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Irish Grammatical Tracts. OSBORN BERGIN	61-92
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TOMÁS COSTELLOE AND O'ROURKE'S WIFE

THE manuscript H. 5. 9 in the library of Trinity College is a small paper volume, now in a somewhat dilapidated condition. It was written, about the year 1684, by Turlough O'Reilly and other scribes of the same family: the place of writing is not mentioned, but it would no doubt be somewhere in the O'Reilly country of Breifne. The poem here published occupies pages 27—32: it is in places not easily legible, and the leaf containing pp. 31—2 is loose and frayed at the edges, and too fragile to endure binding. I have not found elsewhere any second copy, so that it seems a pity not to rescue the poem, with the loves of this unhappy lady, from perishing forgotten.

There is evidence to show that Tomás Costelloe was a real personage. The clan to which he belonged has given its name to one of the baronies of Mayo, and its branches fill a page or two in the genealogical compilations of Duaid MacFirbis and Cúchoigriche O'Clery. Tomás is not to be found in O'Clery's pedigrees, but in MacFirbis' book there is the following stemma. I quote from the R. I. A. copy of Lord Roden's MS, p. 827:

‘Tomás, Dubhaltach *cáoch*, Éamonn *dubh*, a Dominican friar, and Calbhach *bán*, children of Siúrtán *buidhe*, son of Dubhaltach *cáoch*, (who was brother to Éamonn *dubh*), son of Siúrtán *buidhe*, son of Seaan, son of Bháitér, son of Éamonn *an mhachaire*’.

The Tomás of our poem is addressed as son of Siúrtán *buidhe* and grandson of Dubhaltach, so we may identify him with MacFirbis' Tomás: and as MacFirbis starts from the living representative of the family, Tomás must have been living when MacFirbis compiled his work, in 1650.

In the poem, Tomás is appealed to as being himself a poet, but I have not found any reference to him in O'Curry or O'Reilly: the invaluable indices of the Royal Irish Academy mention him only as the author of a fragment of verse in a Stowe MS. F. v. 3,

addressed to a certain Tadhg O'Rourke. The list of poets in Meyer's Primer of Metrics gives 'Tomás láidir Coisdealbhach, 17th century', but no authority is quoted. The cognomen shows, however, that the poet was identified with that Tomás láidir, the hero of Roscommon folk-lore, who is so picturesquely described in Douglas Hyde's Love Songs of Connaught, p. 47 *sq.*

His rival I cannot identify with certainty. In Cúchoigriche O'Clery's genealogical work, of which the Royal Irish Academy possesses both the original autograph, (classed 23 D 17), and a copy, 23 G 6, there are found, among the O'Rourke genealogies, the pedigrees of two men bearing the name Aodh son of Brian. These two pedigrees however are not in the original script of the compiler, but are added later, possibly by himself, more probably by another member of the O'Clery family. They run as follows:

(1) *Aodh, Tadhg, Toirrdhealbhach .i. clann Briain óig meic Briain meic Briain ballaigh*, etc. The second Brian here named is the well-known Brian *na murtha* who was hanged in 1591: his son Brian *óg*, also called Brian *na samhthach*, died in 1604 (FM.).

(2) *Aodh, Tadhg, clann Briain meic Aedha óicc meic Aedha gallda meic Briain ballaigh*, etc. This second Aodh son of Brian was by one generation junior to the former: either or both might, so far as our data go, have been living and married about the time of Tomás Costelloe.

Féuch féin an obair-si, a Áodh,
a mhic Bhriain, a bhláth fhionn-chráobh,
a ghéucc amhra, is úaisle d'fhás,
sa n-úair-se tharla ar Thomás.

5 Lúathaigh ort, ainic mísi,
ma tá tú lé'r ttairisi:
ag so síodh-ruire brúaigh Bhreagh
úaibh dom fhíor-ghuidhe ós ísiol.

A mheic Bhriain, a bhrath m'éiccsi,
10 ma's díth leat mo leithéid-si,
dom chabhair, a cháomh-shlat ghráidh,
labhair re saor-mhac Siúrtáin.

⁴ *uair* sí MS.

⁷ *bhr7* MS.

⁹ *brat* MS. I adopt Miss Knott's suggestion.

¹⁰ *leithéidi* sí MS.

On an O'Rourke's wife ravished by Dermot in the time of Henry II., see Secreta Secretorum, p. 182 ff. See also Cambrensis

TOMÁS COSTELLOE AND O'ROURKE'S WIFE

3

The leading motive of the poem is the conflict between the lady's loyalty to her husband, and her weakness for her lover. The latter's prevailing influence is ascribed to the arts of sorcery: he is therefore compared to Manannán, to Oengus of Brug na Bóinne, to Finnbar and to Sigmall, the grandson of Midir of Brí Leith. The last name, again, accounts for the reference to *bruach Breg* in line 7: Brí Leith is the famous fairy hill in Roscommon. The name 'Manannán of Múr Logha' is perhaps chosen because Sliabh Logha (or Lughha) was a stronghold of the Costelloes: see *Four Masters* III. 547, 637. As to Finnbar of Cnoc Meadha Siúil, see O'Donovan's note to FM V 1733, and Fr. MacErlean's edition of O'Bruadair, I. 42.

It seems to be implied throughout the poem that O'Rourke is away from home at the wars, and that Tomás, instead of fighting under his standard, has stolen home to make love to his wife.

The condition of the manuscript makes it difficult to be sure of marks of aspiration and quantity: I have therefore supplied these uniformly, to the best of my judgment. The ordinary contractions and suspensions are expanded silently, unless there is any shade of doubt as to the scribe's intention. His spelling has been altered here and there, in order to mark the rhyme: such alterations, and all other corrections are recorded in the notes.

I am indebted to Dr. Bergin for much help, and to Miss E. Knott for many valuable suggestions.

O Aodh son of Brian, flower of fair boughs
O glorious branch, tallest of growth,
see for thyself these doings that Tomás Costello
has newly found to his hand!

Come quick and deliver me,
if thou art one for me to trust:
here comes the wizard from the marge of Brí,
wooing me in whispers to desert thee.

O son of Brian, mark of my verse,
if thou art loth to lose the like of me,
to succour me, fair sapling beloved,
speak with the proud son of Siúrtán.

Innis dó, le gcur na cenn,
 nach mór d'éiccsibh na h-Éirenn,
 15 mur ghné sheisi ó chráuibh Charadh,
 meisi dháuibh do dhéónughadh.

Ar mo thí an tráth-sa ó tharla
 mealtóir an uird ealadhna,
 bíodh go ngeallfadh sé mur sin
 20 nach meallfadh mé, ná measaigh.

Dá measda, ní measdar leam
 gaduighe fhileadh Éireann,
 béd-leomhan do thúar mo thoil
 nach éigneochadh úam mh'áontaidh.

25 Dá mealltaoi ar áoi n-annsa,
 na háith, a Áodh, oram-sa:
 le brath soibheart chúaine Cuinn
 toighiocht úaidhe ní fhédaim.

Minic ticc ar tí ar mbréugtha
 30 Tomás a tlacht úathmhélta,
 do cheilt ar sáoir-eachtra sonn,
 a mbeirt dhraoidheachta um dhochum.

Minic ticc athaidh oile
 le m'ais, d'eitil sheabhcaidhe,
 35 a measg cáigh d'fhúadach mh'annsa
 'na ghrúagach cáidh chugam-sa.

Mur mhnáoi tháidhe a ttuighin m'fhir
 minic ticc sé d'ar soighin
 le briocht drúadh, le díamhair ndán,
 40 dom iarraidh úam ar éladh.

Ticc a ndeilbh dháonna dhuine,
 ticc fós a ffoirm shíodhuighe,
 ticc úair a n-ionnus taidhbhsi:
 cionnus úaidh dofhanfainn-si?

¹³ Read perhaps *le cur 'na chenn*, but the sense of the stanza is doubtful.

¹⁴ *na h-* om. MS.

¹⁵ *séisi* MS. Cara na dtúath in Roscommon may be the place intended.

¹⁷ *t'sa* MS.

²¹ *meas2 . . . meas2r* MS.

²⁴ *úaim* MS.

Send to him and tell him,
that it is but right for Eriu's poets, —
as a favour from the Branch of Cara —
to suffer me to be yours.

Now that he is hot upon my track,
this beguiler of the bardic tribe,
though he should pledge his word, even so
think not that he would not beguile me.

Though thou believe it, I believe not
that this thief among Eriu's poets,
this froward lion that has won my liking,
would not ravish my consent.

If through softness of heart
the fords were forced against me
by that martial hope of Conn's war-hounds,
escape him I could not.

Often comes Tomás, seeking to betray me,
clad in open guise,
approaching me in druid's robes
to cloak his bold venture.

Often comes he, other while,
chasing me, stooping like a falcon
to snatch my heart under the eyes of all,
seeking me, an enchanter in holy seeming.

Often he comes in my husband's dress
accosting me, as I were a wanton,
with druid spells and mystic verses,
urging me to flee with him.

He comes in shape of mortal man,
he comes again in fairy form,
he comes sometimes in fashion like a wraith:
— how should I avoid him?

²⁵ *do* MS. *haith* MS. The rendering is due to Miss Knott.

³⁰ *uathmhélta* = *óibélta* (Miss Knott)

³¹ *sdoreachtra* MS.

³² *dhóchum* MS.

³³ *ath* MS.

³⁴ *ináis* MS.

³⁵ *chádich* MS.

³⁷ *m^o thaidhe* MS.

³⁹ *diamar* MS.

⁴⁰ *uaim* MS.

⁴² *ffoirm* MS.

⁴⁴ *adfanfuinnsi* MS.

- 45 A gcéin ar chogadh Clann Néill
gluaister Is cuid dom chaithréim:
sinn ar óigh, derbhtha dhe,
a ndóigh go meallfa mise.

- At eccosg-sa, a Áodh úi Rúaire,
50 minic ticc sonn ar sáor-chúairt
draig ciún-tláith, ór doilghe dul,
oighre Siúrtáin d'ar síabhradh.

- Ticc dá theacht 'na Thomás féin
mo chur sechum ar sáobh-chéill,
55 no gur sguch mh'annsa dha halt,
dam-sa ní guth a ghlúasacht.

- Muna ffuil inntleacht éigin
agaib d'fhurtacht m'fhoiréigin,
a sheisi, a shengadh ar ngráidh,
60 do mealladh meisi, a mhacáimh.

Mh'iomlad eadraibh níor fhéd sinn:
do tshearc-sa, a Áodh, um inntinn:
ar áoi gur híarnadh na tshás
dom shíabhradh atáoi Tomás.

- 65 Da mbeth sochar ruibh a rádh,
coisg dhínn, a dhegh-mhic Siúrtáin,
a rún cáigh, gan chláon n-irsi,
ná cráidh Áodh fam aithghin-si.

- A Thomáis, a thocht mheanmnach,
70 a bhraighe ghill Ghoisdealbhach,
sguir dhínn, ní fheallam ar bfear,
sín ar mhealladh na maighdion.

⁴⁶ Is MS. Read perhaps *is*, or else *leis*. Cf. 26.

⁴⁷ This line wants a syllable and the sense is obscure to me. Bergin suggests *sínidh*. Miss Knott supposes that Tomás is paying court to a girl, to cloak his real purpose. Cf. 72.

⁴⁸ *meallf- misi* MS.

⁴⁹ *a* not in MS.

⁵¹ *chiúntlaith* MS.

⁵³ Literally 'It comes of his coming as Thomas himself'.

⁵⁶ Perhaps we should read *a glúasacht*, (referring to *annsa*), punctuating after *sáobh-chéill*. Or a *ghlúasacht* may mean 'his way of moving'; Can I

Far away men march to the wars of Clanna Néill,
but 'tis all part of my conquest;
he seeks out a maiden, to make surer,
in hope that he will deceive me.

In thy semblance, Aodh ORuairc,
often comes he here in state,
Siúrtán's heir, to bedazzle me,
like a dragon tame and meek, hard to escape.

When Tomás comes in his proper person,
it puts me from my sober sense,
till my heart leaves its wonted place:
his journeyings are no fault of mine.

Except ye have some device
to shield me from his mastery,
O darling that my heart pines for,
I am undone, my dear!

I could not sway between you both:
thy love, Aodh, dwells in my soul;
yet since it is prisoned⁶³ in its cage
Tomás is bewitching me.

Let me be, brave son of Siúrtán —
did it but avail with thee to say so!
thou sweet-heart of all women, pervert not my faith,
vex not Aodh for such as me!

O Tomás, proud of bearing,
O pledge of the Costellos' troth!
leave me alone, I will not cheat my husband:
away, and flatter the maidens!

help it if his bearing is irresistible? For *ní guth* see Meyer's *Cath Finntrágha*, glossary.

⁶⁰ *misí* MS.

⁶¹ *iomhlad* MS.

⁶³ *hiarnaadh* seems formed from *iarnaigh* chains, (or *iarna* 'a chain of thread', Dinneen). Read *na sás*: *sás* is used elsewhere of the body as the soul's cage, (Wi.). Aodh has power over his wife's soul, Tomás over her bodily passions.

⁶⁷ *cáich* MS.

⁶⁹ *mín^c* MS.

Ní hionann mé is mná málla
 mhealltaoi, a óig andána,
 75 mo shiabhgradh ní dóigh dhuit-si,
 a ghrian-ghal sháimh shamhraid-si.

Ná creid cách, ní meirdreach mé,
 óg fúarus fios mo chéile:
 fada ó tharla Áodh orm-sa,
 80 h'abhra ná cláon chugam-sa.

Bhur bfé fía, ní feárrde dhuit,
 aithnim thú d'aimhdheóin th'iomluitt:
 a bhraduire, ná mill mé,
 fill, a ghaduighe an gháire.

85 Cosc th'alguis úaim ní bfhughe,
 a bhradín, a bhréccuire:
 led húaisli ná meraigh mé,
 búail-si um cheanuibh gach críche.

A sháor-mhic Shiúrtáin bhuidhe,
 90 a bhláth choilleadh cumhraidhe,
 ar gháol, ar chrodh, nó ar choimsi,
 dol ó Áodh ní fhédaim-si.

Ar n-áonta ó nach úair tusa
 crum ar do cheird dhúthchusa,
 95 móruigh brigh an chráoi-si Chuinn,
 a Náoisí ó n-Ír ar fhoghluim.

A Mhanannáin mhúir Logha,
 a Oenghus an fhíor-bhrogha,
 a Shiodhmaill na cceard ccuimsi,
 100 a Fhionnbhairr chealg cugairsi.

⁷⁸ Read perhaps *ógh* 'virgin'.

⁷⁹ MS has *Tomas* expunct with *Aodh* above.

⁸¹ See *Irische Texte* IV glossary s. v. *feth fiada*.

⁸² *iomhluitt* MS.

⁸⁵ *ní* not in MS.

⁸⁶ *bhreccuire* MS.

⁸⁷ *huaisle* MS.

⁸⁸ *ch7uibh* MS. I give ORahilly's rendering.

⁹² *ffúair* MS.

⁹⁵ see Dinneen, s. v. *cró* (1).

I am not like one of the easy women
for thee to betray, O youth overbold!
hope not to bedazzle me,
thou soft sun-glow of summer-tide!

Heed not what they say, no light-o'-love am I:
a girl I first knew my mate:
'tis long since Aodh first met me,
— send no slant looks at me!

Your magic mist will not avail —
I know thee, despite thy changes:
do not ruin me, thou robber!
turn again, O thief of joy!

Ease for thy craving shalt thou not get of me,
thou little thief, thou hypocrite!
dazzle me not with thy high birth!
begone, take the spoil of every country.

Noble son of Siúrtán *buidhe*,
flower of the fragrant wood!
not for rank, nor substance, nor state,
could I part from Aodh.

Since thou hast not won my consent,
betake thee to thy proper trade:
increase the might of this Fold of Conn,
thou that in breeding art the Naoise of Ir's line!

O Manannán of Lugh's rampart,
O Oenghus of the very Brugh,
O Sighmhall of the seemly arts,
O Finnbharr cunning in craft!

⁹⁹ *ccéard* MS.

¹⁰⁰ The MS has *a fhionnbharr nam cealg* . . . : the *nam* is half deleted: of the last word, which should be a trisyllable, only traces are visible, but the first two letters were probably *gg* (= *cug*) and the last two *si*. I have adopted Bergin's suggestion; see Meyer's Contributions, s. v. *cocorse*.

A eagna Chorbmaic í Chuinn,
a fháith-chíall oighre Chumhaill,
a sheinm cor, a cherd Ghúaire,
a fhergc Con na Cráobhrúaidhe.

- 105 A thúairgnidh choitchinn chatha,
a mhéduighthóir mhór-ratha,
a linn na n-uile ana,
a chinn uidhe an engnamha.

- A chrann sesmhach seóil troide,
110 a rún díobhuigh dhoichroide,
a bhrúcht buinne, a bhedhg nimhe,
a fhercc thuinne tairpidhe.

- A theanchuir ghríosaighi an ghráidh,
a ghlór le mbréuccthar ban-dáil,
115 a phosd gáidh chagaidh d'ibh Cuinn,
ma táim agaibh, ní admhaim.

- A Thomáis, d'aithle m'ionnlaigh,
a chuingidh chrú Ghoisdealbhaigh,
atá ar ccridhe da rádh rinn
120 do ghrádh d'ibhe, dhá n-ibhinn.

Mo bhennacht leat óm lán-toil,
a dhegh-úa dil Dubhaltaigh,
a bhúidh bharr-ghlain, ná brécc mé,
ná damnaigh d'éd ar n-áidh-ne.

- 125 Sgarthain so, gidh túar tuirsi,
ag so Áodh dom fhéchain-si:
lúathaigh thoram, trúagh an airc,
mo núar, oram ná hamhairc.

Féuch féin an obair-si, a Áodh.

¹⁰³ *chérd Gúaire* MS.

¹⁰⁵ *choitchḡ ka* MS.

¹⁰⁸ *a nengnamha* MS. Literally 'O journey's end of prowess'.

¹¹⁰ *do chroidhe* MS. Literally 'O purpose of destroying of oppression'.

O wisdom of Cormac ua Cuinn,
 O second-sight of Cumhall's heir,
 O music of melodies, open hand of Guaire,
 O fury of the Red-Branch Hound!

O smiter unsparing in battle,
 O lavish giver of largesse,
 O fountain of all riches,
 O master unexcelled at sword-play!

O steady mast of the sail of battle,
 O temper to strike down oppression,
 O bursting billow, deadly spring,
 O fury of the massive wave!

O stirrer of the hot coals of love,
 O voice that beguilest womankind,
 O prop of battle for the children of Conn!
 if I be yours, yet I own it not.

O Tomás, after all my chiding,
 O champion of the blood of Costello!
 my heart keeps telling me,
 if I would drink, to drink of thy love.

My blessing go with thee, with all my heart,
 dear grandson of Dubhaltach!
 O bright-haired darling, do not betray me,
 in envy blast not our happiness!

Here we part, though it bode sorrow,
 here comes Aodh to visit me:
 hasten by me — alas the need!
 woe is me! look not my way!

E. J. GWYNN

¹¹⁵ *cogaidh* MS.

¹¹⁶ *adbhaim* MS.

¹¹⁷ *Monnl* MS: I adopt Miss Knott's correction (O.-Ir. *indlach*).

¹¹⁹ *ccroidhe* MS.

¹²⁴ *áidh* = *ád*h with palatalisation (Bergin).

MISCELLANEA

maidir le, mar le

THE phrase *maidir le* or *mar le* is used in the Irish of Munster and of South Connacht. Two meanings are to be distinguished:

(1) 'As for', 'as far as *x* is concerned', introducing and emphasising a particular subject or phase of a subject, and for the time being limiting the discussion to it. The earliest examples I have noted occur in 'An Sotach 's a Mháthair' (South Galway; early 19th cent.): *Maidir le pósadh is gnó ró-dhaor é*, 'as for marriage, that is too expensive a business' (cf. Hyde's Religious Songs, II. 308; other exx. pp. 298, 300).¹

Maidir le in this sense is found at the present day in Galway and throughout most of Munster. Canon O'Leary, however, does not employ it, for, as he has told me, he very seldom heard the phrase in his native district. Alternative expressions in this sense are *i dtaobh*¹ and *i bpáirt*,² both of them common in W. Munster. Other modern equivalents may here be mentioned, viz. *cúrsaí*,³ used in Mayo; *i dtaca le*, used in Donegal; *ar sgáth*, Gallagher's Sermons (ed. 1752, pp. 47, 85); *cúis*, Seán Ó Neachtain (Stair É. Uí Chléire, II. 2473, 2562); *i gcás*, Lomnochtán (p. 7), Bodach an Chóta Lachtna; *a dtimcheall*, Carswell (p. 174). Scottish Gaelic uses *air son* in this sense.

In the Béara district *mar le* appears to be the prevailing form. Thus *mar leis an aileann so*, 'as for this furze', An Sgoruigheacht,

¹ Cf., for literary usage, *im thaobhsa níl méan liom a mbarra[dh]*, 'for myself, I don't intend to stop them', Ó Bruadair II. 258. *Do thaobh* is similarly used in the Book of Clanranald, Rel. Celt. II. pp. 170, 182.

² Compare the Welsh *o ran* used in the same sense. In O. Ir. *a rainn* and *ar chuit* mean 'as regards', but they are not found in the introductory use (beginning a sentence, like English 'as for') with which I am here concerned.

³ Compare the well-known use of *iomthúsa* and *ddla* in narrative in the literature.

p. 15. So the following exx. among others in 'Sgeulaidheacht Chúige Mumhan' (1895): *acht mar leis an bpréacháintín de*,¹ *do ghread sé air* etc., p. 57; *mar le Donnchadh bocht, do thaosgfa allus de*, p. 96; *ní fheadar go deimhin a' ndeaghadar . . . agus is ró-chumailiom leis, mar leis sin de*, p. 66, 'I don't know . . . and, for that matter, I don't care'. Here *mar leis sin de* = 'na thaobh san de.

A slightly different usage is seen in the following from Seandún's 'Robinson Crúsó', p. 1: *do thug m'athair tabhairt suas maith go leor orm, mar le teagasg ar a theinntéan féin*, translated (p. 264) "as far as home education went".² But in strictness (see next par.) the Irish means rather: 'My father gave me a home education which was good enough in its way'.

While Canon O'Leary does not employ *maidir le*, 'as for', he uses the variant *mar le* in closely related senses. Thus: *Is tairbhighe . . . don duine gan mórán sóláis a bheith aige ar an saoghal so, mar le sóláis corpartha go mór mór*, Aithris ar Ch. 41, "quod homo non habeat multas consolationes in hac vita, secundum carnem praecipue". *Bhi an aimsir go hólce mar le haimsir gheimhridh féin*, An Craos-deamhan 19, 'the weather was cold, even for winter'. In Kerry *maidir le* is used in such sentences as these. Thus: *Maidir le fear nár chuaig ar sgoil riamh, tá foghlaim mhaith air*, Corcaguiny, 'For a man who never went to school, he is well educated'. *Maidir le fear gan goile, ní'l Aodh a' déanamh go hólce*, Beirt Fhear ó'n dTuaithe 152, "For a man without an appetite, Hugh is not doing badly".

(2) A second meaning of *maidir le* is 'along with, as well as'. It is still living in this sense in W. Kerry (Blasket I.), where in

¹ The use of partitive *de* in such constructions is to be noted; it is most frequent in cases in which a pronoun, not a noun, is introduced. Exx. are: *im thaobh-sa dhe*, *im páirt-se dhe*, and *chómh fada lem chuid-se dhe*, W. Munster; *maidir lem chuid-se dhe*, Sheehan's 'Ladhar den Lus Mór' p. 39; *mo chuidse dhe*, Molloy, Luc. Fid. 245; *im chás-sa dhe sin*, Bodach an Chóta Lachtna, ed. Pearse, p. 9, = *am chás féin de sin* ed. O'Daly, Self-Instruction, 1871, p. 47. All these mean 'as for me, for my part, as far as I am concerned'. So Sc. Gael. *air mo shon-sa dheth* and *air son mo chodach-sa dheth*. Cf., for Donegal, *i dtaca le háthas de*, Sharkey's 'Ceol na nÉan' p. 43.

² Canon O'Leary told me that if he were translating this phrase he would render 'as far as' by *chómh fada le*, not by *mar le*. Cf. *déanfadsa rud ort chómh fada le m' dhíthol*, 'as far as I possibly can', O'Leary's Lucian. This use of *chómh fada le* (or *agus*) is doubtless in imitation of the English 'as far as', but it is now well established.

addition to meaning 'as for' it is used with the force of *chómh maith le*. I have noted no example from present-day writers, but have met it in some MS. texts. Thus: *do cuiríog céad fear an gach áil díobh madir le haois céoil agus arrifidhe* [leg. *airfide*], Ceis. Inghine Guil in 23 C 26 pt. 2 p. 26 (written in W. Munster, 1770). *Séada suirighe d'fhágáil ó bhainríoghain an uabhair, agus ó gach mnaoi eile maidir léi*, I. T. Soc. I. p. 6.

Madir le is not given in any dictionary save Dinneen's (s. v. *madair*); it appears to have been noted for the first time in print by O'Growney (Gael. J. no. 31, p. 104). As to its origin, it stands, I have little doubt, for *madh do leith re*, lit. 'if it be with regard to'. Cf. *mád* [leg. *mad*] *illeth imorro fri muintir nimi, ní cluinter din gárb-thoraind sin acht lanbec do ráith*, Ir. Texte I. 179, i. e. 'But as regards the inhabitants of heaven, only very little is heard (by them)' etc. *Madh*, 'if it be', usually followed by *imorro*, is frequent in Mid. Ir. in the sense of 'as regards', e. g. *mad meise immurro* (with orthographical variations), 'as for me', Tog. Tr. (H. 2. 17) l. 127, Hib. Min. 66, C. Cath. II. 5110, 5157.¹ I cannot at the moment quote an instance of *do leith re*, 'in regard to', but we have not only the Mid. Ir. *il-leth fri* but also the Mod. Ir. *do leith* (c. gen.) with the same signification. *Madh do leith re* would be reduced in speech, even in the Mid. Ir. period, to *ma do leh re*; and when the phrase had become stereotyped and its component parts forgotten, the accent would be liable to be shifted back, giving **madoil(e) re*, which with metathesis of *l* and *r* would give *madair le* or *maidir le*.

The alternative form, *mar le*, is probably directly descended from the M. I. *mad i lleth fri* which I have quoted above. This would similarly give **mail(e) re* in Mod. I., whence by metathesis *mair le* or *mar le*.

The use of *maidir le* in its second and rarer sense, 'along with', is doubtless to be explained as a popular substitution for the literary *maile le* (< *im a lle fri*), which otherwise seems to have become obsolete in present-day Irish. In Cúirt an Mh. Oidhche, l. 333, *maile le* rhymes with *arthana*, showing that the accent was on the first syllable. The M. I. use of *maile* prepositionally (without *fri* or *re* following) would seem to show that this shifting of the

¹ *gidh*, 'though it be', was similarly used, e. g. *gid meisi*, 'as for me', Hib. Min. 83; *cid messe*, Mesca Ulad p. 10.

accent had already taken place at a much earlier period. Cf. *maillis na cendaibh so*, Fierabras, RC. xix. p. 136; *maille n-a c[h]om-pānachaibh*, ibid. p. 118; as contrasted with *maille risna barūnaibh*, ibid. p. 132.

Addenda, p. 95.

eachlach urláir

In one of the poems in Ac. na Senórach the following quatrain occurs (ed. Stokes, ll. 586—7):

Dá trian do mbíne re mnáibh
is re hechlachuib urláir;
re haes dána dénta duan,
nárbhat dian re daescarshluagh.

O'Grady (SG. II. 115) renders *echlachuib urláir* here by "creepers on the floor [*i. e.* little children]". Stokes (p. 277) renders the phrase literally by "messengers on the floor", and quotes O'Grady's explanation. The phrase also occurs in the Glenmasan MS., Celtic Rev. II. 32: *mo mogaid agus m'echlacha urlair*, translated by Mackinnon "my slaves and my little children". Another instance occurs in Cath Finntrága (ed. Meyer, l. 639): *is imdha taisteallach sibhail 7 eachlach urrlair o ingeanaibh rígh 7 rofhhlatha Eirenn ag feitheam do comlann* [*leg. chomlainn*]. Here Meyer renders *echlach urrlair* as "horseman" simply; but O'Grady (Phil. Soc. Trans. 1885—7, p. 647) explains it as "a mounted messenger belonging to the *teaghlach* (household)".

This last explanation of the phrase comes nearest, I think, to the correct one. The word *echlach*, though derived from *ech*, means little more than 'messenger', and, in later times at least, it came to be nearly synonymous with *giolla*, 'servant, attendant'. Cf. *ro bhádar triar eachlach, i. giollaidhe, aco*, Oss. Soc. III. 126. Hence *eachlacha urláir* = 'household servants, menials'. For this use of *urláir* cf. 'Penates' rendered by Begly (531 b) *déé úrláir*, *i. e.* household gods; *a riocht gósda nó sbrid-úrláir*, 'in the shape of a ghost or family spirit', D. do Barra's Corraghliocas na mBan; and the present-day *baiste úrláir*, 'lay baptism', *i. e.* baptism performed at home (and by a layman) in case of emergency.

The expression *eachlach urláir* has also survived in folk-tales, though in a corrupted form. For Ireland I have only one example, namely in Eachtra Ghiolla an Fhiugha, a folk-tale which was given literary form something over a century ago: *ionnus gurab lia fleadh*

... 'ná mar do bhi fear ná buidheann chum a chaithte, de ghadhair, de mhná, de choileáin agus d'athalaísg ¹ urláir (ITS. I. pp. 6—8). In Scottish folktales the name is applied, in a variety of forms, to "a very wicked sort of witch" who helps the cruel stepmother to do away with her stepchildren.² This witch is called *eachrais-urlair* in folktales recorded by J. G. Campbell (Celtic Rev. vi. 364; Scottish Celtic Review, 1881, p. 67); *eachrais ulair* in a tale in Trans. Inv. Gael. Soc. xiv. 143; *eachalair* (and *eachlaraiche*) *ùrlair* in a tale from J. F. Campbell's collection, pub. in 'An Sgeulaiche', III. 65 sq.³

The Scottish *eachrais ùrlair* has been translated by J. G. Campbell as "Trouble-the-house, lit. 'confusion of the floor'". In this form of the phrase *eachlach* has been assimilated to the Sc. *eachrais*, 'confusion, disturbance', which is doubtless to be equated with the M. I. *echrais* 'a sally' (Stokes, Cath Cath., q. v. for reff.), 'a rapid movement' in a fight (Ériu VIII. p. 61 and p. 44 w). The alternative form *eachalair ùrlair* is probably the origin of Macalpine's *eachlair* 'a brutish fellow'. Cf. also Dinneen's *eachlais* 'a lazy slovenly woman, a slattern (used also of a man)', which is probably due similarly to an Irish corruption of the same phrase (cf. the Irish form *athalaísg*, supra).

The degradation of meaning which *eachlach urláir*, originally 'a menial servant', has undergone in Scottish Gaelic particularly, is paralleled not only by the history of such English words as *villain*, *boor*, *knave* and *churl*, but also by such native words as *amhas*, 'a hired soldier', which in popular use has come to mean 'a fierce, cruel man', and M. I. *aithech*, 'a plebeian', which has given the Mod. Ir. (*f*)*athach*, 'a giant'.

Addenda, p. 95.

bunóc

Bunóc, 'a baby', is unknown to dictionaries previous to O'Donovan's Supplement to O'Reilly. The word is confined to

¹ For *thl* < *chl* cf. the spelling *ethlach* in the Laud 610 version of Ac. Sen., *passim*. Cf. also *bathlach* (Sc. *balach*) < M. I. *bachlach*; n. pl. is already *bathlaich* in Laud 610 (Ac. Sen. I. 3795).

² Cf. J. G. Campbell, 'Superstitions of the Scottish Highlands', p. 282.

³ In corresponding Irish folktales the woman who helps the stepmother is called simply a "hen-wife" (cf. Larminie's West Irish Folk-tales, p. 179; Curtin's Hero Tales of I., p. 94), in Irish *cailleach na gcearc* (Irisl. M. Nuadhad, 1910, p. 35). In J. F. Campbell's tale in 'An Sgeulaiche' both the *cailleach nan cearc* and the *eachalair ùrlair* are introduced, and both help the stepmother.

Southern Irish. In Kilkenny (O'Donovan) and Waterford (Sheehan) it becomes *buníc*, with the change, regular in those districts, of nasal *ó* to *ú*. In 'Sgeul. Chúige Mumhan' (1895, p. 94) it is written *brónic*,¹ which stands for *bnóc*; cf. Manx *cronk* < *cnoc*.

The literary exx. I have noted of the word are few, and do not go back beyond the 17th cent.; they all belong to Munster. First may be mentioned the name of the River Bunoke, which flows into the Deel S.-E. of Newcastle, Co. Limerick. This in Irish is *Bunóc*, 'the infant (river)', and is so called by D. Ó Bruadair (*Bunóc chumógach chasta*, I. p. 172). In 'An Bás agus an tOthar' the word is also used: *beirim an bunoc* [leg. *bhunóc*] *ó dheól na gctoch liom*, "the harmless infant from the breast I tear", ed. P. Ó Briain, I. 53.² Other instances are: *bunóc ceangailte is bean an tighe breidhte*, *Cúirt an Mh. O. I. 534*. *Asé mo dhobhrón nac[h] um bándic do rugadh me araéis* (sic), 23 K 14, p. 214. *bonóic*, dat. sg., 24 A 22, p. 246.

Some derivations of the word have already been attempted.³ John MacNeill (Clare I. Survey, 3, p. 38) suggests **bunmhac*. Stern (ZCP. v. 336) also derived it from *bun*; while J. H. Lloyd goes so far as to suggest that *brónic* is the Spanish *bronco*. In reality the word is no more than a modernized form of the M. I. *ban-macc*, 'a girl-child'.

In early Irish *banmacc* is masculine, like *macc*. In the Auraicept (ed. Calder, I. 531) *ise in banmhacsa* is given as an example of a feminine noun treated as masculine. So nom. plur. is *in banmaicc* or *in bainmeicc*, *Fél. Oeng.*, 2 ed. p. 163.

Irish, however, particularly in its later stages, shows a strong tendency to make compounds consisting of *ban-* + a masculine noun feminine in grammar as in meaning. Thus *inna banchoided*, "dominatrix", *MI. 84 c 4*; *na banamsa*, gen., *LL 334 e* (Contr.); *cusin mbandtrebthaig*, *LB. (Ir. Tex. I. 48)*; *an bhaintighearna*,⁴ *Ériu*

¹ The dialect in general is that of Béara (S. W. Cork), but the story in which *brónic* occurs was obtained from a Kerryman.

² The Eg. 209 version, quoted by O'Grady, *B. M. Cat.* p. 594, reads *an t-óg* instead of *an bhunóc*. The version in *G. J. III.* p. 66, has *an bhuníc*.

³ Cf. also Meyer Contr., where *buníc* 'an infant' is confused with *bunóc* 'sackcloth'. The latter word (derived from *bun*, as *barróg* is from *barr*) gives *bunóg* in *Mod. Ir.*

⁴ In *Mod. Ir.* *baintighearna* sometimes shifts to the nasal declension on the analogy of feminines like *dearna*, *comhursa*, e. g. *baintighurnann* (gen.) 23 G 20, 86.

v. 164; *an bhainridire*, gen. *na bainridere*, RC. xxix. pp. 6, 26; *na bainimpire*, gen., Ériu v. 164; nom. *an bhannaemh*,¹ B. Col. Chille 274: gen. *na bannaoinmhe*, Ó Cianáin, 208, 216: dat. *bannaotmh* (-*naeimh*, -*naímh*), id. 184, 212, B. Col. Chille 272, 274, Ériu v. 86. In the Irish of to-day all *ban-* compounds would seem to have become fem., e. g. *baintreach* (M. I. *bantrebthach*); *banaltra*; *an bhanleómhán*, O'Leary, Aesop II. 32, and even *an leómhán bhaineán*, *ibid.*

Hence *banmhac*, becoming feminine, shifted from the *o* to the *a* declension, and made gen. **banmhaice*, corresponding to the present *bunóice*. According to its etymology *bunóc* is applicable only to a girl-baby, and this too is the meaning Canon O'Leary assigns to the word. In most places, however, the word is now applied to any baby, irrespective of sex.²

Bunóc might also be written *banóc*, which is nearer the original; in the South of Ireland both these spellings would be pronounced alike, owing to the obscuration of detoned *a* when *ó* occurs in the accented syllable. The literary *banmhac* should regularly give **banúc*. The change of *ú* to *ó* seen in **banúc* > *banóc* is unusual, but is paralleled by Muns. *tionóisg* < **teanúisg* < *teagmhais*, and *aragóint* < M. I. *argumint*.

flúirse; reidhse

The word *flúirse*, meaning 'abundance, plenty' and in a secondary sense (cf. *fairsinge*) 'liberality, generosity', is not given in any printed dictionary save Dinneen's; neither do the MS. dictionaries of Tadhg Ó Neachtain and Peter O'Connell include it. In the literature I cannot trace the use of *flúirse* (and its deriv. adj. *flúirseach*) beyond the 18th century. Examples are: *dragan cungantach fairsing flúirseach*, Piaras MacGearailt, l. 943 (A.D. 1754); *don fhlaith fhial fhairsing fhluirsig*, Trompa na bhFlaitheas (1755), 24 A 18, dedication; *go fial farrsing fuluirseach*, *ibid.* p. 320; *is gur Tú an sruth ó ritheann rath is flúirse*, Tomás Ó Gliosáin, Fil. na Máighe p. 54; *flúirse gach éisc aran linn*, Tadhg Gaedhealach(?),

¹ Contrast Keating's treatment of this word as masc., thus gen. *bannaoinmh*, For. F. III. l. 1795; dat. *ban-naomh*, TBg. 31 l. 3.

² A similar extension of meaning has taken place in the word *páiste* (from Mid. Eng. and Fr. *page*, 'a boy'), which nowadays at least is applicable to any child.

ed. Dinneen l. 44; *flúirse chur chúg[h]am do'n arán*, Oss. Soc. VI. p. 74; *a bhuidhean ba fhlúirseach aráin* (sic), Oss. Soc. III. p. 234; *ag sileadh na ndeor go trom flúirseach*, Seanmóirí M. Nuadhad, III. p. 126 a; *féile flúirse is fairsinge*, Eoghan Ruadh, l. 2265; similarly the adj. *flúirseach*, *ibid.* ll. 708, 2928. All these examples are from Munster texts, and, so far as I know, the use of *flúirse* is confined to Southern Irish.

There can be little doubt that the spelling *flúirse* is a phonetic one, owing its existence to the happy accident that the origin of the word became forgotten. It stands for **folmhairse*, which I identify with *folmhaise*, 'fatness', the *r* being intercalated under the influence of the synonym *reimhirse* (see below). Peter O'Connell explains *folmhaise* thus: "*i. saill*, fatness, plumpness, fleshiness, comeliness, gracefulness, likeliness, strength, stoutness, vigour."¹ It would thus seem to be a compound of *fuil* and *maise*. **folmhairse* would be pronounced *folúirse* (the spelling *fulúirseach* in Tr. na bhFlaitheas is significant in this connection); and the detoned first syllable would disappear in popular Munster speech, as in *c(o)lúir*, *f(u)láir*, *p(ei)léar*, *plás* (< *fallás*).

Dinneen has *radhaise* and *reidhse*, 'abundance, generosity', with an alternative form *radhairse*; and also the adj. *reidhseamhail*, 'abundant'. Previous dictionaries ignore the word. In the literature the word can be traced back to the 17th century. Exx. are: *gan rairse nith* (: *aidhneas*), Ó Bruadair l. 74; *reimhrse (rairsi* MS.), *id.* III. 226; *reimhrsi (reimhsi* MS.), *id.* III. 214; *radhairse*, Eoghan Ruadh l. 99; *lán do mheadhair 's do radhairsibh mhóra*, Séamus MacGearailt, 24 B 27 p. 239. As adjective we have *radhairseach*, Dmd. mac Shéain Bhuidhe p. 43; while the later *raighseamhail* or *reidhseamhail* appears in Giolla an Fhiugha, I. T. S. I. pp. 6, 22.

Radhairse stands beyond doubt for *reimhirse (raimhirse)*,² an abstract formed from *reamhar (ramhar)*, 'fat, thick', like *daoirse*, *saoirse*, *maoise*, and M. I. *bráthirse*, *dígáirse*, from *maor*, *saor* etc. For the development of meaning cf. *tiugh* = (1) thick, (2) plentiful.

¹ Under *folmhaise* O'Reilly quotes an "old gloss", *i. faill*, and Stokes (Lis. Lives, p. 392) suggests that P. O'C. has misread this *faill* as *saill*. But I think that the mistake, if there be one, is rather on O'Reilly's part. *Folmhaise*, 'fatness', is of course a distinct word from M. I. *folmaise*, 'attempt', v. n. of *fo-laimur*.

² For the slender *mh* cf. the W. Muns. form of the gen. sing. masc. of *reamhar*, viz. *r̄r* (< *rimhir* < *reimhir*).

Like *fluirse* the use of the word is confined to Munster; the texts quoted above are all Munster texts. In West Muns. speech the ordinary form of the word is now *raidhse*, the second *r* having been dropped.¹ In Waterford, however, the original form in *-rse* is retained (cf. Sheehan, *Seanch. na nDéise*, p. 111).

farraid, forraid

The common Scottish word *farraid* has as its usual meaning 'an enquiry (*sub.*); enquire (*vb.*)'. In this sense the word goes back to the time of the Dean of Lismore: *darrit in reilh fa math drach, gi hard di neyn dath ylan* (= d'fharraid an rí fá maith dreach, ga haird don [i]nghin dathghlain), *Reliq. Celt.* i. p. 22, l. 2. Other exx. will be found *ibid.* p. 22, l. 10 (*derrit*); p. 26, l. 1 (*darrit*).

