of Cormac, Medb's words intimate that Fergus has already displaced Cormac as leader of the exiles. If there is anything in the *Táin* that justifies Cormac's soubriquet Conn Longas, and the pre-

13 The well-known poem that Fedelm utters following her dialogue with Medb, and which prophesies Cú Chulainn's exploits, is effectively a soliloquy: it elicits no response from Medb or the others, and we must conclude that they have not heard it.

eminence accorded him at the beginning of the tale, it is his vital role in the Great Battle. Fergus has no doubt long harboured resentment against Conchobor, who took the kingship of Ulster from him, and that resentment hardened into implacable hostility when Conchobor violated Fergus's honour as guarantor of the sons of Uisliu in *LMU*. In staying Fergus's hand as he turns his sword upon Conchobor, Cormac saves the life of his father the king, thereby also saving Ulster from defeat in the battle.

We have seen that the first stage of the invaders' journey takes them from Crúachain to Cúil Silinne, where the leading exiles join Ailill and Medb in the king's tent. A serious row occurs when Medb has made a circuit of the army and noticed that one division, that of the Gailióin, was much more efficient that any of the others. She announces to Ailill and the Ulstermen that the Gailióin should not be allowed to go on the raid, because they would take credit for the victory of the army. After some argument with Ailill, Medb decrees that the Gailióin should be slain. Fergus's reaction is quiet but firm: *'Ní 'maricfe, úair is áes comhchotaig dúinni 'nar nUltaib, acht má non gontar uli'* 'It shall not happen unless we are all killed, for they are allies of us Ulstermen' (*TBC* I, ll. 164-65; p. 129).

Medb is undeterred, saying that she has at her disposal nine divisions of the men of Connacht; Fergus says in turn that he likewise has nine divisions at his disposal: one of his own, seven from Munster, and the division of the Gailióin.[14] He offers a compromise: that the Gailióin be distributed among the other divisions, and this solution is acceptable to Medb.

In this episode, Fergus shows that, however much he may be beholden to Ailill and Medb, he is determined to be his own man, something that will ultimately cost the royal couple dearly. He asserts his authority as true leader of the exiles, and indeed of all of the men of Ireland other than the Connachta. He commands the loyalty of one half of the army; it is this that enables us to understand how it is that when Fergus draws back from combat with Cú Chulainn in the Great Battle, the men of Leinster and the men of Munster meekly follow him.

Having been led astray across bogs and streams, the invaders arrive at Granard, where they spend the night. For the sake of kinship (*ar chondalbi*), Fergus sends a warning to the Ulstermen. It is received by Cú Chulainn and his father Súaltaim, who take themselves off to Irard Cuillenn to watch for the invaders. Fergus is given the task at Granard of leading the army on its way (l. 227; p. 131). No reason is given in *TBC* I for the choice of Fergus as guide. There is an elaborate account of this in *TBC* II, in the course of which the invaders discuss who ought to guide them as they pass from Connacht to Ulster:

14 Fergus includes his own 'division' (l. 175; p. 130) but makes no mention of Cormac's men.

[A]tbertsat combad é Fergus, ar bíth ba slúagad bága dó in slúagad, dáig is é boí secht mblíadna i rrígu Ulad ⁊ iar marbad mac nUsnig fora fhaísam ⁊ for a chommairgi, tánic estib, '⁊ atá sec[h]t mblíadna déc ri Ultu ammuig ar longais ⁊ bidbanas'.

[T]hey said that it should be Fergus, because the hosting was a hostile hosting[15] for him, for he had been seven years in the kingship of Ulster, and when the sons of Usnech had been slain in despite of his guarantee and surety, he had come from there, 'and he has been seventeen years in exile and in enmity away from Ulster.' (*TBC* II, ll. 361-64; p. 147).

Having taken on the role of leader, Fergus proceeds to lead the invaders astray: the narrator explains that he did this for love of his kindred (*ar chondailbi*), his object being to give the Ulstermen time to muster an army (*TBC* I, ll. 227-29, p.131). Medb soon sees what is going on and charges him with yielding to *condalbae*:

'A Fherguis, is andam amne / cinnas conaire cingme /fordul fades nó fothúaid / tíagmai tar cach n-ailetúaith.'

'Atotágathar dia mbrath / Ailill Aíe lía slúagad. / Ní tharat menmain co se / do thús inna conaire.'

'Máso chondalbi dogní / ná tuíd inna echraidi. / Bés adchotar nech aile / do thosach na conaire.'

'O Fergus, this is strange. What manner of path do we travel? We go astray to south and to north, past every strange district.'

'Ailill of Mag Aí with his army fears that you will betray him. Until now he heeded not where the path led.'

'If you feel the pull of kinship, do not lead horses any longer. Perhaps someone else may be found to guide us on our way' (*TBC* I, ll. 231-42; p. 131).

Lying through his teeth, Fergus contests the accusation of treachery:

'A Medb, cid not medraisiu / ní cosmail fri mrath inse. / Is la hUltu, a ben, trá / a tír tarndotuidisa.'

'O Medb, what perturbs you? This is not anything resembling treachery. O woman, the land across which I shall lead you belongs to the men of Ulster' (*TBC* I, ll. 244-47; p.131).

15 The translation of *slúagad bága* given in *DIL* (B 10.70-2) is 'a hosting in fulfillment of an undertaking'. The 'undertaking', if that is what it is, probably fulfills Fergus's *cotach* with Ailill and Medb.

But there is truth in the rest of what he has to say:

'Ní ar amlessaib in tslúaig / tíagu cech fordul a húair. / Do imgabáil in mórgeine / immandig Mag Murthemne.'

'Ní arná corad mo chíall / arna fordulu no tíag. / Dús in rimgaib ced iar tain / Coin Culaind mac Súaltaim.'

'Not with intent to harm the hosting do I go in turn along each devious road, but that I may avoid the great one who guards Mag Murthemne.'

'It is not to save my mind from weariness that I go thus aside from the path, but I am trying to avoid meeting Cú Chulainn mac Súaltaim even at a later time' (*TBC* I, ll. 248-55; pp. 131-32).

The notion that Fergus is trying to avoid Cú Chulainn resonates with Fergus's final act in the great battle, when he holds back from combat with Cú Chulainn. It is richly ironic that Fergus should seek to reassure Medb by speaking of something which in the event precipitates his own desertion and that of half of the invading army.

As I have already noted, Fergus's withdrawal from combat with Cú Chulainn in the Great Battle redeems a promise: it was made by Fergus at Cú Chulainn's prompting in *Comrac Fergusa fri Coin Culaind* 'The Meeting of Fergus and Cú Chulainn' (*TBC* I, ll. 2495-518), which occurs very near the end of the series of single combats. The invaders fail to persuade any of their number to oppose Cú Chulainn. When they finally beg Fergus to do so, he declines to oppose his own foster-son. They then ply him with wine until he is very drunk, and pester him so much that he eventually consents to go.

Cú Chulainn knows that Fergus has no sword in his scabbard, and says as much to him. Fergus responds:

'Is cumma lim-sa etir,' or Fergus. 'Cia nobeth claideb and, ní imbértha fort-su. Teilg traigid dam, a Chú Chulainn,' or Fergus.
'Teilcfe-so dano dam-sa arísi,' ar Cú Chulaind.
'Samlaid écin,' or Fergus.
Is and sin dolléci Cú Chulainn traigid for cúlu re Fergus co rrici Grellig nDolluid are telced Fergus dó-some traigid i lló in chatha. Tairbling Cú Chulaind íarom hi nGrellaig Dolluid.

