

An Investigation of the *Remscéla Tána Bó Cúailnge*

&

An Edition and Translation of *Aislinge Óenguso* with
Textual Notes

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis has not been submitted as an exercise for a degree at this or any other university and it is entirely my own work.

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Thesis summary

This thesis endeavours to provide new perspectives on the *remscél* ‘prefatory tale’ as a narrative unit and the classification of a specific selection of tales as *remscéla* in Early Irish literature. The present thesis is divided into two parts: Part 1 is an investigation of the concept of the term *remscél* ‘prefatory tale’, the context of its usage as a literary term and how it is applied to tales and episodes associated with Recension I and II of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* (TBC), *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* (BDD) and *In Cath Catharda* (CCath.). The purpose of this first part is to plot the development of an emerging series of minor Early Irish secular tales created for, or altered to suit, an extended main narrative. Part 2 of this study is a critical edition of one of the supposed *remscéla* to TBC, the Old Irish tale *Aislinge Óenguso* (AÓ), which I present with full manuscript readings, a translation, and editorial commentary in the form of textual notes.

Part 1 begins with a summary of previous scholarship on the *remscél* as a category of tale and outlines the approach of the present edition as seeking to understand the medieval Irish conceptualisation of a series, as opposed to the modern understanding of Early Irish literature in terms of the ‘cycles’, which is frequently used to classify saga material for the classroom. In sections 1.2–1.4, I then turn to all extant *remscéla* lists and the manuscripts in which they are contained with a view to investigating the function of the *remscéla* lists within their codicological context: the Book of Leinster, p. 245b; RIA MS D iv.2, f. 47vb; RIA MS C vi.3, f. 27v and two sets of 19th-century transcriptions from a now-lost manuscript by the Scottish antiquarian Ewen M’Lachlan, namely, NLS MS Adv. 72.3.5, p. 253, and NLS Ingliston MS A vi.1, box 4, p. 17. In the process, I provide original conservative manuscript transcriptions of all *remscéla* lists and demonstrate how none of these lists function as an index to the contents of the manuscript. Furthermore, I introduce the subject of the compilation of the 16th-century BL MS Egerton 1782, which contains thirteen of the so-called *remscéla* arranged together in the manuscript to form a neat serial unit that precedes TBC in this MS. This particular compilation represents the cumulative effect of the *remscéla* series from the Early Irish to the Early Modern Irish period. The contents of the *remscéla* lists in LL, D, C and the transcriptions of the lost Scottish manuscript differ from one another; I, therefore, discuss and compare the items contained in the various lists.

Before discussing the literary relationship between the tales given in the *remscéla* lists to Recension I and II of TBC, I provide a summary of their contents, including the manuscripts in which they are contained, the respective dates of composition postulated for

each tale, and the various recensions in which each tale is extant. This is with a view to gaining a complete picture of the relative chronology of the *remscéla*, which I plot in a figure after section 1.5. Eventually, this also feeds into whether particular recensions of tales feed into the series of *remscéla* to TBC and, furthermore, to certain recensions of TBC. Section 1.6.2 addresses the question of which *remscéla* contain overt references to TBC and provides these examples as a collection; overt references, as I argue below, are a convenient serialising technique, which may have been used to harness preexisting, non-TBC tales into the category of *remscéla*. Following that, section 1.6.3 discusses which *remscéla* contain narrative elements that are dependent on the narrative of TBC; again, while keeping in mind whether certain recensions of *remscéla* were altered to suit a particular recension of TBC. Section 1.7 investigates which thematic and verbal resonances among some of the purported *remscéla* contributed to the conceptualisation of the series, either intentionally or inadvertently; and how these similarities assisted in the perception of the series as a cohesive whole.

As mentioned above, there are two other instances of the term *remscél* being applied to narrative units in Early Irish literature, i.e. with regard to tales related to *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* and episodes contained in the MidIr. adaptation *In Cath Catharda*; I discuss these in 1.8 and 1.9 respectively. An investigation into these separate applications sheds further light on the *remscél* as a literary unit; the *remscéla* to BDD and CCath. also represent the application of the term at different time periods, with the latter representing a possible extension of the term's usage based on its application to certain episodes in TBC. BDD, on the other hand, presents the earliest attestation of the term *remscél*, which makes it fundamental to the study of the Early Irish series. Furthermore, it is the only other series, in addition to TBC, to itemise its *remscéla* in the form of a list.

Part 2 of the present thesis presents an overview of the orthography of *Aislinge Óenguso*, which adds to the discussion of the scribal policy in the manuscript Eg. 1782. In 2.1.4, I present a series of arguments that support the hypothesis that the composition of AÓ was contemporaneous with the Würzburg glosses. Similarly, I highlight and list the number of many innovative Middle Irish phonological and morphological features in AÓ in 2.1.5–2.1.7, as well as a number of Early Modern Irish features in 2.1.9. A number of interpretative issues in AÓ are discussed in the introduction to the edition as they impact editorial choices; these include the 'love-sickness' motif in AÓ, the use of verbal parallelism, the spelling of the maiden's name in AÓ and the question of Óengus' own sobriquet. Finally, I provide a restored edition of AÓ in 2.3.

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Dedication
For Theodore

Abbreviations of tale titles

AÓ	<i>Aislinge Óenguso</i> ‘The Dream of Óengus’
BDD	<i>Togail Bruidne Da Derga</i> ‘The Destruction of Da Derga’s Hostel’
CA	Poem attributed to Cináed úa hArtacáin on Brug na Bóinde, Book of Leinster, p. 209b24
CC	<i>Compert Chon Culainn</i> ‘The Conception of Cú Chulainn’
CCath.	<i>In Cath Catharda</i> ‘The Civil War of the Romans’
CDM	<i>De Chophur in Dá Muccida</i> ‘Regarding the Begetting of the Two Swineherds’
CDS	<i>Cín Dromma Snechtai</i> ‘The Book of Drumsnat’
Comp.C	<i>Compert Chonchobuir</i> ‘The Conception of Conchobor’
CRR	<i>Cath Ruis na Ríg</i> ‘The Battle of Ross na Ríg’
DGS	<i>De Gabáil int Síde</i> ‘Regarding the Capture of the <i>Síd</i> ’
EN	<i>Echtrae Nerai</i> ‘The Otherworld Adventure of Nera’
FLF	<i>De Fíochunn Loingse Fergusa maic Roích</i> ‘Regarding the Reason for Fergus mac Roích’s Exile’
FTBC	<i>De Fíoilsgud Tána Bó Cúailnge</i> ‘Regarding the Recovery of the <i>Táin Bó Cúailnge</i> ’
GS	<i>De Gabáil int Síde</i> ‘Regarding the Capture of the <i>Síd</i> ’
LGÉ	<i>Lebor Gabála Éirenn</i> ‘The Book of the Taking of Ireland’
LMU	<i>Longes mac nUislenn</i> ‘The Exile of the Sons of Uisliu’
MC	<i>De Maccaib Conairi</i> ‘Regarding the Sons of Conaire’
SCM	<i>De Šíl Chonairi Móir</i> ‘Regarding the Progeny of Conaire Mór’
TBD	<i>Táin Bó Dartada</i> ‘The Cattle-raid of Dartaid’
TBF	<i>Táin Bó Froích</i> ‘The Cattle-raid of Fróech’
TBFlid.	<i>Táin Bó Flidais</i> ‘The Cattle-raid of Flidais’
TBRa	<i>Táin Bó Regamna</i> ‘The Cattle-raid of Regamna’
TBRn	<i>Táin Bó Regamain</i> ‘The Cattle-raid of Regamon’
TE	<i>Tochmarc Emire</i> ‘The Wooing of Emer’
TÉ	<i>Tochmarc Étaíne</i> ‘The Wooing of Étaín’

TF *Tochmarc Ferbe* ‘The Wooing of Ferb’ (also known as *Aislinge Chonchobuir/Fís Conchobuir*)

Common abbreviations of manuscripts

A NLS MS Adv. 72.3.5

C RIA MS 740 (C vi.3)

D RIA MS 1223 (D iv.2)

Eg. BL MS Egerton 1782

G NLS MS Adv. 72.1.32 (missing)

I NLS Ingliston MS A vi.1

LFlav. RIA MS 476 (23 O 48a–b), *Liber Flavus Fergusiorum*

LL TCD MS 1339 (H 2.18), *Book of Leinster*

LU RIA MS 1229 (23 E 25), *Leabhar na hUidhre*

Grammatical abbreviations

abs.	absolute
acc.	accusative
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
comp.	comparative
conj.	conjunct
cons. pres.	consuetudinal present
dat.	dative
demonstr. pron.	demonstrative pronoun
deut.	deuterotonic
fem.	feminine
fut.	future
gen.	genitive
ipv.	imperative
imperf.	imperfect
inf. pron.	infix pronoun
masc.	masculine
nas.	nasalization
nas. rel.	nasalizing relative
neut.	neuter
nom.	nominative
pass.	passive
perf.	perfect
poss. pron.	possessive pronoun
prep.	preposition
pres. indic.	present indicative
pres. subj.	present subjunctive
pret.	preterite
prev.	preverb
pron.	pronoun
proto.	prototonic
redupl.	reduplicated
rel.	relative
suff. pron.	suffixed pronoun
superl.	superlative
vn.	verbal noun
voc.	vocative

1.1 Introduction to the *remscéla*

The following is a study of the so-called *remscéla* ‘prefatory tales’ to the great medieval Irish narrative, *Táin Bó Cúailnge* ‘The Cattle-raid of Cooley’ (TBC). Unless otherwise stated, references to the *remscéla* in the following refer specifically to those associated with TBC. However, as I explain in the present study, the term *remscél* is used within contexts outside TBC, i.e. with regard to tales associated with *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* ‘The Destruction of Da Derga’s Hostel’ (BDD) and *In Cath Catharda* ‘The Civil War of the Romans’ (CCath.). As I discuss below, the *remscéla* to TBC receive their label from a number of lists of tale-titles that propose to present tales associated with TBC. In this format, not only do these lists present a group of textually related tales but they are indicative of tales that were popular literary items; this has wider implications for the tale *Aislinge Óenguso*, which is extant in only one 16th-century manuscript but which appears in multiple tale-title lists.¹

Below, I will outline the details of the manuscripts that contain the lists of *remscéla* to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, in which I also compare the contents of the lists with the contents of the manuscripts containing the lists. Following that, I will investigate the *remscél* as a literary category, how it emerged and the narrative strategies used to shape the series. Beyond the *remscéla* to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, I will also investigate a small group of *remscéla* to *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*, as outlined in a *Cín Dromma Snechta* extract; and I will demonstrate how the term *remscél* was also later applied to a selection of episodes in the Middle Irish adaptation of Lucan’s *Pharsalia*, *In Cath Catharda* ‘The Civil War of the Romans’. In addition to the taxonomical study of the *remscél*, I present in the second section an edition of one supposed *remscél*: *Aislinge Óenguso* ‘The Dream of Óengus’. A full exposition of its manuscript details, dating, and linguistic content accompanies the edition below.

The present work attempts to show how the medieval scholar conceptualised the narrative corpus of *remscéla* to TBC. From a taxonomical standpoint I analyse the contents of the individual *remscéla* before continuing to define the properties of a *remscél*. One of the most important objectives of this study has been to remain focussed on the intentions of the medieval scholar and not allow modern understanding of literary cyclification dictate the relationship of the *remscéla* to one another and to the *Táin*. It is my intention to uncover the defining features of a *remscél* from the perspective of the medieval compiler(s) of the *remscéla* list(s).

¹ Ó HUIGINN (2014: 6) explores the idea that the Middle Irish tale lists were a measure of which stories were in circulation during that period.

1.1.1 Previous scholarship on the subject of the *remscéla* to TBC

Apart from the short studies by Norbert Backhaus (1990) and Tom Chadwin (1997), a comprehensive overview of the *remscéla* to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* has not yet been made available. Furthermore, Quiggin (1911) and, much more recently and in greater depth, Poppe (2005) have investigated the concept of the cycle or series. In his entry in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Quiggin mentioned the relationship of the *remscéla Tána bó Cúailnge* to the *Táin bó Cúailnge*, describing it as follows:

‘The *Táin Bó Cúailnge* formed a kind of nucleus round which a number of other tales clustered. A number of these are called *remscéla* or introductory stories to the *Táin*.²’

Rudolf Thurneysen noted the presence of the *remscéla* lists and their contents but did not go into extensive detail about the intertextual relationships of those items listed. The relatively few remarks Thurneysen makes on intertextuality are included in the study of the *remscéla* to TBC as an emerging series in due course in section 1.6.3. On the *remscéla* as a group of related tales, Thurneysen makes the following remark:

‘Schon in einer Handschrift des 12. Jahrhunderts sind Sagen, die eng zur *Tāin bō Cuailnge* gehören und größtenteils aus ihr hervorgewachsen sind, deren Inhalt aber früher fällt, als „Vorerzählungen“ dazu bezeichnet.’³

Thurneysen also discussed the status of one particular tale as a *remscél*, i.e. *De Gabáil int Síde* ‘Regarding the Capture of the *Síd*’ (DGS).⁴ The function of DGS as a *remscél* is also addressed by Kay Retzlaff (2005) and, very recently, by Martina Maher (2017); I take up this discussion again in section 1.6.3.5 below. In his *Learned Tales of Medieval Ireland*, Proinsias Mac Cana discussed the *remscéla* lists within the context of the creation of the medieval Irish tale lists, and remarked upon the shared tale titles which indicate that the list known as Tale List B⁵ borrowed from a *remscéla* list (see section 1.10 below). In the course of his examination, however, Mac Cana does not address the matter of narrative features that connect the *remscéla* to one another and to TBC. Once, again within the context of the compilation of Tale List B, he comments on the role of textual relationships;⁶ other than that instance, Mac Cana states only the following regarding the interrelationship of the *remscéla*:

² QUIGGIN 1911: 627.

³ *Held*. 248.

⁴ *Held*. 251.

⁵ MAC CANA 1980: 33.

⁶ MAC CANA 1980: 89. See ‘*Remscéla* in the Tale Lists’ below.

‘The second source [of the opening section of Tale List B] was a list of *remscéla* to TBC, that is to say of those subsidiary tales which were written around the main theme of TBC and which dealt in particular with the preparations preceding the great expedition from Connacht to Ulster.’⁷

Regarding the distinctive application of the term *remscél*, Tom Chadwin notes the following:

‘[...] it is a classification which cuts across the other means of categorization of texts, in that a *remscél* can come from any of the traditional cycles, and can be any of the tale-types listed in the manuscripts: the list of *remscéla* in the Book of Leinster contains texts from the Mythological and Ulster Cycles, and contains a number of different tale-types.’⁸

Each individual *remscél* tells the story of an event prior to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*; often the action of the *Táin* relies on an event in a *remscél* and the protagonist of the *remscél* usually participates later in the action of the *Táin*. Wolfgang Meid also discusses the function of the *remscéla* in the introduction to his edition of *Táin Bó Froích*, comparing them to the Iliad:

‘Um diese Táin Bó Cúailnge, eine vielschichtige Sage, haben sich sekundär – ähnlich wie um die griechische Ilias – kleinere Sagen von episodischem Charakter angesiedelt. Mehrere von diesen führen ebenfalls den Titel táin bó; es sind Miniaturausgaben der großen Táin und „Vorgeschichten“ (*remscéla*) in dem Sinn, daß durch solche kleineren Aktionen zur Erlangung von Rindern (die der Versorgung des Heeres dienen sollen) das Zustandekommen der großen Expedition Ailills und Medbs überhaupt erst ermöglicht werden soll.’⁹

Therefore, each *remscél* feeds into the greater narrative of, and complements, TBC. Chronologically, the action of the *remscél*, as the term suggests, usually comes before TBC; however, there is one exception: the Old Irish tale *De Fóilsigud Tána Bó Cúailnge* ‘Regarding the Recovery of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*’, as I mention in section 1.6.2.8 below.

Modern scholarship approaches the study of Early Irish literature by sifting through interrelated story matter, i.e. content, chain of events and prominent characters, and by grouping tales together according to “cycles”. There are obvious differences between the modern conception of serialisation and that of the medieval conception; for example, narrative continuity and consistency in extant medieval Irish literature was not necessarily as high a priority to the medieval scholar as to the modern scholar. In his discussion of the

⁷ MAC CANA 1980: 88.

⁸ CHADWIN 1997: 75.

⁹ MEID 1969: 14.

“cycle” within the study of early Irish literature, Erich Poppe discusses the rule for a series or, as he puts it, the ‘set of parameters’; and he describes the “cycle” as follows:

‘It is used as a generic classification of groups of texts and is based on a set of parameters of intratextual cohesion, namely their setting at a particular time and the overlap of their narrative personnel and geographical focus. The texts in each group ideally cluster around a common, fixed point of reference.’¹⁰

Tom Chadwin comments that arranging tales into cycles is ‘a convenient form of reference’ and that ‘readers of texts are better able to grasp a canon of literature if the individual texts therein have been conveniently classified’;¹¹ indeed, cyclification serves important didactic purposes. However, modern cyclification and the categorisation of tales into cycles according to our understanding of the material reflect modern scholarship and not original authorial intention. It also does not take into account the date and language of each of the tales within a single cycle and address their time of composition; for example, there could be a difference of centuries between tales placed within a single “cycle”.

Below, I map out the chronology of the composition of each of the tales in an effort to uncover information about their individual reception as well as the reception of the *remscéla* as a complete series. As I will outline, it seems plausible that a tale, perhaps not particularly popular when first composed, may have gained traction in the literary arena at a later stage and, only then, formed a narrative relationship with the *remscéla* series. Similarly, modern cyclification does not account for how the material is presented in the manuscript and whether the manuscript compilation indicates thematic grouping. I address each of these issues below: the composition chronology of the *remscél* series and the role of the manuscript in literary serialisation.

¹⁰ POPPE 2008: 12.

¹¹ CHADWIN 1997: 67.

1.1.2 Medieval Irish literary terminology

I note here, however briefly, before presenting the study of the *remscéla* that the term itself is one of a number used by the medieval Irish scholar and it appears to have fit into a lexical inventory of literary terminology. This has already been highlighted by Erich Poppe¹² and Abigail Burnyeat respectively.¹³ The cataloguing of material into *remscéla*, lists, and, furthermore, compilations of related material such as *dindsenchas*, triads, etc., reflects a highly organised approach to medieval Irish literature and the use of terminology that reflects methodology is a natural by-product. Erich Poppe¹⁴ mentions the possible ‘existence of a critical idiom in the twelfth century’, referring specifically to the term *remscél* and, furthermore, *scélshenchas* ‘narrative lore’ and *laídshenchas* ‘poetic lore’.¹⁵

Indeed it seems most likely that a lexical inventory of terms existed for prose composition to a similar extent that it existed for metrical composition.¹⁶ Similar to the prescription of metrical ornamentation, then, there exists in Early Irish prose similar stylistic and rhetorical devices, which prompt the use of stock narrative terminology; one such device is the Boëthian ‘four conditions of the tale’¹⁷ which is found frequently and in various genres of Early Irish prose composition.¹⁸ The compiler of the tale lists discussed in 1.10 enumerates and categorises mostly secular Early Irish tales according to event-type.¹⁹ Similarly, these event-types fall under larger overarching categories: *prímscéla* ‘main tales’ and *gnáthscéla* ‘ordinary tales’:

Do nemthigud filed i scélaib 7 i comgnimaib²⁰ inso síis da nasnís do rigaib 7 flathib .i. uii. cóicait scél .i. coic cóicait de prímscélaib 7 dá cóicait do foscélaib 7 ní hármíter na fosceóilsin acht do chethri grádaib *tantum* .i. ollam 7 anrath 7 cli 7 cano.

¹² POPPE 2008: 42.

¹³ BURNYEAT 2009: 360. See also the terminology used in CDS(B) in section 1.8.3 of the present work.

¹⁴ POPPE 2008.

¹⁵ POPPE 2008: 42.

¹⁶ *IT* iii, 1-182.

¹⁷ I.e. the tetradic style formula of *loc* ‘place’, *aimser* ‘time’, *persa* ‘author’ and *tucait scribind* ‘reason for writing’ found in Egerton 1782’s version of *The Finding of the Táin Bó Cúailnge* and elsewhere

¹⁸ The device is found, not only in Early Irish fictional prose, but also in legal prose: e.g. in the opening of the *Lebor Aicle* and once again in the main body of the text (AL iii, 86).

¹⁹ MAC CANA 1980: 41–65.

²⁰ MAC CANA (1980: 41, n. 1) adds a note to *comgnimaib* in his edition, stating that this should be read as dat. pl. *comgnib*, singular *coimcne* in his translation, and he refers the reader to his discussion of a line of commentary at the end of Tale List A: *Ní filí nad chomgne nad scéla uile* (LL; MAC CANA 1980: 123). As pointed out by Mac Cana, Mac Airt emended this to *Ní filí nad chomgne comathar nad [na] scéla uile* ‘he is no filí who does not preserve *coimgne* or all the stories’ (Ériu 18, 141-2). With regard to the preface to the list given above, Mac Cana comments that the dat. pl. *comgnib* may have been an innovation and that *coimgne* should have been singular (1980: 124, n. 147). Mac Cana discusses the meaning of *coimgne* as a specific branch of literary learning, and that it was a term which was ‘secondarily [...] applied to the particular types of professional composition which reflected such knowledge’ (MAC CANA 1980: 125; see also DIL s.v. *coimgne*). *Comgnimaib*, dat. pl. of *comgnib* ‘joint action, co-operation’, in the MSS yields little sense and the argument for

‘What follows here below concerns the qualification of poets in regard to stories and *coimcne* to be narrated to kings and chieftains, viz. three hundred and fifty tales, viz. two hundred and fifty major tales and one hundred sub-tales, but these sub-tales are reckoned for four grades [of poet] only, viz. *ollam*, *ánrath*, *clí*, and *cano*.’²¹

These categories are, however, terms that denote a story hierarchy, i.e. the types of stories known by specific grades of poets, rather than different types of narrative units, as in the *remscél*.

Burnyeat discusses how certain terms are used specifically to refer to the process of manuscript compilation and text production in its physical, codicological context. I would add these terms refer also to story production and casting a narrative framework. Certain terms may be found within the *Táin* itself and often serve as textual and metatextual markers; for example, *slicht*, originally meaning ‘path, track’, is an example used by Burnyeat of a term commonly used by the compiler to introduce a variant tradition of a tale, for example:

*Mád iar n-araili slicht immorro is fertas carpait Con Culaind. ro maid 7 is do béim fertas dochóid in tan cotránic fri araid nÓrláim. Is é in t-ara ros ben na fertsi mad íarsin tslicht sa.*²²

‘According to another version, however, it was the shaft of Cú Chulainn’s chariot that had broken and he had gone to cut a new shaft²³ when he met the charioteer Órlám.

But according to this version it was the charioteer who cut the shafts.’²⁴

Referring to the use of the term *titulrad* ‘preface’ in Recension I TBC, Ann Dooley in *Playing the Hero* notes that the use of certain terms signals the ‘compositional concerns of the narrative controller’.²⁵ The term appears in the sentence *Finit a titulrad incipit in scél iar n-úrd*²⁶ at the end of the list of geographical landmarks passed by Medb and Ailill upon setting out on the *Táin*. As Dooley also notes,²⁷ apart from the example here and a gloss by O’Clery in H 2.18, p. 538, the source of which is TBC, *titulrad* is not attested elsewhere. Other potential narrative terms present themselves in Recension II of the *Táin* in the following section:

understanding this as a form of *coimcne* is stronger given the repetition of the word in the commentary at the end of Tale List A in LL.

²¹ MAC CANA 1980: 41.

²² O’RAHILLY 1976: II. 873-5.

²³ The phrase *do béim fertas* literally means ‘to cut shafts’ with *fertas*, a f-ā-stem noun, in the gen. pl.

²⁴ O’RAHILLY 1976: 149. The final sentence here is not included in the Yellow Book of Lecan and Egerton 1782 copies of Recension I.

²⁵ DOOLEY 2006: 46.

²⁶ LU 4611-12.

²⁷ DOOLEY 2009: 49.

*Tairngire 7 remfástini & cendphairt in sceóil 7 fotha a fagbála 7 a dénma, 7 comrád chind chercaille doringni Ailill 7 Medb i Crúachain connice sain.*²⁸

‘Thus far the prophecy and augury, and the prelude to the tale, the basis of its invention and composition, and the pillow-talk held by Ailill and Medb in Crúachu.’²⁹

Dooley comments that the term *cennphairt* ‘prelude’ is one of the ‘closest versions of a term to signify “preface” and [...] the closest to U’s *titulrad*’.³⁰ Noting only that *tairngire* ‘prophecy’ and *remfástine* ‘prediction’ are an example of ‘doubling of descriptive titles’, Dooley does not comment on their impact on the narrative framework; i.e. the preceding section of Rec. II TBC opens with the expository note on Fedelm the female seer: *Ocus ro gab [Fedelm] ic tairngiri 7 remfástine Con Culaind d’feraib Hérend. 7 doringni laíd*³¹ ‘And Fedelm began to prophesy and foretell Cú Chulainn to the men of Ireland, and she chanted a lay[...].’³² Their repetition after the lay chanted by Fedelm, then, is a rhetorical device, reiterating the story structure and systematically categorising each action as it happens. Regarding the phrase *fotha a fagbála 7 a dénma*, Dooley indirectly draws attention to the use of the ‘four conditions of the tale’, which we find frequently in Early Irish saga literature:

‘The terms *fotha*, *dénam*, *fagbál*, along with *tucait* are fairly frequent in saga texts: a good example would be the title *Fotha Catha Cnucha* [The Reasons for the Battle of Knock], a Fenian text found in LU, p. 41. With this group we arrive at an exegetical model, *accessus ad auctores*, much favoured in Early Ireland for analysing sacred texts.’³³

Further narratological terms are employed in Rec. Ib of *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*, as discussed in greater detail in section 1.8 below. Understanding their usage within the context of textual production will remain paramount to the following investigation.

²⁸ O’RAHILLY 1967: II. 276–8.

²⁹ O’RAHILLY 1967: 154.

³⁰ DOOLEY 2009: 52.

³¹ O’RAHILLY 1967: I. 232.

³² O’RAHILLY 1967: 144.

³³ DOOLEY 2009: 52.

1.2 Manuscripts containing *remscéla* TBC title-lists and Eg. 1782

In the following, I will briefly introduce the manuscripts in which the extant lists of *remscéla* to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* are contained and present the manuscript readings containing the lists. I discuss the details of the manuscript context of the lists before comparing their contents in the section that follows. As well as the medieval and Early Modern Irish manuscripts containing these *remscéla* lists, I also include modern transcriptions of a list by the 19th-century Scottish antiquarian Ewen M'Lachlan, who made two copies of the same *remscéla* list from a now-lost manuscript, which is also discussed in due course. Once I have completed the description of the manuscripts that contain physical lists of the *remscéla*, I also provide a description for the manuscript Eg. 1782 which contains a complete compilation of *remscél* material including twelve *remscéla*, the story of the 'Recovery of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*' (*De Fõilsigud Tána Bó Cúailnge*) and Rec. I TBC in that order. It does not contain a list of *remscéla* tale-titles, as in the other manuscripts described below, but it represents a separate theory as regards the transmission of a literary collection. Throughout the present work I will frequently refer to the manuscript sources by the abbreviations I give them below.

1.2.1 LL: The Book of Leinster

TCD MS 1339 (H 2.18), the Book of Leinster (1160), p. 245b30–41 (LL 32901–9).³⁴ In its present state, this vellum manuscript consists of 187 leaves in total and contains two different foliations 'both erratic, and made at different times, when disorder had already taken place, in the fifteenth century'.³⁵ It is a Middle Irish miscellany of prose and poetry of varying compositional dates; it includes pseudo-historical origin literature, place-lore, Ulster saga material including the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* and non-*Táin* related Early Irish material, regnal lists, religious anecdotes, the Martyrology of Tallaght,³⁶ genealogies, and some translated literature, i.e. a fragment of the translation of Dares Phrygius' *De Excidio Trojae Historia*. Within the manuscript compilation, there is a frequent thematic grouping of texts: e.g. pp. 106–125 deal with tales typically associated with Ulster figures and pp. 245–278 with Early Irish saga material, some of which is related to TBC. Best outlines in the introduction to the diplomatic edition that he believes the work to be that of a single scribe who identifies himself at the bottom of p. 313 in red ink: *Aed mac meic Crimthaind ro srib in leborso 7 ra thinoil a*

³⁴ *TCD Cat.* 158-161. See also Ó CONCHEANAINN 1984, MAC EOIN 2010 and DUNCAN 2012. For a discussion of the various names given to the Book of Leinster and its history, see the introduction to the diplomatic edition, *LL* xi-xv.

³⁵ *LL* xviii.

³⁶ See *LL* xviii for how these leaves were separated from the codex for a period.

llebraib imdaib. ‘Áed Húa Crimthaind wrote this book and collected it from many books’³⁷. Best further identifies the scribe as Áed Úa Crimthainn, ‘coarb of Colum son of Crimthann of Tír Dá Glas, or Terryglass, Co. Tipperary’.³⁸ However, as William O’Sullivan³⁹ has shown and, adding to and reassessing his studies more recently, Elizabeth Duncan,⁴⁰ there are multiple discernible hands at work in LL; in fact, Duncan identifies nine principal hands. Continuing on from O’Sullivan’s notation of the hands, Duncan uses the letter F⁴¹ to denote the hand that copied the *remscéla* list below: ‘Scribe F has a distinctive aspect. Scribe F wrote a very small part of the *Táin*, some of its *remscéla* and some parts of *Dinnsenchas Érenn*.’⁴² This hand is responsible also for the following pages and passages: 76–8; 106; 161–4; 245b–2; 269–273a; 274a41–288.⁴³

Some of the entries in the margins of the manuscript indicate a mid- to late-12th-century date: the death of the bishop of Kildare, Finn Úa Gormáin (d. 1160), whose letter to Áed is recorded on the lower margin of p. 288; the recording of the death of Domnall mac Congalaig (1161) on the upper margin of p. 49; and the recording of the banishment of Diarmait mac Donnchada meic Murchada (1166), king of Leinster, on the upper margin of p. 275.⁴⁴

LL contains the oldest extant list of *remscéla* titles. The list takes up eleven lines of text (p. 245b30–40) and appears between the story headed *Do fallsigud tána bó cúailnge* ‘Regarding the Recovery of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*’ and that headed *De gabáil in tsída* ‘Regarding the Capture of the *Síd*’ in the manuscript. The list forms the end of the story about the ‘Recovery of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*’. The previous column is left empty except for two lines in the upper margin, which have been made legible by a reagent. Large capitals *IS* mark the beginning of the list; the <I> is decorated with a leaf flourish, and the <S> with red and yellow pigment, which might lend some significance to the importance of the list as the eye is naturally drawn to the enlarged capitals. After all, the list is supposed to reflect a series of texts that were recovered from the past. It is interesting to note that the capital marking the beginning of *De Chophur in Dá Muccida* ‘Regarding the Begetting of the Two Swineherds’

³⁷ Text and translation from the diplomatic edition, LL xv.

³⁸ LL xvi. Duncan casts doubt on whether this evidence is trustworthy since the scribe refers to himself in the 3sg. instead of the expected 1sg. She also notes that there is no Áed mac Crimthainn recorded in the chronicles (DUNCAN 2012: 46).

³⁹ O’SULLIVAN 1966.

⁴⁰ DUNCAN 2012.

⁴¹ ‘This stands for “Finn” and signifies the hand allegedly the work of Bishop Finn of Kildare’ (DUNCAN 2012: 29).

⁴² DUNCAN 2012: 33.

⁴³ DUNCAN 2012: 35.

⁴⁴ LL xvi-xvii.

on the following p. 246a is relatively smaller and less decorative than those, in particular that opening the *remscéla* list, on p. 245b. That is to say, large capitals are used in LL to indicate not only the beginning of a new, complete, developed narrative but also important sections of text. A now faint red line around the last line of text marks the end of the list and separates it from the title of the next tale in the outer margin. The list is as follows:

Is héseo turem remscéla Tána Bó Cualngi .i. a dó déc. .i. De Gabáil in tsíd. De Aslingi in Meic Óic. De chophur na da Muccida. De Tháin Bó Regamain. De Echtra Nerai. De Chompirt Chonchobuir. De thochmurc Ferbae. De Chompirt Con Culaind. De Thain Bó Flidais. De Thochmurc Emiri. Atberat dano is di remscelaib. De Thecht Con Culaind do thaig Culaind cherdda. De Gabail gascid do Choin Chulaind. & dia dul i carpat. Dia luid Cú Chulaind do emain macha cosna maccu. Acht is i curp na Tána adfiadtar na trí sceóil dedenhasa., (LL 32901–9)

This is the number of prefatory tales of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, i.e. twelve, i.e. ‘Regarding the Capture of the *Síd*’, ‘Regarding the Dream of the Mac Óc’, ‘Regarding the Begetting of the Two Swineherds’, ‘Regarding the Cattle-raid of Regamon’, ‘Regarding the Otherworld Adventure of Nerae’, ‘Regarding the Conception of Conchobor’, ‘Regarding the Wooing of [Ferb]’, ‘Regarding the Conception of Cú Chulainn’, ‘Regarding the Cattle-raid of Flidais’, ‘Regarding the Wooing of Emer’. They say, moreover, that ‘Regarding Cú Chulainn’s visit to the house of Culann the smyth’, ‘Regarding Cú Chulainn’s taking of arms and his [first] journey in a chariot’, ‘When Cú Chulainn went to Emain Macha to the boys’ are among the *remscéla*. But it is in the main narrative (lit. ‘the body’) of the *Táin* that these three final stories are related. (Own translation)

The list of *remscéla* contained in LL is appended to and form part of the underlying purpose of the story of *De Fóilsigud Tána Bó Cúailnge* ‘Regarding the Recovery of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*’ (see section 1.7 for details regarding this tale). In the diplomatic edition of LL, Best and O’Brien supply the word *Ferbae* after *De Thochmurc*, remarking in the footnotes that *Ferba* has been ‘effaced’, i.e. leaving a gap for where *Ferb(a)e* once was.

Of those titles listed in LL, only a total of four tales are found in the manuscript in its present state: *De Gabáil int Síde*, *De Chophur in Dá Muccida*, *Táin Bó Flidais* and *Tochmarc Ferbe*, presuming that the incomplete title *De Thochmurc* stands for *De Thochmurc Ferbe*. However, LL also contains the three tales *De Fóillsigud Tána Bó Cúailnge*, *Táin Bó Froích* and *Fochonn Loingse Fergusa maic Róich* given in the D list; and *Longes mac nUislenn*

which is oddly not included in any of the lists but is among the *remscéla* in the Eg. 1782 compilation, as described below. Within the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* in LL are the three *macgnímrada* given at the end of the LL *remscéla* list (see section 1.4 below).

1.2.2 D: RIAMS D iv.2

RIA MS 1223, f. 47vb17-27. Formerly part of the Stowe and Ashburnham Collection, no. 992, the composition of this manuscript is placed with a question mark by the cataloguers within the 15th-century. It consists of 89 vellum leaves and five paper leaves at the back of the manuscript.⁴⁵ According to the catalogue description there are lost leaves; however it is difficult to speculate about the chasms ‘owing to the fact that the MS. is now bound.’⁴⁶ It was written in Kilcormack, Co. Offaly (Cill Chormaic, see f. 87va) by multiple hands; two scribes identify themselves as Eoghan Ó hAchoideirn on f. 48b and Seaán Mac Aodhagáin on f. 54vb. Ó hAchoideirn has been identified by the cataloguers as having written ff. 24–37, 44–54vb, 58, 59, and 66–71; and Mac Aodhagáin as having written ff. 53vb, 54vb, and 74–89r.⁴⁷ The cataloguers identify another scribe who contributed to a large degree (i.e. ff. 2–23va, 38–43, 55–57, 60–65, 72, 73) as well as some later, similarly unidentified scribes.⁴⁸

The contents of the manuscript include a selection of translated material ranging from classical sources, e.g. an incomplete copy of *In Cath Catharda* ‘The Civil War of the Romans’ (ff. 2r–23v) and *Togail Troí* ‘The Destruction of Troy’ (ff. 24r–37v), to Ulster saga material, *dindsenchas*, Early Modern Irish texts and some items of Early Modern poetry. Thematically related material appears to be grouped together in the manuscript but the leaves have been rearranged over time, which makes it impossible to speculate as to the original sequence of its contents.⁴⁹

The D list of *remscéla* titles appears before the tale *De Fíollsigud Tána Bó Cúailnge* ‘Regarding the Recovery of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*’ and, unlike the LL list of tale-titles, is not integrated into a narrative but stands alone.⁵⁰ That said, it is significant that it is transmitted alongside *De Fíollsigud Tána Bó Cúailnge* because this may indicate that the list was somehow associated with this tale, although, in this case, not related to the narrative *per se*.

⁴⁵ *RIA Cat.* 3297.

⁴⁶ *RIA Cat.* 3297–8.

⁴⁷ *RIA Cat.* 3298.

⁴⁸ *RIA Cat.* 3298.

⁴⁹ *RIA Cat.* 3298–99.

⁵⁰ Previously edited by MEYER (1883–5: 191).

However superficially, the manuscript presentation of the *remscéla* title list suggests that it introduces the story *De Fõillsigud Tána Bó Cúailnge* because the latter is not given a decorative capital but a plain slightly enlarged capital two lines deep, which was written by the scribe of the main text and not by the scribe in charge of drawing the decorative initials. Only one other example of an inconspicuous capital such as this is extant in this manuscript, i.e. for *Aithed Emire la Tuir nGlesta mac Ríg Lochlann* ‘The Elopement of Emer with Tuir Glesta, son of the king of Norway’ on f. 78vb. In contrast, there remains a large space at the beginning of the *remscéla* list that is four lines deep and about nine characters wide left blank for a decorative initial <D> at the beginning of the *remscéla* title list. The list of *remscéla* is given a title which appears in a slightly smaller script within the column in the line between the end of the preceding text and the first line of the *remscéla* list. In the manuscript, the final line looks as if it may be incomplete; it only contains the final words *líudh 7 biadh di*, it is not followed by any punctuation, and the rest of the line is left blank. The following is the conservative manuscript transcription of the D *remscéla* title list:

do remscelaibh na tana andso

[D]o remscelaib na tána .i. faillsigud tana bó cuailgni. Do ghabail in tsídha. Do caupur in da mucaid Do thain bó reghamna. Do coimpert con culaind. Do thain bó dartadha. Do aislingthi conchobair.⁵¹ Do thain bó flidhaisi. Do tain bó fraich. Do fhochonn loingsi ferghusa. Do aislingthi ængha mheic in dagha. Do feis tigi beccfholtaigh. Don tseirc ro char mac in oicc chaire heabarbaiti. Do comairle connacht o ro ghab medhbh líudh 7 biadh dí

‘This concerns the prefatory tales of the *Táin*.

‘Regarding the prefatory tales of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, i.e. ‘Regarding the Recovery of the Táin’, ‘Regarding the Capture of the *Síd*’, ‘Regarding the Begetting of the two Swineherds’, ‘Regarding the Cattle-raid of Regamon’, ‘Regarding the Conception of Cú Chulainn’, ‘Regarding the Cattle-raid of Dartaid’, ‘Regarding the Dream of Conchobor’, ‘Regarding the Cattle-raid of Flidais’, ‘Regarding the Cattle-raid of Fróech’, ‘Regarding the Reason for Fergus’ Exile’, ‘Regarding the Dream of Óengus, son of the Dagdae’, ‘Regarding the Banquet of Beccfóltach’, ‘Regarding the love with which the Mac Óc loved Cáer Iborneith’,⁵² ‘Regarding the counsel of the Connachtmen when Medb refrained from drink and food’ (?).’

⁵¹ The manuscript contains *concb* followed by the *ur-compendium* so that I have supplied the *o* in the second syllable here, which I mark by underlining it.

⁵² For further discussion on the form of this name, see 2.1.12 below.

In the final title, Thurneysen and later Mac Cana suggest reading *lind* ‘drink’ for MS *líudh*.⁵³ While Mac Cana does not provide a translation for the title, Thurneysen gives the following: ‘Über die Beratung (den Beschluß) der Connachter, als sich Medb des Trankes und der Speise enthielt’.⁵⁴ It is possible that the minims of an <n> were confused for those of a <u> in the course of transcription. This is only conjecture, however, as there does not exist a second exemplar with which to compare this.⁵⁵ There is a noun *líud* meaning ‘accusing, charging’, vn of *líid*, which could be construed with *o ro ghab* to mean ‘when she began accusing’; however, this is problematic when the following *γ biad* ‘and food’ is considered.

Of those tales listed above, only *De Fíoilsgud Tána Bó Cúailnge*, *Compert Chonchobuir*, *Compert Chon Culainn* and *Feis Tige Beccfoltaig* are found in the manuscript, which contains also *Tochmarc Emire* of the LL list and a reference to Cáer Iborneith (f. 48vb24), Óengus’ love-interest in *Aislinge Óenguso*, in the apocalyptic tale given the title in *D don scauib a fanuid γ don roth rámach γ don tsaighnen teintighi* ‘Regarding The Besom out of Fánnat and the Rowing Wheel and the Fiery Lightning’ (see Appendix 1).

1.2.3 C: RIA C vi.3

The *remscéla* list is contained in this manuscript on f. 27v21-8. C is a paper manuscript dated to the year 1633 (see below) and consists of 77 folios;⁵⁶ it belonged to the Stowe and Ashburnham collection before being housed by the Royal Irish Academy. According to the catalogue description, the manuscript is written in multiple hands.⁵⁷ Only one scribe reveals himself in the lower margin of f. 65vb as Brian Mac Aodhagáin; his is a neat, uniform hand and not the hand of the scribe who transcribed the two versions of *De Fíoilsgud Tána Bó Cúailnge* and the *remscéla* list being discussed here. Another signature belonging to a member of the Uí Dhuibhgeannáin family appears on f. 65v but the ink is noticeably younger than the surrounding, sepia-coloured ink: ‘in a slightly darker ink, followed, in still later ink and handwriting, by the words ‘Finis per me (Ee . . an) Ó

⁵³ *Held.* 249; MAC CANA 1980: 90.

⁵⁴ *Held.* 249.

⁵⁵ For more on this tale title, see section 1.3 below.

⁵⁶ See full description in *RIA Cat.*, fasc. xviii 2245-7.

⁵⁷ *RIA Cat.* 2245. A brief look at the manuscript indicates that there are actually more than three hands at work. However, one hand poses particular difficulties because it frequently becomes erratic with prolonged writing and may change nibs to suit the amount of text he needed to fit onto the folio. I am referring to the hand that appears to have written ff. 1-7vb9, 9va1-12ra20, and 12rb1-27vb. A full appraisal of the hands of this manuscript is beyond the scope of the present work.

Duibhgeannáin.”⁵⁸ Not mentioned in the catalogue description is that these words have a line through them. The catalogue description mentions the calculation in yet a younger ink than that of the name of the inscription, which makes the calculation 88 minus 33, and writes the answer 55. However, what the catalogue does not mention is that this calculation is written over the first name, now illegible, of the Ó Duibhgeannáin inscription, which seems odd as there is plenty of space to write in the remainder of the column. Given the appearance of the ink and the nature of the hand, the cataloguer does not think it possible that this Ó Duibhgeannáin was one of the manuscript’s scribes.⁵⁹ However, upon closer inspection of the manuscript, this same colour ink is found, for example, on f. 26rb. Albeit in a hand quite dissimilar from Ó Duibhgeannáin’s signature, it is worth noting that only the level of fading of the ink is significant as to its date and not the actual colour of the ink; the scribes alternate between a brown and a nearly black ink throughout the manuscript. Another example is the folio containing the *remscéla* list, which is written in black ink; this, in fact, may actually be the same hand as Ó Duibhgeannáin judging by the nature of the writing. The catalogue notes the insertion of a date on the same folio: ‘On f. 65v. is the date “the 15th of September 1633” in ink of the same degree of discoloration as that of the text [...]’.⁶⁰ Of the material related to TBC, C includes only the Eg. and LL versions of *De Fóillsigud Tána Bó Cúailnge* as well as a copy of the Eg. version of TBC (Thurneysen’s IIb).⁶¹ The other extant material in this manuscript includes a copy of *In Cath Catharda* ‘The Civil War of the Romans’, *Deargruathar Conaill Chearnaigh* ‘Conall Cernach’s Red Attack’, and a ‘mutilated copy’⁶² of *Iomarbhágh na bhFileadh* ‘The Contention of the Bards’.

The title-list in C is a conflation of the LL and D versions (see 1.3 below); the compiler carefully addresses inconsistencies in LL and D to create a “complete” list. This list is the same version as that which was once found in a now-missing manuscript Adv. MS 72.1.32. Below, I place the date of this manuscript in the first half of the 16th-century, which means that C may have been copied from it or that it and C shared an exemplar. As I explain in section 1.3 on the contents of the tale-title lists, the C redactor gives twelve titles, the amount stipulated by the LL list. This manuscript contains both the Eg. version and the LL version of *De Fóillsigud Tána Bó Cúailnge*, and, as the list is integrated into the narrative of the LL version, so too is it integrated into the narrative in the C copy, however altered as I explain below. In the upper margins of f. 30v and f. 64v, both above the text of Rec. II TBC

⁵⁸ *RIA Cat.* 2246.

⁵⁹ *RIA Cat.* 2245.

⁶⁰ *RIA Cat.* 2246.

⁶¹ *Held.* 115.

⁶² *RIA Cat.* 2245.

we find the invocation ‘*emanueale*’, which also often occurs in Egerton 1782,⁶³ and there is a 15th-century Scottish manuscript referred to as the ‘Emanuel’ manuscript (Adv. 72.1.46; MacKinnon XLVI),⁶⁴ which contains a copy of *In Cath Catharda* and the invocation ‘Emanuel’ on every page. Similarly, in the upper margin of f. 28ra above the beginning of TBC, the scribe writes *a nainm dé* ‘in the name of God’.

It must be noted in the following transcription that syllables represented by a suspension stroke in the manuscript, which I underline, are also sometimes accompanied by a dot to indicate lenition of the final consonant, as per Early Modern Irish scribal practice, which I represent typographically by underlining the relevant syllable and italicising the mark of lenition. However, sometimes the suspension stroke with the dot represents *ng* followed, and sometimes preceded, by a vowel, e.g. in the first instance of *cuailnge* and in *[a]islingi*. The two different usages of the stroke with a dot are not indicated typographically below but they should be transparent in the transcription. The scribe often omits length marks but I provide them in the case of expanded syllables by using a macron, e.g. in *remscēla* below. I indicate the use of the compendium for *er* with italicisation, e.g. in *neræ*. The following are the contents of the C list:

7 is e [in l]in⁶⁵ remscēla tana bo cuailnge .i. 2 · x · do gabháil in tshídha do [a]islingi in meic oíg, do coppur an 2 mvccidha do tháin bhó reghamain. do tháin bhó dartadhæ de [e]achtra neræ do choimpirt c[h]onchobair do coimpirt c[h]on culainn do thochmharc neimire do tháin bhó flidhisi 7 do macgniomradaibh con culainn. Do gabháil ngaisgidh do 7 do fledh cullainn cerda acht is a ccur[p] na tana at fiadhar na tri sgeóilsi

‘And this is the number of prefatory tales of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, i.e. twelve: ‘Regarding the Capture of the *Síd*’, ‘Regarding the Dream of the Mac Óc’, ‘Regarding the Begetting of the Two Swineherds’, ‘Regarding the Cattle-raid of Regamon/Regamain’ (see below), ‘Regarding the Cattle-raid of Dartaid’, ‘Regarding the Adventure of Nerae’, ‘Regarding the Conception of Conchobor’, ‘Regarding the Conception of Cú Chulainn’, ‘Regarding the Wooing of Emer’, ‘Regarding the Cattle-raid of Flidais’, and regarding the Boyhood Deeds of Cú Chulainn: ‘Regarding his taking of arms and regarding the feast of Culann the smyth’, etc. but it is in the main narrative (lit. ‘the body’) of the *Táin* that these three tales are related.’

⁶³ *Flower Cat.* 259.

⁶⁴ MACKINNON 1912: 201-2.

⁶⁵ The letters inserted here in square brackets, as in the word *[a]islingi* that follows, are missing from the beginning of the line due to the outer edges of the paper folio having broken away. This emendation was suggested by my internal examiner Prof. Damian McManus.

Without any break in the text and on the same line as the end of the list are the words *Tarcomhladh Sluaigedh mór la connachta* ‘A great army was mustered by the Connachtmen’, i.e. the first line of Rec. I TBC.⁶⁶

The fourth item *Do T[h]áin Bó Reghamain* could also be the other similarly titled tale *Táin Bó Regamna*; it is impossible to tell which is intended given the suspension stroke that represents the final syllable in the manuscript. Similar to LL and D above, the list does not function as an index to the contents of the manuscript.

1.2.4 *G: Missing manuscript Adv. 72.1.32

Gaelic MS. XXXII.⁶⁷ According to its catalogue description, this manuscript, now missing, once contained a copy of a list of *remscéla* tale-titles. Fortunately, the Scottish antiquarian Ewen M’Lachlan made handwritten transcriptions of the material before this manuscript’s disappearance: these are contained in two manuscripts, NLS MS. Adv. 72.3.5 (A) and NLS Ingliston MS. A vi.1 (I), which I discuss in detail below. According to MacKinnon’s catalogue, this now-missing manuscript is thought to have been misplaced around or before the year 1841:

‘This MS. has been amissing for many years. It was lent to the late Thomas Thomson, Esq., Deputy Clerk Register, for examination, and was in his possession in 1841. It has not been heard of since.’⁶⁸

MacKinnon’s description of this MS rests solely on that given by Donald Smith in the *Report of the Committee of the Highland Society of Scotland*.⁶⁹ Ewen M’Lachlan’s hand-written notes⁷⁰ entitled ‘Analysis of Ancient Gaelic MSS’, which comprise seventy-two pages written in the year 1812, give further details about the missing manuscript. However, he does not record the dimensions of the MS and, regarding format and length, he notes only that it amounts to forty columns of text. MacKinnon correctly points out that it is unknown whether M’Lachlan means to indicate that there were twenty folios in single column or ten folios in double column (plus two more folios containing genealogical material, supposedly added at a later date). Whatever the case, the manuscript must have been quite thin in size.

⁶⁶ See O’RAHILLY 1976: l. 1.

⁶⁷ Gaelic MS XXXII (MACKINNON 1912: 217-221).

⁶⁸ MACKINNON 1912: 217.

⁶⁹ SMITH 1805: 285–93.

⁷⁰ MACKINNON 1912: 257–258.

Regarding the manuscript's date, Donald Smith in 1805 considered it 'the oldest manuscript in the possession of the Society',⁷¹ a sentiment also expressed by M'Lachlan. Smith formed his reason for dating the MS to no later than 'the close of the eighth century' on the use of the appellation *popa* in a marginal note on the fourth folio. Of course, Smith's premise for dating was misguided as he believed the term to have been used in veneration, and understood it literally to mean 'Pope' rather than simply 'master', a practice, he states, which was confined to the early church. This misapprehension of the use of the term was subsequently addressed in an essay by Edward O'Reilly in 1830.⁷² MacKinnon discusses the date of the MS also:

'The date of the MS., now that it is amissing, cannot be definitely fixed, but from another extract transcribed by M'L. (L. C., p. 253), we gather that although it may be older than the fifteenth century it cannot be as old as the eighth or ninth'.⁷³

Furthermore, MacKinnon uses the tale otherwise known as *Aithed Emire (la Tuir nGlesta)*, 'the elopement of Emer (with Tuir Glesta)' as grounds for dating, as it is based on the concept that Cú Chulainn and the Norse of the Hebrides were contemporaries:

'The incident could not have been put together in this form until after the Hebrides came to be known as Innse Gall, 'Isle of foreigners,' and until the feeling of anachronism arising from bringing Cuchulainn and the Norsemen together had passed away.'⁷⁴

Donald Smith gives the following piece of marginalia from the scribe in the *Report* and it becomes immediately clear to the modern scholar that the orthography and the mention of a certain personage rule out the possibility of an Old Irish date:

Oidche bealtne ann a coimhtech mo Pupu Muirciusa agus as olc lium nach marunn diol in linesi dom dub Misi Fithil acc furnuidhe na scoile.⁷⁵

'It is the night of (the first of) May in the household of my master Muirgheas, and I regret that I do not have enough ink to fill these lines. I am Fithil, residing in the school.'

The orthography belongs to the Early Modern Irish period, given the use of the broad glide in *bealtne*, *g* for *c*, */g/*, the spelling of *agus*, etc. Furthermore, the 3sg. conj. pres. ind. ending in

⁷¹ SMITH 1805: 285.

⁷² O'REILLY 1830: 263.

⁷³ MACKINNON 1805: 218.

⁷⁴ MACKINNON 1912: 218.

⁷⁵ SMITH 1805: 285.

-*nn* negates the possibility for an Old Irish date. Master Muirgheas mentioned here must be the same Muirgheas mentioned in another scribal note extant in M'Lachlan's transcriptions in the Ingliston manuscript (I) described below.

The scribe pens his name *Fithil mac Flaithrig mic Aodho* at the end of the concluding verses of the tale of the encounter between Finn and Oisín, designated as the first column in MacKinnon's *Descriptive Catalogue*. I have found no other information on this particular scribe but he may have been a student of the Uí Mhaoil Chonaire school with access to Egerton 1782, written at Cluain Plocáin. That said, the genealogical material at the beginning of the manuscript, as described in MacKinnon's catalogue, indicates that it may have been written in Scotland. MacKinnon notes the following:

'The first leaf was originally blank. But in a later hand there were written on the first page genealogies of the families of Argyll and Macleod. The former ends with Archibald, who succeeded the earldom in 1542 and died in 1588, so that the genealogy would have been written between these two dates (v. *Rep. on Oss.*, p. 290). On the second page of fol. 1 is a brief account of the legend respecting the miraculous cure of Gathelus by Moses and Aaron [...] in the Arabian Desert. This piece is followed by a number of detached moral sentiments, also in modern hand (M'L.'s *Analysis*, p. 122).'⁷⁶

What follows then is the supposed "original" manuscript material which is as follows: a short tale of an encounter between Finn and Oisín; the tale of how Nuada Airgetlám was healed; 'two short paragraphs, commencing *Ingen Oilill do niath noi faithche femine .|. nua gein annsint*';⁷⁷ *Aithed Emire la Tuir nGlesta* (note that the only other extant copy of this tale is to be found in RIA MS. D iv.2, fo. 78vb); the Eg. version of *De Fõillsigud Tána Bó Cúailnge*, the 'Regarding the Recovery of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*'; the LL version of *De Fõillsigud Tána Bó Cúailnge* including the list of *remscéla* tale-titles; and here MacKinnon remarks that this concludes the 'old portion of the MS., which he [Ewen M'Lachlan] calls *Leabhar Chillebhríde*'.⁷⁸ The list of *remscéla* in this missing manuscript is supposedly that which is now extant in M'Lachlan's transcriptions, which I give below in the description of the two Scottish manuscripts (I) and (A). MacKinnon, whose catalogue description is based on M'Lachlan's notes and Smith's report, indicates that stories from the Boyhood Deeds of Cú Chulainn were included in this list of *remscéla* tale-titles:

⁷⁶ MACKINNON 1912: 219.

⁷⁷ MACKINNON 1912: 219.

⁷⁸ MACKINNON 1912: 220.

‘Thereafter comes (on col. 4) an enumeration of the twelve *Remscela* or Fore-tales which were regarded as part of the great Saga, although it was only the birth, education, and early exploits of Cuchulainn that were embodied in the story of the Tain.’⁷⁹

1.2.5 A: NLS MS Adv. 72.3.5

Gaelic MS LXXXIII,⁸⁰ p. 253, also known as *An Leabhar Caol* due to its remarkable dimensions, i.e. it is vertically very slender. Along with (I) below, it is an early 19th-century transcription (1812) made by Ewen M’Lachlan. M’Lachlan gives a list of the sources of his transcriptions in his table of contents, including Keating, the Glenmasan manuscript, the Deer Skin Quarto and the ‘Old Kilbride Folio’, among others. The section containing the *remscéla Tána bó Cúailnge* is transcribed from the ‘Old Kilbride Folio’, the now-lost manuscript also known as *Leabhar Chille Bhríde* (MS. Adv. 72.1.32) described above, i.e. *G. The entire manuscript is written in a neat cursive hand. M’Lachlan does not concern himself with trying to reproduce the Gaelic script and often makes mistakes which he crosses out or writes over; however, he tries to use some compendia and ligatures typical of medieval or Early Modern Irish scribal practice combined with Roman script. Another strange orthographic feature is that when M’Lachlan writes an *s* as part of a *compendium*, he uses the Gaelic script but, when not part of a *compendium*, he uses the Roman script.

M’Lachlan transcribes a note by the scribe of the now-missing *Leabhar Chille Bhríde* (*G) on p. 253 of his *Leabhar Caol*. This note complements that given by Smith in his *Report*, which I reproduce in the description of *G above. The Muirgheas Mac Páidín mentioned in this scribal note is possibly the well-known scholar of the Uí Mhaoil Chonaire and compiler of the Book of Fenagh,⁸¹ who died in the year 1543. If this is the case, it comes as no surprise that the version of *De Fíillsigud Tána Bó Cúailnge* contained in the missing MS, and subsequently transcribed here, is the same as that contained in Eg. 1782, which was compiled in the house of the Uí Mhaoil Chonaire roughly around the same period.

Aidchi causcc anochd 7 nar aifriche Dia form - sin do graif uair nir leig tinnius damh
èn rann do graif o samhuin cusan diu. An coimtheach mo feith .i. Muirgusa mac Paitin
damh. Misi Fithil . . . //

⁷⁹ MACKINNON 1912: 220.

⁸⁰ MACKINNON 1912: 258-260. Note that Johan CORTHALS (2008: p. 2) gives the manuscript containing *De Fíillsigud Tána Bó Cúailnge* as MS Adv. 75.3.5, instead of 72.3.5.

⁸¹ See CUNNINGHAM & GILLESPIE 2009.

‘Tonight is Easter night and may God not reproach me - I wrote that because illness did not allow me to write a single stanza from the first of November until today. The household of my artistry (?), i.e. [that] of Muirgheas mac Paidín. I am Fithil’. (Own translation)

DIL gives an entry for a *féth* with the meaning marked with a question mark as ‘art, knowledge, technical skill’.⁸² If we accept that *féth* is sometimes treated as an o-stem, gen. sg. *féth* with palatal final consonant is acceptable here.⁸³ The copy of this note in the manuscript (I) below contains the reading *feith* with a curved line, indicating an additional syllable; however, this is not helpful. The form *-aifriche* is originally from MidIr. *aithbirid* (*DIL* s.v. *aithbiraid*) ‘reproaches’ and survives into Modern Irish as the verb *aifir*.

Unlike Smith⁸⁴ in another note by the same scribe below, I translate *coimtheach* with the neutral, non-monastic sense of ‘household’. Smith, on the other hand, translates it as ‘*Coenobium*’, which implies some sort of monastic setting. Indeed, it appears as if the school of the Uí Mhaoil Chonaire was a hive of learned activity and the term *coimtech* (possibly **com* + *tech*) would indicate a communal setting, but it is important to emphasize that it was not monastic.

‘The Celtic Repository of a Collection of Extracts from the Ancient Gaelic Manuscripts of the Highland Society’ is given on the title page of the manuscript. It is dated to the year 1810 at ‘Old Aberdeen’ and Ewen M’Lachlan identifies himself as the scribe. These transcriptions contain the six items contained in *G, as described above: the first is a story about Finn and Oisín, the second a story about Núadu Airgetlám, the third a tale beginning *Ingen Oilill do niath noi faithche feimine*, the fourth is *Aithed Emire la Tuir nGlesta*, the fifth is the Eg. version of *De Fóillsigud Tána Bó Cúailnge*, followed by the LL version of *De Fóillsigud Tána Bó Cúailnge*, which is accompanied by a list of *remscéla*:

ise turem Reimsceul Tana Uo Cuailcne *12.x. n. de gabáil in tsidha, do aislinc an meic oic. do cupur in da mucide. To tain bo Reagamuin. To tain bo dartadha. Do eachtra nera. Do compirt *concobair*. To compart Chonchuilinn. To tocmarc neimhiri. To tain bo Flidaisi. Do mac ghnimhuibh *conculainn*. To gabail gaiscid do. Do fled cuilinn certa. Achd is curp na Tana at fiadhar na tri sgeoil sin 7 reliqua. Tana sin a grainne atai ardo mellud. Finit sin. (Own transcription)

‘This is the number of prefatory tales to the Cattle-raid of Cooley, [i.e.] twelve: ‘Regarding the Capture of the *Síd*’, ‘Regarding the Dream of the Mac Óc’, ‘Regarding

⁸² *DIL* F 103. 49.

⁸³ One example of a gen. sg. *feith* is provided by *DIL* from *SR* 403.

⁸⁴ SMITH 1805:285.

the Begetting of the Two Swineherds’, ‘Regarding the Cattle-raid of Regamon’, ‘Regarding the Cattle-raid of Dartaid’, ‘Regarding the Otherworld Adventure of Nerae’, ‘Regarding the Conception of Conchobor’, ‘Regarding the Conception of Cú Chulainn’, ‘Regarding the Wooing of Emer’, ‘Regarding the Cattle-raid of Flidais’, ‘Regarding the Boyhood Deeds of Cú Chulainn’, ‘Regarding his [i.e. Cú Chulainn’s] Taking of Arms’, ‘Regarding the Feast of Culann the Smith’, but it is [in] the main narrative (lit. ‘the body’) of the *Táin* that these three tales are related and the rest. These are [called] *tána* because of their horridness that is beguiling you (?).⁸⁵ The end.’ (Own translation)

Except for the additional words at the end, this is the same as the C version of the list given above (see below for further discussion). If we accept that *G was created during the lifetime of Muirgheas Mac Páidín, we may say that it predates C by about one century. The mistake 12.x. is perhaps an error by M’Lachlan who took *.i.* for the Arabic numeral 1; the *.n.* that follows seems also to be an instance of confusion with *.i.* if this is compared with the LL list of tales (see section 1.3 below). The spelling *aislinc* for *aisling* is pseudo-archaic, as is *Cuailcne*; note also the archaising of the preposition *de/do* to *to* throughout the list above. Given that original trisyllabic OIr. *aislinge* lost its final syllable by the Early Modern Irish period, this spelling may be used as a very tentative dating diagnostic for the composition of the list, i.e. that it was not redacted during the OIr. period. The spelling of gen. pl. *Remsceul* with *u*, as in Modern Gàidhlig *sgeul*, may be a modernisation introduced by the Scottish transcriber M’Lachlan.

As I mention above, A is important to the discussion of the tale-title lists because the text appears to predate C and because *G may have been composed or, at least, the original manuscript may have been compiled, within the vicinity of Egerton 1782.

⁸⁵ It is possible that a word has been left out here, perhaps even *remscéla* before *tána*, i.e. ‘these are [called] *remscéla* of the *Táin* [*Bó Cuailnge*] because [...]’

1.2.7 I: NLS Ingliston MS A vi.1, box 4⁸⁶

This is a transcript made by Ewen M'Lachlan from two sources: the 15th-century MS Adv. 72.1.46, which is still extant, only eight folios in size, and only contains a copy of *In Cath Catharda*; and the now-missing Adv. 72.1.32 (*G). Black comments that 'these are fuller and more careful transcriptions than those made in 1812 in Adv. 72.3.5'.⁸⁷

This paper manuscript in its present state is an unbound collection of sixteen folios including a blank cover page marked only by the shelf number A vi.1 in pencil and a blank back page; it appears as if it were originally in quartos but some of the leaves have now broken away from the fold. The pages are numbered 1–28 by M'Lachlan, whose hand is a clear, neat cursive throughout. As in (A) above, M'Lachlan reproduces Irish *compendia* and, when not, he sometimes misunderstands certain *compendia* also: for example, he reproduces the *compendium* for *est* as the number '2'.

The manuscript is in good condition despite having been folded in half for a number of years. Pages 1–11 are headed "Emanuel", page 12 is headed "Leabhar Chillebride", and subsequently pages 13–28 are given the heading "Cillebride". There are two dates given by M'Lachlan: the first is on page 1 next to the heading in brackets as "May 25th Wed. 1814"; and the second appears on page 17, still in the Cillebride portion, at the end of the text in brackets as "June 1st 1814". It contains the exact same scribal note as (A) above, with the scribe identifying himself as Fithil, residing in the house of a certain Muirgheas.

The first part of this manuscript, copied from the Emanuel manuscript (Adv. 72.1.46), includes only a copy of *In Cath Catharda* 'The Civil War of the Romans', pp. 1–11, which bears no title here, only the aforementioned name of the source, i.e. "EMANUEL"; underneath this heading is a note in brackets: "Vid. Celt. Anal. P.1", which must be a reference to further reading on this text. M'Lachlan marks each section of text in *In Cath Catharda* with a sort of notation from B1 to M2 and marks the end of *In Cath Catharda* by drawing a line underneath it.

The following page is headed by "Leabhar Chillebride" and the words "Amen, a Mhuire: Emanuel." appear underneath. On the following page, p. 13, "Mu Oisiann" is given in brackets underneath the heading "Cillebride" at the top of the page and what follows is the story about Finn and Oisín, as in the manuscript (A) above. After that is the story about Nuadu Airgetlám, again as in (A), and it is given the heading "Mu Nuadha Airgeadlamh". A story

⁸⁶ BLACK 1988: 109–110. This box mostly contains material pertaining to the work on the Dictionary of Scottish Gaelic by Ewen M'Lachlan at the beginning of the 19th century, including multiple handwritten copies of the first dictionary, M'Lachlan's etymological history of the language and other lexicographical material. It also contains a copy of the Early Modern Irish *Oidheadh Chloinne nUisnigh*.

⁸⁷ BLACK 1988: 110.

beginning *INgen Oilill do niath noi faithche feimine* appears in the middle of p. 15 without a title; and following that is the tale *Aithed Emire la Tuir nGlesta*, which bears the title “Cuchullainn”. In the middle of p. 16 then is the Eg. version of *De Fíoilsgud Tána Bó Cúailnge* ‘Regarding the Recovery of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*’; this is followed by the LL version of *De Fíoilsgud Tána Bó Cúailnge* beginning and ending on p. 17 with a list of the *remscéla* tale-titles. As this latter list is the exact same as that contained above in (A), I do not reproduce it here. The only differences between the two are superficial: this transcription capitalises other elements of the tale titles and sometimes spells a word in full where it is abbreviated in (A), e.g. Neara is written in full. A copy of Rec. I of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* begins on p. 18, headed by the title: “TAIN BHO CHUAILGNE. REIMSCEUL I.”, which is followed by the line *Mei est incipere: Dei est infinire*. This continues to p. 28, where it cuts off abruptly in the middle of Fiacha mac Fir Fíebe’s account of one of the *macgnímrada*.

1.2.8 Eg: Eg. 1782: a manuscript collection of *remscéla*

BL MS Egerton 1782.⁸⁸ This vellum manuscript consists of 125 folios containing mostly Old and Middle Irish material. It was written between the years 1515-1517 by four hands, two of whom are identifiable as Uí Mhaoil Chonaire brothers Iarnán and an unnamed brother who writes the following scribal note on f. 53a: *Ar ndighe*⁸⁹ (*id est benedictionis*) *don fhir do thrácht na trí ráimisi dún .i. Iarnán mac Seaain meic Thornha huí Maoilconuiri mo derbmbleoghan budhessin*⁹⁰ ‘Our prayer for the man who annotated the three columns for us, i.e. Iarnán mac Seáin meic Thornha Uí Mhaoil Chonaire, my own brother’ (own translation).⁹¹ Flower comments that ‘the phrase “Mo derbmbleoghan budhessin” is translated by Meyer, Contrib., p. 227, “my own foster-brother”, but it must mean “blood-brother” here as both the scribes concerned were sons of Seán mac Torna Uí Mhaoilchonaire’.⁹² Another scribal note places the manuscript’s composition in Cluain Plocáin, Co. Roscommon, the centre of Uí

⁸⁸ Unlike LL, D, and C above, this manuscript does not contain a list of *remscéla* tale-titles. However, the physical compilation of the manuscript contains a complete series of, what are described in the aforementioned lists as, *remscéla*. As such, and because I frequently refer to Eg. in the literary section and in the texts I edit below, it requires a manuscript description here.

⁸⁹ Here, *dighe* is taken as an alternative spelling for Early Modern Irish *dighdhe*, OIr. *digde*, originally the vn. of *do-guid*, ‘deprecating, asking pardon’ and, by extension, ‘praying, beseeching’ (*DIL* s.v. *digde*).

⁹⁰ MEYER 1903: 31.

⁹¹ For more information on the activities of the Uí Mhaoil Chonaire family, see WALSH 1947: 34-48; CUNNINGHAM & GILLESPIE 2009; and HAZARD 2003.

⁹² Flower *Cat.* 261.

Mhaoil Chonaire scribal activity.⁹³ A vellum slip at the beginning of the manuscript records the death of the Leinster king Art Buidhe mac Domhnaill Riabhaig, recording his death in the year 1517. Part of the obituary is as follows and the entire piece is written in one of the main hands:

Calann Enair for Dardaín. Anno domini M^o.^{ccc}. xiii. Macc Murchada rí g Laigen do écc im fheil Catrach fíona isin bliadainsi .i. Artt buide mac Domnuill riabaig meic Gerailt meic Airtt meic Muircertaig meic Muiris meic Muircertaig meic Domnaill meic Domnaill Chaemánaig meic Diarmata na nGall.⁹⁴

New Year's Day on a Thursday. In the year of the Lord 1517. A son of Murchad, king of Leinster, perished around the Feast of Catherine in this year, i.e. Art Buide mac Domnaill Ríabaig meic Gerailt meic Airt meic Muirchertaig meic Muiris meic Muirchertaig meic Domnaill meic Domnaill Cháemánaig meic Diarmata na nGall.

Flower and Meyer respectively note also that 'the Four Masters give his death under 1518'.⁹⁵ The Book of Sligo is given as the source of the Middle Irish tale *Aided Diarmata meic Cerbaill* in the upper margin of f. 110v:

Aided diarmada meic fergusá ceirbeóil inso amal ispert leabar sligid^g.⁹⁶

'This is the tragical death of Diarmaid mac Fergusá [meic] Ceirbeóil as the Book of Sligo said (i.e. as contained in the Book of Sligo)'.

This is one of only a few references to this lost book, to my knowledge: another is in the genealogies of the saints, but Pádraig Ó Riain argues that this most likely refers to the Book of Lecan; the other is in a 15th-century poem to the king of Tír Chonaill.⁹⁷

Eg. itself does not contain a list of *remscéla* tale-titles, but, as Erich Poppe explains, the manuscript itself displays a type of 'cyclical and codicological cohesion by sequential arrangement within the manuscript'.⁹⁸ This sequential arrangement gives the impression of an anthology of TBC material. It contains these thirteen tales, which are then followed by the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*:⁹⁹

1. *Longes mac nUislenn* 'The Exile of the Sons of Uisliu'

⁹³ Flower Cat. 261.

⁹⁴ Flower Cat. 260. See MEYER 1912a: 111 for the full obituary.

⁹⁵ Flower Cat. 260; Meyer 1912a: 111. The entry is as follows: *Mac Murchadha, Art mac Domhnaill riabhaigh gerailt caomhánaigh décc* 'Mac Murrough (Art Boy, the son of Donnell Reagh, son of Gerald Kavanagh), died' (AFM 1518).

⁹⁶ The *g* is written in superscript above the *d* in the manuscript, representing a correction: read *sligid*.

⁹⁷ Ó RIAIN 1985: lii.

⁹⁸ POPPE 2008: 41. Also MAC CANA 1980: 88 and *Held*. 250.

⁹⁹ Note that most of these tales do not bear a title in the manuscript.

2. *Tochmarc Ferbe* ‘The Wooing of Ferb’ (also known as *Fís Chonchobuir* and *Aislinge Conchobuir* ‘Conchobor’s Vision/Dream’)
3. *Aislinge Óenguso* ‘The Dream of Óengus’
4. *Echtrae Nerai* ‘Nerae’s Otherworld Adventure’
5. *De Chophur in Dá Muccida* ‘Regarding the Begetting of the Two Swineherds’
6. *Táin Bó Regamna* ‘The Cattle-raid of Regamain’
7. *Compert Chonchobuir* (Version II) ‘The Conception of Conchobor’
8. *Compert Chon Culainn* ‘The Conception of Cú Chulainn’
9. *Táin Bó Dartada* ‘The Cattle-raid of Dartaid’
10. *Táin Bó Regamain* ‘The Cattle-raid of Regamon’
11. *Táin Bó Flidais* ‘The Cattle-raid of Flidais’
12. *Táin Bó Froích* ‘The Cattle-raid of Fróech’
13. *De Fíillsigud Tána Bó Cúailnge* ‘The Recovery of the *Táin Bo Cúailnge*’

A similar example of texts transmitted as a series or as a group of thematically related stories is found in the 14th-century Book of Ballymote. Erich Poppe notes the ‘close chronological sequence’, which seems to imply ‘an incipient cyclic treatment’.¹⁰⁰ The tales to which Poppe refers are *Togail Troí* ‘The Destruction of Troy’,¹⁰¹ *Merugud Uilix* ‘The Wandering of Ulysses’,¹⁰² *Imtheachta Aeniasa* ‘The Adventures of Aeneas’, and the Irish Alexander story,¹⁰³ which cover ff. 230va-274va. As I discuss in greater detail later on, the series that emerges from the sequential ordering of *remscéla* material in Eg. is the work of the Uí Mhaoil Chonaire scribes and does not directly reflect medieval scholarly intentions. However, this compilation may represent the result of the series developing over the previous centuries.

¹⁰⁰ POPPE 1995: 5.

¹⁰¹ *Ir. Texte* 2:1, 1–142; STOKES 1881.

¹⁰² MEYER 1958.

¹⁰³ PETERS 1967.

1.3 Contents and comparison of the *remscéla* title-lists

In the following, I will first present the lists of tale titles contained in the manuscripts outlined above: LL, D, C and *G; the latter will be represented by readings from the modern Scottish transcription in A outlined above by Ewen M'Lachlan. As I mention above, the transcriptions in the Ingliston MS do not differ at all from A, so that they would be extraneous here. The method of reproducing the text I have used is conservative diplomatic, so that the standard *compendia*, *n*-strokes, *m*-strokes and markers of lenition other than the *punctum delens* above *f* and *s* are italicised, syllables represented by a suspension stroke are underlined and any additional letters etc. introduced by me are given in square brackets. I also number the titles in bold square brackets for ease of reference. I then compare the contents of LL and D before discussing the number of tale-titles in the *remscéla* lists, and examining the relationship between the lists in LL, D, C and *G based on the sequence of the tale-titles and contents of the lists. Typically, the lists of tale-titles contain very little linguistic evidence from which it might be possible to infer a date of composition and study their transmission from a text-critical point of view. However, a clear relationship emerges between the LL and the C and *G list based on the contents of the lists; the latter has also been influenced by the D list. I also compare the contents of the LL, D, C and *G lists with the contents of the Eg. manuscript. As I explain above, it appears as if *G was compiled in the same location as Eg., so that it is reasonable to assume some level of interaction between the two: the title-list may have influenced the compilation of the Eg. manuscript and the compulsory casting of a complete literary series.

LL (*LL* 32901–9): Is héseo turem remscéla Tána Bó Cualngi .i. a dó déc. .i. [1] De Gabáil in tsíd. [2] De Aslingi in Meic Óic. [3] De chophur na da Muccida. [4] De Tháin Bó Regamain. [5] De Echtra Nerai. [6] De Chompirt Chonchobuir. [7] De thochmurc Ferbae. [8] De Chompirt Con Culaind. [9] De Thain Bó Flidais. [10] De Thochmurc Emiri. Atberat dano is di remscelaib. [11] De Thecht Con Culaind do thaig Culaind cherdda. [12] De Gabail gascid do Choin Chulaind. & dia dul i carpat. [13] Dia luid Cú Chulaind do emain macha cosna maccu. Acht is i curp na Tána adfiadtar na trí sceóil dedenhasa.,

D: [D]o remscelaib na tána .i. [1] faillsiugud tana bó cuailgni. [2] Do ghabail in tsídha. [3] Do caupur in da mucaid [4] Do thain bó reghamna. [5] Do coimpert con culaind. [6] Do thain bó dartadha. [7] Do aislingthi conchobair. [8] Do thain bó flidhaisi. [9] Do tain bó fraich. [10] Do fhochonn loingsi ferghusa. [11] Do aislingthi ængha mheic in dagha. [12] Do feis tigi beccfholtaigh. [13] Don tseirc ro char mac in oicc chaire heabarbaithi. [14] Do comairle connacht o ro ghab medhbh lúdh 7 biadh dí

C: 7 is e [tuire]mh remscēla tana bo cuailnge .i. 2 · x · [1] do gabháil in tshídha [2] do [a]islingi in meic oíg, [3] do coppur an 2 mvccidha [4] do thain bhó reghamain. [5] do thain bhó dartadhæ [6] de [e]achtra neræ [7] do choimpirt c[h]onchobair [8] do coimpirt c[h]onculainn [9] do thochmharc neimire [10] do thain bhó flidhisi [11] 7 do macgniomradaibh conculainn. [12] Do gabháil ngaisgidh do [13] 7 do fledh cullainn cerda acht is a ccur[p] na tana at fiadhar na tri sgeóilsí

A (*G): ise turem Reimsceul Tana Uo Cuailcne *12.x. n. [1] de gabáil in tsidha, [2] do aislinc an meic oic. [3] do cupur in da mucide. [4] To tain bo Reagamuin. [5] To tain bo dartadha. [6] Do eachtra neara. [7] Do compirt concobair. [8] To compart Chonchuilinn. [9] To tochmarc neimhiri. [10] To tain bo Flidaisi. [11] Do mac ghnimhuibh conculainn. [12] To gabail gascid do. [13] Do fled cuilinn certa. Achd is curp na Tana at fiadhar na tri sgeoil sin 7 reliqua. Tana sin a grainne atai ardo mellud. Finit sin.

As LL and D are the earliest extant lists, as I explain further on, I will compare their contents firstly. LL contains four items that are not in D: [4] *De tháin bó regamain*; [5] *De echtra nerai*; [6] *De chompert chonchobuir*; and [10] *De thochmurc emiri*. D contains a considerable number of titles that do not appear in LL, eight in total: [1] *faillsiugud tana bó cuailgni*; [4] *Do thain bó reghamna*; [6] *Do thain bó dartadha*; [7] *Do aislingthi conchobair*; [9] *Do tain bó fraich*; [10] *Do fhochonn loingsi ferghusa*; [12] *Do feis tigi beccfholtaigh*; and [14] *Do comairle connacht o ro ghab medhbh luidh 7 biadh dí*. Presumably the second element left blank in item [7] in LL is *Ferbe* (i.e. *De Thochmurc Ferbe*), in which case, the equivalent is the alternative title in item [7] in D (for more about this title etc., see section 1.5.3.14 below). Regarding D's first item, *faillsiugud tana bó cuailgni*, it would be illogical to include this tale title in the LL list as the list itself is contained within the tale in LL. However, in D, the list appears directly before the tale of the 'Recovery of the *Táin*', so that it is collocated in the manuscript, but it is not integrated into the same narrative (for more on the details of this tale, see section 1.5.3.9 below), and was thus available to be included as a *remscél* title.

It is noteworthy that LL includes the title [4] *Táin Bó Regamain* and not *Táin Bó Regamna*, which is in fourth position also in D, perhaps also in C depending on how the suspension stroke is read, and in *G. It is difficult to say whether one or the other belongs to this list or whether their similarity was a source of later mistranscription; it could easily have been the case that the final syllable of *Regamain/Regamna* was represented in the exemplar with a suspension stroke, as is the case in C, and the copyist decided to provide the full spelling instead, therefore making a decision as to whether it should be *-ain* or *-na*. Backhaus comments that 'this tale constitutes a major problem, because there are two tales with nearly the same title (*Táin Bó Regamain* and *Táin Bó Regamna*), which apparently were fairly often confused'. Similarly, Chadwin comments that *Táin Bó Regamain* is, as he puts it, 'an obvious ambiguity in the list'.¹⁰⁴ Perhaps it is a cause of confusion for the modern scholar because, as Thurneysen points out, the title *Táin Bó Regamna* bears no relationship to the tale itself as there is no mention of anyone named *Regamon* within the story.¹⁰⁵ However, when used as headings to the respective tales in the manuscripts, there are no examples of the titles having ever been confounded, used interchangeably, or somehow 'confused' (see section 1.5.3.8 and 1.5.3.11 below). As I mention below, the date of composition of *Táin Bó Regamna*, i.e. the title in the LL list, must be taken into consideration when discussing the

¹⁰⁴ CHADWIN 1997:69.

¹⁰⁵ *Held*. 309. It is possible that the story in its surviving form is not a complete tale and that the title was originally appropriate.

date of the compilation of this list because *Táin Bó Regamna* belongs to the Middle Irish period (see section 1.5.3.11 below).

Backhaus believed there to have been additional meaning behind the sequence in which the tales appear in the LL list, which presupposes that it represents the “original” or archetypal list, which is not necessarily the case. The *terminus ante quem* is provided by the 12th-century date of the manuscript but the dearth of dating diagnostics presented by the list makes it difficult to secure an earliest possible date for its composition. That aside, he argues that, excluding the *macgnímrada*, the ten tales of the LL lists are organised according to three features: characters, narrative chronology and contents. According to Backhaus, items 1–5 in the LL list deal with ‘super-/non-human’ characters; and tell the story of Óengus and the bulls respectively in chronological order. On the other hand, items 6–10 deal with ‘human’ characters; and tell Conchobor’s and Cú Chulainn’s stories in chronological order. Backhaus also argues that 1–5 deal with the following themes in a fixed sequence: ‘bringing up/occupation of property’ (*De Gabáil int Síde*), ‘aislinge/marriage’ (*Aislinge Óenguso*), ‘transformations’ (*De Chophur in Dá Muccida*), ‘cattle-raid/seeking for provisions’ (*Táin Bó Regamain*), and ‘journey to Otherworld/marriage’ (*Echtrae Nerai*); and these themes in this order are duplicated in items 6–10 (*Compert Chonchobuir*, *Tochmarc Ferbe*, *Compert Chon Culainn*, *Táin Bó Flidais* and *Tochmarc Emire* respectively).¹⁰⁶ As pointed out by Chadwin, there are some obvious flaws in Backhaus’ theory, particularly regarding the organising of titles according to story content because, for example, the plots of *Aislinge Óenguso* and *Tochmarc Emire* also involve ‘transformations’ (see section 1.5.3.5 and 1.5.3.6 for descriptions of the contents of these tales respectively).¹⁰⁷

Despite some inconsistencies in his argument, Backhaus’ theory that the titles in LL have been arranged in a particular order and with specific literary connections in mind may be correct: on a superficial level, at least, an obvious pattern is evident in the sequence of the titles and how they are grouped in this particular list. The order of the titles in the LL list may not be entirely arbitrary: *De Gabáil int Síde* and *Aislinge Óenguso* are connected by the theme of Óengus in his *bruig* and appear side-by-side; if LL’s *Táin Bó Regamain* were replaced with *Táin Bó Regamna*, then the three titles *De Chophur in Dá Muccida*, *Táin Bó Regamna* and *Echtrae Nerai* would form a neat thematic sequence of tales dealing with the bulls, the Donn and the Finnbennach; *Compert Chonchobuir* and *Tochmarc Ferbe*, if *Ferbe* is indeed intended, both involve Conchobor; and, if *Táin Bó Flidais* were removed, *Compert Chon Culainn* and *Tochmarc Emire* would also form a biographical narrative about Cú Chulainn’s

¹⁰⁶ BACKHAUS 1990: 22–6.

¹⁰⁷ CHADWIN 1997: 69.

adventures; by extension, then, it would make sense that some of the *macgnímrada* be included in the grouping with these two final tales. However, there are two problems if this is accepted: first of all, the contents of *Táin Bó Regamna* conflict with Rec. I of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, and these wider implications are discussed below in section 1.6.4.¹⁰⁸ Secondly, if this is accepted as the original list, there are also implications as to the date of its composition, which must be placed outside the Old Irish period given the inclusion of the Middle Irish tales *Táin Bó Regamna*, *Echtrae Nerai* and *Tochmarc Ferbe*. The relationships of each of these *remscéla* to one another and to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* are discussed in more detail in section 1.6.

Turning now to the number of *remscéla* titles in the extant lists: directly before the enumeration of the titles in LL, C and *G, the narrator states that there are twelve *remscéla* (*Is héseo turem remscéla Tána Bó Cualngi .i. a dó déc* ‘This is the number of prefatory tales of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, i.e. twelve’).¹⁰⁹ As mentioned already in section 1.2.5, it is possible that M’Lachlan incorrectly wrote 12 .x., mistranscribing the Latin abbreviation .i. for the numeral 1. The LL compiler goes on then to give ten tale-titles followed by the titles of three of the *macgnímrada* ‘Boyhood Deeds’, which gives a total of thirteen titles. Before the enumeration of the final three episodes from the *macgnímrada*, the narrator of LL makes the comment ‘they say, moreover, that [the Boyhood Deeds] are of the *remscéla* (*Atberat dano is di remscelaib*), as if he is citing another source for his list. Similar wording is used to include alternative versions and/or additional information in the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*: (Rec. I and II) *iss ed atberat araili. . .* ‘other versions say that. . .’¹¹⁰; (Rec. I only) *cia asberat alaili. . .* ‘though others say that. . .’¹¹¹ LL, C and *G all contain the line acknowledge directly after the enumeration of certain *macgnímrada* that these belong to TBC: ‘But it is in the main narrative (lit. ‘the body’) of the *Táin* that these three final stories are related’ (LL: *Acht is i curp na tána adfiadhtar na trí sceóil dedenchasa*; C: *acht is a ccur[p] na tana at fiadhar na tri sgeóilsi*; and *G: *Achd is curp na Tana at fiadhar na tri sgeoil sin 7 reliqua*).

¹⁰⁸ While critiquing Backhaus’ comments about whether *Táin Bó Regamain* or *Táin Bó Regamna* belonged to the LL list, CHADWIN (1997: 70) asserts the opinion that the latter tale is the most suitable candidate because it ‘gives a cause for TBC and refers to an event which occurs during it’; however, he ignores its date of composition and its narrative consequences as regards whether it was created to complement Rec. I or Rec. II TBC. Also, Chadwin’s idea of a causative relationship between *Táin Bó Regamna* and TBC is problematic because this tale might fit in with the narrative of Rec. II but it in no way causes the cattle-raid (see section 1.6.3 below for a full exposition).

¹⁰⁹ As noted also by BACKHAUS 1990: 20.

¹¹⁰ O’RAHILLY 1976: l. 2316; O’RAHILLY 1967: l. 2322. This is in the section of the *Táin* entitled *In carpat serda & in Breslech Mór Maige Murthemne inso* ‘The scythed chariot and Breslech Mór Maige Muirthemne’ in Rec. I (O’Rahilly 1976: l. 2072) and simply *Breslech Maige Muirthemne so síis* in Rec. II (O’RAHILLY 1967: l. 2121).

¹¹¹ O’RAHILLY 1976: l. 3445. This alternative version is only in Rec. I TBC in the section entitled *Sírrabad Súaldaim annso* ‘The Repeated Warning of Súaltaim’.

With or without the *macgnímrada*,¹¹² the number of tale-titles does not tally. Backhaus offers multiple solutions to this problem: firstly, he suggests that *a dó déc* may be ‘a misspelling, perhaps a kind of dittography’ and that the ‘scribe of LL either copied an original list which included also only ten items, or he himself invented the list in LL’. Another explanation given by Backhaus is that ‘the scribe copied an original list of twelve items and – either by chance, or, as I should suppose, in order to impose his own structure on the list – left out two items.’¹¹³ His third suggestion is that the three Boyhood Deeds listed at the end could be included in the number of *remscéla*, but this still does not yield the correct number of tales (furthermore see section 1.4 on the *macgnímrada*). In addition to the suggestions put forward by Backhaus, it is possible that this is a simple example of textual inconsistency that frequently occurs when it comes to accurate details in Early Irish literature. According to Ralph O’Connor, often ‘numbers are used [...] for rhetorical or symbolic effect rather than in an arithmetically precise manner’.¹¹⁴ Without delving too far into conjecture, it is possible that the creator attached significance to the number twelve, given the religious connotations of the number, i.e. the twelve disciples; notably also, there are also twelve types of *prímscéla* in the Middle Irish Tale List A.¹¹⁵

The D list does not specify a number of *remscéla* but gives fourteen titles and is an imperfect list because it gives two titles for the same tale: *Do aislingthi ængha mheic in dagha*¹¹⁶ ‘Regarding the Dream of Óengus, the son of the Dagdae’ and *Don tseirc ro char mac in oicc chaire heabarbaithi* ‘Regarding the love with which Mac in Óicc loved Cáer Eabarbaith’ are two different ways of representing the tale *Aislinge Óenguso*.¹¹⁷ It also gives the titles of two versions of the same tale, i.e. *Compert Chon Culainn* ‘The Conception of Cú Chulainn’: *Do coimpert con culaind* ‘Regarding the Conception of Cú Chulainn’ and *Do feis tigi beccfholtaigh* ‘Regarding the Banquet of Beccfóltach’ (for the difference between these two versions, see section 1.5.3.2 below). The final item in the D list remains unknown to me: *Do comairle connacht o ro ghab medhbh líudh* (Mac Cana suggests *lind*)¹¹⁸ 7 *biadh dí* ‘Regarding the counsel of the Connachtmen when Medb refrained from drink (?) and food’. Thurneysen comments that it may be connected with *Echtrae Nerai*:

¹¹² For more on the categorisation of *macgnímrada* as *remscéla* to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, see section 1.4 below.

¹¹³ Both citations are from BACKHAUS 1990: 20, note 7.

¹¹⁴ O’CONNOR 2013: 22. See also the number of tales supposed to be provided by the Middle Irish tale lists (Mac Cana 1980: 41).

¹¹⁵ See MAC CANA 1980: 41.

¹¹⁶ The spelling *Dagha* here for *Dagda* is Early Modern Irish; compare, for example, the spelling *Daghadh* used by Keating (*Keat.* ii, 352).

¹¹⁷ Regarding the form of the name *chaire heabarbaithi* here, see the edition below of *Aislinge Óenguso*, section 2.1.7. BACKHAUS notes also that LL is ‘the only list without repetitions’ (1990: 21).

¹¹⁸ MAC CANA 1980: 90.

‘Die letzte Erzählung (14) ist scheinbar nicht überliefert; doch klingt der Titel an den Schluß von *Echtra Nerai* (Kap. 16) an und könnte vielleicht diese Sage ungenau bezeichnen.’¹¹⁹

If the duplicate titles are removed, the number of *remscéla* in the D list is actually twelve, i.e. the number stipulated by the LL list.

Lists C and *G are structurally similar to LL in that they give a similar opening line that there are twelve *remscéla* and present some of the *macgnímrada* as *remscéla* at the end of the list before admitting, as in the LL list, that they belong to the main narrative (*corp*) of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*. One of the three *macgnímrada* given at the end of C differs from LL: *do macgníomradaibh con cúlainn* ‘Regarding the Boyhood Deeds of Cú Chulainn’. This would, at first, appear to simply introduce the other two Boyhood Deeds in the list, i.e. *Do gabháil ngaisgidh do* ‘Regarding his [i.e. Cú Chulainn’s] Taking of Arms’ and *do fledh cullainn cerda* ‘Regarding the Feast of Culann the Smith’. However, the narrator concludes with the same line as in the LL list that the final three tales are in the body of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*.

It seems likely that the redactor of the list in *G and C had something akin to LL in front of him. Before looking at the relationship of *G and C to LL and D, etc., I will briefly discuss the textual relationship of *G and C to one another, and, subsequently, the *G and C version (*G/C) to LL. C and *G seem to be copies of the same exemplar or, C was copied from *G, which I believe to have belonged to around the middle of the 16th century (see 1.2.3 above). Theoretically speaking, this version of the list would descend from a common node on a stemma. Beginning first with certain superficial features common to *G and C in the written representation of the lists; these may serve as evidence for or against the former having been directly copied from the latter. As mentioned above, M’Lachlan presumably incorrectly transcribes 12 for .i. 2.x. into A and I from his exemplar *G; *G and C contain the Arabic numeral ‘2’ and the Roman ‘.x.’, which may be a significant agreement against LL’s *a dó déc* written out in full. However, the strength of this as a diagnostic is weakened by the fact that C uses the Arabic ‘2’ in the title *do coppur an 2 mvccidha*, versus *G’s *do cupur in da mucide* with the number *dá* ‘two’ written in full. In multiple instances, but not all, C uses the suspension stroke in the same places as *G, and, apart from *compirt*, also against LL: *gabáil*, *cupur*, *mucide*, *compirt*, *gaiscid*, *fled*. On the other hand, *G writes gen. sg. *Reagamuin* of the title *To tain bo Reagamuin* in full, whereas C uses a suspension stroke for the final syllable, leaving it ambiguous as to whether *Táin Bó Regamna* or *Táin Bó Regamain* is intended. This is, of course, only a minor difference between the two and the C scribe may

¹¹⁹ Held. 249.

have been saving space. Orthographically, *G provides the more modern convention with the neutral glide in *Reagamuin* as opposed to C's *reghamain*; however C's spelling of [e]achtra, with missing initial *e*, indicates that perhaps the scribe has deliberately avoided the modernised orthography in *Reagamain* when copying from the original. *G uses capital letters for proper nouns and punctuates after every tale-title as opposed to C; however, both of these features are trivial and could easily have been introduced by M'Lachlan in the process of transcribing the text into A and I.

Regarding the language of *G and C, then, *G begins the list by using the correct, older form of the preposition *de*, as used throughout LL, before turning to the hypercorrect use of *to*, alternated with *do*. Both *G and C give the spelling *cupur/coppur* respectively without marking the lenition of *p*, versus LL's *cophur*, which may indicate that C copied from *G or that they used the same exemplar. Ó Cléirigh's Glossary gives the entry *cupar* with unlenited *p*,¹²⁰ which may indicate that this was the commonly understood spelling of the word that would have, at that point, been archaic and outside regular usage. *G and C give the closest approximation to historically correct gen. sg. *síde* from, what was originally, a n-s-stem *síd* with the spelling in *ts(h)ídha*, versus LL's *int síd*, which is either a scribal error or indicative of the noun *síd* being treated as a m-o-stem. Of course gen. sg. *sída* still represents a MidIr. development whereby the *d* has a neutral quality in the gen. sg. *G does not mark the lenition of *s* but this may have been lost in the transcription process. *G and C both give the historically correct form of the def. art. du. gen. sg. *in in dá mucida*, as opposed to LL's *na*; this may be a retention from an OIr. exemplar or, possibly, an archaism. The nasalisation after dat. sg. *tochmurc* in *G and C is an anomaly which might point to C copying from *G: *To tochmarc neimhiri* (*G); *do thochmharc neimire* (C). Interestingly, another example of such nasalisation in this position after the dat. sg. of *tochmarc* 'wooing' is found in the YBL copy of TBC, i.e. Rec. I: 7 *luid do thochmorc nEmeiri*¹²¹ 'and he went to woo Emer' (referring to Cú Chulainn). It is possible that the title was originally *Tochmarc nEmire* with nasalisation after the nom. sg. of the originally neut. noun *tochmarc* and the nasalisation became fixed even when *de* was placed before it and *tochmarc* in the dat. sg. *tochmurc*; however, this is an unconvincing line of thinking since nasalisation of the genitive was not obligatory (*GOI* §237). The title appears also in a marginal note in LU without nasalisation after *tochmarc*:

¹²⁰ *eDIL* s.v. *cophar*.

¹²¹ O'RAHILLY 1976: I. 378, note 14. See also section 1.6.4 for more on this reference to *Tochmarc Emire*.

obicitur tochmarc Emire deso ‘the wooing of Emer is presented/laid out by this’.¹²² The tale-title in the LL list also does not contain this nasalisation: *De thochmurc emiri*.¹²³

There are only some slight differences between C and *G as regards wording. The first difference brings *G closer to LL than to C, in that it uses the word *turem* ‘number, list, account’ at the beginning of the list, whereas C does not. This opening line has been taken from LL, as opposed to D, which opens with the statement [D]*o remscelaib na tána .i.* For comparison, here is the opening line of the LL, C and *G lists:

LL: Is hé seo turem remscéla Tána Bó Cualngi

C: 7 is e [in l]in remscéla tana bo cuailnge

***G:** ise turem Reimsceul Tana Uo Cuailcne

Rather than *turem*, as in LL and *G, C appears to have *lín* ‘number’, which carries the same sense as the former. There is also a difference in the wording between C and *G in the second element in the compound *macghnimhuibh* (*G)¹²⁴ and *macgniomradaibh* (C); though not semantically distant from one another, dat. pl. *gnimhuibh*, OIr. *gnúmaib* from *gním* ‘deed’, is a different word to *gniomradaibh*, OIr. *gnímradaib* from *gnímrad* ‘deeds’. The word is not employed in LL, so that it is a change to the list common to C and *G, albeit that they use slightly different words. The episodes in the *Táin* are known as the *macgnímrada*,¹²⁵ however, and this probable retention of the expected word in C may provide an argument against *G as the exemplar from which C copied. There are also minor differences between the final line of LL, C and *G:

LL: Acht is i curp na tána adfiadtar na trí sceóil dedenchasa.,

C: acht is a ccur[p] na tana at fiadhar na tri sgeóilsi

***G:** Achd is curp na Tana at fiadhar na tri sgeoil sin 7 reliqua.

*G also uses *sin* instead of *si* at the end of the list, which stands in place of LL’s *dedenchasa*, and *G adds 7 *reliqua*, which is not included in C.

Turning now to the contents of the lists and the relationship of C and *G to LL, *G and *C agree on the same sequence of tale-titles against LL in two instances: *To tain bo*

¹²² Noted also by STRACHAN & KEEFFE 1912: l. 345–6.

¹²³ Compare also the nasalisation in the title *Tochustol* nUlad in Rec. I TBC (O’RAHILLY 1976: l. 3486). These examples of the unhistorical use of nasalisation may signify that we should understand it as a pseudo-archaism.

¹²⁴ There is a space between *mac* and *ghnimhuibh* in both transcriptions A and I, which may have been introduced by M’Lachlan.

¹²⁵ See section 1.4 below for more on the titles used in TBC to mark the ‘Boyhood Deeds’.

Fliḋaisi (*G)/ *do tháin bhó fliḋhisi* (C) follows *To tochtmarc neimhiri* (*G)/ *do thochtmarc neimire* (C), whereas these two titles are in the opposite order in the LL tale-title list. Similarly, *To gabail gaiscid do* (*G) ‘Cú Chulainn’s taking of arms’ precedes the tale-title representing ‘Culann’s feast’ *Do fliḋ cuilinn certa* (*G) in C as in *G, but, again, these are in the opposite order in LL. The form of this title in LL differs in wording from *G and C’s economical *do fliḋ Culainn cerda: De thecht con culainn do thaig culaind cherdda* ‘Regarding his [i.e. Cú Chulainn’s] trip to the house of Culann the smith’. Neither title is used in the *Táin* itself; Rec. I uses the heading *Aided con na cerda inso la Coin Culaind & aní día fil Cú Chulaind fair-seom* ‘The violent death of Culann’s house by Cú Chulainn and the reason why he is called Cú Chulainn’,¹²⁶ and Rec. II bears no subtitle of this kind but identifies the episode in the conclusion of the section by saying *Conid de sódain ro lil in t-ainm aurdairc fair .i. Cú Chulaind, ó ro marb in coin boí ic Culaind cherd* ‘Hence the famous name of Cú Chulainn clung to him since he killed the hound of Culand the smith’.¹²⁷

The three TBC episodes listed by LL as *remscéla* are: ‘Regarding Cú Chulainn’s visit to the house of Culann the smyth’, ‘Regarding Cú Chulainn’s taking of arms and his [first] journey in a chariot’, ‘When Cú Chulainn went to Emain Macha to the boys’. Neither *G nor C contain the line beginning *atberat dano* in LL and they both differ again from LL with the inclusion of, what appears to be, a different tale title: *Do mac ghnimhuibh conculainn* (*G)/ *do macgniomradaibh con culainn* (C) ‘Regarding the Boyhood Deeds of Cú Chulainn’. At first glance, it appears as if the title in *G and C is a simplified rewording of LL, similar to *G and C’s reduction of LL’s *De thecht Con Culainn do thaig Culaind cherdda* to *Do fliḋh Culainn cerdda* but there is more to it than that. As I discuss in the following section, *G and C’s title *macgnímrada Con Culainn* must be examined more closely within the context of the various recensions of TBC before jumping to conclusions. The title *macgnímrada* in Rec. I is placed at the beginning of the first section of the Boyhood Deeds, giving the impression that it is a subtitle referring to that section only and not the entire collection of short episodes (see section 1.4 below); whereas in Rec. II the title *macgnímrada* refers to the complete collection of stories of Cú Chulainn as a child. We may deduce, then, that when the redactor responsible for the *G and C lists simplified or reworded these episodes from the *Táin* that he was looking at a copy of Rec. I rather than Rec. II, unlike the compiler of the LL list, who was most certainly using Rec. II as inspiration.

It appears as if the compiler of the *G and C version of the list (henceforth *G/C given their close relationship) used the LL version and supplemented it using the D version. The

¹²⁶ O’RAHILLY 1976: I. 548.

¹²⁷ O’RAHILLY 1967: I. 930.

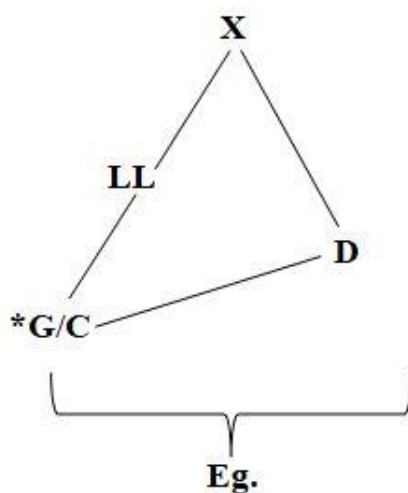
following are the changes he made to the earliest extant version of the list: firstly, the compiler inserts the title *Táin Bó Dartada* and places it alongside *Táin Bó Regamain*, another *táin* title; he removes a faulty, incomplete title *De thochmurc* (item 7 in the LL list), which pushes together the two *comperta*: *Compert Chon Culainn* and *Compert Chonchobuir*; he reverses the order of *Tochmarc Emire* and *Táin Bó Flidais*; and he gives only two episodes from the *macgnímrada*. In total, the *G/C redactor gives twelve titles which appears to be a deliberate attempt to match the number of titles stipulated at the beginning of the list. C does not include all items from the D list, however, and leaves out *De Fõillsigud Tána Bó Cúailnge*, *Táin Bó Froích*, *De Fhochunn Loingse Fergusa* and the final long title referring to Medb at the end of D. The first item may be due to the nature of the *remscél* itself (see section 1.5.3.9 for more on FTBC); and the compiler may not have been familiar with *De Fhochunn* and the final title. The insertion of *Táin Bó Dartada* indicates the compiler's knowledge of the D list as this title is supplied by D. Had the redactor knowledge of the contents and compilation of both LL and Eg. and understood that *Aislinge Conchobuir* in D is an alternative form of the title, he should have inferred the complete title *De Thochmurc Ferbe*. Either the redactor of the *G/C list did not occupy himself with the compilation of the manuscripts or he only borrowed titles from pre-existing lists.

Regarding the relationship between Eg. and the *G/C title-list: although it appears as if *G/C was most likely redacted or copied at the same location as the compilation of the Eg. manuscript (see the scribal note in section 1.2.5 above), a relationship between the two in terms of tale-title sequence and contents is not automatically apparent. Only one similarity between the sequence of titles in the *G/C list and the sequence of the material in Eg. is that *Compert Chonchobuir* and *Compert Chon Culainn* appear in the same positions; they appear next to one another in the series of texts compiled in the Eg. manuscript, as in the series of titles in the *G/C list. Although not in the same order, Eg. contains seven of the ten *remscéla* titles proper in the *G/C title-list: *Aislinge Óenguso*, *De Chuphur in dá Muccida*, *Táin Bó Regamain*, *Táin Bó Dartada*, *Echtrae Nerai*, *Compert Chonchobuir* and *Compert Chon Culainn*. Eg. does not contain the two tales *De Gabáil int Síde* and *Tochmarc Emire*. Similarly, Eg. contains two tales classified as *remscéla* in D that do not appear in the *G/C title-list: *Táin Bó Froích* and *Tochmarc Ferbe*. As mentioned above, an indirect relationship between the *G/C list and Eg. emerges from the fact that *G/C uses the title *macgnímrada* to refer only to the episode relating how Cú Chulainn came to Emain Machae as a boy. No clear argument emerges as to whether Eg. used a particular list from those in the foregoing discussion; one thing all the title-lists have in common is that none of them include *Longes mac nUislenn*, which is a separate tale to *De Fhochunn Loingse Fergusa* given in D; that said,

the title in the D list may have inspired the inclusion of *Longes mac nUislenn* in the Eg. compilation. Apart from that, the Eg. compilation differs from the LL list by including three tales, which are not in the LL list: *Táin Bó Dartada*, *Táin Bó Regamain* and *Táin Bó Froích*; it differs from D with the inclusion of two tales: *Compert Chonchobuir* and *Echtrae Nerai*; and it differs from *G and C by including two tales: *Tochmarc Ferbe* and *Táin Bó Froích*. As such, it seems more likely that the compiler of Eg. was either aware of multiple *remscéla* title-lists or simply had a personal understanding of which tales were considered to be *remscéla* without the formal aid of any particular list.

As it is necessary to first outline the textual transmission and contents of the various *remscéla* before debating which tales are best suited to the classification or which should belong to the list, I refer the reader to the figure in section 1.5.4 for a full outline of all the *remscéla* titles according to the extant lists outlined above, before discussing the texts' merits as *remscéla* in 1.8. The following stemma summarises the relationship of the *remscéla* title-lists to one another based on the foregoing discussion. The stemma is based on the hypothesis that there was an archetypal list, marked as 'X' from which LL and D have developed separately; however, I must add the caveat that it is possible that LL represents the first and original list and that D follows along the same node but is influenced by a second list no longer extant that had developed on a separate node from X.

Figure: transmission of *remscéla* TBC title-lists



1.4 *Macgnímrada Con Culainn* ‘The Boyhood Deeds of Cú Chulainn’: apparent *remscéla*?

The LL list and the closely related *G/C list give three episodes from the biography of Cú Chulainn’s childhood, i.e. of the *macgnímrada* ‘Boyhood Deeds’,¹²⁸ as *remscéla* to TBC, with the caveat that they are part of the main narrative of the *Táin*.¹²⁹ This indicates that the term *remscél* had a broader usage that included two types of narrative unit: one was the complete tale, transmitted independently from TBC, i.e. most of the remaining items in the *remscéla* title-lists; the other was the dependent type that could only ever be transmitted as an episodic unit of TBC, and which was specifically a flashback to events before the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* began. Theoretically, this second type, as well as the use of other terms in the *Táin* mentioned above in section 1.1.2, reveals something of the medieval approach to narrative composition: it is the sum of its narrative elements, some of which may be *remscéla*. It also reveals a nuance to the meaning of the word *remscél* and how it may be used; this becomes particularly significant with regard to the later application of the term in the Middle Irish adaptation *In Cath Catharda* (see section 1.10). Furthermore, it might explain why the term is applied to the short tale *De Gabáil int Síde*, which is more like an episode related to *Aislinge Óenguso* (and formerly part of *Tochmarc Étaíne*; see section 1.6.3.5) than a complete story.

Before touching on the wider application of the term, one question pertinent to its usage within the context of the *Táin* must be addressed: why were these three particular episodes from the selection of stories about Cú Chulainn’s childhood included in the LL list, and subsequently the *G/C list, of *remscéla*? The answer must be that either the list was composed at the time that LL was copied or at the same time as Recension II TBC was compiled, or that the list was redacted at this point. The reason for this deduction being that Rec. II TBC, which is contained in LL, includes only the three episodes provided in the *remscéla* title list: a young Sétanta’s first trip to Émain Machae and his first encounter with the boys (LL’s list title: *Dia luid cú chulainn do emain macha cosna maccu*; the equivalent title in C is *do macgníomradaibh con culainn* and in *G: *Do mac ghnimhuibh conculainn*); the story of how Cú Chulainn got his name by killing the hound of Culann (LL’s list title: *De thecht con culainn do thaig culaind cherdda*: C: *Do gabháil ngaisgidh do*; *G: *To gabail*

¹²⁸ I am careful not to refer to the collection of tales about Cú Chulainn’s childhood as the *macgnímrada* because, as I explain presently, the title *macgnímrada* may have had a different application in Rec. I TBC.

¹²⁹ O’Rahilly alludes to the opinion that the *macgnímrada* once existed as a separate, independent entity prior to being added to TBC but she unfortunately does not cite the source: ‘It has been suggested that the *Macgnímrada* passages did not form part of the original tale but were worked in at some period by a skilful compiler’. (O’RAHILLY 1967: xvii)

gaiscid do); and Cú Chulainn's taking of arms, his first trip in a chariot and subsequent killing of the sons of Nechta Scéne (LL's list title: *De gabail gascid do choin chulainn. Et dia dul i carpat; C: do fledh cullainn Cerda; *G: Do fled cuilinn certa*). The order in which these episode titles appear in the *remscéla* list is also that in which they appear in Rec. II of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* in LL. All three episodes in the main narrative of the *Táin* in LL are given under a single title on p. 62a18: *Incipiunt macgnímrada con culainn* (LL 8298). This may account for the clumsy "titles" at the end of the LL *remscéla*-list, which are nothing more than descriptions of these three episodes in Rec. II, unlike the formulaic titles in the remainder of the *remscéla* title-list; by "formulaic titles", I mean those that are usually no more than three to four words long and involve the central action of the tale (e.g. *táin bó*, *aislinge* etc) followed by a character's name. As such, the number of episodes and this specific selection of tales from Cú Chulainn's childhood biography in the LL version of the *Táin* correlates directly with the number of episodes given in the LL and *G/C lists. What may be inferred from that then is that the LL list is either the first attempt at composing a *remscéla* list or that it was an incomplete list of ten items copied from elsewhere, which the compiler of LL, or a compiler with knowledge of Rec. II TBC, then supplemented by using the material he had before him in the manuscript. The lack of agreement between the stipulated number and the number of titles provided may be proof that the list was not composed at the time of LL's compilation but that, at that point, it had been transmitted for a period during which two titles had got lost.

As a point of contrast, it must be stated that Rec. I TBC contains six to seven episodes from Cú Chulainn's childhood, depending on whether item 3 below is considered a full *macgnímrada*; that is, there are four more *macgnímrada* than in Rec. II, which contains only episodes numbered 1, 6 and 7 below. At the end of the *macgnímrada* in Rec. II, there is an acknowledgement that an account of the *macgnímrada* has been given:

Conid innisin do macnímaib Con Culaind sin for Táin Bó Cúailnge, [...].

'Thus far then is some account of the youthful deeds of Cú Chulainn on the Cattle-raid of Cúailnge [...].'¹³⁰

Item number 3 below is not given a separate heading, so that it is not clear whether it should be read as part of the episode *Aided na Maccraide*; however, the narration by Fergus mac

¹³⁰ O'RAHILLY 1976:I. 1214.

Róich indicates that he is relating a separate episode because he begins by saying: ‘*Fecht n-and dano*’ (‘At one time’).¹³¹

1. Na Macgnímrada inso síis (LU; cf. Eg.)/ *maccorda con culaind* (YBL) ‘The Boyhood Deeds [of Cú Chulainn]’,¹³²
2. Aided na Macraide inso ‘The Death of the Boys’ (LU);¹³³
3. (Untitled) The reason why nobody wakes Cú Chulainn from his sleep;
4. Cath Eógain meic Derthacht fri (LU do) Conchobor inso ‘The Fight between Eógain mac Durthacht and Conchobor’ (LU, Eg.);¹³⁴
5. Aided na trí nonbar inso 7 in fáth arná laimthe a nguin ina cessa ‘The fate of the twenty-seven men and the reason why none dared to wound the Ulstermen when they were in their debility’ (LU; cf. Eg.);¹³⁵
6. Aided con na cerda inso la Coin Culaind 7 aní día fil Cú Chulaind fair-seom ‘the killing of the Smith’s Hound by Cú Chulainn and the reason why he is called Cú Chulainn’ (LU; cf. Eg.);¹³⁶
7. Aided trí mac Nechta Scéni inso síis (LU)/ *De gabail gaiscid do Coin Culaind* inso (Eg.).¹³⁷

Lebor na hUidre (LU) gives six titles in total, inserted by an interpolator, while Eg. gives five titles, and the Yellow Book of Lecan (YBL) gives only one single title at the very beginning of the tales of Cú Chulainn’s childhood. As I indicate above, Eg. applies the title *macgnímrada* ‘boyhood deeds’, a collective term, to episodes 1, 2 and 3, whereas LU appears to use it to refer to Cú Chulainn’s first visit to Emain Machae only. YBL, on the other hand, gives one title to the whole collection of episodes, which differs by one important detail, i.e. the use of the term *cerd* ‘feat’ or ‘skill’, as opposed to *gnímrada* ‘deed’: *Maccorda Con Culann* ‘The Boyhood Feats of Cú Chulainn’.

There are no other examples of the term *maccorda* used in TBC or elsewhere. In the biography of another Irish hero, Finn mac Cumail, stories of his childhood are headed by the title *Macgnímartha Finn*¹³⁸. The use of *cerd*, or collective *cerda(e)* to mean ‘deed’ or ‘feat’,

¹³¹ O’RAHILLY 1976: l. 457.

¹³² O’RAHILLY 1976: l. 398.

¹³³ O’RAHILLY 1976: l. 470.

¹³⁴ O’RAHILLY 1976: l. 481.

¹³⁵ O’RAHILLY 1976: l. 524.

¹³⁶ O’RAHILLY 1976: l. 540-1.

¹³⁷ O’RAHILLY 1976: l. 608.

¹³⁸ MEYER 1881-1883: 197. The title is written in purple ink above the tale in the 15th-century Bodl. Lib. MS Laud Misc. 610, f. 118b.

rather than ‘craft’ or some sort of learned art is unusual. To my knowledge, the closest example of *cerd* with the sense ‘deed’ is *cerd láechdachta* ‘heroic deed’,¹³⁹ in which *láechdacht* provides the sense of it being a deed involving any manner of martial prowess. However, this could also be translated as the ‘art of valour’, which would also fit the context. Before Cú Chulainn engages in combat with Fer Diad, the narrator comments on their having trained under the same female warriors: *ac óenmummib darónsat ceird gnímrada gaile 7 gaiscid do foglaim*¹⁴⁰ ‘with the same fostermothers [...] had they learnt the arts of valour and arms’.¹⁴¹ In a similar example, *cerd* is used with a qualifier to describe arts used in warfare, i.e. *ceird chruí* ‘bloody arts’.¹⁴²

Returning to C’s *do macgníomradaibh con culainn* and *G’s *Do mac ghnimhuibh conculainn* for LL’s *Dia luid cú chulainn do emain macha cosna maccu*, this is a highly interesting point from the perspective of the relationship of *G to Eg. and subsequently, the relationship of *G to C. As I will now explain, it indicates that he was using Eg. as his source of these *Táin* episode titles. Rec. I TBC contains five to six episodes relating the childhood biography of Cú Chulainn, whereas Rec. II only contains three of these episodes and, as has already been established, these form the basis for the LL compiler’s inspiration at the end of the *remscéla*-list. Unlike LL, Rec. I TBC gives each of the episodes headings. It is these headings that lay at the disposal of the redactor of *G and, as I have shown in section 1.3 above based on two significant scribal notes, this was most likely the manuscript Egerton 1782. However, the redactor of *G confused the heading *macgnímrada*, which may, in the case of Eg., refer to the first three episodes of the Boyhood Deeds (i.e. Cú Chulainn’s first trip to Emain Macha, his killing of the boys and the episode explaining why nobody wakes him from his sleep). As such, his title is not an abridged version or rewording of LL’s title but it is taken directly from another manuscript containing the *Táin*, except, in this case, it is the recension that bears headings.

In conclusion, the selection of *macgnímrada* included in the LL and C/*G lists of *remscéla* titles indicates that this version of the list may have had Rec. II in mind. That is not to say, however, that they belonged to the original compilation, whose origin is difficult to trace, but the classification of episodes within the *Táin* as *remscéla* opens up the possibilities for the application of the term to narrative units as small as an episode within a larger

¹³⁹ This is a phrase used in Rec. I TBC in a piece of poetry in *Aided Lóich meic Mo Feimis* ‘The Death of Lóech mac Mo Feimis’ (LU 6169; O’RAHILLY 1976: I. 1951); the poem is not contained in Rec. II.

¹⁴⁰ LL 10052.

¹⁴¹ O’RAHILLY 1967: 211.

¹⁴² This appears in the *dindsenchas* of Maistiú, in which Grís ingen Eichise is described as possessing this talent (*Met. Dinds.* iii 134.19).

narrative, i.e. in the form of flashback. This is significant for the discussion of the much later application of the term to sections of text in the late MidIr/EModIr tale *In Cath Catharda* (see section 1.10 below).

1.5 Summary of *remscéla* material

1.5.1 A relative chronology of the composition of the *remscéla* to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*

Before proceeding to outline the relationship of individual *remscél* to Recension I and Recension II of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, I summarise first the dates of composition of each individual tale and use the figure below to illustrate their relative chronology (section 1.5.2). This is relevant to the question of when the series of *remscéla* began to emerge according to the surviving manuscript material at our disposal. The tales included below are those which are listed in the *remscéla* title-lists outlined above in section 1.2. In section 1.5.3, I continue by outlining the manuscripts in which each of the *remscéla* are contained, the extant recensions of each respective tale and its story contents. This is then presented in a table at the end of this chapter as a point of reference. The purpose of presenting this information at this point in the study is so that it will serve as a foundation for studying narrative elements that connect certain tales to the *Táin*. The relative chronology also serves to give a timeline of the emergence of this supposed series of tales attached to TBC.

The figure below (section 1.5.2) represents a relative chronology of the composition of each of the *remscéla* to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* based on the dates proposed by Thurneysen in *Die irische Helden- und Königsage bis zum siebzehnten Jahrhundert* and previous scholarship on each of the individual tales, which I will outline presently. As a point of reference, I also include in the timeline the Old Irish Glosses, the *Vita Tripartita*, *Saltair na Rann*, the *terminus ante quem* of the work of the LU hands A/M and a rough median indication of a date during which LL was being compiled. The timeline given for the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* in the figure, denoted by the use of a double arrow, serves to show the tale's period of productivity during the Old and Middle Irish linguistic periods, i.e. from the 8th to 12th centuries,¹⁴³ according to the material that has survived and is now available to us from that period, i.e. Recension I and II. As the arrows indicate, this timeline neither excludes the precursor(s) to TBC nor the Early Modern Irish Rec. III. It is, however, necessary to create this closed time frame for the purpose of closely studying the earliest stages of the emerging TBC series. I do not include the tale *De Fochunn Loingse Fergusa meic Róich* in the present discussion, as I mention below, it is only fragmentary and what remains of the tale does not provide sufficient material upon which to base a date or even entertain a discussion about a date. For illustrative purposes and because, as I discuss in sections 1.8 and 1.9, the term *remscél* is applied to certain stories

¹⁴³ See *Held.* 112 for a discussion of the beginning of the transmission of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*; Thurneysen proposes an early 8th-century date but, as reiterated by O'RAHILLY (1967: ix), he leaves open the possibility of a 7th-century archetype (*Held.* 112).

attached to *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* (BDD) and to certain episodes within *In Cath Catharda* (CCath.), I include these also in the timeline. The double arrow representing the transmission of BDD throughout the Old and Middle Irish periods includes all extant versions of the tale (see section 1.8 for details of the text's transmission). CCath. is placed in the 12th century based on Alf Sommerfelt's study of its verbal system and the approximate date he provides.¹⁴⁴

Given the nature of manuscript tradition and textual transmission, in that tales usually predate the manuscripts in which they are contained often by centuries, dating is only approximate. Furthermore, Version II of *Compert Chonchobuir*, and the tales *Compert Chon Culainn* and *Echtrae Nerai* respectively all still require a comprehensive linguistic analysis before they may be dated with certainty. *Tochmarc Ferbe* and *Táin Bó Dartada* have not been revisited since Stokes' and Windisch's editions in the late-19th-/early-20th century and also require the attention of modern scholarship, including a full linguistic study.¹⁴⁵ Despite the inexactitude because of current gaps in the tales' textual scholarship, it is still possible to provide a relative chronology for the construction of the *remscéla* series based on estimated dates of composition. This is done with respect to the textual history of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* and it is intended to supply a rough idea of the different points at which tales entered the series of *remscéla*, and the points at which pre-existing tales were redacted, perhaps with a view to complementing a growing series. In the following, I begin by explaining certain features of the figure itself before explaining the meaning behind the chronology as it is graphically represented.

Firstly, I will explain why *Táin Bó Froích* appears twice in the timeline, *Echtrae Nerai* is marked by a question mark, and that the transmission of *Tochmarc Emire* is marked differently to those other *remscéla* with multiple versions. On the timeline, *Táin Bó Froích* (TBF) appears once in the 8th-century and again in the 11th century, with the latter being marked by superscript <R>, which stands for "restructured". This is based on the proposition by Thurneysen that TBF was originally composed during the 8th century but restructured during the 11th century.¹⁴⁶ *Táin Bó Froích*, as I outline in the descriptive summary of each *remscél* (see section 1.5.3.4 below), seems to be a composite tale of two parts; its narrative seam becomes apparent through one obvious inconsistency in the tale, i.e. the matter of Fróech's wife. I maintain along with Thurneysen, and contrary to Carney's views (see

¹⁴⁴ SOMMERFELT 1920–21: 35–9. Relatively speaking, *In Cath Catharda* is younger than *Scéla Alaxandair* and *Togail Troí*, which may push its date further towards the end of the 12th century (see MILES 2011: 58). In light of the developments in our understanding of the Middle Irish linguistic period since Sommerfelt's studies, a fresh investigation of the language of *In Cath Catharda* is a *desideratum*.

¹⁴⁵ Due to time restrictions this is beyond the scope of the present study.

¹⁴⁶ *Held*. 286. MEID also places the composition of *Táin Bó Froích* in the OIr. period (1970: 14).

1.5.3.4), that the archetype of each of these elements in TBF dates back to the Old Irish period, possibly the 8th century, but that the composite narrative was created during the Middle Irish period, potentially motivated by the desire to create a TBC *remscéla* series, as discussed below.

Echtrae Nerai is accompanied by a question mark because a full linguistic analysis is still outstanding and beyond the scope of the present work. Thurneysen comments on the presence of an archaic linguistic feature as an argument for an OIr. date, namely, the pre-diphthongised *e* in *blednai*, for later OIr. *blíadnai* (*blíadain* ‘year’).¹⁴⁷ On the other hand, he also recognizes the significance of the MidIr. form *doairthenn*¹⁴⁸ from the OIr. verb *do:airret* ‘overtakes’, which could not be dated to before the 11th century.¹⁴⁹ The Middle Irish biblical poem *Saltair na Rann*, dated to the end of the 10th century, contains only two examples of this 3sg. ending *-enn/-ann* (3308, 4607), as noted by Liam Breatnach.¹⁵⁰ Thurneysen offers some consolation that this MidIr feature could be due to the copyist; and, certainly, it could be argued that the form *doairthenn* may have been altered at some point in the text’s transmission, given that the ending is not used here with a simplified verb form but rather the form of the preverb indicates that the ending has been affixed to an originally deuterotonic form. It must be contextualised, however, and noted that the form *nosstairthenn*¹⁵¹ appears only a few lines before this and shows obvious simplification of the verb *do:airret* to MidIr. *tairthid*, *ní tairthenn*, as well as the use of the late 3sg. conj. ending *-enn*.

Space does not allow it here, nor is it the purpose of the present work, but I will add to an argument for a late-Old Irish date based on the retention of certain OIr. features. For example, the text tends towards retaining deuterotonic forms of the verb, rather than using the simplified equivalent of compound verbs, a typical feature of Middle Irish: e.g. *doaidbitis* ‘they used to appear’¹⁵² from OIr. *do:adbat* (expected OIr. would be *do-aidbdtis*, but here the second *d* has been lost); *dochumlui* ‘he sets out’;¹⁵³ apart from the lenition of the verb-initial consonant by a MidIr. petrified neut. inf. pron. which could have been added later, this is a perfectly acceptable OIr. 3sg. pres. ind. deut. *do-cumlai*; *atnaid*,¹⁵⁴ *atnraig* ‘he ties’.¹⁵⁵

¹⁴⁷ MEYER 1889:l. 142.

¹⁴⁸ MEYER 1889:l.132.

¹⁴⁹ *Held*. 311.

¹⁵⁰ *SnaG* III, 12.13.

¹⁵¹ MEYER 1889:l. 122.

¹⁵² MEYER 1889:l. 8.

¹⁵³ MEYER 1889:l. 13. This *u* for *a* here in the unstressed final ending *-ai* is typical of the orthography in the manuscript Eg. 1782 in which this tale is contained (see section 2.1.3).

¹⁵⁴ MEYER 1889:l. 14.

¹⁵⁵ MEYER 1889:l. 19.

although here there is the presence of a petrified neut. inf. pron. and the nasal *n*, which recurs in deut. forms throughout the text without any grammatical purpose, this too is an acceptable OIr. 3sg. pres. ind. deut. *ad:aig*; as is *dosegatt* ‘they make for’: pres. ind. 3pl. of *do:saig*.¹⁵⁶ Another feature subject to erosion during the MidIr. period was the superlative ending *-am*, *-em*, which became confounded with the comparative; but in *Echtrae Nerai* there are multiple instances of the correct superlative ending: e.g. *nessum* and later again with the same adj. *nessim*.¹⁵⁷ It is not devoid of MidIr. features, however: note the fut. 1sg. *ragat* ‘I will go’¹⁵⁸ for OIr. *rega* (*téit*). EN presents a complicated case because it is a composite tale, an interweaving of literary and folkloric elements, whose joints are also revealed by its narrative inconsistencies. As such, the graph below does not do its transmission justice because it has, as a tale, gradually accumulated elements from the Old to Middle Irish period.

Tochmarc Emire has been studied in-depth by Thurneysen, Edel, Ó Concheanainn and Toner;¹⁵⁹ however, I present it in the diagram below according to Thurneysen’s summary of its transmission, which is also followed by Toner. Thurneysen believed that the archtypal text could be dated to the middle of the 8th century but that the tale underwent revision during the 11th century.¹⁶⁰ As I endeavour to show below in 1.6.3.6, the contents of the longer version of *Tochmarc Emire* reveal that the redactor may have been leaning towards cyclifying the material by creating intertextual links with the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*.

It is significant that the only two *comperta* of the *remscéla* to TBC both belong to the *Cín Dromma Snechta* group of texts; both display similar economy of style and verbiage, as highlighted by Mac Cana¹⁶¹ and later by Ó Cathasaigh.¹⁶² As pointed out by Ó Cathasaigh, the very short text of Version I of *Compert Chonchobuir* requires a literary context in order to understand its contents, which, in itself, indicates ‘an unspoken relationship to a narrative world’.¹⁶³ Therefore, the development of the characters was as a result of there having been preexisting tales, whose popularity motivated the creation of biographical material:

‘It follows from this that, already in the eighth century, the Ulster tales subsisted as a cycle, demanding and enabling the proliferation of tales, such as CConch, which are

¹⁵⁶ MEYER 1889: I. 51.

¹⁵⁷ MEYER 1889: I. 25 and 30 respectively. However, the superlative ending is found in the MidIr. period, see *SnaG* III, 6.15 and section 2.1.4.1(d) below.

¹⁵⁸ MEYER 1889: I. 11. On the change of *re-* for *ra-* during MidIr., see *SnaG* III, 3.12.

¹⁵⁹ Held. 377–95; EDEL 1980; Ó CONCHEANAINN 1988: 12–16; TONER 1998.

¹⁶⁰ Held. 382.

¹⁶¹ MAC CANA 1972: 110.

¹⁶² Ó CATHASAIGH 1994: 86.

¹⁶³ Ó CATHASAIGH 1994: 87.

formally self-contained, but which have as their *raison d'être* an intertextual relationship with other items of the cycle.'¹⁶⁴

Version I of *Compert Chonchobuir* and Version I of *Compert Chon Culainn*, which first come into existence as anecdotal story kernels about certain characters from the mythological Ulster royals, become drawn into the *remscéla* series. It must be noted, however, that Version II of *Compert Chon Culainn*, also known as *Feis Tige Beccfoltaig*, was in circulation about the same time as Version I; Thurneysen dates its composition to somewhere between the 8th and 9th centuries, a date which van Hamel later supported also.¹⁶⁵ Version II of *Compert Chonchobuir*, on the other hand, belongs to the Middle Irish period; Thurneysen places it in the 10th to 11th century.¹⁶⁶

Regarding the remainder of the *remscéla*, the LL version of *De Chophur in Dá Muccida* (CDM I), then, is placed in the 9th century, i.e. in the Old Irish period, by Thurneysen. The latter believed the Eg. version (CDM II) to be Middle Irish;¹⁶⁷ it is later than the LL version and relies on other Old Irish texts but the composition is Middle Irish. Roider silently follows Thurneysen's dating, adding the following remark:

‘In ihrem inhaltlichen Charakter ist die Sage sehr archaisch und von christlichen Denken noch fast völlig unberührt, und es scheint, daß die ältere Version in ihren Grundzügen sehr alt ist.’¹⁶⁸

The language of the Eg. version of *De Chophur in Dá Muccida* is essentially similar to that found in *Saltair na Rann*.

Aislinge Óenguso (AÓ) is placed firmly in the Old Irish period. Thurneysen held some initial reservations about the date of the text, which he deemed ‘nicht sehr alt’ and dated it to between the 9th and 10th century;¹⁶⁹ however, he later altered his opinion, placing its composition in the 8th century.¹⁷⁰ For more on the date of AÓ, see section 2.1.4 above; as I argue in the introduction to my edition of *Aislinge Óenguso*, the later MidIr. forms were introduced at various points during the tale's long textual history and they do not represent its original date of composition.

¹⁶⁴ Ó CATHASAIGH 1994: 87.

¹⁶⁵ *Held.* 271; VAN HAMEL 1933: 1.

¹⁶⁶ *Held.* 274.

¹⁶⁷ *Held.* 278.

¹⁶⁸ ROIDER 1979: 19.

¹⁶⁹ *Held.* 301.

¹⁷⁰ SHAW 1934: 32, 37.

Táin Bó Dartada appears to belong to the 9th century alongside another cattle-raid, i.e. *Táin Bó Regamain*.¹⁷¹ Thurneysen does not suggest a date for *Táin Bó Regamna*; however, Corthals dates it to the early-Middle Irish period.¹⁷² Again, Thurneysen does not suggest a date for *Táin Bó Flidais*; and Corthals is undecided but places it between the Old and Middle Irish period.¹⁷³ Although *Longes mac nUislenn* is not technically a *remscél* in strict accordance with the *remscéla* lists, it enters the discussion on numerous occasions so that it is useful to include it in the present timeline. The archetypal text is dated to the Old Irish period, c. 8th to 9th century, while the younger versions belong to the Middle Irish period.¹⁷⁴

Thurneysen viewed the short tale *De Fóillsigud Tána Bó Cúailnge* as ‘wohl nicht sehr alt’.¹⁷⁵ On the other hand, Kevin Murray, who published an edition of the LL version of the tale, dated it to the Old Irish period while pardoning a ‘light veneer of Middle Irish’ features; and John Carey also supports an Old Irish date.¹⁷⁶ It is difficult to date the tale given its shortness and, as a result, its relatively few linguistic features that might serve as convincing dating diagnostics. The two versions extant in LL and D iv.2 (FTBC I and II) appear to be Old Irish or, at least, late-Old Irish; whereas the younger version (FTBC III) may have been created during the late-Old Irish to early-Middle Irish period. As I outline below (see section 1.5.3.9), the latter forms the basis for the Early Modern Irish extended narrative *Tromdhámh Ghúaire* ‘The Grievous Host of Gúaire’.

Tochmarc Ferbe (TF), also known as *Aislinge Chonchobuir* and *Fís Conchobuir*, still requires a full linguistic analysis of both versions in LL and Eg. and, as a result, only a rough estimate for both is given here. The older is the LL version; Thurneysen dates the poem contained therein to at least the 10th century. He remarks that it is included in both Tale Lists A and B, which at least presents an early-Middle Irish *terminus ante quem*. The prose, Thurneysen argues, belongs to the mid-12th century.¹⁷⁷ The additions to the tale in Eg., particularly the section outlining Medb’s encounter with the water-beast, indicate that additions to the the tale were made during the Middle Irish period. As I indicate below (in section 1.6.2.11), these additions were made with the specific purpose of creating a clear link with TBC.

¹⁷¹ *Held.* 303 and 306 respectively.

¹⁷² *Held.* 309; CORTHALS 1987: 15.

¹⁷³ *Held.* 317; CORTHALS 1979: 143.

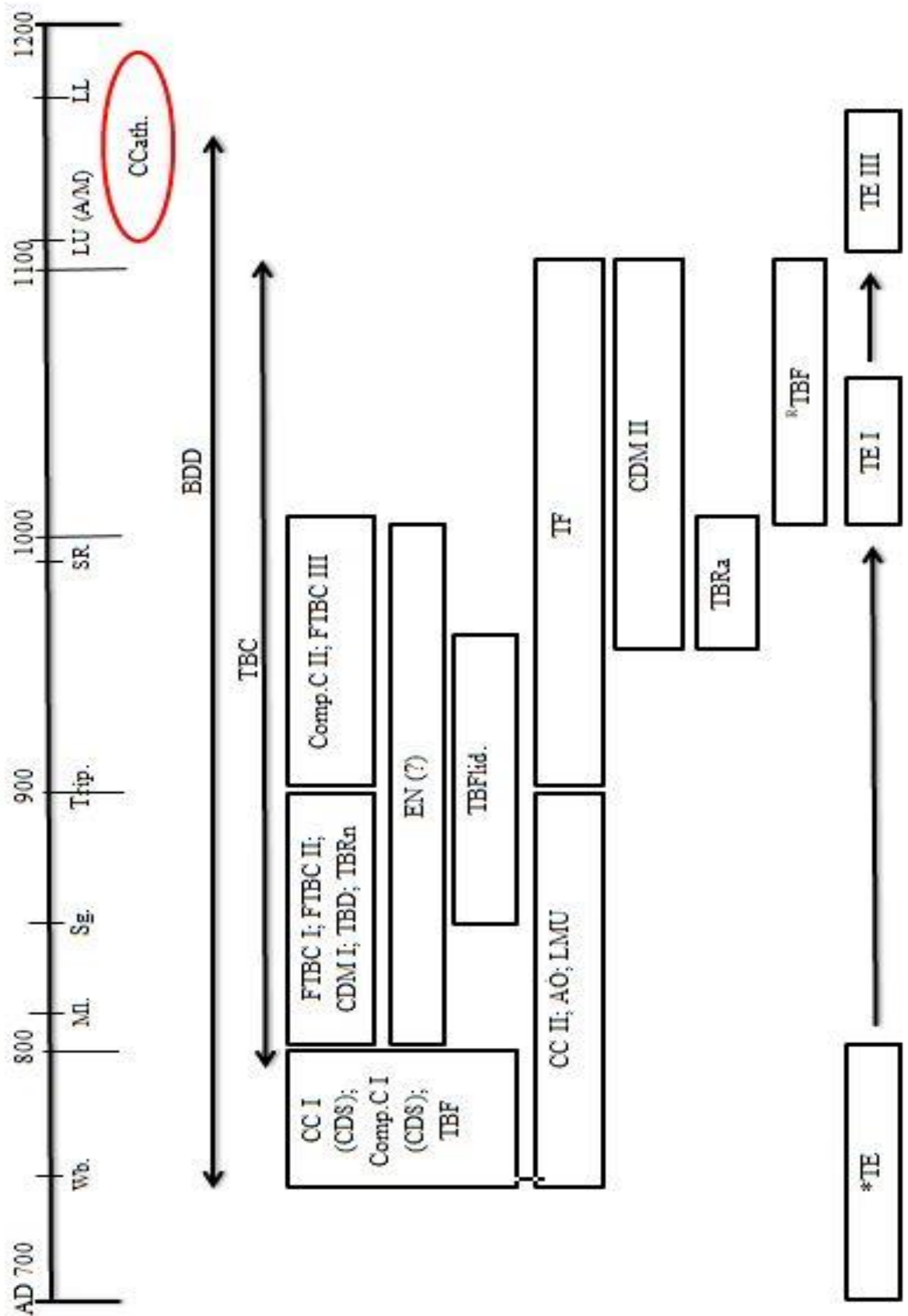
¹⁷⁴ *Held.* 324.

¹⁷⁵ *Held.* 251.

¹⁷⁶ MURRAY 2001: 19; CAREY 2000: 184.

¹⁷⁷ *Held.* 352.

1.5.2 Figure A relative chronology of the *remscéla* to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* according to their proposed dates of composition



1.5.3 Details of the *remscéla* to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*

In the following, I give a summary of each of the *remscéla* to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* in the order in which they appear in the relative chronology outlined above, beginning firstly with material from the lost *Cín Dromma Snechta*. I give a summary of the extant material of *De Fíochunn Loingse Fergusa* at the end of this section as it should not be ignored completely; it is listed as a *remscél* by D but it cannot be investigated because nothing much of the tale survives, as I outline below. Certain tales appear to belong to around the same period and, as a result, it is not possible to say in which order they were created.

1.5.3.1 *Compert Chonchobuir*

A short version of *Compert Chonchobuir* (Thurneysen's Version I)¹⁷⁸ is contained in the following manuscripts: Rawl. B 512, f. 100vb; RIA MS 23 P 2, the Book of Lecan, f. 191v; TCD MS 1318, the Yellow Book of Lecan, col. 886; RIA MS 23 P 12, the Book of Ballymote, p. 259rb; NLI MS G 7, col. 4; TCD MS 1337 (H 3.18), p. 48; and TCD MS 1363 (H 4.22), p. 40. Thurneysen's Version II is contained in the Yellow Book of Lecan, col. 885; the Book of Ballymote, p. 259b; the Book of Lecan, f. 181v; Egerton 1782, f. 77vb; MS D iv.2, f. 47rb; and NLI MS G 7, col. 4.¹⁷⁹

Version I is only short in length and explains how the druid Cathbad came upon Ness, daughter of Eochu Sálbuide, one day in Emain Machae. Ness asks the druid what the hour is good for and he responds that in that hour a king would be conceived by a queen. Subsequently, Ness invites Cathbad to her and becomes pregnant from the encounter. After a period of three years and three months she gives birth to Conchobor.

Version II gives different details as to how Conchobor's conception came about and as to his parentage. It opens with Assa (i.e. 'one whose temperament is easy'), later known as Nessa (i.e. 'one whose temperament is not easy'), who is reared by twelve tutors. A Fenian warrior joins Cathbad the druid and together they plunder the territory, eventually killing Assa's twelve foster-fathers. Assa herself survives the attack and seeks to avenge the deaths of her tutors, plundering as she goes. At this point it is explained that Assa became known as Nessa, and gives the origin of the name as "Nihassa", because of her 'prowesss and valour'.¹⁸⁰ One day when she is unarmed and bathing in a wilderness spring, Cathbad comes upon her

¹⁷⁸ See *Held*. 273–6.

¹⁷⁹ *Held*. 274. This latter manuscript is not given by Thurneysen.

¹⁸⁰ MEYER 1883–1885.

and threatens her life unless she gives him three wishes.¹⁸¹ Nessa submits to his demand and they go to Rath Cathbaid in the land of the Picts, which is near a river called Conchobor.

Once when Cathbad was thirsty, Ness went to the river Conchobor to get him water; there are two worms in the vessel and Cathbad forces Ness to drink them from the cup on pain of death. She does so and, according to the account in D iv.2, shortly afterwards becomes pregnant from an encounter with Fachtna Fáthach. Cathbad later goes to meet Fachtna bringing the heavily pregnant Ness with him. On the way, she begins to go into labour and, at this point, Cathbad utters a prophecy similar to that given in Version I of *Compert Chonchobuir*: he advises that she keep from giving birth until the next day because then that child would eventually become king of Ulster and also because he will then share a birthday with Jesus Christ. Cathbad recites a prophetic poem about Conchobor's future, in which he reveals his knowledge of Conchobor's true parentage.

The child is then born on a rock at the edge of the river Conchobor¹⁸² with a worm in each of his hands; and he falls straight into the river, from which he gets his name, before Cathbad pulls him out. Cathbad then recites another prophetic poem and Conchobor is reared by him until he becomes king of Ulster; this, we are told, was because of his true parentage:

Gabais iarom Conchobur righi n-Ulad iar sin ar thochus a máthar ⁊ a athar .i. Fachtna Fathach mac Rudraighe rí Erenn a athair ⁊ is e dorigne Conchobur dar cenn Cathbaid.

‘Afterwards Conchobur assumed the kingship of Ulster in right of his mother and his father, for¹⁸³ Fachtna Fathach the son of Rudraige, the king of Erin, was his father, and it is he that begat Conchobur in Cathbad's stead.’¹⁸⁴

1.5.3.2 *Compert Chon Culainn*

There are two versions of the story of Cú Culainn's conception: a shorter Version I, the *Cín Dromma Snechta* version;¹⁸⁵ and an expanded Version II known as *Feis Tige Becfoltaig* ‘The Passing of the Night in Becfóltach's House’. Both versions belong to the Old Irish period.¹⁸⁶ Version I is extant in seven manuscripts: LU, ff. 128a–128b; TCD MS H 4.22

¹⁸¹ Another example of the exchange of a death-threat for three wishes is found between Cú Chulainn and Aife in *Tochmarc Emire* (VAN HAMEL 1933: 29, §21).

