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THE FIRST BATTLE OF MOYTURA¹

THE following text, a résumé of the contents of which is given by O'Curry, *Manuscript Materials*, p. 244 ff., is preserved only in a quarto vellum tract, paged 90 to 99, now forming part of the collection H.2.17 in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin (*cf.* D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Essai d'un Catalogue*, lxxv. ff.). Several of the pages are much discoloured and, particularly at the margins, difficult to read, and nearly the whole of the second column of p. 90 is entirely illegible. Thanks to the courtesy of the College authorities, I have been able to examine the MS. time after time, and so to make my transcript of the less easily legible portions fairly accurate. Dr. Bergin helped to decipher some difficult passages; and I am particularly indebted to Mr. R. I. Best for collating my transcript, letter for letter, with the original and, in a large number of places, correcting my readings. To both Dr. Bergin and Mr. Best the translation owes much. Several convincing suggestions by Miss Knott have been adopted.

The spelling has been in certain cases modified, but the MS. reading is everywhere shown in the notes. Letters and words no longer legible, but restored with more or less certainty, are enclosed within round brackets (); letters omitted by the scribe are enclosed in square brackets []. Contractions have been expanded silently, except in one or two cases.

I. CONTENTS

The narrative in the text falls into two parts, (1) §§ 1-22, dealing with the wanderings of the Fir Bolg and the Tuatha De Danann² and their arrival in Ireland, and (2) §§ 23-59, telling of their meeting in Ireland, of the negotiations for a peaceable settlement of the claims of the Tuatha De Danann, and of the first Battle of Moytura, after their defeat in which the Fir Bolg settled in Connaught.

The second part calls for no further remark. The first, largely owing to the loss of a considerable portion of the text,

¹ This, the First Battle of Moytura, is distinguished from the Second (ed. Stokes, RC. xii. 52 ff.) as The Battle of Muigh Tuiredh Conga (as at the end of the present text), or as that of the Southern Moytura, *cf.* H.2. 5, p. 160, *ni raib acht deith mblighena fíothid ó chath Muighe Tuirreadh theas ga cath Muighe Tuirreadh thuaidh*.

² For the Invasion literature in general, *cf.* Van Hamel, *On Lebor Gabála*, *Zeitschr. f. celt. Phil.* x. 97 ff.

offers some difficulties. From what can be deciphered of p. 90 col. 2, it seems likely that in the illegible part the Tuatha De Danann were brought back to Ireland, *cf.* p. 8 *n.* 4. If that was so, the writer clearly intended in this piece to make the Tuatha De Danann play the chief part. From the abrupt character of the opening conversation between Fintan and the survivors of the taking of Conaing's Tower, we must suppose that some part of the text has been lost. That would contain some explanation of the circumstances under which the sons of Nemed found themselves obliged to leave Ireland. The verses occurring in this and other texts form commentaries on incidents related in the prose portions, and are not independent. There may, too, have been a short account of the previous invasions of Ireland. In any case this was a Gabál Tuath nDe Danann, or is based on one, and the writer's object was to get to their doings in Ireland as soon as possible.

At p. 91 col. 1, where the MS. is again legible, there is a reference to the skill in wizardry and arms acquired by the Tuatha De Danann in the North. They seem to be settled in Ireland, and to hear occasionally rumours of another people on the island. Their curiosity with regard to the latter is made the occasion to introduce an account of the journey to the East, and of the return to Ireland of the Fir Bolg, §§ 7-19.

This extract from the Gabál Fer mBolg is itself based on two differently worded sources. The first account (§§ 7-10) lays the main stress on their doings in Thrace and Greece. They escape in boats made of their bags. In the second (§§ 11-15), more details are given of their wanderings after leaving the East. Here, in addition to the boats made of their bags, they steal some of the ships of their oppressors. They also visit Spain on the way to Ireland.

