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Vertaisarviointitunnus sisällysluettelossa kertoo, että artikkelin vertaisarviointi on toteutettu kansainvälisen tiedeyhteisön noudattamien laadullisten ja eettisten vaatimusten mukaisesti.

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STUDIA CELTICA FENNICA XV 2018

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In memoriam

Professor Anders Ahlqvist, Finlands Keltologiska Sällskaps första förman (1990–1995) och den keltologiska forskningens grand old man i Finland, avled överraskande den 23 augusti 2018. Han var 73 år gammal.

Professor Anders Ahlqvist 1945–2018. We thank the School of Celtic Studies (DIAS) for the photo.

Anders var född 17 februari 1945 i Helsingfors. Han studerade klassisk och nordisk filologi samt allmän språkkunskap vid Helsingfors universitet och blev intresserad av de keltiska språken redan under studietiden. Intresset tog honom först till Dublin och sedan till Edinburgh i slutet av 60-talet. I Edinburgh doktorerade han i keltologi och återvände sedan till Irland, där han fortsatte sin akademiska karriär. År 1976 blev han lektor i forniriska vid Galway universitet. Där trivdes han under hela sin karriär. Professor i forniriska blev han år 1993.

Anders var en riktig och traditionell gentleman, som vi alla kommer ihåg med värme. Han var känd bland yngre kolleger och studeranden för sin färdighet att hjälpa yngre forskare med deras forskning och karriär. Keltologer runt hela världen kände honom och uppskattade honom som lärare, forskare, och människa. Utöver sin akademiska karriär i Irland fungerade Anders också som docent i allmän språkkunskap vid Helsingfors universitet. Efter att han blev pensionerad från Galway, flyttade Anders till Australien och tog emot en professur i keltologi vid Sydney universitet från 2008 till 2014. Anders fungerade också som ordförande för ledningsgruppen för School of Celtic Studies i Dublin.

Utan Anders Ahlqvist skulle det inte finnas något keltologiskt sällskap i Finland. Det var han som i slutet av 1980-talet samlade ihop forskare från olika håll, som alla var intresserade av de keltiska kulturerna och språk. Med hans hjälp kunde också ett antal unga forskare och studerande skaffa finansiering för att studera keltologi vid olika universitet i Irland. Man kan gott säga att Anders introducerade keltologin till Finland och öppnade dörrarna till den keltologiska forskningen för finländska forskare. För att herdra hans insatser för sällskapets verksamhet håller Finlands Keltologiska Sällskap vartannat år en serie av festföredrag som bär hans namn.

Vi kommer att sakna honom och hans positiva och varma sätt att möta sina kolleger, studerande och vänner med respekt och närvaro.

Tom Sjöblom,
Kollega och vän.

Professor Anders Ahlqvist, the first president (1990–1995) of the Finnish Society for Celtic Studies, and the grand old man of Celtic Studies in Finland, died unexpectedly on 23 August 2018. He was 73 years old.

Anders was born 17 February 1945 in Helsinki. He studied Classical and Nordic Philology and Comparative Linguistics at University of Helsinki. He became interested in the Celtic languages already as a student and this took him first to Dublin and then to Edinburgh in the end of the 1960s. He gained his doctorate in Celtic Studies in Edinburgh after which he returned to Ireland to continue his academic career. In 1976, he started as a lecturer in Old and Middle Irish at University College Galway and it was where he stayed for his whole academic career. In 1993, he became Professor in Old Irish at the same university.

Anders was a real gentleman in the traditional sense of the word. We all remember him with warmth. Among his younger colleagues and students he was known for his efforts to help and support them with their research and careers. Celtic scholars all over the world knew him and looked up to him as a teacher, scholar, and always a kind person. In addition to his academic career in Ireland, he also held the title of Docent in Comparative Linguistics at University of Helsinki, and, after retiring from Galway, he took up the position of Professor of Celtic Studies in Sydney, Australia between 2008 and 2014. Anders was also the Chairman of the Governing Board of the School of Celtic Studies in Dublin.

Without Anders the Finnish Society for Celtic Studies would not exist. It was he who in the end the 1980s called together a group of scholars from different fields, who were all working with different aspects of Celtic cultures and languages. With his help several young Finnish students and scholars were also able to continue with their studies in Ireland. It can be said that Anders introduced Celtic Studies to Finland and opened the doors to Celtic Studies for Finnish scholars. To honour his contributions to the Finnish Society for Celtic Studies, the society organizes honorary lectures that carry his name.

We are all going to miss Anders and his positive and warm way of interacting with his colleagues, students, and friends with respect and presence.

Tom Sjöblom
Colleague and friend.

Immram curaig Maile Duin: Máel Dúinin veneen merimatka

Alexandra Bergholm

Immram curaig Maile Duin -nimellä tunnettu proosamuotoinen kertomus on säilynyt osittain neljässä keskiaikaisessa käsikirjoituksessa. Näistä vanhin, *Lebor na hUidre*, on peräisin 1100-luvulta ja kolme muuta (*Yellow Book of Lecan*, *Harleian MS 5280* sekä *Egerton 1782*) 1300–1500-luvuilta. Kertomuksen muinaisiirinkielinen alkuperäisversio on kielellisin perustein ajoitettu noin 800-luvulle, mutta myöhemmistä versioista yksikään ei vastaa täysin alkuperäistä (Van Hamel 1941, 24; Carney 2000 [1963], 49).[1]

Immram curaig Maile Duin on yksi monista varhaisirlantilaisen kertomusperinteen teksteistä, joiden keskeisenä juoniaihelmana on yliluonnollisia elementtejä sisältävä tuonpuoleisen saarille suuntautuva merimatka. Kertomuksen nimessä esiintyvä iirin kielen sana *im(m)ram* tarkoittaa kirjaimellisesti 'ympäriinsä soutelua'. Vaikka tämä teema erottaa pääsääntöisesti *immrama*-tekstit muista tuonpuoleiseen tai muuten tuntemattomaan tehtävistä matkoista (*echtrae*, *loinges*), rajanveto näiden välillä ei ollut keskiajalla täysin selkeä. Esimerkiksi kahdessa säilyneessä tarinalistassa *echtrae* esiintyy omana kategorianaan, mutta *immrama*-ryhmään on listattu kuuluvaksi kolme *immram*- ja neljä *loinges*-nimellä tunnettua kertomusta (Mac Cana 1980, 43, 45, 53). Yksi varhaisimmista *immram*-kertomuksista, *Immram Brain maic Febail*, joka varsinaisen merimatkan sijaan keskittyy tuonpuoleisen maailman yksityiskohtaiseen kuvaukseen, ei ole lainkaan mukana osana *immrama*-ryhmää, mutta esiintyy sen sijaan toisessa näistä listoista nimellä *Echtra Brain*.[2]

Immrama-kertomukset muistuttavat rakenteellisesti ja sisällöllisesti hyvin läheisesti toisiaan. Samankaltaisena toistuvan kehyskertomuksen ympärillä yksittäiset motiivit ja episodit voivat kuitenkin vaihdella paljonkin (esim. Ní Bhrolcháin 2009, 87)[3]. Siinä missä *Immram Maile Duinin* päähenkilö lähtee kumppaneineen merelle etsimään isänsä surmaajia, ja päätyy matkallaan vierailemaan yli kolmellakymmenellä saarella ennen määränpäänsä saavuttamista, *Immram Snégdusa ocus Maic Riaglassa* merimatkan tekee kaksi Columban luostariyhteisöön kuuluvaa munkkia, joiden pyhiinvaellus johdattaa heidät kahdeksan saaren kautta luvattuun maahan (*Tír Tairngire*). Myöhemmässä *Immram Ua Corrassa* päähenkilöinä ovat

1 Proosaversion lisäksi kertomus on säilynyt myös runomuotoisena kahdessa näistä käsikirjoituksista (YBL ja Harleian).
2 *Immraman* ja *echtraen* eroista ks. lisää esim. Dumville 1976.
3 Hyvän johdatuksen tähän kertomusgenreen tarjoaa Wooding 2000.

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puolestaan Úi Corran veljekset, joiden täytyy sovittaa syntinsä jättämällä kotinsa ja lähtemällä merelle. Veljesten seikkailu päättyy lopulta Espanjaan, josta heidän maineensa kiirii edelleen aina Roomaan asti (Van Hamel 1941; Stokes 1888, 1893).

Immram curaig Maile Duinia on ajoittain luonnehdittu maalliseksi meriseikkailuksi erotuksena muista vastaavista kertomuksista, joissa matka itsessään on mahdollista nähdä eräänlaisena kristillisen kilvoittelun vertauskuvana. Tunnetuin tämän kaltainen tarina on pyhimys Brendanin ja hänen seurueensa merimatkaa kuvaava *Navigatio Sancti Brendani*, joka keskiajan kuluessa muodostui oman aikansa kansainväliseksi bestselleriksi. Tutkijat ovat olleet erimielisiä siitä, missä määrin yhtymäkohdat *Immram curaig Maile Duinin* ja *Navigatio Sancti Brendanin* välillä ovat suoran lainautumisen tulosta. Verrattaessa näitä kahta kertomusta keskenään on joka tapauksessa selvää, että kristillinen orientaatio ja liturgisen kirkkovuoden ympärille rytmittyvä syklinen rakenne eivät ole *Immram curaig Maile Duinin* juonirakenteen kannalta yhtä keskeisiä elementtejä kuin *Navigatiossa* (ks. esim. Ritari 2016, 95–143; Hillers 1993; Strijbosch 2000).

Merimatka yhtäältä rangaistuksena tai katumusharjoituksena ja toisaalta pyhiinvaelluksena on teema, joka perustuu myös historialliseen todellisuuteen. Varhaisirlantilaisista lakiteksteistä esimerkiksi *Cáin Adamnáin* mainitsee merelle lähettämisen rangaistuksena, jolla erityisesti naiset voivat sovittaa rikkomuksensa kuolemanrangaistuksen sijaan. Myös muissa lähteissä kyseistä rangaistusta pidetään sopivana kaikkein vakavimpien rikosten kuten suvunsurman (*fingal*) ja petoksen tapauksessa. Veneessä ilman airoja, ruokaa tai juomaa ajelehtivien yksilöiden katsottiin olevan täysin Jumalan armoilla, ja siten myös heidän mahdollinen selviämisensä osoitti, että Jumala oli katsonut rikoksen sovitetuksi. Tämä ei kuitenkaan tarkoittanut, että he olisivat rangaistuksensa jälkeen voineet palata normaalisti takaisin oman yhteisönsä jäseniksi, sillä koettelemuksen jälkeenkin rangaistuksen kärsinyt oli yhteisössään ulkopuolinen ja lainsuojaton. Vapaaehtoisesti kotinsa jättäneen matkalaisen kohdalla sen sijaan tilanne oli täysin toinen: merellä tai muilla tavoin toteutettu *peregrinatio* oli askeettisen harjoituksen muoto, jolle omistautuneita 'Jumalan maanpakolaisia' (*deorad Dé*) pidettiin lain ja yhteisön silmissä suuressa arvossa. (Thrall 2000 [1923]; Byrne 1976; Charles-Edwards 2000 [1976].)

Tämä käännös perustuu A. G. van Hamelin vuonna 1941 julkaistuun editioon, jonka teksti seuraa pääosin Yellow Book of Lecanissa säilynyttä versiota. Van Hamelin edition lisäksi tukena on käytetty myös Whitley Stokesin vuonna 1888–89 laatimaa editiota ja englanninkielistä käännöstä, jonka pohjana on *Lebor na hUidren* teksti. Kertomuksen juonen kannalta olennaisimmat erot eri versioiden välillä on merkitty alaviitteisiin.

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Máel Dúinin veneen merimatka

Kolme vuotta ja seitsemän kuukautta hän seikkaili merellä.

Máel Dúin oli Aranin Eoganachtin sukua. Hänen isänsä oli Ailill Ochair Ága. Hän oli väkevä mies ja urhea sankari, ja oman sukunsa päämies. Hänen äitinsä oli nuori nunna ja nunnien kirkon johtajatar[4]. Hän sai alkunsa seuraavalla tavalla.

Eoganachtin kuningas lähti ryöstelyretkelle vieraille maille, ja Ailill Ochair Ága oli hänen mukanaan. He riisuivat hevosensa valjaista ja leiriytyivät kukkulalle. Lähellä tätä aukeaa oli nunnien kirkko (eli Kildare). Keskiyön koittaessa, kun kaikki liikehdintä leirissä oli lakannut, Ailill meni kirkkoon samaan aikaan kun johtajatar oli tullut soittamaan kirkon kelloa yörukouksen merkiksi. Ailill kävi hänen päälleen, tarttui häntä kädestä, kaatoi hänet maahan ja yhtyi hänen kanssaan. Nainen sanoi hänelle: ”Tekomme on onneton, sillä nyt on minun aikani tulla raskaaksi. Mistä suvusta tulet, oi soturi, ja mikä on nimesi?” Soturi vastasi: ”Nimeni on Ailill Ochair Ága,

4 *banairchinnech*: DIL ‘woman head, leader, superior’. Englanniksi termi olisi *mother superior*, joka suomeksi käännetään useimmiten abbedissaksi. Kirkon hierarkiassa hän on kuitenkin abbedissan alapuolella. Sana prioritar ei ole yleinen.

ja olen Aranin Eoganachtin sukua.” Kun kuningas oli ryöstänyt saaliinsa ja ottanut panttivankinsa, hän lähti takaisin omaan maahansa, ja Ailill seurasi häntä. Vähän myöhemmin, kun Ailill oli saapunut takaisin omiensa pariin, joukko lainsuojattomia Leix’stä surmasi hänet ja poltti hänet kirkossa, joka tunnetaan nimellä Dubcluain.

Yhdeksän kuukauden jälkeen nainen synnytti pojan ja antoi hänelle nimen, Máel Dúin. Hän toi pojan salaa naisystävälleen, eli kuninkaan kuningattarelle, ja hän kasvatti hänet ja sanoi olevansa hänen äitinsä. Sama kasvattiäiti kasvatti hänet ja kuninkaan kolme poikaa, samassa sylissä, samalla rinnalla ja samalla polvella. Niin hurmaava oli tämä poika, ettei ketään hänen vertaistaan ulkonäöltään, muodoltaan tai teoiltaan ollut koskaan nähty. Hän varttui, kunnes tuli nuorukaiseksi ja oli valmis tarttumaan aseisiin. Hän oli loistava, ylpeä ja leikkisä, ja päihitti toverinsa kaikissa kisailuissa, pallon heitosta juoksuun ja hyppelyyn, ampumisesta kivien heittelyyn ja hevosten ohjastukseen. Todellakin hän oli voittoisa kaikissa näissä toimissa.

Eräänä päivänä yksi poikajoukon ylimielisistä nuorukaisista alkoi kadehtia häntä ja sanoi vihaisena ja kiivastuneena: ”Sinä, Máel Duín, jonka perhettä ja sukua kukaan ei tunne, ja josta kukaan ei tiedä minkä koiran jätöksiin kuulut,[5] voitat meidät kaikissa mittelöissä, olipa se sitten maalla tai vedessä tai pelilaudalla.” Máel Dúin meni hiljaiseksi, koska tähän asti hän oli olettanut olevansa kuninkaan ja kuningattaren poika. Hän sanoi kasvattiäidilleen, ettei aikonut syödä enkä juoda ennen kuin hän kertoisi, keitä hänen isänsä ja äitinsä olivat. ”Mutta poikani”, sanoi kasvattiäiti, ”miksi kyselet heidän peräänsä? Älä usko niiden ylimielisten nuorukaisten sanoja. Minä olen äitisi,” hän sanoi, ”ja kuningas on isäsi, eikä kenelläkään maailmassa ole enempää rakkautta kuin minulla sinua kohtaan.” ”Näin voi olla,” sanoi hän, ”mutta se ei estä minua saamasta selville keitä vanhempani ovat.” Sitten hänen kasvattiäitinsä meni hänen kanssaan ja toi hänet äitinsä luo, ja pyysi häntä paljastamaan hänen oikean isänsä hänelle.

”Se, mitä teet, on hölmöä,” sanoi hän, ”sillä vaikka tietäisit, kuka isäsi on, hänestä ei ole sinulle iloa, sillä hän on ollut kuollut jo hyvän tovin.” ”Minulle on parempi tietää kaikesta huolimatta,” sanoi hän. Sitten hänen äitinsä kertoi hänelle totuuden. ”Ailill Ochair Ága on sinun isäsi,” sanoi hän, ”Aranin Eoganachtin sukua.” Tämän jälkeen hän lähti kasvattiveljiensä kanssa isänsä maahan ja oman sukunsa pariin, ja he olivat rakastettuja nuorukaisia siellä. Hänen sukunsa iloitsi heistä ja rohkaisi häntä suuresti.

Kerran myöhemmin joukko nuorukaisia oli heittelemässä kiviä Dubcluainin kirkon hautuumaalla. Máel Dúin astui jalallaan kirkon hiiltyneisiin raunioihin ja heitteli kiviä niiden yli. Muuan kirkon yhteisöön kuuluva ilkeämielinen mies,

5 *nád fess cia cú rot cach for otrach*: DIL:n mukaan ilmaisua käytetään viittaamaan henkilön epäselvään syntyperään. Tässä on pyritty mahdollisimman sanatarkkaan muotoiluun, jotta ilmaisun loukkaava sävy välittyisi käännöksestä.

Briccne nimeltään,[6] sanoi Máel Dúinille: ”Olisi parempi kostaa sen miehen puolesta, joka poltettiin kuoliaaksi täällä kuin heitellä kiviä hänen palaneiden luidensa yllä.” ”Kuka se oli?” kysyi Máel Dúin. ”Ailill,” sanoi hän, ”sinun isäsi.” ”Kuka hänet surmasi?” kysyi Máel Dúin. Briccne vastasi: ”Leix’n lainsuojattomat, ja he tappoivat hänet tähän paikkaan.”

Máel Dúin laittoi pois kiven, jota oli heittämässä, puki viittansa ja sotisopansa ylleen ja oli murheellinen. Hän kysyi miten löytäisi tiensä Leix’hin, ja opastajat kertoivat hänelle, että ainoa tapa päästä sinne oli meriteitse.

Tämän jälkeen hän meni Corcomroen alueelle pyytämään onnea ja hyviä enteitä druidilta, joka asui siellä, jotta hän voisi alkaa rakentaa venettä (druidin nimi oli Nuca ja hänen mukaansa Boirenn Nuca on saanut nimensä). Druidi kertoi hänelle, minä päivänä hänen tulisi aloittaa veneen rakentaminen ja kuinka monta miehistön jäsentä hänen tulisi ottaa mukaan, eli seitsemäntoista, tai kuusikymmentä kuten toiset sanovat. Ja hän sanoi, ettei yhtään suurempaa tai pienempää lukumäärää saisi tulla, ja kertoi lisäksi minä päivänä heidän pitäisi lähteä merelle.

Hän rakensi veneen kolminkertaisesta nahasta ja kaikki, jotka olivat lähdössä hänen mukaansa, olivat valmiina. Heidän joukossaan olivat myös Germán ja Diurán Riimittelijä.

He lähtivät merelle sinä päivänä, jolloin druidi oli kehottanut heitä lähtemään. Kun he olivat vähän matkan päässä rannasta ja olivat nostaneet purjeet, hänen kolme kasvattiveljeään, kasvatti-isänsä ja -äitinsä kolme poikaa, tulivat satamaan ja he huusivat heitä palaamaan maihin, jotta pääsisivät mukaan. ”Menkää kotiin, sillä vaikka palaisimme maihin,” sanoi Máel Dúin, ”en voi ottaa mukaani enempää kuin [veneessä] jo on.” ”Seuraamme sinua mereen ja hukumme sinne, jos et tule noutamaan meitä.” Sitten he kaikki kolme heittäytyivät veteen ja alkoivat uida kauas rannasta. Kun Máel Dúin näki tämän, hän kääntyi heitä kohti, jotta he eivät hukkuisi, ja nosti heidät veneeseen.

1. Sinä päivänä he soutivat iltaan asti ja koko seuraavan päivän illan aina keskiyöhön, kunnes he löysivät kaksi pientä karua saarta ja siellä kaksi linnoitusta, joista kuului mekastusta ja päihtyneiden sotureiden ääniä. Yksi [näistä] miehistä sanoi toverilleen: ”Pysy kaukana minusta,” hän sanoi, ”minä olen parempi soturi kuin sinä, sillä minä tapoin Ailill Ochair Ágan ja poltin Dubcluainin hänen päälleen ilman mitään pahoja seuraamuksia hänen sukunsa puolesta, ja sinä et ole koskaan tehnyt mitään vastaavaa.” ”Voitto on meidän,” sanoivat Germán ja Diurán Riimittelijä. ”Jumala on johdattanut meidät suoraan tänne ja ohjannut venettämme. Menkäämme ja tuhotkaamme nuo kaksi linnoitusta, sillä Jumala on paljastanut vihollistemme olevan siellä.”

6 *Fer nemthengthach … Briccne a ainm*: lit. ’myrkkykielinen mies nimeltään Briccne’. Nimi on viittaus Ulsterin syklin teksteissä esiintyvään trickster-hahmoon Bricriuun, josta käytetään vastaavasti epiteettiä Nemhthenga, ’poison-tongue’.

Kun he olivat lausuneet nämä sanat, voimakas tuuli tarttui heihin, ja se kuljetti heitä kauas merelle aamuun asti. Vielä aamun jälkeenkään he eivät nähneet maata tai rantaa, eivätkä tienneet mihin suuntaan menisivät. Silloin Máel Dúin sanoi: ”Jättäkää vene ajelehtimaan ilman soutamista. Mihin ikinä suuntaan Jumala haluaa meidät kuljettaa, kuljettakoon.”

Sitten he ajelehtivat suurelle aavalle merelle ja Máel Dúin sanoi myöhemmin kasvattiveljilleen: ”Te aiheutitte tämän heittäytymällä veneeseen, vastoin näkijän ja druidin ohjeita, joka sanoi, ettemme saisi ottaa mukaan enempää kuin sen lukumäärän, joka meitä oli ennen teitä.” Heillä ei ollut muuta vastausta kuin olla vähän aikaa vaiti.

2. Meni kolme päivää ja kolme yötä, eivätkä he löytäneet maata tai rantaa. Kolmannen päivän aamuna he kuulivat äänen tulevan heitä kohti koillisesta. ”Tuo on rantaan lyövän aallon ääni,” sanoi Germán. Päivän valjettua he lähtivät kohti rantaa. Kun he olivat arpomassa kuka heistä menisi maihin, valtava parvi muurahaisia, joista jokainen oli vasikan kokoinen, tuli rannassa heitä kohti ja aina mereen asti. Muurahaiset halusivat syödä miehistön jäsenet ja heidän veneensä, joten he pakenivat. Kolme päivää ja kolme yötä he viettivät näkemättä maata tai rantaa.

3. Kolmannen päivän aamuna he kuulivat aallon lyövän rantaan ja päivän koittaessa he näkivät valtavan ja korkean saaren, jota ympäröivät tasanteet. Toinen toistaan alempana olevilla tasanteilla oli puiden rivistöjä ja jokaisessa puussa suuria lintuja. He keskustelivat kuka heistä menisi tutkimaan saarta ja selvittämään, olivatko linnut kesyjä. ”Minä menen,” sanoi Máel Dúin. Hän meni ja tutki saaren varovasti, eikä siellä ollut mitään pahaa. He söivät itsensä kylläisiksi linnuista ja toivat osan mukanaan veneeseen.

4. Kolme päivää ja kolme yötä he olivat merellä. Neljännen päivän aamuna he näkivät toisen suuren saaren. Sen maaperä oli hiekkainen. Kun he tulivat tämän saaren rantaan, he näkivät hevosenkaltaisen pedon. Sillä oli koiran jalat ja kovat, terävät kynnet, ja se oli hyvin ilahtunut nähdessään heidät. Se hyppelehti heidän edessään, sillä se halusi syödä heidät ja heidän veneensä. ”Hän ei ole murheellinen nähdessään meidät,” sanoi Máel Dúin, ”lähtekäämme pois tältä saarelta.” Näin he tekivät ja kun peto näki heidän poistuvan, se meni rantaan ja alkoi kaivaa maata terävillä kynsillään. Se heitteli heitä [hiekalla], eivätkä he uskoneet pääsevänsä pakoon.

5. He soutivat kauas ja näkivät suuren alavamaastoisen saaren edessään. Huono arpa lankesi Germánille ja hänen täytyi mennä tutkimaan saarta. ”Menkäämme yhdessä,” sanoi Diurán Riimittelijä, ”sinä tulet kanssani sitten toisella kertaa, kun huono arpa osuu minun kohdalleni.” He menivät saarelle. Se oli suurikokoinen ja leveä, ja he näkivät sen keskellä suuren ja pitkän viheriön, jossa oli valtavia hevosen kavioiden jälkiä. Jokainen kavionjälki oli laivan purjeen kokoinen. He näkivät myös pähkinänkuoria, jotka olivat kuin juoma-astioita, sekä jälkiä väkijoukon mellastuksesta. He olivat peloissaan näkemästään ja kutsuivat muita katsomaan, mitä

he olivat nähneet. Kaikki olivat peloissaan näkemästään ja he menivät pikaisesti takaisin veneeseen. Kun he olivat vähän matkan päässä maasta, he näkivät suuren väkijoukon tulevan rantaan ja aloittavan hevoskisan viheriöllä. Jokainen hevonen oli tuulta nopeampi, ja väkijoukko metelöi ja huusi äänekkäästi. Máel Dúin kuuli raippojen äänen kantautuvan kisasta ja hän kuuli myös, mitä [kisaajat] sanoivat toinen toisilleen: ”Tuokaa harmaa hevonen!” ”Aja tumma hevonen tuonne!” ”Tuokaa valkoinen hevonen!” ”Minun hevoseni on nopeampi!” ”Minun hevoseni hyppää paremmin!” Kun he kuulivat nämä sanat, he pakenivat kaikilla voimillaan, sillä he olivat varmoja, että he olivat todistaneet paholaisten kokoontumista.

6. Seitsemän päivää he soutivat ympäriinsä nälkiintyneinä ja janoissaan, kunnes he löysivät suuren ja korkean saaren ja sen rannassa suuren talon. Sen yksi ovi aukesi saaren aukealle ja toinen aukesi mereen, ja tämän toisen oven edessä oli kivinen suoja. Suojassa oli aukko, jonka läpi meren aallot heittivät lohia suoraan talon sisälle. He menivät sisälle taloon, eikä siellä ollut ketään. He näkivät koristellun vuoteen, joka oli tarkoitettu vain talon isännälle, sekä vuoteita aina kolmen hänen taloutensa jäsenen jaettavaksi. Jokaisen vuoteen edessä oli ruokaa kolmelle, ja lasinen astia täynnä juomaa, ja lasinen kuppi jokaiselle astialle. He söivät ja joivat kyllikseen, ja kiittivät kaikkivaltiasta Jumalaa, joka oli päästänyt heidät nälästä.

7. Kun he olivat lähteneet tältä saarelta, he soutivat ympäriinsä kauan, ilman ruokaa ja nälissään, kunnes he löysivät saaren, jota ympäröi joka puolelta suuri kallio ja jonka keskellä oli pitkä ja kapea metsä. Sen pituus ja kapeus oli valtava. Tullessaan sen luokse Máel Dúin otti ohi mennessään metsästä oksan käteensä. Kolme päivää ja kolme yötä oksa oli hänen kädessään veneen purjehtiessa kallion vierellä, ja kolmantena päivänä he huomasivat oksan päässä kolmen omenan ryppään. Jokainen näistä omenista riitti heille neljäksikymmeneksi päiväksi.

8. Tämän jälkeen he löysivät toisen saaren, jonka ympärillä oli kivinen muuri. Kun he lähestyivät sitä, valtava peto hyppäsi esiin ja alkoi juosta ympäri saarta. Máel Dúinin mielestä se oli tuulta nopeampi. Peto meni saaren korkeimmalle kohdalle ja teki siellä ’suoristumistempun’,[7] eli sen pää oli alaspäin ja jalat ylöspäin. Ja näin sillä oli tapana tehdä: se kääntyi nahoissaan siten, että sen luut ja lihat kääntyivät, mutta nahka pysyi paikoillaan. Tai toisella kertaa sen nahka kääntyi kuin myllyssä, mutta luut ja lihat pysyivät paikoillaan. Kun se oli ollut kauan aikaa näin, se hyppäsi jälleen ylös ja alkoi juosta ympäri saarta kuten aiemmin. Sitten se meni takaisin samaan paikkaan, ja tällä kertaa puolet sen nahasta pysyi paikoillaan toisen puolen kääntyessä kuin myllynkivi. Näin se siis tapasi tehdä mennessään ympäri saarta. Máel Dúin miehistöineen pakeni kaikilla voimillaan, ja kun peto näki heidän pakenevan, se tuli rantaan ottaakseen heidät kiinni ja alkoi heitellä ja

7 *dírgis creit and:* Vastaava temppu mainitaan yhtenä Cú Chulainnin monista taidoista Táin Bó Cúailngessa (LU ll. 1714–19).

paiskoa rannan kiviä heidän peräänsä. Yksi kivistä osui veneeseen lävistäen Máel Dúinin kilven ja se juuttui veneen köliin.

9. Pian tämän jälkeen he löysivät toisen korkean saaren, joka oli viehättävä, ja siellä oli hevosenkaltaisia suuria eläimiä. Jokainen niistä otti palan toisen kyljestä ja vei sen mukanaan nahkoineen ja lihoineen, niin että maa oli täysin virtaavan veren kastelema. Niinpä he lähtivät saarelta pikaisesti, päättömästi, kiirehtien, murheissaan, valittaen ja heikkoina; ja he eivät tienneet, mistä voisivat löytää apua, tai rantaa tai maata.

10. Sitten he tulivat toiselle suurelle saarelle, oltuaan kovin väsyneitä, nälissään ja janoissaan, murheissaan ja valittavia, ja menetettyään kaiken toivon, että voisivat löytää apua. Saarella oli lukuisia puita, jotka notkuivat hedelmistä; niissä kasvoi kultaisia omenoita. Puiden alla oli punaisia siankaltaisia jäniksiä. Niillä oli tapana mennä puiden luo ja potkaista niitä takajaloillaan niin, että omenat putosivat maahan ja ne voivat syödä niitä. Aamusta auringonlaskuun ne tekivät näin. Auringonlaskusta aamuun ne eivät näyttäytyneet, vaan pysyivät koloissaan maan alla. Saaren ympärillä meren aalloilla uiskenteli lintuja. Keskiyöstä iltapäivään ne uivat kauemmas ja kauemmas saaresta. Iltapäivästä iltarukouksen aikaan[8] ne tulivat lähemmäs ja lähemmäs, kunnes saapuivat takaisin saarelle auringonlaskun jälkeen ja riipivät kaikki omenat puista ja söivät ne.

”Menkäämme,” sanoi Máel Dúin, ”saarelle, jossa linnut ovat. Se ei voi olla vaikeampaa meille kuin mitä se on linnuille.” Yksi heistä meni tutkimaan saarta. Hän huusi toisen miehen luokseen rantaan. Maa heidän jalkojensa alla oli kuuma, eivätkä he voineet jäädä sinne kuumuuden takia, sillä se oli tulinen maa ja pedot maan alla lämmittivät maan kamaraa yläpuolellaan. Ensimmäisenä päivänä he toivat muutamia omenoita mukanaan ja söivät niitä veneessä. Aamun koittaessa linnut lähtivät merelle ja tuliset pedot nostivat päänsä esiin koloistaan ja söivät omenoita auringonlaskuun asti. Kun ne palasivat koloihinsa, linnut tulivat ja alkoivat syödä omenoita. Silloin Máel Dúin miehistöineen meni ja keräsi yön aikana kaikki omenat. He täyttivät veneensä omenoilla ja ne pitivät nälän ja janon loitolla, ja he jatkoivat välittömästi matkaansa merelle.

11. Kun kaikki omenat oli syöty, ja he olivat hyvin nälissään ja janoissaan ja lähes kuoleman kielissä, ja heidän suunsa ja nenänsä olivat täynnä meren löyhkää, he näkivät pienehkön saaren ja siellä linnoituksen. Sen ympärillä oli valkea korkea muuri, joka oli kuin se olisi rakennettu kalkkikivestä tai ikään kuin se olisi ollut yhtä yhtenäistä kalliota. Se oli korkea, mutta ei aivan yltänyt taivaan pilviin. Linnoitus oli avoin ja muurin vierellä oli lumenvalkeita taloja. He menivät sisälle suurimpaan taloon, eivätkä nähneet siellä ketään paitsi pienen kissan, joka leikki nel-

8 *Ó matain co nónai…Ó nónai immorro co fescor*: Ajan ilmauksissa viitataan varhaista luostarielämää rytmittäneisiin kanonisiin rukoushetkiin, joista *matutina* eli yörukous alkoi keskiyöllä, *nona* eli yhdeksäs hetki kello kolmelta iltapäivällä ja *vesper* eli iltarukous auringonlaskun aikaan.

jän kivipilarin päällä keskellä taloa. Se hyppi yhdeltä pilarilta toiselle. Se katsahti miehiin, mutta ei keskeyttänyt leikkiään. Sitten he näkivät seinällä kolme rivistöä, jotka ympäröivät taloa yhdeltä ovenpieleltä toiselle. Ensimmäisessä rivistössä oli kultaisia ja hopeisia rintakoruja, joiden neulat olivat kiinni seinässä. Toisessa rivistössä oli suuria kultaisia ja hopeisia kaularenkaita, jotka olivat kuin tynnyrin vanteita, ja kolmannessa rivistössä suuria miekkoja, joiden kahvat olivat kultaa ja hopeaa. Talon huoneet olivat täynnä valkeita petivaatteita ja loistavia asusteita.

Sitten he näkivät paistetun härän ja savustetun siankyljen keskellä taloa sekä valtavia astioita täynnä juomaa. ”Onko nämä jätetty meitä varten?” Máel Dúin kysyi kissalta. Se vilkaisi häntä ja jatkoi leikkimistään. Silloin Máel Dúin oivalsi, että illallinen oli jätetty heille. He joivat ja söivät ja nukkuivat, ja laittoivat yli jääneen juoman [pienempiin] astioihin ja pakkasivat ruoan tähteet. Kun he olivat valmiita lähtemään, yksi kolmesta kasvattiveljestä kysyi Máel Dúinillta: ”Otanko mukaani yhden noista kaularenkaista?” ”Älä ota,” vastasi Máel Dúin, ”tämä talo ei ole vailla vartijaa.” Hän otti sen tästä huolimatta ja toi sen piha-alueen keskelle. Kissa seurasi heitä ja hyppäsi hänen lävitseen kuin tulinen nuoli ja poltti hänet tuhkaksi. Tämän jälkeen se meni takaisin pilarin päälle. Máel Dúin rauhoitteli kissaa sanoillaan ja laittoi kaularenkaan takaisin paikoilleen. Hän siivosi tuhkat piha-alueen keskeltä ja heitti ne meren rantaan. Sitten he menivät takaisin veneeseen ja ylistivät ja kiittivät Jumalaa.

12. Varhain aamulla kolmantena päivänä tämän jälkeen he näkivät toisen saaren ja sen keskellä metallisen aidan, joka jakoi saaren kahtia. He näkivät siellä myös kaksi suurta lammaslaumaa, valkoisen yhdellä puolella ja mustan toisella puolella aitaa, sekä suurikokoisen miehen, joka erotteli lampaita. Kun hän heitti valkoisen lampaan aidan yli mustien puolelle, se muuttui heti mustaksi, ja kun hän heitti mustan lampaan aidan yli valkoisten puolelle, se muuttui heti valkoiseksi. He olivat kauhuissaan nähdessään tämän. ”Meidän on syytä toimia seuraavasti,” sanoi Máel Dúin, ”heittäkäämme kaksi keppiä saarelle, ja jos ne vaihtavat väriä, meille tulee myös käymään samoin, jos menemme tuonne.” Niinpä he heittivät mustan kaarnan peitossa olevan kepin valkoisten lampaiden puolelle ja se muuttui välittömästi valkoiseksi. Sitten he heittivät valkoiseksi kuoritun kepin mustien lampaiden puolelle ja se muuttui välittömästi mustaksi. ”Emmepä olleet turhan varovaisia tehdessämme tämän kokeen,” sanoi Máel Dúin, ”meidän värimme ei olisi pärjännyt yhtään keppejä paremmin.” He poistuivat alakuloisina, uupuneina ja peloissaan.

13. Kolmantena päivänä tämän jälkeen he näkivät toisen suuren ja leveän saaren, ja siellä lauman kauniita sikoja. He tappoivat niistä yhden pienen porsaan, mutta koska he eivät jaksaneet kuljettaa sitä paistettavaksi, he kokoontuivat kaikki sen ympärille. He paistoivat sen ja toivat sen mukanaan veneeseen. Sitten he näkivät saarella suuren vuoren ja päättivät mennä tutkimaan saarta sen laelta käsin. Germán ja Diurán Riimittelijä menivät vuorelle ja he löysivät sieltä leveän

joen, joka ei ollut syvä. Germán kastoi keihäänvartensa pään jokeen ja se tuhoutui välittömästi ikään kuin tuli olisi polttanut sen, eivätkä he edenneet pidemmälle. Sitten he näkivät joen toisella puolella lauman suuria sarvettomia härkiä maassa makaamassa ja heidän vierellään istui valtava mies. Germán löi keihäällä kilpeään säikäyttääkseen härät. ”Miksi pelottelet typeriä vasikoita,” sanoi valtava paimen. ”Missä vasikoiden emät ovat?” kysyi Germán. ”Vuoren toisella puolella,” vastasi paimen. Niinpä he menivät takaisin muiden luo ja kertoivat uutiset heille. ”Me emme mene saarelle, josta nämä uutiset tulevat,” sanoi Máel Dúin. He poistuivat saarelta uupuneina ja murheellisina.

14. Sitten he löysivät toisen saaren, ja siellä myllyn sekä raa’an, kaamean, paljaskätisen, näivettyneen ja hirvittävän myllärin. ”Mikä mylly tämä on?” he kysyivät häneltä. ”Ei kannata kysyä sellaista, mitä ette tiedä,” sanoi mylläri. ”Ei todellakaan,” he sanoivat. ”Tämä on Inbir tre Cenandin mylly, ja puolet teidän maanne viljasta sekä kaikki mikä aiheuttaa eripuraa jauhetaan täällä.” He näkivät lukemattomia hevosia ja ihmisiä kantamassa raskaita kuormia myllyyn ja pois sieltä. Ja nähtyään myllyn ja kuultuaan hänen tarinansa he ristivät itsensä Kristuksen ristinmerkillä, ja poistuivat takaisin veneeseen.

15. Kun he lähtivät saarelta, jossa mylly oli, he löysivät toisen saaren, ja siellä suuren joukon tummaihoisia ja tummiin pukeutuneita ihmisiä. Heillä oli pannat pään ympärillä ja he itkivät lakkaamatta. Huono arpa lankesi yhdelle Máel Dúinin kasvattiveljistä, ja hänen mennessään saarelle itkevien ihmisten joukkoon hänestä tuli välittömästi yksi heistä ja hän alkoi itkeä heidän kanssaan. Silloin Máel Dúin sanoi: ”Neljä teistä menköön aseiden kanssa ja tuokoon hänet takaisin väkisin. Älkää katsoko maata tai taivasta, ja peittäkää nenänne ja suunne vaatteillanne, ettette hengittäisi [saaren] ilmaa. Älkääkä päästäkö miestänne silmistänne.” He tekivät kuten Máel Dúin oli sanonut ja toivat miehensä väkisin pois saarelta. Máel Dúin kysyi häneltä mitä hän oli nähnyt saarella. ”En tiedä,” hän sanoi, ”minä vain tein samoin kuin näin muidenkin tekevän.” Sitten he poistuivat saarelta.[9]

16. Tämän jälkeen he tulivat toiselle saarelle, jossa neljä aitaa jakoi saaren neljään osaan. Yksi aidoista oli kultaa, yksi hopeaa, yksi pronssia ja yksi kristallia. Yhdessä neljänneksessä olivat kuninkaat, toisessa kuningattaret, kolmannessa soturit ja neljännessä nuoret neidot. Yksi neito tuli heitä vastaan, toi heidät maihin ja toi heille ruokaa. Heidän mielestään se oli kuin juustoa, ja jokainen maistoi siinä oman lempimakunsa. Neito tarjosi heille juotavaa pienestä astiasta, ja he nukkuivat juopuneina kolme päivää ja kolme yötä. Koko tämän ajan neito huolehti heistä.

9 Stokesin editoimassa versiossa miehet eivät saa kasvattiveljeä mukaansa, vaan hän jää saarelle. Versio noudattaa useissa *immram*-teksteissä toistuvaa motiivia, jossa ylimääräisten miehistön jäsenten täytyy matkan varrella jäädä pois seurueesta, jotta kertomuksen alussa esitetty ennustus toteutuisi.

Kun he kolmantena päivänä heräsivät, he olivat veneessään merellä, eivätkä he nähneet saarta tai neitoa enää lainkaan.

17. Vähän myöhemmin he näkivät toisen saaren ja siellä linnoituksen. Portin vieressä oli lasinen silta. Kun he yrittivät nousta siltaa pitkin, he kaatuivat taaksepäin. He näkivät naisen tulevan ulos linnoituksesta astia kädessään. Hän nosti lasista laattaa sillan päässä ja täytti astian lähteestä, joka oli laatan alla. ”Taloudenhoitaja tulee noutamaan Máel Dúinia,” sanoi Germán. ”Máel Dúiniapa hyvinkin,” sanoi nainen sulkien portin perässään. He löivät pronssisia portinpieliä ja pronssista verkkoa edessään, ja iskuista tuleva ääni oli herkkää ja sointuvaa musiikkia, joka vaivutti heidät uneen seuraavaan aamuun asti. Herätessään aamulla he näkivät saman naisen tulevan linnoituksesta astia kädessään, ja hän täytti sen samasta laatan alla olevasta lähteestä kuin aiemmin. ”Nyt taloudenhoitaja todellakin tulee noutamaan Máel Dúinia,” sanoi Garmán. ”Hän on hyvin rakas minulle, Máel Dúin nimittäin,” sanoi nainen sulkien portin. Sama musiikki vaivutti heidät jälleen uneen seuraavaan aamuun asti.

