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A MYSTICAL INTERPRETATION OF THE *BEATI*

THE *Beati*, so called from its opening words in the Vulgate, *Beati immaculati in via*, Ps. 118 = Ps. 119 in the Hebrew, is one of the acrostic psalms. It consists of one hundred and seventy-six verses, eight to each of the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet. Probably from its being the longest of the psalms it is mentioned in early Irish literature as possessing peculiar virtue. There are two stories in LL. 278a 37 ff. and 285b 45 ff. (ed. Pokorný, Misc. K. Meyer, 207-15, and ZCP. ix. 239-41; cf. Stokes, Lism. L. x-xii), illustrating its power to raise a soul from hell, if repeated every day for a year.

Its association with the return from the Captivity in Babylon goes back doubtless to the argument prefixed in Thes. Pal. i. 450. The identification of the number of books in the O.T. with the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet is from St. Jerome's *Prologus Galeatus*, in which it is obtained by grouping them into five books of Moses, eight prophets, and nine *hagiographa*.

In the poem here edited the author notes that the word *paiss* 'passus' is used in two senses. In the mystic sense there are twenty-two stadia in each passus (§ 3), while as a measure of distance (§ 4) there are a hundred and twenty-five passus in each stadium; cf. Pliny 2. 23. 21: *stadium centum viginti quinque nostros efficit passus*.

The poem cannot be older than the Early Mid.Ir. period, as shown by monosyllabic *déc*, §§ 1 and 5, and *file* (; *nime*) = O.Ir. *fili*.

The text is from Rawl. B. 502, 75a 20-44, with variants, apart from mere spelling, from LB 181b 20-5. The obvious extensions have been made silently. In Rawl. it occurs in the treatise on the *Sex Aetates Mundi*, at the end of the section on the fifth age; in LB it follows, as in Rawl., a paragraph on the deaths of the prophets; otherwise it is disconnected.

OSBORN BERGIN.

Cestnaigthir¹ beus hi sunn cia lín huide ro² bāe do Macaib³ Israhēl ō Babilōin co Hierusalem. Nī hannsa : cōic huidi² sescat ar⁴ ccc. Ar iss ed sain⁵ fil ōn Babilōin sīansaidi .i. ō ifurn hi fail cach⁶ cummasc⁷ 7 cach mbūadrech⁸ cosin nHierusalem nemda hi fail cach sīd 7 cach sōnmigi. Acht chena filet .clxxui. passe⁹ in cach uide,¹⁰ 7 dā staid ar fichet¹¹ in cach pais.¹²
² *Ut dicitur.*²

1. Secht coīcait¹³ huide co mbrīg,
 a cōic déc cen immarīm,^a
 ō Babilōin^b duiscthi drenn^c 14
 co cathraig Hierusalem.^d
2. Sechtmoga sē¹⁵ passe ar chēt^e
 in cach uidi,^f adbul mēt,
 do-rīmet^{15a} g ecnaide,^h is glē,
 acht sain cenēl cech phasse.ⁱ 16
3. Dā staid ar fīchit^j cen chleith
 in cach ōenphais dib fo leith,
 co rūinib screptra nach diss,
 formae ueteris legis.^k
4. Cōic paise fichet ar chēt¹
 in cach ōenstaid^m sluinti¹⁷ sēt
 fortgellat fellsaib,¹⁸ nī fann,
 mundi per geometricam.
5. Argamaint seo remi-tēt
 ind ochtmad sailm¹⁹ déc ar chēt
 scrūtad co léir²⁰ in cach than
 cech ecnaid ro-chlunithar.

¹ dī *add.* B.² *om.* B.³ macu B.⁴ *for* B.⁵ e sin B.⁶ cech *passim* B.⁷ écumsanad B.⁸ mbuaidriud B.⁹ .uii. paissi .lxx. ar .c. B.¹⁰ uide dib B.¹¹ *for* xx. B.

¹² huidi R, páis B, *which adds* Is fon indus sin dī it .ui. fers .lxx. *for* .c. filet isin mbiait .i. it .u. uide .lx. *for* .ccc. don biait oc tabairt anma a hifíurn 7 se paissi .lxx. *for* cet in cech uide. Ocus in lín uide sin don biait is e sin doímnē ifíurn.

¹³ coicat R, .l. at B.¹⁴ dúscid drend B.¹⁵ .uii. B.^{15a} dosrimet B.¹⁶ na paise B.¹⁷ oenstait sluinnite B.¹⁸ fortgellait fellsaim B.¹⁹ int ochtmad salm B.²⁰ lléir B.

6. Dauīd do rēir Rīg nime,
in rīgfaith, in rīgfile
ro fēg in rūin se ¹ co rath
triasin ² Spirut sechtidelbach.³

Secht coīcait.

⁴ Iss ē seo trā huidi beres ind anim hi cēin bīthir ic gabāil na Biaiti .i. cēim cacha fersa .i. clxxui., 7 atā tothucht na dā lebur ar .xx. in cach fers isin Bia[i]t. Conid aire do-beir in Biat anmain a hiffurn hi cind bliadna, ar is sī chuibdigthir sech cech n-airnaigthe frisna dā lebur ar .xx. na fetarlaice .i. a comlanius uili in cach ōenfes, 7 dā coibtel ar .xx. inti fo numir apgitrech na nEbraide. Conid hē Dia deside ro lin faithsine nDauīda triana n-uidibsium, 7 nī hiatsom fēin rodas orddaig.⁴

^a .i. coic huidi sescat ar ⁵ .ccc. sain uile.

^b .i. o iffurnn.

^c .i. crithnaiges detu ⁶.

^d .i. co nem ⁴ in sein ⁴.

^e .i. lin fers na biaite in ⁴ sein.

^f .i. in cach cemimm don biait.

^g .i. airmit B.

^h .i. eolaig B.

ⁱ .i. pais stairidi ⁷ 7 pais siansaide.

^j .i. da lebur ar .xx. na fetarlaice ⁸.

^k .i. na da lebor ar fīchit.

^l .i. ochtmad rann in mile.

^m .i. in cach oenlibur ⁹.

TRANSLATION

It is asked here further how many (days') journey the Children of Israel took from Babylon to Jerusalem. Easy to say: three hundred and sixty-five, for that is the distance from the mystical Babylon, i.e. hell, wherein is all confusion and disturbance, to the heavenly Jerusalem wherein is all peace and welfare. Now there are one hundred and seventy-six paces in every journey and twenty-two stadia in every pace. *Ut dicitur.*

1. Seven times fifty journeys, with force, fifteen without miscalculation,^a from Babylon^b that stirreth up strifes^c to the city of Jerusalem.^d

¹ na rún si B.

² trésan B.

³ sechtidelbach B.

⁴ om. B.

⁵ for B.

⁶ .i. dett B.

⁷ staraige B.

⁸ petarlaice B.

⁹ .i. énelebar B.

2. One hundred and seventy-six paces^e in every journey,^f a vast amount, sages^h reckon,^g it is clear, but the kind of each pace is different.ⁱ
3. Twenty-two stadia,^j without concealment, in each single pace of them, apart, with mysteries of scripture not base, *formae veteris legis*.^k
4. One hundred and twenty-five paces^l in every stadium^m which signifies paths; philosophers testify thereto, not feeble, *mundi per geometricam*.
5. This is the argument that precedes the hundred and eighteenth psalm, let every sage who hears it examine it diligently at all times.
6. David by the will of heaven's King, the king-prophet and king-poet, looked upon this mystery with grace through the septiform Spirit.

This then is the journey the soul takes while the *Beati* is being recited, i.e. one step to every verse, i.e. one hundred and seventy-six, and the import of the twenty-two books is in every verse in the *Beati*. So that is why the *Beati* brings a soul out of hell after a year, for more than any other prayer it is in harmony with the twenty-two books of the Old Testament, i.e. the fullness of them all is in each single verse, and there are twenty-two chapters in it according to the number of the Hebrew alphabet. So it was God, then, that fulfilled David's prophecy through their journeys, and not they themselves that appointed them.

^a i.e. three hundred and sixty-five journeys altogether.

^b i.e. from hell.

^c i.e. which causes teeth to chatter.

^d i.e. to heaven.

^e i.e. the number of verses in the *Beati*.

^f i.e. in every step of the *Beati*.

^g i.e. count.

^h i.e. learned.

ⁱ i.e. literal and mystical pace.

^j i.e. the twenty-two books of the Old Testament.

^k i.e. the twenty-two books.

^l i.e. the eighth part of a mile.

^m i.e. in every single book.

ON THE KILBONANE OGAMS

BY his recent paper, 'Archaisms in the Ogham Inscriptions', Proc. R.I.A., xxxix, C. 3, 33-53, MacNeill has thrown fresh light on the problem of dating these inscriptions. He would not, however, claim to have said the last word on the subject, and if his enthusiasm has led him to conclusions out of touch with the evidence, it will be necessary for him to retrace his steps. This applies particularly to his views regarding the Kilbonane stone.

The first inscription reads AGNI MAQI ADDILONA. Finding in 'the genealogical account of Ui Feirb or Ui Firb, a subsept of Ciarraige Luachra, BB. 157a', a name *Saidleand* (gen.), to which he supplies a conjectural nom. **Saidliu*,¹ he says, p. 49, 'Saidliu (gen. Saidlenn), in the genealogy, is a brother of St. Mo Chutu's grandfather, and should have dwelt in that district'; and p. 51, 'Identifying this Saidliu with the name, gen. (S)ADDILONA, on the Kilbonane stone, I would date the inscription in the latter half of the sixth century or as late as 600, a generation earlier than the death of St. Mo Chutu.'

One cannot but admire the ingenious method by which he arrives at the date. Unfortunately, he has shirked the tedious but indispensable task of criticizing his sources. The name *Saidlenn* and the genealogy of Mo Chutu are assumed to have been established. They are simply taken without question from one late MS., which, where it can be tested by comparison with older MSS., proves to be anything but a model of accuracy. A different tale is told by LL, LB, and Rawl. B. 502. Taking the exx. of the gen. cited by MacNeill from BB we find:

BB. 157a	20	šlaidleand	=	Rawl. 160a	18	Saiglenn
	20	Saidleann			19	Saiglenn
	23	Saidleann			21	Saiglenn
	26	Saidleand			23	Saiglenn

¹ Alternatively **Sadiul* < **Sadilūs*, *Sadillūs*, but this would make gen. **Saidleo* < **Sadil(l)ōs*. **Sadiul* could come from **Sadilū*; **Saidliu* strictly implies **Sadiliū*, which does not agree with its presumed gen. (S)ADDILONA. On the varying forms of the n. sg. of *n*-stems see Thurneysen, Hdb. § 327.

28 Saidleand	25 Saiglenn
30 Saidlend	27 Saiglenn
31 Saighleand ¹	

MacNeill takes *Ethleand* in *m. Rumail m. Ethleand m. Cirb*, BB. 157a 35, as a variant spelling. The section does not occur in Rawl., which has, however, a section on the *Huí Líga* ending with *m. Cruinnmael m. Eithlenn m. Fírbb*, 160a 38, and the name is perhaps correct. It must be remembered that neither copy of the genealogies of Ciarraige Luachra is complete; Rawl. too condenses—*hic etiam adhuc plura praetermitto*, 161a 36.

As MacNeill points out, the name occurs also in the pedigrees of Corcu Duibne in the form *Saigleand*, BB. 146c 49, and as *Nad Slóiglenn*, ib. f 38. For the latter LL. 336g 12 has *Nad Saiglend*. Again, in the pedigree of *Síl (Dál) Moga Ruith*, Rawl. 158, 38, has *m. Saiglenn m. Dee*, and LL. 331c 53 has *m. Saglend m. Dele no Dere* (so in ZCP. viii. 334, 5, from Laud 610) = *m. Saiglend m. Dé*, ib. 326e 45 (G. Fer Maige).

Let us now look at the genealogy of Mo Chutu.

Rawl. 91b 50 Carthach .i. Mo Chutu Lis Moir	LB. 16 b 1 Mo Chudai	LL. 349a 23 Mo Chuta Lis M.	BB. 218f 51 Mo Cuda Leasa Moir
m. Finain	m. Fingein	m. Finaill	m. Finaill
m. Noe	m. Noei	m. Noe Náir	m. Naenuair
m. Cellain	m. Cellain	m. Fírbb	m. Fírbb
m. Saiglenn	m. Saigleand		
m. Cirbb	m. Fírbb ²		

Here is material enough to show that the normal form in Early Mid.Ir. was not *Saidlenn* but *Saiglenn*. Even BB sometimes has -g-, and BB was written long after the change of spirant *d* to spirant *g*. (As to the date of this change see O'Rahilly, 'Notes on Middle Irish Pronunciation', *Hermathena*, xlv, 192) It will be hard to prove that good twelfth-century scribes invariably misspelled the name, but until that is done MacNeill's whole

¹ Cf. *m. Taidleand m. Damain*, BB. 158a 11 = *m. Saiglenn m. Damain*, Rawl. 160b 37.

² Cf. *Carthach m. Find m. Noei m. Cellain m. Tailcind (sic) m. Fírbb a quo H. Fírbb*, Fel¹. lx (LB. 83); *Cartach m. Finain m. Noe m. Ceallain m. Saiglenn m. Cirb*, Fel². 86 (Rawl. B. 512); *Mocuda m. Finenn m. Ngue m. Col-lain m. Saiglenn m. Fírbb*, Irish Texts iii. 100.

case for the identification of (S)ADDILONA with the alleged **Saidlenn* falls to the ground.

There will then remain the question of date. Which is the more likely hypothesis, that in copying an early pedigree a scribe should insert two extra generations, or that he should omit two generations through inadvertence? Most people will answer, the latter, for it is a fairly common fault. Of course the wholesale fabrication of pedigrees tracing members of the ruling families back to Míl and Breogan, and through them to Adam, was a well understood practice, but it could not have added anything to the reputation of the saint to make him just two generations farther removed from the obscure Ferb. I therefore take the longer pedigree as the original. Not so MacNeill. Ignoring every authority except BB,¹ and finding in 'the genealogy' *Naenuair m. Fírb*, and in the tract on Ciarraige Luachra, *Saidleand m. Fírb*, he confidently writes down *Naenuair* and *Saidliu* as brothers, and concludes, p. 49: 'Mo Chutu died in 637. A son of his grandfather's brother, Saidliu, should have lived in the latter part of the sixth century.' I suggest that **Saidliu* is a mere phantom; that *Saiglenn* is the name, in the genitive, of the grandfather of Mo Chutu's grandfather; that a *mac Saiglenn*, of the same generation as Mo Chutu's great-grandfather, did *not* live in the latter part of the sixth century; that the text of the written documents must be examined as critically as MacNeill has examined the text of the inscriptions; and that, at the first breath of such criticism, the whole of his ingenious and plausible edifice vanishes like a mirage.

As the S in (S)ADDILONA has been supplied solely in order to connect the name with the alleged **Saidlenn*, on the assumption that S was reduced to H after MAQI, and the H left unexpressed, if **Saidlenn* be rejected, there is no warrant for the S. Until we have a scientific study of Early Irish personal names ADDILONA must remain unexplained. In the meantime one may, with all due reserve, hazard the conjecture that it is a hypocoristic form of a compound beginning with *Ad-*, containing the suffix

¹ As early as 1911 MacNeill was aware of the existence of Rawl. B. 502, for he mentions it in ZCP. viii. 411, but it cannot be shown that he has ever consulted it. In this volume of ÉRIU, pp. 35-7, he gives extracts from BB. Some of the faulty readings might have been avoided by a collation with the older copy in Rawl. 147b.

-ilō which appears in Gaulish names; see Holder, *Altcelt. Sprachschatz*, and cf. the name *Addo*, ib., and such names as *Adomnae*, *Adamnán*, *m. Addith* LL. 323a 43, *m. Adgin* 325c 16, *m. Adnaig* 337b 61, *m. Adgalaich* 340a 14, etc. It is to be hoped that ADDILONA has been correctly engraved.

A few words on the interpretation of the ogam on the face of the stone, apparently the oldest recorded sentence in Irish. Courage is needed to publish even a tentative translation, and at the present stage of knowledge criticism must be negative, for the third letter is followed by a cipher. The inscription begins NIR, and then comes <Ξ<. MacNeill's reading of the cipher as ABAA 'is based on the context', but the context is so uncertain that this means basing the *obscurum* on the *aeque obscurum*, and it does not seem to me to suit MacNeill's context. Taking the sentence as a correction of the spelling BAIDAN on the right angle of the stone, he reads: NI Raba aMNe DAGNI (DAGNEA?) ESSI CONIDD ALA AMIT BAIDAGNI, and translates: 'Let it not be so he makes it, but (?) let him compose it thus "Baidagni".'

If NI RABA represent 'the same words and pronunciation as O.I. *ní rop*', one would expect the words to express rather a wish, and to be followed, not by the ind., but by the subj.¹ = O.Ir. *dagné*. Even the alternative DAGNEA does not seem right, for *do-gné* is not an *ā*-subj. 'The context strongly suggests that ESSI is an adversative conjunction meaning "but".' Again the context, the weak strongly supporting the weak! 'It should contain *eks*,' but a mere linguist is entitled to ask what the suffix is. In CONIDD ALA the verb is taken to be *com-la* with perfective *ad*—'*conid-ála* "he ought to construct it, put it together, compose it"'. Such a form in O.Ir. would contain a rel. subject as well as a pron. obj.; the non-rel. in O.Ir. would be *cot-ála*, though, of course, the period at which the usage became fixed is unknown. In any case the syntax is very strange from the O.Ir. and even the Mod.Ir. point of view. The perfective

¹ On p. 52, citing an article from O'Mulconry's Glossary, MacNeill has been misled by Stokes into taking as ind. a verb which in the text can only be subj.: '*cē ros[g]ní dith n-oco . . .* "though thou dost them harm"'. The verb is impossible, and the syntax of the infixed pron. is wrong. Read with the MS. *cē ro-sn-í dith n-oco* 'though harm reach them thereat'.

pres. subj. would naturally express a wish; *ron sóera Brigit* means 'may Brigit deliver us'; it could not mean 'Brigit ought to deliver us', any more than Mod.Ir. *go raibh maith agat* (= Mid.Ir. *robé maith acutt*) could mean 'you ought to be well off'. In support of his rendering AMIT 'thus' MacNeill quotes Thurneysen's explanation of the suffix in *samlith*, *samlaid*, as borrowed from **samith* = Welsh *hefyd* 'also'. But while 'thus' and 'also' in certain contexts have approximately similar meanings, 'also' would make nonsense of MacNeill's rendering. Besides, if the word is the same as Thurneysen's **samith*, the loss of initial S should have been accounted for. There remain BAIDAGNI, which seems certain, and the initial NI, probably the negative. Everything else, including the division of the words, is doubtful, and must remain so until a solution of the cipher is discovered.

OSBORN BERGIN.

‘DE ORIGINE SCOTICAE LINGUAE’

THE glossary contained in the Yellow Book of Lecan, columns 88-122, has been printed and edited by Whitley Stokes in *Archiv für Celtische Lexikographie*, i. 232, with corrections and additions in i. 473, under the title ‘O’Mulconry’s Glossary’. It is unfortunate that in the first published edition Stokes should have adopted a title which he recognized to be misleading as to authorship and date of compilation. The glossary, on grounds of mere probability, was ascribed by O’Curry to John O’Mulconry, and Stokes says that ‘John flourished in 1566,¹ and the grammatical forms in the glossary point to the thirteenth or (at latest) the fourteenth century as the time of its compilation’.

Here, as in his edition of the Tripartite Life of Saint Patrick, Stokes is satisfied with dating a text by the evidence of its latest contents, and does not think of examining whether there is not also evidence of a more ancient compilation to which later strata or items of material have been added.

As in other glossaries, the words are arranged in lists according to initial letters. Almost at the first glance, however, the arrangement is seen to be somewhat more complex. Under initial A, the words numbered 1 to 10 begin with *ab*, 11 to 16 *ac*, 17 to 27 *ad*, and so on. This series ends at 69 with *at*. Then with 70 begins a second series, arranged in the same manner but apparently with some exceptions to the order. This series ends with 94. The remainder of the list under initial A, 95 to 114, is in promiscuous sequence.

When we go on to the other lists we find a similar stratification. The first series under B begins with 115 and ends with 174. The subclassification is based on the first vowel. Thus *blathach*, *bran*, etc., are found among the words beginning with *ba*. There is no stratum under B corresponding to the second stratum under A, the remaining words, 175 to 192, being in promiscuous sequence. Under C, the first series Ca-Cu runs

¹ During transcription the scribe added a note containing the date 1572. See p. 247 of *Archiv CL*. i.

from 193 to 264, the rest are promiscuous. Under D: Da-Du 289-326; promiscuous 327-50. Under E: Ec-Et 351-478; promiscuous 479-81. Under F: Fa-Fu 482-592; promiscuous 593-602. Under G: Ga-Gu 603-87; promiscuous 688-98. Under I: Ib-Ir 699-728, a series beginning with *In*, apparently misplaced, 729-50, a series Is-Iu 751-67; promiscuous 768-72: numbers 729-50 are likely to have occupied a loose page in the exemplar. Under L: La-Lu 773-97; a possible second series La-Lu 798-807; the word Linnmaine 808. Under M and N there is no subclassification. The lists under O, P, and R are wanting. There is no subclassification under S and T. The list under U is wanting.

Thus the actual glossary contains two distinct compilations. One of these extends no farther than the list under L, the remainder no doubt having been lost. The other wants the lists under O, P, R, and U, probably also the list under L, for the article on Linnmuine and Liathmuine could have been inserted by any scribe at the end of the subclassified list.

The two strata are distinct in kind. The first stratum, with subclassification under second letters, is concerned mainly with supplying etymologies from Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and, in a smaller proportion of instances, from Irish, for Irish words. Many of the words thus explained belong to the vocabulary in general use, not a few of them being still current, e.g. under A, *adnacul*, *adrad*, *aess*, *aiged*, *ālainn*, *amarc*, *and*, *ander*, *aslinge*, *anim*, *atenn*. The second stratum, arranged in no order except that of initial letters, contains a few etymologies of this kind, but in the main it is a vocabulary of obsolete words with their later equivalents or interpretation.

Except for a small proportion of articles which have been interpolated or modernized in transcription, the whole compilation is much older than the thirteenth century. It shows free scribal modernization, mainly in spellings. Nevertheless, of the original spellings enough has been preserved to show that the glossary represented in the first stratum was compiled not later than the middle of the eighth century, and I think probably as early as the middle of the seventh century. The early spellings are found in the explanatory matter as well as in the words explained.

38 *alluth*. 41 *amrath*. 47 *annag*. 54 *reme · tēt*, *reme · tēit*.

60 *aurtag*. 65 *no-da·guire*. 81 *airideog* (r. *airdeog*. 122, *bran combrec*.¹ 127 *ōcbothae*. 141 *ara·naisc*. 165 *ētag*. 208 *crābed*. 225 *cimbith*. 230 *cobag*. 238 *coiniuth*. 243 *coscath*. 262 *cumtag*. 296 *labrath*. 302 *debuith* (r. *deboth*) *ondī as deuotio*. 306 *ime·folngider*. 355 *ecad* (r. *ēcath*) *.i. saith ēcca*. 375 *thondi*. 376 *ellag, tellag, iallag, ellag, ialag*.² 377 *ēluuth*. 402 *ēnag .i. ian nige* (r. *ēn-nige* 'bucket-washing' but no doubt < *ess-neg*-). *ena* at the head of this article should be *ēn* (later *ian*). 411 *erreth, fuineth*. 431 *esnad* (r. *esnath*) *.i. nī nath*. 437 *integ*. 442 *integ*. 452 *esith*. 456 *cinath* (twice), *andug*. 462 *etach* (r. *étag*) *arindī intugadar*. 469 *ētag* (= *iatach, iadach*, of the Laws). 470 *etrud* (r. *etruth*) *.i. etarsuth . . . nō edrud .i. rith etir media die*. 487 *fālith, fāilith*. 498 *fiada*. 499 *fiadnaisi*. 501 *fiad*. 502 *fiach*. 507 *fiacuil*. Their place in the list shows that, in the foregoing five words, the original had *fē*- not *fīa*-. 516 *feimmeth*. 569 *folag*. 577 *forrag*. 581 *forbag*. 588 *fuigell .i. iar [n]gellath*. 604 *gabuth* (twice), *gaboth .i. buith* (r. *both*) *i ngaib*. 623 *án* (twice), equated with *aige*. Later *áin*. 631 *gaisced* (r. *gaisceth*) *.i. gāi 7 sciath* (r. *scéth*). 646 *cingith*. 736 *inteach* (r. *integ*) *.i. nī teach* (r. *teg*) *sed via*. 748 *innuraith*. 527 *dotheit docum na nathrach cotalaig*. Under 'Corrections and Additions' Stokes has 'for *co talaig* read [7] *cota-laig* "et concumbit cum ea"'. Rather read *cota-alaig*—cp. the participle *alachta* (*a-ī*).

It cannot be too clearly stressed that Stokes's criticism of the dates of texts is sometimes wholly unsound. From this text he sets out a page of Old-Irish forms in great variety, most of them taken not from the words explained but from the explanatory matter of the articles. Then he says: 'If these forms stood alone, we should almost be justified in ascribing our glossary to the Old-Irish period.' Note the reluctance expressed by 'almost'. 'But verbal forms like *i taiit* [etc.—ten instances are cited, against

¹ It is interesting to find *bran* recognized as a Welsh word, also the Welsh name for the Welsh language, as in Cormac's Glossary. As a proper name, AU. has two instances of *Bran* late in the sixth century and an increasing number in the seventh and eighth centuries.

² *ialag, iallag*, evidently correlated with *tellag* and *ellag* (= *tellach* and *ellach* in the Laws), may be a scribal rendering of **ēlag* < *ess-log*-, meaning perhaps a formal evacuation of land, as *tellach* and *ellach* mean formal entry to take possession. The corresponding verb-stem is *lo(n)g*.

94 Old-Irish forms, neither list being exhaustive] are unmistakably Middle Irish.’ On precisely similar grounds Chaucer’s poems could be dated in the nineteenth century. When the forms said to be unmistakably Middle Irish are examined, they are seen to exemplify the method of criticism.

itait: 594 *Frec(omus) .i. incomarc, ut dicitur: itait da frecom(us) a cairde*. For *frecomus* read *frecmarc*. *itait* is merely scribal for *attáat*. *cairde* shows that the lemma is cited from a law-tract, possibly the lost *Bretha Cairde*. The article is in the second stratum.

Dwr.922 (N

forbair: Stokes has already cited this instance on the same page as Old Irish. The lemma is: *ni forbair iarna brith*. Second stratum.

aurfaomaisi: 327 (second stratum) in a gloss, the lemma being from a law-tract, but even the gloss may be Old Irish. The oldest material in the law-tracts abounds in scribal modernizations like *aurfaomaid* for *arfóimí*.

imdergtais, read *imdergtair* 551 (first stratum). The article is on *fuche*, and unless it is misplaced, the alphabetical order indicates *foche*.

NB 257, 559

roaltsat 779. In a long article on *Lagin* (first stratum), where the first etymology, from *Lóiguire*, may have been supplemented at a later date by the customary etymology. Even here there is probably modernization: for (*gabsat*) in *n-arm sin* read *inna arm sin*, neuter.

rofodam 726 (O.I. *fo-vro · dámaid*). In the first stratum, but in an anecdote accounting for the ‘tonsure of Simon Magus’ practised by the Britons and the Irish. The anecdote is suggested by the article (*irla .i. ab arula .i. berrad moga*), but has no relevance to it and is certainly a late addition.

dosfarraid 726, in the same anecdote. Stokes indicates the prosthetic *f* as a mark of Middle Irish, a weak criterion, since no innovation is more freely used by scribes. More characteristic is the infixed pronoun *-s*, replacing masculine *a n-*.

doberthe 867 (second stratum), in a lemma which Stokes does not claim to understand (see his index, s.v. *turmu*): *turma .i. mormo, ut dicitur; doberthe dot gilla turmu duit fein*. ‘*turma*, i.e. much more, *ut dicitur* [*an doberthe*?] what thou wast wont to give to thy servant, may it give increase [*torma*?] to thyself.’

fognitis 826, 830 (second stratum), for *dognitis*. These again are scribal changes. The verb *do · gní* never became *fo · gní*. But in the contrary direction, *fo · gaib* became *do · geib*, and the scribe, being aware of this most familiar of changes in the Middle-Irish period, makes a false correction of *dognitis* by analogy. See Passions and Homilies, 7412: *ní fhuil maith dogeba . . . nā fhuibbe* [= *fuigbe*] *a chontrardai sin*. Ibid. 817, 6663, *fo · gní*, *fo · gníd*, instead of *do · gní*.

The latest evidence in the text is a quotation (second stratum) from Imthusa Alaxandair, which Kuno Meyer would ascribe to the eleventh century, but which, Stokes 'thinks', cannot be older than the twelfth century, no reason being advanced. When we consider that a glossary of this kind may easily receive accretions at any time down to the latest transcript, it is clear that the date of the main compilation must be estimated from the main body of the contents, not from a small number of its words or articles.

The compilation, then, consists of two main strata, with later accretions. The second stratum is not a distinct glossary combined in transcription with the first, but was written originally as a supplement to the first. This is shown by its occasional imitation of the first stratum in etymologies based on Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. In the main, however, the second stratum is a glossary of rare and obsolete words, which for the most part are explained in Irish and through Irish. The absence of the first stratum under the initial letters from I onwards shows that the compiler of the second stratum had a copy of the first from which the later lists were missing. The second stratum was written originally in Old Irish.

The first stratum, I have shown, still preserves traces of its compilation in the early Old-Irish period, before 750. Its main purpose was to assign Hebrew, Greek, and Latin origins for Irish words, as the Latin introduction, apparently of later date than the work itself, expressly recognizes: 'Incipit discreptio [r. disceptatio] de origine Scoticae linguae quam congregauerunt religiosi uiri, adiunctis nominibus ex Hebraeicano Hi[e]ronimi et tractationibus [Latinis] i.e. Ambrosi et Cassiani et Augustini et Eisdori [= Isidori], Virgili, Prisciani, Cominiani [= Comminianus 519], Ciceronis, necnon per literas Graecorum i.e. Atticae, Doricae, Eolicae linguae, quia Scoti de

Graecis originem duxerunt, sic et linguam.' The indefinite description of the authors as 'religiosi uiri' may be taken to indicate that the writer of the introduction understood the work to have come from some monastery, but did not know the name of the author.

I am inclined to think that in its original form this earlier stratum may date from the middle of the seventh century. We may be allowed to see in it the origin of the legend that the Irish language was *bélre tēpithe*, 'the eclectic language', formed at the Tower of Babel from the various languages of mankind. This legend appears already in the Book of Cenn Faelad, from which excerpts with gloss and commentary are found in Aurlaicept na n-Éces, BB. 315 seqq.: *Asberat tra augdair na nGaideal combad si tugait in Berla Feni gnim n-ingnad n-indligtheach forcaemnacair and .i. cumtach in Tuir Neamruaid. 324: Ceist, caiteat aipgitre na tri primberla eter ainmniugud ocus chairechtair? Ni anse em, aipgiter Ebraidí cetamus .i. al(phabet) Ebreorum... Grecorum... Latinorum.* Cenn Faelad fought in the battle of Magh Rath in 637 and died in 679.

Van Hamel, in tracing the growth of Lebor Gabála, recognizes a second period, 800-1000, in which 'three eponymous heroes of the Goidels are fabricated: Fenius (Féne), Nél (Ui Néill, Nile), Góidel Glas (Góidil); as they have not yet fixed places in the genealogies, the late MSS. vary on this point'. I suggest that Fenius may have been invented earlier as eponym not of the Féni but of Bélre Féne. 'Scoti de Graecis originem duxerunt, sic et linguam.' In the legend of the language, Fenius always appears as its ancestor, but it was only after this legend had been adopted into the race-legend that a place was found for Fenius in the ancestry of the race. Van Hamel finds the earliest mention of Fenius in the poem of Mael Muru (+ 887), *Canam bunadus na nGóedel*. This, however, does not date the invention of the legend of Fenius but rather its incorporation in the legend of Míl. The story of the origin of Bélre Féne at Babel goes back to those *augtuir na nGóidel* who are cited as authority for it by the Book of Cenn Faelad, and it must be as old as the middle of the seventh century at latest. In the versified genealogies of the seventh-century poems in Meyer's 'Über die älteste irische Dichtung I' Fenius has no place, though, as Van Hamel

notes, the redactor in Rawl. B 502 has sought to intrude both Fenius and Nél—thus warning us how misleading an isolated late version of an early text may be. In our 'Disceptatio de Origine Scotticae Linguae' we may well question, even if we do not reject, the articles which do not propose etymologies, and probably most of those which are confined to Irish etymologies. Thus, under initial A we find 18 *adguidi .i. adas-gudi*, 21 *adflait[h] .i. adas-flaith*, 23 *adgaire .i. adas-gair*—probably transferred from the glossed law-tracts, in which *ad-* is commonly glossed by *adas*. 33 *aicesin .i. uce indarpan*: *ucu* as gloss on a first syllable *aic*, *ac*, is frequent in the law-tracts. 56 *art 7 anart cruaid 7 maoth*: doubtless a late intrusion. It is a kind of etymology of *anart*, meaning woven linen: as *art* 'stone' is hard, so *anart* 'linen' is soft.

In 'Corrections and Additions', p. 473, Stokes adds: 'Prosthetic *f* also occurs in *forba* 575, *forbba* 573, *forsaid* 579, and *fúath* 184. 184 has *Berrad .i. ber-fuath .i. beirid de in fuath roime*, meaning that *berrad* 'shaving' is derived from *ber-fuath* 'take appearance', because 'it takes off him the appearance in front of him'. This article is in the later stratum, nevertheless may come from a very old glossary or gloss. The gloss *ber-fuath* points to the early Old-Irish form *berrath*. In the index Stokes translates (*f*)*uath* by 'horror', suggesting etymological kinship with Latin *favor*, but the word in the gloss seems to be *fuath* = *forma*, *figura*. In 573 *Forbbæ forbu toscarthar*, Stokes assumes that *forbbæ* is the Middle-Irish form of O.I. *orbbe*, 'inheritance'. *-æ < -e* is late O.I. The meaning seems to be 'let *f*. be overthrown by *f*.', and the substitution of *orbbe* does not seem to give a clearer sense.¹ The verb *for · benim* should have infinitive **forbbe*, distinct from *forbe* with spirant *b* from *for · fiun* 'conficio', though *forþthe* 'perfect' in Passions and Homilies, = modern *foirbthe*, shows confusion between them. If '*forba* 575' is not a mistake for *forbu* 573, it is a mistake for *forbi*: 575 *Foribthe* [r. *foirbthe*] .i. *forbi cach* = *foirbthe* (perfect), i.e. 'excels everybody'. *forbī* is not in Stokes's index. According to Stokes, *forsaid* 579 is a Middle-Irish form of O.I. *arsaid*. But *arsaid* has not even yet become obsolete, and

¹ In 'Corrections and Additions', Stokes proposes to read, instead of *forbu*, *for bū* 'upon death', when a heritage (*orba*) is divided (*toscarthar*), but he does not substantiate this meaning for the verb.

article 579 is good evidence of a distinct word *forsaid*. It is found in the early stratum and is conformably worded: *Forsaid .i. a uetustate. Nó fors .i. casus .i. totaim* (r. *tothim* = Mid.I. *tuitimn*).

