

FÍANAIGECHT IN MANX TRADITION¹

GEORGE BRODERICK
University of Mannheim

Introduction: The Finn Cycle

In order to set the Manx examples of *Fíanaigeacht* in context I cite here Bernhard Maier's short sketch of the Finn Cycle as it appears in Maier (1998: 118).

Finn Cycle or Ossianic Cycle. The prose narratives and ballads centred upon the legendary hero Finn mac Cumhaill and his retinue, the Fianna. They are set in the time of the king Cormac mac Airt at the beginning of the 3rdC AD. The heroes, apart from Finn, the leader of the Fianna, are his son Oisín, his grandson Oscar, and the warriors Caílte mac Rónáin, Goll mac Morna and Lugaid Lága. Most of the stories concerning F[inn] are about hunting adventures, love-affairs [...] and military disputes [...]. The most substantial work of this kind, combining various episodes within a narrative framework, is *Acallam na Senórach*. The ballads concerning F[inn] gained in popularity from the later Middle Ages onwards and were the most important source of James Macpherson's "Works of Ossian" (Maier 1998: 118).

The individual texts of the poems and ballads concerned with the Finn Cycle seemingly date over a period from the learned scribal tradition of the eleventh² to the later popular oral tradition of the early seventeenth century. Sixty-nine poems from this corpus survive in a single manuscript dating from 1626-27 known as *Duanaire Finn* ('Finn's poem book') (cf. Mac Neill 1908, Murphy 1933, 1953, Carey 2003). According to Ruairí Ó hUiginn (2003: 79),

Duanaire Finn forms part of a long manuscript that was compiled in Ostend in 1626-7. Penned by a scribe named Aodh Ó Dochartaigh, it belongs to a collection of texts written between 1626 and 1631 for a Captain Somhairle Mac Domhnaill, an officer in the Irish Regiment of the Spanish army stationed in what was then part of Spanish Flanders. At some point prior to 1658 the manuscript left Captain Somhairle's possession and made its way to the library of the Irish Franciscans in St Anthony's College, Louvain [...]. [I]t was finally deposited in the Library of University College Dublin [in 2000], together with other Irish manuscripts in the Franciscans' possession (Ó hUiginn 2003: 79).³

With regard to the Manx situation, so far as is known, only four examples at most of *Fíanaigeacht* survive in Manx tradition, a song (*Fin as Oshin*) and perhaps three prose pieces (*Fin McCooil as yn Foawr*, *Skeel Craueyn Yiarn as Boddagh yn Cooat Laatchagh*, the latter a Manx version of the Fenian tale *Bodach an Chóta Lachtna*, and *The Enchanted Isle*).

1. Fin as Oshin

The Manx Gaelic traditional song *Fin as Oshin* 'Fin and Ossian' (G. *Fi(o)nn agus Oisín*), the only known piece of *Fíanaigeacht* from the Manx song tradition, exists in three manuscripts: M, W, T.

-
- 1 An expanded version of a lecture delivered at the Finn Cycle Conference held in the University of Glasgow, 11-12 August 2014.
 - 2 Or even the late tenth century, cf. Carey (2003a: 18), though Meek (2003: 20) takes the view that "[a]lthough Murphy's criteria for dating the poems on linguistic grounds are currently being reassessed [cf. Carey 2003], the broader picture [twelfth to sixteenth centuries] seems convincing."
 - 3 It may be viewed on <http://www.isos.dias.ie>. For further details about *Duanaire Finn* and its associated personnel see Ó hUiginn (2003: 97-106).

Manuscript M appears to be in the hand of Rev. Philip Moore (1705-1783), chiefly known as part-translator and general editor of the Manx Bible translation (1771-75). Under the title "A Manx ronag⁴ Fin & Ossian" the text extends to twenty-seven lines and was published in facsimile (the whereabouts of the original manuscript is not known) in G. W. Wood (1920: 298).⁵ Wood (1920: 296-297) notes:

I have had in my possession for some years two old MSS. of the poem obtained from a Manx source, and on showing them recently to my friend Mr. C. I. Paton, whose interest in Manx matters is equal to my own, he propounded the theory that one of these was probably the original draft of the poem as taken down by the Revd. Philip Moore. It is written on the back of a leaf of an old copy book [...] (Wood 1920: 296-297).

As an appendage to his introduction Woods (1920: 297) adds:

The handwriting of the MSS., of which the following is an exact facsimile, is of an old type, probably about 1770. It much resembles that of Archdeacon Philip Moore. It is written on thick hand-made paper. On the reverse side is a boy's Latin exercise written in half text, with the [last] two [...] lines of the [...] poem scribbled between two of the lines [of Latin text] (Wood 1920: 297).

Also published in facsimile form by Wood in the same article is an English translation of the poem, also seemingly in Moore's hand, but, according to Wood (1920: 299), on thinner paper. The translation contains four additional lines of text not in M, but found in W.

Manuscript W, in MNHL MS 1487/1C, is of about the same date as M (ca.1762/63; but see below) and is also published in Wood with Wood's accompanying English translation (1920: 300-301). It is written on both sides of locally-made paper in a flowing hand; the hand is unknown. The text runs to thirty lines, the last line being inserted at a slightly later date by a different hand. The whole is entitled "Fin as Ossian a Song". As noted above, W contains four additional lines of text not in M, but which are represented in the English version of M. At the end of the ms. the original hand inserts: "NB. In singing the above Song, fallallee and falla-lleu are repeated after every line".⁶

Manuscript T, housed in the Thorkelin Collection in the British Library and listed under BL Add 11215, contains forty-one⁷ lines of text under the title "Fin as Oshin, or Fingal and Ossian, a Mank's (*sic*) Poem" and is in the hand of a Peter John Heywood (1739-1790). The text is accompanied by a spirited, if somewhat loose, English translation, along with some notes on the contents of the poem. Appended is a letter (addressee not mentioned, but probably Thorkelin), also in Heywood's hand and dated 25 October 1789, giving details of the song's collection. This manuscript, containing also four other Manx songs, was seemingly sent to the Danish scholar and natural historian Professor [Grímur Jónsson] Thorkelin of Copenhagen. Thorkelin's manuscripts (BL Add 11215 along with BL Add 11061-11251) were purchased by the British Museum from Professor Finn Magnusson in July 1837.⁸ How or when Magnusson came into possession of the Thorkelin manuscripts is not known.⁹ T (together with all the accompanying material to do with the *Fin as Oshin*

4 i.e. *rannag, *rannóg 'short song, poem'.

5 The George William Wood Collection, of which W is part (as was M, it seems), is housed in the Library of Manx National Heritage, Douglas, Isle of Man, under various reference numbers. That for the Fin as Oshin mss. M and W is MS 1487/1C (see above).

6 The vocable refrain *Fal-lal-lo(o)*, *fal-lal-la* (or *leu*) is written in after every line (in full after the first line, abbreviated after succeeding lines) in M, not entered at all in W, and only (in full) after the first line in T.

7 Forty-two, if we include the last line taken from W.

8 A copy of this version with English translation was sent to Welsh naturalist Thomas Pennant (1726-1798) and appears as one of 25 items in his correspondence from Man 1774-75 (Warwick County Record Office CR 2017/TP17/21). The source is unknown, but is presumed to have come from Rev. Philip Moore. Pennant's ms. of "Fin as Oshin" has seemingly suffered severely from damp and is in many places almost unreadable. I am grateful to Stephen Miller, Vienna, for this reference.

9 British Library, personal communication, 22.05.1989.

song) was twice printed by A. W. Moore (1886: 80-84; 1896: 1-5).

The apparent circumstances surrounding the collection of the song are given by Heywood himself in his letter (to Thorkelin):

Several years ago, when the first Edition of the Poem of Fingal and Ossian by Mr. McPherson appeared [1761/62], a Revd. Clergyman of my acquaintance [Rev. Philip Moore], (since deceased) was then at the Bishop's Country Seat¹⁰ in the Isle, engaged with one of the Vicar's Genl.¹¹ in revising and correcting a translation of the Scriptures into the Manx Language, and telling the Vicar Genl. of that new production - of which he read him some Episodes in the hearing of the Bishop's Gardiner, an old Man, who was at work near the Door of their Laboratory and listening. He stept in on hearing frequent mention of Fingal and Oshian & Cuchullin &c and told him he knew who could sing a good song about those men & C[u]chullin, and that was his Brother's Wife, a very antient Woman. - on which they sent for the old Dame, who very readily sung them eight or ten verses which my friend immediately took down in writing, and the next day on recollection she bro[ugh]t them the rest, and of which he obliged me with a copy [...]. My friend asked her, wher (*sic*) she learned this song, and she said from her Mother & Grandmother & many more - that they used to sing them at their work and wheels [...] (Letter: Heywood-[Thorkelin] 25.10.1789).¹²

The name of the informant is not known. According to Moore (1901: 27), Wilks was not appointed Vicar General until 1769. However, Heywood was writing twenty years or more after the event and may have been unaware, or had forgotten, the date of Wilks's appointment. The song could therefore either have been collected ca.1762/63 or after 1769.

Fin as Oshin was evidently not the only Manx *Volkslied* to have come to light from oral tradition as a result of Macpherson's controversial publications; several other songs also belong to this corpus.¹³ However, this seems to be the only example recorded from Manx tradition as having any connection with the Gaelic "heroic cycle" of sagas, etc., albeit in fragmentary form.

The text itself admits of a series of mainly dactylic / iambic couplets (of somewhat irregular metre in MW, though this would not necessarily be noticed when sung). The similarity of the texts in M and W suggests that they have been taken down from the same informant, and the irregularity of metre and incompleteness of couplets, if that is what it is, may suggest imperfect memory on the part of the informant and / or that the text was not very well noted down. The longer and more polished text of T, where the story seems better preserved, rather than its being a further recollection from the same informant as MW, as noted by Heywood above, is regarded as a separate version from a different informant, though perhaps stimulated by the discovery of MW. W may be the copy for Heywood referred to above. Whatever the provenance of T, the text of M was almost certainly taken down directly from the dictation or performance, and so seems more likely to be the original rather than a copy.

The texts from all three manuscripts (M, W, T), with translation and notes, are given in my edition of the song (Broderick 1990). Here I print the fuller version of the song diplomatically as recorded in T plus translation. For completion the texts of M and W with translation are given in Appendix 1a & 1b. The last line of the last couplet, missing in T, is supplied from W. The song is a variant of the story of "The burning of Finn's house" in which the hero Garadh / Garaidh is (in some versions) put to death, as in the Manx tale.¹⁴

10 Bishop's Court by Kirk Michael in the north-west of Man.

11 Rev. James Wilks (1719-1777).

12 For a different interpretation of events here, see Ó Muircheartaigh (2016: 95-127).

13 e.g. *Mylecharaine* (Thomson 1961), *Manannan* or *Traditional Ballad* (Thomson 1960-61; 1962-63), *Baase Illiam Dhone* (Broderick 1981a), *Ny Kirree fo Niaghtey* (Broderick 1984a), *Berrey Dhone* (Broderick 1984b).

14 For Gaelic versions cf. Christiansen (1931: 35, 342, also 214); Campbell (1872: 175-180); Gwynn (1904: 13-37).

TEXT T

Fin as Osshin, or Fingal and Ossian, a Mank's Poem

- Hie Fin as Osshin magh dy helg, Fal-lal-lo as fal-lal-la
Lesh Sheshaght trean as moadee elg
Cha row ayn Dooiney sloo ny keayd
Coshe cha beaue, cha row ny lheid
[5] Lesh feedjyn cooh, eisht, hie ad magh
Trooid Slieiu as Coan, dy yannoo cragh
Quoi daag ahd ec y thie, agh Orree beg
Cadley dy kiun, foh scadoo'n Chreg
Daag ahd ec y thie [t]hree feed Quiallan, as three feed cooh¹⁵
[10] As three feed Khiallin Aig. gyn annan slooh
Lesh three feed shen Challiagh, dy yeeaghyn moooh
Doort Inneen Fin, ayn Craid as Corree
Cre's you mad nish Culleen er Orree?
Doort Inneen Osshyn kian'l mad eh
[15] Lesh Folt y Ching tehon gys y Cleay
As kerree mad Ail dys y Khass cha trean
Clisht tappee, eesht, hug Orree ass
Tra dennee'n smuir ree ass e Khass
Lhoo Mollaght-mynney, ahd dy Stroie
[20] Vah'r niannoo Craid er Mack y Roiee
Dy fargagh breary - ry Ghrian as Eayst
Dy lhosht ad heene, as Thyeyn neisht
Hie Orree beg magh dys ny Sleiodyn
As spiee moar Khonnee ery Gheallyn
[25] Hoght Buirrt moar trome hug eh lesh kiart
Hoght Khonnanyn cruint ayn daagh Bart
Hoght Deiney lheid's sy Theil nish tain
Cha drogagh Bart jeu shoh ny v'ayn
Ayns dagh Uniag hug eh Bart as yns dagh Dhorrys
[30] Agh mean y Thieh moar hene yn Bart mooar Solllys
Va Fin as Oshin nish shelg dy tchon
Lesh ooiley nyn Treanee ayns Ollish as Jonn
Jeagh woor ren lhienny orro as y ghlen near
Troggal ayns Bodjallyn aglagh, myr reer
[35] Ree Fin as ree Oshin derreh daase Oshin skeeh
Agh she Fin moar heene chum sudjey rish ree
Esht dulley Fin huggey lesh Coraa ard trome
Cha vel faagit ayn nish agh Toltanyn lhome
Quoi ren yn Assee shoh? nagh ren Orree beg?
[40] Vah'r chosney vou ttheadys yn Ooig foh'n Chreg
Rhaad plooghit lesh Jeagh harn ahd magh ry Khass
[Lesh Cabbyll keoie eisht reap ad eh dy Baase]

15 This line is split into two half-lines in T, viz. *Daag ahd ec y thie#Three feed Quiallan, as three feed cooh.*

TRANSLATION

(Fin and Ossian went out to hunt / with a valiant band (of men) and hunting dogs / They were no fewer than a hundred men / so swift of foot there was none like them / with scores of hounds, then, they went out / through mountain and glen to cause destruction / Whom did they leave at the house but Orry Beg / sleeping calmly under the shadow of the rock / They left at home three score pups and three score hounds / and three score maidens and not one less / with three score old hags to look after them / Said Fin's daughter in disdain and resentment / How can we get our revenge on Orry? / Said Ossian's daughter, we'll bind him tight by the hair of his head to the harrow / and we'll bring fire to bear to his foot so valiant / Suddenly leaping up, then, did Orry get away / as soon as he felt the marrow running out of his foot / cursing bitterly that he would destroy them / who had slighted the son of the king / swearing angrily by sun and moon / to burn them and their houses as well / Orry Beg went out to the mountains / with a great gorse-hoe on his shoulder / Eight huge heavy loads did he bring with him, it is true / Eight bundles tightly bound in each load / Eight men of the sort that exist in the world as it is now / could not lift one of these bundles / In every window he placed a load and in every door / and in the middle of the great house itself the huge brightly burning load / Fin and Ossian were now busily hunting / with all their warriors in sweat and dust / Thick smoke flooded over them out of the glen from the west / rising in terrible clouds, as was true / Fin ran and Ossian ran till Ossian grew tired / Then Fin called to him in a heavy voice / There's nothing left here now but bare ruins / Who wrought this destruction? Was it not Orry Beg? / He had got away from them fleeing into the cave under the rock / where choked by the smoke they dragged him out by the feet (with wild horses then they tore him to death)' (GB).

