

John Carey
'Scél Tuáin meic Chairill'

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SCÉL TUÁIN MEIC CHAIRILL¹

Scél Tuáin meic Chairill (ST) is found in five MSS: Laud Misc. 610 (L) 102b14–103b21; TCD H.3.18 (H) 38a1–39b3; an acephalous text in the Book of Fermoy (F) 155a1–156a24;² Rawl. B 512 (R) 97vb1–99a3 (intercolumnar foliation); and *Lebor na hUidre* (U) 15a34–16b41, by far the oldest MS. In U the first page of our tale is in the A-hand (U^a), while the second is the work of the interpolator H (U^h): as Best and Bergin have noted, page 16 was entirely erased and rewritten, and another page was presumably inserted to accommodate the (now missing) conclusion.³

An edition and translation by Kuno Meyer appeared in 1897 as an appendix to the second volume of Alfred Nutt's *The voyage of Bran*. Meyer took U as the basis of his critical text, giving variants from H and R and supplying a separate transcription of the version in L; since U is incomplete at the end, the final section was based on R, with variants from H. Meyer also provided a translation, adding a few footnotes on matters of linguistic interest.⁴

Such a treatment of *ST* fosters certain misconceptions. It discourages consideration of L in close conjunction with the other MSS, and implies that an attempt to correlate all the versions would be impracticably cumbersome; this led Best and Bergin to call L 'a different recension',⁵ while Vernam Hull referred to it as 'the second recension'.⁶ But although HFRU indeed differ markedly from L, the actual interrelationships of the MSS are more complex: H repeatedly agrees with L against FRU, and LHFR frequently disagree with U; each MS seems to reflect a different stage in a single line of development.⁷ U (especially U^h) represents in fact the latest, most expanded version of *ST*, so that its adoption as basis for an edition seems difficult to justify; but discussions of the story have invariably taken U as the primary text,⁸ and van Hamel actually asserted that its 'earliest version occurs in a fragment in LU'.⁹

¹Abbreviations are as in *DIL*, together with the following:

CGH Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae, ed. M. A. O'Brien (Dublin, 1962); *HB Historia Brittonum*; *Lang. AU The Language of the Annals of Ulster*, Tomás Ó Máille (Manchester, 1910); *LG Lebor Gabála*; *ST Scél Tuáin meic Chairill*; *Trip. Bethu Phátraic*, ed. Kathleen Mulchrone (Dublin, 1939).

²The existence of this version was pointed out to me by John Armstrong; it is not mentioned by Meyer.

³*Lebor na hUidre (LU)* (Dublin, 1929), p. xxix; the next text, *Dá Brón Flatha Nime*, is acephalous.

⁴Alfred Nutt, *The Celtic doctrine of rebirth* (London, 1897), pp 285–301.

⁵Loc. cit. They are in error when they assert that H and R agree with U against L in all respects save the inclusion of the poems interpolated by U^h.

⁶*Celtica* v, 135.

⁷The situation is not quite as simple as this, as we shall see when we come to consider the interrelations of FRU; but the point is a valid one.

⁸This is the practice of Nutt (op. cit., pp 77–9) and of d'Arbois de Jubainville, *The Irish mythological cycle*, trans. R. I. Best (Dublin, 1903), pp 24–38.

⁹*ZCP* x, 153.

Meyer's apparatus occasionally fails to indicate divergences between HR and U, making it still more difficult to understand the ways in which the MSS are connected.¹⁰ It is my hope that the study of *ST* will be assisted by an edition using all of the MSS, and based primarily upon L.

A survey of the apparatus will show that when L agrees with only one other MS, that MS is usually H; when with more, generally with HFR. U agrees most closely with FR, and HFRU share many readings not found in L. Exceptions to this pattern are for the most part trivial, and most easily explained as due to chance; others are due to individual innovation on the part of one of the MSS or its exemplar.

Such a situation suggests that each of the MSS represents a different stage in the linear evolution of the text. When the variant readings are examined in detail, it becomes clear that L is closest to the tale's earliest recoverable form, followed by H, FRU^a, and finally U^b. The accumulation of interpolations and later forms, of which examples are given below, begins with the readings shared by HFRU and culminates with the interpolations in U^b.

(I) HFRU

(a) Decay of infixed pronouns: 5 *doforficba*, 24 *dosánaic*.

(b) Loss of relative nasalization: 15 *ná airbétais*, 19 *ro gabad*, 28 *ro baí*, 67 *ro bátar*, 71 *ro bá*.

(c) Loss of short dative: 20 *dílinn*; 72, 74, 79 *Érinn*.

(d) Insertion of conjunctions and connective phrases: 3, 8, 31 *7*; 7 *moch*; 7, 38 *iar sin*; 13 *.i.*; 15 *coro innised dóib senchasa Érend*; 19 *ol sé*; 26 *ol seseom*; 31, 33, 42 *iarom*; 34 *7 ba*; 60 *dano*; 64 *co mbá ann*.

(e) Substitutions for older or less common words: 3 *saidbir* for *sommai*; 3 *coro throiscset* for *docinet*; 5 *innisfes* for *adfí*; 29, 42 *7 sentath* for *assennath*; 35, 45 *toisech* and *rurech* for *urrae*; 41 *atbathatar* for *dorroibtatar*; 78 loss of clause containing the verb *ar-utaing*.

(f) Later forms: 6 loss of *file*; 9, 13 *ro iarfaig* for *imcomairc* (?) and *rosiacht*; 14 *ná* for *nad*; 16 *atchuad su* for *adcois*; 65 *no élaind* for *adluinn*; 80 *ro n-acaillestar* for *atraglastar*.

(g) 71 *7 rl.* in L seems to reflect a lost passage; there is no trace of this passage in HFRU, where *7 rl.* itself is omitted.

(II) FRU^a go back to a further, less significant revision; some of FR's features are shared by U^b (see (a) below), so that it too must derive from this stage of the text's development. Besides numerous trivial variants, the principal alterations are as follows:

(a) Added words and phrases: 23 *dano*, 32 *liath*, 38, 7. In U^b: 44 *i suidiu 7 mé óc*, 63 *rotuit cotlad form*.

(b) 24 *co n-erblatar* vs. earlier *co n-erbaltatar* H.

(c) 20 *nís ragbad* with meaningless *-s-*.

¹⁰Thus he does not indicate that H does not contain the phrase *7 as cech airrceis .i.* (65; op. cit., p. 292).

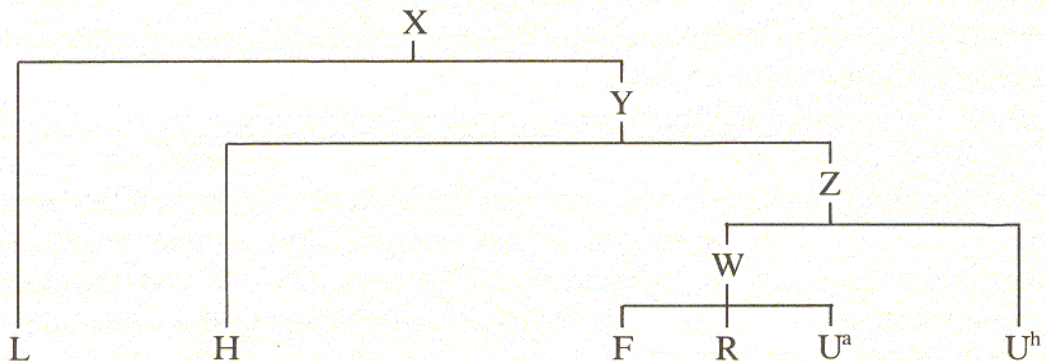
FR share a few readings found in none of the other MSS (e.g. 35 *ba*, 51 *uaremedus*, 62 *lim*, 66 *beos*). These were perhaps to be found in U^a as well: it seems at any rate significant that FR disagree with U^h but never with U^a.

(III) Independent innovations similar to those enumerated above are made by each of the MSS. Most significant is a series of interpolations found in U^h: the noteworthy additions are the following:

(a) The poems mentioned in the apparatus at lines 34, 44 and 55. I have not reproduced them here, as they are adequately edited by Best and Bergin, and edited with translation by Meyer. They do not seem particularly early: the verb *fil* is inflected (*filim*, LU 1273), *etir* consistently takes the dative (1287, 1296, 1304, 1335), *sind* occurs as an object pronoun (1294), and there are some rather late forms such as *ciarsam* (1310) and *biatsa* (1338).

