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vol. 1-2

ÉRIU

The Journal of the School of Irish
Learning, Dublin

EDITED BY

KUNO MEYER & JOHN STRACHAN

VOL. I

DUBLIN

SCHOOL OF IRISH LEARNING, 28 CLARE STREET
AND
HODGES, FIGGIS, & CO. LTD., 104 GRAFTON STREET

1904

PRINTED AT THE



BY PONSONBY & GIBBS

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P R E F A C E

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

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

K. M.

J. S.

July, 1904.

ATAKTA.

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

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

Würzburg Glosses:—

(a) *-e*, *-æ*: *ferte* 8^a11, 24^c5; *pecthe* 9^d13, 11^d9, 29^a23, 28; *gnime* 26^c8, 30^b10, 31^b30; (*mog)e* 27^c8, *moge* 29^b2; *besse* 29^a3; *recte* 29^a16; *gnimæ* 13^d29, 20^c2, 31^b26; *pecdæ* 33^b8.

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

(b) -a: *pechtha-ni* 2^a6; *gníma* 4^d12, 5^a30, 32, 19^b12, 29^d2; *cosnama* 7^d12; *bésa-sa* 9^b17, *bésa-si* 16^b19; *dána* 12^a11; *moga-si* 27^c17; *senchassa* 28^c23.

(c) -i, -ai: *pecthi* 4^c8, *pecthi-si* 25^b9, *pecthi* 26^c11; *mogi* 7^d10; *béssi-si* 9^c17, *bési* 28^d26, *béssi* 31^b13; *séti-sin* 9^a18; *dáni* 21^a16, 27^b15; *gními* 25^c23, 28^b20; *rétai* 5^c15; *gnímai* 8^c4, 29^a30. With a preceding palatal consonant: *coisnimi*¹ 7^d13 (by *cosnama* above), *imcháinti* 29^b10; *senchaissi*¹ 31^b25 (by *senchassa* above), *imbráti* 31^b26.

Milan Glosses:—

(a) -ae: *gnímae* 65^c16.

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

(c) -i, -ai: *pecthi* 32^c15, 43^a7, 71^c12; *tintudai* 3^a14; *gnímai* 14^b15, 23^c15, 31^b25, 42^b21, 51^c14, 68^a2, 75^d6, 94^a4, 97^a5, 99^d9 107^c12, 112^d7, 9, 122^c2, 4, 129^a9; *adradai* 46^b30; *mesai* 55^d11; *siansai* 94^c3; *pecthai* 98^c5; *bésai* 100^c17; *fertai* 112^d8; *molatai* 136^a8. With a preceding palatal consonant: *imraiti* 38^a5; *aimsi* 127^c25.

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

Book of Armagh: *tuimthea* 78^a2.

Stowe Spells: *srothe*.

Carlsruhe Beda: *brottae* 18¹₂^d.

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

From a comparison of the distribution of the forms in Wb. and Ml. the inference is clear: the -e, -a forms make way for -i, -ai forms; in other words, the -i, -ai forms are the later, the -e forms the earlier. This is the reverse of what is commonly taught. Thus Brugmann, Grundriss 1²241, starts from *mogai* as the normal form, and does not discuss the others. Let us see how he arrives at *mogai*. The Celtic form of the ending of the case was -*oues* (from Indo-Germanic -*eues*), cf. Gaulish *Lugoves*. According to Brugmann, unaccented *e* became always *i* before it was lost; *mogai* he explains from “*mogo[*u*]e[*s*] with change of *o*

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

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

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

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

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

plural of *-u*- stems has in the oldest Irish already assumed the inflexion of *-i*- stems, e.g. *il*, 'much,' nom. acc. pl. *ili*: cf. *sainemail*, n. pl. *sainemlai* Ml. 14^c6, 23^c15, acc. pl. *sainemli* Wb. 12^b15. (But where the adjective is used as a substantive Wb. has *fudumne* 5^c17, *fudumnæ* 8^b6; Ml. 81^a4, 138^d9 has *fudumnai*.)

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

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

How far, then, does the innovation go back? In Bezzenger's Beiträge, xi. 99, Stokes cites *rétu nóiba* from Sg. 33^a, and in accordance therewith gives *marba* as the acc. and voc. pl. masc. of *marb*. In Celt. Zeitschr. IV. 64, I noted *lucu arda* Ml. 23^d23. Since then I have made a more careful investigation of the subject. In Wb. I have discovered no instances of the acc. pl. of the attributive adjective; instances of the voc. are *a geinti hireschu* 3^a13, *a Galatu burpu* 19^b4. In Ml. *-u* appears in *sacrilegos* . . . motus (= Ir. *cumscaigthiu* m.), gl. *deochratechu* 16^a1, *uacuos conatús* (= Ir. *aimsíu* m.) *casúsque* (leg. *cassosque*), gl. *madachu t. tuisledchu* 26^d8, *inna mmessu firianu* 38^c23; *-a* appears in *lucu arda* 23^d23, motus *furiales* gl. *bruthcha* 16^b18, *casosque conatus* gl. *madacha* 17^a6, *homines* . . . *sanctos* gl. *sainretha i. noiba* 37^b4. From Sg. I have noted no further instance. It may be said, then, that the change first appears towards the end of the eighth century, and is not then complete. Though the acc. does not happen to be found in Wb., it is improbable that it differed in form from the vocative.¹

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

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

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

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

Except in *inna dorche*, 'the darkness,' Ml. 54^b20, 140^c5, Sg. 183^b3, I have noted no difference between the substantival and the adjectival form; both end in *-i*. Examples of the substantival use are: *inna remeþerthi* Ml. 23^d4, *inna cotarsnai* 46^c9, *inna nephanmandi* 60^b5, *inna fortechtai* 81^c15, *inna miltcnai* 95^c5, *inna cocui* 96^c8, *inna medonsmirdi* 127^b14, *inna caintinscantai* 131^c18, *inna inchlidi* 140^c10; *inna forliterdi* Sg. 8^b4, *cetnidi* 48^b5, *inna briathardi* 56^b12, *inna firneuturáldi* 140^a6.

5. THE NOMINATIVE OF THE PRONOUN *side*.

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

6. THE PRONOUN *som*, *sí*.

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

¹ In Celt. Zeitschr. III. 56, I denied the use of *side* in the nom. sg. neut.—I now think wrongly. In Ml. 89^c10, *side* refers to Lat. *pax* = Ir. *sid* n.; and in the Glosses the gender is regularly determined by the gender of the corresponding Latin word. Cf. also *indraic side*, Cormac, s.v. *Mugeme*.

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

7. THE INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(a) The noun is masculine singular. The interrogative is *cia*: *dús cia port* Wb. 26^b24, *cia salmscribhid conicfed són* Ml. 14^a6, *cia forcenn doberthar* Ml. 33^a9, *cia loc sainriud dia regtais* Ml. 99^b10, *cia gním dungniat* Ml. 120^c7, *cia aiccent* Sg. 26^a6, *cia ránddatu* Sg. 27^a12.

(b) The noun is feminine singular. The interrogative is *cést*: *cessi aimser* Ml. 24^d10, *cisí chomairle* Ml. 34^c18, *cisi aimser* Ml. 97^a5, *cisi digal* Ml. 100^d5, *cisi aimser* Sg. 26^a6, *cisi rann* Sg. 27^a13, *cesi aram* Sg. 197^b3, *cisi chiall* Sg. 217^a2.

(c) The noun is neuter singular. The interrogative is *ced*, *cid*: *cetorad* (= *ced torad*) Wb. 3^b29, *cetorbe* (= *ced torbe*) Wb. 12^d5, *ced torbe* Wb. 13^c6, 7, 19^c8, *cid torbae ara* *torsata* Ml. 120^c7, *cid torud* Ml. 128^d13, *cidechor* (= *cid dechor*) Sg. 23^a2 *cid folad* *sluindes* Sg. 25^b17, *cid chenél* Sg. 197^b3, *cid aes n-esci* BCr. 32^a9, *cid lāe sechtmaine* BCr. 32^c6, 7, 9, *ced laá imbē* Computus Vat. 20, *cid lāe sechtmaine* Computus Nanc. I., *cid aes n-escai* Comput. Nanc. 2.

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

As might have been expected from their formation, *cisí* and *cid* are used only with feminines and neuters respectively. With *cia* the accompanying noun is prevalently masculine. In certain phrases, however, it is followed by a noun of another gender. With *indas* n., 'state,' it gives *cindas* (= Mod. Ir. *cionnúr*) Wb. 6^b13, 8^c11, 13^c20, &c.; *cindas* on Sg. 18^a6, *cindas* *imbias* Sg. 40^a15, also *cia indas* *rundgabsat* Ml. 55^c1. With *méit* f. it gives *ce méit* Wb. 33^a1, 34^a5, Sg. 25^b16, *ciamméit* Ml. 25^c4, 26^a10, 138^c12.¹ So *cia dū*,² 'where,' Ml. 40^c7, *cia airm*³ Wb. 12^d18.⁴ In a couple of instances *ce*, *cia* is found

¹ Cf. Celt. Zeitschr. IV. 57.

² That *dū* was fem. is indicated by the fem. *hí suidi* Ml. 27^c10.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Táin Bó Cúailnge (LU.):—*cia fil sund* 62^a31, *cia lín rolá* 57^b30, *cia fer* 69^a37 ; *cissi slabrai* 62^b32 ; *ced lcth ón* 61^b24, *ced* *slab inso thall* 62^a4, *ced mag aní thall* 62^a9, *ced leth raghar* 69^a40 ; *cairm* (= *ce airm*) *itá* 68^a18, similarly *cáit atá* 64^a15, *cáit imbái* 65^a31. Note also *cé tái-siu*,⁴ 'who art thou ?' 74^a32, *cia de*, 'which of the two things ?' 62^b33, 44. *Cia* stands before a neuter in *cia do chomainm-siu* 55^b10, *cia th' ainm-seo* 59^b5, *cia t'ainm-siu* 70^a43, *cia hés in gillai sin* 58^b24.⁵

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

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

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

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

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

Togal Bruidne Dá Derga¹ :—*cíá rédes riand* § 31 ; *cisi suillse* (v. l. *cia soillse*) § 66 ; *cid in* (leg. *a*) *frúaim* (v. l. *cia frúaim so*) § 56 ; *ced an síu* § 26 ; *citne² usci* § 51 ; *citneisidi* (v. l. *cade iat side*) § 61. *Cia* before a neuter : *cia ainm sidi* § 28 ; *cia ainm do mná* § 39 ; *cia do chomainm-siu* § 61.

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

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

In O. Ir. there is another interrogative sg. *cote*, *cate*, pl. *coteet*, *cateet* of all genders. Some examples are given in Gramm. Celt², 356. Others are : *cote prima gratia*, 'in what consists *prima gratia*?' Wb. 14^a19, *cate ind irnigde cen chumsanad*, 'what is meant by prayer without ceasing?' Wb. 25^a23 ; *cateat omnia asbeirsom* Wb. 31^a7 ; *quae est ista sententia?* gl. *cate indixnigedar* Ml. 80^a2 ; *quod est*, gl. *cate dixnigedar* Ml. 103^a24. *Cote*, &c., vary between the sense of 'where?' (e.g. Wb. 13^a25) and 'what?' Thus, *ced torbe dínni a céisme* (Wb. 13^a7) means 'what is the profit to us of what we suffer?' The answer would be *issted a thorbe*, &c.. *Cote mo thorbese dílib* (Wb. 12^a36) means 'in what way am I of any profit to you?' Examples from later texts are : *cate a lethcomorgg Cormac*, s.v. *prull* ; *cote far n-airle*, 'what is the nature of your counsel?' LU. 19^b26 ; *adubairt Patraic* : 'cateat?' 'P. said : "what may they be?"' Trip. L. 54. In the Sagas it often means 'where?' e.g. LU. 65^a7, 69^a38, 70^a16, 39 ;

¹ Ed. Stokes.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sg. 2:—*doad-bit* (*-bed-*), 'thou shonest,' Sg. 159^a2.

Sg. 3:—*doad-bat*, 'shows,' Wb. 10^b21, Ml. 15^a2, Sg. 27^b15; *d-ain-diat* (*to dodiut*) Sg. 8^a9; *adfét*¹ (*ad-fed-*) 'sets forth,' Ml. 31^b19, 62^a6, 84^a4, 87^a1, 89^d6, 99^d9, 111^a4, 123^d4, Sg. 103^a1, *in-fét* 'indicat' Ml. 14^b12, 86^a10, *assindét*, *-aisndét* Wb. 6^a9, 11^a18, 19^b14, Ml. 23^c12, 40^c20, 42^b18, 42^c20, 54^a12, 20, 64^c19, 87^d1, 95^d3, 100^b8, 101^a3, 103^a1; *docuat*, *-dichtet* (*di-co-feth-*), 'can go,' Thesaurus Palæohibernicus, II. 420; *doinfet* (*to-in-feth-*) 'spirat,' 'inspirat' Wb. 4^b3, 4, Ml. 41^d17; *dofuarat*, *-diurat* (*di-od-reth-*)² 'remanet' Sg. 12^a3, Ml. 72^b17; *duetar-rat* 'includit' Ml. 30^c6, *contetar-rat* 'comprehendit' Sg. 29^b2, *do-d-iarmo-rat* 'subsequitur' Ml. 21^c3; *dotuit*, *-tuit* (*to-to-tud-*, *-to-tud-*) 'falls' frequent. But with *-th*, *-d*: *no-sñ-guid* 'beseeches them' Wb. 25^b; *-maid* 'breaks' Ml. 51^c9, 110^d10, 115^d12; *in-reith* Ml. 19^d13, 48^d3.

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

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

² Cf. Sarauw, Irske Studier, 72.

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

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

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

Examples of the word are *int óis éula* Wb. 3^e4, *is éola side* Wb. 1^a4, *is hé side as éola* Wb. 4^b1, 6^b25; *na bad eola inarcintaib* Wb. 33^b21. In Gramm. Celt.² 809 it is regarded as coming from an adj. stem *eulac-*; similarly Ascoli, Glossarium liv. But no other example is quoted of such an adjectival formation; and perhaps the form is to be explained in another way.

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

¹ Cf. Pedersen, Aspirationen 161.

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

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

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

10.—*Indinni-se* 'TALIS.'

Examples of *indinni-seo* in the sense of 'such' have been noted by Sarauw, Irske Studier, 138, e.g. *hua glosnathiu ind inni seo*, gl. *tali filo*, Ml. 72^a8; *sechis eregem ind inni se*, gl. *talis causatio*, Ml. 90^c8, Sarauw also notes *cia inni*, gl. *qualiter*, Ml. 123^d8. He rightly refers the word to *inne*, 'sense, quality.'¹ *Cia inni* would be a dative like *cia cruth*, 'how?' In the same way *indinni-seo* can be explained only as a dative like *inchruthsin*, 'in that way.'

11.—*Indid, Innách.*

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

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

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

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

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

J. STRACHAN.

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

² Other texts have *inid*, *intan*.

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

⁴ LU. 86^a29 has *massat*.

THE BURNING OF FINN'S HOUSE.

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

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

Is aoibhinn Sliabh Cua rod clos,

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

*Nír chumaic dhó a bheag no a mhór
acht a bheith dha féachain do thír,
gur báidh an tonn Aodh an áigh
ín tráigh níor sgaoil aoinfeair dibh.*

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

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

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

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

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

GLOSSARY.

aibhéis, 176, 'boasting,' O'R.: cf. Αἰδούσεατρας λε 'ράιμειρ, Poems of G. ua Donnchadha, ed. Dinneen, line 203.

armaigh, 192, 'carnage'; *armach*, 'slaughter,' O'R.; *dr-mag*, 'battle-field,' ACL.

bathadhaim? 255, 'I drown'; but see note.

bruithchim, 18, 121, apparently for *bruighin*; Old-Ir. *brudin* (dat. sg. of *bruden*).

cobche, 77, 81, usually 'bride-gift'; here 'ransom.'

comfher, 12, 'mate.'

comhghar, 15, 'proximity,' Three Shafts; here concrete, 'neighbours.'

condáthach, 70, = *confadach* (?), 'furious,' IT iv. Index; Three Shafts; but see note.

conónaiddh, 50, ? for *connáidh*, g. s. of *connad*, 'fuel,' Wi.

copán, 144, 'cup,' O'R.

coirn, 130, 'shield,' O'Don. Suppl.

criothfhuar, 44, 'shivering': see note.

croimhlinn, 210, perhaps = *cró-lind*, 'pool of blood': cf. *crolindech*, Wi; but probably a place-name.

cíail, pl. *cíala*, 52, 'faggot,' RC xii. 64, ZCP ii. 225.

cuanna, 84, 'neat,' 'elegant,' a common modern word.

cumann, 72, 74, 'fellowship' (*communio*), Rev. Celt. 12, 319; hence in modern poetry 'love,' O'Daly's Poets of Munster, 83, *et passim*.

cumus, 76, 'power'; *commus* Wi.

deair, pl. *decrā*, 60, 'difficulty,' Rev. Celt. 11, 131; here 'hardship.'

éagcosgaradh, 103, 'havoc,' related to *coscraim*, 'I destroy' (Wi), as *écomlond* to *comlond*.

ech diola (?), 133, 'horse-stock,' 'horse for sale' (?): cf. *ech dile*, Wi.

fáth, 32, pl. of *fdth*, 'poem,' Metr. Gloss (?).

féithech, 179, 'sinewy,' O'R.; *féith*, Wi.

fesda, 175, 'now,' for *fecht-sa*.

fionnad, 183, verbal noun, from *fionnaim*, 'I flay,' O'R.

fuacht, 250, 'cold,' Wi. (*uacht*); here 'numbness.'

fuinnson, 52, 'ash,' O'R.: cf. *unnius*, gen., *unsen*: King and Hermit.

geallaim, 81, 'I pledge'; here 'I accept a pledge': see note.

géir-ethach, 232, 'fierce vassal (or giant)', for *géir-athach* (KM).

gurgón, 54?

iomguin, 164, 'agony,' O'R.; *immguin*, 'slaying,' Wi.

láithrech, 1, 6, 8, 'ruins,' O'R.; *ldhtrach*, 'site,' Wi.

miodhuail, 43, 'dislike'; *miodhúil*, Three Shafts, O'R.

oirdnid, 112, pl. of *orda*, 'fragment,' O'R.; hence *oirdníbh*, 'splinters,' O'R.; *orðu*, 'portion,' IT iv., pl. *oirdne*.

posta, 19, 'post,' O'R. metaph. 'support, guardian': cf. Stokes, Value of Irish Annals, 130.

preabaim, 33, 'I kick,' &c., O'R.; here 'I jump, start up.'

séala, 3, 'seal,' O'R.; here seemingly 'impress, traces.'

seblad, 119, 'travail'; *ben seblta* = *ben siúil*, IT iii. 226.

sgabal, 132, 'helmet,' O'R. (*scabal*): cf. *scabol*, 'cauldron,' Wi.

sgige, 47, 'jeering,' Cath. Finntr. Index, O'R.

sost, 41, 'silence'; related to *tost* as *socht* to *tocht*.

suanán, 150, dimin. of *suan*, 'sleep'; here seemingly the name of some instrument of music.

toirchim, 28, 'stupor'; *toirchim suain*, Oss. iii. 54, Fragm. Annals 24.

tóiteán, 112, 'conflagration,' O'R.

uamha (?), 177, 183, &c., 'cave'; dat. *uamhaigh* (for *uamhaidh* ?): cf. Wi., s. v. *uam*.

TÓITEÁN TÍSÉ ÓINN.

Τηυα᷑ δαννήιν α λάιτρε᷑ς ιή
μαρι α ηνερηναρ αν αινγοιρ
ατάιον ροννα θαρι ρέαλα
μεθδαιρ ιομ α ποροιό-ρέαλα

Μέαλα ιομ οο θειτ μαρι ιην
α λάιτρε᷑ς θυα᷑δας θαρητλαιν
Ελανν Μορνα ρα ιις 'r ρα λετ
τυζδαιρ κομλομ α λάιτρε᷑ς

Οο ηάδ Αιλβε κυιμίν ιιν
γυδαιρ αν άιτ α θρα᷑τσαιρ ιην
νά ττιγεοδ αοιννε᷑ς ταρι λει
νι ξάγδαρι θεν ρινν 'δα κοιμήφειρ

Οο ηάδρατ να μνά γο ρίορ
με ήηησιν οδιτσιλ αν μίος
ο ναέ ρυιλ κομδαιρ θαρι γρούιρ
ρέαδαμ κογναμ αρι ρεανόιρ

Λειγεμ γάιρ κατά γαν ρέιλσ
ραν μθημτέειμ ρλατσιλ ήηόιλλοειρις
γο θρέαμαοιν κα ρορτα ιη φεαριρ
θαρι θρογτα α η-ιατ έηηενν

Σαραιριδ μας Μορνα λαος ιονν
νά γελιωηρεοδ γάιρ έαδκομλονν
νο τιυεραδ γαν ρέιλσ ρον γάιρ
'r νο βεαρητιγεοδ λειρ αρι λυτζδαιρ

1. *annsin*] *sin* AB; *liom* C: perhaps *is truagh sin*. 2. *dernas* seems to imply that Garaid is speaking; but Mr. Lloyd tells me that this form is occasionally used in Donegal as pret. passive instead of *dearnadh*. 3. *séala*] 'seal,' seems here to mean 'vestiges.' 5. *méala*] B; *aobha* A; *saoth* C. 7. *clann*] *clanna* ABC. 9. *do rádh*] *do radha* AB. 11. *Ailbhe*] Finn's wife: see IT iv. Index. 12. *ga coimhfhéar*] *aige coimhfhéar* A; *aga fear* BC.

THE BURNING OF FINN'S HOUSE.

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

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

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

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

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

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

16. perhaps 'let us look for help to the old man.' 17. *gan cheilg*] 'though
there is really no treachery to fear': but *go ceilg*, 'craftily,' would give better sense.
18. *bruithchim*] *buitchim* A; *bruighin* C: cf. 121. 19. *féchamaoid*] *fecamaoid* A,
feicethmaoid B. a *n-aith Eirenn*] is *dar ccongmháil*, &c., BC. 23. *gan
cheilg*] i.e. innocently, unsuspiciously. 24.] *Sdo deantaoi leis ar
luthgair* BC.

Cenglam a fionna 'r a folc
do éaoibh na bhrisíne go docht
co nád tuisbeadh a réir linn
ó tóirla 'na suain toirchim

25

Do cenglaodarí na mná go síor
mac Moirne ba móri an gníomh
'r do leigset gáirí cásca gán éoirí
dári bhrácaibh aothair dothrión

30

þreabhar Dáiridh riún gáirí
fáidhur folc 'r a feoirí go cnáimh
dochulairí fionna mnáibh amach
níor bhráit riún óa mbeidh síomhrafach

35

Aonúthairt óa gcuairi gán dún
doibh é tuimhí gán iompuighas
bairi ní gáirí mádairí odaibh bhuí náir
bairidh riúbh ari máidion bairi ttenál

40

A fionóiri éiríon bí-re aod fórt
leig-re óninnne aod éigearas
dothréan-ra míosúasail ari riún
cúlórfhúair mná o' éir a foilce

45

Cia a támhíte aom fionóiri tréit
iñ fada ó ghlacarí mo fáidh
níséónlair oíruibh bairi fáidh
laifear ceann an aethainne

Éirísear Dáiridh éall airtoidh
gáibh n-a láimh tuairisg éonnairí
do bain gán scoill gán tréna
náoi ní gáibh suinnrióna imtréna

50

25. A similar trick was played on Curoi mac Dare by Blathnait: ZCP 3, 42.
27. *a réir linn*] This reading is suggested to me by Dr. Atkinson. *ár re ar linn* AC, 'a slaughter in our time,' which is not very intelligible; *gdír ré na linn* B.

28. *suain toirchim*: *suán thoirchim* AB: *suán torchim* C.
31. *leigset*] 's do leigset AB; doleig siad C. 32. *fáthairibh*] *fáthá*: A. In BC the line reads *dáibh sion dob dáhbhár dubhbhróin*. 36. *níor bhfáidh*]: cf. Atk., Keating, Appendix iii., note †. 38. *dobudh é*] AB; *dob é* C.
39. *magaidh*] *maga* AB. 40. *bhar*] *ionn bhar* C. For the idiom, cf. ZCP ii. 379.
41. *sost*] AB; *tost* C. 42. *ad* for *i do*: C has *do*: 'let us teach thee.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

43-44.] The poet speaks in parenthesis. 43. *dodhéansa* is a misspelling of *doghéansa*, I fut. B has *biadh sinne femha dhad réir a seanoir chalma fhirthrén*. 44. *criothfhuair*] the dotted *f* in AC shows that the word is regarded as a compound: O’R has *criothfhuair*, ‘chilly.’ The noun occurs in its original form *crithur*, Salt. na R. 8202: the adj. *crithre* in B. Mag Rath, p. 110. *foilce*] AC, for *foilcthe*, gives no rhyme: perhaps there was another form *foilcsin*. Dr. Strachan suggests that *foilce* is gen. of *folk*, ‘a wash,’ LU 58 a 14: and that for *ar sin* in 43 should be read *arse*, ‘therefore.’ I do not know whether this word is found in relatively modern Irish. 46. *ghlacas*] *do glacas* AB. 47. *digheoladh*: the metre shows that the word was already pronounced as a dissyllable. 50. *túaigh chonnaidh*] *tuadh chonónaидh* A; *tuadh comaídh* B; *truaidhe* C. 52. *fuinnsiona imthréna*, A : *fuinnson treana* BC, perhaps rightly. *ngíala* for *gcíala*, pl. of *cíail*.

ᚠðouisger tine ḫan tis mór
ón lár go roise a ḫurisón
voceui mór-ðóit ari an teic
níorþ é an renóit trosaileic

55

1aðaṛ ūeit nvoippe tisge Finn
éupi ūeit nglair ari ḫac uiprati
voegríó tine óa mæhðað
óa ttáinig a mór-ðeacra

60

Leig mire amac ari m'atðair,
ari inȝen ui Conn céanðatðaic,
oþt fém iþ ari ƀurðeacar Finn
a ḫorðið uafail foiltfínn

ni Leigfro tū amac ari t' atðair
a inȝen ui Conn céanðatðaic
oþt fém ná ari ƀurðeacar Finn
tūra amac noða leigfínn

65

Leig-þe ben Connam an áis
amac iþ ben Čaoilte an ȝonáðaic
iþ ben mic Reitē aþur
cumann cleitē noða nveipur

70

Tari amac a ben mic Reitē
mæð áil lat cumann cleitē
ó nað fuið mac Reitē aþur
ni þfuiðim fém óom ȝumur

75

Það coibé a ḫorðið na nglonn
ari veig- inȝen Čormaic ui Conn
lán voipu óa þfuið ḫan vún
vo leigfet gán iompuððað

80

54. ón] óna A. gurgón] I do not know this word. BC have for this line ó thinnteán go soiche a mheadon, &c. 58. chuir] B; om. A; dochuir C; glais nom. for acc. 60. mór dheacra] It is not clear whether this refers to the sufferings of the women or Garaid's subsequent punishment. C has deacradh: Dr. Strachan suggests deachradh, 'fury.' 62. C omits *ui* here and at 66, which mends the metre: but the speaker, Finn's wife, Ailbhe, was daughter of Cormac, grandson of Conn. 68. noða] ni A. leigfínn] leigfead C. 70. The metre is wrong: for chonáðhaich, which I do not understand, we should perhaps read chonáðich, 'happy, prosperous,' Atk. PH. BC have as ben Connin amach na deaghaidh, which does not rhyme. 71. Mac Reitē: also

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

called Cú Maige, Ir. Text. 4, line 553. 72. *ndernus*] *dernuis* AB ; but the words seem to belong to Mac Reithe's wife. I owe to Mr. Lloyd the explanation of the phrase *cumann cleithe* (*celim*), ‘secret amour.’ He reminds me that, in the Ballad of the Mantle (ed. Stern ZCP ii, 2, 294), this woman is the only one who successfully undergoes the ordeal of chastity. In C, 71-74 run thus : *is bean mhic an Reithe mds dil lead cumainn cleithe. Tair amach a bhean mhic an Reithe abhus cumann cleithe nocha ndearthnas.* 76. *dom chumus*] Garaid taunts the chaste wife : she must wait for her husband's return : Garaid himself is too old for love-making. 79. *lán doirn*] *lán durrainn* C, ‘your full share’ (*urrandá*). 80. *leigen*] *leigfinn* B.

81.	Do geallam Seall Seairi coibcē cōiři vona mnáib ſion ſur cōmairill óriib go b̄feca vúal ó gac mnaoi 'na ſlai cuaanna don cēad-ṁnaoi	
82.	O o'connairic Seairi nári m̄in a riadib ařtiř do c̄lannuib ſiř a n̄oiaig na vála ſan ſur. do iadig ſo vána an voimur	85
83.	Náriab beo Seairi go b̄rát ó tāt̄aoi-ře ařtiř ſo teann ma leigenn vúine ařteč na vúine amadé óa b̄fuiř ann	90
84.	Gluaigřer Seairi iřin ſlenn m̄aj ſí an t̄iř ař t̄uitem a n̄lenn Cuaic ſan Muimain amarig do cōvuiř 'na ūeřdaiř-řin	95
85.	Iongnaid an ní t̄arřář vam do riář ſionn Féinne Seaoúal gáir con iř van iř vaoine óa lořzaid 'r ař éadgaoine	100
86.	Créadu an ceó-řo c̄uđainn anaoiř do riář ſionn ſlaič na b̄fian iř ceó éadgořzaidé óa c̄ur nó t̄iře óa gáirlořzaid	
87.	Tuđamari lēim iongantaid áiř řáđbāmāoři ař ſeile ſac áiřo 'r ní b̄fiařamāoři óař ttigčiř ſoir ačt̄ bun ſac cleiře a ttalnūum	105
88.	Do c̄uři ſac ſeji c̄rann a ſleigře řón m̄bantřiačt iř ſón móřtine 'r ní b̄fiařiađař óa mnáib ſlāđađ ačt̄ ořiřořiř ūbá t̄ořeđin	110

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

83. *b̄feca*] *b̄feacaidh* B; *b̄feiceadh*

C. Garaid's object is to see how many of the women are in the house.

84. *mnaoi*] *nith* B; *nídh* C. 90. I print B's reading. A has *ó chuir sé* *cách na chenn*; C reads *ó cuir si catha na ceann*, which I cannot translate. None

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

of the three gives a rhyme to *bráth*. 94. *bhí*] *do bhí* A. 96. *’na dheghaidh-sín*] *go medhonlan* B; *go meadhon laoi ghlan* C. 97. The scene changes. 98. *Gaodhal*] *gan on*, &c., BC. 99. *ban*] *léim* B. 101. *chugainn*] *chugaibh* AB. 104. *géarlosgadh*] *losgadh ar daoinibh* A, against the rhyme. 106. *gach dird*] *uile do dhéanamh* A, against the rhyme and metre. 111. *ghrddhach*] *gruadh-grádhach* (?) B; *gruaagach* C. But these readings are against grammar and metre : read *dha grdd-mndibh*. 112. *oirdinid*] *oiríthníbh* B, *óirdinibh* C; read *oirdne. dubha*] *beaga* BC. 107. *tóiteáin*] *toíteán* A; *thotáin* B; *tuatáin* C.

Δην θάρητην ψυλην Λυζαριό
πιοι θάρητην ψυλην θο θυραιό
α έαση θο θυραιό α μηνά
Λυζαριό γέλη μας Λύζορμάτην

115

Νί μαΐθ βιονη να Φέιννε
'να θεταιό γέλη θά θέιρε
νειτη μηνά γεόλτα φά η-α θέιλε
νί μαΐθ ταν θελαιτ Φέιννε

120

Λοιρζέτερι ανηρην θηριυτίν θιαρη
θεν ιρ φεαρηρι θοθί αγ βιονη μιαστη
φα γολυρ α γηραιό 'τη α γλας
Διλβε άλυνην γηραιόθρες

Οο λοιρζεό αην θά εαέ βίνη
αγυρ α θαριθαν αριθ θοιθινη
θυό μόρι ερθα αη θιζε
θο μας θυμαίλλ θλημινη

125

Οο λοιρζεόν θέαση γηιατ θυαλασέ
ιρ θέαση θοτύν θαθεαθόδας
ιρ θά θέαση λιτέριες ιρ θά θέαση λανη
ιρ θά θέαση γηαθαλ ιρ θαθεαρη

130

Οο λοιρζεόν θέαση εέ θιολα
φα εαέσιθ αη θιρο-γιοζά
θονα η-υτέθαέσιθ γλοινε
θονα γηιασηνιθ θι-θαίτε

135

Οο λοιρζεόν θηρι θέαση θιλέάν θον
φα μόρι αη ερθα θαθ-θαη
λε γηραιό α θηριυτίν βίνη
θο θονιθ διλλε θιμ θυμαίλλ

140

Οο λοιρζεόν θηρι θέαση θιροε μόρι
θο θοιθέαθας θιριθιν ιρ θιρη
οο λοιρζεόν 'τη θι θηρέαση α θάθ
θηρι θέαση θορη 'τη θι θέαση θοράν

117. *ni raibh*] *nior bhí* A.
119. *mnd seólta*] cf. *ben siúil*, Ir. T. iii. 226.
124. *aluin*] BC add *budh*.

118. *bhethaidh*] *bhetha*, &c. AB.
121. *bruighin*] *bruithchim* A.
131. *is (1)*] om. BC. *dhd (2)*] om. BC.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

133. *díola*] *dioladh* AB; *minghlan* C: cf. *ech dile* Wi.
conadh A. *ór-dhaithe*] *órduighithe* BC.

136. *gona*]
142. *airgid is óir*] *airgiod is*

ór &c. AC. 144. *corn*] *corrán* B; *corann* C.

145
Dotheirim bhrasádai óam Óia
 rám ólordeim aghur fám rúsia
 guri éadg ói cùmairi a mban
 deic gceád maoi Lusgairi láimhgeal

150
Do loirgeód ann cruit **Óaire**
 do loirgeód gualán **Saigne**
 an tan do feinntí iad gán gheir
 fiannas fínn do éoibla leir

155
Do loirgeód tair céadu renóir renz
 do riúg-máitib fiann Éireann
 do clannuib **Griogóil** maille
 do clannuib bhríogára **baoighe**

160
Do loirgeód tair céadu cailleach
 gan mbriuisein álann aghaiblaða
 if ailegom maoi riúg fa leir
 ari maoi Cúmáill Almaine

165
Do loirgeód tair céadu inxen maoi
 buað tóluirua uét aghur taoibh:
 buað álannan an bheantrácht édin
 óa loirgeód if óa n-iomháin

170
 maoi n-oióche óuinne iarran
 if riinne agh loirgeáiriocht **Sáirid**
 gualamáor **Sáirid** gualbhliac
 anuinn gcailliuic ór **Chraoiúil**

175
 maoi cionnairicadair a céile
Sáirid if fiann na Féinne
 níor fa calma ari gád eafán
 amdar éusgád aémuigán

175
 gád uaiinne if aitir oir a fír
 a **Sáirid** gádairb gnuigéil
 do loirgeir ari mná ferga
 óuit if aibéir a tuiomhceadra

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

150. *do loisgedh*] *doloisgedh ann A*.
 151. *do seinntí*] *do seinntheighe A*; *do sheinnntheighe B*.
 152. *chodhla* for *chodhlaðh*.
 153. *seng* is an adjective constantly applied to warriors, and means here perhaps rather 'wiry', 'lithe' than 'lean.'

156. *bríoghmhara*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Baoisgne] *Baoisgne brioghmhara* A; *mera brioghmhara*, &c. BC. 158. As
bruighen is fem., the adjectives must refer to the *cailligh*. 159. *fa-*
leith] *fale* AB. I cannot make grammar of the line as it stands: read perhaps
altronn, g. pl. of *altru* ACL, ‘and nurses of the principlings.’ 162. *solusda*]
solas A. 163, 4, *cdin, iomgáin* B. 165. *dhúinne*] *dhúinn* A. 167. *gairbh-*
liath] *an gharbhghnímh* C; *gairbhdián* B. 169. *chonarcadar*] *chonarcamar* B.
172. *amgar*] *angar* B. 173. *sgdth*] *sgiat* BC. 173. *sgdth*] *sgiat* BC. 173. *sgdth*] *sgiat* BC.
173. *sgdth*] *sgiat* BC. 173. *sgdth*] *sgiat* BC. 173. *sgdth*] *sgiat* BC.

Τιαξάριό υδιην ιρην υαπόδις ηριονγ ριοπόρι ο' αρι ριναξάριθ ζαζαριό αν ρείτερες ριοννας ιη ταθριαριό αμας αν ρειηρηριοννας	180
Ορ την ρειν ατά όδον ρειλς α θειεγμής Συμματιλ οιριπόδειρις ταρι ιρην υαπόδις όδον ριοννας ιη ζαζ ζο εριαριό μο ρειηρηριοννα	185
Το ηάρι ριονν ριαιτ ρειννε ράιλ ταθριαριό ζαριαριό ζιθ α λάιμ θεαναριό α λιγέρειρις α λειτ μαρι ρο ζοιρζερι ρειρ αν βαντριαριέτ	190
Τεικνεμαρι ιη ριτόες σέαν οεταρι αγυρ ρέ ριη όέαζ ρο ένιτ λε ζαριαριό ραν υαπόδις μόρι αν τ-αριποιας δονυαριέ	195
Τηρε ραν ζι ζαριαριό ζαν ζιασ τιζ υριόρι υαιριό όδα ριζιατ ρο ένιρ λάμ ρά η-α θροιννε ζάιν ιη τάινις αμας 'να δοναράν	200
Μιαν εινιές πό ζάιρε 'ρ ζαν α ζοιλ ο' αοιννι όδα άιλλε νι ηαιθ αρι ζαριαριό ζαριθ ζο θρεα αν βαντριαριέτ λάνημαριθ	205
Μαρι ρο ζονναρις ζαριαριό ζαριθ αν βαντριαριέτ ζοιρζε λάνημαριθ λειζερ ζάιρε ορ α ζειονν ρο ζεορ ρά ζιοννιθ έιρενν	
Αοιθιν λιον ζαρι ριειτ μαρι ηιν α βαντριαριέτ ρο ηάρι ζαριαριό ιοννηρ πας ζηνάτσοέασ ριθ ζο ζιαν ροναποιασ ρά ζενόηρ λάντριμαρις	210

177. *tiagaidh*] *tiageadh* C.
women had left Garaid hairless
&c., BC. 187. *déanaidh*]
'twenty hundred': but here it
~~as t-armach~~] *as móir tharmach*

184. ironical: the cruel trick played by the
 185. *do rádh*] *da radha* A. 186. *a*] *ar*,
dhe A. 189. *fithche clád* should mean
 o stand for *fithche ar chéad*. 192. *mor*
radha mhórán tár C. 195. *do chuir*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

&c., in sign of submission.

aonardín] *naonardán* AB ; *aonardán* C.

201. *do chonnairc*] *chonnairc* A.

C substitutes, for 201, 2, *bhur marb amuith is mait liom fén* | *do radh gara ndr mhaith méinn*. 203. *a gcionn*] *a chenn* A. 204. *do chlos*] *budh chlos* B. 206. *do rdáth*] *do radha* A : cf. 9, 185.

bháin] *bhán* ABC.

196. 'na 200, 202. *lán marbh*] *marbh* B.

202. *loisgthe*] *loisgidhthe* &c. AB.

1aighiam t' a t'cúinse oírt a Finn
do riád ḡaoraió ó Chroimlinn
gáin mo mille móri an moí
go trácht éiríse ari n-aithíriach

210

1f let an a t'cúinse rím uaidim
do riád mac Cumhaill aithíriach
gáin do mille ari an mairgim
go trácht éiríse ari mairion

215

ḡaoraió an oiroe rím gáin biaid
iñ ód coiméad do bhi an Fiann
aig éiríse ón ḡréim go moé
do éalainis ḡaoraió fán éadraí

220

Do éalainis ḡaoraió ón b'f'éinn
iñ níor b'fear do neá c'cioibh a réim
gáin fíor aca ari talamhain tróim
cáir ḡaib ḡaoraió ó Liathróim

225

Teig ríláib Tuléon ód go fíor
go riáimis Tuaig 1nbíor
ó Tuaig 1nbíor ḡaoraió na nglonn
uéid iñ dathána téairgheom

Go Maig an Róir teig gáé riadon
go Dún Maíca na móinidom
go Caigin Éile in gine Eóis aic
gluairíseig ḡaoraió géir-eacá

230

Go Maig an Óill beo 'na réim
Láimh deir le Dún an Laois Léit
teigla a nglenn beacáin binn
Láimh iñ cenn Laois Liathróim

235

1aighan ód go hálro ór tuisir
do ḡaoraió gáibh malaicóni
téirí fán uatháis do líom
cooilur ainn ḡaoraió gáibhleit

240

210. ó Chroimlinn] an Chroimhghlinn C. 215. maighin] ed. maige AB;
mágh so C. 222. níor bhfes: cf. Atk., Keating, Glossary: this habit of

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

regarding *feas* as an adj. may have arisen from a confusion between *niorbh feasach* and *niorfess*. 224. *cár*] *ca háit ar A.* 228. A has *Gharaid*: perhaps for *do G.* 233. *bheó*] *beo A. na réim*: perhaps rather 'of the races.'

نیور ՚مودایس ՚سارایو ՚ان ՚فیانن
سیل ՚لیعنینیسیداری ՚انویل ՚ر ՚انیار
لےیگر ՚ران ՚عادایس ՚سالی ՚سادا
՚سالا ՚را ՚سالا ՚نیمثیلادا

Comraidseir ՚دوو ՚ر ՚سارایو ՚سیدار 245
՚ران ՚عادایس ՚را ՚نادمیا ՚نیدار
՚سیل ՚نایم ՚ا ՚سین ՚و ՚ادایر
՚را ՚گنیوم ՚عادایر ՚انویلیو

՚ون ՚لایم ՚ریو ՚دو ՚ماین ՚سارایو 250
՚و ՚لیون ՚نیادا ՚ر ՚دو ՚لیون ՚سالار
՚پول ՚سارایو ՚نادمیا ՚ران ՚لایم
՚بیو ՚سیل ՚سالار ՚و ՚سالبایل

՚لایمیس ՚دوو ՚امادا ՚نای ՚نییم
՚نی ՚بیلاری ՚رے ՚نیون ՚ون ՚بیلین
՚بادا ՚ر ՚رےین ՚ران ՚بیلیپریز ՚نای ՚تیونن
՚دوو ՚را ՚نادمیا ՚نیداریل 255

՚ادلیسیتےر ՚سارایو ՚ر ՚دوو
՚ا ՚ریلیو ՚ان ՚سیل ՚تادا ՚ر ՚تادا
՚تیل ՚نیادیپیا ՚ر ՚تیل ՚سال ՚نیادا ՚ر
՚ر ՚تیل ՚م ՚سیل ՚ر ՚ر ՚تیل 260

՚د ՚ریو ՚ونیت ՚ا ՚بادلیس ՚ریل
՚ر ՚مے ՚ویلین ՚و ՚نیوما ՚نیادا ՚ر
՚تیل ՚مے ՚و ՚ریل ՚نای ՚لیادا
՚ر ՚تیل ՚م ՚سیل ՚ر ՚ر ՚تیل 265

՚تیل

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Garadh (the genitive); B reads *athair*. 250. I doubt whether *do* lion can bear the meaning given. 251. *Garadh*] *Gharaidh* A. 255. *bddhas*] *báthadhás* A; *bddhthus* B; *bathas* C. 256. *Aodh*] as *daodha* B; *aoda* C. 259. *smuaineadh*] *smaoine* A. 261. *a Phadraig*] om. A. 263. *snímh*] ed. *ním* A; *ghnídhm* B. C writes for 263-4, *is ionann is nimh dam beith da luaidh | is rothinn mo chroidhe fá amhluadh.*

NOTE.

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

“LAOÍÓ ÍÁRÁÍÓ.”

(TÓITEÁN TIGÉ FÍNN.)

ÍLÉÁR Ó.

S. L. VO ÍLÉÁR.

{| s : m | s : m | s : m | s : - . m }

Tánaidh ann - rín, ^Δ láit - neacá lir, mar
léig - re bean Con - áin an áig, ír

{| s : m | s : m | d : d | d̄ : - . s | s̄ : m }

A ndean - nár an an - scir: a - táir ronn - a
bean Caoil - te mic Rón - áin: ír bean mic Rei -

{| s : m | s : - . m | s : m | s : m | d : d |}

Báir réa - la; meab - aír liom a náraid - rílá - la.
éte i bhrí; cum - ann clei - éte ní nádean - nár.

“LAOÍÓ ÍÁRÁÍÓ.”

(Oílta marí vo íád Éamonn óg mac an Íoill an ceol.)

ÍLÉÁR Ó.

{| s : m | s : m | s : s : m | s : - . m }

Leig a - mac bean Con - áin an áig, ná

bean ēaoil-te bioō a' cno-nán: bean mīc a'

Rei-te tōp; Cum-ann clei-če ní ceap' ri.

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

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

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

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

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

"It is better, however, that such questions should be left for musicians to discuss. Our concern here is merely with 'Laois' *Ṣaŋaró*' as a means of ascertaining original prosodic accent.

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

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

preserved in recent times quite independently of any metrical tradition.

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

COMAD MANCHÍN LÉITH.

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

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

p. 66. Aodh sin 7 Dia lium.

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

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

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

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

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

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

COMAD MANCHÍN LÉITH ANN SO.

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

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

² spirat MS.

³ illin MS.

⁴ tuaidh MS.

TRANSLATION.

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

KUNO MEYER.

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

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

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

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

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

COMAD CROICHE CRÍST ANNSO SÍS.

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

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

Cre. Cr. I. S. R.

TRANSLATION.

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

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

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

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

KUNO MEYER.

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

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

COLMAN MAC DUACH AND GUAIRE.

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

J. G. O'KEEFFE.

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

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

³ O'Mahony's translation, p. 437.

COLMAN MAC DUACH AND GUAIRE.

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

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

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

Dognīther ūn in proicept 7 int aifreand co dīgrais. Celeberthair medōn lāi. Tiagair don proindtig.

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

“Is cet,” or² sē.

“Dobēr ē³,” or ē-seom.

Tucadh dō-som īarum in sēre.

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

¹ MS. foranoes.

² Corrected into ar.

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

TRANSLATION.

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

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

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

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

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

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

"I will give it."

The food was then brought to him.

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

"Maith *tra*," or Gūaire, "robadambuideach-sa do Christ comad nech lasmbad oc dil¹ occorso do chēli Dē nochaithed; ar fogēbtha dam-sa a n-irdāil-se."

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

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

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

"A chūachāin,
cid dotuca dar Lūaine?"

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

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

Is and tānic Gūaire istech.

"Dobroacht, a clēirchiu," ar Gūaire.

"Bēs is Dīa dodrōid," ar in Colmān.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹ oc dil *added in margin.*

³ MS. atait.

² MS. *chuach.*

⁴ MS. anddoroided.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Just then Guaire came in.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

NOTES.

degurd—I take *urd* to be the whole *ordo* of the service.

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

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

berbaiger—For *berbaigther*?

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

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

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

irddáil = urddáil—‘an equivalent,’ ‘as much as’: see “Passions and Homilies.”

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

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

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

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

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

THE IMPERSONAL PASSIVE FORMS OF THE IRISH SUBSTANTIVE VERB.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

EXAMPLES.

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

O. IR. 3. *táthar* :—*hóre no-pridchim dúib-si, is hed dáthar* (i. e. *dtáthar* for *n-táthar*) *dom*, ‘because I preach to you, therefore I am in evil plight,’ Wb. 21 c 9; *is hed dáthar dún*, ‘therefore we are in evil plight,’ *ib.* 28 d 4.

3. and 4. **pílter* :—*cf. oo-pílter* *éucut ón níg oo éocrao* *oo tige* *7* *oot bnié éuci ari* *éigin*, ‘people are at hand to thee from the king to wreck thy house and to bring thee to him by force,’ YBL 91 b 29 (*oo-pílter*, from *oo-píl*, ‘is at hand,’ cpd. vb.).

4. *táthar* :—*if tufa inȝion hi Dulraine oca táthar ȝ'iaȝ-*
*raioȝ*² *rechnón* *héieno* *7* *Alpan*, ‘thou art the daughter of Ua Dulsaine for whom there is searching throughout Ireland and Scotland,’ Betham MS. 23, No. 10, p. 76, l. 16, R. I. A. (Σαναρ Σορμαϊc, *voce Πρύλλ*).

5. *bíthir* :—*húare is hi fochedib bíthir hi suidib*, ‘since it is in tribulation that men are for them,’ Ml. 56 b 15; *ocus bíthir oca* *horairi*, ‘and men watch him,’ Cor. Gloss., *voce ȝimbær* *ρορογναῖ*.

5. *bíthir* :—*is and asgniintar in charait, intan m-bíthir in* *periculis*, ‘then friends are known, when men are in periculis,’ Ml. 108 b 4.

5. *rubthar* :—*air méit ind huachta ní rubthar indib*,

¹ ‘πίορ αἱρίζεαρ μιαν ‘μάθτεαρ’ γα δέιλ ριν. Θειρτεαρ ‘μάθτεαρ’ αδιαρ ‘μάθδω’ πιατηρ Δ θέιτεαρ γυισσε.’—Letter from Father O’Leary.

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

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

6. *botha* :—*foróra Cúchulainn aitheannach Loeg via fír cia címé t'botha i'n rún oínao ocúr im bo beo fír bæt*, ‘Cuchulaind sends Loeg again to learn what way things were in the camp and whether Ferbaeth was alive,’ YBL 31 a 50-52.

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

6. *ño-both* :—*is hed ro-m-both dom*, ‘this is why I have been in evil plight,’ Wb. 23 a 24; *is hed inso ro-m-both dossom*, ‘this is why they were angry with him,’ ib. 19 a 9; *amal ro-both and*, ‘how things were,’ Fled Bricrend, 16, 22; *gén ro-m-both ar in Táin Bó Cuailgne i nHérinn*, ‘whilst they were engaged in the cow spoil of Cuailgne in Ireland,’ Táin Bó Fháich, 47, 31; *ba maith ro-m-both friu*, ‘they were treated well,’ ib., 57, 20 [cf. ἀν τράτε τάμικα ιοναμ προινηγέ τονα τλόξαι, 7 νο βοτ ἀξ ποιν 7 ἀξ ποέσαι πορρα, ‘when the time came for the troops to dine, and food was divided and distributed among them,’ Ann. F. M., A.D. 1554; also Trip. L., 32, 6].

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

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

13. *bethen* :—*cene imbethen in hac uita*, ‘while we are in hac uita,’ Ml. 107 d 8; *sechib grdd i m-bethen and*, ‘whatsoever the condition be in which one is,’ Wb. 10 a 18.

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

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

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

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

4. *பிதெபு* :—*céin bither oc a dénam*, ‘while it is being done,’ Pass. and Hom., 7441.

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

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

7. *பா-பாரு* :—*iss and ro-bás oc a cáiniud and*, ‘it is then they were being keened there,’ Fled Bricrend, 90, 11; *intan tra ro-bás occ tabuirt gráid espuic fair*, ‘now when they were conferring the rank of a bishop on him,’ Lives of the Saints from the Book of Lismore, 237; *ro-bás oc iarraig forru co ndernatis idpurga do na deeib*, ‘it was being sought from them to offer sacrifices to the gods,’ Pass. and Hom., 2342; *bói tra fer ele do'n popul Iudaide ro-bás d'iarraig fo'n cuma cétna*, ‘there was also another man of the Jewish people who was being sought after in the same way,’ Pass. and Hom., 2929; *co-ná-ro-gluais in hed ro-m-bás 'con batheis*, ‘so that it moved not as long as they were at the baptism,’ S. na R., 7563-4; *பா-பாரு னோ கீ மீபீரு ஏங்க போ குட்ட நா ஏபீசே*, ‘now oppression was being exercised over the people of the country,’ Vit. Moling (O'Don., p. 255).

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

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

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

11. *பெதீபு* (= **bethip*) :—*உடிய நோ தாயிறை விலை மீண்டும் மாலிச்சிஸ ஓ பெதீபு ஒசா ஓசுவாட்டபோ*, ‘for the legality of the unlawful contract cannot stand good when it is opposed,’ Senchus Móri, ii. 382. (An emendation has been made in this passage.)

12. *பெதுபு* :—*céin betup oca vénūm*, ‘while it is being done,’

Senchur Móri, ii. 36 (bis); cén bechur oca 1eisiúr cárubh rón, 'as long as it is under cure until it is well,' ib. ii. 64; in ariunt bechur oca 1eisiúr, 'while it is under cure,' ib. ii. 68.

EARLY MODERN.—I. *bítear:—[bíotáir n' a ntarraimis a gcomnúrón, 'let us be drawing them always,' Áit. an Ádar pásrais uí Íríomh, P. and P. of Munster, 316, 22. This should rather be classified under Munster; but as the example is from the later literature, and the piece in which it occurs not professedly dialectic, it is perhaps better included here.]

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

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

5. bítear:—ná feabhar 7 bítear liom, 'however well I am treated,' Teáct 7 imteáct an Siolla Óeasair, G. J., No. 114, 484 a 20; gán a fiúr aige gur cum a báir a bítear, 'knowing not that it is for his death,' Prov. 7, 23, in Bedell's Bible; anuair bíther ac dealugud an óir 7 an mianaigh, 'when men separate the gold and the ore,' Gaelic Maundeville, 240, 138.

6. oo báir:—uair do bás ac cloadh Oisín ann, 'for Oisin was being overthrown therein,' Cath Finntrága, 630.

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

6. oo bíoctúr:—cionnur oo bíoctúr agus aibh ann? 'how did ye fare there?' Tóri. Ó. 7 S., 5, 20; oo bíoctúr go maic, 'we fared well,' ib. 5, 21; oo bíoctúr go holt, 'we fared ill,' ib. 5, 24.

10. beatáir:—beatáir 'gom éaineadó éoróce, 'I shall ever be lamented,' Oss. Poem in G. J., Jan., 1899; bethther co maith ris, 'they will be good to him,' Gaelic Maundeville, 256, 171.

11. oo beití:—ná é fuisil ná é tréine oo beití ag a cair amach, 'that it doesn't matter how forcibly one would be ejecting him,' Táib. an Ó., 99, 5 (in Appendix ix. wrongly referred to as 29, 5, and form erroneously described as 'imperf.').

E. MUNSTER.—4. fuiltear:—ní'ltear ag molas ná ag claineadó fíliúeadaíta an Seapaltas, 'we are not praising

or dispraising Fitzgerald's poetry here,' Introduction to *Óránta Íriúil* (in Press).

5. *biotar* :—*t'riéir mo óitcill ní bítéar* (pr. *bíotar*) *baodád* *thiom*, 'I do my best, but no thanks do I get,' G. J. No. 35.

6. *vo bío* :—*bío ó ana-máit* *tí*, 'she was very well treated' (R. A. Foley); *bítear* *as* *cúl* *craobh* *de* *Connacht* *na* *Gaeilge* *áli* *bun*, 'a branch of the Gaelic League was being established,' *An Sléibhteánaí*, *No. 15*, 1903, 19 b 12; *nuairi a bío* *ó* *feola* *é* *cum riubail*, 'when he was being led away,' *An Sléibhteánaí*, *No. 15*, 1903, 17 b 7.

7. *riabha* :—*ceap* *tí* *gur* *1* *utig* *Riobáir* *á* *tí* *ré* *7* *go* *riabha* *ó* *ceile* *uirne*, 'she thought he was in Robert's house, and that he was being hidden from her,' *An Sléibhteánaí*, *No. 15*, 1903, 19 a 7; *ní riabha* *1* *thar* *go* *riabha* *ar* *a* *utóir*, 'they were not long (so) until they were being pursued,' ib. 15 b 1.

15. *vo berti* :—*agur* *berti* *baodád* *thiot*, 'and you would be thanked,' G. J., *passim*.

W. MUNSTER. 2. *tátar* :—*tátar* *ar* *vo* *tí*, 'people are lying in wait for you; *tátar* *im* *óti* *do* *thion* *an* *noi*, 'I am being pursued closely now,' *An Buaisear*, 54, 26; *tátar* *éisgáinn*, 'we are being approached,' ib., 65, 19; *tátar* *ar* *vo* *tóir* *go* *te*, 'you are being pursued hotly,' *Catáir Connacht*, 34, y [*tátar* *go* *mait* *leir*, 'he is treated well,' O'Don., p. 254].

2. *tátar* :—*tátar* *'á* *théanam*, 'it is being done' (S. Cork).

3. *atátar* :—*ní* *feadnári*-*ra* *cionnuig* *mar* *atátar* *as* *an* *noi*, 'I do not know how things are with them now,' S. C. M., 91 y.

3. *tátar* :—*cionnuig* *tátar* *agat*? *1. cionnuig* *táoi*? S. C. M. 112, 17; *cionnuig* *tátar* *leat*? *1. cionnuig* *atá* *thaoine* *thuit*—*thruit* *ole* *nó* *mait* *thuit*? ib., 112, 18.

3. *tátar* :—*cionnuig* *tátar* *agat*? 'how are you faring?' S. C. M., 31, 1.

3. *tátar* :—*ca* *riof* *nac* *dom*-*ra* *tátar* *ó* *á* *rágáint*, 'who knows but that she is being left for me?' S. C. M., 93, 8.

4. *fuiltear* :—*an* *thruit* *fuiltear* *éisgáin*? 'is anyone going to be at me?' *Mion-cáint*, I., 27; *tearfán* *dom* *go* *thruit* *fuiltear* *ar* *vo* *tí*, 'it is clear to me that some persons are lying in wait for you,' *Mac Fingin Óuirb*, 16 x.