Besides meaning 'to enquire', *farraid* also means 'to visit' in Scottish Gaelic, though the dictionaries ignore this meaning.² Examples are: *a tha ... cho caoimhneil gad fharraid*, Mac Eachainn's *Leanmhuinn Chriosta*, 1836, p. 171, = "quae ... clementer visitat". *Cuid g'a farraid fhéin*, 'some of them visiting her', Donnchadh Bàn (ed. Calder), p. 168.³

Farraid or *forruid* is also found in Irish, usually in the phrase *d'fhorraid*, 'towards, to'. The only lexicographer to record the word is Lhuyd, who has a *bhforraid*, 'towards', also (p. 430) "nearer

¹ When two *r*'s occur close together in the same word one of them is liable to be dropped, thus *immarcraid* (*imm-fhorcraid*) > Mod. Ir. *iomarca*; *immorchur* > *imochur* > Mod. Ir. *iomchar*; *ceathrar* > *ceathar* in Mayo. In the case of *reimhi(r)se* there may have been the further influence of *reimhe*, 'fatter' (also 'fatness'), a synonym, still in use, of the later *reimhre*. There is a Mid. Ir. *roimse*, 'abundance', which I have noted only in the Triads (ed. Meyer), but the resemblance of this to the present colloquial *raidhse* can only be accidental.

² Cf. however *farail* "a visit, enquiry for health" given first in the H. S. Dict., and there marked as a 'provincial' word; it is evidently a local form of *farraid*.

³ *farraid* seems to be also used in a third sense, viz. 'ask for, demand', e.g. *Na'm b'i rachadh mar rium, cha d'fharraid mi stòr*, Donnch. Bàn, ed. Calder, 218. This is probably due to the influence of English *ask*, which may mean either 'enquire' or 'request'; but the development of meaning may have taken place independently. Cf. O. I. *iarmifoich* (1) 'quaerit', hence (2) 'interrogat' (RC XIX. 177), whence Mod. I. *fiafruighim* in latter sense. In Mod. I. *loirgin* has both meanings — 'enquire' (with *de*) and 'request' (with *ar*).

or hard by"; O'Brien, Shaw and O'Reilly merely copy Lhuyd, who appears to have confused *d'fhorraid*, 'towards' with *a bhfharraid* 'along with' (see below). Exx. are: *do bhiadh ar maidin a moch-thrāth | neac[h] dom fharroid ó mhnaoi amuigh | dom chaol a cCarraig an Chobhluigh*, Seán Mac Céibhionnaigh, Poem-Book of O'Conor Don, fo. 14 a; *teacht dod' fhorruid-si*, 'to come to you', Seán Ó Neachtain, Stair É. Uí Chléire, l. 980; *soitheach ... dá gcuirim ... dhá fhorruid*, 'any vessel I send him', *ibid.* l. 2458; *do chuaidh ... do fhoruid a mhúd*, *ibid.* l. 104; *do thríall an fháig Isaias an urraid* [= *i n-a fhorraid*], Trompa na bhFlaitheas (Cork, 1755), Cathed. Lib. Cork, xii. p. 11; *tabhair grádh géar úaimsi forruid* [= *ag forruid?*] *mo chárde díse*, 23 K 24 p. 70 (Ulster, 1765); *druid mfarruidsi* [= *dom fharraid-se*] *ainnir*, 'draw near me, maiden', 23 O 35 p. 194 (Roscommon, c. 1775).

Farraid is also found in Irish in the phrase *a bhfarraid*, 'along with', which seems to be a contamination of *a bhfarradh* 'along with' (O. I. *i n-arrad*) and *d'fharraid* 'towards'. It is not recognized by the dictionaries, and is generally 'emended' by editors into *i bhfarradh*; but it is very common in the modern literature of Munster and Connacht. In 18th and 19th cent. Munster MSS. it often replaces an older *a bhfarradh*. Many exx. might be given, but a few will suffice: *i bhfairid* (sic) *Shedáin*, Seán Ó Neachtain, Stair É. Uí Chl. l. 1784; *a bhfairruid no a bfochair sagairt*, Begly (1732) p. 403; *do chách eile do bhí ann a fharraid*, 23 O 35 p. 237; *a bhfaruid na Fléinne*, 23 L 39 p. 301; *a bfarraid Pádraig*, 24 B 28 p. 19; *a bhfarraid a chéile*, 24 B 9 p. 91 (= Dinneen's Eoghan Ruadh, l. 2176); *gan duine na farraid*, 23 G 24 p. 149; *go nár fhan an fharraid acht an ríogan*, Dáibhí do Barra, 24 C 2 p. 272. *A bhfarraid* occurs so frequently in late MSS. that it is surprising if the expression has not survived in the spoken language; but I have no evidence to show that it has.

Instead of *a bhfarraid*, a form intermediate between this and *a bhfarradh*, viz. *a bhfarraidh*, is occasionally found, e. g. *nar bhfarraidh*, 23 A 47 p. 166; *a bhfaraidh a firfhir*, 23 L 35 p. 27; *am fharaidh*, 23 K 14 p. 61. Editors sometimes turn *farraid* into *farraidh* without authority. Cf. *i bhfharraidh* in Dinneen's edition of Tadhg Gaedhealach, l. 974, where the early editions have *a bhfarraid*. So in T. O'Donoghue's edition of Seán na Ráithíneach, p. 4, l. 13, *an' fharraidh* is printed though the MSS. have *-aid* or *-uid*; other instances will be found *ibid.* pp. 34, 46, 66. This form *farraidh*

is a late one with little authority, and was perhaps a mere orthographical compromise with no counterpart in the spoken language.¹

The two meanings of *farraid*. viz. (1) 'an enquiry', (2) 'to go and enquire, a visit for the purpose of enquiry, a visit', are closely paralleled by the Irish use of *fios* and *fiosrughadh*. Cf. *adubert a fhís cia do dhénadh an tígheam*, 'he bad [them] go and see who was making the cries', Bran p. 59. So especially *dul d'fhíos*, which originally = 'to go and enquire about, to go and find out', in later Irish (e. g. Keating) means simply 'to go to, to visit', just like *dul d'fharraid*. In this sense *fios* is now obsolete; but in the later language a new verb *fiosruighim* has developed with the meanings (1) 'I enquire'; (2) 'I visit'. In the sense of 'enquire' it is found in Molloy, Seán Ó Neachtain, Donlevy, in Munster poetry, in the speech of Oriel, and in Scottish Gaelic. In the sense of 'visit' it is found in the Irish Turpin (I. T. S. xix. pp. 4, 6, 68), in the N. T., O. T., Keating, Stapleton and the speech of W. Munster. An intermediate sense is seen in the Irish Guy (ZCP. vi. 73): *rachud da físrugud*, 'I will go to get news of them'.

Addenda, p. 96.

síleach

The word *síleach*, though very common in the literature of Southern Ireland for at least three centuries, does not appear in any dictionary previous to that of Dinneen, who (s. v. *saoileach*) explains it as "thoughtful, imaginative". Editors of texts in which the word occurs have made many other inaccurate guesses as to its meaning.

In the poetic advice which Fionn gives to MacLugach in *Acallam na Senórach* a stanza occurs which is frequently found in modern MSS., in which it sometimes stands by itself and sometimes forms part of the string of poetic precepts known as *Comhairle na Barr-sgolbige dá Mhac*. Its first couplet is as follows (ed. Stokes, l. 598):

Nírsat síleach thighi n-óil
nársat ingnech ar shenóir:

¹ In a note in Gael. Jour. no. 170, p. 677, it is asserted that *in' fharraidh*, *i n-a farraidh* and *i n-a bhfarraidh* (3rd. sg. and plur.) correspond in use to *farum*, *farat* etc. The assertion, however, seems quite baseless. The 3rd sg. and plur. prep. pronouns corresponding to *farum* are *faruis*, *faras*, *faró*. *Farraidh* has nothing to do with the prep. *fara* (< *fa* + *re*), and seems quite unknown in spoken Irish.

translated by O'Grady (S.G. II. 115): "Be not a frequenter of the drinking house, nor given to carping at an ancient man". In late MSS. we find *sibleach* here modernized into *sileach*, as in H. 6. 12, pt. 2, p. 46:

Na bí sileach go tigh an oil
na deinn ambacht ar shionair (*sic*).

So in the following lines which occur in 23 L 35, p. 94 (transcribed 1767):

Annsacht mhná go bráth nā claidheadh do chiall,
is fann a ngrádh sas fághnach sileach iad,

Peter O'Connell, who at one time owned the MS., has corrected *sileach* first to *sithleach* and afterwards to *sibhleach*.¹

We thus infer that *sileach* is merely a later form of *sibhleach* (*siblech*), and is thus a doublet of *siubhlach* in the sense of 'given to wandering, vagrant, quick-moving, fleet, nimble'. The vocalisation of *bh* is a mark of Southern Irish,² to which all the examples which I quote belong. Once the spelling *sileach* came into vogue, the etymology of the word ceased to be remembered, with the result that we sometimes find *sileach* and *siubhlach* joined together. For the by-form *saoileach* (due to the confusion arising from the identity in sound of *shileach* and *shaoileach*), cf. the doublets *saoilim*, *sílim*; *sórt*, *seórt*.

The following examples (17th and 18th centt.) bear out the interpretation of *sileach* just given: *dragan súgach sileach seang* (: *díreach*), Muiris mac Dháibhí Dhuibh, 23 G 24 p. 57 (of a horse); *labharthach 7 sileach, gan fhulang comhnaidhe*, Keating T.Bg. p. 47, translating *vaga* of Prov. VII. 10; *do bhí sé suirgheach suilbhir saoi-leach*, P. Hackett, p. 58, l. 142; *mí-lí ba shaoilighe 'ná gósta*, P. Ferriter, l. 74; *ag scannradh a bhíodhbhadh . . . go seang sileach sárghléasta*, D. Ó Bruadair, III. p. 152; *an díseach chneasta don chathair ba shíleach cuaird*, Dmd. mac Sheáin Bhuidhe, p. 57, l. 26 (of a horse); *bidhim-se siubhlach, fuadrach, sileach*, 'An Bás agus an tOthar', ed. P. Ó Briain, l. 30; *cuach beag na craoibhe go sileach*

¹ P. O'C. has not got *sileach* in his dictionary. Under *sibhleach* he has "walking, marching on foot, vulgo et potius *siobhlach* and *siubhlach*", and he quotes two examples of this form of the word. For other exx. cf. *siblig*, acc. sg. fem. (used as subs.), 'fugitive', Gwynn, Poems from the Dindshenchas, p. 38, l. 75; *siblech*, "sneaking", SG. I. 52; *cuarta sibhlecha*, O'Gr. Cat. 461.

² So far as the vocalisation of medial *bh* and *mh* slender is concerned, the Irish of Seán Ó Neachtain (S. Roscommon) agrees with the Southern dialects.

dod fhéachain, poem by Seán Ó Neachtain, cf. 23 Q 2 p. 37 (wrongly *go silleach* in A. O'Farrelly's edn., l. 22); *srathaigh síleach siubhlach siob[h]óideach*, Seán Ó Neachtain, *Stair É. Uí Chléire*, l. 119; *go prap saoiléach sárluath*, *ibid.* l. 324; *an tsídhbhean shíleach* (v. l. *shíthleach*) *shuairc*, Seán Clárach, cf. ed. Dinneen l. 91; *bitheamhnach . . . síleach*, P. Mac Gearailt, l. 1228; *dem shamhail-se chantoire shíthleach*, Tadhg Gaedh. apud Seán na R., ed. Tórna, p. xxxvi; *spadaire síthleach*, *Fil. na Máighe*, p. 117, l. 31; *fear búidhe síthleach síogach saothrach*, *Sms. na Srón*, 23 B 36 p. 190; *go síleach seasgair*, Eoghan Ruadh, cf. ed. Dinneen l. 209 (wrongly altered to *stíghtheach* in 3rd edn.).

The spelling *síthleach*,¹ which is sometimes found, may possibly be due to the influence of another adj. not very dissimilar in meaning, viz. *silleach* (from the vb. *silim*), 'dropping, flowing, liquid'.² Cf. *silleach soghuasta* (of the elements), *I. T. Soc.* xiv. p. 10; *co síblach sílleach* (of rivers), *id.* p. 20. In the Co. Down translation of the 'Imitation' *silleach* is used metaphorically (pp. 3, 6, 187), in conjunction with such adj. as *diombuan*, *soibhriste*, to render the meaning 'transitory'.

IR. síbín; ENG. shebeen, shebang

The origin of the Hiberno-English word *shebeen* has not hitherto been satisfactorily explained. Skeat's conjecture that it represents the Irish borrowing of the English 'shop', viz. *seapa* [rectius *siopa*], plus the diminutive suffix *-ín*, is impossible phonetically. Dinneen (*Dict.* p. 632) suggests the Irish *síbín*, "a little mug" (so P. O'C. explains the word),³ as the origin of *shebeen*; but the second meaning which he assigns to the word, "inferior ale", is not borne out by any authority, and apart from other objections the *é* of the first syllable is a difficulty.

¹ See some of above exx., and cf. *ná bí síthleach go tig an óil*, 23 B 36, p. 228.

² This confusion is actually found in John O'Daly's version of 'Comhairle na Barr-sgolóige' (*Irish Lang. Misc.*, p. 80), where we have:

Na bí silteach a dtigh an oil,
na cuir aighneas ar sheanoir.

³ *síbín* occurs in Scottish as *seipein* 'a quart, choppin', and is derived from the English *choppin* (Macbain).

The true Irish equivalent of *shebeen* is *sibín*, both words being pronounced alike. The only Irish dictionary up to the present century which gives *sibín* is the MS. dictionary of Peter O'Connell († 1826), which has: "*sibín*, bad ale, bad beer, taplash". The word is very rare in Irish writings; apart from present-day writers, the only example I have met is the following in a poem by R. Barrett, composed in 1788, and printed in Hardiman's edition of O'Flaherty's 'Description of West or H-Iar Connaught' (I. A. S., 1846, p. 293):

Lé daoine bochta eile níor spíd leis
boidéal de'n tsibín d'ól,

"With other poor people he did not scorn to drink a bottle of *shebeen*".

Here, it will be noticed, *sibín* is (as in P. O'Connell's explanation) applied to the drink, not to the place of its sale. This, too, was evidently the original meaning of *shebeen* in English; a low-class or unlicensed public-house (the latter being the present meaning of *shebeen*) was by earlier writers almost invariably termed not a "shebeen" but a "shebeen-house". The word is hardly found in English before 1800; one of the earliest to employ it was Patrick Lynch who in letters written in 1802 frequently speaks of *shebeen-houses*, in which, it would appear, whiskey was the favourite drink (Milligan Fox, *Annals of the Irish Harpers*, pp. 231, 234, 235). The use by contemporary writers of Irish of *sibín* in the sense of "shebeen-house" is not a native one but a new borrowing from English.

The rarity and lateness of the Irish *sibín* points to its being a recent importation. Its origin is made clear by a passage in an unpublished Irish text, a picaresque autobiography by Father Tomás Ó Caiside, O.S.A., written in 1749. The passage is: *Ag ól Sheebang no Mundungus do uisgelach searbh siableana, uisge beatha agus balcān, bhainnin stiall don aimsir an gach áit* etc. (23 O 35, p. 65; transcribed in 1773), "Drinking *sheebang* or *mundungus*¹ of sour watery windy ale, whiskey and strong liquor, I used to spend my time in every place". In the original the word *sheebang* is distinguished as a non-Irish word not only by its spelling but

¹ *Mundungus* (from the Spanish *mondongo*, 'tripe, intestines') was formerly used in English with the meanings (1) 'offal, refuse', (2) 'bad-smelling tobacco'.

also by being written in ordinary script instead of in the so-called Irish hand. The context shows that it means 'inferior liquor' just like the Irish *sibín*. Hence there can be little doubt that *sibín* is merely a hibernicisation of this word *sheebang*. In its turn *sibín* passed into Hiberno-English speech as *shebeen*, only to be re-borrowed into Irish in our day in its altered English signification.

In *sheebang* we have, I think, the probable origin of the United States slang-word *shebang* (accented on the final syllable), 'a shanty, hut'. The change of meaning from 'inferior liquor' to 'the place where such liquor is sold' would be paralleled by the English *shebeen*, and the step from 'drink-shanty' to 'shanty (in general)' is very small. As regards the origin of *sheebang* I can only surmise that it is of Eastern origin, if, as seems likely, its latter portion is identical with *bhang*, a word known in English from the 16th century.¹

"Sechrán na Bainimpire"

In Ériu v. pp. 162—163 Prof. Marstrander discusses the origins of the tale *Sechrán na Bainimpire agus Oilemhain a Deise Mac*. He indulges in various conjectures, among them that the Irish tale "consists of two independent stories welded together", and that these two stories "gradually merged into one on the lips of the people, whence it was taken down in its present form". The fact, however, is that the Irish tale is merely a translation of the medieval romance of *Octavian*, and is purely literary in origin. A list of the various versions (French and English) and editions of *Octavian* will be found in Gautier, 'Bibliographie des Chansons de Geste' (1897), pp. 103—104.

T. F. O'RAHILLY.

¹ *Bhang*, I may add, appears to have been borrowed into Irish, for so I interpret *bangan* in 'Fil. na Máighe', pp. 40, 42, — the ending *-án* being "metri causâ", like *brannddán* for *brannda*, *ibid.* pp. 37, 38.

I may note here that Peter O'Connell's definition of *sibín* agrees with that given by Maria Edgeworth in a note on the word "shebean-house" in her 'Castle Rackrent' (first published in 1800), viz. "Shebean properly means weak small-beer, taplash" (quoted in N. E. D. from the edition of 1848).

Eogan

In the prefatory remarks to the poem on Niall Núi-gíallach published in the Festschrift to Whitley Stokes, Meyer writes: 'In str. 10 ist *Eogan* (gall. *Esugenus*) dreisilbig zu lesen, wie stets in der ältesten Sprache, und das müssige *bíd* zu entfernen'. So too in Primer of Irish Metrics, p. 12: "The name Eögan (Gaul. *Esugenus*) counts as trisyllabic in the oldest poetry". Such rhyme-tests are very important as aids to determine the age of a poem; they should therefore not be accepted without careful examination. Let us see what evidence Meyer brings in support of his assertion. He relies on two passages from the Four Masters, but in each case quotes only half a stanza. It will be necessary to give the stanzas in full. The first is from a poem on Eogan Bél, for which we have three authorities, the Four Masters (A. D. 537), the Chronicon Scotorum (A. D. 543), and the so-called Annals of Tigernach (Rev. Celtique xvii. 137). The second stanza of the poem runs thus in the Four Masters:

Arcelt Sligech do mu(i)r már . fuile fer lia féoil:
bertait ilaigh tar Ebha . im cend nEoghain Beóil

The text of the Chronicon Scotorum is the same almost to a letter. 'Tigernach' reads *aircelt* and *fuil*. It is clear that the stanza is made up of two lines of 7 + 5 syllables, and I am at a loss to understand how *Eogain* can here count as a trisyllable. The other passage which Meyer adduces is a single stanza quoted by the Four Masters, A. D. 465:

Atbath Eoghan mac Néill . re deoraib, ba maith a mhaoín,
tre écc Chonaill na ccleas cruaidh . go ffuil a uaigh i nUiscce chaoín.

Here, if the text is sound, we certainly have to read *Eoghan* as a trisyllable. But it is very slender evidence to trust to; the stanza looks as if it belonged to some of the long chronological poems which were produced abundantly by writers like Flann Manistrech or Gilla Coemain, who would certainly make *Eogan* a disyllable, and some monosyllable such as *sund* may easily have fallen out.

On the other hand, if we turn to the year 825, we find in the Four Masters (and Chron. Scotorum, 827) three stanzas which have *Eogan* disyllabic. They are all three concerned with a quarrel arising out of the forcible ejection of a certain Eogan Manistrech

from the Primatial throne of Armagh. Such an event, leading as it did to a pitched battle between Oriel on the one side and Tirconell on the other, would naturally make a stir at the time, but it was not of any lasting importance: therefore it is much more likely that the verses which the annalists quote were contemporary productions than that they were the work of later historiographers. They run as follows in FM.:

1. Abair ré Niall, ní madha, guth Eoghain mic Anmchadha,
ní biodh san righe i rabha, munab abb a anmchara.
2. Leithe cam,
conricfad dias amhnas ann:
bid ri Eoghan ar Eoghan,
ard an gleó-ghal bhias and.
3. Ní-ma-ruccsam ar mbáire . ní-ma-lodmar sech Léire,
ní-ma-rogabhsam Eoghan . sech cech ndeoraidh ind Ere.

There is no obvious reason why the first and third stanzas should not be genuine productions of the ninth century. In the second (which is attributed to the legendary Becc mac Dé), *días* as a monosyllable is suspicious: it is disyllabic even in 'Saltair na Rann' (see Meyer's 'Contributions'). In the third, the printed edition has *ní marggabhsam*, which is presumably a misprint. Chronicon Scotorum reads *ní margabsamar*. The Old Irish form would be *-rogabsam* and *Eogan* would thus be a disyllable: this is confirmed by the rhyme *Eogan : deorad*.

There is therefore good evidence that in later Old Irish *Eogan* is a disyllable, and as for the earlier period the evidence on which Meyer relies is worthless. And he himself furnishes a contradictory instance in a short poem printed in his 'Aelteste Irische Dichtung', p. 60. It begins thus: *Eoganán eó cautma cæm* 'Eoganán, a salmon (that causes) the fall of nobles'. Here *Eoganán* must be a trisyllable formed from a disyllabic *Eogan*. Therefore in the *Festschrift* poem, which was our starting-point, we need not, until better reason is given, alter the MS. reading, except by writing *bith-lond* for *bid lond*:

Eogan bith-lond, Loegaire.

H. 5. 15

MS. H. 5. 15 is a vellum containing short legal treatises and disconnected paragraphs. It is fully described in the revised

'Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College', which will it is hoped be ready in the course of this year.

At p. 8 there is this paragraph: *Anfuigell breath bran-gaire catha* .i. is fir-fuigell, no is fir lium conid coir dul i fuigell in britheman adéra gan éric isnahiib ara ndenait na brain gaire iarna toitim isin cath coitcend comarléicthi. No 'an' aca diultad conach indula i fuigell mbreithemam adéra éric isin fer fora ndénaid na brain duba an gaire iarna toitim isin cath coitcend comarléicthi.

The meaning of the *maxim* at the head of the paragraph is clearly 'The wrong decision of a judge is a raven's call to battle' reading *breitheman* for *breath*. The commentator, not understanding *anfuigell*, offers alternative explanations: 'that is, it is a true decision, or, I deem it true that it is right to submit to the decision of a judge who shall award no *eric* for those over whom the ravens cry when they fall in a regular pitched battle. Or else, *an-* has the force of a negation, so that it is not right to submit to the decision of a judge who shall award an *eric* for the man over whom the ravens cry when he falls in a regular pitched battle'. The *maxim* is excerpted by O'Davoren (Stokes' ed. no. 292): his text should read: *Bran .i. fiach* [ut est] *anfuigell breitheman brangaire catha*.

O'Donovan's transcript of H. 5. 15 (p. 1587) falls into the same error as Stokes, giving *An fuigell breath*, etc. For *anfuigell*, see Atkinson's Glossary, and for the phrase *dul i fuigell* cf. Laws I. 252, 20 *docuaddur a fuigill Senca ocus Concubuir*; II. 334, 5 *is ann tiaguit a fuigell a mbeolu achtru(i)nn* (i. e. they submit the question to the decision of an external arbitrator).

ib. p. 25 (O'D. 1671). A paragraph dealing with trespasses committed by animals, particularly by a pet pig (*orc-phela*), is headed: *Feis inuait nithlaind*, 'A trespass which enters a cornfield'. I quote this passage for the interesting form *inuait*, which I take to be the pres. subj. of *inotgim*, parallel to *conit* from *conitgim*. The word *feis* is explained in the note to Laws IV. 72 as 'the lying down of a beast in a field after being filled to satiety'. The exposition which follows the lemma is similar to that in Laws IV. 108 sq.

múin

'Monastery of Tallaght', p. 141, 11: Muim doberthar o thúatib is faitch(i)u laissom a nemfairitiu. Read here *múin*, another spelling of Old Irish *móin máin*: 'A gift that is brought from laymen

he deems it more prudent to decline'. The same principle was laid down by the 'Synodus Patricii': see Haddan and Stubbs, Documents. It was also affirmed by Colum Cille: see Adamnan's Life, ed. Reeves i. 50.

Tattooing

In Zeitschr. f. Celt. Phil. x. 401, Meyer quotes a passage to prove that the Irish tattooed their legs. Long since, Ferdinand Keller had referred to a passage from the *Epistola Ermenrici* in Hattemer's Denkmäler i. 227, 237, which shows that the primitive Irish treated the eyelids in the same way: 'Stigmata, signa, pictura in corpore, quales Scoti pingunt in palpebris'. (Keller's Bilder und Schriftzüge, translated by Reeves in Ulster Journal of Archaeology, VIII. 167, note.)

De Maccaib Conaire

In this interesting tale (Eriu vi, 149, 69), the introduction of Lé Fír Flaith has puzzled the editor and also Thurneysen, who wishes to alter the text, but without getting rid of the difficulty (ZCP xi. 33). I propose to read 'A Choirpre Múisc murnig, co digis Nemed ma doró a chéle?' 'how wilt thou come at Nemed if he reaches his mate?' The point is, that Nemed took refuge with his wife Sárúit, who was Coirpre's mother. But Coirpre (who had 'unlearned all sentimentality') killed him in her arms: see p. 145. The note about Lé Fír Flaith is obviously a scribal gloss.

ib. p. 134, 34 read *consnither* for *consuither*: cf. 'do chosnam in ríge', just below.

An Irish Penitential

Eriu vii. p. 140 § 3. Manib lobar immurgu, is bargaen 7 usce no amasc no medc-usce, etc. Read, I think, *amarc*, a loan-word, from Latin *amurca*, found in O'Mulconry and other glossaries. It means properly, as O'Mulconry explains it, 'lees of olive-oil': this might easily be extended, in conventual Latin, to the dregs of other liquids, as wine or beer. The corresponding passage in Cummean's Latin Penitential (see p. 176) has 'tenucla vel batuto lactis sextario', where *tenucla* evidently = *tenuicula*, meaning a thin poor drink (*tenué vinum*, Pliny).

E. J. GWYNN

NOTES ON SOME PASSAGES IN THE BREHON LAWS

BY the kind permission of the editors I continue my suggested emendations of passages in the translations and texts of the five printed volumes of the Brehon Laws.

I begin, as before, with some cases of mistranslation.

13. At IV. 372, 13, among the privileges of seniority is enumerated: *togo do rannaib*, 'choice of divisions', or rather, choice of shares. Then the writer continues: *is de atá, rannaib ósor 7 dogoga sinnser*, ib. 14. 15. This is translated: 'the junior shares, and the senior is elected'. But it really means: the junior divides, and the senior chooses. It is the maxim of children: 'you divide, and I'll choose', and is the most effective mode of securing fairness on the part of the person who divides. Similar provisions are frequent in the Welsh Laws.

14. At III. 32 *ad calcem*, is a passage relating to services due from the church to the laity, and among the matters mentioned are testamentary dispositions: *a nudacht*, *a nimna*; and the gloss explains the difference between the two: *a nudacht .i. fri bas*; *a nimna .i. i neart-slainte* (misprinted *.i. netarslainte*) ib. 34, 14. The gloss is translated: 'their bequests, i. e. at the point of death; their grants i. e. for the health of the soul'. The insertion of these three last words ruins the whole sense. The meaning is: *udacht* is the technical name for a testamentary disposition made in *articulo mortis*, *imna* for one made in full (*bodily*) health. The mistake is repeated at p. 42, 30, where *a imna i nert-slainne*, is translated: 'his gift for the perfect health of his soul'; and again at 52, 1. In 46, 21 the mistake is even more unfortunate, as the provision that bequests to the church must be *a nert-slainne*, is specially significant; cf. II. 344, 29, where the phrase is rightly translated: 'in strong health'.

15. Two words which are hopelessly confused both in the translation and in Atkinson's Glossary are (a) *torbe*, *torba*, the ordinary word meaning profit, advantage, and (b) *torba* the verbal noun of *do-ro-benim*, to hinder, to injure; cf. *na dat torbat* (i. *nachat tairmescaid*) *dit gaisciud*, LL. 262^a, 21; *ni bar torbae*, let it not disturb you, *Saltair na Rann* 2625.

In O'Donovan's Supplement the meaning of this second *torba* is given quite correctly 'an injury inflicted by inadvertence'. But neither the translators nor Atkinson seem to have noticed this, as appears from the following passages.

If *eric* is not paid in certain cases the offender is dealt with as follows: *a marbad ina caintaib comraiti, 7 a chur a muir ina chintaib anfoit 7 indeilhbire torbu*, I. 14, 9. 10; i. e. he is to be put to death for deliberate crimes, and exposed on the sea for unintentional crimes and injury done by unnecessary (i. e. preventable) inadvertence. The last phrase is translated 'crimes of supposed utility, lit. unnecessary profit'.

An accident occurs during the construction of a building, whereby injuries are inflicted. If the persons responsible for the building knew of the fault in it which caused the accident, then: *is amhuil inddeithbir torba im leth-aithgin i nespach 7 i netarbach, aithgin a torbach*, III. 168, 3. 4. Here the translation is very wild, but the 'unnecessary profit' comes in again. The real meaning is: It is like a case of injury due to preventable inadvertence in respect of half compensation (being due) to the idle and unprofitable person (i. e. the mere idle onlooker, who had no need to be there), and full compensation to the profitable person (i. e. the workman engaged on the work).

Lower in the same page of another case it is said: '*is amhuil indeithbire torba im leth-aithgin i nesba 7 i netarbach, aithgin a torba*' ib. 18. 19. Here owing to the use in a concrete sense of the abstract substantives *esba* and *torba* (meaning idle and useful persons respectively), for the *espach* and *torbach* of the preceding passage, we actually have *torba*, inadvertent injury, and *torba*, profit, occurring in consecutive lines.

In v. 488, 10 for *deithbire torbaig*, we should perhaps read *d. torba*; if so, it is a case of injury due to necessary, i. e. non-preventable inadvertence.

16. *Cia fogellad fil doib? Ninsa. Miach cach mts do buaib ... muna cuibnighther; dia cuibnighther imurro is miach cach lai co*

Torba 7 esba

naidchi. Teid in tiarfaige fo cominnrice frisa foasc, rannaid a fogeltad atarroí i nde; muna tí . . . is og a fogeltad don fir cuibnigther. Ma (misprinted na) ro meatha a fasc forsin fer cuibnigther, 7 dia di a ceile co niarair techla . . . foruaislicear in coimded, beraid side a cethra 7 asren fogeltad. Cia sa fogeltad? i. miach cacha mis, ar is fogeltad cethra doib asuide, ni fogeltad athgabala (IV. 106, 6—16).

This is a somewhat complicated passage on the feeding and safe custody of impounded cattle. The translation is so incorrect as not to be worth quoting. I will only remark that *cuibnigther* is sometimes translated as a preterite passive, sometimes as a preterite active. It is in all cases a present deponent. The nominative to *muna tí* is made the owner of the cattle impounded, though it is obviously parallel to *teid* to which the nominative is *iarfaige(d)*; *fasc (foasc)* is translated 'impounding' in line 9 and (correctly) 'notice' in line 11. Finally *foruaislicear in coimded*, is translated 'the lord shall relieve him'. It really means, 'let the place of security (the pound) be opened'; cf. *fuasluacad coimded* opening of a place of security, in a list of offences for which a *dire* of five seds is payable, v. 476, 23. The true translation I believe to be as follows: 'What is the feeding that is due to them? A sack per month for cows etc. . . unless he impounds them; but if he impounds them, it is a sack for every twenty-four hours. (If) the custody is equally valid with the notice, they (the parties) divide the (expense of) feeding between them equally; if it (the custody) is not equally valid, the whole (expense of) feeding falls on the impounder. If the notice was informal on the part of the impounder and the other party comes with proper process, let the place of custody be opened; he (the other party) takes his cattle, but he pays for feeding; the payment however is not at the higher rate for distrained cattle, but at the rate of ordinary maintenance.'

On the word spelt variously *coimge*, *coimde*, *coimded*, an act or place of protection, I shall have more to say. The confusion with *coimdiu*, lord, is much as if a third form boy shuld confuse *domus* and *dominus*.

There are three cases supposed (a) the notice and custody were equally valid; (b) the notice was valid, but the custody was not equally good; (c) the notice itself was invalid.

I next give two cases where text, as well as translation, requires emendation.

17. *Ginmotha anurlam ro bai ar a cinn do bretha naile nugduir dosruiditir .i. Sen mac Aighe 7c* (l. 24, 1. 2).

This is translated: 'besides the judgements of previous authors which had been pronounced by them, and which they explained to Patrick; i. e. of Sen mac Aighe', etc. Read: *ginmotha anurlam ro bai ara cinn, dobretha ann aile ugduir do sruidib Érenn .i. Sen . . . 7c*; and translate: 'besides the patron saint (Patrick) who was present, there were brought thither other authoritative persons of the sages of Eriu.'

18. One of seven lawful battles according to the Feine is: *im digbail cisa dia tuaith . . . na finta co bith*, to ward off an (illegal) tribute which is not known till it is demanded, i. e. an unprecedented imposition (v. 300, 24. 25).

The gloss on the last four words is as follows *.i. nocha finntar a sraigne a'r fasastar he, no gu mbither aga iarraid .i. amail ro bui in mecon bunan no in caoru muige* (ib. 302, 24. 25).

This is translated: its *sraigne* is not found where it grew, until it is sought for, i. e. like the 'original root' or the 'sheep of the plain'; — which does not convey much meaning.

The passage may be mended by comparison with another: *amail ro gab bid Bunain no in caer Muighe Raigne* (v. 434, 12).

This shows (a) that in the former passage for *caera* sheep, we should read *caer* ball, the reference being (as suggested on p. 435) to the fire-ball of Mogh Ruith at the siege of Druim Damgaire, when he pursued the northern druids to Magh Raigne (O'Curry, Manners and Customs, II. 214); (b) that for *bunan* we should read *Bunain*; (c) that the letters *raigne* are out of place, and that the whole sentence should run: *nocha finntar asar fasastar he . . . amail ro bui in mecon Bunain no in caer Muighe Raigne*, i. e. It is not discovered whence it grew (i. e. the grounds of the claim) until it is actually demanded, like the root of Bunan or the ball of Magh Raigne.

I have not found any other reference to the 'mecon Bunain', but as Magh Raigne is the name of a place, Bunan may also be a local, or possibly a personal, name. The basis of comparison with Mogh Ruith's fire-ball is, no doubt, the sudden and unexpected nature of the claim.¹

¹ Since writing the above I have had an opportunity of examining the MS. Rawl. B. 487 f 61^d, and it confirms my conjecture in all respects.

19. In my first article I might have enumerated among the difficulties which beset the student of the Brehon Laws the very arbitrary and diversified orthography of these legal documents. Owing to this, words, perfectly distinct in origin and meaning, come by mere accidents of spelling to be identical, or nearly identical, in form, and are consequently liable to be confused. A striking instance of this is furnished by two words, one of which has already been mentioned; (a) *coimge* 'act or place of protection' (spelt: *coimge*, *coimde*, *comde*, *coimded*, *coimdeth*, *cuimded*, *comnaeth*); (b) *coimtig*, 'usual, likely' (spelt: *coimdig*, *coimdeg*, *coimded*, *coimde*).

In Atkinson's glossary these two words are hopelessly confused under the heading *comded*; the former is divided up under at least four headings, *coimge*, *comde*, *cuimdeda*, *comnaeth*, while the matter is still further complicated by the introduction of meanings which I believe to be quite unjustified, 'purity', 'power', derived from the translations.

The second word, as being the simpler, shall be dealt with first, and cleared out of the way.

The primary meaning of *coimtig* is, 'usual', 'customary'; and hence, 'likely'. In the Laws it is applied (with its opposite *écoimtig*) in the technical sense of a likely or unlikely place. The distinction is of some importance in regard to the law regulating the finding of lost property; the share of the finder in what he finds being greater in the case of a likely, than of a unlikely place. The reason given for this is founded on bad etymology but good sense: *mad coimde .i. mad comdoigh a fhagbail do neoch aili 7 da tigerna fein*, 'i. e. it was just as probable that it would be found by the owner as by anybody else' (v. 326, 22. 23). The whole subject is dealt with ib. 320—340; and in this place the words are correctly translated, and the text is on the whole sound. I will only note that in 320, 20 *da* should be omitted before *trian*, as the translation shows; and that at 328, 13 *frithe raiti* is wrongly translated: 'waif of a pasturage', though at 320, 19 it is rightly translated, 'waif of a road'. But the words are wrongly translated in another passage: *cuitig frithi donti fuair iat fo ained coimded no eccoimded* (III. 320, 18. 19). Here the meaning is the same: 'the finder's share of estrays varies according to the character of the place of finding, whether likely or unlikely'. But the translation given is 'whether in a common, or a place not a common'.

20. The case of *coimge* is much more complicated. The primary meaning of the word is 'protection'. One very interesting use of the word outside the Laws is as applied to the magical or religious formulae which were supposed to act as 'path protections'.

In the Laws it occurs in a group of passages connected with the custody of distrained and impounded cattle, signifying sometimes their safe custody, sometimes in a more concrete sense, the place of security in which they are kept. The two meanings pass easily into one another, and I have already given two instances of the latter use (above No. 16). Of the more abstract meaning a good example is the following passage: *is cethardae conogi athgabail . . . toxul iar nelud dligid, comnaeth iar toxul, fasc iar coimdeth, aurnaide dligid fri forus techtae iar fasc* (I. 258, 11—14) 'i. e. there are three things which perfect (i. e. constitute a valid) distraint, viz. carrying off after evasion of law (by the defendant), safe custody after carrying off, due notice after placing in safe custody, awaiting process of law after notice at a lawful place of stay (i. e. the pound or other place of detention recognised by the law)'.

The defendant has evaded legal process (*elud dligid*), the object of distraint is to compel him to submit to process; so, after distraining, the plaintiff awaits the coming of the defendant with proper process (see above No. 16) in the neighbourhood of the place of detention. Here the word we are discussing is translated, not incorrectly, 'securing', but in some other points the translation is unsatisfactory.

At I. 266, 11 these same four elements are given as: *fuadach, comde, forus, fasc is geib* (read: *fasc, forus fris geib*, 'i. e. the place of stay to which he took it'), where *fuadach* has been substituted for *toxul*, and *forus fris geib* for *aurnaide dligid fri forus*; but at I. 266, 1. 2, four verbs occur exactly corresponding with the four substantives at 258, 11—14: *co toxluidhter? co coimdidhter? co fascidter? co aurnaidter?* i. e. how is it (the distraint) carried off? How is it secured? How is notice given? how is it (legal process) awaited? (the fourth verb is wrongly translated: how is it, the distress, sought back?). *Coimdidhter* is for *coimdighter*, a denominative verb from *coimde* = *coimge*; *coimdigter* occurs IV. 126, 4 in a passage of which I can make nothing.

Of *coimge* (*coimded*) in the concrete sense the plural occurs in the following passage: *faithche frisi fuirmidhter daingen ma cuim-*

deadá cuaird, gen cumascc nilur cethra (I. 268, 19. 20); 'i. e. the green to which it (the distress) is taken must be fenced (or fortified) round its various places of custody, without mixing different kinds of cattle together'.

21. *Coimge* occurs again in a passage where it has been utterly misunderstood, and where the gloss is much more obscure than the original text: *atait ceithre gona duine deithbire nad eillnet coimge laime .i. . . co fuilit ceithre daine is deithbir do guin; 7 nocha tabuir eillned cinuid ar nech cin co derna comoige no com-marhaine riu olcena o laim* (IV. 252, 17—21). This is translated: 'there are four necessary woundings of a person which defile not the purity of the hand; . . . i. e. that there are four people whom it is necessary (or justifiable) to wound; and it does not bring defilement of crime upon a person who does not preserve purity or lenity towards them in general from his hand'.

It is all the purest guess-work. Because *coimge* occurs in conjunction with a verb meaning to pollute, because *comoige* in the gloss can conceivably be analysed into *com* + *óige*, it is assumed that *coimge* means purity. Here, as elsewhere, it means 'protection', and the special meaning of *coimge láime* is shown by a passage cited in O'Donovan's Supplement s. v. *coimge, coimgi, coimdi* from Rawl. B. 506 f. 48^a: *coimgi láimi 7 bél 7 tengad*; where evidently *coimgi láimi* means 'external, material, protection', while *coimgi bél 7 tengad*, 'protection of lips and tongue', refers to protection in the law-courts as guarantor, security, compurgator, etc. O'Donovan also cites from Egerton 88 f. 25^a: *coimgi laimhe .i. gin guin indethbire do dhénam*; which is evidently akin to the passage we are discussing, and says that 'protection of hand must be without unnecessary (that is unjustifiable) wounding'. Our passage states the converse: 'there are four necessary man-woundings which do not pollute (i. e. cancel or invalidate) protection of hand'. The meaning would seem to be this: In a society based on status every superior is entitled to give protection in proportion to his status to his inferiors and dependents. But if his status is lowered or abolished by the commission of crime, his power to protect is impaired in proportion. Our passage and the Egerton passage combined assert that justifiable woundings do not, and that unjustifiable woundings do impair a man's right to give protection.

The gloss on our passage is, as I have said, more difficult than the text. The difficulty lies in the words: *cin co derna comoige*

no commarthaine riu olcena o laim. I give the following tentative explanation. O'Donovan gives a word *comoige* 'companionship', which may be our word; *commarthaine* is perhaps a mistake either for *commarthainn*, verbal noun of *conmaraim* 'to abide together', or for *commarthanaige*, 'permanence, permanent relationship'. And I would translate: 'and it (the commission of these justifiable woundings) does not bring pollution of guilt on anyone, provided that he have not made (or entered into) companionship or permanent relation with them (the wounded persons) in other respects by hand'. That is, certain acts done to persons to whom a man is bound by permanent ties, would cause diminution or loss of his power to protect, though, if done to persons not so connected, they would be justifiable, and would not impair his status.

22. Lastly, *coimge* occurs in certain passages which deal with limitations on the alienation of land. In these it is translated 'power', and though that is not the meaning of the word, yet as it refers to protection against alienation, i. e. restraint of the right to alienate, the idea of power or control is not very far distant. Thus: *masa orba cruib no sliasta di he, dobera in ben a da trian i ngach ni a tibre a sguithi, 7 coimgi o fine arin trian eile, 7 nocha tabuir coimgi arin duine fein ima sguithi dogres* (III. 48, 1—3), 'i. e. if it be land of hand or thigh which she owns (probably = land gained through her own handiwork, or which formed part of her marriage portion) the woman may give two thirds of it for any purpose for which she may give her moveables, and there is protection from the tribe on the other third (i. e. the tribe can restrain the alienation of the remaining third), but it cannot put restraint on the person (the woman) in respect of her moveables at any time'. Again: *flaith geilfini ise fonaisces in trian masa orba cruib no sliasta he, no ise fonaisces in ferand uile masa ferand tucad; . . . ni* (misprinted *in*) *deirbfine fonaisces coimgi an geilfine, acht nech do cuicfer na geilfine* (IV. 40, 4. 5. 7. 8), 'i. e. the head of the *geilfine* binds (restrains the alienation of) one third of the hand-and-thigh land, and the whole of other lands; it is not the *deirbfine* that binds the protection (or restraint) of the *geilfine*, but a member of the *geilfine*. Here *fonaiscim coimgi*, or *fonaiscim* alone is parallel to *dobiur coimgi* in the preceding passage.