A tune (Fig. 1) was apparently recorded for this song by the late Mona Douglas (1898-1987), active in the Manx cultural revival during the twentieth century (cf. Miller 2004a), and is noted, but undated, in the Mona Douglas Music Collection [No. 4] (in private possession). An interview with Douglas during the latter part of 1979 revealed that she had allegedly obtained the tune from two informants: Jack Kermode, Port Mooar, Kirk Maughold, and William Caine, Jurby Curragh, during the earlier part of the twentieth century, though no attribution is noted on the original tune transcription (qv). Kermode died 20 April 1918, which would provide a *terminus ante quem* for any collecting from him. The William Caine in question has as yet to be identified, but given that much of Douglas's collection of Manx songs and dances took place in the 1920s (cf. Miller 2004a/b), we could tentatively postulate a date in that decade for a collection from Caine, assuming he was still alive then. This is the first and only known instance of the tune.

In this context I sought an outside opinion on the tune from ethnomusicologist Dr. Virginia Blankenhorn,¹⁶ University of Edinburgh. In an Email to me dated 02.07.2014 she noted the following:

[...]. The 'fal-lal-la' chorus is not something found in Gaelic song anywhere that I am aware of, but does of course turn up in Welsh songs [...]. Such chorus / refrain structures are also well-attested in the context of international ballads in English and other European languages. [...].

The third line of the air clearly functions - in musical terms - to reinforce the b-minor tonality, following a brief skirmish with D-major in the middle of the second line. It is also clearly meant to be the final line in the song, if one can judge by the finality of its descent to the lower octave. This strongly suggests to me that the final line of each couplet - as well as the final line of the text as a whole - would, in the performance, have been sung to this phrase. I am also assuming, insofar as my grasp of the Manx text allows, that each couplet is more or less self-contained as to syntax and meaning, and that there is no English-style "enjambment" of lines that would require obliteration of the metrical realities of the verse, and thereby call for similar treatment in the musical context.

What makes most sense to me - and I confess I am speaking from instinct here, rather than from anything more concrete - is that the third line of the air would have been sung to a repetition of the second line of each couplet [...]. Thus a stanza would go like this:

16 I am grateful to Virginia Blankenhorn for helpful comment concerning the tune to the poem *Fin as Oshin*.

Hie Fin as Osshin magh dy helg, *Fal-lal-lo as fal-lal-la*
Lesh Sheshaght trean as moadee elg, *Fal-lal-lo as fal-lal-la*
Lesh Sheshaght trean as moadee elg, *Fal-lal-lo as fal-lal-la*.¹⁷

It is generally agreed among musicologists that refrain structures in narrative songs are useful to the singer in allowing time for reflection about what comes next in the song, and to the listener who is thereby given time to absorb the plot.

For such refrain structures Blankenhorn, in a second e-mail the same day (02.07.2014), directed me to Frances Tolmie's collection of Scottish Gaelic traditional songs (Tolmie 1997 [1911]: 245-254) which contains a number of items based on Fenian themes.

While the first three of these are of the usual chant-like character, with no refrain / vocable syllables, the remainder do contain vocable refrains and are of far more marked rhythmical character overall. I spoke to John MacInnes¹⁸ [...] about your example, and he reminded me that refrains are known in the context of Fenian ballads, though perhaps ones that were put to another use apart from storytelling, e.g. as waulking songs. Indeed, such texts appear in the guise of work-songs and even lullabies (Email 2: Blankenhorn-Broderick 02.07.2014).

This latter point also finds mention in Maighread Challan (2012: 71) in the context of North Uist traditional songs:

Mhair òrain cumhaidh, leithid Griogal Cridhe, mar thàlaidhean agus bha òrain bleoghainn agus laoidhean cuideachd air an cleachdadh airson leanabain a thàladh nan cadal (Challan 2012: 71).

(laments, such as *Griogal Cridhe*, functioned as lullabies, and milking-songs and ballads as well were used to lull babies to sleep).

We find that this was seemingly also the case in Manx tradition. Heywood's letter indicates that *Fin as Oshin* with its refrain was itself used as a work-song - "that they used to sing them at their work and wheels". In addition, the Fenian stanza, here attached to the tale *Fin McCooil as yn Foawr* (see next), was seemingly used as a lullaby, to judge from the following comment from Edward Faragher (qv): *v'ad gra eh da ny paitçhyn dy reayll ad ayns shee* 'they used to say / sing it to the children to keep them in peace (i.e. quiet)'.¹⁹

The song-text of *Fin as Oshin* does not feature among the song-fragments recorded from Manx tradition-bearers by late nineteenth century folksong collectors, Dr. John Clague, A. W. Moore, and the Gill Brothers (cf. Gilchrist 1924-26, Miller MNFL 2006), nor was it recorded from any of the last native Manx Gaelic speakers by various individuals and bodies during the twentieth century (cf. HLSM/I: Texts, Broderick 1999: 54-66). With regard to the tune, this does not feature either among those tunes supplied by Mona Douglas to Anne Gilchrist for publication in Gilchrist (1924-26), nor is it found in any of the late nineteenth-century collections of Manx traditional music (qv) (Miller MNFL 2006).

On the other hand, it is not impossible that both text and tune could have remained alive in Manx tradition over a prolonged period without any written attestation. In this regard Virginia Blankenhorn draws my attention to the case of the Scottish Gaelic song *Griogal Cridhe* which was known to have been composed in or shortly after 1570, but which did not surface in print until 1813 in the Turner Collection. It had clearly circulated in oral tradition all of that time, and apparently continued to do so down to the twentieth century (cf. Blankenhorn 2014a).

What we have here, however, as Blankenhorn notes,¹⁹ is somewhat different, in that a rapid decline of Manx over the period between the manuscript attestation(s) of the song and the appearance

¹⁷ Email 1: Blankenhorn-Broderick 02.07.2014.

¹⁸ See also MacInnes (2006: 184-210)

¹⁹ cf. Email: Blankenhorn-Broderick 05.07.2014.

of the tune in the Mona Douglas Music Collection had taken place. In addition, given that Mona Douglas had a propensity to make things up (for this see the articles by Carswell and Broderick in Miller 2004b), a composition cannot be ruled out.²⁰

2. Fin McCooil as yn Foawr

The main Fenian tale in the Manx collection, entitled here *Fin McCooil as yn Foawr* (G. *Fi(o)nn Mac Cumhaill agus an Famhair*), concerns Fin McCooil and a giant living on Barrule mountain in the southern part of the Isle of Man. A version of this tale is to be found in the manuscripts of Edward Faragher (*Ned Beg Hom Ruy* 1831-1908), Cregneash, (MNHL MS 431C), committed to writing in 1899 but without title. This tale first appeared in Manx and English under the above title by George Broderick in an unpublished *Festschrift* (pp. 330-340) presented to Prof. Kenneth H. Jackson, June 1976, to mark his 25 years as Professor of Celtic in the University of Edinburgh. It was then published in Broderick (1974-76: 42-45 (text), 52-54 (translation)) under the title *Fin MacCool as yn Foawr*, and again in *ibid.* (1981b: 169-171 (introduction and text), 1982: 168-171 (translation and notes)). Karl Roeder²¹ prints a version in English (taken down from Faragher) as Note 216 in Roeder (1904: 93-94) (See Appendix 2a). A similar version can also be found in Morrison (1929: 45-49), taken down in Manx-English from Joe Moore, Close ny Lhey, Glen Maye, a native Manx speaker, at the beginning of the twentieth century²² (see Appendix 2b).²³

This Fenian tale is a version of *Fionn sa Chliabhán* 'Fionn in the Cradle' (cf. Murphy's forward in 1953: xvi and works quoted there). The tale is made up of motifs occurring in stories of frightened and overawed ogres, AT Types 1145-1154. One hundred and twelve known Irish versions²⁴ are listed in Ó Súilleabháin & Christiansen 1963 under Type 1149 *Children Desire Ogre's Flesh*. A number of Scottish versions are also attested: *Fionn is Gara*, recorded in Perthshire in 1801 and printed in Campbell (1872: 7-8); a Uist version of the *Táin Bó Cúailgne*, narrated by Angus Maclellan of Gearrabhail-teas in South Uist can be found in Maclean 1959; and *Tóirioc na Táine*, told by Eachann Mac Iosaig (Eachann mac Ruaraidh of Ceannlangabhat, Iochdar, South Uist) in TGSI II: 25-42. The text provided here is that of Faragher 1899, but in standard Manx orthography.

TEXT

[Fin McCooil as yn Foawr]

Skeal ta mee er c[h]lashtyn mychione foawr va cummal ec Barrule as Fin McCooil va cummal ec

20 In this regard Virginia Blankenhorn draws my attention, in a Scottish Gaelic context, to the case of a certain Angus John Macdonald, a North Uist cleric who emigrated to Australia and claimed to be the final repository for traditional material that had come down in the oral tradition of his family alone, who kept it secret from the outside world. Some of his songs appear in the collections published by Donald Ferguson, *Beyond the Hebrides* (1977) and *From the farthest Hebrides* (1978). Some of Macdonald's contributions were undoubtedly genuine and valuable, but others seemingly not, which apparently rendered Ferguson's aforementioned publications of uncertain value (cf. Blankenhorn: Review 1979-80, Newton 2013).

21 Karl (Charles) Roeder (1848-1911), a native of Gera in Thüringen, who came to Manchester aged 21 initially as a shipping clerk, but later started his own business in continental trade. From the 1880s onwards he made regular summer visits to Man to collect mainly folklore, but also place-name and Manx language material. It was during this period that Roeder made the acquaintance of Edward Faragher from whom he obtained a considerable amount of material (NMW 416-417, MNFL 30).

22 Before 1911. This story appeared also in the 1911 (first) edition of Morrison (qv).

23 Another Fenian tale, under the title *The Enchanted Island at Port Soderick*, appears in English, collected by William Harrison from oral tradition, c.1860 (MNHS MS. 00136 001/2). Also in Moore (1891: 87-88 sub *The Submerged Island*) and Killip (1975: 138-139). Nora Cain is Onny Maddrell in Killip. See Appendix 4 for text.

24 I am reliably informed that in Ireland this is evidently one of the few Fenian stories that has successfully crossed into English-language storytelling and has been collected in the twentieth century in both Irish and English.

y Cheylllys, as v'ad gra dy row Fin feer lajer. Va'n foawr clashtyn jeh troshid Fin dy mennick. Keayrt dy row haink foawr Varrule dy akin eh. V'eh er c[h]lashtyn lheid ny skeealyn dy row Fin cha niartal as v'eh geadaghey mysh. Myr shen haink yn foawr dy akin eh un laa. As tra ren Fin fakin yn foawr çheet lesh yn thie, hooar eh stiagh as ren eh lhie ayns clean yn lhiannoo. Va'n foawr kiarit dy ghoail gleck er Fin dy yeeaghyn quoi va yn dooinney stroshey.

Haink yn foawr gys yn thie as ren eh fênacht jeh moir Fin row Mainshter McCooil ec y thie. Dooyrt ee nagh row, agh dy row ee jerkal rish dy heet ayns traa gerrid. "Quoi eh shoh ta ayns yn chlean eisht?", dooyrt yn foawr. "Shen yn mac shinney echey", dooyrt ish. Ren yn foawr bentyn rish yn lhieckan echey as dooyrt eh dy row faasaag feer c[h]reoi er son lhiannoo. Eisht hie eh magh ayns y vagher dy yeeaghyn mygeayrt-y-mysh as dy cheau yn traa gys yinnagh Fin çheet dy valley. Eisht ren Fin girree ass yn chlean as goll magh er dorrays elley as geddyn mârish yn ollagh roish haink yn foawr, tra honnick yn foawr dooinney mârish yn maase.

Haink eh dy loayrt rish as dy feyshney eh mychione troshid Fin McCooil. Ren yn foawr briaght jeh quoi v'eh hene. Dooyrt eshyn dy row eh bochill Fin McCooil as dy row eh jeeaghyn lurg yn maase. Ren yn foawr briaght jeh cre va troshid Fin as cre va ny reddyn v'eh er yannoo. Dooyrt eh rish dy row Fin çheet thie voish yn vargey keayrt dy row, as haink eh er cabbyl va er duittym ayns jeeig rish lhiattee yn raad. As va nuy ny jeih dy gheiney streeu dy gheddyn eh ass as cha voddagh ad. Tra haink Fin huc dooyrt eh roo faagail yn cabbyl da hene, as ghow eh holt er yn famman echey as tayrn eh seose ass yn jeeig, tra nagh voddagh ooilley ny deiney geddyn eh ass yn jeeig.

Ren yn foawr eisht briaght eh [jeh] cre wheesh dy veaghey va McCooil gee ec lhongey, as dooyrt eh dy row eh gee slane mart. Eisht ghow yn foawr ayns laue dy chur lesh mârish unnane jeh yn ollagh dy yeeaghyn voddagh eshyn gee baagh ec lhongey, as ghow eh holt er eairk colbagh va ayns shen dy chur lesh ee. Agh ghow Fin holt er yn eairk elley as ren ad streeu noi ry hoi gys ren ad raipay ny eairkyn jeh'n colbagh. Tra honnick yn foawr dy row bochilley McCooil cha lajer, v'eh smooainaght dy row Fin hene dooinney feer niartal. Eisht hie eh roish dy rouail fud ny magheryn gys veagh Mc Cooil er jeet dy valley.

Tra va'n foawr ersooyl ass shilley, hie Fin roish thie as ren eh caghlaa y coamrey, son yn oyr shoh nagh jinnagh yn foawr cur enney er dy row eh er vakin eh ro-laue. Dooyrt Fin rish e voir dy yannoo daa verreen dy arran-corkey as dy yannoo unnane braew meeley da hene, as dy chur yn gryle ayns çhesh-vean berreen yn foawr. Myr shen ren yn çhenn ven jannoo myr dooyrt eh ree. Ren ee coyrt yn gryle ayns berreen yn foawr as çhirmagh ee roish yn aile gys v'ee creoi dy liooar.

Ayns traa gerrid ny lurg shen haink yn foawr reesht dy yeeaghyn row McCooil er jeet dy valley. As tra v'eh er vakin dy row McCooil ec y thie v'eh feer taitnyssagh as dooyrt eh rish McCooil dy row eh feer bwooiaigh dy akin eh ec yn thie, son dy row eh er c[h]lashtyn jeh yn troshid echey ymmodee keayrtyn tra v'eh ec e chummal ayns Barrule, as dy row eh er jeet dy ghoail gleck er dy yeeaghyn quoi jeu va'n dooinney stroshey.

Dooyrt Fin rish dy heet stiagh fo yn chlea as dy hoie sheese dy ghoail aash as dy gheddyn shibbyr mârish, as dy jinnagh ad goail gleck er y cheilley laa ny vairagh. Eisht ren yn foawr soie sheese gys shibbyr mârish Fin as ghow ad toshiaght dy ee. Agh cha voddagh yn foawr geddyn e eacklyn trooid yn verreen, as va Fin gee ee aashagh dy liooar. Tra honnick yn foawr shen va yindys mooar er, as v'eh goail toshiaght dy choayl e chree mysh yn streeu oc laa ny vairagh. Myr shen ren Fin goail e hibbyr agh cha ren yn foawr goail veg son nagh voddagh eh gee yn verreen. Va Fin cuirrey eh dy ee, agh dooyrt eh nagh row eh dy mie. Myr shen ren eh fuirraght ayns thie Fin gys y voghrey, as ren Fin brishey e chrostey agh cha row yn foawr son gee yn verreen.