At this point the story goes back to the Tuatha De Danann; but instead of resuming at the point where the Invasion of the Fir Bolg begins in § 7, it goes back to describe the departure of the Tuatha De Danann from the 'northern islands of the world,' and their coming to Ireland after a stay of four, or seven,¹ years in the north of Scotland. They arrive, according to § 20, in ships, but in § 26 they are said to have come in clouds of mist. The Fir Bolg are informed, § 23, of their arrival, and they open negotiations with them.

The confused character of all this introductory matter suggests that the writer had originally intended to pass immediately from a brief statement of the coming of the Tuatha De Danann to Ireland to their battle with the Fir Bolg and their subsequent occupation of the island. But he found it necessary to explain

¹ *Cf.* Lc, 276r^b *Bethach . . . dolodar a shil siden a nindsib tuaiscertacha in domain do foglaim draighecta 7 genútlehta 7 feasa diabuldanachta.*

at some length how the Fir Bolg happened to be in Ireland; and when he had done so he apparently followed a *Gabál Tuath nDe Danann* which narrated the fortunes of that race previously to their return to Ireland with the same detail as those of the Fir Bolg. It may be noticed in this connection that the second, and longer, account of the *Tuatha De Danann* Invasion, § 20, begins with what seems to have been a regular formula, *Imthusa Tuath nDe Danann, roforbredur* . . . Cf., of the Fir Bolg, § 9, *Asa haithle roforbredar* . . . § 11, *Fri re in da cet bliadan sin roforbset* . . .¹

II. LANGUAGE

With regard to the language of this text, the following points may be noticed:

Article: gen. sg. masc. *ind Ruaid*.

Infix pronoun: 1sg. *damber, romtimairg* 47; 3sg. *rostib* 24; 1pl. *rostuc* 1; 2pl. *robdarbaidhesdur* 55, cf. *robtarbia*, quoted by Strachan, *Eriu* I. 161; 3pl. *roslen* 17. All these exx. are in the verse portions. 3pl. *rosimluaid* 7.

Copula: Pres. 3sg. in compar. const. *inas* 1; 3pl. *at* 24.

Other verbs:—

Pres: 1pl. *atamaid* 13, *bermit*, 16 *cluinnmit* 31; 3pl. *rosaitid*! 44.

Fut: 1pl. *dingebmait*, *regmait* 31, *rachmait* 39; 3pl. *gebdaít* 3, *rachdaít* 3, *taetsat* (side by side with *tuitfider*) 47.

Perf: 3sg. *do cualaid* 39, 44 (but *cuala* 48).

S.-Pret: 1sg. *fuarus* 56; 2sg. *tugais*, *togais* 56; 3sg. *sochtais*, *sirfegais* 24, *bennaigis*, *saithis* ib., *ingabais* 56; mid. *rogabastair* 15, *dobenasdur* 26, *rocaiesdur* 35, *rucasdur* 35; 1pl. mid. *rocursemar* 57; 3pl. act. *roforbset* 11, *doronsat* 12, 13, 26, *tallsat* 12, *tucsad* 13, *gabsad* 15, 19, 28, *doraidset* 20, 28, *roimtigset* 55, and over a dozen others; mid. *seolsadar* 15, *doimraidsedur* 20, *figsedur* 36, together with *robenasdur* 43, *rucastar* 47, *rugusdair* ib. *baidhesdur* 55, *roimraidesdur* 5!

Pret. pass. *focresa* 57, *adhnacht* 49, 50 (*adnaiced* 53). Forms in *-it* are very numerous, *rosaigit* 31, *rosrengait*, *rosinit*, *roclaiit* 36, *tugait* 37, *rocomlid* ib. *fiarthesgait* 39, *dorinit* 57.

The pres. *rosaitid*, probably due to a misunderstanding of the passive forms, the 3pls. in *-esdur*, too numerous to be merely lapsus calami, together with such late forms as *-cualaid* suggest that we have here the result of several revisions of a text which may, in parts, go back to the early M^{Ir}. period.

¹ On the First and Second Battles of Moytura see D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Le Cycle mythologique irlandais*, p. 149 ff.; *L'Épopée celtique en Irlande*, p. 393 ff.