(b) Added words and phrases: 35 *iar sudiu oro bá i rricht sétha 7 boí*, 35 *cach conair no thegind*, 37 *a murchoblach*, 39 *7 d'ítaid*, 40 *iar sin 7 ro chlannaigestár*, 48 *is airi sin no thathigind sea in n-inad sin beus do idnaidi ind athnugthi*, 50 *i n-insi sea fri ré*, 51 *no gniind remi do dénam*, 53 *amal dogniind dogres*, 54 *mé for cach rét*, 58 *ara n-engnaigi 7 ar febais a n-eolais*, 65 *7 as cech airrceis .i.*

The following stemma seems to me to represent the most economical interpretation of this evidence:



The language of X, as reflected primarily in L, may for the most part be characterized as late Old Irish, although some Middle Irish features show that it must have been revised in the latter period.

(IV) Early characteristics may be listed as follows:

(a) Usage of infixed pronouns conforming to OIr throughout; note in particular the preservation of the correct petrified infix in 24 *conid apthatar*, and infixed *-b-* for 2 pl. obj. in 5 *nob didnabthar*.

(b) Nasalizing relative clauses: 14 *nad n-airbértis*, 19 *ro ngabath*, 28 *ro mbuí*, 67 *ro mbáatar*, 71 *ro mbá*.

(c) Relative *file* 6; this form is not attested in the *Vita Tripartita* (*Trip.*).

(d) Old forms of the definite article: fem. gen. sg. 5, 61, *inna* (vs. fem. gen. sg. and nom. pl. *na* 20, 48, 59); neut. acc. sg. 11 *cussa n-* (vs. 38 *in muir*); masc. nom. pl. (?) 57 *in*. Ó Máille (*Lang. AU* §136) notes the last occurrence of *inna* in AU at 771, of *a n-* in 859, and of *in* in 999; fem. gen. sg. *na* first appears in 682, nom. pl. *na* in 923, neut. acc. sg. *in* in 916.

(e) Short datives: 20 *díle*; 72, 74, 79 *Ére*. Ó Máille notes that ‘the non-nasal dative seems to have been giving place to the nasal one early in the 10th century’ (ib. §161).

(f) Consistent use of infix *-ro-*: 20 *tormalta*, 36 *dorumalt*, 40 *fororbairt*, 41 *dorroíbtatar*, 51 *foréimdius*, 59 *tormalt*, 80 *atraglastar*. *ST*’s language is in this respect earlier than that of *Trip.*, where such forms as 93 *ro eroslaicti*, 185 *ro taiselbath* and 222 *ro aisnéid* are common.

(g) 22 *már*, 54 *máir*, 59 *mára*.

(h) Deuterotonic forms are generally preserved; e.g. 3 *docinet*, 16 *adcois*, 78 *arutngither*.

(i) Nasalized *n-í* (11).

(V) Of the later features, some presumably reflect no more than orthographic practice or scribal error:

(a) Inorganic *-f-* in 7 *dosficc* (cf. *SR* 1687 *dosfánic*).

(b) 14 *forcoemnacair* for earlier *forcomnacair* (cf. *SR* 1544 *forcoemnacar*).

(c) Use of conjunct endings such as 60 *gabsat* vs. 23 *trebsit*.

(d) 27 *ocom* vs. *oc mo* at 68.

(e) 63 *iaich* for *iach*. An *o*-stem *iach* occurs in many of the glossaries, but seems to be attested in no early source.

(f) 74 *ropsam* LH vs. *robsa* R; the latter is the OIr form, although LH generally agree on the older reading. Perhaps the present instance represents a coincidental innovation by both.

(g) 38, 68 *in cach* for OIr *i cach*.

(VI) Other forms, however, require more careful consideration:

(a) Throughout *ST* perfective forms of the preterite far outnumber merely narrative forms. This is indeed a late feature, but is one which also characterizes *Trip.* (cf. K. Mulchrone, *ZCP* xvi. 420–37) and the poems ascribed to Maelmuru Othna (*ob.* 887; see for instance ‘Can a mbunadas na nGaedel’, *Todd Nenn.* 220–87).

(b) Univerbation: 5 *nob dídnabthar*, 47 *no claemcloind sea*. Cf. in *Trip.* the instances of *no* preceding a compound verb cited by Mulchrone (*ZCP* xvi. 73); to these may be added 334 *no choscerad*.

(c) 51 *foréimdius*: This verb and the related *émid* seem otherwise unattested earlier than *Trip.* (1496 *fémthit*); although compounds from *mid-*, they are not inflected as deponents.

(d) 66 *filet* with flexional ending. The same form occurs *Trip.* 1119, Maelmuru (*LL* line 16020), *SCano* 96, 331.

(e) 70 *nom ithend*: According to Thurneysen the suffix *-enn* arose *c.* 1000 (*Indogermanische Forschungen* 1. 330); he used its appearance in the poem ‘Sect o.f.n.’, ascribed to Cinaed ua hArtucáin (*fl.* 950: *as mberann, risa mbenand, ram héilenn Ériu* vii. 219–20), as one of his arguments against the attribution (*ZCP* x. 438–40). But *adrann* occurs in another poem ascribed to Cinaed (*Met.Ds.* 2. 40), and Carney has noted *medrann* in a poem ascribed to Dallán mac Móire (*c.* 900; *Éigse* xix. 206); this renders more probable the

Rawl. reading *dia n-adrann* SR 3308 (vs. *LB* 115 b *dia n-adrad*). It should be noted that these are all cases in which MacNeill's Law could have played a part. The present form seems to belong to MÍr; its isolation here is puzzling, and suggests that it originated as a gloss on some earlier word.

The language of *ST* is in most respects very close to that of *Trip.*; some features suggest that it should be placed somewhat earlier. All of the evidence taken together seems to point to a date in the second half of the ninth century. Such MÍr forms as the text contains can be best explained as the work of a redactor; I see no evidence that he need have written later than *Saltair na Rann*.¹¹

Tuán's father Cairell, who appears in *ST* as king of the Ulaid at approximately the time of their conversion, is evidently to be understood as Cairell son of Muiredach Muinderg, one of the first recorded kings of the Dál Fiatach of Ulster;¹² this identification is in fact provided by HRU. Muiredach is the first king of the Ulaid in the regnal lists and synchronisms,¹³ and tradition asserted that he had been blessed by Patrick.¹⁴ Cairell is elsewhere said to have accepted Christianity.¹⁵ Cairell's son Baetán (*ob.* 581) was powerful enough to invade the Isle of Man, and Baetán's brother Demmán (*ob.* 572) was founder of the subsequent dynasty.¹⁶

Tuán's friendship with Finnia, Finnén or Findbarr (*ob.* 579) similarly connects him with the Dál Fiatach's ecclesiastical origins. Finnia was the founder of Mag Bile, a monastery rivalled only by Bangor for primacy among the houses in Dál Fiatach territory. Unlike Bangor's founder Comgall, moreover, Finnia was himself of the Dál Fiatach;¹⁷ and Mag Bile has been characterized by J. F. Kenney as 'the site of (the Ulaid's) chief church'.¹⁸ *ST* accordingly links Tuán with the beginnings of the Dál Fiatach polity and church in the later sixth century.

The only source earlier than *ST* in which I have been able to find him mentioned is the eighth-century *Martyrology of Tallaght (Tall.)*, which includes *Tuan mac Cairill o Thamlachtain Bairchi* among the saints whose feasts were celebrated on the first of April.¹⁹ It is noteworthy that here, as in *ST*, he is associated with the Bairche region;²⁰ but this cannot be taken as corroboration of any of the story's other details. Although written a century

¹¹Similar cases of Old Irish tales revised by Middle Irish scribes are discussed at some length by D. A. Binchy (*SCano* xiv).

¹²It was to the Dál Fiatach that the tribal designation *Ulaid* originally belonged; see T. F. O'Rahilly, *Early Irish history and mythology* (Dublin, 1946) pp 346–52.

¹³LL line 5783, *ZCP* ix 484, xix 85.

¹⁴*CGH* p. 408; cf. *ZCP* viii 328, xiii 336, xix 85.

¹⁵*CGH* p. 322, *Trip.* 2663.

¹⁶*CGH* p. 409, *Trip.* 2666–7. The sources for this period of the Ulaid's history are analysed and discussed by F. J. Byrne, *Stud. Hib.* iv 58–9, 82–3.

¹⁷*CGH* p. 411, *ZCP* viii 330.

¹⁸*The sources for the early history of Ireland* (New York, 1929), vol. 1, p. 390.

¹⁹*Mart. Tall.*, Ap. 1; the other martyrologies contain similar entries for the same day, although metrical exigencies seem to have excluded Tuán from the original verse of *Féilire Oengusso*.

