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SUPPLEMENT

Táin Bó Cúailnge. JOHN STRACHAN & J. G. O'KEEFFE, 65-80

AN OLD-IRISH HOMILY

THE following text was published by Professor K. Meyer in the *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, IV. 241 sq., from 23 P. 2, a MS. in the Royal Irish Academy. The texts of that MS. are of an inferior character ; and this particular piece is in places corrupt beyond the possibility of certain emendation. This summer, while I was working on the Yellow Book of Lecan, I lighted by chance on a second copy of the text, coll. 397 sq., = fascs. 15^a-16^a ; that it escaped notice is accounted for by the character of the so-called facsimile,¹ and by the fact that the text is not mentioned in the description of the contents of the codex. As might have been expected, the text is superior to that of P ; and from it, with the occasional help of P, it is possible, except in one or two places, to restore the text throughout.

The text is interesting as a genuine piece of Old-Irish prose ; and hence it seems worth while to print the text of YBL. side by side with a restored text. A few variants have been added from P ; for the others, the reader is referred to Professor Meyer's text. So far as I can judge from the text of the MSS., the text belongs to the later Old-Irish period ; some things, however, such as *ifil* for *itá*, and possibly *foroirbrea* for *forroibrea*, may be due to scribes. Accordingly, I have followed rather the orthography of Ml. than that of Wb. ; with respect to final -ae, it is possible that one should have followed the orthography of Sg. ; but here one is on uncertain ground, and it is a matter of no great moment. In one point, however, it has seemed convenient to follow Sg., namely, in the use of the symbols *f* and *s*.

¹ The more that one works at the original of the Yellow Book, the more one regrets that this facsimile was ever published ; for there is a danger that it will long stand in the way of what would be a priceless boon to Celtic scholars, a satisfactory facsimile of this the most valuable of all the Irish MSS. in Dublin.

THE TEXT OF YBL

Atlochomar buidi do dia uile cumachttach¹ do chomdidh nime 7 talmun aratrocrairi 7 ará dilgħaiche² · ara deircc 7 ara degħmuine³ dorad duin anim 7 atalmuin · is disuidħib⁴ asb̄ anfaith confitentur tibi domine · omnia opera tua 7 sancti · tui · confitenturtibi .i. adlochamar⁵ duitsiu amo comdhi huile gnimradha 7 tuile noem ardleghair dona huilib duilib atludugh buidhi⁶ 7 a bendachadh amal asberar · Benedicte omnia opera domini dominum⁷ .i. bendachaigsi gnímruda in coimdidh⁸ ar cid⁹ anpecaigh nisdiubair dia diadegħmoinib freccnaircib¹⁰ amal asber inscribtuir · bonus est deus quidat iustis 7 iniustis bona terrae in comune .i. asdutrachttach¹¹ dia 7 assenimail¹² isheside dober donaib maithib 7 dona holcaib feba intalmun acotchend¹³ · airiseisim antæn dia soinemail ful centosuch cenforcend ise dorosat na huile 7 rodo cruthaigestar 7 fodaling¹⁴ o nirt a cumuchtai¹⁵ ise nodail 7 coto oi¹⁶ 7 nodafaltighetar 7 nodosorcaidhetar 7 codomidetar 7 doda rachiuir¹⁷ 7 adanuidhitar · na huile is ind nosnerbat isse frisnaiced · arise asri narig as coimdhia na coimdedh tuistidh nime 7 talmun cruthaighthi aingel forcedlaid faithi · maigistir apstal · tidnachtaidh¹⁸ rechta brithem¹⁹ fer mbetha isairdiu nimib as isliu talmunnaib is leithiu muirib · Dlegair din²⁰ atlughudh adeghmaine don chomdhig sin aris tempull 7 aatrib²¹ dodia inainim buidhech atluchatar²² do dia adheolaighecht amal asbert²³ peatar · animam gratias agentem ac

¹ The mark of aspiration is over *t* ² dilgadhchi P. ³ Here, as in some other instances, the mark of aspiration has been added later

⁴ disuidi P.

⁵ atlóchatar P. ⁶ do dia add. P. ⁷ domino P. ⁸ coimdedh P.

⁹ cit P. ¹⁰ om. P. ¹¹ sainemail P. ¹² hi coitcindus P. ¹³ fodoloing P.

¹⁴ cumisel P. ¹⁵ cotaói P. ¹⁶ dodorathciuir P. ¹⁷ briathar P.

¹⁸ di^o P. ¹⁹ iss atreb P. ²⁰ atluchathar P. ²¹ isb^o P.

^a But the contracted form *deircc* appears already in Wb. 25^a16.

^b Psalm cxliv. 10, where, for "et sancti tui benedicant tibi," Sabatier, II. 280, quotes a variant "et sancti tui confiteantur tibi."

^c Of *gnimrad* I have no instance from the O.-Ir. glosses; in them *opera* is rendered by *gnimiae*; a collective *gnimrad* is found in ÉRIU II. 140. Cf. *iascrada* below, g.p. *inna niascrad*, ÉRIU II. 138.

^d Or *asberar*, cf. e.g. Sg. 66^b10, 67^a17.

RESTORED TEXT

Atluchammar buidi do Día uilechumachtach do Choimdid nime *7* talman ara thrócairi *7* ara dílgadchi, ara deseirc^a *7* ara degmáini dorat dún i nim *7* i talmain. Is di šuidiu asbeir in fáith: Confitentur tibi, Domine, omnia opera tua et sancti tui confitentur tibi^b .i. atluchetar duitsiu, a mo Choimdu, th' uili gnímrada (?)^c *7* t' uili nóib. Ar dlegair donaib huilib dúilib atlugud buide do Día *7* a bendachad, amal asmberar^d Benedicite omnia opera Domini Domino .i. bendachaidsi, á gnímrada (?) in Choimded, in Coimdid. Air cit in pechtaig nísdíupair Día dia degmóinib frecndaircib, amal asmbeir in Scíptúir: Bonus est Deus qui dat iustis et iniustis bona terrae in commune .i. is dúthrachtach Día *7* is sainemail, is héside dobeir donaib maithib *7* donaib olcaib feba inna^e talman i coitchennas.^f Air is éseom int óen Día sainemail fil^g cen tossach cen forcenn. Is é dorósat na^h huili *7* rodacruthaigestar *7* fodaloing ó nirt a chumachtai. Iss é nodaail *7* cotaói *7* nodafáiltigedar *7* nodasorchaigedar *7* cotamidetharⁱ *7* dodaraithchiúir *7* atanúigedar na huili.^j Is ind nosnerbat, iss é frisnaicct; ar is é as Rí na ríg *7* as Choimdu na coimded, tuistid nime *7* talman, cruthaigthid aingel, forcetlaid fáithe, magistir apstal, tindnachtai rechta, brithem fer mbetha; is ardu^k nimib, is ísliu talmanaib,^l is lethamuirib.

Dlegair dano atlugud a degmáine don Choimdid sin. Ar is tempul *7* is atrab do Día ind anim buidech atluchethar do Día a deoladacht,^m amal asmbeir Petar: Animam gratias agentem ac

^e In Mid. Ir. *talaman* appears as masculine; cf. *intalman* Ml. 25^a8, 51^c24, ACr. 12^e1; however, too much stress cannot be laid on the instances in Ml.

^f Cf. Ml. 124^d13, Sg. 208^b9.

^g In O. Ir. both *fil* and *file* are found; for the occurrences, see my paper on the Substantive Verb in the Old-Irish Glosses.

^h As already in O. Ir. there is a variation between *inna* and *na*, it is impossible in any particular case to say whether the original had *inna* or *na*.

ⁱ Cf. Ml. 17^b2.

^j Perhaps *na huile* is an interpolation; if not, the preceding infixd pronouns would anticipate the object.

^k See *Indogermanische Forschungen*, XI. 221.

^l In later O. Ir. *talmannaib* might stand: cf. CZ. IV, 58, 483.

^m Cf. Wb. 2^b25.

familiarem sibi facit deus .i. in duine atluchetar buidhe adhegh-moini dodia is ferann saindilesaidhi dorig nanuile . induini dimdach . im dighedhmoineb dé istepull¹ 7 asaitreb² dodhiabul . amal asber petar ingraciam³ animam malus possetet demon .i. selbaighidh 7 aittrebaig andemun olc anmain in dimdaigh nadatlaighedar⁴ adegmaine do dia . is din atlughudhsin asberat tibi gratias agunt animæ nostræ proinuis beneficis tuis domine .i. gniit⁵ arnanmañne⁶ atlaigthi buidhi duitsi amo chomdhiu ar do deghmoineb diarmithi innim 7 talmoin⁷

Bennacht tra di⁸ coimdedh nime 7 talmun forcach oen tarneclmar fora techt muige 7 taigi forambeodhail 7 amarbdail 7 forcach fotngni⁹ 7 conecet¹⁰ . dorata intalum athoirthi dorada intaer abraen . dorata inmuir ahiascratho fororbre ith¹¹ 7 mblicht¹² 7 mil 7 cruithecht do cach isa saethar 7 isadutracht domelom¹³ . dorada dia acket cutruma doisin talmuinsi 7 flaith nime thall¹⁴ . aranti arfoim munntir crist is crist arfoim ann amal asbersium fesin . quiuos recipit me recipit . quiuos spernit me spernit .i. anti ardofoimsi as mesi arfoim . inti cotibresi is messe cotnesai¹⁵ and

Ataat dano cosmuiliusa flatha nime 7 ifirnn isin bithsa . Cosmuilus iffirnn dano and chétamus .i. gæmridh 7 snechta sin 7 uacht . æs 7 críne . galar 7 báss . Cosmailus flatha nime and . im samrudh 7 sonend . blath 7 bile . aille 7 oetiu fleagha 7 tomulta sónidh 7 immudh gach maithusa . IS dochum ifirnn . im cartfaidh in comdiu apecdhacho illaithi bratho . anasmbera friu . ite maledicti in ighn¹⁶ meternum quipraeparatus est diabulo 7 angel ; eius .i. eirgidh amallachtacho isin tenidh sithain¹⁷ is iside teni foruiredh do diabul conadæscarcheilib¹⁸ . Mairg tra frissinebera incoimdhui illaithiu bratha bithaitreab aniffirnn conilar amorpian . asisel¹⁹ asuidhiug²⁰ is daingen aim-timchell is dorcho achro²¹ is dubach acomaitreb . ismor abreuntu .

¹ tempul P. ² is aitreib P. ³ ingratam P. ⁴ -atlaigethar P.

⁵ The second *i* under the line. ⁶ arnachmainni P. ⁷ atal² P. ⁸ om. P.

⁹ fodogni P. ¹⁰ conetet P. ¹¹ foroirbriuth P. ¹² The mark of aspiration

is over *t* ¹³ domelom P. ¹⁴ thall ; iar riachtu anunn P. ¹⁵ conessai P.

¹⁶ isin teine tsuthain P. ¹⁷ cona dhaescars¹ P. ¹⁸ arisel P. ¹⁹ achroes LU. 33^b 12.

^a The Latin text seems to be imperfect, but I have been unable to discover the passage.

^b Whether the phrase *atluchethar buidi* was followed by the gen. or by the acc., I have no evidence to show.

^c Cf. Bendachd for anmain n . Ioseph, *Thes. Pal.-hib.* II. 288.

familiarem sibi facit Deus^a i. in duine atluchethar buidi a degmáine^b do Día is ferann saindíles side do Ríg na nuile. In duine dimdach immurgu di degmáinib Dé is tempul 7 is atrab do Diabul, amal asmbeir Petar: Ingratam animam malus possidet demon i. selbaigid 7 atreba in demun olc anmain in dimdaig nád atlaigethar a degmáini do Día. Is dind atlugud-sin asberat: Tibi gratias agunt animae nostrae pro innumeris beneficiis tuis, i. gníit ar nanmainni atlaigthiu buide duitsiu, á mo Choimdui, ar do degmóinib diármithib i nnim 7 i talmain

Bendacht tra Coimded nime 7 talman for each nóen^c tarneclmar, fora thecht maige 7 taige,^d fora beódil 7 a marbdil, 7 for cách fodngní 7 conétet dó. Dorata in talam a toirthiu (?), dorata int aier a bróinu, dorata a mmuir a íascrada (?), foroir-brea^e ith 7 mlicht 7 mil 7 chruithnecht do chách asa sáithur 7 asa dúthracht domelam; dorata Día a chéchtrummae dó isin talmainse 7 flaith nime thall. Ar intí arafóim muntir Críst is Críst arafóim^g and, amal asmbeir som fesin: Qui uos recipit me recipit, qui uos spernit me spernit i. intí ardofóimsi is messe arafóim^g, intí cotibnessasi is messe connessa and.

Ataat dano cosmuiliusa flatha nime 7 iffirnn isin bithso. Cosmuilius iffirnn dano and céramus i. gaimred 7 snechtae, sín 7 úacht, áes 7 chríne, galar 7 bás. Cosmailius flatha nime and immurgu, samrad 7 soinenn, bláth 7 bile, áilde 7 óitiu, fleda 7 tomalta, sóinmige 7 imbed cach maithiusa.

Is dochum iffirnn immurgu cartfaid in Coimdui na pecthachu i llaithiu brátho, a nasmbéra friu: Ite maledicti in ignem aeternum qui praeparatus est Diabolo et angelis eius i. Eirgid á maldachtachu issin tenid suthain; issí ade tene foruired do Diabul cona dóiscarchéilib. Moircc tra frissanepera in Coimdui i llaithiu brátha bithatrab i niffurn co nilur a mórfhían. Ar is ísel a súidigud, is daingen a imthimchell, is dorchae a chróis, is dubach a chomatrab, is mó a bréntu, it suthaini a béstí, is

^a Cf. *idaltaigae* Sg. 66^a17.

^b *torud* was originally a neut. -u- stem: cf. *cid torud*, Ml. 128^d13, ÉRIU II. 161, n. pl. *torud* Ml. 46^c8. But in *toirthi* Ml. 46^c14, it has become masc. The gen. sg. *toraid* Ml. 83^d9, Sg. 61^b3 shows transition to the -o- declension. As to the gen. pl. *torud* Ml. 96^b5, 123^c8, it may be called to mind that the old gen. pl. of -u- stem disappeared early: see my *Contributions to Middle-Irish Declension*, p. 29.

^c One would have expected rather *forroibrea*: see my paper on *The Particle Ro-in Irish*, p. 103.

^g Or *arafóim*.

itsuthaine abiasta is crinnel athalom · is nep̄thortech alar · isalt do timorgain iscarcair dochomed isbreo doloscodh · islin do astud isrogall do esorgain · isfoebur do athchuma · isadhaigh doerdalladh · isde domuchudh · is croch doplianadh · isclaidim dodighail. IS amlaid tra ada himgabthā na pianasa tria lubair 7 leigend triaine 7 erraughthe · triaumulloid 7 genus · triafir firinde¹ 7 troccaire · tria iris 7 deirc · Ar inti comullas² inna tim-nasa cotngér³ ancoimdui chuca illaithiu brathā ara⁴ smbera friu · uenite benedicti pīs mei positete regnum quod uobis paratum est aborigine munndi .i. Tæt abendachtachu matharsa aittrebaig inflaith forruired duib othosach domain. IS cosnaidhi tra inflaith nime ol suidhe⁵ isecsamail frisinflaith doenna⁶ inbetha freaccnairc · issiaide cartar⁷ in rig talmanda · ardodalla⁸ amal ceo · marbaidh amal codl adcumman amal rind et⁹ · diben amal fæbur · loscaid amaltenidh · bádhaig amal muir slocaidh amal chuiche · fordiuclann amal beist · ni samlaid im̄ indlaith cosnaid¹⁰ nanaim 7 anfireoin IS blath lighda araerglaine · isrian romra ara erchaine isn- caindleach ar afirsoillsi · is li sula asær aillde¹¹ 7 arairmelchай¹¹ is log¹² arašocharaide · is croit ara ceolbindi is fleg/hol arafinmuire isfinboth ara firgile Cainnair¹³(?) ricba in flaith airm afoil dia fodesin · ri mar cain cumachtach tren naim glan firian feigh forrsaidh troccar dercach degmainech sen oac ecnaid uasal indocbuide · cen tosach cenforcend cen æss cen earcra · ræsam iflaith indrigsin ada roillem adarothrebum¹⁴ · in sc̄ta sctorum Amen. Finit

¹ The division of the line falls after *fir*: tria firinne P.

² comailfes P.

³ I can read no final *a*: coitgéra P. ⁴ an P. ⁵ suidhi P. ⁶ ndoendai P.

⁷ carta P. ⁸ dalaid LL. ⁹ atcosnait P, forcosnat LL. ¹⁰ ara šærildiu P.

¹¹ The second *a* is on the margin ¹² after *g* something has been erased or obliterated ¹³ indistinct : cenmair P. ¹⁴ The *o* is indistinct and uncertain

^a I have no other instance of the word.

^b Deponent *comallnabthar* CZ. III. 449; of the corresponding active form there are no instances in the O.-Ir. Glosses; as already in the Ml. glosses *ln* had become *ll* (cf. CZ. IV. 55), the above form is not impossible; cf., however, *comallaibther* Ml. 89^a18.

crinnel^a (?) a thalam, is nephthoirthech a lár, is alt do thimmorcain, is carcar do chomét, is breó do loscud, is lín do astud, is srogell do essorcain, is fáibur do athchumbu, is adaig do erdallad, is dé do múchud, is croch do phíanad, is claideb do díigail.

Issamlaid tra ata imgabthi na pianasa tri lubair 7 légend, tri áini 7 ernaigdi, tri fírinni 7 trócairi, tri hiris 7 deseirc. Ar intí comailfes^b (?) inna timnaesa cotngéra in Coimdui cuai i llaithiu brátha, a nasmbéra friu: Venite benedicti patris mei, possidete regnum quod uobis paratum est ab origine mundi, i.e. Táit a bendachtachu m'atharsa, aittrebaid in flaith foruired dúib ó thossuch domuin.

Is cosnайдi tra ind flaith nime, olšuide as écsamail frisin flaith ndóendai in betha frecndairc; issí ade cartae ind rig thalmandai. Ardalla amal chiaig, marbaid amal chotlud, ad-cumban^c amal rind, etirdiben amal fáibur, loscaid amal tenid, bádíd amal muir, slocaid amal chuithe, fordiuclann amal béist. Ní samlaid immurgu ind flaith adcosnat^d ind nób 7 ind fíreóin. IS bláth lígdae ara erglaini, is rían romra ara ercháini, is nem caindlech^e ara fírsoillsi, is lí súla ara eráildi 7 ara irmeldchai,^f is log ara sochraidi, is crot ara ceolbindi, is fledól ara fínmairi, is fínboth ara fírgili. Céinmair ricfea in flaith aimitá^g Día fadesin, rí már cáin cumachtach trén nóeb glan fírfán féig forsaid trócar dércach degmáinech sen óac ecnaid úasal indoc-buide cen tossach cen forcenn cen áes cen erchre. Roísam i^h flaith ind rígsin, ataroillem, atarothrebam in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

^c Cf. *adcumnet* Ml. 77^a1.

^d Or *adchosnat*

^e Or leg. *is nephchaindlech*? Cf. et non egebunt lumine lucernae, Apocal. xxii. 5. But against this is the fact that in all the other instances the predicate is a noun.

^f Cf. *mellchae* ÉRIU II. 158.

^g Cf. my paper on the *Substantive Verb in the Old-Irish Glosses*, p. 55.

^h Cf. CZ. V. 577.

TRANSLATION

We give thanks to Almighty God, Lord of heaven and of earth, for His mercy and for His forgivingness, for His charity and for His benefits which He has bestowed upon us in heaven and on earth. It is of Him that the prophet says: *Confitentur* etc., i.e., All Thy works and all Thy saints give thanks to Thee, O my Lord. For it is the duty of all the elements to render thanks unto God and to bless Him, as it is said: *Benedicite* etc., i.e., Bless the Lord, ye works of the Lord. For even sinners God deprives not of His present benefits, as the Scripture says: *Bonus est* etc., i.e., God is devoted¹ and excellent, who² giveth to the good and to the evil the good things of the earth equally. For He is the one excellent God who is without beginning, without end. He it is who has created all things, and who has formed them and who sustains them by the might of His power. He it is who nourishes and preserves and gladdens and illuminates and rules and has redeemed and renews all things. In Him they trust; He it is whom they expect: for He is King of kings and Lord of lords, Creator of heaven and earth, Maker of the angels, Teacher of the prophets, Master of the apostles, Giver of the Law, Judge of the men of the world. He is higher than the heavens, lower than the earth, wider than the seas.

It is our duty to give thanks to that Lord for His benefits. For the grateful soul who gives thanks to God for His grace is a temple and a habitation of God; as Peter says: *Animam*, etc., i.e., The man who gives thanks to God for His benefits is a fee-simple estate to the King of all. The man, however, ungrateful for God's benefits is a temple and a habitation of the Devil; as Peter says: *Ingratam* etc., i.e., The wicked Devil possesses and inhabits the soul of the ungrateful man who does not give thanks to God for His benefits. It is of that thanksgiving that they say: *Tibi* etc., i.e., Our souls give thanks to Thee, my Lord, for Thy innumerable benefits in heaven and on earth.

The blessing, then, of the Lord of heaven and earth on every-

¹ Cf. Ml. 80^a11.

² *Is éside dobeir=qui dat*, cf. below, *issi ade tene foruire=qui praeparatus est*, *issi ade cartae*. In the O.-Ir. Glosses this is a common device for translating the Latin relative, e.g., Ml 20^a3, 21^a6, 27^a9, Sg. 112^a1, 209^b25.

one with whom we have come in contact (?),¹ on his possession² of field and of house, on his animate property and on his inanimate property, and on everyone who serves him and is in submission to him. May the earth give its fruits; may the air give its showers; may the sea give its fishes; may there be increase of corn and milk, of honey and wheat, to everyone whose labour and whose goodwill we enjoy; may God give him a hundredfold on this earth and the kingdom of heaven yonder. For he who receives Christ's folk, it is Christ whom he receives therein; as He himself says: *Qui uos etc.*, i.e., He who receiveth you receiveth Me; he who despiseth you despiseth Me therein.

There are, moreover, likenesses of the kingdom of heaven and of hell in this world. The likeness of hell therein, first, i.e. winter and snow, tempest and cold, age and decay, disease and death. The likeness of the kingdom of heaven therein, however, summer and fair weather, blossom and leaf,³ beauty and youth, feasts and feastings, prosperity, and abundance of every good.

To hell, however, the Lord will cast sinners on the day of Doom, saying to them: *Ite etc.*, i.e., Go, ye accursed, into the everlasting fire which has been prepared for the Devil with his vile vassals. Woe, then, to him to whom the Lord shall say on the day of Doom that he shall dwell for ever in hell with its many great torments. For its site is low, its surrounding is strong, its maw is dark, its dwelling is sorrowful, its stench is great, its monsters are everlasting, its surface is . . ., its soil is unfruitful, it is a cliff to restrain, it is a prison to keep, it is a flame to burn, it is a net to hold fast, it is a scourge to lash, it is an edge to wound, it is night to blind, it is smoke to stifle, it is a cross to torture, it is a sword to punish.

Thus then, these punishments are to be avoided: through labour⁴ and study, fasting and prayer, righteousness and mercy, faith and charity. For whoever shall fulfil these commandments, the Lord will call him to Him on the day of Doom, saying to them: *Venite etc.*, i.e., Come, ye blessed of My Father, possess the kingdom that has been prepared for you from the beginning of the world.

¹ Cf. *hore donarnactar Crist*, Wb. 7^b13.

² Cf. *techt iar ndithecht*, Laws I. 254, and the verb *techtaim*, I possess.

³ Cf. ÉRIU II. 118, and Scotch-Gaelic *bileag*, 'a leaflet, a blade,' M'Alpine.

⁴ Cf. *Thes. Pal.-hib.* II. 247.

One should, then, strive after the kingdom of heaven, which¹ is unlike the human dominion of the present world that earthly kings love. It blinds like mist, it slays like sleep, it wounds like a point, it destroys like an edge, it burns like fire, it drowns like a sea, it swallows like a pit, it devours like a monster. Not such, however, is the kingdom which the saints and the righteous strive after. It is a fair blossom for its great purity, it is a course of an ocean for its great beauty, it is a heaven full of candles (?) for its exceeding brightness, it is the hue of the eye² for its great fairness and its exceeding pleasantness, it is a flame for its beauty, it is a harp for its melodiousness, it is a banquet for its abundance of wine, it is a . . .³ for its exceeding brightness. Blessed is he who shall reach the Kingdom where is God Himself, a King, great, fair, powerful, strong, holy, pure, righteous, keen, . . .⁴ merciful, charitable, beneficent, old, young, wise, noble, glorious, without beginning, without end, without age, without decay. May we arrive at the Kingdom of that King, may we merit it, may we inhabit it *in saecula saeculorum*. Amen.

J. STRACHAN

¹ Just as *olsodin*, in the artificial Irish of the Glosses, translates Lat. *quod*, e. g., Sg. 41^b1, cf. KZ. XXXV. 326, so *olsuide* here translates *quae*, cf. *olsuide ndath*, Ml. 76^a10, also *olsuide*, Sg. 26^b6. Since *sodin* is the accusative form, here perhaps one might have looked for *olsuidi*, which P. has. I have printed *olsuide* because of the passage in Sg., in which the preceding noun is fem. As an artificial translation of the Latin relative, the Irish word may have been inflected without regard to its origin. However, the instances are too few to permit of certainty.

² Cf. *Imram Brain*, p. 5, LU. 131, l. 32.

³ The sense of *finboth* is not clear to me; cf. *ligboth*, ERIU II. 157?

⁴ The precise sense of *forsaid* is obscure; a word *forsaid* is found in the *Saltair na Rann*, ll. 981, 3700.

ON TWO IRISH EXPRESSIONS FOR 'RIGHT HAND' AND 'LEFT HAND'

THE Celts, like the rest of the Indo-Europeans, determined their orientation by looking at the rising sun. Hence the East was regarded as 'before,' the West as 'behind,' the South as 'right,' and the North as 'left.'¹ Thus the ordinary Old-Irish expressions for 'right hand' and 'left hand' are, respectively, *lám des* and *lám chlé* (now written *lámh dheas* and *lámh chlé*), where *lám* is = Lat. *palma*, Gr. *παλάμη*: *des* is = Cymr. *deheu*, 'south,' Goth. *talhsva*, and *clé* (from urkelt. **klijo-s*), Cymr. *cledd*, 'north,' is cognate with Goth. *hlei-duma*, Old Lat. *clivius*.

But in Early-Middle-Irish we find also, for the right hand, *lám bennachtan*, literally 'hand of blessing,' and for the left hand *lám sosceli*, literally 'hand of gospel.' Thus in the seventh charter in the Book of Kells :

Dorogell Gilla Crist mac Manchan in ferand ar do láim soscela ic dola sís ar ammus Atha Catan, no ar do laim bennachtan² anís ón áth ó maccaib Beollain.

"Gillachrist, son of Manchán, purchased from the sons of Beollan the land on thy gospel-hand going down towards Áth Catáin, or on thy blessing-hand up from the ford (*áth*)."

Another example of the 'gospel-hand' is found in a poem about Oengus the Culdee, preserved in the Lebar Brecc, p. 106^b :

Luid laithe do buain feda
Aengus in breo for Brega,
oc a scathad, scel co llíí,
benais de in láim soscelíi.

"He went one day to cut wood, Oengus the flame over Bregia: while lopping it—tale with beauty—he struck off his gospel-hand"—

i.e. his left hand, as there is nothing to shew that Oengus was left-handed (*scaeva*), and thus able to strike off his right hand.

¹ See Schuchardt, *Reallexicon*, s. 370.

² According to O'Donovan (*Miscellany of the Irish Archaeological Society*, 1846, p. 146), the ms. has *b . . . ain*. The correction is obvious.

Why the right hand is called the ‘blessing-hand’ is obviously because, from patriarchal times, that hand has been used in benediction. See, for the earliest instance, Genesis xlvi. 14 et seq., where Jacob “extendens manum *dexteram*, posuit super caput Ephraim minoris fratris.”

Here I may note that, in ancient Ireland as elsewhere, the power of the *right* hand was greater than that of the *left* in malediction as well as in benediction. This is shown by the story of St. Ultan of Ard-Breccáin (ob. A.D. 656), who, when Ireland was invaded by a fleet of foreigners, was implored to expel them. His right hand was then engaged in feeding the children of the women whom a plague had carried off. So he lifted up his left hand, saying: “My hand that is free, to wit, the *left* hand, I will raise it against these ships. But if it were my *right* hand, no foreigner would ever invade Ireland.”¹

Why the left hand was called the ‘gospel-hand’ is at once explained by the rule of the ceremonial of the Mass that, after the Epistle has been read or chanted on the *south* (i.e. right) side of the altar, the celebrant proceeds to the *north* (i.e. left) end, and there reads, towards the north, the Gospel from the missal. For the north, the quarter whence come storms and cold, has always been regarded as the side of evil. Hence in Christian times, it was looked upon as the Devil’s point of the compass and as representing the outer darkness of heathenism. Hence, therefore, when chanting the Gospel, the deacon faces north, because he is proclaiming the evangel primarily to the world of unbelief.²

Now in Irish the same word (*tíath*) is used for ‘north’ and ‘left’—see Windisch, Wtb. s. v. 2 *tíath*—and this is the reason why, in Christian times, the ‘gospel-hand’ meant the *left*.

¹ *The Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee*, London, 1905, p. 200.

² *The Mass and its Folklore*, by J. H. Matthews, London, 1903, p. 76.

A RELIGIOUS POEM

THE following anonymous poem is here printed and translated for the first time from the facsimile of *Leabhar Breac*, p. 262^b. No other copy is known to me.

From its language the poem may be ascribed to the tenth century. Notice the datives singular *cémmim* and *lémmin* (5), the equative *slemnithir*¹ (8), the deponential form *atágur* (1), the preposition *fiad* with the dative (2), &c.

As for *co ndernur* (11), such deponential first persons sing. of the pres. subj. of non-deponential verbs are common in Middle-Irish from the tenth to the fourteenth century. Cf. e.g. *i céin mairer* 'as long as I may live,' in Mael-Isu's hymn to St. Michael (*Battle of Ventry*, p. 89, l. 21); *ná ruccar* 'that I may not take,' Arch. iii. 231, 3; *co rabhar* 'that I may be,' ib. 4. *co ndernur*, *co léiciur*, ib. 243, § 31. See Strachan, *Deponent Verb*, pp. 117 ff.

Cóir 'just' counts as a monosyllable (2), as in *Saltair na Rann* (except in l. 1102: *rodelb cech cooir comláin*), while it is always disyllabic (*coair*) in *Féilire Óingusso*. Such constructions as *tre* with the dative (*tre buidnib*, *tre cholltib*, 3) may be safely ascribed to the later copyists.

The metre in which the poem is composed is the well-known *cró cumaisc etir casbairdni ocus lethrandagecht*, which demands seven syllables with trisyllabic ending in the first verse, and five syllables with monosyllabic rhyme in the second verse of the couplet (7³ + 5¹). See Thurneysen, *Irische Verslehren*, no. 60.

KUNO MEYER

¹ The corrupt spelling *slemnigthir*, so common in the later MSS., seems influenced by passive forms in *-igthir*.

LEABHAR BREAC, p. 262^b

- 1 Is mebul dom imrādud a mét élas ūaimm :
atágur¹ a imgábud il-ló brátha búain.
- 2 Tresna salmu sētaigid for conair *nach cōir*,
rethid, būaidrid, bētaigid fiad roscaib Dé móir.
- 3 Tré airechtu athluma, tre buidnib ban mbōeth,
tre cholltib, tre chathracha, is lūaithiu nā in gōeth.
- 4 Tresna séta sochraide ind ala fecht dō,
tré dochraití dimbithe fecht aile, nī gó.
- 5 Can ethar nā chlōenchēmim² cingid tar cech ler,
lūath linges 'na öenlēmim ò thalmain co nem.
- 6 Rethid, ní rith rogāisi, i focus³, i céin,
iar rēmendu robāissi taidlig dia thig fén.
- 7 Ce trialltar a chuibrech-sum nō gemel 'na chois,
nī cundai, nī cuimnech-sum co ngabad feidm fois.
- 8 Fōebur nō fūaimm flescbuille nī trāethat co tailc,
slemnithir⁴ eirr escuinge ic dul as mo glaicc.
- 9 Glas nō carcair cromdaingen nō cuibrech for bith,
dūn nō ler⁵ nō lomdaingen nī astait dia rith.
- 10 Tōet, a Chrīst chóeim certgenmnaid, dianid réill cech
rath in spirtu sechtdelbaig dia choimét, dia chosc ! [rosc,
- 11 Follamnaig mo chride-sea, a Dē dūilig déin,
co rap tū mo dile-sea, co ndernur do réir !
- 12 Co rius Crīst 'na chētchummaid⁶, ronbem imma-llē,
nīdat anbsaid ēcundai, nī hinand is mē.
Is mebul.

¹ hitagur Fcs. ² chloencemim Fcs. See the Corrigenda. ³ focus (i.e. bhfocus) Fcs. ⁴ slemnightr Fcs. ⁵ léar Fcs. ⁶ chetchumaid Fcs., the dot over the first c added later.

ON THE FLIGHTINESS OF THOUGHT

1 Shame to my thoughts how they stray from me! I dread great danger from it on the day of lasting Doom.

2 During the psalms¹ they wander on a path that is not right: they run, they disturb, they misbehave before the eyes of great God.

3 Through eager² assemblies, through companies of wanton women, through woods, through cities—swifter they are than the wind.

4 Now through ways of loveliness, anon of riotous shame³—no falsehood!

5 Without a ferry or a false step⁴ they go across every sea: swiftly they leap in one bound from earth to heaven.

6 They run—not a course of great wisdom—near, afar: along paths of great folly they reach their home.

7 Though one should try to bind them or put shackles on their feet, they are neither constant nor mindful to take a spell of rest.

8 Neither sword-edge nor swish of lash will keep them down strongly: as slippery as an eel's tail they glide out of my grasp.

9 Neither lock nor firm-vaulted dungeon, nor any fetter on earth, stronghold nor sea nor bleak fastness restrains them from their course.

10 O beloved truly chaste Christ, to whom every eye is clear, may the grace of the seven-fold Spirit come to keep them, to check them!

11 Rule this heart of mine, O swift God of the elements, that Thou mayst be my love, that I may do Thy will!

12 That I may reach Christ with His chosen companions,⁵ that we may be together: *they* are neither fickle nor inconstant—not as I am.⁶

¹ i.e. while I am reading or reciting the psalms. Cf. *atracht* (*atcondairc*) *trena chotlud* ‘he arose (saw) in his sleep.’

² Cf. *buidne ána athluma do ainglib*, *Fís Adamnáin* 6 (LB).

³ *dimbithe* seems the opposite of *bítthe* ‘feminine, gentle, meek.’ *dochraite* dedecus, Alex. 59. ⁴ Perhaps, ‘in their (*'na*) false step.’

⁵ Literally, ‘in His first company.’ ⁶ Literally, ‘not the same as I.’

“CNOCH RÍRE”

THE above place-name, with many others of equal value, occurs in the Irish abridgment of the *Expugnatio Hibernica* of Giraldus Cambrensis, a text that was edited by Whitley Stokes, D.C.L., with a complete topographical glossary, &c., in *The English Historical Review*, Vol. xx., No. 77, January, 1905.

In writing “Cnoc Ríre,” the Irish adapter of the *Expugnatio* would appear not to have succeeded in getting back to the native orthography of the name, probably through his being unable to identify the place. The editor has also been obliged to leave it unidentified.

The passage in which “Cnoc Ríre” occurs is at par. 59, p. 98, and reads thus: “Ac Cnoc Ríre a n-Ib Fálgi bái in coinne,” as translated “At Cnoc Aire [?] in Offaly the meeting took place.” A tentative correction is here made in the name, but, if the present writer’s view be correct, not in the right direction.

In the barony of Tinnahinch, in Queen’s County, there are two townlands called Reary More and Reary Beg, and to the south of these is another now known as Knockanowl. The name Rearymore, or Reary, is also the name of the parish which contains these townlands; it is not much more extensive than the combined area of the three.

O’Donovan has identified Reary (More and Beg) with the ancient Róiri, the form of which in Modern Irish should be Ráoirí, just as we get Éri from Ériu, &c. As Róiri is an -n stem, it follows that “Cnoc Ríre” is not quite correct, the declension being Róiri, gen. Róirenn, dat. Róirinn, in modern orthography Ráoirí, gen. Ráoiríeann, dat. Ráoirínn. It may be—indeed, it is almost certain—that Róiri has been treated in the same way as Dérdriu, now Dáirí, *indec.*, and many other names of that class.

Perhaps we should identify “Cnoc Ríre” for Cnoc Róirenn, later Cnoc Ráoirí, with the present Knockanowl, bordering Reary More and Reary Beg on their southern side. The latter

part of Knockanowl would then be a later addition to the old name. It is not easy to say what it is. Perhaps Knockanowl = *Cnoc an Ábáill*, the hill of the apple-tree, or the hill of the apple. In the former sense, however, the word now in use is *ábáill*, *gen.* *ábáille*. *Cnoc an fábáil* is also possible (see *fábáil* in dictionaries). I suggest the identification of “Cnoc Ríre” with Knockanowl merely on account of the agreement in the first element *Cnoc*, Knock. The fact of Knockanowl being situated in the parish of Reary and bordering on the other two townlands, Reary More and Reary Beg, also tells in its favour.

It is hardly necessary to add that the barony of Tinnahinch was part of the ancient *Hí Fáilgi*, this being a commonplace of knowledge.

J. H. LLOYD

ON CERTAIN INITIAL CHANGES IN THE IRISH
VERB AFTER PREVERBAL PARTICLES¹

IN Middle Irish, after preverbal particles ending in a vowel, *nt*, *ro* (*do*), an *h*- is added in the passive before an initial vowel; in the active after the same particles there is lenition (aspiration). In Old Irish this lenition is absent. According to the peculiarities of the O. Ir. orthography an *h* cannot reveal its presence here. But in cases where Middle and Modern Irish show an *h*- before vowels, in Old Irish there is often a doubling of a following consonant, particularly of *m*, *n*, *r*, *l*. Now, as is well known, this doubling of an initial consonant after *nt*, *ro*, *do*, *fo* occurs, not only in the passive, e.g. *do-mmuinfide*, Ml. 40^e17, but also in the active and in the deponent: *fu-llos* Ml. 58^e12, *do-mmathi* 18^e7, *ro-bbi*, Sg. 45^b1, *du-mmidethar* Ml. 82^a3, etc. Hence it may be inferred that, after pretonic preverbal particles ending in a vowel before verbal forms beginning with a vowel, an *h*- was always present in the pronunciation (with the exception, of course, of relative forms, in which there are special rules for the treatment of initial sounds, and of forms with infix'd pronouns).

The appearance of lenition in the Middle Irish verb, where in Old Irish there was no lenition, is to be explained from the encroachment in the active of forms with the infix'd pronoun of the 3 sg. neut. (O. Ir. *nt*, *ra*, *da*, etc. with following lenition), which have driven out the older forms without infix'd pronoun—(cf. Mid. Ir. *at-beir* for O. Ir. *as-beir* and the like). In the passive there were no forms with infix'd pronouns of the third person; hence the old *h*- maintained itself there.

¹ That this important paper might be more generally accessible to readers of ÉRIU, it has, with Professor Thurneysen's kind permission, been translated into English.—J. S.

The Old Irish doubling of consonants and the Middle Irish *h-* always indicate that the preceding word once ended in a consonant, for the most part in *-s*. Accordingly we arrive at the conclusion that the preverbal particles which apparently end in a vowel once ended in a (lenited) *s*: *nīs*, *ros*, *dos*, etc. If it be asked whence this *s* came, a possible explanation is that *nī* 'non est,' which goes back to **nīs*, from **nīst*, **ne est*, became blended with the independent negation, Idg. **nē*, and transformed this likewise into **nīs*. Further, one might suppose that, in the 3 sg. of the preterite passive, the copula **est* once attached itself to the preverbal particle, thus *ro-llaad* from *ros-laad* from **pro-est-*. Starting from such cases, the custom spread of attaching an *-s* throughout to preverbal particles ending in a vowel. But here there remains a wide field for the imagination, since, according to Strachan's discovery,¹ this phenomenon is common to the Celtic of Britain and Ireland, and consequently dates back to a time of which we have no information.

R. THURNEYSEN

¹ See the following article.

ON SOME MUTATIONS OF INITIAL CONSONANTS
IN THE OLD WELSH VERB

AMONG the various devices for expressing relativity in the Irish verb is the use of aspiration,¹ e.g. *nt̄ ceil* 'he does not conceal,' but *nád cheil* 'who does not conceal'; *rocar* 'he has loved,' but *rochar* 'who has loved': cf. Thurneysen CZ. II. 73 sq., Pedersen, KZ. XXXV. 340 sq. In working at the early poetry of Wales, I met from time to time with initial consonant mutations which did not agree with the laws laid down for the later language; at first these were very puzzling, but the difficulty vanished when it became apparent that Early Welsh had a variation of the same kind as Early Irish. As this is a matter of interest to students of Irish as well as to students of Welsh, inasmuch as it throws light on the general development of the Celtic verb, I may be permitted to give a brief account of it here. The discovery will, I believe, help to clear up many points in the Welsh initial mutations; but a discussion of this belongs to the sphere of specially Welsh grammar; and a former student of the School of Irish Learning, Mr. Timothy Lewis, is engaged on a detailed investigation of the changes of initial consonants in Middle Welsh. Along with the above may be noted another point of agreement between Welsh and Irish. In O. Ir., after the particles *ní* etc., a preposition originally ending in a vowel aspirated a following consonant, e.g., *nt̄ rochar* 'he has not loved.' Under the same circumstances a corresponding change is found in Welsh after *rhy*.

For later Welsh the rule is that after *ny* = Ir. *nt̄*, initial *c*, *t*, *p* become *ch*, *th*, *ph*, while other initial consonants capable of mutation are lenated, and that after *rhy* = Ir. *ro* all initial consonants capable of mutation are lenated. But in Early Welsh poetry in the case of *c*, *t*, *p* there are many exceptions on both sides; on the one hand *c*, *t*, *p* are often lenated after *ny*, on the other hand they are often aspirated after *rhy*. The apparent irregularities, however, may be reduced to a rule, and

¹ To avoid possible confusion the old terminology has been retained, though phonetically it is incorrect, as the change is not to an aspirate, but to a spirant Professor Thurneysen suggests 'lenition.'

the rule is the same as in Irish:—W. *ny chel*: *ny gel* = Ir. *ni ceil*: *nád cheil*; W. *ry chant*: *ry gant* = Ir. *ro cechain*: *ro chechain*; in other words lenation in Early Welsh is the mark of relativity. Where *rhy* is preceded by *ny* lenation is the rule throughout, e.g., *ny rygelir* ‘it cannot be concealed’ = O. Ir. *ni rochelar*. With regard to phonetics, it is hardly necessary to remark that the change of *c* etc. to *g* etc. in Welsh corresponds regularly to the change of *c* etc. to *ch* etc. in Irish. As to Welsh changes of *c*, *t*, *p* to *ch*, *th*, *ph*, they find their explanation in the brilliant theory propounded by Professor Thurneysen in the preceding article. For just as *y* ‘her’ and *tri* ‘three,’ which originally ended in *s*, change a following *c*, *t*, *p* to *ch*, *th*, *ph*, but leave other initial consonants unchanged, so should a prehistoric **nis-*, **ros-*.

It was the initial changes of the tenues *c*, *t*, *p* that first arrested my attention; and it is from them that I intend to prove my case. *A priori* it may be postulated that there was the same variation in the case of all other initial consonants capable of mutation, e.g. between *ny geill* ‘he cannot,’ and *ny eill* ‘who cannot’; between *ny mynn* ‘he does not desire’ and *ny vynn* ‘who does not desire.’ There, however, my material is much less complete and satisfactory; and it is obvious that, in the case of some consonants at least, the analogical levellings which have gradually brought about the present condition of Welsh verbal mutation set in earlier. Of these other consonants, I shall say something when the tenues have been dismissed. In dealing with the latter I will take first *ny* and then *rhy*.

I. *ny*.

In the Black Book of Caermarthen,¹ aspiration after *ny* is regular when the verb is non-relative:—*ny thauant* 3.6, *ny chaffaw* 5. 15, *ny chenir* 5. 16, *ny phercheiste* 8. 8, *ni cheuntoste* 8. 9, *ni threghis* 8. 13, *ni phercheiste* 8. 16, 8. 18, *ny chisgaw*, 11. 6, *ny chiuid*, *ny chiueirch* 11. 13, *ny chan* 11. 14, *ny forthint* 12. 4, *ny chedwis* 15. 23, *ny chimv* 15. 24, *ny chuinune* 21. 17, *ny chyscute*, *ny chlatude*, *ny chirchud* 24. 25, *ny chauas* (the verb need not be relative) 31. 6, *ny thebic* 36. 9, *ny charaw* 36. 15, *ny ffeid* 53. 9 *ny thrigiaw*, 57. 12. In *ny credaw* 43. 8 the mutation is

¹ I quote from the pages of the edition of Skene’s *Four Ancient Books of Wales*.

left unexpressed as in *a teiwi* 20. 25. At 27. 11 *Karant n̄y pharchant eu kerent* seems at first sight to be an exception; but in face of the evidence on the other side, I would translate, 'Kinsmen, they will not respect their kin': cf. Gododin l. 885 *a phenn Dijwijnwal vrych brein ae knoyn*, MA². 184^b25 *Bletynt bleitadwy yn adwy yd las*; in the latter instance though the subject is put first, the verb is non-relative.¹ In 27. 12 something is wanting, as the metre shows; MA². 108^a1 has *rhwydd ni bydd digyfrwydd wrth i gelydd*. On the other side, unfortunately, the material is very scanty. There is a clear instance in 37. 26 *a guir n̄y gilint rac gvaev* 'and men who turned not back before spears.' In *ar n̄y creddoe* 22. 3 and *n̄y kiliei* 30. 28 (if it be relative), the mutation is not expressed. In view of the evidence to follow, and also of the fact that in BB. initial lenation is very frequently unexpressed, e.g. *a collei*² 14. 8, *a cliwir* 14. 16, *a pechuis* 14. 20, *a gulich* 17. 4, 17. 6, 17. 8, 17. 10, *a t̄yw* 18. 23, *at̄yf* 19. 3, *a tif* 19. 11, *a tiff* 19. 24, etc., it is not rash to assume that *c* is here written etymologically for *g*. At 7. 30 *corph ni glivit pa leveir i gilit* is translated by Loth, ACL. I. 435 'Corps, tu n'entends pas ce que dit l'autre,' but the translation will be rather 'Body, who hearest not etc.'

As conclusive evidence can be got from the Myvyrian Archaeology, it would be idle to serve up the scrappy material from the rest of the Four Ancient Books. Of the Myvyrian Archaeology I have examined pp. 140–190 of the reprint, ending with the conclusion of the poems ascribed to Cynddelw.

Instances of non-relative use are:—*ni thorres* 140^b27, *ni chronnai* 141^a25, *ni thorrraf* 141^b35, *ny charyf* 143^a43, *ni chynan*, *ni chlyw* 147^b15, *ni chlud* 147^b16, *ni cheuir* 151^a2, *ni cheisiaf* 151^a21, *ni thwyll* 152^a3, *ni thyf* 152^a4, *ny thewcis* 158^b18, *ny pher* 158^b19, *ony thelir* 159^a14, *ny phlyc* 162^b36, *ny phyrth* 162^b37, *ny tholyes* 169^b42, *ny tholiaf* 169^b43, *ny tholyes* 174^b39, *ny tholyir* 174^b40, *ny chel* 174^a51, *ny chud* 174^b52, *ny chyhydr* 175^a28, *ny chyvret* 179^a14, *ny thric ny threfna* 182^a22, *ny threfyt*

¹ So in O. Ir. by e.g. *apstil didiu cetathuidchetal* Wb. 21^c5, we find *Pól ingrentid is preceptóir nunc fidei* Wb. 184^a; cf. *imfolngi* Wb. 4^d32, 33.

² Loth (ACL. I. 487) takes *collei* here in a passive sense. May it not be an instance of the usage well known in Irish (cf. KZ. XL. 138), whereby an impersonal form of the active serves as a passive?

183^b35, *ny charws* 185^b28, *ny thelir* 186^a23, *ny thal* 186^a27. The only instance that I have noted where one would at first sight be tempted to take the verb in a relative sense is 186^a47 *rann y chwaer ny cheir o Bovys*; here, however, the parallelism with the previous line *rann y vrawd y vreint ae towys* suggests that the translation is: 'the portion of his sister, it is not got from Powys': cf. the instances cited above, p. 22.

For the relative use the evidence is equally clear. Note, in particular, such instances as the following:—160^a42 *nyd oet ny geffyn* 'there was nothing that they did not get,' 176^b43 *a dyrr ongyr . . . ac ny dyrr y deyrneir* 'who breaks spears and does not break his royal word.' Other instances in which, in my judgment, the verb either must or may be relative are:—*ni grain* 145^a37, *ni grawn* 145^a38, *ni gudai* 153^a10, *ni daler* 153^b40, *ny gyflwyd* 156^b24, *ny gerytwyf* 158^a31, *ny gadwei* 159^b38 *ny dreisir* 162^a49, *ny gywyd* 164^a6, *ny grawn ny gryny* 165^b8, *ny gedwis* 169^b18, *ni gilwyd* 170^a15, *ny gaffwn* 170^b11, *ni grawn ny gryny* 172^a41, *ny dal ni dwang* 176^a12, *ny dawl* 176^a19, *ny grawn* 176^a20, *ni beirch* 177^a28, *ny borthant* 177^b27, *ny drefnwyd* 182^b36, *ny bechwyd* 183^a9, *ny gymysc* 184^a12, *ny gedwynt* 186^a41, *ny borthynt* 186^b13. Of lenation in non-relative use I have no clear instance; however, even if in one or the other of the above instances it should turn out that my interpretation is wrong, it would not invalidate the law—it would only prove that a change was beginning.

2. *rhy*.

For *rhy* the evidence is less abundant, as *rhy* was a disappearing particle. Confusion seems to have set in earlier than in the case of *ny*; but the facts find their simplest explanation in the same hypothesis.

In the Black Book non-relative *rj* aspirates in *rj chlud* 6. 23, *rj cheidw* 6. 25, *rj chedwis*, *rj chynis* 6. 26, *rj phrinomne* 47. 7. In *rj talud* 8. 12 the mutation is not expressed. Of relative use I have only one instance, *guae rj cothwyr* 39. 5, and there unfortunately the mutation is not expressed.¹ After a negative *rhy* of course lenates, even when the verb is non-relative:—*nis rj draeth* 9. 29, *nis r[i]draeth* 46. 17. By these

¹ But cf. below, p. 28.

instances is to be judged *ny ritreithir* 5. 6, where the mutation is not expressed. At 34. 18 there is lenation after *pan* in *pan ry dighir*. As this lenation appears also in *ban ry godhet* Gododin l. 842, *pan ry godet* l. 909, *pan ry dyngir* l. 974, it would seem as though after *pan* the verb were relative. We find, however, *hyt pan ry chatwyf* Four Books 110. 22. As the material for *rhy* is not abundant, it may be well to cite such instances as I have noted in the rest of the Four Ancient Books. From the Gododin poems I have no instance of aspiration after *rhy*. Lenation appears in *ry gollessijn* (rel.) 751, *ry gwijdijn* (rel.) 883, *ry godessijn* (rel.) 883, *ry gollet* (rel.) 1102, *ry dynnit* (rel.) 1104, *ry golleis* (rel.) 1225. In the Book of Taliessin, instances of aspirating non-relative *rhy* are:—*ry thalwyr* (?) 117. 5, *ry phrydaf* 131. 14, *ry chedwys* 185. 30, *ry chynant*, *ry chwynant* 193. 19, *ry chanaf* 193. 25, *ry tharnawr* 194. 4, *ry thrychynt* 211. 8. Lenation with the relative form appears in:—*ry gedwys* 129. 7, *ry geryd* 180. 6, *ry gosteiſ* 190. 11, *ry gigleu* 195. 27, *ry geidw* 204. 30. In the following instances the verb is non-relative:—*ry ganhymdeith*¹ 108. 2, *ry gadwys* 170. 24, *ry gigleu* 174. 9, *ry glywhawr* 211. 5, *ry gyrchynt* 211. 8. In the following cases mutation is not expressed:—*ry prynwynt* 109. 24, *ry prynhom* 116. 25, *ry planhassant* 126. 13, *ry treghis* 128. 17, *ry talmaf* 152. 7, *ry talas* 214. 16. In the Red Book we find non-relative *rhy* with aspiration in *ry thal* 307. 17, relative *rhy* with lenation in *ry draethassam* 221. 4, *ry glywawr* 221. 8, *ry drigyassant* 233. 4, *ry dreulyas* 271. 27, *ry godet* 283. 18, *ry brynw[y]*² 307. 2, non-relative *rhy* with lenation in *ry glywawr* 229. 20, *ry ganhymdeith* 303. 23, *ry brynhwynt* 304. 27.

In the above-mentioned portion of the Myvyrian Archæology, the only instance of aspiration that I have noted is at 187^a53 *kred a ched a chert ry chygein ith bleid*. There one would naturally take the verb as relative, unless the sentence belongs to the type mentioned above, p. 22; this alternative finds some support in the fact that in the following line *y dichwyn* is non-relative. At 142^a39 *ry purwyf* should not improbably be corrected to *rym purwyf* 'may I purify myself'; at 157^a41 *ry talaf* stands where *ry thalaf* might have been expected.

¹ *canhymdeith* (cf. *imteith* Four Books 8. 20) is a 1 sg. like *keint* 138. 9, 10, 153. 31, 32, *gweint* 138. 14.

² Cf. *ERIU* II. 218.

Instances of lenation after relative *rhy* are:—*ry draethysant* 142^a30, *ry gynnulleis* 142^a34, *ry garafy* 158^b35, *ry gystlynir* 159^a6, *ry borthes* 160^a33, *ry geint* 178^a26, *ry gredir* 178^a36, *ry dalant* 188^b58, *ry draethais* 190^b23.¹ At 178^b3 the parallel sentences in the neighbourhood indicate that *ry gyrchir* is non-relative. At 181^a40 *ry gyrchant* seems non-relative. Where *rhy* is preceded by *ny* etc. lenation is to be expected; in most of the cases the form of expression would have been different in earlier Welsh, cf. ÉRIU II. 220. Instances are:—*nys ryborthes* 158^a43, *neum rydraith* 158^b34, *ny rygeblir* 159^a2, *ym rygoted* 160^b11, *ny rygar* 180^a55, *ny rygoduyf* 180^a57, *ny rygolluyf* 180^b2, *ny rygolles* 180^b3.

So then the distinction is established for the tenues *c*, *t*, *p*. As the agreement between Welsh and Irish cannot be a chance coincidence, the same distinction may be postulated for an early stage in Breton and Cornish. After *ni* in the two divisions of Brythonic analogy has operated in different ways: in later Welsh the aspirated forms have been generalized (but not after *rhy*), in Breton and Cornish the lenated forms. In the case of the other mutable consonants there has been generalization of the lenated forms in all the Brythonic languages.² In Early Welsh, however, both in poetry and in prose, these consonants are frequently not lenated; in particular I have observed that, in the prose of the Red Book, most of the forms of *byddaf* remain unchanged; the details will, I hope, be supplied by Mr. Lewis. As I said before, analogical disturbance set in earlier in these consonants than in the tenues; I have not, however, the necessary material to trace the development, nor would this be the proper place to do so. So I shall be content to give what I have noted from the Black Book of Caermarthen.

g:—*ry gelwid* (non-rel.) 58. 24, *ny gunaho* (non-rel.) 35. 20, *ny ochel* (rel.) 4. 17, *ny ellynt* (non-rel.?) 7. 17, *ny riuelsud* 8. 2, *ny vir* (non-rel.) 11. 17, *ny welli ny omet* (non-rel.?) 10. 17, *ny mad rianed* 22. 2, *ny ofin* (rel.) 23. 16, *ny orthiwynnassint* (rel.)

¹ At 144^b30 the text has *ry greas*; but in a note stands *ry kreas*, the reading of the MS. (?) If so, is there an infix pron. ‘has created him’?

² But in Cornish there are exceptions in the verb ‘to be,’ cf. Williams’ *Cornish Dictionary*, p. 304.

28. 18, *nŷ ochelei* (rel.) 31. 1, *rŷ wiscuis* (non-rel.) 39. 25, *nŷ vn* (non-rel.) 46. 11, *nŷ oleith* (rel.) 58. 30.

d :—The mutation of initial *d* is commonly unexpressed. However, it is expressed in *nŷ tiuuic* (non-rel.) 5. 11.

b :—*nŷ buve* (non-rel.) 12. 7, *rŷ bit* (rel.) 20. 19, *nŷ bit* (non-rel.) 21. 23, 24. 13, *nŷ bitei* (non-rel.?) 30. 24, *nŷ bitei* (non-rel.) 31. 13, 33. 1, *nŷ bu* (non-rel.) 34. 30, *nŷ bo* (rel.) 44. 21, *nŷ bu* (non-rel.) 46. 10, *nŷ buum* (non-rel.) 55. 22, *nŷ baut¹* (rel.) 42. 12.

m :—*rŷmaeth²* (rel.) 46. 4, *nŷ minn* (rel.) 59. 5, *rŷ uegeis* (rel.) 45. 28, *rŷ vetyleis* (rel.) 45. 29, *am rŷvaeth* 49. 33.

ll :—*nŷ lluit* (non-rel.) 5. 16, *nŷ lletaud* (non-rel.) 9. 12, *nŷ lluit* (non-rel.) 20. 2, *rŷ lletaud* (non-rel.) 25. 28, *nŷ llesseint* 28. 20 (non-rel.), 28. 22 (rel.), *cin rillethid³* 38. 6, *nŷ lut* (non-rel.) 43. 30, *ony lochir* 53. 10.

In Irish aspiration is not confined to the above cases. The second element of compound verbs is aspirated when the verb is relative, e.g. *do-cheil* ‘who conceals’; and further, in the case of prepositions which originally ended in a vowel, when the preposition bears the accent, e.g. *ní díchil* ‘he does not conceal’ (cf. W. *ny rydreibh*), *díchled* ‘let him conceal,’ *dichleth* ‘concealment.’ Are there traces in Welsh of anything corresponding to the Irish distinction between *doceil*, *docheil*, *-díchil*? There are certain facts which could be most simply explained on such a hypothesis. One is taught that prepositions originally ending in a vowel such as *dy-*, *go-*, lenate in composition. But to this rule there are exceptions. Thus we find both *digawn* and *dicharwn*, *dyganu* and *dychanu*, *dygludo* and *dychludo*,⁴ *gogelu* and *gochelu*, and *gogwnn* ‘I know,’ never, so far as I am aware, *gownn*. These variations, on the surface at least, have a great resemblance to the phenomena that we have already discussed; and if in Welsh there was originally the same duality as in Irish, they would at once find their explanation. So far as I know, no one hitherto has either noted them or tried to explain them.⁵ Perhaps it may not be without interest if I quote here some

¹ Cf. Loth, ACL. I. 407.

² But see below, p. 28.

³ In ERIU II. 219 this was translated ‘though they were slain.’ It should have been ‘before they were slain.’ For *cyn* ‘before’ cf. *cyn bu breaawd* MA². 140^a19, *kyn dybu i dyt* 141^a27, *cyn bwyyf deierin* 142^a28, *kyn bwyyf* 231^a24.

⁴ Other examples will be found in Silvan Evans’ dictionary.

⁵ I find that I had overlooked the observations of M. Loth, ACL. I. 418.

instances of compounds with *dy-* that I have collected from the Myvyrian Archæology.

(a) *dyphorthynt* (non-rel.) 141^a13, *dychysgogan* (non-rel.) 142^b44, *dychluded*¹ 143^b22, *dychyrch*, *dychlud* (non-rel.) 144^a2, *dybrysiais* 144^a15, *dychyrch* (non-rel.) 144^a20, *dygwystlir* (non-rel.) 144^a33, *dychrymynt* (non-rel.) 146^a3, *dychyrchws* (non-rel.) 147^a10, *dybriw* (non-rel.) 161^a29, *dybrys* (non-rel.) 161^a30, *dygostwng*, *dygwan* (non-rel.?) 161^a33, *dygwisc* (non-rel.) 161^a34, *dygwascar* (non-rel.) 161^a35, *dychanaf* (non-rel.) 161^a36, *dychywyd* (non-rel.) 162^b49, *dychyfry* 162^b50, *dychynne* (non-rel.) 162^b51, *dychyrch* (non-rel.) 162^b54, *dychymmell* (non-rel.) 162^b55, but *nym gochel am gochawn* 169^a16, *neum dychrym* 190^a30.