4. *fuilteor* :—*mar* *tearfion* *ná* *fuilteor* *rió-máit* *as* *an* *gcuio*

ئír feárrí aca annrú, 'for it is said that the best of them there are not faring very well,' *S. C. M.*, 34, 7.

6. *do bhoíochair* (*do bhoíochair*):—*mar a bhoíochair ari a achtair riomair*, 'as was the case with his father before him,' *Mac F. O.*, 18, 30; *an lá a bhoíochair ag curi an t-reanrouine*, 'the day the old man was being buried,' *Fionn 7 Lorcán*, 54, 9; *an lá a bhoíochair a' curi*, 'the day she was being buried,' *ib.*, 54, 18; *bhoíochair go maic linn*, 'things went well with us,' *An B.*, 83, 18.

6. *do bhoíochair*:—*o'fiaifhuis cionnur do bhoíochair aige*, 'he asked how he fared,' *S. C. M.*, 30, 4; *nuair bhoíochair ag ghabhail tair an mbocáinín*, 'when the cottage was being passed,' *ib.*, 77, 23; *nuair ceanglaó an Dall bocht 7 bhoíochair ari bhrusadé é caitteam 1 gcoimheasán na teineadó neirige*, 'when the poor Dall was bound, and he was about to be cast into the middle of the blazing fire,' *ib.*, 81, 2.

7. *raibháir*:—*an raibháir ag glaois airt iomu?* 'was there anyone calling you to-day?' *Mion-éaint*, I, 27; *érom an Sleabhsánaí ari ghearrán go cangasair ari*, 'Shelbourne began to complain peevishly that he was being treated too harshly,' *Mac F. O.*, 15, 21.

7. *raibháir*:—*fiil cónair-máirneac* *go raibháir 1 n-a cónair* *réim leir*, 'he thought right or wrong that somebody was lying in wait for himself also,' *S. C. M.*, 76, 17.

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

10. *beifear*:—*an mbeiftear ag curi iarras ari Mac Finghin Duib* *be* *encroached on by-and-by?*' *Mac F. O.*, 18, 29; *ní beiftear* *niar airt*, 'people, authorities, &c., won't be severe on you,' *G. J., Mi na Noirlag*, 1899 (James Fenton, Kerry); *beifear* *níor séine ari mo ti*, 'they will be more sharply in wait for me,' *An B.*, 54, 28.

11. *do beifriúe*:—*ní beifriúe* *niar ari*, 'he would not be severely treated' (J. Fenton, *G. J.*, *Mi na Noirlag*, 1899); *do beifri ollamh amáiriac*, 'we would be ready to-morrow,' *Mion-éaint*, I, 26.

12. *beifriúe*:—*éisgáin ari tamall eile o'á léarfaó* *go* *raibh ré ag buirfeadac* *agus* *ag beicis* *mar leanb lomnochtair* *go* *mbeifriúe* *ag a raibháil le* *rlait*, 'they spent another while pounding him until he was roaring and bawling like a naked child whom one would be beating with a rod,' *S. C. M.*, 25, 7;

τά 'πιοι διγε γο ματί νά βερόποιε πό-βυτόεας νε, 'he knows well that we would not be too thankful to him,' Κατάιρ Σορποί, 35, 25.

13. [βειρέαρ]:—νί ρανα γο μβερόφαρ αδ θρειτ διη, 'he'll soon be caught' (letter from Fr. O'L.).

14. ηαιθταρ:—"αρ νο έοιρι δοριαθτεαρ!" 'pursuing to you!' (letter from Fr. O'Leary).

15. νο θειτί:—γο ωτιοφραίρε αρ αν τάιητιξ μαραρ νο θειτί αδ γαθάιλ ταρ αν πνοημηρ ασα, 'that people would come to the threshold when they would be passing their door,' Σ. Κ. Μ., 77, 19.

16. βειττί:—τε ήεστα γο μβειττί αρ να μαριθταίθ μαολα λειτί νά όεαργδαιθ, 'for fear that people would be constantly blaming her (*i.e.* would be on the bald killings with her?) as a result of it,' Σ. Κ. Μ., 18, 16.

16. βειττί:—ταοιλεαρ γο μβειττί(όε) 'η-άρι ηνιαιρό γο ταραιό, 'I thought that somebody would be after us quickly,' Αν Βιαι-εαρ, 58, 11.

S. CONNACHT.—3. τά'ρ:—νασ ρρηινεατλαέτ 7 φεαριατλαέτ τά'ρ αδ ιαριαιό έυρι ιηρ να ναοιμή? 'is not this the aim, to inspire the people with spirit and manliness?' Μιον-έοηράθ, p. 75.

5. βίτεαρ:—βίτεαρ έά ήοιθριυχδάθ μαρ γιν νό γο πνέανταρ μιον μιοέλόγ νι, 'it is so worked until it is reduced to pulp,' Όιαρμυρο Όονν, in Αν Κλαινέαμ Σολινη, Jan. 9, 1904.

6. βίτεαρ:—αν λυαέ α βίτεαρ α φάσταιλ αρ ταλαμ, 'the price which was being got for land,' Βιασαοίλιν Τυατέ, in Αν Κ. Σ., Σαμαιν 28, 1903.

8. βίτι:—μυνα έράζδαθ να τιζεαρηναί αέτ ειορ ένιγ μβλιαδόνα θέας ανοιρ ο να τυνόνταιθ, βεαθ αν οιρεαν ασα ιη βίτι α φάσταιλ ιηρ να βλιαδανταιθ ατά οαιττε, 'if the [land]lords only got fifteen years' rent now from the tenants, they would have as much as used to be got in past years,' Όιαρμυρο Όονν, in Αν Κ. Σ., Σαμαιν 28, 1903.

10. βειρέαρ:—νο ήειρι μαρ' βειρέαρ αδ θαιτ λεαρ αρτα, 'according as people will be deriving benefit from them,' Μιον-έοηράθ, in Ρέαθηράθ, 2nd par.

11. θειτί:—βαθ σέαριτ υιοήρ να μβλιαδαντα α Ιαζνυζδάθ γο ματί γα ταιριγριτ α θειτί α έαθδαιτ νο'ν τιζεαρηνα, 'the number of years should be well reduced in the offer being made to the landlord,' Όιαρμυρο Όονν, in Αν Κ. Σ., Σαμαιν 28, 1903.

12. *beirfóe* :—*ní'l fiachád ó Siúnnainn go tráidh nád mbeirfóe ann* (*leg. a*) *trádct ari 'Liám*, ‘there is no hunt from the Shannon to the shore that people would not be talking about Leeam,’ Dr. Hyde’s *Raftery*, 164, 6.

N. CONNACHT.—2. *táctar* :—*táctar 'sá rthinnousád*, ‘they are being examined,’ Fr. O'Reilly’s *Óráis of cionn cuimh a n-áctar ó Siúlánna*, *An Cláiréamh Solais*, Oct. 3, 1903.

5. *bítear* :—*ní mair faoiltear bítear*, ‘not as is thought it be’s’ (‘be’s’ = do things be, does it happen), proverb quoted in *Bráidíre Ágiláir*, a story given in Dr. Hyde’s *Religious Songs of Connacht*, published in the *New Ireland Review*. (The Munster form of the proverb is *ní mair a faoiltear a cinnear*; and in Ulster it is *ní mair faoiltear bior*.)

6. *bítear* :—*nuaír a comhais Gearóid aon t-éadscóirí bítear a úéanadh*, ‘when Gerrot saw the wrong that was being done,’ *beatá Aoðá Uí Néill*, prize piece of Comp. 10 of 1903 Oireachtas (in Press); *nuaír a bítear ó' a n-iomhád*, *nuðairt fheadri aon báir le baill-óeairis go mba ball ve flioct Uí Ómnaill é*, ‘when they were being rowed, the boatman said to Baill-dearg that he was one of the progeny of O'Donnell,’ ib.; *cuireadó amhád a stíleoiriúdche 7 bítear 'sá gscíobáil' ó Árroán go híseáin 7 ó lág go bogáid i nuaigéadaír ná hoiðce*, ‘their guides were set astray, and they were being knocked about from high land to low land and from hollow to bog in the darkness of the night,’ ib.; *nár b'iongantaisge 'ná rín aon túr buinne bítear a cùir faoi teangeal 7 círeáam Eilípe i n-Oileán ná náom?* ‘wasn’t the foundation (lit. beginning of edifice) which was being laid for the tongue and faith of Elizabeth stranger still (lit. than that)?’ ib.; *agus mair agusairín, bítear le ré céad acha báint ari talaír ná stíleabó coint aon Uírghe Ónib le náinphuirt Mountioi 7 Charlemont a beathasád*, ‘and in addition, 100 acres were to be taken from the tribal lands beside the Blackwater for the support of the forts of Mountjoy and Charlemont,’ ib.; *agus ve báirí aon iomháid rín bítear le n-a ngsáthail*, ‘and on account of that talk they were going to be arrested,’ ib.

7. *fiabhar* :—*hinnriúseadó ná Aoðá Ó Néill riomh pé go fiabhar le n-a fáthail*, ‘Hugh O'Neill was told beforehand that he was to be arrested,’ *beatá Aoðá Uí Néill*; *mair céar ré go fiabhar*

¹ Cf. *lá iñ pié 'sá gscíobáil ari aon bhráirrige*; also in *beatá Aoðá Uí Néill*.

ΔΞ νέαναν ἐαγόμιν εράτοτε αρι Αοδό, 'for he thought that galling injustices were being done to Aodh,' ib.

9. *bíteári* :—ní *bíteári* ΔΞ τυίλ λε ταναιν υαιν ίνιν ο ροιν αμαδέ, 'nothing would be (used to be) expected from him (that man) thenceforward,' Fr. O'Reilly's *Óriáis*.

10. *béiróthearí* :—τά αν ρεαρι 7 αν θεαν ανοιρ ΔΞ ευρι αιτνε αρι α άείλε 7 ραοι άεανν ταμαιλλ *béiróthearí* θ'ά θρόραδ, 'the man and the woman are now making one another's acquaintance, and in a while their marriage will be taking place,' G. J., No. 112, p. 63.

10. *béirófeári* :—*béirófeári* ΔΞ *caint* αρι "Σλεοίλς ο'ν Σλιαθάν," "Σλεοίλς ο' θύτταρ," 7 ΔΞ *caíteadán* θρούμεαρ αρι Σλεοίλς "να Scoláirí," "Irish from the cradle" and "Irish from heredity" (native Irish) will be talked about, and disesteem will be cast on the Irish "of the scholars," Fr. O'Reilly's *Óriáis*.

ULSTER. 1. *bíteári* :—*bíteári* ΔΞ *γαθαιλ* θό, *νυδιρι* α θιοφρατ *ρέ έαριτ*, 'let it (the work) be a-doing, when he (the inspector) comes round'; *bíteári* ΔΞ *τόγάιλ* να *γελού* *ρεο* αρ α' *θεαλάς*, *νυδιρι* α θιοφρατ *ρέ έαριτ*, 'let these stones be being lifted out of the way, when he comes round' (this and the preceding example are from Mr. James Ward of Tory Island).

2. *τάταρι* :—*τάταρι* ΔΞ *μύμεαδό* να *τεανγδαδ* θο *ματί* *ιη* *γεολταά* αν *Τεαρμοίνν*, 'the language is being well taught in the schools of Termon,' Séamus Mac αν *θάηιτ*, Prog. of Proc., Αρι-ρειη, 1903; *τάταρι* ΔΞ *τεαγδαργ* *ρτάρι* να *θέιρεανν* *ιη* *γεοι* *αηδάιν* αρ *ρέ γεολτα*, 'the history of Ireland is being taught in one out of six schools,' ib.; *τάταρι* 'θά *τεαγδαργ* *ιη* να *γεολταά* θο *θυλε*, 'it is being taught in all the schools,' ib.; *τάταρι* ΔΞ *μύμεαδό* να *Σλεοίλζε* αρ *ρεαδό* *θά* *υαιρι* θο *λειτ* *ρά* *τρεαστάμαιν*, 'the Irish language is being taught for two hours and a half in the week,' ib.; *τάταρι* ΔΞ *buint* αν *ρέη*, 'the hay is being mowed,' Craig's Gr., p. 108; *τάταρι* θ'ά *mbuint*, 'they are being dug,' ib.; *τάταρι* ΔΞ *οβαιρι*, 'that signifies that there are a number of people working' (P. M'Creanor of Maghera, Co. Derry, in a letter from Mr. Louis Walsh).

4. *ρυιλεαρ* :—*ρέ θεαραι* *ρυι* *τυρα* αν *ρεαρ* θ'Ξ α *θρυιλεαρ* 'θά *τόηι* 'να *θέρο*, 'I think that you are the young man after whom they are in pursuit (or who is being pursued),' Peter Walsh's *Ραν* αρ αν *θαίλε* 'mo άομαιη, in *Οιάρηρεαδ* να *ηΣλεοίεαλ*, Curo III.

6. **ብተዬም** :—ብተዬም ላይ ሆነ እና በየጥናትና, ‘the potatoes were being set,’ G. J., **ወ/ሮ ካዕላጊ**, 1899, p. 63; ‘ና እና በተዬም ለ ተናወል ጽዴት ሰጠመ ሚን, ‘than was the case for a long time enough before that,’ S. M. ሰነ ዶ. (see above); **ብተዬም ላይ በወነት** እና በጥናትና, ‘the potatoes were being dug,’ Craig’s Gr., p. 108; **ብተዬም ለ ሚ መያዥናወ**, ‘I was going to be killed’ (heard from Mr. James Ward in conversation).

7. παῦτερ :—ὅ παῦτερ αὐτὸν λαβαίτι ; ήρον πιος μόνος εὐηγέλης', 'that far more Irish was being spoken,' S. M. on B. (see above).

8. *bítí* :—*bítí aṄ veanam̄ aṄpíán aṄ an baile r'* aṄgáinne,
'songs used to be a-making in *our* townland (or place),' Mr. Neece
M'Coal, resident in Donegal (heard in conversation with him).

9. bíti :—go^o c^unt^{se} (pron., go-tu^{is}se) n^ári f^{an} t^u m^{ar} bⁱ vo
 ó^{da}oimí 'r^{an} áit n^ác mbíti o^á mu^{as}g^aò? 'why didn't you remain
 along with your people where they used not to be hunted?'
 (a line of the 1st stanza of the ballad on the execution of James
 Murphy, as obtained from a native of Kilcar, Co. Donegal).

10. *bérotēaŋ* :—nī *bérotēaŋ* ὅδ *mbuint* ȝo *veo*, ‘they will never be a-digging,’ Craig’s Gr., p. 108.

11. *beirfóe* :—*beirfóe* *o'* *á* *plaóit*, 'people would be saying,' G. J., *Mí na Noolag*, 1899, p. 63 (used in conversation by Éamonn óg Mac an Ghoill, a native of Glengesh, Co. Donegal).

14. **μαθέσῃ** :—**ζο μαθέσῃ τὸ δικαῖον καὶ μέραν**, ‘may he be getting a beating to-morrow’ (from Mr. James Ward); **ζο μαθέσῃ τὸ δικαῖον τὸ ὄγκον ἀπὸ λεασασά λόμα τελείγα τὸ βεντοῦ-ιοτάτην ἐγκαίνην**, ‘may he be a-burning on the bare red flags of the very bottom of hell’ (a curse current in Tory Island and elsewhere in Co. Donegal).

16. *beití* :—*muí mbeití* *go maič* *óó*, *ní* *raċád* *ré* *ann*, ‘if he were not well treated, he would not go there’ (from Mr. B. O’Keeney, a native of the parish of Ardara, Co. Donegal); *na mbeití* *as* *baint* *ar*, *baó* *šoirír* *go* *mbeiréad* *ré* *raíte*, ‘if we were taking out of it, it would soon be spent,’ G. J., *Áitbeáin*, 1898, p. 192 b 40; *naibal* *raġarit* *a* *šeasraioe* *ne*, *na mbeití* *as* *óníjtéad* *léiginn* *ipteac* *i* *n-a* *cionn* *le* *fiolúi*, ‘no priest would ever be made of him, even if learning were being poured into his head with a water-funnel (*filler* or *tun-dish*)’ (heard by Mr. James Ward somewhere in the Glenfinn district, Co. Donegal).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

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

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

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

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

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

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

6. *bíos*, and 7. *riabhad* are pronounced respectively *bíos*, *riabhad*. Should the O. Ir. form of the latter turn up, it could scarcely differ; for *ro-both*, *ro-bod* clearly point to an enclitic form **robad*, **rubad*, or **rabad*.

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

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

S. CONNACHT. We find here a preference for un aspirated slender t in *bítear*, *bítí*, &c.; hence in 16 one would expect *beití* (*beitctí*), as in South Munster.

6. *bíóthear* is pronounced *bífear*, owing to a peculiarity of the dialect, which is rather fond of giving ó and ã the sound of b, and consequently making óč, ãč = f in sound, e. g. *guitóe* pron. *guité*, *eitóeán* pron. *eitbean*, *trádáv* pron. *tráb*, *točca* pron. *tofá*, *voiurízč* pron. *voiufe*, &c. The -ó- of *bíóthear* is probably the echo of that of the early mod. *vo bíothear*.

7. *riabítear* *pron.* *riabfear* (*riabfear*).

N. CONNACHT.—The *t*-forms are all from Fr. O'Reilly, who may be said to reside on the borderland between N. and S. Connacht. As to 6 and 7, he writes as follows:—"Bíteas and bíteas, na b'íteas (*rough*[*f*] *uss*) and na b'íteas (*rougher*) mean exactly the same, and are used indiscriminately here (in Mount Partry), a very fine Irish-speaking district. I have tested them specially in several district villages of people, and with the oddest and out-of-the-wayest sort of folk. What they would say is, that they were exactly the same—as, of course, I knew well—word, *asúr an minisgád céasna leo*, *áct súr feasra le oibream de na náomíb leasán acu*, *asúr le náomíb eile an leasán eile*."

ULSTER.—Here we find the *-r* substituted altogether for *-t* in 6 and 7. It is heard also in *cuadótar*, *cuadótar* = *oo cuadótar*, O. Ir. *oo-chúar*. On the other hand, *táinicear* = *Muns.* *oo tánghátar*, *tánag*; *Early Mod.* *tángr*. The origin of the *-r* is a puzzle to me, unless it be an intrusion from the pres. and fut.

14. *na b'íteas* is used after *mun* (*muna*), as well as optatively.

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

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

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

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

IMPERSONAL PASSIVE OF SUBSTANTIVE VERB

COMPARATIVE TABLE

Tense-form.	O. Ir.	Mid. Ir.	Early Modern (Ir. & Sc.).	E. Munster (Deisi).	W. Munster.	S. Connacht.	N. Connacht.	Ulster.	Scotland.	Present Standard (Ir.)
1. Imperat. Pres.,	*bíthep	*bíthep	*bítear	bíotar	bíotar	bítear	bítear, bítear	{ bítear bítear }	bíthear, bítēar	bítear
2. Ind. Pres. Orthot.,	*atáthar	atáthar	atátar	{ tátar, tá- tar, tátar }	{ tátar, tátar, tátar }	tátar, tá'r	tátar	tátar	tátar	tátar
3. " " Rel.	(a) tátar	atáthar	{ atátar atátar }	{ atátar, tátar, tátar }	{ atátar, tátar, tátar }	[a]tátar, tá'r	[a]tátar	[a]tátar	[a]thátar	atátar
" " "	(b) *filtēr	filtēr		{ atátar }	{ atátar, tátar, tátar }					
4. " " (govd. by prep.), ..	*tátar	tátar	{ fuiltear }	{ fuiltear, fuiltear, fuiltear }	fuiltear	fuiltear	{ fuiltear, fuiltear }	{ fuiltear, fuiltear }	(f)eilear, -eas	fuiltear
" " (neg., &c.), ..	*filtēr	filtēr	{ fuiltear }	{ fuiltear, fuiltear, fuiltear }	fuiltear	fuiltear	{ fuiltear, fuiltear }	{ fuiltear, fuiltear }		
5. " " Hab. (abs.), ..	bíthip	bíthip	*bíteip	bíotar	bíotar	bítear	bítear, bítear	{ bítear bítear }	bithear	bítear
" " (conj. and rel.), ..	bíthep	bíthep	bítear							
" " with no-, ..	pubthar	bíthep	bítear							
6. " Pret. Orthot.,	*bothae	(no-bár)								
" " Rel.,	bothae, -a	bár								
" " Encl.,	*both	bár, bávur	{ vo bío'čur, vo bár, do bágas }	vo bíoč	{ vo bíočar, vo bíočar, vo bíočar }	{ bíočear, bíočar, bío'č, bíočear }	bíočear, bíočear	bíočear	bhàtar	{ vo bíočar (vo bíočear) }
" Perf. Orthot.,	no-both	no-bár								
" " Rel.,	{ no-both, no-bov }	no-bár								
7. " " Encl.,	*nobao	nabur	*nabčur, -ar	nabao	nabčar, nabčar	nabčear, -ear	nabčar, -ar	nabčar	robhar, -as	nabčar
8. " Impf. Orthot.,	*no-bíthe	*no-bíthē	*vo bíči	vo bíotaoi	vo bíotaoi	bíti, bíti	bíti, bíti	bíti	*bhiteadh	vo bíti
9. " " Encl.,	*bíthe	*bíthe	*bíči	bíotaoi	bíotaoi	bíti, bíti	bíti, bíti	bíti	*biteadh	bíti
10. " Fut. (abs.),	*bethip	*bethip	*beačtar	{ beafar, beafear }	beafar, beafear	beafear	béiōčear, béačtar	béiōčear	bitear, bithear	{ beačtar, beafear }
" " (conj. and rel.), ..	bethip	bethip	beačtar	{ beafar, beafear }	beafear					
11. " Cond. (2 Fut.) Orthot.,	*no-bethe	no-bethe	vo bеiči	vo bеiřiōče	vo bеiřiōče	bеiřiōče, bеiči	bеiřiōči, bеiřiōče	bеiřiōče	*bhiteadh	vo bеiči
12. " " " Encl.,	*bethē	*bethē	bеiči	bеiřiōče	bеiřiōče	bеiřiōče, bеiči	bеiřiōči, bеiřiōče	bеiřiōče	*biteadh	bеiči
13. Subj. Pres. (abs.),	bethip	bethip, bеičip	*bеičip	[beifear]	[beifear]	[beifear], [bítear]	{ [béiōčear], [bítear] }	[béiōčear]	*bitear, *bithear	{ bеičip, beafear }
" " (conj. and rel.), ..	bethip	bethip	*beačtar	[beifear]	[beifear]	[beifear], [bítear]	{ [bítear], [bítear] }	[bítear]		
14. " " with no-, Dep. (Opt. &c.),	*pubthar	*nabthar	*nabčar	{ nai'tar, naičar }	nai'tar	nabčar	nabčar	nabčar	*robhar	nabčar
15. " Past. Orthot.,	*no-bethe	*no-bethe	*vo bеiči	{ vo bеiči, [vo bеiřiōče] }	{ vo bеiči, [vo bеiřiōče] }	bеiči, [bеiřiōče]	bеiči	bеiči	*bhiteadh	vo bеiči
16. " " Encl.,	*bethē	*bethē	*bеiči	{ beafar, bеiřiōče }	bеiřiōče, bеiči	bеiřiōče, bеiřiōče, *bеiči	bеiřiōči	bеiřiōče	*biteadh	bеiči

(a) After *if* heo in a peculiar idiom also found in the active voice, *e.g.* *ceo tāi róib?* 'what ails you at them?' LU 59 b 10; *cio rāasr in chāillech?* 'what ails the old woman?' Trip. L., p. 28, l. 17.

(b) After *intan*, *hópe*, &c., **filten* might be expected like *fil*, *file* in the active

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

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

J. H. LLOYD.

Howth.

“**gail** do chuil isin charcair.”

1. n-**glae**ni^g nuaidh :

THESAURUS PALÆOHIBERNICUS, II. 290.

Гайл do cùil iñr an gcaoraidh : ní duit-re clúim ná conair ;
Tíruidh roin a bhuolla thácaí : ollat oírt an t-riatáidh ónáidh.

“**pangur** bán.”

1. n-**glae**ni^g nuaidh :

THESAURUS PALÆOHIBERNICUS, II. 293.

Míre agur pangur bán : Ceáctar le’ gnó ne-gnád ;
Bíonn a meanma-ran le reilg : Mo meanma féin lem’ éin-céir.

Cáiridh-re rof iñr ciúnaí : im leabharán do léiri-rciúndach ;
Ní roimhdaí leiom pangur bán : Caíann féin a céir ro macán.

Nuaidh a bimír—rcéal gan rciú : iñr an dtiúch i n-ári n-éin-nír,
Bíonn agairn gan ériúndach cleas : níl le ngléirtear ár nglisceas.

Gnád uaireanta ari ghearrainn gan : go leanann lúc ná lion-ran ;
Tuiteann trád im lion-ran féin : ro-céirte ñeacair le do-céill.

Caitéann-ran ari fuil balla : a riuitc léire lúctóra ;
Caitím féin le fál feadha : mo riuitc riú-geala.

Bhróid oor-ran le véime dul : nuaidh innlann lúc n-a ghearr-ériúb ;
Nuaidh tuisidim ceirte ñeacair óil : náim-ran céasna ’f cíir áctír.

Bioo gurib amlairi òúinne gnáid : ní bacann cás le’ compair ;
Maié linn ari aon gné ár gcleas : cás in aonar len’ aoiúneas.

Cumair mairt aige-gean tó : ari gnó oor-gnáid gan éan-lá ;
Ár ñeacair do óeanaidh glé : ñeacáidh-írtír reasú míre.

Míre.

TÓRNA D’AISTRÍS.

DANIEL HÚA LIATHAIDE'S ADVICE TO A WOMAN.

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

Daniel húa Liathaide is called abbot of Cork and Lismore by the Four Masters, according to whom he was mortally wounded in A.D. 861. The language of the poem, if purged of certain Middle-Irishisms (such as *no cíáiream* (3) for O.-Ir. *no ceadraem*, *tsigra* (6) for *tsigre*, *coimriu* (ib.) for *coimri*, *riada* (ib.) for *riadait*, *áig-ríu* (7) for *áigé* or *áigé-ríu*) and restored to an earlier orthography, may well be that of the ninth century.

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

KUNO MEYER.

Ατριθειτ **Ω**ανιέλ **h**úα **Λ**ιατάινε **αιρέσινε** **Λ**ιρτόιη **ο**ς **α**
γιανε **νιν**¹ **μηδί**. **έ**ιρεμ **ρ**ι **θ**α **απη**θεια **νί-ρι**, **θ**άι **ρ**ι **ιμμο**ριο-
ος **α** **έ**ο²τη³γυ⁴θ-ρο⁵. **τ**η **απ** **α**ρθειτ⁶ **ρο**μ:—

1. “**Δ** **ben**, **θ**εννα⁷θε **ρ**οιτ! **ν**ά **ρ**άιο!
- ιμμάιο* **θ**άιλ [τηθράτα **θ**ύδιν:
 ατά **ε**ρέρα **ρ**οι **α**σέ **θ**ύιλ,
 ατά⁸γη **θ**ύιλ **ι** **η-ν**ηρι **η-ν**διηρ.
2. “**ι**μμάιοι **θ**άιρ **σ**εν **θ**ηρίς **θ**ύδι,
 ιρ **ρ**υδιένιο **ν**ί **θ**άιρ **ρ**υμηγνί,⁹
 μάτθεμι-ριυ¹⁰ **θ**ιο **ρ**άν¹¹ **ρ**ό,
 θιο **ν**εγγυ **α**ρ **θ**ύδι **ρ**ιν **τ**ομηγνί.
3. “**Δ** **η-αιρέ**νε **ρ**ιλ **α**ρ **α**ρ¹² **σ**ιν
 θασ **τ**εθορ **λ**ιν, **έ**ριμ¹³ **η**γανο,
 ρυνο **σ**ια **ν**ο¹⁴ **έ**ράιο **θ**ιν **θ**ις,
 θατιν **α**ιτηγ¹⁵ **ι**ρ¹⁶ **τ**ίρ **τ**αλλ.
4. “**θ**ιέρο **ν**ί **ρ**εναίμ **α**ρ **έ**οι,
 θαμ **α**νθιτεη¹⁷ **σ**ια **τ**οσηη,
 νί **ν**άρ **ρ**αιγθε-ριυ¹⁸ **ι**αρ **ρ**ιν
 θαθρια¹⁹ **α**ρ **θ**εν, **α** **ben**.
5. “**λ**έι²⁰ **ν**άιο **ι**ννί **κονο**ατ-ριλ,
 θο²¹ **έ**νιτ **ι**η-**ν**εμ **η**αθαρ-ριεν,
 ροι **ρ**άεραμ **η**θέ **έ**ιρις **θ**οτ **τ**ιγ,²²
 θεννα²³ **ν**άιμ-ρι **θ**ειη, **α** **ben**.
6. “**θ**ερρ²⁴ **τ**υρρυ, **τ**υρρυ **μ**έ,
 άγυη, **ά**γυε **θ**ιαθα **ρ**ό,
 θυιο-ρι, **θ**ιθρι²⁵ **ι**η **θ**οιμοι **σ**άιο,
 α **ben**, **ν**ά **ρ**άιο **ν**ί **α**ρ²⁶ **μ**ό.

¹ **ν**ον **L**. ² **sic L**, **ν**ο² **H**. ³ **sic H**, **ρ**υμηγνί **L**. ⁴ **sic H**, **ι**νν-**α**τθεμιρι **L**.
⁵ **sic H**, **θ**άιλ **corrected** into **ρ**άν **L**. ⁶ **sic**, **H**, **α** **L**. ⁷ **sic L**, **εραιμ** **H**. ⁸ **ο**μ. **H**.
⁹ **η**η **H**. ¹⁰ **sic L**, **ν**αμα²⁷τεη **H**. ¹¹ **sic L**, **η**ατ **ρ**ογθα-ριυ **H**. ¹² **sic H**,
θαθρι **L**. ¹³ **L** omits this stanza. ¹⁴ **ν**ι **H**. ¹⁵ **ν**ιτ **τ**ιγ **H**. ¹⁶ **μηγη** **H**.
¹⁷ **sic L**, **γεγρα** **H**. ¹⁸ **α**ρα **H**.

TRANSLATION.

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

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

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

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

7. “*Na¹ bi-riu aji reis neic nač mait,
náis not-éuirfe in flait aji cel,
áis-riu, ásuri Círt cen éin,
ná jo lámuir trírt, a ben !*”

“*Biro fír ón,*” ol ri. Ro flectrí for a bít-dénma-rom in epletio bói i mbéada.

¹ H omits this stanza.

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

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

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

² *for* = *ar*.

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

Cáilte cecinit.

BOOK OF LEINSTER, P. 208 a.

In spite of the archaic flavour of its language and the numerous glosses with which the scribe has furnished it, the following poem cannot be much older than the manuscript in which it is found, that is to say, the first half of the twelfth century. This is shown, among other things, by several of the verb-forms and by the use of *nád* as a monosyllable. It belongs to the same class of compositions as the Ossianic poem beginning *Tuileartír mo neigca rúan* published by Windisch, *Irische Texte*, i, p. 162, in which rare words of *béjla ná fileo* are used instead of *gnádachocla*.

KUNO MEYER.

Cáilte cecinit.

1. **B**ec innocht lúth mo ná lúd,¹
nó fetaí mo chorr if cúa:
nó po maithi jith aodám jenov²
noco³ tóriacht in Tálceno.⁴
2. **R**op-řa chrib mo ná uisag,⁵
aodám áeo⁶ im' chalb⁷ cuisag,⁸
aodám briaicc⁹ conbíataif baiov,
norrat [m'] aijm[-ri] ean uisag.
3. **R**a lúrion[n]-re ve maircaib,
aři aři¹⁰ níad¹¹ norrat foirtail,
nobeirim cuil¹² aři gárit¹³ finn,¹⁴
norram gáinio gáinio ji haicair.¹⁵
4. **M**írrí if Ořín mac finn,
norrat comchuitve aři ceta,
aři ngníma norrat mairia,
aři mbága norrat beca. b. .

¹ .i. mo ná choirr	² .i. mo nám chorr	³ naco Facs.	⁴ .i. Rathric
⁵ .i. mo ná choirr	⁶ .i. aodám fúil	⁷ .i. im chino	⁸ .i. comérrat
⁹ .i. aodám lám	¹⁰ .i. láech	¹¹ .i. trénefær	¹² .i. comét
¹² .i. aři eimech	¹⁴ .i. proprium	¹⁵ .i. ji haicair	

TRANSLATION.

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

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

² *cua* .i. *feóil*, O'Clery.

³ i.e. St. Patrick.

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

⁵ A present *luroim*, 'I go,' developed from *loo*, 'I went,' also occurs in *Ár língé Meic Conglinne*, p. 89, 4 (7 *conlúim recha*); and the sing. imperative (*luro oð*, 'go to!') is found ib., p. 53, 13. A future *lóofamáð* is in LL. 109 b 1.

⁶ *fártail* instead of *fórtail*, for the sake of assonance with *márcáib* and *hárcáib*.

THE LEABHAR OIRIS.

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

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

Hardiman published the two poems beginning *Þádá þeith* *gán aoiþneář ann* and *Uathmář an oróche anoch* in his *Irish Minstrelsy*, ii. pp. 202, 208; and he quotes several passages, §§ 33, 34, 35, 49, 50, and 51, in his Appendix, where he hesitates not to say that 'no nation in Europe can produce so old and, at

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

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

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

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

John MacSolly's MS., from the original in the Royal Irish Academy. I have not been able to collate this MS. (7) MS. 23. P. 13, eighteenth century, in the Royal Irish Academy, containing a fragment only (p. 93), § 33 to end, scribe's name not known. Hardiman attributes it to John Lloyd. I have denoted this MS. as P. (8) MS. 23. G. 25 in Royal Irish Academy, also a fragment beginning *Ro ḫoṣṇāv*, § 47, and ending with § 53. Consulted occasionally, and denoted by G. (9) MS. 23. M. 47 third part, p. 50, in Royal Irish Academy, also a fragment, beginning § 43, and ending with § 53, transcribed in 1776 by John O'Connell. Designated by Y. (10) MS. 1289 (formerly H. 1. 15) in Trin. Coll., Dublin, known as the Psalter of Tara, and transcribed in 1745 by Tadhg O'Neachtain, contains a short account of the battle (p. 735). I have consulted it occasionally, referring to it as K. It is almost identical with another recension in MS. 1329 (H. 3. 10), p. 153, in Trin. Coll., Dublin, eighteenth century. Besides these, there is a number of romantic tales describing the Battle of Clontarf; they are enumerated in M. D'Arbois de Jubainville's *Essai d'un Catalogue*, p. 60. They are not so sober in colouring as the *Leabhar Oiris*, but are closely enough connected.

A version of the Battle of Clontarf, much the same as that printed here, appeared some years ago in the *Gaelic Journal*, vol. vii., 1896. This has been of service to me in preparing the present text. The MS. from which it was taken is not cited, however, and the Annals preceding and following the battle are omitted. Some episodes not contained in the *Leabhar Oiris* are given; for instance, the appearance of Aoibhinn, or Aoibhill, the banshee of the royal house of Munster, on the battle-field, along with Dunlang O'Hartagain, and the metrical dialogue which follows. An interesting account of this is contained in MS. 1289 (H. 1. 15), Trin. Coll., Dublin. It is noteworthy that Aoibhinn is not mentioned in the LO., though reference is made to her in the *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh* (p. 201).

I have not endeavoured to construct a perfectly uniform text. Wherever I have departed from MacSolly's MS., I have indicated his readings by MS. at the foot of the page, except the following changes, which I have made throughout:—*i*, 'in,' for *ə*; *ea* for *io* in such words as *Éimonn*, *pičiov*; *ai* for *ui*,

especially in dative plurals, such as *feadairiúibh*, &c. ; *ri*, 'king' in the nom. for *ri* ; omission of final *ó* in such words as *órraibh*, &c. ; *Maoilseimhaisi*, *Maoilfeachlaínn*, *Muircháidh*, in gen. sg. for *Maoilseimhais*, *Maoilfeachlaínn*, *Muircháid* ; *g*, *vt* in eclipsis for *cc*, *tt*. Marks of length, which should, I think, always be used sparingly, have in many cases been omitted ; on the other hand, I have occasionally supplied them. The aspiration of proper names in the genitive is carried out only sporadically by our scribe, and none of the MSS. are consistent. This is always a difficulty. As the editor of the *Cath Chuana Táinib* in the *Gaelic Jour.* truly observes : the rule that such aspiration should take place is an eccentricity. Here, then, I have nearly always followed the MS. I have added an index of names and places, which may be useful for reference, and inserted the dates from the principal Annals, FM., AU., &c.

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

RICHARD IRVINE BEST.

Leabar Oíris agus an[n]ála ar cogthairb agus
ar cathairb éireann annso síos.¹

FM. 979. I. **C**allann anno domini ré bliadana reachtmóis ari náoi
gceas¹ Maolfeachlainn mac Domnall uo gábháil
riúche héireann.

2. Cogadh móri le Domnall mac Faoilán riúch na nDéire² 7
le hionáir³ Phuirt Láirge ari bhrían bóriomh mac Cinnéidh
7 ari Chian mac⁴ Maolmhuaidh, guri ariúseadair⁵ 7 guri Loingseadair⁶ Concach 7 uimhóir⁷ Muimh, uo Loingseadair 7 uo
ariúseadair, 7 uo hionáirbhað⁸ Domnall mac Faoilán ó Chluain
Fin[n]abhair⁹ go n-a ósúir theach.⁹

3. Rúg bhrían 7 Cian¹⁰ maithe Muimh oírrid, 7 thugadair
nóibh a fán² mic Caomhreach,¹ guri no muiro³ ari Gallairb, 7 guri
Leanaid⁴ iad go roint Láirge,⁵ go dtugadair ari Gall,⁶ guri
Loingseadair⁷ guri h-ionáirbhað a náin, 7 uo h-ionáirbhað⁸ Domnall
Ó bhrílán a⁹ Muimh a smach.

¹ D—Leabhar 1979 agus anála ari cogair eirionn annro, 7 go tóiríodh ari
éadá Cluan Tairbhað, 7 ari an laocheiné dochtuit ann 7c.

M—An Leabhar Oírr 7 tuisceadh báil éadá cluana Tairb, agus anála ari
Cionnghuaibh Ériuiont, agus Cionnghuaibh, agus Craobhghaileadh ari
imteadaitiú an éadá rí cluana Tairb agus mánige fuisne, mar
Leanus.

T—Leabhar Oírr agus anála ari éogairiú na hÉriuiont 7 éadair 7 tuisceadh 7
craobhghaileadh ari éadá cluana Tairb, 7 ari na laocheiné do chuit ann
rionn 7c.

1. ¹ cceadairb M.

2. ¹ sic M; **D**éirge MS.

² bhrídeir D; **U**anair E.

³ mne M.

4-5 om. M.

⁵ fómhóir D.

⁶ óibír ríad DE.

⁷ sic E; MS. and

M 7; ⁸ T; go D.

⁸ fionnáir M.

⁹ om. DE.

3. ¹⁻¹ DE om. 7 maithe to Caomhreach; T om. from 7 thugadair.

² sic MS., M. ³ MS. muiig.

⁴ Leabhar iad ina náin Tairb M.

⁵⁻⁶ om. TM.

⁶ ari Loingseadair iad 7 guri tisbeadair Domnall 7c. M.

⁷ tisbeadair M.

⁸ ari an TD.

4. Do ḡaib¹ bhríon² bhráis³ne Coircais⁴ 7 Leaga⁵ mór⁶ 7 inis⁷ inbair⁸ 7 ár⁹ceall¹⁰ Mumhan uile 7 a tuatha, go nach consíbairdai¹¹ gádais¹² nó lucht éagsóra acht an méad vo cheirdeócha¹³ uisge¹⁴ nóib¹⁵ vo chongbáil.¹⁶

5. Síuas¹ bhréarí Mumhan le bhríon 7 le Cian mac Maoil-mhuaid² i n-Orp³ais⁴, nári gába⁵ Siolla Ráthrais⁶ mac Donncha⁷ ní Oírlais⁸, go bhrúair gáill Oírlais⁹ uile 7 a fm. 982. ní eipí féin,¹⁰ 7 go dtáin¹¹ gádair ná ní¹² Láis¹³ean i¹⁴ náis¹⁵ bhríon .i. Domnall Cláon 7 Maoilmór¹⁶, go dtug¹⁷ gádair gáill 7 bhráis¹⁸ náib.¹⁹

6. Síuas¹ bhréarí Mumhan² le bhríon 7 le Cian ari mui³ 7 ari tír⁴ go gcoibhleach ó neachach⁵ 7 Chorpcais⁶ 7 phuairt Láis⁷ 7 Chorpcais⁸ 7 Óál gCair⁹ go loch Derg-Deiric, go riab¹⁰ i ré trí cead aithíreach¹¹ aon; go neachair ari rím tair¹² Sionainn go Loch Ráis,¹³ 7 a síuas¹⁴ ari tír, gur aithíreachair¹⁵ Mhóe go h-Uirneach,¹⁶ 7 bhréifne¹⁷ tair aithíreach Lias¹⁸ gúar. Do chuidi¹⁹ curio do'n t²⁰riúas²¹ i Connachtair²² go neadairn²³ aithíne 7 cneachá móra, 7 gur riab²⁴ riad Mumhan²⁵ mac²⁶ Conchobair ní au. 988. Connacht, Mac Coircair ní iarrtháir Connacht, 7 mórián náoinne eile.²⁷

7. Síuas¹ oile la² bhríon³ 7 le Cian⁴ go riobháis⁵ Mumhan umra⁶ go Port ná Chaoimh⁷ 7 gcoinne Maoilcheachlainn mic Domnáill⁸ mic Donncha⁹ ní¹⁰ Éireann, go neadairn¹¹ rith¹²: 998. a riab¹³ vo bhráis¹⁴ Leithe¹⁵ Mo¹⁶ Óg Maoilcheachlainn vo tháibháirt vo bhríon, 7 a riab¹⁷ vo bhráis¹⁸ Leithe Cuinn¹⁹ a²⁰ bhríon vo tháibháirt vo Maoilcheachlainn .i. curio Mo²¹ Óg Náda²² o'Éirinn²³ a²⁴ bhríon, 7 curio Cuinn²⁵ a²⁶ Maoilcheachlainn.²⁷

4. ¹ gába² T.

² om. MTD.

³ Líor ED.

⁴⁻⁴ om. TE.

⁵ MS. gádais⁶. ⁶ uisge MT. ⁷ gur bhuairt, ná bhuairteamh an aon érlige rian Dóman adds M. D reads: ionnur náib biaib aéit an méid vo bheir ná luib⁷ uisge, agur ceirte vo consíbair, agur vo éur ari aitairn⁸ éum bhoídeannáid, agur gádais⁹ vo tibhearrt. Similarly ET.

5. ¹ Om. T.

² gáibhao M; gur gába² TDE.

³⁻³ om. TDE.

⁴ 7 tuig gáill náib⁵ T; go ttuig gáill náib⁶ D. ⁵ go tig M. ⁶ Cog. Gaed. re Gall. reads Tuatál ní iarrtháir líri for Maoilmór⁷. ⁷ ET read: t⁸an⁹ gádair a rím go ní¹⁰ Láis¹¹ean agur tuig gáill agur bhráis¹² náib¹³ gur fúiread¹⁴ 7c.

6. ¹ Om. M.

²⁻² om. TDE.

³ tuig D.

⁴ aitairn⁵ MS.; aitairnach D.

⁵ tair⁶ MS. ⁶ ní⁷ MT; ní⁸ E. ⁷ an⁹ bhréifne D. ⁸ aitairn⁹ Láis¹⁰ D.

⁹ náibhíl¹⁰ TDE. ¹⁰ neadairn¹¹ M. ¹¹ náib T; ó D. ¹² maile náib¹³ T; iliomar Leo go roiléir M; maile fíriú D.

7. ¹ sic MS.; eile le TM; oile ne E.

²⁻² om. DE.

³ maile fíriú D.

⁴ sic M; Chaoimh⁵ MS.; om. TDE. ⁵ om. T. ⁶ om. D. ⁷ leatá T.

⁸ riab⁹ MS. ⁹ Mo¹⁰ náib M. ¹⁰ vo bhréifne MS. ¹¹ T reads: agur vo ttuig b. an méid vo b¹² vo bhráis¹³ Leatá Cuinn vo M.

8. Ári n-éag Óstóinnáill Chláin,¹ rijs Láigéan, do bádair² maolmórrá mac Muircháoda ri Láigéan go Láigéinib³ 7 Gaill Átha Cliath go h-áitíriarach do bhríon, go nuaerina⁴ bhríon 7 Cian ríuaib⁵ go bfeorairib Muimhne umpa go Gleann Máma⁶; Gaill Átha Cliath go Lochlannaisib, 7 Maolmórrá mac Muircháoda, ri Láigéan, go Láigéinib 'n-a gcoinne; guri cuireadó cath Gleannna Máma eastorria, ⁷ n-ári tuigéad ór Gall Éireann 7 Gaorídeal⁸ Láigéan; 7 Maolmórrá mac Muircháoda do gábháil óri n-a thábhairt do Muircháod mac bhríon ar an AU. 999. inbáir anuair⁹; 7 do leanasib¹⁰ na Gaill go baile Átha Cliath, 7 do h-áitígeadó é roip ríadair 7 ríadairib, ór¹¹ 7 aitígead; ór níor fágádair Lochlannaisib naomh nó neimheadó¹² nó ceall uafal ná uairín ná oilén 1 n-Éirinn gao aigéan; 7 thug bhríon 7 Cian 7 Muimhne uile an maith¹³ rín leó ór chúlairib ór thiomáin¹⁴ 1aip moíbádó¹⁵ Árasailt mic Ámlaoisib¹⁶ 7 Chapulra mic rijs Lochlann, ó n-abairthair cloíreamh Chapulra,¹⁷ 7 Chuiléin eisínnáin,¹⁸ árnuádais[1]ri Lochlannach, ré callainn ionair, 7 bhríon 7 ríp Muimhne óri an gcallainn¹⁹ rín 1 n-Áth Cliath.

9. Céig catha picheadó²⁰ 1 n-ári tréiseordeadó a thaoibh féin¹ do bhríir bhríon óri Gallaisib 7 ari Galloréaleib 1 n-éagmair a nuaerinaidh do ghréasainib² 7 ríonrúaidhthuib; ór ní raiib 1 n-Éirinn aon-mac rijs ná ríaoirí nach nuaerinaidh ríth le Lochlannaisib acht bhríon bóriomh³ aitáin.

10. Ro an¹ bhríon 1 Láigéinib 7 1 Mióe ó novalairg móir go féil bhríste² 2aig a n-ion[n]raib,² go dtug a ngéill leir, 7 guri loing³ Coill Chomáilri do chonndáid,⁴ guri ríorígs bealaigí⁵ 7 daingne Láigéan.

11. ¹Ro éloir Ámlaoisib [mac]² Ámlaoisib rijs Gall Éireann ó

8. ¹DTE om. Ó. Ch.

² MS. do ba; no bua TME; é T; ba hé D.

³ DE om. go L.

⁴ nuaerinaidh M; nuaerchara b. 7 a ríuaib go S. m. DE.

⁵ maimair M; maolmair ED.

⁶⁻⁸ DE omit from 1 n-ári tuigéad to anuair.

⁷ Gaill M.

⁸ guri ríonairib an caéa ór Gallaisib go haéa Cliath DE.

⁹ ór MD; ionnáir oír E.

¹⁰ banaomh E. ¹¹ maitheas M; a maitheas

uile D; 7 tuig b. 7 C. maolmair 7 ór oír Gallaisib Uanair E.

¹² comáint M; om. D. ¹³ MS. marbád. ¹⁴ sic M; Ámlaoisib MS. ¹⁵ DE end

here. ¹⁶ Cuileann mac Éigeanán M.

¹⁷ ari ecclainm rín Átha Cliath M.

^{9.} ¹⁻¹ om. DE.

² ghráirib MS.; gráirib M. ³ bhríon ná

siobhnoic, riog uilád M; nári gheill do bhríon aéit siobhneac mac Ríjs uilád

aitham DE.

^{10.} ¹ fón M.

²⁻² om. DE. ³ loing M. ⁴ comáint M.

⁵ ríorígs bealaigíci MS.; bealaigíte M.

² a. mac a. M.

^{11.} ¹ D and E omit what follows down to 7 thug b.

² a. mac a. M.

chath' Élinne Mámo ar gach áitro v'a chéile go haois Ó Néill, 7 ní bhuair a d'ion aige nó aig Eochairó Áirgíðair,⁴ go dtóiríacht i gcionn riáithe i⁵ vteach Óriam, go dtuig a réir do Óriam 7 é réin i mbith-óilír tré bhotha riop⁶; 7 thug Óriam uplámur⁷ Átha Cliath vó-ron pe n-a Láinn.

12. 'Do léig Óriam Maolmórha omach tarp cheann bhráidao ^{AU. 1001.} Láigean, 7 thug riú Láigean vó i n-aigair Óonnchaóda mic Domnaill Chlaon.¹ Tháinig Óriam iap' rún v'a theach,² 7 aip vteacht vó i Mumain do pinneadair Leath Cúinn cairiol cloch tarb Átha Luam, aip³ eagla go rocharáir⁴ coiblach Óriam tarb a n-aip.⁵

13. Sluaig le Óriam 7 le Cian 7 le feoraisib Mumain go ^{AU. 1002.} háth Luam, gur orgailear riad an cairiol,¹ 7 gur gábádair bhráighe Maolfeachlann Móir 7 Connacht uile i n-aonló i n-Átha Luam.

14. Sluaig le Óriam¹ 7 le Cian² 7 le feoraisib Mumain 7 Mióde um Maolfeachlann,³ 7 go feoraisib Láigean 7 Connacht 7 Goill Átha Cliath⁴ 7 phuairt Láigean,⁵ do gábáil giall Ulaó; go dtáinig Aoibh mac Domnaill i Néill 'n' Oiliú⁶ 7 Eochairó mac Áirgíðair⁷ ní Ulaó, "go dtuigear cath Círaoríbe Tulcha" 'n-a gcominne, go dtuig Óriam cairioe 'bliadóna' óib,⁸ do déanam comá[1]hile an cath dothéarúir uathu nó an bhráighe.⁹

15¹. Coigaoi móri iorúr Aoibh mac Domnaill i Néill 7 Eochairó mac Áirgíðair² go dtuigear cath Círaoríbe Tulcha, i n-aip moibhéal Eochairó mac Áirgíðair³ go n-áip Ulaó uime 7 Chinéil ^{AU. 1004.} gConaill 7 v'ap' thuit Domnall ua Néill⁴ go n-áip Chinéil Eogain 7 a bhuairíadar⁵ do rocharáe aip gach leith.

³ a ceath M.

⁴ áipr' ñeairg M.

⁵ go M.

⁶ bhoth riop M.

⁷ MS. uplámur; baile a. C. pe na Láinn réin gan bhréag M; do riúg Sall Eirionn DE.

12. ¹⁻¹ om. DE.

² éir M.

³ aip MS.

⁴ sic MS., E.

⁵ tarb aip MDE.

13. ¹⁻¹ om. DE.

14. ¹⁻¹ om. DE.

² om. M.

³⁻³ om. DE.

⁴⁻⁴ om. M.

⁵ euairgto Láinn círaorád Ulaó agus Sítríoc meapcálma mac riog Ulaó M; Sítríoc meapcálma riúg Ulaó DE.

⁶⁻⁶ om. DE.

⁷⁻⁷ om. M.

⁸ a ctaoisib éairéid, nó gaille, do éabairt do réir a ccomáiple M. Sluaig eile le Óriam a Láigean, gur bain riog Láigean do Óonnchád mac Maolfeachlann, 7 éug do Maolmórha mac Murcáid i adds M. D and E somewhat similar.

15. ¹ D and E om. § 15. ² Áirgíon Láinn M. ³ Áirgíon Éir M.

⁴ náir M. ⁵ go bhuairíadar rao rocharáe do aip gac leit M.

16. Sluaġ go n-ġallaiħ 7 go n-ġaorūealaiħ ēriean n-ġallaiħ
 fuaro buo őear le brijan go hāromacha,¹ go őtug brijan
 jaġġi ħaġi 1 n-aw raib fis-² unge 1 n-olmpain ari alt-ojra
 AU. 1005. Ārroamacha; 7 vo chuađap ar jin go Rāith Mōiħ 1 Mois²
 Line, go őtugħu għall-Öāil-n-ħarar 7 ula-o³ leó. Bär
 Eoħar i-riħa hí flannagħan⁴ ppion-jeanchari⁵ Ārroamacha 7
 ērieani an bħlaðni jin.

17. brijan go n-aw¹ Muimmeaħħaib 7 Laiġneach[aiħ]² 7
 Connacht[aiħ]³ 7 Mieħeach[aiħ]⁴ 7 um Maolħeacħlann go
 AU. 1006. n-ġallaiħ őtha Cliath 7 phuixit Laiġże 7 ērieani ule ta'ap⁴
 earringu ari anonn,⁵ go őtug sejjell Chinéil Eoġam 7 ula-o lej,
 Muuħdin.⁶

18. Sluaġ le brijan¹ go bħreajraib ērieani uime go
 hāromacha, go őtug sejjell ula-o ari ēiġi ħaġi fl-Flaithbeajtach
 huu Néill.²

19. Cathal O' Conchubair iji Connacht o'ēas 1 n-aw
 AU. 1010. oilithpe, iap őtnejsean an tħraġsail vó ari Öia. Bär
 Maolħeacħlann¹ ī-Cheajxaill jis-² Eoġanacht[ə] Locha Léin
 7 ppion-ħar ő ērieani 1 n-eachar i-riħa eo.³ Sluaġ le brijan go
 Claoħloch Sléiħe fuaro go őtug bħalid-⁴ Chinéil Eoġam 7
 Chinéil g-Conaill 7 ula-o lej.⁵

20.¹ Sluaġ le Muixchaħ-² mac brijain go bħreajraib Muuħdin 7
 AU. 1011. Laiġeas 7 go hib Néill an veißejix, 7 go [b]flaithbeajtach
 mac Muixħeajtajis jis-² Oħriż 7 go n-ōġaib [an] Focla,²
 o'apġidin Chineiħ Laiġ[ə]jeħħ 7 Chineiħ ēnna,³ go őtugħu
 buaġi iomħda 7 bħorit leó ar.

16. ¹ Ārroamacha MS. ² MS. mōiħse. ³ tuiħħeav EDM. ⁴ hí Lonagħom
 MS. M. ⁵ ppion-jeanchari M.

17. ¹ go a MS. ² Laiġneachuħiħ M. ³ mīħaċ MS. ⁴ ta'ap MS.
⁵ earringu ari M; anonn MS. ⁶ go raib aq-⁷ tħalli sejjell ħaġi Eoġam, 7
 ula ule leo, nō għix leon Siġġiċċi mac jis-⁸ ula-o iaw għonu fluaġ, 7 go őtug
 caid piorċalma u brijan 7 ta' fluaġ, nō go raib ré aix-⁹ ħipleac ħ-¹⁰ ġallċa, 7 go
 tħrean, go bħċċav i-riħa brijan an n-¹¹ jin, 7 ap-¹² fàb-¹³ a fl-¹⁴ l-¹⁵, do jip-¹⁶ ċunna oru
 a őtug an deaħla oħi buo feajji f-¹⁷ tħalli, caid do im-ħeacċta ta'ā ġeile, 7 ta'għi
 brijan ta'ā il-¹⁸ ġeġi cumur 7 ġ-¹⁹ ġeċċoġġ an għajnejn, aġuż n-²⁰ bħ-²¹ tħalli
 bħ-²² ħaġi, nox do ċa-²³ brijan ari, a-²⁴ tħalli ċa-²⁵ bħ-²⁶ do őttagħi, a-²⁷ ċo
 n-ħall, 7 c-²⁸ ġoġi fl-²⁹ tħalli vo bieħi eadtoriha aġuż do jip-³⁰ aħħla i-³¹ jin M.

18. ¹ 7 le Siġġiċċi add M. ² għonu őttagħadni sejjell u. juaġi do jis-³ na
 c-riċċe i. ula-o M.

19. ¹ Maolħuċċain F M. AU. ² ari ead-³ ġeġi M; a-⁴ ġeġi D; eħċha
 v-⁵ eo E; eħċha i-riħha b-⁶ MS. ⁷ lej 7 go jid-⁸ add M. ⁹⁻¹⁰ om. DE.

20. ¹ om. DE. ² om. MS; an n-olca M; in-³ Focla AU. ⁴ aonha M.

21¹. Sluaiḡ le b̄riam̄ go Maiḡin an Chorúinn,² go n̄tusḡ AU. 1012.
Maolruanairiō³ ó Maolruanairiō leiḡ i mb̄riaisḡ-deanuiḡ go Ceann
Coruair̄ ne n-a thol̄ férin.

22¹. Sluaiḡ la b̄riam̄ go Maiḡ Murthearm̄ne, go n̄tusḡ
b̄riaisḡ-de ō rīs̄ Oileis̄² 7 ó uileas̄, 7 suiḡ fáiḡ-aib̄³ ó ā rīs̄ ari
uileas̄; 7 īr̄ arī an sluaiḡ r̄in thuḡ b̄riam̄ 7 Cian mac Maol-
ruanairiō 7 Maolreachlann̄ go maithiō Leithe⁴ Cuinn r̄aonair̄
oo cheallaib̄ Ériuann̄ go h-uitle.