[CATH MUIGE TUIRED CUNGA]

H.2.17 (T.C.D.), p. 90a.

1. A chlann Nemid na nert mor
cid ima ta bar tinol?
ca toisg ima tathi sunn?
in cath no in cliath no in comlann?

Is i toisg rostuc or tig,
a Findtain, a fireolaig,
re med ar cisa is ceist lind
o Fomorchaib na hErenn,

Cach cis bis ar each nduine
ar each aird ar bith buidhe,
is i ar cumang risin cain
a fulang no a imgabail.

Ata drem nach sithach dib
cid huathad atat mon tir,
is mo da milled amach
inas cis na Fomorach.

Imthigid mas urlamh lib,
a maicne niamda Nemid,
na fuilngid olc, na bi[d] ann,
ergid co cian, a chaemchlann. a.c.

2. In i sin do chomairle se duin, a Findtain, a fireolaig? Is i immoro, ar Findtan, 7 ata lemsa tuilled daibh, gan tocht aenleth na aenchonair, uair ni theit comthínol coblaig i crich can comerge cogaid, uair ni gnath imad gan imresain, na echtrainn gan fogra, na slog can tochur. Ní maith etraib re haitrib aeninaid i nErinn; ni ba ferr eter bar slogaib re sired, 7 atbert ann:

3. Imthigid, a chlann Nemid,
asin crich se, na celid,
fagaíd Ere, lith nach lag,
imgabaid nert bar namad.

Na bi[d] indti ni bus sia,
na berar cis ni bus lia,
gebdait bar meic no bar nui
nert in tire se o tegthi.

BATTLE OF MOYTURA

1. 'Children of powerful Nemed, what is the cause of your assembling? What has brought you here—contest, conflict, or combat?'

'What has brought us from our homes, wise Fintan, is this: we suffer at the hands of the Fomorians of Ireland by reason of the greatness of the tribute.'

'Whatever be the tribute, on whomsoever and wheresoever imposed, it is in our power either to bear it or to escape from it.'

'There is among you a party, quarrelsome though few in all the land, that do more to ruin it than the tribute of the Fomorians.'

'Depart if you feel the time is ripe, glorious sons of Nemed; do not suffer wrong, remain not here, but go far hence.'

2. 'Is that your advice to us, wise Fintan?' 'It is,' said Fintan, 'and I have yet more counsel for you: you must not go by one route or in one direction, for a fleet cannot be brought together without outbreak of fighting; a large number means quarrelling, strangers provoke challenge, and an armed host conflict. You do not find it easy to live together in any one spot in Ireland, and it would not be any easier for your hosts in seeking new homes.'

3. 'Depart from this land, children of Nemed; leave Ireland, and escape the violence of your enemies.'

'Stay here no longer, pay no more tribute. Your sons or your grandsons will recover the land from which you are now fleeing.'

Rosoisti go tirib Greg,
 nocho ba damsa bus breg,
 bar nert toir ni ba lor lib
 ge imtigthi i nilmilib.

Rachdait clanna Beothaig buain
 in leth frisin fuarda uaib,
 7 clanna Semeo[i]n soir.
 gid ingnad lib imthigid. i.m.t.

4. Dochelehair cach da c/ele dib .i. Findtan 7 clanna nos-brethecha Nemid. Anais Beothach mac Iarbonel a nErinn 7 a dechnebur laech 7 a .x. mna, amail isbert :

Anais Beothach na mbreth mbinn
 mac Iarbonel a nErinn,
 fada soir doc/uaidh a c/lann
 go hiarthurtuaiscert Lochlann.

5. Adbal in taine(o)las don foirind roimraidestur acu Tait mac Tabairn do beith ina aenrig for clannaib niamda¹ Nemid, uair ni rucad annsin é, 7 is toir rucad e 7 ni t/ioracht a nErinn.