(b) *am dyfrys* 146^a32, *pan dygyrch* 156^a33, *am dygyrch* 160^a20, *dyglud* (non-rel.) 162^b53, *digones* (non-rel.) 169^b2, *a dygawn* 170^b32, *deburawr* (rel.) 180^a15, *digonuy* (rel.?) 182^b41, *ry ddigawn* (rel.) 190^a10.

The above examples were collected as they came; it will be an unlucky chance if these haphazard collections have turned out to be unduly favourable to the hypothesis suggested above. The subject well deserves further investigation by one who can move more easily among this difficult poetry. Since I collected the above material, I have interrogated the Black Book with reference to *dy-*. To take words of more frequent occurrence we have from *dyfod*, *dybit* 23. 6 (non-rel.), but 27. 9 (rel.), *rý dibil*² 22. 21, 24. 7, *dybi* (seemingly rel.) 26. 15, 28. 14, *duu a dyfu* 14. 2, *ban dywu* 15. 9, *na dyffu*³ 19. 28, *a dyuu* 31. 8; from *digoni* we find *can dichaun* 37. 2, and relatively *digonit* 7. 23, *a digonhom* 10. 26, *digoned* 12. 28, *ae digonhei* 52. 28 but non-relatively 52. 31 (unless the *we* is to go out), *digones* 56. 6. Isolated cases are *dychinnull*, *dychiuet* (which seem to be relative) 11. 21, *dychricha* (non-rel.) 11. 24, *nim dyuu eid* 23. 2, *ý diwedî* 57. 9, *kyn duguitei* 28. 12, *diuriyssint* (non-rel.) 47. 31, *ý dyylanuan* 4. 21, *a dyliuas* (?) 46. 7, *digirchei* (non-rel.) 34. 25. We seem to stand before the ruins of an ancient system, for all indications point in the same direction,

¹ Probably 'the tribute of princes has been brought to him.'

² This may have been influenced by *dybydd*; the use of *rhy* here is not original.

³ *ff* may stand for *f = v*: cf. *dyffod* 19. 29, *tiff* 19. 24, 20. 1.

namely, that with such preverbal particles the same rules held at one time in Welsh as hold in Old Irish.¹

In conclusion, I may refer to a special form of the infix'd pronoun after *ny* and *rhy*. In Old Irish there are special forms of the infix'd pronoun when the verb is relative. So in Welsh *e* is the infix'd pronoun after the relative *a*. But further, in early Welsh, *nwy-* (*nyw-*) is the relative form of *ny-s-*, and *rwy-* (*ryw-*) of *ry-s-*. Examples, which might easily be added to, are:—

(a) **nwy (nyw):—**

*ar nuijgelho*² Four Books 5. 6, *arnuijdalho*² 5. 8, *nuijhatnappo* 5. 9, *ar nuijbo* 'from what he has not' 5. 17, *nvijkeis* 45. 26, *nwy goleith* 118. 5, *mi nyw dirmygaf* 195. 2, *nwy dylynwy* MA³ 158^b46, *nwy llochei* 160^b7, *nyw llut* 162^a40, *nyw try* 165^b6, *nwy dihut* 169^b51, *nwy try* 172^a39, *nyu moluy* 174^b2, *nyu hoffuy* 175^b31, *nyu hystung* 176^a10, *nuy didaur* 180^a12, *nuy goheb* 180^a30.

(b) **rwy³ (ryw):—**

rwy digonsei FB. 138. 34, *rwy digones* 154. 9, *ryw goreu* 233. 15, *rwy meith* MA. 157^a40, *rwy golles*² 160^a15, *rwy cigleu* 189^b28.

Already, however, in the Black Book, we find *nys*, e.g. *nis-tirmijcco* 36. 2. In Mid. W. *nys-* comes to be used simply in a relative function, e.g. *nys rywelsei* Red Book I. 114, *nys kaffy* 118.

¹ As a further indication of the original similarity of the two languages may be noted the fact that in Early Welsh there are traces of an infix'd pronoun after *dy-*, e.g. *dy-m-hunis* MA² 144^a1, *dy-m-gwallodief* 144^a27, *dy-m-gwadoles* 146^a45, *dy-m-gwallofies* 146^a46, *dy-m-goryw* 147^b31, *dy-m-ryt* 205^b21, 212^b1.

² The lenation here is strange. Is it due to association with lenating *ny* and *rhy*?

³ In the Black Book, I have noted no instance of *rwy*. In *guae rycothwy* 39. 5 and *rymaeth* 46. 4 one would be inclined to look for a pronoun, 'who has vexed him,' 'who has nurtured him.' Can *rwy* then have been remodelled on *nwy*? But the evidence is so scanty, and the explanation of *nwy* itself is so uncertain, that it is prudent to abstain from speculation.

A POEM ON THE DAY OF JUDGMENT

THE following poem is taken from an unpage vellum MS. numbered A (9) in the Franciscan Library, Merchants' Quay, Dublin. It occurs with a number of others, mostly of a devotional character, towards the end of the MS. The variant readings are from 23 G. 27, a late paper MS. in the Royal Irish Academy. There is also a copy in the Book of Lismore—see Stokes' *Lismore Lives*, p. xviii—from which the more important variants have been cited out of the transcript by O'Curry in the Royal Irish Academy.

That the poem is possibly as old as the tenth century may be inferred from the existence of such forms as the disyllabic *diib* (v. 10), as in the *Saltair na Rann*, *deoid* and *breoid* (v. 11), the nom. pl. *grád* (v. 4) instead of the later *gráda*, the neuter article in *a ngádir* (v. 12), and the deponent *faichledar* (v. 13).

In the foot-notes the Franciscan MS. is cited as A, 23 G. 27 as G, the Book of Lismore as L.

- 1 Brāth, nī ba beg a brisim in lā loiscfis in domun,
ba cōir, a Christ go n-grādhaib, do sīl Ādhaim a oman.
- 2 Is dūr in cined dāena, crūaidhi indāt¹ clocha a cridhi,
tan nā taibret² dia n-aire na píana ai[d]bli ili.³
- 3 Intan sgēfes⁴ in talum buidhni sīl Ādhaim adbail,
intan līnfas āenlasair itir nem ocus talmuin.
- 4 Intan conricfat⁵ āendāil dia nglēifidher cech caingen;
slūagh ifrinn, tūatha talman, arbur nāem, nōi ngrādh
n-aingel.
- 5 Intan bēras⁶ in brethem bretha firēna fíra;
nem leis⁷ dona togaidib, don lucht clāen tōrmach ndighla.⁸

¹ sic L inat AG ² tabrat A tabhrait G ³ ele A ⁴ sceathfeas G
conricfad A ⁶ bhéra G ⁷ ni has G ⁸ dognidh dighla G

6 Int āes umal imīsel¹ crāibdhech co nglaine cridhi,
na dei[d]blēna dereōili beit² a ngrādhaib Rīgh nime.

7 Na brithemain³ bēilderga, na drūit[h], na clāein, na cāinti,
na crūaidhclēirigh cosnamaigh nī fuigbet fiadh nā fālti.

8 Na formtigh, na fингalaigh, na cinn⁴ clāena cin crābud,
na mnā drūtha dobanda,⁵ fogēbat⁶ bās is bādhudh.

9 Bidh sergoirt a n-aithrighi, teilgfit dēra tar grūaidhi
na hēithigh, na hēccrāibdigh,⁷ äesgach pecaidh cu mbūaine.

10 Bidh aithis, bidh imdergadh do slūagh na clāen atchiiid,⁸
tan atchichset⁹ na huili pecadh¹⁰ cech duini¹¹ dīib.¹²

11 Iar mbeith fri rē rofata¹³ a teinidh brātha breoid,
lāifitir¹⁴ la rī[g] grēine a loc pēine fa deoīd.

12 Bid trūagh a ngāir dogēnat, uch ! bidh abdal a nguba
ac scarad fri nāebhaingli, ac techt fria demna duba.

13 Mairg anmain nā¹⁵ faichledar¹⁶ breisim lāi brātha brīgaig,¹⁷
mesa fo secht sechtmogat¹⁸ aitreb ifeirn dūir dīglaig.

14 A rofūacht, a roloscud,¹⁹ a gorta, a ita abbul,
a tūargain, a tromdigal,²⁰ a grāin, a mūich, a marbadh !²¹

15 A ilpīasta āigthidhi,²² a cned, a golmaírg merda,
a muir tuilbrēn teinntidhi,²³ a gnūisi dāera demna !

16 Mairg tāinic 'sin mbethaid-se, mairg diar corp, mairg
diar n-anmain,
do neoch diana[d] irdālta²⁴ sīraitreb ifirn angbaid !²⁵

17 Ar do bāidhi, a bāidhathair, ar do cennsa, a Rí nime,
nīmreilce²⁶ isin searbcarcarair itáit²⁷ osnadha ili.

18 Ar gach n-impidhi n-uasail i nim ocus a talmain,
intan tairgēba²⁸ lem-sa dēna cennsa frim anmain.

¹ inisiul GL ² biad G bede L ³ breithemain A ⁴ cinn G cing L
⁵ dobannda A dobhána G ⁶ fodhembatt L ⁷ hetradhuigh L
⁸ atchit A atchiiidh GL ⁹ sic L atchiset A atchichseat G ¹⁰ pecuidh L
¹¹ duine A ¹² rachuid gach duine adubh G ¹³ roata A ¹⁴ laifithir A
 legfighear G laefiter L ¹⁵ nach L ¹⁶ foclighear G foichligar L
¹⁷ baghaigh L ¹⁸ sic L sechtmadad AG ¹⁹ a riocth a robhriudh G
²⁰ troimdigheil A ²¹ a firminh gion go marbann G ²² aithcidhe L
²³ a uil tuilbreis teintighi L ²⁴ hirgalta A irdhalta L ²⁵ angaid A
 angbad G ²⁶ nimreilc A namhleic L naamleic L ²⁷ atait A ²⁸ sic A
 toirceubai G tairceubhai L

19 Ar do croich, ar do cēsadh,
tair² dom chobair co calma,
20 Ar cach n-impidhi n-ūasail
notguidim, a Chrīst chridi,⁴
21 Ar do croich, ar do cēsadh,
nā ramloiti,⁵ a Rī nemda,
22 Ar do croich, ar do cēsad,
resiu tīas⁶ don bith buidhi,
23 Ar do trōcaire n-adbu[i]l,
tuc do rogrādh im⁷ anmain,
24 Corbam cruithecht it it[h]lainn
co rucur būaidh is coscur

ar do rīgh[f]laith, a Ruire,¹
i crēchtaib³ m'anma uile.
i nim ocus a talmain,
rop flaith nime dom anmain.
namcoimēd ar gach clōeine,
aslach demna nā daine.
tair dom chobair fo chētōir,
beir ūaim uili cech n-ēccōir.
namcoimēd in cech inbuidh,
co rob lomlān⁸ dot inmuin.
i lō loiscthi na cātha,
tall i mbroscur in brātha. b.n.

TRANSLATION

1. Doom ! Not slight will be its uproar when the world will burn ; it were meet, O Christ with grades (of angels), that Adam's seed should dread it.

2. Obdurate is the human race, harder than stones are their hearts when they heed not the many vast pains.

3. When the earth will vomit forth the hosts of Adam's vast seed, when one blaze will fill both heaven and earth.

4. When the host of hell, the tribes of earth, the multitude of saints, the nine grades of angels will meet in one gathering when each question will be solved.

5. When the Judge will pronounce righteous true judgments, awarding heaven to the chosen, increase of punishment to the evil folk.

6. The humble, lowly, devout folk with purity of heart, the despised wretches will be in the ranks of heaven's King.

7. The red-mouthed brehons, the lewd, the sinful, the satirists, the contentious, arrogant clerics will find neither honour nor welcome.

¹ rure A

² tairg A

³ a crecta A

iccrechta L réig cás G

⁴ croidhidhe A chridhe L

⁵ naromleig L

⁶ for O. I. tīasu

⁸ comhlan G

⁷ am A

8. The envious, the parricides, the wicked impious chiefs, the lewd unwomanly women will find death and extinction.

9. Bitter and harsh will be their repentance, they will shed tears over cheeks, the lying, the impious, the folk of every enduring sin.

10. It will be a shame, it will be a reproach to the host of the wicked, as you shall see, when all will behold the sin of each one of them.

11. After being for a long space of time in the scorching fire of Doom, they will be cast by the King of the Sun into a place of torture at last.

12. Sorry will be the outcry they will make, dreadful will be their wailings, as they part from holy angels, as they go with black demons.

13. Woe to the soul which heeds not the din of the mighty Day of Doom ; worse seventy-seven times to dwell in hard avenging hell.

14. Its bitter cold, its great burning, its hunger, its dreadful thirst, its crushing, its heavy revenge, its horror, its stifling smoke, its slaying.

15. Its many fearful monsters, its groaning, its wild woeful lament, its fiery rotten sea, its vile devilish faces.

16. Woe to him who hath come into this world, woe to our body, woe to our souls to each one who is destined to dwell for ever in ruthless hell.

17. Of Thy fondness, O fond Father, of Thy gentleness, O King of Heaven, cast me not into the bitter prison in which there are many groans.

18. For the sake of each noble intercession in heaven and on earth, when Thou wilt . . . with me, deal gently with my soul !

19. For the sake of Thy cross, of Thy passion, of Thy Kingship, O Prince, come valiantly to my aid in all the sufferings of my soul.

20. For the sake of each noble intercession in heaven and on earth, I pray Thee, O Christ of my heart, that the Kingdom of Heaven may be for my soul.

21. For the sake of Thy cross, of Thy passion, protect me against all iniquity, lest, O Heavenly King, the temptations of demons or men destroy me.

22. For the sake of Thy cross, of Thy passion, come forthwith to my aid ; before I go from the yellow world¹ take from me every unrighteousness.

23. Of Thy vast mercy protect me at all times, put into my soul Thy great love, that it may be overflowing with love for Thee.

24. That I may be wheat in Thy granary on the day when the chaff is burned, that I may carry off victory and triumph yonder in the rout of Doom.

J. G. O'KEEFFE

¹ Cf. ÉRIU II. 94 and Saltair na Rann 7513.

NOTES ON THE EVERNEW TONGUE

(ÉRIU II. 98 *et seq.*)

PAGE 96, note, l. 1, *after 'see' insert 'Leabhar Breac, p. 230^a 46-55'.*

p. 99, l. 32, *for 'was gathered' read 'had been gathered' (ro teclumad).*

p. 105, l. 28, *for 'He said' read 'it was said' (asrobrad), which is, I now think, a *perf.* passive.*

p. 107, l. 2, *dele 'he has'.*

p. 109, l. 8, *for 'cloud' read 'mass' (dluimm), and cf. dluimm inna senpecthe 'the mass of the old sins,' Wb. 22^a25. Dluim with aspirated (lenated) *m* means 'cloud' or 'darkness': dluimh i. nél no dorcadas, O'Cl.*

p. 109, l. 14. *Perhaps fusmiud means 'diffusion' (fo-es-sem); if so, for 'stowed away' read 'diffused'.*

p. 115, l. 14. *Possibly ro rath ar bass should be corrected to ro rathaig ar báss. If so, for 'been given for' read 'paid heed to', and in p. 159, cancel l. 8.*

p. 115, ll. 36, 37. *The notion that the diamond can be broken only by the Blood of the Lamb of God is a Christian modification of Pliny's statement (H. N. 1, 2): adamanta infragilem omni cetera vi sanguine hircino rumpente.*

p. 120, § 59, l. 3 should come after l. 4.

p. 123, l. 14, *for 'did penance' read 'repented'.*

p. 127, note, *for 'infra' read 'supra'.*

p. 131, ll. 4, 5. *If for-berat be, as I now think, cognate with Lat. *ferio* and Ir. *berna*, translate: 'they smite in the seas wherein they are, so that they cast ashore the beasts and monsters of these seas to satisfy them'.*

l. 19, *for 'host' read 'armies'.*

p. 133, note. The use in mediæval literature of the number 72 may, perhaps, be due to the Vulgate version of Luke x. 1: *designavit Dominus et alios septuaginta duos*, and ver. 17: *Reversi sunt autem septuaginta duo*.

p. 148, *anamduch*. In the *Cath Catharda*, for *anamthaigh* seems to mean 'at the last gasp,' 'on the point of death.' Then, in p. 120, l. 4, *Dos-roimid . . . mid asa beluib oc anamduch* might be rendered 'and when it was dying, mead burst out of its lips.' The nom. sg. *anamthach* might mean 'seelenflug.'

p. 157, l. 23, after 'fin.' insert 'doberts, *Cath Catharda*'.

l. 34, for '66' read '65', and for 'meaning obscure' read 'light'.

p. 158, s. v. *merte*, for '48' read '59'.

p. 160, before '-táigtis' insert 'táiget 35, prototonic pres. ind. pl. 3, and'.

p. 161, *-tomnaiter* may be the prototonic form of *domoinetar* 'are intelligent.'

p. 162. As to the fifteen signs of Doomsday, see also Addl. 30, 512 (a MS. in the British Museum), fo. 95^a1, and H. 1. 17 (now 1291), f. 26, an eighteenth-century Irish MS. in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. For English versions, see *The Chester Plays*, ed. T. Wright, vol. ii., pp. 147-9 and 219-21, and the Early English Texts Society, 1878. Wright says that these signs or tokens "are generally stated . . . to have been taken from the writings of St. Jerome, although others say they are first found in the *Prognosticon futuri seculi* of Julianus Pomerius, a theologian who died in the year 690."

WHITLEY STOKES

WHERE WAS BRUIDEN DÁ DERGA?

SINCE O'Curry published part of the *Tosgáil Bhrúidíne Óg* in his "Manners and Customs," the exact site of that famous *Bhrúidínean* has always been a debated point among Irish scholars. But Mr. Seosamh Laoide's most able and convincing article on "Tlacht Fáirbthen" gives great assistance towards the clearing up of this mystery. In it, by his quotations from the original, he traces the course of the reavers from *Beann Éasdaigh*, or Howth, to *Tláis Muiribhcean*, or Merrion Strand. When leaving *Tláis Muiribhcean*, "beirfeann gáe feadáin cloic leir cum cairn vo cùp." The text then explains that this was done in order that they might ascertain how many of their number were killed in the conflict at the *Bhrúidínean*, for each man who escaped uninjured was to take his stone away with him, thus leaving only those stones which corresponded to the number of the slain. (For this custom, *v. Joyce, Social History of Ireland*, i, p. 149.) The text then goes on to say, "aigur iñ dñ an gcaorán roin vo hainmniúiseadh Leacá i n-Ui b Ceallaig"; it also says in another place, "oimíteigeanasai na níbhealaing oiréad go piabádair ag Leacáib Cinn Sliéibe i ntríeo na Bhrúidíne." From this it is plain that if the position of these *Ui Ceallaig* can be ascertained, the locality of the *Bhrúidínean* will be found also.

Now let us turn to the article by Mr. James Mills in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 1894, on "The Norman Settlement in Leinster," in which (at p. 170), after referring to some lands near Lucan, he goes on to say:—

"This last group of lands bordered the Liffey. South of these and westward of the previously named lands [*i.e.* Drimnagh, Ballyfermot, and Rowlagh], about half the country, bounded on the south by the mountain district, belonged to the arch-

bishop. His possessions here centred round three leading manors, Tallaght, Clondalkin, and Rathcoole, with Brittas dependent, and a minor detached group about Kilsantan in the upper Dodder valley. All that did not belong to the arch-bishop it was endeavoured to preserve directly in the hands of the Crown. Large grants in this district were at first made to MacGillamocholmog and to De Rideleford. These, as already mentioned, were resumed by the Crown by arrangement with the grantees. The royal manors here formed five groups, Newcastle, Tasaggard, or Saggart, Esker, Crumlin, and *O Kelly*.

"The name *O Kelly* I have met only on the Exchequer Rolls of the thirteenth century. It is apparently a survival of the name of an Irish *tuath*. The 'Annals of the Four Masters' contain references to *Uí Ceallaig Cuallann* (see especially A.D. 713 and 915); and the 'Topographical Poems'¹ contain the name *O Ceallaig*, as a chief whom O'Donovan (note 445) places in N.-W. Wicklow. From the references to the manor on the Pipe Rolls, it seems to have lain south of Tallaght, along the northern slopes of the hills, and stretching across the opening of Glenasmole. It included Killininny [O. S. 22], Ballycullen [O. S. 22], and Kilmacheth [which is apparently identical with Killakee, *v. p. 164 ib.*] ('Pipe Rolls,' Nos. 1 and 2)."

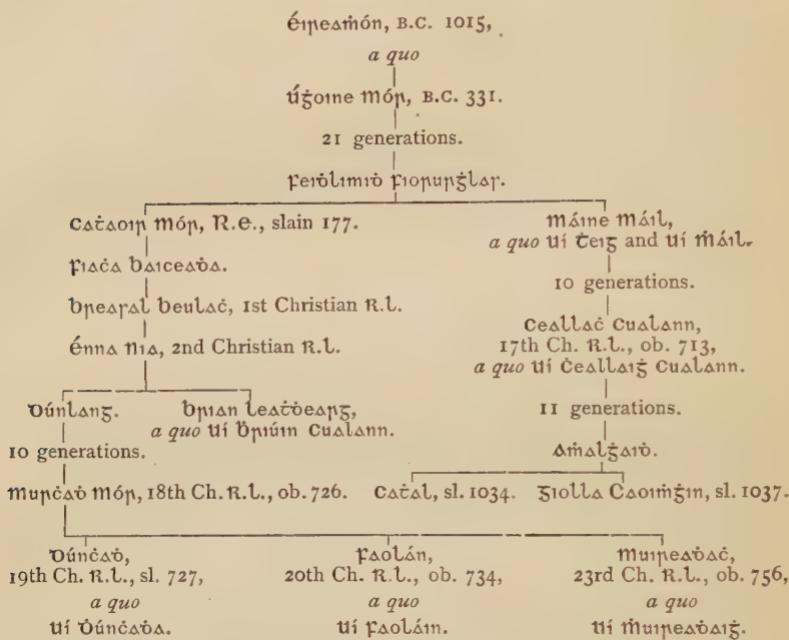
There cannot be much doubt that '*O Kelly*' is an anglicized form of the *Uí Ceallaig* mentioned in the text, and that therefore the *Ó hUinéan* was situated somewhere near the opening of Glenasmole.

Furthermore, in the Féilire Aonghusa, in the notes to May 9, "Cell eppuic Sanctam i nUib Cellais" is mentioned,—which is identical with Kilsanctan or, as the Ordnance Survey are pleased to call it, "St. Ann's Chapel" (*v. Joyce, I. N. P. ii. 22*). The Féilire also mentions (Nov. 1st) a *Tec macc nÓimma i nUib Cellais Cuallann*. At Oct. 26, *Cell na nIngen* (Killininny) is mentioned as in *Uí Óuncáða*.

These *Uí Ceallaig Cuallann* were very distant relations of the *Uí Óuncáða* and *Uí Ó hUinéan Cuallann*; the *Uí Óuncáða* and *Uí Ó hUinéan* were descended from *Catáon Í Móri*, while the *Uí*

¹ "Ó ceallaig for uib Tairg tairg" (ó huirobm).

Čealllaig, like the *Uí Tēis* and the *Uí Máil*, were descended from his brother Máine Máil.¹



Siolla Macólmóig (*vivens* 1044), *a quo* Mac Siolla Macólmóig, was seventh in descent from Ónchád, the son of Muiréadach Mór.² The deaths of Ceallal and Siolla Caomhán, the last lords of the *Uí Cealllaig Cualann*, mentioned by the Annalists, are recorded as follows by the Four Masters, A.D. 1034³ :—“Ceallal, mac Ámalchád, tisgeadairna Ua Cealllaig Cualann,⁴ 7 a bean a. ingean mic Siolla Caomhán,⁵ do tairbhadh do mac Cealllaig⁶ mic Ónchád, 7 do mac Áoibh, mic Tuaðail” ; and A.D. 1037, “Siolla Caomhán, mac Ámalchád a tisgeadairna Ua Cealllaig do tairbhadh do macailbh Áoibh, mic Tuaðail.”

¹ For this table, see Genealogy No. 7, *Loca Patriciana*, and *Leabhar Geimsealaig* *mic Fírbirig*, pp. 426, 457, 458, etc. R.I.A. Copy.

² *v.* Genealogy No. 11. Loc. Pat.

³ A.D. 1035. Ann. Ul.

⁴ “nī tairbhadair [? oirbhéir] ladaig.” An. Ul.

⁵ “mic Siolla Caomhán mic Cimdeadh, 7 a éu.” Ann. Ul.

⁶ This Mac Cealllaig was apparently a nephew of Siolla macólmóig, *v.* Gen. 11. Loc. Pat.

The territory of the **Uí Óncháða** in early times seems to have been coextensive with the part of Co. Dublin south of the Liffey, **Máic Giolla Moéolmós** being sometimes referred to as King of **Uí Óncháða**, and sometimes (as by **Ó hUigilín**, *q.v.*) as ruler of **Feara Cúalann**, but finally **Uí Óncháða** was reduced to the area of the Barony of Uppercross. The district of **Cúalú** or **Crioc Cúalann**, although at a very early period it reached from the mouth of the Vartry River at the town of Wicklow¹ to **Áct Cliacht** itself,² was in like manner gradually reduced, firstly to **Uí Óncháða** and **Uí Íbhruim Cúalann** (*i.e.* barony of Uppercross and the two half-baronies of Rathdown), and then finally to the district known in the middle of the seventeenth century as **Feara Cúalann** or **Fercoulen**, which was only equal to the half-barony of Rathdown in Co. Wicklow.³ **Uí Íbhruim Cúalann**, which appears in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as "Obrun" and "Brun," although originally corresponding in area to both of the half-baronies of Rathdown, gradually became equivalent only to that part of Rathdown in Co. Dublin, when **Feara Cúalann** had become restricted to the portion in Co. Wicklow.

To return to the **Íbhruim**. In the text, the following places are mentioned as being in its neighbourhood: "Seircenn hUaibheoil" and "Tírrídat Cárta." Perhaps Seircenn hUaibheoil (which is also mentioned in **fléo Íbhruim** (*I. T. S. ii. p. 104*)) is the same as "Mount Seskin" (O.S. 24); this name is spelled "Moneseskin" in some early maps: cf. **Móin Rácta** = Mountrath. **Tírrídat Cárta** may be "Kiltipper" (O.S. 21, 24) = **Cell Tírrídat** (*Cill Tíobhála*).

Mr. Mills, in his article, further says (p. 171):—

"A name in this district of frequent occurrence in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is Bothircolyn, with numerous variant forms, Borecoolin, Borcolen, etc. It seems to have occupied part of the present townland of Oldbawn [O.S. 21, 22],

¹ "Inberg Óea a cniach chualano" (**Leabhar Leacain**, fol. 234, Col. C) (*v. J.R.S.A.I. 1872, p. 28*).

² *v. ib.*

³ *v. Leabhar na gCéadrt* (O'D., p. 13), also Pat. Roll, 2 Jas. I, Part 2, No. v. For **Cúalú** *v. J.R.S.A.I. 1906, p. 77*, in Mr. Goddard Orpen's article on **Liamain** = Newcastle-Lyons.

as an entry in 'Liber Niger Alan' (fol. 179, orig.) mentions it as the northern boundary of Kiltipper [O.S. 21, 24], at the opening of Glenasmole. If this townland derives its name from the Boher Cualann, that road must have gone south-westward from Dublin, passing, perhaps, through Ballinascorney Gap. South-westward of Bothircolyn was the Balmelise mentioned as given to De Rideleford. Sometimes it is written so as to point to the form Balachmelise. It was therefore, perhaps, the proper name of the *pass* now called Ballinascorney Gap (part of which the modern townland includes), and may thus point to another stage on the road which gave name to Bothircolyn, and, perhaps, also Bohernabreena and Butterfield."

The only objection to this view is the obvious question, why the *bóthar Cualann* should come so far south and needlessly climb over the steep and difficult *ρούπας* of *baile ná Scóipnaisé*, instead of keeping to the fairly level route of the present main road from Dublin to Naas *via* Rathcoole, or the road to Blessington *via* Tallaght?

If Father Hogan¹ and Mr. Orpen² are right in their identification of *Leathmán* with Newcastle-Lyons, it is clear that Father Shearman³ was wrong in his view that the *bóthar Cualann* crossed the Liffey near *Poll a' Phúca*, and went by Ballymore-Eustace and Hollywood (instead of by Naas) to Rathvilly and Tullow O'Felimy. He, of course, made his identifications while acting on the assumption that Dunlavin was the ancient *Liamán*.

Perhaps it would not be too violent a proposition that the *βημόεαν* was not directly on the *bóthar*, but about three miles from it, the distance between "Shoulder of Mutton" cross-roads and Bohernabreena Chapel.

If this identification of *Uí Ceallaig* is correct, the view held by Sir Samuel Ferguson and Dr. Joyce, that the *βημόεαν* was on the Dodder at Donnybrook, must be abandoned; and O'Curry's guess, if guess it was, that its site was near *bóthar ná βημόνε*, must be adopted. It can hardly be supposed that the reavers would have passed by the object of their foray, and

¹ "Móirthimhcell Éirenn Uile," p. 51.

² Loc. cit. and "Site of the Battle of Glen-Mama," *ib.* p. 78.

³ "Loca Patriciana," iii. J.R.S.A.I. 1873, p. 489.

have, without any reason, advanced about eight miles inland through a hostile country, for the sole purpose of building their carn. The narrative clearly shows that *Leacá i nUíb Ceallaig* was on the way to the *Buróeán* and between it and the sea ; and therefore the *Buróeán* could not possibly have been in the neighbourhood of Donnybrook, which at any rate is in *Uí Bhrúin Cuailann*, and not in *Uí Ceallaig Cuailann*.

gustáin hamaltún

MOCU, MACCU

THIS element in proper names (e.g. *Dubthach macu Lugair*) belongs solely to the Old-Irish period. The last instance in the Annals of Ulster is at 789, *Comotatio reliquiarum Mo Chuae macu Luggedon*. Here as elsewhere, when *macu* follows a genitive, Hennessy wrongly prints " *mic U.*" In this entry the name is clearly that of a person belonging to an earlier time. The latest contemporary use of the term in A.U. is at 690—*Cronan macu Chualne abbas Bennchuir obiit*. It is therefore probable that *mocu* began to go out of use about 700.

The significance of *mocu* is made clear by Adamnan in several places. He always has *mocu*, *moccu*, and possibly this form should be used in restored O.-I. texts. It indicates the *gens* or racial division to which a person belongs: *Fintenus gente mocu Moie* (Ad. p. 20), but *Laisranus mocu Moie*, p. 47. *Lugbeus gente mocu Min*, pp. 53, 56, beside *Lugbeus mocu Min*, pp. 43, 53. *Mailodranus gente mocu Rin*, p. 50.

Eleventh-century writers, like Marianus (1028-1082), had lost touch with this form, and supposed it identical with *macc ui*. In this they have been followed by modern editors generally. Marianus writes *Miluc filius nepotis Buain* for *Miliuc mocu Boin* (Todd Lectures, vol. iii., p. 17).

Adamnan's ' *gente*' puts us on the right track. The word which follows *mocu* is a portion of the name of the *gens*, and is in fact the genitive of the name of the eponymous ancestor. This personage is not a human ancestor, as Middle-Irish and modern writers suppose. I show in *New Ireland Review*, Nov., 1906, that he is the tutelary god of the race.¹ This helps to

¹ In many cases the mythological ancestor is a female. We need not suppose as many gods as eponymous ancestors. There is clear evidence that Irish gods rejoiced in a profusion of synonyms.

explain the early disappearance of *mocu*. The race-name contains the name which follows *mocu*.

Ancient Irish race-names had a variety of forms. Some consisted of *Corcu* or *Dál*, as a separate word meaning *gens*, followed by the genitive of the eponymous ancestor's name, e.g. *Corcu Duibne*, *Dál Buain*. Others contained the ancestral name in composition with the endings *-rige*, *-raige*, *-ne*, *-acht*, e.g. *Boonrige* (an alternative name for *Dál Buain*), *Temenrige* (also called *Corcu Themne*), *Conmaicne*, *Cianacht*. There is a third class of simple race-name, without distinguishing term or ending, e.g. *Loegis*, *Sogain*, *Éli*. In this class, the race-name appears to be identical with the name of the eponymous ancestor. A similar custom was preserved by the descendants of Niall of the Nine Hostages. The simple names of his sons, *Loegaire*, *Eogan*, *Conall*, *Cairbre*, *Ardgal*, are frequently used in the annals and elsewhere to designate the *gentes* descended from them.

Gentilic divisions that arose in historical times are usually designated by *aui*, later *ui*, *i*, prefixed to the name (genitive) of the historical ancestor. Excepting the descendants of Niall, who, however, are comprehensively called *Uí Néill*, the other forms of gentilic names above-mentioned belong all, so far as I can trace, to races of prehistoric origin. I have found no instance of a race-name in *corcu*, *dál*, *-rige*, *-ne*, *-acht* arising during the Christian period or from a historical ancestor. I have found many instances of names in *ui* among peoples of prehistoric origin; but, wherever traceable, such names are always applied to septs or sub-divisions of races otherwise named. I have found only one instance of *mocu* probably identified with a race-name in *ui*.

I have found no instance of *mocu* referable to any branch of the dynasties of Tara and Cashel. In my University College lectures, session 1905-6, I have shown good grounds for believing that these dynasties represent the last Celtic invasion of Ireland, at a date not earlier than the second century—perhaps in the third century—of the Christian era. The dynastic race of Cashel is called *Eoganacht*. The *Dál Cais* are probably an older race quite unrelated to them. With these exceptions, there is no instance of *corcu*, *dál*, *-rige*, *-ne*, or *-acht* in any branch of these races. The race to which Niall belongs is

notably without any race-name in Irish history, being the only dynastic family so circumstanced. Hence I consider *mocu* and the forms of race-name with which *mocu* exchanges as evidence of comparative antiquity of race.

Mocu appears to be identical in usage with the Ogmic phrase MAQI MUCOI so frequent in the inscriptions. I am inclined to think that it also represents etymologically this phrase, the two words being run together and worn down through frequency of use. From MUCOI alone, we should expect O.-I. *muchu*—I am not sure about the final vowel. For the wearing down of such elements in surnames, compare the modern *mac* in surnames into *mhac*, *ac*, *ach*, even *'c*; *'ap* and *'p* in Welsh names; *inghean ui*, now *ní*; *inghean mhic*, now *níc*. At all events the examples cited below fairly establish the equivalence in sense of *mocu* with MAQI MUCOI, and fix the significance of the Ogmic phrase.

The material examined and method of reference are here indicated :—

- Ad. . Adamnan, Vita S. Columbae, ed. Reeves.
- AU. . Annals of Ulster, vol. i., ed. Hennessy.
- Brash, Ogham Monuments.
- BB. . Book of Ballymote (genealogies).
- CL. . Genealogies of Corca Laighe, ed. O'Donovan.
Féilire of Oingus.
- LL. . Book of Leinster (genealogies).
- L.Arm. Book of Armagh, Hogan's Glossary.
Mac Firbis, Genealogies, R.I.A. MS.
- MD. . Martyrology of Donegal (reference by dates).
- MG. . Martyrology of Gorman.
- Journal of Royal Society of Antiquaries, Ireland, articles
on Ogham inscriptions, by Barry, Rhys, Macalister,
and others (reference by month and year only).

The race-names are taken from many sources, but chiefly from Mac Firbis and other genealogical tracts.

Mocu, *maccu*, MAQI MUCOI, takes the place of (a) *Corcu*, (b) *Dál*, (c) *-raige*, (d) *-ne*, (e) *acht*, in the names of peoples, or (f) precedes gentilic names of simple form.

(a) **Corcu.**

Corcu Roide = BIR MAQI MUCOI ROTTAS¹ Sept. 1897.
 Ernene mocu fir Roide Ad. 237.
 Tua mac h. Roida LL. 365.

Corcu Duibne = NETA LAMINACCA KOI² MAQQI MUCOI
 DOVVINIAS June, 1896.
 MAQI IARI KOI² MAQQI MUCOE DOVVINIAS
 June, 1896.
 Aedan mac h. Duibni LL. 358.

Corcu Dalann = Cainnechus mocu Dalon Ad. 220.

Corcu Themne = Luguid mocu Themne Ad. 246.
 Comgan macu Teimne AU. 663.

Corcu Oche = quies Lugdach macu Ochae AU. 608.

Corcu Loegde = Cronan macu Loegdae AU. 637.

Corcu Fir tri³ = Suibne maccu Ir tri MD. Jan. 11.

(b) **Dál.**

Dál Buain = Miliuc maccu Boin L. Arm.

Dál Araide = Comgellus mocu Aridi Ad. 220.

Dál Céide = Tochannu mocu fir Cetea Ad. 246.

Dál Niath Corb = Oisseneus mocu Neth Corb Ad. 22.

Dál Runtir⁴ = Trenanus mocu Runtir Ad. 47.

Dál Riatai = Daircill maccu Retai AU. 677.

Dál Sailne = Colmanus mocu Sailni Ad. 29.

Dál Corbmaic = Baetan mac ua Corbmaic MG. 56.
 Abbán mac ua Corbmaic MD. Mar. 16.
 Fiacha mac ua Chorbmaic MD. Dec. 27.

Dál nImda⁵ = Dolaissi maccu Imde AU. 658.

Dál Buachalla = Riachuill mac ua Buachalla MG. 76.

Dál Bairdine⁶ = Nechtan mac h. in Baird LL. 359.
 Finnbarr mac hui Bardene AU. 437.
 Colman mac ui Bardani FM. 623.
 Usaille mac ua Bhaird DM. Aug. 30.

¹ Perhaps for ROTTAS, unless an Ogmic feminine genitive in -ais corresponded to the Latin -ai, -ae.

² Also read POI.

³ The race of Lugna Fer Tri, Mac F., p. 362. Cp. Corco Thrí de Lughnib Connacht, LL. 363.

⁴ Dál Runtair, Dál nImda, and Glasraige were the three divisions of the Conaille of Murthemne, LL. 318.

⁵ Otherwise Corcu Bairdni "ó Dún Cermna," LL. 331.

Dál Fiatach = Finnio mac h. Fiatach LL. 362.
 Dál Cualni¹ = Crónán macu Chualne AU. 690.

(c) Rige.

Boonrige, see Dál Buain.

Temenrige, see Corcu Themne.

Grecraighe = mac h. Greccae LL. 356.

Menraighe = Lugbeus mociu Min Ad. 43, 53.
 Lugbeus gente mociu Min Ad. 53, 56.
 Lugneus mociu Min Ad. 127, 141.

Cairige = Ecca mac h. Chae LL. 356.
 Fionocc maccu Cha MD. Oct. 4.

Ciarraighe = MAQI MUCOI QEROI Brash, 223.
 Lucill mac h. Chiara LL. 357.

Garbraighe = Mac h. Gairb LL. 364.
 Siollán mac ua Ghairbh MD. Oct. 31.

Gaolraighe = Mo Cholmoc mac h. Gualae vel h. Gáili, di
 Gáilinni di Ultaib do LL. 364.

Calraighe? = CASSITTAS MAQI MUCOI CALLITTI Brash.

Crothraighe? = TTGENU MAQI MUCOI QRITTI Brash, 138.

Brecraighe = NETTA SAGRU MAQI MUCOI BRECI Mar.
 1902.

Artraighe = Mo Chólmocc mac ua Arta MD. June 7.

Dartraighe = Inis mac ua Dartadha MD. May 21.

Dubraighe = Naeman macua Duib MG. 176.

Nechraighe = Molaissi macqua Necte MD. Jan. 19.

Tratraighe = Luighthighern mac ua Trato MD. Apl. 28.

Nosraighe = Cluain macu Nois Passim.

(d) Gentilic names in -ne offer only three examples, with two ways of treatment when changed into personal names.

Luigne = CONNI MAQI MUCOI LUGUNI March, 1898.
 MODDAGNI MAQI GATIGNI MUCOI LUGUNI
 Brash, 268.

Conmaicne = LUGUDI MAQI LIDU MAQ MUCOI CUNAMAQI
 Dec. 1898.

Gafline, see Gaolraighe.

In LUGUNI, the termination is retained after MUCOI. In

¹ Caulnia ocus Condluan, emon ruc Lebarcham ingen Oe ocus Adarce do Choin Chulainn, is dib Corco Caullain ocus Dal Cualni i Cruithniu. LL. 318.

Gáline, the termination is dropped—maccu Gáili. The last two letters of CUNAMAQI are doubtful, as are the words LIDU MAQ.

(e) Gentilic names in **-acht** are rare. Only one, Cianachta, furnishes examples in a single passage.

Cianachta = Sinech mater virorum mocu Cei in [read
mocu Cein] Cuile Aque, quorum nomina
sunt Aidanus monachus,¹ qui sepultus est
hi Cuil Uisci, et Chonrii moccu Cein, qui
sepultus est in Daurraig ; avia Tocummi
moccu Cein, qui in Iona finivit vitam.

Ad. 247.

(f) Gentilic names without any special prefix or termination
take *mocu*, etc., before the name itself.

Ligis = Columbanus mocu Loigse Ad. 210.

Oenu mac h. Laigsi LL. 356.

Enna maccu Laigsi Stokes, Lives, 275.

Sogain² = VEDACU MAQ TOBIRA MUROI SOGINI June, 1896.
Nemaidon mocu Sogin Ad. 108.

Eili? = Aedhach mac ua Elich MD. April 9.

(g) Ui Echdach = quies Finntain filii nepotis Echdach
AU. 602.

Mocu may be expected in disguise, especially in published texts. Thus Hennessy prints *mac Curetai* for *maccu Retai* (O.I. Dál Rétai = Dál Riada) AU. 677, *mac Curthri* for *maccu [F]ir Thri* (Corcu Fir Thri) AU. 656, *mac Cuinide* for *maccu Imde* (Dál Imde) AU. 638. He was puzzled by this last instance, as he found Cairill elsewhere as the name of St. Molaissi's father.

My notes are unfortunately so much deranged that I cannot give the instances, or statistics of them, in which I have failed to find corresponding race-names. In known Oghams, there are at least fifty-five instances of MUROI, including what are held to be nominatives singular, MURO (1), MOCO (1), gen. pl. MOCON (1); gen. sg. MUROI (42), MOCOI (4), MUCCOI (3), MOCOI (1), MOQOI (1), and MUCCOE (1). My equated instances are thus a

¹ Reeves (Ad. 247) gives his descent from the Cianachta.

² Corcu Sogain and Soghraighe were probably equivalents.

small minority, which is not strange, since many race-divisions must have become extinct between the time of the Oghams and of the historical MSS. now available. On the other hand, out of twenty examples of *mocu* noted in Adamnan, I have equated fourteen. Out of twelve noted in AU., I have equated seven. In all, I have probably found race-names for about half of the instances of *mocu* noted. And while the instances noted present a definite field, the search after race-names is at present a thing without limit.¹

No inflexional change in *mocu* appears in Old Irish. (Hennessy's *mic u* is doubtless a contraction wrongly expanded.) Its effect on a following consonant cannot be judged from M.-I. instances, in which it is usually taken for *macc ui*. The O.-I. instances before *c*, *t*, *f* are too few to be decisive. Following a nom. sg. it aspirates in AU. 662, *Ultan macu Chonchubhair quievit*, and again 690, *Cronan macu Chualne obiit*. But Hennessy's text appears to have had aspiration marks added by a modern hand. In Adamnan, passage cited under Cianachta, *mocu Cein* occurs without change after gen. pl., nom. sg., and gen. sg.

Mocu seems to afford a dating criterion for part of the Annals of Ulster. The occurrence of *mac hui* 437, *maic nepotis* 578, *filii nepotis* 602, and *mac hui* 654, apparently as substitutes for *mocu*, indicates that the early entries are a Middle-Irish insertion; whereas, in the later part of the O.-I. period, the entries appear to be contemporary with the events. I think this indication is confirmed by other linguistic evidences.

Mocu occurs in place-names, but seemingly even there denotes an individual person. *Cluain macu Nóis*, *Inis macu Dartada*, 'Mellan mac h. Chuind o Inis mic h. Chuind for Loch Oirbsen,' *Félire*, xxxv., note. *Connachta* would give *mocu Chuinn*. In that case we should understand, not the whole region commonly called Connacht, or its people, but a small race-group in the north of Connacht called *na teora Connachta*, the three Connachts—probably the remnant of a race which

¹ Since this paper was written, many other instances have turned up, especially in the BB. list of saints and in Macalister's 'Irish Epigraphy.' My paper fails to show the local identity of the names equated, except in a few instances. I have material for this identification in many more instances; but the thesis seems sufficiently clear to dispense with more extensive annotations.

dominated the region and gave a name to it before its settlement by Brian and Fiachra, brothers of Niall of the Nine Hostages. According to MacFirbis, until the time of Eochu Muigmedoin, father of these men, Connacht was ruled by a dynasty of the Fir Domann, whose home territory corresponded to the later *Ui Fiachrach*. I suggest that *na teora Connachta* represented this dynastic race.

EOIN MAC NEILL

PALATALIZATION

IN a paper on Middle-Irish Declension, published in the Philological Society's Transactions, 1905, Professor Strachan has drawn attention to one of the most important problems still awaiting a solution, that is, to determine the precise conditions under which a consonant or group of consonants is liable to be palatalized by a following palatal vowel when the vowel remains.

§ 2. It is usual to recognize three ways of pronouncing the consonants in O. Ir. They are said to possess an *i*-quality, an *a*-quality, and an *u*-quality: cf. Pedersen, KZ. XXXVI. 85. In the first case, the point of contact or friction is on or close to the hard palate, as in the neighbourhood of the vowels *i* and *e*: *u* has two characteristics: the tongue is drawn back and arched, while the lips are protruded and rounded. *a* occupies a neutral or normal position. In the modern language the *a*- and *u*-qualities are classed together as non-palatal in contradistinction to the palatal or *i*-quality. Of course the reason is that the *u*-quality no longer plays the part it did in the inflexional system, and does not thrust itself upon the notice of the grammarian. Thus the three forms *n. fer*, *g. fir*, *d. fiur* have been reduced to two, *n. fear*, *g. fir*, *d. fear*. Not that *fiur* and *fer* have fallen together phonetically, though such confusion was possible in unaccented syllables. It is simply a case of the dative (Early Mod. Ir. *fior*) being replaced by the nominative. Yet even in Mod. Ir. it would be a mistake, from the phonetic point of view, to ignore the *u*-quality. *u* is both velar and labial, and its influence may still be felt in velar and labial consonants. In such words as *thugas*, the *u* is as prominent in the second syllable as in *agus*, in spite of the difference of spelling. On the *u*-quality of one of the varieties of *l*, see Henebry, § 55. But it is plain that even in O. Ir. the difference between the *u*- and *a*-qualities was not so strongly marked over the whole range of consonants as the difference between either of them and the *i*-quality. If

we compare the *c* of *cara* or *cos* with that of *cí*—and there is no reason to suppose that the pronunciation of these words has changed essentially during the last thousand years—there is little or no difference in the consonants themselves. The *c* is velar in each case. Any slight difference of colouring that may be caused by the different position of the lips is merely accidental, like the difference between English *coo* and German *Kuh*. But when we pass from *cara*, *cos*, or *cí* to *cé*, *clos*, there is not merely a difference in the position of the lips accompanying the articulation, but an essential difference in the articulation itself, in the shape of the tongue and the position it occupies during the process.

§ 3. Labials, however, form a class apart. They are produced, as it were, outside the mouth, and here there is no possibility of palatalization in the literal sense. The position of the lips is the essential thing. In Mod. Ir. the lips are thrust forward when the labial is preceded or followed by *a*, *o*, or *u*, and drawn back when it is preceded or followed by *e* or *i*. Thus we have a distinction corresponding to the palatal and non-palatal pronunciations of the other consonants. In Mod. Ir. the protrusion of the lips tends to give the neighbouring vowel, especially when unaccented, an *u*-colour. That this was the case in O. Ir. may be inferred from such spellings as *felsub*, *demun*, *crábdud*.

§ 4. For the purposes of the present investigation the *a*- and *u*- qualities are classed together as non-palatal, except when there is special reason for drawing attention to their different effects. Palatal is to be taken here in a wide sense, to include the *i*-quality of labials—an inaccuracy inevitable under the circumstances, and certainly not more unscientific than the common use of such terms as 'guttural' and 'aspiration.' There is much to be said in favour of the native terms *caol* 'slender,' 'narrow,' as opposed to *leathan* 'broad,' 'wide.' They well describe the form of the mouth-passage during the articulation. Even in pronouncing the labials this holds good. It is true that the drawing back of the lips before or after *i* or *e* makes the lips themselves somewhat broader; but the mouth-passage, from the closeness of the teeth and the position of the tongue, is decidedly narrow.

§ 5. There are several problems connected with palatalization

in Irish. I purpose to deal here only with the one referred to in the opening paragraph, the problem of the palatal vowel which remains in a syllable following the accent. It might be expected to palatalize the preceding consonant; but very often it fails to do so, or the consonant, originally palatal, has been depalatalized. Isolated instances have been considered by Pedersen, *Asp.*, p. 6 sq., *CZ.* II. 194. Before going on to discuss the reasons which govern the presence or absence of palatalization, it will be necessary to establish the facts, that is, to collect and classify examples of all cases of consonants and consonant groups followed by an unaccented palatal vowel, or by a vowel which was originally palatal, excluding both secondary consonant-groups which are the result of syncope, and secondary vowels which have developed between consonants. My object is to determine the conditions for the O. Ir. period, adding illustrations from the later language where desirable. Examples are drawn rather from the Milan and St. Gall Glosses than from the Würzburg Glosses, since the orthography of these last is not so well suited to exhibit the quality of the consonants. Thus earlier O. Ir. writes *tene*, *cene*, with nothing to mark the difference in pronunciation of the *n*. In the latter case Ml. inserts the non-palatal glide, *cenae*, 39^a3. Cf. Mid. Ir., *tene*, *chena*, and Mod. Ir. *teine*, *cheana*. The spelling of Wb. is often ambiguous—sometimes indeed misleading. For example, in *do-nn-éicci* Wb. 9^a4, the *éi* might be taken to denote the palatal quality of the *cc*; but a comparison with *éicndirc* Wb. 25^d24, *éicndarcus* 19^d29, *éicndag* 1^c6, *éicmailt* 22^c20, *cáinscél* 23^d2, and the like, shows that in Wb. *éi* may be used for *ē* even before a non-palatal consonant (cf. *nodéitnaigtis* Ml. 54^d20). Several combinations which are not quotable from texts in the *Thesaurus Palæo-hibernicus* or *Féilire Oengusso* are given on the authority of the Mid. Ir. forms.

§ 6. In the following list the examples are arranged for convenience of reference in the alphabetic order of the consonants in question. A consonant or consonant-group may be followed, A, by a palatal vowel, or B, by a palatal vowel + consonant, and in each case may be (a) palatal, or (b) non-palatal. I have not found any essential difference between the groups A and B as regards palatalization. Certain types are more likely to occur in the one than in the other. Thus,

for inflectional endings we turn to A; compounds are found chiefly in B. But the presence or absence of palatalization, with perhaps one exception (see § 101), depends upon what precedes, not what follows, the palatal vowel. Pedersen indeed recognizes a distinction between the effect of palatal vowels in inlaut and auslaut, Asp. p. 7, and, if I understand his argument aright, contrasts the *mn* of *cuimnígedar* with the non-palatal *mn* of *timne*. The examples are ill chosen. In the first place, the *mn* of *cuimnígedar* is palatal in *chuimni*, Ml. 32^d11 where no consonant follows; secondly, the words *cuimnígedar* and *timne* are not parallel, for the *m* in the former is a spirant (= mod. *mh*); and lastly, the consonant-groups are secondary, and the presence or absence of palatalization is due to the nature of the vowel lost between the *m* and *n*, and not to the following palatal vowel.

§ 7. *b*, see *p* (§ 62).

8. *mb*, later *mm* = mod. *m* (§ 142).

A. (a) *immbi* Wb. 13^d22, Mid. Ir. *imme*, *immbe* &c. Atk., mod. *uime*.

(b) *aithchumbe* Wb. 1^b21, *adcumbe* 23^d22 Mid. Ir. *athchumma* Mey.

B. (a) *cimbid* Wb. 4^b30, 27^c22 &c. Fél. Mid. Ir. *cimbid*, *cimid*, *cimmid* Atk., Mey.

(b) Mid. Ir. *cumbair*, *cummair* 'brief' Wi., Mey., by *cuimre* Ml. 14^d3; *combur*, *commar* 'confluence' Wi., Mey., W. *cymmer*.

§ 9. *rb*, *rbb*, *rp* = mod. *rb* (§§ 153, 154).

A. (b) *orbae* Ml. 100^c14, gs. *orbai* 102^a3, *orbbae* Sp. v. 11, *orbae* Fél., Mid. Ir. *orba*, Wi. < **orbion*. So **komorbios* gives *comarbae* Fél., Mid. Ir. *comarba*, *comarba*, *comarpa* &c., Wi., Atk., Mey., mod. *comharba*; *indarbae* Ml. 23^c8, *indarbae* Sg. 31^b11, Fél., Mid. Ir. *innarba*, Wi.; Mid. Ir. *ferba*, *ferbba* gs. of *ferb* 'Kuh,' Wi.; Mid. Ir. *burba* SR. 7352, Mey. *borb*, superl. *burbu*, Mey., the mod. *buirbe* is analogical; *arcorpae*, ÉRIU I. 195; *nundnerbai* Ml. 65^b6, but *nodneirbea* Ml. 51^b10 is fut. = *-eirbfea*.

B. (b) *forbart* Sg. 67^b6, 167^a3, *forbbart* 52^a8, ds. *forbairt* Fél. = *for-bert*; *forbartach* Bcr. 41^d2; *carpat* Tir. 14, np. *carbait* Ml. 96^c13, Mid. Ir. *carpat* Wi., Mey., mod. *carbad* < **karbento-*, cf. dp. *cairptib* Ml. 43^d3, ap. *cairptiu* Wi., W. *cerbyd*, seemingly borrowed from Ir., Lat. *carpentum*. In *dofórbiat* Ml. 27^a10, *dundórbiat*

120^d14, *dundórbiam* 105^b6, the slender *b* is analogically restored from the simplex.

§ 10. *b* = mod. *bh* (§ 119).

A. (a) *slébe* Ml. 58^e4, 67^d8, *slébe* Fél., Mid. Ir. *slébe*, *slébi* Wi., Atk.; *imáibe* Wb. 2^a2, 20^e8, 9 &c., ds. *imdibiu* 2^a3, *nóibe* Ml. 37^b4, Fél., Mid. Ir. *nbime* Atk.; -*gaibi* Wb. 32^a16.

(b) *abae* gs. Ml. 78^b4, Mid. Ir. *aba* Mey.; *subae* Ml. 146^d2, Fél., Mid. Ir. *suba* Wi., Atk.; *dubai* gs. Ml. 110^e9, Fél., Mid. Ir. *duba* Wi., Atk. < **su-bio-*, **du-bio-*; cf. the adj. *subach*, *dubach* Fél. &c., mod. *subhach*, *dubhach* [sūχ, dūχ]. *lubae* Sg. 61^b15, *sillabæ* ib. 212^b1, *fubae* 26^a8, Mid. Ir. *fuba* Wi. < **vo-bio-*, *tóbae* Sg. 118^b2, 195^b1, *damthóbae* 68^b11, *tóbae* 201^b3, gs. *tóbai* Ml. 92^d6; *ní rubai* (= *rò-bi*) Ml. 28^d4, Sg. 7^b3, 209^a3, *ní ruba* Sg. 3^b28.

B. (a) *scribend* Ml. 87^a12, Sg. 178^b3 &c., ds. *scríbiunt* Sg. 9^a21, Mid. Ir. *scríbend* Atk., mod. *sgribinn* f., < *scribendum*; *imdibenar* Sg. 143^b4, *etirdiben* Ml. 42^a17, *itirdibither* Tur. 121; *dibirciud* Ml. 58^e6, 99^d1, *dibiercud* (*dibercud*?) 26^d6, later *dibracad*, *diburgun*, *diubracad* &c., Wi., Atk.; *gaibid* Ml. 50^a5, &c.

(b) *crábud* Wb. 12^b27, Ml. 36^d24, Fél., gs. *crábaith* Wb. 33^e13, Mid. Ir. *crábud* Atk., cf. W. *crefydd*, and the adj. *cráibdech* Fél. Atk., mod. *cráibhtheach*; so *gábud* Hy. v. 31, 83, Fél., Mid. Ir. id., Atk., mod. *gábhad*, dp. *gáibthib* Wb. 15^d28, cf. W. *gofid*; *cubus* Wb. 1^d6, 11^b21, 20^e18 < **com-fiuss*, *cocubus* Wb. 42^b7 &c.; Mid. Ir. *cobfiss* and *comfis* Mey. are fresh formations. Here belong verbal forms such as -*ròbat* Wb. 11^d9, 29^e8, &c., -*rùbat* Sg. 138^a5, mod. *rabhaid*, by *rubet* Wb. 26^a23; *contubart* Tir. 15, by *dubbart* 11, 13, 15; *asrubart* passim, later *atrubairt*, mod. (a)*dubhairt*; in *autrubert* Cod. Cam. 37^d, the unaccented *e* has not yet lost its quality, but the preceding consonant may have been already depalatalized.

§ 11. *db* = mod. *dhh* (§ 153).

A. (b) *fedbae* Fél., Mid. Ir. *fedba* LB. 131^a39; *bodbae* Wi., *bodbæ* Mey., but *baidbhi* TBC. 4023; Mid. Ir. *Medba* passim < **Medbae*, but also *Medbi*, *Meidbe* TBC. &c.

B. (b) *doabdat* Wb. 10^b21, Ml. 15^a2, Sg. 27^b15, *doabbadar* Wb. 7^a13, 7^b10, &c. by *taidbhid* Wb. 14^d22, *doaidbdetar* 27^a27 &c.; *adbul*, Wi., mod. *adhbhal*, cf. *indabol* Sg. 217^b5 by the abstract *aidble*, Wi. s. v. *réimm*.

§ 12. *lb* = mod. *lh* (§§ 92, 93, 153, 155).

A. (b) *balbae* Fél., but *balbe*, *bailbe*, Mey.; *delbae* gs. Ml. 65^e16,

delbæ Sg. 166^a1, Mid. Ir. *delba*, Wi., TBC. but *deilbi* SR. 1794, *delbi* Atk., mod. *deilbhe*; Mid. Ir. *selba* gs. TBC. 84 < **selbae*.

§ 13. *nb* = mod. *nbh* (§§ 153, 156).

A. (b) *Banba* gs. id. Mey., an ia-stem (?).

B. (b) *anboth* Ml. 125^d11, Mid. Ir. *anfad anfud* Wi., Mey., mod. *anfad* < **an-feth*, cf. dp. *ainbthib* Hy. vi. 15; Mid. Ir. *anbal* Mey. < *an-fial*; *nónbar* Hy. vi. 65, Wi., *dechenbor* Fél. &c., mod. *naombhar* and *deichneabhar* < **noventviro-* and **dekenviro-*; *anfossigid* Wb. 8^d5 seems artificially coined to translate 'nescitis,' otherwise it might have been classed here; but *anfiss* Wb. 13^b11, Sg. 148^a5, *anfius* Wb. 25^a11, 25^c31, *anfissid* 29^b4, Mid. Ir. *anfiss* Wi., Mey., mod. *ainbhfhios*, in which palatalization has been restored from the simplex *fiss*, *füss*, point to the probability of a scribal error in *anfossigid*.

§ 14. *rb* = mod. *rbh* (§§ 153, 157).

A. (b) *acarbai* Ml. 59^a19, id. Mey. s. v. *acairbe*, but Mid. Ir. regularly *acairbe*, *aggairbe* Wi., Atk., Mey.; so *garbi* Atk., mod. *gairbhe*; *merbai* Fél. (*merbi* Ml. 113^b8), later *merbe* Atk., mod. *meirbhe*; *derba* = **derbae* 'certainty,' Sg. 66^b14; *serbu* comp. of *serb* Ml. 24^c10; *serba* 'bitterness' Atk., but *seirbiu*, *seirbe* Wi.; *Berbae* Fél., Mid. Ir. *Berba* Mey., mod. *Bearbha*; *forbae* Sg. 147^b3, ds. *forbu* Wb. 3^d6, 14^d27, Ml. 15^a4, 5 &c., Mid. Ir. *forba* Atk.; *torbae* Ml. 102^d4, 132^a8, &c., Mid. Ir. *torba*, *tarba*, Wi., Atk.

B. (b) *-forbanar* Wb. 14^d27, Sg. 148^a11, by *forfènar* Tur. 45; *-torban* Wb. 12^b32, 33, *-torbanad* 17^d18; *torbach* Ml. 23^a2, 90^b11, 121^d1, Wi., but *tairbig* SR. 5915 (cf. § 157); *arbar* Ml. 62^b13, gs. *arbair* Fél., ds. *arbur* Ml. 55^a6, 102^c8, cf. dp. *airrib* 63^c12.

§ 15. *c, cc* = mod. *c* (§§ 129, 130).