²⁰Cf. textual notes, line 11.

or more before *ST*, *Tall.* is still separated from the later sixth century by an even greater interval. Nor can we be certain that *ST*'s identification of Tuán's father as Cairell mac Muiredaig is correct. The latter was probably the most celebrated bearer of that name, particularly among the Ulaid, so that there would be nothing strange in the son of an obscurer Cairell being fathered on him: a particularly striking parallel is provided by the case of Daig mac Cairill, a saint of the Uí Néill who is made Baetán mac Cairill's successor in two of the Ulster regnal lists.²¹ We cannot therefore exclude the possibility that Tuán was an entirely fictitious figure, or at least of a date and ancestry different from those assigned him by *ST*.

The legend of his transformations is evidently a later addition: the early version of Irish pseudohistory preserved in the *Historia Brittonum* (*HB*) maintains that no one survived the plague which overtook Partholón's followers.²² The idea of Tuán as a lone survivor might conceivably have been inspired by the fact of his residence at the otherwise unknown site of Tamlachtae Bairchi: some versions of *Lebar Gabála* (*LG*) speak of Partholón's plague as a *támlacht*,²³ and *Sanas Chormaic* understands the name *Tamlachtae* (perhaps best rendered 'burial ground')²⁴ as if it were *támslechta* 'plague-smitings':

That is, plague smote the people in that place, that is, a great pestilence (*duinebad*). The tribes came into great plains so that they were waiting in one place, so that they might be buried in these plains by *the one whom the pestilence did not take*²⁵

The words which I have italicized certainly suggest the role which is in *ST* filled by Tuán.

References in the subsequent literature are rare. The MÍr tale *Suidigud Tellaig Temra* characterizes Tuán as one who 'went into many shapes' (*dochuaid isna hilrechtaib*), and introduces an idea not found in *ST* when it includes him among the 'five elders of Ireland' (*cóic sinsir Érenn*).²⁶ Eochaid ua Flainn alludes to him as a source of ancient tradition, but does not include him in his accounts of Ireland's early history;²⁷ and Tuán does not seem to have been mentioned in the oldest versions of *LG*.²⁸ FR (perhaps originally U as

²¹*LL* 5790, *ZCP* xix 87; cf. *Stud. Hib.* iv 83. Mo Laisse of Devenish, descended from the Nechtraige (Kenney, p. 387), is made a son of Cairell of the Dál Fiatach by Peregrine O'Clery in his *Naemsenchus naemh nÉrenn* (*Ir. Texts* III 63).

²²*Omnes perierunt et non remansit ex illis etiam unus*, in *Nennius et l'Historia Brittonum*, ed. F. Lot (Paris, 1934), p. 156.

²³*ITS* 39. 18.

²⁴*DIL*, s.v.

²⁵*Anecd.* iv 207–8.

²⁶*Ériu* iv 126. A similar allusion in the first *dindshenchas* poem on Tara (*Met. Ds.* 1. 2) is presumably derived from this tale.

²⁷*ITS* 41. 282: *Tuán mac Cairill chétaig / condaécaid do Finnia*.

²⁸The summary in the first-recension version of *LG* (*ITS* 35. 272) is probably an addition; further references to Tuán do not appear outside the composite third recension.

well) add a poem ‘Tuán mac Cairill ro clos’ to the text of *ST*.²⁹ Otherwise I know of only a few scattered passages referring to him, all quite possibly derived from *LG*.³⁰

I have proposed above that the Old Irish version of *ST* underwent at least three revisions before the writing of U^a: X, Y and Z. It must have been a relatively popular text in the early Middle Irish period, and it doubtless owed this popularity to the same antiquarian enthusiasm which inspired the compilation of *LG*. *ST* and *LG* spring from the same OIr pseudohistorical tradition, a tradition also reflected in *HB*. *LG* proved to be a far more influential work; it is interesting to observe the ways in which it affected the successive revisions of *ST*.

HRU make Partholón the son of Sera. The doctrine that both Partholón and Nemed were the sons of Agnoman is mentioned in the third-recension text of *LG* contained in the Book of Lecan;³¹ and Partholón appears as the son of *Agnon* in interpolated passages in *Lebor Bretnach* and *LG*.³² That this idea was indeed present in X, and not an innovation by L, is shown by the fact that Tuán, one of the race of Partholón, refers to Nemed in all MSS as *bráthair athar dam sa* (31). HFRU also add the detail that Nemed wandered upon the Caspian Sea (38; cf. *LG*, *ITS* 39. 120, 128), and name Finnia’s monastery (2) and Tuán’s grandfather (10). The number of Partholón’s followers at the time of his death is given as five thousand (23; cf. *LG*, *ITS* 35. 272, 39. 20). L claims that Ireland was empty for thirty-two years after Partholón’s death (28; cf. *LG*, *ITS* 39. 120, 126); this may perhaps be an adoption of *LG* doctrine on its part, as HFRU reckon twenty-two years.

In RU the elimination of the statement that no one occupied Ireland before the Flood (19) is evidently intended to accommodate the legend of the antediluvian settler Cesair (*LG*, *ITS* 35. 176–228). The anomalous statement that the Gáileóin occupied Ireland along with the Tuatha Dé (57) is omitted by FRU, but only U inserts the Gáileóin in their orthodox position with the Fir Bolg and Fir Domnann (50).

Other aspects of the tale will be of particular interest to scholars examining the sources of Irish pseudohistory. I should like to call attention to the fact that the Tuatha Dé are not euhemerized in *ST*, but conjectured to have been fallen angels; it is also noteworthy that the tale contains no trace of the *LG* doctrine that the Fir Bolg and the Tuatha Dé are descended from Nemed. More generally, *ST* helps us to appreciate the sources on which *LG* drew, the intellectual climate in which it took shape, and the literary influence which from the first it appears to have exercised.

²⁹ZCP iii 31; an inferior version is found in the third recension of *LG* (*ITS* 39. 80–2).

³⁰ZCP iii 15; *ITS* 4. 150–4; *MS Mat.* p. 555. Giraldus Cambrensis, who appears to have had access to a first-recension text, calls him *Ruanus* (*Topographia Hibernica*, ed. J. F. Dimock in *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, London 1867, 5. 142). The implications of *ST* for the study of Celtic mythology have been discussed among others by Nutt and d’Arbois de Jubainville; cf. note 8 above.

³¹*ITS* 39. 152.

³²*LBretnach* p. 5; cf. *Geneal. Tracts* C 157, *ITS* 44. 182.

In the edition which follows I have attempted to reconstruct as nearly as possible the readings of X. The orthography is based on that of L, with modifications from U. I have as a rule preferred L's readings where grammatical considerations do not oppose them. Additional phrases which occur only in L, and add little or nothing to the sense, have however been generally omitted; there seems no reason not to view them in the same light as the passages interpolated in the other MSS. Doubtful cases are discussed in the textual notes.

I have tried to include in the apparatus all variant readings which are not merely orthographic; many instances of omitted or incorrect lenition or nasalization have not been noted, as their randomness suggests that they have little significance. Arbitrary rearrangement of word order, when occurring only in a single MS, has not seemed worth recording in cases where it does not reflect the affiliation of the MSS (e.g. 3 *cuiçe isin les* H vs. *isin les cuci* RU; 32 *trogh nocht* R vs. *nocht tróg* LHU). Certain consistent variations may be noted here rather than in the apparatus: HFRU have *Finnén* for *Finnia*; H has *ar sé* or *or sé* instead of *ol sé*; and HFRU have a far greater tendency than L to elide a possessive pronoun before a following vowel. F and R are so similar that I have not noted the former's many illegible passages, save in cases where there is some genuine question of the proper reading.

I should like to express my thanks to Professor John Armstrong, whose helpful criticism has been indispensable throughout my work on this edition; and to the Board of Trinity College Dublin, the Council of the Royal Irish Academy, and the Keeper of Western Manuscripts at the Bodleian for permission to cite the MSS on which the text is based. I am also grateful to Professor E. G. Quin, whose many corrections and suggestions have greatly aided me in preparing the final version.

INCIPIT IMACALLAM TUÁIN FRI FINNIA

Iar tuidecht do Finnio cosin tšoscélu i tír nÉrend i crích nUlath, luid do thig laích sommai and. Nís relic side i tech cucci. Docinet lais fo domnach. Níbu maith a chreitem in laích. Asbert Findia fria muintir:
 5 ‘Dobicfa fer maith. Nob dídnabthar 7 adfíí dúib senchasa inna Hérend file ó cetagabath’.

Dosficc sruthchléirech arna bárach matain. Feraith fáilti friu. ‘Toet lim sa,’ ol sé, ‘dom dísiurt. Is dúthchu dóib.’ Lotar lais. Dogniat urdu domnaig etir salmu 7 procept 7 offrend. Imcomaire cith a slonnud.
 10 Asbert friu, ‘Di Ultaib dam sa i sund .i. Tuán mac Cairill mo ainm. Ro gabus for orbu mo athar a [Maig] Ítha cussa ndísert n-í sin, do Bennaib Bairche.’