In general, then, the evidences brought forward by Stokes establish the glossary in the main as an Old-Irish compilation, containing a few articles of Middle-Irish origin.

If I am right in thinking that the original 'Disceptatio' is likely to have been composed as early as the middle of the seventh century and to have inspired the legend of the construction of Bétre Féne at the Tower of Babel, we may also think it likely that its own inspiration came directly from the Origines of Isidorus, which would have been for the compilers a modern work. From the Origines is taken material for articles 2, 9, 42, 80, 86, 88, 124, 126, 167, 211, 216, 238, 259, 291, 292 ('ut Isidorus'), 301, 311, 360, 375, 381, 393, 396, 404, 405, 409, 419, 433, 519, 603, 643, 659, 772—all noted by Stokes; to which add 154 'ut dixit Is(idorus), campus', etc. All these articles are found in the first stratum, and none noted by Stokes occur in the second stratum.

Add 577

A curious instance accords with the view of Mario Esposito that the early Irish schools derived their knowledge of Greek mainly from vocabularies. '140 *Béim graece bemandro* [r. *βῆμα ἀνδρός*] .i. *pas[s]us. beim didiu .i. césad nó foditiu.*' This is evidently derived from a vocabulary in which *βῆμα* was translated by *passus*, but the Irish etymologist thought that *passus* meant 'having suffered', and so he says that *béim* 'a stroke' originally meant 'suffering or patience'. Stokes, in his index, is thus enabled to provide new meanings for *béim*, 'a step' and 'suffering, endurance'. To the same source may be traced the meanings '*passus*' and '*cinneadh*' (O'Cl.) and '*beimneach*, quick of pace' (P. O'C.), in Meyer's Contributions. Can O'Cl. and P. O'C. have been influenced by *céim*? Meyer shows that *cingim* became confused at an early period with *cinnim*. He supposes *cinnim* ar 'I surpass, excel' to represent *cingim*, but I think that it is an idiom of *cinnim* 'I determine', etc. Compare the two meanings of *cenn*, 'head' and 'end'. The same kind and degree of acquaintance with Greek is shown in article 310, where *díbech* is derived from Greek *difa .i. sitis*, the author having taken *δίψα* to be *δίφα*.

The 'index' supplied by Stokes is really in the main an etymological vocabulary, to which his 'Corrections and Additions', p. 473, is largely supplemental. I offer for what they are worth some notes on this vocabulary.

abacc. Is it necessary to suppose two distinct words, phonetically distinct, since one is derived by S. from **abakko-s*, the other from **abhanko-s*? The verses cited in the text—they make us wish for the rest of the poem—seem to bring together the two meanings, 'nanus' and 'some small animal living in rivers':

*Tuatha abacc uisci nair
gluair con·anat in cech dail.*

Here the 'small animals' are quasi-human, they form *tuatha* and abide together in assemblies. The rhyme *abacc : anat* shows *cc = g*. Hence Welsh *afag* (not *afach*) would seem to be a loan-word from the Irish word, for which *afang* is the cognate equivalent. Stokes takes *gluair* to be genitive singular. It is nominative plural.

13 *Aicce ab accula.* Read *aicce* (or *aiccid*) *ab accola*?

18, 23 *adgudi, adgaire.* P. O'C. here, as in various other instances, is merely building out of the stuff provided in the text, not adding to it. These are verbs, not substantives, and, as I have said above, are probably mere insets from glossed law-tracts. The noun corresponding to *ad-guid-*, as Meyer has shown, is *aicde*. ALI. v. 308 *saigid feich a n-aicditar* [r. -*aicdither*] *ō mnāi* 'suing a debt at a woman's request'. The noun corresponding to *ad-gair-* is *acre* = 14 *accra .i. ai agarb* (as though *acer-ái*), likewise probably imported from law-tracts.

ag, like *dam*, is a term common to the cow-kind and the deer-kind.

aicept bélri 'a reading of law'—it means a lesson or instruction (see article 12), i.e. an authentic text, in *bélre Fêne*, the antiquated language in which Irish law was first written: so named, as I think, because Féni was itself recognized to be an obsolete name which had been replaced in ordinary usage by *Góidil*.

Adomnán 'little Adam'. Most unlikely, though the same notion may be the basis of 828 *Nan .i. bec*, which Stokes does not admit into his vocabulary. *Adomnán* < *ad-omnae* 'terror',

one of a class of names which originate probably in a notion of averting envy or bad luck: *Macc Ètig*, *Cenn Ètig*, *Ètigén*, *Uathmarán*, *Olcán*, *Ècertach*, *Dinertach*, etc.

9 *Aebthae*. If, as Stokes thinks, this stands for *oebde*—and the proposed etymology from *ofaz* supports—the word has been transferred from the list, now missing, under initial O.

aicce 13 ‘a small needle’? This and O’Reilly’s *aicde* ‘a bodkin’ are based on the notion that *accula* 13 means ‘needle’. It is fairly certain to be for *accola*, explaining *aicce* in the sense of neighbourhood.

759 *Is leim alboilcc*. This is one of a set of proverbial sayings, 751–65. Strachan, according to Stokes, p. 474, considered *alboilcc* to be a corruption of *dar boilg*. This would imply that *alboilcc* had arisen late and colloquially in a frequent phrase. But *dar*, *tar*, is a frequent and familiar word and not likely to be replaced by *al*, and the phrases in this collection of sayings were presumably already old sayings in the glossarist’s time. Hence it seems more likely that the word *dar*, *tar*, in common use, has been substituted in this phrase for the older *al*. Dissimilation of *al* to *ar* is more likely here than the converse change. Again *boilg* appears to be genitive. Meyer, Contrib., s.v. *bolc*, quotes in a footnote *leim tar builc* from H. 3. 18, 46½, and proposes to recognize a feminine *bolc*, based on this phrase and on the name of Cú Chulainn’s weapon *gae bolgae* (*bulga*). I hold the view that this name arose in reading from an original **gabul-gai* ‘forked spear’. Meyer equates *bolc*, feminine, with Welsh *bwlech*, that is, he makes *c* = *k*, but all his supporting instances except *builc* H. 3. 18 have *g* or *gg*. *bolg* may have meant primarily something bulged or inflated, hence a bag or a bubble, also the middle (originally of a vessel, vehicle, etc.); hence also an obstacle. The first gloss in 759 has an obstacle in view: *.i. suainem tar blái foa ndichet carpat* ‘a rope across a course under which a chariot goes’, the notion being that the horses and chariot passed under the rope, the charioteer leapt over it and alighted in the chariot beyond it. The explanation in H. 3. 18 appears somewhat similar: *.i. leim do thabairt tar builc in charpait bis ina ladhair* [r. *lathair*] *cin a brised* ‘to give a leap over the *builc* of the chariot which is in front of him (or of it) without breaking it’, except that here the obstacle is understood to be something fragile, not a rope, perhaps a long

BN. 169, 18

lath (*i. sithbe*, H. 3. 18) or a weak cord. At all events, it is clear that the meanings 'gap, breach, notch', attached by Meyer to *bolc*, do not accord with these glosses. For *al* with genitive (?), cp. *torad cach trethain ala cairrge* (glossed *otha carraic anonn*), 'the produce of every wave outside of the rock', ALI. v. 484, 2. The nom. of the word in question may be *balc*.

'*andach*, evil . . . v. *annag*', but S. does not index *annag*, 47. The gloss explains it as the negative of *dag i. bonum*, but in the laws, ALI. v. 482, among the things which are not private property is *máin andach cach uisce*, not glossed, meaning probably stray goods borne along by the water.

aneol 404 ignorance, *aineola* 404 ignorant. The preceding gloss, *propria hereditas eorum*, shows that the meaning is 'unknown, strange (country)'.

anföt. S. is surely mistaken in saying that *anfot* is a different word. Hence *anfaitech*, *anfaitches*.

'*arbar* 54 an army.' *arber*, ZCP. viii. 313, 33.

'*arm*, accus. sg. *in n-arm* 779.' Read rather *inna arm*, accus. pl., as the context requires.

'*aro* 744, perhaps = *aro i. imrom*.' 744 *Ing ö eing i. aro chuci*. Read *ar a chumci*, or *ar a rochumci*.

art 'hard' and *anart* 'soft', in my opinion, are voces nihili. See above. Meyer, Contrib., appears to have rejected these meanings.

'*ass ab asabula* 93, meaning obscure.' Read *assal ab a sabul*?

athaile, *athal*. Again S. cites O'Cl. and P. O'C. in corroboration, when they merely echo.

bairesc. S. quotes from O'Davoren, *sin e sencuimne* . . . 'that is an old memory', which supposes wrong idiom and gender. Read *sine senchuimne* 'older than ancient memory'.

'*balc* 119, seems a mistake for *ballan*.' 119 *Balc graece balann i. grande*. The etymologist sought to derive *balc* from Greek *φάλανα*, Latin *balaena*, as 'something large'. Half of the gloss is found misplaced in 135 *Belene graece*.

ballán (not in the text) means in the Aran Islands a hollow worn in rock and holding water.

'*beoluig* adj. 183, fat?' See Meyer, Contrib., s.v. *belad*, *bélaid*, *beóil*, Modern *bealadh*, grease, etc. *Béoil* has genitive *bela*, and is therefore originally disyllabic, so that *beoluig* and *bélaid* are analogically rebuilt.

NB. 2. 128

Dar. 308;
NB 2. 129, 130

‘*brí* 154, 150, a plain.’ But in topography, *brí* seems to mean a hill. *Brí Muilt* = *Benn Muilt* = *pinna Montis Verveicis*, L. Arm. *Brí Áine* = *Cnoc Áine*. *Brí Erigi*, one of the four outer points of the diocese of Armagh in *Liber Angeli*, the other three being hills—a plain, here, not likely to be named as a terminal point. *Brí Éile* = *Cruachán*, ‘*Croghan*’ hill. *Brí Léith* = *Sliabh Calraighe*. Can ‘*brí* a plain’ be an etymological abstraction from some such word as *Dairbri*?

‘*bríth* 680, meaning obscure.’ 680 *Guilbirt .i. brith with coil a culpa*. Two articles appear to have been mixed up here, the second being *Col a culpa*, as in 232. Read *breth neich chóil* ‘a bringing of something slender’, an etymology for *guilbirt*, which may be a by-form of *gulba*.

‘*condnach* 236 better *condach*.’ But in the Laws frequently *codnach*, which can come from *condnach*, like *tídnacul* from *tídnacul*, not, however, from **condach*. *condnach* < **com-dán*?

conlat 456 is omitted from the index.

‘*dal dige* 292, a foresail?’ It means ‘distributing drink’. The gloss, extremely fanciful, explains that *dalum* a foresail is so named because ‘the wave *nos-dáli* divides itself on either side of it’.

‘*Dar-fine .i. fine Daire*’ is an artificial etymology of *Dáiríne*, with *-ne* as in *Conmaic-ne*, etc.

Digass 312 .i. *dí-chois .i. ní indola ulæ do chais*. Apparently suggested by the passage from Isidorus quoted under 154 *Brí*. Stokes omits both *indola* and *ulæ* from his index. The meaning of the gloss seems to be ‘it is not to be gone over on foot’. If so, *ulæ* should be *ol* = *al* ultra (Meyer, Contrib.), with masculine or neuter pronoun suffixed. Cp. *al-boilcc*.

Digass, *Digais*, is the mountain, named in English maps ‘*Douce*’ but locally pronounced with palatal *d*, *díous*, at the source of the river Vartry, about six miles west of Delgany, Co. Wicklow. The name is not in *Onomasticon Goedelicum*, but see the *Dindshenchas* poem on Bairend Chermáin, R.I.A. Todd Lectures, vol. 10 (Edward Gwynn), p. 89, ll. 8, 9, 21, 40, and especially 41, 42.

‘*dilla* 479, meaning obscure.’ Read *dí · lla* ‘wards off, puts away, puts aside’. *dilla er amiris*, *dilla demin dochae* ‘truth puts aside doubt, certainty puts aside probability’. Cp. *ALI*. v.

418, *do cāch dilla a gressa do cach rīg* 'to every one who wards off his attacks from every king'. The corresponding substantive is *díchor*.

Elne 383 is the name of a district in Ulster.

ērnēd 49 is imperative 3 sg., Verbal noun *ēraicc*.

esert 438. The correlative *coairt* 438 shows the etymology proposed by Stokes, **ert* = Gothic *airtha*, to be untenable, since this would require *comairt*. The old etymologist was right in connecting these words with *fert*, probably in the sense of an earthwork as a boundary-fence: *coairt* = one of a number of men having fences in common. *esert* = one whose land is unfenced. See ALI., Glossary, svv. *esert*, *étrebar*.

coairt. Can this be the word which appears in the Book of Rights as *cocart*, and is cited in Meyer's Contributions from that source only? Meyer gives the meanings 'a servant, steward', following O'Donovan, who gives 'a servant or villanus'. O'Donovan does not seem to have known the word from any other source, and his explanation of it is not supported by the context. P. 200: *Acus ní thuc timna dó, acus nír thairmisc a bheith i fail a bhráithreach amhail chocart*: translated 'And he [Catháir Mór] gave him [his son Eochu Timine] no testamentary [share]; but he forbade him not to live with his brothers as a cogart (steward)'. The latter clause is quite wrongly translated. It means 'He did not prevent his being with his brothers as a cocart'—what the text indicates as an advantage permitted, O'Donovan represents as a penalty imposed. P. 218: *Neimhidh acus úradh acus únach acus folcadh, imorro, ó chocartaibh na grádh féini* (better in var. lect. *na ngradh fene*) *atá* (r. *ata*) *isleamh leo*: translated 'Wood and renewing and washing and cleansing, moreover, are due of the cocarts of the inferior grades among them'. Again the translation is quite misleading. It should run: 'from the cocarts of the lowest *Féni*-grades among them'. Men of the *Féni*-grades were landowning freemen, not servants, stewards, or villani. Further: *Corcair* [etc.] . . . *ón lucht atá* [r. *ata*] *fearr do chocartaibh*: 'Purple [etc.] . . . is due from the best of the cocarts'. If it were not clear from the context, it would still be obvious that those from whom these tributes and services are said to be due to the king of Leinster could not be the servants, stewards, or villani of landowners. If *cocart* is not found elsewhere, I

suggest that it may be an etymologizing substitute for *coart*. The nominative in this glossary is *coairt* 248, 438 (dative *coirt* 523). So, nominative *esfeirt* 248, but *esert*, *esfert*, 438. The genitive *eserta*, O'Davoren 91, supports *es(f)eirt*. For *chocar-taib*, O'Donovan cites the variant *chogairthib*.

eslinn unsafe is for *esnull*, the contrary of *indill*, as stated in 439; *indell* = the interior, away from the border, *immell*.

'*etarfos* 476, meaning obscure' = *etaruas* 'aloft', Passions and Homilies, sometimes *etarbhuas*. Cp. *etercéin*.

'*etarlice* 472'. The text has *etharlice*. It is the place-name *Etharlach*, genitive *-laige*.

'*étoil* 461'. The scribe has changed the spelling, as in *etharlice*, to suit the etymology. I remember, but cannot cite with reference, verses in which *etal* rhymes with *Petar*.

'*etur* 464, meaning obscure', is the place-name *Étar*. *i. tor éite i. is mbruig* [r. mruig] *éite ar a méit, is tor ara airde. Étar dano ondī as itur, ar atā cos escrae as for a t[ā]gar*: 'i.e. tower of cattle, i.e. it is a land of cattle for its size, it is a tower for its height. *Étar*, too, from the [Latin] word *itur*, for there is a leg of gravel-ridge out of it on which people go'. The leg, or part of it, still keeps the name *Cois*. *An Chois* is also the name of the long sandbank, bare at low tides, which connects Eileán a' Tuighe with Árainn Mhór.

etrud 470. *eadarthrath* is an etymologized spelling. The word is now pronounced as if *eadarthā*.

'*forrag* 577 = *forrach*, a land-measure or a pole for measuring lands. From **vorpáko*-. Stokes did not recognize in *forrag* the older form, from *reg*-. Nom. pl. *foirgea*, L. Arm.

lánchor 537. Read *lianchor*.

'*moin* mountain 388.' The text does not say so, but derives *moin*, the second syllable of *Emoin*, from *monte*, as it derives the first syllable from *eo* = *ē bonum*.

'*mór-chuirtib* 116 great courts?' I think the text is scribally confused, and that *immorchuirthib* stood originally as a gloss on *baiolandis*.

nesg 604. For *gabuth nesg* read *g... nes g(raece)*. The scribe probably found the Greek word, in peculiar Irish forms of Greek letters, illegible, and substituted the lemma *gabuth* for part of it.

'*slándirech* 388.' Read *slíab dírech*.

'*socomla .i. feria* 90 a = *socomail* + *lá*, a day of rest, holiday.' Such a compound being most unlikely, when we refer to 90 a we find in a footnote '*.i. socomla .i. feria*', which, as the footnote says, 'obviously belongs to some other article', and therefore cannot be treated as above. The words *sōcamhal*, *dōcamhal*, are still in use as substantives, apparently compounds of *so*, *do*, with *accomol*. The two glosses may well have belonged to two distinct articles.

'*taraic* 26, *tairic* 862, comes.' Rather 'comes forward, is forthcoming, is to the fore'.

tarracht 436, not explained. Read *tarras* (*s* for *s*). *eisce .i. bith fri nais*, 7 *adrulla* 7 *asrenar eisce immbi ceni tarras*, 'eisce, i.e. being present and (read *ut est*) he absconded (it), and eisce is paid for it though he has not been arrested'. Evidently taken over from a law-tract.

tellag 376, a legal term, of which *tellach* is a later form < *to* + *in-lo(n)g*.

ignair 491 is omitted from the index.

tirech, is *tirech* 655, glossing *gyrando*. Read *aistrech*.

'*uagrag* 139, meaning obscure'. The word is *bannagrag*, miswritten for *bānauagri* or *banaugrach* (a man) of bloodless quarrel.

'*huisse* 438 just, cogn. with Latin *iustus*.' The text has *ni huisi*. This word seems to be the gerundive of *odim*, but it has developed into other meanings. ALI. v. 368 is *nī uis inn* [*r. min* for *mani*] *airnais slān-taisecc* 'thou must not lend unless thou take collateral surety (*aurnaidm*) for full repayment'—the same context has *ōn*, genitive *ona*, *menu do* = *manid* *ō*, is *ōn n-odar*, *ro huaid*, *ro huad-so* (= *-su*).

Under 'Corrections and Additions':

'*aire* 54 seems to mean germ, ovule, seedbud, spore, and the quotation means: as the charioteer goes before his master, (so) the *aire* goes before corn'. *remeteit aire arbar*, however, means 'a leader goes before an army'.

augra, gen. *augrai*. *Mael Ograi*, AU. 907. The ogham, Macalister 163, has MAILAGURO MAQ ... LEB ... Here both MAIL and AGURO are difficult to explain in relation to *Mael Augrai*. The gen. of *Máil* in such names is O.I. *Máile*, in late ogham, Macalister 38, ANM MAILE INBIRI. In an earlier ogham we should expect *Mailias*, *Mailia*. AGURO should give O.I. *augro*.

Hence I think that, in the ogham, we must suppose elision, for nominative *Maila Aguro*; and in *augrai*, *ograi*, a change of declension.

'*etarfos* is explained as "a great light", etc.'. See above.

galgat: Ballygalget is the name of a parish in Lower Ards, Co. Down.

'*lucht*ar boat may come from **luptro*-, cogn. with Lith. *lùpti*, "to flay, to shell", Ohg. *louft* "nutshell, bark". Modern *lucht* means cargo of a boat or ship, *luchtui*ghthe laden with cargo.

NB. 2. 139, 14

'*toscarthar*, is divided, encl. of *do-scarthar*'. Pedersen's Verbalverzeichnis cites only *tasc*- in the 'enclitic' forms, and no instance meaning 'divide'. *to-scarthar* is therefore the older form of *do-scarthar*.

Some of the foregoing notes show evidence that the original 'Disceptatio' was glossed at some later time. The added glosses, however, are often in Old Irish. There are many of them.

10 *Abairt ab arte*. The remainder of this article is gloss on the foregoing.

26 *adfertur .i. taraic*.

29 *ab affectu [.i.] òn[d] athascnàm*.

30 *cio .i. dlomain*.

34 *ab agnicione [.i.] ònd aithne*.

40 *ammiror .i. adamraigim*.

45 *anceps .i. cuntabairt*.

49 *redde (.i. erned)*.

54 *ab auriga (.i. ò odaig)*.

61 *placeat .i. tolltes* (for some form of *tolltnaig*-).

66 *absque lingua .i. cen berla no tengaid*. Here the glossator shows his uncertainty as to which meaning the author attached to *lingua*.

75 *ab erumna .i. ò athais*.

76 *ab ago .i. ò agh*.

97 *oblivio peccati (.i. nempecad)*.

143 *a frequentione (.i. ò minci)*.

163 *Bodar apudore .i. lind cluas*. [Read a *putore*.]

172 *iaculum [.i.] airchor*.

175 *gymnasia .i. nochtfrecorthid ceill*.

199 *Clann a glande .i. torad craind. sic is torad [d] òinch-lann*.

201 *coma* (.i. *mong*).

203 *sentis* .i. *deilggi*.

246 *ō eirptiud* (.i. *ō erlonn*).

252 *Coseus graece contumax* .i. *coss a et 7 coss a teg uad*.

Read *cossáit 7 cossáitech uad*.

291 The words *mordax* .i. *ignis* belong to a missing article, and the alphabetical order indicates *daig* or *dag*, apparently now at 337 *dag* .i. *ingnis*.

292 *sithula* .i. *sithal*.

301 *manifestum* .i. *nī is follus* .i. *solus*.

310 *sitis*, *ar is it fa sainti in dibeich*. This is obviously miswritten, and Stokes, in omitting *it*, has made no improvement. We should expect *sitis* to be represented in the Irish by *ittu*. It may be observed that the author did not know the Greek word, taking *δίψα* to be *δίφα*.

403 *quia dat caem a enech quam homo olchena*. Read *ar mbat* (?) *cóimu a enech*, etc. *enech* is nom. pl. neuter. This clause is embedded in another, *dede* () *ara nemrenat enechcland*, which seems to have no proper place in the context. Read *ara n-érenar*?

422 *tirimmedh*. Read *tirim-med*.

486 *Fal a ualo* .i. *ó ch[ō]illiu*. Read *palo*.

492 [*a*] *feruore* .i. *ō bruth*.

493 *a fraxino* .i. *fid rigin*.

496 *a fasce* .i. *ō grinniu*.

501 *Fiad* [read *Féd*] *a faedere* [.i.] *ōn[d]* *accommal*.

507 *a figo* [.i.] *ō thuidmi*.

515 *Femm a fimbria* .i. *ō luibniu* .i. *mairis* [r. *maris*].

518 *Fēr a uere* .i. *ōn[d]* *errach*.

527 *Fet* .i. *quia inuitat* .i. *dochuirethar*.¹

530 *a uico* .i. *ārus*.

534 *uirus* .i. *neim*.

539 *a foeno* .i. *ō feor*.

559 *uagina* .i. *fogen*.

571 *a uola* .i. *ō glaic*.

572 *a fundo* .i. *ō fudomain*.

¹ The change from *u* to *f* was familiar to the older etymologist. It is found in his derivations in articles 491, 502, 505, 508, 518, 519, 522, 524, 525, 527, 529, 530, 531, 534, 535, 542, 543, 545, 552, 554, 559, 579.

579 *casus* .i. *tot[h]aim*.

585 *cuilmen* [= *culmen*] (.i. *cnoc*).

591 *a fuluo* .i. *flannderg*.

620 *scapiēs* (.i. *claime*).

623 *grauis* (.i. *trom*).

635 *disentio* *debaid*.

643-4. These are one article. Read *is aire asberar drochech grellach*.

648 *a cratera* .i. *ō thulchoba*.

652 *Gicene* .i. *nōidin cīche*.

660 *a girando* .i. *ō timchull*.

676 *inclinatur* .i. *is luthech*.

685 *Grus* . . . *a grosocibo* .i. *dagbiad* .i. *scaiblin nó braisech*.

[Here the later glossing is obvious.]

713 *Imbas* .i. *nemchumce*.

717 *intextum* .i. *in fige*.

745 *rectum perpendicularum* .i. *diriuchthuillemain*.

773 *a labro* .i. *ō bēlaib*.

774 *a leua* .i. *ō tuaithebel*.

775 *a lacte* .i. *ō ass*.

Possibly a number of these glosses were in the original composition. It is to be noted, however, that many, indeed most, of the Latin words glossed are of the commonest occurrence and most familiar signification, whereas many Latin words of less frequent application are not glossed: e.g. 7 *abditum*, 39 *alligatione*, 53 *indoles*, 79 *amoenus*, 83 *alimonia*, 87 *dapes*, and so forth. As further evidence of the separate and later operation of glossing, it may be pointed out that the glosses printed as such, and enclosed above, as by Stokes, in round brackets, are not distinguishable in kind from those printed as part of the text.

EOIN MAC NEILL.

VARIA. I

I. SETÁNTA, SETANTII

HOLDER, *Altcelt. Spr.*, gives '*Sētanta* = **Sētant-io-s*, a god, the originally British name of the Irish hero Cúchulainn as a child, plural *Sētant-ū*, a people on the west coast of Britain, in Lancashire, over against Ireland. Ptol. 2, 3, 3: *Σεταντίων λιμήν* at the mouth of the Ribble near Preston.'

I do not know by whom the equation *Setanta* = *Setantios* was first proposed. Like a trap for flies or birds, it presents obvious external attractions. Closely examined, it shows difficulties.

Except that Ptolemy names and locates 'the haven of the Setantii', the Setantii are otherwise unknown. Some of the names recorded by Ptolemy in the topography of Britain and Ireland, or rather we should say some of the scribal versions of these names that have come down to us, are authenticated by collateral evidence. Others, to no small number, are found to be inaccurate. In the case of *Setantii*, except for the supposed connexion with *Setanta*, we have no collateral evidence, therefore no guarantee of accuracy.

At what period must we suppose the name *Setantios* to have passed over to Ireland, so as to become the Middle-Irish name *Setanta*? The first *t* in *Setanta* is to be pronounced as *d*. This implies that the name was borrowed with a British pronunciation and not earlier than the second half of the fifth century. This again implies such a vivid recollection of the Setantii preserved by the Britons throughout the greater part of the Roman occupation that the name could pass into Irish between A.D. 400 and 500 and become in Ireland the name of the 'fortissimus heros Scottorum'. The adoption of a name for a hero in such a way might appear less improbable if, as Holder's authority has assumed, it had been the name of a god. But a god Setantios is wholly unknown, and the name itself remains unexplained. Moreover, the Britons in the fifth century or later are not likely to have supplied Irish hero-lore with the name of a heathen god.

A foreign name introduced into Irish by the middle of the fifth century would have undergone certain phonetic changes before the Irish sagas were written. *Secundinus* died in A.D. 447, and his name became in Irish *Sechnall*. Patrick gave the name *Sacellus* to a youth whose Irish name (in its seventh-century form) was *Feredach*, and *Sacellus* became *Sachall*. Patrick's own name became *Cothirche*. Latin *puteus* became *cuthe*, *camisia* *caimmse*, *sextarius* *sessra*, and so on. Hence, if *Setantios* had come into Irish in St. Patrick's time or before it, the first *t* would have become *th*. If it had come much earlier, *nt* would have changed to *d* (written *t* in Old Irish), and the second syllable would have disappeared: **carantion* became *cairte* or *cairdde*. *Setantios* would accordingly become *Sette*, not *Setanta*.

Thus the proposed connexion between *Setanta* and *Setantii*, notwithstanding the outward resemblance, involves a mass of improbabilities and is etymologically unsound. Tentatively, I would suggest that *Setanta* in the Middle-Irish texts stands for Old-Irish **Setante* and that this is a boy-name corresponding to the name *Sétne*, Middle-Irish *Sétna*, modern *Séadna*. For the ending, compare *C(a)oilte*, also a boy-name, for the Fian-hero whose proper name was Daelgus, Dóilgus. The ending *-ittios*, *-ttios*, apparently hypocoristic, is found in the Ogham names *Branitti*, *Curcitti*, *Lugutti* (O.I. *Luchte*, Mid.I. *Luchta*), corresponding to *Bran*, *Corc*, and any one of the names compounded of *Lugu-*. *Sétne* is the equivalent of the Gaulish **Santonios*, gen. *Santoni*, the name of one of the master potters of La Graufesenque, related to the people-name *Santoni* or *Santonos*. These names and the Irish *sét*, 'a thing of value' (modern *séad*, *seód*), have been connected etymologically with the participial *snt* 'being' (cp. Greek *ὄντα*). From *Sétne*, with the ending *-ittios*, we expect in the first instance **Sétu(a)itte*, but metathesis of *l*, *n*, *r* in a syllable between consonants is frequent (e.g. *cotulta*, gen. of *cotlud*).

2. BRIGANTES (*VRIGANTES): FRIGID.

Holder, *Altcelt. Spr.* 535: '*Marcell. medic.* 8, 127: (Oculi) vermiculos habent aut brigantes, qui cilia arare et exulcerare solent.' See Irish dictionaries, s.v. *frigid*, Welsh *gwreinen*, *gwraint*.

3. LUCENI, VELABRI

Orosius: 'Hibernia . . . Huius partes priores, intentae Cantabrico Oceano, Brigantiam Gallaeciae ciuitatem, ab Africa sibi in circium occurrentem, spatioso intervallo procul spectant, ab eo praecipue promunturio ubi Scenae fluminis ostium est et Velabri Lucenique consistunt.'

This passage has been taken to mean that Orosius located the Velabri and Luceni in the extreme south-west of Ireland, where Ptolemy places the Vellabori.¹ By *consistunt*, however, I think that Orosius means 'stand face to face'; compare Tirechan: 'ut sepeliar in cacuminibus Temro, quasi viris *consistentibus* in bello [= praelio], (quia utuntur gentiles in sepulcris armati prumptis armis *facie ad faciem* usque ad diem Erdathe apud magos, id est iudicii diem Domini), ego filius Neill, et filius Dunlinge im Maistin in Campo Liphi.' The Luceni named by Orosius should be the Lucenses of Gallaecia, named apparently from Lucus Augusti, now Lugo. West of the Lucenses were the Artabri, and east of them the Cantabri. These names suggest that the Vel[1]abri also may have belonged originally to that region.

In a paper on 'Early Irish Population Groups' (Proceedings of the Royal Iris Academy, xii, C 4, p. 62) I have shown that a reminiscence, and no more, of the Vellabori of Ptolemy, the Velabri of Orosius, is preserved in the single mention of the name *Fellubair*, found in a poem in the Book of Leinster (23a 17). The poem provides a sort of justification for the genealogical doctrine which makes Fergus, the Ulster hero, ancestor of various ruling septs in Munster. Rudraige, his grandfather, won many battles: 'Every battlefield that he reddened with strong battalions without trepidity, he occupied it truly, [and afterwards] Fergus filled it with his kindred.' Among the descendants of Fergus in Munster were the dynastic septs of Ciarraige Cuirche ('Kerrycurrihy' barony, near Cork) and Ciarraige Luachra ('the kingdom of Kerry', 'from Traigh Lí to Tairbert'). So, in the poem, *Fích cath Curchu, cath Luachra, laechdū Fellubair*, 'He fought the battle of Curchu, the battle of Luachair, hero-home of Fellubar.' *Fellubair* rhymes with

¹ Variants: Οὐτέλλαβοι, Οὐτενλάβρους.

Glendamain of the same strophe. The phrase *laechdū Fellubair* means the native place of the hero *Fellubar* (-bur). I have not found the name elsewhere, and particularly not in the ample genealogical account of the Ciarraige kindred, but the verse implies a known story of the hero, and the name must be a traditional reminiscence of the Vellabri, enabling us to correct to this form the names given from Ptolemy and Orosius. Further, the verse implies that the story made the hero belong to the region of Luachair, which comprised Ciarraige Luachra and a large adjoining part of Limerick county. It is true that this region faces the ocean westward, not, as Orosius would imply, southward. Orosius in this particular may have derived his geographical information indirectly from Ptolemy. In Ptolemy's description, the Vellabri are the most southward people on the west coast of Ireland, the Iverni the most westward people on the south coast, but this does not show which people is held to occupy the extreme south-western region. His prepositions seem to indicate that the Iverni were east of the Vellabri. The Vellabri were 'under' (ὕπό), that is, south of the Gangani, but the Iverni were 'after' (μετά) the Vellabri. The *ostium Scenae* of Orosius gives no certain light. It becomes the *Inber Scene* of the Irish migration-legend, having an undefined location in south-western Ireland, and is perhaps no more than an echo of Ptolemy's Σήνου ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί. If this last, as is likely, means the Shannon, it points to a written origin in Latin, which left the quantity of the vowel *e* uncertain. Sena, a river of Umbria, and Sena Gallica have *ē*. For the Irish name *Sinann*, probably **Sinon* in the seventh century, Tirechan has Latin genitive *Sinon(a)e*, accusative *Sinonam*; Irish genitive *Sinnae* (modern *Sionna* in *Log na Sionna*, the place where the Shannon is said to rise): all these indicating an older name *Sēnuna*. The district of 'Luachair, laechdu Fellubair', adjoins the mouth of the Shannon.

4. FANNUCI, FANONI, SVAQQVUCI

Holder, *Altcelt. Spr.*, gives two, and only two, ancient British names beginning with F. One is found in a post-Roman inscription of Pembrokeshire:

CAMELORIGI FILI FANNUCI.

The other is in a post-Roman inscription of Devonshire :

FANONI MAQVI RINI.

The last is accompanied by an ogham inscription :

SVAQQUCI MAQI QICI.