'I care not indeed,' said Fergus. 'Even if there were a sword in it, it would not be wielded against you. Retreat a step from me Cú Chulainn.'
'You in turn will retreat before me,' said Cú Chulainn.
'Even so indeed,' answered Fergus.

> Then Cú Chulainn retreated before Fergus as far as Grellach Dolluid so that on the day of the Great Battle Fergus might retreat before him.
> Afterwards Cú Chulainn dismounted (from his chariot) in Grellach Dolluid (*TBC* I, ll. 2509-15; p. 194).

This episode[16] is a crucial one in the plot of the *Táin*, and its significance is underpinned by thematic resonances with other episodes in the tale. Cú Chulainn has already spoken to his charioteer about Fergus's loss of his sword (*TBC* I, ll. 1306-10; p. 161). He has also, in response to a jibe from Fergus, declared that he kills no man unarmed (*TBC* I, ll.1435-37; p. 165). As for the formal exchange between Fergus and Cú Chulainn, this is the second time in the tale that a warrior demands that Cú Chulainn 'retreat a step from him'. On the first occasion, the demand is made by Lóch, when Cú Culainn has fatally injured him in a ford with the *gáe bolga*. Cú Chulainn accedes, so that it is on the other side of the ford that Lóch falls (*TBC* I, ll. 2028-30; p. 181). The reason for Lóch's demand is given in *TBC* II: Lóch wishes to face toward the east, so that he will not be accused of fleeing from Cú Chulainn. We are also told there that Cú Chulainn accedes *dáig is láechda ind ascid connaigi* 'for it is a warrior's request you make' (*TBC* II, l. 2009-10; p. 194). We are left with the impression that in single combat one of the combatants might ask the other to retreat a step from him, and that the request would be acceded to in certain circumstances. To judge from our two examples, it would seem that the request is made of the combatant who has the upper hand. The procedure must have been rule-based, and we would dearly like to know what the rules were. Finally, Cú Chulainn's prescience in providing at this early stage for the Great Battle has its counterpart among the invaders, who evince knowledge of the battle well before Conchobor has been aroused from his torpor, and mustered the Ulstermen. When Mend mac Sálchada assails the invaders in their encampment, they yield the encampment to him until he should come with Conchobor to the battle (*TBC* I, ll. 3336-45; p. 214). This is followed by the approach of Rochad, who takes his position near the encampment. Finnabair is dispatched to obtain a truce from him until he too should come with Conchobor to the great battle (*TBC* I, ll. 3346-53: p. 214).

Returning now to the invaders, whom we have left at Granard, they take off for Irard Cuilenn, which is the location of the vantage point chosen by Cú Chulainn and his father when they receive Fergus's warning. Cú Chulainn feels obliged to abandon his post in order to fulfil his personal pledge to visit his concubine. Before he goes, he takes steps to delay the army: He forms a branch into a hoop, fixes it with a peg, and with one hand throws it over a pillar stone. On the peg of the hoop he leaves an inscription in *ogam* saying that none of them should pass until one of

16 For discussion, see O'Leary 1991, 39; also Sayers 1997, 54-55, and Edel 2015, 94-98.

them, other than his *popa* Fergus, should likewise succeed in throwing such a hoop over a pillar stone. When the army finds the hoop, Fergus reads the inscription, and both the druids and Fergus say that the injunction in the inscription should be obeyed. Ailill concurs, and instead of going forward he directs the army into a wood to the south of them, where they cut out a passage for the chariots. They then make the short journey of six miles to Cenannas, where they spend the night.

On the morning after his tryst with his concubine, Cú Chulainn, takes his time about coming back to his post: he remains until he has washed and bathed. But when he does return, he comes upon the track of the army, and expresses regret at what he has done: '*Ní má lodmar dó,' ol Cú Chulainn, 'ná mertammar Ultu. Ro léicsem slog forru cen airfhius'* 'Would that we had not gone thither nor betrayed the men of Ulster!' cried Cú Chulainn. 'We have let the enemy host come upon them unawares' (ll. 315-16; p. 133). The conflict here between Cú Chulainn's wish to honour his own pledge, and his duty of loyalty to Ulster adumbrates the dilemma Fergus faces in the Great Battle: he is honour-bound to support Ailill and Medb, but the honour of Ulster requires him to act otherwise. Moreover, Cú Chulainn's self-described betrayal is done for the purpose of visiting his concubine, and thus foreshadows the admittedly more serious accusation that Conal Cernach levels at Fergus: that he opposes his own people for the sake of a wanton woman.

Cú Chulainn again sets about impeding the invaders, this time cutting a forked branch with one blow of his sword and fixing it in the middle of a stream making it impossible for a chariot to pass. An advance party of four of the invaders arrives, and Cú Chulainn cuts off their heads and impales them on the four prongs of the forked branch. When Medb askes Fergus to deliver them in their difficulty, Fergus draws the forked branch out of the ground and it is seen that its end was indeed one cutting.

Ailill decides that it is time to rest and feast, and he asks that some of the lore of the Ulstermen be recounted. Fergus responds with the fulsome 'Eulogy of Cú Chulainn', and the first of 'The Boyhood Deeds'; two of the others are narrated respectively by Conall Cernach and Fiacha mac Fir Fhebe. The Eulogy and Boyhood Deeds are beyond the scope of the present talk, but I will say one thing about them. In the early episodes, we become aware of a relationship between Fergus and Cú Chulainn. Fergus's references to Cú Chulainn reveal at least that he knows the measure of the young man. Cú Chulainn for his part refers to Fergus as his *popa*. In the 'Boyhood Deeds', Fergus claims to have met and spoken to Cú Chulainn on the occasion in which he rescues from the field of battle the ailing Conchobor and his son Cúscraid. The internal evidence of the *Táin* indicates that the boy was at least five years old at that time. Later in the *Táin*, Fergus is said to be Cú Chulainn's foster-father. Now, *LMU* tells us that after they left for Connacht, the exiles punished the Ulstermen every night for sixteen years. In *TBC* II, (l. 364;

p. 147) it is said of Fergus that at the time of the raid: *atá sec[h]t mblíadna déc fri Ultu amuig ar longais*) 'he has been seventeen years in exile from Ulster'. As Cú Chulainn is now seventeen years old,[17] the chronology of *LMU* (and which is echoed in *TBC* II) allows no time for Fergus to get to know Cú Chulainn, let alone to foster him.

In other respects too, the Fergus whose words and deeds are of such huge import in the *Táin* is not quite the Fergus of *LMU*. Something of the vengeful Fergus remains in *TBC* I: in 'The Fight of Fer Diad and Cú Chulainn', Fergus declares: *'Mé tharclaim na slúaig sea soir, / lúach mo sháraichthi d'Ultaib.*' 'It was I who in requital for the wrong done to me by the Ulstermen, collected and brought these forces to the east (*TBC* I, ll. 2786-87; p. 200). Against this we may put his withering (and we might think, hypocritical) condemnation of Dubthach Dóel Ulad:

> *'Ber ass Dubthach nDóeltengaid / […] / Nícon dergéni nach maith / ó geogain in n-ingenraith.'*
>
> *'Ferais écht ndochla ndobail / guin Fiachaig meic Conchonair. / Nípau chaíniu rocloth dó / guin Corpri meic Fedelmtheó.'*
>
> 'Take Dubthach away. […] He has done nought of good since he slew the maidens (in Ulster).'
>
> 'He performed a wicked and ill-omened deed when he killed Fiacha, the son of Conchobar. Nor was the slaying of Coirpre, son of Feidlimid, any less wicked' (*TBC* I, ll. 2393-2400; p. 191).