6. Is adbal in cablach, 7 robo tenn in tinol 7 uaitecht in adbair robi ag an tinol mor sin roimthig² a hErinn; uair ni t/erno o togail Tuir Conaing acht tricha trenfer. Roan a trian sin araen re Beothach a nErinn. Romor don fichid ele mas iad; dobi .xl. ar .c. 7 .x. mile long ag imt/echt a hErinn. Dodelig cach dib re c/ele dona [90b] caemaib 7 dona cairdib sin, 7 robo dubach dobronach in began sin roan a nErinn . . . doimtig este. Rolinsad in lucht sin. . . .³

¹ Repeated in MS.

² roimthidh MS.

³ The remainder of this column is practically illegible. Several isolated words can be deciphered, but as the narrative would not profit materially from recording them here, they have been omitted.

'You shall travel to the land of the Greeks—'tis no lying tale I tell—and though you set out in thousands, your strength will not be found sufficient in the East.

'The children of steadfast Beothach shall leave you and go towards the cold North, the children of Semeon to the East. Though you feel it strange, depart.'

4. So they parted from each other, Fintan and the famous children of Nemed. Beothach, son of Iarbone, remained, with his ten men and their wives, in Ireland, according to the poet:

Iarbone's son, Beothach of the clear-spoken judgments, remained in Ireland. His children went far eastward, to the north-west of Lochlann.¹

5. Astonishing is the ignorance shown by those who would have it that Tait, son of Tabarn, was sole king over the children of Nemed, for he was yet unborn. He was born in the East,² and never came to Ireland.

6. Immense was the fleet, eager the gathering—considering from how few sprang the great company that set out from Ireland, for only thirty³ men had escaped at the taking of Conaing's Tower, and of these a third remained with Beothach in Ireland. The remaining twenty must have multiplied greatly, for the number of ships that were now leaving Ireland was ten thousand, one hundred and forty.

Those dear friends, then, separated, and sad and sorrowful was the little remnant that remained in Ireland.⁴ . . .

¹ It would be a mistake to look for precision or consistency in those geographical details based on a confused literary tradition. All the fugitives seem to have gone to the East, to begin with. Cf. O'Clery, p. 41: *Dala Iobaith meic Beothaig . . . iar fflügghail Eirenn do cona mhuintir . . . roghabsat i ninsibh tuaiscertacha na Grece*. There they learnt *draidheacht et ilcerda eccsamla*; H.2.5, p. 151: *teid an tara tasisrech .i. Iobaith a ccriochaibh thuaisgirt na Greige*; But Lc. 278^vb: *Badar clanda Beothaig . . . a mindsib tuaisceartacha in domain oc foglaim draideachta. . . . Tancadar asa Grec sceithiada 7 rogabsad crich 7 fearand a tuaiscert Alban*. So, BB. 32a. *Indsi tuaiscertacha na Grece* and *i. l. an domain* were, evidently, not always distinguished. The immediate motive of the Tuatha De Danann's settling in Scotland was found in their defeat, with the Athenians, in a battle against the Philistines, O'Clery, p. 42. The battle was fought in the 'northern islands of the world,' Lc. 10r^ob.

² According to the genealogists, O'Clery, p. 48, LL 2a, Tait was seventh in descent from Nemed.

³ Their names are given by O'Clery, p. 24, Lc. 276^vb, BB. 20a. Their three chiefs, Beothach, Semeon and Briotan, apportioned Ireland between them thus: *Trian Beothaig o Thoirinis co Boinn, trian Semeoin tra o Bóinn co Belach Conglais, trian Briotain dano o Belach C. co Thoirinis ceitne*, O'Clery, p. 24, BB. 29a. When Semeon left for the East, Briotan settled *i mBretnaib*, O'Cl. *ib.*, but according to another version *teid an tras taoiseach dhiobh mar ta Briotan maol ga tuasgirt Alban agus dátig inte sa shliocht na dhiaig noga ndeachadar siad Cruitnis et Picti ag aitiughadh na hAlban a naimsir Eiremhoin*, H.2.5, p. 151.