The ogham must have been engraved, no doubt from an exemplar on wood, by a craftsman ignorant of the ogham alphabet, who did not know that the symbols depended for their signification on their position in relation to the base-line. By changing the position he changed NN to QQ and R to Q. In substituting C for N, if the reading is certain, he also omitted one of the scores. His exemplar should have shown the ogham symbols for SVANNUCI MAQI RINI.

I cannot offer any explanation of the name *Rini*. *Svannuc*, *Fannuc* (*c* = *g* in both), and *Fan(n)on* I take to be hypocoristic forms of a compound name in which the first component represents an earlier **svanta* > Welsh *chwant*, Breton *c'hwant*, *hwant*. The Irish *san(n)t* is a loan-word from the British, of earlier date than the change *sv* > *chw*. In the two versions of the Devonshire inscription, *maqvi*, MAQI, bespeak Irish settlers who preserved the Irish language or some tradition of it, and SVANNUCI bears similar evidence. In the British speech of the locality *sv* had already become *hw*, of which F is an approximate representation in Latin spelling. Many native speakers of Irish substitute an Irish *f* for *wh* (= *hw*) in English words. The hypocoristic ending *-on* is found in a few Irish names of early date: *Ferón*, *Éremón*, perhaps *Bríón*, ogham CASONI. I suppose it to have originated in *-ugnos*, where *-gnos* is added to *u*-stems. Hypocoristic *-uc* (= *-ug*), perhaps of British origin like *-óc* (= *-óg*), is also found in Irish, usually supplemented by *-án*, as in *Eochucán*, etc. It is duplicated in *Chucuc*, pet-name of Cú Chulainn. With *Svannuc*, *Fannuc*, compare Tirechan's *San-nuch*, L. Arm. 96b: 'monachi Patricii, Gengen et Sannuch'.

brig, *bricht*.

The Coligny Calendar, at the fourth day of the month Rivros, has in the five successive years the notations (1) . . . OMV RIVO, (2) . . . G RIVROS, (3) BRIG RIV, (4) . . . IG RIVRI, (5) . . . TIO RIVRO. I have proposed to recognize here a word **brig* . . . *tio*,

meaning 'the solemn announcement . . . of a festal time, Rivros', connecting the word with the Irish verb *brig*, which is explained in glosses to mean 'publish, say, judge, revere, justify'. The Book of Armagh furnishes another instance of this verb. It is in Tirechan's list of clergy ordained by St. Patrick, p. 18. The names are arranged in three columns, evidently transcribed from a loose leaf, for the scribe has inserted them out of place in the text, in the middle of the account of St. Patrick's acts in Mag. Breg. The third column has

Cassanus
Conlang
Erclang
Brocanus
Roddanus
brig són
et alter Rod-
danus (etc.).

In *brig són* the mark of length appears over *n* instead of *o*. Tirechan had a special interest in one Roddanus or Rodanus, whom he names afterwards three times, a priest of the 'little Old Church of Dumech', in the south of Tír Ailello, and so not far from the place in which Tirechan wrote. This Roddanus is identified with the second of the name in the list 'qui fundauit æclessiam senem Nepotum Ailello'. Finding another Roddanus in the list, Tirechan adds the note *brig són* 'remark that!', showing that his list is transcribed from an earlier one. We have possibly here the meaning which is common to the other meanings given in the glosses, to give heed to a thing or recognize its importance. We may compare the various meanings of the English word *observe*.

bricht, 'charm, spell', may be connected.

EOIN MAC NEILL.

VARIA. II

1. *regait-se*.

ON p. 87 *supra* M. A. O'Brien implies that this is 'an impossible Middle Irish form. The 1 sg. fut. would be *regat-sa*.' The expression is too strong, for *regait-se* occurs as 1 sg. in RC. xiii. 440, § 12 = LL. 288b 44; cf. *regait*, ZCP. xiii. 176, 18. Similar forms are *bēraitse*, Trip. 238, 3 (see K. Mulchrone, ZCP. xvi. 62, § 114); *bēraid-sea*, Ir. Aen. 610; *ainfaitse*, Laws, i. 250, 22; *acēlaitsi*, ÉRIU, viii. 156; *gēbaitsa*, LL. 283a 33; *gēbait*, LU. 7071 (= BDD. § 73), beside *gēbatsa*, 7066; *failsig-fitsea*, LU. 173.

2. *to-neät*.

Pedersen, Vergl. Gr. ii. 584, rightly relates *tuinide* to *iruide* and *indnide*. We should expect the 3 sg. pres. ind. of the verb to be *to-neät* (*do-neät*). This seems to be the word spelled *taneat*¹ in Laws, v. 368, 13, *taneat trian a loge damsa* 'a third of its value is fixed for me' (?). Cf. *reithid a trian n-airi dind fiach nascar ann*, Thurneysen, Bürgschaft, § 51 b.

According to Pokorny, ZCP. xviii. 118, *-neät* cannot come from *-ni-sed*, which, by a rule of his own, would have given *-niät*. But the rule needs testing. The form *-ne-* is found in *ar-neget*, though how it arose is not clear. Pokorny himself brings *deeid*, *deed* from **de-sedī*, ZCP. xii. 324, and *deäd* < *de-yed-* is common in O.Ir. Whether at the time the compound was formed the simplex had acquired the peculiar gradation *saidid*, *sedait*, is questionable. In any case, *air-ni-sed* is not a word, but merely a formula, which I would not venture to express in the shifting shapes of Goidelic, Primitive Celtic, or Indo-European.

3. *fu-s-cerdam*, Wb. 34a 2.

The text is *quam sicut anchoram habeamus*, Heb. vi. 19. The Latin gloss *submissa enim anchora navis moueri non potest sic et mentis intensio* is followed by *sís fucertar cech*

¹ *t-a-neat* with neut. infix may be an idiomatic expression.

ingor suas fuscercdamni, translated in Thes. Pal. 'down every anchor is cast: up let us cast it'. According to Pedersen, Vergl. Gr. ii. 499, *fu-s-cerdam* is indicative, not imperative. Grammatically, of course, it may be indicative, and for the simple 1 pl. ipv. we should expect *cuirem*. But there is no reason to suppose that the imperative with a pronominal object was not formed from *fo-ceird*. A clear example is found in LL. 283a 19: *lecam ar ráma úan isa muir 7 fo-n-cerddam i lleth ar Tigernai* 'let us drop our oars into the sea, and cast ourselves upon our Lord'. Here *fo-n-cerddam* must be in the same mood as *lecam*.

For *habeamus* in the above text the Vulgate has *habemus* (so in Gk. ἔχομεν), but there is a variant *habeamus*, see NT. Lat., ed. Nestle, and compare the commentary in Zimmer's Pelagius in Irland, p. 431, *nostram uero anchoram in caelo habeamus*. It is likely therefore that the glossator meant *fu-s-cerdam* to be imperative.

4. The 1 sg. of celid.

As this verb is conjugated like *berid* (*ā*-subj., *ē*-fut., *t*-pret.), we should expect its 1 sg. to be abs. **cilu*, conj. -*ciul*. The former is not quotable, but the latter occurs in a poem assigned by Meyer to the ninth century, AfCP. iii. 296, 37. The MS. has *nocon cillsa*. Meyer alters to the fut. *cél-sa*, wrongly, for it rimes with *frim-sa*. This implies an O.Ir. spelling *nícon chiul-sa*: *friumm-sa*. Another example is in Féil.¹ lxi. 7 = LB. marg. r. 31: *rád nát cil*. Stokes translates 'a saying not wrong', but *cil* rimes with *gín*, and *gín* (*giun*) is a *u*-stem. Read *rád nád ciul* (or *chiul*) 'a saying which I do not conceal'.

5. ro det.

On the quantity of the *e* see ÉRIU, viii. 169. A more conclusive example, in the metre *rannaigeacht mór*, is found in LB. 108b 32.

Moyse maith is ē dos-fuc,
a grutt gaíse Dé ro det,
d'Árôn mac Amra, is gnīm glicc,
damna dia ticc bānsröll brecc.

Here *det* rimes with *brecc*, and consonates with -*fuc* and *grutt*.

6. léim dar boilg.

Discussing this phrase in ZCP. xi. 195, Pokorny explains *boilg* as nom. for acc. *bulgu*. The explanation is unconvincing. It is true that in Mid. Ir. there is a growing tendency to use the nom. pl. for the acc. pl., but not after prepositions, at least in the literary language. *Can a n-uile do dígail*, LU. 3117, is a special case of *cosg réime*, explained in I.G.T., Introd. § 76. There was, of course, fluctuation after prepositions, the acc. pl. being replaced by the dat., though even Keating writes *amhail chaorcha, gan lámha*. On the other hand, in texts of a less literary fashion, composed, like many in LB., in districts where the dat. pl. has long been obsolete, the acc. may spread, e.g. *do maccu Israel*, etc., in PH., yet even here such a locution as *do meic* is hardly conceivable. In the schools the distinction between nom. and acc. pl. was strictly observed; see IGT. ii. Declension, in which the acc. pl. is always marked by prefixing either a vb. in 2 sg. ipv., *íar*, *marbh*, etc., or the prep. *gan*.

The weakness of Pokorny's explanation is patent from the very phrase in Gofraidh Fionn Ó Dálaigh's poem to which he refers—*léim ar bhailg*. When a famous poet of the fourteenth century, whose works are continually cited as models of correct usage, writes *ar bhailg*, he must not be held guilty of a modern colloquialism not yet found in all dialects. *Bailg* is dat. or acc. sg., for *bolg* 'bubble, blister' is a fem. *a*-stem, pl. *bolca* 'vesicles', MI. 99^a4; *teora bolga*, Meyer, Contt., where it is confused with the masc. *bolg*. See also IGT. ii. § 158. The couplet, ex. 2022,

ón fáinne re cois an chuilg
builg ar bhois í Dháire Deirg,

'from the ring beside the sword there are blisters on the hand of the descendant of Dáire Derg', where nom. pl. *builg* rimes with gen. sg. *chuilg*, is marked *l*. (= *lochtach*), whether it is cited from some bad poet or made up as a warning to students. On the other hand, the masc. *bolg*, *balg*, *ibid.* § 69, is followed by *in duine 7 an ghabhann*, that is, it means 'belly' or 'bellows'.

7. Uí Rethach.

In his Notes on Irish Ogham Inscriptions, R.I.A. Proc. 1909, p. 356, MacNeill says: '*Rittavvecas* = *Rethach* (gen.) in Ciar-

raige genealogy, whence *Uí Rethach* now *Íbh Reathach* = Ive-
ragh barony in Kerry'. 'Now' is incorrect, for the modern
name is *Íbh Ráthach*. If this goes back to *Uí Rethach*, it must
have been transformed several centuries ago by analogy with
some other name. Cf. *a rennaib Ó Ráthach* (sic leg.), *Cóir*
Anm. § 32, *IT.* iii. 298; *righ O'Ráthoch*, *Top. Poems*, 108; *ó*
Muscraige go huibh Ráthach, *FM.* v. 1756; *go reannaibh Ó*
Ráthach, *Keating*, *FF.* ii. 3594. The name is now felt as a
single word, stressed on the second syllable, making gen. *Íbh*
Ráthaig.

8. O.Ir. *targaid*, *tarcaid*.

In ZCP. xvi. 73 and 411 K. Mulchrone takes this as 3 sg. pres.
ind. of a compound verb with the absolute ending of a simple.
While such a development is common in Mid.Ir. it does not
account for this particular form, for if *-aid* were the absolute
ending it could not remain in the deuterotonic *do farguid*,
Laws. v. 502, 22 = *do-fargaid*, *O'Dav.* 979, nor in *co targaid*,
CCath. 1141, *conus targaid*, *Fél.*¹ 119, 35, *a targid*¹ *dó*,
LU. 5807. It is in fact a preterite and perfect, as suggested
by Windisch, *W.* 810. The pl. is *tarcatar*, *Lism. L.* 4174;
tarcatur, ZCP. xi. 63, § 12. The final syllable is obviously from
-gáid, just as the pass. *tarcas*, *Lism. L.* 750, *do-fairges*, *IT.* iii.
36 n. 6 contains *-gess*. In a tract on verbs in *C.* i. 3 (*R.I.A.*) 46
and *H.* 2. 17 (*T.C.D.*) 202b the 1 sg. is given as *targadh* or *do-*
argadh, which occurs p. 51, 11 *supra* with proleptic neut. inf.
pron., *d-a argad sa* 'I have offered it'.² In a poem in *MR.* 128-
32 *targad* occurs eleven times; O'Donovan wrongly takes it as
a pass. 'was (were) offered'.

The oldest form of the pres. 3 sg. is *do-fairget*, rel., glossed
tairgeas, *Laws.* v. 272, in which *-guid* has been transformed into
-get as in *ar-neget*. Later analogical forms are *toirgid*, *LU.*

¹ If this were a present, it would have the relative ending after the
demonstrative *a*, Thurneysen, *Hdb.* § 466. In Mid.Ir. this *a*, through
confusion with relative *a* governed by a prep., takes conjunct forms, e.g.
a mbeirend, *Rule of Tallaght*, ed. Gwynn, 76, § 46; the correction on p. 101
should read *a mberes*.

² The Mid.Ir. fut. of *targaid* is, in the spelling of the grammatical tract,
tairgfead or *do-airgeabh*.

6797, *do-airg*,¹ Alex. 610. So 2 sg. ipv. *tairg*, *toirg*, LU. 6795, 6802.

Stokes saw that the verb was a compound of *guidid*, but analysed it wrongly as *do-guidim*, Trip. ii. 647, leaving the *-r-* of all tenses and the unlenited *g* unaccounted for. All forms can be explained from *to-ro-ad-guid*.² The *f* in *do-fargaid*, etc., is inorganic like that of *tarlaic*, *do-farlaic*. As the verb is compounded with *ro* it does not require the perfective *ro*, though that is prefixed in *ro thairgid*, SR. 2953.

Pedersen, Vergl. Gr. ii. 553, connects *targaid* with *do-áirci*, *táirci*, but the two verbs are distinct in meaning, in conjugation, and in quantity. The *a* (*o*) of *targ-*, *tairg-*, *toirg-* is always short. It is easier to confuse some of its forms with those of *to-air-icc*, and in modern dialects *tairrngim* 'I draw' is often indistinguishable in sound from *tairgim* 'I offer'.

The Mid.Ir. verbal noun *taircsin*, *toircsin* is modelled on *aicsin*, *déicsin*, etc. The tract on verbs already referred to distinguishes *taircsin*, *tairgsi* (*duit*), i.e. 'offer', pf. 3 sg. *targaid* (: *Albain*) and *tairgsin*, *tairsin* (*o tairgsin in éduigh*), i.e. 'wear away, come to an end', pf. *tarnaig* (: *fagmaid*) or *tairnig* (: *aimrid*). The latter is from *to-air-icc*.

9. *suí* as feminine.

In Ir. Gramm. Tracts, Introductory, § 21, there is a note on the gender of *saoi*. A quatrain by Donnchadh Mór Ó Dálaigh is quoted, in which *an saoi* is required to make alliteration, and the writer adds: *an saoi maith, cóir; an tsaoi mhaith, lochdach*. If the word had not been treated as fem. in speech the caution would have been needless. In Early Mod.Ir. it was, in fact, fem. in some dialects. Cf. *in tsui*, LB. 12a 27 (= Gwynn, RTall. § 62); *an tsaui*, ZCP. i. 66, 137; *sai filidechta*, LB. 238c 53; *sói dhuine uassail*, ALC. ii. 238, 26; *soi chléirigh*, 260, 23; *saoi chinn fedhna*, 272, 5.

10. *Eochu*, *Eochaid*.

In Béaloideas, ii. 115, MacNeill proposes an etymology of *Eochu*. 'This should represent an older *Eqūs, coming from

¹ Also *do-airgend* in grammatical tract.

² Can *toraic*, Thurneysen, Bürgsch. § 51b, be the old 2 sg. ipv.? Cf. *aicc*, ipv. of *ad-guid*, ZCP. xv. 366 n.

a still older *Eqovis, *Eqovics. The reduction of short vowel + u + short vowel in unstressed syllables to a single vowel is earlier than the stage which precedes the formation of Old Irish. For example, . . . *are-vo-* must have combined into a dissyllabic *aru-*, of which the second syllable disappears by syncope, leaving Old-Irish *aur-*, in words like *aurrath-* of the Laws, later *urradh*, beside *deorath* < *dǵ-vō-rāt-*. . . . Eochu should have signified "one who fights by means of a horse, or of horses", Hippomachos, hippeus, 'eques, chevalier.'

Even supposing the etymology to be right, it cannot be said to be supported by the example of *aurrath-*. The argument involves the common fallacy of generalizing from a particular instance. Thus *e* and *o* are short vowels, and *eyo* is reduced to *ū*, hence it is assumed to have been proved that *oyi* must also give *ū*. But *o* and *a* are short vowels, and in *Cunovalos*, W. *Cynwal*, Ir. *Conall*, there is no trace of the reduction to *ū*; the *o* (> *a*) disappears by syncope, the *u* drops (but archaic *Conual*), and the *a* actually changes the *u* of the first syllable to *o*. For *oyi* in inlaut we have MacNeill's **Ego-vic-os*, JRSA. lviii. 87, giving archaic gen. *Echoch*, cited above, p. 4. If the reduction had taken place here, we should expect the normal gen. to be *Eochach*, which occurs sporadically, Rawl. 157, 14 (= *Echach*, 161b 40), ZCP. viii. 296, 30, etc.; cf. the surname *Mac Ceothach*, AU. 1350. But this is evidently due to the analogy of the nom. *Eochu*. Besides, we must distinguish between the development of vowels in disappearing syllables and that of vowels in a final syllable which remains. Here, for example, unstressed *oye* gives *-(a)e*, Thurneysen, Hdb. § 311.

MacNeill has not observed that archaic *Echoch* is against his etymology. **Egovicos* (> **Egavecas*) would give, with the usual syncope, not *Echoch*, but **Echech*; cf. *Rittavecas* > *Rethech*, Rawl. 158. 44, later *Rethach*, and *Luguvecca* > *Lugach* 'through transitional **Lugvech*', Notes on Ir. Og. Inscr., 354. Also, a nom. **Egovics* might have been expected to leave some trace of its final syllable; cf. *Dauī*, *Duī*, gen. *Duach*.

In names like *Eochu*, *Fíachu*, *Cúanu* it is safer to postulate the same origin for the final *u* as in *fíru*, *siur*, etc., that is, to take it as original *ō*, which in final syllables becomes *ū* in Celtic, and remains as *u* (*o*) in O.Ir. when originally followed by a consonant. Such names may once have been compounds, but the

fact that the final consonant of gen. *Echach*, acc. *Echaig*, may represent one of several distinct Indo-European sounds, and that the second element may have begun with a vowel, *p*, *u*, or *s*, leaves a field for speculation in which one loses all sense of direction. Pedersen, Vergl. Gr. i. 248, ii. 100, assumes a suffix *-ōk-s*, comparing Lat. *uelox*. This implies *-ōk-os*, etc., in the oblique cases, so that *ū* would develop only in the nom. sg.

For Og. IVACATTOS MacNeill accepts the old explanation, taking it as gen. of an *i*-stem corresponding to later *Eochaid*. I have grave doubts regarding the identification. Corresponding to the *tt* (= *t*) one would expect the *th* in archaic O.Ir., yet Adamnán writes *Echodius*. But the real difficulty lies in the first syllable. *Biva-* has been equated with O.Ir. *béo*, *Ivageni* with the gen. of *Iogen*, *Eugen*, later *Éogan*, *Iulenge* (< **Ivalengias*) and the latinized gen. *Evolenggi* with *Eulainge*, and there is no need to question these identifications. It follows that at the end of the first element of a compound *iūa* is not reduced to *e*, as happens in inlaut (e.g. *bethu*), but becomes the diphthong *éo* (*éu*), as at the end of a simple word. Then we should expect *Ivacattos* to give O.Ir. **Éochatho*, with *éo*, which in Mid.Ir. shifted to *eó*, now *ō* with palatal consonant, if any, preceding. *Éógan* rimes regularly with *deórad* and the like. *Éóchaill*, 'yew wood', in English 'Youghal' and 'Oghill', is now pronounced *ōxil*. *Eochu* (*Echo*, *Euchu*) and *Eochaid* do not contain this diphthong; the *o* is merely the glide marking the breaking of *e* before *ch* originally followed by *ū*, as in dat. sg. *eoch*, *neoch* (*neuch*), and acc. pl. *eochu*. Hence they are often written *Echu* and *Echuid*; cf. the variants *Eochaidh* and *Eachaidh* in Ir. Gr. Tr. ii. § 111, and the rime *Eachuidh*: *eachuibh*, ex. 1834. In modern pronunciation the glide has drawn the stress, as in *deoch*; cf. 'Eochaidh (pron. *ū-CHig*)' in a note by Fr. O'Growney on a Cork saying, Gael. J. viii. 31.

It is time then to abandon the identification of *Ivacattos* with Mid.Ir. *Eochada*. It may be the gen. of a *u*-stem, a compound of **catu-s*, one of the many unidentified names in the inscriptions. Or it may be an error of the inscriber, for the ogam alphabet might almost have been devised to ensure the greatest possible chance of making mistakes; see Thurneysen, Hdb. § 13, 2. Slight differences in the short strokes transliterated *I* would

give one or two good Irish names, but these are problems for the Ogamist.

In Béaloideas and above, p. 30, MacNeill reproaches Stokes with failing like Mid.Ir. writers to distinguish the names *Eochu* and *Eochaid*, but he offers no satisfactory criterion. In documents of the O.Ir. period, so far as I know, the only nom. is *Echu* or *Echuid*, LA. f. 19a, *Echoid*, Thes. Pal. ii. 281, and the only gen. is *Echach*, LA. f. 5b, 10b. He casually mentions an O.Ir. gen. *Eochado*, but gives no reference. The Mid.Ir. gen. *Eochada* seems late and analogical. I do not think it is found in AU. before the second half of the tenth century. In the older genealogies *Echach* is very common, interchanging, however, with *Echdach*, the latter, according to MacNeill, 'perhaps merely scribal and modelled on Lugdach'. If *Echdach* were confined to Late Mid.Ir., such a view might be defended. From the thirteenth century on, when spirant *d* had acquired the sound of spirant *g*,¹ *Echdach* and *Echach* may be called scribal variants. But *Echdach* is found in LU. 10713 (M) by nom. *Eochaid*, 10709, etc., and, what is more important, it is well attested in Early Mid.Ir. verse. For example—in LL. 184a 18:

Slecht leis Flannacan fial feithmech in dian debthach
rí Dáil Araide nos othrad mac án Echdach.

Here *Echach* would spoil the rime with *debthach* and the consonance with *feithmech* and *othrad*. The event is recorded in AU. 848 = 849: *Flannacan mac Echdach rex Dail Araide in tuaiscirt iugulatus est a genere Eugain*, where there is no reason to alter *Echdach* to *Echach*. Nor is it necessary to change *Echdach* to *Echich*, p. 4 above. Other examples in which the form is fixed by the metre are Rawl. 84a 3 = LL. 35a 17:

mac hui Echdach is fiu rig is dib Fintan fethlach fial,
and ZCP. xii. 377, 6:

Cethri Echdaig, aidbli āg, fri srethblaid 7 sogrād,
where the nom. sg. is given in the next quatrain as *Eochaig*, *Eochaid* (Laud), *Echoid* (LL.), but *Eochu*, *Echu* (Rawl.).

Again, when we find in AU. 628 = 629 *Mors Echdach buidhe regis Pictorum, filii Aedain. Sic in libro Cuanach*

¹ O'Rahilly, *Hermathena*, xliv. 192.

inueni, though this is before the date of the contemporary entries in the Annals, *Echdach* cannot well be separated from *Echodius Buidc* in Adamnán's section *De filiis Aidani regis*. In fact *Echdach* is the O.Ir. gen. of *Echuid* (*Eochuid*), as *Echach* is gen. of *Echu* (*Eochu*). If an O.Ir. *Eochado* exists, it should be produced at once, otherwise it lies under suspicion of having been evolved in the twentieth century to support the doubtful *Ivacattos*.

It is true that in Mid.Ir. documents the names *Eochu* and *Eochaid* are not distinguished. It would be easy to fill pages showing that one occurs as a variant of the other in different copies of the same tract, or that the same man is called by both names in successive lines of the same MS. Cf. *Eochu Domlen* ... 7 *Eochuid aile*, Rawl. 139b 41. Finally the former drops out of use, while *Eochaidh* remains as a personal name down to the seventeenth century at least.¹

The gen. *Echach* is undoubtedly old; it dies out, or remains only in place-names. MacNeill apparently assumes, and rightly so, that where it is well attested it implies a nom. *Eochu*. But the further assumption that in such cases *Eochaid* is excluded only involves us in further perplexities.

For example, in the genealogies of the Uí Barrche in Rawl. 117a and LL. 337f we find *Echach Guinig* (*Gunich*) *m. Oengussa m. Meicc Ercca*. The first is the name, in gen., of a nephew of Fiacc Slébtí. It occurs again in Rawl. 121a 54 and BB. 126a 12 (*Eachach*). One might suppose that the nom. was *Eochu Guinech* (a name found in the same family a few generations earlier, with gen. regularly *Echach* or *Echdach*), and in fact the nom. is written *Eochu G.* in LL. 313c 46 and *Echo Guineac* in BB. 126b 27.² But here the corresponding passage in Rawl. 121b 45 reads: *Oengus mac Meic Erca cuius filius Eochaid Guinech*. If this be an error, it must not be laid to the charge of the Mid.Ir. scribe, for the Notulae in LA. f. 19, in a series of names belonging to the Oi Bair(che), refer to the same man as *Echuid Guin(ech) m(acc) Oin(gosso)*.

Or take another example. Among the many saints called

¹ The late gen. is found in the surnames *Mac Eochadha* 'Keogh', etc., and *Ó hEochadha* 'Hoey', etc. In his index to FM. O'Donovan changes *Mac Eochadha* of the text into *Mac Eochaidh*, a spelling now common.

² Cf. *Echo Guinech ri Hua mBarrchi*, LL. 39b 4.

Colmán is Colmán mac Echach. His father, according to one pedigree (BB. 219*f*, LB. 17*a*, and Lec. cited by Reeves, Adamn. 172), was a grandson, according to another (LL. 254*f*, LB. 23*a*, BB. 87*c*, 225*a*, 230*b*) a great-great-grandson of King Loegaire. Despite the number of saints bearing the name, one only is referred to, for his mother's name is given in both pedigrees, and in both he is said to be commemorated at Snám Luthair. We are here concerned only with his father's name. In the gen. it is *Echach* in LL. 349*g*, written *Ech-*, *Each-*, *Eth-* in the pedigrees. I take it that he is the *Colman mac Echdach* of Rawl. 92*e* 48 and LL. 367*b* 33, *C. mac Ech-*, BB. 226*c* 41. From all these one might infer that the nom. was *Eochu*. But if Reeves is right in identifying him with *Columbanus filius Echudi, vir sanctus, illius monasterii fundator quod Scotica vocitatur lingua Snam-luthir*, it would seem that Adamnán thought it was *Echuid*.

How are these discrepancies to be explained? We are left with the following alternatives:

(a) Adamnán and the writer of the Notulae, or the scribe of LA., did not know their own language. This may safely be dismissed.

(b) All instances of *Eochu Guinech*, *Echach Guinig*, and *Colmán mac Echach* in the genealogies are wrong. But if so, what guarantee have we that any other of the countless examples of *Eochu*, gen. *Echach*, acc. *Echaig* in Early Mid.Ir. documents is not a Mid.Ir. corruption? In that case the basis of all argument is lacking.

(c) About twelve hundred years before Stokes two common names were already in hopeless confusion. If so, all attempts to disentangle them may as well be abandoned with the despairing note of the medieval commentator, *sudet qui legat*.

(d) Mid.Ir. scribes were right in treating *Eochu* and *Eochaid* as alternative forms of the same name. The latter appears to be an old compound like *Luguid*, the former may have been felt as a hypocoristic variant. Cf. *Oenu* = *Oengus*, Féil.² 50.

In the early genealogies, when the nom. is *Eochaid* or *Echuid*, it seems that the gen. is always *Echach* or *Echdach*. I have no collections dealing with the point, but the late appearance of *Echada* and *Eochada* confirms, I believe, the evidence of the annals. They may be modelled on *Labrada*, gen. of *Labraid*,

and the like. Take for example the Ulster genealogies in Rawl. 161*b* and LL. 335*h*: *m. Eochada m. Arddgail*. Eochaid († 1004) was the 'eponymous head of the O'Haugheys'. Going back six generations, that is, about two hundred years, brings us into the O.Ir. period, and the gen. has the form *Echdach*, *ibid.*, nom. *Echaidh*, AU. 809 = 810. A detailed study of the genealogies should make it possible to decide the matter once for all. The investigator must, however, keep an open mind, and not allow himself to be diverted from his path by the spectres of *Eqovics and *Ivocatis.

11. *dá* 'two' in Mid.Ir.

It is well known that in Mod.Ir. *dá* preceded by possessive pronouns is regularly lenited, and the lenition, gemination, and nasalization caused by the pronoun follow *dá*, e.g. *a dhá áit* 'his two places', *a dhá háit* 'her two places', *a dhá n-áit* 'their two places'; similarly *a dhá ghlúin*, *a dhá glúin*, *a dhá nglúin* 'his, her, their two knees'. With 1 pl. *ár n-* the duals are *ár dhá n-áit*, *ár dhá nglúin*; with 2 pl. *úr n-* (< *bhar n-*), *úr dhá n-áit*, *úr dhá nglúin*. The construction goes back to Early Mid.Ir., and has puzzled editors. Hogan, Todd Lect. vi. 89, misunderstands *a dá nabbadh*, FM. ii. 638, correctly rendered 'their two abbots' by O'Donovan. He translates 'the two abbots', and puts *abb* in his list of neuter nouns. The following collections may be useful:

After 3 sg. fem.: *a da haite dec na hingine*, LL. 106*a* 12 = ÉRIU, iv. 22, 1; *a da cois*, LL. 279*b* 43; *a dá cich*, 371*a* 69-*b* 1; *a dha gúaluinn*, IT. i. 120, 2; *a dha glun*, *a dha colptai*, *ibid.* 6; *a dha digh*, RC. vi. 175, 47.

After 3 pl.: the older construction remains in *a nda ara*, LU. 4729, *a ndá lárac*, 6960 = BDD., § 60 (but *a da larcc*, YBL.). Later *a da nduma*, *a da fert*, LL. 12*b* 34; *d'esbaid a dá n-athar* Acall. 5251; *a dha ndrai*, Anecd. ii. 5, 12. Here belong also *na ('na) da feraib dec*, Wind. TBC. 2910; *na dá mbrathair*, MR. 146, 11. These are not to be confused with *for dá n-echaib díana*, LU. 6486, *for da n-echaib cendbeca*, LL. 120*a* 36, *ar da n-echaib*, 110*a* 14, 189*a* 8, *for dá n-ócbuaib*, LB. 128*a* 45, where *dá n-* has replaced the older *dib n-*. Sometimes nasalization precedes and follows *dá*, so that the pronoun apparently occurs twice: *a nda nara*, TBC. (Str. and O'K.) 244 = *a nda*

ara, LU.; *a nda n-athair*, Anecd. iii. 57, 24; *cechtar a ndá ngnúsa*, LL. 252b 33.

Just as the poss. pron. 3 sg. and pl. apparently follows *a dá*, so the 1 and 2 sg. and the 1 pl. are often suffixed.

With 1 sg., *adam láim*, *adam súil*, etc., Meyer, Contt.; *adam chois*, TTebe 116; *adam glúin*, Acall. 4869. Or, with doubling of the pronoun, *mo dam choss* (gen. dual), LL. 208a 26; *bás mo dam ingen*, Bor., § 6, wrongly explained by Stokes, RC. xiii. 33.

With 2 sg., *adád láim*, Meyer, Contt. II, and, the pron. being doubled, *do dat láim*, IT. i. 125, 6.

With 1 pl., *adar n-écsi*, *adar n-ainm*, *adar n-ollamnas*, Mey., but *ar da n-ollamnacht*, RC. xxvi. 8, *ar da mac*, Wind. TBC. 3091.

In the phrase *om chind co dam bond*¹ 'from my head to my two soles', LL. 370e 48, we find the possessive *-m* suffixed to *dá* after a proclitic which is not a pronoun; cf. *cota nglun*, LU. 4490. So with other proclitics nasalization follows instead of preceding *dá*: *eter cach da n-en dib*, LB. 242b 69 = O'Curry, MS. Mat. 632 (= older *eter cach dá en*, IT. i. 137, 1); *itir cach dá n-ánraid n-incomlaind*, MR. 176, 4.² The nasalization is doubled in *dam co nda mbeind óir*, LL. 171b 4 = CCR., § 5, here perhaps influenced by older *co ndib mbennaib*. After *na*, gen. pl. in form for gen. dual of the art., *na da nglassúil nglan*, LL. 142b 39; *dí chechtar de na da llurggan*,³ 252b 22; *imb deithbeir na dá n-ugh n-urchoidech*, MR. 110, 4. In *aireccar in da n-ech*, ZCP. viii. 120, 17, the *n-* is doubtless due to the influence of the gen. pl. *na n-ech*.

We now find an explanation of the curious form *indana*. As the pron. in *mo da-m*, *do da-t*, occurs twice, so here the art. both precedes and follows *dá*, in the latter case in its Mid.Ir. form. In the commentaries on the Laws *indana imad* (*imat*) is common. In other texts it sometimes has a variant *in dá*, *na da*, or *na dí*. Several examples are given, with a different

¹ Cf. the older construction in *óm fult gom dá fonn*, ZCP. vi. 257.

² Cf. Mod.Ir. *i dhá mbothán bheaga* 'in two little huts'.

³ But read probably *dí chechtar a (n)dá llurggan*; cf. *cechtar a nda thraig*, ibid. 24, *cechtar a nda odbrand*, 25, *cechtar a ndá ngnúsa*, 33. *Cechtár de* often replaces *cechtar*; cf. *for cectarde na dá ech*, PH. 4458. V. Hull, ZCP. xviii. 294, wrongly assumes that *dá llurggan* is neuter.

explanation, by Marstrander in R.I.A. Dict. s.v. *dana*. There is no certain instance of *dana* except after the art., for the reading of BDD., § 87, *eter a dán(ao)g imfaebair* 'between the two points of its edge', Stokes, is doubtful. In L.U. the *o* and most of the *a* have been erased. The variants *a di nuag*, *a da naug*, *a da nug*, point to *a dá n-og* 'its two points', with the old neut. *dá n-*; cf. *eter da n-og n-imfaebair*, LL. 189b 9. If, however, *a dana ogh* (YBL.) is right, it contains the art., pl. for dual, added to *a dá*, just as the pron. is added in *adám*, etc.

