IN A PREVIOUS Festschritt compiled half a century ago in honour of another great Irish scholar, Eoin MacNeill, appeared what would seem to remain the only comprehensive attempt thus far to relate a specific early Irish story to a specific modern Irish folktale in terms of narrative content and pattern. The story concerned was *Echt (e) Ner (i)* (henceforth EN) and the author of the article was Séamus Ó Duilearga, who had an unrivalled knowledge of the living oral tradition. It is interesting to note that while he, like many others, would continue to emphasise the importance of the oral process in the shaping of the saga texts, no further studies of this kind were to appear; instead, supporting arguments ranged from mere assumption of the oral-literary relationship to consideration of general structural and stylistic features. And while certain romantic tales have been examined with a view to determining their complex genesis, most notably by Alan Bruford, we tend to regard them as being in a special category: that whatever the precise contribution of manuscript writing/reading and non-literate composition/transmission, or any combination thereof, each tale will remain an identifiable entity within a distinct class, to be considered in terms of its individual history, which it will share to some degree with others of its kind. Inevitably, in the nature of things, neither tale nor class can remain entirely watertight and study of the romance will require occasional reference to the more anonymous folktale of the international kind, to the folk motif and to such general narrative devices as the 'run'. But while there may be coincidence on points of detail, however explained, we do not expect to find overall correspondence between tales belonging to the separate genres, although a thorough search may yet reveal some examples; but, for the present at least, EN would seem to be *sui generis*, if not in the literature then at least in its scholarship. Some reasons for its special position will be suggested below, but the main purpose of this article will be to demonstrate that Ó Duilearga may not have selected the most appropriate modern oral analogue and because of this may have failed to explain EN as a unit; I would hope to show that such a unitary explanation is possible by means of a different although similar model.

The model chosen by Ó Duilearga will account for only 45 of the 196 printed lines of Meyer's edition, although even that much cannot be regarded as insignificant. A related difficulty is that, while he would seem to imply that this division of the story tends to confirm and supplement that of Thurneysen, in reality he differs as much from the literary

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scholar in this respect as he does in his general approach. Rather curiously — although perhaps less so in the ambiance of the period when such things served to confer respectability on studies of a literary nature — the only point of disagreement which he mentions in his introductory remarks is the largely irrelevant one of date.

Thurneysen [Heldensage], p. 312, would put the tale in its present form as far back as the tenth cent. — ‘Die ganze Erzählung scheint mir inhaltlich . . . kaum vor das 10 Jahrhundert zu setzen zu sein’. But he would now put the text still further back to the eighth century. It is evident, as Thurneysen points out, [Heldensage], 311, that E.N. is a compilation of two recensions of the tale rather clumsily merged into one another. But the opening episode of E.N. with which this paper is concerned (= Meyer’s edit. II. 1–45) is complete in itself, and originally had nothing whatever to do with Nera’s further adventures, with which the main body of the text is taken up.3

The private communication which he quotes in a footnote in support of the earlier date — ‘Ich finde kein ernstliches Hinderniss wenn Sie ihn [i.e. EN] ins 8 Jahrhundert setzen wollen und auf das blédnai Gewicht legen’ — hardly amounts to ‘putting the text further back to the eighth century’. Nor, for that matter, does his earlier statement — ‘Die ganze Erzählung scheint mir inhaltlich . . . kaum vor das 10 Jahrhundert zu setzen zu sein’ — necessarily ‘put the tale in its present form as far back as the tenth cent.’; rather it served to emphasise its relative lateness as it appeared to him at the time of writing. But since there has been no comprehensive linguistic study of the text — the only examples referred to by Thurneysen being the aforementioned blédnai for bladnai, which he was not disposed at first to regard as a genuine archaism, and some verbal forms in -enn, such as do-airthenn, ‘die vor dem 11. Jahrhundert nicht möglich sind’4 — and since it is the form of the tale rather than the language in which it is encoded that is of primary interest to us, it would be fruitless to pursue the matter further at this juncture.