Rosiacht Finnia coibsena fair do imthechtaib Érenn aní forcoemnacair ó amsir Parthalóin meic Agnomain. Asbert Finnia nad
 15 n-airbértis bith chucci. Asbert Tuán fri Finnia, ‘Nammuiregar sa imin les sin. Is diliu dúnd briathar Déi adcois dún do imrádud.’ ‘Is cett dait dano,’ ol Finnia, ‘do imthechta fadéin 7 imthús na Hérend do innisin dún coléic.’

‘Cúic gabála ém ro ngabath Hériu cossin amsir sea. Ní ragbad ria
 20 ndíle 7 ní ragbad iar ndíle co tormalta dí bliadain ar míle iar ndul na dílenn din tír. Is iarum ro gab mac Agnomain meic Starbui, do Grécaib a chenél. Dolotar for longais cethéora lánama fichet, ar is már amainse cáich díb fri araile. Trebsit Érind co mbuí míle dia chlaind. Dosnic duneba etir dá domnach conid apthatar acht oenfer. Ar ní
 25 gnáth orcain cen scéola n-eisi do innisin scél dara n-éisi. Is meisi in fer sin.

‘Bá ssa iarum ó dangun do dangun 7 ó aill do aill ocom dítin ar chonaib altaib. Dí bliadain ar tríchait ro mbuí Ériu i fás. Doluid críne form assennath 7 addró imthecht. Ro bá i n-allaib 7 díthribib 7 no bítis
 30 uama aurdalta lim.

‘Ros gab mac Agnomain bráthair athar dam sa. Attacínn sidi a hallaib 7 bá sa fora n-imgabáil 7 mé mongach, ingnech, crín, nocht, tróg, imnedach. Bá sa aidchi n-and im chotlud. Co n-acca, lod sa i rricht oiss allaid. Bá sa i suidiu iarum. Basa óc, maith mo menma lim 7
 35 bassa urrae alma 7 doimchellind Héring 7 alam mór di ossaib immom. Dorumalt trá in n-amsir sin fri hamsir Nemid 7 fri hamsir a gabála dia chlaind. Ar in tan doluith Nemed dochum na Hérend cethéora bárca ar tríchait a llín 7 trícha in cach báirc. Imusrála in muir bliadain 7 leth. Ro báitea 7 atbathatar di gorta acht cethéora lánamna im Nemeth.
 40 Fororbairt a síl sin for Héring corro bátar cethéora míli ar tríchait lánamna and. Dorroíbtatar side dano.

‘Doluid críne form sa assennath 7 bá sa for techud re ndóinib 7 chonaib altaib. Bá sa aidchi and i ndorus uama. Cuman lim 7 rofetar

dul asin richt i n-araill. Lot sa i ndeilb tuirc allaid. Éim lim ón dano 7
 45 maith lim mo menma 7 basa urrae do thréaib torc nÉrend 7
 doimchellind Éirind 7 ro buí dúras lim beós d'athigid issin crích sea Ulad
 i n-aimsir mo chríne 7 mo thróge. Ar is i n-oenmagin no claemcloind sea
 na delba so uili.

'Gabais Sémión mac Stairai in n-insi so. Is díb Fir Domnand 7 Fir
 50 Bolg. Trebsat Éirind. Doluid críne form sa 7 ba toirrsech mo menma 7
 foréimdius comaitecht na torc 7 na trét. Acht bá sa i n-uamaib 7 i n-
 allaib imm oenur. Loth sa dom dúrus dogrés. Cuman lim cach richt i
 rraba. Ro aenius mo thredan. Ním baí cumac. Loth so i ndeilb ségi .i.
 murrech máir. Maith ón lim dano. Ba fortrén mo menma. Basa sáithech
 55 imtholtanach. No luind dar Éirind. Rofinnainn cach rét.

'Gabais Beothecht mac Iordanen in n-insi seo forsna cenéla bátar
 inti. Is díib in Gáliún 7 Tuatha Dé 7 Andé dona fes bunadus lasin n-oes
 n-eólais. Acht ba dóich leo bith din longis dodeochaid de nim dóib.

'Bá sa trá amsera mára i ndeilb in tséga co tormalt na cenéla so uili
 60 ro gabsat tír nÉrend. Gabsat meic Míleth for Tuatha Déa in n-insi se ar
 éicin. Lot sa fecht i ndeilb inna séga i rraba co mbá i cuas chraind for
 sruth. Tuirsech mo menma. Addró luamain 7 addágin éonu aile.

'Ro aínus nómaid and 7 lot so i ndeilb iaich abae. Domchuirethar
 Dia isin n-abaind. Amrae lim ón dano 7 basa setrech sáithech 7 basa
 65 urrae snáma. Adluinn as cach gábud: a llámaib línaige 7 a crobaib séga 7
 a gaaib iascaire, co filet a chrécha indum.

'Fecht and, in tan romba mithig la Dia mo chobair sea 7 ro mbáatar
 biasta oc mo ingreim 7 romfínnad cach línaige in cach lind, dombert
 línaige and do mnaí Chairill rí[g] in tíri sea. Cuman lim dano co
 70 ndombeir in fer 7 fomnoí, 7 nom ithend in ben a oenur co mbá ina
 broind. Cuman lim dano ind airet ro mbá ina broind 7 rl., 7 an no ráided
 cách ria chéile isin taig 7 a ndorónad i nÉire ind eret sin. Cuman lim
 dano amal dománaic labrad amal cach nuídin 7 rofínnaind cach rét
 dogníthe i nÉre 7 robsa fáith 7 dobreth ainm dam .i. Tuán mac Cairill.
 75 Co tánic iarom Pátraic co creitem. Aes már dam i ssuidiu 7 rom báisted 7
 ro creites im oenur Ríg na n-uili cona dúilib.'

Dogniat iarum celebrad 7 tiagait i praintech Finnia cona muntir 7
 Tuán. Arutngither co lléir dóib. Anait sechtmain i ssuidiu oc
 imacallaim. Nach senchas 7 nach genelach fil i nHéire is ó Thuán mac
 80 Cairill a bunadus. Attraglastar Pátraic ri sin 7 atcuaid dó 7 atraglastar
 Colum Cille 7 atcuaid Finnia dó i fiadnaisi lochta in tíre 7 torgaid Finnia
 comad fris no beith a phort 7 ní étas fair som. 'Bith oirdnide do loc so,' ol
 Tuán.

MS READINGS

1. Incipit . . . Finnia. Scél Tuain meic Cairill (*ins.* inso H) do Finnén Maige Bile (*ins.* inso síis U) HU: *om.* R.

2. Finnio: Finnén Maige Bile HRU. tšoscélu: *ins.* lais L. nUlath: Ulad HRU; *ins.* antainriudh R. luid: doluidh H. 3. do thig: dochum HRU. sommai: saidbir HRU; *ins.* antanriudh R. and: *ins.* 7 HRU. relic: reilc L, lece R. side: siden H, *om.* RU. i tech cucci: isin les cucí HRU. docinet: coro t(h)roiscet HU, coro troiscset R. lais: aici HRU. 4. domnach: *ins.* fo bith L, 7 U. ní: nír HRU. fria: *ins.* a H. 5. dobicfa: doticfa L, doforficba HRU. nob dídnabthar: nobardidnabha H, nobdídnoba RU. adffí: indisfes HR, innisfid U. senchasa: senchas HRU. inna: *om.* HRU. 6. file ó cetagabath: oro *cetgabath* cusindiu H, *om.* RU.

7. dosficc: iar sin dosfic HRU. –chléirech: –cleirech LH, clérich RU. arna: iarna R. matain: *ins.* moch HRU. 8. ol sé: *om.* HRU. dísiurt: *ins.* ol sé HRU. lotar: *ins.* iar sin. R. lais: *ins.* 7 HU. urdu: ord in HRU. 9. donnaig: *ins.* ann R. offrend: *ins.* 7 celebrad L. imcomairc cith: imchomaircith L, ro iarfaig Finnén HRU, R *adds* de. slonnud: *ins.* 7 R, de U. 10. i sund .i.: ol sé HRU. Cairill: Acairillu R. mo ainm: *meic* Muiredaig Munddeirg mesi ar sé H, mesi meic Muredaig Munderc RU. 11. a [Maig]Ítha . . . Bairche: in dísiurt sa (*ins.* itaisiu H) Tuan (*ins.* ù R) mac (*ins.* iīm H) Stairn meic Sera mac brathar Parthalóin rob é mo slonnud tall ar tús HRU.