The starting-point for these developments may have been *dá* preceded by the 3 sg. masc. When the masc. *dá* took the place of fem. *dí* and neut. *dá n-*, *a dá chin*, *a dá chenn*, *a dá súil*, beside *a chin*, *a chenn*, *a súil*, might readily suggest *a dá cin*, *a dá cenn*, *a dá súil*, beside *a cin*, *a cenn*, *a súil*, and so of the other pronouns. Early Mid.Ir. spelling does not show whether *dá* was lenited after fem. *a*. Evidently there was fluctuation after 3 pl. *a n-* and after 1 pl. *ar n-*. It is natural that the locutions dealt with here should spread by analogy after *dá*, seeing that the dual of most nouns is identical in form with the nom. or dat. sg., but we shall find a similar development with *trí*. Perhaps also the feeling that the pron. followed *dá* was strengthened by its homonym, Mid.Ir. *dá*, *dá h-*, *dá n-*, *dár n-*, 'to (from) his, her', etc. = earlier *dia*, etc.

12. *trí* 'three' in Mid.Ir.

In LL. 30d there is a list of jesters, druids, etc., of the Tuatha Dé Danann, arranged in thirteen groups, each beginning with *a trí*, 'their three'. Thurneysen, IT. iii. 58-9, has edited these lists from Laud 610 and BB., which last has sixteen groups. If we pass over the groups in LL. ending with *rannaire*, *mnaa*, *rigna*, *coín*, *cruttiri*, and *tiprata*, in which nasalization would not take effect or would not be marked in Mid.Ir., there remain seven clear cases of nasalization after *trí* due to the preceding *a*: *a trí ndr[íith]*, *a trí ndruid* (sic leg.), *a trí ndeogbaire*, *a trí ngillai*, *a trí n-eich*, *a trí n-aite*, and *a trí ndúine*. In Laud this appears only in *a trí neich* and *a trí naiti*. BB. has *a trí ngabra* for the former, and the corrupt *ndruimne* for *ndúine* and *nduine* for *rigna*. Evidently at one time the treatment of *a trí* was parallel to that of *a dá*. An early example is *a trí nglantae*, 'their three cleansings', Bodl. Corm. s.v. *róut*. There

is nothing to show whether the initial of *trí* was nasalized or not. In Mod.Ir. we find the nasalization doubled: *a dtrí mbéal* 'their three mouths', ITS. iii. 48; *a dtrí gcroidhe*, *a dtrí n-éadan*, *ibid.*; and in the OT. of 1685, with the prep. *a n-* (= *i n-*), *a ttrí ccúrsa*, 'in three ranks', 1 Kings vii. 4; *a ttrí ccuideachduibh* Judg. vii. 16; *a ttrí ccuideachda*, ix. 43; *a ttrí gcuideachda* 1 Sam. xi. 11, xiii. 17.

This throws light on *and trí naraid*, TBC. (Str. and O'K.) 804 = *an trí araid*, LU. 5279, *an trí aruith*, Eg. (ZCP. ix. 142, 4). Between *a trí araid*, *a trí n-araid*, and *in trí araid*, a scribe might hesitate and go astray. LL. TBC. 1427 makes it *anmand a n arad* and H. 2. 17 *anmanna a trí n-aradh*.

13. *coímaid*.

In ZCP. xi. 165 Thurneysen notes an example of the verb *coímaid* 'treats kindly, is gracious towards' in the phrase *caomsum coimdi aingel*, ZCP. x. 347. Another example occurs in ZCP. vi. 258, 3, where the abbreviation extended *-acht* should evidently be *-sam*. Read *nasalví nodom fri serbhadhbartaídhí snáidhfe snáidhsium saorsam carsam caemhsam* 'the exalted King who shall protect me against bitter adversaries, may He protect me, may He deliver me, may He love me, may He be gracious unto me'.

14. *di . . . do*.

R.I.A. Dictionary, s.v. *de*, col. 141, 56, refers to the construction *ba di Gréaib do Aichil*: 'Never of things or abstracts,' 'Never' should be 'rarely'; cf. *is de corpore dissí* (of the eye), Wb. 12a 26; *prouindsí Aroandum didiu, do rigi Magnuís Cam dhi*, ZCP. i. 388.

15. The 1 sg. preterite of *benaid*.

In KZ. xlviii. 75 Thurneysen postulates *béo*. I do not know whether reference has since been made to the verse in which this occurs, FM. i. 302 (A.D. 701 = 704) and TFrag. p. 108: *Beo-sa Loingseach and do chailg*, 'I slew Loingsech there with a sword'.

OSBORN BERGIN.

VARIA. III

1. Lecht Oenfir Aífe.

THE prose Dinnshenchas tells very briefly the story of Conla's combat with his father CúChulainn, ending thus (as printed by Stokes, Rev. Celt. xvi. 46, from the Rennes MS.): Imuforbair dóib co ndrochair in mac. Conid and isbert in mac: 'Andsu labroind [aní] bíis no [a]ní thoas.' Conid and asbert CúCulainn: (here follows a *rann*).

Conla's dying words are thus rendered by Stokes 'Tis hard that I should speak what is or what turns.' Truly a cryptic saying! It becomes a little clearer if one writes *Annsu la broinn*, with *ná* after the comparative *annsu*, instead of *nó*.

But what of the two verbs? I have tried to show (Metr. Ds. iv. 392) that there is a verb *tóaim* meaning 'parturio' or 'pario'. To the examples there given may be added *co rotæ gein meic* (sic leg), Rev. Celt. xv. 429; *cor' chuinnigh cairde co rothoed a brú*, ibid. xvi. 45. So that the sentence may mean: 'Dearer to the womb is that which . . . than that which it brings forth.' This suggests that the dying boy is speaking bitterly of his mother. Now in the oldest extant version of the legend, *Aided Énfir Aífe* (ÉRIU, i. 114 ff.), which belongs perhaps to the ninth or tenth century (Thurneysen, Heldensage, 667), Conla, wounded by a thrust of the *gaí bolga*, cries out 'This is what Scáthach never taught me!' but says nothing about his mother. But in the later ballads, which tell the story in various forms but without difference as to the essential points, Conla is made to reproach and even to curse his mother. She has laid upon him the *geasa* which have brought him to his death, and she has withheld from him knowledge of the deadly weapon which has given his father an unfair advantage in their duel: see Heldensage, 408. And the modern prose version published in *Éigse Snadh is Seanchaidh* follows the same lines. Here we read (p. 24): 'Roghaibh Cúchulainn annsin ag toirse troim 7 ag nuallghubha dearmhar os cionn a aoinmhic 7 d'fhiafraigh Conlaoch de cia ag a ndearna foghlaim an ghai bulga. "Ag do mháthair-se," ar Cúchulainn. "Mallacht uirthese," ar an macaomh, "roba tocha

lé a dalta sliasda ioná a dalta cíoch 7 uchta, óir is damh-sa dligheadh an cleas sin d'iomarca ar chách." The author of this version knew the Dinnsenchas story, or its source; for he adopts from it the explanation of the name Airbe Rofir which is not found either in the *Aided* or in the ballads. I assume then that the words italicized in the passage just quoted are a modern interpretation of the saying attributed to Conla in the Dinnsenchas. The saying means then that a woman loves her husband better than her son, and *aní bús* denotes the husband, *aní thóas* the son. I venture to suggest that *búim* is an old causative, meaning 'quicken, impregnate', which became obsolete owing to its similarity to the substantive verb, and was replaced by the deponent *beoigidir*. Pedersen, Gram., § 427, remarks that *beoigidir* is a relatively late form. We may therefore write *Annsu la broinn aní bús inná aní thóas*, and translate: 'Dearer to the womb is that which quickens than that which it bears.'

It is possible that *tōaim* is properly a *to*-compound: if so, the deuterotonic forms seem to have disappeared early and the prototonic forms are treated as belonging to a simple verb.

2

In his Bruchstücke, no. 96, Meyer has collected from various sources the *disjecta membra* of an elegy for Cummine Fota, attributed to Colman mocu Chluasaig. The poet begins with a general lament for the friends he has lately lost, and goes on to say that no loss is so bitter as that of Cummine. The first stanza runs thus, as printed by Meyer:

Marb frimm andess, marb antuaid,
níptar inmuini athsluaig:
tofóir, a Rí nime glaiss,
a ndochairte tatharlais.

Meyer translates thus (but is evidently dissatisfied with his rendering): 'Ein Toter im Süden von mir, ein Toter im Norden, — es war keine willkommene Auflösung einer Kriegerschar — o König des blauen Himmels, hilf dem schlimmen Pakt, den du (uns) geschickt hast (?), ab!'

The second line means, I think, 'they were not darlings of a worthless army', i.e. 'they were darlings of a worthy army'.

This transvection of the negative is characteristic of Irish verse. Cf. Metr. Ds. i. 4, 42 *nírsam écne óen-linde* 'I was a salmon not of one pool (only)'; ibid. iii. 88, 3 *nírbo therman roboí threll* 'it was a precinct that lasted for no short span'; iii. 94, 14 *nírbo sét co sobartain* 'it was a way not blessed with fortune'; iii. 366, 20 *nírbtar ellaig óen-féhta* 'they were unions not of one occasion', i.e. they were not temporary unions; iii. 370 64 *nírb adba úathbáis oen-fir* 'it was an abode of terror not for one man only', i.e. it was a place of terror to every one.

In the fourth line I would read *a ndo chairtib tatharlais*, and render 'all the friends that thou hast brought back (to their home in heaven)'. Cf. LU. 2685-7 (*Scéla na Esérgi*) *ní lugu as ainm dond esergi sin tathchor a bás i mbás do fedligud i mbás, andás tadchor a bás i mbethaid do fedligud i mbethaid*, 'that resurrection may no less properly be called a bringing back from death into death, to abide in death, than a bringing back from death into life, to abide in life'.

3. 'Finn and the Man in the Tree.'

Under this title Meyer edited in Rev. Celt. xxv. 345 seq. a story of a beautiful girl whom Finn took captive and desired for himself. But she preferred Finn's sprightly *gilla*, Dercc Corra, and made advances to him. The story, as printed by Meyer, goes on:

Asbert fris laa n-aill ara tised cuice i lige. Ní foet sòn Dercc Corra deag Finn. Atagegai domnid dó. Cotsáid fri Finn 7 asbert 'Fortaprom ar écin'. Asbert iarum Finn fris: 'Eirgg es,' ol se, 'de m'ínchaib 7 rotbia essomon trí laithi 7 teóra n-aidchi, 7 fomcialta-sa ó suidiu inund.'

At a later date Meyer seems to have thought of reading *atagegai do mnaí dó*: see J. Pender, 'K. Meyers Nachträge zu Pedersens Verbalverzeichnis' (§ 748), ZCP. xviii. 325. Accepting this correction, we must, I think, remove the stop after *deag Finn* and take *atagegai* as referring to Finn. To make Dercc Corra the subject of the verb would not harmonize with the preceding clause. The next sentence Meyer renders thus: 'She incites Finn against him and said, "Let us set upon him by force."' But this will not do. There is no evidence for the existence of such a verb as *fortabrain*, nor is there, I think, any instance of a verb compounded with *for-to-*: the order is always

to-for-. Also an object for the verb is wanting. Nor can the words *cotsaíd fri Finn*, as they stand, bear the meaning assigned to them by Meyer: we should have to emend *cotsaíd Finn friss*, treating the *t*-infix as redundant. But *consaídim*, which usually means 'I stir up, I set at strife', can also mean 'I accuse'. See the recently published Old Irish *Vita Brigitae* in Fraser-Grosjean-O'Keeffe, *Irish Texts*, fasc. i, p. 5, § 13: Fecht n-and bert Dubthach innī Brigit dia reic fri rig Laigen .i. fria Dūnlagg do cumail fognama dō, huairi cotusaísi a les-māthair ōn, nogatad si cach nī isin tig do cēilib Dé. Read *cotasaid-si*: 'her stepmother accused her of stealing everything in the house for the use of God's servants'.

The clue to the real sense lies in the word *fortaprom*. I regard this as preterite of a verb *forpromaim* with infixed *-ta-*. *Promaim*, later *fromaim*, means 'I try, I taste', and in a sexual sense, 'I enjoy'. Cf. Metr. Ds. iii. 84, 14, *Luid co mogaid . . . ba rogain mir ó rofrom*, 'She went to the slave . . . it was a madman's choice, when she had tasted him.' The preposition *for* adds the sense of violent action, as in *forgaibim*, *forlingim*, *formúchaim*, *fortromaim*, etc. *Asbert fortaprom* then means 'she said, he had ravished her'. This gives us the key to the tale. It is the familiar theme of the *spretae injuria formae* and the woman's revenge. The girl, having failed to seduce Dercc Corra, accuses him to Finn of having violated her; Finn orders him to begone and to beware of meeting him again.

The paragraph then may be translated thus:

'She solicited him one day to come and lie with her. Dercc Corra refused, through fear of Finn, who desired her as his wife. She accused him to Finn, saying that he had ravished her. Then said Finn to him, 'Begone from my sight; thou shalt have three days' and three nights' grace, and thereafter beware of me!''

E. J. GWYNN.

VARIA IV

1. Some questionable emendations.

(a) **Wb. 30 c 25.** The text reads *ind hí lasmibi accobur tol dæ is hecen doib ingremmen do foditiu isin biuth*. The editors of the Thesaurus suggest that the glossator has dropped the words *do dénum* after *dæ*. It is hard to see how he could have dropped these important words if they were necessary. *Tol dé* gives perfect sense as it stands, it means 'to do the will of God'. *Tol*, like *riar* and many other nouns not connected with verbs, can be used as a verbal noun. Examples of this with *riar* are numerous. A good example of the same usage with *tol* is found in ÉRIU, ii. 63, v. 3 :

*Dán buidech briathar dimbrass
oc toil ind ruirech rognas.*

Examples with the nouns *cuma*, *gol*, and *mairg* are found in ACL. iii, p. 221 :

*Duine doichlech imm a phroind,
is olc a toisc a colaínd
nir coir a chuma na a gul
iarna dula don tsaegul.
Betit piasta iffirn uilc
a crad a chuirp as cach aird,
duine doichlech iarna dul
ni coir a gul na a mairg.*

(b) Die Bürgschaft im irischen Recht, § 59, p. 19. In this section Thurneysen has, I think, missed the point of the first paragraph. The MS. has: *INbat la comorbu cuimne cen ogom i n-aílcihb, cen accrus (i. crandchur) n-aithgníth, cen macu, cen ratha. Ci ad-cæstar, cia for curu sen siastar. It e tiubaihsir fiadrín*. Thurneysen emends *INbat* to *NIbat* and deletes the stop before *Ci* which he prints *ci*. He translates: 'Erben haben keine (rechtskräftige) Erinnerung ohne Ogom (Schrift) auf Steinen, ohne kundbares Losen, ohne *macs*, ohne *ráths*, obschon berichtet wird, obschon Verträge der Alten (Verstorbenen) betrieben werden. Zeugen sind es, die den

Wahrheitsbeweis festmachen.' This misses the point of the passage, which seems to be that if heirs have only memory without *ogom* on stones, etc., then witnesses must be produced. Obviously, if the heirs have *ogom* on stones, *macs*, etc., there is no necessity to call in witnesses.

INbat should stand. It is an example of a common formation often mistranslated, which has already been discussed by Strachan in *ÉRIU*, i, p. 12. It consists of the preposition *in* + forms of the copula.

Ci with stop before it should also be retained. The translation would then be:

'In case heirs have only memories without *ogom* on stones, without public lot-casting,¹ without *macs*, without *rāths*. Although these (i.e. their memories) have been proclaimed, or though contracts of the deceased may have been enforced, it is witnesses who determine the truth.'

(c) Ibid. *Can as marbmes cluas i n-ecndairc cluinter, ar is be carnæ cluas caich.*

Thurneysen reads *cani* for *can as*, and translates: 'Ist nicht eine tote Schätzung ein Hören das in Abwesenheit gehört wird? denn das Hören eines jeden ist eine Dirne.' Two things are against this emendation. First, *cani* is a common word and therefore well known to a scribe, and secondly one would not expect the second clause to be introduced by *ar* 'for'. By retaining *can as* we get: 'Whence is it that. . . For . . . etc.'

(d) Ibid. *conid inadilus*. Thurneysen emends to *conid indiles*. Better and closer to the MS. would be: *conid de nad diles*.

(e) Ibid. *Nicundl-sech .u.e (i. sech rane) ban b-t; ar ni noillig ni sech miach midigther*. The abbreviation *.u.e* = *coice*. Read *sech coice* (i. *sech rúne*) *ban breth*; it refers to women's tittle-tattle not being admitted as evidence. This is in agreement with the general tenor of the passage. *Coice* is the

¹ *Accrus* glossed *crandchur* is probably the verbal noun of a verb the past participle of which is found in *MI*. 29c 1. *sortita* i. *accruinte* i. *rollaad crannchur foir*. Thurneysen (*ZCP*. xviii. 397) sees the same word in *O'Dav*. 28 *accras* i. *acmucc* ('Mittel?') *ut est: cend fir i crund ard acras*. But *accras* here is the intensive of *cres* 'narrow', as is the gloss *acmucc* of *cumang* 'narrow'. The passage (7 syllables) is probably taken from some poem and means 'the head of a man in a high slender tree'.

plural of the rare word *coic* glossed *comairle* in H. 3. 18, 666 and 633.

(f) Ibid. § 60, p. 20. The MS. has *farnan bechtæ nantoch-tæich*. Thurneysen alters the latter to *nan tochtæ* or *nan tochtai*. But why should a scribe add a meaningless *-ich*? The MS. reading should stand. It is a good example of *-ch* < **-que* 'and'. As might be expected, it preserves its slender quality in final position, while in the examples noted by Thurneysen (e.g. *roch-fintar*) it has lost it in proclitic position. I would translate 'which has neither been certified nor sworn to'. For **-que* when joining two or more nominal forms being attached to the second, cf. the usage in Avestic, e.g. Yasna, 9. 5: *pita puθrasā* 'father and son'; Yasna, 49, 10: *manō vohū urunasā ašāunqm* 'good thinking and the souls of the followers of Aša'; in Latin: *terra marique*; in Sanscrit: *Mitrā Vāruṇa ca*.

(g) *Cāin Eimíne Báin*. Anecd. i. 43, 21: *fri fual no fuasna no indilsi na saeirid seo Ruis Ghlaise*. Plummer (ÉRIU, iv. 44, n. 2) remarks: '*fual* is certainly a mistake for *fuadach* . . . etc.' But *fuadach* (recte *fuatach*) is a common word still in use, and it is unlikely that a scribe would replace it by a word which seems to be rare and technical.

Fual is a legal term with approximately the same meaning as *fuasnad*. It occurs in AL. v. 506, 11: *ar is and téit fual fo trebaire, in tan donathbongtar cuir tar einige fear*. Here Thurneysen (Bürgschaft im irischen Recht, p. 84)—wrongly I think—takes *fual* as 'urine', and alters *fo trebaire* into *for trebaire*. The word is probably a formation similar to *fuasnad*, perhaps < **fo-uss-la*, in which case it might be expected to be followed by *fo*, not *for*.

(h) Ibid. 41, 15. Plummer (ÉRIU, iv. 42, n. 6) suggests that *duais* may be a phonetic spelling of *duabhais*. This is unlikely in such an early text. *Nuais*, the reading of P., shows us that the correct reading is: *Atlaighsetar iarum na flaiti buidhi do Dia 7 d'Eiminc acht ba n-úais la Bran do dul dosum tar a chenn*.

Plummer also suggests that *do* before *dul* should be omitted (as in two of the three MSS.). Read *dō*, without which the sense is incomplete as *úais* is followed by *do*; cf. Triads, § 220: *ar is uais do f[u]r*.

Here we have the word *úais* 'hard, difficult', for which see Triads (Glossary).

For *acht* 'but', followed by a nasalizing relative sentence, cf. Thurneysen, § 898. The sense is then: 'The chiefs (including Bran) thanked God and Eimine, but Bran considered it a hard thing for him (i.e. Eimine) to die in his stead.' If we leave out *dō*, the sense would be, 'Bran considered it hard for himself (i.e. Bran) to die in his stead', which is obviously not intended.

(i) Ériu, xi. 44: *Dobert Maine muca Mugna i tech fithe forchai ro bai i faithchi in lis*. Here Dr. Dillon proposes to read either *figi* or *fichthe* for *fithe*. But no emendation is necessary. *Fithe* is the past participle of *fenaimm*, the verbal noun of which, *fenaman* (formed like *lenamon*, *glenamon*), is used of the wattle-work of a house; cf. Fled Bricrend, § 25: *co n-dechatar secht ferchubad di fenamain in tige i talmain*. *Fithe* is itself very commonly used in bardic poetry of ladies' hair, and also of buildings. Cf. Dánta Grádha, 95, 3: *tréd chéibh ród-ghloin bhfithe bhfinn*; and IGT. ex. 909: *Na thor fithi chrisir chuir*.

(j) Ibid., l. 1: *rocuala Fer Muman in godra isin chaill*. For *godra* Dr. Dillon proposes to read *cobra* 'conversation'. As *cobra* is a common word this is an unlikely corruption. *Godra* should stand. It is a good O.Ir. word meaning 'muttering, unintelligible talk', probably derived from *got* 'stammering', with the suffix seen in *bél-rae*. The adjective *got* is well established; cf. ZCP. viii. 268, 43, *a rí Gaedéal is Gall ñgot* 'O king of the Gaels and of the stammering foreigners'. Rawl. B. 502, 142b 33: *Conla Menn ar ba got*. Mulconry, no. 666, has *godra* .i. *guthree*. Read probably *guth ree* 'voice of a period'.

(k) Ériu, iv. 174, § 3:

*Rígh rogab in dōman thair
dar comainm Irūath anbaig.*

For the last word of the couplet the editor suggests *arnaid*. Confusion of *g* and *d* is of course common in Mid.Ir. MSS.; but that *r* should be read as *n*, and *n* as *b* is unlikely. *Anbaig* is to be kept as a Mid.Ir. writing of *angbaid* 'fierce, ruthless', for which cf. Meyer, *Contribb*.

(l) *MI.* 94 b 23. *airmeit ind huachta ní rubthar indib.*

The editors of the Thesaurus regard *ní rubthar* as impossible and read *ní ruthrebthar*. In the Addenda and Corrigenda they doubt this emendation and refer to Sarauw's explanation of *-rubthar* < *ro-bíther*, remarking, however, that the latter might have been expected to give **-ruibther*. Certainly if it had followed the regular phonetic development. *Rubthar* is evidently correct, however, its broad *b* is due to the analogy of the other forms such as *-rubai*, etc.

(m) **Scéla Cano meic Gartnain.** Anecd. i. 12, 10. 7 l. *araid merach*. This gives no sense, and as *m* for *in* is a common misreading, Thurneysen (Z. f. Rom. Phil. xliii. 399, n. 7) is no doubt right in reading *aradain* for *araid m*. But altering the following *erach* to *ech* he attributes too great an error to the copyist; *erach* is more likely to be a corruption of *airech* 'pack-horse'.

(n) **Dán Dé**, ed. Rev. L. McKenna, no. xxxi, § 5. The MS. reading is given as:

do cruthuigh le cumair mbráthar
an bioth cé agus cloich is crann.

The editor suggests *le comhair mbráthar*, but notes (p. 151) that *i gcomhair* and *fa chomhair* are the usual expressions. He suggests reading *lé chuma ar mbráthair* 'Our Kinsman by his work' (?). Verses 4 and 5 both refer to the ease and speed of the Creation. Cf. v. 4: *an bioth cé go réidh do roighne*, and v. 5: *do dhealbh gan chairde . . . fairge*. There is no real difficulty if we read *le cumair mbriathar* 'with brevity of words'. Cf. Thes. Pal. ii. 327, 4: *co roinnised ferta Brigitte trea chumbair mbriathar* 'that he might relate the miracles of Brigid compendiously'.

F (o) **Med Bricrend**, § 90 opens with the following: (LU. 9163) *Celebrat iar suidiu do Choin Ruí 7 dollotar co ndemetár Emain Macha a triúr ria ndeód lai*. For *co ndemetár* of LU. the other MS. readings are *co feoatar* an EG., and *condotar* L. Henderson in his edition of the text, p. 114, note to l. 7, takes it to be a scribal error for *co ndessetár*, due to copying from a faded MS., and translates accordingly 'and kept on till they gat seated in Emain ere the day closed'. But *m* for *s* is an unlikely misreading. The reading of LU. is to be retained. We have here the 3 pl. of a verb, the 3 sg. of which occurs

in Anecd. iii. 59, 13 in the old story of Conall Corc and the Corco Luigde from Laud 610: *Ind adaig to-ndemi Corc i nhErind* 'the night Corc arrived in Ireland'.

2. Mid.Ir. *fóirim*.

Fóirim has been explained (Pedersen, Vergl. Gramm. ii, § 797) as a Mid.Ir. development from the subj. form *-fóir* and the ipv. *fóir* of *fo-reith*. But as Pedersen remarks, the long *ō* has not so far been explained.

Besides the verb *fo-reith* there was, at least in Early Mid.Ir., a double compound *to-fo-reth*; cf. *to-n-fóir*, LU. 5220, 'help us' (Eg. 1782 *dofóir*, YBL. *to-n-fóir*), of which the verbal noun in Mid.Ir. is *tóirithin*. The regular subj. 3 sg. of this verb would be *do-fóir*, prototonic *-tóir*, with *tō* regularly contracted from **to-uo-*. The ipv. 2 sg. (except with infixed pronouns, etc.) would also be *tóir*.

Now there is a tendency, even in Old Irish, to keep the same accented vowel throughout all the forms of the verb. We see this for instance in *fo-uss-gair*. In deuterotonic forms the vowel of the accented syllable should be short as in *fos-rocurt*, Wb. 24a, 26, but already in Wb. forms with a long vowel occur, e.g. *fo-d-uacair* 11b 24, *fo-r-ócrad* 19b 6, with the long *ō* of prototonic forms like *fócre*, etc., generalized. Similarly Ml. 96c 1, *do-fuargabsat* instead of *do-furgabsat* on the analogy of forms like *-tuargaib*.

So *do-fóir* becomes *do-fóir* under the influence of *-tóir*, etc. This new *do-fóir* then influences the simple compound *-fóir*, making it *-fóir*, from which then the Mid.Ir. *fóirim* is developed.

3. Ir. *spel*, Welsh *paladur* 'scythe'.

In discussing the origin of various words in Irish with initial *sp-* in Scottish Gaelic Studies, vol. ii, p. 26, Professor O'Rahilly comes to the conclusion that the Irish word *spel* is a back-formation from the verb *spelaim* 'I shave off', which occurs in the Cath Catharda. He derives the word from Middle English *pilen*, *pelen*.

He has, however, overlooked the Middle Welsh form *paladur* 'scythe', which is evidently cognate with the Irish word and shows that the *sp-* in Irish is not organic. Furthermore, the

name *Spelán* occurs in several Old Irish genealogies. Thus, in Rawl. B. 502, 162c 9, in the genealogy of Conaille Muirthemne we have *Máel Brigte mac Speláin meic Sluagadaich*, and in that of Aicme Cille Cuile (144c 29) we have a *Spelán mac Forbassaich*.

Spelán is a diminutive of *spel*, probably in reference to some form of baldness or peculiar cut of the hair for which the man got this nickname.

O'Rahilly is no doubt right in regarding *spel* as a back-formation from *spelaim* 'I shave, cut off', but the latter must be much older than the Mid. English period. There can be hardly any doubt that it is a borrowing from Latin *pilo* 'I depilate, shave off the hair'. The development of a prosthetic *s* is a common feature in loan-words commencing with *p*, as O'Rahilly has shown in the above-mentioned article.

The verb, as far as I am aware, has not yet been found in Welsh, but the derivative in *-adur* < *-ātōrem* survives. Cf. *gwnio* 'to sew', *gwniadur* 'thimble'. From *pīlo* + *-ātōrem* one would have expected a Mid. Welsh form *pyladur*, but the first syllable of such words was very weakly accented (the vowel disappears completely later on, giving Mod. Welsh *pladur*) and was liable to be assimilated to the vowel of the following syllable. For a similar interchange of *y* and *a* in such an unaccented syllable cf. Mid. Welsh *ymherawdr* and *amherawdr*. The *a* for *y* may possibly be due to the influence of the word *paladr* 'spear, etc.'

4. Old Irish *tecra*.

Techt i n-áth ar cend fir má thecra t'imaire co comthala rat bia, LU. 5648 = TBC. (Str. and O'K.) 1170. The meaning of *thecra* in this passage has not so far been ascertained. In the glossary to the Stories from the Tain, *tecra*, 'if the text be sound', is said to be 3 sg. pres. subj. of *tecraim*, but as none of the meanings assigned to this verb will suit the context, it is suggested that *thecra* may be a scribal error for *thecma*; likewise in footnote to the YBL. text. It is hard to see how this verb, which is not uncommon, could have been miscopied by any scribe, and furthermore, the meaning, 'if thy watch come to pass', hardly suits the passage.

The corresponding passage in LL. (Windisch, TBC. 1835): *Damsat éicni comrac no chomlond, missi ragas díit raid for*

áth 'if thou must needs fight or do battle, I will go to the ford for thee', shows the general sense. I suggest therefore that *tecra* is 3 sg. pres. subj. of a verb **to-ess-gair* 'call forth, challenge', and translate the passage: 'I will go to the ford to fight a man, if he challenge thy watch, until thou shalt have slept'.

5. *Bóchain*.

Hogan, *Onomasticon* 117, treats this as a place-name. The reference given is to Nov. 2 in Mart. Gorm. *Dari* i. *Bóchana*, *fedb*. Stokes gives *Bóchain* in the index as a place-name and translates: *Dari* of *Bóchain*, a widow. But *Bóchana* is the gen. sg. of *bó-cháin* = *cáin bó*, and *fedb* is the gen. pl. of *fedb* 'widow'. *Dari fedb* is equivalent to *Daire caillech*, author of the famous *cáin bó*, for which see Thurneysen's article ZCP. xviii.

Daire was probably the abbot of a monastery to which a house for nuns and devout widows was attached; see Plummer, *Vitae Sanct. Hib.* I, cxii, n. 5, where he quotes: *episcopum adiens sub eius tutela . . . habitavit, virginibus et uiduis quam pluribus ibi congregatio*.

This entry gives us the obit of *Daire Caillech* and adds something to our information concerning him. There is a further reference to the same saint in *Baile Pricín*, § 30 (ZCP. ix. 453): *Biaid dono an bān biastaidi Cluana Cáin re trí xx. mbliadna. Bid fáid tōla tuatai, dingennai sóercáin for slabri*. This gives the saint's nickname and shows him to be connected with *Cluain Cáin*.

6. Old Irish *etar-biad*.

A passage in the *Tain* has given rise to some difficulty as it contains a hitherto unrecorded verb. The passage is found in *Stories from the Táin*, 2nd ed., p. 7, l. 15. Conchobar has been witnessing *Cú Chulainn* defeating the other young boys at their games, and he is amazed: *asbert side in etarbiad a ngnímu acht tised doib co áes ferdadat. Asbert cách etar-da-biad*. Strachan, in the *Vocabulary*, p. 64, suggests that *etar-biad* is the 3 sg. sec. fut. of a verb *etar-ban-* or *etar-ben-* 'bring to completion'. The passage would then signify: 'he asked would he finish their deeds provided they reached

manhood. They all answered he would.' This does not, I think, give the sense intended to be conveyed.

A comparison with the corresponding passage in LL. shows what is to be expected from the context. Here we read (Wi. TBC. I. 981): *Arropart Conchobar ic forcsin in meic bic! Amae, a ócu, bar Conchobar mochin tír asa tánic in mac bec atchíd, da mbetis na gníma óclachais aice feib atát na macgníma. Ni comdas a rád, ar Fergus, feib atré in mac bec atresat a gníma óclachais leis.* 'Conchobar began watching the boy. "O warriors," said Conchobar, "lucky is the land from which this boy whom ye see has come, if only his deeds as a grown-up warrior were to correspond to his deeds as a youth." "It is not fitting for you to say that," said Fergus, "for as the young boy will grow up his deeds of valour will grow too."'

The sense of the passage in LU., Eg., and YBL. must be roughly the same as this.

Etar-biad is the 3 sg. sec. fut. of a hitherto unrecorded verb *etar-tá* 'corresponds to, is equivalent to'. As *etar* takes the accusative, the compound is also followed by the accusative. Compare the accusative after *for-tá*.

The 3 sg. pres. consuetudinal occurs in Cáin Adamnáin, § 47, where the meaning is quite clear: *acht aní atarbí fíachu etarbí comláidre.*

The passage was obviously not understood by the copyists, whence the variants: *a nguímu* YBL., *a gnímu* LU., and *doib* YBL. and LU., *do* Eg. To get the correct meaning, read *a gnímu* with LU. and *dó* with Eg. Obviously Conchobar is only interested in the future of the victorious Cu Chulainn, not in that of the defeated boys. The passage would then mean: 'He asked would there be something corresponding to his present deeds when he reached manhood. Every one answered there would be something corresponding to them.'

7. Old Irish, etc. *uindse*, *ondar*.

The forms *uindse*, *uinnsi*, *ondar*, which are found in several native glossaries and in some texts, with the meaning 'here is, there is', have never been explained. For several examples from glossaries and texts cf. Metrical Glossaries, p. 119.

According to Aur. 1495, *uindse* is masculine, *uinnsi* feminine,

and *ondar* neuter. This distinction may safely be regarded as a later invention, and as Strachan pointed out (Glossary to the Stories from the Tain, 2nd ed.), the distinction is not confirmed by usage.

The simplest explanation of these forms, it seems to me, is to regard them as formations similar to *fil* and *ag-so*. *Fil*, as is well known, is an old 2nd singular imperative of a verb 'to see', cognate with Welsh *gweled*. For this reason *fil* is followed by the accusative. *Ag-so*, *ag-sin* can also be followed by the accusative; cf. Irish Grammatical Tracts, p. 29: *Ag sin, ag síd is ag so, comhchóir réim is ainm orra*, i.e. these forms can be followed by either the nominative (*ainm*) or special accusative form (*réim*), and cf. the following examples given *ibid.*: *ag sin mhnáoi ngil* or *ag sin bean gheal*.

In one example quoted by Stokes from LL. 100a 3: *undseo mac mbec mbrecderg* and in the next example from TBC. the form is clearly followed by the accusative.

In TBC. (Wi.), l. 5760, we have several examples used exactly like *ag sin*: *Acht undsea albhín assin dunud . . . undsea chethim ngilla . . .* and compare *unsea .i. atchonnarc*, LL. 265b 44.