As we shall be concerned with the whole of EN and not merely with Ó Duilearga’s ‘opening episode’, which as we have seen amounts to less than a quarter of the text, it will be useful to rehearse Thurneysen’s opinion concerning the forces that contributed to its shaping or mis-shaping. The story, he would claim, is not a coherent one: there are verbal (lines 90–92 being repeated at 192–4) and other duplications. For example Nera twice returns to Cruachan from the sid, on each occasion

3Ó Duilearga, ‘Nera and the dead man’, 522.
4R. Thurneysen, Die irische Helden- und Königssage [Halle 1921] 312, [abbreviated as Heldensage]. For the alternation blédnai/bladnai etc. see further R. Thurneysen, A grammar of Old Irish (Dublin 1946) 36 § 53; for the development of the -enn conjunct ending see G. Murphy, ‘Notes on analogy in Middle Irish conjugation’ in Féilseachtaí Éiden Mhic Neill, 72–81, pp. 73–5; K. McCone, The early Irish verb (Maynooth 1987) 224–7.
Echtrae Nerai and its analogues

giving an account of his adventures, on the second as though for the first time; in both instances there is a delay of one year before the sid can be attacked. Such duplication suggests to him that two parallel tales have been mingled as one, in such a manner that the end of the first has been attached to the beginning of the second, the middle sections of each being included in the composite text and linked to one another in makeshift fashion. He would consider it likely that the division occurs at line 140 with Er g as tr, that the title Echtra Nemi, found in Lists A and B and in the Book of Leinster catalogue of remscela, properly belongs to what has gone before, while Tám bó Ainge[i]n, the Yellow Book of Lecan title as he would emend it, originally referred to what followed as it is only in this later section that the fairy woman is called bén-Aingeni (although he would also allow that the YBL title may not be original but a later inference from the text of the story).

The process envisaged by Thurneysen is then a highly mechanical one; the idea of such insensitive bludgeoning of their materials by late editors would seem scarcely more plausible, at least as a general solution to the ills of the tradition as received, than the extreme oral thesis, equally mechanical in concept, which would claim that such texts as this which 'begin well, but tail off badly as the story proceeds', can be explained on the hypothesis of recording from oral recitation. Rather than be bound by such theories in this instance, we shall begin with the proposition that a story, no matter how fragmented it may appear or how diverse the reasons for its fragmentation, is, by virtue of its being a story, a unity of sorts; and it is this unity, however less than ideal, that we have primarily to address. In being repetitive it is not necessarily being redundant. The cyclical might, for instance, be part of the pattern of emphasis or result from the exploration of various narrative boundaries while remaining generally consistent with the objective to be achieved: the story's direction must be found by way of the various indications imposed by all of the cultural circumstances that applied to its composition, redaction or transmission. Each element, be it of subject matter or environment, will tend to exert its own individual force, a

5 Heldensee, 311-12.
6 The classic statement is that of D. A. Bichly, who, having given reasons for regarding Scél Céna as a compilatory text, would extrapolate: 'It is noteworthy that the Deirdre story, which seems to have been committed to writing as early as the eighth century, underwent a similar "revision" about A.D. 1100 (see Hull, pp. 29 f.), which accounts for the late forms one meets in it from time to time. For other sagas, too, we have evidence of "interpolation" dating from roughly the same period: Brudin Da Dergo, Liadhain and Cuiriirthir, Serglige Con Culaind, and the Táin itself. Indeed it is difficult to resist the conclusion that most of the earlier sagas and stories that have survived were "re-edited" about this time, perhaps as a by-product of the widespread revival of "antiquarianism" which led to the compiling of works like the Dindshenchas' (D. A. Bichly ed.), Scél Céna mein Gertaírn (Dublin 1963) xiv).
7 For a survey and estimation of such theories see S. Ó Coileáin, 'Oral or literary? some strands of the argument', Studia Hibernica 17-18 (1977-8) 7-35.
force that may or may not be controlled by the centripetal overall thrust of the narrative. The purpose of our study must be to examine these diverse elements, in so far as they can be discovered, as they compete for supremacy in the generation of the text, and to identify the cohesive force that gave them shape. First to recapitulate: in EN we have to do with a story of 196 lines of printed text which Thurneysen would analyse into two parts dividing at line 140, while Ó Duilearga would see the opening 45 lines or so as a distinct entity having no connection with the remainder. Thus, while they agree that the tale is an amalgam of sorts, they differ as to the point or points of separation, a disagreement that is hardly surprising in itself considering their very different perspectives, but one either not observed or else deliberately ignored by Ó Duilearga when commenting on Thurneysen’s earlier findings which, whatever he may imply or have thought to the contrary, his own study would seem to contradict rather than to confirm. What, for instance, would he have us make of lines 45 to 140? Are we tacitly to assume a further segmentation resulting in a story of three parts rather than of two? The answer would seem to be that for what followed line 45 he had no oral model and consequently no real concern.