A slightly different use of the word occurs on the same page. A daughter, in default of sons, inherits ordinary land, *ferann*, from her mother; *7 coimde fuirre re aiseac uaithe* (40, 16), the meaning

of which is not quite clear, but is perhaps: 'she is protected against having to restore it'.

There are several other passages in which forms resembling the above occur, but I have not yet succeeded in unravelling their meaning.

23. *Foltmaisi*. O'Donovan in his Supplement has two articles: (a) *foltmaisi* tonsure; (b) *foltmaisi*, an untonsured person, one wearing the *honores capitis*.

Now it is *prima facie* very unlikely that the same word should be used in senses diametrically opposed; and a good deal of evidence would be required to convince us of the fact. Let us see what O'Donovan has to offer.

For the former meaning he gives one reference, and for the latter he gives two. Fortunately all these passages can be identified. For the meaning 'tonsure' he cites Rawl. B. 487; and the passage referred to is the following: *ni fil eneclann don airchinech laich . . . no co ro gab do laim tiachtain fo dlíged foltmaisi* (v. 122, 10—12); i. e. a lay *erenagh* is not entitled to *eneclann* until he has submitted to the law of tonsure. In other words, though not ordained, he must be tonsured.

For the meaning 'an untonsured person' O'Donovan first cites H. 2. 16. This is YBL. 197^a 34; and is the passage given from BB. in the printed text. It lays down that persons belonging to certain churches have privileges proportionate to the rank of the churches to which they belong: *cen ni beit grada foraih budein, mad maith a folaid ceana* (v. 54, 2. 3), i. e. although orders may not actually have been conferred on them, if their qualifications are in other respects good. And the gloss explains this by saying: *gen gu rabad grada orro budein, acht a mbeth ina foltmaisi* (ib. 7). The latter clause is translated: 'their abiding in their hair-beauty, i. e. not tonsured'. But it means the exact opposite: though not ordained, they are entitled to their privileges, provided only that they have been tonsured. The passage as a whole therefore is strictly parallel to the one previously discussed.

O'Donovan's remaining reference is to the *Cáin Adamnáin*; and is as follows: *óg-díri do cech eclais bis i cáin-béscnu; . . . óg-díri dí de cech grád etir guin 7 gait 7 forloscud; . . . leth-díre a foltmaissi clérech namá, cen guin cen gait* (§ 36 in Meyer's edition); i. e. full *díre* to every church which maintains good customary law, . . . full *díre* to it in respect of every (clerical) order, for

wounding and theft and burning; . . . half *dire* for the tonsure of clerics alone without wounding or theft. The last clause I understand to mean any insult to the clerical character not involving actual material injury. Certainly it does not refer to an untonsured person. The meaning of *foltmaise* therefore in all these passages is tonsure.

How it came to have this meaning is less clear. If it is correctly analysed as 'hair-beauty', it may be an attempt to render into Irish the idea of the Latin *corona*, a term frequently applied to the Roman form of tonsure. The word occurs in a passage not cited by O'Donovan: H. 3. 18 p. 436^a: *sailm-chedlaid . . . isa hae in fol[t]maisi*, i. e. a psalm-singer who has the tonsure.

24. *ecmacht*. Atkinson has two articles in his glossary: (a) *ecmacht*, a lake; (b) *ecmacht*, impossible; the former is the veriest figment which ever issued from a lexicographer's brain; and it has arisen from what is a standing vice of much Irish lexicography, the mistake namely of regarding what is given as an example or illustration of the application of a word as a definition of its meaning. In other words, the *edon* of Irish commentators must often be taken as equivalent to *e. g.*, rather than to *i. e.* *Ecmacht* means want of power; as applied to things, impossibility; as applied to persons, incapacity. The genitive is used as an adjective, impossible, or incapable; as in a passage cited by O'Donovan from H. 3. 17 col. 421: *ni leis a denam, uair is écmachta*, which may mean either: 'the doing of it does not rest with him, for it is impossible', or 'for he is incapable'. The impossibility or incapacity may be either physical or legal. But this general meaning of the word does not require much elucidation.

In some parts of the Laws however the word occurs in the special concrete meaning of an inaccessible place. In this sense it is of some importance in the law relating to the capture of swarming bees, and to the recovery of estrays or waifs in general (compare the somewhat parallel use of *ecointig* discussed in No. 19). In the former connexion the word in this sense occurs in several passages in the *Bech-bretha* or Bee-judgements (iv. 194—8), in the latter, it is found in a passage of the Heptads (v. 332, 28). This meaning of the word is well defined in the following passage: *trian o triun . . . as na frithib fogabait i necmacht; ar annsacht doib in baile asa tucsat, is aire is bec berar uaitib* (iv. 198, 8—10); i. e. a third of a third is due (to church or lord) from the estrays

which they (their base tenants) find in an inaccessible situation; it is because of the difficulty of the place from which they took them that so little is levied on them. And the writer goes on to say that in less difficult circumstances the proportion due is one third instead of one ninth. Here *i necmacht* is translated 'in a lake', though there is a suggestion of the right meaning in the note. The idea that *ecmacht* means a lough is due to the fact that in several passages a lough is given as the typical instance of an inaccessible place: e. g. *co rud (i. caill) no ecmacht (i. loch) no diraind (i. sliab)* (v. 332, 28); that is to say, as a wood is a typical case of forest land, *rud*, and a hill-side of waste land, *diraind*, so a lake is a typical instance of an *ecmacht*. This triad constantly recurs; and the phrase *co rud 7c* is constantly opposed to *i rud 7c*, where it should be noted that the *co* is not strictly local, but refers to the relative difficulty of finding and recovering the estrays. Up to (i. e. if found in less difficult circumstances than) a *rud* etc., the church or lord levies a third of estrays, if found *i rud 7c* only a ninth; (cf. e. g. iv. 194, 20, with ib. 23; 196, 25, with ib. 26; ib. 27, with ib. 28; v. 332, 26, with ib. 27; ib. 27, with ib. 29). Moreover, not only is *loch* given as a typical instance of an *ecmacht* but in one passage a particular lough is cited as typically inaccessible: *ecmacht .i. in lacha .i. locha Bel-set* (iv. 196, 15.16); i. e. Lough Muskerry in the Galtee Mountains.

25. *imcoir*. This word has been hitherto regarded, from the days of the commentators on the Brehon Laws downwards, 'as an adjective, *imb + cóir*, 'very right or proper'; and one gloss, as we shall see, gives the usual futile analysis, *eim + cóir*, 'quickly proper'. As a matter of fact it is an extremely interesting verbal form, being the deponent conjunctive of *imfenim*, 'to enclose, to fence', with perfective *com* instead of *ro*, as in the conjunctive active, *imcua*, which occurs e. g. iv. 128, 4: *gaibead imme co nimcua*, 'let him be distrained on till he fences'. And the meaning of our word is the same. It is found in a phrase which occurs in two places, once in the text, and once in the commentary. I will take the former first: *cadiait smachta ime 7 comaicesa? . . . dairt cacha treisi nad imcoir raind [d]e ro seola[d] fair* (iv. 72, 1—4, cf. ib. 6). This is translated: 'What are the requisites commanded by the law of fences and cotenancy? . . . a heifer (is the fine) for every three days that he has neglected to make the *proper* portion which had fallen to him'. But the real meaning is: 'what are

the fines incurred in fencing and co-tenancy? . . . a heifer for every three days during which he shall not have fenced the portion of it which was enjoined on him'. Each co-tenant is responsible for making and keeping in repair a portion of the fence of the common holding, and neglect, which exposes the entire holding to injury, is punishable by fine. The gloss on the passage gives the sense not incorrectly, in spite of the absurd etymology: *dairt cachá treisi ro methas air, munub i in ime is eim coir dó dorinne um a roinn* (ib. 14. 15), i. e. 'a heifer for every three days during which there shall have been failure on him, if it be not the fence which is quickly proper for him which he made round his portion'. The close association both in text and gloss of *imcoir* with *imbe ime*, which is the verbal noun of the same verb, *imfenim*, is a strong confirmation of the view put forward; though the writers themselves were probably quite unconscious of the connexion.

The other occurrence of the phrase is in a gloss on the expression: *im tobach nairde comathchesa* (I. 168, 2), i. e. concerning levying of fines in co-tenancy; and the gloss is as follows .i. *dairt cachá .iii. (treisi) nad imcoir raind [d]e; ar is nesam toiscide in ime dia ditin ar fogail* (I. 174, 2. 3). Here the phrase is translated: 'a heifer for every three days during which it is not properly divided'. But again the true meaning is: 'during which he shall not have fenced (his) portion of it; for the fence is a matter of the highest necessity to protect it against trespass'. Note here again the close association of *imcoir* and *ime*. The former passage is cited by O'Davoren No. 1493, who gives an erroneous gloss on *seola*; and even Stokes translates *imcoir rainne* as 'his proper share'. The late and fragmentary insertion of the phrase in Laws v. 270, 16, may be neglected.

CHARLES PLUMMER

OXFORD, Nov. 1920

ADVICE TO A PRINCE

THE poem here edited occurs in the following MSS.:

- LL: The Book of Leinster, 147^b 1.
- Ld: Laud 610, fol. 72^b 1.
- L: Book of Lismore, fol. 95^a 2. *-H.1.17, fo. 101.*
- Eg: Egerton 92, fol. 9^a 1. *-H.5.6, p. 245.*
- H: H. 3. 18, part 1, p. 41.
- M: Book of Hui Maine, fol. 29^a 1.
- L 34: 23 L 34, 220.
- O'C: Book of The O'Conor Don, fol. 382^a.
- N: 23 N 11, p. 76.

There is another copy in the Brussels MS. 5057—59, fol. 42, but it has not been possible to procure a transcript of it.

Of these MSS., LL and Ld, which follow each other closely, represent the best and probably the oldest extant version of the poem. Stanza 35 is omitted in both. Another version, not so long, is represented by the group L, Eg, N. In Eg the outer margin has been worn away, and here and there portions of the text are illegible. N is probably a transliteration of L or Eg into Modern-Irish spelling. H and M are evidently independent versions. They are short, particularly M, which is unfortunately very corrupt. L 34 and O'C are practically identical, and seem to be a different recension of the LL—Ld version. They alone contain the full number of stanzas printed here.

In this edition LL has been taken for a basis. Where changes are made, the MS. readings are given below. Various readings of any utility from the other MSS. are also given.

Notwithstanding the many available versions of the poem, the translation is often tentative; and some blanks have had to be left. Uncertain passages are queried.

In three MSS., viz. L, Eg, H, our poem is attributed to Dubh dá Thuath. In the list of "The Poets of Ireland" appended to

Meyer's *Primer of Irish Metrics* he is given as Dubhdathuath mac Stéleⁿe, † 783; and there are references to the L and LL versions of this poem, as well as to a poem in Aislinge meic Conglinne (p. 7), which recites the names of eight students at the school in Ard Macha in the time of Cathal mac Finguine (694—737). The third stanza is:

Dub dā Thūath, ba togairm nglē,
ba hē ainm meic Stēlēne
Don(n)fhiach caillech Bēre bá[i]n
Garbdaire for mac Samá[i]n

The poem is anonymous in LL.

The Ld version is entitled: "Fingin *cecinit* do Chormac mac Cuilennain". Perhaps this is the same person as "Fingein mac Flainn, fl. 850", given by Meyer in the above-mentioned list? From stanzas 6 and 7 it is evident that in origin the poem had some connection with Cashel.

The Metre is *Rannaigecht dialtach*, or *Rannaigecht mór*, 7¹ + 7¹. Alliteration often occurs. Consonance is preserved throughout, generally in three of the four lines of a stanza. The word in caesura which does not consonate, forms an *aicill* with some accented word within the following line. Thus *réil : céim*, in the first half-stanza form an *aicill*. In this stanza *cert : smacht : recht* consonate.

In the notes to his edition of *Tecosca Cormaic* Kuno Meyer draws attention to this poem and quotes from it. A number of phrases are identical in both texts. Others are found in *Audacht Moraínd*, *Serglige Conculaind*, *Senbriathra Fithil*, etc. Some of these are referred to in the notes.

From the variety in the number of stanzas, and the vagaries of their order in the different versions, one may judge that the poem was originally shorter than it stands at present. Poetry of a didactic nature such as this lends itself to additions and interpolations. Indeed some stanzas are merely proverbs joined together by the laws necessary to form *Rannaigecht* metre. In order to help the memory one would imagine that the different stanzas should be joined in some way. Although in many cases we find an *uaim* or alliteration from the end of one stanza to the beginning of the next, it is not general throughout the poem. Perhaps the original had this alliteration,

Thanks are due to Professor Bergin for much help in the preparation and translation of this text, and for a transcript of the poem from the O'Connor Don MS. The readings of Ld and Eg are from photographs kindly given me by Dr. Kuno Meyer when I first took this text in hand.

- 1 Diambad¹ mēsse bad rī réil : nocho chingfinn² céim dar cert,
nochon isligfinn mo³ smacht : combad chomaltach mo recht.
- 2 Ciapsa¹ reithenach² im rath³ : nipsa⁴ condirclech⁵ ar creich;
nī innisfind i fail ban⁶ : in scél bad áil dam do chleith. *See infra.*
- 3 Nī cen chimbedu¹ nobeinn : do macaib Fer Lugach² lonn
muire³ icnabít⁴ géill ingill : isé in lind i coire⁵ toll. *in TC. 0 27, 16. P. 52.*
- 4 Tecosc Cormaic ba¹ cor gáith² : ar Coirpri³ Lifechair luath
in chrech do chudnud na ngiall : anas dech⁴ do thriall na tuath.
- 5 Tairnem¹ na diumsa² ro dlecht : is cert rocachain³ in bricht⁴
conach fagbad⁵ fōisam lat : cid do mac nothaesad⁶ fritt. *FF. 1. 19*
- 6 Rí Lethi Cuind cuingid¹ cáin² : co rí³ Caisil cruind⁴ na cuan
nā tucsú⁵ do ar Ruadān rán : is ferr trú iná truagān truag. *CC 2*
- 7 O tharnaic comairli ind nóib : nirb¹ amnirt² aicned dond rí³
rop ferrde⁴ int apstal⁵ ōnd iath⁶ : fostad⁷ na ngiall ina úr.⁸

1 ¹ Damad L M Eg, Dammad Dd. ² nochoberainn H L N Eg, chindfind LL, chinnfinn O'C. ³ dom LL. ² ¹ geinsam H, ciamsam Ld, robsam LN, rosam Eg, gersam M, gerbam L 34, ger bhum O'C. ² raithenach LL Ld. ³ raith O'C. ⁴ nīrsam Eg O'C M L 34, nipsam Ld H. ⁵ coicealtach L, coigilltach Eg, coingilcleach M. ⁶ nochon indisfinn nach tan H, noch a nindisfind dom bel Eg. ³ ¹ c[h]imedha Eg L H L 34 N O'C. ² Luighdheach L 34 O'C. ³ muire LL, mure Ld, in rī *rel.* ⁴ ag nach bíd L O'C, ag nach bí M L 34. ⁵ hi caire Ld. ⁴ ¹ is LL Ld. ² nīgaeth LL Eg Ld. ³ Chairpri Eg O'C. ⁴ innī isdech Ld, indī asdeach Eg. ⁵ thriath L 34 N. ⁵ ¹ turnamh Eg L. ² andiumais H O'C, na ndiumsach N. ³ rochan dún LL Ld L, rochan duind Eg, rochachain L 34 N; is cert *om* N. ⁴ brith Ld. ⁵ conafaghbbad L, cona faghbha L 34 O'C, cen conagba Ld. ⁶ nothisad LL, do tisad H, dothaesad Eg L, no taosad rit L 34 nothiasad rit Ld. ⁶ ¹ cuinchid Ld, cuinges Eg L, chuinges O'C L 34, cuingeadh M. ² chain LL, giall M. ³ corríg Ld Eg L 34, go rí³ O'C L, do rí³ N, ar rí³ M. ⁴ chuirc Eg L N, cinn O'C L 34. ⁵ nach tuisci Ld, na tugsat O'C, na tugsad L 34. ⁷ ¹ nir L N O'C. ² aimrid L N, aimnert O'C. ³ in rí³ L M N L 34 Eg O'C. ⁴ ropherdi Ld, ropíerdu LL, ferdi L N, ferde Eg, do bfeirde O'C M L 34. ⁵ don napstal L N. ⁶ ond fhiadh L N Eg, ond iad Ld, on fiadh H. ⁷ fossugud LL. ⁸ thír L 34 N O'C M L.

2² : la même précaution était habituelle au fameux Mesroida Mac Dathó (Irische Texte, I, 97), et on la retrouve en plus d'un endroit (RC. vi, 188, n. 3; Ériu II. 34, 15; ZCP. IX, 192, § 11).

On notera à la strophe 3 la recommandation d'avoir toujours chez soi des otages en vue de négociations possibles.

- 8 Anas dech¹ flatha² fria lá³ : fírinne trócaire tua
 anas⁴ messu d'inchuib rí^g : sechmall⁵ ar⁶ fír, fuille⁷ gua.⁸
- 9 Trí gáire buada do¹ rí^g : ina thír² ar fian³ feib
 gáir ilaig iar coscor cruaid⁴ : gáir molta muaid, gáir im fíleid.
- 10 Trí gáire¹ dimbuaid do fláith² : gáir glám dia guin³ cid cian⁴ gair
 gáir a ban i nnamat⁵ naidm⁶ : gáir a muintire iar maidm fair.⁷
- 11 Sluindfet a thrí buada ar bith¹ : cech óthigirn for rith² raith
 frecor³ n-oíged,⁴ airt bís : tairgnim⁵ do chill cís do fláith.
- 12 Trí meth óthigirn mass ed¹ : cairig² ina thech³ cech than⁴
 a banchumal im⁵ raínd ris : ocus urland a liss d'ar.
- 13 Cech ard diumsach¹ roboi² ríund³ : is fann⁴ athissech⁵ fa rír⁶
 uasliu cech rád⁷ rí⁸ cech slán : is maith⁹ cech dál dia tic síd.
- 14 Anas gurm¹ rudrad rí^g : gím³ do dáil⁴ dath fuinche fuan⁵
 fordath luin luath⁶ luige ban : bláth bruinne⁷ bran brosnab⁸ gual.

8 ¹ inasferr LL Ld, ionus dech O'C, inas deach L 34. ² flatha L 34, latha Eg. ³ ria lá Ld, ra lá Eg, fria ré LL L 34. ⁴ inasmesso LL, inas messu Ld O'C L 34. ⁵ sechmell LL. ⁶ for H L. ⁷ forgull L Eg, faoileáda O'C. ⁸ ngua Ld O'C, fuillmead guath M. 9 Not in Eg L M N. In LL this stanza and 10 interchange, but the correct order is denoted by the letters *a, b*, placed at the beginning. ¹ dond Ld, is boadhach do O'C L 34. ² tír H. ³ rofiabsat LL Ld. ⁴ g. choscuir ch. LL. 10 Only in LL Ld H O'C. ¹ gairthi as O'C. ² is dimbuaid do rí^g H, laith Ld. ³ glaim dair H. ⁴ dian O'C. ⁵ im namait H. ⁶ maidm LL Ld, ag naimhdibh asnáidm O'C. ⁷ air Ld. 11 Follows 13 Eg L N, 8 M, 9 L 34. ¹ a buada for bith H. ² fo rith H O'C. ³ tecor Eg, tecar L, fognom LL, freagra M O'C, fraicear N. ⁴ naiged Ld H, naoidhen O'C, náighedh Eg, naeidhedh L, naoighett L 34. ⁵ tirgnam LL, fognan H L 34 O'C M N, turcnam Eg L. 12 ¹ ma sech H L M O'C L 34, fa seach N. ² cáoirigh O'C. ³ theg Ld H. ⁴ nach tan Eg H, dia tsáil L 34, dia tsáil O'C, dia shál, N. ⁵ ic H, do Eg. 13 Follows 19 Eg L, 15 N, om M. ¹ nard nuabreth H L Eg, nárd ndiomsach N. ² rabúi LL, robí Eg. ³ ruind LL, sunn L Eg, riuin L 34 O'C N, ron H. ⁴ fán LL, bid fan Eg Ld, biodh fann a taise N. ⁵ a taisi O'C. ⁶ mas fíor L 34 O'C. ⁷ rad L Ld Eg, rath H, raith O'C L 34 N. ⁸ righ L 34 O'C. ⁹ is ferr LL Ld, *illeg* Eg. 14 Follows 8 Eg L N, 12 M. ¹ inasgurm LL Ld, cidh as gurma L Eg N. ² ionus gurma radharc rí O'C. ³ gim L 34 H O'C, gimh, M, giom N. ⁴ dael H L L 34. dáoldath O'C. ⁵ funchi fuar LL Ld. In N this line and 8d interchange. ⁶ luath lugi LL, luin lonn Ld, luin luith L, lúi lon LL, lóich luinn luath buidhe ban N, lui luin luidhi ban M. ⁷ bruinn L. ⁸ ban brosnad LL, broсна M.

- 15 Gilthir¹ firinni ic flaith : sraiph² sceas tonn taidbsi³ lir
tairnem⁴ bruit géise fri gréin : dath⁵ snechta ar sléib snas do shim.⁶
- 16 Saithech cech ainmnetach aitt¹ : cech maic² a chiall acht³ co tic
dar éisi a cuinn⁴ do cech mnái : o cach shin atlai⁵ a gáis glic.⁶
- 17 Cetharda¹ dlegar² do flaith³ : corop maith dō⁴ siu ocus tall
síd i⁵ tuathaib, termann cell : aisc⁶ for fell, fortacht na fann.
- 18 Is ferr síd sochocad¹ sruith : ní ar lín óc brister² cath³
id ara fástas cech ech⁴ : a ellma⁵ as dech do cech rath.
- 19 A rigni¹ is messu don gáis : amail concren² suthi sōs³
dond abba⁴ benair⁵ in cís : cid fota⁶ fegair⁷ cech nōs.⁸
- 20 Drúth cech mer, mianach¹ cech baeth : brocach² cech saeth,
serb cech gnāth
gel cech nuā, lond³ cech scíth : ní hinunn frith⁴ fogeib⁵ cách.
- 21 Is¹ cert cāich amail² a nert : celid³ serc ainmi⁴ ocus olc⁵
nocho⁶ bí tuli cen tart : is súail ní⁷ is budi ri⁸ bocht. *OP. 4 and 83. OP. 104*

15 ¹ Gilther, L O'CL 34. ² sraibh Eg L, scráibh sceidhús L 34, stailf M, scraoibh sceithios O'C, sgraith H. ³ taidbsig H. ⁴ fordath H, lighalbraít no geis re gréin L Eg. ⁵ bláth LL Ld. ⁶ snaschur sin LL Eg Ld L, snascor sin H, snas dotsnaith M, snas do sheimh L 34, snasda seimh O'C.

16 Follows 25 Eg, om. M. ¹ naimnetach nait L 34 N L Eg Ld O'C. ² mac L H Eg O'CL 34 N, meic LL. ³ no Eg N L 34 L H. ⁴ éis LL, tara éis conn L, dar háis a conn Eg, iernusa conn L 34 O'C, iarnaísa ciall H. ⁵ o gach fer imlai L Eg. ⁶ in gáis nglic LL. 17 Follows 7 Eg L N, om. M. ¹ na treidi L N, an treidhe E. ² dlegair LL, do dhleghar O'C. ³ laith Ld. ⁴ comba maith ar Eg L N, conidmaith etir siu thall H, co comraith do Ld. ⁵ do L 34 N O'C. ⁶ crioc(?) L, cosc air N, cosc na fhell Eg. 18 Om. N, follows 15 L Eg, 24 M. ¹ socaidhi M. ² nochá lín óc brisis L Eg H, ní re líon slógh L 34, or ní lín óg brisis M. ³ in cath Ld. ⁴ Ferr id éra astas ech LL, Ld (*illeg. at beg.*), .. (?) adera astas a each Eg (*illeg. at beg.*), ferr idara fástas ech H, ferr adera asdas a ech L, fearr intaradh asdaís each M, idh ara astás cech each L 34, idh aro fóstais gach each O'C. ⁶ a ollma H, eallmho L 34, athull-m scrach dogach reath M.

19 om. L Eg N. ¹ arrigni LL Ld, arrigne H. ² rochan L 34 O'C, olcan sofis sos M, fochan saide H. ³ sos : nos LL Ld, sos : sos M, sóis : nóis L 34. ⁴ abuidh O'CL 34, abai M. ⁵ beror L 34, arcrenar cach H. ⁶ cidh a fotha L 34, a fotha O'C, ifat H, cid fad Ld. ⁷ feadhó L 34, rofegar H. ⁸ dois H (: sos). 20 Follows 12 L Eg N, 15 M. ¹ miannach LL. ² brónach H L M L 34 N Eg (?), O'C. ³ sas lonn L. ⁴ líth L Eg. ⁵ dogeib M. 21 Om. M, follows 16 L Eg N. ¹ gach L. ² caidh amar L, amair Eg. ³ do chel H. ⁴ amble LL, ainim O'C. ⁵ gidh olc L, ainbfios olc L 34. ⁶ noco LL Ld. ⁷ isuaill ní H, suail aní Eg, suail an ní L 34, suail inní L, isuaill inní Ld. ⁸ fri L 34.

- 22 In bithsa is¹ bith cáich² ar n-uair³ : ní fil fáith⁴ acht Fíada fír
cuire⁵ cen chenn cruit cen céis : samail na tūath déis a ríig.⁶
- 23 Is súi¹ cech sothinchoisc² slán : cēn³ gair⁴ cech fān⁵ imthéit⁶ lēn
athig⁷ i comairli ríig : nī mair tír⁸ i tic in scél.
- 24 Scris for a mét nī geib greim¹ : nī cluchi² mad³ tind rí tuind
trēn talam cech baili⁴ is tend⁵ : uaisliu in cend innāit⁶
na buill.
- 25 Doberar failll for bec mbūair¹ : atchota² mac trebar tír
is fiach³ o gelltar rí⁴ nech : is fairchi⁵ breth briathar ríig.
- 26 Roscāiled¹ do chāch a ord² : is borb nad aithgiuin³ a cheird
ferr uma cech⁴ aicdi aird⁵ : cia⁶ théit muga ní geib meirg.
- 27 Mac ind abbad¹ issin cill² : ise grind³ gonas mo chiall⁴
mac in trebthaig issin tír⁵ : mac ind ríig⁶ do naidm na ngiall.

22 *Om.* Eg L M N. ¹ madinbith is H, in bith is LL. ² is cach H, caidh L34. ³ ar uair LL H L34 O'C. ⁴ flaith LL, fat H, fáidh L34 O'C. ⁵ cuirid Ld, cuiregan O'C. ⁶ inrígh H, O'C. 23 *Om.* Eg L M N. ¹ rí Ld. ² soithegoisc H L34 O'C. ³ cen LL L34. ⁴ ghar L34, cengor O'C, len gair Ld. ⁵ gan fān O'C. ⁶ imteid LL, imteid O'C. im theid L34, madh fān imlengur cech lén H. ⁷ aitbeach L34 O'C. ⁸ mairg tír LL L34 O'C, nimadmuir tír tíg H. 24 *Om.* H, follows 35 L Eg N. 20 M. ¹ a scrijs ar aein noch a grein L, a sgrios araon noch a greim N, ascris araen nogu greim Eg, sgris for in nī ghabh greim L34, sgrios for an ní gabhonn greim O'C, acris fo aen nach geibh grim M. ² ocluithi L, an cluiche Eg. ³ mac L34, mag N. ⁴ bal LL. ⁵ gach triath talman gurub tenn LN, gach triath *talamh* corub tenn Eg, gach olch eir doman is teand M. ⁶ naid Eg, *quam* LL. ⁷ *sic* Ld, baill LL M L34 Eg, boill L O'C. 25 *Om.* H Eg L M N. ¹ mbec mbuair LL, bec buair Ld, bheg mbuair O'C. ² atcota L34, ad coda O'C. ³ fiacha O'C. ⁴ do L34 O'C, ra Ld, geltair rí LL. ⁵ farchi Ld, sarcho L34, farcha O'C. 26 *Om.* Eg L M N, follows 23 H. ¹ doradadh H. ² ahord Ld. ³ natathgeoin Ld, L34, na taithgheóin O'C, nacongáin a cherd H. ⁴ chách O'C. ⁵ aigi ard L34 O'C, cach aicde ard H. ⁶ cé LL, gē L34 O'C. 27 Follows 21 Eg L N, 19 M. ¹ intabbad LL, ind appad H, inaba M, a nabadh L34, anabbuigh O'C. ² isin cāill Ld, gus an cill L34, andsa cill M, isin ccill O'C. ³ inde greim H, isé aghlinn L34, asé grinn O'C. ⁴ mu chiall Ld, barciail H, mo' ciall O'C, asgrind gun e atil a ciall M. In Eg L N the first half-stanza reads, Bered bretha mac in ghaeith (angaith Eg, an ghaoith N): bídh (*om.* Eg) mac in laeich (an láith Eg, bíodh mac an laeich N) frisín tuaith (lesin [*illeg.*] E, ris an tuath N). ⁵ treathfaidh asin intír M, cusantir L, cosintir Eg, gus an tír N. ⁶ irighi ruaidh L, irighu r [*illeg.*] Eg, na righe ruadh N.

- 28 Mac in tsáir¹ allus² in táil³ : do chumma⁴ in chláir ina chirt
mac in goband cosin⁵ ngual : isé⁶ a dúal dechrad dia shlicht.⁷
- 29 Mac in chornaire fon corn¹ : mac in láich allus na n-arm²
mac in chléirig ar³ in cuairt : do gabáil co suaírc na salm.
- 30 Mac in chruittiri fón cruít : issed nachassluit¹ malle²
mac na cerda³ cosin craid⁴ : mac in lega⁵ léic liaig de.
- 31 Mac in¹ timpānaig na tét : issé a bés² gabáil grēs nglan³
mac in murig⁴ icon⁵ muir : mac ind airim⁶ icond⁷ ar.
- 32 Mac ind filed¹ cosin dán² : mac in druith allus glám³ ngér
mac in medamain⁴ cen meth : cách conorruith⁵ breth a bél.⁶
- 33 Mac ind foglada icond¹ ulc : o phurt do phurt² tiar is tair³
mac in chírmair allus chír⁴ : mac in chirb isé a gnīm⁵ guin.
- 34 Nirodam¹ nadbeir a rói² : ní suí nad athchain³ fa dí
is don brātān dothaet⁴ eó : is don maccān dothaet⁵ rí.

28 Om. M except first line which is given as first line of 32. ¹ intair LL.
² allos L34 *passim*, do chum L Eg N. ³ a tháil O'C, antáil Eg. ⁴ do
shnoidhi L, do snoighi Eg, do shnaoidhe N. ⁵ ris an ngual N. ⁶ asse LL.
⁷ datslicht H, ria shliocht L34: asé a shnuadh is deaghchortha dá shliocht N.

29 Om. HM. ¹ con chorn L34, gun chorn O'C. ² armaigh Eg L,
armhaigh N. ³ for L, fôr N, *illeg.* Eg. 30 om. H M L Eg N.
¹ nachasluit Ld, nach is luit L34, nach as luit O'C. ² moalle LL, moille
L34, maille O'C. ³ in cherdæ L34, an cerda O'C. ⁴ ceir Ld, céir LL.
⁵ legæ L34. 31 om. H, follows 29 Eg L N, 33 M. ¹ art. om. O'C.
² dhlecht L N. ³ glan LL, sinm na teid gabail ngréis nglan M. ⁴ mhoiridh L,
mhuirigh Eg N L34 O'C. muiridh M. ⁵ cosin LL L M L34 Eg N O'C.
⁶ innairim LL, in oirsni L, a noirimh O'C L34, an airim Eg N. ⁷ cusan
L N Eg L34 M O'C. 32 Om. H Eg L N. In M the first line (taken from 28)
reads, Mac intair alos intail. ¹ indiled Ld. ² icondan Ld, *prep. om.* L34
³ druth allos nglamh L34, glam ger Ld, druith allos ghlámh O'C, glamh
ngeir M. ⁴ .i. breitamh (gloss written above) L34. ⁵ gonustroich L34,
gona sreth O'C. ⁶ bhéil L34 O'C, dimrada na breath dobeir M. 33 om. H,
follows 31 Eg L N, 27 M. ¹ con LL, L34 O'C, don Eg L N, do nolch M.
² a purt i port LL, as gach purt Eg L N, angach purt M, o purt go purt O'C.
³ siar 7 soir Eg L N. ⁴ gun chír L, ag an chír Eg, gusan chéir N. ⁵ bés LL.

34 Om. H, follows 31 Eg L N, 27 M. ¹ ní rógha N. ² naber aroi Ld,
naruc an rae Eg L N, ratbe rói L34, nat (Pnath) bé irrí O'C, dabeir ar aidh M.
³ athchuin (with a over u) Ld, athgiuin LL, nat aithgheoin (with gh crossed
out) L34, ní cain na athchain (hathca . . rem. *illeg.* Eg) L N Eg, ní chan na
canor O'C, asfaidg nach dath caem M. ⁴ dotaet Ld, as inbradan dataeid M,
don bradan bricc dothaet L, don bradan bric dothaeth Eg, don bhrodán bheag
do thaodh N. ⁵ dotaet Ld, dotaot L34, asín in macan dataeid M, don
macan bic dothaet L (dothaeth) Eg, do mhaç an beag do thaodh N.

- 35 Adaltras¹ coilles cach clú² : ní dú³ do neoch acht rop ní⁴
do gesib cáich⁵ dibe cásc⁶ : ní cian o thásc nech dus gní.⁷
- 36 Nachamruca¹ Demon lais² : i clais tened cona thess³
racha⁴ ar teiched⁵ timchull cross⁶ : resiu⁷ doneither⁸ in⁹
mes. D.¹⁰
- 37 Firinni flatha¹ rofess : tress² dobeir na catha i cess³
dobeir in mblicht⁴ isin⁵ mbith : dobeir⁶ in n-ith⁷ is in
mess. D.⁸

35 *Om.* LL Ld M, follows 20 Eg L N, 13 H. ¹ adhaltrach L 34 O'C, *illeg. in Eg.* ² a chlu L 34, a chliú O'C, a clu H. ³ cia du H. ⁴ minab ri L, munab... (*rem. illeg.*) Eg, obudh ri O'C L 34. ⁵ do agesib cosc H, dibhe nodlac L 34 O'CN, Eg *illeg here but has caigh for cáich.* ⁶ díb. casc Eg, dibe cáisg N, dibhe chasg O'C L 34. ⁷ do ní L 34 O'C, trath doni H, do ghnidh N, *illeg.* Eg. 36 ¹ nach ruca Ld, nach amrugae L 34, nach am ragha O'C, nach am rugha N, narub ruga M. ² leis LL N, dubh H. ³ cona tes LM N, cona mess L 34, con aithis Ld. ⁴ rach LL, ragsa H, ragat LEg, rághad N, ragad M. ⁵ ar a theiched LL, ar timcell Ld, deisiul L, desel Eg, deisiol N, teid M. ⁶ ar cuaird cros Ld, ⁷ riassiu Ld, riásiu H, siu L 34 LL O'C. ⁸ donether Ld L 34, rognither L Eg, do ghnithir N, dogneither H, dagnitear M, do nert O'C. ⁹ mo L Eg. ¹⁰ *sic* LL, Da M, H *ends here, Damad misi Eg.* 37 *Om.* H. ¹ flaith M. ² cleas Eg L M. ³ da cuirter catha a ces L, da curtur catha ar ceas Eg, robeir ní (?in) catha a ceas M, da ttugthar catha agcreas N. ⁴ in blicht L 34 O'C, a bláth Eg L, a bhláith N. ⁵ forsin LN, aran Eg. ⁶ tairngidh Eg L. ⁷ intith N O'CL, intioth L 34. In M the last couplet reads: dobeir intith isin midh : dobeir in blicht isin meas. ⁸ Finit do sin L. MSS except HN end here. In N occurs the following additional stanza,

Toirse nochá maith an modh : um gach nidh cuimsir romchar
acht romthá rombaói rombia : gach nidh dheonadh Dia dham.

TRANSLATION.

- 1 If I were an illustrious king, I would not go a step beyond the right; I would not abate my authority until my law were fulfilled.
- 2 Should I be serene¹ in prosperity I would not be indulgent on a raid;² that which I wished to conceal I would not relate where women are.

¹ or 'calm'.

² or 'sparing of wealth?').

- 3 I would not be without captives of the sons of the fierce Fir Lugach;¹ the king² who has not hostages in keeping is as ale in a leaky vessel.³
- 4 A wise contract was Cormac's Instructions to hasty Coirpre Lifechair; the raiding to guard pledges is what is best to prove subjects.⁴
- 5 The humbling of pride is proper;⁵ rightly has he uttered the spell, that though it were your son who opposed you he should not be spared by you.
- 6 The king of Leth Cuinn sought tribute of the king of round Cashel of warrior-bands. "Give it not to him", said noble Ruadán; "better be doomed to perish than be a feeble wretch."
- 7 When the saint had finished his advice the spirit of the king was not weak; it was an advantage for the apostle from the place⁶ that hostages were kept in their country.
- 8 The things that are best for a prince during his reign are truth, mercy and silence; those that are worst for a king's honour are straying from the truth and adding to the false.
- 9 Three shouts of victory for a king, because of the excellence of warriorship in his land, [are] a shout of triumph after a stiff victory,⁷ a shout of high commendation, a shout at a feast.
- 10 Three shouts of discomfiture for a prince are the shout of satires to wound him, be it far off or near, the cry of his women-folk in the grasp of enemies, the cry of his household when he has been defeated in battle.
- 11 I shall enumerate openly three virtues of every young chief in a successful career: attendance on guests while he lives, provision for the clergy, tribute to a prince.

¹ Fir Lugach: can they = the Luigni of Meath?

² muiir 'chieftain', Laws; cf. *Cáin Adamnáin*, p. 46.

³ cf. géill i nglasaib, *Tec. Corm.* 1, 8. *Also note p. 52.*

⁴ or 'best for a ruler' L 34 N.

⁵ cf. Audacht Moraind ZCP, XI, 84.

⁶ Ruadán belonged to the Eoghanachta of Cashel.

⁷ cf. *Tec. Corm.*, 10.

- 12 Three taints upon a young chief, on the other hand, [are] evil-doers entering his house continually, his maid-servant having dealings with him, and the ploughing of the front lawn of his court.
- 13 Every high and proud man who has gone before us is now, alas, weak and disgraced; nobler than any saying is 'every healthy man¹ is a king;' good is every meeting from which peace comes. = *O'R.* 288
- 14 That² which is more famous than a king's . . .
- 15 Truth in a prince is as bright as the foam(?) cast up by the mighty wave of the sea, as the sheen of a swan's covering in the sun, as the hue of snow on a mountain . . .
- 16 Every patient pleasant person is satisfied³; every youth has his own discretion provided he comes to it; every woman acts according to her reason(?); his prudent wisdom abandons every old man.
- 17 There are four things a prince should have, in order that he may do well both here and hereafter: peace among his tribes, protection of churches, reproof of treason, help for the weak. *TC.* p. 56, D16.
- 18 Better is peace⁴ than prudent goodly warfare; it is not by [mere] numbers a battle is won⁵; . . .; despatch is what is best for success(?)
- 19 The defect of prudence is its slowness, while learning purchases sound knowledge(?); tribute is taken from the . . ., however long each custom be regarded(?)

¹ fáilid cech slán. *Tec. Corm.* 13, 11.

² I am unable to make anything of this stanza. The first line occurs twice in O'Dav.: (1), under *gorm* (1033 ACL) with the above translation by Stokes; (2), under *rudrach* (*do.* 1345) in the form 'anas gormu rudrach righ 7r1', which Stokes translates 'that which is more famous than a king's *rudrach*'. The word *rudrad* occurs again (*do.* 1355), and is glossed 'rodura[d] .i. beith co foda ferann comaidhteoh,' 'great duration, ut est to be long on a neighbouring land.' Dath fuinche fuan seems to mean 'the colour of a royston-crow's coat'.

³ fedil cech ainmnetach, *Tec. Corm.*, 13, 8; conchar cech sáithech, *ib.*, 13, 28.

⁴ *FS* 4.15 Ferr síd sochocad, LL345 c34; cf. FM 1580 (V, p. 1724) fer . . . las an ffearr síth iná sochoccadh. Also Ir. Texte, *Tog. Tr.*, l. 1454. *See* 13 above.

⁵ Cf. ZCP, III, 207 n 5; and SG, I, 397.

18: on pourrait lire int ara fastas cech ech (ou gech avec plusieurs mss.) "le cocher qui retient tout cheval" ou "son cheval" ["c'est a promptitude qui vaut le mieux," ellma substantif dérivé de ellom "prompt, prêt à"]; cf. éssi [f]astuda ech "rênes à retenir les chevaux," TBC. éd. Windisch, l. 2540. - RC. 39, 407.

- 20 Vehement is every madman¹; desirous is every capricious one²; sad is everything painful; bitter is everything usual³; bright is everything new⁴; testy⁵ everyone who is weary; different people⁶ discover different things.
- 21 Everyone is in the right according to his strength; love hides blemishes and evil; there is no flood that does not dry up; few things⁷ give pleasure to the poor. = *O'Rahilly, 4.*
- 22 This world belongs to each [generation] in turn⁸; there is no prophet but the true Lord; tribes who have lost their king are like a cauldron without a cover, a harp without a *céis*.⁹ *Hib. Roe, xxix*
- 23 A sage is everyone who is hale and teachable¹⁰; sooner or later every wanderer¹¹ comes to grief; boors in the king's council — the land prospers not where such is the tale.
- 24 Wholesale extermination is ineffective; it is no sport struggling impotently against a wave; a mighty land is every strong place; the head is nobler than the members.
- 25 A small herd is neglected; a prudent son obtains land; a promise made is a debt incurred; a king's word is the judgment of a parish(?) *Translated O'R. 275.*
- 26 For each his task has been appointed; uncultured is he who does not know his craft; bronze is the best of all materials, though it go astray it will not take rust.
- 27 Let the abbot's son enter the church¹², . . .; let the farmer's son go to the land, the king's son to bind hostages.

