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The Journal of the School of Irish
Learning, Dublin

EDITED BY

KUNO MEYER & JOHN STRACHAN

VOL. I

DUBLIN

SCHOOL OF IRISH LEARNING, 28 CLARE STREET

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P R E F A C E

IN submitting the first number of ÉRIU to the public, the Editors wish, on behalf of the School, to thank all those who, by donations and subscriptions, have made it possible for an important part of the work of the School to be carried out during the first year of its existence. The School has been founded, in the first place, to train students in the scientific study of the Irish language, and in reading and interpreting Irish manuscripts. Its final aim is, with the help of students so trained, to investigate the history of the Irish language from the earliest times to the present day, and to open up, by means of texts and translations, the rich treasures of Irish literature. The present number contains the first-fruits of the studies of several students of the School. Its varied contents, including grammar, literature, and history, will give an indication in which directions the studies pursued in the School mainly lie.

It is intended to bring out half-yearly numbers, two of which will form a volume. The next number, which is already in the Press, will contain the first instalment of an edition of the oldest version of the *Táin Bō Cūailnge* from the 'Yellow Book of Lecan' and the 'Lebor na hUidre.'

K. M.

J. S.

July, 1904.

ATAKTA.

I. THE NOMINATIVE PLURAL OF MASCULINE -U- STEMS.

THE examples of this form cited in the *Grammatica Celtica*² p. 240, exhibit a variety of endings:—*-e*, *-æ*, *-ae*, *-a*, *-i*, *-ai*. So far as I am aware, these forms have been hitherto treated as mere phonetic variations. Some of them are undoubtedly such. Thus *-e* and *-ae* are identical in value, also *-i* and *-ai*. Here the function of the *a* is to indicate that the preceding consonant is non-palatal. In such a case early O. Ir. wrote *-e*, *-i*¹; in later O. Ir. there is a growing tendency to write *-ae* *-ai*. Further, there is no doubt that *-a* is a phonetic development of *-ae*. But what of *-e*, *-æ* on the one hand, and *-i*, *-ai* on the other? Are they identical in origin or are they not? Before this question can be answered with certainty, it is necessary to examine O. Ir. documents of different dates, to ascertain whether the two sets of forms are distributed equally, or approximately equally, in such documents, or whether one form predominates in earlier, the other in later, documents. To eliminate chance as far as possible, it is essential that documents should be selected in which the instances are tolerably numerous. Such documents are to be found in the Würzburg and the Milan Glosses, the former of which collections can be proved to be considerably earlier than the latter. I give the instances which I have noted in these two texts; it may be that I have overlooked some, but the collections will be found complete enough for our present purpose.

Würzburg Glosses:—

(a) *-e*, *-æ*: *ferte* 8^a11, 24^e5; *pecthe* 9^d13, 11^d9, 29^a23, 28; *gníme* 26^e8, 30^b10, 31^b30; (*mog*)*e* 27^e8, *moge* 29^b2; *bésse* 29^a3; *recte* 29^a16; *gníma* 13^d29, 20^e2, 31^b26; *pecdæ* 33^b8.

¹ Cf. *Thesaurus Palæohibernicus*, II, pp. xiv sq.

(b) -a: *pechtha-ni* 2^a6; *gníma* 4^d12, 5^a30, 32, 19^b12, 29^d2; *cosnama* 7^d12; *bésa-sa* 9^b17, *bésa-si* 16^b19; *dána* 12^a11; *moga-si* 27^e17; *senchassa* 28^e23.

(c) -i, -ai: *pecthi* 4^a8, *pecthi-si* 25^b9, *pecthi* 26^e11; *mogi* 7^d10; *béssi-si* 9^a17, *bési* 28^d26, *béssi* 31^b13; *séti-sin* 9^a18; *dáni* 21^a16, 27^b15; *gními* 25^e23, 28^b20; *rétaí* 5^e15; *gnímai* 8^e4, 29^a30. With a preceding palatal consonant: *coisnimi*¹ 7^d13 (by *cosnama* above), *imchainti* 29^b10; *senchaissi*¹ 31^b25 (by *senchassa* above), *imbráti* 31^b26.

Milan Glosses :—

(a) -ae: *gnímae* 65^e16.

(b) -a: *gníma* 116^d5. After a palatal consonant: *cosmailsea* 51^d5.

(c) -i, -ai: *pecthi* 32^e15, 43^a7, 71^e12; *tintudai* 3^a14; *gnímai* 14^b15, 23^e15, 31^b25, 42^b21, 51^e14, 68^a2, 75^d6, 94^a4, 97^a5, 99^d9 107^e12, 112^d7, 9, 122^e2, 4, 129^a9; *adradai* 46^b30; *mesai* 55^d11; *siansai* 94^e3; *pecthai* 98^e5; *bésai* 100^e17; *fertai* 112^d8; *moltai* 136^a8. With a preceding palatal consonant: *imraití* 38^a5; *aimsi* 127^e25.

In other O. Ir. documents I have noted only a few instances :—

Book of Armagh: *tuimthea* 78^a2.

Stowe Spells: *srothe*.

Carlsruhe Beda: *brottae* 18^{1d}.

Saint Gall Priscian: *sothe* 64^a14, *érchóilte* 199^b3, *réta* 111^b5, 148^a4, *gníma* 209^b13, *comchutrummaichthi-so* 39^a10.

From a comparison of the distribution of the forms in Wb. and Ml. the inference is clear: the -e, -a forms make way for -i, -ai forms; in other words, the -i, -ai forms are the later, the -e forms the earlier. This is the reverse of what is commonly taught. Thus Brugmann, *Grundriss* I²241, starts from *mogai* as the normal form, and does not discuss the others. Let us see how he arrives at *mogai*. The Celtic form of the ending of the case was -*oues* (from Indo-Germanic -*eues*), cf. Gaulish *Lugoves*. According to Brugmann, unaccented *e* became always *i* before it was lost; *mogai* he explains from “*mogo[*u*]e[s]” with change of *o*

¹ The variation between *cosnama* and *coisnimi* (stem **cosnīmu-*), *senchassa* and *senchaissi* (stem **senocessu-*) is strange, but there are yet many points in connexion with palatalization of consonants which need explanation.

to *i*." It is to be noted that the only clear instance of such a change of a vanishing *e* to *i* which he quotes is the form *mogai*, if his explanation were right. Apart from this form he seems simply to reason from the fact that *e* in unaccented syllables became *i*; e.g. *berid* from **bereti*. But besides *mogai* he brings no evidence that an *e* in a final syllable became *i* before it was lost. And he has overlooked a piece of evidence to the contrary. *-ciúale*, 'he heard,' comes from **cucloue*; in Wb. the form is *-ciúale*, in Ml. *-ciúalae*, later *-ciúala*; of **ciúalai*, which might have been expected if Brugmann were right, there is no trace. Against Brugmann's explanation, then, we have, in the first place, *-ciúale*; in the second place, the historical sequence of the nominal forms; for it is in the highest degree improbable that *-ai* should have changed to *-ae*, *-a*, and then back again to *-ai*. Rather **mogoues* became *mogae*, and later *moga*. As the change of the *-ae* to *-a* had taken place in Wb., it follows that the final *-e* here was an opener sound than usual.¹

What, then, of the forms in *-i*, *-ai*? In them I would see the influence of *-i*- stems, e.g. *cnámai* n. pl. of *cnáim* 'bone.' The *-i*- and *-u*- stems have influenced one another in other cases. In the gen. sg. the *-i*- stems seem to have taken the ending of the *-u*- stems; in the gen. pl. the *-u*- stems have taken the ending of the *-i*- stems.² In the nom. pl. we may suppose that the influence of *-i*- stems like *cnámai*, in which the final palatal vowel was preceded by a non-palatal consonant, was especially strong. In later Irish *mogai* and *cnámai* became *moga* and *cnáma*; words like *súili*, *súile*, 'eyes,' in which the vowel was preceded by a palatal consonant, did not prevent the regular development. As we have seen, in some *-u*- stems the consonant preceding the final vowel was palatal. These, with the exception of *tuimthea* Lib. Ardm., *érchóilte* Sg., *cosmailsea* Ml., show *-i*; they succumbed to the influence of *súili* and the like. In the adjective the

¹ For otherwise the change of final *-e* to *-a* in Wb. is very rare. See Celt. Zeitschr. IV. 51, where it should be added that *-glanta* finds support in *éarcerta* 12^d22 and *béasa* 28^d24.

² If, as I hope to show elsewhere, in later Irish the acc. pl. of *-u*- stems was replaced by the nominative, this also may be put down to the influence of *-i*- stems in which the nom. and acc. pl. fell phonetically together. The beginning of the change falls in the O. Ir. period. In Celt. Zeitschr. IV. 489, I called attention to the acc. *ilgotha* Sg. 197^a11. Cf. also *pecthi* Ml. 46^d6, further *gníma* Ml. 81^d1, 99^d1, *tintuda* Ml. 107^a3, though there is always the possibility that *a* may be a scribal corruption of *u*.

plural of *-u-* stems has in the oldest Irish already assumed the inflexion of *-i-* stems, e.g. *il*, 'much,' nom. acc. pl. *ili*: cf. *sainemail*, n. pl. *sainemlai* Ml. 14^o6, 23^o15, acc. pl. *sainemli* Wb. 12^b15. (But where the adjective is used as a substantive Wb. has *fudumne* 5^o17, *fudumnæ* 8^b6; Ml. 81^a4, 138^d9 has *fudumnai*.)

2. THE ACCUSATIVE AND VOCATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE OF -O- ADJECTIVE STEMS.

In adjectives like *mór*, *marb*, &c., there is in Mid. Ir. a difference of ending according as the word is used substantively, that is without an accompanying noun, or adjectively, as the attribute of a noun. In the former instance the ending is *-u* as in nouns, e.g. *peithachu*, 'sinners'; in the latter the ending is *-a*, e.g. *firu móra*. This distinction is not original, but has arisen within Irish itself; in the attributive adjective the ending of the feminine and neuter has spread likewise to the masculine.

How far, then, does the innovation go back? In Bezzenberger's Beiträge, XI. 99, Stokes cites *rétu nóiba* from Sg. 33^a, and in accordance therewith gives *marba* as the acc. and voc. pl. masc. of *marb*. In Celt. Zeitschr. IV. 64, I noted *lucu arda* Ml. 23^d23. Since then I have made a more careful investigation of the subject. In Wb. I have discovered no instances of the acc. pl. of the attributive adjective; instances of the voc. are *a geinti hireschu* 3^a13, *a Galatu burpu* 19^b4. In Ml. *-u* appears in sacrilegos . . . motus (= Ir. *cumscaighiu* m.), gl. *deochratechu* 16^a1, *uacuos conatús* (= Ir. *aimsiu* m.) *casúsque* (leg. *cassosque*), gl. *madachu* t. *tuisledchu* 26^d8, *inna mmessu firianu* 38^e23; *-a* appears in *lucu arda* 23^d23, *motus furiales* gl. *bruthcha* 16^b18, *casosque conatus* gl. *madacha* 17^a6, *homines* . . . *sanctos* gl. *sainretha* .i. *noiba* 37^b4. From Sg. I have noted no further instance. It may be said, then, that the change first appears towards the end of the eighth century, and is not then complete. Though the acc. does not happen to be found in Wb., it is improbable that it differed in form from the vocative.¹

¹ In the nom. *maicc cóima* in Wb. 27^b16, it seems hardly possible to avoid the supposition that *cóima* is a scribal error for *cóim*, due to the preceding *cóimsa*.

3. ACCUSATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE OF ADJECTIVAL -IO-STEMS.

In adjectival use this form ends in *-i*, as in the fem. and neut.; e.g. *gnímu rechtidi*, from *rechtide*, 'legal': cf. Gramm. Celt.², 234; Bezzenberger's Beiträge, XI. 101. But it is not noticed there that in substantival use the ending is *-iu* as in the noun: *tuicsiu* Wb. 4^b15, *na derscaighthiu* Ml. 37^b22, *frisna rémepérthiu* 69^a4.

4. NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE PLURAL NEUTER OF ADJECTIVAL -IO-STEMS.

Except in *inna dorche*, 'the darkness' Ml. 54^b20, 140^e5, Sg. 183^b3, I have noted no difference between the substantival and the adjectival form; both end in *-i*. Examples of the substantival use are: *inna remepérthi* Ml. 23^d4, *inna cotarsnai* 46^e9, *inna nephanmandi* 60^b5, *inna fortechtai* 81^e15, *inna mílenai* 95^e5, *inna cocui* 96^e8, *inna medonsmirdi* 127^b14, *inna caintinscantai* 131^e18, *inna inchlidi* 140^e10; *inna forlitterdi* Sg. 8^b4, *cetnidi* 48^b5, *inna briathardi* 56^b12, *inna flrneuturáldi* 140^e6.

5. THE NOMINATIVE OF THE PRONOUN *side*.

In the dat. and acc. this pronoun is fully accented: e.g. *do suidiu*, *la suide*. The corresponding accented forms in the nom. and gen. would have been *suide*, *suidi*, &c. But the forms of these cases are regularly enclitic; hence we find *side*,¹ &c. In the genitive I have discovered no exception to this. In the nominative there is a very interesting exception in *olsuide*, 'said he'; here the accent fell, not on *ol*, but on the pronoun. My examples of *olsuide* are: "*icfasa in cinaid*," *ollsuide* (leg. *olsuide*) Cormac, s.v. *Mugeme*; "*cid dáthar sund?*" *olsude* Voyage of Bran, I. 47; "*ni ansa*," *olsoide* Celt. Zeitschr. III. 254.

6. THE PRONOUN *som*, *sí*.

In the Gaelic Journal for November, 1903, p. 428, note, I remarked that I had found no example of *sí* after the copula followed by a feminine predicate, and quoted to the contrary

¹ In Celt. Zeitschr. III. 56, I denied the use of *side* in the nom. sg. neut.—I now think wrongly. In Ml. 89^e10, *side* refers to Lat. *pax* = Ir. *síd* n.; and in the Glosses the gender is regularly determined by the gender of the corresponding Latin word. Cf. also *indraic side*, Cormac, s.v. *Mugeme*.

mad fochricc som, 'if it be reward,' Wb. 2^b26. That observation was based on material collected from the Würzburg Glosses. Of *sí*, which might have been expected, I have since then met with two instances in the St. Gall Priscian: namely, *is milt sí* 17^a3, and *is rann sí* 25^b5. How the exception in Wb. is to be explained is not clear; the material is too scanty.

7. THE INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN.

If we consider expressions like *cid torbae ara torsata 7 cia gntm dungniat* Ml. 120^c7, *cid chenél nó cest aram* Sg. 197^b3, we see that in the feminine and the neuter (*cid*, *ced* = *cehed*) a demonstrative pronoun is fused with the interrogative. The question, then, is how far such an addition is obligatory. With a view to solving this question I have collected the material which I have found in the Old Irish Glosses, and I have further investigated a number of other old texts. The result is not wholly clear; in some points texts preserved in later manuscripts show certain deviations from the usage in the Glosses, with regard to some of which, however, it is not certain whether we have to deal with actual innovations, or whether such usages are wanting in the Glosses only by chance, simply because the particular types of expression happen not to be used there. I give the results of my investigation as far as I have been able to carry it, in the hope that it will lead to further observation on the part of others, and to a more precise determination of the usage. I give first the material from the Glosses, and afterwards material from other texts.

(1.) The interrogative is not followed by a noun.

(a) 'Who?' (singular). Here *cia* is usual: e.g. *cia conicc*, Wb. 4^b11, *cia follnfea* Wb. 12^d14, *cia dobera* Ml. 34^d5, *dús cia atrebea* Ml. 35^b24, *cia dia cumachtaigther* Sg. 209^b30; *cia de* gl. uter Sg. 242^a1. In a few instances *cia* is followed by *é*: *quis* .i. *cia hé* Ml. 46^c17, 18, *cia hé nundixnaigther-siu* Ml. 75^c9, *ce hé roscríb* Sg. 197^a19.

(b) 'What?' (neut. sg.). Here *cid* is regular: e.g. *cid atobaig* Wb. 19^d10, *cid asindisem* Ml. 35^a6, *cid imruthrenaiged* Ml. 102^d15, &c. But *cia de* Wb. 23^b33.

(c) 'Who are?' 'what are?' (plural). Here, of present time, *citné* is used: *citné foruar* Wb. 8^b5, *citné robatar* Ml. 61^b8. In Ml. 16^b13, *si quaeritur quae gentes congregatae*

sint, gl. *citne*, a noun corresponding to *gentes* has to be supplied after the pronoun. Of past time, *ceptar hé* Cormac, s.v. *prull*.

(2.) The interrogative is followed by a noun.

(a) The noun is masculine singular. The interrogative is *cia*: *dús cia port* Wb. 26^b24, *cia salmscribdid conicfed sôn* Ml. 14^a6, *cia forcenn doberthar* Ml. 33^a9, *cia loc sainriud dia regtais* Ml. 99^b10, *cia gnim dungniat* Ml. 120^e7, *cia aiccent* Sg. 26^a6, *cia randdatu* Sg. 27^a12.

(b) The noun is feminine singular. The interrogative is *cesi*: *cessi aimser* Ml. 24^d10, *cisi chomairle* Ml. 34^e18, *cisi aimser* Ml. 97^a5, *cisi digal* Ml. 100^d5, *cisi aimser* Sg. 26^a6, *cisi rann* Sg. 27^a13, *cesi aram* Sg. 197^b3, *cisi chiall* Sg. 217^a2.

(c) The noun is neuter singular. The interrogative is *ced*, *cid*: *cetorad* (= *ced torad*) Wb. 3^b29, *cetorbe* (= *ced torbe*) Wb. 12^d5, *ced torbe* Wb. 13^e6, 7, 19^e8, *cid torbae ara torsata* Ml. 120^e7, *cid torud* Ml. 128^d13, *cidechor* (= *cid dechor*) Sg. 23^a2, *cid folad sluindes* Sg. 25^b17, *cid chenél* Sg. 197^b3, *cid aes n-esci* BCr. 32^a9, *cid lée sechtmaine* BCr. 32^e6, 7, 9, *ced lad imbé* Computus Vat. 20, *cid lée sechtmaine* Computus Nanc. 1., *cid aes n-escai* Comput. Nanc. 2.

(d) The noun is plural. The interrogative is *citné*: *assindet citné cumacte* Wb. 6^a9, *citné briathra robatar* Ml. 61^b7, *ci[t]né fochainn* Ml. 101^a3.

As might have been expected from their formation, *cisi* and *cid* are used only with feminines and neuters respectively. With *cia* the accompanying noun is prevalently masculine. In certain phrases, however, it is followed by a noun of another gender. With *indas* n., 'state,' it gives *cindas* (= Mod. Ir. *cionnup*) Wb. 6^b13, 8^e11, 13^e20, &c.; *cindas on* Sg. 18^a6, *cindas mbias* Sg. 40^a15, also *cia indas rundgabsat* Ml. 55^e1. With *méit* f. it gives *ce méit* Wb. 33^a1, 34^a5, Sg. 25^b16, *ciamméit* Ml. 25^e4, 26^a10, 138^e12.¹ So *cia dú*,² 'where,' Ml. 40^e7, *cia airm*³ Wb. 12^d18.⁴ In a couple of instances *ce*, *cia* is found

¹ Cf. Celt. Zeitschr. IV. 57.

² That *dú* was fem. is indicated by the fem. *hí suidi* Ml. 27^e10.

³ That *airm* was fem. in Mid. Ir. is seen from *cisi airm*, quoted by Windisch s.v.: cf. also *ind airm* Wb. 4^b26 (where Ascoli suggests *airmitiu*). But *citnarmad*, LU. 134^b38, shows the inflexion of a neut. -n- stem.

⁴ As to *cia airt* Wb. 25^d1, *cia aret* Ml. 32^d22, the phrases *inderet sa* Ml. 114^b14, *innheret sin* Sg. 148^a5 show that, at least, the word is not neuter, as Ascoli says. He evidently infers this from the phrase *is ed a erat*; but for the neut. *ed* cf. the phrase *ní hed a méit*, 'not only.'

corresponding to an accusative fem. : *quam caritatem* gl. *ce seirc* Wb. 14^d15, *quam vineam* (= Ir. *fine* f.) gl. *cia* Ml. 102^b6 ; these seem to be artificial modes of expressing the Latin; cf. *cinní sin frisnaiccai siu* to translate 'quem praestulare?' PCr. 57^b1. *Ce, cia* also appear in verbal phrases: e.g. *cia bé ammet* Ml. 61^b28, *ciabed ammet* Ml. 39^a13, *ciarrric*, etc., Gramm. Celt.² 355.

By reason of phonetic changes the formal distinctions of gender inherited from the parent language became lost in Irish. In the singular a new feminine and neuter were formed by adding the feminine and neuter pronouns for 'she' and 'it' to the interrogative; in the plural no need was felt to distinguish gender, just as no need was felt in *é* 'they.' As to *cia* it seems to be simply the Irish form corresponding to Welsh *prwy*, 'who.' It is altogether improbable that it contains the pronoun *é*, 'he'; if *ce hé, cia hé* were earlier than *cia*, such forms might be expected to occur in Wb. When special forms had been devised for the feminine and neuter, *cia* might be reserved for masculine use. Where *cia* appears with a feminine or neuter, we have a survival in stereotyped phrases of an older and freer usage.

The usage may be further illustrated from some other old texts.

O. I. Psalter² :—*cia torbatu* 261, *cia tintud* 329 ; *cisi crndil* 61, *cisi gnúis* 76. But in *cia hainmind libuir* 6, 415 *cia* is followed by the neut. In *ciaso ainm* 46, *ciaso ordd* 196 appears a form not found in O. Ir. It seems to come from *cia* + *so* (= *inso*).³

Táin Bó Cúailnge (LU.) :—*cia fil sund* 62^a31, *cia lín rolá* 57^b30, *cia fer* 69^a37 ; *cissi slabrai* 62^b32 ; *ced leth ón* 61^b24, *ced sltáb inso thall* 62^a4, *ced mag aní thall* 62^a9, *ced leth ragthar* 69^a40 ; *cairm* (= *ce airm*) *itá* 68^a18, similarly *cdit atá* 64^a15, *cdit imbdí* 65^a31. Note also *cé tdi-siu*,⁴ 'who art thou?' 74^a32, *cia de*, 'which of the two things?' 62^b33, 44. *Cia* stands before a neuter in *cia do chomainm-siu* 55^b10, *cia th' ainm-seo* 59^b5, *cia l'ainm-siu* 70^a43, *cia hæs in gillai sin* 58^b24.⁵

¹ In *cia chruth*, 'how,' *cia chuín*, 'when,' *cia* is a dative. For *ci, cia*, followed by a preposition and a case, see Gramm. Celt.² 357.

² Ed. K. Meyer, in *Hibernica Minora*.

³ Cf. *ciasa* (v. l. *cisi*) *comairle* Ir. Text. II. 2, 192, *incomarcar ciaso* II. 2, 192, *ciasu anmann* II. 2, 195.

⁴ *Cia taid*, 'who are ye?' Ir. Text. II. 2, 194.

⁵ *Cia carnd ngel* 62^a7 is probably an error for *cia carnn gel*. At least I have no further evidence that *carn* is neuter. For *cia fotá a rín* 57^b29 YBL. has correctly *cid*.

Togal Bruidne Dá Derga¹:—*ciá rédes riand* § 31; *cisi suillse* (v. l. *cia soillse*) § 66; *cid in* (leg. *a*) *fuaim* (v. l. *cia fuaim so*) § 56; *ced antsiu* § 26; *citne^b usci* § 51; *citneisidi²* (v. l. *cade iat side*) § 61. *Cia* before a neuter: *cia ainm sidi* § 28; *cia ainm do mná* § 39; *cia do chomainm-siu* § 61.

Tripartite Life:—*is cumtabairt cia crocann* 74, *ced belrai* 128, *cid lóg* 150. On p. 150 *cidsi delb* is an error for *cisi delb*.

In some of the instances quoted above we have seen *cisi*, *cid* replaced by *cia*. Similarly *cia log rombia* Celt. Zeitschr. IV. 44, *cia haiscid* (v. l. *cissi aiscid*) Ir. Text. II. 2, 192. In Mid. Ir. *cia* becomes the general form before all nouns: cf. Atkinson, Passions and Homilies, 582. Such a generalization would be helped by the decay of the neuter gender, which seems to fall before 1000 A.D. It is precisely this tendency to replace *cid* by *cia* which, in old texts preserved in MSS. of the eleventh century and later, makes it so difficult to determine, in many instances, whether *cia* represents an O. Ir. usage which by chance is not found in the Glosses, or whether *cia* has replaced an earlier *cid*. For example, in the Sagas, so far as I have noticed, we have always *cia t'ainm-siu*, &c., never *cid t'ainm-siu*.

In O. Ir. there is another interrogative sg. *cote*, *cate*, pl. *coteet*, *cateet* of all genders. Some examples are given in Gramm. Celt., 356. Others are: *cote prima gratia*, 'in what consists *prima gratia*?' Wb. 14^a19, *cate ind irnigde cen chumsanad*, 'what is meant by prayer without ceasing?' Wb. 25^e23; *cateat omnia asbeirsom* Wb. 31^a7; *quae est ista sententia?* gl. *cate ndixnigedar* Ml. 80^e2; *quod est*, gl. *cate dixnigedar* Ml. 103^d24. *Cote*, &c., vary between the sense of 'where?' (e.g. Wb. 13^d25) and 'what?' Thus, *ced torbe dúinni a céisme* (Wb. 13^e7) means 'what is the profit to us of what we suffer?' The answer would be *issed a thorbe*, &c.. *Cote mo thorbese dúib* (Wb. 12^e36) means 'in what way am I of any profit to you?' Examples from later texts are: *cate a lethcomorgg* Cormac, s.v. *prull*; *cote far n-airle*, 'what is the nature of your counsel?' LU. 19^b26; *adubairt Patraic*: 'cateat?' 'P. said: "what may they be?"' Trip. L. 54. In the Sagas it often means 'where?' e.g. LU. 65^a7, 69^a38, 70^a16, 39;

¹ Ed. Stokes.

² These instances indicate that *citné* was not confined to indirect interrogation, as Pedersen, KZ. xxxv, 390, seems to suppose.

in this sense it is often written *cáte*, apparently through association with *cáit*.

8. THE SINGULAR OF THE PRESENT INDICATIVE ACTIVE IN VERBAL STEMS ENDING IN ASPIRATED *t* AND *d*.

These forms have been touched upon in the Gaelic Journal for January, 1904, p. 467. As the facts and the explanation of them were there given very briefly, it may not be unprofitable to treat the subject again at somewhat greater length.

The peculiarity of the three persons of the singular of the present indicative active of such verbs is that final *t* appears in them where, in accordance with the normal inflexion of the verb, final *th* or *d* (i.e. aspirated *d*) might have been expected. Examples are :—

Sg. 1 : *dodiut* (*to-de-fed-*) gl. sisto, Sg. 77^a4, 152^b1 ; *asindiut* (*ess-ind-fed-*) gl. obsero PCr. 60^b3 ; *arneut-sa* (*ar-neth-*) ‘expecto’ Wb. 14^a18, *araneut-sa* Wb. 23^b27 ; *fotimmdiriut* (*fo-to-imm-de-reth-*) gl. suffio Sg. 185^b3.

But with *-th*, *-d* : *assafiud* (*ess-fed-*) gl. exsero Sg. 221^b4 ; *inneuth* (*ind-neth-*) Thesaurus Palæohibernicus II. 42, l. 11, cf. the partly illegible verbs ib. ll. 11, 16 ; *arriuth* (*air-reth-*) gl. adiorior PCr. 60^a6.

Sg. 2 :—*doad-bit* (*-bed-*), ‘thou showest,’ Sg. 159^a2.

Sg. 3 :—*doad-bat*, ‘shows,’ Wb. 10^b21, Ml. 15^a2, Sg. 27^b15 ; *d-an-diat* (*to dodiu*) Sg. 8^a9 ; *adfét*¹ (*ad-fed-*) ‘sets forth,’ Ml. 31^b19, 62^a6, 84^d4, 87^a1, 89^d6, 99^d9, 111^c4, 123^d4, Sg. 103^a1, *in-fét* ‘indicat’ Ml. 14^b12, 86^b10, *assindét*, *-aisndét* Wb. 6^a9, 11^a18, 19^b14, Ml. 23^c12, 40^c20, 42^b18, 42^c20, 54^a12, 20, 64^c19, 87^d1, 95^d3, 100^b8, 101^a3, 103^a1 ; *docuat*, *-dichet* (*di-co-feth-*), ‘can go,’ Thesaurus Palæohibernicus, II. 420 ; *doinfet* (*to-in-feth-*) ‘spirat,’ ‘inspirat,’ Wb. 4^b3, 4, Ml. 41^d17 ; *dofuarat*, *-diurat* (*di-od-reth-*)² ‘remanet,’ Sg. 12^a3, Ml. 72^b17 ; *duetar-rat* ‘includit’ Ml. 30^c6, *contetar-rat* ‘comprehendit’ Sg. 29^b2, *do-d-iarmo-rat* ‘subsequitur’ Ml. 21^c3 ; *dotuit*, *-tuit* (*to-to-tud-*, *-to-tud-*) ‘falls’ frequent. But with *-th*, *-d* : *no-sñ-guid* ‘beseeches them’ Wb. 25^b ; *-maid* ‘breaks’ Ml. 51^c9, 110^d10, 115^d12 ; *in-reith* Ml. 19^d13, 48^d3.

The explanation suggested is as follows :—Before *s*, *th* and

¹ The radical part of the verb is *fed-* (or *feth-* ?), cf. the subjunctive *-fessam..* In the present we find *féd-*, *fíad-*. *Féd-* would seem to be a reduplicated present stem, but the precise nature of the reduplication is not very clear.

² Cf. Sarauw, Irske Studier, 72.

aspirated *d* become *t*,¹ e.g. *ní ruthogáitsam* Wb. 16^a22 by *m-m-thogaitha* 4^a27; *ro-n-moitsem* Wb. 17^a13 from *móidim* = Mod. Ir. *māoiōim*; a *buit sem* from a *buith sem* Sg. 216^b2; *inchrutsa* from *in chruth-sa* Sg. 111^a5. Where *th*, *d* are written—e.g. *arruneithset*, *in chruth-sa*, a *buith-som*—it is only an etymological spelling. Now the verb is often followed by the affixed pronouns *-se*, *-su*, *-som*, *-si*. Before these *th*, *dh* would become *t*. And the *t*-forms came to be used where there is no affixed pronoun. It is only in the present that such a generalization of the *t*-forms is found. In the preterite the aspirated forms have prevailed, e.g. *rordúth*.

In the present of simple verbs, so far as appears from the few examples, the *t* did not spread. Here absolute forms like *gúidid*, *maidid*, if nothing else, would have prevented the spread of *t*. In compound verbs the change is not complete: cf. *assaíud* by *dodiut*, *inneuth* by *arneut-sa*, where the variation seems to be arbitrary. A priori it is not improbable that the change to *t* took place only where all the three persons ended in a dental, e.g. **doadbut*, *doadbit*, *doadbat*; unfortunately the fragmentary character of the evidence makes it impossible either to prove or to disprove this; *arriuth*, *inreith* by sg. 2, *ararethi* Wb. lends a little support to the assumption.

9. O. IR. *éola*, *éula*, 'PERITUS, EXPERTUS.'

Examples of the word are *int óis éula* Wb. 3^a4, *is éola side* Wb. 1^a4, *is hé side as éola* Wb. 4^b1, 6^b25; *na bad eola inarcintaib* Wb. 33^b21. In Gramm. Celt.² 809 it is regarded as coming from an adj. stem *eulac-*; similarly Ascoli, Glossarium liv. But no other example is quoted of such an adjectival formation; and perhaps the form is to be explained in another way.

The use of the genitive as the equivalent of an attributive adjective is common in all stages of Irish. O. Ir. examples are *trebaire chollno* = *trebaire cholnide* Wb. 3^d30, *indocbáil talman* = *indocbáil talmandi* Wb. 23^d21. Such a genitive is also used as a predicate after the copula, e.g. *nitat torbí*, 'they are not of profit,' 'they are not profitable,' Wb. 11^b17^a; *ní báil lib*, 'ye deem it not good' (lit. 'of good') Wb. 11^d4,³ *is cuil* 'it is evil' (lit. 'of evil') YBL. 91^b8.

¹ Cf. Pedersen, Aspirationen 161.

² In the same Gloss occurs *aní as torbæ*, 'that which is profitable,' lit. 'that which is profit.'

³ The noun *bæe*, 'good,' is also used predicatively in the nom. e.g. *hore nárbu bæe la Iudeu cretem* Wb. 5^b12.

noun *éol*
 was *Serglige*
culainn, Ir. I.
 p. 225, l. 10.
 cited by Wi.

In the same way *éola* might be the genitive of a noun *éol*, which is used predicatively in *inn eol dñib a dindsenchas* LL. 152^b9. In Mid. Ir. the genitive of *éol* is *itil*, e.g. LL. 187^b42; but that may be the same change of declension as is seen in Mid. Ir. *peccaid* = O. Ir. *pectho*. In Mid. Ir. *aneóil*, *anitil* is used adjectivally in phrases like *tír n-aneóil*, 'a strange land,' cf. Meyer, Contrib. to Irish Lexicography, 99.

10.—*Indinni-se* 'TALIS.'

Examples of *indinni-seo* in the sense of 'such' have been noted by Sarauw, Irske Studier, 138, e.g. *hua glosnathiu ind inni seo*, gl. tali filo, Ml. 72^a8; *sechis eregem ind inni se*, gl. talis causatio, Ml. 90^a8, Sarauw also notes *cia inni*, gl. qualiter, Ml. 123^a8. He rightly refers the word to *inne*, 'sense, quality.'¹ *Cia inni* would be a dative like *cia cruth*, 'how?' In the same way *indinni-seo* can be explained only as a dative like *inchruthsin*, 'in that way.'

11.—*Indid*, *Innách*.

In LU. 56^b25 we read '*cid dogentar friú?*' or *Ailill*, '*innách maith a n-anad nach a techt*, 'what is to be done to them?' said *Ailill*, 'since neither their staying nor their going pleases.' The meaning conjecturally ascribed to *innách* here is supported by other passages:—

*inad*² (leg. *indid*) *gilla oc amulchach tarfas dunn*, 'since it is a young beardless lad that has appeared to us,' YBL. 92^a37.

*inid*³ *mo mathair 7 mo athair 7 mo secht nderbrathair ortabair-si*, 'since it is my mother and my father and my seven brothers that ye have slain,' LU. 88^a18.

cid atchí dund inda⁴ fisid? 'what seest thou for us, since thou art a wizard?' YBL. 95^a46.

In origin these forms contain the copula preceded by *in-*, 'in which.' Cf., for the sense, O. Ir. *isindí*, 'in that,' e.g. *isindí ar-n-dam-roichlis-se*, Ml. 74^d7; *isindí ro-n-dann-ícais-ní*, Ml. 89^a6.

J. STRACHAN.

¹ Cf. Thesaurus Palæohibernicus, II. 75, note.

² Other texts have *inid*, *intan*.

³ v. ll. *indi*, *iniit*, *hininad*. Tog. Brud. Dá Derga, ed. Stokes, § 81.

⁴ LU. 86^a29 has *massat*.

THE BURNING OF FINN'S HOUSE.

THE main incident of this ballad is told briefly in the *Acallam na Senorach*: see *Silva Gadelica*, i. 124. In that passage the provocation given to Garaid is differently described: he has refused to play chess with the women, who thereupon insult him: was not Garaid left behind just to make fire for them and play chess with them, because he had lost his vigour and his power to throw the spear? In return for the taunt Garaid "makes fire" for them with a vengeance. In this version the place assigned for the holocaust is Drumcree, in West Meath. It is transferred to the great Hall of Tara in the Highland ballad printed by J. F. Campbell, *Leabhar na Féinne* (p. 177, col. 2), which tells the story in much the same form as the version here edited, but in different words. See also the *Losga Taura* in the Rev. J. Smith's *Ancient Poems of Ossian*, 1787, p. 150.

Quite a different account of the death of Garaid's son Aod is given in a poem beginning

Is aoibhinn Sliabh Cua rod clos,

of which there are copies in two MSS. of the eighteenth century, R. I. A. 23 L 34, p. 291, and 23 L 22, p. 260. This ballad takes up the story of Aod's quarrel with Muc Smaile at the point where it is dropped in the *Acallam*, I. T. iv., line 2009. Muc Smaile had killed Aod's uncle Goll mac Morna, and had refused to give an *eric* that Aod considered sufficient. Aod seeks him out at Sliabh Cua, and kills him in single combat: whereupon he is surrounded, with a handful of the Clann Morna, by six hundred of Muc Smaile's men, all of whom are slain in the fight that follows, except their leader Fionn mac Cubhain. But Aod has been twice wounded; 'clouds of weakness' fall on him; the sea comes in, he is unable to stir, and is drowned by the rising tide—

*Ní chumaic dhó a bheag no a mhór
acht a bheith dha féachain do thír,
gur báidh an tonn Aodh an áigh
ón tráigh ntor sgaoil aoinfear díbh.*

I have collated three MSS. in the Royal Irish Academy—23 A 47 (p. 118), called here A ; 23 C 26 (p. 208), called here B ; and 23 O 32 (p. 119), called here C. Mr. J. H. Lloyd has been kind enough to lend me his transcript of C, and also of an oral version taken down by him in Glengesh, Co. Donegal. This latter is fundamentally the same as the text here printed, but has been greatly corrupted in the process of transmission.

I owe to Mr. Lloyd also several suggestions as to the interpretation of the text, besides the note printed at the end of this contribution.

I have adopted the text of A as my basis ; whenever I have departed from it to introduce readings from B, or conjectures of my own, the change is recorded in the notes ; in a few cases marks of length, &c., have been silently added ; but I have not attempted to reduce the spelling to uniformity : there is really no standard which one can apply ; though perhaps it would have been better to correct the confusion of *budh* and *ba*. I have given B's variants when they have any significance, but I have not thought it worth while, as a rule, to record C's readings, except when they support A or B.

Neither have I attempted to regularise the metre : in most cases where it departs from the normal seven-syllable line, it can be rectified by slurring such words as *agus*, or the verbal particle *do* ; but there remain a good many in which it would be necessary to rewrite the line. Where the rhyme is wanting, corruption of the text may be assumed ; but it is not so easy to say when lines apparently hypermetric really indicate a change to the modern pronunciation : thus in 38 and 79 *iompughadh* is a dissyllable rhyming with *din*, as in the spoken Irish of to-day.

I have preferred to print the Irish text without any marks of quotation, punctuation, &c. The translation is studiously plain and literal. A short glossary is appended, containing such words as are not given in Windisch's Wörterbuch, Atkinson's Glossary to the Passions and Homilies, nor Meyer's Contributions in the Archiv für Celtische Lexicographie (ACL).

GLOSSARY.

- aibhéis*, 176, 'boasting,' O'R.: cf. ἀἰβέεσθαι ἑ τοῖς ᾄμασι, Poems of G. ua Donnchadha, ed. Dinneen, line 203.
- armaigh*, 192, 'carnage'; *armach*, 'slaughter,' O'R.; *dr-mag*, 'battle-field,' ACL.
- bathadhaim*? 255, 'I drown'; but see note.
- bruithchim*, 18, 121, apparently for *bruighin*; Old-Ir. *brudin* (dat. sg. of *bruden*).
- coibche*, 77, 81, usually 'bride-gift'; here 'ransom.'
- coimfher*, 12, 'mate.'
- comhghar*, 15, 'proximity,' Three Shafts; here concrete, 'neighbours.'
- conádhach*, 70, = *confadach* (?), 'furious,' IT iv. Index; Three Shafts; but see note.
- conónaidh*, 50, ? for *connaidh*, g. s. of *connad*, 'fuel,' Wi.
- copán*, 144, 'cup,' O'R.
- cotán*, 130, 'shield,' O'Don. Suppl.
- criothfhuar*, 44, 'shivering': see note.
- croimhlind*, 210, perhaps = *cró-lind*, 'pool of blood': cf. *crolindech*, Wi; but probably a place-name.
- cuail*, pl. *cuála*, 52, 'faggot,' RC xii. 64, ZCP ii. 225.
- cuanna*, 84, 'neat,' 'elegant,' a common modern word.
- cumann*, 72, 74, 'fellowship' (*communio*), Rev. Celt. 12, 319; hence in modern poetry 'love,' O'Daly's Poets of Munster, 83, *et passim*.
- cumus*, 76, 'power'; *commus* Wi.
- decair*, pl. *decra*, 60, 'difficulty,' Rev. Celt. 11, 131; here 'hardship.'
- éagcosgaradh*, 103, 'havoc,' related to *coscraim*, 'I destroy' (Wi), as *écomlond* to *comlond*.
- ech díola* (?), 133, 'horse-stock,' 'horse for sale' (?): cf. *ech díle*, Wi.
- fátha*, 32, pl. of *fdth*, 'poem,' Metr. Gloss (?).
- féithech*, 179, 'sinewy,' O'R.; *féith*, Wi.
- fesda*, 175, 'now,' for *fecht-sa*.
- fionnad*, 183, verbal noun, from *fionnaim*, 'I flay,' O'R.
- fuacht*, 250, 'cold,' Wi. (*uacht*); here 'numbness.'
- fuinnsion*, 52, 'ash,' O'R.: cf. *unnius*, gen. *unsen*: King and Hermit.
- geallaim*, 81, 'I pledge'; here 'I accept a pledge': see note.
- géir-ethach*, 232, 'fierce vassal (or giant),' for *géir-athach* (KM).
- gurgón*, 54?
- iomguin*, 164, 'agony,' O'R.; *immguin*, 'slaying,' Wi.
- ldithrech*, 1, 6, 8, 'ruins,' O'R.; *ldthrach*, 'site,' Wi.
- miodhuail*, 43, 'dislike'; *miodhuil*, Three Shafts, O'R.
- oiridinid*, 112, pl. of *orda*, 'fragment,' O'R.; hence *oirdnibh*, 'splinters,' O'R.; *ordu*, 'portion,' IT iv., pl. *oirne*.
- posta*, 19, 'post,' O'R. metaph. 'support, guardian': cf. Stokes, Value of Irish Annals, 130.
- preabaim*, 33, 'I kick,' &c., O'R.; here 'I jump, start up.'
- séala*, 3, 'seal,' O'R.; here seemingly 'impress, traces.'
- seólad*, 119, 'travail'; *ben seólta* = *ben siúil*, IT iii. 226.
- sgabal*, 132, 'helmet,' O'R. (*scabal*): cf. *scabol*, 'caldrón,' Wi.
- sgíge*, 47, 'jeering,' Cath. Finntr. Index, O'R.
- sost*, 41, 'silence'; related to *tost* as *socht* to *tocht*.
- suandán*, 150, dimin. of *suán*, 'sleep'; here seemingly the name of some instrument of music.
- toirchim*, 28, 'stupor'; *toirchim suain*, Oss. iii. 54, Fragg. Annals 24.
- tóitedán*, 112, 'conflagration,' O'R.
- uamha* (?), 177, 183, &c., 'cave'; dat. *uamhaigh* (for *uamhaidh* ?): cf. Wi., s. v. *uam*.

τόιτεάν τιζε ڤινν.

Τρυαξ ἀνηρην Δ λάιτρεέ ληρ
μαρι Δ νοερναρ αν αινγειρ
ατάιο ροννα βαρ ڤέδα
μεβδιρ λιον Δ νοριοιέ-ρζεάλα

Μέδα λιον νο βειέ μαρι ρην 5
Δ λάιτρεέ βυαόαέ βδιρξλάιν
Clann Μορνα ڤα ληξ 'ρ ڤα λεέτ
τυγαίρ κοιλόμμ Δ λάιτρεέ

Νο ڤάό Διλβε κυμμιν λινν 10
ξυαιρ αν άιτ Δ βραξέαρ ρινν
νά τιζεό αοιννεέ ταρ λει
νί ڤάξφαό βεν υινν 'ξΔ κοιμ̃φερ

Νο ڤάόρατ να μνά ξο ڤίορ
ηε ηινξιν υαιέξιλ αν ڤίος
ό ναέ ڤυιλ κοιμ̃ξαι υδιρ ξοόιρ 15
ڤέάάμ κοη̃ναμ̃ αρι ڤεανόιρ

Λειξेम ξάιρ αάα ξαν έειλξ
ڤαν μβριυέέιμ ڤλάιτξιλ ڤρόιλλοειρξ
ξο βρεάμαοιο α ڤορτα ιρ ڤεαιρ
υδιρ βρορτα Δ η-ιαέ έηιενν 20

Ξαριάό μαα Μορνα λαοέ λονν
νά ξελυιρφεό ξάιρ έαξκοιλόμμ
νο έιυαφαό ξαν έειλξ ρον ξάιρ
'ρ νο βεαιρτυιζεό λειρ αρι λυέξάιρ

1. *annsín*] *sin* AB; *liom* C: perhaps *is truagh sin*. 2. *dernas* seems to imply that Garaid is speaking; but Mr. Lloyd tells me that this form is occasionally used in Donegal as pret. passive instead of *dearnadh*. 3. *séala*] 'seal,' seems here to mean 'vestiges.' 5. *méala*] B; *aobha* A; *saoth* C.
7. *clann*] *clanna* ABC. 9. *do rád'h*] *do radha* AB. *Ailbhe*] Finn's wife: see IT iv. Index. 12. *ga coimhfher*] *aige coimhfher* A; *aga fear* BC.

THE BURNING OF FINN'S HOUSE.

Sad is it here, O ruined keep! where was wrought that destruction:
here remain your traces: we remember those tidings of
evil.

A grievous sight to me to see thee in this plight, O ruin, once
glorious, crowned with brightness! The Clann Morna,
who lie under headstones in the grave, thou hast brought
to bareness, O ruin!

Said Ailbe, we remember: "Perilous the place where we find
ourselves: if anyone should come over sea, he would not
leave a woman of us with her mate."

Said the women truly to the king's daughter white of skin:
"Since there are no neighbours to do us right, let us see
what help our elder can afford.

"Let us raise a cry of battle without craft, throughout the white-
rodded red-satined hostel, till we see what stay is best
to support us in the land of Erin.

"Garaid mac Morna, impetuous hero, if he should hear the cry of
unequal combat, would come at the cry without craft, and
our laughter would be stirred at him.

16. perhaps 'let us look for help to the old man.'

17. *gan cheilg*] 'though

there is really no treachery to fear': but *go ceilg*, 'craftily,' would give better sense.

18. *bruithchim*] *buitchim* A; *bruighin* C: cf. 121. 19. *féchamaoid*] *fecamaoid* A,

feicethmaoid B. *a n-aith Eirenn*] *is dar ceongmháil*, &c., BC.

cheilg] i.e. innocently, unsuspectingly.

luthgair BC.

23. *gan*

24.] *Sdo deantaoi leis ar*

- Cenġlam a fionna 'r a folt 25
 do t̃aoḃ na bhuighe go doēt
 co naē tiubhaḃ a p̃eiri linn
 ó t̃arla 'na fuaioi toirchim
- Do cenġlaḃar na mná go f̃ioir 30
 mac Moirna ba móir an ġnóim
 'r do leigret ġáir caēa ġan c̃oir
 ḃar b̃rátaib doḃar doḃroin
- Ĥreab̃ar Ĥaraiḃ iur̃an ġáir 35
 f̃áġbur folt 'r a f̃eól go c̃nám
 doḃuair̃ fona mnáib amac
 ñoir b̃rác rin óa mbeir̃ toimrac̃
- Doḃdar̃t óa ġc̃ur̃ ran t̃ún 40
 doḃ é tur̃ur ġan iompuġaḃ
 ḃar ñġáir̃ m̃aġaḃ doḃoib buḃ ñáir̃
 biair̃ rin ar̃ m̃aioin ḃar t̃tenál
- A f̃enóir̃ c̃r̃ion b̃i-re do f̃ort 45
 leiġ-re t̃úinne do t̃eġarġ
 doḃéan-ra m̃ioḃuail̃ ar̃ rin
 c̃rioḃf̃uair̃ mná o' éir a f̃oilce
- Cia aḃaim̃re am f̃enóir̃ t̃r̃eir̃ 45
 ir̃ f̃aḃa ó ġlac̃ar mo r̃ġeir̃
 oġeól̃a oḃuib̃ bar r̃ġiġe
 lair̃raḃ ceann an aḃainne
- Éir̃ġer̃ Ĥaraiḃ t̃all ar̃toig̃ 50
 ġaḃar n-a láim̃ tuaiġ c̃onnaiḃ
 do ḃain ran ġcoill ġan t̃f̃ena
 naoi ñġála f̃uinñrona im̃t̃f̃ena

25. A similar trick was played on Curoi mac Dare by Blathnait: ZCP 3, 42.
 27. *a réir linn*] This reading is suggested to me by Dr. Atkinson. *ar re ar linn* AC, 'a slaughter in our time,' which is not very intelligible; *ġair ré na linn* B.
 28. *ġuain toirchim*: *ġuan thoirchim* AB: *ġuan tourchim* C.
 31. *leigset*] 's do leigset AB; *doleig siad* C. 32. *fáthaib*] *fátha*: A. In BC the line reads *d̃oibh sion doḃ d̃h̃bhar d̃ubh̃hr̃oin*. 36. *ñior b̃hf̃áth*]: cf. Atk., Keating, Appendix iii., note †. *sin*] BC: om. A. 38. *dobudh é*] AB; *dob é* C.
 39. *magaidh*] *maga* AB. 40. *b̃har*] *ionn b̃har* C. For the idiom, cf. ZCP ii. 379.
 41. *sost*] AB; *tost* C. 42. *ad for i do*: C has *do*: 'let us teach thee.'

"Let us bind his hair and his beard tight to the side of the hostel, since he chances to be sound asleep, so that he should not wreak his will on us."

The women bound in sooth mac Morna (great was the deed) :
they raised the cry of battle without reason : for our lays
it was cause of grief.

Up started Garaid at the cry : he left his hair and his flesh right
to the bone : he went forth among the women : no cause
had they to be proud.

He said, as he drove them into the *dun*, that it should be a
journey with no returning :—"Your mocking cry shall
be your shame : ye shall be a bonfire by morning."

"Withered elder, hold thy peace ! let us alone with your teaching."
(I shall cause horror thereat, a shudder as of a woman
after her washing.)

"Feeble elder though I be—it is long since I gripped my shield—
I will avenge on you your mockery ; I will kindle the torch's
head."

Garaid arose and went forth from the house : he took in hand
the woodman's axe : he cut in the wood, 'tis past denial,
nine stout faggots of ash.

43-44.] The poet speaks in parenthesis. 43. *dodhéansa* is a misspelling of *doghéansa*, 1 fut. B has *biadh sinne femtha dhod réir a seanoir chalma fhirthrin*. 44. *criothfhúar*] the dotted *f* in AC shows that the word is regarded as a compound: O'R has *criothfhuair*, 'chilly.' The noun occurs in its original form *criithur*, Salt. na R. 8202: the adj. *criithre* in B. Mag Rath, p. 110. *foilce*] AC, for *foiltche*, gives no rhyme: perhaps there was another form *foilcsin*. Dr. Strachan suggests that *foilce* is gen. of *folc*, 'a wash,' LU 58 a 14: and that for *ar sin* in 43 should be read *arse*, 'therefore.' I do not know whether this word is found in relatively modern Irish. 46. *ghlacas*] *do glacas* AB. 47. *digheoladh*: the metre shows that the word was already pronounced as a dissyllable. 50. *túaiigh chonnaidh*] *tuadh chonónaidh* A; *tuadh comaidh* B; *truaidhe* C. 52. *fuinnsiona imthréna*, A: *fuinnsion treana* BC, perhaps rightly. *ngúala* for *gcúala*, pl. of *cúail*.

ʔḁuḁḁḁḁ tḁne ʔḁḁ ḁḁḁ ḁḁḁ
 ḁḁ ḁḁḁ ʔḁ ʔḁḁḁ ḁ ḁḁḁḁḁḁ
 ḁḁḁḁḁ ḁḁḁ-ḁḁḁḁ ḁḁ ḁḁ ḁḁḁ
 ḁḁḁḁ ḁḁ ḁḁḁḁḁḁḁ

55

1ḁḁḁ ʔḁḁḁ ḁḁḁḁḁ ḁḁḁ ʔḁḁḁ
 ḁḁḁ ʔḁḁḁ ḁḁḁḁḁ ḁḁ ḁḁḁ ḁḁḁḁḁ
 ḁḁḁḁḁ ḁḁne ḁḁ ḁḁḁḁḁḁ
 ḁḁ ḁḁḁḁḁ ḁ ḁḁḁ-ḁḁḁḁḁ

60

1ḁḁ ḁḁḁ ḁḁḁḁ ḁḁ ḁḁḁḁḁḁ,
 ḁḁ ḁḁḁ ḁḁ ḁḁḁ ḁḁḁḁḁḁḁḁ,
 ḁḁḁ ʔḁḁ ḁḁ ḁḁ ḁḁḁḁḁḁḁ ʔḁḁḁ
 ḁ ḁḁḁḁḁ ḁḁḁḁ ʔḁḁḁḁḁḁ

ḁḁ 1ḁḁḁḁ ḁḁ ḁḁḁḁ ḁḁ ḁḁḁḁḁḁ
 ḁ ḁḁḁ ḁḁ ḁḁḁ ḁḁḁḁḁḁḁḁḁ
 ḁḁḁ ʔḁḁ ḁḁ ḁḁ ḁḁḁḁḁḁḁ ʔḁḁḁ
 ḁḁḁ ḁḁḁḁ ḁḁḁ 1ḁḁḁḁḁḁ

65

1ḁḁḁ-ʔḁ ḁḁ ḁḁḁḁ ḁḁ ḁḁḁ
 ḁḁḁḁ ḁḁ ḁḁ ḁḁḁḁḁ ḁḁ ḁḁḁḁḁḁḁ
 ḁḁ ḁḁ ḁḁḁ 1ḁḁḁ ḁḁḁ
 ḁḁḁḁ ḁḁḁḁ ḁḁḁ ḁḁḁḁḁḁ

70

1ḁḁ ḁḁḁ ḁ ḁḁ ḁḁḁ 1ḁḁḁ
 ḁḁḁ ḁḁ ḁḁ ḁḁḁḁḁ ḁḁḁḁ ḁḁḁḁ
 ḁ ḁḁḁ ʔḁḁ ḁḁḁ 1ḁḁḁ ḁḁḁ
 ḁḁ ḁḁḁḁḁ ʔḁḁ ḁḁḁ ḁḁḁḁ

75

ʔḁḁ ḁḁḁḁ ḁ ḁḁḁḁḁ ḁḁ ḁḁḁḁḁ
 ḁḁ ḁḁḁḁ-ḁḁḁ ḁḁḁḁḁ ḁḁ ḁḁḁḁ
 1ḁḁ ḁḁḁḁ ḁḁ ḁḁḁ ḁḁ ḁḁḁ
 ḁḁ 1ḁḁḁ ḁḁ ʔḁḁ ḁḁḁḁḁḁḁ

80

54. ḁḁ] ḁḁḁ A. *gurgón*] I do not know this word. BC have for this line *ó thinnitén go soiche a mheadon*, &c. 58. *chuir*] B; om. A; *dochuir* C; *glais* nom. for acc. 60. *móir dheacra*] It is not clear whether this refers to the sufferings of the women or Garaid's subsequent punishment. C has *deacradh*:

Dr. Strachan suggests *deachradh*, 'fury.' 62. C omits *ui* here and at 66, which mends the metre: but the speaker, Finn's wife, Ailbhe, was daughter of Cormac, grandson of Conn. 68. *nócha*] *ní* A. *leigfinn*] *leigfead* C.

70. The metre is wrong: for *chondhaich*, which I do not understand, we should perhaps read *chondich*, 'happy, prosperous,' Atk. PH. BC have *as ben Conáin amach na deaghaidh*, which does not rhyme. 71. *Mac Reithe*: also

He kindled a fire in the great house, from the floor to the ceiling (?): he set the house in a great blaze: that old man had no mercy.

He shut the seven doors of Finn's house: he fastened seven locks on every door-post; he makes a fire to kill them: hence came their sore sufferings.

"Let me out for my father's sake!" said the daughter of Conn the Hundred-fighter's grandson; "for my own sake, and to earn the thanks of Finn, O noble, fair-haired Garaid!"

"I will not let thee out for thy father's sake, O daughter of Conn the Hundredfighter's grandson; nor for thine own sake, nor to earn the thanks of Finn, will I let thee out."

"Let out the wife of Conan of the conflict, and the wife of prosperous Caoilte and the wife of Mac Reithe here—I have known no furtive love."

"Come forth, O wife of Mac Reithe, if furtive love be thy desire: since Mac Reithe is not here I myself have not the power."

"Accept a price, O Garaid of the great deeds!" said the noble daughter of Cormac ua Cuinn; "the full of thy fist of all that is in the *dun* to be granted thee without revoking."

called Cú Maige, Ir. Text. 4, line 553.

72. *ndernus*] *dernuis* AB; but the words seem to belong to Mac Reithe's wife. I owe to Mr. Lloyd the explanation of the phrase *cumann cleithe* (*celim*), 'secret amour.' He reminds me that, in the Ballad of the Mantle (ed. Stern ZCP ii, 2, 294), this woman is the only one who successfully undergoes the ordeal of chastity.

In C, 71-74 run thus: *is bean mhic an Reithe mäs dil lead cumainn cleithe. Tair amach a bhean mhic an Reithe abhus cumann cleithe nocha ndearthnas.*

76. *dom chumus*] Garaid taunts the chaste wife: she must wait for her husband's return: Garaid himself is too old for love-making.

79. *län doirn*] *län durrainn* C, 'your full share' (*urrand*).
80. *leigen*] *leigfinn* B.

- Do gēalll ḡamairō coibcē cōiri
 vona mnáib̄ ḡion ḡur cōmáil̄l̄ óóib̄
 ḡo b̄feca vúal̄ ó ḡac̄ mnaoi
 'na ḡlaic̄ cúanna von cēad̄-mnaoi
 O v'cōnnairc̄ ḡamairō nári m̄in 85
 Δ μαίβ̄ αρτιḡ vō c̄lannuib̄ níḡ
 Δ νοιδιḡ na vála ḡan ḡur
 vō iad̄ ḡo vána an voriur
 Nariab̄ beó ḡamairō ḡo briác̄
 ó táctad̄oi-re αρτιḡ ḡo tealnn 90
 ma leigenn vaine artec̄
 ná vaine amac̄ v̄a b̄ruil̄ ann
 ḡluairḡer ḡamairō irin ḡlenn
 m̄ari b̄i an tiḡ aḡ tuitem
 Δ nḡlenn Cuiac̄ ran Mum̄ain amuiḡ 95
 vō cōvuil̄ 'na v̄eḡad̄oi-rin
 Ionḡnad̄ an ní tarfár v̄am
 vō riárō Fionn Féinne ḡad̄óal̄
 ḡáiri con ir̄ ban ir̄ v̄aoine
 v̄a lorḡad̄ 'r̄ aḡ éadḡad̄oine 100
 C̄rēad̄ an cēó-ro c̄uḡainn aniar
 vō riárō Fionn fl̄aic̄ na b̄fiann
 ir̄ cēó éadḡcorḡar̄c̄a v̄a c̄ur
 nó tiḡe v̄a ḡéarilorḡad̄
 Tuḡamar̄ léim ionḡantac̄ áiḡ 105
 r̄áḡbam̄ad̄oi Δ ir̄ reilḡ ḡac̄ áiri
 'r̄ ní b̄ruar̄amar̄ v̄ari t̄tiḡc̄ib̄ f̄oir
 ac̄t bun ḡac̄ cleic̄e Δ t̄tal̄m̄uin
 'Do c̄uri ḡac̄ fer̄ c̄riann Δ fl̄eic̄e
 r̄án mb̄ant̄riac̄t ir̄ r̄án móir̄c̄ine 110
 'r̄ ní b̄ruar̄ad̄ari v̄a mnáib̄ ḡriád̄ac̄
 ac̄t oir̄v̄oir̄ v̄ub̄a t̄óit̄eáin

81. *geallaim* seems to mean sometimes, 'I exact a pledge,' 'I accept a price.' Thus, in the *dindsenchas* of Findglais, RC xv. 448, *Is í rogeill Coincublainn* surely means 'she took a pledge of Cuchulainn': not, as Dr. Stokes renders, 'she promised': so Keating, in telling the story, says *naisgis air techt*, 'she bound him to come' (Trin. Coll. H. 5. 26, p. 79).

83. *b̄feca*] *b̄feacaidh* B; *b̄feiceadh* C. Garaid's object is to see how many of the women are in the house.

84. *mnaoi*] *nith* B; *nidh* C.

90. I print B's reading. A has *ó chuir sé cách na chenn*; C reads *ó cuir sí catha na cceann*, which I cannot translate. None

Garaid accepted a fair price from the women (yet kept not his promise to them), till he saw a lock of hair from each woman in the shapely palm of the chief lady.

As soon as Garaid, never mild of mood, saw how many of the princely families were within, once the powerless throng was gathered, he shut the door boldly.

"May Garaid live no longer till the day of doom, since ye are fast inside, if he lets a soul in or a soul out, of all that are there."

Garaid made haste into the glen, as the house was falling ; in Glen Cuaich away in Munster slept he thereafter.

"A strange thing has been revealed to me," said Finn of the Fiann of the Gaels ; "the outcry of dogs and women and men a-burning and a-wailing."

"What is yon smoke that comes towards us from the west?" said Finn, prince of the Fianna : "it is the smoke of havoc a-doing, or of a house cruelly burned."

We made a wondrous leap for battle ; on all sides we leave our chase ; and we found of our houses eastward nought save the stump of each stake in earth.

Each man thrust the shaft of his spear among the women-folk, amidst the burning heap : and they found of their winsome wives nought save fragments black and charred.

of the three gives a rhyme to *bráth*. 94. *bhí*] *do bhí* A. 96. *'na*
dheghaidh-sín] *go meadhonlan* B ; *go meadhon laoi ghlan* C. 97. The
scene changes. *tarfás*] *atá ar fás* A. 98. *Gaodhal*] *gan on*, &c., BC.
99. *ban*] *léim* B. 101. *chugainn*] *chugaibh* AB. 104. *géarlosgadh*]
losgadh ar daoineibh A, against the rhyme. 106. *gach dírd*] *uile do*
dhéanamh A, against the rhyme and metre. 111. *ghrádhach*] *gruadh-*
grádhach (?) B ; *gruagach* C. But these readings are against grammar and metre :
read *dha grád-mndibh*. 112. *oiridiní*] *oirthnibh* B, *óirdinibh* C ; read *oiríne*.
dubha] *beaga* BC. *tóitedín*] *toitedn* A ; *thotdín* B ; *tuatdín* C.

Ըն ծիր-րն բսար լսջարօ
 ուր ծիր ցերօս ոօ ցարարօ
 Ը էսջ ոօ ցարարօ Ը մնա
 լսջարօ չէար մսց լսցօրման

115

Ու մար Քիօնն յա Քեմնե
 'նա ծեղարօ չէ ի ծա հեյրե
 ներտ մնա թօլտա թա յ-Ը ցեյլե
 ու մար թան իթարօ Քեմնե

120

Լօրջեր անրն մարայն թար
 ծեն իր թարն ոօնի Ը Քիօնն թար
 թա թօլար Ը չարարօ 'ր Ը չլսց
 Ը լե ծարն չարարօնե

Ոօ Լօրջեր անն ծա Ը Ը Ը
 Ը չար Ը Ը թարն Ը թարն
 ծար մօր թար Ը թար
 ոօ մսց Ը լսլսլ Ը լսլսլ

125

Ոօ Լօրջեր Ը Ը թարն Ը լսլսլ
 իր Ը Ը լսլսլ Ը լսլսլ
 իր Ը Ը Ը լսլսլ իր Ը Ը լսլսլ
 իր Ը Ը Ը լսլսլ իր Ը լսլսլ

130

Ոօ Լօրջեր Ը Ը լսլսլ
 թա Ը լսլսլ Ը լսլսլ
 լսլսլ լսլսլսլսլսլ լսլսլ
 լսլսլ լսլսլսլսլսլ լսլսլ

135

Ոօ Լօրջեր լսլ Ը Ը լսլսլսլ
 թա մօր Ը լսլսլ լսլսլ
 լսլ լսլսլսլ Ը լսլսլսլսլ
 ոօ լսլսլսլ լսլսլսլսլսլսլ

140

Ոօ Լօրջեր լսլ Ը Ը լսլսլսլ
 ոօ լսլսլսլսլսլսլսլսլսլ
 ոօ Լօրջեր 'ր ու լսլսլսլ Ը լսլսլ
 լսլսլ Ը Ը լսլսլսլսլսլսլսլ

117. *ni raibh*] *nior dhí* A.
 119. *mnd seolta*] cf. *ben siúil*, Ir. T. iii. 226.
 124. *aluinn*] BC add *budh*.

118. *dhethaidh*] *dhetha*, &c. AB.
 121. *bruighin*] *bruithchim* A.
 131. *is* (1)] om. BC. *dhá* (2)] om. BC.

That death which Lugaid found, it was no seemly death for a hero, to die of grief for his wife—keen Lugaid son of Luchorman.

Finn of the Fiann was alive no longer, though he lived afterward: the strength of a travelling woman was not in the chief of the Fiann among his comrades.

There was burned in that hostel in the west the best wife Finn ever had: bright was her cheek and her hand—beautiful dapple-cheeked Ailbe.

There were burned there Finn's two horses and his high splendid car: great was the household loss for the son of Cumall of Almain.

There were burned a hundred shields cunningly wrought and a hundred conquering targes and two hundred corslets and two hundred blades and two hundred mail caps and helmets.

There was burned a stud of a hundred horses, of horses belonging to the over-kingship, with their breast-ornament of crystal, with their gilded bridles.

There were burned by Garaid in Finn's hostel three hundred whelps of mac Cumail's beautiful dogs, a great loss were they.

There were burned three hundred great chests for hoarding silver and gold: there were burned—and it is no lie to say it—three hundred horns and three hundred cups.

133. *diola*] *dioladh* AB; *minghlan* C: cf. *ech díle* Wl.

conadh A. *ór-dhaithe*] *órduighthe* BC.

ór &c. AC.

144. *corn*] *corrán* B; *corann* C.

136. *gona*]

142. *airgid is óir*] *airgid is*

Do bheirim bhrídearí ó am Óia 145
 fáim éilíodéim a gair fáim ríáde
 gur éad óo éimáid a mbán
 deic gcéad mar lúgáid láimhéal

Do loirgheo ann cruic Óáire 150
 do loirgheo ruandán Saighe
 an tan do feinntí is do gán gair
 fíanna fínn do coóla leir

Do loirgheo éirí céad renóir ren 155
 do ríog-índíib fíann éiríenn
 do éilínnuib gíogóil maille
 do éilínnuib bhríogímará bhoirghe

Do loirgheo éirí céad cailleé 160
 ran mbriugín álainn aroibléadé
 ir áleiom mac ríú fá leir
 ar mac Cumáil álmáine

Do loirgheo éirí céad inžen maol
 buó íolurda uet a gair tadé :
 buó áluinn an bantmaet éain
 óa loirgheo ir óa n-iomgáin

Naor n-oióce dúinne íaríran 165
 ir rinne ag loirgairíocht gárad
 ruaramar gárad gáirblíad
 annínn gáiríuic ór éiríoblíad

Marí éonnamáradar a céile 170
 gárad ir fíonn na fíinne
 oíar fá calma ar gáé carán
 amgar éugíat ácmurán

Sgáé uáinne ir áirí orí a fíir 175
 a gárad gáirí gáirí
 do loirgí ar mná ferda
 dúit ir áirí a tróimcéarad

149. *cruic Dhaire*. A *Daigre cruicire* is mentioned in the *Acallam*: see IT iv. 6079; also in another Ossianic poem in RIA 23 L 34, p. 293, line 24. I know nothing of the *suanán Saighe*.

151. *do seinntí*] *do seinntíghie* A; *do sheinntíghie* B.

152. *chodhla* for *chodhladh*.

153. *seng* is an adjective constantly applied to warriors, and means here perhaps rather 'wiry,' 'lithe' than 'lean.'

156. *bríoghmhara*

I pledge my word before God, by my sword and my shield, that there died of grief for their wives three hundred like white-handed Lugaíd.

There was burned there the harp of Daire : there was burned the lulling pipe of Saigen : when they were played, without a spell, the Fianna of Finn fell asleep thereat.