But there is a further and more serious difficulty: if EN is not fulfilled in the oral model, neither, as we shall see, is the oral model fulfilled in EN. This double frustration of sequence suggests an underlying incompatibility in which model and story take equal share. For the adequacy of the pattern is no less at issue than the explication of the text; in each lies the resolution of the other. But to restore continuity it will be necessary to return to the point of departure, from there to survey the narrative; in order to anticipate the direction in which it was tending from that point onwards it is at first necessary to understand the route by which it had arrived there. Following a detailed analysis, collectively and individually, of thirty-nine variants of a tale, which by reason of its resemblance to EN he calls EN2, recorded in various districts on behalf of the Irish Folklore Commission during the years 1931–8, Ó Duilearga goes on:

On comparison of E.N.2 with E.N. the following main lines of agreement are clearly evident:

I.A. Fearless man on quest.
I.B. Meeting with dead man (devil).
II.A.B. Dead man (devil) unable to enter first two houses.
II.C. Dead man (devil) enters third house.
III.A. Punishment of dwellers in third house by dead man (devil) for neglect to observe custom (E.N.) – for quarrelling (E.N.2).

While he notes that they diverge from this point onwards, EN2 going on to describe how punishment is averted and evil vanquished, he concludes: ‘It is quite evident that Echtra Nerai and the modern folktale are
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identical, and even a cursory glance at the analysis of the folk-variants will show how closely they resemble each other. One might argue that the divergence had already taken place within section IIIA, to the extent that, while in EN the punishment would seem to follow inevitably from what has gone before, in EN2 it is separately (or at any rate additionally) motivated. But it is also true that, apart from the common framework outlined above, there are some marked resemblances on point of detail. For instance, the lake of fire around the first house to which entrance cannot be gained in EN occurs also in EN2, being there explained as due to the domestic fire having been smoored; similarly the lake of water, owing its existence to the feet water having been properly disposed of, which prevents entry in both tales. While feet water is easily converted to holy water and Christian talismans of various sorts are frequently substituted or added, the parallels are entirely convincing. Even the replacement of hanged man with devil forms part of a natural progression. In this regard, Ó Duilearga rightly notes that, as is usual in medieval folk literature, he is 'a stupid devil whose plans are upset without much trouble; the dead man of E.N. is clearly a much more dangerous opponent.'

Even more significant than such correspondence in detail, whether on the level of the motif or tale division, is the shared ethos, one that is scarcely paralleled elsewhere in the whole of the early literature; we would not normally expect such common concerns of good husbandry as the smooing of the fire or the proper disposal of the feet water at night to motivate the narrative (which may consequently be read on one level as an exemplum). Similarly the beliefs relating to Samhain, with which the tale begins, in juxtaposition with Nera's bearing the dead man on his back from house to house seeking admission, are more reminiscent of folk tradition as recorded in the modern period, where we encounter them in such compositions as Aistriughadh Thomás Oidiche Shamána, than

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8 'Nera and the dead man', 531-2.
10 É. Ó Muirgheasa, Céad de cheoiltiúch Uaidh (Baile Átha Cliath 1915) 46-9, 214-16. This version is taken from RIA 23 B 12 (pp. 45-2-4), a manuscript to which John Fleming has prefixed this note of warning dated 31/3/[1884]: 'Let no reader, and especially no transcriber, trust to the correctness of a single piece in this valuable looking Ms.: every piece in it should be corrected by comparing it with another copy. There are not in the whole book six songs or poems free from the corrupting taint of the transcriber, Nicholas O'Kearney; and in many pages he has made changes in almost every line'. But, whatever of editorial amendments, we need not doubt the essential authenticity of the aistriughadh: Ó Muirgheasa notes (pp. 214-15) that Douglas Hyde recorded another version from oral tradition in County Leitrim which he combined with O'Kearney's text in his Leabhar Spóiligheachte; see also Hyde, legends of saints and sinners (Dublin, n.d.) 219-42; and compare K. Danaher, The year in Ireland (Cork 1972) 515.
of a medieval text. In contradistinction to the romantic tales mentioned at the outset, many of which he would see as having entered oral tradition from the manuscript literature, and are quite clearly "gesunkenes Kulurgut", Ó Duilearga would offer no such argument with respect to EN; noting that is not found in any surviving paper manuscript, he continues:

Into the difficult question of the relationship between the oral and literary or MS. versions I hesitate to enter. Has the story existed orally among the people, independent of literary influence? To this I should answer that I am satisfied that it is unlikely that such literary influence has been exercised in regard to this tale for centuries; and that E.N. has existed orally among the people from a very early time.\(^1\)

While neither the ethos of the tale nor the specific details that contribute to it are necessarily inconsistent with an aristocratic milieu, where fires would have been smooched before sleeping, feet water thrown out before night and the dead also wandered at Samhain, one feels that this part of the tale first took shape at a more plebeian level; this feeling is supported, although not finally proven, by its barely altered continuation in modern folk narrative and belief. I would suggest that the persons, events and circumstances which form the system of reference in EN, while secondary in terms of the story, were the primary reason for its literary survival; what to us may seem unessential, mere overlay, would have appeared quite otherwise to the medieval man of letters. Which is no more than to say that a modern analogue may be as instructive in its differences as in its similarities. But there remains the question of the analogue itself if we are to advance the underlying pattern beyond the point to which EN2 has conducted us. This is in no way to belittle the value of Ó Duilearga's contribution or of his model: I am very much aware of following his example even while seeking to extend the pattern. Such patterns, by their nature, are not mutually exclusive, although they may be inconsistent with or even contradict one another. As I have said in another place:

> just as items which show great diversity in the matter of content can occupy a morphologically identical position, so the same or similar themes may occur in entirely different morphological sequences with the result that at such a critical point the story may be switched from one sequence to another.\(^2\)

For the first part of the statement we may refer to the work of Vladimir Propp who distinguishes between the constancy of the function

\(^1\) 'Nera and the dead man', 533.
achieved and the variability of the means by which it can be realised. The second part of it finds support in the experience of Albert Lord, who speaks of the process which may ‘actually lead the singer to mix songs, passing from one song pattern to another at a point at which the two patterns coincide’; this ‘mixing’ occurs ‘because at a number of points in any song there are forces leading in several directions, any one of which a singer may take’. The two parts, the two approaches, are not antagonistic but complementary. The detail is not as incidental to the morphology as Propp would seem to suggest, since as well as fulfilling it may redirect. There is the possible tension between the detail in the abstract and its use in the individual story, between the sum of its storytelling contexts and the necessity of the specific context. The motif is simultaneously lesser and greater than the purpose it might be expected to serve in the narrative: lesser in the sense that, as Propp has shown, it may be replaced by another member of the ‘motifeme’ in the same function, while greater because it is not confined to the immediate story but brings with it all of its traditional associations, any one of which may prove disruptive, at least temporarily, to the thrust of the action in a given instance. It is because of this potential instability and because its outcome cannot be predicted in the individual case that content must not be divorced from structure or be regarded as subservient to it. We lose more than the picturesque detail by flattening individual stories into a common type and individual types into a common substratum; such flattening imposes a restraint to which assent is often given grudgingly if at all. Stories merge and diverge as they weave their way in and out of common but discontinuous patterns: the relationship of EN and EN/2 to one another is a case in point. Neither can be said to be incomplete except in respect of the other: despite their shared beginning, they are not finally of the same type.

In the course of his essay, Ó Duilearga refers in passing to what he calls the ‘Sliabh na mBan bhFionn story’ discussed by T. F. O’Rahilly in Gadelica. The particular point of contact he would have us observe was the uisce na gcos motif, but even on the level of detail the resemblance might have been further pursued. The story is now catalogued, following Aarne and Thompson, as number 501* (‘The fairy hill is on fire!’) in The types of the Irish folktale, the asterisk indicating that it forms a distinctively Irish sub-type, 176 examples of which had been catalogued at the time the index was compiled, a number that may be regarded as virtually infinite when translated into the cultural environment from which the recordings derive. In view of what has been said already it

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15 Nera and the dead man’, 532; Gadelica 1 (1912–13) 277–9.
16 S. Ó Súilleabháin and R. T. Christiansen, The types of the Irish folktale (Folklore Fellows Communications 188, Helsinki 1967).
would be inconsistent as well as foolish to prescribe a set form for the story, which, nevertheless, seems to be fairly stable with regard to its principal components. A very fine (i.e. full and representative) example is that supplied by Amhlaoibh Ó Luinse to Seán Ó Cróinin; Donncha Ó Cróinin has summarised it:

Two old women from a fairy ‘fort’, carrying a young girl into whose ear they had put a slumber-pin (biorán suaim), thus rendering her unconscious, enter a house whose occupant is busily engaged spinning wool. The mysterious visitors put the helpless girl in charge of the woman of the house, and, before departing at dawn, assist her in her work. A week later, the fairy women return and ask the housewife to fetch them some water. She does so but, suspicious of their attitude, on returning from a second visit to the well, she listens to their talk and overhears them chanting a refrain:

'A hag carding, and another hag teasing [the wool],
And the housewife will serve later as a tasty morsel!'

The housewife fills the cauldron with water, drives an axe firmly into a block of wood, throws some of the water outside the house, hides the bread-stick (crann aráin) and then rushes into the house shouting: ‘Alas, alas! The Faithlann Mhuar [explained as the name of a hill, the home of the fairy women] is ablaze!’ The two old women leave the house in dismay, one crying out that she has lost her son, the other her husband. But, when they find that they have been tricked, they return, only to find the house bolted against them. They call in turn for help from the feet-water, but the water replies that it cannot help as it has been thrown out. Neither can the axe nor an ember from the fire come to their aid, as the axe is fastened in a block of wood, and the ashes have been spread over the embers. The fairy-women are baffled and depart. Having learned from their chatter how the girl whom they had left in her care can recover her speech, the housewife removes the slumber-pin, the girl tells that she had been carried off and a changling substituted for her. The woman restores the girl to her sorrowing parents who reward her by bringing her to their home as she fears another visit from her vengeful visitors.17

Concerning the initial visit of the fairy women we read in the original:

Tráth éigint do bhí bean bhocht ann. . . . Agus do bhiodh anadhuil aici bheth a’ sniomh agus a’ cnutáil agus a’ gabháil don olainn ar gach aon saghas sli. Do thuilleadh sí pingin airgid ar an rud so. D’oibríodh sí moch dèanach, agus iche éigint bhi sí fanta an-dhéanach ag obair, a’ gabháil don olainn, nuair a bhuail

17S. Ó Cróinín agus D. Ó Cróinín, Stílaicheacht Amhlaoibh Í Luinse (Baile Átha Cliath 1871) 357.
chúithi isteach beirt sheanabhan. Ni rabhda ró-chrion a, ach mar sin fín nior mh na óga iad, agus bean óg acu á thúirt leo a’ triall ar a’ seana-mhnaoi. Chuadar chun cainte leis an seana-mhnaoi agus duradar léi gur b’shin be an óg a fuaradar amú ansan, ‘go bhfuil taom eigein fáltha aici, is do cha, agus fágam anso i anois ar feag tamaill, féachaint a’ dtiocfadh aon fheabhas uirthi’.

As it would have been understood by narrator and hearer alike — assuming a general undefined relationship between text and telling — this passage corresponds to the beginning of EN in three significant respects: (i) the ambivalent time (Samhain / late at night) that allows the normally separate domains of living and of dead to interpenetrate, (ii) the violation of specific taboos that relate to the protection of the household at such a time, (iii) the ambivalent figure (hanged man / enchanted girl), not altogether dead nor yet fully alive, who is brought into the house on the coincidence of (i) and (ii). There is the further implication in each case that otherworld entry cannot be gained by the otherworld figure(s) except with the collusion, willing or unwilling, of mortals from within and without. (Similarly in EN, when first entering the síd on the reverse journey, Nera is accompanied by the fairy host, who may be said to facilitate his passage, as Nera had that of the hanged man, and his otherworld consort may be said to fulfil a helper role similar to that of the negligent housekeeper with relation to the otherworld visitor.) Apart from the reference to the woman’s working late, feature (ii) is not specifically mentioned at this point but is clearly to be inferred from what subsequently transpires. But even this defence may be unnecessary, if not ill-conceived, in so far as it counters an over-literal approach that is itself largely irrelevant. A traditional audience would not need to be told such things: it would have been conscious of the generic as well as the individual telling, moreover one that served to confirm what was already sanctioned by folk custom and belief. Such associations are as real as the precise form of words that evoke them; it is only when they lose their resonance that we are forced to depend solely on the evidence of isolated texts now all the more partial for being incapable of being supplemented.