Callainn Anno Domini m̄xiiii.¹

23. Sluaiḡ la Maolmórda go Laīgnib̄ 7 la Sallair̄ Átha AU. 1013.
Cliath i Mīre, suiḡ arīs̄ r̄iād Teampmann Féichin¹ 7 Maiḡ
b̄riead̄.²

24. Sluaiḡ la Maolreachlann̄ ō ā n̄tusḡ-aib̄ r̄in³ 7 ḡealch̄
Sall, suiḡ lóir̄s̄ go h̄eádair̄;¹ go r̄usḡ Sītriuoc mac Ámlaor̄iō² 7
Maolmórda mac Murchad̄a arī ór̄usunḡ do'n̄ tr̄luaiḡ³ suiḡ
m̄arib̄aō ō ā chéad̄ s̄ioib̄⁴ um plann̄ mac Maolreachlann̄.⁴
Táiniḡ Maolreachlann̄ go b̄riam̄ ō ā ḡealr̄án rīp̄ Sall 7
Laīgnib̄ do b̄eith i ḡeogad̄ rīp̄,⁵ 7 do īar̄rī b̄riam̄ ō ā fúrtachta.
Do r̄inne b̄riam̄ sluaiḡ b̄fead̄ Mūman̄ ōr̄fórlongphoirt̄ arī
Sallair̄ 7 arī Laīgnib̄, 7 ō arīs̄-deanuiḡ Oírlaiḡe⁶; 7 do chuaib̄⁶
Murchad̄ mac b̄riam̄ go Cill M̄aiḡneann̄⁷ 7 go fáithiche
Átha Cliath, 7 do arīs̄⁸ an t̄ir̄ go Teampmann Caimin,⁹ 7 thug-
-s̄-aip̄ b̄riaisḡ-de móir̄ 7 c̄reaccha iom̄a 1 ḡeonne b̄riam̄¹⁰ go
Cill M̄aiḡneann̄¹¹ 7 go fáithiche Átha Cliath. 7 do f̄an̄
b̄riam̄ 7 f̄ip̄ Mūman̄ 7 f̄ip̄ Connacht 1 b̄fórlongphoirt̄ ó Lusḡnu-
ra[ó] go Novalais̄ móir̄, 7 n̄ī b̄riaisḡ-de ō Sallair̄
n̄o ó Laīgnib̄.¹⁰

21. ¹ om. DE.

² Maiḡ Coruair̄ AU.

³ Maolruanairiō MS.

22. ¹ om. DE.

² uileas̄ M.

³ MS. fáiḡ-aib̄.

⁴ leat̄a M.

¹ Ais̄ ro do énáir̄s̄-de na móir̄ Laōc̄-rīs̄-de do énáinice go caid̄a Cluán Táir̄ba
do gac̄ leit̄ aip̄ r̄on̄ énáta f̄eim, 7c. D; Ais̄ ro do énáta Cluana Táir̄b̄ et vona
r̄p̄iōm̄-laoc̄-air̄ do énáit ann̄ do gac̄ leit̄ E.

23. ¹ Féichin MS. DE. ² ḡan̄ b̄aoir̄ arī f̄eal̄ gac̄ áip̄ s̄ioib̄, ḡan̄ mola-
-b̄eoib̄ arī ór̄usunḡ, 7c. M; arī f̄eal̄ gac̄ tuileá, 7c. D.

24. ¹⁻¹ om. DE.

²⁻² om. DE.

³ ór̄ib̄ MS.

⁴ mac M. om. M.

⁵⁻⁵ D and E omit what follows down to Oírlaiḡe. ⁶ M inserts Sīr̄peach mac
Ámlaor̄iō s̄ioib̄ uileas̄ 7 m; Sītr̄eas̄ mac rīs̄ u. E. ⁷ D and E omit go Cill M̄.

⁸ Aip̄iōnair̄ M. ⁹ Féichin DE; Caimin M. ¹⁰⁻¹⁰ om. DE. ¹¹ Manann̄ M.

A.D. 1014. 25. Tháinig bhríon¹ iarí rín v'a thí. Do chuiríeadar
Gáill 7 Láigin riorth 7 teachta ari gach leith² uathá oo
thionól³ ríuaig 7 rochruine.

26. Tháinig aonair bhríonar 7 Árgaóil, v'a mac ríis
Lochlann, fisce céad laoch lán v'éireadó² ó nullach go lár;
7 Sitrioc mac Lóndáir, iarla Innre h-Orc, go ríuaig Innre h-Orc
7 oileán Lochlannach, 7 Innre Cat,³ 7 Mánainne, 7 Sgithí,
7 Leoúrta,⁴ 7 Chin[n]tíre, 7 Oírpír Daoiréal, 7 Cúp[ri]bheathnais
Chille Muine, 7 Cúp⁵ na Líagos go n-a ríosdáibh uile.

27. Tháinig chuca Cúpolur 7 Áibhroc,¹ v'a ríonnríos² Loch-
lannach, 7 Ánraóil mac Eibhric, 7 plait³ 7 Connáol, v'a
thriéan-milió Lochlannach, 7 Árgal mac Soffra[1]ó,⁴ 7 Thíope-
an-tSneachta, 7 Liath na loinge, 7 laochraíó Lochlann ó
na Daothlaigíb⁵ Meoúeonacha,⁶ 7 ó Sláibtíb Ríffe go baile
Átha Cliath v'a ríec féin ari ór 7 ari ariúsead,⁷ do chum
catha⁸ i n-aigairí bhríon 7 fíleachta⁹ Eogáin Móir¹⁰ 7 gach¹¹
méri do fíneadairí iarí v'fíreadaráib Érieanann.¹⁰

28. Tháinig i n-aigairí bhríon aonair Maolmórda mac
Murchaóda 7 ríosdáibh Érieanann¹ uime, trí catha² i. ari gcur
bhríon amach do Maolreachlann Móir an oisiche ríomé rín,
7 ari n-a innrí vóib Dál gCair go [v]ítríon ríuaig fíleachta
Eogáin Móir 7 Muimneach³ ari c[é]h]eann chreacht⁴ Láigean,
7 ó gCinnreolach, 7 oo gseall féin go bhrisfead bhríon 7
fisce céad leir do Muimneach[ib],⁵ do fíechnaó i n-aigairí
Gáill 7 Láigean.⁶

29. Ó 'ochualadair Gáill bhríon do Beith ari faithche
Átha Cliath i n-oiríeachtur, tóngrádair¹ féin 7 Láigin fíeacht
gceatha 'n-a gcoinne,² 7 oo ríonineadair i utriúr rannairí iarí,
mar atá Lochlannais ari leith um chlóinn ríis Lochlann, 7
Láiginis um Maolmórda mac Murchaóda i gceath eile,³ 7 Goill

25. ¹ om. M. ² leat M. ³ éinol M.

26. ¹ MS. v'a. ² laoc calmaó cupata v'éireadó plata E. ³ cat MS;
Cait DE. ⁴ leoráil D. ⁵ Cúpáil D.

27. ¹ Áibhroc láorí MD. ² ríonnríos MS. ³ plait M.; v'olair Y.
⁴ Soffra M. ⁵ gaoctlácaib D; gaoctláctib E. ⁶ meannnaéda M;
meoúonáda DE. ⁷ Árgaóil MS. ⁸ éum tróca 7 catá E. ⁹ sic MS;
tríleacáta ME. ¹⁰⁻¹⁰ om. DE. ¹¹ gac M.

28. ¹ Láigean uile uime M. ² TED omit what follows down to gcoinne,
§ 29, line 3. ³ Muimneach MS. ⁴ chreacá M. ⁵ Muimneadcuib M.

⁶ Láigneacá M. See Notes.

29. ¹ sic M; éangrádair MS. ² DET continue here from trí catá, § 28, line 2.
3-3 om. M. ⁴ ari n-a ttocáim éúgáta M; iarí aithláitib rín D. ⁵ ecotuib M;

Átha Cliath leó féin i gceath oile.³ Ár n-a Úrðaicín vo Úriam A.D. 1014.
 fá'n vtoichim rín chuirge,⁴ vo joinni féin a fíuaig i n-ctí
 cotchaib:⁵ mar aitá,⁶ Muirchád mac bhríom go n-a theasglach,
 reacht bprichit mac ríos d líon rín, 7 tpríuchao céad⁷ n-úthair
 an fír i fír⁸ luighe n-úthair óisib rín⁹; 7 Tóirphdealbáach mac
 Tairb, 7 Domhnall mac Conchubair, 7 Flann,¹⁰ ceithre meic
 oile bhríom, 7 clann Duinnchuaín, Longbriogán,¹¹ 7 Céilíochair,
 7 Ceannéirig, 7 Fiongáalach, 7 lonnphachtach go maithib Óáil
 gCairi uime agur Tuathmúman, 7 ¹²trí ríos¹² Teabthá 7¹³ ó
 Laoðagáin, 7 Siolla Ultáin, 7 ó Caithnanáin, 7 Connachtne,
 7 i bhríom i n-aðair chloinne ríos Lochlann, 7 Órúdarair iapla
 Chaire Ebríoc, 7 Siúlric mac Lóndair iapla iníri hOrc.¹⁴

30. Cian mac Maoilmuaidh go maithib Dearmúman 7
 fíleachta Eogain Móir; 7 Domhnall mac Duibháibhreann,
 ní Chinéil Laoðair; 7 Mothla mac Paoláin,¹ ní na nDéire; 7
 7 Muircheartach mac Anamchádá,¹ ní ó Liatháin; 7
 7 Sganlan mac Cathail,¹ ní Locha Léin; 7 Loingreach mac
 Dúnluing,¹ ní ó gConaill Sabhia; 7 Cathal mac Donnabáin
 ní ó gCairbri;¹ 7 Mac Beathair² mic Muirheadáig,¹ ní
 Ciarráigéig Lúachra; 7 Séibeannach⁴ mac Dubhagáin,¹ ní
 bfeap Muighe; 7 Cealbáll,⁵ 7 ó Ruadáigáin, 7 ó Dubháir,¹
 trí ríos Oirgáill; 7 Maguire⁶ ní bfeap Manach, 7 ar n-a
 náð ór óib: ór rinn féin curideachta i fáidhe buidh thuaír ann
 ro 'Éirinn, piachamairi 1 gceath Chéim mic Maoilmuaidh, ór é
 i fáidhe buidh óear 'Éirinn,⁷ i n-aðair Maoilmuaidh mic
 Muirchádá,⁸ níos Lraigean, 7 Óðairdáin⁹ mic Dúnluing, níos ó
 gConaill iapthair Lraigean, 7 mic Tuathail níos Liffe, 7 mic
 Órúdagáin báinphíos¹⁰ ó bprailge¹, 7 cath vo Lochlannair i n-a
 Úrðair.

fíuaig a bhríomair D.

⁶ DEM insert here Siúlric mac ríos tlaobh 7 m.

⁷ feadarann adds E.

⁸ an éairt fa M.

⁹ rín om. MDE.

¹⁰ M reads T. mic

Tádáig mc Ódáinnill, 7c. The true reading appears to be that of K: Tóirphdealbáach

mac m. 7 La seairbhráisairib mic bhríom féin 1. Domhnall, Conchubair, Tairb,

7 Flann, etc. T and E omit from '7 Flann' to 'lonnphachtach,' and from '7 Tuath.'

line 9 to 'bhríom,' line 10.

¹¹ sic MS. Duinnéacáin 1. Lonnpháigán M; Lon-

npháigán K.

¹²⁻¹² om. M.

¹³ sic MS.; 1. M.

¹⁴ an gáibh laoc, moig éalma adds M.

30. ¹⁻¹ om. DE, i.e. the names of the various kings. E omits reference to the

trí ríos Oirgáill.

² Bealdaig MS.

³ Ciarráid MS.

⁴ Séibeannach mac MS.

⁵ ó C. M.

⁶ Maguire M; Domhnall. mór mac Siúlair D.

⁷⁻⁷ omitted in TDE;

but here D inserts agur ríos Cúlach ós, agur Maoilmuaidh O Ráigheallig ríos

Connacht, 7 Aorúdarair Argal fíoráighe Connacht, 7 Maoilmuaidh na bpráistíreac,

ó héirón, níos munntíri Éirion, 7 Caerphadaon.

⁸ m. mic m. om. DE.

⁹ Óðairdáin M.

¹⁰ báinphíos M.

31. Cathal mac Conchubhair, ¹ri Connacht; ²Maolruadanach; ³Ó hEirion, ¹ri Aileone; ⁴7 Taedh Ó Ceallaigh, ¹ri Ó Maine; ⁵7 ⁶Ádo; ⁷Ó plaithearthair, ¹ri Muinntire Muirchada; ⁸7 Conchubhair Ó Maolruadanach, ¹ri Muirge Lurig; ¹7 Muircheartach; ⁹Ó Ceallaigh, ¹ri Chonmacne Mara; ¹⁰7 curu do Riochraio Muirian annra chath ro .1. ¹¹Ádo; ¹²Guineach Ó Tungdale, ¹³7 Róisartach mac Domnall, ¹ra ¹⁴7 ¹⁵ri eile; ¹⁶7 Muircheartach mac Cuirc, ¹ri Muirchraige Ó hUigdaim; ¹⁷7 Ádo; ¹⁸mac Lochlann, ¹ri Ó gCuanaach; ¹⁹7 Maolruann, ¹ri Ó nénna; ²⁰7 Donnchadh mac Cathail, ¹ri Muirchraige hAdo; ²¹7 Domnall mac Diarmada, ¹ri Chorpabaircne; ²²7 Eachtigearn mac Don[n]agáin, ¹ri Ária; ²³1 n-a-ágair Ó Gall Átha Cliath, ²⁴7 ná chath oile Lochlannach 'n-a bfaillia. ²⁵

32. ²⁶7 do ionnforis Muirchada; ²⁷7 Dál gCair; ²⁸7 na Lochlannach a chéile; ²⁹7 do ionnforis Cian mac Maolruadanach, ³⁰7 Riochraio veirceirt Muirian, Maolruadanach mac Muirchada go Riochraio Laicean uime; ³¹7 do scath oile do Ó Gallach; ³²7 é Muirchada; ³³7 Connacht, ³⁴7 Taedh Ó Ceallaigh; ³⁵7 Ó Gall Átha Cliath go n-a scathair do Lochlannach maille riu; ³⁶7 ari n-a ria do Ó hUian nach é veireadó do chuirfeadó leir an scoraid; ³⁷7 dul; ³⁸7 scath do marbhadó daoine, ³⁹7 do fion i n-a phupail; ⁴⁰7 fein, ⁴¹7 a psaltair i n-a fiaónaire, ⁴²7 a chlóirí; ⁴³7 i n-a Láim chli, ⁴⁴7 é a g cantamn; ⁴⁵7 a psalm i n-a fiaónaire. ⁴⁶7 Do féach Muirchada; ⁴⁷7 a leith; ⁴⁸7 éir iar n-a jéachnád do Maoljéachlann; ⁴⁹7 a feorair; ⁵⁰7 Mióe dul leir annra chath, ⁵¹7 ari scur; ⁵²7 suírt eotairra; ⁵³7 an cath, ⁵⁴7 ari scur Ó hUian; ⁵⁵7 marithe Muirian an oróche riomhe riu amach do Lochlannach; ⁵⁶7 do Laiéin; ⁵⁷7 do chonnoige Túnlain; ⁵⁸Ó hAirtagáin uair, ⁵⁹7 do chuir fáilte ríur, ⁶⁰7 thug rós ó. "17 fada ó do chonnoige⁶¹ thu, a Túnlain,"⁶²7 ari Muirchada. "17 beag an t-iongadó riu,"⁶³7 ari Túnlain,⁶⁴7 óri do bì⁶⁵beathá gán doir gán uigchra,⁶⁶7 neamh ari mbrath Ó dán, muna dtiucfainn

31. ¹⁻¹ i.e. personal names of kings om. DE. ¹ MS. hérigin. ²7 ¹⁵ Con-
máine Cúile adds D. ³ Muircheartach MS. ⁴ Áoibh Ó Domhna M.

⁵ Óda MS. ⁶ heanna M. ⁷ Cencais Ó hUigdaim MS. ⁸ Óda ééad oile
do L. S. ⁹ cum marbhadó, ⁷ éiribh do Ó hUian; ¹⁰7 adds M.

32. ¹ Siúlraic add MDE. ² Riochraio veirceirt Muirian, ¹¹7 Laicean ED.

³ Lochlannach DE. ⁴ mic M; ⁵ DE. ⁶ sic ME; MS. inserts 7 ¹⁵ C;

D reads 7 Taoiseach cloinne fíol Maolruadanach Ó Gall Átha Cliath. ⁶⁻⁶ om. DE.

⁷ scur; ⁸ ccaigair M. ⁹ róbal MS. ¹⁰ MS. fiaignairi. ¹¹7 sic MS.

¹¹ MS. canntamn; ¹² MS. fiaignaire; om. K. ¹³ om. M.

¹⁴ MS. tuiblinig also DE. ¹⁵ násc fáca M. ¹⁶⁻¹⁶ om. TDE.

voit' chabhair-te ainiu 7 vo chabhair bhríain; 7 ní tairbe¹⁷ ódám A.D. 1014. teacht, óir vo gheabhair-ri, 7 bhrían, 7 Tuirriðealbach vo macc-ri,¹⁸ 7 Taðs ó Ceallaig,¹⁹ 7 Conaing mac Uinchuain,²⁰ 7 mórán oile vo maithíb Ériúeann ari cheana, bár ainiu; ²¹ 7 vo beroir gheala agam ne a n-innri ná mao am ódám é; 7 ó nach easd,²² vingeoðan an feair comláinn céad if voilge leat ic' aðsair ðiòt.²³ "Trusað rín óm," ari Murchadó, "óir if iomða rín im' aðsair-ri ainiu." Tharla Murchadó 7 Connáol 7 Capolur v'a chéile, guri goineadair a noír é vo gach leith. Goineair 7 mairbhus Murchadó ias-riam ariason.²⁴ Vo bí an cath að a chuir mao rín feadó²⁵ an laoi, nó guri muið²⁶ vo na gallair ð' ariarair a long, 7 Tuirriðealbach mac Murchadó 'n-a noíairið²⁷; 7 if amlair vo bí ari n-a máriach,²⁸ gall raoi²⁹ 7 gall gach láimé³⁰ ó, 7 cuaille vo chorað Chluana Tairb ériu, ari n-a báthas ño'n bhuinne rathairtha i gcionn a chuir mbliaðan noéad.

33. Ó 'ochonnairic Murchadó Sítric mac Ledaig, ias-riam innri hOrc, ari lári Óáil gCair að a n-oirpleach gán lúad teithe aige, vo líng ari lári an chatha chuirge 7 thug óa bhuille i n-éinfeacht vði ari a ðá láim, guri tearfðað³¹ a cheann 7 a chora i n-éinfeacht ve.³² Ó'ochon[n]airic³³ ariair mac Eibhlis³⁴ ari lári Óáil gCair að a n-oirpleach, língiog chuirge, 7 ó nach raoi ari a chumur³⁵ ariam ð' imir, ari gsoiltað láora a gðlac vo mu[ð]ðoipn a chluorðim riomé rín, líneair

¹⁷ MS. tairbha.

¹⁸ 7 Sítricad DEM.

¹⁹ D and E om. T. 6 C.;

D om. Con. m. V; E reads Uinchuain.

²⁰ vo ðógsbáil ðiòt ME.

²¹ vo gac guri D. ²² ari feadó M. ²³ MS. muñg. ²⁴ noíairig MS.; the remainder of this section is omitted in E. D reads an feair cuig mbliaðan tðeag voðr feair láim a n-áitrið a nérinn. ²⁵⁻²⁵ om. M. ²⁶ sic M; láim MS.

33. ¹ MS. ðó. ² MS. éarfðað. ³ MS. ðe. ⁴ MS. ro ðonairic; DEM add Sítric mac Rioig Ulað. ⁵ Eibhlis tðréan mlead loéllann MED. ⁶ M reads: ari ccumur vo ariam ð' imir ari, le cónigras láoc 7 náoinne, gðlaður a élriðealn ina mòðoirinn, 7 líneair a láim élis éiuge, go þus ari gðoitinn a gðéic, guri jo ériort a láimnead le tianþorpa óa céann amair, 7 guri bhuail ré láim bhuille calma ari. Vo rín ná róint go talam ðe, 7 vo tðréar guri na céadta mairle fñir mao an ccéadona. Vo bí Murcadað ari an bhealid jo ameairg láoerha loéllann óa n-óirpleac, go ttárlurid Storéad mac Rioig Fiann loéllann vo. Agur guri éuit le Murcadað, 7 mórán eile, 7 ari ttuitim vo Storéad mac Rioig Fiann loéllann vo éusg raoðað vo gðlair a n-íocðar éiipp Murcadað, guri éuit an caidéimlead ari a muin. Agur mair Murcadað vo noéar-nið raoiartim, 7 guri gðlac an coipp naomhða. bñð móir tðréat an gheala an Murcadað vo, óir noír fñas re riart ná bealðaðað a loéi ná a n-uaim gán vðibirt 7 mairbðað. 1aír ttuitim Murcadað vo ðiðguit Sítric mac bár ari láoerha loéllann agur ari a caidéimlead ari bhealid na tulða, óa gðlir 7 ná n-óirpleac.

A.D. 1014. Δέ λάμ chli 7 ερο[ι]θεαρ δέ λύρεαχι ταρι δέ cheann amach; glacur δέ chloróeas 7 é raoi, 7 λιγιό δέ uctar, ο πάρ θ'ειοιρ λειρ δέ būalaσ δυρ fáith thriό δο ταλάσ é. Ταιριγιορ αν τ-Δηριασ την ηγιαν Μυριχασδα amach, 7 ráitheas 1 n-iochtaρ δέ chuirρ i, δυρ thuit αν cathmíliό Μυριχασδα δηρ δέ tuin; 7 éirigis Μυριχασδα 7 ούcheannur μας μισ̄ Lochlann ανη την, 7 νο τάρι pén δο ποέαρην δέ fáoirirom δηρ n-a τόριαχ, 7 δυρ chait̄i copp̄ Círiof̄, 7 νο meabair δέ θρυιμ iραν ηγιαγδεασ νο'ν αονγοιν την δέ tuigas δηρ Μυριχασδα, ούρι πιορ fás̄ rē píar̄t δό beathasδach 1 loch νό 1 n-uaith̄ 1 n-éirinn δαν νιοχυρ δό δαν μαρθασδ.

34. Ο 'ochonnairic Λαιδίν¹ giolla θηιαν να catha δηρ noui την n-a chéile,² ανυθδαιρτ πε θηιαν νου δηρ eadh. "Νι μαχασδ,"³ δηρ θηιαν, "όηρι νι beó μαχασδ δηρ, αδυρ imthiσ̄-ri 7 beiri να h-eich⁴ leat, 7 innir mo thiomna⁵-ra νο θία, νο pháoraiσ, 7 mo chopp̄ θ'ármachas,⁶ 7 mo θeannascht νο θ'onnchasaδ μας θηιαν; ταρ cheann τά⁷ fíchit θéag bó νο thabdaιr⁸ θ'ármachas⁶ le mo chopp̄,⁹ 7 imthiσ̄-ri πομαν δο Σορο¹⁰ Choluim Cille ανοχτ,¹¹ ¹²7 ταδαιρ δηρ cheann¹³ mo chuirρ-ri αμάριαχ,¹² 7 tioñnlacair¹⁴ é δο θaοmlias Cianáin, 7 tioñnlacair¹⁵ την δο λυζ̄mair¹⁶ é, 7 tigeasδ θaοlmuir μας Eochair δο μαρθa¹⁷ pháoraiσ 7 muinntir θ'ármachas δηρ mo cheann δο πuise την."

35. "θaoine¹ chugdann," δηρ αν giolla. "Créadαν την georit θaoine iao?" δηρ θηιαν. "θaoine glařa lomnochta," δηρ αν giolla. "Gioll να λύρεαχ² iao την," δηρ θηιαν; 7 δηρ éirigse νο'ν pheall νο bī raoi, νο glac δέ chloróeas 7 νο bī δηρ píeachain³ θηιονδαιρ δο n-a būrōim chuir̄e, 7 ní fáca αον báll νε δαν érœasδ acht δέ fúile 7 δέ chora. "θainiō-θan⁵ δέ chloróeasδ amach, 7 tóðbūr δέ λάμ,⁴ 7 thug buille óðo δυρ θaοm δέ chorp̄ chli νο θηιονδaiρ δηρ δέ glúin, 7 δέ chorp̄ θéas δηρ δέ thrioiσ. Τhápla tuas⁶ θηιονδaiρ 1 tigeasδ θηιαν δυρ θluis é.⁷ Thus

33. ⁷ MS. λυιέρεας. ⁸ MS. fáis̄.

34. ¹ Λοοδιν M. ² M adds: 7 δαν διένε αδη neadé θiοb δηρ fóirigis̄t̄in δέ éile.

³ neadé M. ⁴ mo féri D. ⁵ sic M; θiomnaδ-ra MS. ⁶ MS. θ'ármachasδ.

⁷ MS. θ.Δ. ⁸ om. ME; δηρ την n'απηδαδ adds E. ⁹ D and E omit what follows,

and continue § 35. ¹⁰ om. M. ¹¹ απάλιμοδ M. ¹²⁻¹² om. M. ¹³ MS. ceann.

¹⁴ tioñnlacair M. ¹⁵ tigeasδ M. ¹⁶ MS. λυζ̄mair. ¹⁷ MS. coīarθbaδ.

35. ¹ την θaoine, MED. ² MS. λυιέρεας. ³ MS. feðam. ⁴⁻⁴ om. D.

⁵ θaοmiof̄at̄ M. ⁶ MS. tuas; tuas MD. ⁷ δηρ ττuim νο θηιονδaiρ θaοlθaδ

έναδ δέ cceann θηιαν δυρ θuictioðar αι πλων πέ λάτη δέ éile D. D and E omit

þriam buille eile, 7 mairbür an ðaðra⁸ feorí vo þí i Þrocháir A.D. 1014.
þriodair, 7 bainið a cheann vo Þriodair fém ari a[ð]nuair, 7
ruair fém bár ann rín.⁹

36. Móri an ríseal rín vo rínnéadó ann rín, þriam vo
mairbád .i. an ceathairmádó seim rocháir Ériueann riðam, þriam
að Lochlannairb vo mairbád¹⁰ o'ionairbád, 7 ari an nodaírrí
vo þí aca² o'riar³ vo churí óioð,¹ 7 Lusdó Lámpára ari
fomórcháirb vo mairbád¹⁰ o'ionairbád 7 ari an nodaírrí 1
riðbádair Ériueannais⁴ aca vo churí óioð,¹ 7 Fiann mac Cumáill⁴
o'fóirithin⁵ þreor n'ériueann .i. ari uteacht vo þó-ári nó vo
þó-óith chuca i n-áimri C[hi]ormaile mic Áiric, go n-ari fágðbað⁶
vo buðið i n-Ériunn acht aon trámuir⁷ i ngleann Samuirge, nó
go ríuð Fiann feacht mba 7 tarið ó chriocháirb an vóðain tóir
vo gach aon baile i n-Ériunn, 7 Eoðan Móri .i. Moð Nuððat⁷
mac Moða Néir⁸ vo fáðáil⁹ þreor n'ériueann ó'n nðoirta.¹⁰

37. Ari ríuítim þriam ari mbeith óða þliðaðam ríðag i
n-áimrið¹¹ Ériueann, 7 Múrchaða mic Þriam, an t-aon-mac
riðið ið feorí tháinig i n'ériunn riðam,¹ 7 a mic Thoillirðealbách
mic Múrchaða, an feorí chúig mbliaðona ríðag buð feorí¹²
lám i n-a áimri,² 7 Tháinig i Cheallaig, rið ó Maine,² 7
Chonaing³ mic Duinnchuan,⁴ 7 Óðinnail mic Eibír,⁵ 7 Móchla
mic Óðinnail mic Faolán, rið na n-ðéir,⁶ 7 Séríbeannais⁵
mic Duðagáin, rið þreor Muighe, 7 mic⁷ Beathair mic
Muigheáða⁸, rið Ciarlair,⁸ 7 Sðanlám mic Cathail, rið
Eoðanach[as] Locha Léin, 7 Lointreach mic Óðnlaing⁹ mic
Duibháðboiriueann, 7 Óðinnail mic Óðrimord, rið Choréa-
ðairginn,¹⁰ 7 Mæoilehusaðið i heitóinn,¹¹ 12 rið Áiðne¹², 7 mórðain
vo mairthið Ériueann nach áimriðmáðor ann fo.¹³

what follows. ⁸ om. M. ⁹ M continues: iomára Siðrioc, vo þí go gláimib
a þfuil, an tan vo connairc bár þriam éus a fál leir aðgur é að cómrað le
þlat lann lariðir, gurí mairbád é, 7 tréan éðaírgis loélanndá mair aon leir,
aðr éðir gurí óðigur ari ríðag gáði aðgur ari uair fíeáð ari mairbád þriam, if
mairéad vo éuit ari t-aonam ari, tré uair caðuigte na nœoig, tariðna arið éorr
þriam.

36. ¹⁻¹ om. DE. ² aca MS. ³ om. M. ⁴ MS. Cuðaill.
⁵ MS. o'fóiríðin; o'fóiríðet D; o'fóiríð E. ⁶ MS. fágðað; a mōð nað
náið D. ⁷ MS. Nuððat. ⁸⁻⁸ om. ED. ⁹ MS. fáðaíl. ¹⁰ n-ðéir, adds M;
mórðið gáði na riðbádair an tráði rín 7c. adds DE.

37. ¹ buð feorí lám ari aðmáð aðc Siðreach aðmáin. ²⁻² om.
DE; 7 Siðrioc mic Ríosg Ulað, an tréan lðoð voð' feorí a neirinn, adds M.
³ MS. Óðrimord. ⁴ MS. Duinncháin. ⁵ Eibír D; Eiðeir E. ⁶ MS. n-ðéir;
móchla mic Óðinnail rið na n-ðéir D; mæoilehusaðið mic Ó etc. E. ⁷ om. MDE.
⁸ MS. Ciarlair. ⁹ Duibháð D. ¹⁰ MS. Córca Þairgnead. ¹¹ MS. Eiðinn.
¹²⁻¹² om. DE. ¹³ The logical predicate of this sentence is wanting.

A.D. 1014. 38. *Torchaír*¹ do'n Leith eile do'n chath Maolmórtha mac Murchadha, rí Laiȝean, 7 briosgarbán² mac Conchubair, rí ó bfaile, 7 baoðán mac Dúnlaing,³ rí 1airthair Liffey, 7 aon chéad séad⁴ 7 fiche⁵ do Laiȝniȝ maille riu. Do mairbhadh do Lochlannaiȝ ann Connacht 7 Cenolur 7 Anraist mac Elbriç,⁶ trí meic ríȝ Lochlann, 7 Siȝrie mac Loraig, iarla Inniȝiȝ hÓrc, 7⁷ [Briodar] Caire Óibhrioc, Blaio 7 Connacht, 7 chathmhair Lochlannach, 7 Oitír Dub, 7 Silla Ciapáin mac Glúiníarlainn, 7 Siȝriȝ, 7 Lumin,⁸ 7 Suagair,¹⁰ 7 Ámhair mac Laiȝmainn,¹¹ 7 Duibhgal mac Ámhair, 7¹² Cuapán, 7 reacht 7 trí ficheir céad do Sallair umpa,¹³ 7 do leonad an mairiom oppa do doiriȝ an dúna[1]ò.

39. Do¹ iompoisgoarí fír Muȝan 7 Connacht gach ari 7 ari 7 óis ari 7 amearȝ 7 an chath, 7 do bánaðri amearȝ 7 gocairad, 7 iarriȝair 7 gocorr; 7 ari é comá[1]rple do juinne Cian mac Maolmhair 7 Taobh mac Buiain, oul do Cill Maȝneann an oiróche riu, 7 gach méad dob' inleisir 7 ari muinntir juȝanadri leó 1a. Tángasdarí muinntir Suirr ari n-a máraich 7 juȝanadri corr Íriðair 7 Murchadha² do Soriȝ, 7 ari riu do Dámhair Ciapáin,³ 7 do thionnlacadair muinntir Dámhair do Lusȝmairiȝ 1a, 7 tháinig Maolmhair mac Eochair, comairba pháriðair, do muinntir Árðamacha ari cionn na gocorr riu do Lusȝmairiȝ, 7 do ionnlacadair Íriðair, rí Eriȝeann, 7 Ochtirin iugtiað na nȝaoróeal, 7 imriȝie Eriȝeann 7 Alba 7 Íriȝeatan [7] Saxon 7 cora⁴ do'n fíðaingc, 7 ari mbeith óó reacht mbliaðna doeas ari ficheit 1 ríȝe Muȝan, 7 óa bliðaðam séad 1 ríȝe hEriȝeann, do'n taoibh thiariȝ-thuair⁵ do theampoll Árðamacha, 1 gocómpair 7 leith, 7 Murchadha 7 ceann Connair 7 Mothla 1 gocómpair eile ari leith.

40. Óa oiróche séad do fíðaingc pháriðair aȝ raiȝe na gocorr riu do n-iomnaib 7 ralmaib 7 canticiib. Ceithile bliðaðna séad⁷ 7 mile gur an Doine riu 1 n-ari mairbhadh Íriðair

38. ¹ Torcruigðair D. ² mac briosgarbán D; 7 a mac briosgarbán ríȝ 6 bfr. E. ³ Dúbluing DE. ⁴⁻⁴ om. E. ⁵ MS. DE bfr. ⁶ 7 briosgarbán DEM. ⁷ MS. ða. ⁸ Siȝriȝ D. ⁹ Luminin GG; Luminne AU; Lumin DE. ¹⁰ Suagair, AU. ¹¹ Lomair ED. ¹² 7 om. ED. ¹³ D ends here.

39. ¹ do ríð DE. This and section 40 are considerably curtailed in D and E. ² EM add 7 Siȝreac. ³ leg. Cianáin. ⁴ tréadþana E. ⁵ M om. 7a1ri and theampoll.

40. ¹ MS. fíðaingc. ² séad om. M. ³ MS. meðbaile. ⁴ ceatðair séad ari mile mór K. ⁵ nari ȝloð S. ⁶ om. ED. ⁷ MS. tur. ⁸ gur ȝuit b. ⁹ nriðall D; gur ȝuit b. a ccláan 7a1b E. Here the scribe of D has

7 Μυριχαὸν, ἀν[η]άλα ἀν Τιγέσαινα τα μαρ θεαρίθειν αν A.D. 1014.
μανν:

Ceithpē b̄liaóna v̄eáð, iñ v̄eim̄in,
aðgur m̄ile ḡan meaðbail³
ó vo f̄ar l̄iaið v̄ári ḡaðbail
go bárf̄ b̄r̄iaiñ i m̄b̄reðaðaið.

A ceathairi νέας mile mórf⁴
ó ἔσιν Κρήτη, nachaor⁵ chlóō ciall,
ař é ſin iř⁶ reař[ó]a an piann,
gup thuit⁷ ápi na n̄gall um Óriana.

41. **Do bádair fír mhoé ag fiafriais[ē] tuismitheachála chatha Chluana Tairbh do maoilteachlainn.** “Ní h-umhá rín o’innri nó o’aithearr,” ari ré, “acht muna uthiofrao éingeal. Dé do ním o’ a innri; óir ¹oo chuamairi-ne (ari ré) ⁷ do chuirreamair goirt treabthá ² 7 claoe eadairinn 7 iad, ⁷ an gaoth earráis ³ thairiúib chugainn; ⁴ 7 ní ⁵ fáidé nó feadó Leath-uairíe do bádair ann rín, an tan nach uthiúlaó neach do’n uá chath aithne ari a chéile, sé go maó é [a] ⁶ aithair nó a òearbhráthair ba chomhfoigur do, muna uthgaó ari a guth ⁷ nó a fiúr do báith ⁸ aige riomé rín an t-ionas 1 n-a mbiaó, ⁷ ari n-a lionas 101 7 cheann 7 folt 7 éadach ⁹ do bádairgoil na fola for-òeileighe tháinig chugainn; ¹⁰ 7 go maó eanáinm doob’ áil óúinn do òeanamh, ní féadairfamadoir; óir do ceanglaó ari n-a [1]im ór ari gceannasai do na foltaib ¹¹ fada rionnbeithe do riáinig chugainn, ari n-a uthairgád o’ airmairi an chatha, gur bo leath monairi ¹² óúinn báith ag páiríusgád ari n-árim 7 ari gceannasgoile ó chéile; ⁷ ¹³if beag a[1]im ari mó o’ eanáinm

inserted the following note as part of the text: *Δο τοιρευθά ανη μαολμόραδ ὁ
Καζुλλαίγ πίσ Connaceta, ασγιρ θρειφνε Καζυλλαίγ ασμινιλ αγ βεητ μας Λιάζ,
7 μαολμανατιό να βραιρηαέ δικειον πίσ ένατ έτερον, 7 Ταύρος ο Κελλαίγ πίσ
μυινεαέ. μας Λιάζ .cc. ανη ρανη ρα. μαολμόραδ μειργ αν μύλταιγ: εέσω
πίσ έλλανα Καζυλλαίγ: αγ άρτο εαρην ελού ορ α έσαν: α ισατά έλιων Ταρβά:
τορέραδ ίνι Συλεατάμιν. Συνίμε οριαμέτα ανινδ Δούδα δ Όλαταίγ, 1744.*

41. ¹⁻¹ om. MD. ² περιπομ D. ³ MS. εαρηπαιο. ⁴⁻⁴ om. MD.
⁵ πιαρα D. ⁶ om. MS.; *sic* M. ⁷⁻⁷ om. E. ⁷⁻⁹ om. D. ⁸ νο βι MS.
¹⁰ D continues thus: 7 βα λαν φειδιμ δυινη αιρ επηραγδοι νο πειδεαδ 6 η-α
 ιειλε αιγ υμαδ να 7βολτ 7βαρα 7βιονηβιρε νο 7αιμις α να 7ρανη ορηεαδ,
 ιονηηρ 7γηρ 7υηρεαδ αη 7ελεναδ 7αγηρ αη 7οητ 7αη 7υαιηηρε να 7έο πεηρατ
 7οηραδ, 7 7αηγηοδ, αιγ αη 7οηη 7οηηηηηρ νο βι ορηεαδ 7c. ¹¹ *sic* M;
 7οηα MS. ¹² MS. ποηα. ¹³ M omits what follows to 7οηαμαη.

A.D. 1014. do'n muinntir do b'i i gach fulang¹⁴ a fáisciona d'an oib ari fainneall¹⁵ nó ari foluamain; 7 do bádair aig cupi an chatha ó thriáth éiríse do'n ló go h-iajnónin, 7 go níos an tairg a longa uatha ari teacht do'n lán mara fúthas.¹⁶

42. Tháinig Dónnchád mac bhríain go gceacháib Láigean leir ari gach áitri i náthair do Sathairn i. oróche chárfa, go Cill Mairgneann,¹ mar a riab Cian mac Maoilmuaid,² 7 Taobh ó bhríain go n-aig cheirno ari an gceath, iorúi fílán 7 othairur o' fheadraibh Muimhneann 7 Ériúeann ari cheana ari rím.¹ Do im[th]iúis ríad ari na móraibh go Mullach Mairtean,² 7 do ioc Dónnchád³ an t-á fíchit ríeas bó, mar ari ariúdairt bhríain rí, ne muinntir Árroamacha. Longphort ari leith do b'i aig Dónnchád mac bhríain⁴ 7 aig Taobh mac bhríain⁵ i Ráith Mairtean² go n-aig mairiú do Óál gCair, 7 longphort oile aig Cian mac Maoilmuaid go maithibh fíleachta eogdán mór 7 ó n-eachach⁵ an oróche rím.

43. Ari n-éiríse do'n ló ari na móraibh do chuir Cian mac Maoilmuaid teachta uasú dochum chloinne bhríain t' iarrfiaidh bhríais do rí, 7 ariúdairt go riab fén aig bhríain, aig a n-athairi-gean,² 7 gurib' ail leir ariúd-rán do beth aige fén,¹ óirí fa ríne é nó gach feadri níob,¹ 7 jo baobh ríne eogdán mór nó Cormac Caoi a rinnfeadri-rán.¹ Ariúdairt Dónnchád mac bhríain inach t'a nreón do b'i rím aig bhríain, acht an t-íse do bhríain ari éisín t'a athair 7 de fén;¹ 7 nach dtiubhríadu níse² nó bhríais do Chian, t'a mbiaibh comhion rílúasig rí,¹ óirí ní riab Cian acht deich gceád, 7 do b'i Cian deich gceád fíchead.⁴

44. Ó'ochonnairic² Domnall mac Uíbordhúireann, Dónnchád mac bhríain aig faomachtaibh bhríais do Chian, do fíadairis fén de, cás rochair do bhríain t' fén bhríais do fíadairis do-rán ó Óál gCair. Ariúdairt Cian nach riomhfead bhríais ní ríse ríon, acht a chuir fíneachus[1]fén do beth aige t'ibh eachach. Ariúdairt Domnall nach fuijeadó oile aig

41. ¹⁴ éadé fuolang MS. ¹⁵ MS. fáigheall. ¹⁶ M continues: 7 gur éin neart cásá an cláda 7 an goirt na ceo gán tuairiú, acht fíreallibh cloch aig a láthair 'gá riab.

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

43. ¹⁻¹ om. DE. ² MS. ríon; gáilleab D. ³ 7 nád riab aig D. D.

44. ¹ D and E omit this paragraph. ² MS. ó' nónaig. ³ MS. f—.

⁴ M adds muna bhrígeadó fén tairbha t'a cionn.

taibhach bhrasige nō riúise óró-rión.⁴ Aonúthairt Cian go mao A.D. 1014. héigean óó teacht ó n-a thíos do gáibhail riúise leir. "Ar i an éigean fúileontasaoir," ari Domhnall, ag dealusgádhe Cian go n-a muinntir.

45. Ó'ochonnairic Donnchaoð mac bhrasim rín, do éiríos¹ ar a longphoirt 7 do thóigdaiib² a lucht othrair leir, 7 do ghsualair leó do thairisgín t'a leisgín³; 7 ag gáibhail tré Oigrasige óó, do iarr Mac Giolla pháirais cath nō bhrasige a[1]n. "Ní thiuinbair bhrasige, óir ní chualala go dtuig aon duine t'a dtáinig riomhdam píam "bhrasige nō riúise t'aon duine t'a dtáinig riomhadra," 7 ní mó dothéar fénim."⁴

46. Do ullmhiúis¹ Donnchaoð mac bhrasim é féin do fíreagroil catha do tháibhairt do Mac Giolla pháirais, 7 do fúilálaodair² an lucht othrair iad féin do cheangal i n-a gearam³ chum an chatha, 7 do loc Mac Giolla pháirais cath do tháibhairt óóib.⁴ Iarín rín fuaileadair mórián do'n lucht othrair bár an feadó do báodair ag fuaileach nír an gceath. "Níor b' iongnas le méadó a ríusalig ari ngeíill do Chian mac Maoiléimhaoir" ari Donnchaoð mac bhrasim, "7 ní iongnas ari ngeíill t'Oigrasige." Ro im[th]iis⁵ Donnchaoð iarín rín t'a thíos, ó nach fuaile cath ó Oigrasigib,⁵ 7 fuaileadair ocht bhrichit t'a muinntir bár nír an feadó rín uile.

47. Iomthúig[al] Chéin mic Maoiléimhaoir, ó 'ochon[n]airic Domhnall mac Duibhíoibhreann ag dealusgádhe nír, 7 neiríse i n-a ghrasaoir, 7 fioch feiríse fáirí, do léig clann bhrasim 7 Óál gCairg freacha, 7 tháinig riomh t'a thoig, 7 do fóigairi cath ari Domhnall mac Duibhíoibhreann. Do ullmhiúiseadair¹ teacht do chum an chatha do gáach leith go Maig Súilidé. An lá riomh an gceath do gáibhaoir curio do giollaodair Chéin trí Cheann eich, 7 do iibeadair bainne do b' a ag teacht go ríorí Mocholmós náom; 7 ní ñeárna Cian comáiple² le Mocholmós nō muinnteríomh;³ 7 ní mór rín do riinne Domhnall mac Duibhíoibhreann, acht tháinig go Mocholmós 7 do riinne

45. ¹ MS. eiríos.

² MS. thaigaiibh.

³⁻⁵ om. DE.

⁴⁻⁴ om. M.

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

² MS. fúilálaodair. ³ Le cuailleigib, adds M; cuailleib E. ⁴ MS. óóib.

⁵ MS. Óigrasigib.

47. ¹ MS. ullmhiúiseadair.

² MS. comáiple.

³ MS. muinntir óar.

A.D. 1014. umla thó, 7 do ghluaig uairí chum an chotha; u'a nuaibhreád
an riann:⁴

Mocholmós,⁵ ó théigé thoir,⁶
an fórmhór aitá ró' thriúig,
go dtí leat ari noith a ghluaig,⁷
ceann Chéin mic Maoilmuairí mic bhríon.

48. Do chuaidhri 1 gcoinne a chéile go Maíl Gualainne, 7
tuigdád cath eadairriá 1 n-ári mairbhadh Cian mac Maoilmuairí
27 Cathal 7 Raigallach,² a thíar nearbhriáthair, truiúr mac³
3 Maoilmuairí mic bhríon, go n-áir veirceint Mumhan eadairriá;²
7 do baóth móir an fgeáil rín, Cian mac Maoilmuairí do mairbhadh
rie Domhnall mac Duibhónáthairéann, óir ní riab 1 néirínn
1 n-a símpair fém neach buáth feadair eimeach 7 uairíle nó an
Cian rín. "Ir mair⁵ aibhairt Mac Coiri, ag taibhairt tuararán-
bála fíleachta Éibhir pinn⁶ ór áit ro do Maoilfeachláinn, riú
Éireann, ari nuaibhreád an traoighair do fém, 7 é i gCluain mic
Nóir 'n-a chomhairle,⁷ gan uil tair⁸ cíoraisibh Chluana a mach⁹:

Inneórad mo theirt¹⁰ ari Chian
mac Maoilmuairí na n-eachriád nuaion:
Ní fáca mé thíair nó thoir
a fómair¹¹ do fíol Éibhir.¹²

49. Aibhír mair aibhairt Mac Líag, aibh rochtá[1]n do go
Ceann Coirí, 1aír gcuairt ó Síonainn buáth ñeair: "Cia u' ari
buáth thú a ollamh?" ari bhríon. "Do Domhnall mac Duibhóná-
thairéann," ari Mac Líag. "An bhracair Cian nó Sa[1]jób a
bhean?" ari bhríon. "Do chomhairle,¹¹ ari Mac Líag. "An
bhracair aon riúan uathá?" ari bhríon. "Inneórad tuit,"¹²
ari Mac Líag. "Ari rochtáin uamh-ra ari fáithche Ráthá
Ráithleann, do hinnreád do Chian 7 do Saorób mo theacht-ra
du'n báile; do éiríseadair ari aon im' choinne i n-éinfeacht,
7 do hiomchriád mé ari tuin uadóine, 7 an veichneamhári 7 uá
fíchro do buáth do bhi im' rocháir, do riugadád anonn 'fán tuin

47. ⁴ uá nuaibhreád mo colmós an riann M. ⁵ a Domhnall G. ⁶ ó téigé
tgoir E. MS. róir. ⁷ go leat iarrtí a ghluaig E.

48. ¹ MS. eadairriád. ²⁻² om. E. ³ 7 a truaig mac E. ⁴ E omits this
sentence, reading simply deir an file. ⁵ MS. móir. ⁶ MS. Éimír pín.

⁷ MS. éinreád. ⁸ MS. reads tair le, a faint stroke through l. ⁹ om. M.

¹⁰ MS. éinreád. ¹¹ sic O; a fíachád MS. ¹² MS. Éimír.

49. ¹ MS. do conairic. ² MS. tuit.

180, 7 tuigdach séasait³ nua vo gach aon níos, iorú fílaibhiaus
7 léime 7 bhrat; 7 thug Cian a thírfe réin, iorú each 7 éasach
7 bhratáis go n-a théalas óir, 7 go n-a náoi scóirnáis vo lóraibh
óir, go n-a lóing 7 go n-a bhrannuibh téar, 7 náoi bhríchín bó
náin réin, 7 thích n-eich, 7 ná fiachra dom' chléir; 7 thích
scéad unga d'óir, 7 caoigheasail dom' chléir mar aon scéadna.

50. "Créadu fuaireasig ó maois Óisibháibhíreann?" ari bhríon.
"Fuaireasig cíuor 7 teine círeaga." "Ír ionsgnád," ari bhríon,
"Gur bhuiothu-thu-raf vo Domhnall ná vo Chian mara rín." "Ní
hionsgnád," ari Mac Liag; "óir vo buidh théacraí le Domhnall
an cíuor 7 an teine chíreaga vo thábhait uairí ná le Cian
a níubhairt-raf ó chiondáibh." Ámaird thíri Mac Liag réin, 7 é
'n-a feanóiri 1 n-ínnri an Sioill Óisibh iar mbaír bhríon 7
Muirchádha 7 Chéim, 7 é ag círinniúsgád oíriú. Ág ro mar
aonair:—

Faois bheith gáin aoiúneasig ann²
mar aír fíaoileasig go bhráth bheith,
mar vo bhdúir 1 gCeann Conaí 7 caoimh,
níor b' uamhán liom aon dom' chléich.

Óa maipeasig bhríon binné⁴ builc,
ír Muirchádha ó⁵ lúigis na lóna,
ní béinn-ri 1 nínnre an Sioill Óisibh,
mar a thíoraidis tuil ír tonn.⁶

Óa maipeasig Conaing na gcuas,⁷
oírríull ríuaig, laoch⁸ náir lás!
feoir mar é Easctair na ríuaig,
ní léigfeasig mé uad 1 bhráin.

[']S é] doibhír mág Óisibhír, doibhíb,
nocha¹⁰ gcluinnim tairim na thíriath;
níor b'ionann ír¹¹ ríubhal ríuaig¹²
o'dháinig¹³ ari cuaireasig go Cian.

49. ³ easach D.

50. ¹ sic M; MS. thírfe. ² omitted in MS.; sic OTE; án G. ³ liom

mo DE. ⁴ MS. binné. ⁵ ó P. ⁶ thíoraidis MS. M; thíoraidis T; E thíoraidis
ag til ír tonn O; án tuile ír tonn E; thíoraidis ríao tuile 7 tonn D. ⁷ na lóna

7 tonn E. ⁸ EDMT om. laoch. ⁹ go doibhír E; go doibhíb D. ¹⁰ náé
MTDE. ¹¹ MS. ír án; án thíriúll DE. ¹² ríuaig TM; ríuaig D; MS.

riuaig. ¹³ ríuaig D; án tan thíriúll E.

Do chuaidhur go Cian an Chaitin,
nior thigheadh gan tairim an tig theann,
ní rialt acht bhrían na mbriat ríóil,
tigheadh buri chóir¹⁴ do chuir 'n-a cheann.

51. ¹Agur fa mar aonuadhait Mac Giolla Chaoim ari tigheacht ó Aoð ó Néill, ari mbeith tigri náithe i gcoigdeadó uileadh i bhrócháir Aoða² i Néill, go utáinig go tois Chéim mic Maoil-mhuair; 7 do bhi bhrían mac Cinnéiríog iarran báile ari a cheann; 7 do chuir bhrían fáilte ne Mac Giolla Chaoim, 7 aonuadhait guri ní fána do bhi i n-éagmair; 7 do fíaghráidh óe, cíneadh fuidir ó Aoð ó Néill. “Bu[ð]a[ð]ur veich bhríchir bó 7 veich n-eich, 7 náoi n-uinge d'óir, 7 veiri Aoða² i Néill.” “Dobéar-ra 7 Saðb, ingean bhríain, ní ra mó nó rín tuit,” ari Cian, “rul choílam, i n-éagmair a tciubhrád bhrían 7 Muirchád 7 maithé ó neachach³ ó rín amach.” Ámair do chuirinnig mac Giolla Chaoim féin, 7 é ari an thaoibh thuaidh do'n Síréig,⁴ ag dul do go ríutha Óirthearannán, 7 ari rín d'íarraigheádhaí, i n-a nionuadhait; ag cuijmhuigheád ari bhrían 7 ari Muirchád 7 ari Chian:

52. Uathmaig¹ an oiróche anochta,
a chuirdeachta[ð] boccht, gan bhréig!
cruð ní² faoiltí óib ari ósaim
ari an utaoibh-ri thuaidh do'n Síréig.

Ari é Dia fa neadra³ ómúinn
gan ari rúil ne ónair na rann;
nó-móri fuairmí ari d'a chionn,⁴
baogáil liom a aithbeair⁵ thall⁶!

Aðair⁷ óðair-ri do fíor bhríad[1]n,
ír é ag⁸ fíleasóðachur ag Cian
mac Maoil-mhuair, fa fádo lóir
ari mbeith aðair⁷ 'n-a éagmair.

50. ¹⁴ MS. cón.

51. ¹D reads: an tainnig mac liag go teac bhríain ó Aoða ó Néill, tighearruidh bhrían óe círe a fuaig ó Aoða ó Néill. “Do fuaigur, etc.” E somewhat similar. ²MS. Aoð. ³D om. 7 m. 7 maithé ó ne; M om. bhrían, and reads a tciubhrá na m., etc.; tciubhrád maithé Dal gcaig tuit E; M adds 7 Óláccair. ⁴gíréin M.

52. ¹ aðair[ð]mair D. ²nað ríteair D; nað ríteadó E. ³MS. neadra. ⁴MS. éann. ⁵MS. aithbeir. ⁶orlam D. ⁷MS. aðair. ⁸ari DEM.

“Oíar ńbap tmeastha i ńbap,” ari Cian,
 “a chliap tħiġ o tħiġ i Néill;
 a ēiġi,¹⁰ aðeipi an¹¹ ńbean,
 ńuail nōl tħiġiżiż vo theaċċ¹² fém.”

“Aðaoi tħiġ jaðietha amsuġ,¹³
 aħċet a ńbuił o noxi għo Málirk,¹⁴
 ari ē jid,” ari Muixiħað mae ńħiġi,
 “teachta ippeaħt an fjaċiħ o’n ariċ.”

“Inniż uñin t’ċedħad il-ħuari,¹⁵
 ari ġarru ħluuġiż¹⁶ ħaġra i Névo.
 “Inniż vo maitiħib ńfeajr ńħażi,
 l-ħiġiż¹⁷ f’aqm’ l-λaiħ¹⁸ naċċ v-éanadip¹⁹ ńħarġi.”

“Oari an jiġi fil-ór mo chionn,²⁰
 ari ē thuġuż liom a ħuari,
 jaħiġi eħċi, veiħi n-niżżeże v’óri,
 iż-żei ńħażi bixiħro bō vo ńħażi.

“Dobéajam-ne an vixi fuo ńħo,
 ní ja²¹ mō v’ eħċaħiż ’iż-żu ńħażi,
 i n-éażżejjix a ńtixxhað ńħiġi,
 aħsuħħaġi Cian mae Maolimha.

“Oari an jiġi vopipu mē i roħi,²²
 ’iż-żu ńħo ġorġiha iż-żanġi anochi,²³
 ńħażuż a ńħiġi n-oġġeado²⁵ f[a]jji
 ari an ńħażi fużi fuo ńħażi.

Seacht mbaile um chomaiż²⁶ o’ða chħadoiħ,
 Ri na Rīg ńo[ñ] jaðo²⁷ ari,
 aż-żu leath-ħaile għo ńħiġi
 in-ġaċċ poviż aż-żu²⁸ mbiex ńħiġi.

“Oari Muixiħað ħad-ħaġ-ż-żu ńħiġi,
 ari n-ða mārjaħ ’iż-żu ńħiġi chiaħi uħad,²⁹
 “oġġeado³⁰ a ńħażużiż ari,
 vo ᜎeħħa³¹ uħam fém ’iż-ni ari t’-fuaħiħ.³²”

⁹ a ttir TD; a ēiġi ari tħiġ E. ¹⁰ ēiġi M. ¹¹ uo MS. M. ¹² ēiġi TM.
¹³ amsuġ MS. a muiħi DE. ¹⁴ moġi għo né MS.; nisgħi għo ttieġi T; o noxi
 żonad mārjaħ M. ¹⁵ MS. ġuġi. ¹⁶ o ġarru ħiġi uħarjal E; an ariżu jiġi D.
¹⁷ l-ħiġi MS. ¹⁸ l-λaiħaħiż M. ¹⁹ oħra noxi oħra D; v-éanadip E. ²⁰ sic MT; chean MS.
²¹ ní ńħarf M. ²² noċċi DET. ²³ go-żoċċi TDE. ²⁴ MS. ma. ²⁵ MS. uħiġi.
²⁶ uħiġi ċoġi D; no ċoġi E. ²⁷ MS. vopipu mē. ²⁸ MS. a; aż-żu M. ²⁹ MS.
 uħad. ³⁰ MS. uħiġi. ³¹ ᜎeħħa iż-żu D; ᜎeħħa d-TE. ³² tħuad, M.

53. Aghair ní uaidh Ráith Ráithleann aon 1á¹ riadán gan ocht b'ficheadán deasg miach inné do theachta innta, mar aonadhairt an Giolla Caorí² céartha, 7 é agh tóisiall oilithíri do'n domhan móri. Agh ro mar aonadhairt:

Ráith Ráithleann [piáith] Chuiric i f Chéim,
tuisceadh a Dé mar aonach anochta,
géir b' ionrás giolla glan gaoth
do bhois taois ne taois 'fada rhorit.

Criéad fá fionntaeoir i ó'n tuiscear,
Ráithleann aghair Cian i f Cope,
a lomadó má 'r feir[r]ue liib,
do gheantaig³ liom rím gan locht.