¹⁸² This same motif of the mother giving birth on a rock is found in *Scéla Eógain ocus Cormaic* in the *Laud genealogies*: Moncha gives birth to Fiacho Muillethan mac Eogain Móir (Ó CATHASAIGH 1977: 119, ll. 9–13). Similar to *Compert Chonchobuir*, Moncha is advised by the druid that a boy born on a specific day would be a king.

¹⁸³ Here Meyer translates *.i.* as ‘for’ instead of ‘i.e.’

¹⁸⁴ MEYER 1883–1885: 178, 182, ll. 130–2.

¹⁸⁵ *Held*. 268.

¹⁸⁶ VAN HAMEL 1933: 1; *Held*. 268; HULL 1954. Tomás Ó Concheanainn provides a full analysis of the relationship of the two versions to one another (Ó CONCHEANAINN 1990).

(1363), pp. 46–47; RIA MS 23 N 10, pp. 62–63; BL MS Eg. 88, ff. 12vb–13rb; Eg. 1782, ff. 78v–79r; RIA MS D iv.2, ff. 46rb–46vb; and the 16th-century NLI MS G 7 (Philipps 9748), cols. 7–9.¹⁸⁷ The final section in the LU copy of Version I one has been erased and rewritten by the hand identified by Elizabeth Duncan as H2, who is responsible also for *Táin Bó Flidais* and *Immram Curaig Maíle Dúin*.¹⁸⁸ Version II comes directly after Version I in two manuscripts: Eg. 1782, ff. 79r–80r and RIA MS D iv.2, 47ra–47vb; and a copy taken directly from Eg. 1782 is extant in the 18th-century TCD MS H 1.13 (1287), p. 342.¹⁸⁹

Version I opens in Emain Macha with Conchobor mac Nessa; a flock of birds feed on the grounds, leaving them barren, so that Conchobor sets out hunting them with his daughter Deichtine, who acts as his charioteer, as well as Conall, Lóegaire and Bricriu. They chase the birds across the plains and the narrator comments how there was not a trench, a fence or a castle in Ireland at that time (*ní bíd clad ná airbe ná caisel im thír i nÉre ind amsir sin*).¹⁹⁰ A description of the birds is given, including the detail that there was a silver chain (*cuing argit*) between each pair of them. Night then arrives and a heavy snow falls on them, so that Conchobor sends Conall and Bricriu to seek shelter for them for the night. Conall and Bricriu come across a house described as an *óentech nue*¹⁹¹ ‘a new lone house’, which they enter, and inside they meet a couple; Bricriu comments on the small size of the house and how it would not accommodate their group. However, when they go further into the house it opens up so that it is actually big enough for the party, which is a sign that they have entered the otherworld. The wife of the man of the house goes into labour and Deichtine assists her. As she gives birth to a boy, a mare belonging to the Ulstermen gives birth to two foals¹⁹² and they give the foals to the newborn as a gift. The house disappears the next day and they are left with the boy, whom Deichtine fosters until the age of a young child (*alair leu a mmac combu blaicce*).¹⁹³ However, the boy becomes ill and dies, leaving Deichtine grieving.

Deichtine becomes very thirsty and is given a bronze cup from which to drink. As she brings the drink to her lips, she sees a little creature in it but it disappears every time she looks for it in the cup; eventually she swallows the creature, from which she becomes pregnant. That night she is visited by Lug mac Ethnenn in her sleep, who tells her she will bear a son

¹⁸⁷ The most recent edition of this version is by VAN HAMEL (1978: 3–8); prior to that was Thurneysen’s reconstructed text with translation (THURNEYSEN 1912: 31–48); and earlier still was Windisch’s edition based on LU and Eg. 1782 (*Ir. Texte I*, 134–145).

¹⁸⁸ DUNCAN 2015: 51. *Held*. 268.

¹⁸⁹ For an edition of this version see MEYER (1905: 500–4).

¹⁹⁰ VAN HAMEL 1933: 3, §2.

¹⁹¹ VAN HAMEL 1933: 4, §3.

¹⁹² This is itself is an omen or otherworldly sign as a mares typically only ever give birth to a single foal and might not even survive a pregnancy with twins.

¹⁹³ VAN HAMEL 1933: 4.

named Sétantae; and this is the same son as the one who previously died. The Ulstermen do not know who fathered the child and some think it had been Conchobor in a drunken state because she used to sleep next to him. Conchobor then sends Deichtine to marry Súaltain mac Róich and, out of shame for carrying someone else's child, she kills the baby inside her before becoming pregnant once again by Súaltain. At this point, the manuscripts TCD H 4.22, RIA 23 N 10 and BL Eg. 88 refer to how Sétantae became Cú Chulainn by killing the smith's hound; LU, on the other hand, simply states *7 doberar Sétanta fair* 'and he was called Sétantae' and continues to relate Version II which has been added by the interpolator. D also adds another anecdote about how Sétantae was given his name by Cet mac Mágach and provides a pseudo-etymological explanation for it.

In Version II, Deichtine is called Deichtire or Deichtir, as in Eg., and she is Conchobor's sister, whereas in Version I she is his daughter. She is one of the birds of the flock that grazes at Emain Macha before being hunted by Conchobor and other Ulster warriors, this time including Fergus mac Róich. Similar to Version I, Conchobor sends his men to find a hostel for the night but, according to this version, it is Fergus who finds a house that was seemingly small from the outside. Fergus is welcomed by the couple inside, who offer him food and drink, but he does not accept it until the rest of his company join him. While they are feasting, Bricriu hears something and leaves the house; following the sound, he finds a large house, into which he is invited by a young man. Inside are the most beautiful maidens he has ever seen and among them is Deichtine with fifty other maidens. Deichtine then gives Bricriu a purple cloak and he goes back to the feast with Conchobor and relates that he has seen a beautiful woman. Conchobor orders the woman to spend the night with him but, upon Fergus delivering this message to her, she reveals that she cannot do so because she is in labour.

The next day the Ulstermen awaken to find a child on Conchobor's lap. He orders his sister Findcháem to nurse the child and she promises that she will love him like her own, i.e. like Conall. Bricriu then reveals that the boy belongs to Conchobor's sister Deichtine and that it was she who was in the house with the fifty maidens; he then recites a poem in the style of a retoiic, in which he names the boy Sétantae. The Ulstermen then argue regarding who should raise the child and eventually Morand decides that Senchae, Bláí and Fergus should all rear him so that he might learn all of their gifts. Morand then announces that Sétantae will be the one to serve and protect the province and the story concludes with Sétantae being taken to Mag Muirthemne by Findcháem and Amorgein.

1.5.3.3 *De Chophur in Dá Muccida*

The tale *De Chophur in Dá Muccida* ‘Wie die beiden Schweinehirten den Kreislauf der Existenzen durchwanderten’¹⁹⁴ is extant only in the Book of Leinster, pp. 246a16–247a33 (LL), and Eg. 1782, ff. 73b–76b (Eg.); glosses on the LL version of CDM are contained also in the 15th–16th-century manuscript TCD H 3.18 (1337), part 2, p. 603. LL and Eg. represent two separate recensions; Thurneysen places the LL version to within the Old Irish period by dating it to the 9th century, whereas he places the composition of the much-extended Eg. version in the 12th century, i.e. the Middle Irish period.¹⁹⁵

The story centres around the two characters Friuch and Rúcht, who are swineherds to the mythological *síd*-kings Bodb of Munster and Ochall Oohne of Connacht respectively. These swineherds share an amicable relationship, allowing each to graze their swine on the other’s land, until the people from their territories begin stirring up discord by arguing that the magical powers of one swineherd is greater than the other’s. Friuch and Rúcht realise what is going on and agree to curse each other’s herd, hindering them from growing fat, to prove that they were equal in power.

Later the swineherds both become eagles (*senén*)¹⁹⁶ and spend one year in Connacht at Dún Crúachan and another at Síd al Femen, irritating the people of each territory with their terrible crowing. Fuidell mac Fíadmire arrives and announces to the people of Crúachain that these birds spent one year in Munster before coming to Connacht for one year. Before their eyes, the eagles take human form and everyone realises it is the two swineherds. They explain that they have both performed the same magical feat in each territory to prove that were

¹⁹⁴ The most recent edition and translation is by Ulrike ROIDER (1979); see also *Ir. Texte* 3:1, 230–78. The meaning of the sparsely attested, obscure word *cophar/cophur* is still uncertain. Roider analyses it as a compound of the preposition *com* with the verbal noun *súr* ‘act of seeking; visiting’, giving **comsúr* > *cophur*: ‘Man wird annehmen können, daß *cophur* eine phonetische Schreibung für *comsúr* ist, dessen Etymologie nicht mehr durchsichtig war. Es wäre also wahrscheinlich *cophūr* anzusetzen. Die Schreibung *-ph-* würde, falls die Annahme zutrifft, stimmlosen nasale Spirans bezeichnen (nasales *f*) (ROIDER 1979: 65; for the full discussion see 62–78). Even the gloss contained in H 3.18 expresses uncertainty regarding its meaning: *Copur .i. coimpert nó comginemain. ut est copur in dá mucaide. ocus ní córa lium sin ná commórtus in dá mucaide úair is a[c] commórtus dobādar ré cēile ō tús a mbeta co [a] mbás. "Copur", d. h. "Empfängnis oder Zeugung". Zitat: "Zeugung" (*copur*) der beiden Schweinehirten. Das scheint mir aber nicht richtig, sondern "Wettstreit" der beiden Schweinehirten, weil sie ja vonm Anfang ihres Lebens bis zu ihrem Tod im Wettstreit gegeneinander waren’ (ROIDER 1979: 60, 61). *eDIL* (s. v. *cophar*) provides the meaning ‘struggle, combat’. An explanation that is not explored by ROIDER is that the *-ph-* is an orthographic variant for *-b-*, i.e. /v/, and that the word is *cubar* ‘raven, eagle’. It appears in *Sanas Cormaic* as *cupar .i. senén* (*Corm.* Y 310), which is one of the forms that the swineherds take.*

¹⁹⁵ *Held.* 278; ROIDER 1979: 19. Roider (1979: 19) comments further: ‘In ihrem inhaltlichen Charakter ist die Sage sehr archaisch und von christlichem Denken noch fast völlig unberührt, und es scheint, daß die ältere Version in ihren Grundzügen sehr alt ist.’ However, the absence of Christian elements does not provide grounds for dating the text as “archaic”. For example, two of the CDS tales mentioned already, *Compert Chonchobuir* and *Compert Chon Culainn*, do not contain Christian elements yet they are linguistically archaic.

¹⁹⁶ ROIDER 1979: 32, l. 43.

equally powerful: *co-n-fáccatar ind fír atúaid ocus indess ar cumachta díb línaib* ‘sodaß die Leute aus dem Norden und aus dem Süden unsere beiderseitige Kraft sahen.’¹⁹⁷

The swineherds then become fish and they spend two years in the Shannon and the Siur fighting with one another. At this point, the Eg. version diverges greatly from the LL version. LL goes on to explain in a more concise narrative that the swineherds then turned into deer, then human warriors, spirits (*dá síabuir*),¹⁹⁸ and dragons, and eventually they fall out of the sky into the forms of two worms. One worm falls into the river Cronn in Cúailnge and is swallowed by Dáire mac Fíachna’s cow and the other into the Garad in Connacht so that it is swallowed by a cow belonging to Ailill and Medb; both eventually become the Finnbennach and the Dub Cúailnge (here it is called the Dub Cúailnge but elsewhere, even in this text, the Donn Cúailnge). LL continues by giving the different names the swineherds took when they were in different forms and it finishes with a poem praising the qualities of the Finnbennach and the Donn Cúailnge.

Eg., on the other hand, elaborates on the scene in which the fish emerge from the Shannon, becoming human again before everyone’s eyes. The two swineherds relate their travels to Ochoall before becoming warriors and gathering their military splendour, which is described in full. Bodb goes to the gathering in Loch Riach, and a lot of dialogue passes between him and Ochoall, before Bodb demands that somebody fight his warrior named Rind. They cannot find anyone to fight him, which is a loss of honour for Ochoall.¹⁹⁹ A description of the splendour of Ochoall’s group is given then and it is reiterated that still nobody stepped forward to fight.

The story relates that this is the reason why the Conmaicne are *fo dāiriú*, ‘in servitude’²⁰⁰ but the narrator notes that this is an inaccuracy: he says that the Connachtmen are of the seed of Fergus mac Róich who had not yet been born by the time this story is supposed to have taken place. Fergna takes his seat and a British druid prophesies that he will be forever be a vassal to the king and renames him Fergna Cromm, i.e. Fergna the Crooked.

Eventually Fáebar volunteers to fight Rind and they do so for three days and three nights. They become ghosts (*dā hsābur*)²⁰¹ and scare the people to death. A full battle breaks out between the provinces: Ochoall, Corpre Cromm (king of Dál Riata), Lore and Bred king of

¹⁹⁷ ROIDER 1979: 36, 37, l. 66–7.

¹⁹⁸ ROIDER 1979: l. 76.

¹⁹⁹ *Bertar enech di sunn* ‘das Gesicht geht von hier verloren’ (ROIDER 1979: 48, 49, l. 162).

²⁰⁰ ROIDER 1979: l. 180.

²⁰¹ ROIDER 1979: l. 180.

Meath all fall. Bodb takes off with Rind and Fáebar and, shortly afterwards, they take the form of *míl uisci* ‘water creatures’, one entering the Garad in Connacht and the other entering the Cronn in Cúailnge, as per the LL version above.

One day, long before the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, Medb is washing her hair in the Úarán Garad in Connacht when one of the creatures ends up in her cup. She expresses her dismay that he does not tell her her fortune, but he then begins speaking. Firstly, he explains his journey in many forms before advising Medb that there is a man suitable to her, named Ailill mac Máta, whom she should marry. He then reveals that his name is Cruinniuc and that Medb should bring him food every day.

On the same day, Dáire mac Fíachna, whom Eg. incorrectly names Fíachna mac Dáire (Eg. f. 75v13),²⁰² comes to the Cronn and encounters the creature. The beast calls himself Tummuc and asks to be housed and fed in exchange for a treasure. He explains to Fíachna (i.e. Dáire) that he is really Bodb’s swineherd. At the end of a year, Tummuc announces to Fíachna that he will be swallowed by his cow, while Medb’s cow will swallow the other swineherd, that two bulls will be born from that, and that a great war will break out in Ireland. Just as in LL, the names of the swineherds in their various forms are given. The equivalent of the description of the Finnbennach and the Donn Cúailnge in metrical form at the end of LL is given in prose form in Eg.

1.5.3.4 *Táin Bó Froích*

The following manuscripts contain a copy of *Táin Bó Froích*: LL, pp. 248a–252b; YBL, cols. 649–658; Eg. 1782, ff. 82v–87v; and in the 16th-century NLS Adv. MS 72.1.40 (Gaelic XL). Glossed extracts from LL and Adv. 72.1.40 are contained in the TCD MS H 3.18 (1337), p. 604; and a copy taken directly from Eg. 1782 is contained in the 18th-century paper manuscript TCD H 1.13 (1287), p. 349–354. According to Meid’s stemma, LL and NLS 72.1.40 belong to the same branch, whereas YBL and Eg. belong to another; however, he uses all four manuscripts in his edition of the text, giving extensive *variae lectiones* and textual notes. As it does with other *tána bó* in this series, YBL includes additional lines in the conclusion of the tale whereby the narrator confirms the tale as a *remscél*.

James Carney considered the multiple Middle Irish linguistic features in TBF to be later alterations to the text during its transmission and assigned an Old Irish date to its original

²⁰² ROIDER (1979:153–9) gives the manuscript images from Eg.

composition.²⁰³ Included in his considerations is the reference to Lombardy in the second part of *Táin Bó Froích* outlined below; he regards the Lombards being cast in an unfavourable light as reflecting the Irish attitude to the Lombard Kingdom during the 8th century:

‘It can be fairly argued that the monkish author of TBF had every opportunity of being acquainted with the papal and Frankish view of Lombardy, and that he shared their anti-Lombard prejudice. This might suggest a date not later than 775 as a *terminus ante quem* for the composition of this tale.’²⁰⁴

The tale in its present state appears to consist of two parts, as noted by Thurneysen²⁰⁵ and Meid.²⁰⁶ the first is the courtship of Findabair, Ailill and Medb’s daughter; the second is Fróech’s quest to the Continent to retrieve his stolen cattle. At the end of the summary below, I return to this ‘two-tale’ theory,²⁰⁷ including Carney’s counter-argument.

The tale opens with a description of Fróech as the most beautiful warrior in Ireland and Scotland; however, he is without a wife for eight years. Findabair, Ailill and Medb’s daughter, loves him from afar for his reputation and this is related to Fróech. Before setting out for Crúachain, he goes to his mother’s sister, the Boand, who provides him with artisans and beautiful finery and weaponry, which is described in detail. He reaches the fortress and a watchman announces his arrival and describes the splendour of the retinue. Afterwards Fróech is allowed enter the house and a long description of the beautiful details of the house follows.

After being welcomed, Ailill and Medb begin playing *fidchell* and Fróech plays against one of his own men, before Medb herself decides to play against Fróech. Ailill requests that Fróech’s harpers play for them and twelve people die as a result of the powerfulness of the music. Then comes an explanatory anecdote by the narrator regarding the three different strains of music, *goltraige*, *gentraige*, *suantraige*, whose origins are found in the triplets born to the Boand.²⁰⁸ Fróech then asks Lothur to divide out some food among the party and they continue to play *fidchell* for three days and three nights without Medb realising the time was passing. Eventually she realises this and is embarrassed at the lack of hospitality she has shown her guests; they then feast for three more days and nights, during which Fróech is asked the purpose of his visit. He responds that he simply likes visiting Ailill and Medb and does not reveal his true reason, which is to court their daughter Findabair.

²⁰³ CARNEY 1979: 24.

²⁰⁴ CARNEY 1979: 27.

²⁰⁵ *Held*. 285.

²⁰⁶ MEID 1970: 14.

²⁰⁷ CARNEY 1979: 32.

²⁰⁸ See *Triads* 122; *CIH* vi. 2219.34–5. See also how Lug has the gift to play these three strains in *Cath Maige Tuired* ‘The Second Battle of Mag Tuired’ (GRAY 1982: 42, ll. 295–7).

Fróech and his company stay for a further two weeks until he finally finds an opportunity to speak with her. He asks her to elope with him but she refuses on the grounds that she is the daughter of a king and queen; Findabair then gives him a ring as a symbol of her love. Ailill realises that Fróech and Findabair are conspiring and comments that Fróech should give them cattle as provisions for the *Táin*. When Fróech asks Ailill for his daughter, he agrees and asks for an excessive dowry (*tinnscrea*);²⁰⁹ to which Fergus responds that he would not give a dowry that size for queen Medb herself, and he walks out of the house.

Ailill and Medb then plot to kill Fróech before he leaves their fortress. They take him to a river and tell him to bathe in it; while he is in the water, Ailill finds the ring given to him by Findabair in his wallet (*bossán*),²¹⁰ which he leaves on the riverbank. As Ailill throws the ring into the river, a salmon catches it in his mouth; Fróech perceives this and grabs the salmon. Ailill then demands that Fróech bring him a branch filled with berries from across the water, which Fróech duly does, and Findabair comments on his beauty. Ailill sends him back for more berries but, in the process, he is attacked by a water-creature (*béist*).²¹¹ Fróech calls for a sword to be given to him but nobody dares; however, Findabair gets into the water to help him. Ailill then casts a spear at her. Fróech brings the dead beast to the land, and is sent by Ailill to have a bacon bath because he is so badly wounded; Ailill and Medb then regret their having attempted to kill both of them.

While he is recovering, Fróech hears his mother and the Boand's *síd*-women wailing and lamenting. They carry him into *Síd Crúachan* and he returns completely healed. Ailill and Medb apologise to Fróech afterwards and give him food. In the meantime, he orders his servant to get the salmon from the bank of the river for Findabair and to retrieve the ring from it. Ailill threatens to kill Findabair unless she bring the ring to him and she duly does so in exchange for her freedom; Findabair brings the ring on a plate with the salmon. Ailill and Fróech end up in a confrontation regarding how the ring came into Fróech's possession; Fróech lies by saying he found it in the entrance to the dwelling and that Findabair had promised him 'love for a year' (*do·bérad seirc mblíadnae dam-sa* 'she would give me love of a year')²¹² in exchange for the ring. Once Ailill and Fróech's confrontation is resolved, they agree that Fróech will come with his cows to support Ailill and Medb on the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* and he will receive the maiden in return; Fróech then leaves.

²⁰⁹ MEID 1967: I. 162.

²¹⁰ MEID 1967: I. 185.

²¹¹ MEID 1967: I. 208.

²¹² MEID 1967: II. 276–7.

Now to the second part of *Táin Bó Froích* which seems incongruous with the first: Fróech returns home to find that his three sons, wife and cows have been stolen; three cows have been taken to northern Scotland by the Picts and the remainder to the Alps. Rather than his mother replace the cows for him, he heads out with twenty-seven men, a hawk and a hound to find them. On the way, he meets Conall Cernach, the Ulster warrior, at Benna Bairchi, who accompanies him on his journey across Britain and on to northern Lombardy. When they reach the Alps, they meet an elderly woman, whose mother originally came from Ireland and who gives them information out of a sense of *condalbae* ('affection for kindred').²¹³ She directs them to another woman, whose people come from Ulster originally, and who tells Fróech and Conall to come when the men are sleeping and take the cattle; she also warns of the serpent of the fortress. Fróech and Conall retrieve the cows, sons and Fróech's wife, overcoming the serpent in the meantime, and go to Pictland to collect the remainder of the stolen cattle.

There are then two *dindsenchas* explanations for Inber Bicne, the place that Bicne mac Lóegaire is killed while driving the cattle, and Tracht Bennchóir, where the cattle threw off their horns. Fróech then returns to his land with his sons, wife and cattle and later brings his cattle to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*.

With the tale now summarised, I will briefly address the matter of its structural composition, which must be evaluated before proceeding to outline the nature of its relationship to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* in section 1.6.3.4 below. As mentioned above, *Táin Bó Froích* is a story that appears to be composed of two parts: a *tochmarc* 'wooing' tale followed by a type of *táin bó* tale which happens to include an *echtrae*.²¹⁴ The cause for this 'two-tale' theory, to borrow Carney's²¹⁵ phrase, is one major incongruity in the plot, i.e. Fróech's relationship status: in the first part of the story, Fróech is described as having been without a woman for eight years, which is the cause of his journey to Ailill and Medb to procure himself a wife; in the second part, however, he has a wife and three sons. Fróech's wife is not named in the second part, i.e. in the *táin bó*, which leaves room for speculation. The connecting lines between the two sections are:

Do·cumlát dia críchaib íarum. Ecmaing ro·gatta a baí calléic.

²¹³ MEID 1967: I. 344.

²¹⁴ I refer to this as 'a type of *táin bó* tale' because the actual driving off of Fróich's cattle, i.e. the *Táin Bó Froích* element is not related: it is simply stated that they have been plundered and taken to Pictland and Lombardy. The main action of the story revolves around his retrieving the stolen cattle, which is not usually the central plot of a *táin bó* (cf. *Táin Bó Regamain* and *Táin Bó Dartada*, as well as the obvious case of *Táin Bó Cúailnge*).

²¹⁵ CARNEY 1979: 32.

‘Sie zogen dann los in ihr Gebiet. Es stellte sich heraus, daß seine Kühe in der Zwischenzeit gestohlen worden waren.’²¹⁶

Fróech’s mother then comes to him and explains that his wife, sons and cows have been taken while he was on his trip but she does not state exactly which trip, which leaves open the interpretation that originally she may not have been referring to his trip to pursue Findabair. When Fróech recovers his cattle, wife and sons, the text states that he supports Ailill and Medb on the *Táin* and Findabair is not mentioned again, i.e. the plotline of the first part of the story is not resumed.

Thurneysen presented the idea, which is further discussed by Carney, that the line regarding Fróech not having a wife for eight years may have been later inserted into the tale.²¹⁷ Carney rejected Thurneysen’s ‘two-tale’ notion, arguing that the tale was conceived as a whole, and that the idea of the two parts being theoretically amalgated was simply conjectural and ‘mechanical’.²¹⁸ Carney²¹⁹ argues against this theory based on the fact that there are no extant copies of these two stories as independent items; and that if Thurneysen had had the late Middle Irish poetic version of *Táin Bó Froích* at his disposal, he would probably have argued differently. Meid presents both Carney’s and Thurneysen’s theories, expanding on the latter’s by noting the ‘Einführung des Rindermotivs’;²²⁰ however, he does not explore the ‘two-tale’ theory in his stemmatic considerations later on.

Two points need to be raised in response to both Thurneysen’s and Carney’s respective analyses: firstly, it cannot be presumed absolutely that the present structure of the tale represents its original structure; and, secondly, there is a need to set limitations to the theory surrounding its original structure. As Thurneysen, Carney and Meid all argue, *Táin Bó Froích*, whatever its compositional nature, belongs linguistically to the Old Irish period (see 1.5.1 above). As it is found only in manuscripts much later than its original date of composition, the earliest of which is the 12th-century Book of Leinster, one must accept that the story and language may have been subject to alteration and dismiss the notion promoted by Carney that we must deal only with the surviving form of the text. Similarly, the 12th-century poem in the Book of Uí Maine is no testament to the original composition of the Old Irish tale as it is a Middle Irish poetic reworking of whatever version of the tale was available

²¹⁶ MEID 1970: 39, ll. 291–2; 62

²¹⁷ CARNEY 1979: 31.

²¹⁸ CARNEY 1979: 32.

²¹⁹ CARNEY 1979: 30–1.

²²⁰ MEID 1970: 17.

to its composer; it is doubtful that the composer had the Old Irish original at his disposal when he created his poem.

Secondly, the theories presented by Carney and Thurneysen, i.e. the ‘two-tale’ theory, Carney’s theory that the tale emerged as a unity, and the theory that the reference to Fróech’s lack of a wife in the first part of TBF is inserted, may all be plausible; however, there are no linguistic grounds upon which to prove either theory. As a result, we must rely on arguments grounded in narrative logic and compare TBF with other generic compositions of this type, i.e. of the *tochmarc* and *táin bó* types; that is taking for granted, of course, that these classifications pertain to an expected narrative formula, which they do in many cases.²²¹ In the case of the latter approach, the possible combination or cooccurrence of the two types within a single context must also be investigated.

Using the *remscéla* series as a test group, the minor *táin bó* tales,²²² e.g. *Táin Bó Regamain* and *Táin Bó Flidais*, involve a wooing or conspiring of some description with a king’s daughter(s), which would present a crossover of the *tochmarc* and *táin bó* tale-type categories. Indeed these *tána bó* are typically motivated by the desire for cattle and the woman is secondary but often instrumental in gaining the cattle; see, for example, how the daughters of Regamon conspire with the sons of Ailill and Medb in *Táin Bó Regamain* and how Flidais protects Fergus mac Róich in battle in *Táin Bó Flidais*. The first part of TBF does not follow this minor *táin bó* formula because Fróech does not wish to take cattle with him and he tries to conspire with the woman (Findabair) but she rejects the offer of eloping because she is a king’s daughter.

In these minor *tána bó*, the women and cattle are usually acquired in the process of storming the king’s fortress, killing the woman’s kin and transferring all the stolen wealth to the man’s camp. In the *tochmarc*, on the other hand, the male seeking out the maiden does so by relatively peaceful means and by coming to terms with her father: e.g. Cú Chulainn in *Tochmarc Emire*, Maine Mórgor towards Gerg in *Tochmarc Ferbe* and here, in the first part of *Táin Bó Froích*, Fróech comes respectfully to Ailill’s fortress. If one is to view the category of the *táin bó* generically, one may also observe that the marauders’ lead up to the raid, as well as the raid itself, is usually the climax or a central action within the tale, e.g. *Táin Bó Regamain*, *Táin Bó Flidais*, *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, etc. The fact that neither the lead up to the raid on Fróech’s cattle nor the raid itself are related may indicate that the *Táin Bó Froích*

²²¹ See, for example, Dr Leonie Duignan’s work on the *echtrae* ‘otherworld journey’ (2010) and Dr Marie-Luise Theuerkauf’s paper on the distinction between the *tochmarc* ‘wooing’ and the *aithed* ‘elopement’ at the *International Congress of Celtic Studies XV* (2015).

²²² I use the term ‘minor *táin bó*’ to distinguish from the much-extended major *Táin Bó Cúailnge*; this term is also used by Meid in the introduction to his revised edition of *Táin Bó Froích* (MEID 1974: xv).

story is presented to us *in media res*, although perhaps not by artistic design: the beginning may have been lost in transmission or, more likely, replaced by the *tochmarc* episode. The matter of Fróech bringing his cattle to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* serves as the resumptive element required to connect it with the second half of the story, or, perhaps more precisely, the second story in this narrative compound. It seems to me as if the compiler who amalgamated these two stories took advantage of the single connecting element between the two, that is the matter of Fróech's cows; as cattle often feature as part of a brideprice and they are the plot focus in a *táin bó*.

In view of the above, I maintain the theory put forward by Thurneysen that these two tales were possibly amalgamated to create a longer narrative about Fróech and his association with the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*.

1.5.3.5 *Aislinge Óenguso*

Despite the main protagonist Óengus mac in *Dagdai* being a popular figure in Early Irish literature, *Aislinge Óenguso*²²³ is extant in only one manuscript: the 16th-century BL MS Eg. 1782, f. 70r–70v (see section 2.1.2 for more on the Modern Irish transcriptions made from this manuscript). However, as I discuss in the introduction to my edition of the tale below (see section 2.1.4), the language of *Aislinge Óenguso* is Old Irish.

The story itself tells of an otherworld woman visiting Óengus during the night to the point where he falls in love with her and ends up suffering from love-sickness. As a result, Óengus cannot eat and after a year of her coming back and forth, his health begins to deteriorate. Eventually Fíngen, Conchobor's physician, comes to inspect Óengus; he identifies the illness as love-sickness and orders that Óengus be united with the maiden. First, Óengus' mother Boand is called to speak with her son. They then start a manhunt for the maiden but Fíngen is called again when she is not found.

The *Dagdae* is then called to speak with Óengus but he claims to know nothing. Afterwards messengers are sent to Bodb, *síd*-king of Munster and a figure in another *remscél* *De Chophur in Dá Muccida*, and he agrees to search for the maiden for one year. Bodb finds her at Loch Béal Dracon at Crotta Cliach and Óengus is brought to the lake to see if he recognizes her. In the lake they see 150 maidens, tied together in pairs by silver chains; Óengus' love-interest stands out from the crowd because she is noticeably taller than the

²²³ This was last edited by Francis SHAW (1934). Although I provide a new edition of the tale below, I refer to Shaw's edition in my literary analysis. See also MÜLLER and THURNEYSSEN 1918.

others and she wears a chain of burnished gold. Bodb identifies the girl as Cáer Iborneith, daughter of Ethal Anbúail of Síð Úamain in Connacht.

Bodb recommends that they seek the help of Ailill and Medb since the maiden is in their territory; however, they have no power over the *síd* and they send for her father Ethal to come to them. He refuses to do so and a combination of Ailill's household and the Dagdae's raid Ethal's *síd*, killing everyone therein except for Ethal, whom they take captive. Ethal then explains that he has no power over his daughter, that she spends every second year in the shape of a bird, and that she will be in the shape of a bird next *samain*. Having divulged all relevant information, Ethal is released and the Dagdae relays this information to his son. Óengus goes to the lake, where he joins Cáer and agrees to become a swan in order to be her mate. They then fly off to Brug Maic ind Óicc. The concluding section in the tale relates how Óengus later supported Ailill and Medb to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* by bringing 3,000 men with him in military support.

1.5.3.6 *Tochmarc Emire*

This tale is extant in two versions: a short version contained in Bodl. Lib. MS Rawl. B 512, ff. 117a–118rb, which is missing its first half;²²⁴ and a longer, expanded version in the following manuscripts: *Lebor na hUidre*, ff. 121a–127b (which contains part of Version I);²²⁵ RIA MS D iv.2, ff. 74ra–78vb; RIA MS 23 N 10, pp. 21–24, 113–117, 119–124, 25–26, 125–128; BL MS Harl. 5280, ff. 27r–35rb; the Book of Fermoy (RIA MS 23 E 29), pp. 207a–212b; and a Book of Fermoy fragment (BL MS Eg. 92), ff. 24ra–25vb. The only complete copies of this long version are contained in D iv.2, 23 N 10 and Harl. 5280.²²⁶ Thurneysen refers to the short version in Rawl. B 512 as Version I and the longer version as Version III; he argued that there was a Version II, no longer extant, that was used with Version I to create Version III and the evidence for this is the frequent references to ‘another version’ by the compiler of Version III.²²⁷

The short version of Rawl. B 512 (R) presents a combination of Old and Middle Irish features, which Meyer attributed to the date of the manuscript in which it is contained; and, therefore, Meyer assigned an 8th-century date to the composition of the oldest version of

²²⁴ Edited and translated by MEYER (1890).

²²⁵ See *Held*. 380. For more on the hand of H in *Tochmarc Emire*, see DUNCAN 2015: 51.

²²⁶ VAN HAMEL (1978: 20–68) bases his edition of the long version on D iv.2 and sometimes uses readings from LU, Harl. 5280 ‘and even from the representative of Version I, Rawl. B 512 [...]’ (VAN HAMEL 1933: 17). See also MEYER 1888 and 1910; EDEL 1980: 264; and for more recent analysis of the relationship of the manuscripts to one another see TONER 1998.

²²⁷ *Held*. 379. See also Ó CONCHEANAINN 1996:94.

Tochmarc Emire.²²⁸ Thurneysen's Version III, or the second extant version of the tale, belongs to the Middle Irish period. Tomás Ó Concheanainn argued that the shorter version contained in Rawl. B 512 belonged to the Middle Irish period and regarded those features that seem to support an Old Irish date as pseudo-archaisms (e.g. multiple instances of the OIr. use of the suffixed pronoun).²²⁹ Gregory Toner responded to Ó Concheanainn's study of these diagnostic features and concluded that they support an Old Irish date.²³⁰ Furthermore, Toner's study addresses the mixture of Old and Middle Irish features in the long version of *Tochmarc Emire* and, in doing so, draws attention to the fact that this is due to the older version being integrated into the longer version without the language of the former being altered:

'In most cases the language of the original has not been modernized in the process, and it stands in marked contrast to the language of the reviser, which is largely Middle Irish. In effect, then, there are two distinct layers in V [i.e. the longer version]: an Old Irish layer (here called R) shared between V and R, and a later layer or layers (here called V) found only in the longer version. If R were an abbreviated and archaized version of V as Ó Concheanainn suggests, then we should expect the Old Irish forms to be scattered randomly throughout V and certainly not to be concentrated in those sections that correspond to R. There can be no doubt, therefore, that V is an expanded form of the shorter version.'²³¹

The first part of what is extant of the acephalous Version I begins with a pseudo-etymology for *Beltaine* 'May' and an explanation for the word *trogan* 'earth', both of which appear also in Version III TE.²³² Forgall Monach is told that Cú Chulainn has come to speak with his daughter Emer and that she was in love with him. He then goes to Emain Macha in the disguise of a Gaul to speak with Conchobor and brings gifts with him. While there, he recommends that Cú Chulainn go to learn from Domnall Míldemair in Scotland. Before leaving for Scotland, Cú Chulainn goes with Lóegaire to bid Emer farewell and they both make a vow of chastity. Cú Chulainn learns feats from Domnall in Scotland and, during his time there, Domnall's ugly daughter Dornoll falls in love with the Ulster warrior. When Cú Chulainn rejects Dornoll, she swears to take revenge. Domnall then sends Cú Chulainn to learn from Scáthach in the east of Scotland and he goes with Conchobor and Lóegaire Búadach. By some magic, Cú Chulainn becomes separated from his comrades on the way to Scáthach; he then encounters a lion-like beast and some youths who engage in *missimbert*

²²⁸ Thurneysen assigns the same date to the text (*Held.* 381).

²²⁹ Ó CONCHEANAINN 1996: 118.

²³⁰ Ó CONCHEANAINN 1996: 102; TONER 1998: 80–7.

²³¹ TONER 1998: 84.

²³² VAN HAMEL 1933: 43.

‘foul play’, before reaching a house, in which there is a maiden. Continuing on his travels, Cú Chulainn meets a warrior who guides him across a difficult plain and towards Scáthach’s abode. Úathach, Scáthach’s daughter, is the first to greet Cú Chulainn and finds him attractive; Scáthach notices this and orders Cú Chulainn to spend that night with her. Úathach serves Cú Chulainn and, for some unexplained reason, he breaks her finger so that she screams and a warrior Cochor Cruifne comes to fight Cú Chulainn. The maiden later advises Cú Chulainn that he should attack Scáthach by surprise when she is teaching and threaten to kill her unless she grants him his three wishes: ‘to teach him without neglect, and that she would wed him with payment of her dowry, and say everything that would befall him’.²³³ This was done and Cú Chulainn also becomes Úathach’s mate.

Meanwhile in Ireland, Forgall tries to betrothe Emer to Lugaid Nóes mac Alamaicc but at the wedding feast (*banfeiss*), Emer swears on her honour that she loves Cú Chulainn and Lugaid lets her go. In Scotland, Scáthach is feuding with another female warrior named Aífe. Cú Chulainn comes upon Aífe in battle and threatens her life unless she give him his three wishes: to give Scáthach hostages, to spend a night with Cú Chulainn in front of her fortress, and to bear him a son. Aífe submits and tells him his son will come to Ireland in seven years. In this version of the story, the name of the boy is not given.

Afterwards Cú Chulainn journeys along a narrow cliff edge when he encounters an old woman, who is half-blind and who stamps on his toe to try to push him into the sea but Cú Chulainn performs his salmon-leap and beheads the woman, who happens to be the mother of a warrior he killed in battle against Aífe. He then returns to Scáthach and she prophesies the events of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*. In this version of the tale the narrator simply states: *Aritossa ollgabad ⁊ rl. atá isind libar* ‘Great peril awaits thee (and the rest, which is in the book)’.²³⁴ Cú Chulainn returns to Ireland to find that the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* is taking place. He then kills Emer’s brothers and takes her with her foster-sister and gold.

Version III, the other extant version of *Tochmarc Emire*, opens with a laudatory description of Conchobor mac Nessa’s bountiful reign at Emain Macha. Around him the Ulster warriors Cú Chulainn, Lóegaire, Celtchar, Conall, Fergus, Dubthach and Scél are practising their feats. The Ulstermen grow conscious of the women’s love for Cú Chulainn and decide he needs a wife both to distract him and to secure an heir:

²³³ MEYER 1890:448, 449, ll. 78–81.

²³⁴ MEYER 1890:452, 453, l. 144.

7 dano ba sáeth 7 ba homan leo mocherchrae do bith do *Choin Chulainn*, corb accobur leo arin fáth sin tabart mná dó, fo déig co fárgbad comarbae. Ar rofetatar is úad fessin no bíad a aithgein.²³⁵

‘And, besides, they were troubled and afraid that Cuchulaind would perish early, so that for that reason they wished to give him a wife that he might leave an heir: for they knew that his re-birth would be of himself.’²³⁶

Conchobor’s messengers are sent out to search for a woman for Cú Chulainn and they spend a year searching throughout the country but return empty handed. Cú Chulainn himself, however, knew of Emer, daughter of Forgall Monach, whom he visits with his charioteer Lóeg. The narrator gives a list of Emer’s virtues, which are the reason why Cú Chulainn sets out to woo her. A long description of Cú Chulainn is given as he arrives to the fortress of Forgall Monach and Emer sends one of her maids to view his arrival and report back to her.

Cú Chulainn and Emer then meet and engage in a coded exchange before exchanging information with each other, Cú Chulainn in particular boasting about his gifts and elaborating on his upbringing to Emer, and she explaining her upbringing to Cú Chulainn also. Cú Chulainn wishes to take Emer as a bride but he is not allowed as her older sister Fial is not yet married. Cú Chulainn and Emer engage in more word-play before Cú Chulainn returns to Lóeg and decodes their conversation for him, remarking that they had to converse in this manner so that Emer’s father Forgall would not know their intentions. After Cú Chulainn leaves, Forgall is informed of the encounter with his daughter and he travels to Emain Machae disguised as a foreigner, as in Version I of *Tochmarc Emire*. Similarly again, Forgall recommends that Cú Chulainn go learn feats from Scáthach in Scotland and so the story continues in the same manner as Version I. There is one important difference between the versions at the point at which a vision of Emain Macha appears before Conchobor, Lóegaire and Conall, separating them from Cú Chulainn; the narrator explains that this apparition was either created by Dornall, Domnall’s vengeful daughter, or by Forgall Monach, who was intent on thwarting Cú Chulainn. Another difference is, in Cú Chulainn’s

²³⁵ VAN HAMEL 1933: 22, §7. This edition is based on the RIA MS D iv.2, which gives the spelling *fárgbad* with a long vowel for a historically correct short vowel.

²³⁶ MEYER 1888: 70. Although *aithgein* literally means ‘one that is born again’, hence ‘rebirth’ in Meyer’s translation; it may instead be a literary expression with a meaning akin to ‘progeny born in the likeness of his/her parent’, i.e. an heir with the parent’s same exceptional abilities. However, as we learn from *Aided Óenfir Aífe* ‘the Death of Aífe’s Only Son’, in which Cú Chulainn meets his son by Aífe and kills him, Cú Chulainn ultimately ensures that there will never be anyone, including his own progeny, of his likeness. This point is borne out of the way Cú Chulainn kills his son with the only trick not taught to the latter by Scáthach, i.e. the *gáe bulga* (VAN HAMEL 1933: 15, §12).

encounter with the lion-like beast in the later version, he bids the creature farewell before releasing it from his charge (*bennachaisseom dí*).²³⁷

In this version, Cú Chulainn must also cross a bridge before reaching Scáthach's fortress and the same series of events follows as in Version I, i.e. Úathach falls in love with Cú Chulainn, Scáthach spends the night with him, Cú Chulainn breaks Úathach's finger, and Cú Chulainn kills Cochar Cruifne. On the advice of Úathach, Cú Chulainn threatens Scáthach in return for his three wishes, as in Version I, but an additional version of the series of events is recorded here also:

Is *ed* áirmit araili slechta and so co ruc Cú Chulainn Scáthaig isin trácht les 7 co comránic fria and 7 cor cotail ina farrud, conid and side cechain aní seo oc a thairchetal dó cach neich aridbíad co n-epert .i. 'Fochen, a scíthbúaignigi,' 7 rl. Ach ní áirmither íarsin tslicht so sin chena.²³⁸

'Other versions here say that Cuchulaind took Scathach with him to the shore, and lay with her there, and slept with her, and that it was then that she sang this, prophesying to him everything that would befall him, saying: "Welcome, oh" . . . etc. But that is not told thus after this account.'²³⁹

Afterwards Cú Chulainn and Úathach become mates; the scene then switches to Emer in Tara. Lugaid mac Noís has come to take her as a bride but she refuses this, explaining that she loves Cú Chulainn, and Lugaid retreats. The story continues by following the same series of events as Version I, except that after Cú Chulainn impregnates the warrior Afé, this version adds that he left him a gold ring and gave the child the name Connlae.²⁴⁰ Cú Chulainn's encounter with Esse Enchinde's half-blind, elderly mother is recounted and Cú Chulainn recovers in Scáthach's fortress before beginning his return to Ireland. In this version, however, there is the additional section that relates how Cú Chulainn and his crew visit the house of Rúad, king of the Isles, on the night of *samain*, and that Conall Cernach and Lóegaire Búadach were taking their tribute for the Ulstermen from Rúad. While there, Cú Chulainn saves Rúad's daughter from being taken as tribute by the Fomorians and is himself injured in the process. In return, Rúad offers his daughter as a reward but Cú Chulainn asks instead that she be sent to him in Ireland in one year's time (*ticed dia blíadnae co hÉrinn im degaidse mad áil di*).²⁴¹

²³⁷ VAN HAMEL 1933: 47, §63. This motif of the hero of a *tochmarc* quest overcoming a lion develops into a motif later in the literature, e.g. in the Early Modern Irish tale *Eachtra Airt meic Cuinn 7 Tochmarc Delbchaime ingine Morgain* (BEST 1907: 166, 167).

²³⁸ VAN HAMEL 1933: 52, §71.

²³⁹ MEYER 1888: 300.

²⁴⁰ VAN HAMEL 1933: 55, §76.

²⁴¹ VAN HAMEL 1933: 62, §82.

In this version of the tale, a year passes while Cú Chulainn tries to attain Emer and, as previously arranged, he goes to the shore to meet Rúad's daughter. As he and Lógé wait on the shore of Loch Cuan, they see two birds, at whom they shoot, but one of these is actually Derbforgall, Rúad's daughter, in bird form. Having shot the bird down, he realises his error, and removes the stone from her body by sucking it out. Consequently he states that he may not sleep with her because he has ingested her blood (*'Ní comricciubsa festa frit,' ol Cú Chulainn, 'ar atibus t'fuil'*).²⁴² Instead he gives her to Lugaid Reo nDerg. Cú Chulainn then makes for Forgall's fortress and kills everyone who opposes him, taking the maiden with him along with her foster-sister and some silver and gold. Their route from Forgall's fort to Emain Machae is mapped out by various examples of *dindsenchas*.

Again, in addition to Version I, is Cú Chulainn's arrival back at Emain with Emer and the revelation that Conchobor must sleep with her, as is his right. To soothe Cú Chulainn's fury, Conchobor sends him to gather the herds of Slíab Fúait, and Fergus and Cathbad go into the bed chamber with Conchobor that night to protect Cú Chulainn's honour. Afterwards Conchobor pays Emer's *tinnsra*,²⁴³ which must mean the price paid by the groom to the bride in this context since Conchobor hardly paid a bride-price to Emer's father or *túath*, and he also pays Cú Chulainn's *eneclann*, i.e. payment for having violated his honour. The tale ends with Cú Chulainn becoming head of the Ulster youths, whom he lists by name.

1.5.3.7 *Táin Bó Dartada*

Only the first five MS lines of this tale are extant on p. 20b of *Lebor na hUidre* (LU 1554–7) due to a lacuna in the manuscript. Complete copies of the tale are extant in the following manuscripts: Yellow Book of Lecan, cols. 644–6; Eg. 1782, ff. 80r–81r;²⁴⁴ and BL MS Add. 33993, f. 1v–2v, which contains a modernised version of the Eg. text. Structurally, Eg. and YBL are very similar, even though YBL often includes words and phrases that are not in the Eg. copy. Thurneysen comments on the difficulty of tracing the relationship of each of the versions to one another:

‘Nach dem Verhältnis der Fassung I der Táin bō Cuailnge in GBL und Eg. 1782 möchte man schließen, daß das erstere auch hier die ursprünglichere Gestalt bewahrt; doch haben wohl beide Zweige der Überlieferung den alten Text etwas variiert.’²⁴⁵

²⁴² VAN HAMEL 1933: 62, §84.

²⁴³ DIL T 184.37.

²⁴⁴ A copy of this is contained in TCD MS 1287 (H 1.13), written in 1746.

²⁴⁵ Held. 303.

Thurneysen also notes that the original composition may be dated to about the 9th century, placing it in the Old Irish period.

The story opens with Eochu Bec, king of Clú, who was in Dún Cuillne, in Limerick near Cnoc Áine, with forty fosterlings and forty milch cows. No doubt because of his having so many cows, Ailill and Medb send for him to speak with them; he agrees to go at the next *samain* in Eg., but simply in a week's time in YBL. In his sleep one night, Eochu is visited by a man and woman from Síd Cuillne, who offer him some advice (*comairle*). They say that they will provide him with a retinue and splendid horses and that he is under their protection.

When he wakes the next morning, Eochu finds everything the visitor had promised outside and he sets out for Crúachain Aí. Ailill reveals to Eochu that he has invited him to ask for a gift of milch cows to support his men on the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* but Eochu has not enough to give him; at that, Ailill demands a cow from every farmer in Eochu's territory in exchange for his protection. Eochu concedes and stays there for three days and three nights. Afterwards Eochu leaves to return home but is attacked and killed on his way by the sons of Glaschú of Irrus Domnán in Mayo; in the process, all forty sons of kings are killed and more die still from sorrow upon hearing the news.

Ailill then also has a dream in which a man and woman come to him and reveal themselves as Coscar and Nemchoscar (i.e. 'victory' and 'defeat'). The woman instructs Ailill to send his son Órlám to woo Dartaid, the daughter of Eochu Bec, explaining that she has forty milch cows. In addition, she relates that she will replace the equipment lost by the youths in the earlier fight. After that, the man and woman appear to Corp Líath, son of Tassach, of Nemain, this time calling themselves Tecmall and Coscrad (i.e. 'gathering' and 'destroying').²⁴⁶ They announce that he will destroy the sons of kings and nobles, that Connachtmen will come the following day at the ninth hour to take cows from Munster, and that he must ward them off. Órlám departs to the house of Dartaid and she agrees immediately to leave with Órlám, bringing her cows with her. Corp Líath opposes their departure with the cows and a fight ensues, resulting in everyone dying except for Órlám and eight others. Dartaid was killed also in the attack, which prompts the formulaic *dindsenchas*-style conclusion: *Is de ita Imlech n-Dairte fair i Cliu Chul hi torchair Dart ingen Echach mic Cairpri* (YBL); *Is de ata Imliuch n-darta hi c-Cluu* (Eg.); 'Davon heisst es Imlech Darta in

²⁴⁶ MEYER translates these names as 'Sammeln und Vernichten' (1890: 203, note 2); the former may carry military connotations in the sense of 'gathering troops'.

Cliu'.²⁴⁷ As discussed further below (see section 1.6.2.6), the YBL version also includes an additional final line referring to the foregoing tale as a *remscél* to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*.²⁴⁸

1.5.3.8 *Táin Bó Regamain*²⁴⁹

This tale is extant in only two sources: Eg. 1782, ff. 81r–82r,²⁵⁰ and YBL, cols. 646–8; there are also glossed extracts from a modern version in TCD MS H 3.18 (1337), p. 605; and a copy of the modern version, which is only partly legible, is extant in BL MS Add. 33993, ff. 1r–1v.²⁵¹ Although worded entirely differently in parts, Eg. and YBL tell a relatively similar story. Windisch notes: ‘Der Inhalt dieser Erzählung ist wenig bemerkenswerth, aber die grammatischen Formen stammen zum Theil, wenn auch in mittelirischem Gewande, aus älterer Zeit. Erwähnung verdient die 2. Plur. Dep. auf -ar, die Lc. lin. 49 in co n-arlasar vorliegt.’²⁵² Thurneysen comments that it belongs to the same period as *Táin Bó Dartada*,²⁵³ the oldest version of which he dates to the 9th century.²⁵⁴ A Middle Irish poem beginning *Eol dam aided, erctha gním* on the deaths of the seven Maines also makes reference to *Táin Bó Regamain*; it is extant only in Eg. 1782, f. 44a.²⁵⁵

Regamon the king was a Connacht warrior, owner of several herds of cattle and father to seven daughters. The seven sons of Ailill and Medb, the seven Maines, love the seven daughters and, similar to the way in which Ailill and Medb use the love-affair in *Táin Bó Flidais* to their advantage, so too do they seize the opportunity to gather cattle for themselves here by sending their sons to woo the women. Maine Mingor protests that they are not sufficiently prepared to fight and that they know nothing of war; nonetheless, they set out. Maine Mingor and two others come upon three maidens while they are bathing and threaten to kill them unless they submit to them. The maidens warn that they can have anything but the

²⁴⁷ MEYER 1890: 197, ll. 210–12; 205.

²⁴⁸ MEYER 1890: 197, ll. 213–15.

²⁴⁹ Danielle Malek uses the gen. sg. form Regamon in her edition of the two extant versions of this tale, which she completed for her doctoral thesis at the University of Sydney in 2002. However, despite repeated efforts, I have been unsuccessful in gaining access to the original thesis, which presumably discusses the form of the name in the title. The editions and a translation of the YBL version are available on the celt.ie site but not the contents of the remainder of the thesis. Therefore, I refer to Windisch’s edition in *Ir. Texte 2:2*, 224–38, 255–6. See also THURNEYSEN 1912: 92–95.

²⁵⁰ A copy from Eg. is extant in the 18th-century transcript TCD MS H 1.13 (1287).

²⁵¹ See *Held*. 306–9.

²⁵² *Ir. Texte 2:2*, 224. However, the ending -ar in the 2pl. pres. subj. of the deponent verb *ad:gládathar* ‘addresses’ is unexplainable. The expected form *-árlaidid* is contained in the second version in Eg. 1782: “*Toet as tra conn arlaidid in macco*” “*Geht hinaus, dass ihr jenen sprechet*” (*Ir. Texte 2:2*, 228, l. 43; 236).

²⁵³ *Held*. 306.

²⁵⁴ *Held*. 303.

²⁵⁵ See MEYER’s edition of the poem (1913: 175), in particular §6.

cows because they have no control over them; and, although they fear them, they agree to help the sons of Ailill and Medb acquire the cows.

In secret, the maidens gather their herds and meet the Maines. Maine Mórgor divides the herd and host into two and they agree to reunite at Áth Brúin. While this is happening, Regamon is in Corco Baiscinn and a messenger is sent to him with word of the cattle-raid. He pursues and overtakes Maine Mórgor. The maidens, whose allegiance has shifted to the warriors, alert Ailill and Medb of their plight and they, along with the Ulster exiles, go to Áth Brúin. A treaty is then established between Ailill and Medb and Regamon; along with the maidens, a large dowry is given, which functions also as provisions for the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*.

1.5.3.9 *De Fóillsigud Tána Bó Cúailnge*

This short, expository tale to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* is extant in three manuscripts: LL, p. 245b; RIA MS D iv.2, f. 49vb–50rb; and Eg. 1782, f. 87b. LL, D and Eg. each represent different versions of the same tale: Thurneysen gives LL as Version I, D as version II, and Eg. as Version III.²⁵⁶ *Tromdhámh Ghúaire* ‘The Grievous Host of Gúaire’, also known as *Imtheacht na Tromdhámhe*, is a much extended, Early Modern Irish version of FTBC.²⁵⁷

The 17th-century manuscript RIA MS C vi.3 contains the same versions as LL and Eg., and it appears to be a direct copy from these MSS.²⁵⁸ Similarly, two sets of transcriptions, i.e. Ingliston MS A vi.1 (Adv. 72.1.46), pp. 16–17 and NLS MS Adv. 72.3.5, pp. 253–4, contain the LL and Eg. versions of FTC, which were copied from a now-lost MS, i.e. *G (see section 1.2.4), by the Scottish scholar Ewen M’Lachlan. Ó Dálaigh also made a copy directly from Eg. 1782 in the year 1749: TCD MS 1384, p. 51. The language of the earliest extant version in LL appears to be Old Irish but it is difficult to give it a definitive date because of the brevity of the text; there is not a sufficient number of significant linguistic features upon which to base a solid argument.²⁵⁹

All three versions begin with the same message that the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* had been lost from the poets’ repertoire and that even the *ardfile* ‘high poet’ Senchán Torpéist knew nothing of it. Similarly they all end on the same message that it was saved from obscurity by

²⁵⁶ *Held*. 252–254. See *Held*. 251–67 for Thurneysen’s overview of the tale and its multiple versions. There is also a Modern transcription of the Eg. version contained in the 19th-century paper MS, NLI Rossmore Gaelic MS 450.

²⁵⁷ Maud Joynt edits the tale from O’Curry’s transcription of the Book of Lismore, and provides *variae lectiones* from the other paper MSS. For the manuscripts that contain *Tromdhámh Ghúaire*, see JOYNT 1931: vii.

²⁵⁸ MEYER (1907: 2–6) edited the Eg. and D versions while MURRAY (2001) edited the LL version. See also CAREY 2000, CORTHALS 2008 and SZÖVÉRFY 1957.

²⁵⁹ See MURRAY 2001: 19.

resurrecting Fergus mac Roích.²⁶⁰ The details of what happens between these two events is what distinguishes each of the versions from one another, with D and LL being closely related in story content, and Eg. being the precursor to the Early Modern Irish extended narrative *Tromdhámh Ghúaire* ‘The Burdensome Guests of Guaire’.²⁶¹ The depiction of Senchán’s character is one of the differentiating features between the versions: he changes from the wise poet who goes or sends one of his students on an educational mission in LL to the character in Eg., i.e. who is starting to show signs of the ignorant leech of *Tromdhámh Ghúaire*, who eats Gúaire Aidni out of house and home.²⁶²

The shortest of the three versions in LL relates that the poets of Ireland are gathered together by Senchán Torpéist to see whether any of them remember the story of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* in its entirety. Upon realising that nobody knows it, Senchán asks which of his students will go in return for a blessing to retrieve it; the narrator explains that it had been exchanged for the *cuilmen*, apparently Isidore’s *Etymologiae*.²⁶³ Emine úa Ninéne and Muirgen mac Sencháin volunteer and end up at the grave of Fergus mac Roích at Énloch in Connacht. Muirgen sits alone and, while the others go to organise lodgings for the night, he begins reciting a lay as if Fergus were in front of him. A great mist (*ceó mór*) descends on him, so that nobody sees him for three days and three nights. At that Fergus arrives, a description of his clothes are given, and he relates the *Táin* to Muirgen from beginning to end. LL then gives the alternative version that it was Senchán who went and who fasted against the saint of the descendents of Fergus; and the story ends with a list of *remscéla* to the *Táin*.

The D version is introduced by a list of *remscéla*, which is not integrated into the story, but is simply placed directly before the tale, as outlined in section 1.2.2 above. Gúaire Aidni, who does not appear in the LL version, asks Senchán Torpéist to relate the story of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* but Senchán cannot and asks for permission to go in search of the tale. We are told that it is a taboo (*geis*) that the poets not know a tale, so that he was required to go in search of it. Senchán firstly gathers the poets of Ireland to see if any of them can remember the story but they cannot. A house is then made for Senchán in which he is placed in the middle; we are told that it was to protect him from lightning, wind and flood because when lightning would cross his face, purple blisters would appear on him. Next he goes to Clonfert

²⁶⁰ See *Triads* 62, in which the exchange of TBC for the *cuilmen* and the raising of Fergus from the dead are described among the ‘three wonders concerning the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*’.

²⁶¹ Edited by Maud JOYNT (1931). See also Ó COILEÁIN 1977 and *Held*. 254–67.

²⁶² This change from the positive or even neutral to a negative depiction of a character is a regular occurrence in the later versions of tales. A similar change occurs in Fergus mac Róich’s character in *Táin Bó Flidais*; in the Early Modern version *Táin Bó Flidhaise* he has become an unsavoury Lothario-type figure (see Ó HUIGINN 2014: 11).

²⁶³ MCCONE 1990: 12.

and fasts against St Brendan, satirising him all the while. St Brendan orders that Senchán should go to Clonmacnoise to fast against Cíarán mac int Saír instead. St Cíarán reveals to an *anmcharae*, who in turn tells Senchán, that he should go to the resting place of Fergus mac Róich at Findloch in Connacht and repeat a lay to him as if he were alive. Senchán is told not to show any fear in front of Fergus. Senchán does as he is told, sings the lay at Findloch and a great mist (*ceo mór*) descends on him for three days and three nights. A description is given of Fergus' wonderful clothing and Fergus relates the story of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* to him. An alternative version is given at the end of D, in which it is stated that others say (*atberat araile*) that it was one of Senchán's students who went in exchange for a blessing to learn the story of the *Táin*, and that it had previously been taken from Ard Macha by a *saí Rómánach* ('a Roman sage') in exchange for the *cuilmen*. According to this version, Muirgen went to Findloch and recited a lay to him, so that it was to him that was told TBC and he relayed the information to Senchán afterwards.

The Eg. version opens by stating that the story takes place, i.e. that it is being told, during the reign of Díarmait mac Cerbaill and that the poet Senchán Torpéist had sojourned at the house of Gúaire Aidni in Connacht with a large retinue, who take advantage of his hospitality. Gúaire's brother, St Marbán the swineherd, goes to the large host and asks to hear the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* but none of them know it. Marbán places a taboo on them that they are not to spend two nights in the same town until they find the story of the *Táin*. They travel throughout Ireland and Scotland, and it is St Caillín who tells them to gather the saints of Ireland at Fergus mac Róich's grave, and to fast for three days and three nights. Fergus appears to them then and is so large that, the narrator comments, he must relate the story lying down. It is this version of FTBC that forms the basis for the later tale *Tromdhámh Ghúaire*.²⁶⁴

1.5.3.10 *Táin Bó Flidais*

*Táin Bó Flidais*²⁶⁵ is an Old Irish tale contained in the following manuscripts: *Lebor na hUidre*, pp. 21a–22a (acephalous); Book of Leinster, pp. 247a–248a (LL); Eg. 1782, ff. 82r–82v (Eg.); and the *Liber Flavus Fergusiorum*, RIA MS 23 O 48(a) (15th century), ff. 26ra–26rb (LFlav.). Glossed extracts from *Táin Bó Flidais* are also contained in the 16th-

²⁶⁴ Given that it does not enter into the discussion of the *remscéla per se* and given the limitations of space, I do not include an exposition of *Tromdhámh Ghúaire*.

²⁶⁵ See Held. 317–320 and MAC CANA 1969:55. CORTHALS (1979) produced an edition of *Táin Bó Flidais*, as well as one of *Táin Bó Regamna*, for his doctoral dissertation; the latter he published separately in 1987. Unless otherwise stated, I refer to Windisch's edition and translation of *Táin Bó Flidais* (*Ir. Texte* 2:2, 206–233) as it is more widely accessible.

century manuscript TCD H 3.18 (MS 1337), pp. 603–4; and a direct copy of Eg. 1782 is contained in the 18th-century TCD MS H 1.13 (MS 1287), p. 347.

The version in the *Liber Flavus* is the same as that in Eg. but with modernised orthography. A much-extended Early Modern Irish recension of the tale exists with the title *Táin Bó Flidhaise*²⁶⁶ and is contained in the 15th-century Glenmasan manuscript (NLS Adv. MS 72.2.3), the Book of the Ó Duibhgeannáin (RIA MS B iv 1a), and in fragmentary form in the Yellow Book of Lecan, col. 345; it is followed by the Early Modern Irish sequel *Toraigheacht Tána Bó Flidaise*, contained also in these three manuscripts.²⁶⁷ LL, LFlav. and Eg. share the same recension of TBFlid. and differ only in Windisch's section 3;²⁶⁸ LU appears to represent a loosely related tradition: often the wording of LU agrees with that of LL and Eg., but the story of LU includes more detail than the latter two,²⁶⁹ which is as a result of the once so-called H-interpolator's²⁷⁰ interference with the text. The language of TBFlid. belongs somewhere between the Old and Middle Irish periods (see section 1.5.1 above).

Flidais is a female shepherd belonging to the Túatha Dé Danann in the *Lebor Gabála Éirenn* (LL p. 9b) and is mentioned in the genealogy of the Munster dynasty Eóganacht Chaisil as the mother of Níá-Segamain; there she is referred to as Flidais Foltcháin. Both of these references appear in LGÉ in the Book of Leinster, which includes also TBFlid. in its list of *remscéla*, as well as the tale itself. Additionally, Flidais appears in both the prose and metrical *dindsenchas* of Benn Bógúine in the Book of Leinster (p. 165a and 214b) and elsewhere as having lost one of her cows.²⁷¹

Táin Bó Flidais opens with Flidais, wife of Ailill Find of the Cíarraigi Aí, being in love with Fergus mac Róich, who is at this point in exile in Connacht. Presumably because it is a matter of potential embarrassment, Fergus is forced to explain the situation with Flidais, which is not entirely transparent from the story, to Ailill mac Máta, who sends him to stay with Ailill Find. Feigning having had a fight with Ailill mac Máta, Fergus and his men arrive but Ailill Find will not allow them to stay as he is aware of his wife's feelings for Fergus. As compensation for not being given lodgings, Fergus demands cows but Ailill offers them only

²⁶⁶ Edited by Máire Ní BHÁIN (TCD) in an unpublished Masters thesis in 1976.

²⁶⁷ Donald MACKINNON (1904–1908) translated the entire Glenmasan Manuscript in a series for the *Celtic Review*. See also Ó HUIGINN 2006.

²⁶⁸ *Ir. Texte* 2:2, 210.

²⁶⁹ *Ir. Texte* 2:2, 206.

²⁷⁰ Here identified as H2 by Elizabeth DUNCAN (2015: 51). Thurneysen also remarks: 'Seine Fassung war umfangreicher als die ältere, so daß er viel enger schreiben mußte; in der Tat enthält sie einiges, das in der sonstigen Überlieferung fehlt' (*Held.* 317).

²⁷¹ *Met. Dinds.* v 70–5. See also STOKES 1895: 153–4; STOKES 1893: 473.

the sustenance they might need. Eventually Fergus challenges Ailill to a fight on the ford and Dubthach is the first to greet him. In the middle of the fight, Flidais comes out to the rampart and throws her cloak over the men; we are not told whether this is a magical cloak but it possesses something that causes Fergus and the remainder of his men to leave.

They return to Ailill and Medb who gather their retinues and head back to Cíarraige Aí, landing on the fort at Áth Féne. In the meantime, Flidais takes in the wounded men, whom she treats in the castle. Ailill mac Máta feigns having come on a peaceful mission, calling Ailill Find from outside the fort, but the latter rejects his calls. The wounded Connacht men are brought out to Ailill mac Máta but, in the end, he still decides to storm the fort and 140 Connacht warriors die in the process. Bricriu Nemthenga incites the Ulster exiles into fighting with sarcastic comments about their inaction in the face of their comrades being killed. The Ulstermen then take all the women as prisoners and begin looting the fort. In doing so, they leave with Flidais and also take 100 milch cows, 140 oxen, and 3,000 calves.

Flidais joins Fergus and they use her cattle to feed the men on the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*; each of the Early Irish versions of the tale agree that Flidais would go every seventh day to supply all the men on the raid with nourishment from her cattle.²⁷² Together Flidais and Fergus go back to Ulster where Fergus resumes his kingship; only LU names his domain as Mag Muirthemne and it addresses the obvious inconsistency, in that this is usually Cú Chulainn's territory:

(LL) Et is desin luid la Fergus iar táin dochum a chríchi, co n-gab rige n-Ulad,
[...].

(Eg.) ocus issi sin luidi la Fergus dochum a crichi iarum, co n-gab rige n-Ulad,
[...].²⁷³

(LU) Is desin luid Flidais la Fergus dochom a chríchi bunaid co n-gab rígi blogi do Ultaib .i. Mag Murthemni cosinni báí illáim Conculaind maic Sualtam.²⁷⁴

‘In Folge davon ging Flidais mit Fergus nach seiner Heimat, und er erhielt die Herrschaft eines Theils von Ulster, nämlich Mag Murthemni mit dem, was in der Hand des Cuchulinn des Sohnes des Sualtam [gewesen] war.’²⁷⁵

²⁷² This reference to TBC exists in all extant versions of *Táin Bó Flidais*, including the Early Modern Irish version in the Glenmasan MS, etc. (MACKINNON 1906: 206, 207).

²⁷³ *Ir. Texte* 2:2, 212.122–124.

²⁷⁴ *Ir. Texte* 2:2, 215.90–92.

This last piece of information outlines events that happen after the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, as does the inclusion of the fact that Flidais dies after a while in Trág Bali. The LU version adds that Fergus' household suffered as a consequence of Flidais' death; and it adds also that Fergus later dies in the land of Connacht through the jealousy of Ailill mac Máta.

1.5.3.11 *Táin Bó Regamna*²⁷⁶

*Táin Bó Regamna*²⁷⁷ is contained in only two manuscripts: Eg. 1782, ff. 76v–77v, bearing the title *tain bo ragamna* in the MS; and in YBL: Yellow Book of Lecan, cols. 648–649, bearing the title *Tain bo regamna* in the MS. According to Corthals, Eg. and YBL share the same archetype and vary from each other sometimes as regards '(1) Verderbnisse, (2) Modernisierungen und (3) Zusätze'.²⁷⁸ Regarding the date of the original composition, Corthals places it in the early Middle Irish period based on some innovative features in Eg.²⁷⁹

The story goes that Cú Chulainn was asleep in his fort in Mag Muirthemne, Dún Imrid, when he was awoken by a noise. We are told that Cú Chulainn's 'wife' (*a ben*) brought his clothes and weapons to him and that he and Lóg head off to investigate the source of the tumult. They find a strange and supernatural sight around Grellach Culgaire: a red horse with only one leg pulling a chariot being driven by a woman dressed in a red cloak; this woman was accompanied by a large man carrying a cane of white hazel, who was driving a cow. Cú Chulainn asks information about the two characters, commenting also that the cow is not happy about being driven, and the Morrígain provides a long, false name for the man accompanying her, who, in turn, does the same for the Morrígain. Cú Chulainn perceives that he is being mocked by this act and is about to attack the Morrígain when she says she is a female satirist, who has been given the cow as payment for a poem, which she then goes on to recite in the complex *rosc* style.

The woman transforms into a blackbird when Cú Chulainn finally realises her identity, i.e. being the Morrígain, and states that he would have killed her had he known. The Morrígain then goes on to explain how she had taken the cow from Sídh Crúachan to be bulled by the Donn Cúailnge, belonging to Dáire mac Fíachnai and how this act will cause the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*. She then goes on to explain how she will injure Cú Chulainn in battle in three different forms: an eel (*escong*) in the ford, a grey she-wolf (*sod glass*) and a red-eared white

²⁷⁵ *Ir. Texte* 2:2, 222–223.

²⁷⁶ Presumably the noun in the gen. sg. *Regamna* is a u-stem and has a nom. form *Regamon/Regaman*.

²⁷⁷ Edited by CORTHALS (1979) and before that by Stokes in *Ir. Texte* 2:2, 241–7. See also *Held*. 309–11.

²⁷⁸ CORTHALS 1987: 13.

²⁷⁹ CORTHALS 1987: 15.

heifer (*samaisc finn áuderg*) with one-hundred other red-eared white cows (*cét mbó finn n-áuderg*).²⁸⁰ At each declaration by the Morrígain to thwart Cú Chulainn, he responds that she will not overcome him in battle with the stereotyped phrase *Tongu-sa do día toingte Ulaid* ‘I swear by the gods that the Ulstermen swear by’.²⁸¹ In the end they separate, Cú Chulainn returns to Dún Imrid and the Morrígain returns the now-impregnated cow to Síd Crúachan.

1.5.3.12 *De Gabáil int Síde*

This tale is extant in only two manuscripts: LL, pp. 245b–246a; and RIA MS D iv.2, f. 48rb–48va.²⁸² In the margin on the right-hand side in LL appears the tale’s title *De Gabáil int Shida inso*; and D is headed by the title *Do Ghabhail int Shighdha*. These two copies represent a single tradition but D has been reworded, simplified and modernised. There are also a selection of small additions and their points of departure are more concentrated towards the end of the tale. Similar to the problem posed by the brevity of the tale *De Fíollsigud Tána Bó Cúailnge*, it is difficult to say with certainty whether *De Gabáil int Síde* belongs to the Old Irish or to the early Middle Irish period. Bergin and Best placed it in the 9th century, making it contemporaneous with the composition of *Tochmarc Étaíne*, if Thurneysen’s dating of the text is followed.²⁸³

The tale tells of how Óengus acquired his *síd* and begins firstly by explaining the alliance formed between the Dagdae, head of the Túatha Dé Danann, and the sons of Míl; and how he then distributed his *síde* between Lug mac Ethlend and Ogma. Óengus then comes seeking land to be given to him as his son but the Dagdae has nothing left to give. However, Óengus tricks the Dagdae out of his own land by asking for it for the period of a night and a day. When the Dagdae returns to reclaim his land, Óengus then explains that the world is made of a day and a night and that is the duration for which the Dagdae had given him his land. The LL copy finishes by describing the *síd* that includes food and drink that never run out:

²⁸⁰ CORTHALS 1987: 55, 56.

²⁸¹ CORTHALS 1987: 56, 57.

²⁸² MEYER provided a diplomatic edition of D in the introduction to his edition of *Cath Finntrága* (1885). See also Hull’s edition and translation of LL (1933); and Koch’s translation in the *Celtic Heroic Age* (2003: 145). More recently, Martina Maher produced an edition of this tale for her Master’s thesis (2012), University College Cork, but I have been unable to gain access to view it. See also *Held*. 604–605. There is also a poem ascribed to Cináed úa hArtacáin on *Brug na Bóinde* in the *Book of Leinster*, p. 209b, which relates also how Óengus came to possess the *síd* (see GWYNN 1914). For the relationship between DGS and the related tale *Tochmarc Étaíne* ‘The Wooing of Étaín’, see section 1.6.3.5 below.

²⁸³ BERGIN & BEST 1938: 139.

Amra dano a tír hisin. Ataat tri chrand co torud and dó grés. 7 mucc bithbeo fo chossaib 7 mucc fónaithe 7 lestar co llinn sainemail. 7 ni erchranand sin uile dogres. (LL 32926–9)

‘That land, moreover, is wonderful. There are three trees with fruit constantly on them and a forever-living pig at one’s disposal and a cooked pig and a vessel with excellent ale; and all of that never perishes.’ (Own translation)

1.5.3.13 *Echtrae Nerai*

The tale is contained in the following manuscripts: Brit. Lib. Eg. 1782, fo. 71v-73v;²⁸⁴ *Yellow Book of Lecan*²⁸⁵ (TCD H.2.16), col. 658-662; and a fragment in the *Liber Flavus Fergusiorum*²⁸⁶ (RIA MS 23 O 48),²⁸⁷ fo. 51rb-51va. As is common in Eg. (and, more widely, in other manuscripts), the tale appears without a heading. Otherwise *Echtrae Nerai* is the title provided in the list of *remscéla* in LL; it also appears in Tale-list A (LL, and TCD MS. H.3.17) as *E(a)chtra Nera*,²⁸⁸ and in Tale-list B (RIA MS. 23 N 10, Bodl. Lib. MS. Rawl. B512, and Brit. Lib. MS. Harl. 5280) as *Echthro Nero maic Niatain*, *Ectra Nera maic Niadain maic Tacaim*, and *Echtra Nera mic Niadain*²⁸⁹. In YBL it bears the heading *Táin Bé Aingen* (‘The Raid of Bé Aingen’),²⁹⁰ which appears to have been an attempt by the compiler to streamline the title to suit the group of *tána bó* within the manuscript; it appears after the tales that occur in the following order: *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, *Táin Bó Dartada*, *Táin Bó Regamain*, *Táin Bó Regamna*, and *Táin Bó Fraích*.²⁹¹ While the YBL copy is closely related to that of Eg., differing only in minute details, the *Liber Flavus* copy cuts off after sixty-six lines in the

²⁸⁴ The following contain modern copies of EN in Eg.: TCD H.1.13 (MS. 1287), pp. 331-333; and NLI Rossmore MS. G 450.

²⁸⁵ ABBOTT & GWYNN 1921: 103.

²⁸⁶ John Carey draws specific attention to this fragment and provides a transcription thereof in his article (CAREY 1988: 73–74).

²⁸⁷ *Flower Cat.* 287.

²⁸⁸ MAC CANA 1980: 45.

²⁸⁹ MAC CANA 1980: 53.

²⁹⁰ The tale is cited as having the heading *Táin bó Aingen* in the catalogue (ABBOTT & GWYNN 1921: 103). In his ‘structural analysis of *Echtra Nerai*’, WATSON (1986: 129) expresses the opinion also that the use of an alternative title may be ‘due to the desire of a redactor to fit the story into the class of *tána*’, which is similar to the approach taken by the compilers of the Middle Irish tale lists. See also Thurneysen (*Held.* 311), who remarks that the title *Táin Bé Aingen* is incorrect and DUIGNAN (2011: 21), who treats the tale as an *echtrae*-type tale.

²⁹¹ *TCD Cat.* 102–3.

MS,²⁹² i.e. at the point at which the woman of the *síd* has explained Nera's purpose for having visited the Otherworld (see below). For the date of the tale, see section 1.5.1 above.²⁹³

Echtrae Nerai is a composite tale with its elements set within the boundaries of Ráth Crúachan: the first element is a moralistic tale about throwing out dirty water before going to bed; the second is an otherworld journey to Síd Crúachan; the third is another journey to the same *síd*, which conflicts with the first journey within the context of a linear narrative, as I explain below. It opens on the feast of *samain* with Ailill and Medb feasting in Ráth Crúachan. Ailill challenges those around him to tie a withe²⁹⁴ (*id*) around the leg of either of the two captives²⁹⁵ who were hung the previous day, in exchange for a prize. None of the warriors overcome their fear of the spectres that night to do so except for Nera, who completes the task. The hanged man then asks Nera to be carried somewhere to find him a drink: *Rombui hito mor form in tan romcrochad* 'I was very thirsty when I was hanged'.²⁹⁶ There are three houses from which Nera and the corpse can choose: the first is surrounded by a lake of fire and the second by a lake of water, but they may enter the third house because the bath-water has not yet been thrown out.²⁹⁷ Upon entering the house, the corpse consumes the dirty water before spitting the remainder from his lips onto the inhabitants of the house and killing them. Nera then carries him back to the gallows, which marks the end of the first section of *Echtrae Nerai*.

When Nera arrives back at the fort at Crúachain, he sees that it is destroyed and the heads of his people scattered on the ground. He then follows a group of warriors into a cave which leads to the *síd* of Crúachain; there he is greeted by the king of the *síd*, who remains unnamed throughout the story. Nera is instructed by the king to go to a woman in his territory and the king orders him to bring a bundle of firewood to him every day. During his time in the *síd*, Nera observes a blind man carrying a lame man on his back every day to a well; there they check whether the king's crown is still resting in the well. It is the woman of the

²⁹² *RIA Cat.* fasc. x, 1273. *Echtrae Nerai* begins on f. 51 (102) rb; the catalogue entry notes that it is a 'fragment' and that it is 'incomplete, breaking off with the words *cinnus berudsa an fis sin don muintir, ol Nera, eirigh* (= ed. Meyer, *Rev. Celt.* xx, p. 220)' (*RIA Cat.* fasc. xx, 1273).

²⁹³ See also MAC MATHÚNA (1985: 268) for further discussion of the story elements.

²⁹⁴ *id* could also be interpreted as a 'chain' (made of iron or another similar metal) or 'fetter'. (Cf. also *id iamuidi 'na thimchiull 7 id niachais éside* 'and around the stone an iron ring, a ring of heroic deeds' (of the metal ring ring inscribed in Ogam by Cú Chulainn) (O'RAHILLY 1967: II. 1069–70)

²⁹⁵ That neither of the hanged men are given names is a feature of a folktale according to NÍ FHEARGHUSA (1995: 92).

²⁹⁶ MEYER 1889: 216, 217.

²⁹⁷ According to Ó DUILEARGA (1940) this is an Early Irish example of the Type 764 folktale (AARNE & THOMPSON 1961) commonly known as "The Devil's Son as Priest". The message behind it is that leaving dirty water in the house during the night results in tempting evil spirits to your door (see also NÍ FHEARGHUSA 1995: 107-108). See also O'NEILL (1991: 194), who draws attention to the instructional value of superstitious stories that served to protect against common prevalent diseases.

Otherworld who explains that they are the only ones trusted to protect the crown in the well. She then reveals to Nera that the vision he saw of the destroyed fortress was a warning of things to come and that it had been created by spectres.²⁹⁸

The woman instructs Nera to return to Ailill and Medb to warn them and to tell them to attack the *síd* and take the crown of Briun of Connacht;²⁹⁹ and before leaving, she informs him that she will bear him a son. Nera brings back three tokens with him to prove his trip to the Otherworld ('fruits of summer', that is, *crem* 'wild garlic leek', *sobairche* 'primrose' and *buiderad* 'buttercup').³⁰⁰ Returning for the first time from the *síd* – there is a discrepancy in the plot, whereby Nera returns twice – no time has elapsed, he receives a sword for having completed the task of tying the withe, and warns his people of the impending attack by the people of the *síd*. After a year, he is sent back to the *síd* to remove his valuables before Ailill and Medb destroy it.

Nera returns to the *síd* and the *síd*-woman explains how she had to pretend he was sick and carry out his task of bringing the firewood to the king in his absence. The king welcomes his return but rebukes him for having had a relationship with the woman without his knowledge. Nera's female companion of the *síd* then sends him out to care for the cattle, remarking that she had given one from his herd to their son. This point in the tale intersects with the *Táin Bó Regamna*, whereby the Morrígain steals Nera's son's cow and brings her to be bulled by the Donn Cúailnge. Cú Chulainn stops her while she is in his territory and the narrator explains that he is adhering to his *gessa* 'taboos' 'that a woman leave his land without his knowlegde',³⁰¹ and the narrator of EN continues to list some of Cú Chulainn's other *gessa*. With the cow still missing, Nera goes back to his house and is criticised by his wife for having lost the cow. Upon the cow's return, Nera's female companion of the *síd* says that the cow has been bulled by the Donn. She then orders him that he should leave and to come back with the Connachta on the following *samain*.³⁰²

²⁹⁸ The spectres that Nera sees are similar to those induced by Síin in *Aided Muirchertaig meic Erca* (NIC DHONNCHADA 1964: 26) and those seen by Conaire Már in *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* (KNOTT 1936: I. 1064). See also the spectres surrounding Cú Chulainn in the Death of Lóch in Rec. I TBC (O'RAHILLY 1976: I. 1953).

²⁹⁹ The narrator adds that they found three previous items of clothing in the *síd*: *cetach Loeguirí hind-Ard Macho ocus in barr Briuin la Connachto ocus ind enach Dunlathie la Laigniu hi Cill Daro* 'the mantle of Loegaire in Armagh, and the crows of Briun in Connaught, and the shirt of Dunlaing in Leinster in Kildare' (MEYER 1889: II. 90–2).

³⁰⁰ MEYER 1889: 220.

³⁰¹ MEYER 1889: 223.

³⁰² Corthals comments on the date of the language of this section of the text describing Nera's first return to the *síd*: 'Dieser Teil der *Echtra Nera* (Z. 120–34) kann nicht alt sein. Er enthält zwei jüngere Verbalformen, *noss-tairthenn* (Z. 122) und *do-airthenn* (Z. 132), mit der Endung *-enn* (3. Sg. konjunkt), die man sonst im Text nicht findet und die erst in Texten aus dem 11. Jahrhundert regelmäßig auftaucht' (CORTHALS 1987: 17).

It is at this point that there seems to be an error in the plot because Nera returns from the *síd* as if he is returning for the first time and warns that they need to attack the *síd*-people on the following *samain*. Three days before Halloween, Nera goes to take away his possessions from the *síd* including the calf born from the bulling of Nera's son's cow. The calf bellows three times loudly, which is heard by Ailill and Fergus, who composes a poem upon hearing its roar. Then comes an explanation of the names Aingene and Bé Aingeni, which are given to the Morrígain and her male accomplice on the *Táin Bó Regamna*; however, these names are not mentioned in the *Táin Bó Regamna* itself (see section 1.6.2.10; for the relationship between EN and TBRa, see 1.6.3.12).

The calf and the Findbennach fight on Mag Crúachan and, as the calf dies, he issues a bellow that leads Medb to ask Búai gliu, her cowherd, what it means. Bricriu responds that Fergus knows the meaning of the bellowing and that it was the *laíd* he had sung in the morning, which incites Fergus to hurl a piece from the *fidchell* set at him leaving a lasting injury; Fergus' response must indicate that there was innuendo of sorts in Bricriu's comment. Búai gliu then interprets the bellowing, which is the calf lamenting his father having not fought alongside him, and Medb swears that she will not be happy until she sees a fight between the Donn and the Findbennach. The *síd* is then destroyed and Nera remains behind in the *síd* afterwards.

1.5.3.14 *Tochmarc Ferbe/ Aislinge Conchobuir/ Fís Conchobuir*

Again, this tale bears no title in either of the manuscripts in which it is found: the Book of Leinster, p. 253a–259b, where it is acephalous; and Eg. 1782, f. 69v–70r, where it is simply missing a title. However, it is referred to as *Aislinge Conchobair* in the D list of *remscéla* titles (see above), as *Fís Conchobair* in List B of the Middle Irish tale lists, and as *Tochmarc Feirbe* in List A. LL and Eg. each represent a different version of the same tale: Eg. is the shorter of the two and focuses on the destruction of Gerg's fortress rather than Maine's wooing of Ferb, so that it would be more aptly named *Fís Conchobuir* or *Aislinge Conchobuir*. LL outlines the preparations made by Maine before going to court Ferb at her father's fortress, so that it would be more aptly entitled *Tochmarc Ferbe*. The LL version, which is missing its beginning, is much longer and contains a large amount of poetry, whereas the Eg. version contains only one instance of *retoiric* and no syllabic poetry. Regarding the date of the text, Thurneysen comments that the final poem in the LL version (Windisch's

poem number XII),³⁰³ which forms the basis for the Eg. prose version must have been composed by at least the 10th century given that the title appears in both of the tale lists; the rest of the narrative he attributes to the middle of the 12th century.³⁰⁴ Thurneysen deals with the metrical and prose (Fassung I) and exclusively prose (Fassung II) versions separately; here, however, I describe the story as it appears in both of the manuscripts, referring to the two different versions as LL and Eg. respectively, before discussing the nature of their relationship to one another.

LL opens in the middle of a description of a troop, followed by a description of the beauty and trappings of Maine's troop, who gather in front of Crúachain before heading off to Ráith Ini to woo Ferb. As they leave, Bricriu makes a barbed comment questioning their safe return home and then comments that they will not get an evening's abode from Conchobor. Maine retorts that they will not return to Crúachain until they have stayed in Dún Geirg for three days and three nights. In the meantime, Gerg starts preparing for their arrival and Ferb sends her handmaid, Findchóem, to report on how the men look. The feats of the men as they arrive are described. Maine and his men dismount and enter the house, which is then shaken by a violent gust of wind. Gerg asks Maine's druid Ollgáeth about the significance of the wind and he responds that it is a bad omen and that Conchobor would come the next day to attack Medb in battle; he then recites a poem about the destruction to come. Despite his warning that everyone should leave, Gerg says that they will stay and deal with Conchobor if he attacks them.

The story then cuts to Conchobor being visited by a beautiful woman in the middle of the night, who warns him about the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* which, she explains, will come about seven years from that night. The woman orders him then to attack Maine Mórgor who is residing in Gerg's fortress. Conchobor wakes up and, on the advice of his wife Mugain, speaks with Cathbad the druid to see whether he may see the future (*ara n-dernad fastini dó* 'damit er ihm eine Prophezeiung machte').³⁰⁵ Cathbad and Conchobor then converse in metrical form and Conchobor gathers together 150 famous warriors, none of whom belonged to the Ulstermen apart from himself, his charioteer Brod and his druid Imrind. As they reach the fortress, they see a strange cloud above it, which Imrind the druid interprets in the form of a *retoiric*. They proceed to the fortress and Maine's druid Ollgáeth issues another warning in the form of a *retoiric*. The fighting begins and Imrind, Conchobor's druid and Cathbad's son, is killed by Gerg as well as the Spanish female warrior Cathach Catutchenn. Brod kills Gerg,

³⁰³ *Ir. Texte* 3:2, 518–29, ll. 767–922.

³⁰⁴ *Held.* 352.

³⁰⁵ *Ir. Texte* 3:2, 472, l. 136.

who is then lamented by his wife Núagel both in prose and metrical form. A description of the fight continues; many warriors on both sides fall.

Eventually the same woman who visited Conchobor during the night visits Medb and warns her that her son Maine will be killed by Conchobor; the two then repeat this conversation in verse form. Medb awakens and relates the vision (*fís*) to Ailill but Bricriu casts doubt as to the validity of the message: *Ni bó fír ón ém, ar Bricriu* “Das war gewiss nicht wahr”, sagte Bricriu.³⁰⁶ Fíannamail, Maine’s loyal fosterbrother, leaves straight away for Gerg’s fortress; Medb then gathers the warriors and sets out also to help her son. In the meantime, slaughter ensues in Gerg’s fortress and Conchobor kills Maine. Ferb then comes and recites a poem of lamentation to Maine, after which Fíannamail arrives at the fortress and he and Ferb speak to one another in verse form. More fighting ensues, this time involving Fíannamail, and Ferb recites a poem about the heroism of the Connachta. Domnall Derg Drechlethan arrives then and he and Ferb converse back and forth in verse form; as the fighting continues, Ferb recites another poem lamenting the deaths of her own father and the other warriors. Medb then arrives with 700 warriors and Conchobor, though wounded, seeks her out to fight; meanwhile she kills Conchobor’s two sons Níall Cendfind and Feradach Lámfóta. Conchobor plunders the fortress, taking with him the cauldron *Ol nGúala*, and a short *dindsenchas* on Loch Gúala follows. He also takes Gerg’s wife Núagel, Gerg’s daughter, Ferb, and 150 maidens. However, Ferb and the maidens die immediately, as does Núagel out of grief, and this is followed by a *dindsenchas* for Duma Ferbe.

Conchobor returns to Emain Macha, relates his triumphs to Mugain and asks his poet Ferchertne to write the story in metrical form so that it might not be lost from memory: *co n-dernad glónathe airchetail co cummair do chumnigud in sceóil sin* ‘dass er kurz ein Mustergedicht zum Gedächtniss dieser Geschichte machen solle.’³⁰⁷ Ferchertne then recites this poem, which is a metrical version of the story from Conchobor’s vision to the end.

Thurneysen believed that LL formed the basis for the Eg. version and that it was a prose reworking of the former.³⁰⁸ It leaves out the description of Maine’s troop setting off to Gerg’s fortress and opens with the woman visiting Conchobor in the middle of the night to warn him that the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* will take place in seven years’ time, and that he should attack Maine who is residing in Gerg’s fortress. Conchobor sets out with his troop but in this version he is not accompanied by the Fomorians of the LL version. As Conchobor approaches

³⁰⁶ *Ir. Texte* 3:2, 490, l. 379.

³⁰⁷ *Ir. Texte* 3:2, 518, ll. 762–3.

³⁰⁸ *Held.* 352.

the house, he hears the sounds of them feasting within and a short inventory of the people is given; among them is Gerg's wife, who is named Búan in this version of the story, as opposed to Núagel in the LL version. Brod, Conchobar's servant (here his *gilla*, as compared to *ara* 'charioteer' in the LL version) enters the house and an unnamed druid from Gerg's retinue recites a *retoiric*. This piece of unalliterative *retoiric* shares its textual history with that uttered by Ollgáeth, Maine's druide, in the LL version. The latter is longer; however, the presence of repetition in the final lines of LL might indicate they were added later, i.e. *isin tegdaise innocht. . . isin taig-sea innocht*.³⁰⁹

Brod then kills Gerg, his cup falls out of his hand and Conchobar repeats the first line of the aforementioned *retoiric* in exclamation: *Is brod inn airdich sin* "Dieser Becher ist brod"³¹⁰. A fight then breaks out in the fortress and Conchobar beheads Maine. The Badb then visits Medb in Crúachan, and relates that her son is in danger; however, it is not mentioned if she visits her in the middle of the night or wakes her from her sleep, unlike the LL version. Medb sets out and fights Conchobar and the Ulstermen at Gerg's fortress; people on both sides are killed but the Ulstermen are eventually triumphant, leaving with their spoils to return to Ulster. In the same manner as the LL version, they also take with them the cauldron OlnGúala.³¹¹ The story ends with an explanation for the place-name Loch Gúala.

1.5.3.15 *De Fochunn Loingse Fergusa maic Róig*

This is a fragmentary text contained in only one manuscript, LL on p. 252b, after which it cuts off, perhaps due to the loss of a leaf, so that most of the text is missing. The reason it enters into the discussion of *remscéla* is because its title is included in the D version of *remscéla* title-lists: *Do fhochonn loingsi fergusa* (see section 1.2.2 above). Above the tale itself in LL, it bears the title: *Fochond loingse fergusa meic roig inso síis*. In List B of the Middle Irish tale lists, the title *Longus nUlad* 'The Exile of the Ulstermen' appears alongside other *remscéla* tale-titles (see section 1.11 below).

The story is set at a banquet in Emain Macha and the narrator recalls that Fergus mac Róich and Dubthach Dóeltenga are missing from the party. Two warriors arrive at the door of the enclosure and a long description of their rough, otherworldly appearances ensues: they must be of a large stature because the sword that each carries is as large as a weaver's beam.

³⁰⁹ *Ir. Texte* 3:2, 478, ll. 211–13.

³¹⁰ *Ir. Texte* 3:2, 551, ll. 49–50.

³¹¹ *Scéla Conchobair* 'The Tidings of Conchobar' refers to how Conchobar obtained the cauldron having killed Gerg but does not give the title of the story (STOKES 1910: 30, §22). This cauldron appears also in another *remscél*, i.e. *Tochmarc Emire* (VAN HAMEL 1933: 21, §4).

A porter greets them and asks them what art (*dán*) they possess: at that, the men respond they possess no art, but the porter insists they give him a list of some qualities (*'Turim nī dún'*).³¹² The two men state that they are good at fighting, eating, throwing stones³¹³ and kindling a fire. The porter relays this information to the people of the banquet and the warriors are invited into the house. At this point, unfortunately, there is a lacuna in the manuscript.

Hull conjectures as to the hypothetical remainder of the tale based on the information given:

'the cause for Fergus' exile may perhaps be attributed to the fact that the two strangers, who at the end of the surviving fragment are admitted to Emain, seated themselves on Fergus' couch while he was away. When he returned, he probably took offence at their unwarranted intrusion, and then followed the quarrel which doubtless led to his banishment.'³¹⁴

In its present fragmentary state, the tale contains no references to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, which is why I exclude it from consideration in sections 1.6.1 and 1.6.2 below that require textual evidence. However, it is considered briefly in section 1.6.3 regarding the reason why *Longes mac nUislenn* was excluded from the lists. It is possible that the remainder of *Fochonn Loingse Fergusa* related to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, particularly if it introduced Fergus' arrival at Crúachain as an exile. But it is also possible that the compiler of the D list may have had the tale *Longes mac nUislenn* in mind when he introduced this title to the list. Indeed, in the Eg. copy of LMU, it concludes with the additional words: *ocus fochunn luingsi Ferguso ocus ag Derdre* 'and [this is] the reason for Fergus' and Deirdriu's exile'.³¹⁵ As mentioned in the chapter on *De Fóillsigud Tána Bó Cúailnge* below and in the discussion of the contents of the *remscéla* title-lists above, the creator of the D list is not a trustworthy authority on categorising *remscéla* material. That said, this tale contains two important figures from the *Táin*, Fergus and Dubthach, which alone makes it a viable candidate for the *remscél* category.

³¹² HULL 1930: 298.

³¹³ Hull translates this verb *ro-elamar* as a form of *as-luí* 'avoids, escapes' but suggests in his footnotes that it is a 'corrupt spelling of *ro-(f)etamar* 'we know', which suits the context better.

³¹⁴ HULL 1930: 294.

³¹⁵ LL closes with the words: *Longes mac Usnig insin, ocus longes Fergusa ocus aided mac n-Uisnig ocus Derdrend*; and, similarly, YBL has: *Longas mac n-Uislenn ocus longas Fergusa ocus aided Derdrinni*. The full final line in Eg. is: *Luingius mac n-Uislenn annsin ocus fochunn luingsi Ferguso ocus ag. Derdre*; see Ir. Texte 4:1, 82.

1.5.4 Figure: Summary of *remscéla* titles, lists and manuscripts

The table below gives a summary of the total *remscéla* tale-titles, the lists in which they are contained, the manuscripts in which the tales themselves are contained and a possible estimated date of composition. As *Longes mac nUislenn* ‘The Exile of the Sons of Uisliu’ is not included in any of the lists it has not been given in the table below; however, as mentioned above, its details are worth noting within the grand scheme of *remscéla* material. It is contained in the manuscript Eg. in the sequence of tales, i.e. other *remscéla*, leading up to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*; it belongs to the OIr. period and is contained in LL, Eg. and YBL. The three *macgnímrada* are also not included in the table below (see section 1.4).

Remscél tale-title according to the list(s)	List(s) in which title is extant	Manuscript(s) in which tale is extant
<i>Compert Chonchobuir</i>	LL, C	D, Eg. YBL, Book of Ballymote, Book of Lecan, TCD H 4.22, TCD H 3.18, Rawl. B 512, NLI G 7
<i>Compert Chon Culainn</i>	LL, D, C	Eg., D, LU, Eg. 88, RIA 23 N 10, NLI G 7; Rec. II in Eg., D, TCD H 1.13
<i>De Chopur in dá Muccida</i>	LL, D, C	LL, Eg., TCD H 3.18 (glossed extracts)
<i>Táin Bó Froích</i>	D	LL, Eg., YBL, TCD H 3.18 (glosses)
<i>Aislinge Óenguso</i>	LL, D, C	Eg.
<i>Tochmarc Emire</i>	LL, C	LU, D, Rawl. B 512, Harl. 5280, RIA 23 N 10, Book of Fermoy
<i>Táin Bó Dartada</i>	D, C	Eg., LU, YBL, TCD H 1.13, Brit. Libr. Add. 33993
<i>Táin Bó Regamain</i>	LL, C	Eg., YBL, TCD H 3.18, Brit. Libr. Add. 33993
<i>De Fōilsigud Tána Bó Cúailnge</i>	D, C	LL, D, C, Eg
<i>Táin Bó Flidais</i>	LL, D, C	LU, LL, Eg., RIA 23 O 48, TCD H 3.18
<i>De Gabáil int Síde</i>	LL, D, C	LL, D
<i>Táin Bó Regamna</i>	D	Eg., YBL
<i>Echtrae Nerai</i>	LL, C	Eg., YBL, RIA 23 O 48 (fragment)
<i>Tochmarc Ferbe</i>	LL, D	LL, Eg.
<i>De Fochunn Loingse Fergusá</i>	D	LL

1.6 Allusion: the relationship of individual *remscéla* to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*

1.6.1 Introduction: Different varieties of allusion and references to TBC beyond the *remscéla*

The present chapter deals with allusion within the *remscéla* to Rec. I and II of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* as a strategy used at multiple levels and at various points in the transmission of the material that led to the emergence of this particular medieval Irish series. The tales under discussion are those which have been listed in the *remscéla* title-lists already outlined and summarised in section 1.5.4 above. One tale is excluded from present considerations, i.e. the fragmentary *Fochonn Loingse Fergusa meic Roích* ‘The Reason for Fergus mac Róich’s Exile’, because it does not contain any references to, nor is it long enough in its extant state to draw any parallels with, the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*. By investigating the tales by and large individually (DGS and AÓ are discussed together in section 1.8.3), I hope to move beyond the restrictive reductionism of the studies carried out previously by Backhaus and Chadwin, who both dealt only with the *remscéla* listed in the Book of Leinster. I have already mentioned some of the problems associated with Backhaus’ study (see section 1.4 above) and Chadwin’s assessment proves pervasive despite his use of four categories to describe the *remscéla* listed in LL: ‘background *remscéla*’, ‘causal *remscéla*’, ‘*remremscéla*’ and ‘referential *remscéla*’. Under ‘background *remscéla*’, he lists AÓ, TBF_{lid.}, Comp.C, CC, TE and TF; under ‘causal *remscéla*’, he gives CDM, EN and TBRa; he considers DGS to be a ‘*remremscél*’; and he describes Comp.C, CC and TBRa as performing the function of ‘referential *remscéla*’ also.

As I wish to highlight below, there are visibly different categories of allusion in the *remscéla* that reveal different relationships between certain *remscéla* and the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*: I distinguish between these by dividing them into two separate sections below. The first section (1.6.2 below) outlines overt references to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* within individual *remscéla*. These references appear in the form of a statement by the narrator, often at the end of the tale, explaining its direct connection to the *Táin* and it is sometimes but not always mentioned that the story is a *remscél*. The use of the term *remscél*, when it does arise within this context, is significant as it demonstrates an awareness of the serialisation of the material. The second type of allusion (section 1.6.3) within the *remscéla* are story elements that create a narrative dependence on TBC; this is a plot-based allusion and manifests in the form of conditions to be fulfilled, and foreshadowing of events to take place, in the *Táin*. This latter type of allusion represents an organic narrative relationship with TBC, which must have occurred after the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* began to circulate and garnered enough literary significance to warrant the accompaniment of ancillary tales. Both types of allusion, overt

references to TBC and the plot-based type, fill perceived gaps in the narrative and/or give supplementary narrative information.

As well as intertextual markers within *remscéla* to TBC, there are some references within TBC to a small selection of *remscéla*. TBC offers ample room for the development of ancillary tales because it mentions so many personages who do not play any specific role in the cattle-raid but who are listed as simply having been present.³¹⁶ As I explain in section (1.6.3) below, some of the *remscéla* containing plot-based allusion appear to be later additions to the series, most likely in an effort to cyclify the material. In section 1.6.5, I will summarise the nature of the relationships of each of the *remscéla* to the *Táin*; and I summarise the various strategies used to cyclify the material.

Before continuing to discuss overt allusion below, it must be noted that there is a specific use thereof found in the YBL collection of *tána*,³¹⁷ i.e. *Táin Bó Dartada*, *Táin Bó Regamain*, *Táin Bó Regamna*, and *Táin Bó Aingen* (an alternative title for the tale known as *Echtrae Nerai*). It is specific to this manuscript that a redactor has added an explicit statement to the end of each *táin bó* tale linking it to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*. These may have been additions by Giolla Íosa Mac Fhirbhisigh in an attempt to cyclify *remscéla*, specifically *tána bó*, material in YBL.³¹⁸ The insertion of a line, or multiple lines, of text towards the end of a tale to create a narrative link is not an uncommon literary strategy. An example of this outside Early Irish literature is at the end of the Middle Welsh tales *Pwyll Penduic Dyuet*,³¹⁹ *Manawydan uab Llyr* and *Math uab Mathonwy*,³²⁰ which conclude with the line of the kind:³²¹

Ac y uelly y teruyna y geing honn o'r Mabinogi,

‘And so ends this branch of the Mabinogi’.

Branwen uerch Lyr also contains the same reference to the Mabinogi but not in the very final line; here it appears at the beginning of the final paragraph and with slightly altered wording: *A llyna ual y teruyna y geing honn o'r Mabinyogi*³²² ‘And that is how this branch of the

³¹⁶ For example, in the ‘Mustering of the Men of Ireland’ (O’RAHILLY 1976: II. 3945–81)

³¹⁷ As mentioned also by Thurneysen (*Held*. 250).

³¹⁸ Nollaig Ó MURÁILE (2005: 201) comments that Mac Fhirbhisigh was ‘not solely a transcriber of earlier texts but, rather, that he was also a redactor who both omitted and added material as he saw fit’.

³¹⁹ In Thomson’s edition of *Pwyll Penduic Dyuet*, he gives the plural form *Mabynnogyon* (THOMSON 1957: I. 654).

³²⁰ HUGHES 2013: I. 595.

³²¹ That is to say, spelling varies slightly in each of the tales but the wording remains the same.

³²² THOMSON 1961: I. 477. My supervisor Dr Jürgen Uhlich directed me to this example. What follows is a summary of the different episodes within the tale: *Paluawt Branwen* ‘The Beating of Branwen’, *Yspadawt Uran* ‘The Assembly of Bran’, *Ganyat Adar Riannon* ‘The Singing of the Birds of Rhiannon’ and *Yspydawt Benn* ‘The Assembly of the Head’. Along with the statement connecting Branwen uerch Lyr with the Mabinogi, the

Mabinogi ends'.³²³ Unlike the *tána* of YBL, there are no other complete copies of these Middle Welsh tales extant outside the White Book of Rhydderch and the Red Book of Hergest, so that it is not possible to tell whether a redactor later added this connecting line.

As is expected with such a popular, well-documented and extended narrative of this type, other overt references to the *Táin* exist outside of the context of the *remscéla*, and these usually occur within the context of the life-story of one of TBC's high-profile characters. For example, in the genealogy of the Fir Ól nÉcmacht in Rawlinson B502, col. 118b13, the *Táin* is mentioned with a connection to their predecessor Ailill mac Máta: [...] *conid Ailill iarum do-acht Táin Bō Cuailnge cona trichait cét Galeān*.³²⁴ '[...] so that it was Ailill then who carried out the *Táin Bō Cúailnge* with 3,000 Gaileóin' (own translation). The Fir Ól nÉcmacht are repeatedly referred to within Rec. I of the *Táin Bō Cúailnge*: 'Tofil mórglond ar bélaib mórskúraig fri Cruind uisci uí Nessa níthu donteilgfét Fir Ol nÉcmacht [...]' 'A great champion comes to face the mighty army by Cronn, the river of Nessa's grandson. The men of Connacht will fight against an opponent.'³²⁵ This creates a clear link between the genealogical tract and Rec. I.

Similarly, the tale of the Death of Fergus mac Róich (*Aided Fergusa maic Róich*) mentions Fergus' involvement in the *Táin*: *Is lais tucad in táin .i. la Fergus* 'By him, even Fergus, the *Táin* was brought.'³²⁶ References are also found throughout the *dindsenchas*, e.g. Carn Fraích.³²⁷ The TCD MS H 3.18 version of *Aislinge meic Con Glinne* also makes a satirical reference to a cleric of the tale carrying physical copies of the *Táin Bō Cúailnge* and *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* in his right shoe, and *Tochmarc Emire* and *Tochmarc Étaíne* in his left shoe.³²⁸

The late Middle Irish tale entitled *Cath Bóinde* 'The Battle of the Boyne' in the Book of Lecan, ff. 184rb–185ra (facs.), otherwise entitled *Ferchuitred Medba* in Rawlinson B512, ff. 101–122, 1–36, 45–52, also makes two references to the *Táin Bō Cúailnge*.³²⁹ Firstly, it

identification of different narrative units within the tale shows a conscious awareness of narrative structure comparable with that found in TBC.

³²³ For more on the use of formula in *Pedeir keinc y Mabinogi*, see DAVIES 1993: 32–42.

³²⁴ *Corp. Gen.* I, 23, l. 13–14).

³²⁵ O'RAHILLY 1976: II. 1106–7; see also II. 1656, 3383. Interestingly, this group name is not used in Rec. II TBC; instead they are referred to as Fir Érenn (e.g. O'RAHILLY 1967: I. 3927).

³²⁶ *Death-tales of the Ulster Heroes* 32, 33.

³²⁷ *Ni head sin a fír, acht la Coincul[ainn] dothoit a comrac usci ar Tain bo Cuailncne i n-Ath Omna ar bord Slebe Fuait* 'but that is not the truth of the tale, for he fell by Cúchulainn, in a water-combat on the Driving of the Kine of Cualnge, at Áth Omna on the edge of Sliab Fuait' (STOKES 1895: 137, 138–9).

³²⁸ MEYER 1892: 124–5. This reference to these tales is not contained in the other version of *Aislinge Meic Con Glinne* in the *Leabhar Breac* (edited by JACKSON 1990).

³²⁹ See *Held.* 531–4; and O'NEILL 1905. This tale is contained also in the 15th- or 16th-century manuscript RIA MS C i 2, ff. 11ra–13va.

claims a link by stating that the Ulster king Conchobor was Medb's first husband, and that her forsaking him brought about the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*.³³⁰ This tale goes to explain how she then married Eochaid Dála, son of the Connacht king Tinde, because he bore the three traits stipulated by her *geis*, i.e. that he was without 'jealousy, fear, nor niggardliness';³³¹ these are the three qualities that Ailill mac Máta possesses in the Eg. version of *De Chophur in Dá Muccida* and Rec. II of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* (both discussed below in relation to CDM; see section 1.6.3.3). While married to Eochaid Dála, according to *Cath Bóinde*, Medb raises the young child Ailill, whom she later takes as her lover and who later kills the jealous Eochaid. The above statement that Medb's leaving Conchobor caused the *Táin* is contrary to the logical series of events and chronology of this tale's narrative because Medb raised Ailill from childhood to adulthood between the time she left Conchobor and the *Táin* commenced. The second reference to TBC in *Cath Bóinde* confirms the flaw in the narrative.³³²

Similarly, individual poems such as the early-Old Irish *Conailla Medb Míchuru* 'Medb enjoined bad contracts' mention Fergus' involvement in the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, as well as his exile and his relationship with Medb.³³³ This poem attributed to Luccroth moccu Chára is extant in only one manuscript (Laud. Misc. 610, p. 94a) and appears among the genealogies of the Cárraig. The *Verba Scáthaige* 'Words of Scáthach', a prophecy by the warrior woman Scáthach who trained Cú Chulainn in the story *Tochmarc Emire* 'The Wooing of Emer', warns Cú Chulainn how he will be injured in the war and how the Donn Cúailnge will fight the Findbennach.³³⁴ It also mentions that Ailill and Medb will be boastful: *Bāigthi Medb sceu Ailella* 'Medb and Ailill will boast of it.'³³⁵

³³⁰ [...] *air is le h-Eochaid Feidleach dothoit Fachtna Fathach i cath Litrechruaidi sa Corand, conad na eric tucad sin do, mailli re rigi n-Ulad do gobail do irreicin tar clandaib Rudraidí, conad he cet adbar comuachaid Thana bo Cuailgne facbail Meadba ar Chonchobar da a indeoin.*

'[...] it was by Eochaid Feidleach that Fachtna Fathach had fallen in the battle of Lettir-ruad in the Corann, so that it was as his eric these were given to him, together with the forcible seizure of the kingship of Ulster, over Clan Rudraidhe: and the first cause of the stirring up of the Cattle-raid of Cuailngne was the desertion of Conchobar by Meadb against his will' (O'NEILL 1905: 176, 177).

³³¹ O'NEILL 1905: 183.

³³² *Gabais Ailill rigi Connacht do deoin Meadba da eisi sin, corob é ba rig Connacht ac rigad Chonairi Moir 7 ic tobairt thosaich na tana for Ulltaib, [...].*

'Ailill assumed the kingship of Connacht thereafter, with the consent of Meadb; and it is he who was king of Connacht at the time of the crowning of Conaire the Great and the beginning of the cattle-raid against the Ultonians' (O'NEILL 1905: 182–5).

The final line in this citation, that is, *ic tobairt thosaich na tana for Ulltaib* might be better translated as something along the lines of 'leading the front/vanguard of the raid against the Ulstermen'. For *tosach* with the sense of 'van, battlefront', see *DIL* T 263.50.

³³³ HENRY 1997; OLMSTED 1992 and 1997.

³³⁴ *At-chiū fīrfēth Findbennach | (Aī) fri Donn Cuailngne ardbūrach.* 'I see the very glossy Finnennach (of Áe) in great rage against Donn Cuailngne' (HENRY 1990: 201, ll. 31–2).

³³⁵ HENRY 1990: 201, l. 28.

The *Táin* provides the main frame of reference for a large number of saga heroes in Early Irish literature, which is why there are frequent references to it. However, the stories containing these references are functionally distinct from those of the *remscéla* and the wording of the references is typically different, as I illustrate below with examples from the various *remscéla* TBC. The first example given above is the use of Ailill mac Máta to fabricate a pseudo-historical genealogy; the second example is an event that, although closely related to the *remscél Táin Bó Flidais* (see below) and TBC, happens after the *Táin*, i.e. it is a sequel to the main narrative. It is a sequel that happens within the same fictional time period as the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, which distances it from the *remscél* of the type *De Fóilsigud Tána Bó Cúailnge*, discussed below.

1.6.2 Allusion by means of overt references to TBC in the *remscéla*

For ease of reference, the following textual examples are ordered according to the relative chronology of the composition of each tale's earliest recorded recension, as outlined above in section 1.6.1. However, as I argue in the conclusion below, often only certain versions of respective tales, usually later versions, directly refer to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*. Therefore, what I hope to highlight by ordering the material according to its relative chronology is that certain tales were pre-existing before being brought into the TBC *remscéla* series. Certain supposed *remscéla* do not contain any direct references to TBC and, so, are not included in the following collection of examples but they are discussed in section 1.8.3 below: neither of the two extant versions of *Compert Chon Culainn* (both of which belong to different points during the Old Irish period),³³⁶ *Echtrae Nerai*, and *De Gabáil int Síde*. As I demonstrate in section 1.6.3 below, in *Echtrae Nerai*, although Medb alludes to the battle between the bulls to take place in the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, there are no explicit references to it. There is, however, one reference to the other closely related *remscél Táin Bó Regamna*, as discussed below also (see section 1.6.4).³³⁷ As mentioned already, *De Gabáil int Síde* is listed as a *remscél* in all extant lists of *remscéla* to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* yet it contains absolutely no references, overt or otherwise, to the *Táin* and it does not identify itself as a *remscél* internally; its role in the series is dealt with in more detail in section 1.6.3. Regarding the expository tale *De Fóilsigud Tána Bó Cúailnge*, I include it in the discussion below even though it was obviously created after the *Táin* – though it is impossible to know whether it was created for Rec. I or II TBC – because one particular version refers to itself using the term *remscél*.

³³⁶ For more on the textual history of *Compert Chon Culainn*, see section 1.5.3.2 above.

³³⁷ MEYER 1889: 224, 225, l. 166.

1.6.2.1 *Compert Chonchobuir*

At the end of Version II of *Compert Chonchobuir* in the manuscripts Eg. 1782 and D iv.2, there is a reference to the battle of Gáirech and Ilgáirech in TBC and to TBC itself:

Cona[d] tria nert a ghaile 7 a draighechta in fir sin .i. Cathbaid ro brised in cath irrdairc uathmur ar Oilill 7 ar Mheidb Forgáirigh 7 Ilgháirigh oc tabairt tána bó Cuailngi a coiccid Ulad.

‘And through the strength of the valour and of the druidical knowledge of that man Cathbad was the battle of Forgarach and Ilgarach gained upon Ailill and Medb at the cattlespoil of Cualnge from the province of Ulster.’³³⁸

The battle mentioned in *Compert Chonchobuir* is named in Rec. I and II of TBC as one of the three bloodiest, the other two being Sesrech Breslige and Imslige Glennamnach.³³⁹ Thurneysen comments that Gáirech and Ilgáirech is ‘offenbar der altüberlieferte Name des Schlachtfeldes, dessen Lage den späteren Erzählern vielleicht nicht mehr klar war’.³⁴⁰ It is a much anticipated battle in the *Táin* and it is regularly mentioned in the lead up to the final scenes in both Rec. I and Rec. II.³⁴¹ In Rec. I, it is often referred to simply as *in cath* ‘the battle’, which indicates its status as an important event in the tale; Rec. II refers to it by name.³⁴²

1.6.2.2 *De Chophur in Dá Muccida*

As outlined in section 1.5 above, the Eg. version of CDM is far longer than that of LL and was composed during the Middle Irish period.³⁴³ It is an extensively reworded version of LL that draws on some of its original stylistic features. For example, the Eg. version retains some of the question-and-answer rhetorical device in the opening part in LL to introduce the literary relationship of CDM to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*:

LL: *Ceist:* Cid dia-tá cophur na muccide? Ni *handsa:* .i. muccaid Ochaill Oichne *ocus muccaid* Boidb, [...].

³³⁸ MEYER 1883–1885: 178, ll. 32–5. For Meyer’s ‘Forgarach and Ilgarach’, read ‘Gáirech and Ilgáirech’; and for Meyer’s Forgáirigh, read the preposition *for* with the dat. sg. of the placename Gáirech, i.e. for Gáirig.

³³⁹ O’RAHILLY 1976: ll. 2312–14; O’RAHILLY 1967: ll. 2319–21.

³⁴⁰ *Held.* 202.

³⁴¹ O’RAHILLY 1967: ll. 2321, 3827, 3851, 3870, 3977, 4140, 4146–7, 4750; O’RAHILLY 1976: 2314, 3522, 3920, 3943, 3998, 4026, 4033–4. Here I include additional instances not listed in O’Rahilly’s indices. Note that it is mentioned in an interpolated section in the Stowe version of TBC (O’RAHILLY 1978: l. 4498).

³⁴² Three instances of this occur: 1. O’RAHILLY 1967: l. 3827; O’RAHILLY 1976: l. 3334; 2. O’RAHILLY 1967: l. 3851; O’RAHILLY 1976: l. 3345; and 3. O’RAHILLY 1967: l. 3870; O’RAHILLY 1976: l. 3351.

³⁴³ *Held.* 278.

‘Frage: Wie kommt es zu der Geschichte von den Schweinehirten, die den (Kreislauf der Existenzen) durchwanderten? Nicht schwer: Der Schweinehirt des Ochall Ohne und der Schweinehirt des Bodb, [...]’

Eg. *Ceist*: Cid dia·tá Táin bō Cúailnge. Ni *handsa*: do chuphur in dā muccado.

‘Frage: Wie kommt es zum Rinderraub von Cooley? Nicht schwer: Dadurch, daß die beiden Schweinehirten den Kreislauf der Existenzen durchwanderten.’³⁴⁴

Eg.’s direct reference to TBC indicates that the tale has been clearly reconceptualised as a *remscél* to the *Táin* and, from the outset, it stakes its claim to that function. Another reference to TBC comes shortly after this, again in Eg. only, and it refers to the two swineherds of Bodb and Ochall, namely Friuch and Rúcht, and how they were the root cause of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*:

Eg.: Batar debt[h]aig in dā muccuidi iartain. Ocus batar hē con·sāithset Táin bō Cúailnge.

‘Später rivalisierten die beiden Schweinehirten. Und sie waren es, die den Anstoß zum Rinderraub von Cooley gaben.’³⁴⁵

No such reference matches this in the LL version.

1.6.2.3 *Táin Bó Froích*

There are multiple references to *Táin Bó Cúailnge* throughout *Táin Bó Froích*; and the YBL copy contains the additional line referring to itself as a *remscél* to TBC. Firstly, when Ailill detects that his daughter Findabair might elope with Fróech, he mentions it to Medb and she responds by saying they require his assistance on the *táin*:

“Ce do·berthae dó nibu madae”, ol Medb, “ocus do·téised ar ndochum cona chethrai do chobair dúnn ocin táin.”

“Wenn man sie ihm geben würde, wäre es nicht umsonst”, sagte Medb; “außerdem könnte er mit seinem Vieh zu uns kommen, um uns bei der *Táin* zu helfen.”³⁴⁶

When Ailill demands an excessive bride-price for his daughter, he mentions at the very end that it is what he will require in preparation for the ‘raiding of the cattle from *Cúailnge*’:

“[...] ocus tuidecht duit linn cot lín uiliu ocus cot áes chúil do thabairt inna mbó a Cúailngiu; ocus do·bérthar mo ingen-sa acht co·tís.”

³⁴⁴ ROIDER 1979:24, 25.

³⁴⁵ ROIDER 1979:24, 25.

³⁴⁶ MEID 1970: 36, ll. 137–8; 58.

„Ferner sollst du mit deiner ganzen Streitmacht und mit deinen Musikanten mit uns gehen zum Treiben der Rinder aus Cuailnge, und meine Tochter wird dir gegeben werden, sowie du eintriffst.“³⁴⁷

Once the conflict between Ailill and Fróech has been settled regarding the gold thumb-ring, Ailill and Medb agree to give Fróech their daughter Findabair in exchange for his support on the *Táin* in the form of cattle:

“ocus tair cucun-ni cot búaiþ do tháin na mbó a Cúailngiu. Ocus in tan do-regae-su anair dofrithissu [*sic*], fífaid-si in n-aidchi sin d’adaig ocus Findabair.”

„und du, Froech, komm zu uns mit deinen Kühen zum Treiben der Rinder von Cuailnge. Und wenn du dann aus dem Osten zurückkommst, so werdet ihr die Nacht zusammen schlafen, du und Findabair.“³⁴⁸

Here, the reference to Fróech returning from the east (*anair dofrithissi*) indicates that the maiden is promised to him upon completion of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, which may have been an instance of Ailill’s trickery.³⁴⁹ When Fróech returns to find his cattle have been stolen, he exclaims to his mother that he has vowed to take the cattle on the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*:

“Do·coid form enech ocus form anmain airec co hAilill ocus co Meidb com búaiþ do tháin na mbáu a Cúailngiu.”

“Ich habe bei meiner Ehre und meiner Seele versprochen, mit meinen Rindern zu Ailill und Medb zu kommen, um beim Wegtreiben der Rinder aus Cuailnge zu helfen.“³⁵⁰

The final reference to TBC comes in the concluding lines in the LL copy of *Táin Bó Froích*:

Luid Fróech ass íarum dia chrích, ocus a ben ocus a maicc ocus a baí leiss, co·lluid la hAilill ocus Meidb do tháin na mbó a Cúailnge.

³⁴⁷ MEID 1970: 36, ll. 148–9; 58.

³⁴⁸ MEID 1970: 39, ll. 287–7; 61.

³⁴⁹ Ailill uses trickery also in the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*. For example, in the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, he wishes to send his daughter Findabair to Cú Chulainn as bait and sends Lugaid mac Nóis to offer her to him. Cú Chulainn at first rejects this offer, questioning its legitimacy: ‘A phopa Lugaid,’ ol Cú Chulaind, ‘is bréc sin.’ ‘Is bríathar rí assidrubairt,’ for Lugaid. ‘Ní bía bréc de.’ ‘Friend Lugaid,’ said Cú Chulainn, ‘this is a trick.’ ‘It is the word of a king,’ said Lugaid. ‘There will be no trickery’ (O’RAHILLY 1976: ll. 1588–9). What is most significant about this exchange is the importance attached to the king’s word and his telling the truth. It holds such a conceptually high status that Cú Chulainn is eventually convinced; however, Ailill, who contravenes this trust in the truth of the king’s word, sends a jester disguised as him with Findabair but Cú Chulainn recognizes the jester’s voice and kills both the latter and Findabair. In a subsequent episode in TBC, when Ailill is struggling to find warriors to fight Cú Chulainn, he makes the following comment to Lugaid: *Ní faigébhthar-side etir,’ or Ailill, ‘acht má dorónaid céill occai.’* ‘No one will be got,’ said Ailill, ‘unless ye employ some trickery in this matter’ (O’RAHILLY 1976: ll. 1809–10).

³⁵⁰ MEID 1970: 40, ll. 299–300; 62.

Froech zog dann mit seiner Frau, seinen Söhnen und seinen Rindern in sein Gebiet und ging dann mit Ailill und Medb zum Wegtreiben der Rinder aus Cuailnge.³⁵¹

YBL and Eg. present different endings to the tale; here I present the readings from YBL and those from Eg. I give below.³⁵² I also use my own conservative transcriptions from the manuscripts as Meid does not mark suspension strokes typographically, as well as other features of manuscript abbreviation and *compendia*:³⁵³

YBL col. 658, 31–41: Luid fraech as iarum dia chrich fesin 7 a ben 7 a mac 7 a bai lais Luid conall cernach dia chomair cid ar crich nulad Niro impa tra conall coranic co cruachain ai dagallaim aillella 7 medba dus in rop tocair techt sloíged na tána bá cuailngi occo. Fofuair ceitri coicid erenn i naen maigin Niro legad do conall techt dia thir iar sin arna berad rabad rompu do ultaib Conid aræn frisin sluag aníar ar tain dodechaid conall conid he ro indis macgnimrada dona macgnimraib con culainn ar tain i pupall aillella 7 Medba. conid iarum luid dia thir fesin conad remscel do scelaib tana bo cuailngi sin FINIT

Fróech went afterwards to his own territory and he had his wife and his son and his cows with him. Conall did not turn around until he reached Crúachain Aí to speak with Ailill and Medb to see if their host's going on the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* would be fitting. He found four provinces on one plain. Conall was not allowed to go to his country after that so that he could not give the Ulstermen a warning. So that it was together with the host that Conall came on [the] raid from the west, and it was he who told some of the Boyhood Deeds of Cú Chulainn on [the] raid in Ailill and Medb's tent. And it was after that he went to his own land. So that it is a prefatory tale from the tales of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*. (Own translation)

Neither YBL nor Eg. mention the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* in the same position in the text as LL, i.e. in the context of Fróech bringing his cattle to Ailill and Medb. Most significantly, here YBL creates a narrative link exclusively between TBF and Recension I of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*. In Rec. I, it is the Ulster warrior Conall Cernach who narrates the story of how Cú Chulainn killed the smyth's hound and was given his name;³⁵⁴ whereas in Rec. II it is Cormac Con Longas, Conchobor's son, who relates this episode.³⁵⁵ Rec. I features Conall Cernach towards the end of TBC also where Rec. II does not: when Fergus is violently attacking the Ulstermen,

³⁵¹ MEID 1970: 41, ll. 357–8; 63.

³⁵² See MEID 1970: 41, ll. 357–8.

³⁵³ See MEID 1970: 51, §31. Here, as elsewhere, I mark syllables expanded from suspension strokes or contractions with underlining; all standard compendia are italicised; m-strokes, n-strokes, marks of lenition and the <r> that invisibly accompanies superscript vowels in the manuscript are all italicised.

³⁵⁴ O'RAHILLY 1976: ll. 542–607.

³⁵⁵ O'RAHILLY 1967: ll. 820–920.

Cormac Con Longas firstly implores him to hold back and ‘strike the three hills above them’ instead; immediately after that, he meets Conall Cernach who admonishes him for following a ‘wanton woman’ and makes the same suggestion as Cormac that he should ‘strike the hills’.³⁵⁶ Conall Cernach features again in the episode *Aislinge nAimirgin* on the Ulstermen’s side in Rec. I TBC only. Notably, Findchad lists him among the Ulstermen called to battle in the episode *Tóchustal Ulad* ‘The Mustering of the Ulstermen’ in both Rec. I and Rec. II TBC;³⁵⁷ this may have been the reason he was removed from the two episodes mentioned above by the time Rec. II was composed, i.e. to erase the inconsistency. Therefore, the author³⁵⁸ of the YBL ending must have Rec. I in mind when he was cyclifying this item among the *remscél* material.

The wording at the end of Eg. is different again.³⁵⁹ It contains the same line as LL and YBL that Fróech returned with his wife, sons and cattle and discusses Conall Cernach’s role, as in YBL:

Eg. 87v5–10: Luid fráech as íarum dia crích féin. ⁊ a uhen ⁊ a micc ⁊ a báí. Luid dono conall cernach dia comairge co narruith ailill. ⁊ meidb hi tailltin og brith na mbó a cuailngiu. conid é tres ndirími na tána inro marb conall hi tailltin himmalle fria hamorgene. Atberat inn eolaig immorro ní tánuicc conall anair annsin. acht iss ann búí ar in orguin tair oc sléib elpo immalle fri fráech gen romboth ar in táin bó cúailngi i nhérinn. FINIT.

‘Fróech went after that to his own territory with his wife and his sons and his cattle. Moreover, Conall Cernach was their surity in Taitiu, so that he overtook Ailill and Medb [while they were] taking the cows out of Cúailnge. So that all that Conall killed in Taitiu together with Amairgen was one of the three innumerable slaughters of the *Táin*. The learned men say, however, Conall did not come from the east then but that he was there at the slaughter in the east at the Alps along with Fróech when one was on the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* in Ireland. The end.’ (Own translation)

By mentioning the ‘three innumerable slaughters of the *Táin*’, the narrator at the end of the Eg. copy of *Táin Bó Froích* uses the same wording as the narrator at the end of the episode *Aislinge nAimirgin*³⁶⁰ in Rec. I of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*.³⁶¹

³⁵⁶ O’Rahilly 1976: II. 4053–69; translation cited here, as in everywhere else, from O’Rahilly’s edition (1976: 235).

³⁵⁷ O’RAHILLY 1976: I. 3479; O’RAHILLY 1967: I. 4076.

³⁵⁸ One diagnostic for a Middle Irish date is the presence of 3sg. perf. *níro impa* ‘he did not turn’, i.e. a form of the Midlr. simplified verb *impáid* (Modlr. *iompaigh*) from Old Irish *imm:soí* ‘turns’, and the Midlr. generalised usage of perfective particle *ro* to mark the past tense. See also the use of the Midlr. simplified verb *innisid*, OIr. *in:fét*, in the 3sg. perf. *ro hindis*.

³⁵⁹ See MEID 1970: 51, §31.

Is ed tres ndírime na Tána arro marb díb-sin. Ocus a mac Conall Cernach anais lais oco thimthirecht di c[h]lochaib 7 gaib.

‘This is one of the three (slaughters) which cannot be counted, namely, the great number of them that he killed. And his son Conall Cernach remained by him, furnishing him with stones and darts.’³⁶²

This verbal parallel is not contained in Rec. II TBC.³⁶³ *Aislinge nAimirgin* relates how the poet rains destruction on the Connachtmén by pelting them with stones. In Rec. I, Amairgen is assisted by Conall Cernach, whereas Rec. II states more generally that it is ‘his people’ (*muintir*) who supply him with ammunition. The mention of Conall’s acting as surity (*commairge*) while Ailill and Medb passed through Taitiu in *Táin Bó Froích* does not tally with the TBC account; however, it may reflect the pact made between the Munster king Cú Roí mac Dáire and Amairgen; in TBC, Amairgen gives permission for the Connachta to drive the cattle through the area and, in return, Cú Roí abandons the host. Similar to YBL above, if this instance of allusion were later attached to *Táin Bó Froích* in order to cyclify the material and create narrative links, then the redactor did so with Rec. I TBC in mind.

1.6.2.4 *Aislinge Óenguso*

The relationship between *Aislinge Óenguso* and the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* on a narratological level is discussed in greater detail in section 1.6.3.5 below. It contains only one reference to the *Táin* in the concluding paragraph, which appears to have been appended at a date later than that of the tale’s original composition:

Is de sin do-cuaid Óengus, tricha cét, co Ailill ocus Meidb do tháin inna mbó a Cúailnge. Conid ‘De Aislingiu Óenguso Maicc in Dagdai’ ainm in scéuil sin isin Táin bó Cúailnge.³⁶⁴

‘Is is because of that that Óengus went with 3,000 to Ailill and Medb to drive the cattle out of Cúailnge. So that ‘*De Aislingiu Óenguso Maicc in Dagdai*’ (‘Regarding the Dream of Óengus, son of the Dagdae’) is the name of that story in the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*.’ (Own translation)

³⁶⁰ O’RAHILLY 1976: II. 3393–3409.

³⁶¹ Elsewhere in the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, the ‘three innumerable slaughters’ exclude this particular one and are named as Sesrech Breslige, Imslige Glennamnach and the battle of Gáirech and Irgáirech (O’RAHILLY 1976: II. 2312–15; .1967: II. 2319–22), which is inconsistent with the information here.

³⁶² O’RAHILLY 1976: II. 3408–9.

³⁶³ See O’RAHILLY 1967: II. 3937–80.

³⁶⁴ SHAW 1934: §15.

At no point does the narrator specifically identify the story of *Aislinge Óenguso* as a *remscél*; however, that is not a prerequisite for the tale to belong to the *remscél* category.

1.6.2.5 *Tochmarc Emire*

Both of the surviving versions of *Tochmarc Emire* refer directly to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* at various points. Firstly, at the end of Version I only (see section 1.5.3.6 above for details on the transmission of the text), after Scáthach's prophetic warning, Cú Chulainn arrives back in Ireland to find the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* has begun:

Tanic-som iarom dochomb n-hÉrend 7 tuarnic tain bo Cuailngi.

'Then he came to Erin, and chanced upon the cattle-spoil of Cualnge.'³⁶⁵

The line seems somehow out of place because it is not related then that Cú Chulainn enters into the foray. Rather he goes directly to Luglochta Loga, retrieves Emer, and nothing more is said about the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*. In Version III, however, Cú Chulainn visits the house of Rúad, king of the Isles, on his return, meets Conall Cernach and Lóegaire Búadach, and fights a group of invading Fomorians on Rúad's behalf, before returning back to continue wooing Emer: there is no mention of him coming home to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*.³⁶⁶

At a point in the story different from that in Version I, Eochu Bairche, the youth who guides Cú Chulainn to Scáthach's fortress after he becomes separated from his company in Version III of *Tochmarc Emire*, advises the protagonist on the difficulties he will encounter on his journey, including monsters etc., created by Forgall. Eochu Bairche also prophesies the difficulties Cú Chulainn will encounter in the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*:

Ro tairngir dano int ócláech cétnae dó ina césfad di drendaib 7 di drobélaib for Tánaid Bó Cúailgne. Ro innis dó dano ina ndingned d'olcaib 7 d'aidbenaib 7 comramaib for feraib Érenn.³⁶⁷

'The same youth also foretold him what he would suffer of hardships and straits in the Cattlespoil of Cualgne. He also told him what evil and exploits and contests he would achieve against the men of Erin.'³⁶⁸

³⁶⁵ MEYER 1890:452, 453, ll. 145–6.

³⁶⁶ See VAN HAMEL 1933:60–61, §80–1.

³⁶⁷ VAN HAMEL 1933: 49, §66.

³⁶⁸ MEYER 1888:298.

1.6.2.6 *Táin Bó Dartada*

Ailill mac Máta calls Eochu Bec to him to ask him for supplies to help sustain the fir Érenn while driving the cattle out of Cooley:

YBL: “Conn etar aiscid dam-sa uait” ar Ailill, “ata ecin forn .i. ecen adbal, biathad fer n-Erind oc tabairt na m-bo a Cuailngiu.”

Eg. “Dus inn etar asccid dam-so” al Oilill “huait, ar ata ecen form-so, .i. biathad fer n-Erinn do thabuirt na m-bo a Cuailnge”.

“Um zu erfahren, ob für mich von dir ein Geschenk zu erlangen ist”, sagte Ailill, “denn mich drückt eine Nothlage, nämlich der Unterhalt der Männer von Irland, die Rinder von Cuailnge wegzunehmen.”³⁶⁹

Eochu proceeds to ask what kind of gift he requires from him and Ailill responds that he will require milch cows (*aiscid dī lulgachaib* YBL; *aisccid dono do buaib blichtuib* Eg.).³⁷⁰

1.6.2.7 *Táin Bó Regamain*

Two references to TBC occur in the YBL and Eg. versions of *Táin Bó Regamain* respectively. In the first instance, YBL mentions the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* in the same style as the reference in *Aislinge Óenguso*. This appears towards the beginning of the tale when Ailill and Medb are sending their sons to court the daughters of Regamon in order to obtain his cattle from him:

YBL: “Tiagair uaindi” ol Ailill “co Regaman co tucthar aiscid dun dia ceithri uad frisi n-ecin si fil forn oc airbiathad fer n-Erend oc tain na m-bo a Cuailgni.”³⁷¹

“Es soll Jemand von uns” sagte Ailill “zu Regamon gehen, dass uns von ihm ein Geschenk von seinem Vieh gebracht werde gegen diese Noth, die auf uns liegt in der Verpflegung der Männer von Irland bei dem Forttreiben der Rinder aus Cuailnge.”³⁷²

Eg.: “Tiagar huam co Ragoman” ol Ailill, “co tucthar ni dun da cethrib frissin n-egin fil forn.”³⁷³

“Let one of our men be sent to Regamon” said Ailill, “so that something might be given to us from his herds to help with the dire straits that are upon us.” (Own translation)

³⁶⁹ *Ir. Texte* 2:2, 192, ll. 77–84.

³⁷⁰ *Ir. Texte* 2:2, 192, l. 86.

³⁷¹ *Ir. Texte* 2:2, 226, ll. 13–15.

³⁷² *Ir. Texte* 2:2, 232.

³⁷³ *Ir. Texte* 2:2, 226, ll. 10–11.

The second reference to TBC occurs at the end of both YBL and Eg., however, only YBL explicitly states that the *Táin Bó Regamain* is a *remscél*; as indicated above, this latter statement is due to the tendency of the redactor of the *tána bó* contained in YBL:

YBL: [...] anait na hingena la maccu Ailella 7 for-facbaid secht fichit iulgach leo do iarraig na n-ingen 7 do biathad fer n-Erenn fri tinol na tana bo Cuailnge, conid Tain bo Regamon in scel sa 7 remscel do scelaib Tana bo Cuailnge he. Finit amen.³⁷⁴

‘[...] die Mädchen bleiben bei den Söhnen Ailill’s, und es werden siebenmal zwanzig Milchkühe von ihnen zurückgelassen, für das Freiein der Mädchen, und für die Verpflegung der Männer von Irland bei der Versammlung zur Táin bó Cúailnge. Daher heisst diese Geschichte Táin bó Regamon, und sie ist eine Vorgeschichte zu den Geschichten von der Táin bó Cúailnge. Ende.’³⁷⁵

Eg. Anuit na hingeno la maccuib Aillello ocus Medba 7 anuit secht fichit lualgach leo do biathad fer n-hErinn fri himthinol tabarta na tano bo Cuailnge. Dollecter na halmo olchena dia tig dorithissi. Finit.³⁷⁶

‘The maidens stay with the sons of Ailill and Medb, and 140 milch cows stay with them to feed the men of Ireland in preparation for the launch³⁷⁷ of the cattle-raid of Cooley. The rest of the herds are returned to his house. The end.’ (Own translation.)

Again, up to the point where YBL adds ‘so that this story is *Táin Bó Regamain* and it is one of the *remscéla* to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*’, the wording in both Eg. and YBL is relatively similar: both agree that the acquisition of the cows will sustain the men during the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*.

1.6.2.8 *De Fóillsigud Tána Bó Cúailnge*

Although it is stated in the D list of *remscéla* tale-titles that this is a *remscél*, it is unlike any of the other *remscéla* because the events of the story happen after the *Táin*; i.e. logically, it is suited to the category of a “sequel”. However, technically speaking, this story that tells how TBC was saved from obscurity and re-entered the literary repertoire of the poets is a story that occurs before the *Táin* is related by a storyteller, i.e. it introduces the telling of *Táin*. As such, it may represent a nuance to the term *remscél* in that it could simply signify a story that is related before the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* can be told. As is expected because of the

³⁷⁴ *Ir. Texte* 2:2, 231, ll. 83–6.

³⁷⁵ *Ir. Texte* 2:2, 238.

³⁷⁶ *Ir. Texte* 2:2, 230–1, ll. 65–8.

³⁷⁷ This is a very loose translation of *fri himthinól tabarta na táno*; *imthinól* carries the sense of ‘gathering up’, i.e. ‘assembling’, and hence, by extension, ‘preparing’ while *tabart* refers to the carrying-out of the cattle-raid.

nature of its relationship to TBC, there are numerous overt references to the *Táin* scattered throughout all three versions of FTBC. However, D is the only of the three versions to describe itself as a *remscél* in its opening line:

D. Do faillsiugud Tāna Bó Cuailngni in remscél sa sīs [...] ar nīr mair don Thāin acht
blogha dī namá [...].³⁷⁸

‘This *remscél* below deals with the ‘Recovery of the the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*’ [...] for nothing remained of the *Táin* except for fragments.’ (Own translation)

As I explain below in section 1.6.3, the death of the two historians in the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* provides a further point of intertextuality between FTBC and TBC.

1.6.2.9 *Táin Bó Flidais*

Only LL and Eg. use the term *remscél* to describe the foregoing tale using the narratological term *remscél* in the final line:

LU: Conid Táin bó Flidais a scél sin anúas.³⁷⁹

‘So that *Táin Bó Flidais* is the [name of the] foregoing story.’

LL: Is de sein atá Tain bó Flidais i rremscelaib na Tana.

Eg.: is de-sin *ata* Tain bo *Fliduis* hi remsgeluib Tano bo *Cuailnge*. *Finit.*³⁸⁰

‘It is because of that that *Táin Bó Flidais* is among the *remscéla* of the *Táin (Bó Cúailnge*. End).’

Although LU does not employ the term *remscél*, it refers directly to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* in the final section of the tale. Looking firstly at the direct reference to TBC: this occurs in the concluding section of TBF_{lid}. and, in doing so, frames the story as a resource-gathering mission for the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*. As has also been pointed out by Johan Cortals,³⁸¹ the theme of gathering resources in preparation for the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* is prominent also in three other *remscéla*: *Táin Bó Dartada*, *Táin Bó Regamain* and, purportedly, in *Aislinge Óenguso*. In TBF_{lid}., Ailill and Medb use Flidais’ love for Fergus to their advantage and indirectly orchestrate a war by agitating her husband Ailill Find. By defeating Ailill Find in war, they gain Flidais’ entire herd, which is then at their disposal for the duration of TBC:

³⁷⁸ MEYER 1907: 4, ll. 5–7.

³⁷⁹ *Ir. Texte* 2:2, 216.

³⁸⁰ *Ir. Texte* 2:2, 212.

³⁸¹ CORTALS 1979: 128.

LU: Is desin luid Flidais co Fergus mac Róich a comarli Ailella 7 Medba fo dáig co m-bad furtacht dóib ocon tána na m-bó a Cualngi. Is desin no geibed Flidais cach sechtmad láa di feraib hErend do bóthorud dia thoscid ocon táin. Ba sé sin búar Flidais.³⁸²

‘In Folge davon ging Flidais zu Fergus mac Roich, nach dem Beschluss von Ailill und Medb. damit ihnen Unterstützung würde bei dem Raubzug nach den Kühen von Cualnge. In Folge davon pflegte Flidais jeden siebenten Tag von den Männern von Irland von dem Ertrag der Kühe zu erhalten, um ihn während des Raubzugs mit Lebensmitteln zu versorgen. Es war dies das Vieh der Flidais.’³⁸³

LL: Is iarsin luid Flidais co Fergus mac Roig. Et is do sein no gaibed Flidais *cech* sechtmad laa do fêraib hErenn dia toiscid ocon táin.