Kolme päivää ja kolme yötä kului näin. Neljäntenä päivänä nainen tuli heidän luokseen, ja hän oli hurmaava tullessaan. Hänellä oli valkea viitta ympärillään ja kultainen panta hiuksillaan. Hänen hiuksensa olivat kullanvaaleat ja hänen ruusunpunertavissa jaloissaan oli hopeiset sandaalit. Hänen viitassaan oli hopeinen kultaisin nastoin koristeltu rintaneula ja hänen kuulaan ihonsa peittona oli ohut silkkinen paita. ”Olet tervetullut, Máel Dúin,” sanoi nainen. Sitten hän kutsui jokaista miehistön jäsentä vuorollaan nimeltä. ”Teidän saapumisenne tänne on tiedetty ennalta jo kauan sitten,” hän sanoi. Nainen saattoi heidät suureen taloon meren rannalla ja toi heidän veneensä maihin. He näkivät edessään vuoteen, joka oli tarkoitettu vain Máel Dúinille, sekä vuoteita aina kolmen hänen seurueensa jäsenen jaettavaksi. Nainen toi heille yhdessä astiassa ruokaa, joka oli kuin juustoa tai kokkelia. Hän antoi siitä osan kolmelle kerrallaan, ja jokainen maistoi siinä oman lempimakunsa. Sitten hän palveli Máel Dúinia erikseen. Hän täytti astiansa saman laatan alta ja antoi heille juotavaa, kolmelle kerrallaan. Nainen tiesi milloin he olivat saaneet tarpeekseen ja lopetti tarjoilun. ”Hänestä tulisi kelpo vaimo Máel Dúinille,” sanoivat kaikki seurueen jäsenet. Nainen poistui astioidensa kanssa, ja miehistön jäsenet sanoivat Máel Dúinille: ”Pitäisiköhän meidän kysyä häneltä, josko hän haluaisi maata kanssasi?” ”Mitä haittaa sinulle olisi siitä, jos puhuisit hänelle?”

Aamulla nainen palasi ja palveli heitä kuten aiemminkin. Miehet sanoivat hänelle: ”Osoittaisitko vähän hellyyttä Máel Dúinille ja makaisit hänen kanssaan? Miksi et jäisi yöksi?” Nainen vastasi, ettei tiennyt eikä ollut koskaan tiennyt mitä synti oli. Hän poistui omaan taloonsa ja tuli seuraavana aamuna samaan aikaan palvelemaan heitä kuten aiemminkin. Kun he olivat kylläisiä ja juopuneita, he esittivät jälleen saman kysymyksen hänelle. ”Huomenna saatte vastauksen kysymykseenne,” nainen sanoi. Hän poistui omaan taloonsa ja he nukahtivat vuoteilleen.

Kun he heräsivät, he olivat veneessään karikossa, eivätkä nähneet saarta tai linnoitusta tai naista tai paikkaa, jossa he olivat olleet.

18. Kun he lähtivät tästä paikasta, he kuulivat kovaäänistä huutoa ja laulua, aivan kuin joku olisi laulanut psalmeja. Koko yön ja seuraavan päivän iltapäivään asti he soutivat ympäriinsä selvittääkseen mitä huutoa tai laulua he kuulivat. He näkivät korkean vuoristoisen saaren, joka oli täynnä mustia, harmaanruskeita ja kirjavia lintuja, jotka huusivat ja puhuivat äänekkäästi.

19. He soutivat vähän matkaa tältä saarelta ja löysivät toisen, ei kovin suuren saaren. Saarella oli lukuisia puita ja puissa lukuisia lintuja. He näkivät siellä myös miehen, jonka vaatetuksena oli karvapeite. He kysyivät mieheltä kuka hän oli ja mistä hänen sukunsa oli. ”Olen Irlannin miehiä,” hän sanoi. ”Lähdin pyhiinvaellukselle pienellä veneellä ja vähän matkan päässä rannasta vene hajosi allani. Menin takaisin maihin,” hän jatkoi, ”ja panin maata jalkojeni alle, ja se maa kannatteli minua veden päällä. Herra perusti minulle tämän asumuksen kyseiselle maalle, ja joka vuosi Hän lisäsi yhden jalan mitan sen leveyteen ja yhden puun kasvamaan sen maaperälle. Linnut, jotka näette puissa, ovat lasteni ja sukulaisteni sieluja, niin naisten kuin miestenkin, jotka odottavat siellä tuomiopäivää. Jumala antaa minulle päivittäin puolikkaan kakun, annoksen kalaa ja juotavaa lähteestä,” hän sanoi, ”jonka enkelit tuovat minulle. Iltapäivällä lisäksi jokainen mies ja nainen saa puolikkaan kakun, annoksen kalaa ja juotavaa lähteestä niin, että kaikille oli riittävästi.”[10] Kun heidän kolme yötään vieraana olivat ohi, he jättivät jäähyväiset ja mies sanoi heille: ”Kaikki teistä tulevat palaamaan omaan maahansa yhtä lukuun ottamatta.”

20. Kolmantena päivänä tämän jälkeen he löysivät toisen saaren, jonka ympärillä oli kultainen muuri ja keskellä valkea alue kuin höyheniä. He näkivät siellä miehen, jonka oma ruumiin karvoitus oli hänen vaatteensa. He kysyivät häneltä, mitä hän söi elääkseen. ”Totisesti,” hän vastasi, ”tällä saarella on muuan lähde. Perjantaisin ja keskiviikkoisin se tarjoaa heravettä. Sunnuntaisin ja marttyyreiden muistopäivinä sieltä saa hyvää maitoa, mutta apostolien, Marian ja Johannes Kastajan muistopäivinä sekä muina pyhinä se tarjoaa olutta ja viiniä.” Iltapäivällä Jumala toi joka miehelle puolikkaan kakun sekä annoksen kalaa, ja he joivat kyllikseen saarella olevasta lähteestä niin, että se vaivutti heidät syvään uneen seuraavaan aamuun asti. Kun he olivat olleet kolme yötä vieraana, kirkonmies sanoi, että heidän oli aika poistua. He jatkoivat matkaansa ja hyvästelivät hänet.

21. Kun he olivat olleet kauan aikaa matkalla meren aalloilla, he näkivät edessään saaren. Lähestyessään sitä he kuulivat seppien takovan moukareilla rautaa alasimella, ikään kuin heitä olisi ollut kolme tai neljä takomassa. Kun he olivat tulleet lähemmäksi, he kuulivat yhden miehistä kysyvän toiselta: ”Ovatko he lä-

10 Stokesia seuraten katson tässä viimeisen virkkeen osaksi erakon suoraa puhetta, vaikka van Hamelin editiossa sitä ei ole näin merkitty.

hellä?" "Kyllä," hän vastasi. "Keitä he ovat kenen te sanotte olevan tulossa?" kysyi toinen. "He näyttävät pikkupojilta tuolla pienessä veneessään," yksi sanoi. Kun Máel Dúin kuuli mitä sepät puhuivat, hän sanoi: "Palatkaamme takaisin, mutta älkäämme kääntäkö venettä, vaan menkäämme perä edellä, jotta he eivät tiedä meidän pakenevan." He soutivat poispäin perä edellä. Jälleen sama mies pajassa kysyi: "Ovatko he nyt satamassa?" "He ovat paikoillaan," sanoi vahtimies, "eivätkä näytä liikkuvan sinne tai tänne." Vähän myöhemmin hän kysyi taas: "Mitä he tekevät nyt?" "Luulen, että he pakenevat," sanoi vahtimies, "he näyttävät olevan kauempana satamasta kuin aiemmin." Seppä tuli ulos pajasta kädessään pihdit, joissa oli valtava möhkäle hehkuvaa rautaa, ja hän heitti sen mereen veneen perään niin että koko meri kiehui. Mutta se ei saavuttanut venettä, sillä he pakenivat kaikilla voimillaan, nopeasti ja kiirehtien, aavalle merelle.

22. Tämän jälkeen he matkasivat, kunnes tulivat merelle, joka oli kuin vihreää lasia. Se oli niin kirkas, että merenpohjan soran ja hiekan voi nähdä selvästi, eivätkä ne nähneet hirviöitä tai petoja kivien välissä, vaan ainoastaan puhdasta soraa ja vihreää hiekkaa. Suurimman osan päivästä he soutivat tällä merellä, ja se oli vaikuttavan upea.

23. Tämän jälkeen he tulivat toiselle merelle, joka oli kuin pilvenhattaraa, ja he olivat varmoja, ettei se kannattelisi heitä tai heidän venettään. He näkivät alapuolellaan merenpinnan alla katettuja linnoituksia ja kauniin maan, sekä kaamean, hirviömäisen pedon korkeassa puussa. Puun ympärillä kulki laumoittain karjaa ja sen vieressä oli aseistettu mies kilven, keihään ja miekan kanssa. Kun mies näki pedon puussa, hän pakeni paikalta välittömästi. Peto venytti kaulaansa puusta, tarttui karjalauman suurimman härän selkään, raahasi sen ylös puuhun ja söi sen silmänräpäyksessä. Karjalaumat ja paimen pakenivat välittömästi. Kun Máel Dúin miehistöineen näki tämän, heidät valtasi pelko ja kauhu, sillä he eivät uskoneet pääsevänsä meren yli ilman, että putoaisivat sen läpi, sillä se oli kuin usvaa.

24. Tämän jälkeen he löysivät toisen saaren, jonka ympärillä meren aallot nousivat kuin korkeat kalliot. Kun saaren asukkaat näkivät heidät, he alkoivat huutaa sanoen: "He ovat täällä! He ovat täällä!" kunnes he olivat täysin hengästyneitä. Saarella oli suuria laumoja karjaa, hevosia ja lampaita. Isokokoinen nainen viskoi heitä valtavilla pähkinöillä, jotka jäivät kellumaan veteen, ja he keräsivät suuren määrän näitä pähkinöitä ja ottivat ne mukaansa veneeseen. Kun he poistuivat saarelta, huuto lakkasi. "Missä he ovat nyt?" kysyi yksi asukkaista, joka oli lähtenyt heidän peräänsä huudon kuultuaan. "He ovat poistuneet," osa joukosta sanoi. "Eivät ole," sanoivat toiset. On mahdollista, että saaren asukkaille oli ennustettu, että joku tulisi tuhoamaan heidän maansa ja karkottamaan heidät sieltä.

25. He pääsivät toiselle saarelle, jossa he näkivät erikoisen asian, nimittäin suuren virran, joka nousi rannasta ja kuin taivaan sateenkaari ulottui saaren yli sen toisella puolella olevalle rannalle. He kulkivat sen ali kastumatta ja pistelivät sitä

keihäillään niin, että lukemattomat valtavankokoiset lohet putoilivat virrasta maan pinnalle. Koko saaren ilma täyttyi kalan tuoksusta, ja niin paljon niitä oli, ettei kukaan olisi voinut kerätä niitä kaikkia. Sunnuntai-illasta maanantaihin aamupäivään virta ei liikkunut, vaan pysyi paikoillaan saaren yllä. He kypsensivät lohista suurimman, täyttivät veneensä kaloilla ja poistuivat saarelta.

26. He matkasivat, kunnes löysivät suuren hopeisen pylvään. Sillä oli neljä sivua, joista jokainen oli kahden aironvedon levyinen, niin että ympärysmitta oli kahdeksan aironvetoa. Siinä ei ollut rahtuakaan maata ympärillä, vaan ainoastaan loppumaton meri, eivätkä he nähneet mistä se alkoi tai mihin se päättyi. Sen huipulta ulottui kauas hopeinen verkko, jonka silmän läpi vene purjehti. Diurán iski verkkoa keihäänsä syrjällä. ”Älä tuhoa verkkoa,” Máel Dúin sanoi, ”sillä se, mitä näemme, on mahtavien miesten työtä.” ”Jumalan nimeen.” sanoi Diurán, ”teen tämän, jotta tarinani uskottaisiin, ja tuon tämän Armagh’n alttarille, jos ikinä palaan takaisin Irlantiin.” Kaksi ja puoli unssia oli [verkon] paino, kun se punnittiin Armagh’ssa. He kuulivat kovan ja kirkkaan äänen tulevan pylvään huipulta, mutta he eivät tienneet mitä kieltä ääni puhui tai mitä se sanoi.

27. He näkivät toisen saaren yhdellä jalustalla, toisin sanoen se seisoi yhdellä jalalla. He soutivat sen ympäri löytääkseen tavan päästä saarelle, mutta eivät löytäneet mitään. Sitten he näkivät jalustan juuressa lukitun oven ja oivalsivat, että sen täytyi olla sisäänkäynti saarelle. He näkivät saaren huipulla kyntöauran, mutta eivät puhutelleet ketään eikä kukaan puhutellut heitä. He poistuivat takaisin merelle.

28. Tämän jälkeen he saapuivat toiselle suurelle saarelle, jossa oli suuri aukea ja siellä korkea vuori. Vuorella ei kasvanut kanervaa, vaan se oli ruohikkoinen ja sileä. He näkivät korkean ja vahvan linnoituksen lähellä merta sekä koristellun talon täynnä hyviä vuoteita. Seitsemäntoista täysi-ikäistä neitoa oli valmistelemassa kylpyä. He menivät saarelle ja istuivat kivelle linnoituksen sisäänkäynnin eteen. Máel Dúin sanoi: ”Voimme olla varmoja, että tuo kylpy on tarkoitettu meille.” Iltapäivällä he näkivät ratsastajan uljaalla hevosella tulevan linnoitusta kohti. Hänen satulansa alla oli hieno koristeltu loimi. Hänen yllään oli sininen kirjailtu viitta ja purppuranpunainen kirjailtu vaate. Hänen käsissään oli kultakirjaillut käsineet ja jaloissaan koristellut sandaalit. Kun hän laskeutui ratsailta, yksi tytöistä tarttui välittömästi hevoseen. Sitten hän meni sisälle linnoitukseen ja meni kylpyyn. He näkivät, että ratsastaja oli ollut nainen, ja pian yksi tytöistä tuli heidän luokseen. ”Olette tervetulleita,” hän sanoi. ”Käykää sisään, kuningatar on kutsunut teidät.” He menivät sisälle linnoitukseen ja kaikki kylpivät. Kuningatar istui yhdellä puolen taloa seitsemäntoista neidon kanssa, ja Máel Dúin toisella puolella häntä vastapäätä seitsemäntoista miehistönsä jäsenen kanssa. Máel Dúinille tuotiin vadillinen ruokaa sekä lasinen juoma-astia täynnä juotavaa, ja jokaiselle kolmelle oli yksi vati ja yksi juoma-astia [jaettavaksi].

Kun he olivat syöneet illallisensa, kuningatar kysyi: ”Miten vieraat tulevat nukkumaan?” ”Miten vain sanot,” vastasi Máel Dúin. ”Viivyttäkää lähtöänne omaksi

iloksenne. Jokainen miehesi ottakoon itselleen naisen, eli hänet, joka istuu vastapäätä, ja menköön hänen kanssaan naisen takana olevaan kamariin. Talossa oli nimittäin seitsemäntoista koristeltua kamaria, joissa oli hyvät vuoteet. Niinpä seitsemäntoista miestä ja seitsemäntoista täysi-ikäistä neitoa makasivat keskenään ja Máel Dúin makasi kuningattaren kanssa. Tämän jälkeen he nukkuivat seuraavaan aamuun asti. Aamulla kun he nousivat ylös lähteäkseen, kuningatar sanoi: ”Jääkää tänne, niin ette koskaan vanhene, vaan pysytte saman ikäisinä kuin olette nyt. Tulette elämään ikuisesti ja saamaan joka yö saman minkä saitte viime yönä, eikä teidän tarvitse enää matkata merellä saarelta saarelle.” ”Kerro, miten päädyitte tänne?” Máel Dúin kysyi. ”Tuohon ei ole todellakaan vaikea vastata,” nainen sanoi. ”Tällä saarella oli kerran hyvä mies, saaren kuningas. Synnytin hänelle seitsemäntoista tytärtä ja olin heidän äitinsä. Sitten heidän isänsä kuoli eikä jättänyt perijää, joten minä ryhdyin saaren hallitsijaksi. Joka päivä menen saaren suurelle aukealle langettamaan tuomioita ja sovittelemaan ihmisten asioita.” ”Mutta miksi olet menossa pois meidän luotamme tänään?” kysyi Máel Dúin. ”Jos en mene,” hän vastasi, ”viimeöinen ei tule koskaan toistumaan. Jääkää tänne, eikä teidän tarvitse tehdä koskaan työtä. Minä menen langettamaan tuomioita ihmisille teidän puolestanne.”

Kolme talvikuukautta he olivat saarella ja tuntui heistä kolmelta vuodelta. ”Olemme olleet täällä kauan,” yksi Máel Dúinin seurueen jäsenistä sanoi, ”miksi emme lähde takaisin omaan maahamme?” ”Sinun ei pitäisi sanoa noin,” vastasi Máel Dúin, ”sillä omassa maassamme ei ole meille mitään mitä emme löytäisi täältä.” Hänen seurueensa alkoi jupista keskenään ja he sanoivat: ”Máel Dúin rakastaa naista suuresti. Jääköön hän tänne ja me lähdemme takaisin omaan maahamme.” ”Minä en jää tänne teidän jälkeenne,” sanoi Máel Dúin.

Eräänä päivänä kuningatar lähti langettamaan tuomioita kuten hän teki joka päivä. Kun hän oli lähtenyt, he menivät veneeseen. Kuningatar huomasi tämän ja tuli ratsain paikalle. Hän heitti lankakerän heidän peräänsä ja kun Máel Dúin otti sen kiinni, se tarttui hänen käteensä. Langan toinen pää oli kuningattaren kädessä, ja sen avulla hän heti veneen takaisin satamaan. He jäivät saarelle yhdeksäksi kuukaudeksi. Tämän jälkeen he totesivat: ”Olemme varmoja, että Máel Dúin rakastaa naista suuresti. Siitä syystä hän ottaa kerän kiinni, jotta se tarttuisi hänen käteensä ja nainen voisi vetää meidät takaisin satamaan.”[11] ”Joku muu ottakoon kerän kiinni, ja jos se tarttuu hänen käteensä, leikatkaa käsi irti,” sanoi Máel Dúin. He menivät veneeseen. Nainen heitti lankakerän heidän peräänsä. Toinen mies veneessä otti sen kiinni ja se tarttui hänen käteensä. Diurán leikkasi käden irti ja se putosi lankakerän mukana. Kun nainen näki tämän, hän alkoi välittömästi kirkua ja valittaa niin, että koko maa oli yhtä kirkumista ja valittamista. Näin he pääsivät pakoon häneltä ja pois saarelta.

11 Tämä motiivi esiintyy myös *Immram Brainissa*.

29. Tämän jälkeen he olivat kauan aikaa aaltojen vietävänä, kunnes löysivät saaren, jossa oli pajun tai pähkinäpuun kaltaisia puita. Niissä kasvoi suuria hedelmiä, suuria marjoja. He poimivat [marjat] yhdestä pienestä puusta ja arpoivat keskenään, kuka maistaisi niitä. Arpa lankesi Máel Dúinille. Hän puristi osan niistä astiaan, joi siitä, ja vaipui sillä hetkellä sikeään uneen, joka kesti seuraavaan päivään asti. He eivät tienneet, oliko hän elossa vai kuollut, ja hänen suunsa ympärillä oli punaista vaahtoa aina siihen asti, kunnes hän heräsi seuraavana päivänä. Hän sanoi heille: ”Poimikaa nämä hedelmät, sillä ne ovat erinomaisia.” He poimivat ne ja sekoittivat [mehuun] vettä säädelläkseen sen juovuttavaa ja unettavaa voimaa. He poimivat kaikki hedelmät mitä siellä oli, puristivat ne ja täyttivät [mehulla] kaikki astiansa. Sitten he soutivat pois saarelta.

30. Sitten he rantautuivat toiselle suurelle saarelle. Sen yhdellä puolella oli metsä, jossa kasvoi marjakuusia ja suuria tammia. Toisella puolella oli suuri aukea, jossa oli valtavia lammaslaumoja. He näkivät siellä pienen kirkon ja linnoituksen. He menivät kirkkoon. Kirkossa oli vanha harmaa munkki ja hänen hiuksensa peittivät hänet kauttaaltaan. Máel Dúin kysyi häneltä: ”Mistä tulet?” ”Olen viidestoista mies Brendan of Birrin[12] seuraajista. Lähdimme merelle pyhiinvaellukselle ja tulimme tälle saarelle. Kaikki muut ovat kuolleet paitsi minä.” Hän näytti heille Brendanin kirjoitustaulun[13], jonka he olivat ottaneet mukaansa pyhiinvaellukselle. He siunasivat itsensä kirjoitustaululla ja Máel Dúin suuteli sitä. ”Syökää lampaita kylliksenne,” vanhus sanoi, ”mutta älkää enempää kuin tarvitsette.” Yhden vuodenajan he söivät lampaiden lihaa.

Eräänä päivänä, kun he katselivat saarelta merelle päin, he näkivät pilven tulevan heitä kohti lounaasta. Vähän ajan kuluttua heidän yhä katsellessaan sitä he huomasivat, että se oli lintu, sillä he näkivät sen siipien liikkuvan. Se tuli saarelle ja laskeutui järven lähellä olevalle kukkulalle. He ajattelivat, että se kantaisi heidät kynsissään merelle. Lintu toi mukanaan suuren puun oksan. Oksa oli suurempi kuin yksi suurista tammista. Siitä kasvoi suuria haaraoksia ja sen valtava latvus oli tuoreen lehvästön peitossa. Oksassa oli runsaasti hedelmiä, punaisia marjoja, jotka olivat kuin viinirypäleitä, mutta suurempia. He piileksivät ja katselivat, mitä lintu tekisi. Koska se oli väsynyt, se lepäsi vähän aikaa ja alkoi sen jälkeen syödä hedelmiä puusta. Máel Dúin meni [lähemmäksi] kunnes oli kukkulan vieressä, jossa lintu oli, nähdäkseen vahingoittaisiko se häntä, eikä se tehnyt mitään. Hänen seurueensa tuli myös aukealle.

12 Brendan of Birr (k. noin 573) ei ole yhtä tunnettu kuin *Navigation* päähenkilö Brendan of Clonfert. Brendan of Birr on yksi Irlannin kristillistymisen varhaisvaiheisiin kuuluvista pyhimyksistä, jota hagiografisessa traditiossa pidetään pyhän Columban ystävänä ja tukijana.

13 *pólaire Brénaind*: latinan kielen sanasta *pugillaris* juontuva *pólaire* tarkoittaa kirjoittamiseen tarkoitettua vahataulua, joka varhaisirlantilaisessa kirjallisuudessa kuuluu tyypillisesti pyhimysten ja piispojen kaltaisten korkea-arvoisten kirkonmiesten omaisuuteen.

”Yksi meistä menköön keräämään marjat, jotka ovat oksassa linnun edessä,” Máel Dúin sanoi. Yksi miehistä meni ja keräsi osan marjoista, eikä lintu syyttänyt häntä tai katsonut häneen tai liikahtanut. Tämän jälkeen kaikki kahdeksantoista miestä menivät kilvet selässään, eikä lintu tehnyt heille pahaa.

Iltapäivällä he näkivät kaksi suurta kotkaa lounaassa samalla suunnalla, josta suuri lintu oli tullut, ja ne laskeutuivat suuren linnun eteen. Kun ne olivat levänneet hyvän aikaa, ne alkoivat nyppiä ja puhdistaa syöpäläisiä suuren linnun poskista ja leuan alta sekä silmien ja korvien ympäriltä. Ne tekivät näin iltaan asti. Päivän päättyessä kaikki kolme alkoivat syödä marjoja ja hedelmiä oksasta. Seuraavasta aamusta keskipäivään [kotkat] nyppivät samoja syöpäläisiä joka puolelta sen kehoa, poistaen vanhoja sulkia, vanhaa hilsettä ja syyhyä siipien juuresta. Keskipäivällä sen sijaan ne poimivat marjoja oksasta, murskasivat ne nokallaan kiviä vasten ja heittivät ne järveen niin, että se muuttui punaiseksi. Sitten suuri lintu meni järveen ja peseytyi siellä päivän päättymiseen asti. Tämän jälkeen se tuli pois järvestä ja meni toiseen paikkaan samalla kukkulalla, jotta pois nypityt syöpäläiset eivät tulisi takaisin.

Seuraavana aamuna linnut jatkoivat yhä nyppimistä ja ne silittivät höyheniä nokallaan ikään kuin olisivat kammanneet niitä. Ne tekivät näin keskipäivään asti. Sitten ne lepäsivät vähän aikaa ja poistuivat samaan suuntaan mistä olivat tulleet. Suuri lintu sen sijaan jäi aloilleen sukien ja ravistellen siipisulkiaan kolmen päivän ajan. Yhdeksältä aamulla kolmantena päivänä se nousi ilmaan, lensi kolme kertaa saaren ympäri ja lepäsi hetken samalla kukkulalla kuin aikaisemmin ennen kuin se poistui samaan suuntaan mistä oli tullut. Se lensi nopeammin ja voimakkaammin kuin aiemmin, ja tästä he ymmärsivät, että se oli elpynyt vanhuudesta nuoruuteen, kuten profeetta sanoi: *minä elvyn nuoreksi, kuin kotka*.[14] Nähdessään tämän ihmeen Diurán sanoi: ”Menkäämme järveen, jotta voimme elvyttää itsemme linnun tavoin.” ”Ei mennä,” hänen toverinsa vastasi, ”sillä lintu on jättänyt myrkkynsä järveen.” ”Mitä sanot, ei ole hyväksi,” Diurán sanoi, ”minä menen ensin.” Hän meni ja kylpi järvessä, upotti suunsa veteen ja joi kulauksia siitä. Samasta hetkestä lähtien hänen silmänsä olivat terveet kuin nuorella niin kauan kuin hän eli, eikä yksikään hänen hampaistaan irronnut tai hius lähtenyt hänen päästään, eikä hän koskaan kärsinyt heikkoudesta tai raihnaisuudesta. Sitten he hyvästelivät vanhan miehen ja ottivat osansa lampaan lihasta, ja he lähtivät veneellään merelle.

31. He löysivät toisen suuren saaren, jossa oli valtava, alava aukea. Aukealla oli suuri joukko kisailemassa ja nauramassa lakkaamatta. He arpoivat keskenään kuka menisi tutkimaan saarta. Arpa lankesi Máel Dúinin kolmannelle kasvattiveljelle. Kun hän meni saarelle, hän alkoi välittömästi kisailla ja nauraa lakkaamatta heidän kanssaan, eivätkä he erottaneet häntä joukosta, ikään kuin hän olisi aina ollut hei-

14 Ps. 103:5. Lause on tekstissä latinaksi: *Renouabitur ut aquilae iuuentus tua*.

dän kanssaan. He odottivat kauan aikaa, että hän tulisi takaisin, mutta hän ei tullut. Sitten he jättivät hänet sinne.[15]

32. Sitten he näkivät toisen, ei kovin suuren saaren, ja sen ympärillä oli tulinen muuri, joka pyöri saaren ympäri. Muurissa oli oviaukko. Aina kun oviaukko tuli pyöriessään heidän kohdalleen, he näkivät siitä koko saaren asukkaineen: lukuisia kauniita ihmisiä koristelluissa vaatteissa ja kultaiset kupit kädessään, juhlimassa. He kuulivat heidän juomalaulunsa ja ihailivat tätä ihmettä kauan aikaa.

33. Pian sen jälkeen, kun he olivat lähteneet tuolta saarelta, he näkivät edessään matkan päässä kohouman aaltojen keskellä, joka näytti valkealta linnulta. He käänsivät veneen kokan sitä kohti mennäkseen katsomaan, mitä he olivat nähneet. Kun he olivat soutaneet lähelle, he huomasivat, että se oli ihminen, joka oli kauttaaltaan valkeiden hiustensa peittämä. Hän heittäytyi maahan rukoillen laakealla kivellä. Saavuttuaan hänen luokseen he pyysivät hänen siunaustaan ja kysyivät mistä hän oli tullut kivelle. ”Tulen Toryn saarelta,”[16] hän sanoi, ”ja Toryn saarella olen kasvanut. Kävi niin, että olin siellä kokkina, ja olin paha kokki, sillä minulla oli tapana myydä sen kirkon ruokaa, jossa asuin, saadakseni aarteita ja kalleuksia itselleni. Taloni oli täynnä peitteitä ja tyynyjä, pellavaisia ja villaisia vaatteita kaikissa väreissä, pronssisia kulhoja ja pieniä pronssisia astioita, sekä hopeisia rintaneuloja, joissa oli kultaiset neulat. Talostani ei puuttunut mitään mitä ihmiset haalivat, kultaisista kirjoista pronssilla ja kullalla koristeltuihin kirjalaukkuihin. Minulla oli tapana kaivaa kirkon talojen alla ja ottaa lukuisia aarteita sieltä. Olin hyvin ylpeä ja ylimielinen.”

”Eräänä päivänä minua pyydettiin kaivamaan hauta talonpojan ruumiille, joka oli tuotu saarelle. Kun olin kaivamassa hautaa, kuulin alapuoleltani äänen, joka tuli maan alta jalkojeni juuresta. ’Älä kaiva tästä kohtaa,’ ääni sanoi. ’Älä laita syntisen ruumista minun, pyhän miehen, päälle.’ ’Se on minun ja Jumalan välinen asia,’ vastasin ylimielisyydessäni, ’kyllä laitan.’ ’Olkoon, mutta jos laitat sen päälleni,’ pyhä mies sanoi, ’sinulle tulee käymään huonosti kolmantena päivänä tästä hetkestä ja tulet joutumaan helvettiin, eikä ruumis tule pysymään täällä.’ Sanoin vanhukselle: ’Mitä hyvää saan sinulta, jos en hautaa miestä päällesi?’ ’Ikuisen elämän Jumalan luona,’ hän vastasi. ’Mistä voin tietää tämän?’ kysyin. ’Se ei tule olemaan sinulle vaikeaa,’ hän sanoi. ’Hauta, jota kaivat, tulee täyttymään hiekasta. Silloin huomaat,

15 Tämän episodin myötä tarinan alussa oleva druidin varoitus kävisi toteen, jos kaikki kolme kasvattiveljeä olisivat jääneet pois joukosta (ks. §§11, 15). Tässä versiossa toinen kasvattiveli ei kuitenkaan jää saarelle, koska hänet onnistutaan tuomaan pois sieltä väkisin (ks. viite 13 yllä).

16 Toryn saarella Donegalin rannikolla oli yksi Irlannin varhaisista luostareista, jonka sanotaan olleen pyhän Columban perustama.

ettet voi haudata miestä päälleni, vaikka yrittäisit.' Hän ei ollut lopettanut lausettaan, kun hauta täyttyi hiekasta. Tämän jälkeen hautasin ruumiin toiseen paikkaan."[17]

"Eräänä toisena päivänä lähdin uudella parkitusta nahasta valmistetulla veneellä merelle. Nousin veneeseen ja katsoin mielissäni ympärilleni, sillä ei ollut mitään, pientä tai suurta, mitä en olisi ottanut talostani mukaani, vateja, kuppeja ja astioita myöten. Katsellessani siinä merelle meri oli tyyni, mutta äkkiä voimakas tuuli tarttui minuun ja kuljetti veneeni aavalle merelle niin, etten nähnyt maata tai rantaa. Sitten veneeni pysähtyi allani, eikä liikkunut enää paikaltaan. Kun katsoin ympärilleni joka suuntaan, näin oikealla puolellani miehen istumassa aalloilla. Hän sanoi minulle: 'Minne olet matkalla?' 'Suunta, johon katson meren yli, on minulle mieluisa,' vastasin. 'Se ei olisi sinulle mieluisa, jos tietäisit mikä joukkio sinua ympäröi.' 'Mikä joukkio se on?' kysyin häneltä. 'Silmänkantamattomiin meren yllä ja taivaan pilviin asti sinua ympäröi yksi paholaisten joukkio,' hän sanoi, 'johtuen ahneudestasi, ylpeydestäsi ja ylimielisyydestäsi sekä varkauksistasi ja muista pahoista teoistasi. Tiedätkö,' hän jatkoi, 'miksi vene on pysähtynyt?' 'En tosiaankaan tiedä,' sanoin. 'Veneesi ei liikahda tältä paikalta ennen kuin teet minun tahtoni mukaan.' 'Ehkäpä en kestä sitä,' sanoin. 'Sitten joudut kestämään helvetin kärsimykset, jos et kestä minun tahtoani.' Sitten hän tuli minua kohti ja laittoi kätensä päälleni, ja minä lupasin tehdä hänen tahtonsa mukaan. 'Heitä yli laidan mereen kaikki rikkautesi, mitä sinulla on tässä veneessä.' 'Olisi sääli haaskata kaikkea sitä,' vastasin. 'Ne eivät tule lainkaan haaskatuksi,' hän sanoi, 'on eräs, joka tulee hyötymään siitä.' Sen jälkeen heitin kaiken mereen lukuun ottamatta pientä puista kuppia. 'Lähde nyt,' hän sanoi minulle, 'ja jää siihen paikkaan, jossa veneesi pysähtyy.' Sitten hän antoi minulle kupillisen heravettä ja seitsemän kakkua ravinnoksi."

"Tämän jälkeen lähdin," vanha mies jatkoi, "siihen suuntaan mihin veneeni ja tuuli minua kuljetti, sillä olin päästänyt irti airoistani ja peräsimestäni. Ollessani aaltojen heiteltävänä päädyin tämän kiven luo, enkä ollut varma, oliko veneeni pysähtynyt, sillä en nähnyt maata tai rantaa. Sitten muistin, mitä minulle oli sanottu, eli että minun tuli jäädä siihen paikkaan, jossa veneeni pysähtyy. Nousin ylös ja näin pienen kiven, jota vasten aallot löivät. Laskin jalkani tälle pienelle kivelle ja veneeni lähti luotani," hän sanoi, "mutta kivi nosti minut ylös ja aallot vetäytyivät. Seitsemän vuotta olen elänyt täällä niillä seitsemällä kakulla ja kupillisella heravettä, jotka sain mieheltä, joka lähetti minut pois, eikä minulla ole ollut muuta kuin annokseni heravettä; se on pysynyt samana."

"Tämän jälkeen pidin kolmen päivän paaston," hän sanoi, "ja paaston jälkeen iltapäivällä saukko toi minulle lohen merestä. Ajattelin mielessäni, etten voisi syödä raakaa lohta. Heitin sen takaisin mereen ja paastosin toiset kolme päivää. Kolmantena iltapäivänä näin saukon jälleen tuovan minulle lohen merestä, ja toinen

17 Tarina Toryn saarelle haudattavista ruumiista on myös *Betha Choluim Chillessä* ja *Betha Adamnáinissa* 54§11, 76.

saukko toi kyteviä polttopuita, joihin se puhalsi niin, että tuli syttyi. Siten kypsensin kalan. Seitsemän vuotta elin tällä tavoin," hän sanoi, "ja joka päivä minulle tuotiin lohta tulen kera, ja kivi kasvoi suuremmaksi. Seitsemän vuoden jälkeen lohta ei enää tullut. Paastosin jälleen kolme päivää. Kolmantena iltapäivänä eteeni heitettiin puolikas vehnäkakku ja annos kalaa. Sitten kupilliseni heravettä otettiin pois minulta ja sen tilalle tuli samankokoinen kuppi täynnä hyvää juomaa, joka on tuolla kivellä, ja se kasvoi suuremmaksi joka päivä. Tuuli, kosteus, kuumuus tai kylmyys ei koettele minua täällä. Se oli minun tarinani," vanha mies sanoi.

Iltapäivän koittaessa jokaiselle miehelle ilmestyi puolikas kakku ja annos kalaa, ja kivellä kirkonmiehen edessä olevassa astiassa oli jokaiselle osansa hyvää juomaa. Vanhus sanoi heille: " Tulette kaikki pääsemään takaisin omaan maahanne, ja sinun isäsi tappanut mies, oi Máel Dúin, on linnoituksessa teidän edessänne. Älä tapa häntä, vaan anna hänelle anteeksi, koska Jumala on pelastanut teidät monesta vaaran paikasta ja te olette yhtä lailla ansainneet kuoleman." He hyvästelivät vanhuksen ja jatkoivat matkaa totuttuun tapaan.

34. Lähdettyään sieltä he tulivat saarelle, jossa oli runsaasti karjaa: härkiä, lehmiä ja lampaita. Siellä ei ollut taloja eikä linnoituksia, joten he söivät lampaiden lihaa. Sitten muutamat heistä sanoivat, nähtyään suuren haukan: "Se on kuin yksi Irlannin haukoista." "Niin todellakin on," muutamat muut sanoivat. "Tarkkailkaa sitä," sanoi Máel Dúin, "jotta näette, mihin suuntaan se menee." He näkivät sen lentävän kaakkoon. He soutivat samaan suuntaan, mihin lintu oli mennyt. He soutivat päivän päättymiseen asti, ja yön koittaessa he näkivät maata, joka oli kuin Irlannissa. He soutivat sitä kohti. He löysivät pienen saaren, ja se oli sama saari, jolta tuuli oli kuljettanut heidät merelle, kun he alun perin lähtivät merimatkalle. He vetivät veneensä kokan maihin ja menivät saarella olevan linnoituksen luo.

He kuuntelivat tarkkaavaisesti ja kuulivat, että asukkaat olivat aterioimassa. He kuulivat muutamien heistä puhuvan ja sanovan: "Onneksi emme tapaa Máel Dúinia." "Máel Dúin on kuollut," yksi sanoi. "Ehkäpä hän tulee herättämään teidät unestanne," sanoi toinen. "Jos hän saapuisi tänne nyt, mitä tekisit?" kysyi toinen. "Tuohon ei ole vaikea vastata," talon isäntä sanoi, "toivottaisin hänet lämpimästi tervetulleeksi, sillä häntä on koeteltu suuresti kauan aikaa." Sillä hetkellä Máel Dúin kolkutti talon oveen. "Kuka siellä?" kysyi oven vartija. "Máel Dúin," hän vastasi. "Avaa ovi," sanoi isäntä, "olet tervetullut." He menivät sisälle taloon ja heidät toivotettiin lämpimästi tervetulleeksi, ja heille annettiin uudet vaatteet. He kertoivat kaikista ihmeistä, joita Jumala oli heille näyttänyt, kuten suuri runoilija oli sanonut: "tämä on hyödyllistä muistaa".[18] Máel Dúin meni omaan maahansa, ja Diurán Riimittelijä vei Armagh'n alttarille kaksi ja puoli unssia hopeaa verkosta, jonka hän oli tuonut mukanaan, ylistääkseen kaikkia suuria ihmetekoja, joita

18 Lainaus Vergiliuksen Aeneis-eepoksesta (I.203) on tekstissä latinaksi: *haec ollim meminisse iuuabit.*

Jumala oli heille tehnyt. Sitten he kertoivat kaikki seikkailunsa alusta loppuun, ja kaikki vaarat niin merellä kuin maallakin.

Áed Finn, Irlannin viisain oppinut, järjesti tämän tarinan siihen muotoon kuin se tässä on. Ja hän teki tämän, jotta se elähdyttäisi kuninkaita ja Irlannin kansaa hänen jälkeensä.

Manx Traditional Songs and Song-fragments in the End-phase of Manx Gaelic: From the Clague Music Collection (1890s)

George Broderick

Abstract

During the 1890s three collections of Manx traditional music and song were made at a time when similar collections were being made elsewhere, particularly in Britain and Ireland. In the Isle of Man the collections were made by 1) medical practitioner Dr. John Clague (1842-1908) of Castletown (also a colleague of Prof. John Rhŷs (1840-1915) during his visits to Man (1886-93), by 2) the Gill Brothers (W. H. and J. F. Gill), and 3) Manx aristocrat A. W. Moore (1853-1909). The first two (Clague and Gill) mainly collected traditional tunes, Moore mainly song-texts. However, a number of song-texts (usually the first stanza only) find place in Clague's music collection. Although some of the texts were dealt with by Anne G. Gilchrist in her edition of the Clague Collection printed in the *Journal of the Folk Song Society* VII, 28-30 (1924-26), the main emphasis lay on a comparison of their texts with similar versions of a given song in other traditions (i.e. Ireland, Scotland, England and a few in Wales, some even further afield). In this article all the known texts in Clague's music collection are dealt with particularly with regard to their linguistic content and treatment, espcially in the context of the obsolescence taking place in spoken Manx of the period. In this latter regard we do see some of the effects of obsolescence on the recorded pronunciation of the Manx texts in the songs. In the Appendix we look at the remnants of the May-time song (in its Manx form) 'Huggey my fainey sourey lhien', a Manx version of the traditional Irish 'Thugamar féin an samhradh linn'; the Manx version showing some antiquity in its form.

1. Introduction

The following texts of Manx Gaelic songs and song-fragments are taken from the Clague Music Collection, a corpus of c. 350 tunes (including variants) taken from Manx tradition c. 1893-c. 1898[1] in four manuscript volumes (MNHL 448A ([1-3]), 449B) by the Castletown medical practitioner Dr. John Clague (1842-1908).[2] In the

1 For details of an apparent early 1870s start to Clague's collecting Manx traditional music and song material, see Miller (2013, 2-5).

2 Vols. 1-3 contain six staves per page, vol. 1 comprising 54 pages (plus a 34A and 35A) made up largely of tunes in fair copy. Vol. 2 comprises 24 pages made up of tunes taken down in their original state. Many of the Manx song-texts, written in non-standard spelling, and thereby reflecting their pronunciation, are to be found here. Vol. 3 comprises 44 pages made up largely of tunes in fair copy, while vol. 4 comprises 34

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music manuscripts 60 tunes have the first stanza, or what is taken to be such, of the song written above or below the stave. Of these twenty (22 including variants) are in Manx, thirty-nine in English and one in Manx / English.[3] The collecting of the first stanza only of song-texts was the norm at that time in folk-music collection, and the Isle of Man in this respect was no exception.

In the spring of 1925 an old exercise-book (hereinafter the Notebook) belonging to Dr. Clague and containing thirty-three song-titles, twenty-six of which have texts (of which eighteen, including variants, are in Manx), was discovered by Archdeacon John Kewley (1860-1941). These were printed with notes and discussion by Anne Gilchrist in the *Journal of the Folk Song Society* (JFSS) VII/29: 203-218.[4] It is not known what became of the Notebook.[5] The Clague Music Collection as a whole (i.e. the tunes) was publishd in JFSS, Vol. VII, nos. 28-30 (1924-26).

In the autumn of 1981 twenty-four notebooks in Dr. Clague's hand containing *inter alia* a number of texts of Manx songs, both complete and fragmentary, were located within the archive of the Manx Museum, now Manx National Heritage, under the reference number MM (now MNHL) MS 450A. Altogether forty-nine separate song-texts were elicited from these notebooks,[6] of which twenty-one were hitherto unpublished. These appeared as 'Manx Traditional Songs and Song-Fragments II' in *Béaloideas* 50 (ed. Broderick 1982a).[7]

However, a comparison of the items in the Notebook, as printed in JFSS, with those in MS. 450A shows that Gilchrist had access to another notebook, other than those in MS. 450A.

For our purposes here, we shall take a fresh look at the twenty-two song-texts in Manx to be found within the Clague Music Collection, particularly from a linguistic perspective, as their collection during the 1890s accompanied the end-phase of Manx Gaelic and, as can be shown, participated to some extent in the process of obsolescence. The song-texts appear in the first three Clague music manuscripts, viz MNHL MSS. 448A [1, 2, 3] and include the following. For those bearing an asterisk (i.e. 17/22), also find comment in JFSS.