Do ríosgád i gCaireal chorr,⁴
Cope mac Luiigdeach na gcoirn b'fial,⁵
cior-cháin Mumhan uó 'a thig,
do bheirteái rím ó'n tig thiaor.

Do chinnfhat Muimhniú⁶ na fílaigh
a ri chomha[1]rile, fá móri roth,
a piád uaidh ne Cope na ngsiall,
"rúisid ríor i gcoinne na gceath."

Ráithleann bume Chuiric na ngsiall,
bean Tóirna, uáir fíall gach uáinn,
do chuaioi lair na fuaigilis roig
do chan f[0]in a nónadhairt cás.

"Do ghean⁸ do chomha[1]rile, a bhean,"
aig Mac Luiigdeach na b'fleasáid b'fuaor,⁹
"uá b'fáiscthaír longphorit fóm' ríonan
uáinn¹⁰ thiaor i ngeoiríe na fílaigh."

Do toclaoi caireal i f piáith
le Muimhneacháin, níor b'áit¹¹ ríonan,
i gcomhair Chuiric Chaireil chaoimh
do b'ain¹² a maoi¹³ do gach ríor.

53. ¹ tuisceadán M. ² DETM om. Caorí. ³ do neanadar MS. ⁴ cónair MDE. gceann b'fíair MDE. ⁵ n-a thí TDE. ⁶ MS. uáinn. ⁷ MS. uáinn. ⁸ MS. bhean; do bheanadán DE. ⁹ b'fíor D; b'fleasáid moig E. ¹⁰ MS. uáinn. ¹¹ MS. níor b'ain; b'ain MDE. ¹² b'eadan TMD. ¹³ MS. maoi; do m'ian

Sul piáinig go Ráith¹⁴ na gCúasach
náirgios Ráithleann luach ari Chorp,
an piáith o' ainnmuiséad ói périn,
cú a tár ari ainnm eile anocht.¹⁵

Faoimur Mac Luiigheasach ann r[o]in
do'n mhaoi do oil é 'n-a dún,
Ráith Ráithleann do beith o' a gáipim¹⁶
go bpáth marí ainnm ari an túir.¹⁷

Rioğair¹⁸ Muimníng o' a éir pín
Cian mac meic Óirion, doir bá féim,
ír uime pín tair éir cháich
tusdaí ari an piáith, Ráith Chéim.¹⁹

Tá h-anmanna²⁰ piátha Chuiric
do lomur duiib,²¹ ghe bá fáth,
o' a éir [ar eað]²² thug mo gnuad[1]ó,
gán mac Madoilmuaír iaran piáith.

Ráith Sáiróibe in gine Óirion,
viairí i viairí,²³ agur Ráith Chéim,
ó do thuit piad leith ari leith,
tusdaí an beatha beith o' a n-éir.

Ráith na bfileað, piáith na mban,
oð²⁴ piáith do char²⁵ mac Madoilmuaír,
gán acht a viairí o' a n-éir,
ar é dobeirí mé gán gnuad[1]ó.

Ráith Chuain, an piáith úo thoip,
ollam [meic] meic²⁶ Óirion, go mbáis,²⁷
Ó Ló[th]cháin, fa math ari taraí
do thigearð gach laoi do'n piáith.

Ráith Chuilchín, cíutairíe ari chnuic,
tusdaí marí do thuit tair éir cháich;
do b' aibreach linn binné a mear
nó go noeascharír o' éag 'rón piáith.

Δ maríse gáde píp E. ¹⁴ MS. piáit. ¹⁵ sic T; MS. gáde ari ainnm eile atá ari. ¹⁶ MS. piáit. ¹⁷ MS. doin dún; ari an túir TEDM. ¹⁸ do pióighe E. ¹⁹ MS. piáit, piáit Céim. ²⁰ MS. h-anmanna; h-anmhuicéad E. ²¹ duiib M. ²² TDE add ar eað. ²³ MS. viais. ²⁴ MS. an oð. ²⁵ do éair TDM; do éor E. ²⁶ meic meic M. ²⁷ MS. mbáit; mbáit MT; mbáit E; mbáit D.

Óén Óphoigénein, an tún-ra thuaidh,²⁸
 Ó Féichín nári chlúdairiō ne táláin ;
 foigéadó a rtuitc mánúlúig móir
 do chlúinidír²⁹ na ríóis 'fan páith.

Maoilán iŋ Meadraigán móir,
 ód óinmír na ríóis ríomchraír,³⁰
 fa meimic iad ríope³¹ Cian,
 fa hanam Cian 'n-a ód páith.

Ráith an doiríreoiria do³² chím ;
 truaigé tairí bím iŋ tairí [a]táim,
 níor³³ thíg Dubhthach³⁴ ari thíg móir,
 iŋ ní thígim-rí³⁵ do'n páith.

Mártcháinn³⁶ do chláinn Easchach Chaoim,
 do'n ríomháig fa móir aoiú iŋ á[1]s,
 fa híomhá gíolla, crieach, iŋ gíall
 do bheirvír go Cian do'n páith.

³⁷Cinéal Laoighise meic Flóinn,
 mártcháinn do'n chláinn fa móir á[1]s,³⁸
 do bíorír rín ag síol chláir
 anuasairi nach bíoró Cian 'fan páith.

³⁹Iŋ míri Mac⁴⁰ Laois na n-each,⁴¹
 math an bheith mo bheith tairí táláim ;
 níor rím⁴² taithleach na n-each ríam,
 an ríod⁴³ do bí Cian 'fan páith.

⁴⁴Ráith Ráithleann an páith úo thoíri,
 i mbíos mac meic Órioin go mbuaidh,
 iŋ ionróda ríosigríadó vom' ríeir
 i n-adúirír Chéim⁴⁵ mic Maoiléamháir.

Bóthair na gCáiríbair go thuaidh,
 go dtíosvír rílúaidis Chláinne Cailf,
 um Chian mac Maoiléamháir mic Órioin,⁴⁶
 nári fíll [a]rúamh tróigé tarí aif.

²⁸ MS. énáis. ²⁹ MS. élúinidír. ³⁰ um érón TM. This forms the 4th verse in D, the 2nd reading agur ní h-uaighearf do'n páith. ³¹ ne Cian M. ³² tairí M. ³³ móir M. ³⁴ óubháin ED; óubád M. ³⁵ MS. thígim-rí; énáisgír TDE; iŋ thígeamáoir. ³⁶ tairí atáin EDP. ³⁷ M omits this stanza and the following. ³⁸ aod ED.

Dún Sairóibh, an tún ró thiaorf,
in̄gen rín do Íriam ua Táil;
trí chéad bean do óisílaodh bairf,
do thigearó le Sairóibh do'n páith.

⁴⁷ Áth na gCreach, an t-áth ró thiof,
áth 'n-a nuaéantaoi gniorán neach áis,⁴⁸
trí chéad each le gcuimhaoi ríriam,
do thigearó le Cian do'n páith.

Bóthair na Muilte ró thiof,
thug fsgír⁴⁹ ari mórán do mnáibh,
ceathairachad miach⁵⁰ go ma⁵¹ náoi,
do thigearó gach laoi do'n páith.

Ír mé mac Giolla Caomh cóir:
jiachaoi do'n Rónán 'a ntig cás[1]ch,
do cho[1]m-íriur mo chioróe im' chliab,
gán Cian do bheith i rian páith.⁵²

54. Báir C[h]éin 7 Íriam 7 Muinchadá¹ i n-áon Íleasádain AU. 1014.
aṁdáin 1 scath Chluana Táibh 7 1 scath Muinge Ínlióe.² Ári
sclof do Óonnchaó mac Íriam, Cian do mairbád do Óonnall
mac Óuibhordboíreann, táinig³ fén sluaǵ do neartusád le
Mathghamáin mac Céin, guri mairbád leir Cathal⁴ mac Céin⁴
mic Óuibhordboíreann.

55. Teagmáil iorír ódha mac Íriam 1. Óonnchaó 7 Táibh, ¹ AU. 1014.
n-ári mairbád Ó Óonnadáin, ní Aribád. Caillíbhe mac Cleirighín,
ní uas gCáirbhe do mairbád¹ i bfeill ó Maolcholuim
Caomhrió[e]ach.

56.¹ Sluaǵ le Óonnchaó mac Íriam 7 le Táibh mac Íriam AU. 1015.
do neartusád le Mathghamáin² mac Céin nári mairbád
Óonnall mac Óuibhordboíreann le Mathghamáin i nioigdail
a aithair.

³⁹ om. M. ⁴⁰ TED om. mac. ⁴¹ na ccreadé G. ⁴² níor róim D; níor fáin P;
ní róibh G. ⁴³ pé D. ⁴⁴ This stanza precedes the former in D and E.

⁴⁵ MS. céin E. ⁴⁶ MS. Íriam. ⁴⁷ MYT omit this stanza. ⁴⁸ MS. n'áis.

⁴⁹ fsgír DE. ⁵⁰ mac D. ⁵¹ mao ME. ⁵² Y omits stanzas 3 and 10; and

first two verses of 11.

54. ¹ rín, adds M. ² D and E commence here. ³ MS. tágáinig. ⁴ om. E;
Óonnall 1. M.

55. ¹ do mairb M.

56. ¹ om. DE, follows § 57 in M.

57. Sluaġ le hua Ruairic guri ionraō ṽaġ nāoi, 7 guri

AU. 1014. marbāō Donnchaō mac Cathail, 7 go nūgħadap għiella¹ Con[n]acht leō.

58.¹ Bār Anmchaō² nioġi ő Liathán ó Mathġamha mac

Cém mic Maolimuaid. Ġuġġal ó Donnchaō jid-*eoġħanacht*[³]

AU. 1015. Locha Lém fop chiech go Ġrein Cliach, go jo marbāō laiř pionn mac Ruadrijaġe ī Donnagħam, jid-*drab*. Plaithbeaġtach ő Néill le Maolreachtlainn mac Domnall i Laiġniħ, guri jo ariġi riad an tip go Leithlinn, 7 guri jo marbāō jid-naburie.

FM. 1014, 59.¹ Sluaġ la Maolreachtlainn 7 le hua Néill 7 le hua

1015. Maolvojra iōd go hātħ Cliath,² guri loirgeaō a jaib do thigħiħiib ó őn n-*amach* ann, 7 go jo nneachħadap i n-ib 5Cinnrealaix,³ 7 guri jo ariġi riad isu, guri jo thappixx qnejx v'a chiechhaō, 7 guri jo marbāō Conġalach mac Conchubair i Faile, jid-Connacht, 7 Giolla Colum ó h-Adoħha, jid-Teatħha.

AU. 1020. 60. Sluaġ eile le Maolreachtlainn 7 le hua Néill 7 le hua Maolvojra iōd go hātħ Cliath, guri żaebrot għiella Laiġeon, 7 go vtuġraf a jiġe do Ġonċuwan mac Dublino.¹ Cilla jaġi² 7 Gleann da Loch[³] 7 Cluam loparju 7 Sopru Colum Cille 7 Ārromacha³ [do loirgeaō].⁴ Bixxar chjuu ī-neachta vo fea[¹]thain i Maġiż-*drab*-jiġi.

AU. 1022. 61. Callann anno Domini mile 7 20 bliex-ona, Maolreachtlainn mac Domnall Ārromi. Ērigeann oħett mbliax-ona¹ i jiġe Teatħra isaji mħrija go bixxajjib bār i 5Ciro-Innif Lochha h-Adinni.²

62.¹ Domnall mac Uinħo-ħboġieann vo marbāō vo Mathġamha mac Cém mic Maolimuaid 7 vo Donnchaō mac

AU. 1016. bħiex. Mac Lias Ārrom-olla ērigeann v-ġaġid bār. Bār

AU. 1017. Donġura mac Ċarriċha² Chalma anno Domini 1021.

63. Domnall mac Catharjna¹ v-īb Chaixiñ vo-*ħuallax* AU. 1019. vo Donnchaō mac bħiex vo chloriexem i mbun oproxiġe 7 a lāime veiři, guri ħam ve i, 7 guri marbāō ē-*fein* 'n-a ēriġie.

57. ¹ MS. Giolla.

58. ¹ om. E. ² MS. Anmċuha; Anamċuha M.

59. ¹ om. E. ² M. om. go hā. C.

60. ¹ leg. Uinħa. ² Ċeannuora M. ³ MS. Ārromataċċa. ⁴ sic M.

61. ¹ p̄chett adds E. ² MS. Māinanne, which a later hand corrects to h-Adinni.

62. ¹ om. E. ² Ċarriċha¹ AU.

63. ¹ MS. Ċarriċha¹.

64. Tádhs mac bhríðain do mārthas ó t'Éilis aip n-a fumáliomh AU. 1023.
n'a bhráthair fém oifia feallaó aip, ¹ n'a nusáthas an riann:

Óa gcluimír cluasra meic bhríðain
an uall-fo do gniadó ² na ríuaig,
do bao ³ ionnáir leig buidh éin
ionnáid gach tréim i gach tréim ⁴.

65.¹ Mac Domhnaill mic Domhnaul do bhríðain do bállas AU. 1023.
Le[n]-a muiintir fém, eipach an tuisneónil iarrhia.

66.¹ Anno Domini m 22 Uigaire mac Dúnlaing ri Laiscean AU. 1024.
7 Maolmórda mac Lorcáin ri Ó gCin[n]realaig 7 a mac do
mārthas do Domhíleibhe mac Maolmórda, ² 7 é fém do mārthas
do Laiscni b n-éigic rin.

67.¹ Dungál ó Donncháða ri Chaitil t'iontoig ó'n
traoigál go Coircaig 1 n-oilithig. Cuán 1. ó Lo[th]cháin AU. 1024.
áirio-fíle 7 reanchair Céin mic Maolmáuaí do mārthas 1
n-a éigic, aip n-a bhráth do bála ² an trionnaig.

68.¹ Anno Domini mile 7 26, Dungál ó Donncháða, ³ ri
Chaitil, t'éag 1 gCoircaig ⁴ aip nuaileas do traoigál do an
bliadain riomh 1 n-oilithigach.

69. Anno Domini mile 7 27 ríaság le Donncháð mac bhríðain
gur gáib géill bfeair ¹ Mióe 7 bhréas, 7 go nuaeachair aip rin
go hárth Cliath, 7 go nuaedriu coiméadó 1 náth Cliath ² ó AU. 1026.
domhnach iníos ³ go céadair aip bhráði, ⁴ ionnur nach riab
aon teach 1 n-áth Cliath gan coiméadó, 7 Donncháð fém
annra róileair ⁵ móri mic Ámlaoibh. ⁶ Naoi gceadó támig ó áth
Cliath go Laiscni b aip ngsabáil gíall bfeair ⁷ Mióe aip rin
1 n-órraisigib, go tuas a ngsalla le chéile go Ceann Coircaidh.

70. Sluaig le Donncháð mac bhríðain 1 gCeann Coircaidh go AU. 1025.
nuaeachair leó 1 gConnachtaib go Cnuacháin, gur tuasáig gíall
Connachta ó dha ann. ¹ Mathghamain mac Céin mic Maol-

64. ¹ sic M, MS. aip. ² MS. do mao; an uaille do nio E; do mao D.
³ bó MS; bao DE. ⁴ MS. t'uaist; truaig DE; tuaist M.

65. ¹ om. MDE.

66. ¹ om. DE. ² MS. Maolmórda.

67. ¹ om. DE. ² bálaist M; do bála MS.

68. ¹ om. DE. ² MS. Dungál. ³ Domháða M. ⁴ MS. Coircaidh.

69. ¹ MS. feair; la feair aip ME. ² ó cláist adds M. ³ MS. omíos;
omíos M; na níre E; ríat D. ⁴ a bhráth M. ⁵ MS. Soileair. ⁶ ionnur go
riabádair riabád ó E. ⁷ MS. bfeair aip. ⁸ MS. C. C.

70. ¹ D and E omit what follows.

ṁuaidh, ní na náoi ḃronn, 7 Maolréachláinn ḫoḃ ní Miðe
o'fáidhail ḃáir anna Domini mile 28.

AU. 1026. 71. Maolruanaidh¹ ó Maolnóraidh, ní tuairgeairt Chinéil
Chonáill, do ḍualtaidh do'n traoighál 7 a ḍoöl go Clúain Fearta
Brieanuinn, 7 aif ḫin go hí Choluim Cille. Taobh mac Siolla
pháorais do ḍuul i n-íb Mu[;]-neadair² gur Ṅaḃdáḃ mac Muir-
eadaidh, go ṭuḃs ḡaḃála móra 1aif.

AU. 1027. Mac Siolla pháorais o'a ṭuḃs crieacha móra 7 ḃriaidh
iomdha 1aif; ṡugadair cuiro o'a ṭuimhí 7 do h-imreisidh
docháir lúiġis ophra le Mac Cíatháir Ó Donncháidh,³ do bhí ṡa
rgaοil ṡa níġ hua nSiolla pháorais 7 le Mac Siolla
pháorais réim, gur marbháḃ mac ḡaḃria mic Dúnaidh, ní ó
Maine, aghair Maolréachláinn mac Conchubhair, ní Coircam-
ruaḃ, 7 Cian mac Cuileim, ní Ua ḡConaill ḡaḃria, 7 Domnall
mac Seanchaum, 7 Eoghan mac Cúigic, [7] Conall mac Éigear-
taidh⁴ go n-a ṭír ḃráthair.⁴

FINIT.

71. ¹ Maolréachláinn M.

72. ¹ Maolruanaidh M. ² MS. ó n-Óonċáidh. ³ C. mac Easchtighearnuairiōe
Eigiorthaighe D; Eitcheair E. ⁴ 7 mórlán eile leó gur labh é ḫin buaḃhie Ṅaobhaḃ
adds D.

NOTES.

§ 32. “7 a chroisfigil 1 n-a láim chli, 7 é a g cantann a psalm 1 n-a fiaónaire.” *Croisfighil* is here evidently taken to mean a ‘crucifix,’ which Brian held in his left hand. Its real meaning, however, is the extending of the arms in the form of a cross while praying. See *Milan Glosses*, 138 a 2 (Thesaurus i, p. 468): “.i. cumgabal inna lam hicrosfigill is si briathar lam insin. 7 issi briathar súle dano a cumgabal suas dochum rídá 7 issi briathar glúna 7 chos a filliud fri slechtan 7 issi briathar choirp dano intan roichther do dia ocslechtan 7 chrosigill,” i.e. the raising of the hands in cross-vigil, that is, the word of the hands, and the word of the eyes, moreover, is the raising of them up to God, and the word of the knees and of the legs is the bending of them in prostration, and the word of the body, moreover, is when it is extended to God in prostration and cross-vigil.’ Cf. also a gloss to *Broccán’s Hymn* (Thesaurus, ii, 331): “UII bliadna roboi Coemgen inna sessam i [n]Glind da Locha acht clar foi namd, 7 se cen chotlud frisin re sin ut ferunt inna croisfigill co ndernsat na héoin a mitu inna glacaib ut ferunt.” ‘Seven years was Coemgen standing in Glendalough, with only a board under him, and he without sleep during that time, as they say, in his cross-vigil, so that the birds made their nests in his hands.’

§ 37. Something is omitted here; P inserts after $\Delta\mu\pi\pi$, line 5, $\delta\omega\tau\omega\tau\omega\tau\omega$ $\tau\omega\tau\omega\tau\omega$, $\tau\omega\tau\omega\tau\omega$, etc., keeping the proper names in the nom.

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

§ 65. εἰρασχ ἀν τυιθνεόιλ ἵψηρα refers to an eclipse of the sun which took place this year. See AU. A.D. 1023.

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

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Conmhacine Mara, *Connemara*, 31.

Connacht, 6, 13, 14, 24, 31, 39, 69.

Corcabhaiscinn, in Co. Clare, 31.

Corcaluighde, S. W. of Co. Cork, 6.

Corcach, g. *Corcagh*, d. *Corcaigh*, *Cork*, 2, 4, 6, 67, 68.

Corcamruadh, *Corcomroe*, Co. Clare.

Corr-Bhreathnaigh Chille Muine, Corr-Britons of *St. David's*, Pembrokeshire, 26.

Craoibhe Tulcha, g. *Crewe Mount*, Co. Antrim, 14, 15.

Cro Inis Locha hAinninne, *Crowinish* in Lough Ennell, Westmeath, 61.

Cruachán, *Rathcroghan*, in Connaught, 69.

Dáil n-Araidhe, gen., *Co. Antrim*, 16.

Dál Cais, 6, 28, 29, 32, 33, 42, 44, 47.

Damhliag Cianáin, *Duleek*, Co. Louth, 34, 39.

Deisi, *Decies*, Co. Waterford, 30.

Deasmhumhan, *South Munster*, 30.

Dún Droighnéin, *Dundrinane*, near Bandon, Co. Cork, 53.

Dún Saidhbhe, 53, *see* Ráith Saidbhe.

Eachaidh dá eo, *better Achadh-dá-eo*, d., *Aghadoe* near Killarney, 19.

Éadair, Ben Edair, *Howth*, 24.

Easruaidh, *Assaroe*, near Ballyshannon, 17.

Eilibh, d. pl. of Eile or Eli, *Ely-O'Carroll*, in King's Co. and Co. Tipperary, 64.

Éireann, gen., *passim*.

Éireannaigh, 36.

Eoghanacht Locha Léin, E. of Lake Killarney, 58.

Fáil, gen., *bfear bFáil*, 52.

Fan mic Caoimreach, or Fan-Connrach in Co. Waterford (?), 3. *See Cog. Gaed.*, cxxxix, n. 2, and p. 102, n. 2.

Fomórchaibh, d. pl., *Fomorians*, 36.

Fear Manach, *Fermanagh*, 30.

Fear Muighe, gen. pl., *Fermoy*, 30.

Fraingc, dat., *France*, 39.

Gaill or Goill, *Danes*, 3, 9, 24, 25, 28, 29, 32, 35, 38.

Gaill Átha Cliath, 8, 14, 23, 29, 31, 32.

Gaill Éireann, 8, 11, 16.

Gaothlaighibh Meodheonacha, 27, *i.e.* the *Palus Maeotis*, Gáethlach Meotecda, LL., p. 11 b. *See Meyer: Cath. Finntraga*, p. 76.

Gleann da Locha, Glendalough, 60.

Gleann Máma, near *Dunlavin*, Co. Wicklow, 8, 11.

Gleann Samhuisge, 36.

Gréig, dat., *Greece*, 51, 52.

Gréin Cliach, 58.

Iarthair Laighean, 30.

Iarthair Liffe, 38.

Imligh Iubhair, gen., *Emily*, 4.

Innse an Ghoill Duibh, in the *Shannon*, 50.

Innse Cat, gen., 26.

Laighen, Laighnigh, *Leinster*, *Leinster-men*, 8, 9, 10, 12, 14, 17, 23-25, 28, 29, 32, 38, 42, 58, 66.

Leasa Móir, gen., *Lismore*, 4.

Leath Cuinn, northern half of Ireland, 7, 12, 22.

Leithe Mogha, gen., southern half of Ireland, 7.

Leithlinn, *Leighlin*, in Co. Carlow, 58.

Leodhusa, *Isle of Lewis*, 26.

Liffe, 30.

Loch Derg Dheirc, *Lough Derg*, 6.

Lochlann, *Lochlannaigh*, *Norway*, *Norse-men*, 8, 9, 26, 27, 29, 31-33, 36, 38, 53; *Fionn Lochlann*, 33 n.

Locha Léin, gen., *Killarney*, 30.

Loch Raí, *Loch Ree*, 6.

Lughmaigh, dat., *Louth*, 34, 39.

Luimhneach, *Limerick*.

Magh nAoi, between Roscommon and Elphin, 57.

Magh Airgead-rois, on the *Nore*, Co. Kilkenny, 60.

Magh Breagh, *Plain of Bregia*, Co. Meath, 23.

Magh Guilidhe, 47, 48, 54.

Maighinn an Choruinn, dat., in Connaught, 21.

Maigh Líne, dat. *Moylena*, *King's Co.*, (*over*) 16.

Maigh Luirg (Muighe Luirg), gen., *Moylurg*, Co. Roscommon, 31.

Magh Muirthemhne, in Co. Louth, 22.

Magh Nuadat, *Maynooth*, 7.

Manainne, gen., *Isle of Man*, 26.

Midhe, *Meath*, 6, 9, 14, 23, 32, 69, 70.

Muinntire Murchadha, 31.

Mullach Maistean, *Mullaghmast*, near Athy, 42.

Mumhan, gen., Munster; Muimnigh, Munstermen, 2, 3, etc.

Muscraige hAodha, gen., 31.

Muscraige Bhreoghaín, *bar. of Clan-william*, S. W. Co. Tipperary, 31.

Oileán Lochlannach, 26.

Oiligh, gen. of Oileach or Aileach, *Elagh*, Innishowen.

Oirir Gaoidheal, gen., *Argyle*, 26.

Oirghiall, *Oriel*, 30.

Órthannáin, the *Jordan*, 51.

Osraighe, *Ossory*, 5, 24, 45, 46, 69.

Parrthais, *Paradise*, 51.

Port dá Chaombhóg, 7.

Port Láirge, *Waterford*, 2, 6, 14.

Ráith Ráithleann, in parish of Temple-martin, near Bandon, Co. Cork; *see* a most interesting note by Father Lyons on site of Raithleann in *Gael. Four.*, vii, p. 94; 49, 53.

Ráith Chuain, near R. Ráithleann, 53.
 Ráith Chuirc, *i.e.* R. R., 53.
 Ráith Chuilcín, *Rathculleen*, near R. R.
 53.
 Ráith Chéin, *i.e.* R. Ráithleann, 53.
 Ráith buime Chuirc, near R. R., 53.
 Ráith na gCuach, near R. R., 53.
 Ráith bean Torna, near R. R., 53.
 Ráith Móir i Moigh Líne, *Moylena*,
 King's Co., 16.
 Ráith Saidhbhe, near R. R., 53.
 Róimh, dat., *Rome*, 53.

 Saxon, gen., *Saxons*, 39.
 Sgithi, *Skye*, 26.
 Síol or Sleacht Éibhir Fhinn, 48.
 Sionainn, the *Shannon*, 6, 49.
 Sleachta Eogain Mhóir, gen., 28, 30.
 Sliabh Fuaid, *Fews Mountain*, Co.
 Armagh, 16, 19.
 Sléibhtibh Riffe, dat. pl., *Riffean* or *Ural*
 Mountains, 27.
 Sord Coluim Cille, *Swords*, Co. Dublin,
 34, 39, 60.

 Teabhtha, part of Counties Longford and
 Westmeath, 29, 59.
 Teamhra, gen., *Tara*, 61.
 Tearmann Caimín, 24.

Tearmann Feichin, *Termonfeckin*, Co.
 Louth, 33.
 Tíre an tSneachta, Norway, 27.
 Tuathmhúmhan, *Thomond*, 29.

 Uí Briain, 29.
 Uí Cairbre, in Co. Cork, 30.
 Uí Caisín, in Co. Clare, 63.
 Uí Cinnsealaigh, *Hy Kinsela*, Co. Wex-
 ford, 59, 66.
 Uí Conaill Gabhra, *Connello*, Co. Lime-
 rick, 30, 72.
 Uí Conaill, iarthaor Laihean, 30.
 Uí Cuanach, *Coonagh*, E. Limerick, 31.
 Uí Eachach, *Iveagh*, Co. Cork, 6, 42,
 44, 53.
 Uí Énda, S. of Innishowen, Co. Donegal,
 31.
 Uí Failghe, *Offaly*, Co. Kildare, 30.
 Uí Féichin, 53.
 Uí Giolla Phádraig, 72.
 Uí Liatháin, near Barrymore, Co. Cork,
 30.
 Uí Maine, *Hy-many*, Counties Galway
 and Roscommon, 31.
 Uí Maoildoraidh, 59, 60.
 Uí Muireadhaig, in S. Co. Kildare, 71.
 Uí Neill, 11, 51, 59, 60.
 Uisneach, in Co. Westmeath, 6.
 Uladh, gen., *Ultaibh*, dat., *Ulster*, 14,
 15, 22, 51.

THE DEATH OF CONLA.

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

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

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

KUNO MEYER.

AIDED¹ ĒN FIR ĀIFI ANDSO.

1. Cia fochann ara² romarb Cūculaind a mac?

Nī hansa. Luid Cūculaind do forceatal gaiscid la Scāthaig nūanaind ingin³ Airdgeme il-Letha co ndergene sūithi cleas lea.⁴ 7 luid Aifi ingen Airdgeme chuici 7 ba torrach forfācaib⁵ 7 asbert fria nobērad mac. “Bīd ind or[d]nasc n-ōrda sa acud,” or sē, “corop coimsi don mac. Intan bas coimse dō, tætad⁶ dom chuindchid-sea⁶ inn-Ēre 7 nachamberead āenfer dia conair 7 nachasloindedh do āenfer 7 nā fēmded⁷ comland ūenfir.”

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

3. “Maith tra,” or Concobar, “mairg thīr i¹ tāed in gilla ucut,” or sē. “Maddis fir mōra na hindsi asa taed donīstais, conmeltais ar grīan,² intan is mac bec dognī in airbert ucut. Eirged neach ar a cheand. Nachatelged³ i¹ tir itīr.”

“Cia ragas ar a chind?”

“Cia pad cia,” ar Concobar, “acht Condere mac Echach?”

“Cid ’ma ragad Condere?” or cāch.

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

“Ragad-sa ar a chend,”⁴ ol Condere.

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

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

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

^a I.e. ‘the Strand of the Track,’ as explained in § 11.

^b My rendering of *tathbēimm* is a mere guess. If the *a* is long, the word might be a compound of *tāth*, ‘a qualm, numbness, surfeit,’ P. O’C., and denote ‘a benumbing or stupefying blow or cast.’ If the *a* is short, the word might be resolved into *to-ath-bēimm*, and denote a throw with a weapon which returns to

THE TRAGICAL DEATH OF AIFE'S ONLY SON.

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

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

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

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

"Who shall go to meet him?"

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

"Why should Condere go?" said the others.

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

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

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

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

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

4. Luid Condere īarum 7 is and rogab in mac trāig in tan sin.

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

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

“Nī targa ī tīr,” or Conderi, “co rudsloindi.”

“Régat a leth dīa tuitched,”² or in gilla.

5. Imsāi as in mac. Is and asbert Conderi: “Tinta frim,¹ a mo maic, ad mōrgnīma, at fola ferdomna ardan errad Ulad cucad. Ardodcobra Conchobar. Cairptine cleitīniu clār clē conid san errodo Ulað uargabus. Ardo[t]cobra Concobar. Contaidis clūas duid dian do thrim. Tinta co Concobar, co mac nīthach Nesa, co Sencha mac Coscra, co ilcloin, co Cethirnd mac fæbarderg Fintain, co tenid leonas ergala, co hAimirgin n-ēices,² co Cumsraid³ mōrmurnech. Mochen ardad Conall Cernach cobrathar thurthea⁴ ceola gairi latlond Cathbad bad būada bron la Blai brigiu bem⁵ sechai. Cia so læch daig nimardraic ilar ruice lasoraith berar atratsa⁶ fodén Coneri co tulad com mac argair curaid acht bāges dam-sa ar intī Conniri tuidecht ar ceand in gillai cen ulcha cen caither acht manip irlatus di Ultaib.”

6. “Is maid ron [p. 214 b] taedais,”¹ or in gilla. “Rodbīa-so didiu th’ acallaim. Glēsus gotha lec sin ūaim irchora cen imrolla cairphineb comlamuis cainsreth saigthinus² ar cletinib cīanaib cen ich n-errad nailius. baigsina ar mōrgnīmaib gaiscid nadragbad nech forbuis form fasaig seo let co hUltu in feraim sea for galaib ænfir nō ar līnaib fer forndul. Sāi as aridis!” ar in gilla. “Air gīa nobeth nert cēit let, nida tūalaing mo ergairi.”

“Maith,” ar Conderi, “tæd nech aile īarum dot acallaim.”

Luid īarum Conderi co hUltu 7 adfēd in sin.

7. “Nī ba fīr,” ol Conall Cernach, “enech Ulad do breith céin¹ am² bēo-sa.”

Luid sem didiu do saighidh in maic.

“Is ālaint do cluichi,³ a macāin!” ar Conall.

“Nī ba frit bus ētchui,” or in gilla.

Dolāi in gilla cloich ina tabaill. Duslēigi isann aér .i. tathbēim, co riacht a bressim 7 a torand ac techt sūas co Conall.

4. ¹a ²tuithced

5. ¹altered into tintai rim

²eigis

³cums added above the line.

⁴e inserted under the line.

⁵perhaps bein

⁶the second t inserted under the line.

4. So Condere went just as the boy took the beach.

"Thou hast come far enough, my good boy," said Condere, "for us to know whither thou goest and whence is thy race."

"I do not make myself known to any single man," said the lad, "nor do I avoid any man."

"Thou shalt not land," said Condere, "until thou hast made thyself known."

"I shall go whither I have set out," said the lad.

5. The boy turned away. Then said Condere: "Turn to mé, my boy,^a Conchobar protects thee. . . . Turn to Conchobar, the valiant son of Ness; to Sencha, the son of Coscra; to Cethern, the red-bladed son of Fintan, the fire that wounds battalions; to Amergin the poet; to Cumscraig of the great hosts. Welcome he whom Conall Cernach protects to go to meet the unripe,^b beardless youth, unless the men of Ulster permit it."

6. "Thou hast . . . us well," said the lad. "Therefore shalt thou have thy answer. . . . Turn back again!" said the lad. "For though thou hadst the strength of a hundred, thou art not able to check me."

"Well," said Condere, "let someone else go to speak to thee!"

So Condere went to the men of Ulster and told them.

7. "It shall not be," said Conall the Victorious, "that the honour of Ulster be carried off while I am alive."

Then he went towards the boy.

"Thy play is pretty, my good boy," said Conall.

"It will not be less pretty^c against thee," said the lad.

The lad put a stone in his sling. He sent it into the air, so that its noise and thunder as it went up reached Conall, and

^a Here follows a so-called 'rhetoric,' which, like the others scattered throughout the text, I can only partially translate.

^b *cen caither*, literally, 'without the hair of pubescence.' See my Contributions, s.v. *cather*, and add: *co corrán chaithrech*, *Acall.* 3642 *n.* *sgreball caethrech* *edir mnái 7 fir*, O'Don., *Hy Many*, p. 60. Hence also the female name *Aitten-chaithrech*, 'fuzzy-haired,' sometimes corrupted into *Etan-chaithrech*.

^c *éitchiu*, comparative of *étig*, 'ugly,' spelt *étach* in § 10.

6. ¹ Altered from *tidais*

7. ¹ *gin*

² *um*

² *g* added under the line.

³ *cluithi*

Focher[d] Conall dar a cheand. Rīasiu addrech^t, dobert in gilla scīathraig a scēith for a lāma.

“Nech aile fris!” or Conall.

Darad tra gen forsin slūag fōn indus sin.

8. Bāi Cūculaind *immorro* oc a cluichiū oc dul adochum¹ in gillai 7 lām Emeire ingine Forgaill dar a brāgaid. “Nā tēig sīs!” ar sī. “Mac duit fil tīs. Nā fer finga[i]l ‘mot ēnmac. Co sechnom a māic saigthig soailte.² Nī soāig nā soairle coimērgi frit mac mōrgnīmach mōr n-esad artai o riad cnis focloc ōt biliu bai cotaith fri Scāithci³ scēl. Mād *Conlai* cesad clār clē comad forte men taidbech^t. Tinta frim! Cluinti mo chlois! Fō mo cosc. Bad Cūculaind cloodar! Adgēn-sa cid ainm asind ōn masa⁴ *Conlai* ēnmac Āifi in mac fil tīs,” or in bean.

9. Is andsin asbert Cūculaind: “Coisc, a bean! nī coisc mnā admainiur mōrgnīmaib asa coscaib glē. Nī gnītheard do ban-cobro bam¹ gnīm būadach nō buideach na ruisc na ruireach de fola form chnis crū cuirp *Conlai*. Cain sug set gai in cleitīne cain. Cid hē nobeith and, a *ben*,” ar sē, “nangonaind-se² ar inchaib Ulad.

10. Is and sin luid sīs¹ fesin. “Is ālaint, a macāin, in cluichi dognī,” or sē.

“Is ētach for cluichiū-se cētamus,” or in mac bec, “nach tæd dīas ūaib coromsloindi-sea dōib.”

“In curub ēigin mac lecci² im farrad-sa ōn,” or Cūculaind. “Adbēla-so *immorro* meri sloindi.”

“Bid fir,” or in gilla.

Adnaig in mac cuici. Immustūaircid. Nosberr in gilla māil fair cosin claideb i. bēm co fomus.

“Is co cend in cuidbiud!” or Cūculaind. “Tiagam do imthrascrad didiu!”

11. “Nī rosi do chris,” ol in mac. Rogob in mac for dā cloich, co tarad Coinculaind eitir na dā coirthi fo thrī 7 nī roglūais in mac nechta a dā chois dona corthaib co ndechudar a traighi isna clochaib conici a dā n-adbrond. Atā slicht a dā chos and bēos. Is de atā Trāig Ési la hUltu. Lodar didiu isin muir do imbādud¹ co rambāid in mac fa dō. Luid risin mac īarum ata uisci co robrēgai cosinn gāi mbulga, ar nī

8. ¹ addocum (*the first d added under the line*). ² added under the line. ³ The second c inserted under the line. ⁴ After masa a later hand has inserted mac.

9. ¹ Perhaps bain ² nomgonaindse

threw him on his back. Before he could rise, the lad put the strap of his shield upon his arms.

“ Someone else against him ! ” said Conall.

In that way he made mockery of the host.

8. Cuchulinn, however, was present at his game, going towards the boy, and the arm of Emer, Forgall’s daughter, over his neck. “ Do not go down ! ” said she. “ It is a son of thine that is down there. Do not murder thy only son ! . . . It is not fair fight nor wise to rise up against thy son. . . . Turn to me ! Hear my voice ! My advice is good. Let Cuchulinn hear it ! I know what name he will tell, if the boy down there is Conla, the only son of Aife,” said the woman.

9. Then said Cuchulinn : “ Forbear, woman ! . . . Even though it were he who is there, woman,” said he, “ I would kill him for the honour of Ulster.”

10. Then he went down himself. “ Delightful, my boy, is the play which thou makest,” said he.

“ *Your* play, though, is not so,” said the little boy, “ that two of you did not come, so that I may make myself known to them.”

“ It would have been necessary to bring a small boy along with me,” said Cuchulinn. “ However, thou wilt die unless thou tellest thy name.”

“ Let it be so ! ” said the lad.

The boy makes for him. They exchange blows. The lad, by a properly measured stroke with the sword, crops off Cuchulinn’s hair.

“ The mockery has come to a head ! ” says Cuchulinn. “ Now let us go to wrestle ! ”

11. “ I cannot reach thy belt,” said the boy. He got upon two stones, and thrust Cuchulinn thrice between two pillar-stones, while the boy did not move either of his feet from the stones until his feet went into the stones up to his ankles. The track of his feet is there still. Hence is the Strand of the Track in Ulster.

Then they went into the sea to drown each other, and twice the boy ducked him. Thereupon Cuchulinn went at the boy from the water (?), and played him false with the *gai bulga* ; for

10. ¹ sisi ² Looks as if altered from becci

11. ¹ imbadad

romūin² Scāthach do duine rīam in gaisced sin acht do Coinculaind ænur. Docorustar don mac triasinn uisci co mbāi a inathar fo chose.

12. "Is ed òn tra," or sē, "nā romūin Scāthach dam-sa! Mairg [p. 215 a] domcrechtnaigis!" or in mac.

"Is fir," or Cūculaind. Geibid in mac īarum itir a dā lāim 7 nusfuga¹ co tall as 7 nombeir² co tarlaic de ar bēlaib Ulad.

"Aso mo mac-sa dūib, a Ultu," ar sē.

"Fē amai!" ar Ulaid 7 "Is fir," ar in mac. "Dīa mbeinn-sea etraib co cend cōic mbliadan, no silfind-se firu in betha reimib for cach leth 7 congabthai rīghi co Rōim. Inid ed so fili and, inchoisc dam-sa na firu amrai fil isin baile, co romcelebra dōib."

13. Dobeir īarum a dī lāim im brāigid cach fir arūair dīb 7 celebraid dia athair 7 adbail fo chētōir.

Rolād tra a gāir guba 7 a fert 7 a lia ocus co cend trī trāth nicon reilgthe läig dīa mbūaib la hUltu ina dīaid.

FINIT. AMEN.

11. ² ana added above romuin

12. ¹f inserted above the line.

² ninbeir

to no man had Scathach ever taught the use of that weapon save to Cuchulinn alone. He sends it at the boy through the water, so that his bowels were about his feet.

12. "Now, this is what Scathach never taught me!" cried the boy. "Woe that thou hast wounded me!"

"It is true," said Cuchulinn. He takes the boy between his arms, and . . . took it out and carries him till he lets him down before the men of Ulster.

"Here is my son for you, men of Ulster," said he.

"Alas!" said the men; and "It is true," said the boy. "If I were among you to the end of five years, I should vanquish the men of the world before you on every side, and you would hold kingship as far as Rome. Since it is as it is, point out to me the famous men that are on the spot, that I may take leave of them!"

13. Thereupon he puts his arms round the neck of one after another, bids farewell to his father, and forthwith dies. Then his cry of lament was raised, his grave made, and his stone set up, and to the end of three days no calf was let to their cows by the men of Ulster, to commemorate him.

FINIT. AMEN.

ANECDOTON.

THE following hymn to the Blessed Virgin is printed from the MS. 23 N 10, R.I.A., p. 18. In the MS. it bears the superscription "Columcille cecinit":—

A Muire min maithingen tapair furtacht dún.
 A criol chuirp chomdeta ! a comrair na run !
 A righan na righraide, a naomingen ogh,
 Ail dún co rodilgaithe triut ar tarmhect trogh.
 A trocuire, a dilgedach, co rath spirat¹ ngloin,
 Guid lind in ri firbrethach don cloind cumhra cain.²
 A croeb do cloind Iesse isin chollcaill coimh,
 Ail damh coniombisse³ dilgud mo cuil chloin.
 A Muire, a mind mormaisech, rotsaorais ar sil.
 A lesmaire lormaisech ! a lubgort na riogh !
 A ligach ! a loinderrda co ngnim gensa ngil !
 A argoir cain coindealta ! A noeimgein do neimh !
 A mathuir na firinne, rocindis ar cach,
 Guidh lemsa do primgeine dom saorad a mbrath.
 A buadach, a bunata, a buidnech, a balc,
 Guidh lend Crist cumachtach, t'athuir is do mac.
 A retla ran roguide ! A bile fo blath !
 A sudrall tren toguide ! A grian guides cach t goires cach !
 A arrad⁴ na holloirbe tresacing cach caidh,
 Gurab tu ar comairge docum riktig⁵ rain.
 A chathair caom cumraidh dodraogha in ri
 Ollraighe boi at urbruinde tremsi co ba tri.
 A rigdorais rogaidh⁶ triasarchin i cri
 Grien taithnemhach togaide Isu mac De bii
 Ar egnairc na caomgeine recompred it bru,
 Ar ecnairc in aongene is airdrig in cach dū,
 Ar egnarc a croichesum is uasle gach croich,
 Ar ecnairc a adnacail atranacht i cloich,
 Ar ecnairc a esergi asraracht ria cach,
 Ar ecnairc in naobtheghlaigh as gach dū do brath,
 Gorop tu ar comairci a flaith comde cain,
 Condechsam la hIsagan alme cenbe (?) mair.

J. STRACHAN.

¹ Under *a* is written *e*.

² After the verse which ends in the middle of a line comes a scribal note: spaigh asgol nocotigi luan aoine dotsunnradh.

³ leg. conombé-se?

⁴ leg. árad

⁵ leg. rígi

CUCHULINN AND CONLAECH.

THE following tale, dealing with the death of Conlaech (called here Ainfer Aife) at the hand of his father Cuchulinn, is taken from a miscellaneous vellum codex in Trinity College, Dublin (H. 3, 17, p. 842), consisting mostly of Irish law tracts. Compared with the many extant versions (most of which are in verse) of the death of Conlaech, the present text gives but the merest skeleton of the tale. It seems evident that it was designed to serve as a peg on which to hang the characteristic legal discussion with which the text concludes.

J. G. O'KEEFFE.

CUCHULINN AND CONLAECH.

Dia ndechaid Cúchulaind do foglaim gaiscid ind-Albain co Scáthraig 7 tuc Scáthach a hingin dó .i. Aife, 7 rotoirrchestar hí 7 táinic féin i nErinn, adubairt fria-si: "Accseo dornasc óir duit," ar sé, "7 már mac béras tú, intan bus lán a rig don dornaisc, léig úait chuccam-sa hé ind-Eirinn 7 tabair Aenfer Aife d'ainm fair 7 abbair ris cen a sloinded d'óenduine i n-Eirinn."

Ocus rucc sí mac. Dorigni ris amlaid sin 7 rofoglaim na huili cleas cinmoothā cleas gái bulgai namá. Uair rucc a athair roime i nÉirinn in gái bulccai, 7 táinic roime d'indsaighid hEirenn, ocus is and badar Ulaid a n-airechtus hi Maig hEine ind, 7 itconcadar chucca in curach, 7 docuired Munramur dia fis, 7 dobōi occ fiarfaigid scél de 7 adubairt-som, nā dingnead a sloindid d'óenduine, 7 dorala eturru 7 Munramar 7 tuc cris a chlaidim tar¹ a dornaib Munramair, 7 docuired² Dubthach sis annseicc. Dorigni in cētna fris. Dochūaid Cúchulaind sis andsin 7 ní derna scéla dó-séicc fós, 7 atorchair eturra 7 Coinculaind 7 nír chumaing Cúchulaind ní dō ar tir.

"Matá th' engnum mara mar atá t'engnum téire," ar sē Cúchulaind, "is maith do chomlann."

"Darleam-sa ní messa m' engnam mara," ar sē; 7 dochūadar for muir, 7 nír'chumaing Cúchulaind ní dō fós, nocor léicc in gái bulgai chuice 7 gor'marbh é.

"Dēna do slondud bodega," bar Cúchulaind, "uair tairnic do ré."

"Ainfer Aiffe missi," ar sé, "7 mac do Choinculaind mac Sualtair," 7 rucusdar leis ar a muin é connic in mbaile irrabdar Ulaid, ocus deismirecht air:—

"Trom n-aire
tucus lim tar Mag nEne!
airm móra mo maic im'lāim
iss a faidb 'sa[n] lāim eile."

¹ tara MS.

² docuirid MS.

TRANSLATION.

When Cuchulinn went to study arms in Alba with Scathach and she gave her daughter Aife to him, and he left her pregnant and went himself to Ireland, he said to her: "Here is a gold arm-ring for you; and if it be a son which you will bring forth, send him to me in Ireland as soon as his wrist fills the ring. Call him Ainfer Aife, and tell him not to reveal his name to any single person in Ireland."

She gave birth to a son, and did with him as she had been told. She taught him all feats of arms except the Gai Bulga feat, for his father had taken the Gai Bulga with him to Ireland. When Ainfer Aife came to Ireland, the men of Ulster were assembled in Mag Ene. They saw the curach coming towards them, and Munremar was sent to ask tidings of him; but Ainfer Aife said that he would not tell his name to any single person. Then ensued a combat between him and Munremar, and he put the belt of his sword across the wrists of Munremar. Then Dubthach was sent down. He did the same to him. Cuchulinn then went down, and still he did not tell him any tidings. Both fought, but Cuchulinn was not able to do anything to him on land.

"If your skill at sea is as it is on land," said Cuchulinn, "your fight is good."

"Methinks no worse is my skill at sea," said he; and they went out to sea. Still Cuchulinn was unable to do aught to him, until he hurled the Gai Bulga at him and killed him.

"Tell your name now," said Cuchulinn, "for your time has come."

"Ainfer Aife I am," said he, "son of Cuchulinn, son of Sualtam." Then he takes him on his back to the place in which the men of Ulster were, and there is a token of it [viz. this verse]:¹

"Heavy the burden
I have borne across Mag Ene !
The great weapons of my son in one hand,
And in the other his spoils."

¹ Lit. "There is an example on it"—a phrase of common occurrence in the Laws and Glossaries.

[P. 843.] Rohagrad Cúchulaind annsin ō Ulltaib 7 urraid achaigthi hē a n-Ulltaib 7 leth corpdire úad ina māc. Uair a n-imraichni romarbustar é 7 indilsech¹ ar-richt dīlsigh é, ciarbo chomracc.

Cid fodera leth corpdire úad ind 7 a marbad a n-imraichne 7 conid comracc dorignestar?

Is ed fāth fodera ger' comracc é. Uair nī haititin² tuaithe nā cineoil dorindé.

Cid fodera leth corpdire d'ic do Choinculaind ina mac?

Uair ropo deoraid³ a n-Ulltaib é mad roba hi sídaib dosein. Fead trichad⁴ cét Muirhemne doboí d'feronn dīlis aicce ind-Ulltaib 7 urraid essem 7 deoraid a mac 7 a breith do Concobhur in leth corpdire.

Cid fodera a breith do Concobur in leth?

Nī hansa. Iss ed fodera. Fingalach Cúchulainn, 7 nochabeir ind fingalach díbad nā corpdirí. Iss é coibdelach is nessa dō Concobar ocus in leth corpdiré do breith dó.

Mád rob Ulltach, is dīlsech hirricht dīlsigh é. Muna roba dīb eter é, is dīlsech ina richt féin a breith do Choncobur a dūalgus dīgaindechta.

¹ indilsec MS.
⁴ trichaid MS.

² haititin corrected from haititi MS.

³ deoraig MS.

Cuchulinn was then sued by the men of Ulster; and he was adjudged a native of Ulster, and half the wergeld was [exacted] from him for his son. For he had slain him in mistake, and he was an innocent person in the guise of a guilty person, although it was a combat.

What caused half the wergeld [to be exacted] from him for it, and his killing him in mistake, and that it was combat which he made?

This is the reason which caused it, though it was combat: that it was not with consent of tribe or race that he did it.

What was the cause that Cuchulinn should pay half-wergeld for his son?

Because he was a stranger in Ulster, even though he belonged to them (?). The extent of a cantred of Murthemne was his own land in Ulster, and thus he was [adjudged] a native, and his son a stranger, and to Conchobar was given the half-wergeld.

What caused the half to be given to Conchobar?

Not difficult. This is the cause. Cuchulinn was a parricide, and the parricide takes not inheritance or wergeld. Conchobar was the nearest kinsman to him, and the half-wergeld was [accordingly] given to him.

If he had been an Ulsterman, he would have been a guiltless person in the guise of a guilty one. If he had not been of them at all, he was a guilty person in his own guise . . .¹ to be given to Conchobar as the price of indemnification.

¹ Something seems omitted before *a breith*.

THE QUARREL ABOUT THE LOAF.

BOOK OF LEINSTER, P. 46a.

In *Gilla.*

Α ხαιρζεν, ατάι ι հցածս,
ուսւն-քայցե է' մինածս,]
ոօշոտ-ձան¹ ի Լացեն ու,
ի ացա ι ուցար ու յետչե.

In *Čalleč.*

Բատ-ձան Մոյիկան² մօլեւած,
ի ատ-ձան Ծըբալլ³ ի Ծօբեած⁴ ;
ի ատ-ձան Լոյկան և աւեր ցալ,
ի ատ-ձան Դոմնալ մաց Մոյեար.⁵

In *Gilla.*

Անտ-ձան Բինցին⁶ ու Աւլիլ,⁷ 10
օսր Տաօ Բաւլու յօբինո ;
նիտ-ձան Դոմնալ⁸ և Վն Լայր,
նիտ-ձան Տինե մաց Կոլման.⁹

In *Čalleč.*

Բատ-ձան Մաէլկալնե¹⁰ ու օտէ,
ի ատ-ձան Օենցուր¹¹ ու ո-պարուած ;
ի ատ-ձան Եօձ¹² Այցրան¹³ օրո
ի ոտ-ձան Ելեյրած օսր Տաօ. 15

In *Gilla.*

Ոօշոտ-ձան¹⁴ Վոնօւած մաց Բինո,
ու Չելլաչան ձիթ յոցինո ;
ոօշոտ-ձան¹⁵ Կոնալ ու օտէ,
ու Չաթայրած¹⁶ ու Ծօբեած.¹⁷ 20

¹ նիւման Facs. Another possible emendation would be նիտ-ձուոք; so below, յոտ-ձուոք (21) (J. S.). ² Ա. ի հաւ Մոյրուաց. ³ ի Լացեն. ⁴ ի Բօշարտ Անդր ա զու Քսան Ծօբեաց նոմինատուր. ⁵ ի հաւ ոնցելա. ⁶ ի Մուման.

⁷ ի հաւ Կոնալ Ցաբրա. ⁸ ի Երշարտ հեպռն. ⁹ ի Ծարրաւայր.

¹⁰ ի ու բորտած. ¹¹ ի հաւ Քալց. ¹² Over the *a* an illegible letter. Professor Strachan thinks it may be *p*, abbreviated for *proprium*, 'a proper name.'

TRANSLATION.

The Gillie.

O loaf, thou art in danger !
 Thou shalt not get thy protection ;
 The King of Leinster will not save thee from it,^a
 Thou shalt go after thy fellow.^b

The Old Woman.

Glorious Morgan will save thee ;
 So will Cearbhall and Cobhthach ;
 So will Lorcan who sets fight in motion,
 And Domhnall, son of Murchadh.

The Gillie.

Finghin will not save thee, nor Ailioll ;
 Nor^c Tadhg of sweet Rathlinn.
 Domhnall from Dún Láir will not save thee,
 Nor Suibhne, son of Colman.

The Old Woman.

Maolcailne of the battles will save thee,
 And Aonghus of the high bounties.
 Noble Ugran will save thee ;
 So will Tresach and Tadhg.

The Gillie.

Donnchadh, son of Rinn, will not save thee,
 Nor keen, very pleasant Ceallachan ;
 Conall of the battles will not save thee,
 Nor Catharnach, nor Cobhthach.

He suggests ματαιμεῖα, a peculiar ἥ future from ἀντίο.

¹⁴ ποένοταιν Facs.

¹⁵ πιταιν Facs.

¹³ πι λαΐζι.

¹⁷ πι huα mbaθamna.

¹⁶ πι huα ταρροίς.

^a Viz. from the danger.

^b Viz. the other loaf.

^c Literally 'and.'

In Cailleach.

Ros-dáinre Feoradhán Liomna,¹
 ocuig Tánaid a táeb iarba;²
 Ías-dáin Ciarmach³ Sláne feinig
 ocuig Cellaé mac Céirbhaill.⁴

In Silla.

Nít-bérlat Lágin Loigá
 ó Táirghealbaé bóramha;⁵
 nocht-geábat a gileó gáin,
 nít-bérlat Leó a himmairbáin.⁶

25

In Cailleach.

Ailill móri mac Dúnlaing duinn,
 noibrír reét caéda róig Leit Cúin,
 noibrír reét caéda aile
 róig Mumain na rísgriáidhe.

30

Siúlra Mumon ó Cúin co Cliu
 immot⁷ bheiret arra. Leit aonu,
 Siúlra Connacht a hEctze úair,
 Siúlra feir ní hÉireann ria hóen-úair.

35

Óa clóra rí Liomna Lán,
 ríppairdeir in t-ímmhóilláin,⁸
 betír colla ve can cén,
 óa mbao é bhráonuib boirbheano.

40

Mo éobairg do rígs níme,
 n' óen-mac Mairle inngíne,
 ní éuala rígs bao feirri cnuic
 nó rír-mad feirri aifritiú.

Ní éuala rígs bua feirri ciall
 [1]ná bhráonuib na mbóirb-giall,
 'ná bao feirri do éuir éatá
 ná do éairíntum anfílaetha.

45

¹ mac Feoradhára a fórártasib.

² .1. roim 7 Coirbá i nhuib Dúnchadha.

³ rí feir na Cenél.

⁴ m. . . .

⁵ anímmairbáis Facs.

⁶ Leg. 'mot.

⁷ intímmhóilláin Facs.

The Old Woman.

Lorcan of Liamhain will save thee,
 And Tadhg from beside Iarb (?),
 Ciarmac of slender Slane will save thee,
 And Ceallach, the son of Cearbhall.

The Gillie.

Fiery Leinstermen will not carry thee off
 From Toirdhealbhach of the tribute ;
 They will not seize thee by perilous fight :
 They will not take thee with them from contention.

The Old Woman.

Great Ailioll, son of Dunlaing the Dun,
 Won seven battles over Conn's Half ;
 He won seven other battles
 Over Munster of the kings.

The challenge (?) of Munster from Carn to Cliu
 About carrying thee hence,
 The challenge of Connaught from cold Slieve Aughyt,
 The challenge of the men of Ireland at the same time.

If the perfect king of Liamain should hear,
 The battle will be fought ;
 There would be bodies without a head in consequence of it,^a
 If it were fierce, strong Brandubh.^b

My confession to the King of Heaven,
 To the only son of Mary the Maiden !
 I have not heard of a king that was better of shape,
 Or who liked music better.

I have not heard of a king of better understanding
 Than Brandubh of the proud hostages,
 Nor better to wage battle,
 Nor for the putting down of tyranny.

^a *I.e.* of eating the loaf.

^b *Viz.* that were alive now.

Ír mór aistríubhairt in rí
Máelruáin, [10] ba fádt co rí:
“téigear ní Lágen doarí tuairí,
nó tásbhíar fíall co Templaig!”

In ceno aistríubhairt fein,
Máelruáin, [10] ba fádt co neim,
ír é Íarlaonuabh jo benn¹ ve
dha Maírt ari maiç Almaine.

Romairb Ailill Connacét cíúaid
írrin leigis ri Templaig aistríuair;
iomairbh Donncaid mac Néill glain
írrin¹ cétair ór Chaoimhne-mais.