Agh v'eh ayns siyr dy ghoail gleck er Fin son dy voddagh eh ny lurg shen goll thie gys Barrule dy gheddyn beaghey da hene. Tra va McCooil er vrishey e chrostey dooyrt yn foawr rish dy b'are daue goll magh ayns yn vagher dy ghoail gleck er e cheilley. Dooyrt Fin dy beagh eshyn aarloo ayns traa gerrid, agh cha row yn ghrian soilshean feer niartal, as dy beagh eh feer ymmyrçhagh daue dy ghol as faarkey ad hene hoshiaght son nagh beagh ad cha çeh. Dooyrt yn foawr dy beagh shen

red feer vie as dy row eshyn arryltagh dy yannoo shen.

Eisht dooyrt Fin rish e voir dy chur cabbage dy caaishey ayns yn p[h]oagey as ooilley yn arran as eeym va ayns yn thie as dy gheddyn eh aarloo cha tappee as foddagh ee. "As cre yn raad ta McCooil goll lesh ooilley shen?" dooyrt yn foawr. "Son beaghey dooin tra veesmayd faarkey", dooyrt Fin. "Va mish smooïnaght", dooyrt yn foawr, "dy re ayns yn awin veagh shin goll dy faarkey". "Cha vel mish dy bragh faarkey ayns awin", dooyrt Fin, "agh ayns yn mooir mooar as ta mee dy mennick snaue choud as yn Thalloo Vretnagh".

Tra ren yn foawr clashtyn shen ren ny cleayshyn tuittym er, as cha row fys echey c' red dy ghra ny dy yannoo, son va e happy voish as ghow eh toshiaght dy yannoo lesh yn dorrys dy gheddyn ersooyl, son v'eh ayns aggle nagh voddagh eh snaue choud dy raad as McCooil as dy beagh eh er ny naaraghey. Myr shen hooar eh magh as cho tappee as foddagh eh roie, ren eh lesh Barrule. As tra haink McCooil magh ass yn thie va'n foawr ass e hilley son v'eh ayns siyr as v'eh goaill kesmadyn liauyr. Myr shen cha ren eh rieu çheet dy akin Fin reesht.

Ta yn skeal shoh feer shenn, as t'eh feer lickly dy re ayns traa Jan-Ben-Jan va yn foawr as McCooil ayns Mannin. Shen va yn dooinney ta mee er c[h]lashtyn va reill yn seihll roish Adam. Ta mee er c[h]lashtyn shenn ven gra tra va mish ny lhiannoo red ennagh mychione Fin McCooil agh ta'n chooid smoo jeh jarroodit aym; v'eh red gollrish arrane veagh ee gra eh da ny paitçhyn dy reayll ad ayns shee:

Fin McCooil as ooilley e chrymsagh²⁵
Dy jean ad mysh dy lhiabbee çhymysagh
Ferrish ny lhionney as yn buggane
Dy der ad lesh oo ayns clean suggane²⁶

V'eh jeeaghyn dou dy row ny ponniaryn agglagh roish Fin McCooil, as cha vel mee er clashtyn red erbee elley mygeayrt-y-mysh. Ta Roeder er ve mennick feyshney mee mysh Fin McCooil, agh cha ren mee rieu ginsh da mychione eh-hene as yn foawr. Hooar mee screeuyn voish jiu as t'eh laccal ennym caghlaaghyn dy reddyn nagh ren mee rieu clashtyn. Scruit yn shiaghtoo laa jeh yn nah vee dy ouyr ayns yn vlein hoght keead yeig kiare feed as nuy jeig. EF.

TRANSLATION

(I have heard a story about a giant that lived on Barrule and Fin McCooil who lived at the (Calf) Sound, and they used to say that Fin was very strong. The giant often heard of Fin's strength. On one occasion the giant of Barrule came to see him. He had heard such stories that Fin was so strong and he was jealous of him. And so the giant came to see him one day, and when Fin saw the giant coming towards the house he got inside and lay in the child's cradle. The giant was determined to wrestle with Fin to see who was the strongest man. The giant came to the house and asked Fin's mother if Mr. McCooil was at home. She said he wasn't, but she was expecting him to come shortly. "Who's this in the cradle then?" said the giant. "That's his eldest son," she said. The giant touched the son's

25 Faragher has here the obscure *chrymsagh*. It appears to be a miswriting of *chumsagh* 'host, gathering' (Mx. *chymysagh*). See next footnote.

26 This stanza is found in MNH MD 900 MS. 08307: 64, 65 (dated to 1830-40) attached to the song *Yn Folder Gastey* and to *Arrane yn Foldey Gastey* 'song of the nimble mower' as found in the Clucas Song Collection (of George Frederick Clucas (1870-1937), MNHL MS 263A) (cf. Broderick 1980-81: 13), viz. (MD 900: *Fin y chool as ooilley chumsagh / Ferrish ny Liooyn as y Buggane / Mish dy Liabbee dy jin ad chumsagh / As cur lesh oo ayns suggane* (p. 64, slight variant p. 65); 'Fin Mac Cool and all his host / the Fairy of the glen and the Buggane (ScG. *Bòcan*) / Around your bed they will gather / and take you (away with them) in straw-rope: Note the manxifying of Fin's name as *Fin y Cooil*. (Clucas): *Fin MacCool as ooilley e heshaght / Ferrish y ghlion as y buggane / Nee ad mysh dy lhiabbee hymysagh / as oo y gheid ayns cleayn suggane* 'Fin MacCool and all his host / the fairy of the glen and the buggane / They will gather around your bed / and steal you (away) in a straw-roped cradle'. The stanza is also found attached to the Manx traditional song *Arrane ny Ferrishyn* 'song of the fairies' in Moore (1896: 70-71), but with *sheshaght* for *chumsagh* in the first line, repeated in Clucas. *Sheshaght* in Moore appears to be his own interpretation, rather than traditional.

cheek and said that he had a very tough beard for a child.

Then he went out into the field to look round about and to pass the time till Fin should come home. Then Fin rose from the cradle and went out of another door to get among the cattle before the giant came. When the giant saw a man among the cattle, he came to speak to him and ask him about Fin McCooil's strength. The giant asked him who he was. He said he was Fin McCooil's cowherd and was looking after the cattle. The giant asked him how strong was Fin and what feats he had performed.

He said that Fin was coming home from the market one time and he came upon a horse that had fallen into a ditch by the roadside. There were nine or ten men striving to get it out but they couldn't. When Fin came up to them, he said to them to leave the horse to him himself, and he got a hold of its tail and dragged it up out of the ditch when all the men couldn't get it out.

Then the giant asked him how much food did McCooil eat for a meal. He said he ate a whole beef. The giant then took in hand to bring one of the cattle with him to see if he could eat a beast for a meal. And he took hold of a heifer's horn there to take it with him, but Fin grabbed the other horn and they strove against each other until they tore the horns from the heifer. When the giant saw how strong McCooil's cowherd was, he thought that Fin himself was a very strong man. Then he went his way to wander through the fields till McCooil should come home.

When the giant was away out of sight, Fin went his way home and changed his clothes so that the giant would not know from them that he had seen him previously. Fin said to his mother to make two oat-cakes and to make one really moist for himself and to put the griddle in the very centre of the giant's cake. And so the old woman did as he told her. She put the griddle in the giant's cake and dried it in front of the fire until it was sufficiently hard. In a short time after that the giant came again to see if McCooil had come home. When he saw that MacCooil was at home he was very pleased and said to McCooil that he was very glad to see him at the house, for he had heard of his strength many times when he was at his home on Barrule, and that he had come to wrestle with him to see which of them was the strongest man.

Fin said to him to come inside under the roof and to sit down and take rest and to have supper with him, and that they would wrestle with each other the following day. The giant then sat down to supper with Fin and they began to eat. But the giant could not get his teeth through the cake and Fin was eating away at his easily enough. When the giant saw that he was most amazed and began losing heart over the contest the following day. And so Fin took his supper, but the giant took nothing, for he was unable to eat the cake Fin had put before him to eat, but said that he was not well. And so he satyed in Fin's house till the morning when Fin breakfasted, but the giant was unable to eat the cake. He was in a hurry to wrestle with Fin, so that he could then go home to Barrule to get food for himself.

When McCooil had breakfasted the giant said that they had better go out into the field to wrestle with each other. Fin said he would be ready in a short time, but the sun was shining very strongly and it would be necessary for them to bathe themselves first so that they would not be so hot. The giant said that that would be an excellent idea and he was willing to do that. The Fin told his mother to put a block of cheese in his pocket and all the bread and butter that was in the house and to get tit ready as fast as she could. "And where's McCooil going with all that?" said the giant. "It's for our food when we are bathing", said Fin. "I was thinking," said the giant, "that it was in the river we would be going to bathe." "I never bathe in a river," said Fin, "but in the great sea and I often swim as far as Wales." When the giant heard that, his face fell and he was at a loss what to say or do, for he lost his head and began to make for the door to get away. He feared he could not swim as far as McCooil and that he would be put to shame. And so he never came to see Fin again.²⁷

This story is very old, and it is very likely that it was in the time of Jan-Ben-Jan that the giant and McCooil were in Man. That's the man I have heard was ruling the world before Adam.

I have heard an old woman saying when I was a child something about Fin McCooil, but I've forgotten most of it. It was a bit like a song. She would say (?sing) it to the children to keep them quiet:

Fin McCooil and all his host
May they gather about your bed.
May the fairy of the glen and the Buggane
take you with them in a cradle of straw rope.²⁸

It seems to me that the children were afraid of Fin McCooil and I have not heard anything else about him. Roeder

²⁷ However, in Joe Moore's version Finn and the Giant, here as a buggane (ScG. *bòcan*), do actually meet in combat (thereby explaining a number of local place-names at the Sound), but Fin came off worst! See Appendix 1b for the full text from Morrison 1929.

²⁸ The appearance of this stray verse would seem to constitute independent evidence for Fin tradition in Man.

has often been asking me about Fin McCooil, but I never did tell him about himself and the giant. I received a letter from him today and he is wanting different names of things I never heard of. Written the seventh day of the second month of autumn in the year eighteen hundred and ninety-nine. EF') (GB).

3. Skeeal Craueyn Yiarn as Boddagh yn Cooit Laatchagh

Two Manx Gaelic versions of the Fenian tale *Bodach an Chóta Lachtna*²⁹ are to be found among the Manx stories and reminiscences of Ned Beg Hom Ruy³⁰ in MNHL MS 431C,³¹ written down at the end of the 19th-century (ca.1898-99). The longer of the two versions is written on four sides of a double foolscap sheet of paper and bears no title. The shorter version under the title *Skeeal Craueyn yarn as boddagh yn cooit lechagh* [*Skeeal Craueyn Yiarn as Boddagh yn Cooit Laatchagh*] ('the story of Iron Bones and the old man with the lacing coat')³² occupies one side of foolscap only. The latter is a condensed version of the former. The longer version was published diplomatically in Broderick 1983. An English version similar to the longer Manx text (and taken down from Faragher) was printed by Karl Roeder as Note 214 in Roeder (1904: 91-93) (See Appendix 2).

Faragher introduces his story here³³ with a reference to Manannán mac Lir³⁴:

Ta mee er clashtyn yn shen sleih gra dy row Mananagh beg mac y leer [i.e. Manannán mac Lir] Ree er Mannin cheayrt dy row, vagh ad gra dy re buych ve as dy row eh groll ayms chochastlys ny thre cassyn as rollal harrish Mannin veih un chione gys kione elley groll rish rimmey queeyl wooar, as dy ren eh laa dy row rollal magh er yn cheayn voish gob Jurby as nagh row eh rieu fakinyt nr lurg shen (Faragher, MNHL MS 431C).

(I have heard the old people say that Manannan Beg Mac y Leir was once upon a time king in Man. They used to say that he was a wizard and that he would go in the form of the three legs and roll over Man from one end to the other like the rim of a big wheel, and that he one day rolled out into the sea from Jurby Point and that he was not seen thereafter').

Faragher admits that he (first) heard the story read by his father from the pages of the Isle of Man

29 For versions of this story see O'Grady 1892 (Irish & English), O'Donoghue 1904 (English), Mac Piarais 1926 (Irish), Ó Domhnaill 2012-14 (Irish). The latter three contain references to Manannán mac Lir in the last section.

30 For the texts with English translation and introduction of four of these stories see Broderick 1974-76, and of all the known original stories see Broderick 1981b, 1982.

31 Faragher's stories and reminiscences appear in no particular order in MNHL MS 431C.

32 The meaning 'lacing' here, if Faragher's *lechagh* is to be interpreted as *laatchagh*, is problematic in interpretation, as the import is quite distant from Ir. *lachtma* 'dun, grey'. Given that the coat, from the story, becomes all muddied up, I interpreted Faragher's *lechagh* as *laaghagh* 'muddy' (cf. Ir. *laitheach* 'mud, mire', Mx. *laagh*) in Broderick 1983.

33 Given here and in the following quote in his own orthography as examples of the same.

34 Wagner (1981: 9-10, fn. 27(a)) explains the ending *-án* in Manannán (borrowed from Irish into Welsh, cf. *Manawydan*) as a diminutive suffix. He adds that older forms without the suffix are attested both in Irish (*Manann*, *Monann*) and in Welsh (*Manawytl*). In Man itself *Manannán* is known as *Manannan Beg* 'little M.'. Wagner (*ibid.*) believes that the diminutive may have a tabuistic function, as *Manannán* / *Manawydan*, as a god of the sea, was feared by sailors (and fishermen).

However, in his discussion of Manawydan of the *Mabinogi* as possibly reflecting the historical character 'Imanuentius' (father of Mandubracios of the Trinovantes (cf. GPN 452-454) who sought protection from Caesar against Cassivelaunos (BG V 20,22), leader of the British allied forces against Caesar 54 BC), John Koch (Koch 1987: 21) suggests that the suffix *-án* continues Celtic **-agnos*, as in the Gaulish suffix *-cno-* 'son of' *-cna-* 'daughter of' attached to the father's name, e.g. *Tertioncna* 'daughter of Tertios' (Larzac) (the plural of this suffix, Koch (*ibid.*) notes, survives in Welsh *-ing*, as in *Coeling*, *Cadelling* 'descendants of Coel, Cadell'). As *-agnos* is a form of the root **gen-*, this would originally have meant 'born from', rather than 'little'. In this context Welsh *Manawydan* would therefore derive from **Mannuētagnos* 'born of / son of Mannuēt(i)os' (as in (*Mandubracius*) *Immannuetii filius*), rather than 'little **Mannuēt(i)os* / Manawydl'. By the same token *Manannán* would therefore derive from **Manannagnos* with the meaning 'born of / in Man', not 'little Manann', i.e. that Manannán derives his name from the island of Man and not vice-versa. On the phonology of *-agno-* see LHEB 461.

weekly newspaper *Mona's Herald* some fifty years previously (i.e. issues for 19.01. & 26.01.1841) and that he reproduces it as best he can from memory in the well-recognised process of reoralisation:

Agh ren mee clashtyn my Ayr lheih ayns yn chiaghtyr vannin - Te mysh jeh bleiney as daa eed er dy hinney as ta me ghoaill aggle dy vel paar[t] jeh jarroodyt aym (Faragher MNHL MS 431C).