Eg.: Iss iarsin luid Fliduis co Fergus mac Rosui, 7 do sin no geibeth gach *secht*mad la do feraib hErinn dia toiscid oc in tain, [...].³⁸⁴

‘It was after that Flidais went to Fergus mac Róich, and it is as a result of that that Flidais would go every seventh day to the men of Ireland to preserve them on the raid.’
(Own translation)

The wording *ocon tána na m-bó a Cualngi* in LU is reminiscent of that in the final section of *Aislinge Óenguso* and may reveal part of a formula used to cyclify the tales in the conclusion (for similar wording in *Táin Bó Froích*, see section 1.6.2.3). The expression referring to Flidais’ cattle, i.e. *búar Flidais*, in LU is contained also in the *Lebor Gabála*.³⁸⁵

1.6.2.10 *Táin Bó Regamna*

Once Cú Chulainn has sufficiently frightened the Morrígain into explaining her presence in his territory, she claims that the cow from the Síd Crúachan has just been bulled by the Donn Cúailnge and that its offspring will be the cause of the *Táin*:

“Do-ucus-sa in mboin se éim”, olsí, “a síd Crúachan condo rodart in Donn Cúailgni lem .i. tarb Dáiri maic Fíachnai ocus is ed aret bia-su i mbethu co rab dartaíd in lóeg fil ina broinn ina bó so ocus is é con-saídfea Táin Bó Cúailgni.” “Bíam airdirciu-sa de din

³⁸² *Ir. Texte* 2:2, 215.

³⁸³ *Ir. Texte* 2:2, 222.

³⁸⁴ *Ir. Texte* 2:2, 212.

³⁸⁵ *LGÉ* iv, 122, 132, 158, 196.

Táin í sin”, ol Cú Chulainn. “Géna a n-ánradu. | Brisfea a mórchatu. | Bia tigbae na Táno.”

“Ich habe diese Kuh aus dem Elfenhügel von Crúachu hergebracht, und durch meine Vermittlung hat sie der Braune von Cúailnge, nämlich der Stier von Dáire mac Fiachna, besprungen, und so lange wirst du am Leben bleiben, bis das Kalb, das sich im Schoß dieser Kuh befindet, ein Jährling ist, und dieses wird die Táin Bó Cúailnge auslösen.” “Ich werde durch diese Táin desto berühmter werden”, sprach Cú Chulainn. “Erschlagen werde ich ihre Krieger, | Gewinnen werde ich ihre großen Schlachten. | Überleben werde ich die Táin.”³⁸⁶

The relationship of TBRa to TBC is a complicated one given the problems posed by the episode *Imaccalaim na Mórigna* in Rec. I TBC; see below (section 1.8.3) for a full discussion.

1.6.2.11 *Tochmarc Ferbe / Aislinge Chonchobuir/ Fís Conchobuir*

There are multiple references to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* in the LL version of *Tochmarc Ferbe*, whereas there are no direct references to it by name in the Eg. version (see section 1.6.3.13 below). The LL version even refers to itself once as a *remscél* in Ferchertne’s metrical summary at the end of the tale:

Remscél do Tháin bó Cualnge cain | bid *forbach* dond *imgail*, | is dond *aslingi* atá | bás
Mani móir *maic* Medba.

‘Eine Vorgeschichte zur schönen Táin bó Cúailnge, | wird eine Vermehrung (?) für den Streit sein! | Und von der Vision kommt her | der Tod Mane’s des Grossen, des Sohnes der Medb.’³⁸⁷

Here Windisch suggests that *forbach* be read as *formach* ‘an increase’, with the Middle Irish confusion of lenited *b* for *m*, and *imgail* should be read *immargail*, which is required metrically as the line would otherwise be one syllable short. This exact line is also found in a poem in Recension I and in the Stowe version of TBC; it is omitted from TBC in the Book of Leinster.³⁸⁸

Elsewhere in the LL version, the woman who visits Conchobor in the middle of the night directly references the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*:

³⁸⁶ CORTHALS 1987: 55, ll. 64–71.

³⁸⁷ *Ir. Texte* 3:2, 528, ll. 911–14.

³⁸⁸ O’RAHILLY 1976: ll. 1483–6; see also O’RAHILLY 1967: ll. 1752–5; O’RAHILLY 1978: l. 1792.

Secht m-bliadna ónocht, ar si, dogentar Táin bó Cualíngi, 7 airgfitir Ulaid, 7 berthair in Dond Cualíngi, [...].

“Sieben Jahre von dieser Nacht an”, sagte sie, “(da) wird der Raub der Rinder von Cualnge ausgeführt und wird Ulster verwüstet werden, und wird der Donn von Cualnge davongetrieben werden [...]”³⁸⁹

In the LL version, TBC is not mentioned again until the action is over and Conchobor asks Ferchertne to compose a poem about the foregoing events. It is then that the narrator states: *ro fálsg ind éicsiu dó-som co m-bad fúasait don táin in scel so* ‘die Seherkunst (?) offenbarte ihm, dass diese Geschichte die Entwicklung zur Táin sein würde’.³⁹⁰ Again in Ferchertne’s poem, the metrical version of events is told, including the vision of the woman who came to Conchobor to warn him of the *Táin*, so that this is not necessarily an additional reference to TBC:

“Secht m-bliadna lána onocht | not gluasfiter dond oenphort | maccaib mnaib, miad ros bí, | immon Dond cathach Cualíngi.”

“Sieben volle Jahre von heute Nacht an, | (da) wirst du veranlasst werden nach dem einen Orte zu ziehen | mit Knaben, Weibern – eine Ehre, die sie tödten wird – wegen des kampfreichen Donn von Cualnge.”³⁹¹

1.6.3 Allusion by means of intertextuality in the *remscéla* to TBC: narrative closeness of association

As discussed above in section 1.8.1, the addition of overt references to tales in order to attach them to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* is a superficial way of creating narrative links with TBC. In the case of pre-existing tales, such a strategy helps to cyclify otherwise unrelated material while causing very little interference, if any, to the tale’s narrative structure, message and main events. *Aislinge Óenguso* may be a perfect example of this. That said, certain tales were obviously created to complement TBC and their relationship is exemplified by their story matter rather than relying on verbal flags; as is expected, however, multiple tales contain both forms of allusion. By the same token, one particular *remscél*, i.e. *De Gabáil int Síde*, exhibits neither type of relationship to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*. I begin by identifying instances of obvious intertextuality exhibited by each of the *remscéla* to TBC, which I summarise, and I comment on the nature of these relationships. In the ordering of the material, I follow the relative chronology of the composition of each of the tales as discussed above in section 1.5.1

³⁸⁹ *Ir. Texte* 3:2, 472, ll. 126–7.

³⁹⁰ *Ir. Texte* 3:2, 518, ll. 764–5.

³⁹¹ *Ir. Texte* 3:2, 520, ll. 787–90.

except for *De Gabáil int Síde*, which I discuss within the context of *Aislinge Óenguso* below as the two intersect and require that they be discussed together with regard to their relationship to the Early Irish tale *Tochmarc Étaíne*, as I explain in more detail below.

1.6.3.1 *Compert Chonchobuir*

Version II gives one instance of overt allusion, as described above in section 1.6.2, and shares certain motifs and characters with other *remscéla* and the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*. Its main themes are revenge, politics and prophecy and, predominantly, the biography of Conchobor mac Nessa: his conception, parentage, how he acquired his name and the legitimacy of his kingship. These are not features that in any way allude to the *Táin*; however, the biographical information helps to develop Conchobor's character and backstory as one of the key figures. As a *remscél*, it is similar to the Eg. version of *De Chophur in Dá Muccida*, which is set in a time when Medb was just a maiden, and *Compert Chon Culainn*, which shares obvious qualities with *Compert Chonchobuir* as a conception tale. However, these features of the tale are more convenient than compelling; and it seems more likely given the date of *Compert Chonchobuir* and the lack of evidence for a narrative dependency on TBC that this tale was later attached to the *remscéla* series rather than created with the series in mind.

1.6.3.2 *Compert Chon Culainn*

This type of *remscél* provides biographical information about figures on the Ulster side, particularly Cú Chulainn, set before the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* takes place. It gives context to the interactions between those figures in the *Táin* by providing a backstory to their relationships. From the perspective of story chronology, it is similar to *De Chophur in Dá Muccida* in that it is far removed in time but relevant to the characters of the *Táin*. It is also set exclusively in Conchobor's court, which helps develop the characters we later encounter on the Ulster side of the battle in the *Táin*. As I illustrate below, Version II, and an additional section at the end of certain manuscripts containing Version I, contains developments in the story content that create a stronger connection with TBC.

There is a loose type of foreshadowing at the end of Version I in Eg. 1782, in the group of manuscripts HNE (see section 1.5.2 for details), which van Hamel includes in his edition of Version I, and also at the end of Version II. All three examples make reference to either the hound of Culann the smyth or Cú Chulainn's name. Version II also comments on how Cú Chulainn would grow up to be a great warrior:

Version I (Eg. 1782): *ocus ba Setanta a ainm iarum, gommo marb laiss iarum cu Caulaind cerddo. Is osin ille ro hainmnigter do Cu chuluinn.*³⁹²

‘And Sétantae was his name afterwards until he killed the hound of Culann the smith. It was from then onwards that he has been called Cú Chulainn.’ (Own translation)

Version I (HNE): *Gabsi Caulunn cerd. Ba sí a aite. Marbaisseom a choin side íarom, in tan ba ngillae oc cluichiu, combu íarom asbertsom: ‘Bid meisse do chúso, a phopae.’ Conid de ran gúil seom íarom Cú Chulainn.*³⁹³

‘Culann the smith took him. He was his fosterfather. He killed his hound then when he was a lad playing, so that he then said: ‘I will be your hound, master.’ So that it is because of this that [the name] Cú Chulainn stuck to him afterwards.’ (Own translation)

Version II (Eg. 1782): *Atbert Moraind cētna: ‘Is sochaidi’, ar sé, ‘charfus in mac sa ar a irrcēlaib a gnīmraid ⁊ a gaiscid ⁊ isé in mac sa ferfas bar ngesa uile ⁊ bar comraic i n-āthaib.’ Ised didiu rocomailled iarsin co mba sé Cūchulainn nodīgladh cech olc donīthea fri hUltu. [...] ba sé Cūchulaind búi ann sin.*³⁹⁴

‘That same Moraind said: ‘It is a (great) multitude’, said he, ‘who will love this boy for his famous tales [and] his deeds and his weapons and he is the boy who will fight all of your battles and your combats at fords.’ This is why, moreover, it was brought into effect after that Cú Chulainn would avenge every evil inflicted upon the Ulstermen. [...] and he [Sétantae] was the Cú Chulainn who was there.’ (Own translation)

At this point in the story in the LU copy of Version I before the interpolated section; the ending is worded as follows: *⁊ doberar Sétanta fair*³⁹⁵ ‘and he was called Sétantae’. The additional piece of information at the end of the HNE group of Version I represents a tradition not found in TBC or any of the other Old and Middle Irish versions of the *remscéla* in that it presents Culann the smith as Cú Chulainn’s fosterfather (*aite*). This is directly at odds with Version II of CC, which outlines how various members of the Ulstermen raised him. Version I here describes one of the most well-known of the *macgnímrada*, Boyhood Deeds of Cú Chulainn, that is, the story of how Cú Chulainn acquired his name. Therefore, Version II is actually better suited to the TBC series because it does not duplicate any narrative content, i.e. this episode from the *macgnímrada* already contained in the main narrative of the *Táin*. It is possible that the story-kernel of how Cú Chulainn got his name was originally extracted from

³⁹² *Ir. Texte* I, 140, ll. 15–17.

³⁹³ VAN HAMEL 1933: 6, §6.

³⁹⁴ MEYER 1905:504.

³⁹⁵ VAN HAMEL 1933: 6, §6, n. 9.

Compert Chon Culainn and recast as an episode of TBC in the same way that *De Gabáil int Síde* was extracted from *Tochmarc Étaíne* and presented as a separate, independent tale. As I argue below, this, among other reasons, precludes DGS and AÓ from interacting with TÉ in the capacity of a narrative series because it is repetitive.

1.6.3.3 *De Chophur in Dá Muccida*

The Eg. version uses various strategies to merge CDM with the *remscéla* TBC series. As outlined in section 1.6.2 above, the redactor achieved this first of all by making overt references to TBC in the opening and by using pre-existing wording to structure his new version of the tale. CDM was an appropriate candidate for a redactor looking to cyclify *Táin* material because, quite conveniently, it already contains a foothold, i.e. the origins of the two bulls, the Fimbennach and the Donn Cúailnge. Functionally, it provides information about two of the most important characters and the events that led to their being. The Eg. version also contains a certain amount of prophecy which has then either been fulfilled by the time of, or it is fulfilled during, the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*.³⁹⁶

The animosity between the two bulls creates a continuum from CDM to TBC, so that narratologically the two tales fit neatly together. Edel notes how it ‘provides an explanation for the role of the bulls in the *Táin* that involves neither of the Connacht rulers’.³⁹⁷ Thematically, the competition between the two bulls is echoed in that between Ailill and Medb, which is what leads to the *Táin* in the first place in Rec. II. It can be closely aligned to *Aislinge Óenguso* also because of the supernatural nature of the tale, the motif of shapeshifting and through another shared character, i.e. Bodb.

There is allusion to TBC towards the end of the Eg. version of CDM: the two swineherds have taken the shape of creatures that live in the water, which Roider translates as ‘Wassertieren’, when one enters a young Medb’s water source and ends up in her cup. The little creature goes on to prophesy her future, relating to her that she will marry Ailill mac Máta, and explaining the great qualities he possesses, which is reminiscent of the qualities that Medb recalls at the beginning of Rec. II TBC. The Eg. version of CDM states that Ailill will have the following four qualities:

‘[...] Ailill mac Rosa Rūaid do Laignip *ocus mac Māta Muirisce di Connachtaib hinginiu Māgach. .i. Moethōclach sin gin locht gin anim gin ēt gin ūalle[h]us.*’

³⁹⁶ Tom Chadwin (1997: 72) classifies *De Chophur in Dá Muccida* as having a causal relationship to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* and cites the Eg. version but does not specify that this relationship is particular to this later version and that it represents a development in the tale and, as a result, in the shape of the series.

³⁹⁷ EDEL 2015: 272.

‘Ailill, Sohn des Ros Rúad von Leinster und der Máta Muirisc von Connacht, Tochter der Mága. Der ist ein trefflicher Jüngling, ohne Fehler, ohne Makel, ohne Eifersucht, ohne Überheblichkeit.’³⁹⁸

And in Rec. II of the *Táin*, Medb explains that she could have had any man for a husband but that she needed someone with specific personal qualities, upon which she later goes on to elaborate:

‘[...] is mé ra chunnig in coibchi n-ingnaid nára chunnig ben ríam remom ar fer d’fêraib Hérend .i. fer cen neóit, cen ét, cen omon.’

‘[...] I demanded a strange bride-gift such as no woman before me had asked of a man of the men of Ireland, to wit, a husband without meanness, without jealousy, without fear.’³⁹⁹

Although the wording in CDM is not exactly the same as TBC, the formula and the message are the same and it prefigures Medb’s speech to Ailill.⁴⁰⁰

Possibly, in a bid to strengthen the connection with TBC Rec. II, the redactor of the Eg. version of CDM adds a reference to the origins of the Conmaicni and their ancestor Fergus mac Róich, one of the most prominent characters in the *Táin* and in the *remscéla* also:

Ar iss do thsīol Ferguso meic Roaig dōoib, ocus is é ni rugad-sidi hi nn-inbuid-siden, acht hit iat na duīni robatar issin tūr atāt Conmaicni reimib anall.

‘Denn sie stammen von Fergus mac Róig ab, und dieser seinerseits war zur fraglichen Zeit nicht geboren, sondern jene sind die Leute, die in dem Land waren, das vor diesen das spätere Gebiet der Conmacne war.’⁴⁰¹

Furthermore, the Eg. version is similar to that of the *Táin*, which gives the impression that the redactor was trying to align it stylistically with the saga and also with other *remscéla*. For example, there is a passage describing the decoration of the horses in Bodb’s retinue, which is akin to the description of the troops arriving at Crúachain in the opening of TBC:

Bruit hūainidi impuib huili, ocus cet[h]re heō corccra for gach brut, mbrot[h]gha argat ina mbrutaib huilib. Ocus lēnte co nderg-indliud, ocus co corthartaib ōrsnāith impuib. Snāithi findruine asa n-ochruib.

³⁹⁸ ROIDER 1979: 54, 55, ll. 248–51.

³⁹⁹ O’Rahilly 1967: 138, ll. 27–28.

⁴⁰⁰ Thurneysen comments also on the connection between this section and TBC Rec. II: ‘Und die Bezeichnung von Medbs Gemahl als *Ailill mac Rosa Ruaid do Laignip ocus mac Mata Murisce do Connachtaib* (§8) verrät Bekanntschaft mit der Fassung II der *Tāin bō Cuailnge* [...]’ (*Held.* 278).

⁴⁰¹ ROIDER 1979: 48, 49.

‘Grüne Mäntel um sie alle, und vier purpurne Zipfel an jedem Mantel, silberne Spangen in jedem Mantel. Und Hemden mit roter Verzierung und mit Säumen von Goldfäden um sie. Fäden von Weißgold aus ihren Beinschienen.’⁴⁰²

For comparison with other *remscéla*, see section 1.7.9 below.

A final reference to TBC is made at the end of the Eg. version of CDM, where it is simply referred to as the *cocad mór* ‘great war’. Here, too, the former swineherd explains how the bulls will come to be.

“Nom·ibu-sai bō dit búaib-si himbāruch”, olse, “ibuid mu chēli bō do búaib Medbu iarsin co bertar da n-agh de sin, *ocus* āsfuid *cocad mōr* atruinn i mĒrinn. Co comairsium trā”, olse, “slān duit.”

“‘Mich wird morgen eine deiner Kühe trinken”, sagte er. “Meinen Kollegen wird dann eine von Medbs Kühen trinken, sodaß davon zwei Stiere geboren werden, und ein großer Krieg wird zwischen uns in Irland ausbrechen. Bis wir uns wiedersehen”, sagte er, “leb nun wohl.”⁴⁰³

1.6.3.4 *Táin Bó Froích*

Apart from the overt references to TBC within *Táin Bó Froích*, Fróech also features as a character in Rec. I of TBC in the episode entitled *Aided Fraích* ‘The Death of Fráech’, in which he is the first warrior from the Connacht side to die at the hands of Cú Chulainn.⁴⁰⁴ However, this relationship between the *remscél* and the episode in TBC is not as clear-cut as it would at first appear because TBF is itself a structurally composite text and the episode in Rec. I TBC is apparently an interpolation (see below). There are also inconsistencies between TBF and TBC as regards certain story elements, i.e. Findabair’s role, upon which I elaborate in the following. These inaccuracies and narratological gaps may simply represent a lack of artistic ability,⁴⁰⁵ or, alternatively, it may indicate that the cyclification of the material was underway but not complete, which is itself an insight into the categorisation of *remscél* material and the emergence of the literary series.

Firstly, I will highlight instances of indirect allusion: the first being the Boand’s prophecy and the second is Ailill gathering his wealth. There is a vague reference to the conflict involving Ailill and Medb: in the anecdote relating the birth of the triplet harpers

⁴⁰² ROIDER 1979: 40, 41, ll. 120–3.

⁴⁰³ ROIDER 1979: 58, 59, ll. 306–9.

⁴⁰⁴ O’RAHILLY 1976: ll. 833–57. Thurneysen mentions this detail also (*Held.* 285).

⁴⁰⁵ CARNEY 1979: 30.

Goltraige, Gentraige and Súantraige,⁴⁰⁶ the Boand refers to the destruction that will be brought down on cows and women by Ailill and Medb. This may or may not be a reference to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* in particular because Ailill and Medb are involved in cattle-raids beyond TBC, i.e. *Táin Bó Flidais* and *Táin Bó Regamain*.

The second instance of indirect allusion is by means of parallel in TBF. As well as there being some very obvious similarities between the characters Fróech in TBF and Fergus in TBC,⁴⁰⁷ there are also certain scenes in TBF that are similar to those in TBC: e.g. playing of *fidchell* and the watchman narration. One of the most obvious illustrations of TBF perhaps imitating TBC, or at least sharing a story element, is when in TBF Ailill drunkenly demands that all of his wealth be brought to him:

“Tucaid mo seotu dam-sa huili!” olse. Do-bretha dó iarum co-mbátar ara bélaib.

“Bringt mir alle meine Schätze!” Sie wurden ihm gebracht und vor ihm hingelegt.⁴⁰⁸

This is reminiscent of the beginning of Rec. II of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* when Ailill and Medb call for all their wealth, down as far as their ‘wooden cups and their vats’⁴⁰⁹ to be laid out in front of them so that they may compare their wealth. The difference between these two examples is the underlying motivation but the visual is the same. Given that the original composition of TBF is dated to the 8th century (see section 1.5.1 above for further details), it is possible that it influenced the introduction to Rec. II TBC.

Before discussing *Aided Fraích* as an interpolated episode in Rec. I TBC, I will outline the points of agreement between it and TBF and where exactly they diverge. They

⁴⁰⁶ MEID 1970: 35, ll. 90–1; 57.

⁴⁰⁷ The *retoric* uttered by Ailill in Rec. I TBC only indicates that there is conflation of the characters Fróech and Fergus:

‘Imbeir fidchill sceó búanbach ar bélaib ríge sceó rígnai cluche arafuiretár fo mórlúagu dulecha níbecaumu frit cia thochill berae ar is di íarnantaib cunghas ar rígnai ingenaib am mareóla bás ní gáubu céthinta for mnaib meldríge scéo chara Findabair Fergus rodanae ar búai búrechaib co slógaib móraib timchella di thuataib techtmóirib co n-ilcruth ríge co mbruth dracon co n-anáil n-athrach co mbéim léoman dethairith tossaig Fergus mac Rossa Róich.’

‘Play chess and draughts before a king and a queen. They have prepared a game for great eager armies It matters not (?) what stake you lay . . . I am well-skilled. Perhaps in truth the first guilt will lie on the women . . . Findabair loves the bold Fergus, Fergus mac Rossa Róich with lowing cattle and great armies surrounded (?) by tribes with great possessions, Fergus with the beauty of a king, the fierceness of a dragon, the venomous breath of a viper, the powerful blow of a lion . . .’ (O’RAHILLY 1976: ll. 1082–88).

The reference to Findabair’s love for Fergus may simply be an allusion to his ability to seduce women, including Ailill’s own wife – an act which Fergus has just carried out at this point in the tale. However, his reference to Fergus’ wealth, particularly his cows may suggest more than his status as a former royal and it may offer a point of intersection between Fróech’s and Fergus’ characters that bring about their conflation. CARNEY (1979: 29) argues also that the original love-interest was not Findabair but Ailill’s wife queen Medb.

⁴⁰⁸ MEID 1970: 38, ll. 237–8; 60.

⁴⁰⁹ O’RAHILLY 1967: l. 56; 139.

share the same weakness, i.e. Findabair's role as a wife/lover, which is inconsistent both within TBF and TBC as individual tales and as a series. In the first part of TBF, Findabair and Fróech are lovers who eventually marry, whereas in Rec. I TBC, although Fróech and Findabair both make an appearance, they are never presented as a couple. In fact, Findabair is used as a sexual pawn throughout TBC in all its extant recensions, which gives the impression that she is an unmarried daughter of Ailill and Medb and at their disposal.⁴¹⁰ Findabair aside, however, one point of agreement presents itself in Fróech's encounter with Cú Chulainn, in that some motifs appear also in the first part of *Táin Bó Froích*. Notably, Fróech's fight with Cú Chulainn in the water is similar to his grappling the water-beast in TBF; and when Fróech dies at the hands of Cú Chulainn, he is brought to the land and a group of women (*banchuire*) in green tunics carry his body to the *síd*, just as he is carried to the *síd* to be healed in *Táin Bó Froích*. Compare, for example:

Rec. I TBC: Co n-accatar banchuri i n-inaraib úanib for colaind Fraích meic Idaid. Focessar úadib issa síd. Síd Fraích ainm in tsída sin íarom.

'They saw a band of women dressed in green tunics bending over the corpse of Fróech mac Idaid. They carried him off into the fairy mound which was called Síd Fraích ever afterwards.'⁴¹¹

TBF: [...] co-n-accas na tri coícait ban co n-inaraib corcraib, co cennbarraib úanidib, co mílechaib arggait fora ndóitib. [...] Do-tíagat na mná imbi ocus bertait úadib i ssíd Crúachan.

'[...] und man sah dreißig Frauen in purpurnen Gewändern und hellgrünem Kopfschmuck; an ihren Armen trugen sie silberne Armreifen mit Tierschmuck. [...] Die Frauen scharten sich um ihn und trugen ihm mit sich davon in den Elfenhügel von Cruachu.'⁴¹²

The similarity between the series of events that follows Fróech's mishap in the water in TBF and those in his death-tale in Rec. I TBC seems to be more than coincidental. More

⁴¹⁰ In both Rec. I and II, Findabair is promised to various heroes as part of their reward for fighting Cú Chulainn: Fer Báeth (O'RAHILLY 1976: 1746–7; O'RAHILLY 1967: II. 1877–79); Láiríne mac Nois (O'RAHILLY 1976: II. 1813–14; O'RAHILLY 1967: 1932); Fer Diad (O'RAHILLY 1976: II. 2599–2600; O'RAHILLY 1967: I. 2634); and Rochad (O'RAHILLY 1976: 3350–3; O'RAHILLY 1967: II. 3868–70). In an episode contained only in Rec. I, Findabair is promised to Cú Chulainn (O'RAHILLY 1976: II. 1569–71). Cú Chulainn makes repeated references to the fact that Findabair has been promised to his opponent in vain in the Fer Diad episode in Rec. II (O'RAHILLY 1967: II. 3037–8, 3195–6, 3460–1).

⁴¹¹ O'RAHILLY 1976: II. 855–7; 149.

⁴¹² MEID 1970: 38, II. 213–221; 60.

importantly still, these close affinities are limited to the first part of *Táin Bó Froích*. The second part, which links itself to the *Táin* because Fróech provided Ailill with cattle for sustenance is as tenuous a plot-link as that in *Aislinge Óenguso* because, apart from *Aided Fraích*, neither Fróech nor Óengus ever appear in any of the extant recensions of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* nor are their men or cattle mentioned outside the *aided* episode.

Now that it has been established that there is narrative connection between the first part of *Táin Bó Froích* and the TBC episode *Aided Fraích*, I will turn to the matter of the latter having been an interpolation. *Aided Fraích* is surrounded by material from an ‘alternative version’: the statement *slicht sain so co aidid nÓrláim* appears some lines before *Aided Fraích* and extends to the obstacle laid out for the Connachta by Cú Chulainn, *Aided Fraích* and the death of Medb’s hound Baiscne in that order. Furthermore, as identified by O’Rahilly, it is plain that *Aided Fraích* is ‘inserted awkwardly’ into this section. It interrupts the episode that relates how Cú Chulainn leaves an obstacle in the path of the Connachmen that only Fergus could overcome in his chariot; at first glance, it appears as if the episode before *Aided Fraích* is fully concluded because it ends with a formulaic closing line ‘Belach nÁne is the name of that place ever since’.⁴¹³ However, despite this, the episode resumes again directly after *Aided Fraích* with the line *lingid Fergus darsin n-omnai ina charput*,⁴¹⁴ to which O’Rahilly drew attention.⁴¹⁵ In addition to this, the following comment appears before the TBC episode *Aided Fraích* in the 16th-century O’Curry manuscript (C):

*Slicht sain so co comruc tri mac nGarach 7 bladhd beag de ar daig dluthaigthe in sceoil.*⁴¹⁶

This is (another) version up to the fight of the three sons of Gáarach and a small fragment of it in order to condense the story. (Own translation)

The fight of the three sons of Gáarach, *Aided Trí Mac nGáarach* ‘The Death of the three Sons of Gáarach’, is an episode that occurs in all extant recensions after the death of Órlám.⁴¹⁷ The same comment as above occurs in the older manuscript YBL but it appears directly before the episode *Aided Trí Mac nGáarach* rather than before *Aided Fraích*; and O’Rahilly comments that the words *ar daig dluthaigi in sceoil* have been added to the margin ‘by a different

⁴¹³ O’RAHILLY 1976: I. 832.

⁴¹⁴ O’RAHILLY 1976: I. 858.

⁴¹⁵ O’RAHILLY 1967: xxx.

⁴¹⁶ O’RAHILLY 1976: I. 833, note 11; see Ó FIANNACHTA 1966: II. 33–5.

⁴¹⁷ O’RAHILLY 1967: II. 1247–57; O’RAHILLY 1976: II. 907–19; O’RAHILLY 1978: II. 1285–96. In Rec. II, the name has been reanalysed to *trí meic Árach*.

hand'.⁴¹⁸ O'Rahilly also comments that the position of this remark in C 'seems the correct place', which may have been the case or it may have been moved by the learned scribe of C who recognized the differences between the different recensions of TBC, having both at his disposal; this does not account for the latter half of the remark regarding *Aided Trí Mac nGárach*, however, as this episode appears in all extant recensions of TBC.⁴¹⁹ There are some indications that the compiler of C used YBL or a copy thereof to compile his own but that he did so with discretion: see, for example, how he integrates minor changes to the text by taking what was originally a marginal or interlinear addition in YBL and adding it to the main text;⁴²⁰ on the other hand, however, he omits multiple additions in YBL that highlight certain sections as originally coming from another *slicht* 'version'.⁴²¹

The result of the foregoing and the implications with regard to *Táin Bó Froích* are that it must have been created to complement a version of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* that is no longer extant. This version must have been available at the time at which the *remscéla* tale-title lists were being composed for it to have been relevant.

1.6.3.5 *Aislinge Óenguso and De Gabáil int Síde*

The function of *Aislinge Óenguso* and its closely related tale *De Gabáil int Síde* is rather subjective because, linguistically speaking, the former belongs to around the same period as the preceding four *remscéla* (*Compert Chonchobuir*, *Compert Chon Culainn*, *De Chophur in Dá Muccida* and *Táin Bó Froích*), whereas DGS belongs to the late OIr. period or perhaps even the early Middle Irish period. The way in which AÓ's relationship to TBC is communicated in the final lines seems disingenuous (see section 1.8.3.4 above) and signals that perhaps it is a link that was created later when the concept of a series surrounding TBC became popular.⁴²² At the same time, the fact that the later tale DGS does not include a reference to TBC or even share a character with TBC raises questions as to how the medieval scholar perceived the tale as complementing TBC as a *remscél*; chronologically, it is an event that precedes TBC, so that it fulfils that basic requirement of the classification at least. However, Backhaus and Chadwin agree in placing its composition and function outside that

⁴¹⁸ O'RAHILLY 1976: l. 906, note 14.

⁴¹⁹ O'RAHILLY 1976: xxi.

⁴²⁰ See for example O'RAHILLY 1976: l. 982, note 6; and l. 1035, note 14.

⁴²¹ For example O'RAHILLY 1976: l. 859, note 7; l. 983, note 7; l. 989, note 11; l. 994, note 15, etc.

⁴²² SHAW was also of the same opinion (1934: 25).

of the *remscél* category.⁴²³ Having first looked at the potential literary connections between AÓ, TBC and other *remscéla*, I will then look at its textual relationship to *Tochmarc Étaíne*, before discussing the short tale *De Gabáil int Síde*. In doing this, I hope to demonstrate how the subjective relationship of AÓ and DGS to TBC may have been grounded in thematic and verbal parallels for the purpose of serving the series, even if AÓ was not created with the original intention of it operating as a *remscél*.⁴²⁴

Firstly, as *Compert Chonchobuir* and *Compert Chon Culainn* show, there is no requirement that a *remscél* adhere to a central storyline but that the *remscéla* series may be a “multi-narrative”, i.e. having multiple narrative threads, while sharing other obvious features to create a sense of narrative cohesion, e.g. characters. The two foremost characters in the *Táin*, i.e. Medb and Ailill, appear in *Aislinge Óenguso* and actively intervene in Óengus’ pursuit of the maiden Cáer Iborneith, which may be one intertextual factor that legitimises *Aislinge Óenguso*’s categorisation as a *remscél*. This implies, then, that the feature of shared characters is one of the criteria for the *remscéla*, which is broad, and allows for pre-existing tales to be adapted and/or drawn in to the series. AÓ also shares themes and motifs with other *remscéla*, which helps create a sense of intertextuality: a *síd* is destroyed in both AÓ and *Echtrae Nerai*; in the case of AÓ, it is Ethal Anbúail’s *síd* and, in EN, it is *Síd Crúachan*. The interactions of characters who belong to both the mortal and immortal realms may be a feature that superficially binds AÓ to the *remscél* category. As such, a case may be made against the classification of *Aislinge Óenguso* as a *remscél* purposely created to complement TBC but, similarly, given the other *remscéla* of the series, a case may also be made for it having been later understood as part of a series.

However, it cannot be ignored that AÓ and DGS are more closely related to a separate narrative series involving *Tochmarc Étaíne* and *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* (see also 1.10 below). As I wish to show, this is a textual relationship and not one relating to the literary series. Not only do AÓ and DGS contain some of the same, well-known, mythological characters as *Tochmarc Étaíne* but they also share some of the same motifs, turns in the plot,

⁴²³ BACKHAUS states that ‘*De Gabáil in tSída* has no connection whatsoever with TBC and is, rather, a fore-tale to the *Aislinge Óenguso*, which itself only contains one sentence relating to TBC, at the very end of the tale. This sentence, however, could well be a later addition, perhaps due to the list of fore-tales itself, because it is only very loosely connected with the tale and finds no corroboration in TBC [...]’ (1990: 21, note 11). Chadwin (1997: 73) describes DGS as a ‘*remremscél*’, i.e. a tale that acts as a *remscél* to a *remscél*, namely *Aislinge Óenguso*. In his study, he describes the ‘*remremscél*’ as a ‘minor category of *remscél*’ (CHADWIN 1997: 73) different from all others but a single tale hardly constitutes an entire category. Furthermore, Chadwin explains that DGS acts simply as a ‘Background *remscél* to AÓ rather than a Causal *remscél*’ because it bears no causal relationship to AÓ (1997: 73).

⁴²⁴ As highlighted by Ó Cathasaigh, whether or not AÓ was created with the purpose of becoming a *remscél* in mind, it was at least perceived by the 16th-century compilers of Eg. 1782 as such (Ó CATHASAIGH 1997: 431).

and even some examples of very similar phrasing and dialogue. Whereas shared motifs and verbal echoes among other *remscéla* indicate the tendency towards cyclifying the material or provide reasons as to why the material was viable for cyclification, the similarities between *Tochmarc Étaíne*, *Aislinge Óenguso* and *De Gabáil int Síde* represent a separate phenomenon. Parallels between these three tales indicate that the medieval Irish compiler/composer repeatedly returned to the same store of ideas and freely reused story elements.

The relationship between the first part of *Tochmarc Étaíne* and *Aislinge Óenguso* is similar to that of *Compert Chon Culainn* to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*. It relates Óengus' conception from a secret union between his mother the Boand and the Dagdae,⁴²⁵ his childhood, including in particular who fostered him, why he was given the sobriquet *In Mac Óc*, and how he acquired the *síd* with the help of Midir. Therefore, there is a linear continuum between these two tales as regards Óengus' biography. However, the section in *Tochmarc I* relating how Óengus acquired the *síd* is duplicated in DGS and is an example of the later recycling of story material. Therefore, DGS is not cooperating within a narrative series that includes *Tochmarc Étaíne* because the material is repeated.

Similarly, Ailill Anguba's debilitating love for Étaín in the second instalment of *Tochmarc Étaíne* forms a close parallel with Óengus' love-sickness for Cáer in *Aislinge Óenguso*.⁴²⁶ Both nearly reach the point of death before a physician is called: in AÓ it is Conchobor's physician, named as Fergne in the manuscript but most likely to be read as Fíngen (see below), and in TÉ it is Eochaid's physician Fachtna who visits the sick and dying Ailill. These episodes are so close that it seems more likely that one borrowed from the other rather than there being a coherent linear narrative from TÉ to AÓ in this instance. This may have resulted in *Aislinge Óenguso* becoming a viable candidate for the *remscéla* series, in that, it may have drawn on TÉ but it was technically an independent tale. Furthermore, the presence of the characters Ailill and Medb offered the creator of the series a unique opportunity to connect AÓ with TBC.

An instance of *Aislinge Óenguso* and *Tochmarc Étaíne* sharing wording is the line in *Tochmarc Étaíne* announcing Ailill Anguba's similar love-sickness is formulaically very close in construction with a line in AÓ, which may indicate sharing of material. More interestingly still is that the reanalysis of this sentence in the later version of TÉ in YBL (i.e.

⁴²⁵ An alternative version of his conception is contained in the poem attributed to Cináed úa hArtagáin, in which Elcmar is the Boand's brother, not his wife (see GWYNN 1914: 222, 232, §30).

⁴²⁶ For more on the 'lover's malady', see MICHIE 1937 and section 2.1.10 below.

YBL2 below) is closer still to AÓ than the earlier version in YBL (i.e. YBL1 below).⁴²⁷ For convenience of comparison, I reproduce the lines from YBL and AÓ:

YBL1: Focheird Ailill a sirg dé fo dhaigh nara thubaidhi fri nech 7 nach erbart frisin mnaí fodeisin.

YBL2: Focheard Oilill a serg de dó dáig ni dubairt fria nech 7 nach ebairt frisin n-ingin fodesin.

AÓ: co-ndid:corastar i seurc. Nícon:epert fri nech.

In YBL1, the verb *-thubaidhi* is a form of the verb *do:ben*, as opposed to the verb *as-beir* in YBL2 and AÓ, and when used with the prep. *fri* means ‘reproaches, taunts with’. This is commonly used with *enech* to mean ‘insults honour’;⁴²⁸ therefore, *fri nech* in YBL1 should be edited to *fria enech* in order to yield the correct sense. This appears to have been reanalysed in the younger YBL2 text to *-dubairt*, changing the sense of this sentence to ‘because he did not tell anyone’, and losing the nuance that his love-sickness was a source of shame for Ailill. It is this latter, younger text that is closest to AÓ, which gives the impression that the composer was familiar with the language of AÓ when he redacted the YBL2 version of TÉ.

The Stowe version of TBC perhaps tried to create a closer link with AÓ by means of a verbal echo. In AÓ, the narrator relates that Fíngen (MS Fergne) has the ability to read the number of people sick within a house by the smoke that comes from it:

Adgninad-som i n-aigid in duini a ngalar no bíth for ocus ad-gninad din dieid no théiged din tig a llín no bíth co ngalar and.⁴²⁹

‘He would be able to recognize in the face of the man the disease from which he suffered and he would recognize the number who were sick there by the smoke that would come from the house.’

This latter means of diagnosing individuals appears also in the Stowe version of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, in a section of text identified by O’Rahilly as an interpolation:⁴³⁰

As é sin do-ber aithne ar galar in duine tre diaig in tigi i mbí d’faicsin no trena cnet do closs.⁴³¹

⁴²⁷ The earlier version begins on YBL col. 990 (contained also in LU) and the later version begins on YBL col. 876; the latter is modernised linguistically and orthographically.

⁴²⁸ *DIL* D 213.51.

⁴²⁹ SHAW 1934: §2.

⁴³⁰ O’RAHILLY 1961: xi.

⁴³¹ O’RAHILLY 1961: ll. 4514–16.

‘It is he who would recognize a man’s illness by seeing the smoke coming from the house or by hearing his groan’. (Own translation)

Although there are no textual grounds to assume that the compiler of Stowe had *Aislinge Óenguso* before him when he inserted this interpolation, the physician’s abilities are consistent with those in AÓ. The compiler may indeed have had Version A of *Aided Chonchobuir* ‘The Violent Death of Conchobor’ in mind, in which this same attribute is described:

Iss ēside nofīnnad don dīaid nothēiged don tig in lín nobíd i ngalur ‘sin tig ocus cech galar nobíd and.

‘’Tis he who would know from the smoke that arose from a house how many were ill in the house, and every disease that was in it.’⁴³²

Therefore, the description of Fíngen’s abilities is not significant of a *remscél* to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*; it simply fits into a tradition surrounding this character.

Martina Maher, in her recent article on *De Gabáil int Síde* as a *remscél*, highlighted also the theme of ‘verbal deceit’ common to DGS and TBC, in that Cú Chulainn, like Óengus, often ‘manipulates words’ for his own gain.⁴³³ Indeed, Cú Chulainn’s mastery of words, and Emer’s for that matter, is also a feature in *Tochmarc Emire* in the first encounter between the courting couple when they speak with one another in riddles. Retzlaff also draws attention to the fact that DGS provides information about Cú Chulainn’s otherworldly birthplace.⁴³⁴

A repeated pattern in the *remscéla* is Ailill calling figures to meet and speak with him, which serves to highlight his superior status to those whom he summons, including king of Clú Eochu Bec in *Táin Bó Dartada*. In each of the instances, there is an echo in the wording

⁴³² MEYER 1906: §9.

⁴³³ MAHER 2017: 157.

⁴³⁴ RETZLAFF 2009: 293. Kay Retzlaff draws a parallel between the LL version of DGS, the episode *Cath Eógain meic Derthacht fri Conchobar* in Rec. I TBC and *De Chophur in Dá Muccida* with the mention of pigs. The LL version of DGS refers to an everliving pig and a roasted pig (*mucc bithbeō* and *mucc fónaithe*; HULL 1933: 56) at the end of the tale and the pigs that belong to the two swineherds of CDM are no doubt supposed to be understood as supernatural. However, the Boyhood Deed to which Retzlaff refers as being an example of Conchobor ingesting a pig and ‘taking into himself its power to recreate itself’ (RETZLAFF 2009: 293) is perhaps a misreading of the text, which clearly says that Cú Chulainn procured for Conchobor a *mucc fónaithe* ‘roasted pig’ (O’RAHILLY 1976: II. 513–19). It states nowhere in the text that the pig here was magical or self-regenerating. Maher adds to Retzlaff’s point by highlighting that the scribe who wrote DGS, known as F, also wrote the episode *Breslech Mór Maige Muirthemne* (O’RAHILLY 1976: I. 2072), which has been identified as sharing its source for this episode with Rec. I TBC (MAHER 2017: 154; see also MAC GEARAILT 1993: 170). Maher concludes that ‘when writing the *remscéla*, F may not have had access to the *Macgnímrada* as they appear in LL; thus he may have had to draw on his own knowledge of the tales, a knowledge that may have been informed by sources akin to LU’ (2017: 154). However, the mere mentioning of a pig in Rec. I TBC does not create a incontrovertible parallel with the LL version of GDS.

used. Compare, for example, the following passage from *Táin Bó Flidais*, at the point at which Ailill mac Máta sends for Ailill Find to discuss terms regarding his wife Flidais, with *Aislinge Óenguso* below:

LU: *Congairther Ailill Find do Ailind mac Mata immach assind lis dia acallaim. “Ní rag-sa” or se, “is mór a uallehas 7 a sotlacht ind fir fil and.”*

LL: *Coingairther Ailill Find assin dún do Ailill 7 Meidb. “Ní reg-sa” ol se, “is mór a sotla 7 a olcas ind fir fil and” ol se.*

Ailill Finn wird zu Ailill mac Mata gerufen, aus der Burg heraus zu einer Unterredung mit ihm [zu kommen]. ‘Ich werde nicht gehen’ sagte er, ‘der Stolz und der Hochmuth des Mannes dort ist gross.’⁴³⁵

In *Aislinge Óenguso*, similar wording – although presented entirely in dialogue form – is found in the part of the story when a messenger of Ailill’s is sent on the Dagdae’s behalf to fetch the maiden’s father Ethal Anbúail. As in the case of Ailill Find above, Ethal refuses the invitation:

“Ani for-maith – congairther rí in tsíde cuccuib,” ol in Dagdae. Téit rechtaire Ailella cucci. “Timmarnad duit ó Ailill ocus Meidb dul dia n-acallaim.” “Ní reg-sa,” ol sé.⁴³⁶

“[I know] what would be the best thing: let the king of the *síd* be summoned to you,” said the Dagdae. One of Ailill’s stewards goes to him. “You have been summoned to go and speak with Ailill and Medb.” “I will not go,” he says. (Own translation)

The wording of the LU version of TBFlid. is more similar to that of AÓ in that it includes the phrase *dia acallaim* ‘to speak with him’. *Táin Bó Dartada* features a similar formula once again when Ailill sends for Eochu Bec:

LU: *Teít techta o Ailill 7 Meidb a dochum co n-digsed*⁴³⁷

YBL: *Tiagaid techta o Ailill 7 o Meidb a docum co n-digsid dia n-acallaim. “Ragad-sa” ar se “dia sechtmaine.”*

Eg. *Doroideth o Ailill 7 o Meidb co n-digsid dia n-acallaim. “Raguso dia n-agallum eim” ol Eochu “dia samno.”*

⁴³⁵ Ir. Texte 2:2, 211, 219, ll. 79–83.

⁴³⁶ SHAW 1934: §§10–11.

⁴³⁷ Ir. Texte 2:2, 188. The text breaks off after five lines in LU due to a lacuna.

‘Von Ailill und von Medb wurde geschickt, dass er zu einer Unterredung mit ihnen kommen sollte. “Ich will zu der Unterredung mit ihnen gehen”, sagte Eocho “am Samuin-tage”.’⁴³⁸

It may be argued that this is a deliberate attempt to create conformity among the tales or, conversely, that this is general narratological feature.⁴³⁹

There are two otherworld appearances in *Táin Bó Dartada* that contain the same wording as the first visit by the *síd*-woman Cáer in *Aislinge Óenguso*:

Boí Óengus in n-aidchi n-ailli ina chotlud. Co n-accae ní, in n-ingin cucci for crunn síuil dó. Is sí as áilldem ro boí i n-Ére.⁴⁴⁰

MS. [B]ui oengus hindaidqi naile ina chotlud con facco ni hinningin. chuici ar crann síuil do. IS si iss ailldem rombui indhere.⁴⁴¹

‘Óengus was asleep another night when he saw something, a maiden coming towards him above his bed. She was the most beautiful in Ireland.’ (Own translation)

Similar to Óengus, Eochu Bec and, later in the tale, Ailill mac Máta, are visited by otherworld characters in their sleep in *Táin Bó Dartada*. The wording of the visit to Eochu Bec in the Eg. version of *Táin Bó Dartada* is closer to AÓ, which itself is extant only in Eg., than the YBL version:

YBL: Bai Eochaid ina cotaltaig aidchi and iarsin co n-aca in ocbean a docum 7 oclæch [...].

Eg.: Boi Eocha and aidqi ina cotlud con faco ni chuici in mnai 7 ind oglæch ina comuir.

‘Eocho lag da eines Nachs im Schläfe, da sah er etwas auf sich zukommen: ein Weib und einen jungen Mann in ihrer Begleitung.’⁴⁴²

⁴³⁸ *Ir. Texte* 2:2, 189, ll. 7–12.

⁴³⁹ This goes in hand with Carney’s argument that TBFr, TBD, TBRn, TBFlid and AÓ all follow a similar story pattern: ‘(a) a love interest involving someone closely associated with Ailill by blood or by alliance, (b) the securing for Ailill, as a result of the particular romantic situation, of either cattle or allies, or both’ (CARNEY 1955: 62).

⁴⁴⁰ SHAW 1934: §1.

⁴⁴¹ Own conservative transcription; Eg. 1782, f. 70, 23–24. Note the similarities between AÓ and the Eg. TBD, e.g. prosthetic *f* in *con facco* in both.

⁴⁴² *Ir. Texte* 2:2, 189, ll. 13–15.

This formula repeats itself again when Ailill mac Máta is visited by the female and male otherworld figures Coscar and Nemchoscar; more similar again to AÓ, the figures are described as the most beautiful there ever were:

YBL: Da m-bai Ailill ann agaid ina chotlud *co n-aca* in oicben 7 in t-oclæch chuicci bad ailli lais.

Eg. Allaidchi Ailill ino ligi *conn* faccu Ailill inni ina cotlud ind oclæch 7 in mnai ata haillium ro uatar i n-hEriu.

‘In einer anderer Nacht [lag] Ailill auf seinem Lager, da sah er etwas in seinem Schlaf; einen jungen Mann und ein Weib, die schönsten, die es in Irland gab.’⁴⁴³

In Version I of *Compert Chon Culainn*, Lug mac Ethnenn visits Deichtine while she sleeps in the middle of the night and the same narrative formula introduces his visit:

Contuili íarom [i]nd adaig. Co n-accai ní, in fer cuice atagládastar.⁴⁴⁴

‘Afterwards she went asleep that night. She saw something: a man [coming] towards her who called her.’ (Own translation)

Furthermore, wording very similar to *Aislinge Óenguso* and Version I of *Compert Chon Culainn* is found once again in the Eg. version of *Tochmarc Ferbe* when the woman appears to king Conchobor:

(B)ui Conchophur macc Neusa aidqi n-ann ina chotlud, *con* faccio ní, ind oicbein chuicci ina dochumb. Ro bu tnuthach a delb *ocus* a hecuscc.⁴⁴⁵

‘Conchobor der Sohn der Ness lag da in einer Nacht im Schlafe, da sah er Etwas: ein junges Weib (kam) zu ihm hin. Ihre Gestalt und ihr Aussehn war schön (?).’⁴⁴⁶

The equivalent section in the LL version of *Tochmarc Ferbe* has additional information that seems to emphasise that Conchobor is married and, hence, the woman visiting him has come with the purpose of delivering a message rather than striking up a love affair:

⁴⁴³ *Ir. Texte* 2:2, 194, ll. 121–4.

⁴⁴⁴ VAN HAMEL 1933: 5, §5.

⁴⁴⁵ *Ir. Texte* 3:2, 549, ll. 1–3.

⁴⁴⁶ *Ir. Texte* 3:2, 553.

Dia m-bái dana Conchobar i tosach ind láí sin ina cotlud i n-Emain 7 a rígan na fárrad .i. Mugain Etanchaithrech ingen Ethach Feidlig, co n-acca in mnái coem ina dochum ina imdáí. Ecosc rignaide lé.⁴⁴⁷

‘Als Conchobar am Anfang dieses Tages in Emain im Schläfe lag, und seine Königin neben ihm, d. i. Mugain Etanchaithrech, die Tochter des Eocho Fedlech, da sah er ein schönes Weib zu ihm an sein Lager kommen. Sie hatte das Aussehen einer Königin an sich.’⁴⁴⁸

However, in there is a quatrain in the final poem of the LL version, the prose equivalent of which we find in the Eg. version, which is very similar in wording to the latter:

Bói Conchobar aidchi and | ina chotlud, nir bo gand, | co n-aca ní chuci in mnaí | ina dochum ina imdáí.

‘Conchobar lag da in einer Nacht | im Schlaf, – nicht war er leicht – | da sah er Etwas auf sich (zu kommen): ein Wieb | zu ihm an sein Lager!’⁴⁴⁹

Perhaps the composer of this poem was drawing on *Aislinge Óenguso* for inspiration as even the final line is reminiscent of Óengus trying to pull the woman towards his bed or sleeping compartment, depending on the interpretation of *imdae*: *Luid Óengus do gabáil a llámae dia tabairt cucci inna imdaí*⁴⁵⁰ ‘Óengus went to take her hand to take her to him in his bed’ (see section

1.6.3.6 *Tochmarc Emire*

As a *remscél*, *Tochmarc Emire* falls into the same category as *Compert Chon Culainn* because it forms part of Cú Chulainn’s biography and builds up his character as a warrior who has passed tests that validate his reputation. Not only does Cú Chulainn learn the feats that he later performs in the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* in *Tochmarc Emire*, but some of his other characteristics that later repeat themselves are introduced: the distorting rage (*ríastrad*) that comes upon him in battle, his renown as a beautiful youth, and his ability to outwit his opponent. Cú Chulainn uses trickery to make Aífe think that her charioteer and two chariot-horses die, making her temporarily vulnerable. Another point of agreement between TBC and

⁴⁴⁷ *Jr. Texte* 3:2, 472, ll. 118–121.

⁴⁴⁸ *Jr. Texte* 3:2, 473.

⁴⁴⁹ *Jr. Texte* 3:2, 518, ll. 771–4.

⁴⁵⁰ SHAW 1934: §1.

TE is the mention of Cú Chulainn's *carpat serrdae* 'scythed chariot'⁴⁵¹ in the later version of *Tochmarc Emire*, Thurneysen's Version III, which appears in TBC as one of Cú Chulainn's important instruments of war (*cathcharpat serda*).⁴⁵² In addition, TE adds the origin of the chariot:

is airi asberthe serrdae de .i. óna serraib íarñaidi bítis i n-*in*diull ass, *nó dano* is óna Serrdaib frith a bunadus ar tús.⁴⁵³

'It was called scythe-chariot (*carpat serrda*) from the iron scythes that were from it, or again because it was first invented by the Serians'.⁴⁵⁴

As well as bearing a close relationship with TBC, there is also one strong link between the end of Version II of *Compert Chon Culainn* and the Middle Irish version of *Tochmarc Emire* (Thurneysen's Version III) in that the latter repeats the details of Cú Chulainn's upbringing described in the former. In the later, expanded version of *Compert Chon Culainn*, the Ulstermen argue about who will raise Deichtine's son until Morand decides that he will be raised by a combination of the best among them, so that the child will acquire their gifts. In an encounter with the maiden towards the beginning of the Middle Irish version of *Tochmarc Emire*, Cú Chulainn explains that he has been raised by, and learned his skills from, a combination of Conchobor, Sencha, Bláí, Fergus, Amorgen, Findcháem and the druid Cathbad; additionally he explains that he has been raised among nobles.⁴⁵⁵ Therefore, continuity exists among, in this instance, later versions of *remscéla* as well as between *remscéla* and the *Táin*.

There is a remarkable similarity between the description of Cú Chulainn's gifts in *Tochmarc Emire* and that in Rec. II of TBC. Whereas Cú Chulainn himself states that he has three gifts in Rec. I TBC, i.e. 'the gift of sight, the gift of understanding, the gift of reckoning',⁴⁵⁶ the narrator gives a full list of his traits in Rec. II TBC, which is reminiscent of *Tochmarc Emire*, e.g.:

⁴⁵¹ VAN HAMEL 1933: 63, §85.

⁴⁵² O'RAHILLY 1976: I. 2280; O'RAHILLY 1967: I. 2296. See O'RAHILLY 1976b on the independent text contained in LL, p. 189 and also MILES 2011: 229 for more on the scythed chariot.

⁴⁵³ VAN HAMEL 1933: 63, §85.

⁴⁵⁴ MEYER 1888: 305.

⁴⁵⁵ VAN HAMEL 1933: 28–30, §21–6. Compare with *Compert Chon Culainn*: VAN HAMEL 1933: 8, §6. Ó CONCHEANAINN (1990: 450) argued that the H Interpolator of LU borrowed this from *Tochmarc Emire*, contained in the same manuscript.

⁴⁵⁶ O'RAHILLY 1976: I. 326.

búaid clessamnachtae, búaid mbúanfaig, búaid fidchellachtae, búaid n-airdmessa, búaid fáistine, búaid céille, búaid crotha.⁴⁵⁷

‘[...] his gift of feats, the gift of buanfách,⁴⁵⁸ the gift of draught-playing, the gift of calculating, the gift of sooth-saying, the gift of sense, the gift of beauty.’⁴⁵⁹

The following are some of Cú Chulainn’s gifts listed in Rec. II:

búaid crotha, búaid delba, búaid ndénma, búaid snáma, búaid marcachais, búaid fidchilli 7 branduib, búaid catha, búaid comraic, búaid comluind, búaid farsena, búaid n-urlabra [...].

‘the gift of beauty, the gift of form, the gift of build, the gift of swimming, the gift of horsemanship, the gift of playing fidchell, the gift of playing *brandub*, the gift of battle, the gift of fighting, the gift of conflict, the gift of sight, the gift of speech’, etc.⁴⁶⁰

Although these gifts do not appear in the same order, the contents of the TE list agree with those given in the *Táin* in that his beauty, his ability to play board-games and his senses are related in both of the above, creating narrative continuity between TE and TBC. As outlined in section 1.5.1, *Tochmarc Emire* follows a similar textual transmission to *Táin Bó Froích* in that, according to Thurneysen, it was most likely composed during the 8th century but underwent revision during the 11th. It is possible that Rec. II TBC coincided temporally with the Middle Irish redaction of TE and that one drew on the other for this particular section of text through an intermediate source.

1.6.3.7 *Táin Bó Dartada*

As a *remscél*, *Táin Bó Dartada* offers one example of an overt reference to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, as explained above, and it is a resource-gathering mission of the type found in *Táin Bó Flidais*. In the same way as Fergus’ relationship with Flidais is exploited to gain cows for TBC in the latter tale, so is Dartaid’s love for Ailill’s son of Orlám. This is similar again to *Táin Bó Regamain*, whereby the seven sons of Ailill and Medb named Maine are sent to court the daughters of Regamon. Otherwise it offers the same motifs, tropes and language found in other *remscéla* (see section 1.7). In fact, *Táin Bó Dartada* and *Táin Bó*

⁴⁵⁷ VAN HAMEL 1933: 22, §6.

⁴⁵⁸ Read *búanbach*, a type of board-game (*DIL* B 228.86).

⁴⁵⁹ MEYER 1888: 70.

⁴⁶⁰ O’RAHILLY 1967: II. 548–53.

Regamain are so similar in story-matter that they are confused in the entry for Áth Cliath la Connachta in the Bodleian Dinnsenchas:

It eat sin rolasat na cliátha [...] fria hocu Muman ic tabairt tana bo Darthada ingine Gegamain [*sic*]. Dodos-farraid cobair iardain a Cruachain. Unde Ath Cliath. Na *secht* Maine, linaib gal, | gniset fri feraib Muman | cliatha draigin, data tra | for tánaid bó Darthadha.

‘Those are they [i.e. the seven Maines] who set the hurdles (in the ford) [...] against the warriors of Munster after taking the drove of the kine of Dartaid, daughter of Regaman. Afterwards help came to them from Cruachu. Hence Ath Cliath (‘Ford of Hurdles’). The seven Maines, with numbers of valours,⁴⁶¹ | Against the men of Munster wrought | Hurdles of brambles, pleasant indeed. | On the Driving of Dartaid’s cows.’⁴⁶²

Here the text refers to Dartaid as the ‘daughter of Regaman’, but, according to the tale *Táin Bó Dartada*, she is actually the daughter of Eochu Bec and is wooed by Orlám, another son of Ailill and Medb (see section 1.6.2.7 above).

In his summary of *Táin Bó Dartada*, Thurneysen recognizes the similarities between it and another *remscél*, *Táin Bó Froích*: ‘Die Schilderung in §1 erinnert sehr an Tāin bō Fraich [...], das wohl das Vorbild ist.’⁴⁶³ Thurneysen also highlighted how the protagonist Eochu Bec is mentioned in the opening to Rec. II TBC as one of the suitors Medb rejected before finding Ailill,⁴⁶⁴ so that his name is an intertextual marker that is specific of a relationship between Rec. II TBC and *Táin Bó Dartada*.

1.6.3.8 *De Fóillsigud Tána Bó Cúailnge*

An alternative explanation as to why nobody knew the *Táin* is provided by TBC itself, which creates a layer of intertextuality between this short tale and the greater narrative of TBC. After the death of Úalu in Rec. I and II TBC, we are told how Cú Chulainn killed the two historians of the *Táin* (*dá senchaid na Tána*) Róen and Roí.⁴⁶⁵ The implications of this are obvious: the *Táin* would not be recorded by historians who had witnessed it. Rec. III TBC,

⁴⁶¹ Stokes’ translation of gen. pl. *gal* here, ‘valours’, might be better rendered as ‘valorous’ or ‘warlike feats’ (DIL s.v. *gal*).

⁴⁶² STOKES 1892: 492. See also the entry for Áth Cliath Medraigi in the Rennes Dindsenchas (STOKES 1894: 459).

⁴⁶³ *Held*. 303.

⁴⁶⁴ *Held*. 243.

⁴⁶⁵ O’RAHILLY 1961: II. 1394–6; O’RAHILLY 1967: II. 1359–61; O’RAHILLY 1976: II. 1012–14.

which belongs to the second half of the 13th century according to Ó Béarra⁴⁶⁶ and is only fragmentary in its present state, expands on this episode, explaining further that the death of the historians was the reason why the *Táin* was not recorded.⁴⁶⁷

(TCD MS 1319 (H 2.17)) Dilis CuChulainn go mor arna sluaghaib in laithi sin 7 bertais amus arna sluaghaib 7 marbhais cet fer n-armach n-innrighta dib im Ræn 7 im Ri 7 im dha hsenchaidh na tana, gurab ed sin ruc tain amugha 7 ar iaradh in fad ro·boi.⁴⁶⁸

‘Cú Chulainn stuck very close to the hosts that day and attacked them repeatedly and killed one hundred armed princes of them including Raen and Rí, the two *seanchaís* of the *Táin*. So that it was that which caused the *Táin* [to be] astray and missing [for] the length that it was.’⁴⁶⁹

Therefore, there is a reciprocal relationship between FTBC and TBC. It is possible that the creator of FTBC used the death of the historians in TBC as an opportunity to write this expository tale. However, this does not tally with the statement that the story of FTBC that TBC had become lost to obscurity because it was swapped for the *cuilmen* (see section 1.5.3.9).

1.6.3.9 *Táin Bó Regamain*

This is a resource-gathering mission for Ailill and Medb, although it is not explicitly stated as such; there is no mistaking that acquiring herds (sg. *cethrae*) is their objective. This is more clearly expressed in YBL than it is in Eg.; the former includes the line *oc airbiathad fer n-Erend oc tain na m-bo a Cuailgni* ‘nourishing the men of Ireland on the cows of the cows from Cúailnge’. This notion of gathering resources for TBC is reinforced throughout the story that the purpose of their exposition is to acquire women and cattle:

YBL “Cid nod-bar-tuc isin crich?” ar si. “Do breth bo .i.⁴⁷⁰ ingen” ar Maine.⁴⁷¹

Eg. “Cid do bahucco issin tir si?” ol inn ingen. “Do brith bo 7 ingen” ol se.

“‘What has brought you to this land?’ said she/the maiden. ‘To carry off cows and maidens’, said he/Maine.’ (Own translation)

⁴⁶⁶ Ó BÉARRA 1994: 76. Ó Béarra bases his translation of Rec. III TBC on the two fragmentary sources: BL MS Egerton 93 and TCD MS 1319 (H 2.17); for diplomatic editions of these MSS, see NETTLAU 1893, 1894 and THURNEISEN 1912 respectively.

⁴⁶⁷ This is highlighted also by EDEL 2015: 242.

⁴⁶⁸ THURNEISEN 1912: 543.

⁴⁶⁹ Ó BÉARRA 1996: 50, §32.

⁴⁷⁰ Windisch notes that here 7 should be read (*Ir. Texte* 2:2, 227, note 12).

⁴⁷¹ *Ir. Texte* 2:2, 227, 228, ll. 35–7, 30–2.

1.6.3.10 *Táin Bó Flidais*

There are two points of allusion in TBCFlid.: one is a direct reference to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* and how Flidais sustained the men on the raid with milk from her cattle; the second is a two-sided allusion because it refers to the story of the death of Fergus mac Róich and, in doing so, indirectly to an affair between Fergus and Medb on the raid. As I explain below, this second instance of allusion is in LU only; it indicates that the composer had TBC in mind when he wrote the tale, and, from the perspective of reception, it prepares the reader/audience for Fergus' interactions with Medb throughout TBC.

In the LU copy of Rec. I TBC there is a reference to Flidais, which has been inserted in the margin by a H-interpolator,⁴⁷² who no doubt took the liberty having interpolated the tale *Táin Bó Flidais* elsewhere in the same manuscript (see section 1.5.3.10). On the other hand, Rec. II TBC does not simply drop the name Flidais in the correct location but gives a description outlining how Flidais' cattle sustained the men on the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, which is a clear parallel of the wording in *Táin Bó Flidais* and it creates a textual relationship between the two tales. Neither recension of TBC actually references the tale by its title but both the H-interpolator in LU and, more so, Rec. II, show their awareness of its existence. The following section of text appears at the beginning of the *Táin* after the recounting of the *sligi* 'routes' and under the section bearing the heading *In scél iar n-ord* 'The Story in Due Order' in both Rec. I and Rec. II. The narrator describes the arrangement of the royal tents along with the names of those whose tents are placed alongside the Connacht royals, namely, Findabair and Flidais on Medb's side and the Ulster exiles on Ailill's side:

Rec. I: Findabair ingen Ailella ⁊ Medbi fora laim sídi. Flidais fora laim sídi.⁴⁷³

'[...] with Finnabair, the daughter of Ailill and Medb, beside her and Flidais next to Finnabair.'⁴⁷⁴

Rec. II: Findabair fora lám-ide. Flidais Foltcháin ben-side Ailella Find arna feis la Fergus ar Táin Bó Cúailnge & is sí no bered in sechtmad n-aidchi ingalad⁴⁷⁵ d'feraib Hérend forin tslúagad do lucht eter rí⁊ rí⁊gain ⁊ rí⁊domna ⁊ filid ⁊ foglaimthid.

⁴⁷² See DUNCAN 2015.

⁴⁷³ LU 4623–4; and O'RAHILLY 1976: l. 145.

⁴⁷⁴ O'Rahilly 1976: 129.

⁴⁷⁵ In the Stowe version of TBC (Rec. IIb), we find *asa ngalar* in two manuscripts (RIA MS C vi.3 and TCD MS H 4.21) and *as a ngaladh* in one manuscript (RIA MS 23 P 4). The full line is as follows in the Stowe version: *As í*

‘[...] with Findabair beside her. Flidais Fholtcháin, the wife of Ailill Find, who had slept with Fergus on Táin Bó Cúailnge, and it was she who every seventh night on that hosting quenched with milk the thirst of all the men of Ireland, king and queen and prince, poet and learner.’⁴⁷⁶

In Rec. I, this section of TBC is extant only in LU and Eg. as the other two manuscripts, YBL and Maynooth MS 3 a 1 (O’Rahilly’s C), are acephalous. The main text of Rec. I explains that Findabair’s tent was next to Medb’s and, tightly written in the outer margin in very faded ink on p. 56b12 of *Lebor na hUidre*, are the words *Flidais fora laim sidi* in the hand identified as H by O’Rahilly in her edition of Recension I.⁴⁷⁷ This addition in LU is not in the Eg. copy of Rec. I,⁴⁷⁸ which is interesting given that it contains a copy of *Táin Bó Flidais* and given that the manuscript compilation shows a conscious effort towards cyclifying the material. In Eg. there is a textual link missing between TBC and TBFlid., which exists in two earlier MSS, LU and LL. The fully formed reference to Flidais in LL is an example of how this particular *remscél* was better suited to, and probably created for, Rec. II rather than Rec. I TBC (see also section 1.4 above on the *macgnímrada*).

The wording of when exactly Flidais fed the men differs slightly between TBC Rec. II and TBFlid., both of which are contained in LL, which indicates that the copyist was not drawing directly from TBFlid. when he wrote this section of TBC. In TBC Rec. II we are told she fed them *in sechtmad n-aidchi* ‘on the seventh night’,⁴⁷⁹ whereas in TBFlid. we are told she would go *cech sechtmad láa* ‘every seventh day’, which, although worded slightly differently, still carries a similar idea. TBC Rec. II also gives the additional information regarding whom Flidais would feed and that they were fed specifically with milk (*lacht*).

The death of Fergus by Ailill mac Máta’s jealousy is mentioned at the end of the LU version of *Táin Bó Flidais*, which seems out of place because the narrator is jumping beyond the events of the *Táin*:

Is and atbath Fergus iartain, hi Crích Connacht iar n-écaib a mná .i. iar tíchtain dó do fis scel co Ailill ⁊ Meidb. Ar do irgartigud a menman ⁊ do breith táircthe cruíd

do-bered fir Erenn asa ngalar do lucht itir righ ⁊ rioghain ⁊ rigdhamna ⁊ filidh ⁊ foglaimthigh (O’RAHILLY 1978: II. 315–7).

⁴⁷⁶ O’RAHILLY 1967: II. 306–9.

⁴⁷⁷ O’RAHILLY 1976: I. 146, note e.

⁴⁷⁸ O’RAHILLY 1976: I. 145, note e. O’Rahilly incorrectly gives *fora láim-sidi Flidais* when the manuscript states *Flidais fora laim sidi* with Flidais clearly written above the other words (see also LU 4624, note e).

⁴⁷⁹ Translated by O’RAHILLY as ‘every seventh night’ (1967: 146).

o Ailill 7 o Meidb luidi síar co Cruachain, conid tíar dind fecht sin fúair a bás taet⁴⁸⁰ Ailella.

‘Fergus starb nach einiger Zeit im Gebiet von Connacht nach dem Tode seiner Frau, nachdem er, um Erkundigungen einzuziehen, zu Ailill und Meidb gegangen war. Denn um sich aufzuheitern und um von Ailill und Meidb eine Gewährung von Vieh zu holen war er westwärts nach Cruachan gegangen, so dass es im Westen in Folge dieser Fahrt war, dass er seinen Tod fand, durch die Eifersucht Ailill’s.’⁴⁸¹

Projecting into the future without using prophecy as a narrative tool to do so is not found in other *remscéla*. While it seems typologically and chronologically misplaced, it serves the function of introducing the relationship between Fergus and queen Meidb, which is a common theme throughout TBC.

Fergus’ death is not included in the LL and Eg. version of TBFlid., which go back to the same archetype. As mentioned in section 1.5.3.10, TBFlid. in LU is much expanded, is apparently in the hand of H2, and is part of the work of a group of compilers who include all relevant versions and information in their manuscript.⁴⁸² Therefore, the relationship between the LU version of TBFlid. and the rest of the TBC material is more nuanced. The LL and Eg. version of TBFlid. avoid confusing the story-chronology and remain faithful to the purpose of the tale as a *remscél* to TBC; it only gives information about the series of events occurring before TBC.

The story *Táin Bó Flidais* may have been created to complement the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*⁴⁸³ and, if so, this was done by the time of the creation of Rec. II, at which point it became cyclified and part of the TBC narrative. As the foregoing suggests, this cyclical impulse appears more prominently in Rec. II than Rec. I. The marginal addition by the H-interpolator in LU indicates its clumsy beginnings and how it first came to be attached to the story of the *Táin*; furthermore, it indicates that H must have been acquainted in some way with Rec. II. Given that H was active around the time of the compilation of the Book of Leinster, it is fitting that he would notice that the reference to this character was “missing” from the story and insert it in the margin.

⁴⁸⁰ Windisch notes that this should be read as *tria ét* ‘through his jealousy’ (*Ir. Texte* 2:2, 216, n. 1); this is also reflected in his translation. In the facsimile *taet* is given but *tria ét* is in the diplomatic edition of LU (LU 1640), which is how it appears in the manuscript.

⁴⁸¹ *Ir. Texte* 2:2, 215–216, 223.

⁴⁸² Cf. the CDS extract (see section 1.8) and the provision of multiple *slechta* ‘versions’ by the LU compiler(s).

⁴⁸³ CORTHALS (1979: 128) also asserts the idea that it is a secondary tale.

1.6.3.11 *Táin Bó Regamna*

From the perspective of plot-dependency, the narrative of *Táin Bó Regamna* is directly dependent on Rec. II of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* and it is also closely tied with another *remscél* to TBC, *Echtrae Nerai* ‘The Otherworld Adventure of Nera’. Rolf Baumgarten comments how this is a *remscél* ‘par excellence because, together with *Echtrae Nera*, it supplies vital information about the cause of the *Táin* that is not found in the text of the tale itself in Recension I, which starts with the preparations for the raid.’⁴⁸⁴ Johan Corthals also discusses in depth the relationship of these three tales to one another in his edition of *Táin Bó Regamna*.⁴⁸⁵ In the following, I will discuss the relationship of TBR to Rec. I and Rec. II TBC separately as its relationship to each differs slightly, before discussing its connection to EN, and providing a conclusion as to its purpose as a *remscél*.

There is a direct reference to the tale *Táin Bó Regamna* in Rec. I and Rec. II TBC in the section of the tale about Cú Chulainn’s encounter with the Morrígan. This section of text is not extant in Rec. II in LL owing to a lacuna in the manuscript; O’Rahilly takes the missing text from the Stowe manuscript, i.e. RIA MS C vi.3.⁴⁸⁶

Rec. I: Is and sin trá dogéni Cú Chulaind frisin Mórrígain a tréde dorairngert di hi Táin Bó Regamna, [...].

‘Then it was that Cú Chulainn did against the Mórrígan the three things that he had threatened her with in the *Táin Bó Regamna*.’⁴⁸⁷

Rec. II: Is ann sin táinic in Morrígan ingen Ernmais a síodaibh do admilledh Con Culainn, ar ro gellastair for Táin Bó Regamna go dtiocfad do aidhmilledh Con Culainn in tráth do beith ig comrac fri degláech for Táin Bó Cúailnge.

‘It was at that time that the Morrígan daughter of Ernmas from the fairy-mounds came to destroy Cú Chulainn, for she had vowed on the Foray of Regamain that she would come and destroy Cú Chulainn when he was fighting with a mighty warrior on the Foray of Cúailnge.’⁴⁸⁸

A second direct reference to *Táin Bó Regamna* occurs in Rec. II only in a poem uttered by Cú Chulainn:

Ba lá Lóch go lleith Bodba | go remfóclaib Regamna

⁴⁸⁴ BAUMGARTEN 1983: 189.

⁴⁸⁵ CORTHALS 1987: 15–22.

⁴⁸⁶ See the note by O’RAHILLY 1967: I. 1908, n. 1.

⁴⁸⁷ O’RAHILLY 1976: II. 2024–5.

⁴⁸⁸ O’RAHILLY 1967: II. 1989–92.

‘I was outnumbered when attacked by Lóch together with Badb, (according to) the prophecies of Táin Bó Regomna.’⁴⁸⁹

The first reference to *Táin Bó Regamna* in Rec. I conflicts with an earlier episode which is not in Rec. II, namely, ‘The Conversation of the Mórrígan with Cú Chulainn’.⁴⁹⁰

TBRa shares a different relationship with Rec. I TBC than with Rec. II, which I deal with below, in that Rec. I TBC offers an episode similar to TBRa within the main text and as part of a series of three episodes, which appear side-by-side in Rec. I and relate encounters between Cú Chulainn and the Morrígan. As mentioned above, this episode is not in Rec. II TBC and appears between the Combat of Láiríne mac Nóis and the Death of Lóch. Despite this very similar alternative to TBRa, reference is made to TBRa later in Rec. I TBC, as I explain presently. In the episode entitled *Imacallaim na Mórígna fri Coin Culaind inso* ‘The Conversation of the Morrígan with Cú Chulainn’ in LU,⁴⁹¹ a young woman, identifying herself as Ingen Búain,⁴⁹² comes to Cú Chulainn and professes her love for him, while offering him her ‘treasures’ and ‘cattle’. Cú Chulainn, busy with the impending invasion, rejects the woman’s advances, and she then retaliates by declaring the many ways she will obstruct him in battle in three different forms: in the form of an eel (*i rricht escongan*), a grey she-wolf (*i rricht soide glaisse*), and a hornless red heifer (*i rricht samaisci maíle derce*).⁴⁹³ With each threat she makes, Cú Chulainn retorts how he will overcome her attempts. Similar to TBRa, the woman is technically driving cattle through Cú Chulainn’s territory, except in Rec. I TBC she has brought them as a gift for Cú Chulainn. Two of the three forms she threatens to take involve being accompanied by cows so that the entire episode is coloured by this theme:

‘Timorc-sa in cethri forsind áth do dochum-sa, i rricht soide glaisse.’ [...] ‘Dorag-sa dait i rricht samaisci maíle derce riasind éit co memsat ort forsna iláthu 7 forsna háthu 7 forsna linniu 7 ním aircecha-sa ar do chend.’

‘I shall drive the cattle over the ford to you while I am in the form of a grey she-wolf.’
[...] ‘I shall come to you in the guise of a hornless red heifer in front of the cattle and

⁴⁸⁹ O’RAHILLY 1967: II. 2058–9.

⁴⁹⁰ O’RAHILLY 1976: II. 1845–73.

⁴⁹¹ This title appears in the margin of LU and it is not given in YBL and C (O’RAHILLY 1976: I. 1845, note 1).

CORTHALS mentions these ‘Anklänge an TBR’ (1987: 19). See O’RAHILLY 1976: II. 1845–73.

⁴⁹² This detail is missing from the O’Curry manuscript, as indicated by O’RAHILLY (1976: I. 849, note 3).

⁴⁹³ O’RAHILLY 1976: II. 1857–66.

they will rush upon you at many fords and pools yet you will not see me in front of you.’⁴⁹⁴

Later in Rec. I TBC during Cú Chulainn’s fight with the warrior Lóch, the Morrígain fulfills her promise by attacking him in these three forms. However, quite unexpectedly given that the stage set for this action in the narrative was Cú Chulainn’s earlier encounter in the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* with Ingen Búain, i.e. the Morrígain, the narrator draws a connection with *Táin Bó Regamna*:

In and sin trá dogéni Cú Chulaind frisin Mórrígain a tréde dorairngert di hi Táin Bó Regamna, 7 fichid Lóch isin áth cosin gaí bolga doléic in t-ara dó lasin sruth.

‘Then it was that Cú Chulainn did against the Mórrígan the three things that he had threatened her with in the Táin Bó Regamna. And he overcame Lóch in the ford with the *gáe bolga* which the charioteer threw to him downstream.’⁴⁹⁵

What follows shortly afterwards is the same episode as in Rec. II TBC, i.e. the aftermath of the Morrígain’s encounter with Cú Chulainn, which relates how the Morrígain came to Cú Chulainn disguised as an old woman, milking a three-teated cow, and how she was subsequently healed by him; in the margin of LU is inserted the title *Slánugud na Mórríгна inso* ‘The Healing of the Mórrígan’.⁴⁹⁶ The section of text describing the fulfillment in Rec. II TBC, whereby the Morrígain comes in three different forms to thwart Cú Chulainn in battle, is missing from LL due to the loss of a page, but is supplied by the Stowe manuscript (RIA MS C vi.3), which refers directly to TBRa in its introduction to the encounter:

Is ann sin táinic in Morrígan ingen Ernmais a síodhaibh do admilledh Con Culainn, ar ro gellastair for Táin Bó Regamna go dtiocfad do aidhmilledh Con Culainn in tráth do beith ig comrac fri degláoch for Táin Bó Cúailnge.

‘It was at that time that the Morrígan daughter of Ernmas from the fairy-mounds came to destroy Cú Chulainn, for she had vowed on the Foray of Regamain that she would come and destroy Cú Chulainn when he was fighting with a mighty warrior on the Foray of Cúailnge.’⁴⁹⁷

Rec. I and Rec. II follow the same plot pattern; however, TBRa is placed outside Rec. II TBC as an independent narrative unit, whereas it is a part integrated into the narrative of Rec. I.

⁴⁹⁴ O’RAHILLY 1976: II. 1862–8.

⁴⁹⁵ O’RAHILLY 1976: II. 2024–6.

⁴⁹⁶ O’RAHILLY 1976: I. 2038; see note 9.

⁴⁹⁷ O’RAHILLY 1976: II. 1989–92.

The fact that there is a reference to *Táin Bó Regamna* and the Morrígain's prophecy in addition to the presence of another version of the encounter between Cú Chulainn and the Morrígain, i.e. TBRa, is an anomaly in the plot of Rec. I TBC. Windisch⁴⁹⁸ maintained that the episode was interpolated into the main text of Rec. I TBC; however, to my knowledge, there are no linguistic or palaeographical grounds to support this notion. It may have been the case that the reference to *Táin Bó Regamna* was inserted later and that the *Imacallaim* episode, originally part of TBC, was later extracted and recast as the separate story unit *Táin Bó Regamna*. This latter development would complement the creation of the cycle of *remscéla* attached to TBC; it also provides an argument for the proposed phenomenon that pre-existing material was repurposed for the *remscél* category. The fact that story episodes may have been movable and transferable from their original greater narrative is interesting with regard to how texts were produced or, in this case, reproduced. It is also relevant to the case of the *macgnímrada* and how they are described in the LL *remscéla* title-list as potentially independent entities..

The motifs and message remain relatively unchanged between TBRa and the Rec. I TBC *Imacallaim* episode except for the association with *Echtrae Nerai* in TBRa, which is created by the reference to the cow having been taken from Síd Crúachan and bulled by the Donn. Otherwise, the woman encounters Cú Chulainn and enters the frame with a cow/cattle in both TBRa and Rec. I TBC; this motif is carried through to the scene where she is healed by Cú Chulainn, having met him while milking a three-teated cow. Similarly, she makes the same threat in both TBRa and Rec. I TBC to take three different animal forms and sabotage Cú Chulainn in battle. In TBRa she prepares to do this because Cú Chulainn threatened to kill her, whereas, in TBC Rec. I, he has insulted her honour by rejecting her advances; in this respect, her motive is different but it has no impact on the fulfilment of her pledge. Another more important distinction between TBRa and the episode in Rec. I TBC is that Rec. I TBC provides an alternative context for the creation and fulfilment of this same prophecy without the element of the raid of Nera's cattle. Finally, there is a large chronological distinction between the *Imacallaim* episode and TBRa because the Findbennach has not yet been born in TBRa, which pushes the story to long before the instigation of the *Táin*; this is also contrary to another *remscél*, i.e. *De Chophur in Dá Muccida*. The more coherent chronology in the series of narrative events, therefore, is presented by Rec. I TBC.

⁴⁹⁸ 'Obwohl in LU. Facs. p. 74^a das Zwiegespräch zwischen der Mórrigan und Cuchulinn vorausgegangen war, in welchem Weise sie ihn schädigen würde, wird doch, als der Kampf selbst stattfindet, nicht auf dieses vorausgehende Stück verwiesen, sondern eben auf die *Táin bó Regamna*: jenes Gespräch ist wahrscheinlich erst später eingefügt worde, es fehlt in anderen Handschriften der grossen *Táin*' (*Ir. Texte* 2:2, 240). By "other manuscripts", Windisch is referring to Rec. II.

Categorically, TBRa is an open-ended *remscél* that requires and depends on TBC Rec. II to complete the plotline, which comes in three parts: the threat (i.e. rising action) in TBRa, its fulfilment (climax) in TBC and the aftermath (resolution), i.e. Cú Chulainn being tricked into healing the Morrígain. As outlined above and, as also identified by Corthals, the wording in TBRa, i.e. in the threat issued by the Morrígain, is mirrored in the fight scene in TBC.⁴⁹⁹ The entire narrative thread, from the first to the last encounter between Cú Chulainn and the Morrígain, is condensed and repeated in the entry for the Túatha Dea in the late Middle Irish treatise *Cóir Anmann*, which mentions also the connection with TBC.⁵⁰⁰

The intertextual relationship between *Táin Bó Regamna* and *Echtrae Nerai* is quite sophisticated from the wider view of an overarching narrative construct involving multiple complementary tales and a main tale, i.e. the *remscéla* to TBC. TBRa technically leads to multiple plotlines in the grand narrative scheme: one narrative thread provides a cause for the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, another feeds into *Echtrae Nerai*, and the third has been discussed already as the encounter between the Morrígain and Cú Chulainn in TBC. Therefore, although it is a relatively short tale, it serves as a juncture for three different tales. If there is a linear story chronology to be followed, TBRa is in fact a parenthetical event that takes place within the story of *Echtrae Nerai* but exists separately to it because the Morrígain first takes the cow from the *síd* in EN, she passes through Mag Muirthemne and TBRa takes place, before returning the cow again in EN.

Quite remarkably, however, *Echtrae Nerai* is not mentioned anywhere in TBRa, nor are any characters apart from the cow from EN mentioned; no direct connection between the two is made in TBRa. Its narrative relationship to EN depends on the reference to the cow from *Síd Crúachan* having been bulled by the Donn Cúailnge⁵⁰¹ and the closing remark that the Morrígain brought the cow back to *Síd Crúachan*:

Scarsait íar sin ocus luid Cú Chulainn for cúlu do fríthisi do Dún Imrid ocus luid in Morrígan cona boin i síd Crúachan la Connachta. Finit.

‘Dann trennten sie sich, und Cú Chulainn ging wieder zurück nach Dún Imrid, und die Morrígan begab sich mit ihrer Kuh zum Elfenhügel von Crúachu in Connacht. Ende.’⁵⁰²

⁴⁹⁹ CORTHALS 1987: 16.

⁵⁰⁰ ARBUTHNOT 2007: 44, §153.

⁵⁰¹ CORTHALS 1987: 55, ll. 64–7.

⁵⁰² CORTHALS 1987: 57, ll. 93–5.

The creation of *Táin Bó Regamna* as a *remscél* is interesting because it was possibly a preexisting narrative unit within TBC before being removed and placed into this category of a complementary tale. As a *remscél*, it carries on the bovine theme, refers to TBC, and adds to the biography of Cú Chulainn, which is represented in other *remscéla*, i.e. *Compert Chon Chulainn* and *Tochmarc Emire*. It also presents a familiar image of Cú Chulainn as the warrior protecting his territory,⁵⁰³ which creates consistency between the *remscél* and TBC. Therefore, it may be deduced from this that one of the criteria for the classification of a *remscél* as such is that it gives biographical information about one of the main characters.

1.6.3.12 *Echtrae Nerai*

EN is, as mentioned in section 1.5.3.13, a compilatory tale made up of multiple elements so that it would have been straightforward for a medieval scholar to draw a relationship between it and TBC based on characters, geographical points and motifs (see section 1.7.6). EN also alludes to *Longes mac nUislenn* and *Táin Bó Regamna*, as well as to Bricriu's lasting injury mentioned towards the end of TBC, all of which I outline below. The setting in Ráth Crúachan with Ailill and Medb is similar to the *remscél Táin Bó Flidais*. The *síd*-woman of Síd Crúachan in EN is also similar to Flidais in *Táin Bó Flidais*, in that she abandons her allegiance to the king and ends up partnering with a Connacht warrior, i.e. Nera in EN. One aspect that is similar to TBC in tenor is the way that Nera is sent out on a dangerous night of the year to complete a task for Ailill and Medb in exchange for a prize; this is similar to the coercion of Long Mac Mó Femis in TBC, who is promised rewards of clothes, a chariot, (Findabair in Rec. II) and entertainment if he fights Cú Chulainn in the *Táin*.⁵⁰⁴

After Nera's first return to the *síd* to warn the Connachta of the impending destruction, there is allusion to *Longes mac nUislenn*. The Ulster exiles arrived at the fort in Crúachain between Nera's return and the destruction of the *síd*:

Is hi in bliadain sin dana intsainrud luidi Fergus mac Roich a crich hUloth for lunguis
co hAilill ocus Meidb co Cruachna Aii.

'That was the very year, in which Fergus mac Roich came as an exile from the land of
Ulster to Ailill and Medb to Cruachan.'⁵⁰⁵

⁵⁰³ This point is made also by CORTHALS (1987: 18).

⁵⁰⁴ O'RAHILLY 1976: II. 1875–9; O'RAHILLY 1967: II. 1964–71.

⁵⁰⁵ MEYER 1889: 220, 221, II. 102–4.

The exile of Fergus and, presumably his followers, is depicted as having occurred while Nera is in the *síd*. *Echtrae Nerai* is the only *remscél* to provide this idea of events happening concurrently, which contextualises it within the series.

Táin Bó Regamna is referred to directly in EN after Nera removes the calf, the son of the Donn Cúailnge, from the *síd* before it is destroyed and its bellows are heard by Fergus and Ailill, who are playing chess:

Aingene ainm ind fir ocus Bee n-Aingeni ainm na mna, ocus ba hinunn congraim atcondairc inti Nerov forru ocus atconaircc Cuqlainn hi Tain Bo Ragamna.

‘Aingene was the name of the man and Be Aingeni [sic leg. nAingeni] the name of the woman, and the appearance which this Nera saw on them was the same as that which Cuchulaind saw in the Tain Bo Regamna.’⁵⁰⁶

This commentary on the names of the people in *Táin Bó Regamna* is out of place in *Echtrae Nerai* because it is separated from the section of the tale that mentions Cú Chulainn’s encounter with the Morrígain. It appears to have been inspired by the comment made shortly before that Aingene was the name of Nera’s son (.i. *Aingeni ainm a mic-sium*),⁵⁰⁷ which is followed by another reference to Aingene in Fergus’ poem describing the meaning of its bellows.⁵⁰⁸ Corthals comments that the redactor of the text appears to have had TBRa in front of him and that he was attempting to create a connection between the two in this section of EN.⁵⁰⁹ Apart from *Echtrae Nerai*, the title it bears in YBL and the prose version C of the *dindsenchas* of Áth Lúain,⁵¹⁰ there is no other mention of the names Aingene or Bé Aingeni. Corthals states that this may have been given such a title with the element *táin* in it so as to fit in with the compiler’s *modus operandi*: ‘Dieser kann von dem Kompilator dieser Handschrift oder von einem Vorgänger erfunden worden sein, um den Text unter die Tána Bó einreihen zu können.’⁵¹¹ As outlined in 1.5.3 above, this tale appears among a group of *tána bó* in YBL.

At the end of EN, a cause for the final fight scene in TBC between the Donn Cúailnge and the Findbennach is provided by the following statement by Medb:

Is ann sin ispert Medb o bes lugai: << Tonga na dea thungus mo thuath, na tairinnfit 7 na coitelfat for cluim na colcuid 7 ni bom [sic leg. ni ibom or ni ibim]⁵¹² blathcha 7 ni

⁵⁰⁶ MEYER 1889: 224, 225, ll. 167–9.

⁵⁰⁷ MEYER 1889: 224, 225, l. 155.

⁵⁰⁸ MEYER 1889: 224, 225, l. 166.

⁵⁰⁹ CORTHALS 1987: 18.

⁵¹⁰ See CORTHALS 1987: 18; the woman is named Be Aignin.

⁵¹¹ CORTHALS 1987: 18.

⁵¹² Meyer translates this as the 1sg. fut. of *ibid* ‘drinks’.

cainfuirim mo tæib 7 ni cainairbiur dergflatha na finn 7 niconn-air-biur biuth, conamrabat na da tharb sin ar mo uhelaib a comracc.>>

‘Then said Medb in the manner of an oath: << I swear by the gods that my people swear by, that I shall not lie down, nor sleep on down or flockbear, nor shall I drink butter-milk nor nurse my side, nor drink red ale nor white, nor shall I taste food, until I see those two kine fighting before my face.>>’⁵¹³

This type of first person foreshadowing is more artistic than overt examples of the sort by the narrator that simply name the battle in which the bulls will fight. It invites the audience/reader to imagine the fight and creates anticipation of an event, which is sure to happen.⁵¹⁴

The bellowing of the Donn’s calf in *Echtrae Nerai*, which incites the Findbennach to fight it, may be a deliberate parallel with the bellowing of the Donn in Rec. II of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* and a possible cyclification strategy on the part of the creator of EN. Rec. II TBC provides a reason for the Findbennach having attacked the calf when it bellowed, which gives the impression that the creator of EN had this cause in mind when composing this section of text. The following section of text is not in Rec. I TBC:

Imthúsa in Duind Chúalnge sunda innoisa, á ‘t chonnaic-sén in tír n-álaind n-aneóil, rabert a thrí resse gémmend bar aird. Atchúala in Findbennach Aí éside. Ní lamad mí firend géisecht bud airdde ná gúasacht⁵¹⁵ aci-side eter cethraib átha Aí uile, Áth Moga 7 Áth Coltna, Áth Slissen 7 Áth mBercha, 7 túargab a chend go díng 7 tánic reme go Crúachain d’indsaigid in Duind Chúalnge.

‘As for the Donn Cúailnge, when he saw the beautiful strange land, he bellowed loudly three times. The Findbennach of Aí heard him. Because of the Findbennach, no male animal between the four fords of all Mag Aí, namely, Áth Moga and Áth Coltna, Áth Slissen and Áth mBercha, dared utter a sound louder than the lowing of a cow. The Findbennach tossed his head violently and came forward to Crúachu to meet the Donn Cúailnge.’⁵¹⁶

Following the above section in EN is the explanation behind Bricriu’s lasting injury, which is also mentioned in both Rec. I and II of the *Táin*.⁵¹⁷ The details of how Bricriu received his injury in Rec. II TBC do not agree with those of EN, which indicates that the

⁵¹³ MEYER 1889:226, 227, ll. 184–9.

⁵¹⁴ CHADWIN (1997:73) also refers to this section as forming the basis of a ‘causal relationship’ between EN and TBC.

⁵¹⁵ O’RAHILLY (1967: l. 4857) adds a note to gúasacht suggesting that it be a mistake for *gnusacht* or *gnúasacht*, for which there are no definitions in DIL, and provides the reading *gnusachtach* ‘bellowing’ from the Stowe version of TBC.

⁵¹⁶ O’RAHILLY 1967: ll. 4854–59.

⁵¹⁷ This is highlighted also by MEYER (1889:228) in the notes to his edition.

composer of this section of EN did not have this particular version of TBC before him. Rec. I TBC, on the other hand, is lacking in this conflicting information because it is here, as elsewhere, more succinctly written than Rec. II; therefore, the story of Bricriu's injury could have easily fit in with the wider narrative involving Rec. I. Rec. I simply states that Fergus had fractured Bricriu's skull with a *fidchell* piece and that he was coming out from convalescence to watch the bulls fight when he was killed by them,⁵¹⁸ which is repeated also in Rec. II TBC. However, Rec. II TBC adds that Bricriu was sent as 'an eye-witness for the bulls' in revenge for his evil ways and it adds further details to the circumstances surrounding his injury in Rec. II, giving a different setting for the assault. Although it is most likely a narrative device rather than a true reference to another tale, Rec. II TBC refers to the story of Bricriu's injury as having occurred one year before the *Táin*:

Dáig bliadain résin scél sa Tánad Bó Cúailnge tánic Bricri d'faigde Fergus assin chóciud i n-araile, & ra fóst Fergus ace é ic irnaide ra sétaib 7 ra maínib. Acus darala eturru ic imbirt fidchilli 7 Fergus & atrubairt-sium aithis móir ra Fergus. Dabert Fergus béim dá durn dó-som 7 dind fir baí 'na lám goro thoilg in fer 'na chind go róebris cnáim ina chind.

'A year before these events in the Foray of Cúailnge, Bricriu had come from one province to another begging from Fergus, and Fergus had retained him in his service waiting for his chattels and wealth. And a quarrel arose between him and Fergus as they were playing chess, and Bricriu spoke very insultingly to Fergus. Fergus struck him with his fist and with the chessman that he held in his hand and drove the chessman into his head and broke a bone in his skull.'⁵¹⁹

Whereas Fergus is playing *fidchell* against Ailill in *Echtrae Nerai*, it is Bricriu who plays Fergus in the account given in Rec. II TBC. Similarly, the type of insult Bricriu issues is slightly different in each scenario: in EN, Fergus perceives an insult at Bricriu relating to Medb that Fergus had interpreted the calf's bellowing in a poem; in Rec. II TBC, it is stated that Bricriu was rude to Fergus, who had been a gracious host. Although there is no narrative consistency between EN and TBC, Rec. II in particular, this is still an example of shared story elements that might be construed by a medieval audience/reader as allusion.

⁵¹⁸ O'RAHILLY 1976: II. 4129–32.

⁵¹⁹ O'RAHILLY 1967: II. 4861–7.

1.6.3.13 *Tochmarc Ferbe/Aislinge Chonchobuir/Fís Conchobuir*

The narrative link between both the LL and Eg. versions of *Tochmarc Ferbe* and the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* is the notion of a preemptive strike by Conchobor on Maine Mórgor, who is warned in his sleep by an otherworld woman that the *Táin* would take place in seven years' time. The plot of TF, contingent on this piece of information, is dependent on the *Táin* existing and appears to act as a catalyst for future events. It also turns the focus from the Connacht side to the Ulster side and gives background information leading up to the *Táin* from the perspective of the latter, in that the audience/reader may now infer that Conchobor awaited the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*. Why he did not act on this information closer to the prophesied event is an unanswerable question but perhaps the audience/reader reasonably inferred that Conchobor assumed his killing Maine Mórgor at the fortress of Gerg would suffice in dissuading Medb from future actions against the province.

As noted above in the section on direct references to the *Táin*, there are no instances of this type in the Eg. version of *Tochmarc Ferbe*. There are, however, other examples of allusion to TBC. When the woman visits Conchobor in the opening scene of the Eg. version of TF, she alerts him with the following message:

Fir hErenn dot saigid, oll si, do breth do uan ⁊ do mac ⁊ t'ingjun ocus do cethra la Meidb ⁊ la hAilill, ol si, la heolus Ferguso. Cuin dotiagar, ar Conchobur. Ind adaig araili anocht cinn secht m-bliadne, is ann foglui in Finn Cuailnge n-uili im Dub Cuailngi, is diag in trer indrith sin do chiniul.

“Dass die Männer von Irland dich aufsuchen”, sagte sie, “dass deine Frauen und deine Söhne und deine Töchter und dein Vieh von Medb und von Ailill fortgeführt werden”, sagte sie, “durch den kundigen Rath des Fergus.” “Wann wird man ausziehen?” sagte Conchobar. “In der anderen Nacht heute Nacht über sieben Jahre, da wird der Finn ganz Cualnge verwüsten wegen des Dub von Cualnge, der die Ursache ist dieses gewaltigen Einfalls für den Stamm (?)”⁵²⁰

The same duration of time until TBC is given as in LL and the circumstances of this visitation in the middle of the night are the same; however, TF does not specifically mention the *Táin* here, only that Medb and Ailill will plunder Conchobor's household, that Fergus will give them inside information, and that the Finnbennach (here simply Finn) will fight the Donn Cúailnge (here the Dub). The remark that they will be led by Fergus implies that the action of *Tochmarc Ferbe* is placed after *Longes mac nUislenn*, i.e. after Fergus' exile with the other Ulstermen.

⁵²⁰ Ir. Texte 3:2, 549, 553 ll. 5–10.

While the *remscéla Táin Bó Flidais*, *Táin Bó Dartada* and *Echtrae Nerai* and even *Aislinge Óenguso* tend to recall the victories of the Connachtmén, *Tochmarc Ferbe* sets itself apart as one of the *remscéla* that explicitly states that the Ulstermen were triumphant. Both LL and Eg. agree in relating how Conchobor plundered the house, taking with him the cauldron Ól nGúala, and the Eg. version then alludes to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*:

Is aenrann sin toglua(s)*achta* hinniar do breth in toirb, in dobach sin bertatar Ulaid. Is hi no-to-ferud huili in tan no m-bitis ind aenraen didiu no a turcomrac.

‘Es ist dies ein Theil des Zuges nach dem Westen um den Stier fortzutreiben, (nämlich) das Fass, das die Ulter mitgenommen hatten. Es versorgte sie alle, wenn sie auf einem gemeinsamen Wege oder in Versammlung waren.’⁵²¹

Indirectly, the procuring of the Ól nGúala in *Tochmarc Ferbe* is similar to the gathering of resources by the Connacht side in *Táin Bó Regamain*, *Táin Bó Flidais* and *Táin Bó Dartada*.

Another minor instance of *Tochmarc Ferbe* sharing the same language as Rec. II of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* to the point that it is a category of allusion is in the reference to the *ferchuitred*, i.e. the triads of men. An additional piece of information is prefixed to the section on the Muster of the Men of Ireland in Rec. II of the *Táin*:

And sain daríachtatar chucu-som ‘no ferchutredaig fer nHérend, & ba hed a ngním-sin uile ‘sin chath ar bíth gona Conchobuir diambad fair bad rón 7 ar bíth aicthe Ailella 7 Medba dámbad forro connebsad.

‘Then there came to them also the *ferchutredaig*, the triads of the men of Ireland, and their sole function in the battle was to slay Conchobor if he should be defeated and to rescue Ailill and Medb if they were overcome.’⁵²²

In the LL version of *Tochmarc Ferbe*, the concept of the *ferchuitred* appears in the section about the clash between Medb and Conchobor in Gerg’s fortress:

Maidid for Meidb iarsin 7 dofuittet tri cóicait láech lánchalma dia muntir, 7 nos berat na ferchutredaig ass hí iarsin, amal bá bás dóib, 7 ro len Conchobar in maidm co n-dechaid dar Mag n-Ini immach.

⁵²¹ *Ir. Texte* 3:2, 552, ll. 67–9.

⁵²² O’RAHILLY 1967: 4688–91.

‘Medb wird darauf geschlagen, und es fallen dreimal fünfzig volltapfere Krieger von ihren Leuten, und die Trabanten tragen sie darauf fort, wie es ihre Gewohnheit war, und Conchobar verfolgte die Niederlage, so dass er über Mag Ini hinaus ging.’⁵²³

Perceiving Medb to be vulnerable in the fight, the *ferchuitred* enter and safely remove her. The function of these triads in a battle is unique to Rec. II TBC and *Tochmarc Ferbe*, which prompts the notion that the latter was modelling itself on the former.

In the LL version of *Tochmarc Ferbe* after Medb has been visited in the middle of the night, the narrator marks off the end of the section with a device similar to that in TBC, which imposes a uniform narrative structure:

Aslingi Medba *connice* sin γ *turthed* a himthechta.

‘Bis hierher die Vision Medb’s und die Ursache ihres Zuges’.⁵²⁴

This compares with statements such as *Fuli Tána connici sein*⁵²⁵ in the LL version of TBC. The section directly following in *Tochmarc Ferbe* is marked with an announcement, again similar in nature to those textual markers used within TBC: *Imthús immorro Mani thair* ‘Was aber Mane’s Schicksal anlangt’.⁵²⁶ *Imthús* is an expression frequently found in TBC to introduce a new episode: e.g. in the LL TBC, *Imthúsa in Duind Chúalnge sunnda anossa* ‘As for the Donn Cúailnge [...]’.⁵²⁷ Windisch noticed the use of an introductory phrase used also before *retoiric* in the *Táin* in the Eg. version of *Tochmarc Ferbe*: *Con cloth side* ‘Da wurde dieser gehört’.⁵²⁸

The LL version of *Tochmarc Ferbe* contains the same or similar wording as the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* and calls to mind other descriptive phrases found in TBC. In the thick of the fight between Conchobar’s people and the men protecting Gerg’s fortress in TF, the bloodshed is described with the following detail: *co torchratar bond fri bond γ médi fri medi* ‘so dass sie fielen Sohle an Sohle und Nacken an Nacken’.⁵²⁹ This phrase is used in the episode *Breslech Mór Maige Muirthemne* in Rec. I and II of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*: *co torchatár bond fri bond γ méde fri méde* ‘so that they fell, sole of foot to sole of foot, and

⁵²³ *Ir. Texte* 3:2, 516, 517, ll. 737–40.

⁵²⁴ *Ir. Texte* 3:2, 492, ll. 390–1.

⁵²⁵ O’RAHILLY 1967: l. 3758.

⁵²⁶ *Ir. Texte* 3:2, 492, l. 392.

⁵²⁷ O’RAHILLY 1967: l. 4854.

⁵²⁸ *Ir. Texte* 3:2, l. 39. See Windisch’s note about the similarities with TBC, in which he gives a list of examples (*Ir. Texte* 3:2, 555, n. 1).

⁵²⁹ *Ir. Texte* 3:2, 494, ll. 426–7.

headless neck to headless neck'.⁵³⁰ Brent Miles discusses the use of this 'heroic formulary' within the context of *Imtheachta Aeniasa* and discusses whether it is an instance of *imitatio* of a Virgilian source or whether the adaptor is drawing on TBC and reusing the phrase as a nativising technique.⁵³¹ While the former might be the case in *Imtheachta Aeniasa*, quite separate from this is this example from *Tochmarc Ferbe*, which possibly seems to draw on TBC for inspiration.

Again, in the LL version of *Tochmarc Ferbe*, in the metrical composition spoken by the poet Ferchertne, he utters the line: *bid forbach dond imgail*,⁵³² which may be emended to *bid formach dond immargail* 'there will be an increase of strife'. This same line is found in both Rec. I and Rec. II of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* in a verse at the end of the episode relating the death of Nad Crantail, spoken by Cú Chulainn:

‘Má dorochair Nath Crantail | bid formach dond imargail. | Apraínd cen chath isind úair | do Medb co tríun in tslúaig.’

‘If Nad Crantail has fallen, there will be increase of strife. Alas that I do not now give battle to Medb with a third of the host!’⁵³³

The fact that this line is contained within a poem in TBC might indicate that it is part of the store of heightened poetic language, which may be formulaic and does not indicate a direct textual relationship between TBC and TF.

1.6.4 References to *remscéla* and non-*remscéla* within the *Táin*

In the present section, I will focus on references to *remscéla* within Recension I and II of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*. For illustrative purposes, I have provided a figure below with an overview of this relationship, separating Rec. I from Rec. II. The direct references to *Táin Bó Regamna* within Rec. I and II of TBC are discussed above and marked also in the figure below. The additional section on the encounter between Cú Chulainn and the Morrígain in Rec. I is represented as [*H]. Similarly, the additional section in The Death of Lóch in Rec. II, in which Cú Chulainn makes a direct reference to *Táin Bó Regamna* in the poem is marked as [*D] in the figure below. As it is relevant to the discussion as to how the series developed

⁵³⁰ O’RAHILLY 1976: II. 2309–10; O’RAHILLY 1967: I. 2316.

⁵³¹ MILES 2011: 238–9. Here, Miles also refers to Erich Poppe’s work on nativising techniques in the classical epic (POPPE 1995: 26–8).

⁵³² *Jr. Texte* 3:2, 528, l. 911.

⁵³³ O’RAHILLY 1976: II. 1483–6; see also O’RAHILLY 1967: II. 1752–5.

over time and how some *remscéla* might form a closer relationship with a particular recension, I have included in the figure the main narrative differences between Rec. I and Rec. II TBC, i.e. significant textual differences in the form of additional episodes and large sections of text, both prose and poetry. I identify differences between these two recensions in order to give a balanced overview of the textual variations, i.e. the material not common to both recensions. I do not include differences of minor details between Rec. I and II, i.e. personal names, place-names, wording, spelling, etc.; and, in the figure, I do not identify the differences between Rec. I and II in the Fer Diad⁵³⁴ episode because it is so detailed that it would require an additional figure and a separate investigation, which would deviate too far from present purposes. That said, certain features of the Fer Diad episode, unrelated to the differences between the Rec. I and II versions, are discussed below as it presents information relevant to the topic of the *remscéla*. In the figure, I also do not indicate how the material is sometimes ordered differently in Rec. I and II as this too is not appropriate to the present topic.⁵³⁵ For obvious reasons, the differences between Rec. I and II that are most relevant to the study of the *remscéla* are those which contain references to *remscéla*; and these are given special consideration below. Finally, I will address each instance of intertextuality in the order in which it is expressed in TBC.

There are loose examples of intertextuality in some of the sections of text that are particular to either Rec. I or II but none so remarkable as to warrant separate discussion: for example, in the section marked [I] on the figure of additional material in Rec. I, Cú Chulainn is described as having trained together with his adversary Lóch, which is an allusion to his time spent with Scáthach in the *remscél Tochmarc Emire*. However, there are so many references to Cú Chulainn's training with Scáthach that this additional reference is unexceptional. The additional material in Rec. II does not lend much to the discussion of the *remscéla*; however, it gives us an insight into how the narrative was cast differently. For example, in [F] in the figure for Rec. II, Medb utters 'one of the most satirical sayings of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*',⁵³⁶ which causes one of the Ulster exiles Cormac Con Longas to rise up against the Connacht camp.⁵³⁷ Another additional episode in Rec. II that serves to reposition Medb as a source of derision and mockery is *Fúal Medba*, 'Medb's Urine' ([H] in the figure), in which Medb stops the men of Ireland from continuing until she passes water. This section

⁵³⁴ O'RAHILLY 1976: II. 2567–3153; O'RAHILLY 1967: 2606–3596.

⁵³⁵ Examples include the position of the Death of Redg (Rec. I: II. 1510–44; Rec. II: II. 1803–15) and the Death of Óengus mac Óenláime (Rec. I: II. 2489–94; Rec. II: II. 2439–46).

⁵³⁶ O'RAHILLY 1967: II. 4257–60.

⁵³⁷ Compare the rewritten section in O'RAHILLY 1967: 1394–7 versus O'RAHILLY 1976: I. 1243.

of text references her menstruating also, which seems like an attempt at highlighting why a woman is a poor leader.

Regarding the various features in the figures below, the story of the *Táin* is indicated by the horizontal line and different stages are marked by vertical lines and, at three points, by the line number contained in round shapes; as throughout the rest of this work, the line numbers refer to Cecile O’Rahilly’s printed edition of Rec. I and II from the Book of Leinster. Below the axis, the boxes indicate the different points in the story at which Rec. I diverges from Rec. II or *vice versa*, so that what remains is material common to both. Each box is marked by a letter, which leads the reader to a brief description of the episode in the key. The letters marked by an asterisk are those which contain a form of allusion to one or more *remscéla*.

1.6.4.1 *De Chophur in Dá Muccida in Dubthach’s Lay, TBC Rec. I*

As explained in the foregoing, certain *remscéla* contain story elements or references to stories that connect with those contained in the *Táin*; similarly TBC contains references to certain *remscéla* and Rec. I and II sometimes form different relationships with this complementary material. The first instance of this latter phenomenon is the reference to the swineherds of *De Chophur in Dá Muccida* in Dubthach’s lay close to the beginning of Rec. I of the *Táin*. As YBL does not begin until the middle of the third quatrain of Dubthach’s lay,⁵³⁸ this example of allusion (marked as *A on the figure below) with one of the *remscéla* is contained only in LU and Eg.:⁵³⁹

ibait fñach lugbairt lucht | di gnáis inna muccaide.

‘Because of the companionship of the two swineherds, ravens on the battle-field will drink men’s blood.’⁵⁴⁰

As noted by O’Rahilly in her Introduction to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge from the Book of Leinster*, two parts of this lay recur throughout Rec. I: the third quatrain referring to the river Cronn⁵⁴¹ is repeated later ‘where it fits the context better’;⁵⁴² and the final lines of the fifth quatrain,

⁵³⁸ O’Rahilly 1976: I. 200.

⁵³⁹ As noted also by Thurneysen (*Held.* 124) and O’RAHILLY (1967: xxxiii).

⁵⁴⁰ O’RAHILLY 1976: II. 196–7. O’RAHILLY (1976: 245) in her ‘Notes to Text’ comments that *lugbairt lucht* literally means ‘the milk of the garden’, i.e. that *lugbairt* is a preposed genitive, and that here it is ‘metaphorically used for “the blood of the battle-field”’. However, O’Rahilly’s translation of the entire line is still quite loose; it should be ‘ravens will drink the milk of the garden’ (i.e. ‘the blood of the battle-field’) and not ‘ravens on the battle-field...’

⁵⁴¹ O’RAHILLY 1976: II. 198–201.

⁵⁴² O’RAHILLY 1967: xxxiii; O’Rahilly 1976: II. 1160–3.

which are generic in nature, appear in a poem later uttered by Dubthach, however the syntax is inverted.⁵⁴³ This latter “doublet” occurs in both Rec. I and II, whereas the repeated quatrain on the river Cronn later in TBC occurs only in Rec. I. Mac Gearailt remarks further on the text’s transmission:

‘Daß es eine späte Interpolation ist, scheint der einleitende Satz mit dem üblichen Hinweis auf andere Quellen zu bestätigen: *Asberat-som is and sin ro gab Dubthach in laíd seo* ‘According to one version it was Dubthach chanted this lay’ (189). Das Gedicht scheint auf schon bestehenden Gedichten des Urtextes und auf *Aislinge Dubthaich* (3527–9), ‘das Traumgesicht oder die Weissagung Dubthachs’ zu beruhen.⁵⁴⁴

Doris Edel in her recent publication *Inside the Táin* comments also that this lay ‘seems a late *Machwerk* with its borrowings from other verse passages in Recension I’.⁵⁴⁵ The section regarding the swineherds does not appear anywhere else in either Rec. I or Rec. II.⁵⁴⁶ As parts of the poem are moved around and the full poem is missing from this position in Rec. II TBC, it presents an interesting case as regards intertextuality and the poem’s transmission.⁵⁴⁷ As highlighted by Mac Gearailt in the extract above, the line introducing Dubthach’s lay indicates that this poem, was part of a separate tradition. The fact that the poem contains a reference to CDM may give in insight into this supposed separate tradition, which may have formed a relationship closer with CDM than any of the extant recensions.

1.6.4.2 *Ces/Noínden Ulad in a macgnímrad and elsewhere*

Despite its importance to the storyline of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, the multiple references to the phenomenon which create a clear relationship between *Ces Ulad* and TBC, and the fact that the tale is contained in the same manuscript as one of the *remscéla* title-lists, i.e. the Book of Leinster, *Ces Ulad* ‘The Debility of the Ulstermen’ is not classified by the medieval scholar as a *remscél*.⁵⁴⁸ In his brief discussion of the possible candidates for the LL

⁵⁴³ O’RAHILLY 1976: II. 208–209. The line refers to the Cú Chulainn’s distortion and the horrors of war; here is the example from Dubthach’s Lay at the beginning of Rec. I: *bíait colnai de iné de | dianub thí in ríatarthe* (ríastarthé U) ‘Men’s corpses will then lie here if the distorted one come to you’ (O’RAHILLY 1976: II. 208–9). Later in Rec. I and II, the following is the doublet: *Másu hé in ríastartha | bíait collai duíne de* (O’RAHILLY 1976: I. 2372); *Másu é in ríastarde | betit colla dóene de* ‘If this is the distorted one, men’s corpses will lie here’ (O’RAHILLY 1967: I. 2380–1).

⁵⁴⁴ MAC GEARAILT 1993: 61.

⁵⁴⁵ EDEL 2015: 227.

⁵⁴⁶ O’RAHILLY 1967: xxxiiii.

⁵⁴⁷ O’RAHILLY notes also that ‘this is the only poem in LU which is not in LL’ (1967: xxxiii).

⁵⁴⁸ See *Held*. 359–62. There are two extant traditions regarding why the Ulstermen suffer from the debility: Thurneysen’s Version A, that tells how Cú Chulainn cut off Elcmaire’s thumbs and toes, causing the latter’s wife Fedelm Foltcháin to curse the Ulstermen; this is extant in only one manuscript, i.e. MS Harl. 5280, f. 44b (see

list of *remscéla* tale-titles, which states that it will enumerate twelve titles but then only gives ten, Norbert Backhaus recommended this tale as a possible candidate towards fulfilling the number required by the LL list because of its obvious textual connection to TBC and because the tale itself is contained in LL (see section 1.4 above).⁵⁴⁹ However, the latter argument is doubtful since the *remscéla* lists do not reflect the contents of the manuscripts in which they are contained. Firstly, it is mentioned in the *macgnímrada* on ‘The fate of the twenty-seven men and the reason why none dared to wound the Ulstermen when they were in their debility’ (*Aided na trí nónbór 7 in fáth arná laimthe a nguin ina cessa*), extant only in Rec. I among the four *magnímrada* not contained in Rec. II (these are all represented by one square on the figure below). This episode in Rec. I presents a full explanation regarding whom the conditions of the *ces/nóenden* affect. The narrator adds also how there is a taboo around attacking anyone afflicted with the debility:

‘Fecht aile dano bátár Ulaid inna nóendín. Ní bí nóenden limni íarom,’ for Fergus, ‘for mnáib 7 maccaib nách for neoch bís fri crích nUlad anechtair nach for Coin Culaind 7 fora athair. Ocus ane ní lamar fuligud forro-som, ar conscescing in cessa for intí nod goin nó a meth nó a garséle.’

‘On another occasion the Ulstermen were in their debility. Among us,’ said Fergus, ‘women and boys do not suffer from the debility nor does anyone outside the territory of Ulster, nor yet Cú Chulainn and his father, and so none dares to shed their blood for whosoever wounds them at once suffers himself from the debility or he wastes away or his life-span is shortened.’⁵⁵⁰

This section of text gives additional information as to why Cú Chulainn is the only one to protect Ulster as Medb and Ailill’s army approach and is closely aligned with the version of the tale that relates how Macha cursed the Ulstermen, all except for women, children and Cú Chulainn.⁵⁵¹

Both Rec. I and Rec. II repeatedly refer to the debility of the Ulstermen,⁵⁵² which paralyses all except Cú Chulainn who is left to defend the province single-handedly:

HULL 1962–1964). Thurneysen’s Version B provides the origin of the placename Emain Macha: the Ulstermen are cursed by Macha, wife of Cruinniuc, after they force her into racing the king’s horses while she is in labour with twins (see MEYER 1912a and HULL 1968). Thurneysen subcategorizes Version B this into three different versions: I is contained in YBL, col. 949, BL Harl. 5280, f. 42, Book of Fermoy, f. 33r, and RIA MS B iv.2, f. 12 7v; II is contained in the two manuscripts LL, p. 125b and RIA MS C i.2, f. 15rb; and a much modernised version III in TCD MS H 3.18, p. 46b.

⁵⁴⁹ Backhaus describes *Ces Ulad* as ‘an essential tale for the understanding of TBC’ (BACKHAUS 1997: 20, note 7).

See also *Held*. 359–63 (also cited by BACKHAUS).

⁵⁵⁰ O’RAHILLY 1976: II. 525–9.

⁵⁵¹ HULL 1968.

⁵⁵² See *Held*. 259–63.

Rec. I: ‘ar atá Conchobor ina chess i nEmain 7 hUlaid imbi [...],’ ol Medb.

‘For Conchobor lies in his debility in Emain together with the Ulstermen’.⁵⁵³

Rec. II: ‘Atá Conchobor ‘na chess noínden i nEmain ém,’ ar Medb.

‘Conchobor is suffering from his debility in Emain,’ said Medb.⁵⁵⁴

In Recension I only, Cú Chulainn visits the Ulstermen while they are still unable to fight and Conchobor explains to him:

‘Indiu tonáic ar tinorcain in chétnae.’

‘Today we have been smitten (by the cess) as before.’⁵⁵⁵

Having come to terms with Cú Chulainn regarding the number of men he will kill every day, he marvels that the Ulstermen still have not awoken from their debility; again, this is only in Rec. I TBC:

‘Ocus machdad lim-sa,’ ol Fergus, ‘a fót co tecat-side assa cessaib.’

‘And I find it strange,’ said Fergus, ‘that they are so long in recovery.’⁵⁵⁶

Much later in both Rec. I and II TBC, as the narrative begins to mount to the great battle, we are told ‘that Conchobor had recovered from his debility in Emain’.⁵⁵⁷

In a piece of text contained in Rec. I but not in Rec. II TBC on the Combat of Munremar and Cú Roí, there is an additional reference to the debility:

Ro scáich noínnin Ulad fo íodain, ar in tan dofiuchtraitís asa cess, tictis drécht díb béus forsin slóg conos gabad a tindorcain doridisi.

‘By this time the debility of the Ulstermen was at an end. As they awoke from their torpor, some of them kept still attacking the army until they were at once more smitten by their affliction.’⁵⁵⁸

This is marked on the figure below under G and the asterisk signifies that it could be an additional instance of intertextuality if *Ces Ulad* were considered a *remscél* by the medieval scholar.

As well as the debility being frequently mentioned in TBC, the race of the tale is referenced also in a *remscél*, that is, the Middle Irish version of *Tochmarc Emire* (Thurneysen’s Version III), at the point at which Cú Chulainn decodes his conversation with

⁵⁵³ O’RAHILLY 1976: II. 51–3.

⁵⁵⁴ O’RAHILLY 1967: I. 206.

⁵⁵⁵ O’RAHILLY 1976: II. 1219–20.

⁵⁵⁶ O’RAHILLY 1976: II. 1283–4.

⁵⁵⁷ O’RAHILLY 1976: II. 3501–2; O’RAHILLY 1967: II. 4102–5. See also O’RAHILLY 1976: II. 3510–11; O’RAHILLY 1967: 4113–16. See also the reference to the *ces* in the Fer Diad episode below.

⁵⁵⁸ O’RAHILLY 1976: II. 1629–30.

Emer to his charioteer Lóeg; however, information about the *ces* ‘debility’ of the Ulstermen is not included:

Is de immorro asberar Emain Macha: Macha ingen Sainrith meic Inbotha, ben Crunchon meic Agnomain, ro reth fria dá gabair in ríge iar cur ailgesa fuirri, co ndechuid díb i rriith ⁊ arsisbis (.i. beris) mac ⁊ ingen di óentairbirt. Conid din emain sin asberar Emain di ⁊ conid din Macha sin ráiter Mag Macha.⁵⁵⁹

‘It is called Emain Macha from this. Macha, the daughter of Sainreth Mac in Botha, wife of Crundchu, son of Agnoman, ran a race against two steeds of the king, after she had been forced to it by a strong injunction. She beat them, and bare a boy and a girl at one birth. And from those twins (*emuin*) is called, and from that Macha is named the plain of Macha.’⁵⁶⁰

Thurneysen⁵⁶¹ and, more recently, Backhaus⁵⁶² also recognized that it is remarkable that this tale is not categorised as a *remscél*. The fact that the more widely transmitted tradition (Thurneysen’s Version B) does not involve any *Táin* characters may be one reason why this is so. Another very short version, Thurneysen’s Version A extant only in BL Harl. 5280, f. 34, represents a separate tradition involving Cú Chulainn and may have been extracted from the *Tochim na mBuiden* ‘March of the Companies’ section in TBC and recast as an independent tale, as noted by Thurneysen.⁵⁶³

1.6.4.3 *Tochmarc Emire* in the margins of the *macgnímrada*, TBC I

A direct reference to *Tochmarc Emire*, one of the *remscéla*, using its title occurs in the margins of LU and Eg. 1782, i.e. in Rec. I TBC. The section containing this direct reference is contained in the episode entitled *inna formalta* ‘the eulogy’ of Cú Chulainn, which is in the words of Fergus mac Róich. Although this particular episode is contained in both Rec. I and Rec. II, the section of text to which the reference to TE attaches itself is not. In Rec. I, Ailill asks Fergus Cú Chulainn’s age and Fergus summarises his achievements at specific points throughout his childhood:

‘Inna chóiced bliadain luid dia cluchiu cosin macraid do Emain Machi. Issin tšessed bliadain luid do fóglaime gaiscid ⁊ chless la Scáthaig. Isin tšechtmad bliadain gabais gaisced. Isin tšechtmad bliadain déc a áes ind inbaid sea.’

⁵⁵⁹ VAN HAMEL 1933: 32–3, §29.

⁵⁶⁰ MEYER 1888: 151.

⁵⁶¹ *Held.* 259.

⁵⁶² BACKHAUS 1990: 21.

⁵⁶³ *Held.* 259.

‘In his fifth year he went to the boys in Emain Macha to play. In his sixth year he went to learn feats of arms to Scáthach and went to woo Emer. In his seventh year he took up arms. At the present time he is seventeen years old.’⁵⁶⁴

In the equivalent position in the text of Rec. II, however, when Ailill asks the boy’s age, Fergus responds by simply saying:

‘Ní hí a áes is dulgium dó etir,’ ar Fergus, ‘dáig ba ferda a gníma in meic sin inbaid ba só andás in inbaid inan fail.’

‘It is not his age that is most troublesome indeed,’ said Fergus, ‘for the deeds of that boy were those of a man when he was younger than he is now.’⁵⁶⁵

Rec. II does not present the same opportunity to mention *Tochmarc Emire*; in Rec. I, this is attached to the description of Cú Chulainn’s development in his sixth year while he was learning feats with Scáthach. The hand known as M in *Lebor na hUidre* adds the comment between the columns of p. 58: *Obicitur Tochmarc Emire de so*⁵⁶⁶ ‘*Tochmarc Emiri* is contradicted by this’.⁵⁶⁷ Similarly, the scribe of Eg. 1782 also writes in the margin: *Obicitur Tochmarcc nEmire do so* with nasalisation after the originally neuter noun *tochmarc*.⁵⁶⁸ YBL, on the other hand, adds a sentence to the main text directly following *chless la Scáthaig: 7 luid do thochmorc nEmeiri*.⁵⁶⁹ What was once a comment between the columns/in the margin of the manuscript folio becomes part of the main text in YBL, highlighting the relationship between *Tochmarc Emiri* and Rec. I TBC. However, having studied the notes and comments by the LU scribes, I believe that the insertion of this reference to *Tochmarc Emire* was not motivated by a desire to create a literary series, rather he is simply exercising his intellectual abilities by directing the reader to other tales while copying the text of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*. Further support for this argument is the reference to the unrelated tale *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* on the outer margin of the same page as this reference to *Tochmarc Emire*.⁵⁷⁰ What this serves to highlight is the difference between an intellectual exercise specific to LU and the impulse towards cyclifying a closed group of tales.⁵⁷¹ It is noteworthy that the reference to

⁵⁶⁴ O’RAHILLY 1976: II. 376–80.

⁵⁶⁵ O’RAHILLY 1967: II. 721–3.

⁵⁶⁶ O’RAHILLY 1976: I. 378, note a; LU 4835, note a.

⁵⁶⁷ I am unsure of the meaning of *obicitur* within this context. Jürgen Uhlich directed me towards Gregory Toner’s article (2000a: 9) in which he comments that *obicitur* is indeed ‘obscure’ and offers the translation ‘*Tochmarc Emire* is exposed from this’ (2000: 9). Meyer offers the translation ‘*Tochmarc Emire* contradicts this’ (1890: 433, n. 2), which Damian McManus supports as a suggested translation since Cú Chulainn could not have been old enough to woo Emer since he is only seven years old in this episode.

⁵⁶⁸ O’RAHILLY 1976: I. 378, note a.

⁵⁶⁹ O’RAHILLY 1976: I. 378, n. 14.

⁵⁷⁰ O’RAHILLY 1976: I. 327, note a; LU 4777, note a.

⁵⁷¹ See also, for example, the explanation of the origin of Culann’s hound in the margin of p. 61a (LU 5021–2) and the extra information about the event preceding the Boyhood Deeds regarding why the sons of Nechta

Tochmarc Emire is not present in Rec. II of the *Táin*,⁵⁷² despite the numerous remarks about Cú Chulainn's time spent with Scáthach, Úathach and Aífe.

1.6.4.4 *Longes mac nUislenn* and TBC: Rec. I and II

Along with *Ces Ulad* discussed above, *Longes mac nUislenn* is also not included in any of the *remscéla* title lists, which is remarkable given its relationship to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* and the prominence of Fergus mac Róich as a lead character throughout the *Táin*.⁵⁷³ He and other Ulster exiles often play important roles in other *remscéla* that depict events both before and after their exile. An example of their presence in a pre-exile *remscél* is in the Middle Irish version of *Tochmarc Emire* (Thurneysen's Version III), in which the sons of Uisliu are twice mentioned and function as passive characters, that is, they are not given any dialogue or perform a plot-altering function. They are first referenced as the students of Scáthach, warrior and seer, in Scotland;⁵⁷⁴ however, this reference apparently comes from another version of the tale according to the narrator.⁵⁷⁵ Secondly, they are mentioned at the end of the tale as being under the chieftaincy of Cú Chulainn.⁵⁷⁶ *Táin Bó Flidais*, a post-exile *remscél*, describes how Ailill and Medb's household, along with the Ulster exiles, rise up in retaliation when Ailill Find refuses to fulfill Fergus' request for cattle.⁵⁷⁷

There are additional references to the exile of the sons of Uisliu in Rec. II TBC, which gives the impression that the redactor was moving towards creating a more complete link with LMU. Firstly, at the beginning of the *Táin*, after the Gaileóin have been dispersed, Rec. II describes why Fergus is placed as leader of the host, making specific reference to the exile of the sons of Uisliu:

Ro ráidset béus cia bad chóir do éolus rempu eterna dá chúiced, & atbertsat combad é
Fergus, ar bíth ba slúagad bága dó in slúagad, dáig is é boí secht mblíadna i rrígu Ulad

Scéne were at war with the Ulstermen (O'RAHILLY 1976: I. 703, note a; LU 5108, note a). The margins of the other material in the manuscript are also glossed by the scribes, who give additional information in the form of poetry, etc.

⁵⁷² Compare the equivalent section of Cú Chulainn's Eulogy in Rec. II: O'RAHILLY 1967: II. 717–37.

⁵⁷³ Given that the LL version of the list (see section 1.4 above) stipulates the number of *remscéla* to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* as twelve but only provides ten independent tales and three of the *macgnímrada* from TBC, Mac Cana speculates that *Longus nUlad* is one of the tale titles missing from the list (MAC CANA 1980: 89).

⁵⁷⁴ MEYER 1888: 299; here only Noísiu is mentioned.

⁵⁷⁵ *Is ed tra áirmitarailislechta and so co mbátar drem de láthaib gaile na hÉrenn isin dúnad so oc foglaim cless la Scáthach .i. Fer Diad mac Damáin 7 Náisi mac Uisnig [...].* (VAN HAMEL 1933: 49, §67)

'This is what some versions relate here, that a crowd of warriors of Erin were in that dun learning feats from Scathach, viz. Ferdia, son of Daman, and Noise, son of Usnech, [...].' (MEYER 1888: 299)

⁵⁷⁶ MEYER 1888: 307.

⁵⁷⁷ CORTHALS 1979: 157–8, 166.

& iar marbad mac nUsnig fora fáisam & fora chomhairgi, tánic estib, ‘& atá secht mblíadna déc fri Ultu ammuig ar longais & bidbanas.’

‘They discussed too who ought to guide them between the two provinces, and they said that it should be Fergus, because the hosting was a hostile hosting for him, for he had been seven years in the kingship of Ulster, and when the sons of Usnech had been slain in despite of [*sic*] his guarantee and surety, he had come from there, ‘and he has been seventeen years in exile and in enmity away from Ulster.’⁵⁷⁸

Much later in Rec. I and II TBC, as the final battle is mounting, Fergus asks who it is that strikes him in combat and in Conchobor mac Nessa’s response to him, he refers to himself as having banished Fergus. The following is the extract from Rec. I:

‘Fer as ferr 7 . . .’ ol Conchobar, 7 rodatic for longes i nn-adba con alltai 7 sinadach 7 dotningéba anndiu ar gail gaiscid fiad fêraib hÉrend.’

‘One who is better (than you),’ said Conchobar. ‘One who drove you [Fergus] into exile to dwell with wolves and foxes, one who today will hold you at bay in the presence of the men of Ireland by dint of his own prowess.’⁵⁷⁹

Here, Conchobor may be referring to either stories of Fergus’ exile, i.e. in *De Fíochunn Loingse Fergusa* or LMU. It is in the expanded version of this scene in Rec. II that Conchobor makes a direct reference to the sons of Uisliu:

‘Gilla iss ó 7 iss imláne and so andáe ale, 7 rap fêrr máthair 7 athair, fer rat indarb át chrích 7 át fêrand 7 át fôrbba, fer rat chuir i n-adba oss 7 fíadmíl 7 sinnach, fer nára léic leithet da gabail badéin dit chrích ná dit fêrand dait, fer rat chuir ar bantidnacul mná, fer rat sáraig im tríb maccaib Usnig do marbad far th’einech fecht n-aill, [...].’

‘There is a man here younger and mightier than you [to Fergus], and whose father and mother were nobler, one who banished you from your land and territory and estate, one who drove you to dwell with deer and hare and fox, one who did not permit you to hold even the length of your own stride in your land and territory, one who made you dependent on a woman of property, one who outraged you on one occasion by slaying the three sons of Usnech despite your safeguard [...].’⁵⁸⁰

Possibly, similar to Rec. I, the mention of Fergus’ banishment at the beginning of Conchobor’s oration refers to Fergus’ having been removed from the kingship of Ulster and

⁵⁷⁸ O’RAHILLY 1967: II. 360–4. Fergus being an enemy of Ulster for the period of seventeen years is an odd statement given that Cú Chulainn is seventeen years old in TBC and Fergus was present for his childhood, hence his relating the Boyhood Deeds.

⁵⁷⁹ O’RAHILLY 1976: II. 4050–2.

⁵⁸⁰ O’RAHILLY 1967: II. 4750–5.

replaced by him. That there is no intertextual reference to *Longes mac nUislenn* in this instance in Rec. I TBC is perhaps significant of a relationship that developed later between LMU and TBC, and which is present in Rec. II TBC.

One possible reason why *Loinges mac nUislenn* is not present in any of the extant lists is because there are various accounts, which must present separate traditions, giving conflicting reasons as to the exile of the Ulstermen. Perhaps the creator of the series, similar to the redactor of Rec. II TBC, wanted to avoid inconsistency and, in doing so, avoided choosing a tale to preface the exile of the Ulstermen.⁵⁸¹ As well as *Longes mac nUislenn*, the poem *Conailla Medb Míchuru*, already mentioned above (see section 1.6.1), and the fragmentary tale *De Fochonn Loingse Fergusa*, give different accounts of Fergus' exile.⁵⁸² The prose introduction and the poem *Conailla Medb míchuru* explain how Fergus has been exiled by Conchobor because of his relationship with Medb:

Ar fecca[i]s for Ulta di āg mnā .i. di āg Medba Cruachan, ar imgeogain ar int[h]ōin
mnā fria chenēl fādessin.

'For Fergus turned against the Ulaid on account of a woman i.e. on account of Medb of
Cruachu; for he fought against his own people on account of a woman's body.'⁵⁸³

However, it may also have been the case that LMU was not redacted to complement this series, although thematically related. It certainly fits more closely with the discourse of Rec. II, which may reveal some artistic design on the part of the redactor.

1.6.4.5 *The Fer Diad episode in TBC and the remscéla*

The encounter between Cú Chulainn and his fosterbrother Fer Diad is one of the longest episodes in TBC and may have existed independently as a tale in its own right before being intergrated into TBC.⁵⁸⁴ As mentioned above in the introduction to this section, there is a multitude of differences between Rec. I and II in this episode to the point that it is difficult to map these out concisely, especially given considerations of space. However, for the most part, both recensions agree in intertextual references to *Tochmarc Emire*, *Longes mac nUislenn* and *Ces Ulad*, as I explain below.

Firstly, the multiple references to Scáthach (and Úathach and Aífe) and the theme of brotherhood is a prominent feature of this episode; and it is linked directly to *Tochmarc Emire* as a result. Rec. II expands on the exposition regarding Cú Chulainn and Fer Diad's

⁵⁸¹ This theory has also been suggested most recently by EDEL (2015:143).

⁵⁸² EDEL 2015:143; HULL 1930.

⁵⁸³ HENRY 1997: 56, 57; see also 61, §7.

⁵⁸⁴ O'RAHILLY 1967: xvii; *Held*. 219–35; RUTTEN 2009; EDEL 2015: 102.

relationship and military training by mentioning that they were both taught under the warriors Scáthach, Úathach and Aife; this difference is marked in the figure below. Whereas Rec. I simply states that ‘Cú Chulainn possessed no feat that Fer Diad had not, except only the *gáe bulga*’,⁵⁸⁵ Rec. II explains:

Ac óenmummaib darónsat gnímrada gaile 7 gascid do fóglaím, ac Scáthaig 7 ac Úathaig 7 ac Aife. Ocus ní baí immarcraid neich díb ac araile acht cless in gae bulga ac Coin Culaind.

‘With the same fostermothers, Scáthach and Úathach and Aife, had they learnt the arts of valour and arms, and neither of them had any advantage over the other save that Cú Chulainn possessed the feat of the *ga bulga*.’⁵⁸⁶

However, both Rec. I and II continue by making numerous references to Scáthach and their having been trained equally. In addition to that, Rec. I makes an explicit reference to Emer, Cú Chulainn’s wife, whose mentioning seals the bond between these two tales:

‘Rob áil dam-sa do dula-su co háit a fuigbigthea in córugud cétna fort co tici fail hi fil Emer Foltchaín, co Cairthenn Clúana Da Dam hi Sliab Fúait.’ Tánic Cú Chulaind inn ai[d]chi sin didiu conici sin, 7 ro faí ré banchéle fodeisin.

‘I should like you to go where you will get the same adorning [as Fer Diad], to the spot where Emer Fholtchaín is, to Cairthenn Clúana Da Dam in Sliab Fuait.’ So on that night Cú Chulainn came to that place and spent the night with his own wife.’⁵⁸⁷

Fergus’ exile because of the betrayal of the Ulstermen surfaces in a poem at the beginning of the Fer Diad episode when Fergus goes to speak with Cú Chulainn in both Rec. I and II TBC:

‘Mé tharclaim na slúraig sea soir; | lúach mo sáraichthi d’Ultaib; [...]’

‘It was I who, in requital for the wrong done me by the Ulstermen, collected and brought these forces to the east.’⁵⁸⁸

This vague reference to Fergus’ banishment falls in line with the general uncertainty outlined in the above section on *Longes mac nUislenn*.

1.6.4.6 *Echtrae Nerai* in TBC: Rec. I and II

Rec. I and Rec. II TBC refer to Bricriu’s fractured skull⁵⁸⁹ and convalescence, which provides the opportunity for intertextuality with *Echtrae Nerai*. However, it seems more

⁵⁸⁵ O’RAHILLY 1976: II. 2573–4.

⁵⁸⁶ O’RAHILLY 1967: II. 2610–14.

⁵⁸⁷ O’RAHILLY 1976: II. 2810–14.

⁵⁸⁸ O’RAHILLY 1976: II. 2790–1; O’RAHILLY 1967: II. 2771–2.

⁵⁸⁹ O’RAHILLY 1976: II. 4129–32; O’RAHILLY 1967: II. 4860–71.

likely that *Echtrae Nerai* capitalised on this point in the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, using it as stock to plot a relationship with TBC by providing a backstory for Bricriu's convalescence. As I outline above (see section 1.6.3.12), neither Rec. I or II agree with *Echtrae Nerai* about the details of Bricriu's injury, so that it may be conjectured that EN was created with a version of TBC in mind that is not presently at our disposal.

1.6.5 Conclusion

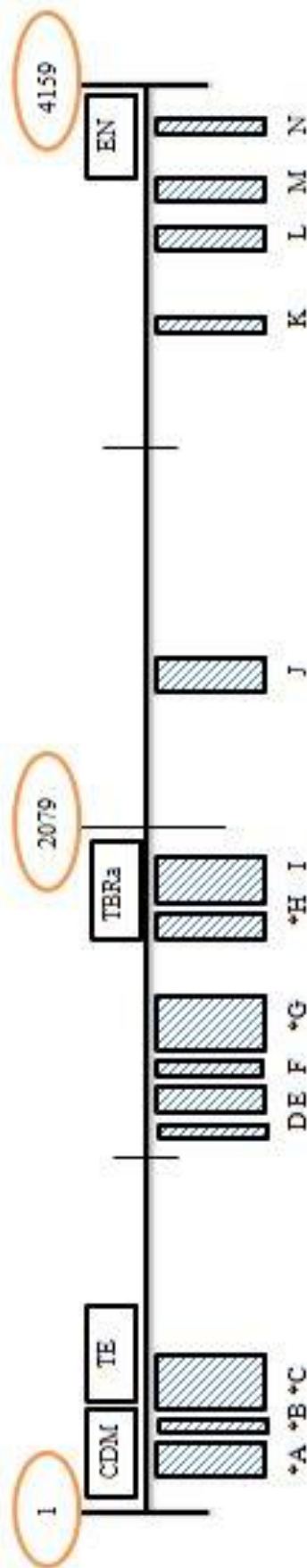
By dealing with each of the tales individually above, I hope to have highlighted how each forms its respective narrative association with the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*. The *tána bó* serve as resource-gathering missions prior to TBC, a trend among the *remscéla* noted by Thurneysen also.⁵⁹⁰ However, in the grand scheme of the chronology of the larger linear narrative reaching from the *remscéla* to TBC, this makes no sense within the context of Rec. II because its introduction presents grounds for the raid. It may be the case, therefore, that the resource-gathering *remscéla* were intended to be read/recited alongside Rec. II of the *Táin* or it should be taken for granted that an audience hearing/reading *remscéla* were already familiar with the *Táin* and that they were to be read out of order, i.e. after having read the *Táin*.

Not only are certain tales more closely aligned to TBC than others but certain versions of those details are better suited to the category of *remscél*, which proves that the category was productive between the Old to Middle Irish periods. Version II of *Compert Chon Culainn*, also known as *Feis Tige Becfoltaig*, gives information about Cú Chulainn's childhood, which is then further explained in the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*. Similarly, the Eg. version of *De Chophur in Dá Muccida* and the LL version of *Tochmarc Ferbe* respectively suit the *remscéla* TBC series better than other extant versions; in the case of *Tochmarc Ferbe*, LL is the older of the two extant versions, the other being the MidIr. version in Eg. Version III of *Tochmarc Emire* also displays a close verbal parallel with both recensions of TBC, which is not in Version I. Certain *remscéla* were no doubt created alongside the *Táin*, which is why, for example, both extant versions of *Tochmarc Emire* refer directly to it; although the tale may have been created to complement TBC, the category of *remscél* may have been a later development. One seemingly clear case of a tale being created to complement the series is *Táin Bó Dartada*, which is otherwise relatively uninteresting as a tale. *Táin Bó Regamna*, then, is an intriguing case as, I argue above, it may have been extracted from Rec. I TBC only to be recast as an independent tale that complements Rec. II TBC.

⁵⁹⁰ Held. 285.

These changes are happening at the same time as Rec. II of the *Táin* is emerging, which is where we find the first extant example of the use of the term *remscél* within the context of TBC. Rec. II also contains new intertextual references, such as the reference to Flidais. Furthermore, while the manuscript compilation is an important factor in the emergence of a cycle – which we see in the interaction between *Táin Bó Flidais* and *Táin Bó Cúailnge* in LU – Eg. stands out as not fully committing to intertextual cohesion in its relationship between Rec. I TBC and TBFlid., i.e. at a point when the material was no longer being shaped into a series and it was understood as simply belonging to a group of tales attached to no particular recension of the *Táin*.