There were burned there three hundred lithe elders of the princely nobles of the Fianna of Erin, both of the Clann Griogóil and of the vigorous Clann Baoisgne.

There were burned three hundred old women, fair and famous in the hostel (the princelings are nurtured apart) to the loss of mac Cumáil of Almain.

There were burned three hundred shorn maidens, that were brightest of bosom and side : lovely were the pure women folk that were burning in agony.

Nine nights we spent thereafter and we on Garaid's track : we found Garaid, grey and fierce, in the rock above Craobh-liath.

When they saw each other—Garaid and Finn of the Fianna, the two that were boldest on any path—bitterly they set to chiding.

“Hate and reproach on thee from us, thou fierce white-bearded Garaid ! thou hast burnt our women but now : their sore suffering is thy boast.

Baoisgne] *Baoisgne brioghmhara* A ; *mera brioghmhara*, &c. BC. 158. As *bruighen* is fem., the adjectives must refer to the *cailligh*. 159. *fa leith*] *fale* AB. I cannot make grammar of the line as it stands : read perhaps *altronn*, g. pl. of *altru* ACL, ‘and nurses of the princelings.’ 162. *solusda*] *solas* A. 163, 4. *cdin*, *iomgáin* B. 165. *dhuinne*] *dhuinn* A. 167. *gairbh-liath*] *an gharbhghnín* C ; *gairbháin* B. 169. *chonmarcadar*] *chonmarcamar* B. 172. *amgar*] *angar* B. 173. *sgdth*] *sgiath* BC. *aithis*] *faithchios* BC.

Τιδῆαῖο υἷονν ἡρην υἷαῖαῖς
 οἷονῖς ἡοῖοῖς οἷαῖς ἡλυῆαῖς
 ῖαῖαῖς ἀν ῖαῖαῖς ῖονῖαῖς
 ἡ τῖαῖαῖς ἀμαῖς ἀν ῖαῖαῖς 180

Ὅρ τῖ ῖαῖα ἀτῖ οἷον ῖαῖς
 ἀ οἷαῖς Cυῖαῖς ἀῖαῖς
 τῖ ἡρην υἷαῖς οἷον ῖονῖαῖς
 ἡ ῖαῖς ῖο ῖαῖς ῖο ῖαῖς

Ὅο ῖαῖς ῖονῖα ῖαῖς ῖαῖς ῖαῖς 185
 τῖαῖς ῖαῖς ῖαῖς ῖαῖς ῖαῖς
 οἷαῖς ῖαῖς ῖαῖς ῖαῖς ῖαῖς
 ῖαῖς ῖο ῖαῖς ῖαῖς ἀν ῖαῖς

Ὅαῖς ῖαῖς ῖαῖς ῖαῖς ῖαῖς 190
 οἷαῖς ῖαῖς ῖαῖς ῖαῖς ῖαῖς
 ῖο ῖαῖς ῖαῖς ῖαῖς ῖαῖς
 ῖαῖς ἀν τῖαῖς ῖαῖς

ῖαῖς ῖαῖς ῖαῖς ῖαῖς ῖαῖς 195
 ῖαῖς ῖαῖς ῖαῖς ῖαῖς ῖαῖς
 ῖο ῖαῖς ῖαῖς ῖαῖς ῖαῖς
 ῖαῖς τῖαῖς ἀμαῖς ῖαῖς

ῖαῖς ῖαῖς ῖαῖς ῖαῖς 200
 ῖαῖς ῖαῖς ῖαῖς ῖαῖς ῖαῖς
 ῖαῖς ῖαῖς ῖαῖς ῖαῖς ῖαῖς
 ῖο ῖαῖς ἀν ῖαῖς ῖαῖς

ῖαῖς ῖο ῖαῖς ῖαῖς ῖαῖς
 ἀν ῖαῖς ῖαῖς ῖαῖς ῖαῖς
 ῖαῖς ῖαῖς ῖαῖς ῖαῖς ῖαῖς
 ῖο ῖαῖς ῖαῖς ῖαῖς ῖαῖς

ῖαῖς ῖο ῖαῖς ῖαῖς ῖαῖς 205
 ἀ ῖαῖς ῖαῖς ῖαῖς ῖαῖς
 ῖαῖς ῖαῖς ῖαῖς ῖαῖς ῖαῖς
 ῖαῖς ῖαῖς ῖαῖς ῖαῖς ῖαῖς

177. *tiagaidh*] *tiageadh* C.
 women had left Garaid hairless.

&c., BC. 187. *déanaidh*] *déanaidhe* A.
 'twenty hundred': but here it seems to stand for *fíthche ar chéad*.

an t-armaign] *as mór tharmhoigh* B; *badh mhórán tár* C.

184. ironical: the cruel trick played by the
 185. *do rádh*] *da radha* A.

186. *a]* *ar*,

189. *fíthche céad* should mean

192. *mor*

195. *do chuir*

"Go ye from us into the cave, a great company of our hosts !
seize the sinewy shaggy fellow, and fetch out the old
fox."

"Since it is thyself that is on my trail, brave son of Cumall of
the red weapons, come thou into the cave to flay me, and
take firm hold of my old hairs !"

Said Finn, prince of the Fianna of Ireland : "Bring with you
Garaid in your keeping : make ye his bed and his bier
where the women-folk were burnt by him !"

A hundred and thirty men, sixteen, and eight fell by Garaid's
hand in the cave : great was the carnage for one time.

So long was Garaid without food that he made a cast of his
shield from him : he put a hand under his hoary breast, and
came forth, alone.

Desire of sport or laughter or inclination to ought were it never
so pleasant was not in fierce Garaid till he saw the women
folk dead and stark.

When fierce Garaid saw the women burned, dead and stark, he
let fly a peal of laughter over them to be heard among the
Fianna throughout Erin.

"Pleasant it is to me to find you thus, O women !" said Garaid :
"that you may learn for good not to mock at a miserable
old man."

&c., in sign of submission.

aonarán] naonarán AB ; aonarán C.

201. do chonnaire] chonnaire A.

C substitutes, for 201, 2, dhur marb amuith is mait liom féin | do radh gara
nár mhaith méinn. 203. a gcionn] a chenn A. 204. do chlos] budh chlos B.

206. do rdádh] do radha A : cf. 9, 185.

dháin] dhán ABC.

196. 'na

200, 202. lán marbh] marbh B.

202. loigthe] loigidhthe &c. AB.

1aṛṛuim v'atēuinge oṛt a fīnn
 vo ṛátō Ṣaṛaio ó Chroimlīnn 210
 ṣan mo mīlle móṛi an moó
 ṣo tṛát ēṛṣe aṛ n-amáṛac

1ṛ let an atēuinge ṛin uaim
 vo ṛátō mac CuṁaílL aṛmṛuaio 215
 ṣan vo mīlle aṛ an maṛṣin
 ṣo tṛát ēṛṣe aṛ maṛoin

Ṣaṛaio an oioce ṛin ṣan bíatō
 1ṛ v'á coiméat vo bí an fīann
 at ēṛṣe v'on ṣṛéim ṣo moó
 vo éaluis Ṣaṛaio ṛán éatōac 220

Vo éaluis Ṣaṛaio ón bṛéinn
 'ṛ níor bṛeṛ vo nec v'ioḃ a ṛéim
 ṣan fíor aca aṛ talṁuin tṛoim
 cáṛ ṣab Ṣaṛaio ó Liaṛoim

Ṭaṛ ṛlīab Tulcon vó ṣo fíor 225
 ṣo ṛáimṣ Tuaiṣ 1nbíor
 ó Tuaiṣ 1nbíor Ṣaṛaio na nṣlonn
 uacán 1ṛ vāmna v'éaṛtṛom

Ṣo maṣ an Róio Ṭaṛ ṣac ṛaon
 ṣo Dún Māca na móṛnaom 230
 ṣo Caṛn éile mṣine eóḃac
 ṣluaiṛṣeṛ Ṣaṛaio ṣeṛ-eṬac

Ṣo maṣ an vóill beó 'na ṛéim
 láim veṛ le Dún an lāoió léit 235
 taṛla a nṣlenn beacáin binn
 láim ṛe cenn loca Liaṛoim

1aṛṛan vó ṣo háṛo óṛ muṛ
 vo Ṣaṛaio ṣaṛb mālaóvūb
 téro ṛan uamáiṣ vo léim
 coolur ann Ṣaṛaio ṣaṛbbléit 240

210. ó Chroimlīnn] an Chroimhghlīnn C.
 mágh so C.

215. maighin] ed. maige AB;
 222. níor bhfas: cf. Atk., Keating, Glossary: this habit of

"I beg a boon of thee, O Finn!" said Garaïd of Crumlin: "that thou slay me not—great the task—till the hour of dawn to-morrow."

"Thou hast thy boon from me," said the son of Cumail of the red weapons: "that I should not slay thee in this place till the hour of dawn to-morrow."

Garaïd was without food that night, and the Fiann guarding him; at sunrise in the early morning Garaïd stole away covertly.

Garaïd stole away from the Fiann, and none of them knew of his going: they knew not whither on the wide earth Garaïd from Liatruim had gone.

Over Sliabh Tulchon he went in truth till he reached Tuag Inbir: from Tuag Inbir went Garaïd of the exploits (alas! it is cause for tearful heaviness)—

To Mag an Roid across all ways, to Dun Macha of the potent saints, to the Carn of Eile daughter of Echaid hastened Garaïd the fierce vassal:

To Mag an Bhoill bheo in his flight, his right hand towards Dun an Laoich Leith: he happened on melodious Glenn Beacain, close by the head of Loch Liatruim.

Afterwards he reached a height over the sea—fierce black-browed Garaïd: he entered the cavern with a leap: there fierce grey Garaïd fell asleep.

regarding *feas* as an adj. may have arisen from a confusion between *níorbh feasach* and *níor fess*. 224. *cár]* *ca háit ar A.* 228. A has *Gharaïd*: perhaps for *do G.* 233. *bheo]* *béo A. na réim*: perhaps rather 'of the races.'

nioi móṑḁaiḡ ḡḁḁaiḁ ḁn fíann
 ḡuḁi ḁḁuinnḡḡeḡḁḁi ḁnoḡi 'ḡ ḁníḁḁ
 léḡḡḡet fḁn uḁḁaiḡ ḡḁḁi ḁḁḁ
 ḁ ḁoḡḁ fḁ coḡḁ nemiḡḁḁḁ

Comḁaiḡḡḡ ḁoḁ iḡ ḡḁḁaiḁ ḡḡḁḁ 245
 fḁn uḁḁaiḡ fḁ ḁḁḁḁ ḁḡḁḁ
 ḡuḁi ḁḁḁ ḁ ḁenn ḁḁ ḁḁḁḁ
 fḁ ḡníoiḁ uḁḁḁḁi ḁnḁiḁḁḁ

ḁon láim fḡn ḁo ḁḁḁḁ ḡḁḁaiḁ
 ḁo líon fḁḁḁḁ iḡ ḁo líon ḡḁḁḁ 250
 fḁil ḡḁḁḁ ḁoḁḁaiḁ fḁn láim
 ḁuḁ ḁóḡi ḡḁḁ ḡḁḁḁ ḁo ḡḁḁḁil

ḁḁḁḁḡ ḁoḁ ḁḁḁḁ 'nḁ fḡim
 ní ḁḡḁḁḁi fḡ ḁuine ḁon ḁḡḡḁḁ
 ḁḁḁḁḁ é fḡin fḁn ḁḡḁḁḁḡḡḡ nḁ ḁḁonn 255
 ḁoḁ fḁ ḁḁḁḁ ḁḡḁḁḁḁḁ

ḁóḁuḁḁḁḁḁ ḡḁḁaiḁ iḡ ḁoḁ
 ḁḁi fḡioḡ ḁn ḁuḁḁḁ ḁḁḁḁ fḡ ḁḁḁḁ
 ḁḡḡḡ fḡuḁḁḁḁḁḁ oḡḡḁḁ ḡḁḁ n-úḁḁḁ
 iḡ ḁinn mo ḁḡoiḁḁ 'ḡ ḁḡ ḁḡḁḁḡ 260

ḁḡ fḡn ḁuḁḁ ḁ ḡḁḁḁḁḁḡ fḡḡḁl
 iḡ mé Oḡḡḁ ḡo n-iomḁḁ n-ḡḁḁḁḁ
 ḁḡḡḡ méro ḁo fḡníḁ ḁḁ ḁuḁḁ
 iḡ ḁinn mo ḁḡoiḁḁ 'ḡ ḁḡ ḁḡḁḁḡ.
 ḁḡḁḁḡ.

242. *gur chruinnighedar*] *go ttangadar* BC. 243. *léigset*] *leigetar* B;
leigid C. *chatha*] om. BC. 244.] A has *nemhthráith*; B *nemhthráith*: I read
nemhthráitha, though this also is a bad rhyme; C reads *a chodla sin nior chodla*
sámh. 248. *anaichníd*] *annaithníd*, &c., AB; *anaithid* C. 249 *Garaidh*] A has

Garaid was never ware of the Fiann till they gathered from east and west: they raised a battle-cry in the cavern: an unseasonable sleep was his.

Aod and keen Garaid encountered in the cavern—it was cause of tears: and Aod struck off his father's head: it was a horrid unheard-of deed.

For the hand that slew Garaidh, which numbness and disease have filled—the blood of Garaidh has stained that hand—it were meet to catch all diseases.

Aod fled away; he met no man of the Fianna; he drowned himself in the sea-waves: Aod was cause of heavy grief.

Garaid and Aod are buried by the bay's verge, side by side: sad and sorrowful is my heart with thinking on them every hour.

Here is a tale for thee, O Patrick! I am Oisín of the many crimes: through the greatness of my grief in telling of them sad and sorrowful is my heart.

Garadh (the genitive); B reads *athair*.
bear the meaning given.

250. I doubt whether *do líon* can
251. *Garadh*] *Gharaidh* A. 255. *bádh*] *báthadhas* A; *bádhthas* B; *bathas* C.
256. *Aodh*] *as daodha* B; *aoda* C.
259. *smuaineadh*] *smaoine* A. 261. *a Phadraig*] om. A. 263. *snímh*] ed. *ním* A; *ghnídh* B. C writes for 263–4, *is ionann is nímh dam beith da luaidh* | *is rothinn mo chroidhe fá amhlúadh*.

NOTE.

Mr. J. H. Lloyd has kindly supplied me with the air to which the oral version obtained by him was chanted, together with the commentary printed below.

“ΛΑΟΙῦ ΣΑΡΔΑΙῦ.”

(Τόπιτεάν Τιγε φίνν.)

Σλέαρ ο.

Σ. λ. νο σλέαρ.

{ | ṣ : ṃ | ṣ : ṃ | ṣ : ṃ | ṣ : - . ṃ }

Τρυσάδν - ρε - ριν, Δ - λείτ - ρεάδν λρ, μαρ
 λείγ - ρε - βεαν ὀν - δίν αν δίξ, ιρ

{ | ṣ : ṃ | ṣ : ṃ | ḍ : ḍ | ḍ : - ., ṣ | ṣ : ṃ }

Δ νοδερ - ναρ αν δίν - ζοιρ : Δ - τάιρ ρονν - Δ
 βεαν ὀαοιλ - τε μίτκ Ρόν - δίν : ιρ βεαν μίτκ Ρει -

{ | ṣ : ṃ | ṣ : - . ṃ | ṣ : ṃ | ṣ : ṃ | ḍ : ḍ | }

δερ ρέα - λα ; μεδβ - διν λιον Δ νορσοιό - ρζέα - λα.
 ὅε 1 βρυρ ; Cum - ανν κλει - ὅε νί ὅδερ - ναρ.

“ΛΑΟΙῦ ΣΑΡΔΑΙῦ.”

(Ὅαίτα μαρ νο ζαῖβ ἑαμονν ὅζ μακ αν ζοιλλ αν κεόλ.)

Σλέαρ ο.

{ | ṣ : ṃ | ṣ : ṃ | ṣ . ṣ : ṃ | ṣ : - . ṃ }

λείγ Δ - μαδ βεαν ὀν - δίν αν δίξ, νά

bean éadail-te bíod' a' cró-nán: bean míc a'
 Rei-te éoil; Cum-ann clei-te ní éad' rí.

“The poems known as Ossianic or Fenian are sung to airs which are quite unique in the native music of Ireland, whereof they undoubtedly form the most ancient class. In his Preface to *The Ancient Music of Ireland*, Dublin, 1840, Edward Bunting remarks: ‘The extreme antiquity of the first class, consisting of *caoinans* or dirges, and of airs to which Ossianic and other very old poems are sung, is proved as well by the originality of their structure (being neither perfect recitative nor perfect melody) as by the fact of their being still sung with the same words in different parts of the country, these words in many instances corresponding exactly with poems of an extremely early date preserved in ancient manuscripts’; and again: ‘The Ossianic airs have been noted down from persons, singing very old fragments of this class of poems, both in Scotland and Ireland.’ He says further: ‘Satisfied, on these grounds, that the airs of the first class are all of very great antiquity, the editor has taken pains to examine and analyze their structure; and the result has been that in them he can trace a characteristic style which prevails more or less throughout all genuine Irish music, and constitutes the true test by which to distinguish our native melodies from those of all other countries.’

“Neither Bunting nor any other musician appears to have noted down the air of the present poem. It is much simpler and more monotonous than any other recorded of the same class. Whether this should tell in favour of a higher antiquity or not, I leave to more competent—to musical—authorities to decide. I have thoroughly satisfied myself that this air is associated with the words of the poem; for Eamonn óg Mac an Ghoill (Anglice Magill), who sang the poem (fifty-five stanzas) frequently for me,

told me that both his father and grandfather had the very same tradition.

"It is not, however, so much through a desire to preserve an ancient relic of the kind that I hand this air into the safe-keeping of Mr. Gwynn, but rather with the hope that it may throw light on the ancient method of reading poems in *deibhidhe* metre (in the present case *ógláchas*). There can be no doubt but that musical accentuation is more enduring than prosodic stress. The latter is always liable to suffer alteration even from the mere shifting of accent due to a more recent pronunciation of a word, an extreme case of which in Connacht, for instance, would be such as $\Delta\eta\ \tau\text{'}\mu\acute{\alpha}\eta$, which must have been preceded by $\Delta\eta\ \tau\text{-}\Delta\mu\acute{\alpha}\eta$.

"Not so with the musical stress. Airs certainly do get corrupted and altered in course of time; but it will be found that their accentuation, which is really vital to them, is scarcely ever lost. Should this ever take place, and the air suffer corruption also in other ways, the result would practically be an entirely different tune. This, I think, should act as a powerful check on corruption of musical accentuation.

"It is better, however, that such questions should be left for musicians to discuss. Our concern here is merely with ' $\text{'}\text{L}\Delta\text{O}\text{I}\text{'}\text{O}\ \text{S}\Delta\mu\text{'}\Delta\text{I}\text{'}\text{O}$ ' as a means of ascertaining original prosodic accent.

"Probably no two stanzas of the reciter's version of the words were quite alike as regards the number of syllables, so much do these poems suffer through oral transmission. He often had as many as ten syllables, sometimes even twelve, in a line. Hence his singing of the stanzas differed slightly with each, owing to the necessity of either crowding in a redundancy, or slurring a paucity of syllables. As a specimen of his method I give one stanza exactly as sung.

"The correct heptasyllabic version of the same stanza, and also of the opening one, are set to another form of the air. This form is that heard when the air is lilted, being thus without any corrupted lines to break up its proper time; such also is the impression made on one's ear after hearing the poem sung throughout. It will be seen that there is here a thorough agreement between bars and syllables, that is, fourteen bars (= twenty-eight notes) = twenty-eight syllables. This agreement is all the more remarkable on account of the music having been

preserved in recent times quite independently of any metrical tradition.

“The theoretic juxtaposition of music and words now made gives some extraordinary results. It is only necessary to point to $\Delta\tau\acute{\alpha}\iota\omicron$, of which the first syllable, in all probability, always unaccented in ordinary pronunciation, bears the stress, whilst the second syllable, no doubt never otherwise than long and accented, is unstressed! If the setting be right, we can only infer that ancient Irish prosody recognised an artificial method of accentuation, this view being to some extent corroborated by the highly artificial nature of many of the metres employed, of which, last but not least, we may place the kind of *deibhidhe scaoilte* in which our poem is written.”

COMAD MANCHÍN LÉITH.

THE only copy of the following poem which I know of is found on p. 95 of 23. N. 10 (formerly Betham 145), a paper manuscript in the Royal Irish Academy. It was written by a scribe named Aodh at Baile in Chumine (now Ballycummin House, over Loch Bó Deirge on the Shannon) in the house of John O'Mulconry, as appears from the following entries :—

p. 48. At the end of a copy of the *Aipgitir Chrábaid* : Finit amen o Aodh forsan aipgitir sin. Baile in Chuimine m'airm a n-ailt tSeain hi Maoilconaire.

p. 66. Aodh sin 7 Dia lium.

p. 77. In satharn ría bfeil in Tailgienn anieua. Miesie Aoudh. Bauilei in Chuoiminei muo mheiendaot a n-ailt Sheiaauin hí Mháouilchounauoierei. 7 daur muo dheurou is truaogh in ries sin adchlouaim adhon Semuos mhauc Muoiries ag imtheaoucht doun Spained amailde fri na tseitche 7 fri nia chlaouind fous. 7 is *eadh* is daomhna . . . cheimnighthe dhouiu adhon do nembhfhaghuai[1] . . e onna uráthauir fein (*id est* Geroit .i. iarla). 7 is *eadh* douruimnim-si gurop olc fuaoir¹ The end of the entry has disappeared with the edge of the paper.

Manchín Léith (i.e. of Líath), to whom the poem is ascribed, was founder of the monastery which is from him called Líath Mancháin, now Lemanaghan, in the King's County. According to the Annals, he died in 665, from the plague called in *Buide Conaill*. The language of the poem dates, perhaps, from the ninth century. The same manuscript contains another poem ascribed to Manchín. It is entitled *Anmchairdes Manchain Léith*, and begins :

Nech atcobra dul ar nemh. atacosna in flaith
seched ríagail [in]na naem. tathaí eolus maith.

¹ The Saturday before the feast of the Adzehead (i.e. St. Patrick) to-day. I am Aodh. Baile in Chumine is my place in the house of John O'Mulconry. And by my God's doom ! pitiful is the story I hear, viz. that James Mac Murrís is going to Spain together with his wife and with his children also. And the cause of their going is his not having found . . . from his own brother, viz. Earl Gerald. And this is what I think, that he has found evil

What the exact meaning of *comad* in the title of the poem may be I do not know.¹ O'Reilly has the meaning 'elegy'; but the word more usually denotes the second or closing couplet of a quatrain. See O'Donovan's Grammar, p. 413.

The metre in which the poem is written varies in the single quatrains and couplets between the scheme $7^1 + 5^1$ (i.e. *cumasc etir randaigecht móir 7 iethrandaigecht*), $7^2 + 5^1$, $7^3 + 5^1$, while the sixth stanza shows the metre $6^2 + 5^1$.

COMAD MANCHÍN LĒITH ANNSO.

1. Dúthracar, a maic Dē bī, a rī suthain sen,
bothān derruid dīt[h]rabha comad hī mo threab. Du.
2. Huisín treglas tanuide do buith ina tāib,
linn glan do nig[e] peacda tria rath spirta² nāimh. Du.
3. Fidbuid āluinn imfoccus impe do cech leith
re haltrom én [n]-ilgothach ria clithar dia cleith. Du.
4. Deisebair re tesogad, sruthān dar a laind,
talam toga co méid rath ba maith da gach clainn. Du.
5. Hūathad ōclaoch innide, innesem al-līn,³
it ē umle irlataidh d'urguidi ind Rīgh. Du.
6. Ceit[h]re trīr, trī cet[h]ruir, cuibde re gach les,
dā seiser i n-ecluis itir tūaith⁴ is tes. Du.
7. Sē dēsa do imforcra imum-sa fadēin,
i[c] guide tre bithu sīr in Rīg ruithness grēin. Du.
8. Eclais āibinn anartach, atreb Dē do nim,
sutrall soillsi iar sin ūass scriptūir glain gil. Du.
9. Ōenteg[d]ais do aithigid fri deit[h]ide cuirp,
cen druid[e], cen indlāduth, cen imrādud uilc. Du.
10. Is ē trebad nogēbainn, dogēgainn cin cleith,
fīr-caindenn cumra, cerca, bradāin, breca, beich. Du.
11. M' [f]olortadh brait ocus bīdh ōn Rīgh is cāin clū,
mo bith-se im suide re rē [ic] guide Dē in nach dū. Du.

¹ The word also occurs in the title of another poem printed infra on p. 41.

² spirat MS.

³ illin MS.

⁴ tuaidh MS.

TRANSLATION.

1. I wish, O Son of the living God, O ancient eternal King, for a hidden little hut in the wilderness, that it may be my dwelling.
2. An all-grey¹ lithe little lark to be by its side, a clear pool to wash away sins through the grace of the Holy Spirit.
3. Quite near, a beautiful wood around it on every side, to nurse many-voiced birds, hiding it with its shelter.
4. A southern aspect² for warmth, a little brook across its floor,³ a choice land with many gracious gifts such as be good for every plant.
5. A few men of sense—we will tell their number—humble and obedient, to pray to the King :—
6. Four times three, three times four, fit for every need, twice six in the church, both north and south.
7. Six pairs besides myself, praying for ever the King who makes the sun shine.
8. A pleasant church and with the linen altar-cloth, a dwelling for God from Heaven ; then, a shining candle above the pure white Scriptures.
9. One house for all to go to for the care of the body, without ribaldry,⁴ without boasting (?),⁵ without thought of evil.
10. This is the husbandry I would take, I would choose and will not hide it : fragrant leek, hens, salmon, trout, bees.
11. Raiment and food enough for me from the King of fair fame, and I to be sitting for a while praying God in every place.

KUNO MEYER.

¹ *tre-glas*, 'very grey,' the intensive prefix *tre-* answering to Welsh *try-*.
 co nderna tromchiaich treglais, LL. 96 a 11.

² *deiseabair* or *desebar* seems to denote the position of the sun in the south, 'a south aspect.' Cf. *tairisidh a mháthair 'na hóenar ina lubhghort fria deiseabhair na gréine*, Lism. Lives, l. 1884. *desebar gréine .i. inat ina deasfoebhar ngréine*, O'Dav. 705.

³ *land*, f., 'a floor, ground,' as in the compound *ith-lann*.

⁴ *drúide*, as I would emend *druid*, I take as the abstract of *drúith*, 'a buffoon.'

⁵ This is a mere guess at the meaning of *indlídud*.

COMAD CROICHE CRÍST' ANNSO SÍS.

MS. 23. N. 10, p. 94.

1. Creidim-si *Críst* isræracht occus rocēs crann croiche,
occus robōi trī laithi [i]san adhnucol cloichi. Cretem.
2. Dursan do taoib maic Muire occus dia balluib bánaib
a guin co laigin biraig¹ i cinaid pecuid Ádaim. C.
3. Tan² rocrochadh mac Muire doluid temel tarsan mbith,
in grian imclaomcla [a] dath, talum nī anadh do *chrith*.
Cre.
4. In gnīm dorinne Iudas ba liach *occus* ba galgat,
tria saint *occus* tria formad mac Dē do reicc ar argat. Crē.
5. Airet robūi mac Muire hi corp co mbētuib būada³
indar ra muintir nime nocho tesarba ūada.⁴ Cre.
6. Cech dochruide rodāmair ō sil Ádaim cin teirci
is diar scarad fri *diabul*, maig iarum nachatcreidfe. C.
7. A gein, a bathais, a⁵ crochadh, [a] adnocul cin gleitín,
a eisēрге, a⁵ fresgabāil, a tudhacht cōir a creitim.

Cre. Cr. I. S. R.

TRANSLATION.

THIS IS THE *comad* OF THE CROSS OF CHRIST.

1. I believe in Christ who has arisen and suffered the tree of
the cross, and who was three days in the stone sepulchre.
2. Sad for the side of Mary's Son and for His white limbs to
be wounded with a pointed lance for the guilt of Adam's
sin!
3. When the Son of Mary was crucified, darkness went over
the world, the sun changed his colour, the earth did not
cease from trembling.

¹ mbiraid MS.² intan MS.³ buadaib MS.⁴ uadaibh MS.⁵ i MS.

4. The deed which Judas did was a sorrow and a crime,¹ through greed and through envy to sell the Son of God for silver.
5. While the Son of Mary was in the body with deeds of glory it seemed to the hosts of Heaven that He was not absent from them.
6. Every hardship which He suffered from the race of Adam with harshness, 'twas to part us from the Devil. Woe then to him who will not believe in Him!
7. His birth, His baptism, His crucifixion, His burial without strife,² His resurrection, His ascension, His advent—it is right to believe in them.

KUNO MEYER.

¹For this meaning of *galgat* compare the following passages:—doringni galgait iarsein Cellach mac Cormaic do guin, LL. 35 *a* 42. doringni mór de galgat, ib. 44 *a* 32. mór n-essad, mór ndirsan, mór ngalgat, ib. 123 *a* 20. Cf. also O'Mulc. 689 and Corm. Tr. 90, both of whom seem to connect the word with *gol*, 'lament.'

²*gleten*, f., 'strife, battle,' .i. gleó, O'Cl. gleden gluair glainidi claidium, Cog. 180, 9; acc. torged gletín, LL. 181 *a* 14. cia rosgnáthaig gletín ngéir, ib. 138 *a* 16. du, nom. dá gletín Dromma Crieich, ib. 151 *b* 17.

COLMAN MAC DUACH AND GUAIRE.

THE following tale, taken from the Yellow Book of Lecan (col. 796 of Codex, p. 133 *a* of Facsimile), is one of a group¹ of interesting tales in which Guaire, a seventh-century king of Connaught, proverbial for his hospitality, is the central figure. The version here given is the only one of which I am aware; and though copied probably in the fourteenth century, the tale in its original form may be assigned, on linguistic grounds,² to the Old-Irish period, that is, perhaps, to the tenth century. Keating, in his *History*,³ gives a summary of the tale, which differs but little from that given here. His account concludes with the following:—"The fact that the five miles of road between Durlus and the wilderness was called *Bothar na mias*, i.e. the road of the dishes, seems to support the truth of this tale." In the *Acta Sanctorum* there is a Latin version which agrees in some respects with the present version, and in some with that given by Keating.

J. G. O'KEEFFE.

¹ E.g. *King and Hermit*, by K. Meyer, Ph.D., Nutt, 1901; *Battle of Carn Conaill*, CZ. iii. 203-219; *Guaire and Mac Telene* in YBL, p. 133 *b* and Harl. 5280, fol. 25 *a*. See also the *Mionannnda* in *Silva Gadelica*, vol. i., p. 396, and vol. ii., p. 431.

² E.g. the neuter *biad* and the deponent *fochesathar*.

³ O'Mahony's translation, p. 437.

COLMAN MAC DUACH AND GUAIRE.

Colmān mac Dūach, diatā Cél meic Dūach, dochōid i ndithrobaib i mBoirind Connacht 7 ōen-macclēireach leis inn-aimsir Gūaire Aidne. Aigen 7 biel leō. Secht mbliadna dōib isin dithrub cen tūara bíd ō dune, cen acallaím duine. Eclass leō ina caille 7 praintech. Croccind na n-allta is *ed* ētach nobíd impu. Biror 7 usce 7 lusrad na cailli is *ed* nochait̃hdís. In macclēirech, is ē ba hairchindech 7 ba secnap 7 ba ferrthigis 7 ba coic isin praindtig.

"Maith," or Colmān, dia Casc iar celebrad, "is cōir degurd do dēnam ann indiu. Caisc mōr andso 7 atāt int ōes uird uile ann issinn eclais .i. misse 7 int archindeach 7 int espoc 7 in sacart. Lat-so immorro na huile comse olchena. Is cōir dūn iarum degurd do dēnam ar bar mbēlaib. Is cōir dūib-si didiu maith do dēnam frinde isin laithiu-sea indiu Īsu Chrīst meic Dē bī."

"Rotbia maith, a clērigh," or in macclēireach, "7 dēna na hurdu co maith. Acht co nderntar, regthair romut dochum praindtigi. Atā maith and, nī cōir a cleith ar ind āes grāid .i. arib-se for n-ōes¹ cumtha .i. tānic lōn lim-sa don proindtig, 7 berbtaiger lim-sa ar losaib na caille co mba hinmar, 7 biaid ar do chind inn-irlaime."

Dognither ōn in proicept 7 int aifreand co digrais. Celeberthair medōn lāi. Tiagair don proindtig.

"Is mithigh i n-anmain Dē do thāed do lāim," or in macclēireach.

"Is cet," or² sē.

"Dobēr ē³," or ē-seom.

Tucadh dō-som iarum in sēre.

Is ann tucad a chuidig do Gūaire i nDerlus. Mōr tra a chuidigh-sidhe .i. cūach Gūaire. Muc 7 ag doberthea and, ceithri drolaim ass, 7 dā sab fōe da breith ar a bēlaib, .i. da airig tuile do chāch.

¹ MS. foranoes.

² Corrected into ar.

³ Conjectural reading, the MS. has dob-e.

TRANSLATION.

Colman Mac Duach, from whom Kilmacduach is named, went into a wilderness in the Burren of Connaught, and a single clerk with him, in the time of Guaire of Aidne. They took with them a cooking-pan and an axe. Seven years they were in the wilderness without getting a meal of food from anyone, without converse with anyone. They had a church and a refectory in the forest. For clothing they had the skins of wild beasts; and they fared on watercress, water, and the herbs of the forest. The clerk was *erenagh*, vice-abbot, steward, and cook in the refectory.

Said Colman on Easter Sunday after mass: "It is meet to perform the proper service to-day. Easter it is, and all the ordained are in the church, that is to say, myself and the *erenagh*, the bishop and the priest. All other functions, however, are yours. It behoves *us* to perform the service well in your presence. It behoves *you* to serve us well on this day of Jesus Christ, Son of the living God."

"You will be well served, O cleric," said the clerk. "Let you perform the service properly; and as soon as that is done we will proceed before you to the refectory. There is good cheer therein; and it is not right to conceal it from the ordained, that is, from you, my companions. Food has come to me in the refectory; and I have boiled it with herbs of the forest, so that is a savoury dish, and it will be ready before you."

The sermon is delivered, the mass is performed diligently, the mid-day service is over, and they go to the refectory.

"It is time, in God's name, for you to take food (?)," said the clerk.

"It is permitted," said he [Colman].

"I will give it."

The food was then brought to him.

At the same time Guaire was given his ration in Derlus. Great, verily, was his ration, namely, "the bowl of Guaire." A pig and a bull-calf were put into it; four rings were on it and two shafts under it to carry it along before him, so that all should get their share.

"Maith *tra*," or Gūaire, "robadambuideach-sa do *Chrīst* comad nech lasmbad oc dīl¹ occorso do chēli Dē nochaithead ; ar fogēbtha dam-sa a n-irdāil-se."

A mbādar and, fochesathar in cūach² ūaidhib for ind leas. Gaibthair a eich do Gūairiu. Na dā aingel imon cūach .i. iar Maig Aidne siar co foromad in cūach ar bēlaib Cholmāin meic Dūach ina praindtig.

"Maith," or in macclēirech, "atā sund lūag th'ainmne-seo. Caith iarum a ndothidnacht Dīa duid."

"Nāthō," or seisem, "co fesamar can as tucad," 7 adbered-seom iarum la dēicsiu in chūaich :

"A chūachāin,
cid dotuca dar Lūaine ?"

(.i. darsin fid .i. Lūaine ainm an fēada.)

"A ernai[g]thi dognī-seo dofug," ar int aingel, "7 eslabra Gūaire."

Is and tānic Gūaire istech.

"Dobroacht, a clēirchiu," ar Gūaire.

"Bēs is Dīa dodrōid," ar in Colmān.

"Cia heret atāid³ sund, a clēirchiu?" ar Gūaire.

"Cethrachait n-aidche ataam and 7 *secht* mbliadna."

"Is mithig dūib a ndorōided⁴ dūib do thomailt" [p. 133 b].

"Cia atanglādar?" or Colmān. "Inn ē Gūaire?"

"Is ē 7 is ūad dorōided a mbiad 7 is cet dūib a thomailt, 7 aso mo chorp-sa 7 m'anim duid 7 do Dīa 7 mo šil 7 mo semed co brāth."

"Maith," or in clēirech, "rodbē a lūagh la Dīa."

Doberthar arnabārach co mbādar ar Durlus, 7 doberthar dōib trī fichit loilgech *cona* mbligreoraib 7 [con]a mbūachaillib co mbātar ar dorus in proindtigi.

Conidh isin maigin sin rofotaighedh Cell meic Dūach, *condad* leis Aidhne uile 7 clann Gūaire meic Colmāin ōssin amach co brāth. Finit.

¹ oc dīl added in margin.

² MS. *chuach*.

³ MS. atait.

⁴ MS. anddoroided.

Said Guaire : " I should be thankful to Christ if there were one who [is wont] to satisfy the hunger of a man of God to eat it, for an equivalent would be got for me."

Thereupon the cup moves from them into the yard ; two angels around it [bore it] through the plain of Aidne westward, until it was deposited in front of Colman Mac Duach in his refectory.

" Well," said the clerk, " here is the reward of thy abstinence ; eat therefore what God has sent thee."

" Not so," said he, " until we know from whom it has come " ; and then looking at the bowl, he said :

" O little bowl,
What brought thee over Luaine ? "

(That is, over the wood, viz., Luaine is the name of the wood.)

" The prayer thou makest for it," said the angel, " has brought it, and the liberality of Guaire."

Just then Guaire came in.

" It has reached you, O cleric," said Guaire.

" Perchance it is God who has sent it," said Colman.

" How long have ye been here, ye clerics ? " said Guaire.

" Forty nights have we been here and seven years."

" It is time for ye to eat what God has sent ye."

" Who is addressing us ? " said Colman ; " is it Guaire ? "

" It is ; and it is from him the food was sent, and ye are at liberty to eat it ; and here is my body and my soul to you and to God and my seed and race till Doom."

" Well," said the cleric, " may God reward you for it."

On the morrow they are taken to Derlus, and three score milch cows with their milkers and their cow-boys are brought to them, so that they were in front of the refectory.

So that in that place was built the church of Mac Duach, to which all Aidne and the offspring of Guaire, son of Colman, belong till Doom.

NOTES.

degurð—I take *urð* to be the whole *ordo* of the service.

caisc mór—Easter Sunday, as distinguished from *minchaisc*, the Sunday after Easter.

medón-lái—Here one of the canonical hours; called also *sest* and *etsruth*.

berbtaiger—For *berbaighther*?

do thaed do láim—The usual meaning of *techt do láim* is 'to go to confession.'

"The priest raises his hand in absolution," Reeves' "Culdees," p. 84. But see Rev. Celt. ix., p. 24, *dolotar do láim occonn aifriunn*, 'they went to communion at the mass.' Again, *cor lamha aire .i. dul do sacarbhaic*, H. 3. 18. Can this meaning be extended to ordinary eating? The context (if there be no omission from the MS.) requires some such meaning.

lasmbad oc díl occorso.—The whole of this sentence is obscure to me as it stands. The meaning is, no doubt, that if the food were given to a *céle Dé*, God would provide an equivalent portion. The context requires a word like *bés* to be inserted after *lasmbad*.

irdáil = *urdáil*—'an equivalent,' 'as much as': see "Passions and Homilies."

tuil—O. Ir. *tol*, f. gen. *tuile*, 'will, pleasure, desire'; hence 'portion, share.' Still used in this sense in Mayo: *ta mo thuil agam*, 'I have enough.'

Guaire—The name of Guaire is found in many places in the vicinity of Kinvarra, Co. Galway, e.g. Dunguaire Castle, and the townlands of Dungory West and Dungory East. The annals record his death in the year 662 A.D.

Aidne—Known as *Ui Fiachrach Aidne*, the territory of the O'Heynes. It is in the diocese of Kilmacduagh, barony of Kiltartan, Co. Galway. Curranrue, in the parish of Abbey, in the barony of Burren, Co. Clare, appears to have been the residence of O'Heyne, chief of *Ui Fiachrach*.

Durlus—This, the residence of Guaire, was in the vicinity of Kinvarra. The fort of Durlus occupied the site of the existing castle of Dunguaire.

Burren—The present name of the barony on the south shore of Galway Bay; it was comprised in the ancient district of *Ui Fiachrach Aidne*. The 'wilderness' to which St. Colman retired was situated at the base of the huge cliff of Cenaille, in the parish of Oughtmama, quite close to the Galway border. Cenaille is the loftiest of the Burren Mountains. According to Father Fahey, whose book, *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Kilmacduagh*, deals with the whole of this interesting district, the situation of Cenaille, even at the present day, is one of singular loneliness. *Bothar na mias*, mentioned by Keating and Colgan, is the present name of the road which leads to the ruined oratory of St. Colman.

THE IMPERSONAL PASSIVE FORMS OF THE IRISH SUBSTANTIVE VERB.

SOME time ago I happened to read an article in the *New Ireland Review* that astonished me very much. Therein the very existence of the forms whose description heads my paper was denied. If I remember aright, they were alluded to as a monstrosity or an impossibility. Should the writer of the article deign to glance at the great list—by no means exhaustive—which I give below, I feel sure that his opinion will change; at least, reason should compel him to change it. It is very strange that “a native speaker” should deny the existence of grammatical forms which have always been a part—nay, a vital part—of the language. Indeed, they have to this day been found so necessary that nothing is more usual in the mouths of the Irish-speaking people, whatsoever their dialect be. Their use is a true test of the good speaker of Irish. Those who do not use them really think rather in an English than an Irish mould.

The history of these forms is here traced from the earliest literary remains, through all the intermediate stages, down to the present spoken dialects. A few remarks on the contents of each column will not be out of place.

The volume of extant O. Ir. literature is not sufficient to furnish us with a complete paradigm. Hence many forms appear with an asterisk.

The great bulk of Mid. Ir., as is well known, remains unedited. As progress is made, some, at least, of the asterisked forms may be found to occur.¹

As many early modern texts also still lie in MS., the preceding remark applies again to their period. Moreover, owing to limitations of time, my acquaintance with the literature of the three periods I have mentioned has as yet been very meagre—in

¹ Since writing the above, I have noticed that examples of some tenses are abundant in Mid. Ir.

O. and Mid. Ir., indeed, infinitesimal. No one need be surprised should he find that I have used an asterisk where such was unnecessary.

The East Munster, or Deisi, dialect is spoken in County Waterford and the adjoining portions of the Counties of Cork, Tipperary, and Kilkenny. Very few specimens of it having appeared in print, I have not very many examples to offer. Two of the tenses occur in the writings of natives of County Waterford, in the bac knumbers of the *Gaelic Journal*; but the orthography: ní “bíceadh” baodadh níom, ‘I am not thanked’; “beicthe” baodadh níot, ‘you would be thanked,’ is apparently due to literary convention.¹

Thanks to the great literary activity of several natives of West Munster (West Cork and Kerry), examples are abundant in that dialect. The Rev. P. O’Leary, P.P., is easily first, his championship of the form, under the name of the “autonomous verb,” being known to all. To him are our thanks especially due for having drawn public attention to the present common signification and employment of the passive voice of all verbs, transitive or intransitive. I regret not having been able to quote more extensively from his admirable *Mion-cáint*, as I have found that his spelling represents, in the majority of cases, literary convention rather than actual spoken usage. The most reliable examples occur in the late Patrick O’Leary’s *Sgéalluróeadh Cúige Mumhan*.

The Rev. J. M. O’Reilly—in my opinion the best writer that Connacht has produced for some time past—is my chief authority for the use of the forms in the West. Being a scholar, he naturally conforms, to a considerable extent, to a standard; but, from correspondence with him, I find that the instances quoted from his *Óráir* are in accord with the dialect of North Connacht (County Mayo, with portions of the Counties of Sligo and Roscommon). He writes to me as follows (from Tourmakeady, County Mayo):—“I have verified every form of the enclosed within the week among the various *relays* of workmen employed at a parochial building here. But I tell you this only to make you content that they are among the ‘people’—Father O’Leary’s

¹ I should add here, however, that Prof. Strachan, having made inquiries of Dr. Henebry, states: “According to Dr. Henebry, both forms are right.”

'native speakers,' who *mean* autonomously—for myself, of course, they are as familiar to me as fresh air and water; but that was not what you wanted." This I have thought it necessary to quote for the special benefit of the contributor to the *New Ireland Review*, who is also a Mayo man.

The heading "Ulster" here scarcely means other than West Ulster (County Donegal), in which part of the country all the forms are constantly in the mouths of the native people, as constantly as in Munster. From East Ulster I have merely one solitary example (under 2), and even that not quite certain. This want may be due to the usage $\tau\acute{\alpha} \rho\iota\delta\omicron = \tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\delta\alpha\rho\iota$, &c., which exists there. Yet I have met two other undoubtedly impersonal passive forms in that dialect, viz., $\epsilon\iota\omicron\epsilon\phi\alpha\iota\omicron\epsilon$ (Mon., Tyrone); $\epsilon\iota\omicron\epsilon\tau\alpha\omicron\iota$ (Omeath), from $\tau\iota\zeta\iota\mu$, and $\rho\tau\upsilon\alpha\eta\alpha\delta\omicron$ (= $\rho\tau\alpha\omicron\eta\alpha\delta\omicron$? = $\rho\tau\alpha\delta\omicron\alpha\delta\omicron$), in $\eta\iota\omicron\iota\rho\iota \rho\tau\upsilon\alpha\eta\alpha\delta\omicron \lambda\epsilon\omicron$, 'they halted not' (Neilson's *Dial.*, p. 74, 8), $\eta\iota\rho\iota \rho\tau\upsilon\alpha\eta\alpha\delta\omicron \rho\iota\acute{\upsilon}$, *Z. f. Celt. Ph.*, Bånd ii., 154, 13.

In Scotland these forms would appear to be in very common use. The *Naigheachdan* of *Mac Talla* never fails to employ them. This I do not wonder at, for impersonal passive forms are, like *man sagt* and *on dit*, pre-eminently "news-words." The examples I give are from two random numbers of *Mac Talla*. The writer of the *Naigheachdan*, whilst deserving of all praise for his idiomatic bent in this respect, is hopelessly astray whenever he attempts the relative construction, with antecedent, and followed by verbal noun. He is not alone in this blunder; for one day I was surprised to see, in the leading article of $\Delta\eta \text{ CL}\alpha\iota\omicron\epsilon\alpha\delta\acute{\eta}\mu \text{ Solu}\iota\rho$, the following, or a similar phrase, staring me in the face: " $\Delta\eta \eta\iota\omicron\delta \alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\delta\alpha\rho\iota \alpha\zeta \upsilon\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\eta\alpha\delta\acute{\eta}\mu$," such having really no coherent sense, as $\Delta\eta \eta\iota\omicron\delta$ does not stand in any grammatical relation, or connexion, whatever with what follows it. It is to be hoped that my quotations from the great Scottish writer Carsuel, and from the "Passions and Homilies," will show the writers of both *Mac Talla* and $\Delta\eta \text{ CL}\alpha\iota\omicron\epsilon\alpha\delta\acute{\eta}\mu \text{ Solu}\iota\rho$ the error of their ways.

I now come to the forms themselves. In arranging the subjoined list, and numbering the contents thereof, I have been guided rather by a modern standpoint, as this appeared to me the most suitable for all the members of a comparative table of the kind. It was no easy task to arrange all to correspond; for usage in the Irish verb has shifted enormously, and is still

shifting. Etymological considerations will naturally be found to have prevailed. The forms in square brackets are indicative forms that have invaded subjunctive usage, owing to a general tendency in Mod. Ir. The only really distinct subjunctive form now commonly used is the present tense (with *ro-*), which is more often employed optatively than otherwise.¹ Quotations from Scottish writers under the third column appear in Roman type.

EXAMPLES.

In order to show clearly the kind of phraseology and idioms in which the impersonal passive is used, I have in some cases given more of the text than was absolutely necessary. Also, in quoting from published texts, I do not always follow the exact words of the translations.

O. IR. 3. $\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\alpha\iota$:—*hóre no-bridchim dúib-sí, is hed dáthar* (i. e. *dtáthar* for *n-tathar*) *dom*, 'because I preach to you, therefore I am in evil plight,' Wb. 21 c 9; *is hed dáthar dín*, 'therefore we are in evil plight,' *ib.* 28 d 4.

3. and 4. $\ast\pi\iota\lambda\tau\epsilon\iota$:—*cf.* $\pi\omicron\sigma\text{-}\pi\iota\lambda\tau\epsilon\iota$ $\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\kappa\upsilon\tau$ $\acute{\omicron}\nu$ $\mu\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ $\pi\omicron$ $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\epsilon\pi\lambda\omicron$ $\pi\omicron$ $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\eta\epsilon$ 7 $\pi\omicron\sigma\tau$ $\beta\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau$ $\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\kappa\iota$ $\Delta\pi$ $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\eta\mu$, 'people are at hand to thee from the king to wreck thy house and to bring thee to him by force,' YBL 91 b 29 ($\pi\omicron\sigma\text{-}\pi\iota\lambda\tau\epsilon\iota$, from $\pi\omicron\sigma\text{-}\pi\iota\lambda$, 'is at hand,' cpd. vb.).

4. $\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\alpha\iota$:— $\iota\tau$ $\tau\upsilon\pi\alpha$ $\iota\eta\gamma\iota\omicron\eta$ $\eta\acute{\iota}$ $\pi\upsilon\lambda\pi\alpha\iota\eta$ $\omicron\kappa\alpha$ $\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\alpha\iota$ $\pi\omicron\iota\alpha\pi\text{-}$ $\mu\alpha\iota\acute{\omicron}^2$ $\gamma\epsilon\chi\eta\acute{\omicron}\nu$ $\eta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\pi\omicron$ 7 $\Delta\lambda\pi\alpha\eta$, 'thou art the daughter of Ua Dulsaine for whom there is searching throughout Ireland and Scotland,' Betham MS. 23, No. 10, p. 76, l. 16, R. I. A. ($\Sigma\alpha\eta\alpha\tau$ $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\epsilon\pi\lambda\omicron\iota\epsilon$, *voce* $\pi\pi\acute{\iota}\lambda\lambda$).

5. $\beta\acute{\iota}\tau\eta\iota$:—*húare is hī fochidib bithir hī suidib*, 'since it is in tribulation that men are for them,' Ml. 56 b 15; *ocus bithir oca horairi*, 'and men watch him,' Cor. Gloss., *voce* $\iota\mu\beta\alpha\tau$ $\pi\omicron\pi\omicron\gamma\eta\alpha\iota$.

5. $\beta\acute{\iota}\tau\eta\epsilon\iota$:—*is and asgniintar in charait, intan m-bithir in periculis*, 'then friends are known, when men are in periculis,' Ml. 108 b 4.

5. $\pi\upsilon\beta\tau\eta\alpha\iota$:—*air méit ind huachta ní rubthar indib*,

¹ 'níor aghéasr miam 'na bteasr' 'ra déil m. Deirteasr 'na bteasr' agur 'na bteasr' nuair a déinteasr suíde.'—Letter from Father O'Leary.

² [Other MSS. point to *occa táthar cuinchid* as the original text.—J. S.]

‘through the greatness of the cold, no one may be (= dwell) in them,’ *MI.* 94 b 23.

6. *botha* :—*forioio Cúculaino aitheppach Loeg oia fir cia cnuē mbotha in n óúnao ocúr im bo beo fer baeē*, ‘Cuchulaind sends Loeg again to learn what way things were in the camp and whether Ferbaeth was alive,’ *YBL* 31 a 50–52.

6. *both* (rel.) :—*céin both oc taisbenad na fiede dóib*, ‘while the feast was being spread for them,’ *Fled Bricrend*, 12, 30 ; *céin both oc aurgnom dóib*, ‘while they were being prepared for,’ *ib.*, 70, 8. [Altered from *O. Ir. céin m-bothae*.]

6. *ro-both* :—*is hed ro-m-both dom*, ‘this is why I have been in evil plight,’ *Wb.* 23 a 24 ; *is hed inso ro-m-both dossom*, ‘this is why they were angry with him,’ *ib.* 19 a 9 ; *amal ro-both and*, ‘how things were,’ *Fled Bricrend*, 16, 22 ; *gén ro-m-both ar in Táin Bó Cúailgni i nHérinn*, ‘whilst they were engaged in the cow spoil of Cuailgne in Ireland,’ *Ṭáin Bó Fráich*, 47, 31 ; *ba maith ro-m-both friu*, ‘they were treated well,’ *ib.*, 57, 20 [*cf.* *an tpiát éáimicc ionam ppoimniēte oona rílóēaib*, 7 *no boē aē poimn 7 aē pocáil forpua*, ‘when the time came for the troops to dine, and food was divided and distributed among them,’ *Ann. F. M.*, A.D. 1554 ; also *Trip. L.*, 32, 6].

6. *ro-bo* :—*ba dóchu lem són, is hed ro-m-bod dóib*, ‘that seems to me more likely, that is why it was ill with them,’ *Wb.* 5 b 31. [This is a mere orthographical variety.]

13. *bethir* :—*cia bethir oc far n-ingrim*, ‘though they be a-persecuting you,’ *Wb.* 5 d 33.

13. *bether* :—*cene mbether in hac uita*, ‘while we are in hac uita,’ *MI.* 107 d 8 : *seclib grdd i m-bether and*, ‘whatsoever the condition be in which one is,’ *Wb.* 10 a 18.

N.B.—Examples from texts other than the Glosses show a *Mid. Ir.* colouring due to the transcribers.

MID. IR. 3. *atáthar* :—*cindus atáthar annsin indiú* ? ‘how are things over there to-day ?’ *Ais. M. Cong.*, 61, 1 ; *nach do nuintir an fhir atáthar do chrochad duit-si* ? are you not [one] of the people of the man who is being crucified ?’ *Pass. and Hom.*, 3172¹ ; *amal atáthar ann*, ‘as is now the case,’ *Togail Troi*, 420, in *Irische Texte*, *Zw. S.*, 1 Heft.

¹ Mistranslated thus : ‘of the man who is being crucified by thee,’ in *Glossary*, p. 906.

3. *filteṛ*:—*cindus filter lat indiú?* ‘how is it with you to-day?’ Ais. M. Cong., 31, 25.

5. *bítheṛ*:—*céin bíther oc a dénam*, ‘while it is being done,’ Pass. and Hom., 7441.

6. *báur*:—*ocus feib rostacht in sluagtech saindrud i m-bádus oc tinól na slóg*, ‘and as he came to the very meeting-house where the hosts were being assembled,’ Ais. M. Cong., 43, 22.

6. *bár*:—*ní bás remi ríam ní is messu*, ‘things never were worse before,’ Ais. M. Cong., 61, 3; *intan iarom bás oca anacul*, ‘when he was being protected,’ N. to Cóir Anmann, Ir. Text.

7. *no-bár*:—*iss and ro-bás oc a cáiniud and*, ‘it is then they were being keened there,’ Fled Bricrend, 90, 11; *intan tra ro-bás occ tabuirt gráid espuic fair*, ‘now when they were conferring the rank of a bishop on him,’ Lives of the Saints from the Book of Lismore, 237; *ro-bás oc iarraid forru co ndernatis idpurta do na deeib*, ‘it was being sought from them to offer sacrifices to the gods,’ Pass. and Hom., 2342; *bói tra fer ele do’n popul Iudaide ro-bás d’iarraid fo’n cuma cétna*, ‘there was also another man of the Jewish people who was being sought after in the same way,’ Pass. and Hom., 2929; *co-ná-ro-gluais in hed ro-m-bás ’con batheis*, ‘so that it moved not as long as they were at the baptism,’ S. na R., 7563-4; *no-bár ono ic imbeirt éigne for luēt na críche*, ‘now oppression was being exercised over the people of the country,’ Vit. Moling (O’Don., p. 255).

7. *rabur*:—*do fhírinde imorro na nù-fhiadnaise icc a rabus tairchetul and in baithes*, ‘but baptism belongs to the reality of the New Testament which they had been prophesying therein,’ Pass. and Hom., 5768-9; *in foscad ir-rabus ann*, ‘the shadow wherein they abode,’ Trip. L., 6, 5.

10. *betheṛ*:—*ocus ní bether co bráth*, ‘and never shall be till doom,’ Ais. M. Cong., 61, 4 (see under *bár*).

11. *no-bethe*:—*ro-boí ica gellad dí no-bethe dia réir*, ‘he was promising her that everything should be according to her will,’ Togail Troi, 533 (Ir. T., Zw. S., 1 Heft).

13. *beṛin* (= **bethin*):—*uairi noco ταιρηενν οίλρε in éunnarēa inōlēgthig ó beṛin oca oγρυαίρεο*, ‘for the legality of the unlawful contract cannot stand good when it is opposed,’ Senchur Móri, ii. 382. (An emendation has been made in this passage.)

13. *bethur*:—*céin beṛur oca vénum*, ‘while it is being done,’

Senchur Mór, ii. 36 (bis); *cén beður oca leḡur curub ríán*, 'as long as it is under cure until it is well,' *ib.* ii. 64; *in ariut beður oca leḡur*, 'while it is under cure,' *ib.* ii. 68.

EARLY MODERN.—I. **bítear*:—[*bíodtar v'á vtarriainḡ a ḡcomnuíde*, 'let us be drawing them always,' *Ar. an Ádair p'áorais uí b'iuain*, P. and P. of Munster, 316, 22. This should rather be classified under Munster; but as the example is from the later literature, and the piece in which it occurs not professedly dialectic, it is perhaps better included here.]

3. *atáthar*:—*urrnuidhe oile roimh tsearmóin and so atáthar do ghnáthugadh an Albain*, 'another prayer before sermon which is being used in Scotland,' Carsuel's *Foirm na Nurnnuidheadh*, 54, 1, &c.; *olc atáthar ann sin*, 'things are in a bad way with thee (*lit.* over there),' *Voyage of Bran*, 63, 23.

4. *fuiler*:—*as an tenguidh choitchinn ina bfuiler ag sgríobhadh*, 'from the common language in which they are writing,' *Book of Clanranald*, in *Rev. Celt.*, 176, 7.

5. *bítear*:—*vá fedaḃar 7 bítear liom*, 'however well I am treated,' *Teacét 7 imteacét an ḡollá Óeacair*, G. J., No. 114, 484 a 20; *ḡan a fíor aḡe ḡur cum a báir a bítear*, 'knowing not that it is for his death,' *Prov.* 7, 23, in *Bedell's Bible*; *anuair bíther ac dealugud an óir 7 an mianaigh*, 'when men separate the gold and the ore,' *Gaelic Maundeville*, 240, 138.

6. *vo báir*:—*uair do bás ac clodh Oisín ann*, 'for Oisín was being overthrown therein,' *Cath Finntrága*, 630.

6. *do bághas*:—*do bághas ag denamh marbha ortha ar gach taobh*, 'they were being slain on every side,' *Book of Cl.*, 188, 6.

6. *vo bíodtur*:—*cionnup vo bíodtur aḡaib ann?* 'how did ye fare there?' *Ṭóir. Ó. 7 ḡ.*, 5, 20; *vo bíodtur ḡo maic*, 'we fared well,' *ib.* 5, 21; *vo bíodtur ḡo holc*, 'we fared ill,' *ib.* 5, 24.

10. *beátar*:—*beátar 'ḡom áoineadó coróce*, 'I shall ever be lamented,' *Oss. Poem* in G. J., Jan., 1899; *bethther co maith ris*, 'they will be good to him,' *Gaelic Maundeville*, 256, 171.

11. *vo beicí*:—*nac fuil v'á éríne vo beicí aḡ a cur amadé*, 'that it doesn't matter how forcibly one would be ejecting him,' *Ṭrí b. an b.*, 99, 5 (in *Appendix ix.* wrongly referred to as 29, 5, and form erroneously described as 'imperf.').

E. MUNSTER.—4. *fuiltear*:—*ní'ltear aḡ molad n'á aḡ cáineadó rilíveadta an ḡeapalcais annro*, 'we are not praising

or dispraising Fitzgerald's poetry here,' Introduction to *Όántα* *Ήιαμαρ* *Ήmic* *Ήεαμαλτ*, by R. A. Foley (in Press).

5. *βίοταρ*:—*τ'ρείρ μο* *όίτέλλ* *νί* *βίεαρ* (pr. *βίοταρ*) *βαοόαé* *όίομ*, 'I do my best, but no thanks do I get,' G. J. No. 35.

6. *νο βίοó*:—*βίοó* *αηα-ήμαίτ* *όί*, 'she was very well treated' (R. A. Foley); *βίτέαó* *αé* *cupi* *cmab*. *ve* *Connriao* *na* *Ήεóιλé* *αr* *bun*, 'a branch of the Gaelic League was being established,' *Αη* *Sléib-teánaé*, *Novláié*, 1903, 19 b 12; *nuairi* *α* *βίοó* *όά* *feolao* *éum* *ruabail*, 'when he was being led away,' *Αη* *Sléib-teánaé*, *Novláié*, 1903, 17 b 7.

7. *μαβáo*:—*έεαρ* *ρί* *sur* *ι* *otiz* *Riobáirio* *α* *βί* *ré* *7* *so* *μαβáo* *όά* *έeil* *uipre*, 'she thought he was in Robert's house, and that he was being hidden from her,' *Αη* *Sléib-teánaé*, *Novláié*, 1903, 19 a 7; *νί* *μαβáoαρ* *ι* *βpao* *so* *μαβáo* *αρ* *α* *otóir*, 'they were not long (so) until they were being pursued,' ib. 15 b 1.

15. *νο βείτι*:—*αsur* *βείτιóe* *βαοόαé* *όίοτ*, 'and you would be thanked,' G. J., *passim*.

W. MUNSTER. 2. *τάέαρ*:—*τάέαρ* *αρ* *νο* *έi*, 'people are lying in wait for you; *τάέαρ* *im*' *όiaó* *so* *oia* *anoir*, 'I am being pursued closely now,' *Αη* *buaiéear*, 54, 26; *τάέαρ* *éuáimn*, 'we are being approached,' ib., 65, 19; *τάέαρ* *αρ* *νο* *έóir* *so* *te*, 'you are being pursued hotly,' *Caéair* *Conrioi*, 34, y [*τάέαρ* *so* *maic* *leir*, 'he is treated well,' O'Don., p. 254].

2. *ταέαρ*:—*τάέαρ* *ή* *óéanaim*, 'it is being done' (S. Cork).

3. *ατάέαρ*:—*νί* *féaoar*-*ra* *cionnur* *mar* *ατάέαρ* *αca* *anoir*, 'I do not know how things are with them now,' S₅. *é*. *m*., 91 y.

3. *τάέαρ*:—*cionnur* *τάέαρ* *αéac*? *ι*. *cionnur* *ταoi*? S₅. *é*. *m* 112, 17; *cionnur* *τάέαρ* *leac*? *ι*. *cionnur* *ατά* *oaoine* *ouit*—*βpailio* *ole* *νό* *maic* *ouit*? ib., 112, 18.

3. *τάέαρ*:—*cionnur* *τάέαρ* *αéac*? 'how are you faring?' S₅. *é*. *m*., 31, 1.

3. *τάέαρ*:—*ca* *pior* *naé* *oom-ra* *τάέαρ* *o'á* *pááimr*, 'who knows but that she is being left for me?' S₅. *é*. *m*., 93, 8.

4. *puiltear*:—*an* *βpuiltéar* *éuáim*? 'is anyone going to be at me?' *Mion-éaint*, I., 27; *tearbántair* *oom* *so* *βpuiltéar* *αρ* *νο* *έi*, 'it is clear to me that some persons are lying in wait for you,' *Mac Fingín* *Óuib*, 16 x.

4. *puiléior*:—*mar* *veipéior* *ná* *puiléior* *ió-maic* *αé* *an* *scuro*

ir feárraí aca annrú, 'for it is said that the best of them there are not faring very well,' Sg. Ċ. m., 34, 7.

6. oo bíotar (oo bítear):—mar a bíotar ar a dtáir moim, 'as was the case with his father before him,' Mac F. O., 18, 30; an lá a bítear as cupi an treamhne, 'the day the old man was being buried,' Fionn 7 Lorcán, 54, 9; an lá a bítear a' cupi, 'the day she was being buried,' ib., 54, 18; bítear go maic linn, 'things went well with us,' An b., 83, 18.

6. oo bíotar:—o'fuarfuis cionnur oo bíotar aige, 'he asked how he fared,' Sg. Ċ. m., 30, 4; nuair bíotar as gabáil tar an mboctáin, 'when the cottage was being passed,' ib., 77, 23; nuair ceanglaó an Dall boct 7 bíotar ar bpuac é éadtean i gcomleactan na teineasó veirge, 'when the poor Dall was bound, and he was about to be cast into the middle of the blazing fire,' ib., 81, 2.

7. rabtar:—an rabtar as glaoóac ort moiu? 'was there anyone calling you to-day?' Mion-éaint, I., 27; éiom an Sleasánac ar gearán go canscarac go rabtar ró-éiuasó air, 'Shelbourne began to complain peevishly that he was being treated too harshly,' Mac F. O., 15, 21.

7. rabtar:—fíl cóir-máireac go rabtar i n-a éomair fém leir, 'he thought right or wrong that somebody was lying in wait for himself also,' Sg. Ċ. m., 76, 17.

10. beafar:—beorpar éugac, 'they will be at you,' Mion-éaint, I., 26.

10. beirpar:—an mbeirpar as cupi irteac ar Mac Finghin Duib ar ball, 'will Mac Finghin Duib be encroached on by-and-by?' Mac F. O., 18, 29; ní beorpar uan ort, 'people, authorities, &c., won't be severe on you,' G. J., Mí na Noolas, 1899 (James Fenton, Kerry); beorpar níor véine ar mo éi, 'they will be more sharply in wait for me,' An b., 54, 28.

11. oo beirre:—ní beirre uan air, 'he would not be severely treated' (J. Fenton, G. J., Mí na Noolas, 1899); oo beirre ollan amárac, 'we would be ready to-morrow,' Mion-éaint, I., 26.

12. beirre:—éugacar camall eile o'á léarao go maib ré as búirpéac asur as béicis mar leabh lomnoctuisge go mbeirre as a puaréal le rlaic, 'they spent another while pounding him until he was roaring and bawling like a naked child whom one would be beating with a rod,' Sg. Ċ. m., 25, 7;

τά ῥιγορ διγε σο μαίτ ná βειρόριθε πρό-βυρόεαδ ὅε, 'he knows well that we would not be too thankful to him,' *Κατάρι Κοηροί*, 35, 25.

13. [βειρεαρ]:—ní παῶα σο mβειρόραρ ας βπειτ άρι, 'he'll soon be caught' (letter from Fr. O'L.).

14. παιβταρι:—"άρι σο εόρι σο παιβταρι!" 'pursuing to you!' (letter from Fr. O'Leary).

15. σο βειτί:—σο στιορραιθε άρι άη τάιριζ μαριαρ σο βειτί ας ζαβάιλ έαρ άη νοοριυρ ασα, 'that people would come to the threshold when they would be passing their door,' *Σγ. Ć. M.*, 77, 19.

16. βειτί:—λε ηεαζλα σο mβειτί άρι να μαριβέταιβ μαολα λείτι ὀά ὀεαρζαίβ, 'for fear that people would be constantly blaming her (*lit.* would be on the bald killings with her?) as a result of it,' *Σγ. Ć. M.*, 18, 16.

16. βειτί:—ῥαοιλεαρ σο mβειτί(ὀε) ῥη-άρι νοοιαῖ σο ταρραῖ, 'I thought that somebody would be after us quickly,' *Άη βυαι-εεαρ*, 58, 11.

S. CONNACHT.—3. τά'ρι:—ναε ρρηυρεαμίλαετ 7 ρεαριαμίλαετ τά'ρι ας ιαριιαῖ εῦρι ιηρ να ὀδοοιῖβ? 'is not this the aim, to inspire the people with spirit and manliness?' *Μιον-έομηράῖ*, p. 75.

5. βιτεαρ:—βιτεαρ ὀά ηοιβριυζαῖ μαρι ρηη νό σο νοέανταρ μιον μοετλόζ ὀι, 'it is so worked until it is reduced to pulp,' *Όιαριμυο Όονη*, in *Άη Κλαῖρεαῖη Σολιρ*, Jan. 9, 1904.

6. βιτεαρ:—άη λυαε α βιτεαρ α ῥάζαί άρι έαλαῖ, 'the price which was being got for land,' *βυαεάιλλιη Τυαίτε*, in *Άη C. S.*, *Σαῖμαη* 28, 1903.