The Fergus that we see in the early episodes, motivated by kin-love and fiercely independent of Ailill and Medb, is the Fergus of the Great Battle. Thematically, Cu Chulainn's word and deeds in the early episodes adumbrate those of Fergus and his interlocutors at the raid's end. The relationship between Fergus and Cú Chulainn is what ultimately determines the outcome of the raid: the decisive moment is that in which the aged Fergus withdraws from conflict with his youthful (and beloved) adversary, an act that is foreshadowed in the early episodes in Fergus's avowed determination to avoid meeting Cú Chulainn mac Súaltaim, 'the great one who guards Mag Murthemne'.

17 *TBC* I, ll. 379-80; p. 135.

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A Minor Sound Law for Celtic: PIE *VNHK → OIr. Vcc: OCymr. Vnc

Jouna Pyysalo

1. The segmental laryngeal in PIE and its treatment in the subgroups

1.0 The Proto-Indo-European laryngeal PIE *H (≈ *h_2), phonetically a voiceless/voiced glottal fricative PIE *h/ɦ (see Pyysalo 2013), was lost as an independent phoneme in all Indo-European languages except Old Anatolian (Hittite, Palaic, Cuneiform Luwian and Hieroglyphic Luwian).[1]

1.1 There are, however, some twenty direct or indirect features indicating an original PIE *h/ɦ in the subgroups.[2] Some of these features, like the 'a-vocalism' of the cognates reflecting Neogr. *ə a ā, have been known since the discovery of Hittite and others have been more recently suggested, for instance, PIE *h/ɦ, which is the hitherto unknown criterion for Fortunatov's law.[3]

1.2 In this paper I propose a minor sound law for Old Irish stating that PIE *h/ɦ between a nasal and a voiceless velar yielded a geminated velar before which the nasal was lost in Old Irish, in contrast to the rest of the Celtic group, as indicated in

PIE *VNHK → OIr. Vcc, OCymr. Vnk, etc.

Consequently the reconstruction of Proto-Celtic requires at least one sound law in which PIE *h/ɦ is needed in order to explain the attested forms in Old Irish regularly.

1.3. In a broader context, the proposed Celtic sound law supplements the revised Indo-European sound law system, a.k.a. the *glottal fricative theory* (GFT), first presented in Pyysalo 2013 and now digitalized in the PIE Lexicon project at the University of Helsinki.[4] As one of the key objectives of the project is to formulate a

1 In this article, I use the monolaryngealist reconstruction of Pyysalo 2013 with a single laryngeal *H = PIE *h/ɦ (≈ *h_2). The glottal fricative was always accompanied by PIE *ɑ, the reinterpreted Neogr. *ə (schwa indogermanicum), i.e., they appeared together in the diphonemic pairs *hɑ *ɑh *ɦɑ *ɑɦ, where the vowel PIE *ɑ accounts for the colouring and syllabicity commonly associated with *h_2.

2 For the most comprehensive recent presentation of the indirect features pointing to PIE *h/ɦ, see Pyysalo 2013.

3 For Fortunatov's law, see Fortunatov 1881, 1900 and Collinge 1985. For the revision of Fortunatov's law in the glottal fricative theory, see Pyysalo 2013, 224–243.

4 http://pielexicon.hum.helsinki.fi

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consistent digitized set of sound laws automatically generating the Indo-European data, the rule also modestly contributes to the broader theoretical goals of Indo-European linguistics.

2. The historical treatment of OIr. *-cc-* (i.e. unlenited *-c-*)

2.0 The geminate OIr. *-cc-* between vowels, usually simplified into a single (unlenited) OIr. *-c-*, is currently traced back to two starting points in Proto-Celtic.

2.1 The majority of the instances of OIr. *-c(c)-* reflect an original Proto-Celtic geminate *-kk-. This subset was correctly analyzed already during an early phase of Indo-European linguistics and need not be doubted (see GOI §149). An example of an original geminate with an Indo-European parallel is preserved, for instance, in a correspondence with the meaning 'scarlet':

OGaul. *cocco-*	(PN.m) 'Lerouge' or 'Leroux' (DLG 120)[5]
Gr. κόκκο-	(m.) 'Kern von Früchten, der Granate' (GEW 1:895)
OIr. *coic-*	(a.) 'rouge' (DLG 120; DIL 128)
Gr. κόκκινο-	(a.) 'scharlachrot: scarlet' (GEW 1:895)
Lat. *coccineo-*	(a.) 'scarlet' (WH 1:240–241)

2.2 In the second subset, OIr. *cc* (or simply OIr. *c*) reflects an earlier PCelt. *ank, *enk, or *ink, all of which collided in *OIr. ēc* following the loss of the nasal and a compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel into OIr. ē. This subset is reasonably well documented in well-known examples like OIr. *ēc-* 'death' (GOI §208) from PIE *hɑenK- 'death' (≈ *$h_2$enK-). The contrast between OIr. *ēc-* and PCelt. *ank- is obvious in a Celtic correspondence quoted by Pokorny (IEW 762):

OIr. *ēc-*	(m.*-u) 'Tod: death' (DIL 258, *ēc* [sgN], *ēca* [sgG])
OBret. *ancou-*	(m.) 'Tod' (Grundr² 1:411; EtDiPC 37)
Bret. *ankow-*	(m.) 'Tod' (EtDiPC 37)
Corn. *ancow-*	(sb.) 'Tod' (EtDIPC 37)
ModCymr. *angau-*	(m.f.) 'Tod' (EtDiPC 37; GPC 1:49)

This development remains unproblematic due to the numerous regular examples.

5 According to Delamarre (DLG 120), the Celtic formation is a loan from the classical languages, but there are no compelling reasons for this assumption. On the contrary, the rich derivation in Celtic can be understood as an argument in favour of the original PIE character of the Celtic forms.

2.3 The real problem is the third Celtic subset in which an earlier sequence of nasal before velar has resulted in the geminate OIr. -Vcc- without nasal or compensatory lengthening according to §2.2. One particularly commonplace example with an Indo-European etymology is the compound OIr. Π·icc- 'reach, arrive, come' also appearing with 'a-vocalism' in OIr. Π·acc- 'reach, arrive, come'. In the examples Old Irish *-cc-* corresponds to -nk- with an unchanged root vowel in the rest of the Celtic group as indicated in

MidCymr. *r·ync-*	(vb.) 'reach' (LIV² 282; EtDiPC 36–37)[6]
OIr. *con·ricci-*	(pr.) 'meet, encounter, join' (DIL 149, *conriccim* [1sg])
MidCymr. *cyf·r·anc-*	(vb.) 'encounter, meet' (IEW 317; GOI §208)
OIr. *com·r·acc-*	(vn.) 'Zusammentreffen: meeting' (DIL 149).

The standard development of §2.2 has not taken place, and, instead of OIr. *ēc*, MidCymr. *inc* corresponds to OIr. *icc* and MidCymr. *anc* to OIr. *acc*.