A. (a) *ice* gs. Ml. 23^c7, 50^c11, *icce* Wb. 7^e12, Ml. 90^c6, Mid. Ir. *icce* Atk., mod. *ice* (but Mid. Ir. also *ica*, *icca* Wi., Atk., as *u*-stem ?); for *-aicci* Ml. 94^c3 by *-accai* 114^a15 &c. see § 129.

(b) *ruccae* Ml. 88^b15, *rucae* 87^d9, *ruccai* 27^c9, 10, &c., *ruccu* Wb. 9^e13, Ml. 55^b8, but *rucce* TBC., *ruice* O'Cl.; *gliccu* comp. Wb. 26^d26, Mid. Ir. id. Atk., mod. *glioca*.

B. (a) *aicced*, *aiccent* < Lat. *accentus* Sg. 207^a6, 26^a6 &c., ds. *aicciund* 74^b8; *conaicelt* < *con-ad-celt* Ml. 49^c9; *conaicert* 2^a6, *conaicertus* 2^a13; *crocainn* gs. Sg. 95^a1, but ns. *crocenn* ib. 111^b4,

Mid. Ir. *crocenn* SR. 2849, *croicend* Atk., mod. *croiceann*, where the palatal may have been restored from the syncopated pl. *croicne*.

§ 16. *c, cc* = mod. *g* (§§ 131, 132, 133).

A. (a) *-léicci* Wb. 3^d13, *-léce* Ml. 103^d16; *corrici* Wb. 42^b27, Sg. 207^b10, &c.

(b) *bucai* Sg. 3^b13, Mid. Ir. *buca*, Early Mod. Ir. *buga* Mey. (now *buige*, analogical); *etirdécai*, *doécai* Ml. 61^a8, *duduccai* Ml. 27^d23, see § 131 sq.

B. (a) *écen* Wb. 4^a26, Ml. 49^b6 &c., Mid. Ir. id. Wi., Atk mod. *éigean*; *lécind* Ml. 105^b16.

(b) *cucann* Sg. 49^b15, 51^b4, 5, *cucan* 68^a7, 107^b4, as. *cucain* 68^b1 < *coquina*, but later *cucenn* Thes. Pal. ii, mod. *cuigeann* 'churnful,' 'churning,' where the palatal is restored from the syncopated forms, cf. the mod. gs. *cugine*, and *cucnecht* Thes. Pal. ii. 332, 34 translated 'cooking,' properly 'churning'; *acat* 'acetum' Sg. 73^a7; *sacart* 'sacerdos' Wb. 33^b20, 33^c4 &c., *sacarðd* Tur. 5, 19, Sg. 54^a11, np. *sacaird* Ml. 82^a8, Mid. Ir. *sacart* Atk. &c., mod. *sagart* with unexplained *t* < *d*, but the quality of the *c* may be due to the influence of *sacrificium* (*sacarbaicc* Wb. 11^d15), *consecratus*, *consecratio*, cf. *cossecarthae* Ml. 63^a6, 100^b11 &c., *cosaccartha* Bvn. 29; *ocus* Sg. 138^a3, Ml. 88^d13, *acus*, *accus* Wb. 9^c32, 23^d12, Mid. Ir. *focus*, *fagus* Wi., Atk., mod. *fogus* by np. *oicsi* Ml. 78^c2, *tocad* Ml. 35^d22, *togad* 39^a16, Mid. Ir. *tocad* Wi., cf. the archaic form *toceth* Phil. A. ix. 5, and dp. *toicdib* Sg. 138^b6, W. *tynghed*; *conocæba* Ml. 20^b5 < *con-od-gēba*, but here the *c* = *gg* may be palatal, cf. the common spelling *adæ* for *adé*.

§ 17. *dc* = mod. *dhg* (§ 143).

B. (a) *dobidcet* Ml. 39^d11, *andumbidced* 53^d7.

§ 18. *lc* (§ 153).

A. (b) *elcae* Fél.; *talcae* ib.; *balcu* comp. ib.; *ctirfolcái* Ml. 81^c1; Mid. Ir. *calca* < **calcae* (?) gs. of *cailc*, *calc*, Mey., but also *cailce*.

B. (b) *colcaid* 'culcita' Sg. p. 129, Thes. Pal. ii. 290.

§ 19. *rc* (§§ 94, 153).

A. (b) *árcae* Ml. 82^d1, 11, 104^c2, but Mid. Ir. *airce*, *aircce*, *airci* Mey., mod. *áirce*; *sercae* Ml. 53^c10, 92^b1, but Mid. Ir. *serci*

seirce Wi., Atk., mod. *seirce* and *searca*; *tercāi* ds. Ml. 56^a14, 102^a3, *tercāi* as. Fél., Mid. Ir. *tercca*, but *tercci*, Atk.; *cerca* gs. Cóir Anm. 214, now *circé*; *erdarcai* 'conspicui' Ml. 36^a10, comp. *erdarcu* Ml. 47^a18, 122^d7, *airdircu* Sg. 23^b3, *irdurcu* Wb. 9^b17, 31^b4, *irdorcu* Wb. 28^b32, Mid. Ir. *airdercu* Wi., *irdarcu* Mey., but Mid. Ir. ap. *airdirci* Mey.; *adarcae* Ml. 24^b14, 116^e8: cf. *Sliab n-adarca* TBC. p. 900, but *adairce* TBC. 1348, mod. *adairce*: see, however, §§ 92, 94.

B. (a) *oinadaircechu* Ml. 45^a5; *adercéne* Sg. 47^a2: see §§ 92, 94; *foircimem* Ml. 73^a10 (?).

(b) *forcan* Ml. 91^a21, ds. *forcunn* 19^c12, 33^a9, 93^a16 may represent the regular development of *for* + *cenn*, but the palatal is generally restored from the simplex and from syncopated forms; hence *forcenn* Sg. 28^b19, 169^a1, Ml. 22^d11 &c., *foirciunn* Sg. 18^b1, 203^b5, *foirciun* 213^a13; a further analogical transformation is found in *forchenn* Ml. 118^a6, *foirchinn* 56^a8, mod. *foircheann*, cf. Pedersen, KZ. xxxv. 443.

§ 20. *sc* (§§ 153, 158).

A. (b) *mescāi* as. Ml. 77^a6, 7, 94^c3, 4, Mid. Ir. *mesca* Wi., Atk., but also *meisce* Wi., mod. *meisge*; *mescu*, *mesco* comp. of *mesc*, Wi.; *sescāi* 'effoetas' Ml. 100^b19; *æscae* Sg. 61^a26, Bcr. 33^b18, *æscae* ib. 33^d5, *aesca* 33^b1, *éscā* 3^d, Mid. Ir. *éscā*, *éscōi* Wi., Atk., mod. *éasga*.

B. (a) *descipul* Wi., Atk., mod. *deisgiobal*.

(b) Mid. Ir. *escaid* 'active' Wi., Atk., mod. *éasgaidh*, by *scith* 'weary'; *æscaidi* 'lunares' Bvn. 22, *nephæscaidi* Ml. 30^a5.

§ 21. *xc* (§ 169).

B. (a) *exceptid* Wb. 2^a20, 25^c32, *exceptaid* Sg. 37^a8.

§ 22. *ch* (§§ 120, 121).

A. (a) *fiche* Sg. 70^a9 &c., Mid. Ir. id. Wi., Atk., mod. id. *saichi* Fél.

(b) *dochū* comp. Wb. 4^b14, 24, 5^b31, 43, 10^d7, Mid. Ir. *dochū*, *docha* Wi., Atk., mod. *dócha*; *doche* 'confidence' Fél. = *dochae*, cf. Strachan RC. xx. 297; *cochu* Sg. 67^a16, ds. of *coche*, ib. 67^a14; *crucha* gs. SR. 7753 < *cruchae* (cf. *cruche* Wb. 8^a5, Ml. 65^c9, Cod. Cam. Thes. Pal. ii. 245, 11; 246, 25; 247, 10), but *cruiche* . . . *sruithe* Fél. Ep. 270, *croiche* Atk., mod. id., analogical.

B. (a) *seichem* Wb. 25^c6; *fichef* gs. Ml. 2^d2 &c., Mid. Ir. id. Wi., Atk., mod. *fichead*; *dichell* Fél., Mid. Ir. id. Wi., *dichell*

Atk. ; *Michél Fél.*, *Michel* Atk., now *Mícheál* ; *foscoichet* Ml. 36^a8, 111^a4 ; *dunthlaichiur* Ml. 44^c20, *dotluichethar* 36^a28 ; *cluichigedar* 122^a10, *cluichech* Sg. 59^a16.

(b) *dorochair* Sg. 29^d8, Tur. 19, Fél., Mid. Ir. id. Wi., by *do-cér* Tur. 131 ; *fochonn* Wb. 3^c23, *fochunn* ib. 11^c1, 23^c6, Ml. 138^a8, gs. *fochuinn* Ml. 35^b24, Mid. Ir. *fochund* Atk., mod. *fochain* <*fo-cenn*, cf. Pedersen Asp. p. 108 ; *achad* LA. 19^a1, Mid. Ir. id. Mey., common in place-names ; the oldest spelling is *ached*. *Ached bou* Adam. 63^a, *Ached Fobuir* LA. 13^b1 ; *drochat*, Sg. 46^b4 *aurdrochait* SR. 465 ; later *drocheth* Wi. mod. *droichead* may come from a syncopated form ; *lóchet* *lóchet* Fél. (where, however, the metre is not decisive), the palatal may be restored from forms like *luichtidiu* Ml. 40^d4 ; *lócharn* Fél., *luacharnn* Sg. 47^a10, as. *lochainn* ib. 24^a16, Mid. Ir. *locharn* *lócharnn* &c., Wi., Atk., mod. *lóchrann* <*lucerna*, but influenced by *lóchet*, and later by *crann* ; *intuachall* Ml. 103^d24, by *tuaichli* Wb. 8^d13 ; *atluchur* Wb. 3^b19 ; *duntluchur* Ml. 74^d3.

§ 23. *d* = mod. *dh* (§§ 122, 123).

A. (a) *guide* Wb. 7^a13 &c., Mid. Ir. id. Wi., Atk., mod. *guidhe* ; *claidi* Sg. 35^a8, Mid. Ir. *claide* Wi., Mey., mod. *claidhe*.

B. (a) *claideb* Wb. 6^a13, Mid. Ir. *claideb*, *cloidem* &c., Wi., Atk., Mey., mod. *claidheamh* ; *móidem* Wb. 17^c11 &c., mod. *maoidheamh* ; *buiden*, *buden* Fél., Wi., Atk., Mey., mod. *buidhean*.

(b) *adaill* gs. Ml. 102^a15, Mid. Ir. *adall* Mey., <*ad-ell-* ; so *tadal* Ml. 25^a2, Mid. Ir. *tadail* Wi., Atk., <*to-ad-ell-* ; *rādas* Ml. 42^c4, 10, *imrádat* Wb. 1^d7 by *rurádi* Wb. 7^d9 &c. ; Mid. Ir. *rodarc*, mod. *radharc*, <*ro-derc*.

§ 24. *nd* (§ 117).

A. (a) *clainde* Wb. 5^a19, Mid. Ir. id. and *clainni* Atk., mod. *clainne cloinne* ; *luindiu* Ml. 23^d22, 32^d1, 130^a13, mod. *luinne*.

B. (a) *bindius* Sg. 5^a1, mod. *binneas* ; *coindeulc* Sg. 3^b1, *coindeulgg* 25^b2 ; Mid. Ir. *caindel* *coindel* Wi., Atk., Mey., now *coinneal* <*candela*.

§ 25. *rd* (§ 153).

A. (b) *cerdae* Ml. 18^a12, Mid. Ir. *cerddha* *cerda* Wi., Atk., Mey., mod. *ceárda* (but also *céirde*, analogical) ; *arddai* Ml. 129^c20, *ardai* 48^c18, *ardae* gsf. Fél., Mid. Ir. *arda* by *airde* Mey. ; comp. *ardu* Ml. 23^d23, 47^c20, 138^d7, *arddu* Sg. 161^b9, *arta* Inc. Sg. I.

B. (b) *ordan* Fél. Hy. i. 50, *rudanordan* Wb. 33^e5, *ruhortan* Ml. 107^b2 by *oírdnimm* Sg. 22^a < *ordinare*.

§ 26. *f, ff, ph* (§ 124).

A. (a) *Liphe* Sp. v. 4, gs. *Liffi* Fél., mod. *Life*.

B. (a) *iffern* 'infernum' Hy. vi. 20, Fél., gs. *iffiern* Sg. 39^a24, &c., ds. *iffiurn* Ml. 23^a5 (written *ifurnn* 130^b6) Mid. Ir. *iffern* Atk., mod. *ifreann*; *ephis* ds. 'Ephesus' Wb. 27^d19.

(b) *tofun* (MS. *dia thosun*) Ml. 55^e1, Mid. Ir. *toffund*, *tafand* Wi., Atk., < *to-svenn*, cf. *grafand* Fél., Wi., pl. *graifne*.

§ 27. *g* = mod. *gh* (§§ 125, 126, 127).

A. (a) *maige* gs. Tir. 13, Fél., Mid. Ir. *maige*, *muige*, mod. *muighe*; *áge*, *áige* Fél., but Mid. Ir. *aga*, *ágai*, Mey.; *bríge* Fél., Mid. Ir. *brígi* Mey., mod. *bríghē*; *tige* Fél., Mid. Ir. *tige*, *tigi* &c., Wi., Atk., mod. *tighe*.

(b) *ógae* Ml. 144^e7, *ógai* ib. 94^b3, Aor. 7^d3, Sg. 59^b10, *uagai* Fél., *trógae* Ml. 62^d9, 96^b7, 44^e29, *trógai* 38^d13, 87^b1, *tróige* *trúaige* Fél. Index, *uaigi óige* ib., but in neither case is the palatal quality of the *g* established by the metre: cf. Strachan, RC. xx. 191, 295; Mid. Ir. *lōga* SR. 6199, *trōga* 7390, but later palatal *óige* and *tróigi* Atk.; *tugae* Fél. < **togiā*, Mid. Ir. *tuga*, Wi., but *tuige* TBC., mod. *tuighe*; *lugae* Ml. 36^a20, 23, 118^e5, 126^e5, *firlugae* 36^a20, *firlugu* 115^a18, Sg. 217^b1, *comlugu* Ml. 44^d30, but *luige* Wb. 14^e39, *firluige* 34^a1, *comlugu* Ml. 44^b5, Mid. Ir. *luga* and *luige* Wi., Atk., *comluga* SR. 3040; *lugu* comp. Wb. 16^e26, Ml. 23^a13, 42^b18, 119^d8, 123^e12, 135^a13, Mid. Ir. *luga* Atk., mod. *lughā*, but *laigiu* Ml. 17^e7, 24^d23, 26^b6, 35^e22, Sg. 42^a9, 120^b2, 179^b1; *logud* Ml. 118^d11, by gs. *loichtho* 62^a19.

B. (a) *saigit* ds. Ml. 133^a4, ns. *saiget* Hy. i. 20, Mid. Ir. id. Wi., *saigit* Atk., mod. *saighead* < *sagitta*; *lēgend* Ml. 84^d4, Fél., mod. *lēigheann* < *legendum*; *srogell* 'flagellum' Sg. 48^b3, Mid. Ir. *sroigell*, *sraigell* Wi., Atk., but here the palatal would be preserved by dp. *sroiglib* and by *sroiglim*.

(b) *fugall* Wb. 9^e4, ds. *fugull* ib. 9^e16 < *fo-gell*, but *fugell* Wb. 9^e5 (a prima manu), Mid. Ir. *fuigeall*, Atk., with the palatal preserved or restored from the simplex.

§ 28. *lg* (§§ 95, 153).

A. (b) Mid. Ir. *selga*, Wi. < **selgae*, mod. *sealga* by *seilge*;

Elgga gs. TBC. 3109, but *Eilgi* LL. 377^b16; *delg* makes ap. *delgae* LU. 93, 25, but *deilge*, *delgi*, *delggi* TBC.

B. (b) *Colgan* Ann. Ul. 737, by earlier *Colggen*, 616, 621, 677, &c.

§ 29. *ng* (§§ 97, 144, 174).

A. (a) *inge* Sg. 25^a1, 75^b5; *ingcert* Ml. 61^b15.

(b) *ungae* 'uncia' Sg. 45^b17, gs. and gp. *ungae* Tir. 6, np. *ungai* id., *unga* Bcr. 3^c, Mid. Ir. *unga* Wi., Atk.; Mid. Ir. *lunga* LL. 2^b27, 28, but *luinge* LU. 27^b6 &c., mod. id.; *cunga* SR. 5764.

B. (a) *daingen* Ml. 32^a16, Fél., Mid. Ir. id. Atk., mod. *daingean*; *cingid* *n*- as., *inged* *n*- gp. of *cing* Fél.

(b) *longais* das. Ml. 74^a12, 13, &c., Mid. Ir. id. Wi., Atk., but also analogically *loinges* &c. ib., mod. *luingeas* 'shipping', cf. *loingsech* Ml. 133^a11, *loingsig* 54^b18, 123^a3.

§ 30. *rg* (rc) (§§ 96, 153, 159).

A. (b) *fercae* gs. Ml. 32^a4, *fercæ* 27^b15, Mid. Ir. *ferrga* (?), TBC. 3108, but *ferge*, *ferci*, *fergi* Wi., Atk., mod. *feirge*: *Marggae* Sp. V. 6, *Margae* Fél.; *frisorcái-ssiu* Ml. 44^b31 (but *fritammoirci-se* 44^b26, see § 96); Mid. Ir. *lurga* by dp. *luirgnib* Wi.

B. (b) *orcun* Wb. 4^b33 < **orgenā*, cf. gs. *oircne* Ml. 22^b, Mid. Ir. *orggun*, *orcain* Wi., Atk., mod. *argain*, so the compounds *essarcon*, Wb. 12^a3, *timmarcuin* Ml. 111^c3, *tuarcun* Wb. 1^c19, *comthiarcon* 2^b2, *frithorcun* Ml. 33^a16, *comrorcon* Ml. 25^d12 &c., and the verbal forms *orcus* Wb. 28^a4, *orcad* Ml. 19^a6 *frisorcad* 118^a1, for *fridoirced* Wb. 14^a27 see §§ 92, 96; *forgall*: *ordan* Hy. i. 50, *forcal* Ml. 42^a4, gs. *forcaill*, 46^c24, ds. *forgul*: *ordun* Fél., *forgal* SR. 7051, *forggal* 7025, 7568, gs. *forgaill* 4302; but the palatal may be kept or restored from the simplex *gell*, *forcell* Wb. 25^d20, Ml. 22^d19, 42^c1, 44^c10, 46^c8, Mid. Ir. id. Atk., ds. *forciull* Atk., *forgiull* LB. 261^a8; *argat* Ml. 31^d10, 73^d12, g. *argait*, 36^a24, 85^b7, Tir. 6, *arggait* Sp. v. 7; the archaic form *arget* occurs in *argetbor* LA. 10^a1, and *órarget* Thes. Pal. ii. 47, 362, Mid. Ir. *argat*, *arcat*, g. *argait*, *airgit* Wi., Atk.; in some texts the palatal and non-palatal forms are used promiscuously, thus LL. 253^a1, *airgit*, 7 *argait*, 13 *airgit*. The palatal forms and mod. *airgead* g. *airgid*, seem due to the influence of the adj. *argdide*, *airgdide*, in which palatalization is regular, cf. mod. *áireamh* by O. Ir. *áram* § 66.

§ 31. *l* (§§ 104, 105).

A. (a) *diliu* Wb. 8^a1, 11^b17 &c.; *tuile*, Wb. 30^c11, mod. *toile*; *aile* Wb. 12^c46 &c., mod. *oile*, *eile*.

B (a) *dílem* Wb. 1^b22, mod. *dáileamh*; *dálem* Sg. 63^a2, mod. *dáileamh*; *mulenn* Sg. 45^b15 mod., *muileann*.

(b) *solus* Ml. 40^c15, Fél., Mid. Ir. id. and *sollus* Wi., Atk., mod. *solus*, *solas*, 'light,' by pl. *soilsi* Bvn. 1^a2.

§ 32. *l* before which a consonant has been lost (§ 149).

A. (b) *gabálæ* gs. Ml. 83^a3, Mid. Ir. *gabála* Atk., mod. *gabhlála*, from *gabál* < **gabaglā*, W. *caffael*; so in compounds *ranngabála* Sg. 88^b3, 193^b2, *digbála* ib. 63^b5, *turcbálae* Ml. 85^c13, *inducbálae* ib. 108^c9, Mid. Ir. *facbála* Wi., *fagbála* TBC., *congbála*, *dígbála*, *ergabála*, *fresgbála* Atk.; *cenélae* Ml. 2^b14, 15, 17, Sg. 8^a13, 24^b2, *cenéla* Sg. 22^b10, ds. *cenéolu* Wb. 3^b24 (*ceneliu* Ml. 51^c2 looks like a scribal error for *cenélú*), cf. *cenél* = O. W. *cenel*; *soscélæ* (= *soscélai*) Ml. 42^b7, *soscélai* ib., *soscélu* Wb. 13^a36, 18^c8, &c., cf. *scél* = W. *chwedl*; so *dusceulai* Ml. 68^a12, 102^a22, *dosceulai* comp. 11; Mid. Ir. *anála*, gs. of *anál* Mey., cf. O. W. *anatl*; Mid. Ir. *dála*, gs. of *dál* Wi., Atk., cf. O.W. *datl*; *giulait* Ml. 65^b7, cf. *-gleu* 86^b8.

§ 33. *bl* = mod. *bhl* (§ 145).

A. (b) *oblæ* gs. St. Miss. 64^b.

B. (a) *cobligib* Wb. 6^a31, Mid. Ir. *coibligi*, *coiblige* Wi., Mey., < *com-lige*.

§ 34. *cl* = mod. *gl* (§ 153).

B. (b) *eclais* 'ecclesia' Tur. 60, Ml. 65^d14, 18, Mid. Ir. id. Atk., mod. *eaglais*, cf. W. *eglwys*; *eclaim* Ml. 114^b15, by *as-n-gleinn* 105^d9, so *doeclannat* Bcr. 34^b3, *duneclannar* Ml. 120^d2, *fordiulclaim* Ml. 19^d5, 75^b4, *fordiulannar* Ml. 104^b5.

§ 35. *chl* (§ 146).

A. (b) Mid. Ir. *fochle*, Wi. by *clé*, cf. W. *gogledd*.

B. (a) *dichlid* Ml. 59^b9, Mid. Ir. *dichleth*.

§ 36. *ndl* (§ 146).

B. (a) *indligid* Wb. 3^c7, Mid. Ir. id. Atk.

§ 37. *nfl* (§ 169).

B. (a) *conflechtaigthe* Ml. 16^b11, cf. mod. *coinbhliocht* < *conflictus*.

§ 38. *gl.* = mod. *ghl* (§ 153).

B (b) *foglainm* Ml. 14^e11, Mid. Ir. *fóglaim fógluim* Atk., mod. *foghlaím*, by *fogliunn* Pcr. 56^b4, so mod. *dioghlúim* by *doglennar* Ml. 133^b7; but the technical *toglenemon*, *toglenamon* Sg. 78^b1, 95^b7, 104^b2 follows the simplex *glenomon*, cf. Strachan RC. xx. 445.

§ 39. *ll* (§ 115).

A (a) *caille* < *pallium* Tir 2 &c.; *inilliu* Ml. 110^d11.

B (a) *foruillecta* Wb. 7^d9 < *fo-ro-slechta*.

§ 40. *ml* = mod. *mhl* (§ 117).

B. (a) *cuimlengaigthi* Ml. 16^a11, cf. Mid. Ir. *cuimleng* Wi., Atk.; *cuimlin* Ml. 47^e3.

§ 41. *mml* (§ 117).

B. (a) *comm lith* Ml. 118^b3.

§ 42. *ngl* (§ 153).

B. (b) Mid. Ir. *englaim* RC. xx 9, cf. the archaic *englemen* Phil. 12^b, 21^b.

§ 43. *rl* (§§ 153, 160).

B. (b) *forláim* LU. 85^b30 = **forlaimm* < *for-léim*.

§ 44. *sl* (§ 153).

B. (b) *aslach* Ml. 95^b6, 141^d1, gs. *aslaig* 28^b7, Mid. Ir. *aslach* Atk., Mey., by *adslig* Wb. 14^d27.

§ 45. *m* = mod. *mh* (§ 128).

A. (a) *nime* Wb. 18^e11, Ml. 40^d7 &c., Fél., Wi., Atk.; *sēmiu* comp. Ml. 19^d8, Sg. 14^b6, mod. *séimhe*; *fodaimi* Ml. 55^d11, 14.

(b) *lámae* Sg. 68^b13, Mid. Ir. *láma* SR. 2851, Wi. by *láime* Wi., Atk., mod. *lámha* and *láimhe*; so *airlam*, *irlam* makes comp. *irlamu* Wb. 11^a7, 12^d29, 22^e10, and abstract *erlameae* Ml. 36^e20, 110^b3; *cnámai* Ml. 22^d6, 41^d9, Mid. Ir. *cnáma*, *cnámu* Wi., Atk., mod. *cnámha*; *rómæ* Sg. 174^a1, *Rómae Ríamae* Fél., Mid. Ir. *Róma* Wi., Atk. mod. *Rómha*; *humae* Wb. 12^b27, Mid. Ir. id. Wi., *uma* Atk., mod. *umha*, cf. W. *efydd*; *crumai* Ml. 44^e1, Mid. Ir. *cruma* Atk., mod. *crumha*.

B. (a) *dímess* Wb. 6^e19, mod. *dímhcas*; *nemed* Sg. 13^b1 = Gaulish *nemeton*; *temel* Wb. 12^e12, 21^a8, Ml. 16^e5, Mid. Ir. id. Atk., mod. *teimheal*; *laimetar* Ml. 60^d6, *rolaimethar* Wb. 5^a15, 9^e3.

(b) *umal* 'humilis' Wb. 5^d27, Mid. Ir. id. Wi., Atk., mod.

umhal, cf. with loss of the palatal vowel *huimli* Ml. 54^a1, the later *umla*, *umhla* is analogical; *tomus* Wb. 17^b11, Ml. 26^b6 &c.; Mid. Ir. id. Atk. mod. *tomhas*, by gs. *toimseo* Ml. 20^a21, 35^c23, *camull* 'camelo' Tur. 60, Mid. Ir. *cámall* Atk., *camall* Mey.; *cuman* Wb. 8^a3, 26^a9, Ml. 124^b5, Mid. Ir. id. Wi., but mod. *cuimhin* from the syncopated forms *cuimni* Ml. 32^d11, *cuimnech* 46^b29.

§ 46. *dm* = mod. *dhm* (§§ 153, 161).

A. (b) *madmae* gs. Ml. 84^c6, Mid. Ir. *madma*, Atk. TBC., Mid. Ir. *commadma* Mey.; *urnadma* ib.; mod. *snadhma* gs. of *snaidhm*; Mid. Ir. *fedma* TBC., mod. *feadhma*; *tedmae* Fél., Mid. Ir. *tedma* Wi.

B. (a) *sleidmenaib* Tur. 91.

(b) *ernadman* Ml. 2^d2.

§ 47. *lm* (§§ 98, 153).

A. (b) *delmae* gs. Fél., Mid. Ir. *delmæ* Wi., *delma* Fél., p. 206; Mid. Ir. *calma* Wi., Atk., mod. id. < **kalmios*, cf. W. *celfydd*, comp. *calmu* Wi.; *Fedelmae* gs. LU. 57^a31.

B. (b) *delmainm*, *delmainm* Fél.

§ 48. *mm, m* = mod. *m* (§§ 99, 134–137).

A. (a) *lēmme* Wi., mod. *lēime*; *beimmi* Wb. 21^b7; *timmi* Hy. ii. 32, mod. *time*; *caimmi* Ml. 99^d1, mod. *caime*; *muimme* Wb. 24^d11, Ml. 112^b22, mod. *buime*.

(b) *gremmae* Ml. 110^d3, mod. *greama*; *cummae* Ml. 31^a23, Sg. 63^b15, 10^a11, *cummmae* 10^a4, *cumma* 34^a5, Mid. Ir. *cumma* Wi., Atk., mod. *cuma*; *sommae* Ml. 27^d10, 36^a32, Sg. 70^a10, 124^a2, &c., *sommai* Ml. 27^d7, 28^d7, < *su-op-mio-* Strachan BB. xx. 8, so *dommae* Ml. 36^a32; *trummae* Ml. 84^a2, *trummai* 23^a19, Sg. 9^b18, *trumai* Ml. 20^a19, Mid. Ir. *trumma*, *truma* Wi., Atk.; Mid. Ir. comp. *trummu* Wi., *trumma* Atk., from *tromm* < **trudsmo-* Strachan BB. xx. 18, the mod. *truime* is a fresh analogical formation; so *cutrummae* Ml. 65^d5, Mid. Ir. *cutrumma* Wi., *cutruma* Atk.; *Tómmæ*, *Tómmae* Ann. Ul. 739, 748, 750 &c., now *Tuama*, gs. of *Tuaim*; *drummai* Ml. 26^c8; for *foglaimme* Ml. 42^c2 see § 92, 99.

B. (a) *cēimmen* Ml. 22^a27, *cēmmen* 133^b4, Mid. Ir. *céimenda* Atk., *céimenna* Mey., mod. *céimeanna*; *bēimmen*, *bémen* Wb. 17^d2, *bēmmen* Ml. 39^c17.

(b) *cummasc* Sg. 2^a8, Ml. 34^b4, by *con-mescatar* Sg. 61^a14,

mod. *cumasc*; so *comus* Cod. Cam. 37^e, Mid. Ir. *commus*, *cumus* Wi., Mod. *cumas* < *com-mess-*; *ammus* Wb. 2^e27, Ml. 91^e6, Fél., Mid. Ir. id. Wi., mod. *amus* < *ad-messu-*, but *coimmestar* Ml. 127^a19, where the following syllable is in weakest position.

§ 49. *nm* (§ 153).

A. (b) *menmae* Ml. 21^e3, 31^a24, *menma* 53^e18, Sp. ii. 1, Mid. Ir. *menma* Wi., Atk., mod. *meanma*; *anmae* gs. Ml. 30^a10, 12, 49^d4, &c. *anmæ* 22^d9, Sg. 200^b10, *anmmae* Sg. 4^b7, 208^a6, *anmma* 26^b11, 30^a2 &c., Mid. Ir. *anma*, *anmma* Atk., cf. Mid. Ir. *tenma* Wi., and mod. *seanma* gs. of *seinm* (*senim* Wb. 13^d18).

B. (b) *senmuin* Wb. 13^e14, *senman* 12^e46.

§ 50. *rm* (§ 153).

A. (b) *garma* gs. Hy. ii. 16, mod. id. < **garmae*; Mid. Ir. *corma*, gs. of *coirm*, *cuirm* Wi., Mey., but also analogically *coirme* Wi.

B. (b) *format* Ml. 43^a14, 49^a18^a &c., Mid. Ir. id. Wi., Atk., mod. *formad* < **formet*, cf. *foirmtech* Sp. ii. 2.

§ 51. *n* (§§ 104, 106).

A. (a) *duine* passim O., Mid., and Mod. Ir.; *siniu* Wb. 4^e14, 28^b16, mod. *sine*; *déniu* Ml. 112^b12, mod. *déine*; *ániu* Wb. 5^a10.

B. (a) *enech* Ml. 65^b1; *suaneman* ib. 37^d5; *domoiniur* Wb. 14^a10.

(b) *dofonug* Sg. 22^b5.

§ 52, *n* before which a consonant has been lost (§ 150).

A. (a) *läréne* Sg. 49^b4 < *lärēcnīā* Strachan BB. xx. 14, *léne* < *lacn-* ib. 3; *tene* Sg. 96^b1, mod. *teine* < **tepnet*-?

(b) Mid. Ir. *tóna* Wi., gs. of *tón* = W. *tín* < *teucnā*, *tucnā* Strachan BB. xx., *tuknā* Sprach. 134, mod. *móna* < *mónae* gs. of *móin*, an i-stem “*mákni- mòkni* (oder ähnlich)” Sprach. 197; mod. *sróna* (Wi. and Atk.) gs. of *srón* = W. *ffroen* < *sprognā* or *sprugnā*, Strachan BB. xx. 13, *srokñā* Sprach. 318; *anae* Ml. 56^b54 p. *anai* 95^a13, Mid. Ir. *ana* Mey. < **apnio-*, Stokes KZ. xxxvi. 274.

B. (b) *dénom*, *dénom*, Wb. 12^a9, Ml. 2^d11 &c., Mid. Ir. *dénom*, *dénam* Wi., Atk., mod. *déanamh* < **de-gnīm*; *énairt* Sg. 221^b2 < **eks-nertis*, comp. *énartu* Ml. 49^a17, *énartae*, 61^a30 *énartai* 43^d10, but *enirte*, *enerti* Atk., with palatal restored from *nert*.

§ 53. *cn* = mod. *gn* (§ 153).

(b) *ecnae* Ml. 89^e5, 128^d9 = *eggnē* from *eg* < *eks* and *gnē*, Mid. Ir. *ecna* Wi., Atk., mod. *eagna*; *conacna* Hy. v. 100 < *con-ad-gnē*.

§ 54. *rcn, rgn* = mod. *rgn* (§ 153).

A. (b) *etarcnae* Ml. 42^b27, ^e2, 107^b8, *etargnae* Sg. 188^a12, ds. *etargnu* Wb. 15^a1, gs. *etarcnai* Ml. 14^e9, *etargnai* Sg. 28^b3, *etargna* ib. 197^b10, Acr. 6^a2, Mid. Ir. id. Atk.

§ 55. *gn* = mod. *ghn* (§ 153).

A. (b) *-fogna* Wb. 12^a12 = *fō-gnē*.

§ 56. B. (b) *fognam* Wb. 12^b2, 3 &c., Mid. Ir. id. Atk., mod. *foghnamh* < *fo-gnīm*.

§ 57. *ngn* (§ 153).

A. (b) *ingnae* Ml. 26^b8, gs. *ingnai* 89^b8; *engnu* Ml. 14^e19, ^d7, Mid. Ir. id. Atk.

B. (b) *enggnatar* Sg. 209^b13; *imchongnam* Wb. 5^d5, cf. Mid. Ir. *cungnam* Atk., mod. *congnamh* < *com-gnīm*.

§ 58. *mn* = mod. *mhn* (§ 153).

A. (b) *domnai* ds. Ml. 85^e14, comp. *domnu* Sg. Inc., cf. Gaul. *dubno-*, W. *dwn*, so the compound *fudomnai* Ml. 81^a4 comp. *fudumnu* Ml. 140^b3, Mid. Ir. *fudomna* Atk., the later *doimne* 'depth' Atk., mod. *doimhne* is analogical. *essamnu* comp. Wb. 23^b12, Ml. 29^a11, 12, cf. Gaul. *exobnus*; *esamnæ* 'fiducia' Ml. 110^d12.

B. (b) Mid. Ir. *comnart* Wi., Atk., but *comnesam* Ml. 36^a1 &c., from *nessam* 55^e1, cf. W. *cyfnesaf*.

§ 59. *nn* (§ 115).

A. (a) *rainne* Sg. 18^b1, 26^b9 &c., mod. *roinne*; *asroinnea* Ml. 31^a2 < *ess-ro-snī-* Sarauw § 86.

§ 60. *rn* (§§ 153, 163).

A. (b) *tigerne* Tir. 6, Mid. Ir. *tigerna* Wi., Atk., mod. *tighearna* < **tigernios*.

B. (b) *in chornaldai* 'Cornilii' Sg. 30^b10.

§ 61. *sn* (§§ 153, 164).

A. (b) *adcosna* Ml. 51^b6 < *ad-com-snī* Sarauw § 86.

B. (b) *cosnam* Wb. 11^e21, Mid. Ir. id. Wi., Atk., mod. *cosnamh* < *com-snīm*, Sarauw § 86.

§ 62. *p* = mod. *b* (§ 138).

A. (b) Mid. Ir. *abba*, *apa* Atk., Mey. <*ad-bio-?

B. (a) *epiur* Wb. 4^b26 by *epur* 24^a38, Sg. 73^b6 &c., *epeir* Wb. 17^d11, cf. *m̄taipir* Ml. 56^d16, *dianaiperr* 14^d13, *aipert* 50^b8; *epeltu* Wb. 13^b20; *epistil* 'epistola' Wb. 14^d1, Mid. Ir. id. Atk., mod. *eipistil* in which *p* seems to have been restored.

(b) *opair* ds. Ml. 121^d16, Mid. Ir. *obair*, Atk. mod. *obair* <*opera*; *puwall* Sg. 50^a17 Mid. Ir. id. Wi. = W. *pebyll* <*papilio*; *alopuir* Tir. 10 <*ad-od-ber-*, *adoparar* Wb. 20^d13 <*ad-od-berar*; Mid. Ir. *fóbair*, *fuabair* Wi. <*fo-od-ber-*; *atrópert* Tir. 1 by *adopart* preserves the unaccented ē of *ad-d-ro-od-bert*.

§ 63. *lp*, *lb* (§ 153).

A. (b) *alpai* *n*- as. 'the Alps' Sg. 217^b8, 9; *Elpai* Hy. ii. 9; Mid. Ir. *Alba*, g. *Alpan*, *Alban* Wi., Mey., mod. id. = Albion.

§ 64. *sp*, *sb* (§§ 153, 165).

A. (b) *esbae* Ml. 132^b3, *espae* Fél.

B. (a) *esbicuil* Wb. 32^d4, gs. of *esbicul* <*scyphulus*.

(b) *aesbataid* Ml. 130^c23; Mid. Ir. *espartu* Atk. 'vespertina.'

§ 65. *r* (§§ 104, 107-112).

A. (a) *goiriu* Sg. 40^b10; *lériu* ib. 41^a2; *uaire* Wb. 2^a18, 19, Sg. 18^a6.

B. (a) *tuirem* Wb. 24^c7, Fél., Mid. Ir. id. Wi., mod. *tuireamh* <*to-rīmā*; *dered* Wb. 10^b3, mod. *deireadh* (*de-reth* Sarauw § 84).

(b) *torad* Wb. 22^b3, *torud* Ml. 46^c8 by pl. *toirthi* 46^c14, *dorus* Fél. &c., mod. id., by *doirsea* Ml. 46^a19.

§ 66. *r*, before which a consonant has been lost (§§ 150-152).

A. (b) *uarae* gsf. Fél. Apr. 17, May 25 (rhymes with *buadae*, *uagae*, see RC. xx. 296, 297), cf. W. *oer*, Gaul. *ogro-*, but Mid. Ir. comp. *fuairiu* Wi., mod. *fuaire*, analogical; *arachiurat* Ml. 59^b9 <*-cicriat.

B. (b) *áram* Sg. 26^b17, 71^a2 &c. <*ad-rīmā, but Mid. Ir. *direm* Atk., mod. *áireamh* analogical after gs. *áirme*; so das. *áraim* Ml. 88^c12, Sg. 71^b8, 203^b11, Bvn. 31, but *áirim* Ml. 48^c19; Mid. Ir. *árach* Mey. <*ad-reg-*, cf. ap. *airge* dp. *airgib*, whence a new ns. *áirech*, Mey.; so Mid. Ir. *búarach* Mey.; -*diurat* Ml. 72^b17 <*de-od-reth-*; *tórand* Sg. 3^b18 &c. <*to-od-rind* (?); *éraic* Ml. 59^a15 by *as-renaim*, under the influence of *icc*, Thurneysen CZ. ii. 82, Mid. Ir. *éraic* Wi., but also *éric*.

§ 67. *br* = mod. *bhr* (§ 153).

A. (b) *lobrae* Ml. 45^e9, 61^a4, Mid. Ir. *lobra* Wi., Atk., mod. *lobhra*, *lubhra*; *lobru* comp. of *lobur* Wb. 12^b1, *lobro* 17^b29, cf. W. *llwfr*; *ebrae* Ml. 2^d11, 54^a32, Mid. Ir. *ebra* LL 2^b17, *Ebra*, *Ebrai* Atk., mod. *Eabhra* < *Hebrēa* = *Hebraea*.

B. (b) *asrobrad* Wb. 3^e31, 5^a4, Ml. 16^a14 &c. < *ess-rò-breth*, cf. mod. *adubhradh*.

§ 68. *chr* (§ 153).

A. (b) Mid. Ir. *to-chra* Wi.

B. (b) *fochrach* Sg. 35^a2; *corròchraitea* (?) Wb. 12^e33 (but the normal form is *nirochrèitset* Ml. 90^e22, *nadrochrètset* 131^d11).

§ 69. *fr* (§ 169).

B. (b) *afraicc* Sg. 33^a20, Fél., Mid. Ir. id. Atk., *Affraic* Wi. < *Africa*; so *afracdæ* Sg. 19^a5.

§ 70. *gr* = mod. *ghr* (§ 153).

B. (b) Mid. Ir. *tograim* < **to-greimm* Atk. 927 s.v. *togairm*, with which, however, it is not connected: cf. *dogrinn*, *dogrind*, and *dogrenar* Wi.

§ 71. *ngr* (§ 153).

B. (b) *congraimm* Wi. < *com-greimm*.

§ 72. *mr* = mod. *mhr*.

B. (a) *cuimrech* Wb. 1^d4, ds. *cuimriug* 23^b7, 30^a22 &c., gp. *cuimrech* Fél., Mid. Ir. *cúibrech* Atk., mod. *cuibhreach* < **com-reg-*; so *cuimrechta* Sg. 39^b13, *cuimrechti* Ml. 137^e12.

§ 73. *pr* = mod. *br* (§ 147).

B. (a) *appriscc* Wb. 9^e10, *aprisci* Ml. 69^b1, Mid. Ir. *aibbrisc*, Mey.; *apréil* Fél. < Lat. *aprēlis*; *atamroipred* Ml. 44^e17, *adropred* Wb. 15^d20, *adroipred* Fél. Ep. 346; *doneprennet* Sg. 209^b19, but *doeprannat* Ml. 39^d2 (cf. *dubrúinn* 81^e14).

§ 74. *rr* (§§ 139).

B. (a) *facerred* Ml. 124^b3.

(b) ds. *tarraing* Wi., Atk., mod. id. < **to-sreng*, cf. *do-srengaim*, *tairngim* Wi., and *Sarauw* § 87. Mid. Ir. *carrac carraic* Wi., Atk., Mey. (ds. *carric* LA. 10^b1), by dp. *caircib* Tur. 115, gs. *cairgge* Mey.

§ 75. *tr, ttr* (§§ 153, 166).

B. (b) *attrab* Ml. 92^a9, Sg. 198^a24, *atrab* Ml. 17^b5 &c. by *attréba* Ml. 51^d28, but Mid. Ir. *attreb* Wi., Atk., like *treb*, mod. *áitreabh*, with further contamination from *dit*; for O. Ir. *aitribhith* Ml. 17^b7 &c. see § 165.

§ 76. *tr* = mod. *dr* (§§ 153, 167).

B. (b) *Pátraic* Fél. &c., mod. *Pádraig* < *Patricius, patracáin* Sg. 45^b10.

§ 77. *thr* (§ 148).

A. (a) *bréthre* gs. Wb. 17^b5, Mid. Ir. *bréthre, bréthri* Wi., mod. *bréithre* < **brétrēs*.

B. (a) *dethrebo* Ml. 66^d1, 5 &c.

(b) *dithrub, díthrub* ds. Tur. 18, 19, *diththrub* Wb. 11^a91, analogical after *attrab* (?), *Cothraige* Hy. ii. 6 < *Patricius*, but cf. *coithrigi* LA. 11^a1; *nathrach* gp. of *nathair* (cf. Lat. *natrix*) Ml. 33^d10, ap. *nathracha* Tur. 11, *nathrach* Fél., Mid. Ir. Atk. id.

§ 78. *s, ss* (§ 116).

A. (a) *gnúissi* ap. Ml. 16^c4, 32^c8, mod. *gnúise*.

B. (a) *dofuisim* Ml. 111^a13 &c. < *to-ud-sem-*; *tuisel* Sg. 51^b13 &c., *tsel* Ml. 40^c17 &c., Mid. Ir. id. Wi., Atk., but *huasal* Bcr. 33^d3 by comp. *húaisliu* 33^d9 &c., mod. *uasal* comp. *uaisle*.

§ 79. *chs, x* (§ 169).

B. (b) *donaib oxalaib* Tur. 35 gl. ad *ascellas*, Mid. Ir. *ochsall, axall, ascall* Wi., Mey., mod. *asgall, osgall*.

§ 80. *rs* (§ 117).

B. (a) *fuirsiri* gs. Sg. 103^a3 from *for + sére*, so *fuirserán* Sg. 45^b15.

§ 81. *t, tt* (§ 140).

B. (b) *atac* 'Atticorum' Sg. 17^a4, *atacu* 147^a8; *inotacht* Wb. 33^b5 < *in-od-techt*; *atuch* ds. Ml. 121^d10, *attach* Hy. i. 4, Fél., Mid. Ir. id. Atk., by *ateich* (*ad-téch-*) Ml. 39^b6, *atteoch* Hy. v. 95 &c.

§ 82. *t* = mod. *d* (§ 141).

A. (a) *traiiu* Ml. 92^b9, cf. *traite* Atk.; *méite* Wb. 29^d8 &c., Mid. Ir. id. Wi., mod. *méide*; *dítiu* Sg. 50^b3, mod. *dídean*.

B. (a) *ētiuth* Wb. 10^d23, 24, *ættiud* 29^a13, mod. *éideadh*; *plaitib* 'plateis' Ml. 73^c12; *laitin* Ml. 2^d11, mod. *laidin*; *cretem* Wb. 15^a6, mod. *creideamh*.

(b) *matain* das. Ml. 44^b1, Bcr. 33^b1, Mid. Ir. *matan* Atk., but *maiten* Wi., mod. *maiden*, cf. *matindae* Ml. 79^c7, < **matīna* by dissimilation from *matutīna*.

§ 83. *th* (§§ 104, 114).

A. (a) *laithe* Ml. 85^b11 &c.; *gnāthiu* Ml. 26^b4, Sg. 179^a5, *snāthiu* Sg. 54^a11; *cuithiu* Ml. 49^a27; *dliúthi* Sg. 46^a10; *loithe* 127^a.

(b) *flaithem* Ml. 90^a9.

§ 84. *cht* (§§ 153, 168).

A. (b) *bochtae* Ml. 36^a18^b, 90^a11, Mid. Ir. *bochta* Atk., Mey.; *cumachtae* Ml. 16^a12, 16^d2 &c., Mid. Ir. *cumachta* Wi. Atk.

§ 85. *lt* (§ 153).

A. (b) *daltae* Fél., Mid. Ir. *dalta* Wi., Atk., mod. id.

B. (b) *saltair* Ml. 11^c1, Mid. Ir. id. Atk., mod. id.

§ 86. *nt* (§ 169).

A. (a) *geinte* Wb. 29^d26; *corintiu* Wb. 10^c20.

B. (a) *geintib* Wb. 2^b17, 5^a1.

§ 87. *pt* (§ 169).

A. (b) *preceptae* gs. Tur. 29, 39, *preceptae* Ml. 68^c9, Mid. Ir. *precepta* Wi., where the word is treated as a masc. u-stem, but it is fem. in the glosses, Wb. 12^d39 *trissin precept béstī*; the u-quality is due to the *p*.

B. (a) *septien* Ml. 2^a6, 15 &c., *septiein* 103^d26.

(b) *Bauptaist*, Fél., Atk., Mey. < Baptista.

§ 88. *rt* (§§ 100, 153).

A. (b) *gortai* Ml. 127^c14, *gortae* Fél., Mid. Ir. *gorta* Wi., Atk., mod. id.; *cuartai* Ml. 39^c12 np. cf. *cuairt*, Mid. Ir. *cuarda* Wi.; *Marta* gs. = *Mártai* Fél. from **Mártæ*, Mid. Ir. *Mártæ* g. *Mártai* Atk., mod. *Mártæ* < *Mártius* (cf. Sarauw, p. 12).

B. (b) *fortacht* Wb. 11^c15, 14^c1 &c., Mid. Ir. id. Atk. < *fortecht*; *martar* ‘martyr’ Fél., *Martorthige* LA. 15^b2; Mid. Ir. *martír* Atk., gp. *noemmairtirech* represents a later borrowing; *artocol* Sg. 198^b7, *artucol* 198^b9, but *airticuil* 212^b14.

§ 89. *st* (§ 169).

(b) *biastae* gs. Fél., Mid. Ir. *biasta* Mey. (but cf. *béssti* Wb. 31^b21).

B. (a) *filistinib* Ml. 56^b6.

§ 90. *bst* (§ 169).

B. (b) *abstanit* Wb. 6^b7, 6^c15, Mid. Ir. *abstan(a)it* Atk., Mey. < *abstinentia*.

§ 91. Before going on to classify the examples, it may be well to consider two disturbing influences—the position of the accent, and the influence of neighbouring consonants.

§ 92. As is well known, the syllable immediately following the accent is the weakest. In words of three or more syllables the vowel regularly disappears. If the loss of vowel leaves a liquid or nasal between consonants, except when a nasal is followed by one of the mediae, a secondary vowel is developed; e.g. *còmlānad > *comlñad > *comalnad*. For the present purpose this is important, in so far as it affects the palatalization of consonant-groups. Thus the group *lb* (= *lbh*) resists palatalization in *selbae*, but not in *doaisilbi*. In **to-àd-selbi* > **do-a^ísslbi* > *doaisilbi*, *l* has to a certain extent become a vowel, and has lost the power of protecting the *b*. We therefore get an important rule that *lb* (= *lbh*), after an unaccented syllable, is liable to palatalization; and so of other groups. But the rule may be crossed by analogy.

§ 93. *lb* (= mod. *lbh*).

asseilbiud Ml. 102^d3, *duaisilbi* Pcr. 12^a3, Ml. 51^b12, *do thaisilbiud* Ml. 14^a4, 14^b4, *duairilbed* Ml. 121^d20, 117^a6, *airilbed* 2^b6.

§ 94. *rc*.

adercéne Ml. 47^b2, *fadirci* 40^d16, *oinadaircechu* 45^a5, *erdaircigedar* 28^b15 (but *erdarcaigfes* 89^b4, *noterdarcugub* 55^a5), cf. § 19.

§ 95. *lc* (= *lg*).

-osailcea Ml. 24^d19, 36^b8, 42^b12, *-osailci*. Sg. 147^a2, *-osailcet* Ml. 42^b11, 98^a4 &c.

§ 96. *rc* (= *rg*).

dibirciud Ml. 58^c6, 99^d1 (but *dibiercud* 26^d6), *fridoirced* Wb. 14^a27, but *frithorcaid* Ml. 114^a9, *tímmargad* 136^c8, on the analogy of the simplex *orcaid*, *orcad*; conversely *fritammòircise* Ml. 44^b26 from the prototonic forms, by the regular *frisorcaissiu* 44^b31.

§ 97. *ng.*

fairsinge Ml. 102^a21, *foirsingi* 122^a9; *Dūnlinge* LA. 10^b1, Tír. 8.

§ 98. *lm.*

Fedelmid LA. 16^b1, g. *Feidilmido* by *Fedeilmtheo* 16^a2, unless the group *lm* is here secondary.

§ 99. *mm.*

foglainimme Ml. 42^c2, *ingrimme* &c., see § 136.

§ 100. *rt.*

tabairte Ml. 96^a7, *idbairte* Wb. 22^b13, *énirti* Wb. 4^a27, *sonirte* 12^b5, *sonirti* 10^c3, *sonairtimem* Ml. 116^a7, but *tabartae* Ml. 73^b8, *énartae* 37^b24, *énartae* 63^a61, *énartu* 49^a17, *sonartae* 22^d3, 34^a25, 51^c28, 61^a32, *sonartu* 49^a16, *sonortu* Wb. 6^c22, *sanartam* Ml. 44^d3.

§ 101. While a palatal vowel affects only the consonant or the group in immediate contact with it (for cases of assimilation like *maicc* > *meic* > *mic* are late and sporadic), u-quality, on the other hand, may spread from one consonant to another, absorbing the intervening vowel. This often causes depalatalization in unaccented syllables. *dorus* < **doressu*, *solus* by pl. *soilsi*, *dofonug* < *-*nigu*, *dibiurcud* by *dibirciud*. It occurs most frequently in verbal nouns from verbs in *-aigim*. They end in *-ugud*; but the palatal quality of the *g* reappears in syncopated forms. Cf. *ilchugud* Ml. 51^c8, by *ilchaigthiu* 76^d13. But when a palatal vowel precedes, *g* remains palatal, *demnigiud* Ml. 50^c19, *faitligiud* 43^c6, *meincigiud* 47^a4, *mencigiud* 88^d5. In Mid. Ir. these fall into line with the verbal nouns in *-ugud*, *demniugud* Atk., mod. *deimhuiughadh*.

§ 102. It may at first seem strange that the u-quality, which does not involve such a radical alteration in the nature of a consonant, should exert its influence over a wider range than i-quality. But the reason, I think, is not far to seek. Palatalization depends upon the tongue taking up a certain position in the mouth. But it cannot be in that position while articulating a preceding non-palatal vowel and consonant. It has to glide quickly into the palatal position immediately before the coming palatal consonant. On the other hand, u-quality depends partly on the position of the lips, partly on that of the tongue. The lips, except in pronouncing labials, are free; and while the tongue is still articulating a palatal

vowel or consonant they may be protruded and rounded to make ready for *u* in a following syllable. But a vowel in an unaccented syllable is naturally weak. Uttered with protruded lips it has already acquired a distinct *u*-colouring. It is then natural that the tongue also should slip back in anticipation. Thus the vowel which was originally palatal has become *u*, and communicates its new quality to the preceding consonant. Cf. the effect in an accented syllable which contains a broad vowel, *crunn* Wb. 8^a5, Sg. 61^b8, 11, <**crannū*.

§ 103. So far the effect of a lost *u* on the preceding syllable. The case of *u* which remains is different. This does not neutralize a preceding *ȝ*, hence *goiriu*, *cuiriur*, *céliu*, *ráidiu* &c. In comparatives like *ardu*, *domnu*, the absence of palatalization has nothing to do with the *u* (cf. *ardai*, *domnai*) ; it is the non-palatal group here that causes the loss of *ȝ*. Cf. however *gliccu* § 130.

I.—CONSONANTS WHICH ARE REGULARLY PALATAL.

§ 104. (a)—Single consonants :—

l, *n*, *r*, and *th* are independent of the preceding vowel. But when a consonant with *u*-quality follows, *l*, *n*, *r* may take that quality. See § 101.

§ 105. It is hard to explain *mala* < *malaē*, gs. *malach*, ds. *malaig* Wi., but ap. *mailgea* Ml. 30^c11, on purely phonetic grounds. There is probably the influence of analogy. And *mala* does not stand alone. Cf. *aba*, *abann*, *aibnib* ; *carae*, *carat*, *cairtib* ; *námae*, *námat*, *náimtib* ; *brágae*, *brágat*, *bráigtib*. In the case of *aba* < *abae* there may be a variation of stem, and the ns. may have borrowed the common ending *-ae*, cf. *sochlae*, *togae* Fél. Mid. Ir. has three forms for the ns., *ab*, *aba*, and *abann*. If these represent three distinct stems, they must still have influenced one another. *námae* and *brágae* seem to be regular ; *carae* would fall in with *námae* ; *mala* may have joined the same system, and so may *fail*, gs. *falach*, dp. *failghibh* Ir. T. IV. 400, except that the ns. is like *cathir*.

§ 106. *lán* = Sk. *pūrnah* seems to have been associated with the diminutives in *-ān*, in which a consonant originally stood before the *-n*. Its abstract *lánē* Wb. 46^d3 rhymes in ds.

lánai with *dánai* Fél. Dec. 10, cf. RC. XX. 299. So the loan-word *fírián*, *fírián* &c. makes comp. *fíriánu* Wb. 2^a7, *fíriánu* Sg. 43^a1.

§ 107. *carae* Fél., *cara* Sg. 12^b7, Mid. and Mod. Ir. id., see § 105.

§ 108. In *spirut* Wb. 4^a6, ^b1, &c. = mod. *spiorad* < *spiritus* *r* has the u-quality of the following *t*. In the gs. the vowel would regularly be lost, and we have *spiro* Wb. 3^d20, 12^a11 &c., but also with analogical u-quality *spiurto* Tur. 86; without syncope *spiro* Wb. 4^a7, 21^e2, &c., *spiro* 9^e30; contraction even ns. *spiurt* Ml. 64^d2, 74^d13. Some of these irregularities may be put down to outside sources; cf. the variations in the Romance languages. In the Mod. Ir. of Munster the common form is *sprid*, which agrees with W. *ysbryd*, Fr. *esprit*.

§ 109. *durai* ds. Ml. 62^a26 is strange beside *dúire* (rhyming with *dúine*) Fél., Mid. Ir. id. Atk.

§ 110. The variation between *amarais* Ml. 97^d13 and *amairis* 97^d10 &c. has persisted down to the present day in the two forms *amhras* (Munster) and *aimhreas* (Connacht). If the second syllable contains the preposition *air*, the variation may be due to the different forms that preposition is liable to take in composition, *air*, *ar*, *er*, *ir*, *aur*. But there is no trace of this variation in *ires*. Perhaps the different qualities of the *r* in *amarais* and *amairis* are due to dialectic variations in the O. Ir. period.

§ 111. The non-palatal *r* of *doraid* Ml. 14^d3, Sp. ii. 6, 8, and *soraid* Wi., < *do-réid*, *so-réid*, may be due to generalization from cases in which the prefixes *so* and *do* were followed by non-palatal consonants. So also the *n* of *sonairt*. *so* and *do* seem to be regularly followed by a non-palatal consonant. But cf. *so-cheniúil* Tir. 11.

§ 112. *do-d-iarmorat* Ml. 21^e3 is usually analysed *to-iarmo-fo-reth-*, Strachan, Selections, p. 92. The quality of the *r* requires some explanation. We might assume influence of *dofuarat* Sg. 12^a3, *-diurat* Ml. 72^b17 (*di-od-reth-*), or even analyse *do-iarmorat* itself as *to-iarmo-od-reth-*. But this would not dispose of the whole difficulty. There still remains the quality of the final *t*, which is not that of the corresponding

th in *-reith*. Strachan has discussed in *ÉRIU* I. 10, 11 the deaspiration of *-th* and *d* in such verbs; and from his list it is clear that the deaspirated *t* was regularly non-palatal in the 3 sg. (*do-tuit* is perhaps due to the influence of the pl. **do-tuitet*). The normal type is sg. 1 **do-adbut*, 2 *do-adbit*, 3 *do-adbat*. Here the 3 sg. depends, no doubt, on the peculiar form *ad-fēt*. Possibly such verbs were associated in the speaker's mind with *t*-perfects like sg. 1 *asruburt*, 2 *asrubairt*, 3 *asrubart*. There is the same *t*-ending with the same varying quality in the three persons. The 1 sg. of *do-iarmorat* might indeed regularly be **do-iarmorut* (cf. §§ 101, 104); and it would be natural that the *r* should remain non-palatal in all persons like the *b* of *asruburt*, the commonest verb of this class.

§ 113. *úaithed* Wb. 25^a38 is remarkable. Elsewhere the *th* is non-palatal, *huathad* Wb. 4^d4, *óthad* Sg. 198^a22 &c., cf. the syncopated forms *huaiti* Ml. 90^c12, *úatiu* Fél., by *huathatae* Ml. 45^b20, *huathati* Sg. 71^b12, and *caithir* ds. Wb. 13^b1.

§ 114. The nouns of relationship *athair* Sg. 31^a15, *bráthair* 61^a21, *máthair* Hy. iv. 4 &c., Mid. and Mod. Ir. id., are also to be noted. As *th* does not resist palatalization, it is unlikely that these forms go back to **(p)atēr*, **bratēr*, **mātēr*. They are best taken as due to the influence of i-stems: cf. gp. *athre* Strachan, Mid. Ir. Declension, p. 35. A starting-point for the analogy would be the ds. *athair* Ml. 35^b11 < **(p)atri*, like *arathair* < **aratri*. On the other hand, np. *aithir* Ml. 44^b29, 96^b9 < **(p)ateres*.

(b) Double consonants: *ll*, *nn*, *ss*.

§ 115. *calland*, ds. *callaind* Fél., Mid. Ir. id. Mey., may come like W. *calan* from Late Latin *Kalandae*: cf. *talland* Wb. 12^a12, Late Latin *talantum* = *talentum*. But gs. *calne* Fél., Mid. Ir. *cailne* Mey., mod. *Coille* point to *Kalendae*.

§ 116. *dorōsat* Sg. 31^b2, Pcr. 12^a2 < *to-ro-od-semt* probably owes its non-palatal *s* to the syncopated forms *do-forsat* Ml. 17^b6, *du-da-forsat* 94^b7, *aratorsata* 42^b13 &c.

(c) Consonant groups: *nd*, *mr* = mod. *mhr*, *ml* = mod. *mhl*, *mml* (?), *rs*.