8. βιτί:—mυηα βῥάζαῖ να τιζεαριηαί αετ ειορ εῦιζ mβλιαῖῥηα ὀέαζ άνοιρ ὀ να τυηόηταίβ, βεαῖ άη οηρεαῖ ασα ιῥ βιτί α ῥάζαί ιηρ να βλιαῖῥηταίβ ατά εαιτε, 'if the [land]lords only got fifteen years' rent now from the tenants, they would have as much as used to be got in past years,' *Όιαριμυο Όονη*, in *Άη C. S.*, *Σαῖμαη* 28, 1903.

10. βειρεαρ:—σο ρέιρι μαρι βειρόρεαρ ας βαιητ λεαρ άρτα, 'according as people will be deriving benefit from them,' *Μιον-έομηράῖ*, in *Ρέαῖηράῖ*, 2nd par.

11. βειτί:—βαῖ έεαριτ υιῖηιρ να mβλιαῖῥηατα α λαζουζαῖ σο μαίτ ρα ταριζριητ α βειτί α έαβαριητ ὀο'η τιζεαριηα, 'the number of years should be well reduced in the offer being made to the landlord,' *Όιαριμυο Όονη*, in *Άη C. S.*, *Σαῖμαη* 28, 1903.

12. *beiríthe* :—ní'l *fiadóac* ó *Shionnainn* *go* *tráig* *nac* *mbeiríthe* *ann* (*leg.* *as*) *tráct* *ar* 'Liam, 'there is no hunt from the Shannon to the shore that people would not be talking about Leeam,' Dr. Hyde's *Raftery*, 164, 6.

N. CONNACHT.—2. *τάτται* :—*τάτται* 'ζα *ῥῥιούζαδ*, 'they are being examined,' Fr. O'Reilly's *Óráio* of *cionn cuip* *an* *átar* ó *ḡamnas*, *An Claidéam Soluir*, Oct. 3, 1903.

5. *bítear* :—ní *mar* *raoiltear* *bítear*, 'not as is thought it be's' ('be's' = do things be, does it happen), proverb quoted in *briúire áiláin*, a story given in Dr. Hyde's *Religious Songs of Connacht*, published in the *New Ireland Review*. (The Munster form of the proverb is *ní mar* *a* *raoiltear* *a* *cinntear*; and in Ulster it is *ní mar* *raoiltear* *bíor*.)

6. *bítear* :—*nua* *a* *connac* *ḡeapóio* *an* *τ-έδζοίη* *bítear* *a* *óeanao*, 'when Gerrot saw the wrong that was being done,' *Beata Doa* *u* *í Néill*, prize piece of Comp. 10 of 1903 Oireachtas (in Press); *nua* *a* *bítear* *ó'a* *n-iomrao*, *oubaire* *fear* *an* *báio* *le* *baill-oeair* *go* *mha* *baill* *ve* *ḡioct* *u* *í* *óomnaill* *é*, 'when they were being rowed, the boatman said to Baill-dearg that he was one of the progeny of O'Donnell,' *ib.*; *cuireao* *amuza* *a* *otpeoruióte* *7* *bítear* 'ζá *ζciobáil*¹ *ó* *ápoán* *go* *hípleán* *7* *ó* *las* *go* *boza* *i* *nooicáoar* *na* *hoiúce*, 'their guides were set astray, and they were being knocked about from high land to low land and from hollow to bog in the darkness of the night,' *ib.*; *nár* *b'ionḡantáige* 'ná *ḡn* *an* *túr* *bunne* *bítear* *a* *éur* *raoi* *éangao* *7* *ciroeam* *Eilíre* *i* *n-Oileán* *na* *ḡaom*? 'wasn't the foundation (lit. beginning of edifice) which was being laid for the tongue and faith of Elizabeth stranger still (*lit.* than that)?' *ib.*; *asur* *mar* *asuirín*, *bítear* *le* *ré* *éao* *acra* *baire* *ar* *talam* *na* *otpeab* *óir* *an* *uige* *óuib* *le* *óunpuir* *Mountioi* *7* *Charlemont* *a* *beatuza*, 'and in addition, 100 acres were to be taken from the tribal lands beside the Blackwater for the support of the forts of Mountjoy and Charlemont,' *ib.*; *asur* *ve* *báir* *an* *iomráio* *ḡn* *bítear* *le* *n-a* *ḡabáil*, 'and on account of that talk they were going to be arrested,' *ib.*

7. *maótar* :—*hinnḡeao* *no* *aoó* *ó* *Néill* *ḡoim* *ḡé* *go* *maótar* *le* *n-a* *ḡabáil*, 'Hugh O'Neill was told beforehand that he was to be arrested,' *Beata Doa* *u* *í Néill*; *mar* *éap* *ré* *go* *maótar*

¹ Cf. *lá* *ḡ* *ḡice* 'ζá *ζciobáil* *ar* *an* *bairḡe*; also in *beata Doa* *u* *í Néill*.

ΔΣ ὁέσναμῖν ἐΔΣκόμῃ κηάιότε Δρ Δοῦ, 'for he thought that galling injustices were being done to Aodh,' ib.

9. βίτῖ :—νί βίτῖ ΔΣ μῖλ le τὰοαῖο υαῖο μῖο ὁ μῖοι Δμαέ, 'nothing would be (used to be) expected from him (that man) thenceforward,' Fr. O'Reilly's ὀμῖο.

10. βέρῖτεΔρ :—τὰ Δη μῖΔρ 7 Δη βῖΔη Δνομῖ ΔΣ κυμ Δίτῃ Δρ Δ ῑίλε 7 μῖοι ῑῖΔημ τΔμΔίλλ βέρῖτεΔρ ὁ'Δ βρῖμῖ, 'the man and the woman are now making one another's acquaintance, and in a while their marriage will be taking place,' G. J., No. 112, p. 63.

10. βέρῖτεΔρ :—βέρῖτεΔρ ΔΣ Δμῖτ Δρ "ΣῖεῖλΣ ὁ'η ΣΚηΔβῖν," "ΣῖεῖλΣ ὁ ὀύτῑΔρ," 7 ΔΣ ΔμῖτεΔρ ὀμῖῖΔρ Δρ ΣῖεῖλΣ "ηΔ Σκολῖμῖ," "Irish from the cradle" and "Irish from heredity" (native Irish) will be talked about, and disesteem will be cast on the Irish "of the scholars,"' Fr. O'Reilly's ὀμῖο.

ULSTER. I. βῖτεΔρ :—βῖτεΔρ ΔΣ Σῖῖῖ ὀῖ, ηυΔρ Δ ῑῖομῖ μῖ ῑῖΔρ, 'let it (the work) be a-doing, when he (the inspector) comes round'; βῖτεΔρ ΔΣ τῖῖῖ ηΔ Σῖῖῖ μῖ Δρ Δ' βῖῖῖ, ηυΔρ Δ ῑῖομῖ μῖ ῑῖΔρ, 'let these stones be being lifted out of the way, when he comes round' (this and the preceding example are from Mr. James Ward of Tory Island).

2. τῖῖΔρ :—τῖῖΔρ ΔΣ μῖμῖῖ ηΔ τεΔηῖῖ ῖῖ μῖῖ ἢ μῖῖῖῖ Δη τεΔρμῖῖ, 'the language is being well taught in the schools of Termon,' ΣῖΔμῖ μῖ Δη ὀῖῖ, Prog. of Proc., ῖμῖ-μῖ, 1903; τῖῖΔρ ΔΣ τεΔῖῖῖ μῖ ηΔ ηῖμῖῖ ἢ μῖῖῖ Δη ῖῖ ῖῖῖῖ, 'the history of Ireland is being taught in one out of six schools,' ib.; τῖῖΔρ 'ῖῖ τεΔῖῖῖ ἢ ηΔ ῖῖῖῖῖ ῖῖ ηῖῖ, 'it is being taught in all the schools,' ib.; τῖῖΔρ ΔΣ μῖμῖῖ ηΔ ΣῖεῖλΣ Δρ μῖῖ ὁ'Δ υΔρ ῖῖ ῖῖ μῖ τεΔῖῖῖ, 'the Irish language is being taught for two hours and a half in the week,' ib.; τῖῖΔρ ΔΣ βῖῖ Δη μῖ, 'the hay is being mowed,' Craig's Gr., p. 108; τῖῖΔρ ὁ'Δ μῖῖῖ, 'they are being dug,' ib.; τῖῖΔρ ΔΣ ὀῖῖ, 'that signifies that there are a number of people working' (P. M'Creanor of Maghera, Co. Derry, in a letter from Mr. Louis Walsh).

4. μῖῖΔρ :—'μῖ μῖῖῖῖ μῖ μῖ Δη μῖ ὁῖ Δ βῖμῖΔρ 'μῖ τῖῖ 'ηΔ ὀῖῖ, 'I think that you are the young man after whom they are in pursuit (or who is being pursued),' Peter Walsh's μῖ Δη Δη βῖῖ 'μῖ ῑῖῖ, ἢ Κῖῖμῖῖ ηΔ ηῖῖῖῖ, Curo III.

6. *bítear* :—*bítear* *as* *cuir na bpréadaí*, ‘the potatoes were being set,’ G. J., *Mí na Nollag*, 1899, p. 63; ‘*na bítear le fada go leórí roime rin*, ‘than was the case for a long time enough before that,’ S. M. *an b*. (see above); *bítear as buint na bpréadaí*, ‘the potatoes were being dug,’ Craig’s Gr., p. 108; *bítear le mé marbhadh*, ‘I was going to be killed’ (heard from Mr. James Ward in conversation).

7. *maibtear* :—*go maibtear as labhairt i bfaob nioir mó Saeóilg*, ‘that far more Irish was being spoken,’ S. M. *an b*. (see above).

8. *bícti* :—*bícti as veanaim aithrián ar an bdaile r’ asáinne*, ‘songs used to be a-making in *our* townland (or place),’ Mr. Neece M’Coal, resident in Donegal (heard in conversation with him).

9. *bícti* :—*goon cniḡe (pron., go-tuiḡe) náir fan tú mar bí ro ḡaoiní r’an áit nac mbícti o’á ruasadh* ? ‘why didn’t you remain along with your people where they used not to be hunted?’ (a line of the 1st stanza of the ballad on the execution of James Murphy, as obtained from a native of Kilcar, Co. Donegal).

10. *béirtear* :—*ní béirtear o’á mbuint go veo*, ‘they will never be a-digging,’ Craig’s Gr., p. 108.

11. *beirthe* :—*beirthe o’á mairt*, ‘people would be saying,’ G. J., *Mí na Nollag*, 1899, p. 63 (used in conversation by Eamonn óg Mac an Ghoill, a native of Glengesh, Co. Donegal).

14. *maibtear* :—*go maibtear o’á buaidh i mbámad*, ‘may he be getting a beating to-morrow’ (from Mr. James Ward); *go maibtear o’á róḡadh ar leacada loma veapḡa i bḡoir-ioctar i rḡinn*, ‘may he be a-burning on the bare red flags of the very bottom of hell’ (a curse current in Tory Island and elsewhere in Co. Donegal).

16. *beicti* :—*muir mbeicti go maic oó, ní macadh ré ann*, ‘if he were not well treated, he would not go there’ (from Mr. B. O’Keeney, a native of the parish of Ardara, Co. Donegal); *oá mbeicti as bainnt ar, bad ḡoiru go mbéirtheadh ré maicte*, ‘if we were taking out of it, it would soon be spent,’ G. J., *Aibneán*, 1898, p. 192 b 40; *oaidal rḡḡar a veanrairthe ve, oá mbeicti as oóirteadh léiḡinn rḡeac i n-a cionn le polúir*, ‘no priest would ever be made of him, even if learning were being poured into his head with a water-funnel (*filler* or *tun-dish*)’ (heard by Mr. James Ward somewhere in the Glenfinn district, Co. Donegal).

SCOTLAND. 2. *thàtar* :—*thàtar ag gearain gu mòr*, ‘much

complaint is being made,' *Mac Talla, Naigheachdan*, Ogust 8, 1902.

3. *athàtar* :—*na tuarasdail a thàtar a' pàigheadh*, *ib.* (construction ungrammatical) = Ir. *nā tuaradail atádtar do díol*, 'the salaries which are being paid'; *aon de no biastan sin a thàtar a' faicinn* (also ungrammatical), 'one of those serpents that people see,' *M. T.*, Iulaidh 25, 1902. (The Scottish *scholars* do not now appear to know the construction required in relative clauses like these, though Carsuel did thoroughly, *v.* *Early Modern*).

4. (f)*eilear* :—*ach thà e ro-choltach gu bheilear* (= *bhfeilear*) *ann an iomadh cearna a' fàs suarach uime*, 'but it is too evident that in many places people are getting indifferent about it,' *M. T.*, Ogust 8, 1902; *cha 'n eilear* (= *fheilear*) *idir a' deanamh tàir air na ban-sgoilrean*, 'no one at all is blaming the female teachers,' *ib.*

5. *bithear* :—"Micheal" o 'm *bithear a' faighinn litir an dràsda 's a rithist*, "Michael" from whom a letter is received now and again' (= 'occasionally'), *M. T.*, Iulaidh 25, 1902.

6. *bhàtar* :—*am feadh 's a bhàtar 'ga ghiulain*, 'whilst he was being carried,' *M. T.*, Ogust 8, 1902.

13. *bithear* :—*cha bhithear saor o pheacadh*, 'there wanteth not sin,' Highland Society's Dict., I., 26. ('Subjunctive' would be the classification of Scottish grammarians in this case, but it may really be an example of 5).

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

O. IR. 6. *ro-both, ro-bod* :—This appears to have its modern reflex in *do bíod* of the Deisi dialect, through **ro-bad, *ro-bád*: cf. I sing. act., *do bíodar*; 1st pl., *do bíomair*, &c., of the early modern period, now *do bíor, do bíomair*, &c.

14. *rubthar* :—Prof. Strachan, in a communication to me, remarks: "If, in the indicative, *rubtar* could come from *-robtar*, it might come in the subjunctive from *-robeatar*. One would certainly have expected in both *-rubtar*; but I have come across a good deal that is strange in the palatalization and depalatalization of consonants. The whole matter wants a thorough investigation."

MID. IR. 6. **ro-bás** :—from this comes the modern form *ro* *bíodáir* (*ro bíteáir*), through **ro-bádus*, **ro-báthas* (see remark on *ro-both*). The *-s* is due to the influence of the forms found in dental stems, e. g. *ro-fess*, *do-cuas*, &c.

EARLY MODERN. 4. **fuiler** :—a coincidence, as will be seen, with one of the forms used in West Ulster.

5. **bíčiri*
9. **beačáiri*
13. **beičiri* } As I have noted the occurrence of absolute forms of other verbs in texts belonging to the end of the sixteenth century, I am obliged to include these in the paradigm.

E. MUNSTER. 2. *čátauir*, which coincides with the Scottish form, belongs especially to the Dungarvan district, where *čá* = Sc. *thà* also occurs. *čátauir* is heard there too, but belongs rather to other portions of the old Deisi territory ; with it cf. the Co. Waterford surname *Šrután*, which is pronounced *Šrupán* and anglicised Byewater. *čátauir* is used in portion of East Cork.

6. *bíod*, and 7. *maḃad* are pronounced respectively *bíog*, *maḃas*. Should the O. Ir. form of the latter turn up, it could scarcely differ ; for *ro-both*, *ro-bod* clearly point to an enclitic form **robád*, **rubád*, or **rabád*.

W. MUNSTER. The forms in *-iri* belong to South Munster (Berehaven, Skibbereen, &c., districts). They arise in two ways : (1) by the addition of *-iri* to *-i* forms, (2) by the insertion of *-iri* in *-i* forms. Sometimes in (1) the *i* usurps the place of the *-i* altogether, as in *čátauir* for *čáči*. This, however, does not extend to 1 and 5. As to *puilteáir*, *τ* after *l* is not aspirated in West Kerry.

14. *maḃtauir* :—The *-ḃ-* is fully pronounced in South Munster, not slurred over as is usually the case ; *maḃ-*, *pron. rev*, as in the active voice.

S. CONNACHT. We find here a preference for unaspirated slender *τ* in *bíteáir*, *bíči*, &c. ; hence in 16 one would expect *beiči* (*beičči*), as in South Munster.

6. *bíöteáir* is pronounced *bífeáir*, owing to a peculiarity of the dialect, which is rather fond of giving *ö* and *ž* the sound of *ḃ*, and consequently making *öč*, *žč* = *f* in sound, e. g. *žuiöe* *pron. žuiḃe*, *eíöean* *pron. eíḃean*, *čmážad* *pron. čmáḃ*, *tožčad* *pron. toḃad*, *öruížče* *pron. öruíḃe*, &c. The *-ö-* of *bíöteáir* is probably the echo of that of the early mod. *ro bíöčur*.

7. *maḃteáir* *pron. maifeáir* (*meifeáir*).

N. CONNACHT.—The τ-forms are all from Fr. O'Reilly, who may be said to reside on the borderland between N. and S. Connacht. As to 6 and 7, he writes as follows:—"bítear and bítear, μᾰbítear (*rough[f]uss*) and μᾰbítear (*rougher*) mean exactly the same, and are used indiscriminately here (in Mount Partry), a very fine Irish-speaking district. I have tested them specially in several district villages of people, and with the oddest and out-of-the-wayest sort of folk. What they would say is, that they were exactly the same—as, of course, I knew well—word, ᾰḡsur ᾰn minúḡᾰḡ céḡḡḡᾰ leo, ᾰḡt ḡur ḡearrḡ le ḡḡeᾰm ḡe nᾰ ḡᾰoiníb leᾰḡḡᾰ ᾰcu, ᾰḡsur le ḡᾰoiníb eile ᾰn leᾰḡḡᾰ eile."

ULSTER.—Here we find the -r substituted altogether for -r in 6 and 7. It is heard also in éḡᾰḡḡᾰ, ḡḡᾰḡᾰ = ḡᾰ éḡᾰḡḡᾰ, O. Ir. ḡᾰ-chúᾰr. On the other hand, ḡᾰmiceᾰr = *Muns.* ḡᾰ ḡᾰḡḡᾰᾰ, ḡᾰḡᾰᾰ; *Early Mod.* ḡᾰḡᾰᾰ. The origin of the -r is a puzzle to me, unless it be an intrusion from the pres. and fut.

14. μᾰbítear is used after murḡ (munᾰ), as well as optatively.

SCOTLAND.—6. *bhàtar*.—The hardening of the -t- probably shows the influence of *thàtar*.

- | | |
|----------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 5. <i>bithear</i> | } Not recognised in Scottish grammars, but there is a clear example of 5 at least in <i>Mac Talla</i> . |
| 8. * <i>bhiteadh</i> | |
| 9. * <i>biteadh</i> | |

PRESENT STANDARD.—The heading should rather be *Forms that should, historically and analogically, be used as a standard*, the common tendency being to write 'hamletically,' to quote Fr. O'Reilly again. It is to be hoped that the great variety of provincial forms will make it evident to all writers that a standard is a necessity. To the student of linguistics this diversity is interesting, but to the *littérateur* rather embarrassing.

I cannot conclude without thanking all who have so kindly assisted me in filling up the gaps that at first existed in some paradigms. In the domain of O. and Mid. Ir. Prof. J. Strachan has most generously resolved my frequent doubts about asterisked forms, and, indeed, saved me from error in one or two instances. For E. Munster I shall mention the names of Messrs. Patrick O'Daly, Gen. Sec., Gaelic League, James Morrissey, and R. A. Foley. Fr. O'Leary has very kindly answered some troublesome queries. I again thank Fr. O'Reilly

IMPERSONAL PASSIVE OF SUBSTANTIVE VERB.

COMPARATIVE TABLE.

Tense-form.	O. Ir.	Mid. Ir.	Early Modern (Ir. & Sc.).	E. Munster (Deisi).	W. Munster.	S. Connacht.	N. Connacht.	Ulster.	Scotland.	Present Standard (Ir.)
1. Imperat. Pres.,	*bícheṁ	*bícheṁ	*bícheap	bíotaṁ	bíotaṁ	bíteaṁ	bíteaṁ, bíteaṁ	{ bíteaṁ bícheap }	bithear, bitear	bíteaṁ
2. Ind. Pres. Orthot.,	*atácthaṁ	atácthaṁ	atáctap	{ táctap, tá- rap, táctap }	{ táctap, táctap, } táctap	táctap, tá'p	táctap	táctap	thàtar	táctap
3. " " Rel.	(a) tácthaṁ	atácthaṁ	{ atáctap atáthar }	{ atáctap, atárap }	{ atáctap, táctap, atáctap }	[a]táctap, tá'p	[a]táctap	[a]táctap	[a]thàtar	atáctap
" " " " (govd. by prep.), ..	(b) *fílceṁ	fílceṁ								
4. " " " (neg., &c.), ..	*tácthaṁ	tácthaṁ	{ fuilteaṁ fuiler }	{ fuilteaṁ, fuilceṁ }	{ fuilteaṁ, fuilceṁ, fuilteaṁ, fuilceṁ, fuilteaṁ }	fuilteaṁ	fuilteaṁ	{ fuilceṁ, fuilteaṁ }	(f)eilear, -eas	fuilteaṁ
5. " " Hab. (abs.),	bícheṁ	bícheṁ	*bícheṁ							
" " " (conj. and rel.), ..	bícheṁ	bícheṁ	bícheap	bíotaṁ	bíotaṁ	bíteaṁ	bíteaṁ, bícheap	{ bícheap bícheap }	bithear	bícheap
" " " with no-,	ruibcthaṁ									
6. " Pret. Orthot.,	*bocthae	(no-bár)								
" " Rel.,	bocthae, -a	bár								
" " Encl.,	*boctha	bár, báour	{ oo bíochtur, oo bár, do bághas }	oo bíocht	{ oo bíocht, oo bíochtair }	{ bíochtair, bíocht, bíocht, bícheap }	bícheap, bícheap	bícheap	bhàtar	{ oo bíocht, (oo bícheap) }
" " Perf. Orthot.,	no-boctha	no-bár								
" " Rel.,	{ no-boctha, no-boctha }	no-bár								
7. " " Encl.,	*robao	robair	*robair, -ar	robao	robair, robair	robair, -ear	robair, -ar	robair	robhar, -as	robair
8. " Impf. Orthot.,	*no-bíche	*no-bíche	*oo bící	oo bíotaṁ	oo bíotaṁ	bící, bící	bící, bící	bící	*bhiteadh	oo bící
9. " " Encl.,	*bíche	*bíche	*bící	bíotaṁ	bíotaṁ	bící, bící	bící, bící	bící	*biteadh	bící
10. " Fut. (abs.),	*bethair	*bethair	*beactair							
" " (conj. and rel.), ..	bethair	bethair	beactair	{ beapair, beirceap }	beapair, beirceap	beirceap	béirceap, beactair	béirceap	bithear, bithear	{ beactair, beirceap }
11. " Cond. (2 Fut.) Orthot., ..	*no-bethe	no-bethe	oo beicé	oo beapairce	oo beirce	beirce, beicé	béirce, beirce	beirce	*bhiteadh	oo beicé
12. " " " Encl.,	*bethe	*bethe	beicé	beapairce	beirce	beirce, beicé	béirce, beirce	beirce	*biteadh	beicé
13. Subj. Pres. (abs.),	bethair	bethair, beicé	*beicé							
" " (conj. and rel.), ..	bethair	bethair	*beactair, *beirceap	[beirceap]	[beirceap]	[beirceap], [bícheap]	{ [béirceap], [bícheap, bícheap] }	[béirceap]	*bithear, *bithear	{ beirceap, beactair }
14. " " with no-, Dep. (Opt. &c.),	*ruibcthaṁ	*ruibcthaṁ	*ruibctair	{ ruib'air, ruibceap }	ruibceap	ruibceap	ruibceap	ruibceap	*robhar	ruibceap
15. " Past. Orthot.,	*no-bethe	*no-bethe	*oo beicé	{ oo beicé, [oo beapairce] }	{ oo beicé, [oo beirce] }	beicé, [beirce]	beicé	beicé	*bhiteadh	oo beicé
16. " " Encl.,	*bethe	*bethe	*beicé	{ beicé, [beapairce] }	beicé, beicé	beicé, [beirce], *beicé?	beicé	beicé	*biteadh	beicé

(a) After *ir heo* in a peculiar idiom also found in the active voice, *e.g.* *ceo táí uóib?* 'what ails you at them?' LU 59 b 10; *ceo uadair in chaillech?* 'what ails the old woman?' Trip. L., p. 28, l. 17.

(b) After *intan, hóne, &c.*, **fílceṁ* might be expected like *fíl, fíle* in the active.

N.B.—The Ind. Pret. and Perf. in reality fall together in Mid. Ir. For the Encl. forms O. Ir. **boctha*, Mid. Ir. *bár, báour* one now finds *ruibceap* used.

for his information about Connacht usage. Mr. James Ward, of Tory Island, whose colloquial power over his own form of the Northern variety of Irish is really wonderful, has also earned my thanks. For the Scottish paradigm I have no obligations to express; hence it is the weak point of the list. The various grammars of Sc. Gael. have not helped me in the least, for I have found them insufficient and antiquated. The same remark applies to the Irish grammars (my allusion is to *Mod. Ir.*), with the single exception of that of the Christian Brothers. One would think from them that this form was fragmentary, or defective, whereas it is used in all the tenses. Finally, it will be seen that Manx is not included in the table. I have not noticed the usage in the dialect, but my search, if such it can be called, has been very meagre indeed.

J. H. LLOYD.

Howth.

“ḡaib̃ do chuil̃ isin charcair̃.”

1 n-ḡaeðil̃ḡ nuaið :

THESAURUS PALÆOHIBERNICUS, II. 290.

ḡaib̃ do cúil̃ iñr an ḡcarcair̃ : ní uuit̃-re clúim̃ ná conaib̃ ;
ṽruaḡ roiñ a b̃riolla b̃ac̃al̃ : olúit̃ or̃t an t̃r̃raṽṽair̃ ðonaib̃.

“pangur b̃án.”

1 n-ḡaeðil̃ḡ nuaið :

THESAURUS PALÆOHIBERNICUS, II. 293.

m̃ire aḡur pangur̃ b̃án : Ceac̃tar̃ ðinñ le' ḡnó ve-ḡñat̃ ;
b̃ionñ a m̃eanma-rañ le reil̃ḡ : mo m̃eanmã féiñ lem' éiñ-ṽeir̃o.

Caraim̃-re for̃ ir̃ ciúnaib̃ : Im̃ leaḡb̃iáñ do léir̃i-r̃or̃iúṽaṽ ;
ní for̃m̃ṽaṽ liom̃ pangur̃ b̃án : Caranñ féiñ a ṽeir̃o m̃ac̃áñ.

nuair̃ a b̃im̃iṽ—r̃oc̃eal̃ ḡañ r̃c̃ir̃ : iñr añ uṽiḡ 1 n-ár̃ n-éiñ-ṽir̃,
b̃ionñ aḡainñ ḡañ érioc̃naṽ éleair̃ : níṽ le nḡléir̃tar̃ ár̃
nḡliceair̃.

ḡñat̃ uair̃eantã ar̃ḡneair̃aib̃ ḡal̃ : ḡo leanaanñ luṽ oá lión-rañ ;
ṽuiteanñ t̃r̃at̃ im̃ lión-r̃a féiñ : r̃o-ṽeir̃t̃ veacair̃ le uo-ṽéill̃.

Caiteanñ-rañ ar̃ fuio b̃alla : a m̃uir̃c̃ léir̃e lúit̃m̃aia ;
Caiteim̃ féiñ le r̃ál̃ reair̃a : mo m̃uir̃c̃ m̃iḡne m̃ó-ḡeala.

b̃r̃óo uo-rañ le uéine uul̃ : nuair̃ inñlanñ luṽ n-a ḡéar̃i-ṽr̃uḡ ;
nuair̃ ṽuiḡim̃ ceir̃t̃ veacair̃ uil̃ : uam̃-r̃a ṽeanã 'r̃ cúir̃ áṽir̃.

b̃ioṽ ḡur̃b̃ am̃laib̃ ðúinne ḡñaib̃ : ní b̃acanñ cac̃ le' c̃omp̃áim̃ ;
maib̃ linñ ar̃aoñ ḡné ár̃ ḡcleair̃ : cac̃ iñ donair̃ len' aoib̃neair̃.

Cumair̃ maib̃ aḡe-r̃eañ t̃á : ar̃ ḡnó uo-ḡní ḡac̃ éañ-l̃á ;
ár̃ veacair̃ uo uéanaim̃ ḡlé : veaḡ-m̃áiḡir̃tir̃ reaṽ m̃ire.

m̃ire.

ṽÓRNA ṽ'AISTR̃iḡ.

DANIEL HÚA LIATHAIDE'S ADVICE TO A WOMAN.

THE following poem has already been edited and translated by Windisch in the *Berichte der Königl. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 1890, p. 86, from the copy in the Book of Leinster, p. 278 a; but the discovery of another copy containing some important variants as well as an additional stanza will justify a new edition. This second copy is found in the Trinity College MS. H. 3. 18, p. 731 (paper).

Daniel húa Liathaide is called abbot of Cork and Lismore by the Four Masters, according to whom he was mortally wounded in A.D. 861. The language of the poem, if purged of certain Middle-Irishisms (such as *no c̃ríáíðem* (3) for O.-Ir. *no c̃ríáíðem*, *ḡḡḡḡ* (6) for *ḡḡḡḡe*, *coimioiu* (ib.) for *coimioio*, *ḡḡḡḡ* (ib.) for *ḡḡḡḡḡḡ*, *ḡḡḡḡ* (7) for *ḡḡḡḡe* or *ḡḡḡḡe-ḡḡḡḡ*) and restored to an earlier orthography, may well be that of the ninth century.

My rendering will be found to deviate in several details from that of Windisch. In the second stanza the reading *máτβeḡḡ* (i.e. *má áτβeḡḡ*) reduces the number of syllables to the requisite seven; while, in the last half-line, *neḡḡḡ áḡ* has to be read with synizesis. It is evident from Windisch's remarks that the scribe of the Book of Leinster, or a corrector, has altered the faulty *ḡḡḡ* in the second stanza to *ḡḡḡ*, though this does not appear in the facsimile.

KUNO MEYER.

Աղբաւարտ Ծանիւն հնա Լիւծաւոք ճարճնեմ Լիւթմոյն ու ճարճ
 շարճ օրն¹ մնալ. Էրեմ թո ճա ճարճա ճի-ր, ճալ թի ճարճա-
 ու ճ ճարճա-թոմ. Իր ճարճ արճարճ² թոմ :—

1. “Ճ ben, ճարճարճ թոմ ! ճա թալ !
 ճարճարճ ճալ [m]թարճա ճարճ :
 ճարճ արճա թոմ ճալ ճալ,
 ճարճարճ ճալ : ճարճ ճարճալ.

2. “ճարճալ ճալ ճարճ ճարճ ճարճ,
 ճարճարճ ճի ճարճ ճարճարճ,³
 ճարճարճ-թոմ⁴ ճարճ⁵ ճարճ,
 ճարճ ճարճ ճարճ ճարճ ճարճ.

3. “Ճ ճարճարճ ճարճ ճարճ⁶ ճարճ
 ճարճ ճարճ ճարճ, ճարճ⁷ ճարճ,
 ճարճ ճարճ ճարճ⁸ ճարճարճ ճարճ,
 ճարճ ճարճ ճարճ ճարճ ճարճ.

4. “ճարճ ճի ճարճարճ ճարճ ճարճ,
 ճարճ ճարճարճ¹⁰ ճարճ ճարճարճ,
 ճի ճարճ ճարճարճ-թոմ¹¹ ճարճ ճարճ
 ճի ճարճ¹² ճարճ ben, ճ ben.

5. “ճարճ¹³ ճարճ ճարճ ճարճարճ-թարճ,
 ճարճ¹⁴ ճարճ ճարճ ճարճարճ-թարճ,
 ճարճ ճարճարճ ճարճ ճարճ ճարճ,¹⁵
 ճարճարճ ճարճ-թարճ ben, ճ ben.

6. “ճարճ¹⁶ ճարճ, ճարճ ճարճ,
 ճարճ, ճարճ ճարճ ճարճ,
 ճարճ-թարճ, ճարճ¹⁷ ճարճ ճարճ ճարճ,
 ճ ben, ճա ճարճ ճի ճարճ¹⁸ ճարճ.

¹ ճարճ L. ² sic L, ox. H. ³ sic H, ճարճարճ L. ⁴ sic H, ճարճարճարճ L.
⁵ sic H, ճալ corrected into ճալ L. ⁶ sic, H, ճ L. ⁷ sic L, ճարճ H. ⁸ om. H.
⁹ ճարճ H. ¹⁰ sic L, ճարճարճարճ H. ¹¹ sic L, ճարճ ճարճարճ H. ¹² sic H,
 ճարճ L. ¹³ L omits this stanza. ¹⁴ ճ H. ¹⁵ ճարճ H. ¹⁶ ճարճ H.
¹⁷ sic L, ճարճ H. ¹⁸ ճարճ H.

TRANSLATION.

Daniel Ua Liathaide, erenagh of Lismore, spoke these verses when a woman was entreating him. He was her confessor, but she was soliciting him. 'Tis then he said :

1. "O woman, a blessing on thee ! do not speak !
Let us meditate on the doom of eternal judgment !
Perdition hangs over every creature,
I fear to go into cold clay.
2. "Thou meditatest folly without lasting value,
'Tis clear that it is not wisdom which thou servest,
If thou speakest, it will be empty talk,
Our death will be nearer before it come to pass.
3. "The end which awaits us
Let us remember ! a short journey !
If here we aggrieve the King,
We shall¹ rue it in yonder land.
4. "I will not sell Heaven for sin !
It will be paid back to me² if I do it,
That which then thou dost not find
Thou shalt not give for a woman, O woman !
5. "Cast from thee that which thou hast,
Thy share in Heaven do not sell,
In God's safeguard go to thy house,
A blessing from me take, O woman !
6. "I and thou, thou and I,—
I dread, dread *thou* the good God,
Pray *thou*, I shall pray the holy Lord,
O woman, say no more !

¹ With *batin*, 'we shall be,' compare *atin*, 'we are': *atin budig de*, YBL 129 b 23.

² Cf. *adfíther*, pass. fut. of *ad-fenim*. Wb. 20^b 7 : *portabit iudicium .i. digail .i. adfether dó*, 'there will be retribution to him.'

7. “**η**¹ **βί**-**γ**υ **α**ρ **ρε**ιζ **νε**ις **να**ς **μα**ις,
οδ¹ζ **νο**τ-**ε**υιρρ **ι**ν **ϕ**λ¹α¹ς **α**ρ **σε**λ,
αιζ-**γ**υ, **α**ζυρ **Χ**ρίστ **σε**ν **ε**ιν,
ηα **μ**ο **λ**άμυρ **τ**ρίρτ, **α** **β**εν !”

“**β**ις **ρ**ίρ **ο**ν,” **ο**λ **γ**γρ. **Κ**ο **ϕ**λεςτ **ρ**ί **ρ**ορ **α** **β**ις-**ο**ένμα-**ρ**ομ **ι**ν
εμςτ **μ**ο **β**οί **ι** **μ**βεζα¹ο.

¹ H omits this stanza.

7. "Be not on the chase after what is not good,
Since the Prince will put thee to death;
Dread *thou*, *I* dread Christ without sin,
Whose malediction I do not risk,¹ O woman!"

"Thus it shall be," said she. She bent her knees because² he was ever pure³ as long as he was alive.

¹ For the construction compare *mac mnd nád festar céle*, 'the son of a woman whose mate will not be known,' Imram Brain, 26.

² *for* = *ar*.

³ Cf. *airchindech doairngair a bith-dénma .i. a bith-glaine*, Laws v. 124, 3; and see O'Dav. 757 (Archiv ii. p. 321).

Cáilte cecimít.

BOOK OF LEINSTER, P. 208 a.

IN spite of the archaic flavour of its language and the numerous glosses with which the scribe has furnished it, the following poem cannot be much older than the manuscript in which it is found, that is to say, the first half of the twelfth century. This is shown, among other things, by several of the verb-forms and by the use of *níad* as a monosyllable. It belongs to the same class of compositions as the Ossianic poem beginning *Tuileitir mo veica fúan* published by Windisch, *Irische Texte*, i., p. 162, in which rare words of *bérla na ríeo* are used instead of *gnátríola*.

KUNO MEYER.

Cáilte cecimít.

1. *Bec innocht lúth mo dá lúad,¹*
no fetair mo choirp ir cúa :
no po maith nith doám nen²
noco³ tómadht in Tálceo⁴.
2. *Rop-rá chuib mo dá ulaid,⁵*
doám áeo⁶ im' chalb⁷ culaid,⁸
doám briaic⁹ conbiatair baib,
niarra¹⁰ [m'] diim[-r] can ulaid.
3. *Ra luioin[n]-re de maicib,*
di di¹¹ níad¹² porram forcaíl,
uoberrin¹³ culu¹⁴ di darr¹⁵ Finn¹⁶,
porram dinn¹⁷ dinn¹⁸ ni harcaib.¹⁹
4. *Miri ir Oirín mac Finn,*
porrat comchuiboe di ceta,
di ngnima porrat máid,
di mbáda parrat beca.

b. .

¹ .i. mo dá choirp ⁵ .i. mo dá choirp ⁹ .i. doám lám ¹³ .i. di emech	² .i. mo dáim choirp ⁶ .i. doám fúil ¹⁰ .i. láech ¹⁴ .i. proprium	³ naco Facs. ⁷ .i. im chin ¹¹ ¹¹ .i. tréirfeir ¹⁵ .i. ni harcaib	⁴ .i. parat ⁸ .i. cométrat ¹² .i. comét
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TRANSLATION.

1. Small to-night the vigour of my heels,¹
I know that my body is flesh² :
Good was the running of my feet,
Until the Adze-head³ came.
2. Swift was I on my feet,
In my head my eyes kept ward,
My arms were wont to feed the carrion crow,
My weapons were not without a shout of triumph.⁴
3. I used to ride⁵ on steeds,
Over any champion I prevailed,⁶
I used to guard the honour of Finn,
Fierce, fierce I was in straits.
4. I and Oisín the son of Finn,
Our blows were dealt in unison,
Our deeds were great,
Our boasts were small.

¹ Literally 'of my two heels'; but to translate so would be as wrong as to render the Welsh *dwylaw* by 'two hands.'

² *cua* .i. *peól*, O'Clery.

³ i.e. St. Patrick.

⁴ This line is one syllable short in the original. I have tried to restore the metre.

⁵ A present *lúim*, 'I go,' developed from *lúo*, 'I went,' also occurs in *Διρλινγε μεic Conglinne*, p. 89, 4 (7 *conlúim recha*); and the sing. imperative (*lúo* 'go to!') is found *ib.*, p. 53, 13. A future *lúfáim* is in LL. 109 b 1.

⁶ *farcaíl* instead of *forcaíl*, for the sake of assonance with *marcaíb* and *harcuib*.

THE LEABHAR' OIRIS.

THE *Leabhar Oiris*, or Book of Chronicles, which is here printed for the first time, as I believe, in the complete form in which it has come down to us, is mainly an account of the battles of Brian Boromhe from the accession of Maelseachlainn in 979, followed by short annals of events to A.D. 1027. The work has been attributed by O'Reilly, O'Halloran, and Hardiman to Mac Liag, the bard of Brian Boromhe, whose Life he is said to have written. O'Curry contests this in his *Manners and Customs*, ii., p. 116, though he is willing to admit that the *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh* may have been the composition of Mac Liag. No doubt O'Curry is right. The evidence in favour of Mac Liag is not convincing. It is a Munster compilation, evidently by a zealous partisan of Brian, as is shown by the omission of his less successful exploits. It has been used extensively by the compilers of the *Dublin Annals of Innisfallen*, many of the entries coinciding.

It was from the *Leabhar Oiris* that O'Halloran drew the materials for his account of Brian's reign (*History*, ed. 1728, ii. 234). He cites it frequently, and refers to it as the *Leabhar Oiris*, or *Book of the O'Maolconneries*. O'Halloran must have had before him some other MS. more complete than any I have been able to examine, for he includes several episodes that I do not find in these MSS. Moreover, he states that Mac Liag ends his work with the abdication of Donnchadh in 1064, and doubts whether he could have lived so long. Mac Liag died in 1021, according to these Annals; in 1016, according to the Annals of Ulster. All the copies of the *Leabhar Oiris* I have seen end abruptly with the year 1027.

Hardiman published the two poems beginning Fadla beith
 gan doibneary ann and $\text{Uathmar an oirche anocht}$ in his *Irish*
Minstrelsy, ii. pp. 202, 208; and he quotes several passages,
 §§ 33, 34, 35, 49, 50, and 51, in his Appendix, where he hesitates
 not to say that ‘no nation in Europe can produce so old and, at

the same time, so pure and perfect a specimen of its vernacular dialect.'

The *Leabhar Oiris* is also mentioned by Charles O'Connor of Belanagar, in his *Dissertations on the History of Ireland*, p. 249. The very volume, indeed, from which our text is taken was once in his possession, as a few lines in his handwriting on page 302 testify.

The text here printed is preserved in one of the O'Reilly MSS. in the Royal Irish Academy, formerly classed as No. 13. 5, and now known as 23 E. 26. It is a paper folio of 361 numbered pages, with ten unnumbered pages inserted at the beginning, partly copied by Richard Tipper of Mitchelstown, in the parish of Castleknock, who has set his name as compiler (1717) on the title, and partly by the well-known scribe, John MacSolly, of Stackallen. The *Leabhar Oiris* occupies pages 194-207, and is in MacSolly's handwriting (date 1711). This seemed to me to present the best text. Other versions, more or less incomplete, are contained in the following MSS. I have examined most of them, and collated some. In no instance, however, have I given all the variants of a MS.

(2) The *Seancha Muimhneach* (pp. 240-275), transcribed by Tadhg O'Cronin in 1739, and preserved in the Royal Irish Academy, where it is classed as 23. N. 30. This MS., referred to as M, runs closer to MacSolly's text than any of the others, and is, I think, next in importance. (3) MS. 1287, p. 59 (formerly H. 1. 13), preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, a paper folio transcribed in 1746 by Hugh O'Daly, and referred to here as D. (4) MS. 1280, fol. 64 (formerly H. 1. 6), also in Trin. Coll., Dublin, and transcribed by Hugh O'Daly in 1758, according to Cat., p. 285—a badly-written MS. It is here referred to as E. (5) MS. 1296, p. 214 (formerly H. 2. 5), in Trin. Coll., Dublin, transcribed by Dermot O'Connor in 1712. At end of *Leabhar Oiris* another hand has written "Daniel O'Sullivan his book per me scriptum." For description of contents, see Cat., p. 314, *et seq.* I have consulted this MS. occasionally. It is not so good as the preceding. It is designated in the readings as T. (6) Egerton 105, in British Museum, fol. 296, a nineteenth-century MS., once in the possession of James Hardiman, who has inserted a list of the contents. See O'Grady's *Catalogue*, p. 25, where it is described as a copy of

John MacSolly's MS., from the original in the Royal Irish Academy. I have not been able to collate this MS. (7) MS. 23. P. 13, eighteenth century, in the Royal Irish Academy, containing a fragment only (p. 93), § 33 to end, scribe's name not known. Hardiman attributes it to John Lloyd. I have denoted this MS. as P. (8) MS. 23. G. 25 in Royal Irish Academy, also a fragment beginning *Ro fozpiao*, § 47, and ending with § 53. Consulted occasionally, and denoted by G. (9) MS. 23. M. 47 third part, p. 50, in Royal Irish Academy, also a fragment, beginning § 43, and ending with § 53, transcribed in 1776 by John O'Connell. Designated by Y. (10) MS. 1289 (formerly H. I. 15) in Trin. Coll., Dublin, known as the Psalter of Tara, and transcribed in 1745 by Tadhg O'Neachtain, contains a short account of the battle (p. 735). I have consulted it occasionally, referring to it as K. It is almost identical with another recension in MS. 1329 (H. 3. 10), p. 153, in Trin. Coll., Dublin, eighteenth century. Besides these, there is a number of romantic tales describing the Battle of Clontarf; they are enumerated in M. D'Arbois de Jubainville's *Essai d'un Catalogue*, p. 60. They are not so sober in colouring as the *Leabhar Oiris*, but are closely enough connected.

A version of the Battle of Clontarf, much the same as that printed here, appeared some years ago in the *Gaelic Journal*, vol. vii., 1896. This has been of service to me in preparing the present text. The MS. from which it was taken is not cited, however, and the Annals preceding and following the battle are omitted. Some episodes not contained in the *Leabhar Oiris* are given; for instance, the appearance of Aoibhinn, or Aoibhill, the banshee of the royal house of Munster, on the battle-field, along with Dunlang O'Hartagain, and the metrical dialogue which follows. An interesting account of this is contained in MS. 1289 (H. I. 15), Trin. Coll., Dublin. It is noteworthy that Aoibhinn is not mentioned in the LO., though reference is made to her in the *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaihbh* (p. 201).

I have not endeavoured to construct a perfectly uniform text. Wherever I have departed from MacSolly's MS., I have indicated his readings by MS. at the foot of the page, except the following changes, which I have made throughout:—1, 'in,' for *Δ*; *εΔ* for *10* in such words as *Éipionn*, *riciois*; *Δ1* for *u1*,

especially in dative plurals, such as *feairuib*, &c.; *rí*, 'king,' in the nom. for *ríg*; omission of final *ó* in such words as *oiriáó*, &c.; *máolmuaíó*, *máolfeachlainn*, *murchaó*, in gen. sg. for *máolmuasó*, *máolfeachlainn*, *murchaíó*; *sc*, *tc* in eclipsis for *cc*, *cc*. Marks of length, which should, I think, always be used sparingly, have in many cases been omitted; on the other hand, I have occasionally supplied them. The aspiration of proper names in the genitive is carried out only sporadically by our scribe, and none of the MSS. are consistent. This is always a difficulty. As the editor of the *Cath Cluana Tairb* in the *Gaelic Jour.* truly observes: the rule that such aspiration should take place is an eccentricity. Here, then, I have nearly always followed the MS. I have added an index of names and places, which may be useful for reference, and inserted the dates from the principal Annals, FM., AU., &c.

I must express my indebtedness to Dr. Kuno Meyer for many valuable suggestions; and also to Mr. J. O. Bergin, who very kindly read over the proofs with me.

RICHARD IRVINE BEST.

leabhar oiris agus an[n]ála ar cogthaib[is] agus
ar cathaib[is] éireann annso síos.¹

FM. 979. I. **C**allann anno domini ré bliad[un]a reachtm[od]as[is] ar n[on]oi
scéad[un]¹ maolreachl[un]inn mac Domnall vo scéad[un]
níge héireann.

2. Cogad[un] móri le Domnall mac f[er]oláin níg[un] na n[on]éir[is]¹ 7
le h[on]m[od]ar² phuir[is] l[un]irge ar brian bóroime mac Cinnéir[is]
7 ar Chian mac³ Maolm[od]uad[un], sup[er] arigeas[un]ar⁴ 7 sup[er] loir-
geas[un]ar⁴ corcach 7 urm[od]or⁵ muim[od]an, vo loirgeas[un]ar 7 vo
arigeas[un]ar, 7 vo hionad[un]bad⁶ Domnall mac f[er]oláin ó Chlud[un]
fin[n]abair⁸ go n-a úirtheach.⁹

3. Rug brian 7 Cian¹ 7 maith[is]e muim[od]an oir[is]a, 7 chugas[un]ar
oíib[is] a f[er]an² mic Caoir[is]each,¹ sup[er] mo mui[is]³ ar scéad[un]ib[is], 7 sup[er]
leas[un]ad⁴ ias go por[is] l[un]irge, 5 go chugas[un]ar ar scéad[un],⁵ sup[er]
loirgeas[un]⁶ 7 sup[er] h-ion[is]ad[un] a noúin, 7 vo h-ionad[un]bad⁷ Domnall
ó b[er]f[er]oláin a⁸ muim[od]ain amach.

¹ D—leas[un]ar i[n]re agus an[un]ála ar cog[un]aib[is] éirionn ann[is]o, 7 go mórm[od]or ar
éad[un]a Clúan Tairb[is], 7 ar an laoc[un]roide voéit ann 7c.

M—an leabhar Oir[is] 7 tuasur[is]gbáil éad[un]a Cluana Tairb[is], agus an[un]ála ar
éirgeas[un]ib[is] éirionn, agus tionn[is]geas[un]ad, agus cras[un]oirgeas[un]leas[un] ar
im[is]tead[un]eib[is] an éad[un]e rin Cluana Tairb[is] agus mui[is]ge suil[is]e, mar
leas[un]ar.

T—leas[un]ar Oir[is] agus an[un]ála ar cog[un]aib[is] na héirionn 7 éad[un]aib[is] 7 tionn[is]geas[un]ad 7
cras[un]oirgeas[un]leas[un] ar éad[un] Cluana Tairb[is], 7 ar na laoc[un]aib[is] vo éit ann
ronn 7c.

1. ¹ cead[un]uib[is] M.

2. ¹ sic M; Déir[is]oe MS.

² b[er]ageir D; Danair E.

³ m[is]ic M.

⁴⁻⁴ om. M.

⁵ f[er]m[od]or D.

⁶ úir[is] rin DE.

⁷ sic E; MS. and

M 7; a T; go D.

⁸ fionn[is]ar M.

⁹ om. DE.

3. ¹⁻¹ DE om. 7 maith[is]e to Caoir[is]each; T om. from 7 chugas[un]ar.

² sic

MS., M.

³ MS. mui[is].

⁴ leas[un] ias ina noúin[is]aib[is] M.

⁵⁻⁵ om. TM.

⁶ mar ar loirgeas[un]ar ias 7 sup[er] úir[is]geas[un] Domnall 7c. M.

⁷ úir[is]geas[un] M.

⁸ ar an TD.

4. Do ḡab¹ brian² briaḡoe Corcaḡe 7 leapa³ móir 47
imlḡ iubair⁴ 7 árhoeall muḡan uile 7 a tuatha, ḡo nach
congḡadair ḡadaiḡ⁵ nó lucht éaḡópa acht an méao vo
cheirveóchaḡ oḡiḡe[ḡ]⁶ oírb vo chongḡáil.⁷

5. Sluaḡ bpear muḡan le brian 7 le Cían mac maol-
muaḡ 1 n-Orpaḡe,¹ dar ḡabao² ḡiolla páopaḡ 3mac
Donnchaḡa³ ní Orpaḡe, ḡo bpuar ḡeill Orpaḡe uile 7 a FM. 982.
péir péin,⁴ 7 ḡo oḡánḡadair oá níḡ laḡean 1⁵ oḡiḡ brian 1.
Domnaill Claon 7 maolmópa,⁶ ḡo oḡuḡadair ḡeill 7 briaḡoe
oó.⁷

6. Sluaḡ bpear muḡan¹ le brian 7 le Cían ar muir 7 ar
tír² ḡo ḡcoblach ó neachach 7 Chorcaḡuḡe 7 Phuir 7 Láirḡe
7 Chorcaḡ[e] 7 Óál ḡCair² ḡo loch Oerḡ-Óeir, ḡo paib³ ré
tí cía arthraich⁴ ann; ḡo noeachaḡ ar rin tar⁵ Sionainn
ḡo Loch Raí,⁶ 7 a rluḡ ar tír, ḡur ariḡeadar mío ḡo
h-Uirneach, 7 bpeirne⁷ tar áth laḡ⁸ ruar. Vo chuao curo
oó'n tḡluḡ⁹ 1 ḡConnachtaib ḡo noearpaḡar¹⁰ ariḡne 7
cpeacha mópa, 7 ḡur mairb ríao muir[ḡ]ir mac¹¹ Concoḡair ní AU. 988.
Connacht, mac Corḡair ní iarthair Connacht, 7 mópa
oaoine eile.¹²

7. Sluaḡ oile la¹ brian² 7 le Cían² ḡo níḡmaḡ muḡan
umpa³ ḡo Port oá Chaomḡ⁴ 1 ḡcoinne maolpeachlainn mic
Domnaill⁵ mic Donnchaḡa níḡ éirann, ḡo noearpaḡat ríth⁶: 998.
a paib vo briaḡuib leithe⁷ moḡa aḡ maolpeachlainn vo
thaḡair vo brian, 7 a paib⁸ vo briaḡuib leithe Cuinn aḡ
brian vo thaḡair vo maolpeachlainn 1. curo moḡa níaoḡ⁹
o'éirinn¹⁰ aḡ brian, 7 curo Cuinn aḡ maolpeachlainn.¹¹

4. ¹ ḡabaoar T.

² om. MTD.

³ lior ED.

⁴⁻⁴ om. TE.

⁵ MS. ḡadaiḡ.

⁶ oḡiḡ MT.

⁷ ḡur buairt, ná buairt an don érlḡe
ran Oóman adds M. D reads: ionnur nac bíao ann aét an méro vo beit na
luét oḡiḡe, aḡur ceir vo congḡaíl, aḡur vo éur ar aḡao éum bioéamnac,
aḡur ḡadaiḡao vo oibear. Similarly ET.

5. ¹ Om. T.

² ḡabao M; ḡur ḡabaoar TDE.

³⁻³ om. TDE.

⁴ 7 tuḡ ḡeill oírb T; ḡo tuḡ ḡeill oírb D. ⁵ ḡo tiḡ M. ⁶ Cog. Gaed. re
Gall. reads tuata ní iarthair líri for maolmópa. ⁷ ET read: tanḡadair a
rin ḡo níḡ láḡean aḡur tuḡ ḡeill aḡur briaḡoe oírb ḡan ríreac 7c.

6. ¹ Om. M.

²⁻² om. TDE.

³ ruḡ D.

⁴ aréac MS.; ariḡach D.

⁵ tar MS.

⁶ Ríḡ MT; Ríḡa E.

⁷ an bpeirne D.

⁸ aḡa líain D.

⁹ mórpláaḡ TDE.

¹⁰ noearpaḡ M.

¹¹ uia T; o D.

¹² maille

niú 7c. T; iliomao leo ḡo roiléir M; maille ríu D.

7. ¹ sic MS.; eile le TM; oile pe E.

²⁻² om. DE.

³ maille ríu D.

⁴ sic M; éaoḡ MS.; om. TDE.

⁵ om. T.

⁶ om. D.

⁷ leata T.

⁸ paibpaḡ MS.

⁹ móḡa néro M.

¹⁰ vo éirinn MS.

¹¹ T reads: aḡur

vo tuḡ b. an méro vo bí vo briaḡuib leata Cuinn vo m.

chath³ ḡlinne máma ar gach áir n-á chéile go hAod⁶ ó néill, 7 ní bfuair a óion aige nó aḡ Eochair⁴ Aruḡair,⁴ go uotriacht 1 gceinn ráithe 1⁵ udeach brian, go uug a réir uo brian 7 é réin 1 mbith-óilrí eiré biotha ríor⁶; 7 thug brian uplámur⁷ átha Cliaith óo-ran re n-a lámh.

12. 1⁵o léig brian maolmóroa amach tar cheann briaḡar⁸ AU. 1001. Láigean, 7 thug ríḡ Láigean uó 1 n-aḡair² Donncha³ mic Domnaill Chlaoin.¹ Tháinig brian iar rin u-á theach,² 7 ar udeacht uó 1 muimain uo rinneadar leath cuinn cairiol cloch tar áth luam, ar³ eadla go machair⁴ cōblach brian tar a n-air.⁵

13. 1⁵luaḡ le brian 7 le Cían 7 le fearair² muimain go AU. 1002. háth luam, gur orḡair ríar an cairiol,¹ 7 gur ḡabadar briaḡoe maolreachtainn móir 7 Connacht uile 1 n-aonló 1 n-áth luam.

14. Luaḡ le brian 1⁷ le Cían² 7 le fearair² muimain 7 mīde um maolreachtainn,¹ 7 go fearair² Láigean 7 Connacht 7 Soill átha Cliaith³ 7 Phuir³ Láirḡe,³ uo ḡabáil ḡall ulaó; go uáinig Aod⁶ mac Domnaill í néill 1⁴ri Oirḡ⁴ 7 Eochair⁴ mac Aruḡair⁵ rí ulaó, 6⁶go uugrāo cath Craoibe Tulcha⁶ 1⁷n-a gceinne, go uug brian cáir⁶oe 1⁷bliadna⁷ uóir, uo uéanaim comā[1]ile an cath uobéairuoir uatha nó an briaḡoe.⁸

15¹. Cogāó móir uoir Aod⁶ mac Domnaill í néill 7 Eochair⁶ mac Aruḡair² go uugrāo cath Craoibe Tulcha, 1 n-ar marbāó Eochair² mac Aruḡair³ go n-ar ulaó uime 7 Chinéil AU. 1004. ḡConaill 7 u-ari thuit Domnaill ua néill⁴ go n-ar Chinéil Eoḡain 7 a bfuairadar⁵ uo rochair⁶ ar gach leith.

³ a ceath M. ⁴ áro uairḡ M. ⁵ go M. ⁶ bioth ríor M.

⁷ MS. uplámur; baile a. c. re na lámh réin ḡan briaḡ M; uo ríḡ ḡall eirionn DE.

12. 1¹ om. DE. ² éir M. ³ air MS. ⁴ sic MS., E.

⁵ tar air MDE.

13. 1¹ om. DE.

14. 1¹ om. DE.

² om. M.

³⁻³ om. DE.

⁴⁻⁴ om. M.

⁵ euaḡro lámh eiréad ulaó aḡur Siḡro⁶ meairéalma mac ríḡ ulaó M; Siḡreac⁶ meairéalma ríḡ ulaó DE.

⁴⁻⁶ om. DE.

⁷⁻⁷ om. M.

⁸ a uairéir éairé, nó ḡeille, uo éabuir uo réir a uóomuirle M. Luaḡ eile le brian a láḡuir, gur bain ríḡ Láigean uo Donncha³ mac maolreachtainn, 7 eug uo maolmóroa mac muiréad⁴ 1⁵ adds M. D and E somewhat similar.

15. 1¹ D and E om. § 15.

² airḡro lámh M.

³ airḡro ḡair M.

⁴ néro M.

⁵ go bfuairadar rāo roair⁶ uo air ḡac leir M.

16. Sluaḡ go nḡallaiḃ 7 go nḡaoiṁealaḃ éipeann ó Śliaḃ
 fuaio buṁ ṁear le ḃrian go háromacha,¹ go otuḡ ḃrian
 fáinne óir 1 n-a maḃ fiche unge 1 n-áimḡain ar áltóir
 AU. 1005. Áromacha; 7 vo chuadair ar rin go Ráith mṁoir 1 moir²
 line, go otuḡḡao ḡalla ṁáil-nḡairṁe 7 ulaṁ³ leó. báḡ
 eochairṁ hí flannaḡáin⁴ pṁiomḡeanchairṁ⁵ Áromacha 7
 éipeann an ḃliaṁṁain rin.

17. ḃrian go n-a¹ mṁuimneachaiḃ 7 laḡneach[aiḃ]² 7
 Connacht[aiḃ] 7 mṁṁeach[aiḃ]³ 7 um mṁaolḡeachlaimn go
 AU. 1006. nḡallaiḃ átha Cliaḡh 7 phuirḡ laḡḡe 7 éipeann uile tair⁴
 earruaṁṁ anonn,⁵ go otuḡ ḡeill Chinéil eoḡain 7 ulaṁ leir 1
 muḡain.⁶

18. Sluaḡ le ḃrian¹ go ḃreairaiḃ éipeann uime go
 háromacha, go otuḡ ḡeill ulaṁ ar éigin ó flaitḡbearḡach
 hua néill.²

19. Cathal ó Conchubair pṁ Connacht o'ḡaḡ 1 n-a
 AU. 1010. oilḡḡe, iar otṁéigean an tḡaoḡail vo ar ṁia. báḡ
 mṁaolḡeachlaimn¹ í Cheairḃaill mṁḡ eoḡanacht[a] locha léin
 7 pṁiomḡáirṁ éipeann 1 n-eachairṁ oá eo.² ³Sluaḡ le ḃrian go
 Claoiloch Sléibe fuaio go otuḡ ḃraḡḡe Chinéil eoḡain 7
 Chinéil ḡConaill 7 ulaṁ leir.³

20.¹ Sluaḡ le Muḡchaṁ mac ḃrian go ḃreairaiḃ muḡain 7
 AU. 1011. laḡḡe 7 go híḃ néill an veirḡeirḡ, 7 go [ḃ]flaitḡbearḡach
 mac Muḡcheairḡaiḡ mṁḡ Oilḡ 7 go n-óḡaiḃ [an fṁola],²
 o'ḡḡain Chineoil laḡ[ṁ]each 7 Chineoil énoa,³ go otuḡḡao
 buairḡ ionṁṁa 7 ḃriort leó ar.

16. ¹ Áromacha MS. ² MS. móige. ³ cuilleaṁ EDM. ⁴ hí lonḡain
 MS. M. ⁵ pṁiomḡeanchaṁ M.

17. ¹ go a MS. ² laḡneachaiḃ M. ³ mṁṁaṁ MS. ⁴ tair MS.
⁵ earruaṁṁ M; anann MS. ⁶ go maḃ aḡ tabuirḡ ḡeill éinéil eoḡain, 7

ula uile leo, nó ḡur leaṁ Siḡmṁó mac pṁoḡ ulaṁ iao ḡona fluaḡ, 7 go otuḡ
 caṁṁ pṁoḡealma vo ḃrian 7 oá fluaḡ, nó go maḃ ré aḡ óirleac ṁálcceair, go
 tṁéan, go ḃreairṁ ḃrian an hí rin, 7 ar fáḃáil a flóis, vo rin éunnaoṁṁe maḡ
 a tṁuḡ an veaṁlaṁṁ buṁ feairḡ fán nḡéin, caṁṁ vo imṁeacṁa oá éile, 7 tṁuḡ
 ḃrian oá aḡe cumur 7 éaccorḡ an ḡairḡeacṁ, aḡur naḡ ḃféirḡ a élóṁ aṁṁ le
 ḃriaṁṁuḃ, nó vo éaṁṁ ḃrian aḡ, a tṁaṁṁ éabairṁ vo tabuirḡ vo, a ccoinne
 na nḡall, 7 cómḡlaṁṁ vo beṁṁ eaoṁṁṁa aḡur vo rin aḡlaṁṁ rin M.

18. ¹ 7 le Siḡmṁó adds M. ² ḡonaṁ tṁuḡaṁṁ ḡeill u. ruar vo mṁḡ na
 eṁíe a. ulaṁ M.

19. ¹ maolḡuṁam FM. AU. ² an eacṁeo M; aṁṁ oá éo D; eachaṁ
 oá eo E; eachairṁ oá vo MS. ³ leir go roilérḡ adds M. ³⁻³ om. DE.

20. ¹ om. DE. ² om. MS; an n-olca M; m fṁola AU. ³ donna M.

21¹. Sluaḡ le brian go maigin an Choruinn,² go tuc³ AU. 1012. maolruanaid³ ó maolruanaid leir i mbriagteanur go Ceann Cora⁴ re n-a thoil féin.

22¹. Sluaḡ la brian go maḡ murtheimne, go tuc² briagte ó ríḡ Orlis² 7 ó ultaib, 7 sup fágaid³ óá ríḡ ar ultaib; 7 ir ar an rluaḡ rin tuc⁴ brian 7 Cían mac maolruanaid 7 maolreachtlainn go maithib leithe⁴ Cuinn rdoiiri vo cheallaid éireann go h-uile.

Callainn Anno Domini mxiij.¹

23. Sluaḡ la maolmóir² go laigib 7 la ḡallaid átha AU. 1013. Clia³ i m⁴re, sup ariḡ ríao Tearmann f⁵ichin¹ 7 maḡ breas².

24. Sluaḡ la maolreachtlainn o⁶a oioḡailt rin¹ 4 ḡrích ḡall, sup loirḡ go héadair;¹ go ruḡ Si²ruoc mac am³laib² 7 maolmóir² mac murcha⁴ ar o⁵ruing² vo⁶n t⁷rluaḡ³ sup ma⁸ib⁴ óá ch⁹éao oio⁵b³ um f¹⁰lann mac maolreachtlainn.⁴ T¹¹ainḡ maolreachtlainn go brian o¹²a ḡearán rir ḡall 7 laigib¹³ vo beir¹⁴ i ḡcoḡa¹⁵o rir, 5¹⁶ vo i¹⁷air brian o¹⁸a f¹⁹ur²⁰tacht. Vo rinne brian rluaḡ b²¹eari mu²²man o²³f²⁴orlong²⁵spho²⁶it ar ḡallaid 7 ar laigib, 7 o²⁷airḡeao²⁸ar Or²⁹ruaḡe⁵; 7 vo chuaid⁶ murcha⁴ mac brian go Cill m⁷aiḡneann⁷ 7 go r⁸aithche átha Clia³, 7 vo ariḡ⁸ an t⁹ir go Tearmonn Ca¹⁰imín,⁹ 7 t¹¹uḡa¹²ao¹³ar briagte móra 7 c¹⁴reacha iom¹⁵óa i ḡcoinne b¹⁶rian¹⁰ go Cill m¹⁷aiḡneann¹¹ 7 go r¹⁸aithche átha Clia³. 7 vo f¹⁹an brian 7 rir mu²²man 7 rir Connacht i b²³orlong²⁵spho²⁶it ó Luḡnu²⁷ra²⁸[ó] go No²⁹rlaig móir, 7 ní b³⁰ruair c³¹ath nó briagte ó ḡallaid nó ó laigib.¹⁰

21. ¹ om. DE.

² maḡ Cora¹inn AU.

³ maolruana MS.

22. ¹ om. DE.

² ulta² M.

³ MS. f³aiḡaid.

⁴ lea⁴ M.

¹ Δις ro vo t¹uairḡe na m²ór laó³roir⁴de vo t⁵ainnic⁶ go c⁷áta Cluán Tar⁸ba vo ḡa⁹c leir¹⁰ aḡur von c¹¹áta re¹²m, 7c. D; Δς ro vo c¹³át Cluana Tar¹⁴b ec vona r¹⁵riom¹⁶laoc¹⁷aid vo t¹⁸u¹⁹ir ann vo ḡa²⁰c leir²¹ E.

23. ¹ f¹ichin MS. DE.

² ḡan ba²oir ari³ reas⁴ ḡa⁵c áir⁶vo oio⁷b, ḡan mola⁸-bo⁹as¹⁰ ari¹¹ o¹²ime, 7c. M; ari¹³ reas¹⁴ ḡa¹⁵c t¹⁶ul¹⁷á, 7c. D.

24. ¹⁻¹ om. DE.

²⁻² om. DE.

³ oio³b MS.

⁴ mac m. om. M.

⁵⁻⁵ D and E omit what follows down to Or⁵ruaḡe.

⁶ M inserts Si⁶reac⁷ mac

am⁸laib⁹ rí¹⁰oḡ ulta¹¹ 7 m; Si¹²reac¹³ mac rí¹⁴ḡ u. E.

⁷ D and E omit go Cill m.

⁸ ariḡ⁸rua⁹ar M.

⁹ f⁹ichin DE; Ca¹⁰iminn M.

¹⁰⁻¹⁰ om. DE.

¹¹ m¹¹ana¹²inn M.