2.4 At least two attempts to explain the problems of this subclass have been made: (a) Pokorny (IEW 317; Pokorny 1969, 16) proposed that the Goidelic form would derive from a lengthened grade PIE *·ēnk- → PCelt. *·īnk- → *·ink- → OIr.·*icc-*, allegedly through a later, 'Celtic version' of Osthoff's law. In addition to Schrijver's (1993, 39) counter-arguments, I would like to state that Osthoff's law is older than its alleged Celtic version, and would have led from PIE *·ēnk- to PCelt. †·enk- before the latter, which therefore could not take place.[7] Yet the core problem remains, because, regardless of its origin, Pokorny's *·ink- is expected to result in OIr. *·ēc*, not the attested OIr. *·icc-*, according to §2.2.

(b) Schrijver (1993, 33) assumes that PIE *n̥ developed into PCelt. **an* instead of the usually assumed rule PIE *n̥ → PCelt. **in*:

'I accept that Proto-Indo-European […] syllabic nasals developed into PC **am*, **an* irrespective of the phonetic environment, which therefore is the starting-point for Irish (thus Cowgill *apud* Hamp 1965, 255, note 2; McCone 1991c, 21ff. 1991d, 51ff.'

Further assuming that the underlying verb was *n-infixed, Schrijver (1993, 41) presents the following chain of derivation for Old Irish:

6 For the root with initial PIE *i- in modern Welsh, see ModCymr. *rhyngu bodd* 'to please' (lit. 'reach satisfaction'); see Schrijver 1993, 40.

7 The alleged examples of the Celtic version of Osthoff's law like PIE *u̯ēntus → ModCymr. *gwynt* 'wind' can also be explained with an original PIE *i (for this extension see Goth. *waia-* 'wehen: blow: πνεῖν: flare' (GoEtD W9), Lith. *véja-* (m.) 'wind' etc.). Due to similar ambiguity in all examples the 'Celtic Osthoff's law' lacks proper motivation and is to be discarded.

PIE *h_2n̥·n·ḱ- → PC *annk- → *ānnk- → *ænnk- → *ennk- → *enk- → *ink-

In addition to the numerous cumulative (and unproven) hypotheses on sound laws, relative chronology, and unattested intermediary phonemes, Schrijver's approach is fallacious from the beginning, because he equates the two Celtic bases *ink- = *ank-.[8] This results in a violation of the principle of regularity of sound change, since it is no longer possible to derive OIr. ·acc- if PIE *h_2n̥nḱ- → OIr. ·icc- is accepted and vice versa. In addition, we would again expect *ank-/*ink- to yield OIr. *ēc-* in the final phase of sound changes, according to §2.2, i.e., the discrepancy remains despite Schrijver's artificial relative chronology.

2.5 Although I appreciate Pokorny's and Schrijver's attempts in principle due to their correct aim of eliminating of the twofold development of PCelt. *VNC in Old Irish, both approaches fail for the same reason: ultimately, Indo-European linguistics does not seek (or find) solutions to its problems by assuming aprioristic prototypes like *ēnk- (Pokorny) or *h_2n̥·n·ḱ- (Schrijver).[9] Instead, comparison of the data — in this case, the attested Indo-European bases of the root, and reconstruction of the respective PIE items — is the proper procedure for solving the problems, including the one at hand.[10]

3. The solution: PIE *VNHK –› OIr. Vcc = OCymr. Vnc

3.0 Due to the principle of regularity of sound changes, there can be only one explanation for the twofold development in Old Irish: the two assumed Proto-Celtic starting points, §2.2 and §2.3, are ultimately not identical, and a distinction between the original Proto-Indo-European environments is reflected in the Old Irish data. A close external comparison and a reconstruction of the relevant Indo-European data indeed reveal a feature that allows us to define two distinctive sets and restore the regularity of sound changes.

3.1 As a background for the comparative reconstruction, it can be preliminarily noted that:

8 Cf. Schrijver 1993, 40: 'it seems easier if the same proto-form can be reconstructed for ·icc and W -anc'.

9 The hypotheses of both Pokorny and Schrijver are unacceptable, because no single starting point may lead to two different outcomes such as OIr. acc/ecc/icc versus OIr. *ēc* in an identical environment, which their relative chronologies do not alter.

10 Tellingly, both Pokorny and Schrijver compare very little and do not even mention the fact that the assumed proto-forms, *ēnk- and *h2n̥ḱ-, are not secured by Indo-European parallels.

(a) The Neogrammarians, followed by Pokorny, reconstructed the root as Neogr. *enḱ- (IEW 316–318), i.e., with a nasal but without an initial laryngeal.

(b) The root has been more recently reconstructed with an initial laryngeal *h_2 followed by a nasal, e.g., by Rix and Kümmel (LIV^2 282–284), who postulate *$h_2$neḱ-/*$h_2$enḱ-. This is certainly an improvement that accounts for the initial PCelt. *a- (Cymr. *·anc-* = OIr. *·acc-*) without creating more problems than it solves (as is the case with the rule, PIE *n̥ → PCelt. *an). However, this alone does not suffice, since the expected outcome of *$h_2$enḱ- → *hank- → ank- remains OIr. †*ēc-* (§2.2), not the attested form OIr. *acc-*. Simultaneously the parallel root, confirmed by Celtic, OIr. *·icc-* = Cymr. *·ync-* without 'a-vocalism', remains unexplained due to the fallacious reasoning of the 'Celtic version' of Osthoff's law.[11]

3.2 The full data, not entirely observed in any reconstruction I would be aware of, reveals the source of the problem: the nasal is not present in all forms of the root, i.e., the PIE root itself has been incorrectly reconstructed up to this point. This conclusion can be now reached externally due to several correspondences pointing in this direction:

(a) First of all, there is a new piece of data in Tocharian, currently without etymology but certainly belonging here:

TochA. *akäntsune*	(m.) 'Geld, Besitz: *res*, *pecunia*' (Poucha, 1)

In this form, the loss of a nasal is impossible, i.e., the respective PIE starting point never had one. The absence of the nasal is confirmed in Indo-Iranian and Celtic, where the root TochA √*ak-* has direct parallels in

RV. *aś-*	(aoA.) 'erreichen, gelangen' (WbRV 134-135, *aśiā́m*)
RV. *aṣṭá-*	(pt.) 'erreicht' (WbRV 136)
OIr. *cum·achtae-*	n.-*io*) 'power' (EtDiPC 215; LEIA C-286)
OCymr. *com·oid-*	(m.) 'power' (EtDiPC 215; GPC 1:708)
AV. *aṣṭi-*	(f.) 'Erreichung' (WbRV 145)

11 Thus, although it would be theoretically possible to assume Pokorny's long grade with an initial laryngeal (*h2ēnḱ-) and explain the absence of colouring by accepting Eichner's law, the problem remains that Osthoff's law would have shortened the root into *h2enḱ- before its Celtic version could take place, hence resulting in the wrong vowel in PCelt. *enk-, which again should have yielded OIr. *ēc*.

Accordingly, the underlying PIE root of these forms was not *n̥ḱ- ≈ *h$_2$n̥ḱ- but PIE *hɑeḱ-/*hɑoḱ-, i.e., without a nasal.[12]

b) The absence of a nasal in the bases PIE *hɑeḱ-/*hɑoḱ- is confirmed, on the one hand, by the respective zero grade PIE *hɑḱ- → *hḱ- → *ḱ- → gAv. √s- attested in:

LAv. *ava·sya-*	(vb.) 'erreichen, treffen' (AIWb 360, *avasyāt* [inf.])
gAv. *frō·sya-*	(vb.) 'erreichen, treffen' (AIWb 360, *frōsyāt* [3sg])[13]

Simultaneously, the nasal is absent in the Indo-Iranian ā́ paralleled by OIr. *ī* of the preterite (perfect) participle in:

RV. ā́ś-	(pf.) 'erreichen, gelangen' (WbRV 135, āśa [3sg])
OIr. *ar·īcht-*	(pret.pt.) 'erreichen: reached, found' (DIL 50)

3.3 The data unambiguously defines a root PIE *hɑeḱ- (≈ *h$_2$eḱ-)[14] with an initial laryngeal postulated on the basis of the 'a-vocalism' (cf. OIr. *·achtae*), but *without the nasal that has been postulated in all historical reconstructions*.