¹ *tibir cech mer, Tec. Corm. 13, 15.*

² see *Tec. Corm., 15, 7.*

³ is serb cech gnáth, *Sergl. CC. § 43.*

⁴ *Tec. Corm., 14, 23, Sergl. CC. § 43.*

⁵ This half-stanza occurs in dialogue of Fíthal and Cormac LL 149a 20; another version is published by Meyer in *Hib. Min.*, p. 82.

⁶ *lit* 'not the same is the find which all make'.

⁷ or, 'tis a trifling thing that gives &c.'

⁸ Cf. *Audacht Moraind*, § 37, ZCP XI. p. 85.

⁹ The meaning of *céis* is uncertain. It is glossed as 'a small harp that accompanies a large harp,' 'a peg or key of the harp,' and 'a harp-string;' see Meyer's *Contribb.*, and cf. *Bodl Amra Col. Cille* § 20 (RC XX): is crot cen cheis, is cell cen abbaid.

¹⁰ *Sáí cech sochoisc, Tec. Corm. 15, 36.*

¹¹ *lit.* 'wandering'.

¹² This stanza occurs *Laws IV*, p. 382, where the first two lines read: *Mac in abaid is in cill grinn: ini cunne for ciall.* *cia*

- 28 Let the carpenter's son follow the adze, to fashion a board aright; let the smith's son take to coal — 'tis his due to follow¹ in the calling of his family.
- 29 Let the trumpeter's son carry the trumpet; let the soldier's son follow arms; let the cleric's son go on the circuit, joyfully to sing psalms.
- 30 Let the harper's son carry the harp, — that does not harm either of them; let the potter's son take to the clay; the physician's son, — let him be a physician(?).
- 31 The son of the player on the stringed lute, 'tis his office to sing dainty compositions; let the mariner's son take to the sea, the husbandman's to the soil.
- 32 Let the poet's son take to poesy, the buffoon's son to sharp satires; let the judge's son be without decadence, so that the judgment from his lips may reach everybody(?).
- 33 Let the pirate's son take to evil-doing, from harbour to harbour, west and east; let the comb-maker's² son follow combs; the butcher's(?) son, his work is slaying³.
- 34 He is no great champion⁴ who does not win his battle; he is no sage who does not recapitulate; it is from the fry the salmon comes forth; it is from the young man comes forth the king.
- 35 Adultery ruins every good name, — it is not proper for anyone provided⁵ he be a king; it is tabu for all to deny(?) the paschal time; he who does so is not far from death.⁶
- 36 May Satan not take me away into a pit of fire with its heat; I shall go in flight around crosses, before the judgment be passed.
- 37 A prince's ^{righteousness} truthfulness⁷ — it is known — is a conflict which brings debility on hosts; it brings milk into the world, it brings corn and mast.

If I were.

TADHG O'DONOGHUE.

¹ see *R. Ir. Acad. Dict.*, 3 dechraid.

² see *Meyer Contribb.* Corrigenda.

³ the rhyme *tair* : *guin* is weak, unless meant for *tair* : *goin*.

⁴ *lit.* 'great ox.'

⁵ or 'except' L Eg.

⁶ *lit.* 'tidings of death.'

⁷ Cf. *Aud. Mor.*, ZCP. XI, p. 81.

UÍ MACCU UAIS

THE tribe-name which occurs in the passages quoted below from the *Annals of Ulster* has presented considerable difficulty to O'Donovan, Hennessy and Hogan in turn (see *Four Masters* I. 516, AU I. 385 and *Onomasticon* 674). With the material now available the most ancient form of the name, as well as the location of some of the septs which it embraces, can, I think, be established.

The following instances occur in AU (I quote from the Trinity College manuscript H. I. 8, neglecting MacCarthy's correction of the dating):

- 597. Beacc mac Cuanach rex nepotum *mac* cuais.
- 645. Mors Furudrain maic Becce maic Cuanach rí ua *mac* cuais.
- 718. Airmedach mac Taidhg 7 Crichan rex nepótum *mac* cuais *iugulantur*.
- 752. Echaidh nepos Moinaigh rex nepotum *maccu* uais *moritur*.
- 782. Moinach nepos Moinaigh rex nepotum filiorum cuais.
- 811. Ar Corco Roidhe Midhe la hua *macu*ais.
- 837. Congalach mac Moenaigh rex nepotum filiorum cuais Bregb subita morte uitam finiuit.
- 838. Cenneitigh mac Congalaigh rex nepotum filiorum cuais Bregb a suo fratre .i. Céile dolose *iugulatus est*.
- 871. Maelruanaid mac Maelchaurardda dux nepotum filiorum cuais ind Fochlai *mortuus est*.
- 910. Fogartach mac Celi rex nepotum filiorum cuais *moritur*.
- 1017. Muiredhach hua Duibeoin rí hua *mac* cuais Bregb.
- 1020. Maelmuaidh mac Osene rí Mughdorn fri re oenlai do marbad la hua *mac* uais.

MacNeill has shown (Ériu III. 42 and 'Early Irish Population Groups' § 45) that "as applied to contemporaries, the quasi-surnames in *moccu* become obsolete in the eighth century". When this formula had gone out of use it was interpreted as containing some case of the word *mac* 'son', with the result that old names in which *moccu* occurred, appear in a variety of corrupt forms. As is well known, these corruptions are often clothed in a Latin dress. A clear example is that cited by MacNeill in the first paper referred to above: *Miliuc filius nepotis Buain* used by Marianus Scotus instead of the earlier *Miliuc mocu Boin*.

Turning to the passages transcribed above we have *nepotum maccu uais* (the equivalent of *uí maccu uais* in the genitive case) written in full at the year 752. The writing is ambiguous at 811, but in all the other instances the redactor has misunderstood the already obsolete formula and has interpreted *maccuuais*, *maccuais* as *filiorum cuais*; for exactly similar errors, see Ériu III. 47. It is significant that the only entry in which the ancient form of the name is preserved, occurs about the period when the language of these annals becomes contemporary with the dating of the events recorded; cf. Ó Máille, *Language of the Annals of Ulster*, § 17.

MacNeill has proved that in names of persons in which this formula is employed, *moccu* is followed by the name of the eponymous ancestor of the tribe to which the individual belonged; thus *Colmán maccu Cais* indicates that Colmán was of the tribe of Dál Cais supposed to have descended from Cormac Cas. Similarly *maccu uais* contains the name of an eponymous ancestor. *Colla oss ara deine nó combad he oss sedguine nodnailed nó huais ara uaisle a quo hui macuais*, Rawl. B 502, 141 a 35. In this particular instance the existence of the corresponding tribe-name in what has been styled the collective formula, cannot be proved; but at least one Corco Uais is known (Onomasticon 296). From *maccu uais*, *Uí maccu uais* is derived as *Uí Néill* from Niall.

Who were these people and what septs did they comprise? No pedigree of the *Uí maccu Uais* as such is given in the tracts on the Airgialla, of which they formed an important subdivision. This is remarkable, for to judge by the passages above cited, they had some prominence in early Irish history. But their genealogies are preserved under the names of the septs into which they divided.

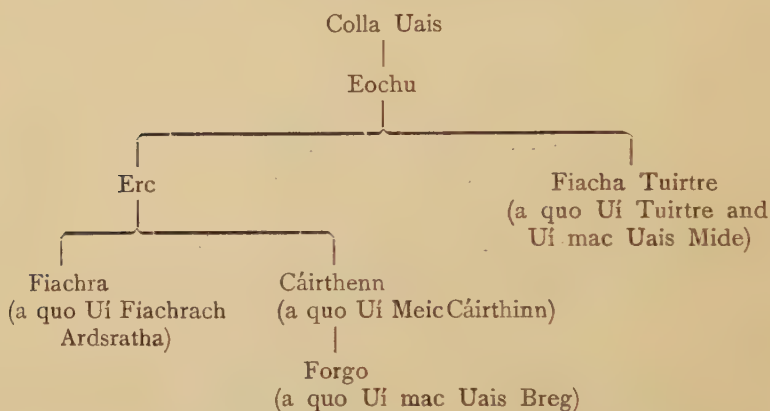
The following verses are taken from the poem *Airgialla a hEamain Macha*, BB. 115 with variant readings from Lec 183:

4. Colla uais enmac aigi
do dercad rinn ro slaiti¹
Eochaid a ainm ní fuilgdis fir
do bí os a clainn cneisgil
5. Tri meic Eochach² Eamna
gusna sreathaib soineamla
Erc is Brian badar male
is Fiacha tuathal³ Tuirtre
7. De sin atait hÍ Tuirtre
ar clannaib na caemcuilte
o Fiachaig gan olc gan ag
tucad Tuirtre ar tortgabail⁴
9. Ceathrur mac ba mor a mbladh
ac Erc re rim co roglan
Fiacha 7 Cairthaind na gan⁵
Amalgaidh Dairi dedbean⁶
10. O Cairthaind mac Eichin (sic) and
hÍ MeicCairthinn nach⁷ cascrand
slog roghasta rothed goil
Lacha forasda Febail
11. Ceithri meic ag Cairthenn coin
Forco Erc is Amalgaid
Muiredach muir uaine aei
indamail Guairi in gairgri
14. Fiachra Tort mac Echach ain
uad Fir Li is Tuirtri in tinail
s U mac Uais⁸ a Mide amach
is lor a tigi a teaglach

¹ gergad rind rothslaiti ² ag Eochaid ³ tuachail ⁴ eir tort gabail
⁵ nag ⁶ dedban ⁷ na ⁸ cuais

15. hI mac Uais¹ Fir luatha Li
 don claind cedna co mbaid mbi
 as i a crich gid cian ro closs
 ota Ath Bir co² Camus*
16. Do clainn Forco na fuaille
 hUi mac Uais³ Breag bratuaine
 in buiden sin co ngluais ngrind
 do clainn Colla huais aibind

The substance of this passage in tabular form, gives:



The presence of Uí mac Uais Breg and Uí mac Uais Mide in the two main branches of the descendants of Colla Uais suggests at once that all the septs whose origin is traced to that personage are embraced in the designation *Uí maccu Uais*. It is absolutely certain of the peoples of two well-known states mentioned in the Book of Rights, namely Uí Tuirtri and Uí Fiachrach Ardsratha. This fact, hitherto unnoticed, is another instance of the necessity of reading the Irish Annals and the Irish Genealogies side by side.

The following appears in Rawlinson B 502, 141 a 36: Genelach hua Tuirtri. Furudran m. Beicce maic Cuanach m. Daire m. Feideilmid m. Echine m. Fiachach Tuirtri m. Colla Oiss.

* This verse should be translated as follows: "Uí mac Uais and Fir li are of the same stock of lively combat; their (i. e. the latter's) territory is from Ath Bir to Camus — far away it has been heard."

¹ cuas ² siar odo co ³ cuais.

Béce mac Cuanach in this pedigree was king of Uí maccu Uais, and was slain at the battle of Dún Bolg in the raid on Leinster described in the tract on the Borama (see also AU 597 and Silva Gadelica i. 381). The Laud Genealogies (CZ. VIII. 321) and kindred texts in BB. 110 b 25, 116 b 4, as well as the list *ibid.* 117 a, describe him as king of Airgialla as well.

Furudrán son of Béce, in the same pedigree of Uí Tuirtri, is described in AU. as king of Uí maccu Uais; he was slain in 644. His son Maeldúin was slain in 660, according to the Four Masters, who name him king of Derlas. "King of Derlas" is a regular description of the king of Uí Tuirtri; see FM. 1215 and O'Donovan's note.

The kingship of Uí maccu Uais passed to another sept in the second half of the seventh century or early in the eighth. The next entry referring to them is at 718: *Críchan rex nepotum mac cuais*. This Críchán belonged to the sept of Uí Fiachrach Ardsratha. Their genealogy is given in LL. 338:

Genelach hua Fiachrach Ardsratha. Niall mac Fogartaig maic Maelruanaid maic Maelpatric maic Aeda maic Maelmaire maic Maelruanaid maic Mailchaireda (sic) maic Maelbresail maic Aeda maic Críchain maic Cathasaig maic Maelchothaid maic Guaire maic Forannain maic Ainmerech maic Cormaic maic Dochartaig maic Fiachrach maic Eirc maic Colla Uais.

Críchán in this pedigree is the same as the person whose death is noted in the entry of 718 in AU. The death of Maelbresal, son of Aed, son of Críchán is entered at 792 *ibid.* Maelcaurarda, son of Maelbresal, and lord of Uí mac Uais of Airgialla, died in 851 according to the Four Masters. Maelruanaid, son of Maelcaurarda, died in 871; see the entry in AU above cited. Thus four of the persons mentioned in this pedigree of Uí Fiachrach Ardsratha can be shown from the annals to have belonged to the ruling dynasty of Uí maccu Uais.

Further investigation may show that Uí maccu Uais included Uí MaicCáirthinn, descended from Cáirthenn or MacCáirthinn, brother of Fiachra from whom Uí Fiachrach were named. Several other groups of the race of Colla Uais are mentioned BB. 110 a 27—30: *Sil Colla Uais .i. U mac Uais 7 U Thuirtre 7 Fir Luirg 7 U Fiachrach Ardsratha 7 U Maic Cairthaind 7 Fir na tri Leath 7 Fir Leitreach 7 Fir Lughaidh 7 Fir in Muighi 7 I Tabarna 7 Fir in Clair 7 Ua Maic Cairthind Lacha Febail 7 Fir Ili.*

Of the *Uí maccu Uais* of Bregha and the *Uí maccu Uais* of Mide, I have noticed no pedigree. The latter were seated in or around the barony of Moygoish, which took its name from them, and lies in the north of co. Westmeath.

In the light of the facts here brought forward several entries in the Indexes to the Annals of Ulster and the Four Masters will need revision.

PAUL WALSH

POPULAR SCIENCE IN MEDIAEVAL IRELAND

IRISH manuscripts of a comparatively late date commonly contain a variety of brief texts of a traditional kind, often versified in the manner of the schools, treating of popular theology and science after a fashion familiar to the student of the minor literature of mediaeval Europe. To those curious in the affiliations of culture these little compositions have a fascination all their own, and the following study of two examples of the kind will show the way in which these stray fragments of the current science fitted themselves into the framework of Irish traditional literature. The two poems here printed from MSS. of the 15th and 16th centuries were in all probability composed some centuries earlier, though the exact dating of this school-poetry is a hazardous matter. The subject of the first belongs to the psychologists, of the second to the herbalists. The first is a direct translation from the Latin, and so we may suppose is the second, though I have not succeeded in identifying its immediate source.

I. THE PHYSIOLOGY OF THE EMOTIONS.

The following Latin text appears in Brit. Mus. Burney MS. 357, fol. 4 b, a 12th century manuscript of miscellaneous contents, which at an early stage of its existence was in the library of the monastery of Holme Lacy in Herefordshire.¹

Intellectus dicitur in fronte esse. Memoria in cerebro. Ira in felle. Auaritia in iecore. Timor in corde. Anelitus in pulmone. Leticia in splene. Cogitacio in rene. Sanguis in corpore. Anima in sanguine. Spiritus in anima. Mens in spiritu. Cor in mente. Fides in corde. Christus in fide.

¹ The theme, of course, is older, but it is sufficient for the present purpose to quote that form of it in its Latin dress, which is obviously the source of the Irish poem.

This is clearly the source of a set of verses found in Egerton MS. 1782, f. 56b, which may very well have been composed in the 12th century, although the manuscript that contains them was written in 1517 (not in 1419, as the date is commonly, though wrongly, given). These verses have already been printed from this MS. by Kuno Meyer, *Archiv für Celt. Lex.*, III, p. 223, but they may be reprinted here for comparison with their source.

Intlecht i ndreich sech cech raind
is foraimet i n-inchind;
saint i mbaccaib óe, cáin bés,
ferg i ndomblas do bithghrés.

Omun iarsin hi cridhe
iss anál hi trommcríde;
failte i llu leith in cech raind
is imrádhud i n-árainn.

Fuil hi corpuib, cáin in bés,
anim a fuil do bithghrés,
spírut i n-annmuin cen olcc,
menma hi crídiu ní rolocht.

Hiris hi crídi gin geiss
ocus Críst in cech íreis;
scéla i n-ecna as cach thucht
ocus spírut i n-inntliucht.

Intlecht.

These verses, it will be seen, are for the most part a direct translation of the Latin. Only in the last line of v. 3 and the last two of v. 4 is there any serious variation. In the first case *menma hi crídiu* = *mens in corde* stands for the original *mens in spirítu, cor in mente*. The addition in the last two lines of the composition is very characteristic of the Irish schools, although it is very foreign to the intention of the author of the Latin, who had clearly worked up to a climax. The Irish translator adds after *Christus in fide*; 'Tales in science, comeliest of all things, and spirit in the intellect', thus ending as the poetic practice required on the word with which he had begun.

A version in prose of part of the Latin text is found in a fragment of a medical MS. in Egerton 92, fol. 4 (15th—16th cent. It was in all probability associated from an early date with the Book

of Fermoy, and it was, no doubt, written by a member of the family of Ó Leighin, physicians and scribes of Fermoy). It runs thus:

Is iatso cuingill ea naduire daena .i. tuicsin isin incind edain
7 cuimne isin incinn cuil 7 fearg sa domlus áe, saint sa bacan
áe, gradh 7 tuisri sa craidi, anal andsa sgaman, forbailtechus andsa
tseilg, smuaintigti isna hairnib, fuil andsa corp, anum andsa fuil,
spirut andsan anum, meanma andsa spirait.

This list of 'the conditions of human nature', it will be observed, follows the Latin very nearly, only substituting 'love and weariness in the heart' for *timor in corde*, and omitting the last three 'conditions'. But in the Egerton MS. a comment from Bernard de Gordon's *Lilium Medicinæ*, which gives a different distribution, is added:

Et adeir Bearnart a Clarificacio a caibidil na seilgi andsa
6mad leabur do Lile sa .7. cundtubairt, cach ní taitnidhis re
neach corub on craidi tig sin. Et is uime ata taitneam andsa
craidi arson corub on craidi ata neimdingmaltacht 7 cathugud 7
tigearnus 7 fearg do reir Ionisius. Et is uime ata labuirt andsa
sgaman arson curub é tairngis int aer noch is adbur don guth.
Et is uime adearar fearg do beith on domlus áe arson leanda
ruaid do beith ann noch teigis in corp co huilidi, on teas sin
duiscigther in fearg. Et is uime adearar in gaire do beith on
tseilg 7 is co haicideach ata a glanad leanda duib. Et intan
adearar in grad do beith on bacan áe is do bacan áe na n-én
tuicir é 7 ina ngaile 7 ina n-aeib ata isna dainib. Et is uime
gabtar in gaile 7 na hae arson in bacain áe, oir is e in gaile
gradais in biad 7 na hae gradaidius in comriachtain, oir atait tri
neithe is ecean cum na coimriachtana .i. teas ona haeib noch o
tic in tochlugud 7 spirut on craidi 7 lind on incind etrel.

This comment is a version of part of the section: *Clarificatio* in Book V, Question VII of the *Lilium Medicinæ* (Lyons ed., 1551, p. 563):

Quinto notandum de causis illorum versuum:

Cor sapit et pulmo loquitur, fel commouet iras,

Splen ridere facit, cogit amare iecur.

Intelligendum quod pulmo loquitur propter aeris attractionem quae est materia vocis. Cor sapit, quia ab ipso procedit ira, indignatio, victoria, dominatio secundum Ionnitium. Fel commouet iras propter choleram quae calefacit totum corpus et ita commouet

iram. Splen ridere facit per accidens purgando humorem melancholicum. Cogit amare iecur, iecur est in auibus, sed stomachus est in hominibus, ideo iecur accipitur pro stomacho et hepate, quoniam stomachus facit amare cibum et hepar coitum, quia in coitu sunt tria necessaria: calor qui procedit ab hepate a quo prouenit appetitus, spiritus a corde, humor a cerebro secundum Constantinum.

The rendering of this passage in Egerton 92 is independent of that in the complete Irish version of the *Lilium Medicinae* in Egerton 89, that beautiful MS. written in Clare by Domhnall Albanach Ó Troighthigh in 1482, which the Earl of Kildare bought for twenty cows in 1500, a price which, as there were twenty-two quires in the MS., works out at nearly a cow per quire. In this MS. (fol. 169b) the passage runs thus:

An. 5 ni dleghur d'fhoillsiugud .i. cuisi na fersadh so:

Cor sapit (et) pulmo loquitur, fel comouet iras,
Splen ridere facit, cogit amare iecur.

.i. ase an croidhi do bheir ecna 7 in scaman labhrus 7 an domblus ae gluaisis an feirg 7 in tshealg do ni an gaire 7 iecur coimecnaighius cum graidhighthi. Dleghur a tucsín curob e an scaman labrus ac tarring an aeir is adhbhur don guth 7 an croidhi do beir ecna, oir is uadha toscaidhius ferg 7 dimdha 7 buaidh 7 tigernus do reir Iohainnesius 7 ise an domblus ao gluaisis an feirg 7 in tshealg do ni an gaire co haicideach a glanad leanna duib 7 coimegnighter (*sic*) iecur cum graidhighthi, iecur bis isna henaib 7 stomachus isna dainibh 7 is uime sin gabtur iecur arson na n-ae 7 in gaile, oir ise an gaile do ni gradugud an bidh 7 na hae gradugud na coimriachtana, oir atait tri neithe ecintech sa coimriachtain .i. teas toscaghius ona haeibh 7 tic algis 7 spirad on croidhi 7 lenn on inchinn do reir Constantínus.

Bartholomeus Anglicus has the same doctrine in his *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, written about the middle of the thirteenth century. I quote from Mr. Steele's charming little volume of selections: *Mediaeval Lore*, ed. 1905, p. 79:

'For by the spleen we are moved to laugh, by the gall we are wroth, by the heart we are wise, by the brain we feel, by the liver we love.'

It will be noticed that this version of Bartholomeus and Bernard differs from the form in the Holme Lacy manuscript, the

Irish poem and the Irish prose by assigning wisdom in place of fear to the heart and love instead of avarice to the liver.

These conceptions of the popular science often supplied an image or a turn of expression to the poets and romancers. So Shakespeare, whose science is on the level of Bartolomeus Anglicus, makes Hamlet exclaim: 'I am pigeon-livered and lack gall', and Brian Ó Corcráin shows that the King of Sorchá is no Hamlet in the following fashion¹:

Tángadar datha iomdha éagsamhla don rígh re fuasmadh 7
re fuchadh na feirge do fadóidheadh faoi o na bacánaibh aeidhidh
neoch is máthair don fheirg.

'There came many strange hues over the king with the frenzy
and the fervour of his fury that was kindled in him from the liver
that is mother of anger.'

Thus Brian Ó Corcráin makes the liver itself the seat of anger,
while Shakespeare, more in accordance with tradition, attributes that
passion to the gall, a secretion held to be lacking in pigeons.

2. WHEN TO GATHER HERBS.

Additional ms. 30512 appears to have been written about the
middle of the 15th century, probably at Carrick-on-Suir, by
Uilliam Mac-an Lega, one of the most prolific scribes of that
century. I believe it to be identical with that *Leabur na Carruigi*,
which, together with the *Psalter of Cashel* (now Bodl. ms. Laud
Misc. 610) was given in ransom to the Fitzgeralds for Richard son
of Edmund Butler in 1462. At all events it was, like the Laud
ms., in the possession of the Fitzgeralds early in the 16th century,
when Torna Ó Maoilchonaire (who died in 1532) inserted among
other matter the following verses. They deal, it will be seen,
with the efficacy of the different parts of healing herbs according
to the different seasons of the year.

1. O ocht kalainn Aibril ain
co teirt kalainn Iuil imslain,
frisín ré sin, ní baigh bras,
is barr cech losa ícas.

¹ *Eachtra mhacaoimh an Iolair mhic Ríogh na Sorchá*, ed. Iorard de
Teiltiún & J. H. Lloyd, 1912, p. 26.

2. O ocht kalainn Iuil iar sin
co teirt kalainn Octimbir,
cos cech losa, gnim cen geis,
is edh ícus cech n-ainceis.
3. Mecon cech losa, is fir sin,
o ocht kalainn Octimbir,
Dian Cécht docoraigh tré ceill
co hocht kalainn airdApréil.
4. Cúic losa .IX. is. 300,
is hé a n-airemh, ní himarbréc,
lus cech galair raidhit raind
boinghcter uile a n-ocht kalaind.

In the following translation the almost meaningless chevilles used in this kind of mnemonic verse to secure a rhyme are omitted.

1. From a. d. VIII Kal. of glorious April to a. d. III Kal. of perfect July, in all that time it is the leafage of every herb that heals.

2. From a. d. VIII Kal. of July thereafter to a. d. III Kal. of October it is the stalk of every herb that heals every ill.

3. The root of every herb Dian Cécht wisely ordained it from a. d. VIII Kal. of October to a. d. VIII Kal. of lofty April.

4. Five herbs, sixty and three hundred — that is their number the herbs that heal all sicknesses, let them be gathered on a. d. VIII Kal.

This again may very well be a composition of the 12th century. It is at any rate curious that the opening line: In .VIII. kalainn April ain, is found in the charming (but unfortunately mutilated) poem on the calling and the coming of the birds, that is written on the top margin of p. 356 of the Book of Leinster, a MS. of the 12th century. There it is the date of the coming of the swallows.

Our verses are in all probability based upon some Latin original of the same type as the source of the poem on the seat of the passions. We need not concern ourselves much with Dian Cécht, the physician of the Túatha Dé Danann. For he was a pagan, and the doctrine of the verses depends upon the succession of the Christian feasts. Thus the leafage heals from the Annuncia-

tion (25 March) to Peter and Paul (29 June), the stalk from the Nativity of S. John the Baptist (24 June) to Michaelmas (29 Sept.), the root from the Conception of S. John the Baptist (24 Sept.) to the Annunciation again. The arrangement is clearly based upon the succession of the seasons, the leafage being efficacious in Spring, the stalk in Summer and the root in Autumn and Winter. That this was the doctrine of the mediaeval herbalists appears from a tract on the gathering of herbs, of which there is an English translation in Sloane MS. 2584, fol. 87 (circ. 1400; cf. the Latin passage, of which this is a version, in Sloane MS. 3535, f. 11). This is the relevant passage: 'Whanne leues gon to medicynes thei schulen be gederid whanne thei ben at here ful wexyng or that here coloure chaunge or that thei welowe or fade ony thing . . . Yerdis schullen be gaderid whanne thei ben fulle of moistnesse or thei begynne to schrynke. Rootis schullen be taken whanne the leues fallen'.

The reference to the 365 herbs in the last quatrain could be easily paralleled from other mediaeval literatures. Thus Nennius in a famous passage says of St. Patrick: 'Scripsit abegetoria trecenta sexaginta quinque aut eo amplius.' And this use of the number of the days of the year is found elsewhere in Irish, as for instance in the poem on the Paternoster in Additional MS. 30 512, fol. 31, where the interval between the Fall and the Redemption is defined in the following terms:

Sanais int Shatain do chéin
dorad síl Adhaim i péin;
sanais Isu dosucc as,
a hifurn uathmur amnass.

Coic míle .LX. is tri céd-
is fir is ní himmarbrég-
ont shanais taisig rosaírg
gusan sanais rostesaircc.

'The word of Satan of old set Adam's seed in pain; the word of Jesus brought them forth out of Hell fearful and ferocious.

Three hundred, sixty and five thousand (years) — 'tis true and no lie — from the first word that destroyed them to the word that redeemed them.'

ROBIN FLOWER.

MODERN IRISH IPV. PL. 2 IN *-gī*

THE material for tracing the history of this form has been brought together in *Gadelica* I. p. 73—8, by Bergin, who has upset the earlier attempts of MacNeill, Craig, Stern and Ó Máille to explain it. Bergin himself regards it as a contamination of two forms of the ipv. pl. 2 of the substantive verb: *bīg* (= *bídḥ*) and *bīhī* (= *bíthī*), from this mixed form, *-gī* has then been introduced into the ipv. pl. 2 of the other verbs.

This explanation is clearly possible, and Ó Máille's objection (*ZCP.* IX. p. 352) that we should expect *arduīgī* instead of *arduigī* is of no weight. The ending, which has been extended, is *-gī*, and the radical *bī* may have been without influence. The theory of contamination, however, is always somewhat problematic. A phonetic explanation is preferable when it can be given; and it can perfectly well be explained phonetically.

Ó Máille is justified in looking for the starting-point of the formation in the verbs in *-uighidh*, *-ighidh*, but not in supposing that e. g. *arduighidh* (= **arduíjj*) has been *dissimilated* into *arduigidh*. This would be very unlikely, as *-j-* is weak in this position and would hardly cause dissimilation of the first *j*. The final position is always a weak one (cf. Gauthiot, *La fin de mot en indo-européen*, Paris 1913), and several circumstances seem to indicate that *j* has disappeared earlier in this position than elsewhere.

The development of *g'* is the result of *differentiation*.

This capital principle of phonetic evolution is unfortunately not yet sufficiently known, and needs some explanation. It is the first discovery due to Grammont's *Dissimilation* (*La dissimilation consonantique dans les langues indo-européennes et dans les langues romanes*, Dijon 1893), the most important linguistic publication since De Saussure's famous *Mémoire*, and it has been made by the eminent French linguist Antoine Meillet (*Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique*, XII. p. 12—34). Like dissimilation it is of a quite

general nature, and may be formulated as follows: If two sounds in immediate contact have one or more elements in common, one or more of these elements may be suppressed in order to accentuate the difference between the sounds. Thus, in the group *-mn-* e. g. the nasal element of one of the sounds may be suppressed, and the result is *-wn-* or *-ml-*; *-sp-* may develop into *-st-* (Modern Greek), etc. A vowel may be differentiated as in Old-Slavonic *jě > ja*. Psychologically the differentiation is the result of an unconscious fear of assimilation, which leads to an accentuation of the difference, and it furnishes one of the clearest cases of that unconscious care which is of capital importance in the evolution of language.

Now, in *arduighidh > *arduigið* (and perhaps *> *arduidið*), the palatal spirant, whether *g'* or *d*, has developed into *j* by slackening of the articulation between vowels, a general feature of Irish phonetics, and **arduigið* has become **arduiji(j)*. In order to prevent confusion with sg. 2 *arduigh > ardui(j)*, as both would regularly develop into *ardui*, this *j* has not been assimilated, but the tension of it, which was undoubtedly very strong originally, as the existing *j* in Donegal at the present day, has been increased, and this has naturally led to complete occlusion, giving rise, in some places in Donegal (according to Craig) and in Manx, to palatal *d*, elsewhere to palatal *g*. That this has resulted also in palatal *g* will not surprise anyone who knows how close to each other palatal *d* and palatal *g* are in formation. I have found several instances of confusion of these stops when initial in North-West-Donegal.

This new ending *-gī* (*> -gi* in the extreme North-West), being very clear and distinct, has spread to other verbs, a very common phenomenon in the evolution of a grammatical system. It has thus spread to the substantive verb, where there would also have been confusion between the singular and the plural. In Torr, Co. Donegal, the influence goes so far as to shorten the radical vowel of *bī*: *big'i*.

If this explanation holds good, Munster *-gī* must, on account of the final *-ī*, be a loan from other dialects. This would be quite natural, the ending being a very practical one, and especially as phonetic *big* (Cork, Kerry) probably already existed. The general development of final **-ij* into *-ig'* in Munster may also be a case of differentiation. It would be the result of a reaction against the tendency of assimilation changing the character of the word

ending. But I have no materials for an investigation of this point.

It is perhaps necessary to remark that Bergin's objection (*loc. cit.* p. 74) that *bidhim*, *mithid*, etc. have not become *bigim*, *migid*, is perfectly justified so far as concerns the older theory of a *gh*, *dh* "hardening" into *g*. The latter is no explanation whatever, but a mere statement. But this objection does not hold good against the theory propounded above. The cases of *bidhim* or e. g. *luighe* and *arduighidh* cannot be compared. The conditions of development of *gh* in the first case are entirely different from those of *gh* in the second, and the different conditions have produced different results.

Scotch-Gaelic *-ibh* has, of course, nothing to do with Irish *-gí*, but has, as Bergin points out (*loc. cit.* p. 78), been affected by the ending of *sibh*, *gaibh*, etc.

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A reflex of the prehistoric change of *ai* : *a*.

From the co-existence of such forms as Old Ir. *Fálbi* (Ogham VALUBI) and *fael*, *fálte* and *fáeilte* (Modern Irish *fálte* : *faoilte*), Professor Marstrander has recently concluded (*Rev. Celt.* xxxvi. p. 349) that the old diphthong *ai* had already lost its palatal element in certain positions before the Old Irish period. If he is right, another parallel may be found in North-West Donegal (Torr), where the forms *fálchu* and *faolchu* (pronounced *fa* : *l̪xuɹw*, *fwæ* : *l̪xuɹw*, and *fx* : *l̪xuɹw*, 'wolf-dog' are used side by side. The first form represents an Old-Irish **fálchú*, the second an Old-Irish **faelchú*.

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THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE CULMEN

IN early Irish literature there are several references to a book known as the Culmen. In the tale *Foillsigud na Tána*, contained in the Book of Leinster, there is mention of it: *Concomgarthá trá filid Herenn do Senchán Torpeist, dúis in ba mebor leo Táin Bó Cualnge inna ógi. Et asbertatar nad fetar di acht bloga nammá. Asbert iarum Senchán ria daltu dúis cia díb noragad ara bennacht i tire Letha do fhoglaím na Tana berta in súi sair dar éis in Chulmin* (LL. Facs. 245b, 2-7), 'An assembly of the poets of Ireland was called together by Senchán Torpéist, to see if they remembered the Táin Bó Cualnge in its entirety. And they said they (leg. fetatar) did not know it, save fragments only. Senchán then spoke to his fosterlings to see which of them would go in return for his blessing to the countries of the Continent¹ to learn the Táin, which the sage took eastward in lieu of the Culmen.' The belief here is that the Culmen was brought from the Continent to Ireland and the Táin given in exchange for it. The recension of D. IV. 2 (ACL III. 5) has *dúis cia dhib noraghad ar bennachtain a tirib Leatha do foglaím na Tana rucc in saí romanach a hArdmacha dar cend in Cuilmin*, 'to see which of them would go (in return) for a blessing into the countries of Letha to learn the Táin which the Roman sage brought from Armagh instead of the Cuilmen.'

¹ Anscombe (Ériu IV, 75) has rightly recognized that *Letha* means the 'Continent,' and *tire Letha* the 'countries of the Continent,' later restricted to that portion of it with which the Irish were most familiar, viz. Armorica, apparently the place where they landed. The meaning of the name gave rise to confusion even in the 11th century, as may be seen from a gloss on Fiacc's Hymn.: *conid farcaib la German andes i ndesciurt Letha*, gl. *Germanius abb na cathrach cui nomen est Altiodorus, is occai roleg Patraicc, 7 Burguinnia ainm na cennaidche itá illa; i ndesciurt Etale nobeth prouincia illa, sed uerius conid i [n] Galluib itá, . . . 'with him (Germanus) Patrick studied, and Burgundia is the name of the province in which that (city) is; or, that province may have been in Italy, sed verius that it is in Gaul.'* (Thes. Pal. II. 311).

There is a further reference in the law glossary preserved in MS. H. 5. 30, p. 5, T. C. D., compiled by Mac Fir Bhisigh, in which there is an account of the seven grades of wisdom: *Druim clí .i. fear aga mbí éolus iomlán na heagna ón leabar as mo dá ngoirthear Cuilmen gus in leabhar as lúgha dá ngoirther deich-bréithir ina ndeachtraighther .i. i ndeghchóirighther an tiomna maith dorinne Dia do Maoisi*, 'Druim clí, that is, a man who has the complete knowledge of wisdom from the greatest book which is called Culmen to the smallest book which is called the Deich-bréithir (Ten words, Commandments)'; cp. O'Curry, ms. Materials, p. 495.

A further reference is contained in the Bk. of Ballymote 4 a 20: *conad iatsein tuirrechta 7 genelaigi Grec amal adbert Essuidir 7 Cuilmen* (cp. Zimmer, Nennius Vindicatus, 253 f.), 'so that these are the proceedings and the genealogies of the Greeks as Isidorus and the Culmen state.'

The meaning and origin of the *Culmen* have been discussed by O'Curry (MS. Materials, 29-32) and by Zimmer (Nennius Vindicatus 253-57). Zimmer interprets the word as compounded of *cuil* (i. e. *cūl*) 'nook, corner, Ecke, Winkel' and *menn* 'clear, klar, durchsichtig,' and hence meaning 'the dark nook which has been made bright or clear, der erhellte, klar gestellte (früher dunkle) Winkel.' He further tries to show that the *Culmen* was brought to Ireland by Gildas on his visit to the country about the year 565 A. D. I shall here endeavour to show both that Zimmer's conclusions are incorrect, and that the *Culmen* was brought into Ireland in the 7th, not in the 6th century.

Attention has often been called to the tendency to etymologizing so common among early Irish writers. Zimmer has dealt with one aspect of this (Sitzungsber. Preuss. Akad. Phil.-hist. Kl. 1910, pp. 1031 ff.), endeavouring at great length to prove that the source of most of this etymologizing was the so-called Virgil the Grammarian, who, he alleges, visited Ireland. This latter point does not concern us here.

¹ As to *Druim Clí*, O'Curry (MS. Mat. p. 495) cites the following passage from a vellum slip (now missing) between p. 73-4 in H. 4. 22, T. C. D.: *Scolaighe mac léighind mic caoicthaidh mic fogluma mic deiscipuil mic suadh litri mic suadh canóine mic druim-clai mic Dé bí*, 'school boy son of learning son of *caoctach* son of student (foglaintid) son of disciple son of doctor of letters, son of the Canons, son of *druim-clí*, son of the living God.'

There is no doubt, at all events, that a partiality for etymology was by no means peculiar to Irish writers, but was common amongst early mediaeval Latin scholars, whose work was familiar to the earliest Irish writers. In the Old-Irish Treatise on the Psalter (ed. Meyer, *Hibernica Minora*), many of these Latin writers are quoted, among others, Cassiodorus (A. D. 480—575) and Isidorus of Seville (A. D. 560—636). This treatise can be shown, on linguistic grounds, to have been written not much later than the middle of the 9th century, and it can be proved that the work of Isidorus was known in Ireland much earlier. The treatise in question contains numbers of etymologies from Seregius, Cassiodorus, and Isidorus, but their principal source is Isidorus. A typical etymology ascribed to him (p. 34) is: 'Beatus quasi bene auctus, etc., which is rendered '*ata ani as beatus amail bid cain-tormachtaid*, 'beatus, is as it were well-increased.' To Seregius is then attributed another etymology, 'beatus quasi vivatus', rendered '*ata ani as beatus amal bid beaighi*, 'as if it were vivified'. Farther on Cassiodorus' etymology is quoted 'beatus quasi bene aptus,' and last of all (p. 36) Ambrose, 'beatus quasi bene felix'. The Irish writer endeavours to reconcile all these etymologies with 'beatus *is caintormachtae is beaighi ind luc-sa in fechnach* .i. uir, 'beatus, the blessed or happy man (in) this passage is well-increased, is vivified'.

These Latin etymologies have in common with a good many Irish, two characteristics: (1) they give alternatives, (2) they are often equally wide of the mark. Isidorus was their chief source, and their similarity to many Irish etymologies leads to the conclusion that the early Irish scholars derived much of their inspiration from him. The influence of his *Etymologiae* on the Lebor Gabála has already been noted by MacNeill, by Van Hamel (ZCP ix. 173 ff.); Zimmer (Nennius Vindicatus, 225 ff.), and Meyer (ZCP xiii. 142).

The foregoing considerations make it certain that copies of Isidorus reached Ireland at a very early date. We are fortunate, however, in possessing more definite evidence of the connection of Isidorus with Irish scholarship. Our chief source of information is the Féilire Oengusso, written by Oengus céle Dé between A. D. 797 and 808.¹ On turning to Jan. 2, we find, '*Esodir int epscop abb ecailse airde* 'Isidorus the bishop, the chief (lit. abbot) of a noble

¹ cp. Strachan Phil. Soc. Trans. 1894, p. 554; R. C. xx. 191 ff., and Thurneysen, ZCP. vi, p. 8.

church'. The Leabhar Breac version of the Féilire is heavily glossed, and is for that reason of the utmost value. The language of a number of the glosses shows that they belong to a very early period. Over Esodir is written: *i. in chulmin*, 'that is Isidorus of the Culmen'. (LB. Facs. p. 79). Which, following the Irish system of naming an individual after some special characteristic or feat, would imply *Isidorus who wrote the Culmen*. A further example of this system of naming occurs in a note on the same entry (LB. p. 78): Esodir 7 r̄ spana ciuitas est Esio doro sechim oligiarum memoratur hic. Stokes (Fél. Oeng. 1st ed. p. xxxi) reads, 'spana ciuitas eius isidorus etymologiarum memoratur hic.' The more probable reading is: '[Hi]spana ciuitas est Esiodoro [for Isodoro]¹ sech[is] Isidorus [ety]mologiarum memoratur hic, 'in Spain Isidorus has his city, that is, Isidorus of the Etymologies is commemorated here.' This gloss was obviously transcribed from an older copy.

This shows that Isidorus was known to Irish scholars by two names, (1) *Esodir in chulmin*, 'Isidorus of the Culmen,' and (2) *Isidorus Etymologiarum*. I shall now endeavour to show that these two names refer to the same thing.

In view of the foregoing, we may correct the text quoted by Zimmer (op. cit. 253-54 = BB. 4a 20), *conad iat sein tuirrechta 7 genelaigi Grec amal asbert Essuidir 7 Cuilmen*, into ... *amal asbert Essuidir i Cuilmen*, 'as Isidorus said in the Culmen'.

As regards the meaning of the word *Culmen*, Zimmer's explanation seems partly due to a misreading of it. *Culmen*, *Cuilmen*, in every early instance in which it occurs, is written with a single *n*. Only a comparatively late occurrence has *nn*, viz., the *probatio pennae* of Fergal mac Uilliam in the Leabhar Breac (p. 60): *proma pind dFergal mac Uilliam for in Cuilmend oll*. The gloss in H. 3. 18, fol. 603 is wrongly quoted by O'Curry (Ms. Mat. 504), who prints *Cuilmenn ... dar éis in Chuilmeinn*. The ms. reading is *Cuilmen i. leabur, ut est berta in sui sair dar éis in chuilmin*.² This disposes of the final *nn* and definitely establishes the form of the word as *culmen*, *cuilmen*. A later doubling of final *n* may be due to the influence of a nasal at the beginning of the syllable. It is fairly obvious that *culmen* is no other than the Latin *culmen* (-inis),

¹ With a Latin construction formed on the type of *is indi atá cathair dössom*.