(But I heard my father read it in the *Mona's Herald* - it is about fifty years ago and I fear that I have forgotten some of it').

Roeder (1904: 91-93) noted that a very similar version (to the longer text) was to be found in the *Irish Penny Journal* I (1810): 130-133 (*rect.* Vol. 1, Issue 17, for Saturday 24.10.1840, pp. 130-133) and adds that it is:

called Bodach an chota lachtna, or the clown with the grey coat. It is supposed that the Boddagh yn cooit laatchagh was the wizard chief of the Island who rolled into the sea at Jurby Point (Roeder 1904: 91).³⁵

In justification of his printing this and similar stories, the editor of the *Mona's Herald* notes in his introduction (MH 19.01.1841, p.4) that:

Under this head ["The Fire Side Story Teller"] it is our intention, from time to time, to present our readers with the most interesting and extraordinary tales and stories, which are published in the various magazines and periodicals of the present day; [...]. The following story contains, perhaps, the sublime of the marvellous, and is an excellent example of what may be called the fire-side literature of our own Island, as well as of Ireland, [...]. The hero of the present tale, Manannin (*sic*) Mac Lir, is also conspicuously connected with the legendary traditions and tales of this Island; and some of our readers, we doubt not, will be able to trace not a little resemblance between the Irish tale of Bodach yn Choat Lachtna³⁶ and some of those to which, in their juvenile days, they listened with such eagerness [...]. We quote the following from a recent number of the *Irish Penny Journal*, a weekly periodical of considerable merit (MH 19.01.1841, p. 4).

Of interest here in the foregoing introduction the editor implies the existence of local Fenian storytelling tradition ("The following story contains [...] an excellent example of what may be called the fire-side literature of our own Island, as well as of Ireland"). The editor's reference to "some of our readers" having experienced a culture of telling and listening to Fenian tales is pertinent here in that he expects those readers would be able to trace the similarities between the Irish tale "and some of those to which in their juvenile days, they listened with such eagerness."

The editor of the *Mona's Herald* prints this story from the *Irish Penny Journal*, as he says, because the hero of the tale, Manannán mac Lir, has relevance to the Isle of Man. Both IPJ I/17 (24.10. 1840): 133 and MH 26.01.1841/4 include the paragraph relating to Manannán mac Lir as follows:

But on the return of the Bodach to the troops, the sun and the wind lighted up one side of his face and head in such a way that Finn and the Fians at once recognised him as Manannan Mac Lir, the Tutelary fairy of Cruachan, who had come to afford them assistance in their exigency. They welcomed him accordingly with all the honour that was due to him, and feasted him sumptuously for a year and a day. And these are the adventures of the Bodach an Chota-Lachtna (IPJ I/17 (24.10.1840): 133, MH 26.01.1841/4, last paragraph).

In the notes to "The Churl in the Grey Coat", the English translation of the tale (pp. 144-159) in Mangan (O'Donoghue 1904: 330), the editor makes clear who was responsible for the English ver-

³⁵ The latter comment is clearly from Faragher.

³⁶ Note the semi-manxification of the name *Bodach yn Choat Lacht-na* for *Bodach an Chóta Lachtna* in MH, an inadvertent slip?

sion in IPJ/I:17 (24.10.1840): 130-133:

THE CHURL IN THE GREY COAT - was published anonymously in the *Irish Penny Journal*, Oct. 24th 1840. John O'Daly in his "Self-Instruction in Irish" states that "[James Clarence] Mangan was the author of the translation." In quoting the original Irish, he says: A translation of the following curious tale...by the late Clarence Mangan, will be found in No. 17 of Gunn & Cameron's *Irish Penny Journal* [i.e. of 24.10.1840] to which we refer the reader (O'Donoghue 1904: 330).

Mangan's translation in the last paragraph makes mention of Manannán mac Lir thus:

But on the return of the Bodach to the troops, the sun and the wind lighted up one side of his face and his head in such a way that Finn and the Fenians at once recognised him as Manannan mac Lir, the Tutelary Fairy of Cruachan, who had come to afford them his assistance in their exigency. They welcomed him accordingly with all the honour that was due to him, and feasted him sumptuously for a year and a day. And these are the adventures of the Bodach an Chota-Lachtna (Mangan: O'Donoghue 1904: 159).

As can be seen, Mangan is clearly the source for both the *Irish Penny Journal* and the *Mona's Herald* texts.

The final paragraph in O'Grady (1892/I: 295-296) is expressed slightly differently, but does not contain any reference to Manannán mac Lir:

Ag sin mar d'éirig a thurus le Caol an Iarainn mac rí na Tesáille . a léigen a bhaile ar ghlés óinmide ocus amandáin ocus gan do nert aige buillte do bhualad i gcath ná i gcruadchomrac rena ló aris. fillios in bodach tar a ais mar a raibh Fionn ocus fianna Eirenn ocus d'innis dóib gurab é síogaidhe rátha Cruachan tháinic dá bfuascailt as in ngéibionn irrabatar is ann sin dorigne Fionn fleid ocus festa lae ocus bliadna do'n tsíogaide. Gurab é sin echtra Chaoil in Iarainn mic rí na Tesáille ocus bhodaig in chóta lachtna conice sin (O'Grady 1892/I: 295-296).

(And so turned out the expedition of Caol an Iarainn, son of the king of Thessaly: to be dismissed home in the style of a fool and simpleton without power to strike a blow in battle or in tough single combat ever again so long as he lived. The Bodach came back to Finn and to the warrior-bands of Ireland and told them that he was the fairy-chief of Crogan Rath who had come to free them from the chains in which they had been. And for the fairy-chief Finn then made a banquet and feast for a year and a day. So far then the adventures of Caol an Iarainn, son of the king of Thessaly, and Bodach an Chóta Lachtna').

Pádraig Mac Piarais takes his version from two manuscripts: RIA 23M19 (1789) and RIA 23A49 (1766), according to him, more so from the former (Mac Piarais 1926: ii). The final paragraph appears as follows:

Ar bhfillleadh thar a ais do Bhodach an Chóta Lachtna ó'n luing gur an áit 'n-a raibh an Fhiann, do las gaoth 7 grian i dtaoibh a aighthe 7 a chúil, 7 d'aithin Fionn 7 an Fhiann gurab é Manannán mac Lir, Síodhaidhe Rátha Chruachan, do bhí ann, 7 do tháinig dhá sabháil ó'n éigeann adhbhal-mhór 'n-a rabhadar an tan soin. Agus do ghlac an Fhiann go honórach é, 7 do chaitheadar fleadh 7 féasta Lá 7 mí. Gurab i sin Eachtra Bhodaigh an Chóta Lachtna annso (Mac Piarais 1926: 20).

(On the return of Bodach an Chóta lachtna from the fleet to where the Fiann were, wind and sun shone on the side of his face and back, and Fionn and the Fianna recognised him as Manannán mac Lir, Chief Fairy of Ráth Cruachan, and he had come to rescue them from their impasse. The Fiann received him honorably and they spent a month and a day in feasting and fairing sumptuously. These are the adventures of Bodach an Chóta Lachtna').³⁷

³⁷ However, not all versions contain reference to Manannán mac Lir, e.g. NFC 338: *Caol Iarainn agus an Bodach* from Donnchadh Clumháin, 54, Corca Dhuibhne, Co. Ciarraige, 13.04.1937. I am grateful to Críostóir Mac Carthaigh, Archivist, National Folklore Collection, University College Dublin, for supplying this text.

The *Mona's Herald* version is clearly the source of Faragher's story.³⁸ The point of interest for Faragher would obviously be the mention of Manannán mac Lir, as noted above, at the end of the story, which likely inspired him to include other details about the deity more pertinent to Manx tradition in his introduction.³⁹

Faragher had evidently written his text, as he says, from memory, and not translated the the English version from the *Mona's Herald*; a comparison between the two makes that clear. Furthermore, in his introduction he includes an aspect about Manannán in Manx tradition that is not found in the Irish version. In this respect it could be said that the Faragher version (the only known Manx Gaelic version) in a manner of speaking derives from folk memory, but not traditionally in the sense of being passed down from generation to generation over a long period, termed "reoralisation" by folklorists.

Finally, Faragher's orthography in his Manx stories and reminiscences is a somewhat idiosyncratic version of the standard Manx orthography and, for this reason his (longer) text appears here in the standard Manx orthography. The title is taken from the shorter version, but given problems of interpretation is left unaltered. The paragraphing is my own.

TEXT

[*Skeal Craueyn yarn as boddagh yn cooit lechagh*]

Ta mee er c[h]lashtyn yn shenn sleih gra dy row Mananagh [Manannan] Beg Mac y Leir Ree er Mannin cheayrt dy row. Veagh ad gra dy re buitch v'eh as dy row eh goll ayns cochaslys ny three cassyn as rollal harrish Mannin veih un chione gys kione elley gollrish rimmey queeyl wooar, as dy ren eh laa dy row rollal magh er yn cheayn voish Gob Jurby as nagh row eh rieau fakinit ny lurg shen. Agh ren mee clashtyn my ayr lhaih ayns yn Chiaghter Vannin - T'eh mysh jeih bleaney as daeed er dy henney as ta mee goaill aggle dy vel paart jeh jarroodit aym.

Va dooinney feer niartal ayns Sostyn - cha vel mee toiggal row eh ree ny dyn, agh v'ad gra Craueyn Yiarn rish. V'eh goll trooid ooilley ny çheeraghyn as coyrt e lane faaue son dooinney erbee dy voddagh gleck ny roie [mâ]rish, as mannagh row dooinney ayns yn çheer dy ghoaill seose eh veagh yn cheer shen [currit] fo cheesh da. Ayns yn troalt echey trooid yn kerroo shoh jeh yn seihll haink eh gys Divlyn [ms. Diblyn] as hie eh gys plaase yn Ree Yernagh, as dooyrt eh rish yn Ree dy row eh cur e lane faaue son dooinney erbee dy ghleck ny dy roie [mâ]rish. Dooyrt yn Ree dy jin-nagh eh goll gys thie Kit Mac Keelin dy gheddyn eh, son dy re Mac Keelin va'n dooinney speint va ayns yn reeriaght echey. Myr shen ren yn Ree goll dy gheddyn eh cha tappee as oddagh eh roie. Myr va'n Ree roie trooid yn keyll dy yannoo yn raad ny s'girrey, ren eh meeteil rish dooinney mooar gollrish foawr, as ren eh goaill holt er yn Ree as cummal eh, "Cre'n raad t'ou goll ayns wheesh dy hiyr?" dooyrt yn fer mooar. Eisht dooyrt yn Ree dy row fer ny craueyn yiarn er jeet as er chur y lane faaue, as dy row eh goll dy gheddyn Kit Mac Keelin son dy roie mârish, son nagh row dooinney ayns yn çheer foddagh gleck rish. Dooyrt yn fer mooar rish, "Cha lhiass dhyt goll ny sodjey, neeym's goaill grash dy roie mârish; gow thie ec cheayrt as insh da.

Va yn Ree ayns aggle roish yn dooinney mooar. Va cooat mooar er sheese gys e vouynyn as va ny braagyn wheesh rish baatyn beggey. As hie yn Ree thie reesht ayns aggle roish. Tra haink yn Ree dy

38 e.g. the protagonist son of the king of Thessaly (*Sostyn* 'England', in Faragher) is called *Craueyn Yiarn* 'Iron Bones' (*Caol an Iarrainn* in SV), 'Kit McKeelin' is 'Keelte Mac Ronan' (*Caoilte Mac Rónáin* in SV), Faragher probably introduces 'England' rather than 'Thessaly' into the story, as the latter may not necessarily have been recognised among his readership. Either that, or his memory was not clear on that point?

39 The tale is found in several manuscript redactions in Ireland, the oldest of which are as follows- Ulster: NLI G82 (1744), Connacht: RIA 23O 35 (1774), Munster: Murphy 18, 53 (1760). For fuller details, see Bruford (1969: 252-253). Natasha Sumner, a PhD student in Harvard University, USA, has kindly sent me further details of manuscript and sound-recorded versions of the tale from both Ireland and Scotland.

valley dooyrt eh rish Craueyn Yiarn dy ren eh meeteil rish dooinney ayns yn keyll va arryltagh dy roie mârish. Dooyrt Craueyn Yiarn dy beagh eh feer wooiagh dy akin yn dooinney roish yinnagh eh goll dy roie mârish. Eisht ren yn Ree leeideil Craueyn Yiarn gys boayl ren eh meeiteil rish yn fer mooar. Tra honnick Craueyn Yiarn yn fer mooar dooyrt eh nagh row eh shen dooinney agh foawr. As vrie eh jeh yn fer mooar c'red va yn ennym echey. "Boddagh yn Cooat Laatchagh", dooyrt yn fer mooar. "Cha vel mish goll dy roie mârish lheid yn boddagh graney smarree rish shen," dooyrt Craueyn Yiarn. "Cha vel mish agh dooinney gollrhyt hene," dooyrt yn Boddagh, "as che bee yn gheer currit fo cheesh gys neemayd fakin quoi vees yn roieder share."

Myr shen va Craueyn Yiarn eignit dy roie mârish yn Boddagh. Va yn raad er ny howse daue v'ad dy roie er son jeh veeilley as feed, as v'ad dy gholl toshiaght dy roie laa ny vairagh cho leayr as yinnagh yn laa brishey. V'ad dy roie voish yn keyll. Myr shen dooyrt Craueyn Yiarn dy jinnagh eshyn lhie ayns yn keyll gys moghree, as dooyrt yn Boddagh myrgeeddin dy jinnagh eshyn lhie ayns yn keyll neesht. Eisht hie Craueyn Yiarn as ren eh jannoo e lhiabbee fo ghob creg as chymsagh paart dy faiyr chirrym dy lhie er. Agh ghow yn Boddagh toshiaght dy vrishey banglaneyn jeh biljyn as dy yannoo bwaag da hene dy cheau yn oie ayn. As ayns traa gerrid va bwaag feer jesh jeant echey. Tra haink yn dorraghys ren Craueyn Yiarn goll dy lhie fo ghob yn chreg as yn Boddagh gys e waag. Agh ayns traa gerrid ren Craueyn Yiarn clashtyn shecan as haink eh magh dy ghoail baght jeh as honnick eh yn Boddagh roie geiyrt er muc feeaih, as tra ren eh tayrtyn ee ren eh aile mooar dy ghreddey yn vuc. As tra va'n vuc currit er yn aile hie yn Boddagh roish reesht as kione tammylt beg dy chraa haink eh reesht lesh saagh mooar dy yioghe lhune er e ghreem. Eisht haink eh dy quirrey Craueyn Yiarn dy heet gys shibber mârish, agh ren eh gobbal dy heet. Eisht ren yn Boddagh soie sheese gys e hibber ny lomarcán, as ren eh gee lieh jeh yn vuc as giu lieh jeh yn jough. Eisht ren eh lhie sheese as goll dy chadley, agh cha ren Craueyn Yiarn cadley agh feer veg smooínaght er yn roie veagh goaill toshiaght ayns y voghrey.