Inevitably there are differences also, but these are of such a kind as to confirm the relationship rather than to sever it: for example the roles of carrier and carried are reversed, being changed from benign mortal bearing a malevolent otherworld being (EN) to malevolent otherworld beings bearing a benign mortal (Aa.–Th. 501*) and the male characters are replaced by female. The single visit to three separate houses (EN) has become three separate visits to the same house (Aa.–Th. 501*); in EN entrance is denied on the first two occasions but gained on the third, while in the modern folktale entrance is gained on the first two occasions but denied on the third. It is on the link between these visits

18 ibid., 97.
and their consequences that the main part of my argument depends. Like what went before, that argument does not seek to prove a direct linear relationship between two individual tales; rather it would suggest a fairly limited and consistent range of thematic variation within which both may have been engendered.

The confrontation of natural and supernatural in Aa.—Th. 501* is described as follows by Amhlaíobh Ó Luinne; the woman of the house has become aware of her visitors’ intention to kill and eat her:

Do tháinig an tseanabhain isteach airís le tadhscán don uisce, agus an rud go léir airithe aici. Chuír sí sa chorcán é, agus do bhí crích aici á dheanamh ar fuaid a’ tí ar feag lamaillín. Riúg sí ar sheana-thuasg a bhí ion is bhual sí buille dhi anuas ar bhloc a bhí ion is chuirt ’na seasamh ion i, agus do chaith sí amach tadhscán uisce. Thóg sí crann arán a bhí ion is chuirt sí i gcimeád é. Amach léi airís, agus do tháinig isteach go hanathúil deithinsach. Do chuír sí liú aisti:

‘Olágon!‘ ar síse. ‘Nách muar an scrios é! Tá an Phaidhleann Mhuar trí thine!’

Do léim an bheirt sheanabhain a bhí istig. Bhuaileadar a mbasa. ‘O, a thiarcais!’ arsa duine acu; ‘mo mhac! Tá s é imithe.’

‘O, eist!’ arsa bhean eile. ‘Nách measa dhósa mo sheanduine féin!’

Amach leo, agus nuair a chuadar amach ni raibh aon iúnai le fiscent. Ba mhaith a’ mhaíse sin ag an seana-mhnaí istig, do chuír sí glas ar an ndoras agus do choigil an tine. Níor bh’fhada i n’aochor chuim tháinig an bheirt amú a’ gaoch iad a leogaint isteach.

‘Ni leogadh,‘ aduairt an bhean istig; ‘ni haon úntaoibh liom síbh.’ Ehibdar a múirnínachtár uirthi ach níor bh’aon chabhair é. Do ghlaoadar ar uisce na gcos chun an dorais oscailt dóibh.

‘Ni fhéidhfinn é,‘ arsa uisce na gcos, ‘mar táim caite amach anso fé n'úr gcosan an aiteach.’

‘Is olc é,’ aduairadar. ‘Ca bhfuil leann tú, a thuasg,’ aduairadar, ‘nú a' n-oscádlófa an doras duinn?’ ‘Ni féidir é,’ aduairt an tsa, ‘mar tám curtha anso — mo bhéal go daingean sa bhloc.’

‘A’ bhfuil aon sméarcóid tíne ansan oscalódh an doras duinn?’ aduairadar.

‘Ni fhéidhfinn corrai,’ aduairt an sméarcóid, ‘mar tá mo chaipín oiche curtha orm!’ — Do bhí an luaíth curtha os cionn na tíne.

‘Ca bhfuil an crann aráin,’ aduairadar, ‘nú a’ n-oscádlóidh sé dhuinn?’

‘Feach ná féaltainn, isdóin,’ aduairt an crann aráin, ‘mar tá mo chos féin rachta.’

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B’ shin mar a bhi. Nior bh’aon chaobhair dóibh bheith a’ tathan ar an seana-mhnaoi – ni oscalódh sí dhóibh, agus b’eigint dóibh imeacht.¹⁹

Rather than the actual death which occurs at this point in EN, here the breaking of the taboos is followed only by threatened or what we might call vestigial death, as punishment is avoided by the housewife’s attending to those matters previously neglected by her and by her pretence that the fairy hill has been destroyed. But however developed, in terms of being carried out or negated, the idea of death is equally present in both instances. In A a.-Th. 501* the list of talismans is severally and variously rendered, first as their potency is neutralised and again when they announce their new condition; on the second occasion the sméaród tine is added to the list, the storyteller having forgotten to include its smooing in his earlier account of the housewife’s remedial action.