13. rosiacht: ro iarfaig HU, ro fiafraigh R. coibsena . . . imthechtaib: de imthechta HRU. Érenn: *ins.* .i. HRU. aní: indi H, indni R. 14. forcoemnacair: *ins.* innti HRU. Agnomain: Sera HRU, *ins.* 7 HU. nad n-airbértis: ná airbértais HRU. 15. chucci: aice coro innised dóib senchasa Érend HRU; H *substitutes* go grinn *for the last two words*. fri Finnia: *om.* H. nammuiregar . . . sin: *om.* HRU. 16. is: *om.* H. diliu: ansu HRU. briathar: cen bréithir HRU. Déi: nDe HR. adcois: atchúad su HU, atchudasu R. dait: *ins.* siu HRU. 17. dano: trá HRU. ol Finnia: *om.* H. fadéin: féin HRU; *ins.* or Finnen H. imthús na: imthechta L, imtusa na H, imthus n- R. do: d' H 18. coléic: uait R, *om.* U.

19. ém: *ins.* ol sé HRU. ro ngabath: ro gabh H, ro gabsat R, ro gabad U. Hériu: Her- H, Erind R. cossin . . . iar ndíle: iar ndílind RU. ní ragbad: 7 nír gabad H. ria ndíle: ria ndilinn H. 20. ní ragbad: nír gabad dano H, nís ragbad RU. iar ndíle: iar ndilinn HRU. co tormalta: coro caithtea HR, coro chateá U. dí: da H. ar míle: .xii. ar .ccc. U; *ins.* fás L; F *begins here*. iar . . . tír: iar ndilind H, *om.* FRU. 21. iarum: iar sin HFRU. ro gab: ros gab FR, *ins.* Partholón FRU. Agnomain . . . chenél: Sera HFRU. 22. dolotar: doluid HFRU. ar is már: nírbu (nibo R) mór HFRU. 23. trebsit: trebsat HFRU. mbuí: mbátar cóic HFRU. chlaind; sil an HFRU. 24. dosnic: dosánaic HRU, tainic F; *ins.* dano H. duneba: dunebad HFRU. conid apthatar: co n-erbaltatar H, conerblatar FRU; *ins.* uile HFRU. oenfer: *ins.* iīm H, nammá FRU. 25. gnáth: *ins.* dígail no L. scéola: *ins.* do ernam HFRU. n-eisi: heisi H. meisi: *ins.* dano FRU. fer: t-aen H, *illeg.* R. 26. sin: *ins.* ol seseom HFRU.

27. ná ssa: basussa L. dangun (*bis*): dingnu HFRU. dítin: imditin HU. 28. altaib: *ins.* na HRU, an F. trichait: fichit HFRU. ro mbuí: ro baí HFRU. i: *om.* HFRU. 29. form: cucum sa HFRU. assennath: 7 sentath (sentu H, seannacht F) HFRU. addró imthecht: *om.* HFRU. *second* 7: *ins.* i n- HFRU. *third* 7: *ins.* forémed (foremde H) imtecht 7 HFRU. 30. lim: ocum HFRU.

31. ros gab: ro gab HFR; *ins.* iarum Nemed HFRU. Agnomain: *ins.* iarum L. dam sa: *ins.* 7 HFRU. attacinn: atacininn L, atacíim H, ataighim F, atachim RU. sidi: se HFRU. 32. n-imagabáil: imgabáil HFRU. crín: *ins.* liath FRU. nocht: *om.* F. 33. n-and: and iarum HFRU. lod sa: mo dul HFRU. 34. iarum basa: 7 mé HFRU. óc: *ins.* 7 ba HFRU. mo menma lim: lim mo menma HFRU; U^h *begins here, and inserts a poem introduced by the phrase* Iss and sin ro radiusa na briatra sa sis. 7: *om.* U. 35. bassa: ba FR. urrae: toísech HFR, thoisechsa U. alma: do almaib (alltaib H) Hérenn HRU. 7 doimchellind Héirind 7: iar sudiu oro bá i rricht sétha 7 boí U. alam: alma FU. ossaib: *ins.* alta U. immom: *ins.* nach conair no thegind U. 36. dorumalt: *ins.* sa U. trá: iar sin H, *om.* FR, iarom U. in n-aimsir sin: m'aimsir HFRU. fri . . . chlaind: fri hamsir a chlainde Nemidh 7 fria re Nemidh H, iar sin fria hamsir Neimidh fria hamsir a cloinde tara eis F, iar sin fria hamsir Nem 7 fria claind dara heisi R, amlaid sin fri hamsir Nemid 7 fri amsir a claindi U. Nemid: Nemed LF. 37. First ar: *om.* U. doluith: iarom tánic U. Nemed: Nemid LF. na Hérend: Heirenn LH, nErenn FR; *ins.* a murchoblach U. *second* ar: *om.* HFU. 38. tricha: *ins.* fer L. immusrala: conosrala HFRU. muir: *ins.* for sechran HFRU; U *adds* fri ré. *second* 7: co HFRU. leth: *ins.* for muir Chaisp HFRU; FRU *add* 7. ro báitea: *ins.* iar sin HFRU. 39. di: *om.* L. gorta: *ins.* 7 d'ítaid U. lánamna: *ins.* namma U. 40. fororbairt: roforbrisit H, roforbair U. sin: sen H, *som.* U. for Héirind: a nErinn H, Erinn FR, iar sin 7 ro chlannaigestár U. cethéora: cethri U. 41. and: *ins.* im Nemed L. dorroibtatar: athbathatar HFRU. side: *om.* L. dano: *ins.* huile iat side L, uli U.

42. doluid: *ins.* iarom U. form sa assennath: formsa 7 sentu (sendacht F, sentath R) HFR, 7 sentatu formsa U. techud: teicheth R. 43. altaib: alta U. aidchi: fechtus HFRU. and: *om.* H. ndorus: *ins.* mo HFRU. uama: huaima L. lim: *ins.* beos H. 44. dul: techt HFRU. asin: as cech R. n-arail: n-araili FRU; *ins.* beos H. lot sa: luidhisa F; *ins.* iarum HFRU. allaid: U *adds a poem*

introduced by the phrase Is ann asbert sa. éim: bása éim FRU. lim ón dano: *om.* H; i suidiu is me occ FR, for se hi sudiu isin delb sin 7 mé óoc U. 7: *ins.* ba U. 45. basa: bassu L, bam HR, bamsa U. urrae: ruirech HFRU. nÉrend: Herend HFRU; *ins.* 7 do imgabainn H. 46. Érind . . . d'athigid: mu dúruis béus in tan ticind HFRU. Ulad: nUlad H. 47. no claemcloind sea: nom chloechlaind L, no claechlóinn si HR, ro claechlaind si F. 48. so: *om.* H, sin U. uili: *ins.* dogres L, is airi sin no thathigid sea in n-inad sin beus do idnaid ind athnugthi U.

49. Stairai: Stairn H, Stariath FRU. in: ind R. n-insi: insi HFR. so: *ins.* 7 L, iar sin U. díb: *ins.* side U. 50. Bolg: *ins.* Galiúin U; HFRU *add* 7. trebsat: ro trebsat HFRU; LU *add* side. Érind: i nEirinn H, *om.* R, i n-insi sea fri ré U, *illeg.* F. form sa: form sa 7 sentu (sendacht F, sentath R) HFR, 7 sentatu form sa U. toirreoch: *ins.* lim HFRU. 51. foréimdius: bareimdius L, baremidus H, uaremedus FR, forfémmedus U. comaitecht . . . trét: cach rét HFRU; U *adds* no gniind remi do dénam. n-uamaib: n-uamannaibh F, n-uamannaib dorchaib U. i n-: *om.* HR. 52. n-allaib: *ins.* díamraib U. imm: m' HU. loth sa: luidhi sa F; *ins.* iar sin HU, iarum R. dúrus: durais HRU; *ins.* dilis U. cach richt: *om.* L. 53. rraba: *ins.* riam U. thredan: *ins.* cen biad L, amal dogniind dogres U. ním: ní L. cumac: *ins.* cena U. loth so: luid sa H; *ins.* iarum HFR, iar sin U. ségi .i.: *om.* L; segi mori .i. U. 54. murrech: muirfeich L, muiriach R; *ins.* nó muirrech *above line* R. máir: mor HR, m . . . F, abdul U. ón lim: lim ón HFRU. dano: *ins.* mo menma U. fortrén: forotren L, fortrén fortail HFRU; *ins.* lim HF, lim dano R. mo menma: mé for cach rét U; *ins.* 7 H. basa: ba HRU; *illeg.* F. sáithech: sathach F, sirtech R, siratech U. 55. imtholtanach: umtoltach R; *ins.* dano U. no luind: no luidhinn H. Érind: *ins.* 7 HR. ro finnainn: no hinnaind L, . . . o finnaind F, no findaind RU. rét: recht H, *which adds* no bidh i nEirinn uili; U *adds a poem.*

56. Beothecht: Beothach HRU, Beoth- F. Iordanen: Iarboneoil H, Iordanel F, Iardonel Fatha RU; *ins.* mac Nemid R. in: ind R. forsna: forsan H. bátar: ro bátar HRU. 57. inti: and 7 L. díib: *ins.* side U. in Gáliúin 7: Gailion 7 H, *om.* FRU. Dé: Tuatha (*ditt.*) R. Andé: *ins.* cenela L. dona: cosna L. bunadus: bunad HFR. n-oes: aes H. 58. n-éolais: n-eolach L. bith: ba HFRU. dóib: *om.* L; U *adds* ara n-engnaigi 7 ar febais a n-eolais.