Slúaidh Mumon, ír móri in nál,
táetlatai tseirín n-ímmhíorrán,
Mumniú ocuif na Lágnis
comhaiscrait im óen-baigín.

Mionáig, Connacétair ari cíu
ocuif Ultairg na n-árlomáin;
rlóis Mumon cuimhne h-abhainb,
comhaiscrait im óen-baigín.

Fír h-éireann ó thumto co tuino,
ní hímmhírbáig im móri-ruíll,
nocht béríat ó Lágnis,
tiamhbitir buaig o' óen-baigín.

A.

Gilla ríis Mumon 7 calleáid Lágnis doimhígní in n-ímmhí-
báig seo ac Líff na Calligí i cíu Maighe Ósála. Uaipr i
mbíataisgeáit jo báid rí anoirín do ríis Lágen .i. do Chearbhall
mac Muimicáin. Co táinig gilla ríis Mumon ari búnannácht da
tig-rí, ari na cíupí do ríis Mumon d'fírr a ceta, ari bá bádáis
anoirínt in challeáid. Ír anó jo báid fáiní na n-árlomáin ari cíu
in gillaí i tig na calligí. Tucaid in chéit-baigín jo fáinead
deiridh i fiaoraíair in gillaí comhúaid. Uaipr ní fítear in challeáid
naidh do fíoraidh cínaid táinig in gilla. Robair immórríodh ac fáiní

¹ Recte jo benn.² Leg. 'rín.³ níomairíam Facs.

It is to him spake the king,
Maolduin—'twas a cause with venom—
“ Let the king of Leinster go over the sea,
Or let him bring a hostage to Tara.”

The head that said that—
Maolduin—'twas a cause with venom—
'Tis Brandubh that cut it off,
On a Tuesday, on the plain of Allen,

He slew brave Ailioll of Connaught,
In the plain to the north of Tara ;
He slew Donnchadh, the son of pure Niall,
On the Wednesday, above the plain of Carman.

The hosts of Munster—great is the deed—
Will fall through the contest.
Munstermen and the Leinstermen
Will encounter each other about one loaf.

Meathmen, Connaughtmen in front (?),
And Ulstermen of the high diadems,
The hosts of Munster to the rivers
Will come together about one loaf.

The men of Ireland from sea to sea—
It is not a contention about great pride (?)—
Will not carry off from Leinster,
If they should be thankful for one loaf.

A servant of the King of Munster and an old woman of Leinster made this dispute at the abode of the woman at the end of Magh Dala ; for she was there in hospitallership to the King of Leinster, *i.e.* to Cearbhall, the son of Murican. A servant of the King of Munster came on billet to her house, having been sent by the King of Munster to ascertain her permission (?) ; for the old woman was contentious and stubborn. There was baking for the ploughmen, when the servant arrived in the woman's house. The first loaf thereof that was baked was put before the servant, so that he ate it, for the woman did not know that it was not simply to beg that the servant had

baileagene aile uona ariemnaib. Conio aro atbeyit in gilla: “A ben,” ari ré, “uéna in mbapgin riu ní ari feirí anodair dojungnir in mbapgin a cianainb.” “Cia dectiu i faili-riu don bapgin út?” ari in challec, “uáir ní é? ari-riu téit ria.” “Téit immorri,” ari in gilla, “uáir m'aithigír in bapgen a cianainb 7 mo [p]úim-chuit in bapgen út, uáir if forí búannacéit do decháuif ó ríis Mumon.” “Is ón ómm!” ari in caillec, “io gáib a commairsi forír in bapgen ro; uáir atá rí forí commairge ríis Lagan.”

Conio ανο στέφετ in γιλλα: "Α βαριγεν ασάι 7 μλ." Ρασομπασιρετ λαζιν 7 ριρ Mumon ιμμε ριν, co πο ευριτ τρία σατά ετυρρυ.

come. Another loaf, however, was being baked for the ploughmen. And then the servant said : "Woman," says he, "make that loaf better than you made the loaf a while ago." "Why do you trouble yourself about that loaf," said the woman, "since it is no business of yours?" "It is, then," said the servant, "for the cake just now was my first snack, and that cake is my chief portion, for it is on billet from the King of Munster I have come." "Oh! indeed!" said the woman. "This loaf has got its protection against thee, as it is under the protection of the King of Leinster."

'Twas then the servant said : "O loaf, thou art in danger, &c." On that account the Leinstermen and the men of Munster met together, and three battles were fought between them.

Beath Ónual Ídeóil róimh aonáil ná c' Íomháinn-ré an rón ro oo éup i n-eagair fáil óg-éongnád ó fáidhail ó na h-ollaónnaib oírpóidearca 7 na h-íos-ígholáinib Ídeóilge uí mar aon Seoigheán Stílacháin 7 Cúinó Meirí. Faoi fáidhail 7 rónar oírt a dílson.

NOTES.

L. 3. *The King of Leinster*, i.e. Cerball mac Muirecán. For an account of this king, see Dr. Kuno Meyer's edition of Dallan's poem on Cerball's sword, *Rev. Celt.* xx., p. 7.

L. 5. Μυριαν .i. ηι ήια μυριαντις. See note to *φέλιπε Δονγυρα*, 21st June, “in Οιρηντ Οιαρματα i η-ηιβ μυριεντις.” Castledermot, Co. Kildare, is in ήιι μυριαντις. Ua Muireadhaigh was the tribe-name of the O'Tooles (Index Ann. Ul.).

L. 6. Σοβτας .i. ηι φοθαιητ ηάιρ a quo Ρυβα Σοβταις nominatur. King of Fotharta Naas, from whom Rathcoffey (?) is called. Rathcoffey is near Clongowes College, nine miles north of Naas. Cf. Ρυβα Κοναιλ, AU. 802. Modern, Rathconnell.

L. 7. Lorcan: see note on l. 21.

L. 8. Domhnall, son of Murchadh (Μυρέαρο metri gratiā for Μυρέαρα), ηι ήια ηζαβλα, which is in the south of Co. Kildare. The *Féilire* of Aengus, in a note to May 16, speaks of the rule of Domnall, son of Murchad, ήι φλαιθ Οομναιλ μιc μυρέαρα.

L. 9. Ρινγιν ηι Μυμαν. “Ριονγκιμε, ηι Μυμαν, ηο μαρθασ λα η ηενέλ ηειν” (FM., A.D. 897), AU., A.D. 902. In the previous year: “Κοεμ्कλούη ηιγ, Σαιριηλ .i. Σορμας μαc Κυιλενναιη ηαρ έηη Κινγκεγαη .i. Ρινγκιμε. For the double spelling Ρινγιν and Ρινγκιμε, cf. B. of Lein., p. 274, b 23; “ηηλαη Ρινγιν ηαρηρουηη ηονεεάιν-ηη co Κατάλλ μαc Ρινγκιμε.” According to the Index to Ann. of Ulster, he was the son of Dublachtna.

Lb. Διλιλ, ηι ήια Κοναιλ Σαθρα, a territory corresponding to the present baronies of Upper and Lower Connello, in Co. Limerick.

L. 10. Κατλινο. According to O'Donovan's note to the Four Masters, A.D. 903, a place in Co. Cork. Κότ Λαιοi near Macroom (?)

L. 12. Σubne mac Colmáin, the father of Ροζαρτας .i. ηεναηο μαc Συιβνε, ηιγεηηα Σιαρραηις Συιρη (now the Barony of Kerrycurrihy in Co. Cork), who fell in the Battle of Ballaghmoone. See the Four Masters, A.D. 903.

L. 13. Μαελαιλη, ηι ηα φορτιας (viz. Λαιγεη). He was the son of Fergal. See Three Fragments, p. 212.

L. 15. Εηα, as a proper name, occurs in AU. 780, 795, 800.

Lb. Σιγράν = Αιγράν μαc Κεννέτης ηι Λαιέρε, AU. 917. He perished in the Battle of Cinnfuit (Confey, in the Barony of Salt, Co. Kildare), against the Norse.

L. 16. Τηερρας, identical with Τηερρας μαc θεccάη ηι ήια ηθαρέη, mentioned in a poem by Dallán mac Móre, LL. p. 47 a 46.

L. 17. Οοννέαη μαc Ρηη.. The surname Ring is still not uncommon.

L. 18. Cellachan, King of Cashel, died 954 (AU.).

L. 19. Φλαη μαc Κοναιλ, ηαη ηηλεηα ηθαιη (i.e. of Emly, Tipperary), died A.D. 904 (AU.).

L. 20. Σαθαιηας, ηι ήια Ταγγαη, King of Ui Tassaigh. According to O'Donovan (Three Fragments, p. 218, note v), Carn Tasaigh was the residence of the chief of Ui-Liathain, now the Barony of Barrymore, Co. Cork.

L. 21. Λορκάη Λιαμη, i.e. of Liamain, otherwise called Dún Liamhna, now Dunlavan, Co. Dublin. Cf. η ταεη Λιαμη η Μηη Λαιγεη, F. Οεη., May 3.

L. 22. Σορβα i ηηιης Ούνηαη. Cf. O'Don., FM., A.D. 956: “The Ui Dunchadha were a tribe seated in that district of the county of Dublin through

which the Dodder flows." Cf. Fél. Oeng., March 3: ó Chill Céli Críct i n-úib Dúnchaoa i Laigníb; *ib.*, h1 tig Thacra a n-úib Dúnchaoa; *ib.*, Dec. 31, Lócán 7 Énoa ó Cill manac i nhúair Dúnchaoa atá.

L. 24. *Cellac mac Ceirbáill Templaí*, AU. 908.

L. 29. "Ailill mac Dúnlainge regis Laginensium a Nordmannis interfectus est," AU. 871.

L. 33. *Cárn*. *Cárn* uí Néir, near Mizen Head. *Cárn* Fothartha, Carnsore Point. *Cárn*, near Knockany, in Limerick.

L. 35. *Ectze*, now Slieve Aughty, or Baughta, Co. Clare.

L. 46. Brandubh, son of Eacha, was King of Leinster from A.D. 574 to 604 (AU.). In 589 he defeated the Uí Neill at Magh Octair in Kildare (*cf.* ll. 59, 60). In 596 he slew Cummcas mac Aedha at Dún bucéat, Dunboyke, Hollywood, Co. Wicklow. In 597 he slew the high-king himself, Aedh, son of Ainmire, at Dunbolg, near Donard, a little to the south of Dunboyke. This Aedh must be the Maeldun of ll. 50, 54. It is strange that each of these lines is too short by a syllable in MS. In 604 he was defeated by the Uí Neill at Slaebhre, and treacherously slain.

L. 57. I cannot trace the reference.

L. 60. W. M. Hennessy, *sub an.* 840, AU., places Carman in the south of Co. Kildare.

Fingin, or Fionnguine, nicknamed Cenngegan, gave place to or was deposed by Cormac mac Cuilennain in 901, and was slain in the next year. Dubhlactna, King of Cashel, that is, of Munster, died in 895 (AU.). So the dispute about the loaf must have taken place between 895 and 901.

The Leinstermen and the Munstermen fought three battles against one another in consequence of the dispute.

Sloigeadó la flann mac Maoilrechlaínn 7 la Ceirbáill mac Muirneagáin co riota Muirnean go jo hionnraibh leibh ó Íshobhain go Luimneac (FM. 901, *recte* 905).

Battle of Moylena (906), between Munster and Leath Cuinn.

The great battle of Ballaghmoone, in 908.

No great expedition against Fingin is mentioned by the Four Masters, or by the Annals of Ulster.

tomás p. ua nuailláin, m.e.

ANECDOTON.

MS. 23 N 10, R.I.A., p. 20.

For variants ("The
Termit's Song") and
translation,
see *Eriu*, ii, 55.

M' oenaran *im* aireglan gan duinen *im* gnais :
Robu inmain ailethran re ndul a ndail bais.
Bothan derrit diamarda do dilgud gach clouin,
Cubus direch dianim doc[h]um nime noeimh.
Noemad cuirp la sobesuib saltra ferrda fair (l. for),
Suili tlaithi do deraib do dilgud mo tol.
Tola fandu feogaide, freitech domain ce,
Coigle bana beodaige,¹ ba si digde De.
Donala *co* ndilochta dochum nime nel,
Coibsen fiala firealta,² frosa diana dér.
Dergud aduar aitigi³ amuil talgud troch,
Codlad gairit gaibtigi,⁴ diucra minic moch.
Mo tuaru mo tuinide robu inmuin cacht :
Ni dingena cuilide mo longad gan acht.
Aran toimsi tirmaide tailc donair tend gnuis
Uisci⁵ lerga ligmaisi, basi deoch nodluis.
Longad serba semide, men, mil, lebar leir,
Lamh fri cach fri ceilide, coubus rotend reidh.
Robad inmain airaide (i. eccosc) ainim nechta naom,
Leicne tirma tanaige,⁶ gnuis coignide caol.
Reim fri seta soiscela, sailmcetal cach træth,
Cluas fri rath fri roscéla filliud glune gngath.
Crist mac De dom ait[h]iged, mo duilem mo rí,
Mo menma mo atachhi gusin flaith ambidh.
Ba si baes fomtemadar eter lesuib land,
Locan aluind iladlan ⁷ me am aonar and.
M'aonaran dam *am* aireclán *am* ænar firfi luath,
M'oenar tanac forsan mbith *am* ænar dolluidh⁷ uadh.

M.

J. STRACHAN.

¹ = beódaide ² leg. firetla Meyer ³ leg. áichthide Meyer. ⁴ leg. gáibhthide Meyer. ⁵ This is probably what is meant, but the word would more naturally be read uisín. ⁶ = tanaide. ⁷ leg. dollod Meyer.

[Like the poem on p. 122, the present poem had to be transcribed and printed at the last moment to fill a vacant page. When it was already in type, an edition and translation arrived from Professor Meyer. Some textual emendations of his have been added. His translation and notes will appear in the next Part.—J. S.]

ANALOGY IN THE VERBAL SYSTEM OF MODERN IRISH

IN Irish, as in other languages, two processes are found at work in the transition from its earlier to its later forms, one of decay, the other of growth. Where inflexions have been so worn away by the action of phonetic laws as to be confused with one another, the old system is bound to break down ; and if the linguistic consciousness of any particular period feels the inflexions to be superfluous, they are merged together or entirely dropped.

On the other hand, there are certain distinctions, such as those of number, person, and tense, which no inflected language can do without ; and when the old forms fail to express these clearly, more obvious and distinctive forms must take their place. Thus, though Modern Irish is still well inflected, a large proportion of its inflexions are not directly connected with the corresponding ones in O. Ir. They are fresh analogical formations, breaking the historic continuity of the accidence ; and therefore from one point of view they are corruptions ; but they serve the purposes of language as well as the so-called original inflexions, or even better, and the fact that we can trace the beginnings of the new system gives a special interest to our investigation of it. I purpose to examine, on these grounds, one tense of the modern verb, the preterite active, and to account for its most striking developments.

My examples of the modern language will be taken almost entirely from the dialect best known to me, that of Mid-Cork. All the dialects of West Munster are rich in inflexions. For instance, the preterite always has distinct forms for person and number, the "analytic" forms of the modern grammarian being almost unknown in this tense. A difficulty arises as to the spelling of the examples. Obviously the conventional Gaelic orthography will not do. On the other hand, an accurate representation of spoken sounds, apart from difficulties of alphabet and

type, demands in the writer a special training in phonetics which I do not possess, and to a certain extent presupposes a similar training in the reader. I think it best therefore to use the ordinary system as far as it will go, dropping silent letters, using *ui* rather than *ai* for *i* after a broad consonant; adopting Father O'Leary's *úto* for *t* preceded and followed by a broad consonant; using *au* for the sound of English *ou* in *house* as pronounced in Ireland, *aui* for the same followed by a palatal. (The nasal *au* of Déisi-Irish is not found in Cork.) The examples given are arranged under what may be called the stem of the third person singular in the standard form.

Already in the language of the Glosses the wearing down process has gone very far. Even if we had no proof of the fact, we might postulate that such weak endings as sg. 1 *-cúala*, 2 *-cúala*, 3 *-cúale* had not long to live. The last became regularly *-cuala*. How were the persons to be distinguished? It is often assumed that the reduplicated past simply took the endings of the S-preterite in the first and second persons. But at the present day the first person is *chuala* in West Munster. It is to the third person we must look for the origin of a new suffix which has done much to alter the verbal system of Middle and Modern Irish.

In O. Ir. 3 sg. *-dechuid* beside 3 pl. *-dechutar* gave the impression of a stem *dech-* with endings *-uid* and *-atar*. The same stem also appears in 1 pl. *dechummar* for *-*dechdammar*. By the Mid. Ir. period it is evident that the words were so analysed. Other dental stems would strengthen the impression—*cechlaid* beside *cechlatar*, *aduaid* beside *aduatar*, and so on. When we find such a form as *mebais* fluctuating with *ro mebaid*, we are justified in concluding that in the mind of a twelfth-century speaker the old reduplicated past *me-maid* had become *mem-aid*, that is to say, had evolved a new root *mem-* and a new termination *-aid*. What more natural than to employ this suffix, already associated with the reduplicated past, to strengthen the weakest point in the O. Ir. verbal system, the reduplicated forms ending in a vowel? A speaker who used sg. 3 *do-chuaid* beside pl. 1 *do-chuamar*, 2 *do-chuabair*, 3 *do-chuatar*, would unconsciously say sg. 3 *-chualaid* to match pl. 1 *-chualamar*, 2 *chualabair*, 3 *chualatar*. In Mid. Ir. both *atchuala* and *atchualaid* are found. (Atkinson, 'Passions and Homilies,' p. 552, erroneously classes the latter as

a present base formed from a perfect stem.) In early Modern Irish *do-chualaith* is common. Cf. *ni faccuid* Wi. Ir. Tex. I. 139, 18. To judge by *ni tharlaid* SR. 3668, *do-t-ralaid* ib. 1307, the suffix had begun to spread in the tenth century.

When the perfect sg. 2 *do-chuad*, *-dechad* was strengthened by the addition of the S-preterite ending, *-ais*, *-cuala* naturally followed suit; and we find a sg. 2 *-cualadais* LL. 296 b 32, 34, 35. Here the suffix is attached, not to *-cuala-*, but to the new base *-cualad-*. By this time we have got three quite distinct forms, sg. 1 *-cuala*, 2 *-cualadais*, 3 *-cualaid*, in a verb which threatened to become unipersonal in the sg.; and from these the modern colloquial forms sg. 1 *chuala*, 2 *chualuís*, 3 *chualuig* can be derived according to the usual laws of Munster phonetics. Of course the sg. 3 *-cuala* lived on side by side with *-cualaid*; and possibly the existence of such pairs may have contributed to the formation of the syntactical doublets to which I shall presently refer. For as *dh* = *gh*, the suffix *-aid* must have been even in Mid. Ir. indistinguishable from the *-aig* and *-ig* of denominative verbs.

The normal form of the preterite in Modern Irish has the endings of the S-pret. in the singular, and of the reduplicated past in the plural. Thus from *mol-* :

	sg.	pl.
1 do mholas		do mholamuir
2 „ mholuis		„ mholúir
3 „ mhol		„ mholadar

From *buaile-* :

	sg.	pl.
1 do bhuaileas		do bhuaileamuir
2 „ buaileas		„ buaileamúir
3 „ buaileas		„ buaileadar

It is to be noticed that the final *r* in the pl. 1 and 2 is always slender in Munster.

But departures from this standard are very numerous. Apart from archaic survivals these variations may be classified as due (I.) to phonetic laws, or (II.) to analogical formations, though at times it is not easy to draw the line between the two classes.

I. A full treatment of the purely phonetic variations would be out of place here. I may simply mention some typical cases, with special reference to those which throw light on Class II.

(a) Monosyllabic stems which lengthen or diphthongise the vowel in the 3 sg.—e.g. *fill* gives sg. 1 *d'ileas*, but 3 *d'ill*; from *gearr* sg. 1 *do ghearas*, 3 *do gheár*; from *cam* sg. 1 *do chamas*, 3 *do chaum*. In *cum* the long vowel of the 3 sg. *do chíum*, also regular in fut. and past part., has spread to all parts of the verb.

(b) Syncopated verbs may become apparently irregular from assimilation, &c.

Codail:

	sg.	pl.
1 do cholas		do cholamuir
2 „ choluis		„ cholúir
3 „ choduil		„ choladar

Taking the 3 sg. as a base, many speakers form sg. 1 *chodaluós*, 2 *chodaluís*. For such forms see Class II.

innis:

	sg.	pl.
1 d'ínseas		d'ínseamuir
2 d'ínsis		d'ínsiúir
3 d'íngis		d'ínseadar

(c) Very important is the treatment of stems ending in *gh*, *dh*, *bh*. The greater number are denominative verbs in *-igh*.

airigh:

	sg.	pl.
1 d'airíos		d'airíomuir
2 d'airís		d'airíúir
3 d'airig		d'airíodar
	d'aire sé	

árduigh:

1	d'árduíos	d'árduíomuir
2	d'árduís	d'árduíir
3	d'árduig	d'árduíodar
	d'árda sé	

Here we notice three things: the intervocalic *gh* with its following vowels is absorbed in the preceding vowel, which it

lengthens; *igh* disappears in 2 pl.; the 3 sg. has two forms. *D'airig* and *d'aire* are syntactical doublets, the latter being used when the subject is a following personal pronoun, the former in all other cases. Whether such doublets originated in cases like *do-chuala sé* beside *do-chualaidh*, in which the person being marked by the pronoun made it unnecessary to add the characteristic suffix *-aidh*, I cannot say. But similar doublets are also found in the fut. ind. of all verbs, *buailhig*, *buailhe sé*, *beig*, *be mé*, and so on. As it is unlikely that these had anything to do with the old absolute and conjunct terminations, it seems best to regard them as late phonetic growths, the enclitic pronoun allowing no pause after the verb, and causing the dropping of the final *gh* or *dh*, which elsewhere hardened into *g*. In that case the speech-unit *d'árdúi(gh)-sé* would be a parallel to the past part. *árdúi(gh)the*, where the *gh* disappears without compensatory lengthening. But the whole subject needs a full investigation. The *g-* forms are very rarely used with personal pronouns except in the case of monosyllabic verbs. Naturally in such verbs the vowel being stressed cannot become irrational.

nigh:

	sg.	pl.
1 do níos		do níomuir
2 „ nís		„ níúir
3 „ nig		„ níodar
	ní sé	

luigh:

1 do luíos	do luíomuir
2 „ luís	„ luíúir
3 „ luig	„ luíodar
	luí sé

suidh has 3 sg. *do shuig* (i.e. *hig*) even with pronouns.

Guidh has both *do ghuig se* and *do ghuī sé*.

Monosyllables with long vowels are—

báidh:

	sg.	pl.
1 do bhás		do bhámuir
2 „ bháis		„ bháúir
3 „ bháig		„ bhádar
	bhá sé	

brúigh:

	sg.	pl.
1	do bhrús	do bhrúmuir
2	„ bhrúis	„ bhrúuir
3	„ bhrúig	„ bhrúdar
	bhrú sé	

cuaidh:

1	do chuas	do chuamuir
2	„ chuaís	„ chuaúir
3	„ chuaig	„ chuadar
	chua sé	

dóigh:

1	do dhós	do dhómuir
2	„ dhóis	„ dhóúir
3	„ dhóig	„ dhódar
	dhó sé	

léigh:

1	do léas	do léamuir
2	„ léis	„ léúir
3	„ léig	„ léadar
	lé sé	

In *beirbh* a svarabhakti ȝ arises between *r* and *bh*, and the latter when intervocalic is treated like *gh*.

	sg.	pl.
1	do bheiríos	do bheiríomuir
2	„ bheirís	„ bheiriúir
3	„ bheiribh	„ bheiríodar

gabh is thus conjugated:

	sg.	pl.
1	do ghaus	do ghaumuir
2	„ ghauis	„ ghauúir
3	„ ghoibh	„ ghaudar

In sg. 3 the *bh* is slender. So *raibh* has sg. 1 *raus*, 3 *roibh*; the last might be also written *reibh*; but *raibh* does not represent the pronunciation of any district.

II. Among analogical formations one of the most interesting is *táinig*.

sg.	pl.
1 do <i>thánag</i>	do <i>thánamuir</i>
,, <i>thána-sa</i>	
2 „ <i>tháinís</i>	„ <i>thánúir</i>
3 „ <i>tháinig</i>	„ <i>thánadar</i>
<i>tháine sé</i>	

1 sg. *thána-sa* for *thánag-sa* is supported by other examples of 1 sg. in *a*, *chuala*, *thárla*, *feaca*. The plural forms then come from the stem *thán-*, *thánamuir* like *chualamuir*, &c. The 3 sg. *tháiníg*: *tháine* = *airig*: *aire*; that is to say, the 3 sg. is treated as if it were *tháinigh*, and by analogy the 2 sg. = *tháinighis*, like *airighis*.

cuala:

sg.	pl.
1 do <i>chuala</i>	do <i>chalamuir</i>
2 „ <i>chualuís</i>	„ <i>chualúir</i>
3 „ <i>chualuig</i>	„ <i>chualadar</i>
<i>chuala sé</i>	

I have already analysed these forms.

connaic:

sg.	pl.
1 do <i>chnoc</i>	do <i>chnocamuir</i>
2 „ <i>chnuicís</i>	„ <i>chnuciúir</i>
3 „ <i>chnuic</i>	„ <i>chnocadar</i>

With *chnoc* for *chonnac* cf. *cnubalach* for *conablach*. The modern forms point to a contamination of *adcondarc* and *conacca*. Mid. Ir. has both *-chonnairc* and *-chonnaic*. The 2 sg. has the termination *-is* characteristic of so many irregular verbs. The dependent form *feaca* is thus conjugated:—

sg.	pl.
1 <i>feaca</i>	<i>feacamuir</i>
2 <i>feacuís</i>	<i>feacúir</i>
3 <i>feacuig</i>	<i>feacadar</i>
<i>feaca sé</i>	

The prothetic *f*, best heard in *ná feaca*, is slender in Munster. It has thus fallen into line with the present stem, Keating's *faicim* being now *feicim* or *ficim*, verbal noun *fisgint*. For the

assimilation cf. O. Ir. *maicc*, later *meic* now *mic*; *cumail*, *cumil* now *cimil*; *coisceim* now *ciscéim*; *coimhead* now *cimedd*; *athair* now pronounced *aithir* (but gen. *athar*), &c.

adubhairt (= *ad-do-bert* for Mid. Ir. *at-ru-bairt*, O. Ir. *as-ru-bart*) the only surviving T-preterite, also takes *-ts* in 2 sg.:

	sg.	pl.
1	duart	dúramuir
2	dúirís	dúrúir
3	duairt	dúradar

The full forms *aduwart*, &c., are now confined to relative clauses; as in the case of *adeir*, *atá*, the *a* is treated as a separate relative particle. However, the *d*, as not originally initial, is not subject to aspiration, though it is to *eclipsis*, hence *ní duairt*, *go nuairt*. But in Connacht the verb is analysed as *d'uairt* and becomes *níor uairt* (commonly written *níor dhubbairt*), *gur uairt*, &c., on the analogy of regular verbs.

feadair:

	sg.	pl.
1	feadar	feadaramuir
2	feadaruís	feadarúir
3	feaduir	feadaradar
	feidir	

With sg. 1 *feadar*, 2 *feadaruís*, cf. *chuala* and *chualuís*. The *d* in 3 sg. *feaduir* has been broadened by analogy. But 3 sg. *ní eidir sé*, in the sense of "he did not know" (vid. Fr. O'Leary, "Aesop," Voc. xi.), points to O. Ir. *fitir*. The deponent *-ar* of the sg. is taken as a base for pl. endings.

do-rinne:

	sg.	pl.
1	do dhineas	do dhineamuir
2	" dhinis	dhiniúir
3	" dhin	dhineadar

In the present tense, the orthotonic form of this verb being disused, we find *déinim*. But on the analogy of *deirim*, fut. *déarhad*, and *beirim*, fut. *béarhad*, a commoner form is *deinim*, fut. *déanhad*. Now, as *teine* is pronounced *tine*, so *deinim* is generally pronounced *dinim*; and from *din-* the preterite is regularly formed. The latter would be supported by the vocalism

of *do-rinne*, which seems to have died out in West Munster. I may remark that the spelling *do dhéin*, general in Munster writers, is quite misleading, for the vowel of the preterite is always pronounced short. *Ní dhearna*, sometimes found in poetry as dependent 1 sg., is modelled on forms like *chuala*, &c.

congaibh. Here *ng* becomes slender, giving *cuingib*, or more commonly *cuinibh*, conjugated like *beirbh* above:

sg.	pl.
1 do chuiníos	do chuiníomuir
2 „ chuinís	„ chuiniúir
3 „ chuinibh	„ chuiníodar
<i>marbh</i> :	
1 do mharuíos	do mharuíomuir
2 „ mharuís	„ mharúir
3 „ mhairibh	„ mharuíodar

The 3 sg. keeps the old stem with the attenuation of reduplicated past. *Mairibh* is also the impv. 2 sg.; but the rest of this verb comes from a different stem *maruigh-*, which arises thus. The verbal noun *marbhadh* is regularly pronounced *marū*, just as *arbharr* = *arūr*. This is equated in the speaker's mind with the large class of verbal nouns in *-ughadh* (pr. *ū*) corresponding to denominative verbs in *-uighim*. So on the analogy of—

vn. <i>árdú</i>	we say	<i>marí</i>
„ gen. <i>árduithe</i>	„	<i>maruithe</i>
pres. ind. <i>árdúim</i>	„	<i>marúim</i>
fut. <i>árdód</i>	„	<i>maród</i>
pret. <i>d'árdúos</i>	„	<i>do mharuíos</i>

Why *do mhairbh* should be kept in the 3 sg. pret. in Cork, I cannot explain. Even this seems to have died out in many districts, for *mharbhuiugh* is often written. No doubt the *bh* is as purely ornamental here as in *marbhuiughim*. The attempt to exhibit at the same time both classical and colloquial forms gives rise to many monstrosities.

sgriobh:

sg.	pl.
1 do sgrios	do sgríomuir
2 „ sgrís	„ sgríúir
3 „ sgríg	„ sgríodar
sgrí sé	

Here the *bh* being flanked by vowels is lost, and the verb treated as if the stem ended in *gh*, for *sgríos* might represent *sgríghéas*. Hence the doublets in 3 sg. The impv. 2 sg. is *sgríg*, and vn. *sgrí*.

fuair :

	sg.	pl.
1	do fuaras	do fuaramuir
2	„ fuaruis	„ fuarúir
3	„ fuair	„ fuardar

The slender *r* of the 3 sg. has spread to the other persons in Kerry and elsewhere, but not in Cork. A form *fuaruís*, like *feadaruís*, seems to be coming into use for 2 sg. I have not heard it from good speakers. Why the negative should be *ní bhuardas* is not clear. *Ní* has the same effect on the present stem *fagh-*.

foghlaím :

	sg.	pl.
1	d'aulamuíos	d'aulamuíomuir
2	d'aulamuís	d'aulamúir
3	d'auluim	d'aulamuíodar

The stem is strengthened by *-uigh-* except in 3 sg. As mentioned above, this has no effect on 2 pl. The result is often a firmer base for the inflexions to rest upon, as will be evident to anyone who compares 1 pl. from old stem *d'aulamamuir* (accent on first syll.) with the longer form accented on the penult. It must also be remembered that the suffix *-uigh-* is constantly implied in the fut. of syncopated verbs.

In the same way *codail*, as already mentioned, sometimes makes sg. 1 *do chodalutos*, 2 *do chodaluís*.

In the same way :

imir :

	sg.	pl.
1	d'imiríos	d'imiríomuir
2	d'imirís	d'imiríúir
3	d'imir	d'imiríodar

iomchair :

1	d'iúmparuíos	d'iúmparuíomuir
2	d'iúmparuís	d'iúmparúir
3	d'iúmpuir	d'iúmparuíodar

fulaing is less regular :

	sg.	pl.
1	d'oluingíos	d'oluingeamuir
2	d'oluingís	d'oluingiúir
3	d'oluing	d'oluingeadar

The 3 sg. is sometimes *d'uilig*, from *d'fhuiling*.

aithin :

	sg.	pl.
1	d'ainthíos	d'ainthíomuir
2	d'ainthís	d'ainthúir
3	d'athin	d'athiníodar

Here are strengthening, metathesis, and a curious broadening of the first syllable in 3 sg. and pl.

tarraing :

	sg.	pl.
1	do thairigeas	do thairigeamuir
2	„ thairigis	„ thairigiúir
3	„ thairig	„ thairigeadar
	thaire sé	

This verb shows denasalisation of *ng*, a not uncommon phenomenon in Munster Irish. The 3 sg. is further weakened in what I may call the pronominal form. With *thaire* cf. *tháine*. *Tarraing*, 'draw,' and *tairg*, 'offer,' have now fallen together.

urshluig :

	sg.	pl.
1	d'úirlícos	d'úirlícomuir
2	d'úirlícís	d'úirlíciúir
3	d'úirlíc	d'úirlíciódar
	d'úirle sé	

Here we have weakening of the 3 sg., *d'úirle* as if from *d'úirligh*, and strengthening of the base in the other persons.

sgeith, sgéith :

	sg.	pl.
1	do sgéas	do sgéamuir
2	„ sgéis	„ sgéúir
3	„ sgéig	„ sgéadar

The stem is *sgéigh*; and 3 sg. *do sgéig* is used even with pronouns.

iompuigh shows the influence of *-uigh* stems. *Imb-sói* became *impoidh*, shortening the unaccented vowel of the root, and taking the usual dental suffix (cf. *clói*, later *claoi*, pret. 3 sg. now *do chluig*, *do chluí sé*), and *-oidh* sounding like *-uigh*, it fell into line with the denominative verbs.

	sg.	pl.
1	d'iúmpuós	d'iúmpuómuir
2	d'iúmpuís	d'iúmpúir
3	d'iúmpuig d'iúmpa sé	d'iúmpuódar

In all its parts this verb follows the same conjugation, as also another compound *ionntuigh* (= *ind-sói*), pret. *d'iúntuós*, &c. But the verbal nouns are *iúmpáil* and *iúntáil*.

áitreabh, a contamination of *aitreabh* and *ditigh*, is conjugated like the latter, *d'áitriós*, &c.

áirimh is treated as *áirigh*, losing the *mh* even in 3 sg., cf. *beirbh*.

Some verbs strengthen the 3 sg. only.

glaodh:

	sg.	pl.
1	do ghlaos	do ghlaomuir
2	„ ghlaeis	„ ghlaeúir
3	„ ghlaeig ghlae sé	„ ghlaodar

do ghlaeig sé is also used. *ghlaeig* is sometimes written *ghlaodhúigh*, but more often *ghlaoidh*, a very misleading spelling if we compare *chlaoidh* = *chluig*. With *ghlaeig*, *ghlae*, cf. *léig*, *lé*.

togh:

	sg.	pl.
1	do thaus	do thaumuir
2	„ thauis	„ thauúir
3	„ thauig thau sé	„ thaudar

lámh:

	sg.	pl.
1	do lás	do lámuir
2	„ láis	„ láúir
3	„ láig lá sé	„ ládar

Here *láig* and *lá* like *bháig* and *bhá*. The 3 sg. is written *lámhuigh*, intervocalic *mh* being silent; and when *gh* goes also, *lámhuigh* is actually shorter than *lámh*, just as the pl. *lámha* (pr. *lā*) is shorter than the sg. *lámh*.

snámh:

	sg.	pl.
1	do shnás	do shnámuir
2	„ shnáis	„ shnáúir
3	„ shnáig	„ shnádar
	shná sé	

In this verb, unlike the preceding, the vowel is nasal, for the aspirate *sh* (= *h*), being followed by a nasal, is of necessity entirely nasal itself, and gives the tone to the whole syllable.

deachaidh, the dependent form of *do chuaidh*, may conveniently be classed here; though from the historic point of view it is not the strengthening of the 3 sg., but the weakening of the other parts, that produces the irregularity:

	sg.	pl.
1	deaghás	deaghámuir
2	deaghais	deaghúir
3	deaghaig	deaghadar
	deagha sé	

eagha(i) is a diphthong like *i* in English 'mice.' The older *deach-* has here become *deagh-*, perhaps under the influence of the fut. *ragh-*. On the other hand, outside Munster, the levelling process has produced *rach-*, like *deach-*.

The above list is not exhaustive; but it probably contains types of all varieties likely to occur in the spoken language. Of course the poetic style has traditions of its own. In identifying the exact forms used by the older generation of native speakers in Mid-Cork, I have relied chiefly upon the generous and never-failing help of Tadhg Ó Murchadha, well known to lovers of pure and idiomatic Gaelic by the name of 'Seandún.' To Prof. Strachan also, who has read a proof of this article, my thanks are due for some useful hints and criticisms.

A word as to the use of the particle *do*. It is generally prefixed, in slow and deliberate speech, to all preterites except dependent forms. In (*a*)*dubháirt* (= *ad-do-bert*) it is infix.

Fr. O'Leary, "Mion-chain," III. 18, says: "This particle is frequently omitted, as the aspiration of the first letter of the verb supplies its place. Before vowels and unaspirable consonants it is not omitted." In relative clauses it generally becomes *a*; and this *a* disappears before vowels. Its equivalent *ro* (in *nior*, &c.) has spread to most of the irregular verbs. Thus *nior tháinig* rather than *ní tháinig*, but *ná táinig* and *go dtáinig* are still common. However, a discussion of the verbal prefixes belongs rather to syntax, and is outside the present inquiry.

O. J. BERGIN.

THE INFIXED PRONOUN IN MIDDLE IRISH

THE use of the infixed pronoun in Old Irish has been made clear by the labours of Sommer¹ and Pedersen.² The following is an attempt to illustrate its development in Middle Irish. In this, as in other investigations into Middle Irish, it must be ever borne in mind that Middle Irish is in a greater or less degree an artificial literary language in which forms linger on after they have disappeared from ordinary use, and may even be revived according to the reading and the taste of the writer.³ In such an artificial language it is idle to look for the regularity of development which is found in popular speech. In this literary Irish are found many linguistic monstrosities which never formed part of the living language of Ireland; further, when a genuine old form is revived, it may be used as it never was when it was a living form. As we shall see below, the evidence of the *Lebor na hUidre* indicates that already in the eleventh century the infixed pronoun was a moribund form; how long it survived in the living tongue I have no evidence to show.

To illustrate the use of the infixed pronoun in literary Middle Irish I have selected a number of what seemed to me to be representative texts. They are the following:—

SR. = *Saltair na Rann*.⁴ This poem was written towards the end of the tenth century, and forms the natural starting-point of any investigations into Middle Irish. But it is preserved in a manuscript of the twelfth century, so that some caution must be exercised in the use of it; in particular much stress must not be laid on isolated forms not supported by the metre.

¹ CZ. I. 177 sq.

² KZ. xxxv. 400 sq.

³ A late and exaggerated example of the archaic style is the *Life of Hugh Roe O'Donnell*, written in the beginning of the seventeenth century. The work has been edited by the Rev. Denis Murphy, S.J., Dublin, 1895.

⁴ Ed. Stokes, Oxford, 1883.

TT. = *Togail Trói*¹ (LL. 217^a-244^b).

LG. = *Lebor Gabála* (LL. 1^a-26^b, omitting the verse).

Bor. = *Boroma* (LL. 294^b-308^a).

Nenn. = the Irish version of Nennius (BB. 203-211). The original text belongs to the eleventh century. There is a fragment of the work in LU. 3, 4. The Book of Ballymote version is not free from corruptions.²

Aen. = the Story of the Aeneid (BB. 449-485).

LS. = Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore.³ Here I have made use of the collections prefixed to Dr. Stokes' edition.

MC. = The Vision of Mac Conglinne.⁴

PH. = Passions and Homilies from the *Leabhar Breac*.⁵ For this Dr. Atkinson's glossary has been used.

MG. = The Martyrology of Gorman,⁶ a poetical composition of the twelfth century.⁷

In addition I have before me a collection of the pronominal forms in the *Lebor na hUidre*, from which I have quoted so far as has seemed expedient. It might have been expected *a priori* that this, the earliest of Mid. Ir. MSS., would play an important part in such an investigation. But when we come to examine the MS., we find that the long texts are texts that have come down from an earlier period with more or less corruption and interpolation, while the late texts are too short to give a fair idea of the usage.

The paper is divided as follows:—

- I. The infixed pronoun in Old Irish.
- II. Changes in the form of the infixed pronoun in Middle Irish.
- III. New Middle-Irish forms.
- IV. The infixed pronoun in Middle Irish.
- V. The independent pronoun.

¹ Ed. Stokes, Calcutta, 1881. The references are to the lines of this edition.

² An edition of Nennius was published by Todd, Dublin, 1848. From this text some variants have been added. But the *apparatus criticus* is very inadequate, and a new critical edition of the text is much to be desired.

³ Ed. Stokes, Oxford, 1890.

⁴ Ed. Meyer, London, 1892.

⁵ Ed. Atkinson, Dublin, 1887.

⁶ Ed. Stokes, London, 1895.

⁷ Stokes, Introduction, pp. xviii sq.

I. THE INFIXED PRONOUN IN OLD IRISH.

	1 Non-relative.	Relative.	
1.	$-m(m)^c-$	$-dom(m)^c-$, $-dam(m)^c-$	
2.	$-t-$	$-dot-$, $-dat-$	
3 m.	$-an^o-$; after ni , $-n^o-$	$-dan^o-$, $-dn^o-$	Singular.
3 f.	$-sn^o-$ after $nach$: $-a-$	$-da-$	
3 n.	$-a^c-$; after ni , c	$-a-$ $-d^c-$	
1.	$-n(n)^c-$	$-don(n)^c-$, $-dan(n)^c-$	
2.	$-b-$	$-dob-$, $-dab-$, $-dib-$	
3.	$-sn^o-$ after $nach$: $-a-$	$-da-$ $-a^c-$	Plural.

In non-relative construction, dental forms are used after *ad-*, *aith-*, *con-*, *etar-* *for-*, *frith-*; *ad-*, *aith-*, *con-*, *frith-* become, with the dental of the pronoun, *at-*, *cot-*, *frit(t)-*.³

Notes.—(1) But in the first and second persons the shorter forms prevail even when the verb is relative:—Wb. *nt maith domrignis* 4^c27, *nachimrindarpaise* 5^a18, *nomthá* 13^c10, *nommoídí* (?)⁴ 14^c18, *domroisechtatar* 17^c1, *nombeoigedar* 19^a20, *domimmuiirc* 23^b36, *romfera* 24^b15, *romíccsa* 28^a12, *immumforling* 13^b6; *amal nonæicndichtherni* 2^aII, *hóre ronsberni* 2^d14, *hóre nonbendachani* 11^b7, *amal nonnertarni* 14^b13, *intain ronmoitsem* 17^a13, *amal doncoisin* 17^b10, *ronnícni* 21^b8, *hóre ronsóir* 24^c18, *hóre dunnánic* 25^a21, *hóre aruntáa* 25^d25; *notail* 5^b28, *notbotha* 5^b32, *notbeir* 6^c9, *amal rotgádsa* 27^d19, *rotchech-ladar* 28^d16; *dobimchomartt* 3^b21, *nobtá* 14^c16, *robnoíbisi* 19^b12: Ml. *a ndumsennat* 39^c28, *annumfindbadaigtisse* 39^d14, *amal d[on]emarni* 53^b18, *do[n]roidni* 53^d9, *nomgoistigtisse* 54^b26, *numsoiradsa* 74^b13, *dumdisedsa* 78^b18, *ol nachamdidnasa* 86^d3, *lasse nomseimigthese* 88^aII, *nachamthíedsa* 107^b8, *a naramroet* 131^b8, *immintimcheltisni* 32^a19, *íarsindi donnucsat* 92^d1, *huare nachansoirainni* 93^d10, *dunnemtharni* 127^c7, *a nimmuntimchellani*

¹ ^c denotes that the pronoun aspirates, ^o that it eclipses.

² A clear example of the relative use is *nacharochlat* Wb. 19^c15.

³ Cf. Thurneysen, Idg. Anz. ix. 190; CZ. IV. 65.

⁴ The sentence is *hore nondobmolorsa 7 nommoídí indib*. In such a sentence it is more usual for the second verb also to be relative,—e.g. Ml. 30^a3, 37^a10, 42^b18, 57^c10, 63^b12, 94^c8; but on the other hand Ml. 21^d4, 48^c19, 85^bII, 123^c8, Wb. 19^b12, 24^a7.

108^a9; *sechidū notsoesiu* 112^b6, *annachattoscelfat* 107^c11; *iarsindi dobroigasa* 103^c15. The dental forms are regular after *ad-*, *aith-*, etc., after the interrogative *in-*, after the conjunctions *con-*, *aran-*, *dian-*, and after prep. + rel., *in-*, *trissan-*, etc.; they are never found after *nách*.¹ The remaining instances of the dental forms are:—Wb. *nodomberasa* 1^a8; *amal asndonberat* 2^a12, *nodonnertani* 6^d11, *nodonfirianaigedar* 19^a14; *nudubgoithesi* (gloss imperfect) 5^c1, *hore nondobmolorsa* 14^c18, *lasse nondobsommigetar* 17^a1, *amal dondubcairemse* 28^c12, *amal rondobcarsamni* 25^a35: Ml. *ciofut dundamroinnifese* 32^d5, *nudamcrocha* 32^d28, *fodamsegatsa* 33^a19, *nodamfindbadaigetarsa* 39^d10, *rodamsoersa* 48^a21, *allaithe nundamsoira* 62^c6^b, *isindi arndamroichlis* 74^d7, *dudamdonad* 86^d10, *lase dumamema* (leg. *dunamema*) 87^d11, *nach molad rundammoladsa* 88^a17, *lase arndamfuirset* 114^c11; *fodansegat* 27^a7, (*lasse* = *cum*) *nundanlaisrigther* 43^a12, *isindi rondannicaisni* 89^a6, *asndanbertheni* 114^a7; *a fundatferai* 38^c26, *amal dundatmecetarsu* 106^c11; and the following instances of a dependent subjunctive: *fundamthabartisse* 54^c29, *nundammoraese* 70^c11, *nóndammctar* 80^a3, *dundanroscad* (leg. *dundam-*) 100^b14, *dundamleghtharsa* 126^d10; *nundatges* 21^b5, *nundatmoide* 62^a12; *nundanmórtbar* 63^c4. There is some difficulty in the history of these forms. In later Irish the dental forms, except after *ad-*, *con-*, *dian-*, etc., disappear: see below, p. 159. If we had only Wb. to consider, it might not unreasonably be supposed that the dental forms were then tending to disappear. But if that were so, it might be expected that the dental forms would be proportionately less numerous in Ml., whereas the opposite is the case; even if we deduct the dependent subjunctives, of which Wb. furnishes no example, the dental forms are relatively much more frequent in Ml. Must it be assumed that the dental forms spread analogically to the first and second persons, that in the course of the eighth century they were still spreading, and then began to get fewer in the ninth century, and finally disappeared?

(2) In the 3 sg. masc. and neut., after the conjunction *con-* we find *condidn-*, *condid-*, later *conidn-*, *conid-*, similarly after *in-*, 'in which,' *indid-*. In the same persons in relative use *-idn-*, *-id-* appear after prepositions:—*conidn-*, *conid-*, *assidn-*,

¹ But *huare ná-n-dun-tanaic*, Sg. 26^b2.

assid-; *adid-*, *forid-*, *immid-*, etc., further with *nádh-*, in relative use, *náchidn-*, *náchid-*.¹

II. CHANGES IN THE FORM OF THE INFIXED PRONOUN IN MID. IR.

Corresponding to O. Ir. *r-an-*, *n-an-*, etc., *ron-*, *non-*, etc., are the usual forms in Mid. Ir. Sommer, CZ. I. 222, puts this down simply to confusion of *-o-* and *-a-* in the pretonic syllable. But this by itself will not account for the persistency with which *ron-*, etc., are written. The explanation rather is that after the analogy of *ro-m-*, *ro-t-*, *ro-n-*, *ro-s-*, etc., the pronoun was now felt to be *-n-*, the vowel being taken as belonging to the preceding particle. In O. Ir. texts preserved in Mid. Ir. MSS., *-an-* is often corrupted to *-on-*, e.g. *fónéríg*, LU. 60^a6 (= *faneraig* YBL.), *fónópair* 60^b27 (where YBL. also has *fonobair*). For neut. *-a-*, see below, p. 163. Confusion of vocalism is also found in other pronouns, e.g. *cé noslaiss* for *ce n-a-slaiss* LU. 74^a18, *no-do-ansed* LU. 96^a33, *ar-do-petet* LU. 101^a19; for *nodásinet* (leg. *nodasínet*) LU. 87^b18, YBL. has *nodosinet*. This orthography may be ascribed to the influence of the particles *no-*, *do-*.

Already in O. Ir. *-s-* tends to spread beyond its proper bounds.² In Mid. Ir. *-s-* becomes the regular form. In SR. *-sn-* is not infrequent: *do-sn-arbair* 89, *ro-sn-art* 3454, *ro-sn-alt* 3527, *ro-sn-ort* 4473, 5315, 6205, 6865, 6892, *ro-sn-ordaig* 4921, *ni-sn-acht* 5635, *do-sn-armchell* 6552, *do-sn-úargaib* 7445, cf. also *ro-dosn-airg* 5415; before a consonant: *ro-sm-bde* 3544, 4028, 5107, *ni-sm-boe* 3662. In later texts *-sn-* is rare: *ni-sn-éta* (v.) Bor. 317^b, *do-sn-icc*³ Aen. 468^a43, *do-sn-áinicc* LS. 315, 317, *nii-sn-eftaitis* 2227.

¹ Pedersen, KZ. XXXV. 412, observes that, after *ndch-*, *-d-* appears only in the neut. sg. And with reference to the O. Ir. Glosses that is literally true. But the reason is merely that there happens to be no instance of relative *nádh-* followed by the masculine pronoun. The lacuna is supplied by the Fragment of an O. Ir. Psalter published in Hibernica Minor, l. 462, *is héside nachidfarcaib̄som*, where we find the form that might have been expected. Very peculiar is *ndchbeir* Wb. 6^c18. Pedersen assumes a neut. pron., but then the normal form would be *ndchid-beir*. Should we read *ndcha-beir* (sc. *breth f.*)? If the form could be taken as ipv., the difficulty would vanish, but that does not suit the Latin context.

² Cf. Sommer, CZ. I. 206.

³ It is followed by *chucu*, so that the *-sn-* is meaningless; it suggests a literary reminiscence.

In SR. *-d-* appears for *-dn-* in *bád-ad-adamrú* 6628, *conid-arllassair* 4791. In our later texts the pronoun happens to occur only before a consonant; the instances will be found below, pp. 171 sq.

Pretonic *nd* became *nn*, *n*, and that led to some obscuration of the pronouns. Already in O. Ir. *conid-* became *conid-*; for further examples of the same kind see CZ. IV. 55 sq. In Mid. Ir. the change goes much further, e.g. *dian-dom-* becomes *dianom-*, *conda-* becomes *conā-*, *condos-* becomes *conos-*. Examples will be found below, pp. 160, 174 sq. In one respect, however, the field of *conid-*, *conos-*, etc., in Mid. Ir., is limited by the fact that in Mid. Ir. the infixd pronoun commonly follows *-ro-* even in enclisis, e.g. *co rosmarb* = O. Ir. *condaromarb*.¹

III. NEW MID.-IR. FORMS.

In the first and second persons of the plural for *-n-* and *-b-* appear *-ar(n)-*, and *-bar(n)-*, forms derived from the possessive pronouns. For examples see below, pp. 160 sq. In the 2 pl. the longer form is already almost universal in SR.; our other texts furnish no examples of *-b-*. In the first person the longer form is not nearly so firmly established; it is most frequent in the poetical style. The reason for the difference of treatment in the two persons may be found in the difference in the sounds of *-n-* and *-b-*; *-n-* was a sufficiently distinct expression of the pronoun, spirant *-b-* in Mid. Ir. was not. The reason why the possessive pronouns could take the place of the old infixd pronouns in the plural seems to have been that in the singular the possessive pronouns and the infixd pronouns were identical in form. Thus e.g. *no-for-marba* : *do for marbad* = *no-t-marba* : *dot marbad*.

In Mid. Ir. *-da-* is replaced by *-das*, *-dos-* (once *-dosn-* SR. 5415). From the instances below, pp. 174 sq., it will be seen that *-das-*, *-dos-*, corresponds in function to *-da-* :—it is used (1) relatively, (2) after *ad-*, *con-*, etc.; in the later language it is confined almost entirely to the second usage, relative *-dos-* being replaced by *-s-*. As in Mid. Ir. *-da-* is found where the verbal form is non-relative, so *-das-* is similarly used, particularly

¹ Cf. Strachan, the Particle *ro-* in Irish, p. 110, CZ. IV. 66.

in the language of poetry. How did *-da-* become *-das-*, *-dos-*? In its use after *con-*, etc., the explanation is simple. By *no-m-marba*, *no-t-marba*, *no-n-marba*, *no-b-marba*, stood *condom-marba*, *condot-marba*, *condon-marba*, *condob-marba*, where the second set of forms differed externally from the first in showing in addition *-do-*. By these forms stood *no-s-marba* and *cond-a-marba*. It is easy to see how under these circumstances *condamarba* would become *condosmarba*. In relative use the explanation would depend on how far rel. *-dom-*, *-dot-*, etc., were living forms when *-dos-* arose. If they were living forms, the explanation of *-dos-* would be the same as in the former case. But if, as is probable, *-dom-*, *-dot-*, etc., were practically dead, then we must suppose that *-da-* became *-dos-* under the influence of *condos-*, etc.¹ Unfortunately for the century and a half preceding the date of composition of the *Saltair na Rann* there is an almost entire absence of dated documents from which the history of the language could be learned. In the *Siaburcharpat Conculaind*² (LU. 113^a-115^b) *-dos-* does not yet appear: *atacomcussa* 114^b11, *con-da-rala* 114^b10, *atarethusa* 114^b14, 19. We may then say that *-dos-* for *-da-* came into literature in the tenth century.

IV. THE INFIXED PRONOUN IN MID. IR.

A. INFIXED PRONOUNS OF THE FIRST AND SECOND PERSONS.

In Mid. Ir. the dental forms in simple relative use disappear, the short forms being employed both in relative and non-relative use. Even in O. Ir. texts preserved in LU. they are very rare. I have noted only *do-dob-saig* 56^a7, *fo-dot-ben* 73^a14, *do-dom-anic* 120^a26, *ar-dot-chiat* 120^a44; further in the *Siaburcharpat Conculaind* *ro-da[t]-tánic* 113^b42. In SR. 1780 we have *ro-dat-tuistigad*.³ Occasionally the dental forms are used improperly, e.g. *ar-dot-chuibdig* LU. 46^b30, *nach-dot-romarbus* SR. 1908, *ni-dam-crochta* MC. 21.

¹ Perhaps it is worth pointing out further that before verbs beginning with *s* the two forms of the pronoun would be indistinguishable.

² Zimmer, *Zeitschr. f. deutsches Alterthum* xxxv 43, dates the text from the middle of the ninth century. In any case it is posterior to 900 A.D.

³ In O. Ir. relative *n* would have been required: *ro-n-dat-tuistiged*.

But after *ad-*, *con-*, etc., the dental forms or their descendants are regular in Mid. Ir. Examples are:—

SR. *conom-thi* (from *con-dom-thi*) 2092, *dianam-thairbiur* 844, *in-dam-chluini* 1182, 1429; *atat-gén* 2887, *con-dat-fil* 1739, *conot-ruc* 1799, *cid ardot-ralaíd*¹ 1307, *cid arnot-geib*² 1693; *conab-torlus* 1872.

TT. *dianot-bé* 1283.

NENN. *cid ornam-tugad* ... *mhe* (v. 1. *arnam-tugadsa*) 310^b28.

AEN. *dianum-fagba* 457^b39, *dianum-dichuired* 469^b24, *gonam-basat* 478^aII.

LS. *dianom-sáruighet* (v.) 453.

MC. *atom-raracht* 71, *atom-regar*³ 83, *atom-cuirethar* 87, *conom-torsit* 45, *dianom-lena* 51. In *conam-tarrusar* 93, the pronoun is meaningless; correctly it would be *co tarrasar*. *domanaicsea* 75 is obviously a Mid. Ir. literary monstrosity for *atomchomnaicse*.

In MG. at June 4 and Sept. 5 occurs the curious form *diarnaithnem*, apparently, as the editor points out, for *dianarnaithnem*. It is one of the many curiosities of this text.

In Mid. Ir., as we have seen, there is a tendency to replace *-n-* and *-b-* of the 1 and 2 pl. by forms corresponding to those of the corresponding possessives. In LU. I have noted only a few instances:—*do-for-ficba* 15^a41 (Scél Túain), *ro-bor-ficfa*⁴ 84^a33, *ro-bar-cuired*⁵ 84^b29, *arnáchbaraccaister*⁶ 85^a4. The later form is responsible for the corrupt *atarrobradsi* 84^b29, where YBL. preserves *atdobrabbadsi*. In a somewhat different connexion *-bar-* appears in *atabairecen* 100^a16, where other MSS. point to *atibécen* as the older text. But no argument can be drawn from this paucity of examples in LU.; the later LU. texts, in which the new forms might have been expected, furnish no examples of these persons.

¹ *ardot- = aran-dot-*

² *arnot- = aran-dot-*

³ A Mid.-Ir. formation for *atomracht*, cf. Strachan, Deponent Verb, pp. 93, 106.

⁴ The form does not occur in the corresponding YBL. version.

⁵ A gloss on the text.

⁶ YBL. has preserved the old form *arnachabaccastar*.