Tra ren yn laa brishey ren Craueyn Yiarn girree, agh cha row yn Boddagh aarloo, dooyrt eh, son nagh row eh er vrishey e chrostey. Ren Craueyn Yiarn toshiaght dy roie, agh ren yn Boddagh soie sheese dy ee yn lieh elley jeh yn vuc as dy iu yn jough. Eisht tra v'eh lesh gee as giu ghow eh toshiaght dy roie geiyrt er Craueyn Yiarn. Ayns tra gerrid haink eh seose er Craueyn Yiarn as ren eh goll shiaghey echey ayns dy chooilley voayl va yn raad meeley. Va'n Boddagh ceau lane barroo dy laagh jeh e vouinyn ec dy chooilley chesmad seose er e ghreem gys va'n cooat mooar echey coodit lesh voish e gheayltyl sheese. Fy yerrey haink yn Boddagh gys boayl va ymmodee dressyn gaase rish ny cleigh, as ghow eh toshiaght dy heiy smeir ghoo, as v'eh gee paart jeu as cur yn chooid elley ayns poshagyn e cooat mooar. Haink Craueyn Yiarn seose er tra v'eh teiy ny smeir as hie eh shiaghey yn Boddagh. Cha ren yn Boddagh goaill baght jeh, son v'eh teiy smeir ec yn traa hie Craueyn Yiarn shiaghey. Tra va ny poshagyn echey lane smeir ghoo nagh jinnagh ad cummal ny smoo, ren eh smooínaght dy row Craueyn Yiarn ersooyl foddey er yn raad. Eisht ren yn Boddagh roie geiyrt er feer siyragh as ayns traa gerrid haink eh seose rish Craueyn Yiarn reesht. Hie eh shiaghey echey as ren eh cummal roie gys meeilley ny jees er kione Craueyn Yiarn. Eisht ren eh goaill e chraa as cha row eh ayns lheid yn siyr, er yn oyr dy row eh hoshiaght roish Craueyn Yiarn.

Ren eh smooínaght er ny smeir ghoo, as ren eh cur e laue ayns poshag y cooat dy ghoail lane doarn, agh va'n phoshag ersooyl. Eisht ren eh cur e laue ayns y phoshag elley, agh va'n phoshag shen ersooyl myrgeeddin. Ren trimmid ny smeir ghoo raipay ny poshagyn ass yn cooat as v'ad caillt er yn raad, as cha ren eh gennaghtyn dy row ad caillt gys chuir eh e laueyn ayndae. Eisht dooyrt eh rish hene dy beagh eh accryssagh roish yinnagh eh roshtyn gys kione e yurnaa as dy beagh eh ny share da goll dy yeeaghyn son e phoshagyn. Myr shen ren eh çhyndaa mygeayrt as gholl dy yeeaghyn son e phoshagyn. Myr v'eh çheet reesht er yn raad ren eh meeiteil [rish] Craueyn Yiarn roie er e hoshiaght, as ren eh briaght jeh ren eh fakin ny poshagyn echeysyn boayl erbee er yn raad. Cha ren eh fakin poshagyn erbee, dooyrt Craueyn Yiarn, agh ren eh fakin daa p[h]oagey ny lhie er yn raad mysh queig veeilley er e choolloo. "Shen va ny poshagyn aym's," dooyrt yn Boddagh. Eisht

ren eh siyr dy gheddyn ad, as tra haink eh gys e phoshagyn ren eh goaill unnane fo dagh roih as goaill toshiaght dy roie reesht. Cha ren eh cur veg dy geill da smeir ghoo ny sodjey gys haink eh seose er Craueyn Yiarn reesht.

Cha ren red erbee elley taghyrt da yn Boddagh dy cumrail eh er yn chooid elley jeh yn raad as ren eh geddyn gys kione e yurnaa mysh daa oor roish Craueyn Yiarn. As dooyrt eh rish yn sleih va cummal ayns yn balley beg va eck kione yn jurnaa dy choyrt lesh huggey lane poagey dy garvain-corkey as yn saagh lhieu huggey yn poagey dy garvain ayn. Myr shen chuir yn sleih lhieu huggey yn poagey dy garvain-corkey as yn saagh mooar dy choyrt yn garvain ayn. Eisht ren eh deayrtey yn garvain ayns yn saagh as folmagh ny poshagyn dy smeir ghoo ayn myrgeddin as mastey ad ooilley cooidjagh. Eisht ghow eh toshiaght dy ee lesh dagh laue feer jollyssagh gys honnick eh Craueyn Yiarn çheet dy feer lhiastey as croobagh dy mie, as va'n Boddagh gee as cur shilley lesh Craueyn Yiarn ec dy chooilley lane doarn v'eh gee. As tra ren Craueyn Yiarn roshtyn va ooilley eeit agh un lane doarn. Ren eh ceau shen er as çhyndaa mygeayrt. Eisht va Craueyn Yiarn eignit dy groll er boayrd yn lhong as goll roish. Tra va'n lhong goll magh ass Divlyn ren yn Boddagh cur e chass noi yn jerrey eck as cur putt mooar j'ee, as ren ee goll shiaght veeilley lesh yn putt shen as va Nherin seyr. Ve smooinit dy re Boddagh yn Coaat Laatchagh va Mananagh [Manannan] Beg Mac y Leir, as myr v'eh bio tra shen t'eh feer lickly dy vel er er-mayrn foast.

TRANSLATION

(I have heard the old people say that Manannan Beg Mac y Leir was once king in Man. They used to say that he was a wizard and would go in the form of the three legs and roll over Man from one end to the other like the rim of a large wheel, and that one day he rolled out on to the sea from Jurby Point and was never seen thereafter. But I heard my father reading (about him) in the *Mona's Herald* - it is about fifty years ago and I fear that I have forgotten some of it.

There was a very strong man in England - I don't know whether he was king or not, but they called him Iron Bones. He would go through all the countries and challenge any man to wrestle or run with him, and if there was nobody in the country to take him up (on it) he would exact tribute from that country. In his travels through this part of the world he came to Dublin and went to the palace of the Irish king, and he said to the king that he would challenge any man to wrestle or to run with him. The king said that he would go to the house of Kit Mac Keelin to get him, as Kit Mac Keelin was the smartest man in his kingdom. And so the king went to get him as quickly as he could run. As the king was running through the wood to make the road shorter, he met with a big man like a giant, and he (the big man) took a grip on the king and held him. "Where are you going in such a mighty hurry?" said the big man. Then the king said that the man with the iron bones had come and had thrown down a challenge, and that he was on his way to get Kit Mac Keelin to run with him, for there was no one in the country who could wrestle with him. The big man said to him, "There's no need for you to go any further; I'll take a turn to run with him. Go home at once and tell him."

The king was afraid of the big man. He had a big coat on him down to his heels and his shoes were as large as small boats. And the king went back home in awe of him. When the king came home, he said to Iron Bones that he had met with a man in the wood who was willing to run with him. Iron Bones said that he would be very pleased to see the man before he would go and run with him. The king then led Iron Bones to the place where he had met the big man. When Iron Bones saw the big man he said that he was not a man but a giant, and asked the big man what his name was. "*Boddagh yn Coaat Laatshagh* - the Man with the Lace Coat", said the big man. "I'm not going to run with the likes of a greasy ugly man like him", said Iron Bones. "I'm only a man like yourself", said the Boddagh, "and the country will not be put under tribute till we see who will be the best runner."

And so Iron Bones was compelled to run with the Boddagh. The route was measured for them; they were to run for thirty miles and they were to begin the race the next day as soon as the day would break. They were to run from the wood. And so Iron Bones said that he would lie in the wood until morning, and the Boddagh also said that he would lie in the wood as well. Then Iron Bones went and made his bed under the point of a rock, and he gathered some dry grass to lie on. But the Boddagh began to break branches off the trees and to make a hut for himself to spend the night in. And in a short time he had made a very neat hut. When darkness came Iron Bones went to bed under the point of the rock and the Boddagh went to his hut. But after a short while Iron Bones heard a noise and came out for a look and he saw the Boddagh running after a wild pig. And when he caught it he made

a big fire to roast the pig. And when the pig was put on the fire the Boddagh went his way again and after a short while came back with a huge vessel of ale on his back. He then went to invite Iron Bones to come and have supper with him, but he refused to come. Then the Boddagh sat down down to his supper on his own, and he ate half of the pig and drunk half of the ale. Then he lay down and went to sleep, but Iron Bones did not get but little sleep for thinking on the race that would begin in the morning.

When day broke Iron Bones got up, but the Boddagh was not ready, he said, for he had not breakfasted. Iron Bones began to run, but the Boddagh sat down to eat the other half of the pig and to drink the (rest of the) ale. Then when he had finished eating and drinking, he began to run after Iron Bones. Within a short time he came upon Iron Bones and passed him at every place where the road was smooth. The Boddagh would cast a barrowful of mud off his heels with every step up on to his back until the big coat was covered with it from his shoulders down. At last the Boddagh came to a place where there were many brambles growing by the hedges, and he began to pick blackberries, and he ate some of them and put the rest in the pockets of his big coat. Iron Bones came upon him while he was picking the berries and he passed the Boddagh. The Boddagh did not notice him for he was picking berries at the time Iron Bones went by. When his pockets were so full of blackberries that they would not hold any more, he thought that Iron Bones was far away along the road. The Boddagh then ran after him in a great hurry and in a short time caught up with Iron Bones again. He passed him and kept on running for a mile or two ahead of Iron Bones. Then he took his time and he was not in so much of a hurry, as he was ahead of Iron Bones.

He thought about the blackberries and put his hand into his coat pocket to get a fistful, but the pocket was not there. He then put his hand into the other pocket, but that pocket was not there either. The weight of the blackberries had torn the pockets from the coat and they were lost along the road, and he did not feel that they were lost until he put his hands into them. Then he said to himself that he would be hungry before he would reach the end of his journey (the race), and that it would be better to go and look for the pockets. And so he turned about and went to look for his pockets. As he was coming along the road he met Iron Bones running ahead, and he asked him if he had seen his pockets anywhere on the road. He had not seen any pockets, said Iron Bones, but he had seen two bags lying on the road about five miles back. "They were my pockets", said the Boddagh. He then hurried to get them. And when he came to the pockets he took one under each arm and started running again. He paid no further attention to the blackberries till he came upon Iron Bones again.

Nothing else happened to the Boddagh to hinder him on the remainder of the road, and he got to the end of the race about two hours ahead of Iron Bones. And he said to the people living in the little village at his journey's end to bring him a full bag of groats and a large vessel to put the groats in. And so the people brought him the bag of groats of oat-grain and the large vessel to put the groats in. He then poured the groats into the vessel and emptied the pockets of blackberries in also and mixed them all up together. He then began eating very ravenously with each hand until he saw Iron Bones coming very sluggishly and limping along. And the Boddagh was eating and watching Iron Bones with each fistful he was eating. And when Iron Bones arrived he had eaten all but one fistful. He threw that at him and (it) turned (him) around. Iron Bones was then compelled to go on board the ship and go his way. As the ship was going out of Dublin the Boddagh put his foot against the stern and gave the boat a mighty shove, and it went seven miles with that shove. And Ireland was free. It was thought that Boddagh yn Coat Laatchagh was Manannan Beg Mac y Leir (Manannán mac Lir), and if he was alive then, it is very likely that he is still around') (GB).

4. Conclusion

The foregoing are the only known examples of *Fíanaigecht* surviving in Manx tradition. As can be seen, they are variants of similar songs and stories found in Ireland or Scotland, or both. In addition, the Manx variants, as we have seen, also show local colour, e.g.

1. In the song *Fin as Oshin* the hero *Garadh / Garaidh* is interpreted as *Gorree* (G. *Goraidh*), (mss. *Gorrey* (W), *Orree* (M, T)) probably representing the strong Manx king Godred Crovan (Mx. *Gorree Crovan*, ScG. *Goraidh Crobhan*) (1079-1095), King Orry of Manx tradition.
2. In the tale *Fin McCooil as yn Foawr* Fin's opponent is a giant who lives on the top of the mountain known as Barrule (i.e. South Barrule), while three ruined buildings on Burroo Ned at the

Sound in the English telling (Appendix 2a) are associated with Fin.⁴⁰

3. In the tale *Bodach an Chóta Lachtna* the Bodach (Boddagh) is equated with Manannán mac Lir, the guardian deity of Man, to whom the rent from the people of Man was paid every St. John's Eve (Midsummer Eve) (4/5 July Old Style) on the summit of (South) Barrule.⁴¹ So far as is known, this practice first finds reference in the "Manannan / Traditionary Ballad"⁴² (ca. 1500; cf. Thomson 1960-63):

*Yn Maal va cheet huggey as y Cheer
Va Bart dy Leaghyr ghlass dagh blein
As var ad gol lesh shen myr sfeer
Trooid ny Cheerey dagh iue'l Ean.*

*Part jeusyn va gol lesh seose
Mullagh y Chleau vooar Shen Barrool
Part elley jeu va furraght wass
Eck Mannanyn erskyn Kemeool.*

(‘the mail (i.e. tax) which was coming to him from the country / was a load of green rushes each year / and they used to take that, to be sure / through the country every St. John’s Eve (4/5th July, Old Style).

Some of them would go with it up / to the top of that big mountain Barrule / some of them would wait down / below by Manannan above Keamool (Dalby Mountain)’ (Kewley’s version, quatr. 6, 7; cf. Thomson 1960-63).

The importance of Barrule⁴³ in Manx tradition and its association with Manannán mac Lir would in my view also ensure a late survival among native Manxmen of residual Fenian material in which these elements feature.

4.1. *Fin as Oshin*

As we have seen, the song *Fin as Oshin* is attested in three manuscripts, two of whom (M, W) belong together (one a copy of the other, with some additional material) whose texts derive almost certainly from the same informant. The longest text (T) shows a more polished version of the song, and likely derives from a different informant. If so, this would suggest that the song, at any rate, was still rooted in Manx tradition at the time of collection (late 18th-century). In addition, the appearance of the name Garadh / Garaidh in Gaelic versions of the tale "The Burning of Finn's House", of which the poem "Fin as Oshin", as already noted, is a variant, has evidently been interpreted in the Manx version with the similar-sounding name Gorree (Orree in ms.)⁴⁴ (G. *Goraidh*), and if so would almost certainly refer to Godred Crovan (G. *Goraidh Crobhan*), the strong king of the Isles (Man and the Hebrides) (1079-95), and of Dublin (1079-94) whose dynasty ruled in Man and the Hebrides until 1265; a year later these areas were ceded to the Scottish crown in the Treaty of Perth (cf. Broderick 1979, 1980, McDonald 2007). The importance of Godred

40 Barrule 'look-out mountain', Sc. *varðar-fjall* < Sc. *vörðr*, g. *varðar* 'look-out, watch' + *fjall* 'mountain, fell'. Here initial *v-* has in Gaelic mouths been radicalised to *b-*. Intervocalic *-dh-* leaves no trace in Manx; *-mh-/-bh-* vocalises between vowels, as in the G. ending *-amhail* > *-úil*, Mx. *-oil*, *ooil*, which can attract the main stress (cf. PNIM/I: 53, VI: 64). In the northern section of Man there is a (North) Barrule, though Barrule here seems to mean 'cairn mountain', Sc. *varða* 'cairn', with the same phonological development (cf. PNIM/III: 306-307, IV: 62-63). The specifics 'North' and 'South' are first noticed (as 'N.' and 'S.' respectively) on the Peter Fannin map of 1789, thereafter also in documentation, etc. For (South) Barrule cf. PNIM/I: 53, PNIM/VI: 64-65; for (North) Barrule cf. PNIM/III: 306-307, PNIM/IV: 62-63, 140). Local Manx people, however, refer to the mountain, whether its northern or southern variant, simply as 'Barrule'.