² The quotation is from *Foillsigud na Tána* (LL. 245b), and the glosses in H. 3. 18 are on the Táin and Táin Bó Fráich,

'the top, summit, ridge,' for earlier *columen*. The *Culmen* would then be the 'Summa,' summit or culmination of knowledge which was to be mastered by the *Druim-clí*, who represented the highest human knowledge and whose position in learning is indicated by the genealogy given above from H. 4. 22. This 'Summa' or culmination of knowledge can be nothing other than the *Origines* or *Etymologiae* of Isidorus, meant to contain all the knowledge of the time.

The name *Culmen*, which does not, so far as I know, occur elsewhere as the title of a book, would be suggested by such an Irish expression as *druimne suithe*.¹ For instance, *ro-leg suithe co druimne*, AU. 742. The idea of summit or ridge is also emphasised in the explanation of *clí* in H. 3. 17, col. 778: *clí fo chosmailius na clethe bís isin tegdaís staraide si bund-remur barr-chael. Bunn-remur he in aithfega(d) na ngrad is isli 7 barr-chael e in aithfegad na ngrad is uaisli inass*, 'clí after the likeness of (ridge)-pole which is in the material house, which is thick at the lower and slender at the upper end. It is thick-based compared with the grades that are lower, and slender-topped with those that are higher.'

It is fairly well established that Isidorus' work was written between 622 and 633. The *Culmen* was referred to in connection with Senchán's quest for the Táin. Senchán was the poet of Guaire, who died in 663, his own death being assigned to 657. From this it would follow that a copy of the *Origines* reached Ireland about the middle of the 7th century, that is, about twenty or twenty-five years after it was written. In Ireland a book or poetical composition was valued at a great price, and the exchanging of one valuable book for another would not have been unusual. Colum Cille sent his famous poem *Allus prosator* to Pope Gregory the Great in return for a gift of a gold cross: *rucad tra int immun-sa do Griguir sair i commain na n-aisceda tuctha huad i. in chross i. in mór-gem a hainmside* (Liber Hymn. ed. Bernard and Atkinson, p. 63), 'this hymn (i. e. the *Altus Prosator*) was brought eastward as an equivalent gift for the presents which were brought from him (i. e. from Gregory), i. e. the cross, that is, the Great Gem was its name.'

There seems to be no doubt that the introduction of Isidorus' work into Ireland gave a great impetus to native learning in the

¹ cp. Voyage of Bran, App. p. 54, note 4.

seventh century.¹ His *Origines* was regarded as the last word in human knowledge, and it increased in importance as time went on, no appreciable progress having been made in science or learning for centuries after his death. Throughout the middle ages it was the text-book most in use. Its adoption in Ireland in the seventh century is evidence of the desire of the Irish to be in touch with the learning of the time.

TOMÁS Ó MÁILLE.

¹ The text *Foillsigud na Tána*, already referred to, and such episodes as that of Mongán and Eochaid Ríg-éiges (ed. E. Knott, *Ériu* VIII. 156) are evidence of this activity.

METRICA

III. THE ALLEGED UNVOICING OF *-dh d-*

IN the last number of *ÉRIU* I stated that Meyer was mistaken in thinking that "if *dh* and *d* come together, they have between them the value of *t*." Since then I find (ZCP. XI. 162) that he assumes the same principle in order to get an alliteration. It may be worth while testing the evidence for the existence of such a metrical rule. The two cases, the pronunciation of final *dh* as *t*, and that of initial *d* as *t*, may be taken separately. The alleged rule is based upon one example of each.

(1) I know only one copy of the poem cited by Meyer, that contained in the Book of Hy Many f. 117sq. It is there ascribed to Donnchadh Mór. The couplet in question is § 2cd

marbnat Dē nī treabad tnūid
garmac dūin ē¹ dleagar dín.

The ms. reading then is *marbnat*, and lest it should be maintained that *marbnat* Dē is merely a phonetic rendering of *marbnad* Dē, in accordance with Meyer's rule, we have only to read on a couple of lines to § 3cd:

nī *marbnat* gan fáchain² hī
mo rī as m'athair dagmac³ Dē.

In this there is no following *d* to account for the final *t*, and this is the very couplet cited in Ir. Gr. Tracts II, Ex. 576 for the form *marbnat*. The form is easily explained. It is a by-form of *marbhna*, generalized from cases like *in marbnat-sa*, just as *in crut-sa* gives the modern dialectic *crot* beside *cruth*. For the sandhi see Thurneysen, *Handbuch* § 136 and Ir. Gr. Tracts I, § 34.⁴

¹ not *duine*, as the rimes with *tnūid* and *Dē* show.

² *achain* MS.

³ *matair deag mc* MS.

⁴ Another form *marbhna* (ib. II, § 2) beside *marbhna* comes from the analogy of *labhra* beside *labhradh*, and the like.

(2) Ardrī ūasal inna n-uile, tuistid domuin (ZCP. XL 149)

Here it is assumed that *tuistid* and *domuin* alliterate. Without disputing the reading of the restored text, for the MSS. (Anecd. I. 50) have the definite article before *domuin*, one may question whether this is a sure case of alliteration, for though alliteration is common it is not consistent throughout the poem: cf. the following lines from Meyer's restored text:

- 8 Fordarala Ailill angbaid co ngnīm trēnfir.
 11 Asbert nād bōi athair derb dō adnaib sōire.
 15 Ruc a churach for frōich fairgge, codal trēde.
 83 Doluid cuccu ingen imgel co feib delbae.
 129 'Frithrāid bar curach for cūlu!' ol in tūisech.

There are several other examples to show that alliteration after the caesura is not treated as obligatory. At most we might assume that the poet's ear was content with the alliteration of *t* and *d* in *tuistid domuin*, but that is a very different thing from maintaining that he pronounced *tuistit tomuin*. So far there is no evidence in favour of the rule.

The evidence on the other side is overwhelming. First there is the *a priori* improbability of the change *-dh d-* to *-t t-* in Irish metrics. No parallel can be drawn from Welsh usage, for in Welsh the unvoicing of such groups is an essential fact of the speech, not a mere metrical artifice (see Morris Jones, *Grammar* p. 182), whereas in Irish phonetics *dh-d* gives *dd*.

But what Meyer has overlooked is the metrical evidence opposed to his theory. Out of the countless instances in which the enforcing of such a rule would spoil the metre, we need take only a few. First let us look at the very poem *Éistidh re marbnaidh Meic Dē* on which the rule is founded. I cite from the MS., giving the number of the quatrain.

- 1 as tocrād mōr marbnadh¹ Dē
 nī hē in brōn gan adbur hī.

marbnat would not rime with *adbudr*. Similarly the change of *-dh* to *-t* would destroy the rime in the following:

- 10 As mē adēradh dā guth gāeth (: dēnamh)
 13 Dīa gēra chrochad dom cind (: othur)
 14 nī tšāeil mē m'obadh don fīr (: cogur)
 20 gī clē in cūis laghaidh² don lucht (: tabair)

¹ *marbnaidh* MS. with punctum delens under the *i*

² *laghadh* MS.

- 34 as beō arna *crochadh dhāibh* Dīa (: othur)
 38 Mairg do *crāidh degmāthair* Dhē (: cāir)
 39 Mairg rēr *crochadh Dīa* fo-dhēin (: othur)
 42 trūagh in pāis *anadh dā* ēis (: raghadh uadh)
 52 go *ndeachaidh*¹ don cruinde cē (: beathaidh²)
 54 gan *loghadh dhō* nīr lōr leis (: monor)

In the sixth, seventh and eighth of the above citations Meyer's rule would destroy the alliteration as well as the rime. Also in the following:

- 43 itā *loghadh*³ *dāibh* ō Dīa.

We see that the proposed pronunciation of *-dh d-* as *-t t-* would involve at least fifteen metrical faults in this poem, probably more, for several lines are illegible in the MS. The piece is carefully composed, and must have been regarded as a model of technique, for, in addition to the couplet already referred to, I have noted eight other quotations from it in the grammatical tracts.

Numerous examples might also be given from other poems in the same MS. edited by Meyer in *Archiv* III. 234-246. In these, as in the hundreds of poems in strict metre composed between the twelfth and the seventeenth centuries, the alleged rule will be found, I believe, invariably contradicted by the metre.

Meyer adds (*Primer* p. vi.) "The same rule would naturally apply in the case of *gh + g, bh + b.*" No example is given. Such sequences are less common than that of *dh + d*, but there are quite enough examples to show that the rule is equally unworkable. Cf. *Arch.* III. 246 § 37:

geal asa *dabaig* gach dream
 na *samail* flead re fuigeall

dabaic would not rime with *samail*.

'Essays and Studies presented to W. Ridgeway', 344 §§ 26c and 27:

as lōr d'áoinfear dá madh áil
 ré slógh *Gdoidheal* dá gabháil.

slóc would not rime, and *Cáoidheal* would not alliterate.

Mar do beith *sib beō* co brāth. (Arch. III. 239, 24)
 Ar *Gaileanguibh beaga* Breagh. (Top. Poems p. 14).
 teannaigh isan tír a le,
 ná bídh i mbeannaibh *Béirre*. (A. IV. 3 p. 660).

¹ *ndeacaidh* MS

² *beathaigh* MS.

³ *lobadh* MS.

In the last three instances the alteration of *-bh b-* to *-p p-* would destroy the alliteration, and in the last case the rime as well.

In the face of the instances quoted from poems in strict metre — and they might be multiplied indefinitely — sporadic examples from poems in the looser metres, where internal rime and alliteration are optional, have no weight. It is, in fact, erroneous to say that any combination of voiced consonants, homorganic or not, in compounds or in the contact of different words, can produce in Irish a voiceless group. Notes on the pronunciation of the various combinations will be found in the Gramm. Tracts I §§ 41-52 and 103-7.

IV.—THE ALLITERATION OF *th*.

In ÉRIU VIII 162-1 I criticized Meyer's views on this subject as set forth in his *Primer*. His later views are now to be found in his interesting *Miscellanea Hibernica*, published by the University of Illinois, pp. 14-15, in which he seeks to establish on metrical grounds the date of the change in the pronunciation *th* to *h*. The metrical argument seems to me unsound.

First, as to the poem edited in ÉRIU VII. 219sq., Meyer accepts the authorship of Cináed úa Hartacáin, who died in 975. But Thurneysen has shown (ZCP. x. 438-40) that the ascription is wrong, as the poem can hardly be older than the twelfth century. From this poem Meyer takes two lines, 15d and 45b, which seem to point to alliteration of *th* and *s*: he adds 'in both cases we have to deal with the second lines of a couplet where alliteration is imperative, a rule which Cináed observes strictly throughout the poem.' This is a matter of statistics. Our only authority for the text is LL., with all its scribal errors, some of which have been corrected by the editor, Lucius Gwynn, others by Meyer in the *Miscellanea*. But, so far as we can see, alliteration is *not* observed in the following, each the second line of a couplet:¹

62b ra pa rún can tarba di en.²
 32d ba holc leiss 'na ndernad riss.
 37d noco nambér lemm dom' thig.

¹ Omitting 29d *dáilte fín 7 mid fair*, as *fín* and *mid* may have changed places.

² Read *d'áen*.

63d dlomaid riu go brath in lèch.
 68d co ruc féin a mac do'n rig.

As an example of *th* alliterating with a vowel, Meyer quotes *Poems from the Dindshenchas* p. 14 l. 16

don dún ule ar n-a thoraind.

From the same poem one might quote—

30 ingin Taidc cer gním étig
 42 do rónad fer in rátha
 55 inund máthair cor-rathaib
 56 do Chumall is do m'athair
 80 rop é rig-fénnid h-Erend

as a proof that *g*, *ch* and *r* may alliterate with vowels, and that *f* and *m* may alliterate with *r*. By picking odd lines out of poems in loose metre one can prove anything, or prove nothing, *quod est verius*. The single line quoted from *Misc. K. Meyer* 358 § 6, the half dozen from *Anecd.* I, 35—39, and the further examples from SR. are equally indecisive. Indeed two of the examples from SR.—

106 o tha talmain co esca
 5846 fo theisc sáinigthe Sámuail

have nothing to do with the argument, for the alliteration of *thā* with *talmain* and of *sáinigthe* with *Sámuail* stares one in the face.

The fact is that in strict metre down to the early eighteenth century *th* alliterated only with *t th* or *dt*, and it is therefore impossible to establish from metrical tests the date of the change in its pronunciation. Further investigation is needed, and help must be sought not merely from Norse but from Anglo-Norman transliterations. The question is complicated by the fact that initial *th* is associated with radical *t*, and final *th* is also subject to the laws of sandhi. Modern dialectic pronunciations of final *th* as *h*, *f*, and *ch* must also be considered.¹

¹ The above papers had been prepared for the press while Meyer was still living. I take this opportunity of recalling the encouragement and stimulus I have received from him in this and other studies. Having read the last number of *Ériu*, and hearing that further criticisms were to follow, he wrote to me, not long before his death, that he was always willing to learn.

V. THE PRINCIPLES OF ALLITERATION

As the initial changes known as lenition (aspiration) and nasalization (eclipsis) are ignored in alliteration, it has been assumed¹ that the laws of alliteration were fixed before these changes came about. This would put their origin back into the prehistoric period. In the interior of words the change of *nt* to *dd* and *nc* to *gg* is older than the Ogam inscriptions.² The only instance in these inscriptions in which initial eclipsis may be assumed is *Tria maqa Mailagni*³; here the gen. pl. is not written **maqan*, and it is quite improbable that the final *n* would have been retained if the following word had been *Celi*.

In early alliterative poetry the alliteration is partly mechanical, taking into account the unstressed syllables later classed as *íarmbér-la* ('gleichsam nur für das Auge,' Meyer, *Über die ält. ir. Dichtung*, p. 8). In the syllabic verse alliteration has developed on lines of its own. It could not be quite like the alliteration in early Teutonic verse, which belongs to languages with fixed initials. In studying its characteristics it will be well to ask what Irish poets could have done, and what they aimed at.

Was exact repetition of the same initial sound possible? To a certain extent this was so. Indeed it would leave the poet free to compose perfect alliterations addressed to the ear such as *na mbó mór*. But the variety of initial sounds is so great that a whole poem with such sequences in every line would be a *tour de force*. Even phrases like *a chiall chóir* and *a rí na rí* would have to be avoided, for the *ch* in *chóir* is sounded differently from that of *chiall*, and here the *r* of *rí* is not the same as that of *rí*. But, apart from alliteration, what Irish poets aimed at was not identity, but similarity combined with variety. Their scheme of rime, *comardad*, is based upon a delicate classification of consonants, each of which may correspond to any other in its own group, with a result far more subtle than the rime of other languages. A further similarity combined with variety is attained by the use of *uathne* or con-

¹ So Atkinson *On Irish Metric*, p. 9. Meyer's former theory of three periods of (1) lenition, (2) laws of alliteration, (3) eclipsis, (*Primer* p. 4, ll. 20 and 25), is chronologically impossible. In *Misc. Hib.* p. 15 he puts the laws of alliteration before the period of lenition or nasalization.

² MacNeill, *Ogham Inscriptions* p. 352.

³ *ib.* p. 362.

sonance, in which, while the metrical weight of corresponding syllables is equal, the vowels must be different. Then there is the varied rhythm, for apart from the final rimes the rhythm is not fixed, and in *deibide*, the commonest metre of all, even the final rime is unrhythmical. In the elaborate metre called *droigneach* a further variety is attained by the fact that while there are almost invariably four beats in the line, the number of syllables is not fixed.¹

We might assume that in their alliterative system as well Irish poets would have desired something more varied than a sequence of identical sounds, and of this we have direct proof. In Ir. Gr. Tracts I. § 2 reference is made to a metrical fault called *droichead úama* 'bridge of alliteration.' This is defined in D 4 35 (T.C.D.) p. 170.

Seachain an droichead uama .i. focail na cceathromhan uile do bheith muna rabha seimhioghadh no uirrdhiobhadh ar chuid eigin dib tar an ccuid eile.

From this it is clear that a sequence of alliterating words, unrelieved by lenition or eclipsis, was displeasing to the ear. It would certainly have been monotonous, and if it had been accompanied by final and internal rime, in the English sense, the result in the more elaborate metres would have been an intolerable jingle.

On what then does alliteration in Irish depend? There are two factors, one phonetic, the other psychological. As a rule, if either is missing there is no alliteration. When *b* is matched with *bh*² the sound is similar, though not identical; the latter is pronounced with the lips in the same position, except that closure is incomplete.³ So *bó* and *mbán* can alliterate, for *m* is merely a nasalized *b*. The ear is satisfied, for the sounds are similar, and in each case the mind is aware of the radical *b*. But *bhó* does not alliterate with *bhfód*, nor *mór* with *mbán*, for the psychological factor is wanting. So of other groups: *d*, *dh* and *dt*. The usage was fixed at a time when *dh* and *th* were dental spirants.

¹ Meyer, following O'Molloy, says 'each verse may contain from nine to thirteen syllables,' *Primer* p. 26. But the last verse of his example contains fourteen.

² I give the modern spelling, as O. and Mid. Ir. spelling does not mark the distinction.

³ The modern Connacht and Ulster pronunciation of *bh* as *w* cannot be very old; cf. Thurneysen, *Handbuch* p. 120.

The exceptional treatment of *s*, *f*, and *p* is due to their phonetic peculiarity. *s* and *ś* (= *h*) are so different in sound that the phonetic link is missing, while *ś* and *h* in phrases like *a searc na hóige* lack the psychological connection. Hence, to get both, we can alliterate *ś* only with *ś*. In the same way *tś* in cases like *don tśúil* can alliterate only with *tś*.

As *ḡ* is silent, such a word as *ḡir* can correspond only to a word beginning with a vowel or with *ḡ* followed by a vowel; *ḡl* can be answered only by *ḡl* or *l*, *ḡr* only by *ḡr* or *r*. The case is not a parallel to that of *ś*, for whereas the lenited *s* has a different sound from the radical, *ḡ* has no sound at all. Thus the phonetic link between the two words depends altogether on the following vowel, *l* or *r*. It must be remembered too that the feeling for the radical is weak when that radical is a consonant liable to disappear from time to time. This is shown by the fluctuation in the Mid. Ir. period between *úar* and *fúar*, *fiormamhaint* and *iormamhaint*, *foghnámh* and *oghnámh*, etc. As a result, phonetic agreement or similarity alone is counted, and the alliteration in *a ḡir óig* is as correct as in *a ḡir féil*.

Initial *p* has always been rare, and was confined in O. Ir. to a few loanwords. It can, of course, alliterate with *bḡ*, but *ph* (= *f*) represents a sound far removed from the radical, and as common in the language as that of *p* is rare. And there was often hesitation about the radical. O. Ir. *promad* has become *fromhadh*, and the later language has doublets like *Filib* : *Pilib*, *frémh* : *prémh*¹, *prímh* : *frímh*-². As in this case a strictly phonetic alliteration was alone possible, the metrical tracts allow *ph* to alliterate with *f*, though, owing to the paucity of words beginning with *p*, examples of this are rare.

OSBORN BERGIN

¹ Thought by some scholars to be a recent vulgarism, but it has been used in the literature for hundreds of years, and was a recognized variant in the standard language. See Ir. Gr. Tracts II. § 39.

² *p* also interchanges with *b*, e. g. *prísún* : *brísún*; conversely *béist* : *péist* etc.

THE VOCATIVE IN MODERN IRISH.¹

IRISH grammarians of the present day give the simple rule that the vocative sing. is like the gen. sing. in nouns of the first declension (*o*-stems) and like the nom. sing. in all other nouns. The actual facts, however, are not so simple, and in order to suit the Irish of to-day the rule must be modified in two directions:— (I) Nouns outside the first declension have sometimes a special form for the voc. sing.; (II) nouns belonging to the first declension sometimes use the nom. form as voc.

(I.) In the case of feminine nouns and adjj. which end in a broad cons. in the nom., there is a strong tendency in the Irish of to-day to form the voc. sing. by attenuation, on the analogy of masc. nouns which end similarly (*i. e.* nouns of the 1st decln.). There is evidence (see under *leac* below) that this tendency was already in operation in the latter half of the 17th century. The following examples may be given of this new fem. voc. formation²:

cailleach: voc. *a chailligh*, E. Lomnochtáin 68; Imtheachta Oireachtais 1899, pp. 94, 95; Fionn agus Lorcán 1; speech of W. Kerry. So *greadah' s duais ort, a chailligh ruainnigh*, in verses quoted in Séadna 44. Similarly *a shean-chailligh fhíodhnaigh*, Im. Oir. 1899, p. 94; and cf. *a chaillichín mhíto-náirigh*, Annála na Tuatha III. 13.³

¹ I am indebted to Prof. Bergin for calling my attention to the vocatives in the Irish Bible and C. Pr. and for other valuable suggestions.

² I give here a note with which Prof. Bergin has kindly furnished me, lest the Mid. Ir. instance he quotes should be misinterpreted in this connection:— "*A macbrethaig glórdai* 'O glorious Son-bearer', Trip. Life CLXVI (from LB. 74 a 52), is too early to be an example of this formation. Besides, by the analogy of *rigbrethach*, etc., *macbrethach* would mean 'of childish judgment.' As find *d* and *g* are used to represent the same sound in Mid. Ir., *macbrethaig* may be a misspelling of *macbrethaid*, with the usual termination of nouns of agency."

³ On the other hand *a chaileach* or *a chailleach* is used as voc. by Canon O'Leary in Tadhg Saor 12, An Sprid 2, An Cleasaidhe 37. In C. Ó Deasumhna's stories in Scéalta Tríúir I note *a chailligh* p. 13, but *a chailleach* pp. 11, 35.

óinseach: voc. *a óinsigh*, Séadna 67.

méirdreach: voc. *a mhéirdrig* in a poem by Aodh Buidhe Mac Cruíín (23 L 31 p. 29, and Nat. Lib. MS. 1), and in a poem by Seán Chambers (24 B 11 p. 270, and Maynooth MS.). So *a mhéidrig* in a W. Kerry tale in An tÉinín Órdha, p. 28.¹

spideóg, in W. Kerry *spriodóg*, 'a robin': voc. *a spriodóg*, said to a small-sized woman, W. Kerry.

muc: *fág an dít sin, a mhuic* (or *a mhuic shailig*), 'leave that place, you (dirty) pig', said to a dirty little girl, W. Kerry.

cábóg: voc. *a chábóg*² *gan chiall*, said to a man, O'Leary's An Bealach Buidhe 26; Don Cíochóté 72.

lámh: voc. *uch! ón a lámh ón och! a lámh*, 23 O 17 p. 9.³

croch: *a sheana-chroich shúig, is chugatsa san*, 'you sooty old pot-rack, that is meant for you', proverb quoted in An Craos-deamhan, p. v.

leac: voc. *a lic* (: *luidh*), Ó Bruadair II. 152; *a gharbhleac mhóir*, 23 I 48 p. 79 and Nat. Lib. MS. III.⁴

Compare also *a chráibhthigh charthannaigh* etc., addressing the B. V. M., in Tadhg Gaedhealach (ed. Dinneen, l. 1130).

In the following examples the nouns end in the nom. either in a vowel or a slender consonant, and consequently have themselves no special vocative form; but it will be observed that the accompanying adjectives are treated as they would be with masculine nouns:— *a chú bhig ghránna*, Madra na nOcht gCos 16; *a thoice bhig*, Séadna 6; *a spioraid shailigh* (said to the devil), O'Leary's Marc. v. 8, and Aithris ar Chríost 109⁵; *a iarlais bhig mhillte* (said

¹ I have heard *béid(i)reach* as nom. in W. Kerry. *Méirleach*, f., appears to be sometimes used as a milder substitute for *méirdreach*. Cf. *an mhéirleach*, abusively applied to a woman, Madra na nOcht gCos 26x; *a chaile 's a mhéirlig* (voc.), similarly applied to Aoibheal in Eachtra Ghiolla an Amarráin.

² Compare *a scoló[i]c* (: *oróit*) in verse in Aisl. M. p. 17, l. 10, which Bergin has pointed out to me.

³ Contrast *a lám* in an earlier version of the same quatrain, printed in ZCP. II. 225.

⁴ This occurs in a poem which is ascribed (wrongly) to Aogán Ó Raithile in Ir. Texts Soc. III. 2nd edn. p. 108. Contrast *a ghairbhleac mhór* in a version of the same poem in 23 L 13 p. 107. Contrast also *a leac*, rhiming with words like *neart*, *taísg* etc., in Ir. Texts Soc. III. pp. 90, 134, Seán Clárach l. 1248, and Filidhe na Máighe pp. 26, 60, 65.

⁵ The current form in Southern Ireland is *spioraid*, pron. *sprið*, which is fem. except in the phrase *an Spioraid Naomh* (gen. *an Spioraid Naomh*).

to a man), Im. Oir. 1899, p. 94; *a chuil bhig* (said to Cúchulainn), Bricriu 95; *comaoín ort, a fharaige mhuair*, '(I am conferring) a compliment on you, big sea', said by the wren in the proverb when it added its mite to the volume of the sea, W. Kerry.

The above examples have all been drawn from Munster texts or Munster speech. But the development of a feminine vocative is also known to the Irish of the Northern Half. Cf. *a chailligh*, voc., in folk-tales from Galway (Im. Oir. 1899, p. 155; so *a shean-chailligh*, ib. 157), from Mayo (ib. 118), and from Donegal (Cruach Chonaill 30); also in a Mayo folk-song (GJ. 141 p. 94). So in 'An Sutach 's a Mháthair', which originated probably in South Galway, we find *a chailligh* as voc. both in Munster and Connacht versions (cf. Hyde's Religious Songs, II. pp. 304-310; GJ. 66 pp. 93-94). Similarly *a strabóg*, 'you hussy', in Mayo Irish (Ml. Rogers in An Claidheamh Soluis II. pp. 259b, 322b), apparently vocative of a nom. *strabóg*.¹ J. H. Molloy, a native of East Galway, says in his Grammar (edn. 1878, p. 19): "The vocative of all nouns is attenuated, except such as end in a vowel, as in the fourth and fifth declensions". But the instances he gives of vocatives of fem. nouns are few, viz. *a chailligh* (he says *a chailleach* is wrong), *Éire, a mhainisdir* (p. 194); *a mhnaoi mhóir* (p. 124).² Cf. also the voc. *a Mháire mhóir* (ibid.); but this is given as an illustration of the rule that adjectives qualifying feminine Christian-names take masculine inflections. With Molloy's rule that all vocatives are attenuated may be compared Bourke's Irish Grammar (ed. 1879; p. 60), in which *cois, seamróig* and *geallaigh* are given as voc. of *cos, seamróg* and *geallach* (sic) respectively.³

A similar tendency towards special fem. vocatives is seen in 19th-cent. editions of the Irish Bible. Thus *a ghealach*, Jos. x. 12, 1685, becomes *a ghealaidh*, 1817 and 1852⁴; and *a mheirdreach*,

¹ I have not noticed *strabóg* elsewhere, and it is possible that *strabóg* is merely a minced form of *strabóid*; cf. *méirdreach* and *méirleach*.

² This peculiar use of the dat. of *bean* as voc. I have never met elsewhere.

³ Bourke, however, is an unreliable authority. On p. 70 of his Grammar he contradicts the last of the above exx. by stating that fem. nouns in *-ach* "form the vocative singular like the nominative", as *a chailleach, a ghiorrsach*.

⁴ On the other *a ghrian*, ibid., is left unaltered. *A ghrian agus a ghealach* of the Irish 'Benedicite omnia opera', C. Pr. (1609), is left unchanged in the edns. of 1712 and 1832.

Ezech. xvi. 35, left unchanged in 1817, is altered to *a mhéirdrigh* in the edn. of 1852.

Here may be mentioned a couple of rare vocative forms, viz. *a laoi*, C. Pr. 1609, voc. of *lá*, 'agreeing in form with the gen; *a mo anóim*, *a mo anuim*, 'O my soul',¹ Desiderius, 1616, pp. 114, 269, though the gen. is *anma*.

(II.) As an offset to the development, illustrated above, of a special voc. form in certain nouns outside the first declension, mention must be made of instances in which Mod. Ir. makes the nom. of nouns of the first decln. do duty for voc.²

The use of nom. as voc. was very common in older verse in expressions like *a bhéal cumhra*, *a fholi fiar*, *a chneas mar bhláth*, meaning *a bhean* (or *a fhir*) *an bhéil chumhra*, etc. But as this mode of expression practically disappeared from literature with the extinction of the bardic schools, a passing reference will suffice in the case of a paper like the present dealing with Mod. Ir. usage.

In the case of words applicable only in a metaphorical sense to the persons to whom they are addressed, including often terms of endearment, the nom. is generally used as voc. Thus in 'Aithris ar Chríost'³ we have *Ó, a thobar an ghrádha shíoruidhe*, p. 117; *Ó, a Íosa, a sholus na glóire shíoruidhe, a shólás anama an deóraidhe*, p. 141; *Ó, a Dhia, a shuairceas gan teóra*, p. 153; *Ó, a phólás aoibhinn na catharach thuas*, p. 195.⁴ So in O'Sullivan's translation of the 'Imitatio' (1822): *a neart an anama*, 197; *a naomh-theaghlach árd-chéimeach na cathaire is airde*, 270.⁵ There are a number of examples in the litanies in the Cloyne Catechism, e. g. *a sgáthán an chirt*, *a shólás na ndobrónach* (Lit. of B. V. M.); *a fhtor-sholus*, *a shaidhbhreac na bhfioraon*, *a neart na martear*, and even *a úghdar na beatha*, *a aingeal na mór-chomhairle* (Lit. of Jesus). Canon

¹ Contrast the more Irish *a anam so agam-sa*, *a chroldhe seo agam-sa*, Aithris ar Chríost pp. 139, 130, both translating *anima mea*.

² The historical aspect of this is discussed in Bergin's paper, *infra*.

³ Father O'Nolan, Studies in Modern Irish I. 159, is wrong in explaining the nom. forms in this text as due to their occurrence in phrases.

⁴ On p. 169 we have *Ó, a sholuis shíoruidhe*, but this is probably a mere question of spelling (-uis shí- = -us sí-).

⁵ On the other hand the Co. Down translation (1762) employs inflected vocatives, thus *a dheallraidh* 159; *a shóláis*, id; *a theaghais agus ionaid* 218; *O! ualaigh* 142.

O'Leary insists on *a chuman* and *a stór* (so Táin 156) as the only correct vocative forms of these words (Fuinn na Smól, p. viii).¹

In 18th-cent. verse metaphorical terms like the foregoing are found both with uninflected and inflected vocatives, but the latter appear to be much the commoner. Examples are: *a chrann soillse* (: *annsuigheacht*), in an invocation to the B. V. M., I. T. S. III. 1st edn. p. 290. In Merriman's *Cúirt a shaidhbhreais saoghalta* (l. 170) and *a shíolrach neamhdha* (l. 830) seem to be the readings of most MSS.; in l. 415 both *a chumainn na bhfáidh* and *a chumann* . . . are found. In Tadhg Gaedhealach we have *a pheurla ghloin ghe-anamnuig*, Pious Misc., 15th edn. p. 19 (= ed. Dinneen l. 1096); *a stóir ghil*, id. p. 7 (Dinn. 580); *a ghrianáin ainglidhe*, id. p. 13 (Dinn. 931); but *a stór chroidhe an uain*, ibid., which O'Daly and Dinneen (929) edit to *a stóir* etc. Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin writes in his poem on the Wexford rebellion: *Beir litir uainn don Mhúmhuin leat, a riúin dhil sa stóir* (autograph copy in 23 G 21, p. 509). In 'Filidhe na Máighe', ed. Dinneen, we have *a chumainn*, pp. 59, 60, 145, 146; *a ghrádh ghil* and *a riúin dhil*, p. 145²; *a stóir ghil*, p. 146; and the MSS., so far as I have tested them, bear out these forms. So *a chumuinn gan chealg* in a poem by Eoghan an Mhéirín, 23 E 16 p. 282.

Collective nouns are uninflected in the voc. in the following instances from Bedell's O. T. (1685): *a phobal amadánach* Jer. v. 21, and so Is. viii. 9 and xxxiv. 1; *a choimhthionól*, Ps. lviii. 1. So Canon O'Leary uses *a phobul* as voc. (Sermons, *passim*); *a phobail* as voc. would, he says, be interpreted by any native speaker as "the name of some individual person or thing" (Fuinn na Smól, p. viii). On the other hand Ml. Óg Ó Longáin records some contemporary verses addressed to the people of the parish of Currykippane, near Cork, which begin *A phobuil na Curra* . . ., 23 N 13 p. 98.

In addressing the lower animals usage varies, both inflected and uninflected vocs. being found. Compare *a eun uasal*, Aesop. i. p. 15, and *a each*, Scéalta Triúir pp. 31, 36 (C. Ó Deasumhna), with *a sheabhaic*, id. 31, 35; *a fhiach duihbh* (like gen.), id. 4; *a mhada-*

¹ Nevertheless note the aspiration, showing special voc. form, of the adj., in *a ghrádh dhil*, Aithris ar Chríost 106. Whether Canon O'Leary would have similarly aspirated an adj. after *a stór* or *a chumann*, I cannot say.

² *Dhil* and *ghil* are liable to interchange; thus we also find *a ghrádh dhil*, *a riúin ghil*, and *a stóir dhil*.

ruaidh, Aesop II. p. 23; and *a ghearrdín duinn*, in verse quoted in *Ár nDóithin Araon* 25. In 18th cent. MSS. I have noted *a ghearrdín dhuinn*, 23 C 26 p. 19; *a choilligh dheirg*, 23 O 35 p. 45. In addressing inanimate objects I note the nom. used by Canon O'Leary in *a thromán*, Gadelica I. 219. Contrast, in the MS. literature, *go maire tú do thortha*, *a chroinn* 23 A 45, etc.; *a chnuic-sí theas*, 23 L 13 p. 80 (= Filidhe na Máighe p. 49); *a dhoruis*, O'Gr. Cat. 616. It is to be noted that when animals or inanimate objects are addressed, or (as in Aesop's Fables) are feigned to address one another, in terms which are also applicable to human beings, the inflected voc. is regularly employed. Compare the following and similar vocs. in O'Leary's Aesop (I and II): *a mhic ó*, *a fhir bhrí*, *a rígh onóraig*, *a rud dhroch-mhiotalaigh*. Furthermore when names of things are personified, the inflected voc. is used: *a bháis*, *a shaoghail*.

The following instances of nom. for voc. do not come under any of the above heads: *a leanbh*, O'Leary's *Táin* 102 (to a son), 133, 134 (to a daughter); *a Mhichíl naomhtha*, *a Árdaingeal*, *Soisgéal* as *Leabhar an Aifrinn* 106; *a Dhia*, now used (save sometimes in verse) instead of *a Dhé* as voc. of *Dia*. *A Chú Chulainn mheiltéach*, *Táin* 102, may be due to the fact that *cú*, 'hound', is fem.; cf. *a Chú mheiltéach*, id. 103. I add some instances of nom., or mixed nom. and voc., forms as given in P. Denn's 'Siosma an Anama res an gColuín' (Pious Miscellany, 15th edn., pp. 91 ff.): *a lúbuire sgléipeach*; *a ghlamuire bhéiceach*; *a chonablach*; *a chlire* (= chladhaire) *shladach*; *a lúbuire leuntach*; *a chonabluig thubuisteach vrégach*.

In the above remarks I have dealt with the voc. sing. only. The voc. pl. does not call for much comment. Nouns of the first decln. regularly form the voc. pl. in-*a*. But J. H. Molloy in his Grammar, pp. 16-18, makes the voc. pl. of such nouns the same in form as the nom. pl., e. g. *a shagairt*, 'priests!', *a linbh*, 'children!'; in other words he makes their voc. sing. and voc. pl. identical. Whether such forms may be heard in the Irish of East Galway, Molloy's native district, I cannot say. They are, however, found sporadically in modern literature. Thus in the Irish Bible: *a uachdaráin an phobuil*, Acts IV. 8 (1685)¹; *a sheirbhísigh na haltóra*,

¹ The 1st (1602) edn. reads *a luchd ridghalta an phobuil* here.

Joel I. 13 (1685); *sibhsi a bheathuigh an mhagha*, *ibid.* II. 22. The 1712 edn. of the Irish Common Prayer ('Benedicite') has *a chnoic*, *a shagairt*, and *a spioraid*, where the first edn. (1609) has *a chnoctha* (= *a chnoca*), *a shagarta* and *a spiorada* respectively. One of Tadhg Gaedhealach's poems begins: *Daoibh-se, a Ghaedhil bhochla, léighfead eachtra* (ed. Dinneen I. 1629).¹ A similar example is: *A Chiarraidhig, bíg ag guidhe liom, mar ba bhinn liom bhur nglórtha*, in a W. Muns. poem preserved orally but composed about 1754.²

Outside the first decln. the voc. pl. is identical with the nom. pl. But I note that in the case of *luch*, 'a mouse', which makes pl. *luchaig* in W. Muns., Canon O'Leary distinguishes nom. and voc. pl., writing the former *luchaigh* and the latter *a lucha* (Guaire 138).³

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¹ In the 15th edn. of the Pious Misc. the line runs *Bibhsi* (sic) *ghaadhil bhocht do leaghfead eachtara*.

² Versions have been published in *Journal of Cork Hist. and Arch. Soc.*, I. 124 and in 'The Cork Weekly Examiner' of 13 June 1896.

³ I add here some miscellaneous examples which I overlooked when writing the above paper. Canon O'Leary writes nom. *inghean*, voc. *a 'nghín* (Don Cíochóte 55); and Muskerry usage agrees with this (so Mícheál Ó Briain, of Ballymakeera, informs me), making the word *intón* in the nom., and *intín* in the voc. The voc. of *capall* is seen in the proverb *Mair, a chapaill, is ghebbhair féar*. The voc. of *leabhar* in *Druid anall, a leabhair bhig*, 23 M 16 p. 38, and in the well-known quatrain, so frequent in MSs., beginning *Truagh sin, a leabhair bhig bháin* (cf. O'Gr. Cat. 592). A poem by Ml. Óg Ó Longáin begins *A chumainn dhíl cháig chráibhthicc*, 23 G 20 p. 80 (autograph copy). *A Dia*, voc., occurs in Tig. 560 (Meyer, Contrs.). Cf. also gen. *Dia* in PH. (v. Glossary, s. v.); still heard in the phrases *teine Dia*, 'the fire of lightning', and *rath Dia*, O'Leary, *Mion-chaint* II. 9.

NOMINATIVE AND VOCATIVE

THE use of nominative for vocative of masculine o-stems goes back to a period when many of them were neuter, and, as such, had no special form for the vocative. Examples from the litanies are *a thosach na n-uili, a forcend an domuin, a séd na flatha nemdai, a nert* Dé Hib. Min. 43, 1-4; *a chend na n-óg* LB. 47 a 40. By analogy we find the nom. of masc. nouns which were rarely used in direct address: *a lubgortt foriata* ib. 41, *a fhírtíthopur glassaigthe* 42, *a rós corcarda* 49, *a thopar in bethad bithbuain* 74 d 52. On the other hand: *a thempail na diadachta* 74 a 22, *a thopair¹ na lubgort* ib. 25. So in Atkinson's PH. we find not only neuters: *a chined mallachtnach* 1383, *a chenel soeb* ib., *a lestar lán do démnaib* 1811, *a luaithred salach* 8236, *a dermat in dilghudai* 8241, but also: *a loc tairisme in chréis* 8239, *a fhetán néimnech* 8248, *a orghán* ib., *a chnocc coinde* 8272, *a thopur brén* 8222, *a thopur hittad* 8274. The voc. is used in *a thempuil diabuil* 8221. When the noun is in the nom. the adj. naturally agrees with it.²

Examples from religious and encomiastic poetry are innumerable. The following extract from 24 P 8, p. 220 (see ÉRIU VIII, Supp. p. 11) will show how the subject was treated in the bardic schools. There is an older copy in the Stowe MS. C. II. 3, but P. gives a better and fuller text (.c. = cóir, .l. = lochdach).

¹ Cf. *a topair bithnūe* Otia Mers. II. 96, 24; *a topar (thobair R)* ib. 98, 15.

² After cons. stems the adj. seems to have had the form of the nom.: *a ri firian* (var. *firen*) *firmaith* Féil. Prol. 10; *a rig* (read *rl*) *trócar ailgen* PH. 8234; *a chara cōemh* Otia Mers. II. 96, 23. In Acall. 2965 Stokes reads *a ri brethaig*, but the metre requires *a rigbrethaig*. Cf. *A mo chomdiu cumachtach* LL 307b y. The poem of which this is the first line ends 308a 10: *a mo chomde cumachtach*, where the metre requires *c(h)umachtaig* (: *fulachtain*), but the Mid. Ir. *co(i)mde*, *co(i)mdi* may have borrowed its voc. from the io-stems which it resembles.

Slúagh-agalluimh ann so.

Tarra a dhías .l. **tigidh** a dhías .c. Gach focal a mbí ciall illraidh 7 ceart úathaidh aige mur sin, mur tá **cách** no **slúagh** no **buidhean** no **clíar** no **sgol** no **pobal** no **béinne ban** no a leithéid eile. A **shlúagh** Dor .c. a **shlúagh** Dor .l. A **chách** .c. a **cháich** [.l.], a leithéid eile mur sin.

A **slúagh** dérach an domhain . trúagh an férach fuarabhair.

Do taithfnigheadh a hairc ibh . a ghlainchineadh Airt Éiníir.

A **chliarsa** amoigh fa mór toilg . ionar mór slansa an gloin ghaire an mur taoi taisig[h] do cheird . na heirg do cháoi ar thaisibh Taidhg.

Ní .c. tulshunnradh na sunnradh innsgne a mbeól garma agallmha mur so: Tigidh **m'fhiora** no tigidh **na fiora** .l. aráon.

Agalluimh sunn.

A **cheann** Dor, a **chinn** Dor .c. aráon.

Téighe ar c[h]eann an choiligh óir . a **cheann** Oiligh go haltóir.

Tearc do chreidfeadh a **chinn** Mis . go leigfeadh linn ar léigis.

A **dhuine geal** 7 a **dhuine ghil** .c., gach focal bhías d'úathadh 7 d'illradh mur sin.