Since there is no doubt that the forms with a nasal also belong here, they can only be reconstructed as prefixes PIE *hɑen-/*hɑn/*in-[15] of the root PIE *hɑḱ- hɑeḱ- hɑoḱ- in the following manner:

(a) PIE *hɑḱ- → *hḱ- →

LAv. *ava·sya-*	(vb.) 'zu erreichen, zu treffen' (AIWb 360, *avasyāt*)
gAv. *frō·sya-*	(vb.) 'erreichen, treffen' (AIWb 360, *frōsyāt* [3sg])

12 For a detailed treatment of these forms with a broader argumentation, see Pyysalo 2015, 65–67.

13 For the segmentation of the prefix, see also gAv. *frō.gā-* (a.) 'voranschreitend' (AiWB 1024, *frō.gå* [sgN]).

14 In the GFT Neogr. *ḱ- is further analyzed à la Szemerényi as PIE *ki/ki̯ (see Pyysalo 2013, 441f.), but I ignore this detail in this paper as it is irrelevant to the topic.

15 For the prefix PIE *in-, compare Lith. in- also in Cypr. ἰν·αλαλισμένα (LSJ, 553), TochB *yn·eś-* (a.adv.) 'manifest(ly), obvious(ly), real(ly)' (DTochB 517), TochA *yn·eś* (adv.) 'clare, manifeste' (Poucha, 249), etc., and in Ogam *ini·gena* (f.) 'Mädchen: fille' = OIr. *ingen* (f.) 'Mädchen'.

(b) PIE *hɑeḱ- → *hɑaḱ- → *haḱ-

RV. *aś-*	(aoA.) ‘erreichen, gelangen’ (WbRV 134-135, *aśiā́m*)
OIr. *cum·achtae*	(n.-*io) ‘power’ (EtDiPC 215; LEIA C-286)

(c) PIE *ē·hɑḱ- → *ē·hḱ- →

RV. *ā́ś-*	(pf.) ‘erreichen, gelangen’ (WbRV 135, *ā́śa* [3sg])[16]
OIr. *ar·īcht-*	(pret.pt.) ‘erreichen: reached, found’ (DIL 50)
OIr. *rīchtu*	(vn.) ‘act of reaching’ (DIL 507, PCelt. *r·īktiō)

(d) PIE *hɑen·hɑḱ- → *han·hḱ- → *anḱ-

gAv. *frąs-*	(ao.) ‘zu teil werden’ (AiWB 360, *frąštā* [3sg])
MidCymr. *di·anc-*	(vb.) ‘entfliehen: escape’ (IEW 317)[17]
MidCymr. *ranc bod*	(phr.) ‘satisfaction’ (Schrijver 1993, 40)
Bret. *rankout*	(vb.) ‘must, be obliged to; need’ (GOI §208)
RV. *úd* (...) *ān·aṃś-*	(pf.) ‘reichen bis an, gleichkommen’ (WbRV 135)
OIr. *ro·ānacc-*	(pf.) ‘erreichen’ (IEW 317, *roānaic* [3sg])[18]
OIr. *t·ānacc-*	(pret.) ‘arrive: kommen’ (GOI §689, *tānaic* [3sg])[19]

16 RV. √*āś-* = OIr. √*īch-* is thus a perfect in *ē, PIE *ē·hɑḱ- (to OIr. √*ach-*) formed as Lat. *ēg-* from PIE *ē·ĥɑǵ- (to Lat. agō).

17 From PIE *hɑen·hɑǵ·ɑn̂- → *hanhǵn̂- → PCelt. *ang- is derived the compound OIr. *cum·ang-* (vn.n.) ‘might’, DIL 169.

18 As far as I know, the morpheme OIr. √*ān-* = RV. √*ān-*, carrying the morphological meaning of ‘perfect’ (see also, e.g., OInd. *ān·ṛh-*), remains without a clear etymology except for the agreement between Celtic and Indo-Iranian.

19 The plural stem (e.g., in OIr. *tāncatar*, *forāncatar* [3pl]) reflects a Proto-Irish Π·ān·acc- with syncope of /a/ and simplification of the final geminate -cc-.

(e) PIE *in·hɑḱ- → *in·hḱ- → *inḱ-

OIr. *ro·icc-*	(vb.) ‘reach, come’ (GOI §549, 756, *roic*)
OIr. *do·icc-*	(vb.) ‘kommen’ (DIL 237; IWB 317)
OIr. *con·icc-*	(vb.) ‘can’ (DIL 147; EtDiPC 36–37, *conic*)
OIr. *air·icc-*	(vb.) ‘find, discover’ (DIL 50; IEW 317)
OIr. *arr·ānicc-*	(pf.) ‘find, discover’ (DIL 50, *arrānic* [3sg])
OIr. *air·icc-*	(vn.) ‘(the act of) finding’ (DIL 24, *airec* [N], *airic* [G])
OIr. *con·ricci-*	(pr.) ‘meet’ (OIr. *conriccim* [1sg])
OIr. *t·icc-*	(pr.) ‘arrive’ (GOI §756, *tic* [3sg], *tecait* [3pl])
OIr. *for·icc-*	(pr.) ‘find, discover’ (OIr. *foric* [3sg])
MidCymr. *r·ync-*	(vb.) ‘reach’ (LIV^2 282)

3.5 On the basis of the reconstructions, we arrive at the following conclusion:

PIE *H *stands between the nasal and the voiceless velar in the third Celtic subclass* OIr. Vcc; OCymr. Vnk. *The presence of* PIE *H *is therefore the hitherto unknown condition for the rule* PIE *VNHK → OIr. Vcc; OCymr. Vnc., *distinct from the standard development* PIE *VNK → OIr. *ēc*; OCymr. Vnc.

The cost of the rule is minimal because of the actual presence of PIE *H in the data (cf. OIr. √*acht*-), automatically implying the environment PIE *VNHK. As the condition simultaneously restores regularity, it is highly recommendable.

4. An excursion to some ablaut rules of the laryngeal theory

4.0 Before concluding, I offer a brief excursion to certain rules of the laryngeal theory that are incompatible with the development PIE *VNHK → OIr. Vcc; OCymr. Vnc.

4.1 According to Ferdinand de Saussure (1878), the coefficient *A, identified with *h_2 since Kuryłowicz 1927 in the laryngeal theory, participated in a two-term ablaut *e: Ø, where *eA → *$\bar{a}$ (Lat. ā, OInd. $\bar{a}$) and *A –› *ə (Lat. *a*, OInd. *i*). In the modern interpretation, the laryngeal is vocalized between consonants (or, in some models, has a vocalic allophone *$ə_2$). In the data discussed, this would mean that the Celtic rule proposed in this paper should yield *VnHK → OIr. †Vnach-, not the attested OIr. Vcc-; OCymr. Vnc.