Figure: Additional material in Rec. ITBC



*A: Dubhdach's Lay (190–209): CDM

*B: Summary of Cú Chulainn's childhood achievements (376–80): TE

*C: The Death of the Boys (470–80); The Fight between Eógan mac Durthacht and Conchobar (481–523); The fate of the twenty-seven men and the reason why none dared to wound the Ulstermen when they were in their debility (524–39)

D: Cú Chulainn tells Lóeg Fergus' scabbard is empty (1306–10)

E: Nad Crantail requests Findabair (1388–1415)

F: Cú Chulainn's false beard (1448–66)

*G: Ailill and Medb attempt another truce (1545–68); The Meeting of Cú Chulainn and Finnabair (1569–1608); *Combat of Munsremar and Cú Roi (1609–30); Death of the Youths (1631–57); Death of the Royal Mercenaries (1685–93)

*H: The Conversation of the Mórrigan with Cú Chulainn (1845–73)

I: Additions to Death of Lóch (1909–76)

J: Fight with Mand (2523–66)

K: Trance of Ailill (3540–3)

L: Description of Rus and Dáire (3771–80)

M: Description of Cú Chulainn and Lóeg; additional mention of Conall Cernach (3842–61)

N: Conall Cernach tells Fergus to strike the hills (4066–72)

Figure: Additional material in Rec. II TBC



1.7 *Remscéla* TBC: Motifs and verbal echoes

1.7.1 Motifs common to *remscéla* TBC

Across the fifteen potential *remscéla*, as set out by the tale-title lists and the series of *remscéla* in Eg. 1782 discussed above, there are recurrent themes and motifs that, although often coincidental, may have contributed to the sense of cohesion within the series. While recurrent motifs in a given tale-type, such as the Otherworld voyage in the *echtrae* and the midnight visitation in the *fís/aislinge*, help to shape the narrative expectations for a given category of tale, repeated motifs and parallels within tales that share a relationship with TBC serve to reinforce the narrative expectations of the *remscél* category. The *remscéla* series is hypothetically structured to follow the dominant idea that every tale is somehow related to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*. This concept is continuously reinforced by references to the *Táin*, as outlined above, and also artistically by the presence of repeated motifs.

Similarly, certain stylistic features shared by the *remscéla* TBC create cohesion among the tales, for example, in the form of same or similar wording, stock phrases, descriptive passages and narrative dividers. It stands to reason that if some tales were created or altered with the purpose of functioning as ancillary tales to the *Táin* they should contain parallels with the *Táin* also. As I explain below, certain tales are distinctively undecorative and understated in style; these are usually referred to as ‘bald’ narratives: *Aislinge Óenguso* is one such example (see section 1.7.10). This may be an argument against a tale being assigned to the *remscél* category because it was neither created nor altered to suit the narrative style of the series. Along the same thread, Windisch makes the following comment regarding the style of *Táin Bó Flidais*: ‘diese Táin ist schlecht erzählt, wenn auch sprachlich interessant durch eine Anzahl volksthümlicher Ausdrücke.’⁵⁹¹ It is these popular expressions that Windisch mentions that connect some of the *remscéla* to the *Táin* and, equally, distinguish others from it.

One narrative device found in the *remscéla* as well as in the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* is the ‘watchman device’. As the expression indicates, this device is ‘a particularised form of dramatic description’⁵⁹² whereby a watchman (OIr. *dercaid*) or, in some cases, a handmaiden describes an approaching troop. Carney explains that putting the information into the mouth of a watchman heightens its efficacy and makes ‘the scene more dramatic, convincing and emotional’;⁵⁹³ to this I would add that it also breaks up the monotony of third-person

⁵⁹¹ *Ir. Texte* 2:2, 206.

⁵⁹² CARNEY 1979: 307.

⁵⁹³ CARNEY 1979: 306.

narration. There are four obvious examples of its usage among the *remscéla*: Fíal, daughter of Forgall, describes Cú Chulainn's arrival in the later, expanded version of *Tochmarc Emire* (Thurneysen's Version III); the watchman (*dercaid*) in *Táin Bó Froích* describes Fróech's splendid arrival to Crúachain to woo Findbair; to a lesser extent, Cú Chulainn's charioteer Lóeg in *Táin Bó Regamna* performs this same narrative function by describing the Morrígain driving the cow through their territory; and in the LL version of *Tochmarc Ferbe*, Ferb's handmaid Findchóem describes to the maiden the beauty of Maine's retinue arriving at Gerg's fortress.

However important it is to identify the use of the watchman device in the examples above, it is also significant that it is commonly used across the spectrum of Early Irish saga literature and beyond. It is in no way a defining feature of the *remscéla* and it does not generically separate these tales from others because it is found in, for example, *Fled Bricrenn*, *Mesca Ulad*, *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* and *Feis Tighe Conáin*, as outlined in greater detail by Carney, who discusses the use of the watchman device by providing and comparing it with external examples such as the *Vita Sancti Kentegerni* and *Beowulf*.⁵⁹⁴

1.7.2 Quest motif

Version III of *Tochmarc Emire* and *Táin Bó Froích* respectively contain a quest which results in the protagonist fulfilling his heroic duties. In TE, Cú Chulainn travels abroad to Scotland, becoming separated from his company so that it is a one-man quest to Scáthach. During his quest, he passes a series of tests and rites of passage, e.g. overcoming a lion, engaging in multiple sexual encounters and learning martial feats. Most importantly, he completes the quest alone apart from the temporary help from a guide, Eochu Bairche, who gives him instructions as to how to pass over the *mag ndobail* ('Plain of Ill-luck', to use Meyer's translation).⁵⁹⁵ Similarly, in *Táin Bó Froích*, Fróech goes to Pictland and then to the continent to retrieve his wife.

Another short *remscél* also contains this quest theme but to different ends: *De Fóillsigud Tána Bó Cúailnge* requires a journey abroad to find the story of the *Táin*, which is ironically found in Ireland, and, whether it is Senchán or one of his pupils depending on the version, the protagonist ends up being separated from the group before recovering the story

⁵⁹⁴ CARNEY 1979: 305–23.

⁵⁹⁵ The guide element in this quest formula is present also in the Middle Welsh tale *Breudwyd Ronabwy* 'The Dream of Rhonabwy', in which the protagonist is led by one of Arthur's followers, Idawc Cord Prydein 'Iddawg the Churn of Britain' through his otherworld/dream experience (RICHARDS 1948: 4, l. 24).

from the messenger Fergus. In the D version, two religious guides lead Senchán to Fergus' grave, i.e. St Brendan of Clonfert and St Ciarán of Clonmacnoise; however, they differ from Eochu Bairche in *Tochmarc Emire* in that they simply direct the poet in the right direction rather than assist him in overcoming obstacles.

1.7.3 Water and water creatures

Water in Early Irish literature is often used to mark a development in the narrative in that characters are introduced at a place involving water or water acts as a vehicle for a character in the case of water creatures; it is often a place of vulnerability for characters. This motif is not limited to the *remscéla* to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*; it is so recurrent that it serves to show that the material is a product of a certain time period when these motifs were popular, which may be significant in itself. In the tale *Táin Bó Regamain*, the Maines, sons of Ailill and Medb, find three of Regamon's daughters at the lake. Similarly, in *Aislinge Óenguso*, Bodb, who has been sent to acquire the maiden Óengus has seen in his sleep, finds her at the lake Loch Béal Dracón. In *De Fíillsigud Tána Bó Cúailnge*, Fergus' grave is on a lake and it is the main location of the action as it is there that Fergus brought back from the dead and relates the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*. Though it is part of the folkloric element in EN, water is an important feature to the first half of the tale dealing with Nera carrying the thirsty corpse. Similar to how Cú Chulainn attacks Afé in *Tochmarc Emire*, Cathbad comes upon Ness in the stream and threatens to kill her unless she give him his three wishes in Version II of *Compert Chonchobuir*. Eventually Conchobor is born at the side of the river Conchobor, into which he falls.

The Eg. version of *De Chophur in Dá Muccida*, Version II of *Compert Chonchobuir* (extant in Eg. and D) and Version I of *Compert Chon Culainn* share a similar motif, that is, the water creature.⁵⁹⁶ In Eg.'s CDM, the two swineherds Friuch and Rúcht become *míl uisci*, translated by Roider as "Wassertieren";⁵⁹⁷ one enters the well Úarán Garad and the other the river Cronn. Medb and Dáire mac Fíachnai encounter the creatures in the well and the Cronn respectively, and in the end one is ingested by Medb's cow while the other is ingested by Dáire's and so the Finnbennach and the Donn are conceived. In Version II of *Compert Chonchobuir*, Cathbad forces Ness to swallow two water creatures; she then falls pregnant with Conchobor through an encounter with Fachtna Fáthach and the boy is born on the bank

⁵⁹⁶ Chadwin also notes this parallel between *De Chophur in Dá Muccida* and *Compert Chonchobuir* but does not mention that the motif is particular to certain versions of these tales (1997: 69).

⁵⁹⁷ ROIDER 1979:53, l. 229.

of the river Conchobor with a worm in each of his hands.⁵⁹⁸ In Version I of *Compert Chon Culainn*, Deichtine is taking a drink from a bronze cup (*dig a llestur umat*⁵⁹⁹) when a small creature jumps into her mouth; this small creature is referred to as a *míl mbecc*.⁶⁰⁰ Deichtine's swallowing the creature coincides with a visit from Lug mac Ethnenn the same night and, similar to *Compert Chonchobuir*, the woman does not seem to fall pregnant from drinking the worm, or at least it is not explicitly stated as such, but from the encounter with a man shortly after drinking it.⁶⁰¹ In the course of conversation with Deichtine, Lug tells her that she will become pregnant (*asbert fria robad torrach úad*);⁶⁰² however, it is unclear whether the pronoun contained in *úad* 'from him/it' refers to Lug himself or to the creature.

There are two water creatures of sorts in *Táin Bó Froích*: firstly, the salmon that swallows the golden ring thrown into the river by Ailill mac Máta; and the beast that attacks Fróech while he is in the water. As well as the term *béist* 'beast, monster', the word *míl* is also used to describe the creature that Fróech overcomes by beheading it.

1.7.4 Honour (*enech*)

Honour is a universal theme with specific significance being placed on gaining and maintaining it both in the law tracts and in the literature, which, although the latter is fictional, presumably reflects some of the social mores of medieval Ireland. It appears in this generic form in the Eg. version of *De Chophur in Dá Muccida*, at the point at which Ochall is unable to find someone to fight Bodb's warrior Rind and loses his honour as a result. Elsewhere in certain *remscéla*, however, it not only a thematic feature but there are verbal echoes involving *enech* 'honour' and the loss thereof, which gives the impression that there is a narrative consistency beyond simply being examples of this universal theme.

The term *meth n-einich*, which Corthals translates as 'Verlust an Ehre' in his edition of *Táin Bó Flidais*, occurs in multiple *remscéla* and is an example of a repeated motif through

⁵⁹⁸ This is later repeated in the birth-tale of the Ulster warrior Conall Cernach in the late Middle Irish *Cóir Anmann* 'The Fitness of Names'. Conall Cernach too is conceived from his mother drinking a *dorb* 'worm' from a well, in which the druid ordered her to bathe, and there is mention of the baby holding the worm in his hand (ARBUTHNOT 2007: 69, §264).

⁵⁹⁹ VAN HAMEL 1933: 5, §5.

⁶⁰⁰ VAN HAMEL 1933: 5, §5.

⁶⁰¹ Another example of this trope beyond the *remscéla* to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* is in the first instalment of *Tochmarc Étaíne* (*Tochmarc I*, see section 1.9 above), in which Étaín is first turned into a puddle by Fúamnach before morphing into a worm and then a fly (BERGIN & BEST 1938: 152, 153, §17); and, in the form of a fly, she falls into the cup of Étar's wife, entering the latter's womb and impregnating her (BERGIN & BEST 1938: 156, 157, §21).

⁶⁰² VAN HAMEL 1933: 5, §5.

verbal echoing. Similarly, the accompanying noun *ainmm* ‘name’ in the phrasing in *Táin Bó Flidais* mirrors the language used in the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*,⁶⁰³ and in the *remscéla Táin Bó Froích* and *Táin Bó Dartada* (see below). Firstly, Fergus’ having an affair with Flidais, Ailill Find’s wife, while staying in the territory of Ailill mac Máta is a potential loss of honour for the latter:

(LL) “Cid digén di sund”, ol Fergus, “ar na raib meth n-einich na anma duit and?”

(Eg.) “Cid doden de sunn?” ol Fergus. [...] “arna rab meth n-enich no ammo duit ann?”

“Was soll ich darauf thun?“ sagte Fergus, “damit dir nicht hierbei Verlust an Ehre und Namen wird?“⁶⁰⁴

Supposably the moral corruption of sleeping with another man’s wife was a poor reflection on the ruler of the territory in which the adulterer lived. *Meth* carries the meaning ‘failure’,⁶⁰⁵ which might give the sense here of a ‘failure of honour’, that is, a loss of honour inflicted upon another through an immoral act. The same phrase is used also by the protagonist Fróech in *Táin Bó Froích*⁶⁰⁶ in relation to saving Medb’s honour by not defeating her at their game of *fidchell*:

“Is maith ro-ngabus friut”, olse. “Ni-biur do thochell na-roib meth n-enig deit and.”

“Ich habe mich gut gegen dich gehalten, aber ich will deinen Einsatz nicht nehmen, damit nicht dein Ansehen gemindert wird.”⁶⁰⁷

Again, this is an example of an unchivalrous act that could damage the honour of another. In *Aislinge Óenguso*, the protagonist Óengus retains his honour after becoming a swan by the request of his lover:

Con-tuilet i ndeibb dá géise co timchellsat a lloch fo thrí conná bed ní bad meth n-enech dó-som.⁶⁰⁸

⁶⁰³ This is highlighted by Corthals in the notes to his edition of *Táin Bó Flidais*: ‘Beide Wörter kommen häufig als komplementäre Begriffe in Verbindung miteinander vor; z. B. TBC I Z. 594–5: *Connágaib ainech 7 anmain damsa* ‘... maintained life and honour for me’, [...]’ (CORTHALS 1979: 171).

⁶⁰⁴ *Ir. Texte* 2:2, 208, 216.

⁶⁰⁵ *DIL M* 117.65.

⁶⁰⁶ This point is noted by CORTHALS (1979: 170), who also directs the reader to the examples in *Aislinge Óenguso* and *Tochmarc Étaíne*. The wording in LU’s *Tochmarc Étaíne* is slightly different with the phrase being *milliud enech* rather than *meth n-e(i)nich*; Midir speaks the words: *is messi thall cach n-accobor collaide n-airi na beth milliud enech daitsu and*. In one YBL copy of this text beginning on col. 990 (in the section of YBL housed separately in NLI under the shelfnumber MS G 4), the term is *immlot n-einig*: ‘ní fil immlot n-einig duitsiu and’; and in another YBL copy beginning on col. 876, the phrasing is slightly different again: ‘ni fil lot ar n-enig duidseo and.’ ‘Now I am healed, and yet thine honour has not suffered’ (BERGIN & BEST 1938: 172, 173).

⁶⁰⁷ MEID 1970: 35, ll. 101–2; 57.

‘They sleep in the form of two swans and they circled the lake three times so that it was not a loss of honour for him.’ (Own translation)

Yet another example of this phrase is in *Táin Bó Froích*: when Fróech refuses to give Ailill an extortionate brideprice for his daughter Findbair, Ailill decides that it would be best to kill him before he leaves. However, Medb expresses her reservations, namely, that it would be *meth n-einich/einig* to carry out such an act:

[...] marbam fo chétóir resú fo·rroma bine form.” “Is liach ón”, ol Medb, “ocus is meth n-enig dúnn.” “Niba meth n-enig dúnn”, ol Ailill, “tucht arand·álfar-sa.”

“[wir] töten ihn bei der ersten Gelegenheit, bevor er Unheil über uns bringt.” “Das wäre Schade”, sagte Medb, außerdem vermindert es unser Ansehen.” “Es wird unser Ansehen nicht mindern”, sagte Ailill, “die Art, wie ich es mache.”⁶⁰⁹

The question of honour arises once again when Fróech realises his cows have been stolen while he was courting Findabair in Crúachain. When his mother offers that she simply replace his missing cattle, Fróech explains that retrieving them is a matter of honour for him:

“Do·coid form enech ocus form anmain airec co hAilill ocus co Meidb com búuib do tháin na mbáu a Cúailngiu.”

“Ich habe bei meiner Ehre und meiner Seele⁶¹⁰ versprochen, mit meinen Rindern zu Ailill und Medb zu kommen, um beim Wegtreiben der Rinder aus Cuailnge zu helfen.”⁶¹¹

Bricriu uses the men’s honour in the LU version of *Táin Bó Flidais* to incite them to fight when he realises that Ailill Find is gaining the upper hand:

Olc do inchaib Ulad in fechtas so na tri eclaind do thutim dib 7 nad tabrat dígail fair.⁶¹²

‘Nachteilig für die Ehre der Ulstersleute ist dieses Unternehmen, wobei drei Kämpfer von ihnen gefallen sind, ohne dass sie Rache dafür nehmen.’⁶¹³

Here, Bricriu describes how it is a loss of honour (*enech*) to the Ulster exiles not to act in retaliation to their compatriots being killed.

⁶⁰⁸ SHAW 1934: 63, §14.

⁶⁰⁹ MEID 1970: 36, ll. 55–7; 58.

⁶¹⁰ Meid does not comment on his translation here but this is likely to be understood as ‘name’ and not ‘soul’.

⁶¹¹ MEID 1970: 40, ll. 299–300; 62.

⁶¹² LU 1600–1.

⁶¹³ CORTHALS 1979: 189.

At the beginning of the tale *Táin Bó Dartada*, after Eochu Bec is invited to visit Ailill and Medb and he agrees to meet the following *samain*, he is visited by an otherworld couple from Síd Cuillne; it is the woman who announces the following to him:

(YBL) “Ni bus les eneich 7 anma deit ic dul isna hechtarcrichaib daidchi.”

(Eg.) “Ni bes leas enech 7 anno duit oc dul hi tir”.

“Etwas das ein Gewinn an Ehre und Namen sein wird auf deiner Fahrt im Lande und ausser Landes”.⁶¹⁴

Here, it is a central concept to the encounter with the otherworld woman that she will provide Eochu with stately possessions so that he might save face when travelling to meet Ailill and Medb. The *síd*-people know in advance that Ailill intends to ask Eochu for support on the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*.

When in Version I of *Tochmarc Emire*, Forgall Monach attempts to betrothe his daughter Emer to Lugaid mac Nóis, the maiden grabs him by the cheeks and uses his honour against him to escape the impending marriage: *gabaid si a da n-gruaid 7 dosmbeir for fir a einich 7 addamair do bad Cuculaind charais* ‘she takes his two cheeks and lays it on the truth of his honour, and confessed to him that it was Cuchulind she loved.’⁶¹⁵ This is expanded in the later version of *Tochmarc Emire* and includes the following reference to a potential loss of honour by Lugaid mac Nóis: *is fora gress baí, 7 ba coll enig cíab é dosbéradsí*⁶¹⁶ ‘that Forgall was against it, that it was a loss of honour for any one that would take her to wife’.⁶¹⁷ At the end of the Middle Irish version of *Tochmarc Emire*, Fergus and Cathbad join Conchobor and Emer in Conchobor’s bed in order to preserve Cú Chulainn’s honour:

Is sí comairle arrícht leo Emer do feiss la Conchobur in n-aidchi sin 7 Fergus 7 Cathbad i n-óenlepaid friu do chomét enig Con Culainn 7 bennacht Ulad don lánamain ara fóemaid.⁶¹⁸

‘A council was held by the men of Ulster about this affair. This was the resolution they arrived at, that Emer was to sleep that night with Conchobor, and Fergus and Cathbad

⁶¹⁴ *Ir. Texte* 2:2, 190, l. 28–30.

⁶¹⁵ MEYER 1890:448, 449, ll. 92–3.

⁶¹⁶ VAN HAMEL 1933: 53, §73.

⁶¹⁷ MEYER 1888: 300.

⁶¹⁸ VAN HAMEL 1933: 65, §90.

in one bed with them to watch over the honour of Cuchulaind, and the men of Ulster should bless him⁶¹⁹ if he accepted it.’⁶²⁰

Both the tradition of *coll cétingen*, which involves the act of the king sleeping with a maiden before her husband, and this form of preserving the husband’s honour as the act takes place is untraceable in the law tracts. Therefore, it may have been either a legendary practice, i.e. that never actually existed but people believed it to have happened in some barbaric past, or it may actually have been an established practice, although not recognised officially by law. What is most odd here and that which contradicts the notion of it being standard practice is that, not only do Fergus and Cathbad somehow safeguard Cú Chulainn’s honour,⁶²¹ but after the act has taken place Conchobor pays Cú Chulainn’s *eneclann* (penalty for violating a person’s honour), which in itself is an admission of wrongdoing.

Loyalty and honour between courting couples is a theme seen in *Táin Bó Regamain*. The daughters of Regamon first profess their loyalty to the sons of Ailill and Medb with the words: “*Fob-sisimar-ni*”, *ar in ingena* “*nach cumang conisamar*”; “Wir stehen euch bei” sagten die Mädchen, “so gut als wir können.”⁶²² And when they meet Maine at the well later in the tale, the Eg. version gives a verbal echo of this same expression of loyalty, which Maine attaches to their honour (*enech*):

(Eg.) ‘Táet as,’ ol síat, ‘ocus tucuith for certra lib, ar fob-sisimuir-ne for ar n-einech.’⁶²³

‘Come away,’ they said, ‘and bring your cattle with you, because we stand by you on our honour.’ (Own translation)

(YBL) ‘Taít as,’ ar sé, ‘ocus tucaid bar ceitri lib-si.’ ‘Come away,’ said he ‘and bring your cattle with you.’⁶²⁴

⁶¹⁹ Meyer’s translation does not take *lánamain* into consideration here; this section would be better translated as ‘and the men of Ulster should bless the couple if he accepted it’.

⁶²⁰ MEYER 1888: 306.

⁶²¹ It is possible that the presence of the witnesses was for the purpose of providing proof that the act had taken place or it could have been related to proving the virginity of the maiden when she had intercourse with Conchobor. Both theories are merely conjectural; however, the law tracts show that there existed a specific type of payment, namely, the *sical*, for a woman who is a virgin before marriage and who maintains her virginity throughout her betrothal. It is not described whether there were ways of proving virginity but presumably that would be between the husband and the wife. This notion of marrying a virginal bride may fit in with Emer’s character, who refuses another suitor while waiting for Cú Chulainn to return.

⁶²² *Ir. Texte* 2:2, 228.42.

⁶²³ MALEK 2002: §6.

⁶²⁴ MALEK 2002: §6.

This narrative device of repetition, as well as the reference to the men's honour, is missing from the YBL version of *Táin Bó Regamain*.

1.7.5 Alliances and pacts

Hugh Fogarty highlights the recurrent theme of alliances throughout *Aislinge Óenguso* and how it may function as an element that helps to create cohesion between it and TBC. The *remscéla* below corroborate Fogarty's point, as do multiple instances of the formation of important pacts throughout TBC. These vary in nature: for example, there is the pact of allegiance between Ailill and Medb and Óengus in *Aislinge Óenguso*; the pact of protection in *Táin Bó Dartada*; and the pact of peace in Version II of *Compert Chonchobuir*. Other pacts within TBC include those made in battle: for example, in the episode known as *Fiacalgleó Fintain* 'The Tooth-fight of Fintan', his son Crimthann is returned to him from Ailill and Medb's side on the proviso that he delay his fighting until another day. Whereas TBC in the Book of Leinster simply states that it would have been no disgrace (*aithis*) for Fintan to accept these terms,⁶²⁵ Rec. I narrates that there was a pact (*cairde*) made between them: *Dobert-som cairdi friu-som iarom ar telcod a meic dó*. 'So Fintan made a truce with them for delivering his son to him.'⁶²⁶ Similarly, early on in the story of *De Chophur in Dá Muccida*, the kings of the *síds* of Munster and Connacht are described as maintaining a pact: *Ro·boí didiu cairdess eter ríg síde Muman ocus ríg síde Connacht*; 'Und zwischen dem König der Elfen von Munster und dem König der Elfen von Connacht war ein Abkommen'. In *Táin Bó Dartada*, Eochu engages in a pact of protection with the otherworld woman:

YBL: "*Is coir duind cunnam frit, ad maith o imditin for tire 7 ar feraind 7 ar n-orba*"

(YBL); "*is coir dun congnim frit, fobith at maith occ immditin ar diri 7 ar fuinn*"⁶²⁷

"[...] und es steht uns wohl an dir zu helfen, weil du tüchtig bist im Schützen unseres Landes und unseres Bodens."⁶²⁸

As mentioned above, in Version II of *Compert Chonchobuir*, Cathbad attacks Ness while she is bathing in the spring. When he threatens her life unless she grant him his three wishes, he also includes a pact of peace:

⁶²⁵ O'RAHILLY 1967: II. 3821–4.

⁶²⁶ O'RAHILLY 1976: I. 3335.

⁶²⁷ Windisch suggests here that this should be emended to *feruinn*; it is likely missing a suspension stroke in the manuscript.

⁶²⁸ *Ir. Texte* 2:2, 191, II. 44–6.

<<Ar is ed ro cinded dam, inillius frim >>ol Cathbad << .i. sídh 7 córa do beth edraind 7 do beith do aenmhnaí ocum cein nod mair.>>

‘<<For this I have determined,>> said Cathbad <<that thou must be under my protection, and there must be peace and covenant between us, and thou must be my only wife as long as thou livest.>>’⁶²⁹

Their uniting is a political alliance through marriage.

In the *remscél Táin Bó Froíoch*, when Ailill and Medb question Fróech’s reason for visiting them he responds that he simply likes visiting them (“*Is maith limm*”, *olse*, “*célide lib-si*”).⁶³⁰ To this, Ailill responds that his visiting is beneficial to his own household, which is a sign of an alliance forming between the two:

“Ní holc ém lassa teglach for ngnás”, ol Ailill. “Is ferr for tórmach oldaas for ndígbáil.”

„Der Umgang mit euch ist auch für diesen Haushalt nicht schlecht”, sagte Ailill. „Je mehr wir von euch haben, um so lieber ist es uns.”⁶³¹

However, in this latter instance the term *cairdes* ‘pact’ or similar is not employed.

1.7.6 Prophecy and divination

There are prophetic elements to *Echtrae Nerai*, including the prophecy uttered by Nera’s *síd*-wife regarding their impending slaughter and, later, the birth of her own son. Additionally, she utters a lay (*laíd*) interpreting the bellowing of the Donn’s calf, warning of future events:

Bet loegain de cin buu | i m-Bairchi hi Cuailgniú: | cichis réim roirge ind rí | do ág aide Aingini.

‘There will be calves without cows | on Bairche in Cualgne, | the king will go a ... march⁶³² | through this calf of Aingene.’⁶³³

⁶²⁹ MEYER 1883–1885:175, ll. 32–4.

⁶³⁰ MEID 1970: 35, l. 118.

⁶³¹ MEID 1970: 35, ll. 119–20; 57.

⁶³² The extended meaning ‘band’ or ‘troop’ (DIL R 36.36) is found for the word *réim*; and *roirge ind rí* ‘the great march of a king’ may also be interpreted as a cheville, yielding the sense: ‘A troop will proceed – the great march of a king’.

⁶³³ MEYER 1889: 224, 225, ll. 163–5.

The lay prophesies events that will happen during the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, mentioning Bairche (modern-day Mourne, Co. Donegal) in particular, which features in TBC also: in Rec. I and II, Bairche is mentioned in the exchange in metrical form between Cú Chulainn and Fer Diad;⁶³⁴ and in Rec. II only, Fergus mentions Bairche in an exchange with Medb, again in metrical form.⁶³⁵

There are multiple instances of prophecy in *Tochmarc Emire*. While Cú Chulainn is on his quest in Version III of *Tochmarc Emire*, he meets the youth Eochu Bairche, who instructs him along the path to Scáthach the warrior in the east of Scotland:

Ro tairngir dano int ócláech cétnae dó ina césfad di drendaib 7 di drobélaib for Tánaid
Bó Cúailnge.

‘The same youth also foretold him what he would suffer of hardships and straits in the Cattlespoil of Cualnge.’⁶³⁶

Version I of *Compert Chonchobuir* relates how Cathbad the druid interprets only ‘what the hour is good for’, as in, he is able to predict the consequences were a certain act to come about at a certain time. In the first version, Cathbad simply predicts that the son conceived to a queen within that hour would later become king of Ulster. In Version II, however, he prophesies that, if Ness can keep from giving birth until the following day, the child would be born on the same day as Jesus Christ. In Version II, Cathbad also goes on to recite two prophetic poems about the life of Conchobor.

Prophecy is a much more prominent feature of the LL version of *Tochmarc Ferbe* than in the Eg. version. In LL, Ollgáeth, Maine’s druid, reads the meaning behind a violent wind and prophesies that Conchobor will fight Medb in battle before coming to kill everyone in Gerg’s fortress. Again in LL, the druid Imrind, son of Cathbad, reads the meaning behind the cloud that hangs over Gerg’s fortress, seeing death and destruction in its colours. Both of these instances of prophecy are missing from the Eg. version of *Tochmarc Ferbe*. However, both versions record the visitation by a woman to Conchobor and Medb to warn of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* and the death of Maine respectively.

In *Táin Bó Froích* prophecy is incorporated into the anecdotal aside about the three harper sons of the Boand:

Do·fuissig íarum assint súan in Boand. “Aurfóim-siu”, ol sí, “do thri maccu, a hÚathni
lánbrotha, fo bíth file goltraide ocus gentraide ocus súantraide ar búaiB sceo mnáib
do·thóetsat la Meidb ocus Ailill. At·bélat fir la clúais nglésa doib.’

⁶³⁴ O’RAHILLY 1976: I. 3043; O’RAHILLY 1967: I. 2980.

⁶³⁵ O’RAHILLY 1967: I. 420.

⁶³⁶ MEYER 1888: 298.

‘Danach erwachte Boand aus dem Schlaf. “Nimm hin deine drei Söhne, o glutvoller Uaithne”, sprach sie, “denn sie werden Klage-, Lach- und Schlafweise sein für Kühe und Frauen, die bei Medb und Ailill gebären. Männer werden sterben, wenn sie nur ihr Anstimmen hören.”’⁶³⁷

As I mention above in section 1.6.3 on allusion to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, this prophecy does not necessarily refer to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*. Its ambiguity may well be intentional and it may just be inserted here for stylistic purposes rather than having any particular function.

1.7.7 Otherworld (*síd*) references and experiences

Óengus is visited by a woman in the middle of the night in *Aislinge Óenguso*; she bears no message for him, unlike the vision in *Tochmarc Ferbe*, for example, but serves to act as his future love-interest. In the LL version of *Tochmarc Ferbe*, a woman visits Conchobor and the same woman later also visits Medb in the manner of a vision (*fís*), both in the middle of the night. Although her beauty is described in detail in both instances, her visits are not amorous but she brings warning messages, the first of which actually stirs up strife.

In *Táin Bó Dartada*, both Eochu and Ailill at separate points in the tale are visited by beings in the middle of the night: Eochu’s visitor promises him a retinue of riders with beautifully decorated horses and, upon waking the next day, the horses are there in all their finery. In Eochu’s dream a woman (*ocbean* YBL; *in mnai* Eg.) and a man (*oclæch* YBL; *oglaech* Eg.)⁶³⁸ visit him in his sleep but at the end the narrator mentions only one person leaving, in Eg. explicitly the woman, (*teit uad lasodain* YBL; *tet huad in uen lasoduin* Eg.),⁶³⁹ which is an inconsistency in the story but it may be because the woman engages in all of the dialogue with Eochu.

Fedelm the female prophet greets Medb at the beginning of the *Táin*, who then asks what is in store for her army. In Rec. I, Fedelm states that she is the *banfili do Chonnachtaib* and that she learned her art in Scotland;⁶⁴⁰ however, in Rec. II, she states simply that she is from *Síd Crúachan*,⁶⁴¹ which shifts her character from one of relative mystery to a supernatural *síd*-person. Similar *síd*-people are found throughout the *remscéla* also. For example, in *Echtrae Nerai*, the protagonist Nera enters the *Síd Crúachan* on *samain* and

⁶³⁷ MEID 1970: 35, ll. 89–92; 57.

⁶³⁸ *Ir. Texte* 2:2, 189, l. 15.

⁶³⁹ *Ir. Texte* 2:2, 191, l. 47.

⁶⁴⁰ O’RAHILLY 1976: ll. 41–3.

⁶⁴¹ O’RAHILLY 1967: l. 203.

subsequently acquires a *síd*-woman as a companion, with whom he has a son and there he remains after the attack on the *síd* by the mortal people. The overarching theme of EN is the otherworld because it is set on *samain* and much of the activity and scene-shifting is caused by an otherworld threat. Similarly, the theme of *samain*, which automatically alerts the audience to the fact that there will be otherworld elements in the tale, occurs in *Táin Bó Dartada* and *Aislinge Óenguso*; however, the latter tale deals nearly exclusively with otherworld figures anyway, as does *De Gabáil int Síde*. Again *samain* appears as a turning point in the plot of the Eg. version of *Táin Bó Dartada* as Eochu Bec goes to meet Ailill and Medb on the feast of *samain*; this is not in the earlier version contained in YBL.

The Otherworld features prominently in in Version I of *Compert Chon Culainn*; the Ulstermen, along with Deichtine, enter a house that was not there before (it is described as an *óntech nue*), that is much larger on the inside than it seems from the outside, and that disappears the next day. Unlike the introduction of an otherworld character in other tales by means of a fog, here the house appears after a heavy snowfall. Similar to how the house is conjured in Version I of *Compert Chon Culainn*, a visual illusion is created in *Echtrae Nerai* when the protagonist Nera thinks he sees the heads of the Connachtmen strewn about the lawn before entering Sídh Crúachan. However, as his *síd*-wife later explains, he was seeing a conjured image from the future. Similarly in *Tochmarc Emire*, through the jealousy of Dornall or Forgall Monach, Cú Chulainn sees apparitions that separate him from his men.

In Version I of *Tochmarc Emire*, Cú Chulainn becomes separated from his kinsmen Conchobor and Lóegaire Búadach on the way to see Scáthach the warrior in the east of Scotland. Cú Chulainn's surreal experiences while separated and wandering alone are then related, including his four-day encounter with a lion. Eventually, he comes to a house in a glen, reminiscent in style to how a house appears in *Compert Chon Culainn*, before later being guided by another male warrior across a strange plain. In Version III, Cú Chulainn makes multiple references to *síd*-people and the Túatha Dé Danann in his decoding of the conversation with Emer, to the point that he narrates a series of legends to Lóeg, creating a division between the real world in which he lives and the *síd*-world in which the legends have taken place. This clear distinction between the two worlds and the type of retrospective presentation of legends by Cú Chulainn in this later version of *Tochmarc Emire* is missing from *Echtrae Nerai* and *Aislinge Óenguso*, where *síd*-people mix with mortal characters without any question.

Fróech has a strong association with the pagan otherworld which we see in *Táin Bó Froích* and later in the Middle Irish *Tochmarc Treblainne*.⁶⁴² Firstly, his mother is Bé Find, sister of the Boand which technically makes him a cousin of Óengus, son of the Dagdae. All of Fróech's wealth is provided from the *síd*, so that he has the most beautifully equipped retinue ever seen. Fróech is also protected by the women of the *síd* who come and heal him after he is attacked by the water serpent. These women appear at Crúachain wailing and terrify the people and even leave a warning with Ailill's household by wailing upon leaving also. When his mother and the women from the Boand's *síd* come to take him back with them, they are described as all looking the same, a common trait of otherworld women; compare, for example, the group of identical maidens in *Tochmarc Étaíne*.⁶⁴³

Comáesa comdelba comáilli comchaini comchórai comchrotha co n-écosc ba síde impu, [...].⁶⁴⁴

‘Die Frauen waren gleich an Alter, Bildung, Schönheit, Anmut, Anstand und Gestalt; sie hatten das Aussehen der Elfen, [...].’

1.7.8 Shape-shifting: birds and silver chains

The motif of shape-shifting is carried through the *remscéla* and TBC itself,⁶⁴⁵ beginning firstly with the most obvious example of the two swineherds in *De Chophur in Dá Muccida*. Similarly in both Rec. I and II of the *Táin*, the harpers of Caínbile from Ess Rúaid transform into wild deer (*i ndelbaib oss n-alta*).⁶⁴⁶ *Aislinge Óenguso* and Version II of *Compert Chon Culainn* both share the same motif of the beautiful bird-woman. In AÓ, Cáer and subsequently Óengus, take both swan and human form. In the encoded conversation with Emer in the Middle Irish version of *Tochmarc Emire*, Cú Chulainn references her aunt Scennemenn and her ability to change into different forms.⁶⁴⁷ Derbfórgaill, the daughter of Rúad, is saved by Cú Chulainn from the three Fomorians and, in return, she is told to come to Emain Macha one year later. Unbeknownst to Cú Chulainn, she comes in the shape of a bird and he proceeds to injure her in her bird-form. He later heals her but ingests some of her

⁶⁴² See MEEK (1994: 9) who comments that the theme of the Otherworld is more fully developed in the later *Tochmarc Treblainne*.

⁶⁴³ *A mbatar ann trath teirti arnabarach co n-accadar in .l. mban a n-aendeilb 7 i n-aenécosc uile fri hÉdaín.* ‘As they were there at the third hour on the morrow, they saw fifty women all of like form and raiment as Étaín’ (BERGIN & BEST 1938: 186, §17; 187).

⁶⁴⁴ MEID 1970: 38, ll. 223–4.

⁶⁴⁵ As noted also by CHADWIN 1997: 69.

⁶⁴⁶ O’RAHILLY 1967: ll. 1267–71; O’RAHILLY 1976: ll. 942–5.

⁶⁴⁷ VAN HAMEL 1933: 42.

blood in the process, making it impossible to unite with her.⁶⁴⁸ In *Táin Bó Regamna*, the Morrígain turns into a bird when Cú Chulainn threatens to kill her; and similarly, she takes the shape of a bird in the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* itself when she comes to speak into the ear of the Donn Cúailnge:

forrumai Allechtu colléic, noch is í in Mórrígan són i ndeíl b eúin co mboí forsin chorthi hi Temair Cúailngi 7 asbert frisin tarb [...].

‘[...] Allecto came for a while, that is, the Mórrígan, in the form of a bird which perched on the pillar-stone in Temair Cúailnge and said to the bull [...].’⁶⁴⁹

The motif of silver chains connecting pairs of women is present in *Aislinge Óenguso* and *Compert Chon Culainn*.⁶⁵⁰ As in AÓ, the description of Cáer with the other maidens appears also in the tale *Saignén Teintide* ‘The Fiery Lightning’, which is a combination of the *dindsenchas* of Crotta Clíach and Mó Ling’s Doomsday prophecy, extant in the *Leabhar Breac*, p. 242 and D iv.2, f. 48vb (see Appendix 1). Anne Ross comments that the chains represent the maidens’ restraint while in supernatural form.⁶⁵¹ The chained maidens in the story of Cú Chulainn’s conception may have been influenced by *Aislinge Óenguso*, as Version II of the former is dated to the late 8th to early 9th century⁶⁵² and AÓ to the 8th century; however, a full comparative study on the language of the two would be required to rule out all doubt. Beyond the *remscéla*, this motif of women chained together appears in the section of the Vessel of Badurn in the ‘Irish Ordeals’:

.i. Badurnn ainm righ. Luid didiu a bean side don tibra[i]d, co n-acca da mnai asna sidhaib ocun tibraid, 7 bai slabradh credhumha etarro.

‘That is, Badurn the name of the king. Now his wife went to the well, and at the well she saw two women out of the fairy-mounds and between them was a chain of bronze.’⁶⁵³

It is only in Version II of *Compert Chon Culainn* that Deichtine is presented as a bird-woman. Whereas she hunts the birds in the opening of Version I, Deichtine is actually part of the bird troop in Version II, so that the tradition has been completely altered. Here, similar to

⁶⁴⁸ VAN HAMEL 1933: 62.

⁶⁴⁹ O’RAHILLY 1976: II. 954–6.

⁶⁵⁰ Quite interestingly, the Early Modern Irish version of *Táin Bó Flidais* describes birds connected by silver chains as decorating Ailill’s palace; to each pair is attached a musical ball so that ‘when wind blows gently over roof or skylight or window of that mansion, the melody of these musical balls is as sweet as that of the strings of a lyre’ (MacKinnon 1905: 101, §94). Therefore, the earlier motif of bird-women being connected by chains may have been for decorative purposes in the story.

⁶⁵¹ ROSS 1959: 44. A parallel of this kind of harnessing one’s supernatural powers are depicted in the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* when Cú Chulainn binds himself in twenty-seven tight shirts with ropes to keep his *riastrad* under control (O’RAHILLY 1976: II. 2215–19).

⁶⁵² VAN HAMEL 1933: 1.

⁶⁵³ Ir. Texte 3:1, 191, 209.

Cáer in *Aislinge Óenguso*, she has the ability to go between bird and human form and she is accompanied by other beautiful women with the same ability.

1.7.9 Descriptive passages: equestrian decoration

The descriptive passage of the horses given to Eochu Bec by the otherworld woman in *Táin Bó Dartada* mirrors the description of the gifts given to Fróech by the Boand in *Táin Bó Froích* and also that of a troop at the beginning of the LL version of *Tochmarc Ferbe*. The similarities between TBF and TF have already been noted by Atkinson and subsequently by Windisch.⁶⁵⁴ The LL version of *Tochmarc Ferbe* is missing its beginning and opens *in media res* with the description of one troop, no doubt the second of multiple troops because what follows that is a description of the third troop (*in tres buiden*); this section of text is not included in the Eg. version. It is this third troop belonging to Maine Mórgor that shares its similarities with *Táin Bó Froích* and *Táin Bó Dartada*. Firstly in TBF, every man is equipped with a light grey mare: *gabor bocglas fó súidi cech fír*⁶⁵⁵; in TBD, Eochu is given fifty dark grey horses: *co n-acadar in cæcait ech n-dubglas* (YBL); *con faccatar ni: in coeca n-ech n-dubglas* (Eg.);⁶⁵⁶ ‘they saw (something,) fifty dark grey horses’; and in *Tochmarc Ferbe*, *coica ech dergdond* ‘fifty reddish brown horses’ and *coica ech find n-óiderg* ‘fifty white, red-eared horses’.⁶⁵⁷

Each horse in TBF is equipped with a purple saddle-cloth: *coica acrann corcra* ‘fifty purple saddle-cloths’⁶⁵⁸; as is each horse in TF: *coica sadall corcra* ‘fifty purple saddle-cloths’. The next example is that which Thurneysen⁶⁵⁹ and Windisch⁶⁶⁰ recognized as a parallel in the wording between the two texts; *Táin Bó Froích* gives the description: *cóica echlasc findruine co mbaccán órda for cinn cech áe*⁶⁶¹ ‘fifty pale gold horse-whips with a golden hook on each of them’; while the YBL version of TBD gives *cæca echlasc orda co cendimlaib airgid*⁶⁶² ‘fifty golden horse-whips with silver handles’; and the Eg. version of

⁶⁵⁴ *Ir. Texte* 3:2, 451. See also Windisch’s comment about the stereotypical nature of these descriptive passages in his notes to the LL version of *Tochmarc Ferbe* (*Ir. Texte* 2:2, 530).

⁶⁵⁵ Meid 1967: l. 26.

⁶⁵⁶ *Ir. Texte* 2:2, ll. 48–50.

⁶⁵⁷ *Ir. Texte* 2:2, 462, ll. 10–11.

⁶⁵⁸ Meid 1967: l. 28. For the word *accrann* with the meaning ‘saddle-cloth’ or ‘coverlet’ rather than ‘shoe’ (DIL A 18.74), see Meid’s discussion in his notes to TBF (1967: 22).

⁶⁵⁹ *Held.* 303.

⁶⁶⁰ *Ir. Texte* 2:2, 200, note 1.

⁶⁶¹ MEID 1967: l. 30–1.

⁶⁶² *Ir. Texte* 2:2, 191, ll. 55–6.

TBD: *coego echlusc finnbruini cona cennpairtib di or fuib do brith ina llamuib*⁶⁶³ ‘fifty pale gold horse-whips with their upper parts of gold on them to be carried in their hands’.

In addition to the equestrian decoration, *Táin Bó Dartada* and *Tochmarc Ferbe* give similar description of the accompanying troop as including fifty purple cloaks, fifty brooches and decorative tunics: the YBL version of TBD has *cæca brat corcra*,⁶⁶⁴ while the Eg. version does not have this detail and the LL version of *Tochmarc Ferbe* also has *cóica brat corcra*.⁶⁶⁵ Following that, the YBL and Eg. versions of TBD both give *cæca bretnus* ‘fifty brooches’,⁶⁶⁶ while the LL version of TF has *mílech do dergór f̈orloiscthi*⁶⁶⁷ ‘brooches of bronzed red gold’; and both YBL and Eg. version of TBD have *cóeca maclene*⁶⁶⁸ ‘fifty young men’s tunics’, and the LL version of TF has *lenti srebnaidi* ‘thin tunics’.⁶⁶⁹

1.7.9.1 Descriptive passages: *carmocol* ‘carbuncle’ lighting the room

A common feature in the description of beautiful apparel or a beautiful fortress is that of the jewels, which usually light up the house so that it is impossible to distinguish night from day. For example, in Version III (the Middle Irish version) of *Tochmarc Emire*, Conchobar’s palace is decorated with the opulent stones:

Imdhaidh Conchobuir i n-airenuch in tige co stállaib airgit, co n-úatnaib crédumaib, co lígraid óir fora cendaib, co ngemaib carmocail inntib, comba comsolus lá 7 adaig inti [...].⁶⁷⁰

‘The bed of Conchobar was in the front of the house, with boards of silver, with pillars of bronze, with the glitter of gold on their head-pieces, and carbuncles in them, so that day and night were equally light in it, [...].’⁶⁷¹

A similar description appears in *Táin Bó Froích* when Medb loses track of time while playing *fidchell* because the gems light up the room:

‘Ataat tri laa 7 teora haidchi and’, ol si, ‘acht nad·n-airigmer in n-aidchi la bánsoillsi inna lliac lógmar issin tig.’⁶⁷²

⁶⁶³ *Ir. Texte* 2:2, 191, ll. 60–3. Here I introduce the word division between *ina* and *llamuib* for the sake of clarity.

⁶⁶⁴ *Ir. Texte* 2:2, 191, l. 51.

⁶⁶⁵ *Ir. Texte* 3:2, 464, l. 23.

⁶⁶⁶ *Ir. Texte* 2:2, 191, YBL l. 53, Eg. l. 52.

⁶⁶⁷ *Ir. Texte* 3:2, 464, ll. 24–55.

⁶⁶⁸ *Ir. Texte* 2:2, 191, l. 54.

⁶⁶⁹ *Ir. Texte* 3:2, 464, l. 25.

⁶⁷⁰ VAN HAMEL 1933: 20, §2.

⁶⁷¹ MEYER 1888: 69.

‘Three days and nights have passed (lit. ‘are in it’), said she, ‘but we did not notice the night because of the bright light of the precious stones in the house.’ (Own trans.)

This sort of decorative illustration maintains the theme of romanticised luxury in these two particular *remscéla*; both Conchobor’s and Ailill and Medb’s courts are described in the same manner respectively, to the point that they are stylistically homogenous. However, it also typifies the literature in general, leaving it as a dubious *remscél* criterion.

1.7.10 Narrative style particular to originally non-*remscél* tales?

Narrative style is a distinguishing feature of a certain small group of *remscéla*, which appear to have been composed before the concept of the *remscéla* TBC series began to emerge. Two such examples that stand out are *Aislinge Óenguso* and Version I/the CDS version of *Compert Chon Culainn*: both of these tales share a similarly bald and terse narrative style due to a distinct lack of subordinate clauses.⁶⁷³ For example, in the opening section of *Aislinge Óenguso*, there is a series of short, unconnected sentences:

Co n-accae ní; fo-sceinn úad opunn. Nícon fítr cia árluid húad. Boí and co arabáarach.
Nípo slán laiss a menmae.⁶⁷⁴

‘He saw something; she suddenly springs away from him. He did not know where she went. He was there until the next day. His mind was not well.’ (Own translation)

Similarly, Version I of *Compert Chon Culainn* narrates the story in ‘clipped’⁶⁷⁵ sentences:

Fofúaratar óentech nue. Lotar ind. Foráncatar lánamain and. Boíthus fáilte. Lotar ass
coa muintir.⁶⁷⁶

‘They [Conall and Bricriu] found a new house by itself. They went inside. They found a couple there. They welcomed them. They went out to their people.’ (Own translation)

This style and its correlation with older texts has not gone unnoticed: in his Introduction to *Aislinge Óenguso*, Shaw alludes to the distinct style marked by ‘conciseness

⁶⁷² MEID 1970: II. 110–1.

⁶⁷³ Within the entire text of around 600 words, Mac Cana was only able to count 10 instances of ‘explicit connectives (*et/ocus, co*)’ and eight examples of ‘virtual connectives (of the type *ar, ó, in tan, is amlaid, is and, etc.*)’ (Mac Cana 1972: 110).

⁶⁷⁴ SHAW 1934: 43, §1.

⁶⁷⁵ This term is used by MAC CANA (1972: 111).

⁶⁷⁶ VAN HAMEL 1933: 4, §3.

of the language’, which he understood to be ‘evidence of its antiquity’,⁶⁷⁷ a sentiment expressed also by Thurneysen.⁶⁷⁸ Proinsias Mac Cana, in his study of *Compert Chon Culainn* as a CDS tale, discusses the features of its bald narrative:

‘Here the tale of Cú Chulainn’s birth is told in a spare and uncomplicated style which sets the pattern for classical Old Irish narrative in general, [...]. To begin with, the spareness of the writing is one which suggests economy rather than abridgement: [...]. On the other hand, the narrative is concise to the point of abruptness and lacks those stylistic features which are most typical of traditional oral narration: alliteration, repetition, description and dialogue.’⁶⁷⁹

On the other hand, McCone provides an argument against the correlation between a ‘staccato’ prose-style and early date of composition based on how concise sentences of the type found in *Compert Chon Culainn* are distributed throughout Rec. I of the *Táin* and *Scéla Muicce Meic Da Thó*:

‘It seems clear that there was nothing approaching a significant chronological or generic divide in this supple stylistic continuum. In this context individual preference for comparative homogeneity or degrees of greater variety in the basic narrative medium may well have been paramount.’⁶⁸⁰

Hypothetically, the kind of mixed prose-style found in Rec. I TBC, etc., may be due to earlier redaction of the text.⁶⁸¹

One difference between AÓ and CC is that the former frequently uses dialogue throughout the tale, whereas the characters in the latter speak ‘in *oratio obliqua*’, as pointed out by Mac Cana. However, according to Mac Cana, the presence of dialogue does not necessarily have a bearing on the antiquity of the tale but the extent to which it is used; he notes its usage in the CDS text *Echtrae Machae* but explains that it is not employed with ‘the freedom that characterizes its use in later compositions’.⁶⁸²

⁶⁷⁷ SHAW 1934: 37–8.

⁶⁷⁸ *Held.* 60.

⁶⁷⁹ MAC CANA 1972: 109.

⁶⁸⁰ MCCONE 1990: 50.

⁶⁸¹ Uáitéar Mac Gearailt in his study of the narrative style within the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* draws comparisons between certain sections of Rec. I TBC and the short style of *Compert Chon Culainn* (MAC GEARILT 1993: 62–3).

⁶⁸² MAC CANA 1972: 109.

1.8 *Remscéla to Togail Bruidne Da Derga*

1.8.1 Introduction

Similar to the lists of *remscéla* to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, there is a type of title-list of *remscéla* to *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* ‘The Destruction of Da Derga’s Hostel’ (BDD), another Early Irish extended narrative. Below I provide conservative transcriptions of this list, which is extant in only two sources: in the 11th- to 12th-century manuscript *Lebor na hUidre* (LU), p. 99a (LU 8005–24); and in the early 16th-century Egerton 1782 (Eg.), f. 110vb. This short enumeration of *remscéla* is contained in the first of two extracts from the lost *Lebor Dromma Snechta*, also known as the *Cín Dromma Snechta* (CDS),⁶⁸³ appended to the LU copy of BDD. In Eg., it is integrated in a much modernised and abridged form into the narrative of *Tochmarc Étaíne*. As I will discuss in greater detail below, the contents of the list in this extract appear to present some of the narrative components of the closely related tale *Tochmarc Étaíne* ‘The Wooing of Étaín’. The CDS extract offers the earliest example of the use of the term *remscél* and the oldest surviving glimpse into the organised serialisation of literary material based on interconnected narrative components.

Before presenting the extract from LU and Eg. and discussing the contents of the list of *remscéla* to BDD, I will briefly outline BDD’s textual transmission and the date of composition of each of its recensions as the relationship between the latter and the *remscéla* list is a matter of interest, particularly from the perspective of literary cyclification. I outline the transmission and contents of the closely related *Tochmarc Étaíne* and the Old Irish tale *De Śíl Chonairi Móir* ‘Regarding the Descendants of Conaire Mór’⁶⁸⁴ (SCM). All three stories are represented in the figure in 1.8.5 at the end of this chapter according to their respective dates of composition proposed by previous scholarship, as explained in further detail below.

1.8.2 The extant recensions of *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* (BDD)

According to Máire West’s study, there are three extant recensions of *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*,⁶⁸⁵ which are represented on the figure with a continuous double-ended arrow from the middle of the 8th century to the middle of the 12th century. West subdivides Rec. I into A and B; Ralph O’Connor uses West’s notation, modifying it to Ia and Ib, which I employ here

⁶⁸³ CDS is usually dated to around the 8th century. *Held*. 15–18; see also MAC MATHÚNA 1985: 421–69; Ó CONCHEANAINN 1988; Ó CATHASAIGH 1990; and CAREY 1999. Thurneysen gives all references to CDS from LU, Book of Leinster, Book of Ballymote and even Keating (THURNEYSEN 1912–1913: 23–5).

⁶⁸⁴ GWYNN 1912.

⁶⁸⁵ WEST 1999: 413. Ralph O’Connor follows this division (O’CONNOR 2013: 31).

also.⁶⁸⁶ Rec. Ia is a short summary account of the tale⁶⁸⁷ (it is only twelve lines long in N) and written in a reported, ‘highly compressed’⁶⁸⁸ style; Thurneysen refers to it as ‘ein par [sic] ungeordnete Notizen’.⁶⁸⁹ Recension Ib is relatively longer (thirty-seven manuscript lines long on a page with double-columns), it survives in the CDS extracts under discussion here, and it is contained in only one manuscript, LU, pp. 99a11–47 (LU 8005–8037). The first extract of Rec. Ib, West’s CDS(A), refers to its source the *Cín Dromma Snechta* manuscript (LU p. 99a11–33; LU 8005–24) and is given a heading within the column (see below); the second extract of Rec. Ib, West’s CDS(B), appears directly after the first extract and its title, which contains a reference to CDS, appears to have been added to the remaining space at the end of the line of the preceding extract in the manuscript (LU p. 99a34–47; LU 8025–37).⁶⁹⁰ West edits and translates this text in her edition; and Ó Cathasaigh also provides a translation in his article on ‘The *Cín Dromma Snechta* version of *Togail Bruidne Uí Dergae*’.⁶⁹¹ The composition of Recension I belongs to the Old Irish period as evidenced by the language and the fact that the extracts representing Rec. Ib in LU present themselves as having been taken from the lost *Cín Dromma Snechta* manuscript, the contents of which apparently belong to the 8th century.⁶⁹²

1.8.2.1 Recension Ia BDD

Rec. Ia begins with: (N) *Incipit do togail bruidne Da Derg. [C]onaire mac Mese Buachalla, is e ortæ i mbruidhin ui Dergæ*⁶⁹³ ‘*Togail Bruidne Da Derg* begins. Conaire, son of Mess Búachalla, it was he who was slain in the hostel of Uë Dergæ’, and goes on to concisely explain that Conaire’s fosterbrothers plundered Scotland and, in exchange, they facilitated Ingcél’s plundering of Ireland; it mentions also that the fosterbrothers found the situation grievous and ends with the statement that Uë Dergæ’s hostel is between Cúalu and Scotland. One thematic difference between Ia and Ib, as O’Connor has noted, is that Rec. Ia

⁶⁸⁶ O’CONNOR 2013: 33.

⁶⁸⁷ RIA MS 23 N 10, p. 72 (N); BL MS Eg. 88, f. 13rb (BL); TCD MS H 3.18, p. 55, col. 2 (H); NLI MS Phillipps G 7, p. 5 (G). For editions, see THURNEYSSEN 1912–1913: 27–8; HULL 1954: 131–2; MAC MATHÚNA 1985: 449–50; WEST 1986: 371–9; Ó CATHASAIGH 1990.

⁶⁸⁸ O’CONNOR 2013: 33.

⁶⁸⁹ *Held.* 622.

⁶⁹⁰ I will use West’s notation for the remainder of this chapter (WEST 1986: 3).

⁶⁹¹ WEST 1986: 371–9; Ó CATHASAIGH 1990: 105–111.

⁶⁹² See *Held.* 15–18; THURNEYSSEN 1912–1913: 30; MAC MATHÚNA 1985: 421–69.

⁶⁹³ THURNEYSSEN 1912: 27.

focuses on the theme of ‘piracy and invasion’, whereas Ib introduces a supernatural element.⁶⁹⁴

1.8.2.2 Recension Ib BDD

Thurneysen maintained that Rec. Ib is an extended version of Ia and that it is linguistically later.⁶⁹⁵ Ó Concheanainn, argued against this theory, claiming that Rec. Ia is derived from Rec. Ib, i.e. the CDS extracts in LU; however, West counter-argued that the textual agreement that forms the foundation for this claim is insignificant.⁶⁹⁶ Ó Cathasaigh investigated Ó Concheanainn’s claim by comparing the CDS extracts (Rec. Ib) with the Connacht manuscripts (Rec. Ia). In doing so, Ó Cathasaigh highlighted that Ó Concheanainn relies only on one section, which is textually quite close to the Connacht manuscripts ‘and it is from that paragraph that Ó Concheanainn derived the textual evidence to support this thesis’.⁶⁹⁷

1.8.2.3 Recension II BDD

Recension II is the most widely-known and the ‘oldest fully extant version’⁶⁹⁸ of BDD, previously edited by Eleanor Knott; only the manuscripts YBL and D iv.2 contain complete copies of Rec. II.⁶⁹⁹ The language of this recension is a mixture of Old and Middle Irish, which led Thurneysen to assign it an 11th-century date.⁷⁰⁰ The latter proposed a ‘two-source theory’ for this tale: he argued that two different versions, A and B, were composed during the 9th century and recast into its present form by a compiler (“Der Kompilator”) in the 11th century.⁷⁰¹ This theory is not represented on the graph below; Rec. II is placed from the 10th to the 11th century, taking into consideration O’Connor’s dating of the text.⁷⁰² This is

⁶⁹⁴ O’CONNOR 2013: 34.

⁶⁹⁵ *Held.* 657.

⁶⁹⁶ Ó CONCHEANAINN 1988: 32–4; WEST 1990: 94. See Ó CATHASAIGH 1990, who also argues against Ó Concheanainn’s theory.

⁶⁹⁷ Ó CATHASAIGH 1990: 105.

⁶⁹⁸ O’CONNOR 2013: 2, note 5.

⁶⁹⁹ KNOTT 1936; and, prior to Knott, STOKES 1901. The most recent edition is by Máire West (1986); however, as Knott’s is more readily available to the reader, I will cite from it in the following discussion. The manuscripts containing Rec. II are as follows: LU, pp. 83a–99a (LU 6723–8004); YBL, cols. 716–739; RIA MS D iv.2, ff. 79ra–92ra; BL MS Eg. 92, ff. 18–23v; Book of Fermoy, pp. 231a–216b; TCD MS H 2.17 (1319), pp. 477a–482b; BL MS Add. 33993, ff. 2b–5b; and TCD MS H 2.16, pp. 432–3. Note that Eg. 92 and the Book of Fermoy actually belong together and partly complete each other: this is the text West calls E2/F (WEST 1990); see WEST 1990: 64, particularly note 20 on the incorrect ordering of the folios of Eg. 92.

⁷⁰⁰ *Held.* 627.

⁷⁰¹ *Held.* 625–52.

⁷⁰² O’CONNOR 2013: 20.

the recension to which most studies of the tale refer, including Ralph O'Connor's most recent investigation of BDD,⁷⁰³ as it is most widely documented in the manuscript tradition; however, it has been noted by O'Connor that all MSS of Rec. II 'derive at more than one remove from the same now-lost original version'.⁷⁰⁴ This recension of BDD does not mention the *remscéla* nor integrate the material from the CDS extract into the narrative and, therefore, it does not engage in cyclification in the same manner as Rec. Ib and Rec. III. However, as I note in the following summary, Rec. II includes elements from *Tochmarc Étaíne* that are relevant to Conaire Mór's parentage. That said, this does not indicate a direct textual relationship with TÉ.

The story of Rec. II opens with the conception, birth and childhood of Conaire Mór's grandmother Étaín, followed by how her daughter Mess Búachalla, Conaire's mother, was raised in secret. This is then paralleled by the story of the conception, birth and childhood of Conaire Mór with his foster-brothers, who eventually bring about his downfall. Conaire becomes king after Eterscél, his father, dies and his reign is bountiful until his foster-brothers begin illegally marauding the country with a band of 150 men. He orders that the marauders be killed, except his brothers, whom he sends to Scotland, breaking one of his taboos (*Nír [sic] ragbaiter díberg id flaith*⁷⁰⁵ 'no rapine shall be wrought in thy reign').⁷⁰⁶ On their journey, the foster-brothers meet Ingcél, son of the king of Britain, on the sea; together they agree to maraud Britain and, in exchange, Ireland. In the meantime, Conaire inadvertently breaks all of his *gessa* 'taboos'. While out travelling, a mist descends on him and he decides to go to Da Derga's hostel in Leinster. A series of otherworld meetings occur including the appearance of three red men on the road, and his encounter with Fer Caille with his ugly wife Cichuil and their three black pigs. The exiles make their way towards the hostel and, in a sequence of reconnoitring scenes, Conaire's foster-brothers relate how they regret their actions and Conaire's impending doom. Eventually Conaire is beheaded and his detached head recites a poem about his champion warrior Mac Cécht. Of the notable warriors involved, only Conall Cernach comes out of the incursion alive.

⁷⁰³ O'CONNOR 2008 and 2013; WEST 1997 and 1999; BONDARENKO 2014; BORSJE 2002.

⁷⁰⁴ O'CONNOR 2013: 20. Ó Concheanainn put forward the notion that LU was the exemplar from which YBL was redacted and that a combination of YBL and LU was used to create the text in D iv.2 during the 14th to 15th century (Ó CONCHEANAINN 1985: 74–5). However, Máire West refutes this claim on the grounds that Ó Concheanainn only took three manuscripts into consideration (YBL, LU and D) and because he did not refer to the relationship of Rec. II to Rec. I or III (WEST 1990: 65). West supports Knott's theory that YBL and LU are stemmatically 'collateral' (WEST 1990: 65) and proves that E2/F (the fragments from Eg. 92 and the Book of Fermoy) and D 'descend from a common intermediate exemplar, which is neither Y nor U' (WEST 1990: 66). Furthermore, West proves that H 2.17 and YBL 'are also copies of a common ancestor' (WEST 1990: 66).

⁷⁰⁵ KNOTT 1936: I. 178.

⁷⁰⁶ STOKES 1901: 27.

1.8.2.4 Recension III BDD

An incomplete copy⁷⁰⁷ of Recension III BDD is contained in the 16th-century manuscript Eg. 1782, ff. 106ra–123vb; and a copy thereof exists in the mid-18th-century⁷⁰⁸ TCD MS H 1.14 (1288), ff. 26r–52v.⁷⁰⁹ It is dated to the 12th century by Thurneysen and later by O'Connor, both of whose opinions are reflected in the position of this recension on the timeline below.⁷¹⁰ The *dindsenchas* material in this recension (see below) is used as a dating diagnostic for its composition, as it is, as Nettlau and later Thurneysen argued, younger than Dindsenchas B,⁷¹¹ which is dated by Thurneysen to some time before the middle of the 12th century.⁷¹² The latter text is given this position on the graph below but it may have been composed any time in the first half of the 12th century.⁷¹³

‘Für die Zeit der Kompilazion E steht also nur fest, daß sie jünger als Dinnſenchas B und älter als der Interpolator H ist. Sie wird wohl irgendwo im 12. Jahrhundert anzusetzen sein; [...].’⁷¹⁴

The only available edition of Rec. III is that by Máire West, who does not include a translation, discussion of the language or critical apparatus.⁷¹⁵ Stokes included variant readings from Eg. in his edition of *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* and separately supplies some of Eg.’s additions and reworded sections with accompanying translations.⁷¹⁶

West discusses the transmission and composition of Rec. III, including the fact that it is an amalgamation of material about Conaire Mór. As noted by West, Rec. III includes:

⁷⁰⁷ KNOTT states that this is complete (1936: xiv) but it is missing a folio between fols 115 and 116 and it breaks off at the line equivalent to LU 7997; this fact is highlighted by West also (WEST 1990: 64, note 23).

⁷⁰⁸ The catalogue entry for this MS states that it was copied in 1750 but there are two dates in this manuscript: the first is in the later hand of Eoin O'Reilly who dates Aodh Ó Dálaigh's transcriptions to 1752 on the first page of the table of contents; the second is in the hand of Ó Dálaigh himself on f. 93r, where he signs his name and writes the date October 1750. Presumably, what may be deduced from this is that the work was completed by 1752.

⁷⁰⁹ Thurneysen refers to this as Fassung E (*Held.* 658).

⁷¹⁰ *Held.* 660–1; O'CONNOR 2013: 32.

⁷¹¹ NETTLAU 1891: 234.

⁷¹² *Held.* 39.

⁷¹³ *Met. Dinds.* v, 94.

⁷¹⁴ *Held.* 660–1. See NETTLAU 1891: 234.

⁷¹⁵ WEST 1986: v. This is not a failure on Máire West's part as it was a huge undertaking to edit all extant recensions of *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*.

⁷¹⁶ See STOKES 1901: 390–403.

‘a king-list, a version of *Tochmarc Étaíne* and extra *dinnshenchas* material, all of which have been grafted on to the essential *togail* tale as contained in Recension II. This represents the final stage of the saga’s Middle Irish growth.’⁷¹⁷

It begins with the second story of *Tochmarc Étaíne* (ff. 106ra–108vb) regarding how Eochaid Airem obtained Étaín and how Ailill Anglonnach became sick out of love for her (*serglige Ailella* ‘the wasting sickness of Ailill’), which is ‘grafted on to the text of ‘Togail Bruidne Da Derga’ and forms the beginning of this recension.’⁷¹⁸ In the manuscript, there is a small break between this story, originally TÉ, and the beginning of the part of the tale relating *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*. The scribe does not automatically continue from the TÉ section to the BDD section but leaves the remainder of the final line of TÉ empty (f. 108vb18), marking the end of it with a full stop and a curved line, before commencing the BDD section on a new line and with an enlarged *et* between the columns.⁷¹⁹ However, this is not the only example of this type of formatting in the Eg. copy of BDD, that is to say, it may not be a physical representation of the seams of the different sections of text that have been amalgamated to create Rec. III. For example, in Eg. 1782 in the rhetorical exchange between Ingcél and Fer Rogain, whereby Ingcél describes what he has seen beginning with the formula *at-chondarc and imdae* ‘I saw there an apartment’ and Fer Rogain interprets it,⁷²⁰ the scribe leaves the final line of Ingcél’s description empty and uses the same punctuation as on f. 108vb, i.e. a full stop followed by a curved line. Within the story of *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* on f. 110v3 is integrated in the middle of BDD the redacted version of the CDS extract contained in LU under discussion. Again, it may have been the will of the scribe to distinguish it from the rest of the text as he begins the line with a large <o> for *Orgain*, which is remarkably bigger than the capitals on the rest of the folio, drawing the eye directly towards it.

Regarding the section of tale relating the destruction of Da Derga’s hostel in Rec. III, Thurneysen commented that the redactor of this recension must have had a copy of BDD akin to that contained in YBL at his disposal.⁷²¹ West notes also that ‘apart from a certain amount

⁷¹⁷ WEST 1999: 413–4.

⁷¹⁸ GWYNN 1915: 212. This version of *Tochmarc Étaíne* from Eg. 1782 was published by itself by Windisch who, as West pointed out, ‘misunderstood its relationship to the rest of the saga’ (WEST 1986: v). For a comparison of this section of Rec. III with the equivalent part of *Tochmarc Étaíne*, i.e. *Tochmarc II* (see below), see NETTLAU 1891: 231.

⁷¹⁹ The scribe often uses enlarged capitals at the beginning of the sentence when it happens to fall at the edge of the column, e.g. he writes capitalised *IS* and *R* at the beginning of sentences on f. 106rb. The difference, however, is that he does not leave a gap at the end of the preceding line in these other instances.

⁷²⁰ See KNOTT 1936: §§74–99.

⁷²¹ *Held*. 658.

of modernization, it [i.e. the *togail*] closely follows the text of Recension II.⁷²² Thurneysen identified that the creator of Recension III used the *dindsenchas* of Ráth Cnámrosa and that of Lecga, that the king-list is similar to the Laud synchronisms, and that he may have used the *Lebor Gabála Érenn*.⁷²³ Additionally, and most importantly for the purposes of the present discussion, Rec. III integrates into its composition the contents of Rec. Ib. It is significant that the redactor of Rec. III took a compilatory approach when he recast the text.⁷²⁴ West summarises its development as follows:

‘Recension III represents the extent of the saga’s growth. It is an ambitious compilation of all the varied traditions [...]. The author had a grand project in mind – a fusion of the tales in the Conaire Mór cycle – [...].’⁷²⁵

Rec. III exploits the close relationship between BDD and *Tochmarc Étaíne*, as together they form a biographical chronology of the parentage, birth, life and reign of the legendary High King of Ireland Conaire Mór.

1.8.2.5 *De Síil Chonairi Móir* ‘Regarding the Descendants of Conaire Mór’ and *De Maccaib Conairi* ‘Regarding the Sons of Conaire’

The tale entitled *De Síil Chonairi Móir* ‘Regarding the Descendants of Conaire Mór’ (SCM) must also enter into present considerations regarding the serialisation of literary material related to Conaire Mór. Similarly, the possibly early Middle Irish tale *De Maccaib Conairi* ‘Regarding the Sons of Conaire’ (MC) is later introduced to the BDD series, as I explain below. The transmission of both tales according to a relative chronology is represented on the figure below (1.8.5).

Firstly, SCM is contained in three manuscripts belonging to the 15th century⁷²⁶ and it is ‘preserved amongst a mass of genealogical matter’.⁷²⁷ Thurneysen and others⁷²⁸ place the

⁷²² WEST 1990: 64.

⁷²³ *Held*. 658.

⁷²⁴ See O’CONNOR 2013: 34.

⁷²⁵ WEST 1986: 2–3.

⁷²⁶ The Book of Lecan (Lec.), f. 103ra–103vb (this is the facsimile foliation now used in the catalogue as opposed to Gwynn’s foliation); the Book of Ballymote (BB), ff. 80ra–80va; and TCD MS 1298 (H 2.7), cols. 90–93 (GWYNN 1912: 132). According to GWYNN (1912: 132), the last mentioned MS contains a separate version to that of BB and Lec., which were likely ‘copied from the same original, as in one or two instances they omit the same words’ (GWYNN 1912: 132).

⁷²⁷ This latter point may be the reason why the text has received relatively little attention over the years despite its significance within the wider literary context of biographical material about Conaire Mór. See NETTLAU 1891, 1892, 1893; *Held*. 619–21; CLANCY 2003; BHREATHNACH 1996; FITZPATRICK 2004: 49; and, most recently, O’CONNOR 2013 (particularly pages 36 and 61–5).

composition of SCM before *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* on linguistic grounds.⁷²⁹ The story itself is part of the history of the Múscraige, or Síl Conairi, the Munster dynasty. It opens with the lineage of Gnáthal, a descendent of Conaire Mór, followed by the story of Conaire's conception and birth from an incestuous relationship between Eterscél and his daughter Mes Búachalla. Then follows the story of how Conaire took the kingship: we are told that when Eterscél is killed by Lugaid Ríab nDerg, the latter attempts to obtain the kingship of Leinster by attempting unsuccessfully all the tests: mounting a chariot drawn by two horses of the same colour, fitting into the royal mantle, passing through the flagstones, and the Fál screaming underneath his feet. As this is taking place, Mes Búachalla reveals the identity of Conaire's father to him, which she had previously kept secret. She then accompanies Conaire to Tara with an otherworld army to claim his right as successor, and here occurs the image of Mes Búachalla chanting spells in the vanguard en route to Tara. Conaire proceeds to pass all the tests mentioned already and assumes the kingship. The narrator reiterates that Conaire was a child born of incest. The tale then returns to how Gnáthal mac Conruith ended up moving to Munster and the origins of various Munster and Ulster dynasties as a result.

Gwynn draws attention to the similarities and consistency between SCM and historical accounts of Eterscél's death by the Leinster king Núadu Necht (in 'the annals, historical poems, and genealogies'), which he infers must have followed a common tradition.⁷³⁰ However, Gwynn also remarks that the details of Conaire's birth, fosterage and 'election as king of Ireland' are 'totally different from that of the other tales of the cycle, and so divergent are the two narratives that it is impossible to attempt to unite them'.⁷³¹ The conflicting biographical information about Conaire Mór indicates that it was not part of the material forming the literary cycle about the king. These diverging details represent two separate traditions, one of which emerged as a literary series with distinct narratological features and parts, i.e. the *remscéla* and BDD.

Turning to the tale relating the vengeance of Conaire's sons and how they rose to power in Munster, *De Maccaib Conairi* is extant only in the Book of Leinster, pp. 292a35–

⁷²⁸ *Held.* 619; BHREATHNACH 1996: 71; CLANCY 2003: 85–105; FITZPATRICK 2004: 49; O'Connor 2013: 36. In his edition of SCM, GWYNN (1912) does not propose a date for its composition.

⁷²⁹ 'Der Haupttext weist mit seiner altertümlichen, kaum veränderten Sprache vielleicht noch ins 8. Jahrhundert; daran angehängt sind Notizen in jüngerer Sprache' (*Held.* 619).

⁷³⁰ GWYNN 1912: 131.

⁷³¹ GWYNN 1912: 130. Gwynn goes on to comment how 'the legends abound with the most bewildering dualities and contradictions', including how 'the names of Eochu Feidlech and Eochu Airem interchange'. The logical explanation for such 'dualities and contradictions' in the literature is that there were different versions of tales, which differed in detail but not in story structure, may have been in circulation and that certain versions may have belonged to regions.

293a34, and appears among material related to kings, as pointed out by Gwynn.⁷³² Neither Gwynn nor Thurneysen place the composition of the text within a specific linguistic period but the latter suggests that the part of the text describing ‘die Rache an Ingcél’, occurring during the first half, is ‘ein sprachlich sehr altes Stück’.⁷³³ Ralph O’Connor does not suggest a date for this text but writes that MC ‘was conceived as a sequel to the *Togail* story, and relates to the version told in Recension II [...],⁷³⁴ which, considering the language of the latter recension, suggests a Middle Irish date (see section 1.8.2.3 above). A full investigation of the language of this tale is beyond the scope of the present work but, from preliminary examination, it appears to belong to the late Old Irish to early Middle Irish period.⁷³⁵

Gwynn notes that the ‘scribe of LL wished to make of this story a continuation of the *Bruiden Da Derga* saga’.⁷³⁶ By making reference to the fact that Conaire was slain in the hostel of Da Derga and then the theme of the tale centering on the revenge exacted by Conaire’s sons on Ingcél, the author of this text contained in LL inserts it into the series of tales associated with Conaire Mór. Chronologically, it cannot function as a *remscél* as the events occur after BDD; however, it could be said to fit into an emerging Conaire Mór cycle.⁷³⁷

From the outset, the relationship between the events found in this tale and BDD seems strained by the fact that the narrator conflates Conaire Mór son of Eterscél with Conaire Mogaláma, explaining that both were killed by the same Ingcél and that both had sons of the same name, i.e. Corpre Músc, Corpre Baschain and Corpre Rígfóta.⁷³⁸ This same conflation is

⁷³² Ralph O’Connor describes it as a ‘saga-cum-genealogical tract’ (O’CONNOR 2013: 36). The text was edited and translated by GWYNN (1912a); see Gwynn’s reference to the chronology of the kings in the Book of Ballymote, f. 31ra45; see also *Held*. 663–6 and NETTLAU 1893: 140. Keating also included an Early Modern Irish version based upon this version in his *Foras Feasa* (vol. II, 276).

⁷³³ *Held*. 664; Thurneysen mentions in a footnote that he is referring specifically to lines 13–74 of GWYNN’s edition (1912a: 147–9).

⁷³⁴ O’CONNOR 2013: 36.

⁷³⁵ There is a mixture of Old and Middle Irish forms, making it sometimes difficult to assign a date to this text. For example, it contains a number of deuterotonic forms: *don̄gairther* ‘is called’ (l. 19); *infíd* ‘he told’, which is also an example of an \bar{i} -pret. (l. 25); past subj. 3sg. *atbalad* for OIr. *at-belad* may be simply a corruption (l. 50); *farumai* ‘he goes’ (OIr. *fo-ruimi*); *asberarsom* ‘is told’ (l. 59). It also contains the reduplicated forms *memaid* ‘he broke’ (l. 46) and *neanaisc* ‘he bound’ (l. 60); alone, these forms are untrustworthy as dating diagnostics, however, as the form *ro neanaisc* is found in an Early Modern Irish genealogical tract by Dubháltach Mac Fhirbhisigh (O’DONOVAN 1844: 76). The text also contains the simplified verb *innisid* ‘he tells’ (l. 59) but this may have been introduced at the time of copying, especially given that this phenomenon is a rarity in this text.

⁷³⁶ GWYNN 1912a: 144.

⁷³⁷ The TBC *remscél De Fóilsigud Tána Bó Cúailnge* would appear to contradict this statement; however, FTBC’s purpose as a *remscél* is such that it should be read or recited before TBC and the application of the term in this instance does not have any story-chronological implications (see section 1.6.2.8 above).

⁷³⁸ Gwynn 1912b: 150. The text is as follows: *ba hindua dond Incél thóesech, lasro marbad Conaire Mór, in tincel romarb Conaire mac Moga Láma; masa Incel ros-marb’* (GWYNN 1912b: 147, ll. 6–8).

found again in the Book of Leinster in the genealogical tract on the Múscraige Míttine.⁷³⁹ The narrator continues by relating that Conaire’s brother Eógan Mór visited Conaire’s sons with the news that Ingcél was staying in the house of Nemed. Fíacha Rígfóta, a fosterson of Sárait’s, is sent to Nemed’s house, where he finds Ingcél, and fights his henchman. Ingcél announces that he has been targeted, at which point Sárait expresses the wish that her son behead Ingcél; Fíacha, furthermore, demands that Nemed expel Ingcél. However, Nemed refuses to take an order in his own household and Fíacha threatens that the sons of Conaire will fight Nemed over this matter. Fíacha returns to the sons of Conaire at Tara and, together with Dergtheine, they wage war on Nemed at Belach Feda Máir, where they avenge their father’s murder by killing Ingcél. The short tale ends with an exposition of the lands that the three Corpres ruled thereafter in Munster.

1.8.2.6 *Tochmarc Étaíne* ‘The Wooing of Étaín’

Unlike SCM above, the narrative of *Tochmarc Étaíne*, interacts with the narrative of BDD. In LU, TÉ is a tale in the process of accretion: there are three tales to which the title *Tochmarc Étaíne* applies, all of which appear in succession, the first being acephalous in LU and the second and third headed with a form of the title *Tochmarc Étaíne*. Best and Bergin refer to these tales as: *Tochmarc* I (LU pp. 129a1–129b19; NLI MS G 4, col. 985 (YBL fragment)); *Tochmarc* II (LU pp. 129b20–130b18; NLI MS G 4, col. 990 (YBL fragment));⁷⁴⁰ YBL, cols 876–877); and *Tochmarc* III (LU pp. 130b19–132a45; NLI G 4, cols 992–997 (YBL fragment)).⁷⁴¹ Eg. 1782 also contains ‘a later and much inflated version’ of *Tochmarc Étaíne*.⁷⁴² Thurneysen believed *Tochmarc Étaíne* to have been originally composed during the 9th century but revised in the second half of the 11th century, giving it its present form.⁷⁴³ Bergin and Best date *De Gabáil int Síde*, a retelling of a section of *Tochmarc* I, to the 9th century also, making it contemporary with *Tochmarc Étaíne* (see section 1.6.3.5)⁷⁴⁴ The transmission of *Tochmarc Étaíne* (TÉ) is mapped out on the figure below next to GS. For the

⁷³⁹ CGH 372 (LL p. 324a42).

⁷⁴⁰ This manuscript is a continuation of YBL (*NLI Cat.* fasc. I, 28–31).

⁷⁴¹ I italicise *Tochmarc* here (BERGIN & BEST 1934–38: 139–140). Part of *Tochmarc* I is contained in a fragment in *Lebor na hUidre*, while the *Yellow Book of Lecan* preserves the entire tale. One gathering in the TCD MS H 3.18 (1337) contains a series of glosses from early Irish secular and religious literature, as well as the *Dúil Dromma Cetta* (RUSSELL 1996). The series of glossed passages are extracts from *Tochmarc Emire*, *In Cath Catharda*, *Brisleach Mór Maige Muirthemne*, *De Chophur in dá Muccida*, *Táin Bó Flidais*, *Táin Bó Froích*, *Genemuin Conchobair*, *Táin Bó Regamain*, *Tochmarc Étaíne* and *Fled Bricrenn* in that order. A diplomatic edition of the *Tochmarc Étaíne* text with glosses is given by STERN (1905) in ZcP 5. See also *Held.* 608.

⁷⁴² BERGIN & BEST 1938: 138

⁷⁴³ *Held.* 598.

⁷⁴⁴ BERGIN & BEST 1938: 139.

purpose of creating a complete picture of the relative chronology of relevant material, I include the metrical version of *Tochmarc I* on the graph, represented by the abbreviation CA, which is a poem from the Metrical Dindsenchas attributed to the 10th-century poet Cináed úa hArtacáin.⁷⁴⁵

Tochmarc I narrates the relationship between the Boand and the Dagdae, the conception and birth of Óengus, how the latter came to be reared by Midir of Brí Léith, how Midir later reveals Óengus' parentage and instructs him to procure the land due to him as the son of the Dagdae. *Tochmarc II* tells of the wasting sickness of Ailill Ángubae as a result of his love for Étaín, wife to his brother Eochaid Airem. Midir of Brí Léith makes an appearance in *Tochmarc II*, explaining to Étaín, who has no recollection of him, that his evil first wife had driven her away and that she should return with him to Brí Léith; Étaín says that she will 'willingly'⁷⁴⁶ go but no mention is made of her leaving. In *Tochmarc III* Midir wins Étaín from a game of *fidchell* with Eochaid Airem and takes her away to Síd Femin in the shape of a swan, echoing the imagery and swan trope found in *Aislinge Óenguso*. Again, similar to the series of events in *Aislinge Óenguso*, Eochaid destroys Midir's *síd* and demands that Étaín be returned to him. However, he must first select his wife from a group of similar-looking women, which he fails to do and instead takes Étaín's daughter. Eochaid and Étaín's daughter later have a child, who is reared in secret, later partners with Eterscéil, and gives birth to Conaire Mór.

1.8.3 An analysis and comparison of the CDS extracts in LU and Eg.

Now that all the material relevant to the question of serialising the literature has been presented, I will turn to the CDS extracts, i.e. Rec. Ib BDD, in *Lebor na hUidre* and Eg. 1782. I separate the two sections of text and borrow West's classification of these as CDS(A) and CDS(B), which are presented as two parts in the manuscript by the use of the subheading in the second section: *Slicht na cíni beos* (see below); this title appears to have been added later. I divide CDS(A) further into CDS(A)1 and CDS(A)2 for ease of comparison with the Eg. text.

In his edition of BDD, Stokes gave the first part of the Eg. text, the CDS(A) equivalent, in his section on the "additions" in Eg. but did not translate it. West also provided an edition of Rec. III BDD, which includes the section of text equivalent to LU's CDS

⁷⁴⁵ GWYNN 1914. Mentioned above within the context of *De Gabáil int Síde* (section 1.6.3.12).

⁷⁴⁶ BERGIN & BEST 1938: 173.

extracts, but also did not include a translation.⁷⁴⁷ I use Ó Cathasaigh's translation⁷⁴⁸ of the text of LU and provide my own translation for Eg. I provide a conservative transcription of the CDS extracts from LU, along with conservative transcriptions of the equivalent sections from the Eg. manuscript, which represents Rec. III. After each section, I compare LU with Eg., after which I discuss the contents of the extracts. In accordance with the editorial policy I adopt throughout this work when giving a conservative transcription, all well-known compendia, *m*- and *n*-strokes and marks of lenition other than the *punctum delens* above <s> and <f> are marked by italicisation; and any syllables represented by a suspension stroke in the manuscript are underlined in the transcription. As far as is possible, I try to typographically reproduce the appearance of the text as it is in the manuscript: for example, I make the second syllable of *tesbaid* superscript below as in the manuscript. Certain other palaeographical peculiarities are not possible to reproduce typographically, however, such as the use of the *spiritus asper* in LU for a *h*-mutation across the word boundary, e.g. in *úa hecach* below, which I mark simply by use of italicisation.

1.8.3.1 CDS(A)1

LU 8005–13 (p. 99a11–20): Slicht Libair Dromma Snechta inso

ORGAIN Brudne Uí Dergae trá iarna remscélaib .i. iar Tesbaid Etaine ingine Aillello ⁊ iar Tromdáim Echdach Airemón ⁊ iar nAisneís Síde Meic Óic do Midir Breg Leith ina síd. Conaire mac Eterscéli meic meic Ier di Ernaib Muman is é ro hort isin brudin seo. Mess Búachallo dano a máthair ingen sidé Echdach Airemon ⁊ ingen ingine Étaíne ut diximus. Conid Conaire ó máthair do Echdaig .i. Conaire úa hEeach .i. mac ingine ingine Echach hé.

Eg., f. 110vb3–13: Orgain bruidni da derga aisneithir inso síis iarsna rémsgélaib .i. iar tesbaid étaine ingine Aililla. ⁊ iar tromdáim echach aireman. ⁊ iar naisneís síde maic ind óc do mider breg léith ina síd.~ Conaire mac Etersceóil maic hi ieír do mumain is é ro ort isin bruidinse. Mess buachalla dano a mathair .i. ingen ingini étaine. ⁊ eochach aireman.

LU: This is the version of the *Lebor Dromma Snechta*.

⁷⁴⁷ Stokes 1901:

⁷⁴⁸ Ó CATHASAIGH 1990: 105–11. West also provides a translation of the CDS extracts from LU in her edition (WEST 1986: 379).

“The Destruction of Úa Dergae’s Hostel” then after its prefatory tales, that is, after “The Absence of Étaín daughter of Ailill”, and after “The Burdensome Company of Echaid Airem”, and after “The Instruction Regarding the *Síd* of Mac Óc Given by Midir [of Brí Léith]⁷⁴⁹ in his *Síd*”. Conaire son of Eterscéle, grandson of Íar of the Érainn of Munster, he it was who was killed in this *bruiden*. His mother was Mess Búachalla and she was daughter of Echaid Airem and granddaughter of Étaín, *ut diximus*. So that Conaire is descended through his mother’s side [emending to *Conid úa Conaire ó máthair*]⁷⁵⁰ from Echaid, namely, Conaire descendant of Echaid, that is, he is Echaid’s daughter’s daughter’s son.⁷⁵¹

Eg.: The Destruction of Da Derga’s Hostel is related below after the prefatory tales, i.e. after the ‘Absence of Étaín, daughter of Ailill’, and after the ‘Grievous Host of Echaid Airem’, and after the ‘Disclosure of the *Síd* of the Mac ind Óc to Midir of Brí Léith in his *Síd*’. Conaire son of Eterscéle, grandson of Íar of Munster, it is he who was killed in this *bruiden* (‘hostel’). Moreover, Mess Búachalla was his mother, that is, Étaín’s daughter’s daughter and [the daughter of] Echaid Airem. (Own translation)

The CDS extract, or an intermediate copy thereof, forms the basis for the section in Eg., which is in an adapted form in the middle of the narrative of BDD between the section of the text originally belonging to *Tochmarc* II and a Middle Irish version of Rec. II BDD. It is interesting that Eg. includes *Tochmarc* II, rather than I or III, given that, as I will show below, two of the *remscéla* in the list appear to refer to I and III; Bergin and Best also comment that *Tochmarc* I and III ‘are in the nature of foretales (*remscéla*) to the historic cycle of Conaire Mór’.⁷⁵² The most obvious reason behind the redactor of Rec. III using *Tochmarc* II is because that was the material available to him. Unlike LU, Eg. does not refer directly to CDS as its source. There may be various reasons for this: the redactor of Rec. III may have endeavoured to create a flowing and complete narrative without obvious gaps or flags between the episodes he sewed together; or it may also have been the case that his exemplar did not refer to CDS.

In LU, this first section is separated from the preceding copy of Rec. II BDD, which concludes with the words *Finit amen finit*. The title is given space within the column and is highlighted by a red linear box which surrounds it. This contrasts with the title, or, more

⁷⁴⁹ My addition.

⁷⁵⁰ Here, Ó Cathasaigh suggests an emendation of the text, which alters the translation. Cf. Stokes’ ‘so that Conaire by his mother’s side (belonged) to Eochaid’ (Ó CATHASAIGH 1990: 105, note 12).

⁷⁵¹ Ó CATHASAIGH 1990: 105–6.

⁷⁵² BERGIN & BEST 1938: 139.

properly, subheading, of the second extract below, which is also surrounded by a linear box but it has been added to the remaining space at the end of the line of the preceding section rather than being purposely given its own space within the column. The ink of the latter subheading is noticeably more compact in size and faded in comparison to the rest of the text. The use of the term *slicht* denotes that it comes from a different tradition; the term is used here in the same compilatory manner as we find other ‘alternative versions’ included in Rec. I of TBC.⁷⁵³

In the main text, both LU and Eg. refer to the tale as *Orgain Brudne Uí/Da Dergae/Derga*, which is the only extant example of this title. The title *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* heads the 23 N 10 and YBL copies of BDD, and it is the title found in the Middle Irish Tale Lists.⁷⁵⁴ In the body of the text of Recension II BDD, the act itself is referred to as an *orgun*: when the marauders set up on the Strand of Fuirbthe, it is described that traditionally the reavers build a *cairn* during a destruction (*orgun/orgain*), as opposed to a pillar during a rout (*maidm*).⁷⁵⁵ Indeed *orgun/orgain* is used to refer to the ‘destruction’ repeatedly in the narrative: another example is when Lomna, son of Donn Désa, expresses his regret by saying ‘woe to him who shall wreak this Destruction (acc. sg. *orguin*)!’⁷⁵⁶ Only once in the YBL copy of BDD is the word *togail* used: in the lay uttered by Conaire from his sleep: *adaig do thogail rí ind adaig se* ‘a night to destroy a king is this night’.⁷⁵⁷

Comparing the Eg. text with that of LU, Eg. introduces some additions and rewording, some of which are indicative of the date of its redaction, and some of which were introduced to simplify the text. Two certain very minor features in this section may indicate that the compiler of Rec. III in Eg. was either learned enough to reintroduce older characteristics of the language or that he was using an exemplar other than LU, i.e. Eg.’s historically correct form of the def. art. in *íarsna* versus LU’s *íarna*. The second is Eg.’s *Mac ind Óc* over LU’s *In Mac Óc*, the former being the *lectio difficilior* for this name.⁷⁵⁸ *In Mac Óc* is the form used in the first part of *Tochmarc Étaíne*, i.e. *Tochmarc I*,⁷⁵⁹ however, as well as in *Aislinge*

⁷⁵³ For example: *Mád iar n-araili slicht immorro is fertas carpait Con Culaind. ro maid 7 is do béim fertas dochóid in tan cotránic fri araid nÓrlám. Is é in t-ara ros ben na fertsi mad íarsin tslicht sa.* ‘According to another version, however, it was the shaft of Cú Chulainn’s chariot that had broken and he had gone to cut a new shaft when he met the charioteer Órlám. But according to this version it was the charioteer who cut the shafts’ (O’RAHILLY 1976: II. 873-5). See also Ó CATHASAIGH 1990: 104.

⁷⁵⁴ MAC CANA 1980: 41, 55.

⁷⁵⁵ KNOTT 1936: §67.

⁷⁵⁶ KNOTT 1936: I. 709; STOKES 1902: 177.

⁷⁵⁷ KNOTT 1936: I. 1051; STOKES 1902: 208.

⁷⁵⁸ See the chapter on *Aislinge Óenguso* below for further discussion (section 2.1.13).

⁷⁵⁹ BERGIN & BEST 1938: §§2–14, 18–21, 24, 25 (YBL).

Óenguso;⁷⁶⁰ the fact that these tales are thematically related and interconnected in their story material and that they agree on using the same form of the name is significant. Again, this is an instance in which the redactor of Eg. either introduced an archaism or it may be an indication of his use of a source other than LU that contained this form.

Regarding rewording, Eg. replaces *uí* with *da*; it then inserts the Middle Irish verb form *aisnéithir* ‘is related’ (pres. ind. pass. sg. of *aisnéidid*, simplified from OIr. *as-indet*); and instead of *trá* ‘moreover’, he writes *inso síis* ‘below’. These additions are examples of how the redactor of Rec. III adapts the text to suit the new amalgamated narrative. The simplified verb form was in use during the time that *Saltair na Rann* was composed,⁷⁶¹ which adds to the argument already proposed by Thurneysen and his successors (see above) that Rec. III in Eg. was created during the Middle Irish period. Concerning the rewording in the final line of Eg., the redactor may have identified the lack of clarity and altered it completely while still retaining the same message that Conaire Mór was a great-grandson of Echaíd Airem and Étaín.

The short dat. sg. *aisnéis* (f-n-stem) for earlier *aisndís* in LU (and subsequently in Eg.), with assimilation of the dental and the change from *-í-* to *-é-*, is indicative of a date closer to the St Gall glosses,⁷⁶² i.e. mid-9th century, rather than the 8th century, as suggested by the reference to CDS. On the other hand, this may have been a modernisation introduced at some point during the text’s transmission, perhaps even at the time of copying.

The *slicht* above states that it provides the *remscéla* to *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*,⁷⁶³ followed by the synopsis that Conaire was killed in the hostel; and then his parentage is given. The following stories are described by the narrator as *remscéla* ‘prefatory tales’ to BDD: (1) *Tesbaid Étaíne ingine Ailello*; (2) *Tromdáim Ehdach Airemon*; and (3) *Aisnéis Síde Maic Óic do Midir Breg Leith ina síd*. In the following, I will refer to these respectively as *Tesbaid*, *Tromdám* and *Aisnéis*. As I will discuss, rather than complete tales, these appear to be elements of the *Tochmarc Étaíne* story, which itself is not classified anywhere in the literature as a *remscél* to BDD. However, that is not to preclude the circulation of independent story

⁷⁶⁰ SHAW 1934: §§13, 15.

⁷⁶¹ See, for example, 1sg. sec. fut. *ní aisnéidfind* ‘I would not relate’, SR 827.

⁷⁶² Cf. nom. sg. *aisnéis*, Sg. 161b3.

⁷⁶³ In Knott’s edition of Recension II BDD, she does not discuss this piece of text in-depth but mentions it briefly in her notes to the edition (1936: 71) and refers the reader to Gwynn’s article on the two versions of *Tochmarc Étaíne* (1914), Nettlau’s study of BDD at the end of the 19th century (1891), and Gwynn’s article on *De Síil Chonairi Móir* (1912).

elements before the tale emerged in its present form in three separate parts and bearing the title *Tochmarc Étaíne*.

The *remscéla* listed in this extract may also be interpreted as descriptions of tales or story episodes, rather than complete tale titles by which they were widely known. Instead of treating these as titles in the LU extract, the words *tesbaid* ‘absence, loss’ and *aisnéis* ‘(act of) instructing, telling’ may be understood with the sense of verbal nouns in conjunction with the preposition *iar* as periphrastic pluperfects: *iar Tesbaid Etaine ingine Aillello* and *iar nAisnéis Síde Meic Óic do Midir Breg Leith ina síd* could be interpreted as ‘after Étaín daughter of Ailill had been lost’ and ‘and after the Mac Óc having been instructed regarding the *síd* by Midir of Brí Léith in his *síd*’. If it is the case that two of the titles given here are no more than descriptions, then the presentation of these *remscéla* is akin to the manner in which the three final *remscéla* to TBC are presented in the LL list, i.e. the three *macgnímrada*, which are not given closed titles *per se*, even though they are in a title-list, but the chief action of the episode is described. Categorially, then, the *remscéla* listed here and the *macgnímrada* of the LL TBC *remscéla* list are the same, which is significant as regards the application of the term *remscél*. I will discuss now the episodes to which these descriptions refer.

Beginning in the order in which the title/episode descriptions occur in CDS(A)1 above, Thurneysen believed *Tesbaid Étaíne ingine Aillello* ‘Absence of Étaín, daughter of Ailill’ to have referred to part of *Tochmarc I*.⁷⁶⁴ Bergin and Best suggest two options, either that it referred to Fúamnach’s jealousy and subsequent banishing of Étaín in *Tochmarc I* or that it may have referred to Midir retrieving Étaín in *Tochmarc III*. It seems likely that it simply refers to Étaín’s state of being absent from Midir, as caused by Fúamnach (and the druid Bresal Etarlám according to *Tochmarc II*). This fact is certain because the description in CDS(A)1 refers to the first Étaín of *Tochmarc I*, Midir’s love-interest, the daughter of the Ulster king Ailill. *Tesbaid* may refer to either a loss in the sense of a death or an absence,⁷⁶⁵ both of which suit the context of Étaín’s disappearance. The following point in *Tochmarc I* underscores the significance of her being missing in the story and it also introduces an important chronological feature to the narrative:

Di bliadain déc ar míli tra o gein tuisseach Edaíne o Ailill cosin ngein déigenach o Edar.

⁷⁶⁴ Held. 657.

⁷⁶⁵ DIL T 156.3.

‘Now it was a thousand and twelve years from the first begetting of Étaín by Ailill until her last begetting by Étar.’⁷⁶⁶

When Midir visits Étaín, who is by this point in *Tochmarc* II the daughter of Étar and wife of Echaid Airem, he reveals her identity to her:

‘Ba tocha duid toidheacht cucamsa, ol an tan rupsa Etain Echraidhe ingen Ailella [col. 992] ba misi do cetmuidter [...].’

‘Twere more fitting for thee to come to me, for when thou wast Étaín Echraide, daughter of Ailill, ‘tis I that was thy husband.’⁷⁶⁷

Again, a central aspect of this revelation and Midir identifying Étaín is her father’s name, which distinguishes her from her second life as the daughter of Étar. In this same encounter, Midir goes on to explain how they were separated by Fúamnach: Étaín begins by asking ‘*cid ron édarscar?*’ ‘what was it that parted us?’.⁷⁶⁸ At no point in the story, however, is the term *tesbaid* used.

The title *Tromdám Ehdach Airemon* appears under the list of the *gnáthscéla Éirenn* ‘well-known tales of Ireland’ in Tale List B.⁷⁶⁹ The compiler of List B did not include the other two *remscéla* given here; that is to say, contrary to the way he used multiple articles from *remscéla* TBC lists to complement the Tale Lists (see section 1.11), his use of only one of the *remscéla* BDD may indicate his acquaintance with a tale of this name rather than a list. Neither the *tromdám*, *tesbaid* nor the *aisnéis* are tale-types in the Middle Irish Tale Lists, nor do they commonly form title elements outside of the lists; that is, excepting the Early Modern Irish retelling of *De Fóillsigud Tána Bó Cúailnge*, i.e. *Tromdhámh Ghúaire* ‘The Grievous Host of Gúaire’.

Thurneysen, Bergin and Best, and more recently Tomás Ó Cathasaigh believed that the *Tromdám* referred to *Tochmarc* III. Ó Cathasaigh equated it with, what he calls ‘the harrowing of the Otherworld by Echaid Airem’ in *Tochmarc* III,⁷⁷⁰ whereby the ‘grievous host’ is that led by Echaid and that which destroys Midir’s *síd*. However, it is regularly the case that the person named in an episode or tale title, in this instance Echaid Airem, is the person upon whom the grievance is inflicted and not the perpetrator. One point of comparison

⁷⁶⁶ BERGIN & BEST 1938: 156, 157, §21.

⁷⁶⁷ BERGIN & BEST 1938: 170, 171, §8.

⁷⁶⁸ BERGIN & BEST 1938: 170, 171, §8.

⁷⁶⁹ MAC CANA 1980: 51.

⁷⁷⁰ *Held*. 657; BEST & BERGIN 1938: 139, note 1; Ó CATHASAIGH 1990: 106.

is *Tromdhámh Ghúaire*, in which the *tromdám* ‘heavy/grievous host’ does not belong to Gúaire but he is the one whom is visited by the heavy host. By the same token, in *tána bó* tales such as *Táin Bó Froích* ‘The Cattle-raid of Fróech’, it is Fróech’s cattle who have been stolen and not Fróech who carries out a cattle-raid. In light of this, there are two possible explanations for this episode title: the first is that a tale or episode relating how a grievous host imposed itself on Echaid Airem once existed but did not survive; the second is that it refers to Midir’s host who are ordered by Echaid to dig up the causeway over Móin Lámraige in *Tochmarc III*.

In addition to the title in List B, one other piece of evidence might support the first possible explanation that a tale/episode *Tromdám Ehdach Airemon* has not survived, namely, the Middle Irish poem in the Book of Leinster attributed to Flann Mainistrech (†1056), beginning *A Gillu gairm n-ilgrada*.⁷⁷¹ This poem enumerates the type of people found in a *tromdám* including, for instance, the three *driúith*, here ‘buffoons’, ugly women, and people who are *bétach* ‘houghty’ and *béchaintech* ‘speak in the manner of a woman’ (LL 3507). It is in the last of twenty-five stanzas that there is a reference to an Echaid, though not specifically Echaid Airem:

Dosfarraid dith ndronthaige⁷⁷² | Ehdach las frith findchlaide | ba uag eithrech
 errchraide⁷⁷³ | don tsluag greiflech gillchaide.⁷⁷⁴

Ruin of Echaid’s solid house befell him, by whom a fair trench was procured: it was a final, decaying grave for the fussy host with many servants. (Own translation)⁷⁷⁵

⁷⁷¹ LL 3419–3518. There is not yet an edition or translation of this poem available. Eystein Thanisch, in his dissertation on the work of Flann Mainistrech, mentions it in passing (THANISCH 2015: 77–8). Thurneysen also noted the relationship between this poem and *Tromdám Ehdach Airemon*, linking the latter with *Tochmarc III* and remarking upon the nature of the *tromdám* described in the poem as ‘semi-demonic’: ‘Am ehesten ist es die *tromdām* der Elfen, die in der Interpolazion im „Dritten Werben um Etain“ (Kap. 78) genannt wird; diese Sage wird in der Kompilazion Kap. 83 als *Tromdām Ehdach Airemon* bezeichnet; derselbe Titel findet sich in der Sagenliste B’ (*Held.* 256). This idea was also supported by Ó COILEÁIN (1977: 43, note 34). O’Curry (*Manners and Customs II*, 150–1) and later DILLON (1946: 154) believed the poem referred to *Tromdhámh Ghúaire*.

⁷⁷² It looks like the nasalisation from the originally neuter noun *díth* in the nom. sg. has been retained, unless a case may be made that *díth* is in the acc. sg. *Dronthaige* should be amended to *dronthaige* with homorganic delentation; it seems to be a combination of the adj. *dron* ‘strong, hardly, solid’ and *tech* ‘house’.

⁷⁷³ Here, I understand *errchraide* as the ptp. of *ara-chrin* ‘decays’, i.e. *airchríde* ‘decaying’.

⁷⁷⁴ I have taken *greiflech* to the adjective based on *greifel* ‘staggers’, which survives into Modern Irish as *griothal*, *greitheal* (see also *grifileán*) and carries the meaning ‘bustling, fussy’ (GWYNN 1935: 56) or even ‘impatient’.

⁷⁷⁵ I am indebted to Dr Mícheál Hoyne of the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies for his insights regarding some of the obscure language of this quatrain by private correspondence. Firstly, he suggested that *eithrech* should and may be understood in the temporal sense ‘final’, rather than the physical, bodily sense of relating to ‘an extremity’ (*eithre*). Hoyne has suggested to me that the poet created *gillchaide* from a combination of *gilla* ‘servant’ and two adjectival endings *-ach* and *-de* out of metrical necessity, i.e. because the metre

I have taken *díth* here in the first line to refer to the ruin inflicted on Echaid's household at the hands of a *tromdám*; *díth* also carries the sense of 'slaughter' and 'death', which may provide an alternative interpretation of the line. Here, *findchlaide* may be either a 'fair trench' or may be referring to Echaid as a 'fair grave-digger'; the expected form for 'grave-digger' is *claidid* but there is one example in the Rennes Dindsenchas of *claide* being used instead.⁷⁷⁶ The reference to the *úag* in the following line appears to allude to Echaid killing the *tromdám*; this meaning may also be figurative. There is no overt statement in the poem that it is referring specifically to Echaid Airem, that is, based on present understanding of his character and the stories attached to him as they survive in extant material. Of course, this final stanza referring to a grave may be a play on the second element of his name, i.e. Airem 'ploughman'. *Tochmarc* III explains that Echaid received this epithet Airem because 'he was the first of the men of Ireland to put a yoke upon the necks of oxen'.⁷⁷⁷ Along with the concept of the ploughman being attached to Echaid's character, the Early Modern Irish tradition associates his name with the 'grave-digger': in Keating's *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*, he is described as having been the first in Ireland to dig a cave or grave (depending on how one understands *uaimh*).⁷⁷⁸ The associations with his sobriquet here seem connected with the Middle Irish poem *A Gillu gairm n-ilgráda*, which, in turn, provides possible further evidence of a tale no longer extant called *Tromdám Echdach Airemon*, in which Echaid exacted revenge for excessive levies placed on him.

The second interpretation of the *Tromdám*, that it refers to Midir's host, might be supported by two features in *Tochmarc* III: firstly, by a reference to the *Lebor Dromma Snechta* (i.e. CDS); and the second is contained in this supposed extract from CDS in the form of a *retoiric*, in which Midir's group refers to a *tromdám* 'heavy/grievous host'. As Midir is digging the causeway over Móin Lámraige with his host after losing to Echaid Airem at *fidchell*, his company recite this *retoiric*, which is introduced as *annfoclai* (*and foclai* in Bergin and Best's edition; see below), the plural of *annfocal*, defined by *DIL* as 'some kind of cryptic saying'.⁷⁷⁹ Bergin and Best did not attempt to provide a translation due to the nature of the language; however, as it is relevant to our understanding of the *remscéla* to *Togail*

casbairdne being used here requires a trisyllabic final word. Such a strategy, according to Hoynes, is not unheard of in the later Bardic poetry. There is only one example in the dictionary entry for *gillchaide* (*DIL* G 83.62) with the suggested meaning 'hostage'. This example is also fixed by syllabic metre, though not by end-rhyme, in another poem in the Book of Leinster, p. 147a. The context of its usage is regarding the type of hostages one keeps and it is followed by a quatrain regarding the men who pay homage to the speaker, here Ailill Aulom (MACNEILL 1893–1896: 550, 551, §38).

⁷⁷⁶ *DIL* s.v. 2 *claidid*.

⁷⁷⁷ BERGIN & BEST 1938: 178, 179, §8.

⁷⁷⁸ *Keat.* ii, 228.

⁷⁷⁹ *DIL* A 3515.38.

Bruidne Da Derga, particularly *Tromdám Echdach Airemon*, I have provided a very rough translation, which is only a step towards understanding the contents of this ‘obscure’⁷⁸⁰ piece of text. I include some commentary in the form of footnotes to the translation of the text.

is e seó and foclai bai oca muindtir amal atbeir Lebor Droma Snechta:

.r. Cuirthe i lland tochre i lland airderg damrudh trom an coibden clunithar (LU: clunithar) fir (LU: fír) ferdi buidne balthruim crandchuir forderg saire fedhar sechuib slimprib snithib sciathu (LU: scítha) lama indrochad (LU: ind rosc) cloena fó bith oenmna duib in digail duib an tromdaim tairthim flatho fer ban fomnis in fer mbraine cerpai fomnis diadh dergae fer arfeidh solaid (LU: solaig) fri ais eslind fer bron fort ier techta in delmnad (LU: inde lámnado) o luachair for di Teithbi dichlochad (LU: dí lecad) Midi indracht coich les coich aimles.⁷⁸¹

‘[...] these are the words his people were saying, according to the Book of Druim Snechta.’⁷⁸²

‘Retoiric: Put in land; place in land.’⁷⁸³ The very red band is heard; truth that is the better: powerful and heavy companies. Bloodstained lot-casting⁷⁸⁴; a nobility that leads to places (?) with woven rods.⁷⁸⁵ Arms are weary. He bends the causeway with the *tromdám* because of one dark woman⁷⁸⁶ by means of dark punishment.⁷⁸⁷ A slumber of sovereignty – a bloodless man – beware of the man at the front (?).⁷⁸⁸ Beware of the man of the red smoke:⁷⁸⁹ he precedes an omen⁷⁹⁰ with [his] dangerous folk. [...]

⁷⁸⁰ BERGIN & BEST 1938: 183, note 3.

⁷⁸¹ BERGIN & BEST 1938: 182, §12; see LU 10881–88. I insert the *variae lectiones* from LU here for ease of comparison; these are all given by BERGIN & BEST in footnotes except for the LU reading *clunithar*.

⁷⁸² BERGIN & BEST 1938: 182, 183, §11.

⁷⁸³ This first line is similar to the first line of an earlier piece of *retoiric* uttered by Echaid’s group as they undo the work carried out by Midir after sundown: *Coire a laim, tochra i laim* ‘Put in hand, throw in hand’ (BERGIN & BEST 1938: 178, 179, §8; LU 10821–23). BERGIN & BEST remark that this probably means ‘put there, put here’ (1938: 179, note 1). The final line of this *retoiric* is similar to the present piece, as I note below.

⁷⁸⁴ This is no doubt a reference to the games of *fidchell* played between Midir and Echaid Airem. A looser translation would be ‘blood-stained gambling’.

⁷⁸⁵ I have taken a liberty here by assuming that the *m* in *slimprib* is perhaps a mistake in both YBL and LU by accidental addition of an *m*-stroke at some point during the text’s transmission and that the dat. pl. of *slipre* ‘rod’ should be read. However, there is little else to support this theory other than the fact the scribe of LU often omits and later reinserts letters throughout *Tochmarc Étaíne* (see the multiple notes by BEST & BERGIN in their diplomatic edition of *Lebor na hUidre*, LU 10790–10915).

⁷⁸⁶ Here I read YBL’s *indrochad* as *in drochet/drochat* as ‘bridge, causeway’ as the *retoiric* is regarding the construction of a causeway. LU’s alternative is *ind rosc* ‘the eye’. I understand *clóena* here to be a case of Bergin’s Law, whereby the verb is the 3sg. conj. pres. ind. *-cláena/-clóena* placed at the end of the clause.

⁷⁸⁷ Here, I translate *in digail in tromdám* as a series of independent datives, the first with an instrumental sense and the second with that of accompaniment.

⁷⁸⁸ I can offer no translation for *cerpae* at this time.

⁷⁸⁹ I take *diadh dergae* ‘of red smoke’ (*dé* ‘smoke’) as a preposed genitive.

according to tradition,⁷⁹¹ the manner of giving birth.⁷⁹² From [setting] rushes over two [kingdoms of] Tethbae,⁷⁹³ clearing away the stones of Mide;⁷⁹⁴ he has decided⁷⁹⁵ whose advantage it is [and] whose disadvantage it is.⁷⁹⁶ (Own translation)

Some of the contents of this *retoiric* are reminiscent of one particular stanza in the *dindsenchas* of Ráth Ésa, which refers to Echaid's 'fourfold demand' placed on Midir in *Tochmarc Étaíne*:⁷⁹⁷

Tóchur for móin Lámraigi, | fid for Brefni co feochra, | dichlochad más már-Midi, |
ocus luachair for Tethba.

'To build a causeway across the bog of Lamraige, to plant a wood growing wild over Brefne, to clear stones from the Bottoms of great Mide, and to set rushes over Tethba.'⁷⁹⁸

Returning to the *tromdám* in the *retoiric* above: due to the nature of the language in the *retoiric*, it is not automatically clear if the *tromdám* refers to Midir's group or to Echaid's group or indeed to Fúamnach's 'retinue'. That said, I have translated it as referring to the supernatural group of helpers accompanying Midir. Presumably, the *óenben dub* refers to Fúamnach, the original cause behind Midir's journey to retrieve the woman banished by her; unless, of course, there is a degree of sarcasm intended that Midir would go to such lengths to retrieve an *óenben*, that is, Étaín. The punishment (*dígal*, also 'revenge'), may signify Fúamnach's original jealousy in *Tochmarc I*; Midir's constructing the causeway is, in essence, one of the outcomes of her vengefulness.

⁷⁹⁰ I use YBL's *solaid* here over LU's *solaig*; the latter is the acc. sg. of *sol* 'floor, foundation' and it may indeed be the correct interpretation.

⁷⁹¹ *Téchtæ* may also carry the legal sense 'conformity with law', i.e. 'according to that which is proper'.

⁷⁹² Here I translate the reading from LU as *in delmnad* looks like a reinterpretation of *inde lámnado* if the first and final syllables of *lámnado* were removed and the word boundary reanalysed. To my knowledge, there is no word *delmnad*. *Inde* 'nature, quality' is glossed in LU with Latin *more* by the hand known as M and *lámnado* is the gen. sg. of *lámnaid* 'act of giving birth'.

⁷⁹³ Literally, 'two Tethbaes'.

⁷⁹⁴ Here I translate YBL's *dichlochad*.

⁷⁹⁵ Much like the rest of my translation of this piece, I am uncertain as to how *indracht* should be interpreted. Here, I take it as a 3sg. perf. of the sparsely attested verb *ind-aig* 'plies, applies'; *DIL* gives one example (*Ir. Texte* 3, 201, §71) in which the meaning may be something in the range of 'ascribes' (*s. v. ind-aig*).

⁷⁹⁶ This final line is repeated in the earlier piece of *retoiric* in the tale already cited as containing a similar first line: *ní fes cuich les cuich aimles de thochar dar Moin Lamruide* 'none knoweth whose is the gain, whose the loss, from the causeway over Móin Lamraige' (BERGIN & BEST 1938: 178, 179, §8). LU has an additional line at the end, not mentioned by Bergin & Best: *Tochur dar cech moin* (LU 10888) 'A causeway across every bog' (own translation).

⁷⁹⁷ The premise in this poem is inverted, however. In the Metrical *Dindsenchas*, Midir performs these feats in atonement for having kidnapped Étaín.

⁷⁹⁸ *Met. Dinds.* ii, 57–60.

Turning to the final title/episode in the lists above, Thurneysen believed *íar nAisnéis Síde Maic Óic do Midir Breg Leith ina síd* to be part of *Tochmarc I*.⁷⁹⁹ Bergin and Best found the *Aisnéis* ‘more difficult to place’, however, suggesting that it refers to §§13–26 of *Tochmarc I*.⁸⁰⁰ An obvious candidate available from the various parts of *Tochmarc Étaíne* is the story of how Óengus acquired his *síd* in *Tochmarc I* because it involves in Mac Óc and Midir of Brí Léith, the two mentioned in this title/description, and because it deals with the ownership of *síd* land, as indicated again by the title/description. However, the matter of the *aisnéis* ‘instruction’, following Ó Cathasaigh’s translation, is less clear-cut.⁸⁰¹ In *Tochmarc I*, Midir technically does not instruct Óengus regarding how he should procure land: he reveals Óengus’ parentage to him and presents him to the Dagdae, who then gives instructions (*comairle* ‘advice’)⁸⁰² as to how he should trick Elcmar out of his *síd*. There are other instances of Óengus being instructed in *Tochmarc I* but only one involves his *síd*: when Midir is injured, Óengus offers to repay him by surrendering his own *síd* to him and offering to nurse Midir back to health; Midir makes further demands regarding his restitution (*lóg* ‘payment’):

‘Nocho n-anab,’ ol Midir, ‘acht mina[m] bé a lógh airi.’ ‘Cid logh ón?’ ol an Mac Óc. ‘Ní hannsa. Carpad bus fiú .uii. cumala,’ ol Midir, ‘7 deichealt mo dingmala, 7 ingen bus ailldem a nEirind.’ ‘Ata liumsa on,’ ol an Mac Óc, ‘an carpat 7 in deichealt bus dingmala duit.’ ‘Atá dono,’ ol Midir, ‘inn ingen doroscai di ingenaib Erenn ar chruth.’ ‘Cissi airm i tá?’ ol an Mac Óc. ‘Atá la hUltaib,’ ol Midir, ‘ingen Ailella, Edain Echraidi, [...].’

‘I will not stay,’ said Midir, ‘unless I have a reward therefor.’ ‘What reward?’ said the Mac Óc. ‘Easy to say. A chariot worth seven cumals,’ said Midir, ‘and a mantle befitting me, and the fairest maiden in Ireland.’ ‘I have,’ said the Mac Óc, ‘the chariot and the mantle befitting thee.’ ‘There is moreover,’ said Midir, ‘the maiden that surpasses all maidens in Ireland in form.’ ‘Where is she?’ said the Mac Óc. ‘She is in Ulster,’ said Midir, ‘Ailill’s daughter Étaín Echraide, [...].’⁸⁰³

The question of his *síd* is not taken up again but presumably some land was transferred to Midir by Óengus as compensation as he does not reject the offer. Another instance involving

⁷⁹⁹ Held. 657.

⁸⁰⁰ Held. 657; BEST & BERGIN 1938: 139, note 1.

⁸⁰¹ DIL s.v. *aisnéis*. Ó Cathasaigh translate *aisnéis* as ‘instruction’, which is possibly an extension of the sense found in legal contexts, i.e. ‘informing (against)’, and a superior interpretation to ‘story/narration’

⁸⁰² BERGIN & BEST 1938: 144, 145, §6.

⁸⁰³ BERGIN & BEST 1938: 148, 149, §11.

Óengus being instructed is when Étaín's father sets up a series of tests for him to pass before he may take Étaín on behalf of Midir: these involve clearing plains, creating rivers and giving the maiden's weight in gold and silver.⁸⁰⁴ Finally, it is Óengus who gives Midir a warning when he leaves the former's *brug* to bring home his new female companion Étaín:

Asbert an Mac Óg fri Midir in la luidhi uadh: 'Faithius duit frisin mnai na mbere lat fo diach na mná uathmairi amaindsi fil ar do chind co meid fis 7 éolus 7 cumachtai feib ro ngab a cenel.'

'On the day he went from him the Mac Óc said to Midir 'Give heed to the woman thou takest with thee, because of the dreadful cunning woman that awaits thee, with all the knowledge and skill and craft that belongs to her race,' said Aengus, [...].'⁸⁰⁵

The latter two examples do not involve the *síd* and handling of land in a manner similar to the former examples. As all avenues regarding which part of *Tochmarc Étaíne* might be implied by the title/description *íar nAisnéis Síde Maic Óic do Midir Breg Leith ina síd* have been exhausted, it may be deduced that it most likely refers to an episode in *Tochmarc I*. The matter of which exact episode to which it refers is not immediately apparent but it seems most likely that it refers to Óengus' procuring his *síd* from Elcmar; however, this alludes to a tradition in which Midir is the character who gives Óengus the instruction as to how to trick him out of his *síd*, and not the Dagdae as in the extant form of *Tochmarc I*.

⁸⁰⁴ BERGIN & BEST 1938: 148–151, §12–14.

⁸⁰⁵ BERGIN & BEST 1938: 152, 153, §15.

The first CDS extract in LU discussed above continues on with the following information, which is abridged in Eg.:

1.8.3.2 CDS(A)2

LU 8014–24 (p. 99a21–33): Is *ed* fodrúair a orcain hi cinta Echdach ar is áes síde Breg Leith dorinólsat in n-orgain fo bíth tonaidbecht forro a síd oc cuinchid Étaíne la Echdaig. Ros dolbsat iarom lucht in tsíde sin hi slúagu 7 dollotár do inriud Maige Breg 7 tarfás samlaid do Chonaire. Ecmaing ba tír dudlotar ar is hé rí insin loingside siabrai. Ar gabaisseom flaith i ndáid a athar 7 asbert Ninión druí bátar n-é [*sic*] airchoilte a flatha. ar ná hechtrad a Temraig cach nómaid aidche 7 ní fuinmilsed gata ina flaith 7 na gabtha díberg. 7 ní áirsed augra in dá túathmaíl túath Maignae. 7 ná foied hi taig asmbad ecna soilse iar fuiniud gréne 7 r̄.

Eg., f. 110vb14–20:⁸⁰⁶ Hi cinta eochach iarum ro hort conare i mbruidin⁸⁰⁷ ar ba hua deochaig Aireman he. IS aire sin ro tinoilset lucht síde breg .i. in norgain hi maig breg ar chind conaire. 7 do timdibhe a soégail 7 ar étain do tabairt deochaig airemain asin tsíd.

LU: ‘That (i.e the fact that he was descended from Echaid) was what caused him to be killed for the crimes of Echaid, for it is the beings from the *síd* of Brí Léith who mustered (for) the slaying⁸⁰⁸ because their *síd* had been broken up by Echaid as he sought Étaín. The persons of the *síd* shaped themselves then into armies and they devastated Mag mBreg and thus it⁸⁰⁹ appeared to Conaire. That was the country⁸¹⁰ they happened to come to, for he is the king whom phantoms banished.⁸¹¹ For he assumed sovereignty after his father, and the druid Ninión said that these were the prohibitions of his reign: that he should not go out from Tara every ninth night; and that he should not be indulgent of thefts in his reign; and that marauding should not be undertaken; and that he should not restrain the quarrel of the two túathmaíl of

⁸⁰⁶ See also NETTLAU 1891: 444–5.

⁸⁰⁷ Here Nettlau has *inibruidin*.

⁸⁰⁸ STOKES (1901: 402) translates this as ‘that gathered the destroyers’.

⁸⁰⁹ Here Ó Cathasaigh offers the correct translation of a pass. sg. over Stokes’ pass. pl. (STOKES 1901: 402).

⁸¹⁰ Damian McManus has suggested to me that this be read as ba a thír ‘it was his country’.

⁸¹¹ Stokes, unsure about his translation, marks it with a question mark: ‘whom the elves destroyed (?)’ (STOKES 1901: 402).

Túathmaugain [*sic*];⁸¹² and that he should not spend the night in a house out of which light would be visible after sunset; *et reliqua*.⁸¹³

Eg.: ‘It was for the crimes of Echaid then that Conaire was killed in a hostel for he was a grandson of Echaid Airem. It was because of this that the people of the *síd* of Brí [Léith] assembled, i.e. [for] the destruction in Mag mBreg awaiting Conaire, and to cut short his life, and because Étaín had been taken out of the *síd* by Echaid Airem.’ (Own translation.)

Here, in LU and Eg. it is stated that the hostel was destroyed by the mythical people of Brí Léith in revenge for Echaid having destroyed their *síd*. This marks the end of the CDS extract in Eg. but LU, on the other hand, goes on to set out Conaire’s prohibitions (*gessa* ‘taboos’), as dictated by Ninión. The language of the LU version presents a selection of features that attest to its Old Irish date: for example, it indiscriminately interchanges between the use of the perfect (e.g. *fodrúair*, *dorinólsat*, *tárfas*) and the preterite (*tonaidbecht*, *dollotár*, *loingside*, *gabaisseom*, *-fuinmilsed*) according to tense sequence; it contains also the t-pret. form *tonaidbecht* ‘was broken up’ of the OIr. verb *do-aithbig* with a historically correct nasalising relative and the older form of the preverb *to-*; *tárfas* (perf. pass. sg. *do-adbat*) above is an example of the so-called contracted deuterotonic.

Eg.’s *Hi cinta eochach iarum ro hort conare* is a rewording of LU’s *is ed fodrúair a orcain hi cinta echdach*, with Eg. retaining the phrase *i cinta eochach* ‘for the crimes of Echaid’ and both convey that this is the reason for Conaire’s death. Eg. reduces the length of the next sentence and simplifies the syntax of the LU copy. For example, it uses the same verb but in its Middle Irish form: for LU’s *dorinólsat*, Eg. has *ro tinoilset* with simplification of the original OIr. verb *do-inóla* as indicated by the position of the *ro* augment. For LU’s *és síde breg leith*, Eg. gives *lucht síde breg*.

The final comment in Eg. presenting the cause of Conaire’s demise, i.e. *ar étaín do tabairt deochaig airemain asin tsíd*, the equivalent of LU’s *fo bíth ... oc cuinchid étaíne la echdaig*, is clumsy. The sense that the destruction was carried out in atonement for Echaid Airem’s having stolen Étaín is the same, however. The apparent clumsiness in Eg. may be because the *.i.* before *inn orgain* is in the wrong position; it would be more suitable before the final clause: *.i. ar Étaín do tabairt d’Eochaid Airemain asin tsíd* ‘that is, it was because of Étaín having been taken from the *síd* by Echaid Airem’. If the *.i.* were removed from before

⁸¹² This should be read as Tuath Mugnae.

⁸¹³ Ó CATHASAIGH 1990: 107.

inn orgain hi maig breg ar chind conaire, the double *n* of *inn orgain* may be explained as accusative singular nasalisation, rather than an orthographic peculiarity or a meaningless anomaly that may have come about from copying the LU text. Eg. then would follow the same syntax as LU's *dorinolsat in norgain*.

The next extract, which follows directly after CDS(A), explains the pledge that was given to evil Ingcél by Conaire's disloyal fosterbrothers that allowed him to raid Ireland and subsequently kill Conaire. It also tells how Gér operated as guarantor and it uses the same wording as Rec. II to express Maine's dismay at the prospect of attacking his fosterbrother Conaire: *ba liach* 'it will be woeful'. CDS(B) is textually very close to Rec. Ia, contained in 23 N 10, G7, Eg. 88 and H 3.18 (see note above for more details). Ó Cathasaigh compares the contents of the two, concluding that Rec. Ia and Ib shared 'a common source'.⁸¹⁴ This second extract is not included in Rec. III in Eg. 1782, no doubt because it is a summary of the tale and this did not suit the intentions of the redactor, who sought to create a narrative that extended beyond even the longest version available to him, i.e. Rec. II. It is important for present purposes as it repeats the use of the term *remscél*, as I explain below, and goes on to further categorize the parts of the BDD story.

1.8.3.3 CDS(B)

LU 8025–37 (p. 99a34–47): Slicht na cíni béos.

Mane Milsothach mac Carbad 7 Gér mac uí Necae 7 tri meic uí Thoigse it é nod n-ortatar Conaire tre chomarli Ingceóil. Dobreth Geer mac ui Necae hi rráith fri Ingcél im orgain no thogfad i nHére dó. Roda nertsatside do chomollod fri Ingcél a n-ebred Mani Milsothach. Asbert Mani ba liach bruden do orgain fo déig Conaire. Is de no geibed Ingcél gr[úad] 7 fir ui Necae. Tri .III. ba hé a llin ocund orgain. Is ed dollotár riam i nAlpain do chor a ndíbergae and ar nír léic greim Conairi doib a cor i nHere. Conid iar sin tancatar Héirind a llin cétna 7 ortatár brudin. Conid Bruden Uí Derga cona fúasaitib 7 cona slechtaib 7 cona remscélaib amal adfiadar i llebraib insin anúas a bith samlaid., ., ., |

'This is taken from the *Cín* also.'⁸¹⁵

⁸¹⁴ Ó CATHASAIGH 1990: 114.

⁸¹⁵ STOKES 1901: 403. Ó Concheanainn translates this as 'Still the Version of the *Cín*', while Ó Cathasaigh takes *béus* to mean 'again' (see O'CATHASAIGH 1990: 110).

Mane Milsothach mac Carbad and Gér mac uí Necae, and the three sons of Úa Toigse, it is they who killed Conaire at Ingcél's behest. Gér mac uí Necae was given as guarantor to Ingcél as regards (any) destruction he might select for himself in Ireland. They confirmed that it would be fulfilled for Ingcél when Maine Milsothach was speaking (?).⁸¹⁶ Maine said that it would be a pity to destroy the *bruden* because of Conaire. It is on that account that Ingcél used to invoke the honour and the word of úa Neccae. Thrice fifty was their number at the destruction. They went to Scotland before that to perform their marauding there, for Conaire's power did not allow them to do it in Ireland. Afterwards they came, the same in number, to Ireland and destroyed the *bruiden* [*sic*]. So that the above is *Bruden Uí Derga* with its developments and versions and prefatory tales as books say it to be thus.⁸¹⁷

The final line summarises the story material in terms of its narrative purpose and, in addition to the *remscéla*, the commentator refers to other story elements including the *fúasaíte* 'developments' and *slechtá* 'versions, recension', showing an analytical approach to the construction of the narrative that is well-documented elsewhere in the literature, particularly in Rec. I TBC (see section 1.2.1 above). Ó Cathasaigh understood this to refer to the CDS extract in LU because of the reference to *Bruden Uí Derga*, the 'short form of the title of the CDS version', and because of the use of the terms *slicht* and *remscél* multiple times through CDS(A) and CDS(B) in LU. He makes little of *cona fúasaitib* and comments that the reference the 'books' (*adfiadar i llebraib*) may 'show that the redactor of the LU text did not rely on CDS as his only source for BUD [*Bruiden Uí Dergae*]'.⁸¹⁸ However, CDS(B) may not necessarily belong with CDS(A) – Ó Cathasaigh himself remarked upon the unnatural manner in which the source is reintroduced in the second subheading⁸¹⁹ – and there is nothing of note to suggest it is particularly archaic linguistically; in fact it contains a Middle Irish 3sg. secondary future *no thogfad*,⁸²⁰ showing simplification of the verb *do-goa* 'chooses' with the innovative use of the *f*-future instead of the historically correct reduplicated stem. This feature may have been introduced at the time of copying in LU but it is noteworthy that CDS(A) is free from linguistic features of this calibre, albeit a short text. Therefore, this commentary on the material in this final section seems to be an enumeration of its parts and may refer to all the material regarding Conaire Mór as contained in *Lebor na hUidre*. Rather than referring to various manuscripts, an alternative understanding of his use of the plural 'books' is that they

⁸¹⁶ Suggested translation: 'what Maine Milsothach might say'.

⁸¹⁷ Ó CATHASAIGH 1990: 110.

⁸¹⁸ Ó CATHASAIGH 1990: 114.

⁸¹⁹ Ó CATHASAIGH 1990: 109.

⁸²⁰ Noted also by Ó CATHASAIGH 1990: 112.

refer to the various treatises on Conaire Mór's background, including the various parts of *Tochmarc Étaíne*, Rec. II of BDD and this Rec. Ib BDD, which he gives in CDS(A). If CDS(B) was later added to complement CDS(A) in LU, then this is yet another example of the series emerging by a process of accretion. Whatever the case, both extracts discussed in the foregoing reveal an introspective view of the material.

It appears as if the CDS extracts are evidence that, at the time of composition, the three story elements described as *remscéla* were in circulation independently and only later pieced together to create the three various parts of the *Tochmarc Étaíne* narrative as represented in its earliest manuscript witness, *Lebor na hUidre*. However, it may also be the case that the narrative is fully formed and the medieval scholar is presenting an analysis of the stories' constituent parts. As indicated by the second extract, the composer was interested in categorizing the different narratological elements that make up the BDD story. Therefore, Best and Bergin were probably correct in remarking that the story was not known as *Tochmarc Étaíne* until a date beyond its original composition. The earliest attestation of the title appears in the outer margin at the beginning of the second version of *Tochmarc Étaíne* in LU, p. 129b in the hand identified as H⁸²¹ as *Tochmarc Étaíne inso beos*; and if we accept that the hand known as H in LU belonged to a period not long after that of A and M,⁸²² the tale would have been known as such at least by around the 12th century, that is, at the time marginal titles were inserted. Yet another way of viewing these *Tochmarc* units is from the perspective of the LU compiler, a collector of relevant information and story material, who consistently includes alternative versions in TBC, for example, and here also with the *addendum* to BDD. It may have appealed to him, therefore, that multiple forms of TÉ were co-existing side-by-side and this extract from CDS may be alluding to that fact.

1.8.4 Conclusion

In the foregoing discussion, I have shown that we cannot be entirely certain as to what two of the three *remscéla* to *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* are referring, i.e. the *Tromdám* and the *Aisnéis*, but I have offered some suggestions. As evidenced by the nature of the title and the external evidence regarding a *tromdám* visited upon a certain Echaid in the Middle Irish poem ascribed to Flann Mainistrech, this episode might not refer to anything in *Tochmarc Étaíne* in its extant form. However, as I have also attempted to demonstrate, the reference to the

⁸²¹ Elizabeth DUNCAN (2015) has since subclassified hand H into six separate hands; at this point, it is not apparent to me which of these six hands have inserted the title in the margin.

⁸²² Ó CONCHEANAINN 1974; MAC GEARAILT 2009; BREATNACH 2015.

tromdám in the difficult *retoiric* spoken by Midir's group in *Tochmarc III* may provide a missing link. As I outline above, the *Aisnéis*, may refer to a different version of Óengus' procuring of the *síd*, also no longer extant. Only one *remscél* may be identified with some amount of certainty, that is, the *Tesbaid*, Étaín's absence from Midir. The use of her father's name, Ailill, in CDS(A) highlights that it is referring to the original Étaín, the Étaín with whom Midir fell in love in *Tochmarc I*. Essentially, his loss of Étaín and her subsequent wanderings and rebirth form the substance of a large part of *Tochmarc I* and the foundations for *Tochmarc II*. It carries with it a causality in that Midir retrieving Étaín brings about the subsequent destruction of the *síd* and, more importantly, the vengeful death of Conaire Mór, descendent of Echaid Airem, in *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*.⁸²³ This close narrative connection is explained in the CDS extracts (CDS(A)2 above) forming Rec. Ib in LU and subsequently integrated into Eg. 1782. It is significant that this degree of causality expressed by Rec. Ib is something that distinguishes it from Rec. Ia, as explained by Ó Cathasaigh in his comparison of the LU text with that of NLI G7.⁸²⁴

The creation of a causal link between the tales is a sophisticated narrative device that goes beyond some of the more superficial strategies used by the creator(s) of the *remscéla* TBC series. This results in one of the remarkable differences between the *remscéla* BDD and the *remscéla* TBC, in that the latter series often relies on overt textual references (see 1.6.2 above). There are, of course, markers of intertextuality that go beyond the simple insertion of overt references and which are akin to the type found in *Táin Bó Regamna*. For example, the poem uttered by the unknown horseman in *Tochmarc I* alludes to the destruction of Midir's *síd* and perhaps in the final line to BDD:

Biat imda coicthe ili. | triat agh for Echaidh Midhi beidit togla for sidhib | 7 cath for ilmilib.

'Full many a war shall be | on Eochaid of Meath because of thee; | there shall be destruction of elfmounds, | and battle against many thousands.'⁸²⁵

While the CDS extract is evidence that elements of *Tochmarc Étaíne* were clearly understood to be precursors to the greater narrative of *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*, which creates a semblance of a consciously created literary cycle, there are no references to the tale *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* by its title and vice versa within the various recensions of the respective tales (apart from Rec. Ib, of course) in the same way that there are in TBC. This results in a

⁸²³ Ó CATHASAIGH noted a connection between the *Tromdám* and BDD (1990: 106), but that was based on the premise that Echaid Airem was the leader of the *tromdám* who attacked Midir's *síd*.

⁸²⁴ Ó CATHASAIGH 1990: 106.

⁸²⁵ BERGIN & BEST 1938: 158, 159, §23.

linear but organic narrative relationship between *Tochmarc Étaíne* and *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*.

Rec. III in Eg. 1782 represents the final result of the development of the narrative relationship between BDD and *Tochmarc Étaíne*.⁸²⁶ Perhaps in a way similar to the *macgnímrada*, *Tochmarc Étaíne* becomes part of the main narrative (*corp in scéoil*),⁸²⁷ whereas it previously held the status of an ancillary, independent and complete narrative in itself that complemented the story of BDD. The manuscript is compiled and organised to reflect complete narratives, as exemplified by the attachment of *Tochmarc Étaíne* to BDD here, and similarly in the collocation of the *remscéla* to TBC to form something of a booklet within the manuscript of Eg. 1782.

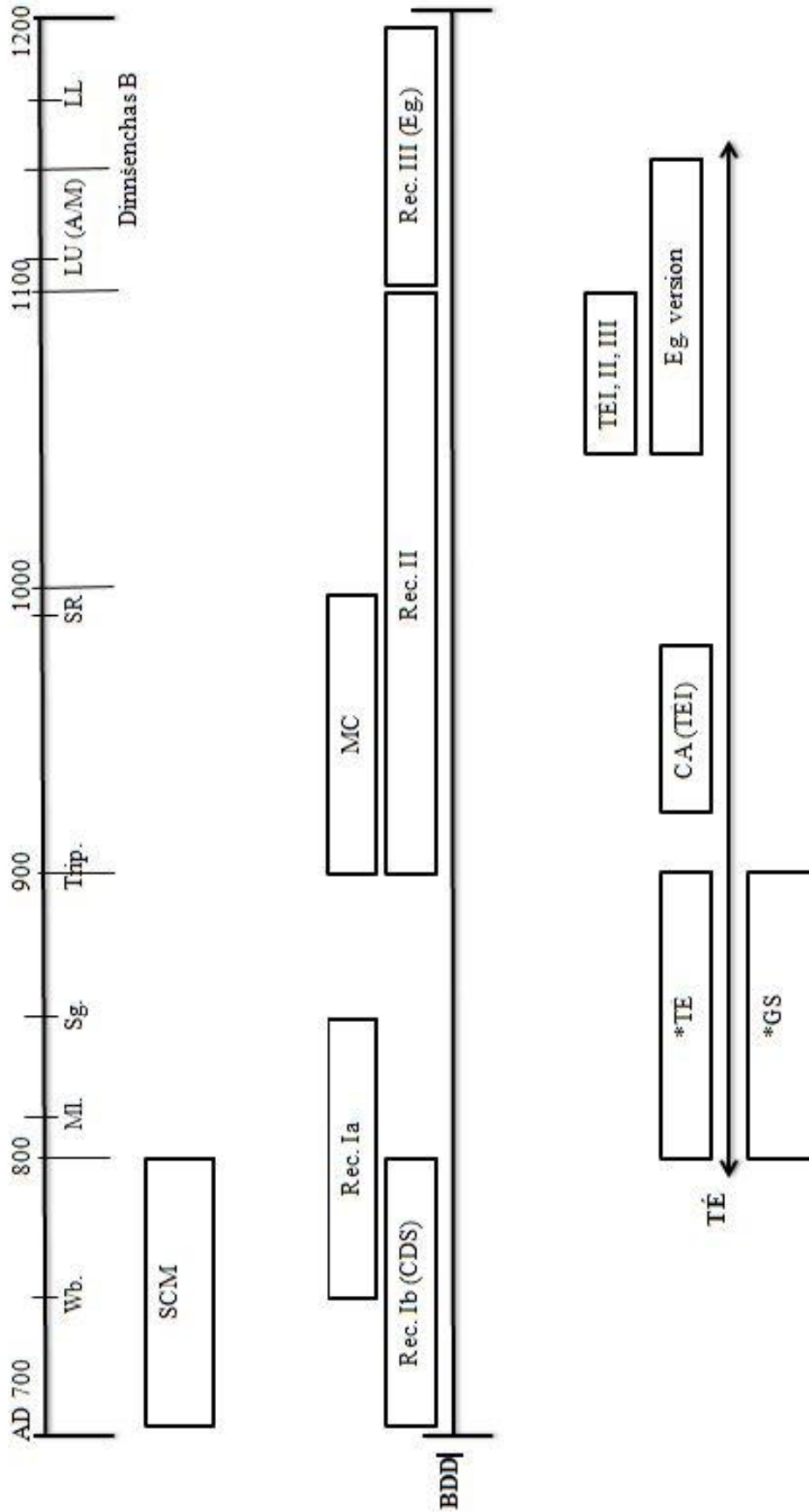
Rec. Ib, as represented by the CDS extracts in LU, indicates that medieval scholars took a methodical approach to the study and composition of the prose narrative from an early period. The composite text of Rec. III BDD in Eg. represents the outcome of this approach; it presents the result of a group of tales, including foretales and the main narrative, having developed narratologically to the point of becoming a single, cohesive narrative.

Finally, the manuscript context of the CDS extracts in LU must have been a significant factor in the later cyclification of the material. Notably, LU contains the two CDS extracts regarding BDD, all three extant versions of *Tochmarc Étaíne* and Rec. II of *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*. The intentions of the LU compiler seem to have been to collect for the purpose of presenting information relevant to the scholarly study of the tales *Tochmarc Étaíne* and BDD, which includes commentary also as to the various parts of a story.

⁸²⁶ GWYNN 1915: 212. Gwynn (1915: 212) also highlights the fact that there is no break in the manuscript between this *Tochmarc Étaíne* and *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*, i.e. that the two stories run into one, a point that is not mentioned by Windisch in his edition of *Tochmarc Étaíne* (*Jr. Texte* I, 128).

⁸²⁷ See LL list in section 1.2.1 above.