59. bá sa: basusa L. mára: móra HRU, mhor F. ndeilb: richt H. in tséga: ind araile H; *ins.* sin U. tormalt: tormaltus H, rormoltus F, rormoltsa R, tormaltus U, so: *om.* H, sin U. 60. ro gabsat: ro gabustar H. tír nÉrend: Erinn H. gabsat: *ins.* dano U. for . . . se: in (n-)insi seo for Tuath(aib) Dé (*ins.* Donann FR, Danand U) HFRU. 61. lot sa: lothso sa L, dollod sa FRU; *ins.* dano HRU. fecht: ann side RU, an sin F. inna séga: in tsega LF, na sega H, ina sega R; *ins.* sin U. chraind: craind HFRU. 62. tuirsech . . . aile: *om.* U. tuirsech . . . 7: *om.* H. tuirsech: *ins.* lim FR. addró . . . nómaid and: *om.* F. addró luamain 7: acht cia no luind R. addágin: ataigin H, ataigind R. aile: *ins.* dom orcain HR.

63. nómaid: nomaidi LR. and: *ins.* 7 dotuit cotlad form F, i cus craind rotuit mo cotlad form R, side 7 ro thuit cotlud form U. lot so: luid sa H, luidhi sa F. ndeilb: rricht FRU; *ins.* ind L. iaich: bradain H, iach R; U *adds* .i. br[a]tán *above line.* abae: *om.* F; *ins.* .i. bratan R, andaide U. 64. n-abaind: *ins.* comba ann HFR, iar sin comba inti U. amrae: maith HFRU. setrech: *ins.* dano L. basa urrae snáma: bá maith mo snám HFRU; *ins.* 7 RU. 65. adluinn: adluinid L, no elainn HRU, no elaihinn F. gábud: *ins.* .i. HR; 7 as cech airrceis .i. U. séga: seabhac H. 66. iascaire: linaigi L, iascaig U. a: *om.* FR. créchta: *ins.* gach aein díbh F, creita cech ai díbh R. indum: umum F, in- U, *which breaks off here;* FR *adds* beos.

67. fecht: *ins.* ann F, n-aen R. in tan: tra an tan F, tra tan R. roba: rob R. mithig: am R. la: ra L. sea: *om.* FR. mbáatar: batar HFR. 68. oc mo: icom HR, 'com F. romfinnad: no findaind F, no findad R; *ins.* in H. lind: *ins.* domtharraigh tra lilaigi Cair . . . an tire so feacht ann 7 F, domairthend tra linaigi Cairill rig an tire sin fecht ann 7 R. dombert: dombeir FR. 69. linaige: *om.* R; *ins.* fecht H. and: *om.* F, *ins.* lais FR. rí in tíri sea: fora roibhe (forraibi R) mian eisc FR. cuman: cumen L. lim: *ins.* ón HFR. co . . . fomnoí: 7 domrat in fer forin indioin (for imuine F, in n-innd . . . in R: *ins.* 7 rom inmain F, 7 rom imain R) 7 rom mianaig in ben (rigan FR) HFR. 70. nom ithend: rom hithend R. in ben: *om.* HFR. comba: combasa HFR. 71. lim: *ins.* ón H. dano: *ins.* rasura H. ro mbá: roba HFR. 7 rl.: *om.* HFR. an: inni HFR. 72. ria: fria HFR. chéile: *om.* FR. i: ind LR, *illeg.* F. nÉire: (n)Er-HFR. 73. amal dománaic: omthanic L, . . . nic F. nuídin: nduine HFR. 74. i nÉre: i nEirinn H, *om.* R. robsa: ropsam LH, robsat F. fáith 7 dobreth: *illeg.* F. dobreth: dobr- H, dobretha R. Tuán: Cuán H. 75. creitem: *ins.* lais HF, dochum Erenn R. dam: dano H, dam sa R; *illeg.* F. i ssuidiu: anosa H. rom báisted: rom baisted R. 76. ro creites: ro chreides L, ro creit. . . F, rom creitius R. im oenur: *illeg.* F. im: a R. oenur: *ins.* do R. n-uili: nduile HF.

77. i: ina HFR. 78. Tuán: *ins.* mac Cairill H. arutngither co lléir dóib: iar n-aisneis na scel sa (*ins.* co leir F, do co leir R) doib (*ins.* co leir H) HFR; *ins.* 7 FR. anait: *ins.* sium H. i ssuidiu: ann HR; *illeg.* F; *ins.* imalle FR. 79. nach (*bis*): cach HFR. fil: fir L. nHére: nEirinn HF, Er-R. mac Cairill: *om.* R. 80. bunadus: *ins.* in tshenchais sin FR. attraglastar: ro n-acaillestar HFR; *ins.* rompo H. ri sin . . . dó: riasindised attuaid dó L, 7 atchuaid dó iar tain H, rempu 7 atcuaid do FR. *second* 7: *om.* H. atraglastar: ro n-acaillestar H, ro n-acaille FR. 81. atcuaid: atchuaid LH; *ins.* dó iar tain

7 atcuaid do H. Finnia . . . tíre: faitsine ndó in tíre L. dó: *om.* H. lochta: lucht H. 7: *om.* H. torgaid: targaigh H, targaídh F, tartid R. 82. comad: commaid L, comád F, *comad* R, fris: ris HFR. ní étas: nir étad HFR. fair som: *ins.* in ní sin H. oirdnide: uirdnidu L. loc so: tech sa co brath R. 83. Tuán: *ins.* co bráth Finit F.

THE COLLOQUY OF TUÁN WITH FINNIA

When Finnia had come with the gospel into the land of Ireland and the territory of the Ulaid, he went to the house of a rich man there. He did not admit them. They fast against him all Sunday. The man's faith was not good. Finnia said to his followers, 'A good man will come to you. You will be comforted, and he will tell you the history of Ireland since first it was taken.'

Next morning a venerable cleric comes to them. He bids them welcome. 'Come with me to my hermitage', said he. 'It is fitter for you'. They went with him. They perform the offices of Sunday, psalms and preaching and mass. (Finnia) asks his lineage. He said to them, 'I am of the Ulaid of this region: my name is Tuán son of Cairell. I have assumed my father's inheritance, from Mag nítha to this hermitage, to Benna Bairche.'

Finnia asked him for tidings of Ireland, all that had happened since the time of Partholón son of Agnoman. Finnia said that they would not taste food until (he told them). Tuán said to Finnia. 'Let me not be constrained on that account. We had rather contemplate the word of God, which you may relate to us.' 'Nevertheless,' said Finnia, 'you must tell us your own adventures, and the history of Ireland.'

'Ireland, then' (said Tuán), 'has up until now been settled by five settlements. It was not settled before the Flood, nor was it settled after the Flood until one thousand and two years had passed since the Flood went from the land. Then there landed the son of Agnoman son of Starbui, of the race of the Greeks. They came as twenty-four couples, for great was the sharpness of each of them toward the other. They dwelt in Ireland until he had a thousand descendants. A plague came upon them from one Sunday to the next, so that all save one man perished. For it is not usual for there to be a calamity without a fugitive (escaping) from it to tell the tale thereafter. I am that man.

'Then I was (fleeing) from refuge to refuge and from cliff to cliff, protecting myself from wolves. Ireland was empty for thirty-two years. Age came upon me at last, and I could no longer travel. I was in cliffs and in wildernesses, and I had caves of my own.

'The son of Agnoman landed, my father's brother. I used to see them from the cliffs, and hid from them: I was shaggy, clawed, wrinkled, naked, wretched, sorrowful. I was asleep one night. I saw that I went into the shape of a wild stag. I was there thereafter: I was young, and in good spirits, and the lord of a herd, and I made a circuit of Ireland with a great herd of stags around me. Then I spent that time, Nemed's span and the span of (Ireland's) settlement by his offspring. For when Nemed came to Ireland they were

thirty-four ships in number, and thirty in each ship. The sea tossed them for a year and a half. They were drowned and died of hunger, save for four couples including Nemed. Their race increased in Ireland until there were four thousand and thirty couples there. Then they all died.