A.D. 1014. 25. *Tháinigis brian¹ iar rin v'a tigh. 'Do chuimeadair
 ʒail² 7 laigín fíor 7 teachtad ar ʒach leith² uatha vo
 thionól³ flus³ 7 rochmuve.*

26. *Tháinigis annrin briosair 7 arʒadál, vá¹ mac níg
 lochlann, ríche céad laoch lán v'éiread² ó mullach ʒo lár;
 7 siptioc mac losair, iarla innre h-Oir, ʒo flus³ innri h-Oir
 7 oileán lochlannach, 7 innre cat,³ 7 mánadinne, 7 ʒgithi,
 7 leoúra,⁴ 7 Chin[n]tíre, 7 Oirir ʒadórdeal, 7 Cor[n]brieadchnaig
 Chille Muine, 7 Cor⁵ na líaʒos ʒo n-a nioʒaib uile.*

27. *Tháinigis chuca Capolur 7 Aibhoc,¹ v'a fionnriʒ² Loch-
 lannach, 7 Anrað mac Eibric, 7 plait³ 7 Connadól, v'a
 threán-mílir lochlannach, 7 arʒal mac ʒorpa[i]v,⁴ níg Thípe-
 an-tSneachtad, 7 liath na loingre, 7 laochmair lochlann ó
 na ʒaochlaigib⁵ meoðeonaacha,⁶ 7 ó sléibtib Rípre ʒo baile
 átha Cliath v'a ríche féin ar óir 7 ar airʒeav,⁷ vo chum
 catha⁸ i n-aʒair brian 7 fleachtad⁹ eoʒain mór¹⁰ ʒacha¹¹
 méir vo fíreʒair iav v'feairib éireann.¹⁰*

28. *Tháinig i n-aʒair brian annrin maolmórvá mac
 murchad¹ 7 nioʒmair éireann¹ uime, trí catha² .i. ar ʒcup
 brian amach vo maoirachlainn mór an oiriche moine rin,
 7 ar n-a innrin oírb v'al ʒcár ʒo [v]trian flus³ fleachtad
 eoʒain mór⁴ 7 muinneach³ ar c[h]eann chreacht⁴ laigean,
 7 ó ʒcinnrealach, 7 vo ʒeall féin ʒo bfuirʒeav brian 7
 ríche céad leir vo muinn[eacha]ib,⁵ vo feachnad i n-aʒair
 ʒail 7 laigean.⁶*

29. *Ó 'ochualadair ʒail brian vo beith ar fathche
 átha Cliath i n-oireachtur, tánʒadair¹ féin 7 laigín reacht
 ʒacath² n-a ʒconne,² 7 vo moinneadair i vtrí mannaib iav,
 mar atá lochlannair ar leith um chloinn níg lochlann, 7
 laigín um maolmórvá mac murchad³ i ʒacath eile, ³7 ʒoil*

25. ¹ om. M. ² leat M. ³ éinól M.

26. ¹ MS. v'a. ² laoc calmad cupata v'éiread plata E. ³ cat MS;
 cat DE. ⁴ leorad D. ⁵ cobar D.

27. ¹ Ambroc láoiri MD. ² fionnriʒ MS. ³ plait M.; volait Y.
⁴ ʒorpa M. ⁵ ʒaochlaib D; ʒadélaib E. ⁶ meannnača M;
 meoðnača DE. ⁷ arʒiov MS. ⁸ cum triosa 7 cat E. ⁹ sic MS;
 trleacta ME. ¹⁰⁻¹⁰ om. DE. ¹¹ ʒad M.

28. ¹ laigean uile uime M. ² TED omit what follows down to ʒconne,
 § 29, line 3. ³ muinneach MS. ⁴ creacha M. ⁵ muinneachuib M.
⁶ laigneac M. See Notes.

29. ¹ sic M; tánʒadair MS. ² DET continue here from trí cat, § 28, line 2.
³⁻³ om. M. ⁴ air n-a troicim cúʒad M; iav amlaib rin D. ⁵ coovuib M;

Átha Cliath leó féin i gcath oile.³ Ar n-a b'páircín vo B'riain A.D. 1014.
 fa'n o'toichim rin chuige,⁴ vo roinn féin a f'luag i o'trí
 cotchaid⁵: mar atá,⁶ Murchad mac B'riain go n-a theaghlach,
 reacht b'pícht mac níos a lion rin, 7 triuchad céad⁷ oúthaid
 an f'ir ip⁸ luag oúthaid⁹ oib rin⁹; 7 Toirp'bealbach mac
 Taidg, 7 Doimnall mac Conchubair, 7 Flann,¹⁰ ceithre meic
 oile B'riain, 7 clann Duinnchuid, Longbriogan,¹¹ 7 Céiliochair,
 7 Ceannéirí, 7 Fianngalach, 7 Ionnpachtach go maithib¹² Ódál
 gCair uime agur Tuathmuidan, 7 ¹²trí níos¹² Teabtha ⁷13 Ó
 Laoðagán, 7 Siolla Ultaim, 7 Ó Cairthanáim, 7 Connadine,
 7 í B'riain i n-agaid chloinne níos Lochlann, 7 Briogair iarla
 Chaire Ebrioc, 7 Siernic mac Lodaí iarla Inni hOir.¹⁴

30. Cian mac Maolmuidar go maithib¹⁵ Dearmuidan 7
 fleacht Eogán mór; 7 Doimnall mac Duib'óaboiréann,
 ní Chinéil Laoðaire; 7 Mothla mac Fadolán,¹ ní na nDéire;
 7 Muircheartach mac Anamchaðo,¹ ní Ó Uatháin; 7
 Sganlan mac Cathail,¹ ní Lochá Léin; 7 Loingreach mac
 Dúnluing,¹ ní Ó gConaill Gabra; 7 Cathal mac Donnabáin
 ní Ó gCairbrie¹; 7 Mac Beathaid² mic Muiréadaid¹, ní
 Ciarraid³ Lúachra; 7 Féibeannach⁴ mac Dubdagán,¹ ní
 b'fear Muige; 7 Cairbhall,⁵ 7 Ó Ruadagán, 7 Ó Dubdagá,¹
 trí níos Oirgiall; 7 Maguib⁶ ní b'fear Manach, 'ar n-a
 ríad⁷ oib: ó'f rin féin cuideacht i'f f'arve buò thuaid ann
 ro o'Éirinn, nachamaoro i gcath Chéin mic Maolmuidar, ó'f é
 i'f f'arve buò 'dear o'Éirinn,⁷ i n-agaid m'aoilmóroa mic
 Murchad,⁸ níos Laidéan, 7 B'adain⁹ mic Dúnluing, níos Ó
 gConaill iarthaí Laidéan, 7 mic Tuathail níos Lippe, 7 mic
 Briogán báinní¹⁰ Ó b'fáilge¹, 7 cath vo Lochlannaid i n-a
 b'fáilge.

f'luad a b'fáilge D.

⁶ DEM insert here Siernic mac níos ulad 7 m.

⁷ f'earainn adds E. ⁸ an éirí fa M. ⁹ rin om. MDE. ¹⁰ M reads T. mic
 Taidg mic Doimnall, 7c. The true reading appears to be that of K: Toirp'bealbach
 mac m. 7 la deap'braicrib mic B'riain féin .i. Doimnall, Conchubair, Taidg,
 7 Flann, etc. T and E omit from '7 Flann' to 'Ionnpachtach,' and from '7 Tuath.'
 line 9 to 'B'riain,' line 10. ¹¹ sic MS. Duinneadain .i. Lonngan M; Lon-
 ngan K. ¹²⁻¹² om. M. ¹³ sic MS.; .i. M. ¹⁴ an gairb Laoð, mor éalma adds M.

30. ¹⁻¹ om. DE, i.e. the names of the various kings. E omits reference to the
 trí níos Oirgiall. ² Beathaid MS. ³ Ciarrad MS. ⁴ Féibeannach mac MS.
⁵ Ó C. M. ⁶ Maguib M; Doim. mór mac Suib M. ⁷⁻⁷ omitted in TDE;
 but here D inserts agur níos t'ulach óg, agur Maolmorad Ó Ráguill níos
 Connadta, 7 arthaí argal f'loigte Connadta, 7 Maolruadair na b'arvead,
 ó héirí, níos muinntir éirí, 7 Cairnadan. ⁸ m. mic m. om. DE.

⁹ B'adain M. ¹⁰ báinníge M.

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31. Cathaíl mac Conchubair, ní Connacht; 7 ¹Maolruanaid
ó hEiríon,¹ ní Aíone; 7 Tadhó Ó Ceallaidís, ní Ó Máine; 7 ¹Doó
ó Flaithebeartaidís,¹ ní Muinntire Murchadó; 7 ¹Conchubair
ó Maolruanaid, ní Muige Luirg;¹ 7 Muircheartach³ Ó
Ceallaidís, ní Chonmáicne Mára; 7 cuio vo ríogruaid Muían
annra chath ro .i. ¹Doó Sumeach Ó Dúingáile,⁴ 7 Fógartach
mac Doimnail,¹ dá⁵ ní eile; 7 ¹Muircheartach mac Cuirc,³
ní Murrmaidige ¹Breogáin; 7 Doó mac Lochlainn, ní Ó
Scuadach; 7 ¹Maolruinn, ní Ó nénsa⁶; 7 Donnchad mac
Cathaíl, ní Murrmaidige hAdó; 7 ¹Doimnail mac Diarmada,¹
ní Chorpcaibairne;⁷ 7 ¹Eachtigearinn mac Don[n]adgáin,¹ ní
Araó, 1 n-adgaid ¹Gal átha Cliath, 7 dá chath oile Loch-
lainnach⁸ n-a bparraó.⁹

32. Vo ionnroi¹ Murchad¹ 7 Dál gcair 7 na Lochlainnaí²
a chéile; 7 vo ionnroi¹ Cían mac Maolmáir, 7 ríogruaid
veirceirt Muían, Maolmáir³ mac Murchadó go ríogruaid
Laidéan uime,² 7 go gcath oile vo Gallaid³ uime; 7 vo ionn-
roi¹ Cathaíl mac⁴ Conchubair, ⁵ní Connacht, 7 Tadhó Ó
Ceallaidís ¹Soill átha Cliath go n-a gcathaid vo Lochlainnaib
maile riu; ⁶7 ar n-a ráó vo Búan nach é veirceó vo
chuirceó leir an gcortar⁷,⁶ uil 1 gcath vo máirbáó daoine, 7
vo fan 1 n-a phupail⁸ péin, 7 a praltair 1 n-a fíadónaire,⁹ 7 a
chroifígil 1 n-a láim chlí,¹⁰ 7 é ag cantainn¹¹ a pralm 1 n-a
fíadónaire.¹² Vo féach Murchad¹ dá leith v'éir iar n-a
féachnaó vo Maolfeachlainn 7 v'feairib Míoe uil leir ann-
ra chath, 7 iar gcuir¹³ gairt eotarra 7 an cath, 7 ar gcuir
Búan 7 máithe Muían an oíche roime rin amach vo
Lochlainnaib 7 vo Laidéib,⁶ 7 vo chonnaire Dunlaing¹⁴ Ó
hArtaigáin uaid, 7 vo chuir fáilte riu, 7 thug rós dó. “I
rao ó vo chonnaire¹⁵ thu, a ‘Dunlaing,”¹⁴ ar Murchad. “I
beag an t-iongnad rin,” ar Dunlaing,¹⁴ óir vo bí ¹⁶beatha gan
doir gan urchra,¹⁶ 7 neam iar mbraich dáim, muna otiucrainn

31. ¹⁻¹ i.e. personal names of kings om. DE. ¹ MS. héigim. ² ní² Con-
máicne Cuile adds D. ³ Muirceartach MS. ⁴ Adó Doineac M.
⁵ dá MS. ⁶ heanna M. ⁷ Corpcaibairgne MS. ⁸ dá céao dá⁸ oile
vo l. S. ⁹ cum máirbáó, 7 éirig vo deanaim 7c. adds M.

32. ¹ Siéiríoc add MDE. ² ríogruaid veirceirt Muían, ní² Laidéan ED.
³ Lochlainnaí DE. ⁴ míc M; ó DE. ⁵ sic ME; MS. inserts 7 ní⁵ C;
D reads 7 taoirfeach cloimne fíol Maolruanaid ¹Soill átha Cliath. ⁶⁻⁶ om. DE.
⁷ gcarrgur S; ccarrgur M. ⁸ pobal MS. ⁹ MS. fíadgairi. ¹⁰ sic MS.
¹¹ MS. cantainn; gabail S. ¹² MS. fiaignuire; om. K. ¹³ om. M.
¹⁴ MS. oublung also DE. ¹⁵ ná¹⁵ fada M. ¹⁶⁻¹⁶ om. TDE.

roo' chabair-re anu 7 ro chabair brian; 7 ní tairbe¹⁷ óam A.D. 1014. teacht, óir ro gábhair-rí, 7 brian, 7 Toirprealbach ro mac-ra,¹⁸ 7 Tadhó Ceallai,¹⁹ 7 Conaing mac Dunchuain,¹⁹ 7 móran oile ro máithib éireann ar cheana, bár anu; ⁶7 ro beoir ríeala agam re a n-innirín dá maó am óam é; 7 ó nach ead,⁶ oingeoibad an fear comlainn céad ir roilge leat it' agáir óioi.²⁰ "Tuaig rin lám," ar Murchad, "óir ir ionda rin im' agáir-rí anu." Tharla Murchad 7 Connad 7 Capolur o'a chéile, gur goineadair a noir é ro zach leith. Soinear 7 marbur Murchad iad-ran ardon.²¹ Ro bí an cacth ag a chur mar rin fear²² an laoi, nó gur mair²³ ro na Gallai b'iarraio a long, 7 Toirprealbach mac Murchad a n-a noiaio²⁴; 7 ir amlaio ro bí ar n-a máirach,²⁵ 7 Gall faoi²⁵ 7 Gall zachá láime²⁶ óó, 7 cuaille ro choiraó Chluana Tairb ério, ar n-a báthad ro'n buinne maibairtha i gcionn a chúig mbliadán noéag.

33. Ó 'ochonnairc Murchad Sirc mac Loair, iarla innirí hOir, ar láir Óáil gCair ag a n-oirleach gan luad teithe aige, ro ling ar láir an chatha chuige 7 chuig óá buille i n-éirfeacht ro¹ ar a óá láim, gur teargáó² a cheann 7 a choira i n-éirfeacht ro.³ Ó'ochon[n]airc⁴ Anrao mac Eiric⁵ ar láir Óáil gCair ag a n-oirleach, lingior chuige, 7 ó nach maib ar a chumur⁶ arim o'imirt, ar ríoláó láora a glac ro mu[gh]óorin a chloiróim poime rin, rínear

¹⁷ MS. tairba.¹⁸ 7 Sirc mac DEM.¹⁹ D and E om. T. ó C.;

D om. Con. m. O; E reads Dunchuana.

²⁰ ro éogbáil óioi ME.²¹ ro gac gur D.²² ar fear M.²³ MS. mair.²⁴ noiaio MS.; the

remainder of this section is omitted in E. D reads an fear cuir mbliadán noéag roo' fear lám a n-airirín a n-éirinn.

²⁵⁻²⁶ om. M.²⁶ sic M; Láim MS.33. ¹ MS. óó.² MS. teargáó.³ MS. óe.⁴ MS. ro óonairc;DEM add Sirc mac Ríog úlad. ⁵ Eiric tearán míleáó loclann MED.

⁶ M reads: ar cumur ro arim o'imirt ar, le cúigraó laoi 7 daoine, glacur a cloréam ina móoirinn, 7 rínear a lám éli chuige, go rus ar glóitinn a ríeite, gur ro óioit a líneáó le oiaforra óá éann amad, 7 gur buail ré lán buille calma ar. Ro rin óá róint go talam óe, 7 ro teargur na céadta maille fur mar an céadna. Ro bí mairéó ar an bpeao ro amearg laoiara loclann óá n-oirleáó, go téarluir Storaó mac Ríog fionn loclann ro. Agur gur éit le mairéó, 7 móran eile, 7 ar teuitim ro Storaó mac Ríog fionn loclann ro éus raóó ro ríain a n-foctar éoirp mairéó, gur éit an caimíleáó ar a muin. Agur mair mairéó go noéar-nuir faoirim, 7 gur glac an corp naomha. buó móir tráit an ríeala an mairéó ro, óir níor fag re ríar ná beaóad a loé ná a n-uairín gan oibirt 7 marbáó. Iar teuitim mairéó ro óioiguit Sirc mac bár ar laoiuib loclann agur ar a ceaimíleáóuib ar bpeao na tuléa, óá ríróir 7 óá n-oirleáó.

A.D. 1014. a lám chlí 7 crio[i]theas¹ tairi a cheann amach; glacur a chloirdeam² 7 é faoi, 7 lingiú a uctair, ó náir b'eroir leir a búalaó sup fáitir thriú go talam é. Tairngiour an t-Anradó rin rgián Murchadó amach, 7 ráitheas³ i n-íochtas a chuipir í, sup thuit an cathmílir Murchadó ar a muin; 7 éirgiour Murchadó 7 vicheannur mac ríge Lochlann ann rin, 7 vo máir féin go noéanna a fáoirvoin ar n-a máirach, 7 sup chaith corp Cúiro, 7 vo meabair a úruim ipan ngeirgeadó vo'n dongoir rin a tugad ar Murchadó, óir níoir fáig⁸ ré piart nó beathadach i loch nó i n-uaim i n-éirinn gan vóochupir nó gan marbadó.

34. Ó 'ochonndairc lairín¹ giolla brian na catha ar noul trí n-a chéile,² doubairt me brian vult ar each. "Ní machadó,"³ ar brian, "óir ní beó machadó ar, asup imchigir⁴ 7 beir na h-eich⁴ leat, 7 innir mo thiomna⁵-ra vo 'óid, vo pháoirais, 7 mo choipir v'áromachad,⁶ 7 mo beannacht vo 'Donnachad mac brian; tar cheann vó⁷ fíchit véas bó vo thadairt⁸ v'áromachad⁶ le mo choipir,⁹ 7 imchigir⁴ riomad go Soro¹⁰ Cholaim Cille anocht,¹¹ 12⁷ tagad ar cheann¹³ mo chuipir-ri amáirach,¹² 7 tionnlacair¹⁴ é go Damlas Cionán, 7 tionnlacair¹⁵ rin go luigmair¹⁶ é, 7 tigead mólmuir mac Eochadó comairbad¹⁷ pháoirais 7 muinntir áromachad ar mo cheann go nuige rin."

35. "Doime¹ chugainn," ar an giolla. "Créad an reort doime idó?" ar brian. "Doime glara lomnocht," ar an giolla. "Gioll na lúireach² idó rin," ar brian; 7 ar éirge vo'n pheall vo bí faoi, vo glac a chloirdeam² 7 vo bí as féachain³ briosair go n-a buirín chuige, 7 ní fáca don ball ve gan éireadó acht a fúile 7 a chorá. 'Bairió-ran⁵ a chloirdeam² amach, 7 cógbur a lám,⁴ 7 chug buille vó sup bain a chor chlí vo briosair as a glúin, 7 a chor véas as a thriúis. Thairla tuas⁶ briosair i gceann brian sup oluig é.⁷ Thug

33. ⁷ MS. lúireadé. ⁸ MS. faig.

34. ¹ Lórainn M. ² M adds: 7 ganairne as nead vóob air fóirigcin a céile. ³ readé M. ⁴ mo féro D. ⁵ sic M; tiomnad-ra MS. ⁶ MS. v'áromachad. ⁷ MS. ód. ⁸ om. ME; ar ron m'anmad adds E. ⁹ D and E omit what follows, and continue § 35. ¹⁰ om. M. ¹¹ amáiric M. ¹²⁻¹² om. M. ¹³ MS. ceann. ¹⁴ tíóilairic M. ¹⁵ tigead M. ¹⁶ MS. luigmair. ¹⁷ MS. comairbad.

35. ¹ rin doime, MED. ² MS. lúireadé. ³ MS. feáin. ⁴⁻⁴ om. D. ⁵ bairióram M. ⁶ MS. tuas; tuad MD. ⁷ idó tuitim vo briosair thairladó éad a cceann brian sup tuitisair a raon ré lám a céile D. D and E omit

ḅrian buille eile, 7 marḅur an taria⁸ fear vo bí i ḅrochaidi A.D. 1014. ḅriosaí, 7 baínto a cheann vo ḅriosaí féin ar a[o]nuaidi, 7 fuaidi féin báí ann rin.⁹

36. Mór an rḡéal rin vo rinneádo ann rin, ḅrian vo marḅad¹ .i. an ceathramad² ḡein rochaidi éireann niam, ḅrian ar Lochlannaid vo marḅad³ 17 o'ionarḅad⁴, 7 ar an nḡaoiri vo bí aca⁵ oiri⁶ vo chur oíob,¹ 7 luḡad⁷ lámḡada ar fomórchaib vo marḅad⁸ 17 o'ionarḅad⁹ 7 ar an nḡaoiri i rabadar éireannais aca vo chur oíob,¹ 7 fionn mac Cumail⁴ o'fóirichin⁵ bḡear n'éireann .i. iar oteacht vo bó-ár nó vo bó-oíth chuca i n-aimir C[h]ormaic mic Airt, ḡo n-ár fásḡad⁶ vo buaid i n-éirinn acht don tḡamuirḡ i nḡleann Sámuirḡe, nó ḡo oḡur fionn reacht mba 7 tairb ó chríochaid an doimain móir vo ḡach don baile i n-éirinn, 7 eoḡan mór .i. moḡ nuadac⁷ mac moḡa néio⁸ vo fábáil⁹ bḡear n'éireann o'n nḡorta.¹⁰

37. Ar oḡuitim ḅrian iar mbeith óá bliaḡain oéas i n-áiríḡis éireann, 7 murchad² mic ḅrian, an t-don-mac míoḡ ir fearr tháinḡ i n'éirinn niam,¹ 7 a mic Thoirḡoéalbach mic Murchad², an fear chúnḡ mbliadna oéas buo fearr lám i n-a aimir, 27 Thairḡ í Cheallais, nḡs ó maine,² 7 Chonainḡ³ mic Duinnchuan,⁴ 7 Óimnail mic Eibir,⁵ 7 móthla mic Óimnail mic fadlaim, nḡs na nDéire,⁶ 7 ḡéireannais mic Dubḡáin, nḡs bḡear Muḡe, 7 mic⁷ beachtair mic Muiread⁸, nḡs Ciaraíre,⁹ 7 ḡanlaim mic Cathail, nḡs eoḡanacht[a] locha léin, 7 loingreach mic Dúnlainḡ⁹ mic Duibodáoiréann, 7 Óimnail mic Dairmota, nḡs Choréabairḡinn,¹⁰ 7 máoilruadair í heróinn,¹¹ 12 nḡs Airne¹², 7 mórlaim vo máithib éireann nach áirímmadair ann ro.¹³

what follows. ⁸ om. M. ⁹ M continues: tomḡura Siḡrioc, vo bí ḡo ḡláimib a ḡuil, an tan vo connairc báí ḅrian éis a fál leir aḡur é aḡ cóirḡad le plát lann laoiri, ḡur marḅad é, 7 tḡéan tḡaoirḡe loélannd² mar don leir, air éor ḡur oíoguir an ríóḡ ḡad ḡí aḡur an uair fécá air marḅad ḅrian, ir murad³ vo éiric an t-anam ar, tḡé uar caḡuirḡe na nḡoig, tairḡna air éorḡ ḅrian.

36. ¹⁻¹ om. DE. ² aca MS. ³ om. M. ⁴ MS. cubail. ⁵ MS. o'fóirigim; oḡurtaét D; oḡuimo E. ⁶ MS. ragaó; a moḡ nac raiḡ D. ⁷ MS. nuadac. ⁸⁻⁸ om. ED. ⁹ MS. fámáil. ¹⁰ nḡéir, adds M; mór ḡér ina rabadar an tḡat rin 7c. adds DE.

37. ¹ buo fearr lám ann aimir a n'éirinn aét Siḡreach amáin. ²⁻² om. DE; 7 Siḡrioc mic Ríóḡ ulaó, an tḡéan laoc oob' fearr a n'éirinn, adds M. ³ MS. Conuig. ⁴ MS. Duinncháin. ⁵ Eibric D; Eimier E. ⁶ MS. nDéirḡ; moḡala mic Óimnail nḡs na nDéire D; maḡalac mic o etc. E. ⁷ om. MDE. ⁸ MS. Ciaraíre. ⁹ Dublaim D. ¹⁰ MS. éorca báirḡead. ¹¹ MS. Eirinn. ¹²⁻¹² om. DE. ¹³ The logical predicate of this sentence is wanting.

A.D. 1014. 38. *Torchaire*¹ *uo'n leith eile uo'n chath Maolmóir*² *mac Murchada*, *ní laigean*, 7 *briogairbán*³ *mac Conchubair*, *ní ó bfairge*, 7 *baothán mac Dúnlain*⁴, *ní iarthair Uffe*, 7 *don chéad véas*⁵ 7 *riche*⁶ *uo laigrib maille mu*. *Uo marbad* *uo lochlannais ann Connaiol* 7 *Capolur* 7 *Annao mac Elbric*⁷, *trí meic níg lochlann*, 7 *Sitric mac Lothair*, *iaila Inni hOic*, 7⁸ [*briotar*] *Caire Dibroc*, *plair* 7 *Connaiol*, *oá*⁹ *chathmílir lochlannach*, 7 *Oitir Dub*, 7 *Silla Ciaraín mac Glúiniaraínn*, 7 *Suirin*¹⁰, 7 *Lúmin*¹¹, 7 *Suaigair*¹², 7 *Amloob mac Laigmainn*¹³, 7 *Dubgall mac Amloib*, 7¹² *Cuaraín*, 7 *reacht* 7 *trí fichir céad uo Gallais umpa*¹³ 7 *uo leanao an máiom oirra go uorur an uúna*[1]ó.

39. *Uo*¹ *iompoigear fir Muhan* 7 *Connacht gach ar máir* *óib amearg an chatha*, 7 *uo bádar amearg a gcarad*, *as iairiár a gcorp*; 7 *ar é comá*[1]ile *uo pinne Cian mac Maolmúair* 7 *Taóg mac Briain*, *uul go Cill Máigheann an oirthe rin*, 7 *gach méad uob' inleigir oá muinntir iugadair leó iao*. *Tánigadair muinntir Suir* *ar n-a márach* 7 *iugadair corp Briain* 7 *Murchad*² *go Soru*, 7 *ar rin go Damliag Ciaraín*³, 7 *uo thionnlacadar muinntir Damliag go Lúgmáig iao*, 7 *tháinig Maolmuire mac Eochair*, *comáirba Pháorais*, *go muinntir Ároamacha ar cionn na gcorp rin go Lúgmáig*, 7 *uo ionnlacadar Briain*, *ní Éireann*, 7 *Ochtrin iurtiact na nGaoitheal*, 7 *impirie Éireann* 7 *Alban* 7 *Breastan*[7] *šaxon* 7 *cora*⁴ *uo'n fíraig*, *iar mbeith ó reacht mbliathna veas ar fichir* 1 *níg Muhan*, 7 *oá bliathna veas* 1 *níg héireann*, *uo'n tairb thiar-thuar*⁵ *uo theampoll Ároamacha*, 1 *gcomriar ar leith*, 7 *Murchad* 7 *ceann Conaing* 7 *Mothla* 1 *gcomriar eile ar leith*.

40. *Uá oirthe véas uo fámao*¹ *Pháorais as fairie na gcorp rin go n-ionnais* 7 *raimais* 7 *canticib*. *Ceithrie bliathna veas*² 7 *mile gur an Doine rin* 1 *n-ar marbad Briain*

38. ¹ *torchugad* D. ² *mac briotar bán* D; 7 *a mac briogairbán níg ó* b. E. ³ *Uubluig* DE. ⁴⁻⁶ *om.* E. ⁶ MS. DE *bpic*. ⁶ 7 *briotar* DEM. ⁷ MS. *oá*. ⁸ *Suirin* D. ⁹ *Lummin* GG; *Lumne* AU; *Lummin* DE. ¹⁰ *Suaigair*, AU. ¹¹ *Lomán* ED. ¹² 7 *om.* ED. ¹³ D ends here.

39. ¹ *uo ró* DE. This and section 40 are considerably curtailed in D and E. ² EM add 7 *Sitread*. ³ *leg. Cianán*. ⁴ *creabana* E. ⁵ M *om.* *éair* and *teampoll*.

40. ¹ MS. *fámaig*. ² *veas* *om.* M. ³ MS. *meabail*. ⁴ *ceatair veas* *ar mile móir* K. ⁵ *nar éloó* S. ⁶ *om.* ED. ⁷ MS. *uir*. ⁸ *gur éir* b. *uim na nGall* D; *gur éir* b. *a ccláan tarb* E. Here the scribe of D has

7 Murchad, an[n]ála an Tigearna fa mar deiribur an A.D. 1014.
mann:

Ceithre bliadhna déag, ir veimín,
asur míle gan meabail³
ó vo fáir lialg o'ár scabair
so báir brian i mbreagáib.

A ceathair déag míle móir⁴
ó sein Círo, nachair⁵ chlód cíall,
ar é rin ir⁶ reag[ó]a an mann,
sur chuit⁷ ár na nglall um brian.⁸

41. Vo bádar fir míre ag farrag[é] tuairgábal
chatha Chluana Tairb vo málfeachlainn. "ní h-urra
rin o'innrin nó o'aitirir," ar ré, "acht muna o'ioraó
aingeal¹ Dé vo nim o'a innrin; óir² vo chuamair-ne (ar ré)
7¹ vo chuimeamar goit treabtha² 7 clao eadairinn 7 iao,
'7 an gaoth eairraig³ thairrib chugainn⁴: 7 ní⁵ fairé nó fearó
leath-uairé vo bámar ann rin, an tan nach o'uibradó neach
vo'n oá chath aithne ar a chéile, gé go maó é [a]⁶ athair nó
a deiribíathair ba choimfogur vo, muna o'ugao ar a guth⁷ nó
a fíor vo beith⁸ aige roime rin an t-ionao i n-a mbiaó,⁷ ar
n-a líonaó uir a gao 7 cheann 7 folc 7 éadach⁹ vo brianogóil
na folc for-o'uirge tháinig chugainn; ¹⁰7 go maó eangnaí
vob' áil uíinn vo déanaí, ní féadamar; óir vo ceanglaó
ar n-a[í]rim ór ar gceannaib vo na folcaib¹¹ fada rionnbuibe
vo ráinig chugainn, ar n-a o'eargao o'airmaib an chatha, sur
bo leath monair¹² uíinn beith ag réuibgao ar n-airm 7 ar
gairanngoile ó chéile; 7 ¹³ir beag a[í]r ar mó o' eangnaí

inserted the following note as part of the text: Vo torcuada ann málmoirao ó
ragullag níg connacra, asur bheirne ragullag amuil ar beir mac lialg,
7 málmoirao na bairoraó ó heirin níg euaó éirin, 7 taoz o ceallag níg
muineao. mac lialg .cc. ann mann fa. málmoirao meirg an mullag: céao
níg éanna ragullag: ar áro cairn cloé or a éeann: a caora éluan tairba:
torcuao tí suileamán. Cuimne oramra auió doáa ó Dalag, 1744.

41. ¹⁻¹ om. MD. ² farraginn D. ³ MS. eairraig. ⁴⁻⁴ om. MD.
⁵ mair D. ⁶ om. MS.; sic M. ⁷⁻⁷ om. E. ⁷⁻⁹ om. D. ⁸ vo bí MS.

¹⁰ D continues thus: 7 bá lán feirim uíinn air ceangóil vo réuibgao ó n-a
éile aig umaó na bfolc brafá brianbuibe vo éamie a na éramm orraó,
ionnur sur cuirao an claoao asur an goit gan tuairge na éao ré neart
corlaó, 7 gairgao, aig an moir eigin coimre vo bí orraó 7c. ¹¹ sic M;
folc MS. ¹² MS. mona. ¹³ M omits what follows to foluamain.

A.D. 1014. 'vo'n muinntir 'vo bí i ran gcath fula¹⁴ & fáiciriona gan
oul ar painneall¹⁵ nó ar foluamain; 7 'vo bá¹⁶ar a¹⁷ cup an
chatha ó thráth éiríge 'vo'n ló go h-iar¹⁸óin, 7 go ru¹⁹g an
muir & long²⁰a uatha ar vteacht 'vo'n lán ma²¹ra fútha²².

42. Tháinig Donnchad mac Buidin go gceachaid²³ laigean
leir ar gach áir²⁴ i ma²⁵ba²⁶ar oia gathair²⁷ .i. oróche chár²⁸ga,
go Cill Máigheann,¹ ma²ri & ma³ib Cían mac Maoilmu⁴ad⁵,¹⁷
Tad⁶g Ó Buidin go n-ar thepno ar an gcath, roir⁷ f⁸lán 7 othruir
v'féar⁹aid¹⁰ mu¹¹ian 7 éir¹²eann ar cheana ar rin.¹³ 'Vo im[th]¹⁴g
ru¹⁵ao ar na má¹⁶ra¹⁷ch go mullach ma¹⁸irtean,² 7 vo íoc Donnchad³
an dá fí⁴chit⁵ v⁶éas bó, ma⁷ri a⁸ou⁹bairt¹⁰ bu¹¹ian m¹²ir, me muinntir
á¹³roamacha. ⁴Longphort ar leith vo bí a⁵g Donnchad⁶ mac
buidin ⁷a⁸g Tad⁹g mac bu¹⁰idin¹¹ ¹i Rá²ith ma³irtean⁴ go n-ar
má⁵[i]r vo Óál⁶ gCair, 7 longphort oile a⁷g Cían mac Maoil-
mu⁸ad⁹ go ma¹⁰ithib¹¹ ⁵f⁶leachta⁷ eo⁸g⁹ain m¹⁰óir 7 Ó n-eachach¹¹ an
oróche rin.

43. Ar n-éiríge 'vo'n ló ar na má¹ra²ch vo chu³ir Cían
mac Maoilmu⁴ad⁵ teachta u⁶ad⁷ vo⁸chum chloinne bu⁹ian
v'iar¹⁰ma¹¹ad¹² bu¹³aid¹⁴ge oir¹⁵a, ¹⁷a¹⁸ou¹⁹bairt²⁰ go ma²¹ib féin a²²g bu²³ian,
a²⁴g a n-a²⁵thair²⁶-rean,² 7 su³ir⁴b' áil leir i⁵ao-ran vo beith a⁶ige
féin,¹ óir fa² rine é nó gach fear³ v⁴íob⁵, ¹⁷ro ba⁶o rine eo⁷g⁸an
m⁹óir nó Cor¹⁰mac Cair & rin¹¹n¹²rean¹³-ran.¹ A²ou³bairt⁴ Donnchad⁵
mac bu⁶ian ¹nach v²a³ no⁴eóin vo bí rin a⁵g bu⁶ian, a⁷cht an
r⁸íge vo bu⁹ian ar é¹⁰g¹¹in v¹²a¹³ a¹⁴thair 7 v¹⁵e féin;¹ 7 nach v²tiub³ra⁴o
r⁵íge² nó bu³aid⁴ge vo Chian, ¹v²a³ mbia⁴o com⁵l⁶ion f⁷lu⁸a⁹ig¹⁰ m¹¹ir,¹
óir ní ma²ib³ Donnchad⁴ a⁵cht v⁶eich g⁷céao, 7 vo bí Cían⁸ v⁹eich
g¹⁰céao f¹¹icheao.⁴

44¹. Ó'ochonna²ir³ce⁴ Domnall mac Duib⁵oá⁶boir⁷eann, Donn-
chad⁸ mac bu⁹ian a¹⁰g fa¹¹omach¹²ta¹³in¹⁴ bu¹⁵aid¹⁶ge vo Chian, vo
f¹⁷ia¹⁸rra¹⁹ig²⁰ féin v²¹e, cá ro²²char vo bia²³o v²⁴ó féin bu²⁵aid²⁶ge v²⁷'f²⁸á²⁹ail
v³⁰ó-ran ó Óál³¹ gCair. A³²ou³³bairt³⁴ Cían nach m³⁵oinn³⁶re³⁷ad³⁸ bu³⁹aid⁴⁰ge
nó r⁴¹íge m⁴²irion, a⁴³cht a chu⁴⁴ro f⁴⁵ineachu⁴⁶[i]r féin vo beith a⁴⁷ige
v⁴⁸'í⁴⁹b eachach. A⁵⁰ou⁵¹bairt⁵² Domnall nach f⁵³uige⁵⁴ad⁵⁵ oile a⁵⁶g

41. ¹⁴ cāc fula¹⁵g MS. ¹⁵ MS. raígneall. ¹⁶ M continues: 7 sup cúir
neair ca¹⁷ta an clá¹⁸o¹⁹ 7 an go²⁰ir na ceo²¹ gan tuair²²is, a²³ct r²⁴g²⁵reall²⁶c clo²⁷o²⁸ air &
lá²⁹oir³⁰ 'ga ma³¹ib.

42. ¹⁻¹ om. DE. ² MS. ma³irtean. ³ om. DE. ⁴ DE omits what
follows. ⁵⁻⁵ om. M.

43. ¹⁻¹ om. DE. ² MS. rion; géille³ad. ³ 7 na⁴c ma⁵ib a⁶ig v. D.

⁴ 7 ar & fon rin féin ní v⁷ea⁸c⁹a¹⁰ig Cían cum m¹¹ir l¹²e v. 7c. D.

44. ¹ D and E omit this paragraph. ² MS. Ó' v³éon⁴air. ³ MS. f—.

⁴ M adds muna bu⁷uige⁸ad⁹ féin tair¹⁰ba dá éionn.

տճճաճ Խրաճոճ ոճ ըճճ Ծճ-րաճ.⁴ ԴոճԽաճր Ըաճ Ծճ մաճ A.D. 1014.
 հեճճաճ ոճ րաճաճ ճ իճ-ա իճճ յճ Ծճճճիճ ըճճ Լաճ. “Դր ի ճաճ
 եճճաճ քաճաճաճաճաճ,” Դր Ծճմաճաճ, աճ յաճաճճճ ըճ Ըաճ
 Ծճ իճ-ա իճաճաճաճ,

45. Ó' uchoonnaidic Donnchað mac brian rin, 'do éirigh¹ ar
Δ longphoirt 7 do thógasib² Δ lucht ochtuir lair, 7 do gluaisir
leó³ do thairgryn o'a leigir³; 7 as gabáil tré Oirriaisc úd,
do iarrt Mac Siolla phádrais cath nó briaíve Δ[i]r. "ní
thuabair briaíve, óir ní chuála go dtug don tuine o'a o'táinís
iomnam mian⁴ briaíve nó míge o'don tuine o'a o'táinís iomno-
ra,⁴ 7 ní mó dobdéar féin."³

46. Do ulllúin¹ Donnchað mac bhríain é féin do fhréasdal
catha do thaobairt do Mac Giolla Phádraig, 7 do fupáladair²
an lucht othair 1 do féin do cheangal 1 n-a feara³ chum
an chatha, 7 do loc Mac Giolla Phádraig cath do thaobairt
uóib⁴. Iar rin fuairadar móran do'n lucht othair báir an
fead do bádar a fupreacht nár an gcath. "Níor b' iongnad
le méad a fuaig ar ngéill do Chian mac Maoilínuaí⁵" ar
Donnchað mac bhríain, "7 nio iongnad ar ngéill o'Orriáige."
Ro im[th]i⁶ Donnchað iar rin o'a thi⁷, ó nach fuair cath ó
Orriáigib⁸, 7 fuairadar ocht bprichit o'a muinntir báir nár an
breádo rin uile.

47. Iomthúr[ad] Chéin mic Máoilínúis, ó 'dchon[n]aíre
 Doimnall mac Duibodáboireann as vealugadó iur, 7 veirge
 i n-a áruis, 7 ríoch feirge fair, vo léis clann brian 7 dól
 gair reacha, 7 tháinig poime d'a thois, 7 vo foair cath
 ar Doimnall mac Duibodáboireann. Vo ollmúigeavar¹ teacht
 vo chum an chatha vo gach leith go mág Suirde. An lá
 poime an gcath vo gabavar cuir vo siollaodab Chéin trí
 Cheann eich, 7 vo ibeavar bainne vo bi as teacht go raor
 m'ocholmós naom; 7 ní deapna Cían comairle² le Mocholmós
 nó muinnterbur;³ 7 ní mar iur vo pinne Doimnall mac
 Duibodáboireann, acht tháinig go Mocholmós 7 vo pinne

45. ¹ MS, e1p510.

² MS. *thaigaibh.*

3-3 om. DE.

4-4 om. M.

46. §§ 46 and 47 greatly condensed in D and E. § 46 om. in Y. ¹MS. olümung.

² MS. $\phi\upsilon\lambda\alpha\rho\alpha\upsilon\sigma\alpha\tau\iota$.

³ Le cuΔ111ḡib, adds M; cuΔ111ib E.

⁴ MS. 661b.

⁵ MS. Ὁρμαδιῶν.

47. ¹ MS. օլևուիցօսր.

² MS. comuple.

³ MS. *muinnetir* *öur*.

A.D. 1014. uimla òó, 7 vo ðluair uairò chum an chathra; v'a noubriarò an rann:⁴

Mocholmós,⁵ ó chéige thoir⁶
an ðormpóo aca' roo' thoirið,
go vci leat ar noith a ðluair⁷
ceann Chéin mic Maoilmuairò mic bhoim.

48. Vo chuadair i goinne a chéile go mac ðuile, 7 tugad cath eatorra¹ i n-ar marbad Cion mac Maoilmuairò² 7 Cathal 7 Raðallach,² a óiar vearbriathar, triúr mac³ Maoilmuairò mic bhoim, go n-ar veirceirt muin eatorra;² 7 vo bad móri an rðeal rin, Cion mac Maoilmuairò vo marbad re Doimall mac Duibóaboirceann, óri ní maib i néirinn i n-a aimir réin neach buð fearri eimeach 7 uairle nó an Cion rin. 4r mar⁵ doubairt Mac Coiri, að tabairt tuarfað-bála ðleachtá éibiri fínn⁶ ór áiro vo Maoilðeachtáinn, níð éireann, ar noiltad an traogail vó réin, 7 é i ðluain mic nóir 'n-a choimnairé,⁷ ðan vult tar⁸ cioraib Chluana amach⁹:

Inneórad mo theirt¹⁰ ar Chian
mac Maoilmuairò na n-eachrad noian:
ní ðaca mé thiarí nó thoir
a ðamail¹¹ vo ðiol éibiri.¹²

49. Aður mar doubairt Mac Liad, að rochtá[1]n vó go Ceann Corad, iar ðuairt ó Síonainn buð veap: "Cia v'ar buide thú a ollaim?" ar bhoim. "Vo Doimall mac Duibóaboirceann," ar Mac Liad. "An bfaair Cion nó Sa[1]vó a beap?" ar bhoim. "Vo chonnairé,"¹ ar Mac Liad. "An bfaair aon raos uatha?" ar bhoim. "Inneórad vuit,"² ar Mac Liad. "Ar rochtain vaim-ra ar ðaitche Rátha Ráithleann, vo hinnreav vo Chian 7 vo Saivó mo theacht-ra vo'n baile; vo éirðeav ar aon im' choinne i n-éirðecht, 7 vo hiomchrad mé ar muin vaoime, 7 an veichneaimar 7 vó ðichro vo buidín vo bí im' rochair, vo ruðad anonn 'ran vún

47. ⁴v'a noubairt mocholmós an rann M. ⁵a óóimnail G. ⁶ó tige troir E. MS. roir. ⁷go leat iartci a ðluair E.

48. ¹MS. eatorra. ²⁻²om. E. ³7 a triúr mac E. ⁴E omits this sentence, reading simply veap an rle. ⁵MS. móri. ⁶MS. éimur fín.

⁷MS. choimnairé. ⁸MS. reads tar le, a faint stroke through l. ⁹om. M.

¹⁰MS. éirir. ¹¹sic O; a ðiachaó MS. ¹²MS. éimur.

49. ¹MS. vo connairé. ²MS. vuit.

iad, 7 tugad beairt³ nua do gach don oioib, iorin fíleabrad
7 léine 7 b'raic; 7 thug Cían a o'eire féin, iorin eadh 7 éadach
7 b'raicais⁴ go n-a o'eal⁵ óir, 7 go n-a n'aoi gcoinnais⁶ do loirais⁷
óir, go n-a loing 7 go n-a b'rainnuib⁸ o'ead, 7 naoi b'pichro bó
oam féin, 7 veich n-eich, 7 oá f'ichro dom' chléir; 7 veich
gcéad unga o'óir, 7 caoga pail dom' chléir mar an gcéadna.

50. "C'réad f'uarair ó mac Duibhoáboiréann?" ar b'rian.
"Fuarur cuor 7 teine c'eara." "I' iongnad," ar b'rian,
"sur buíde thu-ra do o'mnall nó do Chian mar rin." "Ní
hiongnad," ar mac Lia⁹; "óir do buí o'eadra¹ le o'mnall
an cuor 7 an teine c'eara do thabairt uair² nó le Cían
a noibairt-ra ó chianais." Amail o'eir mac Lia⁹ féin, 7 é
'n-a f'eanóir i n-linn an f'oil Duib iar mbár b'rian 7
murchad¹⁰ 7 Chéin, 7 é ag cuimniú¹¹ o'ir. Ag ro mar
o'eir:—

Fada beith gan doibneair ann²
mar náir f'aoileair go b'ráth beith,
mar do bádair i gCeann Corad³ caoin,
nóir b' uamán liom don dom'³ chreich.

Oá mairiad⁴ b'rian binne⁵ buil⁶,
i' murchad¹⁰ a⁵ luirg na long,
ní béinn-rí i n-linn an f'oil Duib,
mar a o'ioirais⁷ tuil i' tonn.⁸

Oá mairiad⁴ Conaing na gcuan,⁷
o'muill r'ua⁸, laoch⁸ náir la⁹!
fear mar é Eadair na r'ua⁸,
ní léigead¹⁰ mé uad¹¹ i b'rao.

[S é] o'beir mé⁹ uilbir, oirb,
noch¹⁰ gcluinim tairm na o'p'ra¹¹;
nóir b'ionann i'¹¹ r'ubal f'uar¹²
o'á r'ainis¹³ ar cuairt go Cían.

49. ³ eadach D.

50. ¹ sic M; MS. o'eadra. ² omitted in MS.; sic OTE; an G. ³ liom
mo DE. ⁴ MS. binne. ⁵ ó P. ⁶ o'ioirais MS. M; o'ioirais T; E o'ioirais
ag cil i' tón O; an tuile i' tonn E; o'igead¹⁰ r'ua tuile 7 tonn D. ⁷ na long
tonn E. ⁸ EDMT om. laoch. ⁹ go uilbir E; go uilbir D. ¹⁰ na
MTDE. ¹¹ MS. i' an; an t'raimil DE. ¹² f'uar TM; f'uar D; MS.
f'uar. ¹³ r'ad'f'uin D; an t'an t'aimic E.

Do chusaður go Cían an Cháinn,
 níorí thriúach go tairim an tír theann,
 ní raibí acht brian na mbriat ríóil,
 triúach buó chóir¹⁴ do churí 'n-a cheann.

51. ¹Agur fa marí aoubairt mac Siolla Chaoimí aríteacht
 ó doó ó néill, iarí mbeith trí ríáiche i gcóigeaó uiaó i
 bpocharí doó² í néill, go tóáiní go tois Chéim mic Maoil-
 ínuaid; 7 do bí brian mac Cinnéoií íran báile arí a cheann;
 7 do churí brian ráilte re mac Siolla Chaoimí, 7 aoubairt
 gurí ró fáda do bí i n-éagmarí; 7 do fíarfaíí óe, créao fuaí
 ó doó ó néill. “Fu[Δ]gur veich bíchíó bó 7 veich n-eich, 7
 naoi n-uinge v’óir, 7 veirí doó² í néill.” “Dobéarí-fa 7
 Sdób, inígean brian, ní fa mó nó rin vuit,” arí Cían, “rú
 choólam, i n-éagmarí a tciubraó brian 7 murchaó 7 maíche
 ó neachach³ ó rin amach.” Amáil do chuimníí mac Siolla
 Chaoimí féin, 7 é arí an thaoibí thuaidí vo’n Síreíí,⁴ ag vail do
 go ríuach Órthannáin, 7 arí rin v’iarfaííó Párrítharí, i n-a
 noubairt; ag cuimnííí do arí brian 7 arí murchaó 7 arí
 Chían:

52. Uathmarí¹ an oíche anocht,
 a chuireacht[Δ] bocht, go b’rííí!
 croó ní² raóilí oíí arí vuan
 arí an ttaoibí-rí thuaidí vo’n Síreíí.

Ar é Oia fa veaíí³ vúinn
 go arí rúil re vúarí na rann;
 ró-móirí fuaíammarí v’a chionn,⁴
 baóíí líom a aítííí⁵ thailí⁶!

Adáíí⁷ v’áiní-fa vo fíor bria[í]n,
 ir é ag⁸ fíeáóachurí ag Cían
 mac Maoilínuaidí, fa fáda laí
 arí mbeith adáíí⁷ ’n-a éagmarí.

50. ¹⁴MS. cóir.

51. ¹D reads: an tan tainnic mac lias go teac brian ó doó ó néill, v’iarfaííó brian óe créao a fuaí ó doó ó néill. “Do fuaíí, etc.” E somewhat similar. ²MS. doó. ³D om. 7 m. 7 maíche ó ne; M om. brian, and reads a tciubra na m., etc.; tciubraó maíche vail goarí vuit E; M adds 7 v’áilccarí. ⁴íréin M.

52. ¹áua[é]míar D. ²naó ríltear D; naó rílteao E. ³MS. veaíí. ⁴MS. éeann. ⁵MS. aítííí. ⁶oríam D. ⁷MS. agáíí. ⁸arí DEM.

“Oia bair mbeatha i bair,” ar Cian,
 “a chliar thig ó thig⁹ í néil;
 a éigir,¹⁰ a veir an¹¹ bean,
 ruail nár threigir vo theach¹² féin.”

“Atdoi trí máithe amuig,¹³
 acht a bfuil ó noiu go máirt,¹⁴
 ar é rin,” ar murchad mac brian,
 “teachtairrecht an fíadach ó’n airt.”

“Innir dúinn t’éadail a thuair,”¹⁵
 ar ároir íluig¹⁶ Chairn í néio.
 “Innir vo máithib bfeair bfaíl,
 luig¹⁷ ram’ láim¹⁸ nach véanair¹⁹ breig.”

“Oar an níg ril ór mo chionn,²⁰
 ar é thugur liom a thuair
 fiche each, veich n-uinge o’ór,
 ir veich bfeichir bó vo buailb.

“Oobéarim-ne an oiar ro óó,
 ní ra²¹ mó o’ eachaib ’r vo buailb,
 i n-éagmar a otiubraó brian,”
 aoubairt Cian mac maolmhuir.

“Oar an níg uoraó mé i rocht,²²
 ’r vo uorchaidg anocht²³ mo²⁴ niam,
 fuair a veich n-oiréad²⁵ f[á]in
 ar an bfeiró ril vo luir brian.

Seacht mbailé um choimair²⁶ o’ a chraoib,
 Rí na Ríg o[m] raó²⁷ anair,
 aigur leath-bailé go ríor
 in gach porc a gá²⁸ mbíó brian.

“O mair murchad veag-mac brian,
 ar n-a mairach ’r níor chiall uad,²⁹
 “oiréad³⁰ a bfuairair afeir,
 vo gáda³¹ uaim féin ’r ní ar t’ fuath.³²”

⁹ a tair TD; a éigir ar air E.

¹⁰ éigir E.

¹¹ oó MS. M.

¹² éigir TM.

¹³ amuig MS. a muith DE.

¹⁴ nuig go né MS.; níu go tair mairt T; ó nuig

gonad mairt M.

¹⁵ MS. tuair.

¹⁶ ó ároiríg uairal E; an air ro nuig D.

¹⁷ luir MS.

¹⁸ láimailb M.

¹⁹ oá noionair D; véanair E.

²⁰ sic MT; chean MS.

²¹ ní bair M.

²² noét DET.

²³ go roét TDE.

²⁴ MS. ma.

²⁵ MS. uirioo.

²⁶ uirioo D; mo éoirair E.

²⁷ MS. uoraó mé.

²⁸ MS. a; a gá M.

²⁹ MS.

uair.

³⁰ MS. uirioo.

³¹ gádaair D; gádaó TE.

³² tuair, M.

53. Δγυρ ní παιῖς Ῥάιτῃ Ῥάιτῃλεανν δον λά¹ μιὰν ζαν
ocht ἔρχιχτ ὡέδζ μιὰχ μινε ὡο θεαχτ ινντε, μαρι δουῖδαρτ
δν ζιόλλα Ἐαοιμ² ἔαονα, 7 ἔ δζ τριαλλ οίλιτῃρ ὡο'ν ὡοιμαν
μόρ. Δζ πο μαρι δουῖδαρτ :

Ῥάιτῃ Ῥάιτῃλεανν [ῤάιτῃ] Chuirc ιρ Chém,
τριαδζ α Ὠέ μαρι δτὰ ἀνοχτ,
ζέρ β' ιομῶα ζιόλλα ζλαν ζαοτῃ
ὡο βιοῦ τὰοῖ πε τὰοῖ 'ῤα phoirt.

Ἐρέαο ῤά ῤοιινντεαρ ι ὄ'ν τριαρ,
Ῥάιτῃλεανν δγυρ Ἐιαν ιρ Κορτ,
α ἰομαῶ μὰ 'ῤ περ[ῤ]οε ἰβ,
ὡοζέανταρ³ ἰομ ῤιν ζαν λοχτ.

Ὠο ῤίοζαῶ ι ζἘαίρεαλ χορρ,⁴
Κορτ μακ Ἰυιζῶεαχ νὰ ζκορρν ἔῤιαῶ⁵ ;
εἰορ-χάιν Μυμῃαν ὡό ὡ'α τῃζ⁶
ὡοβερτῃ ῤιν ὄ'ν τῃρ τῃαρ.

Ὠο χιιννῤατ Μυμῃιζ νὰ ῤῤαδζ
αρ χομῃα[ι]ῤε, ῤα μόρ ῤατῃ,
α ῤῃῶ υαῖβ πε Κορτ νὰ νγιαλλ,
“ὡῤυο ῤαρ ι ζκοιννε νὰ ζατῃ.”

Ῥάιτῃλεανν buime Chuirc νὰ νγιαλλ,
ἔεαν Τορῃα, ὡάρ ζῖαλλ ζαχ ὡάμ⁷,
ὡο χυαῖῶ λαιρ νὰ ῤυιζῖβ ροιρ
ὡο χαν ῤ[ο]ῖν α ὡουῖδαρτ κάχ.

“Ὠοζέαν⁸ ὡο χομῃα[ι]ῤε, α ἔεαν,”
αρ Μὰκ Ἰυιζῶεαχ νὰ ἔῤεαῶ ἔῤυαρ,⁹
“ὡά ἔῤάζτῃαρ ἰονζphoirt ῤαμ' ῤιαν
ὡάμ¹⁰ τῃαρ ι νγοιρε νὰ ῤῤαδζ.”

Ὠο τοῦαῶ ααίρεαλ ιρ ῤάιτῃ
λε Μυμῃνεαχαιῖ, νίορ βάιζ¹¹ ῤιον,
ι ζκομῃαρ Chuirc Ἐαῖρῖλ Ἐαοιμ
ὡο ἔαῖν¹² α ῤῃαοιῶ¹³ ὡο ζαχ ροιρ.

53. ¹τῤαῖῶ M. ²DETM om. Ἐαοιμ. ³ὡο ὡεανταρ MS. ⁴ἔόῤ MDE.
ζκορῃνν ἔῤαρ MDE. ⁵ι n-α εἰζ TDE. ⁶MS. ὡάῖν. ⁷MS. ὡεαν ;
ὡο ὡεανῃῶ DE. ⁸ἔῤοιρ D ; ἔῤεαῶ μορ E. ⁹MS. ὡάῖν. ¹⁰MS. ῤιον
ἔάῶ ; ἔαῖῶ MDE. ¹¹ἔεαν TMD. ¹²MS. ῤῃαοιῶ ; ὡο ῤῃαν

Sul ráinnis go Ráith¹⁴ na gCuach
 nairgior Ráithleann luach ar Choric,
 an ráith o' ainmnuigadó ói péin,
 cia tá ar ainm eile anocht.¹⁵

Faomur mac Luigðeach ann r[o]in
 oo'n innadai oo oíl é 'n-a oún,
 Ráith Ráithleann oo beith o'da gairm¹⁶
 go bráth mar ainm ar an múir.¹⁷

Rioigad¹⁸ Muimnis o'da éir rin
 Cian mac meic Bhoim, dar ba féim,
 ir uime rin tar éir chách
 tugadó ar an ráith, Ráith Chéin.¹⁹

Trí h-annanna²⁰ rátha Chuiric
 oq lomur ouib,²¹ ge bé fáth,
 o'da éir [ar eadó]²² thug mo fnua[i]ó,
 gan mac Maoilínuaio iran ráith.

Ráith Sairbe ingine Bhoim,
 uiaio i noiaio,²³ asur Ráith Chéin,
 ó oo thuit rias leith ar leith,
 truaig an beatha beith o'da n-éir.

Ráith na bpleadó, ráith na mban,
 o'da²⁴ ráith oo char²⁵ mac Maoilínuaio,
 gan acht a tairi o'da n-éir,
 ar é oobeir mé gan fnua[i]ó.

Ráith Chuidin, an ráith úo choir,
 ollam [meic] meic²⁶ Bhoim, go mbáig,²⁷
 Ó lo[th]cháin, ra maith an traoi
 oo thigeadó gach laoi oo'n ráith.

Ráith Chuilchín, crutaire an chnuic,
 truaig mar oo thuit tar éir chách;
 oo b' aibreadh linn binne a méar
 nó go noeachaio o'éag 'ran ráith.

Δ μαίγε γὰρ πρ E. ¹⁴ MS. ράε. ¹⁵ sic T; MS. γιό ar ainm eile atá anocht.
¹⁶ mar ainm M. ¹⁷ MS. von oún; ar an múir TEDM. ¹⁸ oo rioigte E.
¹⁹ MS. ράε, ράε Céin. ²⁰ MS. h-annanna; h-ainmnuigadó E. ²¹ ouib M.
²² TDE add ar eadó. ²³ MS. uiaio. ²⁴ MS. an o'da. ²⁵ oo cuir TDM; oo
 eorγ E. ²⁶ mc. meic M. ²⁷ MS. mbáio; mbiaó MT; mbiaó E; mbuaio D.

Ծնն Ծրօշնէմ, ան Ծն-բա ժեսւծ,²⁸
 Օ քիւինն նար ժեսւծ յե Ծնն;
 բօրճած և բարե մնննննննննն
 Ծօ ժեսւծն²⁹ և բլօշ յան բննն.

Մաօնն ևր Մաբաշն մօր,
 Ծննննն և բլօշ յոմննննն,³⁰
 բա մեմն ևն բաբ³¹ Ընն,
 բա հաննն Ընն յն-և Ծնն բնն.

Բննն ևն Ծօրբօրն Ծօ³² ժնն;
 բարճ մարն իմ ևր մար [և]բնն,
 ննն³³ ժնն Ծօրննն³⁴ ևր ժնն մօր,
 ևր նն ժննն-ևր³⁵ Ծօն բնն.

Մարննն³⁶ Ծօ ժեսւծն Ընննն Ընննն Ըննն,
 Ծօն Ծրննն բա մօրն ևնն ևր [և]ն,³⁷
 բա հոմնն յոմն, բննն, ևր յոմն
 Ծօ Ծօրնն յօ Ընն Ծօն բնն.

³⁷Ըննն Ըննննն մեմ բննն,
 մարնննն Ծօն ժեսւծն բա մօրն [և]ն,³⁸
 Ծօ Ծօրնն յոմն յոմն ժեսւծ
 Ընննն ննն Ծօն Ընն յան բնն.

³⁹Իր մարն մա⁴⁰ Ընն ևն ն-նն,⁴¹
 մննն ևն Ծրննն մօ Ծրնն մար բնն;
 ննն յոմն⁴² բննննն ևն ն-նն բնն,
 ևն բն⁴³ Ծօ Ընն յան բնն.

⁴⁴Բննն Բննննն ևն բննն նն ժնն,
 և մննն մա մեմ Ծրնն յօ մննն,
 ևր յոմնն բննննն Ծօն յնն
 և ն-նննն Ընն⁴⁵ մեմ մնննննն.

Ծննն ևն յԸնննն յօ ժեսւծ,
 յօ Ծրննն բնննն Ընննն Ընն,
 նն Ըննն մա մնննննննն մեմ Ծրնն,⁴⁶
 ննն բնն [և]բննն բնննն ևրն.

²⁸ MS. Ըննն. ²⁹ MS. Ըննն. ³⁰ նն բննն TM. This forms the 4th verse in D, the 2nd reading Ըննն նն հ-նննննննննննննն. ³¹ նն Ընն M. ³² մար M. ³³ մօր M.

³⁴ Ծօրնն ED; Ծննն M. ³⁵ MS. ժննն-ևր; Ըննննն TDE; ևր Ընննննն M.

³⁶ մար Ըննն EDP. ³⁷ M omits this stanza and the following. ³⁸ Ընն ED.

Óún Sdaíðbe, an óún ro thiaí,
inžen rin vo bmuān ua Táił;
trí chéad beān vo óíolad bāiřo
vo thigeāð le Sdaíð vo'n ráiřh.

⁴⁷ Ářh na ġCpeāch, an t-āřh ro thior,
āřh 'n-a nōéantaoi ġníoīn neāch áĩġ,⁴⁸
trí chéad eāch le ġcuřthaoi řřuān,
vo thigeāð le Cīān vo'n ráiřh.

bóřhāř na muilte ro thior,
thug řřĩř⁴⁹ āř mōrān vo mīnāĩb,
ceāřhřāchāð mīāch⁵⁰ ġo mā⁵¹ nāoi,
vo thigeāð ġāch lāoi vo'n ráiřh.

Įř mé mac ġiollda Cāoiīn cōĩř:
řāchāð vo'n Rōiīn v'ā vřĩġ cā[ĩ]ch,
vo cho[ĩ]mībũř mo chřoiře im' chliāð,
ġān Cīān vo beřh řřān ráiřh.⁵²

54. bār C[h]éin 7 bmuān 7 mūřchāð¹ 1 n-aon blāðāin āu. 1014.
āīāin 1 ġcāřh Chluānā Tāřb 7 1 ġcāřh mūĩġe ġuĩře.² āř
ġclor vo ōonnchāð mac bmuān, Cīān vo mārřāð vo ōōmīnāłł
mac ōuĩřōābōĩreānn, tāimĩġ³ řéin řluāġ vo neāřřuġāð le
māřhġāīāin mac Céin, ġuř mārřāð leĩř Cāřhāł⁴ mac Céin⁴
mīc ōuĩřōābōĩreānn.

55. Teāġmāĩł řoĩř v'ā mīc bmuān .1. ōonnchāð 7 Tāðġ, 1 āu. 1014.
n-āř mārřāð ó ōonnāġāin, řĩ āřāð. Cāĩřřĩe mac Cléĩřhín,
řĩ ua ġCāĩřřĩe vo mārřāð¹ 1 břeĩłł ó māolcholuim
Cāoiĩřō[e]āch.

56.¹ Sluāġ le ōonnchāð mac bmuān 7 le Tāðġ mac bmuān āu. 1015.
vo neāřřuġāð le māřhġāīāin² mac Céin vāř mārřāð
ōōmīnāłł mac ōuĩřōābōĩreānn le māřhġāīāin 1 nříoġāĩł
ā āřhāř.

³⁹ om. M. ⁴⁰ TED om. mac. ⁴¹ na ccpeāc Ġ. ⁴² níor řoim D; níor řāīn P;
nĩ řābũř Ġ. ⁴³ řé D. ⁴⁴ This stanza precedes the former in D and E.

⁴⁵ MS. céin E. ⁴⁶ MS. břóim. ⁴⁷ MYT omit this stanza. ⁴⁸ MS. n'áiġ.

⁴⁹ řřũř DE. ⁵⁰ mac D. ⁵¹ māð ME. ⁵² Y omits stanzas 3 and 10; and
first two verses of 11.

54. ¹ řin, adds M. ² D and E commence here. ³ MS. tāimĩġ. ⁴ om. E;
vōmīnuĩłł v. M.

55. ¹ vo mārřb M.

56. ¹ om. DE, follows ř 57 in M.

57. Sluaḡ le hua Ruairic sup ionraḡ Māḡ nḏoi, 7 sup
 AU. 1014. marbḁḡ Donnchaḡ mac Cathail, 7 go ruḡḡḡḡḡ ḡialla¹
 Con[n]acht leḡ.

58.¹ bḁr Anmchaḡḡ² ríḡḡ ó līatháin ó mḁathḡáinnḡ mac
 Céin mic Maoilínuaḡ. Dunḡal ó Donnchaḡḡ rí Eoḡanacht[ḡ]
 AU. 1015. Lochḡ lēin for chreich go ḡrēin Clīach, go no marbḁḡ lair
 ríonn mac Ruairicḡe í Donnḡḡáin, rí Aḡaḡ. Flaitḡbeairtach
 ó néill le Maoilreachtlāinn mac Domnall 1 lāḡnib, sup no
 aḡḡ ríḡḡ an tír go leithlīnn, 7 sup no marbḁḡ rí na
 mbuirḡe.

59.¹ Sluaḡ la Maoilreachtlāinn 7 le hua néill 7 le hua
 FM. 1014, 1015. Maoiltoiríḡḡ go hḁth Clīach,² sup loirḡeḡḡ ḡ ríḡḡ vo thḡḡthib
 ó úin amach ann, 7 go no nḡeachtara 1 n-íb ḡCinnrealaḡḡ, 7
 sup no aḡḡ ríḡḡ iḡḡ, sup no tharriur creach ḡḡa chreachtḡḡ,
 7 sup no marbḁḡ Congḡalach mac Conchubair í fḁilḡe, rí
 Connacht, 7 ḡiolla Colum ó hḁḡḡḡ, rí Teabtha.

60. Sluaḡ eile le Maoilreachtlāinn 7 le hua néill 7 le
 AU. 1020. hua Maoiltoiríḡḡ go hḁth Clīach, sup ḡabrat ḡialla lāḡean,
 7 go ḡḡḡḡḡ ḡ ríḡe vo ḡonchuan mac Dublīnḡ.¹ Cillara²
 7 ḡleann ḡa loch[ḡ] 7 Cluain Ioráirḡ 7 Sorḡ Colum Cille
 7 Áromacha³ [vo loirḡeḡḡ].⁴ Fíar chruiteachtḡḡ vo
 fea[r]thain 1 Māḡ aḡḡeḡḡ-ríḡḡ.

61. Callann anno Domini mile 7 20 bliḡḡḡḡ, Maoilreacht-
 AU. 1022. lāinn mac Domnall áirḡḡí éireann ocht mbliḡḡḡḡ¹ 1 ríḡe
 Teahra iḡḡ mbriann go bḡar bḁr 1 ḡCíro-linnir Lochḡ
 hāinninne.²

62.¹ Domnall mac Duibḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ vo mḁarḡḡḡ vo mḁath-
 ḡáinnḡ mac Céin mic Maoilínuaḡ 7 vo ḡonnchaḡḡ mac
 AU. 1016. bḡriann. Mac lāḡ áirḡ-ollāin éireann ḡḡḡḡḡḡ bḁir. bḁr

AU. 1017. Dongurḡ mac Carrtha² Chalmḡ anno Domini 1021.

63. Domnall mac Catharicḡ¹ ḡíḡ Chairn vo bualaḡ
 AU. 1019. vo ḡonnchaḡḡ mac bḡriann vo chloirḡeāin 1 mbun orḡóḡe 7
 ḡ lāime veirḡ, sup bāin ve í, 7 sup marbḁḡ é rēin ḡn-ḡ éiric.

57. ¹ MS. ḡiolla.

58. ¹ om. E. ² MS. Anmḡḡḡḡ; Anamḡḡḡḡ M.

59. ¹ om. E. ² M om. go hḁ. C.

60. ¹ leg. Dunlānḡ. ² Ceannara M. ³ MS. Áromacha. ⁴ sic M.

61. ¹ ficher adds E. ² MS. maiminne, which a later hand corrects to
 hāinninne.

62. ¹ om. E. ² Carricḡ AU.

63. ¹ MS. Carricḡ.

64. Τὰὺς μὰς βῆμαῖν το ἡαῖβὰὸ ὠ'Εἰλὶβ ἀρὶ ν-α ρυράλιον AU. 1023.
ὠ'α βῆαῖθαῖρ φέιν οῖρρὰ ρεάλλὰὸ ἀρὶ,¹ ὠ'α νοῦβῆμαὸ ἀν ρῖανν :

Ὁὰ ὡελυννοῖρ ἐλῡαῖρ μεῖο βῆμαῖν
ἀν ὡάλλ-ρο ὠοḡνῖαὸ² νὰ ρῖαδῖς,
ὠο βαὸ³ ἰομνὰρ ἰεῖρ βυὸ ὠέιν
ἰοηῖαὸ ὡαχ τῖέιν ἰρ ὡαχ τῖύαδῖς.⁴

65.¹ Μὰς. Ὁμῖνναῖλλ μῖο Ὁυῖβὸάβοῖρρεανν το ὠάλλὰὸ AU. 1023.
ἰε[ν-]α μῖυνντῖρ φέιν, εῖρρὰχ ἀν οῡῖβῆεὸῖλ ἰρρηα.