I take *uinnse* and *uinnsi* to be Middle Irish forms of **uinn-sin* (with *-se* and *-si* no doubt due to confusion with the pronouns *sé* and *sí*), an imperative 2nd singular of the verb *uindim* 'I see'. *Ondar* I would then explain as a singular passive form of the same verb.

The verb *uindim* is found a few times. In my collections I have the following examples, and no doubt they can be added to. H. 3. 18, 212: *ní uindim aon-nin am chín .i. ní faicim aon litir am leabhar*.

ACL. iii. 310, § viii: *confacatar chuca in paist daigh tar dorus an tuaim is ailt et robethgator int aos creth aga huinde* = they saw the spectre coming towards them over the doorway of the homestead, into the house (*ailt* = house = *tech*; *is ailt* = *istech*) and the scholars trembled at seeing him.

8. Cóiced Ól nÉcmacht.

In olden times Connacht was separated from Ulster by a chain of almost impassable lakes, bogs, and woods, many of which still remain and determine the lines of communication between

the two provinces. Various references to this line of obstacles are found in the older literature. The fact furnishes us with an easy explanation of the ancient name of the western province.

As a rule *Ól nÉcmacht* never turns up by itself as the name of the province, except in late texts like the *Dindsenchas*. In older texts it is always *cóiced Ól nÉcmacht*, which tends to show that *Ól nÉcmacht* is not a name of the order of *Laigin Muma*, etc.

Gwynn, *Metrical Dindsenchas*, iv, notes, p. 450, points out that 'the elision of *ol* indicates that this syllable is unaccented, which is against the analysis of the name as *Ól n-écmacht*'.

The latter was no doubt the etymological explanation adopted later, and to it no doubt we owe the spelling with long *ó*.

Plummer has pointed out (*ÉRIU*, viii) that *écmacht* is used in the *Laws* in the sense of an impassable tract of land, and there can be little doubt that the word was used in this sense.

Taking *ol* to be the old preposition = beyond, the meaning then of the whole name would be 'the province beyond the impassable tract of land'.

The nasalization of *écmacht* is due to the neuter article, the initial of which is aspirated by the preposition *ol* (cf. *olchenae*), the article itself disappearing as in *ol mboí*, *oldaas*. This is a regular disappearance from a phonetic point of view.

9. Irish *somairnim*, Welsh *syfrdanu*.

In the metrical *Dindsenchas* of Ess Ruaid I (*Metrical Dindsenchas*, Part IV, p. 2) occurs a word which, as far as I am aware, has not yet been found elsewhere. The quatrain in which it occurs is as follows, ll. 29-32 :

Dorala sund iarsodain
ingen Máine mil-scothaig:
súan rodasomairn dia síl:
Rúad a comairnm 'ca cét-fir.

The general sense of the passage is quite clear and it has been correctly rendered by the editor. The doubtful word *somairn* is, as the editor points out, confirmed by alliteration and rhyme. He tentatively explains it as the preterite of *mairnm* with the prefix *so-*, 'though I have not seen this used

elsewhere as a verbal element'. *Mairnim* 'betray' hardly suits the sense of the passage, which requires some verb with the meaning 'daze, put to sleep'.

I suggest, therefore, we have here a simple verb *somairnim* from **somairdnim* (with regular loss of the middle consonant in a group of three). This verb would then be the exact Irish equivalent of the Welsh *syfrdanu* 'to daze, to stupefy'.

10. Final *g* > *k* in Donegal Irish.

In certain words in Connacht and Donegal Irish a final unaspirated *-g* is unvoiced and appears as *-k*, both slender and broad. Those who have investigated the dialects in question have all noted the phenomenon but have not investigated the conditions under which the change takes place.

Quiggin (A Dialect of Donegal, § 421) says: '*k*' appears for *g* in *La:rík* "thigh", Macbain *lúirig*, M.Ir. *laarg*, O.Ir. *loarcc*. Here *k*' may be due to the plural form *La:ríkaxe*, but this explanation will not hold good in other cases where Donegal seems to prefer final *k*' to *g*.' The only example he gives of this change in the case of final broad *g* is *aspUk*, which he explains as being the result of the metathesis of *askUb*. But the classical and Munster Irish forms *easbog* show that the final was once *g* not *k*, as might be expected seeing that the sound after the *s* in *esgob*, before the metathesis took place, was also voiced. Cf. *coisméig* by metathesis from *coiscéim*.

Sommerfelt (The Dialect of Torr, § 400) simply states: 'There is a tendency to unvoice final palatal *g'* and *d'*'. The whole articulation was not weakened to the same extent. The voice ceased earlier than the rest, and *g'* and *d'* passed to *k'* and *t'*.' He makes no mention of the similar change in the case of broad *g*.

Sharkey (Foghraidheacht Ghaedhilge an Tuaiscirt, § 287) also refers only to the change of palatal *g* to *k* and gives a list of words in which the change takes place. There is no reference to the change in the case of broad *g*.

O'Máille (Urlabhraidheacht, §§ 49 and 97) describes the change both in the case of broad and slender *g*, and finds that it takes place only in words of two syllables when the second syllable begins with (or the first syllable ends in) *l*, *n*, or *r*. That these are not the exact conditions under which the change takes place

is obvious from words like *cúlóg* (in which the *g* remains voiced), *easbog*, etc.

Final broad *g* becomes *k* in *easbog*, *Nodlag*, and *comhrag* (written *comhrac*). To these may be added the word *treaspóc* (so written by Donegal writers). The latter word is extremely rare and is only known to the older speakers. It was explained to me by one of the latter to be a small pouch with three pockets in it for holding blessed medals, etc., and was worn round the neck as a protection against danger. The word is therefore in all probability an old compound of *tre-*, the composition form of *trí* and *spag* 'a pouch, pocket'. The latter word is used in this form in the south of Donegal.

Final slender *g* becomes *k* in *Pádraig*, *reilig*, *tháinig*, *Nodlaig*, *Gaethilg*, *carraig*, *easbuig*, *oifig* (from which it has also been transferred to the derivative *oifigeach*, usually written *oificeach* by Donegal writers).

The conditions determining the change may be given as follows: Final *g* (both broad and slender) in disyllabic words becomes changed to *k* or *k'* when the preceding vowel was originally short.

In words like *fuinneóg*, *ballóg*, the change does not take place, although the vowel of the second syllable is now short in Donegal.

11. Donegal *hóbwiṛ* and *Lxharnəwax:ɾax*.

The form *hóbwiṛ* has so far never been explained. Quiggin, § 181, says of it: '*hóbwiṛ* represents a preterite *dhífúabair*, Wi.*fóbairim*, but it is possible that *fóbairim* became **tóbairim* in Donegal just as *fuaim*, *fill* appear as *tuaim*, *till*'. This leaves, however, the short *ō* unexplained.

The Munster form *dhóbair*—now felt as an adjective, cf. *ba ró-dhóbair dam*—goes back to a contracted form with long *ō*, but I think we have in the Donegal word a stereotyped archaic form. *Fóbair* comes from **fo-uss-ber-*, and in O.Ir. the regular pres. ind. 3 sg. would be **fo-upair*—with a spoken *h* sound between *fo* and *upair*. This would regularly give Mid.Ir. **do-hubair* and Mod.Ir. (Donegal) *hóbwiṛ*.

It is not surprising that an archaic form such as this should be preserved in one dialect alone. A good example of this is

daothaint < Mid.Ir. *daéthain*, preserved only in the dialect of the Déise; elsewhere the word is *dóthain*.

Another unexplained Donegal form—*Lxhørnəwairəx* ‘on the following day’, usually written as if with the preposition *tar*, *lá tharna bhárach*. There is no doubt the preposition is *ar* < *iar n-* and the *h* is best explained by assuming that the phrase is not *lá arna bhárach* but *laithe arna bhárach*, preserving the O.Ir. form *laithe* in what had become a stereotyped phrase.

In stereotyped phrases and forgotten compounds words may retain meanings in Mod.Ir. dialects which even in O.Ir. had been lost in the simple words. A good example is the word *cornasc*, in common use in Kerry for ‘halter tied round a cow’s horns’. It is a compound of *corn* and *nasc*. *Corn* originally meant ‘horn’ in general, but even in O.Ir. it had been limited to the meaning ‘drinking-horn’, and could not be used for the horn of an animal (*adarc* or *benn*). In *cornasc*, however, the old meaning still survives.

12. *Banba*.

In ZCP. xiv. 339 I gave an explanation of the name *Banba*. I suggested that *Banba* originally meant North Leinster, i.e. *Mag mBreg*, and that it was derived from an early Welsh name of this region, **Bann-fa* < **Banno-magos*. At the time I had overlooked a passage which seems to show that as late as the tenth–eleventh century *Banba* could be used of *Mag mBreg*. In ÉRIU, iv. 92, § 3, a poem by Cuán o Lothcháin (+ 1024) refers to Tara: *Deis fri Banba, bél fri Bóin*, which can only mean: ‘with her right hand to Banba and her face to the Boyne’. Here obviously, from the geographical position of Tara, *Banba* must mean the territory to the East, between Tara and the sea.

That the original name of *Mag mBreg* should be used for all Ireland is paralleled by the later use of *Breagha* for Ireland in bardic poetry; cf. Poems of Tadhg Dall Ó Huiginn, p. lviii (ITS. vol. xxii), where the editor rightly says: ‘*Breagha*, the tribal name of the territory in which Tara is situated, is perhaps the commonest of all’ (i.e. names of a part of Ireland used to denote the whole).

Professor Thurneysen once pointed out to me that as *g* was still preserved in Old Welsh, **Banno-magos* would be **bannfag* at that period. As evidence of this he cited *guotig*, later *gwedy*,

and the like. But the orthography of Old Welsh is very conservative. In *guotig*, *t* is still written, although, to judge by the sound-changes in British loan-words in Irish, the change *t* > *d* must have taken place between 450 and 650.

The change *g* > *ǵ* must have taken place before the loss of final endings in Welsh. The period of the further change to *i* which disappears under certain conditions cannot be established from Old Welsh spellings. It is possible that in certain dialects *ǵ* disappeared very early.

Professor Ó Máille has pointed out to me that *Banba* has a lenited *n*. Against this objection it may be urged that *-nnb-* (except in obvious compounds) does not occur in Irish; *-nn-* would normally > *-n-* before *-b*; cf. Thurneysen, Hdb., § 140. In any case, the name would very likely become assimilated to the native word *banb* 'young pig' at an early period.

13. Preverbal *dechmo-* in O.Ir.

To the examples given by Thurneysen of this rare form (Bürgschaft im irischen Recht 24, § 65 E, n. 4; ZCP. xviii. 398) may be added the following from Fingen mac Flainn's poem on the Fir Arddae, ACL. iii. 296, § 42:

clunche ng[n]athchar, dechmo-charam.

Meyer prints *dech mo*, but there is no doubt we have here an example of the above preverbal use of *dech*.

Thurneysen (ib.) explains the form as due to the analogy of *sechmo-*. This is possible, but not likely, as the meanings of *sechmo-* and *dechmo-* are too far apart to have any analogical influence on one another.

Furthermore, it is to be noted that in the examples quoted by Thurneysen and in the example above (thirteen in all) the form is always *dechmo-*, never *dechmi-*. As *sechmi-* is formed on the analogy of *tremi-*, *remi-*, etc., the older form is therefore *sechmi-*, as in *sechmi-n-ella*, ML. 61a 5.

Had therefore *dechmo-* been formed on the analogy of the preverbal form of *sech* we might expect *dechmi-*.

A more likely explanation, it seems to me, is that *dechmo-* is due to the analogical influence of other superlatives, used in the same manner, though, as far as I am aware, no examples have turned up. For instance, *nessam* would in relative construction appear in preverbal position (all the examples of *dechmo-* seem

to be in the relative construction) as **nesmo* with the vowel of the final syllable preserved, as in preverbal relative *aíre-, imme-*.

14. O.Ir. *seól* 'music'.

In two passages this word occurs (in both cases riming with *céol*) where the ordinary meaning 'course' does not suit the context. They are ÉRIU, ii. 63, § 2 :

Canam a ceol rocansat
na sruithi, seol rosansat.

and SR. 6063 :

Sephain seol salmda os bla
ba ceol n-amra n-adamra.

In both these passages the word seems to have the meaning 'music'—in the SR. passage it is connected with *sephain*, the preterite of *sennid* 'he plays music'—and I therefore suggest we have here a verbal noun of *sennid* modelled on *céol*.

15. O.Ir. *dru-*, *drumsal*.

Of this prefix (originally an adjective, according to Pedersen, ii. 11) so far only two examples have been noted, viz. *druí* < **dru-uids* and *druáilnide* < **dru-éilnithe*.

A third example, in which it also has a pejorative intensive force, is probably *drumsal*, which occurs in Fingen mac Flainns' poem on the Fir Arddae, ACL. iii. 294, § 4: *Fa ma dulsan ocus drumsal briathar brígach*. It clearly denotes some sort of satire or abuse, and therefore may come (with *-o-* inflexion for *-io-* inflexion as is usual in cpds.; cf. *tigerne: òcthigern*) from *dru* + *masla*. *Masla* in the sense of abuse is well attested and is still current.

16. Middle Welsh *nachaf* 'behold'.

The older form of this is, as pointed out by Morris Jones (Welsh Grammar, p. 451), *ynachaf*, but the etymology proposed by him is unlikely. He takes it to be a superlative formed from the stem of *yna* 'there'. A simpler explanation is to equate it with *yn achaf*, in which *achaf* is a superlative of *ach*, as *uchaf* is of *uch*.

The preposition *ach* is only used in *ach law* 'beside', but it must once have had a wider use. In *ym ach mur Kaer Loyw*,

quoted by Morris Jones (p. 410), it still survives as a noun meaning 'neighbourhood'. There were probably two forms, one an adjective, the other a noun from **ad-kiġā*. The latter survives in Irish *aicce*. The word is probably a formation with prefixed *ad-*, from the same root as O.Ir. *cé* (cf. *bith cé* = this world), Ogham XO1. X1, Latin *cis-*. The Irish *aicce* 'fosterage' is either the same word with extension of meaning, or is formed from the root seen in Welsh *ach* 'degree of relationship' and Irish *aicme* 'tribe'.

17. O.Ir. *findruine*.

In his notes to Fled Bricrenn, § 45 (end), Henderson suggests that this word may be for *find-bruine*, a cpd. of *find* and **bruine* cognate with English *bronze*.

That *findbruine* actually is the older form is confirmed by the spelling in the following passages:

ACL. iii. 5, 24: *da mhāelass findbhruine uime*.

Anecd. ii. 3 z: 7 *cet rond findbruine oc a breachtradh*.

It cannot, however, be cognate with English *bronze*, which seems to be a loan-word from Italian. It is more likely from **bru-njo-* and connected with *bruth* < **bru-tu-* 'the charge of glowing metal in the furnace'.

18. Some contamination-products in Irish.

As is well known, two words of similar meaning often influence each other in form. In some rare cases a new form arises which is a combination of characteristic elements of the two words.

The best-known example in Irish is *foisitiu* < *fočs* ^{-am} *ait* ^{-itiu}.

The following are some further examples:

Mod.Ir. *i n-imigcén* 'far off'. This can hardly be explained otherwise than as a contamination of *i n-imchian* and *i gcén*, both of which are common in the literature.

Mod.Ir. *bodach* 'churl, loutish fellow'. I take this to represent O.Ir. *bothach* 'an unfree tenant tied to the soil', influenced by *bod* 'penis'; cf. a similar development of meaning in the case of *aithech* > *fathach*.

Mod.Ir. *tobann* 'sudden'. This is the form in Donegal. It is best explained as a contamination of *obann*—the usual form in the literature and in Munster Irish—and *tapaidh* 'quick'.

Sc.G. *callaidh* 'tame' has been explained by Macbain as from Lat. *callidus* (?). It is more probably from OIr. *cendaid* 'tame', under the influence of the opposite term *allaid* 'wild'.

O.Ir. *sechnón*. Thurneysen has discussed the origin of this word and shows it to have come from O.Ir. *sethnu* and to have been influenced by *sech*. The ending *-ón* has not been explained. I suggest it to be due to the influence of *immedón*.

Mid.Ir. *fo dágin* 'on account of'. This has developed out of older *dáig* 'on account of', and owes its *fo* and the ending *-in* to the word of similar meaning *fo bíthin*.

M. A. O'BRIEN.

BELFAST.

THE 'FERMOY' COPY OF *LEBOR GABÁLA*

AT the beginning of the Book of Fermoy there is an important copy of *Lebor Gabála*. It clearly belongs to the same recension as that in the Book of Leinster: it is not, however, copied from that MS.; if we may express their connexion in terms of human relationship, the two MSS. are cousins, and by no means first cousins. It can further be shown that their common ancestor had already strayed away from the pure text of the first compilers of the work.

It is obvious that the eight leaves bearing this fragment—for it breaks off abruptly in the middle of a quatrain—have only a factitious connexion with the Book of Fermoy: in handwriting and in other respects they differ entirely from the main body of that volume.

It has never, I believe, been observed that the missing leaves of the fragment are to be found in the Stowe MS. D. III. 1. The bold but coarse handwriting, the clumsily ornamented capital letters, the intensely black ink, the size of the page, and the number of lines in the columns, are identical in both MSS.; and the text in the Stowe MS. begins exactly where the Fermoy fragment breaks off, completing the interrupted quatrain. The poem thus cut in two is that beginning *Eriu oll oirdnit Gaedil* (LL. facs. 7a 41). The scribe copied on steadily to the end of the poem beginning *Déna móraisneis a mic* (LL. facs. 8, cols. a, b), where he took up another pen, with a finer point. Two leaves and one column (all but four lines) of a third leaf are thus added to the MS. as written in the Fermoy fragment.

The change of pen produced a change in the aspect of the handwriting, but it is essentially the same on to the fifth line of the fourth column of the third leaf; but another scribe, with a much better calligraphic style, followed him, and worked on to the end of the reign of Eochaid Uairches in *Réim Rígraide*, at which point the writing of this copy of the text ceased finally. If, in the Stowe MS., we rearrange the leaves, as at present bound, into the following order—7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 6, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and append them to the eight leaves now in the Book of Fermoy,

we shall have a complete copy of the earliest recension of *Lebor Gabála* down to Eochaid Uairches.

My studies on this text have been much hampered by innumerable other duties, but they are now approaching completion. It would be irrelevant here to enter into details, but I may say that I have found many points where the analysis of the MSS. in ZCP. x, p. 97, can be extended and corrected. The relationships between the various recensions and the individual MSS. are much more complex than is there suggested; and there are several MSS. of some critical importance which have not been taken into account. Moreover, while it is correct to say that D. V. 1 and D. IV. 1 are two consecutive parts of one and the same MS.—a fact which I noticed independently—it should be added that a third part, completing the volume, is to be found in the Stowe MS. D. I. 3.

R. A. S. MACALISTER.

DE AMORE HEREOS

THE following extract is taken from R.I.A. 23. F. 19, a vellum manuscript, very fragmentary, containing twenty-eight leaves, all of a medical nature, and including a handbook on gynaecology. The manuscript is a sort of scrap-book, imperfect at the beginning and end. It opens on fol. 18, of which the obverse is illegible; the last folio is numbered 110. Fols. 25 to 88 are missing, also 91, 92, and 107. The writing is beautiful. The capitals are rubricated; some of them are coloured green, obviously a later addition, as green is a most unusual colour in manuscripts. The contractions are as usual in medical manuscripts very numerous.

On fol. 24^v is the following colophon, which would seem to indicate the probable time (1352) and place of compilation, though not the name of the scribe:

Et is edh do bo shlan don tigerna an tan doronad an lebur so .i. míle bliadhan 7 tri ced bliadhan 7 da fichit bliadhan 7 da bliadhain deg nis mo 7rl. tairnic an lebur so an bliadhain do marbad Seaan Óg Mac Conaithne 7 a tigh mic Diarmuda hI Meachair do scribadh. Dia trocaireach co nderrna se trocaire oraind uile.

Under this is scribbled: *Misi Risderd Muirchertaigh*, in the hand of the Scribe of 3. C. 19, a copy of the *Lilium Medicinæ*, the work from which the present text is also taken and of which details will be given further on in this Introduction (cf. 3. C. 19, 81^r). This Richard Moriarty transcribed a large part of the work at Coolkeel, the seat of Mac Giolla Padrig in 1590.

The Lilium Medicinæ was written by Bernard of Gordon in 1303 or 1305. It is a very compact account of the whole of medicine as known in the fourteenth century, a well planned work, in seven parts (*particulæ*). It was regarded as a standard work on medicine, was widely read, and was translated into several European languages, including Irish. According to the standards of the time it was a scientific work, and was for that very reason never so popular as the *Rosa Anglica* or *Rosa Medicinæ* of John of Gaddesden (a fashionable English doctor of the time of Edward II) with which it is frequently confused.

The famous *Breviarium Bartholomei* of John Mirfield in the fourteenth century, the first book on medicine to be connected with St. Bartholomew's Hospital, contains an account of the plague which is taken almost word for word from the chapter on the same subject in the *Lilium Medicinæ*.

The first edition of the book appeared about 1480. A French translation was made at Rome in 1377, and printed in 1495. It was translated into Spanish in 1494. The edition used for the present work is that of 1559. (Bernardus Gordonius, *Lilium Medicinæ*. Lugduni M.D.LIX.)

Irish versions of the *Lilium Medicinæ* occur in quite a number of MSS. These are: R.I.A. 23. F. 19 (fragment), 3. C. 19, and 3. C. 22; British Museum: Eg. 89; National Libr. of Scotland MSS. 2. 13 (fragments), and one complete translation in the library of the Soc. of Antiq. of Scotland. The two fragments in Edinburgh are the same as R.I.A. 23. F. 19, and are especially interesting on account of a peculiar mis-translation of which I shall speak later. The British Museum copy is a fine vellum MS. It records the date at which it was written, namely 1482, by one of the O'Hickeys, hereditary physicians of the Dál Cais in Thomond. A further note shows that it was still in the possession of the scribe in 1489, and a third note gives an account of its purchase for twenty cattle in 1500 by Gerald Earl of Kildare. There is also a pithy remark about the actual make-up of the book itself: 'Two and twenty folded skins are in this book.'

The present extract from 23. F. 19 is on fol. 110^r of the MS., and covers three-quarters of a page. It is an adaptation of a fragment of the *Lilium Medicinæ* of Bernard of Gordon, and is taken from the section entitled *De Passionibus Capitis* in part 2 (cap. 20). The original of the extract is on page 210 of the 1559 edition of the *Lilium Medicinæ* referred to above. It is called variously *De Amore Hereos*, *De Amore qui Hereos Dicitur*. The disease was one of the head, attributed, like mania, to melancholy. The Irish translator or adapter of 23. F. 19, which is the same as the two Edinburgh MSS., evidently got mixed up in his translation of *philocaptum* (Greek φιλο-), which he confused with *filocaptum* (Latin *filum* 'thread'). The other MSS. known to me, viz. Eg. 89 and R.I.A. 3. C. 19 and 3. C. 22, do not mention thread.

The whole section in the original Latin is called *De Affecti-
onibus (Passionibus) Capitis* and *De Amore Hereos* is found
in cap. 20 of the section. Dr. Singer suggests that *filocaptum*
may be *fillocapnum*, i.e. leaves of *capnum*, which he remembers
from *Saxon Leechdoms*, and this idea, he thinks, may be borne
out in Pliny, where two species of *capnum* are mentioned.

As in the case of most other medieval medical writers, little is
known of the life of Bernard of Gordon, except what can be
learned from those of his works still extant.

For a long time he was believed to have been a Scotsman,
but it is now generally accepted that he was French, a native of
one of the many places in France named Gourdon; either
Gourdon in Le Var or Gourdon in Le Lot, or possibly Gourdon
en Rouergue.

I am indebted to Mrs. Charles Singer for most of the details
of the life and writings of Bernard, which are taken from the
Hist. Litt. de la France (1869), vol. xxv, pp. 321-36. All the
histories of medicine seem to refer to this work as the source of
their information about Bernard.

The frequency of MSS. and early incunabula shows that
Bernard must have been a famed physician. He is much quoted
by physicians who came after him. As he spent most of his life
at Montpellier, he is probably the Bernard the Provençal who is
sometimes cited. In 1285 he became Professor at Montpellier.
This is established by his statement in the *Lilium Medicinæ* that
the work was begun (?) in 1305 (French translators say 1303) when
he was lecturing for the twentieth year.¹ He retired from teach-
ing in 1318. The earliest of Bernard's works is the *Regimen Acu-
torum Egritudinum*, and in 1296 he wrote *Affectus præter
naturam curandi methodus*, also called *De decem ingeniis seu
indicationibus curandorum morborum*, and he adds that he
had already done the *Regimen Acutorum*. About 1305, imme-
diately after finishing the *Lilium*, he did *De Crisi et de Diebus
Criticis*, which is not extant. The subject is, however, treated
in *De Phlebotomia*, written in February 1307, and quoted in
Tractatus de Urinis, which contains twenty-eight chapters.
He says he had already done a commentary on Aegidius. *De*

¹ Inchoatus autem est liber iste, cum auxilio magni Dei, in praeclaro
Montipessulani, post annum uigesimum lecturæ nostræ, anno Domini 1305
Mense Iulii. *Lilium Medicinæ*, prooemium.

Urinis is followed by 'Warning to a physician on his conduct', i.e. how to avoid suspicion and blame. Next came *De Pulsibus*, followed by *Regimen Sanitatis*, and it is thought that these three are really appendices to *De Urinis*. In the *Lilium Medicinæ*, Part V, cap. 8, he says he intends to compose *De conservatione vite humane a die nativitatis usque ad ultimam horam mortis*, which intention he carried to fulfilment, but *De Morbo*, which he refers to as having written, in the *Lilium*, Part II; cap. 11, is not extant. He also wrote *Pharmacorum omnium que in communi sunt praticantium* and *De floribus dietarum*.

Bernard is one of the first writers to mention spectacles, *oculus berellinus* (as they used to be made of smoky glass). Cf. Garrison, *History of Medicine*, p. 185.

Bernard's last work is *De Prognosticis*, though *Opus c. med.*, p. 77, states that he wrote some smaller works after 1307. It is not known how long he lived nor anything further about his life.

WINIFRED WULFF.

DE AMORE HEREOS¹

23. F. 19, fol. 110^r, col. 1, l. 27.

(1) DE AMORE HEREOS Adon don gradh re nabar hereos 7 is inann hereos asin Greig 7 generosus asin Laidin 7 is inann generosus asin Laidin 7 uasal isin Gaedilg, oir is gnathach tiaghaid na baruin 7 na daine uaisli annsa neaslainti so tri acfuind 7 a ninnmasa, 7 aderar filocaptus² risin neach bis insin easlainti so³ 7 is inann filocaptus 7 neach bis a mbraighdinas ag snaithi,³ oir is mar sin bis fer na heaslainti so a ngill ag gradh na mna, oir sanntaighi an meidi sin i innus co creidinn gurab i bean is fearr foirm 7 fighair 7 bésa 7 geannmnaigeacht isin domun hi, oir do truailid an brigh inntsamlaightach co mor aige ona smuaintigib melangcoilica innus gur treig a deghoibrighthi 7 a trocaire co huilidhi acht smuaintighthi na mna amain 7 bidh amail duine cuthaigh do reir Ouidius, noch adeir; Omnis amans

¹ ABBREVIATIONS:—A = Nat. Libr. of Scot. (Advocates) MS. II; A¹ = *ib.* MS. XIII; C = R.I.A. 3. C. 19; C¹ = R.I.A. 3. C. 22; F = R.I.A. 23. F. 19; *Lil. Med.* = *Lilium Medicinæ* of Bernard of Gordon, 1303.

² Et is mar sin don druing boichtsí re nabar philo capti .i. lucht in gradha C.

³⁻⁵ C, C¹, and other complete translations of *Lil. Med.*, *om.*

cecus, non est Amor arbiter ecus .i. ni breitheamh comthrom in gradh 7 in neach aga mbi bidh dall.

(2) Et is amlaidh so tic an gradh .i. aithnighi an brigh inntsamlaightach é don brigh re nabar imaginatiua 7 gabaid in brigh re nabar concusibilis é o imaginatiua 7 gabaid in brigh miresunta é o concusibilis 7 gabaid brigh gluasachta na nairteredh é on brigh miresunta 7 gluaisigh an corp go huilidhi cum an gradha, 7 do beir tarcaisne a fuacht 7 a tes 7 a nguasacht 7 bidh neamcobhsaigh (7).

(3) IS iad so comartha in gradha .i. neamthsaint bidh 7 dighi 7 becan collata 7 truaighi an cuirp co mor a negmais na sul 7 bidh smuintighthi doimhne acu 7 bidh caimenach¹ toirseach dubhach, 7 (110^r, 2) bidh puls luath ard examail anordaightheach acu, 7 in uair do cluinid bindius no aithi ciuil bidh ac cai 7 ag toirsi, 7 an tan luaightear an ben ina fhiaghnaise ardaighter an pulsa 7 in tan dochid hi ardaighter ni sa mo na sin acu é.

(4) 7 muna leighister an eslainti so teid a mania no go² geibid bas.

(5) LABRUM anois do leighes na heslainti so .i. fechadh in liaigh in duine resunta é no an duine miresunta,³ 7 masa duine resunta é curthar nech eгнаighi da teagosc roim a mbia egla air 7 do beradh naire do briatraib do 7 goitfis an inntinn on imhaidh fallsa noch ata aigi 7 foillsighter ar dus do guasacht an tsaeghail 7 lae an breitemnais, 7 na diaigh sin foillsighter do gloir 7 subaltaiged⁴ na catrach neamda.⁵ Et masa duine og miresunta é bointer a edach de 7 gabthar⁶ air do sgiuirsighib⁷ co ger no co ndergadh a croicinn 7 no co ngabad crith a baill 7 dentur⁶ bagar uile is mo na sin air dfagbail dho.⁸ Et na diaigh sin gealltar onoir mor do no tigernus, oir claeclighter⁹ na droch-besa on onorugad, do reir Ouidius, 7 taburthar¹⁰ obair eigneach air asa haithle, oir adeir Ouidius na briathra so; De uacue mente quo tuiatur opus 7 cetera—is tarbach in obair do tobairt arin menmain ndimain. Et a haithle na hoibre sin curthar é a crichaihb ciana 7 dfechain dathann 7 marand examla. Oir adeir Petagros¹¹ curob tarbach a leighes na heslainti so pingtiuireacht

¹ cainntech A, caienach A¹.

² do 7 do A, no do A¹.

³ no nach eadh A.

⁴ subalta A, A¹.

⁵ gloir parrthais C.

⁶⁻⁶ om. A, ag add.

⁷ sgiursadhaib A¹.

⁸ do denamh ris. A.

⁹ claochluige an onoir na besa C.

¹⁰ tobair. A.

¹¹ Pitagoras A.

7 datha examla dfechain 7 ainimhinnti bruideamla 7 tobair 7 sleibti 7 coillti 7 gotha en, 7 boltar¹ neichedh ndeghbalaidh 7 a cosmaile. Et muna leighester é ona neichib so adubrumar² curthar cailleach midealba ina fiagnaise maille re drochruth 7 re drochedach 7 tabradh le edach ara mbia fuil idir a gluinib 7 abradh na briatra so re fer an gradha .i. is olc an ben tsuirghi ut ata agatsa, oir ata si meascamail brenalach³ 7 ata epilepsia uirri 7 do beir a fual fuithi ina leabaidh 7 ata croicinn salach gearbach aice, 7 abradh ris⁴ gach ní ele do cífidhter dhi fein 7 muna labra se re, tairngedh an tedach ara fuil an fuil asa gaba[i]l⁵ 7 buail-eadh he ina edan 7 abradh ris do guth mor²; is mar so ata do ben tsuirghisi. Et muna leighester uada sin é ní duine ata ann acht diabal corpurda 7 ní leighester é co brath.⁶

TRANSLATION

(1) De Amore Hereos⁷ i.e. concerning the love that is called hereos; for *hereos* in Greek is the same as *generosus* in Latin and *generosus* in Latin is the same as *noble*⁸ in Gaelic, for the barons and the nobility are wont to fall into this disease through their wealth and their riches; and *filocaptus*⁹ (*sic*) is said of him who is in this sickness and 'filocaptus' is one who is in bondage to a thread, for thus the man of this disease is in bonds to the love of the woman. For so greatly does he desire her that he thinks she is the woman of the best form and figure, habits, and chastity in the world, for the power of comparison is so destroyed in him through his melancholy thoughts, that he forsakes his good actions and his mercy entirely and only (retains) thoughts of the woman alone, and becomes like a

L 499, l. 4

l. 6

¹ bolttanugad na neithi A.

²⁻² Masead siorthar cailleach rograinemail maillire fiaclaib mora 7 re fesoig 7 re herradh dochruth. Et bi edach arna tumadh a vfhuil miosta ina hucht 7 tighedh a fiaghnisi fir in gradha 7 tionnsgnaid a lennan daithisiughadh aga rádh go vfhuil si torrach, no carrach, mesgemail . . . maillire brentas anala 7 re neithibh grainemhla noch ina vfuil na cillecha fein eolach . . . Tairrgiodh in breidin fola adubramur ina fiaghnaisi 7 abradh ag glaoduigh . . . C.

³ brenanalach A, A¹.

⁴ ria A, A¹.

⁵ gabal A, A¹.

⁶ A cont. with Quartana, A¹ with De Solucione Continuitatis, as in F.

⁷ De amore, qui hereos dicitur. *Lil. Med.*, Part II, cap. 20.

⁸ *Lit. uasal*.

⁹ unde cum aliquis philocaptus est in amore alicuius mulieris. *Lil. Med.*

499, 18

madman, according to Ovid, who says: *Omnis amans caecus, non est Amor arbiter aequius*,¹ i.e. love is not a just judge and he who has it is blind.

500, 1

(2) This is how love comes: the power of comparison recognizes it from the force that is called *imaginativa*, and the force called *concupiscibilis* takes it from *imaginativa*, and the force called irrational takes it from *concupiscibilis*, and the power of movement of the arteries takes it from the irrational force² and the whole body moves towards love and pours contempt on heat and cold and danger, and he is unstable.

15

19

(3) These are the signs of love; lack of desire for food and drink; little sleep, and the body wastes exceedingly, all but the eyes; and they (the patients) have deep meditations and are bent, sad, and gloomy. The pulse is rapid, high, variable and inordinate; and when he hears melody or strains of music he will be weeping and sighing, but when the lady is mentioned in his presence, the pulse becomes quicker, and when he sees her it increases still more.