In EN there is, in addition to the punishment of the remiss household, the threat that further death will be wreaked upon Nera’s people by otherworld beings if the sid is not first destroyed. Beginning at line 44, Meyer’s translation continues beyond the point at which Ó Dúilearga’s study breaks off:

Thereupon he carried him [i.e. the hanged man] back to his torture, and Nera returned to Cruachan. Then he saw something. The dun was burnt before him, and he beheld a heap of heads of their people (cut off) by the warriors from the dun. [There would seem to be some confusion at this point between the forces of the dún and those of the sid.] He went after the host into the cave of Cruachan. ‘A man on the track here!’ said the last man to Nera. ‘The heaviest is the track’, said his comrade to him, and each man said that word to his mate from the last man to the first man. Thereupon they reached the sid of Cruachan and went into it. Then the heads were displayed to the king in the sid.²⁰

It is subsequently explained to Nera by his fairy consort that the destruction is illusory but may yet come about:

‘Come hither a little’, said Nera to his wife, ‘that thou mayst tell me of my adventures now’. ‘What has appeared to thee?’ said the woman. ‘Not hard to tell’, said Nera. ‘When I was going into the sid, methought the rath of Cruachan was destroyed and Aíllíl and Medb with their whole household had fallen in it.’ ‘That is not true indeed’, said the woman, ‘but an elfin host came to thee [i.e. to them]. That will come true’, said she, ‘unless he would reveal it to his friends’. ‘How shall I give warning to my people?’ said Nera. ‘Rise and go to them’, said she. ‘They are still round the

¹⁹ ibid., 98-9.
²⁰ Revue Celtique 10 (1899) 217-19.
same caldron and the charge has not yet been removed from the fire. Yet it had seemed to him three days and three nights since he had been in the sid. ‘Tell them to be on their guard at Halloween coming, unless they come to destroy the side. For I will promise them this: the sid to be destroyed by Ailill and Medb, and the crown of Friaun to be carried off by them.’

In Aa.-Th. 501* threatened death is averted by feigned destruction of the fairy hill, the name and location of which will usually derive from the storyteller’s own physical and psychic geography. In EN there is a similar nexus, the actual death of the people of the house being reinforced by the simulated death of the inhabitants of Cruachain, a fate that can be averted only by the real destruction of the neighbouring sid. In view of those relationships and of those established earlier, I would claim that EN and Aa.-Th. 501* are true congeners. It may be that the attenuation of certain of the harsher features of the earlier story (the replacement of hanged man with enchanted girl, of actual with threatened death of the offender, of real with pretended destruction of the sid) represents the effect of a gradual weathering process on the generic tale over the centuries, or it may be that the tale type would have accommodated such a range of variation from the beginning – we simply have no way of knowing. But whatever of this, the destruction of the sid, verbal or otherwise, far from being extraneous, may be claimed to have formed part, indeed the most important part, of the thematic complex underlying EN; it is to this end that the story inexorably proceeds having been temporarily delayed in attending to other necessary but, in terms of the compositional dynamic, clearly subordinate considerations. These considerations are not in any sense irrelevant and I have already suggested they were almost certainly not so with regard to the survival of EN in the manuscript literature. What is of greater interest, in the context of the present discussion, is the likelihood that they would have altered the shape of the story not only by interrupting its course but also and more profoundly by the consequences of such interruptions. For example, following the Morrigan episode (§§ 13–14), Nera sets out again, quite unnecessarily it might seem, to warn his people. It is here, at line 140, that Thurneyssen would divide the story for the reasons described and considered earlier. An alternative explanation might be that it is not Nera but the storyteller who must retrace his steps, not so much to remind his audience of what has gone before as to regenerate the thematic energy that will carry the narrative through to its conclusion. It would seem to be part of the traditional bargain that nothing can finally remain at odds with its surroundings: compositional breathing space must be created where none already exists, which is not to say that perfect unity and consistency will always result.