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pages, containing twelve staves per page, made up mainly of arranged tunes from *Mona Melodies* (1820); original material is on pages 22-28, 30.

3 Vol. I contains 16 song-texts (Mx. 11, Eng. 4, Mx/Eng. 1), vol. II: 42 (Mx. 9, Eng. 33), vol. III: 2 (Mx. 0, Eng. 2), vol. IV none. Total 60 song-fragments all told.

4 For background details to the discovery of the exercise-book, see Gilchrist (JFSS/VII/29, ix-xi).

5 For details of the whereabouts of Dr. John Clague's library and personal papers see Miller (2015, 1-4).

6 Song-texts are to be found in notebooks 2 (1 item), 3 (3), 4 (1), 5 (39), 7 (1), 9 (1), 10 (27), 12 (6), 16 (33), but especially in notebooks 5, 10, 16, though many of the songs were noted down more than once (cf. Broderick 1982a).

7 There are eight song correspondences in the Clague Music Collection with the songs in MNHL MS 450A (viz. Bks. 5, 10, 16. Bk. 5: 1, Bks. 5, 16: 2 (1a/b)).

1. Abraham Juan.*
2. Dolley ny bleeaney elley.
3. As y mwyllin, mwyllin O.
4. Cur assjeed as cap as cloak.*
5. Goon dy linsey-wulsey.*
6. Hinkin, winkin, clean suggane.*
7. Haink sooreyder nish gys dorrys ven-treoghe*
8. Hug eh my fainey sourey lhien.*
9. Daunse Laa Boaldyn*
10. Hi son Hughee as Hughee*
11. Hop dy Ney.*
12. Oie as laa.*
13. Juan y Jaggad Keear.*
14. Shenn ven.*
15. Ta Cashen ersooyl dys yn aarkey
16. Ta'n grine veg oarn
17. Tra vaim's my guilley veg.*
18. Nancy t'ayns Lunnon.*
19. Yeeassee dooys y lheiney.
20. Yn guilley dy roie.*
21. Yn Unnysup.*
22. Yn Unnysup.*

1.1. Editorial format

In presenting the song-texts I have adhered to the following editorial format:

1. The formal titles of the songs are given in Standard Manx Orthography[8] along with a translation in English, where applicable. They appear in their original form in the text-/song-rubric.

2. Next come details of the informant (name and place of residence or origin, where known, along with parish designation), then of the texts and tunes themselves.

3a. The references to the tunes in the Clague Music Collection are given as follows: C = Clague Music Coll.; then comes the book number, I, II, III, IV, then comes the page number, then the tune number calculated from its position on the page, starting from the top: So CI/9:4 would refer to the Clague Music Coll. Book I, page 9, tune 4.

3b. CNB refers to the Clague Notebooks containing the song-texts of MNHL MS 450A. CNB16/38 would thus refer to Clague Notebook number 16, page 38.

8 Except in song-text no. 8 where the title is given as in Clague. For a discussion here see in Appendix.

4. The song-texts are printed diplomatically and in Standard Manx Orthography side by side and are provided underneath with an English translation and any additional information considered relevant. English loanwords in the texts are underlined.

5. Comments on the song-texts and tunes by Anne Gilchrist and Lucy Broadwood appearing at the time in JFSS/VII/28-30 (1924-26) are reproduced here as being relevant in dating the entry of the song-texts into the Manx song tradition.

6. Finally, a linguistic commentary is made on the Manx texts themselves in the footnotes and in §§3 and 4 at the end.

2. Manx song-texts from the Clague Music Collection (MNHL MSS. 448A [1, 2, 3]).

2.1. Abraham Juan

Informant: not recorded.

Text: C2/19:1 ent. *Abraham Juan*, CNB5/60-61, CNB10/128v, CNB16/41, MTSSF/II: 3-5 (C/5). A variant containing three stanzas was collected from Thomas Taggart, Grenaby, Malew on 27 August 1930 by Marstrander (M/IV: 2482-83; HLSM/I: 390-91). A version of eight stanzas is recorded in MNLH MD900 MS. 08307 (c.1830): 9-11 (cf. Broderick, forthcoming a)).

Tune: C2/18:2, C2/19:1 ent. *Abraham Juan*. The tune requires the last two lines to be sung twice.

Original text	Text in Standard Manx Orthography
O Quoi eh shoh ta ec my ghorras	O quoi eh shoh ta ec my ghorrys
Ta crankal own[9] e dheiney	ta crankal ayn cha daaney
Nor ray mee hene town	Nagh re mee hene t'ayn
dooyrt Abraham Juan[10]	dooyrt Abraham Juan
As paar dy laueyn baaney	as piyr dy lauenyn baney
Nor ray mee hen town	Nagh re mee hene t'ayn
dooyrt Abram Juan	dooyrt Abram Juan
As paar dy laueyn baaney	as piyr dy lauenyn baney.

('Oh, who is this who is at my door? / who is knocking there so boldly? / Is it not I myself who is there? / said Abraham Juan / wearing a pair of white gloves. / Is it not I myself who is there? / said Abram Juan / wearing a pair of white gloves').

9 Representing the pronunciation /o:n/.

10 Pronunciation /ʤo:n/ to rhyme with *town* /to:n/.

Anne Gilchrist (JFSS/VII/28:173-74) prints the tune with text under the title *Piyr dy Lauenyn Baney* 'a pair of white gloves' and adds (p. 174):

> This tune is a variant of the old dance tune "The Hempdresser" to which Burns wrote his song "The De'l's awa' wi' th' Excise-man" [...]. The verse may be nothing more than a dance-rhyme [...] (Gilchrist JFSS/VII/28: 174).

2.2. Dolley ny bleeaney elley 'another bad year'

Informant: not recorded.

Text: C2/6:2 ent. *As I walked out one morning clear*. Not in JFSS. A variant of this text was recorded from Mrs. Annie Kneale, Ballagarrett, Bride, by the Irish Folklore Commission, April/May 1948 (cf. HLSM/I: 306-307).[11]

Tune: C2/6:2 ent. *As I walked out one morning clear*, C2/9:3 ent. *Dullan ny vleiney elley* (no text), C3/2:3 ent. *Dullan ny vleiney elley* (no text).

Dullan ny *v*leiney elley	Dolley ny [b]leeaney elley
Dy vurrin eh rhympene	Dy vuirriney rhym pene
Veen[12] faagit as y treigit	veign faagit as treigit
coondit ny hedyn[13] inneen	coondit ny henn inneen
Veen faagit as veen treaghit	Veign faagit as veign treigit
my corrag as my veal	my c[h]orrag ayns my veeal
Veen ceaut my shenn vraaghyn	Veign ceaut myr shenn vraagyn
Va kickit as corneil	va kickit ayns corneil.

('Another bad year (lit. 'the blotting of the other (i.e. another) year') / If I were to stop by myself / I would be left and abandoned / counted as an old maid / I would be left and I would be abandoned / my forefinger in my mouth / I would be thrown like old shoes / that were kicked into a corner').

11 *viz. Myr ooh ta mee dy jarroo / danjeyragh dy ve brisht / as gollrish shenn vraagyn / va ceaut ass ayns corneil / Faagit as treigit / as my corrag ayns my veeal / as gollrish shenn v[r]aagyn / va ceaut ass ayns corneil* 'like an egg I am indeed / in danger of being broken / and like old shoes / which were thrown out into a corner. / Left and abandoned / and my forefinger in my mouth / and like old shoes / which were thrown out into a corner' (HLSM/I: 306-07).

12 *veen* would repr. /vi:n/, the pron. of *veign* (cf. HLSM/I: 80, Broderick 2011); common in the Faragher stories (cf. Broderick 1981-82). See also note 49.

13 Preocclusion became quite prevalent in LM whereby original fortis /L/, /N/, /M/, /ŋ/, in losing their fortis quality, would be preceded by the corresponding stop, viz. /dl/, /dn/, /bm/, /gŋ/ to differentiate them from their lenis counterparts (cf. HLSM/I: 162-163, III: 28-34). Originally monosyllabic, preocclusion developed into a disyllable during the course of the nineteenth century. This particular example was seemingly heard by Clague as disyllabic. The omission of *-r* in the preceding *myr* is likely deliberate, as he probably did not hear it. Clague evidently did not know much, or any, Manx at all when he first started collecting material (a point also noted by Gilchrist in JFSS/VII/29: ix), and so took down the text as he heard it.

2.3. As yn mwyllin, mwyllin O 'and the mill, mill O'

Informant: Joseph Crellin, Colby AR.

Text: C1/25:3 ent. *As yn Mullin Mullin O as yn skeilley skeilly noa*, CNB5/52, CNB10/130r, CNB16/154. Here we have the refrain only. For the text with the first stanza, see MTSSF/II: 6.

Tune: C1/25:3 ent. *As yn Mullin Mullin O as yn skeilley skeilly noa*.

[Refrain]

As yn Mullin Mullin O	As yn mwyllin, mwyllin O
As yn skeilley, skeilly noa	as yn skeilley, skeilley noa
As ny coggyn brish ayns y' vullyn.	as ny coggyn brisht ayns y vyllin.

('And the the mill, mill O / and the new shelling, shelling / and the cogs broken in the mill').

Incidents of this nature are common in folksong. A medieval French version ent. *clap, clap par un matin - Sus Robin* ('The Pope's "Pornography": "Popular" Music from 14th century France': Ivrea Motet MREA Codex (c.1360) HV MS CXV (115) No. 80F. 60V, see Key 2016). Music from the Gothic era can be found in Broderick (2008, 245-247).

2.4. Cur assjeed as cap as cloak 'take off both cap and cloak'

Informant: Mrs. Tom Kennaugh, Ballakaigen ML.

Text: C2/10:2 (no title).

Tunes: C2/10:2 (no title), C3/3:2 ent. *Cur ass jig as cap as cloak*.[14]

Currus jig[15] as cap as cloak	Cur assjeed as cap as cloak
As Currus *eh seose*[16] er y clagh	as cur uss eh seose er y c[h]lagh
Ta ro vie as rogh aeaur	T'eh ro vie as ro gheyr
dy low ayn ushey marish y corp	dy loau ayns ushtey mârish y c[h]orp
Chyndaa dy hooil rhym William boght	Çhyndaa dty hooill rhym, William Boght
As sweepey William Voght dys y grunt.[17]	as sweep ee William [B]oght dys y g[h]runt.

14 Gilchrist (JFSS/VII/30, 302) suggests that Clague entitled the second version of the tune (C3/3:2) in 6/8 time "Curry's Jig". This is not the case, however, as *Cur ass jig* can clearly be read.

15 *cur ass jig* in C3/3:2.

16 interlined.

17 *grunt* in Manx can refer to the bottom of the sea.

('take off both cap and cloak / as put it[18] up on the stone / It is too good and too dear / to rot in water with the body. Turn your eye to me, poor[19] William / and she swept poor William to the ground (sea-bottom)').

Gilchrist (JFSS/VII/30: 302) prints the text under the title "Illiam Boght or Cur Uss Jeed...". Concerning the text Gilchrist (ibid.) notes:

> This is obviously a fragmentary version of "The Outlandish Knight", though how the villain came to be named "Illiam Boght" is obscure [...]. The nearest title to the Manx which I have seen is the "Sweet Willie" or "William" of Mr. Cecil Sharp's Appalachian versions. Other names for the knight are: "The Bluidy, or Baron, Knight", "Fause Sir John", "The Falsh Priest", "False Mess John", and "The Old Beau" (broadside). Child classes the various forms under "Lady Isabel and the Elfin Knight". The Manx fragments are as near "May Collin" in Child's H version as any; and the last line "She swept poor William to the ground" seems to mean the "Sea Ground", which occurs in "May Collin, v. 8: "For thei 'r oe'r good and costly / In the sea's ground to waste," and is understood in v. 11: "She took him hastly in her arms / And flung him in the sea" [...]. For note and copious references regarding the "Outlandish Knight" ballad, together with ten tunes, see *Journal* [JFSS] Vol. iv, pp. 116-123 (Gilchrist JFSS/VII/30, 301-302).

Concerning the tune Gilchrist (JFSS/VII/30: 302) suggests that it is "High-land in character" comparing it with tunes 7 and 8 in the journal *The Celtic Lyre*.

2.5. Goon dy linsey wulsey 'A gown of linsey-woolsey'

Informant: Mrs. Tom Kennaugh, Ballakaigen ML.

Text: C2/11:2 (no title). JFSS/VII/28:170.

Tunes: C2/11:2 (no title), C2/11:4 ent. *Gouyn dy linsey wunsey*, C3/3:4 ent. *Gouyn dy linsey wunsey*.

Goun dy linsy wu*n*sey[20]	Goon dy linsey-wunsey / wulsey
as bussell vrow[21] saloon	as bussal vraew shalloon
Quoife shen lhing skeddan as	Quoif shenn lieen skaddan as
Ribbanaghyn spinaghyn shooin	rybbanaghyn speeinaghyn shuin[22]
As shenn bock bane gholl lheig	As shenn bock bane goll eig
Share dy harn yn arroo asyn oaer[23]	share dy hayrn yn arroo ayns yn ouyr.

18 *eh* would suggest that the cap (?hood) and cloak were all the one garment.

19 *bogh*t can also mean 'silly, simple' (cf. K/26).

20 With dissimilation of *l* to *n*.

21 The lenited form of the adj. *braew* indicates that *bussal* 'handkerchief, napkin' is treated here as a fem. noun – unless this is to be seen as "wild application" of gender? The term turns up only once in the Manx Bible (John XI, 44: *As haink eshyn va marroo magh soillit cass as laue ayns aanrityn oanluckee: as bussal mysh e eddin* 'And he that was dead came forth, bound hand and foot with graveclothes: and his face was bound about with a napkin') but without adjectival attribution. Neither Cregeen nor Kelly supplies gender attribution.

22 Otherwise *rybbanyn speeineigyn shuin* (cf. HLSM/I: 308-309).

23 Lenition of <f>, viz. Ø, after prep. + def. art. cf. G *anns an fhomhar* 'in the autumn'. In LM *f-* (as with *s-, t-*) generally remains unlenited, e.g. *ro feayr* [ra: ˈfu:ər] 'too cold'

('a gown of linsey-woolsey[24] / and a fine handkerchief of shalloon[25] / a cap of old herring-net and / ribbons of rush peelings / And an old white buck becoming decrepit / it is better to reap the corn in the autumn').

Regarding the above Gilchrist (JFSS/VII/28:170) provides the following information:

> This rhyme seems to be a burlesque of an old song in the same rhythm about "Big Linen Caps" ("Quoifyn Lieen Vooar") of which Moore gives two verses, but without the tune, in his *Manx Ballads* [Moore 1896: 58]. It is a satire on the fashionable dress of the day - the young women wearing silk gowns, big flax caps, neck ruffles and short mantles, "to induce the young men to follow them more." [...] (Gilchrist JFSS/VII/28: 170).

2.6. Hinkin winkin, clean suggane 'Hinkin, winkin, a cradle of straw'

Cradle song.

Informant: Tom Kermode, Bradda RU.

Text: C1/35:3 ent. *Haink & Winking Hinkin / Winkin*![26], JFSS/VII/28: 163.

Tune: C1/35:3 ent. *Haink & Winking Hinkin / Winkin*!, JFSS/VII/28: 163.

Haink + winkin clane suggane	Hinkin, winkin, clean suggane
Harrish ny sleashyn Joney Crome	harrish ny sleaystyn Joney croym
Hank & winking clane suggane	Hinkin winkin clean suggane
Harrish ny sleashyn gimlad	harrish ny sleaystyn gimlad
Hurro! dandy Davy Hurro!	Hurro! Dandy Davy, Hurro!
teff y reash	Tiffy Reeast
En vy[27] O, the dandy Davy	Eayin vie O, the Dandy Davy
Simmie Tear Peter O,	Simmie Teare, Peter O,
Nicky Kermad	[Lhiannoo deyr], Nicky Kermad

('Hinkin, winkin, cradle of straw / over the shovels Joney croym (= 'bend') / Hinkin winkin cradle of straw / over the shovels a gimlet / Hurro, Dandy Davy, Hurro Tiffy Reeast (of the wasteland) / Good lambs O, the Dandy Davy / Simmie Tear, Peter O / dear child, Nicky Kermode').

With regard to the text and tune Anne Gilchrist and Lucy Broadwood (JFSS/VII:28, 163) comment as follows:

(HLSM/II: 160 s.v. *feayr*), *feer foddey* [fiːə faːđə] 'very far' (HLSM/II: 162 s.v. *feer*).

24 'cloth made of linen and wool' (MMG/110).

25 Gilchrist notes (JFSS/VII/28: 170): 'A light kind of woollen stuff, used for coat-linings, said to have derived its name from having been manufactured at Châlons-sur-Marne.'

26 Later insertion.

27 This is either false lenition after a masc. noun (*eayn, G uan*) or expected lenition after its attenuated plural form, viz. *eayin vie, cf. ScG uain mhath*.

Anne Gilchrist:
The tune has an odd likeness to the thirteenth-century English round "Sumer is icumen in". Most of this little cradle-song is of course nonsense, but "Hinkin, winkin" is interesting in connection with a straw cradle, because to "wink" means to creak, in the Isle of Man, where people speak of their new shoes as "winking", and where they used to take a pride in this proof of newness when walking up the aisle in them on a Sunday - so Archdeacon [John] Kewley [1860-1941] tells me. Creaking is just what might be expected of a straw cradle. "Hinkin" may be to the point also as possibly describing the joggling movement of a cradle rocked on an uneven floor. To 'henk' is an old word found in Orkney and Shetland, meaning to limp or halt in walking. Trolls are said to "henk" in their dances, like the troll-wife, Cuttie, who could not get a partner: "Sae I'll henk awa' mysel', co' Cuttie." Cf. also "Hinkum booby" - a Scottish dance of uncouth movements - AGG (Gilchrist JFSS/VII/28, 163).

Lucy Broadwood:
Dr. Clague's tune "Hinkin, winkin", in a slightly altered form, has been set to modern English words in praise of the Isle of Man, under the title "Mannin Veen." This is published as a part-song arranged by Dr. R[alph] Vaughan Williams [...]. [T]he tune belongs to the same type as several in Patrick McDonald's *Highland Vocal Airs* (1781), e.g. Nos. 11, 21, etc. There are two old forms of the tune in Chappell's *Pop. Music*[28] *[...]*. Neither of these tunes in *Pop. Music* are as complete as the Manx version [...], the Manx tune may have preserved the oldest form - LEB (Broadwood JFSS/VII/28, 163).

2.7. Haink sooreyder nish gys dorrys y ven-treoghe 'a suitor came to the widow's door'

Informant: Tom Kermode, Bradda RU.

Text: C1/36:1 ent. *Haink soureyder nish gys dorrys ven treoghe*, CNB5/46, JFSS/VII/28, 136-137.

Tune: C1/36:1 ent. *Haink soureyder nish gys dorrys ven treoghe*, JFSS/VII/28, 136-137.

Haink soureyder nish gys dorrys ven treoghe
As feill veagh eck's as feill veagh aym's
Hi Ho will you be on
I mean, said he, Ho, Ho, said she.
Hi Ho will you be on
I mean said he I'm a true young man.

Haink sooreyder nish gys dorrys y ven-treoghe
as failt veagh eck's as failt veagh aym's
Hi, ho, will you be on?
I mean, said he, Ho, ho, said she.
Hi, ho will you be on?
I mean, said he, I'm a true young man.

('a suitor came now to the widow's door / and hired would she be to her and hired would she be to me / Hi, ho will you be on? etc.').

28 The first is "By the border's side as I did pass," a "Ballad of Scottish Courtship," in the Ashmolean Manuscripts. The second is "The Cavalilly man", a north county song (Broadwood JFSS/VII/28: 163).

Gilchrist (JFSS/VII/28, 136-137) regards this song as an off-shoot of "The Cauldrife Wooer" or "Brisk young Lad" ('There cam' a young man to my daddie's door') and points out that there are many comic courtships of this type, e.g. "Richard of Taunton Dean", "Joan to Jan", etc. (cf. JFSS/II/38).

With regard to the tune, Gilchrist (JFSS/VII/28, 137) compares it with the "Whipsee diddledee dandy dee" form of "The Frog and Mouse" in Baring-Gould and Cecil Sharp's *Folk-Songs for Schools*.

2.8. Hug eh my fainey sourey lhien[29]

May time dance.

Informant: Tom Kermode, Bradda RU.

Text: C1/37:3 ent. *Hug eh my fainey sourey lhien*, JFSS/VII/28, 181-182.

Tune: C1/37:3 ent. *Hug eh my fainey sourey lhien*, JFSS/VII/28, 181.

Hug eh my fainey sourey lhien	*Hug eh my fainey sourey lhien*
Hi! son hug eh as hug eh	Hi! son hug eh as hug eh
Ta hug eh[30] rolley as daunsey	Ta Huggey rolley as daunsey

('We brought the summer with us / Hi for to him and to him / Huggey is rolling wild and dancing').

2.9. Daunse Laa Boaldyn 'May Day dance"

Informant: not recorded.

Text: C2/2:1 ent. *Hi son hugge Hug eh my fainy sourey lhien Daunse Laa Boaldyn*, JFSS/VII/28, 181.

Tune: C2/2:1 ent. *Hi son hugge Hug eh my fainy sourey lhien Daunse Laa Boaldyn*, JFSS/VII/28, 181.

Hi son huggey as huggey (3 times)	Hi son Huggey as Huggey (3 times)
Ta huggey e rowley as dhonsey.	Ta Huggey rowley as daunsey
Hug he my fainy sourey lhien	*Hug eh my fainey sourey lhien*

('Hi for to him and to him (3 times) / Huggey (Hughie) is rolling wild and dancing / We brought the summer with us').

29 For a discussion of this phrase see in the Appendix below.

30 *hug eh* or *Huggey* clearly derives from 'Hug eh' above which has not been understood but taken to be a person's name (also in the other two versions next).

2.10. Hi son Hughee as Hughee 'Hi for Hughee and Hughee'

May time dance.

Informant: not recorded.

Text: C2/22:1 ent. *Hi son Hughee son Hughee as Hughee Hi son Hughee as Hughee*, JFSS/VII/28, 182.[31]

Tune: C2/22:1 ent. *Hi son Hughee son Hughee as Hughee Hi son Hughee as Hughee*, JFSS/VII/28, 182.

Hi son Hughee[32] as Hughee	Hi son Hughee as Hughee!
Ho son Hughee as Hughee	Hi son Hughee as Hughee!
Willy Duddee & Charlie also	Willy Duddee & Charlie also
As Hi son Hughee as Hughee	As Hi son Hughee as Hughee
Ta Hughee a rowdle[33] dy gauns[ey]	Ta Hughee rouyl[34] dy g[h]aunsey
Ta Nollagh a rowdle	Ta'n ollagh rouyl

('Hi for Hughee and Hughee / Hi for Hughee and Hughee / Willy Duddee & Charlie also / and hi for Hughee and Hughee / Hughee is running wild to dance / the cattle is running wild').

Gilchrist (FSS/VII/28, 182) astutely observes 'this May time dance [...] sounds to me very archaic. The words are obscure and probably corrupt.' An attempt has seemingly been made here to make sense of the obscure text.

2.11. Hop dy Ney

Hollantide chant.

Informant: Tom Kermode, Bradda RU.

Text: C1/49:2 ent. *Hop dy nai*:[35] (Manx): Rhŷs (Bk. 6/95, 105, 113, 117-118),[36] Clague (1911, 26-29 from Tom Kermode, Bradda, ent. *Hop! Ta'n Oie* w. Eng. trans.), Moore (1896, 68, ent. *Hop-Tu-Naa*, various (oral), w. Eng. trans.), Roeder (1896, 184-186; versions from Ramsey (Eng.), 'A Bannag from the Mull' RU (Mx.), Surby RU (Mx.), Port Erin RU (Mx.; frag.), Ramsey (Eng.; frag.), Ballaugh (Mx; frag.), Glen Maye PA (Eng.)), Paton (1940-41), 76-82, JFSS/VII/28, 174-177.

(English): Train (1845 II, 123), Harrison (1873, 148 ent. *Hop-Tu-Naa*).

Tune: Clague C1/49:2 Tom Kermode, Bradda, ent. Hop dy nai (JFSS/VII/28, 174-177), Moore (1896, 243 I: Mrs. [Margaret Frissel] Ferrier, Castletown, II: Philip Cain ('Phillie the Desert'), Baldwin BN.

31 Gilchrist (JFSS/VII/28: 182) entitles this song/tune *Hughee er rouyl dy ghaunsey*.
32 *son Hughee* repeated in text.
33 For preocclusion see footnote 13 above.
34 cf. Ir. *rámhaille* 'a raving, speaking deliriously' < Eng. 'rave'.
35 Clague adds: 'may be "Noght ta'n Oie" - The First Night of the Celtic Year'.
36 cf. Broderick (2017/II).

Manx *Hop-dy-Ney*, the name given to the last day of the Celtic year (31 October) on which children are wont to go from house to house chanting a rhyme and thereby earning sweets (nowadays money), does not appear to have any Celtic etymology. The phrase *Hop-dy-Ney* forms a vocable chorus to the rhyme chanted, which seems to have given its name to the event, formally *Sauin* (G *Samhain* 'end of summer'), *Oie Houney* /i: 'hɔunə/ (G *Oidhche Shamhna*) 'the night of Souney/*Samhna*, Eng. 'Hollantide'/'Hallowe'en'. Many customs are associated with this event.

According to Kelly's *Dictionary* (1866 (1805)) (s.v. *Baal-Sauin*),

> [...]. On this night [i.e. Hollantide] [...] "the women knead their dough to make cakes to the Queen of Heaven" [...]. Much ceremony is observed in making this cake, which is sacred to love [...] and is called the "soddag valloo" or dumb cake. Every woman is obliged to assist in mixing the ingredients, kneading the dough and baking the cake on glowing embers; and when sufficiently baked they divide it, eat it up, and retire to their beds backwards without speaking, from which silence the cake derives its name, and in the course of the night expect to see the images of the men who are destined to be their husbands [...].

Moore (1891, 125), in quoting the above, adds that the ingredients included 'flour, eggs and egg-shells, soot, &c.' For further details see Moore (1891, 122-125), Clague (1911, 23-31), Paton 52/1 (1941, 52-58), Gilchrist (1924-26, 174-177).

Clague (1911, 31) has the following to say about this tradition:

> On Hollantide Eve boys went into gardens and fields, and pulled cabbage and cabbage stalks, and then went about beating the doors.
> Young girls and young boys gathered together to make spree, and they used to try different ways of finding out fortunes. When they had tried all the ways (methods) they knew, the girls went to bake the dumb cake. Nobody was to speak one word, and every one was to help in making the dough. It was baked on the ashes, or on the bake stone (griddle). When it was baked, it was broken up, and each girl had a piece of it. She went to bed walking backwards, and she would see a sign of her lover in a dream.
> When they did not bake the dumb cake, they ate a salt herring, in the same way, and it would do quite as well.
>
> Noght Oie Hownee Hop ta'n oie. Noght Oie Houney, Hop-dy-Ney
>
> ('Tonight is Hollantide night, Hop-dy-Ney').

2.12. Oie as laa 'night and day'

Informant: Charles Faragher, Cross Four Ways ML.

Text: C1/27:1 ent. *Oie as laa*, CNB5/52, CNB10/130r, CNB16/154, Craine (1955, 52).

Tune: C1/27:1 ent. *Oie as laa*, JFSS/VII/28, 128; 29, 208; 30, 318-320.

Ben as cloan yms y Velaraght
Mannin Veg Veen y naggym arragh

Ben as cloan aym sy Vallaragh
Mannin Veg Veen cha n'aagym arragh.

('I have wife and children in Ballaragh / *Mannin Veg Veen*[37] ('wee Mannin dear') I'll never leave').

According to David Craine (1955, 51-52), this song was composed by Captain Henry Skillicorn (1678-1763),[38] who as a boy while playing his flute on the rocks below Ballaragh, Lonan, was carried off by a Bristol ship apparently engaged in providing cheap labour for planters in the West Indies. Craine (ibid.) continues:

> He [Skillicorn] avenged himself on his captors by composing uncomplimentary rhymes in Manx which he sang to the unconscious objects of his abuse. One verse with which he has been credited voices his longing for home, and its end has a suspicion of the spirit which enabled him to survive and triumph:
>
> Ogh as ogh, my graih Ballarragh
> Vallarragh my chree, cha vaikym oo arragh
> Ta mee my hassoo as my ghreeym rish y voalley
> Cummal seose kiaull gys cloan ny moddee[39]
>
> ('alas, alas, my love Ballaragh / Ballaragh of my heart, I shall see you no more / I stand with my back to the wall / keeping up music to the children of the dogs').

2.13. Untitled [Juan y Jaggad Keear 'Juan of the dark jacket']

Informant: Charles Faragher, Cross Four Ways ML.

Text: C1/27:2 (no title), Moore (1896, 46 (2st.)), JFSS/VII/28, 169.

Tunes: C1/27:2 (no title), JFSS/VII/28, 169; Moore (1896, 246).

Cock y gun eh ushey sheer

Shot eh Juan y jaggad Keear
Holley *eh*[40] oie as toll y Creear[41]
As Juan y Quirk eh creiney

Cock y gun eh woish y sheear

Shot eh Juan y Jaggad Keeir
Hoyll eh e oaie ayns tuill y c[h]reear
as Juan y Quirk [v']eh craaney

37 An intimate epithet for the Isle of Man treasured by Manxmen.
38 For details of his life and times see Moore (1901, 161-162).
39 For the rhyme here we would need the gen. pl. form *moddey*, viz. *cloan ny moddey*, at that time (late seventeenth century) pronounced something like */klo:n nə 'mɔdə/ a construction which at the time of the verse's composition would almost certainly have been prevalent.
40 interlined.
41 Note non-application of lenition in *creear* after masc. gen. def. art. (init. /x-/ in LM had largely become delenited to /k-/). See also note 56 below.

('he cocked the gun (and fired it) from the west / He shot Juan of the dark jacket / He pierced his face in holes like a sieve / and Juan Quirk he (was) trembling').

In commenting on the tune Gilchrist (JFSS/VII/218, 169) notes:

> The tune above given is on the same rather unusual rhythmic pattern as three tunes I have noted in Lancashire to the singing-game "The Tinker-lairy Man" - alias "The Little Hielan' man", "The Hurdy-gurdy Man" [...]. All these very similar tunes seem to me to be relics of an old Gaelic dance-rhythm.

2.14. Shenn ven 'old woman'

Informant: Tom Kermode, Bradda RU.

Text: C1/34A:3 ent. *Shen Ven*!, JFSS/VII/28, 137.

Tune: C1/34A:3 ent. *Shen Ven*!, JFSS/VII/28, 137.

Shen ven Shen ven three feed	Shenn ven, shenn ven, tree feed
blein as Kiare	blein as kiare
Veesh goll y phoodey	v'eeish goll dy phoosey
[rish yn fer]	[rish yn fer]
as cha row ee (*sic*) toiggall	as cha row toiggal
mooar eck jeh-eh	mooar ec jeh eh
Sing fol fol fol fol dy laddie O	Sing fol, fol, fol, fol, dy laddie O

('Old woman, old woman of sixty-four years / She was going to marry with the man / and she did not know much about him / Sing fol, fol, fol, fol dy laddie O').

Gilchrist (JFSS/VII/28, 137) notes:

> A version is given in Mr. Cecil Sharp's *Nursery Songs from the Appalachian Mountains* as "The Deaf Woman's Courtship". The Manx tune and refrain are both Welsh in character. There may be a Welsh as well as English and Scotch [Scottish] versions.

2.15.Ta Cashen ersooyl gys yn aarkey 'Cashen is away to sea'

Informant: not recorded.

Text: C2/2:2 (no title but text), CNB5/46, CNB10/129v, CNB16/152.

Tune: C2/2:2 (text, no title) ent. *Ta Cashen ersooyl gys yn aarkey* (no text), C1/37: 2 Tom Kermode, Bradda.

Ta Cashen ersooyl yn errica[42]	Ta Cashen ersooyl [dys] yn 'aarkey

42 Note the epenthetic vowel between /r/ and /k/, G *fairrge* (cf. HLSM/III, 144, Jackson 1955, 59-61, Thomson 1960, 116-126).

As shoh van delight echey rieau	as shoh va'n delight[43] echey rieau
Yn ven echey faaghit dyn cooney	Yn ven echey faagit dyn cooney
As y thie wooar[44] ersooyl	yn thie wooar ersooyl
lesh y guieas	lesh y geay.

('Cashen is away to sea / and this was ever his delight / His wife is left without help / and the kitchen (lit. 'big house') is away with the wind').

A parody.

2.16. Ta'n grine veg oarn 'the wee grain of barley'

Informant: Tom Kermode, Bradda RU.

Text: C1/34A:1 ent. *Ta'n grine veg oarn*.
Tune: C1/34A:1 ent. *Ta'n grine veg oarn*.

Ta'n grine[45] veg oarn te grine eh mie	Ta'n grine veg oarn, t'eh grine cha mie
As daase rieau ayns y nai	as daase rieau ayns yn 'aaie
Dy cur y shen ghunney[46]	dy c[h]ur s shenn ghooinney
goll myr ny guillin	goll myr ny guillyn
As guillin goll myr feaigh	as guillyn goll myr feeaih
As guillin goll myr feaigh	as guillyn goll myr feeaih.

('the wee grain of barley, it is so good grain / and it always grew in the home-field / to make the old man go like the lads / and lads go like deer').

43 *taitnys* CNB5/46. But this does not quite fit the metre, hence the English word.

44 *mooar* CNB5/46. Here the len. adj. *wooar* (G *mhór*) is common in Early Manx (17th-cent.) after the dative of the singular masculine, but even then gender was coming to be the dominant factor (cf. LDIM/92). Nevertheless, I suspect that *wooar* here is a case of unhistorical application of lenition through uncertainty of gender.

45 *grine* 'grain' is interpreted as masc. in the only known example in the Manx Bible, viz. Exodus XVI, 14: [...] *er eaghtyr yn aasagh va grine beg runt, myn myr lieh-rio, er y thalloo* 'on the surface of the wilderness there lay (was) a small round thing, as small as the hoar-frost on the ground'. It is given as masc. in Cregeen (C/83), G *grán* m.

46 Even though no lenition would be expected with homorganic consonants (cf. HLSM/I, 39; II, 398 s.v. *shenn*), neverthless the form *shenn ghooinney* (ScG *seann dhuine*) is commonly found in the Manx Bible, e.g. Judges XIX, 22 as *loayr ad rish y çhenn ghooinney* [...] 'and (they) spake to (...) the old man,' 1 Samuel XVII, 12: *v'eh goit son shenn ghooinney ayns laghyn Saul* 'and he was taken for an old man in the days of Saul,' Zechariah VIII, 4: *Nee shenn gheiney as shenn vraane foast cummal ayns straidyn Yerusalem* [...] 'There shall yet old men and old women dwell in the streets of Jerusalem (...),' et passim.

2.17.Tra vaim's my guilley veg aegagh as reagh 'when I was a wee lad happy and randy'
Informant: not recorded.

Text: C2/4:1 ent. *Admiral Benbow*, CNB5/46, CNB10/129v, CNB16/152, JFSS/VII/29, 213.

Tune: C2/4:1 ent. *Admiral Benbow*, JFSS/VII/28, 145.

Tune only: C1/38:1 ent. *Tra va mish my ghuilley beg as reeagh* 'when I was a wee and randy lad' (Tom Kermode, Bradda), C1/31:2 ent. *Tra va mish roish nish my guilley beg* 'when I was before now a wee lad' (Tom Kermode, Bradda).

Tra voyms my guilley
veg[48] aegagh a reeagh
Cha row geayl aym dy toghey myr
yom ben aeg buoiagh
As nish ta ben aym as lhiannoo[49]
veg nish [neesht]
As oh buy dy binsh[50] yn scollag
aeg reesht.

Tra vaim's[47] my guilley
veg aegagh as reeagh
cha row geill aym dy toghey myr
yioin ben aeg bwaagh
As nish ta ben aym as
lhiannoo veg neesht
as, oh buy, dy beign's yn scollag
aeg reesht.

('When I was a wee lad happy and randy / I did not want a dowry as I would get a pretty young woman / And now I have a wife and little child as well / and, oh boy, were I the young lad again!').

Gilchrist (JFSS/VII/29, 213) also supplies the following text:

Tra voym's roish nish ny guilley veg
She uss y cheayn (ayns cheedyn)
hug lhen delight
Liorish dhoo as dheiney
as mollagh mraane
She daa ven aeg torragh v'aym

Tra vaim's roish nish ny guilley veg
she ayns y cheayn / cheedn[51]
hug lhien delight
Liorish dhooghys deiney
as mollaght mraane
she daa ven aeg torragh v'aym.

47 *vaim's* 'I was', an older synthetic emphatic form of the 1sg. preterite of the substantive verb, not found in Phillips (c.1610; cf. GEM, 149-151), but surviving into Late Manx (cf. HLSM, 78), as here.

48 Note retention of lenition in the adj. after a substantive originally lenited after the poss. part. *my* 'my'. This would have been common in EM (cf. Thomson 1969, 201-202, LDIM/92), also in the vocative (but with lenition only in the adj.): *c'red (sic) boayl ta shiu çheet woish, guilley veg* 'what place do you come from, laddie?' (HLSM/II, s.v. *guilley*).

49 *lhiannoo* 'child' is normally interpreted as masc. in the Manx Bible: Matthew XVIII, 2, 4, 5 *lhiannoo beg* 'a little child', Ir./ScG. *leanbh* m. Len. in the adj. *beg* here is likely due to uncertainty of gender.

50 *binsh* [bi:nʃ] is the usual pronunciation of *beign's* (dep. impf. of subst. vb.) 'I would be' (cf. HLSM/I, 80; II, 472 s.v. *veign*, Broderick 2011). See also note 12 above.

51 Gilchrist (JFSS/VII/29, 213) for *cheayn* suggests *cheedyn* from Scots *keady* 'wanton', as this would fit the context better. If the informant heard an Irish version of the song in Cork, then that would suggest he was away at the mackerel fishing off the southern coast of Ireland.

('When I was before now a wee lad / it was at sea / in wantonness that brought us delight / (It is) by men's nature and cajoling women / it is two young women I have (made) pregnant').

As parallels for the texts, Gilchrist (*ibid*.) suggests for *Tra vaim's roish nish* and for *Tra vaim's my guilley veg* "My jewel, my joy" in Joyce's *Old Irish Folk-Music*, said to have been sung in Cork around 1790. This may give us an idea when the Manx versions entered Manx tradition.

2.18. Nancy [ayns] Lunnon - What we suffer at sea

Informant: not recorded.

Text: C2/3:1 ent. *Nance [t'ayns] Lunnon What we suffer at sea*!, JFSS/VI/29, 214-215.

Tune: C2/3:1 ent. *Nance [t'ayns] Lunnon What we suffer at sea*! JFSS/VII/28, 148-149.

Dinsh dhyt ta yn surranse	Dinsh [mee] dhyt, ta yn surranse
ec y Keadyn	ec y keayn
Ta Te ta guighyn shedey dy	tra ta geayaghyn sheidey dy
styrm as sheen	sterrym as sheein.

('I told you the suffering we are going through at sea / when the winds blow in storm and gusts ...').

With regard to the text, Gilchrist (JFSS/VII/29, 214) has a form taken from the notebook (1925) under the title *Insh dou cre t'ad surranse ec y cheayn* ['tell me what they suffered at sea']. Gilchrist (*ibid.*) adds that this is a Manx version of "Pretty Nancy of Yarmouth" (or London), alias "Farewell, lovely Nancy", cf. JFSS/III, 103, 272, JFSS/VI, 37.

With regard to the tune, Gilchrist (JFSS/VII/28, 149) has it as a 'major' variant of "Adieu, lovely Nancy" / "Farewell, lovely Nancy", also the Sussex sea-song "George Keary" (JFSS/VI, 34).

2.19.Yeeassee dooys y lheiney 'lend me the shirt'

Informant: Tom Kermode, Bradda RU.

Text: C1/34A:2 ent. *Yeassee dhooys y lheiney*.

Tune: C1/34A:2 ent. *Yeassee dhooys y lheiney*.

Yeassee dhooys y lheiney	Yeeassee dooys y lheiney
myr vel ee lane glen feu	myr vel ee lane glen feu
As eeckym oo back dy onneraght	as eeckym oo back dy onneragh
Tra higgym ven ym dy nieu	tra hig yn ven aym dy nieu
Tra higgym ven ym dy nieu	tra hig yn ven aym dy nieu

('Lend me the shirt / as it is fully clean so / and I shall pay you back with honour / when my wife comes to spin / when my wife comes to spin').

2.20.Yn guilley dy roie 'the boy to run'

Informant: Mrs. Tom Kennaugh, Ballakaigen ML.

Text: C1/9:4 ent. *Yn guilley dy roie*, CNB5/52, CNB10/130r, CNB16/153, JFSS/VII/30, 314.

Tune: C1/9:4 ent. *Yn guilley dy roie*.

Yn ghilley de roie yn guilley dy spei	Yn guilley dy ruy, yn guilley dy speiy
Veh rieau ayns Nalben beg	v'eh rieau ayns Nalbin Beg
Veh guilley feer onneraght	V'eh guilley feer onneragh
dy bee eh row er ghed	erbe dy row eh geid.

('The boy to run, the boy to hoe / he was ever in (dear) wee Scotland / He was a very honest boy / were it not for the fact that he stole').

However, in CNB16/38, i.e. earlier on in the same manuscript, we find a similar text as stanza 2 in a three-stanza song (presumably sung to the same tune as noted above?) entitled *Yn Guilley Ruy* 'the red-haired boy', where the first line of the second stanza runs as follows: *Ta'n guilley ruy yn guilley s'bwaaee* 'the red-haired boy is the handsomest boy'. The full text can be found in MTSSF/II, 14. This version would seem to represent the original song.

The following comment by Lucy Broadwood concerning the tune refers to the text above:

> This tune is a fragmentary version of a favourite air to the popular ballad "The Farmer's Boy" which has the refrain "To plough, to sow, to reap, to mow, And be a farmer's boy". It looks as if this Manx fragment might come from a parody of the original song (in which the homeless boy, through his merits, becomes his employer's son-in-law). - LEB (Broadwood JFSS/VII/30: 314).

2.21. Yn Unnysup 'the Hunt is up'.

Informant: Tom Kermode, Bradda RU (coll. "14.i.96").

Text: C1/48:1 ent. *Yn Unnysup*, CNB5/54, CNB16/158, JFSS/VII/28, 193.

Tune: C1/48:1 ent. *Yn Unnysup*, JFSS/VII/28: 193.

Hi Juan Jiggison, Ho Juan Jiggison	Hi Juan Jiggison, Ho Juan Jiggison
Daa oor roish y laa, buy	daa oor roish y laa, buy
Quoi ta bee t'ayn eh lhie marish	Quoi erbee ta ny lhie mârish
ben woinney[52] elley	ben wooinney elley
Teh boght ta yirree trau traa, buy.	t'eh boght dy irree ayns traa, buy.