1.8.5 Figure: A relative chronology of the tales associated with Conaire Mór



1.9 *Remscéla* in *In Cath Catharda* ‘The Civil War of the Romans’

1.9.1 Introduction

I will endeavour to illustrate now that the use of the term *remscél* in *In Cath Catharda* (CCath.), ‘The Civil War (of the Romans)’, the Irish adaptation of Lucan’s *De Bello Civili*, ‘Concerning the Civil War’,⁸²⁸ is similar in nature to how it is applied to the *macgnímrada* in the LL list of *remscéla* to the *Táin*. Unlike the case of the *Táin* there is no list of *remscéla* to CCath.; the narrator states at the end of certain sections that the foregoing is a *remscél* – I will examine each of these instances in more detail below. The practice of the narrator announcing the title of a tale, the title of an episode, or the tale-type at the conclusion, rather than at the beginning, is in itself a common narrative feature of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, and may have been a nativising strategy of a piece of classical literature on the part of the adaptor/composer of *In Cath Catharda*. Similarly, if the *remscél* was a narrative unit used to serialise medieval Irish literature, either the adaptor/composer or a redactor of *In Cath Catharda* may have used it also to nativise the narrative structure of its contents for an Irish audience. As I explain in the following, the question arises as to when exactly the use of the term *remscél* was introduced to this adaptation as only the manuscripts D and F (see below) use the term; the oldest copy of the tale, i.e. H, does not. This may have indicated that it was required by the audience to further adapt the material by using nativising techniques beyond stylistics and translation in adapting the Latin text, i.e. by imposing a structure similar to that found in another well-known series, i.e. the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* and its *remscéla*. Before going any further, it is necessary first to give a brief summary of the details of CCath., including the manuscripts in which it is extant, previous scholarship on the subject, its date and contents.

⁸²⁸ In the following, I cite the Latin text from Heinemann’s edition with Duff’s accompanying translation (1962) using “*Lucan*”, followed by the book number and line number. *De Bello Civili* is frequently referred to as the *Pharsalia*, which is not the title given in extant Latin manuscripts containing it, and it refers only to events in Book I and VII related to the Battle of Pharsalus, in Thessaly.

1.9.1.2 Manuscripts containing *In Cath Catharda*

Beginning first with the manuscripts in which copies of *In Cath Catharda* are preserved: these are as follows:

H: 15th-century TCD MS H.2.7 (H) (MS 1298), vol. 3, pp. 376–390, 390–415, 416–417 (missing a folio, Stokes’ ll. 741–1191; ends incompletely at Stokes’ l. 2579);⁸²⁹

D: 15th-century RIA MS D iv.2 (D), pp. 1–44 (two leaves lost: one after p. 40 and one after p. 42); this is referred to as **S** in Stokes edition, as in Poppe’s article⁸³⁰ discussed below, but, as I use the abbreviation D elsewhere to represent this manuscript, I will continue to do so here.

C: 17th-century RIA C vi.3 (C), ff. 1–27 (acephalous and missing ending; much of column b of multiple folios have been damaged so that sometimes nearly half of the text is missing);

F: 17th-century UCD Franciscan MS A 17 (F), ff. 1–39;

N: NLS Adv. MS 72.1.46 (N) (fragments only).

The only complete copy of CCath. is found in F and there are glossed extracts also in TCD MS H 3.18 (MS 1337), pp. 596b–601.⁸³¹ Notably, two of the manuscripts containing CCath. also contain *remscéla* title-lists to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, i.e. D and C.

1.9.1.3 Previous scholarship dealing with *In Cath Catharda*

Despite its obvious importance for our understanding of how Latin literature was interpreted and then adapted for an Irish audience, and it being one of the longest prose compositions next to TBC and *Acallam na Senórach*,⁸³² CCath. has received very little scholarly attention since Stokes edited and translated it in 1909. Stokes’ edition is based on H, the oldest extant manuscript containing CCath., with variant readings from D and F in the footnotes.⁸³³ Frequently, Stokes cites the Latin sources used for certain sections in the

⁸²⁹ The catalogue description (*TCD Cat.* 78–80) does not include information regarding the current binding of this MS, which is now contained in six volumes. Volume 3 here includes pp. 364–417, i.e. the ‘Romantic tale about Giallachadh, king of Ireland’ and *In Cath Catharda*.

⁸³⁰ POPPE 2016: 99.

⁸³¹ Other copies are contained in: RIA MS 24 P 3 (Reeves 816, 451) (17th century); RIA MS 24 P 17 (Reeves 836, 1070) (18th century); and in the fragmentary RIA MS D i.1 (MS 1237): this part of the MS compilation belongs to the 15th century.

⁸³² As pointed out by STOKES (1909: v).

⁸³³ See the note from Windisch in *Ir. Texte* iv.2, viii.

footnotes to his translation, i.e. Isidore's *Etymologiae*, Pliny the Elder's *Naturalis Historia*, and Orosius' *Historiae Adversus Paganos*. Stokes died before he could complete his introduction so that he never got the chance to explain what he meant by his reference to 'sundry additions' to the adapted Irish text 'under the heads (1) of history, and (2) of folklore'.⁸³⁴ Alf Sommerfelt later examined the verbal system in CCath. in *Revue Celtique* 37 and 38, and summarised that its composition belongs to the late Middle Irish to Early Modern Irish period;⁸³⁵ most agree that it was composed 'some time in the twelfth century'.⁸³⁶ Very recently, Erich Poppe published a study entitled 'Lucan's *Bellum Civile* in Ireland: structure and sources', which brings important issues to the fore, including the question of transmission, recensions, the use of the term *remscél* and the narrative structure of CCath.⁸³⁷

1.9.1.4 Summary and structure of *In Cath Catharda*

CCath. is an adaptation of the first seven out of ten books from Lucan's *De Bello Civili*, Julius Caesar's war against the Senate. The first seven books outline Caesar's military campaigns in Britain, Rome and Spain until he eventually arrives in the ancient region of Thessaly in Greece. The Irish version cuts off after the Battle of Thessaly, Lucan's Book VII, thus omitting the details of Pompey's flight to meet his wife on the island of Lesbos; his subsequently being murdered by the Egyptian Pharaoh; Cato taking up leadership of the Senate; and Caesar lusting after Cleopatra. Lucan himself never completed his *De Bello Civili* because he was forced to commit suicide for plotting to kill Nero; presumably, Lucan would have closed the poem with the assassination of Caesar in 44BC. In the Irish adaptation, the narrator finishes relating the events of the Civil War early with the Battle of Thessaly and provides the following explanation for so doing:

Conidh airisin ro faccsatt auctair na Roman ocus lucht cummæ in sceoil-si comraic an cathu can a n-aisneis [ocus gan a n-innisin, C.] co suaicnidh. IS tre cell 7 tre comairli

⁸³⁴ STOKES 1909: v. He may have been referring to medieval Irish commentary on the origins of some Irish words and commentary on how the composer translates certain Latin words into Irish. For example, Lucan gives the Bards and the Druids as two groups who come to Caesar's aid in *Lucan* Book I (447–465), which is included in the Irish adaptation and, at which point, the adaptor uses the Latin to explain the Irish words *bard*, *bairdne*, *druí* and *dráidhecht* (STOKES 1909: ll. 720–3, 729–31). Regarding the origin of Caesar's name, i.e. because he was cut from his mother's womb, the adaptor explains *inunn Césair immorro isin bérla Rómhánach 7 tesctha isin Gaedheilg* 'Now Caesar in the Roman language is *tesctha* 'severed' in the Gaelic' (Stokes 1909: ll. 110–1). Comments such as these serve a didactic purpose and indicate that the intended readership did not read Latin or, at least, did not read Latin well.

⁸³⁵ SOMMERFELT 1917–1919 and 1920–1921.

⁸³⁶ POPPE 2016: 97. I am grateful to Prof. Poppe for having supplied me with a copy of his article before its publication in *Studia Hibernica*.

⁸³⁷ See LAMBERT 1994 for the creation of episode titles as an adaptation technique. See also MEYER 1959 and WERNER 1998, who are cited also by MILES 2011: 57f.

dano ro faccsat na hauctair cetnu righpersannu na Roman can suaicintugudh a ngnimradh isin cath, fobith na bad leabur cuimnighthi folad da clannaibh daneis an scél-su, na ro eirged misccais *ocus* miduthracht ina cridibh etarru fein, intan atchluinfitis a n-aithri *ocus* a mbrait[h]ri do commarbad i comraictib in cathæ sæ.

‘So therefore the Roman authors and the framers of this story left the combats of the battle without relating and recounting them particularly. Through prudence and design the same authors left the royal persons of the Romans without making known their deeds in battle, lest this story might be a book of rancorous memories to their children after them, and cause hatred and illwill to arise in their hearts among themselves when they should hear that their fathers and their brothers killed one another in the combats of this battle.’⁸³⁸

The creator of CCath. used a variety of Latin sources while translating the text into Irish and adapting it for an Irish audience using specific language, terminology and native narratological techniques.⁸³⁹ His reason for excluding the final books of *De Bello Civili*, which he explains were omitted by Roman authors, is, as Poppe puts it, ‘spurious’ and worthy of question.⁸⁴⁰ This comment at the end of CCath., and the creator’s selective approach to reproducing the history of the Roman Civil War, albeit while lying about his Latin literary predecessors, may well be based on *scholia* and commentary on Lucan in circulation around the 12th century, i.e. the period in which CCath. was composed/adapted.⁸⁴¹ Some commentators of the period entertain the idea that *De Bello Civili* may have been a literary representation of a war Lucan would have liked to have waged against Nero, and, conversely, others interpret it as a moralistic warning against the ills of civil war.⁸⁴² The final section in the Irish version indicates that the composer interpreted the text’s contents as being likely to cause hostility between peoples. One anonymous 12th-century commentator explains that the purpose of Lucan’s text was *ad dissuasionem concivium, qui moliebantur seditionem sub*

⁸³⁸ STOKES 1909: ll. 6159–67.

⁸³⁹ In other ways, the adaptor kept the spirit of the Roman poem by retaining certain similes used in Lucan’s *De Bello Civili*. For example, in the section entitled ‘The Muster of Caesar’s Armies’, the noise of the groups in assent to Caesar’s military intentions is compared to the Thracian wind (*a tír na Tragia* ‘from the land of Thrace’) against Mount Ossa (*re fidhmhedhaibh sléibhe Ois* ‘[against] the sacred groves of Mount Ossa’) (STOKES 1909: ll. 663–74): *It tantus ad aethera clamor, | Quantus piniferae Boreas cum Thracius Ossae | Rupibus incubuit, curvato robore pressae | Fit sonus aut rursus reudentis in aethera silvae* ‘Their shout rose to heaven: as loud as, when the Thracian North wind bears down upon the cliffs of pine-clad Ossa, the forest roars as the trees are bent towards earth, or again as they rebound into the sky’ (*Lucan* I, 388–90).

⁸⁴⁰ POPPE 2016: 98.

⁸⁴¹ All references to Latin manuscripts are taken from SANFORD’S article (1934: 284), in which she discusses the contents of marginalia by various commentators on Lucan from around the 12th to the 14th centuries.

⁸⁴² See SANFORD 1934: 284.

Neronis tyrannide imperatoris ('to dissuade [his] fellow citizens, who would stir up dissension under the tyranny of the emperor Nero') (Bib. Nat. Paris MS 2904).⁸⁴³

It is, however, only speculative to infer that the adaptor used *scholia* with this literary interpretation as I have not established a direct textual relationship between CCath. and the sources of Latin *scholia* on Lucan from the 12th century. One problem arises in attempting to do so: if the creator of CCath. consulted Latin commentaries, the result is that he summarised their comments in Irish rather than providing a direct translation from the Latin; this is not beyond the bounds of possibility since the creator does not provide a direct translation of Lucan's original text either. The creator may also have drawn on his own pre-existing 'knowledge of the world and [of] his classical learning'.⁸⁴⁴ Further examples of the use of *scholia* in CCath. are provided by Poppe, who identifies parallels between certain sections of *Adnotationes super Lucanum*, *Arnulfi Aurelianensis Glosule*, and *Annaei Lucani Commenta Bernensia*,⁸⁴⁵ respectively, and CCath. It is necessary to identify all sources used by the creator of *In Cath Catharda* to understand the fabric of its composition, i.e. to identify which elements have been imported into the adapted work from other classical sources and which elements have been borrowed from medieval Irish literary works.

Erich Poppe discusses the use of the *remscél* as separate from the the main event in terms of a 'bipartite structure', and comments that 'it is significant that very different formal strategies of rewriting Lucan are employed in the first part, the *remscéla*, and in the second part, the final battle'.⁸⁴⁶ The medieval Irish scholar may have been motivated to impose a "native" narrative structure on the adapted text by using the *remscél* classification of certain narrative units because of perceived structural parallels in the story of CCath. with those of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*. I will explore this theory further below as part of a close reading of the individual *remscéla* in *In Cath Catharda*.

1.9.1.5 Episode titles and narrative units in *In Cath Catharda*

Since it is important to the understanding of narrative units, which are often indicated in a tale by headings, I will now briefly look at the use of titles in CCath. While Lucan's *De Bello Civili* is divided into ten books in the format of an epic poem, the creator of the Irish

⁸⁴³ SANFORD (1934: 284) gives further examples, including the 12th-century commentary in Monacensis 19475 and the 14th-century Monacensis 322, both of which are housed in the Stiftsbibliothek München.

⁸⁴⁴ POPPE 2016: 105.

⁸⁴⁵ POPPE 2016: 104-106; ENDT 1909; MARTI 1958; USENER 1869.

⁸⁴⁶ POPPE 2016: 104.

adaptation recast the structure of the contents into twenty episodes of prose, nineteen of which are given subtitles. Similarly to Recension I of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, each of these episodes or, narrative sections, is given a heading and the formula used for these is based on native title elements.⁸⁴⁷ The following are the titles in CCath. as provided by Stokes; the first of which is the title to the entire tale:⁸⁴⁸

1. Do Chogadh Síuialta na Romhanach, dia ngoireid Gaoidheil in Cath Catharda ‘Of the Civil War of the Romans, which the Gaels call the *Cath Catharda*’;⁸⁴⁹
2. Sluaigeadh *Cesair* [in] inis Bretand ‘Caesar’s Hosting in the Island of Britain’;⁸⁵⁰
3. Adhbar in Catha Cathardha annso ‘The Cause of the Civil War here’;⁸⁵¹
4. Tuarusbáil Césair inno ‘A Description of Caesar here’;⁸⁵²
5. Toghail déna Arimin annso sí ‘The Sack of the Fortress of Ariminum here below’;⁸⁵³
6. Tocastal slogh *Cesair* ‘The Mustering of Caesar’s Armies’;⁸⁵⁴
7. Dearbairdi in Catha Catharda ‘The Sure Signs of the Civil War’;⁸⁵⁵
8. Bet[h]u Cait annso sí ‘The Life of Cato here below’;⁸⁵⁶
9. Slóiged Césair isin Etail annso sí ‘Caesar’s Hosting into Italy here below’;⁸⁵⁷
10. Tóchestul sluaigh Poimp annso sí ‘The Mustering of Pompey’s Army here below’;⁸⁵⁸
11. Toghail *cathrach* na Masilecdha annso sí ‘The Sack of the City of the Massilians here below’;⁸⁵⁹
12. Scéla Césair atfiadhamar síána coleicc ‘Tidings of Caesar we now set forth below’;
Sloigedh na hEspaine ‘The Hosting of Spain’ [D];
13. Martra munteri (Uilt) ‘The Martyrdom of the Vulteians’;⁸⁶⁰
14. Aidid Curio ‘The tragic death of Curio’;⁸⁶¹

⁸⁴⁷ By “native”, I mean literature that has not been adapted from a foreign original such as the present adaptation, *Togail Troí*, *Scéla Alaxandair* etc.

⁸⁴⁸ Apart from the overarching heading, given as 1 here, these titles are provided by STOKES (1909: vi–vii) in his introduction, in which he omits the titles numbered 3 and 10 here; however, he includes them in his edition and translation. The translations of the titles are also taken from Stokes’ edition.

⁸⁴⁹ STOKES 1909: 2.

⁸⁵⁰ STOKES 1909: l. 148.

⁸⁵¹ STOKES 1909: l. 205.

⁸⁵² STOKES 1909: l. 346.

⁸⁵³ STOKES 1909: l. 382.

⁸⁵⁴ STOKES 1909: l. 522.

⁸⁵⁵ STOKES 1909: l. 818.

⁸⁵⁶ STOKES 1909: l. 1085.

⁸⁵⁷ STOKES 1909: l. 1192.

⁸⁵⁸ STOKES 1909: l. 1528.

⁸⁵⁹ STOKES 1909: l. 1625.

⁸⁶⁰ STOKES 1909: l. 2595.

15. Aideadh Aip ‘The Tragic Death of Appius’;⁸⁶²
16. Echtra Cessair ‘The Adventure of Caesar’;⁸⁶³
17. Aideadh Sceua ‘The Tragical Death of Scaeva’;⁸⁶⁴
18. Tuarusbail na Tesaile ‘The Description of Thessaly’;⁸⁶⁵
19. Faistine ind arrachta a hifern ‘The Prophecy of the Spectre out of Hell’;⁸⁶⁶
20. Cath mór muighe na Tesaili inso ‘The Great Battle of the Plain of Thessaly’.⁸⁶⁷

For items 1 and 5 above, H does not provide a title but titles are present in D and F. The use of titles, which clearly define each section of the text, shows that the purpose of the adaptation was to make the contents of *De Bello Civili* understandable to the Irish “readership”, as is the use of “native” title formulae. It may be observed that the Irish adaptor recycled generic title elements that are found in the Middle Irish Tale Lists and heading tales and episodes throughout the literature: *slúagad* ‘hosting’ (items 2, 9, and 12), e.g. *Slúagad Augaire Mór co hEtáil* ‘Augaine Mór’s Hosting to Italy’ in the Tale Lists;⁸⁶⁸ *togail* ‘destruction’ (items 4 and 9), e.g. *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* ‘The Destruction of Da Derga’s Hostel’; *túarascbáil* (item 5 and 11), e.g. *Túarascbáil Delba Con Culaind*⁸⁶⁹ ‘The Description of the Appearance of Cú Chulainn’; *tóchustal* (item 6), e.g. *Tóchustal nUlad* ‘The Mustering of the Ulstermen’ in the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*;⁸⁷⁰ *aided* (item 14, 15, and 17), e.g. *Aided Chonchobuir* ‘The Death of Conchobor’; *echtrae* (item 16), e.g. *Echtrae Chonnlai* ‘The Otherworld Adventure of Conmlle’; and *cath* (item 20), e.g. *Cath Maige Tuired* ‘The Battle of Mag Tuired’. The *betha* ‘life’ is usually reserved for hagiographical titles (e.g. *Betha Abáin*, etc.) in Irish literature, but here it is applied to Cato the Younger, the Roman statesman opposing Caesar in item 8.⁸⁷¹ That leaves the title elements *adbair* ‘cause’ (item 3), *derbairde* ‘portents, signs’ (item 7), *martra* ‘martyrdom’ (item 13) and *fáistine* ‘prophecy’ (item 19) as the only four that do not fit in with the generic tale types; however, *adbair* is not far from the concept of the *fochonn*, which we find in *Fochonn Loingsi Fergusa maic Róich* ‘The Reason for Fergus mac Róich’s Exile’ and the concept of the *fáistine* is similar to the *fís* ‘vision’ and *aislinge* ‘dream’, e.g. *Fís Conchobuir/Aislinge Chonchobuir* ‘The Vision/Dream of Conchobor’.

⁸⁶¹ STOKES 1909: l. 2860.

⁸⁶² STOKES 1909: l. 3210.

⁸⁶³ STOKES 1909: l. 3249.

⁸⁶⁴ STOKES 1909: l. 3388.

⁸⁶⁵ STOKES 1909: l. 3770.

⁸⁶⁶ STOKES 1909: l. 3876.

⁸⁶⁷ STOKES 1909: l. 4312.

⁸⁶⁸ MAC CANA 1980: 48.

⁸⁶⁹ O’RAHILLY 1976: l. 2335.

⁸⁷⁰ O’RAHILLY 1976: l. 3454.

⁸⁷¹ See *BNNÉ* for multiple examples and see how the Book of Lismore contains a series of Irish lives of saints.

In Recension I of the *Táin*, the most commonly used elements for episode titles within the main narrative are *aided*, *túarascbáil*, *slúagad*, and *tóchustal*, and their usage is mirrored here in the construction of the narrative of CCath. The generic components of each tale-type indicated by the use of these title elements do not necessarily correlate with the medieval classification of “native” material. For example, the use of the term *echtrae* for the episode bearing the title *Eactra Cesair* ‘The Adventure(s) of Caesar’ does not indicate that Caesar went on an otherworld voyage, as in that which we find in *Echtrae Chonnlai* ‘The Otherworld Voyage of Conmlae’. However, part of this *echtrae* episode does explain how he fared in a tempest in the Adriatic in an attempt to sail from Epirus in Greece to the Italian coast in a very small vessel belonging to a peasant named Amyclas. That is to say, Caesar’s *echtrae* required a voyage over sea similar to Conmlae’s in *Echtrae Chonnlai*; however, sea-faring is not an essential feature of the *echtrae* tale-type (compare, for example, *Echtrae mac nEchdach Muigmedóin*).

1.9.2 The *remscéla* to *In Cath Catharda*: a nativising technique

As mentioned already, the Irish adaptation of *De Bello Civili* makes its contents accessible to the Irish, while, elsewhere on the Continent and in Britain, Lucan was more widely used for learning the Latin language and the art of rhetoric, a fact which is attested by a large *corpus* of heavily annotated Latin manuscripts.⁸⁷² The Irish adaptor seemed to have imposed a narrative structure matching that of the Early Irish extended narrative by using familiar, native stock title elements and dividing the text into narrative units suitable for an Irish readership, such as *remscéla*. What is significant, however, is that not all MSS containing CCath. classify certain episodes of the story as *remscéla*: whereas D and F use it, H does not.⁸⁷³ H is the oldest of the manuscripts containing CCath. next to D, both of which belong to the 15th century, as outlined above. It is therefore significant that the categorisation of certain sections as *remscéla* and the remodelling of the structure of the narrative was contemporaneous with another tradition that did not engage in the same nativising technique.

It is only the nine episodes leading up to the Battle of Thessaly, i.e. the final section of the narrative, that end with the formula, or a variant thereof, *conid remscél do remscélaib catha móir na Tesaili co n-ici sin*, ‘so far one of the foretales to the Great Battle of Thessaly’, followed by the name of the episode in the manuscripts D and F. The final so-called *remscél*,

⁸⁷² SANFORD (1934) gives an overview of the types of marginalia extant in copies of *De Bello Civili* in circulation during this period.

⁸⁷³ STOKES (1909) gives the readings from D and F, which provide this additional textual information.

given as 19 below is treated as a single *remscél* and it is given one heading at the beginning of the episode, but the narrator divides it into three parts in the formulaic conclusion at the end of the section as follows: *Echtra Poimp Sext* ‘The Adventure of Sextus Pompeius’ (youngest son of the Roman leader Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus, the subject of *De Bello Civili*), *Taircetla Ericto Tesalta* ‘The Predictions of Thessalian Erictho’ (a witch), and *Fáistine inn arrachta ifernaidhe* ‘The Prophecy of the Infernal Spectre’; the latter title is the overarching heading given to this section at the beginning.⁸⁷⁴ The following are the formulaic conclusions to the nine episodes in the manuscripts D and F, which I will now endeavour to discuss in greater detail and provide a context for the use of the term *remscél*. I number these according to the numbers given above in the list of titles used for each section of text from 11–19:

11. *Conid remscél do remscelaib catha moir na Tesaili conicci sin. Toccail cathrach na Maisile ainm in sceoil sin* (F only).

‘So far is one of the foretales of the great Battle of Thessaly. *The Sack of the City of Massilia* is the name⁸⁷⁵ of that story’.⁸⁷⁶

12. *Conid remscel do remscelaibh catha moir na Tesaili conigi sin. Sloigheadh Cesair isin Espain ainm in sceoil.*

‘So far one of the foretales of the Great Battle of Thessaly. *Caesar’s Expedition into Spain* is the name of the story’.⁸⁷⁷

13. *Conid remscél do remscelaip catha moir na Tessaili conicci sin. Martra muintir[e] Vuilt ainm an scéoil.*

‘So far one of the foretales of the Great Battle of Thessaly. *The Martyrdom of the Vulteians* is the story’s name.’⁸⁷⁸

14. *Conid remscel do remscelaib catha moir na Tesaili conigi sin. Aidead Curio ainm in sceoil.*

‘So far one of the foretales of the Great Battle of Thessaly. *Curio’s tragic Death* is the name of the story’.⁸⁷⁹

⁸⁷⁴ STOKES 1909: II. 4503–6.

⁸⁷⁵ The translations here are from Stokes, as indicated in the footnotes; however, it might be better to translate *ainm* as ‘title’, instead of ‘name’.

⁸⁷⁶ STOKES 1909: II. 2261–2.

⁸⁷⁷ STOKES 1909: II. 2593–4.

⁸⁷⁸ STOKES 1909: II. 2858–9.

15. *Conid remscél do remscélaib catha moir na Teasaile conicci sin. Aided Aip ainm an sceoil sin.*

‘So far one of the foretales of the Great Battle of Thessaly. *The tragical Death of Appius* is the name of that story’.⁸⁸⁰

16. *Conid remscel do remscelaib catha móir na Tesaile conigi sin. Echtra Cesair ainm in sceoil.*

‘So far one of the foretales of the Great Battle of Thessaly. *The Adventures of Caesar* is the name of the story’.⁸⁸¹

17. *Conadh remscel do remscélaib cat[h]æ móir na Tesaili conicce sin. Imairecc na hEpiri ⁊ Aided Sceva ainm in sceoil sin.*

‘So far one of the foretales of the Great Battle of Thessaly. *The Conflict in Epirus and the Tragical Death of Scaeva* is the name of that story’.⁸⁸²

18. *Conadh remscel do remscelaib catha moir na Tesaile conicci sin. Tuaruscdbail na Tesaile ainm in sceoil.*

‘So far one of the foretales of the Great Battle of Thessaly. *The Description of Thessaly* is the name of the story’.⁸⁸³

19. *Conidh remscél do remscélaib catha móir na Tesaili conicci sin. Echtra Poimp Sext, ⁊ taircetla Ericto Tesalta, ⁊ faistine inn arrachta ifernaidhe ainm in scéoil sin. IS é sin dano reimscél deidinach catha na Tesáili. Conidh comairem .x.u. remscél conicci sin. Scéla immorro ⁊ turtehta ⁊ eitirdeilighthi in cat[h]a móir fein, ⁊ tinnriumu na laec[h]raide inn ellach inn imairicc moir im-muigh na Tesaili fein, is iat adfiadur sisana fodhesta.*

‘So far one of the foretales of the Great Battle of Thessaly. *The Adventure of Sextus Pompeius, and the Predictions of Thessalian Erictho, and the Prophecy of the infernal Spectre* is the name of that story. That, then, is the last foretale of the Battle of Thessaly. So far is the number of fifteen foretales. The tidings and descriptions and distinctions of the great battle itself, and the endings of the

⁸⁷⁹ STOKES 1909: II. 3208–9.

⁸⁸⁰ STOKES 1909: II. 3247–8.

⁸⁸¹ STOKES 1909: II. 3386–7.

⁸⁸² STOKES 1909: II. 3768–9.

⁸⁸³ STOKES 1909: II. 3874–5.

warriors in the meeting of the great conflict on the plain of Thessaly, these are what are set forth below'.⁸⁸⁴

The number of *remscéla* is given in the conclusion to the last mentioned episode, number 19, as fifteen. This number of *remscéla* does not tally with the number of episodes in the preceding narrative, no matter how they are counted: nine is the number of *remscéla* episodes if we depend on the division of narrative episodes as defined by the opening headings, as opposed to the concluding lines (compare 19, for example); nineteen is the number of *remscéla* if those episodes that are not explicitly categorised as *remscéla*, but which precede the Great Battle of Thessaly, are taken into account; and eleven is the number if we count only those explicitly named as *remscéla* and include the extra two titles given in the conclusion to 19, i.e. *Echtra Poimp Sext* and *taircetla Ericto Tesalta*. Similarly, 17 gives two titles at the end of the episode, even though it is headed by only one title, which would bring the count up to 13 *remscéla*. It seems possible that the number of extant *remscéla*, or at least episodes considered to be *remscéla* by the redactor, is either nine or eleven and that the narrative flags in certain sections have been lost in transmission. I arrived at this conclusion because, having consulted the original Latin text of Lucan's *De Bello Civili*, the Irish adaptation does not omit any information regarding the series of events in the lead up to the Battle of Thessaly; however, events are often reworded and summarised by the adaptor, as is his function. It is plausible that the sections that consist of multiple events may have originally represented multiple *remscéla*. 'Caesar's Hosting into Italy' (item 9 above) consists of more than one event; hypothetically, any of the following episodes within this episode may be defined as separate *remscéla*: 1. Caesar's bridge to Pompeius/Caesar's narrowing of the harbour⁸⁸⁵ and Pompeius' flight; 2. the vision of Julia the spectre to Pompeius;⁸⁸⁶ and 3. Caesar's march to Rome.⁸⁸⁷ That said, in its current form, none of the manuscript witnesses describe 'Caesar's Hosting into Italy' as a *remscél*.

The question arises as to whether there are any characteristics specific to the nine episodes above, which differentiate them from the first ten and which make them suitable to the classification of *remscél* to the Great Battle of Thessaly. Beginning firstly with the Battle of Massilia, it must be read within the context of the preceding series of events that belong to the section 'Caesar's Hosting into Italy', which I describe at the end of the preceding paragraph. The visit by the spectre Julia, Pompeius' dead wife and Caesar's daughter, to

⁸⁸⁴ STOKES 1909: II. 4304–11.

⁸⁸⁵ STOKES 1909: II. 1366–1407.

⁸⁸⁶ STOKES 1909: II. 1452–70.

⁸⁸⁷ STOKES 1909: II. 1489–1527.

Pompeius in his sleep marks something of a watershed in the story because she prophecies Caesar's impending victory over the Pompeians. What follows then, although punctuated by the perfunctory 'Mustering of Pompey's Army', is the beginning of the fulfilment of that prophecy and the steps towards its completion. This is similar to the relationship between *Táin Bó Regamna* and the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* from the perspective of opening a plotline in the *remscél* and bringing it to its conclusion in the main narrative, i.e. in TBC. Julia's threatening apparition to Pompeius is highly reminiscent of the Morrígain's encounter with Cú Chulainn in the *remscél Táin Bó Regamna* 'The Cattle-raid of Regamna', which may have been a contributing factor in this particular episode being classified as a *remscél* by D and F. That said, however, Julia's apparition is part of the episode in the Irish adaptation 'Caesar's Hosting into Italy', discussed below, and it is not itself described as a *remscél*. Julia's wrathfulness is also diluted in the Irish adaptation, to the point that her wording in the original Latin is actually much closer to that of the Morrígain in *Táin Bó Regamna* than Julia's own in the Irish adaptation. Spectral Julia's parting words to her husband in Lucan's *De Bello Civili* are as follows:

'Veniam te bella gerente | In medias acies. Numquam tibi, Magne, per umbras. |
Perque meos manes genero non esse licebit; | Abscidis frustra ferro tua pignora: bellum
| Te faciet civile meum.'

"when you fight battles, I shall appear in the centre of the fray: never shall my shade, my ghost suffer you to forget that you were husband to Caesar's daughter.⁸⁸⁸ In vain you sever with the sword the tie of kinship that binds you. The civil war shall make you mine."⁸⁸⁹

As mentioned above, the wording of the Irish adaptation differs from the original Latin and it appears to be a reinterpretation of Julia's original message. It exchanges the explicit threat of Julia appearing in the middle of the battle for the veiled threat that he will soon join her in death and that he will serve the ultimate penalty for having taken a wife so quickly after her death, that is, they will be bound and inseparable in the afterlife.

'Bá mór ámh do *conách*-sa, a Poimp, ar sí, a cén fá bancéile misi duit, 7 roprap tucais mnai ele im lepaidh-si. Is fó lemsa sin cena, doigh ó cuirfither in cath[sa] doragha-sa dum saighidh-se 7 bemait cen deghail dogrés iársin.

⁸⁸⁸ This line is loosely translated as the words equivalent to 'Caesar's daughter' do not appear in the original Latin.

⁸⁸⁹ *Lucan* III, 30–5.

‘Great in truth was thy prosperity, O Pompey, so long as I was thy consort, and too quickly thou broughtest another wife into my bed. Yet am I glad of that, for when this battle shall be fought, thou wilt come to me, and after that we shall always be without parting.’⁸⁹⁰

Similar to the original Latin version of *De Bello Civile*, the Morrígain in the *remscél* to TBC *Táin Bó Regamna* threatens to thwart Cú Chulainn in battle by saying that she will appear as an eel under his feet, a red-eared heifer, and a grey she-wolf; and her threat is realised in Cú Chulainn’s fight with Láiríne on the ford:

“Cinnas con-icfae-su anní sin”, ol in ben. “Ar in tain no-mbia-su oc comruc fri fer comthrén comchrotha comchliss comfobaid coméscaid comchinúil comgaiscid comméte friut .i. bam escong-sa ocus fo-chichiur curu immot chossa issinn áth gu mba héccomlonn mór.”

“Wie wirst du das können?” sagte die Frau. “Denn wenn du im Zweikampf stehen wirst mit einem Mann von gleicher Stärke, von gleicher Gestalt, von gleicher Gewandtheit, von gleicher Schnelligkeit, von gleichem Eifer, von gleicher Abstammung, von gleicher Waffenkunst, von gleicher Körpergröße wie du, dann werde ich ein Aal sein, und ich werde Schlingen werfen um deine Füße in der Furt, so daß es ein sehr ungleicher Kampf sein wird.”⁸⁹¹

The first episode marked as a *remscél* in CCath. is the Battle of Massilia, which appears at the end of Book III of Lucan’s *De Bello Civili*. At first, the Massilians try to peacefully bargain with Caesar but he is bloodthirsty and their protests against his invasion only serve to anger him. Thereafter, he goes to war with the Massilians, who lock themselves into their citadel; and, instead of automatically launching a military attack on the fortification, Caesar instead reroutes their water supply so that it circumnavigates the city and flows into the sea. After that he orders the construction of a siege tower, which involves cutting down the trees of the “sacred grove” in order to have enough building material, and, by the time of its completion, it was such a massive structure that it looked like a moving hill. By this point, Brutus is left in charge of the siege and Caesar moves on to Spain, so that a leaderless battle ensues between the Caesarians and Pompeians. Eventually, the Massilians grab the opportunity to burn down the Caesarian siege tower and end up burning down a large section of the camp also. Brutus then decides on a different military tact by taking to the water and

⁸⁹⁰ STOKES 1909: II. 1464–8.

⁸⁹¹ CORTHALS 1987: 55. See O’RAHILLY 1967: II. 1986–2015.

attacking the shores of Massilia by sea. After a long and bloody battle, the Caesarians are eventually victorious, Massilia is captured, and Caesar returns from Spain. It is a victory over Pompeius who had a pact with the Massilians and to whom the Massilians were loyal.

As mentioned in section 1.4, the *macgnímrada* which are given in the LL list as *remscéla* to the *Táin* provide an interesting form of comparison with the *remscéla* in CCath. because they are subsections of the main narrative of TBC, rather than tales that exist independently outside TBC. In a way, the *macgnímrada* are conceptually quite similar to the *remscéla* in CCath. but they differ in narrative time, narrative voice and content, which gives the impression that, in CCath., the *remscéla* are stylistically homogenous with the rest of the non-*remscél* episodes. The main feature of the *macgnímrada* is that they give biographical information about the main protagonist of the story, Cú Chulainn, and how from the tender age of six he was already showing signs of a supernatural type of military prowess, which he has already unleashed on his enemies in the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*. The nature of the *macgnímrada* is retrospective, i.e. in the form of flashback, and they are told by one or more of the Ulster exiles; Rec. I and II differ in respect of who tells the stories of Cú Chulainn's Boyhood Deeds. These episodes in TBC are, therefore, stories within a story, whereas the *remscéla* in CCath. are simply events in the lead up to the Great Battle of Thessaly. We are given a character sketch of Caesar throughout, similar to that which is created in reference to TBC, but it is not retrospective and Caesar's military function is as dictator rather than a warrior under the rule of another, which contrasts with Cú Chulainn's role in TBC. In fact, in the Siege of the City of Massilia, neither Caesar nor Pompeius are present to see the battle play out; it is a leaderless battle. It stands to reason that the purpose of the *remscéla* in CCath., therefore, is not to depict Caesar's personal military prowess, as in the case of Cú Chulainn. The application of the *remscél* classification to the narrative units is, therefore, quite loose and a result of the fact that this is a translated, non-native text and that has not been created with the concept of the *remscél* in mind.

Caesar's Hosting of Spain,⁸⁹² the episode and second so-called *remscél* following the Battle of Massilia, is the beginning of Lucan's Book IV and results in more of a strategic victory over Pompeius than a military victory. It relates Caesar's battles against Petreius and Afranius, two of Pompeius' lieutenants in Spain, who have joined forces and who are joined

⁸⁹² The heading for the section is *Scéla Césair atfiadhamar síána coleicc* 'Tidings of Caesar we now set forth below', followed by the sub-heading and title of this section *Sloigedh na h-Espaine* 'The Hosting of Spain' (STOKES 1909: II. 2264). This title is reiterated in the final line of the story, extant in D and F only: *Sloigheadh Césair isin Spain ainm in sceoil* 'Caesar's Expedition into Spain is the name of the story' (STOKES 1909: I. 2594).

by Italian soldiers, Spanish warriors, Asturian tribes, Vectones, and Celtiberian nations.⁸⁹³ The Caesarians and the opposing group camp out on hills on opposite sides of the Sicoris river, the modern-day Segre that flows from the Catalan Pyrenees. Not much combat ensues between the two groups and their first encounter is more of a psychological stand-off with either side inspecting each others' standards. Both groups head for the city of Ilerda, modern-day Lleida in the west of Catalonia, and travel through harsh winter conditions. Spring arrives and Caesar encounters even more difficulties because of flooding, which carries away their accoutrements, as well as famine. Eventually the floods dry up and the Caesarians build boats and a bridge across the Sicoris.⁸⁹⁴

O ro scib iarum tuile srotha Sicoir dona muighibh comfoicsibh co tarrustair a comard fria bruach, do[g]niter cretach curach le *muintir* Césair do barrghur tsoilech do [f]ualoscaibh in muighe, 7 ro fortughid 7 ro daingnighid [iat] do shechedhaibh assan 7 óccdam fó indtamail [na] curach gnáthaigther lé cinedhaibh na Uén[et]ecdha for sruth Paid, nó lé h-aitrebh[thaidib] na hÉghipti for imdoimnibh srotha Níl, nó lé lucht innsi Breatan for muincind mara Icht.

‘Now when the flood of the river Sicoris withdrew from the neighbouring plains, so that the river was only as high as its bank, the Caesarians build the frameworks of boats of the willow-branches and the twigs of the plain, and they cover and strengthen them with hides of asses and bullocks in imitation of the boats used by the Veneti on the river Padus, or by the inhabitants of Egypt on the depths of the river Nile, or by the folk of the island of Britain on the surface of the sea of Wight.’⁸⁹⁵

It is at this point in the episode that Caesar has won a psychological battle against Petreius and Afranius, who desert the city of Ilerda upon seeing the impressive performance by the Caesarians at bridge-building. This is not his first victory in this episode, however.

The Pompeian army retreat from Ilerda and ‘march into the outskirts of Spain, to seek reinforcements and meanwhile to postpone the battle’.⁸⁹⁶ The Caesarians then cross the Sicoris to Ilerda and we are first introduced to the realities of civil war, and the apparent lack of antagonism from members of each side of the battle, when the broken ranks of the Caesarians and Pompeians end up mixing together along the route and this in itself does not

⁸⁹³ STOKES 1909: I. 2277.

⁸⁹⁴ Here the Irish version adds that the British sail the Wight: *Sic Venetus stagnante Pado fusoque Britannus | Navigat Oceano* ‘In such craft the Venetian navigates the flooded Po, and the Briton his wide Ocean’ (*Lucan* IV, ll. 134–5).

⁸⁹⁵ STOKES 1909: II. 2375–82.

⁸⁹⁶ STOKES 1909: II. 2390–2.

cause any violent outbreaks. More remarkably still, when they had set up camp, the opposing sides feasted and mixed with each other; there is emphasis on the fact that the Pompeians and Caesarians, despite their respective leaders, were relatives, neighbours and friends.⁸⁹⁷ This probably resonated well with an Irish audience as crossing the boundaries of brotherhood is a feature also in the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* and was, no doubt, a reality for many engaging in warfare in medieval Ireland. In the Death of Fer Báeth, for example, Lugaid mac Nóis expresses his regret to Lóeg at Cú Chulainn having to fight Fer Báeth:

‘Mallach[t] a chommaind 7 a chomaltais 7 a charatraid 7 a chardessa fair, a derbchomalta díless dúthaig fadessin .i. Fer Báeth mac Fir Bend. [...]’

‘The curse of his intimacy and brotherhood, of his familiarity and friendship on him (who comes)! It is his very own foster-brother, Fer Báeth mac Fir Bend.’⁸⁹⁸

The same may be said of the encounter with Fer Diad⁸⁹⁹ and, earlier in TBC, the ‘Misthrow at Belach Eóin’;⁹⁰⁰ the theme of kinsmen being turned against each other for the sake of their leaders is something common to both TBC and CCath. and generally.

Petreius, angered by the sight of the two camps mixing, attacks the Caesarians in his camp, and incites his army to murder their kinsmen, which they do in a complete frenzy, and the Caesarians are the worse for the attack. What follows then is an interesting point in the narrative because the narrator implies that Caesar tactically allowed this to happen in order to make Pompeius the author of the war:

Cesair *immorro*, ger’ba mor sloigh ro malart, ba *conach* mor les in t-imaireach do gnim uathusom *for tus*.

‘But Caesar, though he had lost many troops, deemed it a great success that the conflict was begun by the Pompeians’.⁹⁰¹

One of the themes in *De Bello Civili*, which is reproduced in CCath., is the reality of civil war and, while the natural order of events directs the reader to the instigator of individual incidences leading to the war, Lucan’s narrative also highlights Caesar’s ability to recognize weaknesses in the opposite camp and use them to the disadvice of his opponent. In this episode, the Pompeians’ treachery brings about the beginning of conflict between the two

⁸⁹⁷ STOKES 1909: II. 2416–22.

⁸⁹⁸ O’RAHILLY 1967: II. 1874–6.

⁸⁹⁹ O’RAHILLY 1976: II. 2455–63; O’RAHILLY 1967: II. 2447–59.

⁹⁰⁰ O’RAHILLY 1976: II. 2567–3153; O’RAHILLY 1967: II. 2606–3596.

⁹⁰¹ STOKES 1909: II. 2469–70.

camps, but it is something from which Caesar benefits which leads the reader to believe he could have preempted this attack but did not so as to fan the flames. Caesar manages to block the fleeing army of Afranius on top of a hill and, executing another psychological tactic, cuts off their access to water and orders his men not to fight them but to keep them surrounded. Eventually Afranius submits to Caesar, who allows his men to run ‘in throngs and crowds down to the streams and rivers that were nearest’.⁹⁰² No doubt prompted by Afranius’ voluntary submission, and perhaps intimidated by Caesar’s strategies, Terentius Varro, another of Pompeius’ legates in Spain, surrenders. In doing so, Varro supplies Caesar with military resources:

Cesair ro caidh s en remi d’innsaighid Uairr .i. righ eli bu    Romanaibh isinn Espain fos, *gur* giall Uairr fo *ch eoir* do, 7 co tucsom da legion da slogaib leis uadh .i. *d  m li* .x. fear n-armach.

‘Caesar marched forward to Varro, another Roman general who was still in Spain, and Varro at once submitted to him, and gave him two legions of his troops, that is, twelve thousand armed men’.⁹⁰³

This line is reminiscent of the gathering of resources described in one of the *remsc ela* to the *T in B  C ailnge*, namely *Aislinge  enguso*:

Is de sin ro bo  cairdes in Maicc  ic ocus Ailella ocus Medbae. Is de sin do-cuaid  engus tricha c t, co Ailill ocus Meidb do th in inna mb  a C ailnge. Conid ‘*De Aislingiu  enguso Maicc in Dagda *’ ainm in sc uil sin isin T in b  C ailnge’.⁹⁰⁴

It is because of that there was a pact between the Mac  c and Ailill and Medb. It is because of that  engus went with three-thousand [armed men] to Ailill and Medb on the raid of the cattle from Cooley. So that ‘Regarding the Dream of  engus, son of the Dagdae’ is the name of that story in the *T in B  C ailnge*.⁹⁰⁵ (Own translation.)

In the *remsc ela* to TBC, Medb and Ailill gather resources for the cattle-raid by both peaceful and violent means. In the case of *Aislinge  enguso*, they acquire  engus’ military support by creating a political alliance with him in return for a favour; whereas, in *T in B  Regamain*, Ailill and Medb wage a premeditated battle on the king in order to procure his livestock,

⁹⁰² STOKES 1909: II. 2572–3.

⁹⁰³ STOKES 1909: II. 2585–8.

⁹⁰⁴ SHAW 1934:  15, p. 63.

⁹⁰⁵ For more on this type of serialising strategy within the context of the TBC *remsc ela*, see section 1.6.2.4.

which would then be used to sustain the men in the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*.⁹⁰⁶ Caesar's acquiring troupes, therefore, may be seen as correlation to the type of outcome described in a TBC *remscél*. A similar example of the finer tactics used by political leaders is presented by *Táin Bó Flidais*, in which, in their search for resources for TBC, Ailill mac Máta and Medb exploit Ailill Find's insecurities about his wife's fidelity. With Fergus having divulged the fact that he and Ailill Find's wife love one another, they send him to ask for supplies, reckoning that he will come back all the richer for Ailill Find's fear:

'Im ráidfem-ni ocus Medb nech úaim co Ailill Find do chobair dúnn ocus úaire is co dul neich dó, ni-f(a)il nap tussu fadéin nod-tét. Bid ferr-de ind ascaid.'

“Ich und Medb werden darüber beraten, (dass) einer von uns zu Ailill Find (geht), damit wir Hilfe bekommen; und da es darauf ankommt, dass einer hingeht, so besteht kein Grund, weshalb du selbst es nicht sein solltest, der die Reise unternimmt. Das Geschenk wird umso besser sein.”⁹⁰⁷

Similar to Caesar, Ailill and Medb notice a weakness in Ailill Find's side; they then exploit a situation that conveniently results in a battle, which was their original intention. Caesar's calculated war tactics are exemplified by the Hosting of Spain, and it builds up expectation to how he will strategise and engage in the Battle of Thessaly, the “main narrative”. Therefore, this episode bears a causal relationship to the Battle of Thessaly, and Caesar's tricking Pompeius into starting the Civil War represents a turning point in the narrative; this may also have been understood by the medieval Irish scholar to be a characteristic one would expect to find in a *remscél*.

The Martyrdom of the Vulteians (part of Lucan's Book IV), *Martra Munteri Uilt*,⁹⁰⁸ follows next in the series of episodes described as *remscéla* in manuscripts D and F and is thematically very different from any other tale or episode in Early Irish saga literature.⁹⁰⁹ As the title suggests, the underlying message is not to fear death in battle and, if death happens to be impending, that it is better to inflict it upon yourself than have your enemy laugh about

⁹⁰⁶ See section 1.6.2.7.

⁹⁰⁷ CORTHALS 1979: 153, 164.

⁹⁰⁸ STOKES 1909: II. 2595–2859.

⁹⁰⁹ See, however, the Early Modern Irish version of *Táin Bó Flidais*, which shows signs of the theme of committing martyrdom in view of a losing battle. Towards the end of the battle between Ailill Finn and Ailill and Medb, the former realises that his number of soldiers has dwindled – he only has 97 left – and he speaks to the remaining men: ‘O nach b-fuil sib acht sin,’ bhar eisen, ‘do gebtaí uile bás. Agus ní h-ég do neoch agus beodacht agus cosgar do dénam. Agus cosnaid sib p-fen agus bur tigerna.’ ‘Seeing that is all you can muster,’ replied he, ‘you shall all die. But those who show courage and prowess do not die. Fight then valiantly for yourselves and your lord’ (MACKINNON 1904–5: 314, §186).

killing you afterwards. Although the ‘martyrdom’ as an episode-type is not found in the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* or its *remscéla*, the notion of a noble death in battle is not uncommon in Early Irish literature. An example occurs in the ‘Humorous Fight of Iliach’, in which Iliach prearranges for Dócha mac Mágach to behead him because of the respect Dócha has shown to the old man.⁹¹⁰ Loyalty is also a prominent theme as the martyrdom exemplifies the lengths to which a general’s followers will go. Interestingly, neither Caesar nor Pompeius feature in this episode, but rather the ancillary figure Vulteius dominates the main action. This falls in line with the theory that the lead characters of a *remscél* need not be the same lead characters of the main narrative, which is often the case in the *remscéla* to TBC (e.g. Óengus in *Aislinge Óenguso*). The Martyrdom of the Vulteians opens with the encounter between Caesar’s viceroy Caius Antonius and the Pompeian Octavius on the island of Salona, according to *In Cath Catharda*; however, the adaptor has somehow confused the city of Salona (Solin) on the mainland of modern-day Croatia for the island Curicta.⁹¹¹ Having been hemmed in by Octavius on the island, C. Antonius conspires to build rafts and depart from a secret location. However, Octavius is aware of the plan, allows C. Antonius to carry it out, and snares the Caesarian rafts in chains hidden under the surface of the sea when they sail from their “secret” docking point. Here we are introduced to Vulteius on the first raft who fights hard for the day before retiring for the night, when he makes a speech to his men instructing them to kill themselves in battle if they recognize they cannot win:

‘[...] impaidh fríb féin 7 imr(ed) cach uaib bas for araili, na dernat bar namait bar commaideam 7 na cuire(t) bar n-ilach coscair’.

‘[...] turn against yourselves, and let each of you inflict death on another, so that your foes may not brag about you, and may not utter over you their paeon of triumph’.⁹¹²

⁹¹⁰ O’RAHILLY 1976: II. 3366–86.

⁹¹¹ The original Latin text does not explicitly state that it is referring to the island of Curecta but, as in CCath., refers to it as the territory of the Curictae and to its proximity to Salona. *In Cath Catharda* gives the following geographical description:

Do rala intan sin dano Antoin airri maith do muntir Cesair co ndroing slogh immaille fris ic crichaibh na Curecta, airm i comerget murtonna in mara Adriatecda re himelborda innsi slisfoda Soloin.

‘Then (Caius) Antonius, a valiant Caesarian viceroy, happened to be along with a force in the territories of the Curectes, where the billows of the Adriatic sea rise against the shores of the long-sided island of Salona’ (STOKES 1909: II. 2603–6).

Compare with the Latin: *Qua maris Hadriaci longas ferit unda Salonas | Et tepidum in molles Zephyros excurrit lader, | Illic bellaci confisus gente Curictum, | Quos alit Hadriaco tellus circumflua ponto, | Clauditur extrema residens Antonius ora, | Cautus ab incursu belli, si sola recedat, | Expugnat quae tuta, fames.*

‘Where the Adriatic wave beats on the straggling town of Salonae, and where mild lader runs out towards the soft West winds, there Antonius, trustling in the warlike race of the Curictae, who dwell in an island surrounded by the Adriatic waters, was pent up within his camp on the edge of the shore’ (*Lucan* iv, 404–10).

⁹¹² STOKES 1909: II. 2731–3.

The next day, the Pompeians immediately observe the ardour of the Vulteians and try to quell their madness by giving a false peace offering; this is quickly rejected and the Caesarians begin inflicting ‘virulent showers of deadly javelins’⁹¹³ and other weapons on the Pompeians. The Caesarians, led by Vulteius, fight ferociously until they realise they are not going to be victorious. Vulteius announces that he wishes to be killed by his own men and they carry out the order, before turning to kill each other. The Pompeians cease their fighting and watch as the Caesarians carry out this martyrdom and we are told that ‘never before in the world was there a crew of a single vessel that gained more distinction or fame or subsequent praise’.⁹¹⁴ The episode ends with the Pompeians burying the warriors’ bodies in Salona. Perhaps its most important role within the whole narrative of CCath. is that it is the only “martyrdom” and its strong theme of loyalty to Caesar not only provides an interesting point of contrast with the previous episode showing the two camps mixing together, but it also prepares the reader/audience for the intense combat later to come in the Great Battle of Thessaly.

The Tragic Death of Curio (the end of Lucan’s Book IV), *Aided Curio*,⁹¹⁵ is one of three *aideda*, ‘tragic deaths’, in the series of episodes described as *remscéla* by D and F; the others are *Aided Aip* ‘The Tragic Death of Appius’⁹¹⁶ and *Aided Sceua* ‘The Tragic Death of Scaeva’.⁹¹⁷ All three deal with the deaths of Caesarian warriors and all are rather ironic in their own way, as I discuss below. Within the context of the taxonomy of the *aided*, this tale is particularly interesting because the Irish version diverges from the Latin original in describing how Curio dies. As I explain below, the Latin is slightly ambiguous in that we are told that Curio dies from grief, which implies that he may have either had a heart attack or committed suicide. The Irish, on the other hand, explicitly states that he had some sort of heart attack. Before going any further I will give a brief outline of the series of events leading to his death.

Caesar had sent Curio to Sardinia and Sicily to gather provisions and the latter took it upon himself then to travel to Carthage additionally with the intention of stealing Pompeian wealth. Curio arrives in North Africa, sets up camp on the river Tigr,⁹¹⁸ and goes to reconnoitre around an adjacent mountain range. He meets a local, whom he asks about the

⁹¹³ STOKES 1909: I. 2769.

⁹¹⁴ STOKES 1909: II. 2847–9.

⁹¹⁵ Here I normalise the spelling of the heading; the section is headed *Aidid Curio* (Stokes 1909: I. 2860) and it ends with the title *Aidead Curio* (Stokes 1909: I. 3209).

⁹¹⁶ STOKES 1909: I. 3210.

⁹¹⁷ STOKES 1909: I. 3388.

⁹¹⁸ STOKES 1909: I. 2875. The historically correct location is the Bagrahas river in modern Tunisia, which indicates that the Irish adaptor cannot have taken this river name from a copy of Lucan’s *De Bello Civili*.

history of the area. What follows is the Latin equivalent to the Irish *dindsenchas*, ‘place-lore’, of the Rock of Antaeus, the Hill of Struggle, and the Hill of the Disused Encampment; and the unnamed local relates how Scipio Africanus raided Africa. Happy with his findings, Curio returns to his own camp. In the meantime, Varus, Pompeius’ deputy in Africa, finds out that Curio has landed and gathers his troops, including the African warrior and king Juba of Numidia, who has held a long grudge against Curio for having ‘attempted to dethrone him’.⁹¹⁹ Despite the small size of Curio’s army, he enters into battle against Varus. Juba comes up with a stratagem, which the narrator compares to how ‘asps are hunted in the districts of Egypt’,⁹²⁰ in which he draws Curio and his men out to a plain before ambushing them from all sides. A detailed description of the fighting ensues and the episode ends with Curio apparently dying from grief:

La sodain atconnaire Curio na hara mora sin, 7 a muintir uili gan elodach innisin scel dib do bith *acht* comtoitim docom bais an aonfecht ina fiadhnaisi. Nir’ fulaing a aignead do bith ic a fegad 7 gan acmaing a foritni aigi. Ro leicc go nertmar nemleasc docum lair é. Ro mebaidh cromaidm da cridhi ‘na cliabh, 7 dos-fanic bas i mmedhon a miledh.

‘Thereat Curio beheld those great slaughters and all his people, without a fugitive to tell tidings of them, simultaneously falling to death in his presence. His nature could not bear to see them and not to have means of helping them. He threw himself down on the ground, strongly, unweariedly: a gore-burst of his heart broke in his breast; and death entered the midst of the soldier [*sic*].’⁹²¹

The final line should be translated as ‘he died among his soldiers’. The exact way in which Curio dies in the Irish adaptation differs from the original Latin:

Curio, fusas | Ut vidit campis acies et cernere tantas | Permisit clades compressus sanguine pulvis, | Non tulit adflictis animam producere revus | Aut sperare fugam, ceciditque in strage suorum | Inpiger ad letum et fortis virtute coacta.

‘When Curio saw his ranks prostrate on the field, and when the dust was laid by blood, so that he could survey that awful carnage, he would not stoop to survive defeat or

⁹¹⁹ STOKES 1909: II. 3021–3.

⁹²⁰ STOKES 1909: II. 3080–2.

⁹²¹ STOKES 1909: II. 3191–6.

hope for escape, but fell amid the corpses of his men, prompt to face death and brave with the courage of despair'.⁹²²

Dying of grief is a common trope in Early Irish literature: among the *remscéla* discussed above, Ferb and Núagel both die of grief in *Tochmarc Ferbe* (see section 1.5.3.14 above). As mentioned already, the description of Curio's death may have been reworded to suit an Irish audience. The particular idiom involving the heart rupturing as a result of emotional grief is investigated by Mac Mathúna, who provides the following examples among others in his study.⁹²³ In *Aided Muirchertaig meic Erca* 'The Violent Death of Muirchertach mac Erca', Duabsech dies upon seeing her husband Muirchertach's corpse:

ro mebaid cró-maidm dia craide 'na cliab ⁊ fuair bas fō chētōir ann sin do chumaid a fir.⁹²⁴

'a great bursting forth of blood broke her heart in her breast and she died immediately from grief for her husband'.⁹²⁵

And in Rec. II TBC, the death of Findabair is described in similar terms again:

[...] ⁊ ro maid cnómaidm dá cride 'na cliab ar féile ⁊ náre.

'[...] and her heart cracked like a nut in her breast through shame and modesty.'⁹²⁶

Therefore, the adaptor made the story content more accessible to his Irish audience by using familiar imagery and, in this instance, a stereotypical idiom for death by grief. The Irish episode is abridged and concludes with a moralistic message about Curio's character and his poor judgement in joining Caesar's side.

As mentioned already, the *aided* is not only a tale-type (e.g. *Aided Chonchobuir* 'The Tragic Death of Conchobor')⁹²⁷ but it is also an episode-type that dominates the main narrative in the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*. *Aideda* in TBC occur within the 'Boyhood Deeds' section⁹²⁸ as well as elsewhere in the narrative.⁹²⁹ Only *Lebor na hUidre* uses the episode

⁹²² *Lucan* Book IV, ll. 793–8.

⁹²³ MAC MATHÚNA 2003: 10–17.

⁹²⁴ NIC DHONNCHADHA 1964: §46.

⁹²⁵ Translation by MAC MATHÚNA 2003: 15.

⁹²⁶ O'RAHILLY 1967: l. 3888.

⁹²⁷ See also List A of the Middle Irish Tale Lists (MAC CANA 1980: 44).

⁹²⁸ *Aided na macraide* 'The Death of the Boys' (O'RAHILLY 1976: l. 470), *Aided na trí nónbór inso ⁊ in fáth arná laimthé a n-guin ina cessa* 'The death of the twenty-seven men and the reason why none dared to wound the Ulstermen when they were in their debility' (O'RAHILLY 1976: l. 524), and *Aided con na cerda inso la Coin Culaind*

headings to create clear divisions in the manuscript in the form of subheadings within TBC; this indicates an impulse towards a critical understanding of the individual components of an extended narrative. Recension II shows some signs of a similar physical representation of an episodic structure with infrequent ‘metatextual flags’⁹³⁰, i.e. by using a tagline to mark the end of a section.⁹³¹ If we combine the fact that the LL TBC *remscéla* title-list classifies episodes from within the main narrative of TBC, i.e. certain *macgnímrada*, as *remscéla* with the fact that the *aided* is a prevalent and popular form of episode classification elsewhere in TBC, the latter along with the *remscéla* title-lists may have provided a convenient structural framework: firstly, for the borrowing of the notion of dividing the text into more discrete narrative units, such as the *aided*, and, secondly, by classifying certain units as *remscéla*. Separately, it must be noted also that there are no *aideda* in the TBC *remscéla* title-lists and this is because tragic deaths as the central event of an episode do not occur outside the main narrative of TBC.

The Irish adaptor may have found structural parallels between the *dindsenchas*-style features in the original Latin, i.e. the Rock of Antaeus, the Hill of Struggle, and the Hill of the Disused Encampment, and those found in TBC and in two of the *remscéla* to TBC, namely Inber Bicne and Tracht Bennchóir in *Táin Bó Froích* (see section 1.6.3.4), and Loch Gúala and Duma Ferbe in *Tochmarc Ferbe* (see section 1.5.3.14). Naturally, many *aideda* in Early Irish literature are frequently accompanied by a *dindsenchas* exposition because the placename is usually explained as a result of the death of the protagonist. Nine of the *aideda* in Rec. I and Rec. II give a formulaic reference to the origin of the place-name based either on

⁷ *aní día fil Cú Chulaind fair-seom* ‘The killing of the Smith’s Hound by Cú Chulainn [and the reason why he is called Cú Chulainn]’ (O’RAHILLY 1976: II. 540–1).

⁹²⁹ *Aided Fraích* ‘The Death of Fraích’ (O’RAHILLY 1976: I. 833), *Aided Órláim* ‘The Death of Órlám’ (O’RAHILLY 1976: I. 868), *Aided trí mac nGáarach* ‘The Death of the Three Sons of Gáarach’ (O’RAHILLY 1976: I. 907); *Aided in togmaill 7 in pheta eóin* ‘The Death of the Marten and of the Pet Bird’ (O’RAHILLY 1976: I. 920); *Aided Lethan* ‘The Death of Lethan’ (O’RAHILLY 1976: I. 946); *Aided Lócha inso* ‘The Death of Lócha’ (O’RAHILLY 1976: I. 973); *Aided Lóthair* ‘The Death of Lóthar’ is not given a heading in LU but the episode ends on *Conid Aided Lóthair ar Tána sin* (O’RAHILLY 1976: I. 994); *Aided Úalainn* ‘The Death of Úalu’ (O’RAHILLY 1976: I. 1002); *Aided Etarcomail 7 imarchor n-athisc fer n-Érend i mbeólo Fergusa do Choin Chulaind* ‘The death of Etarcomol and the terms offered by the men of Ireland as told to Cú Chulainn by Fergus’ (O’RAHILLY 1976: I. 1287–8); *Aided Nath Crantail* ‘The Death of Nath Crantail’ (O’RAHILLY 1976: I. 1388); *Aided Redg Cáinte* ‘The Death of Redg the Satirist’ (O’RAHILLY 1976: I. 1510); *Aided na macraidi* ‘The Death of the Boys’ (O’RAHILLY 1976: I. 1631); *Aided na Rígamus* ‘The Death of the Royal Mercenaries’ (O’RAHILLY 1976: I. 1685); *Aided Cáuir* ‘The Death of Cúir’ (O’RAHILLY 1976: I. 1694); *Aided Fir Baíth* ‘The Death of Fer Báeth’ (O’RAHILLY 1976: 1737); *Aided Lóich meic Mo Femis* ‘The Death of Lóch Mac Mo Femis’ (O’RAHILLY 1976: I. 1874); *Aided Tamuin Drúith* ‘The Death of Taman the Jester’ (O’RAHILLY 1976: I. 2483); *Aided Óengussá meic Óenláma* ‘The Death of Óengus mac Óenláime’ (O’RAHILLY 1976: I. 2488).

⁹³⁰ Ó Corráin uses this term for the same narratological technique in TBC in *Lebor na hUidre* (Ó CORRÁIN 2015: 26).

⁹³¹ For example, *Conid Comrac Etarcomla fri Coin Culaind sin* ‘That is the story of the Encounter of Etarcomul and Cú Chulainn’ (O’RAHILLY 1967: I. 1695). On an unrelated note, this title is not a *comrac* in LU but an *aided* (see note below).

the person killed at the site or the manner in which he was killed: *Aided Froích* (contained in Rec. I only),⁹³² *Aided in togmaill 7 in pheta eóin*,⁹³³ *Aided Lethan*; *Aided Lócha*,⁹³⁴ *Aided Úalann*,⁹³⁵ *Aided Redg*,⁹³⁶ *Aided Fir Baith*,⁹³⁷ *Aided Lóich meic Mo Femis*,⁹³⁸ and *Aided Tamain*.⁹³⁹ Therefore, the idea of a section of *dindsenchas* in CCath. may have resonated stylistically with an Irish reader/audience.

The Death of Appius, *Aided Aip*,⁹⁴⁰ in the Irish adaptation is a much abridged version of the first 236 lines of Lucan's Book V. It opens with the Roman Senate meeting in Epirus, instead of Rome, out of fear of Caesar, at the beginning of the New Year; and Pompeius is appointed as chief commander for the rest of his life. When the assembly disperses, Appius breaks away to seek advice from the oracle (which the Irish version calls 'prophets and wizards')⁹⁴¹ as to who is more likely to win the war, so that he might follow him. Appius then visits the temple of Apollo on Mount Parnassus, where he is told that 'he would have rest from warfare in the valley of the Euboean side',⁹⁴² which Appius misinterprets. While travelling across the sea to take Euboa for himself, or so he thinks, Appius drowns and his body is washed up on the shore. The oracle's prophecy is fulfilled when Appius is buried in the Euboean valley, thus avoiding warfare completely. This section relates the theme of prophecy and fulfilment, which features elsewhere in relationship between *Táin Bó Regamna* and *Táin Bó Cúailnge* (see sections 1.6.3.10 and 1.7.6 above). It is curious that the Irish adaptation leaves out so much information about Appius' trip to the oracle in the original *De Bello Civili*. The Irish adaptation omits how Apollo became a prophet; how Appius reopened the shrine at Delphi; how the priestess tries to dissuade him from asking the future, knowing her own fate as a vehicle for Apollo's prophecies; then, how the maiden is forced into the temple where she begins giving a false prophecy in the hope of not stirring Apollo but Appius recognises her trickery and forces her into going into the cave. Following that is a long description of the woman being possessed by the god Apollo.

⁹³² O'RAHILLY 1976: II. 853–4.

⁹³³ O'RAHILLY 1976: II. 924–6; O'RAHILLY 1967: II. 1277–9.

⁹³⁴ O'RAHILLY 1976: I. 976–7; O'RAHILLY 1967: 1346.

⁹³⁵ O'RAHILLY 1976: II. 1005–6; O'RAHILLY 1967: I. 1358.

⁹³⁶ O'RAHILLY 1976: I. 1520; O'RAHILLY 1967: II. 1813–14.

⁹³⁷ O'RAHILLY 1976: I. 1785; O'RAHILLY 1967: I. 1905.

⁹³⁸ O'RAHILLY 1976: II. 2029–30; O'RAHILLY 1967: II. 2010–11.

⁹³⁹ O'RAHILLY 1976: I. 2487; O'RAHILLY 1967: I. 2472.

⁹⁴⁰ *Aideadh Aip* (STOKES 1909: I. 3210).

⁹⁴¹ *IS i comairli ro smuain Apius, techt da fiarfaigid d'fuidib et d'fissidib cia dona rígaib da mbiad mait[h] no saith in coccaid moir sin, [...] This is the plan of which Appius thought, to go and ask prophets and wizards which of the generals would have good or evil of that great warfare [...]' (STOKES 1909: I. 3232–4).*

⁹⁴² STOKES 1909: I. 3239f.

Illa feroces | Torquet adhuc oculos totoque vagantia caelo | Lumina, nunc voltu pavido,
nunc torva minaci; Stat numquam facies; rubor igneus inficit ora | Liventesque genas;
nec, qui solet esse timenti, | Terribilis sed pallor inest nec fessa quiescunt | Corda, sed,
ut tumidus Boreae post flamina pontus | Rauca gemit, sic muta levant suspiria vatem.

‘The frenzy abides; and the god, whom she has not shaken off, still controls her, since she has not told all her tale. She still rolls wild eyes, and eyeballs that roam over all the sky; her features are never quiet, now showing fear, and now grim with menacing aspect; a fiery flush dyes her face and the leaden hue of her cheeks; her paleness is unlike that of fear but inspires fear; her heart finds no rest after its labour; and, as the swollen sea moans hoarsely when the North wind has ceased to blow, so voiceless sighs still heave her breast.’⁹⁴³

The decision to omit this section in particular, therefore, may have been an act of censorship. Although Early Irish literature frequently presents literary depictions of pagan practices, e.g. the image of Fedelm the female seer in the opening of the *Táin*, they pale in comparison to the intense pagan imagery of the Delphian priestess being possessed by the oracle in *De Bello Civili*, which may have been viewed as excessive.

*Echtra Césair*⁹⁴⁴ ‘The Adventure(s) of Caesar’, the next event in Lucan’s Book V, is both moralistic and about preparing for war and gathering resources; the latter is a characteristic of some of the TBC *remscéla*, which I explain above. The episode opens with Caesar heading east having conquered all of Spain. His men plan to abandon Caesar but he persuades them to stay; however, he then beheads the leaders of those who had previously planned the mutiny. Caesar sends Antony to collect ships in preparation for his attempt to take Greece and the East, and tells him to meet him at Brundisium. Then returning to Rome, Caesar appoints himself to ‘all the Roman ranks of honour from decán to dictator’,⁹⁴⁵ before making his way to Brundisium. When Antony is delayed reaching Brundisium Caesar becomes impatient and sails the Adriatic to Epirus, where Pompeius’ camp is set up; this is the first time the two camps meet. Repeatedly, Caesar sends messages to Antony pleading with him to come and support him. Failing that, one morning at 3am Caesar sets out and orders that a ‘frugal master’, a man named Amyclas who owns a small vessel on the harbour, bring him across the Adriatic. The two take to the waves and are struck by a tempest, so that

⁹⁴³ *Lucan* V, ll. 211–18.

⁹⁴⁴ This section is headed with *Echtra Cessair* (STOKES 1909: 3249); here I use the spelling in the tagline at the end of the episode with the addition of a length mark *Echtra Cesair* (STOKES 1909: l. 3387).

⁹⁴⁵ STOKES 1909: l. 3273–4.

they wander around the sea before being washed up again on the shores of Epirus; Antony arrives soon afterwards. Pompeius then sends his wife Cornelia to the island of Lesbos for safety and we are told that ‘she did not stir out of that island until the great battle was delivered’.⁹⁴⁶ The *echtrae* as a genre in Early Irish literature usually signifies an otherworld journey (e.g. *Echtrae Nerai*), sometimes involving water (e.g. *Echtrae Chonnlai*), but here it simply represents a journey across water. Here the journey is used as an opportunity to provide a character sketch of Caesar: his eagerness to begin battling with the Pompeians leads him to acting rashly and insisting that a poor man take him in his flimsy vessel on a stormy sea in the middle of the night. As a *remscél*, therefore, it provides background information about the protagonist in a fashion that might be compared to the *comperta* in the lists of *remscéla* to TBC, i.e. in that it this is a character sketch of Caesar.

In *Aided Scéua*,⁹⁴⁷ ‘The Tragic Death of Scaeva’ (the beginning of Lucan’s Book VI), Caesar incites Pompeius to war by raising ‘their standards on the height above Pompey’s camp in a tryst of war to Pompey and his army’.⁹⁴⁸ Caesar sets out to take Dyrrachium, in modern Albania, on the Greek border but is beaten to the city by Pompeius. He builds a massive stone wall around Pompeius’ camp, and Pompeius later sends out his battalions to face Caesar’s men around the wall. Suddenly, the horses of Pompeius’ camp contract a strange and deadly disease. The poison from the diseased horses spreads to the humans’ drinking water and through the air. Meanwhile Caesar’s camp suffer from famine, which impacts their ability to continue raiding Greece. Pompeius then launches an attack on the Caesarians at the castles of Minucius. The story turns to the Caesarian centurion Scaeva who urges the men on to fight for love of their lord or, at least, in retaliation for Pompeius’ attack on them. Scaeva highlights the glory of dying in warfare and his prowess in battle is described in detail – perhaps even to the point of irony:

[. . .] tuccustair idlaing curadh de asin inad i m-boi, ocus ro ling co neimlesc feib as doiniu no lingfedh in leoman Affracdha dar srethgaibh sealga, co tarla ina sesom e i certmedhon catha a bidbadh

⁹⁴⁶ STOKES 1909: II. 3384–5.

⁹⁴⁷ This episode is given the heading *Aideadh Sceua* (STOKES 1909: I. 3388) and ends with two titles in the line: *Imairecc na h-Epiri 7 Aided Sceua ainm in scceoil sin* ‘The Conflict in Epirus and the Tragic Death of Scaeva’ (STOKES 1909: I. 3769).

⁹⁴⁸ STOKES 1909: II. 3400–1.

‘[. . .] he made a hero’s leap from the place on which he was, and nimbly sprang with the vehemence of the African lion springing over the serried hunting-spears, so that he lighted standing-up in the centre of a battalion of his enemies’.⁹⁴⁹

The Pompeian battalion surrounds Scaeva: ‘A novel, unusual battle was fought there, namely, the many thousands [were] battling against one man’ (*Do ronadh cath nua nemhghnathach andsin .i. na h-ilmile acc cathugud frisan n-aeinfer*).⁹⁵⁰ A Cretan warrior shoots him through the eye with an arrow and he simply plucks the arrow out, with the eyeball attached, and continues fighting. As Scaeva nears death he feigns to submit to Pompeius and invites the Pompeian warriors to come withdraw their swords from his body – Aulus, Pompeius’ follower, goes to Scaeva but is killed by him. Then Scaeva announces that Pompeius should indeed submit to Caesar. A great mist rises and the Pompeians retreat; Scaeva then dies as a result of his wound by the arrow. Pompeius manages to breach the wall Caesar had built around him. Caesar sees that they have done so and attacks Torquatus’ camp; Pompeius quickly sends men to help Torquatus and the Caesarians end up being outnumbered. Caesar flees and Pompeius also spares them.

IS *ed* *tuc for* Poimp in coicill sin [do tabairt C.] doibh, ar ba dimbag leis na cinedha comaihthe d’faicsin ic básugud na Roman ina fiadhnaisi, *ocus* nir b’ail leiss dano a catha do scailedh co dicra for in mbecc slóig sin, o nar sail Cesair ettarra, ar ba deimin leis na tiucfad Cesair la huathad miledh da fobairt-sium dogrés. Tainic Poimp iarum reime *da longphort* co subhach somenmnach ar m-breith do an coscuir sin do Cesair.

‘This is what induced Pompey to spare them: he deemed it a disgrace for the neighbouring nations to see him killing Romans in their presence, and also he was unwilling to launch his battalions on that small force, since he did not think that Caesar was among them, and he was sure that Caesar would never come to attack him with but few soldiers. So Pompey came on to his camp, gladly and in high spirits at having won that victory over Caesar.’⁹⁵¹

The depiction of Scaeva in *Aided Scaeva* is akin to the description of the Ulster warrior Cethern, son of Fintan, who fights to the point that ‘his entrails are lying about his feet’.⁹⁵²

⁹⁴⁹ STOKES 1909: II. 3607–10.

⁹⁵⁰ STOKES 1909: II. 3624–5.

⁹⁵¹ STOKES 1909: 3760–7.

⁹⁵² O’RAHILLY 1976: II. 3172–3. Scaeva is also described as having his entrails visible while continuing to fight in battle: *cona bai [ní] ic congball a inne nó a inat[h]raig ann, acht an clet[h]cur sleg seimnech sithreamar batar comtharsna trena cnes*. ‘[...] so that there was nothing to hold in his bowels or his entrails but the palisade of riveted, long-thick spears that were athwart through his skin’ (STOKES 1909: II. 3634–6).

Despite his disparaging comments at the beginning of the episode, Scaeva reiterates his loyalty to Caesar to the point of excess and his wounds are grotesque and unrealistic for a mortal figure, which may reflect Lucan's original intention, i.e. to mock the futility of fighting for a warlord like Caesar.⁹⁵³ As a *remscél* to the Great Battle of Thessaly, it presents an instance of Pompeius' demonstrating that he is a match for Caesar by being victorious in this small battle.

The Description of Thessaly (Lucan's Book VI, ll. 333–412), *Túaruscbál na Tesaili*,⁹⁵⁴ is the penultimate *remscél* which sets the scene for the Great Battle. The structure of the Irish version is altered significantly from the original Latin, presumably, in an attempt to bring the material in line with the Irish style of narration, as I will now explain. The description in both the Irish and the original Latin consists of how the district got its name, the landscape, mountains, daylight hours, cities, famous mythological and historical figures associated with it, streams, rivers, lore and monsters. However, the Irish version divides these different features into sections and uses the repeated formula: *tír [. . .] ba cubaid in cath mór do gnim inti* 'a land [. . .], it were meet to deliver the Great Battle'. For example, regarding the river Styx flowing into Thessaly, the Irish adaptation states: *tír i snighfedh an sruth sin ba cubaid an cath mar do gnim innte*, 'in a land wherein that river flows it were meet to deliver the Great Battle'.⁹⁵⁵ The same, or at least very similar, information is presented in the Irish as in the Latin but with some native narrative influence: e.g. *IS edh innisit senchaidhe na Tesaili conadh a sruth Stig i n-ifern theprines bunadh an t-srotha sin*. 'The shanachies of Thessaly relate that the source of that stream wells out of the river Styx in hell'.⁹⁵⁶

Finally, the Prophecy of the Spectre out of Hell, *Faistine ind arrachta a hiffern*,⁹⁵⁷ concludes Lucan's Book VI and is the final *remscél*.⁹⁵⁸ It is yet another preparatory tale in

This is quite quite close to Lucan: *Fortis crebris sonat ictibus umbo, | Et galeae fragmenta cavae compressa perurunt | Tempora, nec quidquam nudis vitalibus obstat | lam praeter stantes in summis ossibus hastas*. 'The stout boss of his shield rings with repeated blows; his hollow helmet battered to pieces, galls the forehead which it covers; and nothing any longer protects his exposed vitals except the spears which stick fast when they reach his bones' (Lucan VI, 191–5).

⁹⁵³ See, for example, how the wording of Scaeva's incitement to battle in the Latin original is somewhat sardonic: "*Quo vos pavor,*" inquit "*adegit | Inpius et cunctis ignotus Caesaris armis? Terga datis morti? cumulo vos desse virorum | Non pudet et bustis interque cadavera quaeri? | Non ira saltem, iuvenes, pietate remota | Nos sumus electi. Non parvo sanguine Magni | Iste dies ierit. [...]*" "Whither," he cried, "has fear driven you – disloyal fear that no soldier of Caesar's has ever felt? Do you turn your backs on death? Are you not ashamed that you are not added to the heap of gallant dead, and that you are missing among the corpses? If duty be disregarded, will not rage at least make you stand your ground, ye soldiers? The enemy has chosen us out of all the army to sally forth through our ranks. This day shall cost Magnus not a little blood. [...]" (Lucan V, 150–8).

⁹⁵⁴ STOKES 1909: ll. 3770–3875.

⁹⁵⁵ STOKES 1909: 3834–5; see also ll. 3815–6, 3826–7, 3850–1, 3872–3.

⁹⁵⁶ STOKES 1909: ll. 3832–4.

⁹⁵⁷ STOKES 1909: ll. 3876–4311.

that it contains some prophecy by a revived corpse, brought back to life by the witch Erictho. Both camps are preparing themselves mentally for the battle and all the horrors it entails when the general Pompeius' son, Sextus Pompeius, goes to the druidess Erictho to obtain a prophecy about the outcome of the war. At this point, the narrator gives a history of witchcraft in Thessaly, the Thessalian witches, and a description of the witches' supernatural abilities, e.g. to effect time, the elements, and the weather. Erictho, the 'lath of a blue-haired hideous hag' (*scairb caillighi fesguirmi forgtainne isidhe*),⁹⁵⁹ was the leader of this group of Thessalian witches. She had the ability to move between worlds, and her prophecies came from demons: 'She never used to demand prophecy save from the demons of hell' (*Ni cuingedh ni d'faistine tre bithiu acht o demnaib iffirn*).⁹⁶⁰ Sextus Pompeius finds Erictho and asks about the outcome of the battle, to which she responds that she herself cannot answer that question:

In caingen lasa tancais *immorro* .i. *etergleod* in morchat[h]asa Poimp 7 Cesair, ro cinnset na faithi 7 na dei adartha 7 in toictiu sein cian mór uadh, 7 as daingen dicumsgaigthe ata *etergleod* in morcat[h]asa oca arna ordughud co cobsaidh cinteach o tosach domuin *ocus* o cruthughad denmæ na ndul.

'But the matter concurring which thou hast come, namely, the decision of this great battle of Pompey and Caesar, the Fates and the adored gods and Fortune have determined long ago; and with them the decision of this battle is firm and immoveable, for it was ordained fixedly, decisively, from the beginning of the world and from the formation of the elements'.⁹⁶¹

Erictho then fetches a corpse from a battle-field nearby to use as a vehicle for her demonic prediction and brings it back to the crag of Mount Haemus. Having performed a ritual involving many strange ingredients, dancing etc., a soul is described as hovering above the body, afraid to enter it.⁹⁶² The corpse eventually comes to life and Erictho gives it the power to speak. The revival of a dead body in order to tell a story is reminiscent of the Ulster exile Fergus mac Roích being summoned from the grave in *De Fóilsigud Tána Bó Cúailnge*. However, Fergus tells tales of the past, whereas this character in CCath. reveals future events. He explains that he has not yet crossed the river Styx but saw great discord among the

⁹⁵⁸ As mentioned above, the additional section in D and F states that this foretale includes: *Echtra Poimp Sext* 'The Adventure of Sextus Pompeius', *taircetta Erictho Tesalta* 'Predictions of Thessalian Erictho' and *faistine inn arrachta ifernaidhe* 'The Prophecy of the Infernal Spectre' (STOKES 1909: II. 4305–6).

⁹⁵⁹ STOKES 1909: II. 3954–5.

⁹⁶⁰ STOKES 1909: II. 3966–7.

⁹⁶¹ STOKES 1909: II. 4065–70.

⁹⁶² STOKES 1909: II. 4183–91.

Romans. A joyful Brutus in hell also told him that Caesar would be killed in Rome by another Brutus.⁹⁶³ The corpse also says that the Hill of Mercy in hell has space for the general and his two sons; and that one general will be killed in Egypt while the other will be killed in Italy. Once the corpse has completed his prediction, Erictho sets his soul free, burns him on the funeral pyre, and Sextus Pompeius returns to the camp.

1.9.3 Conclusion

The foregoing review of the application of the term *remscél* within the context of the Irish adaptation of Lucan's *De Bello Civili* has shown that, conceptually, it is an extension of the categorisation of the *macgnímrada* as *remscéla* in the LL title-list of *remscéla* to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*. On the other hand, one affinity shown between the *remscéla* of CCath. and those to TBC is the theme of gathering resources before the great battle. The lines in *In Cath Catharda* indicating that episodes are indeed *remscéla* were secondary additions to the original adaptation, as exemplified by the additional lines in D and F applying the term *remscél* to a foregoing episode, which shows a move towards structuring by means of identifying narrative units according to their relationship to the main event. In this instance, such structuring brings CCath. closer in style to the native extended narrative of *Táin Bó Cúailnge* and its ancillary tales. This must have been facilitated further by the literary parallels between *De Bello Civili* and TBC: Caesar's military strategies may be compared with Cú Chulainn's military prowess; the theme of friends and family being divided and pitted against each other during a civil war is also found in TBC; and the place-lore motif in the Death of Curio is comparable to the series of *dindsenchas* anecdotes attached to episodes in TBC. Caesar is not always the protagonist of the *remscéla* episodes, which is a noteworthy parallel with the TBC *remscéla* other than the *macgnímrada*.⁹⁶⁴

⁹⁶³ STOKES 1909: II. 4246–9.

⁹⁶⁴ See section 1.10 below.

1.10 *Remscéla* in the Middle Irish Tale Lists

As mentioned above, the *remscéla* lists share a textual relationship with the medieval Irish Tale Lists, which have been examined in-depth by Proinsias Mac Cana and subsequently by Gregory Toner.⁹⁶⁵ These are another example of the medieval Irish scholar's preoccupation with cataloguing material according to genre but on a much larger scale; in addition, the classificatory principles upon which the Tale Lists are based and the purpose of the Tale Lists differ from those of the *remscéla*. The Tale Lists are collections of tale titles of mostly secular⁹⁶⁶ early Irish tales, which are grouped according to 'event-type'⁹⁶⁷ and, unlike the *remscéla* list, not according to story-related material. The question as to whether the Tale Lists shares its origins with the *remscéla* list or whether the latter was extracted from it and recast separately is complicated by a lack of linguistic argument (see below). As indicated below, both Tale List A and the oldest extant version of the *remscéla* list appear in the 12th-century Book of Leinster. Interestingly, then, the LL *remscéla* appear to be one of the sources for the opening section of Tale List B⁹⁶⁸ contained elsewhere. Though separated by a sizeable portion of the manuscript (List A appears on pp. 189b-190b, while the *remscéla* list appears on p. 245b), the fact that both list types appear in a single manuscript gives an insight into its compilation and into the composition of the lists.

Before delving further into the discussion, it is appropriate here to give a brief description of the various extant versions of the Tale Lists, three of which survive and are known as A, B, and C⁹⁶⁹. List A is found in two MSS: the Book of Leinster (LL), and TCD

⁹⁶⁵ TONER 2000.

⁹⁶⁶ Unavoidably, many tales in the lists contain religious undertones (e.g. *Aided Chonchobuir*, etc.), however only two from A are overtly religious (*Orgain Donnán Ego* and *Fís Fursa*), and the *baili* in B appear to be inserted secondarily into B (MAC CANA 1980: 107).

⁹⁶⁷ 'Event-type' best describes the criterion upon which grouping of tales is based, and is a term used by Poppe and Sims-Williams (2005: p. 307). Cited also by the latter authors is Mark Scowcroft who rightly highlights the 'structuralist disposition' (SCOWCROFT 1995: p. 122) towards composing tale lists.

⁹⁶⁸ MAC CANA 1980: 89.

⁹⁶⁹ Mac Cana (1980) uses A and B, a pre-established usage (Mac Cana 1980: 33), to refer to two versions of the list, whereas Toner (2000) refers to the third type as C in his more recent article. Mac Cana notes the common

H.3.17 (1336) (H); List B in three MSS: RIA 23 N 10 (N), Bodl. Libr. Rawl. B 512 (R), and Brit. Libr. Harl. 5280 (H1); and List C⁹⁷⁰ in Adv. Libr. 72.1.7 (MacKinnon VII) (E), and Brit. Libr. Harl. 432 (S). Both Mac Cana and Thurneysen⁹⁷¹ place the parent list, ‘the common core of lists A and B’⁹⁷², in the tenth-century, whereas Gregory Toner remarks that ‘X could be as late as the twelfth century’.⁹⁷³ Given the limited linguistic data provided by the lists, for example, lack of verbal forms, there is not sufficient evidence to argue for an Old Irish date. Mac Cana posits a date around the 11th century for the text of the surrounding narrative in List B, i.e. that of *Airec Menman Uraird meic Coise*⁹⁷⁴ ‘The Stratagem of Urard mac Coise’, but it does not necessarily have any bearing on the date of the composition of the list.

The question as to the relationship between List A and the *remscéla* lists, it may firstly be said that they share a thematic link: i.e. in that they are both concerned with the extent of a poet’s knowledge. The introduction to List A begins:

Do nemthigud filed i scélaib 7 i comgnimaib inso síis da nasnís do rigaib 7 flathib

‘What follows here below concerns the qualification of poets in regard to stories and *coimcne* to be narrated to kings and chieftains.’⁹⁷⁵

origin of E and S, but maintains that neither list ‘appears to be derived from the other, but their close similarity even in the matter of corruptions leaves little doubt that they have a common source’ (MAC CANA 1980: 38).

⁹⁷⁰ TONER (2000: 90) gives the two extant examples of the short tale list as C. Mac Cana notes the common origin of E and S, but maintains that neither list ‘appears to be derived from the other, but their close similarity even in the matter of corruptions leaves little doubt that they have a common source’ (MAC CANA 1980: 38).

⁹⁷¹ *Held.* 22.

⁹⁷² MAC CANA 1980: 83.

⁹⁷³ TONER 2000: 97. Having concluded that the tale of *Airec Menman Uraird meic Coisse* was composed by Urard himself, Mac Cana depends on the tale to give the *terminus ante quem* of 990 A.D., i.e. the date of Urard’s death (*Learned Tales* 83); a tenth-century date is also maintained by Marstrander and Meyer (*Learned Tales*, p. 36). Toner, however, deduces that List B is composed of two separate lists (B1 and B^X) and states the following: ‘[...] as it now seems certain that B^X was not in the author’s copy of *Airec Menman*, the *terminus ante quem* for X is supplied, not by *Airec Menman*, but by the earliest manuscript copy of List A, namely, the Book of Leinster, which was compiled in the second half of the twelfth century.’ (TONER 2000: 97) Most scholars seem unanimous in assigning a *terminus post quem* to the beginning of the tenth-century, dependent on the title *Serc Gormlathie do Niall Glúndub* ‘The Love of Niall Glúndub’ whose protagonist died in 919 A.D. (*Learned Tales* 81; TONER 2000: 97; *Held.* 24) Toner postulates an original, alliterative list O, mostly preserved in List A, and concludes that A’s apparent proximity to the archetype suggests “either a very conservative tradition or, more probably, a relatively short period of transmission. Accordingly, a date before the tenth century seems unlikely.” (TONER 2000: 113)

⁹⁷⁴ Byrne 1908. A translation of this text is still lacking.

⁹⁷⁵ *Learned Tales* 41.

Both lists show distinct forms of cataloguing and the criteria upon which each list rests vary. Both the Tale Lists and the *remscéla* lists have in common the capacity to fluctuate, as exemplified by the varying nature of LL and D in particular.⁹⁷⁶

Studies on the origins of the Tale Lists by Proinsias Mac Cana, and endeavours to reconstruct the original parent list by Gregory Toner⁹⁷⁷ provide a theoretical framework applicable to studies of the *remscéla* lists. For example, Toner uses ‘correlation’ as one of the criteria for choosing which tale titles belonged to the parent list; i.e. if both A and B correlate satisfactorily, it reflects their common original. Usually correlates also appear in the same sequence: Toner gives the examples of the *aithid*, *togla*, *airgne* and appendix⁹⁷⁸ in A and B as part of the parent list X⁹⁷⁹.

Both A and B concern the extent of a poet’s knowledge (not dissimilar to the theme surrounding *The Finding of the Táin*, and the concomitant *remscéla* list in LL). Whereas A is independent and provides only a short, expository note on the requirements of the *fili*, B incorporates the list into the Middle Irish⁹⁸⁰ prose narrative *Airec Menman Uraird meic Coisse*, ‘The Stratagem of Urard mac Coisse’⁹⁸¹. List C is, most likely a ‘substantially truncated’⁹⁸² list with an expository note similar to A but containing a paltry sum of tale titles (22 in E and 21 in S).

Airec Menman, literally translated, means ‘contrivance’ or ‘plan of the mind’; it is possible to extrapolate this further into the sense of, and better described as, a ‘psychological game’. This ‘psychological game’ refers either to the trickery exercised by the protagonist, Urard mac Coisse, in forcing Domnall mac Muirchertaig, king of Tara, into choosing the tale Urard wishes to relate (*Orgain Cathrach Maíl Milscothaig*, ‘The Destruction of the Fortress

⁹⁷⁶ TONER (2000: 88) remarks that “the lists are viewed as being in a constant state of growth and change, and the inability to establish the contents of earlier forms has led to some distrust of their significance as an index of medieval Irish literature.”

⁹⁷⁷ TONER 2000: 88-120.

⁹⁷⁸ Toner refers to the section containing the *tomadma 7 físi 7 serca 7 slúagid 7 tochlada* as the appendix.

⁹⁷⁹ TONER 2000: 91.

⁹⁸⁰ Dated by Liam Breatnach to the ‘second half of the tenth century’ (BREATNACH 1987:92).

⁹⁸¹ BYRNE 1908: 42-76.

⁹⁸² TONER 2000: 114.

of Máel Milsothach'), or it may refer to the tale itself, strategically constructed by Urard to obligate Domnall into paying compensation. When the king chooses to hear the final tale of the list enumerated by Urard, remarking that he is not acquainted with it, Urard regails him with the tale of the atrocities perpetrated against Máel Milsothach (a pseudonym for Urard mac Coisse) and his fortress, and the compensation received by the latter as a result. All the while, Urard keeps up the pretense that the tale is fabled by using pseudonyms for all the characters involved. Upon revealing the truth behind the story to Domnall, the latter orders remuneration be paid by the perpetrator (the Cenél Eógain); and later introduces that the proportion of an *ollam*'s honour-price be the same as the king of Tara. The tale ends with the following:

Dorata[d] tra do Maol Milsothach cech ni robrethaighset na suithi sin etir ecnaighi
 ocus filidha ocus brethemhna la taob ogaisic dá chreith ocus is amlaid sin roordaighset
 do tabairt da cach ollamain na einech ocus na tsarughadh co brath, acht co tisa de
 iomus forasna ocus dichetal do chollaib cenn ocus teimn laoga, coimeneclaimn fri rígh
 Temra do, acht co tisa de in treide sin.⁹⁸³

Before proceeding any further it is necessary to list those tales common to both the *remscéla* lists and tale lists A and B; this is provided in Table 3 below⁹⁸⁴. Of the circa 199⁹⁸⁵

⁹⁸³ BYRNE 1908: 75-76. Here, I provide my own loose translation which has been aided by suggestions from Damian McManus: 'Everything was given to Máel Milsothach that those sages - among [whom were] scholars and poets and judges - had adjudged regarding restitution of his plundered items, and, accordingly, they ordered that every ollam be allotted his honour(-price) and [compensation for] his being violated until Doomsday, except when he knows *imbas forosnai* ('encompassing knowledge which illuminates'), *dichetal di chollaib cenn* ('chanting from jowls?'), and *teimn láeda* ('breaking of marrow'). [He should be given] an honour-price equal to that of the king of Tara, provided that he know these three things.' Note here that *dichetal di* (*do* in MS) *chollaib cenn* could be amended to *dichetal di cholla cennaib*, 'chanting from heads of bodies', with *colla* as the preposed genitive as found in the *Bretha Nemed* (see *CIH* 1114.41-1115.2; CAREY 1997: 45; BREATNACH 1987: 36-37; *EIL* 44). The above translation of *dichetal di chollaib cenn* as 'chanting from jowls' is given on the presumption that *collaib* is the dat. pl. of *coll* 'neck, jaw' (i.e. 'jaw of the heads' or, perhaps, 'jowls') rather than dat. pl. of *colainn*, although both are viable possibilities. It is possible that 'chanting from the jowls' was a form of divination similar in form and difficulty to the *crónán*, 'crooning', described in *Tromdámh Gúaire*: on Marbhán's bidding, Senchán lifts his beard to perform the *crónán snacach*, and such is the level of intensity of that crooning that Senchán's eye jumps from its socket so that it was hanging on his cheek (JOYNT 1941: 31).

⁹⁸⁴ Also supplied by Proinsias Mac Cana (MAC CANA 1980: 41-49). In the interest of clarity, I have expanded and underlined the abbreviated first element of the tale titles which are not given in full in the MS, e.g. *táin*, given simply as T. in the MS. All titles, unless otherwise stated, also occur in the List A in TCD MS. H. 3. 17 (1336) (H) from which the *variae lectiones* are taken.

tale titles in List A [combining those from both LL (187) and TCD MS H. 3. 17 (182)], ten are *remscéla* titles, which are separated into their respective categories in the tale lists. The titles *Tochmarc Ferbe* and *Fís Chonchobuir* represent the same tale or versions⁹⁸⁶ thereof; it is not possible to distinguish which title should be allocated to which version as neither of the two manuscripts in which they are extant (LL, pp. 253a-259 and Eg. 1782, ff. 69v-70r) give a heading; the title *Aislinge Conchobuir*, as appears in the LL list of *remscéla*, is also presumed to be another alternative title for the same tale. Although *Aithed Derdrinne re macaib Uislenn* and *Tocomlad Loingsi Fergusa a hUltaib* are related in subject matter, they are separate tales: the first is a substitute for the commonly known *Longes mac nUislenn* (*aithed* being the equivalent of *longes* and meaning ‘elopment’ or ‘flight’); the second, as Mac Cana points out⁹⁸⁷, is most likely the equivalent to *Fochonn Loingse Fergusa mac Róig* ‘The Cause of Fergus mac Róig’s Exile’⁹⁸⁸.

⁹⁸⁵ Thurneysen (*Held.* 22) describes List A as containing 204 titles; however, that seems to me to be an incorrect reckoning. Separately, LL contains 187 titles and H gives 182; combined, i.e. including the titles which are included in one version but not in the other, there are 199 titles. The number 199 also includes titles which appear to be wholly unique though they may be and probably are corrupt and traceable to the same original title, e.g. *Togail Bruidne Daile* in H which is most likely the equivalent of *Togail Bruidne hUí Duile* in LL; *Tochmarc Neime* in H, which is a likely equivalent of *Tochmarc Meidbe* in LL; *Tochmarc Fea* in H, likely equivalent of *Tochmarc Faefe* in LL; *Cath Boinde* in H which Mac Cana believes to be a corrupt form of *Cath Tóiden* of LL; *H Feis Tige Uichtle*, equivalent of LL *Feis Tigi Auscle*; *H Feis Tige Tailith*, believed by Mac Cana to be a corrupt form of *Feis Alend*; *H Athad Creide re Laignen*, LL *Aithed Díge re Laidcnén*; *H Argain Ratha Conlai*, LL *Argain Ratha Blai*, explained by Mac Cana (1980: p. 47f.) as the scribe of H having misread a for a backwards <c>; and *H Argain Ratha Guanlai*, LL *Argain Ratha Gaila*. The following are the figures for the various tale types in both lists, with any deviation from the numbers in H being given in brackets: *togla*: 9; *tána*: 11 (10); *tochmarca*: 13; *catha*: 9; *uatha*: 10; *immrama*: 7; *oitte/aideda*: 13; *fessa*: 17 (16); *forbossa*: 9; *echtraí*: 14; *aithid*: 12; *oircne*: 37 (34); *prímscéla*: 27. The additional tale titles from both LL and H include the following: *Togail Bruidne Daile* in H which is most likely a corrupt form of the LL title *Togail Bruidne hUí Duile*; *Táin Bó Crebain* in LL.

⁹⁸⁶ Thurneysen discusses the transmission of both LL and Eg. in the following: ‘In Brit. Mus., Egerton 1782 fol. 69v (und in seiner Kopie H. 1. 13, S. 327) steht eine kürzere Fassung in Prosa. Diese deckt sich nun, von wenigen Zusätzen abgesehen, inhaltlich genau mit jenem Schlußgedicht und zwar oft auch in den Wörtern; sie ist also deutlich eine Bearbeitung des Gedichts. Dieses muß demnach früher für sich bestanden haben, und es ist kein Zweifel, daß es die Grundlage der ganzen Überlieferung bildet’ (*Held.* 352).

⁹⁸⁷ MAC CANA 1980: 67f. Mac Cana does not mention, however, that *tochomlud* simply means ‘faring forth’ rather than being a direct equivalent of *fochonn* ‘cause, reason’; the former probably indicates the series of preparations and events leading to the exile, excluding, of course, the Deirdre story itself.

⁹⁸⁸ *Fochonn* and *tochomlud* do not appear to be semantic equivalents, as *fochonn* clearly means ‘cause’ or ‘reason’, and *tochomlud* means ‘faring forth’ or ‘proceeding’ (*DIL* T 205.5).

Of the 161-165 titles in List B, there are twelve *remscéla* titles with a possible thirteenth in *Longus nUlad*; the first four titles given below under List B fall under the heading of *gnáthscéla Érenn*, and the rest are assigned to their respective categories⁹⁸⁹.

Figure. *Remscéla* in the tale lists.

	List A (LL, H.3.17)	List B (23 N 10, Rawl. B512, Harl. 5280)
1.	<u>Táin</u> Bó Regamain (H Ragamain)	Gabál int Sídhe
2.	<u>Táin</u> Bó Flidaisi (H Flidais)	Aislingi in Maic Óig (R Aislingthi)
3.	<u>Táin</u> Bó Fraích	Cupar in dá Mucadha
4.	<u>Táin</u> Bó Dartada	Longus nUlad
5.	<u>Tochmarc</u> nEmire ⁹⁹⁰	Táin Bó Fraích
6.	<u>Tochmarc</u> Feirbe	Táin Bó Dartada (only in R and H1)
7.	Echtra Nera	Táin Bó Regamain (H1 Ragamain)
8.	<u>Aithed</u> Derdrinne re <u>macaib</u> <u>Uislenn</u> (H Uisnech)	Táin Bó Rega (H1 Ragamnao) ⁹⁹¹
9.	Fís <i>Conchobair</i>	Echtra Nero maic Niatain (R Ectra Nera maic Niadain maic Tacaim)
10.	Tochomlod Longsi Fergusu a hUltaib	Coimpert <i>Conchobair</i>
11.		Coimpert <i>Con Culaind</i>
12.		Tocmarc Eimiri la <i>Coin Culaind</i>
13.		Fís Concobair

⁹⁸⁹ MAC CANA 1980: 50-63. Unless noted in brackets, the readings are taken from RIA MS 23 N 10; other MSS containing List B are Bodl. Libr. Rawlinson B 512 (R) and Brit. Libr. Harl. 5280 (H1).

⁹⁹⁰ *Tochmarc Emire* is the only title of the list of thirteen *tochmarca* to display nasalization of the initial, which would, of course, be historically correct as *tochmarc* was originally a n-o-stem noun. It is entirely possible that the scribe unwittingly copied the nasalization believing it to be the noun initial rather than a mutation.

⁹⁹¹ MAC CANA (1980: 52) silently expands this to Regamne; it appears as *Rega* in 23 N 10, however.

As can be seen from the table above, List A contains two tale titles not given in B: *Táin Bó Flidais* and *Tochmarc Feirbe*, that is, assuming that *Tochmarc Feirbe* is a separate version to *Fís Chonchobuir* and not simply a ‘doublet’ (as mentioned above, there is not enough evidence to elaborate on either argument). List B includes two categories not present in A, i.e. the *gnáthscéla* and the *comperta* ‘birth tales’; while some of the *gnáthscéla* of List B appear in List A under different headings, e.g. *Forbais Fer Fálgae* under the section entitled *forbossa* ‘night-watches’, *Gabál int Síde*, *Aislinge in Maic Óic* (i.e. *Aislinge Óengusso*), and *Cophar in dá Muccida* are among those which are not included elsewhere in A. Toner notes that the shared categories of A and B are an unconvincing reflection of a common original, i.e. in light of the small amount of correspondence under the headings of *echtraí*, *catha*, *fessa*, and *tána*; however, of those five *tána* listed in B four are *remscéla* titles (excluding the sixth title *Táin Bó Darti* in R), and the fifth is, of course, the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* itself which would suggest that the compiler of the B list may have borrowed from a *remscéla* list,⁹⁹² with the exclusion of *Táin Bó Flidais*.

⁹⁹² It is with great caution that this supposition be proposed, as Toner comments regarding the relationship between A and B regarding the *tána* that ‘the four shared titles represent a small group of well-known tales that could have been assembled independently, viz. *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, *Táin Bó Fraích*, *Táin Bó Dartada* (R only), and *Táin Bó Regamain*’ (TONER 2000: 93).

1.11 Conclusion to Part 1

In the foregoing, I hope to have sufficiently outlined the nature of the *remscéla* to one another and to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, while using the earlier application of the term in the CDS extract from *Lebor na hUidre* to shed light on the topic. Similarly, the use of the term in *In Cath Catharda* serves as a later example, after the creation of the *remscéla* to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*. By studying how the structure of CCath. is modelled on the TBC extended narrative structure and how the adaptor attaches native narrative terminology such as the *remscél*, it gives a different insight in the medieval scholar's understanding of the type of narrative unit that constituted a *remscél* during the later Middle Irish period.

As discussed section 1.4 on the contents of the *remscéla* lists above, the creator or narrator of the LL list remarks upon the nature of its final three items, which are episodes of TBC and, more precisely, some of the Boyhood Deeds of Cú Chulainn: *acht is i curp na tána na trí sceóil dedenchasa* 'but the last three stories are in the body of the *Táin*'. The term *corp* 'body' here refers specifically to the main narrative and is, in itself, a term that categorizes a narrative unit, be it the greater narrative unit. The prologue to the Féilire uses *corp* to describe the shape of the narrative 'structure':

Bid hé corp ar n-aicde | admat na ba tíamdae | comlín caiptel cóemdae | fo lín laithe mbliadnae.

'This shall be the body of our structure, timber that will not be obscure - a number of fair chapters equal to the number of the days of the year'.⁹⁹³

No doubt Stokes was inspired by the image of a physical structure when he translated *admat* as 'timber', but one of its alternative meanings, such as 'object' or 'material', suits the context better. The piece may then be interpreted as being better understood then as: 'This shall be the body of the structure, a material that is not weak'; note that *tíamdae* also means 'weak' and *admat na ba tíamdae* refers to the structural integrity of the *corp*. This structural integrity need not be figurative, as Stokes translates it, but it may be a literal description of a literary construction.

In conclusion to the foregoing study, the term *remscél* has a specific application within the context of the construction of a narrative series. It may be applied to an episode within the main narrative, as is the case with the *macgnímrada* to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, and, much later, with the episodes leading up to the Battle of Thessaly in the adaptation *In Cath Catharda*. Similarly, it may apply to an independent tale that bears a direct or indirect relationship to the *Táin*. The most loosely related tales such as *De Gabáil int Síde* and *Aislinge Óenguso* set the

⁹⁹³ STOKES 1905: 29, §289.

limits for the narrative features required of a tale in order to be included in the *remscél* category: a tale must include either an overt reference to TBC, which may or may not be part of the original composition, and/or it share characters, important geographical locations and motifs with TBC. As regards the creation of *remscéla* title-lists, it seems more likely that the lists were compiled after the emergence of the series. Given that certain tales were attached to, adapted for, and some written to complement, the series, its fluid nature later gave rise to conflicting accounts of which tales belonged to it, as evidenced by the lists LL, D and later still C and *G. With the exception of *Echtrae Nerai* (and *Tochmarc Ferbe*, if this second element is in fact *Ferbe*), all other tales included in the LL list are datable to the Old Irish period unlike D, which includes the possibly late-OIr. tale *De Fõilsgud Tána Bó Cúailnge* and *Táin Bó Froích*, which ultimately belongs to the OIr. period but which underwent significant changes so that it bears the hallmark of the Middle Irish period in its present state. As such, it is plausible that the list extant in LL has its roots in the OIr. period. Chadwin once spoke about *Táin Bó Regamna* as ‘the most important *remscél* of those listed in the Book of Leinster’⁹⁹⁴ but I would refute both those claims: *Táin Bó Regamna* is not listed in the LL (*Táin Bó Regamain* is the title in the MS) and the “truest” *remscéla* of those provided in the combination of all lists are *Táin Bó Flidais* and *Táin Bó Dartada* because they were undoubtedly created secondarily to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*. If importance is to be assigned to any *remscéla*, it should be to those that have been modified to fit into the TBC *remscéla* series because their textual history reveals the creativity of the medieval scholar when he set out to shape a series complementing the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*.

⁹⁹⁴ CHADWIN 1997: 75.

2 *Aislinge Óenguso* ‘The Dream of Óengus’

2.1.1 Introduction

Aislinge Óenguso is an Old Irish tale whose literary value, particularly as a *remscél* to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, has been investigated in preceding chapters (see sections 1.5, 1.7 and 1.8). This section of the thesis will focus on providing a new edition and translation of the tale and a discussion of its language and date,⁹⁹⁵ while taking into consideration the work of Eduard Müller and Francis Shaw.

I began this edition for my Master thesis at Philipps-Universität, Marburg in 2012 and have since modified my approach to the text. First of all, I draw on external evidence for the discussion surrounding the female character’s name, Cáer Ibormeith. I have also changed my editorial policy: for example, I took a conservative approach to reproducing the text as it was presented in the manuscript, arguing that certain Middle Irish features were original. However, as I discuss in the critical notes to the text, there are enough OIr dating diagnostics to warrant restoring OIr grammatical and orthographical features. Most importantly still, my study of the *remscéla* series and other texts belonging to this group has helped contextualise *Aislinge Óenguso* as regards dating and language and its position within the series. One trope that has not received special attention in the literary investigation of the *remscéla* above is that of Óengus’s love-sickness; as this impacts the interpretation of the text and certain editorial decisions, I address this subject briefly below. In the following, I refer to various sections of the text of *Aislinge Óenguso* according to how I have divided it, which I have done in order to analyse the text in segments; these are numbered [1] to [58].

2.1.2 Manuscripts and previous editions of *Aislinge Óenguso*

Only one manuscript witness to *Aislinge Óenguso* survives, i.e. Eg. 1782, ff. 70r22–71v10 (see section 1.2.8 above for a full description of this manuscript). From Eg. 1782, 18th- and 19th-century Irish scholars made multiple modern handwritten transcriptions: TCD MS 1287 (H 1.13), pp. 328–30, by Aodh Ó Dálaigh in the year 1746; the early-19th-century NLI MS G 450 (Rossmore G IV), pp. 40–43 by Edward O’Reilly,⁹⁹⁶ and NLI MS G 138 (Philipps 17089), pp. 139b–144a, written in the year 1727 by the scribe Ualentín Ua hAnluain, who

⁹⁹⁵ As I was in the final stages of completing my thesis, Wolfgang MEID (2017) published a new edition and translation of *Aislinge Óenguso* with critical notes and manuscript readings. I was unaware of the impending publication while writing this edition and I have not had time to integrate his comments into the present work.

⁹⁹⁶ As indicated by the catalogue; however, this manuscript is unsigned (*NLI Cat.*, Fasc. x, 30).

pens his name on p. 116a.⁹⁹⁷ In Eg., AÓ appears between *Tochmarc Ferbe* and *Echtrae Nerai*; both of which are thematically similar to AÓ in that they involve courting females and otherworld women, so that it gives the impression that the Uí Mhaoil Chonaire scribes deliberately arranged the material in a certain order. Indeed, the scribes' impulse towards ordering the material according to theme is found within this section of the manuscript in the way that the tales categorised as *remscéla* in the lists of LL, D and C appear clustered together in Eg. 1782 and directly precede the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* in the manuscript (see section 1.2.7).

Edward Müller was the first to publish a diplomatic edition accompanied by a translation of AÓ in the 19th century. Rudolf Thurneysen later published corrections to this in his 1918 article and, most recently, Patricia Kelly published a diplomatic edition online under the rubric of the *Thesaurus Linguae Hibernicae* project.⁹⁹⁸ Francis Shaw was the first scholar to provide a 'critical edition' of *Aislinge Óenguso*. As noted in his Introduction, he followed a policy of restoring the text to standardised Classical Old Irish. His approach involved removing Middle Irish features in the language, which he understood to be innovative and not representative of the 'archetypal' text, and standardising the orthography. However, it often proves difficult to draw conclusions regarding an archetype as there is only one single copy of *Aislinge Óenguso*. Shaw provides some manuscript readings from Eg. 1782 and discusses some of the more intrusive changes he makes to the original in his footnotes. At the end of the edition, Shaw also provides a glossary and an index of personal names.

Aislinge Óenguso has been translated into a variety of different languages throughout the years. In addition to Müller's English translation, Gantz published a loose translation in his *Early Irish Myths and Sagas* and Kenneth Jackson provides a translation in his *A Celtic Miscellany*. Christian Guyonvarc'h and Françoise Le Roux wrote a French translation, Draak and de Jong translated AÓ into Dutch '*Heytdroomgezicht van Aengus*', and Tatyana Mikhailova into Russian.⁹⁹⁹ In his article on AÓ, Ó Cathasaigh also sporadically provides new translations and interpretations of certain sections of AÓ, to which I refer in my textual notes.¹⁰⁰⁰

⁹⁹⁷ It seems as if Edward O'Reilly was involved in the compilation of this manuscript as his hand appears in 'the markings and dates ('4th March' etc) and [in] a few comments (p. 128 etc) in pencil' (*NLI Cat.*, Fasc. iv, 84). Ní Shéaghda notes also how pp. 6–14 'may, however, be by another scribe' (*NLI Cat.*, Fasc. iv, 84).

⁹⁹⁸ MÜLLER 1878; THURNEYSEN 1918; KELLY 2006: <http://www.ucd.ie/tlh/text/pk.tlh.002.text.html> (last accessed 07.09.2017).

⁹⁹⁹ GANTZ 1981: 108–112; JACKSON 1951: 39; GUYONVARC'H & LE ROUX 1966: 117–21; DRAAK & DE JONG 1979: 202–7; MIKHAILOVA 1985.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Ó CATHASAIGH 1997.

2.1.2.1 Shaw's 'variant tradition' of AÓ

Francis Shaw believed that a manuscript containing *Aislinge Óenguso*, other than Eg., was still in circulation by the time Míchéal Ó Cléirigh compiled his *Foclóir nó Sanasán Nua* (1643),¹⁰⁰¹ commonly referred to as O'Clery's Glossary, and that Ó Cléirigh used AÓ as one of his sources. There are two particular forms, which Shaw believes correlate with entries in the Glossary, MS *cid dognae* (section [28]) and MS *focichsither* (section [48]), which I will address here because Shaw uses the first as support for his editorial choice and the second as support for the argument that Ó Cléirigh used AÓ as a source. In his introduction to AÓ, Shaw first suggests that Ó Cléirigh had a copy of AÓ at his disposal:

'That another manuscript of *Aislinge Óenguso* existed in the seventeenth century can be deduced from the presence in O'Clery's Glossary of a phrase deriving from this text. In this instance the reading which O'Clery gives is better than that of the Egerton MS. and differs sufficiently from it to justify us in postulating as the source of the quotation in the Glossary a manuscript other than Egerton 1782 and now unhappily no longer extant. The conclusion that O'Clery used this text in compiling his Glossary is confirmed by the presence in it of the strange verbal form *focichsither*, which occurs in *Aislinge Óenguso*, but is otherwise unrecorded.'¹⁰⁰²

However, judging by the sources which Ó Cléirigh cites in his introduction to his Glossary, this was unlikely to have been the case.

Beginning with the form MS *cid dognae* [28], Shaw edits this to *Ci ad-da-gnoe* 'even though you may recognize her' with a 2sg. pres. subj. of the vb. *ad:gnin* 'recognizes' and the 3sg. f. inf. pron. Müller, on the other hand, understood the verb to be a form of *do:gní* 'does', judging by his translation 'what she is doing'. In his edition of AÓ, Shaw cites *do gnia* from the following entry in Ó Cléirigh's Glossary as a variant of this verbal form and suggests that the entire phrase *cia do gnia* was taken from AÓ: *gnia, .i. aithne .i. cia do gnia .i. cia do aitheónta*,¹⁰⁰³ 'gnia, i.e. recognizing, i.e. *cia do gnia*, i.e. though you might was recognize'.¹⁰⁰⁴ He then uses this example to support the idea that *dognae* should really be read as a form of *ad:gnin* 'recognizes', presumably with confusion of the preverb MS *do-* for *ad-*.

¹⁰⁰¹ MILLER 1879–1880; 1881–1883.

¹⁰⁰² SHAW 1934: 30.

¹⁰⁰³ Shaw states: 'The source of O'Clery's **cia dognia** is obviously this passage in *Aislinge Óenguso*' (1934: 53, §7).

¹⁰⁰⁴ In his edition of Ó Cléirigh's Glossary, Müller translated *aithne* as 'knowledge': 'GNIA .i. aithne "knowledge". *cia do gnia .i. cia do aitheónta*' (MILLER 1881–3: 4).

The second form that Shaw uses as an argument for Ó Cléirigh having used a copy of AÓ is MS *focichsither* (fut. pass. sg. of *fo:cing* ‘advances’) in the phrase MS *focichsither saineivin le ann* [48], which Shaw edits to the fut. pass. pl. of *ad:cí* ‘sees’, i.e. *ad-cichsiter sain-éuin lee and*¹⁰⁰⁵ ‘beautiful birds will be seen there with her’. The Glossary entry to which Shaw is referring, which he also provides later in his edition of AÓ,¹⁰⁰⁶ is as follows: CICHSITHEAR no FOCICHSITHEAR .i. ceimnighfithear no gluaisfidhear¹⁰⁰⁷ ‘*Cichsithear* or *Focichsithear*, i.e. “one will step” or “he will be moved”’ (here, I translate the fut. pass. sg. of *céimnid* ‘steps, proceeds’ as an impersonal). Firstly, regarding Shaw’s assertion that the form is ‘strange’, the reduplicated s-future is actually well-attested for the verb *cingid* ‘steps’ during the OIr period.¹⁰⁰⁸ Secondly, it seems as if Ó Cléirigh took this form from *Immacallam in dá Thúarad* ‘The Colloquy of the Two Sages’, which he cites as one of many sources in his introduction to the Glossary:

Amhra Coluim chille, Agallaimh an da Shuadh, Feilire na náomh, Feilire i ghormáin,
Leabhar iomann, Sanasán, Bheatha Phatruic, Seinscreaptra meamruim [...].

‘The Elegy on Colum Chille, the Dialogue of the two Sages, the Festilogy of the Saints, the Festilogy of O’Gorman, the Book of Hymns, Sanasán (little glossary), Life of Patrick, old manuscripts on vellum [...].’¹⁰⁰⁹

In a section of *Immacallam in dá Thúarad*, in which Ferchertne speaks to Néde, he utters the words *focichsiter solaig*, here using the fut. pass. pl. of *fo:cing*, which Stokes translates as ‘floors will be gone under (by housebreakers)’; Stokes also provides the *varia lectio* from YBL, i.e. *focichsithear solaidh*, which was no doubt the source for the entry in Ó Cléirigh’s Glossary.¹⁰¹⁰ In conclusion, there is no proof that Ó Cléirigh used AÓ as a source and the supposed variant *dognia* used by Shaw in his discussion of the form *dognae* should not enter into the discussion of this verb form.

2.1.3 Orthography

The following is an overview of some of the more remarkable scribal tendencies in the written representation of the language as found in *Aislinge Óenguso* in Eg. 1782. Some of

¹⁰⁰⁵ SHAW 1934: 60.

¹⁰⁰⁶ SHAW 1934: 60, note 10.

¹⁰⁰⁷ MILLER 1879–1880: 384.

¹⁰⁰⁸ *DIL* s.v. *cingid*.

¹⁰⁰⁹ MILLER 1879–1880: 354.

¹⁰¹⁰ STOKES 1905b: 38, §194.

these carry on the expected norms of Old Irish orthography; however, given the date of the manuscript, certain features typical of the Middle and Early Modern Irish periods also occur occasionally; these are noted in due course below. Additionally, in section 2.1.3 (vi) and in (vii)(i)–(o), I highlight certain features in the written representation of consonants and some final unstressed vowels that are hypercorrect, i.e. they do not reflect the historically correct phonology of the words cited below.

i. Cosmetic use of *h*

In [2] and [10] below, the MS gives *indhere* for *i n-Ére* ‘in Ireland’ with the use of orthographic *h* as a type of word-boundary marker;¹⁰¹¹ the *d* of *ind* is hypercorrect for *n*, therefore *inn*, edited to *i n-* (see (iii) below). There are two examples in which *h* appears to have been either confused for nasalising *n* or acc. sg. nas. of the adj. has been lost in transmission and *h* is being used as a word-boundary marker:¹⁰¹² MS *la herinn huili* for *la hÉrinn n-uili* ‘throughout all of Ireland’ [19] and MS *Toimchiullu hereo huile* for *To:imchella Érinn n-uili* ‘He circled (i.e. made a circuit around) all of Ireland’ [24]. Alternatively, the final *n* of MS *herinn* in [19] may also represent nasalisation of the following adj., and *h* is possibly being used in the same way as in MS *indhere* given above from [2] and [10], i.e. to simply separate one word from the other while orthographically separating the initial mutation from the vowel for which it is meant. By extension of that logic, the form of the noun in the acc. sg. in [24], i.e. MS *hereo*, may have been OIr. acc. sg. *Érinn* in the exemplar,¹⁰¹³ and the final *n* of *Érinn* in the exemplar may have originally provided the necessary nasalisation for the following adj. (cf. MS *cusin dagda*, where the *n* of the def. art. supplies the following mark of nasalisation, i.e. *cosin nDagdae* ‘to the Dagdae’ in [15]). This is only conjecture but it is possible given the graphic cluster *indh* for *i n-* in [2] and [10]. Note that the acc. sg. nas. after acc. sg. *aidchi* is present in the phrase MS *hindaichi naile*, ed. *in n-aidchi n-aili* ‘one night’ [1] and nas. of the adj. in the acc. MS *in sid nuili*, ed. *a síd n-uile* ‘the whole *síd*’ [44],¹⁰¹⁴ which lend support to the theory that the *h* in [19] and [24] is either a mistranscription by the scribe of Eg. or the final *n* should be read also as nasalisation.

¹⁰¹¹ Breatnach gives another example of this to illustrate the practice during the Middle Irish period (*SnaG* III, 2.7).

¹⁰¹² It has also been suggested to me by Damian McManus that this might be imitating the *h* at the beginning of the preceding word.

¹⁰¹³ For more on the nominal morphology of MS *hereo* for correct OIr. acc. sg. *Érinn* as a Midlr. development, or possibly even an EModlr. intrusion, see section 2.1.7.1 below.

¹⁰¹⁴ For more on the Midlr. loss of the neut. gender, see section 2.1.6(f) below.

The following examples are those of *h*, often used to indicate word-boundary; it is commonly prefixed to the prep. *i*^N ‘in, into’ and twice to *oc* ‘at’: MS *hi siurcc*, ed. *i siurcc* ‘in a decline’ [6], [22]; MS *hoc suidiu*, ed. *oc suidiu* ‘doing that’ [14]; MS *hi mugv*, ed. *in madae* ‘perishing’ (with vn. *dul*; for the reanalysis of the def. art. as the prep. *i*^N in this phrase, see the editorial notes to the relevant section below) [17]; MS *hi carput*, ed. *i carput* ‘in a chariot’ [27]; MS *hi fectso*, ed. *in fecht so* ‘on this occasion’ (see the editorial notes to this section for the reanalysis of the def. art. as the prep. *i*^N) [32]; MS *hi crichi*, ed. *a críche* (gen. sg. after *dochum*) ‘(of) his territory’ [34]; MS *hi tirib*, ed. *i tírib* ‘in [the] lands’ [37]; MS *hicc fledugud*, ed. *oc fledugud* ‘feasting’ [38]; MS *hi cruachnuib*, ed. *i Crúachnaib* ‘in Cruachain’ [45]; MS *hindergabail*, ed. *i n-ergabáil* ‘in captivity’ [45] (see above for examples of *hind* representing the prep. *i n-* in [2] and [10]).

The letter *h* is also used cosmetically with the definite article in the following examples: MS *hin ningin*, ed. *in n-ingin* (acc. sg.) ‘the maiden’ [1]; MS *hin ingen*, ed. *ind ingen* (nom. sg.) ‘the maiden’ [36]; MS *hint sidiu*, ed. *int síde* (gen. sg.) ‘of the *síd*’ [41].

Cosmetic *h-* is also found prefixed to stressed words: MS *huad*, ed. *úad* ‘from him’ [3]; MS *here huli*, ed. *Ériu uili* ‘all of Ireland’ [13]; MS *huait*, ed. *úait* ‘from you’ [23]; and MS *fond herin*, ed. *fond Érin* ‘throughout Ireland’ [23].

ii. Representation of *h*-mutation

There are instances in which a *h* prefixed to a vowel in word initial position represents the *h*-mutation, which is a feature of post-OIr. orthography. The prepositions *co* ‘to’, *la* ‘with, by’ and *fri* ‘to, against’ all cause *h*-mutation, which is orthographically represented when possible in Eg.: MS *co harauaruch*, ed. *co arabárach* ‘until the next day’ [3] and [5]; MS *co hailill*, ed. *co Ailill* ‘to Ailill’ [43] and [57]; MS *la herinn*, ed. *la Érin* ‘throughout Ireland’ [19]; MS *fri hethal*, ed. *fri Ethal* ‘to Ethal’ [45]. Similarly, there is one example of *h*-mutation after the nom. pl. f. of the def. art.: MS *na hingino*, ed. *inna hingena* (nom. pl.) ‘the maidens’ [30]. There are also three examples of *h*-mutation written after the 3sg. f. poss. pron.: MS *a hathar*, ed. *a athar* ‘of her father’ [35]; MS *a hathair*, ed. *a athair* ‘her father’ [47]; and MS *a haicniud*, ed. *a aicned* ‘her disposition’ [49].

iv. Representation of lenition

Use of the *spiritus asper* and *punctum delens* to denote lenition is frequently lacking in the manuscript; as well as that, /χ/ and /θ/ in inlaut are often written without *h* or without any other written representation of lenition. There is one example of a lenited *f* not being written at all, which occurs also in the OIr. period: MS *orlloisci* (after dat. sg. *ór* ‘gold’), ed. *forloiscthiu* ‘refined’ [31].¹⁰¹⁵

- a) Lenition of *c*: sometimes but not always represented in writing, e.g. MS *ina chotlud* ‘in his sleep’ [1]; MS *a chobair* ‘helping him’ [17]; but also MS *ina cotlud*, ed. *ina chotlud* ‘in his sleep’ [22]; gen. sg. MS *in crothusai*, for *in chrotho sa* ‘of this form’ [23] (see also [25]); MS *co cuircesaibh*, ed. *co cairchesaib* ‘with ringlets’ [52].
- b) Lenition of *t*: sometimes omitted: e.g. pres. pass. sg. MS *fertair*, ed. *ferthair* (*feraid* ‘pours’) ‘is poured’ [25]; acc. sg. MS *bret*, ed. *breith* (acc. sg.) ‘carrying’ [32]; MS *a tuidacht*, for *a thuidecht* (with 3sg. m. poss. pron.) ‘his coming’ [43]; MS *dia tig*, ed. *dia thig* (with 3sg. m. poss. pron.) ‘to his house’ [51].
- c) The marking of lenition of voiced plosives is a Classical Irish scribal practice and it occurs in the form of a *punctum delens* above a suspension stroke containing a voiced plosive: MS *co cuircesaibh*, ed. *co cairchesaib* ‘with ringlets’ [52]; MS *slabradhuib* (dat. pl.), ed. *slabradaib* ‘chains’ [52].¹⁰¹⁶ This use of the *punctum delens* above a suspension stroke to indicate lenition of a consonant occurs also in [51]: MS *loch* ‘lake’. Lenition of *b* in initial position is often marked by the use of a *u* or *v*, which is accompanied by a *h* in [5] and once by *spiritus asper* in [47] below, thereby marking the lenition twice orthographically: MS *ina ueolui* for *ina béolu* ‘into his mouth’ [4]; MS *harauharuch*, ed. *arabáarach* ‘the next day’ [5]; MS *uhuis*, ed. *mbís* (3sg. rel. cons. pres. subst. verb)¹⁰¹⁷ [47].

v. Representation of nasalisation

As mentioned above on the use of cosmetic *h* to indicate a word-boundary, *ind* in the manuscript is often used to represent the prep. *i* with nasalisation, i.e. *i n-* and a *h* may be prefixed to the prep. or used to separate two lexemes: MS *indh~~ere~~*, ed. *i n-Ére* ‘in Ireland’ [2],

¹⁰¹⁵ See *GOI* §231.7.

¹⁰¹⁶ See, for example, one instance in the 15th-century D iv.2, f. 49ra17: *eire~~dh~~* (see Appendix 2, section [14] below).

¹⁰¹⁷ For more on the use of nasalising and leniting relative clauses in the MS copy of Eg., see section 2.6.1(l) below.

[10];¹⁰¹⁸ MS *hindergabail*, ed. *i n-ergabáil* ‘in captivity’ [45]. The *-nd-* in [2], [10] and [35] is a hypercorrect spelling for *-nn-*.¹⁰¹⁹ Final *n* of the definite article may also be functioning graphically as the nasalising *n* in two examples: MS *cusin dagda*, ed. *cosin nDagdae* and MS *gusin dagdo*, ed. *cosin nDagdae* ‘to the Dagdae’ in [15]; however, written representation of nasalisation before *d* is absent from OIr. orthography.¹⁰²⁰ Otherwise, the representation of nasalisation in the MS is in accordance with expected OIr. orthography.

vi. Glides

There is no general rule governing the use of broad and slender glides throughout the text of AÓ in Eg. As this small number of examples shows, it is not possible to determine a pattern; some of the following are also examples of the incorrect use of glides.

- Examples without glides: 3sg. pret. of *do:gní* ‘does’ MS *Dogeni* for *dogénai*, ed. *do:géni* ‘it made’ [4]; MS *aitheiruch*, ed. *aithirriuch* ‘again’ [4] gives a series of vowels in the second syllable indicating the preceding *th* is neutral and the following *r* palatal but then omits the expected palatal glide after *r* in the third syllable (cf. later MS *aitherruch*, ed. *aitherrriuch* [15]); MS *derrscaithe*, ed. *derscaighthiu* ‘distinguished’ [10] is in the dat. sg. (*derscaigthe*, *io/iā*-stem adj.) and is lacking both the glide and the dat. sg. ending, the latter feature being a phonological development; MS *frepid*, ed. *frepaid* ‘healing’ [12];¹⁰²¹ MS *donanicc*, ed. *do-n:ánaic* ‘it came upon him’ [13]; MS *ecin* for *éicin*, ed. *écin* ‘indeed’ [19], [31]; MS *bret*, ed. *breith* (acc. sg.) ‘carrying’ [32];¹⁰²² MS *tet*, ed. *téit* ‘goes’ [37] (however, see the textual notes to this section below).
- Examples with glides: MS *laisin*, ed. *lassin* in [27] and *laisind*, ed. *lassin* in [37] ‘with the’; ¹⁰²³ MS *nis cuimcinsi*, ed. *ní-s:cuimci-si* ‘you cannot’ [28] and MS *Ni cuimcim*, ed. *ní:cuimcim* ‘I cannot’ [46]; MS *ni thacmuictis*, ed. *ní:tacmuictis* ‘they did not reach’ [30]; MS *fodeissin*, ed. *fadisín* ‘her own’ [31];
- Examples of incorrect use of glides: MS *Adruimiduir*, ed. *ad:rumadar* ‘he has determined’ (*ad:midethir* ‘counts’) [9]; MS *donfainicc*, ed. *do-n:ánaic* ‘it came upon

¹⁰¹⁸ Breatnach gives further examples of *h* being placed between nasalising *n* and the vowel in Middle Irish orthography (*SnaG* III, 2.7).

¹⁰¹⁹ For more on double *n* as representing nasalisation before a vowel in Middle Irish, see *SnaG* III, 4.10.

¹⁰²⁰ QUIN 1979–80: 256–7.

¹⁰²¹ The meaning of this verbal noun within the context in which it appears in AÓ is unclear; see the notes of the relevant section below.

¹⁰²² For examples of the palatal glide not being written in the MI. glosses, see GOI §86. See also the example of 3sg. pres. ind. *as-ber* in the Cambrai Homily cited by MCMANUS (1986: 10).

¹⁰²³ There is an example of this form with palatal *s* in the *Féilire Óengusso* (*Fél.* 150 §17). It is more common, however, in the Middle Irish period.

him' [12] (cf. MS *donanicc*, ed. *do-n:ánaic* in [13]); MS *co feissiur*, ed. *co:fessur* [23]; MS *toimchiullu*, ed. *to:imchella* [24]; MS *feimin* (acc. sg.), ed. *Femen* [27] (see section [27] for discussion of the form *feimin* and section 2.1.7.1 below); MS *haicnniud*, ed. *aicned* (acc. sg.) 'disposition' [49], here looks like a dat. sg. but the spelling *iu* for *e* in unstressed syllables is often used throughout the text (see *toimchiullu* for *do:imchella* in [24] above; nom. sg. MS *cairdius* for *cairdes* [50]; gen. du. MS *geisiu* for *géise* in [55]; and MS *co timciullsat* for *co:timchellsat* [55]).

vii. Representation of consonants

The following are post-OIr. features in the written representation of the language:

- a) *b* for *p* /b/: MS *nicon ebuir*, ed. *nicon:epert* 'he did not say' [6] (cf. MS *opunn* 'suddenly' [3]; MS *epert* 'saying' [9]; and MS *frepid*, ed. *frepaid* 'healing' [12]).
- b) *b* for *m* /m/: MS *acalluib*, ed. *acaldaim* 'addressing' [4], [54].
- c) *cc* for *c(c)* /g/:¹⁰²⁴ MS *seurcc*, ed. *seurc* (dat. sg.) 'wasting state' [6]; MS *domfainicc*, ed. *do:m-ánaic* 'she came to me' [10]; MS *siurcc*, ed. *seurc* (dat. sg.) 'wasting state' [21]; MS *eircc*, ed. *eirc* (ipv. 2sg. *at:reig*) 'go!' [36] (but see MS *Eirc* with single *c* in in [51]); MS *dracon*, ed. *Dracon* (gen. sg.) 'dragon' [24], [48]; MS *airccdide*, ed. *aircdide* (nom. sg. f.) 'silvern' [31], [52] (but see MS *aircdide* with a single *c* in [30]); MS *coiccid*, ed. *cóiciud* (dat. sg.) 'province' [36].
- d) *cc* and *c* for *cc* /k/:¹⁰²⁵ MS *oca*, ed. *occa* 'at his' [6];¹⁰²⁶ MS *seircc*, ed. *seircc* (acc. sg.) 'love' [17].
- e) *q* for *ch*: MS *aidqi*, ed. *aidchi* [1], [10], [28].¹⁰²⁷
- f) *d* for *t* /d/: MS *Nicon fidir*, ed. *Nícon:fitir* 'he did not know' [3]; MS *Atfiadad*, ed. *ad:fiadat* 'they relate' [35]; *atcuadadar* (3pl. perf. *ad:fét* 'tells'), OIr. *ad:cúadatar* (ed. as pret. 3pl. *ad:fídatar* 'they related') [35]; MS *biaid*, ed. *bieit* (subst. vb., fut. 3pl.) [49].
- g) *d* for *th* /θ/:¹⁰²⁸ MS *no mbid*, ed. *no:bíth* (subst. vb., impf. ind. 3sg.) [8]; MS *ferdo*, ed. *fertha* (pret. pass. sg. *feraid* 'pours') [27].
- h) *g* for *c* /g/:¹⁰²⁹ MS *gusin*, ed. *cosin* 'to the' [15]; MS *cuguib*, ed. *cucuib* 'to you' (pl) [39]; MS *cugat*, ed. *cucut* 'to you' (sg.) [51].

¹⁰²⁴ Both orthographical conventions are correct and their interchange is well attested throughout the OIr. period in particular (e.g. *écoscc*, Wb. 6^d6, *sainecoscc*, Wb 5^a5, *ecosc*, Wb. 24^a5).

¹⁰²⁵ See *GOI* §136 for the doubling of consonants in auslaut; see also *SnaG* III, 2.4.

¹⁰²⁶ Both spellings *occa* and *oca* (as well as *oc(c)o*) appear in the glosses.

¹⁰²⁷ This spelling is also used in the Eg. copy of EN (see MEYER 1889:214.1).

¹⁰²⁸ See *GOI* §130.2 and 3.

- i) *t* for *d* /*ð*/, i.e. MS *arrubartait* (perf. 2pl. *as:beir* ‘says’), ed. *as:rubartaid* [25].
- j) *p* for *b*, /*b*/ and /*v*/: MS *Asperrt* (*p* for /*b*/), ed. *as:bert* ‘he said’ [15]; MS *slaprad* (*p* for /*v*/), ed. *slabrad* ‘chain’ [31]; MS *cennuip* (*p* for /*v*/), ed. *cennaib* (dat. pl.) ‘heads’ [52]. In his edition of *Echtrae Chonnlai*, McCone notes a similar tendency towards this use of *p* among other ‘peculiar spellings’,¹⁰³⁰ in the MS Eg. 88; one of the most remarkable examples is the spelling *ouphalt* for *uball* ‘apple’.¹⁰³¹ In his article on the *dindsenchas* of Inber Cíchmaine, Breatnach similarly notes this phenomenon: ‘scriobhtar *p* in áit *b* in *coun-uopau* [...]’.¹⁰³² See also the spelling *taphuirt* for *tabairt* ‘taking’ and *peoil* for *beóil* ‘lips’ in the Eg. 1782 copy of *Tochmarc II*; and *atpert* for *as-bert* in the Eg. copy of *Echtrae Nerai*.¹⁰³³
- k) *ch* for *g*: MS *coteirich*, ed. *co-t:éirig* ‘sets out’ [44].¹⁰³⁴ Cf. dat. sg. *taich* (*tech* ‘house’) and ipv. 2sg. *na herich* ‘do not rise’ (*éirg*) in *Echtrae Nerai* in Eg. 1782.¹⁰³⁵
- l) *g* for *ch* /*χ*/: MS *laeg* (gen. pl.), ed. *lóech* (m-o-stem) [44].
- m) *d* for *th* /*θ*/: MS *madair*, ed. *máthair* (acc. sg.) ‘mother’ [11].¹⁰³⁶ This spelling also appears in the Rawl. B 512 copy of *Tochmarc Emire: molsi fria madair* ‘[...] she praised him to her mother’;¹⁰³⁷ the equivalent section in the later recension is *molastar fria máthair in fer*¹⁰³⁸ ‘she praised the man to her mother’.
- n) *th* for *th*/*d*: MS *hissennath*, ed. *asendad* [7]; MS *timmarnath*, ed. *timmarnad* [23]; *slabrath*, ed. *slabrad* [30] (cf. MS *slaprad* in [31]). Although this spelling could be a retention from EOIr.–OIr., the scribe employs a similar policy in the late OIr.–MidIr. tale *Echtrae Nerai* in the same MS: e.g. gen. sg. *connuith* for *connaid* (*connad* ‘firewood’).¹⁰³⁹
- o) *mb* for *mm*: MS *friumb* for *friumm* ‘to me’ [23]. This same hypercorrect spelling is found twice in the Eg. version of *De Chophur in Dá Muccida*.¹⁰⁴⁰
- p) *nd* for *nn*: MS *duss indetar*, *dús in:n-étar* [13]; MS *indaithegin*, ed. *in:n-aithgén* [31]; MS *hindergabail*, ed. *i n-ergabáil* [45]. The latter example of *hind* with nasalisation

¹⁰²⁹ *SnaG* III, 3.23.

¹⁰³⁰ MAC MATHÚNA 1985: 6 (cited also by MCCONE 2000:32).

¹⁰³¹ MCCONE 2000: 32.

¹⁰³² BREATNACH 2012: 42; Breatnach also gives the example of *Indpeur* for *Inber*.

¹⁰³³ *Ir. Texte* 4:1, 119.10 and 120.1 respectively; and MEYER 1889: 214.20.

¹⁰³⁴ MCCONE (2000: 33) provides examples of this in the MSS of *Echtrae Chonnlai*: e.g. *Muich* for *Maig* ‘plain’.

¹⁰³⁵ MEYER 1889: 216.25 and 32 respectively.

¹⁰³⁶ See also *SnaG* III, 2.6. However, compare *d* for *th* in final position in (e) of this present section and *GOI* §130.3.

¹⁰³⁷ MEYER 1890: 446, 447, l. 64.

¹⁰³⁸ VAN HAMEL 1933: 50.

¹⁰³⁹ MEYER 1889: 220.110.

¹⁰⁴⁰ See ROIDER 1979: 56.2 and 58.5.

represented as a double *n*, i.e. *i nn-ergabáil* for *i n-ergabáil*, is found also in MS *indh^{er}e*, ed. *i n-Ére* ‘in Ireland’ [2].

The remaining orthographic features of interest as regards the representation of consonants which belongs to the Old and Middle Irish scribal conventions include the following:

- a) *ll* for *l*: MS *a llaimiv* ed. *a lláime* ‘of her hand’ [2];¹⁰⁴¹ MS *Dolluid*, ed. *do:luid* ‘he came’ [24]; MS *orlloisci*, ed. *forloiscthiu* (dat. sg.) ‘refined’ [31].¹⁰⁴²
- b) *ss* for *s*: MS *a ssid*, ed. *a síd* ‘from a *síd*’ [33].¹⁰⁴³
- c) *tt* for *t* /*tʰ*:¹⁰⁴⁴ MS *duitt*, ed. *duit* ‘to you’ [11] (cf. *deid* in section 2.1.5(d) below); MS *Asp^{er}tt*, ed. *as:bert* ‘he said’ [15]; MS *cruitt*, ed. *Crottaib* (dat. pl.) ‘harps’ [24].¹⁰⁴⁵

viii. Representation of vowels

The following is an outline of how vowels in stressed and unstressed position are represented in the manuscript. This is both an orthographical and phonological matter when it comes to unstressed final vowels, which would have been discernibly different before all unstressed vowels in this position fell to a middle vowel schwa during the OIr. period.¹⁰⁴⁶ As I attempt to illustrate below with the collections of various spelling conventions throughout AÓ, the scribe shows a preponderance for spellings with *u* that goes beyond vowels in unstressed position, and affects also the written representation of the penultimate syllables of some trisyllabic words. This may have been an attempt to archaise the text by the scribe of this manuscript. Separately, the letter *u* is also used as an orthographic variant of *a* in the following examples: MS *biud* (nom. sg.) ‘food’ [4]; nom. sg. MS *bounn*, ed. *Boand* in [14] and [16]; and acc. sg. MS *bounn*, ed. *Boand* [34].¹⁰⁴⁷ Interestingly, both of these originally contained hiatus.

¹⁰⁴¹ In this particular instance, *l* is doubled after the poss. pron. 3sg. f. (see *GOI* §240.4 and *SnaG* III, 2.4(2)).

¹⁰⁴² The doubling of *l* in these latter two examples indicates that the consonant is unlenited; regarding *orlloisci*, see *GOI* §121(c).