In our other texts I have noted the following examples:—

SR. pl. 1. *nach-arn-dilsi* 1551, *nich-ar-fail*¹ 1560, *coro-r-coemchinni*² 1619, *nach-ar-lén* 1726, *huair do-r-rolaid* 1754, *ni-r-tora* 2747, *nach-ar-cobrai* 3759, *atar-fail*³ 3761. But *-n-* is the prevalent form; I have noted twenty-nine occurrences.⁴

pl. 2. *nach-for-fuca* 1459, *na-bar-sílaid* 2611, *ni-bar-torbae* 2625, *nocho-for-bia* 4063, *do-for-fuc* 4679, *do-for-fua* 5483, 5487. The writer also ventures to use the pronoun before a simple verb: *for-bia* 3503, *form-bia* 3511, *for-saera* 4831.⁵ Of *b-* I have only two instances: *ni-p-ta* 1444, and *no-b-saerfa* 2732.

TT. pl. 1. *nir-thá* 220. No examples of *-n-*.

pl. 2. *ra-bar-fogluais* 1611, *nach-bar-bé* 1620. No examples of *-b-*.

BOR. pl. 1. *nach-ar-táir* (v.) 308^a40, *con-ar-tí* (v.) 308^b7. No instances of *-n-*.

pl. 2. *do-bar-ficfa* 302^b8. No instances of *-b-*.

AEN. pl. 1. *do-n-farraig* 449^a19, *ro-n-la* 450^b25, *ro-n-geb* . . . *sinne* 454^a40. I have noted no instance of *-arn-*.

pl. 2. *robtar-bia* (sic) 452^b27. No instances of *-b-*.

LS. Stokes, p. Ixiii, notes in 1 pl. four instances of *-n-* and none of *-arn-*; in 2 pl. two instances of *-bar-* and none of *-b-*.

PH. In 1 pl. Atkinson, p. 810, quotes twenty-two examples of *-n-*, but of *-arn-* only *nach-ar-léic* 7961, 7968; in the 2 pl. he quotes no instances of *-b-*, and four of *-bar-*.

¹ In Wb. there is no example of an infix pron. after *nicon-*. In MI. there are three, showing two modes of treatment: on the one hand *nico-s-fuar* 57^d3, on the other, *nicon-d-robae* 41^a5, *nicon-da-bia* 60^a8, where *nicon-* is treated like *con-*, cf. Pedersen, KZ. xxxv. 420. Instances like *nicosfuar*, from the later language, are *nico-m-bia* LU. 54^b48, *nocho-s-fæcebæd* LU. 117^a21, *nocho-m-tha* SR. 2088, *noco-t-bia* SR. 847, *nocho-s-rala* 4110, cf. also *nacu-m-saraig* BB. 467^a39. Like *nicondabia* are *noconom-tha* LU. 86^b14, *nochonom-tha* 103^a36.

² *-rn- : -arn- = -n- : -an-* in the 3 sg. masc.

³ *atar-*, after the model of *atom-*, *atot-*, etc. For *atarfail* the normal form is *attaam*. In *atarfail* the aspiration is strange. Does it come from association with the aspirating preposition *ar*? Cf. *nach-for-fuca* and *nirthá* below.

⁴ 1214, 1319, 1341, 1342, 1483, 1487, 1505, 1506, 1524, 1557 (bis), 1723, 1724, 1755, 1756, 1787, 1855, 3485, 3489, 3579, 3599, 3619, 4053, 4054, 4055, 4059 (bis), 7518, 7519.

⁵ Cf. Strachan, Verbal System of the Saltair na Rann, p. 42, note.

⁶ In *curo-s-foire sinne*, *s* is nothing more than a meaningless Mid.-Ir. *s*: cf. *do-s-fuc sinde* BB. 466^b11.

MG. pl. 1. *nar-laedend* Mar. 3, *nar-foemad* Apr. 18, *nar-benann* May 21, *narn-anaig* Jan. 1, 19, Jul. 9, Aug. 11, 27; but *ro-n-bera* Jan. 2, *ni ro-n-dedla* Ap. 20.

B. INFIXED PRONOUNS OF THE THIRD PERSON.

In the third person the *s*-forms tend to become universal. In non-relative construction *-s-* spreads to the masc. sg.; further *conidn-* becomes *conos-*. In relative construction *-dos-* (the representative of older *-da-*) in time gives place to *-s-*. From the eleventh century onwards *-s-* appears also merely as a relative particle. Further, the force of the pronoun gradually fades, and there is an increasing tendency to use it pleonastically before a following noun or independent pronoun. The infixd pronoun *-n-* is no longer confined to non-relative use. Of the dental forms *-dn-*, *-d-*, so far as it survives, is no longer restricted to relative use; the neut. *d'* lives on as an integral part of certain verbs and as a symbol of relativity. The pl. *-da-* early disappears from common use; before it disappears it is also used non-relatively; sometimes it is improperly used as a singular.

We will now exemplify from our texts (1) the non-dental forms, (2) the dental forms.

(a) NON-DENTAL FORMS.

I. *-an-*, *-n-*. As we have seen above, it appears from the normal Mid.-Ir. orthography that the pronoun was felt to be not *-an-*, but *-n-*. Rarely¹ it is used with reference to a feminine noun or where the verb is followed by a feminine object:—*no-n-edbair* (sc. *súalaig*) PH. 7102, *do-m-bert bennachtain* MC. 5, *ro-m-ben a lumain* MC. 25, *do-m-bert* (v. l. *dobert*) *Cuchulaind cloich* CZ. III. 259. Here it may be doubted if the pronoun had any meaning. It is followed by a plur. in *coro-n-innarba nert Bretan iat* (where BB. has *coroinnarba*) LU. 3^a45. In *ni-n-érlá* TT. 563 it has no meaning. As in the struggle for existence it had to contend against the encroachments of *-s-*,

¹ These few instances of an indifferent use of *-n-* may be explained from the fact that *-s-* was now used of all genders and numbers.

it will be more convenient to give the examples of *-n-* side by side with those of masculine *-s-*.

2. *-a'-, -i'-*. In Mid. Ir. the forms of the old neuter pronoun would of necessity be obscured. For (1) owing to the confusion of pretonic vowels and the extension of the aspiration of the initial consonant of a verb after pretonic particles, there would be no formal distinction between, e.g., *d-a-beir* and *do-beir*. (2) As *ní* now aspirates regularly, the old distinction between *ní cheil* and *ní ceil* would vanish. (3) In Mid. Ir. *nách-* is common even when there is no infixed pronoun. It should be noted that in Mid. Ir., owing to the disappearance of the neuter gender in the noun,¹ a special neuter pronoun would not be needed to the same extent as in O. Ir.; it would be required only to express an 'it' which does not refer back to a foregoing noun. That such an 'it' was expressed in Mid. Ir. by the obscured descendants of the old neuter pronoun I have no evidence. Before the matter could be regarded as definitely settled, it would be necessary to investigate the question of the ellipsis of the pronoun. But from the evidence before me it seems probable that this 'it' was in Mid. Ir. expressed by an independent pronoun; cf. *amal demniges Iob sin* LU. 35^a13, which in O. Ir. would probably be *amal nondemnigedar Iob*; so in Cormac, s. v. *imbas forosnai*, LBr. has *idbraid sin*, where better MSS. have *atopair*; in this connexion it is worth while to look at the examples of *sin* in PH. p. 875^a43-875^b3. Of *é* in such a use I have no example in LU.; but it is found later, e.g. *doringned ém éside* TT. 161, *rachluin heside* 406, *co cluinem . . . he* PH. 24, *dorinne . . . he* 7396.

3. *-sn-, -s-*.

(a). As in O. Ir., this is the regular form in the 3 sg. f., and in the 3 pl. of all genders in non-relative construction.

¹ So far as I can judge from my collections from SR., the neuter had practically disappeared by 1000 A.D. Note *ind rae* 113, 2708, *in nem namra* 120, *in tres noibnem* 128, *in sechtmad nem* 195, *in muir* 913, 3989, *in col* 1141, *in mbiad* 1160, 7069, *in crann* 1229, 1284, *in nubull* 1285, *isin* 3129, *in lind* 4067, *in scél* 6193, *in buaid* 6363, *in nétach* 6380, *in déde* 6392, *in cumtach* 7030, *na hésseirge* 7700, *fo gairm glain* 1487, *la súl suilic* 5134, *gné gaind* 7577. The only exceptions which I have noted in the article are *a nnem* 112 (which may be a corruption of the ms.), and *a mbé* 5974 (a word of the poetical vocabulary). In LU. even in old well-preserved texts like the Táin Bó Cúailnge, the old neut. is often replaced by another gender, which points to a decay of the neuter gender in the living speech.

Hence it would be superfluous to give all the occurrences; only those are given in which the verb is further followed by an accusative or by a pronoun.

SR. sg. 3 f. *ro-s-mathig* . . . *cathir* 6663, *ro-s-dechraig* . . . *cach luib* 1925.

pl. 3. *ro-sn-ort* . . . *cethri mili dec* 4473, *ni ro-s-aisneid* . . . *gnimrada* 5337.

LG. sg. 3 f. *no-s-rannat* *Herinn* 15^b7.

pl. 3. *no-s-beir* . . . *iat* 20^b44.

TT. pl. 3 *ra-s-fáidset* *techta* 1083.

BOR. sg. 3 f. *do-s-rat a* *mnái* 295^a1, *do-s-bertatar* *froiss* 306^a42.

NENN. pl. 3 *ro-s-faid* *techta* 205^a36.

AEN. sg. 3 f. *ro-s-buaidrestair* *hi* 456^b38, *ro-s-marb i* *fen* 464^a24, *no-s-dealbann* *hi* *fen* 477^b31, 483^a39.

pl. 3. *no-s-geb* . . . *iat* 451^a17, 469^b2, *ro-s-faid* . . . *iad* 452^a40, *coru-s-duaid* . . . *iat* 450^b27.

LS. sg. 3 f. *ro-s-gab* *ecla mor an og* 1421.

pl. 3. *do-s-fuisigh* *iat* 100, *ro-s-bennach na leastrā* 1678, *no-s-folarntaiged* *uili* *iat* 4111.

MC. sg. 3 f. *do-s-beraind* *falaig* 45.

pl. 3, *ni ro-s-bensam* *clucu* 29, *ni-s-bera* *bá* 5, *naro-s-teilg* *tri frassa* 59.

PH. See Atkinson's Glossary, pp. 856 sq., where, however, in a number of instances, the *-s-* is purely relative. The chief thing to note is the frequency of *-s-* where the verb is followed by an accusative.

MG. See Stokes' Glossary, p. 288. It is hard to draw the line here between relative and non-relative forms.

(b) In Mid. Ir. the pronoun is also used where the verb is relative.¹ It is found (a) without, (β) with, a following object.

SR. sg. 3 f. (a) *ro-s-derb* 26, so 2066, 3228, 3232, 3311, 4422 (*feib*), 5506, 6677 (*uair*), 7505, 7528.

pl. 3 (a) *ro-s-derb* 54, similarly 87, 88, 89, 93, 215 (*feib*), 221, 271 (*feib*), 363, 429, 1112, 1290, 3514 (*feib*), 3525 (*feib*), 3529 (*feib*), 3788, 3961, 4028, 4229, 4230, 4425, 4426, 4773, 4817, 4818, 4921, 5022, 5073, 5197, 5201, 5389, 6892, 7201.

¹ In the O. Ir. Glosses there are already three instances of this, CZ. IV. 65; cf. *nach tain to-sn-aide* LU. 96^b38.

(β) *rí ro-s-ordaig . . . na ocht foghaetha* 65, so 4621, 5325, 5433, 7445, 7473, 7681.

LG. sg. 3 f. (a) *ro-s-lessaig* 13^b26, *do-s-fuc* 9^a40, *ro-s-fuc* 23^b42, 44.

TT. pl. 3 (a) *da-s-ficfad* 186, *ra-s-beth* 1102.

NENN. f. sg. 3 (a) *ro-s-cab* 204^a24, *ro-s-gab* 206^a7.

AEN. sg. 3 f. (a) *ro-s-fasto* 455^b34.

pl. 3 (a) (*intan*) *ro-s-lá* 460^a42.

(β) *ro-s-fuc a longa* 471^b31, *ro-s-faid . . . iat* 463^a19.

LS. pl. 3 (β) *ro-s-biath na soeir* 7 *ro-s-ic a ndulghena* 1577.

MC. f. sg. 3 (a) *do-s-méla* 17.

(β) *no-s-baided crethir chonnli* 63.

pl. 3 (β) *feib no-s-turim na hilbiadu* 101, *do-s-gnt na rundu* 109.

PH. sg. 3 f. (a) *no-s-airmend* 5326, so 2870, 4610, 4624, 5329, 6010 (*intan*), 6040, 6146, 6147, 6152, 7078.

(β) *do-s-gnt in cassait* 105, so 437, 1116, 4642, 6039, 6412, 6430, 6446, 6469, 7329, 7381, 7383, 7468, 8372, 8411, 8423; *ro-s-dermait ht* 68, so 208.

pl. 3 (a) *ro-s-lín* 1121, so 1613, 4198, 4202, 4495, 5861, 6111, 6855, 6856, 7068.

(β) *ro-s-mill na huili* 2052, so 1642, 6498; *ro-s-ordne iat* 4075.

(c) In Mid. Ir. the pronoun is also used for the 3 sg. masc., here entering into competition with *-n-*.

SR. *-s-* rel. (a) *da-s-fuargaib*¹ 5389.

(β) *do-s-fuc*² . . . *Abimelech* 5689.

-n- non-rel. (a) :—*rofacaib* 1315, *ro-n-gab* 1707, *ro-l-lín* 1708, *ra-n-lín*³ 1911, *ra-m-biad* 2792, *da-m-beir* 2952, *nir-n-anacht* 3135, *nir-m-bai* 3279, *ro-n-baidsemmar*³ 3621, *co ro-n-erail* 3707, *ni-n-len*³ 3839, *ro-lín* 3880, *nacha-relic* 4787, *ni-n-anais* 5999, *ra-n-gab* 6087, *ni-m-bai* 6384, 6399, *co ro-n-dúsaig* 6690, *da-fuc* 6707, *ro-l-lín* 6796, *co ro-n-giuil* 6957.

¹ Unless the pronoun refers to both Joshua and Samuel.

² If it be not a scribal error.

³ Below, from later texts, will be found some instances of the non-assimilation of *-n-*: that would be intelligible when the pronoun was a literary survival; but in SR. it is to be imputed to the copyist rather than to the author.

(β) *co ro-n-saera*¹ *Beniemein* 3600.

rel. (a) *ro-faidi* 3166, *ro-m-bennach* 3429, *ro-m-mol* 4030, *no-m-bifad* 5812, *da-fingebad* 5820.

(β) *ro-n-gart* . . . *Moisi* 4969.

LG. -s-

non-rel. (a) *co ro-s-innarb* 15^a32, 24^a18.

-n-

non-rel. (a) *ro-n-delb* 5^a45, *no-fothraic* 13^a6, *ro-len* 22^b32, *ro-marb* 23^b13, *co ro-n-innarb* 24^a32.

rel. (a) *ro-n-ortsat* 24^a23.

TT. -s-

non-rel. (a) *na-s-marband* 410, *ra-s-uc* 416, *no-s-geib* 747, *ra-s-cairig* 805, *ra-s-cúrach* 805, *no-n-essairg* 2057.

rel. (a) *ra-s-bethait* 13, *ra-s-carsatar* 51, *ro-s-fuc* 1564.

-n-

non-rel. (a) *ra-n-adnaic* 753, *ro-n-gab* 759, 781, 804, 1986, *ro-n-dligset* 2078, *ro-n-dtgail* 2078.

rel. (a) *ra-n-ucsat* 237, *ro-n-marb* 2078.

BOR. -s-

non-rel. (a) *do-s-biurt* 300^b12, *ro-s-bia* 303^a41, 42, *co ro-s-baid* 306^a42.

(β) *do-s-berat slæt* 301^a7, *ro-s-bennach in Colguin sin* 306^b1.

Of -n- I have no instances from this text.

NENN. Of -s- I have no instances.

-n-

non-rel. (a) *ro-m-bearbh* 209^a49, *ro-m-baist* 209^b7, *ro-n-eascan* 210^a44. At 210^a34 is a peculiar *romgab*, where another text has *rogab*.

AEN. -s-

non-rel. (a) *ro-s-guidind* 453^a23, *no-s-innsaigend* 460^b17, *no-s-tesairginn* 461^a33, *gu ru-s-marb* 468^a27, *ro-s-tic* 473^a3, *no-s-trascrand* 474^a6, *ro-s-geb* 475^a7, *no-s-croithind* 472^b41, *do-s-fig* 472^b44, *no-s-marbann* 480^b39, *do-s-fic* 480^b41, *no-s-bered* 482^b33.

(β) *ro-s-fuc ar nór* 449^b38, *do-s-fic* . . . *in trenmild* 461^a25, *ro-s-tocaib he* 461^a24.

rel. (a) *no-s-tuc* 450^b22.

¹ Probably a scribal corruption.

(β) *amal no-s-fuc corp* 452^b2, if the *-s-* is more than relative.

-n-

non-rel. (a) *ro-n-gab* 449^a28, 464^b12, 479^b35, *ro-n-esairginn* 461^a28, *no-n-geb* 484^b28.

LS. -s-

non-rel. (a) *no-s-beir* 448, *cu ro-s-bennach* 1370, *no-s-gormfadhbh* 4080.

(β) *cu ro-s-ic in clamh* 1366.

rel. (a) *no-s-intsamhlaighet* 673, *ro-s-marbh* 4230, *ro-s-tairbhir* 4873.

(β) *ro-s-anacht in sabhall* 1923, *cu ro-s-toifnetar he* 4054.

-n-

non-rel. (a) *ro-n-gabh* 66, *ro-m-beir*, *ro-n-bennach* 513, *ro-n-fia* (v.) 775, *ro-n-gaibh* 1464, *cu ro-m-baist* 2521, *ro-n-greis* 4345.

(β) *ro-n-alt Patraic* 67.

rel. (a) *do-n-athuiged* 156, *ro-n-edbair* 834, *ro-n-alt* 2842, *ro-n-baisd* 2843.

MC. -s-

non-rel. (a) *ro-s-gab* 15, *ro-s-léic* 25, *no-s-imarchuir* 29, *ni-s-tadaill* 81.

(β) *ní-s-fagbad a grianad* 11, *co ru-s-acailersa in manach* 105, *do-s-beraind do chorþ* 107.

rel. (a) *do-s-méla* 65.¹

PH. -s-

non-rel. (a) *co ro-s-marb* 291, *ro-s-impa* 499, *co ru-s-loig* 811, *ro-s-indarpsat* 1527, *ro-s-gab* 2310, *no-s-comairlecfi* 4374, *cu ra-s-geoguin* 6305, *co ru-s-croch* 6464.

(β) *no-s-forcefad . . . in popul* 319, *co ro-s-dlultad Crist* 490, *ro-s-gab . . . Dioclian* 532, *ni-s-fil nách cumang* 990, *ro-s-bennach in Coimdid* 1149, *ro-s-bennach . . . intí Georgt* 1159, 1246, *ni-s-fil biad* 1310, *ro-s-gab a náidin* 1321, *ni ro-s-léc a chend do phócad* 1344, *ro-s-glan . . . in tempul* 2098, *ro-s-gab . . . Ermogin* 2197, *ni-s-fetam . . . olc 2221, do-s-beir cech maith* 3972, *no-s-cometat . . . a flaithius*

¹ On p. 45 *do-t-gní* might have been expected rather than *do-s-gní*; cf. p. 175, note.

4126, *ro-s-furec a less* 4373, *do-s-gní imarbus* 6451, *co ro-s-cennaig flaithius* 6956, *ni-s-fil síugrad* 7668; *ro-s-gab . . . he* 559, *co ro-s-acallam he* 692, *ni ro-s-corb he* 1512.

rel. (a) *no-s-cuibdigenn* 3536, *ro-s-uc* 3856, *no-s-iníslig* 4601, 5606, *no-s-inntámlaigend* 5689, 6792, *no-s-carait*, 5802, *no-s-guidet* 5787, 7890, *no-s-carand* 6037, *no-s-credet* 6795, *no-s-faismet* 6796, *no-s-aitchend* 7107, *no-s-aitchet* 8002.

(β) *intan ro-s-gonsat sliss* 144, *do-s-bera mo chorþ* 616, *ro-s-cengail suainem* 2321, *ro-s-icc peccad* 2448, *ro-s-cuibrig Pilip* 2489, *no-s-guidet . . . int aþtal* 2567, *ro-ss-uc . . . coscar* 8406; *no-s-aitchend he* 5454, *ro-s-imorchar he* 7186, *ro-s-marb he* 7478.

-n-

non-rel. (a) *ro-n-ergabsat* 3101, *ro-n-gabus* 3790, *ro-n-ardaig* 4820, *ro-n-aimsig* 4821, *cu ro-n-aimsiged* 4821, *ro-n-delb* 6285, *do-n-arfaid* 6311, *ro-n-aitchiset* 6547, *fo-n-gébaid* 7006.

(β) *ro-n-ergabsat Iosep* 2936, *no-l-lessaig in nech* 4973; *co ro-n-baist e* 1304, *co ru-m-baist he* 1338, *ro-n-gab . . . he* 3207.

rel. (β) *is* and *ro-n-imdib Ísu* 5755.

A few instances call for special mention. In *ni-s-cúmat ni* PH. 1131, *do-s-gní cech ní* 463, 6597, *ni-sf-aighe . . . ní* 7992, as *ní* is a noun, the usage is parallel to what we have had above. But there is an extension of the usage in *ro-s-cetaig innisin* 908, *do-s-gní . . . insin* 2238, 257, *ro-s-cluinebsa innisin* 1431, *ru-s-closa sin* 1579, cf. *do-s-rat sin* MC. 9.

If we consider the above examples of *-s-*, one of the most striking things is the wide extension of what would in O. Ir. be called the anticipatory use of the infix pronoun. Particularly strange is this where the infix *-s-* 'anticipates' a following independent pronoun; of this more will be said below. This extended use of *-s-* is to be brought into connexion with another fact, the replacement of the infix pronoun by the independent pronoun. As we shall see more fully below, this new development can be traced back in literature to the

eleventh century. In the Annals of Ulster the use of the independent pronoun prevails from the middle of the twelfth century.¹ And before the innovation made its way into literature, it would be firmly established in popular speech. When this change was carried through, the infixd pronoun would linger on as a literary ornament, and it need not surprise us that it was sometimes extravagantly used. In the instances above, the infixd pronoun when followed by a noun or an independent pronoun could be explained as an anticipatory use of the pronoun; how far it was felt to be so by the writers is another matter. There are, however, instances in which it cannot be so explained.

(d) Sometimes *-s-* seems to have the force of a relative.² Examples from our texts are:—

TT. *fodðgen . . . ro-s-fuc* 1564.

AEN. *in mac ro-s-fuc Andromachæ* 450^a40, *is e do-s-fuc sindi* 466^b10, *ni mo no-s-ticc* 471^b20.

MC. *in goeth no-s-tic darsin tir sin* 83, *cach mîr fo-s-cerdi* 99.

PH. *inni do-s-gniat* 174, *is aice ro-s-foglaim* 281, *intan do-s-biad si te* 382, *in sceoilse ro-s-toitt forsin eclais* 581, *is a mac no-s-tic Georgi* 1354, *is e ro-s-clochsat* 1510, *in mbairgin ro-s-bennach* 1784, *amal bid in la sin no-s-dichennta Pól* 1882, *no-s-imbret* 4105, *amal do-s-furail* 7328, *cia breth do-s-berad* 7352.

It will be seen that this relative use spreads with the extension of the 'anticipatory' pronoun, from the use of which, in relative sentences, it would seem to have developed; indeed it is possible that in many of the foregoing instances in which the pronoun has been put down as 'anticipatory,' it should

¹ The instances down to 1214 A.D. are:—*loiscit . . . é* 1099, *co romarbad é* 1106, *co roastaei . . . e* 1164, *rodichuirset é . . . he* 1165, *darait . . . he* 1165, *dotreicsit eisim* 1166, *rorigsat hé* 1166, *rodichuirsetar . . . é* 1170, *rodicuirset . . . iat* 1177, *rodichuir . . . iat* 1196, *is iat ro-s-gabhsat é* (a solitary instance) 1202, *dolean he* 1211, *tuc . . . iad* 1214. The instances of the infixd pronoun which I have from 1000 to 1300 A.D. are:—*co ru-s-dilegait* 1014, *conitairthetar* 1021, 1035, *conus-taraidh* 1012, *ro-n-bia* (v.) 1065, *co ru-s-tairmesc* 1097, *conus-tarraid* 1101, 1125, *cono-ragaib* 1105, *conab-tarthatar* 1126, *cu ru-s-mursat* 1165.

² Pedersen, KZ. XXXV. 384, whose explanation, however, does not suit the facts. An example from LU. is *do-s-fucad* 60^b35, in an interpolation.

³ In *amal do-s-gni* 370, *-s-* might refer to *mirbuil* and *furtacht*.

more properly have been labelled 'relative'; there is no sure criterion. This development may have been helped by the fact that in Mid. Ir. the infix pron. *-an-* and the infix relative *-n-* fell together in form.

(e) Sometimes *-s-* has no apparent force.

SR. *ro-s-delbtha* 418,¹ *do-s-fuit* 1719.

BOR. *do-s-lúiset* 303^a10; cf. *do-s-lui* LU. 98^b24.

AEN. *do-sn-ic chucu* 468^a43 (*do-sn-ic* is evidently a literary borrowing with no feeling for the force of the pronoun), *ro-s-comtoitset* 480^b22, *do-s-tuingimsea* *duid ar dei nime* 464^a29.

LS. *do-s-fanic* . . . *cu Daire* 564.

MC. *ni-s-tá dam* 29, *ni-s-téig* 83, *ni-s-fanic* . . . *ina dochum*

13.

PH. *co ro-s-tuirtis* 7 *co ro-s-tuicdis cret in ful* 13, *co ro-s-tuicdis Iúdaide na caennactar* 4499, *ra-s-fetutar cor fhír inni atrubrad* 107, *co ro-s-imráidid indus nomalartfad he* 1202, *no-s-fitir conid écen doberar fort* 728, *ni-s-fetatar cia leath dochuaid* 627, *ni-s-fetatar comad olc* 3330, *ni-s-fitir nech cia rohadnaiced innti* 1276, *ni-s-fitirsium na comaillfed* 3055; *ni-s-fitir an imagin do beth and* 72, *do-s-bersa fortsa do Dia fein do fácbail* 2134, *ro-s-gab for* . . . 285, *coro-s-dorchaig grian* 675, *ro-s-fáiltning* 1180, 6713, *ni ro-s-erchoit dó* 1192, *ro-s-dercc* . . . *for Georgi* 1250, *ro-s-forbair* 1315, *co ro-s-imdig* 1362, *ru-s-féig* 1409, *cia no-s-diuldat* 3009, *ni-s-bia* 4284, *ni-s-bia esergi doib* 6594, *ni-s-biad pian form* 8259, *ni-s-téged* 7211, *ro-s-taifnit* 7223.

4. -a-.

In Mid. Ir. *nácha-* gives place to *náchas-*. This may be also used in the 3 sg. m. for the older *nachan-*.

SR. *nachas-cretiu* (pl. 3) 4700, *connachas-clai* (pl. 3) 5259.²

TT. sg. 3 m. *arnachas-torsed* 612, *nachas-rostis* 1570.

sg. 3 f. *nachas-renfad* 314, *nachas-bérád* 331.

AEN. *nachas-legid* . . . *ht* (3 sg. f.) 481^a10.

PH. sg. 3 f. *nachas-airimend* 5330, *nachus-failsig* 6087.

pl. 3. *náhus-tocráid na braithre* 8092.

¹ But in so old a text as SR. these instances may be safely put down as scribal corruptions. Instances of meaningless *-s-* from LU. are *ni-s-ragbad* 15^b20, *no-s-fuaisnither im Coirculaind* 127^a26.

² In 4381 for *nachas-tathigi* might have been expected *náchas-tathiged*. That the pronoun is feminine is shown by *impe* 4388.

(8) DENTAL FORMS.

Under each pronoun the occurrences are arranged as follows:

(a) relative use, (β) non-relative use, (γ) use after *ad-*, *con-*, etc.

I. -dn-, -d-.

SR. (a) *ro-dn-anacht* 6101, *ciphé no-d-marba*¹ . . . *Cain* 1993. Between the copula and a comparative²: *ríg naile bád-ad-adamrú*, 'another king more wonderful than he' 6628.

(β) *ro-dm-bia* 812, *ro-dm-berb* 2846, *co ro-dm-bróe* 5469, *ro-d-clái* 5470, *mani-d-clo* 7441; *ro-d-bi* . . . *Iacob* 3049, In *ro-don-anacht* 6037 -don- appears for -dn-.³ In *rotdelb* 1055 the force of the -t- is not clear.

(γ) *atnaig*⁴ 3546, *conidn-arllassair* 3791, *conid-arllassair* 4791, *dian-tuc* 7646, *dian-farslaic* 7319, 7399. In *hé cotnarlaic* . . . *anísin* 3659, *cotnarlaic* is probably a scribal error for *cotrairlaic*. The meaning of *cotn-gaib*,⁵ etc., is obscure.

LG. (a) *ro-dn-uc* 18^b47, *ro-dn-alt* 22^a32.

(γ) *conid-romarb* 16^b4, 19^b33, 51, 20^a7, 25, 22^b17, 23^a34.

TT. No examples.

BOR. No examples.

NENN. (β) *ro-d-fuc* (v. l. *rosfug*) 209^a45.

(γ) *conid-romarbh* 207^a28; *gonad-marb* . . . *he* 205^b30.

AEN. (β) *ro-d-fia* 452^b30, 466^b33 (bis), *no-d-geb* 471^a31, *ro-d-croithinn* 477^b1.

-d-, which is misused throughout, is here evidently a literary recrudescence.

LS. (β) *ro-d-rir* 195. In *no-t-gessiut* 7 *no-t-aitchet*⁶ in *Coimdhe*

¹ If the -d- is more than the relative -d-. In 2281, *rodrósat* is a corruption of *drósat*. Examples of rel. -d-, 'him,' in later texts in LU. are *do-d-roega* 17^b7, *ro-d-fir* 51^a1 (in a poem ascribed to Cinaed hua Artacain).

² Cf. Thesaurus *Paleohibernicus*, II. 292, note 1.

³ Cf. *ru-dan-ordan* Wb. 33^c5.

⁴ But in Mid. Ir. the dental infix has become part of this verb. In *atraig = ad-d-raig*, lit. *he raises himself*, the infixated pron. was from the outset a regular part of the verb; and in Mid. Ir. *atraig* replaces the fem. and pl. *ataregat*: cf. CZ. III. 414.

⁵ Strachan, *Verbal System of the Saltair na Rann*, ll. 37 sq.

⁶ As to the orthography we shall have -t- (= unaspirated -d-) in the Mid.-Ir. descendants of neut. -d-, e.g. *fotera* = O. Ir. *fodera*.

694, the *-t-* seems to be simply ornamental. The same applies to the occurrence in

MC. (β) *ro-t-gab a trostán*.¹

PH. (a) *ro-t-mairnn* 3083, if the *-t-* is more than relative. In *is é in fégad sin ro-t-cuir Petar* 3199 the *-t-* is probably relative.

(β) *ro-t-fég* 1133.

As a literary curiosity may be mentioned *conid-romarb*, 'and slew her,' LU. 53^b14; *conidromarb*, 'slew him,' was a common phrase, and the writer here extends it to the feminine. In *cid iotæ no-t-gabæd*, RC. xii 82, the pron. refers to a plural. In *is sed conair ro-dn-gab* LU. 109^b7, in *breth ro-dn-ucad* 110^b35 *-dn-* is perversely used for relative *-n-*.

2. -d-

(a) of a relative neut. *-d-* meaning 'it,' I have found only one possible instance in our texts, namely, *feib léir ro-d-gellai* SR. 5816, and even here the *-d-* may be relative. Such a relative *-d-* is well established for Mid. Ir.² Instances are:—*intt no-d-faidmis* LU. 8^b16, *conid de ro-d-lil Goll de* 42^a33, *ind écáini do-d-rónsat* 51^a41, *is iat do-d-róni in smúitcheó* 83^a30, *cosin carn do-d-rónsat* 99^a7, *feib do-d-rímiseo* 114^a27, *no-d-ragam* LG. 13^a39, *in maith ro-t-shechmallsam* PH. 4749; for other examples see Atkinson, p. 890. As to the starting-point of this Mid.-Ir. development, there are two O.-Ir. usages which may have contributed to it. (1) In the verbs *fofera* and *doesta* *-d-* appears in relative forms³: *fo-d-era*,⁴ *do-d-esta*.⁵ (2) The neuter pronoun is used in the sense of what Pedersen calls the 'figura etymologica'.⁶ When the original force of this

¹ On p. 109 *bendachtu* for *cach noen notlegfa* (leg. *notlegfad*) 7 *notlessaigfed* looks like a traditional formula.

² Cf. CZ. III. 65.

³ Sommer, CZ. I. 220 sq.

⁴ *fodera* (*fotera*), *fodruair* (*fotruair*) remain in use in Mid. Ir., e.g. LU. 40^b43, 51^a14, 54^a18, TT. 90, 108, LG. 9^a21, MC. 53, 57, PH., p. 709.

⁵ Cf. *dotesta* LU. 44^b33, but *testa* PH. p. 919, TT. 1100, CZ. II. 262, Ann. Ul. 1199.

⁶ KZ. XXXV. 415. Further examples from old texts are: *no-d-raga*, 'who shall go the aforementioned going,' 'who shall so go' LU. 19^a5, 9, *cid moch donit* (= *do-n-d-té*) 69^b32, *ni mé ro-d-mert* 84^a8, *do-d-ánic* 91^b13, *du-d-lotar* 99^a26.

-d- became weakened, it might easily come to be used merely in a relative sense.

(β) There is a meaningless *-d-* in *no-d-geib* Aen. 464^a37; but it may equally well have developed from the masculine pronoun. What the meaningless *-t-* in *na ro-t-saebtha* PH. 3984 represents is equally uncertain. Cf., further, *nid frith, nid tallas*, RC. xii 72, *nit regaim a les*, 76, 78.

(γ) In Mid. Ir.¹ neut. *-d-* has become an integral part of many verbs beginning with *ad-* (*ad-, ass-, aith-*), e.g. *atbeir, atchl, atchluin, atchota, atgeóin*, etc. So in the Sagas *cotric* = *conric, cotérig* = *conérig* are not unusual; but with *con-* the *-d-* did not become common. In the verb *forgellaim* also *-t-* has become constant, cf. SR. 3581 (further *fotroirgell* 3385), and Glossary to PH. s. v. *forgellaim*.² That in Mid.-Ir. texts the infixed pronoun has ever any meaning in these forms I have no evidence. The O.-Ir. relative *assid-, conid-, etc.* (see above, p. 156) have disappeared in Mid. Ir.

3. *-da-*.

The only one of our texts from which I have instances of *-da-* in its O.-Ir. usage is SR.

(α) *ro-da-gni* 163, *no-da-foilcc* 251, *ro-da-mert* (= O. Ir. *ro-n-da-mert*) 2779, *ro-da-triall* 7197.

(γ) *cota-oi* 646, *for-da-midet* (?) 108, *cota-coimsed* (= O. Ir. *cota-messed*) 5387.

(β) But the form is also found where the verb is not relative:—*fo-do-ralaid* 2189, so probably *co ro-da-bades* 2182. Further instances of this usage from LU. are: *no-da-sénsat* 24^a30, *ni-dá-tánsem* (where we might have expected *nítánsem* or *náchatánsem*) 56^b16, *ar-da-slig* 56^a4,

¹ In O. Ir. the occurrences are Wb. *atruirmed* 2^a6, *atroillisset* 4^a15, *atrothreb* 26^d3; Ml. *atrim* 49^a11; in 123^b15 *atindided*, if it is not to be corrected to *ataindided*, might contain a neut. pron., cf. *darolgid dom tra in frithorcuin sin* Wb. 18^a12. In Wb. 4^a15, 26^d3 the verb is relative, in 2^a6 it is not according to the rule in Wb. In Ml. 49^a11 *atrim* might possibly be relative, cf. CZ. iv. 67. The instances in Wb. would seem to indicate that the form arose first in relative use; and it is not unnatural that *atbeir* should have been used for *asbeir* before it was used for *asbeir*. But the lacuna in tradition does not permit us to trace the development of the form; in SR. *asbeir* and *atbeir* seem to be used promiscuously.

² In O. Ir. *-t-* may always be a neut. pron.; the occurrences are given by Sommer, CZ. I. 221.

im-da-cuiret 87^b18, *no-dá-sinet* 87^b18, *no-da-samaigetur* 90^a27, *im-da-tuigethar* 95^b25.

By a further extension *-da-* is also used of the masc. sg. Instances from S.R. are:—*ata-comoing* (sc. *Abisolón*) 6920, *con-a-fuair* 3697, *cono-tuctais* . . . *in mac* 3702, *ro-da-car* (non-rel.) 3173, 3705, *ro-do-bris* . . . *cath* 5573. Further instances are: *con-da-tarat* LU. 22^b37, *cono-rucur* 54^a23, *conda-esur* *bíad* 104^a24, *con-da-accatar* (where another MS. has *connfaccatar*) *ni* 128^b1, *ro-ta-cursaigh* (rel.) LS. 2559, *con-da-gaib* MC. 13, *ratafetamar* LL. 98^a23, 38, 98^b1, 29, etc. In *cáta helta ilerda ataciam*? Bor. 302^a38, *ataciam* means no more than *atchiam*.

4. -das-, -dos-¹

SR. (a) sg. 3 f. *fo-das-niada* (leg. *fo-das-riada*) 288, *ro-das-fessad* 562, *ro-das-derscaig* 4423, *ro-das-ta* 7527.

pl. 3. *do-dos-rosat* 564, *ro-dosassai²* 2564, *ro-dosas* 4065, *ar-dos-cé* . . . *in crann ocus in nathraig* 4165, *ro-das-car* 2991, *do-dasaer* 3985, *ro-das-cinn* 4231, *ro-das-biathái* 4636, *do-das-sáer* 4818, *ro-das-traeth* 4993, *ro-das-lín* . . . *clanna* 5049, *ro-das-lanlín* 5076, *ro-dasidaig* 5203, *ro-dasaer* 5257, 5276, *ro-das-gní* . . . *ildelba* 7269.

(β) sg. 3 f. *no-dosai* 3863, *ro-dosamaig* 2200.

pl. 3. *do-dos-ruasat* 676, 1110, *ro-das-gab* 2688, *ro-das-crín* 3399, *ro-dosmachtaigset* 3637, *ro-dos-dairsatar* 3665, *do-das-fuaid* 3860, *ro-dos-terbaiset* 4653, *ro-das-faidsct* 4655, *ro-das-troeth* 4995, *ro-das-bate* 5279, *ro-das-dáer* 5289, 5293, *ro-dos-slechtsat* 5491, *ro-das-lín* 5547, *do-dos-rat* 5867, *ro-doselaig* 6549, *ro-dos-dedaig* 6550, *ro-das-troeth* 6553, 7051,

¹ These are the instances of the form which I have noted in LU.:—

sg. 3 f. *dianos-faictis* 28^a10, *ro-das-bennach* (v., non-rel.) 53^a13, *ro-dá-samsubaid*, (v., leg. *-subaig*) 53^a15, *conas-tarat* 54^b15, *ddnas-tairsed* 79^b37.

pl. 3. *do-das-athiged* (non-rel.; the form in this old text marks the sentence as an interpolation) 19^a24, *conos-rala* 16^a19, *con-das-fil* 17^b19, *conos-tairsed* 22^a21, *conos-tarla* 26^a6, *atas-foprat* 26^a39, *atas-comnaic* 28^a12, *conos-beir* 29^a23, 31, *no-das-ceil* (v.) 38^a37.

sg. 3 m. *do-dos-celt* (v.) 38^a39, *conos-tanic* (?) 50^b2, *conos-tarraig* 105^a21 (if it does not refer to Cuchulinn and his charioteer); *cordasmesc* 77^b36 (= *coromesc* LL.) seems a mere corruption.

² Where the following letter is *-s-* it is uncertain whether the writer meant *-da-* or *das-*; the instances have been given under *-das-* because that is the predominant form.

ro-dasmacht . . . in macrad 7155, *ro-dasaer* 7392, *ro-das-hicc* 7636; once *ro-dosn-airg*¹ 5415.

(γ) sg. 3 f. *conos-tuc* 1665, *conas-rucur* 1666.

pl. 3. *atas-comaining* 5320, *conas-tarraid* 864, *conos-ti* 1452, *conos-tucam* 3979, *conas-torslaic* 5287, *con-dos-saersat* 5295, *con-das-fuair . . . di ingin* 2933, *con-das-tárraид* 3019.

* LG. (γ) sg. 3 f. *atos-condairc* 3^b9, *conos-toracht* 5^a6, 6^a.

pl. 3. *conos-fuair* 20^b31.

TT. (γ) pl. 3. *con-das-rala* 1343, *conascailend* 1989.

BOR. (γ) pl. 3. *atas-cím* 303^b15.

AEN.² (γ) pl. 3. *conus-rogab* 457^a4.

LS. (a) pl. 3. *ro-tas-gabh* 3800.

(β) pl. 3. *no-tas-sloicc* 491.

(γ) sg. 3 f. *conus-ibh* 54, *conus-tarraid* 2791, *conas-tall* 1337.

MC. (a) pl. 3. *na-dos-fagaib* 95.

(β) pl. 3. *fo-dos-ceirdi . . . na mírenda* 97.

PH. (γ) sg. 3 f. *conus-techtad trocaire* 4123, *conus-léic soigit* 7184.

pl. 3. *conus-imorcuirit* 1823, *conus-dernai* 6630, *conus-féga nem* 7 *talmain* 6629.

The form also spreads to the masc. sg. (usually after *con-*, etc.). In SR. the usage is only beginning: *ro-dosás . . . Noe* (rel.) 2541, if it be not plural, *ro-dasáer . . . Raab* 7345. Examples from our other texts are:—

LG. *conos-fuaratar* 22^b30.

TT. *conas-tuc* 425.

NENN. *conas-tarla* 208^a35.

MC. *dianos-tarla* (?) 95.

PH. *conus-uc* 3941, *conus-fuair* 6303, *dianus-tarda fadéin* 4858, *conus-increchsom he* 4132, *conus-tesairced a mac* 6625, *conus-tidnaice . . . bethaid* 6631. The frequent addition of the noun in this text shows that the pronoun has lost its force, and hence, like *-s-*, it is sometimes meaningless: *conus-fortach-taige* 1423, 4158, *conus-fetatar combad he* 6331.

¹ In *ro-dos-pianta* 5418, if the text be sound, the pronoun is meaningless; leg. probably *ro-dospianai*.

² At 466^b3 *ro-dus-tuc* is found, where an infixed pron. of the second person might have been expected; so *do-s-fuc* 466^b4, we should have looked for an infixed pronoun of the first person.

V. THE INDEPENDENT PRONOUN.

We have seen above the simplification in Mid. Ir. of the O. Ir. infixd pronoun. In the first and second persons the dental forms disappear, except after *ad-*, *con-*, and the like; in the third person everything becomes *-s-*, or, after *ad-*, *con-*, etc., *-dos-*, *-nos-*; in late texts *-s-* itself is a literary survival, and is often inserted where it has no meaning. From the eleventh century the infixd pronoun has a rival in the independent pronoun. In SR. I have noted no examples.¹ In the eleventh century MS. LU. it is already common in the later and more popular texts. Thus in the commentary on the Amra we find:—*cona ragbad . . . hé 14^b31, notaidded . . . eat 13^a28, nofegad . . . eat 13^a27, rothogmaing . . . he 14^b34.*² In the Scéla Lái Brátha we have *atchoncammárnii thí 32^a21, atchon-narcmóir . . . tú 32^a22, atconcamáir . . . thú 32^a22*; infix. *nacha-s-ragbad 32^a1, do-s-beir 33^a47.* Other occurrences on LU. are:—

Dá Brón: *dogní . . . hé 18^a1.*

Aided Echach: *robaist . . . hí 41^b7.*

¹ Examples of the independent pronoun in the nom. are:—*bráthir sinn 3493, ecoitchinn eat 5517.* Similar occurrences in LU. may not be without interest, as showing that in the eleventh century the pronoun had advanced far towards its modern form.

Commentary on the Amra C.C.:—*robo lesmac di é 5^a36, is crot cen cheis iatside 8^b37, nipo lais é 9^a42, corbo húath hé 10^a6, ba gas hé 11^a4, tóit lan do déirc eseom 12^a36, is oll in trenfer hé 13^a23, nirbo nemdil . . . hé 14^a41, nirbec hé 14^a42.*

Senchas na Relec:—*noadnaictís iat 51^a23, 24, combad he . . . hé 51^a44.*

Aided Echach:—*frithailter misi 41^a2, tucad . . . hí 41^a14, rogabád hí 41^a33, robaiddé hé 41^a23, tarras hí 41^a34, robo leis hí 41^a32.*

Fotha Catha Cnucha: *ní thucad dó hí 42^b13, robo torrach hí 42^a43.*

Fis Adamnán: *céil arthús he 29^b39, acairbiú hé 30^b33.*

Fled Bricrend: *is la Coinculaind . . . hé 112^a24, díá tibertha hé 112^a43, is é gaiscedach as dech . . . hé 101^a39, dogena-sib (v. l. dogena-su) 99^b47.*

Imram Curaig Máeleduin: *combd mac . . . hé 22^b29, Maelduin . . . esside 22^a38, cf. 22^b14.*

Táin Bó Flidais: *ní herfaider . . . sibsi* (variant without *sibsi*) *21^a19.*

Tochmarc Emire: *stíalt ar chapur hé 121^a37.*

Táin Bó Cuailnge: *da chomais sind 73^b7.*

Togail Bruidne Dá Derga: *dd chomalta dosom iat* (iat an interpolation of LU.) *83^a14, roadnacht . . . hé 98^b24.*

² As to the infixd pronouns, *nimreilge 7^b13* is a quotation from the text. The only other clear instances are *nosbliged 13^a32*, and *nongeba 13^a6*, for the occurrences in verse quotations do not count. At *11^a2, 3* both text and gloss are quotations.

Fotha Catha Cnucha : *nir leic cuci hí* 42^a43.

Cath Cairn Chonaill : *hi tarat hé* 116^a20, *rosdraig . . . hé* 116^a20.

Comthoth Loegairi : *bennachais . . . hé* 118^a24.

Scél Túain : *lenad . . . sind* 16^a33.

Tucait Innarba na nDessi : *tabair d'oid hé* 53^b19.

Fled Bricrend : *dorat . . . tat* 105^a33, *ni léicfemni . . . hé* 105^a39, *tarraid hé* 108^b27, *fóidis tat* 109^a9, *comallas . . . hé* 110^b12, *ni chosna . . . he* 110^a8.¹

Imram Curaig Máiledúin : *roarigsetar . . . eatsom* 26^a39.

Tochmarc Emire : *rocharsat . . . hé* 121^b35, *rochrechtnaig . . . eseom* 126^a28, *fogéba messi* 126^a41.

Serglige Conculaind : *co fuarusa hé* (v.) 48^a3, *robuadir . . . hí* 49^b23, *co tuctais . . . hé* 50^a43.

Togail Bruidne Dá Derga : *tanairsed . . . sibsi* (*sibsi* not in YBL.) 91^b28, *roleg . . . hé* 98^b20.²

Táin Bó Cúailnge : *ara naiscea dó hí* 71^a35, *conná fostba sib* 71^a37, *facbais tat* 71^b3, *ní fælsaid tat* 72^a9, *geogain tat* 72^b23, *connel . . . hé* 82^b31.³

The evidence of LU., then, shows that the independent pronoun was in common use before the end of the eleventh century.⁴ It remains to give the occurrences from the texts used for the history of the infixed pronoun.

LG. *dia ruc . . . iat* 3^a5, *coromarbsat . . . é* 9^a39, cf. 22^a40, 42, *fácbaid é* 20^b37,⁵ *co rochuir iat* 20^b25.

TT. *co rafuile*ng^e . . . *sein sib* 1796; *fuaratar . . . hé* 13, so 121, 342, 412, 518, 1234, 1839; *romarb essium* 463; *rachluin . . . heside* 406; *tucsat . . . iat* 368, so 444, 915, 1600.⁶

¹ Cf. Thurneysen, CZ. IV. 200 sq.

² The passage is not in YBL.

³ All the instances but the last come from a passage which is not in YBL., and which otherwise in its language shows signs of lateness. The remaining example also comes from an episode not in YBL.

⁴ Compare with this the evidence from the Annals of Ulster, above, p. 169.

⁵ Independent pronoun as nom. : *do chlaind Magoth . . . é* 5^a10, *fer co ndanaib . . . éside* 9^b10, *da brathair iat* 3^a48, *co rolaad . . . é* 22^b28, *co ructha . . . iat* 20^b49.

⁶ As nom. : *intan ba gilla bec mi* 1261; *rachubraig sé Hercoil* 415; *ba gilla bec éside* 700, so 606, 763; *prímchathir . . . iside* 29, so 46, 85, 365; *daringned ém éside*, 'that was done,' 161; *comtis iat in coblach uli iat* 554, so 196; *rafostad . . . e* 1949, so 57, 400, 949; *rucad . . . hi* 143, *marbhair hí* 448.

BOR. *gebes ecla tú* 303^b17, *dorat . . . é* 300^b10, so 300^b28, 301^b43, 304^a14, 304^b31; *na fuilngidsi hí* 303^a6, so 306^a37; *ni innisfem iat* 301^b3, so 304^b1, 307^b47, 308^a32.¹

NENN. *roinnarbsat . . . he* 205^b17, so 205^b30; *co rosidaigestar . . . iad* 206^b22.²

AEN. *romuirfidis me* 454^a1, so 450^b19, 450^b20, 478^b17; *dosfuc sinde* 466^b11; *ni bera ass tu fen* 480^b36, *rodiligset . . . thu* 484^b11; *ni lema . . . sib* 476^a42; *co rocarad . . . he* 452^b37, so 467^b30, 468^a10, 471^b18, 478^b16, 479^b15; *rofuc iat* 451^a19, so 458^b42, 463^b22, 466^b30, 468^a1, 471^a22, 472^b24, 473^a32, 473^b24.³

LS. *geibh misi* 3492, *muirbhfit . . . mhisi* 3438; *corosfoire sinne* 3171; *sín . . . tú* 3439, *corofreagra . . . thu* 2893; *rocarussa sibhsí* 3937; *berail . . . hé* 3551, so 4315, 4658; *atcíd hí* 3384; *nolinfad iat* 1301, so 1361, 2557, 3180, 3329, 4196, 4800.⁴

MC., *dober he* 43², so 45¹³; *oslaicis hí* 23¹⁰.⁵

PH. See Atkinson's Glossary, p. 868.

In O.-Ir. texts preserved in Mid.-Ir. manuscripts, a not infrequent form of corruption is that, where there is already an infixing pronoun, an independent pronoun is added after the later fashion. Thus LU. 59^a33 has *connachrancatár hé*, where YBL. has no *hé*; similarly *diandingbaitea fessin hé* 72^b37, where *hé* is wanting in YBL.; *ni ránic hé* 111^a24, where another text has *ni ránic*. Such corruptions seem to be imitated in the later literary style, e.g.:

LG. *no-s-beir iat* 20^b44.

¹ As nom.: *ragaid missi* 305^b39, *dá marbhar misse* 304^a3; *ni mairfider thí* 304^a35, *damba sathchu sib* 303^b12; *corop dín dam é* 303^b26, so 307^a10; *is sochaide iat* 304^b18; *rolínad . . . e* 300^b30, so 303^a18, 303^b27, 304^b22; *forsandigeltar iat* 301^a31, so 302^b15.

² As nom. *bod rig . . . tu* 208^a37; *atcondairc se* 209^b36; *da mac Silui iad* 205^b38; *co torth[r]omthai . . . he* 209^b7; *tucthar as iat* (= *tucthar as* LU.) 210^b44.

³ As nom.: *adcondaire missi* 455^a21; *Troianraig sindi* 469^b7, so 469^b23; *connachcæmsad sibsi* 454^a24, so 466^b30, 479^b19; *is suairc he* 456^a42, so 449^b10, 456^b47, 460^b18, 462^b8, 463^b8, 465^b13, 469^a6, 470^b26, 471^b12, 472^b7, *torothor iside* 457^a10, so 450^a43, 462^b26, 463^a44, 465^b7, 467^b22; *robtar toirsig iad* 470^a4, so 472^a6, 460^b25; *romarþhar . . . he* 459^a14; *arna tucthai . . . hi* 467^b12; *doberar . . . iat* 453^b12, so 461^a10.

⁴ As nom.: *bid manaigh . . . inne* 3196; *is senóir thu* 3495, *cu rogaptha tú* 3453; *deinmnedhaigh iatsein* 1374, so 2945.

⁵ As nom.: *araile lech . . . esside* 3, so 5¹, 9²; *comba métithir . . . hí* 53¹; *ba faide iat* 51²⁵; *rofuirmed he* 19¹⁰, so 25¹², 55¹⁵, 63²⁶; *immangabar hí* 81³³.

NENN. *cid ornamtugadh . . . mhe* 210^b28, *gonadmarb a mac he* 205^b30.

AEN. *ro-n-geb oman sinne* 454^a40, *ro-s-tocaib he* 461^a24; *ro-s-marb i* 464^a24, *so* 456^b38, 483^a39, 481^a10; *no-s-geb . . . iat* 451^a17, *so* 450^b7, 452^a40, 463^a19, 469^b3.

PH. See Atkinson's Glossary, p. 857.

Further examples will be found above, pp. 164 sq.

J. STRACHAN.

MACGNÍMARHTA FINN THE BOYISH EXPLOITS OF FINN¹

1. THERE befell a meeting of valour and a contest of battle about the chieftaincy of the *fian* and about the high-stewardship of Ireland between Cumall, son of Trénmór, and Urgriu, son of Lugaid Corr of the Luaigni.² That Cumall was of the Corco Oche of Cúil Contuind,³ for to these the Ui Tairrsig, Cumall's tribe, belonged. Torba, daughter of Eochaman of the Erne, was the wife of Cumall, until he married Muirne of the fair neck.

2. Then the battle of Cnucha⁴ was fought between them, to wit, between Cumall and Urgriu. Daire the Red, son of Echaid the Fair, son of Coirpre the Valorous, son of Muiredach, and his son Aed were fighting the battle along with Urgriu. Another name for that Daire was Morna Wryneck. So the battle was fought. Luchet and Aed, son of Morna, met in the battle. Luchet wounded Aed, and destroyed one of his eyes, whence the name of Goll (*i.e.* the One-eyed) clave to him from that time forth. Luchet fell by Goll. The man who kept Cumall's treasure-bag wounded Cumall in the battle. Cumall fell in the battle by Goll, son of Morna, who carried off his spoils and his head, whence there was a hereditary feud between Finn and the sons of Morna.

3. Hence sang the shanachie :—

“ Goll, son of Daire the Red, with fame,
Son of Echaid the Fair, of valour fair,
Son of Cairpre the Valorous with valour,
Son of Muiredach from Findmag.”⁵

¹ Translated from the original Irish in *Revue Celtique*, v., p. 197 ff. Cf. *Archiv für Celtische Lexikographie*, vol. I., p. 482.

² “ A famous military sept in Meath,” O’D.

³ “ A territory situated on the borders of the present counties of Meath and Cavan,” O’D.

⁴ Now Castleknock, near the Liffey, Co. Dublin.

⁵ “ A plain in the barony of Athlone, Co. Roscommon,” O’D.

Ascribed to 12th century: K. Meyer, introd. to *Fianaigeacht*, T.L.S., xxviii.

“ Goll slew Luchet of the hundreds
 In the battle of Cnucha, 'tis no falsehood :
 Luchet the Fair of prowess bright¹
 Fell by the son of Morna.

“ By him fell great Cumall
 In the battle of Cnucha of the hosts.
 'Tis for the chieftaincy of Erin's fian
 That they waged the stout battle.

“ The children of Morna were in the battle
 And the Luaigni of Tara,
 Since to them belonged the leadership² of the men of Fál³
 By the side of every valorous king.

“ Victorious Cumall had a son,
 The Finn, bloody, of weapons hard :
 Finn and Goll, great their fame,
 Mightily they waged war.

“ Afterwards they made peace,
 Finn and Goll of the hundred deeds,
 Until Banb Sinna fell
 About the pig at Tara Luachra.⁴

“ Aed was the name of the son of Daire
 Until Luchet with glory wounded him :
 Since the fierce lance had wounded him,
 Therefore was he called Goll.”

4. Cumall left his wife Muirne pregnant. And she brings forth a son, to whom the name of Demne was given. Fiacail, son of Conchenn, and Bodbmall the druidess, and the Grey one of Luachair came to Muirne, and carry away the boy, for his mother durst not let him be with her. Muirne afterwards slept with Gleor Red-hand, king of the Lamraige,⁵ whence⁶ the saying, ‘Finn, son of Gleor.’ Bodbmall, however, and the Grey one, and the boy with them, went into the forest of Slieve Bloom. There the boy was secretly reared. That was indeed necessary; for many a sturdy stalwart youth, and many a

¹ Read *Luicet Finn in gaiscid glain.*

² i.e. the headship of the fian (*fianus*).

³ A poetical name for Ireland.

⁴ See the “Cause of the Battle of Cnucha,” translated by Hennessy, Rev. Celt. II., p. 86 ff.

⁵ “A people of Kerry,” O’D.