501, 1

(4) (&) If this disease be not cured it turns to mania, or he will die.

501, 3

5

7

13

(5) Let us speak now of the cure of this disease: let the leech ascertain whether he (the patient) be a reasonable man or an unreasonable; if he be rational, let a learned person be put to instruct him, of whom he is afraid and who will bring shame on him by his words, and who will withdraw his mind from the false image he holds, and let the danger of life be pointed out to him at first and the day of judgement: thereafter let the glory and bliss of the Heavenly City be made clear to him. And if he be a young and irrational man let his clothes be taken off him, and let him be beaten with scourges sorely till his skin redden, and trembling seize his limbs, and let him be threatened that he will get worse evils. After this let great honour be promised him, or dominance, for evil manners are changed from being honoured, according to Ovid, and let violent exercise be given him thereafter, for Ovid says these words: *De vacua mente quo teneatur opus etc.*, i.e. work is profitable to

¹ Quisquis amat ranam, ranam putat esse Dianam. *Add. Lil. Med.* Cf. Tal piense que adora' un angel y viene a adorar a un gimio. Cervantes, *Don Quijote*.

² (praecipit) irascibilis uirtuti motiuae lacertorum. *Lil. Med.*

the idle mind. After the work, let him be sent to distant lands and to see colours and different seas. For Pythagoras says to see pictures and varied colours is a valuable cure for this sickness, and [to see] wild animals, and wells and mountains and woods, and [to hear] the voices of birds;¹ and let him smell sweet smelling things and their like. And if he is not cured by what we have said let an unsightly hag be sent into his presence, of evil appearance and with wretched garments, and put a cloth on which is blood between her knees and let her say these words to the man of love: That is a bad love-lady you have, for she is bibulous, stinking, and she has epilepsy, & *mingit in lecto*, and her skin is foul and covered with sores and let her say every other thing to him that will seem fit to herself, and unless he speak to her, pull the cloth on which is the blood from her and strike it in his face, and say to him in a loud voice: Thus is your love-lady. And if he be not cured by this he is not a man but a devil incarnate, and he will not be cured for all eternity.²

14

20

21-22

32

36

GLOSSARY

Ainmhinnti bruideamla, *n. pl.*, *brute beast*, 5.

Airtaire, *artery*, here repres. Lat. *lacertus*, *muscle*, 2.

Anordaightheach, Lat. *inordinatus*, 3.

Boltar, *pres. pass.* of *boltnaighim*, *I smell*, 5.

Brenalach, *leg.* *brenanalach*, *foul-breathed*, 5.

Brigh inntsamlaightach, *power of comparison*, Lat. (*vis*) *aestimativa*, 2.

Caimenach, *bent* (?), 3.

Dubhach, *gloomy*, Lat. *solitarius*, 3.

Examail, *diverse*, Lat. *diversus*, 3.

Filocaptus, mistake of Irish translator for *philocaptus*, from Lat. *filum*, *thread*, instead of Gr. *φίλο*-, 1.

Gabhal, *the fork of the body*, 5; or *gabhail*, *holding*, *grasp*.

Gearbach, *adj.* of *gearb*, *a scab*, *sore*, Lat. *excrecentia*, 5.

Hereos, *an infatuation*, *erotic obsession*, 1.

Pingtiureacht, *painting* (?), not in *Lil. Med.*, 5.

Sgiuirisighib, *d. pl.* of *sguirse*, *a scourge*, corresp. to Lat. *flagelletur*, 5.

Subalta, *bliss*, Lat. *gaudia*, 5.

¹ instrumenta musica . . . Et si aliqua materia fuerit aggregata, mundificetur sicut dictum est in capitulo de mania, et melancholia, quia uere una species melancholiae est. *Lil. Med.*: *add.*

² . . . ista passio pulcherrimo modo potest describi sic: Amor est mentis insania quia animus uagatur per maniam cerebri, doloribus permiscens pauca gaudia. *Lil. Med.* *add.* 213.

THE FÉNI

THAT *Féni*, though applied technically as a general name to the landowning classes (*see* Thurneysen, ZCP. xv. 262), and *Fir Féne*, which does not seem to have been so applied, denoted one of the 'population-groups' of ancient Ireland, hardly admits of doubt. It is evident from the fact that if, in the passages quoted or referred to below, we substitute for *Féni* or *Fir Féne* any such term as *airig* or *Góedil*, we shall in every case destroy the sense or weaken the force. None of the authorities, however, except Pokorny, who has tentatively suggested (ZCP. xii. 326) that *Féni* was synonymous with *Gáiliuin*, would seem to have come to any conclusion as to the identity of the population-group in question. Yet the available evidence, in so far as it points in any direction, apparently points steadily in one.

The *Féni* or *Fir Féne* were a dominant people distinct from Ulaid and Laigin (*Batur tri primcinela in Eri: Feini ocus Ulaidh ocus Gaileoin*—AL. i. 70; *isin dáil críche bui laís na trí cinela bátur isin insi so .i. Feini ocus Uluidh ocus Laighin*—AL. i. 78). Their territory lay, partly at least, to the south of the Ulaid and had, to some extent, apparently been subject to Conchobor mac Nessa (*Ninne mac Matech dFeinib, luig fo tuaidh a crích nUlud*—AL. iv. 4. *Ardmac rig, romac Nesa, | nenaisc iathu Fer Féne*—K. Meyer, *Über die älteste irische Dichtung*, ii. 28). To them belonged Conn Cétchathach's people (*bui conflucht mor itir Fenib isin aimsir sin .i. itir Conn Cétcathach ocus Eochaidh Bélbuide, mac Tuathail Techtmair*—AL. i. 70). To them also apparently belonged the dominant people of the province of Meath: for they had entered into possession of Tara, and there is a suggestion that they occupied the outskirts of a wooded region on the Meath-Gabrán border (*oc Temuir i norbbu Féine*¹—ÉRIU, vi. 147; cf. *Féni Temrach*—

¹ The later insertion that immediately follows, identifying the Feni with Érainn and Laigin, is evidently a mistaken inference from this and the knowledge, derived from the sagas, that Érainn and Laigin had held Tara.

AL. i. 66, i. 80, iv. 18, v. 472. *Is inand aimser hi tulatar na Deissi for Gabran 7 hi tulatar Feni¹ for Fid Már ocus Fothart for Gabran sair*—ÉRIU, iii. 142). Finally, in two quatrains on the battle of Ballyshannon between the Uí Néill and the Leinstermen (FM. i. 334), 'the men of Leth Cuinn' mustered by Áed, king of Ailech and high-king, are referred to as *Fir Féne*.

All this falls into line if we take *Féni* or *Fir Féne*—and it is hard to see how else we can take it—to have denoted the dominant people of the old Connaught² and Uisnech monarchy and its offshoots, i.e. of the Connaught-Meath-Airgíalla-Ailech block. The political history of that block, too, would account for the impression the name produces of a certain lack of concrete significance, as also for its apparent non-use in popular speech and non-survival in poetic language beyond the archaic period.

I suggest, as the most probable of several possible theories, that *Féni* in both its senses arose from **venī* 'warriors', applied as a general non-committal, complimentary term to the *airig* attending the national assemblies, at which those of the Féni in the restricted sense would have increasingly preponderated.

DAVID O'BRIEN.

¹ There can hardly be any connexion between this and *isde attáa féna forfid*; leg. *attáa 'Féna' for Fid* (Thes. ii. 240). We have no right to assume that *féna* is a mistake in the latter passage; the context requires that Fid should have acquired the name as a result of the banishment and return of Cathub's sons and their trusty followers. The natural explanation would seem to be that the district came to be named after the exiles, who, as banished men, had formed *fiana* (< archaic *féna*) or companies analogous to *fiana*.

² The *Fer Féne* of Táin Bó Cuailnge, ed. Strachan and O'Keeffe, l. 1034, I would take to refer—somewhat anachronistically—to Medb's Connachta, and render: 'Cronn shall rise against them, shall not let them enter Muirthemne, until the work undertaken by *Fir Féne* stops short at Slíab Túath Ochaíne.'

[In *Fianaigecht*, p. viii, Kuno Meyer cites several passages showing 'that *Féne* was in the first instance the name of a race or tribe'.—O.J.B.]

ALTRAM TIGE DÁ MEDAR

THIS edition of 'Altram Tige Dá Medar' was ready for publication when one by Miss M. E. Dobbs appeared in the 'Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie', xviii, and at the time it seemed better to defer publication of a second version. Meantime, however, Dr. A. G. van Hamel has based an interesting thesis as to the Celtic origin of the Grail on this tale (RC. xlvii. 340 ff.); and since my reading of the text varies in many points from that which he had before him, it has now been thought better to print it. Dr. van Hamel's main argument about the Grail is not materially affected, but several of the secondary arguments are. The following in particular may be noted:

Dichu and Ethne: the text does not say that these were not of the Tuatha Dé Danann, though such may, perhaps, be inferred from Dichu's position as steward. Ethne actually claims to have been of the Tuatha Dé Danann, and Manannán says she ceases to be of them owing to the change of the spirit dwelling in her. The text does not point to Ethne specially as a handmaid of Curcog's, but places her simply among Curcog's *bann-tracht*—the daughters of the Tuatha Dé Danann. It is possible that the name Ethne was suggested to the author of this story by the incident told in connexion with St. Patrick and the daughters of Laeghaire—Ethne and Fedelm—who died from their great wish to behold Christ, immediately after receiving Baptism and the Eucharist.

The insult: the quatrain containing the insult is perfectly clear except for one contracted word, *ā*, which I have expanded as *cert*. Hence *sala* must be read as *sāla* to rhyme with *mālla*. It immediately suggests the genitive case of *sāl*, nor can I propose another interpretation, but the meaning is puzzling. Dr. van Hamel's explanation of the insult will scarcely be sustained by this reading.

Manannán: the imperfect state of the text leaves the first statement about Manannán incomplete, but he appears to have, and indeed claims, an overlordship over all the Tuatha Dé Danann kings. I should not feel sure of the interpretation that Manannán feels himself neglected or insufficiently provided

for by Ealcmar. It might as reasonably be inferred that Ealcmar was on the point of being ignored by Manannán until he sent a special invitation to him. The provisions in the Brugh are expressly stated to be luxurious.

Oileamain Tige dá Medar: the text does not say that the treasures were found in a house so called. This, again, may be inferred.

Leabhar na fiaghnaise: I am inclined to render 'a book before him'. The book is referred to later as a psalter, and the early churchmen certainly seem to have spent more time reading the Psalms than the New Testament.

Ethne herself does not show fear when Aengus reaches the oratory. She speaks quite confidently of the failure of his search. It is Ceasan who is afraid and asks for Patrick's help.

Inis Manannáin; *Ros Digair*: as I read the text, these names do not occur at all. The former = 'Ar innis Manannan' 'Did Manannán tell?'; the latter = 'co roi-dhigair,' an adverb.

Sidh Buidhe, which Miss Dobbs suggests to be Slieve na Mon, is given in Hogan's 'Onomasticon' as Shivey, in Co. Tyrone. It may, however, be *Sithbe* near Ailech (Onom. p. 603).

Sidh Finnabrach is mentioned in the Bodleian Dindsenchas 43, under *Cnogba*: 'Do-lodar atuaid tri maic Deirce maic Eathamain a sid Findabrach cor-rucsat ingen nElcmaire hi fuadaig . . .' to *Cnogba*. The 'Onomasticon' suggests Findebair near Slane.

Curcog: the Book of Lecan (I take the reference from Atlantis, iv, pp. 162-3) gives a list of Manannán's children including *Curcog an churcaigh*. *Caiithréim Finn mic Cumhaill* (R.I.A. 24. C. 26, 66) gives among the *Cúigear eólach is fearr*

Manannán mórghlonnach an fhaig
Curchóg inghean Manannáin.

An Marbhna: I have found the following versions: (a) R.I.A. 23. M. 38 (M)—a collection of medical MSS., written by Micheál óg Ó Longáin, A.D. 1794. On p. 70, two lines from the foot, begins: *Marbhna Eithne naomtha sonn agus goirid daoine himin Phatraig di go neimfhirinnech*. This follows fairly closely the Fermoy text, and seems to have been used as a charm. I have filled some gaps in our text from it. (b) R.I.A. 23. E. 9, p. 191, has a rather corrupt version, written by Cornelius O'Malley, junior, between 1808 and 1820. It is headed:

Marthanna Phadru(ic) sonn. The second last verse has the lines:

Ag so na buadha deaghnacha
A Bhrogáin fhágaim agaibh.

The other versions do not mention Brogan. This is followed by an almost illegible note calling the poem *Hymn Phatraig* and recommending its use to every saint (gach naomh) to free the soul from hell. In neither of these versions is reference made to the *oileamain*, the word *marbhna* being substituted. (c) In T.C.D. E. 4. I (fifteenth or sixteenth century) a corner of p. 36b has been used by scribes to try their pens. One fragment begins: *Claitter sunn fert fiail Eithne*, and gives the first and one of the *innuin* verses. These copies suggest that the poem was fairly well known apart from the story.¹ This poem has been edited from the Book of Fermoy by K. Meyer, ZCP. xiii, p. 17.

In the present edition the abbreviations are silently expanded except when doubt as to the reading could arise. Conjectural restorations of illegible passages are shown within round brackets when fairly obvious, otherwise such passages are indicated by dots (. . .).

I must record my gratitude to the late Mary Byrne, always so helpful and sympathetic, for looking over some puzzling passages, either suggesting a reading or confirming my own reading. She also gave me the reference to Curcog in 24. C. 26.

LILIAN DUNCAN.

TEXT

ALTRAM TIGE DÁ MEDAR

(Book of Fermoy, 181a)

1. (181a 1.) Ardrig crodha cosgrach clannlinmar gasmar gargbeodha guadcorcra graineamail ro gab airdrighi nErenn g(an) uille gan easbaidh gan imrisin, 7 is e dob (ainm) don airdrig sin .i. Eirimon mor (mac) Miledh, 7 is i (an) bean fa banceile d(o Tea) ingean Luighdeach (meic Itha meic) Miledh, on ainm sin Mur Te .i. Teamair na . . . og, 7 is do doba meic

¹ After the printing of the above, I found yet another version in R.I.A. 23. L. 16, 52. In this the parts of the poem which refer to Ethne are very corruptly given, and are followed by a prose summary of the virtues following the recital of the *marbhna*. This, also, is called 'Huimn Phadraig'.

Muigne 7 Luighne 7 Laighne, 7 roba meic miledh na meic sin, acht gin gur Mh(i)le ainm a n-athar c(orba) mile ar militacht 7 ar morcalmacht an t-airdrig (sin, 7) is do doba dearbraithre na deighf(ir) .i. Donn 7 Emer 7 Amairgin 7 Arannan 7 Colpa an cloidim, 7 is e roba cedri d'Erinn gan amarus ar tabairt Erenn d'ainm uirre, oir nirb Eire (a hai)nm co haimsir tri mac¹ Cear-mada Midhbeoil meic an Dagda .i. is i caibchi do cuingeadar . . . (ar an) milidh sin a n-anmanna fein do tabairt ar in (tir sin) .i. Eire 7 Fodla 7 Banba, 7 is e Erimon gan cunntabairt cedrigh Erenn ar an adhbar sin, amail isbert an file an rann :

Asbert Finntan, fir do(n) nia,
ar toideacht Scot on Sgeithia,
nir bregni don meireang mor,
cedri Erenn Erimon.

Et is e fos do cosin Banba da braithribh, 7 is e tuc na hara 7 na heasbada mora ar Tuathaibh Dé Danann fa Druim Lighean 7 fa Loch Feabail, gur cosain Eire d'Emher Fhinn da dearbrathair 7 do fein go fortamail, gu raibhi 7 a brathair bliadain a n-airdrighe nErenn, gur eirigh confaidh co(g)aith 7 fiuchadh feirgi 7 brisedh brathairsi a n-aigen(tai)bh na n-ardrigh sin, 7 doniamait fiaghnaisi . . . aidh aturra, gurab e Emer roba cinn (1816) tach fan comheirghi sin, oir is e ro em re misgni 7 re micomhairle a mna fein, 7 is e ro fuagair cath co huaibreach ar Eirimhon, 7 is 'na ceann f(e)in ro hinnto a uabar 7 a ainndligi, oir tucadh cath gaibhfeach Geisile idir na hairdriagaibh sin gu ndorcair Emer le hErimon isin cath sin. Acht ata ni, ba egorach d'Emer an eirgi sin do denamh, oir is e Eirimon do cosain righe nErenn do 7 da brathair, 7 is e ro bris ar tosach cath Taillten ar Tuathaibh Dé Dhanann inar toitsead tri righ Erenn .i. Mac Cuill 7 Mac Cecht 7 Mac Greine, 7 is e fos do bris cath Droma Lighean ar Tuathaibh De Dhanann, 7 ni horra amain acht ar laecraidhaibh Loclann maraen ru. Cidh tra acht ge ro im-raidheamarne Emer 7 Erimon isin n-inad so, ni horra ata crichnugadh an sgeil so re sgribadh. Imtus chlanna Mileadh gunuigi sin.

2. Imthusa Tuatha De Danann dobearar os aird ann so budheasta. Arm (*sic*) mbriseadh catha Taillten 7 catha Droma Lighean ar na laechaibh 7 ar na feinið d'Erimon fa comhrainn

¹ MS. m.

críche d'Erinn, tugadh cuca in t-uasal-ardrigh .i. Manannan morcumachtach do crudh a ceasta 7 a comhairle, 7 dob i comairle Manannain dona míleadhaibh a sreathadh ar sídhaibh 7 a coinneadh ar cnocaibh 7 ar madhaibh aibne Erenn, 7 do ríghadh Bodb Derg (ag na) fearaibh 7 Manannan (mil . . .) (182a) orra, 7 d'ordaigh Manánnan dona mhaithibh a suigeamh isna síthaibh .i. Bodhbh Derg co Sith mBuidhb os Loch nDergirt, 7 Midhir moruallach gu Sith taebhalainn Truim, 7 Sighmhall sogradhach gu Sith niamhcrothach Neannta, 7 Finnbarr Meadha gu Sith maelcnocach Meadha, 7 Tadhg mhor mac Nuadhat gu Sidh Droma Dean, 7 Abhartach mac Illathaigh gu Sidh barr-alainn Buidhe, 7 Faghartach co Sidh fíralainn Finnabrach, 7 Ilbreac gu Sidh Aedha Easa Ruaid, 7 Lir mac Luighdeach gu Sidh feruaine Finnachaidh, 7 Derg Diansgothach co Sidh Cleitidh, 7 gach aen ler cubaidh adhbha 7 inadh oireachais d'faghbail do Tuathaibh Dé Danann do orduigh Manannan doibh adhbha dileas gacha deighfir, 7 dorinneadh in feth fiadha 7 fleagh Goibhneann 7 muca Manannain dona míleadhaibh .i. in feth fiadha tar nach faici na flaithi, 7 fleadh Goibninn gan aeis gan urcra dona hardríghaibh, 7 muca Manannain re marbadh 7 re marthain dona míleadhaibh, 7 ro tegaísg Manannan dona maithibh sin suigeamh a sídhbrugh 7 corugadh a cathrach fa *cosmaíleas* treabh Tíre taebhaile Tarrngaire 7 Eamhna aile Ablaighi, 7 ro aithnidhidar na maithi sin do Mhanannan, an tan budh urrlamh a n-adhbadha, beith ar banais gacha brogha 7 ar fleigh gacha flatha, innus gur faghadh a coir 7 a dhíre 7 a dlíghtheadh fein a chinn gacha cathrach.

3. Et do bí cumachtach ele a nErinn fan am sin nachar airbimair .i. Ealcmair ainm in oíghaigh sin, 7 is do roba mac Cairbre Crom, 7 Sighmall mac Cairbre Cruim cumachtach ele díbh, 7 is don Ealcmhar sin roba (dalta¹ Ae)ngus Og mac an Daghdha, 7 in Brugh os Boinn a baile . . . d'uaislibh Tuath De Danann don deighfear sin, 7 do gabus(tar Manann)an do laim don laechraidh sin toigheacht fa togh(airm. An tan ba) urrlamh banais a brogha ag Bodb (182b) Derg mac an Daghdha, do cuir fis ar cean(n Man)annain co maithibh a muinntíre do caith(eamh) na fleidhi sin. A teasda 7 a tuarasgabala ní fuil m'aidi re faisneis, ach dofeadamar nach roibi easbaidh maithéasa

¹ dalta seems necessary, but there is scarcely space for it in MS.

ar in muinntir. Acht aenni ceana, tucastar Manannan mor-(c)uairt gacha sidha da sidhaibh, 7 o'tcuala Ealmar Manan(nan) ar in morcuairt sin, ní[r] miadh 7 nír maisi leis beith na fir dearmait ag na deighferaibh sin, (7) cuir a dalta ar a cheann da cuireadh .i. A(engus) Og mac an Daghdha, 7 do gluais Mana(nnan) reime go bord na Boinne braenglais(e 7 do) heasradh 7 do hurluachradh Sidh buadach . . . solus an Bhrodha a n-urcomair Mhanan(nain), 7 tainig Manannan roim na sluaghaib (gusin) dunadh, 7 fa hi so tuarasgabail na bruidn(i) .i. urlar alainn umaidhi o gach dorus da cheile don cathair sin, 7 foirgneadh ga finndruine ara hurlaraibh, 7 imdadh(a de)albacha airgid os na hoirgneadhaidh co c(earn)aibh aille eochardealbacha orra, co (renn)aibh co n-enaibh coircheatha ceoilbi(nni) os ceannaib na cearn sin, 7 nír be(g) . . . r gairdugadh don ardrigh gin go beith do c . . . fleadhaidhti d'faghbail aigi, acht estecht re . . . uirim 7 re meadhair na macraidhi, 7 re m(eadh) radh na maighdean os mallgresaidh (7) foghar na ficheall aga fathimirt. Cidh (tra acht) isuaill nach budh leabar do tuarasgab(ail) na teaghaisi sin ge be ro airemedh . . . acht aeni do badar cumachtaidh Tua(th De Danann) (183a) 7 maithe Tíre Tarrngairi uile ann sin, 7 ní roibhi dibh sin uile triath na tigerna nach roibh i tnuth 7 format ris in teach sin.

4. Teid Ealmar a n-inad cogair 7 comairli, 7 goiris a aes feadma 7 a ríreachtaire da rochtain .i. Dicu a deaghainm sein, 7 is eadh so do raidh riu: 'Innsaigídh damh, a deaghmuinntear,' ar se, 'fa oithribh 7 fa asaibh Erenn, 7 fona hinnmeraibh, d'iaraidh eisg 7 enaigh 7 eiseola don airdrig.' Gluaisis roime Dichu 7 a deaghamac (.i.) Roc mac Dicon, 7 suighid na flaithi cum na fleidhi, 7 suighis Manannan resna mileadhaibh, 7 Bodhb Derg ar a leathlaim dheis, 7 Ealmar ar laim congmla a sgeith in gach sgainnir, 7 Eachdonn Mor mac Manannain ar slis in ritighi, 7 Abartach ar laim dheis an deighfir sin, 7 Sidhmall siteach ar laim aindheis dho, 7 gach fear ina inad coimdhí comhaisi o hoin amhach dona mileadaibh, 7 Aengus resan aes fritholma aga n-eagar 7 aga n-ordughadh, 7 tucadh sgath gacha dighi 7 gacha deidhbidh doibh, gurba subach so meanmnach na sluaidh. Acht aeni co ceann tri la 7 tri n-oidhceadh don laechraidh ar in ordughadh sin, 7 a cinn an ceathrumadh la d'fulair Manannan an teach d'folmugadh gunar fagad mac mna dar blais beatha isin bruidhin sin acht Manannan 7 Aengus, 7 tuc treas agallma ar Aen(gus) 7 is eadh so do raidh: 'Is

aibinn in teach, a Aengus,' ar se, '7 ni facasa riamh acht Cruithin na Cuan no Eamhain Ablach . . . Et is maith a hinadh (1836) ar bord na Boinne a coicrich na coig coigeadh, 7 damadh me fein tu, a Aengus, is agam fein do beith an teaghdhais so, 7 d'fuaigearainn d'Alcmar a fagbail, 7 dogebfa sen 7 soladh od' caraid cumachtaidh cuigi sin do dhenamh,' 7 isbert an laidh, 7 ligfamaid torainn an laidh ann so.

Et a haithle na laidhi sin do gabh Manannan aris ag agallam Aengusa, 7 is eadh so adubairt: 'An feadrais, a Aengus,' ar Manannan, 'gach aen mairis agaibsi do Tuathaibh De Danann gurab mise is rui ri dabar righaibh 7 is seinnshear dabar sluagh-aibh 7 is comairleach dabhur cathaibh 7 is triath dabar trenfearaibh, 7 gidh e Ealcmar t'oidisi, doigh is misi is oidi ghaile 7 gaisgidh 7 draigheachta duit, 7 is dalta misi do¹ deaghathaisri .i. don Daghdha, 7 gach aen ara fbuil (*sic*) conach do cloinn t'atharsa ata cuid damhsa ba tabairt orra.' 'Is maith linne tusa da admail sin,' bar Aengus, '7 cred in cuis fa sloinntear in caradradh sin?' bar Aengus. 'Doge bairsi a fis sin,' ar Manannan, '7 tabair fa breithir 7 fat' sgiath corcra 7 fat' cloidheamh 7 fona deibh aille adharta co ndingnair mu comhairlisi don cur so.' 7 tucastar Aengus na luidhedha sin ger leasg leis, oir isuaill nar athair ana . . . 'An bfuil a fis agadsa, a Aen(gus), ar Manannan,) 'nach re hAlcmar is cubaidh (an teach so,) (184a) 7 nach do is dingmhala an dunadh, 7 nach aigi bias an Brugh do bunadh, 7 in trath suigheochar againn in teach n-ola, eiridhsi ar adhaigh Ealcmar 7 fuagair do imteacht, oir ba deighsen 7 ba deaghsoladh duitsi sin, 7 ba dith 7 ba domaine do sin, 7 ba dibirt dosum .i. in sen tangadar aingil o righ in rigtigh 7 o coimsidhteoir na cruinne, 7 in sen do sgaramarne flaitheas Fodla re Fearaib Bolg, 7 in sen do sgaradar mic Mileadh oireachas Erenn rinn fein aris, fuagair do na tigeadh don tigh o teid no gu cumusgti ogham 7 achu re cheile, 7 nocu cumusgi neam 7 talam ara ceile, 7 nogu cumusgi grian 7 esga ara cheile.' 'In fbuil (*sic*) dia os ar ndeibne ann?' ar Aengus. 'Ata, imorro,' ar Manannan, 'in t-aenDia uile-cumachtach is tualaing ar ndeei-ne do dhamnadh, 7 nach tualaing iad sin a increachadh sin .i. in Coimge cumachtach do cum neam 7 talam 7 in fairgi co[na] hingantaib, 7 do cum in ceathardhuil co

¹ *leg.* dod'.

comlan. In feadrais, a Aengus,' ar Manannan, 'cred fa ndearnadh na daine o tosaigh?' 'Ni feadar,' bar Aengus. 'Is e so an t-adhbar,' ar Manannan, 'an t-aenDia do raidheamar romhainn do dealb se *deich* n-uird aingil ana timceall, 7 tigerna an *dech*madh ord dibh sin, d'eirigh dímas 7 uabar ana aignidh, 7 d'fagbadar clar nimhe co neamheasbaidh, 7 fa . . . Dia an deachmadh ord da fearann, . . . 7 do dealbstar na daine . . ., 7 ro cuireastar a ndea (184*b*) lbaibh deamhan an lucht ro fag a fearann gu hanuaibhreach, 7 ro cum carcair 7 prisun da pianadh, 7 beiridh gach aen bis da reir isin riteach, 7 cuiridh gach aen bis na adhaidh isin carcair sin da pianadh, 7 is e sin adhbar denma na ndaineadh,' ar Manannan. 'Ni do sin atamait,' ar se, 'ach denasa mu comairleisi don cur so.' 'Is leasg limsa sin,' ar Aengus, 'uair is ar mu comus fein ata aibhneas 7 anoir an Bhrogh(a), 7 is damh ata a tarba 7 a tothacht, 7 ní inntuca anoir do dalta am deagaidh(sí) da ndearnainn sin.' 'Leig as,' ar Man[ann]an, 'oir is uaisli rí na ridiri, 7 is uaisle triath na tanaidí, 7 is fearr comus na cuidiugadh, 7 is fearr airithi na oirciseacht 7 is fearr tele a lamh na teli a athair (*sic*) no mathar no athar gibe acu ara n-iarfa achuingi.' 7 do cuir sin creideam co mor a nAengus 7 adubairt, 'Is í do comairli dogentar do[n] chur so, a airdrigh,' ar Aengus.

5. Imtus Ealcmhair do comairligh rena chairdibh an fuir-eochadh proinn in rígh ris na teachtairib noch docuaidh d'iaraidh eisg 7 *enaigh* 7 eiseola uadha, 7 dob í comairli caich nar choir an rí d'fuireach riu 7 nach raibí eas(baidh) bidh na dighi orra. Et tainig Manannan amach 7 tuc treas siubail, 7 do coirigheadh in Brugh ag Ealcmair a(n-)urcomhair Manannain, 7 tainig (Manannan) guna muinntir isin sídh 7 do suigh . . . res na mileadhaibh, 7 do suigh g(ach) aen dibh ana n-inadhaibh dis(le) duthacha o hoin amhach, 7 do bad(ar) (185*a*) ag longadh a proinne 7 ag tuar a tomaltais gurba subach somheanmnach na sluaigh uile acht Aengus ana aenar, oir do bí sin cu hurrlaith-each ar egle a aoidi d'furogra, 7 gid eadh sin tainig ar adhaidh Ealcmair in trath far ordaigh Manannan in fuagra do denam, 7 dorinni celmaine graineamail d'furuagra a aoidí, 7 d'fuagair do Ealcmair an Brugh d'fagbail gan anadh gan oirisamh ann. A haitle na mbriathar sin do can Aengus re oidí, ro eirigh Ealcmair co hescaidh uathbasach uiredrom mar eirges fiadh fuaisgneach foluaimneach do tulaig re tafann no mar eirgid ealta en roim

seabac. Do gluais Ealmar as in Brugh guna muindtir uile idir fir 7 mnai, 7 ní raiti nach fuil cumachta ag diabal tar eis na fur-uagra sin, oir da mbeidis a roibh do dhainib a nErinn ag fostogh aenduine acu ní fetsadais le nert in sein 7 in solaidh. 7 an tan rainig Ealmar amach ar faichi braenleargaidh in Brogha, ro dech ara mnai 7 ara muinntir uile: 'Is truagh leam mar athathar ann ann sin, a muinnter inmain,' ar se, '7 is fada daib sgartain risin mBoind 7 risin in mBrugh, 7 dogebfai mor nduadh 7 ndedfualang o so amach. Et is e Manannan meablach do muin sen 7 soladh dom daltasa tre draidheacht 7 tre diab-altacht dom innarbadhsa, 7 is mairg doni maith ar dalta am deagaidhsi; luidhimsi fam breithir,' ar Ealmar, 'da siredh Aengus righi an Brogha oramsa is deimin (go dtiu)brainnsi do he, 7 gan in fuagra (185*b*) do denamh.' Et asa haithle sin gluaisis Ealmar uatha, 7 teid Aengus amhach ar in faichti 7 rug am imagallma fair, 7 targaidh do fuireach 7 fostodh ar ngabail naire 7 aithreachais he, gid eadh nir fed a fostodh tar nert an sein 7 in solaidh tuc Aengus do, 7 asa haithle sin gluaisis Ealmar roime; 7 ní mo na tar radharc docuadar in cuideachta sin an tan atonnaic Aengus reachtaire an Brogha 7 a bean 7 a deaghamac cuigi, 7 innsid sgela da cheile, 7 gabus an rachtairi comairci ag Aengus, 7 adubairt Aengus ris fuireach ga feadhmannus o nach tarthaidh a cuid don fuagra, 7 tugadh feadhmannus in Brogha uile ana urlaim.

6. 7 is amlaidh tarrla do mhnai an riréachtaire beith taebtrom torrach an tan sin. O'donnaic Aengus eisein do naisg altrannus fair 7 tangadar le ceile isin mBrug. 7 do naisc in riréachtaire a muinnter ar Manannan; 7 d'fíafraidheadar na maithi sin do Manannan cait a ngebadh Ealmarhar foistine. 'Ní feadarsa sin,' ar Manannan, 'agus ní fídir faidh na fisighi an domhain uile sin, acht dofidir an t-aenDia uilecumachtach,' ar Manannan. Et dorinne Aengus banais an Brogha annsin do Mananna(n) 7 do maithibh Tuath De Danann, 7 in tan fa *deiredh* don fleigh ag na flaithibh d . . . eisteacht re canfadh 7 d . . ., 7 adubairt Aengus do cu . . ., (186*a*) bar eisin, 'co bfuil do beansa taebhtrom torrach, 7 gibe leanamh beras, a faghbail da altromh 7 da oileamhain, 7 leanamh gach aen ele do Thuathaibh De Danann.' 'Dogebtar sin,' ar Manannan 7 ar cach co coitceann. Naisgeas Aengus an t-artlannus (*sic*) ar cach co coitcinn. Gluaisis Manannan roime cum a dunaidh, 7 an tan

rainig rug a bean an toi[r]ces do bi fana bruinne .i. inghean cruthach caemhalainn 7 curach fuilt cais crochbuidhi fa ceann, 7 baisdidter fan adhbar sin 7 tugadh Curcog d'ainm uirre, 7 tucadh co hAengus hi da haltram 7 da hoileamain i,¹ 7 a comdhine d'ingeanuibh na cumachtach ele faraen ria. Imtusa mna in rachtairi, rug ingean an uair sin 7 tucadh Eithne d'ainm fuirre, 7 do gabh Aengus da hoileamain hi mar gach ndalta, 7 dorinnedh grianan alainn ill[d]ealbach don ingenraidh, 7 do bai aga n-oileamhain co ceann treimsi 7 ni tainig² rompa na 'na ndeagaidh banntracht budh gribha 7 budh geannmaidhi na an banntracht sin Curcoigi, 7 do bi aen bean dibh do dearrsgnaidh orra uili ar dheilb 7 ar gribhacht 7 ar geannnacht .i. Eithne ingean Dicon, 7 ní facaidh duine riam hi nach tibredh gradh a anma dhi, 7 is i fa docha le hAengus don ingenraidh, 7 rangadar sgela an banntrachta sin fa ceithrib hairdibh na hErenn, 7 dob orderca ingean in reachtaire ana (an) banntracht uili 7 ana Curcog, 7 tanga(dar) maithi Tuath De Danann fa teist an banntrachta, (7 taini)g Finnbharr Meadha o Sidh maelcnocach (1866) Meadha gunuigi in mBrug os Boinn d'fechain an banntrachta sin, 7 do feradh fírchain fhailti íris, 7 do sguiredh a n-eachradh 7 a carbaid, 7 tangadar isin mBrugh le hAengus, 7 do badar mar sin ag ol 7 ag aibhnes, 7 adubairt Finnbharr gurab d'fechain an banntrachta tainig, 7 adubairt Aengus: 'Do rodha duit dul don grianan ana bfuilid an banntracht no a tabairt cugad,' 7 is e rogha ruc Finbarr an banntracht do tabairt cuigi ana fiaghnaisi, 7 cuiris Aengus fis ar ceann Curcoigi guna banntracht, 7 tainig Curcog guna banntracht a fiaghnaisi Aengusa 7 Finnbairr 7 fechus Finnbarr ar Curcoig 7 ara banntracht uile, 7 fechus co dicra ar Eithne ingin Dicon, 7 d'fiafraidh Finnbarr: 'Ce hi siud doni in suighi sala? 7 ce tu ga fiafraidhi,' ar Finnbarr, 'is i ingean in reachtaire doni e, 7 d'fobras fein suighi sala do baisdedh fuirre,' et atbert in rann:

Ingin righa in reachtaire,
inmain in geis min mhalla,
Is bean do cloinn *cert*duine
dorinne in suidhi sala.