¹⁰⁴³ For the doubling of *s* after the prep. *a* ‘out of, from’, see *GOI* §243.

¹⁰⁴⁴ For the doubling of *t* as representing a voiceless plosive during the Middle Irish period, see *SnaG* III 2.4.

¹⁰⁴⁵ For more on this form, see the notes to the relevant section below.

¹⁰⁴⁶ *SnaG* III, 3.1.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Cf. also the spelling of nom. sg. *Meudb* for *Medb* in the Eg. copy of EN (MEYER 1889: 214.1).

b) *i* for *a* and *o* in pretonic position

MS *iss*, ed. *as* (3sg. rel. cop.) ‘which is’ [2]; MS *hissennath*, ed. *asendath* ‘at all’ [7]; MS *icc*, ed. *oc* ‘at’ [38]; MS *ismbert*, ed. *as:bert* ‘he said’ [45]; MS *a*, ed. *i* ‘in’ [56]. The spelling pretonic *um* for *imm* also appears in [38] below.

c) Hypercorrect diphthong with *u* and *o* and the lack of historically correct *u*-diphthongs:

Firstly, the scribe’s use of *u* in spellings extends as far as replacing *a* in the stressed syllable and writing it after *a*, *e* and *o*; the latter tendency may either represent a hypercorrect diphthong or it may be one way of indicating length (see (j) in this present section). The following use of *u* may indicate length: acc. sg. *bouinn*, ed. *Boind*, [11] and dat. sg. MS *bouinn*, ed. *Boind* [12]. However, in MS *leu* ‘with her’, ed. *lee* in [46],¹⁰⁴⁸ the unstressed conjunction MS *cou*, ed. *co* ‘so that’, and the adjective MS *oug* for OIr. *oac* ‘young’, ed. *ócc* (see textual notes) [52], the use of *u* indicates a non-historical diphthong. Uhlich discusses instances of this in the glosses, e.g. *lóu* ‘day’, Wb. 6^a30 and dat. sg. *bóu* ‘profit’, Wb. 30^b6.¹⁰⁴⁹ Similarly, the following examples in AÓ appear to belong to this category: MS *in fiursi*, ed. *ind fír-se* (gen. sg. *fer*) ‘of this man’ [12]; *Fo cheun*, ed. *fo-chen* ‘welcome’ [20]; MS *frius*, ed. *friuss* [27]; and MS *Congauir*, ed. *con:gair* ‘he calls’ in [53] (cf. MS *cotagair* in [54]). Further examples of hypercorrect diphthongs containing the vowel *o* are: the spelling MS *dao* for *dá* in [30], which also shows the MidIr. loss of the fem. form of the numeral; MS *diao* for *dia* ‘for his’ (prep. *do* + 3sg. m. poss. pron. *a*) in [42].

On the other hand, original *u*-diphthong in the following dat. sg. forms is not frequently represented in the MS: MS *cinn*, ed. *ciunn* [24], [27]; and MS *sircc* [17]. Only one example of it is present: MS *siurcc* in [21].

d) *u* for *a* (schwa) in a closed syllable in unstressed position:

MS *co harauaruch*, ed. *co arabárach* [3], MS *co harobaruch*, ed. *co arabárach* ‘until the next day’ [5]; MS *atconnuirc*, ed. *ad:condairc* ‘he saw’ [4]; MS *accalluib* (dat. sg.), ed. *acaldaim* ‘speaking’ [4]; MS *Nicon ebuir*, ed. *Nícon:epairt* ‘he did not say’ [6]; MS *rot caruis*, ed. *ro:carais* ‘you have loved’ [8]; MS *Adruimiduir*, ed. *Ad:rumadair* ‘he has determined’ [9]; MS *alluinn* (nom. sg.), ed. *álaind* [10]; MS *accalluim* (dat. sg.), ed. *accaldaim* ‘speaking’ [11]; MS *mathuir* (dat. sg.), ed. *máthair* [13]; MS *a chobuir* (nom. sg.), ed. *a chobair* ‘helping him’ [17] (but see nom. sg. MS *cobair* in [14]); MS *eulus* (nom. sg.), ed. *éolas* ‘knowlegde’

¹⁰⁴⁸ Cf. the spelling *loug* for *lóg* ‘reward’ in the Eg. copy of *Echtrae Nerai* (Meyer 1889: 214.11)

¹⁰⁴⁹ UHLICH 1995:43.

[18], [19]; MS *Feruidside* (*failti*), ed. *Feraid-side* (*fáilte*) ‘he welcomed’ [20]; MS *Nicon fetamur*, ed. *Nicon:fétammar* ‘we do not know’ [22]; MS *eturra*, ed. *etarru* ‘among them’ [29]; MS *riguin* (acc. sg.), ed. *rígain* (f-ī-stem) [37]; MS *sechtmuin*, ed. *sechtmain* ‘for a week’ [38]; MS *ethuil* (gen. sg.), ed. *Ethail* [40]; MS *cruachnuib* (dat. pl.), ed. *Crúachnaib* (Crúachain) [45]; MS *slabradhuib* (dat. pl.), ed. *slabradaib* ‘chains’ [52].

e) (i)u for e (schwa) in a closed syllable in unstressed position:

MS *binnium* (superl.), ed. *bindem* ‘most melodious’ [5] (but see the spelling of superlative MS *ailldem*, ed. *áildem* [10]); MS *conid sennud*, ed. *co-nid:senned* ‘and she used to play’ [10]; MS *cairdius* (nom. sg.), ed. *cairdes* ‘relationship’ [11], [57]; MS *toimchiullu*, ed. *to:imchella* ‘he circles’ [24]; MS *a haicniud* (acc. sg.), ed. *a aicned* ‘her disposition’ (n-o-stem) [49]; MS *eniuch* (dat. sg.), ed. *enech* ‘upon your honour’ [54]; MS *co timciullsat*, ed. *co:timchellsat* ‘they circled’ [55].

f) (i)u for e and i (schwa) in a closed syllable in unstressed position:

MS *ingiun* (acc. sg.), ed. *ingin* ‘maiden’ [42], [45].

g) i for e (schwa) in a closed syllable in unstressed position:

MS *erinn, erinn* (gen. sg.), ed. *Érenn* [7], [19]; MS *ingin* (nom. sg.), ed. *ingen* [10], [13], [22], [25]. In the case of the ā-stem *ingen*, this use of a palatal consonant in the nom. sg. is documented by Breatnach as a grammatical development during the MidIr. period, namely the confusion of nom. acc. and dat. sg. forms.¹⁰⁵⁰

h) (i)u for OIr. a, e, (a)e, i (schwa) in final unstressed position:

MS *a llaimiv* (gen. sg.), ed. *a llámae* ‘of her hand’ [2]; MS *menmu* (nom. sg.), OIr. *menmae* ‘mind’ [3]; MS *in crothusa* (gen. sg.), ed. *in crotha-sa* ‘of this form’ [10] (but see gen. sg. MS *in crothaso*, ed. *in chrotha-so* [13]); MS *dagdu* (nom. sg.), ed. *Dagdae* [18]; MS *linniv*, ed. *linni* ‘with us’ [21]; MS *Toimchiullu*, ed. *to:imchella* ‘he circles’ [24]; MS nom. sg. *rehtairiv*, ed. *rehtaire* (m-io-stem) ‘steward’ [41]; MS *duiniu* (gen. sg.), ed. *duini* (m-io-stem) ‘of a human’ [46]; MS *Ni limsv*, ed. *ní lim-sa* ‘I do not have’ [47]; MS *die geisiu* (gen. du.), ed. *dá géise* ‘of two swans’ [55]. This contrasts with the loss of the distinctive dat. sg. *u*

¹⁰⁵⁰ See *SnaG* III, 5.6.

ending to schwa of the io/iā-stem adjective in [10] below, i.e. MS *derrscaithe* for *derscaigthiu* ‘distinguished’ in *co n-écosc derscaigthiu* ‘with a distinguished appearance’.

i) ui and i for u in final unstressed position:

MS *ueolui* (acc. pl.), ed. *béolu* ‘mouth’ [4]; MS *orlloisci* (dat. sg.), ed. *forloiscthiu* ‘refined’ [31]. There are no other instances of an acc. pl. of an o-stem or a dat. sg. of an io-stem throughout the rest of the text, which makes it difficult to comment on an overall scribal practice. The example *uolui* in [4] looks like it might contain a remnant of the acc. pl. -*ui* inflection but it needs to be placed in the context of the representation of schwa as -*ui* elsewhere in the MS (cf. the spelling in the following section).¹⁰⁵¹

j) ai, oi, ui for a, e (schwa) in final unstressed position:¹⁰⁵²

MS *Scelai* (nom. pl.), ed. *scéla* (n-o-stem) ‘tidings’ [21] (but see nom. pl. MS *Scela*, ed. *scéla* [25]); MS *in sidui* (gen. sg.), ed. *int síde* ‘of the *síd*’ [44] (see gen. pl. MS *side*, ed. *síde* [19]); MS *macdoi* (acc. pl.), ed. *maccthe* ‘young’ [29]; MS *macsoi*, ed. *mac-sa* [39] (here it is the enclitic *nota augens* that bears the scribal vagary); MS *lochui* (gen. sg.), ed. *locha* (n-u-stem) ‘of a lake’ [53].

k) o for a, (a)e, (a)i and eo for e (schwa) in final unstressed position:

MS *Confacco*, ed. *co:n-accae* ‘he saw’ [3], [5], [52] (but see MS *confacca*, ed. *co:n-accae* [1]); MS *imtechto* (nom. pl.), ed. *imthechta* (f-ā-stem) ‘tidings’ [8]; MS *torbo* (nom. sg.), ed. *torbae* ‘profit’ (n-io-stem) [18]; nom. sg. MS *dagdo*, ed. *Dagdae* [25], [36], [37]; acc. sg. MS *dagdo*, ed. *Dagdae* [34]; voc. sg. MS *dagdo*, ed. *Dagdai* (m-io-stem) [36]); MS *Ferdo failte* (pret. pass. sg.), ed. *Ferthae fáilte* ‘was welcomed’ [27]; MS *teoro* (f. num.), ed. *teora* ‘three’ [28]; MS *gualo* ‘shoulder’ (acc. sg.), ed. *gúala* ‘shoulder’ [30]; MS *na hingino* (nom. pl.), ed. *inna ingena* (f-ā-stem) ‘the maidens’ [30]; MS *segdo* (nom. sg.), ed. *ségdae* ‘lucky’ [36]; MS *medbo*, ed. *Medbae* (f-ā-stem); [51] MS *scelo* (acc. pl.), ed. *scéla* (n-o-stem) ‘stories’ [51] (but see acc. pl. MS *scela*, ed. *scéla* [12]).

The spelling -*eo* for *e* in final unstressed position seems to be confined to the dat. sg. of *Ériu* and is a hypercorrect spelling: MS *ere*, ed. *Ére* [22]. Not included in the list above is the dat. sg. MS form MS *dagdo* (dat. sg.), ed. *Dagdu* [23], which may represent a genuine archaism; however, cf. gen. sg. *dagdo*, ed. *Dagdai* [25], [44], [45].

¹⁰⁵¹ Cf. gen. sg. *sidui* for *síde* in the Eg. copy of EN (MEYER 1889:220.98).

¹⁰⁵² Similar spellings occur in the Eg. copy of EN: e.g. gen. sg. *samnoi* for *samna* (*samain*); *ferdoi* for *ferdae* ‘manly’; and fut. 3sg. *ticfoi* for *ticfa* ‘will come’ (MEYER 1889: 214.1, 214.20 and 220.97 respectively).

l) Doubling of vowels and historically correct hiatus in the MS:

In his chapter on Middle Irish in *Stair na Gaeilge*, Breatnach notes the doubling of vowels to indicate length in Middle Irish orthography; among others, he provides examples from *Saltair na Rann*, such as *lee* ‘with her’, SR 6312 and *rii* ‘king’, SR 87.¹⁰⁵³ This is found also in the manuscript copy of AÓ with MS *nammaa* for *nammá* ‘only’ [28]; however, the vowel of the 3sg. conj. pret. form of the copula attached to the negative particle in MS *nipoo*, OIr. *nípo* [3], is not long historically, which indicates that this is an instance of hypercorrection.

There are also instances of historically correct hiatus: in the 3sg. cons. pres. of the subst. vb. MS *biid* [5]; MS *lao*, ed. *laa* [28]. For examples of contracted hiatus vowels, see section 2.1.5(l) below. However, due to the date of the manuscript versus the date of composition of the text, it is difficult to ascertain whether these represent the EOIr. practice of marking hiatus by doubling the vowel or whether they belong to the MidIr. practice of marking a long vowel by doubling it.

ix. Orthographical variation in the representation of diphthongs:

- *uí* for *oí*: MS *fúiter*, ed. *foíter* ‘let one be sent’ [11]; MS *fúiter*, ed. *foíter* ‘let one be sent’ [15].
- *óe*, *áe* for *oí*: MS *saertair*, ed. *soírtair* ‘he is freed’ [50]; MS *daenachtu*, ed. *doínachta* ‘of a human’ [53].
- *óe* for *áe*: MS *Toet*, ed. *táet* ‘let him come’ [26].
- *oe* for *ui*: MS *dia coemsamuis*, ed. *dia:cuimsimmis* ‘if we had the power’ [40].

x. Spelling fluctuations in certain prepositions

The following spelling fluctuations are typical of the Middle Irish period. The preposition *cen* ‘without’ appears in the MS with the spelling *cin* in [4]. Similarly, the OIr. prep. *eter* is spelled as *etir* in [30] and [35], which is a Middle Irish development;¹⁰⁵⁴ as in the spelling of the OIr. prep. *oc* ‘at’, as *ac* in [24] and *icc* in [38].¹⁰⁵⁵ In section [22], the combination of the prep. *i* with the rel. part. is spelled as *a*: MS *ata*, ed. *i:tá* ‘in which there is’.¹⁰⁵⁶

¹⁰⁵³ *SnaG*, III, 2.8.

¹⁰⁵⁴ See *SnaG* III, 13.10.

¹⁰⁵⁵ See *SnaG* III, 13.21.

¹⁰⁵⁶ See *SnaG* III, 3.29.

2.1.4 Language and date of *Aislinge Óenguso*

Introduction

The language of *Aislinge Óenguso* belongs to the Old Irish period. Thurneysen first estimated the date-range of between the 9th and 10th century, i.e. between the Old and Middle Irish period. According to Shaw, Thurneysen later pushed it back to the 8th century, in accordance with the date put forward by Shaw and, subsequently, by James Carney.¹⁰⁵⁷ The text contains certain phonological and morphological features classified as typically Middle Irish but which belong properly to the Old Irish period: lenition of the verb-initial consonant arising from a petrified neut. inf. pron. and the assimilation of *nd* and *ld* to *nn* and *ll*; these are found as early as the Ml. glosses. Additionally, the text presents an array of significant linguistic features that are securely indicative of the Middle Irish period; these were likely introduced at multiple points during its long transmission and I discuss these in full below. Given the 16th-century date of the manuscript, there are also some linguistic and phonological features that belong to the period of the scribe, which I outline below.

All examples below are taken directly from the manuscript (as indicated by the abbreviation MS) unless otherwise stated and from the edited text below (as indicated by the abbreviation ed.); and I refer to these examples from the manuscript using the numbering in square brackets from my edition of *Aislinge Óenguso* below.

2.1.4.1 Old Irish linguistic features

Francis Shaw provides a selection of reasons for his allocating an OIr. date to *Aislinge Óenguso*, which I will briefly summarise and comment on before giving further examples to add to the argument. Firstly, Shaw gives the pres. ind. 3pl. *adfiadot* ‘they tell’ ([12] in the edition below; §4 in Shaw’s edition) with the apparent retention of the Early Old Irish vowel *o* in the final syllable as evidence ‘almost sufficient of itself to crown our text with the halo of antiquity’;¹⁰⁵⁸ he continues to quote further examples from the Cambrai Homily (*tuthēgot* and *tuesmot*, *Thes. Pal. II*, 247.17.19).¹⁰⁵⁹ Whereas the ending is, indeed, a rarity, it is difficult to ascertain its importance within the grand scheme of dating as it could be a mere orthographic variant for OIr. *ad:fiadat*. McCone discusses a similar instance of a potentially Early OIr. 1pl. spelling *-melom* in his edition of *Echtrae Chonnlai*; whereas Pokorny and Thurneysen viewed

¹⁰⁵⁷ *Held.* 301; SHAW 1934: 37; CARNEY 1979: 55.

¹⁰⁵⁸ SHAW 1934: 35. Examples of the 3pl. in *-ot* from confirmed Early Old Irish sources include *tu-thēgot* ‘which come’, *tu-esmot* ‘which shed’ *Thes. Pal. ii* 247.17 and 19 respectively (examples also in *GOI* §559). However, the expected Early OIr. 3pl. form would be *-fedot*.

¹⁰⁵⁹ SHAW 1934: 47-48.

this as a genuine archaism, McCone expresses his doubts due to there being no examples of *-om* in the Cambrai Homily and he posits that ‘secondary rounding owing to the first labial’ may also be a factor.¹⁰⁶⁰ An indicator that the present example may simply belong to a scribal tendency is the MidIr. 1sg. fut. spelling *berot* for *bérat* (OIr. *béra*) ‘I will bear’ in the tale *Echtrae Nerai* in the same manuscript as the present text, i.e. Eg. 1782.¹⁰⁶¹ Given that this form never contained the ending **-ont*, it being a 1sg.,¹⁰⁶² proves that the scribe deliberately archaised the spelling and it is entirely possible that he applied the same spelling more broadly to MS *adfiadot* in [12]. For further examples of the same scribal policy being applied to EN as to AÓ in this manuscript, see the notes to the orthographical features of AÓ in 2.1.3.

Shaw also views the adverb *opunn* ‘swiftly’ ([3] below; Shaw’s §1) as a significant dating diagnostic; however, the independent dative being used for an adverb appears throughout the late Old Irish Cormac’s Glossary into the Middle Irish *Saltair na Rann*;¹⁰⁶³ it occurs also in the late OIr. tale *Echtrae Nerai* also contained in Eg. 1782.¹⁰⁶⁴ The imperf. ind. 3pl. *-tacmuictis* (*do:ecmaing* ‘reaches’) in [30] below is included in Shaw’s criteria for assigning an OIr. date as he views the form with *n* found in, for example, *tacmungad* in the Turin Glosses, 127a, as innovatory.¹⁰⁶⁵ Shaw considered the MS form *ragaid* ‘I will go’ [54] to have contained the suffixed neut. pronoun and believed ‘the preservation of the final palatal consonant’ to have been ‘a testimony of antiquity’.¹⁰⁶⁶ However, it is also possible that it is an innovative MidIr. fut. form the form is likely to be an innovative MidIr. fut. form.¹⁰⁶⁷

Shaw includes in his criteria also the apparently archaic form of the preverb *to-* in the verb forms *toimchiullu* [24], *tolotar* [29] and *tocomlat* [56] and the prevalence of the narrative preterite, which is taken over by the perfect in MidIr. Shaw notes, however, that the Early Old Irish form of the preverb *to-*, found in the Cambrai Homily,¹⁰⁶⁸ is only significant in light of the other OIr. linguistic features mentioned here and that it alone would be inadequate as a dating criterion.¹⁰⁶⁹ Another example of *to-* not mentioned by Shaw is contained in [44]: MS *toragasom* ‘he will come’, fut. 1sg. of *do:tét* ‘comes’ with innovative *rag-* for OIr. *reg-* (see section 2.1.5(g) below), which contains underlying **to-*, so that this is the correct form of the

¹⁰⁶⁰ MCCONE 2000: 35–36; there he refers to Pokorny’s edition of *Echtrae Chonnlai* (POKORNY 1928) and *GOI* §360.

¹⁰⁶¹ MEYER 1889: 220.96.

¹⁰⁶² For the development of this personal ending in MidIr. see *EIV* 227.

¹⁰⁶³ For examples, see *DIL* O 150.30–42.

¹⁰⁶⁴ MEYER 1889: 214.10.

¹⁰⁶⁵ SHAW 1934: 53–4, note 2. See also *Rel. Chron.* 108.

¹⁰⁶⁶ SHAW 1934: 35.

¹⁰⁶⁷ See further the examples *regaid* and *ragait* in the story of David and Goliath from the Book of Lecan (POKORNY 1921: 176).

¹⁰⁶⁸ See *GOI* §178 (2).

¹⁰⁶⁹ SHAW 1934: 35–6.

preverb (**to-tiag-*, *Ped.* ii 645). Of all the instances of *to-* in the MS of AÓ, there are no examples of it being incorrectly used, giving the impression that this may not have been a hypercorrection but a genuine feature. The following are the verbs in AÓ with the underlying form **to-* in the preverb but which are not spelled as such: There are a large number of verbs throughout AÓ that contain proclitic **to-* but do not spell it as such: MS *Doecmaldar*, ed. *do:ecmaldar* ‘they are assembled’ (*do:ecmalla*; **to-in-com-ell-*, *Ped.* ii 510); MS *Dotetside*, ed. *do:tét-side* ‘the latter comes’ [7], MS *Dolluid*, ed. *do:luid* ‘he came’ [24], MS *Dodechso*, ed. *do:dechud-sa* ‘I have come’ (*do:tét*; **to-tiag-*, *Ped.* ii 645); MS *domfainicc*, ed. *do:m:ánaic* ‘she came to me’ [10] and MS *donanicc*, ed. *da-n:ánaic* ‘it came to him’ [13] (*do:icc*; **to-icc-*, *Ped.* ii 557); MS *doroachtmar*, ed. *do:roachtmar* ‘we came’ [20] (*do:roich*; **to-ro-saig-*, *Ped.* ii 610); MS *Documlat*, ed. *do:comlat* ‘they set out’ [34] (**to-cum-lu-*, *Ped.* ii 571); and MS *dobertar*, ed. *do:bértar* ‘they will be taken’ [44] (*do:beir*; **to-ber-*, *Ped.* ii 469).

Indeed, Shaw is correct in his assertion that the text shows a preponderance for the usage of the narrative preterite over the use of the perfect, which becomes a common feature during the Middle Irish period.¹⁰⁷⁰ There are only two examples of the perfect being used beyond historically correct syntactical restrictions against around 43 examples of the historically correct preterite (substantive verb, copula and other), and both examples are the same form and within the same section of text, i.e. MS *adcuadadar*, *atcuadatar* ‘they had related’, ed. *ad:fídatar* ‘they related’ [35].

There is one example of nom. sg. nasalisation after a neuter noun in section [55], i.e. *meth nenig* ‘loss of honour’ (*meth* is originally a n-i-stem); however, this may have been retained due to the phrase being stereotyped (see section 2.1.6(d) below for examples of the loss of the neut. gender in nouns).¹⁰⁷¹ Therefore, although it is a notable feature and potentially useful for the argument for an OIr. date, it is not a significant diagnostic. There is one instance in which a Class B neut. inf. pron. appears to refer to a noun that was neut. in OIr., i.e. *teglach* ‘household’; however, this is a tentative example as it could just as easily have lost the nas. used for the 3sg. m. inf. pron.: MS *coteirich teglach aillella*, ed. *co-t:éirig teglach Aillella* ‘Ailill’s household set out’ [44] (vb. *con:éirig*).

There are two examples of the so-called ‘short’ dative form *Ére* in [2] and [10], upon which McCone’s study of the preponderance for short and long forms helps to cast some light. His study is based on two types of consonantal stems: m-d-stem abstracts with the suffix

¹⁰⁷⁰ SHAW 1934: 36–7. For the use of the perfect for the preterite in Middle Irish, see *SnaG* III, 12.27.

¹⁰⁷¹ See also *SnaG* III, 4.13.

-*tu* and f-n-stems containing the suffix *-t(i)u*. The outcome of his investigation into the distribution of long and short acc. and dat. forms is that Wb. shows a preponderance for the short dat. *-tu* in the m-d-stem (21 out of 25 examples), while ML shows a preponderance for the long dat. ending in *-taid* (29 out of 44 examples).¹⁰⁷² The number of short dat. forms of the f-n-stem in *-t(i)u* in Wb. are less significant because of the low number of examples and the even distribution of the three attested endings in the dat. sg.: McCone's results show that there are 13 out of 31 examples of the short dat. in *-(a)e*, 9 in *-(i)u* and 9 in the long dat. *-(a)in*.¹⁰⁷³ However, the number of examples in ML provides wider scope for a more statistically significant outcome: of the 70 examples in ML, 62 end in the long dat. *-(a)in*, and the remainder in *-(i)u* and *-(a)in*. Therefore, it may be said that the long dat. of f-n-stem abstracts of this sort was the more popular by the time of ML and that its usage in Wb., based on the data gathered by McCone, is inconclusive. However, what is relevant to the discussion of the short dat. form *Ére* in AÓ is that, according to McCone, it is the 'inherited' form and that it might bring the text of *Aislinge Óenguso* closer to the date of Wb. than to that of ML.¹⁰⁷⁴ Therefore, it is retained in the edition below and added to the set of Old Irish dating diagnostics.¹⁰⁷⁵

The verb *con:icc* 'is able' appears three times in the text with a palatal consonant in its syncopated present indicative forms, as is phonologically regular for underlying **kom-ig-*: MS *niscuimcinsi*, ed. *ní-s:cuimci-si* 'you are not able' [28] (for the emendation of the personal ending to the 2sg., see the textual notes to this section in the edition below); MS *nacumcem*, ed. *nád:cuimcem* 'that we are not able' [36]; and MS *nicuimcim*, ed. *ní:cuimcim* 'I am not able' [46]. This is in direct opposition to most of the forms found in the OIr. glosses, which show neutral quality: 1sg. *ní chumgaim*, *Thes. Pal.* ii, 4; 1pl. *-chumcam*, Wb. 9^d16; 3pl. *ní cumcat*, ML 56c7; *ni chumgat*, 92^c14; *ní cumgat*, 94^b3. There is, however, one example of this same palatal quality in ML, i.e. 3pl. *nad cumget*, 112^b16. This particular feature may have been influenced by the later simple verb *cuimgid/cumgaid*.¹⁰⁷⁶

There is an example of pre-diphthongised *ore* 'because' in section [49] below which may provide an argument for a date closer, or perhaps even prior, to the Wb. glosses if it is a genuine original *ó*. *GOI* §60 states that this *ó* becomes diphthongised by the time of the ML and Sg. glosses; however, this change is already occurring by the time of Wb., which contains multiple examples of diphthongised *ó* in the glosses: *huaire* at Wb.2^a18, 2^a19, 5^d5; and *húare*

¹⁰⁷² MCCONE 1978: 26.

¹⁰⁷³ MCCONE 1978: 27.

¹⁰⁷⁴ MCCONE 1978: 28.

¹⁰⁷⁵ For the use of the long dat. in MidIr., see *SnaG* III, 5.11.

¹⁰⁷⁶ E.g. 3sg. rel. *chuingess* in *Aislinge Meic Con Glinne* (Meyer 1892: 113.12)

at Wb. 1^a3.¹⁰⁷⁷ There are also examples of non-diphthongised *ó* in the Sg. glosses, e.g. *ore* twice at 197^a2; there are no examples of *ó*, to my knowledge, in ML, in which instances of *huare* are numerous: e.g. 91^a21, 94^b3, 101^c7, 105^a4, etc. Earlier still is the form *oire* in the Cambrai Homily: *oire nundem membur uili du Dea* ‘for we are all members unto God’, *Theis. Pal. ii*, 246.5–6.

There are two examples of the so-called contracted deuterotonic in AÓ: MS *fosagur*, ed. *fásagar* ‘is announced’ in [43] and MS *ticc* ‘comes’ in [51]. Peter Schrijver comments on how ‘these contracted forms are not found in the older OIr. material such as the Cambrai Homily and the Würzburg *prima manus*. On the other hand, they are very common in the main body of the Würzburg glosses and the Milan glosses.’¹⁰⁷⁸ These are, therefore, significant in identifying the date of AÓ, and lend support to the theory that its *terminus post quem* is closer to the OIr. in Wb. than EOIr.

The phrase MS *mo frithisi* in [54], as mentioned in the textual notes to this section, represents an OIr. retention, whereby the poss. pron. *mo* agrees with the verb of motion, in this case *do:icc* ‘comes’: ed. *co:tís a loch mo frithisi* ‘that I may come back to the lake’. Examples of this in the OIr. glosses are as follows: *co tanaic á frithisi* ‘till it [lit. ‘she’, *arca*] returned’, ML 82^d9; *a tabirt a frithisi as in doiri* ‘their being brought back from the captivity’, ML 131^c7. On the use of *frithis(s)i* during the MidIr. period, DIL notes that ‘both *do frithissi* (*dorísi*, *dorís*) & *afrithissi* (*arísi*, *arís*) early become petrified forms used indiscriminately without regard to number, person or gender’.¹⁰⁷⁹

Two particular phonological developments that occur during the OIr. period and may point towards a 9th-century date are present in the MS text of AÓ, i.e. *íarnabárach* > *arabárach* (see section [3] below) and the assimilation of *ld* > *ll* (e.g. MS *accalluib*, ed. *acaldaim* [4]), *nd* > *nn* (e.g. MS *ann*, ed. *and* [5]) in stressed words. As an innovative feature, however, it is difficult to ascertain whether this latter phonological development had taken place by the time AÓ was composed or whether it was introduced at some point during the text’s long transmission. There is an example of *ld* in [10] with the superlative form *ailldem* ‘most beautiful’, which may be an original feature. This assimilation is found also in unstressed words in AÓ, e.g. *dianom* [16] for *diandom*, containing the 1sg. Class C inf. pron.; however, there are forms with the retention of this *d* in OIr. sources that lend support to restoring original *-n-d-*: *condom-roib it rígu | na ní ara mbáigiú* ‘that I may have in Thy

¹⁰⁷⁷ Examples of non-diphthongised *óre* in Wb. include 15^d13, 23^d25 and 24^b20.

¹⁰⁷⁸ SCHRIJVER 1997: 113–4. See also MCCONE (1979: 8), whom SCHRIJVER subsequently cites.

¹⁰⁷⁹ DIL F 442.41–4.

kingdom everything for which I contend'.¹⁰⁸⁰ It is possible that the lenited *d* of Class C inf. pron. were reintroduced post-assimilation from contexts other than after *-n-*. As regards date, the examples from the MS of AÓ are so trivial that it is impossible to establish whether they suggest a date closer to the Milan glosses than to the Würzburg glosses.

To the Old Irish features outlined above, I also add a number of more minor linguistic features worthy of note that are present in *Aislinge Óenguso*:

- a) Retention of nasalisation of the initial of a prepositional pronoun: MS *Dogeni galar ndo*, ed. *do:géni galar ndó* 'it made him sick' [4];¹⁰⁸¹ MS *Confacatar iningin neturra*, ed. *co:n-accatar in n-ingin n-eturru* 'they saw the maiden among them' [29]. Accusative nasalisation of the prepositional pronoun is lacking from the examples: MS *indaithegin iningin uccut*, ed. *in n-aithgén in n-ingin n-ucut?* 'Do you recognize the maiden yonder?' [31]; and *biaid tri coicait ngeisi impi*, ed. *bieit trí cócait géise n-impí* 'there will be 150 swans around her' [49]. However, this nasalisation is not compulsory in OIr.;¹⁰⁸² and, regarding a possible mistranscription of the nasalisation in the last example, see the textual notes to the edition below.
- b) Fem. forms of the numeral: acc. du. f. MS *di blíadna*, ed. *dí blíadain* 'two years' [21]; and MS *teoro haidchi*, ed. *teora aidchi* 'three nights' [28]; acc. du. f. MS *di laim*, ed. *di láim* 'two hands' [55]. As mentioned above in section (viii) (j), there is one instance of the masc. form of the numeral 'two' in the acc. being used in place of the fem. form: [30] MS *etir cach dao ingin*, ed. *eter cach dí ingin* 'between each two maidens'. However, there are still examples of *teora* being used into the MidIr. period alongside the masc. form *trí*.¹⁰⁸³
- c) *a dochum*: the use of the preposition *dochum* with a preceding poss. pron., yielding the meaning 'to him', etc., is the original.¹⁰⁸⁴ Further examples appear to be limited to the Glosses; e.g. *a dochum* 'to him', Ml. 46^d2; *for ndochumsi* 'to you', Ml. 53^d9.
- d) As early as the Old Irish period, and later more widely during the Middle Irish period, the comparative form of the adjective comes to be used for both the comparative and superlative degrees, ousting the distinctive *-em/-am* superlative ending; this was possible because it requires a different syntactical construction.¹⁰⁸⁵ As noted by Breatnach, however, the superlative is still found during the Middle Irish period.¹⁰⁸⁶ It

¹⁰⁸⁰ Féil. Ep. 359–60; not all MS readings contain *nd*. See *GOI* §151(c).

¹⁰⁸¹ Note that a nasal in this position would often drop out in OIr. (*GOI* §§180.2, 236f.).

¹⁰⁸² See *CIH* 342.

¹⁰⁸³ *SnaG* III, 8.4.

¹⁰⁸⁴ *DIL* D 228.37.

¹⁰⁸⁵ For the use of the comparative form for the superlative in the *Féilire Óengusso*, see STOKES 1905: xxxviii.

¹⁰⁸⁶ See *SnaG* III, 6.15.

is noteworthy, albeit not particularly compelling as a dating diagnostic, that in all instances of the use of the superlative in AÓ, the Old Irish form remains: MS *ailldem* ‘most beautiful’ (*álaind*) [2]; MS *moam* ‘greatest’ (*mór*) [31]; MS *nessam* ‘nearest’ (*accus*) [48], [51].

- e) There are a number of examples of the inf. pron. in AÓ, whereby the expected OIr. form is used. However, the inf. pron. survived into the MidIr. period with only confusion of certain forms occurring (see 2.1.8 below), so that it is not a reliable dating diagnostic.¹⁰⁸⁷ For the purpose of reference, however, the following are examples in AÓ of its expected OIr. usage:

Class A

1sg. MS *domfainicc ingin alluinn*, ed. *Do-m:áinicc ingen álaind* ‘a beautiful maiden came to me’ [10]; MS *domgair*, ed. *do-m:gair* ‘calls me’ [54].

2sg. MS *Fotisir*, ed. *fo-t:sisuir* [55].

3sg. m. MS *focorastar*, ed. *fa:corastar* ‘it put him’[6]; MS *donfainicc*, ed. *da-n:ánaic* ‘it came to him’ [12]; MS *donanicc*, ed. *do:n-ánaic* ‘it came to him’ [13]. *Fo-* and *fa-*, and *do-* and *da-* are interchangeable by the Middle Irish period.¹⁰⁸⁸

f. MS *niscuimcimsi*, ed. *ní-s:cuimci-si* [28]; MS *dusfucso*, ed. *do-s:uc-so* [49]

3pl. MS *Dusmberat*, ed. *do-s:mberat* ‘they bring with them?’; instrumental use of the inf. pron. [45]. Originally, the 3pl. form did not cause nasalisation but this spread by the time of the Wb. glosses¹⁰⁸⁹ because of its similarity to the 3sg. f. form of the inf. pron.¹⁰⁹⁰

Class B

3sg. n. MS *Atbersu*, ed. *at:bér-sa* ‘I will tell it’ [48].

¹⁰⁸⁷ See *SnaG* III, 10.6.

¹⁰⁸⁸ For further examples, see *SnaG* III, 10.6.

¹⁰⁸⁹ See examples provided by Thurneysen: *GOI* §416.

¹⁰⁹⁰ See *GOI* §451 and LINDEMAN 1980:165.

Class C

1sg. MS *dianom congrad*, ed. *diandom:chongrad* ‘for which I have been called’ [16]; MS *dianom foemuid*, ed. *diandom:foíma* ‘if you receive me’ [54]. For the assimilation of *nd* > *nn* in *diandom*, represented in the MS as *dianom* with a single *n*, see section 2.1.5.1 below.

3sg. m. 3sg. MS *conid sennud*, ed. *co-ndid:senned* ‘so that she played it’ (referring to the *timpán*, m.) [10]; see section 2.1.5.1 below regarding assimilation.

f. MS *condoacathar*, ed. *co-nda:accathar* ‘that he might see her’ [26]; MS *Condo faccathar*, ed. *co-nda:aiccither* ‘that you might see her’ [28]; MS *codogairiu*, ed. *co-nda:garae* ‘so that you might call her’ [51] (here the scribe may have either forgotten to insert an *n*-stroke above the *o* of *co* or he may have transcribed the *co(n)*-compendium as *co* instead of *con*).

2.1.5 Middle Irish phonological developments in AÓ

The present section deals with some features of Middle Irish phonology as displayed in the text of *Aislinge Óenguso*. Given the number of Old Irish features mentioned above, the following are likely to have been introduced at some point during the transmission of the text and they do not reflect its date of composition. It must also be noted that some, or much, of what follows is likely to have its beginnings in the OIr. period.¹⁰⁹¹

- a) *c* to *g* in proclitic particles¹⁰⁹²: *co* > *go*: *cusin*, but also *gusin* in the same section [15].
- b) Changes in digraphs:
 - i. *cói-* > *cúi-*:¹⁰⁹³ MS *cuich* for *cóich/coich* [33], [40].
 - ii. *ai* > *ui*: MS *cuircesaibh* ed. *cairchesaib* [52].¹⁰⁹⁴
- c) *gthe* /*ɣθ*/ > *th*: MS *derrscaithe*, ed. *derscaigthiu* ‘distinguished’ (dat. sg. of *derscaithe*, ptp. of *do:róscaí*) [10].¹⁰⁹⁵
- d) /*t*/ > /*d*/: MS *deid*, ed. *deit* ‘to you’ [10].¹⁰⁹⁶

¹⁰⁹¹ MCCONE 1985: 85.

¹⁰⁹² *SnaG* III 3.23.

¹⁰⁹³ *SnaG* III, 3.10.

¹⁰⁹⁴ *SnaG* III, 3.4.

¹⁰⁹⁵ This is not covered in *SnaG* but it is a change that occurs possibly during the late MidIr. period. See a similar reduction of a consonant cluster *-chth-* > *-ch-* (*SnaG* III, 3.14). See further examples of modernised *derscaithe* in the textual notes to section [10] below); cf. EModIr. *urnaidhi* ‘praying’ (*IGT* Decl. §3), OIr. *airnigde and EModIr. fuaithe* ‘united’, OIr. *úaigne* (KNOX 1883: 201).

¹⁰⁹⁶ See MCCONE 1981. Further examples include *duid-seo* and *fo-chen duid* in *Scéla Cano meic Gartnáin* (BINCHY 1963: 7, ll. 194 and 219 respectively); see also the reading *duid* in the Harl. 5280 copy of *Talland Étair* (Ó DÓNAILL 2005: 146).

- e) *mr* > *br*:¹⁰⁹⁷ MS *brug*, ed. *mruig* ‘land, region’ [34]; MS *brath*, ed. *mrath* ‘betrayal’ [47].
- f) Lenition of consonant initial of conjugated prepositions:¹⁰⁹⁸ 3sg. m. MS *chuici*, ed. *cucai* ‘to him’ [1], [2], [7], [55]; 3sg. m. *chuice*, ed. *cucai* ‘to him’ [41]; 3sg. f. MS *chucce*, ed. *cuicce* ‘to her’ [12], [47]¹⁰⁹⁹; 2pl. MS *chucuib*, ed. *cuccuib* ‘to you’ [41].
- g) *re-* > *ra-*:¹¹⁰⁰ fut. 1sg. MS *Niragsa*, ed. *ní:reg-sa* ‘I will not go’ (*téit*) [42]; fut. 2sg. MS *toragasom* for *do:rega-som* ‘he will come’ (*do:tét*) [44]; MS *ragaid* for OIr. *rega* ‘I will go’ (*téit*) [54] (for more on the ending *-aid*, see section 2.1.7.2 below).
- h) *téit* > *táet* ‘goes’: MS *taeta*, ed. *téiti* ‘goes it’ [55]. *Taeta* borrows the diphthong *-áe-* from the compound *do:tét* ‘comes’; see, for example, the spread of the form *táet* beyond the proto. *-táet* (< *-*tothet*) in the verb *do:tét*.¹¹⁰¹
- i) Confusion of /*ɣ*/ and /*δ*/:¹¹⁰² MS *doagaig*, ed. *ind adaig* ‘that night’ [4]; MS *aithidig*, ed. *aithigid* ‘visting’ [6], but this particular example might be an instance of metathesis; MS *beoga*, ed. *béodae* ‘fortunate’ [8]; MS *himugv*, ed. *in madae* ‘in vain’ [17].
- j) *or/ar/al* for *ol* ‘says’: MS *or* [9], [18], [19], [25], [33], [36], [41], [42], [47], [54]; MS *ar* [16], [28], [33], [36], [46], [49]; MS *al* [23]; MS *orse* for *olse* [42], [46], [48], [55].
- k) Metathesis:¹¹⁰³ MS *aithidig*, *aithigid* [6] (or possible confusion of /*δ*/ and /*ɣ*/; see (g) above); MS *co tuchuid*, ed. *co:tudaich* ‘that she might come’ [11]; MS *aithnge*, ed. *-aithgne* ‘he might recognize’ [26].
- l) Prosthetic *f*:¹¹⁰⁴ the examples of MS *confacca*, ed. *co:n-accae* in [1], [3], [5], [52], may represent a point when prosthetic *f* was not yet functioning as the initial consonant because, at least in [1] and [3], the nasalisation following the conjunction is written; in the latter two examples, [5] and [52], the abbreviation for *con*, which may also stand for *co*, leaves it open to interpretation; see also [28] and [29]. Breatnach comments: ‘uaireanta faightear an t-urú stairiúil le séimhiú an f nua, m.sh. *co nfacca* “chonaic mé”, LL 31699 (TT)’.¹¹⁰⁵ Another dubious example is MS *domfainicc*, ed. *do-m:ánicc* in [10] and [12], which would be silent due to the 1sg. inf. pron. anyway.

¹⁰⁹⁷ *SnaG* III, 3.16.

¹⁰⁹⁸ *SnaG* III, 13.7.

¹⁰⁹⁹ It is not possible to decipher whether the example in [47] is m. n. or f.

¹¹⁰⁰ *SnaG* III, 3.12.

¹¹⁰¹ See *DIL* D 378.59. Cf. *EIV* 195.

¹¹⁰² *SnaG* III, 3.18.

¹¹⁰³ *SnaG* III, 3.15.

¹¹⁰⁴ *SnaG* III, 3.21. Although uncommon, there is an example of this phenomenon having already occurred as early as the OIr. period: *dufuit* in the poem Pangur Bán, *Thes. Pal.* ii, 293.21.

¹¹⁰⁵ *SnaG* III, 3.21.

The example MS *dusfucso* for *do-s:uc-so* in [49] appears to be a genuine example of a prosthetic *f*.

- m) Contraction of hiatus vowels: orthographic representation of hiatus occurs in the following examples from the manuscript throughout the text: cons. pres. 3sg. *biid* [5]; *tri lao* for *trí laa* ‘three days’ [28] (however, cf. the examples of hypercorrect diphthongs in section 2.1.3.1 above).¹¹⁰⁶ Conversely, there are examples of the hiatus vowel having been contracted in MS *bid* [13], [14], and MS *bith* [36], [46]; and pres. indic. rel. of **taïd*, *tas* (-*tás*), for *-taas* [22]. Shaw does not discuss the significance of these contracted and hiatus forms, nor consider them as part of the dating criteria.

Regarding a proposed date for the ‘reduction of hiatus’, Greene summarises his opinion as follows: ‘The date of the reduction of hiatus in the Irish of Ireland is impossible to determine with certainty; all that can be said is that the evidence of *Saltair na Rann* shows clearly that all hiatus words, except for some biblical names, have alternative reduced forms by the tenth century.’¹¹⁰⁷ McCone, then, acknowledges the reduction as having begun during the OIr. period: ‘Although early hiatus has survived right down to the present in Scots Gaelic, in Ireland hiatus disyllables were beginning to undergo contraction to monosyllables with a long vowel as early as Old Irish on the evidence of occasional spellings in the Glosses like *-tat* for *-taat*, *bíad* for *biad*, *-gníat* for *-gniat* and sporadic contracted forms in Old Irish poems like *Félire Óengusso* [...].’¹¹⁰⁸

2.1.6 Miscellaneous Middle Irish developments

Since there is only one manuscript witness to *Aislinge Óenguso*, it is often impossible to decipher whether the original copy contained a mixture of Old and Middle Irish features, whether Middle Irish features are indeed innovative or whether seemingly “archaic” features were introduced to the text by a learned scribe at a post-OIr. date. Theoretically, certain features would have been easier for a scribe of a post-OIr. period to restore: for example, as listed under (e) of the present section below, the dat. pl. ending of the adjective; and, also, nasalisation after originally neuter nouns (see section 2.1.4.1 above).

Shaw’s acknowledges ‘a very strong leaven of early and late Middle Irish forms’¹¹⁰⁹ as being present throughout the text; some of the Middle Irish features which the latter notes

¹¹⁰⁶ See also *SnaG* III, 2.8 and section 2.1.3 above.

¹¹⁰⁷ GREENE 1976: 43.

¹¹⁰⁸ *Rel. Chron.* 141-142. See also *SnaG* III, 3.2; *GOI* §§113-4; STIFTER 2015: 72-6.

¹¹⁰⁹ SHAW 1943: 32.

are misuse and ‘confusion of the infixed personal pronouns’,¹¹¹⁰ and developments in the relative construction. In the following, I give an outline of an additional number of miscellaneous Middle Irish features found throughout the text, which must be taken into consideration alongside the number of OIr. rententions previously discussed. Before doing so, however, I will first briefly discuss the issue of *coich* ‘who(se)?’ and whether it adheres to OIr. or MidIr. usage in AÓ.

Coich, originally meaning ‘whose?’,¹¹¹¹ comes to be used in place of *cía* ‘who?’ during the Middle Irish period;¹¹¹² there are two instances in AÓ of *cuich* possibly being used with the meaning ‘who?’, rather than ‘whose?’ in sections [33] and [40]. The OIr. usage of *coich* is most clearly illustrated by the example from Sg. 209b30: *is inderb coich inmug concérbara mei*, ‘it is uncertain whose is the slave until thou sayest *mei*’. As it stands, however, it is not possible to rely on contemporary OIr. sources for the usage of *coich* meaning ‘who?’ (or potentially ‘whose?’) because there are not enough examples in the OIr. glosses to yield a robust discussion. Shaw comments that if the use of the gen. ‘whose’ here is not intended, then *cuich* is a MidIr. feature, citing examples from LL and LU; he remarks that he is ‘not sure that *ce-sí* should not be restored here. The question *Who is this maiden?* would seem to be more natural than the question *Whose?*’.¹¹¹³ However, in his discussion of *coich* (*GOI* §460), Thurneysen states that ‘in some texts this form is also used for the nom. masc. ‘who?’; unfortunately, he does not cite any examples.

In the first example in AÓ, MS *Cuich ind ingenso a buidb*, ed. ‘*Coich ind ingen-so, a Buidb?*’ ‘who is this maiden, Bodb?’ [33], may have been understood as ‘whose is this maiden, Bodb?’ because the response is MS *Caer^{ib}ormeth ingen ethail anbuail a ssid uamain a crich* connacht ‘Cáer Ibormeth, daughter of Ethal Anbuail of the Síd Úamain in the province of Connacht’, the relevant part of the response to *cuich* being MS *ingen ethail anbuail*. The question may also be more clearly in reference to the maiden’s paternal affiliation in the example in [40] because the answer to the simple question MS *Cuich* (‘whose’, i.e. ‘who does she belong to’) by Ailill is MS *Ingen ethuil anbuail* ‘the daughter of Ethal Anbuail’ (that is, the maiden belongs to Ethal). Therefore, both examples in AÓ could arguably yield the sense ‘whose?’; however, textual parallels, whereby *coich* invites a response in the form of a person’s kinship or lineage, is not apparent in any other sources.

If this is an innovatory feature later introduced to the Old Irish text, *coich* may have replaced OIr. *cesi* in [33]; a rewording would have been necessary for the example in [40],

¹¹¹⁰ SHAW 1934: 33.

¹¹¹¹ *GOI* §460.

¹¹¹² *SnaG* III, 10.28.

¹¹¹³ SHAW 1934: 54, n. 7.

however, as I can find no examples of *cía* being used without a qualifying pronoun, noun etc. (cf. *cía tussu* ‘who are you?’, Wb. 4^c24; *cía hé* ‘who is he?’, ML. 75^c9).

- a) *Dolu* for *dul*: there are two examples of the form *dolu*, one of which replaces expected nom. sg. *dul*: the first is MS *Is liach a dolu himugv* ‘it is wretched that he should go to waste (i.e. die)’ [17]. This form is common for nom. and acc. sg. during the MidIr. period e.g. in *Saltair na Rann* 1395, 2393, 3505, 6088, etc. See the textual notes to section [42] below, where I discuss a possible second example of MS *dola* replacing expected OIr. *dul*.
- b) Loss of acc. nas. of the adj.: MS *In blíadnai ailli*, ed. *In blíadnai n-ailli* ‘the other year’ [46]; cf., however, MS *fri hethal nanbuill* with acc. nas., ed. *fri Ethal nAnbúail* ‘to Ethal Anbúail’ [45].¹¹¹⁴
- c) Loss of the dat. pl. ending of the adj.:¹¹¹⁵ there is one example of the loss of the dat. pl. adjectival ending in the same sentence as an adj. with the dat. pl. ending: MS *cona slubraduib airccdide co cuircesuib oirdib*, ed. *cona slabradaib aircdidib co caircesuib órdaib* ‘with their silvern chains [and] with golden ringlets around their heads’ [52].
- d) Loss of the neut. gender as exemplified by the form of the def. art.:¹¹¹⁶ acc. sg. MS *in sid*, ed. *a síd* ‘the síd’ [44]; acc. sg. MS *ind loch*, originally *a loch* ‘the lake’ [54], [55].
- e) Spread of the dat. case to prepositions that originally governed the acc.:¹¹¹⁷ there are two possible examples of the use of the dat. for the acc. case after the preposition *imm* ‘around’, which originally takes the acc. in OIr.; however, it began to govern the dat. in the pl. by the late-OIr./early MidIr. period.¹¹¹⁸ E.g. in AÓ: MS *im chormuib*, ed. *imm chuirme* ‘around ale banquets’ [38]; and MS *immo cennuip*, ed. *imma cenna* ‘around their heads’ [52].
- f) Confusion of prepositions: *ar* for *for*¹¹¹⁹ in MS *ar crann siuil*, ed. *for crann* ‘upon the bedstead’ [1]; MS *ar theniuch*, ed. *fort enech* ‘on your honour’ [54]. MS *fria nech*, ed. *fri nech* ‘to anybody’ in [6] and [9] shows conflation of the prep. *fri* with *re*, later *ria*.

¹¹¹⁴ Breatnach (*SnaG* III, 4.12-15) discusses the retention of nasalisation after the acc. sg. when the noun is the direct object of the verb, among other examples of the retention of nasalisation into the MidIr. period, but he does not specifically discuss the loss/retention of nasalisation after a noun in the acc. denoting time (see *GOI* §249). See also *SnaG* IV, 3.3, for the use of nasalisation during the EModIr. period.

¹¹¹⁵ *SnaG* III, 6.6. See also *GOI* §468 for the beginnings of this in the loss of the dat. pl. form of the def. art.

¹¹¹⁶ *SnaG* III, 7.2. Breatnach notes, however, a small number of examples of the neut. form of the def. art. in MidIr.

¹¹¹⁷ *SnaG* III 5.1.

¹¹¹⁸ *DIL* I 101.87.

¹¹¹⁹ *SnaG* III, 13.4.

- g) Reanalysis of adverbs: MS *himugv*, ed. *in madae* ‘in vain’ [17], is an example of the reanalysis of the dat. sg. def. art.¹¹²⁰ to the prep. *i* ‘in, into’.¹¹²¹ *DIL* notes also that the form *mudu*, found also in *techt mudu* ‘going astray’, Wb. 16^d4, is the instrumental dative form of the noun *madae*, which is the form that comes to be used as the dat. sg. after the prep. *i* in MidIr. MS *anni*, *ani* in [36] and [41] respectively exhibit confounding of the neut. indef. pron. *ní* with the deictic *í* which was already apparent during the OIr. period¹¹²² and results in Mid.Ir. *an(n)í*. I know of only one example of *in madae* in OIr., i.e. at Wb. 19^d16.
- h) Independent stressed pronoun as subject of a verb in the passive:¹¹²³ MS *Ni linne a cumacc ar aillill. ocus medb dia coemsamuis dobertha do hi*, ed. ‘*Ní linni a cumacc, ol Ailill ocus Medb, dia:cuimsimmis do:bérthae dó*’ [40].
- i) Petrified neut. inf. pron. and occasional main clause lenition:¹¹²⁴ there are only two instances where the lenition after the petrified neut. inf. pron. is represented orthographically in the MS, i.e. MS *ro char*, ed. *ro:car* ‘he has loved’ [17] and MS *Ni thacmuictis na hingino*, ed. *Ní:tacmuictis inna ingena* ‘the maidens did not reach’ [30]. As McCone notes, main clause lenition was already beginning to take hold at the time of the ML. Glosses: ‘[...] it is presumably due to stray inroads from a lower register of speech in which pretonic vowels had already become /ə/. Notable examples are *ro:chrochsat* ‘they have crucified’ (Wb. 5c11), *du:thluchedar* ‘he asks’ (ML. 38^d1), *du:thluchim-se* ‘I ask’ (71^c20) [...]’.¹¹²⁵ The remaining examples contain the petrified neut. inf. pron. but not the lenition required by its presence (see section 2.1.3 (iii) above for further examples of missing lenition in the manuscript): MS *atconnuirc* in MS *in delb atconnuirc cina accalluib* ‘the figure which he has seen without speaking to her/him’ [4]; MS *atconnairc* in MS *ingin in crothaso atconnairc do mac* ‘the maiden, of the form which your son has seen’ [13]; MS *Atconnuirc* twice in [22]: MS *Atconnuirc ingin ina cotlud* ‘he has seen a maiden in his sleep’ and *ind ingin ro char .7 atconnuirc* ‘the maiden whom he loved and whom he has seen’; MS *Atfiadad* in MS *Atfiadad a scela doib* ‘they told them their tidings’ [35]; MS *atcuadadar* twice in [35]: *atcuadadar doib amal bui* ‘they had told them how she was’ and *atcuadatar a hainm .7*

¹¹²⁰ GOI §379.

¹¹²¹ *DIL* notes its usage as an adverbial phrase with *i*: ‘in Mid.Ir. usually *i mmudu*, later *i mmuda*, *a mudha*, [...]’ (*DIL M* 16.75).

¹¹²² GOI §489 f. states the following: “Accordingly, a relative clause may be preceded by either **aní** (§474), **ní** or **nanní**; from these a hybrid form **anní** has developed as early as ML. 90^b13.”

¹¹²³ *SnaG* III, 10.15.

¹¹²⁴ See section 2.1.3(iii) above for the omission of lenition in the MS.

¹¹²⁵ *EIV* 173.

ainm a hathar .7 *a senathar* ‘they had related her name and her father’s name and her grandfather’s name’ (MS *atcuadatar* is edited to pret. *ad:fídatar* below); MS *amal atconnatar* ‘as they had seen’ [35]; MS *atfet a scelo dia mac*, ed. *ad:fét a scéla dia macc* ‘he relates his news to his son’ [51].

- j) Incorrect spread of nasalising relative to clauses containing a subject or an adverbial antecedent:¹¹²⁶ MS *Is si iss ailldem rombui* ‘she was the most beautiful who was’ [2] (adverbial antecedent); and MS *in galar nombid fair* ‘the disease that ailed him’ (lit. ‘the disease that was upon him’) [8] (subject antecedent). See also the example *atngnead* [8] where the verb is in independent position; this in particular gives the impression that nasalisation was added after the preverb arbitrarily.
- k) ‘Petrified t’: MS *cid rot mbui* ‘what was wrong with him’ [6] (adverbial antecedent); MS *sercc tecmuis. rotcaruis* ‘love in absence with which you have loved’¹¹²⁷ [8] (*figura etymologica*).¹¹²⁸ The former contains a hypercorrect nasalising relative and the latter may contain a historically correct nasalising relative clause, which may occur, but is not obligatory,¹¹²⁹ in a *figura etymologica*. Interestingly, the same phrase in [6] recurs in [7], again with a historically incorrect nasalising relative clause, but without a ‘petrified t’. McCone discusses the use of a Class C inf. pron. *-(i)d* to mark a relative clause from the time of the Wb. glosses;¹¹³⁰ this may be the same as the *-t* present here and in the examples cited by Strachan as merely ‘ornamental’ in *Aislinge Meic Con Glinne* and in the *Passions and Homilies from the Leabhar Breac*.¹¹³¹ It is possible that the *-t* here is a hypercorrect spelling for lenited *-d*.
- l) There are two instances of the infixed pronoun being incorrectly used: the 3sg. f. Class C inf. pron. in MS *acht inatciethar nammaa*, ed. *acht ad-nda:cethar nammá* ‘only you may look at her’ [28]; and the 2sg. Class B inf. pron. in MS *Cotagair oenguss*, ed. *cotot:gair Óengus* ‘Óengus calls you’ [54].

¹¹²⁶ Ó hUiginn refers to ‘scribal familiarity with the construction in old texts’ as being a source of the later, hypercorrect usage of the nasalising relative (Ó HUIGINN 1986: 74).

¹¹²⁷ See the relevant textual notes to this section below on the phrase MS *sercc tecmuis*.

¹¹²⁸ Shaw notes also that ‘petrified *-n-* and *-t-* occur regularly’, the former referring to the hypercorrect spread of the nasalising relative and the latter referring to the presence of this additional element *t* (SHAW 1934: 32).

¹¹²⁹ Ó HUIGINN 1986: 69. Further on the nasalising relative, see MCCONE 1980.

¹¹³⁰ *EIV* 175.

¹¹³¹ One example cited by Strachan is as follows: *is é in fégad sin ro-t-cuir Petar* ‘it was that look that brought Peter [to earnest repentance]’, *PH* 3199 (STRACHAN 1904:172).

2.1.7 Middle Irish morphological developments

2.1.7.1 Nominal morphology

There are only a small number of features in the nominal morphology that are worth mentioning here. Whereas there are two examples of the use of a short dat. for the f-n-stem *Ériu* in [2] and [10], which favour an OIr. date (see section 2.1.4.1 above), there are a few examples of a development in the morphology of the consonantal stems in the acc. which appear to represent a change in the language; however, this process was already occurring during the Old Irish period. McCone comments that ‘only the *-(i)u* form penetrated the acc. sg.’;¹¹³² however, the spelling of the acc. sg. ending MS *hereo huile*, ed. *Érinn n-uili* ‘all of Ireland’, in [24] suggests either an analogical acc. sg. based on dat. sg. *-(a)e* (the *-o* being a scribal vagary) or that the ending MS *-eo* is a strange orthographic alternative for *-iu*, which is otherwise not employed in the AÓ text in this MS. The former appears to be the case and a second example of this short acc. based on the short dat. *-ae* appears again in AÓ in section [30]: acc. sg. MS *gualo* (for *gúalae*), ed. *gúalainn* ‘shoulder’ (however, see 2.1.9 below on how this may have been introduced by the EModIr. scribe).¹¹³³

The acc. sg. form *feimin* in the place-name *síd ar feimin* in section [27] indicates that the noun is being treated as an *ā*-stem with a palatal final consonant rather than an *o*-stem with a non-palatal final consonant, as would be expected in OIr.

2.1.7.2 Middle Irish verb forms

There is one example of, what appears to be, a form indicating the transition of a compound to a simple verb: 3pl. pres. ind. MS *cotlat* for OIr. *con:tuiet* in [55]. The stress is on the first syllable, i.e. it is prototonic, and the personal ending is still the expected 3pl. conj. with neutral final consonant; however, the verb is in independent position.¹¹³⁴ Breatnach gives further examples exhibiting an intermediate stage in the simplification of the compound verb during MidIr.: *taidbret* (from OIr. *do:aidbir*) ‘that they show’, SR 749; *tinólat* (from OIr. *do:inóla*) ‘they gather’, SR 8253; *túarcát* (from OIr. *do:fúairc*) ‘they crush’, SR 903.¹¹³⁵ Regarding these instances in *Saltair na Rann*, Breatnach notes the following: ‘b’fhéidir go bhfuil na samplaí le *-(a)it* le lua le dáta na LS seachas le dáta an téacs féin’.¹¹³⁶

¹¹³² MCCONE 1978: 28.

¹¹³³ See *GOI* §315 for the spread of the short dat. to the acc.

¹¹³⁴ Compare, for example, the MidIr. 3pl. form *cotlait* ‘they sleep’ with palatal final *-t* (LL 144b14; dipl. ed. LL 17986) in the poem attributed to the 12th-century poet Gilla in Choimded úa Cormaic (*A Rí richid réidig dam*, edited by MEYER 1910c).

¹¹³⁵ Examples from *SnaG* III, 12.17. This is not discussed by MCCONE, *EIV* 192–3.

¹¹³⁶ *SnaG* III, 12.17.

McCone notes the ‘free variation’ of the non-palatal and palatal ending of the pres. ind. pass. sg. that occurs during the Middle Irish period; there is one example of this phenomenon in the form MS *niroachuir* for OIr. *ní:roachar* (*ro:saig* ‘reaches’) in [17].¹¹³⁷

In the pret. 2sg., there is an innovative form with palatal final consonant in MS *indaithgein*, ed. *in:n-aithgén* (*ad:gnin* ‘recognizes’) [31]. A further example of this innovative form is found in *Táin Bó Froích: -aithchéin*.¹¹³⁸ To my knowledge, this is not documented among the MidIr. developments in the verb by Breatnach or McCone. A full survey of 2sg. suffixless pret. forms with palatal final consonant is a complicated endeavour as the most common forms of these verbs are the third persons; therefore, I am only in a position to add the following two examples of this palatalisation of the 2sg. suffixless pret. to illustrate this point: 2sg. *-coemnacair* (*con:icc* ‘is able’), *PH* 1754.

A well-documented Middle Irish innovation of the 3sg. personal ending is present in the 3sg. pret. form MS *-ebuir* for OIr. *-epert* in [6] with palatalisation of the final consonant; this is noted by McCone, who gives further examples of the MidIr. development.¹¹³⁹ The 3sg. act. perf. form of *do:tuit* ‘falls’, MS *adrochart* for OIr. *do:rochar* ‘he has fallen’, appears to contain an analogical final *t* of the t-pret.; historically, *do:tuit* forms a suppletive suffixless pret.¹¹⁴⁰ There is also one example in AÓ of palatalisation of the final consonant the 3sg. deponent ending in the s-pret., i.e. MS *Atgladustair*, ed. *atn:gládastar* [8].¹¹⁴¹

For the fut. 1sg. form MS *ragaid*, Shaw suggests a neut. suff. pron., i.e. *regait* ‘I will go it’, i.e. ‘I will go thus’.¹¹⁴² The 3sg. suff. pron. is frequently used with the verb *téit* in OIr. to express an adverbial sense; one further example in AÓ itself is MS *taeta*, ed. *téiti* ‘he goes it’ (i.e. ‘he goes thus’), in [55].¹¹⁴³ Even though it is grammatically viable for a 1sg. fut. in *-a*, such as *rega* ‘I will go’, to take the 3sg. suffixed pronoun *-it*, it must also be remembered that *-ait* is used for the 1sg. fut. ending during the MidIr. period. However, it is difficult to say when or where *-(a)it* became the 1sg. personal ending and when it was being used as a suffixed pronoun since the pronoun is not referring to a previously mentioned noun.¹¹⁴⁴ McCone discusses this development, noting that the 1sg. fut. in *-it* did not arise from petrification of the 3sg. m. n. suff. pron. and suggests rather that it was based on the

¹¹³⁷ *EIV* 228.

¹¹³⁸ Example taken from *DIL* A 58.35 (TBF 206).

¹¹³⁹ *EIV* 240; see also *SnaG* III, 12.44.

¹¹⁴⁰ *EIV* 215.

¹¹⁴¹ *EIV* 217.

¹¹⁴² SHAW 1934: 35 and 65, note 8.

¹¹⁴³ Multiple examples of both the infixed and suffixed neut. pron. with the verb *téit* are provided by *DIL* T 130.80 onwards. See also CARNEY 1971: 28.

¹¹⁴⁴ McCone notes this issue also (*EIV* 174).

development of 1pl. *-m(a)i* to *-mait*.¹¹⁴⁵ Examples of this MidIr. 1sg. fut. beyond the verb *téit* are supplied by McCone: *gébat-sa* ‘I will get’, *LL* 36634; *gébait-sa* ‘I will get’, *LL* 36635; and *failsigfit-sea* ‘I will reveal’, *LU* 173.¹¹⁴⁶ Furthermore, Damian McManus has provided me with the example *promfit* ‘I will try’ (*promaid*) from the Old Irish glossary *Sanas Cormaic* (Corm. Y 1052). In addition to these, see also the 1sg. fut. forms of *téit*, which, given the date of *Tochmarc Treblainne*, the Middle Irish text in which they are contained, cannot possibly signify the use of the suffixed pronoun: *regaid-se* and *regait*, both meaning ‘I will go’.¹¹⁴⁷ It is not unfortunately impossible to conclude whether the example of *ragaid* in the text of AÓ is innovative or not; for this reason, it is excluded as a dating diagnostic.

Finally, in the pres. subj. 2sg. MS *codogairiu*, ed. for *co-nda:garae* ‘so that you might call her’, the colouring of *r* indicates that this is a conflation of the pres. indic. and the *ā*-subj. This may have occurred by analogy with weak verbs such as *léicid*, e.g. OIr. pres. indic. 2sg. *léici*, pres. subj. 2sg. *léice*.¹¹⁴⁸

2.1.8 Miscellaneous grammatical and phonological features

There are two clear instances in which the scribe seems to employ a hypercorrect usage of neuter nasalisation: MS *dal mbliadnae* for *dál blíadna* ‘duration of one year’ [23] and MS *cinn mbliadnae* for *cinn blíadna* ‘at the end of a year’ [24]. In the first instance, there may have been confusion between the two different lexical items both spelled as *dál*; one *dál* ‘part, share’ is a *n-o*-stem and the other is the *f-ā*-stem *dál* ‘meeting’ (here ‘decision; respite’). Here, it is not possible to tell whether this is an intentional hypercorrection introduced after the OIr. period or an error that occurred during the Old Irish period at an early point in the tale’s transmission. There is no grammatical explanation or otherwise for the nasalisation after the dat. sg. form *cinn* in MS *cinn mbliadnae*, which is most likely a hypercorrect use of nasalisation; cf. also *co cenn mbliadna* in the Eg. version of *Tochmarc Étaíne*.¹¹⁴⁹ It is possible that the scribe knew that the noun *cenn* was accompanied by nasalisation at an earlier stage but that he did not understand why or under which circumstances. A similar example of this introduction of incorrect nasalisation is in the title *do thochmharc neimire* in the C list of *remscéla* to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* (see section 1.2.1.3 above); just as in *cinn* in the present example from section [24], *tochmarc* is an originally neuter noun in the dative singular and is followed by nasalisation.

¹¹⁴⁵ *EIV* 175.

¹¹⁴⁶ *EIV* 174.

¹¹⁴⁷ MEYER & POKORNY 1921: 176, ll. 17, 18.

¹¹⁴⁸ For further discussion and examples, see *EIV* 212.

¹¹⁴⁹ *Ir. Texte* 4:1, 121, l. 17.

The spelling MS *samfuin* for *samuin* in [48], [51] is most likely based on a folk etymology *sam* ‘summer’ + *fuin* ‘end; setting’.¹¹⁵⁰ As shown by the examples provided by DIL, there are multiple references to this etymology, including in the *Félire Óenguso* and *Tochmarc Emire*: e.g. *o shamuin, edhón sam-fuin .i. fuin an tsamraid ann, ZCP iii 245 §55* (Tochm. Em.)¹¹⁵¹ ‘from *samuin*, i.e. ‘summer-setting’, i.e. it is the end of the summer’ (lit. ‘the end of summer is in it’)¹¹⁵² (own translation).¹¹⁵³

Once the scribe gives MS *die* for gen. f. *dá* in MS *die geisiu*, ed. *dá géise* ‘of two swans’ [55].¹¹⁵⁴ This may have been motivated by the historically correct form of the numeral *di* before the nom. acc. sg. of the fem. noun *géis* ‘swan’. A similar example occurs in gen. sg. MS *di blíadna*, in which the gen. sg. form of the feminine noun *blíadain* is correct (once the spelling of the final unstressed vowel is normalised) but the feminine form of the numeral is incorrect; this is edited to *dá blíadnae*.

2.1.9 Early Modern Irish features

Surprisingly, given the 16th-century date of the manuscript, there are very few modernisations belonging to that period. An example of an orthographic modernisation appears in [37] MS *lion* for OIr. *lín* ‘number’ in section [37].¹¹⁵⁵ Similarly, in [12] the shape of the def. art. *an* betrays the date at which the text was copied. Grammatically, the scribe may have introduced the preverb *do* for *ad* in MS *do connarc*, ed. *ad:condarc* ‘I saw’, in section [32].

¹¹⁵⁰ For more on medieval Irish ‘etymological aetiology’, see BAUMGARTEN’s study (1990). See also the use of this spelling in *Echtrae Nerai* in the same MS as AÓ: *immon samfuin-si* ‘at samain’ (MEYER 1889: 220.86).

¹¹⁵¹ Example taken directly from DIL S 48.85; see VAN HAMEL 1933: 43, §55.

¹¹⁵² The primary meaning provided by DIL for *fuin* is ‘setting, sinking; sunset’ and it is used within the context of the setting sun: *iar fuin gréne, Met. Dinds. iii 280* (DIL F 475.39) ‘after [the] setting of [the] sun’. The etymologically related noun *fuined* is also used broadly in the sense of the ‘setting of the sun’, commonly with the qualifying genitive *gréine* (see DIL F 477.2). The second meaning of *fuin* as ‘end’ is described by DIL as ‘a sense hard to reconcile with the general use’. Long after the OIr. period, Keating glosses the word as meaning *críoch* ‘end’, Keat. i p. 98 (example provided by DIL F 475.49). The example presented above is contained in Version III of *Tochmarc Emire* in the section of the text explaining Cú Chulainn and Emer’s word-play, here with specific reference to In Benn Súain; given the context of the explanation for *samuin*, I believe the Cú Chulainn, the speaker in the tale, is using *fuin* with both senses ‘setting’ and ‘end’ within the same sentence.

¹¹⁵³ According to Pedersen, *samuin* is a cognate of the Gaulish *Samon*, gen. sg. *Samoni* (m-o-stem noun), ‘November’, found on the Calendar of Coligny, and it contains a nasal suffix found here as in other Gaulish months, e.g. *Ogron* and *Giamon* (see *Ped.* ii 56; for more on the contents of the calendar, see MAC NÉILL 1926-28). De Vendryes also comments on the relationship between *samain* and Sanskrit *samana-* ‘réunion, assemblée, fête’ (*Lex. Étym.* S-22).

¹¹⁵⁴ For similar spellings in the H 3.18 copy of the *dindsenchas* of Inber Cíochmaine, see BREATNACH 2012:42. See also MCCONE 2000: 37.

¹¹⁵⁵ See *SnaG* IV, 2.4 (21).

The form MS *-conicab* appears to contain a verbal stem from the scribe's own time, as I discuss in greater detail in [32] below. Acc. sg. MS *bret* for the expected form with a palatal final consonant *breith* in [32] may be an instance of syncretism of the acc. sg. with the nom. sg., which may have been introduced by the scribe.¹¹⁵⁶

Acc. sg. MS *ri* for *ríg* 'the king' in [19] and [27] may also be a slip of the pen; however, given that *rígh* survives as the acc. dat. sg. into Early Modern Irish,¹¹⁵⁷ it is possible that final *-g* has been omitted and does not represent a linguistic feature. However, according to Breatnach, who refers specifically to an example of this same noun, there are 'infrequent' examples of the confusion of the nom. and acc. sg. of *g*-stems during the MidIr. period, which may also account for the acc. sg. *rí*.¹¹⁵⁸ Similarly, the form acc. sg. *gualo* 'shoulder' for OIr. *gúalainn* in [30] may be an example of scribal interference on the part of the EModIr. scribe;¹¹⁵⁹ however, it could equally have been introduced during the late OIr. to early MidIr. period as a 'short' accusative, which came about by analogy with the 'short' dative (for examples of the 'short' dative in AÓ, see the discussion in section 2.1.4 above).¹¹⁶⁰

There is one example of the loss of the dental flexion in acc. pl. of *m-nt*-stem noun *cóeca* 'fifty', i.e. MS *coeco* for OIr. *cóecta* (*trí cóecta* 'three fifties') in [29], which may be due to the Early Modern Irish scribe as the form containing the dental is well attested throughout the MidIr. period.¹¹⁶¹ Alternatively, this may be an example of the of the singular noun instead of the plural after a numeral, which becomes common in the later periods.

The spelling *orlloisci* for (dat. sg.) *forloiscthiu* with the loss of the suffix *th* of the participle may be due to the EModIr. scribe, during whose time *th* would have been pronounced as /h/.¹¹⁶² In all, intrusions by the scribe or a predecessor from the EModIr. period are minor.

¹¹⁵⁶ According to McManus, the Irish Grammatical Tracts describe what were originally *f-ā*-stems as words 'asa tdéid a réim', i.e. that they had a separate form for the acc. sg. (*SnaG* IV, 4.14); however, this may not have reflected the linguistic reality of the time and the above may be an example of this.

¹¹⁵⁷ See *DIL* R 52.57.

¹¹⁵⁸ *SnaG* III, 5.11.

¹¹⁵⁹ Both long and short form are found in EModIr. (*SnaG* IV, 4.21).

¹¹⁶⁰ *GOI* §315.

¹¹⁶¹ See *SnaG* IV, 4.20; see also *SnaG* III, 5.11.

¹¹⁶² *SnaG* IV, 2.1.

2.1.11 Óengus' love-sickness

As explained in the summary of AÓ in section 1.5.3.5 above, Óengus becomes sick as a result of having seen a beautiful maiden during the night and having not been able to keep her in his company. This motif, as I explain in section 1.6.3.5 on the relationship of AÓ to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, features also in the related *Tochmarc* II, i.e. the second instalment in the tales known as *Tochmarc Étaíne*.¹¹⁶³ In the present section, I will outline how Óengus' love-sickness is documented in *Aislinge Óenguso*, comparing it with Boand's and Midir's in *Tochmarc* I and II respectively. In the process, I will look specifically at the terminology used to describe the different stages of Óengus' illness in AÓ, beginning with *galar* 'sickness', followed by MS *sercc tecmuis*; and I will highlight a similar instance of the expression of shame arising from a male protagonist suffering from love-sickness in *Tochmarc* II.¹¹⁶⁴ As the phrase MS *sercc tecmuis*, the name of Óengus' disease, requires investigation and commentary in order to be able to interpret and edit the tale, I devote special attention to this detail below and compare it with instances of the phrase *serc écmaise* 'love in absence' along with extant examples of the similar term *grád écmaise*.

As regards the stock terminology used to describe love-sickness, it is worth noting that Sarah Michie identifies a pattern in the depiction of the 'lover's malady' in EIr. literature, including in AÓ, *Tochmarc* II, *Serglige Con Culainn* and *Echtrae Chonnlai*, which would contribute to the idea that particular phrases, such as *serc écmaise* (see below), would be repeated with a similar meaning. She divides the various stages of the illness into *causa*, *signa* and *cura*, the terms used in medieval medical tracts.¹¹⁶⁵ There, Michie comments that the *signa*, the symptoms of the love-sickness, are not the same in all cases in EIr. literature. She gives the *causa* as: 'contemplation of the physical beauty of the lady through long-looking' or 'through a vision'; the *signa* as: the 'lover ceases to eat, sleep, or drink'; 'the lover keeps his love secret'; the 'lover is overcome with weakness and apathy and takes to his bed'; 'physicians are either baffled, or else diagnose the illness by means of (1) respiration and sighs, or (2) physical appearance of love'; and 'love (*sic*) prefers death to life because of his

¹¹⁶³ See GAIDOZ 1912: 91–7; BERGIN & BEST 1938: 138; and MICHIE 1937. This trope is widely found outside of Irish literature. One of the most frequently cited examples is the story of Nala and *Damayantī* in the third book of the Mahābhārata 'Nala and Damayantī'. Damayantī, living in a kingdom separate from Nala, develops an 'unseen-love' for him, who also becomes love-sick himself. Damayantī's father attempts to remedy his daughter's love-sickness by choosing a husband.

¹¹⁶⁴ One of Óengus' symptoms that I do not address here is his *socht* 'stupour' (see the textual notes to [36] below), which arises from his not having eaten, i.e. it is an indirect result of his love-sickness. Mac Dathó suffers from a comparable *socht* from fasting (*troscaid*) in *Scéla Muicce Meic Dathó* (THURNEYSSEN 1935: §3).

¹¹⁶⁵ LOWES 1914: 491; cited by MICHIE 1937: 304.

inability to possess the beloved'. Finally, Michie describes the *cura* as: the 'lover recovers by removal of the spell'; and the 'lover recovers by union with the beloved'.¹¹⁶⁶

In section [4] below, we are first introduced to the idea of Óengus' *galar* 'sickness', which is one of Óengus' *signa* of his love-sickness, having seen the maiden without being able to physically keep her. It must be noted that the term *galar* itself does not necessarily indicate a physical illness and that it often signifies a mental distress or grief; it is attested with this meaning from the time of the Milan glosses: e.g. *du thormuch galair* 'to increase grief', *ML*. 61^c3; *amal nech bis in aelscud ⁊ ingalar mór tribuith indomataid cen sommataid* 'one who is in longing and great distress through being in poverty without wealth', *ML*. 56^b26; *amal as már agalar de ⁊ as comacus du bas ⁊ as nephimgabthi* 'as his distress is great therefrom, and is nigh unto death and is unavoidable', *ML*. 40^b9. The idea that Óengus is suffering from an emotional grief is reinforced by the statement that precedes this section, namely, *nípo slán laiss a menmae* 'his mind was not easy' [3]. In *Tochmarc I*, we are told how the Boand is healed of her *galar* having had a secret relationship, resulting in the birth of their secret child Óengus, with the Dagdae; however, this is never mentioned before their union: *ba slán an bean dia galar cind Ealcmair, ⁊ nir airigistair fuirri a bine .i. teacht a coibligi an Dagdai* 'the woman was whole of her sickness when Elcmar returned, and he perceived not her offence, that is, that she had lain with the Dagda'.¹¹⁶⁷ Presumably, similar to Óengus in *AÓ*, the lack of physical contact is what caused the Boand to become love-sick in the first place but once a union has been made, the sickness is healed, as in the *cura* described by Michie.

Óengus loses his appetite because of his *galar* and, shortly afterwards in section [6], we are told that 'it (the maiden's visit/the maiden) put him into a decline': *MS con docorustar hi seurcc*. This could also be the word for 'love', i.e. *serc(c)* with final /c/. This phrase is used with the elipsis of *serc* 'decline' again in the same section: *MS focéird íarum* 'it put him [in a decline]'; this is repeated again in [17], i.e. *a:tá i seurc* 'he is in a decline'. This same phrase being uttered twice in such quick succession is noteworthy and it may represent a doublet in the text; for a similar example of a possible doublet in *AÓ*, see the textual notes to sections [12] and [13] in the edition below. The term *i searggalair* (ed. by Stokes as *searggalar*; this appears separately as *a serg ⁊ a ngalar* in the H 2.7 copy) is also used to describe Muirchertach's wasting state because of the food and wine prepared by the evil woman Sín in *Aided Muirchertaig meic Erca: Ó ri érig in ríg iarnabárach is amlaid ro boí mar do beith i*

¹¹⁶⁶ MICHIE 1937: 308.

¹¹⁶⁷ BERGIN & BEST 1938: 142, 143, §1.

*searg galair*¹¹⁶⁸ ‘When he rose on the morrow he was thus: as if he were in a decline’.¹¹⁶⁹ As noted by Michie, Muirchertach is subsequently stripped of his strength because Sín is poisoning him.¹¹⁷⁰ The term *serc* ‘wasting sickness’ is found also with the verb *fo:ceird* as describing how Ailill becomes love-sick for Étaín in *Tochmarc II: Focheird Ailill a sirg dé* ‘Ailill fell into a decline’.¹¹⁷¹

Eventually Óengus becomes so lovesick that his health begins to deteriorate and the physician Fíngen is summoned; these are elements of his *signa* outlined by Michie.¹¹⁷² Fíngen diagnoses Óengus as suffering from something called *sercc tecmuis* in the manuscript (see [8] and [17] below). This phrase is used with the verb *caraid* ‘loves’, i.e. MS *sercc tecmuis. rot caruis* [8] and MS *rochar seircc tecmuis* [17]. As I point out below, the meaning of *tecmuis* is not automatically apparent and Shaw edits it to *écmaise*, taking *serc* as the noun ‘love’, and the whole phrase to mean ‘a love of one who is absent’.¹¹⁷³ Shaw provides the following explanation: ‘The form **tecmuis** is peculiar. As is clear from the second example, it cannot be for **t’ecmuis** (with elided **o** of poss. pron.). On the other hand as the expression **sercc écmaise** is very common [...] and as it suits the context here, I venture to restore it.’¹¹⁷⁴ He provides no further insight regarding this expression and directs the reader to the examples of *écmais* in the dictionary. A separate entry is given for *écmaise* in *eDIL*, which it identifies as the negative of *coimse* with the meaning ‘immoderate’,¹¹⁷⁵ and *DIL* provides the examples involving *grád* ‘love’ in this entry, so that the dictionary’s stance is that this phrase means something along the lines of ‘an immoderate love’.¹¹⁷⁶ This is opposed to the entry provided for *écmais* meaning ‘absence’, which is more commonly found in the prepositional phrase with *t^N*, i.e. ‘in absence, absent’.¹¹⁷⁷ Drawing on Classical ModIr. examples, O’Rahilly concludes that *éagm(h)ais* contains ‘the negative prefix and O. Ir. *comgnas*’ with the meaning ‘non-company’, ‘non-presence’.¹¹⁷⁸ He comments also that, while there is no evidence to show that the *m* was or was not lenited from MidIr. sources, both are found in Irish sources from the 16th century onwards and that Scottish and Manx only ever show lenited *m*.¹¹⁷⁹ However, O’Brien, in his ‘Etymologies and notes’ regarded the phrase *grád écmaise* with an

¹¹⁶⁸ NIC DHONNCHADHA 1964: 14.7–8.

¹¹⁶⁹ Translation by STOKES (1902b: 410.8–9).

¹¹⁷⁰ MICHIE 1937: 311.

¹¹⁷¹ BEST & BERGIN 1934–8: 164.12.

¹¹⁷² See also MICHIE 1937: 311.

¹¹⁷³ SHAW 1934: 85.

¹¹⁷⁴ SHAW 1934: 46, n. 3.

¹¹⁷⁵ http://dil.ie/search?q=%C3%A9cmaise&search_in=headword (last accessed 16.12.17); O’BRIEN 1955: 179.

¹¹⁷⁶ <http://dil.ie/19602> (last accessed 18.08.17).

¹¹⁷⁷ O’RAHILLY 1942: 188.

¹¹⁷⁸ O’RAHILLY 1942: 190.

¹¹⁷⁹ O’RAHILLY 1942: 188–90.

unlenited *m* to be an ‘old expression’, the second element of which came to be conflated with the word *écmais* ‘absence’ ‘owing to the existence of the motif’.¹¹⁸⁰

Shaw’s remarks that ‘the expression **sercc écmaise** is very common’ is untrue. I know of only one extant example with *serc*, discussed presently; but otherwise, the expression that is more common, but still infrequent, is *grád écmaise*. This is obviously very close to *serc écmaise* semantically, but as I hope to show in the following, it appears in a specific context, which goes beyond that presented in AÓ. Additionally, the examples which I present below all appear in Middle Irish sources, giving the impression that the phrase or, more precisely, the trope involving *grád écmaise* was not popular until a matter of centuries after the composition of AÓ. I present examples below from *Aislinge Meic Con Glinne*, *Tochmarc Treblainne*, *Cóir Anmann* and *Echtra Airt meic Cuinn 7 Tochmarc Delbchaíme ingine Morgáin*, and the *Betha Colaim Chille* compiled by Manus O’Donnell.

Beginning firstly with the example from the Middle Irish *Aislinge Meic Con Glinne*, ‘The Dream of Mac Con Glinne’, in the *Leabhar Breac*, *cétshercus écmaise* is given as the root cause of Cathal mac Finguine’s having been possessed by the ‘demon of gluttony’:

Is hé trá fáth airicc in luin chraís i mbrágait Chathail meic Fhinghuine, dáig boí cétshercus écmaise dó fria Lígaig ingin Moíle Dúin, ríg Oilig, [...].¹¹⁸¹

‘The reason of the demon of gluttony¹¹⁸² being in the throat of Cathal MacFinguine [*sic*] was, because he had, though he had never seen her, a first love for Lígach, daughter of Mældúin [*sic*], king of Ailech; [...].’¹¹⁸³

The story goes that Lígach sent Cathal apples as a sign of her affection until her brother found out and had the apples cursed, so that the ‘demon of gluttony’ grew inside Cathal mac Finguine. As this is a satirical piece, a certain degree of irony might attach itself to the excess of Cathal’s love for Lígach, which was the eventual cause for his uncontrollable gluttony; and, therefore, the meaning of *serc écmaise* should be understood rather as ‘an excessive love’. On the other hand, Uhlich argues that we should understand *fria Lígaig* to be the agent and *dó* ‘to him’, Cathal, to be the recipient, i.e. ‘because he was a first love by Lígach’, that is, Lígach expressed a *cétshercus* for Cathal mac Finguine.¹¹⁸⁴ This impacts the important distinction between *serc/grád écmaise* ‘love in absence’, usually experienced by a woman, versus a wasting ‘love-sickness’, which is experienced by men. In the following I give multiple examples of *serc/grád écmaise*, followed by examples of love-sickness experienced

¹¹⁸⁰ O’BRIEN 1956: 179.

¹¹⁸¹ JACKSON 1990:II. 20–2.

¹¹⁸² The *lon craís* literally means ‘blackbird of gluttony’.

¹¹⁸³ MEYER 1892:2, l. 20.

¹¹⁸⁴ UHLICH 2012:946.

by men in order to highlight this contrast and, in doing so, illustrate why emending MS *sercc tecmuis* to *serc écmaise* is highly problematic.

The *grád écmaise* experienced by Treblann for Fróech mac Fidaig in the mid-12th-century¹¹⁸⁵ tale *Tochmarc Treblainne* ‘The Wooing of Treblann’ lends itself to the theory that ‘love in absence’ is particular to female characters. There it is described how Treblann always admired the man from a distance:

[...] do (ba)dh dībh sin Treblann inghin Frōeich meic Āenghusa a Sīth (a)n brogha tucstar grādh n-īmcīan n-ēcmaisi do Frōech ar a cūala do uirscēlaib a engnuma.¹¹⁸⁶

[...] and one of those was Treblann daughter of Fróech son of Áengus of Síd an Broga (New Grange) who gave “love in absence” to Fróech because of all she had heard of the tales of his valour.’¹¹⁸⁷

The term used here is *grád imchían écmaise*. This example presents the familiar theme of a woman loving a man from afar based on stories of his prowess occurs with the mention of Fróech’s *airscéla* ‘famous tales’.¹¹⁸⁸ It being a love from a distance is explicitly stated with the use of the adjective *imchían* ‘very far’. A second reference to her *grád écmaise* appears later in the tale:

Is annsin rofiarfaid Treblann don echlaidh delb Frōich 7 a ēgcosc, ūair nochan faicadh si ē 7 grādh ēcmaisi tuc si dō, [...].¹¹⁸⁹

‘Then Treblann asked the messenger about Fróech’s form and his appearance, for she had not seen him and it was “love in absence” that she gave him, [...].’¹¹⁹⁰

Again, in both instances the meaning of *écmaise* as ‘immoderate’ or ‘excessive’ fits the context of the first stages of falling in love with an individual without yet having become acquainted with him/her; however, this is not to the extent that it might rule out a meaning ‘love in absence’.

Another example of a woman experiencing *grád écmaise* (here spelled *gradh égmaisi*) is presented in the Middle Irish *Cóir Anmann* ‘Fitness of Names’, again within the context of a woman loving a man for his *airscéla*. Eógan Mór visits Spain and, while he is there, the daughter of Éber, a Spanish king, falls in love with Eógan *ara urscélaib* ‘for his fame’.¹¹⁹¹

¹¹⁸⁵ JENNINGS 1997: 73.

¹¹⁸⁶ MEYER & POKORNY 1921: 167, ll. 14–17.

¹¹⁸⁷ JENNINGS 1997: 74.

¹¹⁸⁸ See Michie 1937: 310.

¹¹⁸⁹ MEYER & POKORNY 1921: 169, ll. 10–12; this particular example is provided under the DIL entry for *écmais/in* the eDIL entry for *écmaise*, whereas the first example from *Tochmarc Treblainne* is not.

¹¹⁹⁰ JENNINGS 1997: 75.

¹¹⁹¹ ARBUTHNOT 2007: 10, §38.

The context of this phrase's usage is the same as that in *Tochmarc Treblainne*, in that the woman feels a strong sense of loving for a man she has never met or even seen.

In a later tale, the Early Modern Irish *Echtra Airt meic Cuinn 7 Tochmarc Delbchaíme ingine Morgáin* 'The Adventure of Art mac Cuinn and the Wooing of Delbcháem ingen Morgáin', the same formula appears in that an Otherworld maiden who comes in search of Art mac Cuinn says that she had a *grád écmaise* for him for his reputation (*airscéla*):

Freclas an ingin 7 adbert curub a Tír Tairngire tainic d'iarraigh Airt meic Cuind da *tuc gradh hecmaisi ara scelaib*, [...].

'The maiden answered, and said that she was come from the Land of Promise in quest of Art, whom she had loved from afar, because of the tales about him.'¹¹⁹²

Later again, and thematically diverging from all other contexts of the usage of *serc/grád écmaise*, is the example in *Betha Colaim Chille*, in which the children of the king of India travel to meet Colum Cille out of their *grád écmaise* for him. Similar to the examples given thus far, the love has come about as a result of the stories of his reputation. They risk their lives in the journey to meet him:

tucatar cland naemtha do bi ag righ na hIndía *gradh ecmaise dó fana tuarascbail* [...].

'for the tidings they heard of him the holy children of the King of India conceived love for him though absent.'¹¹⁹³

The sense of this trope has been transferred here to a religious context; however, the formula remains the same. The common denominator among the foregoing examples is the mention of the male love-interest's (or male saint's) *airscéla* which inevitably leads the maiden (or followers in the case of the last mentioned example) to experience the emotion of *grád écmaise*.¹¹⁹⁴ The way in which the woman usually expresses her *grád écmaise* is not with the verb *caraid* 'loves', as in the two examples in *Aislinge Óenguso*, but in all instances with some form of the verb *do-beir*. The circumstances for this trope in AÓ are inverted in that it is a man, rather than a woman, who seeks the woman's love, and he does not do so for the woman's *airscéla* but because he has met her and been deprived of her physical affection, as in the case of Ailill Ánguba in *Tochmarc Étaíne* (*Tochmarc* II). There is also never any mention of the woman becoming physically sick to the point of death for love of the man in any of these examples involving a woman experiencing *grád écmaise*. Given the differences

¹¹⁹² BEST 1907: 152, 153, §6.

¹¹⁹³ O'KELLEHER 1918: 106.3–4.

¹¹⁹⁴ O'RAHILLY first alluded to this distinction (1942: 188): 'In early Irish tales it is almost a convention that the hero falls in love with the heroine, or (more usually) the heroine with the hero, without their ever having seen each other'.

between AÓ and tales containing *serc/grád écmaise*, it becomes clear that Óengus' case does not fit the expected requirements of this particular trope.

Another aspect of the love-sickness experienced by Óengus in AÓ and Ailill in *Tochmarc* II is the shame that accompanies it; Michie touches on the matter of keeping the love a secret, but does not expand on the fact that, once revealed in AÓ, Óengus' illness essentially represents a kind of indignity. This may be the antithesis to the warrior image of Cú Chulainn in *Tochmarc Emire*, for example, who, although he promises his love to Emer, is not depicted as experiencing any longing for her *per se*. While Cú Chulainn sets out on a quest that will ensure his union with her, thus exhibiting his commitment to taking her as a partner, he is also depicted as the virile young man, having multiple sexual encounters and even fathering a child in the process.¹¹⁹⁵ On the other hand, in section [9] below, upon his illness being diagnosed, Óengus comments: ed. *do:rochar im dochraid* 'I have fallen into my shamefulness'. Ailill Anguba's love for Étaín is similarly shameful; however, his is tinted by coveting his brother's wife, so that it cannot be distinguished whether the cause of his shame is this latter fact or his love-sickness. Another difference between Ailill's illness and Óengus' is that of the former is caused by a spell cast upon him by the *síd*-man Midir, who explains to Étaín that he placed the love in Ailill's mind so that it caused him to wither away.¹¹⁹⁶ This is another aspect common to two tales relating a man's love-sickness that does not appear as part of the trope when the woman experiences *serc/grád écmaise* in any of the examples listed above. As noted by Michie, the Eg. version of *Tochmarc Étaíne* adds more information as to the suffering of Ailill and his encounter with his brother Eochaid, in which the latter places his hand on Ailill's chest; here, I cite the edition by Windisch and translation by Gaidoz from his discussion of the 'mal d'amour':

Tarusair imorro d'Oilill ann sin co cenn m-bliadna hi sirgalur ocus hi sírsnim ocus nir attain do nech a ghalur. Is ann sin dochúaid Eochaid d'físs a brathar ocus tucc a laim dar a uchtbrúinne ocur tug Ailill a ossnam ass. "Indeo", bar Eochaid, "ni ba dirsamn in galur sin am", uar Eochaid, "ocus cinnus atai indusa acach deit."¹¹⁹⁷

'Il resta là jusqu'au bout d'un an, dans une longue maladie et en souffrance, et il n'avoua à personne sa maladie. C'est alors qu'Eochaid vint pour prendre des nouvelles de son frère: il lui mit la main sur la poitrine et Ailill poussa un soupir: "En ce

¹¹⁹⁵ That said, the women who induce love-sickness usually come from the Otherworld, whereas Emer does not (see MICHIE 1937: 312).

¹¹⁹⁶ BERGIN & BEST 1934–8: 170, 171, §8.

¹¹⁹⁷ *Ir. Texte* 4:1, 121, ll. 17–22.

moment”, dit Eochaid, “ce sera pas une bien grave maladie en vérité.” . . . “Comment es-tu?” dit Eochaid.’¹¹⁹⁸

Gaidoz remarks that, in this instance, Eochaid is listening to his brother’s heartbeat;¹¹⁹⁹ Michie refers to the irregular heartbeat as one of the *signa* of love-sickness. If Gaidoz’s assertion is correct, the Eg. version of *Tochmarc Étaíne* presents a development in the type of symptoms experienced by a man with ‘love-sickness’. Although Óengus’ *serc* ‘wasting illness’ is mentioned, this particular symptom does not feature.

Regarding the difference of wording between *serc/grád écmaise* and that used for Óengus’ ailment, it must be noted that both examples in AÓ appear to be used with *caraid* ‘loves’, i.e. as the object antecedent in [8] and with a simple object connection in [17] to a *figura etymologica*.¹²⁰⁰ The title given to this tale in the D list of *remscéla* tale-titles may be imitating this phrase in AÓ: *Don tseirc ro char mac in oicc chaire heabarbaithi*. DIL documents only one other example of *serc* used with *caraid* in ML, where the *figura* contains a connected object:

inneitso .i. combad cutrummae frisenseirc rocar crist inneclais ‘this extent, to wit, that it should be equal to the love wherewith Christ loved the Church’, ML 65^{d5}.¹²⁰¹

Serc in this instance refers to sacred love for the church rather than the profane love of/for a woman.

An additional example of *serc* being used with the verb *caraid* is found in Rec. II of *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*; it refers also to the woman loving the man from afar based on his *airscéla*; however, it is not expressly stated that hers was a *serc écmaise*:

‘[...] ní étas form fo bithin rot-carusa seirc lelbhán óba túalaing labartha, ar th-airscélaib 7 t’ánus, 7 nít-acca riam 7 atot-gén fo chétóir ar do thúarascbáil.’¹²⁰²

‘[...] It was not obtained from me [by them] because I have loved you with a child’s love since I could speak for your renown and your splendour and I never saw you before but I recognized you straight away because of description[s] of you.’ (Own translation)

Another example is found in the *Félire Óengusso*. Stokes’ translation gives the gen. sg. *ríg* as introducing an object antecedent to the relative clause rather than *serc*:

Victor ocus Maxim | im Christ cota-ruicset | ar seirc rí g ro charsat | inna fuil fotruicset.

¹¹⁹⁸ GAIDOZ 1912: 93.

¹¹⁹⁹ GAIDOZ 1912: 94.

¹²⁰⁰ See STÜBER 2012.

¹²⁰¹ Translation from *Thes. Pal.* i. This example is also included under the dictionary entry for *caraid* ‘loves’ (DIL C 73.58).

¹²⁰² KNOTT 1936: §3, ll. 54-6.

‘Victor and Maxim, for Christ they have brought themselves: for affection towards the King whom they have loved they bathed them in their blood.’¹²⁰³

Of the examples presently available to me, none of those containing the combination *caraid* ‘loves’ and *serc* ‘love’ appear also with *écmaise*.

As the collection of examples presented above seem to preclude the possibility that Óengus is suffering from a type of *serc écmaise*, which also only appears during the MidIr. period, it is now necessary to turn to other interpretations of *sercc tecmuís* by looking at the lexical items *tecmáis* (see also the adj. *tecmaisech*¹²⁰⁴ and the related noun *tecmáisin*). The noun *tecmáis* is not well-attested and there are no examples of its use in other EIr. literature of this type nor are there any parallels with *sercc* or *grád* available; *DIL* gives the meaning ‘chance, hap, accident’ and there is one example of it in the gen. sg. *teccmáisi*, so that it seems to be treated like an \bar{t} -stem, i.e. nom. sg. *tecmáis*, gen. sg. *tecmáise*.¹²⁰⁵ However, it is possible that this should be understood as originally an \bar{a} -stem in the dat. sg., which has come to be used for the nom., which is not uncommon in the case of verbal nouns (e.g. *tabart*, dat. sg. *tabairt*); unfortunately, there are too few examples available to comment on this conclusively. The sense of this noun might extend further beyond ‘chance, hap’ to ‘visiting’ or ‘meeting’; the vb. to which *tecmáis* is related, *do-ecmaing*, carries the meaning ‘meets’ in certain contexts but this is, granted, usually in combination with a preposition.¹²⁰⁶ Hypothetically, this might refer to a love-sickness that comes about as a result of a man being visited by a woman in the middle of the night. As this seems the most likely interpretation, I use this in the edited text below and translate it as a ‘chance love’, which is presumably what Müller meant with his translation ‘accidental love’.

2.1.12 Verbal parallelism in AÓ

There are multiple instances of the rhetorical device of verbal parallelism throughout AÓ, whereby the same words and syntactical patterns are repeated. Repetition of formulae in itself is, of course, a common feature in Early Irish literature and performs a structural function, e.g. the description of the hosts by Lomnae Drúth in *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* (‘*at-chonnarc [...] ann [...]. Samailte lat, a Fír Rogain*’, ‘I saw [...] there. [...] Identify that, Fer

¹²⁰³ *Fél.* May 8.

¹²⁰⁴ This adjective is attested from the EModIr. period onwards and seems unlikely to be intended here. It carries two meanings: (a) ‘accidental, fortuitous’ and (b) ‘contagious’; the latter sense is used exclusively with *galar* and refers to a bovine disease and the former is not found in the context of ‘love’ (*DIL* s.v. *tecmaisech*).

¹²⁰⁵ This gen. sg. form is fixed by rhyme: *Tucc tiodhlacadh teccmáisi | Aris do Maodhócc maoineach, | Ferann is áit ecllaisi, | Dana comainm Clúain Cláideach* (BNnÉ 228.25–8).

¹²⁰⁶ For examples, see *DIL* D1 248.32.

Rogain!'), followed by the identification of the hosts by Fer Rogain ('*Ní anse damsa a samail. [...]*', 'It is not difficult for me to identify it/them. [...]').¹²⁰⁷ However, the application of the repetition in AÓ is less monotonous, formulae are not restricted to certain characters, and it is not a symptom of a wider stylistic device, i.e. in the case of BDD, the 'watchman device'.¹²⁰⁸ This usage in AÓ subtly creates a sense of narrative symmetry, which has not gone unrecognized: Ó Cathasaigh in his paper on 'knowledge and power' in AÓ draws attention to the journey of unknowing to knowing by repeating similar phrases indicating this process;¹²⁰⁹ he notes also the recurrence of the phrase *ní bae* 'it does not matter'.¹²¹⁰ Both of these and other examples of parallelism within the context of narrative structure will be addressed below. As I point out in the discussion, more importantly still for our understanding of the text is that the use of parallelism in AÓ aids a text critical issue in identifying a verb form in [28]. Before touching on this, I will begin firstly by presenting some obvious cases of parallelism and the narrative that surrounds their usage.

Phrases using the verb *ro:fitir* 'knows' are repeated throughout AÓ, as noted by Ó Cathasaigh in his literary analysis of the tale. Óengus is presented as being in a state of unknowing when the maiden Cáer departs from him having visited him in the middle of the night: *Nícon:fitir cía árluaid úad*, 'He did not know whither she had departed from him' [3]. Before his diagnosis, people around him begin to notice something is wrong and the narrator comments: *Ní:fitir nech cid ro:mboí*, 'Nobody knew what was the matter with him' [6]. All the physicians of Ireland are then gathered together and, despite their combined expertise, we are told: *Nícon:fetatar-som cid ro:mboí asendad*, 'They did not know what ailed him in the end' [7]. In the the latter two examples, the exact same phrasing is used after *ro:fitir*, i.e. *cid ro:mboí*, making [6] and [7] very close parallels. When the hunt for Cáer begins, the lack of knowledge shifts from not knowing Óengus' illness to not knowing the source of his cure, i.e. the maiden Cáer: '*Nícon:fetammar i n-Ére cí airm i:tá ind ingen*', "'We do not know where in Ireland the maiden is'" [22]. Eventually, when she is found by Bodb, Óengus asks who she is, to which Bodb responds: '*Fetar écin*', *ol Bodb*, "'I know"', said Bodb' [33]. Attention then shifts to procuring the maiden; in this case, the source of knowledge is her father Ethal, who knows before he even speaks with Ailill and Medb why he has been summoned: '*Ro:fitir aní*

¹²⁰⁷ KNOTT 1936: 1067–1394.

¹²⁰⁸ This is discussed in detail by O'CONNOR (2013: 154–192, 236–29), who includes in his discussion the similar example in *Toichim na mBuiden* 'The March of the Companions' (O'RAHILLY 1976: 3544–3870; O'RAHILLY 1967: 4237–4599) in the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* between Mac Roth, the watchman, and Fergus, the exile, who identifies his former people by the description of their appearances (see in particular O'CONNOR 2013: 173)

¹²⁰⁹ Ó CATHASAIGH 1997: 434.

¹²¹⁰ Ó CATHASAIGH 1997: 435.

dia:congarar ‘“He knows the reason for which he is called”’ [43]. Once all information about Cáer’s practice of changing shape every second year, etc., has been divulged, Ethal states that the Dagdae now knows: ‘*óre ro:fetar a aicned*’, “since you [now] know her disposition” [49]. Therefore, the use of parallelism with the verb *ro:fitir*, although repetitive, highlights a prime thematic concern, i.e. the search that will inevitably save Óengus’ life; it creates an overall narrative harmony with the question of her identity being answered by the end by verbal parallels.

One phrase that is repeated four times is the description of the maiden with the attributive genitive of *cruth* and demonstrative, i.e. *ingen in chrotho-so* ‘a maiden of this form’. It appears first in [10] when Óengus is diagnosed by Fíngen and he tells that a beautiful maiden has visited him: ‘*Do-m:ánaic ingen álaind in chrotho-so ass áildem i nÉre*’, “a beautiful maiden of such a form that is the most beautiful in Ireland came to me” [10]. Again in [13], Fíngen orders that Ireland be searched for the maiden, specifically *ingen in chrotho-so*: ‘*dúus in:n-étar úait ingen in chrotho-so*’, “to see if a maiden of this form may be obtained by you”. In section [23], Cáer still has not been found and the Dagdae orders Bodb to find the maiden: ‘*co:comtastar úait fon n-Érinn in n-ingin in chrotho-so*’, “that you should search throughout Ireland for a maiden of this form”. Finally, in [25] Bodb announces that he has found her: ‘*fo:fríth ind ingen in chrotho-so*’ “A maiden of this form has been found”. Once the maiden is found, the focus shifts as to how Óengus will procure her and how doing so is no ordinary task because of her metamorphosis; the repeated references to her specific *cruth* ‘form, shape’, therefore, are contextualised further as, not only referring to her unusual beauty, but also as having anticipated the swan-motif and a secondary difficulty that occurs later in the tale.

The repeated use of the pret. pass. form *fo:fríth*, similar to *ro:fitir* above, maps a journey of not being able to acquire the maiden to acquiring the maiden; here, the parallel creates a semantic mirror. It occurs in section [14]: *Nícon:fríth ní [ba] cosmuil di*, ‘Nothing like her was found’; and the Boand adds also that help was not found: *Nícon:fríth cobair isind-í-sú* [14]. This matter is later concluded with the same use of the verb, reiterating the primary goal and echoing the wording earlier in the tale: ‘*fo:fríth ind ingen in chrotho-so*’, “a maiden of this form was found” [25].

The series of events is also established by repeating the verb *timmarnad do* ‘an order to/it has been ordered to’ (see section [23] for more on its grammatical usage), which acts as a catalyst in their fact-finding mission about the maiden. Firstly, an order is sent to Bodb from

the Dagdae: *'Timmarnad duit ón Dagdu'* [23]; later an order is sent to the Dagdae from Bodb: *'Timmarnad duit ó Bodb'* [26]; and eventually to Ethal Anbúail from Ailill and Medb: *'Timmarnad duit ó Ailill 7 Meidb'* [42].

In section [28] below, the use of parallelism in AÓ becomes a convenient tool for helping to identify which verb form was intended with MS *cid dognae*; the repeated formula creates a certain sense of predictability. Beginning with section [26], a messenger announces that Óengus is to go with Bodb to identify the maiden; the verbs *ad:gnin* 'recognizes' and *ad:cí* 'sees' are used here: *'Táet ass Óengus linni a dochum dúus in:n-aithgne in n-ingin co-nda:accathar'*, "Let Óengus come out with us to her to see if he recognizes the maiden so that he may look at her". When Óengus meets Bodb, they spend three days and nights feasting before the latter makes a statement similar to that made by the messenger in the previous example, except for the change of form of *ad:cí*: *'Tair as trá,' ol Bodb, 'dúus in:n-aithgne in n-ingin co-nda:aiccther.'* "Come out now," said Bodb, "to see whether you might recognize the maiden, so that you might look at her" [28]. The obscure verb form mentioned above occurs in the sentence directly following this in section [28]: *'Cid dognae (MS), ní:s:cumcaim-si a tabairt acht ad-n-da-cether nammá'*, "Although you might recognize her, I cannot take her – you may only look at her" [29]. It seems plausible that, given the preceding examples of the parallel wording that the intended verb here is a form of *ad:gnin* also. Finally, when Óengus and Bodb arrive at the lake to identify the maiden, Bodb uses the same verb again: *Is and as:bert Bodb: 'In:n-aithgén in n-ingin n-ucut?' 'Aithgén écin,' ol Óengus,* "Then Bodb said: "Did you recognize the maiden yonder?" "I do indeed," said Óengus" [31].

The result of this use of limited language is quite a simplified but well-structured tale that actively provides solutions and answers to the dilemmas faced by its characters. Whether the composer used this intentionally as a rhetorical device would have to be investigated within the context of the style of the entire tale. Given other noteworthy features such as the use of asyndetic sentences (see section 1.7.10), a large proportion of dialogue, and, as Shaw has pointed out, a preponderance for passive constructions, it seems plausible that this too represents yet another narrative technique.

2.1.13 Regarding the name of the maiden: using external examples as a guide

The spelling *Iborneith* for Cáer's cognomen has become the standard spelling of the epithet in modern scholarly writing: it was first used by Rudolf Thurneysen in his *Die irische Helden- und Königsage*, later by Francis Shaw in his edition of AÓ, and, more recently, by Ó

Cathasaigh who also includes a length mark above the vowel of the second syllable, i.e. Iborméith.¹²¹¹ Before that, Eugene O’Curry and Edward Müller, two 20th-century scholars, interpreted the division of the elements of the name differently: O’Curry took the first element of the epithet as belonging to the the girl’s name, i.e. Coerabar boeth; and Müller understood the first syllable of the epithet as belonging to the first name, i.e. Caerib Ormeith.¹²¹² However, we can say with certainty that the maiden’s first name is indeed monosyllabic Cáer, as Óengus addresses her by her first name only elsewhere in the tale (i.e. once in [54], MS *a chaer*). Neither Thurneysen nor Shaw offer a translation of the epithet or an attempt to interpret it. Furthermore, Dillon and Carney do not use her name at all when giving an account of the story, with the former referring to her simply as ‘the girl’ and Carney as ‘the daughter of Ethal Anbual’.¹²¹³ Only Cross and Brown (1918) in their translation of *Airne Fíngéin* provide an interpretation of the name as ‘Silly Berry’. Before offering interpretations of this name, I will first provide examples of it in AÓ and elsewhere.

Since there is only one manuscript witness to *Aislinge Óenguso*, I revert to other external examples to add to the discussion about the interpretation and, as a result, possible standardization of the maiden’s epithet. To my knowledge, in addition to the example of Cáer’s name, including her cognomen within *Aislinge Óenguso*, there are seven others:

1. MS caer^{ib}ormeth (Brit. Libr. Egerton 1782, fo. 70b; *Aislinge Óenguso* [33]);
- 2a. MS coer abarboeth (RIA Leabhar Breac, p. 242b52; *Scúap a Fánait*);
- 2b. MS caer abarbaeth (RIA D iv.2, fo. 48vb24; *Scúap a Fánait*);
- 3a. MS coer abhartaich (Chatsworth, Book of Lismore, fo. 138vb30; *Airne Fíngéin*);
- 3b. MS coer abartaig (RIA Liber Flavus Fergusiorum, part 1, fo. 27vb1; *Airne Fíngéin*);
- 3c. MS cær abartaig (RIA Book of Fermoy, p. 20b14; *Airne Fíngéin*);
- 3d. MS caoer abarbæth (RIA D iv.2, fo. 44va26; *Airne Fíngéin*) (-ao- in *caoer* is a ligature in the MS);

¹²¹¹ Held. 249, 302; Shaw 1934: 55, § 8; Ó CATHASAIGH 1997: 430. GANTZ too uses this spelling in his translation of AÓ (1981: 110), as does TALBOT (1982: 38).

¹²¹² O’CURRY 1861: 426 and MÜLLER 1876–78: 438 respectively.

¹²¹³ DILLON 1948: 53–4; CARNEY 1955: 63. I cannot say whether Carney and Dillon avoided the name for want of a proper translation or interpretation of it but, in the case of Dillon, it is otherwise his policy to give names and epithets along with an accompanying translation, at least where possible. This must have prompted the many nameless references to the maiden that we find scattered throughout modern scholarship, e.g. DRAAK 1962: 92–3 and BITEL 1991: 43–4.

4. MS *caire* heabarbaithi (RIA D iv.2, fo. 47vb25; *remscéla* list).

All examples of the name appear in subject position, except for number 4 (see below). An example of Cáer's name appears in both manuscripts¹²¹⁴ containing the Middle Irish composite tale *Scúap a Fánait*; it is a short story based on a combination of the *dindsenchas* of Crotta Clíach with an account of the apocalyptic feast of John the Baptist (see Appendix 1). The original account of the apocalypse is found in the *Féilire Óenguso*¹²¹⁵ in the section on the Passion of John the Baptist. The *dindsenchas* of Crotta Clíach used in this tale is contained also in the *Rennes Dindshenchas*.¹²¹⁶ Cáer's name is also preserved in full in all four manuscripts of *Airne Fíngein* 'Fíngen's Nightwatch', which itself belongs to the late Old Irish to early Middle Irish period.¹²¹⁷ The final example of Cáer's full name appears in a title contained in the D title-list of *remscéla* to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* (see section 1.2.1.2 above on the D list), i.e. in the 15th-century MS D iv.2. Notably, three of the references to Cáer occur within this manuscript, i.e. D iv.2, and in close succession. This may have had an effect of the consistency of the spelling of the name in this manuscript.

Cáer's first name appears simply to be the noun *cáer* 'berry'; this is spelled variously in examples above as Cóer and Cáer with interchange of *a* and *o* of the diphthong.¹²¹⁸ Example 8 above in the title *Don tseirc ro char mac in oicc chaire heabarbaithi* 'Regarding the love with which the Mac Óc loved Cáer Ibormeith', *chaire* seems to give the gen. sg. of the *f-ā*-stem *cáer* followed by *h*-mutation after the gen. sg. but the acc. is expected here with concomitant nasalisation; lenition of initial *c*, at least, indicates that maybe it is being treated as the object of the sentence.¹²¹⁹ I cannot provide an explanation for this unless it is assumed that something has been lost from the sentence that originally governed this noun in the gen. here. In examples 2a, 2b, 3d and 4 Cáer's *cognomen* appears to be a dithematic compound, composed of *eabar-/abar-/ibor-* and *-bóeth/-báeth*. Examples 3a, 3b, and 3c above from the Book of Lismore, the *Liber Flavus* and the Book of Fermoy respectively, three of the four copies of *Airne Fíngein*, show a possible reanalysis of the name; *abartaich/abartaig* appears to be the gen. sg. of a *m-o*-stem, perhaps a substantivised adjective, *abartach* 'one who performs feats'. An *abairt*, upon which *abartach* is based, means either a 'trick, feat' or a

¹²¹⁴ The 15th-century Leabhar Breac, p. 242b and the 15th-century MS D iv.2, f. 48vb.

¹²¹⁵ *Fél.* 190.

¹²¹⁶ STOKES 1895: 440–1, §47.

¹²¹⁷ Edited by VENDRYES 1953 and extant in the following manuscripts: the Book of Fermoy, ff. 24ra–25ra; *Liber Flavus Fergusiorum*, part 1, ff. 27rb–28ra8; MS D iv.2, ff. 46a; Book of Lismore, ff. 138a–139d.

¹²¹⁸ Cáer is not a common first name in the literature. However, it appears as a placename in the *Betha Choluim Chille* in the Leabhar Breac: Cáer na mBrocc (STOKES 1877: 100, 101).

¹²¹⁹ *SnaG* III, 4.6; see also *SnaG* IV, 3.1.

‘performance’, which suits Cáer’s *modus operandi* of turning into a swan every *samain*. The name Apartach/Abartach is also attested as a proper noun: for example, one of Athairne Áilgesach’s son’s names is Abartach in *Tochmarc Luaine 7 Aided Athairne*;¹²²⁰ it is also used as a cognomen for a member of the Túatha Dé Danann called Sigmall Abartach in the ‘First Battle of Moytura’.¹²²¹ DIL notes, however, that ‘the name Ábartach (with lenited -b-, Dánta Gr. 7.21, Acall. 3021) is presumably distinct’.¹²²² The name Ua Ábartaig, with a long *a*, in the Annals of Inisfallen (AI 1095.13) and ModIr. Ó hÁbhartaigh indicate that there were two separate formations, i.e. *apartach* and *ábartach*.¹²²³ Furthermore, an adjectival epithet describing a personal or physical trait usually appears in apposition to the first name: e.g. the forementioned Athairne Áilgesach,¹²²⁴ Conn Cétchathach,¹²²⁵ Congal Cáech,¹²²⁶ Túathal Techtmar,¹²²⁷ etc. An example which seems to be to the contrary is the name Cairpre Lifechair,¹²²⁸ in which Lifechair (*Life* with the adjective *car*, literally ‘Liffey-loving’) as the adjective appears to be in the gen.; however, palatalisation of the final *r* in compounds consisting of *car* becomes common during the Middle Irish period.¹²²⁹

Regarding the first element, the spelling *ibor* in Eg. looks like OIr. *ibar* ‘yew, yew tree’, which suits the context since she is a supernatural character¹²³⁰ and her first name means ‘berry’. However, next to the other manuscript witnesses to the name, *ibar* is the *lectio facilior* and the name may have been changed to this over the course of the text’s transmission because it was convenient. The mistake and later correction of Cáer’s epithet in Eg., ^{*ib*}*ormeth* reproduced here in superscript as in the manuscript, does not instil confidence that the name is spelled correctly. Most likely, the scribe was unfamiliar with the name, which means that he may have forgotten also to spell out the first vowel of the diphthong in the second element, i.e. *-moeth/-maeth* ‘soft, tender’. Given that there is no feasible way that *i* may interchange with *a* to give a variant spelling *abar-*, the other extant examples of the name seem to indicate

¹²²⁰ BREATNACH 1980: 12, l. 217; there, Breatnach edits the name to Apartach.

¹²²¹ FRASER 1916: 44; MCGRATH (1953: 92) also refers to this use of the name.

¹²²² DIL A 10.63. DIL also directs the reader to a note on Síodh Ábhartaigh (MCGRATH 1953–55: 92).

¹²²³ This point was brought to my attention by my supervisor, Dr Uhlich.

¹²²⁴ For more examples of this name, see GWYNN’s edition of a ‘tract on the privileges and responsibilities of poets’ (1942: 13, l. 13); this is cited also by DIL under the entry for *áilgesach* (s.v. *áilgesach*).

¹²²⁵ E.g. CGH, 124a26.

¹²²⁶ E.g. CGH, 162b6.

¹²²⁷ E.g. CGH, 136a50.

¹²²⁸ E.g. CGH, 116c43.

¹²²⁹ See the coexistence of palatal and non-palatal *r* in compounds containing *car* during the Middle Irish period under the DIL entries for *crídechair* ‘kind’, *duinechair* ‘humane’ and *oígedchair* ‘hospitable’, *lamchar* ‘bold’, *salmchar* ‘psalm-loving’ and *sámchar* ‘peaceful’.

¹²³⁰ See the use of yew for divining rods, i.e. *flesca ibair* (VENDRYES 1941: 95; IT i, 129.21).

an entirely different first element of the name. The example from the *remscéla* list, *eabar-* in number 8 may be a late reanalysis of the word to *eabhar* ‘ivory’.

The element *abar-* in examples 2a, 2b and 3d, leaves little to interpretation, as the only possibility is that it is the intensifying prefix found with words meaning ‘dark’ but which is only attested in Middle Irish and early Modern Irish sources. For this reason, this may have been how the elements of the name were interpreted, or reinterpreted, in examples 2a, 2b, and 3d during the Middle Irish period.

Regarding the second element of the name, Shaw follows Thurneysen in palatalizing the final consonant without commenting on it or giving the manuscript reading. Interchange of lenited *b* and *m* occurs during the Middle Irish period (see the examples of the spelling *accalluib* for *acaldaim* in [4] and [54] in AÓ), leaving it open to interpretation as to whether this should be read as *-bóeth* or *-móeth*, or *-beith* or *-meith*. *Báeth* has a variety of meanings, most of which indicate the sense of rashness. Within the context of animals, it can mean ‘wild’ and ‘irrational’ and we find it used in the context of women with the meaning ‘wanton’. Another possibility is the adjective *baíd* meaning ‘affectionate’ or ‘tender’ but the final *-d* is both voiced and palatal; closest to this is example 4. If the second element were taken with initial *m*, as in Eg., one may interpret it as *máeth/móeth* ‘soft, tender’, retaining the diphthong of the external witnesses to the name; or, without the diphthong, as *meth* meaning ‘decay, blight’ or, with a long *é*, *méth* (later nom. *méith*) meaning ‘plump, fat’ and, by extension, ‘fertile’.

Epithets usually refer to a quality, achievement or blemish, whether it be physical or figurative. For example, we have Bricriu Nemthenga ‘Bricriu the Poison-tongued’, so-called for his abilities to stir up an argument, Núadu Airgetlám ‘Nuadú the Silver-handed’ and Conn Céthcathach ‘Conn of the Hundred Battles’. Since Cáer is an otherworld swan-maiden who plays the *timpán*, we would expect her epithet to refer to her having the characteristics of a swan, belonging to the lake or being an immortal creature. Thematically speaking, the most appropriate elements would include *ibar* ‘yew’ and perhaps *méith* meaning ‘fertile’ or ‘plump’, since she is a *síd*-maiden with magical powers. However, it is remarkable that Eg. provides the only example of the second element being spelled with an *m* rather than a *b*. Based on the weight of evidence, therefore, I tentatively edit her name as Cáer Iborbáeth below.

2.1.14 Regarding Óengus's sobriquet: Mac ind Ó(i)c or In Mac Óc?

In the following, I wish to confront the question of editing Óengus' sobriquet as either Mac ind Ó(i)c or In Mac Óc as both forms appear interchangeably throughout Early Irish literature. I will first present the medieval Irish explanation of the name, followed by a selection of examples of the sobriquet from AÓ and externally. I will then turn to the arguments put forward by previous scholars and weigh up the evidence.

An explanation for the origin of the name In Mac Óc appears in the YBL version of *Tochmarc Étaíne* (*Tochmarc I*):

Aengus bá toisech doib uili ar med a grada la Midir, ar caime a delba 7 ar suíri a ceneoil. Ainm do dano an Mac Óc, a n-asbert a mathari: 'Is óc an mac doronad i tosach lai 7 ro geinir etir 7 fescur'.

'Aengus was the leader of them all, because of Midir's great love for him, and the beauty of his form and the nobility of his race. He was also called *in Mac óc* (the Young Son), for his mother said: 'Young is the son who was begotten at the break of day and born betwixt it and evening.'¹²³¹

Another interpretation of the element Óc as the adjective 'young', originally disyllabic *oāc*, within the formula In Mac Óc, is expressed in the poem on Brug na Bóinde, mentioned above, attributed to Cináed úa hArtacáin in the Book of Leinster:

"Óc in mac," ar Dagda dond, | "do-ber bond ri Banba mbind: | bid Óen-gus Mac Óc a ainm, | cipé gaires de gairm grind."

'Young (óc) is the child (in mac),' answered the swart Dagda, 'who sets his foot on Banba's soil: *Óengus in Mac Óc*, let him be called, whosever would call him a pleasant name.'¹²³²

From the examples above, it would seem that the name was reanalysed to In Mac Óc, which conveniently lent itself to the anecdotes attached to how Óengus acquired the name. However, some of the earliest examples in the list I have compiled below indicate otherwise,¹²³³ which goes against the statement made by O'Rahilly that 'in the oldest extant texts the nominative is Mac (or Macc) ind Óc, gen. Maic (Meic) ind Óc'.¹²³⁴

¹²³¹ BEST & BERGIN 1938: 142, 143, §2.

¹²³² GWYNN 1914: 224, 233, §38.

¹²³³ I have compiled this list based on a number of attestations I have found – it is in no way an exhaustive list, particularly given the number of citations of the name for Óengus' *bruig*.

¹²³⁴ O'RAHILLY 1971: 516.

In the list below, number 6 is provided by O’Rahilly as one of the examples showing that the formula *Mac ind Óc* is older than *In Mac Óc*; however, this text is among those interpolated by hand H (pp. 39a–41b). I order the following examples according to a rough chronology of the date of each text’s composition, beginning with the example from an extract from the lost *Cín Dromma Snechta*, which belongs to the 8th century (see section 1.8.1 above), and finishing with the Early Middle Irish ‘Chase of *Síd na mBan*’ (*Seilg Sléibhe na mBan*). The purpose of doing so is to establish the distribution of the two forms in various texts from the Old to Middle Irish periods.

- 1a. MS *síde maic oíc* (LU p. 99a14–155; LU 8008–9) (*Togail Bruidne Da Derga*, Rec. Ia (CDS(A));¹²³⁵
- 1b. MS *síde maic ind óc* (Eg. 1782, f. 110vb7–9; *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*, Rec. III);
- 2a. MS *brug micc ind oicc* (*Aislinge Óenguso* [34]);
- 2b. MS *mac oug* (*Aislinge Óenguso* [52]);
3. *Briatharogum Mic in Óicc* (*Bríatharogaim*);¹²³⁶
4. *anfessa Maic ind Óc* ‘ignorances of the *Mac ind Óc*’ (*Immacallam in dá Thúarad*);¹²³⁷
5. *in Mac Óc* (*Tochmarc Étaíne*);¹²³⁸
6. (m)*Bruig Meic ind Oc* (LU 2942; *Aided Echach meic Máireda*);¹²³⁹
- 7a. MS *in mac oac* (LL p. 246a2; *De Gabáil int Síde*);
- 7b. MS *in mac ooc* (LL p. 246a6; LL 32922–3; *De Gabáil int Síde*);
- 7c. MS *in macc oóc* (LL p. 246a11; LL 32926; *De Gabáil int Síde*);
8. *cétaig Mic ind Óc*;¹²⁴⁰ *Mac ind Óc* (*v.l. ind óg*, Book of Lismore; *in oicc, D iv.2*)¹²⁴¹ (*Airne Fíngein*);¹²⁴²

¹²³⁵ See section 1.8.3.1 above.

¹²³⁶ MEYER 1910b: 42. See McManus’ edition of this text, which he dates to the Old Irish period (MCMANUS 1988: 131).

¹²³⁷ STOKES 1905b: 30, §127. Stokes dates this text to the 10th century (STOKES 1905b: 5); Thurneysen comments ‘er war also um 900 schon vorhanden’ (*Held.* 520).

¹²³⁸ Óengus is consistently referred to as *in Mac Óc* in both YBL and what is extant of this part of the tale in LU 10636–10707 (see BERGIN & BEST 1938: 142–60).

¹²³⁹ Edition and translation by DE VRIES (2012).

9. MS *Tomhus tighe mec inn oicc* (23 N 10, p. 67.32); MS *Tomus tige meic a nóg* (RIA B iv.2, f. 136r2; poem: *Tomus tighe Mecc ind Óc*);¹²⁴³
10. *maig mic ind Óc; tech mic ind Óc* (Brug na Bóinde I, Met. Dinds.; Cináed Ua hArtacáin);¹²⁴⁴
11. (m)Bruig mic ind Óc; ríot [...] in mic Óoc ‘the cast of the Mac Óc’ (gen. sg. Brug na Bóinde II, Met. Dinds.);¹²⁴⁵
12. *bandruinech Oengusa in Meic Óicc* ‘the embroideress of Óengus mac ind Óc’ (Maistiu, prose Dinds.);¹²⁴⁶
13. *cetserc séin O[e]ngusa meic ind Óc* ‘the first love of Oengus Mac ind Óc’ (Dumae Selga, prose Dinds.);¹²⁴⁷
14. Óengus mac Óc; Oengus an Mac Oc; in Mac Oag; Mac ind Óc (*Lebor Gabála Érenn*);¹²⁴⁸
15. Aenghus mac in Og (Seilg Sléibhe na mBan).¹²⁴⁹

Some observations may be made on the above examples. Firstly, it is interesting to note that example 1a, the CDS extract in LU (Rec. 1b BDD), simply has *maic oic* whereas the equivalent section in example 1b in the later Rec. III BDD includes the second element *ind* in the name Mac ind Óc; the final consonant of *óc* in example 1b is also non-palatal in quality. Given that the CDS extract was redacted into Rec. III (as discussed in more detail in section 1.8.2.4 above), it seems logical that example 1a contains the original wording, i.e. without the second element *ind*. This is an example contrary to O’Rahilly’s assertion that the oldest attested form is Mac ind Óc.

¹²⁴⁰ VENDRYES 1953: 13, l. 170.

¹²⁴¹ VENDRYES 1953: 15, l. 195.

¹²⁴² For a discussion of the date of *Airne Fíngin*, see VENDRYES 1953: xxi–xxiii.

¹²⁴³ MEYER 1912: 108. This poem is contained also in Harl. 5280, f. 74r.

¹²⁴⁴ *Met. Dinds.* ii, 10. This is attributed to the 10th-century poet Cináed úa hArtacáin and it appears also in the late Old Irish text *Senchas na Relec* ‘The History of Burial Places’ (LU 4117–4204) in *Lebor na hUidre*, which O’Rahilly also cites as one of the oldest attestations of the formula Mac ind Óc (O’RAHILLY (1971: 516)). The prose introduction to this poem in *Senchas na Relec* in LU states also that Cináed úa hArtacáin composed the poem (LU 4114–15).

¹²⁴⁵ *Met. Dinds.* ii, 24.

¹²⁴⁶ STOKES 1894: 335, 336, §32.

¹²⁴⁷ STOKES 1894: 470, 471, §71.

¹²⁴⁸ *LGÉ* 4, 128; 156; 196; 216.

¹²⁴⁹ MEYER 1910c: 68.

Secondly, it is important to distinguish between the examples of the two formulae within the separate contexts of the placename Bruig (OIr. Mruig)/Maig Maic ind Ó(i)c(c) and the name used as the sobriquet for the figure Óengus himself. In the above examples, it is always the case that the formula Mac ind Ó(i)c(c) is used to refer specifically to a place: 2a, 6, 10 and 11. Tech mic ind Óc in example 10 and the example in *Tomhus tigh*e in 9 may also fall into this category of referring to the place rather than the person; and these too consistently use the formula Mac ind Ó(i)c(c). The examples of Mac ind Ó(i)c(c) being used to refer to the figure are less frequent: examples 3, 4 and 13. The remaining number of examples of (In) Mac Óc/Oac being used to refer to the figure outweigh the latter: 1a, 2b, 5, 7, 11, and 12. This is an interesting dichotomy because it may indicate that Mac ind Ó(i)c(c) became stereotyped as a formula in the placename.

As noted by O’Rahilly, in his summary of former theories on the sobriquet, Rhys first put forward the translation of Mac ind Óc as ‘son of the (two) young ones’, which Stokes followed in his translation of *Immacallam in Dá Thúarad* ‘The Colloquy of the Two Sages’.¹²⁵⁰ Thurneysen gives the following commentary regarding how the two different name formulae may have arisen:

‘Diese sonderbare Namensform kommt vielleicht daher, daß im Genitiv (*Bruig*) *Maic ind Óic* der Artikel *ind* eingeschoben werden konnte; danach scheint der Nominativ *Mac ind Óc* und dann bisweilen auch der Genitiv *Maic ind Óc* gebildet.’¹²⁵¹

Thurneysen’s suggestion that the nom. sg. Mac ind Óc came about as a result of the gen. Maic ind Óic may have come from the fact that the more common form of the name in the Middle and Early Modern Irish periods is Mac ind Óc, sometimes with or without a palatal final consonant.

O’Rahilly puts forward the idea that Mac ind Óc is a reanalysis of original **Maccon* or **Maccon*: ‘(< Celt. **Makkvonos*), ‘the Youth, the Boy-god’, corresponding to the Welsh *Mabon*, British *Maponos* [...]’.¹²⁵² While this is an attractive suggestion, there is no manuscript support for such an emendation, as illustrated by the examples above.

¹²⁵⁰ RHYS 1892: 145 and STOKES 1905b: 60 respectively.

¹²⁵¹ *Held*. 598f., n.5.

¹²⁵² O’RAHILLY 1971: 517.

Carney, in a note on the word *macind* in his edition of the Poems of Blathmac, refers to the etymology of Mac ind Óc, and suggests that Mac ind should be understood as a compound of *mac* + *find* ‘fair youth’.¹²⁵³ He concludes by making the following comment:

‘We are then perhaps justified in regarding the Irish mythological character *Maccind Oac* as having been originally a simple expression meaning ‘the fair young boy’, [...].’¹²⁵⁴

Furthermore, regarding the order of the elements of the compound, i.e. the fact that the noun appears before the adjective, Carney cites further examples such as *macamrae* ‘famous son’ and *macdall* ‘blind youth’. However, it must be highlighted that, first of all, *dall* in *macdall* may be understood as a substantive, i.e. a ‘young blind man’; and that, secondly, the only examples to hand of *macamrae* and *macind* are from the Poems of Blathmac.¹²⁵⁵ As these occur in the context of a poem, they may have been created for the purpose of fulfilling the syllable count in the line, i.e. for metrical purposes.

Given that the third element of Mac ind Óc is not apparent, remains unexplained and is the more difficult to reconstruct, it constitutes the *lectio difficilior* and is that which I employ below in my edition of *Aislinge Óenguso*. I do not reconstruct a disyllabic spelling, as in the adj. *oác*, as the only support for such a spelling is within the formula In Mac Óc/Oac whereby the third element is the adj.

2.1.15 Editorial policy

In the present edition, I have restored the text to Classical Old Irish based on the hypothesis that AÓ was first composed during the Old Irish period, i.e. at some point during the 8th and 9th centuries; an archetypal text may be traced back to that period based on the set of diagnostic features outlined above (see 2.1.4). Features that were already subject to erosion during the OIr. period, i.e. which are mostly visible from the time of the Ml. glosses onwards, are restored: for example, I restore *ld* and *nd*, from MS *ll* and *nn* respectively in both stressed words and proclitics. Although, as discussed in 2.1.4, there are examples of EOIr. proclitic *to*, I do not reintroduce this to verbs containing underlying **to-* in their preverb, but I retain the historically correct, i.e. all, instances of this in the MS. I restore final unstressed vowels throughout the edition also.

¹²⁵³ CARNEY 1964: 112.

¹²⁵⁴ CARNEY 1964: 112.

¹²⁵⁵ CARNEY 1964: 2, l. 6; 4, l. 26.

Each section in the edition below contains the restored text in bold, followed by the equivalent line(s) from Shaw's edition. Following that are the relevant lines of text directly from MS Eg. 1782 in the form of conservative manuscript transcriptions, followed by Müller's translation, and my own new translation in bold italics. After each section I provide notes on the language and contents of the text, along with a comprehensive discussion of my editorial choices while attempting to offer the reader all possible arguments. As I discuss in due course below, the text presents certain difficulties in places, which I must admit to not having satisfactorily resolved for now; however, I offer discussion on these difficult points.

As a matter of policy, I do not use cosmetic *h* or *h* representing *h*-mutation in the restored text; the former would be found in contemporary Old Irish sources, while the latter is an orthographic innovation and a feature of Middle Irish orthography. The distribution of glides in the manuscript is mixed, as I outline in section 2.1.3 above; I supply glides where they are not present in the manuscript. In keeping with the posited 8th-century date of the text, I also do not use the *punctum delens* above *f* and *s*. In the final edition, I retain both *ocus* and tironian *et* as they appear in the MS (see, for example, the use of *ocus* written in full in the second sentence of section [34]).

The definite article is usual with the names in Dagdae and in Boand, which is why I insert the relevant form of the article in sections [14] (MS *ol bounn*) and [41] (MS *or dadgo*) below. Once the definite article is inserted above the text in superscript in [39], which gives the impression that its omission may have been due to the scribe of this manuscript. Notably, there is also one example of the epithet MS *mac oug* appearing without the def. art. in [52], which is edited to *Mac ind Ócc* (see section 2.1.13 above).

In the manuscript transcriptions, I introduce word division where possible; in instances with the use of the definite article followed by nasalisation and the preposition *i* 'in, into' followed by nasalisation, it is not possible to introduce division while remaining loyal to the manuscript representation of the text as *nd* 1) often represents the *n* of the definite article in the acc. sg. and the nasalisation following it (e.g. MS *hindaidchi* (acc. sg.), ed. *in n-aidchi* 'the night' [1]; MS *indingin* (acc. sg.), ed. *in n-ingin* [24] [29] [53]); 2) represents nasal *n* after the prep. *i* (e.g. MS *indhere*, ed. *i n-Ére* 'in Ireland' [2] [10] [22]; MS *hindergabail*, ed. *i n-ergabail* [45]); and 3) represents the *n* of the interrog. part. *in* as well as the following nasalisation (MS *indetar*, ed. *in:n-étar* [13]; MS *indaithnge*, ed. *in:n-aithnge* [26] [28]). MS *ingalar* (acc. sg.), ed. *a ngalar* [8] presents a separate issue in that *i* may stand for the original neut. form of the def. art. in the acc. sg., i.e. *a n-*, or it may represent the masc. form of the

def. art., i.e. *in n-*, with the *n* standing for both the *n* of the def. art. and the following nasalisation.

2.2 Restored text of *Aislinge Óenguso*

Aislinge Óenguso inso.

[1] Boí Óengus in n-aidchi n-ailli ina chotlud. Co:n-accae ní, in n-ingin cucai for crann síuil dó. [2] Is sí as áildem ro:boí i n-Ére. Luid Óengus do gabáil a llámae dia tabairt cucai inna imdai. [3] Co:n-accae ní, fo:sceind úad opunn. Nícon:fitir cía árluid úad. Boí and co íarnabárach. Nípo slán laiss a menmae. [4] Do:génai galar ndó in delb ad:condaire cen a acaldaim. Nícon:luid biad inna béolu. Boí and ind adaig danó aithirriuch. [5] Co:n-accae timpán inna láim as bindem boíe. Seinnid céol ndó. Con:tuil friss. Biid and co íarnabárach. Nícon:ro-proind dano íarnabárach. [6] Blíadain lán dó 7 sí occa aithigid fon séol sin co-ndid:corastar i seurc. Nícon:epert fri nech. Fa:ceird iarum 7 nífitir nech cid ro:mboí.

[7] Do:eccmalldar legai Érenn. Nícon:fetatar-som cid ro:mboí asendad. Ethae co Fíngen, liaig Conchobuir. Do:tét-side cucai. [8] At:gñinad-som i n-agaid in duimi a ngalar no:bíth fair agus ad:gñinad din died no:théged din tig a llín no:bíth co ngalar ann. Ad:gládstar for leith. ‘Ate, ní béodae do imthechta,’ ol Fíngen, ‘sercc thecmáis ro:carais.’ [9] ‘Ad:rumadair mo galar form,’ ol Óengus, ‘do:rochar im dochraidí.’ Agus níro-lámar nech a epiert fri nech. [10] ‘Is fir deit,’ ol Óengus, ‘do:m-ánaic ingen álaind in chrotho-so as áildem i n-Ére con n-écuscc derscaighthiu. Timpán inna lláim co-ndid:seinned dam cach n-aidchi.’ [11] ‘Ní bae,’ ol Fíngen. ‘Ro:tocad duit cairdes frie 7 foíter úait cosin mBoind, cot máthair, co:tudaich dot acaldaim.’

[12] ‘Tíagar cuicce.’ [ol Fíngen] Tic iarum in Boand. Boí oc frepaid ind fir-se. Ol Fíngen, ‘Da:n-ánaic galar n-ainchis.’ Ad:fiadat a scéla don Boind. [13] ‘Bíth oca frecor chéill dia máthair’, ol Fíngen, ‘da:n-ánaic galar n-ainchis, 7 timchelltar úait Ériu uile dúus in:n-étar úait ingen in chrotho-so ad:condaire do macc.’ [14] Biid oc suidiu co cenn mBlíadnae. Nícon:fríth ní [ba] cosmúil dí. Is iar sin con:gairther Fíngen doib aithirriuch. ‘Nícon:fríth cobair isind-í-síu,’ ol in Boand. [15] As:bert Fíngen: ‘Foíter cosin Dagdae tuidecht do acaldaim a maicc.’

Tíagair cosin Dagdae. Ticc-side aithirriuch. [16] ‘Cid diandom:chomgrad?’ ‘Do airli do maicc,’ ol in Boand. [17] ‘Is ferr duit a chobair. Is líach a dul i mudu. At:tá i seurc. Ro:car seircc thecmáis 7 nírochar a chobair.’ [18] ‘Cía torbae mo acaldam?’ ol in Dagdae. ‘Ní mó mo éolas indáthe-si.’ [19] ‘Mó écin,’ ol Fíngen. ‘Is tú rí síde n-Érenn; 7 tíagar úaib co Bodb, ríge síde Muman, agus is deilm a éolas la Érin n-uili.’

[20] Ethae co suide. Feraid-side fáilti friu. ‘Fo-chen dúib,’ ol Bodb, ‘a muinte in Dagdai.’ ‘Is ed do:roachtmar.’ [21] ‘Scéla lib?’ ol Bodb. ‘A:taat linni: Óengus macc in

Dagdai i seirc dá bláidnae.’ [22] ‘Cid taas?’ ol Bodb. ‘Ad:condairc ingen inna chotlud. Nícon:fetammar i n-Ére cía airm itá ind ingen ro:char 7 ad:chondairc. [23] Timmarnad duit ón Dagdu co:comtastar úait fond Éirinn ingen in chrotho-so 7 ind écuisc.’ ‘Con:diastar’ ol Bodb, ‘ocus ethar; dál bláidnae friumm co:fessur fuis scél.’

[24] Do:luid cinn bláidnae co tech mBoidb co Síid al Femun. To:imchella Éirinn n-uili co fúair in n-ingen oc Loch Bél Dracon oc Crottaib Clíach. [25] Tíagair úaidib dochum in Dagdai. Ferthair fáilte friu. ‘Scéla lib?’ ol in Dagdae. ‘Scéla maithi; fo:frith ind ingen in chrotho-so as:rubartaid. [26] Timmarnad duit ó Budb. Táet ass Óengus linni a dochum dúus in:n-aithgne in n-ingen co-nda:accathar.’ [27] Brethae Óengus i carput co mboí oc Síid al Femen. Fled mór lasin ríig ara chiunn. Ferthae fáilte fris. [28] Bátar trí laa 7 téora aidchi ocind fíid. ‘Tair as trá,’ ol Bodb, ‘dúus in:n-aithgne in n-ingen co-nda:aiccther. Cía ata:gnee, ní:s:cuienci-si a tabairt acht ad-nda:cether nammá.’ [29] To:lotar íarum co mbátar oc Loch [Bél Dracon]. Co-n:accatar na trí cóecta ingen maccthae. Co-n:accatar in n-ingen n-etarru. [30] Nítacmuictis na ingena dí acht co:ticci a gúala. Slabrad aircdide eter cach dí ingen. [31] Muince aircdide inma brágait fadisín ocus slabrad di ór forloiscthiu.