The above analysis would not pretend to exclude other models any more than it would exclude that of Ó Dúilearga. For instance, EN will also share to a greater or lesser degree in the general characteristics of the *echtrae* which David Dumville, seeming to anticipate Liam Breatnach’s explanation of the word as the abstract noun corresponding to the preposition *echtar*, translates as ‘(an) outing’ and gives as its central theme ‘that of a human being drawn on a journey to the otherworld’. Although not referred to specifically in this connection, EN would seem to give particular support to Dumville’s suggestion, based on the ‘parallels drawn by Rachel Bromwich between magic treasures brought back by Irish heroes from otherworld visits and similar items in Welsh texts, chiefly the *Tri thos ar ddeg Ynys Prydain*, that ‘the *echtrae*, as a genre, may perhaps be shown to be part of the Common Celtic inheritance of Ireland and Wales and therefore of great antiquity’.22 In fact the three wonderful things said to have been recovered from the *sid* on its destruction – the mantle of Lóegaire in Armagh, the crown of Bróin in Connaught and the shirt of Dúnlaing in Kildare of Leinster – would seem to provide more compelling evidence of this suggestion than any of the Irish examples adduced by Bromwich.23

Other analyses may be possible, deeper meanings found. For example, Alden Watson, using a modified version of the paradigmatic model developed by Lévi-Strauss, one based on ‘contrasting parallelism’ rather than on binary opposition, would claim that ‘*Echtra Nérai* is a tale whose primary concern is an elucidation of the concept of sovereignty in relation to the function of the hero’.24 The method is interesting, the

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23 The Irish items are especially interesting in view of Bromwich’s suggestion (*Tri thos ar ddeg Ynys Prydain*, cxxxv) ‘that the original nucleus of the Welsh Treasures may also have consisted in stories concerning magic objects which had either been won from the Otherworld or bestowed on mortals by its inhabitants’. Pádraig Ó Ráin has suggested to me that one function of EN could be to serve as an etiological tale in respect of what may have been dynastic heirlooms of U Néill (through Lóegaire mac Néill), U Britíon and U Dúnlainge. *Samhain* and *sid Créach* are associated elsewhere also with the discovery of *sid Britain*: W. Stokes (ed. and transl.), *Lives of saints from the Book of Lismore* (Oxford 1890) xxix–xxxii; J. Vendryes (ed.), *Airne Fingein* (Dublin 1953) §§ i, v.

24 A. Watson, ‘A structural analysis of *Echtra Nérai*’, *Études Celtiques* 23 (1986) 129–142, p. 142. In his preface to Propp (*Morphology of the folktale*, xi–xii), Alan Dundes makes a useful distinction between ‘syntagmatic’ and ‘paradigmatic’ structuralism. The syntagmatic is ‘the type of which Propp’s *Morphology* is the exemplar par excellence. In this type, the structure or formal organization of a folkloristic text is described following the chronological order of the linear sequence of elements in the text as reported from an informant’. The paradigmatic ‘seeks to describe the pattern (usually based upon an a priori binary principle of opposition) which allegedly underlies the folkloristic text. This pattern is not the same as the sequential structure at all: Rather the elements are taken out of the “given” order and are regrouped in one or more analytic schema’.
parallels occasionally suggestive, even striking (e.g. the resemblance of Nera’s carrying the hanged man to the blind man carrying the lame), but the conclusion unconvincing; even if it were otherwise, and some may find it so, it is a conclusion that could have no bearing on the outcome of the present study which has been carried out for an altogether different purpose following a more conventional syntagmatic approach.

ADDENDUM

John Carey’s article, ‘Sequence and causation in Echtra Neraí’, Ériu 39 (1988) 67-74, was not available to me when writing the above. Apart from our insistence on what he calls the ‘thematic wholeness’ of EN, there would seem to be no necessary agreement or disagreement between us. Much of his discussion concerns what Frank O’Connor (The backward look (London 1967) 44) has referred to as ‘the relativity of time’ or what Mircea Eliade (Patterns in comparative religion (Meridian Books ed., 1963) 391) terms its ‘heterogeneousness’. The type of inverse relationship between the opposite ends of the Irish year, Samain and Cétomian/Beltaine, between ‘here’ and ‘there’, that Carey (pp. 71-2) discovers in the context of the story, has, like the story itself, its reflexes in popular tradition: see, for example, R. P. Jenkins, ‘Witches and fairies: supernatural aggression and deviance among the Irish peasantry’, Ulster Folklife 23 (1977) 33-56, and S. Muller, ‘Samhain – the dead centre of time’, Sinsear 5 (1988) 88-99.

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