⁶ Read *conid* [*d*]eiside.

venomous hostile warrior and angry fierce champion of the warriors of the Luaigni and of the sons of Morna were lying in wait for that boy, and for Tulcha, the son of Cumall. In that manner then those two women-warriors reared him for a long time.

5. Then, at the end of six years, his mother came to visit her son, for she had been told that he was in that place, and besides, she was afraid of the sons of Morna for him. However, she passed from one wilderness to another, until she reached the forest of Slieve Bloom. She found the hunting-booth and the boy asleep in it. And then she lifts the boy to her bosom, and presses him to her, and she pregnant at the time.¹ It was then she made the quatrains, fondling her son :—

“Sleep in peaceful slumber,” &c.

Thereupon the woman bade farewell to the women-warriors, and told them to take charge² of the boy till he should be fit to be a warrior. And so the boy grew up till he was able to hunt.

6. On a certain day the boy went out alone, and saw ducks upon a lake. He sent a shot among them, which cut off the feathers and wings of one, so that a trance fell upon her; and then he seized her and took her with him to the hunting-booth. And that was Finn's first chase.

7. He afterwards went with certain *cairds* to flee from the sons of Morna, and was with them about Crotta.³ These were their names: Futh⁴ and Ruth and Regna of Moy Fea, and Temle, and Olpe, and Rogein. There scurvy came upon him, and therefrom he became a scald, whence he used to be called Demne the Bald. At that time there was a reaver in Leinster, Fiacail, the son of Codna. Then in Feeguile⁵ Fiacail came upon the *cairds*, and killed them all save Demne alone. After that he

¹ The Irish is *ocus sí trom iarum*, which should not, I think, as has been suggested, be rendered ‘and she pregnant thereafter,’ *iarum* here having the force of *tra* (see Windisch, Wörterbuch, p. 613) and not of *iarsin*. Besides, *ocus sí* denotes an accompanying circumstance.

² For this meaning of *indgabaim*, see Manners and Customs, I., p. lxxxv, n. 104.

³ “i.e. Crotta Cliach, now the Galty mountains in the south of County Tipperary,” O’D.

⁴ Wrongly printed *Tuth* in Rev. Celt. v., p. 199.

⁵ “In the parish of Cloonsast, north of Portarlington, King’s County,” O’D.

was with Fiacail, the son of Codna, in his house in Sescenn Uair-beóil.¹ The two women-warriors came southwards to the house of Fiacail, the son of Codna, in search of Demne, and he is given to them. And then they take him with them from the south to the same place.

8. One day he went out alone until he reached Moy Liffey,² and a certain stronghold there; and he saw the youths hurling upon the green of the stronghold there. He went to contend in running or in hurling with them. He came again the next day, and they put one-fourth of their number against him. Again they come with one-third of their number against him. However, at last they all go against him, and he won his game from them all.

9. "What is thy name?" they said. "Demne," said he. The youths tell that to the man of the stronghold. "Then kill him,"³ if ye know how to do it—if ye are able to do it," said he. "We should not be able to do aught to him," said they. "Did he tell you his name?" says he. "He said," say they, "that his name was Demne." "What does he look like?" said he. "A shapely fair (*finn*) youth," said they. "Then Demne shall be named Finn (the Fair)," said he. Whence the youths used to call him Finn.

10. He came to them on the next day, and went to them at their game. All together they throw their hurlets at him. He turns among them, and throws seven of them to the ground. He went from them into the forest of Slieve Bloom.

11. Then, at the end of a week, he came back to the same place. The youths were swimming in a lake that was close by. The youths challenge him to come and try to drown them. Thereupon he jumps into the lake to them, and drowns nine of them in the lake. And after that he goes to Slieve Bloom. "Who drowned the youths?" everybody asks. "Finn," say they. So that henceforth [the name] Finn clave to him.

12. Once he went forth across Slieve Bloom, and the two women-warriors together with him, when a fleet herd of wild deer is seen [by them] on the ridge of the mountain. "Alas!" say

¹ i.e. the Swamp of Uar-béil or Cold-Mouth, somewhere in Leinster.

² "The plain of the Liffey, a very level plain in County Kildare," O'D.

³ Read *marbaid-si de é*.

the two old women, "that we cannot get hold of one of those!"¹ "I can," [says Finn], and he dashes upon them, and lays hold of two bucks among them, and brings them with him to their hunting-booth. After that he would hunt for them constantly. "Go from us now, lad," said the women-warriors to him, "for the sons of Morna are watching to kill thee."

13. Alone he went from them until he reached Lough Leane,² above Luachair,³ and there he took military service with the king of Bantry. At that place he did not make himself known. However, there was not at that time a hunter his equal. Thus said the king to him:—"If Cumall had left a son," says he, "one would think thou wast he. However, we have not heard of his leaving a son, except Tulcha mac Cumaill, and he is in military service with the king of Scotland."

14. He afterwards bids farewell to the king, and goes from them to Carbrige, which at this day is [called] Kerry,⁴ and takes military service with the king of that land. Then, on a certain day, the king came to play *fidchell*. He was prompted by Finn, and won seven games one after another. "Who art thou?" says the king. "The son of a peasant of the Luaigni of Tara," says he. "No," says the king, "but thou art the son whom Muirne bore to Cumall, and be here no longer, lest thou be slain [while] under my protection."

15. Then he went forth to Cullen⁵ of the Ui Cuanach,⁶ to the house of Lochán, a chief smith, who had a very beautiful daughter, Cruithne by name. She fell in love with the youth. "I shall give thee my daughter, though I know not who thou art." Thereupon the girl slept with the youth. "Make spears for me," said the youth to the smith. So Lochán made two spears for him. He then bade farewell to Lochán, and went away. "My son," says Lochán, "do not go upon the road on which is the sow called the Beo." She it was that devastated the

¹ Read *ní tic dín astud*, &c.

² The great Lake of Killarney.

³ i.e. Luchair Dedad, "a district in the County of Kerry, containing the two Pap mountains," O'D.

⁴ "The territory so called extended in ancient times only from Tralee to the Shannon," O'D.

⁵ "In the County of Tipperary, near the borders of the County of Limerick," O'D.

⁶ Coonagh is now the name of a barony, County Limerick.

midlands of Munster. But what happened to the youth was to go upon the very road on which the sow was. Then the sow charged him ; but he thrust his spear at her, so that it went through her, and left her without life. Then he takes the head of the sow with him to the smith as a bridal gift for his daughter. Hence is Slieve Muck¹ in Munster.

16. After that the youth went onwards into Connaught to seek Crimall, the son of Trénmór. As he was on his way, he heard the wail of a woman. He went towards it, and saw a woman ; and now it was tears of blood, and now a gush of blood, so that her mouth was red. "Thou art red-mouthed, woman!" says he. "Good cause have I," says she, "for my only son has been slain by a tall, very terrible warrior who came in my way." "What was thy son's name?" says he. "Glonda was his name," says she. Hence is the Ford of Glonda and the Causeway of Glonda on Moinmoy,² and from that redness of mouth the Ford of the Red Mouth³ has been so called ever since. Then Finn went in pursuit of the warrior, and they fight a combat, and he fell by him. This is how he was: he had the treasure-bag with him, to wit, the treasures of Cumall. He who had fallen there was the Grey one of Luachair, who had dealt the first wound to Cumall in the battle of Cnucha.

17. Thereupon he goes into Connaught, and finds Crimall as an old man in a desert wood there, and a number of the old *fian* together with him ; and it is they who did the hunting for him. Then he shows(?) him the bag, and told him his story from beginning to end ; how he had slain the man of the treasures. Finn bade farewell to Crimall, and went to learn poetry from Finnéces, who was on the Boyne.⁴ He durst not remain in Ireland else, until he took to poetry, for fear of the son of Urgriu, and of the sons of Morna.

18. Seven years Finnéces had been on the Boyne, watching the salmon of Fec's Pool⁵ ; for it had been prophesied of him

¹ *Slíab Muicce*, 'the Mountain of the Sow.'

² "A territory lying round Lough Reagh, County Galway," O'D.

³ "Not identified, unless it be Ballyderg," O'D.

⁴ "For the poets thought that the place where poetry was revealed always was upon the brink of water" (*ar bá baile fallsigthe eicsi dogrés lasna filedu for bri usci*), LL. p. 186 a.

⁵ "A deep pool in the River Boyne, near *Ferta Fer Fecc*, the ancient name of the village of Slane, on this river," O'D.

that he would eat the salmon of Féic, when nothing would remain unknown to him. The salmon was found, and Demne was then ordered to cook the salmon; and the poet told him not to eat anything of the salmon. The youth brought him the salmon after cooking it. "Hast thou eaten anything of the salmon, my lad?" says the poet, "No," says the youth, "but I burned my thumb, and put it into my mouth afterwards." "What is thy name, my lad?" says he. "Demne," says the youth. "Finn is thy name, my lad," says he; "and to thee was the salmon given to be eaten, and verily thou art the Finn." Thereupon the youth eats the salmon. It is that which gave the knowledge to Finn, to wit, whenever he put his thumb into his mouth, and sang through *teinm láida*,¹ then whatever he had been ignorant of would be revealed to him.

19. He learnt the three things that constitute a poet, to wit, *teinm láida* and *imbas forosna*² and *dichetul dichennaib*.³ It is then Finn made this lay to prove his poetry⁴ :—

20. May-day, season surpassing! Splendid is colour then. Blackbirds sing a full lay, if there be a slender shaft of day.
 The dust-coloured cuckoo calls aloud: Welcome, splendid summer! The bitterness of bad weather is past, the boughs of the wood are a thicket.
 Summer cuts the river down, the swift herd of horses seeks the pool, the long hair of the heather is outspread, the soft white bog-down grows.
 Panic startles the heart of the deer, the smooth sea runs apace,—season when ocean sinks asleep,—blossom covers the world.
 Bees with puny strength carry a goodly burden, the harvest of blossoms; up the mountain-side kine take with them mud, the ant makes a rich meal.
 The harp of the forest sounds music, the sail gathers—perfect peace. Colour has settled on every height, haze on the lake of full waters.
 The corncrake, a strenuous bard, discourses; the lofty virgin waterfall sings a welcome to the warm pool; the talk of the rushes is come.
 Light swallows dart aloft, loud melody reaches round the hill, the soft rich mast buds, the stuttering quagmire rehearses.
 The peat-bog is as the raven's coat, the loud cuckoo bids welcome, the speckled fish leaps, strong is the bound of the swift warrior.
 Man flourishes, the maiden buds in her fair strong pride; perfect each forest from top to ground, perfect each great stately plain.

¹ "Illumination (?) of song."

² "Knowledge which illuminates."

³ "Extempore incantation."

⁴ A translation of this poem appeared in my "Four Songs of Summer and Winter" (London, D. Nutt, 1903), whence I reprint it here.

Delightful is the season's splendour, rough winter has gone, white is every fruitful wood, a joyous peace is summer.

A flock of birds settles in the midst of meadows; the green field rustles, wherein is a brawling white stream.

A wild longing is on you to race horses, the ranked host is ranged around: a bright shaft has been shot into the land, so that the water-flag is gold beneath it.

A timorous tiny persistent little fellow sings at the top of his voice, the lark sings clear tidings: surpassing May-day of delicate colours!

21. However, Finn went to Cethern, the son of Fintan, further to learn poetry with him. At that time there was a very beautiful maiden in Bri Ele,¹ that is to say, in the fairy-knoll of Bri Ele, and the name of that maiden was Ele. The men of Ireland were at feud about that maiden. One man after another went to woo her. Every year on Hallowe'en the wooing used to take place; for the fairy-knolls of Ireland were always open about Hallowe'en; for on Hallowe'en nothing could ever be hidden in the fairy-knolls. To each man that went to woo her this used to happen: one of his people was slain. This was done to mark the occasion, nor was it ever found out who did it.

22. Like everybody else, the poet Cethern went to woo the maiden. However, Finn did not like the poet's going on that errand. At that time the name of Cumall's son was Finnéces. As they went to the wooing they formed themselves into three bands. There were nine in each band. As they went towards the fairy-knoll, a man of their people was slain between them; and it was not known who had slain him. Oircbel the poet was the name of the man that was slain there. Hence is Fert Oircbeil (the Grave of O.) in Clonfad. Thereupon they separated, and Finn went from them and . . .² However, Finn thought it a grievance and a great disgrace.³

23. He went until he came to the house of the champion Fiacail mac Conchinn, at Slievemargue.⁴ It is there his dwelling was at that time. To him, then, Finn made his complaint, and told him how the man had been slain among them in the fairy-

¹ Now the Hill of Croghan, King's County. Cf. Cruachan Brig Ele, § 26.

² I do not know what to make of *ni thaire*.

³ The whole incident is mentioned in a poem by Gilla in Chomded in LL.

p. 144 b, 44 ff.

⁴ In the S.-E. of Queen's County.

knoll. Fiacail told him to go and sit down by the two Paps of Anu,¹ behind Luachair.² So he went and sat down between the two strongholds which are between the two Paps of Anu.

24. Now, when Finn was there between them, on Hallowe'en night, he saw the two fairy-knolls, opened around him, even the two strongholds, their ramparts having vanished before them. And he saw a great fire in either of the two strongholds ; and he heard a voice from one of them, which said : "Is your sweet food good ?" "Good, indeed !" said a voice in the other fairy-knoll. "A question. Shall anything be taken from us to you ?" "If that be given to us, something will be given to you in return." While Finn was there he saw a man coming out of the fairy-knoll. A kneading-trough was in his hand with a³ pig upon it, and a cooked calf, and a bunch of wild garlic upon it. That was Hallowe'en. The man came past Finn to reach the other knoll. Finn made a cast with the spear of Fiacail mac Conchinn. He hurled it southward from him towards Slieve-margue. Then said Finn : "If the spear should reach any one of us, may he escape(?) alive from it ! I think this was a revenge for my comrade."⁴

25. That passes, till forthwith he heard a lament, and a great wail, saying :—

"On the Barrow, by a sharp-pointed spear,
Aed, Fidga's son, has fallen :
By the spear of Fiacail, Codna's son,
Finn has slain him . . .⁵"

Then Fiacail came to Finn, and was at the two Paps of Anu. Fiacail asked him whom he had slain. "I know not," saith Finn, "whether any good has come from the cast which I have thrown." "'Tis likely, indeed," said Fiacail, "that some one has been slain. It seems to me if thou do not do it to-night, thou wilt not do it to the end of another year." However, Finn said that he had sent a cast, and that it seemed likely to him

¹ Two mountains still so called in the barony of Magunihy, County Kerry.

² i.e. Luchair Dedad.

³ I do not know the meaning of *slainsi*.

⁴ This incident is referred to in the poem beginning *Échta Lagen for Leth Chuind*, LL. 48 b 41 ; and again in Gilla in Chomded's poem, LL. 145 a 2.

⁵ *iar n-imdai=ic feiss*, LL. 144 b 52.

that it had reached some one. And he heard a great wailing in the fairy-knoll, saying :—

“ Venom is this spear,
And venomous he whose it is,
Venomous whoever threw it,
Venom for him whom it laid low.”

26. Outside the fairy-knoll of Cruachan Brig Ele Finn seized a woman in pledge for his spear. The woman promised to send out the spear if he released her. Finn let the woman from him into the knoll. Then, as she went into the knoll the woman said :—

“ Venom the spear,
And venom the hand that threw it !
If it is not cast out of the knoll,
A murrain will seize the land.”

Thereupon the spear is thrown out, and Finn takes it with him to where Fiacail was. “ Well,” said Fiacail, “ keep the spear with which thou hast done the famous deed.” Then Fiacail said the occasion was fortunate, since the man had been slain who had killed Finn’s comrade. “ He whom thou hast slain here,” said he, “ ’tis he who used to kill every man that came to woo the maiden, because it is he who loved the maiden.”

27. Thereupon Finn and Fiacail went onward. Now, Fiacail had a tryst with the *fian* at Inver Colptha.¹ Then he said to Finn that they should go home² since their business was finished. Said Finn : “ Let me go with thee,” says he. “ I do not wish thee to go with me,” says Fiacail, “ lest thy strength should fail thee.” “ I shall find out,” says Finn. Then they went forth. Twelve balls of lead were round the neck of Fiacail to hem his vigour, such was his swiftness. He would throw one ball after another from him, and Finn took them with him, and (yet) Fiacail’s running was no swifter than Finn’s.

28. They reach Inver Colptha. Then Finn brought all the twelve balls of lead to him, and he was pleased. That night they slept there. Then they make Finn keep watch that night, and he was told to wake the warrior if he heard any [cry of] outrage. Now, one hour of the night, as Finn was watching, he heard a cry from the north, and did not wake the warrior.

¹ The estuary of the Boyne.

² I cannot translate *gid daimh*.

He went alone in the direction of the cry to Slieve Slanga.¹ While Finn was there, among the men of Ulster, at the hour of midnight,² he overtook three women before him, at a green mound, with horns (?) of fairy-women. As they were wailing on that mound, they would all put their hands on the mound. Then the women flee into the fairy-mound before Finn. Finn caught one of the women as she was going into the fairy-knoll of Slanga, and snatched her brooch out of her cloak. The woman went after him, and besought Finn to give her back the brooch of her cloak, and said it was not fit for her to go into the fairy-knoll with a blemish, and she promises a reward³

KUNO MEYER.

¹ Now Slieve Donard, County Down.

² This I take to be the meaning of *tráth nóna do aidchi*.

³ As we learn from Gilla in Chomded's poem (LL. 145 b 8), the fairy presented Finn with a vessel full of gold and silver, which he divided among the *fian*.

AN OLD-IRISH METRICAL RULE

THE following Old-Irish poem is edited from four manuscripts, which fall into two families, A and B.

Recension A is represented by two MSS. :—

A¹ = 5100-4, Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels,¹ pp. 31-33
(written by Michael O'Clery about 1630).

A² = 23 N. 10, R.I.A.,² p. 88.

Recension B is represented by two MSS. :—

B¹ = 23 P. 3, R.I.A., fol. 13^b-13^d. A parchment manuscript, written in 1467.³

B² = H. 1. 11, T.C.D., p. 157^{a,b}. Eighteenth century.⁴

Of the two families A represents the superior tradition. In addition to merely scribal errors, B exhibits deliberate alterations of the text, e.g. v. 1 *hi céin*, where, apparently, *céne* was first corrupted to *céin*, as in A¹, and this was altered to *hi céin* in B, to fill up the metre, v. 6 *dualchi*, v. 11 *marbait, nosinnarbann*, v. 16 *gurimgaba*, v. 18 *crena*, v. 19 *foillsich* (*foillsi*), etc., v. 22 *nodusgabadh*. In the A family the true reading is sometimes retained by A¹, sometimes by A²; it is unfortunate that A² stops before the end. In the B family B² is not descended from B¹, as appears from e.g., v. 2 *meisc* B¹: *meiscnide* B², v. 4 *terc tuara* B¹: *techtuaru* B², v. 5 1 *nägar* B¹: *isanasgair* B², v. 25 *teighsi* B¹: *desiu* B².

Each of the two families has some additional verses. Some of these are manifest interpolations; and, if we consider the

¹ For a description of the codex, see Stokes, The Martyrology of Gorman, Preface. For a transcript of this copy I am indebted to Dr. Stokes.

² Cf. Meyer, Érin 1. 38. This copy ends abruptly at the end of the page, at the end of v. 20. The paper is much disintegrated, and some letters have, in consequence, been lost.

³ Meyer, CZ. IV. 241.

⁴ For a transcript of this copy I am indebted to Mr. R. I. Best. In answer to a query as to the date of the MS., Mr. E. Gwynn informs me that on fo. 63 verso there is an entry: Aodha Dal- mile 7 seacht cced 2 b7 x. 7 da xxxx et aniudh la Lugnasa. Interpreted strictly that should mean that it was written by O'Daly in 1792. But as H. 1. 10 was written by O'Daly in 1747, and the two books are bound in similar green covers, Mr. Gwynn suggests that *da xxxx* is really meant for *da fíchid*, which would make the date 1752.

character of the others, as compared with the rest of the poem, it is probable that none of them formed part of the original. In such a loosely-constructed poem interpolation is easy; and it may be that some verses common to both families have also been interpolated; for v. 13 this is highly probable.

In three of the MSS. the poem is anonymous; in A¹ it bears the superscription: *Riagail Comhgaill Bendchair indso*, i.e. the Rule of Comgall, founder and first abbot of Bangor (born in 517, died in 602¹). From linguistic considerations, and in particular from the treatment of final vowels, the poem can hardly be put later than about 800 A.D.²

The metre of the poem is 7 + 7². In the first half of the line a disyllabic ending is most common; but a trisyllabic ending is not infrequent, and sometimes a monosyllable appears. Sometimes the last word of the first half of second line rhymes with a word in the second half, but this is not carried so far as in the *Riagail Cormaic*.

Owing to the loose connexion of its parts and our imperfect knowledge of the oldest Irish, the sense of the poem is sometimes obscure. Help has been got both for the text and for the interpretation from the *Apgitir Crábaid*, published by Dr. Meyer, CZ. iii. 447-455. Further discoveries of similar texts³ and a better knowledge of the early Irish Church will probably cast light on much that is at present obscure.

1 Comae⁴ riaguil⁵ in Choimded⁶; is and⁷ ní fogbais⁸ báegul⁹: is ferr ní dichis¹⁰ tairis, céne¹¹ mares¹² do sáegul.¹³

I Preserve the Rule of the Lord; therein thou runnest no risk. It is better that thou transgress it not, as long as thy life lasts.

¹ Ussher, quoted by Reeves, *Adamnan* 337, mentions a Rule of Comgall in Irish.

² Little stress can be laid on *inda* A² in v. 10.

³ I have before me unpublished texts of a similar character, the *Aimchairdes Manchain Léith* from 23 N. 10, p. 89, the *Riagail Ailbe* from the Brussels codex 5100-4, pp. 24 sq. and 23 N. 11, R.I.A., pp. 186 sq., the *Riagail Cormaic maic Cuilennain* from 23 N. 10 and other MSS., and the *Regula* described in my Deponent Verb, p. 73.

⁴ Coma A²B, Comha A¹ ⁵ riaguil A², riaghail *cett*. ⁶ coimded A, choimhdedh B¹, coimdi B² ⁷ ann A²B² ⁸ foigbe A¹, faigbe A², fagba B¹, fagbad B² ⁹ bægal A¹B², baog^o A², bæghal B¹ ¹⁰ dicis A², dhechais B¹, dechais B² ¹¹ :eine A², cein A¹, hi céin B ¹² mairis A, maris B (*altered to mares B²*) ¹³ sæghal A¹, saog^o A², sægal B¹, tsæghal B²

2 Is ed as¹ dech na' ríaglae²: car³ Críst, miscnigthe⁴
 móini⁵ ;
 lére⁶ duit⁷ fri ríg⁸ ngréne⁹ ocus réde¹⁰ fri dóini.¹¹

3 Foss¹² oc etlai¹³—amrae¹⁴ sét¹⁵— fége,¹⁶ fedle¹⁷ oc suidiu,¹⁸
 foimtiu¹⁹ écca cech laithe,²⁰ dúthracht²¹ maith do²² cech²³
 duiniu.²⁴

[A¹ adds :

3^a Cet slectain do fri biat matin fescar ma tari,
 i flaithe nime niba truag ind luagh rotbia aire.

3^b Cech oen matin isind re slectadh fo trí solam sís :
 tara bruinde tara gnuis tabraðh airdhe cruiche Críst.]

2 This is the essence [lit. what is best] of the Rule : love Christ, hate wealth ; piety to thee towards the King of the sun and smoothness towards men.

3 Continuance in penitence—wonderful the road—keenness, persistence therein ; heed of death everyday ; good will to every man.

[3^a A hundred prostrations to Him at the *Beati* morning and evening, if it be accomplished, the reward which he will have therefor in the Kingdom of Heaven will not be paltry.

3^b Every morning at the time let him bow down promptly thrice. Over his breast, over his face, let him put the sign of Christ's cross.]

1 as A¹, is *cett*. 2 riagla A, riaghla B¹, riagl¹⁰ B² 3 cara B 4 miscnigthi A¹, miscnegad A², meisc B¹, meischinide B² 5 moine (*in marg.* maoine) A⁷, maine *cett*. 6 lere A¹, leri A², leiri B¹, leire B² 7 *om.* A 8 righ A, rig B¹, ri B²
 9 greni B², na nela A¹, na nello A² 10 rede A¹, reide A²B¹, reighe B² 11 fri daine A², B², fri dæine B¹, na ndæine A¹ 12 fos B¹, fas B² 13 etla *codd.*
 (eatla B²) 14 amra *codd.* 15 set A, in set B 16 rede A¹, reide A²,
 reighi B¹, regi B² 17 fedli A¹, fedhle A², feighli B¹, feidhle B² 18 suidiu A¹,
 suidiu B², suide A², suidea B¹ 19 foimtiu A¹, fomde A², foimdu B¹, foimhdu B²
 20 cach lathi B¹, *gach* laithi B² 21 du:cht A²^o 22 da A²B¹ 23 *cach* B¹,
gach A²B² 24 duine A, dhuine B¹, daine B²

4 Ní fúapre¹ crábud² nolur³ : tomil⁴ téchtae do thúarae⁵ :
in crábud⁶ gairit remor⁷ is demon⁸ conidrúalae.⁹

5 Ní déne¹⁰ tenid¹¹ ratha,¹² is and is gair¹³ a bádud¹⁴ :
nírba¹⁵ churches¹⁶ fri¹⁷ sruthair, arim¹⁸ suthain¹⁹ do chrábud.²⁰

6 Manotgabat in chathae²¹ is ferr deit²² ní ba²³ šlemon,²⁴
cath fri analchi²⁵ ili,²⁶ cath fri corp, cath fri demon.²⁷

7 It é do²⁸ theoir²⁹ ríagla : —nítroib³⁰ anaill³¹ bas³² diliu³³ —
ainmne ocus umaldóit³⁴ serc in C[h]oimded it chridiu^{35, 36}

4 Aim not at a devotion. Eat thy due portion of food. The short gross devotion, it is the Devil who has devised (?) it.

5 Make not a fire of fern ; then its extinction is nigh. Be not a sedge against a stream, that thy devotion may be lasting.

6 If the battles overtake thee, it is better for thee that thou shouldst not be slack : a battle against many vices, a battle against the body, a battle against the Devil.

7 These are thy three rules—have thou naught else dearer —patience, humility, and the love of the Lord in thy heart.

¹ fuabre A¹, fuabra A²B¹, fuab B² ² crabadh A¹, crab^v A², crabad B¹,
 cradb^v B² ³ nolar (?) A¹, nolur A², nolar B. ⁴ tom^v A², tomhail A¹, tomail B
⁵ tecta do thuara A¹, techtu do tuaro A², terc tuara B¹, techtuaru B² ⁶ crabad
 A¹, crab^v A²B¹, crab^v B² ⁷ remhair A¹, remar B¹, ramhur B² ⁸ deman A¹B¹,
 demhuin B² ⁹ conidruala A¹, conitruala A², cotaruala B ¹⁰ dene A¹, dena
 cett. ¹¹ thenid B¹, tene A, teni B² ¹² rathu A² ¹³ is an is gair A¹, is an
 is gar A², isanasm air B², 7 nágar B¹ ¹⁴ baduth A², badad B¹, badhadh A¹B²
¹⁵ níbá B² ¹⁶ curcas A¹, curcas A², curches B¹, cuirces B² ¹⁷ i A ¹⁸ arim
 A¹, aram A², nirop B ¹⁹ duthain B ²⁰ crabadh A¹, craúadh A², crabudh B¹,
 cradh^v B² ²¹ Manotgaba na cata A¹, Managaba na cautho A², Munatgabha na
 catha B¹, Munat g gabha na catha B² ²² det B², duit A ²³ niba A¹, nipa B¹,
 na ba B², nirbat A² ²⁴ slemon A¹, sleamun B¹, slemuin A², slemhain B²
²⁵ hanalchi A², hanalcha A¹, dualci B¹, dualilche B² ²⁶ ili A, aili B¹, aile B²
²⁷ demon A¹, dem^v A², demhun B¹, demuin B² ²⁸ om. B ²⁹ teora codd.
³⁰ nitraib B¹, nitraibh A¹B², nidroibe A² ³¹ annaill A¹ ³² bus codd.
³³ diliu B, dili A¹, dile A² ³⁴ umaloit A¹, B, umoloid A² ³⁵ cride A
³⁶ serc—chridiu : serc dé o uili cridhi B¹, serc de o uil^v craidhiu B²

8 Is tré¹ ómun² bíd³ serc⁴ in ríg⁵ íccas cach ningrae⁶:
is dia séirc⁷ conairliter a thol⁸ ocus a thimnae.⁹

9 Serc Dé arcorpai talmain,¹⁰ conrig¹¹ coiclea¹² co ndéni¹³:
ómun¹⁴ conicc aithrigi,¹⁵ serc conmidethar¹⁶ léri.¹⁷

10 Ba i nómun ba i nincridiu¹⁸ gudem¹⁹ Críst ara nérnám²⁰
indas²¹ inna aithrigae²² conmíästar²³ ar nérlam.²⁴

11 Na hächt nairig²⁵ dualchae²⁶ oircete²⁷ anmain²⁸ cech duini,²⁹
is eól damsá sualchae³⁰ ardadíbdat som huili.³¹

8 Through fear is the love of the King who healeth every misery. It is from love of Him that His will and His commandment are cared for.

9 Love of God the earth, fetters thoughts speedily. Fear hath power over repentance. Love determines piety.

10 Whether in fear or in hurt let us pray to Christ that we may escape (?). The manner of the penance our patron shall determine.

11 The eight chiefs of the vices which slay the soul of every man, I know virtues which extinguish them all.

¹ tria A¹, trie A², tré B¹, trea B² ² oman A, omhun B², uamun B¹
³ bid A¹, bis A²B², bhís B¹ ⁴ a serc B¹, a séirc B² ⁵ righ A¹, rí B ⁶ iccus
 cach ningai A¹, icus gach ningra A², conicc cach dingnad B¹, oic cach dingna B²
⁷ de thuil A¹, dia toil A², dia thoil B¹, dia thol B² ⁸ thol B, serc A¹, hserc A²
⁹ timna A, B¹, timhnadh B² ¹⁰ Serc dia corpaib a talam A¹, Searc dear corpai
 italmain A², Serc diar corpaibh italmain B¹, Serc diarrcorpuib italomhun B²
¹¹ cunricc B¹, conricc B² ¹² coicliu B¹, coicliu B², coicne A ¹³ dene (deine B¹)
 codd. ¹⁴ omun B¹, omhun B², oman A ¹⁵ aithrighe A, aithrighe B¹, faithrī B²
¹⁶ conmididhír A¹, conmidir A², conmidit^o B¹, conmidit^o B² ¹⁷ lere A¹, leire A²B²
¹⁸ Ba inoman ba inincride A¹, Bad inoman ba inincride A², Ba inomun ba incride B¹,
 Bainn omhain baincridhi B² ¹⁹ guidium A², guidim B ²⁰ aranernam A,
 guraternam B¹, gurothérnam B² ²¹ innass A¹, indus A², innus B² ²² inna
 aithrigi A¹, inda aidrige A², ina haithrigi B¹, inaithrigi B² ²³ conmíastar A¹,
 conmíastar A², conmíadustar B¹, conmíastur B² ²⁴ arnerlamh B, aranerlam A¹,
 inderlamh A² ²⁵ nairicch A¹, nairic A², nairigh B¹, nairig B² ²⁶ dualach A¹, B²,
 doalach A², dúalaich B¹ ²⁷ oircé A², marbhuit B¹, marbhait B² ²⁸ anmuin
 A²B¹ ²⁹ cech duine A, cach duine B¹, gach duine B² ³⁰ intsualaig A¹,
 intsoaluih A², dū sual^o B¹, ænsualaig B² ³¹ ar de dibdada huile A¹, ardotdibdathæ
 uile A², nosinnarbann sin níli (uile B²) B

12 Is sí so¹ int sualaig² fodera³ dídnad⁴ fotae,⁵
 cech⁶ naccobur⁷ adcobrae⁸ ainmne⁹ do dénum¹⁰ occae.¹¹

[B adds :

12^a B¹ M'annum budein asbertsa frim corpán casmar cetlach
 dus inngluaster for bith cé iar mbeth fri ré ag
 ecnach

B² M'anmaim uodhein atbertsa frim corp cæsm cetlach
 dus inngluaster for bith ce iar mbeth fri re agegach.]

13 Na trí cóicait¹² do gabáil ó theirt¹³ co teirt,¹⁴ mad folaid,¹⁵
 is do thímnaib¹⁶ na sruithe¹⁷ bied¹⁸ laithe¹⁹ bes cobair.²⁰

[After this there are additions in both families :

13^a A. Trí chét²¹ slechtain²² cach²³ laithi²⁴ ocus a trí cech
 trátho²⁵
 nib[i]a th' anim²⁶ fri²⁷ fugall ind ríg²⁸ hi laithiu²⁹ brátho.³⁰

12 This is the virtue which works long consolation, that in every desire which thou desirest thou shouldst exercise patience.

12^a [My own soul said to my . . . body (?) if it might be moved upon this earth after being for a time in blasphemy.]

13 To sing the three fifties from tierce to tierce, if it be possible, by the ordinances of the ancients, there will be a day that it will be a help.

13^a Three hundred prostrations every day, and three at every canonical hour, thy soul will not be at the judgment of the King on the Day of Doom.

¹ ishiso A¹, isiso A², isísín B ² antsualaigh A¹, antsoalig A², insual¹ B¹,
 in sualaigh B² ³ fofera A ⁴ bethaid B ⁵ fota A¹, foda A²B²,
 fota B¹ ⁶ cach B ⁷ accobar A¹, acobar A², cabuir B¹, acabar B²
⁸ accobrai A¹, acopræ A², atá cobra B¹, ata at cobra B² ⁹ anmne B¹
¹⁰ dénum B¹, dhenam B², denamh A¹, denam A² ¹¹ occai A¹, oca A²B²,
 ocoa B¹ ¹² l A², B¹, caeccait A¹, cægait B² ¹³ tirt A², t' t A¹B¹
¹⁴ t' t A, B¹ ¹⁵ folaligh A², foghl B¹, fol B² ¹⁶ timnaib A²B¹, timnaibh A¹
¹⁷ sruiti A¹, sruithi A², maithi B ¹⁸ biaid A, ticfa B ¹⁹ laithi B ²⁰ bus
 cobhair B¹, bus cobair B², bidatcobhair A¹, bidatcob² A² ²¹ ced A¹, c. A²
²² slectain A¹, slechtain A² ²³ gach A² ²⁴ laithe A¹ ²⁵ trata A¹ ²⁶ hanim
 A¹, hainem (?) A² ²⁷ fria A¹ ²⁸ rig A², righ A¹ ²⁹ hi laithe A², illaite A¹
³⁰ bratho A², bratha A¹

13^b B. Dá cét slechtain cech¹ laithi la lebrán léir don
 a ndenum³ cen⁴ nach turbaid⁵ Choimdid,²
 dogréss acht laithiu
 Domnaig.⁶

13^c B. Dá cét mbéimen for láma⁷ i cach⁸ corgus bid⁹
 di cach uábur¹¹ dogénat¹² cobair¹⁰:
 sénaid (?)¹³ cach¹⁴ cinaid foraib.¹⁵]

14 Is étrom,¹⁶ is adamrae¹⁷ mám¹⁸ in Choimded,¹⁹ is áilgen²⁰:
 maith do dírgud²¹ conaire techt cusin ecnaid cráibthech.²²

15 Ecnaid²³ cráibthech²⁴ dot airli²⁵ is maith d'imgabáil péne.²⁶
 cid²⁷ mór latsu²⁸ do dúre,²⁹ ní bé³⁰ dot réir fodéne.³¹

13^b Two hundred prostrations every day to the Lord with
 a diligent booklet, they shall be performed without any defect
 always save on the Lord's day.

13^c Two hundred blows on the hands in every Lent, it will
 be a help. From every pride that they shall be guilty of they
 sain (?) every guilt upon them.]

14 Light, wonderful, and mild is the yoke of the Lord. To
 go to a devout sage is good to direct one's path.

15 A devout sage to guide thee, 'tis good to avoid punishment. Though great thou deem thy firmness, be not under
 thine own guidance.

1 gach B² 2 coimdui *codd.* 3 ndenam B¹ 4 cin B¹, gin B² 5 tarb'
codd. 6 laithiu domn' B¹, laithi in domnaig B² 7 lamha *codd.* 8 ingach *codd.*
 9 bidh B² 10 cobhair B² 11 uabur B¹, uabhair B² 12 dodenat B² 13 senat B¹,
 særáid B² 14 gach B² 15 foraibh *codd.* 16 etrom A, etrum B 17 adamra
 A¹B¹, adamro A², adhamra B² 18 main B 19 choimdedh A¹, comdedh A²,
 coimdedh B¹, coimdhedh B² 20 ailgin B¹, ailgen *cett.* 21 dirgedh A¹, dirged A²,
 dirgud B¹, dirgiudh B² 22 techt cusin ecnaidh craibdech A¹, techt gusin egná
 craibdech A², menma arin écn' craibthech B¹, menmá airgfinnáidh craibtheach B²
 23 Ecnaid A¹, Ecnuid A², Écnaid B¹, Eacnuidh B² 24 craibdech A, craibthech B
 25 airle A, airlē B² 26 pene A¹, péne B¹, peine A², péine B² 27 gidh B 28 letsá A²,
 latsa *cett.* 29 dure A¹, duire A², dhuiiri B¹, dhuiire B² 30 nib he A¹, nibe (?) A²,
 nibí B¹, nibhi B² 31 fadene A¹, b'deini A², b'dhdéine B¹, uodhene B²

16 Is ferr duit¹ immimgabae² lín³ as⁴ dóig lat dot marbad,
borb cráibthech⁵ co nanecnu,⁶ ecnaid⁷ anettoil⁸ anbal.

[B adds :

16^a Dogné síári na sruithe⁹; ní pa¹⁰ borb amal séccu¹¹ :
remi¹² iarmbí¹³ i cach dú¹⁴ do réir Ísu bid certu.¹⁵

16^b Dogné túaslucud cachtae¹⁶ ar muintir Dé—ní mebul¹⁷—
arná dernae¹⁸ tré báegul¹⁹ m'óenur t'óenur²⁰ ar Demun.²¹]

17 Ce²² dotísat²³ mórgressa,²⁴ remib²⁵ ní ferae²⁶ cóini²⁷ :
fobíth nídat eslabru²⁸ oldás²⁹ in Rí dosfóidi.³⁰

16 It is better for thee to avoid those whom thou mayest expect to slay thee, a fool pious but ignorant, a sage impenitent and

[16^a Practise the liberty (?) of the elders. Be not foolish like Before afterwards (?) in every place [to be] in obedience to Jesus will be better (?).

16^b Practise deliverance from captivity for God's folk—'tis no shame—that thou mayest not unawares play 'I alone, you alone,' before the Devil.]

17 Though great injuries come to thee, lament not thereat ; because they are not more abundant than those of the King who sends them.

¹ deit A¹ ² animgaba A¹, imimgabho A², *gurimgaba* B¹, *gurimgabha* B²
³ lin A, dís B ⁴ as A¹, is A², bus B ⁵ craidbech A¹, *cráibdech* A²,
 craibthech B ⁶ nanecna A¹, nainegna A², nainecn' B ⁷ eccn' A¹, egn^o A²,
 ecn' B¹, eacnaidh B² ⁸ anetoil A², anetal A¹, anetla B¹, anetlai B² ⁹ saire na
 sruithi *codd.* ¹⁰ niba B² ¹¹ sécca B¹, seca B² ¹² roime B¹, reme B² ¹³ leg. iarmi ?
¹⁴ ingach du B¹, ingacha du B² ¹⁵ bidh certa B¹, is ceartu B² ¹⁶ tuaslucc
 cacha *codd.* ¹⁷ mebhul *codd.* ¹⁸ arna derna B¹, aranderna B² ¹⁹ bæghal *codd.*
²⁰ mænur, tænur B¹, mænar thænair B² ²¹ dheamhun B² ²² Ce A¹, cia (cía B¹) *cett.*
²³ dotisadh A¹, dotisat A², dothísat B², darat B² ²⁴ moirgreso A², morgresa *cett.*
²⁵ remoibh A², rompu B¹, rompo B² ²⁶ fera (fera B¹) *codd.* ²⁷ choine A¹,
 (in marg. caoine i. eccaoine), coíne A², caine B ²⁸ easlabra A¹, eslabra A² :
 fobith (bhith B²) is lugha taisci (ataisce B²) B ²⁹ oldas A, inas B ³⁰ dús fóide
 (in marg. facoide) A¹, dusfæide A², dofúidhe B¹, dosfuidhe B²

18 Cit ili latsu ind óigid,¹ ma dognee a coir,²
fogeiss³ in ríg lasambí,⁴ ní criae ní doib.⁵

19 Ní téis⁶ féin do athchuингi⁷; ní tíasar⁸ úait do foigdi⁹:
bí i fuss¹⁰ oc irnighthi¹¹; do gréss folóis do doidbri.¹²

20 Nírba¹³ chalad¹⁴ cesachtach; nirba¹⁵ bodur¹⁶ frit¹⁷ guidi¹⁸;
ní opae,¹⁹ ní athchuintis²⁰; ní caraē²¹ móini²² duini.²³

21 Ní riae, ní écriae trócairi nDÉ, níscelae,²⁴
annoberae fort lourtain²⁵ donaib²⁶ bochtaib doberae.²⁷

18 Though thou deem the guests many, if thou renderest
[them] their service due, beg of the king with whom thou
art, buy not aught for them.

19 Go not thyself to solicit; let no one go from thee to beg.
Remain at home in prayer; ever endure thy poverty.

20 Be not hard and niggardly. Be not deaf to prayer to
thee. Refuse not, solicit not. Love not a man's wealth.

21 Thou shalt not sell, thou shalt not buy God's mercy, thou
shalt not hide it. What thou carriest off over and above thy
sufficiency, thou shalt give to the poor.

¹ Ciat ili latsa ind oighid A¹, ciat ile latsa anaoidig A², ciabat (ciabath B²) imdha na haighidh B ² ma dognee a choir A¹, ma dogne a coir A², inadh andenta a cónaí B¹, madandenta a coir B² ³ fogeis A, faigdis B¹, faughtis B²
⁴ lasambia A¹, lasambia A², icambiad B¹, acambiad B² ⁵ ní rochria ni doibh A¹, ní criae ní doiu A², ⁷ ní (ni B¹) crena biadh dóib (doibh B²) B
⁶ téis B¹, theis A¹, teis cett. ⁷ atchuinge A¹, atcuindge A², athcuungi B
⁸ tiasar A, tiastar B ⁹ foigde A¹, faigde A², faighdhi B ¹⁰ bí i fuss A¹, bi i foss A², bid fos B¹, biafoss B² ¹¹ oc ern̄gthe A¹, ic urnaighthi A², oc irn̄thi B¹, oc uirn̄thi B² ¹² do gres foílais do doidbri A¹, do gres folus do daidbri A², foillsich (faillsi B²) do dhia do dhaibre B ¹³ Nirbat A, Nirpt B¹, Nirbath B² ¹⁴ calad A¹B¹, cal^u A², calath B² ¹⁵ nirbat A¹, nirbud A², nirpt B¹, nirbath B² ¹⁶ bodhar A¹, bouth^u A², bogur B¹, boghar B²
¹⁷ fria A¹, friad A² ¹⁸ guide A, guidhe B ¹⁹ obais A¹, obuis A², opa B
²⁰ atchuindcis A¹, athcuindgis A², athcuungi B¹, athcuungi B² ²¹ cara codd.
²² moine A¹, maine A²B¹, muīti B² ²³ duine codd. ²⁴ Ni rochria ni ria trocaire de nisciela A¹, Ní crie ní ecra (écria B²) trócaire dé nisdela B ²⁵ ambesa for tholarthain A¹, arambera dolorthain B ²⁶ dona codd. ²⁷ doberae A¹, dobera (dobhera B¹) cett.

22 Nírba¹ chreccach cundarthalach²; do Chríst ba³ mór do
gaire:
ní foigis⁴ ríg i nÉre, diamba⁵ chéle⁶ Maic⁷ Maire.⁸

23 Aithrige⁹ co neltesaib¹⁰ iar mbuith¹¹ i peccad romar,¹²
is¹³ becc a fochricc¹⁴ for nim,¹⁵ i tein bid¹⁶ mór a promad.¹⁷

24 Conar¹⁸ inna¹⁹ aithrige²⁰ diambeth²¹ nech nodagabad,²²
dréisi²³ céim cech²⁴ óin laithi,²⁵ ní dernae²⁶ bésu²⁷ arad.²⁸

25 Dia scarae²⁹ frisin ndomun,³⁰ rogabais conair céstae :³¹
tessi³² uad, ní dercither,³³ amal tofunn dotséstae.³⁴

22 Be not given to buying and trafficking. Let thy piety to Christ be great. Beg not of a king in Ireland, if thou be a vassal of Mary's Son.

23 Repentance with sluggishness (?) after being in great sin, small is its reward in heaven, its trial in fire will be great.

24 If there should be anyone who should take the path of repentance, advance a step every day, practise not the ways of a charioteer.

25 If thou shouldst part from the world, thou hast taken the path of sufferings. Flee from it, look not, as [though it were] a pursuit wherewith thou wert pursued.

1 Nirbat A¹, B², Nirpt B¹ 2 creccach odarthalach A¹, crethach cunn³tach B¹,
crechach cunzairthach B² 3 pa B¹, bat B² 4 foigdis A¹, fáighde B¹, fáigh dhe B²
5 diambat A¹, diampa B¹ 6 cele A¹, ceile B¹ 7 m̄c codd. 8 mare A¹, B¹,
muire B² 9 Aitrigé A¹, In aitrigi B¹, In aithrighi B² 10 conel tessaib A¹,
œiltes B¹ 11 mbeit A¹, mbeth B¹ 12 i pecadh romar A¹, fri pecc^o ciana B¹
13 as A¹ 14 focraic A¹, focharic B¹ 15 nimh A¹, nem B¹ 16 a tein bidh A¹,
i teine is B¹, iteniz B² 17 promáil A¹, phiana B¹, pianadh B² 18 Conara A¹, B²,
Conaire B¹ 19 ina A¹, na B¹ 20 haithrighe A¹, haithrige B¹, haithfie B²
21 mabeith A¹, diambé B¹, dambe B² 22 nodagabadh A¹, nodusgabadh B¹,
nodusgab^o B² 23 treisi A¹, dringidh B¹, dring B² 24 gach B¹, cach B²
25 ænlaithe A¹, ænlaithi B¹ 26 ni derna A¹, na denadh B¹ 27 bera A¹, besa B¹
28 aradh A¹B¹, airadh B² 29 scara codd. 30 frisan dom^o A', frisin domun B¹,
frisin^o doman B² 31 conair cesta A¹, gabul c^ota B¹, gabhal cert B² 32 rethe A;
teighsi B¹, desiu B² 33 ní dercaigther A¹, inimceine B¹, inimchini (?) B²
34 am^o topann doteesta A¹, am^o bid (bidh B²) tofunn (tafunn B²) testa (teasda B²) B

26 Ce beith mac deit¹ nó threbad² frisarérchóilis³ scarad,⁴
nísniarfois,⁵ nisnimrade,⁶ amail nobetha i talam.⁷

27 Ma dognesu⁸ aithrigi⁹, massu¹⁰ chendais¹¹ do chride,¹²
is dírech in chonarsa¹³ dochum Ríg flatha nime.¹⁴

[A¹ adds :

27^a Ced mbemenda fort lama in gach corgas bidh cobhair
da cach uabar dogensat riam cen tesbaid foraibh.]

28 Mad accor¹⁵ latsu¹⁶ t'anim¹⁷ corrop¹⁸ gilithir gési,¹⁹
ní rochosna nech aile²⁰ ní dot anim tartési.²¹

26 If thou shouldst have a son or householdry that thou hast determined to part from, thou shalt not seek them, thou shalt not think of them, as though thou wert in the earth.

27 If thou practise repentance, if thy heart is meek, this way is straight to the King of the Kingdom of Heaven.

[27^a A hundred blows on thy hands, in every Lent it will be a help. For every pride that they [the hands] have practised, miss not a single time [lit. without want upon them] (?).]

28 If it be thy desire that thy soul be as white as the swan, no other can strive after aught for thy soul in thy stead.

¹ lat B ² trebad A¹, treb^v B ³ frisarercalais A¹, frisarercuilis B¹, frisarercuilis B² ⁴ scaradh A¹, sgaradh B¹, sgaraidh B² ⁵ nís resnes A¹, nisaitris B¹, nisatris B² ⁶ nís nimradhe A¹, nisnimraidi B¹, ni im ninsaidhe B² ⁷ amail nobeite ittalamh A¹, am^v tistais a talamh (tal^v B¹) B ⁸ dognesi A¹, dognési B¹, dognese B² ⁹ aithrigi A¹, B¹, aithrigi B² ¹⁰ masa *codd.* ¹¹ cendais A¹, phurghlan B¹, firglan B² ¹² cridhi B¹, craidi B² ¹³ an conarsa A¹, in conurisi B¹, in conaire si B² ¹⁴ do cum righ flata nimhe A¹, do ascnam (ascnamh B²) dochum (docum B¹) nime B ¹⁵ Mad acur B¹, Mada cur B² ¹⁶ latsa *codd.* ¹⁷ thanam B¹, hainim B² ¹⁸ gurbat A¹, gurop B¹, gurab B² ¹⁹ gese A¹, geisi B ²⁰ ni cosain nech aili B¹, ni cosáin neach aile B² ²¹ ni do tana tarhese A¹, dothan^v tarteinu B¹, ni dotoibh *tair* heisi B²

[A¹ adds :

28^a Masa tusa ædhaire do mhanchaibh, is techta
 ar do cese,¹ noscara, nosgabha gabail gerta.

28^b Mad manc[h]aine nodgaba, damal do promad menic,
 conoither teora bríathra comid ructhar it relicc.

28^c Ite do téora briathra —sech ni gairde ni siaa—
 arco fuin imondaire asbera cech diaa.]

29 Riagul² in Choimded³ inso.⁴ is licet cia nospromae.⁵
 ni tuccai nach anfoirbthe⁶ buith⁷ fo riaguil⁸ mo chomae.⁹
 Comae riaguil.¹⁰

[28^a If thou art a shepherd to church-tenants, it is fitting
 that thou compassionate them and love them

28^b If tenant service come to thee, if thy frequent trial be
 pleasant (?), preserve thou three words till thou art carried to
 thy graveyard.

28^c These are thy three words—it is neither shorter nor
 longer—*Arco fuin imandairi* thou shalt say every day.]

29 This is the Rule of the Lord. Thou mayest prove it.
 No imperfect one understands how to be under the rule of
 my

¹ leg. ardacesse ² Riagail A¹, Riag^c B¹, Riagal B² ³ choimde A¹,
 coimded B¹, choimdhí B² ⁴ indso A¹, annso B¹ ⁵ licet dun cia
 nospromae A¹, is licet cia nosfromha B ⁶ ni ruccai nachan formbthe A¹,
 ní tan n̄ nā foirn̄ B¹, ni t̄iñ n̄ a n̄ foir B² ⁷ bith A¹, beth B ⁸ riagail A¹,
 riaghail B¹, riag^c B² ⁹ mo comha A¹, mo choma B¹, in coma B² ¹⁰ Comha
 riáguil A¹, Coma riag' in. ch. F B¹, Coma B²

See Addenda, *Erin* ii, 58.

NOTES.

v. 1. **fagbai.** In Mid. Ir. a fut. *foigbe* would be possible, but not in O. Ir. Cf. CZ. iii. 483 sq.

vv. 2, 3. Cf. *leiri fri Dia, redi fri duine, coenduthracht da gach ænduine, foimdui eco cech ænlaithi* CZ. iii. 452.

v. 3. **foss oc etlai.** Cf. *foss oc etlai* CZ. iii. 449, l. 10. For the connotation of *étoil* and the derivative noun *etlae* see CZ. iii. 448, and cf. Fél. Oeng., Index, SR., 2086, 6876, 7199, 5370, 7898.

fége. *rédé* gives no satisfactory sense.

vv. 3^a, 3^b. These two verses are found only in one MS.; they are obviously an interpolation. The second verse, with some variation, is found in the Airmchairde Manchain Léith, 23 N. 10, R.I.A., p. 89:

*Maiden iarmeirge do gres slechtaid fo thri sios :
tara bruinde tara gnuis tabrad airdhe croiche Crist.*

Here the first line may be completed by the insertion of *solam*.

v. 3^a. **Cét slechtain.** The construction is abnormal, but there are several examples of it, e.g. below 13^a, 13^b, LL. 286^a15, and thrice in the Riagail Ailbe; cf. further *cét slechtain* RC. xii. 432, *da slechtain déc, tri chét slechtain* RC. xv. 489, *cet slechtain* ib. 489. Instances of the normal construction are *tricha slechtan* RC. xv. 489, *da cét slechtan, secht cet slechtan* ib. 490. *slechtain* is too frequent to be put down as a mere scribal blunder. In O. Ir. the dat. sg. is *slechtun* Ml. 115^c3, the acc. is *slechtan* Ml. 138^a2; in Mid. Ir. the noun is fem., see Atkinson, Passions and Homilies.

biait. Psalm cxviii., *Beati immaculati.* Cf. Lismore Lives, p. 406.

tari (leg. *thairi*), 3 sg. pres. s-subj. of *to-air-ic-* in the sense of 'is accomplished, completed' (?). The usual form is *tair*, but for similar variations see Thurneysen, KZ. xxxi. 91.

v. 4. **olar.** The sense of this word is obscure. Apart from the gloss *sechnais beoil* i. *olar* Egerton 1782. fo. 14^b2, which I owe to Dr. Stokes, the only other instances of *olar* known to me are in the Glossary to MacConglinne, and they give no help.

tomil etc. Cf. *díne mesraigthe* LBr. 260^b8, bottom.

cráubad gairit remor, i.e. excessive but short-lived devotion. For this application of *remor* cf. *saothar obund no remarr is gnat[h] contibe Deman* in the Airmchairde Manchain Léith. The phrase appears in another connexion in LL. 346^b10, *ni thuca in remair ngairit*, 'do not marry a woman thick and short.'

conidrúalae. Cf. *conruala* SR. 5970, and perhaps *ba maith conidrúalaid dō*, 'it was well that she ordered it (?) for him,' Hy. v. 49, if *conidrúalaid* should be an error for *conidrúalae*.

v. 5. In A¹ *rata* is glossed i. *rait[h]nighe*, and *sruthair* i. *sruth*. Cf. *dar grellacha* 7 *dar sruthra* LU. 57^a31.

v. 6. **Manotgabat in chathae.** The infixed *t* can be nothing but the pron. of the 2 person; hence the following noun must be the subject of the sentence. For the construction cf. *mad manchaine notgaba* v. 28^b, and *romgabsatsa mo gessi uili innocht* LU. 84^aII.

slemon. In A¹ this is glossed *i. mainnectnach*. In the religious literature *slemon* is opposed to *garb* or *garg*: *sleman fri garb* CZ. iii. 448, *iss ed as olc la Demon, mad slemon fri cach ngarg*, Riagail Ailbe, *slemla fri garbu* LBr. 260^ba bottom.

analchi. Cf. Meyer, Contributions s. v. *análaig*, CZ. iii. 448, Windisch, Wb., Thesaurus Palæo-hibernicus ii. 244, l. 25, where the text of the MS. should have been kept.

v. 7. **teoir.** I have written *teoir* like *teuir oenaidchi fo brú*, Thes. Pal.-hib. ii. 291, l. 6, as I have no evidence that in O. Ir. *teora* was disyllabic. In the MSS. it is written *teora*, GC.² 302, not *teóra*. In Mid.-Ir. MSS. *teóra* appears, but in many instances words originally disyllabic became monosyllabic in the later language, e. g. *coir* (but *córu*): *cóir, doib: dóib, friü: friü, leü: leü, triüen: triüin*.

v. 8. **ingrae.** Cf. *iarna breith sech ingra* Fél. Oeng. Ep. 119. It is a derivative from *ingir* Wb. 4^b28, 24^a27 and Fél. Oeng. Dec. 21, cf. *ingar* O'Dav., no. 1102.

dia šeirc. The text is restored from CZ. iii. 448: *ar lasna bi oman De, ni bia a-serc, lasna na bia a serc, ni bia comalnad a timno.*

conairliter. This should probably be *conairlither*; for a verb followed by two singular subjects is regularly singular, unless the two subjects are united in the action, e. g. *immuasnacillet Ailill 7 Medb* CZ. iv. 39, *dogniat óbrai iarum Munremur 7 Cúrúi* LU. 71^b28. Of the compound *con-airlethar* in the sense which it seems to have here I have no other clear instance; the simple verb has a similar sense, e. g. Wb. 5^b38, 17^b22. For the passive *conairlither* by the deponent *conairlethar* cf. the passive *-dgether, addáigther* by the deponent *addgadar, -ágathar*.

v. 9. **arcorpai.** The restitution is certain, cf. *serc De . . . arcorbi talmain, fonigh, conrig coicli* CZ. iii. 448, but the meaning of the verb is unknown to me.

coiclea. Cf. Meyer, Contrib. s. v. *cocell*, and *ised a trede i nimruimdeethar cach duine i. hi mbrethir, hi cocell, hi ngnim*, Thes. Pal.-hib. ii. 253, l. 11. For the variant *coicne* cf. Meyer, Contributions, s.v.; for *coicne* of the Franciscan MS. quoted there 23 N. 10 R.I.A. (Ériu i. 138) has *coigle*.

v. 10. The connexion of the two lines of this verse is not clear. Can *-érnam* possibly be a transitive verb, in some other sense, governing the following *indas*? The second line seems to mean that the penance will be determined by the rules of the founder (*érlam, patronus*) of the community.

ba-ba I take to be 3 sg. subj. of the copula used in a sense similar to that of the common *imb-fa*.

conniastar. The metre shows that *-miastar* is here trisyllabic. As Thurneysen saw, *-miastar* is an analogical formation after *-fiastar*. Now *-fiastar* comes from *fiesthar*; and we must suppose that *-fiastar* was still trisyllabic when *-miastar* was formed.

v. 11. **Na hocht nairig dualchae.** Cf. *Air rosuidigthe na hocht nairig sualach cona fodlaib fri hicc 7 slanugud na nocth nairech ndualchæ co neoch gainedar uaidib* CZ. iii. 24.

is *eoīl damsā sualchae*. The plur. has been restored here because there were eight virtues opposed to the eight vices. For the concord cf. *conid écen suin fria slond sidi* Sg. 45^{b1}.

ardadíbdatsom. This restoration is somewhat uncertain, as it is hard to derive from it the text of A.

v. 12^a. This verse has no connexion with the context, and is a manifest interpolation. The opening words are corrupt; I have translated as though it were *m'anim fodein asbertsi*. The meaning of *casmar* and *cetlach* is obscure.

v. 13. This verse, which contains a ceremonial prescription, is probably an interpolation, like the following verses which are found only in part of the MSS.

folaid. Cf. *is folaithe do Dia anisin* LU. 113^{a8}; further *foladh*, 'power, ability,' O'Br.

v. 13^a. *ní bia*. The change from copula to substantive verb is required by the syntax; *bia* is monosyllabic as in *Imram Brain*, v. 26.

v. 13^c. The same verse, with some variations, is interpolated later in A (v. 27^a). The great differences in the second line make it impossible to restore its original form. In the first line the form *bémenda* in v. 27^a shows that A is here more corrupt than B.