Is and as:bert Bodb: ‘In:n-aithgén in n-ingen n-ucut?’ ‘Aithgén écin,’ ol Óengus. ‘Ní:mthá-sa cumacc deit,’ ol Bodb, ‘[ní] bas mó.’ [32] ‘Ní báe són,’ ol Óengus, ‘ém, óre is sí ad:condarc; ní:cumcub a breith in fecht-so. [33] Coich ind ingen-so, a Buidb?’ ol Óengus. ‘Fetar écin,’ ol Bodb. ‘Cáer Iborbáeth, ingen Ethail Anbúail a síid Úamain i crích Connacht.’

[34] Do:comlat ass íarum Óengus 7 a muinte dochum a críche. Téit Bodb laiss co:n:árlastar in Dagdae ocus in Boind oc Mruig Maicc ind Ócc. [35] Ad:fíadat a scéla doib 7 ad:fídatar doib amal boí eter cruth 7 écosc amal ad:condarcatar. 7 ad:fídatar a ainm 7 ainm a athar 7 a senathar. [36] ‘Ní ségdae dúnn,’ ol in Dagdae, ‘nád:cuiencem do socht.’ ‘A n-í bad maith duit a Dagdai,’ ol Bodb, ‘eirc dochum n-Ailella 7 Medba ar is leo bíid ina cóiciud ind ingen.

[37] Téit in Dagdae co mboí i tírib Connacht. Trí fichet carpat a líin. Ferthae fáilte friu lasin ríig ocus in rígnai. [38] Bátar sechtmain láin oc fledugud íar sin imm chuirme doib. ‘Cid immu:b-racht?’ ol in rí. [39] ‘A:tá ingen lat-su it fíerunn,’ ol in Dagdae, ‘ocus ru-s:car mo mac-sa, ocus do:rigni galar dó. Do:dechud-sa cucuib dúus in-da:tartaid don macc.’ [40] ‘Coich?’ ol Ailill. ‘Ingen Ethail Anbúail.’ ‘Ní linni a cumacc,’ ol Ailill ocus Medb, ‘dia:cuiimsimmi do:bérthae dó.’ [41] ‘Aní bas maith: congarar rí int síde cucuib,’ ol in Dagdae.

Téit rechtaire Ailella cucai. [42] ‘Timmarnad duit ó Ailill 7 Meidb dul dia n-acaldaim.’ ‘Níreg-sa,’ olsé, ‘ní:tíber mo ingen do mac in Dagdai.’ [43] Fásagar co Ailill aní-sin. ‘Níretar

fair a thuidecht. Ro:fitir aní dia:congarar.’ [44] ‘Ní bae,’ ol Ailill, ‘do:rega-som 7 do:bértar cenna a láech laiss.’

Íar sin cot:éirich teglach Ailella 7 muintir in Dagdai dochum int síde. Ind:rethat a síd n-uile. [45] Do-s:mberat trí fichtea cenn ass ocus in ríg co:mboí i Crúachnaib i n-ergabáil. Is iarum as:bert Ailill fri Ethal nAnbúail: ‘Tabair do ingin do macc in Dagdai.’ [46] ‘Ní:cuimcim,’ olse. ‘Is mó a cumachtae indó.’ ‘Ced chumachtae mór fil lee?’ ol Ailill. ‘Ní ansae. Biith i ndeibh éuin cach la blíadnai in mblíadnai n-aili i ndeibh duini.’ [47] ‘Ci-sí blíadain mbís i ndeibh éuin?’ ol Ailill. ‘Ní lim-sa a mrath,’ ol a athair. ‘Do chenn dít,’ ol Ailill, ‘Mani-nécis-ni.’ ‘Níba sía cuice dam-sa,’ ol sé. [48] ‘At:bér-sa,’ ol sé, ‘is léirithir sin ro:n:gabsaid occo. Int samuin-se as nessam bieid i ndeibh éuin oc Loch Bél Dracon, 7 fo:cichsiter sain-éuin lee and, [49] 7 bieit trí cóceait géise impe 7 a:tá aurnam lim-sa doib.’ ‘Ní bae lim-sa iarum,’ ol in Dagdae. ‘Óre ro:fetar a aicned do-s:uc-so’ [ol Ethal].

[50] Do:gníther iarum cairdes leu .i. Ailill 7 Ethal 7 in Dagdae 7 soírhair Ethal as. Celebraid in Dagdae doib. [51] Ticc in Dagdae dia thig 7 ad:fét a scéla dia macc. ‘Eirc immin samain as nessam co Loch Bél Dracon co-nda:garae cucut dind loch.’ [52] Téit Macc ind Óc co:mboí oc Loch Bél Dracon. Co:n-accae trí cóceta én finn forsind loch cona slabradaib airdidib co cairchesaib órdaib imma cenna. [53] Boí Óengus i ndeibh doenachta for brú ind locho co-n:gair in n-ingin cuici. [54] ‘Tair dom acaldaim a Cháer.’ ‘Cid do-m:gair?’ ol Cáer. ‘Co-tot:gair Óengus.’ ‘Regait diandom:foíma fort enech co:tís a loch mo frithisi. [55] ‘Fo-t:sisuir,’ ol sé.

Téiti cuici. Fo:ceird-som dí láim forrae. Con:tuilet i ndeibh dá géise co:timchellsat a loch fo thrí, na:beth ní ba meth n-enig dó-som. [56] To:comlat ass i ndeibh dá én find co mbáatar ocin Mruig Maicc ind Ócc ocus cechnatar coicetul cíuil co corastar inna doíni i súan trí laa 7 téora aidche. Anais laiss ind ingen iar sin.

[57] Is de sin ro boí cairdes Maicc ind Óc ocus Ailella 7 Medbae. Is de sin do:cúaid Óengus trícho cét co Ailill ocus Meidb do tháin na mbó a Cúailngi. [58] Conid De Aislinge Óenguso Maicc in Dagdai ainm in scéuil-sin isin Táin Bó Cúailnge. FINIT.

2.3 Edition of *Aislinge Óenguso* with critical notes and translation

Aislinge Óenguso inso.

1. Boí Óengus in n-aidchi n-aili inna chotlud. Co:n-accae ní, in n-ingin cucai for crann síuil dó.

Shaw: Boí Óengus in n-aidchi n-aili inna chotlud. Co n-accae ní, in n-ingin cucci for crann síuil dó.

Eg. Aislingi oengusai inso.

[B]ui oengus hindaidqi naile ina chotlud confacca ni hin ningin. chuici ar crann siuil do.

Müller: Oengus was sleeping one night when he saw something [like] a maiden near him at the top of his bed.

Óengus was asleep one night.¹²⁵⁶ He saw something: a maiden coming towards him while he was on his bedstead.

To begin, the manuscript bears the title *Aislingi oengusai inso*, which appears in the middle of the space between the end of *Tochmarc Ferbe*, the preceding text, and the first line of *Aislinge Óenguso*. There is a wide indent left in the manuscript for a large initial B that was never filled,¹²⁵⁷ as is often the case throughout the rest of the manuscript (see the beginning of *Tochmarc Ferbe* on f. 69v, for example). *Aislinge Óenguso*, is entitled both *De Aislingiu Óengusa maic in Dagdai* ‘Regarding the Dream of Óengus, son of the Dagdae’ (MS *Do aislingthi aengha mheic in dagha*) and *Don tSeirc ro car Mac ind Ócc Chaíre Ebarbaithe* ‘Regarding the Love with which the Mac ind Ócc loved Cáer Ebarbaith’ (MS *Don tseirc ro char mac in oicc chaire heabarbaithi*) in the D list of *remscéla* titles (see section 1.2.2 above). It is given a title here at the beginning and also in the final sentence within the main narrative, which concludes with the line *Conid de Aislinge Óenguso maic in Dagdai ainm in sceúil sin* (MS *Conid de aislingiu oenguso micc in dagdai ainm in sceuil sin* ‘so that De Aislingiu Óenguso Maic in Dagdai in the title of that story’) in section [58] below.

¹²⁵⁶ Ó Cathasaigh comments that this opening formula correlates with the first line of *Tochmarc Ferbe*, which precedes AÓ in the manuscript; he notes that they are ‘almost identifcal’: [B]uí Conchopur macc Neusa aidqi n-ann ina chotlud con facco ní ind oicbein chuicci ‘Conchobor mac Nessa was asleep one night, when he saw a young woman coming towards him’ (FLOWER 1926: 286; cited by Ó CATHASAIGH 1997: 433, note 11).

¹²⁵⁷ This is indicated also by SHAW (1934: 3, note 1).

The form of the def. art. in the manuscript *hindaidchi* could be mistaken for that of the dat. sg., which would also be acceptable here,¹²⁵⁸ except for the fact that there is acc. sg. nasalisation of the following adjective. For more on the hypercorrect spelling *-nd-* for *-nn-*, particularly as representing the prep. *i n-*, see section 2.1.3(iv) above.

Prosthetic *f* in MS *confacca* is removed (see section 2.1.5(l) above); an indication that it is not performing any kind of phonetic function is the fact that the nasalisation caused by the pret. particle *co n-* is still represented in writing as nasalising the initial vowel of the verb and not prosthetic *f*. Orthographic *h* is also removed (see section 2.1.3(i) above), as is lenition of the initial consonant of the prepositional pronoun *chuici* (for more on this innovation, see section 2.1.5(f) above).

The confusion between the prep. *for* and *ar* is discussed in section 2.1.6(f) above; here, *for*, which is the expected OIr. form is restored. Shaw gives a further example of this expression from Rec. II of *Togail Bruidne Da Derga in Lebor na hUidre*: ‘**atchonnarc nonbur for craund síuil dóib**, *I saw nine men and they upon bed-stead(s)*, LU. 7607. We may translate **for crunn síuil dó** then with *while he was in (his) bed.*¹²⁵⁹ In his edition, however, the latter gives the form *crann* instead of expected dat. sg. *crunn*,¹²⁶⁰ despite the form at LU 7607 indicating the use of the dat. in this idiom. As Shaw explains in his Glossary, the example from LU shows that the pronoun contained in the preposition *do* after *for crunn* refers to the person on the bedstead; similarly here, Óengus is the one positioned on the bed and *for crunn* does not refer to the maiden.¹²⁶¹ As such, there is no movement indicated, *for* should govern the dat., and dat. sg. *crunn* is restored. Regarding the meaning of *crann síuil*, it carries the sense ‘bedstead’ and, within this context, it may mean that Óengus was sitting on the side of his bed, i.e. on the board of the bed; perhaps at the sight of the maiden, we are to suppose that he moved from a sleeping to a sitting position. A later example from O’Davoren’s glossary on the word *fochlu* (OIr. *fochla*) ‘seat of honour’ may add to our understanding the meaning of *crann síuil*:

Fochlu .i. feinnidh, ut est ar siul ar belaib fochlu .i. ar crann siu[i]l 7 i n-airidhiu.

‘*fochlu*, i.e. (the seat) of the champion, ut est ‘on the bed in front of the fochlu’, i.e. on the board of the bed and in the dais’.¹²⁶²

¹²⁵⁸ See DIL A 28.9. Further examples of *adaig* in the acc. sg. include: *in naithchi n-uili* ‘during the whole night’, Ml. 95d9; and *amal nongnetis ón gním in n-aithchi dorchi* ‘as though they did a deed on a dark night’, Ml. 30a4; both of these examples are also provided by DIL (s.v. *adaig*). See also *aidqi n-ann* ‘one night’ in the first line of the preceding tale in MS Eg. 1782, i.e. the Eg. version of *Tochmarc Ferbe* (Ir. Texte

¹²⁵⁹ SHAW 1934: 79.

¹²⁶⁰ For more on this form see MCMANUS 1992.

¹²⁶¹ Cf. *GOI* §816.

¹²⁶² O’Dav. 841 (cited by DIL, s.v. *séol*).

Here, the cushioned seat goes on top of the *crann síuil*, i.e. the board. Furthermore, the gloss goes on to explain the difference between a *fochla* and a *faitse*, the latter being the equivalent to an *imdae* ‘couch’, which is relevant to the next section of AÓ:

Fochla didu degsuide n-aregda 7 faitsi gach n-airide no gach imdae.

‘*Fochla*, then, a distinguished good seat, and *faitse* every high-seat or every couch’.

Faitse here is the charioteer’s seat, which is doubtlessly less adorned and practical in form and not physically all that different to the type of cushioning found in a bed.

2. Is sí as áildem ro:boí i n-Ére. Luid Óengus do gabáil a llámae dia tabairt cucai inna imdai.

Shaw: Is sí as áildem ro boí i n-Ére. Luid Óengus do gabáil a llámae dia tabairt cucci inna imdai.

Eg. Is si iss aildem ro mbui indhere. Luid oengus do gabail a llaimiv dia tabairt chuicci ina imdai.

Müller: She was the most beautiful in Erin. Oengus went to seize her hands to take her with him in his bed.

She was the most beautiful that there (ever) was in Ireland. Óengus went to take her hand to bring her to him into his bed.

The 3 sg. pres. ind. rel. of the copula, canonical OIr. *as*, appears here as *iss*, as it does below also in *iss aildem*; for more on the representation of proclitic *a* as *i* see section 2.1.3(vii).

I remove the nasalisation indicating a nas. rel. clause in MS *rombui* as this is a common Middle Irish development and could have easily been inserted at some point during the text’s transmission. Shaw comments in a footnote that this is a ‘petrified infixed pronoun’; however, this seems more likely to be an example of the Middle Irish spread of the nasalising relative (see section 2.1.6(j) above).¹²⁶³ Presumably, the use of the perfect over narrative preterite here is similar to a usage discussed by McCone regarding the *Addimenta*, in that it ‘serves to enhance the present import of a past action’;¹²⁶⁴ i.e. here the maiden is being

¹²⁶³ SHAW 1934: 43.

¹²⁶⁴ EIV 96.

depicted as being exceptionally beautiful, that is, the most beautiful there ever had been. This may be contrasted with the narrative preterite in the description of the maiden's *timpán* below as *as bindem boíe*, 'the sweetest there was' [5].

The suspension stroke in MS indhere appears directly above the h and before the e in the manuscript, indicating that it represents the syllable -er- rather than the ending. Therefore, I edit it here as in the manuscript with the short dative (for more on this, see section 2.1.4.1 above); as I mention in the introduction, this linguistic feature adds to the argument for an Old Irish date.

The spelling of gen. sg. *llaimiv* with -iv in final unstressed position is an example of an incorrect spelling for schwa (for further examples, see section 2.1.3 above). The manuscript form contains a palatal *m*; I follow Shaw here in restoring this to non-palatal quality as is historically correct.¹²⁶⁵

3. Co:n-accae ní, fo:sceind úad opunn. Nícon:fitir cía árluid úad. Boí and co íarnabárach. Nípo slán laiss a menmae.

Shaw: Co n-accae ní; fo-sceinn úad opunn. Nícon fítir cía árluid húad. Boí and co harabárach. Nípo slán laiss a menmae.

Eg. Confacco ni foscenn uad opunn nicon fidir cía aralaid huad. Bui ann co harauaruch. nipoo slan laiss a menmu.

Müller: Müller: when he saw the one which he had welcomed suddenly away from him that he did not know who had taken it from him. There he was until the morning; his mind was not easy.

He saw something: she suddenly springs away from him. He did not know where she had departed from him. He was there until the next day. His mind was not easy.

Here I restore the original pre-assimilated -nd of the verb *fo-sceind* 'leaps, springs under/through' and restore the palatal *i* glide in spelling.¹²⁶⁶ The verbal root is *scend- and is more frequently attested in its simplex *sceinnid/sceindid*. Examples of *fo-sceind* 'leaps, springs' are relatively few; the exact meaning with the preverb *fo* is uncertain, however.

¹²⁶⁵ For the palatalisation of this f-ā-stem, see MCCONE 1997: 307.

¹²⁶⁶ See GOI §86(a).

Therefore, it may have meant something like ‘springs under’ in the sense of ‘vanishing’. This construction beginning *co n-accae ní* is a common form of expressing surprise usually in the face of a supernatural experience (see previous [2] and section 1.6.3.5 above). For more on the adverb *opunn* ‘suddenly’, see section 2.1.4.1 above.

Shaw takes MS. *aralaid* as a perf. 3sg. form of (*ad*)-*uttat* and edits it to *-árluid* adding a length mark to the first vowel, removing the second syllable and changing unstressed *a* in *-laid* to *u*. His note states that the verb *ad-uttat* ‘when followed by the prep. *ó* means *vanishes*,’ and cites two further usages of the verb with the form *-arluid/arluih* in his Glossary.¹²⁶⁷ The verb which Shaw cites is presumably *ad:otat*, which is otherwise unattested with the prefix *ad-* but it is found with *in-*, i.e. *in:otat* ‘enters into’; the verb-initial vowel is *o*, not *u* as indicated by Shaw, and is extant in the forms pres. ind. 1pl. *inotgam*, ML 96^b5 and 3pl. *inotgat* 44^c2.¹²⁶⁸ In a footnote to her article on the conjunction *co n-* in TBC in LL, O’Rahilly comments on this common phrase *ní(con):fitir cía arlaid/árlaid*. The examples she gives are *cid ad-rulaid* from the poem from *Immram Curaig Maíle Dúin*;¹²⁶⁹ *cia ārluith* from *Scéla Eógain ocus Cormaic*;¹²⁷⁰ and *cía árlaid* from *Fled Bricrenn* (LU 9127).¹²⁷¹ There she notes how Gerard Murphy took *ad-rulaid* to be a perf. 3sg. form of a verb **ad-tét*. Furthermore, O’Rahilly suggests that *-árlaid/-arlaid* could possibly represent *cia ar-luid*, which is what I use, slightly modified typographically, in the present edition.¹²⁷² Formally, either *ad:otat* or **ad-tét* could be the underlying verb here. The following example of *-arlaid* from Broccán’s Hymn is provided also by DIL: *conidarlaid síth iar sáeth* ‘till peace came to him after hardship’.¹²⁷³ As regards the meaning of the verb, it is noteworthy that it is glossed by *.i. co roairlestar* ‘took counsel for’:¹²⁷⁴ here the glossator has presumably understood *-arlaid* as a form of *airlithir* ‘counsels, advises’.¹²⁷⁵ A verb which is close in its composition to **ad-tét-* is *do-árlaid*, which is, similar to *-árlaid*, apparently only attested in the perfect. According to

¹²⁶⁷ SHAW 1934: 71.

¹²⁶⁸ DIL gives an entry for this form (see A 401.23), directs the reader to compare with *in:otat* and supplies

¹²⁶⁹ MURPHY 1956: 104, 105, §18.

¹²⁷⁰ MEYER 1912b: 310, ll. 36–8.

¹²⁷¹ O’RAHILLY 1966: 109, note 2.

¹²⁷² A simpler reading of this verb form with minimal alteration would be to retain the second syllable, as in the manuscript, and read it as *ar-tét* with the perf. part. *ro* in the deut.; the particle *cía* does not necessarily require the verb to be in its dependent form (*GOI* §459). However, the meaning is incompatible with the surrounding text as the verb *ar-tét* usually occurs in legal tracts with the meaning ‘goes in the place of, compensates’ (*DIL* A 417.72).

¹²⁷³ *Thes. Pal.* ii, 332.1 (*DIL* A 401.26).

¹²⁷⁴ *Thes. Pal.* ii, 332.1, note 11 (*DIL* A 401.26).

¹²⁷⁵ *DIL* A 226.39.

DIL, it may be composed of the elements **to-ad-ro-lod-* and it carries the meaning ‘came, went to’; notable, the perfect of *téit* is usually supplied by *cuad-* and not *ro-lod-*.¹²⁷⁶

I have restored the spelling of unstressed *-a-* in the final syllable, here schwa, of *bárach* and the unstressed final vowel of *menmae*; for the use of *u* as representing schwa in a closed syllable, see section 2.1.3(c) above and for the use of *u* for schwa in final unstressed position, see section 2.1.3(f). The prep. *co* is attested in all MSS as orthographically prefixing *h-* to *arabárach*, which I removed since the orthographic representation of *h*-mutation is a Middle Irish development. Regarding *arabárach*, this form is found by the time of the Milan glosses: *romdis direchtai arabarach* ‘they would be deserted on the morrow’, Ml. 48^d12. However, the expected form for the 8th century is original *íarnabárach* with the prep. *íar* ‘after’, hence the restoration in the edition.¹²⁷⁷

4. Do:génai galar ndó in delb ad:condairc cen a acaldaim. Nícon:luid biad inna béolu. Boí and ind adaig danó¹²⁷⁸ aithirriuch.

Shaw: Do-génai galar ndó in delb ad-condairc cen a haccaldaim. Nícon luid biad inna béolu. Boí and do aidchi dano aithirriuch.

Eg. Dogeni galar ndo in delb atconnuirc cina accalluib. Nicon luid biud ina ueolui. Bui ann doagaig dono aitheiruch.

Müller: It brought an illness on him, the figure which he had seen without speaking to her. Food did not enter his mouth. There he was again for a night;

It made him sick, the figure which he had seen without [her] having spoken to him. Food did not enter his mouth. She was there another night again then.

Regarding the nasalisation of *dó*, see section 2.1.4.1(a) above. The spelling dat. sg. *aithirriuch* ‘again’ is attested in the Ml. Glosses (see, for example, Ml. 46^b1, 48^d27, etc.). In the phrase *cen a accaldaim* ‘without speaking to her/him’,¹²⁷⁹ Shaw interprets the 3sg. possessive pronoun as feminine referring to the maiden and indicates this by inserting a *h*-mutation; however, given that the manuscript regularly represents *h*-mutation

¹²⁷⁶ *DIL* D 200.36.

¹²⁷⁷ *DIL* B 33.25. See, for example, *Thes. Pal.* ii, 329.38, *Trip.*² 180 etc. (cited also by *DIL*).

¹²⁷⁸ See BREATNACH (2003: 139) for rhyming examples of *danó* with a long final *o*.

¹²⁷⁹ Regarding the tentative restoration of *ll > ld* in MS *accalluib*, see section 2.1.4 above.

orthographically after the 3sg. f. poss. pron. and elsewhere (see section 2.1.3 (ii) above), it is likely that the 3sg. m. possessive pronoun is intended here, i.e. ‘without [her] having spoken to him’; or, at least, the MidIr. copyist understood it as masculine.

There is a preponderance by the scribe to represent *a* as *u* throughout the text (for the use of *u* in this particular position, see section 2.1.3(vii)(a) above)); as a result, I edit *biud* to *biad*, which was presumably disyllabic when the text was composed (see section 2.1.5(m) on hiatus).

Regarding the MS reading *doag-* Shaw makes the following comment: ‘MS. **doag-**, for Mid. Ir. **do agaig** or **do agaid**, *by night*, showing confusion of spirants, which became general in the thirteenth century. Cf. **d’agaid**. *Death Tales*, 40, 1 and see *Notes on Middle Irish Pronunciation* by T. F. O’Rahilly. . .’¹²⁸⁰ For further examples of this ‘confusion of spirants’, see section 2.1.5(i) above. The *do* before dat. sg. *adaig* is not the proposition but a vestige of the dat. sg. prepositionless def. art.; however, as pointed out by Thurneysen,¹²⁸¹ who refers directly to this example, it must have been reanalysed at some point as the preposition. The form of the noun then is a short dat. form of *adaig*, petrified in this phrase and the *d* that precedes is a shortened form of the def. art., which is common in MidIr. sources.¹²⁸²

Here I diverge from Müller by translating *boí and* as ‘she was there’ instead of ‘he was there’; this seems the more likely translation since the maiden is the subject of the sentence that follows.

¹²⁸⁰ SHAW 1934: 43f.

¹²⁸¹ THURNEYSSEN 1936; see also *GOI* §251.3.

¹²⁸² *DIL* only provides examples from MidIr onwards, which all appear as *d’adaig* (*DIL* A 28.29).

5. Co:n-accae timpán inna láim as bindem boíe. Seinnid céol ndó. Con:tuil friss. Biid and co íarnabárach. Nícon:ro-proind danó íarnabárach.

Shaw: Co n-accae timpán inna láim as bindem boíe. Sennid céol [n]dó. Con-tuil friss. Bíd and co arabárach. Nícon ro-proindig dano arabárach.

Eg. *Confacco timpán ina laim iss binnium bui. Sinnid ceul do contuil friss. Biid ann co harobaruch Nichoroproinn dono arauharuch.*

Müller: when he saw a cymbal in her hand the sweetest existing. She played a song to him that he fell asleep. There he was until the morning. He did not eat breakfast in the morning.

He saw a timpán in her hand, the sweetest there was. She played music for him. He fell asleep to it (i.e. the music). He/She was there until the next day. He still could not eat the following day.

Again, prosthetic *f* is removed and the unstressed final vowel restored in *co:n-accae*. There is no manuscript support for restoring the rel. form of the substantive verb *boíe*; however, it is the expected form for the proposed date of the text.¹²⁸³ A similar situation poses itself in McCone's edition of the Old Irish tale *Echtrae Chonnlai*; McCone justifies his restoration of the relative ending in pret. rel. 3sg. *boíe* based on the presence of pret. rel. 3sg. *luide* elsewhere in the manuscripts.¹²⁸⁴ Although AÓ does not provide other examples of the pret. 3sg. rel. ending in *-e*, there are a sufficient number of significant OIr. linguistic features to warrant the expected OIr. form *boíe* here.¹²⁸⁵

Regarding MS *sinnid*, it is possible that this is a scribal error whereby the scribe accidentally omitted the *e* to give *seinnid* or it is possibly a modernisation. In his article on 'double-nasal' presents, Fortson discusses the root of this verb as presenting a possible case of a 'genuine' double-nasal; in the process he notes that 'zero-grade **s(y)-ŋ-n-h2-* became regularly **s(w)anna-* in Common Celtic and **swænna-* in pre-Irish, analogically remade to **s(w)æne-*, to yield the homogenous pair *seinnid* 'attains; hits' (also *do-seinn* 'pursues') and *seinnid* 'plays (a musical instrument)'.¹²⁸⁶ The shape of the vowel in the verbal root is

¹²⁸³ This is noted also by SHAW (1934: 43).

¹²⁸⁴ MCCONE 2000: 128–9.

¹²⁸⁵ See also the following example from the epilogue to the *Félire* that calls for disyllabic *boíe* to fulfil the hexasyllabic requirement of the metre: *Cech nóeb bóí, fil, bás* 'Every saint who has been, is (and) shall be', *Fél. Ep.* 289. All MSS except LB give the reading *bui*; LB compensates for the syllabic shortage by giving the perfect form *robui*.

¹²⁸⁶ FORTSON 2009–2010: 53.

reflected in the earliest OIr. examples available: e.g. *no-d-seinn* Wb. 12^c46, *frissa sennar* Wb. 12^c46. The only examples of *sinn-* for the pres. stem appear in non-contemporary OIr. sources, e.g. 3sg. rel. *sinnes* in the ‘Old Irish tract on the privileges and responsibilities of poets’, a large section of which was taken from the OIr. legal tract *Bretha Nemed*;¹²⁸⁷ that said, however, the written representation of the language is EModIr. and some innovative forms make their way into the text.¹²⁸⁸ Interestingly, O’Davoren, who uses citations from this text, presents the form *sennes* among other forms which seem to be taken from this section of the tract.¹²⁸⁹

Internal evidence provides support of the insertion of nasalisation of the prep. pron. *dó* after the acc. sg. (see [4] above). Nasalisation here was likely removed by a post-OIr. scribe as it is restricted to Old Irish usage.

Con:tuil friss most likely means ‘he fell asleep to it’, that is, ‘to the music’ with the neut. pronoun referring to *céol* in the preceding sentence. A similar example is in the first instalment of *Tochmarc Étaíne* when Midir would fall asleep to the sound of Étaín’s buzzing, after she had become a fly: *contuiled fria fogur* ‘he would fall asleep with her humming’.¹²⁹⁰ Similarly, in *Immram Brain*, Bran falls asleep to the sound of beautiful music: *Con-tuil asennad frissa céol ara bindi*, ‘Finally he fell asleep on account of the sweetness of the music’; Mac Mathúna also provides the literal translation ‘at the music on account of its sweetness’.¹²⁹¹ The use of *con-tuili* with the prep. *fri* with the sense ‘sleeps with’, i.e. in the same sense as the modern English idiom indicating sexual intercourse appears to exist in the later language. DIL only provides one example of this usage: *Intan imorro ba codlad do cach, noteighdis na rechtaibh fein and-sen 7 nochatlad Budi fri Estin* ‘Puis, dès que tous s’étaient endormis, ils venaient sous leur propre forme et Budi couchait avec Esti’.¹²⁹² The more common expression for the latter sense in Early Irish literature is the use of the verb *foaid* or its verbal noun *feiss* with the prep. *la* and often with the noun *adaig*, i.e. ‘spends the night’.¹²⁹³ For example, in Rec. II of *Tochmarc Emire*, we are told: *fois Úathach la Coin Culainn iar sin*

¹²⁸⁷ GWYNN 1942: 7–8.

¹²⁸⁸ For a full description of the language, see GWYNN 1942: 9–11.

¹²⁸⁹ O’Dav. 1447; see GWYNN 1942: 2 on O’Davoren’s use of this tract as a source for his glossary. Gwynn also frequently refers to the relevant sections in O’Davoren’s glossary throughout his edition.

¹²⁹⁰ BERGIN & BEST 1938: 154, 155, §17. See also the example given by DIL: *conatail B. frisín praicept* ‘slept during the sermon’, *Trip.*², 2055 (DIL C 467.86).

¹²⁹¹ Mac Mathúna 1985: 33, 46, n.3, §2.

¹²⁹² STERN 1892: 10, 20 (cited by DIL C 467.63).

¹²⁹³ That said, however, this expression may carry also the meaning of simply ‘sleeps next to’: in *Compert Chon Culainn*, for example, when Deichtine mysteriously becomes pregnant, the narrator comments: *Domét ba ó Chonchobur tre mesci, ar ba leis no foed ind ingen* (VAN HAMEL 1933: 6) ‘it was thought that it was from Conchobur while he was drunk [that Deichtine had become pregnant], because the maiden used to sleep next to him’.

‘Úathach slept with Cú Chulainn after that’; *luid dano Cú Chulainn la Aife 7 fois lee in n-aidchi sin* ‘Cú Chulainn went then with Aife and slept with her that night’; and *Emer do feiss la Conchobur in n-aichi sin* ‘for Emer to sleep with Conchobor that night’.¹²⁹⁴ In the metrical version of *Tochmarc Ferbe* at the end of the LL prose version, this phrase is used again with regard to Maine Mórgor seeking Ferb: *Dodechaid do feis la Feirb* ‘Er ist gekommen zu schlafen mit Ferb’.¹²⁹⁵ When Midir unites with Étaín in the first instalment of *Tochmarc Étaíne*, we are told: *Foidh Étaín la Midir in oidchi sin* ‘that night Étaín sleeps with Midir’;¹²⁹⁶ similarly, in *Tochmarc II*, Ailill Anguba falls in love with Étaín ‘after she had lain with Eochaid’: *iar feis dí la hEochaid*.¹²⁹⁷

Although the MS often does not mark vowel length, the first *i* of cons. pres. 3sg. *biid* should be short according to phonological rules (i.e. that ‘when the root is stressed, the vowel appears short in hiatus before endings consisting of vowel plus consonant’).¹²⁹⁸ Shaw’s *bûid* would imply a vowel contraction which is not represented in the MS, i.e. what would later become *bíd*;¹²⁹⁹ the MS spelling *biid* may represent either an original hiatus form or it may be an instance of the MidIr. tendency to orthographically represent a long vowel by doubling it (see section 2.1.3(i)).¹³⁰⁰

MS *Nicho* is interesting because it shows two MidIr. developments: the lenition of intervocalic *c* of original Old Irish *nícon* and loss of final *-n*.¹³⁰¹ It could simply be the case that the scribe forgot a n-stroke, or that we have a slip of the pen by the EModIr. scribe. Here it is restored on the strength of the number of occurrences of *nícon* elsewhere within the text; it is written in full as *nicon* in [4] and [7] and elsewhere as *nicon* with the abbreviation for *co(n)* in [3], [6], [14] and [22].

Shaw edits *nichoroproinn* to *nícon ro-proindig* and notes the following: ‘MS. **Nichoroproinn**. The only examples, which I have of a verb formed from the noun **proinn** are in *Immram M. Dúin*. They are **prandigiub-sa**, fut. sg. 1. LU 1677 and **praindigset**, pret. pl. 3 (the reading in LU. **praindsit** LU. 1716 is probably an error, as is shown by the readings in the other MSS. **praindighsed** YBL. and **praindighsid** Harleian 5280, cf. RC IX, 478, 6) and

¹²⁹⁴ VAN HAMEL 1933: 52, 55, 65 respectively; all translations are my own.

¹²⁹⁵ *Ir. Texte* 3:1, 520, 521, l. 803.

¹²⁹⁶ BERGIN & BEST 1938: 152, 153, §15.

¹²⁹⁷ BERGIN & BEST 1938: 164, 165, §2. *DIL* also comments on the distinction between *foaid* and *con:tull* regarding the sense of spending the night with an individual (*DIL* F 180.30).

¹²⁹⁸ *EIV* 28.

¹²⁹⁹ *EIV* 204.

¹³⁰⁰ For more on the use of the cons. pres. carrying the sense ‘continues to be’, see *GOI* §519.1 and SHAW 1934: 74.

¹³⁰¹ *DIL* comments: ‘In Mid.Ir. the form *nícon* somet. becomes *níco* before a consonant, and is early weakened to *noco* (*noco n-* before a vowel or lenited *f*); later with lenited *c*, *nocho* (*n-*), *nocha* (*n-*), which prevail in later Mid.Ir.; early Mod.Ir. *nocha* [...]’ (*DIL* 46.4).

verb noun **praindiughudh**. RC. X, 92,8. We should read then **nícon ro-proindig dano arabárach**, and I take the **ro-** here to be, not the **ro-** of the perf., but the **ro-** of possibility: *he was unable to eat anything on the following day.*¹³⁰² The denominative *proindid* without productive *-igi-* is attested in the Early Irish tale *Immram curaig Maíl Dúin* (LU 1716), but Shaw regards this as ‘probably an error’.¹³⁰³ In the same text only a couple of lines later appears the form with the suffix *-(a)ig-* in the fut. 1sg. form *-praindigiubsa* (LU 1677). Therefore, it is difficult to decide which denominative formation is the oldest; it seems more likely that the form with the suffix is later. I retain the manuscript form *-proinn* and restore *-nd*.¹³⁰⁴ In accordance with Shaw, and as reflected in the new translation, the *ro* here would seem to be the *ro* of possibility.¹³⁰⁵

6. Blíadain lán dó 7 sí oca aithigid fon séol sin co-ndid:corastar i seurc. Nícon:epert fri nech. Fa:ceird iarum 7 ní:fitir nech cid ro:mboí.

Shaw: Blíadain lán dó os sí occa aithigid fon séol sin condid corastar i sergg. Nícon epert fri nech. F-a-ceird [i sergg] iarum ocus ní fitir nech cid ro mboí.

Eg. Blíadain lán do 7 sí oca aithidig fon seol sin. *condocorustar* hi sercc. *Nicon* ebuir fria nech. foceird *iarum* .7 ní fitir nech cid rot mbui.

Müller: A whole year [elapsed] to him and she [went on] to visit him in his bed so that he fell in love. He did not tell it to anybody. He fell ill afterwards and nobody knew what was with him.

He [was (like that)] for a full year, and she repeatedly going to him playing that music, so that it put him in a decline. He did not tell anybody. It afflicted him afterwards and nobody knew what was the matter with him.

¹³⁰² SHAW 1934: 44, n. 7.

¹³⁰³ See also the Middle Irish example from the *Leabhar Breac* (131a20): pret. 3sg. *proindis* ‘he dined’.

¹³⁰⁴ Ó CATHASAIGH (1997: 433) also favours this form.

¹³⁰⁵ McCone comments on how difficult it is to detect potentiality with the preterite ‘in a dead language’s written record’ and that ‘potential aurgmentation of preterites was at best extremely rare, at worst nonexistent’ (EIV 107). However, he provides one example that could be ‘more or less plausibly interpreted’ as the use of the potential augment with the pret. from a collection of moral maxims in 23 N 10, p. 135, entitled *Bídh Crínna* by Marstrander: *laa chaidchi do Guaire oca thetarracht 7 ní:ru-bai fer dia muintir* ‘Guaire had a whole day pursuing him and did not (manage to) smite one of his men’ (EIV 107; MARSTRANDER 1911: 132.24). Cf. also Jackson’s translation: ‘he was unable to eat’ (1951: 93).

Although *blíadain* is abbreviated in the MSS to *bl-*, the palatal quality of the *-n* of the adj. *láin* would seem to indicate that it is either the fem. acc. sg. or dat. sg.; possibly the former, giving the sense of a temporal accusative ‘for a full year’. Alternatively, this may simply be a corruption. The following are further examples of the use of the temporal accusative: *sechtmain láin* ‘for a full week’ in [38] below; *Lagin oco dēnam bliadain láin* ‘the Leinstermen were doing it for a full year’;¹³⁰⁶ *co mbói bliadain láin fora fochmarc* ‘and a full year was he a-searching for her’ (Rennes Dindsenchas);¹³⁰⁷ *Nech nobiad bliadain láin | I taig aiged Indsi Cain* ‘Anyone who is for a whole year in the guest-house of Inis Cáin’ (own transl.) (*trefoical* tract in the Book of Leinster).¹³⁰⁸ The latter example is verified by rhyme, i.e. *láin:Cáin*. Of the examples I found, however, there were none with the use of the prep. *do*. Rather these appeared with *blíadain lán* in the nominative and *do* expressing the ‘personal subject pronoun’ (see GOI §816): *Blíadhain lán dóib immon rún-sin* ‘they spent a full year in that secret conference’ (*Cath Maige Tuired*);¹³⁰⁹ *Bliadain lan dó oc tinól na flede* ‘he spent a full year gathering the feast’, LU 8042–3 (*Fled Bricrenn*); *bliadain lan don filid* ‘the poet spent a full year’, BB 134b34.¹³¹⁰

For the MS spelling *oca* for *occa*, see section 2.1.3(vi)(d) on orthographic features in the MS; and for more on the MidIr. confusion of /ð/ and /ɣ/ in MS *aithidig*, see section 2.1.5(i) on phonological developments.

Müller translates MS *fon seol sin* as ‘in his bed’; however, this yields little sense with the prep. *fo* as there are no examples of it ever meaning ‘in’ and it does not account for demonstrative *sin* ‘that’. Shaw, on the other hand, gives the following explanation and translation: ‘(dat. of **sel**, *turn, course?*); **fon séol sin**, *in that manner*’.¹³¹¹ However, again this presents problems: there are no examples of the noun *sel* with the meaning ‘manner’, nor are there examples of *sel* with, what is presumably implied, a diphthong in the dat. sg., and it is never used with the prep. *fo*. Regarding the various meanings of *sel*, these are, according to *DIL*, (a) ‘turn’, (b) ‘a while, a spell’, and (c) ‘a certain distance’, but never ‘manner’.

On the other hand, under the entry for *séol* *DIL* gives the ‘manner’ as an extension of the meaning ‘course’ and provides six examples, among which is this example from AÓ. In the entry for *seol*, *DIL* gives the example from O’Davoren’s Glossary, which happens to also use the prep. *fo*: *seol .i. bes no sailgis, ut est fo seol na haimsire i mbiat .i. fo cain no fo*

¹³⁰⁶ GREENE 1955:418–9.

¹³⁰⁷ STOKES 1895:37.

¹³⁰⁸ CALDER 1917:265, ll. 5299–5300.

¹³⁰⁹ GRAY 1982:42, 43, §76.

¹³¹⁰ Citation from *DIL* S 239.72.

¹³¹¹ SHAW 1934:108.

urradus, ‘*seol*, i.e. a custom or good request, ut est ‘according to the course of the time in which they will be’, i.e. according to rule or according to customary law’, *O’Dav.* 1432. However, the sense of *seol* in this example is not that of a habitual action action *per se* but that of the abstract concept of an established custom rather than the practice. An example which *DIL* gives with a question mark from *Acallam na Senórach* and it is indeed ambiguous; it is used within the context of an otherworld woman appearing to the Connacht king Áed mac Muiredaig, and he is the only one who can see her similar to Conn Cétchathach in *Echtrae Chonnlai*. Her physical description is given (*mín mongbuide* ‘smooth and having yellow hair’) and the narrator states: *ba hingna[d] seol na hingine* ‘the maiden’s *seol* was wonderful’,¹³¹² which must refer to either her appearance or behaviour, as suggested by *DIL*. A third example provided by *DIL* of *seol* carrying the meaning ‘manner, way’ is the following from the Annals of Connacht: *o nar fetsat ni di forsín seol-sin* ‘and since they could not take it by this means’ (Ann. Conn. 1235.17). This refers to a military exploit whereby those attacking from a lake using a perrier change their attack tactic to that of sending fiery rafts to the shoreline; for this reason, *forsín seol-sin* might be more accurately translated as ‘relying on that course (of action)’.¹³¹³ Therefore, the meaning of *seol* as ‘manner, way’, particularly with the prep. *fo* is dubious.

Here I present an alternative to the above interpretations, i.e. that *seol* be taken as the noun meaning ‘strain’ or, as Vendryes translates, ‘chant, musique’.¹³¹⁴ *DIL* treats this under the same headword as *seol* ‘sail; bed; course’ etc. but O’Brien argues that there are examples ‘where the ordinary meaning “course” does not suit the context’ and suggests that *seol* is a ‘verbal noun of *sennid* modelled on *céol*’.¹³¹⁵ Given that the maiden visits Óengus and plays music to him, the sense of the phrase *oca aithigid fon seol sin* may be ‘she goes to him repeatedly playing that music’. I take *aithigid* here with the looser sense of ‘goes to’ (cf. *mo menma dia aithigi* ‘my mind go out to Him’, *Ériu* ii 56 §12)¹³¹⁶ and the prep. *fo* with the vn. *seol* as meaning literally ‘by/with that playing’ (cf. the use of *fo* with the vn. *sním* in the phrase *fo sním* ‘plaited’).¹³¹⁷

Shaw briefly explains his insertion of the 3sg. m. inf. pron. in MS *con docorustar* as follows: ‘The 3 sg. masc. infixed pron. (dental form after the conjunction **con-**) must be

¹³¹² *Acall.* 6366. Stokes, in his edition and translation of *Acallam na Senórach* (*Acall.*) translates this as ‘strange was the damsel’s fashion’. DOOLEY & ROE translate this as ‘so strange was her coming’ (1999: 179).

¹³¹³ For examples of the prep. meaning ‘relying on’, see *DIL* F 300. 6.

¹³¹⁴ *Lex. Étym.* S-89.

¹³¹⁵ O’BRIEN 1932: 169; cited also by *DIL* S 183.83 (for further examples of this usage, see *DIL*).

¹³¹⁶ Example taken from *DIL* A 264.84.

¹³¹⁷ *Anecd.* i 61 §91.

supplied.’¹³¹⁸ There are multiple interpretations for the present form *con docurustar*: *co* may take an independent form of the verb and concomitant lenition or it may nasalise, as it does here, and act as a conjunct particle; both introduce the subordinate clause ‘so that, that’. Therefore, the intended form may have been *co do:corastar* or *da:corastar* with a direct object pronoun and the verb *do:cuirethar* ‘puts’ in the deut.; another example of this usage is *co chon:scarad* ‘that they should destroy’, *ML* 23^b14. Another interpretation of the form is to identify it as one of the ‘rare’ examples in which *-da^N* is used to signify a 3sg. m. Class C inf. pron.; this is noted by Thurneysen (*GOI* §415) and it occurs in the *Wb. Glosses*, albeit rarely: e.g. *ruda n-ordan* ‘which has dignified him’, *Wb.* 33^c5. However, this may be an early example of the typically MidIr. confusion around the forms of the infixed pronouns.¹³¹⁹

I have followed Shaw’s interpretation of the phrase *MS hi sercc* meaning ‘in a decline/wasting state’, rather than Müller’s ‘in love’, which seems to be implied again in *fa:ceird iarum*, as indicated by Shaw. Only *i serc* seems idiomatically acceptable with *serc* meaning ‘decline, wasting state’, whereas the use of *serc(c)* ‘love’ is only idiomatically correct when with the agent is expressed through the prep. *la*. I have found no examples of *i serc* ‘in love’ but there are multiple examples of *i serc* ‘in a declining state’: *hi seurc*, *ML* 142c3; *nobid i sérg*, *Lat. Lives* 93.1, and *beith i searg galair*, *RC* 33, 410 §20.¹³²⁰ The phrase *i sirg*, which should be edited to *i se(u)rc*, occurs within the same context of love-sickness in the second instalment of *Tochmarc Étaíne* (see section 2.1.1.1 above and for more on the textual relationship between *AÓ* and *Tochmarc II* in this part of the text see section 1.6.3.5):

Focheird Ailíll a sirg dé fo dhaigh nara thubaidhi fri nech¹³²¹ ⁊ nach erbart frisin mnaí fodeisin.

‘Ailíll fell into a decline lest his honour should be stained, nor had he spoken of it to the woman herself.’¹³²²

Whether or not to use the directional accusative after the verb *fo:ceird* ‘puts’ is unclear from the examples that I have found, i.e. that contain a noun that formally distinguishes its dat. sg. from the acc. sg.¹³²³ The dat. is used after *fo:ceird* *i Rec. I TBC: foherd in láech síde [...] i cnedaib ⁊ i créchtaib i n-aladaib ⁊ i n-ilgonaib | Con Culaind, LU* 6341–2, ‘Then the warrior from the fairy mound put [...] in the wounds and cuts, in the gashes and many injuries of Cú

¹³¹⁸ SHAW 1934: 44–5, note 3.

¹³¹⁹ See *SnaG* III, 10.6.

¹³²⁰ These examples have been taken from the *DIL*, s.v. *serg*.

¹³²¹ Read *fria enech*.

¹³²² BERGIN & BEST 1938: 164, 165.

¹³²³ Most of the examples I have found contain the noun in the sg. and belong to the either the *ā*- or *u*-stem classes.

Chulainn'.¹³²⁴ However, in the following example from *Aislinge Meic Con Glinne*, the acc. is used: *fodosceirdi [...] it beolu na mírenda* 'these morsels thou must put in thy mouth', Aisl. MC 97z.¹³²⁵ Such few examples with the verb *fo:ceird* leaves the question as to whether dat. or acc. should follow is inconclusive; as Rec. I TBC is linguistically older than *Aislinge Meic Con Glinne*, I opt for the dat. here.

The proto. form *-ebuir*, demonstrates Mid.Ir. palatalisation of the 3sg. form of the t-pret.,¹³²⁶ as well as the modernised orthographic feature *b* for OIr. *p*; for more on the former point, see section 2.1.7.2 above. Regarding the conflation of the OIr. prep. *fri* with *re*, see section 2.1.6(f) above.

Here the nas. rel. clause is retained in the idiom *cid ro:mboí* with the substantive verb expressing the sense of 'vexes, ails'. However, I removed the petrified infix pronoun *-t*, which is semantically and grammatically empty. It is possible that the relative was reanalysed at some point as the preverbal particle *ro* containing the 3sg. m. Class C inf. pron. *-d*, which would show concomitant nasalisation.¹³²⁷ Another less likely explanation is that the neut. inf. pron. is intended here with the meaning 'thus' (see *GOI* §422); Thurneysen gives the following examples: *fáilid nach oín adid-trefea* 'joyful will be everyone that shall so dwell' (lit. 'shall dwell it') ML 107^a15, *dos-n-iccfa cobir cid mall, both maith immurgu in tain dond-iccfa* 'help shall come to them though it be slow; it will, however, be good when it so comes' (lit. 'shall come it') Wb. 5^c5, *da-chotar* 'they went thus' (lit. 'it'), i.e. 'they went the aforesaid way', ML 38^b2.¹³²⁸ It is worth noting that the following section of text containing the exact same idiom does not contain this extra pronoun. See also section 2.1.6(m) above and [8] below.

¹³²⁴ Translation from O'RAHILLY 1976: 184 (ll. 2142–3).

¹³²⁵ Example taken from *DIL* F 187.35.

¹³²⁶ See *EIV* 240.

¹³²⁷ SHAW also notes this possibility in his Glossary (1934: 110–111).

¹³²⁸ It must be said that there is a possibility that the last example is, arguably, an early example of a petrified neut. inf. pron.

7. Do:eccmalldar legai Érenn. Nicon:fetatar-som cid ro:mboí asendath. Ethae co Fíngen, liaig Conchobuir. Do:tét-side cucai.

Shaw: Do-ecmalldar legi Érenn. Nicon fétatar-som cid ro mboí asendud. Ethae co Fingen, liaig Conchobuir. Do-tét-side cucci.

Eg. Doeccmalldar lege herinn. Nicon fet^{at}arsin cid rombui hissennath. Et^ha co fergne liaig conchobair. Dotetside chuicce.

Müller: The physicians of Erin assembled. They did not know what there was after all. One went to Fergne the physician of Conn. He came to him.

The physicians of Ireland are assembled. They did not know what ailed him in the end. Fíngen, Conchobor's physician, was sent for. The latter (i.e. Fíngen) comes to him.

I translate *do:eccmalldar* (*do:ecmalla* ‘brings together, gathers’) here as a passive along with Shaw, as opposed to Müller’s translation of an active verb. The correct gen. sg. ending *-enn* in restored in *Érenn*, MS *herinn*.

The emphasising pronoun with the form *-sin* for OIr. *-som* is a Middle Irish innovation. Further examples occur in Rec. II TBC contained in LL: *bar é-siun* ‘ar seisean’, LL 10596 (TBC), *ra-bert-sun*, LL 10012 (TBC).¹³²⁹

As elsewhere, I restore *-nn-* to *-nd-* in MS *hissennath*, ed. *asendath* in line with the posited 8th-century date of composition for this text.¹³³⁰ The substantive element of the adv. *asennad* is not attested outside of its compound, nor does it survive in any form into ModIr. The earliest attestations recorded in *DIL* are found in the Milan Glosses, and from the time of MI. to MidIr. the spelling of *asendad* fluctuates greatly so that it makes it quite difficult to reconstruct its original form: e.g. *ásénnad* ‘finally’, glossing *demum*, MI. 63^a11; *asennad* ‘at last’, glossing *in finem*, MI. 24^b19; *a sennad* in the prologue to the *Féilire*,¹³³¹ glossed as *fa deoid* ‘at last, in the end’; and in the various MSS of *Immram Brain* it appears as the following: R *asennad*, T *asennad*, B *isentath*, E *asendath*, H *hi seunduth*, S *aseandath*, L

¹³²⁹ Examples taken from Breatnach in *SnaG* III 10.2.

¹³³⁰ For more on the composition of *asendad*, see *Lex. Étym.* A-94: ‘Comprend sans doute la préposition *uss-* <<hors de>> suivie d’un substantif, qui suivant U. S. 323, se rattacherait à une racine **swend-* <<disparaître>>, conservée seulement en germanique, v. *swindan* <<diminuer>>, v. *swintan* all. *schwinden*. Pok. 1057.’

¹³³¹ *Fél.* Prol. 46. This is a rhyming example that proves that the vowel is short: *Rouchtha a carcraib | i crochaib a sennad | in tslóig occa sinnad | iarna fóebraib fennad*. ‘They have been brought out of dungeons (and) afterwards (put) on crosses: the hosts reviling them after flaying them with sword-edges.’ (Here, I put the rhyming words in bold.)

asennad.¹³³² Final *-th* may have been introduced as an archaism but it would also have been acceptable in Wb., which is why I retain it here.¹³³³

The manuscript gives Fergne instead of Fíngen, Conchobor's physician who appears elsewhere in Early Irish literature. While Shaw gives Fingen with short *i*, there is an instance of internal rhyme in the Metrical *Dindsenchas* that proves that the *i* of Fíngen is indeed long; here I highlight the rhyming pair in bold:

Is and atá **Fíngen**, feith, | fer no**dirged** cech ndían-breith, | is Gúaire glan gáesach
grinn, | ocus Báesach mac Tuilchind.

'There is Fingen – attend! one that shaped aright each keen judgement; and Guaire, pure-handed, skilful and polished, and Baesach son of Tollchend'.¹³³⁴

As Shaw highlights in the introduction to his edition of AÓ, the physician here exhibits the same very specific ability as Fíngen in *Aided Chonchobuir* 'The Death-tale of Conchobor' of being able to judge the illness of a man by the smoke that comes from the house.¹³³⁵ Shaw comments also that this confusion may have come about from a mistake in expanding an abbreviated form of the name. Names are usually abbreviated when they are either well-known or mentioned already in the tale; it is possible that this was the reason for there having originally been an abbreviation of the kind *f*-.¹³³⁶

¹³³² MAC MATHÚNA 1985: 62–4.

¹³³³ See *GOI* §130.

¹³³⁴ *Met. Dinds.* iv, 202.

¹³³⁵ SHAW 1934: 21–3.

¹³³⁶ Fergna is a common name also in Early Irish material, e.g. the famous hospitaller in *Mesca Ulad* and *Fled Bricrenn*; there was once an abbot of Iona named St Fergna; Aed, son of a Fergna, appears in the Life of Berach (Plummer 1922: 35, §59); and a Dimma son of Fergna appears in the Life of Cóemgen (STOKES 1899: 30).

8. At:gninad-som i n-agaid in duini a ngalar no:bíth fair ocus ad:gninad din died no:théged din tig a llín no:bíth co ngalar ann. Ad:gládstar for leith. ‘Ate, ní béodaí do imthechta,’ ol Fíngen, ‘sercc thécmais ro:carais.’

Shaw: Adgninad-som i n-aigid in duini a ngalar no bíth for ocus ad-gninad din dieid no théged din tig a llín no bíth co ngalar and. Atngládstar for leith. ‘Ate! níat béodai do imthechta,’ ol Fingen ‘Sercc écmaise ro carais.’

Eg. Atngne ^{/inagh-} adsin hin duine ingalar. no mbid fair. ocus adgnied din died no theche din tich a llin no mbid co ngalar ann. Atgladustair for leith ate ni beoga do intecto ol fergne sercc tecmuis. rot caruis

Müller: He knew from the face of the man the illness that was in him and he knew from his saying that he would go in the house of his, that he had an illness of the brain. Fergne called him apart [and said] ‘little is thy experience an accidental love has fallen on thee.’

He could recognize it in the man’s face, [that is,] the disease that was on him; and he could recognize from the smoke which would come from the house, the number of those sick therein. Fíngen spoke with him privately (lit. separately). ‘Indeed, your tidings are not fortunate,’ said Fíngen, [it is] a serc thecmais (chance love) which you (have) loved’.

MS *no mbid* is an example of the non-historical use of the nasalising relative with a subject antecedent (for more on this, see section 2.1.6(j) above). The first verb form in this section, MS *Atngneadsin*, contains a 3sg. m. Class B inf. pron. referring to *galar*; however, *galar* is historically a neut. noun, which is why I remove the nasalisation and retain the proleptic pronoun. What appears to be the masc. def. art. before *galar* may be a post-OIr. spelling for the neut. acc. sg. form of the def. art., i.e. *a n-*.

Shaw edits the forms MS *atngneadsin* and *adgnied* to the 3sg. imperf. form *ad-gninad-som* and *ad-gninad*, restoring the non-radical nasal of the present stem of this BV verb, without commenting on the form in the manuscript, which looks more like a past subjunctive 3sg. The expected form for the 3sg. past subj. of *ad:gnin* ‘recognizes’ is *ad:gniad*, which is quite close to the second form *adgnied* in the MS, but *atgnead* is also attested for the 3sg. past subj. in the LU version of *Tochmarc Emire* (LU 10323). However, the use of the subjunctive mood is unwarranted here given that both verbs appear in principal clauses and there is no grammatical necessity for the use of the subjunctive (see GOI §520). It could be posited that an *n*-stroke was lost during the transmission of the text but it seems unlikely that

it would have been lost for both forms. Alternatively, it may represent a Middle Irish linguistic development whereby forms without non-radical nasal in the indicative were replacing the forms with the nasal. Examples of this development include the following: 3pl. pres. ind. *adgniatt* ‘they know’ (*ad-gnin*), *O’Dav.* 156; 3sg. ipf. ind. *atgnied* ‘he used to know’ (*ad-gnin*), *ZcP* 7, 300.1;¹³³⁷ 3sg. ipf. ind. *-aithgnead* (*ad-gnin*), *LU* 5921 (TBC); 3pl. pres. ind. *andagniat* ‘da erkannten sie’¹³³⁸ (*in-gnin*), *Ir. Texte* 3, 237.59.¹³³⁹ This latter example is from the Eg. version of *De Chophur in Dá Muccida* and, quite interestingly from the perspective of BV verbs borrowing n-less indicative forms from hiatus verbs, the wording of the equivalent section in the LL version is *ata-cíat* ‘sie sehen dann’ with the AIII verb *ad-cí*.¹³⁴⁰

Regarding *fair*, I retain the manuscript form rather than editing to *for* as Shaw does, as *fair* is found at *Wb.* 7^c4; see also examples of *foir*, *Wb.* 4^d15, 2^b30, *MI.* 2^a6 etc.¹³⁴¹

Shaw provides nasalisation after an object pronoun contained in MS *Atgladastair* and it is possible that nasal *n* has gotten lost here.¹³⁴² However, as the object is expressed prior to this, it is not necessary to repeat it and I take *at-* here as an instance of the petrified neut. inf. pron., replacing it with *ad-* in the restored text. The form itself with palatal final *-r* is a Middle Irish by-form, ‘apparently triggered by palatal/non-palatal fluctuations in the final *-r* of passive impersonals’.¹³⁴³ In agreement with Shaw, I restore the 3pl. form of the copula *nítat* as the 3sg. of the copula, MS *ni*, with a plural subject is a MidIr. development.¹³⁴⁴

For a discussion of MS *sercc tecmuis* here and in [17] below, edited to *serc écmaise*, see section 2.1.1.1 above.

¹³³⁷ This is contained in a short piece of seemingly Middle Irish prose in TCD MS H 2.16 entitled *Dubh Dúanach* by Kuno Meyer.

¹³³⁸ ROIDER 1979: 34, 35, l. 74 (Eg.).

¹³³⁹ Examples taken from *DIL*, s.vv. *ad-gnin* and *in-gnin*.

¹³⁴⁰ ROIDER 1979: 34, 35, l. 56 (LL).

¹³⁴¹ Examples from *DIL* F 294.54.

¹³⁴² For loss of *n* between consonants, see *GOI* §180.3.

¹³⁴³ *EIV* 217. See also section 2.1.7 above.

¹³⁴⁴ See *SnaG* III, §§14.3, 14.4.

9. ‘Ad:rumadar mo galar form,’ ol Óengus, ‘do:rochar im dochraidi.’ Ocus ní:ro-lámair nech a epirt fri nech.

Shaw: ‘Ad-rumadar mo galar form,’ ol Óengus. ‘Do-rochar i ndochraidi ocus ní ro-lámar a epirt fri nech,’ [ol Fingen].

Eg. Adruimiduir mo galar form or oengus adrochart im drochraide. ocus nirolamuir nech a epert fria nech.

Müller: My illness has judged me said Oengus. I loved in heartlessness. And nobody dared to say it to the other.

‘You have determined my illness,’ said Óengus, ‘I have become shameful’ (lit. ‘I have fallen into my shamefulness’). And none dared utter it to anyone.

In this part of the tale, we find out that Óengus’ illness is a source of shame, to the point that the people around him do not repeat what it is. This is an echo of the first stages of Óengus’ affliction in [6]; for more on this, see section 2.1.1.1 above.

Shaw restores final *-ar* in MS *adruimiduir* to *ad-rumadar* to give a 2sg. ‘you have judged’ (*ad-midethar*).¹³⁴⁵ It is possible that this is simply a 3sg. perf. of *ad:midethar*, i.e. *ad:ru-mídair*, but a 2sg. suits the context better and it is the form I also present in the edited text. I also, along with Shaw, provide the expected OIr. form with non-palatal *m*. Palatal *m* probably arose by analogy with syncopated forms such as 3sg. pres. ind. *-immruimdethar* ‘he sins’, *Thes. Pal.* ii, 253.11; cf. non-syncopated perf. 3sg. *dorumadir si* ‘he has estimated’, ML 16^c11; perf. 1sg. *conammedar* ‘I have ruled’, Wb. 26^b21. However, I keep the 3sg. form in MS *nirolamuir* with *nech* as the subject, which Shaw removes, i.e. ‘none dared utter it to anyone’; this latter form may have influenced the first.¹³⁴⁶

Shaw notes that MS *Adrochart* is a ‘common Mid.Ir. form for O.Ir. **do-rochar**’.¹³⁴⁷ *Adrochart* is not a form of a verb **ad-tuit*, which does not exist, but a MidIr. form of the verb *do-tuit* ‘falls’ with confusion of the preverb *ad-* for *do-*.¹³⁴⁸ The final *-t*, then, is either a

¹³⁴⁵ ‘In *Nachträge* §780 I) [i.e. PENDER 1930] we find Perf. Sing. 3 **adruimidir** (leg. **adromidir**) **mo galar form** but Müller reads **adruimidiur** not **adruimidir**. [...] **adruimiduir**, and the context - unless *Óengus* is understood to be soliloquising - requires the verb to be in the second person, Old Ir. **ad-rumadar**’ (SHAW 1934: 46).

¹³⁴⁶ For the survival of mostly 3sg. dep. endings in the MidIr. period, see *SnaG* III, 12.57.

¹³⁴⁷ SHAW 1934: 47, n. 6.

¹³⁴⁸ Breatnach gives further examples including *at-rochair*, LL 37959 and *at-rochratar*, LL 28546 (*SnaG* III, 11.24).

scribal hypercorrection or it represents a linguistic development, whereby it has been borrowed to mark the preterite more clearly, given that its expected preterite is suffixless.¹³⁴⁹

Regarding MS *imdrochcruide*, Shaw does not give an explanation as to why he removes the poss. pron. 1sg., while giving the MS reading in a note.¹³⁵⁰ It is possible that this *im* was originally *in*, i.e. the prep. *i n-* (or the def. art. *in*; however, this would yield little sense here), which gained a minim at some point during the text's transmission. *Drochcraide* itself looks like a compound containing the adjectival prefix *droch-*, 'bad, poor, ill', and the noun *cride* 'heart'; however, no other examples are available, which indicates that it may be a corruption. Given its use with the prep. *i*, the phrase *i ndochraidi* is presumably to be read here: *indochraidi* (*i ndochraidi*), gl. *dedicus*, which appears as the explanation for OBPROBRIUM DEDIT ILLÍS, Ml. 100^b3. The examples of *dochraide* in the Ml. glosses refer to wickedness, that is sinful behaviour or actions, in the sense of either attempting to do physical harm to another person (Ml. 23^b5) or not respecting the power of God (Ml. 64^d13). Another example of its usage, but with a different meaning, appears in *Apgitir Chrábaid: Cethair ifirn duini isin centur .i. galar ⁊ sentu, bochta ⁊ dochraite*, 'The four hells of mankind in this world: Sickness, old age, poverty and friendlessness'.¹³⁵¹ The opposite to this maxim is given in the following line, where it poses *sochraide* 'beauty' as the opposite to *dochraide* 'ugliness': *Cethōra flaithi duini isin chentur .i. oītiu ⁊ soinnmige, sláine ⁊ sochraite*, 'The four heavens of mankind in this world: Youth, prosperity, health and friendship'.¹³⁵² Alternatively, it may also be the noun *dochraite* with an unlenited dental, i.e. (a) 'friendlessness' and (b) 'misery, hardship, indignity';¹³⁵³ for the representation of /d/ as *d* in this position, see section 2.1.3(d) above. That said, I have not found examples of this noun with the prep. *i*. Meaning (a) of *dochraite* is attested only in post-OIr. sources; however, there are two examples of it with meaning (b) in *retoiric* in Rec. II BDD: *dochraide rīg Temrach* 'hardship of the king of Tara'.¹³⁵⁴ Notably, this is written with *d*, which means that this might even belong under *dochraide* rather than *dochraite*. Within the context of Óengus' illness, it seems more likely that *dochraite*, i.e. a state of moral and/or physical wickedness, is intended given the response to his diagnosis, i.e. that 'nobody dared mention it to anyone'. A similar use of the verb *do-tuit* 'falls' with prep. *i* and an abstract noun signifying a physical or moral state of being

¹³⁴⁹ See *EIV* 215.

¹³⁵⁰ SHAW 1934: 47, n. 7.

¹³⁵¹ HULL 1968b: 74, §28.

¹³⁵² HULL 1968b: 74, §27.

¹³⁵³ *DIL* s.v. *dochraite*. *DIL* gives this as the opposite to *sochraite* 'the state of having many good friends'.

¹³⁵⁴ KNOTT 1936: II. 1057–8, 1065–6.

includes the following: *natorthissem inapthin fobés srotha luaith* ‘that we may not lapse into perdition in the manner of a swift stream’, Wb. 32^c16.¹³⁵⁵

10. ‘Is fir deit,’ ol Óengus, ‘do:m-ánaic ingen álaind in chrotho-so as áildem i n-Ére con n-écuscc derscaighiu. Timpán inna lláim co-ndid:seinned dam cach n-aidchi.’

Shaw: ‘Is fir deit,’ ol Óengus. ‘Do-m-ánaic ingen álaind in chrotha as áildem i n-Ére co n-écusc derscaighiu. Timpán inna lláim, conid senned dam cach n-aidchi.’

Eg. Is fir deid or oengus domfainicc ingen alluinn in crothusa iss ailldem. indherea co necuscc derrscaithe. Timpan ina llaim conid sennud dam cach naidqi.

Müller: It is true said Oengus I met a beautiful maiden of the most splendid form that is in Erinn with a distinguished appearance; [she had] a cymbal in her hand on which she used play to me every night.

‘You are correct,’ said Óengus, ‘a beautiful maiden of such a form that is the most beautiful in Ireland came to me [and she] with an excellent appearance; [she had] a timpán in her hand so that she would play it to me every night.’

There is little to remark upon in this section apart from the removal of prosthetic *f* from *domfainicc*, restored to *do-m:ánicc*, and the restoration of various unstressed vowels. For the representation of /g/ in MS *domfainicc* as *cc* rather than *c*, see section 2.1.3(v)(b) above. The palatal consonant quality of *n* in MS *domfainicc* is a modernisation, which I remove here; cf. *dusn-ainicc* in the Eg. 1782 copy of *Compert Chon Culainn: ocus dusn-ainicc gach maith issin tig* ‘and every good (thing) came to them in the house’.¹³⁵⁶

Superlative *áilldem* is one of the few examples whereby assimilation of *ld* > *ll* does not appear to have occurred in this text (see section 2.1.4.1). MS *derrscaithe* ‘distinguished’, participle of *do:róscai*, is a modernised form of the adj. with loss of *g* (see section 2.1.5); this form appears frequently in the YBL version of *Táin Bó Cuailnge* as the following: *lêne dergscoi[g]thi* and *claideb dercscoi[g]thi*.¹³⁵⁷

¹³⁵⁵ This example is also provided by *DIL s.v. do-tuit* (e).

¹³⁵⁶ *Ir. Texte* 1, 137. For more on this tale, see section 1.5.3.2; Eg. contains a modernised copy of version I with additions such as this particular line.

¹³⁵⁷ STRACHAN & O’KEEFFE 1912: II. 3344, 3345 respectively; O’Rahilly edits this as *lêne dergscoi[g]thi* in her edition of *Rec. I TBC* (O’Rahilly 1976: I. 3797). Examples also in *DIL* D 42.40 (s. v. *derrscaigthe*).

Shaw omits the demonstrative pronoun *-sa* of MS *incrothusa*, which I retain in the edited text. The same formula appears again in [13] below, where the demonstrative is used once again with gen. sg. *in crotho*: MS *duss indetar huait ingin in crothaso atconnairc do mac*. For this use of the demonstrative with a sense that denotes a particular kind of shape, cf. *ind óin ainmnedo so .i. inchosc sulbaire an · huius ⁊ an ipsius inmalle* ‘of this one nominative, i.e. the *huius* and the *ipsius* together is a mark of eloquence’, Sg. 209^b11.

11. ‘Ní bae,’ ol Fíngen. ‘Ro:tocad duit cairdes frie ⁊ foíter úait cosin mBoind, cot máthair, co:tudaich dot acaldaim.’

Shaw: ‘Ní bae,’ ol Fíngen; ‘do-rogad duit cairdes frie: ocus foíter úait cossin mBoinn, cot máthair, co tuidich dot accaldaim.’

Eg. Ní ba ol fergne ro togad duitt *cairdius frie*. ⁊ fuiter uait *cusin mbouinn* cod madair co tuchuid dot accalluim.

Müller: It is not so, said Fergne, love to her seized thee and now it shall be sent from thee to Boann thy mother that she may come speak to thee.

‘It does not matter,’ said Fíngen. ‘A relationship with her has been destined for you. Let a message be sent to the Boand, to your mother, so that she might come and speak to you.’

MS *ba* is an alternative form of *báe* and originally meant something like ‘advantage’ or ‘profit’, but is used quite frequently as a negative response and is often accompanied by an anaphoric or demonstrative pronoun.¹³⁵⁸ Regarding the terseness of this response, Ó Cathasaigh comments that ‘its significance derives from what immediately follows it, which is the re-assurance that Óengus is destined to achieve union with the woman’. Ó Cathasaigh continues by highlighting how this phrase is repeated in AÓ and notes: ‘it is followed on each occasion by words or actions which take the hero forward towards his ultimate goal’ (see section 2.1.11).¹³⁵⁹

¹³⁵⁸ Other examples include the following (taken from eDil B 6.075): *ni bae son* ‘it does not matter’; *ni baa aní sin*, LU 4541 (TBC); *ní bá sin or Cú C.*, LU 5723 (TBC).

¹³⁵⁹ Ó CATHASAIGH 1997:435.

Other minor editorial changes in the text include the emendation of the final syllable of *cairdius* to *cairdes*,¹³⁶⁰ and the normalisation of the diphthong in *fuíter* to *foíter*.¹³⁶¹ Regarding the spelling *madair* for expected *máthair*, see section 2.1.3 (vi) above.

Shaw restores the form *do-rograd*, of the OIr. vb. *do:goa* ‘chooses’, from MS *ro togad* and notes: ‘In *Mid. Ir.* the particle **ro-** tends to be prefixed to the verb and not infix as in *Old Ir.*’¹³⁶² Vendryes was the first to recognize that this is actually the verb *tocaid* ‘destines’, which, as DIL notes, is ‘used only in the passive’:¹³⁶³ ‘la leçon du manuscrit *rotogad* est corrigée en *dorogad*; cette correction est peu heureuse; il s’agit de *rotocad* << a été fixé par le destin >> (Pedersen, *V. Gr.*, II, 650) écrit ici *rotogad* comme *tocad* << destin >> est écrit *togad* dans *MI*. 35 d 22, 39 c 16; on lit *ma ratocad damsa* << s’il m’a été donné par le destin >> dans les *Anecd. from Irish Mss.*, t. I, p. 5, l. 18.’¹³⁶⁴

The origin of the form MS *-tuchuid* is unclear; it seems simply to be a case of metathesis, whereby *-ch-* and *-d* have been transposed in articulation.

The translation I provide differs greatly from Müller’s: firstly, following Vendryes, I take the verb MS *rotogad* to be the perf. pass. of *tocaid*; and, secondly, I translate *cairdes* as ‘relationship’, as opposed to Müller’s ‘love’, as the subject of the pass. construction.

¹³⁶⁰ The spelling *cairdius* gives the impression that the word has been formed using the suffix *-us* used to form abstracts from adjectives (see *GOI* §259.3); however, the suffix used here is *-as/-es*, which is used to derive from nouns (see *GOI* §261).

¹³⁶¹ See COWGILL 1967:134–5.

¹³⁶² SHAW 1934: 47.

¹³⁶³ *DIL* T 200.83.

¹³⁶⁴ VENDRYES 1936: 162. See also Ó CATHASAIGH 1995:435.

12. ‘Tiagar cuicce.’ [ol Fíngen] Tic iarum in Boand. Boí oc frepaid ind fír-se. Ol Fíngen, ‘da:n-ánaic galar n-ainchis.’ Ad:fiadat a scéla don Boind.

Shaw: Tiagair cuicce. Tic iarum in Boann. ‘Búu oc frepaid ind fír se,’ ol Fíngen, ‘d-an-ánaic galar n-ainchis.’ Ad-fiadot a scéla don Boinn.

Eg.: Tiagar chuicce. Tic iarum an boann. Bui og frepaid in fiursi ol fergne donfainicc galar nainches. Adfiadot a scéla don bouinn.

Müller: They went to her. Afterwards Boann came. I was curing a man, said Fergne, whom has seized an uncertain illness. This news was told to Boann.

‘Let a messenger go to her.’ The Boand came afterwards. He was curing this man. Fíngen said: ‘A debilitating illness has come upon him.’ They told his tidings to Boand.

Shaw restores the 3sg. pret. form MS *Bui* ‘he was’ to the 1sg. cons. pres. *búu*. There are two possible causes for the reanalysis of the verb here: firstly, the form *búu* was subject to erosion during the Middle Irish period; and, secondly, the series of minims may have been simply mistranscribed at some point. The position of *ol Fíngen* also lends support to reading a 1sg. as the defective verb most often comes after the direct speech.¹³⁶⁵ The use of the pronoun *-se* after gen. sg. *ind fír* also indicates that the sentence is part of direct speech; i.e. it supports emending to *búu*.

MS gen. sg. *infiur* appears odd as it looks like a dat. sg., but such a form here is grammatically impossible after the vb.n. *frepaid*, and thus requires emendation. In point of fact, the gen. sg. of *fer*, *fír*, does not, at any stage in the language, exhibit either a neutral final *-r* (see section 2.1.3(vii)(a) above for similar examples of hypercorrect use of *u*).

For a discussion of the ending *-ot* in the MS *Adfiadot*, see section 2.1.4, where I explain that this is a scribal tendency particular to Eg. 1782, as shown by examples also from *Echtrae Nerai* in the same MS.

¹³⁶⁵ An example to the contrary is the following; however, it should be noted that the context of its usage here is different to that of the present text because *ol Patrác* introduces a quatrain: *Ol Patrác; A Brigit, a nóeb challec, | A breó óir do na Déseb*, ‘Quoth Patrick: O Brigit, O holy nun, O flame of gold to the Desies’ (MACCARTHY 1892: 20).

13. ‘Bíth oca frecor céill dia máthair’, ol Fíngen, ‘da-n:ánaic galar n-ainchis, 7 timchelltar úait Ériu uile dús in:n-étar úait ingen in chrotho-so ad:condaire do macc.

Shaw: ‘Bíd a freccor céill dia máthair,’ ol Fíngen. ‘D-an-ánaic galar n-ainchis; ocus timchelltar húait Ériu uile, dús in n-étar húait ingen in chrotha so ad-condaire do macc.’

Eg.: Bid oc frecor ceill dia mathuir ol fergne donanicc galar nainches .7 timcillter huait herea huli duss indetar huait ingen in crothaso atconnairc do mac.

Müller: He will be under the care of his mother, he whom has seized a doubtful illness and whole Erin shall be investigated by thee whether there may be found a maiden of that form which thy son saw.

‘Let him be attended to by his mother’, Fíngen said, ‘A debilitating illness has come upon him; and let all of Ireland be searched (lit. ‘toured’) by you to see if the maiden of this form, whom your son saw, may be obtained by you.’

The verb MS *Bid* may be interpreted in three ways: it could be the ipv. 3sg. *biid*, *bíth* ‘let her/him/it be’ or the ipv. 2pl. ‘let ye be’; or it could be the cons. pres. 3sg. *biid* ‘he continues to be’. Given that Fíngen is giving a series of instructions, the imperative is the logical form of the verb required here. The preposition in *dia* may be *de* ‘from’ or *do* ‘to, for’, so that *dia máthair* may be either ‘to, for’ or ‘from his mother’. MS *oc frecor céill*, then, is where the main problem lies. The phrase *fris:cuirethar céill*, or, with the verbal noun of *fris:cuirethar*, *oc frecor céill*, is given the following definitions in the dictionary under the entry for *frecor*: ‘applies one’s mind to, attending to, cultivating’. An example given from the Laws suggests a wider semantic range: *muine:frecurther cēll co foltuib techtaib* ‘wenn nicht mit gebührendem Gehaben besorgt wird’.¹³⁶⁶ It is presumed by DIL that the second element *céill* is from *cíall* sense; however, most of the examples of the noun *cíall* after the vn. *frecor* are not the expected gen. sg. form *céille*, which must suggest that this is either a stereotyped use of the dat. sg. of the noun, i.e. ‘attending with sense’, or a different lexical item. There is one exception to this from the law tracts: *frecor ceille in talman* ‘cultivating the land’, H 3.18, 11ay. The examples from the glosses exclusively show the use of *céill*: e.g. *oc frecur céill Dae* ‘engaging in worshipping God’, Wb. 29^d6; *recht frecoir chéill cruithnechtae* ‘the law of cultivating wheat’, Sg. 35^a11. As the *lectio difficilior* is the use of an independent dative *céill*, and it is what is contained in the manuscript, I retain it in the restored text.

¹³⁶⁶ THURNEYSSEN 1923: 373, 374, §36.

As noted by Shaw and Ó Coileáin, the first part of this section, MS *bid oc freccor ceill diamathuir* poses certain interpretational problems. Shaw states: ‘This is not clear and may be corrupt. **freccor céill** is never construed with a prep. but it is always followed by the gen. For this reason the emendation of **oc** to **a** seems to be necessary. Even with this emended reading the meaning is not quite clear. **freccor céill** ordinarily has the meaning of Latin *cultus*, but **bid a freccor ceill dia mathair** may mean ‘let his mother take care of him.’¹³⁶⁷ Shaw removes the preposition *oc* and replaces it with a possessive pronoun, which refers to Óengus; however, the lesser emendation in this instance would be to affix a poss. pron. to the prep., which may have simply dropped out in transmission.

Ó Coileáin addressed this problematic section and, firstly, suggested that the repetition in [12] and [13] signifies that there is a ‘doublet’; here he cites Shaw’s edition:

‘one notes the substantial repetition in the first part and the literal repetition in the second part of the two passages: ‘*Bíu oc frepaid ind fír se,*’ *ol Fingen.* ‘*D-an-ánaic galar n-ainchis*’./’*Bíd a freccor céill dia máthair,*’ *ol Fingen.* ‘*D-an-ánaic galar n-ainchis*’.¹³⁶⁸

He comments that the second of these statements by Fíngen, contained in the present section, is the doublet. Furthermore, Ó Coileáin finds the mixture of the 3sg. pron. used to refer to the Boand by Fíngen, i.e. *dia máthair* ‘to his mother’, with the following 2sg. pron., i.e. *timchelltar úait Ériu* ‘let Ireland be searched by you’, to be problematic. However, it would be natural and acceptable for Fíngen to refer to the Boand as Óengus’ mother while speaking of her, in such a way that he simply explains that it is appropriate for his mother to be caring for him. Ó Coileáin continues to suggest that the line ‘*Bíd a freccor céill dia máthair,*’ *ol Fingen.* ‘*D-an-ánaic galar n-ainchis*’ ‘is intrusive and should be omitted’.¹³⁶⁹ In addition to the removal of the latter, Ó Coileáin recommends that the line at the end of [12], *Ad:fiadot a scéla don Boind*, be moved to the beginning of [12] after *Tic iarum in Boand*.¹³⁷⁰ Ó Coileáin explains that the origins of this doublet may be placed in phrases that originally functioned as explanatory glosses being integrated into the main text; he hypothesises that *freccor céill* once glossed the phrase *oc frepaid* and that *don Boind* was once glossed by *dia máthair*. He concludes that ‘these two glosses, *oc freccor céill* and *dia máthair*, occurring in close proximity to one another in the exemplar, were then combined in the meaningless sentence *Bíd oc freccor céill dia máthair* and incorporated in the body of the text; [...]’.¹³⁷¹

¹³⁶⁷ SHAW 1934: 48, n. 3; Ó COILEÁIN 1988: 167.

¹³⁶⁸ Ó COILEÁIN 1988: 167.

¹³⁶⁹ Ó COILEÁIN 1988: 167.

¹³⁷⁰ Ó COILEÁIN 1988: 168.

¹³⁷¹ Ó COILEÁIN 1988: 168.

DIL comments on Shaw's editorial decision: 'The editor's rendering '*He will be under the care of his mother*' is certainly wrong.¹³⁷² A possible rendering is: *He tends (the land) for his mother*, or emending *Bid occa f. His mother attends to him*, this seems less likely. The emendation: *Bid a f. suggested Aisl. Oenguso p. 48 also doubtful.*¹³⁷³ Reading 'he tends (the land) for his mother' is interesting, as it could be an aside by either the narrator or by Fíngen; however, it yields little sense within this context because the matter of tending to land is not previously mentioned nor in any way relevant to the tale.

Having discussed the feasible ways of understanding, and the possibility of omitting, *bíd oc frecor céill día máthair*, the situation still remains somewhat ambiguous. The least invasive emendation is to edit this line as *bíd oc(c)a frecor chéill dia máthair* 'Let him be attended to by his mother'. Ó Coileáin's suggestion that this is a doublet and should, therefore, be removed provides a logical solution, as it does not alter the narrative structure or impact the information presented in this part of the tale. However, it is difficult to implement such a drastic editorial decision without the support of a second manuscript.

For the spelling *nd* for *nn* in which the second *n* also represents nasalisation in MS *indetar*, ed. *in:n-étar*, see section 2.1.3(iv).

14. Biid oc suidiu co cenn mblíadnae. Nícon:fríth ní [ba] cosmuil dí. Is iar sin con:gairther Fíngen doib aithirriuch. 'Nícon:fríth cobair isind-í-síu,' ol in Boand.

Shaw: Bíid oc suidiu co cenn mblíadnae. Nícon fríth ní [ba] chosmail dí. Is iar sin con-gairther Fíngen doib aithirriuch. 'Nícon fríth cobair isindísiu,' ol Boann.

Eg.: Bid hoc suidiu co cenn mblíadnae. Nicon frith ni cossmuil di. IS iarsin congairther fergnie doib aitherruch. Nicon frith cobair issinniso ol bounn.

Müller: So it was [done] to the end of the year. Nothing like was found. Then Fergne was called for again. We have not found any help in this matter said Boann.

It was so for the duration of a year. Nothing like her was found. It is after that that Fíngen was called to them again. 'No help was found in this matter,' said the Boand.

¹³⁷² Here, *DIL* cites Müller's translation and not Shaw's.

¹³⁷³ *DIL* F 405.28–343.

MS *Bid* exhibits contraction of hiatus, i.e. *biid* > *bíd*, but hiatus is restored in this instance on the grounds that there are other instances of historically correct hiatus in this text (see [5] and section 2.1.5(m) above); this form is also found in Wb., i.e. *biith*, Wb. 29^a26 and *biid*, Wb. 4^d33. The nasalisation after acc. sg. *cenn* is a noteworthy retention here.

As mentioned above, the scribe has a tendency to replace *a* (particularly in unstressed syllables) with *u*, instances of which are edited throughout the text; see section 2.1.3(ix)(b). In this particular case, however, such a spelling is desirable as it is attested in Wb. 12^d1, and 25^d13 as *cosmuil*.¹³⁷⁴ Be that as it may, the chances of it being a retention are slim given the preponderance for the scribe interchanging unstressed *a* for *u*; and this spelling is obviously not used as a dating criterion.

Shaw adds clarity to the text by inserting a copula in brackets between *ní* and *cosmail* as it seems unlikely that *cosmuil* is acting as an attributive adj. to the neut. pron. *ní* ‘anything’, unless the latter were being treated as a substantive, which does occur during the Old Irish period (e.g. Wb. 2^d14). The only other examples available of an adj. following the substantival form of this pron. include those of the type acc. sg. masc. *nach n-aile*¹³⁷⁵ ‘anyone else’. As the attributive adjective is hardly ever used after *ní*, it seems likely that the copula has been dropped, which is why I follow Shaw in inserting the copula in square brackets in the edited text.

Regarding MS *issinniso*, I emend to *-síu*, which is fully stressed,¹³⁷⁶ to the dat. sg. n. form of the demonstrative pronoun. The meaning of *isind-í-síu* may either be ‘by means of this thing’, i.e. the course of action they have taken thus far, or ‘in (respect to) this matter’, i.e. the matter of Óengus’ search for the maiden, depending on how one interprets the use of the prep. *i* here.¹³⁷⁷

¹³⁷⁴ *GOI* §172.

¹³⁷⁵ *GOI* §489.

¹³⁷⁶ As shown by Prof. Liam BREATNACH (2017) in a paper he presented on the use of the demonstrative pronouns to the conference *Variation and Change in the Syntax and Morphology of Medieval Celtic Languages*.

¹³⁷⁷ For the first meaning see *DIL* I 4.29 and for the second see *DIL* I 4.84.

15. As:bert Fíngen: ‘Foíter cosin Dagdae tuidecht do acaldaim a maicc.’ Tíagair cosin Dagdae. Ticc-side aithirriuch.

Shaw: As-bert Fingen: ‘Foíter cossin nDagdae tuidecht do accaldaim a maicc.’ Tíagair cossin nDagdae. Ticc-side aithirriuch.

Eg. Aspertt fergne fuiter cusin dagdo tuidecht do accallaim a maicc. Tiagar gusín dagdo. Ticcside aitherruch.

Müller: Fergne said: send to the Dagda that he may come to speak to his son. They went to the Dagda. He came again.

Fíngen said: ‘Let a messenger be sent to the Dagdae [that he should] come to speak to his son.’ A messenger is sent to the Dagdae. He then returns.

The use of *p* for *b* in word initial position in MS *Asperrt* is a hypercorrection; for more on this, see section 2.1.3(viii)(h) above. The diphthong of MS *fuit*er is once again normalised. Although the prep. *co* is represented in the previous section with initial *c-*, it is here given with MidIr. *g-*, which may be ascribed to the period at which the text was copied, and not that of the original text (for further examples see section 2.1.3(viii)(f) above).

On the use of *aithirriuch* here, Shaw comments that ‘the word does not seem to have its usual meaning’ because it implies that the Dagdae has already visited Óengus and is returning. Shaw suggests that here, in conjunction with the verb *do-icc*, *aithirriuch* means ‘comes back’ or ‘comes along with’.¹³⁷⁸ Shaw’s interpretation seems the most natural with the sense that the Dagdae may be returning to Óengus having been summoned. A similar example of the use of *aithirriuch* without the clear sense of ‘again’, and here with the verb *do-etha* ‘goes, visits’, is contained in the late OIr. text *In Tenga Bithnua* ‘The Evernew Tongue’. Here, we are presented with a series of pains inflicted on a disbelieving warrior before being killed by a vengeful cloud:

Madit a shuili ina cinn. Aitherruch¹³⁷⁹ dano iar sein don-ethand athach di ghoith tentigi co ndecht ina bruindi 7 inna gnuis, comdar duibider degaid 7 conid n-indsort lethmarbh aridisi for medon an dunuid.

¹³⁷⁸ SHAW 1934: 70.

¹³⁷⁹ Regarding the position of *aitherruch* here, Damian McManus has suggested to me that it belongs to the end of the preceding sentence.

‘His eyes burst in his head. Then the blast of a fiery wind assailed him, driving into his chest and face so that they became as black as a beetle; and it cast him down again half dead in the midst of the encampment’.¹³⁸⁰

In this example, this is the first instance of this character being struck by the wind. The cloud is, no doubt, the cause of the series of woundings inflicted on the warrior including the casting of the fiery wind, so that the meaning of *aithirriuch* is sequential as well as repetitious.

16. ‘Cid diandom:chomgrad?’ ‘Do airli do maicc,’ ol in Boand.

Shaw: ‘Cid diandom chomgrad?’ ‘Do airli do maicc,’ ol in Boann.

Eg.: Cid dianom *congrad*. Do *airle* do micc ar in bounn.

Müller: What have I been called for? To advise thy son said Boann.

‘What have I been called for?’ ‘To advise your son,’ said the Boand.

The *-nd-* of *diandom* is restored here (see section 2.1.4). Gen. sg. *micc* in the manuscript is a late form and must have been introduced at a post-OIr. date; this form appears again in section [56] above.¹³⁸¹ The form *ar* for *ol* is innovative also and included in the discussion of Middle Irish features above (see section 2.1.5(j)). The compendium *con* in MS *congrad* appears to represent *com* in this instance.

¹³⁸⁰ CAREY 2010: 171, 173, §60.

¹³⁸¹ Even the Irish Grammatical Tracts are disparaging towards the form (*IGT Decl. ex. 702; DIL M 5.66*).

17. ‘Is ferr duit a chobair. Is liach a dul i mudu. A:tá i seirc. Ro:car seircc thécmáis 7 ní:roachar a chobair.’

Shaw: ‘Is ferr duit a chobair. Is liach a dul immudu. At-tá i siurgg. Ro car seircc écmáise ocus ní roachar a chobair.’

Eg.: IS ferr duit a chobair. IS liach a dolu himugv. Ata_a sircc . rochar seircc tecmuis .7 niroachuir a chobuir.

Müller: Thy help is better for him. It is a pity for him to die. He is in illness. He is fallen in an accidental love and there is no help for him.

‘Helping him is better for you. It is wretched that he should die. He is in a decline. He has loved with serc thecmáis (chance love) and there is no help for him.

See section 2.1.10 for a discussion of MS *seircc tecmáis* in [8] and in this part of the text. I translate MS rochar seircc tecmuis with an independent dative here, following the usage described by Ó hUiginn in a *figura etymologica* of the type without a relative construction; cf. *rot-carusa seirc lelbhán* ‘I have loved you with the love of a babe’ (translation by Ó hUiginn).¹³⁸² For more on the MidIr. form MS *dolu*, see section 2.1.6(a). Here, MS *himugv* exhibits the Mid.Ir. confusion between /γ/ and /δ/ (see section 2.1.5(i)) and is restored to *i mudu*.

The palatal ending of the proto. form of the pres. indic. pass. sg. of *ro:saig*, MS -*roachuir* is a modernisation (see section 2.1.7.2 for more on MidIr. forms in AÓ);¹³⁸³ the ending could have easily been altered during the Middle Irish period and, therefore, the neutral ending is restored in the edition. The form itself is infrequently used during the OIr. period; the only other attestation to my knowledge is in the following passage from the Harleian version of the Old Irish *Apgitir Chrábaid* (‘The Alphabet of Piety’) ascribed to Colmán mac Béognai (†611): *Cetharda úa roagar flaith Dé .i. foss 7 dīlmáine ōn domun, lére 7 feidle*, ‘The four things by which the kingdom of God can be striven after: Quietude and detachment from the world, diligence and perserverance’.¹³⁸⁴

For more on the main clause lenition in MS *rochar*, see section 2.1.6(i) above.

¹³⁸² Ó HUIGINN 1983: 128; KNOTT 1936: 2, l. 54; this example is cited and translated by Ó hUiginn.

¹³⁸³ For further examples, see *EIV* 228.

¹³⁸⁴ HULL 1968b: 72, 73, §26.

18. ‘Cia torbae mo acaldam?’ ol in Dagdae. ‘Ní mó mo éolas indáthe-si.’

Shaw: ‘Cia torbae mo accaldam?’ ol in Dagdae. ‘Ní móo mo éolas in-dáthe-si.’

Eg. Cia torbo mo accalluim or in dagdu ni mo mo eulus andathaisi.

Müller: What use is it to him to speak to me, said the Dagda, my knowledge is not higher than thine.

‘How might speaking to me help?’ said the Dagdae. ‘My knowledge is not greater than yours (pl.).’

Shaw retains proclitic *cía* in his edition and makes the following comment: ‘Although **cia**, *what*, regularly agrees in gender with the following noun, in certain stereotyped phrases the masc. form **cia** is used, irrespective of the gender of the following noun. Cf. **cia méit**, **cia airet** and in this text **cia hairm** §6 infra. With **torbae** however, **ced** (n) is the more usual form.’¹³⁸⁵ The fully stressed form with a neut. noun *torbae* would be *cid* or *ced* (e.g. Wb. 13^c7; Sg. 99^a2), as indicated by Shaw. Before deciding whether *cid* should be restored here or MS *cía* retained, I provide a selection of examples from the glosses, in which the noun *torb(a)e* is used: *cetorbe dúibsi didiu infogur sin mani fessid inni bess fonfogursin*, ‘what profit to you then (is) this sound unless ye know the sense which is under that sound?’, Wb. 12^d5; *cedtorbe doib etarscarad etir friatola et a pecthu*, ‘what profit is it to them to separate at all from their desires and their sins?’, Wb. 13^c6; *cedtorbe dúnni acésme dicachimniud et dicachgúassacht inbetho*, ‘what profit to us is what we suffer of every tribulation and of every danger of the world?’, Wb. 13c7; *ced torbe fristeícomnacht*, ‘unto what profit has it been imparted?’, Wb. 19c8; *cid torbae aratorsata ⁊ cia gním dugniat inna duli* ‘for what use the elements have been created, and what work they do’, Ml. 120^c7. Although the examples are limited, unstressed *ce* with *torbae*, as in Wb. 12d5, may be used for all genders when not followed by a relative construction; this is in contrast to all examples with fully stressed *cid*, which are all followed by a verb in the relative.¹³⁸⁶ However, see section [22] below with *airm*.

The form *andathaisi* is rare and is only attested in late Old Irish and Middle Irish sources; GOI comments that this particular form and the 1pl. *oldammit* (LL 55b26) are ‘later forms with absolute endings’ and that they are ‘not evidence for the earlier usage’ (GOI

¹³⁸⁵ SHAW 1934: 49, n. 3.

¹³⁸⁶ See GOI §459.

§779.1). The examples that Shaw cites are from the Middle Irish sources *Togail Troí* (cited also by Thurneysen at *GOI* §779) and the *Mionannála* in Eg. 1782;¹³⁸⁷ additionally, the LL version of *Tochmarc Ferbe* ‘The Wooing of Ferb’ contains the form *innathe* and *Cath Ruis na Ríg* the more modernised spelling *andathi-siu*.¹³⁸⁸ A separate question must be raised as to how the 1pl. and 2pl. were expressed during the Old Irish period; and, furthermore, how should the forms be reconstructed when even in Old Irish this phrase used both absolute (e.g. 1pl. *oldammit*) and non-absolute forms of the substantive verb depending on the person? The 3rd persons seem to be in a separate category by employing relative endings in *indaas* and *indát(a)e*. Therefore, perhaps the original 1pl. and 2pl. contained the forms *-taam* and *-taid* respectively, in line with the extant forms of the 1sg. *oldó* and 2sg. *oldaí*, both of which are attested in the Wb. Glosses, should be reconstructed as: 1pl. **oldaam* and 2pl. **oldaid*. This logic would tally with the form with *ol* and the conjunct form of the substantive verb in the fut. 2pl. *olambieid-si* ‘than ye will be’, Wb. 26^d26.¹³⁸⁹

It is worth noting, as Shaw did, that this is an example of a *comparatio compendiaria*, whereby the substantive verb here does not simply mean ‘than you’ but ‘than yours’. A second example presents itself below in section [46] with the verb in the 1sg.: MS *is mo a cumachta indu*, ed. *Is mó a cumachtae indó* ‘her power is greater than mine’. Shaw provides further examples from *De Chophur in Dá Muccida* and Wb. 12a25 respectively;¹³⁹⁰ see also the following example from the LL version of the *Táin*: ‘*ar ní fíl nech is lia seóit ⁊ moíne ⁊ indmassa andú-sa, ⁊ rafetar ná fail*’, ‘for there is none who has greater possessions and riches and wealth than I [have], and I know that there is not’.¹³⁹¹

Shaw uses the spelling *móo* for comparative *mó*, which historically does not contain hiatus. Although spelling with double *o* is found in the Cambrai Homily, it is unnecessary to employ it here.¹³⁹²

¹³⁸⁷ SHAW 1934: 49–50.

¹³⁸⁸ *Ir. Texte* 3:2, 506.595; *CRR* 48.

¹³⁸⁹ Cited also at *GOI* §799.

¹³⁹⁰ SHAW 1934: 93.

¹³⁹¹ O’RAHILLY 1967: II. 53–4. The Stowe version of the *Táin* gives a modernised alternative for this wording using the stressed independent pronoun: ‘*uair ní fuil a nÉrinn nech is mó seóid ⁊ maóine ⁊ maitheasa ina meisi*’ (O’RAHILLY 1978: II. 58–9).

¹³⁹² *Rel. Chron.* 28–9; see also MCCONE 2000: 148–9. For examples of *mó*, see *Fél.* Ep. 127 and *MI.* 51^a2.

19. ‘Mó écin,’ ol Fíngen. ‘Is tú rí síde n-Érenn; 7 tíagar úaib co Bodb, rí síde Muman, agus is deilm a éolas la Érin n-uili.’

Shaw: ‘Móo écin,’ ol Fingen. ‘Is tú rí síde n-Érenn; agus tíagar úaib co Bodb, rí síde Muman, agus is deilm a éolas la hÉrenn n-uili.’

Eg.: Mo ecin or fergne iss tv ri síde nerinn .7 tiagar uaib do bodb ri síde muman agus is deilm a eolus la herinn huili.

Müller: Upon my word, said Fergne, thou art the fairy king of Erin and from thee [the way] goes to Bodb the fairy king of Munster and his knowledge is celebrated through whole Erin.

‘(It is) indeed greater,’ said Fíngen. ‘You are the king of the síde of Ireland; and let a messenger go from you to Bodb, the king of the síd of Munster, and his knowledge is renowned throughout all of Ireland.’

In agreement with Shaw, I restore the acc. sg. form *ríg* after *co Bodb* ‘to Bodb’; this was introduced by the EModIr. scribe after the loss of final *-d/-g* (see section 2.1.4 above). The copula is obviously to be understood as preceding the comp. of the adj. *mór*, *mó*, while *écin* is the adverbial use of the noun *f-ā*-stem noun *écen* in the dat. sg. meaning ‘indeed, surely’.

The nasalisation after acc. sg. *Érin* is restored here, following Shaw, as it is below in [24]; in both instances, *h* is written instead of nasalisation.¹³⁹³

¹³⁹³ See *GOI* §236.

**20. Ethae co suide. Feraid-side fáilti friu. ‘Fo-chen dúib,’ ol Bodb, ‘a muinte in Dagdai.’
‘Is ed do:roachtmar.’**

Shaw: Ethae co suide. Feraid-side fáilti friu. ‘Fo chen dúib,’ ol Bodb, ‘a muinte in Dagdai.’
‘Is ed do-roachtamar.’

Eg.: Etha co suidiu. Feruidside failti friu. Fo cheun doib ol bodb a muinte in dagdo. IS ed
doroachtmar.

Müller: They went to him. He bade them welcome. Welcome to you, said Bodb, o suite of the
Dagda. This is why we came.

***Messengers went to him [i.e. Bodb]. The latter welcomes them. ‘Welcome to you,’ said
Bodb, ‘O people of the Dagdae.’ ‘This is why we have come.’***

For the spelling *fo cheun* with *u*, see section 2.1.3(viii)(b). I emend MS *doib* to 2pl.
dúib, as this is logically required here. The title *in Dagda(e)* is apparently inflected like a *m*-
io-stem, with a gen. desinence *-ai* as per the O.Ir. flexion of *io*-stems; however, including this
example, the name occurs five times in the gen. sg. throughout the text, and four out of five
times it appears with, what would seem like, a *u*-stem inflexion with the ending *-o*, MS
indagdo (see also [25], [42], [44], [45]). However, for the use of *o* in place of *a*, *ae* and *ai* (i.e.
schwa) in this MS, see section 2.1.3(viii)(j) above.

The double *n* of MS *muinte* is normalised in the edition to the expected orthography;
the reason why it is doubled is to represent an unlenited *n* before the dental (*GOI* §120) such
as the case may be in the following examples: dat. sg. *clainnd*, Wb. 29^d23; *inntsluichto* ‘of
intelligence’, Sg. 26^a9, etc. (*GOI* §136).

Shaw edits the 1pl. t-pret. form of the verb *do:roich* with *-a-* of the personal ending *-
am(m)ar* which has been syncopated in the MS form; however, both unsyncopated *-ammar*
and *-mar* were both used during the OIr. period, so that it is not possible to decide whether the
-a- belongs here or not.¹³⁹⁴ Here, I follow Shaw in inserting the pronoun *ed* after *is*; this is an
example of the stereotyped response to the welcome *fo-chen*: e.g. in *Táin Bó Froích*, ‘*Fo chen
dúib*’, *ol Ailill 7 Medb. ‘Is ed do-roachtamar*’, *ol Fróech*;¹³⁹⁵ and in the negative in Rec. I
TBC, Cú Chulainn welcomes Fergus (‘*Fo chen sin, a phopa Fergus*’) and offers him food but

¹³⁹⁴ Cf. 3pl. *doruachtatar* in Broccán’s Hymn (*Thes. Pal.* ii, 328.44).

¹³⁹⁵ Meid 1970: 34, ll. 61–2

Fergus answers ‘*Ní do biad dorochtamar [...]*’, ‘it is not for [your] food that we have come’,¹³⁹⁶ again using the same verb as found elsewhere in this response.

21. ‘Scéla lib?’ ol Bodb. ‘A:taat linni: Óengus macc in Dagdai i seurc dá blíadnae.’

Shaw: ‘Scéla lib?’ ol Bodb. ‘Atáat linni: Óengus macc in Dagdai i siurgg dá blíadnae.’

Eg.: Scelai lib ar bodb. Atát linniv Oengus mac in dagdai hi siurcc di blíadna.

Müller: Have you a message? said Bodb. We have: Oengus the son of the Dagda is in love for two years.

‘Have you (pl.) got news?’ said Bodb. ‘We have: Óengus, son of the Dagdae, [has been] in a decline for two years.’

The ending *-ai* in gen. sg. *dagdai* in the manuscript may be the retention of the OIr. spelling of a final unstressed vowel or it may be a fortunate spelling by the scribe; to this end, it is important to note the spelling of nom. pl. *scelai* for correct OIr. *scéla* in the present section (for more on the representation of final unstressed vowels, see section 2.1.3(ix)(e)–(h)). I follow Shaw in changing the acc. form of the dual *dí* for the gen. form *dá* before fem. *blíadain* on the basis that the manuscript abbreviation for ‘year’ ends on *-a*, indicating that it should be expanded as *blíadna* with an adnominal genitive. Interestingly, then, this means that the numeral *dí* is an example of hypercorrection (for more on hypercorrect spelling and grammatical features in AÓ, see section 2.1.8).

¹³⁹⁶ O’Rahilly translates this with a 1sg., but the form is 1pl. and it presumably refers to Fergus and Etercomol who has come with him (O’RAHILLY 1976: II. 1312, 1317).

22. ‘Cid taas?’ ol Bodb. ‘Ad:condaire ingin inna chotlud. Nícon:fetammar i n-Ére cí airm i:tá ind ingen ro:char 7 ad:chondaire.

Shaw: ‘Cid táas?’ ol Bodb. ‘Ad-condaire ingin inna chotlud. Nícon fétammar i n-Ére cia hairm i tá ind ingen ro char ocus ad-condaire.

Eg.: Cid tas or bodb. Atconnuircc ingin ina cotlud. Nicon fetamur indhereo cia hairm ata ind ingen ro char .7 atconnuirc.

Müller: What for said Bodb (?).He saw a maiden in dream. We dont know in Erinn the place where habits the maiden which he loved and which he saw.

‘What is the matter with him?’ said Bodb. ‘He has seen a maiden in his sleep. We do not know where in Ireland the maiden is, whom he has loved and seen.’

Given the proposed date of the text, disyllabic *taas* is restored here from MS *tas*. As explained in the introduction, the petrified neuter infixed pronoun has been removed from preverbal particles throughout. Although the lenition of the verb initial of pret. 3sg. of *caraid*, *ro:char*, may be due to the petrification of a neut. inf. pron., a leniting relative clause would be entirely acceptable here with an object antecedent. Following Shaw, the initial *a-* of MS. *ata* is understood here as a prepositional relative, and the expected OIr. spelling of the prep. *i* is restored in the edition (for the use of this prep. after (*cía*) *airm*, see the two examples I provide in the following paragraph).¹³⁹⁷ Again the ending of the short dative *Ére*, MS *ere*, is an example of the scribal practice found elsewhere throughout the MS, see section 2.1.3(ix)(i) above.

In section [18] above, I argue that, in light of the distribution of stressed *cid* versus unstressed *ce*, *cia*, *cía* with *torbae* when followed by a verb in the relative in Wb., it appears to be the case that the expected form is unstressed *ce*, *cia*, *cía*, which need not agree with the subject in gender, i.e. it remains the same. However, although examples with the noun *airm* ‘place’ are even fewer in the glosses than *torbae*, this seems also to be the case in the combination of *ce*, *cia*, *cía* with *airm* ‘place’: *nifiastar som cia airm indid immaircide do epert amén*, ‘he will not know at what place in it is fitting for him to say *amen*’, Wb. 12^d18. I cannot locate any examples of *cisi airm* with or without a following verb in the relative in the glosses. The following is an example from the OIr. tale *Serglige Con Culainn*; however, this

¹³⁹⁷ For an example without *cía*: *co airm i mboí Fand* ‘to the place in which Fand was’ (LU 3350); see also *issruith indairm indid epiur* ‘venerable is the place wherein I say it’, Wb. 4^b26.

may be an innovation: ‘*Cisi airm hi tá Labraid?*’ *ol Cú Chulaind* (‘Where is Labraid?’ said Cú Chulainn).¹³⁹⁸

For more examples of the spelling *-iC-* for *-eC-* in AÓ, e.g. here nom. sg. MS *ingin* for *ingen*, see section 2.1.3(ix)(e) above.

23. Timmarnad duit ón Dagdu co:comtastar úait fon nÉrinn ingen in chrotho-so 7 ind écuisc.’ ‘Con:díastar’ ol Bodb, ‘ocus ethar; dál bliadnae friumm co:fessur fius scél.’

Shaw: Timmarnad duit ón Dagdae co comtastar húait fond Érinn ingen in chrotha sa oculus ind écuisc.’ ‘Con-díastar’ ol Bodb, ‘ocus étar dál bliadnae friumm co fessur fis scél.’

Eg.: Timarnath duit on dagdo co comthastar huait fond herin ingen in crothusai .7 ind ecuisic. Conniastar al bodb & ethar dal mblíadna friumb co feissiur fis scél.

Müller: An order to thee from the Dagda that thou shalt seek through Erinn the maiden of this form and appearance. It will be sought, said Bodb, and it will last a year for me until I know it with certainty.

You were commanded by the Dagdae that you should seek throughout Ireland the maiden of this form and appearance.’ ‘She will be sought,’ said Bodb, ‘and let one go. And [give] me the duration of a year until I know tidings [of her].’

The spelling of final *th* in MS. *timarnath* (contracted deut. form and perf. pass. sg. of *do:im(m)na* ‘commits, entrusts, bequeaths’), if genuine, would indicate an Early Old Irish date; however, there are no significant criteria in this text to indicate such a date. Therefore, final *-th* is most likely a hypercorrect spelling. Already in the OIr. period *timmarnad* was beginning to be treated as noun, which is what must have prompted Müller’s translation ‘an order to thee’. Shaw notes that in the example in his §7, which is numbered [26] below, that the command is ‘followed by a new sentence with the verb in the imperative mood’; and that the example of *timmarnad* in his his §11, section [42] below, is ‘followed by a construction with verb. noun’, which he compares with an example from *Talland Étair: Timarnad duit techt lim-sa* ‘It has been commanded to you to come with me’.¹³⁹⁹ This is a third type of

¹³⁹⁸ DILLON 1953: 15, l. 419; MS *Cisi airm hi taside for Cu Chulaind* (LU 3346–7).

¹³⁹⁹ Here I cite the most up-to-date edition of this tale (Ó DÓNAILL 2005: 50, 61, l. 223); SHAW 1934: 112.

construction found with *timrnad*, i.e. the use of explicative *co*, which is then followed by the verb in the subjunctive.

In this instance, the spelling of the final vowel in the dat. sg. of Dagdae, MS *dagdo*, may represent the correct OIr. form, i.e. Dagdu, and, therefore, an archaism if it is to be accepted that Dagdae is treated as having this secondary io-stem inflection pattern, as posited above. Similarly, might also be fortunate scribal decision (for more on the use of *o* in unstressed final position, see section 2.1.3(viii)(j) above).

The conjunction *co* before *comthastar* in the manuscript is represented by the abbreviation *o*, which typically stands for *con*; *co(n)* is rarely written in full.¹⁴⁰⁰

There is only a minor alteration to the verb form MS. *conniastar* as the verb-initial *d* of *-díastar* has been assimilated; no sign of verb simplification is apparent here as the neutral ending of the deuterotonic form is preserved, but the spelling may have been influenced by the simplified verb *connaigid* at some point during transmission.

The spelling *nd* in MS *fond herin* indicates a dat. sg. form of the def. art.; however, *nd* is found as a hypercorrect spelling for *nn* elsewhere in AÓ (see section 2.1.3(vii)(o)) and the other examples of *Ériu* in the dat. (see [2] and [10] and section 2.1.4.1 above) show the use of the so-called ‘short’ dat. *Ére* rather than the ‘long’ dat. in *-inn*. The use of the def. art. with *Ériu* is unexpected; Thurneysen notes some examples of determinate words ‘taking the article for no apparent reason; e.g. **cumscugud inna gréne** ‘the movement of the sun’ Ml. 118^c12; **din Mumu** ‘from Munster’ LU 4645 [...].’ There are only two examples at my disposal of the use of the def. art. before *Ériu* from Old and Middle Irish respectively. The first appears in Fiacc’s Hymn:

Ropo chobair dond Érin · fichtu Patraicc forochlad: | roclos cīan son a garma ·
macraide caille Fochlad.

‘A help to Ireland was Patrick’s coming that had been expected: far had been heard the sound of the cry of the children of Fochlad wood.’¹⁴⁰¹

The second appears in a poem in the *Lebor Gabála Érenn* and it poses some problems because the use of the def. art. in this instance may have been inserted to fulfil the metrical requirements of the *deibide* heptasyllabic line:

“Cia hairm fil ind Hēriu ard?” | ar Lāimfīnd, in lāech lān-garg. | “Is fata” asbert
Caicher and, | “nī sinn rie, acht ār cōem-chland.”

¹⁴⁰⁰ See UHLICH 2006: 40, n. 54.

¹⁴⁰¹ *Thes. Pal.* ii, 312.15–16.

“In what place is lofty Ireland?” | said Lamfhind the violent warrior. | “Very far” said Caicher then, | “it is not we who reach it, but our fair child.”¹⁴⁰²

LL contains both the prep. *i* after *airm* and also the def. art. giving an additional syllable in the line: *Cia hairm i fil ind Heriu ard* (LL 331). As discussed above, the prepositional relative ‘in which’ with *i* is required after *airm*, so that, in this example, *i n-* must be read.¹⁴⁰³ However, the usage in the example from Fiacc’s Hymn is not determined or required metrically, so that this is a genuine example of the def. art. before *Ériu*; it may be part of stylised language but it is legitimate and might possibly be interpreted as ‘the Irish nation’ rather than simply ‘Ireland’.

Shaw does not remark upon his emendation of MS. *ethar* to *étar* nor provide the manuscript reading itself. He takes the verb to be the imperative pass. sg. of *ad:cota* ‘obtains, procures’, yielding the sense ‘let respite of a year be obtained by me’, i.e. ‘let me have a year’s respite’.¹⁴⁰⁴ The manuscript reading *ethar* looks like the imperative pass. sg. of the verb *ethaid* ‘goes’, i.e. ‘let one go’, however; this is the meaning taken by *DIL*.¹⁴⁰⁵ In order to comment on whether *ad-cota* or *ethaid* would be more suited semantically to this sentence, it is first useful to comment on the phrase MS *dal mbládna*.

Shaw interprets *dál* with the meaning ‘respite’, as found under 3 *dál*.¹⁴⁰⁶ However, Quin objected to this separate entry in the dictionary, directing his attention particularly to the example Wb. 13^b13, and he argued that ‘there is little justification in the examples for a word *dál* meaning ‘delay’ [...] in the ordinary sense, and the contexts quoted can be quite easily explained on the basis of 2 *dál* ‘meeting, appointed time, etc.’’¹⁴⁰⁷ The examples of *dál* with this meaning tend to be used with the prep. *do*, whereas here the prep. is *fri*.¹⁴⁰⁸ There are multiple meanings for 2 *dál*, most of which carry a variation of the sense of a ‘meeting’: I (a) ‘meeting with (*fri*)’, (b) ‘hostile meeting, encounter’; II ‘A meeting, conference, assembly’; III ‘a law-case, a cause’; IV ‘a judgement, decree’, etc.¹⁴⁰⁹ Frequently, the verb *téit*, or its

¹⁴⁰² *LGÉ* ii, 100.451–4.

¹⁴⁰³ Toner investigates the use of the def. art. in place-names and dates this usage to as early as the 9th century (TONER 1999: 23); his examples include those names both followed by a qualifying genitive and those not followed by a genitive, such as *Int Eidnén* in Co. Meath, but he does not comment on this usage with country names.

¹⁴⁰⁴ SHAW 1934: 68 and translation given under *dál* on p. 80.

¹⁴⁰⁵ *DIL* s.v. *ethaid*, 236.38f.

¹⁴⁰⁶ POPPE 1996: 138. This sense is also used by Poppe (1996: 138) in his discussion of the word-play by Mo Ling in his request for extra time (*dál fhota*) before having to pay the bórama; there, he cites DILLON’S translation (1946b: 113).

¹⁴⁰⁷ QUIN 1980: 146. *eDIL* has updated this entry: http://dil.ie/search?q=d%C3%A1l+&search_in=headword.

¹⁴⁰⁸ E.g. *dobertar dal di, Ir. Texte i*, 145.12 (*Feis Tíge Becfoltaig*); *tabair dáil dam fadechtsa cen maimsiugud*, *PH* 4886; *tabair dáil don eclais cena hingréim*, *PH* 4887.

¹⁴⁰⁹ *DIL* s.v. 2 *dál*; there are three other entries with the headword *dál* but none fit within the context here: 1 *dál* ‘portion’; 3 *dál* ‘respite’; and 4 *dál* ‘dispensing drink’.

verbal noun *techt*, is used with *dál* when it carries the sense of I(b), ‘a hostile encounter’: *techt i ndáil ailt Ulad* ‘an encounter with a noble of the Ulstermen’; *tiagam isin dáil* ‘let us go to the encounter’.¹⁴¹⁰ Therefore, semantically, the verb *ethaid* ‘goes’ could technically be employed here but that yields little sense in the present context. Similarly, the use of an impersonal with the verb ‘goes’ here is unnatural and also does not fit the context, i.e. ‘let one (a messenger) go to a meeting with me in a year’, because it is Bodb who returns in a year’s time with news of the maiden. This is perhaps how the form *étar* was reanalysed by a later scribe after it had become obsolete. The verb *ethaid*, to the best of my knowledge, is not attested in any contemporary OIr. sources and examples from EIr. literature are similarly sparse.¹⁴¹¹ Rather, the meaning ‘let a meeting in a year be permitted to me’, seems more likely. Examples of the use of *blíadain* in the gen. sg. like this are not forthcoming. The following example from *Táin Bó Froích* has hitherto been understood as a type of love contract, otherwise documented in the law tracts;¹⁴¹² however, I would argue that it might be another example of this use of the plain genitive: ‘*Cía lóg rom-bia latt ara fogbáil?*’ *As-bert-si frim-sa do-bérad seirc mblíadnae dam-sa. Ecmaing nis-ragbus-sa immum.*¹⁴¹³ ‘What payment will I have if I find it?’ She said to me that I she would give me love in one year. It turned out that I did not have it with me’ (own translation).

The nasalisation of gen. sg. *blíadnae*, MS *mblíadnae*, may have been inserted by the Early Modern Irish scribe who understood *dál* to be the direct object of the clause. Alternatively, a scribe may have recognized that *dál* ‘part, share’, however not the *dál*

¹⁴¹⁰ O’RAHILLY 1967: II. 2815, 2828 respectively; both examples are from a poem in the Fer Diad episode in Rec. II TBC.

¹⁴¹¹ One example cited by *DIL* is from Version A of *Aided Chonchobuir*, extant in the Book of Leinster and Edinburgh MS xl: *Ethaid-side in n-inchind al-láim indala n-ái 7 berid leiss*, ‘He snatches the brain out of the hand of one of them, and carries it off’ (MEYER 1906: 4,5, §4; *DIL* s.v. *ethaid*). Another example from a relatively old text, also cited by *DIL*, is the following from LU 10996: *Éthe lasin n-óclaic aricht samlaid ule 7 fofritha*; the hand known as M glosses *Éthe .i. dognither*; Meyer translates this as ‘They went with the warrior. Everything was found thus’ (MEYER & NUTT 1895: 52). One example given by *DIL* as a form of *ethaid* is, according to Thurneysen, simply a pret. pass. sg. of *téit*; this appears in a poem in *Scéla Muicce Meic Dathó: ba olc lathe etha dó* (*Scéla Muicce Meic Dathó*). *DIL* provides the translation ‘evil was the day when they went’, but this could also be a use of the impersonal of the pass. sg., i.e. ‘evil was the day that one went’ (THURNEYSEN 1935: 4, l. 13–4; and see the glossary entry for *téit* on p. 61). As mentioned above, the verb exists also in the compound *ad-etha*, and also in *do-etha* ‘goes to’ and *tremi-etha* ‘penetrates’; *do-etha* appears only in post-OIr. sources and *tremi-etha*, which may be a calque, is infrequently attested and occurs once in the glosses, i.e. *as tremedti*, gl. *penetrandum*, Ml. 127^b11. The verb *ad-etha* occurs in the following examples: *operosi .i. gneathich .i. adetha 7 loscaid cech rét frissa-comraic*, ‘or *operosi*, i.e. laborious, i.e. it attacks and burns everything that it encounters’, Ml. 48^d1; *at etha*, Blathm., 551; and in the glosses on Philargyrus, corripuit .i. *adreth*, *Thes. Pal.* ii 47.25.

¹⁴¹² In his edition of *Táin Bó Froích*, MEID comments: ‘Nach irischem Recht konnte aus eine Ehe oder Partnerschaft “auf Zeit” eingegangen werden, wobei ebenfalls eine bestimmte Zahlung des Mannes an die Frau vereinbart wurde’ (1970: 199). However, the period to which Meid refers may in fact be a period of betrothal, during which the contract may become void if the woman becomes pregnant, for example (see THURNEYSEN 1925: 358, to which Meid refers and *CIH* 25.13–5 on the waiting period of a betrothal).

¹⁴¹³ MEID 1970: 39, ll. 276–7.

intended here, was originally followed by nasalisation and inserted it incorrectly here (see section 2.1.8 above).

The sense of the *figura etymologica* is lost in translation to some extent, as is the use of the phrase *fius(s) scél*, usually translated as ‘news, tidings, information’, and frequently employed with the verb *ro:fitir* ‘knows’; e.g. *co fesid fiss scéel uánni* ‘so that ye may know tidings of us’ Wb. 27^c33. For the spelling introduced to this edition with the *u*-diphthong, cf. Wb. 10^b27.¹⁴¹⁴

24. Do:lluid cinn blíadnae co tech mBuidb co Síð al Femun. To:imchella Éirinn n-uili co fúair in n-ingin oc Loch Bél Dracon oc Crottaib Clíach.

Shaw: Do-lluid cinn blíadnae co tech mBuidb co Síð al Femun. ‘To-imchiullus Éirinn n-uili co fuair in n-ingin oc Loch Bél Dracon oc Crottaib Clíach,’ [ol Bodb].

Eg.: Dolluid cinn mbliadna co tech mboidb co síð fer femoin. Toimchiullu hereo huile co fuair indingin ac loch bel dracon oc cruitt cliach

Müller: He went at the end of the year to the house of Bodb at Sid fer Femoin. I have investigated all Erinn, [said Bodb], until I found the maiden at Loch bel Dracon at the harp of Clíach.

He came at the end of a year to the house of Bodb at Síð al Femun. He circled (lit. ‘circles’) all of Ireland until he found the maiden at Loch Bél Dracon, at Crott Cliach.

For the nasalisation after dat. sg. *cinn* in the MS, see section 2.1.8 above. Regarding the spelling of dat. sg. *cinn*, I have restored this to that which is found in the Wb. glosses, i.e. *ciunn* (see Wb. 11^c9; see also section 2.1.3(viii)(b) in the introduction). Here, I emend gen. sg. MS *boidb* to *Buidb* with raising, as this would be phonologically regular; cf. *odb* ‘knot in a tree’, acc. pl. *udbu* (GOI §75) and *fodb* ‘spoils’, which is attested with a gen. sg. *fuidb* once in the LL version of TBC (cf. *faidb* in Rec. I).¹⁴¹⁵ See also [26] below.

The placename *Síð al Femun* is restored here even though, as *DIL* points out, the preposition *al* was ‘obsolescent even in OIr.’. Being obsolescent, the second element was no doubt reanalysed as a gen. pl. *fer*, i.e. ‘The *Síð* of the Men of Femun’, probably after first

¹⁴¹⁴ For more on this, see GREENE 1976: 28.

¹⁴¹⁵ O’RAHILLY 1967: I. 3371; O’RAHILLY 1976: I. 3102.

having passed through the stage of *ol/al* > *ar*.¹⁴¹⁶ In section [27] below, it is referred to as *Síd ar Feimin*, so that it is not even standardised within a single text. The reanalysis of the second element did not happen across the board as the Early Modern Irish tale of the Chase of *Síd na mBan* refers to it as *Síth ar Femind*; however, the preposition is no doubt understood in section [27] below, as *ar* ‘upon’ and not original *al* ‘beyond’.¹⁴¹⁷ Other references to this place as *Síd ar Femin* appear in Rec. II of *Togail Bruidne Da Derga (Síd ar Fēmin)*, the Irish Ordeals (*Sidh ar Femin*), *De Chophur in Dá Muccida (Síd ar Femun (LL), Sīd ar Femin (Eg))*; and in a list of ‘ancient Irish authors’ in the Book of Ballymote (MS *sid al femin*, f. 167vb40).¹⁴¹⁸ This latter example provides an argument for restoring *al*. Both *Femun* and *Femin* are attested for the dat. sg. of *Femen*, leading to the question of the origin of the word and its stem class as dat. sg. *Femun* indicates an o-stem while dat. sg. *Femin* indicates an ā-stem; it should be noted that, in the examples from *De Chophur in Dá Muccida*, LL consistently uses the spelling *Femun*, while later Eg. consistently uses *Femin* (three times for both).

Ó Corráin discusses the occurrence of *Femen* topologically and explains how the name *Femen* does not correlate etymologically to Lat. *femina*, and that ‘while *Mag na mBan* is a typical *bérla filed* kenning for *Mag Femin*, the reverse is most unlikely’.¹⁴¹⁹ Shaw provides further alternative names for the area *Síd ar Femen*, namely, *Síd Buidb*, *Síd na mBan Finn*, *Síd Muman* and *Sliabh Aighe meic Úghaine*.¹⁴²⁰ Although Ó Corráin is not able to provide an alternative etymology for *Femen*, he argues that *Femen* does not necessarily mean ‘woman’. Further to Ó Corráin’s discussion, Hamp comments:

‘The noun is an o-stem. The old middle syllable must have contained either **i* or **e*, yielding slender *m*. It could not have been **i*, for this would have raised the initial syllable to *i*; therefore it was **e*. If the initial syllable had been **i* it would presumably have remained *i* before **e*; therefore the first syllable was also **e*. The preform must have been **uemenno-*. Just as a speculation, we may wonder whether this was a cognate to Welsh *gwyfyn* ‘moth’.’¹⁴²¹

However, the suggestion that the second old middle syllable was **e* by Hamp does not account for a dat. sg. *Femun* with a broad *m*, attested in LL above, and similarly MS *femoin* in the present text; rather, this indicates **uemano-*, for which there is no cognate known to me.

¹⁴¹⁶ Another example of *Síd Fer Femon* is in the metrical *dindsenchas* of Crotta Clíach (*Met. Dinds.* iii, 224, l. 10).

¹⁴¹⁷ MEYER 1910c: 52, 53. This tale is extant only in Eg. 1782, ff. 20b1-24a2.

¹⁴¹⁸ KNOTT 1936: 42, ll. 1392–3; *Ir. Texte* 3, 190; Roider 1979: ll. 4, 45, 66; STOKES 1901b: 16; and see *Held.* 62.

¹⁴¹⁹ Ó CORRÁIN 1971: 97. See also the folk etymology in Cormac’s Glossary (O’DONOVAN 1868: 74) and *LGÉ* vi, 132.

¹⁴²⁰ SHAW 1934: 119.

¹⁴²¹ HAMP 1975: 174.

Shaw emends MS *toimchiullu* and *fuair* as 1sg. pret. *to-imchellus* and *fuair* based on the context (for more on the preverb *to-*, see section 2.1.4.1): ‘it can be concluded that the subject of the foregoing sentence (**do-lluid**...) is a messenger from the *Dagda*, coming at the appointed time (a year from the beginning of *Bodb*’s search) to learn the result of *Bodb*’s quest. I take the following sentence (**to-imchiullus** etc) as being spoken by *Bodb* to the messenger.’¹⁴²² However, nothing similar to the 1sg. ending is apparent from the MS form. The *iu* vocalism in the penultimate syllable represents *e(a)* (see section 2.1.3(ix)(c) for more examples). According to the MS readings, both verbs are in the 3sg. with *to:imchella* in the present indicative and *-fúair* as the preterite/perfect. This use of mixed tenses is discussed by Tristram, who investigates the use of the historical present as a stylistic device.¹⁴²³ Regarding the form of the preverb *to-*, this is mentioned in section 2.1.4.1 above in a discussion of OIr. linguistic features in AÓ, where I conclude that it, in itself, is too trivial to be included as a dating diagnostic. However, it is a feature found in the Wb. *prima manus* e.g. *tu-ercomlassat* ‘they have gathered’, Wb. I. 7^a7; and, given the postulated date of the text, I cautiously retain the spelling here.

In agreement with Shaw, I restore dat. pl. *Crottaib* as the place-name in the nominative contains the plural *crotta* ‘harps’, i.e. *Crotta Cliach*.¹⁴²⁴ Now known as the Galtee Mountains in Co. Limerick, *Crotta Clíach* were apparently so-called because of the association with *Clíu* the mythological harper¹⁴²⁵ and the shape of the mountain range. For more on the place-lore surrounding *Crotta Clíach* and *Loch Béal Dracon* (modern-day Lough Muskry, Galtee Mountains), see Appendix 1 below, particularly section [6] for the latter lake.¹⁴²⁶

¹⁴²² SHAW 1934: 51, n. 4.

¹⁴²³ TRISTRAM 1983; see also MAC CANA 1994.

¹⁴²⁴ See also Shaw’s discussion of the place-name (Shaw 1934: 118).

¹⁴²⁵ See, for example, the *dindsenchas* of *Crotta Cliach* (*Met. Dinds.* iii, 224–5).

¹⁴²⁶ See also WESTROPP 1919: 48.

25. Tiagair úaidib dochum in Dagdai. Ferthair fáilte friu. ‘Scéla lib?’ ol in Dagdae. ‘Scéla maithi; fo:fríth ind ingen in chrotho-so as:rubartaid.

Shaw: Tiagair úaidib dochum in Dagdai. Ferthair fáilte friu. ‘Scéla lib?’ ol in Dagdae. ‘Scéla maithi; fo-fríth ind ingen in chrotha so as-rubartaid.

Eg.: Tiagair uaidib dochum in dagdo. Fertair failte friu. Scéla lib or in dagdo. Scela maithe fofrith ind ingen in cruthso arrubartait.

Müller: They went from there to the Dagda. He bade welcome to them. Have you a message said the Dagda? We have a good message, the maiden has been found in the form which you said.

They went to the Dagdae. They were welcomed. ‘Have you [any] tidings?’ said the Dagdae. ‘Good tidings: the maiden of the appearance who you have described was found.

MS. *fertair* is understood as pres. ind. pass. sg. *ferthair* (*feraid* ‘pour, sheds’) in order to agree with the subj. nom. sg. *fáilte*; see section 2.1.3(iii) above regarding the common omission of a mark of lenition.¹⁴²⁷

The OIr. form of the defective verb *ol* is restored here. There is only one example in the text of it represented with an *l*, i.e. *al* in [23]; for the full collection of innovative forms, see section 2.1.5(j) above. MS. *incruthso* is edited as *in chrotha-so* on the assumption that the omission of gen. sg. ending is a possible scribal error, i.e. a simple omission. Alternatively it could be an independent dative ‘in this way’; however, it is more likely that it is mirroring the expression in [10] and [13].

Shaw notes the MS form *arrubartait* but does not comment on it.¹⁴²⁸ The form is most likely the perf. 2pl. of *as:beir* with an obscured preverb, perhaps due to scribal error, i.e. the similarity between *r* and *s*, particularly when written as the first part of a ligature. For more on the *-t* of this verb for lenited *d* of the 2pl personal ending see section 2.1.3(vi).

For more on verbal parallelism in AÓ, see section 2.1.11 above.

¹⁴²⁷ It has also been suggested to me by Damian McManus that, alternatively, this may have been influenced by Modlr., e.g. *cuirtear*, etc.

¹⁴²⁸ SHAW 1934: 52.

26. Timmarnad duit ó Budb. Táet ass Óengus linni a dochum duus in:n-aithgne in n-ingin co-nda:accathar.’

Shaw: Timmarnad duit ó Bodb. Táet ass Óengus linni a dochum dúis in n-aithgne in n-ingin, conda accathar.’

Eg.: Timarnad duit o bodb. Toet ass oengus linni a dochum dus indaithnge indingin conda acathar.

Müller: An order to thee from Bodb. Oengus is to come with us to him in order to know whether he recognizes the maiden which he saw.

You have been commanded by Bodb: Let Óengus come with us to him to see whether he might recognise the maiden when he sees her.’

As noted in the previous section, there is a certain degree of parallelism in the choice of language used throughout the tale, which is economical in style; see, for example, the repetition of the verb *timmarnad* from section [23] above. The diphthong in MS *Toet*, the imperative 3sg. of *do:tét*, is restored to expected OIr. *táet*.¹⁴²⁹ I restore the spelling of *dus* to *dúis* in line with the spelling convention found in Wb. (see, for example, Wb. 9^b19, 22^c2, 26^b27); however, as the length mark suggests also this hiatus was already in the process of becoming contracted in Wb. Again, here are two examples of MS *ind* representing *in n-* in MS *indaithnge* and *indingin*, i.e. *in n-aithgne* and *in n-ingin* respectively, whereby the *d* must be a hypercorrection (see section 2.1.3(viii)(m)). The correct form of the 3sg. f. inf. pron. Class C after the conjunction *co* is retained in the text; however, I alter the shape of the vowel to *-a* in the edition. For an overview of the use of the inf. pron. in AÓ, see sections 2.1.4.1(e) and 2.1.6(n). For more on the dat. sg. form Budb, as against the MS reading bodb, see section [24] above. To my knowledge, there are no extant examples of this dat. sg. Budb with raising in the literature but this appears as if it would have been the phonologically regular outcome.

¹⁴²⁹ The diphthong in this verb form is quite popular during the Middle Irish period: e.g. *PH* 6170, *BNNÉ* 94, §207, etc.

27. Brethae Óengus i carput co mboí oc Síð al Femen. Fled mór lasin ríð ara ciunn. Ferthae fáilte fris.

Shaw: Brethae Óengus i carput co mboí oc Síð al Femen. Fled mór lassin ríð ara ciunn. Ferthae fáilte friss.

Eg.: Bretha oengus hi carput co mbui oc sid ar feimin. Fled mor laissin ri ara cinn. Ferdo failte frius

Müller: Oengus was brought in a chariot so that he was at Sid fer Feimin. A great feast with the king for his sake. Welcome was bidden to him.

Óengus was brought in a chariot to Síð al Femen. A great feast with the king [was laid] before them. He was welcomed.

I do not differ widely from Shaw editorially in this section of text. Here, the placename is given in the manuscript as *sid ar feimin*, which is closer to the original than *Síð Fer Femon* in section [24] above. It appears as if *femen* is being treated as a f-ā-stem here with the acc. sg. form *feimin* with a palatal final consonant; however, according to the examples given in DIL (s.v. *femen*), *femen* is treated as a m-o-stem in OIr., which is why I restore neutral quality in the final consonant in the acc. sg. above. I take the sense of the prepositional phrase *ar chiunn* with the 3sg. m. poss. pron. to meaning ‘before him, in front of him’, i.e. the food was presented to Óengus. Another way of interpreting this may be ‘awaiting him’, i.e. ‘on his arrival’.¹⁴³⁰ The poss. pron. in *ara* is most likely the 3pl., which is consistent with the use of the 3pl. in the following section, i.e. *báatar* ‘they were’.

I restore also the correct OIr. acc. sg. form *ríð* for MS *ri*; this is the second instance of the guttural not being present in the acc. sg. (see also [19]) and is indicative of the period during which the tale was transcribed (see section 2.1.4 above). The spelling *laissin* with a palatal glide before the *s* is found once in the *Félire Óengusso* (*Fél.* 150); however, this may be a modernisation as this form is commonly found in MidIr. sources (see section 2.1.3 above).¹⁴³¹ As in section [24] above, I give the pre-contraction dat. sg. spelling *ciunn*, found also in the Wb. glosses. Regarding the spelling of MS *ferdo*, more can be found on the use of *d* for *th* in section 2.1.3(viii)(e) and on the final unstressed vowel in section 2.1.3(ix)(i). For the spelling of MS *frius* with a hypercorrect *u*, see section 2.1.3(ix)(a).

¹⁴³⁰ Both senses are given in DIL C 123.9–35.

¹⁴³¹ E.g. O’Dav. 287 and in the Eg. version of *Tochmarc Étaíne* (Ir. Texte i, 129.20).

28. Bátor trí laa 7 téora aidchi ocind flid. ‘Tair as trá,’ ol Bodb, ‘dúis in:n-aithgne in n-ingin co-nda:aiccther. Cid ata:gnee, ní-s:cuihci-si a tabairt acht ad-nda:cether nammá.’

Shaw: Bátor trí láa ocus teora aidchi ocond fleid. ‘Tair ass trá,’ or Bodb, ‘dúis in n-aithgne in n-ingin conda aiccther.’ ‘Ci ad-da-gnoe, ní-s cumcaim-si a tabairt acht ad-n-da-cether nammá.’

Eg.: Batar tri lao .7 teoro haidqi acin fleid. Tair ass tra ar bodb dus indaithgne indingin Condofaccathar cid dognae nis cuimcimsi atabuirt acht inatciether nammaa.

Müller: They were three days and three nights at the feast. Come out now, said Bodb, in order to know whether thou recognizest the maiden. Until I have seen what she is doing I can not tell it but only when I will have seen it.

They were three days and three nights at the feast. ‘Come out now,’ said Bodb, ‘to see whether you might recognise the maiden, [and] so that you might see her. Even if you recognize her, you are not able to take her but you may only look at her.’

The spelling *lao* in the MS appears to indicate the hiatus form *laa* ‘day’ which I give in the edited text above; however, it would be difficult to add this to the set of dating diagnostics given the scribe’s tendency towards adventurous orthographical representation of vowels; compare, for example, the MS spelling *dao* for the numeral *dá* below in section [30] (for the double spelling of vowels see section 2.1.3(viii)(j); for contracted hiatus forms, see 2.1.5(l); and for hypercorrect spelling of hiatus, see section 2.1.8). The form of the prep. *oc* with the def. art. in MS *acin* ‘at the’ is a modernisation that may have been introduced by the Early Modern Irish scribe; here, it is restored to expected OIr. *ocind*, containing *d* before lenited *f*. Here the retention of the fem. form of the numeral ‘three’ in MS *teora* may be an OIr. retention; however, it is not a significant dating diagnostic (see section 2.1.4.1(b)). As elsewhere, I remove the prosthetic *f* from MS *faccathar*.

It is not possible to tell whether dat. sg. *fleid* or *flid* is intended here as the vowel and final consonant are represented in the manuscript with a suspension stroke. According to Liam Breatnach, both spellings were attested by the time of the Würzburg glosses (e.g. *do*

breith ‘to pass’, Wb. 14^a4 but *hi flid crist* ‘at Christ’s feast’, Wb. 9^b14).¹⁴³² Furthermore, Breatnach explains that ‘forms with *e* and *i* continue to co-exist in Middle Irish’, citing examples from *Saltair na Rann*, *Bórama*, etc.¹⁴³³

Following Thurneysen’s advice, Shaw explains the MS reading *cid dognae* as a confusion of the word division between interrog. *ci/ce* and the verb *ad:gnin* in the pres. subj. 2sg. with a 3sg. f. inf. pron.: *ci ad-da-gnoe* ‘though you may recognize her’.¹⁴³⁴ It seems plausible that there was an original word division, not unlike that posited by Shaw, **ci(a) adagnee* (see below for a discussion of the vowel in *do:gnee*), where the *a* of the conjunction also represented the initial vowel of the preverb and the infixed pronoun became obscured after the redivision of the words. Shaw comments that the 2sg. pres. subj. form of the verb which he provides, i.e. *ad-gnoe*, is ‘conjectural’ as the form ‘does not occur in any Old Ir. text’.¹⁴³⁵ He then cites the entry for *gnia* in O’Clery’s *Glossary*, and comments that O’Clery used *Aislinge Óenguso* as a source for his citation *gnia .i. aithne. cia do gnia .i. cia do aithéonta*. However, as I argue above, Ó Cléirigh, first of all, lists his sources, among which the text of AÓ does not appear; and, secondly, if he had drawn on the text of AÓ, this is the only extract he used, which makes it seem unlikely that he had AÓ at his disposal (see section 2.1.2.1 above). The MS reading *dognae* has the semblance of a possible 2sg. pres. subj. of the verb *do:gní*, i.e. *do:gné* ‘you might do’, if *ae* is better understood as having been miscopied from the ligature *æ* rather than the diphthong *áe* (see GOI §24) or as a disyllable with hiatus. However, as I discuss in section 2.1.11 above, AÓ tends towards verbal parallelism and within this construction the expected verb is a form of *ad:gnin* ‘recognizes’, not *do:gní*.

The pres. subj. form of the verb *gnin-* is sparsely attested in all of its compounds: *ad:gnin* ‘knows, recognizes’, *as:gnin* ‘knows, understands, recognizes’, *con:gnin* ‘knows, recognizes’, *etar:gnin* ‘finds out’ (gl. *experitur* at Ml. 102^a22), *in:gnin* ‘knows, understands’ and **remi:asgnin*¹⁴³⁶ ‘knows beforehand’. *DIL* gives only two examples of pres. subj. forms of *ad:gnin*: 3sg. *arnacha n-aithgné* ‘that he may not recognize him’.¹⁴³⁷ A 3sg. past subj. appears in the *Tochmarc Emire* of LU: *nír forfáemusa mnaí atgneed (v.l. atgneed) fer* [. .

¹⁴³² BREATNACH 1997: 53.

¹⁴³³ BREATNACH 1997: 54.

¹⁴³⁴ SHAW 1934: 53, n. 9.

¹⁴³⁵ SHAW 1934: 53, n. 9.

¹⁴³⁶ This is a *hapax legomonon*, attested only in the past subj. 3pl. with perfective part. *ro-*: *co remi-ergnaitis*, gl. *ut praenoscerent*, Ml. 19^b8. ‘That they should know beforehand’ (own transl.). Pedersen (*Vgl. Gr.* ii) notes that the verb *gnin-* does not usually take a perfective preverb; only in this ‘doppelten Kompositum ist ro- belegt’ (273).

¹⁴³⁷ O’RAHILLY 1976: l. 1594; LU 5870. The second example given by *DIL* as 3pl. *-aithgnet*, *Ériu* 2, 118 §54, is in fact an indicative.