4.2 The incompatibility is caused by the lack of sufficient distinctions in de Saussure's early ablaut analysis in two main directions (see Pyysalo 2013): (a) Instead of de Saussure's two ablaut quantities *e : Ø, the Indo-European languages confirm three quantities as in the example PIE *lik^{u}- 'lassen' (IEW, 669–70):

*lik^{u}-	Gr. λίπο- (ao.) '(ver)lassen' (GEW 2:99–100, ἔλιπον [1sg])
*leik^{u}-	Gr. λείπο- (pr.) 'laisser' (DELG, 628–629, λείπω [1sg])
*lēik^{u}-	RV. *raikṣ*- (s.ao.) 'überlassen' (WbRV 1165, *āraik* [3sg])

Accordingly, also Proto-Indo-European had three oppositions of quantity, the long grade, the normal grade, and the zero grade.

(b) In connection with *A, with only two distinctions at his disposal, de Saussure associated the long grade Neogr. *ā with the normal grade *eA and the zero grade Neogr. *ə with *A, which led him to neglect the remaining two ablaut alternatives, namely, the vowel Neogr. *a and the loss of *A/ə (i.e. zero in all languages). When these two missing options are added, the PIE pattern requires four distinctions, as illustrated in the following table (see Pyysalo 2013, 140):

	I	II	III	IV
Neogr.	Ø	*ə	*a	*ā
LT	Ø	*A̓	*Ae/–	*eA
PIE	*ɑ	*ɑ́	*ɑe/eɑ	*ɑē/ēɑ

4.3 The full examination of these defects of the laryngeal theory would take us beyond the scope of this article, and I restrict myself to referring to Pyysalo 2013 for explicit treatment, except for the following two indispensable comments:

(a) The laryngeal theory only partially covers the four existing ablaut alternatives for *A and therefore requires revision in order to properly reconstruct the existing data.

(b) The vowel *ɑ in column I, yielding zero in all languages, is the subset referred to in this paper: PIE *hɑen·hɑki- yielded *hanhḱ and finally OIr. *acc*-. With regard to the rules of the laryngeal theory, this means that *A was not only lost in *Ae and *eA after the colouring effect, but in general, which should also be noted in the revision of the theory.

5. Concluding remarks

5.0 The new Celtic rule, implying a trace of PIE *h/fi in the correspondence type Old Irish -Vcc- = OCymr. -Vnc-, supplements a missing part in the revised Indo-European sound law system first presented in *System PIE: The primary phoneme inventory and sound law system for Proto-Indo-European* (Pyysalo 2013). In this monograph, the successful major sound laws of two centuries of Indo-European linguistics were synthesized and completed into a *glottal fricative theory* (GFT).

5.1 The content of Pyysalo 2013 has now been coded and digitally tested by means of *foma*, a digitized predicate calculus by Mans Hulden (2009), in the Proto-Indo-European Lexicon (PIE Lexicon).[20] In the digitalization, each sound law was given a formalized counterpart, and the sound laws of each language were arranged in chronological order into a *foma script* capable of automatically generating the forms of the respective language.[21]

5.2 The rule proposed in this paper, PIE *VNHK → OIr. Vcc, will also be coded in *foma*, set in its chronological place in the Old Irish sound law system, and subsequently proven in the PIE Lexicon by means of demonstrating its consistency with the other sound laws and its capability to generate the Old Irish data regularly. This will allow the reader to personally confirm the correctness of the solution proposed in this paper.

Abbreviations

a.	– adjective
A	– active
adv.	– adverb
AIWb	– Bartholomae 1904
ao	– aorist
AV.	– Atharva-Veda
Bret.	– Breton
Corn.	– Cornish
Cypr.	– Cypriot (dialect of) Greek
DELG	– Chantraine 1968-1980
DIL	– Marstrander *et alii* 1913ff.
DLG	– Delamarre 2003
DTochB	– Adams 1999

20 http://pielexicon.hum.helsinki.fi

21 For example, the Old Irish foma script, as far as it has been coded by early 2017, is found at this address: http://pielexicon.hum.helsinki.fi/?showrule=78.

EtDiPC	– Matasović 2009
f.	– feminine
G	– genitive
gAv.	– Gathic (Old) Avestan
GEW	– Frisk 1960-1972
GFT	– glottal fricative theory
GoEtD	– Lehmann 1986
GOI	– Thurneysen 1935
Goth.	– Gothic
GPC	– Bevan & Donovan 2003
Gr.	– Greek
Grundr2	– Brugmann 1895-1916
IEW	– Pokorny 1959-1969
inf.	– infinitive
Lat.	– Latin
LAv.	– Late(r) Avestan
LEIA	– Vendryes, Bachellery & Lambert. 1959ff.
Lith.	– Lithuanian
LIV^2	– Rix & Kümmel 2001
LSJ	– Liddell & Scott 1940
LT	– laryngeal theory
m.	– masculine
MidCymr.	– Middle Welsh
ModCymr.	– Modern Welsh
n.	– neuter
N	– nominative
Neogr.	– neogrammarian
Bret.	– Old Breton
OCymr.	– Old Welsh
Ogam	– Ogam (Irish)
OGaul.	– (Old) Gaulish
OIr.	– Old Irish
PCelt.	– Proto-Celtic
pf.	– perfect
phr	– phrase
PIE	– Proto-Indo-European
PN	– personal name
Poucha	– Poucha 1955
pr.	– present
pret.	– preterite

pt.	– participle
RV.	– Rig-Veda
s.	– sigmatic
sg	– singular
TochA	– Tocharian (dialect) A
TochB	– Tocharian (dialect) B
V	– vowel
vb.	– verb
vn.	– verbal noun
WbRV	– Grassmann 1996
WH	– Walde & Hofmann 1938

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Kirja-arvosteluja – Book reviews

J. Carey, K. Murray, and C. Ó Dochartaigh (eds.), *Sacred Histories: A Festschrift for Máire Herbert***. Dublin and Portland, OR: Four Courts Press. 2015. 450 pages. Price €49.50. ISBN 978-1-84682-564-4.**

To say that Professor Máire Herbert is a scholar of distinction, without whom modern Celtic Studies (particularly in the areas of hagiographical and literary studies) would be much the poorer, is as vast an understatement as could be imagined. If that were the only aspect of her life and career that had been impactful on an entire generation of scholars, that would have been enough, and yet as all who have had the pleasure of meeting Professor Herbert know, she is much more than her impressive, influential, and extensive list of publications might amply indicate. She is a person who is as affable as she is intelligent, humorous as she is humble, and disciplined as she is delightful. All of those who have been fortunate enough to have been her students—the present reviewer included—have been impacted by her insights, enthused with her level of engagement, and touched by her kindness and generosity. Speaking personally, the present reviewer would not be the scholar that I am now without her example and intervention, though the fault for my many flaws is entirely my own. It is thus fitting that another handsomely-wrought *Festschrift* has been produced by Four Courts Press in her honor, and *Sacred Histories* is a shining example of this type of volume.

Three of Professor Herbert's University College Cork Department of Early and Medieval Irish colleagues—John Carey, Kevin Murray, and Caitríona Ó Dochartaigh—are the curators of this collection of thirty-two essays (seven in Irish, twenty-five in English), plus the Irish poem "Duine dár lochra" offered by Seán Hutton. The contributors span generations of scholars and colleagues, including several of her students that have gone on to their own distinguished careers, and range from across the span of Ireland, Britain, Europe, and North America.