Dá cét mbéimen. The transposed *n* after *cét* is here interesting as indicating that in the nom. acc. dual the neuter followed the analogy of the singular. In the O. Ir. glosses I have found no decisive instance; but the present passage is supported *da sé ndéc ndaglaech* LU. 67^{a19}, *na da gruad nglanailli* YBL. 91^{a20}, *na da trian naile*, Ériu, I. 214. As is well known, the neut. of *dá* is *dd n-*, the *n* of which has, so far as I know, never been explained. The *n* seems to have spread from *n* of the nom. acc. dual neuter of the noun, which in turn came from the singular.

The reading and the sense of the second line are doubtful.

v. 14. *enaid cráibthech*. For the combination cf. *bad gaeth bad ecnaid cráibthech*, Riagail Ailbe.

v. 15. *dúre*. The word has somewhat of a bad sense, 'obduracy,' cf. *dúiri* ; *glici i fail cobsaide*, CZ. iii. 451, 23, and Fél. Oeng. Pr. 66.

fodéne. Cf. *do thorba fadeine*, CZ. iii. 28, l. 29.

v. 16. *anbal*. The precise meaning of the word is uncertain. Cf. *is faol anbal*, 23 N. 10, p. 84 = LBr. 261^{a44}, and Meyer, Contributions, s. v.

v. 16^a. The sense of *seccu* is not clear. As the verse is an interpolation, separated from its context, and perhaps corrupt, it is impossible to interpret it with any certainty.

v. 16^b. *m'óenur t'óenur* I take to mean, that you may not have to face the Devil all alone.

oldás in rí, lit. 'than the king,' i.e. 'than those of the king.' For this comparatio comperendaria cf. Wb. 9^{b17}, Ml. 112^{b20}, 115^{d7}, 8, 146^{a3}.

do-s-fóidi. The infix *s* is established by the agreement of three MSS. The usage is exceptional, as the verb is relative, but cf. Wb. 9^{c11}, Ml. 129^{b2}, BCr. 18^{b10}.

v. 18. The reading adopted is that to which the best MSS. point (*rochria* of A¹ is syntactically impossible, see note on v. 21), but there remains a metrical difficulty. In O. Ir. *coír* (cf. Stokes' Gloss. to Fél. Oeng.) and *doib* (cf. Fél. Oeng. Prol. 17) are disyllabic. But that gives apparently two half-lines of six syllables. *dognee* of A¹ and *criaa* of A² represent attempts to get the seven syllables; but the only parallel to them that I have is v. 28^c, which seems certainly to belong to v. 28^b, and there *cech oen* might be restored. If *coír* and *dóib* were to be taken as monosyllables, the result would be a common metre 7 + 5¹, but then the verse would be an interpolation. It is impossible to reach any certain conclusion. The dues of a guest are thus set forth in the Riagail Ailbe:

*Tech glan dona hóigedaib ocus tene móir
osaicc ocus indlud dóib la dérgud cen brón.*

I have nothing to illustrate the command not to buy food for them.

v. 20. *opae*. Cf. *co ni-m-óp* Ml. 20^b6, *arna oíp* Ml. 42^a2, *do gres ní op* *audbarta* Riagail Ailbe. As Ascoli has seen, it is the subjunctive of a compound *ud-ben-*. The A family shows a sigmatic form: cf. *ni gess*, *ni obbais*, CZ. iii. 454, l. 10. The form *obbais* has apparently arisen from association with *-geiss*, *adcuintis* in phrases like the above. Whether it was ever an actual living form, it would require more evidence to show.

athchuintis, from *ath-com-di-viag-*; cf. *ara cuintea* Ml. 51^a18.

v. 21. *Ní criea ní écriae*. The reading of A here violates the rule that in command *ro-* is not found with simple verbs (except the copula).¹ *écriae*, if the text be sound, would be for *-en-criae*. A compound *as-cria* occurs in the Laws iv. 322. That would suggest an enclitic **es-criae*; but in view of the fact that I have no example of such a form and also in view of such variations as *adcuaid* : *-ēcid* (fr. **en-coaid*), it is safer, provisionally, to adhere to the text of B.

níscelae. But it may be that *nísdela* contains the true reading, though I cannot interpret it.

fort lourtain. Cf. *mad a lourtu noestais diib* Ml. 98^b9, and *fora saith*, Ml. 97^d10.

v. 22. *cundarthaach*, an adjective from *cundrad* 'merx' Sg. 68^b, Ml. 122^a3.

ba, 3 sg. pres. subj. of the copula. Further examples are *ba léir do ainme* Riagail Ailbe; *ar is glan in corp dia te*, *ba glan doteis da* 23 N. 10, p. 85 (= LBr. 261^b9); *nib ar adbloss do doene*, *ba ar Dia cach andene* 23 N. 10, p. 88; *ba maith bláth in claidib* LU. 66^b1. The instances defend the MS. reading in *bá tualang* Wb. 6^d13, *ba samlid* 19^d29.

v. 23. With this verse cf. Cresini *deid dosni ar morsoeth*, *bid mor a promad hitein*, *bid pesc a fochraic for nimh* CZ. iii. 454.

elteſſaiſ. Cf. *aitles* CZ. iii. 448. The sense of 'sluggishness' is suggested by *deid* in the passage quoted above.

¹ Strachan, Subjunctive Mood, 103.

promad. In A¹ the late *promadil* has been substituted, probably under the belief that the *a* of *romar* was long. But *rómár* became *romar*, just as *rò-galach* became *rogalach*; in Fél. Oeng. Ep. 236 *romair* rhymes with *sobail*; cf. also *rognas* (from *ro-gnás*) : *comdas* in the Riagail Chormaic.

v. 24. diambeth nech nodagabád. *nodagabád* is supported by the rhyme, and this past subjunctive calls for the past subjunctive *diambeth*.

dréisi, etc. (2 sg. pres. *s*-subj. of *dringid*) is the reading to which the MSS. decidedly point. But there is a very harsh transition from the third person in the first line of the verse to the second person in the second. And this harshness led probably to the substitution of *dringed* and *nd dénad* in B.

besu arad i. a nglanais (leg. *nglanas*) *aniu salc[h]aidh amarach*, ‘what he cleans to-day, he fouls to-morrow,’ A¹.

v. 25. conair céstae. The text of B is unintelligible to me, but cf. *nosgabha gabail gerta* v. 28^a; *gérta* gen. sg. of *gérait*, ‘champion’ (?).

do-t-séstae, 3 sg. past *s*-subj. pass. of *do-seinn* with the infixd pronoun of the second person. *Amal bid tofunn* would be the usual phrase; in B *bid* has been introduced, and this has led to the corruption of *dot-séstae*. Cf. *amal tene beth fot churp* LBr. 261^a68 = *mar badh teine beth fort churp* YBL 408^a5.

v. 26. nísniarfois. The true reading is uncertain. Palaeographically *ní fresndis*, the subjunctive of a compound *friss-ind-feth-*, cf. *freisndis* Wb. 13^aII, or *nísnernis* the subj. of *ar-neuth*, ‘expect,’ would be very near to *níresnis*, but the sense is not so suitable.

amail nobetha i talam. Here the reading of A suits the sense better than that of B. Further *talam* is an O.-Ir. form of the dative, cf. Wb. 9^b19, 21^d4, Ml. 44^c1. 45^d13, 106^a3, BCr. 33^b1, while of an O.-Ir. acc. *talam* I have no example: in Fél. Oeng. Pr. 216 the form *talam* is not assured by the metre. But it is possible that both variants are a corruption of something else, e.g. *amail no-t-techtad talam*, ‘as if the earth possessed thee.’

v. 27^a. See v. 13^b.

v. 28. accor. Cf. Thes. Pal.-hib. i. 724.

v. 28^a. manchaibh; like *manchuine* below, the word is used in its legal sense of tenants of church lands, for which see Glossaries to the Laws, to the Tripartite Life, and to the Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore; O’Dav., nos. 1052, 1221, and the legal fragment in Ériu i. 218 sq.

gabail gerta, see v. 25.

damal, leg. *diamb' díl*, ‘if it be pleasing’ or ‘if it be fitting’ (?).

v. 28^c. arco fuin imondaire. The religious formula *arco fuin* is well known: cf. Meyer, Contributions, s. v. *arcu*; *imondaire* may perhaps represent *imman-d-airi* 3 sg. subj. of *imnairic*, with infixd rel. *n*, and rel. *d*, on which see Pedersen, KZ. xxxv. 407; and the whole phrase may then mean something like ‘I pray that it

may be for good.' I have noted two other occurrences of the word in religious poetry:—

Riagail Ailbe :

*Tua ocus fethamla do crabad gurab lesach
arco fuin imonaire ar tosach iersin cern med messair.
(v. 1. arcu fuinn imanaire iar tosach iarsin cesaith).*

Ainmchairdes Manchain Léith :

*Ar atait teora briathra ata logmure for nim
umanaire cet gach tan epert dogres arcu fuin.*

There is a different formula in RC. xv. 489: *Arcu fuin um Dia, domair trocaire, creitiu in Trinoit.*

v. 29. **licet.** Cf. *leget* Ml. 69^a23.

tucci. The reading *ruccai* is here unintelligible to me. *berim diriug* means 'I attain to,' but of *berim* by itself in that sense I have no example.

comae. The meaning of the word here is obscure. It might be compared with *comad*, Ériu i. 38, if the *comad* be simply a bad spelling of *coma*. In Irish poetry it is a well-known rule that a poem ends with the word with which it begins. The present poem shows that it is sufficient if the two words are the same in form, and that it is not necessary that they should be the same in sense.

J. STRACHAN.

A COLLATION OF *CRÍTH GABLACH*, AND A TREATISE ON *CRÓ* AND *DÍBÁD*

IN the twenty-fifth volume of the *Revue Celtique*, p. 344, I gave an example of the work still to be done by the Breton Law Commissioners before they can consider their task completed. I now submit two examples of another kind of work which will have to be carried out before the student of Irish Law can be said to be properly supplied with his materials, viz. (1) a collation of the original manuscripts with the published texts, and (2) the publication of valuable legal documents not included in O'Donovan's and O'Curry's transcripts. As an instance of the former work, I have chosen the *Crith Gablach* and its Sequel (*Ancient Laws*, vol. IV. pp. 288-369), one of the oldest texts of the collection, having been originally composed in the eighth century.¹ Two copies of it have come down to us, both of which are found in the vellum codex, H. 3. 18, one beginning on p. 252, another on p. 1a. The latter is incomplete, the whole introduction as far as p. 308, l. 5, of the edition being omitted. There is a third fragment on p. 419.

As an example of a hitherto unpublished legal text, I select a treatise on the distribution of *cró* and *díbad*, i.e. the property left by a deceased person. This text, which is found in H. 3. 18, p. 25a, is of much later date than the *Crith Gablach*, belonging to the period of transition from Old to Middle Irish. From the mention of Cormac mac Cuilennáin in the introduction, it would seem to have been written after A.D. 907, the date of his death.

KUNO MEYER.

¹ Note e.g. such old forms as *aeue* 320, 29, *tualing* 304, 17, *foled* (= *folad*) 304, 3, *cechtir* 338, 16, *deac* 338, 21, *nue* 304, 10, *mruige* 310, 5, the nom. pl. *grád* 298, 11, &c. As the Law of Adamnan is mentioned (p. 334), the text cannot be earlier than the beginning of the eighth century.

A COLLATION OF *CRÍTH GABLACH*

THE EDITION.

(Ancient Laws of Ireland, IV., p. 298.)

p. 298, l. 3	nín.—fead̄	THE MANUSCRIPT,
l. 8	bēt̄ a nílann	H. 3, 18, p. 252.
l. 11	Cērc	ni hanse—fer
l. 12	mroba	beith a urlunn
l. 13	a nálig—menbuo—fóruailein	ceist
l. 14	na .um. ngrádorí	midbotha
l. 16	tanairé	a dlidē—menbuo—fondailter ¹
l. 17	fóolai	na secht ngrad ² si
l. 18	Óa	tanise
l. 22	nenech	fodla
l. 24	a mhaill ari in cam	da
p. 300,	l. 1	nenich
l. 4	imtuing	amail arincain
l. 8	biathad aonar	imatiuing
l. 10	aonuigis—fórtait	biathad aonur
l. 11	mbliaodan nœg	addlided—fórtait
l. 15	in compuc	mbliaodne ndéac
l. 19	eile—trébeiri	ni com̄
l. 22	tabairi níabla in brio	aile—trebairiu
p. 302,	l. 5	sarugud
l. 13 and 22	nœg	tabar diabal mbid
l. 15	cuairtiro	inna—lino ³
l. 23	bairfai	déac
l. 25	oligter—maici	cuairddid
p. 304,	l. 1	p. 253, basaibh
l. 13	cimmo	dliḡther—maic
l. 16	cethr̄aimé	cinnid
l. 17	immuilin	ised
l. 19	suidhiugud	cethr̄e
l. 25	túrcereicc	immuilinn
p. 306,	l. 10, 11	suidhiugud
l. 15	bairgen	bairgen
l. 16	tsarugud	tsarugud
l. 21	forchur	forchur
l. 22	aidiri	aidiri
l. 23	huare	huare
l. 25	folaid	folaid
p. 308,	l. 1	cethr̄-
l. 6	sarugud	sarugud
l. 7	baitsid (p. 1 a)	baitsid (p. 1 a)
l. 8	dosaig (p. 1 a)	dosaig (p. 1 a)
l. 11	chóir (p. 1 a)	chóir (p. 1 a)
l. 16	chóiciur (p. 1 a)	chóiciur (p. 1 a)
p. 310,	l. 5	boaire
		mrugifer

¹ *i* inserted after *l* under the line² *i* inserted after *a* under the line³ lina (*nó o*). · The *o* is meant to cancel the *a*

p. 310, l. 18	τρυπίσ	scrub
l. 25	φίσχιτ	fithet (leg. fichtet)
p. 312, l. 10	ρεοτύ	.s. (i.e. <i>seóit</i>)
p. 314, l. 5	ρο τυπιού	fo sídiu
p. 316, l. 3	εεργ	ceist
l. 8	σίν	didiu
l. 11	φιασναρε	fiadnaisce
l. 16	τεχματιού	dechmaith
ib.	ι ποομνασχ	i ndomnuach
l. 20	παιτχίσινα	naithgin
l. 25	τιμοργάσιν	timmorgain
p. 318, l. 7	εεργ	ceist
l. 9	Δ γλαν	a glan
l. 11	ναν	dano
l. 12	ιρε . . . ναν	ised . . . dano
l. 15	κυμαλ	cumala
l. 28	εέτ[Δαμητ]	cétamus
p. 320, l. 1	ιν γελλ νάνο τύιρι	a ngeld na sífe (p. 419)
ib.	Διθεράχ	aitherrach (p. 419)
l. 2	τρι Α	trina (p. 419)
ib.	Δαρητ	an anart (p. 3a)
l. 6	νο ιηραναττ	doinscanatt
l. 8	φιλλέκτα	fullechta
l. 10	φοργάσιλ . . . τιγ	forgild . . . rí (p. 419)
l. 11	Δ νολιγιο . . . ευρ	a ndligiud . . . cid (p. 419)
l. 13	νιέγιο	fortaich (p. 419)
l. 15	θυιτις	thuisig i tuaith (p. 419)
l. 22	να	dia
ib.	νέιρ τιρεναρ	dés dorenar (p. 419)
l. 23	τιρεναργριδι	dorenar side (p. 419)
l. 27	ναριταιοι	dartada (p. 419)
l. 28	ραιμμθισο	sambíud (p. 419)
l. 29	he	hé
p. 322, l. 2	τινχυρ	tínchur
l. 10	τιμθαχ	timmthach
l. 14	φοργάσιδ ρειττιρ	fossugud seisir
l. 15	ι νο μαρο	in nomaid
l. 24	τιν . . . ροιχιρ	didiu . . . choiciur
l. 26	ναν	dano
p. 324, ll. 9, 12	ρεοτ	seóit
l. 16	ταργυνη	tarsunn
l. 18	καλαινο	.k. (i.e. chalaind)
p. 326, l. 1	ι νοιττ	i ndissi
l. 2	ρεοτ	seóit
l. 6	τραιγεο	traigid
p. 328, l. 24	τυατχι	tuaithi
p. 330, l. 15	νονο	dono
l. 19	χυντριγις	chundriug
l. 26	γνίτιτ κυμα λα	gnítt cumala
p. 332, l. 7	οιρνοιθερ	oirdnithir
ib.	οιρνοιθερ	ordnithir
l. 9	νοτνοιρνοιθερ	notnordnither
l. 12	θυατιθι	tuaithi
p. 384, ll. 1, 14	ναν	dano

p. 334, l. 3	eile	aile
l. 27	óna	dano
l. 31	þethaib	retha[i]bh
p. 336, l. 3	þo fúit[er]	rofúiter
l. 12	óno	dono
l. 13	o comnóraio	ocon indriud
l. 19	þraigib	thraigib
l. 21	dot nimcellat	dotnimmcellat
p. 338, l. 3	cíff	crú
ib.	gábaib ói	gabail fer soerus di
l. 6	Δ roethaib	ar soethaib
l. 8	ite Δ nanmann	ithe a nanman
ib.	ite atá	ithe atá
l. 12	tectái	técti
l. 24	þéac	deac
l. 25	erpuic (twice)	espoc
ib.	huairi	huari
l. 26	tuarguib erpuic óno	tuargguib espoc dono
p. 340, l. 2	fenechar	fenechas
l. 21	féonib	sétuib

SEQUEL TO *CRÍDH GABLACH*

THE EDITION.

		• MS. H. 3, 18.
p. 344, l. 8	nolige	p. 15a, ndiged
l. 12	tuirhugad	turthugud
l. 15	óno	dono (and so throughout)
l. 23	timoreibe	timbe
l. 24	þcelis	sce lig
p. 346, l. 2	ðo Concobair	do Concobur
l. 7	Δ cahirmtige	a chuirmtige
l. 10	Coirbre—cimedu	doirbre—cimeda
l. 15	ocus Δ cairroe	ocus cairde
l. 20	n[em]e	nime
p. 348, l. 18	reip	p. 15b, seire
l. 28	tártæo	tártéd
p. 350, l. 5	Lettrian	lethtrian
l. 6	reotuib	sétuib
l. 15	comarbaib	comorbaib
p. 352, l. 1	þerþeit	seirthiud
l. 7	mana	p. 16a, mina
l. 8	no þaer no	na gæs na
ib.	caemheta—þeþeta	caemhet—þeþet
l. 14	óno—mana (bis)	dono—mina (bis)
l. 15	þreca—am[ði]l	þreca—amail co[i]n
l. 16	mana	mina
l. 21	þedain	fedhain
l. 26	þuileo	fuilet
l. 28	co [no óna] nroentair	condentar (7 ona written over con)
p. 354, l. 2	mpim	insin
l. 15	fri miadhllechta	fri miadhllechtaib
l. 16	ineclainn	eineclainn

p. 354, l. 17	raislmeoislais	sailmchéalaigh
l. 18	moirio	immurgu [and so throughout]
ib.	fileo	filid
l. 20	erpuic	espoc
l. 21	ollam filio	ollam filed
l. 26	raí litre	sai litre la flaithe
l. 28	after raíde insert ocht scripuill for deich n-uingib for deich cumalaib	
ib.	.xxx.	fichit
l. 30	frí ri	fri ri
p. 356, l. 1	vecepol	descepol
l. 2	raebhrathas	p. 16b, saerbratha
l. 4	roisceoisl	forcetail
l. 5	meo	méit
l. 16	molighchecht	indliughthech
l. 20	fricomarc	friscomarc
l. 28	file—ruirmið	file dono—fuirmidh
p. 358, l. 4	file	fili
l. 16	nailella—mora	nAilella—móra
ll. 19 and 20	come immediately after frí na nguað (l. 17) in the MS.	
l. 27	hanmnighedh	hanmnighedh
p. 360, l. 5	fr mac oða	p. 17a, is mac do
l. 8	vorom—fórbairt	dosam—forbairt
l. 10	pegluime	fogluime
l. 12	tn . . . ainn	trénainim
l. 13	ceirc	ceist
ll. 14, 15	iar nolisgoð—iar nolisge	iar ndliged—iar ndliged
l. 17	puirnoce	fornoce
l. 22	nairidhga	nairidhgha (sic)
l. 28	cumal	cumhol
p. 362, l. 6	nairle	uaisle
l. 9	roe	fo
l. 13	hairni	hairm
l. 18	mó	mó
l. 25	folas[rið]	folud
p. 364, l. 6	marfa ruðuð	A sárughudh
l. 9	tanri	p. 17b, tanaisi
l. 11	ma	ma
l. 12	condat	condat
l. 17	cac	cach
l. 22	banbém cnocbeim	banbém 7 cnocbeim
p. 366, l. 3	et	It
l. 6	celcoð	thelcodh
l. 8	athlaech	athlaech
l. 21	nartan	Martan
l. 24	gráuio	grád
l. 25	cumal	cumal
p. 368, l. 3	faríger	saighes
l. 4	.m. bai	teora bai
l. 5	oo cach frí	dó each gradh fri
l. 6	nímhéir	rímthir
ll. 9, 11	ele vno	aile dono
l. 10	.l. at	im chóica[i]t

THE DISTRIBUTION OF *CRÓ* AND *DÍBAD*

MS. H. 3. 18, p. 25a.

Ropu doraidh laisna huctaru na nGáidel cinnas no roinn-fitris chrao 7 *dibad*. Ar is inann leo-som roinn crōi 7 *dibaid*. Is iarum immestarcomolsat an uctair¹ na nGōedhel 7 rohord-aigset indas noroindfitis crō 7 *dibad* a firaicned screptra 7 chuibsi.² Ro ordaighset īaram 7 immadeisidh leo a buith a mbēscna isind inis se ō tosogh co forcenn 7 adrodamnatar Pātraic 7 fir Ērenn olcena a buith samla[id] 7 an uctair robātar a ndegaid Pātraic īar cretem ro ordaigset³ i commu cāich .i. Cennfōeladh⁴ mac Ailella 7 Dubh[d]artach Bēirri fodeoidh 7 Fингin mac Flainn 7 Fingen mac Conmaic 7 Cormac mac Cuilennāin.

Ceist didiu. Cislir rann⁵ fil for crū? Nī *hansa*. A .III. ranna .i. rann ō bon cétamus 7 rann ō inn 7 rand armedōn.

Rann ō bun cétamus .i. téit rī in cōicidh nō na mōrthúaithe i tech ri[g] Ērenn, mā[d] rī⁶ cōicid⁷; mā[d] rī⁶ mōrtúaithe, téit i tegh rīgh in cōicid nō indara rīgh cena 7 gaibhid⁸ giall n-ann im cinaid⁹ indī marbas a fer, co n-ēirren fris a crō 7 ranntair īaram in crō. *Sechtmad* as cétamus do giall frisi tobongar.¹⁰ Ranntair i trī īarsin. Trīan as don ardrīg dondboing 7 trīan do crū na deirbfine 7 trīan do flaithib ilibh huilibh 7 berid rī¹¹ in cōicid nō na mōrtúaithe a crō n-uile leis acht cuit ind ardrīgh 7 is hūadha beres cāch a cuit itir fine 7 flaith¹² .i. a trīan tic na flaithi, fācabar a trīan lais-[s]im 7 beridh in flaith is nesom dō-som na dā trīan n-aile 7 fācaibd cāch āe trīan leis beos .i. cach tellugh asa téit beos co nā tūarat ní de etir.

Crō ō inn dano, is hēisidh[e] saighes fine ar urradhas ar ath-athgabāil (*sic*) 7 nī bī cuit ardrīgh occo acht a flaith na fine fadisin. Rantair īaram i trī beos .i. trīan do crū 7 trīan do flaithib ilibh, acht an cuit rosaigh ind ardrīgh¹³ asin crū tōisech .i. asin crō ranntar ō bon. Is ed rosaigh flaith ina fine, hūair todboing¹⁴ 7 fācaibh trīan i tellugh cacha flathai. Tēit bēos

¹ a huctair MS. ² chuidhbhsí MS. ³ ro ordaidhsēt MS. ⁴ Cennfōeladh MS. ⁵ a added under the line ⁶ rīgh MS. ⁷ coicedh MS. ⁸ gaibhe MS. ⁹ cinaigh MS. ¹⁰ 7 trian do crū add. deleted by puncta ¹¹ rig MS. ¹² fāli MS. ¹³ ard drīgh MS. ¹⁴ todboing MS.

frithrusc sūas coruice inn ardrīg 7 is ann ar[s]isestar. A ndohūartéit de 7 in cuit rosaigh inn *flaith* na fine asin (p. 25^b) crū tōisech, is *ed* rosaigh inn ardrīg asin cruid.

Crō armedōn .i. téit mōrtūaith īarna n-atugh do sochrait aiccme bīs hūadhaib hi cēin īar marbad fir dīb 7 nī damthar cert nā dlidē dōibh ima fer co toibget in mōrtūath ar ēigin leo-sium co slūaga 7 innu (?) 7 atgelltar a cuit dōibh din crū tar hēisi a tobhaigh lēo.

Ocus is ē crō randtar ar lín semmann: trīan do crū deirbfine-beus 7 trīan donaib *flaithib* *amail* remindērbartamar isna hībh crōaibh *aile* 7 trīan don tslūagh nodaig leo-sum, acht īar n-airec as na ndaghdaíne 7 īar lín cāich 7 īar méit a cumaing ranntar ḍ hīsil co hūasal, acht ní bí nech dībh cin ní itir, cidh bec cuit cāich dībh de.

Ocus an trīan rosaigh in derbfine, cinnus ranntair? Ní *hansa*. Ranntair óthá athair 7 mac co senathair for cūlo 7 frithrusc a frithisi coruici ingen-ar-mēraibh. Athair¹ 7 mac cétabus, leth dōibh dinasc. Brāthair athar 7 mac rannait² aithraind atherrugh co leth in *edh* dohurrtéit ann. A ndohurrtéit ann īaram ranntair i trī. Trīan do brāthair³ 7 ranntar a mbīs ann beus i trī. A trīan dondī bes nesam dō īarsan *urd* cēdna, acht is lín cenn ngabála téit 7 nī lín cend comorba, 7 a ndourrtéit ann fadeoidh forsna trēnibh .i. in tan rosaigh senathair for cūlo a mbec dourrtéit ann for rannaibh téit i lín cend comhorba sūas arīs i frithrusc coruice athair¹ 7 mac 7 tiagait ind *amail* cāch, cid bec cuit cāich dībh de.

Trīan do crū cōiccir indrannait aitiri an dā trīan n-aile i trī .i. trīan do *flaith*, trīan do fine, trīan do etarflaith 7 do iteraibh. Trīan dan etarflaith 7 naneteribh [sic] ranntair trīan de do muire rechtgi dodaftéit a tegh rí[g], a trīan do aitiribh, a trīan n-aill do aidhbenaibh na tūaithi do roinn co hāen-screpoll. Ní crō co cōiccir fo cosmailius cliaro. Athroinn sin ar crō.

Gilla nām sonn ar pairt Mhailysa.

¹ aith- MS. ² rainnait MS. ³ brair MS. with the mark for *m* over the first *r*

THE RULE OF PATRICK.

THE following Regula, taken from T.C.D. codex H. 3. 17, appears to be one of a number of fragments still extant of the Ríagail Pádraic. Another fragment occurs in LB. 11^b20 *sq.*, of which both text and translation are given in Reeves' *Culdees*. The LB. text which is embodied in Reeves' work extends from 9^b1 to 12^b28. There, however, it is called the Rule of the Céli Dé, and is ascribed to Moelrúain. A third fragment occurs in the "Book of Lismore" (where the title Ríagail Pátraic appears). This has been published by Stokes in his *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*, pp. 135 and 359. It is doubtful if the "Lex Patricii" of the Annalists is identical with the term "Cáin Pátraic," which was applied to the Senchas Mór.¹ Tiger-nach has the following entry under the year 737: "A conference between Aedh Allan and Cathal, son of Finngain, at Tirdaglass; the Lex Patricii held Ireland"; an entry which is amplified by Keating into: "It was about this time that a conference took place between the King of Ireland and Cathal Mac Fionngaine, King of Munster, at Tir-da-glass in Ormond, at which the Law (reacht), and Right (dlighi), and Rent (cios) of Patrick were ordered over Ireland by them." In the same Annals there are references, between the years 721 and 792, to the promulgation of a number of other Irish saints' "Laws." According to Reeves,² some of these saints were founders of churches which afterwards became the heads of sees, while others had no successors of the episcopal order; their "Lex" therefore had reference to their monastic influence, and owed its acknowledgment to the reputed sanctity of their lives. The "Lex Patricii," in the course of time, appears to have superseded all others, and was itself abandoned in the twelfth century for the comprehensive one

¹ *Laws*, vol. i., p. 19.

² Primate Colton's Visitation, p. iv.

bearing the name of St. Augustine.¹ Judging from the tenor of the entries in the Annals, it is probable that the term "Lex Patricii" corresponded with the Ríagail Pátraic, which treated of the mutual relations of the church and the tribe, rather than with the Cáin Pátraic or Senchas Mór. The fragment here given, though somewhat disconnected and, in places, obscure, is much fuller than the passage in the *Laws*² dealing with the relations of church and tribe. In the necessarily tentative translation given, I have studiously adhered to the structure of the original much more closely than would be justifiable in a text other than one dealing with early Irish Church law. Until many more texts on the same subject have been edited, it will be impossible to arrive at anything like the exact meaning of certain technical words and phrases. I should add that in the MS. this text concludes with a number of maxims in prose and verse which probably do not belong to the *Regula*.

I am indebted to the editors of this *Journal* for considerable help both in editing and interpreting the text.

J. G. O'KEEFFE.

¹ Primate Colton's Visitation, p. 56.

² Vol. ii., p. 345.

[RÍAGAIL PÁTRAIC.]

1. Foratā anmanda fer n-Érenn a timna Pátraic. Prímepscop cecha tūaithe accu fri huirdned a n-óessa grāid, fri coisecrad a n-eclas, 7 fri hanmchairdes do flaithib 7 do airchindc[h]ib, fri nōemad 7 bendachad a clainde iar mbathius.

2. Ar nach tūath 7 nach cenēl oc nā bíat epscoip frisna 5 gnímaib seo, atbail dliged a creidme 7 a n-irsi, conid i suide téit cech duine assa richt chóir nā tabair tóeb fri hanmcharaid crāibdech,¹ 7 conid aire nā bí crīch la nech fri peccad eter fíngail ocus duinorgain ocus étrad 7 cech olc archena. Nach fer gráid didiu oc nā bí dliged nā eolus timthirechta a gráid 7² 10 coná bí tūalaing oiffrind nā ceileabhartha ar bēlaib ríg 7 epscop, nī dlig sāire nā eneclainn fir gráid i tūaith nā i n-eclas.

3. Nach epscop dobeir úasalgráda for nech nā bí tūalaing [a] n-airberta eter chrābud³ 7 léigend 7 anmchairde nā⁴ eolus 15 rechta nā ríagla, is bidba báis do Día 7 do dōinib⁵ in t-epscop sin. Ár is imdergad do C[h]rist 7 da eclais a comgráda do thabairt for neoch nā bí tūalaing a n-airberta fri nem 7 talmain, co mbi brāth do thūathaib 7 do ecailsib, conid aire dlegar secht mbliaidna peinne 7 secht cumail⁶ fri henech in Dūileman. Ár is ed fotera galar 7 angcessa forsna clanna, eter eltrai 7 milliuda 20 olchena, cen baithus n̄dligthech 7 cen dul fo láim n-epscoip i n-aimsir thēchtai, ár ní thic comlāine in spirta nóim, cipé a léire baistither in duine, mane tē fó láim n-epscoip iar mbathus.

4. It é maccān co macu secht mbliaidna nī bí acht a cúrsad ina chét-chinaid co n-abaind nō c[h]ris nō bois .i. trī bēimenna [Col. 853] forru co m-bais nō c[h]ris nō abaind co cend secht mbliaidna. Nach fer gráid tra tairmit[h]éid a gráda co caillich for follus, asren díre a grád dond eclais sāraiget[h]ar nō is diles a tecmail lais do cech t[h]orba 7 is diles don tūaith a tecmail leo do fuillmiud⁷ 7 indile,⁸ 7 ní dlig nī a raind ecaillsi Dé 'na degaid sin, mane penne do rēir apad nō anmcharat chrābdig.

¹ chraibdig MS.

² 7 is superfluous: cf. LB. 11^b41.

³ cradbad MS.

⁴ For nā leg. 7 ocnábē?

⁵ duinib MS.

⁶ LB. has cumala

⁷ Gl. .i. marbdile

⁸ Gl. .i. beodile

5. Ar ní fuil aitreib nime do anmain duine nād baithister 6 baithus dligt[h]ech rē cech rét, conid aire foratā anmanda [fer] nĒrenn cona flaithib 7 a n-airechaib 7 a n-airchindchib co raib baithius 7 comna 7 gabāil écnairce ó cech eclais do 5 manchaib téchtaib, ár as oc trí[s]t 7 miscad Patraic co nóemaib Érenn for cech flaith 7 for cech manach nā timaирg for a eclais saindiles baithius 7 comnai 7 gabāil écnairce inti.

6. Nach epscop tra sōertha¹ tūatha 7 eclaisi, is ē as anmchara dond áes gráid, 7 is lais dogniād urddu téchtaí, 7 is ē dobeir 10 fortacht dóib co roiset a n-dlied hi tūaith 7 i n-eclais, 7 is é timaирg for cech eclais co raib a durrthech 7 a relec hi ñglaine, 7 co raib in altóir cona haidmib téchtaib ar c[h]ind ind óessa gráid dogrés.

7. Ocus cech airchindech fritái² in lessa doboing .i. bís 15 ind-agaid in ordaighthi sea nō ac nach bí ind eclas hé³ dlied in t-epscop cumail de asa réir budesin⁴ nō a réir neich bus chomgrād dó, co raib frecra mbathius⁵ 7 comna 7 gabāil écnairce do cech duine isa eclas téchta hí, 7 co raib idbairt chuirp Crīst for cech altóir. Ar is dīth na huile chredme dú nā bía in cetharda 20 sa, 7 nach duine fristargu⁶ 'na aigid, ní fuil súil dó fri haitreib nime.

8. Ocus nach eclas oc nā bé tūara⁷ manach do baithis 7 comna 7 gabāil écnairce, ní dlig dechmad nā boin cennaithe nā trīan n-imnai. [Col. 854.]

25 9. Ni dlig airchindech a réir for a manchu nā dlig díre a seoit nā toichned a eclais side, manibat óga a frithfolaid asa⁸ eclaisi di baithius 7 comna 7 gabāil n-écnairce, conid aire foratā anmanda fer nĒrenn, maine élat dlied a creidme⁹ 7 a n-irse 7 mani diúltat¹⁰ a n-Dúilemain 7 mā frisáiletar¹¹ dul a n-angnáis 30 na nōem, co raib ind eclas for cubus fir gráid fri baithius 7 comna 7 gabāil écnairce manach eter bíu 7 marbu 7 co roib oiffrenn for a altóir hi sollamnaib 7 prímféilib 7 domnaigib 7 co rabat aidmi oc cech altóir 7 terimpetóir¹² 7 anarta coisecarthai.

35 10. Ar nach eclas oc ná bí a téchta nī dlig díre eclaisi Dé 7 ní heclas, ach tūam latrānd 7 tádat a hainm la Crīst.

¹ leg. sōerta

² leg. fristái (?)

³ hé seems corrupt here.

⁴ budesiu MS.

⁵ leg. mbathis

⁶ Gl. .i. tifca

⁷ Gl. .i. frestal

⁸ leg. probably na

⁹ chredme MS.

¹⁰ diúltad MS.

¹¹ frisáiletar MS.

¹² Gl. .i. imaltóir

11. Nach eclas hi *mbī fer gráid di minecailsib*¹ na tuaithe cenmotát möreclaisi dligid túarustul a gráid .i. tech 7 airlisi 7 dērgud² 7 deig-cheltaib³ 7 acnāmad⁴ rodfera cen turbaid cen díchell do neoch bes hi cumung na eclaisi .i. miach *cona* indiud⁵ 7 bó blicht in cech ráithe 7 biad sollaman.

12. Aitire dogó fria láim de manchaib cech eclaisi bes fora *chubus* fri túarustul⁶ cóir eter lóg mbaithis 7 tēchta comna 7 gabáil écnairce na n-uile manach eter bíu 7 marbu 7 oiffrend cecha domnaig 7 cecha prīm-ṣollamain 7 cecha prīm-feile 7 ceileabrad cecha trātha 7 tri cōecaíd⁷ cech trātha do chéital, mani thairmesca forcedul nō anmchairdes .i. ongad 7 baithis.

13. Má beth *tra* do hūaite ind āessa gráid lasna tūatha,⁸ ciabeit trī hecailsi nō a cethair for *cubus* cech fir gráid acht rosó comand 7 baithius do anmain chāich 7 oiffrend hi sollamnaib 7 féilib fora n-altóir.

14. It ē a frithfolaidi-seom dond fir gráid .i. lá air n-indraic cech bliadna *cona* sīl⁹ 7 a it̄hir 7 a lethgabol étaig do brutt nō da léinid nō do inur. Pruind chethruir ar notlaic 7 chaisc 7 chingcís.

15. Mā beith *tra* do ūaile ind fir gráid 7 a airmidin dosormagar a dligid 7 a sáire forsanní doruirmisem.

16. Ar is ed ba dliged fer gráid cecha chille, ūair nād bí lāndíre na eclaisi Dé acht dú i mbi óes gráid 7 maicclēirig¹⁰ indraice at é endaic fri athigid n-ecalsa.

¹ mindecailsib MS. ² Gl. .i. étach ³ Gl. .i. deig-étaigib : the dative is curious. LB. 11^b32 has tech 7 airlisse 7 dergud 7 deceltt. ⁴ Gl. .i. biad-foirese ⁵ Gl. .i. *cona* andland ⁶ Gl. .i. nodligid ⁷ cōecaíd MS. ⁸ There seems to be a lacuna here : *leg.* is cóir ? ⁹ tsil MS. ¹⁰ maiccleirid MS.

THE RULE OF PATRICK

1. IT is on the souls of the men of Ireland from the Testament of Patrick :—each tribe to have a chief bishop for the ordination of their clergy, for the consecration of their churches, and for the spiritual guidance of princes and chieftains, for the sanctification and blessing of their offspring after baptism.

2. For the tribe and the nation which have not bishops for these works, the law of their belief and of their faith dies, and then it is that each person, who does not trust to a pious soul-friend, forsakes his proper guise ; and therefore there are no bounds with anyone to sin, both parricide and manslaughter, and lust and every other villainy. Any ordained man then who is mindful neither of the rule nor of the knowledge of service of his order so that he is not capable of the Offering or of celebrating the Hours before kings and bishops, he is not entitled to exemption,¹ or to the honour-price of one ordained, in laity or church.

3. Any bishop who confers high orders on anyone who is unable to practise them in piety and reading and spiritual guidance, and who has not a knowledge of the law or of the rule, that bishop is guilty of death to God and to men. For it is an insult to Christ and to His Church to confer their orders on anyone who is incapable of using them towards Heaven and earth, so that it is ruin to peoples and churches ; wherefore seven years of penance and seven cumals are necessary by way of reparation to the Creator. For it is this which causes plague and sicknesses to tribes, both and other destructions, not having lawful baptism, and not going “under the hand”² of a bishop at the prescribed time ; for the perfection of the Holy Spirit comes not, however fervently a person is baptised, unless he “goes under the hand”² of a bishop after baptism.

4. It is children up to boys of seven years who are only chastised for their first crime with scourge or belt or palm of hand, to wit, three blows on them with palm of hand or belt or scourge to the end of seven years.³ Anyone in orders, however,

¹ *i. e.* all the privileges of the clergy ; no taxes, freedom from military service, &c.

² See note.

³ *i. e.* till their seventh year.

who plainly transgresses his orders with a nun pays the fine of his orders to the church which he outrages, or it is the lawful property [? of the man himself] what falls to him of every profit, and it is the lawful property of the people what falls to them of dead cattle and live cattle. And he [the ordained man] is entitled to nothing on the part of the church of God after that, unless he does penance at the will of an abbot or a pious soul-friend.

5. For there is no heavenly abode for the soul of a person who is not baptised according to lawful baptism before everything; wherefore it is upon the souls [of the men] of Ireland with their princes and their erenachs and their chiefs that there be baptism and communion and the singing of the intercession by every church to proper *manach* tenants; for the curse and malediction of Patrick and the saints of Ireland is on every prince and every *manach* tenant who does not impose on his own special church baptism and communion and the chanting of the intercession therein.

6. Any bishop whom peoples and churches free, it is he who is spiritual adviser to the ordained folk; and it is with him they perform their prescribed offices; and it is he who gives help to them so that they may attain to their due in tribe and church; and it is he who constrains each church to have its oratory and its burial-ground purified, and that the altar has its proper fittings always in readiness for the ordained.

7. And each erenach who opposes the dues which he levies, (?) that is, who is against this ordinance or to whom the church does not belong, the bishop is entitled to a cumal of it at his own will or at the will of one who is of equal rank, so that there be an equivalent of baptism and communion and the singing of the intercession to each person whose proper church it is; and so that there be an offering of the body of Christ on each altar; for it is ruin of all belief where these four are not found; and any person who shall oppose it, there is no hope for him of an abode in Heaven.

8. And any church in which there is no service to *manach* tenants for baptism and communion and the singing of the intercession; it is not entitled to tithes or to the heriot cow or to a third of [each] bequest.

9. An erenach is not entitled [to impose] his will on his *manach* tenants, nor is he entitled to the fine of his "sed" . . .

of his church unless the reciprocal obligations of the church be fully discharged of baptism and communion and the singing of the intercession ; wherefore it is upon the souls of the men of Ireland, unless they evade the rule of their belief and their faith, and unless they deny their Creator, and if they hope to go in the company of the saints, that the church should be on the conscience of an ordained man for baptism and communion and the singing of the intercession for *manach* tenants both living and dead, and that there should be Offering on its altar on solemnities and chief feasts and Sundays, and that there should be fittings on each altar and portable altar and consecrated linen cloths.

10. For the church which has not its proper equipment is not entitled to the fine of God's church, and it is not a church, but its name according to Christ is a den of thieves and robbers.

11. Any church in which there is an ordained man of the small churches of the tribe apart from the great churches, he is entitled to the wage of his order, that is, house, and enclosure and bed and clothing, and his ration that is sufficient for him, without exemption, without neglect of all that is in the power of the church, that is, a sack with its "kitchen," and a milch cow each quarter, and the food of festivals.

12. A hostage, whom he shall choose from the *manach* tenants of each church which is on his conscience, [he shall have] as a security for just wage, both price of baptism and the dues of communion and the singing of the intercession of all the *manach* tenants living and dead ; and Offering every Sunday and on every chief solemnity and every chief festival, and the celebration of each canonical Hour, and the singing of the three fifties¹ every canonical Hour, unless instruction and spiritual guidance, even unction and baptism, prevent [him].

13. If in the opinion of the tribe the ordained folk be too few, [it is lawful] that there be three churches or four on the conscience of each ordained man, provided that there come communion and baptism for the soul of each and Offering on solemnities and festivals on their altars.

14. These are his² reciprocal duties to the ordained man : a proper day's ploughing each year, with its seed and its arable land, and half of clothes for mantle or for shirt or for tunic. Dinner for four at Christmas and Easter and Pentecost.

¹ i. e. the 150 Psalms.

² i. e. the *manach* tenant's.

15. In proportion to the dignity of the ordained man, his due and his exemption are increased over and above what we have enumerated.

16. For it is this that would be due: an ordained man to every church, since there is not full fine of the church of God save where there are ordained men and proper young clerics, and they innocent, for frequenting the church.

NOTES.

foratá, *it is (incumbent) on*; *fortá* would be expected here. Both *fortá* and *foratá* occur in the glossary to Meyer's *Hibernica Minora*; and O'Davoren's *Glossary* has *forathd*. O'Donovan's Supplement has *forta* = 'it is due,' and *foratha* = 'it is ordained.' For the latter he quotes H. 3. 17 (O'D. 600). The word occurs in that MS. in a small slip of parchment set in between cols. 450 and 451, where the context is: *Foratha nech dogni gufiadnaisce in fiach doscara isé fil fair inn.*

écnaire, *intercession, requiem*. See note at p. 206, Reeves' *Culdees*. Dr. Strachan has drawn my attention to two passages in LL.—278^a45 and 283^a38—where the meaning is *requiem*. The word seems to have been applied to some special prayer or litany recited for the absent and the dead.

manach. Throughout this text the meaning seems to be *lay tenant of ecclesiastical lands*; cf. *Laws*, Glossary.

eltrai, ?

lethgabol étaig. I have not been able to ascertain the precise meaning of *lethgabol* in the context. Several examples of the use of the word are given in the Glossary to the *Laws*, p. 531, but none of them suits here, where the meaning seems to be in the nature of a *tribute* (of clothing) from the *manach* tenants to the ordained.

fregra, *equivalent*, see *Laws*, Glossary.

díre a séóit ná toichneda. What the precise meaning of the phrase—evidently a legal one—in this text is I cannot say. Cf., however, LB. 11^b23, *Laws*, vol. iv., p. 362, and *Laws*, Glossary.

terimpetóir; Gl. *imaltóir*, *portable altar*? Cf. Glossary to Stokes' *Three Middle-Irish Homilies*, and to his *Lismore Lives*, s. v. *immaltoir*.

teemail. Can this be an error for *tecmai*, 3 sg. s. subj. of *doecmaing*? The passage in which it occurs is anything but clear as it stands.

in lessa doboing. Cf. *Laws*, v. 118, and Glossary, s. v. *les* and *toibgim*.

cona síl 7 a ithir. This passage is somewhat obscure to me as it stands. Assuming that there is no corruption, the meaning would appear to be that among other reciprocal duties from the *manach* tenant to the ordained were: (1) the grant in "conacre" of as much arable land as a man might plough in one day, (2) the actual ploughing (?) and general preparation) of it, and (3) the seed for it.

dul fo láim n-epscoip, *to go under the hand of a bishop*. In Mod. Ir., *to be confirmed*.

FÉILIRE ADAMNÁIN.

THE following short poem is not an uncommon form of Irish prayer addressed to the saints who preside over the different seasons. It is contained in four MSS.: a Brussels MS. from which a transcript of the poem was made by Dr. Whitley Stokes, and three Royal Irish Academy MSS., 23 P. 3, fol. 19a; 23 G. 23, p. 42; and 23 G. 27, p. 204. Of the Academy MSS., 23 G. 23, and 23 G. 27, two paper MSS. called the O'Longan MSS., of which the former bears various dates from 1790 to 1831, and the latter the date 1815, are of no interest as regards this text, the copy of it contained in them being clearly transcribed from 23 P. 3, with the spelling modernised. This latter MS., a small folio vellum written in the year 1467, and consisting almost entirely of religious pieces, has been catalogued by Dr. Meyer in *Archiv*, vol. ii., p. 136. The Brussels MS. containing the poem is a thin paper quarto consisting of 214 leaves. It is preserved in the Bibliothèque Royale, where it is marked 5100-4, and was transcribed about the year 1630 by Michael O'Clery. A full description of its contents is to be found in the introduction to Stokes' edition of the Martyrology of O'Gorman. Our poem begins at fol. 92^b, l. 21.

The poem is composed in the metre called *Rinnard*. A full description of this metre, which is also employed in the Féilire of Oengus, is given in *Revue Celtique*, vol. xx., p. 192. In it, each stanza consists of four verses, and each verse contains six syllables. The second and fourth verses rhyme; and the final word of the third verse assonates with some word in the fourth—e.g. *idain*, *Grigair*, *gaire*, *Maire*, *inat*, *spirat*, etc. This assonance is obligatory, however, only when there is no assonance between the final syllables of the second, third, and fourth lines. If we have this triple assonance, the metre is called *Rinnard trí n-ard*, as in the stanza 'In feilire,' etc., where the three words *saeraibh*, *randaibh*, *naemhaibh* rhyme.

Otherwise the metre is known as Rinnard da n-ard, as in the first five stanzas, where there is assonance only between *two final words*.

As is the case with most Irish hymns the authorship of this one seems to be doubtful. In the Brussels MS. it is ascribed to Adamnan; in 23 P. 3 no author is mentioned; in 23 G. 23 it is attributed to St. Ciaran, while 23 G. 27 has the following heading: Creidim gurbé Cormac Naomtha Mac Cullionáin adubairt na rainnsi um dhiaidh. However, it is certainly later than the age of any of them, though the exact period of its composition is doubtful. It contains such Middle-Irish forms as *bliadna* for *bliadnae*, *ionat* for *inad*, and *Íssa* for the *Íssu* of the Glosses.

It is not unlikely that the original poem ended at *nemda*. Then comes what appears to be a comparison with the Féilire of Oengus, followed by six verses of invocation which are also possibly a later addition. I have called the Brussels and Royal Irish Academy MSS., respectively, B and P. My text is that of the former; and all the important variants from the latter are given in the foot-notes. I wish to acknowledge gratefully the help that Dr. Strachan has given me in my difficulties.

Incipit feleire Adamnain dia mathair hic.

1 Naimh nac ceithre raithe dutracht lím a nguidhe
Romsaerat¹ ar phiana² noimh na bliadhna huile.

2 Naoimh ind erraigh errdaire lím do deoin Dé daltait³
Im Brighti noigh niodhain im Grighair im Pattraicc.

3 Naimh int samraidh tirim⁴ impa ata mo baile
On tírsa co tíssa⁵ co hÍssa mac Maire.

4 Naimh ind foghmair álainn ailim drong nad dichéol⁶
Co tísat im gaire⁷ im Maire is im Michéol.⁸

5 Naimh in geimridh guidim lium fri⁹ drongu demhna
Im Iosa na nionat¹⁰ in¹¹ spirat naemh nemhdha.

¹ ronsaerad ² phianai ³ dálid ⁴ guidim ⁵ co rísam a
tiru P. Co tíssa on tírsa B (order reversed for sake of assonance). ⁶ foghmair
ailim; aluinn drong nach dichél P. nadicheol B ⁷ Co tiad dom cobur
⁸ Michél ⁹ ré ¹⁰ ionad B and P (changed for assonance *ionat*: *spirat*)
¹¹ immun

6 In feilire naemhsa¹⁻² bias³ ag sruithibh sáeraibh
Cipsa lia⁴ do randaib nocha lia do naemhaibh.⁵

7 Aitcim naoim⁶ in talman aitchim aingle⁷ ile
Aitchim Dia fodeine⁸ fo eirge is fo lighé
Cia denar⁹ cia therar¹⁰ co trebhar¹¹ tir nimhe.

TRANSLATION.

Here begins *the Saints' Calendar of Adamnan* to his mother.

1 The saints of the four seasons, I long to pray to them,
May they save me from torments, the saints of the whole
year !

2 The saints of the glorious spring-time, may they be with me
by the will of God's fosterling,¹²
Together with Brigid, a maiden pure, with Gregory and Patrick.

3 The saints of the dry summer, about them is my poetic
frenzy,
That I may come from this land to Jesus, Son of Mary.

4 The saints of the beauteous autumn,—I call upon a company
not inharmonious,¹³
That they may come near me, together with Mary and Michael.

5 The saints of the winter I pray to, may they be with me
against the throngs of demons,
Around Jesus of the mansions, the holy, heavenly spirit.

¹ in margin of B ² mor sin ³ bhis ⁴ Gid lia he ⁵ (In margin of B)
Vel sic: Nocha lia do randaib cipsa lia do naomhuiph nisi dicat non plures
sanctos quamvis plures versus esse apud aliud quam apud se his paucis versibus
⁶ naema ⁷ amlaid ⁸ budéine ⁹ dénum ¹⁰ déaram ¹¹ gur trebhum

¹² Suggested by Dr. Strachan, taking *daltait* as an irregular derivative from *dalte* (for *dalteata*), 'God's fosterling' being an epithet for Christ.

¹³ Apparently an adj. comp. of *di* and *ceol*. Cp. S. na R. l. 2197, where the meaning seems to be *harsh*:

'Niba dicheoil, toraind ngle, A Micheoil fria morgaire.'

6 This saints' calendar [*i.e.* the calendar of Oengus], which
noble sages will have,¹
Though more numerous in verses, it is not more numerous
in saints.

7 I beseech the saints of the earth, I beseech all the angels,
I beseech God Himself, both rising and lying down,
Whate'er I do or whate'er I say, that I may inhabit the
heavenly land.

MARY E. BYRNE, B.A.

¹ Better *bhí*s as in P v.v. which . . . have.

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28 CLARE STREET,

DUBLIN, November, 1903

THE first Session of the School of Irish Learning has just closed. Three Courses have been held in the Aula Maxima of University College, St. Stephen's Green, kindly lent by the authorities for the purpose. During July, Professor John Strachan, LL.D., lectured for four weeks, two hours daily, on Old-Irish Grammar. For these lectures forty students of both sexes enrolled themselves, nearly all of whom were more or less conversant with Modern

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Irish. Several of them came from distant parts, such as Galway, Cork, Waterford, and Belfast, for the purpose of attending these classes, and one student came specially from Sheffield. In addition to these lectures, Professor Strachan held a class in the mornings for more advanced students, with whom he read the *Táin Bó Cúalgne*. For this purpose, Mr. Edward Gwynn, F.T.C.D., kindly lent his rooms in Trinity College.

In September, Professor Kuno Meyer conducted a class in Irish palæography and the reading of MSS. This class, which met for an hour and a half daily during three weeks, was attended by twelve students. Irish MSS. of various ages were read and studied in photographic reproductions ; and instruction in the methods of cataloguing and editing was given. It is hoped that some of the work done by the class will soon be ready for publication.

During the same month, Dr. Henry Sweet took a class in practical phonetics with special reference to Modern Irish. This class was attended by twelve students. The object of the course was to give the students such a knowledge of speech-sounds and pronunciation as would enable them to understand and investigate the history of the language, to restore the pronunciation of Old-Irish, and to write down the Modern-Irish dialects in an accurate phonetic notation for the benefit of present and future generations of scholars.

The management of the School was as follows :—Mr. Charles M'Neill undertook the work of honorary treasurer and secretary ; Mr. R. I. Best acted as honorary librarian. The fees for each Course were one guinea ; but this was not enough to cover expenses. A sum amounting to £150 was subscribed by friends. Of this sum, a portion has been applied to paying the lecturers, and another to purchase the nucleus of a working Library. For the latter, valuable gifts of books have also been received from several friends, and from the Council of the Royal Irish Academy.

An association of the students has been formed, each student paying a yearly subscription ; and through the kindness of Mr. Thomas Kelly, Castletown, the School has been temporarily housed in suitable rooms.

It is intended, in connexion with the School, to start a periodical devoted to Irish philology, literature, and history. One of the chief objects of such a periodical will be the

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publication of collations and editions, with translations into English, of MS. materials bearing on Irish literature and history. Professors Kuno Meyer and John Strachan will be the editors. To give an idea of the work to be done, the former has drawn up a short statement, which is annexed.¹

Arrangements are being made for at least three Courses during the next Session. Early in March, Mr. John Sampson Librarian of the University of Liverpool, will hold a bibliographical class treating of the method to be observed in describing and cataloguing ancient and modern MSS., with special reference to those of Ireland.² In March and April, Professor Kuno Meyer will resume his Course on Irish palæography and the reading of MSS. During June and July, Professor J. Strachan will continue his Course on Old-Irish Grammar, and hold a class for the reading of Old- and Middle-Irish Texts.

While it is expected that the periodical will be self-supporting, the professors' fees, the furnishing of the rooms, further additions to the library, and the founding of scholarships will constitute the chief items of expense in connexion with the School. Subscriptions towards these purposes are earnestly requested. They should be sent to the Hon. Treasurer, Mr. J. G. O'Keeffe, 28 Clare Street, Dublin.

KUNO MEYER, *Director*

R. I. BEST, *Secretary*

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¹ A statement was issued with report.

² This class was postponed.

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