§ 117. In *comrud* Wb. 5^a38 < *com-riuth* (?) *r* may have been depalatalized by the u-quality of the final consonant (cf. § 101).

II.—CONSONANTS WHICH ARE PALATAL AFTER SOME VOWELS.

§ 118. In this division it is not easy to distinguish between single and double consonants, or, as they are better named, short and long consonants. For instance, we do not know how long the *p* in *opair* = *b*, and the *p* in *adopair* = *bb* (< *db*) were kept distinct in pronunciation. Again the *c* of mod. *peacadh* < *peccad* < *peccatum* is voiceless, while the *g* of mod. *sagart* < *sacard* < *sacerdos* is voiced; but how long the difference was quantitative as well is not clear, for the O. Ir. orthography was strangely inconsistent in this respect. For details and statistics see Pedersen, *Aspirationen* 84 sq. For the present purpose, the simplest way is to take only the spirants as single consonants.

(a) *b, ch, d, f, g, m.*

§ 119. *b.* A palatal vowel does not affect *b* after *o* or *u*. After *a* the case is not so simple. The three forms of the word for 'river,' *ab*, **abae* (Mid. Ir. *aba*), and *abann*, must have influenced one another, cf. § 105. In the ind. pres. and imperf. and in the imperat. of *gaibim*, the *b* is palatalized by *i*. These forms later give place to ones with broad *b* as in the subj. Mid. Ir. *geib*- is probably modelled on *beir*-, on the analogy of the future *gēb*- and *bēr*-. So the compound *fo-gaib* becomes *fo-geib* and *do-geib* after *do-beir*. *suibi* Ml. 47^a2 is very strange beside *dubai* 110^a9; possibly it is a scribal error for *subi* = *sub^ai*.

§ 120. *ch* is regularly palatal after *e*, *i*; after *a*, *o*, *u* there is a tendency towards depalatalization; but this is often crossed by analogy. Sometimes there is a kind of shifting vowel which appears as *a*, *o*, or *u*. In the verbal system there is great irregularity. Thus *foscoichet* Ml. 36^a8, but *scuchaid* Wi. The vocalism of *-thlaichiur* Ml. 44^a20 is probably due to the unaccented forms. In the vn. *attlugud* Wb. 27^a7, ^a2 &c., the change of *ch* to *g* after an unaccented vowel, and the transmission of *u*-quality from the final consonant, are regular, but cf. gp. *attlaichthe* Ml. 49^a9, dp. *attlaigthib* ap. *attluichthiu* 57^a5. In the case of *attluchur* there was not merely the usual interchange of deuterotonic and prototonic forms to introduce a disturbing element, but also the fact that in the prototonic forms it was liable to be associated with the denominatives in *-igim*, *-aigim*, with which indeed it finally fell together.

§ 121. *trichae* Strachan, Paradigms 13, FéL., has simply taken the ending of *fiche* in the ns.; but it comes from a different base Brug. ii. 176-178. Cf. gs. *sescot* St. Miss. 64^b.

§ 122. *d*. The most difficult problem is the treatment of *ad* in cases like *adall*. In Mod. Ir. we have here a diphthong which implies the stages *ai* < *aj* where *j* is a palatal spirant *g*. There is no difficulty about the confusion of the spirants *d* and *g*. These had fallen together in Mid. Ir. The difficulty lies in the substitution of the palatal for the velar spirant. Henebry, Sounds of Munster Irish, p. 15, § 6, assumes that the old orthography is misleading. "In some instances *dh* was originally slender, *radharc* from *derc*, *adharc* a horn, *adercéne* gl. *corniculum* Z² 274. After working of the accent law, the vowel of the second syllable was reduced to *ə* and written *a*, the consonant remaining slender." This will hardly do as a working theory. The number of cases it accounts for is very small. As Henebry admits, what is postulated for *adarc* will not apply to *adhmaid*, *adhraadh* (< *adōrō*), *Tadhg* &c. To explain the modern form, we must start from a broad dental spirant, which fell together with a broad velar spirant = mod. *gh*. The modern development is then parallel with the change of West Germanic *dag* > O. Eng. *dæg* > Mid. Eng. *dai*, *day*. In words of more than one syllable, over a large part of Ireland *adh* in the first syllable becomes a diphthong resembling *ai* (the *i* is, of course, a mixed vowel; it cannot reach the palatal position before a non-palatal consonant, as in *Tadhg*). In other syllables, when not final, it loses by a kind of syncope its first element, and there remains *i* in the mixed position (cf. the change of *abh*, *amh* > *au* in first syllable, in other syllables when not final > *ū*). If, however, *d* in this position was formerly followed by *u* or *o*, *adha* produces *ū*, *bunadhas* [*būnūs*], Mid. Ir. *bunadus* Atk., *Ó Murchadha* [*ó muruχū*], O. Ir. gs. *Muirchatho*. From all this it is clear that the modern forms have travelled too far to give us any real evidence of the quality of the dental from which they started. We must fall back on the evidence of the written forms, and that proves that in the O. Ir. period the spirant *d* resisted or abandoned the influence of a following palatal vowel. Whether *adaig* Ml. 21^e3, 140^e3, Mid. Ir. id. Wi., Atk., Mey., by gs. *aidche*, *aitche* Ml. 21^e3 &c., belongs here is uncertain. It could be easily explained from a ground-form **adukī*.

§ 123. Examples of depalatalization after *ā* are common in the 1-verb *rād-* and its compound *immrād-*. But it is not certain that the preceding vowel is in all cases responsible. Thus, in the vn. *imrādud* Wb. 3^d30, 34, Ml. 15^a16 &c., by ap. *imrātiu* Ml. 15^a2, 83^c11, depalatalization might be due to the u-quality of the final *d* (cf. § 101). From this the 1 sg. *rāidiu* Fél. would be free. And syncopated forms like *imrordai* Pcr. 60^a1, *immerordus* Ml. 96^a3, might be expected to influence the whole system. A similar verb is *conubādaitis* Ml. 96^c14, *conerbadad* Wb. 27^a21: cf. the 3 sg. pres. *ardibdai* Ml. 48^c33; the vn. is *bādud* Wb. 17^d4, Mid. Ir. id. Atk., mod. *bādhadh* (also *bāidheadh*), gs. *bāidhte*. In *duacradat* Ml. 74^c1 by *doracrāid* 28^a17, *doaccradi* 18^d13, there are no syncopated forms; and we must conclude that the preceding *ā* has been sufficient to depalatalize the *d*; *ro-n-snāda*, *ro-n-snādat* Fél. *ro-n-snāde* Hy. i. 13 by *ro-n-snāid* Hy. i. 11.

§ 124. *f, ff* can never be original except in borrowed words. As far as the few examples go, they point to depalatalization after non-palatal vowels as the rule.

§ 125. *g*. The case of *g* after *ā* is similar to that of *d*. Mid. Ir. *aighthi* has lost a palatal after the *g*. But where the vowel was not lost, what was the quality of the *g*? The word does not occur in O. Ir.; and Mid. Ir. has indifferently n. *agad* and *aigid* da. *agid*, *agaid*, *aigid* Wi., Atk., Mey. In Mod. Ir. it settles down to the conventional spelling *aghaidh* with the diphthong, which might, however, equally well be represented by *aighidh*. The forms are most easily explained on the assumption that *g*, originally palatal, was depalatalized in *agad*, but always remained palatal in the syncopated *aigthe aigthib*; this introduced an analogical form *aigid*: the *g* then became a palatal spirant in the combination *ag*; and, as *aigid* and *agaid* expressed the same sound, they could be used indiscriminately. Otherwise, if *g* remained palatal all along, we must assume that the spelling *agad* was analogical, and that *ag* was a mere diphthong in the eleventh century. There is, however, the possibility of influence by *adaig*. The words are often written for one another in later manuscripts.

§ 126. The syncopated forms of *adágur*, *-dgur*, always imply the loss of a palatal vowel, *adnāigther* Ml. 27^c1, *adrāigsetar*

124^b6, *-digder* Sp. iii. 5, *-ruāigsetar* Ml. 35^e4; (the fut. *adāichfer* 68^e17 is ambiguous, as many verbs of Class II and some of Class I form their fut. like those of Class III). The verb is therefore conjugated like *-foilsigur*; and we must assume broadening after *ā* in *-āgathar* Wb. 1^a3, 6^a7, Ml. 74^b21 &c., *-āgatar* Ml. 51^d11, *adāgadar* 53^e14, *adāgain* 63^d11; but *-āgether* Ml. 129^a2, *-āgetar* 39^b14, pass.

§ 127. *brāgait* Ml. 23^b10, Mid. Ir. id. Wi., Atk., mod. *brághaid* from *bráge* Sg. 50^a10. But *áige* is fixed by the rhyme in Fél., yet even this has a later form *dga*. Some of these variations may arise from differences of dialect which we cannot control.

§ 128. *m* is non-palatal after *ā*, *ō* (*úa*), and *u*. Here belongs *nāmae* Ml. 73^b4, 93^e4 &c., by ap. *nāimtea* 2^d12, 86^e10 &c., mod. *námha* and *náimhde*. Like this are declined *carae* and *brágae*; cf. § 105.

(b) Double consonants: *cc* (*c*) = mod. *c*, *cc c* = mod. *g*, *mm*, *p*, *rr*, *tt*, *t* = mod. *d*.

§ 129. *cc*. It is not easy to determine whether this ought regularly to be palatalized after *a*. Loan-words like *aicced*, which can only have been a book-word, or *aiccidit* Sg. 6^b25, mod. *aiccid*, are not decisive. Otherwise my examples are verbal forms; and here the evidence is divided. On the one hand *ní accam* Ml. 111^d1, *nadhacat* 93^d14, *innadhacai* 17^b17, *coniaccadar* 53^a6, *mani accastar* Ml. 50^a5, *condidaccadar* Wb. 16^d6, *nadnacastar* 25^b28, *cinidaccastar* 26^a12, *frisaccai* Ml. 144^a2, *frisnaccai* 53^b23, *frisaccat* 39^d27, 124^a2, *frisaccam* 134^a5, *frisaccar* 49^a3, *frisnaccatar* 124^a3, *immaaccai* 114^a15, *immanaccai* 17^b6. On the other hand, *ni aicci* Ml. 94^e3, *nath naiccess* St. Miss. 64^b, *frisaiccid* Wb. 25^d24, *frisaicimm* Pcr. 60^a7, *frisaicritis* Ml. 68^a9, *frisaiccai* Ml. 69^a8, and *frisnaiccai* Pcr. 57^b, point to uncertainty on the part of the scribe; and *cenidaciamni* Bvn. 3 is certainly due to *aa-ciam*. The list might be enlarged; but it will be sufficient for the purpose of showing the variation between palatal and non-palatal *cc*, a variation which is not confined to one particular text. The non-palatal forms are the more numerous in O. Ir.; and, if we take them to be the normal, there would be no difficulty in explaining the palatal forms as due to the influence of the deuterotonic *adci*. But the question is not so simple.

Depalatalization in *frisaccāi* might be due to the syncopated *-frescai* Ml. 62^a7, in *frisaccat* to *-frescat* Ml. 69^b3, in *immaaccāi* to *imcaī* Ml. 114^a15. Then there would be the analogy of the preterite, *ni accāi* LU. 83^a28, *co n-accatar* Tir. 11, *ni accatar* Wb. 26^b11 *nīmūnaccamar* 18^a3. In Mid. Ir. the palatal certainly prevails. Atk. 550^b notes non-palatal forms only in subj. "The enclitic form in the perf. stems takes only *ac-*, *acc-*, while in the pres.-fut. stem we find always *aic-*, *aicc-*; prob. therefore the strange forms *accara* are to be connected with the perf. stem." This last statement is misleading as it stands; for Mid. Ir. *accara*, *faccara*, are not perf. subj., but developments of the O. Ir. deponent pres. subj. Still it is possible that the present stem has been influenced by *con-accā*, but *con-accā* itself is irregular; we should have expected the syncopated *e* of the reduplicating syllable to palatalize the group *cc*. Other verbal forms like *conaicelt*, *conaicert*, give no help here; for the influence of *con-celt*, *con-cèrt*, would be enough to counteract any tendency towards palatalization if that existed. I leave the problem unsolved.

§ 130. After *u* the non-palatal *cc* in *ruccae* is regular. This suggests the question, What was the gs. of *mucc* in O. Ir.? Was it **muccae*, and is Mid. Ir. *muicce*, mod. *muice*, an analogical transformation? The change of *ruccae* to the later *ruice* might easily occur at a time when forms like *buga* and *buige* were used side by side, with a growing tendency to associate palatal endings with abstract nouns. *gliccu* is difficult to explain. For Mod. Ir. Dinneen gives only *glice*; *glioca* is the form familiar to me: cf. § 103.

§ 131. *c* (*cc*) = mod. *g* involves a similar problem to the preceding. There is first the compound *di-en-ces* in which the *c* is depalatalized: *doēcāi*, *etirdécai* Ml. 61^a8, *décamar* Sg. 26^b9, *denēcaithersu* Ml. 73^c11, *duécastar* Tir. 3, *doécastar* Sg. 188^a6, *décad* Wb. 18^b6, 23^c16, *déccu* 24^a13; but *addéicider* Ml. 43^a19. *do-nn-éicci* Wb. 9^a4 is not necessarily an exception (cf. § 5). The non-palatal *c* in this word, contrasted with the palatal *c* in all parts of *lécim* (*léc-* < *lēk-*, *lank-*: cf. Gallolat. *lancea*), may be due to its association with *-accāi*.

§ 132. Secondly, there is the problem of the peculiar verbs

to-uc and *ro-uc*, on which see Sarauw, p. 117 sq. The following examples show what a part analogy has played:—

Non-palatal: *ro-da-uccai* Ml. 46^a19, 54^d16, *conrucca* Wb. 12^e32, *tucca* 27^b27; *do-n-uccus-sa* Wb. 30^a11, cf. Ml. 91^e1, Pcr. 1^a1, *tuccad* Wb. 24^b26, 28^a3, Ml. 71^e9, cf. Sg. 45^b19, 17^a5, *ru-hucad* Sg. 174^a1, cf. 104^a8, *donduccam* Wb. 24^a22, *conducaid* 21^a8, *ni thuccat* Wb. 12^e20, *rucat* Ml. 87^e3, *tucatar* Wb. 12^e47, cf. 9^b19; *ro-uc* Ml. 99^a2: cf. 45^a1, 63^c18, Wb. 21^b3, *du-uc* Ml. 131^e1, cf. 38^e1, 38^e5, 40^e19, Sg. 100^a7; *da-ucbaid* Wb. 21^e12, *tucfa* 12^d3, 12, 13^a7; *du-nn-ucsat* Ml. 92^d1, cf. 75^a10, Wb. 8 10^a, 15^a32, *tucsam* Wb. 29^b14, *raucsat* Wb. 26^b11, cf. Ml. 23^b5, 44^a15, *du-n-ucthar* Ml. 79^d2, cf. Sg. 200^b13, Wb. 12^e46, 27^d22, *ructais* Ml. 125^b7, ^e2, *tuctais* 125^d13, *ro-uctha* Sg. 132^a2, *ructha* 102^e7.

Palatal: *tuicce* Wb. 28^d7, *tuicci* 12^e26, 12^d42; *do-n-d-ucet* Wb. 8^a14, *tuiced* 12^b12, *ro-uccius* 9^b6; *ro-uic* Wb. 27^a22, cf. 5^b3, *do-uic* Ml. 84^e24, cf. 10^d37, 16^b12, 44^d14, 50^b8, 67^a3, 118^b6, 131^e14, *tuic* Ml. 35^a9, 51^d2, 67^a8, 84^d19, Sg. 209^b29, *tuicc* Ml. 98^e11, *tuic* (imperat.) Wb. 10^a30; *tuicset* Wb. 15^a29, *duicsem* Ml. 111^b15.

tuicais Ml. 56^a13 is a scribal error, or marks uncertainty on the part of the scribe.

§ 133. Zimmer has suggested that these verbs contain the preposition *ud* and a root *ges* cognate with Latin *gero*. There is nothing inherently improbable in this suggestion if we make allowance for analogical changes. As such a root could never take the accent, its original form would be forgotten. If the vowel following *c* (= *gg*) was palatal, it would lose its effect where it remained, and *ro-uccai*, like *bucai*, would be normal. On the other hand, palatalization might be expected to take place when the root-vowel was lost by syncope; and here *tuicset* would be the regular form. Thus some parts of the verb would seem to come from a root *uc* (= *ugg*), and others from a root *uic* (= *uⁱgg*). Generalization in both directions would produce the apparently lawless variations that actually occur. Cf. the mod. *fág* <*fo-ad-gab*, and *fiúig*, still a common poetic form, with palatal *g* from the fut. stem. *faicebat* Wi.; the real root-syllable appears only in the Connacht pret. *d'fhága* <*do fhágaibh*. Unfortunately, as Sarauw has pointed out, *Irske Studier*, § 141, the ablaut in W. *d-wg*, *dwyn*—*dygaf*—*dug*, is against the theory

that the syllable *uc* of *to-uc* and *ro-uc* contains a preposition: cf. KZ. xxxviii. 178. In Mod. Ir. the pret. *rugas* always has broad *g*. The distinction between *tugaim* 'I give, bring,' and *tuigim* 'I understand,' holds good for Mid. Ir. *tucaim* and *tuicim* Atk.; the only exception in the Passions and Homilies is the corrupt form *do-fucaaim*. On the whole *c* = mod. *g* may be taken as subject to palatalization after *e* and *i*, but not after *a*, *o*, and *u*.

§ 134. *mm*, *m* = mod. *m*. This may come from *m + m* or by assimilation from various consonant-groups, *dm*, *sm*, *nsm*, *dsm*, *ngm*, *mb* &c., which are not easy to identify or to classify. The quality may be presumed to depend partly on the nature of the consonants which originally made up the group.

§ 135. The word *greimm* needs special consideration. Brug. I. 786 gives *gréimm* < **grens-men* = *grend + smen*, Stokes Féil. Gloss. *greim* 'a bit, morsel,' < **gres-mi*. Wi. has two words *greim* and *gréimm*. I know no reason for separating the two. The sense of 'grip' passes as readily to the meaning 'bit,' 'morsel,' as to 'control,' 'power.' And it must not be taken for granted that the vowel in *greimm* is really long because it is sometimes marked long in Mid. Ir. texts. This may merely indicate a secondary lengthening in position before the heavy consonant-group. The modern pronunciation implies a vowel short by nature—*g'r'eim'* with diphthong in Munster, *g'r'ím'* with lengthening in South Connacht, *g'r'em'* with short vowel in Mid Connacht; in all dialects the vowel is short in gs. *g'r'amə* where *m* followed by a vowel does not make position. On the other hand, a vowel which is long by nature remains long in all cases, *léim* *léimeanna*, *céim* *céimeanna* &c. In O. Ir. I have not noticed the mark of length on any forms of this word: *greim* Wb. 1^a3, Ml. 14^b14, *gremmae* Ml. 110^d3, *gremmaim* 31^e18, *gremman* 128^d14: cf. W. *grym*. Unfortunately I have no early metrical examples to establish the quantity of the *e*. If it was short, it is easier to see why *greimm* did not follow the lines of *léim*, *béim*, *céim*.

§ 136. In the compound *ingreimm*, *ingraim*, however, *mm* is regularly palatal: *ingrimme* St. Miss. 64^b1, *ingraimme* Ml. 74^b16, 18^d23, *ingraimmæ* 75^a13, *ingraimmin* Cod. Cam. 38^a,

ingraimmim Ml. 74^a10, 12, 74^b13 (bis), 87^c1, *ingremmen* Wb. 23^c6, 25^d8, 30^e23, *ingraimmen* Ml. 77^a11 (see §§ 92, 99), but by analogy with the simplex *ingramman* Ml. 20^b12, 63^e8, *ingrammaib* 63^b15, and apparently *ingraimman* 18^d17, and *ingraimmaib* 75^b6, though here the spelling is irregular. I am not concerned here with the quality of the *gr* (*g* is here a spirant) in the Ml. forms of the compound, which I take to be broadened after the analogy of other compounds, cf. *tograim*, *congraim*.

§ 137. If the group *mm* in *muimme* is original, it is an exception to the broadening of *m* after *u*. Has *muimme* been influenced by the corresponding masc. *aite*?

§ 138. *p* (= mod. *b*) is broadened after *o*, *u*. The *p* in *epeir* = *bb* < *gb* < *ks+b*, may remain slender after *e*, but, on the other hand, may owe its quality to the *b* of *as-beir*. In *epur* the non-palatal forms prevail; but this may be due to the *u*-quality of the *r*, as labials have a special tendency towards this quality. The occurrences after *a* are not decisive either, *aipir* &c. being Later O. Ir. transformations of older *epeir*, *epir*, under the influence of **ad-d-beir*. Mid. Ir. has *apair*, and even syncopated forms, *apraim* Atk., mod. *abair*, *abraim*.

§ 139. *rr*. There are very few instances. From such as occur, *rr* is seen to be palatal after a palatal vowel—not, as in Mod. Ir., always non-palatal.

§ 140. *tt* (*t*), non-palatal after *o* and *a*; *conaittibset* Ml. 110^d2 < *con-ad-tib*, is analogical.

§ 141. *t* = mod. *d*, palatal after *e*, *i*. I have no certain examples after *u*; for *conutangar* Ml. 14^c5, *arutaing* 64^e20, may be referred to a root *dong*, not *deng*, on account of the syncopated *cunutgim* Sg. 141^a1, *conutsin* Bcr. 37^d2. But cf. *inotsam* Ml. 16^a16, < *in-od-tlasam*. After *a*, *t* is non-palatal in *matain*.

(c) Consonant groups: *mb*, *dc*, *ng*, *bl*, *chl*, *ndl*, *pr*, *thr*.

§ 142. *mb*, few examples; slender after *i*, broad after *o*, *u*.

§ 143. *dc* = mod. *dhg* (< *zg*); examples only after *i*, palatal.

§ 144. *ng*: palatal after *i*, *a*; non-palatal after *o*, *u*.

§ 145. *bl*. I have only two examples, one of them a loan-word. The quality of the *bl* in *oblæ* may be due to the by-form *ablu* St. Miss. 33^a, gs. *oblann* LA. 77^a1. For *cooblige* with *bl* < *ml* cf. *ml*. This is against Pedersen's theory, Asp. § 4, 5, that the initial of *lige* was broad in O. Ir. *comlaige*, Mey. s. v. *coblige*, is a later formation.

§ 146. *chl* occurs rarely. It is palatal after *i*, non-palatal after *o*. *ndl* is palatal in the one example, after *i*.

§ 147. *pr* = mod. *br*. The examples are not satisfactory. *appriscc* would be under the influence of *briscc*, *adroipred* < *adro-od-breth* under that of *breth*, while *Apréil* is a loan-word. In Mod. Ir. this last has taken an Irish ending, and appears as *Aibreán* and *Abrán*.

§ 148. *thr* palatal after *ɛ*, non-palatal after *a, o* (?).

III.—NON-PALATAL CONSONANTS AND GROUPS.

(a) Consonants before which a consonant has been lost.

§ 149. *l*. Here must be noticed *céle*, *céile* = W. *cilydd*, which seems to have compensatory lengthening. Strachan BB. xx. 27 suggests **cegljos*. But if a consonant had been lost, we should expect **céləe*. Can the palatal quality have been restored through the pronominal use of *a chéle* beside *aile, alaile*? That the words have influenced one another is evident. Cf. *áréli* Wb. 13^a5, *arele* 29^b9, *éile* 6^a15, *élé* 6^c18, *na heliu* Sg. 9^b2, *lelele* Wb. 16^c24, in which *aile, alaile*, have taken their vocalism from *céle*.

§ 150. I am not quite certain with regard to the quality of the *n* in *láréne*. That of *léne* is certainly palatal; and though we might attribute this to the influence of the syncopated *léinte*, yet analogy is against such an influence on final vowels; cf. *carae* &c. Certainly the *n* of *déna* by *dogné* is non-palatal; but would a lost *c* have produced the same result as a lost *g*? Brugmann points out (Grund. i. 783) that *agn* gives *ān*, but *acn* *ēn*. Possibly there was also some difference in the quality of the *n*. However, Rhys R.C. vii. 241 sq. connects *léne* with W. *lliain*, Bret. *lien*. If the words are allied, no consonant has been lost before the *n*, and there is no compensatory

lengthening in *léne*. A comp. *laigēniu* occurs Sg. 45^a13 by *huillēnu* 46^a16, cf. *sinnchēnae* 47^a6, but these are apparently coined for the occasion. In later Irish the diminutives in *-ēne* and *-īne* fall together with those in *-īn* (with palatal *n*, *láirīn* &c.), so that there is no help to be got here from the modern side. If the derivation assigned to *tene* is correct, *p* has fallen out too early to hinder palatalization after *e*.

§ 151. *r*. Mid. Ir. *tuara* Wi. < O. Ir. *tiāre* 'food' Wb. 26^b8 has evidently lost a consonant before the *r*. The derivation is unknown.

§ 152. A more difficult word is *coir*. The *r* is non-palatal in inlaut; ap. *crai* Ml. 51^a3, mod. *córa*; comp. *córu* Wb. 5^a37, Ml. 45^b14, Mid. Ir. *córu*, *córa* Atk., mod. *córa*; so *córe* 'peace' Wb. 2^a16 &c., Mid. Ir. *córa* Wi., Atk. When *-r* ends the word, it is disyllabic; Fél. Oct. 26, Ep. 432, 433; hence the spelling *coair* Ml. 48^a8. The mark of length in *cóir* Sg. 40^b7 may imply that contraction had already taken place in later O. Ir.

The word is usually equated with W. *cywir* < **kovēros* Sprach. 86. According to Pedersen, Asp. p. 6, CZ. ii. 194, the absence of palatalization in the syncopated forms is due to the group *vr*. A similar case is *teora*, which Pedersen, Asp. p. 190, derives by metathesis from W. *terfyn* < *terminus*. But the explanation is unsatisfactory. In *crai* &c. the group *vr* would be secondary, and it would surely be an exception to the rule of syncope that, when a palatal vowel drops out, the meeting of two palatal consonants should produce a non-palatal group, especially when the first of these consonants is so weak that it always disappears after a vowel. I believe the identification of *coir* and *cywir* to be erroneous. *Fir*, mod. *flor*, has remained an o-stem all along. Why should the same word in the compound **kovēros* (*co-fir*) become an i-stem? Secondly, as the loss of intervocalic *v* in **ro-vidu-* (*ro-fid*) produces the diphthongal *roed*, *raed* Wi., gs. *róida* Thes. Pal. ii., I should expect **kovēros* > **kovīros* to give a diphthongal **cóir* > **coer* **caor*, not a disyllabic *coir* which afterwards became *cóir* (*kōr'*). What the word really comes from I cannot say. It must have lost a consonant to account for the hiatus in *co-ir*. And if the vowel in the second syllable was non-palatal, that would account for absence of palatalization in the syncopated forms.

(b) Consonant groups.

§ 153. These are so numerous that it will be best to classify them according to the final consonants.

1. *rb, lb.*
2. *db, lb, nb, rb* (*b* = *bh*).
3. *lc, rc, sc.*
4. *rd.*
5. *lg, rg.*
6. *cl, gl, ngl, rl, sl.*
7. *dm, lm, nm, rm.*
8. *cn, rcn* (*rgn*), *gn, ngn, mn, rn, sn.*
9. *lp, sp.*
10. *br, chr, gr, ngr, ttr, tr* (= *dr*)
11. *cht, lt, rt.*

§ 154. 1. Here is to be noticed the form *oibremandi* Ml. 48^b10, by *orbaman* 51^a27, *horpamin* Wb. 2^e14. In the last two words the last vowel is secondary. They represent **orbemn̥* and **orbenn̥*, which were treated as disyllabic on the loss of final syllables. There was therefore no syncope. The *e* retained its position, but lost its palatal quality after the group *rb*. In *oibremandi*, on the other hand, the same vowel was followed by a full syllable; and, as it stood immediately after the accent, it would regularly disappear, having first imparted its quality to the preceding consonant. This would give **oibrmendi*, whence *oibremandi* by analogy with *orbaman*, &c.

§ 155. 2. *lb* in *uailbe* must be the result of syncope. The word occurs twice in the Glosses: Wb. 14^c21 *arisbés uáilbe issain ani asberar et dogníther*, gl. *numquid levitate usus sum?*; Wb. 30^b21 *uailbe et utmaille* gl. *iuvenilia desideria*. A ns. *uaillbæ* is quoted Thes. Pal. ii. 416. A derivative *uailbetaid* ds. occurs Ml. 63^b8. The text is *non leviter ac tumultuarie translatos habitare voluisti*. The glossator first connects the adverbs with *translatos*, then adds *aliter, non voluisti translatos habitare tumultuarie* i.e. *intessilbech* i.e. *conhuailbetaid* γ *discirri*. In these passages the obvious meaning required by the context is ' fickleness,' ' restlessness.' I take *uailbe* to be the abstract formed from the adj. *yalib*, which occurs in *indualib* gl. *inquiete* Wb. 26^b22.

§ 156. *ainbi* Ml. 51^a14 is peculiar. If genuine, it may be an analogical np. from *ainb*: cf. *indainb* Ml. 43^a4, *ainib* 30^a2. MENUEH Thes. Pal. ii. 288, 35 is doubtful, = **menbae* or **meinbe*?

§ 157. *torba*, *torbach*. Pedersen states, Asp. p. 164, but without giving his reasons, that the regular forms in Mod. Ir. would be *tarbha* and *tairbheach*. I take the palatal forms to be analogical; *tarbha* would fall into line with abstracts like *gairbhc*. The fact that in West Munster *tairbhe* is pronounced *tar'if'i* suggests also some analogy with *foirbhthe*. The strange forms *deirbbæ*, *indeirbbæ*, *inderbbæ* Sg. 66^b15, 16, 18, appear to be scribal errors.

§ 158. 3. The loan-word *descipul* retains the palatal. *Fescor* 'vesper' (ds. *fescur* Sg. 183^b3) may represent the early stage of borrowing, in which *p* became *c*. But cf. Sarauw § 4. For *escae* it is unnecessary to postulate a form **enkscaio*-. It would come equally well from *enskio*- or *anskio*-.

§ 159. 5. *foirrce* Sg. 67^b9, *foirggæ* 124^a1, *fairggæ* Thes. Pal. ii. 290, 4, *fairge* Fél. = mod. *fairrge*, must be the result of syncope, **fo-renk*-, **for-renk*-, or some such form. Any connexion with *ferg* and Οὐεργιούνος ὠκεανός, Sprach. 273, is out of the question. *seirge* Wb. 30^b20 is apparently corrupt; and Sarauw's emendation *seirbe*, with palatal *rb* (= *rbh*), is scarcely possible for O. Ir. Of course, syncopated forms with *g* = *gh*, like *suirge*, *bairgen*, do not come in here.

§ 160. 6. *rl* is very rare. **forlaimm* is my only example.

§ 161. 7. *dm*. The only exception I have noticed is *sleid-menaib*, which may be an archaism. Brug. ii. 117 assumes the loss of a vowel between *d* and *m* in such words as *feidm*, *fo-naidm*; also in *menme* < **men-a-me*, apparently to account for the fact that *d* and *n* are not assimilated to the *m*. But the unaspirated *m* is against this.

§ 162. *rm*. *tairmescc* Wb. 10^b15 = mod. *toirmeasg* is an apparent exception. But Pedersen, Asp. p. 106, is probably right in considering that the *m* was originally aspirate. It may have been influenced by *cummasc*: cf. *tarmasca* St. Miss. 64^a. Ascoli 379 analyses it into 'to-air-mesc- vel potius tairm-mesc.' *to-air-ro-mesc-* is perhaps more likely.

§ 163. 8. *rn*. In diminutives like *Ernéne*, *Ernín* Tir. 5, it is

possible that the *n* of this group remained palatal before the long vowel. Cf. modern diminutives like *smachtín* in which the *t* is palatal, but not the *ch*.

§ 164. *sn.* *coisnimi* Wb. 7^d13 by *cosnama* 7^d12 is strange. The ending of the former is borrowed from the i-stems (cf. Strachan, ERIU I. 3), but that would not account for the quality of the *-sn-*. Perhaps *coisnimi* has been influenced by the simplex *sním*. Also the *ni* is in the weakest syllable.

§ 165. 9. *sb, sp*. The palatal *sb* (= *sbh*?) remains in the loan-word *esbicol*. *esbetu* Wb. 9^b15 (a *prima manu*) is an archaic form. In this as in *esbae*, *æsbataid*, *b* may denote the spirant, *p* in *espe* Wb. 19^d17, Mid. Ir. *espa*, the stop. The modern dialects have both *easbaidh* and *easbhaidh*. There is probably a contamination of two distinct words, one with a spirant <**eks-vio-* like *for-be*, *tor-be*, the other a compound of *ess* + *buith*. Cf. Pedersen, Asp., p. 164, Sarauw, p. 46. It is true that *ksv* has become *ss* in *dess*, and *ks + b bb* (written *p*) in *epur* &c.; but in later compounds a different result was possible. *aspēna* Ml. 39^e6, *aspenud* 102^d2, 3, *aispenud* 54^d2, are later developments of *as-fenimm* Wb. 22^a20. Both the prefix and the root have been influenced by the deuterotonic form. They were wrongly analysed even in O. Ir. : cf. *ad-ru-spén* Ml. 78^a5.

§ 166. 10. *ttr, tr*. In *cor-ro-aitreba*, the *e* of **àd-trebāt* would regularly disappear, having palatalized the preceding consonants(?). Then **àt̪ryba* became *àitreba* under the influence of *ad-trèba*. Cf. *aitribhid* Ml. 17^b7, *aittreibhidib* 108^e9, *aitrebhacha* Sg. 38^b8, *aitrebhado* 200^b9. In these forms, palatalization either remains or is restored much sooner than in *attrab*, where there could be no syncope.

§ 167. *tr = dr*. For mod. *caidriomh* 'fellowship,' Stokes assumes an O. Ir. **coittriuib*, Ir. T. ii. 183. The O. Ir. form may have been rather **coitrib*, the palatal being later restored as in **attrab*. Dinneen writes *caidreamh*, but the pronunciation is rather *coidreabh* in Munster.

§ 168. 11. *cht*. The non-palatal nature of this group has long been recognized. There are no analogical changes, though a secondary *cht* may be palatal, *fichtea* Tír. 2.

IV.—CONSONANT-GROUPS WHICH OCCUR ONLY IN LOAN-WORDS.

§ 169. *xc, nʃ, nt, fr, chs (x), pt, st, bst.*

These do not present any special points to discuss here. In the examples, *xc*, *nʃ*, and *nt* are palatal; *fr*, *chs (x)*, *bst*, non-palatal; *pt* and *st* vary.

§ 170. The complications with which the subject of palatalization is beset arise chiefly from the fact that, whatever period of the language we investigate, the system of word-building and inflexion is not homogeneous. Some words go back to prehistoric forms; others are newly fashioned out of old materials, and are free from the laws which governed the older strata. Thus the same elements which produced *cubus* in O. Ir. reappear in Mid. Ir. in the forms *cobfiss* and *confis*. Some words from the earlier period adapt themselves to the new surroundings by one of those sudden changes which are called analogical; others preserve their primitive form, altering only by the slow process of phonetic decay. What is regular at one time appears irregular at another. It is easy, for instance, to see that many of the reasons which prevent palatalization in O. Ir. are purely traditional. As phonetic laws they could have been in force only in a much earlier form of the language than that of the oldest glosses. The different qualities of the *r* in *tuirem* and *áram* are only to be explained by the fact that, in the latter, it was depalatalized while still preceded by *d*. The depalatalization is therefore older than the loss of consonants with compensatory lengthening. Such an *r* was, however, still liable to be palatalized at the period of syncope which produced *áirme*. Again, *rd*, *rg* resist palatalization in *cerdae*, *fercae* (= *fergæ*). But this is not due to anything peculiar in the pronunciation of *rd* and *rg* during the period of the O. Ir. glosses; for such forms as *cairtea* (*t* = *d*), *duairci* (*c* = *g*), *fairggæ* are common enough. The phonetic difficulty, which prevented palatalization in the original groups *rd*, *rg*, did not apply to the later secondary groups. In the O. Ir. period *cerdae*, *fercae*, *selbae*, *domnu*, *áram* &c. are simply survivals—regular, indeed, from the historic standpoint, but irregular in the sense that there is no longer any phonetic reason why they should stand apart from other words of the same class. When they belong to a grammatical system,

the law of uniformity meets no obstacle in removing what is felt to be irregular. The result is that in Mid. Ir., as may be seen by the examples, palatalization is far commoner than in O. Ir. But that does not imply any general alteration in the nature of Irish pronunciation ; the way had already been opened for the free play of analogy.

§ 171. The earlier movement in the opposite direction must be briefly touched upon. It is not always easy to distinguish between failure to palatalize and depalatalization. In words like *cerdae*, *fercae*, the second consonant of the group may have been slightly palatal at the start ; the first never was so. Probably the archaic *arget* differs from the normal *argat* only as *carae* from *cara* in later O. Ir. In each case the *e* still preserved some of its colour, and had not quite sunk to the neutral *a* ; but it had lost its palatal force, and was no longer a palatal vowel in the strict sense. In compounds like *forgall*, *fortacht*, the second consonant has been assimilated to the first, which remained non-palatal.

§ 172. A clear case of depalatalization is *fubae* < *vo-bio-*. The change of the accented *o* to *u* causes the lips to protrude strongly. To draw them back suddenly in order to pronounce the bilabial spirant (assuming that this had the sound of the mod. slender *bh*, § 3) would be very awkward. The lips simply produce the *b* while they are still in the forward position. Forms like mod. gs. *duibhe* became possible after accented *u* had been umlauted to *i* before a palatal : Pedersen, Asp. § 5. In *duibhe* *u* merely marks the non-palatal character of the *d* ; the lips never get into the *u*-position at all.

§ 173. As the vowel *u* (and to a lesser extent *o*) tends to depalatalize labials because it is pronounced with protruded lips, it has a similar effect on *c* and *g*, because it draws the tongue back from the hard palate. Thus, in pronouncing *tugae* < **togiā*, the tongue simply remains in the velar position. Here, however, the authorities are divided : see § 27.

O. Ir.	Mid. Ir.	Mod. Ir.
<i>tugae</i>	<i>tuga</i>	
	<i>tuige</i>	<i>tuighe</i>
<i>lugae</i> (Ml.)	<i>luga</i>	
<i>luige</i> (Wb.)	<i>luige</i>	<i>luighe</i>

The development is peculiar. If we assume that depalatalization took place between the period of Wb. and that of Ml., that will only give *luige* > *lugae* > *luga*, and will leave Mid. Ir. *luige* mod. *luighe* unexplained. Were there two dialectic forms side by side all along? It is possible that the palatal forms were regular in compounds like *firluige*, *comluige*, in which the unaccented *u* would lose much of its force: cf. the syncopated *u* in *Lugudeccas* > *Luigdech*, which gives the same result as *i*. Wb. may then have generalized in one direction: *firluige*, *luige*; Ml. in the other: *lugae*, *firlugae* (but *comlugiu*, 44^b5).

§ 174. In *trummae* it is not likely that the group *mm* as a whole was at any time completely palatal. Here the *u* seems to be the original vowel of *trudsmo*, Sprach. 139, altered in the nominative by the following *o*, *ā*, as in *tob* < *tuba*. Less obvious is the process in the case of *lungae*, *lunga*, § 29, gs. of *long*, W. *llong*, which is usually taken to be a loanword from Lat. (*navis*) *longa*. If the *n* (= *η*) remained non-palatal all along, and simply depalatalized the following *g*, as in *ungae* < *uncia*, we should expect **longae*, like *longais* § 29; but the vocalism of *lungae* may be due to the analogy of *croch* *cruchae*, *tol* *tuile* &c. The later analogical *luinge* was helped by two processes, the development of umlaut in accented syllables (cf. § 172), and the reduction of *ng* to a simple sound *ng* > *ηη* > *η* (cf. Pedersen, § 66, p. 81).

§ 175. To sum up the results of my investigation: the presence or absence of palatalization in the O. Ir. period is shown to depend, as Prof. Strachan had conjectured (Mid. Ir. Decl., p. 5), "partly upon the nature of the preceding consonant or group of consonants, partly on the nature of the vowel of the preceding syllable." Definite results are in some cases hard to obtain, particularly where we have to rely upon verbal forms for examples, for the mixing of the conjugations, and the mutual influence of the prototonic and deuterotonic forms, tend to obscure the phonetic development. Some points, such as the problem of *cc*, § 129, and *gg*, § 131 sq., I have been unable to solve with the material at my disposal. Where the results are certain they may be used as linguistic tests in dating O. and Mid. Ir. texts. In Mid. Ir. the old and the new are found side

by side, and forms such as *selba*, *Medba* prove nothing as regards the date of the composition ; but where *seilbe*, *Meidbe*, and the like are established by the metre and not merely due to the copyist, it follows that the text cannot have been composed in the O. Ir. period.

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THE RULE OF AILBE OF EMLY

THE four MSS. from which this Rule is edited are the same as those enumerated by Prof. Strachan in *ÉRIU* I., p. 191. I follow him in denoting them by A¹, A², B¹, B² respectively. A¹ is taken from 5100-4 Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, A² from 23 N. 10, R.I.A., B¹ from 23 P. 3, R.I.A., and B² from H. 1. 11, T.C.D. Prof. Strachan kindly supplied me with copies of the originals. Of these A¹ had been transcribed by Dr. Whitley Stokes, A² and B¹ by Dr. Strachan, and B² by Miss Mary O'Byrne, M.A. Unfortunately, a lacuna occurs in 23 P. 3, in consequence of which it has lost all the first part of the rule as far as the last word of line twenty-six, with which B¹ begins.

Of the two groups the A group is much superior. B preserves, indeed, the correct reading in a few cases in which A has changed it, e.g. *tacra* v. 29, *saith* (leg. *saich*) v. 38, *conaircdech* v. 43, *mil.* v. 44, *foigdi* v. 50; on the other hand, it has such deliberate alterations as *doruais*, *conaine* v. 31, *fiadha* v. 34 (where it adds a syllable to make up for the substitution of *céin* for the older *céne*), *ninfaici* v. 40, *ferdais* v. 42 (necessitated by the metre owing to the scribal slip in substituting *slemon* for some monosyllabic adjective), *nach brec* v. 45, *toigheacht* v. 46, *fuile* v. 47, and in B², for the earlier part of the text, *cearb galach* v. 16, *do liuit* v. 17, *iar sin ceasaih* v. 21, &c.

The scribe of B¹, though not a faithful transcriber, usually understood his text (though he writes *corabhe* v. 27 and *secnabuid* v. 32, which latter B² strives to make intelligible by changing it still further to *secnap*).

The scribe of B², on the other hand, as might be expected in an eighteenth-century man, continually misunderstood his text; examples of this are *fuighle leirserc* v. 9, all the second line of v. 11, *fear* v. 13, *moip* v. 14, *ktach in uilc* v. 29, *cenaid* v. 32, *fosdais* v. 55, &c. In addition to these natural mistakes, B² swarms with scribal errors and omissions which begin with *nidisceoil* and *cuirm* of vv. 2, 3, and run right through the text to the end, rendering

the MS. comparatively worthless. That, however, it is an independent MS., and not merely a bad copy of B¹, is evident from such forms as *imlot*, which it reads *passim* for *umaloit* of B¹, *cunsanad* v. 37 for *cursachad* of B¹, &c.

In the A group, A¹ nearly always preserves the better reading ; the writer of A² deliberately altered his text in several instances in order to eke out the full number of syllables, or to produce alliteration, or to get a grammatical form he knew. Nor was he on the whole as careful a scribe as the writer of A¹. Examples of his carelessness are to be found in the repetition of *dorus* v. 25b, the insertion of *coribh* v. 25c, the insertion into the text of the gloss *don coig* v. 40a, &c. For examples of his intentional change of text, cf. *madit* v. 13, *slectuine* v. 17, *no* v. 27b (both of these in order to obtain the correct number of syllables), *fortacht* v. 27c (to get a normal form), *munagab* v. 31a, *þ flathiph* v. 35 (both in order to get a form he understood), *in dochda* v. 38, *na* v. 40, *nirbod* v. 41b, *mbilengtach* v. 44, *na bat* v. 49, &c. Such alterations occur in A¹ in *boct* v. 8, and *biltengtach* v. 44, both of which are due to a desire for alliteration, and in a few other cases ; but on the whole this latter scribe was both careful and faithful. Here, as in the B group, important differences of reading show that A¹ and A² are independent texts ; such differences are *combruth* of A² in v. 12 for *comradh* of A¹, *fiadh* v. 25b for *fria* of A¹, *feig* of v. 34 for *fial* of A¹, *cloar* of v. 40 for *cloath* of A¹, *n atcluiethar* of v. 44 for *ro-cluinethar* of A¹, *comimtecht* v. 47 for *coimtecht* of A¹, &c.

The A group contains twelve stanzas not found in B. These I have marked with letters, and not counted in numbering the stanzas.

The language of the Rule is Old Irish, though it contains a few Middle-Irish forms, such as *gebes* v. 1, *geba* v. 10, and the monosyllabic *cóir* v. 31a, which are all fixed by the rhyme ; the Middle-Irish plural *mugada* in 39a is such a late form that it seems to point to some corruption in the text.

The metre of the greater part of the poem is 7 + 7², with a disyllabic ending in the first part of the line ; a trisyllable ending is, however, quite common, and there are one or two instances of a monosyllable. The final word of the first half of the line occasionally shows consonance with the end-rhymes, and in a few cases rhymes with a word in the middle of the

second half of the same line, as *lobair, cobair*, v. 2, *duini: fuili* v. 3, *demon: slemon*, v. 13, &c. Owing, however, to the heterogeneous nature of the text, which is built up of material drawn from many sources, the Rule, both in metre and matter, is a curious medley. Not content with interrupting and continuing a poem, the metre of which was $7 + 7^2$, by additions from another of which the metre was $7 + 5^1$, the scribe from whom both the A and B recensions come enlarged his already full matter by quotations from other Rules. Of the fifty-seven stanzas common to both groups only thirty-one are in the normal $7 + 7^2$ metre, twenty-one of the remainder being in the $7 + 5^1$ system, four in a $7 + 6^2$ metre, and one seemingly in *Rinnard*; while of the twelve additional stanzas found in the A group only five are in the $7 + 7^2$ metre, three being in the $7 + 5^1$, three in the $7 + 6^2$, and one probably in *Sétnad Mór*. The stanzas of the $7 + 5^1$ system seem to have crept into the body of the original poem as illustrative quotations from another Rule which the scribe had before him, and which he finally tacked on in part to the end as a continuation of his own Rule. These $7 + 5^1$ stanzas are, almost without exception, practical regulations, some of which show a fine directness, while one or two contain vivid human touches.

The $7 + 7^2$ system, on the other hand, consists for the most part of commonplace general maxims, and, although after v. 17 these maxims become more direct and practical, one can understand why the scribe's eyes turned continually from his own text to other more vivid Rules. In the $7 + 5^1$ system the final word of the first half of the line is usually either monosyllabic or trisyllabic (but a disyllabic ending is not uncommon); and in one or two instances it rhymes in the second line of the stanza with a word in the second half of the same line.

The remaining intruded stanzas, whose metre betrays them, are all quotations of practical regulations; but they are so scattered, and their metrical system is so doubtful, that it is impossible to say whether they were taken from a common source or not; two of them at least—vv. 31 a and 39—seem to stand apart, both from the rest and from each other. Indeed, the whole question of interpolation in the poem is so obscure that it seems to me, with our present material, practically insoluble. If, for instance, the additional stanzas of the A group

are later interpolations, it is peculiar that they contain exactly the same medley of metres which distinguishes the other stanzas. This, of course, is explainable by the fact that the A scribe may have had recourse to the same sources as the scribe from whom he was copying, and simply followed his example in still further enlarging the text; but, although my numbering seems to suggest that all the stanzas not in B are later additions, I confess that it seems to me just as likely that they were in the text from which the original B scribe copied, and that he omitted them for the sake of brevity. In connexion with this, it is worth noting—although, of course it proves little—that Colgan, writing in the seventeenth century, quotes in a note to his *Life of St. Modomnicus* v. 30 of this Rule as v. 37, which latter would be its number in the A arrangement.

In the three MSS. which contain the beginning of our Rule, it is headed *Riagol ailbi Imlecha¹ oc tinchosc Eogain nic Sarain*. For a full account of this Ailbe of Emly, who seems to have lived about the time of St. Patrick, and to have been the first ecclesiastical ruler of Munster, see Canon O'Hanlon's *Lives of the Irish Saints*, vol. ix. Eogan mac Sarain was abbot of Cluain Coelain in the present County Tipperary. He is venerated on March 15th: see the Martyrology of Donegal. I have not been able to find out anything else about him. He may have been transferred from Cluain Coelain to Emly before that See was superseded by Cashel as the ecclesiastical centre of the South. Colgan, however, does not mention him in his list of the abbots who succeeded Ailbe in Emly.

Owing to the difficulty of the language, and the heterogeneous nature of the text, the meaning of words and phrases is in many places obscure, and my translation merely tentative.² In the interpretation of the more difficult passages I have received valuable aid from Professor Strachan, Mr. Bergin, and Professor Thurneysen, to whom I gratefully return thanks.

¹ Imluich A² Linbleach B². It was often called *Imbleach in iubhair* 'Emly of the Yew.'

² The *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, vol. viii. (1871), contains a translation by Hennessy and O'Looney of this Rule from A² and B¹. I did not learn of the existence of this translation until this paper had gone to press. The translation is a free one, which aims merely at giving the general sense of each line, and evades the linguistic difficulties.

TEXT

1. Apair¹ dam fri mæc Saráin, is tromm int aire gebes,
bad léir, bad féig a chubus, cen gói n-úabair, cen feles.²

2. Bad toé³ díscéoil a monar,⁴ úathad⁵ mbriathar⁶ nád⁷ labair,⁸
dénad adlaicc⁹ cech lóbair la cobair cech fir galair.¹⁰

3. Bad fóssud cen chuit merbae,¹¹ bad¹² indéin fri cach torbae,¹³
dénad adlaicc cech duini,¹⁴ frecrad fuli cech anmae.¹⁵

4. Cen díummus, cen chol¹⁶ clóine, faitbiud¹⁷ cen gen, cen gári,¹⁸
cen indechad for duine,¹⁹ cen úaill n-úabair,²⁰ cen áni.²¹

5. Cen chói, cen chessacht lessa,²² ní té²³ dogrés cen assu,²⁴
cen chorthair²⁵ partaing russi,²⁶ cen gorm, cen derg, cen
maissi.²⁷

6. Cen dul,²⁸ cen diupairt nduini, cen nach ndíchmairc in aire,²⁹
cen dígail n-uilc i cridi³⁰ cen miscais neich nád carae.³¹

7. Bad fóssud,³² ná bad úailbech,³³ bad gáeth,³⁴ bad ecnaid,
bad fíglech, ná bad dergnech,³⁵ bad šerb, bad umal, álgech.

8. Bad timm, bad docht,³⁶ bad bruthmar, bad nár, bad fíal,³⁷
bad rathmar,
fri sráb³⁸ ndomuin³⁹ bad fethmech, fri hál ndomuin bad
chathmar. (?)⁴⁰

8A.⁴¹ Bad nathir co n-a daithi, bad cholum co n-a gairi,⁴²
bad bláith cen olc in airi,⁴³ bad ráith⁴⁴ a bríathar airi.⁴⁵

¹ appair A¹ abuir A² ² feileis B² ³ tui A¹ ni B² ⁴ monor A²
monur B² ⁵ uathath A¹ uathad A² huathad B² ⁶ mbriathor A² ⁷ nod A
nat B² ⁸ labhar A¹ labhor A² labur B² ⁹ adoilcc A² ¹⁰ cech fir galair A¹
gach fir galair A² cech fir galuir B² ¹¹ Bet fossadh cen cuid merbae A¹ bat
fosaad cin cuid meiruhi A² bad foisaidh cin cuirm meirbe B² ¹² bat A²
¹³ indem (?) fri cach turbhai A¹ indiuin frie gach torba A² intin fri cech torbae B²
¹⁴ aduilcc each duine A² A¹ has also denad and duine ¹⁵ anma MSS.
¹⁶ gol A¹ ¹⁷ fatbi A² ¹⁸ gaire A¹B² gairi A² ¹⁹ dóine A¹ daine A²
²⁰ oall nuoabuir A² uaill cin uapair B² ²¹ aine MSS. ²² cessacht lesse A¹
ceis leisi A² ceasact leisi B² ²³ ni the A nínten B² ²⁴ cin assai A¹ cin

TRANSLATION

1. Say for me to the son of Saran, heavy is the burden he takes ; let his conscience be diligent, be keen, without proud lying, without vanity.

2. Silent and without speech be his work, fewness of words which is not talkative ; let him perform the need of every sick person, together with helping of every sick man.

3. Let him be steady without a particle of weakness ; let him be an anvil for every profitable thing ; let him perform the desire of every person ; let him answer the sins of every soul.

4. Without pride, without sin of perversity, smiling without a grimace, without laughter, without vindictiveness towards anyone, without proud arrogance, without pomp.

5. Without weeping, without wailing after prosperity (he must never go without sandals), without a fringe of red Parthian leather, without blue, without red, without finery.

6. Without cheating, without defrauding any person, without any transgression in watchfulness (?), without revenge for evil in the heart, without hate of anyone who is not a friend.

7. Let him be steady ; let him not be restless ; let him be wise, learned, pious ; let him be vigilant ; let him not be reproachful ; let him be a slave ; let him be humble, kindly (?).

8. Let him be gentle, close, and zealous ; let him be modest, generous, and gracious ; against the torrent of the world let him be watchful (?) ; against the brood of the world let him be warlike.

8^a. Let him be a serpent with its deftness ; let him be a dove with its filial affection ; smooth let him be without fault in vigilance (?), a fortress be his word of watchfulness (?).

assa A² ²⁵ ciz aisi B² ²⁵ cortair A¹ cordir A² coirtuir B² ²⁶ russe A¹
 ruisi A² ruise B² ²⁷ maisi A² mhaise B² ²⁸ dol B² ²⁹ ind aire A¹
 inaire A² in airae B² ³⁰ i cride A i cridib B² ³¹ nadcarae A na () e B²
³² fossaid A¹ fosad A² fosaigh B² ³³ fualbech A¹ foailbech A² fuailbheach B²
³⁴ gaeith A¹ ³⁵ bat dernech A¹ ba dergnech A² pa dcca B² ³⁶ boct A¹
 docd A² docht B² ³⁷ fial MSS. ³⁸ srab A¹ srab A²B² ³⁹ domuin B²
⁴⁰ bad caithmech A¹ bat caithmech A² ba caithmeach B² ⁴¹ om. A¹
⁴² gaire MSS. ⁴³ cin olc inairi MSS. ⁴⁴ rait MSS. ⁴⁵ aire B² om. A²,
 but added over *briathar* in a late hand and in poor brownish ink

9. Cia gabaid¹ domun domblas, ní taibrea² seirc dia indmus,
trebad,³ fodlad, níp amnas, ní-m-beir sech riced⁴ rindmas,

10. Sét baitsi⁵ ocus comnae,⁶ aithne, écnairc nosgeba,⁷
coibsin⁸ cáich dodabera bad fir docht dondacula.

11. Cíad la cách a phecthu,⁹ mad mebul cotacéla,
in bochtán, in t-aidilcnech,¹⁰ méit a chumaing nísnéra.

12. Cen aithis, cen imdergad, cen chúrsachad ngarg,
cen chomrád¹¹ fri duine mborb, cen guth n-úabair n-ard,

13. Ná-r-rucca¹² Satán for¹³ lurg gníad¹⁴ ísel fri hard,
is ed as olc la demon¹⁵ mad slemon¹⁶ fri garg.

14. Dogrés ní op idparta forsin cách do-dn-imgera,¹⁷
co toimle, co fordala, do cach óin do-dn-imgara.¹⁸

15. Co condailbi cen nach crúais, cen debuith,¹⁹ cen drúis,
umal,²⁰ amnetach,²¹ co tláiss, bad chendais a²² gnúis.

16. Bad grésach²³ oc ernaigthi,²⁴ a thrátha ní-s-dermania,²⁵
a menmae d-an-aírbera²⁶ cen úaill ocus cerbala.²⁷

17. Cét sléchtain²⁸ dó fri biet²⁹ tossuch laithi ria chestaib,³⁰
trí cóicait diliu³¹ toscaib, co cét sléchtain cach fescair.³²

18. Cét sléchtain cech iarméirge dlegair³³ i cill credlaich
ó féil Ioain dia n-adrat³⁴ cusin Cáisc truim trednaig.

19. Grés³⁵ fri hernaigdi n-oiffrind³⁶ do chrábud ocus³⁷ midlocht,
trichae³⁸ salm cech iarméirgi dá salm deec³⁹ do midnocht.

¹ gabath A¹ gab- A² gabta B²

² thaibri A¹ taibri A² taibre B²

³ tepad A¹ treab- A² treba B² ⁴ righteg A¹B² ⁵ batsi A² ⁶ comme A
comna B² ⁷ nusgaba A¹ nossgaba A² ⁸ coibsen MSS. ⁹ peetha A

¹⁰ in boctain ind aidhlgnech A¹ in bochtan in aidilcnigh A² ¹¹ comradh A¹

combruth A² comrath B² ¹² nasrucca A¹ naruga A² naruca B² ¹³ for A²

bar B² ¹⁴ gneith A¹ gneath A² gnit B² ¹⁵ fri deman A¹ ¹⁶ madh sleuhan A¹

maditsleamain A² mad sleamain B² ¹⁷ dotnimgerai A¹ . . . immgara A²

dotimdearad B² ¹⁸ dotnimgara A¹ dotnimgaro A² dotnimdeara B²

¹⁹ debaith A¹ dea . . . A² debuid B² ²⁰ humhal A¹ ²¹ ainmnetach A²

9. Though he get the bitter world, he should not give love to its treasures ; let him plough and distribute ; he shall not be too eager—that brings him not past heaven star-beautiful.

10. The jewel of baptism and communion, commandment and intercession he should receive it ; the confession of everyone who gives it, let it be right closely that he conceal it.

11. Let him bewail with everyone his sins ; if it be a scandal, he shall hide it ; the poor man, the needy one, as far as lies in his power, he should not refuse them.

12. Without reviling, without reproach, without rough reproof, without converse with an arrogant person, without a loud, proud voice.

13. Lest Satan carry him off on his track let him act lowly against loftiness—that is what the devil hates if one is gentle towards a rough person.

14. Never should he refuse offerings to anyone who may ask it (?), that he may consume, that he may share out to everyone who asks it (?).

15. With affection without any harshness, without strife, without lust, humble, patient, with mildness, gentle be his countenance.

16. Let him be constant at prayer ; his canonical hours let him not forget them ; his mind let him bow it down without insolence or contentions.

17. A hundred genuflections for him at the "Beati" at the beginning of the day before his questions, thrice fifty (psalms) dearer than (other) works, with a hundred genuflections every hour of vespers.

18. A hundred genuflections every matin are due in the church of a believer from the feast of John whom they adore unto the solemn pasch of abstinence.

19. To be ever at prayers of oblation, for piety and meekness, thirty psalms every matin, twelve psalms for midnight.

amnedach B² ²² do A² ²³ madh A¹ ²⁴ ernaigthe A¹ urnathe A²
 urnuigthi B² ²⁵ ni(sd)ermano A² nisdearmata B² ²⁶ a memna donnairbera A¹
 a m (en)m . . . (b)era A² a menma dotnairbera B² ²⁷ cerbal(a) A² ceartgalach B²
²⁸ slechtuine A² ²⁹ biaid A² biaith B² ³⁰ cestaib *codd.* ³¹ psalm
 diliumh A¹ . . . (dile) A² psalm do liut B² ³² ced slechtain fri fescor A¹
 .c. slechtaine g(a ?) . . . A² cet sleachtain cacha fescor B² ³³ dlegar A²
³⁴ adrait A¹ atraith A²B² ³⁵ congres *codd.* ³⁶ is oifren B² ³⁷ is *codd.*
³⁸ trica A¹ tricho A² tricad B² ³⁹ dēc A¹B².x. A²

20. Liachtain ocus celebrad
"Deus in adiutorium" ¹ la mac nDé do gairm,
i forciunn² cech sailm.

21. Tuae³ ocus fethamlae,⁴ do chrábud co rop lessach,
"Arco fuin imondaire,"⁵ ar thossuch⁶ cern, med mesair.⁷

22. Forcomét léir na tráthae⁸ do ríaglaib rímtir saithi,⁹
iarméirge cert la sruithi, diad n-aidchi,¹⁰ tossach laithi,

23. Acht riaglóir ocus secnap co hanteirt óin nínglúaisea,
acht mad pendit¹¹ tra éisi¹² cach¹³ inna thocht contúaisea.¹⁴

24. "Hymnum¹⁵ dicat" do gabáil oc reic-béim cluicc do
co n-innlat léir a lláma, corrugbat¹⁶ impu in bráthair.¹⁷

25. Sléchtad¹⁸ fo thrí co díchrae¹⁹ iar n-ascnam sair tar caingel,
cen úaill ocus cen laindir oc techt i ndáil Ríg aingel.