('Hi Juan Jiggison, Ho Juan Jiggison / two hours before daybreak, boy / Whoever lies with another man's wife / is poor to get up in time, boy!').

2.22. Hi! yn Unnysup 'Hi! for the fiddler's money'.

Informant: Margaret Clague.

Text: C1/48:2 ent. *Hi! yn Unnysup*, JFSS/VII/30: 192-193.

Tune: C1/48:2 ent. *Hi! yn Unnysup,* JFSS/VII/30: 192-193.

Hi er yn Unnysup, Hi er yn Unnysup	Hi er yn Unnysup, Hi er yn Unnysup
Daa oor roish y laa	daa oor roish y laa
Dy bee quoi ta lhie marish	Quoi erbee ta lhie mârish
ben woinney elley	ben wooinney elley
T'eh boght dy talkal traa	t'eh boght dy talkal traa

('Hi on the Unnysup, Hi on the Unnysup / two hours before daybreak / If anyone would lie with another man's wife / he is poor to talk timely').

Cyril Paton (Paton n.d. [1940-41], 29) has a short note about this tradition in Man:

> In early times the household was aroused by a fiddler. According to a poem[53] written in Manx at some time previous to 1729, before daybreak on New Year's morning the fiddler would come to the door and rouse the household, calling

52 This would represent G *dhuine*, with labialisation in the Mx. form from the following high back vowel /u/, also in 2.19b. This line with the form *ben ghooinney elley* finds parallels in the Manx Bible, e.g. Leviticus XX, 10: As y dooinney ta foiljagh brishey *poosey rish ben ghooinney elley* [...]. 'And the man that committeth adultery with another man's wife (...)'.

53 According to Gilchrist (JFSS/VII/30, 194), a carval from the Philip Corkill ms. carval book brought to light by Cyril Paton goes into some detail about the "hunsupping" tradition in Man. The carval *Dy resooney my charjyn dayer* is endorsed 'Bilt by doctor Walker 1646. And copies by Thomas Steph'en of Ballaugh in 1760.' This probably refers to Dr. William Walker (1679-1729), Vicar-General of Man (1712-1729), in spite of the date of 1646 (cf. Moore 1901, 21-23).

> each one of them by name "and fill every soul with happiness and love". His wife, "with face neat and clean", turns up next day to ask for his fee, and gets "a good cut of meat or a good gift of wine," and goes home well laden after blessing the cattle and the calves.
>
> I believe that the English tune known as The Hunt is up was commonly played at this visit. These words, corrupted in the south of the Island into "Unnysup" and in the north of the Island into "Wande-scope"[54] are used for the gifts given to the [...] performers at Christmas [...].

This custom of the fiddler arousing the household has been long obsolete.

According to Gilchrist (JFSS/VII/30, 193), 'the Manx words of the two "Unnysup" versions are derived from a traditional English verse to the "Hunt's-up" tune.'

3. Linguistic comment

As the foregoing song-texts were collected during the period of increasing obsolescence in Manx,[55] aspects of attrition that were taking place in spoken Manx at that time (1890s) may also be found in the song-texts. In the course of the process of attrition in Late Manx, some thirty-seven developments are noted, information about which can be found in LDIM/77-167. Not all are represented here, however. Those findings witnessed in the song-texts are mainly morphological and morphosyntactical. The examples are given in Standard Manx Orthography for ease of clarity. The paragraphing containing initial '2' refers to the numbering of the above song-texts.

54 "Hunt is up" → "Andisop" → "Wandescope" (cf. Gilchrist JFSS/VII/30, 192).

55 For details of this see Broderick (1999).

3.1. Phonology

- 3.1.1. Unhistorical application of lenition through uncertainty of gender, etc. (LDIM/103).

2.2. Dullan ny **v**leeaney elley	/v/ < /b/	Dolley ny **b**leeaney elley ‘another bad year’.
2.4. William **V**oght	/v/ < /b/	William **B**oght ‘Poor William’.
2.16. grine **v**eg oarn	/v/ < /b/	grine **b**eg oarn ‘a small grain of barley’.
2.17. lhiannoo **v**eg	/v/ < /b/	lhiannoo **b**eg ‘wee child’.
2.15. thie **w**ooar	/w/ < /m/	thie **m**ooar ‘big house’.

Note that the main deficiency here is the spirantisation of /b/ to /v/ in postposed adjectives, brought on probably from uncertainty of gender leading to a feeling that a lenited form sounded more “Manx”.

3.2. Morphophonology

- 3.2.1. Non-application of lenition (HLSM/I, 7-20, LDIM, 94-103)

2.3. ben aeg **b**waagh	/b-/ → /v-/	ben aeg **v**waagh ‘a fine young woman’.
2.5. shenn **b**ock bane	/b-/ → /v-/	shenn **v**ock bane ‘an old white(haird) buck’.[56]
2.4. dys y **g**runt	/g-/ → /ɣ-/	dys y **gh**runt ‘to the sea-bed’.
2.10. rouyl dy **g**auns[ey]	/d/ → /ɣ/ → /g/	rouyl dy **gh**auns[ey] (rad. ***d****aunsey*) ‘wild dancing’.
2.15. lesh y **g**eay	/g-/ → /ɣ-/	lesh y **gh**eay ‘with the wind’.
2.17. tra vaim’s my **g**uilley veg ...	/g-/ → /ɣ-/	tra vaim’s [...] my **gh**uilley veg ‘when I was (in my **g**uilley veg ... my) wee lad’.
2.4. mârish y corp	/k-/ → /x-/	mârish y **ch**orp ‘with the body’.
2.13. tuill y **c**reear	/k-/ → /x-/	tuill y **ch**reear ‘holes of the sieve’.[57]
2.2. my **c**orrag	/k-/ → /x-/	my **ch**orrag ‘my forefinger’.
2.16. dy **c**ur	/k-/ → /x-/	dy **ch**ur ‘to put’.

56 <b> retained in the adj. as the substantive *bock* is masc. In EM all attributive adjectives would have been lenited (cf. Thomson 1969, 201-202, LDIM, 93).

57 *creear* ‘sieve’ is treated here as masc., though Cregeen marks it as fem. (C/49). It is masc. in Ir./ScG. *criathar*. So far as can be assessed, *creear* is attested only once in the Manx Bible (Amos IX, 9 *myr ta arroo er ny reealley ayns creear* ‘like the corn is sifted in a sieve’), and then without any adjectival attribution. Kelly (K/56) does not mark the gender at all.

Note that the deficiency here is the loss of the voiced and voiceless velar spirants /ɣ-/ and /x-/ in Late Manx, almost certainly on the analogy of their absence in English.

3.3. Morphosyntax / Syntax

- 3.3.1. Decomposition of prepositional pronouns (LDIM/134-135)

2.14. cha row toiggal mooar eck **jeh-eh**	→	cha row toiggal mooar eck jehsyn 'she had no great understanding of him/it'.

- 3.3.2. Simplification in the indefinite predicate (LDIM/132-134)

2.2. coondit **ny** ('in his') henn inneen	→	coondit **my** (G *imo*) henn inneen 'considered (in my) old girl'
2.17. tra vaim's roish nish **ny** guilley veg ...	→	tra vaim's roish nish **my** ghuilley veg ... 'when I was a wee lad before now ...'.

Usually there was concord in the preposition + possessive particle, but already in CM this was becoming generalised in the 3sg. masc. (as in the two examples above) irrespective of person or number of the antecedent (LDIM, 132-133).

3.4. Lexicon and phraseology

- 3.4.1. Transfer of English for native words / Use of English loanwords (LDIM, 146-148)

2.2. as kickit ayns corneil	→	as *brebbit* ayns corneil (Mx. *brebbey*, G *breabadh*) 'kicked into a corner'.
2.3. as ny coggyn brisht	→	as ny *coggyn*[58] *brisht (Mx. cog*, G *fiacail-rotha*) 'and the cogs broken'.

58 Mx. *feeacklyn* 'teeth' (ScG. *fiaclan*) does not seem to have been used for 'cogs' in Manx, as in Ir./ScG., for which the English word was used, as here. The term does not turn up in the Manx Bible.

2.4. as sweep ee William Boght ...	→	as *skeab* ee William Boght (Mx. *skeabey*, G *sguabadh*) 'and she swept Poor William'.
2.13. cock-y-gun eh[59]	→	no Manx equivalent known.
2.13. shot eh Juan y Jaggad Keear	→	*lhieg* eh Juan y Jaggad K. (Mx. *lhieggal*, G *leigeil*) 'he shot Juan of the grey jacket'.
2.15. as shoh va'n delight echey rieau	→	as shoh va'n *taitnys*[60] *echey rieau (G taitneas*) 'and this was ever his / its delight'.
2.17. she ayns y cheen hug lhien delight	→	she ayns y cheen hug lhien *taitnys* (G *taitneas*) 'it was at sea / in wantonness that brought us pleasure'.

3.5. Summary

As can be seen, the deviations from Standard Classical Manx (i.e. that of the Manx Bible) in our sample are to be found in four areas:

1. Phonology, 2. Morphophonology, 3. Morphosyntax / Syntax, 4. Lexicon and phraseology.

3.5.1. Phonology:	
3.5.1.1. Unhistorical application of lenition through hypercorrection, etc.	5 exx.
3.5.2. Morphophonology:	
3.5.2.1. Non-application of lenition	10 exx.
3.5.3. Morphosyntax / Syntax:	
3.5.3.1. Decomposition of prepositional pronouns	1 ex.
3.5.3.2. Simplification in the indefinite predicate	2 ex.
3.5.4. Lexicon and phraseology:	
3.5.4.1. Transfer of English for native words / Use of English loanwords	7 exx.

That is to say, the main deviation in our sample lies essentially in one area: Morphophonology (10/25 = 40%), with minor disturbance in the remaining areas

59 Note that the Eng. verb and its object are linked into one unit in Manx.
60 As supplied in C5/46.

individually (5/25 = 20%, 3/25 = 12%, 7/25 = 28%), but collectively forming a sizeable majority (15/25 = 60%).

1. Phonology:	5 exx.
2. Morphophonology:	10 exx.
3. Morphosyntax / Syntax:	3 exx.
4. Lexicon and phraseology:	7 exx.
	Total: 25 exx.

4. Maintaining the status quo

As will be seen here, the main consistency in the song-texts are the common rules of grammar adhered to when Manx was still a vibrant and living language. Again, for ease of reference the few examples we have here are given in Standard Manx Orthography.

Two main areas are affected: Morphophonology and Morphology.

4.1 Morphophonology

- 4.1.1. Retention of historical lenition (HLSM/I: 7-20)

- 4.1.1.1. After preposition + def. art. in the singular prepositional case (HLSM/I, 13-14)

2.3. *ayns y* ***v****yllin* 'in the mill' (Mx. *mwyllin*, G *muileann*).
2.5. *ayns yn ouyr* 'in the autumn' (Mx. *fouyr*, ScG *foghar*).
2.15. *ta Cashen ersooyl* [*dys*] *yn aarkey* 'Cashen is away to (the) sea' (Mx. *faarkey*, G *fairrge*).
2.16. *ayns yn aaie* 'in the homefield' (Mx *faaie*, G *faidhche*).

- 4.1.1.2. After preposed adjectives and particles (HLSM/I, 19-20, 39)
2.2. *shenn* ***v****raagyn* 'old shoes' (Mx. *shenn*, G *sean(n)*).
2.4. *t'eh ro* ***v****ie as ro* ***gh****eyr* 'it (the cap and cloak) is too good and too dear / expensive'
(Mx. *mie, deyr*, G. *ma(i)th, daor*).

- 4.1.1.3. After the possessive adjctives *my* 'my', *dty* 'your (sg.)', [*e* 'his'] (HLSM/I, 9-10)

2.1. *O quoi eh shoh ta ec my **gh**orrys* ‘Oh, who is this who is at my door’ (Mx. *dorrys*, G *doras*).
2.2. *ayns my **v**eeal* ‘in my mouth’ (Mx. *beeal*, G. *béal, beul*).
2.4. *dty **h**ooill* ‘your eye’ (Mx. *sooill*, G *súil*).

- 4.1.1.4. After the particle *dy* before the verbal noun (HLSM/I, 15)

2.10. *ta Huggey rouyl dy **g**aunsey* ‘Huggey is in a frenzy to dance’ (Mx. *daunsey*, ScG. *dannsadh*),
with delenition of /ɣ-/ to /g-/.

4.2. Morphology

- 4.2.1. Plural forms in monosyllabic adjectives (HLSM/I, 38)

2.1. *piyr dy lauenyn baney* ‘a pair of white gloves’ (Mx. *bane, baney*, G *bán, bána*).

- 4.2.2. Plural forms of the definite article in *ny* (unreduced) (HLSM/I, 72)

2.3. *ny* coggyn *brisht* ‘the cogs broken’ (Mx. *cog*, G *fiacail-rotha*).
2.6. *harrish ny sleaystyn* ‘over the shovels’ (Mx. *sleayst*, G *sluasaid*).

- 4.2.3a. Use of the genitive singular (HLSM/I, 28-29)

2.5. *ribbanaghyn speeinaghyn **shuin*** ‘ribbons of rush-peelings’) (lit. ‘peelings of rush’).
(Mx. *ribban*, *speeineig*, *shuin*, G *rioban*, *spionadh* vn., *simhin*).
2.7. *gys dorrys y ven-treoghe*[61] ‘to the widow’s door’ *(Mx. ben-treoghe*, G *baintreabhach, -aigh*).
- 4.2.3b. Use of the genitive plural (HLSM/I, 29)

2.5. *ribbanaghyn **speeinaghyn** shuin* ‘ribbons of rush-peelings’.
(Mx. *ribban*, *speeineig*, *shuin*, G *rioban*, *spionadh* vn., *simhin*).

All examples show genitive by position, not by inflection.

61 This is the nom. form (G *baintreabhach*, g. *baintreabhaigh*). So far as is known, no gen. form is recorded in Manx. The form *ben trœoi* in Phillips (Luke VII, 12) may repr. the old dative (G *baintreabhaighe*). It appears in the sentence *as vai na ben trœoi* ‘and she was a widow’.

- 4.2.4. Use of synthetic forms of the verb (HLSM/I, 86)

- 4.2.4.1. Habitual present / Future (HLSM/I, 86, 102-103)

2.12. *cha n'**aagym** arragh* 'I shall never leave' (G *chan *fhágfaim*).
2.19. *as **eeckym** oo back dy onneragh* 'and I'll pay you back honourably' (G *íocfaim*).
2.19 *tra **hig** yn ven aym dy nieu* 'when my wife comes to spin' (G *thig*).

- 4.2.4.2. Imperfect (HLSM/I, 86, 103, 105)

2.2. *dy **vuirriney** rhym pene* 'if I were to stay by myself' (G *dhá bhfuirighinne*).
2.2. ***veign** faagit as **veign** treigit* 'I would be left and I would be abandoned' (G *bhíthinn*).

- 4.2.4.3. Optative (HLSM/I, 150)

2.17. *as oh buy dy **beign's** yn scollag aeg reesht*
'and oh boy, were I the young lad again' (G *go mbeinnse*)

- 4.2.4.4. Preterite (HLSM/I: 104-105)

2.13. ***hoyll** eh e oaie* 'he pierced his face' (G *thoill*).
2.16. *as **daase** rieau ayns yn aaie* 'and it always grew in the homefield' (G *d'fhás*).
2.17. *tra **vaim's** my guilley veg...* 'when I was a young lad...' (G *bháimse*).
2.17. *she ayns y cheen **hug** lhien <u>delight</u>* 'it was in wantonness that brought us delight' (G *thug*).
2.18. ***dinsh** [mee] dhyt ta yn surranse ec y keayn* 'I told you the suffering we had at sea' (G *d'innis*).

- 4.2.4.4. Conditional (phrase) (HLSM/II, 152 s.v. *erbe dy*)
2.20. ***erbe dy** row eh geid* 'were it not for the fact that he stole' (G *mura (m)béadh go*)

- 4.2.5. Imperative (HLSM/I, 87-88)

2.19. ***yeeasee** dooys y lheiney* 'lend me the shirt' (G *iasaigh*).

- 4.2.6. Use of copula constructions (HLSM/I, 93-97)

2.1. ***nagh re*** *mee hene t'ayn* 'is it not myself who is there?' (ScG *nach e mí fhìn a tha ann*)
2.17. ***she*** *ayns y cheen hug lhien* <u>*delight*</u> 'it was in wantonness that brought us delight' (G *is e*).

4.3. Summary

As we see above. The examples we have elicited are concerned with maintaining the status quo which is to be found in two areas, namely, 1. Morphophonolgy, 2. Morphology.

4.3.1. Morphophonology

4.3.1.1. Retention of historical lenition.

4.3.1.1.1. After preposition + def. art. in the singular prepositional case	4 exx.
4.3.1.1.2. After preposed adjectives and particles	2 exx.
4.3.1.1.3. After the possessive pronouns *my* 'my', *dty* 'your (sg.)', [*e* 'his']	3 exx.
4.3.1.1.4. After the particle *dy* before the verbal noun	1 ex
	Total: 10 exx.

4.3.2. Morphology

4.3.2.1. Plural forms (monosyllabic adjj. / definite article)	2 exx.
4.3.2.2. Genitive (sg. & pl.)	3 exx.
4.3.2.3 Synthetic forms of the verb:	
4.3.2.3.1. Habitual present / future	3 exx.
4.3.2.3.2. Imperfect	2 exx.
4.3.2.3.3. Optative	1 ex.
4.3.2.3.4. Preterite	5 exx.
4.3.2.3.5. Conditional	1 ex.
4.3.2.4. Imperative	1 ex.
4.3.2.5. Copula	2 exx.
	Total: 20 exx.

All told: 30 exx.

5. Conclusion

Although on the deficit side we have twenty-five examples and thirty on the credit side, the evidence at our disposal indicates the following:

1. That the songs, linguistically speaking, stem from a period when Manx was a vibrant language in full flow, c.1800, if not earlier.

2. That the songs continued on in Manx tradition and were collected (c.1890) during the period of obsolescence in Manx during which loss in the areas of Phonology, Morphophonology, Morphosyntax / Syntax, Lexicon and Phraseology was already underway.

In other words, the linguistic developments found in the song-texts recorded in the Clague Music Collection run partially in tandem with developments taking place in the spoken language at the same time, according to our sample.

Nevertheless, their grammar remains more or less intact.

6a. 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.

6b. Abbreviations

AGG - Anne G. Gilchrist (Gilchrist 1924-26).
AHU - A Hidden Ulster (Ní Uallacháin 2005).
Atlas - Atlas of Irish History (Duffy 2000).
BID - Baase Illiam Dhone (Broderick 1982b).
C - Clague Music Collection (cf. §1.1 Editorial format).
C/ - Cregeen's *Dictionary* (Cregeen 1835).
CM - Classical Manx (of the Manx Bible, 18th-cent.).
CNB - Clague Notebooks (of song-texts) (cf. §1.1 Editorial format).
C1, 2, 3, etc. refer to the Clague Music Collection, MNHL MS 448A [1,2,3], MNHL MS 449B.
CNB5, CNB10, CNB16, etc. refer to the Clague Notebooks of song-texts, MNHL MS 450A.
coupl. - couplet(s).
Di. - Dineen's *Dictionary* (Dinneen 1927).
Dw. - Dwelly's *Dictionary* (Dwelly 1911).
EM - Early Manx (17th-century).
ent. - (song / tune) entitled.
ex(x). - example(s).
G - Gaelic (Ir./ScG.) equivalents of the Manx form.
GEM - A Glossary of Early Manx (Thomson 1954-57).
HLSM - Handbook of Late Spoken Manx (Broderick 1984-86).
Ir. - Irish.
JFSS - Journal of the Folksong Society.
K. - Kelly's *Dictionary* (Kelly 1866(1805)).
LDIM - Language Death in the Isle of Man (Broderick 1999).
LM - Late Manx (Late 19th- / 20th-centuries).
LSM - Late Spoken Manx (Late 19th- / 20th-centuries).
MM - Manx Museum.
MMG - Moore, Morrison & Goodwin (1924).
MNHL - Manx National Heritage Library.
ModIr. - Modern Irish.
MPP - Manx Prose Pieces (Broderick, forthcoming).
MTSSF/I - Manx Traditional Songs and Song-Fragments I (Broderick 1980-81).
MTSSF/II - Manx Traditional Songs and Song-Fragments II (Broderick 1982a).
Mx. - Manx.
n.d. - no date.
OIr. - Old Irish.
pc.- personal communication.
Phillips - Bishop John Phillips' Manx trans. of the Anglican Book of Common Prayer, c.1610 (Moore & Rhŷs 1893-94).
PNIM - Place-Names of the Isle of Man (Broderick 1994-2005).
r - recto.
rad. - radical (form).
refr. - refrain.
RT - Rudolf Thurneysen 1975.
ScG. - Scottish Gaelic.
v - verso.

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Appendix

2.8/9. *Hug eh my fainey sourey lhien*

The song-title *Hug eh my fainey sourey lhien* would represent Ir. *thugamar féin a' samhradh linn* 'we (have) brought the summer with us', a traditional Irish song associated with May-Day celebrations of uncertain provenance and antiquity. In this context Sorcha Nic Lochlainn (2013, 123, fn.12), in discussing this tradition in Ireland, notes:

> [Edward] Bunting [1773-1843] tells us that *Thugamar féin an samhradh linn* ('We brought the summer with us') was sung by the band of virgins that went out of Dublin to welcome the duke of Ormond when he landed in Ireland [as Lord Lieutenant in 1662] (Bunting 1996 [1796], iv). There is a strong correlation between this 'band of virgins' (that is, marriageable women) and the women who performed the *cepóc*[62] *in Scéla Mucce Meic Dathó*: that is,

62 *cepóc* OIr. f. gsg. *cepóce, cepóige* 'some kind of choral song' (RT/39), (ModIr. *ceapóg* 'a green plot before a house, a quire [choir]-song' (Di.178), ScG. *ceapag* 1. 'verse or verses composed impromptu, 6. carelessly sung verse' (Dw.181). Not in Manx. Nic Lochlainn (pc. 26.04.2018) explains *cepóc* as 'a little-understood practice which seems to have involved groups of women coming out and singing choral songs to celebrate the arrival of high-status men.' However, as noted above, the basic meaning of ModIr. *ceapóg* is 'a green plot before a house', then 'a quire[choir]-song'. Ní Uallacháin (2003, 124) notes that the song *Thugamar féin an samhradh linn* is also known in Oriel as *Babóg na Bealtaine* 'the May Baby / Dolly' in which *babóg* would refer to a young

> *mná ōentama Ulad ocus a n-ingena macdacht* (Thurneysen 1969 [1935], 19) - 'the single women of the Ulaid and their marriageable girls'. *Thugamar féin an samhradh linn* belongs to the tradition of May-time choral songs (see Ní Uallacháin 2003: 96-130); given that the refrains of such choral songs were not fixed and could be transferred from one song to another (see Costello 1919, 67-8), the seasonal refrain could well have been the basis for a new composition (perhaps improvised? [...]) in the context described by Bunting. Indeed, the use of a seasonal refrain may in fact have been appropriate on this occasion; Martin (2008: 131) has speculated on the possible connection between songs in praise of a hero and seasonal celebration. This evidence is far from conclusive, but we must at least consider the possibility that the *cepóc* or a similar type of song was still being performed in Ireland well into the seventeenth century.

Pádraigín Ní Uallacháin (2003, 121-130) notes that the song *Thugamar féin an samhradh linn* is associated with the calendar customs of *Beltaine* or May time and is a partner song of *Amhrán na Craoibhe* 'song of the garland' in Oriel (G *Airgialla*; a region in south-east Ulster that takes in parts of Armagh, Monaghan and Louth[63]) in which *Samhradh* 'summer' is to be interpreted as the garland representing a fertile summer ('we brought the summer / garland with us'). With regard to the song itself Ní Uallacháin (2003, 125) adds:

> The song belongs to one of the oldest types in the Irish song tradition, though the earliest version appears about 1745, it is undoubtedly older [...]. There is some evidence that this song was also danced during the singing of it.

Ní Uallacháin (*ibid*. 125-126) goes on to tell us that the dance, apparently known as *Rinca Fada* 'long dance', is also associated with the May time celebrations and 'is still practised on rejoicing occasions in many parts of Ireland'

> a king and queen are chosen from among the young persons who are the best dancers, the queen carries a garland composed of two hoops placed at right angles and fastened to a handle; the hoops are covered with flowers and ribbands [...]. The most remote couple from the king and queen first pass under; all the rest of the line linked together follow in succession; when the last has passed the king and queen suddenly face about and front their companions; this is often repeated during the dance and the various undulations are pretty enough, resembling the movement of a serpent [...]. This dance is practised when the

girl playing the part of the "Queen of May / Summer" accompanied by a procession also of young girls. When the procession reached any dwelling house the attendants would exclaim to the persons inside: *Seo chugaibh an samhradh - deanaidhe umhlacht don tsamhradh* 'here (comes) to you the summer - do ye obeisance to the summer / garland / *babóg* / Queen of May / Summer'. As the exclamation (perhaps in the form of a chant) was uttered on the *ceapóg* (green plot in front of the house), the *ceapóg* in time seemingly came to refer to the chant itself?

63 Atlas 31.

> bonfires are lighted up, the queen hailing the return of summer in a popular Irish song beginning *Thua mair sein en souré ving* (We lead on summer) [...].[64]

However, according to Sorcha Nic Lochlainn (pc. 26.04.2018), the tradition is seemingly not found in Scotland. She notes:

> [...] in a wide-ranging study of the Scottish corpus I have never found anything that resembles the "Samhradh" refrain. Which is interesting, given the refrain's presence in several Manx sources as well as its presence all over Ireland as part of seasonal rituals (Sorcha Nic Lochlainn pc. 26.04.2018).

Nic Lochlainn (pc. 25.04.2018) notes also that Manx versions seem to indicate some sort of rivalry or element of ritual combat, as in Ireland. This can perhaps be seen in the terms *rouyl as daunsey* 'running wild and dancing' implying excessive activity as part of such rituals. The earliest known description of May-Day traditions in Man is to be found in George Waldron (1690-c.1730)[65] (Waldron 1744, 95-96). His description, put together as part of his history of the Isle of Man in 1726, centres around the mock battle between the Queen of May and the Queen of Winter and their respective entourages:

> [...] In almost all the great Parishes they chuse from the Daughters of the most wealthy Farmers a young Maid, for the *Queen of May.* She is drest in the gayest and best manner they can, and is attended by about twenty others, who are called Maids of Honour [...]. In Opposition to her, is the *Queen of Winter*, who is a Man drest in Woman's Clothes, with woollen Hoods, Furr Tippets, and loaded with the warmest and heaviest Habits one upon another; in the same manner are those who represent her Attendants drest [...]. Both being equipt as proper Emblems of the Beauty of the Spring, and the Deformity of the Winter, they set forth from their respective Quarters; the one proceeded by Violins and Flutes, the other with the rough Musick of the Tongs and Cleavers. Both companies march till they meet on a Common, and then their Trains engage in a Mock-Battle. If the *Queen of Winter's* Forces get the better, so far as to take the *Queen of May* Prisoner, she is ransomed for as much as pays the Expences of the Day. After this Ceremony, Winter and her Company retire, and divert themselves in a Barn, and the others remain on the Green, where having danced a considerable Time, they conclude the Evening with a Feast [...] (Waldron 1744, 95-96).

64 For further information on May Day customs in Oriel see Ní Uallacháin (2003, 126-130).

65 Waldron wrote his 'Description' during his c. 20 years' sojourn in Man as commissioner to the British government to observe the conduct of Manx trade in the interests of the British excise.

A similar description comes some eighty years later from lexicographer John Kelly (1750-1809), amanuensis to the editors of the Manx Bible, in his *Dictionary* of 1866 (1805) (s.v. *Baaltinn (Laa)*), but with additional information:

> [...]. On this day [May-day] [...] the young people of different districts form themselves into two parties, called the Summer and the Winter (*Sourey as Geurey* [G *samhradh agus geimhreadh*]), and having appointed a place of meeting, a mock engagement takes place, when the winter party gradually recedes before the summer, and at last quits the field. There is an appropriate song, the burden of which is *Hug eh my fainey sourey lhien* &c. (Kelly's *Dictionary* (1866(1805): 15 s.v. *Baaltinn (Laa)*).[66]

However, Kelly's *Dictionary* (1866) editor, Rev. William Gill (Malew), gave the translation of the song as 'He gave my ring; summer with us', then noted: 'I can make no sense of this'. This statement, if correct, would suggest that the song enjoyed some antiquity in Man, but by 1866 at any rate the text had evidently ceased to be understood, as also in the Clague texts (2.8-10) above.

As to the text itself, **Hugymyr* (G *thugamar*), i.e. synthetic 1pl. preterite form in *-mar* (Mx. **-myr*), and **feyn* (G *féin*) (my spellings)[67] are not attested in Manx, either in the surviving literature (including Phillips, c.1610; cf. GEM/116[68]) or the spoken language, so far as is known, though *heyn, hæyn* *[he:n´] (G *fhéin*) and *peyn* *[pe:n´] (ScG *péin*) 'self; own' are in fact attested in Phillips (GEM, 289). If such forms did exist in Manx, then seemingly long before Phillips's time, i.e. before 1600.[69] Given the antiquity of the traditions associated with May time (Mx.

66 Other descriptions of May-Day in Man can be found in Moore (1891a, 111-112), Clague (1911: 46-55), Paton (n.d. [1940-41]: 51-54), Killip (1975, 172-173). In the context of 1 May Clague (1911, 49-51) notes in addition:
Fires were lighted, and fire in the hedges and gorse was burnt to frighten away the bad spirits [...]. Young boys jumped through the fire, and the cattle were sometimes driven through the fire, to keep them from harm for the whole year [...]. Horns were blown through the night [30.04-01.05], and "dollans" (Hoops with sheepskin stretched on them) were struck (beaten, played) [...]. After the horns were blown, the bells rung, the skin drums played, the May-flowers, rushes, flags, and primroses placed before the doors, and the kern crosses in the caps of the boys, and on the tails of the cattle, and the sliding carts of St. John's Wort drawn from place to place, the bad spirits driven away, and the people and cattle had walked through the fire, then the fields were ready to put the cattle on the grass (Clague 1911, 49-51).
For the dollan as a traditional Manx hand-drum see Broderick (1977-79, 27-29).

67 In CM this would be rendered something like *Hug shin hene yn sourey lhien* (G **Thug sinn fhín an samhradh linn*).

68 Though older forms, e.g. impf. *chiarragh* 'would see' (st. 4), are attested in the Manannan / Traditionary Ballad (manuscripts c.1770, text from internal evidence c.1500) (cf. Thomson 1960-63), also in Phillips (impf.) *heyragh, nar ghiaragh, nagh vackagh* (GEM, 264).

69 Synthetic forms of the substantive verb are in fact attested in 17th-cent. Manx, e.g. 3pl. *tadyr* 'they are' (Ir. *tádar*, ScG *atà'd*), *vadyr* 'they were, used to' (Ir. *bhádar, bhíodar,*

Boaldyn, G *Beltaine*) and Hollantide (Mx. *Souin,* G *Samain*),[70] the leading terminal dates of the civil year in the Gaelic world, including Man, survivals of older linguistic forms in Manx associated with such dates are perhaps to be expected.

To give an insight into this May-Day tradition an Irish version of the song *Thugamar féin an samhradh linn* with English translation collected by Enrí Ó Muiríosa (1874-1945, Lisdoonan; AHU, 363-365) from Eoghan Ó Beirn (†c.1915, Farney; AHU, 414) and Tomás Ó Corragáin (†c.1898, Lisdoonan), all of County Monaghan, is here provided (cf. Ní Uallacháin 2005, 121-122).[71]

Thugamar féin a' samhradh linn	*We brought the summer with us*
Samhradh buí na luí ins na léanaí	Golden summer lying in the meadows
thugamar féin a' samhradh linn	we brought the summer with us
Samhradh buí, earrach is geimhreadh	Golden summer, spring and winter
is thugamar féin a' samhradh linn	and we brought the summer with us
Cailíní óga, mómhar sciamhach	Young maidens, gentle and lovely
thugamar féin a' samhradh linn	we brought the summer with us
Buachaillí glice, teann is lúfar	Lads who are clever, sturdy and agile
is thugamar féin a' samhradh linn	and we brought the summer with us
Bábóg na Bealtaine, maighdean a' tsamhraidh	The May Doll, the summer virgin
suas gach cnoc is síos gach gleann	up each hill and down each glen
Cailíní maiseacha, bángheala gléasta	Beautiful maidens, dressed in white clothes
is thugamar féin a' samhradh linn.	and we brought the summer with us

ScG. *bhàdar*) (BID, 118, GEM, 150-151): For further examples see GEM. Surviving examples into LSM include 1sg. *taim* 'I am' (Ir *atáim, tám*, ScG *thaim, ataim, taim*), 1pl. *tain* 'we are' (HLSM/I: 75) (Ir. *atáin, támar*, ScG *atàmaid*), 3pl. *tadyr* 'they are' (Ir. *tádar*) (MPP, 4,6,8), also their preterite counterparts *vaim* 'I was', *vain* 'we were' (HLSM/I, 78) (ScG *bhàmar* 'we were'). So far as can be assessed, none of the above appears in the Manx Bible.

70 For details of the origin and purpose of these occasions, cf. Mackillop (1998, 39 (*Beltaine*), 377-378 (*Samin*)), Maier (1997, 35 (*Beltaine*), 242 (*Samain*).

71 A number of examples of the song are currently available on YouTube.

Tá an fhuideog a' seinm is ag luascadh sna spéiribh	The lark is singing and swooping in the skies
beacha is cuileoga(í) is bláth ar na crainn	bees and flies and blossom on the trees
Tá an chuach is na héanlaith' a' seinm le pléisiúr	The cuckoo and birds are singing with pleasure
is thugamar féin a' samhradh linn	and we brought the summer with us
Tá nead ag an ghiorria ar imeall na haille	The hare has a nest at the edge of the cliff
is nead ag an chorréisc i ngéagaibh a' chrainn	and the heron has a nest in the branches of the tree
Tá mil ar na cuiseoga(í) is fuiseoga(í)a' léimnigh	There is honey on the grasses and larks leaping
is thugamar féin a' samhradh linn	and we brought the summer with us
Samhradh buí 'na luí ins a' léana	Golden summer lying in the meadow
thugamar féin s' samhradh linn	we brought the summer with us
Ó bhaile go baile is go Lios Dúnáin a' phléisiúir	From home to home and to Lisdoonan of pleasure
is thugamar féin a' samhradh linn.	and we brought the summer with us

Glossing the Glosses: The Right Marginal Notes on *Glaidomuin* and *Gudomhuin* in TCD MS 1337

Kristen Mills

Abstract

This article examines marginal notes glossing two entries (*glaidomuin* and *gudomhuin*) in a legal glossary in TCD MS 1337. The entries in the glossary and the glosses in the upper margin connect these terms to a range of natural and supernatural beings (wolves, women of the *síde*, *morrigna*, infernal demons, demons of the air, scaldcrows, and foxes). This study considers the glosses in the right margin, which etymologize the lemmata as referring to the doubling of howls and voices. It is argued that this may refer to the phenomenon of the echo; furthermore, it is proposed that this interpretation may relate to a recurring image in prose literature, where supernatural beings screech in reply to a hero's shouts or the sounds of battle. Finally, an association between echoes and the voices of demons in several late antique texts and the *Vita Antonii* is discussed.

TCD MS 1337 (formerly H. 3. 18) contains a set of *glossae collectae* taken from *Bretha Nemed Déidenach* 'the last *Bretha Nemed* (concerned with judgments of privileged persons)', hereafter *BND*.[1] The manuscript is a mixed vellum and paper miscellany containing fragments of varying ages bound as a quarto, and the text is found on a single 12.7 cm x 8.89 cm leaf (pages 61–2; Abbott and Gwynn 1921, 140–58). Two of the lemmata, *glaidomuin* and *gudomhuin* (normalized as *glaídemain* and *gudemain*), are glossed in the upper and right margins. These entries and the related marginal glosses are well-known, and have been cited frequently for their references to supernatural female figures; despite this attention, the text continues to pose a number of difficulties. The material found in the right margin will be the focus of this discussion.

The entries on *glaidomuin* and *gudomhuin* occur on page 61, column b, lines 11–12, with a gloss inserted above line 11 (Figures 1 and 2). The phrase *a bretha neime deidhinach so* ('this is from *Bretha Nemed Déidenach*') is written in the upper margin above column a. It should be noted that the section of *BND* to which these glossary entries originally corresponded is no longer extant, and thus they cannot be interpreted within the original context.[2] The other two entries in the margin gloss *glaidomuin* and *gudomhuin*. The upper marginal note begins slightly more

1 For discussion of the *Bretha Nemed Déidenach glossary*, see Breatnach 2005, 184-88, and Russell 1999, 102-5; see also Breatnach 1984. An edition of the glossary was published in Gwynn 1942, 54-6.

2 See Breatnach 2005, 186-7, for discussion.

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than halfway horizontally over column a and continues above column b, ending near the right edge of the page. It is preceded by a construe mark, a triple punctum, which links the note to another construe mark at the end of the *gudomhuin* entry in the main text. The upper marginal glosses are comprised of two lines running along the top edge of the manuscript, with *nach* added under the lower line by a different hand from that in the note (Figure 3). The right marginal notes begin immediately beneath the final letter of the upper marginal note, and run in a single line perpendicular to the main body of the text, along the outer edge of the page (Figure 4). The text, as edited by D. A. Binchy in the *Corpus Iuris Hibernici*, reads:

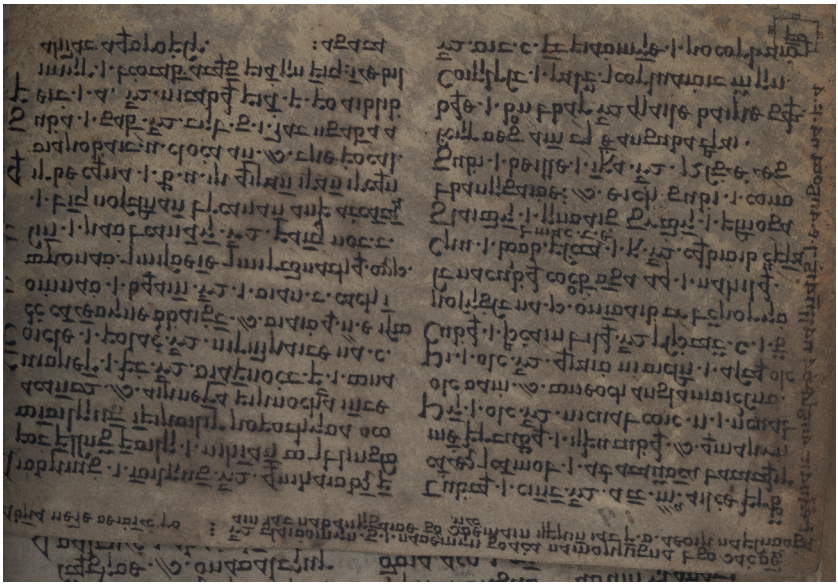
> Glaido*m*uin .i. sindaigh [a]ł mac t*ire*[a]. Gudo*m*huin .i. fen*n*óga ł bansigaidhe; [b]ut est glaidhomuin .g. .i. na demuin. goacha, na morrigna. ł go conach dea*m*ain iat na bansighaidhe, go conach[c] demain iffrin*n* iat s̄ .d.[d] aeoir na fendóga [b]. [e]ł eamnait a nglaedha na sinnaigh, 7 .e.[f] a ngotha na f*enno*ga[e]
>
> [a-a] *added above line.* [b-b] *in marg. sup.* [c] nach *added under line by different scribe, with caret mark.* [d] *i.e.* demain. [e-e] *in marg. dext.* [f] *i.e.* eamnait. (1978 II, 604, ll. 1–4)

The text in the *BND* glossary corresponds broadly to the entries for *glaídemain* and *gudemain* appearing in sequence in the ninth-century *Sanas Cormaic*:

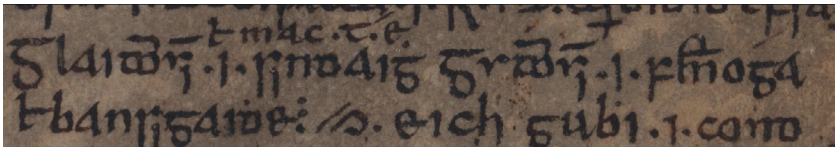
> Glāidemain .i. maic tīre glāidaite .i. focerdait hūalla
> Gūdemain .i. ūatha 7 morrīgnæ (Meyer 1912, 58 §696–697)
> *Glaídemain*, i.e., wolves which howl, i.e. they utter/emit/raise wailings
> *Gudemain*, i.e., spectres and *morrígna* (my translation; translations are my own unless otherwise noted)

Sanas Cormaic gives an explanatory definition for *gudemain* but does not engage in the etymological speculation that characterizes the *BND* glossary entries and marginal notes; only the first element of *glaídemain* is etymologized (*glāidaite*).

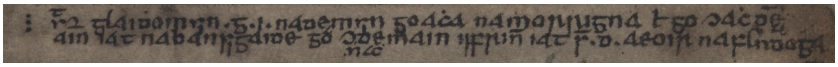
The *BND* glossary gives howling animals (*sindaigh ł mac tire* 'foxes or a wolf') as the interpretation of *glaidomuin*, and this is supported by the likely etymology of the term. Karin Stüber assigns *glaídem* to a class of 'agent nouns' formed 'from verbal roots or stems as well as from verbal nouns' to which the Proto-Indo-European suffix *-*mon*- was attached (1998, 194); she observes that *glaídem* may be understood as a 'derivation of the *ā*-stem MIr. *gláed* "shout" … and consequently be reconstructed as **glaid-iamon*. Semantically, the wolf as "howler" seems to be attractive' (1998, 157). Ulla Remmer proposes that 'passt *glaídem* in die Gruppe der Tierbezeichnungen um *legam* etc., deren Benennungsmotiv eine charakteristische Tätigkeit ist' ('*glaídem* fits into the group of animal names such as *legam* [clothes moth] etc., whose basis for naming is a characteristic activity'; 2002-3, 198; see also Remmer 2011, 67). If *gudemain* developed on the same



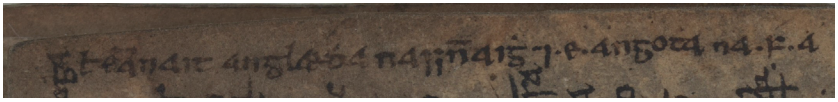
(Fig. 1, TCD MS 1337, p. 61, by permission of the Board of Trinity College Dublin)



(Fig. 2, lemmata and interlinear gloss, by permission of the Board of Trinity College Dublin)



(Fig. 3, upper margin notes, by permission of the Board of Trinity College Dublin)



(Fig. 4, right margin notes, by permission of the Board of Trinity College Dublin)

model, then it could derive from *guth* 'voice', and mean something like 'voice-maker' or 'sound-maker', with an earlier form **guthemain*.[3] If so, given that the **-mon-* suffix was frequently used to form animal names (Stüber 1998, 191), this might indicate that *gudemain*, like *glaídemain*, originally referred to a species of animal, perhaps scald-crows; however, in *Sanas Cormaic* the entry for *gudemain* refers to supernatural beings, not animals.