41 For a discussion of the function and place of Manannán in Celtic tradition, see Vendryes (1953-54), Spaan (1965), Wagner (1981). For the tradition of paying rent to Manannán on the summit of Barrule on Midsummer Eve, see Broderick (2003: 87-88).

42 Though in ms. form of ca. 1770 date the poem, set in quatrains, on internal evidence can be dated to ca. 1500. It purports to give a short history of Man from before the introduction of Christianity (ca. 7th century) to ca. 1500, and though transmitted orally for much of its existence, seems likely to have originated in antiquarian speculation based on tradition, place-names and documentary history (cf. Thomson 1960-63).

43 Barrule is crowned by a hill-fort of Bronze Age / Iron Age provenance. For details see Gelling 1972, Chiverrell *et al.* (1999: 323).

44 The form *Orree* of the poem would derive from English 'King Orry' < 'King Gorree / Gorry', with coalescence of the *G-* of *Gorry* with the *-g* of 'king'.

Crovan - "King Orry" in Manx tradition⁴⁵ - would in my view be sufficient to ensure survival of the poem within local memory over a long period.

We have also seen that a tune was collected for this song by the revivalist Mona Douglas from, according to her, two informants Jack Kermode, Port Mooar, Kirk Maughold, and William Caine, Jurby Curragh, during the early years of the twentieth century. As noted earlier, there is only one known version of the tune, namely that (original and fair-copy) in MDMC/4. This would suggest that any differences between Kermode's and Caine's renderings of the tune were so small as not to warrant attention. Either that, or the tune was not collected at all, but is a composition?

For the song-text at any rate, the evidence at our disposal at present would lead us to believe that the song had already fallen out of the tradition sometime during the early-to-mid nineteenth century.⁴⁶

If, however, we believe that the survival of the tune (with text) is genuine - i.e. both had survived within the tradition but without written attestation (as with ScG. *Griogal Cridhe* above) - then one could perhaps postulate a continuation of the song within Manx memory until, say, the early part of the twentieth century?

4.2. *Fin McCooil as yn Foawr*

We have seen that this particular tale has been noted from more than one independent informant, i.e. Edward Faragher, Cregneash, Joe Mooar, Glen Rushen, and possibly others. In addition, we have also noted the relative frequency of the appearance of the Fin McCooil stanza - probably because of its use as a lullaby⁴⁷ - (though Faragher's *chrymsagh* would suggest a partial forgetting of the text). Nevertheless, this frequency would suggest that this tale (and stanza particularly) was still rooted in Manx tradition at the time of collection (ca. 1900) and likely continued to be so until the early decades of the twentieth century. This would likely apply also to the short tale "The Enchanted Isle" found Harrison 1860, as noted above.

4.3. *Boddagh yn Coonat Laatchagh*

As we have noted, this tale derives from the memory of an informant (Edward Faragher) who heard the story read probably in English⁴⁸ by his father (also Edward Faragher) from a Manx newspaper (*Mona's Herald*) some fifty years earlier (1841) and who later translated the story from memory into Manx. That is to say, that his Manx version is an interpretation of, and not a direct translation from, the English original, as a comparison between the two makes clear. Furthermore, in his introduction, as already noted, Faragher includes an aspect about Manannán mac Lir in Manx tradition not found in the Irish version. In this respect it could be said that the Faragher story (the only known Manx Gaelic version) in a manner of speaking derives from folk memory, but not traditional in the sense of being passed down from generation to generation over a long period. In this regard, in which literary material has been adapted in an oral context, this story, retold freely from memory, would be an example of reoralisation.

45 He is the first of four major personalities in the Manx pantheon, who ruled in Man at various periods. The other three are: James Stanley, seventh Earl of Derby (1642-1651; *Yn Stanlagh Mooar* 'the Great Stanley'), James Murray, second Duke of Atholl (1736-1765), Queen Victoria (1837-1901). Images of the aforementioned four figures can be seen just inside the entrance to the Tynwald parliament building in Douglas. For a general overview of Manx history see Kinvig 1975.

46 On the evidence of Manx tradition-bearer Tom Kermode (1825-1901), Bradda, nr. Port Erin (in the south of Man), that he "had not heard a Manx song sung for the last forty years", i.e. since ca.1840-50 (Strachan 1897: 54), it seems that the Manx secular song tradition started to become obsolete around that time, but nevertheless was still able to form part of the repertoire of the last native Manx speakers (cf. HSLM/I: Texts).

47 See also §1 for ScG. Fenian ballads used as lullabies (Blankenhorn).

48 Unless Faragher's father translated it into Manx as he went along? This is not specifically mentioned, and the import of Faragher's statement would imply that he heard the story in English.

4.4. *The Enchanted Isle at Port Soderick*

4. In the tale *The Enchanted Isle at Port Soderick* (Appendix 4) Fin MacCooil casts a spell over an enchanted isle near Port Soderick in revenge for an alleged insult he had received at the hands of its inhabitants, causing the island to submerge and its inhabitants turn to granite, but that every seven years the island would re-emerge, and the spell could be broken if any person placed a Bible on the island when it had reached its original altitude above the sea. In our version here an attempt is made to place a Bible on the island, but it fails.

All in all what do we have? All we can say for certain is that we have three pieces that can be regarded as genuine *Fíanaigeacht* residual within Manx tradition, namely, the song *Fin as Oshin* and the tale *Fin McCooil as yn Foawr* (as well as the attached Fin McCooil stanza) and *The Enchanted Isle*. The tale *Boddagh yn Cooat Laatchagh*, on the other hand, can be regarded as a reoralisation of a Fenian Tale in Manx tradition, rather than traditional in the accepted sense of that term. The surviving song material recorded from the memory of the last native Manx speakers contains no known Finn Cycle material.⁴⁹ The last vestiges of *Fíanaigeacht* within the traditional Manx consciousness, as represented by the Fin McCooil story and stanza, seem to have survived in Man down to the beginning of the twentieth century or thereabouts.

Abbreviations

Add. - Additional.	MNHL - Manx National Heritage Library.
AT - Aarne Thompson (qv.).	Murphy - Bishop Murphy's MS. Collection (St. Patrick's College, Maynooth).
BG - Bellum Gallicum (Caesar).	Mx. - Manx.
BL - British Library.	NFC - National Folklore Collection (UCD).
DF - Duanaire Finn (Mac Neill 1908, Murphy 1933, 1953).	NLI - National Library of Ireland.
GPN - Gaulish Personal Names (Evans 1967).	NMW - New Manx Worthies (Kelly 2006).
HLSM - Handbook of Late Spoken Manx (Broderick 1984-86).	PNIM - Place-Names of the Isle of Man (Broderick 1994-2005).
IPJ - Irish Penny Journal.	RIA - Royal Irish Academy.
LHEB - Language and history in Early Britain (Jackson 1953).	Sc. - Scandinavian.
MD - Mona Douglas.	ScG. - Scottish Gaelic.
MDMC - Mona Douglas Music Collection (in private possession).	SG - Silva Gadelica.
MH - Mona's Herald (newspaper).	TGSI - Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness.
MNFL - Manx Notes: Folkways and Language (Miller 1993-2013).	UCD - University College Dublin.

Bibliography

- AARNE, Annti & THOMPSON, Stith (1973): *The Types of the Folktale*. FF Communications 184, Helsinki.
- BELLUM GALLICUM (Caesar), ed.& trans. H. J. Edwards (1917): *Caesar: The Gallic War*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press (Loeb Classical Library). Reprinted 1919-1997.
- BLANKENHORN, Virginia S. (1979-80) Review: *From the Farthest Hebrides / Bho na h-Innse Gall as Iomallaiche*. Donald A. Fergusson (General Editor), Aonaghuis Iain MacDhomhnuill (Gaelic Editor), and Jean F.

⁴⁹ For details of the survival of song-texts among the last native Manx speakers, see HLSM/I (Texts). The last reputed native Manx speaker, Ned Maddrell, died on 27 December 1974 (cf. Broderick 1999: 44).

- Gillespie London (Music Editor). Macmillan, GBP9,95., *Scottish Review* 16 (Nov. 1979): 53-55. Reply from Prof. Donald A. Fergusson under the title 'A Gaelic stir', *Scottish Review* 18 (May 1980): 33-34. Final word from Virginia Blankenhorn *ibid.*: 34-37.
- BLANKENHORN, Virginia S. (ed.) (2014): '*Craobh nan ubhal*. A Festschrift in honour of John MacInnes'. *Scottish Studies* 37 (2014).
- BLANKENHORN, Virginia S. (2014a): 'Griogal Cridhe'. Aspects of transmission in the lament for Griogair Ruadh Mac Griogair of Glen Strae'. *Scottish Studies* 37 (2014): 6-36.
- BRAULT, G. J. (1993): 'A French source of the Lord Marshal's Roll (1295-96)'. *Antiquaries Journal* 73 (1993): 27-36.
- BRODERICK, George (1974-76): 'Four Manx folktales'. *Béaloideas* 42-44 (1974-76): 41-61.
- BRODERICK, George (1976): 'Fin McCooil as yn Foawr'. In an unpublished Festschrift for Kenneth Jackson, June 1976, to mark 25 years as Professor of Celtic in the University of Edinburgh.
- BRODERICK, George (ed.) (1979): *Cronica regum Mannie & Insularum. Chronicles of the Kings of Man and the Isles*. Douglas: Manx Museum and National Trust. Reprinted with minor revision by Manx National Heritage 1995, 2004.
- BRODERICK, George (1980): 'Irish and Welsh strands in the genealogy of Godred Crovan'. *Journal of the Manx Museum* VIII 89 (1980): 32-38.
- BRODERICK, George (1980-81): 'Manx traditional songs and song-fragments I'. *Béaloideas* 48-49 (1980-81): 9-29.
- BRODERICK, George (1981a): 'Baase Illiam Dhone'. *Celtica* 14 (1981): 105-123.
- BRODERICK, George (1981b): 'Manx stories and reminiscences of Ned Beg Hom Ruy'. *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 38 (1983): 113-178 (Introduction and Texts), 39 (1982): 117-194 (Translation and Notes).
- BRODERICK, George (1982): 'Manx traditional songs and song-fragments II'. *Béaloideas* 50 (1982): 1-41.
- BRODERICK, George (1983): 'Boddagh yn Coat Laaghagh. A Manx version of a Fenian tale'. *Béaloideas* 51 (1983): 1-10.
- BRODERICK, George (1984-86): *A Handbook of Late Spoken Manx*. Tübingen: Niemeyer. 3 vols.
- BRODERICK, George (1984a): 'Ny Kirree fo Niaghtey'. *Celtica* 16 (1984): 157-168.
- BRODERICK, George (1984b): 'Berrey Dhone - a Manx *Caillech Bérrí*? *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 40 (1984): 193-210.
- BRODERICK, George (1990): 'Fin as Oshin'. *Celtica* 21 (1990): 51-60.
- BRODERICK, George (1999): *Language death in the Isle of Man. An investigation into the decline and extinction of Manx Gaelic as a community language in the Isle of Man*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- BRODERICK, George (2003): 'Tynwald: A Manx cult-site and institution of pre-Scandinavian origin?' *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 46 (Winter 2003): 55-94.
- BRODERICK, George (2008): 'Mona Douglas and her songs'. *Béaloideas* 76 (2008): 193-247. Also in Miller (2004b): 117-157.
- BRODERICK, George (1994-2005): *Place-Names of the Isle of Man*. Tübingen: Niemeyer. 7 vols.
- BRUFORD, Alan J. (1969): *Gaelic folktales and Medieval romances*. Dublin: The Folklore of Ireland Society.
- CAMPBELL, J. F. (1872): *Leabhar na Féinne I*. London. Reprint Shannon 1972.
- CAREY, John (ed.) (2003): *Duanairé Finn: Reassessments*. London & Dublin: Irish Texts Society. Subsidiary Series 13.
- CAREY, John (2003a): 'Remarks on dating'. In: Carey (ed.) (2003): 1-18.
- CARSWELL, Robert (2004): 'The revival and reconstruction of Manx traditional dance'. In: Miller (2004b): 15-28
- CHALLAN, Maighread A. (2012): *Air bilean ant-sluaigh. Sealladh air leantalachd beul-aithris Ghàidhlig Uibhist a Tuath*. Béal Feirste: Cló Ollscoil na Banríona.
- CHIVERRELL, R. C. *et al.* (1999): 'Radiocarbon dates for the Isle of Man'. In: Davey, P. J. (ed.) (1999): *Recent arch-aeological research on the Isle of Man*. Oxford: BAR (British Series 278): 321-336.
- CHRISTIANSEN, Reidar Thoralf (1931): *The Vikings and the Viking wars in Irish and Gaelic tradition*. Oslo. Skrifter utgitt av det Norske videnskapsakademi Oslo, II hist.-filos. klasse, 1930, no. 1.
- COIMISIÚN BÉALOIDEASA ÉIREANN: NFC 338: *Story Caol Iarainn agus an Bodach* taken down from Donnchadh Clumháin, 54, Corca Dhuibhne, Co. Ciarraige, 13.04.1937.
- DUNBAR, A. M. (1890-91): 'Facsimiles of the Scottish Coats of Arms Emblazoned in the "Armorial de Gelre"'. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 25 (1890-91): 9-18, Plate 1.
- EVANS, D. Ellis Evans (1967): *Gaulish Personal Names*. Oxford: Clarendon.