66.¹ Anno Domini M 22 ὡḡαῖρ μὰς Ὁύνλῖαῖνḡ ρῖ ἰαῖḡεαν AU. 1024.
7 Μὰοἰλμὸρῶα μὰς ἰορῖαῖν ρῖ ὀ ὡCῖν[η]ρεαῖαḡ 7 α μὰς το
ἡαῖβὰὸ το Ὁονῖρῖεῖβε μὰς Μὰοἰλμὸρῶα,² 7 ἑ φέιν το ἡαῖβὰὸ
το ἰαḡῖνῖβ 1 ν-ἑῖρρὲ ρῖν.

67.¹ Ὁυνḡαῖ ὀ Ὁονῖνχαὸα ρῖ Χαῖρῖλ ὠ'ἰοντοḡα ὀ'η
τρὰοḡαῖ ὡο Cορῖαḡ 1 ν-οἰῖτῖρρῖ. Cῡαν .1. ὀ ἰο[τῖ]χḡαῖν AU. 1024.
ἀρρ-ῖῖῖ 7 ρεανḡαῖὸ Cέῖν μῖο Μὰοἰλμῖαῖὸ το ἡαῖβὰὸ 1
ν-α ἑῖρρὲ, ἀρὶ ν-α βῆαῖτῖ το βὰῖαὸ ἀν τῖῖονῖαḡ.

68.¹ Anno Domini mīle 7 26, Ὁυνḡαῖ² ὀ Ὁονῖνχαὸα,³ ρῖ
Χαῖρῖλ, ὠ'ἑαḡ 1 ὡCορῖαḡ⁴ ἀρὶ νοῡῖῡαὸ ἀν τῖρὰοḡαῖ ὠὸ ἀν
βῖαḡαῖν ροῖρρῖ 1 ν-οἰῖτῖρρῖαχ.

69. Anno Domini mīle 7 27 ρῖαḡ ἰε Ὁονῖνχαὸ μὰς βῆμαῖν
ḡῖρ ḡαβ ḡἑῖλλ βῖεαρ¹ Μῖρῖ 7 βῖρῖαḡ, 7 ὡο νρῖαχḡαῖ ἰαῖ ρῖν
ὡο ḡάτῖ Cῖατῖ, 7 ὡο νρῖαρῖα cοῖνῖεαὸ 1 νάτῖ Cῖατῖ² ὀ AU. 1026.
ὠοῖνῖαχ ἰνρῖ³ ὡο cέαῡαοῖν ἀν βῖαḡ[ῖ]τῖ,⁴ ἰονῖνρ ἡαχ ραῖβ
αοῖν τῖαχ 1 ν-άτῖ Cῖατῖ ḡαν cοῖνῖεαὸ, 7 Ὁονῖνχαὸ φέιν
αῖνρρὰ ροῖῖεαρ⁵ μὸρῖ μῖο ἀμῖαοῖβ.⁶ ἡαοῖ ḡcέαὸ τάῖνḡ ὀ ḡτῖ
Cῖατῖ ὡο ἰαḡῖνῖβ ἀρὶ ἡḡαβḡαῖ ḡῖαῖλ βῖεαρ⁷ Μῖρῖ ἀρὶ ρῖν
1 νΟρῖαḡῖβ, ὡο ὠτῡḡ α ἡḡῖαῖῖα ἰε χḡἑῖῖε ὡο Cῖεανν Cορḡαὸ.⁸

70. Σῖαḡ ἰε Ὁονῖνχαὸ μὰς βῆμαῖν 1 ὡCῖεανν Cορḡαὸ ὡο AU. 1025.
νρῖαχḡαῖὸ ἰεὸ 1 ὡCοῖνῖαχτḡαῖβ ὡο Cῖρῖαχḡαῖν, ḡῖρ τῡḡαὸ ḡἑῖλλ
Cοῖνῖαχτḡα ὠὸ ἀνν.¹ Μὰτῖḡαῖν μὰς Cέῖν μῖο Μὰοἰλ-

64. ¹ sic M, MS. ἀρ. ² MS. το μὰὸ; ἀν ὡαῖῖῖρρῖ το ἡῖὸ E; το ἡῖαḡ D.
³ βὸ MS; βαὸ DE. ⁴ MS. τῡαῖὸ; τῖρῖαḡ DE; τῡαῖτ M.

65. ¹ om. MDE.

66. ¹ om. DE. ² MS. ἡḡαοἰλμὸρῶα.

67. ¹ om. DE. ² βὸῖαῖτ M; ὠὸ βὰῖαὸ MS.

68. ¹ om. DE. ² MS. Ὁονḡαῖ. ³ Ὁονῖαḡḡαὸ M. ⁴ MS. Cορῖαῖ.

69. ¹ MS. βῖεαρ; ἰα ρεαρῖαῖ ME. ² ὀ cῖῖατḡ adds M. ³ MS. οἰνρῖε;
οἰνρῖε M; νὰ νῖρῖε E; ρῖατ D. ⁴ α βῖαῖτ M. ⁵ MS. ροῖῖεαρ. ⁶ ἰονῖνρ ḡο
ῖαβḡαῖρ ρῖαῖαḡ ὠὸ E. ⁷ MS. βῖεαρῖαῖ. ⁸ MS. c. c.

70. ¹ D and E omit what follows.

innaid, ní na naoi bhonn, 7 maelreachtlainn Soð ní m'òe
 o'fdaigil báir anno Domini míle 28.

AU. 1026. 71. Maelmuadnaid¹ ó Maoiltoiraid, ní tuairgeirte Chinéil
 Chonail, do d'ailtad do'n t'raoigal 7 a d'ol go Clúain Fearra
 b'reannuinn, 7 ar rin go hí Cholaim Cille. Tadg mac Siolla
 pháorais do d'ail 1 n-ib mu[i]reardais gur d'adad mac Muir-
 eadais, go dtug d'abála móra lair.

AU. 1027. 72. Sluag la Donnchad mac b'riain o'a d'ioigilte rin go
 mac Siolla pháorais o'a dtug creacha móra 7 b'raighe
 ionda lair; ruadadair cuio o'a muinntir 7 do h-imreod
 dochar lairg oirle le mac Craith¹ ó Donnchad,² do bí ra
 r'adail ra níg huá n'Siolla pháorais 7 le mac Siolla
 pháorais réin, gur mairiad mac Dáora mac Dúnaid, ní ó
 Maíne, agus maelreachtlainn mac Conchubair, ní Corcam-
 ruad, 7 Cian mac Cuilein, ní uá d'Conail d'abair, 7 Donnail
 mac Seanchuin, 7 Eoghan mac Cuirc, [7] Conail mac éigear-
 taid³ go n-a d'oir b'ráthair.⁴

FINIT.

71. ¹ maelreachtlainn M.

72. ¹ mairiad M.
 eighreaidge D; eidead E.
 adds D.

² MS. ó n'Donad.

³ C. mac Eachtigearuaid

⁴ 7 móran eile leó gurad é rin buaire d'adail

NOTES.

§ 28. As it stands in the text, the passage beginning *ar scuir brian amach*, etc., is somewhat obscure. It refers to the alleged desertion of Brian by Maol-seachlainn on the eve of the battle. It has here all the appearance of an interpolation; and it is noteworthy that the three MSS. TED omit it, continuing naturally at line 3, § 29: *7 so roinneadair*, etc. The romantic tale of the battle in the *Psalter of Tara* (H. i. 15, Trin. Coll. Dublin) gives the passage more intelligibly thus: “*iar ocuir do brian an oide roithe rin maolfeadluinn mór ar a ciallógadair do oíollrig do fálalab brian do chu a míc donéad go nglarlaim, 7 go ttrian fleachtad eogain mór do cheada laigean et ib cionnroillad, do pionnach comairle do fálalab brian o’ionnraige gan fuiread et do féal vob 7 go ttrioisread fein gonad rluad brian acht go ccomcruinuigad in éad.*” See also *Cog. Gaed. re Gall.*, p. 155, § lxxviii, and p. 169, § xevi. In § 32 the charge against Maolseachlainn is repeated, “*iar n-a feachnad do maolfeachluinn*,” etc.; and here it is clearly an interpolation. The *Cog. Gaed. re Gall.* reads: “*ir aho rin da decartair murad reca ocuir ic connad da leic oer cuig; ma comairicr in toen oclad . . . i. dunladh o hárugan*,” etc.

§ 32. “*7 a chroifigil i n-a lám chlí, 7 é ag cantainn a ppaln i n-a fíadnair.*” *Crosfhighil* is here evidently taken to mean a ‘crucifix,’ which Brian held in his left hand. Its real meaning, however, is the extending of the arms in the form of a cross while praying. See Milan Glosses, 138 a 2 (Thesaurus i, p. 468): “*.i. cumgabál inna lám hicrosfigill is sí briathar lám insin. 7 issi briathar síle dano a cumgabál suas dochum náe 7 issi briathar glunae 7 chos a filliud fri slechtan 7 issi briathar choirp dano intan roichther do dia ocslechtan 7 chrosigill*,” i.e. the raising of the hands in cross-vigil, that is, the word of the hands, and the word of the eyes, moreover, is the raising of them up to God, and the word of the knees and of the legs is the bending of them in prostration, and the word of the body, moreover, is when it is extended to God in prostration and cross-vigil.’ Cf. also a gloss to *Broccán’s Hymn* (Thesaurus, ii. 331): “*ui bliadna roboi Coemgen inna sessam i [n] Glind da Locha acht clar foi namd, 7 se cen choitlud frisin re sin ut ferunt inna crosfigill co ndernsat na héoin a nmitu inna glacaiib ut ferunt.*” ‘Seven years was Coemgen standing in Glendalough, with only a board under him, and he without sleep during that time, as they say, in his cross-vigil, so that the birds made their nests in his hands.’

§ 37. Something is omitted here; P inserts after *aimirir*, line 5, *so tuir aho mair an cceadna Tadoz*, etc., keeping the proper names in the nom.

§ 59. Conghalach, son of Conchobhar son of Finn, lord of Ui-Failghe, dies in 1017, according to the Four Masters. This plundering of the Ui Cinnsellaigh by Maol-seachlainn is twice recorded by them, in 1014 and 1015.

§ 65. *εἴλαχ ἀν σούβνεόιλ ἱρχηλα* refers to an eclipse of the sun which took place this year. See AU. A.D. 1023.

§ 67. *Δι η-α βρατεχ σο βδελσ ἀν τριονναιξ*. The meaning of this is not quite clear to me; it would seem to be 'on his [Cuan] being taken by the scent of the fox.' This detail is not recorded in any of the other annals. In the *Leabhar na gCeart*, p. xliii, O'Donovan quotes an old translation of the Annals of Ulster on the death of Cuan O Lothcháin; but the printed version of the Annals does not admit of this rendering: "A.D. 1024, Cuan O'Lochan, arch-poet of Ireland, [was] killed treacherously by the men of Tehva, ancestor of [the] Foxes; they stunk after, whereby they got the name of Foxes, a miracle showed of the poet." The Bodleian Annals of Innisfallen record the name of Cuan's murderer (O'Conor, *Rerum Hib. Scriptores*, ii, 57), "*ocus in fer ro marb do marbad fo chetoir .i. m. Gillai-Ultain m. Roduib*."

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ster (Dul
 do)! Onom.
 p. 575

THE DEATH OF CONLA.

THE following version of this well-known tale is here edited and translated for the first time from the only copy in the Yellow Book of Lecan, pp. 214a-215a.

So far as I know, this is the oldest setting of the story that has come down to us. It may be safely ascribed to the ninth century, so that we can follow the development of the legend for a thousand years down to the versions still current among the people both in Ireland and Scotland. To the manuscript sources enumerated in Jubainville's *Catalogue*, p. 16, may be added one contained in an eighteenth-century manuscript of the Advocates' Library, marked LXII. In the March number of the *Fortnightly Review* of this year, Mr. Stephen Gwynn has published a fragment of a poetical version taken down in Kerry. Mr. J. G. O'Keeffe has undertaken the edition and translation of a very curious version from a legal manuscript, which will be found *infra*, p. 123.

I am indebted to Professor Strachan for a much-needed collation of my transcript from the facsimile with the original manuscript, and for several improvements of my rendering.

KUNO MEYER.

AIDED¹ ĒNFIR ĀIFI ANDSO.

1. Cīa fochann ara² romarb Cūculaind a mac?

Nī *hansa*. Luid Cūculaind do forceatal gaiscid la Scāthaig nŪanaind ingin³ Airdgeme il-Letha co ndergene sūithi cleas lea.⁴ 7 luid Āifi ingen Airdgeme chuici 7 ba torrach forfācaib⁵ 7 asbert fria nobērad mac. "Bīd ind or[d]nasc n-ōrda sa acud," or sē, "corop coimsi don mac. Intan bas coimse dō, tætdh dom chuindchid-sea⁶ inn-Ēre 7 nachamberead āenfer dia conair 7 nachasloindedh do āenfer 7 nā fēmded⁷ comland ōenfir."

2. Doluid in mac dīa šecht mbliadan do chuindchid a athar. Is and bādar Ulaid i n-ændāil oc Trācht Ēisi ar a chind, co n-acadar¹ in mac cucu iarsind farce 7 luingīne chrēduma fo suidhe 7 rāmada dīōrda ina lāim. Carn² cloch aici isin luing. Dobered³ cloich ina crandtabaill 7 doslēged tathbē[i]m forsna hēonu,⁴ congebēad na airberthe dīb, it ē bēoa,⁴ condalēigid ūad isinn aēr doridisi. Imfuirmed a carpad clis itir a dā lāim con-ātairthed sūil. Noglēsēd a guth dōib, condafoilged indara fecht. Dondiusced⁵ in fecht aile.

3. "Maith tra," or Concobar, "mairg thīr i¹ tæd in gilla ucut," or sē. "Maddis fir mōra na hindsī asa taed donīstais, commeltais ar grīan,² intan is mac bec dognī in airbert ucut. Ēirged neach ar a cheand. Nachatelged³ i¹ tīr itir."

"Cīa ragas ar a chind?"

"Cīa pad cīa," ar Concobar, "acht Condere mac Echach?"

"Cid 'ma ragad Condere?" or cāch.

"Nī *hansa*," or Conchobar. "Cid cīall 7 erlabra imabera, is Conderi as chōir and."

"Ragad-sa ar a chend,"⁴ ol Condere.

1. ¹ aiged ² aar ³ ingine ⁴ lea ⁵ The second f inserted by a later hand. ⁶ chuindchigsea ⁷ femdeg

2. ¹ f inserted after con ² crand ³ doberid ⁴ o under line.
⁵ donduised, the second d under the line.

3. ¹ a ² ngrian ³ t inserted before t ⁴ cend

³ I.e. 'the Strand of the Track,' as explained in § 11.

⁴ My rendering of *tathbéimm* is a mere guess. If the *a* is long, the word might be a compound of *táth*, 'a qualm, numbness, surfeit,' P. O'C., and denote 'a benumbing or stupefying blow or cast.' If the *a* is short, the word might be resolved into *to-ath-béimm*, and denote a throw with a weapon which returns to

THE TRAGICAL DEATH OF AIFE'S ONLY SON.

1. What was the cause for which Cuchulinn slew his son?

Not hard to tell. Cuchulinn went to be taught craft of arms by Scathach Uanaind, daughter of Ardgeimm, in Letha, until he attained mastership of feats with her. And Aife, daughter of Ardgeimm, went to him, and he left her pregnant. And he said to her that she would bear a son. "Keep this golden thumb-ring," said he, "until it fits the boy. When it fits him, let him come to seek me in Ireland. Let no man put him off his road, let him not make himself known to any one man, nor let him refuse combat to any."

2. That day seven years the boy went forth to seek his father. The men of Ulster were at a gathering by Tracht Eisi^a before him, when they saw the boy coming towards them across the sea, a skiff of bronze under him, and gilt oars in his hand. In the skiff he had a heap of stones. He would put a stone in his staff-sling, and launch a stunning shot^b at the birds, so that he brought down^c and they alive. Then would he let them up into the air again. He would perform his palate-feat,^d between both hands, so that the eye would not reach it (?) He would tune his voice for them, and bring them down for the second time. Then he revived them once more.

3. "Well, now," said Conchobar, "woe to the land into which yonder lad comes!" said he. "If grown-up men of the island from which he comes were to come, they would grind us to dust, when a small boy makes that practice. Let some one go to meet him! Let him not allow him to come on land at all!"

"Who shall go to meet him?"

"Who should it be," said Conchobar, "but Condere, son of Echu?"

"Why should Condere go?" said the others.

"Not hard to tell," said Conchobar. "If it is reason and eloquence he practises, then Condere is the proper person."

"I shall go to meet him," said Condere.

the hurler like the boomerang. Either meaning would suit our passage as well as all others where the word occurs: compare § 7. See Windisch, s.v. *tdithbéim*.

^c *na airberthe díb* is obscure to me.

^d *a carpad clis*, literally 'his palate of feat.' Cf. *uball cliss*, Bodl. Dinds. 38.

4. Luid Condere ġarum 7 is and roġab in mac trāig in tan sin.

"Is loor dothēig, a macāin," or Condere, "co fesamar cid nothēig 7 can do chenēl."

"Nīmsloindem do ænfiur," or in gilla, "7 nī imgabaim ēnfer."

"Nī targa i¹ tīr," or Conderi, "co rudsloindi."

"Régat a leth dīa tuitched," or in gilla.

5. Imsāi as in mac. Is and asbert Conderi: "Tinta frim,¹ a mo maic, ad mōrgnīma, at fola ferdonna ardan errad Ulad cucad. Ardodcobra Conchobar. Cairptine cleitiniū clār clē conid san erredo Ulad uargabus. Ardo[t]cobra Concobar. Contaidis clūas duid dian do thrim. Tinta co Concobar, co mac nīthach Nesa, co Sencha mac Coscra, co ilcain, co Cethirnd mac fæbarderg Fintain, co tenid leonas ergala, co hAimirgin n-ēices,² co Cumsraid³ mōrmurnech. Mochen ardad Conall Cernach cobrathar thurt⁴bea⁴ ceola gairi lat⁴lond Cathbad bad būada bron la Blai brigiū bem⁵ sechai. Cia so læch daig nimardraic ġlar ruice lasoait^h berar atratsa⁶ fodén Coneri co tulad com mac argair curaid acht bāges dam-sa ar intī Conniri tuidecht ar ceand in gillai cen ulcha cen caither acht manip irlatus di Ultaib."

6. "Is maid ron [p. 214 b] taedais,"¹ or in gilla. "Rodbīa-so didiu th' acallaim. Glēsus gotha lec sin ūaim irchora cen imrolla cairpthineb comlamuis cainsreth saighthinus² ar cletinib cīanaib cen ich n-errad nailius. baigsina ar mōrgnīmaib gaiscid nadragbad nech forbuis form fasaig seo let co hUlto in feraim sea for galaib ænfir nō ar līnaib fer forndul. Sāi as aridisi!" ar in gilla. "Air gīa nobeth nert cēt let, nida tūalaing mo ergairi."

"Maith," ar Conderi, "tæd nech aile ġarum dot acallaim."

Luid ġarum Conderi co hUlto 7 adfēd in sin.

7. "Nī ba fir," ol Conall Cernach, "enech Ulad do breith céin¹ am² bēo-sa."

Luid sem didiu do saighidh in maic.

"Is ālaid do cluichi,³ a macāin!" ar Conall.

"Nī ba frit bus ētchiu," or in gilla.

Dolāi in gilla cloich ina tabaill. Dulsēigi isann aér .i. tathbēim, co riacht a bressim 7 a torand ac techt sūas co Conall.

4. ¹ a ² tuitched

5. ¹ altered into tintai rim

² eigis

³ cums added above the line.

⁴ e inserted under the line. ⁵ perhaps bein ⁶ the second t inserted under the line.

4. So Condere went just as the boy took the beach.

"Thou hast come far enough, my good boy," said Condere, "for us to know whither thou goest and whence is thy race."

"I do not make myself known to any single man," said the lad, "nor do I avoid any man."

"Thou shalt not land," said Condere, "until thou hast made thyself known."

"I shall go whither I have set out," said the lad.

5. The boy turned away. Then said Condere: "Turn to mé, my boy,^a Conchobar protects thee. . . . Turn to Conchobar, the valiant son of Ness; to Sencha, the son of Coscra; to Cethern, the red-bladed son of Fintan, the fire that wounds battalions; to Amergin the poet; to Cumsraid of the great hosts. Welcome he whom Conall Cernach protects to go to meet the unripe,^b beardless youth, unless the men of Ulster permit it."

6. "Thou hast . . . us well," said the lad. "Therefore shalt thou have thy answer. . . . Turn back again!" said the lad. "For though thou hadst the strength of a hundred, thou art not able to check me."

"Well," said Condere, "let someone else go to speak to thee!"

So Condere went to the men of Ulster and told them.

7. "It shall not be," said Conall the Victorious, "that the honour of Ulster be carried off while I am alive."

Then he went towards the boy.

"Thy play is pretty, my good boy," said Conall.

"It will not be less pretty^c against thee," said the lad.

The lad put a stone in his sling. He sent it into the air, so that its noise and thunder as it went up reached Conall, and

^a Here follows a so-called 'rhetoric,' which, like the others scattered throughout the text, I can only partially translate.

^b *cen caither*, literally, 'without the hair of pubescence.' See my Contributions, s.v. *caither*, and add: co corrán chaithrech, Acall. 3642 n. sgreball caithrech edir mnái 7 fir, O'Don., Hy Many, p. 60. Hence also the female name *Aittenchaithrech*, 'fuzzy-haired,' sometimes corrupted into *Étan-chaithrech*.

^c *étchiu*, comparative of *étig*, 'ugly,' spelt *étach* in § 10.

6. ¹ Altered from *tidais*

² g added under the line.

7. ¹ gin

² um

³ cluithi

Focher[d] Conall dar a cheand. Rīasiu addrecht, dobert in gilla sciāthraig a scēith for a lāma.

"Nech aile fris!" or Conall.

Darad tra gen forsin slūag fōn indus sin.

8. Bāi Cūculaind *immorro* oc a cluichiu oc dul adochum¹ in gillai 7 lām Emeire ingine Forgaill dar a brāgaid. "Nā tēig sīs!" ar sī. "Mac duit fil tīs. Nā fer finga[i]l 'mot ēnmac. Co sechnom a maic saigthig soailte.² Nī soāig nā soairle coimērgi frit mac mōrgnīmach mōr n-esad artai o riad cnis focloc ōt biliu bai cotaith fri Scāithci³ scēl. Mād Conlai cesad clār clē comad fortemen taidbecht. Tinta frim! Cluinti mo chlois! Fō mo cosc. Bad Cūculaind cloodar! Adgēn-sa cid ainm asind ōn masa⁴ Conlai ēnmac Āifi in mac fil tīs," or in bean.

9. Is andsin asbert Cūculaind: "Coisc, a bean! nī coisc mnā admairiur mōrgnīmaib asa coscaib glē. Nī gnūthear do bancobro bam¹ gnīm būadach nō buideach na ruisc na ruireach de fola form chnis crū cuirp Conlai. Cain sug set gai in cleitine cain. Cid hē nobeith and, a ben," ar sē, "nangonaind-se² ar inchaib Ulad.

10. Is and sin luid sīs¹ fesin. "Is ālaind, a macāin, in cluichi dognī," or sē.

"Is ētach for cluichiu-se cētamus," or in mac bec, "nach tæd dīas ūaib coromsloindi-sea dōib."

"In curub ēgin mac lecci² im farrad-sa ōn," or Cuculaind. "Adbēla-so *immorro meni* sloindi."

"Bid fīr," or in gilla.

Adnaig in mac cuici. Immustūaircid. Nosberr in gilla māl fair cosin claideb .i. bēm co fomus.

"Is co cend in cuidbiud!" or Cūculaind. "Tīagam do imthrascrad didiu!"

11. "Nī rosi do chris," ol in mac. Rogob in mac for dā cloich, co tarad Coinculaind eitir na dā coirthi fo thrī 7 nī roglūais in mac nechtar a dā chois dona corthaib co ndechudar a traigthi isna clochaib conici a dā n-adbrond. Atā slicht a dā chos and bēos. Is de atā Trāig Ési la hUltu. Lodar didiu isin muir do imbādud¹ co rambāid in mac fa dō. Luid risin mac iarum ata uisci co robrēgai cosinn gāi mbulga, ar nī

8. ¹ addocum (*the first d added under the line*). ² added under the line. ³ The second c inserted under the line. ⁴ After masa a later hand has inserted mac.

9. ¹ Perhaps bain ² nomgonaindse

threw him on his back. Before he could rise, the lad put the strap of his shield upon his arms.

"Someone else against him!" said Conall.

In that way he made mockery of the host.

8. Cuchulinn, however, was present at his game, going towards the boy, and the arm of Emer, Forgall's daughter, over his neck. "Do not go down!" said she. "It is a son of thine that is down there. Do not murder thy only son! . . . It is not fair fight nor wise to rise up against thy son. . . . Turn to me! Hear my voice! My advice is good. Let Cuchulinn hear it! I know what name he will tell, if the boy down there is Conla, the only son of Aife," said the woman.

9. Then said Cuchulinn: "Forbear, woman! Even though it were he who is there, woman," said he, "I would kill him for the honour of Ulster."

10. Then he went down himself. "Delightful, my boy, is the play which thou makest," said he.

"*Your* play, though, is not so," said the little boy, "that two of you did not come, so that I may make myself known to them."

"It would have been necessary to bring a small boy along with me," said Cuchulinn. "However, thou wilt die unless thou tellest thy name."

"Let it be so!" said the lad.

The boy makes for him. They exchange blows. The lad, by a properly measured stroke with the sword, crops off Cuchulinn's hair.

"The mockery has come to a head!" says Cuchulinn. "Now let us go to wrestle!"

11. "I cannot reach thy belt," said the boy. He got upon two stones, and thrust Cuchulinn thrice between two pillar-stones, while the boy did not move either of his feet from the stones until his feet went into the stones up to his ankles. The track of his feet is there still. Hence is the Strand of the Track in Ulster.

Then they went into the sea to drown each other, and twice the boy ducked him. Thereupon Cuchulinn went at the boy from the water (?), and played him false with the *gai bulga*; for

10. ¹ sisi ² Looks as if altered from becci

11. ¹ imbadad

romūin² Scāthach do duine rīam in gaisced sin acht do Coinculaind ænur. Docorustar don mac triasinn uisci co mbāi a inathar fo chosa.

12. "Is ed ōn tra," or sē, "nā romūin Scāthach dam-sa! Maírg [p. 215 *a*] domcrehtnaígis!" or in mac.

"Is fír," or Cūculaind. Geibid in mac iarum itir a dā lāim 7 nusfuga¹ co tall as 7 nombeir² co tarlaic de ar bēlaib Ulad.

"Aso mo mac-sa dūib, a Ultu," ar sē.

"Fē amai!" ar Ulaid 7 "Is fír," ar in mac. "Dīa mbeinn-sea etraib co cend cōic mbliadan, no silfind-se firu in betha reimib for cach leth 7 congabthai rīghi co Rōim. Inid ed so fili and, inchoisc dam-sa na firu amrai fil isin baile, co romcelebra dōib."

13. Dobeir iarum a dī lāim im brāigid cach fír arūair dīb 7 celebrad dia athair 7 adbail fo chētōir.

Rolād tra a gāir guba 7 a fert 7 a lia ocus co cend trī trāth nicon reilgthe lāig dīa mbūaib la hUltu ina dīaid.

FINIT. AMEN.

11. ² ana *added above* romuin

12. ¹ *inserted above the line.*

² ninbeir

to no man had Scathach ever taught the use of that weapon save to Cuchulinn alone. He sends it at the boy through the water, so that his bowels were about his feet.

12. "Now, this is what Scathach never taught me!" cried the boy. "Woe that thou hast wounded me!"

"It is true," said Cuchulinn. He takes the boy between his arms, and . . . took it out and carries him till he lets him down before the men of Ulster.

"Here is my son for you, men of Ulster," said he.

"Alas!" said the men; and "It is true," said the boy. "If I were among you to the end of five years, I should vanquish the men of the world before you on every side, and you would hold kingship as far as Rome. Since it is as it is, point out to me the famous men that are on the spot, that I may take leave of them!"

13. Thereupon he puts his arms round the neck of one after another, bids farewell to his father, and forthwith dies. Then his cry of lament was raised, his grave made, and his stone set up, and to the end of three days no calf was let to their cows by the men of Ulster, to commemorate him.

FINIT. AMEN.

ANECDOTON.

THE following hymn to the Blessed Virgin is printed from the MS. 23 N 10, R.I.A., p. 18. In the MS. it bears the superscription "*Columcille cecinit*":—

A Muire min maithingen tapair furtacht dún.
 A criol chuirp *chomdeta* ! a comrair na run !
 A righan na righraide, a naomíngen ogh,
 Ail dún co rodilgaithe triut ar tarmthect trogh.
 A trocuire, a dilgedach, co rath spirat¹ ngloin,
 Guid lind in ri firbrethach don cloind cumhra cain.²
 A croeb do cloind Iesse isin chollcaill coimbh,
 Ail damh *coniombisse*³ dilgud mo cuil chloin.
 A Muire, a mind mormaisech, rotsaorais ar sil.
 A lesmaire lormaisech ! a lubgort na riogh !
 A ligach ! a loinderrda co ngnim gensa ngil !
 A argoir cain coindealta ! A noeimgein do neimh !
 A mathuir na firinne, rocindis ar cach,
 Guidh lemsa do primgeine dom saorad a mbrath.
 A buadach, a bunata, a buidnech, a balc,
 Guidh lend *Crist cumachtach*, t'athuir is do mac.
 A retla ran roguide ! A bile fo blath !
 A sudrall tren toguide ! A grian guides cach † goires cach !
 A arrad⁴ na holloirbe tresacing cach caidh,
 Gurab tu ar comairge docum rigtig⁵ rain.
 A chathair caom cumraidhe dodraogha in ri
 Ollaighe boi at urbruinde tremsi co ba tri.
 A rigdoraís rogaídhe triasarchin i crí
 Grien taithnemhach togaide Isu mac De bii
 Ar egnairc na caomgeine rocompred it bru,
 Ar ecnairc in aongene is airdrig in cach dú,
 Ar egnarc a croichesium is uasle gach croich,
 Ar ecnairc a adnacail atranacht i cloich,
 Ar ecnairc a esergi asraracht ria cach,
 Ar ecnairc in naobtheghlaigh as gach dú do brath,
 Gorop tu ar comairci a flaith comde cain,
 Condechsam la hIsagan alme cenbe (?) mair.

J. STRACHAN.

¹ Under *a* is written *e*. ² After the verse which ends in the middle of a line comes a scribal note : *spaigh asgol nocotigi luan aoine dotsunmradh*.
³ *leg.* conombé-se? ⁴ *leg.* árad ⁵ *leg.* rígi

CUCHULINN AND CONLAECH.

THE following tale, dealing with the death of Conlaech (called here Ainfer Aife) at the hand of his father Cuchulinn, is taken from a miscellaneous vellum codex in Trinity College, Dublin (H. 3, 17, p. 842), consisting mostly of Irish law tracts. Compared with the many extant versions (most of which are in verse) of the death of Conlaech, the present text gives but the merest skeleton of the tale. It seems evident that it was designed to serve as a peg on which to hang the characteristic legal discussion with which the text concludes.

J. G. O'KEEFFE.

CUCHULINN AND CONLAECH.

Dia ndecheid Cúchulaind do foglaim gaiscid ind-Albain co Scáthaig 7 tuc Scáthach a hingin dó .i. Aife, 7 rotoirrchestar hí 7 táinic féin i nEirinn, adubairt fria-si: "Accseo dornasc óir duit," ar sé, "7 mád mac bēras tú, intan bus lán a rig don dornaisc, léig úait chuccam-sa hé ind-Eirinn 7 tabair Aenfer Aife d'ainm fair 7 abbair ris cen a sloinded d'öenduine i n-Eirinn."

Ocus rucc sí mac. Dorigni ris amlaid sin 7 rofoglaim na huili cleas cinmothā cleas gái bulgai namá. Uair rucc a aḡhair roime i nEirinn in gái bulcai, 7 táinic roime d'indsaighid hEirenn, ocus is and badar Ulaíd a n-airechtus hi Maig hEine ind, 7 itconcadar chuca in curach, 7 docuired Munramur dia fis, 7 dobōi occ fiarfaigid scél de 7 adubairt-som, nā dingnead a sloindid d'öenduine, 7 doralā eturru 7 Munramar 7 tuc cris a chlaidim tar¹ a dornaib Munramair, 7 docuired² Dubthach síis annseicc. Dorigni in cētna fris. Dochūaid Cúchulaind síis andsin 7 ní derna scéla dó-séicc fós, 7 atorchair eturra 7 Coinculaind 7 nír chumaing Cúchulaind ní dō ar tír.

"Matá th' engnum mara mar atá t'engnum tíre," ar sē Cúchulaind, "is maith do chomlann."

"Darleam-sa ní messa m' engnam mara," ar sē; 7 dochūadar for muir, 7 nír'chumaing Cúchulaind ní dó fós, nocor léicc in gái bulgai chuice 7 gor'marbh é.

"Dēna do slondud bodesta," bar Cúchulaind, "uair tairnic do ré."

"Ainḡer Aiffe missi," ar sé, "7 mac do Choinculaind mac Sualtaim," 7 rucusdar leis ar a muin é connic in mbaile irrabdar Ulaíd, ocus deismírecht air:—

"Trom n-aire
tucus lim tar Mag nEne!
airm móra mo maic im'lāim
iss a fáidb 'sa[n] lāim eile."

¹ tara MS.² docuired MS.

TRANSLATION.

When Cuchulinn went to study arms in Alba with Scathach and she gave her daughter Aife to him, and he left her pregnant and went himself to Ireland, he said to her: "Here is a gold arm-ring for you; and if it be a son which you will bring forth, send him to me in Ireland as soon as his wrist fills the ring. Call him Ainfer Aife, and tell him not to reveal his name to any single person in Ireland."

She gave birth to a son, and did with him as she had been told. She taught him all feats of arms except the Gai Bulga feat, for his father had taken the Gai Bulga with him to Ireland. When Ainfer Aife came to Ireland, the men of Ulster were assembled in Mag Ene. They saw the curach coming towards them, and Munremar was sent to ask tidings of him; but Ainfer Aife said that he would not tell his name to any single person. Then ensued a combat between him and Munremar, and he put the belt of his sword across the wrists of Munremar. Then Dubthach was sent down. He did the same to him. Cuchulinn then went down, and still he did not tell him any tidings. Both fought, but Cuchulinn was not able to do anything to him on land.

"If your skill at sea is as it is on land," said Cuchulinn, "your fight is good."

"Methinks no worse is my skill at sea," said he; and they went out to sea. Still Cuchulinn was unable to do aught to him, until he hurled the Gai Bulga at him and killed him.

"Tell your name now," said Cuchulinn, "for your time has come."

"Ainfer Aife I am," said he, "son of Cuchulinn, son of Sualtam." Then he takes him on his back to the place in which the men of Ulster were, and there is a token of it [viz. this verse]:¹

"Heavy the burden
I have borne across Mag Ene!
The great weapons of my son in one hand,
And in the other his spoils."

¹ Lit. "There is an example on it"—a phrase of common occurrence in the Laws and Glossaries.

[P. 843.] Rohagrad Cúchulaind annsin ō Ulltaib 7 urraid achtaighthi hē a n-Ulltaib 7 leth corpdire úad ina mac. Uair a n-imraichni romarbustar é 7 indílsech¹ ar-richt dilsigh é, ciarbo chomracc.

Cid fodera leth corpdire ūad ind 7 a marbad a n-imraichne 7 conid comracc dorignestar?

Is *ed* fāth fodera ger' comracc é. Uair nī haititin² tuaithe nā cineoil dorindé.

Cid fodera leth corpdire d'ic do Choinculaind ina mac?

Uair ropo deoraid³ a n-Ulltaib é mad roba hi sídaib dosein. Fead trichad⁴ cét Muirthemne dobói d'feronn dílis aicce ind-Ulltaib 7 urraid essem 7 deoraid a mac 7 a breith do Concobhur in leth corpdire.

Cid fodera a breith do Concobur in leth?

Nī hansa. Iss *ed* fodera. Fingalach Cūchulainn, 7 nocha beir ind fingalach díbad nā corpdíri. Iss ē coibdelach is nessa dō Concobar ocus in leth corpdire do breith dó.

Mád rob Ulltach, is dílsech hirricht dilsigh é. Muna roba díb eter é, is dílsech ina richt féin a breith do Choncobur a dūalgus dígaindechta.

¹ inddilsec MS.

² haititin corrected from haititi MS.

³ deoraig MS.

⁴ trichaid MS.

Cuchulinn was then sued by the men of Ulster; and he was adjudged a native of Ulster, and half the wergeld was [exacted] from him for his son. For he had slain him in mistake, and he was an innocent person in the guise of a guilty person, although it was a combat.

What caused half the wergeld [to be exacted] from him for it, and his killing him in mistake, and that it was combat which he made?

This is the reason which caused it, though it was combat: that it was not with consent of tribe or race that he did it.

What was the cause that Cuchulinn should pay half-wergeld for his son?

Because he was a stranger in Ulster, even though he belonged to them (?). The extent of a cantred of Murthemne was his own land in Ulster, and thus he was [adjudged] a native, and his son a stranger, and to Conchobar was given the half-wergeld.

What caused the half to be given to Conchobar?

Not difficult. This is the cause. Cuchulinn was a parricide, and the parricide takes not inheritance or wergeld. Conchobar was the nearest kinsman to him, and the half-wergeld was [accordingly] given to him.

If he had been an Ulsterman, he would have been a guiltless person in the guise of a guilty one. If he had not been of them at all, he was a guilty person in his own guise . . .¹ to be given to Conchobar as the price of indemnification.

¹ Something seems omitted before a *breith*.

THE QUARREL ABOUT THE LOAF.

BOOK OF LEINSTER, P. 46*a*.

In Gilla.

Δ βαίρζεν, ατάι ι ηζάβυο,
 nuéun-fáizbe é'imínábuo,¹
 noéot-ain¹ níl lāzen ve,
 nāzā í noezāio vā fēitce.

In Caillec.

Ρατ-αιν Μυρικόαν² molbēdē, 5
 ρατ-αιν Cερβαλλ³ ιρ Cobēdē⁴;
 ρατ-αιν Λορικόαν lúavēf zail,
 ρατ-αιν Domnall mac Mupicāio.⁵

In Gilla.

Νίτ-αιν Fínzín⁶ ná Ailill,⁷ 10
 ocuf Tavo Rāclino robinō;
 nít-αιν Domnall⁸ Δ Oún Lāir,
 nít-αιν Subne mac Colmáin.⁹

In Caillec.

Ρατ-αιν Maelcailne¹⁰ ná cāt,
 ρατ-αιν Oengur¹¹ ná n-aviozāt;
 ρατ-αιν Ecā¹² Ugrán¹³ avo 15
 pōt-αιν Treppad ocuf Tavo.

In Gilla.

Νοέοτ-αιν¹⁴ Donóeāo mac Rino,
 ná Cellaécān áith imzpinō;
 noéot-αιν¹⁵ Conall ná cāt,
 ná Cātharínadē¹⁶ ná Cōbēdē.¹⁷ 20

¹ mcam Facs. Another possible emendation would be nít-aincpe; so below, pōt-aincpe (21) (J. S.). ² .i. níl hua mupicāioz. ³ níl lāzen. ⁴ níl fōēapc nāir a quo Rūba Cobēdiz nominatup. ⁵ níl hua nāzāla. ⁶ níl muman. ⁷ níl hua Conall zābra. ⁸ níl oercipit hēpenn. ⁹ níl Ciarraizge. ¹⁰ níl ná fōrtuadē. ¹¹ níl hua fāilze. ¹² Over the *a* an illegible letter. Professor Strachan thinks it may be *p*, abbreviated for *proprium*, 'a proper name.'

TRANSLATION.

The Gillie.

O loaf, thou art in danger !
 Thou shalt not get thy protection ;
 The King of Leinster will not save thee from it,^a
 Thou shalt go after thy fellow.^b

The Old Woman.

Glorious Morgan will save thee ;
 So will Cearbhall and Cobhthach ;
 So will Lorcan who sets fight in motion,
 And Domhnall, son of Murchadh.

The Gillie.

Finghin will not save thee, nor Ailioll ;
 Nor^c Tadhg of sweet Rathlinn.
 Domhnall from Dún Láir will not save thee,
 Nor Suibhne, son of Colman.

The Old Woman.

Maolcailne of the battles will save thee,
 And Aonghus of the high bounties.
 Noble Ugran will save thee ;
 So will Tresach and Tadhg.

The Gillie.

Donnchadh, son of Rinn, will not save thee,
 Nor keen, very pleasant Ceallachan ;
 Conall of the battles will not save thee,
 Nor Catharnach, nor Cobhthach.

He suggests $\mu\alpha\tau\alpha\mu\epsilon\sigma\alpha$, a peculiar é future from $\alpha\gamma\iota\sigma\tau\omicron$.

¹⁴ $\mu\omicron\sigma\sigma\omicron\mu\omicron\tau\alpha\mu\iota$ Facs.

¹⁵ $\mu\iota\tau\alpha\mu\iota$ Facs.

¹³ $\mu\acute{\iota}$ $\lambda\alpha\iota\gamma\eta$.

¹⁷ $\mu\acute{\iota}$ $h\upsilon\alpha$ $\mu\beta\alpha\delta\alpha\mu\eta\alpha$.

¹⁶ $\mu\acute{\iota}$ $h\upsilon\alpha$ $\tau\alpha\pi\pi\alpha\iota\varsigma$.

^a Viz. from the danger.

^b Viz. the other loaf.

^c Literally 'and.'

In Ćalleċ.

Rot-ainepe lopeán Liamna,¹
 ocur Tavo a táeb Iarba;²
 rat-ain Ciarmac³ Sláne reihg
 ocur Cellac mac Cephail.⁴

In Ğilla.

nít-bérac Ğagin loġa 25
 ó Ğairvelbac bórama;
 nocot-ġébat a ġleó ġáio,
 nít-bérac leó a himmarbáig.⁵

In Ćalleċ.

Ailill móir mac Dunlaing ouino,
 robuir reċt caċa for leċ Ćuino, 30
 robuir reċt caċa aile
 for Mumain na ríġiarve.

Ğieno Mumán ó Ćáin co Clíu
 immot⁶ brieit arfa leit avíu;
 Ğieno Connaċt a heċtge úair, 35
 Ğieno fer nheġenn ra hóen-úair.

Vá clóra rí Liamna lán,
 firfariver in t-immforrián,⁷
 betír colla ve can éno,
 vá mbao é brianoub borbténo. 40

Mo éobair vo ríġ nime,
 v' óen-mac Maíre ingine,
 ní éuala ríġ bao ferri cruċ
 nó rir-mao ferri aիրිւս.

ní éuala ríġ buó ferri ciall 45
 [1]ná brianoub na mborb-ġiall,
 'ná bao ferri vo ċur caċa
 ná vo ċairnium aիրաւա.

¹ mac ferġura a foċarraig.² .i. roem 7 Corba 1 nhuib Dúnċava.³ rí fer na Cenél.⁴ rí . . .⁵ animmarbáig Facs.⁶ Leg. 'mot.⁷ intimmorrián Facs.

The Old Woman.

Lorcan of Liamhain will save thee,
And Tadhg from beside Iarb (?),
Ciarmac of slender Slane will save thee,
And Ceallach, the son of Cearbhall.

The Gillie.

Fiery Leinstermen will not carry thee off
From Toirdhealbhach of the tribute ;
They will not seize thee by perilous fight :
They will not take thee with them from contention.

The Old Woman.

Great Ailioll, son of Dunlaing the Dun,
Won seven battles over Conn's Half ;
He won seven other battles
Over Munster of the kings.

The challenge (?) of Munster from Carn to Cliu
About carrying thee hence,
The challenge of Connaught from cold Slieve Aughty,
The challenge of the men of Ireland at the same time.

If the perfect king of Liamain should hear,
The battle will be fought ;
There would be bodies without a head in consequence of it,^a
If it were fierce, strong Brandubh.^b

My confession to the King of Heaven,
To the only son of Mary the Maiden !
I have not heard of a king that was better of shape,
Or who liked music better.

I have not heard of a king of better understanding
Than Brandubh of the proud hostages,
Nor better to wage battle,
Nor for the putting down of tyranny.

^a *I.e.* of eating the loaf.

^b *Viz.* that were alive now.

1r nyr atriubairt in nĩ
 m̃deluúin, [no] ba fáct co fĩ : 50
 “téigeo nĩ l̃agen oar mui,̃
 nó tabmao gĩall co Temuaid̃!”

In ceño atriubairt rein,
 m̃deluúin, [no] ba fáct co neim,
 1r é b̃ianoub no beno¹ oe 55
 oia m̃airt ar m̃aid̃ Almaine.

Romairb̃ Ailill Connac̃t crúaid̃
 1r̃in leir̃ ñ Temuaid̃ atriuid̃;
 romairb̃ Donoéad̃ mac̃ Néill̃ gl̃ain
 1r̃in¹ cétáiñ ór Charman-m̃aid̃. 60

Slúaid̃ Mum̃an, 1r m̃ór̃ in oál̃,
 táet̃at̃ t̃ier̃in n-imm̃foriáñ,²
 Mum̃ñis ocuf̃ na l̃agñis
 com̃airc̃it̃ in óen-bair̃gin.

M̃uoid̃, Connac̃taid̃ ar̃ ciño 65
 ocuf̃ ul̃taid̃ na n-ar̃om̃iñ;
 r̃l̃óid̃ Mum̃an cuf̃na h-ab̃nib̃,
 coñoir̃c̃at̃ in óen-bair̃gin.

F̃ir̃ h̃ér̃enñ ó chuino co tuino,
 nĩ him̃mar̃b̃aid̃ in m̃ór̃-ñuill̃, 70
 noóo b̃ér̃at̃ ó l̃agñib̃,
 oia mb̃tir̃ buoid̃ o' óen-bair̃gin.
 Δ.

Gilla ñis̃ Mum̃an 7 callec̃oo l̃agñib̃ ooir̃ñgin in n-imm̃ar̃-
 b̃aid̃ reo ac̃ l̃ir̃ na Call̃ig̃ 1 ciño m̃aid̃e oála. Uair̃ 1
 mb̃iãtãig̃eet̃ no b̃ái r̃í añoir̃in o'o ñis̃ l̃ageñ .i. o'o Cher̃ball̃
 mac̃ Muirc̃áiñ. Co t̃ánic̃ gilla ñis̃ Mum̃an ar̃ búannaet̃ o'a
 tig̃-r̃i, ar̃ na cuf̃ o'o ñis̃ Mum̃an o'f̃ir̃ Δ cet̃a, ar̃ bá b̃á̃̃ad̃
 añoir̃uit̃ in challec̃. 1r̃ año no búí fuñi na n-ar̃iem̃an ar̃ ciño
 in gilla 1 tig̃ na call̃ig̃. Tuc̃ad̃ in ch̃ét-bair̃gen no fuñeo
 oer̃ioe 1 f̃iãoñair̃ in gilla coñoúaid̃. Uair̃ nĩ r̃it̃ir̃ in challec̃
 naé o'o f̃oir̃go c̃ena t̃ánic̃ in gilla. Rob̃ar̃ imm̃oir̃io ac̃ fuñi

¹ Recte no ben.² Leg. 'r̃in.³ nimm̃ar̃nam Facs.

It is to him spake the king,
Maolduin—'twas a cause with venom—
“Let the king of Leinster go over the sea,
Or let him bring a hostage to Tara.”

The head that said that—
Maolduin—'twas a cause with venom—
'Tis Brandubh that cut it off,
On a Tuesday, on the plain of Allen.

He slew brave Ailioll of Connaught,
In the plain to the north of Tara;
He slew Donnchadh, the son of pure Niall,
On the Wednesday, above the plain of Carman.

The hosts of Munster—great is the deed—
Will fall through the contest.
Munstermen and the Leinstermen
Will encounter each other about one loaf.

Meathmen, Connaughtmen in front (?),
And Ulstermen of the high diadems,
The hosts of Munster to the rivers
Will come together about one loaf.

The men of Ireland from sea to sea—
It is not a contention about great pride (?)—
Will not carry off from Leinster,
If they should be thankful for one loaf.

A servant of the King of Munster and an old woman of Leinster made this dispute at the abode of the woman at the end of Magh Dala; for she was there in hospitallership to the King of Leinster, *i.e.* to Cearbhall, the son of Murican. A servant of the King of Munster came on billet to her house, having been sent by the King of Munster to ascertain her permission (?); for the old woman was contentious and stubborn. There was baking for the ploughmen, when the servant arrived in the woman's house. The first loaf thereof that was baked was put before the servant, so that he ate it, for the woman did not know that it was not simply to beg that the servant had

байгене айле нона айемнаиб. Конто анд атберт ин зилла:
 “А ben,” ай рё, “вёна ин мбайгин рин нй ар репп андър
 тоунгнур ин мбайгин а ёйанаиб.” “Сйа вёйтцу 1 райи-ру
 сон байгин ут ?” ай ин чаллеч, “уйи нй ё’ару-ру тёт рид.”
 “Тёт immoуно,” ай ин зилла, “уйи м’айузио ин байген а
 ёйанаиб 7 мо [р]им-чуит ин байген ут, уйи ир фор буннаёт
 то вёёауф о рйз Mumан.” “1а он оmm!” ай ин ёайлеч,
 “по заб а commайзи форт ин байген ро; уйи аτά рй фор
 commайзе рйз 1аген.”

Конто анд атберт ин зилла: “А байген аτά 7 рл.”
 Ракомпайрет 1агин 7 рир Mumан имме рин, со по сурит трий
 саёа етуриу.

'Twas then the servant said : " O loaf, thou art in danger, &c." On that account the Leinstermen and the men of Munster met together, and three battles were fought between them.

Ես ծնալ էմ որոշում առնել եւս մի անգամ հարկադրեալ ընտելանալ ինչպէս նախորդող տարիս։

NOTES.

L. 3. *The King of Leinster*, i.e. Cerball mac Muirecáin. For an account of this king, see Dr. Kuno Meyer's edition of Dallan's poem on Cerball's sword, *Rev. Celt.* xx., p. 7.

L. 5. *Murican* .i. ní hua muruais. See note to Féilire Aongusa, 21st June, "in Oirure Oirumata i n-áib Muireuais." Castledermot, Co. Kildare, is in hui muruais. Ua Muireadhaigh was the tribe-name of the O'Tooles (Index Ann. Uls.).

L. 6. Cobtae .i. ní fothairt náir a quo Ruba Cobtae nominatur. King of Fotharta Naas, from whom Rathcoffey (?) is called. Rathcoffey is near Clongowes College, nine miles north of Naas. Cf. Ruba Conail, AU. 802. Modern, Rathconnell.

L. 7. Lorcan: see note on l. 21.

L. 8. Domhnall, son of Murchadh (murcáio metri gratiâ for murcáio), ní hua nḡabla, which is in the south of Co. Kildare. The Féilire of Aengus, in a note to May 16, speaks of the rule of Domnall, son of Murchad, hī flaitḡ Domnail mic murcáio.

L. 9. Fingín ní muman. "Fionngúine, ní muhan, do marbáð la a cénél féin" (FM., A.D. 897, AU., A.D. 902. In the previous year: "Coemcloð nḡ i Cairn .i. Cormac mac Cuilennáin tair éirí Cinnḡeḡam .i. Fionngúine. For the double spelling Fingín and Fionngúine, cf. B. of Lein., p. 274, b 23; "Márb Fingín iarruioi conbécáio-ri co Catall macc Fingúine." According to the Index to Ann. of Ulster, he was the son of Dublachtna.

L. 10. *Abail*, ní hua Conail ḡabra, a territory corresponding to the present baronies of Upper and Lower Connello, in Co. Limerick.

L. 10. *Raélin*. According to O'Donovan's note to the Four Masters, A.D. 903, a place in Co. Cork. Róe Laoi near Macroon (?)

L. 12. Subne mac Colmáin, the father of *foḡairtach* .i. echnaíoe mac Suibne, *ḡeḡanna Ciarraíḡe Cuirḡe* (now the Barony of Kerrycurryh in Co. Cork), who fell in the Battle of Ballaghmoone. See the Four Masters, A.D. 903.

L. 13. *maelcaíne*, ní na *foirtuac* (viz. *laigen*). He was the son of Fergal. See Three Fragments, p. 212.

L. 15. *Eca*, as a proper name, occurs in AU. 780, 795, 800.

L. 15. *uḡrán* = *Augrán* mac *Cennécis* ní *laíḡe*, AU. 917. He perished in the Battle of Cinnfuait (Confey, in the Barony of Salt, Co. Kildare), against the Norse.

L. 16. *ḡeḡrac*, identical with *ḡeḡrac* mac *Beccáin* ní hua *mḡarḡi*, mentioned in a poem by Dallán mac Móre, LL. p. 47 a 46.

L. 17. *Donncað* mac *Rinn*. The surname Ring is still not uncommon.

L. 18. Cellachán, King of Cashel, died 954 (AU.).

L. 19. *Flann* mac *Conail*, abb *mleca* *ḡair* (i.e. of Emly, Tipperary), died A.D. 904 (AU.).

L. 20. *Catharnac*, ní hua *ḡarraḡis*, King of Ui Tassaigh. According to O'Donovan (Three Fragments, p. 218, note p), Carn Tasaigh was the residence of the chief of Ui-Liathain, now the Barony of Barrymore, Co. Cork.

L. 21. *lopcán* *liamna*, i.e. of Liamain, otherwise called Dún Liamhna, now Dunlavan, Co. Dublin. Cf. *i taeb liamna a muḡ laigen*, Féil. Oeng., May 3.

L. 22. *Corbá* i *nhuib* *ḡúncáio*. Cf. O'Don., FM., A.D. 956: "The Ui Dunchadha were a tribe seated in that district of the county of Dublin through

which the Dodder flows." Cf. Féil. Oeng., March 3: ó chíll céilí cčírt í n-úib Óúncáda í laigrib; *ib.*, hí tís Thacra á n-úib Óúncáda; *ib.*, Dec. 31, loéán 7 éna ó chíll manac í nhúab Óúncáda áac.

L. 24. Cellac mac Cerrbaili Tempac, AU. 908.

L. 29. "Ailill mac Óinlauge regis Lagenensium a Nordmannis interfectus est," AU. 871.

L. 33. Caru. Caru tí neio, near Mizen Head. Caru íochard, Carnsore Point. Clu, near Knockany, in Limerick.

L. 35. Eccege, now Slieve Aughty, or Baughta, Co. Clare.

L. 46. Brandubh, son of Eacha, was King of Leinster from A.D. 574 to 604 (AU.). In 589 he defeated the Uí Neill at Magh Octair in Kildare (*cf.* *ll.* 59, 60). In 596 he slew Cumurcach mac Aeóa at Dún Buáac, Dunboyke, Hollywood, Co. Wicklow. In 597 he slew the high-king himself, Aedh, son of Ainmire, at Dunbolg, near Donard, a little to the south of Dunboyke. This Aedh must be the Maeldun of *ll.* 50, 54. It is strange that each of these lines is too short by a syllable in MS. In 604 he was defeated by the Uí Neill at Slaebhre, and treacherously slain.

L. 57. I cannot trace the reference.

L. 60. W. M. Hennessy, *sub an.* 840, AU., places Carman in the south of Co. Kildare.

Fingin, or Fionngúine, nicknamed Cenngegan, gave place to or was deposed by Cormac mac Cuilennain in 901, and was slain in the next year. Dubhlactna, King of Cashel, that is, of Munster, died in 895 (AU.). So the dispute about the loaf must have taken place between 895 and 901.

The Leinstermen and the Munstermen fought three battles against one another in consequence of the dispute.

Sloigeac la flann mac maolrechlainn 7 la Cerrbail mac murgesáin co íora muáin go no hionnrad leó ó Shobhan go luimneac (FM. 901, *recte* 905).

Battle of Moylena (906), between Munster and Leath Cuinn.

The great battle of Ballaghmoone, in 908.

No great expedition against Fingin is mentioned by the Four Masters, or by the Annals of Ulster.

τομάς p. ua nualláin, m.e.

ANECDOTON.

MS. 23 N 10, R.I.A., p. 20.

For variant ("The
hermit's Song") and
translation,
see Eriu, ii, 55.

M' oenaran *im aireglan* gan duinen im gnais :
 Robu inmain ailethran re ndul a ndail bais.
 Bothan derrit diamarda do dīlgud gach claoín,
 Cubus direch dianim doc[h]um nime noeimh.
 Noemad cuirp la sobesuib saltra ferrda fair (l. for),
 Suili tlaithi do deraib do dīlgud mo tol.
 Tola fandú feogaide, freitech domain ce,
 Coigle bana beodaige,¹ ba si díge De.
 Donala co ndilochta dochum nime nel,
 Coibsen fiala firelta,² frosa diana dér.
 Dergud aduar aitigi³ amuil talgud troch,
 Codlad gairit gaibitigi,⁴ diucra minic moch.
 Mo tuaru mo tuínide robu inmuin cacht :
 Ni dingena cuilide mo longad gan *acht*.
 Aran toimsi tirmaide tailc donair tend gnuis
 Uisci⁵ lerga ligmaisi, basi deoch-nodluis.
 Longad serba semide, men, mil, lebar leir,
 Lamh fri cach fri ceilide, coubus rotend reidh.
 Robad inmain airaide (i. eccosc) ainim nechta naom,
 Leicne tirma tanaige,⁶ gnuis coignide caol.
 Reim fri seta soiscela, sailmcetal cach trath,
 Cluas fri rath fri roscēla filliud glune ngnath.
 Crist mac De dom ait[h]iged, mo duilem mo rí,
 Mo menma mo atachhi gusin flaith ambidh.
 Basi baes fomtemadar eter lesuib land,
 Locan aluind iladlan 7 me am aonar and.
 M'aonaran dam am aireclān am ænar firfi luat[h],
 M'oenar tanac forsan mbith am ænar dolluidh⁷ uadh.

M.

J. STRACHAN.

¹ = beódaide ² *leg.* firetla Meyer ³ *leg.* áichthide Meyer. ⁴ *leg.* gáibthide Meyer.
⁵ This is probably what is meant, but the word would more naturally be read uisín. ⁶ = tanaide. ⁷ *leg.* dollod Meyer.

[Like the poem on p. 122, the present poem had to be transcribed and printed at the last moment to fill a vacant page. When it was already in type, an edition and translation arrived from Professor Meyer. Some textual emendations of his have been added. His translation and notes will appear in the next Part.—J. S.]

ANALOGY IN THE VERBAL SYSTEM OF MODERN IRISH

IN Irish, as in other languages, two processes are found at work in the transition from its earlier to its later forms, one of decay, the other of growth. Where inflexions have been so worn away by the action of phonetic laws as to be confused with one another, the old system is bound to break down ; and if the linguistic consciousness of any particular period feels the inflexions to be superfluous, they are merged together or entirely dropped.

On the other hand, there are certain distinctions, such as those of number, person, and tense, which no inflected language can do without ; and when the old forms fail to express these clearly, more obvious and distinctive forms must take their place. Thus, though Modern Irish is still well inflected, a large proportion of its inflexions are not directly connected with the corresponding ones in O. Ir. They are fresh analogical formations, breaking the historic continuity of the accidence ; and therefore from one point of view they are corruptions ; but they serve the purposes of language as well as the so-called original inflexions, or even better, and the fact that we can trace the beginnings of the new system gives a special interest to our investigation of it. I purpose to examine, on these grounds, one tense of the modern verb, the preterite active, and to account for its most striking developments.

My examples of the modern language will be taken almost entirely from the dialect best known to me, that of Mid-Cork. All the dialects of West Munster are rich in inflexions. For instance, the preterite always has distinct forms for person and number, the "analytic" forms of the modern grammarian being almost unknown in this tense. A difficulty arises as to the spelling of the examples. Obviously the conventional Gaelic orthography will not do. On the other hand, an accurate representation of spoken sounds, apart from difficulties of alphabet and

type, demands in the writer a special training in phonetics which I do not possess, and to a certain extent presupposes a similar training in the reader. I think it best therefore to use the ordinary system as far as it will go, dropping silent letters, using *ui* rather than *ai* for *i* after a broad consonant; adopting Father O'Leary's *uio* for *i* preceded and followed by a broad consonant; using *au* for the sound of English *ou* in *house* as pronounced in Ireland, *auí* for the same followed by a palatal. (The nasal *au* of Dēsi-Irish is not found in Cork.) The examples given are arranged under what may be called the stem of the third person singular in the standard form.

Already in the language of the Glosses the wearing down process has gone very far. Even if we had no proof of the fact, we might postulate that such weak endings as sg. 1 *-cúala*, 2 *-cúala*, 3 *-cúale* had not long to live. The last became regularly *-cuala*. How were the persons to be distinguished? It is often assumed that the reduplicated past simply took the endings of the S-preterite in the first and second persons. But at the present day the first person is *chuala* in West Munster. It is to the third person we must look for the origin of a new suffix which has done much to alter the verbal system of Middle and Modern Irish.

In O. Ir. 3 sg. *-dechuid* beside 3 pl. *-dechutar* gave the impression of a stem *dech-* with endings *-uid* and *-atar*. The same stem also appears in 1 pl. *dechummar* for *-*dechdammar*. By the Mid. Ir. period it is evident that the words were so analysed. Other dental stems would strengthen the impression—*cechlaid* beside *cechlatar*, *aduid* beside *aduatar*, and so on. When we find such a form as *mebais* fluctuating with *ro mebaid*, we are justified in concluding that in the mind of a twelfth-century speaker the old reduplicated past *me-maid* had become *mem-aid*, that is to say, had evolved a new root *mem-* and a new termination *-aid*. What more natural than to employ this suffix, already associated with the reduplicated past, to strengthen the weakest point in the O. Ir. verbal system, the reduplicated forms ending in a vowel? A speaker who used sg. 3 *do-chuaid* beside pl. 1 *do-chuamar*, 2 *do-chuabair*, 3 *do-chuatar*, would unconsciously say sg. 3 *-chuailaid* to match pl. 1 *-chualamar*, 2 *chualabair*, 3 *chualatar*. In Mid. Ir. both *atchuala* and *atchualaid* are found. (Atkinson, 'Passions and Homilies,' p. 552, erroneously classes the latter as

a present base formed from a perfect stem.) In early Modern Irish *do-chualaidh* is common. Cf. *ni faccuíd* Wi. Ir. Tex. I. 139, 18. To judge by *ni tharlaid* SR. 3668, *do-t-ralaid* ib. 1307, the suffix had begun to spread in the tenth century.

When the perfect sg. 2 *do-chuad*, *-dechad* was strengthened by the addition of the S-preterite ending, *-ais*, *-cuala* naturally followed suit; and we find a sg. 2 *-cualadais* LL. 296 b 32, 34, 35. Here the suffix is attached, not to *-cuala*-, but to the new base *-cualad*-. By this time we have got three quite distinct forms, sg. 1 *-cuala*, 2 *-cualadais*, 3 *-cualaid*, in a verb which threatened to become unipersonal in the sg. ; and from these the modern colloquial forms sg. 1 *chuala*, 2 *chualais*, 3 *chualuig* can be derived according to the usual laws of Munster phonetics. Of course the sg. 3 *-cuala* lived on side by side with *-cualaid*; and possibly the existence of such pairs may have contributed to the formation of the syntactical doublets to which I shall presently refer. For as *dh* = *gh*, the suffix *-aid* must have been even in Mid. Ir. indistinguishable from the *-aig* and *-ig* of denominative verbs.

The normal form of the preterite in Modern Irish has the endings of the S-pret. in the singular, and of the reduplicated past in the plural. Thus from *mol*- :

sg.	pl.
1 do mholas	do mholamuir
2 „ mholuis	„ mholúir
3 „ mhol	„ mholadar

From *buail*- :

sg.	pl.
1 do bhuaileas	do bhuaileamuir
2 „ bhualis	„ bhuailiúir
3 „ bhuail	„ bhuaileadar

It is to be noticed that the final *r* in the pl. 1 and 2 is always slender in Munster.

But departures from this standard are very numerous. Apart from archaic survivals these variations may be classified as due (I.) to phonetic laws, or (II.) to analogical formations, though at times it is not easy to draw the line between the two classes.

I. A full treatment of the purely phonetic variations would be out of place here. I may simply mention some typical cases, with special reference to those which throw light on Class II.

(a) Monosyllabic stems which lengthen or diphthongise the vowel in the 3 sg.—e.g. *fill* gives sg. 1 *d'íleas*, but 3 *d'tíl*; from *gearr* sg. 1 *do ghearas*, 3 *'do gheár*; from *cam* sg. 1 *do chamas*, 3 *do chaum*. In *cum* the long vowel of the 3 sg. *do chúm*, also regular in fut. and past part., has spread to all parts of the verb.

(b) Syncopated verbs may become apparently irregular from assimilation, &c.

Codail:

	sg.	pl.
1	do cholas	do cholamuir
2	„ choluis	„ cholúir
3	„ choduil	„ choladar

Taking the 3 sg. as a base, many speakers form sg. 1 *chodalútos*, 2 *chodalúts*. For such forms see Class II.

innis:

	sg.	pl.
1	d'ínseas	d'ínseamuir
2	d'ínsis	d'ínsiúir
3	d'íngis	d'ínseadar

(c) Very important is the treatment of stems ending in *gh*, *dh*, *bh*. The greater number are denominative verbs in *-igh*.

airigh:

	sg.	pl.
1	d'airíos	d'airíomuir
2	d'airís	d'airiúir
3	d'airig	d'airíodar
	d'aire sé	

árduigh:

1	d'árduíos	d'árduíomuir
2	d'árduís	d'árdúir
3	d'árduig	d'árduíodar
	d'árda sé	

Here we notice three things: the intervocalic *gh* with its following vowels is absorbed in the preceding vowel, which it

lengthens; *igh* disappears in 2 pl.; the 3 sg. has two forms. *D'airig* and *d'aire* are syntactical doublets, the latter being used when the subject is a following personal pronoun, the former in all other cases. Whether such doublets originated in cases like *do-chuala sé* beside *do-chualaidh*, in which the person being marked by the pronoun made it unnecessary to add the characteristic suffix *-aidh*, I cannot say. But similar doublets are also found in the fut. ind. of all verbs, *buaillig*, *buaillhe sé*, *beig*, *be mé*, and so on. As it is unlikely that these had anything to do with the old absolute and conjunct terminations, it seems best to regard them as late phonetic growths, the enclitic pronoun allowing no pause after the verb, and causing the dropping of the final *gh* or *dh*, which elsewhere hardened into *g*. In that case the speech-unit *d'árdui(gh)-sé* would be a parallel to the past part. *árdui(gh)the*, where the *gh* disappears without compensatory lengthening. But the whole subject needs a full investigation. The *g*-forms are very rarely used with personal pronouns except in the case of monosyllabic verbs. Naturally in such verbs the vowel being stressed cannot become irrational.

nigh:

sg.	pl.
1 do níos	do níomuir
2 „ nís	„ níúir
3 „ níg nĩ sé	„ níodar

luigh:

1 do luíos	do luíomuir
2 „ luís	„ luíúir
3 „ luig luĩ sé	„ luíodar

suidh has 3 sg. *do shuig* (i.e. *hig*) even with pronouns.

Guidh has both *do ghuig se* and *do ghui sé*.

Monosyllables with long vowels are—

báidh:

sg.	pl.
1 do bhás	do bhámuir
2 „ bháis	„ bháúir
3 „ bháig bhá sé	„ bhádar

bhrúigh :

	sg.	pl.
1	do bhrús	do bhrúmuir
2	„ bhrúis	„ bhrúúir
3	„ bhrúig bhrú sé	„ bhrúdar

chuaidh :

1	do chuas	do chuamuir
2	„ chuais	„ chuaúir
3	„ chuaig chua sé	„ chuadar

dhóigh :

1	do dhós	do dhómuir
2	„ dhóis	„ dhóúir
3	„ dhóig dhó sé	„ dhódar

léigh :

1	do léas	do léamuir
2	„ léis	„ léúir
3	„ léig lé sé	„ léadar

In *beirbh* a svarabhakti *ž* arises between *r* and *bh*, and the latter when intervocalic is treated like *gh*.

	sg.	pl.
1	do bheiríos	do bheiríomuir
2	„ bheirís	„ bheiriúir
3	„ bheiribh	„ bheiríodar

gabh is thus conjugated :

	sg.	pl.
1	do ghaus	do ghaumuir
2	„ ghauis	„ ghauúir
3	„ ghoibh	„ ghaudar

In sg. 3 the *bh* is slender. So *raibh* has sg. 1 *raus*, 3 *roibh* ; the last might be also written *reibh* ; but *raibh* does not represent the pronunciation of any district.