The lemmata in the *BND* glossary are spelled differently than they appear in *Sanas Cormaic*: the spellings *glaidomuin* and *gudomhuin* may have been influenced by etymological speculation, deriving the second element of both terms from *omun*, *ómun* 'fear, the state of being afraid' (perhaps also 'pl. in sense "terrors, causes of fear"'; *DIL*, s.v. *omun*).[4] Following the methods of 'Isidorian' etymology, the entries in the glossary and the margins present several possible interpretations of *glaidomuin* and *gudomhuin*.[5]

The glosses in the upper margin, '*ut est glaidhomuin .g. .i. na demuin*.[6] *goacha, na morrigna. ł go conach deamain iat na bansighaidhe, go conach demain iffrinn iat s̄ .d. aeoir na fendóga*', are difficult to interpret. In a recent article on the demonic in the understudied Old Irish poem *Reicne Fothaid Canainne*, Jacqueline Borsje observes that the gloss 'is concerned with classification', and she suggests that influence from *Sanas Cormaic* may be evident here because of the inclusion of *morrígna*, which appear in the *gudemain* entry in *Sanas Cormaic*. She points out the possibility that the person who added the note to the upper margin may also have added 'mac t*ire*' above line 11, which she presumes was influenced by *Sanas Cormaic*'s entry on *glaídemain* (2007, 89). She suggests that *gudomhuin* 'needed explanation', and that 'both marginal comments connect the term with the previous lemma on *glaídemuin*'. Concerning 'glaidhomuin .g.' in the upper marginal note, which she tentatively expands as 'false (?) howlers', Borsje states that:

> [a]t first sight, it may seem that the glossator added a third category to the howlers and false demons: false howlers. Demons are, however, also infamous as producers of horrible sounds, screams and shrieks … It looks, therefore, as if the foxes and wolves should be seen as the true howlers, and the others perhaps as screamers but not as true howlers. (2007, 89)

This is a persuasive explanation, but it is possible that the 'false howlers' do not actually exist in the text—this reading relies on expanding '.g.' as *goa* and taking

3 I am grateful to the anonymous peer-reviewer for this suggestion.
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5 See Baumgarten 1990, and Baumgarten 2004, 55-65 *et passim*.
6 Context suggests that this should be a plural form, but *demnae* is the expected OI nominative plural. On the declension of OI *demon, demun,* see O'Rahilly 1942, 157-8. *Demain* does, however, appear as a nominative plural in a MI text concerning Cairpre Cromm (Carey 2014, 150).

it as modifying *glaidhomuin*, but it could also be an abbreviation for *gudomhuin*.[7] If the latter is the correct interpretation, the 'false howlers' vanish, and the upper marginal note would contain two separate glosses: *ut est glaidhomuin*, glossing *glaidomuin* , and *.g. .i. na demuin. goacha, na morrigna. ł go conach deamain iat na bansighaidhe, go conach demain iffrinn iar acht .d. aeoir na fendóga*, glossing *gudomhuin*. In any case, the upper marginal note is, as Borsje discusses, concerned with classifying types of demonic and/or supernatural beings, and she suggests that the author of the gloss construed *glaidomuin* as 'consisting of *gláed*, "cry, shout, howl", and *demain*, "demons",' while *gudomhuin* 'was possibly formed from *gú*, "false" and *demain*, "demons"' (2007, 89).

Before proceeding to consider the glosses in the right-hand margin, it will be useful to present a tentative translation of the glossary entries and the material in the upper margin.

> ll. 11–12: Glaido*m*uin .i. sindaigh ł mac t*ire*. Gudo*m*huin .i. fen*n*óga ł bansigaidhe
> Upper margin: est glaidhomuin .g. .i. na demuin. goacha, na morrigna. ł go conach dea*m*ain iat na bansighaidhe, go conach demain iffrin*n* iat s̄ .d. aeoir na fendóga.

> ll. 11–12: *Glaidomuin*, that is, foxes or a wolf. *Gudomhuin*, that is scald-crows or women of the *síde*.
> Upper margin: That is, *glaidhomuin*. *g*(*udemain*?), that is the false demons, the *morrígna*. or: it is false that the women of the *síd* are not demons, it is false that the scald-crows are not demons of hell, but they are demons of the air.[8]

The notes in the right-hand margin read: ł *eamnait a nglaedha na sinnaigh,* 7 *.e. a ngotha na fennoga* 'or: the foxes double their calls, and the scald-crows double their voices'. In a study in the inaugural volume of *Revue Celtique*, W. M. Hennessy explained the notes in the right-hand margin as follows:

> To understand this curious gloss it is necessary to add that in a previous one the word *glaidomuin* is explained as signifying *sinnaig*, or *maic tire* (foxes, or wolves), because in barking they double the sound; *glaidomuin* being understood by the author as *glaid-emain*, *i.e.* 'double call', from *glaid*, 'call' and *emain*, 'double', while the crow only doubles the sound, *guth-emain*, 'double-sound'. (1870–72, 36–7)

7 I am indebted to an anonymous peer-reviewer for this observation.

8 My translation; I have consulted the translations by Borsje (2007, 88) and Hennessy (1870-72, 36). For discussion of the phrase 'demons of the air', see Mills (forthcoming) and Velasco López 2018, 99-106. I am indebted to Henar Velasco López for sharing a preprint of her chapter with me.

Likewise, Borsje observes that 'the gloss in the right-hand margin etymologises both words as having to do with sound. *Glaidomuin* is explained from *glaéd*, "howl, shout, call", and *emuin*, "pairs, twins." *Gudomuin* is split up in *guth*, "vowel, sound" and *emuin*, "pairs, twins."' (2007, 89; see also Borsje 1999, 241–2).

Support for this interpretation may be found in another entry in *Sanas Cormaic*. *Emon*, *emuin* appears in *Sanas Cormaic* as a name for a type of metrical composition. The editors of the *DIL* state that this term may be identical with *emon*, *emuin* 'twin'; it is defined as 'a species of verse, apparently a stanza with couplets similar in structure' (*DIL* s.v. *emon, emain*). The entry in *Sanas Cormaic* reads: *Emon airchidail, ar it cosmaili a ndi lethc*[*h*]*omarc, unde anemuin dicitur .i. ni hemuin acht is cethairre*(*a*)*ch* (Meyer 1912, 47 *§* 574) '*Emuin* composition, for their two half-quatrains are alike, whence it is called *anemuin*, i.e. it is not *emuin* (twins) but *cethairre*(*a*)*ch* (quadrupled; the gloss refers here to *anamain mór* or *anamain ceithireich*, a poetic metre having four divisions)'. The use of *emon* as a term for repeated speech in *Sanas Cormaic* may have influenced the author of the right-hand marginal note to analyse *gudomhuin* as *guth emuin*.

This raises the question: what exactly does it mean to 'double' or 'twin' a sound? It could refer to a doubling of the number of cries, or an increase in the volume; however, I propose that the note refers to the phenomenon of the echo, which may be understood as the 'twinning' or doubling of sound, and is associated with wild, isolated locations, where foxes and crows might be found. The glosses could be understood as a prosaic reference to animal cries, but the emphasis on demonic beings associated with shrieking and wailing in the *gudomhuin* entry in the main text and the upper marginal note (Borsje 1999, 231–48), along with the demonic associations that corvids and some canids have in medieval Irish literature (Borsje 2007, 90), suggests that there may be other contextual associations underlying the formulation of the material in the right margin.

Borsje has suggested a connection between the *BND* glossary entries on *glaidomuin* and *gudomhuin* and the commonplace of supernatural shrieking beings at battlefields (2007, 90); I would push this point further, and argue that the right marginal notes may be related to a recurring topos in *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, where the Morrígain, the Badb, and other supernatural figures shriek or scream in response to a hero's shout or the sounds of battle.[9] The well-known *Breslech Maige Murthemne* episode describes Cú Chulainn:

> Dofánic ferg 7 luinni mór icá n-aiscin re ilar a bidbad, re immad a námat. Ro gab a dá śleig 7 a scíath 7 a chlaideb. Crothais a scíath 7 cressaigis a ślega 7 bertnaigis a chlaidem, 7 dobert rém curad asa brágit coro [f]recratar bánanaig 7

9 I count two examples of this topos in Recension 1 of the *Táin*, and four in the Book of Leinster Recension (including the two found in Recension 1). For a fuller demonstration, I have taken my examples from the Book of Leinster *Táin*.

> boccánaig 7 geniti glinni 7 demna aeóir re úathgráin na gáre dosbertatar ar aird, coro mesc ind Neamain forsin tślóg.[10] (O'Rahilly 1967, 58)
>
> Anger and rage filled him when he saw the host, because of the multitude of his foes and the great number of his enemies. He seized his two spears and his shield and his sword. He shook his shield and brandished his spears and waved his sword, and he uttered a hero's shout from his throat. And the goblins and sprites and spectres of the glen and demons of the air gave answer for terror of the shout that he had uttered, and Nemain, the war goddess, brought confusion on the host. (O'Rahilly 1967, 197–8)

In an elaborate description of the dressing and arming of Cú Chulainn, after he takes up his sword, spears, and shields, it is stated that:

> Is and sin ro gab a chírchathbarr catha 7 comlai[n]d 7 comraic imma chend as[a] ṅgáired gáir cét n-óclách do śíréigim cecha cúli 7 cecha cerna de, dáig is cumma congáiritis de bánanaig 7 bocánaig 7 geiniti glinne 7 demna aeóir ríam 7 úasu 7 ina thimchuill cach ed immatéiged re tesitin fola na míled 7 na n-aṅglond sechtair. (O'Rahilly 1967, 61)
>
> Then he put on his head his crested war-helmet of battle and strife and conflict, from which was uttered the shout of a hundred warriors with a long-drawn-out cry from every corner and angle of it. For there used to cry from it alike goblins and sprites, spirits of the glen and demons of the air, before him and above him and around him, wherever he went, prophesying the shedding of the blood of warriors and champions. (O'Rahilly 1967, 201)

When Cú Chulainn sets out to meet his foster-brother Fer Diad in single combat,

> Is and sin cininis in cur cetach clessamnach cathbúadach claidebderg, Cú Chulaind mac Sualtaim, ina charpat. Gura gáirsetar imme boccánaig 7bánanaig 7 geniti glinne 7 demna aeóir, dáig dabertis Túatha Dé Danand a ṅgáriud immisium combad móti a gráin 7 a ecla 7 a urúad 7 a urúamain in cach cath 7 in cach cathroí, in cach comlund 7 in cach comruc i téiged. (O'Rahilly 1967, 78)
>
> Then Cú Chulainn mac Sualtaim mounted his chariot, the blow-dealing, feat-performing, battle-winning, red-sworded hero, and around him shrieked goblins and sprites and fiends of the glen and demons of the air, for the Túatha De Danand used to raise a cry about him so that the fear and terror and horror

10 Brent Miles interprets this scene typologically: 'Cú Chulainn's appearance to his foes at the beginning of this episode presents a striking visual index to the iconography of the crucifixion … The 'goblins and sprites and spectres of the glen' happen to recall Matthew's description of how the dead rose from their graves following Jesus's last great cry' (2011, 196-97). Ann Dooley has also examined the supernatural cries in this scene: 'Cú Chulainn's power cry, his *srem aurad* which prefaces it, is by this stage no more than a kind of lower-scale reflex of the original effect of his *riastarthae* powers. Its echo produces an eruption of miscellaneous non-human types of terrifying otherworldly responses … The effect is to reiterate the power of the death goddess at this time' (2006, 145).

and fright that he inspired might be all the greater in every battle and field of conflict and in every encounter to which he went. (O'Rahilly 1967, 216–7)

Cú Chulainn's battle with Fer Diad extends over several days. At their final meeting, before Cú Chulainn succeeds in slaying his *comalta*, the fierceness of their fighting provokes the attendant spirits to cry out once more:

Ba sé dlús n-imairic darónsatar gora chomraicsetar a cind ar n-úac[h]tur 7 a cossa ar n-íc[h]tur 7 a lláma ar n-irmedón dar bilib 7 chobradaib na scíath. Ba sé dlús n-imaric darónsatar goro dluigset 7 goro dloiṅgset a scéith á ṁbilib goa mbróntib. Ba sé dlús n-immaric darónsatar goro fillsetar 7 goro lúpsatar 7 goro gúasaigsetar a slega óa rennaib goa semannaib. Ba sé dlús n-imaric darónsatar gora gársetar boccánaig 7 bánanaig 7 geniti glinni 7 demna aeóir do bilib a scíath 7 d'imdornaib a claideb 7 d'erlonnaib a sleg. (O'Rahilly 1967, 92)

Such was the closeness of their encounter that their heads met above, their feet below and their hands in the middle over the rims and bosses of the shields. Such was the closeness of their encounter that they clove and split their shields from rims to centers. Such was the closeness of their encounter that they caused their spears to bend and turn and yield to pressure from points to rivets. Such was the closeness of their encounter that sprites and goblins and spirits of the glen and demons of the air screamed from the rims of their shields and from the hilts of their swords and from the butt-ends of their spears.[11] (O'Rahilly 1967, 228)

It will be recalled that medieval Irish texts present looking upwards to see the source of aerial cries during a battle as one of the ways that one may become *geilt*,[12]

11 The idea of voices echoing from a warrior's shield is also found in Tacitus' *Germania*: *adfectatur praecipue asperitas soni et fractum murmur, obiectis ad os scutis, quo plenior et gravior vox repercussu intumescat* (Wolff 1907, 9): 'A fierceness of tone and shattering roar are especially sought, with shields raised to mouth, by which the voice may swell more fully and deeply through the echo'.

12 The madness of the titular Suibhne in *Buile Suibhne* is the classic example of this topos: *O rochomhracsiot iarom na catha cechtarrdha robhúirset an damhradh dermhair adíu 7 anall amail dámha damhghoire co ttuargaibhset tri tromghaire os aird. O'dchúala thrá Suibhne na gaire mora sin 7 a fhuamanna 7 a freagartha i nellaibh nimhe 7 i fraightibh na firmaminnte rofhéch Suibhne suas iarum co rolíon nemhain 7 dobhar 7 dásacht 7 fáoinnel 7 fúalang 7 foluamain 7 udmhaille, anbsaidhe 7 anfhoistine, miosgais gach ionaid ina mbiodh 7 serc gach ionaidh noco roichedh; romheirbhlighset a meoir, rocriothnaighsiot a chosa, roluathadh a chroidhe, roclódhadh a chedfadha, rosaobadh a radharc, rotuitset a airm urnocht asa lámhuibh co ndeachaidh la breithir Rónáin ar gealtacht 7 ar geinidecht amail gach n-ethaid n-ærdha.* 'Thereafter, when both battle-hosts had met, the vast army on both sides roared in the manner of a herd of stags so that they raised on high three mighty shouts. Now, when Suibhne heard these great cries together with their sounds and reverberations in the clouds of Heaven and in the vault of the firmament, he looked up, whereupon turbulence [?], and darkness, and fury, and giddiness, and frenzy, and flight, unsteadiness, restlessness, and unquiet filled him, likewise disgust with every place in which he used to be and desire for every place which he had not reached. His fingers were palsied, his feet trembled, his heart beat quick, his senses were overcome, his sight was distorted, his weapons fell naked from

and supernatural beings answering a mortal's shout is a conceptualization of the echo that occurs in classical texts. Cú Chulainn is strongly associated with the Morrígain and other war-goddesses,[13] and the list of creatures who cry out in response to him in the *Táin* includes both 'demons of the air' and scald-crows (*badba*). The inclusion of *morrígna*, demons of the air, and scald-crows in the glossary entry on *gudomhuin* may have called to mind for the author of the marginal note the scenes in which supernatural beings answer Cú Chulainn's shouts.

The echoes described in *In Cath Catharda*, the Irish adaptation of Lucan's *Pharsalia*, take on a decidedly supernatural cast. The Middle Irish text expands and modifies a brief passage in Book 7 of Lucan's poem that describes the echoing of trumpets during the battle. The Latin text is as follows:

> tum stridulus aer/ elisus lituis conceptaque classica cornu,/ tunc ausae dare signa tubae, tunc aethera tendit/ extremique fragor conuexa inrumpit Olympi,/ unde procul nubes, quo nulla tonitrua durant / excepit resonis clamorem uallibus Haemus/ Peliacisque dedit rursus geminare cauernis,/ Pindus agit fremitus Pangaeaque saxa resultant/ Oetaeaeque gemunt rupes, uocesque furoris/ expauere sui tota tellure relatas. (7.475–84; Housman 1926)
>
> Then the buzzing air was forced from the clarions, and the field signals birthed from the horn. Then the war-trumpets dared to give signal; it reaches the heavens, and the din breaks upon the peaks of far Olympus, which clouds do not approach, where no thunder endures. Haemus snatched the clamor from echoing valleys and casts it back to double in Pelion's caverns, Pindus roars and the rocks of Pangaeus resound, Oeta's cliffs groan, and men feared the sounds [or: cries?] of their own fury borne back by the whole earth.

Compare the Latin original to the more elaborate account in the Irish version:

> Ni ro toccbait reimi-sin no ina ndeghuidh isin doman gairi a mbarsamla sin. Deithvir on, ocus sloig na cruinni domanda uili ic eighmigh inn aenfecht ar in aenmuig[sin]. Ro lin mac-alla na gairi sin mothra ocus caillti, fedha occus fidhneimhedha, tulc[h] æ ocus sleivti, aibni ocus essu, allu ocus inberai in tire [uili].

his hands, so that through Ronan's curse he went, like any bird of the air, in madness and imbecility' (O'Keeffe 1913, 14-15). See also Chadwick 1942.

13 In a recent article, Sharon Arbuthnot makes a compelling argument that the phrase *troig mná trogain* 'the foot of a raven-woman' refers to the Morrígain's alighting upon Cú Chulainn's shoulder at the moment of his death: 'The tradition that Cú Chulainn's death was signalled by the Morrígain, in her bird-aspect, coming to rest on him predates the earliest surviving attestation of the phrase *troig mná trogain*. In light of the strong visual impression and significance of this scene, it is not difficult to imagine how a phrase translating roughly as "the foot of the Morrígain on you" might have served as the direst of imprecations in medieval and Early Modern Ireland and why people might have been warned against associations which could lead to "the foot of the Morrígain on their corpses" (*troigh mná troghain for a ccollaib*)' (2015, 16).

> Ro siac[h]t a mbresmaidm ocus a fuamannai ocus a freccurtai co fircleit[h]i sleibi Olimp in conair on cusna rancatar goethu no toirni na nell uretrom etorbuasach inn aeoir fuasnadhuigh riamh. Ro freccrait na gairi-sin 7 na nualleigmhi cetna i comhglendaibh slebhi Heim, 7 inn uam[h]annaip imdorcaibh ślebhe Peil, 7 i mbendaib bitharda sleibi Pinn, ocus i caircibh cenngarbæ sleibi Paing, 7 in all-cnocoip agadlethnaibh slebhi Oeta, ocus inn-uiliph diamraibh ocus ditrebaibh na Tesaili arcenæ. (Stokes, 1909, 410–12)

> Neither before that nor after it in the world were cries like those upraised. That was meet, for all the hosts of the earthly globe were shouting at once on the one plain. The echo of those shouts filled the fields and forests, woods and sacred groves, hills and mountains, rivers and rapids, rocks and invers of the land. Their crash and their noises and their answering challenges reached the very summit of Mount Olympus, by a way to which neither winds nor thunders, nor light, hovering cloud of the turbulent air ever came. Those shouts and the same outcries were answered in the glens of Mount Haemus, and in the darksome caverns of Mount Pelion, and in the rough-headed crags of Mount Pangaeum, and in the broad-faced cliff-hills of Mount Oeta, and in all the secret places and wildernesses of the rest of Thessaly. (Stokes, 1909, 413).

The host takes fright then, because the echoed cries rouse the horses, cattle, boar, deer, and other beasts to storm the plain where the hosts were assembled for battle, and the stamping of the beasts set the plain to trembling as though it were an earthquake. The excessive terror of the animals suggests a possible supernatural aspect of the echoing cries: they were not frightened by the men's shouts, but by the echoes resounding back upon them from the wilds. The animals flee from these cries, driven by their fear towards the plain, where their panicked milling adds to the chaos of the battlefield.

The most obvious change made by the Irish adaptor is to change the signaling of the horns on the battlefield to shouting, but another, more subtle difference is significant. In the Latin text, it is the landscape itself that performs action: *excepit … Haemus … dedit*, *Pindus agit*, *saxa resultant*, *gemunt rupes*. The land itself casts back the sounds of the trumpets as an echo. In the Irish adaptation, the shouts are answered (*ro freccrait*) from places in the landscape, but it is not clear who is doing the answering; alternatively, *na gair-sin 7 na nualleigmhi* 'those shouts and the same outcries' could be the subject of *ro freccrait*: 'those shouts and same outcries answered'.[14] Given the similarity to accounts in other Irish texts of supernatural beings shouting or shrieking from various points of the landscape before or during a battle, it is possible that the Irish adaptor of *In Cath Catharda* conceptualized the *mac alla* of the warriors' shouts as emanating from the throats of creatures inhabiting the wild places of the earth.[15] The association between demonic beings, shouting,

14 I thank the anonymous peer-reviewer for this observation.

15 The association of echoes with supernatural beings is also found in Old Norse-Icelandic texts, where one word for an echo is *dvergmál*, 'dwarf speech,' and there is a related

and battle is well established (see Borsje 1999, passim, and Sayers 1991, 48–51), and many of the descriptions of supernatural shouting related to battles include a list of places that closely matches the additions made by the adaptor of *In Cath Catharda*. For example, prior to the first battle of Magh Tuired, *ro gairsed badba 7 bledlochtana, 7 amaite aidgill co clos a nallaib, 7 a nesaib, 7 i fothollaib in talman* (Fraser 1916, 44): 'Badbs and (sea?)monsters and hags of destruction shouted, so that they were heard in the rocks and streams and the hollows of the earth'. Cillian O'Hogan has shown that *In Cath Catharda* drew on the collections of Lucan *scholia* to augment and expand on Lucan's text (2014, passim). The *scholia* to lines 481 and 483 in the *Commenta Bernensia* both emphasize the echoing quality of the sounds:

> 481 RVRSVS GEMINARE C· per echo
> 483 VOCESQVE FVRORIS E·S·T·T·R· per echo. uoces suas de collibus resonantes horruerunt (Usener 1869, 241)
> 481 TO DOUBLE BACK C through (an) echo
> 483 AND THEY FEARED THE VOICES OF THEIR OWN FURY BORNE BACK BY THE WHOLE EARTH they trembled at the echo of their own voices resounding from the hills

Another question that should be considered is whether the author of the marginal notes might have had in mind the eponymous Echo, the nymph who pines for Narcissus in Greek myth. For modern readers, the *locus classicus* for the Echo narrative is Book 3 of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*: she is cursed by Hera so that she can only repeat the words of others, as punishment for preventing Hera from catching her husband, Zeus, *in flagrante delicto* with the nymphs. Echo becomes besotted with the beautiful Narcissus, who spurns all of his would-be lovers. Prior to his transformation into a flower, Echo glimpses Narcissus as he hunts. She follows him, burning with desire, waiting for him to speak so that she may reply. She pursues him for some time before he calls out for his companions. Echo answers, they have a verbal exchange, and she emerges from the woods to embrace him, but Narcissus flees. After her rejection, Echo, shamed, wanders in the forest and lurks

verb *dvergmála* 'to echo'; fitting, given the strong association between dwarves and stones or mountains. *Bergmál* 'mountain speech' or 'rock speech,' is also used for the echo (Cleasby and Vigfússon, 1874, s.v. *dvergr, bergmál*). Dwarves in Old Norse-Icelandic texts frequently appear from or disappear into seemingly solid rock; the notion that vocal utterances emanating from stony places was the speech of such beings is consistent with ideas about dwarves in the textual tradition (Motz 1973-74, 102-3). Given that the Tuatha Dé Danann are said to dwell beneath the surface of the land in medieval Irish tradition, inhabiting hills and mountains, it is tempting to posit a similar connection, but I have not come across an explicit example of a correspondence between the Tuatha Dé Danann and echoes, although the *Cnoc in Nuaill* 'Hill of the Cry', named, according to the *Acallam*, for the great cry that the people of the *síd* make upon Caílte's final departure from the otherworld, may hint at such a connection (Stokes 1900, l. 7280).

in caves. She is unable to sleep, so great is her love and longing. Her flesh wastes away, until only her voice and her bones remain. The latter, with time, turn to stone, while her voice endures in the woods (2004, 77–8, 82–3).

Ovid's account would not have been well-known in early medieval Ireland; rather, medieval Irish *literati* would have been more likely to be familiar with the account written by the First Vatican Mythographer:

> Liriope nympha ex amne Cephiso procreauit Narcissum, cui Tiresias omnia prospera pollicitus est, si pulchritudinis suae nullam habuisset notitiam. Hunc igitur cum Echo diligeret, n<eque> ullam uiam potiendi inueniret, cura iuuenis, quem extremis uocibus persequeretur fugientem, extabuit eiusque corporis reliquiae in lapidem uersae sunt. Quod ei incidit Iunonis ira, quia garrulitate sua eam saepe est morata, ne Iuppiter in montibus, dum persequeretur nymphas, deprehendi posset. Fertur Echo filia Iunonis; et ob deformitatem in montibis est recondita, ne quid eius prater uocem inspici posset, quae tamen post obitum auditor. Narcissum autem supradictum ob nimiam crudelitatem, quam in Echo exhibebat, Nemesis—id est fortuna Ultrix fastidientium—in amorem sui pertulit, ut non minori flamma ac illa exureretur. (Zorzetti 1995, 100)

> Lyriope the nymph gave birth to Narcissus; his father was the River Cephisus. Tiresias promised Narcissus every good fortune if he would have no knowledge of his own beauty. When Echo loved Narcissus and found no way to possess him, she pined away with love for the young man. She pursued him with her last cries as he fled. The remains of her body were turned into stone. Juno's wrath fell upon her because Echo often delayed her with her chattering. Thus Juno could not catch Jupiter when he pursued nymphs in the mountains. Echo is said to be Juno's daughter, and she was concealed in the mountains because of her deformity. Nothing of her could be perceived except her voice, which is still heard after her death. Nemesis, that is, Fortune, the avenger of those who are disdainful, drove the above-named Narcissus to love of himself because of his excessive cruelty to Echo. (Pepin 2008, 78–9)

The closest approximation for classical nymphs in medieval Ireland would surely have been the beautiful and immortal women of the Tuatha Dé Danann. Echo's love for Narcissus has numerous parallels in medieval Irish texts, where it is a commonplace for women of the *síd* to fall in love with and pursue mortal heroes. Cú Chulainn attracts the attentions of the otherworldly Fand (Dillon 1953), and a woman of the *síd* falls in love with Connla the Fair. She is invisible to all but Connla: the others present can only hear her disembodied voice (McCone 2000). It is an account of Noísiu's snow-white skin, blood-red cheeks, and raven hair that prompts Deirdre, another female figure associated with terrifying vocal utterances (while yet in the womb, no less), to seek him and demand his love, though Deirdre is all too mortal in the end (Hull 1949). The connection with the Morrígain initially appears more tenuous, but the fact that her sexual advances are spurned by Cú Chulainn in the first recension of the *Táin* may have reminded

the glossator of Echo's failed seduction of Narcissus (O'Rahilly 1976, 57). These parallels are admittedly very tenuous, especially given that Echo herself does not appear in medieval Irish texts, in contrast to numerous references to other classical goddesses in Irish texts, where they are frequently connected to the Morrígain and similar figures. Given the absence of Echo from Old and Middle Irish texts, the likelihood that the scribe who added the glosses in the right margin was influenced by her myth recedes in likelihood, but cannot be ruled out entirely.

Classical tradition is not the only possible source for the idea that echoes were related to the speech of supernatural beings. The pseudepigraphic *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*, which may have been known in medieval Ireland in at least fragmentary form (Carey 1990, 108-12), contains a scene that may be illuminating here. The passage expands on 1 Samuel 3. When Samuel is being called by name by a disembodied voice, he approaches his father, Eli, who advises him:

> 'In te video hoc signum quod habebunt homines ab hodierna die usque in seculum quoniam, si clamaverit bis alter ad alterum per noctem vel in meridie, scient quoniam spiritus pessimus est. Si autem adiciat ter clamare, sciam quia angelus est.' (53.4; Jacobson, 75)

> 'In you I see this sign that men will have from today on forever, that if one should call to another twice by night or in midday, they will know that it is an evil spirit. But if he should call a third time, they will know that it is an angel.' (Jacobson, 179)

Concerning this passage, H. M. Jackson asks: 'What is it exactly about the double vocative, in other words, that leads Eli to suspect that demonic deception might be at work in the initial call occasion?' (1996, 5). Jackson concludes that

> 'If the call is coming from God, as we know it is, and if its demonic aspect involves deception … then the logical deduction to draw from this would be that in the double vocative "Samuel! Samuel!" the first comes from God (i.e., is God using Eli's voice) but the second "Samuel!" is—potentially, at least—a demon mimicking God. The idea of demonic imitation is certainly common enough in late antique settings of great cultural diversity, so common as not to need illustration' (1996, 5).

Here we have the notion of demonic speech being doubled or echoing. This passage is particularly intriguing because its mention of a demon that calls by night or at midday recalls the pairing of the so-called 'noonday demon' and the 'terror of night' found in Psalm 91 (90 in the Vulgate), the latter of which Borsje argues may have influenced the *Reicne Fothaid Canainne* poet when he refers to the *úath aidc*[*h*]*e* 'terror of the night' (2007, 79–82).

In another passage in the *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*, David is summoned by Saul to banish a demon that is choking the king, a task which he accomplishes by playing a psalm on his harp. The passage elaborates on 1 Samuel 16:14–23, which presents David's playing as banishing the demon, but does not explain why this is effective. This is the relevant section of David's song:

> 'Et nunc molesta esse noli tamquam secunda creatura. Si quominus, memorare tartari in quo ambulas. Aut non audire tibi sufficit, quoniam per ea que consonant in conspectu tuo multis psallo? Aut inmemor es quoniam de resultatione in chaoma tonata est vestra creatura?' (60.3; Jacobson, 82)

> 'Now do not be troublesome, since you are a secondary creation. Otherwise, remember Tartarus wherein you walk. Or is it not enough for you to hear that by means of what resounds before you, I sing to many? Or do you not remember that your brood was created from a echo in the abyss?' (Jacobson, 188)

Jackson explains the effect of David's harp-playing: 'David's song enforces its exorcistic will by striking a resonating chord in the demon, a chord to which it cannot fail to respond since resonance, in the form of an echo, was the manner of its conception to begin with' (1996, 13). Jackson has argued that in a difficult passage from another pseudepigraphical text, the *Testament of Solomon*, the female demon Onoskelis declares that she was begotten '[o]f the ill-omened voice known as Echo in a wood, when a call was uttered from a leaden sky' (Jackson 1988, 37). Given that it is unclear to what extent there was knowledge of the *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* in medieval Ireland, any speculation about a connection between that specific text and the scribe who added the right marginal notes in TCD MS 1337 must remain tentative; however, these examples demonstrate that several late antique texts associated demons with echoes, and that Irish authors *may* have had access to some of these sources.

This association also occurs in a text which was without question known to medieval Irish *literati*. The *Vita Antonii*'s account of St. Anthony's temptations in the desert compares the voices of demons repeating scripture to that of an echo, or perhaps, as Alaric Hall interprets the passage, *the* Echo:

> Solent etiam cum modulatione nonnunquam apparentes psallere, proh nefas! ad haec et impuro ore sacra Scripturarum eloquia meditantur. Frequenter enim legentibus nobis, quasi Echo ad extrema verba respondent. (Evagrius *VA*, *PL* 1844–64, 139)

> They, never appearing, are even wont to sing the psalms in modulation, oh impious act! Beyond this, they rehearse the holy declarations of Scripture with impure mouths. For frequently while we are reading, they answer the last words, as if [they were] Echo.

The *Vita Antonii* is the likely source for the gloss of 'Echo' as *wudumær* in several Anglo-Saxon glossaries (Hall 2007b, 308–11). Alaric Hall has argued that '*Echo*: *wudumær* … hints at the extensive lexicon of monstrous, dangerous and/or martial supernatural females available to Anglo-Saxons' (2007a, 157), a statement that could apply with equal force to medieval Irish literature. Let us consider more closely the context of the Echo reference in the *Vita Antonii*. Earlier in its discussion of demons, the text states, *Ingens eorum turba istum pervolat aerem, non procul a nobis hostium caterva discurrit*: 'A great tumult of them fly through the very air, a mob of enemies courses to and fro not far from us'. This conceptualization of the demonic has clear parallels with the assertion that *gudomhuin* are 'demons of the air' in the upper margin, as well as with the standard depiction of otherwordly creatures thronging in the air above battles in medieval Irish literature. A detailed examination of the parallels between the demonology of the *Vita Antonii* and native Irish supernatural figures would be out of place in the present study; I shall simply point out that elsewhere the passage is preoccupied with the demons' seductive, false speech, their ability to foretell future events, and their assumption of a limitless number of forms (138–9), concerns that resonate with the depiction of the supernatural in medieval Irish texts, and more particularly with that in the *gudomhuin* gloss. An Irish scribe familiar with the prophesying Badb and the shapeshifting Morrígain would have found much in this passage that was familiar. The *Vita Antonii* was well-known in Irish circles, and Anthony was among those desert fathers who served as models for the development of Irish monasticism; Adomnán's *Vita Columbae* borrows phrases directly from the *Vita Antonii* (Herbert 1988, 142). The reference to echoing demonic voices in *Vita Antonii*, then, may have been known to the scribe who added the right-hand marginal notes to *glaidomuin* and *gudomhuin* in the upper margin.

To conclude, both Irish heroic literature and late antique religious texts portray supernatural beings answering human speech, often in an imitative fashion that is sometimes characterized as an echo. Either corpus could have prompted the note in the right margin. Taken together, the entries in the *BND* glossary and the glosses in the upper margin deal with several categories: 'native' Irish supernatural beings, animals with supernatural or demonic associations, and Christian categories of demons. It seems highly possible, if impossible to demonstrate beyond doubt, that both frames of reference, the 'secular heroic' and the theological, may have been in the mind of the glossator when he added the notes in the right margin.

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"A Project So Flashy And Bizarre": Irish Volunteers and the Second Schleswig War

Andrew Newby

Abstract

The *Alexandra Cent Gardes* was the name given to an Irish volunteer force of one hundred men who, in February 1864, were said to be prepared for battle on behalf of Denmark in the war against Austria and Prussia. The scheme was the brainchild of the eccentric Goodwin Richard Purcell O'Leary (1817–1876), a medical professor at Queen's College Cork, mainstay of the Cork social scene, grandson of the storied (and lamented) Art O'Leary, and self-proclaimed head of the O'Leary Clan. Reports of the *Cent Gardes* prompted a mixture of bewilderment, anger and ridicule in Ireland, and despite his precarious military position, Danish King Christian IX 'politely declined' the offer of Irish aid. This article outlines the history of the *Cent Gardes* idea, analyses O'Leary's varied motivations for raising an armed force for Denmark, and examines the reasons behind the 'flashy and bizarre' project's failure. A minor footnote in the history of the Second Schleswig War, the story of the *Alexandra Cent Gardes* nevertheless permits an examination of the delicate nature of international diplomacy, and of the complexities of Irish identities, in the nineteenth century.

> Quoting the *Cork Examiner*, the *Times* reports that a total of one hundred Irish Gentlemen, as stated by an enthusiastic admirer of Princess Alexandra, are ready to participate in our war against Germany, as a distinct corps of volunteer cavalry, under the names of the 'Alexandra Cent Gardes'. They are prepared to equip and support themselves, but they require a Danish frigate to be sent to collect them and their horses from Cork. Sixty-four men have already signed up for the expedition. (*Faedrelandet*, 15 Feb 1864).

In February 1864, Danish newspapers reported the formation in Cork of an Irish volunteer brigade—the *Alexandra Cent Gardes*—which was being prepared for action in the Schleswig War. This article examines the background and motivations of the project's leader—Goodwin Purcell O'Leary—as well as the reactions to the plan.

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Foreign Volunteers in Nineteenth-Century Wars

The 1860s were a decade of considerable turmoil in various parts of the world (and given the prevalence of war and famine, it is no coincidence that 1863 saw the formation of the International Committee of the Red Cross) (Barnett, 2011, 76–82). Foreign volunteers—representing a variety of motivations—were a common feature in the various wars being fought at this time, in Europe and, e.g. in the American Civil War (Sarlin, 2009; Arielli & Bruce, 2013, 1–12). These included Irishmen fighting (in relatively small numbers) for the Papal Army (O'Connor, 2010; Doyle, 2010), and in the American Civil War (Shiels, 2013); Scots fighting under Garibaldi (Fyfe, 1978); Italians defending Poland in 1863 (Flores, 2016); and volunteers from Norway-Sweden, and Finland, arriving in Denmark in 1864 to repel the Austro-Prussian forces (Juel Hansen, 1957). The symbolic importance of these interventions often outweighed the practical help given. For example, Francesco Nullo's 'Garibaldi Unit' in Poland is still commemorated, although it consisted of around twenty men (Flores, 2016, 36). The grateful memories of eleven or so Finns in the Danish army in 1864 provided a basis for Danish relief efforts during the Great Finnish Famine of 1868 (Häkkinen & Newby, 2018). It was in this context that an Irishman offered a small force of fellow 'gentlemen' to King Christian IX in February 1864.

The O'Leary

One British newspaper dismissed the Irish volunteer project as 'flashy and bizarre'—which in fact is a fitting description of the movement's leader, Goodwin Richard Purcell O'Leary (1817–1876). O'Leary was born at Kanturk House, in County Cork, and was sent away to be educated in Paris at the age of five. He returned to Ireland aged thirteen, at which point he entered Trinity College Dublin, graduating three years later. Subsequently, he chose medicine as a profession and took an MD at the University of Edinburgh, before returning once more to his home county to take up a professorship in Medicine at Queen's College, Cork (*Lancet,* 25 Aug. 1876). He lived at various locations in Cork City, including a townhouse at Sidney Place, Montenotte, and later at Morrison's Quay (Henry & Coughlan, 1863; Wilkie, 1872)[1]. O'Leary delighted in his position as head of the O'Leary clan, therefore simply being referred to as 'The O'Leary' (O'Leary, 1998)[2], and was as well known for his social life as his considerable academic achievements. Stories abounded of his romantic adventures and his skills as a huntsman, as well

1 References to the various Cork Directories were originally encountered on a blog-post about Art O'Leary. See https://muscrai.wordpress.com/2016/01/11/arthur-oleary-the-outlaw/ (accessed 3 Mar. 2018).

2 This self-appointed 'chieftain' position is open to debate. Peter O'Leary argues that it was a 'position to which had he no good claim'.

as incidents that suggested eccentricity, if not mental instability. He was deeply proud of his family history—his grandfather Art O'Leary had fought for Maria Theresa's forces in Austria and had been shot dead in 1773, after being condemned as an outlaw for owning a horse worth more than £5 (it had been brought back from Austria, but it was forbidden under the Penal Laws for a Catholic to own such an expensive beast). The lament *Caoineadh Airt Ui Laoghaire*, written by Art's widow, Eibhlín Dhubh ní Chonaill, has been praised as the 'greatest poem written' in Ireland or Britain in the 1700s (Titley, 2000, 73). The O'Leary's family motto—*Laidir isé lear Righ* ['Strong is the King of the Sea'] was a strong symbolic tie to Viking-era Ireland, a tie which Goodwin O'Leary held very dear, and which was certainly a part of his motivation in suggesting Irish aid to the Danes in 1864.

'A Romantic Occurrence'

The chance to fight for Denmark therefore linked two strands of O'Leary's personal heritage—the 'Viking blood' and volunteer tradition of his storied ancestor (O'Leary, 1998). The specific desire to fight for Princess Alexandra also highlights his fondness for impressing 'young ladies of great beauty'. As an indication of O'Leary's romantic impetuosity, a story circulated around Cork, and then Ireland—and eventually much further afield—about an incident at a society ball near Queenstown (*Cork Constitution*, 9 Jan. 1864). During the course of the evening, O'Leary (described only as 'a gentleman residing in Cork, of considerable eminence in the scientific world, as well as distinguished in the hunting-field and in social circles'), fell into conversation with a 'young lady of great beauty'. This irked two English officers who were also present, who suggested to O'Leary that while he might be an accomplished flirt, he was less distinguished in 'more manly contests'. The upshot of this—and it is reported as being on the 'best authority'—was a £20 wager, involving a hunt at Fermoy, where O'Leary took on (and beat) the English officers while wearing the woman's bracelet as a good-luck charm. To emphasise his victory, O'Leary also made good on a promise to write the lady a love ballad, and have it performed at a packed Cork Theatre, in front of the entire foxhunting fraternity of the south of Ireland in full hunting costume. 'This little bit of romance…' wrote the *Cork Examiner*, while also providing the lyrics of O'Leary's serenade, 'is peculiarly refreshing in these prosaic days'. (*Cork Examiner*, 22 Jan., 12 Feb. 1864; *Bell's Weekly Messenger*, 1 Feb. 1864). Meanwhile, O'Leary's romantic spirit was concocting a plan with wider international implications.

The Background to the 2nd Schleswig War

While this horseplay was being enacted in Cork, dark storm clouds were gathering over Schleswig-Holstein. The Schleswig-Holstein Question had a long and complex history, and was ignited in the mid-nineteenth century by a variety of

external and internal factors, particularly the success of the February Revolution (1848), and the development of Danish and German nationalist movements, both of which claimed part or all of Schleswig-Holstein as their 'national' territory (Griffiths, 2004, 33–7). A three-year war (1848–51), costing nearly ten thousand lives, ended with Denmark's territorial integrity being guaranteed by the 'London Protocol' (1852). The tension barely relented in the following decade, however. In 1863, King Frederick VII proclaimed that Schleswig was a part of Denmark, which violated the 1852 Protocol and led to demands from Prussia that Frederick rescind the claim. The sabre-rattling escalated, with Prussian threats of invasion, but the Danish Parliament agreed on a joint constitution for Schleswig and Denmark in November 1863. Frederick died, suddenly, on 15 November, without having signed the new constitution. Therefore, only a few months after his daughter Alexandra became the Princess of Wales, Christian IX acceded to the Danish throne. His first task was the ratification of the 'November Constitution', which would provoke a potentially devastating war with Prussia (Jespersen, 2004, 22–6; Derry, 1979, 239–48). Despite the legal and historical intricacies of the situation, the Prussian advance into Schleswig and Jutland meant that 'most Englishmen forgot about the complexities… and only saw it as a battle between a weak nation, Denmark, and two great powers' (Morris, 1971, 132)[3]. Various British initiatives raised funds to relieve the embattled Danes, and O'Leary's *Cent Gardes*, despite their focus on military rather than financial aid, can certainly be seen in this context.