- GELLING, P. S. (1972): 'The hill-fort on South Barrule and its position in the Manx Iron Age'. In: Lynch, F. & Burgess, C. (eds.) (1972): *Prehistoric man in Wales and the West*, 285-292.
- GILCHRIST, Anne G. (ed.) (1924-26): ['Manx Traditional Songs']. *Journal of the Folksong Society* VII/28-30 (1924-26). (Essentially a printing of the music and songs with discussion from the Clague Collection (of Manx traditional music), with some material collected by Sophia Morrison and Mona Douglas).
- GWYNN, E. G. (1904): 'The burning of Finn's house'. *Ériu* 1 (1904): 13-37.
- HARRISON, William (c.1860): 'The Enchanted Island at Port Soderick'. MNHS MS. 00136 001/2.
- IRISH PENNY JOURNAL* I/17 (24. Oct. 1840): 130-133 'Bodach an Chóta-Lachtna, or The Clown with the Grey Coat. A Fenian Tale. See also under *Mona's Herald*.
- JACKSON, Kenneth H. (1953): *Language and history in Early Britain, a chronological survey of the Brittonic languages 1st to 12th c. AD*. Edinburgh: University Press.
- KELLY, Dollin (ed.) (2006): *New Manx Worthies*. Douglas: Manx Heritage Foundation.
- KILLIP, Margaret (1975): *The folklore of the Isle of Man*. London: Batsford.
- KINVIG, R. H. (1975): *The Isle of Man. A social, cultural, and political history*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press. Third edition: a completely revised and reset version of the first edition of 1944.
- KOCH, John T. (1987): 'A Welsh window on the Iron Age: Manawydan, Mandubracios'. *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 14 (Winter 1987): 17-52.
- MACINNES, John (2006): 'Twentieth-century recordings of Scottish Gaelic heroic ballads'. In: Newton (ed.) (2006): 184-210.
- MAC NEILL, Eoin (ed.) (1908): *Duanaire Finn I*. London & Dublin: Irish Texts Society VII. See also under Gerard Murphy.
- MAC PIARAIS, Pádraic (1926): *Bodach an Chóta Lachtna*. Baile Átha Cliath: Conradh na Gaeilge. Mac Piarais bases his edition on two manuscripts: RIA 23M19 (1789) and RIA 23A49 (1766), more so on the former. First edition 1906.
- MACLEAN, Calum (1959): 'A folk variant of the Táin Bó Cuailgne'. *Arv* 15 (1959): 160-181.
- MAIER, Bernhard (1998): *Dictionary of Celtic religion and culture*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press. First published 1994 as *Lexicon der keltischen Religion und Kultur*. Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner.
- McDONALD, R. Andrew (2007): *Manx kingship in its Irish Sea setting 1187-1229*. Dublin: Four Courts Press.
- MEEK, Donald E. (2003): '*Duanaire Finn* and Gaelic Scotland'. In: Carey (ed.) (2003): 19-38.
- MILLER, Stephen (1993-2013): *Manx Notes: Folkways and Language*. Onchan: Chiollagh Books. Available online: <http://www.smo.uhi.ac.uk/~stephen/manxnotes/>.
- MILLER, Stephen (ed.) (2004a): *Mona Douglas. "Restoring to use our almost-forgotten dances". The collection and revival of Manx folk song and dance*. Onchan: Chiollagh Books. First published 1994 under the title: *Mona Douglas: Manx folk-song, folk-dance, folklore. Collected writings*.
- MILLER, Stephen (ed.) (2004b): "*Completed and restored to use.*" *Revival and dissemination of Manx folklore and tradition during the twentieth century*. Onchan: Chiollagh Books.
- MONA'S HERALD* Issues 19 & 26 January 1841, p. 4: "The Fire Side Story Teller. Bodach an Chota Lachtna; or, The Clown withe Grey Coat. A Fenian Tale" (in two parts). www.imuseum.im. See also under *Irish Penny Journal*.
- MOORE, A. W. (1886): 'Fin and Ossian: heroic poem (with introductory notice)'. *The Manx Note Book* II: 80-84.
- MOORE, A. W. (1891): *The folklore of the Isle of Man*. Douglas: Brown & Sons / London: Nutt. Facsimile reprint Llanerch Publishers, Felinfach, 1994.
- MOORE, A. W. (ed.) (1896): *Manx ballads and music*. Douglas. Facsimile reprint: Llanerch Publishers, Felinfach, 1998.
- MOORE, A. W. (1901): *Manx worthies*. Douglas. Reprinted 1971.
- MORRISON, Sophia (1929): *Manx Fairy Tales*. Douglas: Manx Museum and National Trust. First edition London: David Nutt, 1911. Second edition w. additional material Peel: L. Morrison, 1929, the latter reprinted in 1971. The Manannán Mac Lir story belongs to the first edition, the Finn MacCool story to all editions.
- MURPHY, Gerard (ed.) (1933): *Duanaire Finn II*. London & Dublin: Irish Texts Society XXVIII. See also under Eoin Mac Neill.
- MURPHY, Gerard (ed.) (1953): *Duanaire Finn III*. London & Dublin: Irish Texts Society XLIII. See also under Eoin Mac Neill.
- MURPHY, Gerard (1961): *Saga and myth in Ancient Ireland*. Dublin.
- NEWTON, Michael (ed.) (2006): *Dùthchas nan Gàidheal. Selected essays of John MacInnes*. Edinburgh: Birlinn.
- NEWTON, Michael (2013): 'Angus J. Macdonald: Radical Gaelic voice'. *The Virtual Gael* (09.12.2013): 1-2.

- Ó DOMHNAILL, Niall (2012-14): 'Bodach an Chóta Lachtna (Scéal Fiannaíochta)'. Ex: *Seanchas na Féinne*. An Chomhairle um Oideachas Gaeltachta & Gaelscolaíochta. 3D. Gaeilge. Collected by Ó Domhnaill traditionally from Donegal.
- O'DONOGHUE, D. J., (ed.) (1904): *The prose works of James Clarence Mangan*. Dublin & London.
- O'GRADY, Standish Hayes (ed.) (1892): 'Ag so turus Caol an iarainn meic rí na Tesáille go hÉirinn agus chom mífhortúnach is d'éirig a shiubal leis [Bodach an Chóta Lachtna]'. In: O'Grady (ed.) I (1892): 289-296 (from a 19th-century paper manuscript of Edward O'Reilly, BL Egerton 154). English translation in SG II (1892): 324-331.
- O'GRADY, Standish Hayes (ed.) (1892): *Silva Gadelica*. London & Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Reprint Dublin: Stationery Office, 1935. 2 vols.
- Ó hUIGINN, Ruairí (2003): 'Duanaire Finn: Patron and text'. In: Carey (ed.) (2003): 79-106.
- Ó MUIRCHEARTAIGH, Peadar (2016): 'Fin as Ossian revisited: a Manx ballad in Belanagare and its significance'. *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 63 (2016): 95-127.
- Ó SÚILLEABHÁIN, Seán & CHRISTIANSEN, Reidar Thoralf (1963): *The Types of the Irish Folktale*. FF Communications 188, Helsinki.
- ROEDER, Karl (Charles) (ed.) (1904): *Manx Notes and Queries*. Douglas.
- SPAAN, David B. (1965): 'The place of Manannan Mac Lir in Irish mythology'. *Folklore* 76/3 (autumn 1965): 176-195.
- STRACHAN, John (1897): 'A Manx folksong'. *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* I (1897): 54-58.
- THOMPSON, Stith (1966): *Motif Index of Folk Literature: a classification of narrative elements in folktales, ballads, myths, fables, medieval romances, exempla, fabliaux, jest-books and local legends*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 6 vols.
- THOMSON, Robert L. (1960-61): 'The Manx traditionary ballad'. *Études celtiques* 9 (1960-61): 521-548; 10 (1962-63): 60-87.
- THOMSON, Robert L. (1961): 'McLagan Manuscript 180'. *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 9/1 (April 1961): 9-22.
- TOLMIE, Frances (1997 [1911]): *One hundred and five songs of occupation from the Western Isles of Scotland*. Llanerch. Burnham-on-Sea. From *Journal of the Folksong Society* 16 (1911): 143-276.
- VENDRYES, Joseph (1953-54): 'Manannán mac Lir'. *Études celtiques* 6 (1953-54): 239-254.
- WAGNER, Heinrich (1981): 'Origins of pagan Irish religion'. *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 38 (1981): 1-28.
- WALDRON, George (1744): *The history and description of the Isle of Man...* London: Bickerton.
- WOOD, G. W. (1920): 'Fin as Oshin: the oldest ballad in the Manx language, from two Old Manx mss.'. *Proceedings of the Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society* II: 1912-25 (1920): 296-301.

APPENDIX

1. Fin as Oshin

For completeness and for purposes of comparison the texts of M and W, together with English translation, of *Fin as Oshin* are given here diplomatically. English translation in both cases by GB.

1a. Text M

A Manx ronag

Fin & Ossian

Hie Fin as Ossian magh *Lhaa*⁵⁰ dy Helg - Fala-loo as Fala-lee

Cha rou ad Doinney ayn, sloo ny keayd - Fa &

Qui da Daag ad ec y Thie, agh Orree beg - fa &c

Daag ec y Thie da-head Coo as da-head Quellan - fa

[5] As three cheed Ben aag & three chead shen Challagh

Doort Inneen Fin rish Inneen Ossian - Fala &c

50 interlined.

- Cre's nee mad Craid rish yn Roiee Gorree - fa &c
Kiangle mad yn Olt echey dys ny Cleayn - fa &c
As kerree mad yn aile dys y Chassyn - fa &c
[10] Clisshyt dy dug Orry beg as - fal &c
Dennee yn smuir ree as y Chass - fal &c
Hie Orree beg magh roish son ny kellgyn - fal &c
As y Spie-Choinnee er y Gheallin - fa &c
Hoght buirt moarey hug Eh lesh as falla-loo & fa &c
[15] As hoght Cannonyn ayns dagh Bart - fa &c
Hug eh bart ayns dagh Unniag & dagh Dorrys - fal
Agh er mean y laar hug eh yn Bart Sollyys - fal
Va Fin as Ossian sy tra shoh shelg - fal &c
Cha row Doinney ayn sloo ny Keayd - Fal &c
[20] Jeagh woar ren lheeney orroo as y ghlen neayr - fal &c
As Lheeney orroo ny smoo lesh y Ghea - fal &c
Ree Fin as ree Ossian Derrey d'aase Ossian skee - fal
Agh Fin moar hene sodjey chum rish ree - fal
Dullee Fin rish Ossian Gra dy trome - fal &c
[25] Cha vel fagyt ain agh toltanyn follum *lome*⁵¹ - fal

[then scribbled between two lines of Latin text on the reverse side]

Spheer liam dy mie quoi ren ny trickyn shoh
Agh Orry Beg eh daag shin ec y thie

TRANSLATION

('Fin and Ossian went out to hunt one day / They were no fewer than a hundred men / Whom did they leave at home but Orry Beg / (They) left at the house two hundred hounds and two hundred pups / and three hundred young women and three hundred old hags / Fin's daughter said to Ossian's daughter / How shall we make game of King Orry? / Let's tie his hair to the harrows / and apply the fire to his feet / Orry Beg suddenly shot up / (as soon as) he felt the marrow running out of his foot / Orry Beg made for the woods / with his gorse-hoe on his shoulder / Eight huge loads he brought out with him / and eight bundles in each load / He placed a load in each window and each doorway / and in the middle of the floor he placed the brightly (brightest) burning load / Meanwhile Fin and Ossian were hunting / They were no fewer than a hundred men / Thick smoke billowed over them from the glen to the west / and billowed over them all the more with the wind / Fin ran and Ossian ran till Ossian grew tired / but Fin Mooar himself kept on running longest / Fin shouted to Ossian, speaking mournfully / we've nothing left but desolate ruins / I know for sure who has played these tricks / (it is) Orry Beg whom we left at the house') (GB).

1b. Text W.

Fin as Ossian a Song

- Hie Fin as Ossian magh Lhaa dy Heilg
Ha row ad Dooinney ayn sloo ny Chead
Quoi daag ad eg a Thie agh Gorrey beg
Doort Inneen Fin rish Inneen Ossian
[5] Crys nee mayd Craid mysh Ree Gorrey

⁵¹ interlined.

- Kiangle mayd y Olt seose gys ny Chlein
As Greesee mayd yn Ile magh gys y Eill
Moostey dy dug Gorrey beg ass
Dennee eh yn Smuirr roie ass y Chass
- [10] Hie Gorrey beg er son ny Cheillagh
As y Speih Chonnee er y Gheallyn
Hoght Bhuiirt hug eh lesh ass
Hoght Chonnanyyn va ayns dagh Bart
Hug eh Bart ayns dagh Innhag
As Bart ayns dagh Dorrys
- [15] Er main y Lhaare hug eh'n Bart Sollys
Va Fin as Ossian rish y Tra shoh sheilg
As ha row ad Dooiney ayn sloo ny Chead
Jeagh woar haink orroo as y ghlen Nhear
As lhean ee orroo as lesh a Ghea
- [20] Roie Fin as roie Ossian
Tra va Ossian skee beign da soie
Agh Fin moar hene sodjey chum rish roie
Dyllee Fin back gys Ossian
Cha vel ayns shoh agh Toltanyyn follym
- [25] Quoi ren ny Trickyn shoh agh Gorrey beg
Chossyn eh vow ayns Thoul fo Chregg
Cha row ad able Gorrey beg a gheddin ass
Agh Phluck ad eh magh er Chass

[inserted slightly later by another hand]

Lesh Cabbyll keoie eisht reap ad eh dy Baase

[in original hand]

NB In Singing the above Song, fallallee and fallaleu are repeated after every line.

TRANSLATION

(Fin and Ossian went to hunt one day / They were no fewer than a hundred men / Who did they leave at the house but Gorree Beg / Said Fin's daughter to Ossian's daughter / How shall we mock King Gorree / We'll tie his hair up to the harrows / and we'll apply the fire to his flesh / Gorree Beg gave out a sudden start / he felt the marrow running out of his foot / Gorree Beg made for the wood / and a gorse-hoe on his shoulder / Eight huge loads he brought out with him / and eight bundles were in each load / He placed a bundle in each window / and a bundle in each doorway / In the middle of the floor he placed the brightest bundle / Fin and Ossian were at this time hunting / they were no fewer than a hundred men / A great smoke came on them from the glen to the west / and spread itself over them with the wind / Fin ran and Ossian ran / When Ossian was tired he had to sit down / but Fin Mooar kept on running / Fin called back to Ossian / there is nothing here but desolate ruins / Who did these tricks but Goree Beg / he got away from them in a hole under a rock / They were not able to get Gorree Beg out of it / but they plucked him out by the feet / With wild horses then they tore him to death') (GB).

For the sake of completeness we append the English versions of the stories *Fin McCooil as yn Foawr* and *Boddagh yn Coaat Laatchagh* as told by Edward Faragher himself to Karl Roeder for inclusion in his *Manx Notes and Queries* (Roeder 1904). They are supplied here also as examples of

Faragher's English. Typological errors here are silently omitted.

2. Fin McCooil as yn Foawr

Told in English by Edward Faragher, Cregneash, to Karl Roeder and printed by him as Note 216 in *Manx Notes and Queries* (1904: 93-94). The final note is from Roeder himself.

2a. FINN MAC COOIL OF THE SOUND CHALLENGED BY THE GIANT OF SOUTH BARRULE

"I heard a story about Finn Mac Cooil. They say he lived at the Sound, and there are ruins of three houses on the Burrow Ned. I suppose they were his dwelling-house and stable and barn. I heard them say that he was a very strong man, and he was coming along the road and called to some men trying to get s horse out of a ditch, and they could not get him out. When Mac Cooil came up he told them to leave the horse for him, and he took the horse by the tail and drew it up on the road, and nine men could not do it.

There was a giant that lived on South Barrule and he was very powerful, and thought himself the strongest man in the Island. When he heard of Finn Mac Cooil taking a horse out of a ditch by the tail, he came to the Sound one day to have a wrestle with Finn to see which of them was strongest.

And Finn was outside the house, when he saw the giant coming across the fields. There was no highway to the Sound in those days. (I remember when the Sound road was made myself.) So Finn went in the house when he seen the giant coming, he lay down in the cradle, and told his mother not to tell the giant who he was. The giant came in and asked if Mr Mac Cooil was at home. His mother said he was not at home at present, but she expected him soon. So the giant thought to have a walk in the field while waiting for Mac Cooil to come home, but he had a look in the cradle and asked the old woman who was in the cradle. 'Finn Mac Cooil's eldest son,' said the mother. 'He has a very strong beard for a young chap,' said the giant, and he went out to have a walk in the fields.

Finn got out at the back door, and was in the field with the cows when the giant came to him. 'Who are you ?' said the giant to Finn. 'I am Mr Mac Cooil's cowboy,' said Finn. So the giant began to question him about his master: how big he was, and how much beef could he eat at a meal. He told him a great yarn about Finn, how strong he was and what wonders he had done, and that he could eat a cow at a meal. He intended to frighten the giant and to get him away, but the giant did not mean to go away that soft, without having a wrestle with Finn. So he thought he would take away one of the cows to try if he could eat the whole of it; and he took hold of the cow by a horn, and intended to pull the cow after him, but Finn took hold of the other horn, and they pulled the horns off the cow. The giant thought then that Mac Cooil must be a great man when his cowboy was so strong.