25^a. Iar figill la h-ernaigdi co coibseñaib cen anad,
ríagail soscéli cluined²⁰ ocus ríagail mín manach.²¹

25^b. Tothluccad i ndorus eccalsa²² dlegar i lluc lére,
oráit²³ ocus bendachad,²⁴ tairned²⁵ cách fria chéle.²⁶

25^c. Indegaid in chinn manach do chross²⁷ co classaib cóimaib,²⁸
co srothaib díanaib dérae²⁹ do grúadaib córaib³⁰ cóilaib.

26. Úaget, negat³¹ in bráthair³² corrice³³ úair na tertae,³⁴
for cubus³⁵ cáich inna lucc³⁶ bad³⁷ irnaigde³⁸ cot-nerta.³⁹

27. Bad fótae⁴⁰ béim in chloccáin corrugba⁴¹ cech óin imbi⁴²
céim n-aurlatad co llaindi⁴³ la humaldóit⁴⁴ co ngrindi.⁴⁵

¹ Here A¹A² insert for liachtain, B² has *deus in ad.* ² forcend A¹ forcenn A² is *ceth* B² ³ Tua *codd.* ⁴ fethambla A¹ fethemla A² fethainla B² ⁵ imondaire A¹ imanaire B² ⁶ tossach A¹ tosach B² After tossuch the MSS. have iarsin, which I take to be a gloss. ⁷ ceasaith B² ⁸ trata A¹ trátho A² trátha B² ⁹ rimpter saithe A¹ rimter saithi A² ruimi saiti B² ¹⁰ deadh naidche A¹ deognaidci A² ded naidhi B² ¹¹ pindit A² mad peannait B² ¹² tarcisi A¹ tar éise B² ¹³ cach *codd.* ¹⁴ contuasi A¹ contuasi A²B² ¹⁵ ymnum A¹B² umnum A² ¹⁶ corrugbat A *congabut* B² ¹⁷ brathir B² ¹⁸ slechtait A² sleachtaid B² ¹⁹ dichrai A¹ dichra B ²⁰ cluineth A¹ ²¹ manaig A¹ minmhanaigh A² ²² eclaisi A² ²³ oraoid A² ²⁴ bennachath A¹

20. Lection and celebration with invocation of the Son of God, " Deus in adjutorium " at the end of every psalm.

21. Silence and stillness, that it may be advantageous to piety, " I pray that it may be for good," in the beginning a dish, a moderate measure (?).

22. The diligent fulfilment of the canonical hours, swarms of rules are enumerated (?), the right nocturn according to sages [is] the end of the night, the beginning of day.

23. Except the ruler and the vice-abbot no one should stir himself until the third hour, except as a penance for it, every one should listen in silence.

24. " Hymnum dicat " to be sung at the loud (?) striking of the bell for the canonical hours, that the brothers may wash their hands clean, that they may dress.

25. A genuflection thrice, earnestly, after going in past the altar-rail, without frivolity and without excitement, going into the presence of the king of the angels.

25^a. After vigil, with prayer, with confessions without ceasing, the rule of the Gospel let him hear and the gentle rule of the monks.

25^b. [It is] begging at the church door, which is due in a place of piety, prayer and blessing, let each bow towards his companion.

25^c. After the head of the monks to the cross with gentle choirings, with vehement streams of tears from righteous haggard cheeks.

26. Let the brothers sew, let them wash, until the hour of terce; on the conscience of each in his cell, let it be prayer that strengthens him.

27. Long be the stroke of the bell that each may take upon himself the step of obedience with keenness, and humility with pleasantness.

²⁵ tairnet A¹ ²⁶ fiadh ceile A² ²⁷ croisuib A² ²⁸ coraib A¹ coribh
 caomibh A² ²⁹ deraibh A¹ deribh A² ³⁰ coemaibh A¹ caemuiph A²
³¹ neguit A² negeit B² ³² brathir A¹ ³³ coruigi A² conici B² ³⁴ in tertii A¹
 na tirtæi A² na trata B² na tratha B¹ ³⁵ cubuis A² ³⁶ llucc A¹
 ktach in uilc B² ³⁷ bat A² biit B ³⁸ aurnaicti A¹ urñe A² urñe B¹
 uirinne B² ³⁹ connerta A¹ B¹B² conertæi A². ⁴⁰ fota A¹B fodo A²
⁴¹ orogba A¹ oragbat A² corabhe B¹ coraibe B² ⁴² uime A² ⁴³ llainne A¹
 lainde A² lainne B ⁴⁴ humaloit A¹B² humoloid A² himlot B² ⁴⁵ co grinde A¹
 congrinne A² cogne B

27^a. Is Dia úasal a n-athair, is ecclais¹ nób a máthair,
níp umaldóit for bréthir,² airchised cách a bráthair.

27^b. Dia tíasat fri haurlataid³ d'obair immalle,⁴
trummae⁵ int ord sin, a bráthair, bad messe do-d-gné.⁶

27^c. Bad nób, bad glan a cride, i n-amairse⁷ bat fíra,⁸
i n-immairim a mbríathar,⁹ i fortachtain a ngnímae.¹⁰

27^d. In tan fondailter¹¹ fochall do chách iarna mes,
tabair-siu don bráthir thall¹² as mó ricc a les.

28. Céim do¹³ nónin, núall¹⁴ co salmaib,¹⁵ fri figill sléchtain,
canat¹⁶ biet¹⁷ in alltair¹⁸ sluindtir,
ar chenn¹⁹ clocaín don²⁰ phroindtig.

29. Oc in crois²¹ fiad chiunn²² manach narálat²³ demnae²⁴ ilcha,²⁵
la humaldóit²⁶ cen tacra²⁷ atmád²⁸ cách and a chinta.²⁹

30. Fíach aibne imbert³⁰ usci la céim do míasaib maithib,³¹
oblæ *onus* lind do sruthib, lethet³² oirdne³³ do saithib.

31. Glúasacht cluicc³⁴ do atluchud³⁵ dond Ríg dorúasat túarai,³⁶
ó féil Iohain³⁷ chóir³⁸ do rath³⁹ co⁴⁰ Caiscc Choimded
con-úalai.⁴¹

31^a. Bargen trichat ungae⁴² mes ar⁴³ dá ordlach déc is cóir,
acht ma gabthai⁴⁴ gortae⁴⁵ dib dlegait⁴⁶ in bráthair im nónin.

32. Mad ecnaid int aircinnech a ríagol⁴⁷ níb⁴⁸ borb,
amal⁴⁹ bies⁵⁰ int acnamad⁵¹ bid samlaid⁵² int ord.⁵³

¹ ecclais A¹ ² nib umaloit fri bretir A¹ ³ teset
fri aurlatad A¹ dia teis⁷ fri hurlataid A² ⁴ do obair &c. A¹ no dob uir
amalle A² ⁵ is trumma A¹ ba truime A² ⁶ dogne A¹
⁷ anamairse A² ⁸ firo A² ⁹ immairim mbríatar A¹ in imairim
mbríathar A² ¹⁰ im fortacht ina ngnímae A¹ im fortacht a ngniomha A²
¹¹ fonailter A² ¹² tabairsi don bráthair tall A¹ taphuirsi don bráthuir thald A²
¹³ co A² ¹⁴ nuaill B² ¹⁵ srutib A¹ psalmuip A² ¹⁶ canuit A² canad B¹
canadh B² ¹⁷ bieid A² ¹⁸ núall in alltair A¹ núall in alltair A² núall
conaltoir B¹ nuaill conoltoir B² ¹⁹ ar cenn A² aircell B¹ airceill B² ²⁰ do A
²¹ chrois B¹ ²² sic B¹ chind A¹ cinn A² crind B² ²³ narralat A¹
narolat B ²⁴ demno A¹ deman cett. ²⁵ ilcho A¹ ilchu B¹ ²⁶ humallait A¹

27^a. Their Father is noble God, their mother is Holy Church ; let it not be mouth-humility ; let each have compassion on his brother.

27^b. If they should go for obedience to work together, heavy is the institution, O brother ! this :—“let it be I who do it.”

27^c. Holy and pure be their hearts ; in [times of] infidelity let them be true, in the calculation of their arguments, in the help of their deeds.

27^d. When reward is being shared out to each according to his measure, give thou to the brother yonder who needs it most.

28. A stepping to nones, a crying out with psalms, for vigils a prostration, it is mentioned, let them sing the “Beati” of the other world towards the bell for the refectory.

29. At the cross in the presence of the head of the monks, that demons may not utter pæans ; with humility, without disputes, let each confess his faults there.

30. The debt of the river to carry water when there is stepping to good tables, oblation and drink for sages, the breadth of a thumb from the bee-swarms.

31. The motion of the bell to thank the King who created food, from the feast-day of John the Just of grace until Easter of the Lord who ascended.

31^a. A cake of thirty ounces, in measure by twelve inches (in size), it is just, unless a famine take it from them, the brethren should get it about nones.

32. If the erennagh be wise, his rule shall not be harsh ; as the food shall be, so will the order be.

umaloit A² humaloit B¹ 27 tacrad A 28 admad A¹ 29 cinnta A²
 cinta B² 30 imirt B 31 mhiasaib maithi A¹ m :: suph maithuibh A²
 mi aib maithi B¹ miaib maiti B² 32 lehet A¹ lethat A² 33 oirne A²
 ordne B 34 om, A¹ 35 atlugad A altugad B 36 tuara A¹ tuarad A²
 tuarae B¹ tuare B² 37 oin A² Eóin B¹ Eoin B² 38 coir codd. 39 thorat A¹
 om. B 40 conaime B¹ conaime B² 41 conuali A¹ conualla A² conuaille B
 42 uinge codd. 43 mesair codd., which I have separated into mess ar 44 ma
 gabta A¹ munagab- A² 45 gorta codd. 46 dleguid A² 47 riaghail A¹B¹
 riag- A²B² 48 nib A¹ ni cett. 49 amhail A¹ am- A²B 50 bhes A¹ bias A²
 beis B² 51 acnamadh A² in secnabuid B¹ an seacnap B² 52 bad samlaidh A¹
 ba samlaid A² bud amluid B¹ pad hamlat B² 53 ort B

33. Ná bad rothend, ná bad lax, níp riágol¹ cen físs,
ara rucca² cách a mám,³ ná⁴ farcba⁵ a liss.

34. Céin⁶ mbete⁷ illuccirnaigdi, céne⁸ mbess⁸ coic⁹ fíal, findbalc,¹⁰
cid saill, cid feoil a airbert, cid coirm,¹¹ cid croith,¹² cid
lemlacht.¹³

35. Cid mid,¹⁴ cid broccóit¹⁵ flatha,¹⁶ cid dúthracht duini¹⁷ uithir,¹⁸
is arán tur, is biror as idan donaib sruithib.

36. Iar ngrád ocus aurlataid¹⁹ bad šamlaid fodáilter,
cia beith nech bess anumal,²⁰ tacair ní rochráiter.²¹

37. Nech nád²² daim a chúrsachad ocus nád ataim cairi²³
dlomaid²⁴ dó in t-anmcharae²⁵ dochum nach loccán aili.²⁶

37a. Ní raib fénid²⁷ ná banscál 'sind loccán i mbíat,²⁸
is amnas, is andiarraid²⁹ int ordan frisgniat.

38. Ainmne is umaldóit certae³⁰ cid maith, cid saich,³¹ cid
bochtae,³² ní locht do chlérchib sechtae.³³ dá trian crábaid a
dochtae.³⁴

39. Ó³⁵ ocht calne³⁶ apréile³⁷ frissa riagla³⁸ ráde
is nóin, i lluc lére, co hOctimbir áige.

39a. Nech dothéi³⁹ do chélidiu⁴⁰ co mugada Dé,
ní bes dech⁴¹ adcethar⁴² bad ed⁴³ ón foglé.⁴⁴

40. Cen aisc ocus ingabáil,⁴⁵ cen écnach nach⁴⁶ bí,
i ssocht amal⁴⁷ ní acced⁴⁸ is ní cloath⁴⁹ ní.

1 riagail A ¹ B ¹	riag- A ²	riaghall B ²	2 aro rucctha A ²	a ratt ruga B		
3 maim B ¹	<i>om.</i> B ²	4 niro A ²	nachar B ¹	5 focba A ¹	facb- A ²	aba B
6 cen B	7 mbeití A ¹	beth A ²	méte B ¹	meite B ²	8 bes A ²	mes B
9 coi B	10 finnbailc B ²	11 cuirm A ² B	12 croich A ² B ¹	croic E ²		
13 lemacht A ²	14 mil A ²	15 bragait A ²	brogoit B	16 o fhlatitib A ¹		
o flathaiph A ²	fledha B	17 duine A	dainib B ¹	daine B ²	18 drutib A ²	
duthuib B ¹	duthuibh B ²	19 aurlatad A ¹	urlat ^v A ²	urlataid B	20 bes	
anumail A ¹	bess anumhal A ²	bésach umal B ¹	beasach umhal B ²	21 ni		
rocrater A ²	nirocraitter B ¹	rirocraition B ²	22 nad A ²	na cett.	23 caire MSS.	
24 dlomta A ¹	dlomto A ²	dlomthar B ¹	dlomtar B ²	25 annmchara MSS.		

33. Let it not be too strict ; let it not be lax ; let it not be a rule without knowledge, that each may be able to bear his yoke, that he may not leave his enclosure.

34. As long as they shall be in a place of prayer, as long as there shall be a cook, generous, fair, and strong, whether his repast be salt meat or flesh, whether it be mead, curds, or warm milk.

35. Whether it be mead or princely malt, though it be the desire of a sick man, it is dry bread, it is cress, which is pure [food] for sages.

36. According to rank and obedience let it be thus shared out, though there should be one who is naturally disobedient, it is fitting that he should not be tormented.

37. A person who does not endure reproof, and who confesses not his blame, the confessor should warn him off towards some other place.

37^a. Warrior or woman there should not be in the place in which they dwell ; [it is harsh, it is fierce, the order they serve.

38. [It is] patience and humility which set right good and evil and poverty ; simulation is no fault of clerics ; two-thirds of piety is its closeness.

39. From the eighth day before the Kalends of April it is nones in which he should recite the rules (?) in a place of piety until the period of October.

39^a. A person who goes on a visit to servants of God, the best thing he sees, let it be that he learns.

40. Without calumny or attacking, without reviling any living thing, in silence as if he saw not and heard not any thing.

²⁶ loccain ali A² loccan naile B¹ loccan naille B² ²⁷ fer fene A¹ fer feine A²
²⁸ isind loccain imbiadd A¹ isin logan imbiat A² ²⁹ aindiarraith A¹ andierriith A²
³⁰ certa A¹B ³¹ saith A²B¹ ³² bochta A²A¹B ³³ sechta A¹A²
 secka B¹B² ³⁴ a tocta A¹ in dochda A² a tochta B¹ a ttochta B²
³⁵ om. B ³⁶ Kl. MSS. ³⁷ apirl A² abl- B ³⁸ frissa riagla A¹ frisin
 riagail B ³⁹ dotheis A¹ dothe A² ⁴⁰ chelidhe A¹ celiudi A² ⁴¹ is
 deach A² ⁴² atcheadar A¹ atceatur A² ⁴³ betned A² ⁴⁴ fogle A¹
 dogne A² ⁴⁵ imgabail A¹ imgabal B ingabail A² ⁴⁶ na B² ⁴⁷ amhail A¹
 am- cett. ⁴⁸ ni faiceth A¹ nafaiced A² ninfaci B ⁴⁹ 7 nilcloath A¹
⁷ naclor A² is ni cluine B¹ is ni duine B²

40^a. Ferthaiges¹ umal aurlithe² don chumang conicc,³
bendachad ocus fálte fri cech⁴ n-óin dodnic.⁵

41. Tech glan donaib⁶ óigedaib ocus tene⁷ móir,
ossaic⁸ is indlat doib la dergad cen brón.

41^a. Airchinnech glan, cráibdech, algen fri cech ndlicht,¹⁰
fodlad diá manchaib co cert, ni rucca as a richt.¹¹

41^b. Ní rop romór,¹² ní rop¹³ terc, ní epre na olc,¹⁴
fúacrad do chách a chlóini,¹⁵ níp espach a phort.¹⁶

42. Ferthaiges¹⁷ slemon,¹⁸ cobarchar, secnap slemon,¹⁹ gand,
coic²⁰ soichlech²¹ ocus suichlech²² fo réir n-appad n-and.²³

43. Saccart cráibdech cléirchide fri hurdu do grés,
riaglóir demin condaircglech²⁴ conoathar bés.

44. Techtaire mláith,²⁵ mil-tenghach,²⁶ nad²⁷ tasci²⁸ na olc,²⁹
a³⁰ n-as³¹ dech rocluinethar.³² atfét inna phort.³³

45. Munter umal, aurlaithe,³⁴ nád epir³⁵ ní reg,³⁶
airchinnech ciúin, condircel,³⁷ cen sain-techtad feb.³⁸

46. Étsecht³⁹ lasin⁴⁰ n-airchinnech i rrched for nem,
co n-eprea⁴¹ ap archaingel— “táit⁴² le is fo-chen.”⁴³

47. Robad⁴⁴ inmuin comitech,⁴⁵ ba móir meld a gnás,
cen acht⁴⁶ fo mám⁴⁷ aurlatad,⁴⁸ cen díchmairc co báis.

48. Timarnad⁴⁹ duit-siu⁵⁰ ó Ailbiu⁵¹ nephdeirge⁵² do phuirt,⁵³
bad⁵⁴ less⁵⁵ do anmae⁵⁶ dogné, ná⁵⁷ bad⁵⁸ less do chuirp,

¹ Ferthaiges A¹ firdigess A² ² aurlaiti A¹ urlat A² ³ connic A
⁴ don coig frie gach A² ⁵ connicc A¹ donic A² ⁶ dona AB ⁷ tine A² .t. B
⁸ óssuic A² ⁹ dergad A¹ indlad A² innlud B ¹⁰ nandliucht A¹
¹¹ riucht A¹ ¹² nirbad ramor A² ¹³ rap A² ¹⁴ oipri nach nolc A²
 epre nach olc A² ¹⁵ cloine A¹ cloaíne A² ¹⁶ port A ¹⁷ fertaigis A¹
 ferdiges A² ferdais B¹ fosdais B² ¹⁸ slemuin A² sleamain B² ¹⁹ sleman A²
 slemain B¹ sleamain B² ²⁰ coicc A¹ coici B ²¹ soichlech A² sochill B¹
 soicill B² ²² soichlech B¹ sochlech B² ²³ ann B ²⁴ dichondircel A¹
 dicondircel A² ²⁵ bláith A¹B mblaith A² ²⁶ biltengtach A¹ mbiltengtach A¹
²⁷ na A²B ²⁸ taisci A taisc B ²⁹ nach olc A¹ nach nolc cett. ³⁰ anni A¹
 inni A² indí B ³¹ is A²B ³² atcluine(ther) A² rocluinnetar B² ³³ ina
 port MSS. ³⁴ aurlatid A² urlataid B¹ urlaitaid B² ³⁵ nat ebar A¹ nad eipir A

40^a. A steward, humble, obedient, to the extent of his power, blessing and welcome for everyone who comes to him.

41. A clean house for the guests and a big fire, washing and bathing for them, and a couch without sorrow.

41^a. A pure, pious erennagh, gentle in every determination, let him distribute justly to his church tenants, let him not take them beyond their power.

41^b. He should not be too great, he should not be scant, he should not utter any evil, let him proclaim to everyone his transgression, his monastery should not be idle.

42. A tactful, help-loving steward, a gentle, sparing vice-abbot, a generous cook with a well-stored pantry (?) under the rule of an abbot there.

43. A pious, clerical priest, in orders always, a sure and compassionate ruler who preserves good manners.

44. A smooth, honey-tongued messenger who reports no evil, the best thing he hears he tells in his monastery.

45. A community humble, obedient, which says not "I will not go"; a gentle, compassionate erennagh without private possession of goods.

46. A departing with the erennagh into the kingdom in heaven, that the Abbot of the archangels may say, "Come ye hither and welcome."

47. Dear would be the indulgence, very pleasant the practice of it, without hesitation under the yoke of obedience, without transgression until death.

48. A command to thee from Ailbe, the non-desertion of thy monastery, let it be the good of thy soul thou workest, let it not be the good of thy body.

nat ebir B	³⁶ ragh A ¹	rag A ²	nach bréC B	³⁷ condarcel A ¹	condaisc . . . A ²
conairchell B ¹	conarcell B ²			³⁸ saindecht atfét B ¹	saindect atfet B ²
³⁹ estecht A ¹	eistecht A ² B		⁴⁰ risin B ²	⁴¹ conaprä A ¹	conapra cett.
⁴² taitt A ²	toigheacht B ¹	teacht B ²		⁴³ mochen A	fócen B ¹
⁴⁴ ropadh A ¹	ropud B		⁴⁵ comimthecht A ¹	comitecht A ²	⁴⁶ comimtecht B ¹
conimteacht B ²			⁴⁶ cennact A ¹	cendacht A ²	⁴⁷ cin nach B ¹
⁴⁷ fuile B ¹	fuighe B ²		⁴⁸ aurlatid A ²	urlataid B	⁴⁹ Timarnat A ¹
timarnuth A ²	timarnad B ¹	timarnad B ²		⁵⁰ duitsi A ¹ B ¹	detsi A ² .
duitse B ²		⁵¹ albi A	alibe B	⁵² nipdergea A ¹	nepdergi A ²
nibdergi B ¹	nidergi B ²		⁵³ du poirt A ²	do port B ²	⁵⁴ bat A ²
⁵⁵ les A	léir B ¹	leir B ²		⁵⁶ anmæ A ¹	ainma A ²
ni A ¹				anmae B ¹	ainimne B ²
⁵⁷ pad A ¹	⁵⁸ pad A ¹	bat A ²	bud B ¹	pud B ²	

49. Dlúthad ríaglae¹ cléirchide,
it recles³ oc ernaigdi,
dogrés bad a lúath,²
cen etarcert túath.

50. Cen foigdi⁴ réir muintire
doairmesca irnaigdi,⁶
olc la Satán sen,⁵
níconbeir⁷ for nem.⁸

51. Roscáich a tarchomlath⁹ sund¹⁰
cid ná srengam¹³ ar clérchecht¹⁴
roléiced¹¹ i foill,¹²
co n-étam¹⁵ anaill.

52. Timarnad¹⁶ duit nád¹⁷ dechis¹⁸
fri caingin²⁰ ná athchuingid
for tained¹⁹ na sét
as do liss cot' écc.

53. T' indéin do béimim i cepp²¹
grés oifrind la hirnaigdi,
buith i foss²² co bás,
corpán fedil fás.

54. Dia ndénae-su²³ a n-uile-se,²⁴
bid²⁷ mór do chathir i fus,²⁸
ainfe²⁵ co mba²⁶ sen,
be manchach²⁹ for nem.

55. Dia ndénae-su³⁰ a n-uile-se,³¹
bad³⁴ for³⁵ déirc *ocus* umli³⁶
be³² ferr asa³³ ferr,
congabthar³⁷ do chell.

56. Araléga,³⁸ nascríba,³⁹ i Cluáin Cóiláin ní chela,⁴⁰
a maicc,⁴¹ fobithin goire
fri hEogan atabera.⁴²

¹ riaglai A¹ riagla A²B¹ riagalla B² ² bad tu luat A¹ na bat lh A²
bat a luath B¹ bat ad luath B² ³ reicles B¹ reiclis B² ⁴ fognam do A¹
foig do A² foigdi B ⁵ sein A¹B¹ fein B² ⁶ toairmesca A¹ doairmesca A²
toirmesc ina húrnaigthe B¹ toirmiosg ionna úrnaighthe B² ⁷ ni congab B²
⁸ nim B¹ ⁹ Roscaith a tarchomallath A¹ roscaich itarchomlath A² roscaith
etarcomallnadh B ¹⁰ suna B¹ sonn B² ¹¹ rolecceth A¹ rolecith A²
rolécete B¹ roleiccte B² ¹² failli B¹ ffaille B² ¹³ nosrengam B ¹⁴ clérech A¹
cléirchecht A² cléire B ¹⁵ cōetam B² ¹⁶ timarnath A² ¹⁷ nad A¹
na cett. ¹⁸ dechais A dechuis B¹ deacus B² ¹⁹ taireth A² tared B²
²⁰ quaingen A² caingne B¹ caingeana B² ²¹ Toindein do beim i cepp A¹

49. The binding of the clerical rules, continual be the mention of it (?), in thy cell at prayer without lay interpretation.

50. The ruling of the community without begging (?)—a thing which Satan hates, [begging] which prevents prayer and brings not to heaven.

51. What has been collected has passed; it has been neglected: why do we not cast off our clerical state that we may get something else?

52. A command to thee that thou go not on the way of the roads for business or begging outside thy monastery until thy death.

53. A striking of thy anvil into the block [it is] to be here until death, the practice of mass with prayer, a body constant, empty.

54. If thou do all this, thou shalt live to be old; great shall be thy city here; thou shalt have many monks in heaven.

55. If thou do all this, thou shalt be better and better; let it be on alms and humility that thy church be founded.

56. Thou shalt recite it, thou shalt write it, in Clúain Cóiláin; thou shalt not conceal it, O son; for the sake of piety thou shalt say them to Eogan.

toinden do beim a cep A² toinmen do bim i cip B¹ tiomnad b[—] B² ²² beith
 iffoss A¹ ueith afoss A² beith i fos B¹ bheith a fos B² ²³ ndenasa A¹
 ndenaisea A² ndeinesi B¹ ²⁴ anumlasa B ²⁵ anfe *codd.* ²⁶ combat A¹
²⁷ beit A¹ beith A²B² beth B² ²⁸ a talam A¹ hi talmain A¹ hi talam B
²⁹ la mancho A¹ bat manchu A² bit manach B ³⁰ ndeness-se A¹ ndenisu A²
 ndeinesi B¹ ³¹ anumlasa B ³² bud A¹ ba B ³³ isa B¹
³⁴ bat A² ba B¹ *om.* B² ³⁵ *om.* B² ³⁶ umlae B¹
 comhairle B² ³⁷ congebthar *codd.* ³⁸ arléga B¹ airleaga B² ³⁹ noscriba A
 nasgriba B² ⁴⁰ celae A¹ céla B¹ cealla B² ⁴¹ mic A² ⁴² atbera B

NOTES.

Verse 1. *Gēbes* I take to be a Mid.-Ir. present; *gaibes* would be the Old-Ir. present, *gēbas* the Old-Ir. future. *Feig* is glossed *grinn* in A¹.

v. 2. Over the first half of the first line A¹ has the gloss *tost nemhchaintech a obair*. *Ba*, the reading of A, may here be the correct reading: cf. ÉRIU i. 206, note on v. 22. I think, however, that the *d* of *bad* has simply fallen out before the following initial dental. *'Adlaicc* is glossed *fonn no mian* in A¹. *Labair* is a predicative genitive.

v. 3. For *indéin* cf. Sg. 110^b1. If *anmae* be the genitive of *anim* 'a soul,' the masculine form of the genitive *cech* is very peculiar; on the other hand, the elision of the final *a* of *cecha* would not be in accordance with the usual rules of Irish metric. *Fuili* means literally 'bleeding, wounds'; it is glossed *peccad* in A²: cf. also O'Dav. 1003. *Fossud* is glossed *ciuin* in A¹.

v. 4. Thurneysen suggests *cen gen faitbiud*, 'without a smile of derisions.' *Ane* is a derivative noun from *dn* 'splendid'; it is glossed *dionhaoines* in A¹. I do not know its gender, nor that of *gdre*, but have supposed them to be feminine.

v. 5. *ní té dogrés cen assu* seems to mean that he should always wear sandals, and not shoes. The acc. pl. form *assu* occurs in the Book of Armagh. Its rhyming with *maissi* here seems to indicate some corruption in the original text. *Corthair* is glossed *fadluing nó brat* in A¹. For *partaing* cf. Stokes, Ir. Texte iii.; it is indeclinable here.

v. 6. *dul* seems to be a loan-word from the Latin *dolus*; I have not met the word elsewhere. *Diubairt* is glossed *meallcunrad* in A¹. I do not know what in *aire* means; in form it might be a late masc. dat.; *aire* 'watchfulness' is feminine. See *Ascoli*.

v. 7. With *uailbech*, cf. *uailbe* CZ. iii. 452.1, *uailbetu* Ml. 63^b8, *ind ualib* Wb. 26^b22, as Bergin has pointed out above, § 155, the adjective means, not 'proud,' but 'restless.'

Serb is evidently the Latin *servus*; it is glossed *mogh* in A¹, *uad mod* (*bad mod?*) in A².

I have not met *dlgech* elsewhere. It may be derived from *álaig* 'good behaviour.' See Meyer, Contrib., p. x. In the second line, *ba* of A² may be the correct reading; see note on v. 2.

v. 8. *docht* is, perhaps, the Latin *doctus*. See Amra Coluimcille, Rev. Celt. xx. 168. *Caithmech* I take to have been written for *cathmar*, under the influence of the preceding *fethmech*. The emendation is, however, doubtful, as all the MSS. have *caithmech* ('liberal'). For *feithmech* cf. Mod.-Ir. *feitheamh* 'a watching.' I have not met the word elsewhere; it is just possible that it comes from *feith* 'a sinew.'

Srāb is an *ἄπαξ λεγόμενον*. It may be cognate with W. *ffraw*.

v. 8a. This verse is not found in A¹. The second *airi* seems to be a masc. genitive; it can hardly be the genitive of the word for 'vigilance,' which is feminine, and which would not be repeated so soon. Have we here, and in v. 6, an unknown masculine word *aire*?

v. 9. *Tépad* ('let him carve'?) may be right; but it is probably a corruption due to the influence of *foddad*. As far as form goes, *trebad* might be the verbal noun;

but *foddad* can be only 3 sg. imperat., since its verbal noun would be *fodil*. In the second half of the line *rig-thech* ('palace') may be the correct reading; it would naturally be corrupted to the more usual *riched*.

v. 10. *no-s-geba* I take to be a Mid. Ir. subj. The genitive *baitsi* is peculiar. Is it for *baite*? *baithis* is usually uninflected, though an analogical dat. *baithius* (as if from a nom. *baithes*) occurs. *Sét* may be the word meaning 'path.'

v. 11. *céla* must be a future to rhyme with the present subj. *éra*, the root of which is long.

vv. 12, 13. These two verses with their 7 + 5¹ structure were probably, in spite of the fact that they occur in all the texts, originally marginal interpolations taken from another Rule.

v. 12. *combruth* of A² would give good sense; cf., however, Wb. 5⁴38 for an obscure word *comrud* which may be the correct reading here.

v. 13. cf. *isel fri ard*, Thes. ii. 235.

v. 14. For the s-subj. *op*, cf. *op* Ml. 20^b6, *oip*, ib. 42^a2, and ÉRIU i. 206, note on v. 20. Perhaps *do-dn-imgera* is for *do-dn-airbera* 'who bows himself down.' There is an evident corruption.

vv. 15, 20. Here we have the 7 + 5¹ system recurring. Cf. vv. 12, 13.

v. 16. With *dermania* cf. *co n-dermannamar* Ml. 21^c3. *Cerbhala i. cogadh*, O'Dav. 285, who quotes this verse. It cannot be sing., as the sing. would be contracted: it must be either a fem. or neut. acc. pl., as the -u remained in the masc. acc. pl. until late Mid. Ir.

v. 17. For *sléchtain* and *biet* cf. ÉRIU i. 203, note on 3a. *Cestaib* cannot be the dat. pl. of *césad* 'suffering,' if it rhymes with *fescair*. The reading *fescair* is not very clear; it is needed for the rhyme; but the only ms. that keeps it has to eke out the full number of syllables by using the fem. genitive form *cacha*; perhaps the original reading was *fri cach fescor cét sléchtain*, in which case *céstaib* would be the dat. pl. of *césad* 'suffering.' It is quite possible that the verse may be like v. 18, a 7 + 6² interpolation, in which case *laithi* would be a corruption of an original *láí*, and the third half-line would probably run *cét sléchtain cech fescair*.

v. 18. *Ioain* is a disyllable in Old Ir. This is a 7 + 6² verse.

v. 19. The reading of A in the first line of this verse may be right. It gives the correct number of syllables, but on a 9 + 5 scheme.

v. 21. This verse comes in after v. 23 in B². *Tua* is disyllabic. The rhyming of slender *r* with broad *ch* is curious; perhaps the end-words should be amended to the adjectival genitives *lessa* ('advantageous') and *messá* ('moderate'), or the reading in the second line may be *messar*, a 3rd sing. pres. subj. from *midíur*; *med messar* might mean 'the scale should weigh it out,' cf. *fessar* side by side with *festar*.

For *arco fuin imondaire* cf. ÉRIU i. 207, note on v. 28.

v. 23. The second line of the verse seems to mean that each should listen in silence, unless he wishes to get a penance for breaking the rule of silence.

v. 24. I have not met the word *reic* elsewhere. There is a Mod.-Ir. word *reic* 'a crying out,' which may be the same as the first part of this compound.

v. 25b. The first line of the verse is a 9 + 6², the second a 7 + 6². I have chosen *fria* in preference to *fiad*, because it governs the acc., which the rhyme needs.

v. 25c. The construction of *do chross* is not very clear; it can hardly be a dative dependent on *tairned*; cf. v. 25b. *Deraib* is evidently a scribal error due to the preceding *dianairb*. That the original scribe was somewhat careless in writing this

verse, is evident from the trouble which his arrangement of the numerous adjectives gave to the later scribes of A¹ and A².

v. 26. The end-rhymes are here correct, as *-ae* had already fallen together with *-a* in the MI. and Sg. glosses; *rt* cannot be palatalized.

vv. 27b, d. Here again we get 7 + 5 interpolations; and it is worth noting that in both verses the auditor is addressed directly in the second person. The copula with which both MSS. begin the second line is unnecessary for the meaning, and gives the line too many syllables. The fact that each of the MSS. supplies a different form of the copula seems to show that it was not in the original MS.; and I have therefore omitted it. *Trummae* I take to be the adjectival genitive of the abstract noun. If the word *ord* could bear the meaning 'order, command,' the second line would probably mean 'Heavy is the command, oh brother—let me do it.' I have, however, never met *ord* in this sense.

v. 27c. *a n-amairse* is a peculiar-looking dative; it may, however, be the plural of an adjective *anaimiris* 'not unfaithful,' or it may be *i n-aim irse* 'in time of faith.' Professor Strachan suggests *amainse* 'subtlety': cf. KZ. xxx. 96. Is *fira* an adjectival genitive?

v. 28. *Sruitib*, although found in only one MS., may be the correct reading. It would quite naturally be changed to *salmaib* for the sake of the rhyme with *allair*. The second *nuall* of the MSS. evidently crept from the first into the second line of the verse through the carelessness of the original scribe. *Air ceil clocaín* of B seems to mean 'upon the belfry'; there is, however, a Mid.-Ir. word *aircheall* = *timchell*, for which see Ir. Texte I. For *alltar* cf. Meyer's Contributions.

v. 30. Colgan, in his *Acta Sanctorum*, under the date Feb. 13th, quotes this verse as "verse 37 of Ailbe's Rule" in Latin as follows:—"Cum sident ad mensam adferantur herbae sive radices, aquâ lotae in mundis scutellis; item poma, cervisia et ex alveario mellis ad latitudinem pollicis id est aliquod favi."

In the Old-Ir. word for 'river' there are two stems—(1) *abann* with genitive *abne* (cf. *gaibne*), dat. and acc. *abinn*, and (2) *aba* with gen. *abann*. Professor Thurneysen thinks that this latter may have been a later formation on the analogy of the *n*-stems: cf. *persa* (with gen. *persann*) for the older nom. *persan* (gen. *persine*), and that it may have been originally a *u*-stem with nom. *aub*, gen. *aba*. *Oirdne* cannot be the gen. of the ordinary nom. form *ordu*; is it an analogical genitive to a supposed fem. nom. form *ordan*? *Saithib* is glossed *crithir mela* in A¹. See page 8 of the *Leabhar Breac* for a curious Rule dealing with monastic meals.

v. 31. For *con-ualai* see Hy. ii. 65.

v. 31a. If the MSS. reading be kept, this verse is in Setnad metre 8² + 7¹, *deec* and *diib* counting as disyllables. If this be the correct reading, we may have here the same form which occurs in v. 21. Here, however, it can hardly be the adjectival genitive of *mesar* 'moderation,' which seems to point to the fact of its being in the former case also a peculiar s-subj. of *midiur*. For the use of *dlegait*, cf. Cormac's Rule—*Serc Dé dliges a uamun*.

vv. 32, 33. Here, again, we get a 7 + 5¹ system.

v. 34. c. f. *airbert bith* 'a meal,' Laws Gl. Meyer (*Aisl. Maic Conglinne*) translates *croth* 'cream.' *Lemnacht* ('new milk'), the reading of B, may be correct; but it would hardly be corrupted into the much less usual *lemlacht*. The reading *cen mescoi fiadha* of B is a curiously unintelligent corruption of the A text.

v. 35. The different corruptions of the A and the B groups both point directly to the right reading being *flatha*, gen. of *flaith*; in the one case the word lost its sense to be corrupted into the more suitable *fledha*, which resembled it in form; in the other

it kept its sense, but was changed in form in order to make it rhyme with the end-words. If there were a word *flaith* meaning 'ale,' it might be the reading here (though what 'malt of ale' would mean I do not know): I have not, however, met any example of the word in Old or Early Mid. Ir. Windisch, Ir. Texte I., quotes Cormac in support of the meaning 'ale' which he gives for this word, but the YBL. Cormac gives (not *flaith* but) *laith* i. *cuirm*. The readings *duthuib* and *drutib* in the last word of the first line may have crept into the B and A² MSS. owing to the scribes' desire to get alliteration, but the readings *cid dūthracht donaib drūthib* 'though it be a thing to be desired by lewd men' and *cid dūthracht donaib dūthaib* 'though it be a thing to be desired by fools' would suit both the metre and the sense. For *othar* see Laws, Glossary; one would expect its genitive to be *uithir*.

v. 36. The reading of B, *bésach, umal*, would give fairly good sense; but *anumal* suits the metrical scheme better as being a trisyllable.

v. *caire*, cf. ML. 34^a18. For *dlomaid* cf. LU. 39^b18, LL. 152^b45, ML. 59^d7.

v. 37a. As this curious interpolation runs in the MSS., its first line is an 8 + 7², its second a 7 + 6² metre. Owing to the lack of context, emendation can only be of the most tentative nature. Perhaps it was originally a Great Deachnaidh verse, 8² + 6²; if so, *fer féne* should be left in the first line, and some monosyllable, such as *is* (*and*), supplied in the first half of the second; *biat* must, of course, be a disyllable, as it rhymes with *-gniat*.

v. 38. The rhyme points to the correctness of the reading in B in the first half of the first line, and, therefore, in the second half also. *Certae* is probably a rel. 3rd pl. for *certate*, of which the second syllable would fall regularly, and the second *z* be lost by dissimilation. If there were such a noun as *certae* 'righteousness,' the first line of the verse might mean—'Patience, humility, and righteousness in good and evil and poverty'; but I have no instance of such a word, *cert* being the noun as well as the adjective. The 7 + 7² scheme ends with this verse.

v. 39. This verse is in Rinnard, 6² + 6². I have expanded Kl. into *calne*, gen. of *caland*. For *frissa riagla rdde* cf. *ma ro laidib lamais*, Fél. The Old-Ir. form of the 3rd s. pres. is *rádi*; *dige*, however, must end in *e*, as it is masc.: cf. Meyer's Contributions. The construction of this verse is very involved; but the meaning is evidently that the rules should be read out at nones during the summer half-year.

v. 39a. The 7 + 5¹ system begins here, and continues without a break to the end, the 7 + 7² verse, which ends the poem, being merely a little personal statement, and not part of the Rule. *Mugada* is probably a Mid.-Ir. acc. formation: cf. *tractaireda* LU. 33^a6 and LL. passim. It may possibly be for *mug ada* 'a fitting servant'; but in this case one would expect *mug n-ada*.

v. 40. For *aisc* 'calumny, reproach,' see Táin B. C. (Windisch). The reading of B violates the rule that, when *amat* indicates an unreal supposition, it is in Old Irish (1) followed by the past subj., (2) not followed by the rel. *n*; the reading of A², on the other hand, violates the rule that in such cases it takes *ní* as its negative.

v. 40a. The first half of the first line of this verse has a syllable too many; the first half of the first line of verse 41a has a syllable too few. As v. 41a probably followed v. 40a in the original rule, from which the A interpolations were taken, the scribe may have exchanged the adjectives *glan* and *umal* either through carelessness in glancing at his original text, or from a desire to get alliteration in the adjectives. The use of *do* in the first line is curious; *don* may, however, be for *din*.

v. 41. I have expanded 7 as *is*, since *doiib* is always a disyllable in Old Ir.

v. 41a. See note on v. 40a. For *dlicht*, 'determination, dividing out,' see

O'Dav. 638; for as a richt cf. *assa richt cbir*, ÉRIU I. 218; the sense of the verse here is evidently that the prior should not work his church-tenants beyond their power. For the precise meaning of *manach* see ÉRIU I. 207, note on v. 28a.

v. 42. *Slemon* has evidently crept from the second half of the first line into the first half, where it has displaced some monosyllabic adjective which probably began with a *c*, perhaps *cert*. I have taken *suichlech* to be an adjectival formation from *cuile* 'a store-house'; *sochuilech* would regularly give *suichlech*. It may, however, be a second later adjectival form, from *so-chiall* and mean 'prudent.' For the transferred *n* before and see Thurneysen, CZ. v. 14.

v. 43. For the deponent forms of *conbí* see Strachan, Deponent Verb. As *condairclech* of B suits the metre, the A reading is probably due to a clumsy attempt at alliteration. What the exact office of the *riaglóir* was I have not been able to find out; the word comes from the Latin *regularius*.

v. 44. The proceedings of the various scribes in this verse are interesting: *mláith* had become *bláith* in the spoken language at the period of the copying, and so A¹ and B¹ simply write it *bláith*, while A², considering it a case of *eclipsis*, writes *mbláith*; then to preserve the alliteration A¹ changed *mil* to *bil*: B, more faithful, kept *mil*; A², with his *eclipsis* theory, wrote *mbiltengtach*. For *tasci* cf. *taiscim* (2) Laws G1.

v. 45. *reg*, the older form, suits the rhyme better. The eclipsing *t* before *saintechtad* in A is a Middle-Irish corruption of the scribe's. The reading *gin saindecht aifét* 'he tells without a special law' (?) is not very intelligible. For *feb* 'material good' cf. *feba in talman* CZ. iv. 242, l. 1.

v. 46. *Étsecht* cannot here mean 'to listen,' since in Old Ir. in this sense it is followed by *fri*, never by *la*. The use of *ap* here as a term for God helps to date the poem; it shows that it was composed at a time prior to the formation of dioceses, and when in the Irish Church organization the abbot was the highest.

v. 47. I have chosen *comitecht* of A¹, because the reading *comimthecht*, although it would suit the sense better, would not be possible in Old Ir., in which it would be contracted to the disyllable *coimthecht*, thus making only six syllables in the first part of the line. It may, however, be a new momentary formation. For *ba mórmeld a gnás* cf. *ba mórmeld a accaldam* MI. Carm. 1.

v. 48. *Timarnad* may be a perf. passive; but in that case one would rather expect in Old Ir. *doimarnad*. Cf., however, *tuccad = doucad*.

v. 49. The readings in the second half of the first line of this verse are so corrupt that emendation seems hopeless; I have no instance of *liad* 'mention' written with a *th*. Windisch gives *ernaigde* as feminine; but *ernaigdiu* is probably the correct Old-Ir. form; a pl. *ernagda* occurs in the Patrician notes.

v. 50. *Fognam* of A¹ is probably the clumsy emendation of a scribe who did not understand his text. *Foigde* (*fo-guide*) 'begging' may be the reading; but the construction of the whole verse leaves the sense somewhat obscure, and the use of the dat. *réir* for the nom. *riar* seems unlikely in this early Irish.

v. 51. Dr. Strachan has pointed out to me the following passage in the *Uga Cormaic* ('Cormac's Choice'), 23, N. 10, p. 18, in which the verb *srengim* evidently means 'cast off, deny':—

Cia ro-t-srengustar ar tlás, do muinterus mó gach drúis,
dorolgis dó demin scéil iar sceit[h] a dér tar a gnéis.

'Although he (Peter) denied thee through weakness,' &c. If this be the meaning of *srengam* here, the phrase 'what has been collected' probably refers to the monastic

rules. If, however, we take *srengam* in its ordinary meaning, the translation of the verse would run :—

‘What has been collected on this earth [of worldly goods] has passed away; it has been neglected.

‘Why do we not bind up our clerical state that we may get the other world?’

v. 53. The MSS. have *toindein* and *béim*, but *toindein* would certainly be *t'indein* in Old Ir.

v. 54. The reading *i talam* (*i talmain* A²) of the MSS. in the first half of the second line gives a syllable too many; *ifus* is Dr. Strachan's conjecture. Perhaps the reading is *talman* ‘terrestrial,’ adjectival genit. of *talam*. In the second half of the same line the A readings may come from an original *lat manchu* (‘with thy monks’).

v. 55. *congebthar* of the MSS. is Mid. Ir.: cf. *gebes* in v. 1; the Old-Ir. subj. is *congabthar*.

v. 56. The change of number in the infix pronoun in *atabera* is both unintelligible and very abrupt. If *Eogan* is a trisyllable, as Dr. Meyer, *Festschrift für Wh. Stokes*, p. 2, thinks it is in Old Ir., the reading of B, which suits the context much better than the A reading, would also suit the metre.

JOSEPH O NEILL

THE CANONICAL HOURS

THE following note on the Canonical Hours, which is taken from the well-known codex H. 3. 17, Trin. Coll., col. 675, may prove of interest to students of Celtic liturgiology. It will be observed that the Hours correspond with those of the primitive Eastern office.¹ No mention is made of Prime or of Compline. In the Antiphonary of Bangor, 'Secunda' or 'Prima' is included. The omission of it here is therefore noteworthy.

Cid ara ndēntar ceilebrad isna trāthaib-sea sech na trātha aile? Nī *hansa*. Teirt, ar is inti rodilseiged Crist ë Pom Pelait 7 is inti tānic rath super apostolos. Medōn lāi, ar is and dorōini Ādam imarbus 7 is and doratad Crīst i croich. Nōin, ar is and rofāid [a spirut]. Espartu 7 medōn lāi, ænfāth uilc and, ar donīthea audbert intib secundum legem. Midnocht, uero, ar is and dorōonta in[n]a dūili. Iarmērge, ar is and radiult Petar 7 nolēced dēra fola and dogrēs, 7 is and robūailed Crīst i tig Caifas.

TRANSLATION

Why is celebration made at these hours rather than at other hours?² Not hard to say. Terce, because it was then Christ was given up by Pontius Pilate, and therein grace came upon the Apostles.³ Sext, for then Adam sinned and then Christ was placed on the cross.⁴ None, for then He yielded up His spirit. Vespers and Sext, the same cause of evil therein, for offering used to be made in them according to the law.⁵ Nocturns, however, for then the elements were created. Mattins, for then Peter denied and used to shed tears of blood then always,⁶ and then Christ was beaten in the house of Caiaphas.

R. I. BEST

¹ See Batiffol, *Hist. of Roman Breviary*, trs. Baylay, p. 21 sq.

² See *Const. Apostl.* vii. 34, cit. Batiffol.

³ Cf. *Antiphonary of Bangor*, fol. 18 v. (Warren's ed. ii. 20). *Collectio ad Horam Tertiam*: Tibi subnixis precibus Christo Domino supplicamus, qui in hora tertia diei Spiritum Sanctum apostolis orantibus emisisti etc.

⁴ Cf. *Antiph. Bangor*, fol. 18 r. *Collectio ad Sextam*: Tuis parce supplicibus | sexta hora orantibus | Qua fuisti pro omnibus | Christe, in cruce positus etc.

⁵ Exodus xxix. 39.

⁶ Cf. *Antiph. Bangor*, fol. 18 r. *Collectio ad Matutinam*: Gallorum, Christe cantibus | Te deprecor sonantibus | Petri ut quondam fletibus | Nostris intende precibus etc. *Iarmerge* is generally translated 'nocturns' (see Windisch, Wb.); but here a distinction is made between *Midnocht* and *Iarmerge*. Mr. Warren, *op. cit.*, p. 60, notes that " 'Gallorum cantus' evidently means 3 a.m. in the Bangor ms."



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THE *EXORDIUM* OF THE 'ANNALES CAMBRIAE'

I.

WHEN dealing with chronological statements made by ancient Welsh writers, certain modern scholars are prone to ascribe error where there is only difference of formula, and to bring charges of obscurity and incoherence against authors whose chronographical methods they have not qualified themselves to discuss. The modern treatment of the painstaking chronographer of early medieval times is characterized by lack of imagination, and by failure to recognize that a series of chronological statements, which appears to be quite wrong when regarded from one point of view, may be found upon examination to possess systematic coherence of data when regarded from another. It is notorious that some of the chronological statements made by Welsh authors are inconvenient to the English historical system; but they would still remain to plague us even if the standpoint of the very few who approve them, and rely upon them, were finally and unquestioningly abandoned. The written annals would still form the major part of the problem; and our successors must return to them and discuss them until their essence has been extracted, and assimilated into the body of British history. On matters of historical opinion, the views of this age are not likely to be revered as finalities by the next, and in cases where a character for lucidity or obscurity of chronological statements depends upon the point of view that is chosen by modern commentators, it is certain, as well as necessary and right, that the consideration of the problem will and should be resumed again and again. For, after all, the error and obscurity alleged to exist may be subjective only; and the dissipation of these predicaments may therefore depend upon the ability of the scholars concerned to cleanse their mental vision of the effects of bias, and to advance to another point of view with minds temporarily freed from devotion to the Englishman's historical fetish,

which is the belief that the Saxons came to Britain in the reign of the Emperor Marcian and in the year 449 of the Incarnation.¹ This datum is the touchstone of all research-work relating to the period of the Saxon invasion. Those who accept it on the authority of the Venerable Bede repudiate with asperity, bordering on contempt, any expression of the belief that the date he gave in the eighth century does not fit in with what is credibly surmised about the condition of affairs in this country three hundred years before he wrote.

It is difficult to guess why this date of Bede's is to be accepted and held fast without the adequate examination that all mundane matters call for. The retention of it merely because Bede gave it cannot be right; and it has never been shown to be expedient. If there be any who urge that it is profitable to retain it, the cause is before the judge; and it is open to such, either to prove that argument, or to show wherein lies the damage that would result through rejecting Bede's date 449, and substituting the Welsh date 428 in its place.

¹ In Bede's 'Chronica Maiora,' ed. Mommsen, 'Chronica Minora,' III., p. 303, we find:

"A.M.—IIIIIICCCCCX. *Marcianus et Valentinianus an. VII.*

Gens Anglorum siue Saxonum Britaniam tribus longis nauibus aduehitur quibus dum iter prosperatum domi fama referret, mittitur exercitus fortior qui iunctus prioribus primo hostes quos petebatur abigit; deinde in socios arma uertens totam prope insulam ab orientali eius plaga usque ad occidentalem igni uel ense subigit conficta occasione, quod pro se militantibus Brittones minus sufficienter stipendia darent."

In the second chapter after this, Bede narrates the Hallelujah Victory and the journey of Germanus to Ravenna, his reception there by Valentinianus and Placidia, and his death and the removal of his body to Auxerre. All this comes between events that are drawn from Marcellinus, and are referable respectively to A.D. 453 and A.D. 454. St. Germanus of Auxerre died July 31, 448. According to Bede, he must have lived on to 453 at least. Those who are devoted to the fetish-date slur these matters over.

In the *Recapitulatio Chronica*, in cap. xxiiii., Bk. V., of the 'Historia Ecclesiastica,' we may read:—

"*Anno CCCCXLVIII. Marcianus cum Valentiniiano imperium suscipient VII. annis tenuit, quorum tempore Angli a Brettonibus accersiti Britanniam adierunt.*"

In Bk. I., cap. xv., we find the same statement, except that 'tunc' appears in place of 'quorum tempore.' Bede assigned as the limits of the seven years' reign of Marcian A.M. IIIIII.CCCC.III. and A.M. IIIIII.CCCC.X., and he dated the Nativity in A.M. IIIIII.DCCCC.LII. Therefore, he dated Marcian's seven years from Anno Dominicae Incarnationis 452 to A.D. I. 459.

As a chronological statement, Bede's date has numerous faults ; and it requires us to take a great deal on trust. First, it is an asynchronism, because the year 449 did not fall in the reign of Marcian ; second, the use of the formula employed is proleptic in both time and place, because the Dionysian era of the Incarnation, in which the year 449 is counted, was not invented till eighty years later, and was not introduced into Britain till A.D. 597 ; third, its appearance in history is tardy, because it was not written down by Bede until three hundred years after the event ; fourth, its direct provenance is very exceptionable, because Christianity and the use of the Dionysian enumeration of the years of the Incarnation were not introduced among the Angles of Northumbria until one hundred and eighty years after the alleged date ; fifth, its indirect provenance is quite unknown, and we only assume that Paulinus, or Nothhelm, or somebody else reported it in Northumbria on the authority of Kentish chronicles ; sixth, even in Kent, Christianity and the Christian era were not introduced until one hundred and fifty years afterwards ; seventh, no vestiges of a heathen era, or of an historical method of counting the years in heathen times, have been detected in any document of the Anglo-Saxons ; nor have they ever been suspected even of using any such era ; eighth, the Venerable Bede himself when computing in the era of the Saxon invasion, *sc.*, *anno ab aduentu Anglorum in Britanniam*, rejected his own explicit date, and counted the years in this era from A.D. 447.¹

The essential improbability of the date of the Saxon advent given by Bede might be excused if those scholars who support it could rightly claim for it utility and coherence ; if they could

¹ 'H. E.' I. xxiii., p. 42, " *Gregorius . . . aduentus uero Anglorum in Britanniam anno circiter CL. misit seruum Dei Augustinum et alios . . . praedicare uerbum Dei genti Anglorum.*" A.D. 596 minus CL. minus I. = 447. 'H. E.' II. xiii., p. 113. " *Igitur accepit rex Aeduini . . . fidem et lauacrum sanctae regenerationis anno regni sui XI., qui est annus dominicae incarnationis DCXXVII., ab aduentu uero Anglorum in Britanniam annus circiter CLXXXmus.*" As *annus CL.* = 596, *annus CLXXX.* should equal 626, or we should read *CLXXXI.*

'H. E.' V. xxiii., p. 351, Bede tells us that he was writing his book—" *Anno aduentus Anglorum in Britanniam circiter CCLXXXV., dominicae autem incarnationis anno DCCXXXI.*" As *CCLXXXV.* = *DCCXXXI.* *annus I.* = 447, *i.e.*, 731, minus 284.

show that it is not inharmonious with the testimony of foreign chronicles compiled at an earlier date;¹ and if they could explain why it is that so many dates in the 'Annales Cambriae' cannot be rendered coherent with the Bedan system, notwithstanding the fact that the chronological system of that compilation is infected by Bede's date. The scholars referred to have not yet attempted to perform these feats ; and the difficulties presented are insurmountable from their point of approach. The result of the infection referred to is that sturdy parochronisms of fifty and sixty years flourish in Welsh history of the fifth and sixth centuries in unrestrained rankness ; Welsh documentary evidence of high antiquity is strained past breaking-point and attracted out of its true period ; the Welsh genealogies as a whole are ignored, though odds and ends from them are conveyed from time to time into this discussion in order to lend form and colour to stillborn and worthless conjectures ; Welsh hagiographical and poetical evidences, when they are not disregarded and left in suspension, are misunderstood, distorted, and misrepresented ; and the history of two peoples in an interesting crisis in the career of one of them, and during the initial stages in the crystallisation of the national characteristics of each, is left unrelated and incomprehensible—a mass of confusion and error, with a chronology of *vel hoc anno*, and without inter-relation for great part of two centuries between the two national reports. In fine, Welsh annals and English ones during the fifth and sixth centuries form the two parts of a sliding-scale, of which the English part was dislocated at a very early date. This part, through the influence of a venerable name, has been allowed not only to remain unadjusted itself, but even to perturb the calculations derived from the other, to the hopeless confusion of both. There is no reason why this should remain so, and there is nothing new in the preference recently exhibited for the Welsh date of the Saxon invasion—namely, 428. Sixty years have passed away since Henry Petrie and Thomas Duffus Hardy, in the *Chronological Abstract* in the 'Monumenta Historica Britannica,' deliberately rejected the authority of the Venerable Bede ; during the last

¹ 'Chronica Minora,' ed. Mommsen, vol. i., p. 650, *ad an. Chr. 441/442*
"Britanniae usque ad hoc tempus uariis cladibus euentibusque laceratae in
dicionem Saxonum rediguntur. From two Gallic chronicles of the fifth century.

ten years Professor Rudolf Thurneysen has taken a number of opportunities of enforcing the view held by those scholars condemning Bede's computation, and substituting the Welsh date therefor; but English scholars in general are still devoted to the fetish-date—"449, in the reign of Marcian."

When we turn from the barbarian invaders of the Roman province of the Britannias to the contemporary provincial Britons, we find widely different possibilities of recording events and noting the relative dates of them. From about the year 380 to a little after the death of Bede, the Britons were accustomed to compute the date of Easter Day by means of Paschal cycles, which all students of their ecclesiastical history agree were more than eighty-three years in length. From about the earlier year named, they followed either the 'One Hundred Years' List' drawn up by Theophilus, the Patriarch of Alexandria, or the 'Circulus lxxxiiii. annorum,' which was compiled a year or two later. In either case the British Churches were possessed of lists of years connoted with their computistical characteristics which carried the enumeration of those years down to and a little beyond the consulship of Constantinus and Rufus (= A.D. 457). They were apprised also of the computistical changes in the recurrent dates of certain Easters that Pope Leo sanctioned in the middle of the fifth century. We assume this from the nature of the references made to that pope in *annus ix.* of the 'Annales Cambriae.' Moreover, Pope Leo's interference with the dictation of the date of Easter Day made by the Patriarch of Alexandria, his contemporary, resulted in the preparation of the 'Cursus Paschalis' of Victorius of Aquitaine, and the elaboration by him in the consulship of Constantinus and Rufus, just now referred to, of a new era of the Passion of Jesus Christ. This 'Cursus Paschalis' comprised the numbers of the year of the Passion in the Victorian era, the names of the Roman consuls, the calendar date of Easter Day, the *feria*, or day of the week, on which January 1 fell in each year, and some other computistical data. It was undoubtedly known to the Britons at a very early date; certainly some time before the close of the seventh century, when the earlier 'Historia Brittonum' was written. In this treatise, which was incorporated by Nennius with his own collections, the names of the consuls of the year of the Passion cccxlviij. are correctly given from Victorius's 'Cursus

Paschalis.' And other consular synchronisms with Victorius's Passion-era occur in the *Exordium* of the 'Annales Cambriae' with which I am about to deal. In the Annals themselves it is quite possible that *annus ix.* referred originally to the 'Cursus Paschalis'; for, though there can be no doubt but that the tenth-century compiler of the Annals intended *annus ix.* to equate A.D. 453, it is noteworthy that *annus ix.* in the era of the Saxon advent which began with Bede's year 449 is A.D. 457, the year of the consulship of Constantinus and Rufus. For these reasons I think it is certain that the Britons were in possession, in the fifth century and the following ones, of good chronological models, and that they were able to compute and enumerate throughout a long series of years. If this be conceded, it must follow that a *prima-facie* presumption of chronological trustworthiness is established in favour of a Christian people who possessed the apparatus for determining and enumerating the years. On the other hand, a similar presumption of improbability directly affects the position of all who believe that any fifth-century date whatever could have been preserved for one hundred and fifty or one hundred and seventy years by the heathen Saxons. The stage of culture of those people at that early period was in all probability not very dissimilar from that of the Norsemen of the tenth century; and of their chronology the late Dr. Vigfússon used to say that the only dates in it that were absolutely certain were those connected with the appearance of the comet of 975.¹

II.

The absence of insight into the chronographical methods employed in early medieval times induces unreflecting intolerance towards real but casual mistakes, and hasty rejection of fancied ones. In due course this want of insight and this intolerance breed an attitude of the mind towards the authors who wrote in those times which may be defined as intellectual picksomeness, and which consists in a tendency to select those items from their testimony which will nourish the preconceptions of the moment, and to reject everything else as innutritious. The outward manifestations of this mental attitude towards the

¹ Quoted by Mr. Plummer, 'Two Saxon Chronicles Parallel.' *Notes*, vol. ii., p. 164.

remains of early writers are the denial that they bear a message for us, and the assumption consequent thereupon that the attempts they have made to put their opinions on record were insincere and unworthy of attention. A certain remedy for this want of insight is to assume that the works really have a message for us, and that the authors of them were sincere in the expression of their views. To this assumption must be added the persistent and patient endeavour to appreciate the difficulties and the methods of medieval chronography. Those who neither provide us with texts nor are willing to pursue this course must perforce submit to agree with Sir Harris Nicolas, who said: "It is to little purpose that early chroniclers and annalists should be correct in their dates, or that historical evidences should be carefully preserved, if those who consult them are ignorant of the means of reducing those dates to the present system of computing time";¹ and they should retire from a controversy the obscurities of which their scholarship has signally failed to penetrate, and the general progress through which is retarded by their participation.