Do Mhuire bearr an barrsa . a **dhuine seang** súlmhallsa.¹

Gabh mo dhánsa a **dhuine sháoir** . a M[h]áoil Mhuire an lámhsa ad láimh.

Gach focal 'ga mbí dá thaoibhréim, thaoibhréim gearr 7 taoibhréim fada, a ndíagh an thaoibhréime ghirr téid a ngairm n-agallmha aráon, mur tá: mac **Donnchaidh**, mac **Donnchadha**, 7 a **Dhonnchaidh ghil** .c. A **Dhonnchadha** .l.

Gach focal rachas siolla tar a ainm úathaidh ar a thaoibhréim úathaidh, a ccruth anma úathaidh as .c. é ar a ghairm agallmha, 7 as .c. moladh anma úathaidh 7 taoibhréime úathaidh air mur so: A **Áodh ghil**, A **Áodh geal** .c. aráon.

A **Dhúileamhuin** .c. ó chanamhuin, a **Dhúilimh** .c. ó chiort.

Toirche um dháil a **Dhúileamhuin** . choidhche madh áil m'fóiridhin.

Na focuil bharamhla 7 na hanmanna búidhe 7 na focuil a mbí ciall úathaidh 7 illraidh ionnta, a ndíagh a n-anma úathaidh a ngairm agallmha.

A **láogh m'anma** .c. A **laoigh m'anma** .l. más fíor.

¹ Cited from a poem beginning 'A Mhuireadhaigh, meil do sgín,' edited in The Dean of Lismore's Book (McLauchlan) pt. I, p. 158.

A lámh chabhra na cruinne . a ghrádh m'anma a ÓghMhuire.
 Ar mo dhúanláoigh budh cóir cradh . a úanláoigh¹ ban bhFáil 'sa
 bhfear .l.

A éin coluim ar cheannsa . fégh oruinn san éigeansa.
 Níor theó lá na Máol Midhe . a láogh na mná Mainighe .c.

The substance of this extract is as follows.

(a) The nom. of collective nouns is used for voc.
 (b) Imperatives referring to these must be plural. After the third example probably .l. has been dropped, for the verbs *an*, *eirg* contradict this rule.

(c) Neither a poss. pron.² nor the def. art. can be used with the voc.

(d) *A cheann* and *a chinn* are both correct.

(e) In the io-stems all the cases except the dat. pl. had fallen together with the nom. sg. (In the pl. these nouns could be treated as dental stems; so usually in prose. For the alternatives see Ir. Gr. Tracts, Decl. §§ 1-2.) As the distinction between nom. and voc. had been levelled out in the noun, a following adj. could take either form. For *duine* as pl. cf. Ir. Gr. Tracts, Introd. § 86. The writer may have been thinking of cases like the modern *trí dhuine dhéag*, *cheithre dhuine dhéag*, etc., where the lenition points to the influence of the old neuters like *trí chride*.

(f) When a noun has two genitives, its voc. agrees in form with the shorter, that of an o-stem.

(g) Nouns that increase in the gen. have voc. like nom., and the following adj. may also be in the nom.

(h) The voc. of metaphorical words and terms of affection is the same as the nom.

OSBORN BERGIN.

¹ úanláoigh MS.

² The Old Ir. *a mo* is not found in bardic poetry. The mod. *Ár nAthair*, formerly *a ar nathair*, Parthas an Anna (1645) p. 22 etc., is a solecism confined to the translation literature; the Mid. Ir. version is *a athair fil i nimib* PH 7823.

ADDENDA TO 'MISCELLANEA'.

maidir le (pp. 12-15). This appears to be known in North Connacht also; thus it is employed by Mícheál Mhag Ruaidhrí (*maidir le Gaedhilge dhe*, *An Claidheamh Soluis*, 21 April 1900, p. 81) and by Seaghán Ó Ruaidhrí (*maidir leóbhtha-san*, *Bl. na bhFranncach* 36), both of them natives of Co. Mayo. I have noted one example of *mar le* in the sense of 'as for' in Canon O'Leary's writings, viz. *Mar le hór, is cuma é nú cloíchintín grín ar thráig, mar a mheasaim*, *Ivernian Journal* iv. 35.

Ordinarily Canon O'Leary employs *i dtíobh* in the sense of 'as for'; but besides the above instance of *mar le*, I have noted that he uses *i gcúrsat* (*-aidhe*) in the same sense in GJ. no. 94, pp. 166—167. *I gcúrsat* is well-known in Waterford; cf. Sheehan's *Sean-chaint na nDéise* 78, and Henebry's *Gobbán Saor* 20; it also occurs in 'An Sutach 's a Mháthair' (Hyde's *Religious Songs*, II. pp. 300, 310). *Mar gheall ar* is exceptionally used in the sense of 'as for' in *Trí Sgéalta*, p. 27 a (W. Cork). *Ar sgáth*, quoted from Gallagher *supra*, is still in use in Donegal; cf. Craig's *Sgéalta Sgiurtha*, p. 51. The Scottish use of *air son*, = 'as for', is found in some Ulster texts; thus, *air son na sleighe agus gach ní oile . . . is leatsa iad*, H. 5. 28 fo. 144 b (transcribed 1679); *air mo shon-sa* and *air mo shon féin*, 'as for myself' in the Co. Down *Tóraidheacht air Lorg Chríosta*, pp. 201, 202. As Prof. Bergin has pointed out to me, this use of *ar son* also occurs frequently in Bedell's O. T. (Gen. XLIV. 17; 1 Sam. XII. 23, etc.).

The confusion between *maidir* (or *mar*) *le* and *maile le* is further exemplified in the use of *maile le* = 'as for' in the version of 'An Sutach is a Mháthair' in Ren. 69 (Maynooth), pp. 206 ff., transcribed in Clare in 1853, e. g. *maile le pósadh is gnódh ro dhaor é*.

eachlach urláir (pp. 15-16). The *eachrais urlair* also plays a part in a Tíree folk-tale of the Cinderella type published in

'The Celtic Magazine', XIII. pp. 454 ff. Here, it is worth noting, her rôle is not that of a wicked witch but of a beneficent fairy who helps the heroine.

farraid etc. (pp. 20-22). An early instance of *fiosruighim* occurs in the poem *Naomhtha an obair iomrádh Dé*, ascribed to Donnchadh Mór Ó Dálaigh, viz. *Ní dheachaidh duine ar domhan | an feadh sin dá bhfiosroghadh*, 'during that time no one went to visit them', or rather 'no one went to see how they were faring' (cf. Timthriú Chroidhe Neamhtha VIII. 60).

The meanings of *féachaim* as a transitive verb show a close analogy to those of *farraid* and *fiosrughadh* discussed above. Thus: *Féach an bhfaghfa dham é*, 'see whether you can find it for me', 'try to find it for me'. *Chuaidh sé amach féachaint¹ an mbeadh éinne ag teacht*, 'he went out to see (to find out) if anyone was coming'. *Féach é*, 'test it', 'put it to the test', 'try it'. *Níor tháinig sí 'om fhéachaint fós*, 'she has not yet come to see me (to see how I am, to visit me)'.

An interesting parallel is also afforded by the later developments of M. I. *fo* (or *im*) *dáig(in)*, *fo déig(in)*. In M. I. these phrases mean 'on account of', 'for the sake of', 'with a view to'; cf. a late ex. in Ó Cianáin 114: *glacait imegla ndermháir fo dháighín gluasachta 7 toighechta in tighe*. From this the meaning 'concerning', developed,² which I also find illustrated in Ó Cianáin: *scéla . . . um dháighín in tighe*, p. 128. Hence *mu dhéidhinn*, 'concerning', in present-day Scottish. In Mod. Ir. *fé* (*fa*) *dhéin*³ has come to mean (1) (to go) 'to fetch', (to go) 'for'; (2) 'to' (of motion), 'towards'. For instances in 17-18th cent. literature cf. *má thig sé fam dhéin*, 'if he pays me a visit', P. Hackett p. 43; *an tan do chuaidh an Naomh-Oigh air cuairt fá na déighín*, "when the Blessed Virgin went to visit her", Donlevy (1742) p. 384.

¹ This *féachaint* is the current equivalent of the older *d'fhios*. It stands for *ag féachaint*, representing an earlier *dá fhéachain*. In Connacht a corrupted form *héinte* (probably for **féaghaint*, from the obsolete by-form *féaghaim*) is used in the same way. Cf. the form *faghaint* similarly used in Sgeul. Chúige Mumhan, p. 92, l. 6.

² Similarly in the Irish of to-day *mar gheall ar* and *i dtaobh* mean both 'on account of' and 'concerning.'

³ This improved spelling has fortunately been allowed to slip through owing to the fact that the M. I. affiliations of the word were unknown to the spelling-purists. The first appearance of *déin* in print seems to have been in Lhuyd's *Archæologia* (1707).

12. **COLAM** .b., don cholaim, méd na colaime, na columbia, dona columaib, méd na gcolum, iar¹ choluma.

Colam calam, idhlann, eineclann, cubhal,² osnadh, fáilenn,^a níamann némann, élang,^b mónann, spirad, aithesc, asal, goibél gaibél,³ deisel ^adeisell, foilches failches foilghes failghes,^a dígenn, tairrsech^{ab} tairsech, meisnech, cennrach,^a dulann, merfall merball [mearfall go gearr leis .c. luis édtrom leis orra P], féithlenn^a féthlann, Uiltach [Ultach P], Midhech, Laighnech, Éilech,^a Connachtach, Gailengach, [Muimnech HP], inann 7 ⁴so síis acht na céidcheirt .df. dá n-imarcaidh⁴: torann tarann, toirrnech tairrnech,⁵ seisreach,⁶ [6a] lasrach, seamrach, baintrebthach, colcadh, colcach coilcech, buimech muimech, durrthach^b [duirtheach P], cláirsech, mírbal mírball, lúaghal lúaghall lúaghel lúaghell, sriball sreaball, tunnall, fithchell, bruindell, feórand, tórann tárann, uilenn uillenn, drumann, úamann, rámhann, lámhann, eiteal eteall, eatal (gréine, ^aacht gan a beith .df. ^a), cúainmér, conchlann, osgall osgal asgal asgall oschal oschall aschal aschall,⁷ gasradh, macradh,^a láochradh, ógbadh, damradh, echradh,^a ríghradh, gillannradh, ingenradh, ^aimand, arrann (ón doigh),^a cédfad,^b áontadh, turbadh, fidhbadh, imdhadh,⁸ dílad dílat, marbnadh,^a marbnath marbnad marbnat, taiples⁹ taiplesc¹⁰ táiples táiplesc,¹⁰ conart cúanart, malart, caismert, coingleac, ingealt, coisbeart, ceinnbeart, feartas, brosnach, [brosnadh P], echlach, cumhal (ó thrí ciallaibh), dechmadh .c. (dechmaidh .l.), echlas, echlasc (ón leabaidh), echlasg¹¹ (ón tslait), faidhlenn^a aidhlenn,¹² teinntech^{ab} [teanntach P], punnann bunnann, scológ (ceart .b. aigi 7 innsgni .fer. ann),¹³ easgann, ^aeasglann, urlann orlann erlann, tallann,¹⁴ falann, ceithern [ceithreann P], crúisech cróisech

¹ marb H, gan P

² cumal C²

³ *After* ceannrach meisneach goibhél gaibhél P *adds* ionann uile d'feirinnsgne 7 do .b. achd nach bráithre .f. dhóibh na ceithre hanmanna deigheancha. A mbráithre .b. ann so so sios seisreach *etc.*

⁴⁻⁴ colam .b. 7 .fer. achd innsgne .fer. ionnta P

⁵ toirrnech tairrnech C

⁶ -eoch C

⁷ H and P *give the four forms in os-*, *adding* a n-ailm leis H .c. a n-ailm leis iad P.

⁸ imdagh C, imgadh C²

⁹ taibles C

¹⁰⁻¹⁰ gu fada leis H, .c. a síneadh P

¹¹ echlusg C

¹² faighlenn C, aighlenn CH

¹³ achd innsgne .fer. innte P; C *adds* inann ghab- uile uathadh lethan aca 7 illradh caol

¹⁴ talann C

craísech, coibdhean caibdhean,¹ úasnadh, tuiresg [cranngal H, bratach HP], ²a dtáoirbéma 7 a dtuilréma úathaidh cáol 7 illradh lethan aca,² ^binann ghabaidh³ 7 colam .b.^{ab}

[Only in P]

drólann, Bréifneach Bréithneach, Breatnach, Boirneach, Maineach, Fíachrach, Sligeach, Imleach (an feadh téid), ionann 7 colam .b. 7 .fer. achd innsne .fer. ionnta, teinntreach (an aieóir), ládharg, sáorchlann, dáorchlann, óinseach, anghlas eanghlas, samhthach sámhthach, soineann, doineann, diomhdadh,⁴ maighdean, muinntear, máoileann, díbhearg, táthlamh, Gáoidhealg, gabhal, adharc, aigheann.

^aAdaltras fer na cruinne . ní hí clann na coluime

[clann do dhénuimh fa dheóigh dhi . le féghuin⁵ an éoin eile . P]

Caluma fan ciúnLife⁶ . ní hanurra énlaithe.

A hinmoilli do mheall mé⁷ . a⁸ cend idhlaide t'⁹ féirgi.

Cubhal¹⁰ fa láech Locha in Sguir . ón ló do-chúala in cumhuil¹¹
doní dubadh dom dhergadh¹² . an cumhal¹³ do coisergadh.

500 Géig Alman nochá n'úighi¹⁴ . créid adhbúr na hosnaighi.¹⁵

^aNí fáilend 7¹⁶ sí ar snámh . nach bí an fáilenn ar édrágh.

Gan níamainn¹⁷ mbúadha¹⁸ ní bím . trialluim co rígh Chlúana cain.

Snáth ga chur¹⁹ ina²⁰ chrosaibh . cách ag dul²¹ ina deiseil.²²

Bréid sídeingi ar slis gach luingi . d'fís díginde²³ an^b chruinde cuir.²⁴

505 ^aNí bhía gan tairrsigh in tír . dá ría an t-ainmsin²⁵ don uirrígh.

^{ab}As í an fóilches eisinill . a rí an toirches taisighim.

^{ab}Do chas fágha mar budh féthlonn . do bas tana mérchorr mín.

Truime a thairrnighe²⁶ nach te . luime is gailbighi a^{ab} gáioithe.

Nocha nfer mar soin Seafráigh . ní bhean boin do baintrebhthaigh.

510 ^{ab}Ceand lín a lenmhain do leirg . do semraigh deirg a tír²⁷ Thaidhg.

Cécht ag²⁸ lenmuin do leirg thúair . dúail do semraigh deirg na díaiigh.

[6b] Ód²⁹ tresa 7 Clann Carrthaigh . falcbaidh barr dresa a durrthaigh.

¹ coibgh. caibgh. C

²⁻² om. CH, uathadh cáol on ainm úathaidh síos 7 iollradh leathan aca P

³ om. C ⁴ diomdhagh MS.

⁵ fecuin MS

⁶ gciun- C², cciúin- P, fa chiúin- H ⁷ mbe C³ ⁸ ag C⁴

⁹ om. C

¹⁰ Cumhal C²P

¹¹ cubail C, cub- H

¹² don dergadh C

¹³ chuball C, cubal H, *illeg.* C²

¹⁴ n'úighi C²

¹⁵ bar nosnoidhi H

¹⁶ is P

¹⁷ niamann CC², *illeg.* H, niamhuinn P

¹⁸ mbuadho C

¹⁹ chor C²

²⁰ um H

²¹ dol C²

²² disil C², na ndeisiil H. Cach ag dul na ndeisiil . snáth ga chur um chrosuibh P

²³ díghinde C

²⁴ tuinne téchd P

²⁵ taimsin CC²

²⁶ Truime thairnighe HP

²⁷ dtír C²

²⁸ a C²

²⁹ O C

- Iarraid begán banchuire . fedán díamuir durrthaighe.
Do-bir sí ar ndol¹ gu durrthaigh . ar son Murchaidh trí timchil.
- 515 ^aGa guidhe² mar táthar thall . Muire máthar na míorbhall.
A³ ceó⁴ do sín ó Síainn . eó le sribail⁵ mín muilind.
Luchd cúain ar chuid a bfeuin⁶ . do áreabuil buig úair⁷ inill.⁸
Cathair⁹ slúai¹⁰ do air¹⁰ d'íoiléim . a ngoibéil chúain aird ainiúil.
^aNí hól le trí¹¹ tunnallaibh . do-ní an slógh fan¹² sollamuin.
- 520 Ar slis tighi os drumaind díghainn . ibhe thunnaill bfienduinn bfúair.
^aAbra dubmall nach dáor mong . drumann donn cháol os a ciond.
Do šeól fáoidh na fithchille . dáoi¹³ an t-eól dob aithgirri.
Ní tú do theib an tres cluichi . do theich fer na fíchlí .l.
- ^aDo¹⁴ ghrádh d'fithcheallaibh ní fuil . far b'inchendaigh clár cumdoigh.
- 525 ^aGidh¹⁴ beac an breac bis fan linn . nó an chnú bhis ar an mbruindill.¹⁵
Long ar fud na feóraindi . ruc¹⁶ nó corr na cáolluigi.
^aCoinde chladh na cóic tórann . ag drólann ban íoid Éreann.
Ubla ag fecadh na gcleth gcorr . a leath do donn etal finn.
- ^{ab}Troid beó fa comthruime¹⁷ cur . gleó na conclaindi curadh.
- 530 ^aAtá conchlann gan úidh¹⁸ air . fá comthrom¹⁹ lúidh²⁰ is lámhuigh.
(lochdach munab .c. d'innsni airchisi)^b
Atáid²¹ Sil gCéin ar in corsoin . ga ndín féin a n-osgail²² feadh.
^aBráon fola úadh ar aidhlinn²³ . fogha glainélim rúadh Raghnuill.
^{ab}Neart an tslóigh Ságoigh ó tsin²⁴ . ar in ngasraidh móir Muimnigh.
^{ab}Aithní ar fer²⁵ sech aroili . feadh graifni²⁶ na gasraidhi.
- 535 ^{ab}D'éis marbtha na macraidhe . tarla féin san foraíre.²⁷
^aDéra na n-einecluinn²⁸ úaim . scéla tsílúai²⁹ geimeltruim²⁹ gáoil.
^aRobam rí ar ó ngelChuind³⁰ nglan . dob í³¹ a cherchaill mo cholcadh.
^aDál na taiplisi tarla³² . gun maicnise Mathgamhna.
Rug an úaisg³³ míngeal³⁴ Muire . úan corcra a crú³⁵ asaili.
- 540 ^aMac Aodha na n-echradh n-úr . gach dáona ag dechradh re a^c dil.
Gan techt slán úadh ní hingnadh . imdadh úar³⁶ clár na comhradh.
^aA³⁷ tobair gorma ghlana . moguil íolma a n-imdadha.
^aDo chiab hílte ní tédfadh . go mbiadh innti ainchédfadh.
^aGan áoltor ngeal no gan gharrdha . nar legh aentadh t'faghla iad.
- 545 Dine ag³⁸ cunnam leisín coin . fa turbadh fíre d'Ullaibh.

1 dol C	2 guithe C	3 Le HP	4 gceo C ²
5 sribuail C	6 ar do chuid ferainn C ²	7 fuair H	
8 ubhuill P	9 Caith- CC ²	10 airc C	11 ar thri P
12 bhann P	13 Da P	14 Ge P	15 broindill C
16 tug C ² P	17 comtruimhe C	18 uigh C. úigh C ²	
19 cothram P	20 luith C	21 Ata H	
22 osgail C ² , oschail H, oschuil P.		23 aighlinn MSS	
24 sóin C ²	25 fer MSS	26 graibhne C	
27 bforaire C ²	28 einclaind C, eineaclann P		
29 geimhioltrom P	30 ngealchuill P	31 fa hí P	
32 tharla C	33 uasg P	34 miongeal C	
35 gcu C ² , ccrú P	36 fuar C, íuar H	37 Na C ²	
38 Dinne H			

- ^aMas fiar as férr an fídhbadh . ní hingnadh geall d'fíadh¹ Alman.
^aDílada gun² gléiri Ghall . fírfada ó chéili a comlann.
^{ab}Do chris cáol geltais ní geada . d'fírtuis do taebh seda seng.
 Tógbaidh slat fínn Fídharta³ . a brat os cinn chonarta .l.
 550 [7a] ^{ab}Do-chím nach tráth dó a 'diúltadh . mó sa chách a chédfadh.
 Léim duine a cuirr choiti⁴ . suidhe i ndruim a díloiti.
 Fir tré fírtais mara ag maidm . re mbaidb⁵ ndercglais bragha Buidhbh.
^{ab}Bile sa barr bunchasda . idhe and is eachlusca.
 Do brisedh⁶ eachlusc uirri . bar n-eachradh ní hullmaide.
 555 Ní thuc d'aithli creach í Chais . a ech aithne ar a hechlais.⁷
 Ben le hó⁸ gCuind a gcumhail . fer churaigh dhuinn na degheid.
 Do teiched⁹ crodh craí Uladh . cumhal Chon Rai is da¹⁰ rabhadh.
^{ab}Dfís a tésta ar fear¹¹ fuinidh¹² . cuiridh ben chesta ar chumhail.
^{ab}Do ríaghladh ceindbeart fa chend . fa eghrecht farladh nÉrenn.
 560 ^{ab}Glaca dhíb a car¹³ a gceindbeart . do ghabh ar thír deighneart duit.¹⁴
^{ab}Ag soin¹⁵ a bhaire an mbunnainn . na drumainn aird fat fallaing¹⁶ .c.
^aGab a Choimhdhe¹⁷ ar gcumann . nach rabh oirne th'¹⁸ uilleand.
^aAn fer atá ar tí na caibden¹⁹ . do bí lá 's do²⁰ aingedh iad.
^aMac barrainde Brian O'Neill . léim arrainne a thriall atúaidh.

[Not in CC]

- 565 ^bClocha némuind an cuirn clain . cuirm Í Mháel Brénaid ga mbúain.
^bAr sáercluinn 's ar mac moghadh . nírlat áencuing d'ordogbadh.
 Tres an sáercloind a Sidh Truim . do bíd na n-áencloind acaind.

[Only in P]

- Mana leóin do ladharguibh . dá ragha a ndeóigh díbhearguigh.
 Mé an cladh a ttóruinn dá thuirsi . gar don mhónuinn duinnsi a dail.
 570 Atá dubhall fallsa fóinn . cóir dhamhsa dulann re a dhréim.
 A hóigh ní húair mheisnighe . an chóir an úair fíosruighe.
 Tug féin d'féili a n-ingheanraidh . béin bhéime ar an mbanLaignigh.
 Do mhill rí Sligighe ar sén . na trí ridire roithrén.
 Rí Imlighe na n-ochd ecath . go port inghine Eathach.
 575 Férbhrat ceall budh cúainmhéirleaba . tré thrénmhac seang saóir
 Dbiarmada.
 Ní marbhnat gan íachuín í . mo rí is m'athair daghmhac Dé.
 Do láoi don chróisigh a ceann . gearr do bháoi an croisin gan chrann.
 Badhbh ag búain chrú dod chrúisigh . do dhúisigh thú a n-úaimh
 íasaigh.
 Imridh lán a lámhuinne . re hinghin d'al íaruinne.

¹ diadh C² Diollada gan P³ fídharta etc. MSS⁴ Leim do duine a cuirr choiti etc. C²P⁵ baidhbh P⁶ brisidh C⁷ echlais CC²⁸ leis o HP⁹ teithed etc. CHP¹⁰ sda C²P¹¹ iear C¹² bfuinidh C²¹³ agcar with punctum delens over g C, a chor C²¹⁴ doit C²¹⁵ sin C²¹⁶ fatfall- C, fadtfalluing C²¹⁷ choimhdhe C¹⁸ h C²P¹⁹ caibg- C, caibbg- C²²⁰ da C

- 580 A bhreith ón túaighsi as trúagh¹ liom . ga túagh dob úaisli **aidhleann**.²
Do theagh um nóin ga nadhmadh . **cranngal** sleagh³ n-óir a **fiódhbhadh**.
Do marbhadh meisi led **mharbhnaidh** . **marbhnadh** deisi amhlaidh i.
Punnann chuíl bhuidhe bhachlaigh . ort a mhéirghil mhalachdhuibh
cruithneachd na mbarr an barrsoin . cam buincheart an **bunnannsoin**.
Do sheanchosg ar nár anois . sál nó **eachlusg** ní fúaruís.
- 585 Cuiridh sé foltanus air . an té dhrochgabús **deachmhaidh**.
Brat sróil do bhi ar **banchumhuil** . ó Mhóir ar thrí timchealuibh.
Mo ghreim ar chlár na cruinne . as lámh ar eirr **easguinne**.
Imdheachd sneachda da bur slúagh . **inghealt** úadh ag ealta éin.
Fiorbhocht an íoghbháil inmhe . ríoghdhacht chonnlaín **cheithirne**.
590 A **cheinnbheart** d'ú Chréidhe as cuid . d'eachreachd a chéile combruig.
Éirghi ard ar **earluinn** ráimhe . balg ar dhearnuinn láimhe fiódh.
Meinic do chuiris do chloidheamh . mur **thuirisg** a thachar.
As iad **sáorchlanna** Síl Oilill . **sáorchlanna** an tír roibhinn ríogh.
Do-clas **tarann** ag car chnúais . fa ngabhann gúais agh dá éis.
595 As fir sin nach obthach n-áigh . fir leis nach áil **colcach** chlúimh.
Sul rug giall ar an ngasraidh . tug **lasraigh** tré fiadh nUisnigh.
Magh Fáil an feadh nach fuaigheann . do ghabh **luaigheall** áigh Émann.
Bró amhus ag arsaídh fíeadh . ghabhus teagh a n-**aschuil** fiódh.
Ealta nach tuilleann re a tháoiibh . **bruinneall** do chráoiibh feactha
um féil.
- 600 Le t'faghlaídh an uilleann chlé . ní thuilleann sé achd amhlaidh í.
Atáid atúaidh tar **táruinn** . ag úaim bhánuinn fáid⁴ Féilim.
Maith fialchuire atá rem tháobh . láogh na mná **Fiachraighe** fúm.
Mur chloich ttábhuille do thógbhuis : tánuisi don **táthluimh**.

(c. ón adhbhursin)

13. **GASRAIDH**,⁵ don gasraidh, méid na gasraidhi, na gasraidhi, dona gasraidhibh, méid na ngasraidhedh, iar⁶ gasraidhi.

Gasraidh, macraidh, láechraid, ógbhaidh, dámhraidh, eachraid,^{ab} ríghraid, gillannraidh, ingenraidh, áentaídh, turbaídh, fídhbaid, imdhuidh, dílaíd⁷ dílait,⁸ marbhnuídh marbhnaith marbnuid^b marbhnuít, taiplis taipdisc táiplis táipdisc,⁹ conairt cúanairt, anairt,^b fallaing^a allaing,^a coisbeirt, ceinnbeirt, fíadhail .c. (fíadhail .l.),^{ab} catáeir catóir, imlaíd imlúid, aithghin, ainighin,¹⁰ lúamhain, inntráil, ímaigh,¹¹ casnaídh úasnaídh (ó éenchéill), othaigh¹² athaigh,¹² córuídh cáraid, tarruing tairring, uirim oirrim, uirchill¹³ oirchill, [merfuil P]

¹ truag MS² aigleann MS³ sleadh MS⁴ fáid MS⁵ Ríghruídh H⁶ tug . . lat H, gan P⁷ díluídh C, díllaid H⁸ díllait H⁹ táiplis táiplisg .c. gerr les íat H, taiplis taiplisg .c. a síneadh P¹⁰ ainghin C², ainghidh H¹¹ -dh MSS¹² -gh CH¹³ uircheill C

merfaill merbhuill, tairgsin,¹ fáithim, túaraim,² pónair, tacmuing, casbairn, sédnaídh,³ coiris (ón aimsir),^c [coirfeis, énlaithe C²P],⁴ aibíd aibhid, confaidh, comhraid, línbrúith, glasláith, manaís, foráiss, deithfir, mírbhuil mírbhuill, corrhair, eachlais eachluisc (ón leabaidh), eachluisc (ón tsleit), etim eataim aitim, ámhúill, érim, boghaing,⁵ rághaing^{ab 6} .b., ^{ac}innailt inneilt^{ac} [ionailt ineilt C²HP], comairn, séguinn,⁷ daethain daeithin .c. (dóthain .l.),^a oraoid,^{ab} binid,⁸ forrán^{ab} forráin forráin .c. (farrán farráin farráein .l.),^{ab} ealchuing alchuing, falaíraigh alaíraigh, arraoid,⁹ obuidh, aruid (ó éenchéill), ^{ab}dulainn .b., uráin oráin, crobhaing^{ab} .b., ^acaicidhís caicidhighis, leithéid^{b 10} .b., firmamuint [iormamhuint P],¹¹ cerchuill, toirrchim^{ab} .b., inand gabaid,¹² ^{ab}cirt cháola aca uili,^{ab} anmhúain, anúain, tóithim táithim,¹³ dogruing,^a cosmhail casmuil, anfaínn,^a sursaing, ónfais,^a fochraig fochraic, togaís,^a éislis,^a carraíd mar sin.

[Only in P]

marcruidh, fairbrígh fairbhrigh, faisnéis, Eóruip, urchóid, treabhluid, díachair tíachair, diachuirt, óinmhid áinmhid, conuir, conchuir, aithris, aithis.

- ^bTús na rígruidhe a ráth¹⁴ Airt . liomairi a chách na comhairce.
 605 ^{ab}Do-béradh ní ar marbhnaith mná . Farblaithe in lá do bi beó.
^{ab}Ní cás gan a cairsi ar fiadhain¹⁵ . ní fás tairsi fiaghail fós.
^bTabhair an taipilis don tigh . gu faicmis ambail imrid.
^{ab}Tig an ben¹⁶ táipilis don tigh . fáiltis fear aga faicsin.
^bBec do labhras re hedh n-óil . seadh i carghus ná i catóir.
 610 ^bDo-ghénmuiss¹⁷ imluid fir dhána . ar fínnbhuid ngil¹⁸ málla móir.
^bClanda fínnTáil a fáith Leamhna . maith in fínntráil¹⁹ íedhma iad.
^{ab}Ag boing chasnaid dom chroidhi . fa chasmail²⁰ chroinn chasnaidhe.
 Mé an chúalsain a chiab mar ór . ná hiar úasnaidh dom íadódh.²¹
 [Fige na coirptheisi a cur . brugh bile goirmceise as geal.]²²
 615^{abc}Láoiach úaibh a dtres tromghonta . nach fes crúaidh a geindbeirte.²³

¹ tairgsimh C, om. P

² tuarim C, túairim HP

³ sédnaeaidh H, -náoidh CP

⁴ in later hand in C², on erasure, apparently substituted for oiris

⁵ bodhaing H

⁶ rádhain C²

⁷ sedaing C, om. HP

⁸ bineid C², binib HP

⁹ arráidh C

¹⁰ leithét C

¹¹ fiorm | amaint altered in later hand to fiormadhuint fiormadhaint C²

¹² dóibh P, iat H

¹³ tóichim táichim P

¹⁴ ráith C²

¹⁵ fiaghain C

¹⁶ ben an C²

¹⁷ Do-ghénuinn P, Do chaitfian H

¹⁸ ghil C², mhir HP

¹⁹ inntráil H

²⁰ Altered to a gcasmail C²

²¹ íadódh CC²H, íasdódh H

²² Add. C² in ras.

²³ Add. C

- [7b] ^{ab} Dia ar fud na húama re **hothaigh** . da ruc¹ slúagha sochair súas.
^{ab} Córuidi cúl² risin mbith . rún na **córaidí** cléirech.³
^{ab} Do bhruidhen⁴ náoi **cárad** cleth . fa leth mbrághad do bhí an bhoth .l.
Confaidh glíadh do gabustair . t'fian nach⁵ comthaigh choimhescair.⁶
620 ^{ab} Is tuilchinnití techt dá léim . bert is **uirchilltí**⁷ eiséin.
^{ab} Dá draídh féin fá **merfaill** mór . dréim Máeil Echlainn isin ágh.
^{ab} Gemar ó lár ac **tacmuing** tréinfeda . slatchuill glégheala mar budh lán
láeghfola.
^b Ní fuil co **casbairn** chinn truim . rém lind glasnaidm⁸ ó ngébuinn.⁹
Mo chédlaidh¹⁰ do-chúaidh a mudha¹¹ . **sédnaidh** úaim nach¹² lugha
a¹³ lúach.¹⁴
625 ^b Gairid ar mbúain resin mbeirt . gur¹⁵ smúain in **aibhid** d'imeirt.¹⁶
^b Treghadaigh¹⁷ ac techt tré glún . dlecht dún deghobuidh dá dhín.
^b Cuirthear **aruid** bhlasta bhinn . linn dár caruid¹⁸ ghasta Ghaill.
^b Nochun fuil crann acht do **chomhrrair** . a thuir Mharr nár íolmaigh h'ég.
^b Fagha¹⁹ chomainn ón Choimdbidh²⁰ . gan **forráein** ar mh'anmain.
630 ^b **Eaclhuisc** ag na hóigeachaibh . a n-echlais²¹ Hí Éceartaigh.
^b Gan chéibh mbarrachaim ann nach úr . do chúl cam ní **halchuing**²² áer.
^b Do thuit **ealchuing** an enigh . eghir chnuic bennchuirr Bhalair.
^b Ní chan combrádh baisí . suil do bí in ógh infuilit
^b ferr in lón dí a ndubhairt . an ógh gurb í a **hinduilt**.²³
Tadg Óg .cc.
^{ab} Ní uil scél san cruinne ar chaicht . fa budh²⁴ trén uirre a' **hinnailt**.²⁵
635 ^b Clíar gémad²⁶ **etaiméach** í . fíal fa ní deghchailleach²⁷ Dé.²⁸
^b Ar in mbráen mar do-úair **etim** . do-chúaidh cráebh d'etil tar ais.
^b No gu faicim²⁹ fear na scél . ní fear dér acht d'**aitim** úam.
^b Tar gormsáile n-úar³⁰ na n-**érim**³¹ . túar congháire d'³² Érinn iad.³³
^b Alafraidh³⁴ na **héruim**³⁵ . fan anathluim n-áluind.
640 ^{ab} Grés grégach mná malachduibhí . atá ar édach h'^c **alafraidhe**.
^{ab} Díarmait Gall ré **nglasláith** nAirtigh . barr casbláith mar chorcair.
^{ab} Fer taibh gléghil dot **ghláslaith** . a léinidh chásil chimhasbláith.
^b Do sín a bend tar a **bhodhuing** . eng ré Tír Chonuill do chuir.
^{ab} Ó Máeil Múaidh gur geb³⁶ gá gáeithib . fúair gach fer a **dháeithin** díbh.

1 ga rug C² 2 clu (*sic*) C 3 cleireich C 4 bhrughen CC²
5 ní C² 6 choineasguir P 7 oirchillti C² 8 glas snaidm C²
9 onghebuinn C, o ngeabainn C², o ngebuim H
10 San chedlaigh H, Ar ccédláoidh P 11 amugha CH, amugh P
12 ní C², as P 13 om. CP 14 lucht H
15 do H 16 imirt CP
17 Treghaddoigh C², Treagaddoigh H 18 gcaroid C²
19 Faghaibh a H 20 -igh MSS.
21 ecluis C, eaglais H 22 ealchuing C² 23 hinuilt C²H
24 búdh C 25 hinailt C² 26 Clíar madh clíar H
27 deghcailleach C², deaccaillech H 28 dhé C
29 Nocha nfaicim H 30 fúar C, uar C², nfúar H
31 na éirim H 32 dh C² 33 hé H 34 -aigh C²H
35 eruim C², héirim H 36 gab C, ghabh C²

- 645 ^bMór dó-ní in gabha¹ do gaithibh . dá bíagha² in rí a dháeithin díbh.
^{ab}Féich gan a ndáethain sil soin . ón tsín géathaigh dom ghortuib.
^bA fuighe³ a Sláine mór maith . dar ndáinne is^c lór a linbraith.
^{ab}Beith d'araidh ag ól ar h'uillind . lór don fágail d'uirrim úaid.
^{ab}Ní marbhnaid bud dáothan dó . mar fáothar adhmaid⁴ énbhó.
 650 ^{ab}Dá chéd blíadhan do bhí in dream . sí fa iadhadh a n-ifreand.
 [As tú an beó do bhí san chroich . do-ní idir eó 7 énlaithe.]⁵
^aTecht tort a mbrug banchuiri . na locht ar chur georrthaire.
^bDruim Charraídi réidhi an rígh . téighi ar gnímh n-arraidi úadh.⁶
^{ab}Bia⁷ a nDroghais a^c Domhnaill rúaidh . togais t'úaim re comhroinn
 gcéin.⁸
 655 ^{ab}Dá dtrian impidhi aici . findtighi na fochruici.
^{ab}Oirches dulainn resin ndeghmac . ní fúlaing seanšlat a snímh.
^{ab}Don fírmamhaint do-ní neimh . nach inradhaire í d'fáidhibh.
^{ab}In cédfér ór⁹ slondadh sind . ollamh darb écean uirrim.

[Not in CC²]

An crand do-chúaidh ós fídhbhaidh . imdhaidh súain and gud
 t'foghlaidh.¹⁰

- 666 Seanbrúid ar muin dá mhaídi . a sreanglúib dhuibh díllaídi.¹¹
 Budh lucht brón snasbhlaíthi sleagh . do slógh mer glasláithe glan.
^bSdéd gán dóich urraim na n-eillteadh . sursaing óir gá íonnsadh.
^bTrúag dochroidi gach deigfir . túar fochroigi a fóireidhin.
^bTrúagh gan mé is taraínd ar thuit . a Dhé acht go fagaínd fochruic.

[Only in P]

- 665 Fir d'allmhuigh dá fíosrughadh . an sibh damraídh Dheasmhumhan.
 Beanaidh Níall le náoi n-amhsuibh . casnaidh gach láoi d'fiadh Uisnigh.
 Triobhas buid an bhóthuir bhrealluigh . dóthuín cluig do theanguidh
 thrid .l.
 Ní gort d'ar as a fíaghuil . cradh d'iarraidh ort a Eóghuin.
 Úa Moiris an tráth do thuit . ag cách 'na oiris orrdhruic.
 670 Bíd ar n-aithne Donnchaidh dhóib . aighthe an tslóigh mar chorrthair
 ccáoinh.

14. TRUID, don truid, méd na truidi, na truidi, dona truidib, méd na truidedh, íar thruide.¹²

Truid, druid, smeig, deil, sdeil, fail (bís ort), ruit^a roit, cuirm coirm, muirn^a moirn,^a cuing coing, tuir (Breg), oil i n-úir ^{a.c.} (oil a dég¹³ .l.),^a boil bail, toil tail, brígh (cháel), ^afairbrígh [fairbhígh P],^a fóir fáir (na crúaichi), (sáir .l.)^{a14} táir (ón tarcaisni),

¹ gobha H

² fogha CH

³ bfoighi C²

⁴ aghmaid C

⁵ This couplet only in C² on erasure; C has Fuair bradán na neithredh nóir, portions of which are still legible in C²

⁶ uaidh C²

⁷ Biaidh C²

⁸ chéin C²

⁹ gar C²

¹⁰ gat fúghl^a P

¹¹ dhiolaide P

¹² gan truide P

¹³ oil dhég P

¹⁴ sáir .l. follows tarcaisne in P

cruimh, [8a] cuil, glais, gáeis, áeis, báeis, dúais, gúais, túis, drúis, gríss,¹ ^apáis, gnúis,^a min, idh,² goimh, ^acruit croit,^a beirt, sdúaim, úaill, grúaim,^a úir,³ béin,^a méin (ó dá chéill), broid, cáein, úair, úaigh, múid móid, búid^a bóid, grúig, úain, toirm^a tairm, áeil, áeib,^b frais .c. (frois .l.), scís,¹ ceilt cleith, mleith bleith meilt .c. (beilt .l.), breith, ^asceith, sgoilt sgailt,^a cailc, aisc, aithis (ó éenchéill),⁴ foirm foirb, coill caill (ón phersain⁵), dóib, dóid, ^acuilt cúilt, sbéir,^a beith, doirb, coirb, dóigh dáigh dóich dáich, ⁶inann gabaid uili^c 7 gasruidh acht nach comfada íad.⁶ ^agráin, coir [go gearr P]. creind, bruith, cailg,^a coim, ^afaill,⁷ geis.^a

[Only in P]

ceirt, grúaidh, méid, gáir, páirt, áirc, sainnt, cainnt, oil, goil, féil, réir, buing boing, trúaill, máoin, luibh, áirc (an fad téid), gáoin, feis, muirt moirt, ionann íad achd go bfuighthear méd na corma.

Bés na **truidi** atá ag Ú Cheallaigh . cách uili 'na⁸ íochair.

Cuidechta sa⁹ n-óidh¹⁰ ar olc . a cóir¹¹ **druidealta**¹² ar dorchacht.

Ar dergad don **oil** a n-úir . do thúir soin tregdadh a tháeib.

Ráinic bonn fa brúach mBóine . **fóiri** chrúach goirr ó¹³ chéle.

675 ^{ab}Bentar le fer fa brúach mBóine . crúach ar fedh a **fóire** féin.

Maigri geal a **glais** úaibhrih . do len rúaimnigh cais cirdhuibh.¹⁴

Cruimh 'na chúilfiacuill chúasaigh . crúibiatair¹⁵ d'fuil anúasail.

^bBen astoigh¹⁶ nár chaisc do cháí . **aisc** don mnaí nachar oil¹⁷ é.¹⁸

^{ab}Dénam áenta mbúain gan bréig . doba úair máelta dar **múid**

^{ab}ní fuil nár maluigh a **móid**¹⁹ . tabhair phóig²⁰ gan goim gan grúig.

680 ^bConn mhac²¹ Úna nár bris bóid . a rúna ní²² ris²³ nár léig.

^bA Gulla Fáil fada in **roit** . crícha bur nGall do gléloit

^{ab}cleith Slíghigh thiarain do thoit . tigidh iaraidh a²⁴ éroic.

^{ab}Ní féchfa céili cnuic Bregb . **ruit** a léini gu lingther.

Fer astegh d'fagháil na **húaine**²⁵ . fear ag gabháil dúaine duit.²⁶

^bSeiser²⁷ Áedh 7 secht sáeirNéill . cáer ar techt a hain**méin** óir.²⁸

685 ^aDo-súa²⁹ in fer go colba Crúachna . sen **corma** is nua lúachra leis.³⁰

¹ sgís gris caol aráon P

² igh CHP

³ Altered to uair C²

^a aisc on aithis P

⁵ persain C

⁶⁻⁶ om. HP, follows geis in C²

⁷ caill C²

⁸ ina H

⁹ isa P

¹⁰ óigh MSS.