II. Among analogical formations one of the most interesting is *tháinig*.

sg.	pl.
1 do thánag	do thánamuir
„ thána-sa	
2 „ tháinís	„ thánúir
3 „ tháinig	„ thánadar
tháine sé	

1 sg. *thána-sa* for *thánag-sa* is supported by other examples of 1 sg. in *a*, *chuala*, *thárla*, *feaca*. The plural forms then come from the stem *thán-*, *thánamuir* like *chualamuir*, &c. The 3 sg. *tháinig*: *tháine* = *airig*: *aire*; that is to say, the 3 sg. is treated as if it were *tháinigh*, and by analogy the 2 sg. = *tháinighis*, like *airighis*.

cuala:

sg.	pl.
1 do chuala	do chalamuir
2 „ chualuís	„ chualúir
3 „ chualuig	„ chualadar
chuala sé	

I have already analysed these forms.

connaic:

sg.	pl.
1 do chnoc	do chnocamuir
2 „ chnuicís	„ chnuiciúir
3 „ chnuic	„ chnocadar

With *chnoc* for *chonnac* cf. *cnubalach* for *conablach*. The modern forms point to a contamination of *adcondarc* and *conacca*. Mid. Ir. has both *-chonnaire* and *-chonnaic*. The 2 sg. has the termination *-ís* characteristic of so many irregular verbs. The dependent form *faca* is thus conjugated:—

sg.	pl.
1 feaca	feacamuir
2 feacuís	feacúir
3 feacuig	feacadar
feaca sé	

The prothetic *f*, best heard in *ná feaca*, is slender in Munster. It has thus fallen into line with the present stem, Keating's *faicim* being now *feicim* or *ficim*, verbal noun *figint*. For the

assimilation cf. O. Ir. *maicc*, later *meic* now *mic*; *cumail*, *cumil* now *cimil*; *coiscéim* now *ciscéim*; *coimhead* now *cimeád*; *athair* now pronounced *aithir* (but gen. *athar*), &c.

adubhairt (= *ad-do-bert* for Mid. Ir. *at-ru-bairt*, O. Ir. *as-ru-bart*) the only surviving T-preterite, also takes *-ts* in 2 sg.:

sg.	pl.
1 duart	dúramuir
2 dúirís	dúruir
3 duairt	dúradar

The full forms *aduart*, &c., are now confined to relative clauses; as in the case of *adeir*, *atá*, the *a* is treated as a separate relative particle. However, the *d*, as not originally initial, is not subject to aspiration, though it is to eclipsis, hence *ní duairt*, *go nuairt*. But in Connacht the verb is analysed as *d'uairt* and becomes *ntor uairt* (commonly written *ntor dhubhairt*), *gur uairt*, &c., on the analogy of regular verbs.

feadair:

sg.	pl.
1 feadar	feadaramuir
2 feadaruís	feadarúir
3 feaduir	feadaradar
feidir	

With sg. 1 *feadar*, 2 *feadaruís*, cf. *chuala* and *chualuís*. The *d* in 3 sg. *feaduir* has been broadened by analogy. But 3 sg. *ní eidir sé*, in the sense of "he did not know" (vid. Fr. O'Leary, "Aesop," Voc. xi.), points to O. Ir. *fitir*. The deponent *-ar* of the sg. is taken as a base for pl. endings.

do-rinne:

sg.	pl.
1 do dhineas	do dhineamuir
2 „ dhinis	dhiniúir
3 „ dhin	dhineadar

In the present tense, the orthotonic form of this verb being disused, we find *déinim*. But on the analogy of *deirim*, fut. *déarhad*, and *beirim*, fut. *béarhad*, a commoner form is *déinim*, fut. *déanhad*. Now, as *teine* is pronounced *tine*, so *déinim* is generally pronounced *dinim*; and from *din-* the preterite is regularly formed. The latter would be supported by the vocalism

of *do-rinne*, which seems to have died out in West Munster. I may remark that the spelling *do dhéin*, general in Munster writers, is quite misleading, for the vowel of the preterite is always pronounced short. *Ní dhearna*, sometimes found in poetry as dependent 1 sg., is modelled on forms like *chuala*, &c.

congaibh. Here *ng* becomes slender, giving *cuingibh*, or more commonly *cuinibh*, conjugated like *beirbh* above :

	sg.		pl.
	1 do chuiníos		do chuiniómuir
	2 „ chuínís		„ chuiniúir
	3 „ chuinibh		„ chuiniódar
<i>marbh</i> :			
	1 do mharuíos		do mharuiómuir
	2 „ mharuís		„ mharúir
	3 „ mhairibh		„ mharuódar

The 3 sg. keeps the old stem with the attenuation of reduplicated past. *Mairibh* is also the impv. 2 sg. ; but the rest of this verb comes from a different stem *maruigh-*, which arises thus. The verbal noun *marbhadh* is regularly pronounced *marū*, just as *arbhar* = *arūr*. This is equated in the speaker's mind with the large class of verbal nouns in *-ughadh* (pr. *ū*) corresponding to denominative verbs in *-uighim*. So on the analogy of—

vn. <i>árdú</i>	we say	<i>marú</i>
„ gen. <i>árduithe</i>	„	<i>maruithe</i>
pres. ind. <i>árdúim</i>	„	<i>maruim</i>
fut. <i>árdód</i>	„	<i>maród</i>
pret. <i>d'árdútos</i>	„	<i>do mharuíos</i>

Why *do mhairbh* should be kept in the 3 sg. pret. in Cork, I cannot explain. Even this seems to have died out in many districts, for *mharbhuigh* is often written. No doubt the *bh* is as purely ornamental here as in *marbhuighim*. The attempt to exhibit at the same time both classical and colloquial forms gives rise to many monstrosities.

sgríobh :

	sg.		pl.
	1 do sgríos		do sgríómuir
	2 „ sgrís		„ sgríúir
	3 „ sgríg		„ sgríodar
	sgrí sé		

Here the *bh* being flanked by vowels is lost, and the verb treated as if the stem ended in *gh*, for *sgríos* might represent *sgrígeas*. Hence the doublets in 3 sg. The impv. 2 sg. is *sgríg*, and vn. *sgrí*.

fuair :

sg.	pl.
1 do fuaras	do fuaramuir
2 „ fuaruis	„ fuarúir
3 „ fuair	„ fuaradar

The slender *r* of the 3 sg. has spread to the other persons in Kerry and elsewhere, but not in Cork. A form *fuaruís*, like *feadaruís*, seems to be coming into use for 2 sg. I have not heard it from good speakers. Why the negative should be *ní bhuaras* is not clear. *Ní* has the same effect on the present stem *fagh-*.

foghlaim :

sg.	pl.
1 d'aulamuíos	d'aulamuíomuir
2 d'aulamuís	d'aulamúir
3 d'auluim	d'aulamuíodar

The stem is strengthened by *-uigh-* except in 3 sg. As mentioned above, this has no effect on 2 pl. The result is often a firmer base for the inflexions to rest upon, as will be evident to anyone who compares 1 pl. from old stem *d'aulamamuir* (accent on first syll.) with the longer form accented on the penult. It must also be remembered that the suffix *-uigh-* is constantly implied in the fut. of syncopated verbs.

In the same way *codail*, as already mentioned, sometimes makes sg. 1 *do chodalúíos*, 2 *do chodalúís*.

In the same way :

imir :

sg.	pl.
1 d'imiríos	d'imiríomuir
2 d'imirís	d'imiríúir
3 d'imir	d'imiríodar

iomchair :

1 d'iúmparuíos	d'iúmparuíomuir
2 d'iúmparuís	d'iúmparúir
3 d'iúmpuir	d'iúmparuíodar

fulaing is less regular :

sg.	pl.
1 d'oluingíos	d'oluingeamuir
2 d'oluingís	d'oluingiúir
3 d'oluing	d'oluingeadar

The 3 sg. is sometimes *d'uilig*, from *d'fhuilig*.

aithin :

sg.	pl.
1 d'ainthíos	d'ainthíomuir
2 d'ainthís	d'ainthúir
3 d'athin	d'athiníodar

Here are strengthening, metathesis, and a curious broadening of the first syllable in 3 sg. and pl.

tarraing :

sg.	pl.
1 do thairigeas	do thairigeamuir
2 „ thairigís	„ thairigiúir
3 „ thairig	„ thairigeadar
thaire sé	

This verb shows denasalisation of *ng*, a not uncommon phenomenon in Munster Irish. The 3 sg. is further weakened in what I may call the pronominal form. With *thaire* cf. *tháine*. *Tarraing*, 'draw,' and *tairg*, 'offer,' have now fallen together.

urshluig :

sg.	pl.
1 d'úirlicíos	d'úirlicíomuir
2 d'úirlicís	d'úirlicíúir
3 d'úirlic	d'úirlicíodar
d'úirle sé	

Here we have weakening of the 3 sg., *d'úirle* as if from *d'úirligh*, and strengthening of the base in the other persons.

sgeith, sgéith :

sg.	pl.
1 do sgéas	do sgéamuir
2 „ sgéis	„ sgéúir
3 „ sgéig	„ sgéadar

The stem is *sgéigh*; and 3 sg. *do sgéig* is used even with pronouns.

iompuigh shows the influence of *-uigh* stems. *Imb-sói* became *impoidh*, shortening the unaccented vowel of the root, and taking the usual dental suffix (cf. *clói*, later *claoi*, pret. 3 sg. now *do chluig*, *do chluí sé*), and *-oidh* sounding like *-uigh*, it fell into line with the denominative verbs.

sg.	pl.
1 d'iúmpuíos	d'iúmpuíoimuir
2 d'iúmpuís	d'iúmpúir
3 d'iúmpuig	d'iúmpuíodar
d'iúmpa sé	

In all its parts this verb follows the same conjugation, as also another compound *ionntuigh* (= ind-sói), pret. *d'iúntuíos*, &c. But the verbal nouns are *iúmpáil* and *iúntáil*.

áitreabh, a contamination of *aitreabh* and *ditigh*, is conjugated like the latter, *d'áitrios*, &c.

áirimh is treated as *áirigh*, losing the *mh* even in 3 sg., cf. *beirbh*.

Some verbs strengthen the 3 sg. only.

glaoth:

sg.	pl.
1 do ghlaos	do ghlaomuir
2 „ ghlaeis	„ ghlaeúir
3 „ ghlaeig	„ ghlaodar
ghlae sé	

do ghlaeig sé is also used. *ghlaeig* is sometimes written *ghlaodhuigh*, but more often *ghlaoidh*, a very misleading spelling if we compare *chlaoidh* = *chluig*. With *ghlaeig*, *ghlae*, cf. *léig*, *lé*.

togh:

sg.	pl.
1 do thaus	do thaumuir
2 „ thauis	„ thauúir
3 „ thauig	„ thaudar
thau sé	

lámh:

sg.	pl.
1 do lás	do lámuir
2 „ láis	„ láúir
3 „ láig	„ ládar
lá sé	

Here *láig* and *lá* like *bháig* and *bhá*. The 3 sg. is written *láimhuigh*, intervocalic *mh* being silent; and when *gh* goes also, *láimhuigh* is actually shorter than *lámh*, just as the pl. *láimha* (pr. *lā*) is shorter than the sg. *lámh*.

snámh:

sg.	pl.
1 do shnás	do shnámuir
2 „ shnáis	„ shnáúir
3 „ shnáig	„ shnádar
sná sé	

In this verb, unlike the preceding, the vowel is nasal, for the aspirate *sh* (= *h*), being followed by a nasal, is of necessity entirely nasal itself, and gives the tone to the whole syllable.

deachaidh, the dependent form of *do chuaidh*, may conveniently be classed here; though from the historic point of view it is not the strengthening of the 3 sg., but the weakening of the other parts, that produces the irregularity:

sg.	pl.
1 deaghas	deaghamuir
2 deaghais	deaghúir
3 deaghaig	deaghadar
deagha sé	

eagha(i) is a diphthong like *i* in English 'mice.' The older *deach-* has here become *deagh-*, perhaps under the influence of the fut. *ragh-*. On the other hand, outside Munster, the levelling process has produced *rach-*, like *deach-*.

The above list is not exhaustive; but it probably contains types of all varieties likely to occur in the spoken language. Of course the poetic style has traditions of its own. In identifying the exact forms used by the older generation of native speakers in Mid-Cork, I have relied chiefly upon the generous and never-failing help of Tadhg Ó Murchadha, well known to lovers of pure and idiomatic Gaelic by the name of 'Seandún.' To Prof. Strachan also, who has read a proof of this article, my thanks are due for some useful hints and criticisms.

A word as to the use of the particle *do*. It is generally prefixed, in slow and deliberate speech, to all preterites except dependent forms. In (*a*)*dubhairt* (= *ad-do-bert*) it is infixed.

Fr. O'Leary, "Mion-chaint," III. 18, says: "This particle is frequently omitted, as the aspiration of the first letter of the verb supplies its place. Before vowels and unaspirable consonants it is not omitted." In relative clauses it generally becomes *a*; and this *a* disappears before vowels. Its equivalent *ro* (in *ntor*, &c.) has spread to most of the irregular verbs. Thus *ntor tháinig* rather than *nt tháinig*, but *ná táinig* and *go dtáinig* are still common. However, a discussion of the verbal prefixes belongs rather to syntax, and is outside the present inquiry.

O. J. BERGIN.

THE INFIXED PRONOUN IN MIDDLE IRISH

THE use of the infix pronoun in Old Irish has been made clear by the labours of Sommer¹ and Pedersen.² The following is an attempt to illustrate its development in Middle Irish. In this, as in other investigations into Middle Irish, it must be ever borne in mind that Middle Irish is in a greater or less degree an artificial literary language in which forms linger on after they have disappeared from ordinary use, and may even be revived according to the reading and the taste of the writer.³ In such an artificial language it is idle to look for the regularity of development which is found in popular speech. In this literary Irish are found many linguistic monstrosities which never formed part of the living language of Ireland; further, when a genuine old form is revived, it may be used as it never was when it was a living form. As we shall see below, the evidence of the *Lebor na hUidre* indicates that already in the eleventh century the infix pronoun was a moribund form; how long it survived in the living tongue I have no evidence to show.

To illustrate the use of the infix pronoun in literary Middle Irish I have selected a number of what seemed to me to be representative texts. They are the following:—

SR. = *Saltair na Rann*.⁴ This poem was written towards the end of the tenth century, and forms the natural starting-point of any investigations into Middle Irish. But it is preserved in a manuscript of the twelfth century, so that some caution must be exercised in the use of it; in particular much stress must not be laid on isolated forms not supported by the metre.

¹ CZ. I. 177 sq.

² KZ. xxxv. 400 sq.

³ A late and exaggerated example of the archaistic style is the *Life of Hugh Roe O'Donnell*, written in the beginning of the seventeenth century. The work has been edited by the Rev. Denis Murphy, S.J., Dublin, 1895.

⁴ Ed. Stokes, Oxford, 1883.

TT. = Togail Tróí¹ (LL. 217^a-244^b).

LG. = Lebor Gabála (LL. 1^a-26^b, omitting the verse).

Bor. = Boroma (LL. 294^b-308^a).

Nenn. = the Irish version of Nennius (BB. 203-211). The original text belongs to the eleventh century. There is a fragment of the work in LU. 3, 4. The Book of Ballymote version is not free from corruptions.²

Aen. = the Story of the Aeneid (BB. 449-485).

LS. = Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore.³ Here I have made use of the collections prefixed to Dr. Stokes' edition.

MC. = The Vision of Mac Conglinne.⁴

PH. = Passions and Homilies from the Leabhar Breac.⁵ For this Dr. Atkinson's glossary has been used.

MG. = The Martyrology of Gorman,⁶ a poetical composition of the twelfth century.⁷

In addition I have before me a collection of the pronominal forms in the Lebor na hUidre, from which I have quoted so far as has seemed expedient. It might have been expected *a priori* that this, the earliest of Mid. Ir. MSS., would play an important part in such an investigation. But when we come to examine the MS., we find that the long texts are texts that have come down from an earlier period with more or less corruption and interpolation, while the late texts are too short to give a fair idea of the usage.

The paper is divided as follows:—

- I. The infixed pronoun in Old Irish.
- II. Changes in the form of the infixed pronoun in Middle Irish.
- III. New Middle-Irish forms.
- IV. The infixed pronoun in Middle Irish.
- V. The independent pronoun.

¹ Ed. Stokes, Calcutta, 1881. The references are to the lines of this edition.

² An edition of Nennius was published by Todd, Dublin, 1848. From this text some variants have been added. But the *apparatus criticus* is very inadequate, and a new critical edition of the text is much to be desired.

³ Ed. Stokes, Oxford, 1890.

⁴ Ed. Meyer, London, 1892.

⁵ Ed. Atkinson, Dublin, 1887.

⁶ Ed. Stokes, London, 1895.

⁷ Stokes, Introduction, pp. xviii sq.

I. THE INFIXED PRONOUN IN OLD IRISH.

	¹ Non-relative.	Relative.	
1.	-m(m) ¹ -	-dom(m) ¹ -, -dam(m) ¹ -	} Singular.
2.	-t-	-dot ¹ -, -dat ¹ -	
3 m.	-an ^o -; after ní, -n ^o -	-dan ^o -, -dn ^o -	
3 f.	-sn ^o -	-da-	
	after nách: -a-	-a-	
3 n.	-a ¹ -; after ní, ¹	-ā-	} Plural.
1.	-n(n)-	-don(n)-, -dan(n)-	
2.	-b-	-dob-, -dab-, -dib-	
3.	-sn ^o -	-da-	
	after nach: -a-	-a- ²	

In non-relative construction, dental forms are used after *ad-*, *aith-*, *con-*, *etar-* *for-*, *frith-*; *ad-*, *aith-*, *con-*, *frith-* become, with the dental of the pronoun, *at-*, *cot-*, *frit(t)-*.³

Notes.—(1) But in the first and second persons the shorter forms prevail even when the verb is relative:—Wb. *ní maith domrignis* 4^o27, *nachimrindarpaise* 5^a18, *nomthá* 13^o10, *nom-moidim* (?)⁴ 14^o18, *domroisechtatar* 17^o1, *nombeoigedar* 19^a20, *domimmuirc* 23^b36, *romfera* 24^b15, *romiccsa* 28^a12, *immum-forling* 13^b6; *amal nonéicndichtherni* 2^a11, *hóre ronsóerni* 2^d14, *hóre nonbendachani* 11^b7, *amal nonnertarni* 14^b13, *intain ronmoitsem* 17^a13, *amal doncoisin* 17^b10, *ronntcni* 21^b8, *hóre ronsóir* 24^o18, *hóre dunnánic* 25^a21, *hóre aruntáa* 25^d25; *notail* 5^b28, *notboctha* 5^b32, *notbeir* 6^o9, *amal rotgádsa* 27^d19, *rotchech-ladar* 28^d16; *dobimchomartt* 3^b21, *nobtd* 14^o16, *robnóibsi* 19^b12: Ml. *a ndumsennat* 39^o28, *annumfindbadaigtisse* 39^d14, *amal d[on]emarni* 53^b18, *do[n]roidni* 53^d9, *nomgoistigtisse* 54^b26, *num-soiradsa* 74^b13, *dumdtisedsa* 78^b18, *ol nachamdidnasa* 86^d3, *lasse nomseimighthese* 88^a11, *nachamthisedsa* 107^b8, *a naramroet* 131^b8; *immintimcheltisni* 32^a19, *íarsindi donnucsat* 92^d1, *huare nach-ansoirainni* 93^d10, *dunnemtharni* 127^o7, *a nimmuntimchellani*

¹ ¹ denotes that the pronoun aspirates, ^o that it eclipses.

² A clear example of the relative use is *nacharochlat* Wb. 19^o15.

³ Cf. Thurneysen, *Idg. Anz.* ix. 190; *CZ.* iv. 65.

⁴ The sentence is *hóre nondobmolorsa 7 nommoidim indib*. In such a sentence it is more usual for the second verb also to be relative,—e.g. Ml. 30^a3, 37^a10, 42^b18, 57^a10, 63^b12, 94^o8; but on the other hand Ml. 21^d4, 48^o19, 85^b11, 123^o8, Wb. 19^b12, 24^a7.

108°9; *sechidú notsoesiu* 112°6, *annachattoscelfat* 107°11; *iarsindí dobroigasa* 103°15. The dental forms are regular after *ad-*, *aith-*, etc., after the interrogative *in-*, after the conjunctions *con-*, *aran-*, *dian-*, and after prep. + rel., *in-*, *trissan-*, etc.; they are never found after *ndch-*.¹ The remaining instances of the dental forms are:—Wb. *nodomberasa* 1°8; *amal asndonberat* 2°12, *nodonnertani* 6°11, *nodonfrianaigedar* 19°14; *nudubgoithesi* (gloss imperfect) 5°1, *hore nondobmolorsa* 14°18, *lasse nondobsommitetar* 17°1, *amal dondubcairemse* 28°12, *amal rondobcarsamni* 25°35: Ml. *ciofut dundamroimnifese* 32°5, *nudamcrocha* 32°28, *fodamsegatsa* 33°19, *nodamfindbadaigetarsa* 39°10, *rodamsorsa* 48°21, *allaithe nundamsoira* 62°6^b, *isindí arndamroichlisce* 74°7, *dudamdonad* 86°10, *lase dumamema* (leg. *dunamema*) 87°11, *nach molad rundammoladsa* 88°17, *lase arndamfuirset* 114°11; *fodansegat* 27°7, (*lasse* = cum) *nundanlaisrighther* 43°12, *isindí rondannitcaisní* 89°6, *asndanbertheni* 114°7; *a fundatferai* 38°26, *amal dundatmecetarsu* 106°11; and the following instances of a dependent subjunctive: *fundamthabartisce* 54°29, *nundammoraese* 70°11, *nóndammetar* 80°3, *dundanroscad* (leg. *dundam-*) 100°14, *dundamlegtharsa* 126°10; *nundatges* 21°5, *nundatmoide* 62°12; *nundanmórtar* 63°4. There is some difficulty in the history of these forms. In later Irish the dental forms, except after *ad-*, *con-*, *dian-*, etc., disappear: see below, p. 159. If we had only Wb. to consider, it might not unreasonably be supposed that the dental forms were then tending to disappear. But if that were so, it might be expected that the dental forms would be proportionately less numerous in Ml., whereas the opposite is the case; even if we deduct the dependent subjunctives, of which Wb. furnishes no example, the dental forms are relatively much more frequent in Ml. Must it be assumed that the dental forms spread analogically to the first and second persons, that in the course of the eighth century they were still spreading, and then began to get fewer in the ninth century, and finally disappeared?

(2) In the 3 sg. masc. and neut., after the conjunction *con-* we find *conidn-*, *conid-*, later *conidn-*, *conid-*, similarly after *in-*, 'in which,' *indid-*. In the same persons in relative use *-idn-*, *-id-* appear after prepositions:—*conidn-*, *conid-*, *assidn-*,

¹ But *huare nd-n-dun-tanaic*, Sg. 26°2.

assid-; *adid-*, *forid-*, *immid-*, etc., further with *nách-*, in relative use, *náchidn-*, *náchid-*.¹

II. CHANGES IN THE FORM OF THE INFIXED PRONOUN IN MID. IR.

Corresponding to O. Ir. *r-an-*, *n-an-*, etc., *ron-*, *non-*, etc., are the usual forms in Mid. Ir. Sommer, CZ. I. 222, puts this down simply to confusion of *-o-* and *-a-* in the pretonic syllable. But this by itself will not account for the persistency with which *ron-*, etc., are written. The explanation rather is that after the analogy of *ro-m-*, *ro-t-*, *ro-n-*, *ro-s-*, etc., the pronoun was now felt to be *-n-*, the vowel being taken as belonging to the preceding particle. In O. Ir. texts preserved in Mid. Ir. MSS., *-an-* is often corrupted to *-on-*, e.g. *fónérig*, LU. 60^a6 (= *faneraig* YBL.), *fónópair* 60^b27 (where YBL. also has *fonobair*). For neut. *-a-*, see below, p. 163. Confusion of vocalism is also found in other pronouns, e.g. *cé noslaiss* for *ce n-a-slaiss* LU. 74^a18, *no-do-ansed* LU. 96^a33, *ar-do-petet* LU. 101^a19; for *nodásinet* (leg. *nodasinet*) LU. 87^b18, YBL. has *nodosinet*. This orthography may be ascribed to the influence of the particles *no-*, *do-*.

Already in O. Ir. *-s-* tends to spread beyond its proper bounds.² In Mid. Ir. *-s-* becomes the regular form. In SR. *-sn-* is not infrequent: *do-sn-arbair* 89, *ro-sn-art* 3454, *ro-sn-alt* 3527, *ro-sn-ort* 4473, 5315, 6205, 6865, 6892, *ro-sn-ordaig* 4921, *ni-sn-acht* 5635, *do-sn-armchell* 6552, *do-sn-úargaib* 7445, cf. also *ro-dosn-airg* 5415; before a consonant: *ro-sm-bde* 3544, 4028, 5107, *ni-sm-boe* 3662. In later texts *-sn-* is rare: *ni-sn-éta* (v.) Bor. 317^b, *do-sn-icc*³ Aen. 468^a43, *do-sn-dinicc* LS. 315, 317, *nii-sn-etfaiitis* 2227.

¹ Pedersen, KZ. xxxv. 412, observes that, after *nách-*, *-d-* appears only in the neut. sg. And with reference to the O. Ir. Glosses that is literally true. But the reason is merely that there happens to be no instance of relative *nách-* followed by the masculine pronoun. The lacuna is supplied by the Fragment of an O. Ir. Psalter published in Hibernica Minora, I. 462, *is héside nachidfarcaibsom*, where we find the form that might have been expected. Very peculiar is *náchbeir* Wb. 6^e18. Pedersen assumes a neut. pron., but then the normal form would be *náchid-beir*. Should we read *nách-beir* (sc. *breih* f.)? If the form could be taken as *ipv.*, the difficulty would vanish, but that does not suit the Latin context.

² Cf. Sommer, CZ. I. 206.

³ It is followed by *chucu*, so that the *-sn-* is meaningless; it suggests a literary reminiscence.

In SR. *-d-* appears for *-dn-* in *bád-ad-adamrú* 6628, *conid-arlassair* 4791. In our later texts the pronoun happens to occur only before a consonant; the instances will be found below, pp. 171 sq.

Pretonic *nd* became *nn*, *n*, and that led to some obscuration of the pronouns. Already in O. Ir. *condid-* became *conid-*; for further examples of the same kind see CZ. IV. 55 sq. In Mid. Ir. the change goes much further, e.g. *dian-dom-* becomes *dianom-*, *conda-* becomes *cona-*, *condos-* becomes *conos-*. Examples will be found below, pp. 160, 174 sq. In one respect, however, the field of *conid-*, *conos-*, etc., in Mid. Ir., is limited by the fact that in Mid. Ir. the infixed pronoun commonly follows *-ro-* even in enclisis, e.g. *co rosmarb* = O. Ir. *condaromarb*.¹

III. NEW MID.-IR. FORMS.

In the first and second persons of the plural for *-n-* and *-b-* appear *-ar(n)-*, and *-bar(n)-*, forms derived from the possessive pronouns. For examples see below, pp. 160 sq. In the 2 pl. the longer form is already almost universal in SR.; our other texts furnish no examples of *-b-*. In the first person the longer form is not nearly so firmly established; it is most frequent in the poetical style. The reason for the difference of treatment in the two persons may be found in the difference in the sounds of *-n-* and *-b-*; *-n-* was a sufficiently distinct expression of the pronoun, spirant *-b-* in Mid. Ir. was not. The reason why the possessive pronouns could take the place of the old infixed pronouns in the plural seems to have been that in the singular the possessive pronouns and the infixed pronouns were identical in form. Thus e.g. *no-for-marba*: *do for marbad* = *no-t-marba*: *dot marbad*.

In Mid. Ir. *-da-* is replaced by *-das-*, *-dos-* (once *-dosn-* SR. 5415). From the instances below, pp. 174 sq., it will be seen that *-das-*, *-dos-*, corresponds in function to *-da-*:—it is used (1) relatively, (2) after *ad-*, *con-*, etc.; in the later language it is confined almost entirely to the second usage, relative *-dos-* being replaced by *-s-*. As in Mid. Ir. *-da-* is found where the verbal form is non-relative, so *-das-* is similarly used, particularly

¹ Cf. Strachan, the Particle *ro-* in Irish, p. 110, CZ. IV. 66.

in the language of poetry. How did *-da-* become *-das-*, *-dos-*? In its use after *con-*, etc., the explanation is simple. By *no-m-marba*, *no-t-marba*, *no-n-marba*, *no-b-marba*, stood *condom-marba*, *condot-marba*, *condon-marba*, *condob-marba*, where the second set of forms differed externally from the first in showing in addition *-do-*. By these forms stood *no-s-marba* and *conda-marba*. It is easy to see how under these circumstances *condamarba* would become *condosmarba*. In relative use the explanation would depend on how far *rel. -dom-*, *-dot-*, etc., were living forms when *-dos-* arose. If they were living forms, the explanation of *-dos-* would be the same as in the former case. But if, as is probable, *-dom-*, *-dot-*, etc., were practically dead, then we must suppose that *-da-* became *-dos-* under the influence of *condos-*, etc.¹ Unfortunately for the century and a half preceding the date of composition of the *Saltair na Rann* there is an almost entire absence of dated documents from which the history of the language could be learned. In the *Siaburcharpat Conculaind*² (LU. 113^a-115^b) *-dos-* does not yet appear: *atacomcussa* 114^b11, *con-da-rala* 114^b10, *atarethusa* 114^b14, 19. We may then say that *-dos-* for *-da-* came into literature in the tenth century.

IV. THE INFIXED PRONOUN IN MID. IR.

A. INFIXED PRONOUNS OF THE FIRST AND SECOND PERSONS.

In Mid. Ir. the dental forms in simple relative use disappear, the short forms being employed both in relative and non-relative use. Even in O. Ir. texts preserved in LU. they are very rare. I have noted only *do-dob-saig* 56^a7, *fo-dot-ben* 73^a14, *do-dom-anic* 120^a26, *ar-dot-chiat* 120^a44; further in the *Siaburcharpat Conculaind* *ro-da[t]-tánic* 113^b42. In SR. 1780 we have *ro-dat-tuistigad*.³ Occasionally the dental forms are used improperly, e.g. *ar-dot-chuibdig* LU. 46^b30, *nach-dot-romarbus* SR. 1908, *ni-dam-crochtar* MC. 21.

¹ Perhaps it is worth pointing out further that before verbs beginning with *s* the two forms of the pronoun would be indistinguishable.

² Zimmer, *Zeitschr. f. deutsches Alterthum* xxxv 43, dates the text from the middle of the ninth century. In any case it is posterior to 900 A.D.

³ In O. Ir. relative *n* would have been required: *ro-n-dat-tuistiged*.

But after *ad-*, *con-*, etc., the dental forms or their descendants are regular in Mid. Ir. Examples are :—

SR. *conom-thi* (from *con-dom-thi*) 2092, *dianam-thairbiur* 844, *in-dam-chluini* 1182, 1429; *atat-gén* 2887, *con-dat-fil* 1739, *conot-ruc* 1799, *cid ardot-ralaíd*¹ 1307, *cid arnot-geib*² 1693; *conab-torlus* 1872.

TT. *dianot-bé* 1283.

NENN. *cid ornam-tugad* ... *mhe* (v. l. *arnam-tugadsa*) 310^b28.

AEN. *dianum-fagba* 457^b39, *dianum-dichuired* 469^b24, *gonam-basat* 478^a11.

LS. *dianom-sáruighet* (v.) 453.

MC. *atom-raracht* 71, *atom-regar*³ 83, *atom-cuirethar* 87, *conom-torsit* 45, *dianom-lena* 51. In *conam-tarrusar* 93, the pronoun is meaningless; correctly it would be *co tarrasar*. *domanaicsea* 75 is obviously a Mid. Ir. literary monstrosity for *atomchomnaicsea*.

In MG. at June 4 and Sept. 5 occurs the curious form *diarnaitnem*, apparently, as the editor points out, for *dianarnaitnem*. It is one of the many curiosities of this text.

In Mid. Ir., as we have seen, there is a tendency to replace *-n-* and *-b-* of the 1 and 2 pl. by forms corresponding to those of the corresponding possessives. In LU. I have noted only a few instances :—*do-for-ficba* 15^a41 (Scél Túain), *ro-bor-ficfa*⁴ 84^a33, *ro-bar-cuired*⁵ 84^b29, *arnáchbaraccaister*⁶ 85^a4. The later form is responsible for the corrupt *atarrobradsí* 84^b29, where YBL. preserves *atdobrarbadsí*. In a somewhat different connexion *-bar-* appears in *atabairecen* 100^a16, where other MSS. point to *atibécen* as the older text. But no argument can be drawn from this paucity of examples in LU.; the later LU. texts, in which the new forms might have been expected, furnish no examples of these persons.

¹ *ardot-* = *aran-dot-*

² *arnot-* = *aran-dot-*

³ A Mid.-Ir. formation for *atomracht*, cf. Strachan, *Deponent Verb*, pp. 93, 106.

⁴ The form does not occur in the corresponding YBL. version.

⁵ A gloss on the text.

⁶ YBL. has preserved the old form *arnachabaccastar*.

In our other texts I have noted the following examples:—

SR. pl. I. *nach-arn-dilsí* 1551, *nich-ar-fail*¹ 1560, *coro-r-coemchinni*² 1619, *nach-ar-lén* 1726, *huair do-r-rolaid* 1754, *ni-r-tora* 2747, *nach-ar-cobraí* 3759, *atar-fail*³ 3761. But *-n-* is the prevalent form; I have noted twenty-nine occurrences.⁴

pl. 2. *nach-for-fuca* 1459, *na-bar-slaíd* 2611, *ni-bar-torbae* 2625, *nocho-for-bia* 4063, *do-for-fuc* 4679, *do-for-fua* 5483, 5487. The writer also ventures to use the pronoun before a simple verb: *for-bia* 3503, *form-bia* 3511, *for-saera* 4831.⁵ Of *b* I have only two instances: *ni-p-ta* 1444, and *no-b-saerfa* 2732.

TT. pl. I. *nir-thá* 220. No examples of *-n-*.

pl. 2. *ra-bar-fogluais* 1611, *nach-bar-bé* 1620. No examples of *-b-*.

BOR. pl. I. *nach-ar-táir* (v.) 308^a40, *con-ar-tí* (v.) 308^b7. No instances of *-n-*.

pl. 2. *do-bar-ficfa* 302^b8. No instances of *-b-*.

AEN. pl. I. *do-n-farraid* 449^a19, *ro-n-la* 450^b25, *ro-n-geb* . . . *sinne* 454^a40. I have noted no instance of *-arn-*.

pl. 2. *robtar-bia* (sic) 452^b27. No instances of *-b-*.

LS. Stokes, p. lxiii, notes in 1 pl. four instances of *-n-* and none of *-arn-*,⁶ in 2 pl. two instances of *-bar-* and none of *-b-*.

PH. In 1 pl. Atkinson, p. 810, quotes twenty-two examples of *-n-*, but of *-arn-* only *nach-ar-léic* 7961, 7968; in the 2 pl. he quotes no instances of *-b-*, and four of *-bar-*.

¹ In Wb. there is no example of an infixed pron. after *nicon-*. In Ml. there are three, showing two modes of treatment: on the one hand *nico-s-fuar* 57^a3, on the other, *nicon-d-robae* 41^a5, *nicon-da-bia* 69^a8, where *nicon-* is treated like *con-*, cf. Pedersen, KZ. xxxv. 420. Instances like *nicosfuair*, from the later language, are *nico-m-bia* LU. 54^b48, *noco-s-fáicebad* LU. 117^a21, *nocho-m-tha* SR. 2088, *noco-t-bia* SR. 847, *nocho-s-rála* 4110, cf. also *nacu-m-saraig* BB. 467^a39. Like *nicondabia* are *noconom-tha* LU. 86^b14, *nochonom-tha* 103^a36.

² *-rn-*: *-arn-* = *-n-*: *-an-* in the 3 sg. masc.

³ *atar-*, after the model of *atom-*, *atot-*, etc. For *atarfail* the normal form is *attaam*. In *atarfail* the aspiration is strange. Does it come from association with the aspirating preposition *ar*? Cf. *nach-for-fuca* and *nirthá* below.

⁴ 1214, 1319, 1341, 1342, 1483, 1487, 1505, 1506, 1524, 1557 (bis), 1723, 1724, 1755, 1756, 1787, 1855, 3485, 3489, 3579, 3599, 3619, 4053, 4054, 4055, 4059 (bis), 7518, 7519.

⁵ Cf. Strachan, Verbal System of the Saltair na Rann, p. 42, note.

⁶ In *curo-s-foire sinne*, *s* is nothing more than a meaningless Mid.-Ir. *s*: cf. *do-s-fuc sinde* BB 466^b11.

MG. pl. I. *nar-laedend* Mar. 3, *nar-foemad* Apr. 18, *nar-benann* May 21, *narn-anaig* Jan. 1, 19, Jul. 9, Aug. 11, 27; but *ro-n-bera* Jan. 2, *ní ro-n-dedla* Ap. 20.

B. INFIXED PRONOUNS OF THE THIRD PERSON.

In the third person the *s*-forms tend to become universal. In non-relative construction *-s-* spreads to the masc. sg.; further *conidn-* becomes *conos-*. In relative construction *-dos-* (the representative of older *-da-*) in time gives place to *-s-*. From the eleventh century onwards *-s-* appears also merely as a relative particle. Further, the force of the pronoun gradually fades, and there is an increasing tendency to use it pleonastically before a following noun or independent pronoun. The infixed pronoun *-n-* is no longer confined to non-relative use. Of the dental forms *-dn-*, *-d-*, so far as it survives, is no longer restricted to relative use; the neut. *d'* lives on as an integral part of certain verbs and as a symbol of relativity. The pl. *-da-* early disappears from common use; before it disappears it is also used non-relatively; sometimes it is improperly used as a singular.

We will now exemplify from our texts (1) the non-dental forms, (2) the dental forms.

(a) NON-DENTAL FORMS.

1. *-an-*, *-n-*. As we have seen above, it appears from the normal Mid.-Ir. orthography that the pronoun was felt to be not *-an-*, but *-n-*. Rarely¹ it is used with reference to a feminine noun or where the verb is followed by a feminine object:—*no-n-edbair* (sc. *síalaig*) PH. 7102, *do-m-bert bennachtain* MC. 5, *ro-m-ben a lumain* MC. 25, *do-m-bert* (v. l. *dobert*) *Cuchulaind cloich* CZ. III. 259. Here it may be doubted if the pronoun had any meaning. It is followed by a plur. in *coro-n-innarba nert Bretan iat* (where BB. has *coroinnarba*) LU. 3^a45. In *ní-n-érlá* TT. 563 it has no meaning. As in the struggle for existence it had to contend against the encroachments of *-s-*,

¹ These few instances of an indifferent use of *-n-* may be explained from the fact that *-s-* was now used of all genders and numbers.

it will be more convenient to give the examples of *-n-* side by side with those of masculine *-s-*.

2. *-a^c-, -'-*. In Mid. Ir. the forms of the old neuter pronoun would of necessity be obscured. For (1) owing to the confusion of pretonic vowels and the extension of the aspiration of the initial consonant of a verb after pretonic particles, there would be no formal distinction between, e.g., *d-a-beir* and *do-beir*. (2) As *ní* now aspirates regularly, the old distinction between *ní cheil* and *ní ceil* would vanish. (3) In Mid. Ir. *nách-* is common even when there is no infix pronoun. It should be noted that in Mid. Ir., owing to the disappearance of the neuter gender in the noun,¹ a special neuter pronoun would not be needed to the same extent as in O. Ir.; it would be required only to express an 'it' which does not refer back to a foregoing noun. That such an 'it' was expressed in Mid. Ir. by the obscured descendants of the old neuter pronoun I have no evidence. Before the matter could be regarded as definitely settled, it would be necessary to investigate the question of the ellipsis of the pronoun. But from the evidence before me it seems probable that this 'it' was in Mid. Ir. expressed by an independent pronoun; cf. *amal demniges Iob sin* LU. 35^a13, which in O. Ir. would probably be *amal nonddemnigedar Iob*; so in Cormac, s. v. *imbais forosnai*, LBr. has *idbraid sin*, where better MSS. have *atopair*; in this connexion it is worth while to look at the examples of *sin* in PH. p. 875^a43-875^b3. Of *é* in such a use I have no example in LU.; but it is found later, e.g. *doringned ém éside* TT. 161, *rachluin heside* 406, *co cluinem . . . he* PH. 24, *dorinne . . . he* 7396.

3 *-su-, -s-*.

(a). As in O. Ir., this is the regular form in the 3 sg. f., and in the 3 pl. of all genders in non-relative construction.

¹ So far as I can judge from my collections from SR., the neuter had practically disappeared by 1000 A.D. Note *ind rae* 113, 2708, *in nem namra* 120, *in tres noibnem* 128, *in sechtmad nem* 195, *in muir* 913, 3989, *in col* 1141, *in mbíad* 1160, 7069, *in crann* 1229, 1284, *in nubull* 1285, *isin sláb* 3129, *in lind* 4067, *in scél* 6193, *in buaid* 6363, *in nétach* 6380, *in déde* 6392, *in cumtach* 7030, *na hésseirge* 7700, *fo gairm glain* 1487, *la sil suilig* 5134, *gné gaind* 7577. The only exceptions which I have noted in the article are *a nmem* 112 (which may be a corruption of the MS.), and *a mbé* 5974 (a word of the poetical vocabulary). In LU. even in old well-preserved texts like the Táin Bó Cúailnge, the old neut. is often replaced by another gender, which points to a decay of the neuter gender in the living speech.

Hence it would be superfluous to give all the occurrences; only those are given in which the verb is further followed by an accusative or by a pronoun.

SR. sg. 3 f. *ro-s-mathig* . . . *cathir* 6663, *ro-s-dechraig* . . . *cach luib* 1925.

pl. 3. *ro-sn-ort* . . . *cethri mili dec* 4473, *ni ro-s-aisneid* . . . *gnimrada* 5337.

LG. sg. 3 f. *no-s-rannat Herinn* 15^b7.

pl. 3. *no-s-beir* . . . *iat* 20^b44.

TT. pl. 3 *ra-s-fáidset techta* 1083.

BOR. sg. 3 f. *do-s-rat a mndi* 295^a1, *do-s-bertatar froiss* 306^a42.

NENN. pl. 3 *ro-s-faid techta* 205^a36.

AEN. sg. 3 f. *ro-s-buaidrestair hi* 456^b38, *ro-s-marb i fen* 464^a24, *no-s-dealbann hi fen* 477^b31, 483^a39.

pl. 3. *no-s-geb* . . . *iat* 451^a17, 469^b2, *ro-s-faid* . . . *iad* 452^a40, *coru-s-duaid* . . . *iat* 450^b27.

LS. sg. 3 f. *ro-s-gab ecla mor an og* 1421.

pl. 3. *do-s-fuisigh iat* 100, *ro-s-bennach na leastra* 1678, *no-s-folarthaiged uili iat* 4111.

MC. sg. 3 f. *do-s-beraínd falaig* 45.

pl. 3, *ni ro-s-bensam clucu* 29, *ni-s-bera bá* 5, *naro-s-teilg tri frassa* 59.

PH. See Atkinson's Glossary, pp. 856 sq., where, however, in a number of instances, the -s- is purely relative. The chief thing to note is the frequency of -s- where the verb is followed by an accusative.

MG. See Stokes' Glossary, p. 288. It is hard to draw the line here between relative and non-relative forms.

(b) In Mid. Ir. the pronoun is also used where the verb is relative.¹ It is found (a) without, (β) with, a following object.

SR. sg. 3 f. (a) *ro-s-derb* 26, so 2066, 3228, 3232, 3311, 4422 (*feib*), 5506, 6677 (*uair*), 7505, 7528.

pl. 3 (a) *ro-s-derb* 54, similarly 87, 88, 89, 93, 215 (*feib*), 221, 271 (*feib*), 363, 429, 1112, 1290, 3514 (*feib*), 3525 (*feib*), 3529 (*feib*), 3788, 3961, 4028, 4229, 4230, 4425, 4426, 4773, 4817, 4818, 4921, 5022, 5073, 5197, 5201, 5389, 6892, 7201.

¹ In the O. Ir. Glosses there are already three instances of this, CZ. iv. 65; cf. *nach tain to-sn-aidle* LU. 96^b38.

- (β) *ri ro-s-ordaig* . . . *na ocht fogaetha* 65,^{so} 4621, 5325, 5433, 7445, 7473, 7681.
- LG. sg. 3 f. (α) *ro-s-lessaig* 13^b26, *do-s-fuc* 9^a40, *ro-s-fuc* 23^b42, 44.
- TT. pl. 3 (α) *da-s-ficfad* 186, *ra-s-beth* 1102.
- NENN. f. sg. 3 (α) *ro-s-cab* 204^a24, *ro-s-gab* 206^a7.
- AEN. sg. 3 f. (α) *ro-s-fasto* 455^b34.
 pl. 3 (α) (*intan*) *ro-s-lá* 460^a42.
 (β) *ro-s-fuc a longa* 471^b31, *ro-s-faid* . . . *iat* 463^a19.
- LS. pl. 3 (β) *ro-s-biath na soeir* 7 *ro-s-ic a ndulghena* 1577.
- MC. f. sg. 3 (α) *do-s-méla* 17.
 (β) *no-s-baided crethir chonnli* 63.
 pl. 3 (β) *feib no-s-turim na hilbiadu* 101, *do-s-gnt na rundu* 109.
- PH. sg. 3 f. (α) *no-s-airmend* 5326, so 2870, 4610, 4624, 5329, 6010 (*intan*), 6040, 6146, 6147, 6152, 7078.
 (β) *do-s-gnt in cassait* 105, so 437, 1116, 4642, 6039, 6412, 6430, 6446, 6469, 7329, 7381, 7383, 7468, 8372, 8411, 8423 ; *ro-s-dermaít hí* 68, so 208.
 pl. 3 (α) *ro-s-lín* 1121, so 1613, 4198, 4202, 4495, 5861, 6111, 6855, 6856, 7068.
 (β) *ro-s-mill na huili* 2052, so 1642, 6498 ; *ro-s-ordne iat* 4075.
- (c) In Mid. Ir. the pronoun is also used for the 3 sg. masc., here entering into competition with *-n*.
- SR. *-s*-rel. (α) *da-s-fuargaib*¹ 5389.
 (β) *do-s-fuc*² . . . *Abimelech* 5689.
-n-non-rel. (α) :—*rofacaib* 1315, *ro-ñ-gab* 1707, *ro-l-lín* 1708, *ra-n-lín*³ 1911, *ra-m-biad* 2792, *da-m-beir* 2952, *nir-n-anacht* 3135, *nir-m-bai* 3279, *ro-n-baidsemmar*³ 3621, *co ro-n-erail* 3707, *ni-ñ-len*³ 3839, *ro-lín* 3880, *nacha-relic* 4787, *ni-n-anais* 5999, *ra-ñ-gab* 6087, *ni-m-bai* 6384, 6399, *co ro-n-dúsaig* 6690, *da-fuc* 6707, *ro-l-lín* 6796, *co ro-n-giuil* 6957.

¹ Unless the pronoun refers to both Joshua and Samuel.

² If it be not a scribal error.

³ Below, from later texts, will be found some instances of the non-assimilation of *-n* : that would be intelligible when the pronoun was a literary survival ; but in SR. it is to be imputed to the copyist rather than to the author.

(β) *co ro-n-saera*¹ *Beniemein* 3600.

rel. (α) *ro-faidi* 3166, *ro-m-bennach* 3429, *ro-m-mol* 4030, *no-m-bifad* 5812, *da-fingebad* 5820.

(β) *ro-n-gart* . . . *Moisi* 4969.

LG. -s-

non-rel. (α) *co ro-s-innarb* 15^a32, 24^a18.

-n-

non-rel. (α) *ro-n-delb* 5^a45, *no-fothraic* 13^a6, *ro-len* 22^b32, *ro-marb* 23^b13, *co ro-n-innarb* 24^a32.

rel. (α) *ro-n-ortsat* 24^a23.

TT. -s-

non-rel. (α) *na-s-marband* 410, *ra-s-uc* 416, *no-s-geib* 747, *ra-s-cairig* 805, *ra-s-cúrach* 805, *no-n-essaig* 2057.

rel. (α) *ra-s-bethait* 13, *ra-s-carsatar* 51, *ro-s-fuc* 1564.

-n-

non-rel. (α) *ra-n-adnaic* 753, *ro-n-gab* 759, 781, 804, 1986, *ro-n-dligset* 2078, *ro-n-dlgail* 2078.

rel. (α) *ra-n-ucsat* 237, *ro-n-marb* 2078.

BOR. -s-

non-rel. (α) *do-s-biurt* 300^b12, *ro-s-bia* 303^a41, 42, *co ro-s-baid* 306^a42.

(β) *do-s-berat slât* 301^a7, *ro-s-bennach in Colguin sin* 306^b1.

Of -n- I have no instances from this text.

NENN. Of -s- I have no instances.

-n-

non-rel. (α) *ro-m-bearbh* 209^a49, *ro-m-baist* 209^b7, *ro-n-easca* 210^a44. At 210^a34 is a peculiar *romgab*, where another text has *rogab*.

AEN. -s-

non-rel. (α) *ro-s-guidind* 453^a23, *no-s-innsaigend* 460^b17, *no-s-tesairginn* 461^a33, *gu ru-s-marb* 468^a27, *ro-s-tic* 473^a3, *no-s-trascrand* 474^a6, *ro-s-geb* 475^a7, *no-s-croithind* 472^b41, *do-s-fig* 472^b44, *no-s-marbann* 480^b39, *do-s-fic* 480^b41, *no-s-bered* 482^b33.

(β) *ro-s-fuc ar nór* 449^b38, *do-s-fic* . . . *in trenmilid* 461^a25, *ro-s-tocaib he* 461^a24.

rel. (α) *no-s-tuc* 450^b22.

¹ Probably a scribal corruption.

(β) *amal no-s-fuc corp* 452^b2, if the -s- is more than relative.

-n-

non-rel. (α) *ro-n-gab* 449^a28, 464^b12, 479^b35, *ro-n-esairginn* 461^a28, *no-n-geb* 484^b28.

LS. -s-

non-rel. (α) *no-s-beir* 448, *cu ro-s-bennach* 1370, *no-s-gormfadh* 4080.

(β) *cu ro-s-ic in clamh* 1366.

rel. (α) *no-s-intsamhlaighet* 673, *ro-s-marbh* 4230, *ro-s-tairbhir* 4873.

(β) *ro-s-anacht in sabhall* 1923, *cu ro-s-toifnetar he* 4054.

-n-

non-rel. (α) *ro-n-gabh* 66, *ro-m-beir*, *ro-n-bennach* 513, *ro-n-fia* (v.) 775, *ro-n-gaibh* 1464, *cu ro-m-baist* 2521, *ro-n-greis* 4345.

(β) *ro-n-alt Patraic* 67.

rel. (α) *do-n-atthuiged* 156, *ro-n-edbair* 834, *ro-n-alt* 2842, *ro-n-baisd* 2843.

MC. -s-

non-rel. (α) *ro-s-gab* 15, *ro-s-léc* 25, *no-s-imarchuir* 29, *ni-s-tadaill* 81.

(β) *ni-s-fagbad a grianad* 11, *co ru-s-acaillesa in manach* 105, *do-s-beraínd do chorp* 107.

rel. (α) *do-s-méla* 65.¹

PH. -s-

non-rel. (α) *co ro-s-marb* 291, *ro-s-impa* 499, *co ru-s-loig* 811, *ro-s-índarpsat* 1527, *ro-s-gab* 2310, *no-s-comairlécfi* 4374, *cu ra-s-geoguin* 6305, *co ru-s-croch* 6464.

(β) *no-s-forcettlad . . . in popul* 319, *co ro-s-dlultad Crist* 490, *ro-s-gab . . . Dioclian* 532, *ni-s-fil ndch cumang* 990, *ro-s-bennach in Coimdid* 1149, *ro-s-bennach . . . inti Georgi* 1159, 1246, *ni-s-fil biad* 1310, *ro-s-gab a noidin* 1321, *ni ro-s-léc a chend do phócad* 1344, *ro-s-glan . . . in tempul* 2098, *ro-s-gab . . . Ermogin* 2197, *ni-s-fetam . . . olc* 2221, *do-s-beir cech maith* 3972, *no-s-cometat . . . a flathius*

¹ On p. 45 *do-t-gní* might have been expected rather than *do-s-gní*; cf. p. 175, note.

4126, *ro-s-furec a less* 4373, *do-s-gní imarbus* 6451, *co ro-s-cennaig flaithius* 6956, *ni-s-fil súgrad* 7668; *ro-s-gab . . . he* 559, *co ro-s-acallam he* 692, *ni ro-s-corb he* 1512.

rel. (a) *no-s-cuibdigenn* 3536, *ro-s-uc* 3856, *no-s-intslig* 4601, 5606, *no-s-inntámلاغend* 5689, 6792, *no-s-carait*, 5802, *no-s-guidet* 5787, 7890, *no-s-carand* 6037, *no-s-credet* 6795, *no-s-faismet* 6796, *no-s-aitchend* 7107, *no-s-aitchet* 8002.

(β) *intan ro-s-gonsat sliss* 144, *do-s-bera mo chorp* 616, *ro-s-cengail suainem* 2321, *ro-s-icc peccad* 2448, *ro-s-cuibbrig Pílip* 2489, *no-s-guidet . . . int apstál* 2567, *ro-s-uc . . . coscar* 8406; *no-s-aitchend he* 5454, *ro-s-imorchur he* 7186, *ro-s-marb he* 7478.

-n-

non-rel. (a) *ro-n-ergabsat* 3101, *ro-n-gabus* 3790, *ro-n-ardaig* 4820, *ro-n-aimsig* 4821, *cu ro-n-aimsíged* 4821, *ro-n-delb* 6285, *do-n-arfaid* 6311, *ro-n-aitchiset* 6547, *fo-n-gébaid* 7006.

(β) *ro-n-ergabsat Iosep* 2936, *no-l-lessaig in nech* 4973; *co ro-n-baist e* 1304, *co ru-m-baist he* 1338, *ro-n-gab . . . he* 3207.

rel. (β) *is and ro-n-imdib Ísu* 5755.

A few instances call for special mention. In *ni-s-cúmat ní* PH. 1131, *do-s-gní cech ní* 463, 6597, *ni-sf-aighe . . . ní* 7992, as *ní* is a noun, the usage is parallel to what we have had above. But there is an extension of the usage in *ro-s-cetaig innisin* 908, *do-s-gní . . . insin* 2238, 257, *ro-s-cluinebsa innisin* 1431, *ru-s-closa sin* 1579, cf. *do-s-rat sin* MC. 9.

If we consider the above examples of *-s-*, one of the most striking things is the wide extension of what would in O. Ir. be called the anticipatory use of the infixed pronoun. Particularly strange is this where the infixed *-s-* ‘anticipates’ a following independent pronoun; of this more will be said below. This extended use of *-s-* is to be brought into connexion with another fact, the replacement of the infixed pronoun by the independent pronoun. As we shall see more fully below, this new development can be traced back in literature to the

eleventh century. In the Annals of Ulster the use of the independent pronoun prevails from the middle of the twelfth century.¹ And before the innovation made its way into literature, it would be firmly established in popular speech. When this change was carried through, the infixed pronoun would linger on as a literary ornament, and it need not surprise us that it was sometimes extravagantly used. In the instances above, the infixed pronoun when followed by a noun or an independent pronoun *could* be explained as an anticipatory use of the pronoun; how far it was felt to be so by the writers is another matter. There are, however, instances in which it cannot be so explained.

(d) Sometimes *-s-* seems to have the force of a relative.²

Examples from our texts are:—

TT. *fodágen . . . ro-s-fuc* 1564.

AEN. *in mac ro-s-fuc Andromachæ* 450^a40, *is e do-s-fuc sindi* 466^b10, *ní mo no-s-ticc* 471^b20.

MC. *in goeth no-s-tic darsin tir sin* 83, *cach mtr fo-s-cerdi* 99.

PH. *inni do-s-gniat* 174, *is aice ro-s-foglaim* 281, *intan do-s-biad si te* 382, *in sceoilse ro-s-toitt forsin eclais* 581, *is a mac no-s-ticc Georgi* 1354, *is e ro-s-clochsát* 1510, *in mbairgin ro-s-bennach* 1784, *amal bid in la sin no-s-dichennta Pól* 1882, *no-s-imbret* 4105, *amal do-s-furail* 7328, *cia breth do-s-berad* 7352.

It will be seen that this relative use spreads with the extension of the 'anticipatory' pronoun, from the use of which, in relative sentences, it would seem to have developed; indeed it is possible that in many of the foregoing instances in which the pronoun has been put down as 'anticipatory,' it should

¹ The instances down to 1214 A.D. are:—*loiscit . . . é* 1099, *co romarbad é* 1106, *co roastai . . . e* 1164, *rodichuirset é . . . he* 1165, *darait . . . he* 1165, *dotreicisit eisir* 1166, *rorigsat hé* 1166, *rodichuirsetar . . . é* 1170, *rodicuirset . . . iat* 1177, *rodichuir . . . iat* 1196, *is iat ro-s-gabhsat é* (a solitary instance) 1202, *dolean he* 1211, *tuc . . . iad* 1214. The instances of the infixed pronoun which I have from 1000 to 1300 A.D. are:—*co ru-s-dilegait* 1014, *conitairthetar* 1021, 1035, *conus-taraidh* 1012, *ro-n-bia* (v.) 1065, *co ru-s-tairmesc* 1097, *conus-tarraid* 1101, 1125, *cono-ragaib* 1105, *conab-tarthatar* 1126, *cu ru-s-mursat* 1165.

² Pedersen, KZ. xxxv. 384, whose explanation, however, does not suit the facts. An example from LU. is *do-s-fucad* 60^b35, in an interpolation.

³ In *amal do-s-gni* 370, *-s-* might refer to *mirbuil* and *furtacht*.

more properly have been labelled 'relative'; there is no sure criterion. This development may have been helped by the fact that in Mid. Ir. the infixed pron. *-an-* and the infixed relative *-n-* fell together in form.

(e) Sometimes *-s-* has no apparent force.

SR. *ro-s-delbtha* 418,¹ *do-s-fuit* 1719.

BOR. *do-s-lúiset* 303^a10; cf. *do-s-lui* LU. 98^b24.

AEN. *do-sn-ic chucu* 468^a43 (*do-sn-ic* is evidently a literary borrowing with no feeling for the force of the pronoun), *ro-s-comtoitset* 480^b22, *do-s-tuingimsea duid ar dei nime* 464^a29.

LS. *do-s-fanic . . . cu Daire* 564.

MC. *ní-s-tá dam* 29, *ní-s-téig* 83, *ní-s-fanic . . . ina dochum*

13.

PH. *co ro-s-tuirtis 7 co ro-s-tuicdis cret in fuil* 13, *co ro-s-tuicdis Iúdaide na caemnactar* 4499, *ra-s-fetutar cor fhír inní atrubrad* 107, *co ro-s-imráided indus nomalartfad he* 1202, *no-s-fitir conid écen doberar fort* 728, *ní-s-fetatar cia leath dochuaid* 627, *ní-s-fetatar comad olc* 3330, *ní-s-fitir nech cia rohadnaiced inní* 1276, *ní-s-fitirsium na comailfed* 3055; *ní-s-fitir an imagin do beth and* 72, *do-s-bera fortsa do Dia fein do fácbail* 2134, *ro-s-geb for . . .* 285, *coro-s-dorchaig grian* 675, *ro-s-fáiltnig* 1180, 6713, *ní ro-s-erchoit dó* 1192, *ro-s-derce . . . for Georgi* 1250, *ro-s-forbair* 1315, *co ro-s-imdig* 1362, *ru-s-fég* 1409, *cia no-s-diuldat* 3009, *ní-s-bia* 4284, *ní-s-bia esergi doib* 6594, *ní-s-bíad pian form* 8259, *ní-s-téged* 7211, *ro-s-taifnit* 7223.

4. -a-.

In Mid. Ir. *nácha-* gives place to *náchas-*. This may be also used in the 3 sg. m. for the older *nachan-*.

SR. *nachas-cretiu* (pl. 3) 4700, *connachas-clai* (pl. 3) 5259.²

TT. sg. 3 m. *arnachas-torsed* 612, *nachas-rostís* 1570.

sg. 3 f. *nachas-renfad* 314, *nachas-bérad* 331.

AEN. *nachas-legid . . . hí* (3 sg. f.) 481^a10.

PH. sg. 3 f. *nachas-airimend* 5330, *nachus-failsig* 6087.

pl. 3. *náchus-tocráid na braithre* 8092.

¹ But in so old a text as SR. these instances may be safely put down as scribal corruptions. Instances of meaningless *-s-* from LU. are *ní-s-ragbad* 15^b20, *no-s-fuaisnither im Coinculaind* 127^a26.

² In 4381 for *nachas-tathigi* might have been expected *náchas-tathiged*. That the pronoun is feminine is shown by *impe* 4388.

(β) DENTAL FORMS.

Under each pronoun the occurrences are arranged as follows :
 (α) relative use, (β) non-relative use, (γ) use after *ad-*, *con-*, etc.

I. -*dn-*, -*d-*.

SR. (α) *ro-dn-anacht* 6101, *cíphé no-d-marba*¹ . . . *Cain* 1993. Between the copula and a comparative²: *rig naile bád-ad-adamrú*, 'another king more wonderful than he' 6628.

(β) *ro-dm-bia* 812, *ro-dm-berb* 2846, *co ro-dm-bróe* 5469, *ro-d-clái* 5470, *mani-d-cloe* 7441; *ro-d-bi* . . . *Iacob* 3049, In *ro-don-anacht* 6037 -*don-* appears for -*dn-*.³ In *rotdeib* 1055 the force of the -*t-* is not clear.

(γ) *atnaig*⁴ 3546, *conidn-arlassair* 3791, *conid-arlassair* 4791, *dian-tuc* 7646, *dian-farslaic* 7319, 7399. In *hé cotnarlaic* . . . *ansin* 3659, *cotnarlaic* is probably a scribal error for *cotnairlaic*. The meaning of *cotn-gaib*,⁵ etc., is obscure.

LG. (α) *ro-dn-uc* 18^b47, *ro-dn-alt* 22^a32.

(γ) *conid-romarb* 16^b4, 19^b33, 51, 20^a7, 25, 22^b17, 23^a34.

TT. No examples.

BOR. No examples.

NENN. (β) *ro-d-fuc* (v. l. *rosfug*) 209^a45.

(γ) *conid-romarbh* 207^a28; *gonad-marb* . . . *he* 205^b30.

AEN. (β) *ro-d-fia* 452^b30, 466^b33 (bis), *no-d-geb* 471^a31, *ro-d-croithinn* 477^b1.

-*d-*, which is misused throughout, is here evidently a literary recrudescence.

LS. (β) *ro-d-rir* 195. In *no-t-gessiut* 7 *no-t-aitechet*⁶ in *Coimhdhe*

¹ If the -*d-* is more than the relative -*d-*. In 2281, *rodrosat* is a corruption of *dorósat*. Examples of rel. -*d-*, 'him,' in later texts in LU. are *do-d-roega* 17^b7, *ro-d-fir* 51^b41 (in a poem ascribed to Cinaed hua Artacain).

² Cf. Thesaurus Palæohibernicus, II. 292, note 1.

³ Cf. *ru-dan-ordan* Wb. 33^e5.

⁴ But in Mid. Ir. the dental infix has become part of this verb. In *atraig* = *ad-d-raig*, lit. *he raises himself*, the infixed pron. was from the outset a regular part of the verb; and in Mid. Ir. *atraig* replaces the fem. and pl. *ataregat*: cf. CZ. III. 414.

⁵ Strachan, Verbal System of the Saltair na Rann, II. 37 sq.

⁶ As to the orthography we shall have -*t-* (= unaspirated -*d-*) in the Mid.-Ir. descendants of neut. -*d-*, e.g. *fotera* = O. Ir. *fodera*.

694, the *-t-* seems to be simply ornamental. The same applies to the occurrence in

MC. (β) *ro-t-gab a trostán*.¹

PH. (α) *ro-t-mairnn* 3083, if the *-t-* is more than relative. In *is é in fégad sin ro-t-cuir Petar* 3199 the *-t-* is probably relative.

(β) *ro-t-fég* 1133.

As a literary curiosity may be mentioned *conid-romarb*, 'and slew her,' LU. 53^b14; *conidromarb*, 'slew him,' was a common phrase, and the writer here extends it to the feminine. In *cid iotæ no-t-gabad*, RC. xii 82, the pron. refers to a plural. In *issed conair ro-dn-gab* LU. 109^b7, in *breth ro-dn-ucad* 110^b35 *-dn-* is perversely used for relative *-n-*.

2. *-d-*

(α) of a relative neut. *-d-* meaning 'it,' I have found only one possible instance in our texts, namely, *feib léir ro-d-gellai* SR. 5816, and even here the *-d-* may be relative. Such a relative *-d-* is well established for Mid. Ir.² Instances are:—*inté no-d-faidmis* LU. 8^b16, *conid de ro-d-lil Goll de* 42^a33, *ind écáini do-d-rónsat* 51^a41, *is iat do-d-róni in smúitcheó* 83^a30, *cosin carn do-d-rónsat* 99^a7, *feib do-d-rímiseo* 114^a27, *no-d-ragam* LG. 13^a39, in *maith ro-t-shechmallsamhar* PH. 4749; for other examples see Atkinson, p. 890. As to the starting-point of this Mid.-Ir. development, there are two O.-Ir. usages which may have contributed to it. (1) In the verbs *fofera* and *doesta* *-d-* appears in relative forms³: *fo-d-era*,⁴ *do-d-esta*.⁵ (2) The neuter pronoun is used in the sense of what Pedersen calls the 'figura etymologica.'⁶ When the original force of this

¹ On p. 109 *bendachtu for cach noen notlegfa* (leg. *notlegfad*) 7 *notlessaigfed* looks like a traditional formula.

² Cf. CZ. III. 65.

³ Sommer, CZ. I. 220 sq.

⁴ *fodera* (*fotera*), *fodruair* (*fotruair*) remain in use in Mid. Ir., e.g. LU. 40^b43, 51^a14, 54^a18, TT. 90, 108, LG. 9^a21, MC. 53, 57, PH., p. 709.

⁵ Cf. *dotesta* LU. 44^b33, but *testa* PH. p. 919, TT. 1100, CZ. II. 262, Ann. UI. 1199.

⁶ KZ. xxxv. 415. Further examples from old texts are: *no-d-raga*, 'who shall go the aforementioned going,' 'who shall so go' LU. 19^a5, 9, *cid moch donté* (= *do-n-d-té*) 69^b32, *ní mé ro-d-mert* 84^a8, *do-d-dnic* 91^b13, *du-d-lotar* 99^a26.

-d- became weakened, it might easily come to be used merely in a relative sense.

(β) There is a meaningless *-d-* in *no-d-geib* Aen. 464^a37; but it may equally well have developed from the masculine pronoun. What the meaningless *-t-* in *na ro-t-saebtha* PH. 3984 represents is equally uncertain. Cf., further, *nid frith*, *nid tallas*, RC. xii 72, *nit regaim a les*, 76, 78.

(γ) In Mid. Ir.¹ neut. *-d-* has become an integral part of many verbs beginning with *ad-* (*ad-*, *ass-*, *aith-*), e.g. *atbeir*, *atchí*, *atchlúin*, *atchota*, *atgebin*, etc. So in the Sagas *cotric* = *conric*, *cotérig* = *conérig* are not unusual; but with *con-* the *-d-* did not become common. In the verb *forgellaim* also *-t-* has become constant, cf. SR. 3581 (further *fothroirgell* 3385), and Glossary to PH. s. v. *forgellaim*.² That in Mid.-Ir. texts the infix pronoun has ever any meaning in these forms I have no evidence. The O.-Ir. relative *assid-*, *conid-*, etc. (see above, p. 156) have disappeared in Mid. Ir.

3. *-da-*.

The only one of our texts from which I have instances of *-da-* in its O.-Ir. usage is SR.

(α) *ro-da-gni* 163, *no-da-foilcc* 251, *ro-da-mert* (= O. Ir. *ro-n-da-mert*) 2779, *ro-da-triall* 7197.

(γ) *cota-oi* 646, *for-da-midet* (?) 108, *cota-coimsed* (= O. Ir. *cota-messed*) 5387.