The want of insight complained of is conspicuous in the maltreatment of chronological statements made by Welsh authors who wrote before the death of Howel the Good. The 'Annales Cambriae' of that period is a collection of several little chronicles written down in Welsh monasteries during the five preceding centuries. There cannot be much doubt that it was compiled by command of Howel on the plan of the contemporary annalistic work that is known as the 'Saxon Chronicle'; but with this great difference, that the compiler of it dated by interval from an unidentified epoch which is erroneously assigned to the year 444 of the Incarnation by all writers but a very few.² The *Exordium* of the 'Annales Cambriae' has been printed as

¹ 'The Chronology of History,' Pref., p. vi.

² It is so assigned by the Editors of 'Monumenta Historica Britannica,' who were the first to print the documents (though to A.D. 1066 only), p. 830. The Rev. J. W. ab Ithel followed suit in 1860, with his edition of all three MSS.; 'R.B.S.S.,' No. 20. Wm. F. Skene next published a number of annals, in 1867, from the 'Annales Cambriae,' in his 'Chronicles of the Picts and Scots and other Early Memorials of Scottish History,' with the same error. In 1888, Mr. Egerton Phillimore's reproduction of the text of the Harley MS., No. 3859, appeared in *Y Cymroddor*, vol. ix., and the same figures were used to connote *annus 1*. In 1894, Dr. Mommsen, in his 'Historia Brittonum,' enumerated the members of the

part of the Nennian tracts by the editors of the 'Monumenta Historica Britannica'; by the Rev. Joseph Stevenson; and by Dr. Mommsen. It has been turned into English by Dr. Giles in 'The Six Old English Chronicles,' and from the text that Dr. Mommsen selected as the basis of his own edition. This text is that of the Harley MS., No. 3859; and in editing and annotating these few lines of British record some half-a-dozen errors were made.

In dealing with British chronography and chronology Dr. Mommsen was often at fault. He did not recognize that DC. sometimes = 500;¹ he did not understand the computation by

Harley MS., and in a foot-note, p. 134, remarked:—“*Computus hic haud scio an habendum sit pro exordio annalium Cambriae qui sequuntur; eorum enim annus primus uidetur aequiparandus esse anno p. Chr. 444, et ad fere tempora computus ille deducitur.*” In his notes appended to the 'Exordium,' Mommsen did not retain the latter opinion, and equated the last year indicated in the 'Exordium' with A.D. 486. The first year of the 'Annales Cambriae' is 445, and this statement cannot be repeated too often.

¹ On p. 123, Mommsen gives the *marginalia* on folio 249 of the Durham MS., B 11. 35, which was written in the middle of the twelfth century. The DC. dates are reproduced imperfectly in his text, and erroneously in the table he gives at the foot of the page. He remarks: “*numeros proponit parum constantes neque quicquam inde colligitur nisi quod confirmatur codicem de quo agitur vere scriptum esse medio saeculo XII.*” But Dr. J. T. Fowler, of Durham University, was so good as to make me a diplomatic transcript of these *marginalia* in 1897, and they are quite coherent with themselves, provided the investigator have the key—namely, that DC. = 500. E.g., we are told that *annus MCLXVI.* was “*aduentus Augustini DC.LXVIII.*” and this is quite correct, for A.D. 1166 minus 569 = A.D. 597. Mommsen invariably omits the point, which is found in three different positions in different classes of MSS. In Mons. L. Duchesnes' edition of the Chartres Nennius in the *Revue Celtique*, XV., 1894, the period is sometimes printed before the supernumerary *C*. In the Vatican MS. of the 'Historia Brittonum,' and in the Durham MS., just now cited, the point is placed immediately after the supernumerary *C*. William Gunn, who brought the Vatican MS. to light, was aware of this peculiarity; but he did not aim at producing a diplomatic text, and his edition, Petrie's, and Mommsen's, compare as follows:—Gunn, p. 62, ll. 8 and 10: *.DXLII.*; 'M.H.B.' Introd., p. 68, note 5 and text, p. 63, annot. l. 6: *DC.XLII.*; Mommsen, cap. xxxi., p. 172, note 1: *DCXLII.* In one fourteenth-century MS. I have seen, the supernumerary *C* is raised above the line; and in a fifteenth-century one, reproduced by Rees, 'Cambro-British Saints,' the supernumerary *C* is set between two points; and Rees, or his copyist, reproduced it as *et*. This peculiarity runs through many MSS. of the 'H. B.' and it is not confined to these islands. The first year of the Chronicle of St. Waast's, at Arras ('Annales Vedastini') is A.D. 874, and so Pertz printed it ('SS.', ii., p. 196), but with the significant annotation “*MS. DCCCLXXIII. et ita deinceps.*” Pingré, too, speaks in his 'Cométographie' (Paris, 1783), i. 359, of a Chronicle of Saumur, which dates the comet of 892. in *anno DCCCCXCII.*

past years which entirely ignored the current one;¹ he ascribed the use of the orthodox era of the Incarnation to the author of the earlier 'Historia Brittonum,' who wrote *circa* 700, *i.e.*, at a time when the Britons were still schismatic, and when they rejected contemporary Roman methods of computation with disdain;² he treated all years of the Incarnation that are found in Nennius as if they must necessarily be computed in the Dionysian era;³ and, as I must show presently, he failed to apply to the consideration of the chronology of the *Exordium* of the 'Annales Cambriae' that erudition and critical ability which had made his name so famous. I refer to these matters here in order to plead for much indulgence towards the Welsh computists of early days, in consideration of the great difficulties they had to contend with, and for a little on my own account when I shall be found wanting in any particular. We will now consider the matter of the *Exordium*.

III.

The *Exordium* of the 'Annales Cambriae' consists of five chronological paragraphs which may be divided and rendered as follows:—

1. The years from the beginning of the world unto Constantine and Rufus are reckoned at 5658.

¹ Mommsen renders dates computed *per annos praeteritos* as if that were equivalent to *anno*. For instance, he renders the date "*A passione autem Christi peracti sunt anni DCCCLXXIX.*" as if that were "in the year of the Passion 879," whereas it means A.P. 880; 'Chron. Minor., iii. 145, 146. Similarly, he dates one of the editions of Bede's 'Chronica Maiora,' *ib.* p. 280, in 709; whereas the text says "*sexta aetas continet annos praeteritos DCCVIII.*" which obviously means that 709 years of the Sixth Age had elapsed, and that the scribe was writing in A.D. I. 710. Cf. note ², par. 2, p. 126, *infra*.

² Compare the curious letter in Bede's 'H. E.,' II., iii., pp. 87, 88, with Mr. Plummer's notes, vol. ii., p. 83 and *Excursus*, p. 353. Read, also, Bede, II. xx., p. 125, where he says, speaking of the Britons of his own day, A.D. 731, that it is their custom—" *fidem religionemque Anglorum pro nihil habere, neque in aliquo eis magis communicare quam paganis.*"

³ Compare p. 117. The most conspicuous error here is that which has presented annus 859 as a year in the Dionysian era. It is really a year in the era of the Incarnation computed according to Gospel Verity, and it equates with A.D. 837, which was "*duo anni in ogdoade,*" as the Harley MS. says. This, which means "the second year in the Ogdoad," the first of two portions of 8 and 11 years, into which the Decemnovennial period is divided, is an ancient way of saying "Golden Number II."

2. Also from the two Gemini Rufus and Rubelius unto the consul Stilicho there are 373 years.

3. Also from Stilicho unto Valentinian the son of Placidia and the reign of Guorthigirn [there are] 28 years.

4. And from the reign of Guorthigirn to the disunion¹ of Guitolin and Ambrosius there are 12 years, which is Guoloppum, that is, the Battle of Guoloph.

5. Guorthigirn, moreover, was ruling in Britannia when Theodosius and Valentinian were consuls, and the Saxons came to Britannia in the fourth year of his reign, when Felix and Taurus were consuls, and in the 401st year from the [Passion of]² our Lord Jesus Christ.

6. From the year in which the Saxons came to Britannia and were received by Guorthigirn unto [Aëtius and Valerius] there are 69 years.

Dr. Mommsen's treatment of the *Exordium* of the 'Annales

¹ I have rendered "discordia" literally above, but I have no doubt that "discordia Guithelini et Ambrosii" was meant to respond to "Cat Guoloph." The rendering of *cat*, "battle," by "discordia," would not be very unnatural for Welshmen of the tenth century, who employed, as an equivalent of *cat* and *cad*, the much milder word *gweith*, which merely means 'work.' In two Cambridge MSS. of the 'Historia Brittonum'—namely, *C* (margin) and *L*, the word 'Gueith' (= Wight) is glossed: "quam Britones insulam Gueid uel Gueith, quod Latine diuorcium dici potest." Here we get a gloss on "Gueith," which is closely analogous in meaning to *discordia*.

² The earliest distinctively Christian year-date is computed in the era of the Passion of Jesus Christ; and when Christians began to compute the years of our Lord, they not infrequently fell into error when reducing data out of the era of the Passion into that of the Incarnation. The compiler of the 'Exordium' has fallen into this error here; and so, too, has the collector of historical tracts whom we call Nennius. In cap. xvi., p. 158, we read—"a nativitate domini usque ad aduentum Patricii ad Scottos CCCCV. anni sunt." These were drawn originally from an annotated *Laterculus Paschalis* of Victorius of Aquitaine; and we must read *a passione domini*, and compute in the Victorian era of the Passion (= A.D. 28). This will require us to date the arrival of St. Patrick in Ireland between March 24, A.D. 432, and March 25, A.D. 433. So far as formula is concerned, this date is the most ancient respecting St. Patrick that I know. No extant Irish date, judged by formula, can be older than A.D. 631.

In cap. xxxi., p. 172, the Harley MS. dates the reception of the Saxons in "anno CCCXLVII. post passionem Christi." The Irish 'Nennius' gives the formula erroneously as if it were *a nativitate Christi*. The converse error is found in the Vatican MS., cap. iii., p. 145, where we find the fifth year of King Edmund erroneously dated "a passione Christi peracti sunt anni DCCCCXLVI." for A.D. I. 947, A.D. 944.

'Cambriae' is not happy, as I have said already ; and not less than seven errors of omission and commission are comprised in his text and notes.

1st. Dr. Mommsen chose the eleventh-century Harley MS., No. 3859, for his text ; and this MS. is divergent in one important particular in the date given in paragraph 4 (5,—see above) : instead of *quadrungentesimo primo anno* the Harley MS. has "quadrungentesimo anno." It also assigns the year to the era of our Lord's Incarnation ; and in this error the three Cotton MSS. concur. But they all give the year as *cccci.*, and that is the correct year of the consuls *Felix* and *Taurus* in the era of the Passion computed according to *Victorius of Aquitaine*.

2nd. This particular line is annotated wrongly in the *apparatus criticus* ; and we read there : "17/18 quadrungentesimo primo anno, *H*," where for *H*, the symbol of the Harley MS., we must read *K*, the symbol of the Cotton MS., *Vespasian. D. xxi. i.*, of the twelfth century. *Primo* certainly ought to be added to the printed text, as it is found in all MSS. of the anonymous family but the Harley one. It would scarcely be judicious to object to this that two of them belong to the twelfth century, for the Harley MS. itself must have been written very late in the eleventh.

3rd. A misleading chronological note is printed in the margin against paragraph 2. Mommsen gave "p. c. 29" (*post Christum natum 29*) as the date of the consulship of the two *Gemini*. As he was dealing with computations in the era of the Passion according to *Victorius of Aquitaine*, he ought to have given the equation of the year to which *Victorius* assigned that consulship ; namely, A.D. 457 minus (*ccccxxx. minus 1.*) = A.D. 28. Mommsen's equation is, of course, systematically correct ; but it does not fit *Victorius*, and, as I have said, it is misleading.¹

4th. He failed to observe the parallelism between the last

¹ I speak of the effect upon the general reader. If any scholar had pointed to this as an error when the *Gildas-Nennius* part of 'Chronica Minora,' vol. iii., appeared, Dr. Mommsen might have replied that, though it was an error, he had supplied in the first volume of the series, not only the means of correcting it, but also (p. 672) the explanation of the divergence ; and he might possibly have added that a scholar who was likely to be misled by such a palpable mistake had no business to trouble himself about fifth-century chronology.

paragraph of the *Exordium*, 5 (6), and the following passage at the end of cap. xxxi. (p. 172) of the 'Historia,' namely:—

• *H.B.*, Cap. xxxi.

regnante Gratiano secundo cum Equitio
Saxones a Guorthigirno suscepti sunt
anno cccxlvi. post passionem Christi.

Exordium.

Ab anno quo Saxones uenerunt in
Britanniam et a Guorthigirno suscepti
sunt usque ad Decium et Valerianum
anni sunt .lxix.

In the Corpus Christi College MS., No. clxxxiii.,¹ which was written late in the tenth century, this passage appears thus:—

Quando Gratianus consul fuit secundo et Equitius quarto
tunc his consulibus Saxones a Wyrtgeorno in Britannia suscepti
sunt anno cccxlvi. a passione Christi.

Now "cccxlvii. a passione" *plus* "lxix." = *annus a passione* ccccxvi., and that year when reduced to the Dionysian era of the Incarnation is A.D. 444, according to the computation which assigns the Passion to A.D. 29. But *cccxlvii.* should be *cccxvii.*

5th. Owing to this omission, Mommsen felt constrained to reject the identification proposed many years ago by Henry Petrie, and later by Mons. Arthur de la Borderie, of the consuls Decius and Valerianus with Aëtius and Valerius; and (6th) in order to get a result, first he accepted a facile suggestion that "Decius et Valerianus" had grown out of "Decius v. cl." (*i.e.*, "vir clarissimus"); then, as this Decius was consul in 486, and as 428 *plus* lxix. = A.D. 497, he declared that the figures "lxix." signified *lviii.*

7th. Mommsen's failure to realize the bearing of this parallel passage also prevented him from detecting the fact that paragraph 5 (6) of the *Exordium* is an interpolation which was made by the compiler of the *Annales* as an introduction to his own work, and interposed by him between the *Exordium* of another set of annals which he was about to absorb into his own series, and the commencement of that series. Paragraphs 1 to 4 (5) of the *Exordium* are harmonious with the Victorian system; paragraph 5 (6) was written by a compiler who did not understand that system, who was responsible for writing "ab incarnatione d.n. I. Chr." in paragraph 4 (5) instead of *a passione*, and who took his dates and consuls, not from the "Cursus

¹ When enumerating the articles which are comprised in this MS., Dr. Mommsen included "genealogiae regum Britannorum," p. 132. I am sorry to have to say, on the authority of Mr. C. W. Moule, the Librarian of Corpus Christi College, and of Dr. Montague James, that there are no Welsh genealogies in the MS.

Paschalis" of Victorius direct, but at second or third hand. The true date of the consulship of Aëtius and Valerius, according to Victorius, is *ccccv. a passione* = A.D. 432. A forerunner of the compiler of the 'Annales' erroneously equated this datum with *annus ccccxvi.*, which the compiler himself treated as if it were *a passione* according to Jerome (= A.D. 29), and reduced to A.D. 444, after which he began the annalistic portion of his work with "An. I." [= 445].

These mistakes and omissions were made in editing and annotating about a dozen lines of a Welsh document written in Latin about the year 1100, and they were made by the greatest scholar of the age. It is not surprising, therefore, that other scholars should speak of these lines as a "farrago," nor that when their gaze is attracted to such a mirage as that which I have exposed, they should regard the document upon which that mirage has been begotten as a tissue of inexplicable error.

The scheme of the facts and dates given in the *Exordium* may be presented thus (under "Annus Passionis" the figures in italic type are not derived from the *Exordium*):—

Annus Passionis secundum Victorium.	Consules.	A.D.	Annus a Stilichone Consule.	
I.	Rufus et Rubelius.	28	—	—
CCCLXXIII.	Stilicho.	400	I.	—
CCCXCVII.	—	424	XXV.	The year after the lapse of 40 years from Maximus's usurpation, when Guorthigern began to reign. 'H. B.,' cap. xxxi.
CCCXCVIII.	Theodosius et Valentinianus.	425	XXVI.	(5) Guorthigern was reigning.
CCCC.	28 years from Stilicho.	427	XXVIII.	(3) Guorthigern was reigning.
CCCCI.	Felix et Taurus.	428	XXIX.	(5) The fourth year of Guorthigern and that of the arrival of the Saxons.
CCCCV.	Aëtius et Valerius.	432	XXXIII.	(6) [The death of Guorthigern? Patrick's mission].
CCCCXIII.	—	440	XLI.	(4) Cat Guoloph.

The civil discord between Ambrosius and Guitolin¹ in A.D. 440 may have afforded the opportunity to the encroaching Saxons to occupy the ports of the south coast, and thus cut off the Britons from communication with the mainland, which is what I understand from the remark of the Continental annalists quoted above, p. 120, note. Geoffrey of Monmouth synchronises the death of Ambrosius with the appearance of a stupendous comet,² and this comet, I believe, was the one mentioned by Marcellinus³ and Idatius⁴ in A.D. 441 and 442. Idatius also refers to a pestilence which may well be the one that reached

¹ The word 'Guitolin' of the original is obviously the same as the name of Guitolin filius Glouida, the grandfather of Guorthigirn. It is possible that these names represent Guitholin, the superscribed symbol for H having been missed. In Geoffrey, VI., iii., we read of a Guethelin, Archbishop of London, fetching the father of Aurelius Ambrosius out of Armorica; and we also make the acquaintance in III., xiii., of Guithelin, the son of Gurgiunt Barbruch. As Geoffrey turned Tryphun of Dyfed into Tremounus, Archbishop of the City of Legions, it is very likely that Guitolin, the opponent of Ambrose, was treated in the same way. 'Guitolin' recalls the fifth-century uninfected form of 'Corotic,' the 'Ceredig' of a later time.

² "Haec dum Guintoniae agerentur apparuit stella mirae magnitudinis et claritatis uno radio contenta; ad radium uero erat globus igneus in similitudinem draconis extensus, &c., &c. Galfredi Monumetensis 'Historia Regum Britonum,' ed. J. A. Giles, LL.D., 1844; VIII., xiii., p. 145 (§ ii., *Mors Aurelii Ambrosii*).

³ "[Anno Christi 442] Ind. X. Eudoxio et Dioscoro Coss. Stella quae crinita dicitur per plurimum tempus apparuit." Marcellini Chronicon, *apud* Migne, 'Patrologiae Cursus,' LI. 927.

⁴ *Theodosii* xviii. [= 441, 442]. "Cometae sidus apparere incipit mense Decembri; quod per menses aliquot uisum, subsequentis in pestilentia plagae quae fere in toto orbe diffusa est, praemisit ostentum." Idatii Episcopi Chronicon, *apud* Migne, u.s., LI., 881. With these notices compare the following:—

"*Kl. iv. Stella crinita apparuit.*

Kl. . . .

Kl. . . . Eclipsis solis in nona hora."

These lines occur in the 'Annales Inisfalenses' (Bodleian MS.), ed. C. O'Conor, 'R. Hibb. SS. Vett.,' vol. ii. They fall under the long reign of Loegaire; and *Kal. iv. feria* indicates actually A.D. 441; but the eclipse occurred in A.D. 445. In the 'Art de Vérifier les Dates,' we may find that an eclipse of the sun took place at 5.30 p.m., on the meridian of Paris, on July 20 in the year just now named, and that its visibility was confined to the north-west of Europe. Now Paris is $2^{\circ} 20'$ E., and Tara, in Ireland, is $6^{\circ} 37'$ W.; therefore Tara is $8^{\circ} 57'$ W. of Paris, and local time there is, at 4 minutes to one degree, 36 minutes earlier than Paris time. Consequently the middle of the eclipse at Tara was 36 minutes before 5.30 p.m., *i.e.*, it fell there at 4.54 p.m. In these latitudes the sun sets at the end of July at about 8 o'clock; and the *hora*, therefore, is 1 hour and 20 minutes long; consequently the course of the *horae* is—*vi.^a 12*; *vii.^a 1.20*; *viii.^a 2.40*; *ix.^a 4.0*. This is fairly near the Irish report; and we need not hesitate to identify the eclipse mentioned in the

Britain, according to Pseudo-Gildas's chronology, about the third consulship of Aëtius, that is, about A.D. 446.¹

IV.

I remarked above that it appeared to be very unlikely, generally speaking, that our successors would revere the opinions held by this age upon questions connected with the history of these islands in early medieval times. The story of the schismatic period of Irish history particularly needs to be reviewed—one might, without impropriety, say recovered. The wealth of material that has been collected is notorious. The diligence and the untiring industry and skill of many scholars have endowed us with the ability to comprehend a vast number of texts representative of all classes of ancient Irish literary production. In view of this, the recovery of the history of the long period of time between the death of Patrick in A.D. 461, and the resumption of communion with the Bishop of Rome in 631, is no longer doubtful, and it has consequently become desirable to make the attempt. For the attainment of this object, I venture to appeal to all Irish scholars, and particularly to those younger students whose tendency towards engaging in linguistic and historical research is supplemented by opportunity. The latter I would urge to specialise, and to specialise early; but not to do so without the advice or apart from the direction of those tutors and preceptors who have unlocked their minds, and taught them the true uses of strife and endeavour. For these things "teach not their own use"; and it is easy to fritter away force and opportunity by indulging in literary polemics. The fields are whitening unto harvest; and of the

Annals of Inisfallen with that calculated by the compilers of the 'Art de Vérifier les Dates,' nor yet to correct these Annals at this point. The cosmical data of 445 are clearly misplaced by two years in these Annals; and as we have identified the eclipse, we must also identify the comet as that of 441, 442.

¹ Cf. "De famosa peste," cap. xxii., p. 38: "dum ergo, ut Solomon ait 'seruus durus non emendatur uerbis,' flagellatur stultus et non sentit, pestifera namque lues feraliter insipienti populo incumbit, quae in breui tantam eius multitudinem remoto mucrone sternit, quantam ne possint uiui humare." I see no reason to doubt that Pseudo-Gildas was able to synchronise the year of the famous pestilence approximately, by means of his transmarine narratives. But he was quite wrong in supposing that the letter to Aëtius proceeded from the insular Britons, and that Guorthigern was still alive.

young and ardent Celtologists who only need direction, it may be said that to them in the near future will fall the duty of gathering the increase, assimilating what is now in process of restoration, and helping in the recovery of the history of that beautiful and copious period of Irish national life in which the clear effulgence of Irish grace and learning began to penetrate and reduce the spiritual darkness and barbarism of the Western World.

The annals of this fascinating period have come down to us with great authority. But they are devoid of exact chronology, and the authority of Tigernach is not unquestioned. The annals themselves, it is well known, are not accompanied in the manuscripts by the year-numbers. So determined and so "thorough" was the ecclesiastical policy of the seventh century after the resumption of communion, that no vestige of the method of numbering the years in the unidentified era employed by the annalists of schismatic times was received or transmitted by Tigernach. What Bede said of the results of the conversion to orthodoxy of the Picts ('H. E.', v. xxi., p. 346) may be applied to Irish annals compiled before the death of Domhnall mac Aedha: "Oblitteratis per omnia erroneis . . . annorum circulis." For upwards of seventy years of the schismatic period, Irish chronology is dominated by the chief dates in the lifetime of St. Columba of Iona. Before and after those dates all the facts of Irish history group themselves in line. But over this system there broods the authority of the Venerable Bede, darkening and perturbing Irish chronology for two centuries, even as his authority has disturbed and dislocated everything Welsh during a period nearly as long. If the dates given or indicated by Bede for the exile (A.D. 565) and the obit (A.D. 596) of Columba be scrutinised, objections to receiving them, similar to those pointed out in this article already, will begin to form of themselves; and the authority of Bede will no longer be regarded as unassailable. Neither should it be asserted to be reliable merely because his statements are plain, while those made by Irish annalists have been rendered fragmentary and obscure.

Whence, then, did Bede get his date A.D. 565? The answer is—probably from Ripon. Whence did Ripon draw it? And what is the date of the foundation of Ripon? The answer to

the former question is that we do not know ; that to the latter discloses the doubtful nature and the recent provenance of the date. It is possible that Eata and Cuthbert while at Ripon may have known the date ; but they left Ripon about A.D. 661. That Colman and the Scottic clergy in 664 could have given the year-dates of Columba's exile and death who could doubt ? What is certain is that Colman and the Scots would not have computed their years in the era of the Incarnation according to Dionysius. It is probable that Colman would not have computed in any era of the Incarnation whatever. His method of annuary computation may have been more ancient than any method with which Wilfrid and the orthodox Northumbrian clergy were acquainted. It may have been one that had fallen into desuetude in the Latin Churches more than two hundred years before Bede wrote. It should be obvious, therefore, that there were opportunities for going wrong when reducing the numbers from the schismatic era to the orthodox one. Nevertheless, Bede's date passes almost quite unchallenged ; and the Irish annals of the schismatic period are brought into conformity therewith by main force. The computistical evidence of those annals is disregarded, because it tends to discredit Bede, who is clear. The supreme importance of exact chronology in these particulars does not affect Irish matters alone ; the widespread influence of St. Gildas of Rhuys, when regarded in connexion with chronology, dominates Celtic history throughout the fifth and sixth centuries ; and so long as it is impossible to agree about the dates of Aymire's short reign, during which Gildas visited Ireland, so long will it remain impossible to date the birth and the death of Gildas himself correctly. That birth-date, again, affects the chronology of Welsh history throughout one hundred and seventy years.

These are some of the problems which must be solved before the investigators of ancient Irish history can give a truthful and coherent account of the events of the schismatic period. This undertaking should be regarded as a duty ; and the things that are requisite and necessary to a happy issue in connexion with it are, first, a continuance in the supply of steadfast and persistent workers ; next, combinations of such workers with recognized objects, guided by definite rules, and collaborating with a central authority ; third, the willingness to engage for

some years to come in the healthy drudgery of list- and index-making ; and, lastly, the establishment of a journal devoted exclusively to Irish historical research. Why there is no United Irish Historical Society I cannot tell, but such a body could do great and lasting good.

ALFRED ANSCOMBE

HORNSEY, MIDDLESEX

14th February, 1907

THE EXPULSION OF THE DÉSSI

THOUGH an edition and translation of the following text from the Bodleian MS. Rawlinson B. 502 have already appeared in the 'Cymrodor,' vol. xiii., pp. 104 ff., I believe that the linguistic and historical importance of this Old-Irish document, which, as Zimmer has shown,¹ was first written down about A.D. 750, will justify my reprinting it here from the only other manuscript in which this early version has come down to us in its entirety,² the Bodleian codex Laud 610, fo. 99 b²–102 a². I omit all variants, except in a few cases where the reading of Laud is evidently corrupt.

A different and later version of the same tale is found in the following three manuscripts:—LU. pp. 53 a–54 b (incomplete); H. 3. 17, col. 720 b–723 a; H. 2. 15, pp. 67 a–68 b. Under the title *Tucait indarba na nDéssi* this second version has been printed from the last-mentioned MS. in 'Anecdota from Irish Manuscripts,' vol. i., pp. 15 ff.

KUNO MEYER

DE CAUSIS TORCHE NA NDÉISI INNSO

Acuis toirge na nDéise. Bátar cethri maic la hOrt Corb i. Brec 7 Oengus,³ Eochaid Allmuir 7 Sorad. Mac side chumle. Ba hé a sinser. Búi mac téit la ríg Temrach. Gabais láim ingine Soraith. Luidh Aengus Gaibhuaibthech lág gaile for iarair. Conluid hi Temraig. Ni tarraid na slabrada batar hi croumlaib in gáí. Connacai in n-ingin do deiss maic ind rig. 'Ni meise,' ol se, 'conailla in clemnas n-isiu.' Atberat ris:

¹ See *Nennius Vindictus*, p. 88.

² Incomplete copies of the same version are to be found in the Book of Hú Maine, fo. 91 a¹–91 b¹, and in the *Liber Flavus Fergusiorum*, fo. 51 b.

³ i. Aengus gaibhuaibtech added above the line in a later hand

‘Daimthi dál cuind do-som innísein.’ ‘Ni didam-sa caimme,’
 10 ol Óengus. Atnuarith side din tsleig.¹ Conluith triut 7 bi ind
 ala slabrad suil ind rig co robris inna chind co n-ecmaing a
 hirlond inn-éton in rechtaire co mbói triana chend siar. Immalle
 dorochratar in mac 7 in rechtaire 7 romebaid súil Cormaic 7 ni
 15 roachtas greim fair corrócht a theg. 7 romarb nonbur do churad-
 aib Cormaic occá thafund i. a dalta leis i. Corc Duibne diatát
 Corco Duibne 7 atrullai sede a giallu. Ni deochaid *didiu*
 Cormac hi Temuir conid i nOchaill ar Themair robúi on úair
 sin.

Doratsat na Déise iarsin secht catha do Chormac. Ba tresiu
 20 fortarlin fer nHeirenn fadeoid la Cormac. Ba maith cid a
 cenel-som i. na nDéise, cland Fiachach Soguite *maic* Feidlimthe
 Rectoda *maic* Tuathail Techtmair. Oc Dumu Der *immurgu*,
 is and celebrait mna na nDéise i. déra fola rotheilcset ic scarad
 25 fria tir 7 fria talmuin co bráth. Im-Maig Inair is and doratsat
 in cath deidenach. ‘Is *ininair* [sic] in comrac indossa,’ ar
 Cormac. ‘Bid ed a hainm co bráth Mag Innair.’ Rodlomtha
 trá co mbatar occ hArd na nDéise hi crích Laigen for Mag
 Liffe. Fiacho Baicceda *immurgu* mac Cathair Moir is hé ba
 30 rígh in inbaid sin hilLaignib. Cart side au Barrche rempu assa
 tir 7 suidigestar na Déise and. Rothrebsat and co haimsir
 Crimthain *mic* Censelaig *mic* Enda Labrada *mic* Bresail Belaig
mic Fiachach Bacceda. Is na haimsir side tollotar na Deisse
 for longais.

Tóhet o Chormac i ndiaid *maic* Bricc *maic* Airt Chuirp co
 35 ndicsitis aridisside dia tir 7 dagenad som córi friu i. Eogan 7
 Rús. Luid Eochaid dar muir hi crích Demeth conid and robo-
 marb 7 a *maic* 7 a hui. Conid dib cenel Crimthain alle, diata
 Taulodar² mac Rigind *maic* Catien *maic* Clothienn *maic* Noé
 40 *maic* Artúir *maic* Petuir *maic* Congair *maic* Goirtiben *maic*
 Alcon *maic* Tresund *maic* Aeda *maic* Brosc *maic* Corach *maic*
 Echdach. Allmair *maic* Airt Chuirp.

O rochualai Oéngus dotéit co maccu a brathar dia n-acallaim.
 ‘In fir,’ ol sé, ‘Cormac do imorchur chóré frib-si?’ ‘Fír,’ ol
 seat. Ronbía slán do neoch dorignisu 7 ronbiat da tir lar tir

¹ i. sleg 7 da slabrad esti 7 triar for each slabrad dib *above line*

² For the correct forms of this and the other Welsh names see Anscombe's Indexes to Old-Welsh Genealogies in the *Archiv für celtische Lexikographie*, vol. i., pp. 187-212.

7 huag córe co bráth.' 'Nach denid!' ar Oengus. 'Nacham-⁴⁵ facbaid-si m'oenur! Robarbiat da trian tíre aranglanfem 7 túis do far claind co bráth for an clainn sea. Mo chland-sa do dul hi cath 7 hi crich ria cách 7 do bith fodeóid oc tuidecht essi corroglanter tir dúib 7 nachamfacbaid-se!' Dogniat aní sein 7 dobreth a fir fer fris. IS iarum dobert Cormac hua Cuind⁵⁰ bréic im dunuth oenguill ind ríg¹ i. Granne 7 Móenne, diata Móenrigé 7 Granraige. Asbreth huath fri cechtarde i n-ecndairg² araile: 'Is bec do brig, a Granfir, la ríg, co n-ébrad hi cosmailius fri Méinne nGall.' Asbeir side dano: 'Dianomtarta-sa hi cubés fri Granne, dober-sa in slig triut.' Ar rofítir Cormac ord n-aire⁵⁵ nachommaite the rofitir donticfad oenadaig imme leside.³ Toll-éicset slog fair inna dún 7 geguin ind ele he 7 huirt mac a brathar immelle.

Robú óclách amræ d'Uib Barrche. Glansuidhe dia tir. Berthus Crimthan mac Censelaich issind aird fodeissin. Bert⁶⁰ Meld ingen Ernbuirnd maccu do-side. O rodamuir side, dobreth Annu ingen Er[n]bruind. Dober side óeningin⁴ do i. Ethne a hainm. Búi Brí faith mac Bairchetia⁵ isin dún ind adaich sin. 'A ngein gignathar and, rofessatar fir Héirenn is tria chumachta gebaid am-mathre⁶ thír arattrefat co bráth.' . . .⁷ senathair⁶⁵ dicachain a n-imthechta doib o chath Druissen oc tuidecht antueth, ar asbert friu:

'Nithotheumuir dochumlith ticith dosaitech gluind mair conib cath crechtnigther aratuitet damac durthacht dercthus echen sceo echde sceo mac mairechach ere maine ard erc corba⁷⁰ maccu delchidech sit dodareim findchath mac níathait no endi rofítir ruithid find marfithid coderaind dil dia rathuslithi ladcend hilar lensus dia chondochtæ norbe dal nadla thugaile gainethur gaibidith cofiro foichle hifoidse dosfeth tus ar ditharus mac meschuirp mogeth ardalsus condessel ditafind gola folt forderga⁷⁵ ord æra serbsi as indin indinn. dega grisas rigthus rigib oscechrus condirannais ingair arus mac maic fechuir fech fellnatar contosodli fergair conar nith mac níath naiscthus hitrena hitriach none conoethu nithu Nióthemuir dochumlit.'

¹ Rawl. has here: Dober Cormac húa Cuind breic im [d]a milid Oengusa ind ríg. ² Corrected from ecndairt. ³ Rawl. has: O raftir Cormac ord na

haire dodasicfad a ndis i n-oenaidchi immoalle. ⁴ óéingen MS. ⁵ Bairceda Rawl.

⁶ mathaire, with puncta delentia under ai, MS. ⁷ Illegible. Rawl. has: Is e a

senathair in druid sin dano rochachain, &c.

80 *Amail* rochualatar som lassin faith cōmmad tria chumachta na hingine nogebtais tír nosgabat som 7 nosnaltatar for feolaib maccoem mbec, ardaig comad luathité a forbairt. Is de ba hEithne hUathach a hainm-si, ar donaigtis na *maic* becca.

85 Inn uair ropo marb Crimthan mac Censelaig dogensat Lagin coccad friu-som. O rofitir Osseirge immarthrub alle aniar fri Comur tri n-Uisci ir-rind tíre Echach. Atchí rí Osseirge matin iar ndenam atruib. 'Is mile tige ani thall,' ol se. Conid de sin rohainmniged Milithach. Loiscitir huile in attruib. Nistall thair hi suidiu. Dothiagat tar muir siar co ngabsatt i nArd 90 Chuilind tiarthess.

95 IS hí aimser ba marb ben Oengusa *maic* Nadfraich hi Caisiul. Ardrig Caisil 7 Muman heside. Tochomaire a ndalta doib-som Ethne hUathaig ar suide doib-seom thiar.¹ Dobertatar, a tri rindroisc di tar a héise. 'Is mo inrasc-sa ém,' ol sí 'faithchi Chaisil i. o Lueisc cō Caissel 7 ceneleongoetais na Déise do glanad remib 7 a dilsi doib iarum in tire sein 7 comsoere doib fri rig teora nEoganachta² Muman i. rí Raithlind 7 rí Lochræ 7 rí Hua³ Fidgenti co nHuib Liathan.'

100 Togdatar Osseirge do glanad remib 7 do chath friu. Droch 7 Cecht a nda drúi na nDéise do sīl moccu Crecca. Muidit secht catha re nOsseirge for na Déise ilLeith Ladcind i. Art. Asberat araile is tricha cath.

105 Nach loinges rofitir Eithne hUathach la Heirind dosfuide⁴ cosna Déise fobith arcrunad⁵ Dal Fiachach isnaib cathaib mencib. Tobeir cucu Semon mac Oengusa *maic* Cel[t]chair *maic* hUithechair di Ultaib diatat Semoni. Nemongen mac Nechtain di hUathnib diatat Nechtarge. Dobeir trí maccu Luigdech⁶ chucu i. Coscæ brithem Caisil. Trí choicait lín Semoi. Cóica lín moccu Luigdech. Coica lin moccu Nemongin. Coica læch do 110 maccaib Oengusa Darcon *maic* Cormaicc Aulfata, dal *maic* Con- Coica do maccaib Feidlimthi. Bruirir diata Bruirige. Coica do maccaib Odra di hUltaib diata Odrige. Nonbur do maccaib [D]itha do hErnaib diata Corco Dítha. Cét læch lin Hue *maic*⁷ Bind ind ecis de hUltaib diata Bentraige. Nonbur do maccaib 115 Conaill *maic* Neill diata Conrig. Nonbur do maccaib Soirt *maic* Doirna diata Sorthrige. Nonbur do maccaib Muindigblæ

¹ *Rawl. has*: et dothæt nech uad do thochmarc na hingine cucco, ar robæ Eithne moalle friu-som thiar. ² nEoganachta MS. ³ huad MS. ⁴ dosreclam *Rawl.*

⁵ nodigbaitis *Rawl.* ⁶ luidgech MS. ⁷ cét loech lin hue *maic* repeated in MS.

maic Maugdornæ diata Loch Muindig hi tirib Maugdornæ diata Dubrige maic ingine Briuin. Nonbur do maccaib Cerir *maic* Mugdornæ diata Ciarraige. Nonbur do maccaib Latfir¹ diatat Lattrige *i. maic* Fir Ceoch. Trí nonbu[i]r d'Oengus Fir Gabra ¹²⁰ mac Conairi *maic* Meissi Buáchalla diatat Gabrige. Nonbur di hAurir do hErnaib diata Aurige. Nonbur do Firmend mac Causcruit Mind Machæ di hUltaib diata Mennraige. Nonbur do maccaib Glaíscaich *maic* Moga Róith diata Roithrige. Trí nonbuir ¹²⁵ d'Oengus Crece Crecgai hi Temair diata Crecraigie *maic* Máil *maic* Formail di hUltaib *i. Binne* ⁷ Eochaid Coene diatát Coenraigie. Nonbur do Nothir mac Firceoch diatá Nothrige. Nonbur do Nudir do Laignib diata Nudrige. Nonbur do maccaib Blathrig diata Blathrige. Nonbur do Fir Luide his-Sid ar Femon di hUltaib nádaicidacht diata Luidrige. ¹³⁰ Nonbur do Celir do Chruithnib diata Celrigi. Trí *maic* Boindfir buachala Eithne diata Boendrige. Nonbur [di] Libur *mac* Arta diata Lubutrig. Nonbur do Blóthchum do Bretnaib diatá Blodrige. Nonbur do Gubrith *moccu* Buén diata Gubtrige. Nonbur do maccaib Bodb diatát Bodbrige. Nonbur do maccaib ¹⁵⁵ Grán diata Granrige di hUltaib. Nonbur do *maccaib* Ainiu *maic* Cuirir diata Cuirrige. Nonbur do *maccaib* Dímúini di Darini diatá Corco Dín. Nonbur do *maccaib* Endi Uiniche diatát Corco hUiniche do Gallaib.

Cóica fer do Glaschat mac Ailella Auluim diata Catrige ¹⁴⁰ Coica do trí maccaib Mathrach *maic* Ailella Auluim, ingen Firgair a mathair, diata Dal Mathrach. Cóica d'Uib *maic* Cuirp *maic* Ailella Auluim diatát Dál *maic* Cuirp. Cóica di hUib Didil *maic* Ailella Auluim diata Dál Didil. Cét cíge ¹⁴⁵ forsa rabi.

Nonbur do Maignén Gall diatat Dál Maignen. Nonbur do Mechon mac Dare di Darine diata Dál Mechon. Trí nonbuir d'Uib Luigni Leithduib di hErnaib diata Dal Luigne. Coica do thrí maccaib Noidne diata Dal Nuidne *i. maic* Chonrúi *maic* Dare. Nonbur do thri maccaib Nimde diata Dal Nimde. ¹⁵⁰ . . . ³ diata Dál . . . ³ do Luiscniu *moccu* Menath diata Dal Luiscni. Tri Laigni⁴ Ethne hUathaige diata Math Lego.⁵ Trí

¹ ² added over the line
³ Space left vacant in ms.

² There seems to be a punctum delens under the t
⁴ lege Rawl. . . . ⁵ Dal Niathlega Rawl.

maic Mugo *maic* Cuthig diata Dal Mugith. Trí *maic* Arme cerda diata Cerdraighe.

155 Coica toirge lasna Déisi. A cuic fichef díb tarthatar raind, inna cuic fichef aile ni tharthatar raind. IS and airlestar Ethne hUathach dona Déisib dia haitib dul doib co cend n-athchomairc Muman co brithem Caisil co Luigith Corc. Is he nodairlestar ar a gais 7 ar a threbairi, is he brithem bue hi Caisiul. Ar ata 160 imthus etir Eoganacht 7 Corco Luigde¹ o aimsir Dáire 7 Dercfhine: a brithemna do chlandaib Luighdech 7 rigi do chlandaib Aulim.² Rigi *dano* do chlandaib Luighdech 7 brithemnas do chlandaib Aulim, co roimchla líth ifectsa: rige dogrés la clannaib³ Aulim 7 breithemnus dogres la clandaib 165 Luighdech.

Oengus *hautem* mac Natfráich hir-rígu 7 Luigith Cosc i mbreithemnus. Tiagait mathi na nDéisi 7 Ethne leo co Luigith. ‘Tonfair-ne,’ ol siat, ‘im chobair dun, a Lugith! Rotbia thír lind cen chís, cen biathad, cen slóged, cen chongbail 7 ni thesseba a 170 chert co brath.’ Adguiter fir hOengasa 7 Ethne hUathche fris 7 fir flatha na nDéisi. ‘Gairthir dam-sa tra,’ ar Lugith, ‘bar ndrúidi i. Droch 7 Cecht.’ Congairter do. Dobeir da muinir lana doib do fín dobretha do-som a tirib Gall 7 biath na nGall laiss 7 it he nohithed a bargin namma. ‘Berith inso do for 175 n-aite 7 abraid is he bar n-aithrech debuid fris 7 beirid tecosc dia hingin tria meisic in fína iarna ol.’ Dogensat som anísein 7 arfoet som. Nisreccell 7 cartait som in igin Dil 7 asoelc a forud remib.⁴ Ropu dall Dil. Ni chuingen ba fritcomairc ind ingen o ropo mesc ar belaib a da dalta⁵: ‘Im 180 bui⁶ tesorcud na nDéisi innosa, a sruith?’ ‘Bái, a mumecan.⁷ Mad mattain foraib imbárách, ni urd 7 ni fuibitis nech n-and. Ar intí on gontar nech imbarach, ni aitreba a tir so co brath.’ ‘Bess ni gontar em,’ ol ind ingen. ‘Mad me bad chend athchomairc laisna Déisib, nodoilfind boin deirg do duiniu 7 185 nosgonfatis Ossirge.’ Tochumlat iarsain in da drúith na nDéisi fothuaid co a sluagu. Tosberat corba mattin foraib i n-urd. Attáit tenti carthind 7 foidit diaid in teined sair co hOsseirge. Totet Osseirge i nIndeóin. Focairther o Dil arna rogonta nech

¹ luidge MS.

² auglum MS.

³ crannaib, with nō l over the c

⁴ *Rawl. has:* Dorigset amlaid et arsofet Dil in fricill 7 roscar som ind ingen 7 rooslaid in fuirind rempu, ⁵ *Rawl. has:* Rochomairc ind ingen dó ar belaib a dalta isin tan bá mese. ⁶ bia *Rawl.* ⁷ Biaid amæ *Rawl.*

ann dona Déisib. Dolbit drúith na nDéisse senaithech and dona Déssib hir-richt bó deirgi máile ar sairi dia chlaind co 190 bráth. Docheth a hainm. Teit dochum in t̄s̄luraig sair. Ossergi inn-Indeoin ann.

‘Cid dognither thiar innossa, a gillai?’ or Dil. ‘Tene do fatóig 7 bó derg do thelcud forsin n-áth aniar.’ ‘Ni ba hí ma món,’ ar se. ‘Na gonat ind fir in boin!’ ar se. Noslecet seccu. 195 Nosgonat gillai na¹ n-ech iarna cùl 7 lecit gair impe. ‘Cissi gáir so, a gillai?’ or se. ‘Inna gillai oc guin na bo.’ ‘Fe fe amái!’ or sé. ‘Mo charput dam!’ ar se. ‘A hord slaitir indeoin. O hIndeoin co Lainnén nicon bía tairissein sair.’ Ba fir son. Nosrainiut na Deisi taris anfár. Otchonncatar 200 Osseirge in mboin deirg arna marbad corbo coland duine isind ath fri hIndeoin aniartuaid maidi forru. Is de sin ata Ath Bo Deirgi. Nosrainit na Déisi taris anfár inna diaid. Maidti forru sair co hAndobor. Beritt a n-aithbíu 7 a marbu cóemu condicce airther Rátha Machuthnoe for brú Andobor. Maidti 205 forru atherrach o hAnnobor co Laindén conodh i sein in choicrich co brath etir na Deisi 7 Osseirge. Amal ossa is amlaid rorathatar ass. Is de ata Osseirgi foraib 7 rofaithaigset² na Desi inna tir co brath. Na hothair foracaibset i n-airthiur rátha nosgegnatar na Déisi oc impud anair. Is de ata Belach nÉca 210 hi fiad ratha. Ronnit a cetraind tire hísein. Nach duine tarnaid in cetraind sin ata a chuit ar a raind sin. Læbán mac Niath mæic Briúin is he rogab giallu Fer nGair. Robo brithem rainni caich. Ros mac Féicc cetnaragaib cath nIndide do laim. Coica toirgi laisna Déisi. A cuic fichef dib tarthatar 215 raind, a cuic fichef aile nach tarthatar 7 is dona toirgib [sin]³ is ainm Déisi. Ar itt e fil fo deisis⁴ 7 dligud 7 bodagas dona flathaib i. do Dail Fiachach Suigde 7 ni hainm doib-side Déisi.

Teora mna torrcha di hUltaib dochotar dia tir do mnaib na nDéisi antan dochotar histir iar caichad Chormaic. Rohucsat 220 side tri maccu thuaid. Dollotar Ula[i]d leo atuaid condatarsat hi finechus ar eicin for a tir féin 7 itt e sin na Déisi Maigi Breg indiu.

Teora ingena Ernbruind i. Mell 7 Belc 7 Cinnu. Dochuatar co Crimthan a triur cach dib i ndiaid araile, conid o Meld Sil 225

¹ Repeated in MS.
⁴ chis Rawl.

² A later hand has put a dot over the f

³ sic Rawl.

Mella 7 o Belc Hui Belcæ. Ní ruc Cinnu¹ do acht Ethne nama, conid híside dalta na nDéisi 7 rl.

Ho doluid tra Cormac asa rígu iarna chaichad do Aengus² gabais Coirpre Liphechair flaith ar belaib a athar. Dotheided 230 iarum Coirpre cach dia co mbeired bretha ar belaib Cormaic. Ba si abreh dogniad³ Cormac ar a belaib cach dia .i. dobeired a da mér immon cailg ndét 7 a mér timcholl⁴ lainne a sceith. Issed inrochosecht troso dani⁵ sladi muintire Coirpri sainchan immon Boind di cach leith. Is de dolonget hi crich Laigen ho 235 robith arna ragegain Fiachu Sroptine 7 Condla hOs diatat Hui maic Guais⁶ 7 Condla Mend diatat Mugdornæ, geognaitir rí[g] na nDeisi .i. Brecc mac Artchuirp.

IS inand aimser hi tulatar na Deissi for Gabran 7 hi tulatar Feni for Fid Már 7 Fothart for Gabran sair. Ar robatar Fothart 240 iar longis for Gabran⁷ iar nguin Echach maic Coirpri Liphechair do Seminaith⁸ maic Coirpri⁹ brathair Bronaich diatat Hui Bronaich la Fotharta 7 rl.

Teora bliadna trichat o dolotar na Deisse o Themair co tucsat Lugin dorair doib for Gabrán 7 Chommor Tri nUisci iar 245 maidm secht catha forsna Deisi 7 rl.

¹ in MS.

² Aeingus MS.

³ Read with Rawl. Ba sí abairt dogníd

⁴ hi timchul R

⁵ Read tre sodain

⁶ Read Moccu Uais

⁷ for longais iar nGabran R

⁸ Sarniad R

⁹ Cirb R

POEM ON THE OBSERVANCE OF SUNDAY

THIS poem, taken from a vellum MS. numbered A (9) in the Franciscan Library, Merchants' Quay, Dublin, is interesting as supplementing the Epistle of Jesus concerning Sunday, printed in *ÉRIU*, vol. ii., p. 189.

1 Dēnaid¹ cāin domnaigh Dē dil, fēgaid, fomnaid, frithailid!²
 Crīst codnach rocind co cert an domnach can toirimt[h]echt.³

2 Toirimt[h]echt domnaigh Dē dēin a fagus nō i n-etircēin,
 amuigh nō a tīgh, monur mer, is tar sārugud in Choimded.⁴

3 In Coimdiu⁵ cend cach dūla rochidh⁶ renn na rīghrūna,
 rí nimē, rī in talman tīnd ocus rī abdul ifirn.

4 Is ē rodealb in doman gan eglā gan imoman,
 dorat sē laithi co cert don domnach da thimthirecht.

5 Ba hiat sin na sē laithi co sligedaib degmaithe,
 co n-innisiur⁷ iat 'sin rann co tairsem a senanmann.

6 Lūan, mairt, cēdāin is dardāin āine [ocus] satharn d'ēntāib,
 . . .⁸

7 Ca tāthar⁹ dūin do domnach des sech gach laithi lāndiles?¹⁰
 ca tāthar d'a sē co se do fognam in ēnlaithe?

8 Is aire seo atāthar dō, do domnach gan imargō;
 ann dorōine Dia immalle¹¹ rīgt[h]egh co n-ainglib nime.

¹ denaigh MS.

² fegaidh fomnaich frithailidh MS.

³ Dēnaid (i. eagraidh é) cāin domhnaigh de dhil

fēgad fognum fritoil[id]

Crīst codnach rochim co cert

in domhnach gan thair[i]mthecht.

H. 3. 18, p. 525, marg. inf.

⁴ coimdegh MS. ⁵ coimdigh MS. ⁶ read rochind ⁷ coninnisir MS.

⁸ leth-rann wanting in MS. ⁹ cadathar MS. ¹⁰ landilus MS. ¹¹ imale MS.

9 'San domnach dorōine an mais is gainium¹ in talman
tromglais,
i raibi teine² tend trēn 'sa raibi uisci is aeidher.

10 'San domnach dorōine in rī Ādham ālainn mac Dē bī
is ūaidh dogeinset uile dāeine in talman tonnbuidhe.

11 'San domnach, is fāth fire, dotrāig ar tūs in dīle,
'san domnach rucad³ an māl int athar ūasal Abrām.⁴

12 'San domnach tucad an recht do Māisi maith co mōrchert,
'san domnach, ba mōr a līth, tucad rīghi do Dauīdh.

13 'San domnach tucad roga⁵ do Solum saidbir ſona,
ar dāinib dīada in domuin da ruc egnā d' ardrogain.

14 'San domnach dodechaid ass a broinn in bledhml Ionas,
'san domnach, ba mōr in glōir, do sāerad in Baibilōin.

15 'San domnach rucad Muire, innised cāch diaraile,
'san domnach ruc Muire in mac Crīst co nellaib ar
nidnacht.

16 'San domnach baithis Crīst cāidh i sruth ālainn Ortannāin,
is a eisērgi co tend, doclāei diabul, d'airg⁶ ifern.⁷

17 'San domnach mincasc co mbla[i]dh tadbás Crīst da aspulaib,
'san domnach, ba mōidi a cert, ann dorōine gach proigept.

18 'San domnach a ndeilb theined⁸ spirat Dē gan troimteimel
ar na hespalaib gan c[h]es i ndomnach na cingideas.

19 And dorighni in muintir⁹ mō[i]r isin domnach fo c[h]ētōir,
nōi ngrāda næma neime, is iat cæma coimdhili.

20 A ndomnach doraga in brāth is a eglā fil ar cāch,
'san domnach ticfa Crīst cain do mes ar slūag[aib] Ādaim.

21 I ndomnach Dē, is mo c[h]en, bērtar na næim ar nāemnem,
[is] isin domnach Dē dēin bēr[t]ar pechthaich a sīrpēin.

22 Cinnid¹⁰ cāin domnaig do rēir ar na fāthaib sin ū c[h]ēin,
sæiri do Chrīst comlān cain,¹¹ a dæine an domain, dēnaidh.¹²

¹ gainiub MS. ² teinid MS. ³ rugad MS. ⁴ abratham MS. ⁵ roghudh MS.
⁶ doairg MS., making one syllable too many ⁷ ifern MS. ⁸ teinid MS.
⁹ muinter MS. ¹⁰ cinnigh MS. ¹¹ cāin MS. ¹² It looks, from the repetition of the first word (*dēnaidh*), as though the poem originally ended here, what follows being an enumeration of marvels

23 Nathair neimnech nā lam nech, . . . da mbenta ria, bidh
aithrech,
dia domnaig tabair dī pōig, noco dēnann rit urc[h]ōit.

24 Iasg¹ ingnad sīrus an sāl darab ainm lūath libedān,
dia domnaig bith ar th' aire, noco glūais a hēnbaile.

25 Is mōr in mirbuil ī sin innī do[g]nīat na leomain,
gan comrac atigh nō amuich in leith tiagaid dia domnaig.

26 Ciall ingnad innistīr ann, fid lomnān do nēimh cæmc[h]rann,
sē lā sūas ina suidhi,² diá domnaig 'na sīrlaighi.

27 Abla tire Barsābe, ubla orro gach rāithe,
dia domnaig tīagaid dia coll³ 'snī bí orro ænuball.

THE TRANSLATION

1. Observe ye dear God's Law of Sunday ; watch, beware, attend ! Christ the Lord has surely decreed that Sunday should not be transgressed.
2. Transgression of Sunday of swift God near or afar, abroad or at home—wanton deed—is in despite of the Lord.
3. The Lord, chief of every element, who decreed the high mysteries of stars (?), King of Heaven, King of the firm earth and mighty King of hell.
4. It is He who has shaped the world without fear, without terror ; rightly did He give six days to Sunday for its service.
5. These were the six days properly set forth ; let me mention them in a stave so that we may arrive at their ancient names.
6. Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, Friday and Saturday side by side . . .
7. Why do we hold Sunday above every (other) perfect day ? Why should six of them be ever serving the one day ?
8. This is why it is thus for Sunday, without deceit ; thereon God made at once the Kingly dwelling and the angels of Heaven.

¹ Iaisg MS.² na suighi MS.³ coill MS.

9. On Sunday He made the mass and the sand of heavy-grey earth, wherein were strong mighty fire and water and air.

10. On Sunday the King created beauteous Adam, son of the Living God; it is from him that all the people of the yellow-visaged earth have sprung.

11. On Sunday, in good sooth, the Flood first ebbed; on Sunday was born the prince, the patriarch Abraham.

12. On Sunday the Law was rightly given to good Moses; on Sunday—great was its occasion—kingship was given to David.

13. On Sunday choice was given to Solomon, the rich and prosperous, when among the godly people of the world he took wisdom as his noble choice.

14. On Sunday Jonah came out of the whale's belly; on Sunday—great was the glory—Babylon was freed.

15. On Sunday Mary was born, let each one tell it to another; on Sunday Mary gave birth to the Son Christ

16. On Sunday was the baptism of chaste Christ in the beautiful Jordan and His Resurrection unfalteringly; He vanquished the devil, He harrowed hell.

17. On Sunday of Little Easter with renown Christ appeared to His Apostles; on Sunday—the greater was its right—He made each preaching.

18. On Sunday, without heavy gloom, the Spirit of God in form of fire (descended) on the Apostles without sorrow—on Pentecost Sunday.

19. Forthwith He created therein the Heavenly Household¹—on Sunday—nine saintly grades of Heaven all beautiful and lovable.

20. On Sunday will come the judgment, the dread of which is on all; on Sunday radiant Christ will come to judge the hosts of Adam.

¹ Lit. great household

21. On God's Sunday—my joy!—the saints will be borne to holy Heaven, and on Sunday of the swift God the sinners will be borne into eternal torment.

22. Ordain the Law of Sunday accordingly for those reasons of old ; O folk of the world, hold it sacred for perfect fair Christ !

23. A venomous serpent whom none dares, if it be meddled with, it will be grievous ; on Sunday give it a kiss, and it does thee no harm.

24. A strange fish which searches the sea named the swift Leviathan ; on Sunday, let it be on thy mind, it moves not out of one place.

25. A great miracle is that of the lions,¹ fighting neither at home nor abroad wherever they go on Sunday.

26. Strange sense is spoken thereon ;² a wood full of the sheen of beautiful trees, six days they are standing up, on Sunday they are ever lying down.

27. Apple-trees of the land Beersheba, apples on them at every season ; on Sunday people go³ to steal them, and there is not a single apple on them.

¹ Lit. 'which the lions do'

² Referring probably to the folk-lore—if such it be—contained in this stanza and in the following one

³ Lit. 'they go' ; one would expect 'tiagair' here

J. G. O'KEEFFE

EVE'S LAMENT

FROM THE STOWE MS. B. IV. 2, FO. 146^b

TRANSLATION

- 1 I am Eve, great Adam's wife, 'tis I that outraged Jesus of old ; 'tis I that robbed my children of Heaven, by rights 'tis I that should have gone upon the cross.
- 2 I had a kingly house to please me, grievous the evil choice that disgraced me, grievous the wicked advice that withered me ! Alas ! my hand is not pure.
- 3 'Tis I that brought the apple down from above, which went across my gullet : so long as they endure in the light of day, so long women will not cease from folly.
- 4 There would be no ice in any place, there would be no glistening windy winter, there would be no hell, there would be no sorrow, there would be no fear, if it were not for me.

KUNO MEYER

¹ This MS. was compiled in 1628 by Michael O'Clery ² *olc inni toga* MS.
 If alliteration was intended as in the other verses, my conjecture would do away
 with it ³ *romthair* MS. ⁴ *Perhaps sain* ⁵ *bia* MS.

THE ADVENTURES OF ART SON OF CONN, AND THE COURTSHIP OF DELBCHÆM

THE following curious tale, which is now edited for the first time, is taken from the well-known Book of Fermoy (pp. 139-145), a codex of the fifteenth century in the Royal Irish Academy. The *Echtra Airt* is included in the lists of prime tales contained in Rawlinson B 512, Harleian 5280, and Betham 23 N. 10 (R.I.A.), M. D'Arbois de Jubainville's 'Liste B' (*Essai d'un Catalogue*, p. 104). No other version of it is known, which is regrettable because of several discrepancies and obscure passages in the text, and also the bad state of the Book of Fermoy, whose stained and blackened margins are in many places quite illegible.

The story should prove of considerable interest to students of mythology and folk-lore, whom it will provide with material for investigation. Attention was first called to it by Dr. Todd in his Catalogue of the Book of Fermoy (p. 38),¹ where a brief summary is given, omitting reference, however, to the human-sacrifice episode (§8 sq.). This was noticed by Dr. Sullivan in his introductory volume to O'Curry's *Manners and Customs* (p. cccxxxiii sq.), where he drew an interesting parallel between it and the story related of Gortigern by Nennius.²

The language of the tale is Early Modern Irish. The orthography, which is a mixture of Middle and Modern forms, has been preserved. The mark of length is principally used by the scribe to distinguish the letter *i*. It is only occasionally inserted over other letters, and often wrongly, for instance, *má*c *dó*rus, *lós*, *óbádh*, *tancáis*, *etúrra*, *dórcha*, etc., in which cases it has been silently omitted.

I am indebted to the editors and to Dr. Bergin for many valuable suggestions in solving difficult passages.

R. I. BEST

¹ R.I.A. Irish MSS. Series, 1870.

² Irish Version of Nennius, ed. Todd, p. 91 sq.