The Royal Wedding of 1863

The O'Leary was quite clear that his *Cent Gardes* had a duty to thwart what he saw as Prussian aggression, but if extra motivation were needed for mobilisation, then it came in the charismatic form of the Danish princess Alexandra. The Royal Wedding of March 1863, which united the British and Danish royal houses, exposed various interwoven strands of identity in Great Britain and Ireland. The marriage between Alexandra, daughter of the Danish heir-apparent Christian, and Albert, the Prince of Wales, prompted widespread celebrations throughout the islands, and it has been argued that 'Irish loyalty was not seen as mere sycophancy, but genuine' (McCarthy, 2017, 29). As well as demonstrating the complexity of Irish national identity in the mid-nineteenth century—highlighting what, in the Scottish context, has been called 'Unionist-Nationalism'—there were possibly more pragmatic reasons for Irish people welcoming this particular union, as both nationalist and unionist sides thought that could benefit from Alexandra's support (Morton, 1999;

3 Warren B. Morris, Jr. also notes that the *Cent Gardes* represented the 'strongest expression of support for the Danes' among various public initiatives that were instigated in Britain and Ireland.

Jackson, 2012, 137)[4]. Although the depth and sincerity of public feeling in Ireland was vigorously debated in the months and years after the wedding, generally along nationalist / unionist lines (McCarthy, 2017, 23–53), the proposed Irish visit of Alexandra and her husband in 1864 prompted obsequious verse from Cork, very reminiscent of O'Leary's love poem in January 1864 (including 'The noblest blood of Erin is the Norse drop in her veins… Oh, it's *cead mille failte*, Princess Aroon!') (*Cork Constitution*, 24 Mar. 1864).

This marriage also gave rise to a great deal of enthusiasm for Scandinavia (and Denmark in particular) in Britain and Ireland, and in the shared 'Viking' past of those lands (Newby, 2013). The O'Leary certainly rode this wave of enthusiasm, and took the opportunity to promote the Scandinavian heritage of his own family line. If he needed any further confirmation of the Viking vogue, then it had been provided by Alfred Tennyson's welcome poem for Alexandra—'Sea King's daughter from over the sea'—which was widely publicised on the occasion of the royal wedding (*Freeman's Journal*, 13 Mar. 1863; McCarthy, 2017, 40). The resonance with his own family's 'Sea-King' heritage surely strengthened The O'Leary's commitment to the idea of a chivalrous intervention on Alexandra's behalf.

O'Leary and The *Alexandra Cent Gardes*

From its very conception, then, the 'interesting movement' which was said to be afoot in Cork, aiming to send an armed force to Denmark, was surrounded in romanticism and chivalrous ideals. O'Leary was not named directly as the instigator, at least not initially in the Irish sources, but was rather obliquely referred to as 'a gentleman well known in leading Cork circles, from his professional abilities, his social eminence, and his great success on the hunting field', who 'contemplated to organise nothing less than a brigade of Irish gentlemen, to take service under the King of DENMARK in the present war… recall[ing] the ancient days of knight errantry, from their romantic and chivalrous character' (*Cork Examiner*, 2 Feb. 1864).

O'Leary, apparently, was well prepared for action. The day after the hostilities were officially declared between Denmark and Austria-Prussia it was reported in Cork that he had written to Christian IX to offer a hundred 'Irish gentlemen', forming a corps to be known as the *Alexandra Cent Gardes*, in honour of the 'future Queen of England'. He had also written to the Prince of Wales asking for the British to give official sanction to the scheme, and concocted a uniform (in the 'national colours') and a motto—'*Right Against Might*!'—for his men (*Cork Examiner*, 2

4 Following Morton, Alvin Jackson has argued that 'treated with appropriate caution, the phenomenon of "unionist nationalist" is meaningful for the Irish, and perhaps more meaningful than has been generally understood within Irish historiography'.

Feb. 1864). Even at this early stage, sixty-four men (the *Cork Examiner* claimed to have an actual list of names, though it refrained from publishing them), were said to have signed up for the jaunt, and as all were of 'independent means', the only demand made of the Danish king was to send a frigate to Queenstown in order to convey the gallant Irishmen to the 'theatre of war'. The departure to Denmark would feature various elements of pomp and ceremony, including a ball at the Cork Athenaeum the preceding night. O'Leary's letter to Christian was also reproduced in English translation:

> SIRE—Sprung myself from the ancient Scandinavian Vikings, as my name in the Irish language attests, I am penetrated by the old patriotic feeling, shared in by so many of the best blood of Ireland, which impels us to defend the menaced rights of Denmark. My friends, to the number of one hundred, *The Irish Cent Gardes*, place themselves at the disposal of your majesty. A corps of a hundred Irish gentlemen mounted on their own horses and equipped at their own expense, presents itself to fight in the cause of your father of their future Queen. Should your Majesty condescend to accept their services a hundred Irish gentlemen will present themselves at Copenhagen as volunteers in the battle of 'Right against Might'. Your majesty will excuse this liberty taken by a plain individual, but, the volunteers are ready, and only await the signal from your Majesty to show their devotion to the Princess of Wales, and their faith in the justice of Denmark's cause. (*Cork Examiner*, 2 Feb. 1864).

In claiming to be from 'the best blood of Ireland', O'Leary seemed to be differentiating himself and his kin from the majority of Irish (either Anglo-Norman or 'pure' Celts, for example), and making his brigade as palatable as possible to a European monarch. Europe's version of Ireland was often based on the negative stereotypes peddled in the London press, and with Fenianism beginning to gain international notoriety in the mid-1860s, it was important for O'Leary that his gentlemanly credentials should be recognised, as well as his historical blood connection to the Danes (McMahon, 2016, 247–285; Pittock, 1999; White, 2004; McGarry & McConnel, 2009).

Initial Reaction

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the immediate reaction in Ireland was mixed, with elements (not necessarily in equal measure) of anger, incredulity, mockery, and support. The response in Cork to the volunteer plan was immediate, and again it appears as though local readers would have known exactly who was behind the *Cent Gardes*, even though O'Leary had not yet been named in person. AJD wrote that (*Cork Examiner*, 3 Feb. 1864):

> The distinguished and learned promoter of the *Irish Cent Gardes*, the happy victim to Cupid's dart and gallant follower of Nimrod, shows an example worthy of his great descent.

Otherwise, AJD decried the 'madcap Quixotes', who risked damaging Ireland's international reputation by advertising a military intervention which had little chance of being realised, still less of having any beneficial outcome. The 'useless bloodshed' of a European war should be the cause of horror, rather than the opportunity for the would-be knights of Cork. AJD conceded, however, that there might be one appropriate outlet for their 'chivalric tendencies':

> Let him who boasts of the patriotism of an Irishman, the honour of a gentleman, the chivalry of a knight, dash to the Polish struggle and interpose his sword between the hated Russian knout and the bleeding body of some devoted Polish lady. Let Irishmen unfurl their standard in the sacred cause of Liberty—the cause of God.

AJD's letter was supported in the next day's paper, (*Cork Examiner*, 4 Feb. 1864) by 'Civis', who explained that he had originally presumed the *Cent Gardes* story to be a hoax, but then questioned the object of these volunteers' support. Like O'Leary, 'Civis' was keen to refer to medieval history, but instead of an imagined connection between Ireland and Denmark, he stressed a troubled past. He also proposed support for the persecuted (and Catholic) Poles, rather than the 'cruel Danes', who 'if I recollect rightly, have sacked and burned this city at least three or four times? Let those knights-erranty give up their amusements for one day and night, and read the Danish invasion of Cork, and they will blush to find themselves the laughing stock of their fellow-citizens.'[5]

In Dublin, the Conservative *Daily Express* published a withering lampoon, which seemed to mock O'Leary's 'national' aspirations and throw general ridicule in the direction of Cork. It also picked up the theme of Irishmen apparently taking up arms in defence of a historical enemy, again appealing to medieval history:

> **THE King of Denmark** need have no fear of being worsted in the unequal conflict with the haughty Germans. He has friends, it seems, even in quarters where he might least expect to find them. Who would have thought that Irish sympathy would be aroused on his behalf? Can we believe the evidence of our senses when we read in the *Cork Examiner* that the blood of Munster is up, and a brigade of Irish Volunteers are preparing to offer their services to the Danes? It is not mere moral support that they propose to give, but they are ready to fight. Who

5 The *London Evening Standard* (5 Feb. 1864) also noted the irony in aiding the former foes, saying that Irish aid 'would be some return for the fate of Turgesius, the Dane, and the slaughter at Clontarf of Brodar's 1000 mail-clad warriors'.

> will say henceforth that the Celts are not a martial race? The glorious tradition of the past are not forgotten; the praises of Malachi, who won the golden collar, and the exploits of Brian the Brave are treasured in impassioned song, but the impulsive chivalry of Cork is superior to vindictive recollections, and is ready to make a generous return to the descendants of an old foe when it comes to their turn to face a 'proud invader.' … Whether it is a real genuine adventure, or rather a capital joke, it is worthy of the fervid imagination of the South, and, according to the issue, may add a new chapter to a sensation novel, or an effective scene to the next extravaganza. (*Dublin Daily Express*, 4 Feb. 1864).

Also in Dublin, but across the political spectrum from the *Daily Express*, the nationalist *Irishman* dismissed O'Leary as an 'anonymous lunatic' and warned the King of Denmark to be sure these volunteers were not pirates. (*Irishman*, 6 Feb. 1864). It also suggested a valedictory anthem for the volunteers' proposed departure from Queenstown:

> When southern *shoneens* act the flunkey,
> And would for Denmark sail away
> To stop them who would be the donkey,
> What man so base as bid them stay.
>
> There only needs a name to brand them
> To stamp their name for ever more
> And this, we kindly, beg to hand them
> And write them down 'The Cork Cracked Corps'

The *Northern Whig*, in Belfast, referred to the *Cent Gardes* as 'the half-dozen blockheads', dismissing them as bored members of the Irish middle-classes looking for some excitement, and also questioned the idea that they represented 'Ireland' in any meaningful way: 'As to the Dano-Irish *Cent-Gardes*, they represent the feelings of the Irish people just about as much as Garibaldi's English legions represented the actuating motives of the English nation; and bear probably the same proportion to the numbers of the country…' (*Northern Whig*, 30 Mar. 1864)[6].

The satirical English publication *Fun*—a contemporary rival to *Punch*—also indulged in some half-hearted wordplay (*Fun*, 2 Apr., 9 Apr. 1864) while the London *Universal News* went to even greater lengths of mockery, printing an eight-stanza poem in mid-April, using cod-Irish spelling, and recycling various jokes and tropes that had been used elsewhere in the previous weeks (*Cork Examiner*, 19 Apr. 1864).[7] Some elements of the London press had more direct political concerns, especially when the *Cent Gardes* still appeared to be a viable project. The *Daily Telegraph*,

6 See also, Sutcliffe, 2013.

7 Ciaran O'Neill (2014, 55) has recently highlighted Kevin Shillington's earlier characterisation of Aylward as a 'feckless adventurer.'

for example, suggested parallels between the political questions of Ireland and Schleswig-Holstein. In particular, it highlighted what it saw as inconsistency and hypocrisy in an 'Irish contingent' seeking to help the Danes (cast here as the oppressors) retain a union that was despised by a majority in Schleswig-Holstein (*Cork Examiner*, 28 Mar. 1864). The *London Evening Standard* was aghast that Irish troops should be so keen to expend 'rivers' of their blood in foreign battles, rather than as part of the British Imperial Army, although it fully expected the Danes to avail themselves of the Irish offer after the hoped-for Swedish military force had failed to materialise (*London Evening Standard*, 5 Feb. 1864).

The movement also attracted some interest from Irish mercenaries, despite the widespread mockery. An open letter was published from Alfred Aylward, offering himself for service in Denmark. At the time, Aylward was aged twenty-one, just back from fighting for Garibaldi in Italy, and in the American Civil War, and described himself as 'dark, spare, wirey, partially inured to and careless of the discomforts, privations, and inconveniences incidental to a campaign.' He also claimed 'some knowledge of military matters', and that 'references will be provided on demand.' (*Cork Examiner*, 9 Feb. 1864).

As a possible, limited, counter to this negativity—although there is a chance that this was a disguised satire of the whole affair—the *Southern Reporter* (5 Feb. 1864) published the 'BATTLE SONG OF THE "CENT GARDES"', claiming that it was written by The O'Leary himself. The 'Battle Song' is imbued with nationalist imagery, but also appeals to the romantic element of fighting on behalf of the Princess, and of impressing 'Erin's maidens'. It also makes reference to Pan-Scandinavism, giving the impression of the war being a wider struggle between Scandinavia and the German Confederation—a battle of two 'Pan' ideologies—and brushing over the absence of official Swedish involvement on the Danish battlefields.

BATTLE SONG OF THE CENT GARDES
For Denmark hurrah! The Irish Guard say.
As they venture their lives for the Danish Princess—
They stand by their doom—they shun not the tomb,
In the cause of just when bullies oppress.
For in tent or in field, they never will yield
While in chorus they sing the words of their bard
'For right against might, to battle and fight.
Is the object and aim of the Irish Cent Gardes.'

The Shamrock on high, they'll conquer or die,
As they peril their all in liberty's cause
For the Pan-Scandinaves, to fight Prussian knaves,
They seek no reward but their Prince's applause.
For in tent etc.

Yes! Erin again will see her true men,
Like her heroes of old, on the enemy charge;
And her maidens with pride, will stand by their side,
And their loyalty show to the world at large
For in tent, etc.

The *Cork Examiner* claimed that 'showers of letters come pouring in on the gallant gentlemen… many from ladies', a fact that was also reported in Denmark (*Cork Examiner*, 29 Feb. 1864; *Aarhus Stiftstidende*, 16 Mar. 1864). An intervention from Ireland also had the potential to embarrass British ambivalence over Schleswig. With British public opinion somewhat on the side of the Danes, but tempered by 'pusillanimous political leadership' and a Royal Family 'as usual, stridently pro-German' (Evans, 2011, 358), the *Examiner* published a long poem from Caroline Gifford Phillipson, which opened 'Shame! Shame! British men' and went to on demand that 'poor Denmark' be saved 'from its fate' (*Cork Examiner*, 29 Feb. 1864; Peel, 1981, 151). For a small number of Britons, at least, the Corkmen were taking timely and decisive action on the side of justice.

Danish Response

Apart from the anger and mirth that O'Leary's project engendered in the Irish and British press, and a degree of speculation in London as to the very identity of the *Cent Gardes*' leader, any readers awaiting updates on the progress of the 'half-dozen blockheads' were to be disappointed.[8] At the end of February, though, O'Leary was able to assure readers of the *Cork Examiner* that the project had not 'been allowed to drop', and that he was still 'actively involved in drawing up the details' of the expedition. Apparently, the Danish Ambassador in London was to forward the offer to Christian IX (despite it being reported in the Danish press from mid-February), and thereafter 'the completion of the exercise' depended by necessity on 'the reply received' from the King. 'There can be little doubt', continued the *Examiner*'s article, 'that the response will be a favourable one, considering the present critical state of the Danish arms, and the great assistance that such a corps as that proposed could render to them' (*Cork Examiner*, 29 Feb., 5 Mar. 1864). The *Liverpool Mercury* (22 Oct. 1864) reflected on the affair later in the year, with a sense of sardonic boredom:

8 *Cork Examiner*, 8 Mar., 9 Mar., 10 Mar. 1864, and *Cork Examiner,* 9 Mar. 1864 for the curious game of cat-and-mouse that was going on in the columns of the London *Times* in regard to O'Leary's identity.

> This Quixotic proposition was of course ridiculed by the entire public, but the gallant Celt was not to be put down by sneers or laughter, and he laid his proposal before the Danish court. In due time he had his answer.

The King of Denmark's decision was made public on 23rd March 1864, seven weeks after the original story appeared, and clearly some weeks after the actual reply was sent from Copenhagen (*Cork Examiner*, 23 Mar. 1864). The communication was made, apparently, through Princess Alexandra herself, who was thought to have a particular interest in 'the chivalrous offer of the brave Hibernians.' (*Cork Constitution*, 23 Mar. 1864).[9] The response, however, despite the pressure being piled upon the Danish army (and with Austro-Prussian forces having crossed into Danish territory), was a 'polite' rejection. It was also recorded, recalling his grandfather's exploits, that O'Leary's 'devoted followers' had bought him a horse worth 125 guineas, and that 'the gallant chief does not abandon the hope of realising his dreams of glory.' The letter of rejection was widely reprinted in Ireland and Britain, and this extract from the *Glasgow Daily Herald* (26 Mar. 1864) perhaps best sums up the prevailing tone:

> It is to be regretted that a project so flashy and bizarre should have called forth the following letter: Castle of Christiansberg, Copenhagen, February 16th. The undersigned Grand Marshall of the Royal Court is deputed by the King, his master, to thank Mr. O'Leary and his noble companions for their chivalrous offer. In the present situation of affairs the bravery of the Royal army will compensate for want of numbers. Nevertheless, his Majesty knows how to appreciate the noble idea of the brave Irish, both as King and as father of the dear Princess who has just given an heir to the throne of England. May God watch over the destiny of your noble country as that of Denmark. W. OXHOLM. Monsieur O'Leary.

The *Cork Examiner*, which had effectively been O'Leary's mouthpiece during the whole affair, blamed the king's rejection on 'reasons of the gravest international policy'. Trowbridge is more explicit in his account from a half-century later: 'For reasons of state… the *Alexandra Cent Gardes* were not permitted to leave Ireland.' (Trowbridge, 1921, 148). That is, they could not be allowed to compromise Britain's precarious ambivalence over the Schleswig-Holstein question (Sandiford, 1975, 114; Morris, 1971). The presence of a large Irish contingent fighting on the Danish side could have caused a great deal of embarrassment for the London government, not only in its relations with Prussia, but also in prompting awkward questions from Danophile British subjects about the lack of state intervention. No matter how

9 Trowbridge (1921, 148-52) notes the offer of the *Cent Gardes*, and even argues that the lack of 'ridicule' for the scheme demonstrated the strength of British public opinion in favour of the Danes.

much the *Cent Gardes* might have trumpeted their autonomy, or their lofty ideas of 'Right against Might' in protecting Princess Alexandra's homeland, any apparent partiality from the British side would not be countenanced.

If not for London's interference, the *Examiner* (reproduced in *Cork Constitution*, 23 Mar. 1864) continued:

> … what an ovation the Chief and his noble band would have received at the hands of the maidens and matrons of Copenhagen! From reliable information, we can understand that the Ladies of the Danish Capital would have rushed to the shore to welcome the *Cent Gardes* with open arms; and such was the enthusiasm—the intense and indeed extraordinary ferment—which the very announcement caused among the patriotic maidens of the heroic North, that the hero who survived the chances of war and battle, was almost certain to fall a willing sacrifice to the only [slightly] less dangerous influences of the affections.

The rejection was also covered in the Danish press, with little commentary added to Oxholm's statement (*Dagbladet*, 30 Mar. 1864).[10] The British press drew a line under the affair, noting that 'this polite letting down of the Irish brigade has exposed them to much ridicule in the sister island, and it has been suggested that the gallant O'Leary and his *Cent Gardes* have a more appropriate field for their chivalry in Munster than in Jutland.' (*Greenock Advertiser*, 29 Mar. 1864).

Swedish newspapers noted with interest the rejection by Christian IX of the Irish *Cent Gardes*. 'It is strange', contemplated one writer in *Nya Wermlands-tidningen* (*Nya Wermlands-tidningen*, 2 Apr. 1864) 'that the King of Denmark has refused the offer of the English [sic.] gentleman, while at the same time a whole load of Swedish mercenaries are supposed to share in the glory of the Danish army!'

As to the *Cent Gardes*' potential adversaries, it seems unlikely that the combined forces of Prussia and Austria would have been too perturbed by a frigate full of Hibernian foxhunters. In Graz, Austria, the *Telegraf* referred to an 'Irish Don Quixote', whose offer had been rebuffed by the Danish king (*Telegraf,* 30 Mar. 1864). Where the story appeared in German newspapers it was treated with disdain:

> The knights are all magnificently equipped and clothed to properly impress the Germans; of course, they should not be treated as cannon fodder, but as gentlemen, and provided with the best food. In their enthusiasm, this knightly company have already emptied many dozen bottles of champagne in Dublin. (*Regensburger Morgenblatt*, 1 Apr. 1864)

10 Reproduced in many provincial papers in the following days.

O'Leary's Visit to Denmark & Sweden

Although the idea of the *Cent Gardes* was never realised, O'Leary seems to have made a considerable amount of social capital from the publicity it generated. Moreover, in June (while a peace conference aimed at solving the crisis was taking place in London) he was reported to be in Copenhagen in person, busily seeking an interview with the King and hawking a revised plan around different ministries. One Swedish journalist commented wryly, on learning of O'Leary's agitation in Copenhagen, that 'an Englishman, even if he was born on the Erin's Green Isle, does not so easily give up on an idea that has taken root inside of him' *(Norrköpings Tidningar*, 21 Jun. 1864; *Malmö Nya Allehanda*, 22 Jun. 1864). He was now proposing a thousand men (*Mille Gardes*), some of whom were professional soldiers and prepared to relinquish their positions in the British army to come and fight for Denmark. This idea was met with scepticism, with the editorial in *Dags-Telegraphen*, for example, claiming that source of the story was reliable, but that they were not willing to 'vouch for the details' (*Dags-Telegraphen*, 14 Jun. 1864). Danish newspapers again gave plenty of coverage to the odd Irishman who had seemed prepared earlier in the year to risk life and limb for the Danes, and stressed the heroic lineage from Art O'Leary, the family motto (slightly reworked as *Strong is the Vicking* [sic.]) as well as recycling the 'romantic incident' involving the pretty heroine and the English officers (*Flyveposten*, 31 Aug. 1864; *Aarhus Stiftstidende*, 1 Sep. 1864). In September 1864, he was part of a 'British' party that attended a soirée at Christiansborg Palace in honour of the visit of the Prince and Princess of Wales (*Flyveposten*, 20 Sep. 1864). After some apparent discussions of protocol, and waiting for several weeks, O'Leary finally got his royal audience with the King of Denmark, and was 'kindly greeted', by a laughing King Christian (*Göteborgs Handels- och-Sjöfartstidning*, 3 Sep. 1864; *Daily News*, 21 Sep. 1864; *Irish Times*, 24 Sep. 1864; *Cork Constitution*, 30 Sep. 1864).

At the end of September, O'Leary left Copenhagen and headed to Stockholm, where he also seems to have been warmly greeted by the Swedish court—again, partly as a result of the story of Art O'Leary having been translated and put into the Swedish press (*Post- och Inrikes Tidningar*, 27 Sep. 1864; *Flyveposten*, 7 Oct. 1864; *Wexford Independent*, 22 Oct. 1864). Once more, the *Cork Examiner* published a sympathetic account, before allowing O'Leary himself to give his version of events (quoted in *Glasgow Herald*, 22 Oct. 1864):

> It will be recollected that at the commencement of the war in Denmark, a gentleman named O'Leary offered to equip, at his own expense, and transfer to that country, a Royal Bodyguard of Irishmen. The King of Denmark thanked him for the sympathy indicated in his chivalrous offer, but explained that he was reluctantly compelled to decline taking advantage of it from his relations with England. Mr. O'Leary, it seems, is now in Sweden… he adds:…'The Secretary

> of State called to inform me that the Lord Chamberlain had orders to invite me to the King's dinner at Ulriksdal the next day, as well as to the subsequent fêtes, and that the English Minister had directions to present me to his Majesty before dinner, with the possibility of being presented to the Queen after. On my entering the reception room his Majesty came up to me, gave me his hand, and in English welcomed me to the palace, saying that he was glad to receive the Irishman who had been willing to risk his life for the Scandinavian cause, and publicly thanked me and the Irish gentlemen who offered to accompany me. Immediately afterwards the Queen's Chamberlain came to me, saying that her Majesty desired that I should be presented to her; and on presentation her Majesty, in good and perfect English, told me that she was glad to see in her parlour the originator of what she was pleased to term a chivalrous attempt, adding that it was not my fault if the King of Denmark was so ill-advised as not to accept the offer. She further added that the Northerns would ever feel grateful for the Irish sympathy, which was not in words, but was willing to prove itself in deeds. Next evening, at Drottningholm, the residence of the Queen Dowager, the King presented me to his mother, and the Queen Dowager said to me: "*Monsieur, vous avez conqué une pensée noble et genéreuse, dont je vous remercie, et dont la Scandinavie vous sera à jamais reconnaisante*."'

While the *Cent Gardes* had not seen active service, The O'Leary was nevertheless able to present himself as a Scandinavian hero by the end of 1864. Denmark had suffered huge territorial losses, but the more general 'Scandinavian' cause—which many presumed had also perished on the battlefields of Jutland and Schleswig, owing to Sweden's reluctance to send military aid—had not yet been completely abandoned (Hilson, 2006). O'Leary, the 'King of the Sea', had at least burnished his family's 'Scandinavian' reputation, even if he had not lived the gallant military life of his decorated grandfather.

Aftermath

O'Leary's colourful activities did not end with the *Cent Gardes*, and it was with some justification that he was later referred to as 'the last and wildest of the wild sept of O'Leary.' (*Northern Whig*, 13 Oct. 1876). At a 'Costume Ball' in Cork in 1871, for example, it was reported that 'few appeared in fancy costume', with O'Leary being a notable exception (*Wexford Independent*, 15 Feb. 1871). For the most part, he seemed to conform to a Victorian ideal of a Celtic chieftain:

> His dress was: The cucull, the short cloak of the Irish people, fastened by the Tara brooch. Underneath that a saffron coloured tunic of nine yards of cloth, wearing the chieftain's belt, the chieftain's golden bracelets, the chieftain's golden anklets, the collar of gold the same as that worn by Malachi, King of Ireland, who fought the Danes at Clontarf.

Interestingly however, in addition to the sword of Art O'Leary and other bits and pieces hanging from his costume, he wore:

> the officer's cross of the Dannebrog, given to him by the King of Denmark for offering him a hundred Irish gentlemen, all mounted at their own expense, to fight against the Prussians in the Danish War. Whereupon the King of Denmark placed at his disposal a man of war on the eve of the Battle of Alsen. But, as he was starting, a telegram arrived that the Battle of Alsen was fought, and the Danish cause lost. The O'Leary and the Prince of Wales are the only persons in the United Kingdom who have the right to wear this cross.

Less than a decade after the event, therefore, a limited rewriting of history had already taken place. Far from the 'ridicule' which Christian IX's 'polite refusal' might have caused, a narrative was now being put forward that the *Cent Gardes* were poised for action, only to hear that their participation would have been futile after the Danish defeat at *Slaget om Als*. The defeat at Als, however, was at the very end of June 1864, some three months after the King had rejected O'Leary's volunteer plan (Buk-Swienty, 2010). Moreover, it is not quite clear how O'Leary came to receive the Order of the Dannebrog. It is quite possible that King Christian, while they were having their good-humoured chat in Copenhagen later in 1864, gave O'Leary some sort of award, and maybe even permission to wear a medal. But—unlike other foreign mercenaries who actually shed blood on various battlefields for the Danes during the Schleswig Wars—there is (apparently) no official record in Danish sources of the honour being given to The O'Leary.[11]

One of the final accounts of O'Leary in public suggests outright mental instability rather than simple eccentricity, as he was arrested in Cork for 'running like a maniac' through Queenstown, 'dressed to represent the Shah of Persia, in a yellow suit, and chamois knee-breeches, armed with a sword, bow, arrow and large club, wearing a gold crown for a cap.' He had also been followed by curious groups of emigrants waiting for passage from Queenstown, at whom he sporadically fired arrows, making them flee 'in all directions'. After returning home by train he shot a loaded pistol over the head of a young strawberry seller, frightening her 'out of her wits', before finally going home and destroying furniture in the house with his sword. For this, he was incarcerated, briefly, and there is no real indication of what happened between this incident and his death three years later (*Downpatrick Recorder*, 28 Jun. 1873).

11 The award should be noted in *Kongelig dansk hof- og statskalender*, and probably it would also have been reported in official sections of Danish newspapers. So far, however, no confirmation of O'Leary being appointed to any rank of the Order of the Dannebrog has been found.

The O'Leary died on 9th July 1876, at the home of his cousin, Goodwin Purcell, in Charlesworth, Derbyshire. O'Leary had been in the English countryside hoping to recover from illness, but this was not to be, and his remains were brought back to Ireland for burial—he now lies alongside his illustrious grandfather in Kilcrea Friary (*Cork Constitution*, 13 Jul. 1876; *Dublin Weekly Nation*, 5 Aug. 1876). He was remembered as 'an accomplished physician, an admirable linguist, an audacious wit, a blithe-some boon companion, and a strenuous steeple-chase rider', and representative of a particular kind of Irish gentleman that was thought to have died out. 'He had his faults', reflected the *Northern Whig*, but 'who has not?' (*Northern Whig*, 13 Oct. 1876). The *Lancet*, in addition to highlighting his considerable achievements in the field of medicine, also recalled O'Leary's 'high chivalric feeling…' (*Lancet*, 25 Aug. 1876), adding that:

> when Austria and Prussia united their forces to despoil the little Danish kingdom, The O'Leary was the *Cente Garde* Colonel who offered to bring to the standard of the King of Denmark 100 men, mounted and accoutred at their own expense. After this he was a welcome guest at the courts of Sweden and Denmark, and received the order of the 'Dannebrog', which order he alone in Britain possessed, with the exception of the Prince of Wales.

Conclusion

In a postscript to his report from the Swedish court in 1864 (*Glasgow Daily Herald*, 22 Oct. 1864), O'Leary seemed confident in the long-term benefit that his *Alexandra Cent Gardes* scheme might have brought to Ireland:

> I thought that as an Irishman you would be pleased to hear that my wise idea, deemed by many at home Quixotic, has been at least in the North received in its proper light, and that another Irish name has been added to those that have made our country known throughout Europe.

The name of the *Alexandra Cent Gardes*, of course, does not resound throughout Europe in the twenty-first century. There are no monuments to The O'Leary as there are to foreign volunteers and their generals in many different parts of the world. It seems quite certain that, if the Corkmen had actually travelled to Denmark, and especially if they had been present in the battles at Dybbøl or Als in the darkest days of the war, they would have been celebrated in song, story, art and monument.

The sincerity of O'Leary's offer to Christian IX cannot realistically be gauged. Had O'Leary simply gone by himself to Denmark, maybe with a handful of other Irishmen, and fought on his own account—just as Finns, Swedes and Norwegians did in 1864—there would have been little that the British could realistically have done to prevent him, and his name may have rung through the ages. There

was certainly an impetuous side to his character that would have been at home charging across a Danish battlefield, simultaneously channelling the spirits of his grandfather, and his much more distant 'Viking' ancestors. By making the project such a very public spectacle, he also arguably doomed any chance it might actually have had of succeeding. In claiming that a large and well-organised force of one hundred cavalry (none of whom were ever named, other than the leader) was going to participate in a war against Prussia, and moreover in the name of the Princess of Wales, O'Leary effectively forced the British government to veto the intervention.

What O'Leary's story does provide, however, is a colourful example of a nineteenth-century Irishman with a host of overlapping identities: a proud Irish 'gentleman' ready to sport the 'national colours' in foreign fields, and using all kinds of Celtic imagery in his doggerel poetry; a Corkman who seemed to possess sincere affection and respect for the British royal family, apparently a nationalist but not a separatist, who bore concentric Irish and Imperial identities lightly; and in claiming to be a possessor of Ireland's 'best blood', he provides an insight into a Scandinavian element of Irish history and identity that was often ignored or subsumed in the development of 'Celtic Ireland' as a key component of nationalism.

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Deirdriu and Heroic Biography

Anna June Pagé

Abstract

This paper addresses two questions. The first is whether the life of Deirdriu, as described in *Longes mac n-Uislenn*, can reasonably be said to correspond to the narrative pattern commonly referred to as the 'heroic biography'. I argue that Deirdriu's biography is, indeed, a heroic one, at least at the level of narrative structure, and can be shown to broadly follow the same progression as the biographies of more typical heroic biography subjects, and in particular that of Oedipus, who provides a model for many studies of the biography pattern. Moreover, this narrative kinship can be observed straightforwardly and without appealing to alternate versions of the pattern constructed to suit stories about women (i.e. those of Jezewski 1984 and Covington 1989). The second question is that of what Deirdriu's biography tells us about the heroic biography itself. I argue that in recognising that Deirdriu not only has a heroic biography, but also that it is a conventional one, we gain insight into the use of the heroic biography *as* a narrative structuring device in stories about the lives of those who cannot be labeled 'hero,' according to any standard definition of the word.

Introduction

The earliest account of Deirdriu's life is found in *Longes mac n-Uislenn* (LMU) 'The Exile of the Sons of Uisliu'.[1] In that it narrates the major events of Deirdriu's life and covers the period extending from before her birth to just after her death, LMU may fairly be said to represent her biography. I argue here that this biography can be viewed as a 'heroic' biography on the grounds that it contains most of the key components of the narrative structure known as the 'heroic biography'. A basic summary of heroic biography-type stories is as follows: A boy is conceived and born under extraordinary circumstances. Because of his nature, or because of a prophecy, he is perceived as a threat and an attempt is made to kill him. He is rescued and raised in exile by foster-parents, often in ignorance of his true identity. His special nature becomes increasingly evident as he ages, and in time he returns to his point of origin to reclaim his identity and overcome his enemies.

A number of different formulations of this pattern have been proposed in the many studies of it, and these show a great deal of variation in the details of how the hero's life is described. I begin with a survey of the various heroic patterns that have been described in order to identify their core similarities, and I then discuss the

1 Throughout this article, I refer to the 1949 edition of Vernam Hull. Translations are my own.

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presence of this essential core in Deirdriu's life as narrated in LMU. I consider also the problem of the hero at the center of the heroic biography, which has been raised in some studies of the pattern. Of particular interest is the issue of whether women have heroic biographies. Several studies have suggested that there is a separate narrative pattern present in the lives of 'heroines', which is closely connected to, but distinct from, the canonical male pattern. However, I argue that Deirdriu's biography more closely resembles the standard male biography than the derived female hero patterns that have been proposed. I must emphasize that I am concerned here not with the character or characterization of Deirdriu, nor with her relationships to various heroes and kings, but I am interested rather in the elements of her biography and the question of whether these elements can be reasonably said to constitute a *heroic* biography.

The Heroic Biography

The heroic biography appears to be a universal way of patterning stories about the lives of heroes, but it has primarily been studied in the context of Indo-European and Near-Eastern narratives about males who conform to a warrior-king type hero. As early as 1871, Edward B. Tylor remarked on the common pattern of stories 'in which exposed infants are saved to become national heroes' (v.1, 254–255), but it was J.G. von Hahn who, in 1876, first formulated a multi-point description of the narrative pattern that he termed the *Arische Aussetzungs- und Rückkehr-Formel* 'Aryan expulsion and return formula', now conventionally referred to as the 'heroic biography'. Von Hahn's work, though largely neglected, inspired Alfred Nutt's 1881 work on the pattern in Celtic sources.[2] Later work by Otto Rank and Lord Raglan, seemingly independent of both earlier work on the pattern and of each other's work, provided two additional formulations of the pattern, brought it to wider attention, and also recognized its presence in stories from outside the Indo-European cultural sphere.[3] Jan de Vries' *Heroic Song and Heroic Legend* (1963) provides yet another examination of what he describes as 'the pattern of an heroic life'. Joseph Campbell's 'hero's journey', as first introduced in *The Hero With A Thousand Faces* (1949), overlaps and intersects with the heroic biography in various ways.[4]

2 Nutt refers to stories from Irish, Scottish, Welsh, and Breton tradition, both from medieval sources and from more modern folktales.

3 Otto Rank's work was first published in 1909 in German as *Der Mythus von der Geburt des Helden*, and then translated into English in 1914 as *The Myth of the Birth of the Hero*. In quoting this work, I refer to the 2015 translation of the 2nd edition of Rank's work, originally published in 1922. Lord Raglan's work *The Hero: A Study in Tradition, Myth, and Drama*, was originally published in 1936. I refer to the reprint in Segal 1990.

4 Archer Taylor's 'The Biographical Pattern in Traditional Narrative' (1964) provides an overview of many of these studies. A more recent discussion of the studies of the pattern, though focused primarily on the work of Otto Rank, is Robert Segal's introduction to the 2015 translation of Rank's work.

Studies of the heroic biography in the context of Celtic literatures are not limited to Nutt's 1881 work. Alwyn and Brinley Rees' *Celtic Heritage* (1961) includes chapters on the various stages of the hero's life, and Tomas Ó Cathasaigh's *The Heroic Biography of Cormac mac Airt* (1977) remains the most significant work on the heroic biography in the Celtic context.[5] The similarities between heroic biography and Welsh and Irish hagiographical materials have been observed by Elissa Henken (1983 and 1991), Dorothy Bray (1988) and others. Bray notes that the pattern proposed by de Vries corresponds quite well to many Irish saints' lives, and the lives of female saints are treated alongside the male saints with no differentiation between them. In the secular world, however, the lives of women in medieval Irish literature have not been considered as reflecting any aspect of the heroic biography.

Each formulation of the pattern has been accompanied by different theories about its origins and interpretation. Taylor provides the following summary of the approaches taken by some of these scholars:

> In the pattern Hahn [sic] sees the unity of a biography altered and adapted by a traditional narrative formula; Rank, the unity of human psychology; Lord Raglan, the unity of pseudo-history and ritual; and Campbell, the unity of a formula (mythological or psychological in origin) that develops as culture develops and changes (1964, 119–20).

As a student of Sigmund Freud, Rank takes a psychoanalytic approach to the interpretation of the myths and finds in them the conflict and competition between son and father, and to a lesser extent the conflict between son and mother. As a myth-ritualist, Raglan instead sees the pattern as a reflection of the principal rites of passage, specifically those associated with birth, initiation, and death (1990, 148). This view is also taken by Rees and Rees, who state that 'in human societies generally, the times when a person becomes the central figure in ritual are those of his birth and baptism, initiation and marriage, death and burial. The myth has bearing upon the meaning of these rites' (1961, 213). Rees and Rees, it should be noted, acknowledge that this can also apply to women in a limited way, and they include a very few female characters in their study of birth tales.[6]

There is no real conflict between the interpretive approaches of Rank, Raglan, or the others. The rites of passage mark moments of psychological transition, from childhood into adulthood, at birth and at death. In both approaches, the central

5 Rees and Rees draw extensively on both Irish and Welsh materials, however there is currently no dedicated study of the heroic biography in medieval Welsh sources to match Ó Cathasaigh's work on Irish.

6 They refer in this context only to Mes Buachalla (220-1), the daughter of Raghallach (222), and Étaín (228). See below for further discussion of the daughter of Raghallach.

idea is one of transition and transformation from child and outsider into an adult established in his society. The question of the origins of the pattern are beyond the scope of the current discussion, but a contribution to our understanding of the function of the pattern—or more accurately its multifunctionality—may be made through a study of its presence in LMU.

Given the differences between the formulations of the patterns, some of which might appear to be quite significant, an important preliminary to the discussion of Deirdriu's biography is to determine which features of the pattern should be present in Deirdriu's biography to justify labeling it 'heroic'. In fact, this presents no major difficulty. As Taylor points out:

> The ways in which these scholars see and describe the tales vary, but the differences could be reconciled with rather little effort. The discovery of a biographical pattern is no very surprising result of their labors. It is a natural utilization of a pattern easily inferred from life itself, or from biography, history, and human psychology (1964, 128).

Because the pattern follows the obvious divisions of human life, it is best discussed following those same divisions: birth, youth, transition into adulthood, established or settled adulthood, decline, and finally death. In the heroic biography, each phase of life, and especially each moment of transition between the phases, is marked by difficulty. In what follows I compare the formulations of von Hahn (together with Nutt), Rank, Raglan, and de Vries, in order to identify the core elements of the pattern.

Birth

The section of the biography dealing with the birth of the hero is at once the most striking and distinctive, but also the one where the most variation can be found.[7] The main elements of this section include the nature of the hero's parents and the relationship between them, the means of his conception, the circumstances of his birth, and the many signs and indications that the child about to be born has a special nature.

The various formulations of the pattern largely agree in making the hero's parents distinguished, royal, or otherwise noteworthy, with the additional detail that the mother is likely a princess (von Hahn, Raglan) and a virgin (Raglan, de Vries). His father may be a king (Rank, Raglan), a god (von Hahn, Raglan, de Vries), or a hero from far off (von Hahn). Regardless of these details, the crucial point is that the hero's parents are themselves remarkable, and it is not unlikely that the father will have some supernatural aspect or may be an outsider in some way. There is

7 See Pagé 2014 for discussion of birth-tales in the context of Indo-European mythology, Pagé 2015-16 for birth-tales in the medieval Irish context, and Sasson 2007 for birth-tales in the context of comparative religion.

also general agreement that the conception and birth of the hero may be remarkable or difficult in various ways, whether through barrenness of the mother, incest, rape, or even immaculate conception. This is one area where Campbell diverges strongly from the other studies of the hero's life. Campbell entirely bypasses any discussion of the hero's birth and begins his study only with the adult hero receiving what Campbell terms 'the call to adventure'. Segal summarizes Campbell's view of the birth of the hero as follows: 'Birth itself he dismisses as unheroic because it is not done consciously' (1990, xvii). This is demonstrably false, as I have previously argued in my discussion of a number of birth tales in which the fetus consciously communicates in order to control the circumstances under which it will be born, often under very difficult and challenging conditions (Pagé 2014, 16).[8]

Of the many possible ways of signaling the special destiny of the hero, one of the most commonly occurring devices is that of prophecy. While prophecies may only indicate that a special child is about to be born, they frequently also explicitly identify the child as a threat to someone in a position of power, most often the child's father or grandfather, which then triggers an attempt to kill the child. The most familiar example of this sequence is that of Oedipus, whose biography provides a template for Rank and Raglan's formulations of the heroic biography, and who is also referred to in the work of von Hahn and de Vries.