(β) But the form is also found where the verb is not relative:—*fo-do-ralaíd* 2189, so probably *co ro-da-bades* 2182. Further instances of this usage from LU. are: *no-da-sénsat* 24^a30, *ni-dá-tánsem* (where we might have expected *nístánsem* or *náchatánsem*) 56^b16, *ar-da-slig* 56^a4.

¹ In O. Ir. the occurrences are Wb. *atruirmed* 2^c6, *atroillisset* 4^c15, *atrothreb* 26^d3; Ml. *atrim* 49^a11; in 123^b15 *atindided*, if it is not to be corrected to *ataindided*, might contain a neut. pron., cf. *darolgíd dom tra in frithorcuin sin* Wb. 18^a12. In Wb. 4^c15, 26^d3 the verb is relative, in 2^c6 it is not according to the rule in Wb. In Ml. 49^a11 *atrim* might possibly be relative, cf. CZ. iv. 67. The instances in Wb. would seem to indicate that the form arose first in relative use; and it is not unnatural that *atbeir* should have been used for *asbeir* before it was used for *asbeir*. But the lacuna in tradition does not permit us to trace the development of the form; in SR. *asbeir* and *atbeir* seem to be used promiscuously.

² In O. Ir. *-t-* may always be a neut. pron.; the occurrences are given by Sommer, CZ. i. 221.

im-da-cuiret 87^b18, *no-dá-sinet* 87^b18, *no-da-samaigetur* 90^a27, *im-da-tuigethar* 95^b25.

By a further extension *-da-* is also used of the masc. sg. Instances from S.R. are:—*ata-comoing* (sc. *Abisolón*) 6920, *cona-fuair* 3697, *cono-tuctais* . . . in *mac* 3702, *ro-da-car* (non-rel.) 3173, 3705, *ro-do-bris* . . . *cath* 5573. Further instances are: *con-da-tarat* LU. 22^b37, *cono-rucur* 54^a23, *conda-esur biad* 104^a24, *con-da-accatar* (where another MS. has *connfaccatar*) *ni* 128^b1, *ro-ta-cursaigh* (rel.) LS. 2559, *con-da-gaib* MC. 13, *ratafetamar* LL. 98^a23, 38, 98^b1, 29, etc. In *cáta helta ilerda ataciam*? Bor. 302^a38, *ataciam* means no more than *atchiam*.

4. *-das-*, *-dos-*.¹

SR. (α) sg. 3 f. *fo-das-niada* (leg. *fo-das-riada*) 288, *ro-das-fessad* 562, *ro-das-derscaig* 4423, *ro-das-ta* 7527.

pl. 3. *do-dos-rosat* 564, *ro-dosassaí*² 2564, *ro-dosas* 4065, *ar-dos-cé* . . . in *crann ocus in nathraig* 4165, *ro-das-car* 2991, *do-dasaer* 3985, *ro-das-cinn* 4231, *ro-das-biathái* 4636, *do-das-sáer* 4818, *ro-das-traeth* 4993, *ro-das-lín* . . . *clanna* 5049, *ro-das-lanlín* 5076, *ro-dasidaig* 5203, *ro-dasaer* 5257, 5276, *ro-das-gní* . . . *ildelba* 7269.

(β) sg. 3 f. *no-dosai* 3863, *ro-dosamaig* 2200.

pl. 3. *do-dos-ruasat* 676, 1110, *ro-das-gab* 2688, *ro-das-crín* 3399, *ro-dosmachtaigset* 3637, *ro-dos-dairsatar* 3665, *do-das-fuaid* 3860, *ro-dos-terbaiset* 4653, *ro-das-faidsct* 4655, *ro-das-troeth* 4995, *ro-das-bate* 5279, *ro-das-dáer* 5289, 5293, *ro-dos-slechtsat* 5491, *ro-das-lín* 5547, *do-dos-rat* 5867, *ro-doselaig* 6549, *ro-dos-dedaig* 6550, *ro-das-troeth* 6553, 7051,

¹ These are the instances of the form which I have noted in LU.:—

sg. 3 f. *díanos-faictis* 28^a10, *ro-das-bennach* (v., non-rel.) 53^a13, *ro-dá-samsubaid*, (v., leg. *-subaig*) 53^a15, *conas-tarat* 54^b15, *dánas-tairsed* 79^b37.

pl. 3. *do-das-athiged* (non-rel.; the form in this old text marks the sentence as an interpolation) 19^a24, *conos-rála* 16^a19, *con-das-fil* 17^b19, *conos-tairsed* 22^a21, *conos-tarla* 26^a6, *atas-foprát* 26^a39, *atas-comnaic* 28^a12, *conos-beir* 29^a23, 31, *no-das-ceil* (v.) 38^a37.

sg. 3 m. *do-dos-celt* (v.) 38^a39, *conos-tanic* (?) 50^b2, *conos-tarraid* 105^a21 (if it does not refer to Cuchulinn and his charioteer); *cordasmesc* 77^b36 (= *coromesc* LL.) seems a mere corruption.

² Where the following letter is *-s-* it is uncertain whether the writer meant *-da-* or *das-*; the instances have been given under *-das-* because that is the predominant form.

ro-dasmacht . . . in *macrad* 7155, *ro-dasaer* 7392, *ro-das-hicc* 7636; once *ro-dosn-airg*¹ 5415.

(γ) sg. 3 f. *conos-tuc* 1665, *conas-rucur* 1666.

pl. 3. *atas-comainig* 5320, *conas-tarraid* 864, *conos-ti* 1452, *conos-tucam* 3979, *conas-torslaic* 5287, *con-dos-saersat* 5295, *con-das-fuair* . . . *di ingin* 2933, *con-das-tárraid* 3019.

LG. (γ) sg. 3 f. *atos-condaire* 3^b9, *conos-toracht* 5^a6, 6^a.

pl. 3. *conos-fuair* 20^b31.

TT. (γ) pl. 3. *con-das-rala* 1343, *conascailend* 1989.

BOR. (γ) pl. 3. *atas-cím* 303^b15.

AEN.² (γ) pl. 3. *conus-rogab* 457^a4.

LS. (α) pl. 3. *ro-tas-gabh* 3800.

(β) pl. 3. *no-tas-sloicc* 491.

(γ) sg. 3 f. *conus-ibh* 54, *conus-tarraid* 2791, *conas-tall* 1337.

MC. (α) pl. 3. *na-dos-fagaib* 95.

(β) pl. 3. *fo-dos-ceirdi* . . . *na mtrenda* 97.

PH. (γ) sg. 3 f. *conus-techtad trocaire* 4123, *conus-léic soigit* 7184.

pl. 3. *conus-imorcuirit* 1823, *conus-dernai* 6630, *conus-féga nem 7 talmain* 6629.

The form also spreads to the masc. sg. (usually after *con-*, etc.). In SR. the usage is only beginning: *ro-dosás* . . . *Noe* (rel.) 2541, if it be not plural, *rò-dasáer* . . . *Raab* 7345. Examples from our other texts are:—

LG. *conos-fuaratar* 22^b30.

TT. *conas-tuc* 425.

NENN. *conas-tarla* 208^a35.

MC. *dianos-tarla* (?) 95.

PH. *conus-uc* 3941, *conus-fuair* 6303, *dianus-tarda fadéin* 4858, *conus-increchsom he* 4132, *conus-tesairced a mac* 6625, *conus-tidnaice* . . . *bethaid* 6631. The frequent addition of the noun in this text shows that the pronoun has lost its force, and hence, like *-s-*, it is sometimes meaningless: *conus-fortach-taige* 1423, 4158, *conus-fetatar combad he* 6331.

¹ In *ro-dos-pianta* 5418, if the text be sound, the pronoun is meaningless; leg. probably *rodospianai*.

² At 466^b3 *ro-dus-tuc* is found, where an infixed pron. of the second person might have been expected; so *do-s-fuc* 466^b4, we should have looked for an infixed pronoun of the first person.

V. THE INDEPENDENT PRONOUN.

We have seen above the simplification in Mid. Ir. of the O. Ir. infixed pronoun. In the first and second persons the dental forms disappear, except after *ad-*, *con-*, and the like; in the third person everything becomes *-s-*, or, after *ad-*, *con-*, etc., *-dos-*, *-nos-*; in late texts *-s-* itself is a literary survival, and is often inserted where it has no meaning. From the eleventh century the infixed pronoun has a rival in the independent pronoun. In SR. I have noted no examples.¹ In the eleventh century MS. LU. it is already common in the later and more popular texts. Thus in the commentary on the Amra we find:—*cona ragbad . . . hé* 14^b31, *notaidled . . . eat* 13^a28, *nofegad . . . eat* 13^a27, *rothogmaing . . . hé* 14^b34.² In the Scéla Láí Brátha we have *atchoncamdmrni thú* 32^a21, *atchon-narcdmr . . . tú* 32^a22, *atconcamdr . . . thú* 32^a22; infix. *nacha-s-ragbad* 32^a1, *do-s-beir* 33^a47. Other occurrences on LU. are:—

Dá Brón : *dogní . . . hé* 18^a1.

Aided Echach : *robaist . . . hí* 41^b7.

¹ Examples of the independent pronoun in the nom. are:—*bráthir sinn* 3493, *ecoitchinn eat* 5517. Similar occurrences in LU. may not be without interest, as showing that in the eleventh century the pronoun had advanced far towards its modern form.

Commentary on the Amra C.C.:—*robo lesmac di é* 5^a36, *is crot cen cheis iatside* 8^b37, *nípo lais é* 9^a42, *corbo huiath hé* 10^a6, *ba gas hé* 11^a4, *tóit lan do déirc eseom* 12^a36, *is oll in trenfer hé* 13^a23, *nirbo nemdil . . . hé* 14^a41, *nirbec hé* 14^a42.

Senchas na Relec:—*noadnaictis iat* 51^a23, 24, *combad hé . . . hé* 51^a44.

Aided Echach:—*frithailter misi* 41^a2, *tucad . . . hí* 41^a14, *rogabad hí* 41^a33, *robaided hé* 41^a23, *tarras hí* 41^a34, *robo leis hí* 41^a32.

Fotha Catha Cnucha: *ní thucad dó hí* 42^a13, *robo torrach hí* 42^a43.

Fis Adamnán: *cæl arthus hé* 29^b39, *acairbiu hé* 30^b33.

Fled Bricrend: *is la Coinculaind . . . hé* 112^a24, *día tibertha hé* 112^a43, *is é gaiscedach as dech . . . hé* 101^a39, *dógena-sib* (v. l. *dógena-su*) 99^b47.

Imram Curaig Máeledúin: *combad mac . . . hé* 22^b29, *Maelduin . . . esside* 22^a38, cf. 22^b14.

Táin Bó Flidais: *ní herfaider . . . síbsi* (variant without *síbsi*) 21^a19.

Tochmarc Emire: *stíalt ar chapur hé* 121^a37.

Táin Bó Cuailnge: *da chomais sind* 73^b7.

Togail Bruidne Dá Derga: *dá chomailia dosom iat* (*iat* an interpolation of LU.) 83^a14, *roadnacht . . . hé* 98^b24.

² As to the infixed pronouns, *nimreilge* 7^b13 is a quotation from the text. The only other clear instances are *nosbliged* 13^a32, and *nongeba* 13^a6, for the occurrences in verse quotations do not count. At 11^a2, 3 both text and gloss are quotations.

Fotha Catha Cnucha : *nir leic cuci hí* 42^a43.

Cath Cairn Chonaill : *hi tarat hé* 116^a20, *rosdraig . . . hé* 116^a20.

Comthoth Loegairi : *bennachais . . . hé* 118^a24.

Scél Túain : *lenad . . . sind* 16^a33.

Tucait Innarba na nDessi : *tabair d'oid hé* 53^b19.

Fled Bricrend : *dorat . . . tat* 105^a33, *ni léicfemni . . . hé* 105^a39, *tarraid hé* 108^b27, *fóidis iat* 109^a9, *comallas . . . hé* 110^b12, *ni chosna . . . he* 110^a8.¹

Imram Curaig Máiledúin : *roarigsetar . . . eatsom* 26^a39.

Tochmarc Emire : *rocharsat . . . hé* 121^b35, *rochrechtnaig . . .* *eseom* 126^a28, *fogéba messi* 126^a41.

Serglige Conculaind : *co fuarusa hé* (v.) 48^a3, *robuadir . . .* *hí* 49^b23, *co tuctais . . . hé* 50^a43.

Togail Bruidne Dá Derga : *tanairsed . . . sibsi* (*sibsi* not in YBL.) 91^b28, *roleg . . . hé* 98^b20.²

Táin Bó Cúailnge : *ara naiscea dó hí* 71^a35, *connd fostba sib* 71^a37, *facbais iat* 71^b3, *ní fælsaid tat* 72^a9, *geogain iat* 72^b23, *conmel . . . hé* 82^b31.³

The evidence of LU., then, shows that the independent pronoun was in common use before the end of the eleventh century.⁴ It remains to give the occurrences from the texts used for the history of the infix pronoun.

LG. *dia ruc . . . iat* 3^a5, *coromarbsat . . . é* 9^a39, cf. 22^a40, 42, *fácbaid é* 20^b37,⁵ *co rochuir iat* 20^b25.

TT. *co rafuirlnge . . . sein sib* 1796; *fuaratar . . . hé* 13, so 121, 342, 412, 518, 1234, 1839; *romarb essium* 463; *rachluin . . . heside* 406; *tucsat . . . iat* 368, so 444, 915, 1600.⁶

¹ Cf. Thurneysen, CZ. IV. 200 sq.

² The passage is not in YBL.

³ All the instances but the last come from a passage which is not in YBL., and which otherwise in its language shows signs of lateness. The remaining example also comes from an episode not in YBL.

⁴ Compare with this the evidence from the Annals of Ulster, above, p. 169.

⁵ Independent pronoun as nom. : *do chlaind Magoth . . . é* 5^a10, *fer co ndanaib . . . éside* 9^b10, *da brathair iat* 3^a48, *co rolaad . . . é* 22^b28, *co ructha . . . iat* 20^b49.

⁶ As nom. : *intan ba gilla bec mi* 1261; *rachubraig sé Hercoil* 415; *ba gilla bec éside* 700, so 606, 763; *primchathir . . . éside* 29, so 46, 85, 365; *daringned ém éside*, 'that was done,' 161; *comtis iat in coblach uli iat* 554, so 196; *rufostad . . . e* 1949, so 57, 400, 949; *rucad . . . hi* 143, *marbthair hi* 448.

BOR. *gebes ecla tú* 303^b17, *dorat . . . é* 300^b10, so 300^b28, 301^b43, 304^a14, 304^b31; *na fuilngidsi hí* 303^a6, so 306^a37; *ní innisfem iat* 301^b3, so 304^b1, 307^b47, 308^a32.¹

NENN. *roinnmarbsat . . . he* 205^b17, so 205^b30; *co rosidaigestar . . . iad* 206^b22.²

AEN. *romuirfidis me* 454^a1, so 450^b19, 450^b20, 478^b17; *dosfuc sinde* 466^b11; *ní bera ass tu fen* 480^b36, *rodiligset . . . thu* 484^b11; *ní lema . . . sib* 476^a42; *co rocarad . . . he* 452^b37, so 467^b30, 468^a10, 471^b18, 478^b16, 479^b15; *rofuc iat* 451^a19, so 458^b42, 463^b22, 466^b30, 468^a1, 471^a22, 472^b24, 473^a32, 473^b24.³

LS. *geibh misi* 3492, *muirbhfit . . . mhisi* 3438; *corosfoire sinne* 3171; *sín . . . tú* 3439, *corofreagra . . . thu* 2893; *rocarussa sibhsi* 3937; *berait . . . hé* 3551, so 4315, 4658; *atcldh hí* 3384; *nólinfad iat* 1301, so 1361, 2557, 3180, 3329, 4196, 4800.⁴

MC., *dober he* 43², so 45¹³; *oslaicis hí* 23¹⁰.⁵

PH. See Atkinson's Glossary, p. 868.

In O.-Ir. texts preserved in Mid.-Ir. manuscripts, a not infrequent form of corruption is that, where there is already an infixed pronoun, an independent pronoun is added after the later fashion. Thus LU. 59^a33 has *connachrancatár hé*, where YBL. has no *hé*; similarly *diandingbaitea fessin hé* 72^b37, where *hé* is wanting in YBL.; *ní ránic hé* 111^a24, where another text has *ní ránic*. Such corruptions seem to be imitated in the later literary style, e.g.:

LG. *no-s-beir iat* 20^b44.

¹ As nom.: *ragaid missi* 305^b39, *dá marbhar misse* 304^a3; *ní mairfider thú* 304^a35, *damba sathchu sib* 303^b12; *corop dín dam é* 303^b26, so 307^a10; *is sochaide iat* 304^b18; *rolínad . . . e* 300^b30, so 303^a18, 303^b27, 304^b22; *forsandigeltar iat* 301^a31, so 302^b15.

² As nom. *bod rig . . . tu* 208^a37; *atcondairc se* 209^b36; *da mac Silui iad* 205^b38; *co torth[r]omthai . . . he* 209^a7; *tucthar as iat* (= *tucthar as* LU.) 210^b44.

³ As nom.: *adcondairc missi* 455^a21; *Troiandaig sindi* 469^b7, so 469^b23; *connachcámsad sibsi* 454^a24, so 466^b30, 479^b19; *is suairc he* 456^a42, so 449^b10, 456^a47, 460^b18, 462^b8, 463^b8, 465^b13, 469^a6, 470^b26, 471^a12, 472^b7, *torothor iside* 457^a10, so 450^a43, 462^b26, 463^a44, 465^b7, 467^b22; *robtar toirsig iad* 470^a4, so 472^a6, 460^b25; *romarbthar . . . he* 459^a14; *arna tucthai . . . hi* 467^b12; *doberar . . . iat* 453^b12, so 461^a10.

⁴ As nom.: *bíd manaigh . . . inne* 3196; *is senóir thu* 3495, *cú rogabha tú* 3453; *deinmedhaigh iatsein* 1374, so 2945.

⁵ As nom.: *araile lach . . . esside* 3, so 5¹, 9²; *comba métithir . . . hi* 53¹; *ba faide iat* 51²⁵; *rofuirmed he* 19¹⁰, so 25¹², 55¹⁵, 63²⁵; *immgangabar hí* 81³³.

NENN. *cid ornamtugadh . . . mhe* 210^b28, *gonadmarb a mac he* 205^b30.

AEN. *ro-n-geb oman sinne* 454^a40, *ro-s-tocaib he* 461^a24; *ro-s-marb i* 464^a24, so 456^b38, 483^a39, 481^a10; *no-s-geb . . . iat* 451^a17, so 450^b7, 452^a40, 463^a19, 469^b3.

PH. See Atkinson's Glossary, p. 857.

Further examples will be found above, pp. 164 sq.

J. STRACHAN.

MACGNÍMARTHA FINN THE BOYISH EXPLOITS OF FINN¹

1. **T**HERE befell a meeting of valour and a contest of battle about the chieftaincy of the *flan* and about the high-stewardship of Ireland between Cumall, son of Trénmór, and Urgriu, son of Lugaid Corr of the Luaigni.² That Cumall was of the Corco Oche of Cúil Contuind,³ for to these the Ui Tairrsig, Cumall's tribe, belonged. Torba, daughter of Eochaman of the Erne, was the wife of Cumall, until he married Muirne of the fair neck.

2. Then the battle of Cnucha⁴ was fought between them, to wit, between Cumall and Urgriu. Daire the Red, son of Echaid the Fair, son of Coirpre the Valorous, son of Muiredach, and his son Aed were fighting the battle along with Urgriu. Another name for that Daire was Morna Wryneck. So the battle was fought. Luchet and Aed, son of Morna, met in the battle. Luchet wounded Aed, and destroyed one of his eyes, whence the name of Goll (*i.e.* the One-eyed) came to him from that time forth. Luchet fell by Goll. The man who kept Cumall's treasure-bag wounded Cumall in the battle. Cumall fell in the battle by Goll, son of Morna, who carried off his spoils and his head, whence there was a hereditary feud between Finn and the sons of Morna.

3. Hence sang the shanachie :—

“Goll, son of Daire the Red, with fame,
Son of Echaid the Fair, of valour fair,
Son of Cairpre the Valorous with valour,
Son of Muiredach from Findmag.”⁵

¹ Translated from the original Irish in *Revue Celtique*, v., p. 197 ff. Cf. Archiv für Celtische Lexikographie, vol. I., p. 482.

² “A famous military sept in Meath,” O'D.

³ “A territory situated on the borders of the present counties of Meath and Cavan,” O'D.

⁴ Now Castleknock, near the Liffey, Co. Dublin.

⁵ “A plain in the barony of Athlone, Co. Roscommon,” O'D.

Ascribed to 12th Century: K. Meyer, introd. to Fianaigecht, T.L.S., xxviii.

“ Goll slew Luchet of the hundreds
In the battle of Cnucha, 'tis no falsehood :
Luchet the Fair of prowess bright¹
Fell by the son of Morna.

“ By him fell great Cumall
In the battle of Cnucha of the hosts.
'Tis for the chieftaincy of Erin's fian
That they waged the stout battle.

“ The children of Morna were in the battle
And the Luaigni of Tara,
Since to them belonged the leadership² of the men of Fál³
By the side of every valorous king.

“ Victorious Cumall had a son,
The Finn, bloody, of weapons hard :
Finn and Goll, great their fame,
Mightily they waged war.

“ Afterwards they made peace,
Finn and Goll of the hundred deeds,
Until Banb Sinna fell
About the pig at Tara Luachra.⁴

“ Aed was the name of the son of Daire
Until Luchet with glory wounded him :
Since the fierce lance had wounded him,
Therefore was he called Goll.”

4. Cumall left his wife Muirne pregnant. And she brings forth a son, to whom the name of Demne was given. Fiacail, son of Conchenn, and Bodbmall the druidess, and the Grey one of Luachair came to Muirne, and carry away the boy, for his mother durst not let him be with her. Muirne afterwards slept with Gleor Red-hand, king of the Lamraige,⁵ whence⁶ the saying, ‘Finn, son of Gleor.’ Bodbmall, however, and the Grey one, and the boy with them, went into the forest of Slieve Bloom. There the boy was secretly reared That was indeed necessary; for many a sturdy stalwart youth, and many a

¹ Read *Luicet Finn in gaiscid glain*.

² i.e. the headship of the fian (*fianus*).

³ A poetical name for Ireland.

⁴ See the “Cause of the Battle of Cnucha,” translated by Hennessy, Rev. Celt. II., p. 86 ff.

⁵ “A people of Kerry,” O'D.

⁶ Read *conid* [*d*]eiside.

venomous hostile warrior and angry fierce champion of the warriors of the Luaigni and of the sons of Morna were lying in wait for that boy, and for Tulcha, the son of Cumall. In that manner then those two women-warriors reared him for a long time.

5. Then, at the end of six years, his mother came to visit her son, for she had been told that he was in that place, and besides, she was afraid of the sons of Morna for him. However, she passed from one wilderness to another, until she reached the forest of Slieve Bloom. She found the hunting-booth and the boy asleep in it. And then she lifts the boy to her bosom, and presses him to her, and she pregnant at the time.¹ It was then she made the quatrains, fondling her son :—

“ Sleep in peaceful slumber,” &c.

Thereupon the woman bade farewell to the women-warriors, and told them to take charge² of the boy till he should be fit to be a warrior. And so the boy grew up till he was able to hunt.

6. On a certain day the boy went out alone, and saw ducks upon a lake. He sent a shot among them, which cut off the feathers and wings of one, so that a trance fell upon her; and then he seized her and took her with him to the hunting-booth. And that was Finn's first chase.

7. He afterwards went with certain *cairds* to flee from the sons of Morna, and was with them about Crotta.³ These were their names: Futh⁴ and Ruth and Regna of Moy Fea, and Temle, and Olpe, and Rogein. There scurvy came upon him, and therefrom he became a scald, whence he used to be called Demne the Bald. At that time there was a reaver in Leinster, Fiacail, the son of Codna. Then in Feeguile⁵ Fiacail came upon the *cairds*, and killed them all save Demne alone. After that he

¹ The Irish is *ocus sí trom iarum*, which should not, I think, as has been suggested, be rendered ‘and she pregnant thereafter,’ *iarum* here having the force of *tra* (see Windisch, *Wörterbuch*, p. 613) and not of *iarsin*. Besides, *ocus sí* denotes an accompanying circumstance.

² For this meaning of *indgabaim*, see *Manners and Customs*, I., p. lxxxv, n. 104.

³ “i.e. Crotta Cliach, now the Galty mountains in the south of County Tipperary,” O'D.

⁴ Wrongly printed *Tuth* in *Rev. Celt.* v., p. 199.

⁵ “In the parish of Cloonsast, north of Portarlinton, King's County,” O'D.

was with Fiacail, the son of Codna, in his house in Sescenn Uair-beóil.¹ The two women-warriors came southwards to the house of Fiacail, the son of Codna, in search of Demne, and he is given to them. And then they take him with them from the south to the same place.

8. One day he went out alone until he reached Moy Liffey,² and a certain stronghold there; and he saw the youths hurling upon the green of the stronghold there. He went to contend in running or in hurling with them. He came again the next day, and they put one-fourth of their number against him. Again they come with one-third of their number against him. However, at last they all go against him, and he won his game from them all.

9. "What is thy name?" they said. "Demne," said he. The youths tell that to the man of the stronghold. "Then kill him,"³ if ye know how to do it—if ye are able to do it," said he. "We should not be able to do aught to him," said they. "Did he tell you his name?" says he. "He said," say they, "that his name was Demne." "What does he look like?" said he. "A shapely fair (*finn*) youth," said they. "Then Demne shall be named Finn (the Fair)," said he. Whence the youths used to call him Finn.

10. He came to them on the next day, and went to them at their game. All together they throw their hurlets at him. He turns among them, and throws seven of them to the ground. He went from them into the forest of Slieve Bloom.

11. Then, at the end of a week, he came back to the same place. The youths were swimming in a lake that was close by. The youths challenge him to come and try to drown them. Thereupon he jumps into the lake to them, and drowns nine of them in the lake. And after that he goes to Slieve Bloom. "Who drowned the youths?" everybody asks. "Finn," say they. So that henceforth [the name] Finn clave to him.

12. Once he went forth across Slieve Bloom, and the two women-warriors together with him, when a fleet herd of wild deer is seen [by them] on the ridge of the mountain. "Alas!" say

¹ i.e. the Swamp of Uair-bél or Cold-Mouth, somewhere in Leinster.

² "The plain of the Liffey, a very level plain in County Kildare," O'D.

³ Read *marbaid-si de é*.

the two old women, "that we cannot get hold of one of those!"¹ "I can," [says Finn], and he dashes upon them, and lays hold of two bucks among them, and brings them with him to their hunting-booth. After that he would hunt for them constantly. "Go from us now, lad," said the women-warriors to him, "for the sons of Morna are watching to kill thee."

13. Alone he went from them until he reached Lough Leane,² above Luachair,³ and there he took military service with the king of Bantry. At that place he did not make himself known. However, there was not at that time a hunter his equal. Thus said the king to him:—"If Cumall had left a son," says he, "one would think thou wast he. However, we have not heard of his leaving a son, except Tulcha mac Cumail, and he is in military service with the king of Scotland."

14. He afterwards bids farewell to the king, and goes from them to Carbrige, which at this day is [called] Kerry,⁴ and takes military service with the king of that land. Then, on a certain day, the king came to play *fidchell*. He was prompted by Finn, and won seven games one after another. "Who art thou?" says the king. "The son of a peasant of the Luaigni of Tara," says he. "No," says the king, "but thou art the son whom Muirne bore to Cumall, and be here no longer, lest thou be slain [while] under my protection."

15. Then he went forth to Cullen⁵ of the Ui Cuanach,⁶ to the house of Lochán, a chief smith, who had a very beautiful daughter, Cruithne by name. She fell in love with the youth. "I shall give thee my daughter, though I know not who thou art." Thereupon the girl slept with the youth. "Make spears for me," said the youth to the smith. So Lochán made two spears for him. He then bade farewell to Lochán, and went away. "My son," says Lochán, "do not go upon the road on which is the sow called the Beo." She it was that devastated the

¹ Read *ní tic dín astud*, &c.

² The great Lake of Killarney.

³ i.e. Luchair Dedad, "a district in the County of Kerry, containing the two Pap mountains," O'D.

⁴ "The territory so called extended in ancient times only from Tralee to the Shannon," O'D.

⁵ "In the County of Tipperary, near the borders of the County of Limerick," O'D.

⁶ Coonagh is now the name of a barony, County Limerick.

midlands of Munster. But what happened to the youth was to go upon the very road on which the sow was. Then the sow charged him ; but he thrust his spear at her, so that it went through her, and left her without life. Then he takes the head of the sow with him to the smith as a bridal gift for his daughter. Hence is Slieve Muck¹ in Munster.

16. After that the youth went onwards into Connaught to seek Crimall, the son of Trénmór. As he was on his way, he heard the wail of a woman. He went towards it, and saw a woman ; and now it was tears of blood, and now a gush of blood, so that her mouth was red. "Thou art red-mouthed, woman !" says he. "Good cause have I," says she, "for my only son has been slain by a tall, very terrible warrior who came in my way." "What was thy son's name ?" says he. "Glonda was his name," says she. Hence is the Ford of Glonda and the Causeway of Glonda on Moinmoy,² and from that redness of mouth the Ford of the Red Mouth³ has been so called ever since. Then Finn went in pursuit of the warrior, and they fight a combat, and he fell by him. This is how he was: he had the treasure-bag with him, to wit, the treasures of Cumall. He who had fallen there was the Grey one of Luachair, who had dealt the first wound to Cumall in the battle of Cnucha.

17. Thereupon he goes into Connaught, and finds Crimall as an old man in a desert wood there, and a number of the old *fian* together with him ; and it is they who did the hunting for him. Then he shows(?) him the bag, and told him his story from beginning to end ; how he had slain the man of the treasures. Finn bade farewell to Crimall, and went to learn poetry from Finnéces, who was on the Boyne.⁴ He durst not remain in Ireland else, until he took to poetry, for fear of the son of Urgriu, and of the sons of Morna.

18. Seven years Finnéces had been on the Boyne, watching the salmon of Fec's Pool⁵ ; for it had been prophesied of him

¹ *Sliab Muicce*, 'the Mountain of the Sow.'

² "A territory lying round Lough Reagh, County Galway," O'D.

³ "Not identified, unless it be Ballyderg," O'D.

⁴ "For the poets thought that the place where poetry was revealed always was upon the brink of water" (*ar bá baile fallsigthe éicsi dogrés lasna filedu for briúsci*), LL. p. 186 a.

⁵ "A deep pool in the River Boyne, near *Ferta Fer Fecc*, the ancient name of the village of Slane, on this river," O'D.

that he would eat the salmon of Féc, when nothing would remain unknown to him. The salmon was found, and Demne was then ordered to cook the salmon; and the poet told him not to eat anything of the salmon. The youth brought him the salmon after cooking it. "Hast thou eaten anything of the salmon, my lad?" says the poet, "No," says the youth, "but I burned my thumb, and put it into my mouth afterwards." "What is thy name, my lad?" says he. "Demne," says the youth. "Finn is thy name, my lad," says he; "and to thee was the salmon given to be eaten, and verily thou art the Finn." Thereupon the youth eats the salmon. It is that which gave the knowledge to Finn, to wit, whenever he put his thumb into his mouth, and sang through *teinm láida*,¹ then whatever he had been ignorant of would be revealed to him.

19. He learnt the three things that constitute a poet, to wit, *teinm láida* and *imbas forosna*² and *dichetul dichennaib*.³ It is then Finn made this lay to prove his poetry⁴ :—

20. May-day, season surpassing! Splendid is colour then. Blackbirds sing a full lay, if there be a slender shaft of day.
 The dust-coloured cuckoo calls aloud: Welcome, splendid summer! The bitterness of bad weather is past, the boughs of the wood are a thicket.
 Summer cuts the river down, the swift herd of horses seeks the pool, the long hair of the heather is outspread, the soft white bog-down grows.
 Panic startles the heart of the deer, the smooth sea runs apace,—season when ocean sinks asleep,—blossom covers the world.
 Bees with puny strength carry a goodly burden, the harvest of blossoms; up the mountain-side kine take with them mud, the ant makes a rich meal.
 The harp of the forest sounds music, the sail gathers—perfect peace. Colour has settled on every height, haze on the lake of full waters.
 The cornrake, a strenuous bard, discourses; the lofty virgin waterfall sings a welcome to the warm pool; the talk of the rushes is come.
 Light swallows dart aloft, loud melody reaches round the hill, the soft rich mast buds, the stuttering quagmire rehearses.
 The peat-bog is as the raven's coat, the loud cuckoo bids welcome, the speckled fish leaps, strong is the bound of the swift warrior.
 Man flourishes, the maiden buds in her fair strong pride; perfect each forest from top to ground, perfect each great stately plain.

¹ "Illumination (?) of song."

² "Knowledge which illumines."

³ "Extempore incantation."

⁴ A translation of this poem appeared in my "Four Songs of Summer and Winter" (London, D. Nutt, 1903), whence I reprint it here.

Delightful is the season's splendour, rough winter has gone, white is every fruitful wood, a joyous peace is summer.

A flock of birds settles in the midst of meadows; the green field rustles, wherein is a brawling white stream.

A wild longing is on you to race horses, the ranked host is ranged around: a bright shaft has been shot into the land, so that the water-flag is gold beneath it.

A timorous tiny persistent little fellow sings at the top of his voice, the lark sings clear tidings: surpassing May-day of delicate colours!

21. However, Finn went to Cethern, the son of Fintan, further to learn poetry with him. At that time there was a very beautiful maiden in Bri Ele,¹ that is to say, in the fairy-knoll of Bri Ele, and the name of that maiden was Ele. The men of Ireland were at feud about that maiden. One man after another went to woo her. Every year on Hallowe'en the wooing used to take place; for the fairy-knolls of Ireland were always open about Hallowe'en; for on Hallowe'en nothing could ever be hidden in the fairy-knolls. To each man that went to woo her this used to happen: one of his people was slain. This was done to mark the occasion, nor was it ever found out who did it.

22. Like everybody else, the poet Cethern went to woo the maiden. However, Finn did not like the poet's going on that errand. At that time the name of Cumall's son was Finnéces. As they went to the wooing they formed themselves into three bands. There were nine in each band. As they went towards the fairy-knoll, a man of their people was slain between them; and it was not known who had slain him. Oircbel the poet was the name of the man that was slain there. Hence is Fert Oircbeil (the Grave of O.) in Clonfad. Thereupon they separated, and Finn went from them and . . .² However, Finn thought it a grievance and a great disgrace.³

23. He went until he came to the house of the champion Fiacaíl mac Conchinn, at Slievemargue.⁴ It is there his dwelling was at that time. To him, then, Finn made his complaint, and told him how the man had been slain among them in the fairy-

¹ Now the Hill of Croghan, King's County. Cf. Cruachan Brig Ele, § 26.

² I do not know what to make of *ní thaire*.

³ The whole incident is mentioned in a poem by Gilla in Chomded in LL.
p. 144 b, 44 ff.

⁴ In the S.-E. of Queen's County.

knoll. Fiaccail told him to go and sit down by the two Paps of Anu,¹ behind Luachair.² So he went and sat down between the two strongholds which are between the two Paps of Anu.

24. Now, when Finn was there between them, on Hallowe'en night, he saw the two fairy-knolls, opened around him, even the two strongholds, their ramparts having vanished before them. And he saw a great fire in either of the two strongholds; and he heard a voice from one of them, which said: "Is your sweet food good?" "Good, indeed!" said a voice in the other fairy-knoll. "A question. Shall anything be taken from us to you?" "If that be given to us, something will be given to you in return." While Finn was there he saw a man coming out of the fairy-knoll. A kneading-trough was in his hand with a . . .³ pig upon it, and a cooked calf, and a bunch of wild garlic upon it. That was Hallowe'en. The man came past Finn to reach the other knoll. Finn made a cast with the spear of Fiaccail mac Conchinn. He hurled it southward from him towards Slieve-margue. Then said Finn: "If the spear should reach any one of us, may he escape(?) alive from it! I think this was a revenge for my comrade."⁴

25. That passes, till forthwith he heard a lament, and a great wail, saying:—

"On the Barrow, by a sharp-pointed spear,
Aed, Fidga's son, has fallen:
By the spear of Fiaccail, Codna's son,
Finn has slain him . . ."⁵

Then Fiaccail came to Finn, and was at the two Paps of Anu. Fiaccail asked him whom he had slain. "I know not," saith Finn, "whether any good has come from the cast which I have thrown." "'Tis likely, indeed," said Fiaccail, "that some one has been slain. It seems to me if thou do not do it to-night, thou wilt not do it to the end of another year." However, Finn said that he had sent a cast, and that it seemed likely to him

¹ Two mountains still so called in the barony of Magunihiy, County Kerry.

² i.e. Luachair Dedad.

³ I do not know the meaning of *slainsi*.

⁴ This incident is referred to in the poem beginning *Échia Lagen for Leth Chuind*, LL. 48 b 41; and again in Gilla in Chomded's poem, LL. 145 a 2.

⁵ *iar n-imdai* = *ic feiss*, LL. 144 b 52.

that it had reached some one. And he heard a great wailing in the fairy-knoll, saying :—

“Venom is this spear,
And venomous he whose it is,
Venomous whoever threw it,
Venom for him whom it laid low.”

26. Outside the fairy-knoll of Cruachan Brig Ele Finn seized a woman in pledge for his spear. The woman promised to send out the spear if he released her. Finn let the woman from him into the knoll. Then, as she went into the knoll the woman said :—

“Venom the spear,
And venom the hand that threw it !
If it is not cast out of the knoll,
A murrain will seize the land.”

Thereupon the spear is thrown out, and Finn takes it with him to where Fiacail was. “Well,” said Fiacail, “keep the spear with which thou hast done the famous deed.” Then Fiacail said the occasion was fortunate, since the man had been slain who had killed Finn’s comrade. “He whom thou hast slain here,” said he, “’tis he who used to kill every man that came to woo the maiden, because it is he who loved the maiden.”

27. Thereupon Finn and Fiacail went onward. Now, Fiacail had a tryst with the *fian* at Inver Colptha.¹ Then he said to Finn that they should go home . . . ² since their business was finished. Said Finn : “Let me go with thee,” says he. “I do not wish thee to go with me,” says Fiacail, “lest thy strength should fail thee.” “I shall find out,” says Finn. Then they went forth. Twelve balls of lead were round the neck of Fiacail to hem his vigour, such was his swiftness. He would throw one ball after another from him, and Finn took them with him, and (yet) Fiacail’s running was no swifter than Finn’s.

28. They reach Inver Colptha. Then Finn brought all the twelve balls of lead to him, and he was pleased. That night they slept there. Then they make Finn keep watch that night, and he was told to wake the warrior if he heard any [cry of] outrage. Now, one hour of the night, as Finn was watching, he heard a cry from the north, and did not wake the warrior.

¹ The estuary of the Boyne.

² I cannot translate *gid daimh*.

He went alone in the direction of the cry to Slieve Slanga.¹ While Finn was there, among the men of Ulster, at the hour of midnight,² he overtook three women before him, at a green mound, with horns (?) of fairy-women. As they were wailing on that mound, they would all put their hands on the mound. Then the women flee into the fairy-mound before Finn. Finn caught one of the women as she was going into the fairy-knoll of Slanga, and snatched her brooch out of her cloak. The woman went after him, and besought Finn to give her back the brooch of her cloak, and said it was not fit for her to go into the fairy-knoll with a blemish, and she promises a reward³

KUNO MEYER.

¹ Now Slieve Donard, County Down.

² This I take to be the meaning of *tráth nóna do aidchi*.

³ As we learn from Gilla in Chomded's poem (LL. 145 b 8), the fairy presented Finn with a vessel full of gold and silver, which he divided among the *fián*.

AN OLD-IRISH METRICAL RULE

THE following Old-Irish poem is edited from four manuscripts, which fall into two families, A and B.

Recension A is represented by two MSS. :—

A¹ = 5100-4, Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels,¹ pp. 31-33
(written by Michael O'Clery about 1630).

A² = 23 N. 10, R.I.A.,² p. 88.

Recension B is represented by two MSS. :—

B¹ = 23 P. 3, R.I.A., fol. 13^b-13^d. A parchment manuscript, written in 1467.³

B² = H. 1. 11, T.C.D., p. 157^{a, b}. Eighteenth century.⁴

Of the two families A represents the superior tradition. In addition to merely scribal errors, B exhibits deliberate alterations of the text, e.g. v. 1 *hi céin*, where, apparently, *céne* was first corrupted to *céin*, as in A¹, and this was altered to *hi céin* in B, to fill up the metre, v. 6 *dualchi*, v. 11 *marbait, nosinnarbann*, v. 16 *guringaba*, v. 18 *crena*, v. 19 *foillsich (foillsi)*, etc., v. 22 *nodusgabadh*. In the A family the true reading is sometimes retained by A¹, sometimes by A²; it is unfortunate that A² stops before the end. In the B family B² is not descended from B¹, as appears from e.g., v. 2 *meisc* B¹ : *meiscnide* B², v. 4 *terc tuara* B¹ : *techtuaru* B², v. 5 *ṅágar* B¹ : *isanasgair* B², v. 25 *teighsi* B¹ : *desiu* B².

Each of the two families has some additional verses. Some of these are manifest interpolations; and, if we consider the

¹ For a description of the codex, see Stokes, *The Martyrology of Gorman*, Preface. For a transcript of this copy I am indebted to Dr. Stokes.

² Cf. Meyer, *Ériu* 1. 38. This copy ends abruptly at the end of the page, at the end of v. 20. The paper is much disintegrated, and some letters have, in consequence, been lost.

³ Meyer, *CZ.* iv. 241.

⁴ For a transcript of this copy I am indebted to Mr. R. I. Best. In answer to a query as to the date of the MS., Mr. E. Gwynn informs me that on fo. 63 verso there is an entry: *Aodha Dal- mile 7 seacht cced 2 b̄. x. 7 da xxxx et aniudh la Lugnasa*. Interpreted strictly that should mean that it was written by O'Daly in 1792. But as H. 1. 10 was written by O'Daly in 1747, and the two books are bound in similar green covers, Mr. Gwynn suggests that *da xxxx* is really meant for *da fichid*, which would make the date 1752.

character of the others, as compared with the rest of the poem, it is probable that none of them formed part of the original. In such a loosely-constructed poem interpolation is easy; and it may be that some verses common to both families have also been interpolated; for v. 13 this is highly probable.

In three of the MSS. the poem is anonymous; in A¹ it bears the superscription: *Riagail Comhgaill Bendchair indso*, i.e. the Rule of Comgall, founder and first abbot of Bangor (born in 517, died in 602¹). From linguistic considerations, and in particular from the treatment of final vowels, the poem can hardly be put later than about 800 A.D.²

The metre of the poem is 7 + 7². In the first half of the line a disyllabic ending is most common; but a trisyllabic ending is not infrequent, and sometimes a monosyllable appears. Sometimes the last word of the first half of second line rhymes with a word in the second half, but this is not carried so far as in the *Riagail Cormaic*.

Owing to the loose connexion of its parts and our imperfect knowledge of the oldest Irish, the sense of the poem is sometimes obscure. Help has been got both for the text and for the interpretation from the *Apgitir Crábaid*, published by Dr. Meyer, CZ. iii. 447-455. Further discoveries of similar texts³ and a better knowledge of the early Irish Church will probably cast light on much that is at present obscure.

I Comae⁴ riaguil⁵ in Choimded⁶; is and⁷ ní fogbai⁸ báegul⁹:
is ferr ní dichis¹⁰ tairis, céne¹¹ mares¹² do sáegul.¹³

I Preserve the Rule of the Lord; therein thou runnest no risk. It is better that thou transgress it not, as long as thy life lasts.

¹ Ussher, quoted by Reeves, *Adamnan* 337, mentions a Rule of Comgall in Irish.

² Little stress can be laid on *inda* A² in v. 10.

³ I have before me unpublished texts of a similar character, the *Ainmchairdes Manchain Léith* from 23 N. 10, p. 89, the *Riagail Ailbe* from the Brussels codex 5100-4, pp. 24 sq. and 23 N. 11, R.I.A., pp. 186 sq., the *Riagail Cormaic maic Cuilennain* from 23 N. 10 and other MSS., and the *Regula* described in my *Deponent Verb*, p. 73.

⁴ Coma A²B, Comha A¹ ⁵ riaguil A², riaghail *cett.* ⁶ coimded A, choimhdedh B¹, coimdi B² ⁷ ann A²B² ⁸ foigbe A¹, faigbe A², fagba B¹, fagbad B²

⁹ bægal A¹B², baog^v A², bæghal B¹ ¹⁰ dicis A², dhechais B¹, dechais B²

¹¹ :eine A², cein A¹, hi cén B ¹² mairis A, maris B (*altered to mares* B²)

¹³ sæghal A¹, saog^v A², sægal B¹, tsæghal B²

- 2 Is ed as¹ dech na' riaglae² : car³ Críst, miscnigthe⁴
 móini⁵ ;
 lére⁶ duit⁷ fri rí⁸ ngréne⁹ ocus réde¹⁰ fri dóini.¹¹
- 3 Foss¹² oc etlai¹³—amrae¹⁴ sét¹⁵— fége,¹⁶ fedle¹⁷ oc suidiu,¹⁸
 foimtiu¹⁹ écca cech laithe,²⁰ dúthracht²¹ maith do²² cech²³
 duiniu.²⁴

[A¹ adds :

- 3^a Cet slectain do fri biat matin fescar ma tari,
 i flaith nime niba truag ind luagh rotbia aire.
- 3^b Cech oen matin isind re slectadh fo trí solam síis :
 tara bruinde tara gnuis tabradh airdhe cruiche Críst.]

2 This is the essence [lit. what is best] of the Rule : love Christ, hate wealth ; piety to thee towards the King of the sun and smoothness towards men.

3 Continuance in penitence—wonderful the road—keenness, persistence therein ; heed of death everyday ; good will to every man.

[3^a A hundred prostrations to Him at the *Beati* morning and evening, if it be accomplished, the reward which he will have therefor in the Kingdom of Heaven will not be paltry.

3^b Every morning at the time let him bow down promptly thrice. Over his breast, over his face, let him put the sign of Christ's cross.]

¹ as A¹, is *cett.* ² riagla A, riaghla B¹, riagl^o B² ³ cara B ⁴ miscnigthe A¹, miscnegad A², meisc B¹, meiscinide B² ⁵ moine (*in marg.* maoine) A⁷, maine *cett.* ⁶ lere A¹, leri A², leiri B¹, leire B² ⁷ om. A ⁸ righ A, rig B¹, ri B²
⁹ greni B², na nela A¹, na nellu A² ¹⁰ rede A¹, reide A²B¹, reighe B² ¹¹ fri daíne A², B², fri daíne B¹, na ndaíne A¹ ¹² fos B¹, fas B² ¹³ etla *codd.* (eatla B²) ¹⁴ amra *codd.* ¹⁵ set A, in set B ¹⁶ rede A¹, reide A², reighi B¹, regi B² ¹⁷ fedli A¹, fedhle A², feighli B¹, feidhle B² ¹⁸ suidiu A¹, suidhiu B², suide A², suidea B¹ ¹⁹ foimtiu A¹, fomde A², foimdiu B¹, foimhdiu B²
²⁰ cach lathi B¹, gach laithi B² ²¹ du:cht A² ²² da A²B¹ ²³ cach B¹, gach A²B² ²⁴ duine A, dhuine B¹, daíne B²

4 Ní fúapre¹ crábud² nolur³ : tomil⁴ téchtae do thúarae⁵ :
in crábud⁶ gairit remor⁷ is demon⁸ conidrúalae.⁹

5 Ní déne¹⁰ tenid¹¹ ratha,¹² is and is gair¹³ a bádud¹⁴ :
nirba¹⁵ churches¹⁶ fri¹⁷ sruthair, arim¹⁸ suthain¹⁹ do chrábud.²⁰

6 Manotgabab in chathae²¹ is ferr deit²² ní ba²³ slemon,²⁴
cath fri analchi²⁵ ili,²⁶ cath fri corp, cath fri demon.²⁷

7 It é do²⁸ theoir²⁹ riágla : —nítroib³⁰ anaill³¹ bas³² diliu³³—
ainmne ocus umaldóit³⁴ serc in C[h]oimded it chridiu^{35, 36}

4 Aim not at a . . . devotion. Eat thy due portion of food. The short gross devotion, it is the Devil who has devised (?) it.

5 Make not a fire of fern ; then its extinction is nigh. Be not a sedge against a stream, that thy devotion may be lasting.

6 If the battles overtake thee, it is better for thee that thou shouldst not be slack : a battle against many vices, a battle against the body, a battle against the Devil.

7 These are thy three rules—have thou naught else dearer—patience, humility, and the love of the Lord in thy heart.

¹ fuabre A¹, fuabra A²B¹, fuab B² ² crabadh A¹, crab^u A², crabad B¹, cradb^u B² ³ nolar (?) A¹, nolur A², nolar B. ⁴ tom^u A², tomhail A¹, tomall B² ⁵ tecta do thúara A¹, techtu do tuaro A², terc tuara B¹, techtuaru B² ⁶ crabad A¹, crab^u A²B¹, crab^u B² ⁷ remhair A¹, remar B¹, ramhur B² ⁸ deman A¹B¹, demhuin B² ⁹ conidruala A¹, conitrualeu A², cotaruala B² ¹⁰ dene A¹, dena cett. ¹¹ thenid B¹, tene A, teni B² ¹² rathu A² ¹³ is an is gair A¹, is an is gar A², isanasg air B², 7 nāgar B¹ ¹⁴ baduth A², badad B¹, badhadh A¹B² ¹⁵ nirba B² ¹⁶ curcas A¹, curcus A², cuirches B¹, cuirces B² ¹⁷ i A¹ ¹⁸ arim A¹, aram A², nirop B² ¹⁹ duthain B² ²⁰ crabadh A¹, craúadh A², crabudh B¹, cradhb^u B² ²¹ Manotgaba na cata A¹, Managaba na cautho A², Munatgabha na catha B¹, Munat g gabha na catha B² ²² det B², duit A² ²³ niba A¹, nipa B¹, na ba B², nirbat A² ²⁴ slemon A¹, sleamun B¹, slemuin A², slemhain B² ²⁵ hanalchi A², hanalcha A¹, dualci B¹, dualche B² ²⁶ ili A, aili B¹, aile B² ²⁷ demon A¹, dem^u A², demhun B¹, demuun B² ²⁸ om. B ²⁹ teora codd. ³⁰ nitraib B¹, nitraibh A¹B², nidroibe A² ³¹ annaill A¹ ³² bus codd. ³³ diliu B, dili A¹, dile A² ³⁴ umaloit A¹, B, umoloid A² ³⁵ cride A² ³⁶ serc—chridiu : serc dé o uili cridhi B¹, serc de o uil^u craidhiu B²

- 8 Is tré¹ ómun² bíd³ serc⁴ in rí⁵ íccas cach ningrae⁶ :
is dia seirc⁷ conairliter a thol⁸ ocus a thimnae.⁹
- 9 Serc Dé arcorpai talmain,¹⁰ conrig¹¹ coiclea¹² co ndéni¹³ :
ómun¹⁴ conicc aithrigi,¹⁵ serc conmidethar¹⁶ léri.¹⁷
- 10 Ba i nómun ba i nincridiu¹⁸ gudem¹⁹ Críst ara nérnam²⁰
indas²¹ inna aithrige²² conmiästar²³ ar nérnam.²⁴
- 11 Na hocht nairig²⁵ dualchae²⁶ oircte²⁷ anmain²⁸ cech duini,²⁹
is eól damsá sualachae³⁰ ardadíbdatsom huili.³¹

8 Through fear is the love of the King who healeth every misery. It is from love of Him that His will and His commandment are cared for.

9 Love of God . . . the earth, fetters thoughts speedily. Fear hath power over repentance. Love determines piety.

10 Whether in fear or in hurt let us pray to Christ that we may escape (?). The manner of the penance our patron shall determine.

11 The eight chiefs of the vices which slay the soul of every man, I know virtues which extinguish them all.

¹ tria A¹, trie A², tré B¹, trea B² ² oman A, omhun B², uamun B¹
³ bid A¹, bis A²B², bhís B¹ ⁴ a serc B¹, a seirc B² ⁵ righ A¹, rí B ⁶ iccus
cach ningai A¹, icus gach ningra A², conicc cach dingnad B¹, oic cach dingna B²
⁷ de thuil A¹, dia toil A², dia thoil B¹, dia thol B² ⁸ thol B, serc A¹, hserc A²
⁹ timna A, B¹, timhnadh B² ¹⁰ Serc dia corpaib a talam A¹, Searc dear corpai
italmain A², Serc diar corpaibh italmain B¹, Serc diarrcorpuib italomhun B²
¹¹ cunricc B¹, conricc B² ¹² coicliu B¹, cocliu B², coicne A ¹³ dene (deine B¹)
codd. ¹⁴ omun B¹, omhun B², oman A ¹⁵ aithrige A, aithrige B¹, faithrí B²
¹⁶ conmidithir A¹, conmidir A², conmidit^u B¹, conmidit^o B² ¹⁷ lere A¹, leire A²B
¹⁸ Ba inoman ba inincride A¹, Bad inoman ba inincride A², Ba inomun ba inicridhe B¹,
Bainn omhain baincridhi B² ¹⁹ guidium A², guidim B ²⁰ aranernam A,
guraternam B¹, gurothérnam B² ²¹ innass A¹, indus A², innus B² ²² inna
aithrigi A¹, inda aidrige A², ina haithrighi B¹, inaithrighi B² ²³ conmiastar A¹,
conmestar A², conmiadustar B¹, conmiastur B² ²⁴ arnerlamh B, aranerlam A¹,
inderlamh A² ²⁵ nairicch A¹, nairic A², nairigh B¹, nairig B² ²⁶ dualach A¹, B²,
doalach A², dúalaich B¹ ²⁷ oirce A², marbhuit B¹, marbhait B² ²⁸ anmuin
A²B¹ ²⁹ cech duine A, cach duine B¹, gach duine B² ³⁰ intsualaig A¹,
intsoaluigh A², qu sual^u B¹, sensualaig B² ³¹ ar de díbdada huile A¹, ardodíbdathae
uile A², nosinnarbann sin uili (uile B²) B

- 12 Is sí so¹ int sùlaig² fodera³ dídna⁴ fotae,⁵
cech⁶ naccobur⁷ adcobrae⁸ ainmne⁹ do dénum¹⁰ occae.¹¹

[B adds :

- 12^a B¹ M'anmum budein asbertsa frim corpán casmar cetlach
dus ingluaister for bith cé iar mbeth fri ré ag
ecnach

B² M'anmair uodhein atbertsa frim corp cæsm cetlach
dus ingluaister for bith ce iar mbeth fri re agegach.]

- 13 Na trí cóicait¹² do gabáil ó theirt¹³ co teirt,¹⁴ mad folaid,¹⁵
is do thímnaib¹⁶ na sruithe¹⁷ bied¹⁸ laithe¹⁹ bes cobair.²⁰

[After this there are additions in both families :

- 13^a A. Trí chét²¹ slechtain²² cach²³ laithi²⁴ocus a trí cech
trátho²⁵
ni b[i]a th' anim²⁶ fri²⁷ fugall ind rí²⁸ hi laithiu²⁹ brátho.³⁰

12 This is the virtue which works long consolation, that in every desire which thou desirest thou shouldst exercise patience.

12^a [My own soul said to my . . . body (?) if it might be moved upon this earth after being for a time in blasphemy.]

13 To sing the three fifties from tierce to tierce, if it be possible, by the ordinances of the ancients, there will be a day that it will be a help.

[13^a Three hundred prostrations every day, and three at every canonical hour, thy soul will not be at the judgment of the King on the Day of Doom.

¹ ishiso A¹, isiso A², isísín B ² antsualaigh A¹, antsoalig A², insual¹ B¹,
in sualaigh B² ³ fofera A ⁴ bethaid B ⁵ fota A¹, foda A²B²,
fota B¹ ⁶ cach B ⁷ accobar A¹, acobar A², cabuir B¹, acabar B²
⁸ accobrai A¹, acoprae A², atá cobra B¹, ata at cobra B² ⁹ ainmne B¹
¹⁰ denum B¹, dhenam B², denamh A¹, denam A² ¹¹ occai A¹, oca A²B²,
ocoa B¹ ¹² l A², B¹, cæccait A¹, cægait B² ¹³ tirt A², t't A¹B¹
¹⁴ t't A, B¹ ¹⁵ folaiigh A², foghl B¹, fol B² ¹⁶ timnaib A²B¹, timnaibh A¹
¹⁷ sruiti A¹, sruthi A², maithi B ¹⁸ biaid A, ticfa B ¹⁹ laithi B ²⁰ bus
cobhair B¹, bus cobair B², bidatcobhair A¹, bidatcob' A² ²¹ ced A¹, c. A²
²² slechtain A¹, slechtain² A² ²³ gach A² ²⁴ laithe A¹ ²⁵ trata A¹ ²⁶ hanim
A¹, hainem (?) A² ²⁷ fria A¹ ²⁸ rig A², righ A¹ ²⁹ hi laithe A², illaite A¹
³⁰ bratho A², bratha A¹

- 16 Is ferr duit¹ immingabae² lín³ as⁴ dóig lat dot marbad,
borb cráibthech⁵ co nanecnu,⁶ ecnaid⁷ anettoil⁸ anbal.

[B adds :

- 16^a Dogné sáiri na sruithe⁹; ní pa¹⁰ borb amal seccu¹¹ :
remi¹² iarmbí¹³ i cach dú¹⁴ do réir Ísu bid certu.¹⁵
- 16^b Dogné túaslucud cachtae¹⁶ ar muintir Dé—ní mebul¹⁷—
arná dernae¹⁸ tré báegul¹⁹ m'óenur t'óenur²⁰ ar Demun.²¹]
- 17 Ce²² dotísat²³ mórgressa,²⁴ remib²⁵ ní ferae²⁶ cóini²⁷ :
fobíth nídat eslabru²⁸ oldás²⁹ in Rí dosfóidi.³⁰

16 It is better for thee to avoid those whom thou mayest expect to slay thee, a fool pious but ignorant, a sage impenitent and

[16^a Practise the liberty (?) of the elders. Be not foolish like Before afterwards (?) in every place [to be] in obedience to Jesus will be better (?).

16^b Practise deliverance from captivity for God's folk—'tis no shame—that thou mayest not unawares play 'I alone, you alone,' before the Devil.]

17 Though great injuries come to thee, lament not thereat ; because they are not more abundant than those of the King who sends them.

¹ deit A¹ ² animgaba A¹, imingabho A², guringaba B¹, guringabha B²
³ lín A, díis B ⁴ as A¹, is A², bus B ⁵ craibdech A¹, craibdech A²,
craibthech B ⁶ nanecna A¹, nainegna A², nainecn' B ⁷ eccn' A¹, egn' A²,
ecn' B¹, eacnaidh B² ⁸ anettoil A², anetal A¹, anetla B¹, anetlai B² ⁹ saire na
sruithi *codd.* ¹⁰ niba B² ¹¹ secca B¹, seca B² ¹² roime B¹, reme B² ¹³ *leg.* iarmi ?
¹⁴ *ingach* du B¹, *ingacha* du B² ¹⁵ bidh certa B¹, is ceartu B² ¹⁶ tuaslucc
cachta *codd.* ¹⁷ mebhul *codd.* ¹⁸ arna derna B¹, aranderna B² ¹⁹ bæghal *codd.*
²⁰ mænur, tænur B¹, mænar thænair B² ²¹ dheðmhun B² ²² Ce A¹, cia (cia B¹) *cett.*
²³ dotisadh A¹, dotísat A², dothísat B², darat B² ²⁴ moirgreso A², morgresa *cett.*
²⁵ remoibh A², rompu B¹, rompo B² ²⁶ fera (*íera* B¹) *codd.* ²⁷ choine A¹,
(*in marg.* caoine .i. eccaoín), coine A², caine B ²⁸ easlabra A¹, eslabra A² :
fobith (bhith B²) is lugha taisci (ataisce B²) B ²⁹ oldas A, inas B ³⁰ dúis fóide
(*in marg.* faoide) A¹, dusfæide A², dofúidhe B¹, dosfuidhe B²

- 18 Cit ili latsu ind óigid,¹ ma dognee a coir,²
fogeiss³ in rí g lasambí,⁴ ní criea ní doib.⁵
- 19 Ní téis⁶ féin do athchuingi⁷; ní tíasar⁸ úait do foigdi⁹:
bí i fuss¹⁰ oc irnigthi¹¹; do gréss folóis do doidbri.¹²
- 20 Nírba¹³ chalad¹⁴ cesachtach; nírba¹⁵ bodur¹⁶ frit¹⁷ guidi¹⁸;
ní opae,¹⁹ ní athchuintis²⁰; ní carae²¹ móini²² duini.²³
- 21 Ní riae, ní écriae trócairi nDé, nísclae,²⁴
annoberae fort lourtain²⁵ donaib²⁶ bochtaib doberae.²⁷

18 Though thou deem the guests many, if thou renderest [them] their service due, beg of the king with whom thou art, buy not aught for them.

19 Go not thyself to solicit; let no one go from thee to beg. Remain at home in prayer; ever endure thy poverty.

20 Be not hard and niggardly. Be not deaf to prayer to thee. Refuse not, solicit not. Love not a man's wealth.

21 Thou shalt not sell, thou shalt not buy God's mercy, thou shalt not hide it. What thou carriest off over and above thy sufficiency, thou shalt give to the poor.

¹ Ciat ili latsa ind oighid A¹, cidat ile latsa anaoidig A², ciabat (ciabath B²) imdha na haighidh B ² ma dognee a choir A¹, ma dogne a coir A², inadh andenta a cóir B¹, madandenta a coir B² ³ fogeis A, faigdis B¹, faightis B² ⁴ lasambia A¹, lasambiaa A², icambiad B¹, acambiadh B² ⁵ ní rochria ní doibh A¹, ní criea ní doiu A², 7 ní (ní B¹) crena biadh dóib (doibh B²) B ⁶ téis B¹, theis A¹, teis *cett.* ⁷ atchuinge A¹, atcuindge A², athchuingi B ⁸ tíasar A, tiastar B ⁹ foigde A¹, faigde A², faighdhi B ¹⁰ bí i fuss A¹, bi i foss A², bid fos B¹, biafos B² ¹¹ oc ern'ghte A¹, ic urnaighi A², oc irn'thi B¹, oc uirn'thi B² ¹² do gres fóilais do doidbre A¹, do gres foluis do daidbre A², foillsich (faillsi B²) do dhia do dhaibre B ¹³ Nírbat A, Nirp^t B¹, Nírbath B² ¹⁴ calad A¹B¹, cal^u A², calath B² ¹⁵ nírbat A¹, nírbud A², nirp^t B¹, nírbath B² ¹⁶ bodhar A¹, bouth^u A², bogur B¹, boghar B² ¹⁷ fria A¹, friad A² ¹⁸ guide A, guidhe B ¹⁹ obais A¹, obuis A², opa B ²⁰ atchuindcis A¹, athcuindgis A², athchuingi B¹, athcuing B² ²¹ cara *codd.* ²² moine A¹, maine A²B¹, muiti B² ²³ duine *codd.* ²⁴ Ní rochria ní ria trocaire de niscela A¹, Ní criea ní ecra (écria B²) trócaire dé nisdela B ²⁵ ambesa for tholarthain A¹, aramb^{era} dolorthain B ²⁶ dona *codd.* ²⁷ doberæ A¹, dobera (dobhera B¹) *cett.*

- 22 Nírba¹ chreccach cundarthach²; do Chríst ba³ mór do
gaire:
ní foigis⁴ rí⁵ i nÉre, diamba⁶ chéle⁶ Maic⁷ Maire.⁸
- 23 Aithrige⁹ co neltessaib¹⁰ iar mbuith¹¹ i peccad romar,¹²
is¹³ becc a fochricc¹⁴ for nim,¹⁵ i tein bid¹⁶ mór a promad.¹⁷
- 24 Conar¹⁸ inna¹⁹ aithrige²⁰ diambeth²¹ nech nodagabad,²²
dréisi²³ céim cech²⁴ óin laithi,²⁵ ní dernae²⁶ bésu²⁷ arad.²⁸
- 25 Dia scarae²⁹ frisin ndomun,³⁰ rogabais conair céstae;³¹
tessi³² uad, ní dercither,³³ amal tofunn dotséstae.³⁴

22 Be not given to buying and trafficking. Let thy piety to Christ be great. Beg not of a king in Ireland, if thou be a vassal of Mary's Son.

23 Repentance with sluggishness (?) after being in great sin, small is its reward in heaven, its trial in fire will be great.

24 If there should be anyone who should take the path of repentance, advance a step every day, practise not the ways of a charioteer.

25 If thou shouldst part from the world, thou hast taken the path of sufferings. Flee from it, look not, as [though it were] a pursuit wherewith thou wert pursued.

¹ Nirbat A¹, B², Nirp^t B¹ ² creccach cundarthach A¹, crethach cunnurtach B¹,
crechach cunnairthach B² ³ pa B¹, bat B² ⁴ foigdis A¹, fáighde B¹, fáigh dhe B²
⁵ diambat A¹, diampa B¹ ⁶ cele A¹, ceile B ⁷ mc codd. ⁸ mare A¹, B¹,
muire B² ⁹ Aitrighe A¹, In aitrighi B¹, In aithrighi B² ¹⁰ conel tessaib A¹,
ceiltis B ¹¹ mbeit A¹, mbeth B ¹² i pecadh romar A¹, fri pecc^o ciana B
¹³ as A¹ ¹⁴ focraic A¹, fochraic B ¹⁵ nimh A¹, nem B ¹⁶ a tein bidh A¹,
i teine is B¹, itenis B² ¹⁷ promáil A¹, phiana B¹, pianadh B² ¹⁸ Conara A¹, B²,
Conaire B¹ ¹⁹ ina A¹, na B ²⁰ haithrighe A¹, haithrige B¹, haithrie B²
²¹ mabeith A¹, diambe B¹, dambe B² ²² nodagabadh A¹, nodusgabadh B¹,
nodusgab^o B² ²³ treisi A¹, dringidh B¹, dring B² ²⁴ gach B¹, cach B²
²⁵ ænlaithe A¹, ænlaithi B ²⁶ ní derna A¹, na denadh B ²⁷ bera A¹, besa B
²⁸ aradh A¹B¹, airadh B² ²⁹ scara codd. ³⁰ frisan dom^o A¹, frisin domun B¹,
frisin doman B² ³¹ conair cesta A¹, gabul c^ota B¹, gabhal cert B² ³² rethe A¹;
teighsi B¹, desiu B² ³³ ní dercaighther A¹, inimceine B¹, inimchini (?) B²
³⁴ am^o topann dotesta A¹, am^o bid (bidh B²) tofunn (tafunn B²) testa (teasda B²) B

26 Ce beith mac deit¹ nó threbad² frisarérchóilis³ scarad,⁴
nísniarfois,⁵ nisnimrade,⁶ amail nobetha i talam.⁷

27 Ma dognesu⁸ aithrigi⁹, massu¹⁰ chendais¹¹ do chride,¹²
is dírech in chonarsa¹³ dochum Ríg flatha nime.¹⁴

[A¹ adds :

27^a Ced mbemenda *fort* lama in gach corgas bidh cobhair
da cach uabar dogensat riam *cen tesbaid foraihb.*]

28 Mad accor¹⁵ latsu¹⁶ t'anim¹⁷ corrop¹⁸ gilithir gési,¹⁹
ní rochosna nech aile²⁰ ní dot anim tartési.²¹

26 If thou shouldst have a son or householdry that thou hast determined to part from, thou shalt not seek them, thou shalt not think of them, as though thou wert in the earth.

27 If thou practise repentance, if thy heart is meek, this way is straight to the King of the Kingdom of Heaven.

[27^a A hundred blows on thy hands, in every Lent it will be a help. For every pride that they [the hands] have practised, miss not a single time [lit. without want upon them] (?).]