One often expects that in an anthology of this sort, the depth and quality of the pieces might vary, with some being better than others. The only characteristic, however, that distinguishes these assembled pieces from one another is not quality (indeed, all contributions are excellent), but instead subject matter. In this sense, the volume reflects the diverse interests and involvements of its honorand, and one can say with little hyperbolae that there is something of utility and interest for potentially everyone involved with the various disciplines of Celtic Studies in this collection. The variety of subjects

upon which pieces have been written includes several on poetry, from Old Irish ("Keening in the Poems of Blathmac" by Alexandra Bergholm) to *fianaigheacht* ("The Shield of Fionn: The Poem *Uchán a sciath mo rígh* in Leabhar Ua Maine" by Joseph J. Flahive) to bardic ("St Patrick and Antaeus: Two Bardic Apologues" by Margo Griffin Wilson; "*Tús na heagna omhan Dé*: Penance and Retribution in a Poem by Aonghus Fionn Ó Dálaigh" by Emma Nic Cárthaigh) to twentieth-century Irish ("*'An t-éitheach; is an fíor?...*': A Note on Two Late Poems by Máire Mhac an tSaoi" by Patricia Coughlan) as well as studies on examples from other periods (e.g. "*Comhar na mBan*" by Pádraig A. Breatnach; "'*Pé rí bheas i gcoróin': Seán Caoch Ó Cearbhaill agus an Tiarna Talún*" by Pádraig de Brún; "*Véarsaí ó Oirthear Chorcaí ar an nGorta a Lean Sioc Mór an Gheimhridh*" by Breandán Ó Conchúir). An especially intriguing piece is that of Katharine Simms, "O'Friel's Ghost," which discusses magical verses from RIA MS C iv 2 (466) that might potentially be by the mid-16th century poet Cú Coigcríche Ó Cléirigh, and also includes one of the few personal anecdotes related to the volume's honorand involving the author's long-standing friendship with Professor Herbert extending back to their time at University College Galway.

Many of Professor Herbert's significant contributions to Celtic Studies have been well illustrated in her published work regarding the historical and interpretive study of medieval Irish literature. Medieval literature, thus, is well represented in this collection with articles on gnomic traditions ("*'Ceasta Fhíthil': Buaine agus Ilghnéitheacht na Gaoise i Litríocht na Gaeilge*" by Pádraig Ó Macháin), ecclesiastical charters ("Observations on the Book of Durrow Memorandum" by Edel Bhreathnach), scribal practice ("Murchadh Ó Cuindlis and *Aided Muirchertaig Meic Erca*" by Clodagh Downey), Irish and Scottish history ("*Cethri Prímchenéla Dáil Ríata* Revisited" by Dauvit Broun), and genealogy ("*Maol Mhuire agus a Shinsear*" by Gearóid Mac Eoin) each receiving attention, as does legal terminology ("An Early Irish Category of Swindler: the *Mindach Méith*" by Fergus Kelly) and even Old English vocabulary ("Maidenhood, Mourning, and Old English *Meowle"* by Lisi Oliver and Andrea Adolphe). The influence of and connections between Irish literatures and those of medieval Wales ("The Dating of *Branwen*: The 'Irish Question' Revisited" by Kevin Murray), the Old French "Breton lays" of Marie de France ("*Yonec* and *Tochmarc Becfhola*: Two Female *Echtrai*" by John Carey), and classical connections and influences upon Irish mythological figures ("Leprechauns and Luperci, Aldhelm and Augustine" by Patrick Sims-Williams) and likewise Irish usage of classical analogues ("The Hectors of Ireland and the Western World" by Máire Ní Mhaonaigh) also have pieces dedicated to them. Further comment on two of these will be provided below.

An especially intriguing piece is that by Kay Muhr, "The *Paruchia* of St Lúrach of Uí Thuirtre," which examines

placenames and actual cultic remains in physical locations in relation to the submerged cult of St. Lúrach (and various figures potentially derived from him) in several locales around the counties of Ulster. An exemplary study and edition (with full critical apparatus) of a short text is provided by Elizabeth Boyle and Liam Breatnach in "*Senchas Gall Átha Clíath*: Aspects of the Cult of St Patrick in the Twelfth Century." Thomas M. Charles-Edwards' piece, "*Táin bó Cúailnge*, Hagiography and History," is also an extremely important one for those who are interested in narrowing down the date of composition for the great Old Irish prosimetric epic of the Ulster Cycle, to the point of this essay being a necessity for anyone considering this question in the future. These, and many others, will be estimated well worth the quite reasonable "price of admission" for this volume.

Given the importance of Professor Herbert's monumental works on the study of ecclesiastical topics—including hagiography, apocrypha, and the history of Christianity in Ireland—several pieces address these topics as well in a diversity of fashions (in addition to this range of subjects being important to several pieces previously mentioned). Apocrypha's importance for the early Irish church is discussed in Máirtín Mac Conmara's "*De Initiis*: Apacrafa, an Bíobla agus Léann Luath-eaglais na hÉireann." Old Irish lexicography in relation to church bells is examined in Próinséas Ní Chatháin's "The Bells of the Saints." Hagiography and hagiology—in relation to both native Irish saints as well as Irish instances of or influences upon non-Irish saints—receives a great deal of attention in the pieces by Mícheal Mac Craith ("*Na Taoisigh Ultacha agus an Veronica*"), Tomás Ó Cathasaigh ("On the Genealogical Preamble to *Vita Sancti Declani"*), Caitríona Ó Dochartaigh ("A Cult of Saint Thecla in Early Medieval Ireland?"), and Pádraigh Ó Riain ("Saint Cataldo of Taranto: The Irish Element in the Life of an Italian Saint"). In consideration of Professor Herbert's superlatively important book *Iona, Kells, and Derry: The History and Hagiography of the Monastic Familia of Columba* (1988; 1996)—a volume which was the present reviewer's own first introduction to Máire Herbert's erudition on this as well as so many other subjects—it is not surprising that the matter of Columban hagiography and the monastic *familia* of Colum Cille is also exhibited by several contributions already mentioned, as well as quite specifically in those pieces by Brian Lambkin ("Colum Cille and the *Lorg Bengánach*: Ritual Migration from Derry"), Jennifer O'Reilly ("Columba at Clonmacnoise"), and Katja Ritari ("Librán as Monastic Archetype").

Positive commentary could be multiplied about every piece in this collection, while also allowing for the possibility of fruitful divergences of opinion as fodder for many further studies in the future. The present reviewer wishes to emphasize the former rather than the latter in the brief observations on two of the pieces that follow here.

John Carey's piece, "*Yonec* and *Tochmarc Becfhola*: Two Female

Echtrai," takes an interesting approach to comparing Marie de France's *lai* and this under-appreciated Irish tale in consideration of Professor Herbert's work on gender in various published works. Rather than taking the "sources and analogues" approach, as has so often been done (and overdone) in the past in relation to Old French (as well as other medieval) and Irish literatures, Carey's piece instead examines thematic resonances between episodes in these two works. More of these sorts of studies would be useful to explore in the future, not only for their own sake but also—as Professor Herbert's work has repeatedly demonstrated—to see what such thematic resonances might have meant or reflected as *causa scribendi* in their own historical contexts. It is interesting to put this piece in dialogue with a recent article by a younger Celticist and Old French specialist, Matthieu Boyd, "The Ring, the Sword, the Fancy Dress, and the Posthumous Child: Background to the Element of Heroic Biography in Marie de France's *Yonec*" (*Romance Quarterly* 55.3 [Summer 2008], pp. 205–230), as the Celtic dimensions of so much medieval literature remains unacknowledged and unappreciated by the wider range of scholars specializing in these other literatures. This is certainly a large theme, and one too extensive to detail further in the present context, but it is also one that can begin to be usefully addressed by this and other studies presented in this volume.