The sequence of prophecy-threat-exile-return, where the return includes the fulfillment of the prophecy, constitutes a significant part of the heroic biography, and demonstrates that the birth episode of the hero is crucial in creating the impetus for the rest of his biography. That said, it is possible to find stories containing these very elements that, while certainly showing partial overlap with the heroic biography, cannot themselves be considered heroic biographies. The story of the daughter of Raghallach provides a perfect example of this. Her birth is described in Keating's *Foras Feasa ar Éireann* (II.XIV) and, though only sparse details are given, provides a close parallel for the life Oedipus. A druid prophesies to Muireann, the wife of Raghallach, that their children, and specifically the child that she is carrying at that moment, will soon bring about their deaths. Raghallach orders his wife to kill the child as soon as it is born. Muireann places her inside a bag and gives her to a swineherd to kill. He instead takes it to the house of a pious woman and hangs the bag from a cross near her house. She finds the child and raises her, and in time the girl's beauty is such that Raghallach hears of her. He demands that the girl be brought to him, and though the woman who had raised her refuses, the girl is brought to him by force. Upon seeing her in person, he makes her his consort, rousing the jealousy of his wife. Soon after this, Raghallach is out hunting deer. Slaves kill and divide the deer that he had been pursuing and he threatens them, but instead they kill him. His

8 The agency of the fetus in a number of traditions is also discussed in many of the papers collected in Sasson and Law (2009).

wife, we are then told, died through jealousy of her own daughter. We are never told the name of Raghallach's daughter, nor do we learn anything of her fate following the deaths of her parents, but we have here many features present also in the life of Oedipus: a prophecy warning against her birth, an attempt to kill her, a rescue, a childhood in exile, and a homecoming that involves an incestuous relationship with one parent and the death of both. This story demonstrates how women can have the same types of extraordinary births as heroes, and that the consequences of their births may follow narratively similar lines, even without fuller development of the biography. It is clear that episodes about supernatural or otherwise remarkable births can often provide a departure point for a heroic biography, but that they can also exist independently, or describe the births of those whose subsequent lives do not reflect the heroic biography in any way.

Youth

The youth of the hero is generally spent in exile and in ignorance of his true identity. Nonetheless, signs of his extraordinary nature are often evident. Von Hahn notes that the hero is raised by a childless couple or by a widow and develops a 'passionate and violent disposition'. Rank says nothing about the hero's childhood, but the hero's eventual return to his parents as an adult establishes that he spends his youth in exile. Raglan specifically states that we know nothing about the hero's childhood, but also that he is raised by foster-parents in a far country. De Vries too describes the hero as not being raised by his own parents, and instead being in the care of lowly people or even a 'mythical figure' (1963, 214). He also notes that the hero begins to display his special nature during his youth. The central features of the youth of the hero are that it is spent in exile—away from his parents and his own country, and that his special nature continues to reveal itself.

Travels

When the hero reaches adulthood, he generally spends a period of time traveling. During this time, he has a variety of adventures, but the movement of the travel is essentially a homeward one, as this period concludes with his eventual homecoming. There is a great deal of variation regarding how this period is described in the differing formulations of the heroic biography. Von Hahn identifies this as a time when the hero seeks service in foreign lands and overcomes various monsters. Rank telescopes the transition from youth in exile to homecoming by simply stating that the hero 'finds his parents in a highly versatile fashion' (2015, 47). Raglan too focuses on this as the time when the hero travels to his homeland or future kingdom. De Vries further describes the hero as gaining supernatural abilities and overcoming monsters, and adds that the hero may win a maiden and travel to the Underworld. Essentially, this is a period of movement toward the hero's point of origin and transition into adulthood

in preparation for his homecoming and full entry into adult life. It is during this period of travels that the hero is given the time, space, and opportunity to display and develop his special nature and to prove himself before achieving his ultimate destiny.

Return

Inevitably, the hero must take his place in adult society, and this most frequently involves a return to his point of origin where his identity is recognised, his social position restored, and his enemies defeated. Von Hahn describes the hero returning to his own country, overcoming his enemies, rescuing his mother, and claiming his throne. Rank refers to the hero as finding his parents and taking revenge against his father, while also being acknowledged and receiving his true rank. Raglan and de Vries admit the possibility that the hero may not return to his original country, but may instead gain rank in a new one, but both also acknowledge the pattern of the exiled hero returning to the place of his birth, where he overcomes his enemies, marries, and becomes king. The return of the hero, often described as a triumph over his enemies, ultimately functions to provide him with his entry into adult society. In many cases, as suggested by the frequent references to the hero confronting his father or his original persecutors, the hero's return fulfills the prophecy that led to his original exile.

The Fall of the Hero

Von Hahn's pattern contains additional elements that indicate further problems for the hero, such as being accused of incest, slaying his younger brother, or injuring an inferior. De Vries indicates that the hero may be forced to leave the kingdom that he has gained. Raglan is most detailed about the biography of the hero following his ascension to the throne. His pattern includes the hero ruling peacefully for a time and leading the life that he was meant to lead, before losing the favour of his people or the gods and being forced once again into exile, which eventually leads to his death.

Death

The death of the hero is generally described in far less detail than his birth. Rank does not make any reference at all to the fall or death of the hero, ending his discussion with the hero in his period of settled adulthood. Von Hahn and de Vries both comment on the likelihood of the hero dying young, and von Hahn raises the further possibility that the hero dies while out of favour and under mysterious circumstances. Raglan's pattern gives the most detail about the death of the hero, stating that the death will be mysterious, and often at the top of a hill. Further, if the hero has any children they will not succeed him. This is often a consequence of the hero having lost his status before his death. Raglan also deals with the treatment of the hero's body after death, noting that it will not be buried, but that many sites will be reputed to be the hero's burial place, or 'holy sepulchre' (1990, 138).

This mystery concerning the ultimate fate of the hero resumes the mystery of his origins, dealt with in variable fashion in the narration of his birth.

Deirdriu's Biography

With this outline of the heroic biography in mind, I turn now to the question of the heroic nature of Deirdriu's biography, as present in LMU. No details are given about Deirdriu's conception or the relationship between her parents.[9] Her father is Feidlimid mac Dall, the storyteller to Conchobar mac Nessa. Her mother is never named and is referred to in the text only as *ben ind Ḟeidlimthe* 'Feidlimid's wife'. Deirdriu's extraordinary nature is first signaled when her pregnant mother crosses the floor of Conchobar's house and a scream is heard from her womb.

When an explanation for this scream is sought, the druid Cathbad prophesies the future of the child in two poems. The first of these is addressed to Feidlimid's wife, and the second to Deirdriu herself. In the first poem, Cathbad describes Deirdriu's physical beauty and the wars that will be fought on her behalf among the men of Ulster. He then places his hand on Feidlimid's wife's belly and says *Fír ... ingen fil and ocus bid Derdriu a hainm ocus biaid olc impe* (ll. 52–3), 'It is true … there is a girl here and her name will be Deirdriu and there will be evil because of her'. He then proceeds to deliver the second prophetic poem, speaking directly to Deirdriu herself. He says that *Cēsfaitit Ulaid rit ré* (l. 57), 'The Ulstermen will suffer during your lifetime', and then goes on to predict the exile of the sons of Uisliu and their betrayal while under the protection of Fergus mac Róich and Fergus' subsequent exile because of this. Finally, he names some of the Ulster warriors who will die because of Deirdriu.

This prophecy quite explicitly expresses the threat that Deirdriu poses to the Ulstermen collectively, and they respond by demanding that she be killed. Conchobar refuses, however, and declares that *Bērthair lim-sa ind ingen i mbārach ... ocus ailebthair dom réir féin ocus bid sí ben bías im farrad-sa* (ll. 81–83), 'I will take the girl with me tomorrow and she will be reared according to my own wishes and she will be the woman who will be in my company'. In giving this command, Conchobar effectively rescues Deirdriu from the threat of the Ulstermen, but also provides a second view of her destiny, which supplements the prophecy of Cathbad. We now effectively have two visions of Deirdriu's destiny: first that she will bring destruction to the Ulstermen, and second that she will be Conchobar's companion.

In accordance with Conchobar's wishes, Deirdriu is raised in exile and in isolation, permitted only the company of her foster-parents and the satirist Leborcham, who could not be kept away. Unlike her male counterparts, Deirdriu is well aware of both her identity and her expected destiny, at least where her future

9 It should be noted that all studies of the pattern make clear that not every heroic biography will include every element of the common pattern.

relationship with Conchobar is concerned. Like her male counterparts, however, she is taken away from her parents and raised by foster-parents, and like them she shows a special nature and what the von Hahn / Nutt formulation of the pattern describes as 'a passionate and violent disposition'. This reveals itself especially when, again like her male counterparts, Deirdriu attempts to escape her prophesied fate. Once she has seen Noisiu, she decides that she prefers him to Conchobar and forces him to elope with her. Though he recognizes the danger in this situation and initially refuses her, Deirdriu successfully coerces him into following her wishes by physically seizing him and shaming him into cooperation.

Upon reaching adulthood, the hero of the von Hahn/Nutt heroic biography will seek service in foreign lands, while the hero of Rank and Raglan's patterns will return to his point of origin in order to claim his throne, and thus reclaim his original position in society. The return of the hero is generally a trigger for the fulfillment of the initial prophecies about the threat that he poses, and so his homecoming will likely be accompanied by death and destruction. In Deirdriu's biography we find both these stages reflected. Following their initial flight from Conchobar, Deirdriu and Noisiu, along with his brothers, spend several years in exile, taking shelter in various places in Ireland before entering the service of the king of Scotland. After Deirdriu and the sons of Uisliu have been gone from Ulster for some time, Conchobar offers a truce and they are lured back to Emain Macha. They are betrayed and the sons of Uisliu are killed while under the protection of Fergus mac Róich. Deirdriu's return to her point of origin thus precipitates the prophesied conflict among the Ulstermen, which causes the death of many and leads to Fergus' exile, as foretold by Cathbad. As we would expect in a heroic biography, Deirdriu's homecoming is accompanied by the fulfillment of the prophecy that warned against her before her birth.

Deirdriu then takes the place in society that was determined for her by Conchobar and becomes his consort. The standard formulation of the heroic biography describes the hero as returning home in triumph, fulfilling the prophecy, marrying a princess and claiming his throne. Here we have Deirdriu returning home, fulfilling the prophecy, marrying a king, and taking her place at his side. Though there is no triumph here and she is unwilling to take her place with Conchobar, this serves to illustrate the distinction between the formal features of the pattern and the range of functions that they can serve within the narrative. Deirdriu's life is progressing along the same lines as a heroic biography at the level of narrative structure, but the meaning of her story is entirely different to that of traditional heroes.

Rank's pattern ends with the hero 'achieving rank and honours' (2015, 47), but as we have seen von Hahn, Raglan, and de Vries all make reference to further events in the hero's life. De Vries and Raglan both describe a fall from grace or loss of favour that drives the hero into a second exile. This outcome corresponds

closely with the final part of Deirdriu's biography. She remains with Conchobar as his companion for one year but continues to grieve for Noisiu and his brothers and to express her unhappiness. Her sorrow eventually causes Conchobar to become angry with her, and having lost Conchobar's favour, Deirdriu is to be sent to Eogan mac Durthacht, Noisiu's killer. When Eogan attempts to take Deirdriu away from Emain Macha, initiating a second period of exile for her, she leaps from the chariot, strikes her head against a boulder, and dies.

The extraordinary death of the hero is remarked upon by von Hahn, and both von Hahn and de Vries note that the hero dies young. Raglan's description of the hero's death does not apply here, for the most part. Deirdriu's death is not mysterious, and it does not occur on a hilltop. Of interest, however, is Raglan's assertion that 'the hero is not buried, but nevertheless he has one or more holy sepulchres'. LMU makes no reference to Deirdriu's burial, but *Oidheadh Chloinne hUisneach*, a later retelling of Deirdriu's story, describes her death differently. In the latter text Deirdriu throws herself into Noisiu's grave and dies there. As Deirdriu's story continues to be told over time, additional and conflicting details are incorporated, including the motif of her drinking Noisiu's blood and Deirdriu's corpse refusing to remain buried separately from that of Noisiu.[10] LMU makes only one passing reference to Deirdriu's grave. The final quatrain of Cathbad's second prophetic poem, addressed directly to Deirdriu, ends with the lines *Biaid do lechtán i nnach dú; / Bid scél n-airdairc, a Ḋerdriu* (ll. 77–8). Hull translates these lines 'Your little grave will be everywhere. It will be a famous tale, O Derdriu' (62). Though I would certainly not insist on interpreting these variations as a close correspondence to Raglan's statement that the hero is not buried but has multiple burial places, the uncertainties surrounding the final fate of Deirdriu's body at least recall the mysterious quality of the hero's death.

Deirdriu and Oedipus

In most aspects, Deirdriu's biography as represented by LMU clearly follows the pattern of the heroic biography. This can be illustrated even more explicitly by directly comparing her biography with that of Oedipus, one of the most standard and frequently cited examples of heroic biography. For the major points of Oedipus' biography, I refer to the summary of Oedipus' life in Apollodorus' *Library of Greek Mythology* (ed. Hard 1998, 105–7).

Women and Heroic Biography

There is a great deal of variation regarding the type of hero at the centre of this pattern, and a good part of the variation between the patterns has to do with the specific heroes that each scholar has chosen as his models. Oedipus and the

10 See in particular Mathis (2011) for a discussion of the evolution of Deirdriu's story, including the different traditions about her death and burial.

The Pattern	*Oedipus*	*Deirdriu*
1. Birth	Warned against	(—)
2. Prophecy	Kill father / marry mother	War and destruction among Ulstermen
3. Threat	Father orders him exposed	Ulstermen want her killed
4. Rescue	Rescued and taken to the queen of Corinth, who passes him off as her own child	Conchobar orders her raised to be his consort.
5. Exile	Raised in exile by foster-parents	Raised in isolation by foster-parents
6. Attempt to avoid fate	Leaves foster-parents to avoid prophecy	Elopes with Noisiu to avoid Conchobar
7. Travels	Having learned about the prophecy, he refuses to return to Corinth and travels instead	Travels with Noisiu in Ireland and Scotland
8. Return	Oedipus returns to Thebes	Deirdriu returns to Emain Macha
9. Fulfillment of Prophecy	Oedipus kills father and marries mother	Deirdriu's return sparks war among the Ulstermen and after Noisiu's death she is taken by Conchobar
10. Fall from grace	Oedipus learns his true identity, blinds himself, and loses kingship	Conchobar grows tired of Deirdriu's grief for Noisiu
11. Second exile	Oedipus leaves Thebes and goes into exile	Conchobar gives Deirdriu to Eogan mac Durthacht
12. Death	Oedipus dies as a suppliant in Colonus	Deirdriu dies leaping from chariot

Oedipal complex are central to Rank's understanding of the heroic biography and Raglan takes Oedipus as the proto-typical example of the hero around whom a heroic biography is built.[11] Independently of one another and with entirely different approaches to the interpretation of the pattern, Rank and Raglan both established Oedipus' biography as the most typical of the heroic biography. Von Hahn also includes Oedipus as one of the heroes on whom he bases his pattern, and though de Vries makes scant reference to Oedipus in establishing his own pattern, most of it does nonetheless apply to Oedipus' life. While in many studies the emphasis remains on warrior-type heroes, other types of heroes are also known. Tomás Ó Cathasaigh has commented that while the warrior hero is generally preferred in studies of the pattern, it must be emphasized 'that in the Irish tradition, as elsewhere, the heroic biography is not limited to martial figures, and that it does not always relate to a setting dominated by military aristocracy and celebrating martial virtues' (1977, 11). Alan Dundes' study *The Hero Pattern and the Life of Jesus* (1977) further illustrates the extent to which the biography pattern can be present in the lives of non-traditional, non-martial 'heroes'. As previously noted, there have also been studies showing that Irish saints' lives correspond to the heroic biography, in

11 Raglan's system of evaluating heroic biographies is based on a 22-point system, with Oedipus receiving the highest score with 21 points.

particular Bray (1988), and while some of these saints are women, they are treated primarily as saints and only secondarily as women.

In standard formulations of the heroic biography, there are of course some roles for women, but these are secondary and dependent on the women's relationships with the hero at the centre of the pattern. We find that in stories about heroes, women occupy two main roles: the hero's mother, who may suffer on his account and may need to be rescued by him, and the hero's bride, who is usually a prize that he must win as a part of his entry into adult society. Joseph Mbele, writing about the roles of women in African epic, has offered a different reading of the hero's relationship with his mother, noting that:

> No matter what the women do, we just do not see them as heroic. The mother may carry the unborn hero for seven years, as is the case with Sundiata, or one hundred and fifty years, as is the case with the Akoma Mba epic, suffering incredibly in the process, but we just ignore this immense burden and feat. Sundiata's mother not only endures the long pregnancy and the insults of other women, but she travels with Sundiata into exile, guiding and protecting him, and offering him crucial advice. We do not see or acknowledge this as heroic […] (2006, 63).

Rachel Havrelock (2008) has also written about the mother of the hero as having her own heroism, specifically in the context of barren women who must undergo a journey in order to conceive.

Additional women may appear at various points in the hero's life in the role of opponent or ally. A typical episode in the life of the hero is conflict with a monster or other supernatural creature, and some of these are female. We can think here of Perseus' encounter with Medusa and the Gorgons, Hera's persecution of Herakles, or Ishtar's antagonism towards Gilgamesh. Other heroes have female figures who offer them support in various ways, such as Cú Chulainn's training with Scáthach, though this is less common and often the woman in the helper role later becomes the hero's bride.

The idea that a woman may herself be the subject of her own full heroic biography, rather than being merely present as accessory to a male hero, is rarely addressed. None of the studies of the pattern discussed thus far raises the possibility even as an anomaly. In fact, the idea is so absent from these studies that they never explicitly state that the hero is always male, or that a woman cannot have a heroic biography. Maureen Murdock, in preparing her book *The Heroine's Journey* (1990), spoke with Joseph Campbell about how the journey of women might relate to his understanding of the 'hero's journey'. She quotes him as responding that women do not need to make the journey, because 'In the whole mythological tradition the woman is *there*. All she has to do is to realize that she's the place that people are trying to get to. When a woman realizes what her wonderful character is, she's not going to get messed up

with the notion of being pseudo-male' (1990, 2). Thus, for Campbell, and likely for many other scholars who do not state it so explicitly, women have no stories of their own. They are static and function to mark milestones for the hero. They make no journey of their own and have no agency. They are the hero's goal.

Other scholars, however, have recognised that female characters play a much more dynamic and active role in most narratives. Accordingly, they have sought to determine whether women have their own heroic biographies and to identify the form that these biographies may take. While discussions of heroic biography overwhelmingly focus on male subjects, there have also been a few studies of women's heroic biographies, or heroine's biographies. These involve taking the male pattern as primary and the female pattern as secondary and treating the female pattern as a separate but derived entity, an altered form of the male pattern consisting of gender based deviations. We have seen that Deirdriu's biography follows the same standard pattern found in the biographies of male heroes, but it is also worth examining how a 'heroine's biography' may also be read in Deirdriu's life.

By taking the approach that the female biography is a derivative of the male, scholars are forced to also treat the women at the center of these biographies as imitations of male heroes, or as deviating from normal female roles. Coline Covington, for example, writes that 'The female hero is essentially a woman warrior whose battles take place within the male world. Although she is unusual in this one respect, her sex is nevertheless incidental' (1989, 243). Covington, like Rank, takes a Freudian approach to understanding the function of the heroic biography, and though she dismisses the difference between male and female heroes as 'incidental', she nonetheless sees them as representing different aspects of psychological development. The hero represents separation from the parents, and especially the mother, and his travels represent the conflict between wishing to be recognized by and connected with his mother, and his desire to be independent. The heroine, on the other hand, represents a second stage of development in which new attachments and dependencies can be formed, and in this context Covington notes the role of the heroine as the hero's partner. By this view, the female heroine is essentially the same as the male hero but represents a later stage of life through her role in creating family for the hero. This reduces the heroine's biography to an appendage to the male hero's and positions her relationship with him as the ultimate goal of her journey. It is difficult to recognize Deirdriu in Covington's heroine. She is unable to form the attachments and dependencies that Covington views as central to the function of the heroine. Her first partner, Noisiu, is taken from her before they can truly establish themselves, and she refuses to play this role for Conchobar. It would be very difficult to argue that Deirdriu's sex is incidental to her story, and yet her challenges are the same as those of the male hero: surviving threats in infancy, navigating exile and homecoming, and attempting (and failing) to establish a permanent place in adult society on her own terms.

Mary Ann Jezewski (1984) provides a separate study of the heroine's biography in 'Traits of the Female Hero: The Application of Raglan's Concept of Hero Trait Patterning', in which she attempts to adapt Raglan's pattern for a female hero. She makes the claim that although there is a clear pattern in the biographies of female heroes, it is one 'markedly different from Raglan's hero pattern', and she further states that 'Raglan's male hero traits do not "fit" the female hero' (70). Jezewski imitates Raglan's approach in listing key commonalities between stories about female heroes, but unlike him she does not treat these as reflective of any sort of ritual cycle. As a result, her pattern combines elements of narrative structure with items that describe the character of the heroine. In fact, her pattern, developed primarily based on Greek sources but with reference to other cultures as well, contains many elements identical to Raglan's, despite her claims that these traits are not suitable to the female hero. I here reproduce her pattern in full, separating the elements that differ from Raglan's pattern from those that do not.

Similarities to Raglan's Features	*Differences from Raglan's Features*
1. Her parents are royal or godlike and 2. They are often related.	
3. There is a mystery surrounding her conception and/or birth.	
4. Little is known of her childhood.	
5. She is herself a ruler or goddess. 6. She is charming and beautiful	
	7. She uses men for political purpose. 8 She also controls men in matters of love and sex.
9. She is married and 10. She has a child or children.	
	11. She has lovers.
	12. Her child succeeds her.
13. She does a man's job or deeds.	
14. She prescribes law.	
	15. There are conflicting views of her goodness.
	16. Her legend continues the Andromeda theme[12]
	17. and the subsequent resolution of this by treacherous means resulting in untimely death or exile or incarceration, etc
	18. Her death is uneventful and may not be mentioned in her legend.

12 The 'Andromeda Theme' refers to the rescue of the heroine from a monster or some other undesirable situation by the hero, whom she then marries. After some time, her relationship with the hero deteriorates, but he is then permanently removed in some way. On this theme see further Jezewski 1984, 58-9.

Some of the features of this pattern are worded in such a way as to relate specifically to a female hero, but in fact perfectly mirror what we find in Raglan's pattern, such as 'She is herself a ruler or goddess', which corresponds to the royal and/or semi-divine status of the male hero. Similarly, in stating that the heroine is 'charming and beautiful', Jezewski is merely identifying the gender-appropriate description of the special or extraordinary nature of the hero. These can therefore be excluded from a discussion of how this female-specific pattern might appear in Deirdriu's life, since they echo the canonical formulation of the pattern which we have already established as present in her biography.

Turning to the genuinely different items in this pattern, we find that few of them actually apply to Deirdriu. Certainly she 'controls men in matters of love and sex', as is evident in her elopement with (or even abduction of) Noisiu, but this is not for political purposes, at least not overtly. Máire Herbert (1992) has argued that in Deirdriu we find a reflex of the Sovereignty Goddess, but one who refuses to act as such and denies sovereignty to the king. This could constitute a political agenda furthered by her relationship with Noisiu, but this is not as straightforward a reading of these relationships as what Jezewski intends, since Deirdriu makes no political gains through her relationships. She does have 'lovers', in that she is involved with Noisiu and then Conchobar, but her relationship with Conchobar can hardly be described as consensual nor can she be said to control him, and further she does not have children to succeed her. It seems likely that there are 'conflicting views of her goodness', but this can be said of many male heroes as well, the observation has just never been included in any description of the hero's life due to the overly simplistic view of the hero of the heroic biography as 'good'. It is worth noting that just as women have been neglected as the potential subjects of heroic biographies, villains and monsters will also frequently have 'heroic' biographies, but they are rarely considered in discussions of this narrative pattern. There is no clear Andromeda theme in Deirdriu's story, unless one wishes to treat Conchobar's isolation of her as something that she needs to be rescued from, but in fact she rescues herself. I certainly could not accept a reading of the text in which Conchobar 'rescues' Deirdriu from Noisiu and his brothers. Finally, her death is not only eventful, it is a key element in her legend. We find, in the end, that the canonical 'male' heroic biography offers a better fit for Deirdriu's life than this derived 'female' pattern does.

Conclusion

In responding to Campbell's claims about the universality of the hero's journey, Barre Toelken wrote that:

> The same plot, clearly, does not always mean the same thing; without the implied meanings and shared connotations supplied by cultural context, we may very well have a coherent text whose meanings are totally misapprehended. This is one of several points missed by those who believe "archetypes" are universal in their meaning: it led Joseph Campbell to argue in an otherwise brilliant book that there is a universal hero myth—an assertion that can be maintained only by suppressing thousands of stories […] in which culture is threatened and destroyed, not stabilized and renewed, by the egotistical actions of a powerful male seeker (1996, 257).

While the 'archetype' that is the heroic biography may be universal as a narrative structure, its function within stories about various individuals may vary considerably.

Deirdriu's biography closely follows the standard heroic biography outlined in the work of Rank, Raglan, and others, and yet her story is not that of a typical hero. This observation provides a starting point for interrogating the relationship between the 'hero' and the 'heroic' biography. Do we redefine 'hero' simply as anyone whose biography follows the standard pattern, or do we instead re-evaluate the extent to which this pattern is proper to stories about heroes? The problem of defining 'hero' is a long-standing one and not something that can be addressed in the present discussion. However, simply having a 'heroic biography' cannot be a sufficient criterion for defining someone as a hero. Jezewski attempts to resolve this problem by defining a hero in terms of both the pattern of their life and the nature of their deeds and character, stating that a hero is:

> A person whose life story is passed on by oral tradition and/or written accounts and is remembered for exceptional deeds that have as their basis qualities exemplified in courage, power or magic. The hero may be a character of folktale, legend, myth, or history (1984, 55).

As previously alluded to however, we find this pattern in descriptions of the lives of many types of people who do not remotely conform to any standard definition of the word hero, including those who explicitly function as villains, or those whose presence barely registers in the narrative, such as the daughter of Raghallach, who is never even named. Further, many of the most familiar and recognizable heroes of myth, legend, folktale, and history do not have heroic biographies.

Rather than attempting to redefine the hero, we must instead reconsider the extent to which the biography pattern as we know it is specifically heroic. I have argued that Deirdriu's biography is 'heroic' only in that we label this narrative pattern as 'heroic biography', but I would not argue that having a heroic biography makes Deirdriu a hero. I propose instead that in treating this narrative pattern as belonging exclusively or even primarily to stories about heroes, we fail to recognize the multitude of meanings that this pattern can carry in structuring stories about

the lives of many different kinds of people. It is not that Deirdriu's biography is 'heroic', it is instead that the biography pattern itself is not inherently about heroes. The biography pattern is used to pattern the lives not only of heroes, but also of others whose lives are considered to be worth telling stories about. By taking a more inclusive approach to the study of this pattern and recognizing its presence in the lives of a broader range of people, we will, to paraphrase Toelken, no longer misapprehend the full range of potential meanings that can be expressed by stories that integrate the various aspects of this narrative structure.

Abbreviations

LMU = *Longes mac n-Uislenn*

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Kirja-arvosteluja—Book reviews

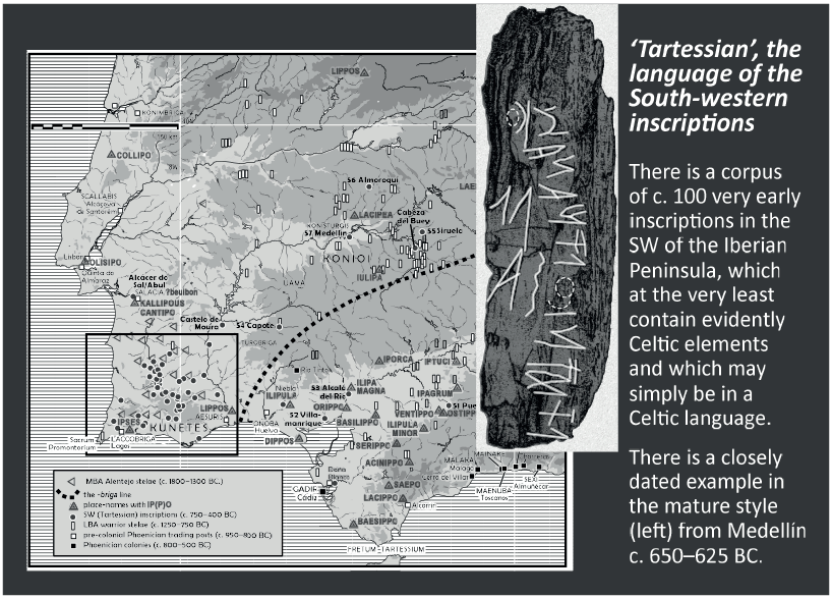
Kaufman, Terrence, *Notes on the Decipherment of Tartessian as Celtic.* Washington D.C.: Institute for the Study of Man. 2015. Journal of Indo-European Studies Monograph Series No. 62. 526 pages. Hardcover price: $102. ISBN 978-0-9845383-6-2; Paperback price: $68. ISBN 978-0-9845383-3-1.

Terrence Kaufman's *Notes on the Decipherment of Tartessian as Celtic* (NDTC) repre-sent an essentially positive appraisal of John Koch, *Tartessian: Celtic in the south-west at the dawn of history* (Aberystwyth, 2009; revised, expanded edition, Aberystwyth, 2013) (T1) and *Tartessian 2: The inscription of Mesas do Castilinho;* ***ro*** *and the verbal complex; Preliminaries to historical phonology* (Aberystwyth, 2011) (T2), in which Koch reads the 90-odd "Tartessian" inscriptions, probably mainly necrological in na-ture, ca. 750–450 BC, from south-west Iberia (Tartessos, Greek Ταρτησσός, Hebrew תַּרְשִׁישׁ taršīš, cf. "The ships of Tarshish", Kings I 10:22, Ezekiel 27:12, etc.), in an alpha-syllabary (semi-syllabary: part alphabet, part syllabary, i.e. consonant + vowel) probably derived mainly from Phoenician, as the earliest extant form of Celtic. Koch builds on work by Juan A. Correa, Jürgen Untermann, and Jesús Rodríguez Ramos, bringing to bear a wide-ranging knowledge of various forms of Celtic as well as fami-liarity with current archaeological thinking on the relevant regions and horizons.

José Antonio Correa in 1989 and 1992 originally proposed that Tartessian was a Celtic language, but now regards it as unclassified. Jürgen Untermann in 1997 (*Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum IV: Die tartessischen, keltiberischen und lusitanischen Inschriften*) (MLH IV), on which Koch's work is heavily based, recognized that there might be Indo-European or specifically Celtic elements in the inscriptions. Francisco Villar, in a 2004 survey of Iberian Celtic, thought that the inscriptions might contain "an early form of Gaulish" within a non-Celtic and probably non-Indo-European matrix language. Jesús Rodríguez Ramos, on the other hand, thinks that the inscriptions are not Celtic, and probably not Indo-European. The possibilities thus range from, various authors: an unclassified non-Indo-European language, possibly containing some Celtic personal names, to John Koch: the earliest form of (Proto-)Celtic, and now Terrence Kaufman, who agrees.

Calling the language of the South-West Iberian inscriptions "Tartessian" is probably a misnomer, albeit one which is now unfortunately fairly well entrenched. A glance at

a map of the locations of the inscriptions shows that they are heavily concentrated in the remote upland areas of southern Alentejo, just north of the Algarve in latter-day Portugal, and well to the west of the more fertile region centred on Huelva commonly recognized as having been the location of the fabled realm of Tartessos. As the local inhabitants of the area of the SW inscriptions were known to classical authors as the Cunētes (κυνῆτες), a less misleading name of "Cunetian" might be suggested for the language. The name Cunētes may be related to Welsh Cunedda, which would be fortunate if Tartessian/Cunetian does turn out to be Celtic.



Source: John Koch: Celtic from the West (2015). Used with permission. https://www.academia.edu/19895000/Celtic_from_the_West

If Tartessian (Cunetian) is fully Indo-European and Celtic, it begs the question of the place where Celtic first emerged and spread from: Hallstadt / La Tène, expanding towards both the Atlantic seaboard and Anatolia, the traditional version, or, in this radically new scenario, going from south-west Iberia to the north-east and north, with crucial implications for our understanding of the evolution of Indo-European as a whole.

Related to the Tartessian-as-Celtic proposal is the broader Celtic-from-the-West movement bringing together archaeologists, linguists and geneticists, which has resulted in three major conferences and related publications launched by Oxford archaeologist

Source: Wikipedia: "Tartessian language"

Barry Cunliffe together with John Koch: *Celtic from the West*, *Celtic from the West 2*, and *Celtic from the West 3* (Oxford, 2010, 2013, and 2016) (CfW1, 2, 3).

The relatively well, albeit not fully, understood South-West Iberian or Tartessian script or alpha-syllabary is:

The South-western or 'Tartessian' Script

Source: John Koch: Celtic from the West (2015). Used with permission. https://www.academia.edu/19895000/Celtic_from_the_West.

Phoenician script, transcription, IPA values

𐤀	𐤁	𐤂	𐤃	𐤄	𐤅	𐤆	𐤇	𐤈	𐤉	𐤊	𐤋	𐤌	𐤍	𐤎	𐤏	𐤐	𐤑	𐤒	𐤓	𐤔	𐤕
’	b	g	d	h	w	z	ḥ	ṭ	y	k	l	m	n	s	‘	p	ṣ	q	r	š	t
ʔ	b	g	d	h	w	z	ħ	tˤ	j	k	l	m	n	s	ʕ	p	sˤ	q	r	ʃ	t

Tartessian shapes similar to Phoenician, transcription (k~g, t~d: closest to Phoenician value)

𐤀	𐤁	𐤂	𐤃	𐤄	𐤅	𐤆	𐤇	𐤈	𐤉	𐤊	𐤋	𐤌	𐤍	𐤎	𐤏	𐤐	𐤑	𐤒	𐤓	𐤔	𐤕
a	b^{e}	g^{a}	d^{u}	h? φ?	u	b^{i}? t^{i}?	!b^{o}	t^{i}	i	k^{e}	l	m?	n	s	e		m?	k^{i}	r	ś	t^{a}

Stops (undifferentiated for voicing) have different signs for the consonant plus each of the five vowels, which are *also* redundantly written after the stop-plus-vowel sign (i.e. /ba/ is written **b^{a}a**). The **b/p** plus vowel signs shown above probably actually stand for **b** plus vowel only, */p/ being deemed absent from the phoneme inventory—possibly an areal feature, as absence of /p/ is also posited for Iberian and Celtiberian. The asymmetric signs, e.g. **i**, **u**, **k^{e}**, **b^{a}**, **b^{e}**, **ŕ**, **l**, **n**, etc. are usually reversed when used in the less common left-to-right order (both directions are found, as well as alternating *boustrophedon*; no word boundaries are indicated). The hoop with two horns 𐤔 is usually transcribed as **ŕ** (Kaufman sees the latter (p.38) as “retracted **z**” or “Czech **ř**” [ɾ̠ ~ ɻ ~ r͡ʒ]).

Koch believes that the five different Tartessian symbols for each voice-undifferentiated stop, according to the following vowel, represent “consonant quality” (T1: 18, 138; T2: 140–42), and are thus analogous to the palatalization / velarization distinction in the Goedelic languages. That seems dubious on two grounds. (1) It is unheard of for a language to have five different phonological varieties of stops; two is quite common (palatalized /velarized, possibly three if one recognizes a neutral term—neither palatalized nor velarized, as has been argued for Old Irish), but not five. (2) Irish palatalization or velarization are particularly marked before vowels of the opposite type, i.e. palatalized consonants before back vowels and velarized consonants before front vowels, whereas the five Tartessian variants almost always appear before the homorganic vowel, and that only; it is clearly not a distinction of an analogous type. An alternative explanation for the 15 stop graphemes (b-, T-, K- plus each of -a, -e, -i, -o, -u) might simply be that while it is easy to pronounce fricatives and sonorants without a following vowel by merely hissing, buzzing or humming, it is impossible to pronounce stops without a following vowel.

Absence of /p/ in non-Indo-European Iberian is said by some to account for the loss of /p/ in (Iberian) Proto-Celtic by a substratal effect: Iberian-speakers shifting to

Indo-European/Proto-Celtic were unable to pronounce /p/, thus explaining the loss of /p/ in Celtic.

Arabic, too, lacks /p/: Semitic /p-, -p̄- [-f-]/ gives Arabic /f/ in all positions. Indeed, this gap in the phoneme inventory of Arabic is so strong that many Arabic-speakers not fluent in a European language have trouble pronouncing /p/. But the result is "In for a **b**enny, in for a **b**ound," not "In for a **'**enny, in for a **'**ound," as would be required by the theory outlined above.

One particular problem regarding the Tartessian script is the value of 𐤕, **b**^{i} or **T**^{i}? Most scholars see it as **b**^{i}, and so do both Koch and Kaufman in some instances, but always as **T**^{i} in the numerous endings in →𐤌𐤕𐤌, an "orthographic variation" of →𐤌𐤍𐤌, **-nT**^{i}**i**, read as 3pl, crucial for the identification of Tartessian as Indo-European and Celtic. Clearly, more work needs to be done on resolving the remaining ambiguities of the Tartessian script.

It is also strange that voiced/voiceless pairs **d/t**, **g/k** should be posited for Tartessian, yet the script only recognizes voice-undifferentiated stops **T**, **K**. Furthermore, the script does not have an unambiguous symbol for **m**. Phoenician has all of the following separate symbols: 𐤁 **b** ~ 𐤐 **p**, 𐤃 **d** ~ 𐤕 **t** ~ 𐤈 **ṭ**, 𐤂 **g** ~ 𐤊 **k** ~ 𐤒 **q**, 𐤅 **w**, and 𐤌 **m**. So it is unclear as to why these phonemes should have caused a problem in the Tartessian script if Tartessian is indeed Celtic and the script was derived directly from Phoenician. Kaufman provides a plausible explanation in the idea (pp.43, 151–69) that the SW Iberian script was first developed from Phoenician for a Basque-related or Vasconic "Hipponic" language (numerous SW Iberian placenames in ip(p)o:(n), cf. Olisippo[na] 'Lisbon'); "There are so far 40 Turdetanian toponyms with strong or plausible explanations via Bask" (p.159); Turdetanian is applied to the cultural area following the collapse or disappearance of Tartessos. Proto-Basque is thought to have had only voiceless stops, and no **m**, **w** or **y**. Although the question then arises as to why no inscriptions in this putative predecessor language to Tartessian have ever been discovered.

Two immediate impressions on reading Koch on Tartessian as Celtic are, first, the lack of clarity on how he arrives at his conclusions: the constantly tentative phrases "could be, might well, possibly" are like so many leaps in the dark which magically shift to greater certainty without any more analytical ado. Secondly, and perhaps more damning, is a persistent and disturbing sense of anachronism: some of the Tartessian forms Koch analyses appear to be more eroded than their putative analogues in Old Irish or other attested forms of ancient Celtic, all of which are considerably younger than Tartessian (a thousand years younger in the case of Old Irish).

First off the review blocks was Tatyana Mikhailova, with a critical account of T1 in *Voprosy jazykoznanija* 2010/3: 140–45. Michael Koch wrote, in 2011, a critical review of T1 in *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 58: 254–9.

On the other hand, Eric Hamp, in "The expansion of the Indo-European languages" (online pdf, 2013) includes, for the first time, Tartessian under Celtic, in an Indo-

European language tree. This is the only endorsement of Tartessian as Celtic from a professional Celticist, and a very eminent one, albeit without any discussion of the question whatsoever. Hamp has written nothing to back up this significant endorsement.

Joseph Eska has written very critical reviews of T1 and T2, both in *Kratylos* 58 (2013), and of CfW2 in *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* (2013, online).

In 2014, a special issue (42/3–4) of the *Journal of Indo-European Studies* (JIES42) edited by Jim Mallory was published under the title *The Indo-European-Tartessian Debate*. The first article is nearly 100 pages long by John Koch expounding his view of the question, followed by critical articles by Joseph Eska (the Tartessian-as-Celtic enterprise), Miguel Valério (the south-western script), Blanca María Prósper (the classification of Tartessian as Celtic), and finally a spirited reply to his critics by John Koch. (Koch thus has 93+38 = 131 pp. against his detractors: Eska -11 pp., Valério 28 pp., and Prósper 19 pp. = a mere 58 pp.).

Tatyana Mikhailova has written a further critical review of T1, T2, CfW1, 2, 3 in 2015 in *Voprosy jazykovogo rodstva / Journal of Language Relationship* 13/3: 257–79.

Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (DIAS) Professor of Theoretical Physics, Werner Nahm, suggested in a talk on the subject at DIAS in October 2015 (p.c. David Stifter) that the proposals of Tartessian as Celtic had all the hallmarks of a new intellectual paradigm, which often triggered stiff resistance to begin with. It appears, nevertheless, that most of the audience remained unconvinced.

Finally, Joseph Eska published in 2017 a very critical review of NDTC in the *Journal of Celtic Linguistics* 18: 202–04. He writes: "It is not clear to me that TK [Terrence Kaufman] truly controls Celtic linguistics well or is knowledgeable about the Continental Celtic languages at all" (p. 203); disagrees (p. 203) with Kaufman's endorsement of Koch's analysis of Tartessian **t^{e}e**, **ro**, **ar**, etc. as Celtic preverbs: "such brief phonological sequences can hardly said to be diagnostic of anything"; points to the weirdness of many of Kaufman's translations: "That any genre of inscription would include such statements seems highly improbable to me"; and concludes: "As is surely apparent, I find little of value in this volume. There may be some small amount of serious work to be done on Tartessian, but, to my mind, it is in the direction of seeking out whether there are viable comparisons to be made with Iberian morphological structure. This volume should never have made it into print."

Reviews of *Tartessian* and more generally *Celtic from the West* by Celtic linguists have thus been overwhelmingly critical and sceptical. Apart from NDTC, the only positive reactions have been by Eric Hamp (not a review, just acceptance, without any elaboration, that Tartessian could be Celtic) and Werner Nahm, not a professional Celticist.

On a related matter (of particular interest to me), for the first time we now have a plausible source for a Hamito-Semitic substrate to Celtic (if indeed Tartessian/Cunetian is Celtic and if Insular Celtic was indeed influenced by such a substrate). These are the

Phoenician settlers who were neighbours of the Tartessians, and who continued to speak Phoenician there for the best part of a thousand years. But Graham Isaac has launched blistering attacks against the Hamito-Semitic substratum theory for Insular Celtic in *Studia Celtica* 38 (2004) and at a workshop on "The Celtic languages in contact" at the 2007 International Congress of Celtic Studies in Bonn (proceedings available online).