¹¹ ar chóir C²P

¹² dhr. H, ndr. P

¹³ da H, go P

¹⁴ cc. cc. P, ch. ch. C²

¹⁵ cnuibhiathtair P

¹⁶ sic H, astigh C, asdtigh C²

¹⁷ oir C

¹⁸ hí H

¹⁹ an mhóid C²

²⁰ póic C, fphoig C²

²¹ mac C

²² nir C²

²³ leis C, lis C²

²⁴ a hiarr- C

²⁵ Niorbh iongnadh bean d'fagháil t'úaine P

²⁶ dhuid H

²⁷ Seisir C

²⁸ aoinmhéinn iad C²

²⁹ Dosó C³, Dorúa P

³⁰ libh C

- ^{ab} Ag sin hí is féghthar a foirb . 7 léghthar hí os aird.
^{ab} Teirce ináid¹ sin na sáoiri . berti náoidhi fir Áine.
^{ab} Ar ndul² gilla ar chúiltib clúim . dúintir a mhúir fínda áoil.

[Only in P]

- Béim air nochá nfuigheadh sí . dá ccuireadh an fáil d'Éinri.
 690 Beag mo bhrígh a n-arm an fir . garbh asttigh 's as mín a-muigh.
 Dá c[h]loinn is áonchoing orra . coing mur áonchloinn eatorra.
 Nochá rug ar ttriath dá thoigh . nach ttug boil an dá fiach air.
 Ná bíodh 'na bhéim air ar n-obadh . dar ttail féin do hobadh inn.
 Sgiath innillti ar bearna ad bais . frais do ghéibh rinnfílte ris.
 695 Cuirthear róibh³ ar bhais mbairrghil . frais d'fáilghibh óir le hinghin.
 Fada a-ris go racha a ccath . sgís an chatha ar do chumthach.
 Gan achd grís t'faghla d'féghuin . gébhuidh Banbha a-rís riaghail.

15. **BERT** (lúachra), don bert, méd an beirt, na beirt, dona bertaib, méd na mbert, iar berta.⁴

Bert, Cet, lesc, mac, derg, lenb, lenbh, inand gabaid.⁵

Dá sénta na beirt do boing . a ceilt⁶ ní fédfa⁷ in fáloing.

Oirdherca⁸ do gleic is Goill . coingleaca Cheit is Chonoill.

- 700 ^{ab} Ag so a šlechta a duine derg . leanb Muire dá lenta a lorg.

^aGibé⁹ cerd do gheal a grúaidh . fúair a šeal don derg na diaigh

(.c., don dirg .l., ós é méd an deirg a tháebréim, ^bdon derg as .c. ann.^b)

[Not in CC²]

As aimglic téighim dod toigh¹⁰ is clannmhic¹¹ Féilim accoibh

(.l. ^bsin. mac, in mheic cóir^b)

^aSgáioleadh a grás dob é a fearg . leanb Dé ón bhás mur do bhiodhg.

^aAn deoch šearbh do ibh don uile . mil achd do leanbh Muire a-mháin.

- 705 ^aAn mhéd nár theilg grían dá gáuibh . na cáoir dheirg a-niar um nóin.

16. **LEANAB**,¹² don leanab, méd an leanab, méd an leinib, na leanab, na leinib, dona leanbaib, méd na lenab, iar lenba.¹³

Lenab,¹⁴ lenabh¹⁵ inann gabaid.¹⁴

Mar brécthar séd a láim lenaibh¹⁶ . do brég in Máigh Emain úaid.¹⁷

Ar chrobaing a láim leinib¹⁸ . cáin Hi Chonaill cuimnighidh.

^aSguir a leinibh dot¹⁹ méd meanma . beirid in t-ég lenbha²⁰ leis.

¹ ina C²

² ndol C²

⁸ róimh MS

⁴ gan bhearta P

⁵ iatt H, uile P

⁶ cheilt C², cceilt P

⁷ édfa C

⁸ Oirrdreca C², Oirrdreca H

⁹ Gidh bé C²P

¹⁰ thoigh P

¹¹ cl=mheic P

¹² Leanabh P

¹³ gan leanbha P

¹⁴⁻¹⁴ Leanabh mar sin H, leanab mur sin P

¹⁵ lenam C

¹⁶ lenaimh C

¹⁷ uait C²P, uaitt H

¹⁸ leinibh C²P

¹⁹ dod C²P

²⁰ lenmha C

[*Only in P*]

Maith do mheasg an seanab sinn . a measg na leanab léighinn.

17. **ALBANACH**¹ .f. don Albanach, mac an Albanaigh, na hAlbanaigh, dona hAlbanchaib, meic na nAlbanach, marb² Albancha^{ab.c.} a sínedh leis 7 a gerradh ar a thuillréim illraidhi 7 ar a thothlugad.^{ab}

Albanach,³ Érennach, Eóghanach,³ [Cuilénach .fer. H], Oir-ghíallach,^a Umallach,³ Gailengach,^{ab} Oileallach, Conallach,³ Conaillech,^a allmarach^a (7 ní fuil acht .df. allmarrach .l.), Sagsanach Saghsanach,^a [ionann 7 so síos an úair as .fer. íad P], matal,³ madan,³ tapar,³ medar, talumh [8 b] tolamh, anum (in tráth⁴ anus a réim innta na⁵ triúr), pubal puball (sróil) [.dfer. P],^{ab} inann gabaid 7 so síis acht na cédcirt do .b. dá n-imarcraid.^{ab} Meadhhar, gadhar, codal cadal, segal, cogal .c. (cagal .l.),^{ab} téccar,^a cengal, freasdal, cogar cagar, bogar bagar, tegar, egar, pudhar .f., trubus triubus, ^alocar lacar,⁶ tobar,^a tagadh, galar, tamhan, pecadh, frital, gibal, cubhar,^a cochall, cosgar, asdar, bleghan,^a ceramh,^a fulang, easgar (ó dhá chéill),^a omar amar, imchar,^a édan, ^auscar .c. (osgar .l. ón chéill sin)^a, sgriball sgreball, ^aiumhus, diúmus, dímus, timchal timchall,^a tempal tempall, cumhag cumhang, cadhan, comhar (bracha)^b, iubhar,^a trelamh, úamhan omhan, copar,^a focal facul (foghluma), focal facal focall facall (ón phersain), rúamhar rómhar [rámhar P], sindach, serrach, errach, eólach (mas ann tig)^{ab} pobal (an aifrinn 7 .l. énrádh air acht sin 7), ^amogal mogall, anacal anaghal,^a gobhar gabhar (acht indscene bainindsci innta), tochar tachar, meacan, congall,⁸ seabhac, cogadh cagadh, amhus, lesdar, cónsabul cónsapul cónsdabul cónsdapul, urchomhal orchomhal, tarathar, imresun, ferannach, ^atimpánach, ⁹inann gabaid uili,⁹ manach, saothar, foghar, cubhar, úabhar, báoghal, sáoghal mur sin.^a ^{ab}úaibreach do chanamhain atá, úabrach an cert.^{ab}

[*Only in P*]

comhar (arbha), siobal, compánach cumpánach, lobhar, fáobhar, deamhan, eathar, cullach, curach.

710 ^aNi slega as áil d'Albanchaib . sgena dáib i ndergdabchaib.
Do cuiredh úair nárbh inchuir . cuiredh úaib¹⁰ ar Érendchaib.¹¹

¹ Éirendach H, Éireannach P ² iar C², tug . . lat H, gan P

³ .fer. add. H

⁴ an uair HP

⁵ a P

⁶ logur P

⁷⁻⁹ pubal .l. ón chéillsin HP

⁸ congchal P

⁹⁻⁹ At end of list in C²

¹⁰ uaidh HP

¹¹ Erandchaib C

- ab Bfaidh gan chéili i ndiaidh Dondchaidh . nó biaidh Éire ag **allmurchaibh**.
 ab Gidh cáel do chroth a chaillech . ná táeb ré cor **Conailllech**.
 aNa franclochaigh ga folach . a n-ardchlochaibh **allmorach**.
 715 ab Téid sé indte ré n-agaigh . do ghlé impi is **allmaraigh**.
 ab Madan do marbsat Ulaidh . oidi Conaill **choscuraigh**.¹
 ab Grian co moch a **madan** mín . bídh ag **bagar** ar Loch Léin.
 aBiaidh in **tolamhsa** atá fúm . lá oramsa gá impúdh.²
 ab Gur thúiri mé an **tolamh**³ thoir . mur⁴ budh é an ndoman dúthaigh.
 720 ab A chor ina chalaind féin . blodh do phéin⁵ an **anaim** úaib.
 ab Ben na dheóid co donnphubul⁶ . dar fer eóil a hoirfededh.
 bDo-chúaidh sib ar méad **medhair** . a hÍr Gréag ós⁷ Gaidhealaibh.
 ab Don leithbhreith lór do **phudhar**⁸ . tic na háiti d'fólmughadh.
 bGan **trubhus** gan bróig do boing . ar turus don chloinn óig fínd.
 725 ab Cuiridh **locar** ar a labhrann . d'focul inmall.
 aRith **tagaid** atá am gairi⁹ . is abaid trá¹⁰ an tarrngaie.
 ab Damad tú **tagad** crechán . ar brú madadh Maithnechán.
 In uili a n-ic a **pecthadh**¹¹ . bentar dít uili acht ochtar .l.
 aFer cora **choscair**¹² dá chulcc . ar lurg Mogha **cosgraigh** Corb.
 730 aDo sdéd **astrach** ochtairngech . maslach méd a mintaignlech.
 ab Do suidh Béc a mbun a derba . ¹³do déc¹³ na crudh **bleghna** a bó.
 ab Min ón **cheram** gach crann cáol . slemhun a táob thall ón tál.
 ab Casaidh cleith ndírigh ndóibhsigh . d'óinsigh eich dilligh **dímsaigh**.
 ab Logh ar **ndiúmus** dúin . nír sdiúrus mo sdiúir.
 735 ab Do fóir **pubal** na sé slúagh . mar rugadh úan Dé dá ndin .l.
 ab Ag techt chugaind doid¹⁴ a Dé . sé **pubaill** i mbroit¹⁵ do bí .l.
 bDon **phubal** is clé do chosc¹⁶ . an té thugadh dá tegusc .l.
 ab Sról mar chraiter lé¹⁷ cumail . caiter ór le **husgaraibh** .l.
 ab Gan guth codarsna do chroid . in **pobalsa**¹⁸ do Phátraic .c.
 740 ab Do-beir d'ollamh ag ól fíedh . **congall** na fer mór nach mar.
 ab Ní beiti ar tí **chongail** chnó . ní bí dá ló ar chollaibh cnú.
 ab Slighthi Grég roimhe ag rúadhadh . **rúamhar** sdéd groighi Gáoidhel.
 ab Cena a gcoill gun **chónsabal** . boing in féadha a íuaslagadh.
 [10a] ab Each i **n-orchomhal** gan¹⁹ hÍr . gu dorchaghadh theach teineadh.²⁰
 745 ab Each fa chleith féil Fíndchoradh . fa réim eich a n-**urchomhal**.
 ab Do íil glaisi a gormtholaigh . nach caisi idh **urchumhail**.
 ab Fúarlach mo thrisi ní tréigeabh . **úabhrach** misi ór léigedh leam.
 ab Ar fúarlach²¹ bhréigi ná²² bím . fan bhféigi **úabhrach** airdrigh.²³
 aBiseach laí fínd **errehumhail** . ar ghnai chinn Ó Conchabair.²⁴

¹ choscuraidh C, chosgaruigh C²² himpúdh C²³ talamh C⁴ mar C²⁵ fpéin C⁶ -pubul C, -sphubul C²⁷ thar H⁸ p. C, fp. C²⁹ im goire C² ad ghoire P¹⁰ abuíg thrá P¹¹ bpecth- C², bpeacthagh P¹² cosguir P¹³⁻¹⁸ .dfec C²¹⁴ doit C²¹⁵ broid C²¹⁶ da cosg H¹⁷ re C²¹⁸ pubalsa C¹⁹ gun C²²⁰ tech dteinedh C²²¹ A bfuarloch C²²² ní C²²³ uirrígh C²²⁴ o gc. C², o cc. P

- 750 ^{ab}Bréid tealltaigh os gach luing láin . mur dhruim **thempail** dá¹ thógbháil.
^{ab}Rachaidh síis gi-beadh² bhesan . ní grís fear gu **himresan**.
^{ab}Berthar³ gu tech bhfer foladh⁴ . edh lét ech dhá **urchomhal**.⁵

[Only in H]

Maith gach ní dhá n-ébradh and . do bí an t-érlamh gá **focall**.
 Lucht na clach ar tí a télaigh . suil tí cath an **Chuilénaigh**.

[Only in P]

- 755 Gach **Conuilleach** san chruinne . go roloinneach romhuinne.⁶
 Clódh gné áille ar **fearannchuibh** . as báire é ar **Umhallechaibh** .c.
 (as báire é ar fearannchuibh .l.)

Seól a ccrois ag an ccoluinn . moluim anois eól m'**anuim**.
 Gá d'ulc **bogur** an bhása . **tobar** grása a n-uchd Íosa .l.

(ón bhás)

- Fir mharbha d'athghuin san ágh . fadhbha a **ttachruibh** do thionál.
 760 Meanma réid[h] um dháil ndocruigh . ó **chogthuibh** cláir Chéin
 chniochduigh.

Do bhí an **cagadh** os aird ann . an **mad[an]** do airg iofrann.
Easgur dá bhoing as an mbéim . ar chléir ód roinn **easgar** n-oir.
 Mo chionnta thríom na **ttamhnuibh** . díon m'faghlaigh ionnta
 d'fhodhbhaidh.

- Do-bhéradh each **urchomhuil** . ar dhénamh chreach cConchubhair.
 765 Do lean mé sna **peacthuibh** Pól . sní leantair é ar a impódh.
 Na **facuile** ar a ttú ag teachd . dú atuirsi re a n-éisdeachd.
 A[s] mé féin as dalladb dhuid . béin ris an **amar** n-ionnluid.

18. **ALBANACH**⁷ .b.,⁸ don Albanaigh,⁹ mac na hAlba-naighe,¹⁰ na hAlbanacha,¹¹ dona hAlbanachaib,¹² meic¹³ na⁸ nAlbanach, marbh¹⁴ Albanacha.¹⁵

Albanach, Éirendach, Eóghanach, Oirghíallach,^a Umhallach, Gailengach,^b Condachtach,^b Conallach, Conaillech, ^aSagsanach Saghsanach, ^bBréithnech Bréifnech^a, Ulltach^b [Ultach H], Midh-each,^{ab} Laighnech,^b Muimhnech,^b Éleach,^{ab} ^ainand ^bghabhaid uili an tráth is .b.^b íad 7^{bc} gach tír eile chantar do .b. mar sin leis.^{ab} [Fíachrach, aitheasg, Oileallach, madan (an úair is .b.) H, Cuilénach, allmharach P].

¹ ga C²

² gidh beadh C²

³ Berter C²

⁴ fol- C, bfal- C²

⁵ led hech ga hurchomhal C²

⁶ In H this couplet has been wrongly added to § 18

⁷ Éirennach HP

⁸ om. C

⁹ -aidh C

¹⁰ -aidhe C

¹¹ halbancha C

¹² don albanachaib C

¹³ mic C

¹⁴ gan P

¹⁵ albancha C

^aRug cliar lé ó¹ leth**Laighnigh**² . riar nacharbh é a athchuindghidh.

[*Only in H*]

Maith fialchuire atá rem tháebh . láegh na mná **Fíachruigi** fúm.

19. **TALAM** (as a dtéid a réim)³ don talmhain, méd na talmhan, méd an talmhan, na talmhain, dona talmhanaib, méd na talmhan, féch thalmhana.⁴

Talamh tolamh^a (as a téid a réim), náidhe, [anam .b. P], inann ghabhaid.⁵ ^{ab}tolamh Solamh inann ghabhaid acht gan Solamh do .b. 7 mac Solmhan ann d'imarcaidh.^{ab}

770 ^{ab}Croind bhúadha an dombain do dhul⁶ . do choraibh trúagha an **talmhan**.

^{ab}Na n-énaibh do-chúala a⁷ cur^a . do sgélaibh trúagha an **talmhan**.

^{ab}Ar techt ar in **talmhain** tigh . nert gach fír gu harnaidh⁹ air .c.

Ní dleisidh¹⁰ náidhe ní dhó . san ló do bí daire ar Dhía.

[*Not in CC*²]

Gan adbur ní bí buidheach . Rí an **talman** gid trócuirech.

775 ^aAtáid trí biodhbhuidh na bun . ar tí ionnuigh na **hanman**.

^aDo-bhéradh ní d'fíor gan **anmuin** . mion gach rí ar **talmhuin** achd Tadhg.

20.¹¹ **IN UILE FÉR**, don uile f^{er}, méd na huile¹² f^{er}, na huile f^{er}, dona huilibh f^{er}, meic¹³ na n-uile bhfer, marbh na huile f^{er}.¹⁴

In uile f^{er}, in uile dhúl, in uile dhúileadh, inann ghabhaid.¹⁵

^aMó iná feidm duine don Dúileamh . deilbh na n-uile dhúiledh dhó

[*Only in H*]

A trénlámh an uili f^{er} . a éngrádh Muiri Maighdean .l.

21. **FILE**, don filidh, mac an filedh, na filidh, dona filedhaibh, meic¹⁶ na bhfiledh, marbh¹⁷ filedha.

File, áidhe, deóra, bidhba, ara (ón ghilla), brughaidh, **ab**, banab, cur [ón curaidh H], mugh mogh, rí, édrú,¹⁸ trú, cú .f. [7 .b. HP], dobharchú, onchú, fáolchú .f.,^{ab} ^aCoimdhe¹⁹ (acht gan illrad aigi²⁰)^a inann ghabaid.²¹

¹ on P

² -idh C

³ Náeidhi .fer. 7 .b. H, Náoidhe P

⁴ iar th. C², tug naeidhena lat H, gan náoidheana P

⁵ íad HP

⁶ dol C²

⁷ om. C

⁸ gcor C²

⁹ arnaidh C

¹⁰ dleisidh C, dhlighfeadh HP

¹¹ om. P

¹² nuile C

¹³ mic C

¹⁴ íera C²

¹⁵ mar sin H

¹⁶ mic CH

¹⁷ tug . . let H, gan P

¹⁸ edur (*sic*) C, om. H

¹⁹ coimhghe C, an coimdhe P

²⁰ an feadh téid P

²¹ íad HP

- ^{ab}Dob férr m'oighidh gémadh dhoiligh . feall¹ ar **filidh** .l.
 780 ^aNá bí ar **filidh**² gu fortail . a rí an chinidh Chonnachtaigh³ .l.
^{ab}gach ainm úathaidh .f. no .b. as a téid a réim mar sin
⁴ní cóir⁴ lomadh air ó do-níther a réim. ar⁵ féin bFáil .l., ar féin
 bhFáil as .c. ann.^{ab}

^aBeag más⁶ subaighi ná sin⁷ . a **mbrughaidhi** 'sa mbiataigh .l.
 A **mbrughaidh** noch a brónaigh . fá subhaigh⁸ a seanóraigh.⁸ cóir
^{ab}Easbaidh ghlas ar féin bhfuinidh . a ngéill as a n-énbhruidhin .l.
 Mná 7 fir is⁹ **fileadha** . as-tigh¹⁰ atá thoirena¹¹

(.c. ó samhluhadh. Mná is¹² fir 7¹³ fileadha .l.)

- 785 ^aAtáid trí bidhbaid am¹⁴ bun . ar tí indlaig na hanman.
^aSaltair an **abadh** na hénar¹⁵ . dob andamh in t-úaigneas.
^cAnochd ag an **abaidh** ind . abair olc ina oirchill.
 Ósa síth caidhe an cagadh¹⁶ . acht¹⁷ díth bhaile an **banabadh**.
Mugh maílmérach ar do mhuin . a Dhubh chaibhléanach Chabhlaigh.¹⁸
 790 ^aAr fáorchloind 'sar mac **moghadh** . nír¹⁹ lat áonchoing d'ordughadh.
 [10b] .c. uili. ^{ab}Gach táobhréim úathaidh théid a coimhitheas²⁰
 no is faide iná a ainm²¹ úathaidh, lomadh is .c. na díaign, mar tá
 so: mac filedh gil nó mac Donnchadha gil.^{ab}
^aAmhláoibh dubh nír dhubhAmhláoibh²² . dobo chur gu cubhairnéimh.²³

[Not in CC²]

- ^aDleaghair onóir deórach dhi . an cú luig ó Loch Éirne.
 a **chú** ar a tád teóra búadh . **deóra** thú san fád indíúar.
^bRí Mumhan amuig dá mbeath . gan each mbruga^d nír chuir cith.
^aFéch romhuibh t'ara 7 t'each . a rabha oruibh d'íuireach.
 795 ^aNí tráth dá chur as a chleachdadh . **cur** ráth ní cleachdar do chosg.
^aDo rúag mo bhú búalaidh é . más é **cú** í Úlaigh i.

22. **TROIGHECH**,²⁴ don troighech, méd an troighigh,²⁵
 na troighigh,²⁵ dona troighechaibh,²⁶ méd na dtroighech,²⁷ féch²⁸
 troigheacha.

Troighech troightheach, doighech doighthech, deibhech deibh-
 thech, Fáilech,²⁹ geimhlech, meirlech, dílmúineach, ceithernach [ceith-

1 féall C	2 fil- C	3 connachtaidh C	4-4 .l. C ²
5 air C	má CC ²	7 soin P	8 -aidh C
10 asdtigh C ² , sa tigh C, san tigh P		11 toirrina C	12 7 C ²
13 is C ²	14 na P (in § 19)	15 haonar C ²	16 cogadh HP
17 ach C ²	18 -aidh C, Cobluidh H, chobhluigh P		19 ni P
20 gcomoihtes C ²	21 an tainm C ²	22 dhubhama C	
23 gu gc. C ²	24 Troighthech H	25 troighidh C	
26 troighibh C	27 dtroighedh C	28 sir C ² , iar H, gan P	
29 fáilleach H, fáilleach P			

reannach P], bithbhineach,¹ [bodhaisech C²], cerrbhach,^a buirghésech, inann ghabhaid,² bithmunach^{a3} .l.

[Only in P]

teinnteach, bíatach, geinnteach, slinnteach, linnteach, searrthach, gearrthach, fuilngeach fulngach fuilingeach fulangach, cumthach comthach, cáomhthach cáomhdhach, leabthach, édach (ón éd), tarrngartach tairngeartach, cosantach, combuirleach, cumhachdach, díothramhach díthreamhach, cúigeadhach cóigeadhach, oirfideach, feadhmannach, oirchinneach, cumhdach, cainnteach, cáointeach.

^bNa sé troigh^{high}⁴ is in⁵ troigh . a Dhé is doiligh an dúthaigh.

^{ab}A troigheach dár cind um chló . mó lim a doighech do Dhía.

^aDo mhaithfedh sé an troighech⁶ toll . 's gidh é doighech⁷ na ndernann.

800 Síil na ngrás túar in^a troigh^{thigh} . dúal d'íothnibh fás le ferthoin.
Ag deaghail re deibhthech coinde . fethmhech fedhain Chloinde Cais.⁹
Cáomhain misi a Mhichíl . mé is diabbail a ndeibheach
an chalannsa is cinach . an t-anamsa ar h'éinech.¹⁰

^{ab}Imdha a tigh cas a cuibhrech . ní fuil glas gan dá gheimhleach.

^{ab}Ar sgéla sgailidh ó soin¹¹ . sméra in fáiligh rer n-aghaidh,

805 Trúagh nar dheimhnigh¹² duine dhún . na geimhligh¹³ uile dh'élúdh.
^{ab}Súail nách derna dílmhuinigh¹⁴ . tre sdúigh¹⁵ Embna d'iarladhaibh.
Buidhech an dílmhuinech de . 's as fírbhuidhech an file.

^aNí thairg dul a ndroichslighidh . go n-airg brugh¹⁶ an bhithbinigh.¹⁷

^{ab}Taca é dá gach foghlaidh . congmhaidh sé maca meirligh.¹⁸

810 Brat geal re headh an fáiligh¹⁹ . sgáoilidh slat gheal fá a²⁰ ghúailibh.

[Only in H]

Ní hé gu maithfe tú an troighech . aithfe an crú sa soidech súd.

[Only in P]

Bím do bhreith le bior an troigh^h . nach reic cion an oinigh orm.
Le feighlibh caillgheala ar ccródh . caibhdheana is meirlig Mumhan.
A ccró sleagh²¹ as bruidhean²² bíatuigh . buidhean²² fear le
mbíathtair baidhbh.

815 Ní hiad cách as fulngach air . cumngach a n-áth ar h'óguibh.
Ní budh sáoghlach ealchuing úaidh . cáomhdhach smúail do
séanchroinn sídh.

¹ bithbheanach P

² íad HP

³ biothúnach C²P

⁴ -idh CH

⁵ sa C²

⁶ troigtheach P

⁷ doigtheach P

⁸ na ngrás a dtuar C², grás a tuar (ttúar) an HP

⁹ Cuinn P

¹⁰ Mh'anam (M'anam) ar inchaibh Michil (Míchéil). me (om. P) re díabhal (ndiabhal) gu deibech; mo chalann gu ceannach. m'anam ar a éinech HP

¹¹ sin C²

¹² -idh C

¹³ ar ngeimhligh C²

¹⁴ -idh C

¹⁵ stuaidh C

¹⁶ brudh C

¹⁷ a bithbinaidh C

¹⁸ -idh C

¹⁹ íaill- H, fáoiligh P

²⁰ ma H, ma a P

²¹ sleadh MS

²² -ghean MS

An é clú dob áil orrthuibh . nach **comthuigh** áigh crú Carrthuigh.
A **ceáomhdhach** chean na cruinne . fear luingi ar sáobhshruth sinne.
Cuiridh bean **éduigh** eile , seadh nar séduibh suirghine.

- 820 Ráth Teamhra ar tí **comhairligh** . a meanma ar thrí tighearnuibh.
Do choimhthinnigh mon-úar m'uchd . úagh an **oirchinnigh** ma ghart.
Búain feadhma d'óigealuibh ann . **coigeadhuigh** Teamhra ad thiomchall.
Clann ríogh nior **fulangach** air . síodh ón Umhallach fáomhthair.

23. **CUIRREACH**,¹ don chuirreach , méd an chuirrigh,
na cuirrigh, dona cuirrchib, méd na cuirchedh, [méd na gcuirrech C²],
iar chuirrche.²

Cuirreach, coileach, [éigeas P], tadhall,³ aisder [asdar P], taigedh,
maiden .f., comhuidhech combuithech coimhidhech coimhithech,
cléirech, ímhaighen, inand ghabhaid.⁴

Do-chúaidh Ó Cruindén fan **cuirrech** . do bhúain bhuindén nduillech
nderg.

- 825 Lía do **choilechib** dár cercaib, . ní hoighthir⁵ ar énealtain.
Ní hégaidh⁶ linn ort aigheadh . is⁷ bocht inn ót **ímaighean**.⁸
^{ab}Rug dod mhínaighidh ghné ngil . a **ímhaighin** Dé dhúiligh.
^{ab}Dó as córa an chaithir **thaictheach** . in naithir⁹ chródha chochthach
ab a fledha ag díl a deacrach . bleachtach rígh Ceara Corcach.
Rug ar thsíl Táil do **thaicthib**¹⁰ . nach brígh dháibh a nderrlaicthir.
830 ^aA combhairle do bhraith bean . do sgaith¹¹ Modhairne ar **maidean**.
[Caithfed fessd aignedh airech . a mesg chaidrebh **comhoidhech**. C²]¹²
Ní nár a n-oirighidh¹³ oinigh¹⁴ . **coimhidhigh**¹⁴ chláir groighigh¹⁴ Grég.
A charait tre Mháol Mhithigh¹⁵ . mar gháol charait **coimhithigh**.
Úatha trá as soiberthi¹⁶ sind . **coimhidheche**¹⁷ atá nar timcheall .l.
835 Nír bh'íú clú an áir anaithnidh . dáil do chrú itir **choimhithchibh**.¹⁸
Bar n-éra nír chleacht a **chléirchi** . méla techt a théighthi tríbh.¹⁹

[*Not in C C²*]

Ód smacht as mó gach Mideach . gidh arc a cró **coimideach**.

^aCreach a daingnibh dúisgidhe . le **taidhlibh**²⁰ each n-ésguidhe.

^aFir Cheall is ibh iníobhuil . ná sir na cceann **comhoidhigh**.

¹ Coilech HP

² tug coilche lat H, marbh choilchi P

³ taghall C

⁴ iad H

⁵ foighthir P

⁶ ésgaidh C

⁷ gidh C² ge P, as H

⁸ od timhaighean C², ad tímháidhen H

⁹ aithir C

¹⁰ toicthib P

¹¹ flaith P

¹² *Added in later hand*

¹³ oirghil P

¹⁴ -idh C

¹⁵ mith- C, mhith- etc. *cet.*

¹⁶ sobhairthi C

¹⁷ -ighthe C, -ighce C², -edhci H, -eighthi P

¹⁸ coimhith- C, choimhithchib C, comaidhcib H, chomhaighthib P

¹⁹ trit H, thríd P

²⁰ taighlibh MS.

24. ¹ **PROIGEACHT**,² don phroigeacht,³ méd an phroigeachta,³ ⁴ na proigeachta,⁴ 7 mar sin sis.

Proigeacht, sbroigeacht, oireacht, cloisteacht claisdeacht, aiceacht,^a dílleachd,⁵ toirreacht, toigheacht, oideacht,^a ésideacht, ^a comhuideacht .c. (coimhideacht .l.), imtheacht imdheacht, inntleacht indleacht,^a eisdreacht⁶ [inand iatt⁷ H], gach focal⁸ 7 eabha ea choll co n-úathad duir ar a dheireadh ^{ab}mar táid^c sin^{ab}, éntaíbhreim úathaidh⁹ fada ^ais .c.^a aigi.¹⁰

840 ^aDo ghabh proigeacht an pobal . glan an oideacht úaradar.¹¹
Sona an flaith ó bhfaíair sbroigeachd¹² . maith do-chúaidh in¹³
chomhoideacht.

Eóin Bruinde bidh¹⁴ dom¹⁵ thoirreacht . Eóin Baisde gum¹⁶
búachailleacht.

Gidh¹⁷ é a Dhombnaill mo dhílleacht¹⁸ . do chongbhainn réd chipíneacht.
Eisdeacht¹⁹ fada as fada dhamh . ar aba an eisdreacht²⁰ abadh.

845 ^{ab}Rugadh úaim mh'fer toirrechda²¹ . an seal úair dob inganta.

25. **BEANDACHT**, don beandacht, méd an beandaicht, méd an beandachta, na beandaicht, na beandachta, dona beandachtaibh, méd na mbeandacht, iar²² bheandachta.

Beandacht,²³ mallacht, udhacht, ábhacht, cumhacht, leamhnacht .f., oirbeart, toirbeart tairbeart, ceannacht, arracht, [lisdachd C²], greasacht, grísacht, glúasacht, íasacht, anart, ceasacht, furtacht fortacht, dásacht, connracht, (fulacht .l.), dúsacht,^a gúasacht, (easpart .l.),^a [toirmeasg tairmeasg, ceannsachd, dúthrachd P], inann ghabhaid, ^agach focal .f. dá sílladh 7 ailm choll gu n-úathad duir ar a deiredh mar sin.^a

Cradh a dhúaine nír dhochta . búaine bladha ^a24 beannachta.

Nocha sgéra brígh an bennaicht . re²⁵ síl Énna nemboicht Níadh.²⁶

[Only in P]

Guin deilg ní díol gúasachda . ná bíodh re a feirg íasachda.

Dar lat nach bal bheannachd . dhamh ceannachd don mhac mhallachd.

¹ In giving the text of C and H, \bar{s} is silently extended to cht, which is sometimes written out in the MSS; in C² chd is very common.

² Sbroigeacht HP

⁸ pr. C, fpr. C²

⁴ -sta C

⁵ dílleachd C²P

⁶ eisdeacht C

⁷ ghabhuid P

⁸ ainm bhiass H. a, bhios P

⁹ uatha C

¹⁰ bhios aige mur sin P

¹¹ -air C

¹² proig \bar{s} C²

¹³ a C²H

¹⁴ bí C

¹⁵ gum HP

¹⁶ dom C²

¹⁷ Gedh C

¹⁸ ma dhil \bar{s} C

¹⁹ Esea \bar{s} C

²⁰ anteisdrea \bar{s} C

²¹ infert oireachta C

²² tuill C², tuc . . lat H, gan P

²³ Beanrecht C

²⁴ an HP

²⁵ le C

²⁶ néill P

26. **FEARDHACHD**, don ferdhacht, méd na ferdhachta, na ferdhachta, dona ferdhachtaib, méd na ferdhacht, féch¹ ferdhachta.

Ferdhacht ferthacht,^a bandacht bantacht^a bannacht,^b dáonacht,² áebhdhacht, díadhacht, andsacht, bochtacht, breaghdhacht, dealbhdhacht,³ máordhacht,⁴ umhlacht, inand ghabhaid⁵ ^a 7 gach persa lóir dá silladh⁶ ele do .b. is .c. hí gu curthar⁷ ní roimpe.⁶ (ferdhacht eich,⁸ macdhacht rígh .l.)¹⁰ dánacht, cródhacht, mórdhacht,^a feracht eich,⁹ feracht choille, ^amar in cédfocal¹¹ do .b.^a 10.

[Only in P]

bantrachd, leamhnachd .b., macachd ríogh, oideachd, lorguireachd, comhuideachd .c. (coimhideachd .l.), cruithneachd, sáoidheachd, dáoidheachd, dráoidheachd, oighreachd eighreachd, óghdhachd, (an bhanachd bhaile .l.).

850 An feracht choille acht gidh cródha . deanacht gcoinne¹² is n-óla¹³ hí.
^aMacacht rígh cheirtech chonáigh¹⁴ . ag síl meirtech Madadháin.
^aNá báith¹⁵ ar do mórdhacht mhé . sáith¹⁶ a córdhacht ar ceirde.
^aBeith gu neamhdhocht as dúal duid¹⁷ . trúagh do dhealbhaacht¹⁸ a
 Dhíarmaid.

[Not in CC²]

Do faem¹⁹ sé a cheangul ré a chorp . do mhealladh Dé don dáennacht.
 855 ^aAs deanachd do dhuine mhaith . a mhaith uile ar fearachd eich.
^aOchd bfiir as fearr n-oideachda . sibh as ceann don chuideachda.
^aRug dar n-annsa eachdra thinn . émbac inghine Íaichim
^aar ceann ar coimidine a ccorp . earr oirbhiri ar an annsachd.

27. **BANAS BAILE**, don bhanas bhaile, méd an bhanais bhaile, méd an bhanasa baile, na banais bhaile, na banasa baile, dona banasaibh baile, méd na mbanas mbaile, íar²⁰ bhanasa baile. banas bhaile .l.

Banas baile, feras tighe no baile, dénmhas neith, inand ghabhaid.²¹ [ferus eich, ferus coille .l. aráon C²P]

¹ sir C², tue . . lat H, gan P

² dáonacht C

³ Om. H, drelmhas C, dealmas C²

⁴ mórdhas C

⁵ iat H ⁶⁻⁸ 7 a. ch. d. ar a deireadh mur sin P

⁷ geuirthear C² ⁸ eith C, .l. no a leithéid eile add. P ⁹ eith C

¹⁰⁻¹⁰ after l. 851 in CC²

¹¹ gcéidheart C²

¹² coille added in later hand C

¹³ óla P

¹⁴ -idh C

¹⁵ blaith C, báidh P

¹⁶ sáidh P

¹⁷ duit C

¹⁸ dhealmacht CC², dealbhdhacht P

¹⁹ aomh P

²⁰ dena C², gan P

²¹ mar sin H

Faghail¹ ar ó bhfindÁonghasa . tre fólaidh² nírb inndénmhasa.
 Ferr sind ót fírfírochd eichsi³ . do bhríghfearas bhaile.

28. **COINDMHEADH**,⁴ don choindmheadh, méd an choinnmidh, méd an choinnmedha, na coinnmhídh, na coinnmedha, dona coinnmedhaib, méd na coinnmedh, iar⁵ choinnmedha.

Coinnmedh, fáseamh, imramh,^a smúaineamh,^a úaineamh, súaineamh,^a turnamh toirneamh .c. (tuirneamh^a tornamh .l.), tóramh^a tuismeadh,^a frichnamh fricnamh, díthramh, foirseadh [7 do-rinneadh méd an foirsde P], eangnamh, innramh⁶ indreamh, téramh,^a érlamh, indreadh^{ab} [ionnradh P], aitheasg .f., ^afoilcheas failcheas foilgheas failgheas mur sin acht siad do .b.^a ⁷fáeisimh, sithimh, súainimh^{ab}, úainimh .l. uile⁷ [aitheasg .fer. HP, coidreamh caidreamh, athnamh aithneamh, easnamh, túaisgeart, deisgeart, sitheamh P]

860 Mall síthladh na seanmhara . ód bhand fíchmbar imramha.

^aFá rian oighe ar⁸ díthramh dhí . Moire⁹ 7 sí ag díthladh Dé.¹⁰

Sdéad ag toirneamh fa thuir Chúta¹¹ . tré oighreadh núa ní chuir chrú.

^bA chuill ghormsa dhatha an dáoil . ná tornsa ar mháoil flattha Fáil .l.

Mairg fer budh¹² cuid coindmedha . duid ar fédh na himghona.

865 Ó bhus¹³ léir innte h¹⁴ aitreabh . faicther impe féin fricnamh.¹⁵

Óm baile ag breith a¹⁶ cheana . ní raibhe acht eich¹⁷ foirseadha.

^{ab}Ní beith gan ere a n-innramh . do chleith Ene an ingheanrudh.

^aDo-nídh innradha¹⁸ oidhche . innramha¹⁹ rígh rofoirbhthe.

^{ab}Lúach a n-innreamha dhíbh dlíghidh . inghena²⁰ rígh chinidh Chind.

870 Turus na slat súaire an t-innreamh²¹ . fa cúairt mac is inghen é.²²

Gan díth na litre is lugha . fríth ó itche an érlamha.

^aA fúair sé dh'aithfer an fíll . dob é a aithnemh ó²³ Féilim.

Fis deighfir arna dhula²⁴ . ná²⁵ einigh²⁶ ná²⁵ engnumha.

^aAs mionghar²⁷ do fás a²⁸ ainneamh . tre lár díthramh²⁹ ndoireadh.³⁰

875 Tar sithimh do-cháidh an cur . nach áil sgur don ithir dh'or³¹ .l.

¹ Foghuil P

² fal- C²

³ o sírféarais eith C

⁴ Faeisemh H, Fáoiseamh P

⁵ tab- C², gan P

⁶ imramh C

⁷ tornamh tuirneamh úainimh sithimh fáoisimh .l. na cuigear 7 dorinneadh cuid díobh P

⁸ an P

⁹ Muire C

¹⁰ dhithl- dhe C

¹¹ gcua H

¹² bhudh C

¹³ Mar is H, Mur as P

¹⁴ deleted in C², a haitreabh P, inaittreabh H

¹⁵ frichnamh C

¹⁶ mu H, mo P

¹⁷ eith C

¹⁸ ionnramha P

¹⁹ iomramha P

²⁰ inghen C

²¹ tinneamh C

²² hí H

²³ dh C²

²⁴ dhola C²

²⁵ no P

²⁶ einidh C

²⁷ míoghar P

²⁸ om. C²

²⁹ chlár ndíothramh P

³⁰ doiredh C²

³¹ dar C, dhar H, dor P

[Only in P]

Do lámh fan ccráoisigh na cearchuill . as dál fáoisimh d'ealchuing é.
Ní bheanam osa mall mé . a bharr don fearann foirsde .l.

Beag m'úainimh ón dá fear dhég . céd a mbúailidh as eadh iad [.l.]

Do mhac Láoisigh atá a tol . col a mhná gur bh'fáoisimh d'fíor .l.

29. **BRUGH**,¹ don bhrugh, méd an bhrogha, méd an bhragha, na brogha, na bragha, dona broghaib, dona braghaib, [méd na mbrugh C²] méd na mbrogh, méd na mbragh, iar² brogha 7 bragha.

Brugh, loch [lach .l. P], Lugh [Lámhfada HP], inand ghabhaid acht³ gan illradh ag Lugh 7³ méd na mbrugh⁴ and d'iumarcaidh 7 nach cóir méd na lach ná lach leis.⁵

880 Fer do bhraghsa⁶ do bhualadh . úabhar mer damhsa a dhénamh.⁷

^{ab} Fir tre fertais mara ag maidm . re mbaidhbh ndercghlais bragha Buidhbh.

Imirt sgéith Lagha ar do láimh . ar chléith tana do thimpáin.

^{ab} Damadh dath geal do gabhtha . ceadh fa racha a lach luchra .l.

Do-bhir⁸ an ghrian fa⁹ Lach Léin . a dath féin aniar um nóin .l.

[Not in CC²]

885 Lín catha san chaithirsin . sdím lacha ina leathursoin.

30.¹⁰ **OGH**, don ugh, méd an uighe, na huighi,¹¹ dona huighibh,¹² méd na n-uigheadh, méd na n-ogh, ith uighe, 7 aderar gurab é don uigh is .c. and. ugh illradh lethan is .c. aici 7 úathadh cáol, do .b. atá.¹³

31.¹⁴ **TEACH**, don tigh, don toigh, méd an tighe, méd an toighi, na tighe, na toighe, dona tighibh, dona toighibh, méd na tighedh, méd na toigheadh, méd na teach, féch¹⁵ thighe 7¹⁶ toighe.

¹⁷ Teach teagh, magh, leath .f. inann ghabhaid acht don toigh 7 don mhoigh 7 mar ghabhaid. don tigh 7 don toigh mhóir ó chanamhain, magh mór mar sin, gan chanamhain acu acht sin.