.] ¹⁴³⁸ ‘I have never accepted a woman who would have known a man [before me]’. Under the entry for *as-gnin* ‘recognizes, understands’ *DIL* gives the pres. subj. pass. sg. form *asagnoither* ‘it may be understood’, Sg. 180^b2, and the 3pl. past subj. *ci atngneitis* ‘if they had recognized him’; ¹⁴³⁹ *asa:gnioither* appears to give the phonologically regular *o* in the verbal stem. ¹⁴⁴⁰ Thurneysen points out that this may be an analogical ablaut ‘modelled on **ro·cluine**thar’; ¹⁴⁴¹ *DIL* gives an example of a 3sg. pres. subj. of *con:gnin: co caingne*; ¹⁴⁴² 3pl. past subj. *nach congnaittis* ¹⁴⁴³ is also provided by *DIL*. Only one example of a pres. subj. of *in:gnin* appears in the pass. pl. proto. form: *coní enggnatar*, gl. *ut non intelligentur*, Sg. 209b13; and there are no extant examples of *etar:gnin* in the subj. Of the small number of examples of *-gnin* in the subjunctive, the pres. subj. pass. sg. form *asagnoither* and 3pl. past subj. *-congnaittis* provide support for the vocalism that Shaw suggests with the 2sg. form *ad-gnoe*, which may contain the original vocalism, as posited by McCone. On the other hand, the examples *atgnead/atgneed* and *atngneitis* support the argument for an *e*, i.e. 2sg. *ad:gnee*, which seems to be suggested by the MS spelling *-gnae*, i.e. a corrupt spelling of the ligature *æ*. ¹⁴⁴⁴

There are two ways of interpreting MS *-cuimcinsi*: the first is to accept the MS reading as a 1sg. spoken by Bodb to Óengus, i.e. ‘I cannot give her [to you]’ with a proleptic infixed pronoun 3sg. f. If so, this would potentially stand in antithesis to the statement in [32] by Óengus to Bodb when he views the maiden: *ní:cumcub a breith in fecht-so* ‘I will not be able to take her this time’; antithesis using *tabart/breth* (‘giving/taking’) is possible given the type of verbal parallelism that occurs in AÓ (see section 2.1.12). Alternatively, the use of *tabart* with regard to a woman often refers to taking a wife or companion, which leads to the second way of interpreting *-cuimcinsi* as a 2sg. with an *m* that was added during transmission, i.e. ‘you may not take her [for a wife]’. This also reduces the requirement for a phrase meaning ‘to you’ in the first interpretation. Further examples of this usage of *tabart*

¹⁴³⁸ *LU* 10323-4. The rest of this sentence is lost in a chasm in *LU* p. 125a; however, the text of Harl. 5280 supplements the missing text of *LU* and supplies us with the meaning: ‘*7 ní fáemus mnaí atgneed fer remum*’ (VAN HAMEL 1933: 31, §26); ‘Nor have I ever accepted a woman that has known a man before me, and I have been told that yonder girl has slept with Carpre Niafer, once’ (MEYER 1888: 74).

¹⁴³⁹ CARNEY 1964: 391.

¹⁴⁴⁰ MCCONE 1991: 21. Pedersen makes the following remarks: ‘Im Konj. erwartet man einen Stamm **gnō-*, kelt. *gnā-* [...]; dafür scheint **gno-* eingetreten zu sein (*asagnoither* Sg. 180b 2); die Annahme Thurneysens, Handb. 361, daß es sich um Einfluß seitens des Verbums *-cluine*thar handelt, ist unsicher (mir. Konj. Sing. 3. *arnach-an-aithgné* *LU* 71a 35; Pl. 3. *atgniatt* O’Dav. Nr. 156; Konj. Ipf. Sing. 3. *atgnead* *LU* 124b 31 können nach *gní*-gebildet sein).’ (Vgl. *Gr.* ii, 547.)

¹⁴⁴¹ *GOI* §387.

¹⁴⁴² O’DONOVAN 1847: 68.4.

¹⁴⁴³ CARNEY 1964: 81.

¹⁴⁴⁴ See *GOI* §787n; HULL 1954b: 122.

appear the following: e.g. *cen tabairt mná cucai* ‘without having taken a woman/wife’ (TBF); and *dochuid Eochaid do taphuirt na hingene* ‘Eochaid went to take the maiden’ (Eg. version of *Tochmarc II*).¹⁴⁴⁵ Here, I tentatively opt for the second interpretation.

Shaw chooses to edit MS *inatciether* as *ad-n-da-cether* with a 2sg. pres. subj. form of *ad:cí*, a 3sg. f. inf. pron. and relative nasalisation. This verb form is reflected in the MS reading, although somewhat obscured; however, *inat* that precedes it is difficult to interpret. The first vowel may represent an *i* or an *a*, given the varied spelling in proclisis; the *n* may be remnant of the nas. rel. with the *d* of the original preverb having got lost; and *at* may represent a reanalysis, whereby a scribe knew that *ad:cí*, *at-* with the MidIr. petrified inf. pron., were intended but did not know the relevant form of the inf. pron. to insert here.

29. To:lotar iarum co mbáatar oc Loch [Bél Dracon]. Co-n:accatar na trí cóecta ingen maccthae. Co-n:accatar in n-ingin n-etarru.

Shaw: To-lotar iarum co mbáatar oc Loch. Co n-accatar inna trí cóecta ingen macdacht. Co n-accatar in n-ingin n-etarru.

Eg.: To lotar iarum co mbatar oc loch. Con faccatar na tri coeco ingen maccdoi. Confacatar iningin neturra.

Müller: They went afterwards till they were at the sea, when they saw 150 young maidens and they saw the maiden among them.

Then they came to Loch [Bél Dracon]. They saw one hundred and fifty young maidens. And they saw the maiden among them.

Although my edition does not deviate far from Shaw’s here, there are some features in the language to which I would like to draw attention. First of all, the form of the preverb in MS *tolotar* is retained in the edition (for more on this, see section 2.1.4.1 and 2.1.14). Regarding the short form of the acc. pl. def. art. *na*, as this form was already in use in Wb.¹⁴⁴⁶ I retain it in the edition; there are only three examples of the pl. form of the def. art. in AÓ

¹⁴⁴⁵ MEID 1970: 33.5; *Ir. Texte* 4:1, 119.10.

¹⁴⁴⁶ E.g. *na teora persana* ‘the three Persons (of the Trinity)’, Wb. 9^c30; cited by *DIL* I 183.57.

and all three are indeed short *na* (nom. pl. f. in [30] and gen. pl. in [57]). For the loss of the dental inflection in MS *coeco*, see section 2.1.9 above.

Shaw edits MS *maccdoi* to gen. pl. *macdacht* ‘pubescent’ but I think this disregards an otherwise poorly attested adjective *macthae*, which *DIL* translates as ‘pertaining to a boy, juvenile’. However, the connotations associated with this adjective might not be limited to males, as it thus appears at Wb. 12^c9 in the words spoken by Paul: *ó domanicc foirbthetu ní denim gnímu macthi*, ‘since perfection has come to me, I do no childish deeds’. Other lexical items containing the element *mac(c)* do not carry an exclusively male meaning, e.g. *macdacht: cech fer di Ultaib doberad ingin macdacht a feiss la Conchobar in chetaidchi*, ‘when any man of the Ulaid married a grown-up girl, she slept with Conchobar on the first night’ (*Scéla Conchobair*);¹⁴⁴⁷ *lasanní is áes ingini macdacht insin*, ‘moreover he is only the age of a grown girl’ (Medb regarding Cú Chulainn in TBC Rec. I).¹⁴⁴⁸ Given its sparse attestation, *macth(a)e* is the *lectio difficilior* and I suggest it carries the sense of ‘having a youthful quality’, i.e. ‘young’ or, the second meaning given by *DIL*, ‘juvenile’ (see *GOI* §347 for the meaning of adjectives formed using the adjectival suffix *-de*).

30. Ní:tacmuictis na ingena dí acht co:ticci a gúalainn. Slabrad aircdide eter cach dí ingin.

Shaw: Ní tacmuictis inna hingena dí acht coticci a gualainn. Slabrad airgdide eter cach di ingin.

Eg.: Ní thacmuictis na hingino di *acht* co ticce a gualo. Slabrath aircdide etir cach dao ingin.

Müller: The maidens did not reach her to the shoulder. A silvery chain between every two maidens.

The [other] maidens only reached to her shoulder. [There was] a silver chain between every two maidens.

I remove the petrified neut. inf. pron. in the neg. part. and its concomitant lenition. *Co:tic(c)i* here is orig. the conj. *co n-* + 2sg. pres. ind. of *do:ic(c)* ‘comes’ which has lost its original sense of ‘until you come’, and is used as a prepositional phrase with the meaning ‘up

¹⁴⁴⁷ STOKES 1910: 24.21–2.

¹⁴⁴⁸ O’RAHILLY 1976: l. 394.

to, as far as, till' (cf. pres. subj. 3sg. *co tí*) which becomes petrified as a prepositional phrase (cf. *co mbáatar* in the previous section). Literally, this first sentence may be translated as 'the maidens used to not reach her, save to her shoulder'. Not mentioned by Shaw in his notes is the short form of acc. sg. MS *gualo*, which I emend to *gúalainn* with expected OIr. nasal inflection. As I discuss in section 2.1.9 above, this form may have been introduced at any point during the text's transmission after the OIr. period. The form of the numeral *dao* is discussed in section 2.1.4.1(b), as it is the only example of the historically incorrect form of the numeral in the acc. before a feminine noun in this text; the other examples provide support for an OIr. date and suggest that this was an innovation introduced at date much later than the text's original composition.

31. Muince aircdide imma brágait fadeisin ocus slabrad di ór forloiscthiu. Is and as:bert Bodb: 'In:n-aithgén in n-ingin n-ucut?' 'Aithgén écin,' ol Óengus. 'Ní-m:thá-sa cumacc deit,' ol Bodb, '[ní] bas mó.'

Shaw: Muince airgdide imma brágait fadisin ocus slabrad di ór forloiscthiu. Is and as-bert Bodb: 'In n-aithgén in n-ingin n-ucut?' 'Aithgén écin,' ol Óengus. 'Ní-m thá-sa cumacc deit,' ol Bodb, 'bas móo.'

Eg.: Muince *airccdide* ima braigit fodeissin. ocus slaprad di or orloisci. IS ann isbert bodb indaithgein iningin uccut. Aithgen ecin ol oengus. Nimthaso cumacc deit ol bodb *bus* moam.

Müller: A silvery necklace about their neck itself and a chain of burnished gold. Then Bodb said: Doest thou recognize the maiden? I recognize her of course, said Oengus. This is not thy greatest power, said Bodb (?).

A silver collar around her own neck, and a chain of refined gold. It is then that Bodb said: 'Do (lit. 'did') you recognise the maiden yonder?' 'Indeed I recognise [her],' said Óengus. 'I have not got power for you', said Bodb, 'anymore'.

The spelling with doubling *m* in the edited text, *imma* 'around her', is supported by the example *imma chomalnad* 'for its fulfilment', Wb. 30^b4. I emend the spelling of MS *fodeissin* to *fadeisin*, again in line with forms attested in Wb. (e.g. 30^c17, 33^d9, etc.). The noun *bráge* with a palatal and neutral *g* is found into the Modern Irish period, so that MS *braigit* represents a modernisation. However, it is difficult to ascertain when this palatal colouring

occurred as examples of *bráge* in contemporary and non-contemporary OIr. sources are extremely limited: *DIL* provides only one example at Sg.50^a10, *bráge*, which is inconclusive. A further example in a non-contemporary source is contained in an OIr. law tract which happens to refer specifically to the use of a *slabrad* around the neck; there the form is *braghat* with neutral *g*.¹⁴⁴⁹ Neutral *g* is, of course, expected: cf. the OW pl. *brouannou*, MidW. sg. *breuant*, MidBret. sg. *breant*.¹⁴⁵⁰ The spread of palatal *g* in Irish may be due to analogy with syncopated pl. forms, e.g. dat. pl. *bráigtib*.

For more on the spelling of MS *slaprad* with incorrect *p*, see section 2.1.3(vii)(h). The initial *f* of the ptp. *forloiscthiu* is not written in MS *orlloisci*; for the representation of lenition in the MS, see section 2.1.3(iii). The *th* of the suffix in the participle *orlloisci* is also restored here; no doubt it was lost because it was no longer pronounced at the time of copying (see section 2.1.9 above).

Shaw edits the superlative form of the adjective *mór*, MS *moam*, to the comparative *móo*, probably in order to yield better sense in translation; he does not offer any commentary but simply draws attention to it in a footnote, where he proposes also adding *ní*, i.e. *ní bas móo*.¹⁴⁵¹ Inserting *ní* and using the comparative *mó* would yield the sense of the adverbial phrase ‘anymore’, which suits the context because Bodb has completed his part of the task to find the maiden; he continues to identify the maiden by name in [33] before returning with Óengus to the Dagdae to map out their next step towards obtaining the maiden. As little sense can be made of either a comparative or a superlative of *mór* predicating *cumacc* ‘power, ability’, i.e. ‘I have not got a greater/greatest power for you’ and, by extension, ‘I cannot help you’, I tentatively opt here for the suggestion by Shaw with *ní bas mó*. The superlative form *moam* here may be hypercorrect.¹⁴⁵²

DIL notes the phrase *at:tá* with the inf. pron. followed by *cumang/cumacc*, ‘i.e. has the ability/power to’, and cites a number of examples from contemporary and non-contemporary OIr. sources. The construction using the substantive verb with the inf. pron. to express possession is most widespread in OIr. but it is not limited to this period; Breatnach notes instances of its usage in *Saltair na Rann: nīm thā* (SR 391), so that it cannot be included among the diagnostics for an OIr. date.¹⁴⁵³

Regarding *cumacc* as opposed to *cumang* ‘power, ability’, *GOI*, referring to the proto. form *-cum(a)ic*, describes it as ‘archaic’ in brackets and mentions that the form with final *-c*

¹⁴⁴⁹ THURNEYSSEN 1928: 23.4; cited by *DIL* s.v. *brága*.

¹⁴⁵⁰ *GPC Online*, s.v. *breuant*.

¹⁴⁵¹ SHAW 1934: 54, n. 4.

¹⁴⁵² See *SnaG* III, 6.15.

¹⁴⁵³ *SnaG* III, 12.190.

instead of *-ng* is ‘rare’.¹⁴⁵⁴ Both forms of the noun occur in the Wb. glosses so that retaining it here is in line with the general policy of this edition: *cumacc* is found at Wb. 4^a6 and dat. sg. *cumung* at Wb. 5^d22. Regarding the verb, however, the only examples of *-cumaic* that I have found are in non-contemporary OIr. sources., i.e. once in an OIr. penitential, the Laud Genealogies and *Cath Maige Tuired*;¹⁴⁵⁵ the latter text contains a heavy leaven of MidIr. features.¹⁴⁵⁶

Something which Shaw does not mention in his edition, nor provide the manuscript reading for, is the reduplicated pret. 2sg. proto. form MS *-aithgein* with a palatal final consonant; for more on this possible MidIr. development, see section 2.1.7.2 above. It could be argued that, perhaps, the 3sg. is intended here, i.e. *-aithgéuin*, only for the fact that Bodb is addressing Óengus directly. In the response to this question, Shaw restores a pret. 1sg. proto. form *aithgén*, and his reason for doing so is cited in his glossary entry for *ad:gnin*, in which he remarks: ‘note that the prot. form of the verb is frequently used in answering questions, cf. *cumcim*, *Stories* p. 19’.¹⁴⁵⁷ Thurneysen conjectures that the proto. in responses (GOI §38, 3(a)) is an extension of the proto. form sometimes used to introduce a relative clause and he provides two examples, the first is that also cited by Shaw from Rec. I TBC.¹⁴⁵⁸ Greene provides a more comprehensive discussion of the form of the verb in response, deducing that the use of the prototonic is the older.¹⁴⁵⁹ There is an example of both types of response in *Táin Bó Froích*: the first, ‘*In-tibéraid damsa for n-ingin?*’ *ol Fróech. Imma-n-aiccet int slúaig. ‘Do-bérthar,’ ol Ailill*, [...], shows the use of the deut.; and the second, ‘*In-n-aithgéin sin?*’ *ol Ailill. ‘Aithgén,’ olsi*, shows the use of the proto.¹⁴⁶⁰

Regarding the lack of nasalisation of the initial vowel of *ucut*, see section 2.1.4.1(a) above.

¹⁴⁵⁴ GOI §549f.

¹⁴⁵⁵ *ní chumic* (OIr. penitential; GWYNN 1914: 142, §15); *-cumaic*, (Laud. gen.; MEYER 1912: 308.21); *-cumhaicc* (*Cath Maige Tuired*; GRAY 1982: 66, §152). All cited by DIL, s.v. *con-icc*.

¹⁴⁵⁶ See GRAY 1982: 11.

¹⁴⁵⁷ SHAW 1934: 69.

¹⁴⁵⁸ O’RAHILLY 1976: II. 774–6.

¹⁴⁵⁹ GREENE 1972: 61. See also WATKINS 1963: 43–4. There is an example of both types of response in *Táin Bó Froích*: the first, ‘*In-tibéraid damsa for n-ingin?*’ *ol Fróech. Imma-n-aiccet int slúaig. ‘Do-bérthar,’ ol Ailill*, [...] (MEID 1970: II. 142–4), shows the use of the deut.; and the second, ‘*In-n-aithgéin sin?*’ *ol Ailill. ‘Aithgén,’ olsi*, shows the use of the proto. (MEID 1974: II. 171-2).

¹⁴⁶⁰ MEID 1970: II. 142–4, 171-2.

32. ‘Ní b́ae s3n,’ ol 3engus, ‘3m, 3re is s3 ad:condarc; n3:cumcub a breith in fecht-so.’

Shaw: ‘N3 b́ae s3n,’ ol 3engus, ‘3m ; 3re as s3 ad-condarc ; n3 cumcub a breith in fecht so.’

Eg.: Ni ba son ol oengus eim uair isi do connarc ni conicab a bret hi fectso.

Müller: Not so, said Oengus, for her which I saw I shall not be able to take with me (?) this time.

‘That does not matter,’ said 3engus, ‘indeed, because it is she whom I have seen; I will not be able able to carry her away on this occasion.’

The original hiatus group, pre-contraction, is restored in the noun *b́ae* ‘profit, good’ (cf. Wb. 5^b12). The asseverative *em* ‘indeed’ has a palatal final consonant in the manuscript *eim* which is the usual form in the late OIr. and MidIr. periods; the form of the particle in the Wb. and ML glosses is *3m* Wb. 5^a18, 14^c3, 16^a6, 24^a31, ML 29^c11; *3m* ML 61^b7, 136^b4, 137^b7; and *3m* ML 24^b18. Here also, the form *do connarc* in the MS displays a typical post-Old Irish confusion of the preverb, which I restore to *ad:condarc* above (see section 2.1.9).¹⁴⁶¹

The conjunction *uair* here is standardised to one of the forms found in the glosses, i.e. *(h)3re*, which may or may not be followed by the nasalizing relative clause in Wb.¹⁴⁶² 3 hUiginn’s study of the distribution of the nasalizing relative shows that in Wb. 39% (42 examples) of the clauses containing copula and non-copula verbs in positive and negative constructions were found to be in the relative after *(h)3re*, whereas 61% (66 examples) were paratactic.¹⁴⁶³ Later in his investigation, he reiterates that *(h)3re* is accompanied by a ‘disproportionately high number of paratactic clauses’ and suggests that this usage ‘may have been influenced by the semantically-related conjunction *a(i)r* ‘for’, which is always followed by a paratactic clause’.¹⁴⁶⁴ Given the statistical distribution in Wb., and the fact that it is not possible to say whether *is* or *as* is indicated by the manuscript spelling (for the representation of proclitic *a*, see section 2.1.3(viii)), I retain the non-relative form of the copula *is*.

The form MS *conicab* is, according to *DIL*, an example of the later ‘generalized stem conic-’.¹⁴⁶⁵ The examples provided by *DIL* are few and occur in Middle and EModIr. sources. The following example is from the *Aisling Tundail*, the EModIr. translation of the *Visio*

¹⁴⁶¹ For more examples see *SnaG* III, 11.24.

¹⁴⁶² See *GOI* §505.

¹⁴⁶³ 3 HUIGINN 1986: 46.

¹⁴⁶⁴ 3 HUIGINN 1986: 68–9.

¹⁴⁶⁵ *DIL* C 444.11–14.

Tnugdali by the 16th-century scholar Muirgheas (mac Páidín) Ó Maoilchonaire: *Rosmvain techt isin colaind ina frithing, acht ní conice*,¹⁴⁶⁶ ‘he considered going back into his body but he could not’. Here, the 3sg. pret. form *-conice* translates Latin 3sg. ipf. ind. *non poterat*,¹⁴⁶⁷ it occurs again later in the same text in the 3sg. past subj. *-coniccsid*.¹⁴⁶⁸ The stem *cum-* is also used in *Aisling Tundail*, e.g. 3sg. pret. *nár cumcais*,¹⁴⁶⁹ so that there is an interchange between the use of the two. Interestingly, the stem *conic-* does not feature in IGT, which gives the impression that it was perhaps a hypercorrect formation.¹⁴⁷⁰ For more on the possible scribal interference with the text at the point of the compilation of the MS Eg., see section 2.1.9 above.

The lack of a palatal glide in MS *bret* may either be an Early OIr. feature or it could be an Early ModIr. feature; for the former, see section 2.1.3 above on written glides. It is possible, though not likely, that the *et*-compendium in *bret* stands for *-eit(h)*; however, there are no other examples to support that. The distinction between nom. and acc. of vocalic stems becomes eroded during the MidIr. period and leads to case syncretism by the EModIr. period.¹⁴⁷¹ Finally, MS *hifectso*¹⁴⁷² appears to be a phonetic spelling for *in fecht-so*; it is also possible that an *n*-stroke was lost in transmission.

¹⁴⁶⁶ FRIEDEL & MEYER 1907: 94–5, §1.

¹⁴⁶⁷ The full line is: *Volebat ad corpus suum redire, set non poterat* (WAGNER 1882: 9.15–16).

¹⁴⁶⁸ FRIEDEL & MEYER 1907: 96, §3; WAGNER 1882: 12.8–10.

¹⁴⁶⁹ FRIEDEL & MEYER 1907: 100, §3.

¹⁴⁷⁰ See BERGIN 1946: 212, §53 (CUMANG).

¹⁴⁷¹ See *SnaG* III, 5.6.

¹⁴⁷² For further examples of this, see *DIL* F 55.31.

33. Coich ind ingen-so, a Buidb?’ ol Óengus. ‘Fetar écin,’ ol Bodb. ‘Cáer Iborbáeth, ingen Ethail Anbúail a síd Úamain i crích Connacht.’

Shaw: ‘Cuich ind ingen sa, a Buidb?’ ol Óengus. ‘Ro-fetar écin,’ ol Bodb, ‘Caer Ibormeith, ingen Ethail Anbuail a ssíd Úamain i crích Connacht.’

Eg.: Cuich ind ingenso a buidb or oengus . fetar ecin ar bodb. Caer ^{ib}ormeth ingen ethail anbuail a ssid uamain a crich connacht.

Müller: Who is this maiden o Bodb said Oengus. I know it of course said Bodb: Caer ^{ib} Ormaith daughter of Ethal Anbual from Sid Uaman in the province of Connacht.

‘Whose is this maiden, O Bodb,’ said Óengus. ‘I know, indeed. [She is] Caer Iborbáeth, daughter of Ethal Anbúail of the Síd Úamain in the province of Connacht.’

I have restored the older vocalism of the interrogative *coich* above; however, I believe that this is a late OIr. or MidIr. innovation (see sections 2.1.5(b)(i) for *oi* > *ui* and 2.1.7 for a discussion of the MidIr. use of *coich* ‘whose?’ for ‘who?’). For more on Cáer’s epithet MS *ibormeth*, see section 2.1.13 above.

The positive form *-fetar* without the preverb *ro-* is retained by me, unlike Shaw who introduces the preverb. As explained in section [31] above, the dependent form of the compound verb is often used in the responsive in Old Irish;¹⁴⁷³ this is something that is eradicated quite early on in the language. As the example here shows, quite significantly, the use of the proto. is not restricted to any particular type of response as regards whether it is a polar question, a response to a statement or a response using a verb that does not echo the verb of the preceding statement. Presumably, although it is not written, the sense of the verb *ro:fitir* is implied before the question *coich* in order to warrant the proto. form in the response (see the notes to [31] above).

¹⁴⁷³ BERGIN (1934–38: 219) comments that ‘*ro-fetar* is a needless emendation’. The latter provides two further parallels: ‘Cf. *in fetarsu* . . . *Fetar*, RC 26, 48–50 = Rawl. 112a28. [...] *In āigther éc, a Brenainn?* . . . *Āgur ém, ar Brenainn*, LL 371a11. Otherwise in absolute construction the verb is *ad-águr*.’ Ó CATHASAIGH (1997: 436) also retains the dependent form.

34. To:comlat ass íarum Óengus 7 a muinte dochum a críche. Téit Bodb laiss co:n-árlastar in Dagdae ocus in Boind oc Mruig Maicc ind Ócc.

Shaw: Do-comlat ass íarum Óengus ocus a muinte dochum a críche. Téit Bodb laiss co n-árlastar in nDagdae ocus in mBoinn oc Bruig maicc ind Óicc.

Eg.: Docomlat ass *iarvm oengus .7 a muinte* dochum hi *crichi*. Teit bodb laiss co *narlustar* in dagdo *ocus* in bounn oc brug micc ind oicc.

Müller: After that Oengus went with his suite to his territory. Bodb went with him to visit the Dagda and Boann at Brug mic ind Oicc.

Óengus and his company proceed then to his territory. Bodb goes with him, and he spoke to the Dagdae and the Boand at Mruig Maicc ind Ócc.

For a full discussion and overview of the name *Macc ind Ócc*, see section 2.1.11 above; I edit MS *oicc* with a palatal final consonant as *Ócc* with a neutral *c*. While on the subject of this name, gen. sg. MS *micc* is a MidIr. innovation and, therefore, the form is restored to *maic* in the edition.¹⁴⁷⁴ The poss. pron. 3sg. m. *a* is also edited from MS *hi*. MS *brug* in the dat. sg. is edited to *mruig* with palatal *g* as it is historically a m-i-stem and the historically correct initial *m*. The spelling of *brug* is a MidIr. development; cf. *is úaithe in brug dar búadaib*, ‘from it is named the region of surpassing worth’, *Met. Dinds.* iii, 42.20; and *dar mara* (preposed gen.) *mbrug* ‘beyond the region of the sea’,¹⁴⁷⁵ LL 37010. For the development of OIr. *mr* > MidIr. *br*, see section 2.1.5(e) above; here I edit *brug* to *mruig*.

Following Shaw, who inserts nasalisation here also, I emend nom. sg. MS *bounn* to acc. sg. *Boind*. Thurneysen (*GOI* §247(e)) notes the use of the nom. ‘only in poetry, in coordinate clauses linked by *ocus* ‘and’ to a preceding accusative or dative’ and cites two examples in one quatrain from *Saltair na Rann*. Henry notes a similar phenomenon in a *rosc n Amra Con Roi*: ‘But in 14, all Mss agree in a nom. pl. type which we may write *bech-chluaig buain* ‘lasting bee-swarms’ in place of **bech-shluagu buanu* (-a). This can be explained in either of two ways: as an extension of an acc. by a nom. peculiar to poetic style, cf. Thurn. Gramm. 156 (e); or as a Middle Ir. replacement of acc. by nom. forms. In regard to the former explanation, it may be noted that the usage here is almost identical with the example from

¹⁴⁷⁴ For the change *maic* > *meic*, see *SnaG* III, 3.5.

¹⁴⁷⁵ Translation from HULL 1941:943.

Saltair na Rann in Thurn. Gramm., [...].’ There are no examples of this in Elr. prose available to me presently.

Regarding the form of the preverb *to* in pres. ind. 3pl. *to:comlat* ‘they proceed’, I have restored this here based on the manuscript evidence of section [56] below, which gives the reading *tocomlat*; see also the section 2.1.4.1 in the introduction above.

35. Ad:fiadat a scéla doib 7 ad:fidatar doib amal mboíe eter cruth 7 écosc amal ad:condarcatar. 7 ad:fidatar a ainm 7 ainm a athar 7 a senathar.

Shaw: Ad-fiadat a scéla doib ocus ad-fidatar doib amail mboíe eter cruth ocus écosc amail ad-condarcatar. Ocus ad-fidatar a hainm ocus ainm a hathar ocus a senathar.

Eg.: Atfiadad a scela doib .7 atcuadadar doib amail bui etir cruth .7 ecuscc amail atconncat- . 7 atcuadatar a hainm .7 ainm a hathar .7 a senathar.

Müller: They told them their message and related how she was by her form and her appearance as they had seen her and had heard the name of her father and her grandfather.

They told them their tidings, and they related to them how she was, both form and appearance, as they had seen her. And they told [them] her name, and the name of her father, and of her grandfather.

Regarding MS *atfiadad*, I remove the petrified neuter inf. pron. in the preverb *at* and standardise the orthographical representation of final *-d /d/* to *-t* (see section 2.1.3(vii)(d)). The possessive pronoun before *scéla* may alternatively be the 3sg. f. giving the sense ‘they tell her tidings’, i.e. ‘they tell tidings about her’.

Shaw restores the perfect form 3pl. MS *atcuadadar* and later again in the same sentence *atcuadatar* (from OIr. *in:fét, ad:fét*) to preterite *ad-fidatar*, noting the change in his edition and commenting upon the fact that this is the only example of the perfect being used in place of the preterite in the whole text.¹⁴⁷⁶ The line is, in itself, strange and repetitive since it uses the same verb three times in the same sentence, opening with it first in the 3pl. pres. ind. and then switching to the perfect. Here the pret. has been replaced by the perf., which was available during the MidIr. period but not during the EModIr. period, judging by the lack of

¹⁴⁷⁶ SHAW 1934: 55, note 1.

attestations: *atchuamar*, BB 38a15; 3pl. *atcuatar*, PH 3775.¹⁴⁷⁷ This replacement may have been motivated by the similarities between the pres. and pret. stems, *fiad-* and *fid-* respectively. The preterite form is also not unknown during the Middle Irish period, and, therefore, it would not have been difficult to reconstruct: it appears, for example, in the 1pl. in the late Middle Irish adaptation *In Cath Catharda*, i.e. *atfiadhamar* (CCath 2263). This does not signify that the preterite form of the verb was still in use – it is most likely deliberately used in *In Cath Catharda* to give the text an archaic semblance – but it proves that it could still be conjured up. The *-ia-* for long *-í-*, however, is indicative of the fact that the form is based on the present stem, which fluctuates between *ía* and *é*, given that it is a BI vb. with the underlying form **fiad-*. McCone, in his *Early Irish Verb*, cites *ad:fiadar* and *ad:fiadatar* as examples of the the OIr. suffixless preterite; however, he explains elsewhere that *fid-* has come about as a result of reduplication in the stem, resulting in lenition of the original consonant and subsequent lengthening of the vowel.¹⁴⁷⁸ Based on the latter point, I reconstruct the 3pl. forms *ad:fidatar* with expected *-í-*.¹⁴⁷⁹

I restore the nasalising relative clause here after *amal*; Ó hUiginn, in his study of the nas. rel. clause, illustrates the predominance of its use in manner clauses, including those introduced by *ama(i)l* in the OIr. glosses.¹⁴⁸⁰ In Wb., only 25% of clauses introduced by *ama(i)l* do not take a nas. rel. For more on the loss of final *-e* in the pret. rel. form *boíe*, see section [5] above. As AÓ cannot be shown to be older than Wb., the lack of a nasalisation is not due to the antiquity of the text, i.e. it does not indicate that it was composed at a time when simple verbs in the rel. were not marked with nasalisation, but it was most likely lost in transmission. Here, I expand the abbreviation *am-* as *amal* with neutral *l*, rather than EOIr. *amail* (*GOI* §168), as it is the common form in Wb. and ML (Wb. 6^a30, 10^c12, etc.).

¹⁴⁷⁷ See *DIL* A 53.70–80.

¹⁴⁷⁸ *EIV* 53.

¹⁴⁷⁹ See also *GOI* §§430, 693; and CARNEY 1964: 116 (*Blathm*).

¹⁴⁸⁰ Ó hUIGINN 1986: 56.

36. ‘Ní ségdae dúnn,’ ol in Dagdae, ‘nád:cumcem do socht.’ ‘A n-í bad maith duit a Dagdai,’ ol Bodb, ‘eirc dochum n-Ailella 7 Medba ar is leo bíid ina cóiciud ind ingen.

Shaw: ‘Ní ségdae dúnn,’ ol in Dagdae, ‘ná cumcem do socht.’ ‘Aní bad maith duit, a Dagdai,’ ol Bodb. ‘Eircc dochum n-Ailella ocus Medbae ar is leo bíid inna cóiciud ind ingen.’

Eg.: Ni segdo dunn or in dagdo na cumcem do socht. Anni bud maith duit a dagdo or bodb eircc dochum naillella .7 medbo ar iss leo bith ina coiccid hin ingen.

Müller: It is no use to us, said the Dagda, we can not The best thing for thee to do o Dagda, said Bodb, go to Ailell and Medb, for with them in their territory is the maiden.

‘It is unfortunate for us,’ said the Dagdae, ‘that we cannot deal with your stupour.’ ‘What would be good for you, O Dagdae,’ said Bodb, ‘[would be to] go to Ailill and Medb, for it is with them in their province that the maiden resides.’

Regarding the form MS *-cumcem* with a palatal consonant after syncope, see section 2.1.4.1 above. Here I emend MS *na* to *nád*, as is expected in the subordinate negative clause (see *GOI* §863). *DIL* notes the alternation between *ná* and *nád* in OIr.;¹⁴⁸¹ however, there is a preponderance for *nád* in the OIr. glosses (e.g. Wb. 1^d14, ML 46^a19, 50^d1). Shaw was not able to give any suggestions as to the meaning of MS *do socht* here, noting only ‘meaning obscure’.¹⁴⁸² Ó Cathasaigh discusses how this section may be interpreted, however, first citing Jackson’s translation: ‘We feel it to be discourteous that we cannot content you’; and commenting that ‘this [translation] fails to convey the sense of the Irish text, and in particular the word *socht*’.¹⁴⁸³ He goes on to provide a new translation of this line based on Watkins’ interpretation of *socht* as ‘stupour’, which I employ above: ‘It is unfortunate for us that we cannot deal with your stupor’.¹⁴⁸⁴ Watkins comments that ‘this “stupor” is furthermore a pathological state imposed impersonally from outside on one: *ro-lá/do-rat* N. *i socht* ~ *ro-lá/do-rat socht* for N. “it put N. in a stupor ~ it put a stupor on N.”’ He goes on to provide an example with this verb in *Scéla Muicce Meic Dathó*, which itself gives an example of an illness comparable to Óengus’ because the *socht* brings about an inability to eat.¹⁴⁸⁵

¹⁴⁸¹ *DIL* N 3.17.

¹⁴⁸² SHAW 1934: 109.

¹⁴⁸³ Ó CATHASAIGH 1997: 433; translation by JACKSON 1951: 95.

¹⁴⁸⁴ Ó CATHASAIGH 1997: 434.

¹⁴⁸⁵ WATKINS 1976: 24; see THURNEYSSEN 1935: §§3, 9. THURNEYSSEN previously translated *socht* as ‘silence’ (1935: 59).

This section presents an example of the imperative *eirc* being used in a subordinate clause. As highlighted by Ó hUiginn, usually an indirect command is given using the conjunction *ara* followed by the subjunctive or by an infinitival construction. However, this is a third type, described by Ó hUiginn as ‘analogical’,¹⁴⁸⁶ found also in *Táin Bó Froích*, the LU version of TBC, and the B Recension of *Audacht Morainn* among other sources.¹⁴⁸⁷

Similarly to Shaw, I restore the hiatus vowel in the cons. pres. form of the subst. verb *biid*, MS *bith*, and I also restore the diphthong containing *u* in the dat. sg. form of the noun *cóiced* ‘fifth, province’, i.e. *cóiciud* for MS *coiccid*.

37. Téit in Dagdae co mboí i tírib Connacht. Trí fichit carpat a llín. Ferthae fáilte friu lassin ríg ocus in rígnai.

Shaw: Téit in Dagdae co mboí i tírib Connacht, trí fichit carpat a lín. Ferthae fáilte friu lassin ríg ocus in rígnai.

Eg.: Tet in dagdo co mbui hi tírib *connacht*. Trí *fichit carpat* a llion Fertha fáilte friu laissind ríg. ocus inn rígnai.

Müller: The Dagda went until he was in the land of Connacht. Sixty chariots his number. The king and the queen welcomed him.

The Dagdae goes to the lands of Connacht. Sixty chariots their number. They were welcomed by the king and the queen.

The MS form 3sg. pres. ind. *tet* with, what appears to be, a neutral final consonant may be due to the lack of a written glide (*GOI* §86(a); see also section 2.1.3(v) above)¹⁴⁸⁸ or it may be due to the confusion between absolute and conjunct after the OIr. period, leading to a hypercorrect spelling here.¹⁴⁸⁹ It appears likely that it may be down to scribal policy as the

¹⁴⁸⁶ Ó HUIGINN 2002: 234.

¹⁴⁸⁷ Ó HUIGINN 2002: 231–4.

¹⁴⁸⁸ See another example of *tét* at *MI*. 21^c3. McManus notes that ‘there is MS evidence for its [referring to an *i* glide] absence, particularly after *e*’ (MCMANUS 1986: 10).

¹⁴⁸⁹ Breatnach provides an example of this confusion in the conj.: *nī thēit*, *SR* 447 (*SnaG* III, 12.11).

same glide-less *tet* form is found in *Echtrae Nerai* in the same manuscript, which contrasts with its equivalent MS *Teit* in YBL, col. 659, l. 35.¹⁴⁹⁰

The spelling of *líon* is a definitive Early Modern Irish development of the spelling of the text with the neutral glide (OIr. *lín*). This sort of innovation in the spelling is very uncommon in *Aislinge Óenguso*, and only serves to remind that the scribe belonged to the 16th century; see section 2.1.9. The form of the def. art. in *lassind* with final *d* is that which one would expect for the dat. sg., which indicates that this is simply a hypercorrect spelling; for more on the *-nd* representing *n n-*, see section 2.1.3(vii)(n).

During the Middle Irish period, we find the spread of the *ā*-stem declension to the *ī*-stem noun *rígain*. MS *riguin* (which we can normalise to *rígain*) is one such example where the nom. sg. is *rígan* in Middle Irish, and so its new declension as a *f-ā*-stem requires a palatal final consonant in the acc. sg. Liam Breatnach mentions the coexistence of both declensions for this noun during the MidIr. period.¹⁴⁹¹ The most likely reason for its shift to a *f-ā*-stem is simplification of the declensional system; this development is not documented in OIr. sources.

38. Batar sechtmain láin oc fledugud iar sin imm chuirme doib. ‘Cid immu-b:racht?’ ol in rí.

Shaw: Batar sechtmain láin oc fledugud iar sin im chormann doib. ‘Cid immu-b-rácht?’ ol in rí.

Eg.: Batar sechtmuin lana hicc fledugud iar sin im chormuib doib. Cid umubracht ol in ri.

Müller: Afterwards they were a whole week at feasting around the beer (?). What has made you journey, said the king?

They were a full week feasting after that at ale banquets. ‘What has brought you?’ said the king.

For more on the spelling MS *icc* for *oc*, see section 2.1.3(viii) above.

¹⁴⁹⁰ See MEYER 1889: 216.47.

¹⁴⁹¹ *SnaG* III, 5.10.

Shaw does not comment on his emendation here, providing only the manuscript reading in a footnote,¹⁴⁹² but note that the MS actually reads *im chormuib* ‘at ale banquets’ with the apparent Middle Irish use of the dat. pl. with *imm* (see section 2.1.6 (c) above). The development of the originally n-i-stem *cuirm* to an n-stem inflection is innovatory and represents a change that occurred by the 9th century; the example in the OIr. poem beginning *Áed oll* in the *Codex Sancti Pauli* attests to this: *oc cormaim gaibtir dúana* ‘at ale poems are chanted’.¹⁴⁹³ As noted by Thurneysen, a parallel development occurs in the i-stem noun *druimm* ‘back’ (*GOI* §302.3).

It is possible that the sg. of the noun *cuirm* is required of this idiom and that MS dat. pl. *cormaib* was a reanalysis of dat. sg. *cormaim* (which still represents the same confusion of cases with the prep. *imm*), and that a scribe mistranscribed final *-m* for *-b* under the misapprehension that final *-m* was lenited here (see section 2.1.3(vi)(b)) for the confusion of lenited *b* and *m* in this text). The only two examples I have of *cuirm* in the sg. with the prep. *imm* are one from an Old Irish heptad: *bruigaid [sic] im a cormaim* (*Laws* v 358) ‘boasting at the ale banquet’; and another from the Middle Irish *Cogadh Gáedel re Gallaibh: ni ba h-agthi carat im chuirm* ‘not the faces of friends at a feast’ (*Cog.* 174.2–3). However, the use of plural also suits the context here if *cuirm* is understood as ‘ale banquet’ or ‘feast’, rather than simply ‘ale’, because presumably they are entertained at multiple banquets for the week, and not just at one long banquet. An example of *cuirm* meaning ‘ale banquet’ is contained in *Longes mac n-Uislenn: Baí immurgu imchosnam im Fergus dia churiud do chormannaib a comairli Chonchobuir*, ‘With respect to Fergus, however, by the counsel of Conchobor a contention took place to invite him to ale-banquets’.¹⁴⁹⁴

This section provides an example of the prep. *do* with a suffixed pronoun being used to express the subject in a vn. construction, as described by Thurneysen (*GOI* §816). He provides further parallels; e.g. *mad co techt dí co fer* ‘it it comes to her going to a husband’, *Wb.* 9^d32.

The expected form for the o/ā-stem adj. *lán* in the acc. sg. f. is *láin*, not *lána*, which I provide in the restored text. This is not a grammatical error or representative of a linguistic development; rather it is simply a mistranscription. The form *lána* indicates a nom. acc. pl. f. n. or an acc. pl. m.; it is possible that a copyist misread roman numerals *.uii.* (here transcribed

¹⁴⁹² SHAW 1934: 56.

¹⁴⁹³ *Thes. Pal.* ii, 295.16; cited by Thurneysen (*GOI* §302.3).

¹⁴⁹⁴ HULL 1949: §14. Cited by *DIL*, s.v. *cuirm*. The existence of the compound acc. sg. *coirmfleid* ‘ale feast’ in the Rennes *Dindsenchas* may be indicative of there having been some semantic ambiguity around *cuirm* meaning ‘ale banquet’ (Stokes 1894: 318, §21 (Ceilbe)).

as *secht*) as a number standing alone, rather than as part of the word MS *sechtmuin* and changed the number of the adj. accordingly.

Regarding the form MS *umubracht*, Shaw interprets this as the 3sg. perf. 3sg. of *imm:aig* ‘drives (around), pursues’ and inf. pron. 2pl. with the meaning ‘what has brought you, lit. what has driven you about?’ and edits it to *immu-b-rácht*.¹⁴⁹⁵ The form of the proclitic preverb *imm* is later attested as *um*, e.g. in *tí uma aici* ‘the person who looks after’, *O’Cl.* 2587 (*imm:accí*). Unlike Shaw, I edit a short vowel in the verb *-racht*, as the vowel of *ro* is simply elided here (*GOI* §852A). The sense of *imm:aig* as ‘brings, dispatches’, i.e. beyond its literal sense, is found in *In Tenga Bithnua: “Iss ed didiu”, ol se, “immon-racht-sa cucuib-si: do reidigud daib in sceoil amrai [...]”, “It is this then”, he said, “which has dispatched me [sic] to you: to make plain to you the wondrous tale [...]”*.¹⁴⁹⁶ Similarly, when a stranger comes to visit the Connachta at Énloch in the tale *Echtra Laegairi meic Crimthainn*, he is greeted by Laegaire, who asks him his business: ‘*Cid immo-t-racht?*’ *ol Laegaire. ‘Do chungid s(h)ochraide,’ ol sē. “What has sent you?” said Laegaire. “To ask for troops”, said he.*¹⁴⁹⁷

39. ‘A:tá ingen lat-su it fèrunn,’ ol in Dagdae, ‘ocus ru-s:car mo mac-sa, ocus do:rigni galar dó. Do:dechud-sa cucuib dúus in-da:tartaíd don macc.’

Shaw: ‘At-tá ingen lat-su it fèrunn,’ ol in Dagdae, ‘ocus ro-s car mo macc-sa, ocus do-rónad galar dó. Do-dechad-sa cucuib dúus in-da tartaid don macc.’

Eg. Ata ingen latso hit ferunn orⁱⁿ dagda ocus ruscar mo macsoi. ocus dorigni galar do. Dodechuso cuguib dus in tartaid don mac

Müller: There is a maiden in thy land said the Dagda and my son is in love with her and an illness has seized him. I came to you to know whether you give her to my son.

‘You have a maiden in your territory,’ said the Dagdae, ‘and my son has fallen in love with her, and it has caused him to be ill. I have come to you (pl.) to see whether you (pl.) might give her to the boy.’

¹⁴⁹⁵ SHAW 1934: 56–7, note 3.

¹⁴⁹⁶ CAREY 2010: 113, §12.

¹⁴⁹⁷ JACKSON 1942: 380.9–10.

The manuscript form *dorig-* with the final syllable represented by a suspension stroke may either indicate a perf. 3sg. act. of *do:gní, do:rigni* (or *do:rigéni*) ‘it (or she) has made’ or the MidIr. perf. pass. sg. *dorigned* ‘he has been made’. Shaw here opts for the perf. pass. *do-rónad* ‘he has been made’ by emending the stem, which is justified as the pass. is required here, given that the stem *-ri(n)gn-* and *-rón-* become interchangeable for the passive during the MidIr. period.¹⁴⁹⁸ However, a passive is not necessarily required here: a parallel construction containing *do:gní galar do* is in section [4] above, in which an active verb in the 3sg. is used: MS *Dogeni galar ndo*, ed. *do:génai galar ndó* ‘it made him sick’ (‘it’ here may refer to *in delb* ‘the form’, i.e. the maiden Cáer, or to his encounter with the maiden).

Shaw does not provide the MS reading *dodechusa*, which represents the 1sg. perf. of *do:tét*, ‘I have come’. MS *dodechusa* may be an example of the spread of the MidIr. *-us* ending for the 1sg. or the *-d*, given here in the edited text, may simply have gotten lost in the process of transcription.¹⁴⁹⁹ Both forms would have been available during the MidIr. period: Breatnach gives an example of 1sg. *-dechad* in the LL version of TBC, *LL 7576*; however, this verb has acquired the *-us* ending, which is suffixed to the old form, in the *Liber Hymnorum: nocho deochadus-[s]a*, *LH 324.26*.¹⁵⁰⁰ Evidence of this 1sg. form in *-ud*, as in restored *-dechud* above, is uncommon; only one example is available to me, i.e. *-dechudsa*, *Wb. 14^c40*.

In the clause MS *dus intartaid*, Shaw inserts a 3sg. f. object infix pronoun, which I also insert here because it may be the case that *-ta-* represents an instance of haplography.

¹⁴⁹⁸ *EIV 233–4*.

¹⁴⁹⁹ See *EIV 237*.

¹⁵⁰⁰ *SnaG III, 12.53*.

40. ‘Coich?’ ol Ailill. ‘Ingen Ethail Anbúail.’ ‘Ní linni a cumacc,’ ol Ailill agus Medb, ‘dia:cuimsimmi do:bérthae dó.’

Shaw: ‘Cuich?’ ol Ailill. ‘Ingen Ethail Anbuail.’ ‘Ní linni a cumacc,’ ol Ailill agus Medb. ‘Dia cuimsimmi do-bérthae dó.’

Eg.: Cuich ol aillill. INgiun ethuil anbuail. Ni linne a cumacc ar aillill. agus medb dia coemsamuis dobertha do hi.

Müller: Which one said Ailell? The daughter of Ethal Anbual. We have no power over her, said Ailill and Medb, that we could give her to him.

‘Who?’ (lit. ‘whose?’), said Ailill. The daughter of Ethal Anbúail. ‘We have no power over her,’ said Ailill and Medb, ‘if we had the power, she would be given to him.’

For more on the use of *coich* ‘whose?’ here, see section 2.1.6 above. Regarding the form of the noun *cumacc* ‘power’, see the textual notes to [31] above. Shaw comments that the expression *Ní linni a cumacc* ‘is unusual’ and cites a similar example from the LL version of *Tochmarc Ferbe*, which happens to be a line in a poem: *is trúag mo chumañg-sa rib* ‘Traurig ist mein Können für euch’.¹⁵⁰¹ More specifically, this phrase in AÓ might be better understood with the verbal noun sense of *cumacc* in the construction with the copula and *la*, whereby the extended meaning, as described by *DIL*, is ‘x has a right to do y’: e.g. *ni limsa superedificare* ‘it is for me to build upon’, Wb. 8^c17.¹⁵⁰² The meaning of the present line may be ‘it is not for us to control her’.

The MS form *-coemsamuis*, 1pl. past subj. of *con:icc* ‘is able’, shows diphthongisation of the vowel of the preverb in the prototonic. The alternation between *com-/cum-* and *coím-/cóem-* in this position was already apparent in OIr.; McCone gives the following examples: pret. 3sg. *do:com-arraig*, Ml. 48^d15 versus *du:choím-arraig*, 14^b1 ‘(who) has laid waste’.¹⁵⁰³ Examples of proto. *cóem-/coím-* from the MidIr. period onwards are abundant. Here I emend to the expected OIr. form, also with a palatal consonant; the form *-cuimsimmi* is attested also at Wb. 17^c18.

MS *dobertha do hi* shows the use of an independent stressed pronoun to express the subject of a passive construction, which is a MidIr. linguistic feature that must have been added long after the original composition of the text; this is the only instance of such a usage

¹⁵⁰¹ SHAW gives *mo cumañg rib-sa* (1934: 80); *lr. Texte* 3:2, 506.607.

¹⁵⁰² *DIL* L 8.62.

¹⁵⁰³ *EIV* 144. According to McCone, this was ‘triggered’ by the ‘*ro/roí* doublets’.

throughout AÓ. Breatnach comments that there are no examples of this in *Saltair na Rann* ‘agus dealraíonn sé gur forás é seo a thosaíonn sa teanga liteartha sa 11ú haois’.¹⁵⁰⁴ Early examples may be found ‘in the original hands of LU (beginning of twelfth century): *cona ragbad in galar sein hé*, 1140 [A]; *dontí dia tibertha hé*, 9174 [M]; *ni herfaider dom incaib ón sibsí*, 1571 [M].¹⁵⁰⁵

41. ‘Aní bas maith: congarar rí int síde cucuib,’ ol in Dagdae. Téit rechtaire Ailella cucai.

Shaw: ‘Ani for-maith –congarther rí in tsíde cucuib,’ ol in Dagdae. Téit rechtaire Ailella cucci.

Eg.: Ani formaith congarar ri hint sidiu chucuib or dagdo. Teid rectairiv aillella chuire.

Müller: The best thing, said the Dagda, let the king be called here unto you. The stuart of Ailell went to him.

‘That which will be good: let the king of the síd be summoned to you (pl.),’ said the Dagda. Ailill’s steward goes to him.

Regarding MS *Ani formaith*, Shaw first comments that ‘perhaps we should read **aní as maith**’, i.e. ‘that which is good’, and repeats in his glossary that this may be the ‘correct reading’;¹⁵⁰⁶ he edits the text as *ani for-maith* ‘a very good thing’. In his glossary, Shaw provides two additional interpretations of *formaith*: ‘**for** here may be the intensive prefix, **aní for-maith**, a very good thing! or it may be the poss. pron. pl. 2 **aní for maith** ‘a thing which were good for you’.¹⁵⁰⁷ Regarding the suggestion containing the intensifying prefix, there are only examples of this extant as *air-*, which may be a development from *for-*, e.g. *ermaith*, SR 2703, and *írmaith*, LL 16176. A parallel construction may be found in section [36] whereby the proposition of the best next step is introduced by *a n-í bad maith* ‘what would be good’, which is then followed by the advice using a paratactical imperative: ‘A n-í bad maith duit a Dagdai,’ ol Bodb, ‘eirc dochum n-Ailella 7 Medba, ‘What would be good for you, O Dagdae,’ said Bodb, ‘[Would be to] go to Ailill and Medb, [...]’ Here, it is possible that the original

¹⁵⁰⁴ *SnaG* III, 10.15. See also *EIV* 176–7.

¹⁵⁰⁵ GREENE 1958: 110.

¹⁵⁰⁶ SHAW 1934: 58, n. 10 and 89 respectively.

¹⁵⁰⁷ SHAW 1934: 89.

form was not *for* but the copula in the fut. rel. 3sg. *bas*, with initial *b* having become lenited, i.e. *fas*, and final *s* having been miscopied for *r*, all resulting in the form being reanalysed as the prep. *for*. An example of *fas* is contained in an extract from the *Vita Sancti Findani: nó fer fas sruithiu* ‘or a man who is older’, *Thes. Pal.* ii, 258.31.¹⁵⁰⁸

The form *congarar* here is another example of an imperative being used in a subordinate clause, as mentioned already and as found in [36] also. Shaw emends this to *congairther*; however, *congarar* is an acceptable OIr. pass. sg. form by the standards of the *ML. Glosses* at least.¹⁵⁰⁹ Regarding the pass. sg. ending of the verb, both pass. *-(ai)ther* and *-ar* endings are acceptable with the compound *con:gair* (formed from the root *gair-* ‘calls’ (BII)).¹⁵¹⁰

For more on MS *teid* with *-d* for *-t* see section 2.1.5(d) above; and for the lenition of the conjugated prepositions MS *chucuib* and *chuice*, see section 2.1.5(f). The form *chuice* with palatal *c* is innovative and not found in contemporary OIr. sources: *cuci*, *Wb.* 9^d14; *cucai*, *ML.* 38^e1; however, there is one example of *cuici* in the *Poems of Blathmac*.¹⁵¹¹ The manuscript gives *or dagdo* ‘says Dagdae’ without the def. art. preceding *Dagdae*, which I insert in the reconstructed text; see 2.1.14 above for other instances of this omission in *AÓ*.

¹⁵⁰⁸ I am indebted to my supervisor Dr Uhlich for this interpretation.

¹⁵⁰⁹ See *EIV* 82.

¹⁵¹⁰ See *EIV* 82.

¹⁵¹¹ CARNEY 1964: 27.

42. ‘Timmarnad duit ó Ailill ⁊ Meidb dul dia n-acaldaim.’ ‘Ní:reg-sa,’ olsé, ‘ní:tibér mo ingin do mac in Dagdai.’

Shaw: ‘Timmarnad duit ó Ailill ocus Meidb dul dia n-accaldaim.’ ‘Ní reg-sa,’ ol sé. ‘Ní tibér mo ingin do macc in Dagdai.’

Eg.: Timarnad duit o aillill .⁊ meidb. dola diao naccallaim. Ni ragsa orse ni tibur mo ingiun do mac in dagdo.

Müller: An order to thee from Ailell and Medb to go to speak to them. I will not go, said he, I will not give my daughter to the son of the Dagda.

‘You are (lit. ‘were’) commanded from Ailill and Medb to go speak to them.’ ‘I will not go,’ said he, ‘I will not give my daughter to the son of the Dagdae.’

The vocalism is the MS form *-rag* is typical of the Middle Irish period and later, e.g. *no ragdais* ‘they used to go’ *SR* 4725 and *na rachtaís LL* 3198,¹⁵¹² and I restore it to the expected fut. 1sg. of *téit*, i.e. *-reg* (see section 2.1.5). The form MS *dola* here may be either the MidIr. form of the verbal noun *dul* (see another example in [17] above; see also section 2.1.6(a)) or it may be the gen. sg. form following *timmarnad*, which is being treated as a substantive; the latter may be an intrusion on the part of the Early Modern Irish scribe. *DIL* notes that examples of *timmarnad*, the original 3sg. perf. pass. of *do:immna*, ‘from CCath. and O’Cl. are unequivocally nominal’,¹⁵¹³ that is to say, they occur in late MidIr. to EModIr. texts.¹⁵¹⁴ An example of this from *In Cath Catharda* is provided also by *DIL: Timmarnad bethad ⁊ imcomarc slainte o Cesair* ‘Conferment of life, and inquiry as to health from Caesar’; here *bethu* is in the gen. sg. following *timmarnad*. The fut. 1sg. proto. form MS *-tibur* is an innovative form for expected OIr. *-tibér* with the long *e* of the *ē*-future (see *GOI* §652); and it may have been introduced at any point during the text’s transmission after the OIr. period, i.e. it may be a MidIr. innovation or it may even have been introduced by the EModIr. scribe, as a variant of this form, i.e. *ní thiubar*, is found in the *Leabhar Oiris* ‘The Book of Chronicles’.¹⁵¹⁵ The following MidIr. examples of the loss of long *e* in the 1sg. fut. of *do:beir* are cited by *DIL*: ‘*Ni thibar’ ar Aed ‘co brach | acht urdail re cach noclach*, ‘I will never give’, quoth Aed, ‘aught but the like wage as any soldier gets’, *Met. Dinds.* iv, 6.20; *ní*

¹⁵¹² *SnaG* III, 3.12.

¹⁵¹³ S.v. *DIL do-im(m)na* and *timarnad*.

¹⁵¹⁴ Regarding the date of *In Cath Catharda*, see section 1.9.1.3 above.

¹⁵¹⁵ *BEST* 1904:74.

thiber in fi[d]chill duit ... ⁊ ní thibar ní bus mó da foirind, Acall. 7819 ‘I will not give you the *fidchell* ... and I will not give you more of the troop’ (own trans.).

43. Fásagar co Ailill aní-sin. ‘Ní:étar fair a thuidecht. Ro:fitir aní dia:congarar.’

Shaw: Fásagar co hAilill anísin. ‘Ní étar fair a thuidecht ; ro-fitir aní dia congarar.’

Eg.: Fosagar co hailill innisin. ni hetar fair a tuidecht. Rofittir inni da congarar.

Müller: This was told to Ailell. His coming is not to be obtained from him. He knows the reason for which he is called.

This is told to Ailill. ‘He does not agree to come. He knows the reason for which he is called.’

Shaw reads the verb form MS *fosagur* as *fásagar*, which he understands to be a ‘prototonic form [...] used for the deuterotonic’, i.e. a so-called contracted deuterotonic (see section 2.1.4.1 on dating its usage), of a verb **fo:áisci* in the pres. ind. pass. sg.¹⁵¹⁶ *DIL* provides an entry *fo-sagar*, citing the example here and referring the reader to the entries *fossaigid* ‘establishes’ and *-fásaig* ‘announces’; the present example appears to belong rather with this latter entry. Of the few examples under *-fásaig* in *DIL*, one particular citation from O’Davoren’s Glossary presents this exact same form: *a fasagar* ‘what is recorded’, *O’Dav.* 198. The only other example of the verb at my disposal is the same form as here in the YBL version of *Táin Bó Regamain*, dated by Thurneysen to around the same period as *Táin Bó Dartada*, i.e. c. 9th century (see section 1.5.1 on the relative chronology of the composition of the *remscéla* TBC). The other version of this tale in Eg. 1782 seems to be abridged at this point and, while it normally provides the same sense as YBL but using different wording, it does not do so in the case of the line containing *fosagar*:

YBL: Eigthir fon tuaith dia n-eis. Fosagar do Ragaman in scel. Luid side for a n-iarair cona slog. Doroch in toir uile for Maine Morgar ⁊ gabsad comach ecomlaind for suidiu.¹⁵¹⁷

Eg. 1782: Egthir fon tuaith. Tanuicc Regamuin foa.¹⁵¹⁸

¹⁵¹⁶ SHAW 1934: 58, n. 11 and 87.

¹⁵¹⁷ *Ir. Texte* 2:2, 229. This example is also given in *eDil*, last accessed 01.09.17: http://dil.ie/search?q=fo-sagar&search_in=headword.

YBL: ‘Man schreit im Lande hinter ihner her. Die Nachricht wird dem Regamon hinterbracht. Dieser ging sie mit seiner Schaar zu verfolgen. Die ganze Verfolgung holte den Mane Morgar ein, und sie brachten diesen eine Niederlage bei.’¹⁵¹⁹

Eg. 1782: ‘It was cried out throughout the land. Regamon opposed him.’ (Own trans.)

This verb contains the elements **fo-ad-sech-*, the latter verbal root forming the well-attested simplex *seichid* ‘declares, asserts’, which is found in a number of other compounds, e.g. *con:secha* ‘reproves’, *do:fásaig* ‘reports, announces’, *in:coisig* ‘indicates’, *do:inchoisc* ‘prophecies’, etc. As this is a ‘weak i-verb’ (see *GOI* §768), the expected form in the pass. sg. would be *fáiscther* rather than *fásagar*; however, there are examples of the latter pass. sg. with the strong passive in *in:coisig* in *ML*. and *Sg.*: *incoissegar*, *ML*. 127^d14; and *inchoisechar*, *Sg.* 198^a3 (see *GOI* §768f.).

The sentence *MS ni hetar fair a tuidecht* may be literally translated as ‘its coming is not obtained from him’, whereby the possessive pronoun does not refer to Ethal Anbúail but it is the equivalent of the suff. pron. 3sg. n. in *téiti* ‘goes it’,¹⁵²⁰ and similarly of the inf. pron. 3sg. n. in *dachotar coirp* ‘bodies went thus’, *ML*. 38^b2 (see *GOI* §422).

¹⁵¹⁸ *Ir. Texte* 2:2, 229.

¹⁵¹⁹ *Ir. Texte* 2:2, 237.

¹⁵²⁰ E.g. in *Táin Bó Froích: Téiti úad íarum la sodain* ‘[sie] ging darauf wieder von ihm fort’ (*MEID* 1970:40.301).

44. ‘Ní báe,’ ol Ailill, ‘do:rega-som 7 do:bértar cenna a láech laiss.’ Íar sin cot:éirig teglach Ailella 7 muinte in Dagdai dochum int síde. Ind:rethat a síd n-uile.

Shaw: ‘Ní báe,’ ol Ailill, ‘do-rega-som ocus do-bértar cenna a laech laiss.’ Íar sin cot-éirig teglach n-Ailella ocus muinte in Dagdai dochum in tsíde. In-rethat a síd n-uile.

Eg.: Ni ba ar aillill doragasom .7 dobertar cenna a laeg laiss. IAR sin coteirich teglach aillella .7 muinte in dagdo dochum in sídui. INdrit in síd nuili.

Müller: Not so, said Ailell, I will go and my soldiers shall be taken unto him. Then the household of Ailell and the army of the Dagda arose towards the fairies. They destroy the whole síd.

‘That does not matter,’ said Ailill, ‘he will come, and the heads of his warriors will be brought with him.’ After that Ailill’s troop and the Dagdae’s people set out towards the síd. They destroy the whole síd.

What is most interesting in this section is the use of the singular verb *ind:reith* in the context of a plural subject, i.e. Ailill’s troop and the Dagdae’s army; the reason for which seems to lie in the fact that the verb of the preceding clause is in the sg., as the first subject is separated from the second by the conjunction ‘and’. As I comment in section 2.1.4 above on the retention of the neut. gender, the Class B 3sg. n. inf. pron. in *co-t:éirig* refers proleptically to the originally neut. noun *teglach* ‘household’ here.¹⁵²¹ I do not follow Shaw in restoring nasalisation after this, as it is not compulsory with the gen. in OIr. (see *GOI* §237). For more on the hypercorrect spelling *-ch* for *-g* in MS *coteirich*, see section 2.1.3(vii)(j); and for hypercorrect *-g* in MS *laeg*, see section 2.1.3(vii)(k).

Regarding the form MS *indrit* Shaw notes that this is an example of the pres. ind. 3pl. of the innovative Middle Irish simple verb *indrid*, rather than a form of the OIr. verb *in:reith/ind:reith* ‘plunders’ and edits it to *in-rethat*.¹⁵²² Here, I restore the expected 3pl. deut. form of *in:reith* in the reconstructed text, i.e. *in:rethat*. There are no examples at my disposal of the form *ind* containing a dental in proclitic position next to verb-initial *r* in the glosses.¹⁵²³

¹⁵²¹ Highlighted by SHAW 1934: 5, n. 3.

¹⁵²² SHAW 1934: 58, n. 4.

¹⁵²³ In stressed position, the preverb sometimes appears with the dental, e.g. ipv. 2sg. *indnite* ‘let you endure’ (*in(d):neat*), Wb. 10^a21; perf. 3sg. *nachimrindarpai* ‘that he has not cast me away’ (*in(d):árban*), Wb. 5^a18; ipv. 2sg. *nacham indarbanar* ‘let me not be banished’ (*in(d):árban*), Ml. 56^a22. Examples of verbs beginning with *r* are not available to me. Cf. also pres. ind. 3sg. *infét* ‘tells’ (*in:fét*), Ml. 14^b12; pres. subj. 1pl. *inotsam* (*in:otat* ‘enters into’) Ml. 16^a16.

The only examples available to me are from ML, pres. ind. 3sg. *inréith*, ML 48^d3; *inreith*, ML 19^d13. With specific reference to the proximity of *n* of the unstressed preverb and the *r* of the verb, Ó hUiginn discusses the change *nr* > *ndr* and refers to Uhlich's study of this development in unstressed position; there Uhlich suggests that this is either the orthographic realisation of the 'Stützlaut' or a regular MidIr. development.¹⁵²⁴ Ó hUiginn admits that the latter development may be possible, while also remarking that this alternation between *nn* and *nd* may be another example of the kind discussed at *GOI* §151.1(c).¹⁵²⁵

I restore the expected form of the def. art. *int* before lenited *s* in the gen. sg. *int síde* above, which may have gotten lost in transmission; a comparable instance of this is in the Eg. version of *Echtrae Nerai*, which even contains the same spelling of the final unstressed vowel: *do orgain in sídiu*¹⁵²⁶ 'to destroy the *síd*'. Separately, in the second example of *síd* here, I restore the OIr. neuter form of the acc. sg. def. art. before originally neuter *síd*, i.e. MS *in síd*. For more on the loss of the neut. gender see section 2.1.6(d) above.

45. Do-s:mberat trí fichtea cenn ass ocus in ríg co:mboí i Crúachnaib i n-ergabáil. Is iarum as:bert Ailill fri Ethal nAnbúail: 'Tabair do ingin do macc in Dagdai.'

Shaw: Do-sm-berat trí fichtea cenn ass ocus in ríg co mboí i Crúachnaib i n-ergabáil. Is iarum as-bert Ailill fri hEthal n-Anbuail: 'tabair do ingin do macc in Dagdai.'

Eg.: *Dusmberat .tri. fichtea cenn as ocus in rig co mbui hi cruachnuib hindergabail. IS iarum ismbert aillill fri hethal nanbuill. tabair do ingiun do mac in dagdo.*

Müller: They bring sixty to the king so that he was in the caves of anxiety. Then Ailell said to Ethal Anbual: Give thy daughter to the son of the Dagda.

They bring sixty heads with them out [of the síd], and [they bring] the king until he was in Crúachain [Aí] captivity. It is then that Ailill said to Ethal Anbúail: 'Give your daughter to the son of the Dagdae.'

The present section does not require any editorial commentary apart from drawing attention to minor orthographical changes and also significant OIr. retentions. Regarding the

¹⁵²⁴ UHLICH 1993b: 53; Ó HUIGINN 2012: 647.

¹⁵²⁵ Ó HUIGINN 2012: 647–8.

¹⁵²⁶ See MEYER 1889: 220.87.

latter, MS *dusmberat* shows the expected OIr. form of the 3pl. Class A inf. pron. (see section 2.1.4(e)), here with nasalisation, and MS *frihethal nanbuill* shows expected acc. nas. of Anbúail (cf. section 2.1.6(b)). However, as noted in the introduction, both of these features survive into the MidIr. period. The nasalisation after the 3pl. inf. pron. is found in post-OIr. sources, so that it is not significant: e.g. *ros n-alt*, SR 3527; *dos-n-armchell*, SR 6552; *nīs n-acht*, SR 5635;¹⁵²⁷ nor is the use of the proleptic pronoun, which survives into MidIr. also.¹⁵²⁸ Regarding the representation of final unstressed vowels, e.g. in gen. sg. MS *dagdo* for correct OIr. *Dagdai*, see section 2.1.3(viii)(i) above. MS *ismbert* represents the spread of the rel. to a clause with an adverbial antecedent; this begins already by the time of the ML glosses (see *GOI* §506) and the use of the nas. rel. in particular spreads widely during the MidIr. period (see section 2.1.6(j) above). Thurneysen gives the following example: *resú do-n-dichsitis* ‘before they came’, ML. 104^c5 (see *GOI* §506).

46. ‘Ní:cuimcim,’ olse. ‘Is mó a cumachtae indó.’ ‘Ced chumachtae mór fil lee?’ ol Ailill. ‘Ní ansae. Biith i ndeilib éuin cach la blíadnai in mblíadnai n-ailli i ndeilib duini.’

Shaw: ‘Ni cumcaim,’ ol sé. ‘Is móo a cumachtae in-dó.’ ‘Ced cumachtae mór fil lee?’ ol Ailill. ‘Ní anse; biid i ndeilib éuin cach la blíadnai, in mblíadnai n-ailli i ndeilib duini.’

Eg.: Ni cuimcim orse is mo a *cumachta* indu. Ced *cumacht* mor fil leu ar aillill. Ní anse. bith i ndeilib evin cachla blíadnai. IN blíadnai aill i ndeilib duiniu.

Müller: I cannot, said he, greater is the power that is in them. What great power is in them, said Ailell? Not difficult, to be in the shape of a bird every day of a year; the other year in human shape.

‘I am not capable,’ said he. ‘Their/her power is greater than mine.’ ‘What great power does she have?’ said Ailill. ‘Not difficult [that]. She is in the form of a bird every second year (lit. ‘every other year’). Every other year [she is] in the form of a human.’

For more on the colouring of the consonant in 1sg. pres. ind. *-cuimcim*, see section 2.1.4.1 above. The use of the *comparatio compendiaria* in *is mó a cumachtae indó* ‘her power is greater than mine’ is mentioned already in section [18] above.

¹⁵²⁷ Examples from *SnaG* III, 10.6.

¹⁵²⁸ *SnaG* III, 10.1. See SHAW 1934:58, n. 5.

The correct form before the neuter noun MS *cumacht*, ed. *cumachtae* ‘power’, is provided in the manuscript with *ced*. Given that AÓ was composed during the Old Irish period, it is necessary to also restore lenition after *cid*; other examples include *cid chenél*, Sg. 197^b3 and *cid folad*, Sg. 25^b17.¹⁵²⁹ Shaw restores this lenition also in his glossary.¹⁵³⁰ The late form *cumacht* is emended to *cumachtae* ‘power’ containing a third syllable; another example of this truncation is OIr. *aislinge* > *aisling* during the late MidIr.-EModIr. period. This may have been introduced by the scribe, who writes *cumachta* with an ending in the first sentence above but then omits it in the second; *cumhachta* was still in use in the Irish Grammatical Tracts and came to be used in place of the *cumhacht* at one point in ModIr.¹⁵³¹ It is possible that, in the case of *cumachtae* > *cumacht*, it was remodelled on the f-ā-stem noun ending in the suffix *-acht* (see *GOI* §260), e.g. *doínecht* ‘humanity’, *flaithemnacht* ‘sovereignty’. One early example of it being disyllabic appears in the Book of Ballymote: *riasin cumacht moir*, BB 409ra43 (prose *dindsenchas* of Loch Aindinn);¹⁵³² similarly, in the tale *Saignén Teintide* (see Appendix 1, section [4]) the Leabhar Breac gives *cumacht* versus D iv.2’s *cumachta*; otherwise, the form is more common in the EModIr. period.

The manuscript gives the prepositional pronoun *leu* ‘with, by them’, which looks distinctly like the 3pl. and it may refer to the multitude of swan-maidens in [49] below (see also the possible use of a 3pl. poss. pron. in the following section), but it is also likely that it is due to the scribal tendency to arbitrarily use the spelling *u* and that it should be read as the 3sg. f. *lee* ‘with, by her’ (see section 2.1.3(viii)(a) above). MS *bith* could be read as the verbal noun of the substantive verb *bith* (e.g. Wb. 5^a13), OIr. *buith* (*both*, Wb. 25^a21); and, thus, supply the answer to the question as to the kind of power the maidens wield, i.e. ‘being in the shape of a bird’, etc.

MS *cachlubl-* shows here the shortened version of the adj. *aile* ‘other’ to *-la* when preceded by *cach* ‘every’ (see *GOI* §487). This may also be written as *al(l)-* or *ala-* as the ‘compositional prefix’ (*GOI* §394); e.g. *al-anman* ‘other names’, ML. 48^c34.

¹⁵²⁹ It is apparently the neut. pronoun contained in *ced* that causes the lenition, i.e. **k^uidā* (Vgl. *Gr.* ii, 198).

¹⁵³⁰ SHAW 1934: 75.

¹⁵³¹ BERGIN 1916: 51, §8; and *SnaG V*, 3.3 (see the use of the gen. for the nom. in MAC EOIN 1974, whose work is also cited by Williams at *SnaG V*, 3.3).

¹⁵³² Cf. the *v.l.* *cumachta* in the Rennes *Dindsenchas* (STOKES 1895: 80, §128).

47. ‘Ci-sí bliadain mbís i ndeíl̄b éuin?’ ol Ailill. ‘Ní lim-sa a mrath,’ ol a athair. ‘Do chenn dít,’ ol Ailill, ‘mani-n:écis-ni.’ ‘Níba sía cucai dam-sa,’ ol sé.

Shaw: ‘Ci-ssí bliadain mbís i ndeíl̄b éuin?’ ol Ailill. ‘Ní lemm-sa a mrath,’ ol a hathair. ‘Do chenn dít,’ ol Ailill, ‘mani-n écis-ni.’ ‘Níba sía cucci dam-sa,’ ol sé.

Eg. Cissi bliadain uhuis i ndeíl̄b euin or aillill. Ni limsv a mbrath ol a hathair. Do chenn dit ol aillill mani cisne. Ni ba sía chuce damso orse.

Müller: Which year will she be in the shape of a bird? said Ailell. The judgement over it is not with me said her father. Thy head from thee, said Ailell, if thou doest not explain it. She will not be longer with me, said he.

‘Which year is she in [the] shape of a bird?’ said Ailill. ‘It is not for me to betray her,’ said her father. ‘Your head [struck] from you,’ said Ailill, ‘unless you tell us’. ‘I will not have any longer until then’, he said.

MS *ambrath* here looks like a poss. pron. 3pl. with concomitant nasalisation and *brath* ‘betrayal’, i.e. ‘their betrayal’ > ‘betraying them’, which adds a different dimension to the text in that Ethal is not only betraying his own daughter but the whole flock. This might also be support for a 3pl. *leu* in the previous section.

It is not possible to detect which is intended in writing when original *mr-* is restored in *mrath*, so that a scribe during the Middle Irish period must have decided that the possessive pronoun was a 3pl; he may have deduced by the spelling *mrath* that the initial *b* was accidentally omitted. The change *mr-* and *ml-* to *br-* and *bl-*, respectively, is a change which takes place during the Middle Irish period (see section 2.1.5(e) above).

MS *manicisne* is a troublesome form, and the question of how it should be edited remains open to speculation. Shaw makes a plausible case for *mani-n écis-ni* ‘if you do not tell us’ with a 1pl. inf. pron., pres. subj. 2sg. *-écis* (from *ad:fét*), and 1pl. *nota augens*. The inf. pron. would be an early use of the dat. inf. pron., which is not found in the glosses (see how the indirect object is expressed using a prep., *GOI* §409(b)).¹⁵³³ An example of this is contained in the prologue to the *Féilire Óengusso: dom-berthar búaid lére, | a rí gréne gile!* ‘Let the guerdon of devotion be given to me, O King of the bright sun!’, *Fél.* Prol. 3–4. Here I follow Shaw’s suggestion that ‘the final *-ne* in the MS. points to a scribal omission of an *n-*

¹⁵³³ See THURNEYSSEN 1918b: 48–50; cf. also the rel. marker as carrying the sense of a dative (BREATNACH 1980b: 4).

stroke over the first *i*.¹⁵³⁴ The use of the 1pl. *nota* accords well with the inf. pron., and it is possible that the n-stroke was omitted at some point in the text's transmission. To the naked eye *cisne* (or, rather, *cisné*) looks like *cía* + 3pl. of copula (OIr. *citné*); see *GOI* §457n for the use of *cisné* in legal texts. The biggest difficulty with such an interpretation, however, is making sense of the use of neg. conj. *mani* 'if not' with *cisné* 'what/who are they'. It seems more likely that *mani* is introducing the condition, to which the preceding *do chenn dít* 'your head from you' is the outcome.

The final line in this section is similarly problematic, i.e. MS *Ni ba sia chuice damso orse*. Shaw suggests a translation, next to which he places a question mark: 'I shall not persist any longer in it (?)'.¹⁵³⁵ His translation of *damso*, the adverbial phrase, as expressing the pronominal subject is described at *GOI* §16: e.g. *níbad a óenur dó* 'he should not be alone', Wb. 14^a21. Firstly, it is difficult to decipher whether 3sg. f. or m. n. is intended with the form *chuice*; the spelling *chuice* in [41] represents the 3sg. m. n., whereas in [12] *chuíce* represents the 3sg. f. (notably, *cc* and *c* are interchanged throughout the manuscript, so that this minor spelling feature also does not provide assistance). If the pronoun were there 3sg. m. n., it is possible it is being used adverbially here: e.g. *nī conairnecht and chucai* 'it had not been found there till then', *Thes. Pal.* ii, 348.86.¹⁵³⁶ Using Shaw's interpretation of *damso*, this yields the sense 'I will not have any longer until then', i.e. with the meaning 'until I too am beheaded'; this is the sense I tentatively employ above. Alternatively, MS *chuice* may represent the 3sg. f. and refer to the maiden; the use of the prep. *co* here may be akin to that found in [1] above, i.e. *in n-ingin cucai* 'a maiden coming to him', whereby it signifies the act of approaching someone but without a verb of motion: 'I will no longer [go] to her'.

¹⁵³⁴ SHAW 1934: 59.

¹⁵³⁵ SHAW 1934: 108.

¹⁵³⁶ Contained in an addition in *eDIL* (s.v. 1 *co* (18): dil.ie/9786).

48. ‘At:bér-sa,’ olsé, ‘is léirithir sin ro-n:gabsaid occo. Int samuin-se as nessam bieid i ndeilib éuin oc Loch Bél Dracon, 7 cichsitir sain-éuin lee and,

Shaw: ‘At-bér-sa,’ ol sé; ‘is léirithir sin ro-n gabsaid occai. In tsamuin-se as nessam bieid i ndeilib éuin oc Loch Bél Dracon, ocus ad-cichsiter sain-éuin lee and,

Eg.: Atbersa orse is lerigtir sin ro ngab sid occai. INt samfuinsi is nessam biaid i ndeilib eoín. og loch bel draccon .7 focichsither sainevin le ann.

Müller: I will tell [you], said he, it is wiser that you propose to her. She will be in the shape of a bird the next summer at Loch bel Dracon and beautiful birds will be seen with her

‘I will tell you (lit. ‘I will say it’),’ said he, [seeing as] it was as diligently as that that you are at it. Next samain she will be in the form of a bird at Loch Bél Dracon. And beautiful birds will be excelled by her there,

Regarding the form of the adj. in the equative, i.e. MS *lerigtir*, Shaw comments that this ‘-igtir is a common *Mid. Ir.* form of the equative’, and cites further examples from *Tochmarc II* in Eg. 1782 and one example from a poem in the *Leabhar Breac*.¹⁵³⁷ He reiterates also Meyer’s suggestion from his edition of the latter poem that this ending containing the guttural was influenced by the passive ending *-igtir*.¹⁵³⁸ However, it may simply be a hypercorrection modelled on a pre-assimilation *-gth-* cluster found in other adjectival formations; see, for example, the ptp. *derscaigthe* ‘distinguished’ in section 2.1.5(c) above.¹⁵³⁹

I do not restore the dental in the nas. rel., i.e. *ro-nd-* in *ro-n:gabsaid*, which is used with an adjectival antecedent here, as this is the most common form in Wb. (e.g. 12^b1, 27^a11, 27^a15); I am, however, aware of one example of *ro-nd-* at Wb. 4^b30. Both *ro-nd-* and *ro-n-* are found in Ml. and Sg.: examples of *ro-nd-* include Ml. 21^d4, 53^b27, 122^d7, 136^b7; and examples without the dental include: Ml. 20^c3, 38^c7, Sg. 159^b5, 172^b1.

The MS clearly separates *sid* from the preceding form of the verb. It is highly likely that Shaw is correct in supposing that a copyist mistranscribed or reanalysed 2pl. *-gabsaid* for 3sg. *-gab* with the noun *síd*, i.e. ‘he captured the *síd*’. The unstressed final vowel *-ai* in *occai*

¹⁵³⁷ SHAW 1934: 60, n. 8.

¹⁵³⁸ MEYER 1907c: 13, n. 1.

¹⁵³⁹ *GOI* §368n explains the form *luathaigther* ‘as fast as’ as a ‘mere scribal error’; however, the combination of it appearing in the Middle Irish *Adamnán’s Second Vision* in the *Leabhar Breac* with the number of other examples of this kind from *Midlr.* sources indicate that this is an established form in the *Midlr.* period.

may represent the 3sg. m. or f. because, although it is a perfectly normal 3sg. f. with final *-ai*, the scribe's treatment of vowels in final position is not trustworthy (see, in particular, section 2.1.3(viii)(i) above). The verb *-gabaid* is best understood as the suppletive form for the substantive in a nasalising relative clause (see *GOI* §781). Shaw translates MS *is lerigtir sin ro ngab sid occai* as 'you are so determined about (finding) her', taking *occai* as the 3sg. f. However, it seems more likely that the form *occo/occa* with 3sg. n. pron. is intended with an adverbial sense, i.e. 'at it, thereat, engaged therein'.¹⁵⁴⁰

The verb MS *focichsither* is a pass. sg. fut. form of the verb *fo:cing* 'steps under', which Shaw emends to the pass. pl. fut. of *ad:cí* 'sees', i.e. *ad-cichsiter*. He comments that 'the verb **ad-ci** is used of metamorphosed persons in an exactly parallel context in *De Chophur in da mucado*'. The example to which Shaw is referring is when the two swineherds Friuch and Rúcht change into the shape of two water creatures, enter the water, and the next year people see them in the Shannon. They decide on their next transformation together, using the phrase *téit i deilb* with the sense of 'metamorphosing': *Regmai dano i fecht-sa i ndelba míl uisci* 'Dieses Mal werden wir also in die Gestalt von Wassertieren gehen' (LL). The phrase *in bládain aile dano at-chītis i sSinaind* ('Das zweite Jahr sah man sie dann im Shannon') implies simply that they were viewed in this form and it does not signify any stage in their transformation.¹⁵⁴¹

Shaw also provides two suggestions given to him by Bergin, namely, pass. pl. fut. *fo:cichriter* (*fo:ceird*) or 3pl. fut. *fo-s:cichert*. As discussed briefly above in section 2.1.2.1, Shaw refers to the entry in Ó Cléirigh's Glossary that contains this form also (i.e. *cicsithear no focichsithear .i. ceimnighfithear no gluaisfidhear*), claiming that Ó Cléirigh used AÓ as a source for his glossary; however, he finds that this entry 'does not throw any light on the matter'.¹⁵⁴² As established above, the text from which Ó Cléirigh borrows is *Immaccalam in Dá Thúarad* and the use of the verb *fo:cing* in this instance literally refers to entering a house under the floorboards in order to steal from it, i.e. literally 'steps under'. This agrees in sense with the explanation in Ó Cléirigh's Glossary. Similarly, the example of this verb in the LL version of *Tochmarc Ferbe* carries the meaning 'follows' in the sense of there being movement: *fochengat a choin inna diaid* 'seine Hunde springen ihm nach'.¹⁵⁴³

That said, as first opined by Shaw, the verb *fo:cing* simply does not suit the context here. Rather, I attempt to interfere as little as possible by removing the preverb and using the

¹⁵⁴⁰ *DIL* O 83.48.

¹⁵⁴¹ Here I cite ROIDER's edition and translation of LL (1979: 36.67–72); the Eg. version uses the same wording.

¹⁵⁴² SHAW 1934: 60–1, n. 10.

¹⁵⁴³ *Ir. Texte* 3:2, 468.77.

simple *cingid* with the sense ‘overcomes, surpasses, excels’,¹⁵⁴⁴ referring to her beauty among the other swan-maidens, and I emend to the pass. pl. as the subject *sain-eúin* in the nom. pl.

49. 7 bieit trí cócait géise impe 7 a:tá aurgnam lim-sa doib.’ ‘Ní bae lim-sa iarum,’ ol in Dagdae. ‘Óre ro:fetar a aicned do-s:uc-so’ [ol Ethal].

Shaw: *ocus bieit trí cócait géise n-impe; ocus at-tá aurgnam lemm-sa doib.’ ‘Ní bae lemm-sa iarum,’ ol in Dagdae, ‘óre ro-fetar a haicned do-s-uc-so.’*

Eg.: 7 biaid tri cócait ngeisi impi .7 ata aurgnum limso doib. Ni ba limso iarum ar in dagdo. ore rofetar a haicniud dusfucso.

Müller: and there will be 150 swans about her and I have a feast with them. It will not be for me, said the Dagda, for I know their nature in which I brought them.

and there will be 150 swans about her. And I hold a feast for them.’ ‘It is of no use to me then,’ said the Dagdae. ‘Since you [now] know her disposition, take her’ [said Ethal].

The MS gives nasalisation after nom. pl. *cócait*, which may simply be hypercorrect or it may have been misplaced for original *cócait géisi nimpi*, i.e. with nasalisation of the conjugated preposition (see section 2.1.4.1(a) above). Regarding the form of the conjunction MS *ore* as a possible archaism, see section 2.1.4.1 above.

A recurrent problem throughout this continuous dialogue is being able to identify who is speaking. Shaw takes the verb MS *rofetar* as the 1sg and MS *dusfucso* as the pres. subj. 2sg. with a 3sg. f. inf. pron. and translates the sentence (including MS *Ni ba limso iarum ar in dagdo*) as: ‘That matters not then’ says the Dagda, ‘since you know her nature, let you bring her’.¹⁵⁴⁵ Formally, the verb *ro:fetar* may be either the 1sg. or 2sg. pres./perf., and *do:ucc* may also either be the 1sg. pres. subj. or imper. 2sg. Ó Cathasaigh takes this question up anew: firstly, he interprets MS *ata aurgnum limso doib* as being spoken by Ethal: ‘he adds that he [Ethal] has prepared a feast for them’. Although the mixing of the future (MS *biaid*, ed. 3pl. fut. *bieit*) and present tense (MS *ata*, ed. *a:tá*) here seems unnatural in the context of presenting two actions in the future, it is the most viable option at present and I adopt Ó Cathasaigh’s interpretation into my own translation. Secondly, Ó Cathasaigh provides a new

¹⁵⁴⁴ *DIL* s.v. 1 *cingid* (d).

¹⁵⁴⁵ *SHAW* 1934: 61, n. 12.

translation for the latter part of this section and interprets it as being uttered by the Dagdae: ‘since I know her nature, do you take her’. Ó Cathasaigh gives the following justification for his reading: ‘the Dagdae is saying that he is satisfied with the knowledge which he has now acquired of the woman’s nature, and that he is happy that Ethal proceed with his Samain feast for her and her companions. In other words, he is not demanding that the woman be handed over to him at this time.’ However, I think it more likely that the statement MS *Ni ba limso iarum*, which Ó Cathasaigh translates as ‘I do not care then’, is directly dismissive of Ethal’s previous utterance about the feast. Therefore, in an abrupt response to the Dagdae’s retort, I view Ethal Anbúail as speaking the words ‘*Óre ro:fetar a haicned do-s:uc-so*’ ‘Since you [now] know her disposition, take her’, rather than the Dagdae; this sentence appears to be Ethal’s concluding statement to his prior explanation regarding how and when to obtain the maiden.

For more on the inf. pron. in AÓ, see section 2.1.4.1(e); and for the use of prosthetic *f* in MS *dusfucso*, see section 2.1.5(l).

50. Do:gníther iarum cairdes leu .i. Ailill 7 Ethal 7 in Dagdae 7 soírtair Ethal as. Celebraid in Dagdae doib.

Shaw: Do-gníther iarum cairdes leu .i. Ailill ocus Ethal ocus in Dagdae ocus soírtair Ethal ass. Celebraid in Dagdae doib.

Eg.: Dogníter iarum cairdius leir .i. ailill .7 ethal .7 in dagda .7 saertair ethal as. Celebraid ind dagda doib.

Müller: Afterwards there was made true friendship between Ailell, Ethal and the Dagda and Ethal was set free. The Dagda was hidden by them (?).

An alliance is made then by them, that is, Ailill and Ethal and the Dagdae; and Ethal is let free. The Dagdae bids them farewell.

The manuscript gives *dognit-*, which suggests at first sight a pres. ind. pass. pl. *do:gníter* (*do:gní* ‘makes’), without indicating lenition of the *t* but this may have been an accidental omission on the part of the scribe (for more on representation of lenition in the MS, see section 2.1.3(iii)). Here, I follow Shaw by inserting a *h* in the edition to give pass. sg. *do:gníther* ‘is made’. MS *leir* is most likely a scribal error for *leu* since an agent is required

here in this passive construction and the names that follow require a pronoun to introduce them.

Other minor changes I make to the text are only in the way of standardising the orthography to Classical Old Irish; and these do not differ from Shaw's edition. In Müller's translation, he does not alter MS *leir* to *leu* and reads it as the adj. *léir* 'earnest, assiduous', which requires him inserting 'between' silently; however, *léir* is never used in the context of an alliance or friendship, but rather how one approaches one's work and sometimes also love for God. Müller also read the abbreviation *cel-* as a form of the verb *ceilid* 'hides', but here it most likely represents the verb form *celebraid* 'bids farewell', which suits the context given that the Dagdae leaves immediately and that the next section explains that he returns to his own house to speak with his son; it is also used with the prep. *do*.¹⁵⁴⁶

51. Ticc in Dagdae dia thig 7 ad:fét a scéla dia macc. 'Eirc immín samain as nessam co Loch Bél Dracon co-nda:garae cucut dind loch.'

Shaw: Ticc in Dagdae dia thig ocus ad-fét a scéla dia macc. 'Eirc immon samuin as nessam co Loch Bél Dracon conda garae cucut dind loch.'

Eg.: Ticc in dagda dia tig .7 atfet a scélo dia mac. Eirc mon samfvin. is nesum co loch bel dracon codogairiu cugat don loch.

Müller: The Dagda went to his house and told his news to his son. Go in the next summer to Loch bel Dracon and call her to thee to the Loch.

The Dagdae comes to his house and he relates his news to his son. 'Go next samain to Loch Bél Dracon, so that you might call her to you from the lake.'

For more on the use of the contracted deuterotonic here with *ticc* and in section [43] above, see section 2.1.4.1. Regarding the superlative form of *accus*, i.e. *nessam*, in the MS, see section 2.1.4(d) above.

The elided, form of the prep. *imm* combined with the def. art., MS *mon*, is not found in the OIr. glosses;¹⁵⁴⁷ and the only examples of it available to me are in MidIr. sources, e.g.

¹⁵⁴⁶ *eDIL s.v. de, di*, XXXII (dil.ie/14787). There it is conceded that the prep. 'do seems original' in this formula.

¹⁵⁴⁷ Another example of *immon* with the same shape of the vowel of the def. art. appears in *Echtrae Nerai* in Eg. 1782 (MEYER 1889: l. 25). For the reduction of the prep. *imm* to 'ma/'mo without a def. art. attached in the

‘*mun* in the LL version of the *Táin* and ‘*mon* in *Togail na Tebe*.¹⁵⁴⁸ The form of the def. art. with *imm* as *immin* is attested in Wb. and Ml.: e.g. Wb. 15^c14,¹⁵⁴⁹ Ml. 48^d14; and as *immun* in from Ml. onwards, e.g. Ml. 83^a4, 102^a13 (*immun*). *GOI* §467 simply states that ‘**immin** Wb., elsewhere **immun**, but in Arm. (Thes. II. 242, 15) once **immuan** (= **immúan** [...]).’ Examples of *immon* with *o* are not apparent in the glosses. Here, I restore the vowel of the def. art. to that which appears in Wb.

Regarding MS *codogairiu*, Shaw comments that ‘this must be emended to **condagarae**, as the infix pron. does not combine with the conj. **co n-** ‘so that’. The infix pron. is sg. 3 f., *so that you may call her*.¹⁵⁵⁰ The syntax here requires a subordinating conjunction such as *co* ‘so that’ in order to make sense here, which means that the verb is *gairid* ‘calls, summons’. It is possible that either an n-stroke went missing when the text was copied or that an exemplar contained the compendium for *co(n)*, which was transcribed without the *n* accidentally.

The palatal quality of the *r* of MS *-gairiu* is altered in the edition to the expected OIr. neutral quality in the pres. subj. This probably came about by analogy with the AII-type verbs that retain palatal quality in the \bar{a} -subjunctive, i.e. the stem is the same as that for the pres. ind.¹⁵⁵¹ However, *gairid* is a BII verb and contains a non-palatal *r* in the pres. subj. in OIr.

I follow Shaw’s emendation of MS *don loch* ‘to the lake’ to *dind loch* ‘from the lake’, as this is a case of the common confusion of the prep. *do* for *di* (see, for example, the use of *do* for *de* in the list of *remscéla* in D in section 1.2.1.2 and contrast this with the correct use of *de* in the *remscéla* list in LL in section 1.2.1.1). Although examples of *di* are few in AÓ, there are two instances in [8] that show the preservation of the correct form of the prep.: *din died* ‘from the smoke’ and *din tich* ‘from the house’. However, the required prep. here in order to yield the required sense is *di* ‘from’ as the maiden is already in the lake.

Midlr. period, see *SnaG* III, 13.17. In EModlr. this prep. appeared as *um, ma, fa, bha* (see *SnaG* IV, 10.1) and, by Keating’s time, it was not combined with the def. art., i.e. *um an* ‘around the’ (BERGIN 1931: I. 2502).

¹⁵⁴⁸ O’RAHILLY 1967: I. 1073; and CALDER 1922: I. 3912.

¹⁵⁴⁹ This single instance in Wb. is confirmed by KAVANAGH (1977), who does not give any further examples.

¹⁵⁵⁰ SHAW 1934: 62, n. 3.

¹⁵⁵¹ *EIV* 36–7.

52. Téit Macc ind Óc co:mboí oc Loch Bél Dracon. Co:n-accae trí cóecta én finn forsind loch cona slabradaib airccidib co cairchesaib órdaib imma cenna.

Shaw: Téit in Macc Óc co mboí oc Loch Bél Dracon. Co n-accae trí cóecta én find forsind loch cona slabradaib airgidib co cairchesaib órdaib imma cenna.

Eg.: Teit mac oug co mbui og loch bel dracon confaco trí cóecta enfinn forsin loch cona slabradhuib airccidide co cuircesaibh oirdib immo cennuip.

Müller: Mac Og went to Loch bel Dracon when he saw the 150 white birds at the loch with their silvery chains and golden caps around their heads.

Macc ind Óc went to Loch Bél Dracon. He saw 150 white birds on the lake with their silver chains [and] with golden ringlets around their heads.

As a sidenote regarding the representation of the numbers here, the manuscript gives the number *trí cóecta* using a combination of the Arabic numeral 3 and Latin *.l.* with a superscript *a* beside it: *.3.^l^a*.

The spelling MS *oug* may be an example of a hypercorrect diphthong (see section 2.1.3(viii)(b) for more examples of this), having understood this second element as the adjective *óc* ‘young’, originally disyllabic *oac*. For more on Óengus’ epithet and the elements thereof, see section 2.1.13 above.

The MS form of the adj. *airccidide* ‘silver’ has lost its dat. pl. ending, which is a Middle Irish innovation (see section 2.1.6(c)). However, this is the only example of this development in AÓ and it is retained in a subsequent adj. in the dat. pl. in the same sentence, i.e. MS *oirdib*, ed. *órdaib* (*órdae* ‘made of gold’). The *r* of the adj. MS *oirdib* here may have been palatalised by analogy with MS *airccidide* in the same line. As highlighted in section 2.1.6(e) above, the preposition *imm*, *imb* ‘around, about’ historically takes the acc. case but here *imma cennuip* (read *cennaib*) shows the post-OIr. generalisation of the dat. after prepositions. For the hypercorrect spelling *-p* for *-b* in dat. pl. *cennuip*, see section 2.1.3(vii)(i).

Shaw takes MS *cuircesaibh*, *cairches* ‘ringlet, tress’, as containing a diphthong in the first syllable; however, the *i* here is a glide (cf. *caircheach* ‘tail’).¹⁵⁵² There are very few

¹⁵⁵² Cf. also *caurchasta* in the women’s war of words in *Fled Bricrenn*, which is in the form of *retoiric*: *coiblethar céim cruth cáin caurchasta* (*Ir. Texte* i, 262.13).

examples of this word available and the remaining examples, which are all from early Middle Irish sources onwards, give this with an *l*, i.e. *cailches* (*DIL* s.v. *cairches*); this alternation of *l* and *r* may be similar to that described in 2.1.5(j) above). One other example of *cairches* is extant in Rec. I TBC in the description of Cú Chulainn: *Cét cairches corcorglan do dergór órlasrach imma brágit* ‘a hundred bright crimson ringlets of flaming red-gold encircled his neck’.¹⁵⁵³

53. Boí Óengus i ndeíl doenachta for brú ind locho co-n:gair in n-ingin cuici.

Shaw: Boí Óengus i ndeíl doínachta for brú ind locha. Con-gair in n-ingin cucci.

Eg. Bui oengus i ndeíl daenachtu for bru in lochui. Congair indingin chuici.

Müller: Oengus was in human shape at the border of the loch. He called the maiden to him.

Óengus was in human shape at (lit. ‘on’) the edge of the lake so that he calls the maiden to him.

Here I have done little to interfere with the original text as it stands in the manuscript as the language is simple and emendations are straightforward. The verb *Congair* in the MS may stand for *con:gair* or *co-n:gair* ‘so that he calls’, with the simple verb *gairid*, which is the verb used in the instruction by Ethal in section [51]; for symmetry, I adopt the latter in the edition. The diphthongs are restored to expected OIr. (cf. *doenacht*, Wb. 33^e5) and I have given the standard form of the gen. sg. n. def. art. *ind* before gen. sg. *locha* (*loch* ‘lake’); for the assimilation of *nd* > *nn* see section 2.1.4. For more on the unstressed final vowel in gen. sg. MS *lochui*, see section 2.1.3(viii)(h); and for the hypercorrect diphthong in MS *congair*, see section 2.1.3(viii)(b). The conjugated pronoun appears in the MS *chuicci* with lenition of the initial consonant which becomes common during the Middle Irish period and which I edit out here; see section 2.1.5(f). Significantly, the manuscript retains the correct OIr. prep. *for* ‘upon, on’, rather than *ar* – the two become conflated during the Middle Irish period, as illustrated in the next section (see 2.1.6(f)).

¹⁵⁵³ O’RAHILLY 1976: I. 2347.

**54. ‘Tair dom acaldaim a Cháer.’ ‘Cid do-m:gair?’ ol Cáer. ‘Co-tot:gair Óengus.’
‘Regait diandom:foíma fort enech co:tís a loch mo frithisi.**

Shaw: ‘Tair dom accaldaim, a Chaer.’ ‘Cia do-m-gair?’ ol Caer. ‘Cotot-gair Óengus.’ ‘Regait diandom foíme ar th-inchaib co tís a lloch mofrithisi.

Eg.: *Tair* dom accalluib a chaer. Cia domgair or caer. Cotagair oenguss ragaid dianomfoémuid *ar* theniuch co tis ind loch mo frithisi.

Müller: Come to speak to me o Chaer. Who calls me said Caer. Oengus calls thee, come and yield to me upon thy honour that thou mayest go with me into the bath again.

‘Come speak to me, Cáer.’ ‘Who calls me,’ said Cáer. ‘Óengus calls you.’ ‘I will go if you receive me into your protection that I will come to the lake again.’

The MS form *foémuid* may be read as *-foémui* with a *d* transferred mechanically, or perhaps the following phrase was once read with the prep. *dar/tar* as *dar th’eniuch* (cf. *tar enech*, *O’Dav.* 980; and *dar enech*, *O’Cl.* 1478). Here, I retain the neutral quality of the *-m-* against Shaw’s edition as subjunctive forms for this verb show this quality in the glosses; examples of the verb *ar:foím*, which contains the same verbal root (**ar-fo-em-*), are more numerous in the glosses and provide the best evidence for this consonant colouring: 3sg. pres. subj. *arafoima*, *ML* 17^c3; *-eróima*, *Thes. Pal.* i, 498.3; 1pl. *arfoimam*, *Thes. Pal.* ii, 245.12 (Cambr.)

The MS gives *artheniuch* with the elided form of the poss. pron. 2sg. *th’* and dat. sg. form of *enech*; for the vowel in the unstressed syllable in MS *eniuch*, see section 2.1.3(viii)(d). Shaw remarks that ‘in *Old Ir.* **enech** is always plural’¹⁵⁵⁴ but this is not necessarily the case; see, for example, gen. sg. *enig* in MS *meth nenig* ‘loss of honour’ in the following section. Indeed *enech* is frequently used in the pl. to denote ‘honour’;¹⁵⁵⁵ *DIL* notes that ‘as the word is regularly pl. in early Irish the original meaning was evidently brows or cheeks’.¹⁵⁵⁶ An example of its usage in the plural is in the common term *lóg n-enech* ‘honour price’; this is transferred from the sense that if you bring shame to a person that it manifests in their face.¹⁵⁵⁷ Its usage is found in the *Wb.* glosses with the sense ‘protection’; it is not possible to tell whether it is in the sg. or pl. as it is a n-o-stem: *mad fú lib mo ainech-sa do*

¹⁵⁵⁴ SHAW 1934: 63, note 10.

¹⁵⁵⁵ E.g. *CIH* 2281.37.

¹⁵⁵⁶ *DIL* E 126.45.

¹⁵⁵⁷ *EIL* 43–44.

breith less ‘if you think fit that it have my protection’, Wb. 14^a4; see also Wb. 15^c25.¹⁵⁵⁸ Although there are no contemporary OIr. examples of the verb *fo:eim* used with the phrase *ar enech* to signify ‘receive into protection’, the legal sense of *enech* as ‘protection’ is validated by attestations from contemporary OIr. sources onwards.¹⁵⁵⁹ I cannot be certain how Müller came to the translation: ‘Come and yield to me upon thy honour that thou mayest go with me into the bath again’.

For the form MS *ragaid*, see section 2.1.5(g) on the MidIr. development of *re-* > *ra-* and 2.1.7.1 for the innovative 1sg. personal ending; here the form is emended to OIr. For more on the phrase, MS *mo frithisi* as an OIr. retention, see section 2.1.4.1 below.

55. ‘Fo-t:sisíur,’ olsé. Téiti cuicci. Fo:ceird-som dí láim forrae. Con:túilet i ndeíl b dá géise co:timchellsat a loch fo thrí na:beth ní bad meth n-enig dó-som.

Shaw: ‘Fo-t:sisíur,’ ol sé. Téiti cuicci. Fo-ceird-sium dí láim forrae. Con-túilet i ndeíl b dá géise co timchellsat a lloch fo thrí conná bed ní bad meth n-enech dó-som.

Eg.: fotisir orse Taeta chuici. Foiceirdsium di laim fuirri. Cotlat i ndeíl b die geisiu co timciullsat ind loch fo tri. Na bet nabu meth nenig dosum.

Müller: I will come, she said. She came to him. He put his two hands on her. They slept in the shape of two swans until they surrounded the bath-place three times. There was not and there will not be a loss of honour to him.

‘I vow to you,’ said he. She comes to him then. He puts his two hands on her. They sleep in the shape of two swans and circle the lake three times, so that there would be nothing that would disgrace his honour (lit. ‘not anything that would be a disgrace of honour for him’).

In the MS form *fotisir*, there is no written representation of the original lenited *s* (of the verb *fo:sisedar* ‘professes, vows; becomes responsible for’), which I restore here, as well as the correct *u* of the pres. ind. 1sg. of this deponent verb. Shaw rejects Meyer’s suggestion that the verb is a fut. form of *fo-tét*, comments that ‘the correct reading is doubtless *fo-t-sisiur*, I undertake your protection’, and refers the reader to two parallel examples from the *Táin Bó*

¹⁵⁵⁸ This translation is provided by *DIL* E 131.27–; *Thes. Pal.* i gives: ‘if ye think fit to bring me with him’.

¹⁵⁵⁹ *DIL* E 131.26.

Regamain.¹⁵⁶⁰ The sense of *fo:sisedar* as a legal term aligns itself with the preceding section, were *enech* to be understood under in the legal sense of ‘protection’. Here, therefore, Óengus might be accepting the terms of the agreement, and declaring his acceptance of this responsibility.

The form of the dat. *fuiri* ‘upon her’ is well attested (e.g. Wb. 3^d34, Sg. 4^b9, Ml. 95^b6, etc.); however, here I emend to the form *forrae* with the acc. pronoun based on the assumption of there being movement from one point to another, i.e. from the point of Óengus’ hands not being around the maiden to placing them on her. *Fuirri* and *forrae* come to be confused in the MidIr. period with the form with use of the original dat. pron. predominating¹⁵⁶¹

For the MidIr. development of *téit* > *táet*, see section 2.1.5(h). The 3sg. n. object pronoun suffixed to *téit* adds adverbial force ‘thus, so’ and is common in OIr. (see *GOI* §422); e.g. the 3sg. n. inf. pron. in *dachotar coirp* ‘bodies went thus’, Ml. 38^b2.

The variant form of the 3sg. m. *nota augens* MS *sium* is attested in Ml. (see *GOI* §403); however, the common form in Wb. is *som*, e.g. *asbeirsom*, 4d17. *DIL* notes that ‘som is the usual form in the O.Ir. Glosses, though sum, sam are occasionally found. a special form after palatals sem is very rare in the older glosses and does not become common until Sg.; sium occurs a few times in Ml.’¹⁵⁶²

For more on the MidIr. form MS *cotlat*, see section 2.1.7.2. Here it is restored to expected OIr. *con:tuiet* based on the OIr. date of composition of AÓ. The hypercorrect form of gen. sg. f. numeral *dá*, i.e. MS *die*, before gen. du. *géise* is discussed in 2.1.8 above.

Shaw explains MS *Nabet nabu* as follows: ‘This is obviously corrupt; the most likely emendation is **conná bed** (or **arná bed**) **ní bad meth n-enech dó-som**’.¹⁵⁶³ *DIL* provides some examples of *ná*, *na* introducing consecutive clauses without the conjunction *co* ‘so that’; this may be a development from *conná* that co-existed with it during the MidIr. period.¹⁵⁶⁴ There is, to my knowledge, only one example of this in Wb.: *amal na-fil* ‘as there is not’, Wb. 14^c24 (*GOI* §863). Therefore, in this instance *na* is the *lectio difficilior*, which is why I retain it in the present edition, followed by the past subj. 3sg. of the subst. vb. *-beth*; as explained in section 2.1.3(iii) the scribe often forgets to indicate lenition, which may also be the case here.

As in Shaw’s edition, I also take the following *ní* as the neut. form of the indefinite pronoun ‘anything’ as introducing the copula in the past. subj. 3sg. rel. *bad*. The term *meth n-*

¹⁵⁶⁰ SHAW 1934: 63, n. 12; *Ir. Texte* 2:2, 228.6, 229.3; for Meyer’s suggestion, see PENDER 1930: §840.

¹⁵⁶¹ *SnaG* III, 13.13.

¹⁵⁶² *DIL* S 338.20–3.

¹⁵⁶³ SHAW 1934: 63, note 2.

¹⁵⁶⁴ *DIL* N 3.75.

enig ‘loss, failure of honour’ occur also in *Táin Bó Froích* and *Táin Bó Flidais* (see section 1.7.4 above).

56. To:comlat ass i ndeíl̄b dá én f̄ind co mbátar ocin Mruig Maicc ind Ócc agus cechnatar coicetul cíuil co corastar inna dóini i súan trí laa 7 téora n-aidche. Anais laiss ind ingen íar sin.

Shaw: To-comlat ass i ndeíl̄b dá én f̄ind co mbátar ocin Bruig Maicc in Óicc, agus |ch|echnatar cocetal cíuil co corastar inna dóini i súan trí láa agus teora n-aidche. Anais laiss ind ingen íar sin.

Eg.: Tocomlat ass a ndeíl̄b da eunf̄inn co mbat̄ar ocin brug micc inn oicc. agus cachnat̄ar coiccet̄ul cíuil cou corustar ina duiniu hi suan trí la .7 teora haidq̄i. Anuiss laiss inn ingen iar sin.

Müller: They went from there in the shape of two white birds until they were at the Brug of the mic ind Oicc and they made a concert so that the people fell asleep for three days and three nights. The maiden remained with them afterwards.

They took off in the shape of two white birds to the Mruig Maic ind Ócc and they sang harmonious music so that it put the people to sleep for three days and three nights. The maiden stayed with him after that.

As explained in the introduction above, the MS form *tocomlat* (pres. ind. 3pl. of *do:cumlai*) provides the basis for retaining this EOIr. form of the preverb in other instances throughout the text (see section 2.1.4.1 above). The form of the preposition *a* in *a ndeíl̄b* is standardised to *i*; for more on the written representation of proclitic *i* and *a*, see section 2.1.3(viii)(a). For more on the name Mac ind Ócc, see 2.1.13. MS *ocin brug micc inn oicc* is an example of the double article in OIr.; as discussed by Ó Gealbháin, this occurs when the ‘head is accompanied by a modifier’, i.e. here a noun followed by another noun in the gen. sg.: e.g. *isin chorthair thuascertaig in domain* ‘in the northern part of the world’ (LL 31942–3).¹⁵⁶⁵ This may come about as a result of, to use the term employed by Ó Gealbháin,

¹⁵⁶⁵ Ó GEALBHÁIN 1991:125.

‘associative anaphora’, whereby the definite article before the head serves a resumptive purpose in the discourse.¹⁵⁶⁶

The vowel in reduplicated pret. 3pl. *cachnat-* (*canaid* ‘sings’) has been restored to OIr. *e*, i.e. *cechnatar*, as the regular reduplication vowel is originally *e* (see *GOI* §867). However, as McCone highlights in his edition of *Echtrae Chonnlai*, there are no examples of this verb with the reduplication vowel *e* in stressed position in the glosses; the earliest example is 3sg. *rocachain*, *MI* 48^b11 (*GOI* §687n). Similarly, the MS witnesses to *Echtrae Chonnlai* all give *-cachan*, and McCone resolves to retain it in his edition: ‘rather than being emended to the phantom *(-)cechain that haunts various handbooks (e.g. *EIV* 24, 52, 72), (-)cachain must be ascribed to the archetype of both texts [the second being *Immram Brain*], where its presence constitutes no argument for a date after the Old Irish period’.¹⁵⁶⁷ He continues by explaining that *-cachan* arose as a pret. stem in order to distinguish it from its future stem in *-cechan*.

Here, the verb *fo:ceird* carries the sense of the impersonal: e.g. *facheirt in alios sonos* ‘it puts itself into other sounds’, *Sg.* 4b6; *focerd Eochaid i ces a ben do eludh* ‘it grieved Eochaid that his wife had eloped’, (*Tochmarc III*);¹⁵⁶⁸ *fochairt inna cotlud* ‘they fell asleep’, *LU* 1801.¹⁵⁶⁹ The final line places the conj. pron. *laiss* ‘with him’ before the nom. sg. *ind ingen*, delaying it, presumably, for stylistic purposes, i.e. to lay emphasis on the fact that Óengus was finally with the maiden.

¹⁵⁶⁶ Ó GEALBHÁIN 1991:134.

¹⁵⁶⁷ MCCONE 2000: 157–8.

¹⁵⁶⁸ BEST & BERGIN 1934–8:188.7.

¹⁵⁶⁹ *DIL* F 190.68.

57. Is de sin ro boí cairdes Maicc ind Óc agus Ailella 7 Medbae. Is de sin do:coid Óengus tricho cét co Ailill agus Meidb do tháin na mbó a Cúailngi.

Shaw: Is de sin ro boí cairdes in Maicc Óicc agus Ailella agus Medbae. Is de sin do-cuaid Óengus, tricha cét, co Ailill agus Meidb do tháin inna mbó a Cúailnge.

Eg.: Is de sin ro bui cairdius in micc oig. agus aillella .7 medbo. Is de sin dochuaid oenguss tricha cét cu hailill .7 meidb do thain na mbo a cuailngne.

Müller: Therefrom there was friendship between the micc Oig and Ailell and Medb and in consequence Oengus went with three hundred to Ailell and Medb for the Tain bo Cuailgne.

It is because of that there was a pact [made] between the Mac ind Óc and Ailill and Medb. It is for that reason that Óengus went with 3,000 to Ailill and Medb to drive the cattle out of Cooley.

I remove the lenition from MS *dochuaid* above, as a leniting rel. clause is not appropriate with an adverbial antecedent, and restore the vowel to its hiatus form. It is difficult to identify whether Cúailnge is an io- or iā-stem noun as the vowel in unstressed position is spelled variously. It appears at *LU* 55343 with a dat. sg. ending in *-u* but at *LU* 5332 with a dat. sg. in *-i*.

In addition to the use of the perfect here after the phrase *is de sin*, it could be argued that this usage indicates that the events in *Aislinge Óenguso* occurred before the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*; that is to say, its events are grammatically contextualised by the narration of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*. This creates a continuum in the greater narrative of *remscéla* and TBC, into which AÓ is embedded, giving the sense: ‘It was because of that there had been a pact’ and ‘it is for that reason that Óengus had gone’. Alternatively, it may be argued that these are examples of the perfect being used in place of the preterite, and that they fit into the argument that this and the following section were added later as a serialising strategy, most likely during the late-Old to Middle Irish period at the emergence of the TBC literary series (see section 1.6.2 above for further examples of overt references in TBC *remscéla*). Certain formerly independent texts were chosen and altered to fit into the category of *remscéla* to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* and *Aislinge Óenguso* is among them.

58. Conid De Aislinge Óenguso Maicc in Dagdai ainm in scéuil-sin isin Táin Bó Cúailnge. FINIT.

Shaw: Conid ‘De Aislingiu Óenguso Maicc in Dagdai’ ainm in scéuil sin isin Táin bó Cúailnge. Finit.

Eg.: *Conidde aislingiu oenguso micc in dagdai ainm in sceuil sin iss tain bo cuailngne.* TINIF.

Müller: This story is called the vision of Oengus son of the Dagda and the Tain bo Cuailgne.

So that it is because of this that Aislinge Óenguso Maic ind Dagdai is the name of that story in the Táin Bó Cúailnge.

The shortened form of the prep. *i* with the def. art. in MS *iss* becomes very common during the MidIr. period; this is not found elsewhere in AÓ.¹⁵⁷⁰

Shaw discusses MS *Conidde* in his introduction and deduces that the *de* here is introducing the title and that MS *aislingiu* is in the dat. sg. Indeed, MS *aislingiu* would be a fine OIr. dat. sg., if the orthography were to be trusted (see hypercorrect spellings in *-u* in 2.1.3(viii)(g) above; e.g. nom. sg. MS *menmu* for *menmae* ‘mind’). Shaw continues by postulating that a scribe integrated this section using a list of *remscéla*, from which he took the tale title *De Aislingiu Óenguso Maicc in Dagdai* ‘Regarding the Dream of Óengus Son of the Dagdae’. He concludes by stating: ‘the point I wish to stress is the fact that only by accepting this explanation can the structure of this last sentence be brought into harmony with the syntax and usage of the Irish language’.¹⁵⁷¹ Furthermore, he deduces that the date of this additional section of text (here, [57] and [58]) were added at some point after the composition of *Tochmarc Ferbe*, which, I am presuming, is based on the fact that this is the youngest tale in the list of *remscéla* (see the figure in the section on the relative chronology of the composition of the *remscéla* to TBC in section 1.5.2).¹⁵⁷² However, it is possible that there is an ellipsis of a copula in the relative, i.e. *as*. Although only circumstantial, it is still worth noting that *Conidde* is written together as a single unit in the manuscript.

On a separate note, by stating that *Aislinge Óenguso* was ‘in the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*’, I assume the narrator means that it was part of the series of stories related to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* and not that this was an episode of the *Táin*. However, the difference between the *remscél* as an independent tale and as an episode from TBC is categorically unclear and the

¹⁵⁷⁰ *SnaG* III, 7.8.

¹⁵⁷¹ SHAW 1934: 27.

¹⁵⁷² SHAW 1934: 28.

inclusion of the *macgnímrada* among *remscél* material indicates a broader application of the term *remscél*, as well as a less clearly defined outline of the narrative universe of TBC (see section 1.4 above).

The scribe playfully writes the final word *finit* backwards in capitals in the manuscript in a kind of “mirror writing”; having surveyed the conclusions of other tales in this manuscript, other examples of this are not forthcoming.

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Appendix 1: Cáer's association with the story of the 'Besom of Fánat' and the *dindsenchas* of Crotta Clíach

The present appendix serves to provide a translation of the composite tale *Don scúaip a Fánait 7 don Roth Rámach 7 don tSaignén Teintidi* 'Regarding the Besom of Fánat and the Rowing Wheel and the Fiery Arrow' and conservative diplomatic editions from the manuscripts D iv.2 (D), f. 48vb13–49ra20, and the 16th-century Leabhar Breac (LB), facs. p. 242b47–77, which I will compare with the relevant section of the Rennes *Dindsenchas* relating a textually related version.¹⁵⁷³ Henceforth, I will refer to this tale as the *Saignén Teintide* (ST). This little-known tale refers to the female love-interest, Cáer, also in *Aislinge Óenguso* and contains the same description of the swan-maiden as in AÓ, which is why it is relevant and necessary to include it here as an appendix to the above edition of AÓ. Among others, there are two obvious reasons why ST is significant: firstly, because the manuscripts that contain ST, i.e. D and LB, predate the only extant copy of AÓ, i.e. the 16th-century Eg. 1782. This indicates that *Aislinge Óenguso* was transmitted more widely during the medieval period than reflected by the single surviving manuscript source. Secondly, the description of Cáer in ST is closely linked textually to AÓ. Most likely, it was extracted from AÓ, possibly during the Middle Irish period, and recast in this composite tale, the contents of which I will outline below.¹⁵⁷⁴ The legend of Cáer the swan-maiden appears to have then become part of a narrative independent of *Aislinge Óenguso*.

ST is a composite text of three different tales: firstly, it draws directly on the same source as the *Rennes Dindsenchas* of Crotta Clíach;¹⁵⁷⁵ secondly, at the point at which the dragon of Loch Bél Dracon is mentioned in the *Rennes Dindsenchas* (section [5] below), the redactor takes the opportunity to include the description of the character Cáer of *Aislinge Óenguso* from another source, most likely AÓ, and uses it to explain the place-name Loch Bél Sét, which does not appear in AÓ; finally, the redactor resumes the plot of the *Rennes Dindsenchas* (numbered [6] below) and adds the prophecy attributed to Móling about the

¹⁵⁷³ The following short study is in no way exhaustive; it serves only to highlight the existence of the tale and provide an interpretation of its contents in order to complement our understanding of the transmission of *Aislinge Óenguso* and Cáer's legend respectively. O'Curry in his *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History* discusses this tale within the context of the 'prophecies concerning the fatal festival of St. John the Baptist' (1878) and provides an edition and translation of the LB copy of this tale. In his edition of *Aislinge Óenguso*, SHAW (1934: 19) draws attention to this same copy in LB and provides a revised version of O'Curry's transcription but he does not comment on the tale's presence in the D manuscript. Shortly after I completed this study, John Carey published an edition and translation of this tale in *The End and Beyond* (CAREY 2014: 705–13).

¹⁵⁷⁴ SHAW comments also that this description 'obviously derives from *Aislinge Óenguso*' (1934: 19).

¹⁵⁷⁵ STOKES 1894: 440-1.

apocalyptic *Scúap a Fánait* ‘Besom from Fánat’ on the Feast of John the Baptist.¹⁵⁷⁶ This latter prophecy by Mólíng is in the form of seven quatrains in rhymed syllabic metre (sections [9]–[15] below). The catalogue description¹⁵⁷⁷ for LB treats this poem as a separate text from the preceding legend of Loch Béal Dracon but the manuscript composition indicates otherwise, i.e. there is no break in the text between the prose and the poetry; and the fact that it is contained as a single narrative unit also in D is further support that it was intended to be read with the preceding prose.

The apocalyptic story of the Besom of Fánat is contained in the *Féilire Óengusso* and it tells how most of the women in the world will ‘burn in the fire of Doom’ and the besom will rise from Fánat in Donegal, killing everyone in Ireland over a period of ‘three days and three nights and a year’ for the Passion of John the Baptist; Mólíng describes it like a ‘fierce dragon’.¹⁵⁷⁸ The same tradition is contained in a poem on the ‘Beheading of John Baptist’ in the Book of Uí Maine, which mentions also that a large portion of the Irish people will be killed in retribution of John the Baptist’s death at the hand of the Irish figure Mug Ruith:

Tresin sgēl sin, báidh go mbloidh, | in féil Eōin ar Gaedelaibh, | nāch bīa do tsíl
Gáedeal nglan | acht madh aenrtian gan marbudh.

‘Through that story, – a famous contention – the feast of John (will come) upon the Gael, so that there shall not be of the race of noble Gaels save one-third unslain.’¹⁵⁷⁹

However, the poem in the Book of Uí Maine does not mention either the dragon or the *saignén tenntide* ‘fiery arrow’.¹⁵⁸⁰

ST appears among saga material and anecdota in D and among eschatological material in LB. It also appears in a very similar form as the *dindsenchas* of Crotta Clíach in the Rennes *Dindsenchas*, which I include below, and which was last edited by Stokes (1894). Although

¹⁵⁷⁶ Contained also in the late 16th-century NLI MS G 1, f. 45r14 and in another 16th-century vellum manuscript NLI G 10, f. 46b12. Hugh Fogarty has recently produced an edition and translation of the *Scúap a Fánait* from the NLI MS G 10 (FOGARTY 2014). For more on the *Scúap a Fánait*, see GROSJEAN 1937. The Passion of John the Baptist is dealt with elsewhere in the *Leabhar Breac*, p. 187b (PH 818–960), and contained also in a separate version in the 15th-century BL MS Eg. 91, p. 46. There is a reference to the coming of the plague on the Feast of St John the Baptist in the Latin ‘Vision of St Adomnán’ in the *Leabhar Breac* also, p. 258b.

¹⁵⁷⁷ RIA Cat. fasc. XXVII, 3402.

¹⁵⁷⁸ STOKES 1905: 190, 191.

¹⁵⁷⁹ SCARRE 1910: §41, 180, 181.

¹⁵⁸⁰ SCARRE (1910: 173) believes the poem to be based on the Passion of John the Baptist in the *Leabhar Breac* (PH 818–960). However, the two accounts differ somewhat: for example, there is no mention of the Irish druid Mug Ruith performing John the Baptist’s beheading in the LB passion; and, subsequently, there is no mention of a dragon or a plague being inflicted on the people of Ireland and beyond in LB. Rather, the poem appears to follow the version contained in the Yellow Book of Lecan (col. 849–51) which relates how Mug Ruith beheaded the monk and brought *fuacht* > *gorta* > *galra* (cold, famine and disease) to the Irish (MÜLLER-LISOWSKI 1923: 150).

the metrical *dindsenchas* contains an entry for Crotta Clíach, it only mentions the dragon of Loch Béal Dracon and not the maiden Cáer.¹⁵⁸¹ D and LB were, most likely, copied from a common exemplar and differ only occasionally in wording; both contain some Old Irish forms which could be used as dating criteria, e.g. t-pret. *ní roacht* (*ro-saig* ‘reaches’) in LB, section [4] below and reduplicated pret. *-sephain* (*seinnid* ‘plays’) in section [5] in LB. Both D and LB bear the same title referring to the apocalyptic feast of John the Baptist, which sets out the purpose of the item in each of the respective manuscripts: *don scuaib a fanuidh 7 don roth ramach 7 don tsaighnen teintighi* ‘Regarding the Besom of Fánnat and the Rowing Wheel and the Fiery Arrow’ (D); this title is not contained in the Rennes *Dindsenchas*.

In the following, I divide the text into small sections in order for the reader to be able to compare the contents of D, LB and the Rennes *Dindsenchas*. In each section, I provide a conservative diplomatic edition of the text from D and LB and a translation thereof when D and LB diverge from the Rennes *Dindsenchas* (R). As a matter of policy, I italicise all marks of lenition, *n*-strokes, *m*-strokes and standard *compendia*; and I underline all syllables represented by a suspension stroke in the manuscript. I do not capitalise except for where capitalisation appears in the MS. I also do not insert punctuation except in the metrical portion, in which I use a straight line to mark the breaks between the lines based on the position of the end-rhyme. The scribes mark the breaks with full stops in the manuscript also. Occasionally, I correct O’Curry’s transcription of the LB text in the footnotes. Alongside the diplomatic editions, I reproduce Stokes’ edition and translation of the Rennes *Dindsenchas*, both of which are introduced by the letter R below.¹⁵⁸² I have not attempted to create an archetypal text of D and LB with or without R because of the time restrictions of this research project.

¹⁵⁸¹ *Met. Dinds.* iii, 225.

¹⁵⁸² STOKES 1894: 440–1.

Title and introduction in D and LB only

D: Don scuaib a fanuid 7 don roth ramach 7 don tsaighnen teintighi insó.

Isan aimsir flaind chinaidh tic in roth ramach 7 in scuab a fanaid 7 in saighnen teintighe

LB: Don scoip a fanait 7 don roth ramach 7 don tsaighnen teintige beos.¹⁵⁸³

IS anaimsir didiu¹⁵⁸⁴ flaind chinaid ticc ín roth ramach 7 in scuap a fanaid 7 in saighnen tenntige.

D/LB: (*This is (D)*) *Regarding the Besom from Fánnat and regarding the Rowing Wheel and regarding the Fiery Arrow (still (LB)).*

It was during the reign of Flann Cinaid that the Roth Rámach ('rowing wheel') and the Scúap a Fánait ('besom from Fannat') and the Saignén Teintide ('fiery arrow') came.

1. R: Crota Cliach, canas roainmniged? Ni ansa. Cliach cruitire Smirduib meic Smail ri na tri Ros, a Síd Báine.

D: .i. Cliach cruitire smirduib maic smail righ na tri ros a sid baíne.

LB: Cliach crutire smirduib¹⁵⁸⁵ meic smail rig na tri ross a sid Bane.

R: *Cliach from Síd Báine ("Baine's Elfmound") was harper to Smirdub son of Smal, king of the Three Rosses.*

¹⁵⁸³ This appears between the columns in the manuscript and contains the additional adverb *beos* 'still', indicating that previous material was related to the same topic. However, the item preceding it is a short 'legend illustrating the efficacy of prayer'.

¹⁵⁸⁴ O'Curry *dini*.

¹⁵⁸⁵ O'Curry *Cruitire mac Smirduib*; the MS does not contain *mac*.

2. **R:** Doluid sidein do thócuireadh [f. 105c] Conchinde íngine Búidhb assíd Fear Feimín. *Nó comadh Báine a hainm.*

D: Do luidh cliach iarsin do thóchuireadh ingeine buidb a sighth ar feimin

LB: Dolluid cliach iarum do thochur ingine buidb a sid ar feimin.

R: *He went to invite Conchenn daughter of Fodb from the síd of the Men of Femen. [Or maybe Báine was her name.]*

D/LB: *Clú went then to invite the daughter of Bodb of Síd ar Femen.*

3. **R:** Bói dano Cliach bliadain lá[i]n ic senmáim forsín dinn sin,

D: Boi iarsin bliadain. lán¹⁵⁸⁶ oc seinm a chruiti fri sighth amuig

LB: Boi iarsin bliadain. lan oc seinm a chruiti fria sid amuig

R: *Now Cliach was a full year making music on that hill;*

D/LB: *After that he was a full year playing music to the síd from outside.*

4. **R:** ⁊ ní roacht co Sídh mBuidhb ní budh neassa la méit cumachta in tsídha, ⁊ ní cóemhnagair ní dond ingenraidh,

D: ⁊ ní riacht ní bud neasa co bo[i]db ar med a cumachta ⁊ ní chæmhnacair ní don ingenraid.

LB: ⁊ ní roacht¹⁵⁸⁷ ní bud nessa cu Boidb ar mét a cumacht ⁊ ní coemnacair ní don¹⁵⁸⁸ ingenraid

R: *but because of the elf's magic might, he got no nearer to the síd, and he could do nothing to the girls.*

D/LB: *and he did not reach any closer to Bodb because of the extent of his power and he could not do anything to the maidens.*

¹⁵⁸⁶ The expected OIr. dat. sg. f. form of *lán* here is *lái*n following the temporal dative *blíadain* 'for a year', as indicated also by Stokes in his edition of R.

¹⁵⁸⁷ O'Curry *rocht*.

¹⁵⁸⁸ O'Curry *con*.

5. **R:** *acht* ro sephfáind a croit co roimuidh in talam fáí, *conadh* as romaidh in draíg.

D: *acht* ro shep[h]thain co ramhuigh in talam fai *conid* de ata in loch i mullach int sleibe .i. loch bel sedh. Loch bel sed doradh fris

LB: *acht* rosephain co rremaid in talam foi *conid* de ata in loch a mullach int slebe .i. loch bel séd. loch bel séd do ráda fris

R: *But he played his harp till the earth beneath him burst, and thereout the dragon brake forth [...].*

D/LB: *but he played so that the earth broke beneath him, so that it is whence the lake at the promontory of the mountain came, i.e. Loch Bél Sét (the lake at the mouth of treasures(?)). It was called Loch Bél Sét.*

5a. **D:** .i. Cær abarbæth ingen etail anbuail a sidhaibh a crích *connacht* 7 ba hingen *cumachtach* ilcrothach hi.

LB: coer abarboeth, ingen etail anbhuaile a sidaib a crich *connacht* agus ba hingen *cumachtach* ilcrothach hi.

D/LB: *i.e. Cáer Abarbóeth, daughter of Ethal Anbúail, from the síds in the territory of Connacht and she was a powerful maiden of many shapes.*

5b. **D:** Tri coecat ingen impi 7 teigdis i ningenraidh sin gach ré mbliadain. a rechtaibh tri cóecat en ilcrothach 7 i rechtaib daíne in blíadain aile.

LB: tri caegait ingen impe 7 tegtis in bhanntrocht sin cechre mbliadain i rechtaib tri caecait én ilcrothach 7 ina ndoinib in blíadain ele

D/LB: *There were 150 maidens around her and the group of maidens would change into the forms of 150 swans of various shapes and [they would change] into the forms of people the next year.*

5c. D: IS amlaidh trá no bidis in enlaith sin ⁊ slabradh airgit etir cech da én dib æn en etarro ailliu do enaib in domuin ⁊ muince dergoir ima braight trí cóec^{at} slabradh ass ⁊ ubull dergoir ar cind gacha slabraidh.

LB: IS amlaid himorro bitis in enlaithsin co slabrad argait etar cech da nén dib. Oen en eturru áille do énaib in domuin co muinche dergóir ima bragait. Tri caecair slabrad ass co nuball óir for cind cech slabraid.

D/LB: *It is in that form, moreover, that they would be in that flock and there was a chain of silver between each pair of birds. One particular bird among them was more beautiful than [all] the birds of the world and [she had] a collar of red gold around her neck.*

5d. D: IN airet trá ba henlaith iat robidis for loch crotta cliach conidh ed atberdis siat is imda sét ilcrothach sainemail ar bel locha crotta conidh aire sin atberar loch bel sét fris.

LB: IN fát tra ba henlaith iat nombitis for loch crotta cliach conidead atbertis cach: is imdai ^{séd} sainemail ar beolu locha crotta. conid desin atberair loch bel séd fris.

D/LB: *While they were a flock, moreover, they would be on the lake of Crotta Cliach so that it is because of this that everyone would say: abundant is the excellent, many-formed¹⁵⁸⁹ treasure on the edge of the lake of Crotta Cliach; so that it is because of that it is was called Loch Bél Sét.*

¹⁵⁸⁹ This is most likely a reference to the ability to shapeshift.

6. **R:** As de atá Loch Bél Dragan .i. drag tinedh fuair mhuime Ternoc ann a richt bradaín,

D: Loch bel dracan dono doradh fris .i. draicc teinntighe fuair muime thernoc i rricht bradain

LB: Loch bel dracon tra do ráda fris .i. draicc thenntige fuair muimme thernoc i richt bratain.

R: Hence is Loch Bél Dracon “the lake of the Dragon’s mouth”, to wit, a dragon of fire which Ternóc’s¹⁵⁹⁰ fostermother found there in a salmon’s shape,¹⁵⁹¹

7. **R:** conadh Fursa ros-atig issin loch, 7 issé sin in draig tairrígertar im féil Eóin do turgabáil for Erinn fri deredh domhaín [i ndigail Eoin Baiste],

D: conid ebairt fursa frisa a cor a loch bhel set 7 isi in draicc sin ticfa isin feil eoin 7 isi ticfa fri deired in domuin in aimsir flaind chinaig.

LB: cond epert fursa ^{sanctus} fria a cor i lloch bel set. Ocus isi in draicc sin ticfa hi féil eoin .i. fria dered domain in aimsir flaind chinaid.

R: and Fursa drove it into the lake. And that is the dragon which is prophesied to arise on St. John’s day at the end of the world and afflict Ireland [in vengeance for John the Baptist].

D/LB: so that Fursa ordered it into Loch Bél Sét and that is the dragon which will come on the Feast of St. John and that which will come at the end of the world during the reign of Flann Cinaid.

¹⁵⁹⁰ Stokes understands the name Ternóc to be the name Ernóc with the contraction of the vowel of a preceding 2sg. possessive pronoun, i.e. t’Ernóc (STOKES 1895: 32, 33). However, the name Ternóc existed: see, for example, the anchorite Ternoc associated with the River Barrow and mentioned in the entry for Feb. 8 in the Féilire Uí Ghormáin; the death of a Ternóg is recorded for the year 714 in the Annals of the Four Masters; and a Ternoc, son of Ciarán, appears on an Ogam inscription (*Thes. Pal.* ii 289.18).

¹⁵⁹¹ For more on lake creatures, see Ó HÓGÁIN 1983 (particularly p. 109).

8. R: 7 is desin atát Crota Clíach i Mumain.

R: *And thence are Crota Clíach in Munster.*

8a. D: *Conidh di sin 7 conid esti fassas in saignen teinntighi marbus trí ceathraime fer in domain iter mnai 7 mac 7 ingen 7 indile coricce muir torren sair*

LB: *Conad disin 7 conid esti fásas in saignen tenntige marbas teora cethraima fer domain etir mnai 7 mac 7 ingen 7 indile connice muir torren sair.*

D/LB: *And it is because of that and it is from it (i.e. the dragon) that the Saignén Teintide ('fiery arrow') rises which kills three quarters of the men of the world, including women and boys and girls and cattle as far as the Tyrrhene Sea in the east.*

8b. D: *conid aire sin atberar loch bel draccoin fris.*

LB: *Conid de garar loch bel dracon fris ^{nó de}.*

D/LB: *So that it is whence it is called Loch Bél Dracon (the lake of the dragon's mouth).*

8c. D: *Cliach cruitire dono .i. da cruit no bidis aigi in enfecht oca seinm conidh air a[.]ar cliach 7 sliabh crot.*

LB: *Cliach Cruitir didiu .i. da chruit no bitis aige in oenfecht oca seinmm conid aire sin atberar crotta cliach 7 sliab crotta.*

D/LB: *Cliach the harpist, moreover, i.e. it was two harps which he would play at the same time, so that it is for that reason that they are called Crotta Cliach (the harps of Cliach) and Slíab Crotta (the mountain of harps).*

8d. **D:** IS do senchus int saignein tinn^{ti}ghi beos amal ro chan moling ag tairngaire na feil eoin sin.

LB: IS do senmair in tsaignén tenntige beos amal ro chachain moling ^{sanctus} i tarngire na fele eoin ut dixit

D/LB: *It is regarding the history of the Saignén Teintide still just as Mólíng sang his prophecy of that feast of St John (as he said (LB)):*

9. **D:** A dhe mhair. | conagbainn mo dí erail. | manim la haingliu erain. | nimitair dunibadh gealain

LB: A dé mair. | connagabaind mo di erail ^{i. itge}. | mainim la haingliu erain. | nimitair duinebad gelain.

D/LB: *O Great God, that I should give my two requests, my soul with the angels in the vanguard, [and that] death not come to me by lightning.*¹⁵⁹²

10. **D:** a feil eoin ticfa treas. | sirfes erinn anairdes. | draic lonn loiscfis cach ronicc. | gan comaind gan tsacarbach

LB: Hi féil eoin ticfa tress. | sirfess eirinn anairdess. | draicc lonn losscfess cach ronicc. | cen chomaind. cen saccarbaic.

D/LB: *On the feast of St. John, an attack will come which will search Ireland from the south-east; a fierce dragon which will burn everything it comes across, without Communion, without Sacrament.*

¹⁵⁹² Here begins the poem spoken by Mólíng: all quatrains except for [14] below are in *deibide* metre; [14] is a type of *casbairdne* with a monosyllabic foot in (a) and (c).

11. **D:** drem dhubh dhorcha bregus bruith. | atbelat fri briathar cruth. | is æn do cetaib namá. | do neoch dib do ernabhá.

LB: Drem dub dorcha brisess bruth. | atbelat fri briatharchruth. | is æn do ced^{aib} nama. | do neoch dib do ernaba.

D/LB: *A black, dark band which spreads fury(?). They will die at the mention of its shape. It is only one of hundreds. For the one among you who will escape(?).*¹⁵⁹³

12. **D:** O dun cermna co sruib brain. | sires co muir torren sair. | draic lonn lasrac[h] lan do thein. | ni fuicfe acht cetramain.

LB: O dún cermna co¹⁵⁹⁴ sruib brain. | sirfess con muir torren sair. | draicc lonn lasrach lan do thein. | nis fuicfe acht mad¹⁵⁹⁵ cethramthain.

D/LB: *From Dún Cermna to Srub Brain¹⁵⁹⁶ which will go to the Tyrrhene Sea; the fierce, fiery dragon full of fire, save only one quarter.*

13. **D:** Mairg donicfa mairg donair. | mairg na foichlither in plaig. | mairg¹⁵⁹⁷ tarustar in feil. | is ferr a fochail do chéin.

LB: Mairg do nicfa¹⁵⁹⁸ mairg do nair. | mairg na fochlither in phlaig. | In mairt tarrastar in feil. | is ferr a fochill do chein.

D/LB: *Woe [to him to whom] it (i.e. the day) will come! Woe [to him] that it finds! Woe [to him] who does not prepare for the plague!¹⁵⁹⁹ The Tuesday upon which the feast-day will fall. It is better to prepare for it from afar (i.e. in advance).*

¹⁵⁹³ The form *do ernaba* appears to be from the original OIr. verb vb. *do-érni* ‘escapes’ with a Midle Irish analogical f-fut. (cf. *nocon érnába* ‘shall not escape’, LU 6972).

¹⁵⁹⁴ O’Curry *do*.

¹⁵⁹⁵ *Mad* is additional in LB and interferes with the heptasyllabic line count required of this metre.

¹⁵⁹⁶ Dún Cermna is modern-day Downpatrick in Kinsale, Co. Cork and Srub Brain is Stroove, Inishowen Head in Co. Donegal.

¹⁵⁹⁷ This must be a scribal error for *in Mairt* ‘the Tuesday’ in LB, probably because of the sentence formula in the two previous lines. Here the line requires the additional syllable offered by the definite article to make a heptasyllabic line.

¹⁵⁹⁸ Curry *do ricfa*.

¹⁵⁹⁹ O’Curry translates *na foichlither* as ‘who does not ward off’, which is correct in the extended sense in that one should pray and prepare in advance of the plague in an effort to ward it off but *fo:cíallathar* carries the meaning ‘pays heed to’ or ‘prepares for’, but not ‘wards off’.

14. **D:** Nech atfet scela dé. | do f[h]laith aré fuireba | *coic* *laithe eiredh* *iar* caisc | *coic bliadna* re nduinebath.

LB: Nech atfet scela de. | don f[laith] ara f[úineaba]. | *coic* *lathi erraig* *iar* caisc. | *coic bliadna* re nduineba.¹⁶⁰⁰

D/LB: *Someone who relates tidings of God: it is from the Lord that it will descend (?), five days of Spring after Easter [and] five years before the destruction [of mankind].*¹⁶⁰¹

15. **D:** Ticfa aimsir iarmothá. | a mbia *bládain*. bisecca. | áin for áin mairg doair. | duinebadh *ghealin nirtair*. A de. FINIT

LB: Ticfa aimsire iarmotha. | i mbi *bládain* biseca. | áin for ain. mairg donair. | duinebad *gelain nirtair*. A dé mair 7ct.

D/LB: *A time will come afterwards, in which there will be a leap-year: a Friday upon a fast – woe to him whose destruction by lightning comes. O [great] God, [finit/ et cetera].*¹⁶⁰²

¹⁶⁰⁰ It is notable that the endingless form *duinebath*, lit. ‘man-death’ (*duine* + *bath*), is used to create end-rhyme with *-fuineaba* here but the form with the dental consonant at the end *duinebad* is used in the following quatrain when it is not in rhyming position.

¹⁶⁰¹ O’Curry translates this as: ‘One shall tell the precise time when the Lord shall bring this to pass’, understanding the verb form in LB *fuineaba* as a form of fut. form fo fo:fera ‘causes, brings to pass’ (see *DIL* F 478. 42). Here, I have translated it as a fut. 3sg. form of a verb that is otherwise unattested **ar-fuin-* ‘lowers, descends’; it is contained in the verb *do:airindi* (**to-air-fuin-*), which attests to its use with an f-future also. That said, I am still unsure of the meaning of the sentence: I propose that the thing descending from the Lord is the plague in the previous quatrain.

¹⁶⁰² Again, this section is problematic particularly towards the end. I can make little of *nirtair*, which looks like the ipv. 2sg. of the OIr. verb *do:icc* ‘comes’ but the form of the negative particle *ní* is incorrect in the imperative. O’Curry translates the entire quatrain as follows: ‘A time will come beside this, When in a bissextile year; A Friday upon a cycle, woe who sees. Oh! the fiery plague may I not see!’ The first *doair/donair* in line (c), I understand to be the pres. subj. 3sg. of *do:airicc* ‘reaches’, i.e. *do:air*. The word *gelain*, gen. sg. of *gelán*, I translate as ‘lightning’ but it literally means ‘brightness, flash’; it is frequently used within the context of lightning.