‘Age came upon me at last, and I fled from men and wolves. I stood one night at the entrance of a cave. I remembered, and I knew how to go from one shape into another. I went into the shape of a wild boar. I found that swift, then, and I was in good spirits, and I was lord of the boar-herds of Ireland, and I used to make a circuit of Ireland. And I had furthermore a dwelling in this region of the Ulaid, which I visited in the time of my old age and wretchedness. For it is in one place that I used to change all these shapes.

‘Sémióin son of Stairai took this island. Of them are the Fir Domnann and the Fir Bolg. They dwelt in Ireland. Age came upon me, and my mind was sorrowful, and I could not keep company with the boars and the herds, but was alone in caves and cliffs. I went ever to my dwelling. I remembered every shape in which I had been. I fasted my three days’ fast. I had no strength. I went into the shape of a hawk, that is, a great *muirre*. I was content with that. My spirit was very mighty. I was happy, eager. I flew across Ireland. I learned all things.

‘Beothecht son of Iordanen took this island from the peoples that were in it. Of them are the Gáilióin, and the Tuatha Dé and Andé, whose origin the men of learning do not know; but they thought it likely that they are some of the exiles who came to them from Heaven.

‘Thereafter I was for ages in the hawk’s shape, until I had outlived all the peoples who had settled in the land of Ireland. The sons of Míl conquered this island by force from the Tuatha Dé. Once I journeyed in the hawk’s shape in which I was to the hollow of a tree, above a stream. My mind was sorrowful. I could not fly, and I feared other birds.

‘I fasted an ennead then, and went into the shape of a fresh-water salmon. God puts me into the river. That was wondrous for me then, and I was vigorous and happy, and I was a master of swimming. I escaped from every peril: from the hands of fishermen and from the claws of hawks and from the spears of fishers, so that the wounds of them are in me.

‘When God decided that it was time to help me, and beasts were harrying me, and every fisherman in every pool had learned of me, a fisherman brought me to the wife of Cairell, king of this land. I remember then how the man takes me and cooks me, and the woman alone eats me so that I was in her womb. I remember then the interval when I was in her womb, etc., and what everyone said to his fellow in the house, and what was done in Ireland during that time. I remember then how speech came to me as to every infant, and I found out everything that was done in Ireland, and I was a prophet, and a name was given to me, that is, Tuán son of Cairell. Then Patrick came with the Faith. I was very old then, and I was baptized, and of my own accord I accepted belief in the King of All, with His creatures.’

Then they offer mass, and go into (Tuán's) refectory: Finnia with his followers, and Tuán. They are well refreshed. They remain there for a week, conversing. Whatever history and genealogy there is in Ireland, its origin is from Tuán son of Cairell. Patrick had spoken with him before that, and he related it to him; and Colum Cille had spoken with him; and Finnia related it to him in the presence of the folk of the land. And Finnia offered that he should dwell with him, but that was not obtained from him. 'Your house will be illustrious', said Tuán.

Textual Notes

2. *cosin t̄oscélu*: The tradition that Finnia brought the gospels to Ireland finds its fullest expression in the commentaries to *Félire Oengusso*, where it is cited in explanation of the statement that Finnia came 'across the sea with law' (*tar sál co rrecht*; Sept. 10). Thus Laud Misc. 610 explains that 'it was Finnian of Mag Bile who brought the law of Moses (*recht Moissi*) into Ireland *prius*. Or else it is to the gospels (*soiscela*) that they give the name 'law' here, for it is Finnia who brought *totum euangelium ad Hiberniam prius*' (p. 204; this tradition is accepted as historical by J. Ryan, *Irish Monasticism*, London 1931, p. 125). The preface to Mugint's Hymn states that Finnia studied in Britain (Lib. Hymn. 1. 22).

3. *laích*: 'layman'. Perhaps 'pagan' is the sense intended; cf. Richard Sharpe's intriguing study 'Hiberno-Latin *laicus*, Irish *láech* and the Devil's Men', *Ériu* xxx 75–92.

sommai: Outside the glosses I know of no instance of this word's adjectival use apart from the Old Irish tale *Ces Noinden Ulad* (*Celtica* viii 28).

5. *dobicfa*: L reads *doticfa* here, and HRU *doforficba*: each form appears to represent a different choice of infix pronoun. The adjacent *nob dídnabthar* indicates that the OIr 2 pl. *-b-* was still in use at the time of *ST*'s composition, and I have accordingly adopted it here.

nob dídnabthar: Although the univerbation of *do-dona* 'comforts' is a relatively late feature, the infix *-b-* seems older; cf. preceding note.

adfíi: 3 sg. reduplicated *s*-future of *ad-fét*.

7. *sruithc[h]léirech*: That LH agree on this form is strong evidence for its presence in X; otherwise one would be inclined to follow Meyer in adopting the RU reading and understanding a genitive of apposition.

8. *dóib*: For *dúib*.

9. *imcomairc cith*: L reads *imchomaircith*, which looks like a 3 sg. pres. ind. of a strong verb univerbated from *imm-comairc* 'asks'. But there is very little evidence for univerbation of this kind elsewhere in our text; the modified reading which I have adopted was suggested to me by Liam Breatnach. The word is at all events attested only in L. *Ro iarfaig* in HRU (cf. 13) indicates that the Y-revision probably postdated *SR*, where *iarmi-foich* still has a dental preterite (*iarfacht* 5529).

10. *Tuán*: This name is disyllabic in verse, and rhymes with *rán*, *rád*, and gen. *báin* (ZCP iii 31, ITS 41. 282, *Met. Dinds.* 1. 2, *Gorm.* Apr. 1). John Armstrong has suggested to me that the first element in *Tuán* is a hypocoristic form of some such name as *Tuathal* or *Tuathchar*; cf. *Mo Lua* < *Lugaid*. Three saints named *Tua* are in fact listed in the tract *Comainmnigud Noem Hérend* (*Arch. Hib.* 1. 352); cf. *Tuaa m.* *Aodha m.* *Colgan m.* *Tuathail Cruinnbeoil*, *Gen. Reg. et SS* p. 72. Hypocoristic names with diminutive suffixes are rare according to O'Brien (*Celtica* x 221); but it is noteworthy that one of the examples which he cites is the name of *Tuán*'s putative brother *Demmán*, where *Demmae/Dímmae* is a hypocoristic version of *Diarmait*.

Another possibility would be to view the name simply as an *-án* diminutive from *taue* 'silent', with *áu* > *ó* becoming *ú* in medial position and shortening in hiatus (*Thurn. Gramm.* §§47, 69). Semantically cf. such names as *Dallán*, from *dall* 'blind'; and perhaps *Toe* in the early genealogical poems (*CGH* pp 4, 6, 201).

11. *a Ítha*: A puzzling phrase, quite possibly responsible for the omission of this passage by HRU. I have supplied dat. sg. *Maig*, which could easily have been accidentally omitted by X if abbreviated *m.* or *m̃*. There are several places in Ireland named *Mag nÍtha*, but none in or near the territory of the *Dál Fiatach*; of these it is the best known which is presumably intended here, a tract of land situated southeast of Lough Foyle. The area bounded by this *Mag nÍtha* and *Benna Bairche* would include all of the *Ulaid* territories, as well as *Airgialla* and *Tír Éogain*; but even this is considerably more modest than the traditional borders of the *cóiced nUlad*, extending from the valley of the *Drobaís* (flowing into Donegal Bay) to the estuary of the *Boyne* (e.g. *ITS* 41. 72).

cussa ndísert n-í sin: Literally 'as far as *that* hermitage'; but apparently they have already arrived there. (Cf. H's *indisiurt sa itai siu* 'this hermitage in which you are'.) Demonstrative pronouns seem to be loosely used throughout the text.

Bennaib Bairche: The Mourne Mountains in County Down. As I have noted in the introduction, *Tuán* is associated with the *Bairche* region in the martyrologies.

15. *nammuiregar sa*: Hull (*Celtica* v 135 n. 5) suggests emending to *nachamm-fuiregar-sa* 'let me not be held back (delayed, hindered)', with the ipv. pass. sg. of *fo-rig*. The difficulty of the verbal form is presumably the reason for the omission of the sentence by HRU.

imin les sin: For use of *imm* with *les* cf. *Is í dias as dech fil i nÉrinn im les a tigerna* (*BDD*² 1220). Otherwise the phrase seems to occur only in the laws, where *les* has its earlier sense 'redress, business, affair', e.g. *Cach duine uma less fadeisin* (*Corpus Iuris Hibernici*, ed. D. A. Binchy, Dublin 1978, 45. 3–4). In our text the meaning seems to be vaguer: 'For the sake of that, in that business'.