¹ Loch HP

² dena C³, gan P

²⁻³ om. C, Lugh Lamhfada acht gan illradh aigi HP

⁴ 7 méd na lugh *add.* C

⁵ med na lach C, med lach na lach leis C²

⁶ na mbraghsa HP

⁷ lochtach *add.* H

⁸ Dobheir P

⁹ um HP

¹⁰ om. HP

¹¹ om. C, *add. in later hand* C³

¹² don uighibh C

¹³ No metrical citations

¹⁴ om. P

¹⁵ dena C², iar H

¹⁶ no C²

¹⁷ Much of this paragraph is illegible in H

agh .f. 7 .b. inann ghabhaid¹ 7 leath .f., méid na n-oigheadh méid na n-agh a dhá thaibhréim illraidh, .l. lethan de uile acht méid na n-agh.

ab Úaignes a toigh² finn Férghail . ó leanmhain doimh síng siubhlaigh.
 ab Mná gu nóin os cinn³ chorthair . a longthoigh⁴ mhóir find⁵ Férchair⁶ .c.
 (a longthoigh finn mhóir Murchaidh .l. ó tháinic ní eaturra.⁷)
 ab Crech ó Mhoigh lomródaigh⁸ Luirg . le groigh mbuirb tollbhrógaigh
 Taidhg.

b Rug don mhoigh finn fódnaidhe . troigh os cind an chédléime.
 890 ab Gilla a hoirear⁹ bhráoghlan Bhaí . mur láoghdamh náoi n-oighedh é.

[Only in H]

Teas ar áth ar oighibh ónna . loigidh ó thráth nóna anund.
 Ní tarbha leath don dá leithibh . is (?) leath Bhanbha d'feithimh ort.
 Do chú a ngoire dh'oigh Muman . tre choin oile dhá fódadh.

32.¹⁰ **ATHAIR**, don athair, mac an athar, na haithre, na haithreacha, dona haithribh,¹¹ dona haithreachaib, meic¹² na n-aithredh, meic¹² na n-aithreach, meic¹² na n-athar, iar¹³ aithre 7 aithreacha.

Athair, bráthair, máthair, siúr, derbhfiúr inand ghabhaid¹⁴ acht illradh lethan ag an dá ainm dhéigheancha 7 iad¹⁵ féin 7 máthair do .b. a¹⁶ 7 nach casadh do níid¹⁶ ar a taibhréim illraidh. meic¹² na seathradh .l., meic¹² na seathrach, meic¹² na seathar .c.^a

a Seacht seathracha nimhe ar nemh¹⁷ . eachracha cridhe an Choimhdhedh.
 895 a Rugais na haithre is na heighre¹⁸ . tucais raibhthi deimhne dhúin.
 Róide ar n-aithredh dob aithnidh . móide in t-aithber imaitbhbir.
 a Ar trí aithreacha¹⁹ is hi in dream . na trí glainchletha guidhem.²⁰
 D'ulc ar n-aithrichne úair²¹ sibh . nach úair aithrighthi aignidh.

[Only in H]

Dá ndeachaimne dhá reic ruibh . fuil Mheic ar seathairne sin.
 900 Sin gu seinChliaigh a fleasg Leamhna . measg ar deirfiair deamra dhi.

33.²² **MAIGHISTIR**, don mhaighistir, mac an mhaighistir, mac an mhaighisdreach, na maighisdre,²³ na maighisdreacha, dona²⁴

¹ ghabus C ²	² dtoigh C ³	³ cionn C ²
⁴ -thoidh C	⁵ fionn C ²	⁶ ferchairc C
⁷ eatara C	⁸ -aidh C	⁹ oirear C
¹⁰ om. P	¹¹ after dona haithreachaib in C	¹² mic C
¹³ sir C ² , tug . . lat H	¹⁴ iat H	¹⁵ siad H
¹⁶⁻¹⁸ om. Ç	¹⁷ aniu C	¹⁸ ar naithre sar neidhre C ²
¹⁹ dtri naitreacha C ²	²⁰ guighem C	²¹ aithrechne fuair C ²
²² om. HP	²³ after maighisdreacha in C	²⁴ donu C

maighistreibh, dona maighisdreachaibh, meic¹ na maighisdredh, meic¹ na maighisdreach, iar mhaighisdre 7 mhaighisdreacha.

Maighistir, meinistir, minisdir, inand ghabhaid.

Dá mhagraill an mheinisdreach . nach bhfaghaim² re bhfulachtadh.

34.³ **CLÍAMHAIN**,⁴ don chlíamhain,⁵ mac⁶ an chlemhna,⁷ na clemhna,⁷ dona cleamhnaibh,⁸ meic⁹ na clemhnadh, iar¹⁰ chleamhna.⁷

Clíamhain,⁴ gamhuin, ainim, inann ghabhaid acht nach casaid araón^a ar a^c taibhréim illraighe¹¹ mar chlíamhain.⁴

^aMo mhaithreas uile acht mh^aainim¹² . a roinn is edh ordoighim

^amise ó's ag minroinn mo raith . timnaim ise don Ardflaith.

[*Only in H*]

Ná cuir lán an arrthruigh ind . dál anfaidh resan ainim.

35. **GOIBHÉL** .f., don ghoibhéil, méd an ghoibhéil, méd an ghoibhéil, na goibhéil, na goibhéla, dona goibhélaibh, méd na goibhéil, iar¹³ goibhéla.¹⁴

Goibhéil gaibhéil, droibhéil, soilér, mainér, cuilén, meirén, coilér, oilén, dinnér,¹⁵ ^aurán orán, fúarán^a úarán, forrán, imán, timán, camán, teannál .f., bannál^a .f., macámh maccáomb, roighlén^a reighlén réighlén^b, coimden¹⁶, casúr, táilliúr, Tomás [Tómás P], tadhbás, sisúr^a, Seaán Seoán^a, soisgél (masa¹⁷ inann)^{ab}, aiér aieór, leannán, ^acasrán, maithiús,^a uinniún¹⁸, ^acotún, prísún brísún (7 do-rinneadh gu gearr leis^b íad)^a, timpán (acht indscene¹⁹ .b. and), imthús imthós, cogús cogúas, cáicdhíos .f., faileannán, mónannán, [imleacán HP] imleagán, ^aulchobhchán, tinól tinál, úathfás, caislén, aigén, Báitér²⁰, Lúcas,^a inand ghabhaid²¹ uile.^{ab}

[*Only in P*]

muirén, Niocól, atán, beagán, mainnsér, beangán, seangán, Nioclás Niocalás, annál, Annlúan, Furnabhál, orghán, fomhór omhór, meadhón meadhán meidheón, Rolón Rolónt, énarán áonarán, compán cumpán, eighnén, fíren, deibhlén, soighnén, pearsún, barún, galún.

¹ mic C

² faghaim C²

³ om. P

⁴ cliabhain CC²

⁵ chliabhain CC²

⁶ méd H

⁷ cleabhna C²

⁸ cleabhnaibh

⁹ mic C

¹⁰ sir C², iarr H

¹¹ illraigthi H

¹² anaim C

¹³ gan P

¹⁴ ghoibhel C

¹⁵ dinér C, dinér C²

¹⁶ coibhdén P

¹⁷ mas

¹⁸ uinnún C

¹⁹ an H

²⁰ Batér C, Bháitér P

²¹ íat H

- Do-chúidh le hénlén¹ oile . úain réghlén na ríghraidhe.
- 605 ^{ab} Bruit šróil is cranngal cheinnégér . adhbhar **reighlén** d'fóir Oirghíall.
^a Ced **oráin** faghla² dod th'féin³ . d'féil⁴ na Samhna d'onáir⁵ úaibh.
^a Cuin benfas dár n-**esrán** inn . an ghealchas chnesbhán chúilfind.
^a Lucht an bheatha cé a ccúpla⁶ . a ré as beatha **bhrísúnta**.⁷
^a Na thor fíthi chrisúr⁸ chuir . na **phrisún**⁹ tuir ghníthi ghil.
- 910 Do filleadh call tar a chláon . le silleadh mall an **mhacáomh**.
^{ab} Bró šagh corr¹⁰ an Cháomhánaigh¹¹ . ar dhamh trom¹² na
 dtáilliúraibh.¹³
- In fer le n-íarthair an t-iúl . do fíarfaigh¹⁴ tegh an **táilliúr**.
 Derbhaidh tennbhuille cert **casúir** . nert dernainne an bhasúir bhuig.
 Mo chúairt¹⁵ go teagh an **táillúra** . ar n-éindígha¹⁶ .l.
- 915 ^a Láoch elí ag iaraidh¹⁷ do sgél . do-gheibhe a ndíamhair **droibhél**.
^a Beiridh¹⁸ láoidhing¹⁹ fa a lán sgél . as an chlár²⁰ aibhinn **oilén**.
 Ní féd mé maitheamh in **aieór** . ná caitheadh sé raieól rium.²¹
 Lán do dhoigh 's do dhriubhragán²² . an clár fóil ós mh'imleagán.
 Cloitheach²³ is a choirbél d'ór . **coimhdén**²⁴ mór soichleach²⁵ na slúagh.
- 920 Do-gébhtar é²⁶ folamh fós . an domhan²⁷ as²⁸ hé a **imthós**.
^b Acht gi-bé²⁹ dá tabhar tús³⁰ . ní marabh is é mh'³¹ **imthús**.³²
 Cía ó bhfuighthi³³ an dán nó³⁴ an dúas . lámh is cuirthi ar in³⁵ **co cúas**.
 Ní mhair an bloghúd don bhairghin . ní maith **cogús** Chobhthaigh.
 Atá a flaitheas³⁶ na láimh féin . muna brég breth³⁷ an **tsoisgéil**.
- 925 Dér leis³⁸ gach líne dar légh . no gur légh Síle an **soisgél**.
 Grán gach leirgí um laibheannán³⁹ . ní deirgi mám **mónannán**.
^a **Furnabhál**⁴⁰ ní feramhail . **ulchobhchán** a indamhail.⁴¹
^a Tor beag a mbárr in tulchán⁴² . nead and ag an⁴³ **ulchubhchán**.
^{ab} Cosmhail is oighidh Áodha . fa nguilid mná is **macáomha**.
- 930 ^a Ní tugadh timcheall⁴⁴ Áodha . a mílchoin ná a⁴⁵ **macáomha**
 ab náid seóid bile finn Eachta . náid cinn fine a oireachta.

¹ enlen C, einlen C² ² faghla P ³ dod tfein C², gat féin P
⁴ féil C ⁵ anáir CP ⁶ a gcúpla C², an cúpla P
⁷ brisúnda C ⁸ crisur CC², chniosúr P ⁹ prisún C
¹⁰ gorr C² ¹¹ cháanaidh C ¹² dtrom C²
¹³ dtailiúraibh C² taileabhúraibh C ¹⁴ -idh C
¹⁵ Ar ccúaird P ¹⁶ an eindhiogha, H ¹⁷ iarraidh P
¹⁸ Bir- C, Beir- C, Beiris P ¹⁹ laighing C
²⁰ clár C, cclár P ²¹ rim C², riom P, rum H
²² ghoinh sdo ghriobhragán P ²³ Cloiceach C, Cloitheach H
²⁴ coibhdén P ²⁵ soitreach P ²⁶ Gion go bhfuil sé P
²⁷ domha C ²⁸ budh HP ²⁹ gidh be C²
³⁰ tós C²H ³¹ a CP ³² imthos C², imthóss H
³³ fuighthi C ³⁴ † CC², ná H ³⁵ do C²
³⁶ leigheas P ³⁷ an bocht do bhreith H
³⁸ corr. to le C², ar H ³⁹ laidhennan H, laoidheannán P
⁴⁰ Furnabhál P ⁴¹ indsamhail C², innsamhuil P ⁴² tolchan C²
⁴³ om. C ⁴⁴ tiomcall P ⁴⁵ na C, naid a C², no a P

^aMná ga¹ aithne a hórchóilér² . san bfaithchi³ lá an lértinól.

^aSgéil do théigh grúaidh re ngleoagh⁴ . Seoán⁵ féin úair⁶ ón aiér.⁷

[*Not in CC²*]

All brúachdhub roigér ríasgach . goibél úathmhar ilphiadach.

Trom an tóir ar dhamh ndroibhéil . sagh coiléir⁸ óir i Alúin.

935 Coingir šlegh⁹ ceinnégér caithfidh . fa reghlén fer n-anaithnidh.

Gébaidh ród gu ró an seanndún . bó beannúr óg ar imán.

Meiréin a nglennataib na Goill . re seabcaib¹⁰ Chenéil Chonoill.¹¹

^bAtáid a trí techta am tigh . ga deacra ní do neithibh.¹²

(A techta fa trí nar tigh an dénum ele.)^b

[*Only in P*]

Romhór do choguin dar ccreachuibh . fomhór boduigh leathuin léith.

940 As úamhan na áonarán . no ar slúaghadh Ó Stúilliobhán.

Ar bhfearg ó dō-chí ar ccomhfás . a searg do-ní Niocalás.

Cuid do chíos an bharún bhig . an galún bhíos do Bhrighid.

Tug lámh na leannán bhfoluigh . teannál um chlár cConchubhair.

Ráth Dá Thí fúinn ar farbhás . tadhbhás dúinn i ar ainghlés.

945 Bearar do chead Dé na ndúl . lé leanabh beag san bríosún.

Fuilegeadh sionn¹³ dá bochda bhíos . a thochda a ccionn gach

cáicidhíos.

36. **TÁILLEABHAR**¹⁴, don táilleabhar, mac an táilleabhair, na táilleabhair, dona táilleabhruibh, meic¹⁵ na táilleabhar, iar¹⁶ tháilleabhra.

Táilleabhar, uinneamhan, casabhar, foghamhar faghamhar, deichneamhar¹⁷, sisabhar^a, [duilleabhar duileabhar, Conchabhar P], inand ghabhaid¹⁸, ^acasadh do-níd ar a tullréim illraighe 7 ar a tothlughadh.^a

^aSí leis ón eirc a hEamhain¹⁹ . beirt suil²⁰ tí ón táilleabhair [l. C²]

^aCruindinadh isin chriaidh duind²¹ . bíaidh gan²² uinneamhan álainn.²³

Slegh ód bhoisi²⁴ na bloghaib . acht²⁵ feadh coisi²⁶ casabhair.

950 Car²⁷ an faghamhair²⁸ uile . a bhanamhail bharrbhuidhe.

[*Only in P*]

Buidhean chleithleabhar thrí tríar . gíall do-ní deichneabhar dhiobh.

¹ gut C

² órchuilér C

³ ar faighthe P

⁴ le gleaagh C, re ngleoadh C²

⁵ Seaan C

⁶ fúair P

⁷ aieór P

⁸ choiléir P

⁹ šleadh P

¹⁰ o šeabhcuibh P

¹¹ cconuill P

¹² *This couplet is out of place. It is added in later ink.*

¹³ sinn MS.

¹⁴ Táilleabhar H, sic etc. C² passim.

¹⁵ mic C

¹⁶ marbh H, gan P

¹⁷ deichneabhar P

¹⁸ iad H

¹⁹ eamhain C

²⁰ sul P

²¹ criadh nduind C, ccriaidh nduinn P, ccriaidh duind C³

²² gun C²

²³ gan n. n. P

²⁴ bhoisse P

²⁵ gu H, go P

²⁶ choisi C²H

²⁷ Fedh HP

²⁸ faghamhair C

37.¹ **DEATHACH**, don deathaigh, méd na deathcha, na deathcha, dona deathchaibh, méd na ndeachach, féch² dheathcha.

Deathach, cepach,^b grísach, greallach, crannach, Brédach^a, sgethach, cliathach, mísach (acht gan illrad aici), menntoghal^a, meahal .c. (meabhail .l.)^a, slíasad, codal .c. (codail .l.)^a, cimhas, banamhus, ^acolann calann, olann^a, ríghan, pudhar .b., ladhar, médal, síthal .c. (sítheal .l.), ^aimedhain³, agallaimh, díamhair^a, inonn⁴ 7 so síis acht gé adubhramur tuas⁵ íad, foghail faghail (ón dá chéill), foghal faghail (an bhaile), toghail .c. (toghal .l.)^a, díghal díghail, riaghail riaghail, fedhain fedhan,⁶ inann ghabaid [uile C²] tríd anúas.

[Only in P]

líamhuin, friothólambh friothálambh, fuláramh foláramh faláramh furálambh forálambh farálambh (an oiread sin ar ghuthaidhe dhíobh), leanamhuin, tuilleamhuin toilleamhuin.

^a Mas fíir do as **menntoghlaich** mhé . no no is sengcodhnach Siúire.

Dath na gríscha ar grúadh í Róigh . snúadh óir na míscha ar a mhail.

^a Ól ar mbainnine ní bhacfa . srón chaillighe ceapcha.

955 Géill fa síthlaibh óir ghá n-iumchar . ag ríghraidh fóid Almhan.

Séd fine ar nach dáigh dícheal . sítheal bhile Chláir Chrúachan .l.

^{ab} Gabh do lagha a mheic Matha . deit as cara ceapacha .l.

^{ab} Nocha n-uil orrlach uile . a connlach na ceapaighe .l.

^{ab} Úaill na ndamh san mhí Mháirta . is hí do bhladh na Brédcha

^{ab} do teannadh le digh ndrúcta . idh lúptha um cengal céchta.

960 ^{ab} Fa dhruim piasta ar liantibh lacha . filltir sliasta flatha Fáil.

^{ab} Pláigh as díghal ar in dreim . lerbh áil sgríbadh an sgríbind.

^{ab} A riaghail ó dho bhris ben . ní hiadhaidh ris do-rinneadh.

^a Do gadadh úam mart meabhla . trúagh nar thacht mo thighearna.

^a Tug sí biadh don bhanamhais . ó do bhi a cliar combadhais.

965 ^b Gidh lesc leat loghadh damhsa . a fíir⁷ bhig na banamhsa

^{ab} frith dod t'aithinti⁸ a ghribh ghlan . do sídh d'aithilti th'athar.

^{ab} Cíir aga cur a cend⁹ Adhna . míl seng dubh gach ladhra¹⁰ lé.

Tuillidh sí ar lár a ladhra¹⁰ . gallgha 's as lán dí a derma.

^{ab} Seóid 7 sláinte challa . treóid mballa táinte troma.

^{ab} Fedhain nachar mhoille ar mhnáibh . tre fédhaibh Chloinne Cochláin.

970 ^a A n-áth na méla is maidm air . sbairn an chédgha nír chosain.

^a Rúin sídha ag finnferaibh Fáil . d'imfedhain fíina ón Easpáin.

[Not in CC²]

Na deathcha a n-íath¹¹ naithnidh . triath Cechna is dá chomharthaibh.

^b Gan lúag cliathcha um chend bur n-óla . ferr na briathra móra amuigh.

¹ See note on § 10 p. 52

² seachain C² gan P

³ = imfedhain, -ghain CC²

⁴ om. C

⁵ adubhradh a tus C

⁶ féghain, feghain etc. MSS.

⁷ mheic H

⁸ cotaihinte C

⁹ gcend C²

¹⁰ laghra MSS.

¹¹ Deathcha tre íath P

Caibhdheana re¹ ndil ag dul . airgheana rígh an riaghal.

975 ^aLór lat d'fagháil a n-íarrfa . gabháil chliachdha ar h'at órtha.

^aCiomhsa a chladh arna comhar . an magh fionns[a] an bhfacabhar.

^aNár mheala t'airm a Aonghuis .

'is maith ma challa' no 'as maith dath mo challa' do dhúnadh air.

^aMart meanntoile an mart do chuir . tart Bealltuine ar na bochduibh.

38.² **TRÁGH** .f., don trágh, méd an tráigh, méd an trágaha, na tráigh, na trágaha, dona trágahaibh, méd na trágh, iar³ thrágaha.

Trágh, ráth, táobh, táom, brúcht^{ab}, grís, fros fras, áobh (ón dath), rámh, bocht, gomh, brígh, fairbríogh fairbhríogh⁴, dealbh (na haighthi), srath^a (na habhann), inann 7 so síis acht gan so síis⁵ do .b.,⁶ dál (chugad), sídh síth (rit), bláth, bráth (acht gan illradh aigi), táth, cás, fás, ás⁷, liús, giús, áes, tús tós, nós, snamh, rath (go gerr aróen), as (óir), blas,⁸ meath, grás grásd .c. (gráds .l.)^a, grádh, gádh, ágh^a, slán, (ón choroighecht⁹), bágh, tráth, ráth^a (ón tslánoighecht)¹⁰, ól, sódh (ón digh¹¹), tías, trúas, lúas, trés, més, dlús^a, nús^a, máos¹², báos¹³, gnás, ^alúth lúdh, fod fad, (gu gerr)^a, crúas, méd (lethan), fáth [ó dhá chéill P], sgís (ort)^{ab}, trácht, brad, flaithes^b, maithes, foras^a, saidhbhres, daidhbhres¹⁴, indlus^{ab}, cruineas cruindes, tinnes teinnes, bráithres, esréd, baithes, breghas¹⁵, oides^a, sanas, ^adenas, [aitheasg .f. C²P], doilghes duilghes, dúthchas, dóchas, ocras ocaras acras acaras^a, cícras cícaras, íaratas íaradhas .c. (íarudas .l.)^a, coimhéd, forcoimhéd¹⁶ (.c. do rind íad¹⁷), urramhas, urradhas orradhus erradhus (7 ní hó¹⁸ éenchéill), ¹⁹soirbhes, doirbes, coimes, cendus, indmhus, dealbhas²⁰, cleamhnas²¹, fiabrus, oires (ó dhá chéill^a)¹⁹ áebhnes, folachtas^a falachtas^a, aighnes, ainbhes²², úaignes úainghes, ^aáines, dúalas dúalghas, fialas^a, flaitheamhnas, cáicdighes,

¹ le a P

² This section and the following are combined in H and P, but nouns of more than one syllable in -es, -as, -us appear in a separate section under Teindes (Tinneas P)

³ siobl- C², gan P, and under Teindes, fulaing theindesa H

⁴ sic C²P, -brigh C, -bhrih H

⁵ sic C², acht gu soiser C

⁶ .dfer. 7 do .b. uile inand iad. A mbráithre .f. and so síis etc. HP

⁷ om. CH

⁸ go gearr add P

⁹ chor P

¹⁰ slánoighecht C

¹¹ na dighi H

¹² más C

¹³ bás C

¹⁴ saibhres daibhres CC²

¹⁵ breadhus H, breaghdhus P

¹⁶ forchoimhéd HP

¹⁷ 7 is .c. dorinnedh iad C, om. HP

¹⁸ o CP

¹⁹⁻¹⁹ om. C

²⁰ dealmus C², dealmhas H

²¹ cleabhnus C²

²² ainmhes CC² ainbhís H

^aadhaltras¹, imertas, comhaltas, ingantas, bunadhas, díghaltas, tabhartus, oireachtas, imarbhas, féicheamhnas², breitheamhnas^a, [faitches, buanbus C²P] inand ghabaid 7 trágh .f. acht nach comhfáda íad.³

[*Not in CC²*]

rádh, sás, blás, aimhles

[*Only in P*]

búadh, foilcheas failcheas foilgheas failgheas, fád, cíos, sbríos, eólus, macnus, daltus, bronntanus, comórtus, teinneanus, parrthus parrdhus, foltanus faltanus, aiteas, anaiteas.

^aNí fuighe⁴ sé sidh⁵ an táobha . 's ná bídh⁶ acht cré dháona a nDia.
980 ab Gídh mór ré rádha⁷ riar airdrigh . ní iar chána is fairbrigh⁸ d'fir.

ab Gach frosa sneachta dhá sil . ní hosa⁹ an¹⁰ ealta dh'áirimh .l.

A dhath mar áobh uighe an¹⁰ luin . nó mar mhuine cáomh cáolaigh.¹¹

ab Dimbuan ón brúcht bhánsoillsi . in drúcht indfúar¹³ álainnsi.¹⁴

ab Áobh a aighthi¹⁵ ar aingin . cáomh san bhfaithchi¹⁶ Feidhlimidh.

985 Cuid an bhochta ar dáil¹⁷ is duiligh . cáir¹⁸ gorta a cuiligh¹⁹ dá chinn.

ab Fola na mbráthar ní búan . dúal báthadh gomha san²⁰ gháol.

ab Áines tar gomh ag mnaí mérchuir . ag dol ar cháoi ndérthruim dhí.

ab Cinnus do dealbh ibh uile . 's gan duine ar dhealbh fir ele.

^aTáinic soin dá léim lúdh . béim súla 7 goin ghrádh.

990 Nách doiligh gan dál coinne . fá chlár nOiligh againne.

ab Do siublaigh a ndáil duine . táin Muighe iubhraigh Ele²¹

.c. 7 ní uil ainm úathaidh aige.

Ní fuil amuigh gídh²² seól síth . crích nach fuil a mbeól a bláith.²³

ab Faicfe²⁴ smál borb an brátha . bord gach átha lán lúatha.

Táirtheam²⁵ comairci²⁶ ar cinn bráith . mór orainn²⁷ eagla an éntráith.

995 ^bMíchél ar mbrethem brátha . don chruinne as cráobh núabhlátha

^bbídh mar tá gacha²⁸ trátha . agár ndín lá an lúanbrátha.

ab Drem dhine fá criadh na cruinne . líne na díaidh²⁹ uirre ag ás.

Leibhsi na súsa 's³⁰ na sréin . t'eichsi³¹ ag béin túsa d'ibh Táil.

^bMes ar mhaith gach fir dob áil . do dháil dhígh raith dá gach rígh.

¹ aghaltras CP

² féitheamhnas CC²

³ sic C²; inann ghabhaid 7 tragh .f. gin gu comhfáda follows caicdighes in C

⁴ fuigedh C².

⁵ síoth P

⁶ bioth P

⁷ rágha C

⁸ airbrigh C

⁹ osa C

¹⁰ om. C

¹¹—11

¹² cháolaigh C, gcaomh gcaolaigh C³, caem caelugh H, ch. cc. P

¹³ inúar C

¹⁴ aoibhinnsi C²

¹⁵ aithchi C

¹⁶ bfaithi CC²

¹⁷ ndáil C²

¹⁸ cóir P

¹⁹ ccuilligh P

²⁰ sa C

²¹ .ii. C, ine C²

²² Ní fuigfe amuigh budh H, Ní fuighthi amuigh ge P

²³ an bhráith P

²⁴ Faicif² C³

²⁵ Tairtháem C

²⁶ -chí C²

²⁷ oirne C²

²⁸ ata gach H

²⁹ diadh C, díai gh C²

³⁰ as H

³¹ teithsi C

^{ab}Fer an ais óir ar a eing¹ , budh tóir ar in nGlais nGaibhnind.²

1000 As d'iarraidh mheith a mheic grádhaigh , deit nó is³ do bhreith áruigh⁴ ort.

ab Mar thug láimh fá chreic⁵ na Cásg , a leith a grásd do-cháidh⁶ Crísd.

^aNír chuir a cor no a slán⁷ sinn . nírbh á⁸ linn gan dol fa dhoirr.

^{ab}Lór **rátha** na ríghréine , ar slógh **Rátha** Rúaidhríne.

^a Tonn bháidh an bhéine⁹ bráthar . báthadh féine Chláir Chruáchan.

1005 Gu fégha tharadh in **traícht** , béra ó bháirc a caladh chúairt¹⁰.

ab Codlaidh sinn aghaidh an **faidsin**¹¹ , gur chabhair linn t'aicsin¹² ann.

.l. ór .df. is .c. gach persa lóir énsilla.

^{ab} Clú maithesa ní mhaídh neach . re taibh maitheasa¹³ Muimhnech.¹⁴

ab Crodh slóigh ar drochcoimhéd de¹⁵ . forcoimhéd dóib a ndaingne.

ab Sgor seng ar srathaibh na Múaidhe¹⁶, lachain chenn n-úaine ar
gach n-áth.

1010 Do-ghéna an chlí do choimhéd . is déna í d'fhorcoimhéd.¹⁷

Tug gach saoi sedh san¹⁸ roigheig , fer coimheid do¹⁹ ghnai Geroid.

²⁰ Srath d'faigsin isin Imleach, gan an sraithsin sibheinnfhiuch.

ab Do-bheir sgath Chuille ar a chonách . ba lán²¹ uisge a eisiréd.²²

Nach dech bráen esréda uirre . teisréga²³ cráob Chuille in coin.

1015 ^aFá thuind do²⁴ bhaitheis bhreaglais . do thuill aitheis oireachtais.

In²⁵ bréid 7 in²⁵ breaghas²⁶ . do thréig ar in tighedhas²⁷.

Na luigh²⁸ é gu burasa . do-chluin sé na sanasa.

^{ab}Do chaidribh deanus do dhuine . feabhus t'ainnidh uile a Áodh.

Ar dhíl an chalann dá c'icras . mh'anam fa-rír ícfas é.

1020 Dod chloidhemh²⁹ ní³⁰ chédlongadh . 'snír³¹ coisgedh a chícáras.

abFuilngidh⁸³ breac acras ar édtráigh . do mhacnas re míltoigh.

ab Ar gúirghi is edh do-ugais⁸⁴ , a bfuighbhi⁸⁵ ar edh n-iarudais .l.

^aSriabh tre tholchaibh táobhghlasa . na orthain⁸⁶ d'fir fiabhrasa.

ab Gidh cóir Meadhbh re Móir do mhes . a ndealhh níir chóir⁸⁷ do

choimes.³⁸

1025 ^{ab}Ní bhacfa dh'aon iaradhas . cráobh Thlachtgha na trédhenus⁸⁹.

ab **Urramhas** nachar dhlúigh dhó . do chuir urradhas orra.

1	ing C	2	Glais Gaibhneinn C ²	3	s HP
4	áraidh C, ár- C ²	5	chreith C	6	dochúaidh C
7	sláin C	8	sic P, áil CC ²	9	bhéinne P
10	cúairt CH	11	fad sin C	12	tfaicsin C ²
13	maithéa <i>add.</i> C	14	mainech C ³	15	-choimhéd dhe C
16	Múaighe C	17	-choimhéd HP	18	sa H
19	a C ² HP	20	<i>add.</i> C ³ in <i>marg.</i>	21	ballán C
22	heisred C ²	23	teisréda C	24	dod C
25		26		27	a H
28	breadhas H, brechtus C ² , breaghdhus P				
29	a dtigeghus C ² , a tigheadhghas P, in trífubhas C				
30	luidh CC ²	31	chlidhemh C	32	ni H
33		34		35	do H
36	coisedh C	37	Fuilgidh C	38	dho hugais C
39	bfbuibhi C	40	horthuín P	41	ni .c. C ²
42	chomes C	43	tréghenus C, treigenus C ²		

- ^aA² fíchdi bó sa eich² fúaras³ . mó fá dheich⁴ mo dúalas dó.
 abNí hadhbhar⁵ sgís an sgaradh . faghbbadh dhís gan dealughadh.
 abMana derna eisde úaill . ga meisde búaidh ndéalbha ar dhúil.
 1030 abNa bhrad do bí ar in mnaísi . fad a haísi⁶ is í ar h'éisi⁷.
^aSribh fíar⁸ a fídh⁹ chnóimhílis . do Níall na fíir énoiris.

[Not in CC²]

- A tráth molta an deilbh a Dhé . as molta an té dar féidhm hí.
 Ma do-ním gáire is tar¹⁰ gom . ar ndol do rígh Cláire ar ceal.
 Do¹¹ thuig tú báeghal an bhráith . ag sáeradh cháich ar chrú an chích.
 1035 An troigh slisgeal bhoindgheal bláith . nach brisfeadh oighreadh
 éntráith.
 As trághadh lacha as a lár . lámh fa bhádhadh ratha an rígh.
 Tig fúinn áeradh an éga . báeghal gan chúil coiméda.
 Gu glíaidh do-ghní theinnenas¹² . Ó Bríain ga mbi ar n-urradhus¹³
 do-ní a šlegh¹⁴ rúadh rionnsólus . gu fer úadh a hurramhus.¹⁵
^bLór do dhuine fan dígh cuisg . cruine an fíir um an amuisg.
 1040 ^bNír hinchuir t'ígh órdasa . ar mac fíir fiabrusa.

[Only in P]

- Tiocfa an lán eadruibh is é . fresgruidh é na thrágh sul tí.
 Reanna sleagh¹⁶ a n-áth fa Áodh . dáor an fíeadh ag ráth na ríogh.
 Dar lat¹⁷ dob fairbriogh a oighidh . mac airdríogh gan oighir air.
 Na trí frosa muna fearthair . ní bhí a Rosa fearthuín fúibh.
 1045 T'olc a dhuine as deaghtáobha . dá ccuire ort aithmbéla.
 An fíis ler éirigh a tathamh . ag déinimh ghrís d'achadh Airt.
 As í an foilleheas eisinnill . a Rí an toirrchéas taisighim.
 Teachd tar muir mbuirb an bhrátha . dána dhuit le luing leónta.
 Cáor šlóigh nach foda fátha . fátha ar cóir troda triótha.
 1050 Goradh táith úaibh d'íarmhumbain . do-chúaidh fa Ráith ríoghLughuidh.
 Fleadh ann 'ga sgáoilteir sgéla . clann¹⁸ Ébha a n-áointigh óla.
 Do sgóilt giolla gég don ghiús . do bhrég liús na Sionna súas.
 Dá mbeadh maith a ndán dá dhul . ar lár a raith ní rachadh.
 Fear an éngha 's an ais óir . ní thérna tóir ar ais úaidh.
 1055 Dá chrann fíir an órasa . ní rann sin 's an Sémuissa.
 Bean do šíir fear n-úaigneasa . budh bean fíir at égmhuissea.
 Ga beag mur fáth duilghis dúinn . tnúidh ar chách far fuirghis úainn.
 Fáth lúidh is fáth faitheasa . dhúinn an tráth fa ttiocfasa.
 Ar do dhúthchus ná dáor oineach . a chráobh chúlchas groidheach
 Ghrég.
 1060 Fearr mo dhóchus¹⁹ ma a dhénaimh²⁰ . a órchros an Fíreánaigh.

¹ Na P

² sa eith C, sna heich P

³ uaras C

⁴ dheith C

⁵ adhbhar C

⁶ haoisi C² aisi C

⁷ ar éisi C

⁸ Sribh fíar C

⁹ bfidh C², fíodh P

¹⁰ tre P

¹¹ Nior P

¹² tinneanus P

¹³ nurrampus P

¹⁴ sleadh H, sleadh P

¹⁵ hurradhus .c. ón cheíllsin P

¹⁶ sleadh MS.

¹⁷ leat MS.

¹⁸ clan MS.

¹⁹ dhóthcus MS.

²⁰ dhénamh MS.

39. **TRÁGH** .b. don tráigh, méd na tráighe, na trágha, dona trághaib, méd na trág, iar thrágha¹.

Trágh, ráth, táobh, táom, brúcht, grís, fros fras, áebh² (ón dath), bocht, gomh, rámh, brígh, fairbrígh³ fairbhrígh, dealbh (na haighthi), tnúth tnúdh, cích cígh⁴, síth⁵ sídh (na gcnoc⁶), clúmh, téd, sgiath, sgúab, sreódh, leath, beach, smál, gas, cúl, grúadh, cúan (na^a con), feall, peann,^a dalbh [ón bhreig P], úall⁵, smúas, tarr, bláosg [pláosg P], inann 7 so síis acht na cédchirt .df. dá n-iumurcaidh, áobh (innad⁷), cerd (ón cheird), adhbh (chiúil), beart (chluichi⁸), erc^a (luáchra), croch, riagh (ó éenchéill), clas, ugh, subh, esc, cealg, learg, bearn, tiach tiagh, sodh sadh⁹, cos, cloch, sealg, leag, (lógmhor), fadhbh (an duine), earr, frémh prémh, gég, sceach, cleth, cliath, úamh, búadh, crúadh, rúag¹⁰, sreabh, fledh, sdím, días dés (arbha), sgoth sgath, bos bas, úagh, dúas, crot, túagh^{ac}, tres^{ab} [ón treis C²], gres^a, sreath (an arbha), crumh, ferb^a, corm¹¹, deór dér, both, blogh blagh, (ón roind), ógh, Mór, eas (ón eis), ^asleagh, cnedh, cned, bang, ferg, balg (an tsrotha¹²), medh, sgíamh, grían [an aiéir P], níamh, creg crag, seacc, túath, balg (bháoghail¹³), inann ghabhaid uile, emh eabh^a mur sin leis, inann ghabhaid 7 trágh .b. ^cno aobh inonn^c [derc C²P, sealbh, feadhb H, each, líog, ciall, cúal, bárc, carbh, dérc, leas (na coisi) P].

^{ab} Atám ar sás luit Í Floind . fan eruit do fás in fochainn .c.

[fan muic .l. C²]

^{ab} Na banboicht gan ní fa nimh . a Raghnailt a Rí an richidh.

^{ab} A Cill Athracha ní fuil . acht athboichta ar¹⁴ na n-argain.

Is tegar boiehti mo¹⁵ beart . seagal is coirci is cruithneacht.

1065 ^{ab} Arm san áth gé thí thuite . bíthe a rí ar sgáth do sgéithi¹⁶.

^{ab} Grís cháomh ar car a smáile . áille táobh nglan do ghrúaidhe.

An chúairt do-ní cú ó chúain¹⁷ . ót úaidh is í budh dú dúin.

^{ab} Dámh ag derbhadh na feille¹⁸ . nemhghlan fál na firinde.

^a Greim dá¹⁹ thengaidh toirbhéraidh : do²⁰ fpeind chennduibh²¹
choirrhléghil²².

¹ gan tr. P

² aóebh C

³ fairbír C

⁴ cidh C

⁵ om. C

⁶ an chnuic P^a

⁷ inand C, ort H

⁸ chluithi CC², ón bheirt H, ó bheirt an chluithe 7 an éduigh P

⁹ sódh sádh C, sogh sagh HP

¹⁰ rúagh C

¹¹ crom C, corn H

¹² trotha C, bolg balg an tsréin 7 an tsrotha 7 an easa 7 an iomhuis do

.b. bolg balg an duine 7 an ghabhann .dfer. P

¹³ baghail C, bhao dhail C²

¹⁴ air C

¹⁵ ma C

¹⁶ sgeththe C

¹⁷ o a cúain C²P, o cúain H

¹⁸ filli C²

¹⁹ do C²

²⁰ da P

²¹ -dhuibh C

²² cor- C, chorr- C², coirr- P

- 1070 ^{ab}Cáinim fan treas osnadh é . mé **tres** a cosnamh re chaí¹.
^{ab}Mo ghlór mar thugas **threis** nguil . ac techt os taisib Donnchaidh.
^aLúath gnímhbradh do gheil**pheinde**² . gu híchdar a himaire.
 Do-chúaidh ar **dhailbh** fa dederdh . in mhaidm thúaidh do tairngered.
^aGuil 7 **úalla** arda . dhá³ bfuil údha ar indarba.
- 1075 ^{ab}Do-chúadar re **cois** an iarla . a hiath⁴ Ereann anba an béd
^{ab}tar sáile bhfuár sreabhglan Saxon . **úall** is engnam gasradh nGrég⁵
 Rí Éile do dháil gach **dúais** . cnáimh gan **smúais** Éire dhá éis.
 An **adhbh** chiúil do bí na⁶ **bhois** . **carb**h gan sdiúir i na égmais.
^{ab}Toirches eirci d'órbhláosgaib . an eitni fan énrighsin.
^{ab}Nó gu mbraithedh a mbíadh aga . do sgaitheadh **riagh**⁷ fáda d'fir.
- 1080 ^aGá⁸ breith dha⁹ righe¹⁰ re **réigh**¹¹ . do feich¹² a¹³ cridhe an^b coiscéim.
^{ab}Sileadh **deór** rúadh ar ruisgne . mur uisge a beól¹⁴ úar **eisci**.
^{ab}M'ferg fá rennalb risin Róidsech¹⁵ . dealg do chennaib óigsgech í.
 Osadh fir ar mbreith a **búaidh** . gu breith in Lúain ribh gun rígh¹⁶ .l.
^{ab}Adeir¹⁷ in rí¹⁸ teile an **túagh** . **erúadh** a **šleighi** isí ar na sním.
- 1085 ^{ab}Lann fúar féinidh Chonmaicne . téigidh¹⁹ a **erúadh** cheinnberti.
 M'ég²⁰ ós mo chinn m'fúad am íochair . an **rúag** rim nír mhothaigh me.
^{ab}A bfuil as-tigh a tá²¹ an **fleadhs**oin²² . ní fir ní mná is easbaidh ann.
 Ibther leis mór **bhfleadhtunna**²³ bhfuár . eatorra ar-áon.
^aBarr **dés** ón tuile tharaidh²⁴ . gabhaidh bés duine dhubhaigh.
- 1090 ^bLuibh na **heisi**²⁵ dob²⁶ é a ham²⁷ . crand na ceisi i n-ó Bé²⁸ Bhind.
²⁹**Bláosga** óir i Féradhaigh . táosga dóibh ag Danaruibh.
^aAtá sí ar cúl gum³⁰ chursa . gidh í an **chúl** mo³¹ chomhursa.
^{ab}Beg dá hioth do-chúaidh ar gcúl . an **chúl** don bioth do-úair³² Áodh.
^{ab}Do bhreith ón **túaignis** is trúagh lem . ga **túagh** is³³ úaisle aidhleann.³⁴
- 1095 ^{ab}Na ghoire ní racha an **rúag** . **sgúab** dhatha roimhe san ród.
^{ab}Ní **bhalg** an tír tar a Tadhgaibh . gach Tadbh díbh dhá targaidh techt.
^{ab}Méraidh am chroidhe a chleth Bhreagh³⁵ . **eabh** in oighe gé dech dhamh.
^aFlaith Cé nó gur chaith a **eibh** . dob é an flaith ós na flaithibh.
^{ab}Uaim gu míl **craige** a chinidh . bídh aige na³⁶ oirighidh.

[Not in CC]

- 1100 Ni dernas laidh³⁷ riam ná rand . dá bharr fíar mar **aibh** na mind.

1 caoi C² 2 -peinde C; -spinne C, -phinne P 3 gá C²P
 4 iath C 5 Greg C 6 ana H 7 riadh CC² 8 Da H
 9 ga P 10 ridhe CC² 11 réidh CC² 12 feith CHP
 13 na HP 14 mbéol C 15 roisdech C²
 16 gan rí C 17 Adir C² 18 rígh C
 19 téidhigh C 20 Ég CH 21 asdigh adta C²
 22 -sin C 23 -thonna C, tonna C² 24 thoraidh P
 25 éisi C 26 nib H 27 am CH
 28 indó bé C, ano bhé C² ano mbe H
 29 om. C, add. C² in marg. 30 gham C, dom P
 31 ma C 32 -fuair C² 33 dob C²
 34 aighleann CC² 35 Bhreadh CC² 36 ina C²
 37 derna láigh H, dhearnas láoidh P

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