Et asa haithle sin do banadh 7 do glasadh 7 do dergadh um dreich ildealbaigh na hingine, 7 do gluais roimpi co hathmelach

¹ omit i.

² tainig MS.

imnsnimach gruadhflúch gnúiscorca gusin ngrianan a ngna-thaighedh comhnuidi, 7 o'tconnaic Aengus sin ro eirigh a . . . gu h(a)dhbulmhor 7 ro fuabair Finnbarr guna m(u)inntir do marbadh; acht aení, do cuimhnigh a car(adas) 7 do claeachlo a croidhi 7 do innto a aigne . . . (187a) Et asa haithle sin do gluais Finnbarr d'imteacht (. . .) fa eissidh o Aengus, 7 dob i comairle a muinntire d'Finnbarr gan dealugadh fa eissidh rena brathair, 7 teit Finnbarr tar ais isin Brugh aris 7 teit a fiaghnaisi Aengusa 7 sduadhaidhes an da glun gasda glegeala gu lar ar belaibh a brathar. 'Cred fa ndentar sin, a Finnbairr,' bar Aengus, 'osa tusa is [s]ine agus is uaisle ann, 7 osa misi sosar deaghcloinne in Daghdha? Oir dlighidh gach cinntach a coiriugadh fein. Gebtar uaitsi sin,' bar Aengus, 7 do cuireadar a nda bel corcra caemha cum a ceile, 7 do pogadar a cheile co cartanach. Et do coirigedh an Brugh annsin a comhair Finbairr 7 Aengusa, 7 tugadh Curcog guna bantracht isin mbruighin, 7 suighis Aengus 7 Finnbarr resna flaithibh, 7 cuirid Curcog aturra da hanorugadh, 7 cuiris Aengus a dalta gradhach ara gualainn .i. Eithne ingen Dichon. Cidh tra acht ní roibi easbaidh bidh isin bruighin sin na dighi na maitheasa, 7 ní roibh aenduine acu gan beith subhach saitheach acht Eithne na haenar, 7 ní raibhi astigh d'Finnbarr na d'Aengus na do Currcoig nech nar slecht ana fiaghnaisi d'fulair bidh do caitheamh uirre, 7 nir faemh si sin. Acht aení ceana, tri la 7 tri hoidche d'Finnbarr ag fleaghugadh isin dunadh sin. Ceileabraid da ceile a cinn an treas. Et gluaisis Finnbarr roimhe co Cnoc minalainn Medha.

7. Imtus Eithne, seacht la 7 seacht n-oidhce di gan biadh gan digh do blaisedh, 7 da mbeidis fir Erenn uile ag fularamh bidh no (187b) dighi do caitheamh uirre ní caithfeadh he, 7 ní roibi isin cruinne cinel bidh na dighi nach fiarfaidhi don ingen in caithfeadh he, 7 arna fadhbail is eadh adeireadh sisi nach caithfeadh he. Et smuaintighis Aengus a n-idhbedh bainne na huidhri 7 a bleaghan a meadar ill[d]jealbaigh oir .i. bo odhar do bi ag Aengus ann sin 7 set suaithnidh soineamail, nach roibhi a nErinn a hinnamail na isin domhan uile ach aenbo ele. 'Cia blighfeas dam hi, a Aengus?' ar in ingean. 'T'aen rogha mna isin baile uile co Curcoig no tu fein, a ingen,' bar Aengus. 'Misi fein blighfeas hi,' ar in ingean. 'Dogeairsi sin,' ar Aengus; 7 tugadh co hEithne in bo da bleaghan guna bhua-raidh do sida soineamail 7 guna meadair ill[d]jealbaigh oir,

7 innlas an ingen a glaca gribhdha geilmheracha dathcaemha donningneacha, 7 bligheas an ingean an mboin gan fuireach asa haithle, 7 ibheas in ingen 7 Aengus bleaghan na huidri ann sin, 7 gach uair fa ham caithme do cach dobeirthe don ingen in bo da bleaghan, 7 is e a bainne fa biadh 7 fa deoch di, 7 da tuctai biadha na cruinne uile don ingen ní fearr do biadh orra na'r bleaghan na huidhri 'na aenar. Et la da raibhi in ingen ag bleaghan na huidri, d'fíafraigh d'Aengus: 'C(a) . . . fuarais an odhar no 'ne Ealcmh(ar) . . . isin Brugh hi?' 'Doghebairsi a fhis,' . . . 'Cuairt da ndeachaidh misi le . . . (188a) tar mhuir soir gu rangamar na colamhna ordha a n-airrter an domain, 7 tangamar as sin gunuigi an Innia, 7 fuaramar innti edal ingantach nach frith a hinnamail riamh romhainn .i. da ba beannchorra bithblichta .i. bo breac 7 bo odhar, 7 da meadair ill[d]jealbacha oir, 7 da buaraidh do sída soineamail maraen, 7 tucamar linn co hErinn iad, 7 do roinneamar ar n-edal annsin, 7 tuc Manannan leath na hedala damhsa,' ar Aengus, 'idir meadair 7 boin 7 bhuaraidh, 7 tucasa leam an cuid docisi .i. an odhar Aengusa, 7 bith an gach raithe don bliaghain bithbhlicht 7 bithblas meala 7 mheisgi fhina ana bainne, 7 sasadh saerbhidh, 7 is amlaid sin fuaras an odhar,' ar Aengus.

8. Et asa haithle sin nir fagaibh Aengus drai na faid na fisidhe na cumachtach a nErinn gan fíafraighi dibh cred fodeara don ingen gan biadh sa chruinne do chaitheamh acht bleaghan na huidhri 'na aenar, 7 ní fuair a fhis o aenduíne dibh, 7 rainig in sgel sin cu Cruithin na Cuan 7 co hEamain Ablaigh 7 co maithibh Tirre Tarrngaire, 7 do bi 'na hingantas acu an sgel sin do cualadar o Eithne a hErinn, 7 cuiris Manannan teachta ar ceann Curcoigi 7 a banntrachta 7 ar ceann Eithne fos gu sunnradhach co finnadh cid fodeara di beith gan biadh do chaitheam, 7 rangadar na teachta sin gu Brugh na Boinne 7 cuireas Aengus a aes gradha 7 fritholma . . . o co hEamhain Ablaigh, 7 rangadar co faichti (Cr)uithin na Cuan 7 do eirgeadar macradh (an bai)le uile ana coinne 7 Manannan (guna mai)thibh 7 a bhancheile guna banntracht (7 feradh) fírcain bfaile roim an mbann(tracht) . . . teach . . . Manannain (188b) re hadhaigh na hingeanraidhi. Et goirea(s) Manannan Curcog cuigi 7 Eithne a n-inad uaingeach (*sic*) 7 adubairt re hEithne: 'In fir nach caitheann tusa biadh?' ar Manannan. 'Is fir co deimhin,' ar in ningen. 'Cred fodeara duitsi sin, a ingean?' ar Manannan. 'Ní feadar amh,' ar

Eithne, 'acht aenni tar eis na naire fuaras o Finnbar nír fetas biadh sa cruinne do caitheamh acht bleaghan na huidri Aengusa 7 me fein da bleaghan a meadair o(ir).' 'Misi anocht coireochas do cuid, a ingean,' ar Manannan. Acht ata ní ceana, is amhl(aidh) do bí an fear do can an comradh sin: ní roibhi ar duine galar na easlainti na haithneadh, 7 dobeiredh aithne aran urcosg budh cneasda da cabair, 7 ní roibhe riam d'fuath bidh no dighi ar duine nach ¹ tibredh a grad co frichnumach fai. 7 dochuaidh Manannan mar a roibhi a ríreachtairi, 7 d'fulair rinn mblasa do cur ar gach mbiadh a comhair Eithne, 7 d'imir Manannan a cumachta orra leis, 7 tanig Manannan 7 banntrecht an Brogha uili isin mbuighin 7 tucadh (. . . sc)ath gacha bidh 7 gacha blasa da caitea(mh) cuca, 7 ní roibhi tarba isin tinnsgéal sin a rab . . . Eithne da fromhadh, 7 fa hingnadh le roib isti(g) uili nar fulair Manannan biadh na deoch ar in ingin, 7 fa hingnadh le Manannan a . . . a cumachta fein do clodh, 7 fa nar leis duine ar bith ana trosgadh ana tigh fein, 7 d'fia(fra)idh don ingin an ibadh bleaghan na brici 7 . . . fein no ¹ bean ¹ ele da bleaghan . . . a meadair ill[d]ealbaigh oir, uair is inann ina(d) asa tucadh iad .i. an odhar (7 an breac . . .)

(189a) ² medur 7 buarach bís ga mbleaghan, 7 tucadh in mboin . . . m Ethne .i. in breac Manannain 7 in mhedar oir 7 in bhuarach hsida, 7 blighis an ingen hi asa haithli, 7 as e a bleaghan fa biadh 7 fa deoch di an oidce sin 7 in fegh do bhi san baile. 'In fedabair,' ar Manannan re muinntir, 'cid um nach caithinn an ingen ud biadh?' 'Ní fhedamar,' ar iatsum. 'Doberimsi aithne uirri,' ar Manannan. 'Ní do muinntir Aengusa etir hi, 7 fos ní da ar muinntirne di. Uair in tan tuc Finnbar an (t-i)mdergadh don ingin ud, docuaidh a deman comuidechta . . . a croidhi 7 tainic aingiul na inad, 7 ní leginn sin ar mbiadhne fa a bruinne, 7 ní aidhera si draidecht na diabluigiacht feasta, 7 as uime ibius bainne na bo (u)d uair is a tir firen tugadh hi .i. an India, 7 b(idh) oileamhuin 7 altrumh na hingine ud ga chomhradh (coid)ce ac cach .i. oilemain Tighe da Mhedar, 7 budh hí an Trinoit . . . tripersanach bus dia adhartha don ingin ud,' ar se. (Acht a)ta ní cena, caicdhighis ar mís do Churcoig (7 d)a banntrecht 7 d'Ethne a nEamain Abلاغ, 7 nír (bl)as biadh in baile acht bleaghan na brice, 7 do triallstar (da) tigh fen annsin,

¹ *bis.*

² *Hand changes here.*

uair gidh mor muirn 7 m(e)agair, aibhneas 7 aineas Eamna Ab-laighi, (b)a gairdi le Curcoig beth isin Brugh ar bord na (Bo)inne ana sin, 7 do bhi Manannan ac fosdadh (Cu)rcoici 7 atbert an laid :

(1. 25) (A Ch)urcog in crotha glain,
na bi aidleasg fa anmain ;
Docluín(f)e am nona uili
ceola Thire Tarrngaire.

(Do)ghebim is me am imdha
sasadh adbul gach inmhe ;
... fidir aga garg glan
tonn ard Tragha da Innmear.

(Cuan Cruí)thne ris tib grian,
ar a mbi enluith nach dian,
... c de da comadh ceana
tri torad, a bancara. A Curcog.

9. Asa haithle sin do gluais Curcog guna bann(trach)t 7 doniat celeabradh do Manannan 7 da mhnai (7 d')a muinntir, 7 trialluit cu Brugh na Boinne, et (gluaisi)s Aengus na n-agaídh 7 feruis failti risin (mban)ntracht, 7 fochtais scela dibh, 7 fiaf-ruigis (de C)urcoig ga biad no ga deoch do caitheadh (Eithn)e no in tuc Manannan aithne ar an adbur (fa) nach caitheadh biadh. 'Nir blais biadh na deoch ... n cuairtsi,' ar Curcog, 'acht bleaghan na brice Manannain (7 nir) fedsat morcumachta Manannain biadh na deoch (d'f)urail uirri. Gidh eadh sen, tuc aithne ar an (adbúr) um nach blaisinn biadh.' 'Ar innis Manannan (duit)si in t-adbur?' ar Aengus. 'Da innis, imorro,' ar Curcog, (1896) '7 is eadh adubairt gurab e in t-ennDia uilechumhachtach fadeara di gan biadh Tuaithi De Danann do chaithimh, 7 adubairt in tan tuc Finnbar an t-imdergadh don inghin gur sgar re a draidhecht 7 gu tainic spirut ainglidhi na hinad aigneadh, 7 adubairt gurab e sin adbur a treghinuís 7 gu nach do muinntir nech ele dhisi acht d'fírmhuinntir in airdrig uilicúmachtaigh.' Cid tra o aimsir Eirimhoin mic Miledh don inghin ar an ordugadh sin gu haimsir Laegaire mic Nell Naogiallaigh .i. in aimsir a tai(n)ic in Tailginn d'innsaigi Erenn, 7 as e orduchadh bui ar an ingin an aimsir sin, a tigh a hoide Aengusa a mBrugh na Boindi fecht ann, 7 a tig Manannain uair

ele a nEmain Ablagh, 7 ni blaisidh biadh na deoch a tig Manannain acht bleagan na brici, 7 ni chaithidh sa mBrugh acht bleaghan na huidri Aengusa, 7 si fen ac bleaghan gach bo dibh a meaduir oir amail do raidhsim romhainn. Acht einni do hurrdercaigedh fa Erinn ac Tuathaibh De Danann 7 ac Macuibh Miledh oileamain na hingine sin .i. oileamain tighi da mheadar 7 doberar altromh tighi da mheadar uirri fos 7 ata in oileamain sin na senfocul fos 7 biaidh cu brath.

10. Ar torochtuin an Tailginn, 7 ar ndichur druadh 7 deman do a hErinn, 7 ar ndul fa cuing credmhe 7 crabaidh do cach a coitchinne, do bi Curcoc guna banntracht ar faighthi Brogha na Boinne a n-aimsir hsamhraidh. Gabus tesbach 7 bruithin an banntracht 7 docuadar do tsnamh ar in mBoinn, 7 in trath ba saitheach snama 7 onfaisi an ingenradh, dochuaidh gach ben dibh d'innsaigi a herridh 7 ro fagsat in abhann, 7 nir mothaigh Ethne an ingenradh ag imthecht 7 is amlaidh tarrla doibh, ro dealaigh d'raiadecht an fed fia risin ingin n-ilcrothaigh sin .i. re hEthne, uair is tairis sen nach faicthi in banntracht do bunadh, 7 is tairis nach faicti Ethne gusan uair sin, 7 ni facaidh Ethne in banntracht annsin, 7 atcidhfedh gach aen isi. 7 tainic a tir 7 do gab a hedach uimpi, 7 gabus ac iarraidh in banntrachta fa bruachaibh na Boinne, 7 ni fuair, 7 ni cian rainic in tan atconnaic in garrgha gegach gormcraebach, 7 in maelcladh relgi arna togbail na timchill, 7 tet in ingin d'innsaighi na relgi sin, 7 atconnuic clerech finnliath forbhfhailidh a n-orsain na hegailsi, 7 leabar 'na fiaghnaise, 7 e ac moladh in duileman cu dicra. Bennuighis an ingin a cedoir don clerech 7 freagrais an clerech: 'Cred dober att aenar tu, a ingean?' ar se. Do innis an ingean a himtehta uile do. 'Cia tusa, a clerigh?' ar in inghin, '7 cia muinntear da fuili?' 'Do m(uinn)tir De damsas,' ar in clerech, '7 Padraig mac Alpuirn is tigerna tanuisti damh. Ga muinnter duitsi, a ingean?' ar in clerech. 'Do Tuathaibh De Danann damh,' ar si, 'gus anosa, 7 bud inan(n) muinnter damh 7 duitsi feasta.' 'Is moceina do (r)ochtuin chugainn,' ar in clerech, '7 ni du damsas d... (190a) re nech madh do mhuinntir dilis De do.' 'Cret in cerd sin agatsa?' ar in ingean. 'Acc moladh in Coimdedh 7 ag radh leghinn isin leabar so, 7 damadh do mhuinntir dilis De duitsi robudh ingnadh gan a aithne agat.' 'Docair damhsa a aithne agum,' ar in ingean, 'uair ni fhaca a lethet riam. Gidh eadh cena robudh maith lem

tusa dom tegasc uaidh so amach, 7 dena aicect damh gach laei,
7 atbert:

- (1. 7) Dena damh a cana fen,
a oglaigh geallas mu rer,
maca samla do bhinde
ní chuala a Tir Thairrngire.

Masa binn let a cluine,
a inghean find foltbhuide,
estfe gu fir don chur so
a fuil isin leabhar so.

Gebh in tsaltair mbic gu grinn,
a laindclerigh an Tailginn,
a fuil innti gu segda
cuir dom meabair is dena. Dena.

11. A haithle na laidi sin do crom Ethne a cenn os cinn an leabhair, 7 leghis gan fhuireach he mar do beth on oidce rucadh hi ga fhoghluim. Ba hingnadh dano lesin clerech in comradh do can an inghin 7 mar do legh si an leabhar, uair da mbeth a tuc Padraig do leabraibh les a nErinn aici do leghfedh gan fuireach iat, 7 ba moidi a muirn 7 a cata *con* clerech e sen 7 do badar mar sin cu tainic am proinne don clerech. Ergis an clerech iar sin, 7 gabhais a hslat dubhanachta, 7 tét le d'innsaighi na habann, 7 nír fada d'Ethne ga *fuirnaidhe* in tan tainic don tigh 7 egne aluinn aigi. 'Cret sin agat?' ar in ingean. 'Mo chuid gacha tratha on Choimdidh,' ar in clerech, '7 ata detfir agumsa anocht di nach roibhi gus anocht.' 'Cred he sein?' ar in ingean. 'Nach mo ana dil enduine ata agum.' 'Dafeadarsa mar dogentair sin, a uasail,' ar an inghin, 'ní chuideghsa do chuid ortsa, acht gabhsa in duban 7 sir cuid ar an Coimdidh cucamsa mar fuarais duit fein.' 'Rachaidh misi annsin, a ingean,' ar esium, 7 do cuaidh an clerech docum na habann, 7 do cuir in dubhan sis 7 nír fada a fuireach in tan ro ghabustar bradan bithaluinn, 7 ní facaidh a inntsamhuil riamh, 7 tuc les d'innsaighi na hingine he, 7 ba fedhm do a imchar on abhuinn gusan eglais, 7 legis ar lar an bradan, 7 slechtais fen don inghin asa haitle, 7 atbert: 'Is muinnter do Dia cu demin tusa, a ingean,' ar esium, '7 bidh m'anumsa ar inchuibh hanma,' 7 do hsuid an clerech iar sin, 7 roghabh ag inneonadh an escc no gur urrlam he, 7 do

chaithset a ndil de .i. leth a lethi (7) fuaradar blas meala ar gach mir de, 7 do derig^h sium (lea)ba(*id*) don ingin annsin, 7 leabaid ele do fein, 7 do bhatar (1906) ac denumh a trat gu cubhuidh comhaentagach gach (uair) fa du doibh. Imthusa na hinghine gunuigi si(n). Imthusa in banntrachta, imorro, do fhagsat Ethne 7 ni fhuaradar hi, 7 dochuadar d'innsaighi Aengusa gu ha(th)mhelach, 7 innisit cu hedana esbaidh na hingine. Sbregus Aenghus Curcog a cedoir, 7 gabhtar a ech do, 7 teit Curcog les isin lorgairecht. Gluais(is) Aenghas remhe gu roi-dhigair, 7 nír fagaib dunadh a nErinn gan iarraidh don ingin, 7 ní fuair etir hi, 7 tainic gu borduib na Boinne 7 do gab ag iarraidh Ethne, 7 mar do bhatar ann atconncatar in duirrtheach 7 in trebh, 7 tangatar ara agaidh don taibh ele don abhuinn. Sillis Eithne uaithi amach ar an marcshluagh 7 aithnis Aengus 7 Curcog guna comhaltuibh 7 tuc in clerech da aidh hi, 7 d(ech) fen ar in leth a bhfacuidh airi na hingine, 7 g(e) dhéach ní fhacuidh iatsumh, uair bui an fe(d) fia tairrsibh, 7 do fiafraig an clerech don inghin, 'Cret atchisi, a ingean?' ar se. 'Atciu Aeng(us) m'oidi fen 7 he gum iarraidh, 7 Curchog mu chomhalta, 7 teglach in Brogha 7 a banntracht, 7 bidh iarraidh dimhain doibh hi,' ar in ingean. 'Budh eadh cheana, madh maith le Dia,' ar an clerech, 7 a(tbert si) :

(l. 24) Inmuin lem in marcshluaghsa
atchiu lamh re Boinn mbordghuirm,
gasradh rigda r(o)uallach
nar ob deabhuidh na doghruing.

Ri greadhnach na gasraidhi
Aengus Og mac in Dagda,
is marcach is maraidhi
as mile crechtach calma.

Teglach cas in caemBroga
gum shur gu cumtach ciamuir.
bidh he anocht ainm Aengusa,
sgith nach fagaib a iarr(aidh).

Mna in Brogha finn fernaidhi
is mu co(m)alta Curcog,
ní anat gum ecain(i),
(b)udh fedm do cach a cudhnogh.

On lo fhuarus achmusan
 o brathair m'oidi o Fhinnb(arr),
 ni anabh ar Manannan
 ar Ilbreac shaer na ar Shighma(II).

Bendacht uaim don Fhinnbarrsain,
 mu grad [do] Dhia is trit tainic,
 glor fir in fhuilt (il)clannaigh,
ger innair lim in la sin.

Ni anamh ar Abhartach,
 ar Bhodbh na ar Midir m(. . .)
terc cer d . . . a crabhadsan
 ar neach budh molta in mu(in . . .).

(191a) Ni anamh don dulasa
 ag nech do Thuaith Dé Danann,
 Tinnlaicim don turussa
 mu corp d'Isa 7 m'anamm.

Muchen techt in Tailginnsi,
 tainic a nErinn ibhruigh.
 'na egmais ni fhuilngimsi,
 gidh *terc* nech les ab inmain. Inmain.

12. A haithli na laidhi sin do guigh an clerech in Coimdhi fa Padraig do toighecht dia furtacht 7 da fhoirithin ar egle na hingine do breith uadha da ainndeoín, 7 tuc an Coimdhi don clerech a itgi fhireoin d'fagbhail, gurub a n-enfecht tainic Padraig guna clercibh gu dorus in duirtighi 7 Aenghus don leth ele don abhuinn. Is annsin do fiafraigh Padraig don clerech sgela na hingine, 7 rainic imagallam etarra (7) Aengus uimpi, gur fiafraigh Aenghus: 'In legi mu dhalta cugam, a clerigh?' 'Ni duit is dalta (i) etir,' ar Padraig, 'acht do Dia na ndul, gidh do oi(li)si re hathaidh hi.' 'Samhluimsi h'egniugadh fan (in)ghin,' ar Aengus, 'dá sailinn a tarbha do thecht dam.' '(Ner)t 7 cumhachta in Choimdedh uaimsi att agaidh,' ar Padraig, '7 da ndernta mu chomhuirlisi, a Aenghuis,' ar sé, 'ni att agaidh do benn um gach ní coir.' 'Cidh eisen?' ar Aengas. 'Adhradh don fhir-Dhia uilicumachtach 7 na dee dímhaine do hsechna, 7 do bhaistedh a n-ainm na Trinoiti 7 t'ainm do haitherrach, 7 do scaradh re p(i)anaibh.' 'Ni hí sin toisg fa a tangamar o ar tigh,' ar Aengus. Sporuis Aengus

a each on abuinns iarsin 7 tet ar culaibh gu dubach dobronach
7 do faguibh a dalta ger leasc leis, 7 adubairt in laidh :

(l. 28) (D)enum impodh imshnimhuch
o Ethne finnghil aebhdha,
in ghes daithgheal dimbrigach
(do)ninn coidchi do chaemhna.

... me gersat comhalta
ní maith do choimhed Curchocc,
... gradh don fhel osgarda
lecfet trit uaim a urmhor.

Abrumne tri tromghairi
acc cáinedh dalta an Brogha.
Atu d'es na dondbaine
mar fear ar eis a gona.

(E)thne nochá lenamhsa
uaidh so amach (go) brach mbeathach,
buadach tug gu *derg* mu . . . a
ní hainm dom Aengus uallach.

... beth a tarbaisi
sa breth ar egin. Erghium,
a sluaigh Thire Tarngairi,
acht gidh doilidh duinn denium.

(1916) Truadh lem techt in Tailginnsi
isin crichsi, ní chelumm ;
imthecht on ti fhagbuimsi
acht gid decuir dímm denium. Denium.

Asa haithli sin do lecc Aengus 7 a muinnter gair adhbul
acaintech acc caineadh Étne. Mar atcualuid Ethne gair muinntiri
Aengusa ga caineadh bidhgais a croidhi na cliabh 7 ergis
treghait cumhud on cich go araile innti 7 iarruis a baistedh
7 loghadh a pecadh ar Padraig, 7 frith sin o Phadraig 7 tuc
a hainm fein uirri. Acht enní, gu ceann caiedighis don inghin
mar sin ag tromughadh a heslainti uirri 7 ac guighi De 7 Padraig,
7 fa dobron le Padraig 7 lena clerchibh sin, 7 mar do mhothaigh
Ethne bas na fochair, snaidhmis comuirci a hanma ar Dia 7 ar
Padraig, 7 atbert an laidh :

- (l. 14) Goirid mhe, a mhuinnter nimhe,
m'anum ar bhur n-impidhi,
ní tregeabh nemh anosa
ar Brugh m'oidi Aenghosa.

Aibhinn an tegdais a taid
degmhuinnter in Coimdedh caidh ;
rath mar e nochan faghar
as conach gan chumhscagadh.

Gidh imda gairthi is gola
ac banntrachtuibh an Bhrogha,
ferr lem gair clerech fam ceand
ac ditén m'anma ar Ifreann.

Atlochar do Christ na clann
scaradh re Tuaith De Danann.
Gid dibh damsá nochá dibh,
credim d'Isa don ardrigh.

Altramh tighi da medar,
in scel, ní scel nach feadar,
bed ag a iarraidh uile
uaisle Fodla feruighe.

A Padraig mic Alpruinn fel
cu scara m'anmuin re pen ;
logh damh mu chintá is mu coir,
ma docluine me fregoir. Goirid me a m.n.

A haithle na laidhi sin, do ghabh Padraig cenn na hingine 'na ucht, 7 faidhis a spirut docum nime, 7 adlaicter gu hanorach acasumh hí, conadh uaithi ainmnighthir Ceall Ethne ar Brugh na Boinne. Fis anma in clerigh gusa tainic an ingean .i. Ceasan mac rig Alban esen 7 sagart mesi do Padraig he, 7 tug fuath don ditreb tre eg Ethne innti 7 fagbhais hi, 7 ted cu Fidh nGaible 7 bennuighis ann, conadh ann ata in ceall ainmnighthir uadha .i. Cluain Cesain a Ros mic Treoin a Fidh Gaible 7 fa longport sealga don fenn he reme sin. Gurub Altrum T(ighe) da Mhedar conuigi sin. Et do orduigh Padr(aig) (192a) gan chodladh gan chomhradh risin scel so, 7 gan a innisin acht d'uathadh¹ do deghdainibh gumadh ferddi do hestfidhe ris, 7

¹ Meyer wrongly da aithris.

do ordaigh Padraig buada imdha ele air, mar aderur isin marb-
naidsi sis :

- (1. 4) Claittir libh fert fiail-Ethne
isin chill oṣ Boinn braenglais,
d'es gege na grian-aithni
ni ba subach sluagh ¹ Aenghaiss.
Misi is Aengus armghasda,
dias nach cosmail run clethe,
ni raibhi ar tuind talmansa
engrad againn mar Ethne.
Faigfitsa na buadha sa
ar sgelaib Ethne o Fhinnmhaigh,
buaidh cloinni, buaidh comulta,
da fegha ac fes le finnmnaibh.
Da n-innisi an oilemain
re ndul a luing no a n-eathar,
ticfa gu samh soineamail
gan gabhadh tonn na treathan.
Da n-innisi an oil(emain)
(re ndul a m)breth no a fiadach,
biaidh do dail c(o soineamail),
(biaidh cach) romat gu riarach.
Scela Ethni d'inn(isin)
re tabairt duit mna moilli,
maith in cem do cinnessi,
budh buaidh cele 7 cloinne.
Indis sgela saeir-Ethne
re ndul a tech nua n-ola,
gan troid serb gan saeb-aithni,
gan nochtadh airm cuirr crodha.
Indis do righ railinmar ²
scela Ethne tre orghan,
ni fhaghand a aithrighe
acht gu n-esti gan chomradh.
Da n-innisi in t-oirscelsa
do chimeadhuibh na h-Erinn,

¹ *Meyer*, slan; sluagh M.

² raithlinmar M.

inann is do hoislectha
 da nglasaibh is da ngebhinn.
 Bendacht ar in anmainisi
 dó bi a curp Ethni ailli,
 gach aen ga mbia in marbnadsi
 budh he berus an bairi.
 Inmuin folt blaith bunbuidhi,
 inmuin aigedh caemh corcra,
 inmuin corp caemh cubraighi,
 inmuin bel fa binn focla.
 Inmuin corp saer sogradach,
 inmhuin aghaidh gu bfinne,
 inmhuin bel caemh comhnarach,
 inmuin sliasat gu ngile.
 Sgribhthuir ag ar scoluibne
 a fearta fele is faicthear.
 Coruighthear n-ar ndomuinne,¹
 a corp san chillsi claittear.

Claittear libh fert fiail. Finit.

TRANSLATION.

1. A high king, valiant, victorious, of numerous issue, powerful, fierce, active, bright-cheeked, terrible, took the high-kingship of Ireland, without . . ., without defect, without strife; and the name of that high king was Erimon the Great, son of Mil. And (the) woman who was his wife was (Tea), daughter of Lughaidh, (son of Ith, son of Mil). From that name is Mur Te, i.e. Teamair . . . And Muighne and Luighne and Laighne were sons to him, and those sons were sons of a *mile* (warrior), for though Mile was not their father's name, (that) high king (was) a *mile* in prowess and in great courage. And his brothers were the good (men), i.e. Donn and Eber and Amairgin and Arannan and Colpa of the sword. And he was the first king of Eire without a doubt, after that name had been given to it, for Eire was not its name till the time of the three sons of Cearmad Midhbeoil, son of the Dagda, i.e. the payment they demanded of that warrior was the giving of their own names

¹ Claoidhfior sond fert fialEithne, M.

to (that country), i.e. Eire and Fodla and Banba, and it is Erimon without a doubt who was the first king of Eire on that account, as the poet says in the quatrain :

Finntan said, true for the champion,
On the coming of the Scots from Scythia,
It was no falsehood for the great slender-fingered ones,
Erimon was the first king of Eire.

And it is he, moreover, who contested Banba for his brothers, and it is he who inflicted the great slaughters and losses on the Tuatha Dé Danann at Druim Lighean and at Loch Feabail, so that he contested Ireland for Eber Finn, his brother, and for himself powerfully, so that he and his brother were a year in the high-kingship of Ireland, until there arose a fury of war and a seething of anger and a breach of fraternal feeling in the minds of those high kings, and we bear witness . . . between them, that it was Eber who was guilty of that rising, for it is he who refused, with the malice and bad advice of his own wife, and it is he who in pride declared battle on Erimon, and his pride and anarchy were turned against himself, for the dangerous battle of Geisil was waged between those high kings, so that Eber fell by Erimon in that battle. However, it was unjust of Eber to make that uprising, for it is Erimon who contested the kingship of Ireland for him and for his brother, and it is he who first turned the battle of Taillte against the Tuatha Dé Danann in which there fell three kings of Ireland, i.e. MacCuill and MacCecht and MacGreine, and it is he, too, who turned the battle of Druim Lighean against the Tuatha Dé Danann, and not against them only, but against the heroes of Lochlainn along with them. However, though we have spoken of Eber and Erimon in this place, it is not about them that the rest of this story is to be written. The doings of the race of Mil up to this.

2. As for the Tuatha Dé Danann, the tale is now told here. After Erimon had defeated the heroes and warriors at the battles of Taillte and Druim Lighean in the matter of the partition of the territory of Ireland, the noble high king, great powerful Manannán, was brought to them that he might take counsel with them, and Manannán's advice to the warriors was that they should spread themselves in the elf-mounds, and quarter themselves on the hills and pleasant plains

of Ireland, and Bodb Derg was made king by the men and Manannán . . . over them, and Manannán appointed for the nobles their position in the elf-mounds, i.e. Bodb Derg to Sidh Buidb over Lake Dergirt, and Midhir of great pride to Sidh Truim of beautiful slopes, and Sighmall the amiable to bright-formed Sidh Neannta, and Finnbarr Meadha to the bleak-hilled Sidh Meadha, and great Tadg son of Nuada to Sidh Droma Dean, and Abhartach son of Ildathach to the beautiful-topped Sidh Buidhe, and Faghartach to the truly beautiful Sidh Finnabrach, and Ilbreac to Sidh Aedha Easa Ruaidh, and Lir, son of Lughaidh, to green-grassed Sidh Finnachaidh, and Derg of swift eloquence to Sidh Cleitigh. And to every one of the Tuatha Dé Danann to whom it was fitting to get an abode and a seat of dignity, Manannán appointed a special abode for every good man, and the *Feth Fiadha* and the Feast of Goibhne and the swine of Manannán were made for the warriors, i.e. the *Feth Fiadha* through which the chiefs were not seen, and the Feast of Goibhne to ward off age and death from the high kings, and the swine of Manannán to be killed and to continue to exist for the warriors. And Manannán instructed those nobles in the laying out of their elf-mansions and the arranging of their strongholds in the manner of the houses of the beautiful-sloped Land of Promise and beautiful Emhain Ablach. And those nobles enjoined on Manannán, when their abodes would be ready, to be at the festival of every mansion and the feast of every prince, so that he might get his own rights and dues and duties for every stronghold.