Then he left the cowboy and went walking, and Finn went home to the house and told his mother that the giant was to lodge at their house that night, and she was to make two cakes of oatmeal for their supper, to make his cake pretty soft, he said, and to put the griddle in the middle of the giant's cake.

So the mother did as he told her, and when the giant came back from his ramble in the fields, Finn went to meet him and told him he was Finn Mac Cooil, that he had just got home off his journey, and that he would have to wait until the morning to try their strength, as he was tired and wanted a night of rest. So the giant was agreeable to wait till the morning. Then Finn invited him to supper, and Finn's mother laid out the supper for them. I don't think it was tea, for there was no tea in Europe in Finn's day. I suppose it would be bread and milk. So they sat down to supper, and Finn was able to chew his cake easy enough, but the giant could not get his teeth through it, and he thought it was a wonderful thing that Finn could chew his cake so easy and he could not chew it at all. 'Mac Cooil,' thought he, 'must be stronger than myself. He is a wonderful man. I think it would be better to make the best of my way home again, but that would be cowardly in a big man like myself to be afraid of a little man like Mac Cooil. So I will lodge here for the night and have a go at him in the morning.' So the old lady made a shakedown for the giant in the barn.

When the morning came it was very warm, and Finn said they would have a wrestle after breakfast; but the poor giant could eat no breakfast, and he refused to take anything for fear of Mac Cooil seeing that he could not chew his bread. When Finn was ready, he said to the giant that the day was very warm and that they had better take a swim to freshen them before the wrestle. 'With all my heart,' said the giant.

Then Finn said to his mother : 'Put all the bread in the house in my wallet, and a small crock of butter, and a cheese or two.' The giant stood by wondering. He said at last: 'And what would Mac Cooil be after doing with all that?' 'For provision for its while we are swimming,' said Mac Cooil, 'for we may be hungry; a long swim sharpens my appetite.' 'I thought we were only going to swim in a river or pond,' said the giant. 'Ah, no !' said Finn, 'we are going to swim in the sea, as there is plenty of room for a race. I often go as far as Wales.' The giant said no more, but got out of the house as fast as possible, and got home again fast as he could. And Mac Cooil got clear of him, for he was afraid to come again, that he would not be shamed."

"From an old man in the Sound, who got it from his grandfather." [Roeder].

2b. JOE MOORE'S STORY OF FINN MAC-COOILL AND THE BUGGANE

This version, told in Manx-English by Joe Moore, Close ny Lheiy, Glen Maye, Kirk Patrick, was collected by Manx folklorist Sophia Morrison (1859-1917) seemingly during the first decade of the twentieth century and printed by her, along with twenty or so other traditional stories, in 1911 (cf. Morrison 1911), reprinted with additional material in a second edition in 1929 (cf. Morrison 1929: 45-49).

"This Finn MacCooill was an Irish giant, and the Buggane⁵² was a Manx giant. But, anyway at all, this Finn came across from the Mountains of Mourne to see what was the Isle of Mann (*sic*) like, for he was seeing land. He liked the island uncommon well, so he stopped in it, living out Cregneish was. The Buggane was great talk about the giant Finn MacCooill that was in the Sound,⁵³ so he came down from the top of Barrule to put a sight on him. Finn knew that he was coming to have a fight with him, to see who was best man, and Finn did not want to fight. "Lave him to me," says the wife; "an' I'll put the augh-ough on him!"

Before long they caught sight of the Buggane, and he was a walking terror. He was coming from Barrule to them, in a mighty pursue.

"Slip in the cradle, Finn," says she. "It's me that'll spake to him."

Up comes the Buggane to the door, hot-foot.

"Where's Himself?" says he.

"This man is gone from home this bit," says she. "What is it you are wantin' with him?"

"Aw, there is no hurry on me. I'll put my fut inside and wait till he comes back," says he.

"Plaze yourself," says she, "an' you'll plaze me; but I must get on with my bakin'."

"Who have you got in the criddle?" says he.

"That's our baby," says she.

"An' in the name of the Unknown Powers, what sort of a man is he Himself if his baby is that big?"

"He's very big an' powerful," says she. "An' the child is favourin' the father."

She was baking barley bread, and when the baking was done at her, she took the griddle and put it between two cakes of bread, and gave it to the Buggane to eat, with a quart of buttermilk. He went to try and eat, and he couldn'.

"Aw, man alive! But this is the hard bread," says he. "What sort have you given me at all, at all?"

"That's the sort I'm giving Finn," says she.

"An' will Finn's teeth go through this?"

"Aw, yes, Finn thought nothing at all of 'ating that - that's the sort of bread he was wantin'," says Thrinn.

Finn got up out of the cradle, and began to roar for a piece. She fetched him a clout on the lug.⁵⁴

"Stop your noisin'," says she, "An' stand straight and don't be puttin' the drone on yer back like that." And givin' him a butter-cake, she says:

"Ate, ate, lash into ye, an' let's have no lavins."⁵⁵

52 ScG. *bòcan*.

53 i.e. the Calf Sound, a small stretch of water between Man and the Calf of Man.

54 'a slap on the ear'.

55 cf. the Manx saying: "Better belly bust than no mate [meat] waste," cf. ScG. saying: *Is fheàrr sgur na sgàineadh, ach is fheàrr sgàineadh na biadh math a fhàgail* 'better to stop than to burst, but better to burst than to leave good food.'

"You'll have the chile's teeth broke in his head, woman. He can navar ate bread as hard as that!" says the Buggane.

"Aw, he can do that with life," says she.

"But that done the Buggane; he sleeted out and claned away again. He thought if Finn was that strong and the baby that big, he had better catch home again.

But it was not long until the Buggane and Finn did meet, and then they had the battle! One day Finn met the Buggane over at Kirk Christ Rushen, and they went at each other early in the day till the sunset. Finn had one fut in the Big Sound, an' so he made the Channel between the Calf and Kittlerland, and the other in the Little Sound, an' so he made the narrow Channel between Kittlerland and the islan⁵⁶ The Buggane was standin' at Port Iern [Port Erin] - that's what made the fine big openin' at Port Iern. The rocks were all broken to pieces with their feet. But, anyway, the Buggane came off victorious and slashed Finn awful, so he had to run to Ireland. Finn could walk on the sea, but the Buggane couldn'; and when Finn got off and he couldn' get more revenge on him, he tore out a tooth and hove it whizzing through the air after Finn. It hit him on the back of the head, and then it fell into the sea and became what we are now calling the Chickens' Rock⁵⁷ [to]. Finn turned round with a roar and a mighty curse:

"My seven swearings of a curse on it,"⁵⁸ says he. "Let it lie there for a vexation to the sons of men while water runs and grass grows!"

And a vexation and a curse has it been to seamen from that day to this."

3. Boddagh yn Cooit Laatchagh

Told in English by Edward Faragher, Cregneash, to Karl Roeder and printed by him as Note 214 in *Manx Notes and Queries* (1904: 91-93). The final paragraph is by Roeder himself.

THE STORY OF THE BODDAGH YN COOIT LAATCHAGH, OR THE CHURL WITH THE LACING COAT

"It was about a great champion called Iron Bones; he was a great warrior and a great runner. I don't know what was his proper name, or whether he was a king or a prince. It is so long ago since I heard my father telling it that I can recollect but very little of it. But this Iron Bones was visiting all countries in Europe, and when he landed in any country he went at once to the king's palace, and challenged the king to get any man in his kingdom that could fight and conquer him. or beat him at running. If he found any man that could beat him in fighting or running he soon left the country, but if there was no man in the country that could beat him, he made that country pay tribute to him.

It appears that he was not meeting with any one that could beat him in any country, and at last he came to Ireland and went to the palace. He was admitted to the king's presence, and he told the king that he was the great champion called Iron Bones, and if the king had any man in Ireland that could fight him or beat him in a race, he (the king) must get the man as fast as possible.

The king said he did not think he had any man in his kingdom that would like to fight with him, but he thought he could get one to have a race with him. So he told the king to go and get the runner, and he would wait until next morning to run against him. So the king called his prime minister, and enquired of him where he could find a good runner. So the prime minister told him that Kitt McKeelen, the man of swiftness, was the best man.

The king set out at once to go to Kitt's house. He was the swiftest man in Ireland, and it appears that Kitt's house was not very distant, for the king was running on foot. He came to a grove of trees. and he thought he would be at Kitt's house sooner by crossing the wood. He had but just entered the wood when he met a very big man, almost as big as a giant with a big coat down to his heels, and big broags on his feet as large as little boats, and, as the weather was wet and the roads very mucky, the big man threw about a barrowful of muck off his heels

56 Place-names in the Calf Sound. The 'islan' meant here is the Isle of Man itself.

57 A rocky outcrop topped by a lighthouse in the sea just south of the Calf of Man.

58 Mx. *my hiaght mynney mollaht er* - a death curse.

at every stride. The king felt nervous when he saw the big man, and the big man's face was very yellow, and seemed to be well greased.

'Where art thou going in such a hurry?' said the big man to the king, but the king was desirous to get away from him as fast as possible, but he caught hold of the king, and he could not get out of his grasp. So the king told him about Iron Bones, and that he was going to Kitt McKeelens to get him to have a race with Iron bones.

'Thou need'st not go no further,' said the Big fellow. 'I will race with him in the morning, and go back and tell him so.'

Then the king went home again, and they were all surprised that he was returned from Kitt's House in so short a time. But the king told them that he met a man in the wood that was willing to have a run with Iron Bones, and that he would be ready to start whenever Iron Bones thought proper.

So Iron Bones was desirous to see the man that was to have him race with him, and the king took him to the wood where the big man was. When Iron Bones saw the big fellow, he asked him what was his name. 'Boddagh yn cooit laatchagh', or 'the body with the lacing coat, in English.'

Iron Bones said he objected to run with such a big, ugly greasy Boddagh as that, but the Boddagh told him he was only a man, and if he would not run with him he must depart out of the country at once. Then Iron Bones consented to have a race in the morning. They were to run forty or fifty miles, I forget which. So in the evening Iron Bones went to the wood. They were to start from the wood at daybreak. The Boddagh began to cut branches of trees to build a shed to sleep in for the night, and he was not long in making one. He invited Iron Bones to come and share the hut with him, but Iron Bones refused, and went and laid down underneath the end of a rock. He was not very long lying there until he was startled by a great noise. He got up to see what was up, and he saw the Boddagh in chase of a wild hog.

He soon caught the hog and killed him and lit a fire and roasted the hog while he was away somewhere looking for ale. He soon came back with a barrel of ale under each arm. He came to Iron Bones and invited him to come and have supper with him, but Iron Bones refused. The Boddagh devoured half the hog and drank one of the ale barrels; then he lay down to sleep.

When Iron Bones awoke at the dawn he awoke the Boddagh. The Boddagh told Iron Bones that he had better start, because he wanted his breakfast before he started. So he ate the other half of the hog and emptied the other barrel of ale. Then he started to run after Iron Bones. He was not very long until he overtook Iron Bones and passed him. He ran on until he came to a place where the blackberries were very plentiful, as they always are in Ireland unto the present season. The Boddagh began to gather blackberries and eat them, and what he could not eat he put them in the pockets of his big coat, while Iron Bones passed him, and left him out of sight gathering blackberries.

When the pockets were full, the Boddagh started to run again, and overtook Iron Bones and passed him a long way. Then he began to run at leisure, until he put his hand into one of his coat pockets to get some blackberries to eat, but there was no pocket. He put the other hand in his pocket then, and that pocket was also gone: the weight of the blackberries had torn the pockets out of his coat while running, but he did not know that the pockets were lost until he put his hands into them. Then he went back again to look for his pockets, and after a while he met Iron Bones, and he asked if he had seen his pockets on the road.

'No,' said Iron Bones, 'but I seen a couple of sacks about four miles behind me.'

'That was my pockets,' said the Boddagh, and hurried back to get them. When he found them he had to carry them under his arms; so he commenced to run again, and overtook Iron Bones and passed him, and did not stop until he was in Dublin. which was the end of the race. He got a sack of groats and mixed the groats among the blackberries, and began to eat it as fast as he could. He had all devoured to the last handful when Iron Bones arrived; the Boddagh was often looking towards Iron Bones as he was nearing him. So the Boddagh threw the last handful of groats and blackberries at Iron Bones, which turned him quite round about.

The Boddagh bade Iron Bones go on board his ship and go away, and when, the ship's head was turned out to sea the Boddagh put his foot against the ship's stern and gave her a shove, and it was said the ship went five miles with the shove from the Boddagh's foot."

The attached note is supplied by Roeder.

"This Boddagh, according to Manx tradition, lived somewhere in the North of the Island. He was supposed to live in Ireland after he rolled into the sea at Jurby; Mannanan Beg Mac y Leir was his name in the Island, but he gave himself the name of Boddagh yn cooit laatechagh when he was

going to run a race with Iron Bones in Ireland. C. ROEDER."

4. The Enchanted Isle

Recorded by William Harrison c.1860 from Nora Cain who often heard it from her grandmother, but told by him in his own words. MNHL MS 00136 001/2. A version of Motif Index F725 "submarine world" and F730 "extraordinary island".

"It was in the days of the great Fin Mac Coul, that mighty magician, who, for some insult he had received from the people who lived on a beautiful Island off that Port [Port Soderick], that he cast his spell over it, & submerged it to the bottom of the ocean, transforming the inhabitants into blocks of granite. It was permitted them, once in seven years, to rise to the surface for the short space of thirty minutes, during which time the enchantment might be broken if any person had the boldness to place a Bible on any part of the enchanted land when at its original altitude above the waters of the deep.

On one occasion, it was about the end of September on a fine moonlight night, Nora was sauntering along the little bay in sweet converse with her lover, when she observed something in the distance which continued to increase in size. It struck her to be none other than the enchanted isle she so often had heard of. It continued gradually rising above the surface of the water, when, suddenly disentangling herself from the arm of her lover, hastened home with all the speed she could, & rushed into the cottage, crying out, breathless with her haste. The Bible, the Bible, the Bible! to the utter amazement of the inmates, who could not at the moment imagine what has possessed her. After explaining what she had seen, she seized hold of the coveted volume and hastened back to the beach, but, alas! only just in time to see the last portion of the enchanted isle subside once more to its destined fate for another seven years submersion.

From that night poor Nora gradually pined away, & was soon after followed to her grave by her disconsolate lover. It is said from that time no person has had the hardihood to make a similar attempt, lest, in case of failure, the enchanter in revenge might cast his club over Mona⁵⁹ also."

⁵⁹ Latin name for the Isle of Man.

FIN - AS OSHIN.

William Cairne Jarry Carragh
Jack Kermodie
Port Mear. (14)

Glass D.

La mode from D. Don

He Fin as; O-shin magh laa dy helgi; Fa, la, loo; Fa, la, lee!
 Cha row ad dooinney ayn sloo ny keead, Fa, la, loo; as fa, la, lee; Quoi
 Laag ad ee y thie agh Or-ry beg, Fa, la, loo; as fa, la, lee!

[↑ this a fair copy of below ↓
1979]

Fin - as oshin
 He Fin as Oshin magh laa dy helgi. Fal-lu-lo, Fal-la-lee Cha row ad dooinney
 sloo ny keead, Fal-la-was Fal-la-lee dooinney laag ad ee y thie agh Or-ry beg Fal-la-
 loo as Fal-la-lee!