[EACHTRA AIRT MEIC CUIND OCUS TOCHMARC
DELBCHAIME INGINE MORGAIN]

Feacht n-æn da roibhe Cond *Cetcathach* mac Feidhlimigh Rechtmair meic Tuathail Techtmair meic Feradhaigh Findfechtnaigh meic Crimthain Níath Nair meic Luigh[dh]each Riabh nDerg meic na tri Find-Emhna .i. Bres 7 Nár 7 Lothar [a n]-anmanda meic Eathaigh Find a Teamraig na rígh a sosadh ordúirc oiregda na hEirenn re ré ix. mbliadna 7 ní a roibhe ní a n-esbaidh fer nEirenn uile re lind an rígh sin. Dóigh amh do bendais siat na harbhanna fo tri gacha bliadna. *Ocus* as i fa banchele dó .i. Eithne Tæbhfada inghin Brislind Bind rígh Lochlainne an fer sin. Fa díl 7 fa hinmhain leis hí.

2. Iar treimsi fáda doibh aræn dorocht bas an ben sin .i. Eithne, 7 rohadhnaicedh co hanorach hi a Tailltean, dóigh robí Tailltin tres primhreileag na hEirenn .i. ænach Taillten 7 an Brudh 7 roileag na Cruachna. *Ocus* ba trom laisin a banchele do eg .i. Eithne 7 ar meid do chuir sí fair conar urmais ríghi na flaithemhnus d'ordugud na d'fóllamhnugud. *Ocus* ni roibh ní a n-easbaidh Éirenn an tan sin ach madh æn-ní rígh Eirenn gan bancéile a dingbhala do faghbhail dó tar eis a mhna.

3. Cidh tra acht bai sium'na ænar æn do lá 7 teit a Temraig gach ndíriuch co rainic *Benn* Edair meic Etgaith. Iachtuis 7 acainis annsin a ben 7 a bhancheile. Is e sin la dorala do Thuathaibh de *Danann* beith a coinde 7 a comhdhail a Tir Thairngaire tre bith(in) na mna doroine imarbus 7 ba hé a hainm Bécuma Cneisgeal inghin *Eogain* Indbir .i. ben Labrada Luathlámh-ar-cloidem, 7 Gáidhiar mac Manannain ose doroine an t-imarbus. *Ocus* is í breath rucadh uir(ri-si)¹ ana cuit féin a hindarba a Tir Tairngire amach no a losgud do chomhairle Manannain 7 Ferghusa Find(leith) 7 *Eogain* Indbir 7 Lodain

¹ MS. illegible here.

* See Archiv f. Celt. Lexikog. i. 18.

† This should be Echaid Feidlech, who, according to the Four Masters, began to

TRANSLATION

Conn Céchathach, son of Feidlimid Rechtmar, son of Tuathal Techtmair, son of Feradach Findfechtnach, son of Crimthand Nia Nair, son of Lugaid Riabh nDerg, son of the three white triplets,^a even Bres and Nar and Lothar, the names of the son of Ethach Find,^b was once at Tara of the kings, in the noble conspicuous dwelling of Ireland, for a period of nine years, and there was nothing lacking to the men of Ireland during the time of the said king, for, indeed, they used to reap the corn three times in the year. And his helpmate was Eithne Taebhfada, daughter of Brislind Binn, the king of Norway. He loved her dearly.

2. After their living a long time together the woman died, even Eithne, and was buried with honour in Tailltiu; for Tailltiu was one of the three chief burial-places of Ireland, namely, the Fair of Tailltiu, and the Brugh, and the cemetery of Cruachan. And he was dejected on account of his wife Eithne's death, and it weighed so heavily on him, that he was unable any longer to rule or govern the kingdom. And there was nothing lacking to Ireland at that time but one thing only, that the king of Ireland should not have found a helpmate worthy of him in her stead.

3. One day, however, he was all alone; and he went straight out of Tara until he came to Ben Edair meic Etgaith. There he bewailed and lamented his wife and helpmate. It was on that very day the Tuatha De Danann happened to be gathered in council in the Land of Promise, because of a woman who had committed transgression, and whose name was Bécuma Cneisgel, daughter of Eogan Inbir, that is, the wife of Labraid Luathlamar-Claideb,^c and Gaidiar Mananñan's son it was that had committed the transgression. And this was the sentence passed on her as regards herself: to be driven forth from the Land of Promise, or to be burned according to the counsel of Manannan, and Fergus Findliath, and Eogan Inbir, and Lodan son of Lir,

reign in A.M. 5058. Cf. LU 51^a111, LL 124^b 36, *cit.* Strachan, ACL i. 18. Echaid Find was the brother of Conn Céchathach.

^c "Quick hand on sword." Cf. Serglige Conculaind, Windisch, Ir. Texte, i. 208 sqq.

meic Lir 7 Gáidhiar 7 Gaei Gormsuileach 7 Ilbreac meic Manannán. *Ocus* dob í a comairle sin a hindarba a Tír Tairngire amach [139b]. *Ocus* adbert Manannán gan a losgudh do denamh nach lenadh a cin don tir na dibh fein.

4. Tancatar techta Labhradha co teach Aenghusa an Brodha go a chlíamhain fein. Doigh amh dob í ingin Labradha roba bhancele d'Aenghus an Brogha 7 Nuamhaisi a hainm. *Ocus* is uime docuiredh na techta sin chum Aenghusa, co nach faghbhadh Béchuma Cneisgel inad a cind a sith do síthaibh Erenn. Cidh tra acht do hindarba hí tar muinchind mhara 7 morfairrgi 7 as d'indsaighi Erenn do súndradh docuiredh hi, uair ba miscais le Tuatha de Danann clanna Miled arna n-indarba a hEirinn dóibh.

5. Is amlaid do bí an ingin sin 7 lendan aice a nEirinn i. Art mac Cuind Cetchathaig 7 nirbh' aithnígh disi Art gur ba lendan dí é. Scela na hinghine tra. Fuair curach gan frichnum imruma fair ach a legan re coigidil na gaithi ar fut na mara cotarla co Beind Edáin meic Etgáith hí. Is amhlaid do bi an ingin 7 brat uaine ændatha uimpe cona cimais dergsnáithi dergoir 7 leine do scroll derg re geilchneas, 7 da mhælasa find-ruine uimpe 7 folt mæth buidhe fuirre 7 rosg glás ana cind 7 ded dathalaind 7 bél tana derg 7 dá fabra dubha 7 lamha dírgha datháille, 7 corp sneachtaighi sithgeal aice, 7 gluine corra ceindbeca¹ 7 troi[gh]thi tana tóghaighi co mbuaigh crotha 7 ndenta 7 ndátha 7 ndruineachais 7 ba halaind eidighach an ingin sin i. ingin Eogain Indbir. Ach mad æn-ní nirbha dingbhala² dochum airdrigh Eirenn ben arna hindarba trina mígním fein.

6. Is annsin do bí Cond a mBeind Edain ara cind-si 7 'sé co dubhach anfósaidh ecainteach a[g] caineadh a mhna. Tuc an ingin aithne gurbh' e righ [140a] Eirenn do bí ann, 7 doc[h]uir a curach a tir 7 suidhis ar lethlaim Chuind. Fíarfaidhís Cond scéla dí. Frecras an ingin 7 adbert curub a Tír Tairngire tainic d'iarraigh Airt meic Cuind da tuc gradh hecmaisi ara scelaibh, 7 adubairt corb í Delbhchæmh ingi[n] Morgain hí. "Ní thiucfaind adrut 7 do thogha tochmhaire," ar Cond, "ce taim gan mhnáí." "Cidh dobeir gan mhnáí tu?" ar an ingin. "Mo bhanceile do ég," ar Cond. "Cidh

¹ leg. cruindbeca.

² ms. dingbhala.

^a lit. *in absentia*.

and Gaidiar, and Gaei Gormsuilech, and Ilbrec son of Manannan. And their counsel was to banish her from the Land of Promise. And Manannan said not to burn her lest her guilt should cleave to the land or to themselves.

4. Messengers came from Labraid to the house of Oengus of the Brugh, his own son-in-law; for it was a daughter of Labraid's who was the wife of Oengus of the Brugh, and her name was Nuamaisi. And it was for this reason messengers were despatched, in order that Bécuma Cneisgel should not find a place for her head in any of the *sidh*-mounds of Ireland. Accordingly she was banished beyond the expanse of the sea and the great deep; and it was into Ireland in particular she was sent, for the Tuatha De Danann hated the sons of Mil after they had been driven out of Ireland by them.

5. It is thus the maiden was. She had a lover in Ireland, even Art son of Conn Cétchathach, and Art did not know that he was her lover. As for the maiden, she found a coracle which had no need of rowing, but leaving it to the harmony of the wind over sea she came to Ben Edair meic Etgaith. Thus was the maiden. She had a green cloak of one colour about her, with a fringe of red thread of red gold, and a red satin smock against her white skin, and sandals of *findruine* on her, and soft, yellow hair, and a grey eye in her head, and lovely-coloured teeth, and thin red lips, black eyebrows, arms straight and fair of hue, a snowy white body, small round knees, and slender choice feet, with excellence of shape, and form, and complexion, and accomplishments. Fair was the attire of that maiden, even Eogan Inbir's daughter. One thing only, however, a woman was not worthy of the high-king of Ireland who was banished for her own misdeed.

6. When she came Conn was on Ben Edair, sorrowful, restless, and lamentful, bewailing his wife. The maiden recognized him as the high-king of Ireland, and she brought her coracle to land and sat down beside Conn. Conn asked tidings of her. The maiden answered, and said that she was come from the Land of Promise in quest of Art, whom she had loved from afar,^a because of the tales about him. And she said that she was Delbchaem daughter of Morgan. "I would not come between thee and thy choice of courtship," said Conn, "though I have no wife." "Why hast thou no wife?" said the maiden. "My

dno dogen-sa?" ar an inghin; "an let-sa [f]aifead no an le hArt?" "Do rogha duit-si dibh," ar Cond. "Is e mo rogha," ar an ingin: "o nach fæmhann tusa mise, mo thogha tochmairc damh a nEirinn." "Ní fáicim-si do lochtaibh ort ni rís budh choir t'obadh ach muna fúilid a folach innat."

7. Iarsin tra do chuinidh an ingin a breath fein ar Chond, 7 doradagh¹ dísi sin 7 doronsat ænta iarsin .i. Cond 7 an ingin 7 naisgis fair a ríar do denam. *Ocus* as i breath ruc sí gan Art do thocht a Temraig co cend mbliadna. *Ocus* dob' olc lesium a menma de sin .i. a mac d' indarba a hEirinn gan fóchaind.

Et dochuadar iarsin co Teamhraigh a ndísi 7 rofágaibh an ingin a curach a scalpaibh carrag fo din 7 fo díamhair dóigh ní fidir cuin doricfad a les an curach sin arís.

8. Is amhlaid robí Art annsin a Teamhraig ag imirt fichille 7 Cromdes drai Cuind ana fárrad. *Ocus* adbert an drai, "bert indarba agad, a meic," ar sé, "7 tre bithin mhna dobeir t'athair indarbhar tú." Dorfacht an rígh cona mhnáí [140 b] cum an bhaile 7 doberar a mac cugi focetoir 7 adbert Cond re hArt, "fagaibh-si Teamhraig 7 Erinn re bliadain 7 dena fein t'airbert coleic dóigh tarrus arach orum-sa uime sin." *Ocus* ba holc mor le feraibh Erenn indarba Airt tri mhnáí. Cidh tra acht rofágaibh Art Teamhraig an aidhche sin fochétóir 7 bliadain dóibh a Temhraig .i. Cond 7 Becuma 7 ní roibhe hith na blicht a nEirinn risin ré sin. Et rofás ceist adhbhalmhor ag feraibh Erenn 'mon caingin sin. *Ocus* rocuiredh draighthi na hErenn uile a muind a fesa 7 a fireoluis da foillsiugud cidh tuc an t-olc adhuathmhar ut a nEirinn. *Ocus* dofoillsiged doib sin 7 do inðsidair na draighthe do rígh Temrach 7 do maithibh Erenn fath an uilc. Cidh tra acht ar los corbaidh mhna Cuind 7 gan creidim aice tucadh hé. *Ocus* rohindisidh antí da tiufad a leighes .i. mac lanamhna nemcholaidhe do thabairt co hEirinn 7 a mharbad a ndorus na Temrach 7 a fúil do c[h]umuscc do thalmain na Temrach. *Ocus* do indisidh do Cond sin (7. ni) roibhe a fír ag Cond ca hinad a roibh an mac sí(n). Et do thinoil fir Erenn co hæninagh² 7 adubairt friu, "Rachat-sa," ar sé, "d'íarraigh an meic nemcholaigh ut, 7 tabhraigh righi nErenn

¹ leg. doratad.

² leg. hæninadh

helpmate died," replied Conn. "What then shall I do?" said the maiden ; "is it with thee or with Art that I shall sleep?" "Make thine own choice," replied Conn. "This is my choice," said the maiden, "since thou dost not accept me: let me have my choice of courtship in Ireland." "I see no defects in thee for which it were right to refuse thee, unless they are concealed in thee."

7. Then the maiden asked her own judgment of Conn, and it was granted her. And they made a union, Conn and the maiden, and she bound him to do her will. And her judgment was that Art should not come to Tara until a year was past. And his mind was vexed because of this, namely, the banishing of his son from Ireland without cause. After that they both set out for Tara ; and the maiden left her coracle in the clefts of the rocks in shelter and concealment, for she knew not when she might need that coracle again.

8. Art was at Tara then playing *fidchell*, and Cromdes, Conn's druid, along with him. And the druid said: "a move of banishment of thine, my son, and because of the woman thy father marries thou art being banished." The king and his wife arrived at the place, and his son is brought to him straightway. And Conn said to Art : "Leave Tara and Ireland for a year, and make thy preparation at once, for I have pledged myself to this." And the men of Ireland deemed it a great wrong that Art should be banished for the sake of a woman. Notwithstanding, Art left Tara that night, and Conn and Bécuma were a year together in Tara, and there was neither corn nor milk in Ireland during that time. And the men of Ireland were in the greatest difficulty about that matter. And the druids of all Ireland were sent with the help of their science and their true wisdom to show what had brought that dreadful evil into Ireland. And it was declared to them ; and the druids related to the king of Tara and the nobles of Ireland the cause of the evil. Because of the depravity of Conn's wife and her unbelief it was sent. And it was related, through whom their deliverance would be possible, namely, that the son of a sinless couple should be brought to Ireland and slain before Tara, and his blood mingled with the soil of Tara. This was told to Conn, and he knew not in what place that boy was. And he assembled the men of Ireland in one place, and said to them : "I will go in quest of that sinless boy ; and do you give the kingdom of Ireland to Art yonder so long as I am away,

d'Art annsut cian rabhar-sa amuigh, 7 fos na tigedh a Temhraigh a g[cé]in rabhar-sa 'na hecmáis no co tí me arís."

9. Iarsin tra imighis *Cond* gacha dírgha co Beind Edain 7 fuair curach ann. *Ocus* do bí co cend cáí(cis)¹ ar mír ar muir o gach oilen co aroile gan f(is) gan eolus acht tæbh re rith rann 7 reltaní; *gur* e(ir)gheadar fon curach roin 7 lifidhna 7 toilgind 7 muca mara 7 ilpíasta ingantacha na fairrgi 'na timchill 7 roluatuirghidár na tonda 7 do crithnaigh an fermamint. Et dogabh an t-oglach [141 a] æn ænta ag luamhairecht an curaigh sin co tarrla oilen ingnadhl dó. *Ocus* luidh ann 7 fagaidh a churach a n-inadh derrid díamhair. *Ocus* is amhlaid do bí an t-oilen sin cona abhlaibh cæmha cubhraighe 7 lán do tibradaibh firáille fina 7 coill cæm-edrocht ar na comhecar do challaib crimhann um na tibradaibh sin 'ma cuairt co cnóibh áille orbhuidhe 7 beith beca bithaille ac dordánaigh ar na torthaibh sin ac tebersin a mbláith 7 a nduille ac toitim isna tibradibh. Confacaidh a n-imfócas dó (i)arsin an mbruidhín cumdaighi arna thuighi do eitibh én find 7 bhuighi 7 ngorm. *Ocus* luidh d'indsaighi na bruidhne iarsin. *Ocus* is amhlaid robí (7) ursanna cre[d]úmha 7 comhladha gloinidhe 7 muindter uathaíd einigh isin mbrúighin sin. Co fácaigh an ríghan roiscléthan darbha comhainm Righru Roiscléthan ingin Lodain a Tir Tairrngaíre anall .i. ben Daire Deghamra meic Ferghusa Fíalbreathaig a Tír na nIngnadh. Atconnairc *Cond* ann² ar medoin na bruidhne maccæm co mbúaigh crotha 7 ndelbha a cathair gloinighe .i. Séghdha Særlabraíd mac Daire Deghamra ainm an meic sin.

10. Suidhis *Cond* ar colbha na bruidhne 7 fuair a frithalamh 7 a fósaig, 7 ni fidir cia dorinde a fósaig. *Ocus* ní cían do bí ann antan atchonnairc an lasair ag eirghi asa tellach anís, 7 rogabhangh lamh ar an oglach im dul dochum na teneadh 7 luidh (sium)³ d'indsaighe na tenedh. Iarsin eirghit clarmíasa bíadhmhara an tighi co mbíadhaibh examhla a fiadhnuse Cuind, 7 ní fidir cia dorad dó na biadha sin. Et ní cian confacaidh an cornd an[n]⁴, 7 ní fidir cia dorat an cornd. Tóghthar na míasa uadha iartain. Adchonnairc uadha an dabhach digruis deghdenmhach do gloine ghuirm 7 tri cercaill uimpe do or. *Ocus* adbert Daire Deghamra ré *Cond* tocht isin dabhaigh da

¹ leg. cōicthigis

² MS. á

³ MS. illegible

⁴ MS. córā á

and, moreover, let him not leave Tara while I am absent until I come again."

9. Then Conn proceeded straight to Benn Edair, and he found a coracle there. And he was a fortnight and a month on the sea wandering from one isle to another without knowledge or guidance save that of trusting to the course of the stars and the luminaries. And seals and leviathans, and adzeheads (?) and porpoises, and many strange beasts of the sea rose up around the coracle, and swiftly uprose the waves, and the firmament trembled. And the hero began all alone (?) to navigate the coracle until he came to a strange isle. He landed and left his coracle in a secret lonely place. And it is thus the island was, having fair fragrant apple-trees, and many wells of wine most beautiful, and a fair bright wood adorned with clustering hazel-trees surrounding those wells, with lovely golden-yellow nuts, and little bees ever beautiful humming over the fruits, which were dropping their blossoms and their leaves into the wells. Then he saw near by a shapely hostel thatched with birds' wings, white, and yellow, and blue. And he went up to the hostel. 'Tis thus it was, with doorposts of bronze and doors of crystal, and a few generous folk within. He saw the queen with her large eyes, whose name was Rigrū Roisclethan,^a daughter of Lodan from the Land of Promise, that is, the wife of Daire Degamra, son of Fergus Fialbrethach from the Land of Wonders. Conn saw there in the midst of the hostel a young man with excellence of shape and form, in a chair of crystal, even Segda Saerlabraird, son of Daire Degamra, that was his name.

10. Conn sat down on the bedside of the hostel, and was ministered unto, and his feet washed. And he knew not who had washed his feet. Before long he saw a flame arising from the hearth, and the hero was seized by the hand to guide him to the fire, and he went towards the fire. Then food-laden boards of the house with varied meats rose up before him, and he knew not who had given them to him. After a short space he saw a drinking-horn there, and he knew not who had fetched the horn. Then the dishes are removed from him. He saw before him a vat excellent and finely wrought of blue crystal, with three golden hoops about it. And Daire Degamra bade Conn

^a large-eyed

fóthrugadh¹ nogo scuiredh a scís dé, 7 dorinde Cond corbha dáighmheach hé. Tugadh lendbratt alaind tar an rígh 7 rodhuisigh iarsin fó isomenmain 7 tucadh biadh 7 tomaltus dó. Adbert-son ba gesa dó caitheamh 'na ænar. Doraigh siat-san ummorro nach roibhe geis acu eter ach narchaith neach dibh sin fein re chele riamh. "Gin cur' chaith," ar an macamh .i. Seghdha Særlabhraidh, "caithfet-sa cúmaidh re rígh Erenn, narbó millidh geisi dó hé." Et rolaighsit a n-enlebaidh² an oidhchi sin.

11. Eirghis Cond arnamhairech 7 accainis risin muindtir a hécin 7 a sóithfir.³ "Cret hí an écin fuil ort?" ar iat-son. ".i. Ere do beith gan ith gan blicht re bliadain anosa." "Cidh ma tancais alé?" "D'iarraidh bhar meic-si," ar Cond, "madh maith lib, dóigh is eadh do muinegh⁴ duind co mad de dothiucfad ar leighes .i. mac lanamhna neamcholaidhe d'iarraidh co Teamhraig 7 fot[h]rugadh dó a huisci na hErenn iartain; 7 as aghaibh-si ata sin, 7 dorala an macamh sin .i. Seghdha Sær-labraighe annsiud." "Truadh sin," ar Daire mac Ferghusa Fialbreathaig; "ni tiubhrumais iasacht ar meic ar ríghi an domain, uair nírhomraic a athair 7 a mathair⁵ riamh ach antan doronad an mac bec úd, 7 fos nírhomraicsit ar n-aithrecaí-ne na ar maithrecháil-ne riamh ach antan dorindedh sinne." "Olc an ní raidhus sibh," ar an macamh, "gan rígh Erenn do fregra, 7 rachaidh misi leis," ar an mac beg. "Na habair sin, a meic," ar an muindter. "Aderim gan era rígh Erenn." "Mas ed," ar an muindter, "is amlaid leicfimid uaind tú, ar chomairce rigráidhe Erenn uile 7 Airt meic Cuind 7 Find meic Cumhaill 7 an æsa dana 'mud tocht slan cugainde dorisi." "Dogebeithear sin uile," ar Cond, "da fedar-sa."

12. Imthusa Cuind 7 a churaidh iarna beith a n-urchomair na hec[h]tra, ní roibh ach seoladh teora lá 7 teora aidhche doibh co hEirind. Is annsin do bhadar fir Erenn uile [142 a] a coinde 7 a comhdail ar cind Chuind a Teamhraig. Ocus o'dchonncadar na draighi an macamh a farrad Chuind is í comairle doronadar: an macamh do marbad 7 a fuil do chumusc don talmain truaillighthi 7 dona crandaibh crina, oir do bhiadh

¹ MS. dafothúgadh

² MS. enlebaigh

³ leg. sáithir

⁴ leg. múinedh

⁵ MS. maithair

go into the vat and bathe, so that he might put his weariness from him. And Conn did so, and he was . . .^a A fair cloak was thrown over the king, and he awoke refreshed. Food and nourishment was set before him. He said that it was *geis* for him to eat by himself. And they answered that there was no *geis* at all among them, save that none of them ever ate with the other. "Though no one has eaten," said the young man, even Segda Saerlabraid, "I will eat along with the king of Ireland, so that he may not violate his *geis*." And they lay in the same bed that night.

11. Conn arose on the morrow, and complained to the household of his need and his trouble. "What is thy need?" said they. "That Ireland is without corn and milk for a year now." "Why hast thou come hither?" "In quest of your son," replied Conn, "if you are willing; for it has been told us that it is through him our deliverance will come, namely, that the son of a sinless couple should be invited to Tara, and afterwards bathed in the water of Ireland; and it is you that possess the same, so let this young man, even Segda Saerlabraid be given up." "Alas," said Daire son of Fergus Fialbrethach, "we would not lend our son for the kingship of the world; for never did his father and mother come together except when yonder little boy was made; and moreover our own fathers and mothers never came together save at our making." "Evil is the thing ye say," said the young man, "not to respond to the king of Ireland; I will go myself with him." "Do not say that, son," said the household. "I say that the king of Ireland should not be refused." "If that is so," said the household, "it is thus we shall let thee go from us, under protection of the kings of all Ireland, and Art son of Conn, and Finn son of Cumall, and the men of art, so that thou shalt come back safe to us again." "All that shall be given," said Conn, "if I can."

12. As for Conn and his coracle, after having met the adventure, it was only a sail of three days and three nights for them to Ireland. The men of all Ireland were then gathered in assembly awaiting Conn at Tara. And when the druids saw the young man with Conn, this is the counsel they gave: to slay him and mingle his blood with the blighted earth

^a I have no other instance of *dáighmech*. It may be a scribal blunder for *daigmenmanach* "good spirits," though the context implies that Conn became drowsy after the bath.

a mes 7 a morthorad 7 a hiasc 7 a *lacht* iar coir indti. Et dochurusdar Cond an macamh *tuc* lais ar comairci Airt 7 Find 7 an æsa dana 7 fer nErenn. Iarsin cheana nírgabhadar-sumh sin ach rogabhadh na rígh il fochoitri .i. Cond 7 Find 7 Art Enfer 7 rosaraighedh fon mac uile iat.

13. O tairrnic doibh an comhairle sin do denamh, léigis an macamh a llán morgot[h]a ás. “A firu Erenn,” ar sé, “leigidh damh-sa co forusta a rofæmabair mo mharbad. Imirthar bas orm *amail ader fein*,” ar an macamh. Is annsin adchualadar geim bó 7 bean ac sirgúl ’na diaigh. *Ocus* adconncadar chuca an mboin 7 an ben ’san oirechtus. Suidhis an ben *eter* Find 7 Cond Cétcathach. Fiarfaighis an ben scela an faslaigh sin ar feraibh Erenn .i. an macamh nemurcoidech do marbad tar sarugud Find 7 Airt 7 Chuind. “Cáidh iat na draigthi sin?” ar an ben. “Sunda,” bhar iat-som. “Findaigh damh-sa cred an dá bhuilg úd ar tæbhaibh na bó .i. bolg da *gach* leith dí.” “Dar ar cubhus amh,” bhar iat-san, “ni fédamar.” “Dofedarsa,” bhar sí; “.i. ænbó tainic sund do chabair an mheic nemcinntaigh út. *Ocus* is amhlaid dogentar fria .i. an bó do cascairt 7 a fuli do c[h]umusc do thalmain na hEirenn 7 do doirsibh na Teamhrach 7 an mac d’ánocal. Et fos atá ní bhudh choradh² dibh na sin do thabairt da bar n-uidh .i. anuair chaisgerthar an bó foslaigter an da bhuilg, 7 atait [142 b] dá en inntu .i. en enchoisi 7 en da chos dég.”

14. *Ocus* rocasgair an bó 7 tucadh na heoin aisti. *Ocus* do badar ag bualad a n-eiteagh a fiadhnaisi an t-sloig. “Is amhlaid do findfamais da tecmadh aturra cia dibh ba treisi.” Is andsin dofortamhlaigh en na hencoisi ar en an da cos deg. Rob’ ingnad le feruibh Erenn sin. “Sibh-si ummorro emh,” ar an bean, “en an da cos deg, ar si, 7 an mac bec en na hénchoisi, oir is é atá ar an firinde. Gabhaidh na draigthi ud,” ar an inghin, “uair budh ferdi dibh bas d’faghbháil doibh 7 crochta lib iat.” *Ocus* nírmabarad an macamh. Iarsin tra roeirigh an ben 7 rogairm Cond le ar fót fo leith 7 is ed adbert: “Leig uait an mnáí colaidh coirpe³ ful agad .i. Bécuma Cneisgel ingin Eogain

¹ MS. ríghi

² leg. chóra

³ = coirbthe

^a *rogabhadh* is obscure; perhaps we should read *rogabhadar* ‘accepted’

and the withered trees, so that its due mast and fruit, its fish, and its produce might be in them. And Conn placed the young man he had brought with him under the protection of Art and Finn, and the men of art, and the men of Ireland. Then, however, the latter did not accept that, but the kings . . .^a it at once, even Conn, and Finn, and Art Oenfer, and they were all outraged as regards the youth.

13. As soon as they had finished this counsel, the young man cried out with a loud voice: "O men of Ireland, leave me alone in peace (?), since ye have agreed to slay me. Let me be put to death, as I shall say myself," said the youth. Just then they heard the lowing of a cow, and a woman wailing continually behind it. And they saw the cow and the woman making towards the assembly. The woman sat down between Finn and Conn Céthchathach. She asked tidings of the attempt of the men of Ireland, that the innocent young man should be put to death in despite of Finn, and Art, and Conn. "Where are those druids?" "Here," said they. "Find out for me what those two bags are at the cow's sides, namely, the bag at each side of her." "By our conscience," said they, "we know not indeed." "I know," said she, "a single cow that has come here to save that innocent youth. And it is thus it will be done to her: let the cow be slaughtered, and her blood mixed with the soil of Ireland and with the doors of Tara, and save the boy. And moreover, there is something which it were more fitting for you to take heed to, that is, whén the cow is cut up, let the two bags be opened, and there are two birds inside, a bird with one leg, and a bird with twelve legs."

14. And the cow is slaughtered and the birds taken out of her. And they were beating their wings in the presence of the host. "It is thus we shall discover which is the stronger if they encounter." Then the one-legged bird prevailed over the bird with twelve legs. The men of Ireland marvelled at that. Said the woman, "Ye are the bird with the twelve legs, and the little boy the bird with one leg, for it is he who is in the right." "Take those druids there," said the maiden, "for it were better for them to die, and let them be hanged." And the young man was not put to death. Then the woman rose up and called Conn aside, and spoke as follows: "Put this sinful woman away

Inbir ben Labradha Luathlam-ar-cloidheamh, 7 is tre imarbus rodicuridh hí a Tír Tairngaire." "Is comairle coir sin," ar Cond, "da mbeith a secnadh agum, 7 o nach fuil, deaghrunaigh oraind." "Doden,"¹ ar an ben, "7 as mesa mar bias," ar sí, "trian a heatha 7 a bleachta 7 a mesa do beith d'esbaidh na hEirind, gein bias sí agaibh-si." *Ocus* rotimain ceilebradh doibh air sin, 7 roimigh 7 a mac uaithibh .i. Seghda. *Ocus* targas doibh seoit 7 maine, 7 nírgabhsat iat.

15. Is annsin dorala Becuma amach ar an fáithche 7 atconnairc sí mac Cuind ag fathimirt fithcille ar an fáithche. Rob' olc le hArt a bhannamha da faigsin. "A(n é) siut Art mac Cuind?" ar sí. "As é ummorro," bhar iat-so(n). "Geis dó," bhar isi, "muna imre fi[th]chill rum-sa (ar) gealltaibh." *Ocus* do hindisidh d' Art mac Cuind sin. *Ocus* tucadh fi[th]chill cuca iarsin 7 roimridar hi 7 rug Art an cécluiche. "Cluichi so ort, a ingin," [143a] ar Art. "As edh co deimhin," bhar isi. "Ocus geis fort," ar sé, ".i. da caithe tú biadh Eirind nogo faghbha tú an flesc miledh do bí a laim Chonrigh meic Daire a gabail for(la)mus na hEirenn 7 an domain mhoir nogo tugair let hí (da)mh-sa conuigi so."

16. *Ocus* do imigh iarsin gusan mbrúgh mbraenach mbrecessolus, 7 is ann robí Aenghus 7 a ben di (les?) ara ghualaind .i. Nuadhmhaisi inghin Labhradha. Cid tra acht rošír sí urmhor síth na hEirenn 7 ní fuair fis na fleisce nogo rainig sith Eoghabhail 7 roferadh failti ria ann .i. Aine inghin Eoghabhail. Doigh amh roba dha chomhalta íat maraen. "Dogebhá th' iarr-aign abhus," ar si, "7 ac-siut tri cóbait macamh let nogo róithí² tú cathraigh Chonrigh ar mullach šlebi Mis." *Ocus* fuardar ann hí 7 rob [f]orbhailidh lesi sin.

17. *Ocus* imdigh farsin co Temhraidh 7 tuc an flesc d' Art 7 do chuir fona glun hi, 7 tucadh an fi[th]cill chucu 7 do imridar hí. *Ocus* dogabhsat na fir sithi a[g] goid na foirne. F(a)ighis Art sin 7 as ed adubert. "Atait na fir sithi a[g] goid na foirne uaind, a ingin," ar sé, "7 ní tu beires an cluichi ach iad." "Is cluichi so," bhar an ingin, "ort." "Is ed co deimin," ar an macam, "7 beir do breath."³ "Berad," bhar isi, ".i. gan biadh na hEirenn do chaithemh duit nogo tuga tu let Delbcæm ingin Morgain."

¹ leg. dogén

² leg. roichi

³ dob'a

from thee, even Bécuma Cneisgel, daughter of Eogan Inbir, and wife of Labraíd Luathlam-ar-claideb, for it is through transgression she has been driven out of the Land of Promise." "That is good counsel," said Conn, "if I could put her away; but since I cannot, give us good advice." "I will," said the woman, "for it is worse it will be, a third of its corn, and its milk, and its mast to be lacking to Ireland so long as she will be with you." And she took leave of them then and went off with her son, even Segda. And jewels and treasures were offered to them, but they refused them.

15. Bécuma chanced to be out on the green then, and she saw Conn's son playing *fidchell* there. It was not agreeable for Art to see his enemy. "Is that Conn's son Art?" said she. "It is indeed," said they. "Geis to him," said she, "unless he play *fidchell* with me for stakes." And this was told to Art son of Conn. And a *fidchell* was brought to them then, and they played, and Art won the first game. "This is a game on thee, girl," said Art. "That is so," said she. "And *geis* on thee," said he, "if thou eat food in Ireland until thou procure the warrior's wand which Cúrói son of Dare had in his hand when taking possession of Ireland and the great world, and fetch it to me here."

16. Then the girl proceeded to the dewy light-bespeckled brugh, wherein was Oengus, with his dear wife at his side, even Nuamaisi daughter of Labraíd. However she searched most of the *sidh* mounds of Ireland, and found no tidings of the wand until she came to the *sidh* of Eogabal, and a welcome was given her here from Aine, daughter of Eogabal. For indeed they were two foster-sisters. "Thou wilt get thy quest here," said she; "and take yonder thrice fifty youths with thee until thou come to the stronghold of Cúrói on the top of Sliabh Mis." And they found it there, and she was rejoiced thereat.

17. Thereupon she set out for Tara, and she brought the wand to Art, and laid it upon his knees. The *fidchell* was brought to them, and they play. And the men of the *sidh* began to steal the pieces. Art saw that, and said, "The *sidh* men are stealing the pieces from us, girl; and it is not thou that art winning the game, but they." "This is a game on thee," said the girl. "It is so indeed," said the young man; "and give thy judgment." "I will," said she; "even this, that thou shalt not eat food in Ireland until thou bring with thee Delbchaem, the daughter

“Cait a fuil sí?” ar Art. “A n-oilen ar lar [in] mhara, 7 ni berair let a fíis (ní as) mo na sin.”

18. Imtighis Art co hIndbir Colpa, 7 fuair curach cona trelam toghaidhe isin tracht ara (chind), 7 *curus* an curach amach a[g] taistill na mara o gach oilen co aroile nogo rainic indsi alaind anaithnigh. *Ocus* ba hálaind tuaruscbaile na hindsí sin .i. lan d'fiaghblaibh 7 d'énaibh aille 7 do bec[h]aibh beca bithaille ar barraibh na scoth. Tigh fiala *furglidhe* ar lar na hindsí fárna tuighi do (eitibh) en fínd, 7 *corcra* 7 *bandtrocht* *builidh* bith[143b]-alaind indti im Creidhi firralaind ingin Fidhaigh Foltlebhair.

19. Iarsin doferadh firchain fáilti fris, 7 tugadh biadh dó, 7 fiarfaidhter scela dé. *Ocus* adubairt curob a hErinn tainic, 7 ba mac do rígh Erenn, 7 ba hArt a ainm. “As fir,” ar isi. Asa haithle sin tuc a laimh seicce 7 tuc inar suaithnígh co fórbhrecadh do ór fórrloisc[th]e tíre Arabía dó, 7 gabhaíis uime é, 7 is ed do bí and a dóithin. “Is fir,” ar sí, “as tú Art mhac Cuind 7 is cían o do bí a cindeagh¹ do thraighecht sund.” *Ocus* tairbiris teora pog co dil 7 co dícrá do. *Ocus* adubairt: “Fecaigh an grianan gloinighi.” *Ocus* rob alaind suigiudh² an grianain sin cona comladhaibh glonighi 7 guna dabhachaib gan dibhagh 7 gac[h] ní folmuighthir dibh bithlan doridhisi.

20. Caicis³ ar míos dó 'san oilen. Ceilebras iarsin don inghin, 7 do indis a thosca. “Is fir,” ar sí, “is iat sin do thosca 7 ní gar dogebhthar an ingin, uair as olc an t-slighe conuigi sin, 7 fuil muir 7 tír adrud 7 da n-urmaisi tú uirre ní roithfe tú tairrsi. Ata fairgi mhor dorcha adrut, 7 is neimneach naimdighi an t-slighe fuil ann, oir is cuma dhuille an feadha fa chosaibh daine amail nobeith grain chatha fo chosaibh imighter an fidh sin, Ata gabhal mhírathmhar mhara lan do piastaibh bel-balba leth anall don fidh adhbhal-mhor sin. *Ocus* daire dluithegair dilgne[h] dimhor a cind an t-sleibhe sin, 7 casan cumang ara fúd 7 tech dorcha don fidh folaigheach a cind na conaire cedna cona morseiser cailleach 7 fothrugadh luaidhe léo ar do chind-sa, oir do bhí a n[d]an do thiachtain annso. Et ata ní as doilghi na

¹ leg. cinneadh

² leg. suidigud

³ leg. cóicthigis

^a *Read wood*; cf. l. 9, *supra*, and § 24

^b lit. *dense array*

of Morgan." "Where is she?" said Art. "In an isle amid the sea, and that is all the information that thou wilt get."

18. Art set out for Inber Colptha ; and he found a coracle with choice equipment on the shore before him. And he put forth the coracle, and travelled the sea from one isle to another until he came to a fair, strange island ; and fair was the character of that island, full of wild apples and lovely birds, with little bees ever beautiful on the tops of the flowers. A house, hospitable and noble, in the midst of the island, thatched with birds' wings, white and purple, and within it a company of blooming women, ever beautiful, among them Creide Firalaind, daughter of Fidech Foltelebor.

19. A hearty welcome was then given to him, and food set before him, and tidings are asked of him. And he said that he was come from Ireland, and that he was the King of Ireland's son, and his name was Art. "That is true," said she. After that she put out her hand, and gave him a variegated mantle with adornments of burnished gold from Arabia, and he put it on him, and it was sufficient for him. "'Tis true," said she, "that thou art Conn's son Art, and it is long since thy coming here has been decreed." And she gave him three kisses, dearly and fervently. And she said, "Look at the crystal bower." And fair was the site of that bower, with its doors of crystal and its inexhaustible vats, for, though everything be emptied out of them, they are ever full again.

20. He remained a fortnight and a month in that island, after which he took leave of the girl, and related his errand. "'Tis true," said she, "that is thine errand ; and it will be no little time until the maiden will be found, for the way is bad thither, and there is sea and land between thee and her, and, even if thou dost reach it, thou wilt not go past it. There is a great ocean^a and dark between thee and deadly and hostile is the way there ; for that wood is traversed as though there were spear-points of battle under one's feet, like leaves of the forest under the feet of men. There is a luckless gulf of the sea full of dumb-mouthed beasts on this side of that immense wood. And an immense oak forest, dense^b and thorny before that mountain, and a narrow path through it, and a dark house in the mysterious wood at the head of the same path, with seven hags and a bath of lead awaiting thee, for thy coming there has been

sin .i. Ailill Dubhdedach mac Mongain Minscothaigh. *Ocus* ni cumhaing arm ní dó. *Ocus* atait da siair damh-sa ann .i. da ingin Fidhigh Foiltlebuir .i. Finscoth [144a] 7 Aebh a n-anmanda. *Ocus* atait da chopan ana lamhaibh .i. copan lan do neim 7 copan lan d'fin. *Ocus* in copan bes dot laim deis, ibh digh as antan rigfir a les. *Ocus* as fagus 'doibh ata dun na hingine 7 as amhlaid ata in dun sin 7 sonnach umaidhe ana timcholl. *Ocus* ata cend fir ar gac[h] én-sonn díbh sin arna marbad don Coincind ach madh én-sonn amhain. *Ocus* Coincind ingin rígh na Coincind mathair¹ na hin[gin]e .i. Delbhæmh inghin Mhorgain."

21. Et roimigh Art iarsin arna tegosc don ingin noga rainig an moing mara mírathmair sin lan do piastaibh ingantacha. *Ocus* do eirgidar dó fan curach piasta 7 bladhmhila mora muiridhe do gac[h] aird fon curach. Et rogab Art mac Cuind a errad catha 7 comhlaind uime 7 rofregair co feithmheach fuireachair iat 'mon curach, 7 rogabh 'ga n-oirrleach 7 'ga n-athcuma co torcradar leis.

22. Iarsin rainic gusan fídh fásaigh a rabhadar na coin cuilind 7 na cailleacha colacha clænbrethacha, 7 rocomraiged aturra annsin .i. Art 7 na cailleacha. *Ocus* nirbha comcomh-land chóir dó-san na cailleacha 'ga treghdagh 7 'ga thæbhled-ragh co maidin. Cidh tra acht rofortamhlaigh an gilla og eidighech .i. Art for an muindtir mírathmhair sin. Et roimigh Art lé oirbert fein noga rainic an sliabh neimhnech n-oigrita, 7 is ann do bí an glend gabhlanach lan do loisgindibh ag urchoid ar cind cháith.² Et rainic roime a sin co sliabh Sæbh tarrsna a roibhe a lan do leomannaibh lebur-mongacha ag feitheam for ainmindtibh an betha uile.

23. Et rosiacht iarsin gusan abhaind n-oigreta gona³ droichit cæl cumang 7 fodhmhoir milita ré cartha cloiche 7 sé ag bleith a fíacal risin cartha cloichi .i. Curnan Cliabhšalach. Cid tra acht doeirigh aturra, 7 doigh amh do fortamhlaigh Art [144b] ar an athach co torchair leis Curnan Cliabhšalach. *Ocus* tainic roime a sin co hairm a roibhe Ailill Dubhdedach mac Mo[n]gain. *Ocus* is amlaid do bí an fer sin .i. fer comlaind cruaid é. *Ocus* ni gabad arm é, 7 ni loisgedh teine, 7 ní bhaidhegh tonn é. Co tarrla etarra 7 Art ar imrusgail gur feradar gleic ferrda foindighi, 7 rofersat comlann cruaidh curata comhamhnus. *Ocus* rogabh Ailill Dubhdedach ag tarcasáil for Art 7 ag

¹ MS. mæith⁹

² leg. cháich

³ MS. gono

fated. And there is somewhat more grievous still, even Ailill Dubhdedach son of Mongan Minscothach. And weapon cannot harm him. And there are two sisters of mine there, daughters of Fidech Foltebor, Finscoth and Aeb their names. There are two cups in their hands—a cup filled with poison, and one filled with wine. And the cup which is on thy right hand drink therefrom when thou hast need. And near at hand is the stronghold of the maiden. Thus it is, with a palisade of bronze round about it, and a man's head on every stake of it, after being slain by Coinchend, save on one stake alone. And Coinchend daughter of the king of the Coinchind, the mother of the girl, even Delbchaem daughter of Morgan."

21. Art then set out after he had been instructed by the girl until he came to the crest of that hapless sea full of strange beasts. And on all sides the beasts and great sea-monsters rose up around the coracle. And Art son of Conn donned his battle attire, and engaged them warily and circumspectly. And he began to slaughter them and maim them until they fell by him.

22. After that he came to the forest wild where the Coincuilind and the wicked, perverse hags were, and Art and the hags encountered. It was not a fair encounter for him, the hags piercing and hacking at him until morning. Nevertheless the armed youth prevailed over that hapless folk. And Art went on his way using his own judgment until he came to the venomous icy mountain; and the forked glen was there full of toads, which were lying in wait for whoever came there. And he passed thence to Sliabh Saeb beyond, wherein were full many lions with long manes lying in wait for the beasts of the whole world.

23. After that he came to the icy river, with its slender narrow bridge, and a warrior giant with a pillar-stone, and he grinding his teeth on it, namely, Curnan Cliabhsalach. Nevertheless they encountered, and belike indeed Art overcame the giant, so that Curnan Cliabhsalach fell by him. And he went thence to where Ailill Dubhdedach son of Mongan was. And 'tis thus that man was, a fierce champion was he; no weapon would harm him, or fire burn him, or water drown him. Then Art and he took to wrestling, and they made a manly . . . combat, a stern, heroic, equally-sharp fight. And Ailill Dubhdedach began abusing Art, and *they were* haranguing one another.

imagallaim ara cheile. *Ocus rofortamhlaig* Art for an athach co toracht a chend da chul mheighe. *Ocus roaig* sé an dún iarsin 7 rogabh sé a bean 7 dofuabair dochar do chur for a mhnáí no *gur* mhuin sí dó dun Morgain 7 Tír na nIngnád.

24. Is annsin bái an Coincind Cendfada .i. ben Morgain 7 nert cet indti a lathair chatha no comhlaind, et ingin *Conchruith* rígh na Coincind hí fein. Et do gellsat na draighthi sí cibe uair dogentai tochmharc a hingine co fuidheth sí bas annsin. *Conadh* aire sin do marbad sí gac[h] fear dothigeadh do thochmharc a hingine. *Ocus* is í roindil na cailleacha 7 fot[h]rugadh luaighi leo ara cind. *Ocus* is í roindil Curnan Cliabhísalach mac Duscadha .i. doirrseoir tighi Morgain. *Ocus* is í do indill Oilill Duibhdedach mac Mongain ar cind Airt meic Cuind, doigh rothiucfad Art mac Cuind isin eachtra sin do thochmharc na hingine mar do tairrngaireadh dó. *Ocus* is í roindill na heich neimhe 7 an droichit oighrita 7 an fidh dorcha *cona* conaibh cuilind 7 an sa : : : lond loiscind, 7 an slíabh lan do leomanaibh, 7 gabhál mhuiridhe mhírathmhar.

25. Et as amlaid rainic Art 'san dunagh robí d'iaraigh¹ .i. d(un) Morgain. *Ocus* ba suairc an dunagh sin. *Ocus* is amlaith do bí 7 sonnach alaind umhaidhe ana timcill 7 (tigh) fiala fairsinga 7 piláid mhaisech mor(a:::) ar lar an bhaile. Grianan gasta glanadro(ctha) [145 a] arna šuigudh² ar enchois uas an mbaile a certairde a mbái an ingin sin. Brat uaine ændatha uimpe, 7 dealg óir isin brat osa bruinde, 7 folt fíralaind forordha fuirre. Da fabra dubha dorchaidhe le rosc glas ruithenta ana cind ; corp snechtaighi sithgel aice. Et ba halaind an ingin sin, eter cruth 7 chéill 7 gais 7 gres 7 genus 7 ordarcus. Is annsin roraidh an ingin, "Tainic enoglach don baile aniugh³ 7 ní fil isin domun ænoglach is aille delb na 's ferr tuaruscail na sé. "Is fir," ar si, "is e sin Art, 7 is cian atáthar 'ga furraidh. *Ocus* rachat-sa," ar sí, "a tech fo leith, 7 tabair Art isin ngrianan, oir is ecaill lem an Choincind do imirt bhais fair 7 do thabairt a chind ar an cuaille folam ata 'mon dun."

26. Luidh Art iarsin isin ngrianan 7 o 'tchonnairc an band-

¹ leg. d'iarraidh

² leg. suidigud

³ leg. indiu.

But Art overcame the giant, so that his head came off the back of his neck. After that he wrecked the stronghold ; and he seized his wife, and he sought to do her injury until she told him the way to Morgan's stronghold, and the Land of Wonders.

24. It was there Coinchend Cendifada, Morgan's wife, was ; and she had the strength of a hundred in battle or conflict. She was the daughter of Conchruth, king of the Coinchind. And the Druids had foretold her that if ever her daughter should be wooed, in that same hour she would die. Therefore, she put to death everyone that came to woo her daughter. And it was she that had organized the hags with the bath of lead to meet him, and Curnan Cliabhsalach son of Duscad, the door-keeper of Morgan's house. And it was she that had put Ailill Dubhdedach in the way of Art son of Conn, because Art would come on that expedition to woo her daughter, as it had been foretold him. And it was she that had contrived the venomous steeds,^a and the icy bridge, and the dark forest with the Coincuilind and the . . . toads, and the mountain full of lions, and the hapless sea-gulf.

25. Thus came Art to the stronghold which he was in quest of, even Morgan's stronghold, and pleasant it was. A fair palisade of bronze was round about it, and houses hospitable and extensive, and a stately palace . . . in the midst of the stead. An ingenious, bright, shining bower set on one pillar over the stead, on the very top, where that maiden was. She had a green cloak of one hue about her, with a gold pin in it over her breast, and long, fair, very golden hair. She had dark-black eyebrows, and flashing grey eyes in her head, and a snowy-white body. Fair was the maiden both in shape and intelligence, in wisdom and embroidery, in chastity and nobility. And the maiden said : "A warrior has come to the stead to-day, and there is not in the world a warrior fairer in form, or of better repute." "It is true," said she, "he is Art ; and it is long since we have been preparing for him. And I will go into a house apart," said she, "and do thou bring Art into the bower ; for I fear lest the Coinchend may put him to death, and have his head placed on the vacant stake before the stronghold."

26. With that Art went into the bower, and when the

^a Not previously mentioned.

trocht e, doferadh failti fris 7 doronad umalfosáig dó. Doriac[h]t an Coincind iarsin 7 dá ingin Fidhaigh lé .i. Aebh 7 Finscoth lé do dail na neime 7 an fina ar Art.

27. Imthus na Coincinde, do eirigh an banghaisgedhach 7 do gabh a trelamh uimpe 7 do fuagair comrac ar Art, 7 gurbh e Art nírbho hoptach irgaile é. *Ocus* do gabh a errad catha 7 comlainn uime, 7 ní fada corsortamlaigh an gilla og eidighach sin ar Coincind, cò toracht a ceand da cuil mheighi, 7 do c[h]uir a cend ar an cuaille fólamh do bí 'sa dun.

28. Scela Airt meic Cuind 7 Delbhchainhe ingine Morgain. Do loighsit an oidhche sin co subhach somenmnach 7 an dun uile for a comus o beg co mór nogu toracht Morgan .i. rígh Tíre na nIngnad, doigh amh ní roibhe Morgan ann an tan sin. Is ann tra tainic Morgan co feirg lanmhoir do dighailt a dhuin 7 a deghmhna for Art mac Cuind. Rofuagair comrac for Art. *Ocus* do eirigh an macam 7 do gab a errad comraic uime .i. inar suairc srollaighi uime, 7 an mbanfáuatroic mbrecsólus do or orloisc[th]e re imtus a medoin. *Ocus* do gabustar a dondcathbhar[r] digrais dergoir ima cheand. Et do ghabh a sciath mbocoidec[h] mbancorcra ar sduaighleirg a droma. Et do gabh a c[h]loideh clais-lethan co indill gorm, et do gab a dha sleigh crandr[e]amhra crochbhuighi, 7 indsáighi's cach a chele dibh .i. Art 7 Morgan mar dhá damh dílind no mar dha leoman no mar dha bhuinde bratha. *Ocus* rofortamlaigh Art ar Morgan, 7 nírscar ris co toracht a cend da chul mheighi. *Ocus* gabais Art annsin braighde muindtire Morgain, 7 forlámhus Tire na nIngnadh, 7 tinolaigh ór 7 airged in téar ar cheana, 7 dorat sin uile don ingin .i. do Delbhcaim inghi[n] Morgain.

29. Badar annsin mair 7 r[e]achtairegha da eis as téar, 7 ruc-san an ingin leis co hErinn. *Ocus* is é port do gabhsat ag Beind Etain. *Ocus* o doriachtadar an port adubairt an ighin, "Imigh-si," ar sí, "co Temhraig 7 abair re Bécuma ingin Eogain na fuirighedh a Temraig ach imthigedh asti co hobann 7 corob olc in sen da fuagartar di Temraig d'fagail."

30. Et tainic Art roime co Teamhraig 7 roferadh failti fris, 7 ní roibh a Teamhraig nech ris nar mhaith a theacht ach an ben bhæth bronach Bécuma. (Cid tra) acht do fuagair Art don

women-folk saw him they made him welcome, and his feet were bathed. After that came the Coinchend, and the two daughters of Fidech along with her, Aebh and Finscoth, for to pour out the poison and the wine for Art.

27. As for the Coinchend: the amazon arose and put on her fighting apparel, and challenged Art to combat. And it was not Art who refused a fight ever. So he donned his fighting gear, and before long the armed youth prevailed over the Coinchend; and her head came off from the back of her neck, and he placed it on the vacant stake in front of the fortress.

28. Now concerning Art son of Conn and Delbchaem daughter of Morgan. That night they lay down merry, and in good spirits, the whole stronghold in their power, from small to great, until Morgan king of the Land of Wonders arrived; for indeed he was not there at the time. Then, however, Morgan arrived, full of wrath, to avenge his fortress and his good wife on Art son of Conn. He challenged Art to combat. And the young man arose, and put on his battle-harness, even his pleasant, satin mantle, and the white light-speckled apron of burnished gold about his middle. And he put his fine dark helmet of red gold on his head. And he took his fair, purple, embossed shield on the arched expanse of his back. And he took his wide-grooved sword with blue hilt, and his two thick-shafted, red-yellow spears, and they attacked each other, Art and Morgan, like two enormous stags, or two lions, or two waves of destruction. And Art overcame Morgan, and he did not part from him until his head had come off his neck. After which Art took hostages of Morgan's people, and also possession of the Land of Wonders. And he collected the gold and silver of the land also, and gave it all to the maiden, even Delbchaem daughter of Morgan.

29. The stewards and overseers followed him from the land, and he brought the maiden with him to Ireland. And they landed at Ben Edair. When they came into port, the maiden said: "Hasten to Tara, and tell to Bécuma daughter of Eogan that she abide not there, but to depart at once, for it is a bad hap if she be commanded to leave Tara."

30. And Art went forward to Tara, and was made welcome. And there was none to whom his coming was not pleasing, but the wanton and sorrowful Bécuma. But Art ordered the

mhnái cholaid sin Temhair d'[f]ágbaile. *Ocus* roeirigh sí co hobann acaintech (a fi)adhnuise fer nErenn gan comrad gan ceilebhradh nogu riacht Beind Edain.

31. Scela na hingine (Delbchaime). Do cuiridh fáighi 7 fir eola 7 ríghruire d'ferthain failti frisin inghin, 7 tancatar rom(pa) co Temhraig don t-sen 7 don t-sol(ud). *Ocus* robadar maithi fer nErenn a[g] fiarfaighi a eachtra dhé, 7 do freagur Art dóibh 7 dorinde an láigh.

Eachtra Airt meic Cuind 7 tochmharc Delbhchaime ingine Morgain conuice sin.

NAMES OF PERSONS.

(*The numbers refer to the paragraphs.*)

Aeb d. of Fidech Foltlebor, 20.
 Ailill Dubdedach 'of the black teeth,' s. of Mongan
 Minscothach, 20, 23, 24.
 Aine d. of Eogabal, 16. *Cóir Anmann*, § 41.
 Art Oenfer s. of Conn, *passim*.
 Bécuma Cneisgel 'of the white skin,' d. of Eogan Inbir,
 4 *et pass.*
 Bres, 1. CA. 104, 105.
 Brislind Binn 'the melodious,' k. of Norway, 1.
 Coinchend Cennfada 'of the long head,' w. of Morgan
 and d. of Conchruth king of the Coinchind, 20 sqq.
 Coinchind 'dog's-heads,' 20, 24 sq.
 Coincuilind 'dogs of holly' (?), 22, 24.
 Conchruth k. of the Coinchind, 24.
 Conn Céthchathach, *passim*.
 Creide Firalind 'truly beautiful,' d. of Fidech Folt-
 lebor, 18.
 Crimthand Nia Nair, 1. CA. 106.
 Cromdes, Conn's druid, 8.
 Curnan Cliabhsalach 'of the foul chest,' s. of Duscad,
 23, 24.
 Cúrói mac Dáire, 15, 16.
 Daire Degamra 'the noble,' s. of Fergus Fialbrethach, 9, 10.
 Delbchaem 'fair shape,' d. of Morgan, 6, 16 sqq.
 Duscad 'wakeful,' doorkeeper of Morgan, 24.
 Eithne Taebhfoda 'of the long side,' wife of Conn, 1.
 Eogan Inbir, 3, 5. See *Serglige Conculaind*, 38 sqq.
 Eogabal, 16. CA. 41.
 Ethach Find 'the fair,' *recte* Echaid Feidlech, 1. CA.
 102, 104.

sinful woman to leave Tara. And she rose up straightway lamenting in the presence of the men of Ireland, without a word of leave-taking, until she came to Ben Edair.

31. As for the maiden Delbchaem, the seers, and the wise men, and the chiefs were sent to welcome her, and they came to Tara luckily and auspiciously. And the nobles of Ireland asked tidings of his adventures from Art ; and he answered them, and made a lay.

Thus far the Adventures of Art son of Conn, and the Courtship of Delbchaem daughter of Morgan.

(*The numbers refer to the paragraphs.*)

Feidlimid Rechtmar, 1.
 Feradach Findfechtnach, 1.
 Fergus Fialbrethach 'generous,' 7.
 Fergus Findliath 'the grey,' 3.
 Fidech Foltlebor 'of the long hair,' 18, 20, 26.
 Finn s. of Cumall, 11-13.
 Finscoth d. of Fidech Foltlebor, 20.
 Gæi Gormsuileach 'blue-eyed,' 3.
 Gaidiar s. of Manannan, 3.
 Ilbrec s. of Manannan, 3.
 Labraid Luathlam-ar-claidebh 'swift-hand on sword,' 3,
 4, 14, 16.
 Lodian s. of Ler, 3, 9.
 Lothar, 1. C.A. 104, 105.
 Lugaid Riabh nDerg, 1.
 Manannan s. of Ler, 3.
 Mongan Minscothach 'tender blossom,' 20, 23.
 Morgan k. of the Land of Wonders, 20 sqq.
 Nar, 1. C.A. 104, 105.
 Nuamaisi d. of Labraid and w. of Oengus, 4, 16.
 Oengus of the Brugh, 4.
 Rigrus Roisiclethan 'large-eyed,' d. of Lodian, and wife of
 Daire Degamra, 9.
 Segda Saerlabraid 'noble of speech,' s. of Daire Degamra,
 9 sqq.
 Tuathal Techtmair, 1.

R. I. B.

IRISH LAND IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.¹

CONSIDERABLE prejudice was excited against the scheme of land tenure in Ireland by constant references to it by all English officials as a filthy, damnable, and extortionate custom, hateful to God and man, but without giving any particulars of the system. On the confiscation of Munster in 1586 it became, however, necessary to know the position of the tenants on the escheated estates. For the first time some actual details are then given.

It was then found that the land system was regulated after the manner of a highly complicated and civilized society. Every important landowner had a lawyer trained in Oxford or London, as conversant with English as with Irish law. Feoffments, mortgages, trusts, leases, evidences of title, were as common in Ireland as in England, and were executed with such skill that the English lawyers could find no flaw in them.² The rules of succession varied. Some freeholders "claim to succeed by tanistry, some by inheritance."³

These developments, doubtless, chiefly happened in the richer soils. In one of the poorer tracts, the O'Sullivan territory,⁴ "being no good farm land, but all valleys, cragged rocks, and hills," we have a brief description of the old customs. One quarter of the land, "the lord's portion," which did never alter, was there allotted to the chief, with all the castles. About a quarter was set apart for the maintenance of a royal family—the tanist, the next to him in succession, and certain cousins and

¹ This paper was originally drawn up for the use of the Royal Commission on Congested Districts. It is printed here (with some additions) in the hope that students of Land Tenure may give their aid in clearing up an obscure and important subject.

² C.S.P. 1586, p. 99; 1587, p. 406; 1588, p. 552. Tr. relat. to Ireland: Statute of Kilkenny, p. 73.

³ *Ibid.* 1588, p. 536.

⁴ *Ibid.* 1587, p. 364.

kinsmen to the lord, "as their shares of old ancient custom to live upon." The order of the Irishry was to give a living to every gentleman of the sept whose fathers or grandfathers were lords of the countries.¹ When the name did augment, everyone's portion was diminished to give living to the new comer; and if the name diminished, the portion of the deceased was divided among the out-livers. The remaining half of the land was held by the chief branches of the O'Sullivans. The population here lived, not by the land, but by the fishing industry, and paid tax to the chief on their boats.

The land system—however expanded and modified as need required—always preserved its distinctive Irish character.

Three divisions of land are mentioned by the State Papers in Munster:—

1. The "chief's demesne"—land which he held for life as chief—lay round his main castles.
2. "Free land" was the land held by freeholders at a fixed rent, and free from other charges.
3. "Chargeable lands" were the farms on which taxes or charges could be levied for the public service.

These lands were occupied by four distinct classes of farmers:—

1. On the demesnes of the chiefs and other lords there were tenants who had agreements for one, two, or three years.
2. On the tribe-lands some "freeholders" held their land without any payment of rent, giving only suit of court.
3. Other freeholders paid a "certain" rent in money.
4. Another class paid an "uncertain" rent in supplies required for the chief and his household, or for administration, public works, or defence of the country.