3. And there was another magician in Ireland at that time that we have not counted, i.e. Ealcmarr was the name of that warrior, and his son was Cairbre Crom, and Sighmall, son of Cairbre Crom, was another powerful person of them, and Aengus Óg, son of the Dagda, was (foster-son) to that Ealcmarr, and the Brugh by the Boyne was his home. That worthy (was) of the nobles of the Tuatha Dé Danann. And Manannán undertook for those heroes to come at their (summons. When) Bodb Derg, son of the Dagda, had the festival of his mansion ready, he sent for Manannán with the nobles of his people to partake of that feast. My mind is not on relating its evidence and tidings, but we know that the people had no lack of good things. Manannán, however, made a circuit of every one of his elf-mounds, and when Ealcmarr heard that Manannán was

on that circuit, he did not think it honourable or becoming to be forgotten by those worthies, (and) he sent his foster-son to him inviting him, i.e. Aengus Óg, son of the Dagda. And Manannán proceeded to the bank of the Boyne of green waters. The excellent (bright) Sidh an Bhrogha was freshly strewn with rushes before Manannán, and Manannán came before the hosts (to the) fortress, and this was the account of the hall, i.e. a beautiful copper floor from door to door of that stronghold, and coverings with white bronze on its floors, and shapely compartments of silver over the floor-coverings with beautiful key-shaped corners, with (points) with (?) melodious birds over those corners, and it were no (small) entertainment for the high king, even though he got no . . . of feasting, but listening to the . . . and merriment of the youths and to the pleasure of the maidens over stately needlework and the sound of the chess being skilfully played. However, the tidings of that house would be almost a book, whoever would relate them . . . But the powerful ones of the Tuatha Dé Danann, and the nobles of the Land of Promise were all there, and there was not a prince or a lord of them all but felt longing and envy for that house.

4. Ealcmarr goes to a place of counsel and advice and called his serving folk and his head steward to him, i.e. Dichu was his goodly name, and spoke thus to them: 'Approach for me, good people,' said he, 'the woods and waterfalls of Ireland, and the estuaries, to seek fish and birds and venison for the high king.' Dichu proceeded with his good son, (i.e.) Roc, son of Dichu. And the chiefs sit down to the feast, and Manannán sat with the warriors, and Bodb Derg on his right hand, and Ealcmarr on the hand that held his shield in every fray, and Eachdonn the great, son of Manannán, at the side of the royal house, and Abartach on the right hand of that worthy, and Sidhmall the peaceful on the south side of him, and every man of the warriors in his fitting and honourable place from that out, and Aengus with the attendants placing and arranging them, and the choicest of every drink and every good food was given to them, till the hosts were merry and cheerful. However, those warriors were for three days and three nights in that order, and at the end of the fourth day, Manannán caused the house to be cleared, so that there was not left woman's son that had tasted life in that palace but Manannán and Aengus,

and he had a bout of conversation with Aengus, and spoke thus: 'The house is pleasant, Aengus,' said he, 'and I never saw but Cruithin na Cuan or Eamhain Ablach (as pleasant). And good is its position on the bank of the Boyne at the confines of the five provinces, and if I were you, Aengus, I should have this house for myself, and I should call on Ealcmár to leave it, and you would get a charm and a spell from your powerful friend towards doing that,' and he spoke the lay, and we shall pass over the lay here.

And after that lay, Manannán again took to conversing with Aengus, and spoke thus: 'Do you know, Aengus,' said Manannán, 'that of all you Tuatha Dé Danann who exist, I am over-king of your kings, and ancestor of your hosts, and counsellor of your battalions, and prince of your strong men? And though Ealcmár is your foster-father, methinks I am your father in valour and championship and magic, and I am foster-son of your good father, i.e. of the Dagda, and all of your father's children who are in prosperity, I have a share in giving it to them (?).' 'I like your admitting that,' said Aengus, 'and what is the cause of your mentioning that friendliness?' said Aengus. 'You shall have knowledge of that,' said Manannán, 'and swear by your word, and your bright shield, and your sword, and the beautiful gods of adoration, that you will act on my advice for this time.' And Aengus made those vows though unwilling to, for . . . was as good as a father (to him). 'Do you know, Aengus,' said Manannán, 'that (this house) is not rightly Ealcmár's, and the fortress is not worthily his, and that he will not have the Brugh permanently? And when the drinking-house shall be arranged for us, go thou to Ealcmár and bid him to depart, for that would be a good charm and omen for you, and it would be a loss and grief for him, and it would be expulsion for him, i.e. the charm by which angels came from the King of Heaven, and from the Ruler of the universe, and the charm by which we took away the kingship of Fodla from the Fir Bolg, and the charm by which the sons of Mil took away the sovereignty of Ireland from ourselves again, call on him not to come to the house from which he goes until *ogham* and *achu*¹ be mixed together, and till heaven and earth be mixed together, and until sun

¹ I have not found any other instance of this word.

and moon be mixed together.' 'Is there a god over our gods?' said Aengus. 'There is, indeed,' said Manannán, 'the one God Almighty who is able to condemn our gods, and whom they are not able to despoil, i.e. the powerful Lord, who made heaven and earth and the sea with (its) wonders, and who made the four elements in entirety. Do you know, Aengus,' said Manannán, 'why people were made in the beginning?' 'I do not know,' said Aengus. 'This is the cause,' said Manannán. 'The one God we have mentioned above, formed ten orders of angels around him, and the lord of the tenth order of them became vain and proud, and they left the abundant plain of heaven, and God (excluded) the tenth order from his territory . . . and formed men . . . and turned into demons those who left his territory in pride, and he made a gaol and prison to punish them, and he takes every one who is obedient to him into his Heaven, and he puts all who are against him into that prison for punishment, and that is the cause of the creation of men,' said Manannán. 'It is not about that we are (concerned),' said he, 'but act on my advice for this time.' 'I am loath to do that,' said Aengus, 'for the pleasure and honour of the Brugh are in my own power, and its profit and its substance are for me, and no foster-child should be honoured after me if I should do that.' 'Cease,' said Manannán, 'for a king is nobler than a knight, and a prince is nobler than a tanist, and control is better than sharing, and certainty is better than pity, and a . . . of his hands is better than the . . . of a mother or father, of whichever of them you would make a request.' That gave Aengus much confidence, and he said, 'Your advice will be acted upon this time, O high king.'

5. As for Ealcmarr, he took counsel with his friends whether the king's repast should await the messengers who went from them to look for fish and birds and venison. And every one's advice was that the king should not wait for them, and that there was no shortage of food and drink. And Manannán came out and walked a while, and the Brugh was set in order by Ealcmarr for Manannán, and Manannán came with his people into the elf-mound and sat . . . with the warriors, and all of them sat in their own proper places from that on, and they were eating their meal, and sharing their repast till all the hosts were merry and cheerful except Aengus alone, for he was unable to eat (?) through dread

of denouncing of his foster-father, and nevertheless he came before Ealcmarr when Manannán ordered the making of the proclamation, and he made a terrible omen for the denouncing of his foster-father, and called on Ealcmarr to leave the Brugh without staying or delaying in it. After those words that Aengus pronounced to (his) foster-father, Ealcmarr arose hastily, dismayed, nimbly, as a timorous, nervous deer rises from a mound on being chased, or as a flock of birds rises before a hawk. Ealcmarr proceeded out of the Brugh with all his people, man and wife, and it should not be said that a devil has no power after that denouncing, for had all the men in Ireland tried to retain any one of them, they could not, for the strength of the charm and omen. And when Ealcmarr arrived outside on the moist sloping lawn of the Brugh, he looked at his wife and all his people. 'I am sorry for the plight ye are in there, beloved people,' said he, 'and it is sad (lit. long) for you to part with the Boyne and the Brugh, and you will get great hardship and affliction from this out. And it is treacherous Manannán who taught my foster-son a charm and omen by magic and devilry to banish me, and woe to him who does good to a foster-child after me; I vow by my word,' said Ealcmarr, 'if Aengus had sought the kingship of the Brugh from me, it is certain I should have given it to him without his making the proclamation.' And after that Ealcmarr went forth from them, and Aengus came out on the lawn, and fell to talking with him, and offered him [leave] to stay and settle, being taken with shame and penitence. Nevertheless he could not keep him against the strength of the charm and omen Aengus had placed on him, and after that Ealcmarr went forth. And that company had no more than gone out of sight when Aengus saw the steward of the Brugh and his wife and good son [coming] towards him, and they tell news to one another, and the steward accepted protection from Aengus, and Aengus told him to remain in his stewardship since he had not obtained his share of the proclamation, and the stewardship of the whole Brugh was put under his control.

6. And it happened that the wife of the chief steward was pregnant at that time. When Aengus saw that, he bound him in fosterage, and they came together into the Brugh, and the chief steward bound Manannán in friendship. And those

nobles asked Manannán where Ealcmarr would find a resting-place. 'I do not know that,' said Manannán, 'and neither the seers nor visionaries of the whole world know that, but the one Almighty God knows,' said Manannán. And Aengus made the festival of the Brugh then for Manannán and the nobles of the Tuatha Dé Danann. And when the feast was finished by the chiefs . . . to listen to what he would pronounce, and . . . and Aengus said . . . said he, 'that your wife is pregnant, and whatever child she may bear, to get it to foster and rear, and the child of every other one of the Tuatha Dé Danann.' 'That will be obtained,' said Manannán and every one unanimously. Aengus bound that fosterage on every one in general. Manannán proceeded to his fortress, and when he arrived, his wife brought forth the offspring that was in her womb, i.e. a shapely, gently beautiful maiden, with a stack (*or* tuft) of curly, saffron-yellow hair on her head, and she is baptized accordingly, and Curcog (Beehive) was given her as a name. And she was brought to Aengus for fosterage and rearing, and with her the daughters of the other powerful ones who were of like age. As for the wife of the steward, she bore a daughter at that time, and Ethne was given her as a name, and Aengus took her for rearing like every other child. And a beautiful shapely *grianán* was made for the maidens, and he reared them for a time, and there came not before nor since a more charming or more modest group of women than those womenfolk of Curcog's. And there was one woman of them who excelled them all in form and charm and modesty, i.e. Ethne, daughter of Dichu, and no one ever saw her but gave his soul's love to her, and she was dearest to Aengus of the maidens. And the tale of those womenfolk spread all over Ireland, and the steward's daughter was more renowned than all the women and than Curcog. And the nobles of the Tuatha Dé Danann came, because of the fame of the womenfolk, and so came Finnbarr Meadha from the bleak-hilled Sidh Meadha, to the Brugh by the Boyne to see those women, and he was given a truly gentle welcome, and their steeds and chariots were unyoked, and they came into the Brugh with Aengus, and they were so, drinking and making merry, and Finnbarr said it was to see the womenfolk he had come. And Aengus said: 'Your choice for you—to go to the *grianán* in which the womenfolk are, or have them brought to you.' And the choice Finnbarr made

was that the womenfolk should be brought to him into his presence ; and Aengus sent for Curcog with her womenfolk, and Curcog came with her womenfolk into the presence of Aengus and Finnbarr, and Finnbarr looked at Curcog and all her womenfolk, and looked intently at Ethne, daughter of Dichu ; and Finnbarr asked : ‘ Who is that who is sitting on her heel (?) . And though I am asking it,’ said Finnbarr, ‘ it is the steward’s daughter who is doing it, and I had like to name her “ heel-sitting ” (?) ,’ and he spoke the quatrain :

The royal daughter of the steward,
dear is the gentle stately swan,
It is one of the children of a proper person
who has sat upon her heel (?) .

And after that the shapely face of the maiden became white and grey and red, and she went sorrowfully, anxiously, wet-cheeked, flaming in countenance, to the *grianán* in which she was wont to dwell. And when Aengus saw that, his (anger) arose dreadfully, and he proclaimed that Finnbarr and his people should be killed ; however, he called to mind his friendship, and his heart changed, and his mind turned . . .

And after that Finnbarr prepared to depart in enmity from Aengus, and his people advised Finnbarr not to part in enmity with his brother, and Finnbarr goes back into the Brugh again, and he goes into Aengus’s presence, and bends his two bright skilful knees to the earth before his brother. ‘ Why is that done, Finnbarr,’ said Aengus, ‘ since you are the elder and nobler, and since I am the youngest of the good children of the Dagda ? For every guilty one should blame himself.¹ That will be got from you,’ said Aengus, and they put their two bright beautiful mouths together, and kissed each other in friendship. And the Brugh was set in order then for Finnbarr and Aengus, and Curcog and her womenfolk were brought into the hall, and Aengus and Finnbarr sat with the chiefs, and they put Curcog between them to honour her, and Aengus put his beloved foster-child next to him, i.e. Ethne, daughter of Dichu. However, there was no lack of food in that palace, nor of drink nor good things, and there was no person of them who was

¹ Possibly Finnbarr speaks this sentence.

not merry and satisfied, except Ethne alone, and every one, even Finnbarr and Aengus and Curcog, bowed before her to urge her to eat food, and she did not consent to that. However, Finnbarr was three days and three nights feasting in that fortress. They take leave of one another at the end of the third. And Finnbarr proceeded to the gently beautiful Cnoc Meadha.

7. As for Ethne, she was for seven days and seven nights without tasting food or drink, and if all the men of Ireland had urged her to take food or drink, she would not have taken it, and there was not any kind of food or drink in the world but the maiden was asked to take it, and on getting it she would say she would not take it. And Aengus considered whether she would drink the milk of the dun cow, milked in a shapely methers of gold, i.e. a dun cow Aengus had there, and a remarkable, unique possession, the like of which was not in Ireland nor in the whole world, except for one other cow. 'Who will milk it for me, Aengus?' said the maiden. 'Your own choice of a woman in the whole steading up to Curcog, or yourself, maiden,' said Aengus. 'I myself will milk it,' said the maiden. 'You shall get that,' said Aengus; and the cow was brought to Ethne to be milked with its special silken spancel and with its shapely methers of gold. And the maiden washed her pleasant, bright-fingered, beautifully coloured, rosy-nailed hands, and thereupon the maiden milked the cow without delay. And the maiden and Aengus drank the milking of the dun cow then. And whenever it was a meal-time for the others, the cow used to be brought to the maiden to be milked, and her milk was food and drink for her; and if all the foods of the world were brought to the maiden, she would not have fared better on them than on the milking of the dun cow only. And one day that the maiden was milking the dun cow, she asked Aengus, 'Where did you get the dun cow, or was it Ealcmar (who left) it in the Brugh?' 'You shall get knowledge of it,' (said Aengus). 'A visit I made with (Manannán) over the sea eastwards, till we reached the Golden Pillars in the east of the world, and we came from that to India, and we got wonderful booty in it, the like of which was never got before, i.e. two cows with pointed horns and constant milk, i.e. a speckled cow and a dun cow, and two shapely golden methers and two special silken spacels as well, and we brought them with us to Ireland, and we shared our

booty then, and Manannán gave half the booty to me,' said Aengus, 'both of methers and cows and spancels, and I brought what you see with me, i.e. Aengus's dun cow, and she is in constant milk every season of the year, and a lasting taste of honey and the intoxication of wine in her milk, and the satisfying power of goodly food, and that is how I got the dun cow,' said Aengus.

8. And after that Aengus left no druid, or seer, or sage or magician in Ireland without inquiring of them what caused the maiden not to eat any food in the world but the milking of the dun cow alone. And he did not get knowledge of it from any of them. And that story reached Cruithin na Cuan and Emhain Ablach and the nobles of the Land of Promise, and that story they heard from Ethne from Ireland was a wonder to them. And Manannán sent messengers for Curcog and her womenfolk, and for Ethne, too, especially, that he might find out what caused her to be without eating food, and those messengers reached Brugh of the Boyne. And Aengus sent his trusty men and servitors (with them) to Emhain Ablach, and they reached the lawn of Cruithin na Cuan, and all the youths of the place came to meet them, and Manannán and his nobles, and his wife and her womenfolk. And the womenfolk were given a truly gentle welcome (and) the house of Manannán's (wife was prepared?) for the maidens. And Manannán called to him Curcog, and Ethne, into a place of solitude, and said to Ethne, 'Is it true that you do not eat food?' said Manannán. 'It is true, indeed,' said the maiden. 'What is the cause of that in you, maiden?' said Manannán. 'I do not know, indeed,' said Ethne, 'except that after the shame I received from Finnbar, I could not eat any food in the world but the milking of Aengus's dun cow, and I myself milking it into a golden mether.' 'I shall prepare your repast to-night, maiden,' said Manannán. And, moreover, such was the man who spoke that conversation, that there was no disease or ill-health on a person that he did not recognize, and he would know the remedy most fitting to help it, and no one ever so loathed food or drink that he would not bring to a keen love for it. And Manannán went to where his chief steward was and urged him to put the most excellent flavour in every food for Ethne, and Manannán practised his powers on them too,

and Manannán and all the womenfolk of the Brugh came into the hall and the (choicest) of every food and flavour was given them to eat, and there was no good in that project in which Ethne was being tested. And every one within wondered that Manannán did not persuade the maiden to take food and drink, and Manannán wondered that his own . . . and powers were defeated, and he was ashamed that any one at all should be fasting in his own house, and he asked the maiden would she drink the milking of the speckled cow, milked by herself or any other woman, in a shapely golden methers, for they were brought from the same place, i.e. the dun and the (speckled, and) . . . a methers and spancel that are for their milking, and the cow was brought (to) Ethne, i.e. Manannán's speckled cow and the golden methers and silken spancel, and the maiden milked it afterwards, and its milking was food and drink for her that night and as long as she was in the place. 'Do you know,' said Manannán to his people, 'why that maiden does not eat food?' 'We do not know,' said they. 'I recognize her,' said Manannán. 'She is not of Aengus's people at all, nor of our people either. For when Finnbar gave the insult to that maiden, her accompanying demon went (from) her heart and an angel came in its stead, and that does not let our food into her body, and she will not revere magic or wizardry henceforth, and it is for that reason she drinks the milk of that cow, for it was brought from a righteous land, i.e. India, and the nurture and fosterage of that maiden will be talked of for ever by every one, i.e. the Nurture of the Houses of two Methers, and it is the . . . three-personed Trinity which will be the God of worship for that maiden,' said he. However, a fortnight and a month Curcog and her womenfolk and Ethne were in Emhain Ablach, and she did not taste food of the place but the milking of the speckled cow, and she travelled to her own house then, for though great were the mirth and joy, the pleasure and delight of Emhain Ablach, Curcog thought it more joyous than that to be in the Brugh on the banks of the Boyne. And Manannán was delaying Curcog, and spoke the lay:

O Curcog of the pure form,
 be not loath to stay.
 You will hear all the evening
 the melodies of the Land of Promise.

I get, when in my couch
vast satisfaction of every wealth (?),

.
.

(The harbour) of Cruithin on which the sun smiles,
on which are birds not ungentle,

.

three . . ., O woman friend. O Curcog.

9. After that Curcog and her womenfolk set off, and they bid farewell to Manannán and to his wife and to his people, and they journey to the Brugh of the Boyne, and Aengus came to meet them, and bade the womenfolk welcome, and asked tidings of them, and he asked Curcog what food or drink Ethne used to take, or did Manannán recognize the reason of her not taking food. 'She tasted neither food nor drink on this visit,' said Curcog, 'but the milking of Manannán's speckled cow, and the great powers of Manannán could not force food or drink on her. Howsoever, he recognized the reason why she does not taste food.' 'Did Manannán tell you the reason?' said Aengus. 'He did, indeed,' said Curcog, 'and said thus, that it was the one All-powerful God caused her not to eat the food of the Tuatha Dé Danann, and said that, when Finnbarra gave offence to the maiden, she parted from her magic, and that an angelic spirit came into the place of her mind, and he said that is the cause of her abstinence, and that she is of no other people but of the true people of the All-powerful High King.' However, from the time of Erimon, son of Mil, the maiden was in that condition till the time of Laeghaire, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, i.e. the time when the Tailginn came to Ireland, and the maiden's manner of life at that time was a period in the house of her foster-father Aengus in the Brugh of the Boyne, and at another time in Manannán's house in Emhain Ablach. And she did not taste food nor drink in Manannán's house except the milking of the speckled cow, and she took in the Brugh only the milking of Aengus's dun cow, she herself milking each of the cows in a golden mether, as we said before. However, the nurture of that maiden was celebrated throughout Ireland among the Tuatha Dé Danann, and among the sons of Mil, i.e. the Nurture of the Houses of Two Methers, and it is still

called the Fosterage of the Houses of Two Methers, and that nurture is still proverbial and will be for ever.

10. After the arrival of the Tailginn, and after his banishing of druids and demons from Ireland, and after every one in general had taken up the yoke of faith and piety, Curcog and her womenfolk were on the lawn of Brugh of the Boyne in summertime. The sultriness and heat oppressed the womenfolk and they went to swim in the Boyne. And when the maidens were sated with swimming and diving, every woman of them went towards her clothes, and they left the river. And Ethne did not notice the maidens going away, and it is thus it happened to them: the magic of the Feth Fiadha departed from that shapely maiden, i.e. from Ethne, for it is because of it the womenfolk were not originally seen, and so Ethne was not seen until then. And Ethne did not see the womenfolk then, and every one would see her. And she came to land and clothed herself, and she began to seek the womenfolk on the banks of the Boyne, but did not find them. And before she had gone far she saw a bowery, green-branched garden, and the bare dyke of a graveyard built round it. And the maiden goes towards that graveyard and saw a fair-grey, joyous cleric at the door-post of the church, and a book before him, and he praising the Creator fervently. The maiden straightway greeted the cleric, and the cleric asked: 'Why are you alone, maiden?' said he. The maiden told him all her adventures. 'Who are you, cleric,' said the maiden, 'and of what people are you?' 'I am of God's people,' said the cleric, 'and Patrick, son of Calpurn is my second lord. Of what people are you, maiden?' said the cleric. 'I have been of the Tuatha Dé Danann until now,' said she, 'but in future you and I will be of the same people.' 'Your coming to us is welcome,' said the cleric, 'and it is not meet for me (to refuse) any one, if he is of God's own people.' 'What is that occupation you have?' said the maiden. 'Praising the Lord and reading aloud in this book; and if you were of God's own people, it were a wonder you should not know that.' 'Hard for me to know it,' said the maiden, 'for I never saw the like. Nevertheless, I should like you to teach me from this on, and do thou give me a lesson every day,' and she said:

'Do for me what you recite yourself,
O man promising my pleasure,

such sweetness as yours
 I have not heard in the Land of Promise.
 'If what you hear seems sweet to you,
 fair, yellow-haired maiden,
 you will listen truly this time
 to what is in this book.'
 'Take the little psalter resolutely,
 O eager cleric of the Tailginn,
 what is in it skilfully
 put thou in my mind, and do so.'

11. After that lay, Ethne bent her head over the book, and read it without delay, as if she had been learning it from the night she was born. The cleric then wondered at the converse the maiden held, and how she read the book, for, if he had had all the books Patrick brought to Ireland with him, she would have read them without delay, and that increased the cleric's affection and esteem for her, and so they were till the cleric's meal-time came. Thereafter the cleric arose and took his angling rod, and goes with it to the river. And Ethne was not long waiting for him when he came to the house with a beautiful salmon. 'What is that you have?' said the maiden. 'My daily share from the Lord,' said the cleric. 'And I am in haste for it to-night, such as I was not in till to-night.' 'What is that?' said the maiden. 'That I have not more than enough for one person.' 'I know how it shall be done, good sir,' said the maiden, 'I will not share your meal, but take the line and ask a share from the Lord for me, such as you got for yourself.' 'I will go then, maiden,' said he. And the cleric went to the river and put down the hook, and he was not long waiting when he caught a very beautiful salmon, and he had never seen the like of it; and he brought it to the maiden, and it was an effort for him to carry it from the river to the church. And he put the salmon on the ground, and bowed himself to the maiden thereupon, and said: 'You are of God's people, indeed, maiden,' said he, 'and let my soul be under the protection of your soul.' And the cleric sat down then and took to grilling the fish till it was ready, and they ate what satisfied them of it, i.e. half of the half thereof, (and) they got the flavour of honey on every morsel of it, and he spread a couch for the maiden then and another

couch for himself, and they were reciting the hours fittingly and in unison every (time) it was proper for them. Thus far the doings of the maiden.

As for the womenfolk, however, they left Ethne and they did not find her. And they went to Aengus sorrowfully and tell him timidly of the loss of the maiden. Aengus roused Curcog straightway, and his horse is harnessed for him, and Curcog goes with him in the search. Aengus went forward very speedily, and he left no fortress in Ireland unvisited on behalf of the maiden, and he did not find her at all. And he came to the banks of the Boyne, and took to seeking Ethne. And as they were there they saw an oratory and a dwelling, and they came before it on the other side of the river. Ethne looked out before her at the cavalcade and recognized Aengus and Curcog with her foster-sisters, and the cleric observed her and (looked) himself in the direction in which he saw the maiden's attention, and (though) he looked, he did not see them, for the Feth Fiadha was over them, and the cleric asked the maiden, 'What do you see, maiden?' said he. 'I see Aengus my own foster-father, seeking me, and Curcog my foster-sister, and the household of the Brugh, and its womenfolk, and it will be a vain seeking for them,' said the maiden. 'It will, then, if God wills it,' said the cleric, and [she] said :

Dear to me this cavalcade
I see beside the blue-edged Boyne,
a royal, proud company.
Which never shunned strife or affliction.
The joyous king of the company,
Aengus Óg, son of the Dagda,
he is a horseman, a mariner,
he is a brave, wound-dealing warrior.
The pleasant household of the beautiful Brugh
seeking me sorrowfully, gloomily.
To-night will the name of Aengus be
'The weary one who finds not what he seeks'.
The women of the fair aldered Brugh,
and my foster-sister Curcog,
they cease not bewailing me,
her speeding will be an effort to each.

Since the day I received reproach
 from the brother of my foster-father, from Finnbarr,
 I will not stay for Manannán,
 for noble Ilbreac nor for Sighmall.

A blessing from me to that Finnbarr,
 it is through him came my love for God.
 The voice of the man of luxuriant hair,
 though I thought it deep shame that day.

I will not stay for Abartach,
 for Bodb nor for (. . .) Midhir ;

.

I will not stay for this time
 with any of the Tuatha Dé Danann,
 I bestow on this occasion
 my body on Jesus, and my soul.

Hail to the coming of this Tailginn,
 who came to Ireland of the yews,
 I endure not without him,
 though few those to whom he is dear.

12. After that lay, the cleric prayed the Lord that Patrick should come to help and succour him for fear the maiden should be taken from him against his will. And the Lord granted the cleric his pious request, so that it was at one time Patrick and his clerics came to the door of the oratory, and Aengus to the other side of the river. Then Patrick asked the cleric who the maiden was, and a conversation took place between him and Aengus about her, and Aengus asked : ' Will you let my foster-child come to me, cleric ? ' ' She is not a foster-child of yours at all,' said Patrick, ' but of the God of the elements, though you fostered her for a time.' ' I am like to rob you of the maiden,' said Aengus, ' if I thought it would benefit me.' ' The strength and power of the Lord from me against you,' said Patrick, ' and if you were to act on my advice, Aengus,' said he, ' I should not be against you about every just thing.' ' What is that ? ' said Aengus. ' To worship the true Almighty God, and to shun vain gods, and to be baptized in the name of the Trinity, and to change your name, and to part you from punishments.' ' That is not the cause for which we came from our house,' said Aengus.

Aengus spurred his steed from the river then, and goes back gloomily, sadly, and left his foster-child, though he was loath, and he said the lay :

Let us turn away in trouble
 from fair-white, beautiful Ethne,
 the bright, gentle frail swan
 whom I used ever to protect.
 . . . though you are a foster-sister,
 Curcog is not good for guarding.
 (My) love for the heroic, generous one
 I shall let go . . . the most of it.
 Let us utter three heavy cries,
 lamenting the foster-child of the Brugh.
 I am, after my rosy, fair one,
 like a man after his wounding.
 Ethne I will not follow
 from this on (till) the living judgement,
 victorious gave . . .
 my name is not proud Aengus.

.
 and her being carried off by force. Let us depart,
 O host of the Land of Promise,
 but though grievous to us, let us do it.
 Sad to me the coming of this Tailginn
 into this land, we will conceal it not ;
 to go away from the one I leave,
 but though it is difficult, let us do it.

After that Aengus and his people gave a great, lamentable cry, lamenting Ethne. When Ethne heard the cry of Aengus's people lamenting her, her heart leapt in her bosom, and a pang of woe passed from one breast to the other in her, and she asked Patrick to baptize her and pardon her sins. And that was obtained from Patrick, and he gave her her own name. However, the maiden was thus till the end of a fortnight, ill-health weighing on her, and praying God and Patrick. And Patrick and his clerics were sad at that, and when Ethne perceived death to be near her, she enjoined the protection of her soul on God and Patrick, and said the lay :

Call me, ye people of Heaven,
[I trust] my soul to your entreaty,
I shall not leave Heaven now
for the Brugh of my foster-father Aengus.

Pleasant the household in which they are,
the good people of the pure Lord,
such good fortune is not found,
it is an unchanging happiness.

Though there be many cries and weepings
among the womenfolk of the Brugh,
I prefer the cry of clerics round my head,
protecting my soul from Hell.

I thank the Christ of the peoples
for (my) parting from the Tuatha Dé Danann ;
Though I am of them, I am not of them,
I believe in Jesus the High King.

The Fosterage of the Houses of two Methers,
the story is not a story I do not know,
the nobles of grassy Fodla
will be all asking for it.

Generous Patrick, son of Calpurn,
may you part my soul from pain ;
forgive me my faults and my wrong'-doing,
if you hear me, answer.

After that lay, Patrick took the maiden's head in his bosom, and she sent forth her spirit to Heaven, and she is buried honourably by them, so that it is from her is named Ceall Ethne at Brugh of the Boyne. Knowledge of the name of the cleric to whom the maiden came, i.e. he was Ceasan, son of the king of Alba, and chaplain to Patrick, and he took a dislike to the hermitage through Ethne's dying in it, and he left it, and goes to Fidh Gaible, and founded a church there, so that there is the church named from him, i.e. Cluain Ceasain in Ros Mic Treoin in Fidh Gaible, and it was a hunting camp of the Fiana before that. Thus far the Fosterage of the Houses of two Methers. And Patrick ordered that there should not be sleep or conversation during this story, and not to tell it except to a few good

people so that it might be better listened to, and Patrick ordained many other virtues for it, as is said in this elegy :

Let the grave of generous Ethne be dug by you
in the churchyard over the green-watered Boyne.
After the maiden of the sunny knowledge
Aengus's host will not be joyous.

I and Aengus skilful in weapons,
two whose secret intention is not the same,
we had not on the surface of this earth
any beloved like Ethne.

I shall leave these virtues
for the story of Ethne from the fair Maigue.
Success in children, success in foster-sister or brother,
to those it may find sleeping with fair women.

If you tell of the fosterage
before going in a ship or vessel,
you will come safe and prosperous
without danger from waves and billows.

If you tell of the fosterage
(before going to a) judgement or a hunting,
your case will be (prosperous)
all will be submissive before you.

To tell the story of Ethne
when bringing home a stately wife,
good the step you have decided on,
it will be a success of spouse and children.

Tell the story of noble Ethne
before going into a new banqueting house,
(you will be) without bitter fight or folly,
without the drawing of valiant, pointed weapons.

Tell to a king of many followers
the story of Ethne to a musical instrument,
he gets not cause to repent it,
provided he listen without conversation.

If you tell this story
to the captives of Ireland,
it will be the same as if were opened
their locks and their bonds.

A blessing on this soul
that was in beautiful Ethne's body ;
every one who has this elegy
he shall win the goal.

Beloved the smooth, yellow hair,
beloved the ruddy, comely face,
beloved the fragrant, comely body,
beloved the sweet-worded mouth.

Beloved the noble, lovable body,
beloved the face with its fairness,
beloved the beautiful, modest mouth,
beloved the thigh with its brightness.

Let them be written in our schools,
her generous miracles, and let them be seen,
Her body let it be laid out in this world of ours,
in the churchyard let it be buried.

Finit.

LENITION AFTER *cóic* IN NOM., ACC., AND DAT.

According to Pedersen, KZ. 35, 429, M.Ir. examples are indecisive. Thurneysen, Hdb. 144 and 232, says lenition is shown in the later language, but in KZ. 44, 115 n. he withdraws the statement.¹ Needless, as the following examples show: *a cóic thoisig, cóic thoisig, cóic thoisig*, LL. 6b 23, 7b 35, 8a 20 = *a .u. thaisigh, .u. toisig, .u. thaisigh*, BB. 27a 44, 29b 4, 30b 50; *cóic fichit*, LL. 44a 7; *coic fidchella*, 51a 4; *.u. falgi*, 51a 10; *cóic furopre*, 285b 23; *in cuic fir dec*, 373d 67; *coic firu deac*, TBC. (Str. and O'K.) 2774; *dona .u. bhairghenaib*, LB. 279a 27; *coig bhliadna*, ALC. 1215; *chuig (.u.) bhliaghna*, 1465, 1495; *.u. bhliadna*, 1525. The NT. of 1602 has *chúig (na cúig) thallanna*, Mat. xxv. 5, xvi. 20, *ina chúig fheadhaibh déug*, Acts xxvii. 28, and the OT. of 1685 *chúig bhliadhna*, Gen. xlv. 6; *ó chúig bhliadhnaibh, go nuige cúig bhliadhna*, Lev. xxvii. 5, 6; *cúig bhliadhna déug, cúig bhliadhna fithchiod*, 2 K. xx. 6, xv. 33. Keating's FF. from H. 5. 26, ed. Joyce, has *chúig thaoisigh*, p. 98, and *chóig thaoisigh*, p. 108, both from Leb. Gab.; *chúig bhliadhna* (three times), p. 42; *cúig bhliadhna*, p. 104; *'n-a cóig mhiribh*, p. 34.

The material is scanty. In the early period we have to look for nouns beginning with *t*, *p*, *f*, and *s*; Roman numerals are generally used, and nouns are abbreviated. Later developments must be reserved for a further note.

OSBORN BERGIN.

¹ Thurneysen reminds me that he has since given examples of the lenition in KZ. 48, 66.

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