But now, Terrence Kaufman's NDTC endorses the reading of Tartessian as Celtic, and indeed claims to provide additional evidence in that direction. Kaufman's entry on the linguistics page of the University of Pittsburg reads: "PhD, University of California at Berkeley. Professor emeritus of linguistics and anthropology: Mesoamerican languages descriptive and historical, especially Mayan, Mixe-Zoquean, Zapotecan, and Nahua; language contact, dialectology, archaeological decipherment, lexicography, and cognitive anthropology; Indo-European, Germanic, history of English, and Romani." He claims a wide range of Indo-European languages, as well as Hebrew, Aramaic, and Phoenician, and has recently taken a special interest in Celtic. (As Eska casts doubt on Kaufman's ability in Celtic, some of Kaufman's remarks on Semitic, e.g. "Phoenician *kapp*, *qOpp*" (pp. 32–33; no evidence of gemination in those names in Phoenician) or "Quranic Arabic … has VSO … present-day Vernacular Arabic has SVO" (p. 129; Qur'ānic Arabic is probably dominantly VSO, but it is absolutely full of SVO too; most modern Arabic colloquials have both VSO and SVO—only Egyptian is strongly SVO) suggest a less than thorough mastery of that field.) Kaufman is co-author, with Sarah Thomason, of the influential *Language Contact, Creolization and Genetic Linguistics* (Berkeley, 1988).

Between 2006 and 2014 Kaufman compiled "Notes on the structure of Celtic languages and Celtic comparative grammar" (446+159+150 pp.) and a "Celtic etymological database" (ShoeBox etymological database with ca. 8,200 entries), both indicated in the bibliography (p. 515). In other words, he began working intensively on Celtic well before the publication of Koch's *Tartessian* (2009, 2nd ed. 2013) and *Tartessian 2* (2011). However, neither Kaufman's notes on Celtic nor his etymological database, on both of which he draws heavily in NDTC, have been published, and are thus not available for the scrutiny of professional Celticists.

Kaufman's NDTC has the following main chapters and page numbers (showing the length of each chapter or section): **0** Introduction / preface / foreword, p. 1; **1** The Tartessian inscriptions, the Tartessian polity, and the Tartessian language, p. 3; **2** Tartessian is Celtic, p. 9; **3** The Tartessian writing system, p. 31; **4** Some methodological points on decipherment, p. 58; **5** Conclusions regarding the linguistic features of Tartessian, p. 59 (diachronic phonology, p. 60; Tartessian sound system, p. 73; lexical and morphological peculiarities, p. 79; verbs, p. 84; syntax, p. 118; nominals, p. 132); **6** The position of Tartessian within Celtic, p. 143; **7** Another "decipherment" of Tartessian as Celtic, p. 146; **8** Place names and personal names transmitted by Greeks and Romans, p. 148; **9** Non-Celtic material in Tartessian, p. 172; **10** Non-alpha-syllabic

sources of Tartessian material, p. 175; **11** Names, p. 177; **12** Tartessian texts transcribed and analyzed, p. 179; **13** Tartessian vocabulary, p. 485; **14** Indo-European words for 'wolf' and 'fox', p. 506; **15** Abbreviations and conventions, p. 511; **16** Bibliography, p. 514; **17** Personal reflections on what led me to study Tartessian, pp. 519–26.

"I [Kaufman] start out by saying that Tartessian is resoundingly Celtic, and I bring to bear additional evidence so far not deployed by Koch" (p. 1). "Koch has discovered some of [the evidence that Tartessian is descended from proto-Celtic]; I have discovered additional evidence, and overall more than Koch" (p. 58). Kaufman describes a series of conversations held with Eric Hamp on 11, 12, 14, 28, and 30 August 2010 on whether or not Tartessian was Celtic (p. 9). Initially, Kaufman did not believe it was. The conversation on 14 August 2010 appears to have been the clincher: "I accept/acknowledge—as of 15 August 2010—that Tartessian is a Celtic language. I have subsequently worked through all of Koch's data, plus three more inscriptions by Guerra in 2009." In other words, the passionate conviction that Tartessian is Celtic is suddenly in place, thanks to his friend and mentor, Eric Hamp, *before* he does any spadework. But he does not give us any details of that fateful conversation.

Recalling two Meso-American decipherments, Kaufman says: "The matches between the words read in Epi-Olmec texts and words reconstructed for proto-Sokean [Zapotec] are exact, not approximate. This is not the case with the hypothetical forms that Koch finds in the Tartessian inscriptions. This is a methodological and probably largely also a factual flaw in Koch's procedure" (p. 9). He also notes: "From the comparative Celtic perspective, the pronunciation of words suggested by Koch often seem more evolved than those of either Celtiberian or Gaulish" (p. 10) and "Koch's case overall is not presented with the systematicity and finesse that immediately convinces the reader, and several of his suggestions are demonstrably implausible and/or overshadowed by better hypotheses, such as those offered here" (p.10). "Two strategic missteps characterize Koch's search for Celtic parallels. If a similar form is found in other Celtic languages, they are assumed to be cognate, no matter how non-systematic the phonological 'equations' may be." (p. 10).

In the lengthy chapter on "Conclusions regarding linguistic features of Tartessian" (pp. 59 –142), we have a summary of Kaufman's view of proto-Celtic and how it relates to the Tartessian inscriptions. However, no sources whatsoever are given for Kaufman's information, and much of his speculation is fanciful, to say the least: for instance, for the presumed verb *naŕk^{e}e-* (Koch: intransitive) 'remains fixed, unmoving, rests in peace' (T1: 111) / *nazke-* (Kaufman: transitive) 'bind, bind X in, bury, lay X in grave', Kaufman wonders (p.79): "Where would a preform like [nariKe-] or perhaps [naryVKe-] come from? For a while I was stumped. Then I said to myself that we might think of the root *rig-E- 'to bind'. How about *ad= rig-E- 'to bind'? [enadrig-] > [enarrig-] > [nazg-] 'to bind in'. For <n->, instead of *en= we might entertain the

preverb *ande=, but in J.1.1 <n-az-ke-e-> follows directly on <ane>, which I take to represent *ande 'down, under'."

Kaufman notes (p. 69) that "[x] /k/ is not spelled out before /s, t/ … <anbati> *amb=a[x].t-i: 'servant' (Gs)…", one of the anachronistic features which makes Tartessian, if Celtic, look eroded in comparison with much later Celtic languages. For that, and other reasons: "Given the phonological history that lies behind Tartessian as we know it, there is no way that Tartessian is the ancestor of any other known Celtic language" (p. 72). He agrees (p. 110) with Koch's analysis of <ro-> as a marker of perfective aspect, as in Old Irish, and (pp. 110–19) with Koch's idea that Tartessian contains stacked preverbs, again on the pattern of Old Irish.

In a puzzling excursus (pp. 128–31), Kaufman opines that "Two features spread from Egyptian to European and Semitic languages … the development of a definite article out of a preposed weak demonstrative and a shift [from VSO] to SVO word order." It is unclear how this, if confirmed, is relevant to what is known about Tartessian.

In the texts section of NDTC (pp. 179–484), each inscription includes (p. 179): [a] image of text (only sometimes, generally not as good as in Koch T1, T2); [b] Untermann serial number; [c] where images can be found; [d] how text is laid out; [e] state of preservation; [f] themes present; [g] genre; p.193: TO transcription of Tartessian orthography; TP assumed Tartessian pronunciation; UR* underlying representation in proto-Celtic garb with morpheme boundaries; MG morphemic gloss; LT literal translation; FT freer translation.

On the other hand, Koch T1 and T2 have better images of the inscription, but fewer levels of analysis: Untermann serial number; name, location found, museum conserved in; picture in many cases; (1) normalized Tartessian script (sorely lacking in NDTC); (2) transcription; (3) Celtic morphological equivalent; (4) translation. The fact that the levels of analysis do not correspond between T1, T2 on the one hand and NDTC on the other makes it somewhat laborious to compare the two authors.

Finally, there are a number of very unfortunate editorial problems with NDTC. Kaufman uses unwieldy and not always well-defined ASCII symbols and strings for transcription rather than conventional IPA symbols ("I will never use phonetic fonts in my published work" p. 511), and has other grating idiosyncracies, such as `xxx´ for 'xxx', 'Bask' for 'Basque', 'Sapoteco' for 'Zapotec', 'Celtichood', etc. Pages vii-viii of the Table of Contents (which does not always correspond to the headings in the text!) appear again between pages 52 and 53 of the main text. Numerous references in the text are absent from the sketchy bibliography (which includes telegraphic notes after some entries—things we all do privately, but which few of us would wish to publish). Sometimes a full reference is given in the main text, but just as often it is merely an author (with or without date) who cannot be traced if missing from the bibliography. There is no full list of abbreviations. Some of the notes and headings are chatty, e.g. **OK stuff**; **stuff that is unclear**; **stuff that is way wrong** (Ch. 2 "Tartessian is Celtic";

no referenced justification for any of these comments). Numerous pages, especially in the texts and vocabulary sections, suddenly switch to horizontal Landscape layout, which could have been avoided by using smaller fonts or breaking up the texts of inscriptions into two or three lines instead having everything on a single line. This is very annoying, especially when trying to compare different pages which are not in the same orientation. It is surprising that the Institute for the Study of Man, whose flagship *Journal of Indo-European Studies* is a model of academic editing, should have agreed to publish unchanged a manuscript in such a sloppy and user-unfriendly state, especially at such a high price! It is not a pleasure to have or to work with. The volume is so shoddy that purchasers ought to write to the publishers to demand an 80% refund.

Specialists in the ancient Celtic languages are, with the sole exception of Eric Hamp, sceptical about the idea that Tartessian/Cunetian might be Celtic. Non-specialists, including many archaeologists of the relevant zones and horizons, theoretical physicist Professor Werner Nahm, and now decipherment specialist, but not a professional Celticist, Terrence Kaufman, are intrigued and sometimes well disposed. My personal curiosity has been dulled somewhat by the realization that if Tartessian/Cunetian does turn out to be Celtic, it is effectively more eroded than much later ancient Celtic languages (as also noted by Kaufman), and so it is highly unlikely that it could have transmitted substratal effects from Semitic Phoenician by some as yet unclarified mechanism, bypassing the rest of the European continent (where no Hamito-Semitic substratal traits have ever been found in Continental Celtic languages), to any of the Insular Celtic languages. In any case, with such a small and laconic corpus (which applies, relatively speaking, to both Tartessian/Cunetian *and* Phoenician), it is also highly unlikely that any syntactic substratal influence of Phoenician Semitic on Tartessian/Cunetian Celtic could be conclusively demonstrated.

Rather than bringing water to John Koch's mill, Kaufman's NDTC may actually have the effect of muddying the waters still further in the Tartessian/Cunetian-as-Celtic debate. Any serious prospective investigator will need to read Koch's T1 and T2 together with Untermann's MLH IV, on which Koch's work is extensively based, and may now want to check each inscription against Kaufman's remarks, to the extent that they are coherent and have something new to say. However, it is clear that not all Kaufman's claims are entirely reliable. His most interesting suggestion is that of the SW Iberian script having been devised from the Phoenician script by speakers of a Proto-Basque language which he dubs "Hipponic". That would explain most of the quirks of the script, otherwise difficult to understand if borrowed directly by speakers of a "Celtic" Tartessian/Cunetian. It may even be the case that the language of the SW inscriptions is just such a "Hipponic" language and not Celtic or Indo-European at all; but that is not a possibility which Kaufman appears to have entertained.

In order to do justice to the Tartessian/Cunetian conundrum, one effectively needs to have expertise in Indo-European, ancient Celtic, Phoenician, Iberian, and Basque,

a rather tall order. Incidentally, most Celticists are unaware of the sheer wealth of publications on pre-Roman Hispania; see, for instance, http://ifc.dpz.es/publicaciones/listado/categoria/9. It is a great pity that the vigorous debate among Celticists on Tartessian/Cunetian as Celtic does not appear otherwise to have kindled much interest among Peninsular specialists on the languages of pre-Roman Hispania.

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Ó Mainnín, M. B., Toner, G. (eds.) *Ulidia 4: Proceedings of the Fourth International Conference on the Ulster Cycle of Tales.* Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2017, 264 pp., ISBN 978-1-84682-631-3, 50€.

Ulster Cycle scholarship has advanced considerably since the days when Eugene O'Curry proposed, in his lectures on the sources for Irish history, that the corpus of early Irish tales was "strictly historical" in nature (O'Curry 1861: 239); or, when, almost a century later, O'Rahilly argued, in an unquestionable manner, that the main characters of the Cycle were in fact euhemerized deities (O'Rahilly 1946: 271). Nowadays, it seems to be generally accepted that any text represents an open "argumentative space" which can be analysed from various perspectives and "resists closed and finite interpretation" (Hollo 2004: 147–148). Depending on our subjective interpretation and on the methodology one employs, for example, structuralist, intertextual or feminist approaches, we discover yet another facet of a text which might have otherwise seemed to be familiar and thoroughly studied. "A pressing need to analyse the extant texts as literary works in their own right" was long ago voiced by Tomás Ó Cathasaigh (1984: 292), and was recently advocated by Ralph O'Connor in the introduction to his all-embracing literary study of *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* (O'Connor 2013: 4). Although purely literary monographs are still a rarity in our field, the series of Proceedings of the International Conferences on the Ulster Cycle of Tales partly fill this gap.

Ulidia 4, edited by Mícheál B. Ó Mainnín and Gregory Toner, contains a selection of papers presented at the Fourth International Conference on the Ulster Cycle of Tales held in Queen's University, Belfast, on June 27–29, 2013. The programme of the conference included twenty-one papers, eleven of which were published in the present volume. The range of papers varies, and includes a discussion of manuscript contexts, literary critiques of the Ulster Cycle narratives, and historical analyses. The volume testifies to the fact that, despite the amount of scholarship already done, the Ulster Cycle still poses many questions which are to be elucidated and re-evaluated in the future.

The articles demonstrate the most recent discoveries in various fields of the discipline and are grouped thematically which facilitates the reading process as a whole. The opening essay by Fangzhe Qiu discusses the previously neglected connections between the Ulster tales and legal materials which feature characters or episodes from the narratives belonging to the Cycle. The evidence of legal tracts opens new perspectives for our understanding of how these tales were perceived and prioritised by the Irish *literati* themselves, without imposing our own assessments on the role of the tales within the tradition. It was indeed surprising to learn that "reference to the central tale, *Táin Bó Cúailgne* (*TBC*), is conspicuously absent" (pp. 10–11); or how the killing of Connlae by his father Cú Chulainn, known to us from *Aided Énfhir Aífe*, was creatively reworked

in *CIH* 2127.19–2128.17 in order to illustrate a legal principle of unintentional kin-slaying (pp. 13–14).

Intertextual links and manuscript contexts are the subject of the following article by David Stifter, in which he addresses the collection of Ulster tales purportedly assembled in the now lost manuscript known as *Cín Dromma Snechtai (CDS)*, while also assigning the monastery of Bangor as a possible location for the manuscript's provenance. Stifter also notices a strong "poetic undercurrent" in the compilation of *CDS* — an idea which he illustrates with *Fil and grian Glinne Aí*, one of the poems once contained in the *CDS*. This sophisticated poem represents a "versified menu" at a banquet in which the "mundane subject matter" is obscured by means of "the most elaborate metaphors, kennings and circumlocutions, aggravated by deliberate deformations of words and playing with sounds" (p. 33). After such an appealing description of the composition, it is very regrettable that Stifter has not cited a single line of the text to give his readers a flavour of this undisputed *chef-d'oeuvre* of poetic mastery. The rationale is explained in a footnote, stating that "for reasons of space it is not possible to print it here." This decision, however, is disappointing since Meyer's edition of the poem has no translation (Meyer 1894: 46–48). I believe that one quatrain accompanied by interlinear glosses and a translation would not have made Stifter's article much longer, but it would have provided a curious reader with an example of how such a complicated poetic text might be approached and analysed. However, one may draw comfort from Stifter's intention to produce a new edition of the poem in the future (p. 32, fn. 30) and to discuss its poetic features elsewhere in due course (p. 34, fn. 34).

After we learned that space might be an issue, it was surprising to discover that the next article by Britta Irslinger occupies almost sixty pages (pp. 38–94). Irslinger's contribution is devoted to the comprehensive examination of the old and new etymologies for the name Medb. However, before we get to the main point on page 82—that Medb might in fact mean "a ruler" and not "an intoxicating one"—we are presented with a detailed review of previous scholarship, starting with Stokes who was the first to propose the classical etymology in 1894, consideration of *hieros gamos* and sovereignty goddess in Irish and Welsh sources, discussion of Gaulish evidence and *aśvamedha* ritual, and other interesting but a bit overwhelming details that surround the etymology of 'Medb' like a network of paths branching off the main road. Irslinger's article is an example of thorough and brilliant scholarship, especially valuable for its discussion of Gaulish parallels, but the format of her contribution, in my opinion, would rather suit a booklet or a lecture (Erich Poppe's encyclopaedic Quiggin Memorial Lecture *Of Cycles and other Critical Matters* (2008) immediately comes to mind).

The next three articles by Tatyana A. Mikhailova, Joanne Findon and Gregory Toner deal with various compositional and thematic features of the Ulster tales.

Notably, all three essays take, *inter alia*, *Serglige Con Culainn* as a case study, thereby illustrating how the same text can be interpreted differently, depending on a chosen methodological approach. Mikhailova studies the role of female introductory descriptions and comes to an interesting conclusion that the visual representation of a woman signalled for the audience that the character is otherworldly and ill-intentioned, while mortal heroines are described solely through their moral characteristics and virtues. Although this conclusion seems persuasive, in one of the examples which illustrates her point, Mikhailova argues that the compiler of the *Táin* "fails to give any physical description of Medb…[a]t the same time, Feidelm the seeress…is portrayed in a detailed and vivid manner (in both recensions of the saga)" (p. 96). One might remember, however, that Medb is in fact described in Recension I as a tall blonde woman with two golden birds on her shoulders (*TBC I*, ll. 3205-7; O'Rahilly 1976: 97). However, since the focus of Mikhailova's article is on the introductory descriptions, we might surmise that this depiction of Medb is irrelevant for her analysis as it does not introduce a new character.

Joanne Findon utilises one of the central concepts of Mieke Bal's narrative theory, namely, "focalisation"—which allows us to evaluate a narrative from a particular point of view—to consider the relationship dynamics between an Otherworld woman and her mortal partner in *Serglige Con Culainn*, *Noínden Ulad* and *Tochmarc Becfhola*. As Findon shows, such romances never have a happy ending primarily because mortal men repeatedly fail to appreciate their otherworldly wives, in which case the narrative function of these female characters is to challenge and to deconstruct the heroic image of the male protagonist. Gregory Toner offers yet another approach to the *Serglige*: he analyses the structure of the tale from the point of view of gender and social norms, describing the setting of the tale as an "abnormal realm" where the abnormality of the situation is a result of "[t]he inversion of the power relationship between men and women" (p. 133). According to Toner, stylistically the tale is based on asymmetry, contradiction and binary oppositions which cross gender and world boundaries.

Sharon Arbuthnot continues her research on the meaning of gestures in the Ulster tales, based on the cases when a person touches another's chest or face. As she suggests, these symbolic gestures were aimed at threatening the person's honour and served as a means of self-protection for someone in a disadvantageous position. Martina Maher challenges the opinion that *De Gabáil int Shída* should be considered as a *remscél* to *TBC* and argues that the tale is in fact a fully-fledged fore-tale since it provides the necessary precedent of verbal deceit, the narrative device which is actively used in *TBC*. One of the most interesting of Maher's ideas is the distinction between separate narrative universes which conditions the co-existence of various and sometimes contradicting versions of the same story. In this vein, different versions

of the legend of Óengus taking the *síd* "could happily co-exist…as these were considered to be a part of two separate 'cycles', a *Táin Bó Cuailnge* cycle and a *Tochmarc Étaíne* cycle" (p. 160).

The next essay, by Patricia Ronan and Gerold Schneider, will certainly be of interest to anyone who is even slightly familiar with Irish palaeography: Ronan and Schneider attempt to determine the identity of interpolator(s) H in *Lebor na hUidre*, with the help of stylometric analysis of the low-level linguistic features (functional words) in the texts attributed to H. Needless to say, Pandora's box was opened when Elizabeth Duncan published her ground-breaking article in which she differentiated scribe H into six distinct hands (Duncan 2015). Those who were lucky to be at Tionól 2017 will remember the talk of Dr Caoimhín Breatnach, who put forward very strong evidence against a multiplicity of scribes. However, the contribution of Ronan and Schneider neither confirms nor denies Duncan's theory. It looks like there were indeed a few scribes involved, but the correspondence of hands and texts is different, as, for instance, *Comthóth Lóegaire* (Duncan's H5) and *Táin Bó Flidais* (Duncan's H2) seem to be written (or even authored) by the same person (pp. 172, 173). In any way, this valuable research shows that the debate regarding H is far from being resolved.

The last two articles in the volume deal with the historiographical value and impact of the Ulster Cycle. Kay Muhr examines how Ulster politics might have influenced the geographical locations and genealogical connections mentioned in the tales. She argues that "intentional modifications of Ulster Cycle tales" (p. 176) were made on behalf of the Uí Néill who were possibly attempting to "claim that the O'Neill kingship of Ulster had existed from prehistory" (p. 199). The last article, by Mícheál B. Ó Mainnín, revisits the phenomenon of *Óenach Macha*, referring to both the Assembly and the place-name. Ó Mainnín scrutinises various textual evidence including the Ulster Cycle tales, *dindšenchas*, Patrician sources, annalistic entries, and later saga material, and concludes that the name *Óenach Macha* may be relatively late in terms of its introduction and employment in the Irish literature. Ó Mainnín's conclusion agrees with recent discussion of the name Macha by Gregory Toner, who has argued that the name of Crunnchu's wife in *Noínden Ulad* might be a later interpolation (Toner 2010: 85).

Finally, one may notice minor editorial inaccuracies regarding the references throughout the volume. For instance, Qiu (p. 11, fn. 8) and Stifter (p. 24, fn. 8) refer to different articles by John Carey published in 1995 as "Carey 1995", but when we consult the bibliography, we find three articles of the same date i.e. attributed (1995a), (1995b) and (1995c) (p. 228). Likewise, Ruairí Ó hUiginn has two articles from the year 1992 (which are labelled 1992a and 1992b, p. 241) but the reference on p. 25 simply states "Ruairí Ó hUiginn (1992, 62)". On the other hand, Liam Breatnach's paper "Lawyers in early Ireland" is marked as (1990a) (p. 227), although this is the only

quoted article by Professor Breatnach from the year 1990. Byrne's *Irish Kings and High-Kings* is referred to as "Byrne 1987" in Qiu's article (p. 21), but as "Byrne 1973" in Stifter's contribution (p. 24); while "Byrne 1987" does not appear in the Bibliography at all.

These minor incongruities, however, do not affect the quality of *Ulidia 4* and do not lessen the enjoyment one gets from reading the articles which cover so many aspects of the Ulster Cycle scholarship. Although this volume contains fewer contributions than the previous three, this collection of essays could definitely be considered as *klein aber fein*. *Ulidia 4* meets the high standards set by the three previous volumes and would appeal to many scholars with diverse academic interests.

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Constantine M.A. and É. Guillorel: *Miracles & Murders: An Introductory Anthology of Breton Ballads.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2017. 232 pp., ISBN 9780197266199, £55.

Miracles & Murders: An Introductory Anthology of Breton Ballads is a valuable addition to the canon of ballad scholarship that is available in the English language. The expertise of the authors, Mary-Ann Constantine and Éva Guillorel, is evident in their introductory essay, which carefully places the ballad tradition of Brittany in its local, national, and international contexts; the close analysis which accompanies each of the song-texts is also of very high quality.

Without wishing to be overly Anglocentric, one of the great advantages of this work's availability is that it permits a degree of cross-cultural comparison to be carried out by those who are not proficient in the Breton language. Like the English-language ballads of the type collected by F.J. Child during the second half of the nineteenth century, the songs in this collection are generally composed of a combination of third-person narration and expository dialogue between characters. The stylistic features of narration in these ballads will also be well-known to those who are familiar with the Child-type ballad in English: the ballad is usually narrated in language which is sparse, and sometimes bleak, but which is occasionally illuminated by vivid flashes of detail—such as 'corpses on a beach being "eaten by yellow crabs"; a penitent soul huddled in a cold field "between the horses' feet"; a red-eyed fiend clinging to the burning spire of Quimper cathedral'—to which striking details the editors justifiably draw the reader's attention (p. 1).

In the context of the Celtic languages, there are also some parallels between the ballads in this collection and the Gaelicised versions of the Child-type ballad. The Breton ballad is not always entirely self-explanatory and, as in Gaelic tradition, accompanying explanatory material is often necessary to fill in the gaps in the narrative—whereas the Child-type ballad in English is typically more of a self-contained narrative. In truth, however, as the authors point out, there are not a great many parallel storylines which are apparent when Breton ballads and other ballad traditions are compared—although the authors carefully examine the Breton ballads' possible links with themes such as the Triads of medieval Welsh texts (p. 45) and the shared traditions surrounding St Brigit and related figures (p. 71).

The songs and their accompanying essays shed light on some of the preoccupations of the Breton-speaking community over a period of several hundred years. The theme of religious faith looms large and, as the title indicates, miracles are a common feature of the ballads; the ballads' aforementioned use of vivid and precise detail serves, in the authors' felicitous phrase, as a means of '*materialising* the miraculous' (p. 23; authors' italics). The community's great fears, including the plague (p. 73) and rabies (p. 77) are addressed, as are other fears which involve human agency: in common with Child-type ballads in

English and their counterparts in Gaelic, the attention of the Breton ballad is often focused on close interpersonal relationships, and in particular on the cruelties that can be perpetrated within these relationships. Forced marriage, murder, rape, incest and infanticide are all represented within the pages of this anthology, and many of these themes appear repeatedly. This focus on terrible deeds is a matter of considerable interest; in this tradition, as in other traditions, it may well be the case that these cultural products exist as part of the process of dealing with such unpalatable realities.

One remarkable feature of these ballads is that tradition-bearers frequently proclaim them to be 'true' (p. 13)—although whether they are believed to be true in a literal sense, or whether they are true in the sense that they demonstrate certain fundamental truths about human relationships, is not entirely clear. I would like to have seen this idea of 'truth' teased out a little more—but perhaps the available evidence does not support any further interpretation. In any case, the authors' later phrase 'true in the ballad sense' (p. 93) is a helpful indicator of the fact that what is meant by 'truth' may vary in different contexts within the folk tradition.

The question of veracity is very skilfully handled by the authors in cases where the ballads appear to have some grounding in historical fact. Here we see various preoccupations being addressed by tradition-bearers—perhaps the most interesting of which is the use of the ballad as a counter-narrative to 'official' history (or, indeed, history as written by the victors) in contexts such as those of Breton nationalism (p. 94) and the French Revolution (pp. 189, 209). These ballads demonstrate the oral tradition's capacity for a remarkable tenacity in conserving ideas which may have been outside the mainstream of popular thought; we are indeed fortunate that so much of this material has been preserved by collectors and made available in this anthology.

Committing orally-transmitted material to print is a process which requires great sensitivity, and in this respect the authors have undoubtedly succeeded. The tradition-bearers from whom the material was collected are given their place; due attention is paid to alternative versions of songs and to performance contexts where known; the social forces and value-system which shaped the repertoire are carefully examined; and the inclusion of a CD with performances of some of the songs underlines the fact that this is primarily an oral tradition. Nonetheless, the authors caution against any misleading notion as to the 'purity' or inherent 'authenticity' of oral transmission (pp. 18-19)—a worthwhile reminder that channels of transmission can be complex and are often ultimately unknowable.

The analysis in this collection is well-written and accessible, and the book is beautifully produced. This publication will doubtless be of great interest to those who are interested in traditional song in any of its forms.

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Boyd, M.: *The Four Branches of the Mabinogi.* Peterborough: Broadview Press. 2017. Broadview Anthology of British Literature. 119 pp. ISBN 978-1-55481-319-3. CA$ 14.95.

The Four Branches of the Mabinogi (*Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*) are a series of stories set in an ancient Wales where otherworldy kings and giants roamed, and where magic was possible. Loosely tied together by a shared formula at the close of three of the tales, and the sometimes blink-and-you-miss-it appearance of Pryderi (here translated as 'Carey', see below) in each branch, the Four Branches comprise what is perhaps the best-known body of Middle Welsh prose and one that is certainly a must-read for anyone interested in Welsh literature. Though the Four Branches are often translated with a number of other medieval Welsh tales—a collection known as the *Mabinogion* as popularized by their first English translator, Lady Charlotte Guest—they are presented on their own in this new translation by Matthieu Boyd. The tales are prefaced by a succinct introduction by Boyd which provides an overview of the history of the tales and their scholarly and popular reception, though it glosses over some of the larger academic debates such as those surrounding the date and authorship or nature of composition of the tales (pp. 7–11). A note on the translation is included (pp. 11–12), though it does not tell us from which version of the text Boyd translated. A map of Wales is also included (p. 13). An appendix titled 'In Context' (pp. 93–119) contains excerpts from Dafydd Jenkins' edition and translation of the Laws of Hywel Dda (*Cyfraith Hywel*; pp. 93–9), Rachel Bromwich's edition of *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* (The Welsh Triads; translated by Boyd, pp. 106–12), and Gerald of Wales' *Descriptio Kambriae* (The Description of Wales; translated by Boyd from the Latin, pp. 113–19). A selection of images taken from the pages of National Library of Wales Peniarth MS 28, a thirteenth-century Welsh law manuscript, is also included (pp. 100–5).

The target audience and aim of this volume are made clear by Boyd in his note on the translation: 'Its primary purpose is to make the text accessible and engaging for twenty-first-century undergraduate readers in North America' (p. 11). It is unclear if the suggestion here is that other recent translations of the Four Branches, such as those included in Sioned Davies' 2007 translation *The Mabinogion*, are to some degree impenetrable or boring to undergraduates in North America in particular—a characterization of the students which I believe would be unfair—or if this is rather an easy justification on the part of the publisher for a new translation of these texts on the (relative) heels of that work. No such justification should be necessary, however, as any new translation of the Four Branches will bring with it new interpretations and insights, and should generate interest in the tales and in Welsh literature more generally.

The excerpts contained in the appendix are one of the features of this volume which sets it apart from previous translations. Their inclusion provides useful context

for the tales for those students who are unfamiliar with these texts and whose institutions may not have access to the editions from which they are taken. For those students who do have access to the texts, the hope is that the excerpts provided will prove interesting enough that they are encouraged to seek out the complete works for themselves. To this end, it is odd that no URL for the digital surrogate of National Library of Wales Peniarth MS 28 (www.library.wales/discover/digital-gallery/manuscripts/the-middle-ages/laws-of-hywel-dda/) was provided. It is possible that this decision was made on the basis that URLs are subject to change, though a general link to the website of the National Library of Wales—which is mentioned in the introduction to the selected images (p. 100)—would probably be more stable and certainly useful for students interested in medieval Welsh literature.

The effort to make the Four Branches 'accessible and engaging' by modernizing the language of the tales is another feature which separates this volume from previous translations. This effort was supported by Stacie Lents, a playwright who is credited with modernization assistance, and it comes largely in the form of the use of modern colloquial language. For example: 'fool around' for *digrifwch* (p. 20); 'killed time' for *treulaw [trannoeth], diuyrru y dyd* (p. 23) and *A'r ulwydyn honno a dreulwys* (p. 27); 'stud' for *ceimat* (p. 28); 'Ma'am' for *gwreicda* and 'buddy' for *eneit* (p. 35). Although some earlier translations of the tales of the *Mabinogi* have suffered from the use of archaic language and the romanticism of the Celtic Revival, the use of these modern colloquialisms—and anachronisms such as 'Manawydan & Co.' (p. 60)—almost swings too far in the other direction; at times the language feels at odds with the setting, which as Boyd puts it is a 'primal past', 'once upon a time' (pp. 9–10).

Vulgarity was also introduced to add force to insults and exclamations, as Boyd explains of his translation of *och* as 'Oh shit' (p. 31, n. 1; p. 47, n. 3; 62). While it is unclear how Boyd reached his conclusion that *och* was 'the most forceful expression of surprise and dismay in the language' (p. 31, n. 1), the English curse does reflect the gravity of some of the situations in which the utterers find themselves. The translation of *direitwreic* as 'bitch' (p. 80) and 'raging bitch' (p. 83) is more problematic. Boyd explains that *direid*, the first element of the compound used by Gwydion to describe his sister Aranrhod, 'can mean "wicked," "nasty," or "out of control," but is also often used in a sexual sense, to mean "wanton" or "promiscuous"' (p. 80, n. 3). The *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* queries the meaning 'wanton', and provides an attestation from William Salesbury's *A Dictionary in Englyshe and Welshe* translating the word as 'shrewe', but there are not otherwise examples of the word in the entry which are particularly gendered or derogatory in the way Boyd suggests (s.v. *diriaid*). Though it is possible to see how the meaning of 'wicked woman' could be extended to 'bitch' in contemporary language, the justification is perhaps unsound and 'raging bitch' is surely an embellishment.

At points, the translation is loose enough that it could cause confusion for any students seeking to compare the text to the original Welsh. For example, the exchange between Gwydion and Gilfaethwy near the start of the Fourth Branch is almost closer to interpretation than translation. The Welsh, as presented in Ian Hughes' edition of the text, reads in part:

> Sef a wnaeth Guydyon y urawd, synnyeit dydgweith arnaw yn graf. 'A was,' heb ef, 'pa deryw ytti?' 'Paham?' heb ynteu. 'Beth a wely di arnaf i?' 'Gwelaf arnat', heb ef, 'colli dy bryt a'th liw, a pha deryw yti?' 'Arglwyd urawt,' heb ef, 'yr hynn a deryw ymi ny frwytha ymi y adef y nef.' 'Beth yw hynny, eneit?' heb ef (Hughes 2013, p. 1, ll. 17–21).

Boyd's translation of these lines is:

> One day his brother Gwydion started staring at him. 'Hey, kid. What's happened to you?' 'What? Why?' said Gilfaethwy. 'Do I look weird?' 'You look all pale. What's wrong with you?' 'Noble brother,' said Gilfaethwy, 'there's no point in my explaining this to anyone.' 'Come on, what is it?' (p. 71).

While this translation conveys the sense of the interaction, it is not strictly faithful to the original text. A more literal translation would be:

> This is what Gwydion his brother did, one day he looked at him closely. 'Oh lad,' he said, 'what happened to you?' 'Why?' he said, 'What do you see on me?' 'I see on you', he said, 'that you have lost your complexion and your color, and what has happened to you?' 'Lord brother,' he said, 'this thing which happened to me will not benefit me to confess to anyone' 'What is it, friend?', he said.

It is, of course, not necessary for translations to be literal, and non-literal translations can often be easier to read and may convey the meaning of the original as or more successfully than a literal translation. Certainly Boyd's translation is snappier than my more literal offering, but when the purpose of the translation is that it is to be used by students, diverging so far from the original may be unhelpful. Indeed, the interpretative nature of this translation has resulted in a rather confusing footnote on 'Noble brother' (*Arglwyd urawt*). The footnote reads:

> Noble brother Gwydion calls his brother *eneit*, a term of endearment. But with this 'noble brother' or 'lord brother' (*arglwyd urawt*), Gilfaethwy becomes very stiff and formal, as though he's suddenly conscious of Goode [Math] overhearing (p. 71, n. 2).

A student unfamiliar with the Welsh language would be forgiven for at first thinking that 'Noble brother' was in fact a translation of *eneit*, before being told otherwise in the next sentence. Instead, the student is left hunting in the text for the translation of *eneit*, and as the footnote seems to imply that Gwydion's more familiar term of endearment precedes Gilfaethwy's formal address—at which point he becomes 'suddenly conscious' of being overheard—they might think that 'kid' was the translation of *eneit*. 'Kid', however, is a translation of *gwas*; *eneit* is in fact omitted entirely from Boyd's translation. A somewhat similar situation occurs again on the next page, where an

out-of-place footnote commenting on a line of text which Boyd omitted from his translation but translated in the footnote itself causes unnecessary confusion (p. 72, n. 1).

The most controversial innovation of this book is the translation of names. Pushback against the move may have been anticipated, as the note on the translation specifically addresses the surprise readers familiar with the Four Branches might experience upon seeing the English renderings, and explains that the decision was made firstly in an effort 'to make the names as meaningful in English as they would be to a Welsh audience…' (p. 11) and secondly because some of the names can be difficult for North Americans to pronounce (pp. 11–12). Beginning with the second rationale, because some of the character names and the majority of placenames have not been translated, pronunciation will remain an issue for some students. A pronunciation guide such as is found in some previous translations may therefore have been more beneficial for students struggling with the Welsh language. It is notable that readers are directed to the Celtic Studies Association of North America's website (celtic.cmrs.ucla.edu/csana/pronunciation.html) for pronunciation guidance (p. 12), although this resource only demonstrates how a selection of names from the First Branch sound when spoken by a native speaker of Welsh; it does not provide the tools for learning Welsh phonemes. It is also notable that the Celtic Studies Association of North America website remarks that being able to comfortably pronounce these names will make the tale more enjoyable. This is important because the names of characters in the *Mabinogi* are often the North American students' first introduction to Welsh and to Anglicize them is to deny these students an opportunity to become familiar with the language.

As for the first rationale, the assertion that English renderings of important Welsh names will be more meaningful to an English readership is unconvincing. While some names may carry 'plot-relevant meaning' (p. 11), it is difficult to see, for example, how 'Blondie Goodarm' is more impactful than Lleu Llaw Gyffes. Indeed, 'Blondie' in English is a diminutive with patronizing overtones while *lleu* ('light, bright', here as in 'fair-haired') is not a diminutive and does not have the same associations in Welsh. Similarly, Pwyll, with a Welsh meaning of 'deliberation, wisdom', becomes 'Sage'. This is not a bad parallel, but as an English name Sage is perhaps more likely to bring to mind the herb, along the lines of the names such as Heather, Rose or Daisy, than it is a wise man. Likewise, the rendering 'Carey' for Pryderi is unclear without explanation (p. 36, n. 1), perhaps because neither it nor the female homophone Carrie are associated with the verb 'to care' in English.

There are also problems and inconsistencies with some of the translated names. Boyd states in the note on the translation that the translated names are those which would have had 'a clear meaning in Middle Welsh' (p. 12). It is curious, then, that he chose to translate

Llassar Llaes Gyfnewit as 'Llassar Firebrand Barter' while adding a footnote that says 'This name is difficult to interpret, but "Llassar Firebrand Barter" is a reasonable guess' (p. 43, n. 2). It is also unclear how this translation was arrived at: while 'fire' may be an element of the name, it would be found in *llassar* (Williams 1930, p. 179, n. 5; Ford 2000, p. 20, n. 105). However, *Llassar* may instead be related to blue enamel (*Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* s.v. *llasar*). While *cyfnewid* can mean 'trade, barter', *llaes* means 'loose, lax, negligent', producing an epithet 'Negligent Bargain' which may allude to the apparent trade Bendigeidfran makes of refuge in exchange for Llassar Llaes Gyfnewit's cauldron. Goewin, on the other hand, is not translated; a footnote explains that 'there is no clear meaning' of the name in that form (p. 70, n. 3). However, *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* suggests the name may mean 'daring, bold' and includes an attestation from the Book of Taliesin (s.v. *goiewin*; see also Hughes 2013, pp. li–lii). Additionally, on two occasions names are translated not into English but into French: 'Blanche Crowe daughter of Ocean' (Branwen ferch Lŷr; p. 38, n. 1 and p. 39, n. 2) and 'Fleur' (Blodeuwedd; p. 84, n. 2). Although Blanche is used as a name in English, it is difficult to see how translating these names, at least in part, from Welsh into another foreign language is preferable to leaving them in their original forms. Furthermore, the use of Fleur for Blodeuwedd obscures the apparent distinction made in the manuscripts between Blodeuwedd's name, variously spelled in the manuscripts *Blodeuwed* and *Blodeued*, and the common noun for "owl", consistently spelled *blodeuwed* (see Hughes 2013, p. lxxxvi).

The worst English rendering of a name, however, is that of 'Busty' for Cigfa. When viewed through a modern lens, this name is obviously offensive. Nevertheless, as Boyd reminds readers in a footnote (p. 56, n. 4), the society in which the tales of the *Mabinogi* take place is a patriarchal one, and if there were any indication that the name Cigfa would have carried the same weight for a medieval Welsh audience that 'Busty' carries for a modern one then perhaps the rendering would have been appropriate if distasteful. Yet it is unlikely that any element of Cigfa's name refers to her mammary glands, contrary to Boyd's explanation (p. 37, n. 1). Though unattributed, the suggestion of 'breast' seems to have come from Ifor Williams' note on the name in his edition of the Four Branches, where amongst a variety of possible meanings he discusses a proposal that *cig* is cognate with the Irish *cích*, 'breast' (Williams 1930, pp. 160–1, n. 24). That a meaning of 'breast' has been rejected, however, is implied by its omission from the entry on *cig* in the the *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* (s.v. *cig*). The second element of the name, *-fa*, means 'place, plain', and was not analyzed by Williams in his note, nor does Boyd seek to explain it. A possible translation of 'Meat Place' is not included among the many euphemisms for a woman's bosom that I have ever encountered. Indeed, 'Meat Place' is such a nonsensical description of anything but a butcher's shop or a meat market (which is what *cigfa* came to mean

by 1567; *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* s.v. *cigfa*) that by Boyd's criteria Cigfa should have been left untranslated. Instead, it is as though the rendering of 'Busty' were intended to give female readers the feeling of being in a patriarchal society, as if we were unfamiliar in the era of #MeToo.

In the introduction to her own translation of the *Mabinogion*, which remains standard, Sioned Davies notes that while Lady Charlotte Guest's original work presented the tales in both English and Welsh, revised editions omitted the Welsh and 'the text became appropriated by the culture of the English target language' (2007, pp. xxvii–xxviii, n. 11); it feels as though the rendering of names in English is the next step in this appropriation. The faults with this volume give the impression that it is expected that readers will be more interested in the content of the tales than the language from which they were translated. While this may be a fair assumption, especially given the likelihood that North American undergraduate students will not have had any prior exposure to Welsh, it seems counter-intuitive to shelter them from aspects of it such as pronunciation when the goal is ostensibly to get them interested in medieval Welsh literature and culture.

Setting aside these issues, however, efforts to expand the readership of medieval Welsh literature and to bring these tales into the curricula of English departments should be applauded, and this new translation of the Four Branches is, overall, an effective if not precise retelling which draws the reader in and keeps them interested. In addition to the assistance from a playwright and the breaking of the fourth wall ('Remember Rival?', p. 49), it is clear from a number of footnotes that Boyd is interested in the performative aspect of the tales and the mechanics of the narration (see, for example, the discussion above of Gilfaethwy stiffening in response to the perception of Math—'offstage'—overhearing his conversation; see also p. 19, n. 2 p. 48, n. 3; p. 49, n. 2; p. 3, n. 1; p. 77, n. 1; p. 87, nn. 3–4). This interest is mirrored in the quick dialogues and colloquial language used to modernize the tales. Regardless of whether or not such updating was necessary to interest North American undergraduate students, this unintimidating volume of the Four Branches and the contextual material packaged with it is likely to make this an attractive resource for expanding reading lists for courses on British literature.

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