We find these four classes not only in Munster, but in Ulster and Connacht; and in all provinces the land system was the same.

1. The chief's demesne was occupied by his personal followers and servants; the graziers and the farmers who tilled the chief's land and supplied his household with provisions; the factors who conducted his trade; his kernty or overseers; the body-

¹ Cork Arch. Soc. Journal, June, 1906, p. 67.

guard maintained for his protection and for police purposes—in fact, the young men of the kindred who entered the army or the civil service of the country. The chief could allot a part of the demesne lands¹ to a tenant “as his portion of living by the name of Kinfinaghes,”² according to the Irish custom for certain yearly rent (“which custom is in the nature of tenancy-at-will,” added the English for better ease of confiscation). Where a fixed money-rent was paid besides the personal service, these tenants seem sometimes to have aspired to the position of freeholder. The general practice, however (as we find it in Ulster), was not a lease of land, but a grant of cows. “There is no certain portion of land set by the traitor Tyrone to any of his tenants that paid him rents.”³ But the cows which he gave to a tenant “grazed on his lands at the rate of 7^d a quarter le year,” to be paid either in money, or in oats, oatmeal, butter, hogs, and muttons. Some of those “tenants” had their cows and grazing as payment for military service, such as Tyrone’s hired “horsemen,” the Quinns, Hangans, Conelands, and Devlins, who then owed no rent; and if they made gifts of provisions to the chief, it “was rather at the discretion of the givers, who strove who should give most to gain Tyrone’s favour, than for any due claim he had to demand the same.” Twice a year, at May Day and Hallow-tide, the cows on which rent was due were counted all in one day by Tyrone’s officers or sergeants. If the tenant wished to give up his contract, he returned the stock; or the landlord withdrew it under strict legal conditions. Contracts were usually renewed or revised on May Day, once in every one, two, or three years, to the tenant’s satisfaction.⁴ The method had the convenience that if the follower found he could get better terms elsewhere he was free to go. If, on the other hand, a chief died, his successor was able at will to renew or alter the existing agreements for military and other service.

All tenants who held on short and renewable contracts were arbitrarily classed together by the English as *tenants-at-will*. “This rent,” they also said, “is *uncertain*, because by the custom of the country the tenants may remove from one lord to another

¹ C.S.P. 1589, 201-3, 256.

² Cion fineadhait (?) , ‘share of inheritance’ (?) .

³ Kilk. Arch. Soc., 1855, Nov., p. 425, n. 2.

⁴ C.S.P. 1592, p. 528.

every half year."¹ The English term of "tenants-at-will" was entirely misleading with regard to Irish tenants under either short contract or "uncertain" rents (class 1 or class 4). The term was used for greater convenience in seizing lands. The planters had a personal interest in giving a tenancy that name, because of their doctrine that all land held "at will" could be summarily confiscated by the Crown, and granted to them without any process of law at all.²

The system of short contracts was extremely popular among the people, if we may judge by the anxiety of the planters to abolish it, and compel the Irish to settle on their estates for terms of twenty-one years;³ in practice it worked as a system of tenant-at-tenant's-will, not of tenant-at-landlord's-will.

During the sixteenth century the number of military followers on the chiefs' land must inevitably have increased out of proportion to the farmers and traders, when the natural order and progress of the country were destroyed and perverted by some seventy years of continuous war with the English for the land.

2. Certain "freeholders" on the tribal lands outside the chief's demesne paid no rent, but only suit of court.⁴ Among these were the heads of the leading original families of the tribe: the head of a branch of the O'Neills, for example, held Slew Sise as a freeholder in such full possession that Henry VIII had no legal right to include this territory in his grant of *Tír-Eoghain* to Earl Con.⁵ There were also hereditary officials, physicians, judges, historians, and the like, who had the land for their services.

3. Other freeholders paid a fixed rent in money or cattle. The usual sum was 10s. a ploughland; that is, 1*d.* an acre for 120 acres of good land, in which neither bog, wood, nor waste was counted. No rent or tax for bad land had ever been paid in Ireland till Elizabeth demanded it against universal resistance.⁶ In rough country the ploughland, counting mountain and wood, might include 440 or 480 acres.⁷

¹ Kilk. Arch. Soc., Nov. 1885, p. 425, n. 2.

² C.S.P. 1589, pp. 130, 283; 1592, p. 528.

³ *Ibid.* 1589, p. 249.

⁴ *Ibid.* 1589, 248-9.

⁵ *Ibid.* 1592, 488.

⁶ *Ibid.* 1588, 528.

⁷ Car. II. 286. C.S.P. 1589, 132; 1587, 405.

The practice in Munster seems to have been that which the FitzGeralds had found existing in 1170, and had left unchanged till 1586. The rent was of the nature of a land-tax, and was not calculated up to the value of the land. An Englishman who acquired farms in 1570 immediately raised the 10s. rent to 53s. 4d.; it was calculated in 1580 that a fine might be set by the English of £10 and a rent of £2; or a rent of £4 with military service; in 1586 Elizabeth gave orders to raise the rent to 3d. instead of 1d. an acre, to be paid for good and bad land alike; and in 1590 the London lawyers advised that rents fixed by jury in Ireland should be increased fourfold.¹ Land which paid a fixed money rent was apparently free from any demand for "uncertain" charges.²

The planters held two views of Irish rents. They approved the "Irish" rents they were asked to pay as tenants; they scorned the "Irish" rents they received as landlords. In their opinion "a pretty farm" ³ of several hundred acres, with a rent of 1d. on every acre of arable land listed, would be "a fit match for younger brothers . . . sufficient to yield wherewith to make a friend drink." But they were disgusted with the cheap rents fixed by custom for their native tenants. "Irish rents," they said, "will not maintain English diet and apparel."⁴ Such was the "extortion" of Irish chiefs, which must be replaced, they had urged, by the "justice" of English landlords.

4. Freeholders on lands called "chargeable" paid what were called "uncertain rents."⁵ On this account the English attempted to class them as tenants-at-will, and to claim the whole "chargeable" land for the Crown. These "rents," however, were in fact of the nature of taxes, raised "without bargaining, setting, or letting of the land, or any mention of the same."

They included such charges as provisions for the chief's household, men and horses for building forts and bridges, or maintaining the highway; a convocation of all the inhabitants to help to pay the earl's debts, or supply him with money for war, release from captivity, or some such cause; or the main-

¹ Car. I. 417. Car. II. 286. Life of MacCarthy, 155.

² C.S.P. 1587, p. 365.

³ Smith's Tract in MacDonnells of Antrim.

⁴ C.S.P. 1593, 145.

⁵ *Ibid.* 1587, p. 262.

tenance of public officers such as the Kerntyé—overseers and controllers of the sergeants who kept the boundaries of estates, supervised the pastures, and collected the revenue.¹

These taxes were matters to be regulated by the chief's council and the assemblies. A common phrase of the Irish, "Defend me and spend me" (which puzzled English interpreters, and was explained by various fancy meanings) was a formula to render the idea, "No taxation without protection." The sums were assessed at the chief's sole will, the English said in arguing for confiscation; but this seems part of the tenant-at-will and easy confiscation argument. Where particulars are given the charges seem calculated in an orderly manner on certain values.² The chief could distrain for the amount, but could not dispossess the freeholder, or himself assume property in the farm. In 1588 freeholders on chargeable lands claimed inheritance in them for over 400 years, since the time of the Irish kings, before the coming of the FitzGeralds.

The same general system of land tenure can be traced throughout Connacht.³ In O'Rourke's country over 2,000 acres were set apart for "the ordinary forces and strength of men to serve in wars," who were not billeted on the country, and received no wages but this land and a share of the spoils in war. Besides this there was the chief's own demesne, freehold land, and chargeable land. The rent was here also 10s. the ploughland or quarter, and there was not a single acre which was not "owned properly by one or other, and each man knows what belongs to himself." No tax was paid on waste land, even if it lay waste for only half a year. A "yearly flitting" of tenants was usual on May-day, a custom which had evidently increased enormously with the arbitrary re-division and cessing on Irish lands by the English invaders: "the cess and vexation of the soldiers make the labouring man careless of his tillage and husbandry, holding as good to play for nothing as to work for nothing, the soldiers consuming the fruit of his labour."⁴

Under the Irish system of land tenure, the farmer had a

¹ Car. III. 72. O'Grady Cat. MSS. 81. C.S.P. 1589, 203.

² C.S.P. 1588, p. 534; 1587, p. 365. FM., p. 1804, n. b.

³ C.S.P. 1592, 464, 470, 481-2. Car. II. 405-6.

⁴ C.S.P. 1588, 545.

practical and equitable remedy against a chief who attempted extortion.¹

"If the tenants would come to the lord and say, I will pay for no more for my land than for this quantity, and name it, then the lord may use the remain as his own, and convert the profits thereof to his own use, until the said tenant would take the same, and undertake to answer all charge out of it.

"If the lord would let out for rent of corn or money, that parcel of land so seized upon by him during the continuance thereof in his hands, the usual tenant, whom they term the freeholder thereof, should have the fourth part of the said corn, or money rent, yearly of the lord."

"The land is not chargeable with any arrearages as long as it is waste, by reason the lord had the profit of the grass, wood, and pasture thereof during the waste."¹ In either case the farmer could whenever he chose re-enter on the land and agree to pay the stipulated charge.

It is usual to give lists of the levies which might be made on Irish farms, and to depict the state of the tenants liable to this mass of exactions; but it seems in fact that the farmer was protected in two ways: (a) the various levies were divided among the lands in definite order, and not all heaped on one farm;² (b) the chief who could claim entertainment for an unlimited number of men was limited in time, that is, to twenty-four hours in the year, or three meals in the year, and so on. The law seems to have been strictly carried out. English officials who inquired in 1586 asserted that Desmond³ had never taken any rents from any farm, save the particular due that ought to be levied on that farm. "He did not deal as a tyrant by extortion, but took a noble of some, ten shillings of others, and of some but only suit of court, and so held an equal course with everyone according to his tenure." Thirty years earlier it was proved in court by the oldest witnesses that Kildare⁴ had never exacted illegal levies such as the King's officers were in the habit of doing. In Ulster there is the indirect evidence of three

¹ C.S.P. 1587, p. 262.

² *Ibid.* 1589, p. 203. See note appended.

³ *Ibid.* 1589, p. 249.

⁴ *Ibid.* 1557, p. 137. Car. I. 264-5.

hundred farmers passing over from the English Pale into Shane O'Neill's territory for better security.¹

There was nothing the Irish valued more than the secure tenure of a family on its holding. As the chief could not dispossess the farmer, so the farmer could not permanently alienate his land by mortgage. It appears that by Irish custom mortgages might be held void that limited a certain time of redemption, and did not leave a liberty at all times to the mortgager or his heirs to redeem their lands.²

It should be noted that under the Irish system there was no Peasants' War. Also that there is no record of any Irish people accepting the help of the English to deliver them from extortionate exactions of their lords. The only adherents the English found in their wars were individual chiefs who hoped to secure independence for themselves and a title for their sons, and illegitimate claimants who hoped to acquire an inheritance. These chiefs had in all cases to be protected from their people by English soldiers.

There is also evidence that the Irish land tenure allowed a high degree of tillage. The industry and thrift of the Irish earth-tillers, who had been called by the English "luskish loiterers," was found by the adventurers to be so remarkable that it hindered the effective planting of the country by the English—English labour being less profitable to the landlord than Irish. "There be no better earth-tillers, nor more obedient than they be." "The common people will surely yield more to Her Majesty than English people can do." "I fear," wrote Smith, "the sweetness which the owners shall find in the Irish churl giving excessively, will hinder the country much in the peopling of it with the English nation."³ The Deputy on a journey south⁴ was surprised at finding the ground so well tilled, the fields so orderly fenced, the towns so frequently (crowdedly) inhabited, and the highways and paths so well beaten, and explained it by the fact that this was a place where the Queen's armies had not yet come. The export of corn from

¹ MS. Record Office, State Paper, Ireland, February 8, 1561.

² C.S.P. 1588, 552.

³ *Ibid.* 1587, p. 405-6. State Papers, ii. 415. C.S.P. 1595, 194-5. MacDonnells of Antrim.

⁴ ~~See Hib.~~ *Fynes Morison*, 77.

Cork¹ in 1580 was reckoned at 10,000 quarters. The export of linen yarn was yet more remarkable, and indicates extensive cultivation.

The general riches and diffusion of prosperity are shown by the large sums of money taken by the English in the first years of their occupation of any province. There was a surprising volume of trade from all the Irish ports; and the wealth of the chiefs, which was very considerable, was largely drawn from commerce. MacWilliam of Lower Connacht, for example, had fifty householders in Galway, the trading centre of the West.

It would seem on the whole that the "rent" of the Irish farmer was of the nature of a tax: that it did not imply either in freehold or in chargeable lands a partnership in the land of the superior to whom it was paid: that the freeholders were held to have an indestructible right in their farms, which could under no circumstances whatever be finally confiscated into the hands of the chief: and that the practices of rack-renting, of tenants-at-will in the English sense, or of ejectment from land, were not used in Ireland. Land regulations were settled at an assembly of the people. "It is a great abuse and reproach," the ~~Attorney-General~~ Davies wrote of the English inhabiting the Pale, "that the laws and statutes made in this land are not observed nor kept, after the making of them, eight days; which matter is one of the destructions of Englishmen of this land; and divers Irishmen doth observe and keep such laws and statutes which they make upon hills in their country, firm and stable, without breaking them for any favour or reward." We have evidence of the entire consent of the people in the vigour with which they maintained the whole social and territorial custom during long years in which the chiefs and their heirs were banished or imprisoned.

The confiscation of Munster was in 1586. A claim was immediately made by the planters to have the right of seizing into their own hands three-fourths of the land of every freeholder, on the plea that "chargeable land" was the direct property of the chief.² They justified this plea by the custom, as we have seen, that when a farmer resigned his land in lieu of

¹ Car. II. 286.

² C.S.P. 1587, p. 262; 1589, pp. 256-7; 1589, pp. 248-9.

taxes, the lord might let it and keep for the time three-quarters of the rent. The two conditions—the voluntary act of the tenant in giving it over to the chief as fallow land instead of taxes, and his right of re-entry—were ignored in this arbitrary claim. The Irish refused to admit any right to such confiscation. In 1588 an English Commission¹ of Judges and Law Officers was appointed to decide the numerous land disputes that had arisen—eight Englishmen from London, and four Anglo-Irish Judges of the Dublin Courts. They sat less than two weeks, and heard eighty-two appeals in a foreign tongue, giving judgment in all cases for the Queen. During the same time they affirmed the claim of the Government to seize the freeholders' lands, and, returning to London, gave their judicial decision that the Queen might justly without further question take up into her own hands three-fourths of all the freeholders' property for the use of the undertakers, and added advice that any further claims of the Irish should be heard only in London, so as to give the Queen "less cost and best satisfaction": the Irish meanwhile, "in a manner fallen into despair, being not able for want of ability to have recourse unto Her Highness."²

The freeholders, summoned before a new Commission,³ were required to make a voluntary "compromise," that all who held land by tradition should yield up three-fourths of their land, reserving one-fourth free of charge, save the head rent; while those who had written evidences of title should surrender two-thirds, and keep one-third in the same way. They were given two days' respite to consider the question. The tenants agreed together that they would yield to no "composition," since the chargeable land was their own lawful inheritance.

The Irish fell back on a further line of defence, and claimed that as their titles to the land were antecedent to the coming of the Desmonds, they could not be touched by any Desmond's attainder. This plea was ignored, or was only used to create and magnify a supposed strife between the Irish and the Anglo-Irish FitzGeralds.

There was less ceremony observed in the confiscations of Connacht.

¹ C.S.P. 1588, 497, 548-53; 1588, 31-2, 60.

² *Ibid.* 1589, 248; 1588, 52, 76, 60.

³ *Ibid.* 1589, 248.

Confiscation and the land settlement which followed it were extolled as bringing for the first time into Irish barbarism the principles of order, justice, and prosperity. It is evident, however, that, in the circumstances of Irish life, the new English legislation violated for the Irish people every conception of law, honour, equity, and social well-being. The unhappy Lord Roche spoke "words of contempt against Her Majesty's laws, calling them unjust."¹ "Ireland," said the Earl of Thomond, "is another India for the English: a more profitable India for them than ever the Indies were to the Spaniards."²

ALICE STOPFORD GREEN

NOTE.

[The nature of Sorowhen lands and other chargeable lands in Ireland (by Sir Warham Sentleger).]³

Sorowhen doth warrant the Lord to come once in every fourteen days with all his company, without limitation, to the lands charged therewith, and to take meat and drink for him and his company from the freeholders and inhabitants of the said lands for the space of twenty-four hours.

Gullycon.⁴ The keepers and huntsmen of the Lord's hounds and greyhounds may take by way of cess sufficient meat and drink for themselves and their hounds, so that they remain but one day and night with every inhabitant.

Gullycree.⁵ Keepers of the Lord's stud may pasture the stud on the waste lands, and take meat and drink from the next inhabitants.

Cuddy,⁶ called a night supper, doth warrant the Lord, with such company as pleaseth him, to come to the land charged therewith, and to take meat and drink for him and his company for the space of four meals at four times a year.

¹ C.S.P. 1589, 247.

² Lynch: Camb. Ev. III. 75.

³ C.S.P. 1589, 203.

⁴ Տոլլա շոն, 'keepers of hounds.'

⁵ Տոլլա ընդաշը (Փ), 'keepers of stud.'

⁶ Կորոց, 'share, portion.'

Kerntyte,¹ etc., the overseers and controllers of the serjeants, of which kerntyte there should be twelve in number. They, too, examine the demeanours of the said serjeants, whether they deceive the Lord of any part of his rent and duties, and to cesse his horsemen and footmen from time to time, and in consideration thereof they may take meat and drink of the inhabitants of the said country.

*South*² is that the Lord may charge upon the inhabitants the cost of his journeys to Dublin or other cities, and the cost of receiving the governor or other stranger into his house.

Mustron.³ When the Lord has any work to build, every inhabitant is to help him with his labour.

*Connew*⁴ and *lyvery* is to exact, impose, and take horse meat, man's meat, and boy's meat of all the inhabitants in the country so long as pleases the Lord. Besides 13s. 4d. out of every ploughland inhabited and 6s. 8d. cesse of every waste ploughland.

Other taxes are mentioned elsewhere:⁵ as *Srah*,⁶ money rent; *mart*, beef rent.

¹ Ceitheadhín tigé, 'household kernes.'

² Seón (F).

³ Apparently French, *marçayün* in Mod. Ir. = braggart.

⁴ Coimneadh, 'entertainment, billeting.'

⁵ C.S.P. 1587, 262, 548; 1588, 528.

⁶ Sphat, 'tribute.' O'R. has (1) 'a tax, fine, amercement'; (2) a 'quartering of soldiers.' Cf. sreth Metr. Dinds. III. 542 (Gwynn's note).

Renwick, Spenser's View, p. 46.

COLMAN'S FAREWELL TO COLMAN

THE following poem was discovered last summer by Professor Wilhelm Meyer, of Spires, at the British Museum, in the manuscript marked Reg. 15. B. xix. This is a Latin codex of very mixed contents, compiled during the ninth century at Rheims. It contains among other things copies of Sedulius' *Carmen Paschale*, Bede's *De Temporum Ratione*, the Riddles of Symposius, the Satires of Persius, &c. Our poem begins half down the page of fo. 89^b, and ends at the bottom of the next page. Professor W. Meyer had the kindness to place his transcript at my disposal for publication in *ÉRIU*. No other copy of the poem is known to him.

The two hexameters which serve as a title tell us, what we might have gathered from the poem itself, that these 'very noble' verses (*versus perheriles*¹) were composed (*ficii*) by an Irishman Colman (*Colmano Scottigenā*), and addressed to another Colman on his return to his native country, i.e. Ireland. The name Colmán ('Little Dove') is perhaps the most common with Irish ecclesiastics of the sixth and following centuries, so that it is a hopeless endeavour to identify the two namesakes. The Martyrology of Donegal enumerates no less than 113 'saints' bearing this name, among them a Colman from Fahan with the nickname *inrama* 'of the voyage' (8 July), and another named *ailithir* 'the pilgrim,' from Inis Mochholmóć (7 November). We search the little poem in vain for any indications of the period at which it was composed. It may have been written at any time from the seventh century, when Irish pilgrims first reached the Continent, to the ninth, when their immigration on a large scale came to an end. For that it was composed on the Continent there can be no reasonable doubt. The fact that it was copied at Rheims points to this conclusion. It could not

¹ *herilis* = *nobilis*, *Ducange*.

well have been composed in England or Scotland, for the comparatively short voyage from these countries to Ireland would not have been considered so formidable as to warrant the expression in l. 17:

me maris anfractus lustranda et littora terrent.

If I am right in emending the faulty *auri* of l. 32 into *euri* (and the use of the epithet *nubifer* clinches the matter), the two Colmans had lived together at a monastery or monastic school somewhere on the coast of France. A favourable south-easterly wind was blowing when the younger Colman embarked, which would carry him to the shores of south-western England, and thence to Ireland.

The poem is an interesting specimen of early Irish scholarship of the best period. It is full of reminiscences of Vergilian poetry. Professor W. Meyer has kindly supplied me with a complete list of these 'tags' from classical poetry, which I append in foot-notes.¹

KUNO MEYER

¹ The word *pompifer* (l. 23) does not seem to occur in classical Latinity, nor can I find it in Ducange.

COLMANO VERSUS IN COLMANUM PERHERILES
SCOTTIGENA FICTI PATRIAET CUPIDUM ET REMEANTEM.

Dum subito properas dulces invisere terras,¹
Deseris et nostrae refugis consortia vitae,
Festinas citius precibus nec flecteris ullis,²
Nec retinere valet blandae suggestio vocis.³
5 Vincit amor patriae.⁴ Quis flectere possit amantem ?
Nec sic arguerim⁵ deiectae taedia mentis.
Nam mihi praeteritae⁶ Christus si tempora vitae
Et priscas iterum renovaret ab ordine vires,
Si mihi quae quondam fuerat floresceret aetas
10 Et nostros subito faceret nigrescere canos,
Forsitan et nostras temptarent talia mentem.
Tu modo da veniam pigraeque ignosce senectae,⁷
Quae nimium nostris obstat nunc aemula votis.
Audi doctiloquo⁸ cecinit quod carmine vates :
15 Omnia fert aetas,⁹ gelidus tardante senecta
Sanguis hebet, frigent effetae in corpore vires,¹⁰
Siccae nec calido complentur sanguine venae.
Me maris anfractus lustranda et littora¹¹ terrent.
At tu rumpe moras¹² celeri sulcare carina,¹³
20 Colmanique tui semper Colmane memento.
Iam iam nunc liceat fida te voce monere.
Pauca tibi dicam vigili quae mente teneto.

6 deiectae *ego*, devinctae ? distractae ? *W. Meyer*: distractae MS. with a mark of reference to the marginal note Rq (i.e. *Require viz. alterum exemplar*); ib. tedia MS. 8 priscos MS. 15 tardente MS. 16 effectae MS.
17 In the MS. this line follows 18. siccae nec em. *W. Meyer*, *Hic calido MS., with a vacant space between the words* 19 at *ego*, et MS. 21 liqueat MS.
22 quae vigili MS.

1 dulcesque relinquere terras, Aen. 4, 281. 2 precibus si flecteris ullis, Aen. 2, 689. 3 blandis vocibus, Aen. 1, 670. 4 vincit amor patriae, Bucol. 10, 69. 5 nec vos arguerim, Aen. 11, 164. 6 praeteritos annos si Iuppiter referat, Aen. 8, 560. 7 turpi ignosce senectae, Georg. 3, 96. 8 doctiloquus, Mart. Cap. 1, 9, p. 306. Sidon. carm. 22, 82. 9 omnia fert aetas, Bucol. 9, 51. 10 gelidus tardante senecta Sanguis hebet frigentque effetae in corpore vires, Aen. 5, 395. 11 nec maris anfractus lustrandaque littora nobis, Lucan. 5, 416. 12 rumpe moras, Aen. 4, 569. 13 longa sulcant vada salsa carina, Aen. 10, 197.

Non te pompiferi delectet gloria mundi
 Quae volucri vento vanoque simillima somno¹
 25 Labitur et vacuas fertur ceu fumus in auras,²
 Fluminis et validi cursu fluit ocior omni.
 Vade libens patriae quoniam te cura remordet.³
 Omnipotens genitor, nostrae spes unica vitae,
 Qui maris horrisonos fluctus ventosque gubernat,
 30 Det tibi nunc tutas crispantis gurgitis undas,⁴
 Ipse tuae liquidis rector sit navis in undis,
 Aequore nubiferi devectum flatibus euri⁵
 Reddat ad optatae Scottorum littora terrae !
 Tunc valeas fama felix multosque per annos⁶
 35 Vivas egregiae capiens praeconia vitae.
 Hic ego praesentis nunc gaudia temporis opto,
 Ut tibi perpetuae contingent gaudia vitae.

26 otior MS. 27 ualde MS., corr. W. Meyer ib. qm MS. an leg.
 quando? 30 crispanti MS. 32 euri ego, auri MS. 33 reddat ego,
 reddet MS. ib. adoptatae and littore MS. corr. H. Osthoff 35 aegregiae MS.
 36 an leg. sic?

¹ par levibus ventis volucrique simillima somno, Aen. 6, 702. ² vacuas it
 fumus ad auras, Aen. 12, 592. ceu fumus in auras, Georg. 4, 498. ³ quando
 haec te cura remordet, Aen. 1, 261. ⁴ ipse rector, Aen. 5, 176. liquidas
 proiecit in undas, Aen. 5, 859. ⁵ nubifer eurus, Sil. Ital. 10, 322. ⁶ multosque
 per annos, Aen. 1, 31. Georg. 4, 208.

Aen. I. 31 (l. 34)
 261 (l. 27)
 670 (l. 4)
 II. 689 (l. 3)
 [III]
 IV. 281 (l. 1)
 569 (l. 19)
 V. 176 (l. 30)
 395 (l. 16)
 859 (l. 30)
 VI. 702 (l. 24)

Aen. [VII.]
 VIII. 560 (l. 7)
 [IX.]
 X. 197 (l. 19)
 XI. 164 (l. 6)
 XII. 592 (l. 25)
 Bucol. IX. 51 (l. 15)
 X. 69 (l. 5)
 Georg. III. 96 (l. 12)
 IV. 208 (l. 34)
 498 (l. 25)

NOTES

Arg.

O'DAVOREN (ed. Stokes, no. 356) has this gloss:

Corbad i. truailled no salchad, [ut est] “ar corbaid arg in [n]idhan.”

Stokes suggests that *arg* is connected with Nhg. *arg*, As. *earh*, Old N. *argr*. Meyer, in the Addenda to his *Contributions*, doubtfully suggests the meaning “evil.” But if we substitute the reading *anidan*, found in MacFirbis’ copy of the Glossary (Stokes’ “F”), we get a satisfactory interpretation: *ar corbaid*¹ *arg anidan*, ‘for an impure drop corrupts.’ Both Cormac and O’Davoren (no. 43) have *arg* i. *banne*. The lemma may have been originally a gloss on Horace’s *Sincerum est nisi vas, quodcumque infundis acescit*.

Magar.

This word occurs in Cormac’s *Glossary*, in the article *orc tréith*. Lomna, Find úa Báiscne’s buffoon, has surprised one of Find’s concubines with another man, Coirpre, who kills him, and cuts off his head. Find discovers Coirpre cooking a salmon, with Lomna’s head set on a spike beside him. The head utters riddling words—*Orcc brecc bronnfind bruchitas di* (de MSS.) *magur fo muirib*. This I take to mean ‘a speckled white-bellied salmon which is bursting with spawn under the sea.’ The phrase seems intended to convey to Find a hint of the woman’s unfaithfulness. The passage towards the end of

¹ Or, as Dr. Meyer suggests to me, *arcorbai*: see his *Contributions*, *arcorpaim*.

the article should be read as a gloss on these words: *orcc brecc bronnfind* .i. *bratán*, [in bratan, Bodl.] *di magur* .i. *issed a damna*. I understand the last words to mean 'with spawn, that is, its young': cf. *ríg-damna*. For *magar*, 'spawn,' see Dinneen's *Dictionary*, and that of the Highland Texts Society. Cormac (p. 120), followed by O'Clery, has *magar* .i. *min-iasc*.

There is another *magar* which seems at first sight quite a different word. Cormac has *graibre* .i. *magar* .i. *briathar grata*, which is copied by O'Mulconry; O'Clery has *graibre* .i. *briathar gráta*, and *maghar* .i. *briathar*: hence O'Reilly's 'magar, a word, expression.' The only passage known to me which would admit this use of *magar* occurs in the *Dindsenchas* of Port Lairge (LL. 197 a 35). Rot son of Cithang hears the song of mermaids—

Co cuala in fagur andsin,
ropo magur co mórr-neim ;
muirn na mur-duchand mara
ós na tonnaib taeb-glana.

"Then he heard the sound, it was a *magur* of baleful force, the chant of mermaids of the sea over the bright-ridged waves."

But here the translation which best fits the context is 'lure.' This would be a natural extension of the meaning 'bait,' which is given by the Highland Society's dictionary, by O'Reilly, and by Dinneen. Thus *magar* means (1) spawn, (2) fry, (3) fry used as bait, (4) allurement in general. Cormac's *briathar grata* is then a loose approximation to (4).

The Rev. F. W. O'Connell tells me that in the modern idiom the phrase *maghar an mhadra* is used to denote 'a jeering expression of face': this is probably a further extension of the same word.

Mag-ar, 'arable ground,' is, of course, entirely different. It is found in O'Clery, and at LL. 156 a 1.

Ní toircéba.

In the tale *Aided Cheit maic Mágach* (edited by Meyer, *Todd Lectures*, xiv., p. 36), Cet's charioteer taunts him with the

insult put upon him by Conall Cernach: “*Fé amae! in fer rolá ár Connacht do tabairt méla fort, 7 ní toircéba t'ainm co bráth can a bás nó can a riúcad a fescur.*” The editor renders “Thy name will not endure till Doom”; and in his Glossary refers *toircéba* to an assumed *do-aircbin*, apparently the orthotonic form of Windisch’s *tergabim*. The word is probably the same which occurs in the hymn edited by J. G. O’Keeffe in the last number of *ÉRIU*, p. 30, stanza 18—

intan tairgēba lem-sa
dēna cennsa frim anmain.
(*v. l. toirceubai, tairceubhai.*)

This seems to mean “When Thou shalt come to me, deal gently with my soul!” For the use of *la* cf. *do tīfad la Ultu*, ‘would come into Ulster’ (*Todd Lectures*, xiv. 26).

In the *Battle of Moytura*, Rev. Celt. xii. 82, we have *targebu deogh firu Erenn ce bet go cenn secht mbliadan isin cath*, which Stokes translates “drink shall be provided for the men of Ireland,” &c. Again, in the same tale, Rev. Celt. xii. 88, *tarceba arm nua uaim-sai ina inoth*, rendered by Stokes “I will provide a new weapon in its place.” The literal meaning is, I think, ‘drink shall come to the men of Erin,’ ‘a new weapon shall come from me.’ (With *tarceba uaim-sai* compare *domiced claideb uaib*, LL 248 a y.)

The corresponding orthotonic form is found in *Táin bó Dartada* (*Irische Texte*, ii. 2, 190) *do-t-airgeba cæca ech ndubglas* (Book of Lecan) = *dotaircibe huaim-si cocca ngabur ndubglas* (Egerton, 1782). Just above, the Lecan text has *dothairgebad uaim-se uile* (read *dotaircébat*); and at p. 193 the Egerton MS. reads *Et taircgebat hil-la-si in t[s]ainnriuth*. In each case the meaning seems to be ‘there shall come to thee,’ or ‘they shall come.’ The passage quoted above from the *Aided Cheit* means then literally, ‘thy name shall not come to Doomsday,’ i.e. ‘shall not survive.’

In none of these passages would Windisch’s *-tergabim* ‘profero’ suit the context. In each case the meaning required seems to be ‘come.’ Is it not then simplest to refer these forms to *do-airicim*? For similar extensions of the *b*-future,

see Strachan, ZCP iii. 487. *Ní taircéba* (passing into *tairgéba*) from *ní tairicim*, is not more surprising than *-aidléba* from *adellaim* etc. Thurneysen (*ibid.* note) is no doubt right in attributing the spread of such forms to the influence of the numerous compounds of *gabaim*.

E. J. GWYNN

CRIST ROCROCHAD

THE following short poem on Christ and His Apostles is taken from the Book of Hy Maine, folio 132 d. A similar poem is printed by Whitley Stokes in the *Revue Celtique*, vol. viii., p. 350. The metre is *Deibhidhe*.

1. Cr̄ist rocrochad, choem ar chend, i ndorus Ierusalem :
folt dond is ulcha f̄ata for ind Righ ān ro-[f̄]atta.
2. Folt liath, ulcha gairit glan for Petur cend na n-apstal :
rachrochadh, 'sa c[h]end ri lār, hi ferund r̄igda Rōmān.
3. Hi toeb Rōma, rothend gal, rodīchennad Pōl apstal :
ulcha f̄ota, chaem a dath, for in fir mael go mōr-rath.
4. Andriás, ulcha fata fair, dub a mong ar in r̄igh-flaith,
rochrochad 'san Dacia aird do lāmaib Eigius imgaирg.
5. Iacob dub-c[h]ass, chaem in chend, rogaeth i nIerusalem.
fata ulcha in c[h]lēirigh c[h]ain, Hiruad Agripp romudaigh.
6. Eoin dalta Cr̄ist cen gheis ēc a hōenur i nEffis :
dorigne in soscēla sāer, folt cen ulchai ar in fir-naem.
7. Pilip rocrochadh ar Dia in Heropoli Frigia :
robūi for cuingidh na sluagh ulcha fir-f̄ata find-ruad.
8. Ro claidbed Tomās tall tra i nIndia in Calamīna :
ulcha cass fota uili, folt dub ar in deag-duini.

1. choem ar chend] *leg.* coem ar cend. Throughout the poem there is aspiration where one would not expect it. Cf. 3. chaem a dath, 5. chaem in chend, etc.

3. for in fir mael] Cf. *Rev. Celt.* viii. 350.

CHRIST WAS CRUCIFIED.

1. Christ was crucified—fair is our (?) head—before Jerusalem ; the glorious, very tall king, had brown hair and a long beard.

2. Grey hair and a short neat beard on Peter, the head of the apostles. He was crucified with his head to the ground in the royal Roman land.

3. By the side of Rome—of very strong valour—Paul the apostle was beheaded. A long beard, fair its hue, upon the crop-headed man of great grace.

4. Andrew—a long beard he had—black was the hair of the kingly prince ; he was crucified in noble Dacia by the hands of the very fierce Egias.

5. James of the black curls—fair the head—was slain in Jerusalem. Long was the beard of the fair cleric—Herod Agrippa destroyed him.

6. John, the fosterling of Christ without a prohibition, died alone in Ephesus. He wrote the noble Gospel—there was hair without beard on the true saint.

7. Philip was crucified for God, in Hierapolis of Phrygia. There was on the champion of the hosts a very long, light-red beard.

8. Thomas was put to death by the sword beyond there in India, in Calamina. There was a curled beard, all long, and black hair on the good man.

5. *Rev. Celt.* has ‘find a foilt’ for James and Andrew ; *leg. caem in cend* ; *leg. rogæt.*

8. Cf. Atkinson’s “Passions and Homilies,” I. 3093.

9. Partholón romarb cláideb
ulcha fóta, foltan derg robui for cuingidh na chaem-learg.

10. Matha rocloidbed co lond hi tōeb Sléibe Parthorum :
robui tre mullach ind fir felt cass cen ulchai etir.

11. Iacōb mac Ailphi cen on : ulcha fata ar in abstul :
brāthir Matha, dub a dend, atbath i nIerusalem.

12. Simōn Cananda chaem dil fuair a chrochad hi Parthib ;
ulcha fata, folt cass dub atcondcas ar in abstul.

13. Mairc dochuaid bās ar Dia i cathraig Alexandria
raadnacht Lucas lān do brígh 'sin cathraig hi Constantīn.

14. Rogaeth Matha ciar bo trōg baili hi torchair Partholón.
fuair Madian a thairbirt thair i tīr airdirc Iuda.

15. Iacōb brāthir Dē fodēin mac Cleopa cosin dag-mēin,
Iacōb Sidus chaem in chend ard-easpcob Hierusalem.

16. Deffir na Iacōb uili cluned huaim chech deag-duini
mac Zebedei breō dībsain brāthir uirdnidi Eōin.

17. Iacōb mac Ailphi cen ail mōr do sluagaib ro leassaigh :
in tres Iacōb ard amra brāthir in Righ ro-c[h]alma.

18. Iudās marntid nār maith ciall, 'na inad tucad Madian,
is ē rochōid co siair toich *ocus Crīst* isin cruidh-chroich.

19. Rocuinnig foigde co fir cosin siair iar mbrath ind Rīgh,
co raberbad cailech cain d'Iudās colach dia c[h]aithim.

20. And atrubairt in bean ris : "ni maith in gnīm dorignis.
brath ind Rīgh atrae iar tain hi cind trī trāth a talmain."

9. Second verse wanting, and last verse is a syllable too long.

11. dend 'hue' gl. supra i. dath.

14. *leg.* rogāet; hi thorchair ms.; Madian i.e. Matthias. The last verse is a syll. short and does not rhyme.

15. *leg.* caem in cend.

9. A sword killed Bartholomew ; there was a long beard and red hair on the champion of the fair fields.

10. Matthew was slain violently by the sword on the side of Mount Paratrom. Curled hair was on the man's head, and no beard at all.

11. James, son of Alpheus, without blemish—a long beard had the apostle. The brother of Matthew—black his hue—died in Jerusalem.

12. Simon of Canaan—fair, beloved—met his crucifixion among the Parthians. A long beard, black curled hair, was seen on the apostle.

13. Mark went to death for God in the city of Alexandria. Luke, full of virtue, was buried in the city in Constantinople.

14. Matthew was slain, although it was pitiful, in the place where Bartholomew fell. Matthias met his deliverance (?) east in the illustrious land of Judea.

15. James, a brother of God himself, son of Cleophas of the good countenance. James of Sidus (?), fair the head, (was) archbishop of Jerusalem.

16. The difference of all the James's, let every good person hear from me. The son of Zebedee, a flame of them, a famous noble brother of John.

17. James, son of Alpheus, without reproach—many hosts he has benefited. The third James, high, excellent, (was) brother of the very courageous King.

18. Judas, the traitor, who had not good sense, in his place Matthias was brought. It is he who went to his sister while Christ was on the cruel cross.

19. He asked a boon truly of the sister after having betrayed the King, that she should boil a fair cock for sinful Judas to consume it.

20. Thereupon the woman said to him : "Not good is the deed you have done, to betray the King, who shall rise afterwards at the end of three days out of the earth."

16. *leg.* cech for older cach. Cf. chaem in chend supra. It would seem as if *h* stood for eclipsis in some of these cases. Compare use of aspirated for eclipsed *f* in LB. The second couplet does not rhyme.

18. croith ms.

21. "Nuchun eirg Ísu a talmain," ar Iudās [f]eoc[h]air aingbaid,
"Co rogaire gairm nach dis in cailech ūt romarbais."

22. In cailech robuidh ar theinid, co derb *ocus* co demin,
tānig asin tigh anall co rogar a t[h]rī garmand.

23. Rongastigh Iudas budein *ocus* dorat hi cruid rēig :
issē toissech luid iar tain i n-iffirnd iarna argain.

24. Ocht mbliadna cethrachat cain soegul Maire cen mebail :
tar ēis a mic moir miadaigh nī raba acht dā aenbliadain.

25. Dismus *ocus* Geomus gand anmand Grécdha na latrand :
Ioca, moad, monar nglē, a n-anmand la Eabraise.

26. Iudas Semor, saer in fer, rotōgaib croich in Coimdeadh,
iarna cleith fon talmain thair tricha bliadna ar dīb mīlib.

27. Racongna rim-sa Rī nēl tria rath clainne Israēl,
ar brāithre mora Maire conamthair-se thrōcaire.
Crīst rocrochad.

22. *leg.* robúi.

26. croith ms.

21. "Jesus will not rise from the earth," said fierce, wicked Judas, "until the cock which you have killed crows a cry which is not weak."

22. The cock which was on the fire, truly and certainly, came across out of the house from beyond until he crowed his three cries.

23. Judas put a noose round his own neck, and put himself in a hard gibbet. He was the first who went afterwards into hell after its being plundered.

24. Forty-eight fair years was the life of Mary without shame. After her great noble son she was alive only two years.

25. Dysmas, and Gesmus the spare, were the Greek names of the robbers. Ioca, Miroad (?), a clear work, their names among the Hebrews.

26. Judas of Semor, noble the man, took up the cross of the Lord, after its being hidden under the earth in the East thirty years and two thousand

27. May the king of clouds help me, through the grace of the Children of Israel, for the great . . . of Mary that mercy may come to me.

TOMÁS O MÁILLE

JOHN STRACHAN

THIS is the last number of ÉRIU on whose title-page the revered name of John Strachan will appear. On the 25th September a blind and cruel fate put an end to his life and labours.

For nearly twenty years Strachan had worked indefatigably for the advance of Celtic studies ; and he had won for himself a foremost place among philologists, in whose ranks his premature death leaves a gap which it will take many years to fill ; while those associated with him in his work and plans will feel his loss daily for a long time to come.

The appended list of publications, from which it is hoped that nothing of importance is omitted, will give to our readers an idea of the nature and extent of his work, which covered almost the whole field of Celtic philology. Only those, however, who have closely followed the more recent developments of Celtic research know that almost every one of the greater and smaller papers enumerated broke new ground, and established some important law in grammar or etymology, or in the history of the language.

But while we look back with admiration on his great achievements, we realize with dismay our disappointed hopes and expectations. For, after years of preparation, Strachan was just beginning to plan great and comprehensive works, which would have placed Celtic studies on a broader and sounder foundation, while they would have lightened the task of the student. Among the books projected by him may be mentioned a Glossary to the two volumes of the *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus* ; a treatise on the verbal system in the Annals of Ulster ; an Old- and Middle-Irish Grammar and Reader. For several of these he had already begun to collect material. A Middle-Welsh Grammar and Reader is fortunately left complete. He was correcting proofs and collating manuscripts for it up to the day on which the dread disease laid hold of him.

With this unwearied research teaching went hand in hand. He founded in the University of Manchester the first Celtic School in Britain on a scientific basis, which in its curriculum embraced almost every branch of Celtic learning. It is true that his own university was late—too late—in recognizing his unrivalled eminence as a Celtic scholar and teacher ; and it is a sad thought to his friends that the last years of his life, though they were made happy by the realisation of schools of Celtic both in Manchester and Dublin, were also rendered almost unbearable by the burden thrown upon him. He had to do the work which, in better equipped universities, is divided among four professors, having to teach both Greek and Celtic, Sanskrit and Comparative Philology. In reading his letters during those years, one finds hardly one in which he does not excuse himself for not having written before, or for some other trifling neglect on the ground of his being too busy and tired. He never allowed himself the luxury of a holiday. His vacations were given up to research for the purpose of advancing knowledge, and equipping himself the better for the task of training his students.

During the summer of 1903 he opened the School of Irish Learning with courses in Old and Middle-Irish, which he continued to hold for four successive years. For them he compiled his *Selections from the Old-Irish Glosses* and *Old-Irish Paradigms*, now indispensable text-books in all universities where Irish is studied.

He was a contributor to every number of ÉRIU. The present issue contains the last sheet which he had passed for press of his edition of the oldest version of the Táin.

To those who had the good fortune to work with him or be numbered among his students his severe conception of scholarship, and his ungrudging devotion in its service will ever remain a guiding force and an inspiration.

PUBLICATIONS

1887 Keltic Notes. (*Beiträge zur Kunde der indog. Sprachen*, xiii., pp. 128-132.)
 (1) *t*-preterite. (2) dative singular of *a*- stems. (3) vocative plural of *o*- stems. (4) eclipsis destitueus.

1888 Analecta. Passages for translation. Latin and Greek.
 (In conjunction with A. S. WILKINS. *London, Macmillan*. 256 pp., 8vo.)
 Abstufung in case-endings. (*Beiträge zur Kunde der indog. Sprachen*, xiv., pp. 173-6, 306.)
 Celtica. (*ibid.*, pp. 312-16.)

1889 Post-verbal Aspiration in Old Irish. (*ibid.*, xv., pp. 100-120.)

1891 Herodotus. Book vi. (*London, Macmillan*, 8vo.)
 Contains an introduction on the Ionic dialect.
Vas, essen. (*Zeitschr. für vgl. Sprachforschung*, xxxii., p. 320.)
 Middle-Welsh pieu, Mod.-Welsh piau. (*Beiträge zur Kunde der indog. Sprachen*, xvii., pp. 292-296.)
 Etymologies. (*ib.*, pp. 296-303.)
 Ambulare [Etymology of the word]. (*Classical Review*, v., pp. 377-8.)

1892 The compensatory lengthening of vowels in Irish. (*Philological Society Trans.*, xxviii., pp. 217-259. Reprinted with additions and corrections, in *Beiträge zur Kunde der indog. Sprachen*, xx., p. 1-38, 1894.)
Latin perendie. (*Indogermanische Forsch.*, i., pp. 500-1.)
Latin sibilus, sibili. (*Beiträge zur Kunde der indog. Sprachen*, xviii., pp. 147-148.)
 On the Perfect. (*ibid.*, p. 276.)
 Gaelic *nar = ar* 'our'. (*Rev. Celt.* xiii., p. 504-5.)
 Koseformen in der Anrede. (*Zeitschr. für vgl. Sprachforschung*, xxxii., p. 596.)

1893 Etymologien. (*Zeitschr. für vgl. Sprachforschung*, xxxiii. pp. 304-07) [dated Aug. 22, 1892].
 Keltische Etymologien. (*Indogermanische Forschungen*, ii., pp. 369-70.)
 Etymologies. (*Philol. Soc. Trans.*, xxviii., pp. 289-96.)

1894 Contributions to the History of the Deponent Verb in Irish. (*Philol. Soc. Trans.*, xxviii., pp. 444-568.)

1895 The Verbal System of the Saltair na Rann. (*Philol. Soc. Trans.*, xxix., pp. 1-76.)
The Importance of Irish for the Study of Scottish Gaelic. (*Gaelic Society of Inverness, Trans.* xix., pp. 13-25.)

1896 On the Use of the particle *ro-* with preterital tenses in Old Irish. (*Philol. Soc. Trans.*, xxix., pp. 77-193.)
The date of the *Amra Choluimb Chille*. (*Rev. Celt.*, xvii., pp. 41-44.)
Macan's Herodotus. [Notice.] (*Classical Review*, x. 386-7.)
Wackernagel's Altindische Grammatik. [Notice.] (*ibid.*, p. 443.)

1897 On the Uses of the Subjunctive Mood in Irish. (*Philol. Soc. Trans.*, xxx., pp. 225-356.)
Notes on the Milan Glosses. (*Rev. Celt.*, xviii., pp. 212-235.)
Some Notes on the Milan Glosses. (*Zeitschr. f. celt. Phil.*, i., pp. 7-16.)
A Manx Folk-Song. (*ibid.*, pp. 54-58.)
[Summary of paper on the "Use of the particle *ro-*."] (*Rev. Celt.*, xviii., pp. 133-135.)

1898 An Indo-Germanic Word-arrangement. (*Zeitschr. für vgl. Sprachforschung*, xxxv., pp. 612-13.)
[Notice of Pedersen's Aspirationen i Irsk and Die Aspiration im Irischen.] (*Zeitschr. für celt. Philologie*, ii., pp. 205-12; 403-09.)
[Notice of Rozwadowski's Quaestiones Grammaticæ et Etymologicæ.] (*ibid.*, p. 213.)
Notes on the Milan Glosses. (*Rev. Celt.*, xix., pp. 62-66.)
Old-Irish *iarmifoich* quaerit. (*ibid.*, pp. 177-179.)
Regnaud's Éléments de grammaire comparée. [Short notice.] *Classical Review*, xii., p. 418.)

1899 The nominative plural of neuter *u* stems in Celtic, (*Indogermanische Forschungen*, x., pp. 76-77.)
The Substantive Verb in the Old-Irish Glosses. (*Philol. Soc. Trans.*, xxx., pp. 1-82.)
[Summary of same, with Paradigms.] (*Rev. Celt.*, xx. pp. 80-88.)

Final Vowels in the *Féilire Óengusso*. (*Rev. Celt.*, xx., pp. 191-198; 295-305.)

Old-Irish *Toglenomon*. (*ib.*, p. 445.)

The so-called Absolute Form of the Irish Imperfect. (*Zeitschr. f. celt. Phil.*, ii, pp. 373-376.)

Grammatical Notes. (*ibid.*, pp. 480-493.)

Action and Time in the Irish Verb. (*Philol. Soc. Trans.*, xxx., pp. 408-38.)

1900 The Sigmatic Future and Subjunctive in Irish. (*Philol. Soc. Trans.*, xxx., pp. 291-314.)

Old-Irish *tellaim*, *tallaim*. (*Rev. Celt.*, xxi., pp. 176-178.)

Infixed *d* in conditional sentences in Old Irish. (*ibid.*, pp. 412-421.)

The Notes and Glosses in the *Lebor na hUidre*. (*Arch. f. celt. Lex.*, i, pp. 1-36.)

Old-Irish *emith*, *emid*. (*ibid.*, p. 159.)

Old-Irish *afríthissi*. (*ibid.*, p. 230.)

Old-Irish *áil*. (*ibid.*, p. 471.)

[Notice of Henderson's *Fled Bricrend*.] (*Zeitschr. für celt. Philologie*, iii., pp. 411-424.)

1901 Some Notes on the Irish Glosses of Würzburg and St. Gall, (*Zeitschr. f. celt. Phil.*, iii., pp. 55-60.)

Irish *no-* in a relative function. (*ibid.*, pp. 283, 284.)

Grammatical Notes (continued). (*ibid.*, pp. 474-491.)

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[Notice of Sarauw's *Irske Studier*.] (*Zeitschr. für celt. Philologie*, iii., pp. 599-604.)

The Vienna Fragments of Bede. (*Rev. Celt.*, xxiii. pp. 40-49.)

1902 *Ro* with the Imperfect Indicative in Irish. (*ib.*, pp. 201, 2.)

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1903 On the Language of the Milan Glosses. (*Zeitschr. f. celt. Phil.*, iv., 48-71.)

On the Language of the St. Gall Glosses. (*ibid.*, pp. 470-492.)

Thesaurus Palæohibernicus, vol. ii. : Non-biblical Glosses and Scholia, &c. (In conjunction with WHITLEY STOKES.) (*Cambridge University Press*, xl + 422 pp., large 8vo.)

A List of Old-Irish infixed Pronouns. (*Celtia*, iii., pp. 101, 102.)

Selections from the Irish Glosses. (*ibid.*, iii., pp. 115, 131, 147; iv. (1904), pp. 3, 35.)

Stories from the Táin. [Ten stories, restored text, with vocabularies.] (*Gaelic Journal*, xiii. and xiv., (1904).)

Vendryes' Latin Words in Irish. [Notice.] (*Classical Rev.*, xvii., p. 326.)

1904 Selections from the Old-Irish Glosses, with notes and Vocabulary. (*Dublin, School of Irish Learning*, viii + 123 pp., sm. 8vo.)

Atakta. (*Ériu*, i., pp. 1-12.)

1. The nom. plural of masc. -u- stems. 2. The acc. and voc. pl. masculine of adjective -o- stems. 3. Acc. pl. masc. of adjectival -io- stems. 4. Nom. and acc. pl. neuter of adjectival -io- stems. 5. The nom. of the pronoun *side*. 6. The pronoun *som sí*. 7. The interrogative pronoun. 8. The sg. of the pres. indic. active in verbal stems ending in aspirated *t* and *d*. 9. O. Ir. *éola*, *éula*, 'peritus, expertus.' 10. *Indinni-se* 'talis.' 11. *Indid, innách.*

Anecdoton. [Hymn to the Blessed Virgin.] (*ibid.*, p. 122.)

Anecdoton. [Poem "The Hermit's Song," from MS. 23 N 10.] (*ibid.*, p. 138.)

The Infixed Pronoun in Middle Irish. (*ibid.*, pp. 153-179.)

An Old-Irish Metrical Rule. [Riaguil in Choimded.] (*ibid.*, pp. 191-208.)

Táin Bó Cúailnge. (*ibid.*, in conjunction with J. G. O'KEEFFE.)

1905 Old-Irish Paradigms. (*Dublin, School of Irish Learning*, 83 pp., sm. 8vo.)

The Thesaurus Palæo-hibernicus. [Reply to a criticism of Sarauw's.] (*Zeitschr. f. celt. Phil.*, v., pp. 575-578.)

Addenda to *Ériu* i. [Riaguil in Choimded.] (*Ériu* ii, pp. 58-9.)

Welsh *ry-* = Irish *ro-* of possibility. (*ibid.*, pp. 60-61.)

Cormac's Rule. (*ibid.*, pp. 62-68.)

Further Remarks on Welsh *ry-*. (*ibid.*, 215-220.)

Two Monastic Rules. (*ibid.*, pp. 227-229.)

1. Ríagul Chiarain. 2. Ríagul na manach líath.

Contributions to the History of Middle-Irish Declension.
(*Philol. Soc. Trans.*, xxxi., pp. 202-46.)

1906 An Old-Irish Homily. (*Ériu*, iii., pp. 1-10, 1907.)

On some Mutations of initial Consonants in the Old-Welsh Verb. (*ibid.*, pp. 20-28.)

1907 Miscellanea Celtica. (*Rev. Celt.* xxviii., pp. 195-207.)

1. Ir. bronnaid, -bria. 2. Ir. tlenaid, *-tlia, -tlethar. 3. Ir. laigid, dellig. 4. W. cythrymhet. 5. O. W. diliu. 6. O. W. initoid. 7. A form of the W. subjunctive. 8. The tenses of the Welsh subjunctive. 9. W. deng. 10. Ir. síu, W. hywydd. 11. Ir. géc, W. cainc. 12. Ir. éc, W. angeu. 13. Ir. marb, W. marw. 14. O. Ir. techt mudu. 15. Ir. bethu, W. bywyd. 16. Ir. findbuth, W. gwynfyd. 17. Ir. quirid, W. gori. 18. Ir. atbath. 19. Ir. mligid, doommalgg. 20. Ir. docóised. 21. W. ar y ganfed.

K. M.

CORRIGENDA ET ADDENDA

ÉRIU, VOL. II.

GRAVES OF THE KINGS AT CLONMACNOIS

Page 166, 53 text, *read* M^ael rúanaigh ; trans. *read* Maelruanaidh
,, 168, 65 text, *read* Con cenaind ; trans. *read* Cúcenann
,, 168, 72 text, *read* Cú cúana ; trans. *read* the comely Cú Connacht

For the above I have to thank Dr. Bergin.—R. I. B.

A FRAGMENT OF OLD IRISH

Page 222, line 1. MS. has . . . *deitsu ani anasbeir*

,, , 6. aridralastar insin = 'who has arranged(?) that,' the infixd pron. being neuter. If it is 2 sg., the MS. reading *aritralastar* is right.
,, , 20. coroenastar = **coro nenastar*
,, , 23. imnocht imdilmain Cf. *iomnocht imdilmain o dhemhan 7 o dhomhan*, Hugh Roe 262, 7.
,, , 24. MS. has numbered 3 sg. impf. ind. Delete note on p. 226.
,, , 28. mairctenaich Cf. *feacaí* for *maircctenaigh* (sic leg.), Hugh Roe 262, 3.

, note 7, for *tuath tu* read *tuaththu*

Page 224, line 12. *tarbra* The MS. has *tabra* with what looks like the compendium for *ra* over the *t*. Read *tabra*

, , 13. gann: MS. has *is olc in d. 7 in m. 7 in g.*, that is *is olc in dub 7 in memrum 7 in glés* 'bad is the ink, and the parchment, and the pen' (or 'instrument'). Cf. *tri tuimthea gléso* 'three dippings of the pen' Thes. ii. 495.

For most of the above I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Whitley Stokes.—O. J. BERGIN.

REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE SCHOOL OF IRISH LEARNING

SESSIONS 1904-1907

WITH the present number of *ÉRIU*, which completes the third volume of the School Journal, it has been thought desirable to give a short account of the work accomplished in the School since 1904. A report on the work of the School up to that date was appended to the first volume. The present number was almost printed off when Professor Strachan, who had been so intimately connected with the School since its foundation, was snatched away by an untimely death, in the midst of his activities, at the early age of forty-five. The following statement is mainly a record of the classes held by him since 1904. An account of his first course in 1903 has already been given.

During the Easter of 1904 classes were held by Professor Kuno Meyer, at which the *Vision of Mac Conglinne* was read through, and by Professor Strachan, who read some of the *Old-Irish Hymns*, the Irish portion of the *Book of Armagh*, and the Old-Irish treatise called *Abgitir Crábaid*. In the summer of 1904 Professor Strachan lectured for six weeks in succession, two hours every evening, on Old-Irish Grammar, and the critical study of Middle-Irish literature, the texts studied on this occasion being the *Togail Bruidne Dá Derga*, and *Selections from the Old-Irish Glosses*. The lectures were on (1) Elementary Old Irish, (2) Noun and Pronoun in Old Irish, and (3) Old-Irish Syntax. In addition to the above, an advanced class was held two mornings in the week for the study of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*.

At the conclusion of this course, a Travelling Scholarship of £100 a year for two years, generously provided by Mrs. John Richard Green, was awarded to Mr. Osborn Bergin, B.A., to enable him to study Celtic and Comparative Philology at the Universities of Berlin and Freiburg.

During the Easter Vacation of 1905 Professor Strachan held a fortnight's course, at which the Würzburg Glosses were read, and some Middle-Irish texts from the *Lebor na hUidre*, including the *Scéla Lái na Brátha*, the *Scéla na hEsséirge*, and the *Siabur-charpat Conculaind*.

In July and August of the same year Professor Strachan resumed his classes for the study of Old- and Middle-Irish Grammar, and held at the same time classes for advanced students in the study of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* and the *Saltair na Rann*. Mr. Timothy Lewis, B.A., who attended these courses with a Travelling Scholarship from Wales, held a class in Welsh Grammar for beginners three evenings in the week.

Mr. Joseph O'Neill, M.A., who had been attending these classes, was awarded a Travelling Scholarship of £75 a year for two years, to enable him to continue his studies under Professor Strachan at Manchester University.

In April, 1906, a public lecture on Ogam Inscriptions was delivered under the auspices of the School by Principal Rhys, of Jesus College, Oxford, at which Professor Kuno Meyer presided.

The Easter Course of 1906 was held by Professor Kuno Meyer, who lectured on Irish Metrics. The inaugural lecture, at which Lord Castletown presided, was made public.

During the month of July Professor Strachan held two courses, one on Old-Irish Grammar for beginners, and one for advanced students on the *Old-Irish Treatise on the Psalter*, and the *Scél mucci maic Dáthó*. This was the last course of lectures delivered in the School by Professor Strachan. At the conclusion a Travelling Scholarship of £75 a year for two years was awarded to Mr. Tomás O Máille, B.A., to continue his studies under Professor Strachan at Manchester University.

In October of this year (1906) Mr. Osborn Bergin, having taken his Ph.D. degree at Freiburg with a dissertation on Palatalization in Old-Irish, was appointed to give continuous instruction in the School throughout the year. Dr. Bergin accordingly held a series of classes in the autumn of 1906 and spring of 1907 on Old-Irish Grammar, Historical Modern Irish, and Dr. Strachan's *Táin Tales*. The Summer Course was also held by Dr. Bergin, who lectured daily for four weeks on Old Irish, and Historical Modern Irish, and read with advanced

students an Early Middle-Irish text on the *Expulsion of the Déssi*.

The above summer classes have been regularly attended by students from all parts of Ireland, from England, Wales, Scotland, and the United States. Through the kindness of Mrs. J. R. Green, Lord Castletown, and others, small Travelling Scholarships have been annually awarded to enable students living at a distance to attend.

The following publications have been issued by the School :— *Selections from the Old-Irish Glosses*, with Notes and Vocabulary, by Professor Strachan, 1904; *Old-Irish Paradigms*, also by Professor Strachan, in 1905. A *Primer of Irish Metrics*, by Professor Kuno Meyer, is in the press, and will be issued shortly. Dr. Bergin has prepared a volume of *Selections from Keating's History*, the text of which has been printed off. It will be accompanied by a grammatical introduction and a vocabulary.

Through the continued generosity of Mr. Thomas Kelly the School has been comfortably housed since 1904, first at 28 Clare Street, and now at 33 Dawson Street.

A list of the donors and subscribers is appended. The School has, in addition, enjoyed an annual grant of £100 from the Treasury during the years 1905 and 1906; increased to £200 for the current year.

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