Patrick Sims-Williams' "Leprechauns and Luperci, Aldhelm and Augustine" illustrates a fascinating set of propositions extending from a 2012 article by Jacopo Benigni on the etymological connections between leprechauns and the *Luperci* sodality in ancient Rome, including their aquatic associations and their connection to (at least in Roman learned tradition) the werewolf cults of Arcadia in Greece, particularly as reflected in Augustine's supremely influential *De Civitate Dei*. Alas, the present reviewer has not been able to see Benigni's article yet, but wonders if an important piece of this puzzle in favor of such a connection is not to be found in medieval Irish accounts of the Túatha Dé's characteristics not only including lycanthropy but also the ability to travel beneath the sea, as reflected in various texts (see the present author's *Werewolves, Magical Hounds, and Dog-Headed Men in Celtic Literature* [Lewiston, NY, Lampeter, and Queenstown: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2010], pp. 238–240, 248–249), but also the account from Ovid and others that the flood sent by Zeus and which only Deukalion and Pyrrha escaped occurred just after Lykaon, the Arcadian king and cannibal who offended Zeus, was turned into a wolf for his transgressions (ibid, pp. 144–147).

The quality of this *Festschrift* is inestimable, and the potential utility of the studies offered therein will stimulate extended discussions into future decades of the disciplines of Celtic Studies. The ongoing work of Celtic Studies scholarship attempts to do nothing less than this, and to provide further avenues for consideration rather

than to definitively pronounce upon any particular subject once-and-for-all. It is therefore entirely appropriate that the articles offered as chapters in this tome in honor of Professor Herbert will perform that function, just as Professor Herbert's own work has done for all of her students and colleagues, and will continue to do *in saecula saeculorum*.

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S. Rowbotham. *Rebel Crossings. New Women, Free Lovers, and Radicals in Britain and America.* **London, New York: Verso. 2016. 502 pages. Price £25, $34.95. ISBN 978-1-7847-8588-8.**

In her latest book, well-known historian of feminism and radicalism Sheila Rowbotham focuses on the physical and metaphorical journey of six radicals, five of whom crossed the Atlantic searching for liberty, equality, and themselves. In changing their personal lives these rebels attempted to change society. Through case studies their stories are conceptualized as both individual and group experiences and divided into three parts: Hopes, Quests, and Echoes. Helena Born (1860–1901), Miriam Daniell (1861-94), Robert Allan Nicol (1868–1956), William Bailie (1866–1957) and Gertrude Dix (1867–1950) emigrated from Britain to the United States. The sixth person was American-born Helen Tufts (1874–1962), who was influenced by Helena Born and her views on radicalism, and American writers Walt Whitman and Henry David Thoreau.

None of the rebels, as named by Rowbotham, were particularly well-known. Historians of socialism and anarchism referred occasionally to Helena, Miriam, Robert, and William. Gertrude Dix, as the author of two novels *The Girl from the Farm* (1896) and *The Image Breakers* (1900), was appreciated as a 'new woman' writer and Helen Tufts was known in the history of women and the American right by a statement given in 1928. Helen, who became Helen Tufts Bailie, was a member of an organization called the Daughters of the American Revolution and was excluded from it after revealing a blacklist, including liberals and leftists. Apart from this incident all six were mainly part of networks, outside the mainstream movements. Helena Born, originally from a wealthy family living in Devon, emigrated from Bristol to the United States in 1890. In Bristol, during the late 1880s Helena established a close relationship with Miriam Daniell, became a socialist, a supporter of strikers and settled in the slums. Helena's political radicalism developed alongside a feeling of crushed individuality, experienced by her as a middle-class woman. In her view, society, its worn out customs and conventions restricted individuals. In America Helena lived on a ranch in California, became a member of the Boston Walt Whitman Fellowship and continued with anarchism. One

of Helena's inspirations was Edward Carpenter, who challenged gender divisions and searched for the aesthetics of simple life, stone floors, sandals, and vegetarian food.

Miriam Daniell, originally from a shop-keeper's family in Bristol, was in turn an artist, a poet and a socialist. Her story became intertwined with that of Robert Allan Nicol, whom she met during visits in Edinburgh before divorcing her husband Edward Tuckett Daniell, after an unhappy marriage. In 1889 Robert left Scotland and moved with her to Bristol. Robert started studying medicine at Edinburgh University but never graduated from it – something he later regretted. In Edinburgh of that time the debates for Home Rule in Ireland had short-lived parallels in Scotland, where interest in Celtic culture was growing, and although not mentioned in the book, in Norse heritage as well. Trade unions were active and women were campaigning for suffrage, higher education, housing reform and even birth control. In the context of 1889 also books such as *The Evolution of Sex* appeared and these were empowering for those who had abandoned Christianity but experienced unexplainable guilt. Miriam and Robert published a pamphlet *The Truth about the Chocolate Factories or Modern White Slavery, its Cause and Cure* challenged ideas of working men, who had the right to "live, breathe and act like men" to fulfill their duties to God and Humanity (Rowbotham 2016, 55). Even the title was a provocation and echoed Annie Besant's famous article about the match women, 'White Slavery in London', published in her magazine *The Link* in 1888. In America Miriam Daniell wrote articles, poems, and allegorical stories for Benjamin Tucker's journal *Liberty.* Robert Allan Nicol was, similarly to Miriam, inspired by anarchism and alternative forms of spirituality.

American-born Helen Tufts never knew Miriam and Robert: her contact with them on a spiritual level was enabled by her connection and friendship with Helena Born. She kept an extensive diary and was self-consciously documenting, editing, and gathering information since 1886 until finally typing it in the 1950s. For the five rebels from Britain the outcomes of emigration were somewhat different, but in thinking about society they were similar. Helena Born was a supporter of left politics in which individual expression was important. William's family, the Bailies were a Northern Irish Presbyterian farming family with Scottish roots. As a worker William was earning enough to buy second-hand books and cheap tickets to the theatre. In Northern Ireland, politics and religion were debated by his fellow workers and both Catholics and Protestants. His father had resigned from the Orangemen's Lodge because he disliked sectarianism. The visit of Henry George, the American author of *Progress and Poverty* (1879) stimulated William's interest in radical ideas. Just before leaving Belfast for Scotland he read *Art and Socialism* by William Morris. In America, like Miriam and Robert, William also joined individualist anarchist circles around *Liberty*. The all-consuming interest of Gertrude Dix's

parents was the Anglican church and leaving home and turning her back on a close-knit family was relatively unusual for young women at the time. Raised in a religious home, Gertrude later struggled to explain to her children her religious upbringing. After emigrating she became famous as an avantgarde writer in both the United States and Britain. All six were combining their personal development with societal involvement, especially in socialism and anarchism. As the two wings of radicalism diverged towards the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century for later radicals it was becoming difficult to combine them.

Author's approach to the six radicals or rebels as a group is unusual: if regarded as a group, their migration included Bristol, Dunfermline, Edinburgh, Belfast, Manchester, London, Massachusetts, and California. Obviously, there were many connections and circumstances where their paths crossed, but there was also a lack of connection or association. As evidence was often scarce, the historian was inspired to create new connections not only between the deeds of the individuals, but also between the relations and emotions they might have experienced. From being less-known in history writing they received personal and social biographies and became an interacting group, as a reality and as a construction.

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