16. *adcois*: Perfective pres. subj. of *ad-fét*; in his discussion of this sentence

Hull renders it 'It is more agreeable for us to meditate upon the Word of God which thou mayest be able to relate to us' (*Celtica* v 135). I am inclined to follow him, ascribing use of the subjunctive to the verb's occurrence in a relative clause referring to the tentative future (cf. *Thurn. Gramm.* §517 (b)). Professor Quin has suggested to me that *adcois* begins a fresh sentence, hence perhaps 'Relate your discourse to us'.

17. *imthús na Hérend*: Although found only in U, this reading seems best able to account for those of the other MSS.

20. *tormalta*: This looks like the perf. pl. pass. of *do-meil*: cf. *caithtea* HRU. The form should properly be **-tormlatha*; the word as we have it may be due to analogy with narrative *-tomalta*.

dí bliadain ar míle: U reads *dí bliá- .xii. ar .ccc.* If this was the work of the A-scribe, it would be the only point at which U^a differs significantly from all the other MSS including R; but since *.xii.* and *.ccc.* are written in rasura, it seems safest to view the divergence as due to U^b.

23. *amainse*: This word may have the extended meanings 'harshness', 'cleverness', and 'cunning'; none gives a clear sense here. Perhaps the *lectio facilior* of HFRU should be adopted, and the passage taken to refer to the mutual affection of the couples: 'For there was no great harshness between them'.

24. *ní gnáth orcain cen scéola n-eisi*: John Armstrong has suggested to me that this phrase is proverbial, and the *do innisin scél dara n-éisi* which follows an intrusive gloss; this would seem to be borne out by the occurrence of the statement *Ní bi orgain cen oensciula* in the *dindschenchas* of Tipra Sengarman (*RC* 15. 447); the phrase *sciula orcne* occurs twice in *Sanas Chormaic* s.v. *Breccán* (*Anecd.* 4. 28).

Thurneysen suggested taking *scéola(e)* as an *io*-stem, rendering it 'Zeuge, Berichtstalter' (*ZCP* xi 34); *DIL* explains the apparently synonymous *sceolang*, *sciulang* as a back-formation from the late plural *sceolanga*, itself derived from M^{Ir} *sceolanna*.

28. *i fás*: *Fás* is here to be taken substantivally, so that the phrase may mean something like 'in desolation'. The essential meaning seems simply to be 'empty', and hence synonymous with simple *fás* (cf. e.g. *LL* 474 *ba fás tra Heriu*); HFRU may be correct in omitting *i*.

29. *addró imthecht*: The similarity of this phrase to others later in the tale makes it seem unlikely that it was added here independently by L; while the interpolation of *forémed imtecht* by HRU immediately below looks like an attempt to make up for a previous omission. It would seem (despite *DIL*, s.v. *at-roí*) to be an example of the verb's original usage as proposed by Lewis and Pedersen, in which 'the person who failed was the object, and what he failed to achieve the subject' (*Concise comparative Celtic grammar*, Göttingen 1974, p. 398); here the object is obscured by the petrified infix.

36. *dorumalt*: Formally the perf. 3 sg. of *do-meil*, but presumably to be understood as representing 1 sg. *dorumult* (cf. *Thr.Ir.Gl.*, *Cormac*, s.v.

fogamur): the third person would require an otherwise unattested intransitive usage of the verb. The ambiguity of the form as it stands is presumably responsible for the array of variants in the different MSS. Cf. 59 *tormalt* below.

38, 40. *tríchait*: For *thríchait*.

41. *dorroíbtatar*: The OIr form should be *doroíbatar*; *-tat-* in L may have arisen from confusion with the synonymous *dobathatar* (cf. *atbathatar* HFRU), augmented by the intrusion of a dental pret. ending.

46. *d'athigid*: The syntax here is peculiar, and does not seem to accord with the attested usages of *do* + v.n. The form *d'athigid* occurs only in L; the *in tanticind* of the other MSS may well gloss an earlier reading *tathigind* 'I used to frequent'. *D* and *t* are often very similar in L, and the *-n-* could easily have been expressed by a suspension-stroke lost in transmission.

54. *murrech*: My treatment of this word is very tentative. The readings *muirfeich* in L and *muiriach* in R both suggest that the word is a compound *muir* + *fiach* (cf. *muirbran*, *fiach mara*); this is the view adopted by *DIL*, s.v. But *fiach* is a hiatus-word, so that the *-e(i)-* of the second syllable is hard to account for — the spellings of L and R should probably be understood as secondary guesses. It is also noteworthy that only L places the word in the gen., although its spelling of the adjective (*máir*) seems early. This had led me to the hypothesis that X read *murrech máir*, modified by L according to the adjective's case, by HFRU according to the apparent case of the noun. A genitive *murrech* would point to nominative **muirre*, perhaps a compound originally meaning 'sea-king'; but all of this is extremely conjectural.

54. *sáithech*: It is puzzling that F's *sathach* should agree with LH against *sir(a)tech* RU^h: all our other evidence links it most closely with the latter MSS.

57. *in Gáliún*: Both of the MSS which retain this name here end it with a broad consonant; it seems possible that the scribe of X, misinterpreting the OIr nom. pl. masc. article *in*, concluded that the noun was singular.

59. *tormalt*: The readings in HU indicate that Y modernized a form which it took to be perf. 1 sg.; this should properly be *tormult* (cf. *Wb* 18 a 10), but the loss of *u*-colouring is presumably only scribal (cf. 36 *dorumalt* above).

62. *addró*, etc.: For a detailed discussion of the variants here see Hull, *Celtica* v 138–40.

63. *nómaid*: Probably a period of three days; cf. 53 *thredan* above, and Stokes, *RC* 12. 122.

65. *adluinn*: From *as-luí*. *DIL* sees a petrified infix pronoun here (cf. the petrified infix in 29, 62 *addró*), but the form may equally easily reflect confusion of *ad-* and *as-*, found already in the OIr glosses (e.g. *ad-gúsi* Sg 148 a 4).

69. *co ndombeir in fer 7 fomnoí*: Although this is for the most part the reading of L, I have modified it in three respects. (a) Since the non-nasalizing conjunction *co* is unknown outside the OIr glosses, I have replaced it with *co n-*; the latter could easily have been interpreted as the former via the

compendium ɔ. (b) I have corrected *domber* to *dombeir*. (c) L has the late reading *fonuid me*, with univertation and an object pronoun; I feel justified in correcting to *fomnoí* in light of the HR reading *rom imain*.

71. *7rl.*: As I have noted in the introduction, this phrase seems to indicate the omission of a passage present in X's exemplar, presumably the description of Tuán's birth.

81. *torgaid*: Retention of *t-* where *to-* precedes a stressed vowel is discussed by McCone, *Ériu* xxx 4–8.

82. *beith*: Should be *beth*.

(Ending): Each of the MSS concludes the tale differently. U breaks off incomplete. H ends with *Ni maith in ni sin finit*, indicating presumably that the original was in some way unsatisfactory at this point. F simply gives *Finit*, while R has a cryptically abbreviated phrase, itself probably corrupt, which should perhaps be expanded *Quia hic locus* (referring to *loc/tech* in the preceding sentence?); FR both add thereafter the Middle Irish poem 'Tuán mac Cairill ro clos', also found in an inferior version in the third recension of *LG (ITS 39. 80–2*; R's text has been transcribed by Meyer, *ZCP* iii 31). L has a brief paragraph in Latin and Irish: *Tuán fuit in forma uiri centum annis i nHéiri iar Fintan. Fiche bliá- in forma porci. .lxxx. anni in forma cerui. Centum anni in forma aquilae. .xxx. bliá- fo lind in forma pí[s]cis. Iterum in forma hominis co sentaith co haimsir Finnio mc. Huí Fiatach. Fínit.*

Was it this passage which Y failed to transmit correctly? The short dative *Héiri* suggests that it is of approximately the same date as the rest of the text; but the reference to Fintan, a figure belonging to *LG* tradition but not mentioned in *ST*, and the order of the metamorphoses, are inconsistent with what has gone before. The scribe of L wrote in the margin *Ma ta in scel so fa do sa lebur so, ni dermat fodera he ach a febas ata se and so* 'If this story occurs twice in this book, it is not through forgetfulness but because of the excellence in it'; this shows that he viewed the final paragraph as a reduplication (as Dillon apparently failed to recognize, *Celtica* vi 149 n. 1), but does not enlighten us as to its original relationship with the rest of *ST*.

JOHN CAREY

Harvard University