28 If it be thy desire that thy soul be as white as the swan, no other can strive after aught for thy soul in thy stead.

¹ lat B ² trebad A¹, treb B ³ frisarercalais A¹, frisarercuilis B¹, frisirercuilis B² ⁴ scaradh A¹, sgaradh B¹, sgaraidh B² ⁵ nís resnes A¹, nisaitris B¹, nisatris B² ⁶ nís nimradhe A¹, nisnimraidhi B¹, ní im ninsaidhe B² ⁷ amail nobeite ittalámh A¹, am tistais a talámh (tal' B¹) B ⁸ dognesi A¹, dognési B¹, dognese B² ⁹ aithrige A¹, B¹, aithrighi B² ¹⁰ masa *codd.* ¹¹ cendais A¹, phurghlan B¹, firglan B² ¹² cridhi B¹, craidhi B² ¹³ an *conarsa* A¹, in *conuirsi* B¹, in *conaire* si B² ¹⁴ do cum righ flata nimhe A¹, do ascnam (ascnamh B²) dochum (docum B¹) nime B ¹⁵ Mad *acur* B¹, Mada cur B² ¹⁶ latsa *codd.* ¹⁷ thanam B¹, hainim B² ¹⁸ gurbat A¹, gurop B¹, *gurab* B² ¹⁹ gesi A¹, geisi B ²⁰ ní cosáin *nech* aili B¹, ní cosáin *neach* aile B² ²¹ ní do tana tarhese A¹, dothan tarteisiu B¹, ní dotoibh *tair* heisi B²

[A¹ adds :

28^a Masa tusa ædhaire do mhanchaibh, is techta
ar do cese,¹ noscara, nosgabha gabail gerta.

28^b Mad manc[h]aine nodgaba, damal do promad menic,
conoither teora bríathra conid ructhar it relicc.

28^c Ite do téora briathra —sech ní gairde ní siaa—
arco fuin imondaire asbera cech diaa.]

29 Riagul² in Choimded³ inso.⁴ is licet cia nospromae.⁵
ní tuccai nach anfoirbthe⁶ buith⁷ fo riaguil⁸ mo chomae.⁹
Comae riaguil.¹⁰

[28^a If thou art a shepherd to church-tenants, it is fitting that thou compassionate them and love them

28^b If tenant service come to thee, if thy frequent trial be pleasant (?), preserve thou three words till thou art carried to thy graveyard.

28^c These are thy three words—it is neither shorter nor longer—*Arco fuin imandairi* thou shalt say every day.]

29 This is the Rule of the Lord. Thou mayest prove it. No imperfect one understands how to be under the rule of my

¹ *leg. ardacesse* ² Riagail A¹, Riag' B¹, Riagal B² ³ choimde A¹,
coimded B¹, choimdhi B² ⁴ indso A¹, annso B¹ ⁵ licet dun cia
nosproma A¹, is licet cia nosfromha B ⁶ ní ruccai nachan *formbthe* A¹,
ní tan n nā foirfi B¹, ní tsiñ nā anfoir B² ⁷ bith A¹, beth B ⁸ riagail A¹,
riaghail B¹, riag' B² ⁹ mo comha A¹, mo choma B¹, *in* coma B² ¹⁰ Comha
riaguil A¹, Coma riag' *in. ch.* F B¹, Coma B²

See Addenda, Ériu ii, 58.

NOTES.

v. 1. **fabai**. In Mid. Ir. a fut. *foigbe* would be possible, but not in O. Ir. Cf. CZ. iii. 483 sq.

vv. 2, 3. Cf. *leiri fri Dia, redi fri duine, coenduthracht da gach ænduine, foimdiu ecco cech ænlaiti* CZ. iii. 452.

v. 3. **foss oc etlai**. Cf. *foss oc etlai* CZ. iii. 449, l. 10. For the connotation of *éttoil* and the derivative noun *etlae* see CZ. iii. 448, and cf. Féil. Oeng., Index, SR., 2086, 6876, 7199, 5370, 7898.

fége. *réde* gives no satisfactory sense.

vv. 3^a, 3^b. These two verses are found only in one MS.; they are obviously an interpolation. The second verse, with some variation, is found in the Aimmchairdes Manchain Léith, 23 N. 10, R.I.A., p. 89:

*Maiden iarmeirge do gres slechtaid fo thri slos :
tara bruinde tara gnuis tabrad airdhe croiche Crist.*

Here the first line may be completed by the insertion of *solam*.

v. 3^a. **Cét slechtain**. The construction is abnormal, but there are several examples of it, e.g. below 13^a, 13^b, LL. 286^a15, and thrice in the Riagail Ailbe; cf. further *cét slechtain* RC. xii. 432, *da slechtain déc, tri chét slechtain* RC. xv. 489, *cét slechtain* ib. 489. Instances of the normal construction are *tricha slechtan* RC. xv. 489, *da cét slechtan, secht cet slechtan* ib. 490. *slechtain* is too frequent to be put down as a mere scribal blunder. In O. Ir. the dat. sg. is *slechtun* ML. 115^a3, the acc. is *slechtan* ML. 138^a2; in Mid. Ir. the noun is fem., see Atkinson, Passions and Homilies.

biait. Psalm cxviii., *Beati immaculati*. Cf. Lismore Lives, p. 406.

tari (leg. *thairi*), 3 sg. pres. s-subj. of *to-air-ic-* in the sense of 'is accomplished, completed' (?). The usual form is *tair*, but for similar variations see Thurneysen, KZ. xxxi. 91.

v. 4. **olar**. The sense of this word is obscure. Apart from the gloss *sechnais beoil* .i. *olar* Egerton 1782. fo. 14^b2, which I owe to Dr. Stokes, the only other instances of *olar* known to me are in the Glossary to MacConglinne, and they give no help.

tomil etc. Cf. *dine mesraigthe* LBr. 260^bβ, bottom.

crábud gairit remor, i.e. excessive but short-lived devotion. For this application of *remor* cf. *saothar obund no remarr is gnat[h] contibe Deman* in the Aimmchairdes Manchain Léith. The phrase appears in another connexion in LL. 346^b10, *ni thuca in remain ngairit*, 'do not marry a woman thick and short.'

conidriúlae. Cf. *conruala* SR. 5970, and perhaps *ba maith conidriúlaid dó*, 'it was well that she ordered it (?) for him,' Hy. v. 49, if *conidriúlaid* should be an error for *conidriúlae*.

v. 5. In A¹ *rata* is glossed .i. *rait[h]nighe*, and *sruthair* .i. *sruth*. Cf. *dar grellacha 7 dar sruthra* LU. 57^a31.

v. 6. **Manotgabab in chathae.** The infixed *t* can be nothing but the pron. of the 2 person; hence the following noun must be the subject of the sentence. For the construction cf. *mad manchaine notgaba* v. 28^b, and *romgabsatsa mo gessi uili innocht* LU. 84^a 11.

slemon. In A¹ this is glossed .i. *mainnectnach*. In the religious literature *slemon* is opposed to *garb* or *garg*: *sleman fri garb* CZ. iii. 448, *iss ed as olc la Demon, mad slemon fri cach ngarg*, Riagail Ailbe, *slemna fri garbu* LBr. 260^{ba} bottom.

analehi. Cf. Meyer, Contributions s. v. *análaig*, CZ. iii. 448, Windisch, Wb., Thesaurus Palæo-hibernicus ii. 244, l. 25, where the text of the MS. should have been kept.

v. 7. **teoir.** I have written *teoir* like *teuir oenaidchi fo brú*, Thes. Pal.-hib. ii. 291, l. 6, as I have no evidence that in O. Ir. *teora* was disyllabic. In the MSS. it is written *teora*, GC.² 302, not *teóra*. In Mid.-Ir. MSS. *teóra* appears, but in many instances words originally disyllabic became monosyllabic in the later language, e. g. *coir* (but *córu*): *cóir*, *doib*: *dóib*, *friú*: *friú*, *leú*: *leú*, *triún*: *triún*.

v. 8. **ingrae.** Cf. *iarna breith sech ingra* Féil. Oeng. Ep. 119. It is a derivative from *ingir* Wb. 4^b28, 24^a27 and Féil. Oeng. Dec. 21, cf. *ingar* O'Dav., no. 1102.

dia šeire. The text is restored from CZ. iii. 448: *ar lasna bi oman De, ni bia a serc, lasna na bia a serc, ni bia comalnad a timno*.

conairliter. This should probably be *conairlither*; for a verb followed by two singular subjects is regularly singular, unless the two subjects are united in the action, e. g. *immusnaicillet Ailill 7 Medb* CZ. iv. 39, *dogniat córai iarum Munremur 7 Cúruí* LU. 71^b28. Of the compound *con-airlethar* in the sense which it seems to have here I have no other clear instance; the simple verb has a similar sense, e. g. Wb. 5^b38, 17^b22. For the passive *conairlither* by the deponent *conairlethar* cf. the passive *-ágether*, *adáigther* by the deponent *adágadar*, *-ágathar*.

v. 9. **arcorpai.** The restitution is certain, cf. *serc De . . . arcorbi talmain, fonigh, conrig coicli* CZ. iii. 448, but the meaning of the verb is unknown to me.

coiclea. Cf. Meyer, Contrib. s. v. *cocell*, and *ised a trede i nimruimdethar cach duine .i. hi mbrethir, hi cocell, hi ngnim*, Thes. Pal.-hib. ii. 253, l. 11. For the variant *coicne* cf. Meyer, Contributions, s. v.; for *coicne* of the Franciscan MS. quoted there 23 N. 10 R.I.A. (Ériu i. 138) has *coigle*.

v. 10. The connexion of the two lines of this verse is not clear. Can *-érnam* possibly be a transitive verb, in some other sense, governing the following *indas*? The second line seems to mean that the penance will be determined by the rules of the founder (*érlam, patronus*) of the community.

ba-ba I take to be 3 sg. subj. of the copula used in a sense similar to that of the common *imb-fa*.

conmiastar. The metre shows that *-miastar* is here trisyllabic. As Thurneysen saw, *-miastar* is an analogical formation after *-fiastar*. Now *-fiastar* comes from *fífestar*; and we must suppose that *-fiastar* was still trisyllabic when *-miastar* was formed.

v. 11. **Na hocht nairig dualchae.** Cf. *Air rosuidigthe na hocht nairig sualach cona fodlaib fri hicc 7 slanugud na nocht nairech ndualchæ co neoch gainedar uaidib* CZ. iii. 24.

is *eól damsa sualachae*. The plur. has been restored here because there were eight virtues opposed to the eight vices. For the concord cf. *conid écen suin fria slond sídi* Sg. 45^b1.

ardadibdatom. This restoration is somewhat uncertain, as it is hard to derive from it the text of A.

v. 12^a. This verse has no connexion with the context, and is a manifest interpolation. The opening words are corrupt; I have translated as though it were *m'aním fodein asbertsi*. The meaning of *casmár* and *ceitlach* is obscure.

v. 13. This verse, which contains a ceremonial prescription, is probably an interpolation, like the following verses which are found only in part of the MSS.

folaid. Cf. *is folaithe do Dia anisin* LU. 113^a8; further *foladh*, 'power, ability,' O'Br.

v. 13^a. **ní bia.** The change from copula to substantive verb is required by the syntax; *bia* is monosyllabic as in *Imram Brain*, v. 26.

v. 13^o. The same verse, with some variations, is interpolated later in A (v. 27^a). The great differences in the second line make it impossible to restore its original form. In the first line the form *bémenda* in v. 27^a shows that A is here more corrupt than B.

Dá céit mbéimen. The transposed *n* after *céit* is here interesting as indicating that in the nom. acc. dual the neuter followed the analogy of the singular. In the O. Ir. glosses I have found no decisive instance; but the present passage is supported *da sé ndéc ndaglaech* LU. 67^a19, *na da gruad nglanaili* YBL. 91^a20, *na da trian naile*, Ériu, I. 214. As is well known, the neut. of *dá* is *dá n-*, the *n* of which has, so far as I know, never been explained. The *n* seems to have spread from *n* of the nom. acc. dual neuter of the noun, which in turn came from the singular.

The reading and the sense of the second line are doubtful.

v. 14. **ecnaid cráibthech.** For the combination cf. *bad gaeth bad ecnaid cráibthech*, *Riagail Ailbe*.

v. 15. **dúre.** The word has somewhat of a bad sense, 'obduracy,' cf. *dúiri 7 glici i fail cobsaide*, CZ. iii. 451, 23, and Fél. Oeng. Pr. 66.

fodéne. Cf. *do thorba fadeine*, CZ. iii. 28, l. 29.

v. 16. **anbal.** The precise meaning of the word is uncertain. Cf. *is faol anbal*, 23 N. 10, p. 84 = LBr. 261^a44, and Meyer, Contributions, s. v.

v. 16^a. The sense of *seccu* is not clear. As the verse is an interpolation, separated from its context, and perhaps corrupt, it is impossible to interpret it with any certainty.

v. 16^b. **m'óenur t'óenur** I take to mean, that you may not have to face the Devil all alone.

oldás in rí, lit. 'than the king,' i.e. 'than those of the king.' For this comparatio comperendaria cf. Wb. 9^b17, ML. 112^b20, 115^d7, 8, 146^a3.

do-s-fóidi. The infixed *s* is established by the agreement of three MSS. The usage is exceptional, as the verb is relative, but cf. Wb. 9^o11, ML. 129^b2, BCr. 18^b10.

v. 18. The reading adopted is that to which the best MSS. point (*rochria* of A¹ is syntactically impossible, see note on v. 21), but there remains a metrical difficulty. In O. Ir. *coir* (cf. Stokes' Gloss. to Fél. Oeng.) and *doib* (cf. Fél. Oeng. Prol. 17) are disyllabic. But that gives apparently two half-lines of six syllables. *dognee* of A¹ and *criaa* of A² represent attempts to get the seven syllables; but the only parallel to them that I have is v. 28^c, which seems certainly to belong to v. 28^b, and there *cech oen* might be restored. If *coir* and *doib* were to be taken as monosyllables, the result would be a common metre 7 + 5¹, but then the verse would be an interpolation. It is impossible to reach any certain conclusion. The dues of a guest are thus set forth in the Riagail Ailbe:

Tech glan dona hóigedaib ocus tene mór
osaicc ocus indlud dóib la dérguð cen brón.

I have nothing to illustrate the command not to buy food for them.

v. 20. *opae*. Cf. *co ni-m-op* ML. 20^b6, *arna oip* ML. 42^a2, *do gres ní op audbarta* Riagail Ailbe. As Ascoli has seen, it is the subjunctive of a compound *ud-ben-*. The A family shows a sigmatic form: cf. *ni gess, ni obbaís*, CZ. iii. 454, l. 10. The form *obbaís* has apparently arisen from association with *-geiss, adcuintis* in phrases like the above. Whether it was ever an actual living form, it would require more evidence to show.

athchuintis, from *ath-com-di-siag-*; cf. *ara cuintea* ML. 51^a18.

v. 21. *Ní criae ní écriae*. The reading of A here violates the rule that in command *ro-* is not found with simple verbs (except the copula).¹ *écriae*, if the text be sound, would be for *-en-criae*. A compound *as-cria* occurs in the Laws iv. 322. That would suggest an enclitic **es-criae*; but in view of the fact that I have no example of such a form and also in view of such variations as *adcuaid*: *-écid* (fr. **en-coaid*), it is safer, provisionally, to adhere to the text of B.

níscelae. But it may be that *nísdela* contains the true reading, though I cannot interpret it.

fort lourtain. Cf. *mad a lourtú noestaís diib* ML. 98^b9, and *fora saith*, ML. 97^d10.

v. 22. *cundarthach*, an adjective from *cundrad* 'merx' Sg. 68^b, ML. 122^a3.

ba, 3 sg. pres. subj. of the copula. Further examples are *ba léir do ainme* Riagail Ailbe; *ar is glan in corp dia te, ba glan doteis da* 23 N. 10, p. 85 (= LBr. 261^b9); *nib ar adbhloss do doene, ba ar Dia cach andene* 23 N. 10, p. 88; *bá maith bláth in claidib* LU. 66^b1. The instances defend the MS. reading in *bá tualang* Wb. 6^a13, *bá samlið* 19^a29.

v. 23. With this verse cf. *Cresini deid dosni ar morsoeth, bíð mor a promad hi tein, bíð pesc a fochraic for nimh* CZ. iii. 454.

eltessaib. Cf. *ailtes* CZ. iii. 448. The sense of 'sluggishness' is suggested by *deid* in the passage quoted above.

¹ Strachan, Subjunctive Mood, 103.

promad. In A¹ the late *promdíl* has been substituted, probably under the belief that the *a* of *romar* was long. But *ròmār* became *romar*, just as *rò-galach* became *roglach*; in Fél. Oeng. Ep. 236 *romair* rhymes with *sobail*; cf. also *rognas* (from *ro-gnās*): *comdas* in the Riagail Chormaic.

v. 24. **diambeth nech nodagabad.** *nodagabad* is supported by the rhyme, and this past subjunctive calls for the past subjunctive *diambeth*.

dréisi, etc. (2 sg. pres. *s*-subj. of *dringid*) is the reading to which the MSS. decidedly point. But there is a very harsh transition from the third person in the first line of the verse to the second person in the second. And this harshness led probably to the substitution of *dringed* and *ná dénad* in B.

besu arad i. *a nglanais* (leg. *nglanas*) *aniu salc[h]aidh amarach*, 'what he cleans to-day, he fouls to-morrow,' A¹.

v. 25. **conair céstae.** The text of B is unintelligible to me, but cf. *nosgabha gabail gerta* v. 28^a; *gérta* gen. sg. of *gértaí*, 'champion' (?).

do-t-séstae, 3 sg. past *s*-subj. pass. of *do-seinn* with the infixed pronoun of the second person. *Amal bíd tofunn* would be the usual phrase; in B *bíd* has been introduced, and this has led to the corruption of *dot-séstae*. Cf. *amal tene beth fot churp* LBr. 261^a68 = *mar badh teine beth fort churp* YBL 408^a5.

v. 26. **nísniarfois.** The true reading is uncertain. Palæographically *ní fresndís*, the subjunctive of a compound *friss-ind-feth*-, cf. *freisndís* Wb. 13^a11, or *nísneris* the subj. of *ar-neuth*, 'expect,' would be very near to *nísresnis*, but the sense is not so suitable.

amail nobetha i talam. Here the reading of A suits the sense better than that of B. Further *talam* is an O.-Ir. form of the dative, cf. Wb. 9^b19, 21^d4, Ml. 44^e1. 45^d13, 106^a3, BCr. 33^b1, while of an O.-Ir. acc. *talam* I have no example: in Fél. Oeng. Pr. 216 the form *talam* is not assured by the metre. But it is possible that both variants are a corruption of something else, e.g. *amail no-t-techtað talam*, 'as if the earth possessed thee.'

v. 27^a. See v. 13^b.

v. 28. **accor.** Cf. Thes. Pal.-hib. i. 724.

v. 28^a. **manchaibh**; like *manchuine* below, the word is used in its legal sense of tenants of church lands, for which see Glossaries to the Laws, to the Tripartite Life, and to the Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore; O'Dav., nos. 1052, 1221, and the legal fragment in Ériu i. 218 sq.

gabail gerta, see v. 25.

damal, leg. *diamb' díl*, 'if it be pleasing' or 'if it be fitting' (?).

v. 28^c. **arco fuin imondaire.** The religious formula *arco fuin* is well known: cf. Meyer, Contributions, s. v. *arcu*; *imondaire* may perhaps represent *imman-d-airi* 3 sg. subj. of *immairic*, with infixed rel. *n*, and rel. *d*, on which see Pedersen, KZ. xxxv. 407; and the whole phrase may then mean something like 'I pray that it

may be for good,' I have noted two other occurrences of the word in religious poetry:—

Riagail Ailbe :

Tua ocus fethamla do crabad gurab lesach
arco fuin imonaire ar tosach iersin cern med messair.
 (v. l. *arcu fuinn imanaire iar tosach iarsin cesaith*).

Ainmchairdes Manchain Léith :

Ar atait teora briathra ata logmure for nim
umanaire cet gach tan eptert dogres arcu fuin.

There is a different formula in RC. xv. 489: *Arcu fuin um Dia, domair trocaire, creitiu in Trinoit*.

v. 29. *licet*. Cf. *lecet* ML. 69^a23.

tucci. The reading *ruccai* is here unintelligible to me. *berim diriug* means 'I attain to,' but of *berim* by itself in that sense I have no example.

comae. The meaning of the word here is obscure. It might be compared with *comad*, Ériu i. 38, if the *comad* be simply a bad spelling of *coma*. In Irish poetry it is a well-known rule that a poem ends with the word with which it begins. The present poem shows that it is sufficient if the two words are the same in form, and that it is not necessary that they should be the same in sense.

J. STRACHAN.

A COLLATION OF *CRÍTH GABLACH*, AND A TREATISE ON *CRÓ* AND *DÍBAD*

I N the twenty-fifth volume of the *Revue Celtique*, p. 344, I gave an example of the work still to be done by the Brehon Law Commissioners before they can consider their task completed. I now submit two examples of another kind of work which will have to be carried out before the student of Irish Law can be said to be properly supplied with his materials, viz. (1) a collation of the original manuscripts with the published texts, and (2) the publication of valuable legal documents not included in O'Donovan's and O'Curry's transcripts. As an instance of the former work, I have chosen the *Críth Gablach* and its Sequel (*Ancient Laws*, vol. IV. pp. 288–369), one of the oldest texts of the collection, having been originally composed in the eighth century.¹ Two copies of it have come down to us, both of which are found in the vellum codex, H. 3. 18, one beginning on p. 252, another on p. 1a. The latter is incomplete, the whole introduction as far as p. 308, l. 5, of the edition being omitted. There is a third fragment on p. 419.

As an example of a hitherto unpublished legal text, I select a treatise on the distribution of *cró* and *díbad*, i.e. the property left by a deceased person. This text, which is found in H. 3. 18, p. 25a, is of much later date than the *Críth Gablach*, belonging to the period of transition from Old to Middle Irish. From the mention of Cormac mac Cuilennáin in the introduction, it would seem to have been written after A.D. 907, the date of his death.

KUNO MEYER.

¹ Note e.g. such old forms as *aue* 320, 29, *tualing* 304, 17, *foled* (= *folad*) 304, 3, *cechtir* 338, 16, *deac* 338, 21, *nue* 304, 10, *mruige* 310, 5, the nom. pl. *grád* 298, 11, &c. As the Law of Adamnan is mentioned (p. 334), the text cannot be earlier than the beginning of the eighth century.

A COLLATION OF *CRÍTH GABLACH*

THE EDITION.	THE MANUSCRIPT,
(Ancient Laws of Ireland, IV., p. 298.)	H. 3, 18, p. 252.
<p>p. 298, l. 3 nín.—féar l. 8 beṭ Δ uṛlann l. 11 cefc l. 12 mroba l. 13 Δ olige—menbuo—fopodailter l. 14 na .uiri. nḡraioṛi l. 16 ταναιρε l. 17 fōola l. 18 ōΔ l. 22 nenech l. 24 Δmāil Δi m cam</p>	<p>ni hanse—fer beith a urlunn ceist midbotha a dligeḡ—menbud—fondailter² na secht ngrad² si tanise fodla da nenich amail arincain</p>
<p>p. 300, l. 1 imtuings l. 4 biactha aonari l. 8 aonlignio—fercailg l. 10 mbliadon noeg l. 11 ni comruc l. 15 eile—trebeiriu l. 19 farug l. 22 tabairi diablaio m bio</p>	<p>imatuing biathad aonur addligeḡ—fortaig mbliadne ndéac ni comf aile—trebairiu sarugud tabar diabal mbid</p>
<p>p. 302, l. 5 ina—lina l. 13 and 22 oeg l. 15 cuairioio l. 23 baṛraib l. 25 oligeṭer—maici</p>	<p>inna—lino³ déac cuairddid</p>
<p>p. 304, l. 1 ciuio l. 13 ipe l. 16 cethraime l. 17 immuilin l. 19 furiuḡa l. 25 turcpeicc</p>	<p>p. 253, basaibh dlighter—maic¹ cinnid ised ceth-e immuilinn suidhiugud turchrec</p>
<p>p. 306, ll. 10, 11 baiṛgin l. 15 trarugao l. 16 fopcur l. 21 aoiṛe l. 22 huaiṛe l. 23 folao l. 25 cethraime</p>	<p>bairgen tsarugud forchur aidiri huare folaid ceth-</p>
<p>p. 308, l. 1 farug l. 6 baiṛioe l. 7 ooiṛo l. 8 coir l. 11 coisur l. 16 boḡaiṛe</p>	<p>sarugud baitsid (p. 1 a) dosaig (p. 1 a) chóir (p. 1 a) chóiciur (p. 1 a) boaire mruigfer</p>
<p>p. 310, l. 5 mbriugfer</p>	

¹ *i* inserted after *l* under the line² *i* inserted after *a* under the line³ lina (*nó o*). The *o* is meant to cancel the *a*

p. 310, l. 18	ṛṛuīb	srub
l. 25	ṛīthīc	fīthet (leg. fīchet)
p. 312, l. 10	ṛeotu	.s. (i.e. <i>seóit</i>)
p. 314, l. 5	ṛo ṛuioiu	fo ṣuidiu
p. 316, l. 3	cepc	<i>ceist</i>
l. 8	ṁin	didiu
l. 11	ṛiṁonape	fiadnaise
l. 16	vechmaioh	dechmaith
ib.	1 noomnach	i ndomnuch
l. 20	naithgīna	naithgīn
l. 25	timorṣṣam	timmorggain
p. 318, l. 7	cepc	<i>ceist</i>
l. 9	Δ ṛlan	a ṛlan
l. 11	ṁan	dano
l. 12	ṛpe . . . ṁan	ised . . . dano
l. 15	cumal	cumala
l. 28	cét[amur]	cétamus
p. 320, l. 1	in ṣell náto ṛúṛi	a ngeld na sáife (p. 419)
ib.	aietherach	aitherrach (p. 419)
l. 2	ṁi Δ	trina (p. 419)
ib.	anape	an anart (p. 3a)
l. 6	ṁo inṛcanaitc	doinscanatt
l. 8	ṛuileceta	fullechta
l. 10	ṛorṣṣail . . . ṛis	forgild . . . rfi (p. 419)
l. 11	Δ noligio . . . cuo	a ndligiud . . . cid (p. 419)
l. 13	ṁligio	fortaich (p. 419)
l. 15	ṁuiṛṣ	thuisig i tuaith (p. 419)
l. 22	na	dia
ib.	ṁéṛ ṁipenari	dés dorenar (p. 419)
l. 23	ṁipenariṛi	dorenar side (p. 419)
l. 27	ṁarṁaiṁi	dartada (p. 419)
l. 28	ṛaimmbiuṁ	sambíud (p. 419)
l. 29	he	hé
p. 322, l. 2	tinchur	tīinchur
l. 10	timetach	timmhach
l. 14	ṛorṛuṣad ṛeṛṛiṛ	fossugud seisir
l. 15	1 no maio	in nomaid
l. 24	ṁin . . . coicuiṛ	didiu . . . choiciur
l. 26	ṁan	dano
p. 324, ll. 9, 12	ṛeot	<i>seóit</i>
l. 16	ṁarṛunn	tarsunn
l. 18	calamio	.k. (i.e. chalaind)
p. 326, l. 1	1 noṛṛ	i ndissi
l. 2	ṛeot	<i>seóit</i>
l. 6	ṁraigeo	traigid
p. 328, l. 24	ṁaethi	tuaithi
p. 330, l. 15	ṁno	dono
l. 19	ṁuimoruiṣ	chundriug
l. 26	ṣnife cumma la	gnítt cumala
p. 332, l. 7	oiṛonitcheṛ	oirdnithir
ib.	oiṛonitcheṛ	ordnithir
l. 9	notnooiṛonitcheṛ	notnordnither
l. 12	ṁuadethi	tuaithi
p. 334, ll. 1, 14	ṁan	dano

p. 334, l. 3	eile	<i>ail</i>
l. 27	ona	<i>dano</i>
l. 31	rethaib	<i>retha[i]bh</i>
p. 336, l. 3	no fúit[er]	<i>rofúiter</i>
l. 12	ono	<i>dono</i>
l. 13	o connoþuio	<i>ocon indriud</i>
l. 19	þraigtib	<i>þhraigtib</i>
l. 21	oot nimmcellat	<i>dotnimmcellat</i>
p. 338, l. 3	crif	<i>crú</i>
<i>ib.</i>	gabail oi	<i>gabail fer soerus di</i>
l. 6	a roethaib	<i>ar soethaib</i>
l. 8	ite a nanmann	<i>ithe a nanman</i>
<i>ib.</i>	ite ata	<i>ithe atá</i>
l. 12	tectai	<i>técti</i>
l. 24	óéac	<i>deac</i>
l. 25	erpuo (twice)	<i>espoc</i>
<i>ib.</i>	huairi	<i>huari</i>
l. 26	tuargguib erpuo ono	<i>tuargguib espoc dono</i>
p. 340, l. 2	fenechas	<i>fénechas</i>
l. 21	féuioib	<i>séuioib</i>

SEQUEL TO *CRÍTH GABLACh*

THE EDITION.

MS. H. 3, 18.

p. 344, l. 8	nolige	p. 15a, ndliged
l. 12	tuirþuþað	<i>tuirþuþað</i>
l. 15	ono	<i>dono</i> (and so throughout)
l. 23	timþeibe	<i>timbe</i>
l. 24	reelg	<i>sce lig</i>
p. 346, l. 2	oo Concobar	<i>do Concobur</i>
l. 7	a cuirmtige	<i>a chuirmtige</i>
l. 10	Coirþne—cimeou	<i>doirbre—cineda</i>
l. 15	ocur a cairve	<i>ocus cairde</i>
l. 20	n[em]e	<i>nime</i>
p. 348, l. 18	reir	p. 15b, seire
l. 28	tarreo	<i>tártéd</i>
p. 350, l. 5	letrian	<i>lehtrian</i>
l. 6	reotuib	<i>séuioib</i>
l. 15	comarþaib	<i>comorbaib</i>
p. 352, l. 1	reirþuio	<i>seirthiud</i>
l. 7	mana	p. 16a, mina
l. 8	no þaer no	<i>na gæs na</i>
<i>ib.</i>	caemþeeta—þeetta	<i>caemthet—thecht</i>
l. 14	ono—mana (bis)	<i>dono—mina (bis)</i>
l. 15	creca—am[ail]	<i>chreca—amail co[é]n</i>
l. 16	mana	<i>mina</i>
l. 21	þeðam	<i>fedhain</i>
l. 26	fuileo	<i>fuilet</i>
l. 28	co [no ona] noentap	<i>condentar (7 ona written over con)</i>
p. 354, l. 2	myin	<i>insin</i>
l. 15	þri miadþleeta	<i>fri miadþleetaib</i>
l. 16	meclainn	<i>eineclainn</i>

p. 354, l. 17	ṛaílmceolaiḡ	sailmchétlaiḡ	
l. 18	imorpo	immurgu [and so throughout]	
ib.	fileo	filid	
l. 20	espuc	espoc	
l. 21	ollam ṛiluo	ollam filed	
l. 26	ṛai liope	sai litre la flaiith	
l. 28	after ṛaiḃe insert ocht scripuill for deich n-uingib for deich cumalaib		
ib.	.xxx.	fichit	
l. 30	ṛrí ṛ	fri ri	
p. 356, l. 1	vecepol	descepol	
l. 2	ṛaebṛaṣṥa	p. 16b, saerbratha	
l. 4	ṛorṛeoail	forcetail	
l. 5	meo	méit	
l. 16	molighéct	indlighthech	
l. 20	ṛrucomarc	friscomarc	
l. 28	ṛile—ṛuipmíḃ	file dono—fuirmidh	
p. 358, l. 4	ṛile	fili	
l. 16	nailella—mora	nAilella—móra	
ll. 19	and 20 come immediately after ṛir na nṣṛaḃ (l. 17) in the MS.		
l. 27	hanmmiḡeḃ	hanmnighedh	
p. 360, l. 5	ir mac oḃa	p. 17a, is mac do	
l. 8	oḃrom—ṛorḃairṣ	dosam—forbairt	
l. 10	ṛeḡluime	fogluime	
l. 12	ten . . . ainm	trénainim	
l. 13	cepc	ceist	
ll. 14, 15	ṛai ṛnoligíro—ṛai ṛnoligé	iar ndliged—iar ndliged	
l. 17	ṛupnoce	fornoce	
l. 22	naipṛḡa	nairidhḡha (sic)	
l. 28	cumal	cumhol	
p. 362, l. 6	naipṛe	uaisle	
l. 9	ṛoe	fo	
l. 13	ḡairm	hairm	
l. 18	mó	mó	
l. 25	ṛola[irḃ]	folud	
p. 364, l. 6	mara ṛuḡuḃ	A sárughudh	
l. 9	ṣanipí	p. 17b, tanaisi	
l. 11	ma	ma	
l. 12	conoaḡ	condat	
l. 17	ṣac	cach	
l. 22	ḃanbéim cnocheim	banbéim 7 cnocheim	
p. 366, l. 3	et	It	
l. 6	éelcoḃ	thelcodh	
l. 8	ahlaech	athlaech	
l. 21	naipṣan	Martan	
l. 24	ḡruio	ḡrád	
l. 25	cumal	cumal	
p. 368, l. 3	ṛaiḡep	saighes	
l. 4	.m. baí	teora bai	
l. 5	'oo cach ṛpí	do cach gradh fri	
l. 6	ṛimtheṛi	rímhíir	
ll. 9, 11	ele oíno	aile dono	
l. 10	.l. aṣ	im chóica[i]t	

THE DISTRIBUTION OF *CRÓ* AND *DÍBAD*

MS. H. 3. 18, p. 25 a.

Ropu doraidh laisna huctaru na nGáidel cinnas no roinn-
fitis chrao 7 *díbad*. Ar is inann leo-som roinn crói 7 *díbaíd*.
Is iarum immustarcomolsat an uctair¹ na nGōedhel 7 rohord-
aigset indas noroindfitis crō 7 *díbad* a firaicned screptra 7
chuibsi.² Ro ordaighset iaram 7 immadeisidh leo a buith a
mbēscna isind inis se ō tosogh co forcenn 7 adrodamnatar
Pātraic 7 fir Ērenn olcena a buith samla[id] 7 an uctair robātar
a ndegaid Pātraic iar cretem ro ordaigset³ i commu cāich .i.
Cennfōeladh⁴ mac Ailella 7 Dubh[d]artach Bēirri fodeoidh 7
Fingin mac Flainn 7 Fingen mac Conmaic 7 Cormac mac
Cuilennāin.

Ceist didiu. Cislr rann⁵ fil for crū? Nī *hansa*. A .III.
ranna .i. rann ō bon cētamus 7 rann ō inn 7 rand armedōn.

Rann ō bun cētamus .i. *téit* rī in cōicidh nō na mōrthúaithe i
tech rī[g] Ērenn, mā[d] rī⁶ cōicid⁷; mā[d] rī⁶ mōrthúaithe, *téit* i tegh
rīgh in cōicid nō indara rīgh cena 7 gaibhidh⁸ gīall n-ann im
cinaid⁹ indī marbas a *fer*, co n-ēirren fris a crō 7 ranntair
iaram in crō. *Sechtmad* as cētamus do gīall frisi tobongar.¹⁰
Ranntair i trī iarsin. Trīan as don ardrīg dondboing 7 trīan
do crū na deirbfine 7 trīan do *flaithib* ilibh huilibh 7 berid rī¹¹
in cōicid nō na mōrthúaithe a crō n-uile leis *acht* cuit ind ardrīgh
7 is hūadha beres cāch a cuit itir fine 7 *flaith*¹² .i. a trīan tic na
flaithi, fācabar a trīan lais-[s]im 7 beridh in *flaith* is nesom
dō-som na dā trīan n-aile 7 fācbaid cāch āe trīan leis beos .i.
cach tellugh asa *téit* beos co nā tūarat ní de *etir*.

Crō ō inn dano, is hēisidh[e] saighes fine ar urradhas ar
ath-athgabāil (*sic*) 7 nī bī cuit ardrīgh occo acht a *flaith* na
fine fadesin. Rantair iaram i trī beos .i. trīan do crū 7 trīan
do *flaithib* ilibh, *acht* an cuit rosaigh ind ardrīgh¹³ asin crū
tōisech .i. asin crō ranntar ō bon. Is ed rosaigh *flaith* ina fine,
hūair todboing¹⁴ 7 fācaibh trīan i tellugh cacha flathai. Téit bēos

¹ a huctair MS. ² chuidhbhsí MS. ³ ro ordaighsét MS. ⁴ Cennfoedladh MS.
⁵ a *added under the line* ⁶ rīgh MS. ⁷ coicedh MS. ⁸ gaibhe MS.
⁹ cinaigh MS. ¹⁰ 7 trīan do cru *add. deleted by puncta* ¹¹ rīgh MS. ¹² fālī MS.
¹³ ard drīgh MS. ¹⁴ todboing MS.

frithrusc sūas coruice inn ardrīg 7 is ann ar[s]isestar. A ndo-hūartéit de 7 in cuít rosaigh inn flaith na fine asin (p. 25^b) crū tōisech, is *ed* rosaigh inn ardrīgh asin cruid.

Crō armedōn .i. téit mōrtūaith iarna n-atugh do sochrait aiccme bīs hūadhaib hi cēin iār marbad fir dīb 7 nī damthar cert nā dliged dōibh ima fer co toibget in mōrtūath ar ēigin leo-sium co slūaga 7 innu (?) 7 atgelltar a cuít dōibh din crū tar hēisi a tobhaigh lēo.

Ocus is ē crō randtar ar līn semmann: trian do crū deirb-fine-beus 7 trian donaib flaithib amail remindērbartamar isna hibh crōaibh aile 7 trian don tslūagh nōdsaig leo-sum, acht iār n-airec as na ndaghdaíne 7 iār līn cáich 7 iār méit a cumaing ranntar ō hīsīl co hūasal, acht ní bí nech dībīh cīn ní itir, cidh bec cuít cáich dībīh de.

Ocus an trian rosaigh in derbfine, cinnus ranntair? Nī hansa. Ranntair óthá athair 7 mac co senathair for cūlo 7 frithrusc a frithisi coruici ingen-ar-mēraibh. Athair¹ 7 mac cétamus, leth dōibh dīnaisc. Brāthair athar 7 mac rannait² aithraind atherrugh co leth in edh dohurrtéit ann. A ndohurrtéit ann iaram ranntair i trí. Trían do brāthair³ 7 ranntar a mbīs ann beus i trí. A trían dondī bes nesam dō iarsan urd cēdna, acht is līn cenn ngabála tét 7 nī līn cend comorba, 7 a ndourrtéit ann fadeoidh forsna trēinibh .i. in tan rosaigh senathair for cūlo a mbec dourrtéit ann for rannaibh téit i līn cend comhorba sūas arīs i frithrusc coruce athair¹ 7 mac 7 tiagaít ind amail cáich, cid bec cuít cáich dībīh de.

Trían do crū cōiccir indrannait aitari an dā trían n-aile i trí .i. trían do flaith, trían do fine, trían do etarflaith 7 do iteraibh. Trían dan etarflaith 7 naneteribh [sic] ranntair trían de do muire rechtgi dodaféit a tegh rí[g], a trían do aitariibh, a trían n-aill do aidhbenaibh na tūaithi do roinn co hāen-screpoll. Nī crō co cōiccir fo cosmailius clīaro. Athroinn sin ar crō.

Gilla næm sonn ar pairt Mhailysa.

¹ aith- MS.

² rainnait MS.

³ brair MS. with the mark for m over the first r

THE RULE OF PATRICK.

THE following Regula, taken from T.C.D. codex H. 3. 17, appears to be one of a number of fragments still extant of the Ríagail Pádraic. Another fragment occurs in LB. 11^b20 sq., of which both text and translation are given in Reeves' *Culdees*. The LB. text which is embodied in Reeves' work extends from 9^b1 to 12^b28. There, however, it is called the Rule of the Céli Dé, and is ascribed to Moelrúain. A third fragment occurs in the "Book of Lismore" (where the title Ríagail Pátraic appears). This has been published by Stokes in his *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*, pp. 135 and 359. It is doubtful if the "Lex Patricii" of the Annalists is identical with the term "Cáin Pátraic," which was applied to the Senchas Mór.¹ Tigernach has the following entry under the year 737: "A conference between Aedh Allan and Cathal, son of Finngain, at Tirdaglass; the Lex Patricii held Ireland"; an entry which is amplified by Keating into: "It was about this time that a conference took place between the King of Ireland and Cathal Mac Fionngaine, King of Munster, at Tir-da-glass in Ormond, at which the Law (reacht), and Right (dlighi), and Rent (cíos) of Patrick were ordered over Ireland by them." In the same Annals there are references, between the years 721 and 792, to the promulgation of a number of other Irish saints' "Laws." According to Reeves,² some of these saints were founders of churches which afterwards became the heads of sees, while others had no successors of the episcopal order; their "Lex" therefore had reference to their monastic influence, and owed its acknowledgment to the reputed sanctity of their lives. The "Lex Patricii," in the course of time, appears to have superseded all others, and was itself abandoned in the twelfth century for the comprehensive one

¹ *Laws*, vol. i., p. 19.

² Primate Colton's Visitation, p. iv.

bearing the name of St. Augustine.¹ Judging from the tenor of the entries in the Annals, it is probable that the term "Lex Patricii" corresponded with the *Riagail Pátraic*, which treated of the mutual relations of the church and the tribe, rather than with the *Cáin Pátraic* or *Senchas Mór*. The fragment here given, though somewhat disconnected and, in places, obscure, is much fuller than the passage in the *Laws*² dealing with the relations of church and tribe. In the necessarily tentative translation given, I have studiously adhered to the structure of the original much more closely than would be justifiable in a text other than one dealing with early Irish Church law. Until many more texts on the same subject have been edited, it will be impossible to arrive at anything like the exact meaning of certain technical words and phrases. I should add that in the MS. this text concludes with a number of maxims in prose and verse which probably do not belong to the *Regula*.

I am indebted to the editors of this *Journal* for considerable help both in editing and interpreting the text.

J. G. O'KEEFFE.

¹ Primate Colton's Visitation, p. 56.

² Vol. ii., p. 345.

[RÍAGAIL PÁTRAIC.]

1. Foratā anmanda fer nĒrenn a timna Pátraic. Prímepsco^p cecha tūaithe accu fri huirdned a n-óessa grāid, fri coisecrad a n-eclas, 7 fri hanmchairdes do flaithib 7 do airchinde[h]ib, fri nōemad 7 bendachad a clainde iar mbathius.

2. Ar nach tūath 7 nach cenēl oc nā biat epscoi^p frisna 5
gnímaib seo, atbail dlíged a creidme 7 a n-irsi, conid i suide téit
cech duine assa richt chóir nā tabair tóeb fri hanmcharaid
crāibdech,¹ 7 conid aire nā bí crích la nech fri peccad eter
fíngail ocus duinorgain ocus étrad 7 cech olc archena. Nach fer
gráid didiu oc nā bí dlíghed nā eolus timthirechta a gráid 7² 10
coná bí tūalaing oiffrind nā ceileabarthā ar bēlaib rí 7 epsco^p, nī
dlíg sáire nā eneclainn fir gráid i tūaith nā i n-eclais.

3. Nach epsco^p dobeir ūasalgráda for nech nā bí tūalaing
[a] n-airberta eter chrābud³ 7 léigend 7 anmchairde nā⁴ eolus
rechta nā riagla, is bidba báis do Dīa 7 do dōinib⁵ in t-epsco^p 15
sin. Ár is imdergad do C[h]ríst 7 da eclais a comgráda do
thabairt for neoch nā bí tūalaing a n-airberta fri nem 7 talmain,
co mbi brāth do thūathaib 7 do ecaillsib, conid aire dlegar secht
mbliadna peinne 7 secht cumail⁶ fri henech in Dūileman. Ár is
ed fotera galar 7 angcessa forsna clanna, eter eltrai 7 milliuda 20
olchena, cen baithus ndligthech 7 cen dul fo láim n-epscoi^p i
n-aimsir thēchtaí, ár ní thic comláine in spirta nóim, cipé a
léire baistither in duine, mane tē fó láim n-epscoi^p iar mbathus.

4. It é maccān co macu secht mbliadna nī bí acht a cúrsad
ina chét-chinaid co n-abaind nō c[h]ris nō bois .i. tri bēimenna 25
[Col. 853] forru co m-bais nō c[h]ris nō abaind co cend secht
mbliadna. Nach fer gráid tra tairmit[h]éid a gráda co caillich for
follus, asren díre a grád dond eclais sáraiget[h]ar nō is díles a
tecmail lais do cech t[h]orba 7 is díles don tūaith a tecmail leo
do fuillmiud⁷ 7 indile,⁸ 7 ní dlíg nī a raind ecaillsi Dé 'na degaid 30
sin, mane penne do rēir apad nō anmcharat chrābdig.

¹ chraibdig MS.² 7 is superfluous: cf. LB. 11141.³ cradbud MS.⁴ For nā leg. 7 ocnábé?⁵ duinib MS.⁶ LB. has cumala⁷ Gl. .i. marbdile⁸ Gl. .i. beodile

5. Ar ní fuil aitreib nime do anmain duine nād baithister ó baithus dligt[h]ech rē cech rét, conid aire foratā anmanda [fer] nĒrenn cona flaithib 7 a n-airechaib 7 a n-airchindchib co raib baithius 7 comna 7 gabāil écnairce ō cech eclais do
 5 manchaib tēchtaib, ár as oc trí[s]t 7 miscad Patraic co nóemaib Ērenn for cech flaith 7 for cech manach nā timaigr for a eclais saindiles baithius 7 comnai 7 gabāil ēcnoirce inti.

6. Nach epscōp tra sōertha¹ tūatha 7 eclaisi, is ē as anmchara dond aes gráid, 7 is lais dogniád urddu téchtaí, 7 is ē dobeir
 10 fortacht dóib co roiset a n-dliged hi tūaith 7 i n-eclais, 7 is é timaigr for cech eclais co raib a durrthech 7 a relec hi nglaine, 7 co raib in altóir cona haidmib téchtaib ar c[h]ind ind óessa gráid dogrés.

7. Ocus cech airchindech fritái² in lessa doboing .i. bís
 15 ind-agaid in ordaighi sea nō ac nach bí ind eclas hé³ dliged in t-epscōp cumail de asa réir budesin⁴ nō a réir neich bus chomgrád dó, co raib frecra mbathius⁵ 7 comna 7 gabāil écnairce do cech duine isa eclas tēchta hí, 7 co raib idbairt chuirp Crīst for cech altóir. Ar is dīth na huile chredme dú nā bīa in cetharda
 20 sa, 7 nach duine fristargu⁶ 'na aigid, ní fuil súil dó fri haitreib nime.

8. Ocus nach eclas oc nā bé tūara⁷ manach do baithis 7 comna 7 gabāil écnairce, ní dlig deckmad nā boin cennaithe nā trian n-imnai. [Col. 854.]

9. Nī dlig airchindech a réir for a manchu nā dlig díre a seóit nā toichneda a eclais side, manibat óga a frithfolaid asa⁸ eclaisi di baithius 7 comna 7 gabāil n-écnairce, conid aire foratā anmanda fer nĒrenn, maine élat dliged a creidme⁹ 7 a n-irse 7 mani diúltat¹⁰ a n-Dúilemain 7 mā frisáiletar¹¹ dul a n-angnāis
 30 na nóem, co raib ind eclas for cubus fir gráid fri baithius 7 comna 7 gabāil écnairce manach eter blú 7 marbu 7 co roib oiffrenn for a altóir hi sollamnaib 7 prīmféilib 7 domnaigib 7 co rabat aidmi oc cech altóir 7 terimpetōir¹² 7 anarta coisecarthai.

10. Ar nach eclas oc ná bí a tēchta nī dlig díre eclaisi Dé 7 ní heclas, acht ūam latrand 7 tádat a hainm la Crīst.

¹ leg. sōerta² leg. fristái (?)³ hé seems corrupt here.⁴ budesiu MS.⁵ leg. mbathis⁶ Gl. .i. ticfa⁷ Gl. .i. frestal⁸ leg. probably na⁹ chredme MS.¹⁰ diúltad MS.¹¹ frisáilethar MS.¹² Gl. .i. imaltóir

11. *Nach* eclas hi *mbi* fer *gráid* di *minecailsib*¹ na tuaithe cenmotát *mōreclaisi* dligid *tūarustul* a *gráid* .i. tech 7 airlisi 7 dērgud² 7 deig-*cheltaib*³ 7 acnāmad⁴ rodferā cen turbaid cen dícheall do neoch bes hi cumung na eclaisi .i. miach *cona* indiu⁵ 7 bó blicht in *cech ráithe* 7 biad *sollaman*. 5

12. *Aitire* dogó *fria láim* de *manchaib* *cech eclaisi* bes *fora chubus* fri *tūarustul*⁶ cóir eter lóg *m̃baithis* 7 *tēchta comna* 7 gabáil écnairce na n-uile manach eter bú 7 marbu 7 oiffrend *cecha domnaig* 7 *cecha prīm-sollamain* 7 *cecha prīm-fēile* 7 *ceileabrad cecha trātha* 7 *tri cōecaíd*⁷ *cech trātha* do *chétal*, *mani thairmesca* forcetul *nō anmchairdes* .i. ongad 7 *baithis*. 10

13. Má *beth tra* do *hūaite* ind *āessa gráid* lasna *tūatha*,⁸ cia beít *trī hecailsi nō* a *cethair for* cubus *cech fír gráid acht* rosó comand 7 *baithius* do *anmain cháich* 7 oiffrend hi *sollamnaib* 7 *féilib* *fora n-altōir*. 15

14. It ē a *fritk̃folaidi-seom* dond *fír gráid* .i. lá air n-*indraic* *cech bliadna cona* *šil*⁹ 7 a *ithir* 7 a *lethgabol étaig* do brutt *nō* da léinid *nō* do inur. Pruind *chetkruir* ar *notlaic* 7 *chaisc* 7 *chingcís*.

15. *Mā beith tra* do *ūaisle ind* *fír gráid* 7 a *airmidin* *dofor-* *magar* a dligid 7 a *sáire forsanní* *doruirmisem*. 20

16. Ar is ed ba dliged fer *gráid cecha chille*, *ūair nād* bí *lāndíre* na eclaisi Dé *acht* dú i *mbi* óes *gráid* 7 *maicclēirig*¹⁰ *indraice* at é *endaic fri atzigid* n-ecalsa.

¹ mindecailsib MS.

² Gl. .i. étach

³ Gl. .i. deig-étaigib : the dative is curious. LB. 11^b32 has tech 7 airlisse 7 dergud 7 deceltt.

foirese

⁵ Gl. .i. cona andland

⁶ Gl. .i. nodligid

⁷ choecaíd MS.

⁸ There seems to be a lacuna here : *leg.* is cóir ?

⁹ tsil MS.

¹⁰ maiccleirid MS.

THE RULE OF PATRICK

1. IT is on the souls of the men of Ireland from the Testament of Patrick:—each tribe to have a chief bishop for the ordination of their clergy, for the consecration of their churches, and for the spiritual guidance of princes and chieftains, for the sanctification and blessing of their offspring after baptism.

2. For the tribe and the nation which have not bishops for these works, the law of their belief and of their faith dies, and then it is that each person, who does not trust to a pious soul-friend, forsakes his proper guise; and therefore there are no bounds with anyone to sin, both parricide and manslaughter, and lust and every other villainy. Any ordained man then who is mindful neither of the rule nor of the knowledge of service of his order so that he is not capable of the Offering or of celebrating the Hours before kings and bishops, he is not entitled to exemption,¹ or to the honour-price of one ordained, in laity or church.

3. Any bishop who confers high orders on anyone who is unable to practise them in piety and reading and spiritual guidance, and who has not a knowledge of the law or of the rule, that bishop is guilty of death to God and to men. For it is an insult to Christ and to His Church to confer their orders on anyone who is incapable of using them towards Heaven and earth, so that it is ruin to peoples and churches; wherefore seven years of penance and seven cumals are necessary by way of reparation to the Creator. For it is this which causes plague and sicknesses to tribes, both . . . and other destructions, not having lawful baptism, and not going "under the hand"² of a bishop at the prescribed time; for the perfection of the Holy Spirit comes not, however fervently a person is baptised, unless he "goes under the hand"² of a bishop after baptism.

4. It is children up to boys of seven years who are only chastised for their first crime with scourge or belt or palm of hand, to wit, three blows on them with palm of hand or belt or scourge to the end of seven years.³ Anyone in orders, however,

¹ *i. e.* all the privileges of the clergy; no taxes, freedom from military service, &c.

² See note.

³ *i. e.* till their seventh year.

who plainly transgresses his orders with a nun pays the fine of his orders to the church which he outrages, or it is the lawful property [? of the man himself] what falls to him of every profit, and it is the lawful property of the people what falls to them of dead cattle and live cattle. And he [the ordained man] is entitled to nothing on the part of the church of God after that, unless he does penance at the will of an abbot or a pious soul-friend.

5. For there is no heavenly abode for the soul of a person who is not baptised according to lawful baptism before everything; wherefore it is upon the souls [of the men] of Ireland with their princes and their *erenachs* and their chiefs that there be baptism and communion and the singing of the intercession by every church to proper *manach* tenants; for the curse and malediction of Patrick and the saints of Ireland is on every prince and every *manach* tenant who does not impose on his own special church baptism and communion and the chanting of the intercession therein.

6. Any bishop whom peoples and churches free, it is he who is spiritual adviser to the ordained folk; and it is with him they perform their prescribed offices; and it is he who gives help to them so that they may attain to their due in tribe and church; and it is he who constrains each church to have its oratory and its burial-ground purified, and that the altar has its proper fittings always in readiness for the ordained.

7. And each *erenach* who opposes the dues which he levies, (?) that is, who is against this ordinance or to whom the church does not belong, the bishop is entitled to a *cumal* of it at his own will or at the will of one who is of equal rank, so that there be an equivalent of baptism and communion and the singing of the intercession to each person whose proper church it is; and so that there be an offering of the body of Christ on each altar; for it is ruin of all belief where these four are not found; and any person who shall oppose it, there is no hope for him of an abode in Heaven.

8. And any church in which there is no service to *manach* tenants for baptism and communion and the singing of the intercession; it is not entitled to tithes or to the heriot cow or to a third of [each] bequest.

9. An *erenach* is not entitled [to impose] his will on his *manach* tenants, nor is he entitled to the fine of his "sed" . . .

of his church unless the reciprocal obligations of the church be fully discharged of baptism and communion and the singing of the intercession ; wherefore it is upon the souls of the men of Ireland, unless they evade the rule of their belief and their faith, and unless they deny their Creator, and if they hope to go in the company of the saints, that the church should be on the conscience of an ordained man for baptism and communion and the singing of the intercession for *manach* tenants both living and dead, and that there should be Offering on its altar on solemnities and chief feasts and Sundays, and that there should be fittings on each altar and portable altar and consecrated linen cloths.

10. For the church which has not its proper equipment is not entitled to the fine of God's church, and it is not a church, but its name according to Christ is a den of thieves and robbers.

11. Any church in which there is an ordained man of the small churches of the tribe apart from the great churches, he is entitled to the wage of his order, that is, house, and enclosure and bed and clothing, and his ration that is sufficient for him, without exemption, without neglect of all that is in the power of the church, that is, a sack with its "kitchen," and a milch cow each quarter, and the food of festivals.

12. A hostage, whom he shall choose from the *manach* tenants of each church which is on his conscience, [he shall have] as a security for just wage, both price of baptism and the dues of communion and the singing of the intercession of all the *manach* tenants living and dead ; and Offering every Sunday and on every chief solemnity and every chief festival, and the celebration of each canonical Hour, and the singing of the three fifties¹ every canonical Hour, unless instruction and spiritual guidance, even unction and baptism, prevent [him].

13. If in the opinion of the tribe the ordained folk be too few, [it is lawful] that there be three churches or four on the conscience of each ordained man, provided that there come communion and baptism for the soul of each and Offering on solemnities and festivals on their altars.

14. These are his² reciprocal duties to the ordained man : a proper day's ploughing each year, with its seed and its arable land, and half of clothes for mantle or for shirt or for tunic. Dinner for four at Christmas and Easter and Pentecost.

¹ *i. e.* the 150 Psalms.

² *i. e.* the *manach* tenant's.

15. In proportion to the dignity of the ordained man, his due and his exemption are increased over and above what we have enumerated.

16. For it is this that would be due: an ordained man to every church, since there is not full fine of the church of God save where there are ordained men and proper young clerics, and they innocent, for frequenting the church.

NOTES.

foratá, it is (*incumbent*) on; *fortá* would be expected here. Both *fortá* and *foratá* occur in the glossary to Meyer's *Hibernica Minora*; and O'Davoren's *Glossary* has *forathá*. O'Donovan's Supplement has *forta* = 'it is due,' and *foratha* = 'it is ordained.' For the latter he quotes H. 3. 17 (O'D. 600). The word occurs in that MS. in a small slip of parchment set in between cols. 450 and 451, where the context is: Foratha nech dogni gufiadnaise in fiach doscara isé fil fair inn.

énaire, *intercession, requiem*. See note at p. 206, Reeves' *Culdees*. Dr. Strachan has drawn my attention to two passages in LL.—278^a45 and 283^a38—where the meaning is *requiem*. The word seems to have been applied to some special prayer or litany recited for the absent and the dead.

manach. Throughout this text the meaning seems to be *lay tenant of ecclesiastical lands*; cf. *Laws*, Glossary.

eltraí, ?

lethgabol étaig. I have not been able to ascertain the precise meaning of *lethgabol* in the context. Several examples of the use of the word are given in the Glossary to the *Laws*, p. 531, but none of them suits here, where the meaning seems to be in the nature of a *tribute* (of clothing) from the *manach* tenants to the ordained.

freera, *equivalent*, see *Laws*, Glossary.

díre a séoit ná toichneda. What the precise meaning of the phrase—evidently a legal one—in this text is I cannot say. Cf., however, LB. 11^b23, *Laws*, vol. iv., p. 362, and *Laws*, Glossary.

terimpetóir; Gl. *imaltóir*, *portable altar*? Cf. Glossary to Stokes' *Three Middle-Irish Homilies*, and to his *Lismore Lives*, s. v. *imaltóir*.

teemail. Can this be an error for *tecmai*, 3 sg. s. subj. of *doecmaing*? The passage in which it occurs is anything but clear as it stands.

in lessa doboing. Cf. *Laws*, v. 118, and Glossary, s. v. *les* and *toibgim*.

cona áil 7 a ithir. This passage is somewhat obscure to me as it stands. Assuming that there is no corruption, the meaning would appear to be that among other reciprocal duties from the *manach* tenant to the ordained were: (1) the grant in "conacre" of as much arable land as a man might plough in one day, (2) the actual ploughing (? and general preparation) of it, and (3) the seed for it.

dul fo láim n-epscoip, to go under the hand of a bishop. In Mod. Ir., to be confirmed.

FÉILIRE ADAMNÁIN.

THE following short poem is not an uncommon form of Irish prayer addressed to the saints who preside over the different seasons. It is contained in four MSS.: a Brussels MS. from which a transcript of the poem was made by Dr. Whitley Stokes, and three Royal Irish Academy MSS., 23 P. 3, fol. 19a; 23 G. 23, p. 42; and 23 G. 27, p. 204. Of the Academy MSS., 23 G. 23, and 23 G. 27, two paper MSS. called the O'Longan MSS., of which the former bears various dates from 1790 to 1831, and the latter the date 1815, are of no interest as regards this text, the copy of it contained in them being clearly transcribed from 23 P. 3, with the spelling modernised. This latter MS., a small folio vellum written in the year 1467, and consisting almost entirely of religious pieces, has been catalogued by Dr. Meyer in *Archiv*, vol. ii., p. 136. The Brussels MS. containing the poem is a thin paper quarto consisting of 214 leaves. It is preserved in the Bibliothèque Royale, where it is marked 5100-4, and was transcribed about the year 1630 by Michael O'Clery. A full description of its contents is to be found in the introduction to Stokes' edition of the Martyrology of O'Gorman. Our poem begins at fol. 92^b, l. 21.

The poem is composed in the metre called *Rinnard*. A full description of this metre, which is also employed in the Féilire of Oengus, is given in *Revue Celtique*, vol. xx., p. 192. In it, each stanza consists of four verses, and each verse contains six syllables. The second and fourth verses rhyme; and the final word of the third verse assonates with some word in the fourth—e.g. *idain*, *Grigair*, *gaire*, *Maire*, *inat*, *spirat*, etc. This assonance is obligatory, however, only when there is no assonance between the final syllables of the second, third, and fourth lines. If we have this triple assonance, the metre is called *Rinnard trí n-ard*, as in the stanza 'In feilire,' etc., where the three words *saeraibh*, *randaibh*, *naemhaibh* rhyme.

Otherwise the metre is known as Rinnard da n-ard, as in the first five stanzas, where there is assonance only between *two final* words.

As is the case with most Irish hymns the authorship of this one seems to be doubtful. In the Brussels MS. it is ascribed to Adamnan; in 23 P. 3 no author is mentioned; in 23 G. 23 it is attributed to St. Ciaran, while 23 G. 27 has the following heading: Creidim gurbé Cormac Naomtha Mac Cullionáin adubairt na rainnsi um dhiaidh. However, it is certainly later than the age of any of them, though the exact period of its composition is doubtful. It contains such Middle-Irish forms as *bliadna* for *bliadnae*, *ionat* for *inad*, and *Íssa* for the *Íssu* of the Glosses.

It is not unlikely that the original poem ended at *nemda*. Then comes what appears to be a comparison with the Féilire of Oengus, followed by six verses of invocation which are also possibly a later addition. I have called the Brussels and Royal Irish Academy MSS., respectively, B and P. My text is that of the former; and all the important variants from the latter are given in the foot-notes. I wish to acknowledge gratefully the help that Dr. Strachan has given me in my difficulties.

Incipit feleire Adamnain dia mathair hic.

- 1 Noimh nac ceithre raithe dutracht lim a nguidhe
Romsaerat¹ ar phiana² noimh na bliadhna huile.
- 2 Naoimh ind erraigh errdaire lim do deoin Dé daltait³
Im Brighit noigh niodhain im Grighair im Pattraicc.
- 3 Naimh int samraidh tirim⁴ impa ata mo baile
On tírsa co tíssa⁵ co hÍssa mac Maire.
- 4 Naimh ind foghmair álainn ailim drong nad dichéol⁶
Co tísat im gaire⁷ im Maire is im Michéol.⁸
- 5 Naimh in geimridh guidim lium fri⁹ drongu demhna
Im Iosa na nionat¹⁰ in¹¹ spirat naemh nemhdha.

¹ ronsaerad ² phianai ³ dáilid ⁴ guidim ⁵ co rísam a
tíru P. Co tíssa on tírsa B (order reversed for sake of assonance). ⁶ foghmair
ailim; aluinn drong nach dichél P. nadicheol B ⁷ Co tiad dom cobur

⁸ Michél

⁹ ré

¹⁰ ionad B and P (changed for assonance *ionat*: *spirat*)

¹¹ immun

- 6 In feilire naemhsa¹⁻² bias³ ag sruithibh sáeraibh
Cipsa lia⁴ do randaibh noch a lia do naemhaibh.⁵
- 7 Aitcim naoim⁶ in talman aitchim aingle⁷ ile
Aitchim Dia fodeine⁸ fo eirge is fo lighe
Cia denar⁹ cia therar¹⁰ co trebhar¹¹ tir nimhe.

TRANSLATION.

Here begins *the Saints' Calendar of Adamnan* to his mother.

- 1 The saints of the four seasons, I long to pray to them,
May they save me from torments, the saints of the whole
year !
- 2 The saints of the glorious spring-time, may they be with me
by the will of God's fosterling,¹²
Together with Brigid, a maiden pure, with Gregory and Patrick.
- 3 The saints of the dry summer, about them is my poetic
frenzy,
That I may come from this land to Jesus, Son of Mary.
- 4 The saints of the beauteous autumn,—I call upon a company
not inharmonious,¹³
That they may come near me, together with Mary and Michael.
- 5 The saints of the winter I pray to, may they be with me
against the throngs of demons,
Around Jesus of the mansions, the holy, heavenly spirit.

¹ in margin of B ² mor sin ³ bhis ⁴ Gid lia he ⁵ (In margin of B)
Vel sic: Noch a lia do randaibh cipsa lia do naomhuiph nisi dicat *non* plures
sanctos quamvis plures *versus* esse apud aliud quam apud se his paucis versibus
⁶ naema ⁷ amlaid ⁸ budéine ⁹ dénum ¹⁰ déaram ¹¹ gur trebhun

¹² Suggested by Dr. Strachan, taking *daltait* as an irregular derivative from
dalte (for *daltetat*), 'God's fosterling' being an epithet for Christ.

¹³ Apparently an adj. comp. of *dí* and *ceol*. Cp. S. na R. l. 2197, where the
meaning seems to be *harsh*:

'Niba dicheoil, toraind ngle, A Micheoil fria morgaire.'

6 This saints' calendar [*i.e.* the calendar of Oengus], which
noble sages will have,¹

Though more numerous in verses, it is not more numerous
in saints.

7 I beseech the saints of the earth, I beseech all the angels,
I beseech God Himself, both rising and lying down,

Whate'er I do or whate'er I say, that I may inhabit the
heavenly land.

MARY E. BYRNE, B.A.

¹ Better *óhús* as in P v.v. which have.

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28 CLARE STREET,

DUBLIN, *November, 1903*

THE first Session of the School of Irish Learning has just closed. Three Courses have been held in the Aula Maxima of University College, St. Stephen's Green, kindly lent by the authorities for the purpose. During July, Professor John Strachan, LL.D., lectured for four weeks, two hours daily, on Old-Irish Grammar. For these lectures forty students of both sexes enrolled themselves, nearly all of whom were more or less conversant with Modern

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Irish. Several of them came from distant parts, such as Galway, Cork, Waterford, and Belfast, for the purpose of attending these classes, and one student came specially from Sheffield. In addition to these lectures, Professor Strachan held a class in the mornings for more advanced students, with whom he read the *Táin Bó Cúalgne*. For this purpose, Mr. Edward Gwynn, F.T.C.D., kindly lent his rooms in Trinity College.

In September, Professor Kuno Meyer conducted a class in Irish palæography and the reading of MSS. This class, which met for an hour and a half daily during three weeks, was attended by twelve students. Irish MSS. of various ages were read and studied in photographic reproductions; and instruction in the methods of cataloguing and editing was given. It is hoped that some of the work done by the class will soon be ready for publication.

During the same month, Dr. Henry Sweet took a class in practical phonetics with special reference to Modern Irish. This class was attended by twelve students. The object of the course was to give the students such a knowledge of speech-sounds and pronunciation as would enable them to understand and investigate the history of the language, to restore the pronunciation of Old-Irish, and to write down the Modern-Irish dialects in an accurate phonetic notation for the benefit of present and future generations of scholars.

The management of the School was as follows:—Mr. Charles M'Neill undertook the work of honorary treasurer and secretary; Mr. R. I. Best acted as honorary librarian. The fees for each Course were one guinea; but this was not enough to cover expenses. A sum amounting to £150 was subscribed by friends. Of this sum, a portion has been applied to paying the lecturers, and another to purchase the nucleus of a working Library. For the latter, valuable gifts of books have also been received from several friends, and from the Council of the Royal Irish Academy.

An association of the students has been formed, each student paying a yearly subscription; and through the kindness of Mr. Thomas Kelly, Castletown, the School has been temporarily housed in suitable rooms.

It is intended, in connexion with the School, to start a periodical devoted to Irish philology, literature, and history. One of the chief objects of such a periodical will be the

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publication of collations and editions, with translations into English, of MS. materials bearing on Irish literature and history. Professors Kuno Meyer and John Strachan will be the editors. To give an idea of the work to be done, the former has drawn up a short statement, which is annexed.¹

Arrangements are being made for at least three Courses during the next Session. Early in March, Mr. John Sampson Librarian of the University of Liverpool, will hold a bibliographical class treating of the method to be observed in describing and cataloguing ancient and modern MSS., with special reference to those of Ireland.² In March and April, Professor Kuno Meyer will resume his Course on Irish palæography and the reading of MSS. During June and July, Professor J. Strachan will continue his Course on Old-Irish Grammar, and hold a class for the reading of Old- and Middle-Irish Texts.

While it is expected that the periodical will be self-supporting, the professors' fees, the furnishing of the rooms, further additions to the library, and the founding of scholarships will constitute the chief items of expense in connexion with the School. Subscriptions towards these purposes are earnestly requested. They should be sent to the Hon. Treasurer, Mr. J. G. O'Keeffe, 28 Clare Street, Dublin.

KUNO MEYER, *Director*

R. I. BEST, *Secretary*

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¹ A statement was issued with report.

² This class was postponed.

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