⁴ On this page can be made out the name Briotan Maol mac Fergusa Leithderg. We can, therefore, assume that this part of the MS. contained a reference to the

7. [91a] . . diamra draideachta,¹ fis 7 foglaim 7 faisdine, erridecht ar armaib 7 imluad² ar airdclesaib, imsgar 7 imludh na cloinde sin Iba[i]d meic Beothaig, ar rosoich co hindisin na scel scailter a haininadh, conad indisin egsamail iarras gach aen line. Scela na cloinde'ele .i. cloinde Semeoin meic Sdairn, rosimluaidh anfad go riachtadur go trachtaib tirma na Traigia 7 co crichaib griangainmecha na Grege. Rogabsadur tir 7 talmain ann sen. Doriachtadur cucu annsin aitrebt~~h~~aige na crich 7 erreda egcomlainn in feraind inar ansat. Dorigned sith 7 sithcain friu. Rocoraiged ar forbaib 7 ar ferannaib iad .i. ar tursgur traga 7 ar imlib imciana 7 ar imdocraib imfuara 7 ar cairgib cenngarba, ar slesaib sliab 7 ar taebaib tulach, ar uchtaib anfosta 7 ar alltaib imdoimne 7 ar inadaibh ainmine 7 ar tirt~~h~~ib nemt~~h~~rebtha. Roimaircedur san imad úire for na lecaib loma lanredhe co ndentais muige sciamda scothsemracha.

8. Otchidis treoin 7 taisig in tire na feranna fermara fir[r]éde fairsinga 7 na tírthe trebtha togaide tromlethna dodibirtea iadsan umpo. Doberthi doib asa haithle iatha agarba ainmine, feranna fochlocha fir~~h~~ruaide, 7 tirt~~h~~e nemnecha nathardha. Rominigidis [s]en 7 romaethigdis sin comdis feranna fosta firmaithe, amail ba forredh 7 ba fairsing each ferann dib doberthi uathaib.

9. Asa hait~~h~~le roforbredar 7 roimdaigedur na fir sin i nilmilib. Roc~~h~~ruadaig in cis (an)d 7 roforbair in obair. Roc~~h~~ogradar in ~~ch~~ethern ~~ch~~omnert sin curcha croma craeslethna do denam dona degbolgaib degsuaite dobid ag imochur ure acu d'indsaige na hErenn.

10. Da ~~ch~~et bliadan o ro(to)glad Tor Conaing co riachtadur

¹ draigeachta MS.

² imluag MS.

7. . . the mysteries of wizardry, the knowledge, learning, and prophetic powers, the mastery of arms and skill in cunning feats, the travels and wanderings of the sons of I bath,¹ for it happened that those tales that had all gone abroad from one place came to be told. A different narrative is necessary for each race. Touching the children of Semeon, son of Starn. A storm had driven them from their course till they came to the dry strands of Thrace and the sandy shores of Greece, and there they settled.² Thereupon the inhabitants and the champions of the land visited them, and made a compact of peace and concord with them. Territory was apportioned them, but on the sea-shore, on the distant borders, on cold rough stretches and rugged rocks, on the hill-sides and mountain slopes, on inhospitable heights and in deep ravines, on broken land and ground unfit for cultivation. But the strangers transported a great quantity of soil to the smooth, bare rocks, and made them into smiling clover-covered³ plains.

8. When the chiefs and powerful men of the land saw the smooth, broad and grassy fields, and the wide expanses of fruitful cultivated land, they would expel the occupants, and give them in exchange wild, rugged regions, hard stony lands infested with poisonous serpents. However, they tamed and cultivated the ground, and made it into good fruitful fields, smooth and broad like all their land that was taken from them.

9. But in the meantime the children of Nemed increased and multiplied till they numbered many thousands. The tribute grew heavier and their labour harder till they, now a powerful company, resolved secretly to make wide curved boats of the well-woven bags⁴ they used for carrying soil, and to sail for Ireland.

10. Two hundred years⁵ had passed since the taking of

wanderings of the third of the chiefs that had escaped from the taking of Conaing's tower. As they were said to have settled at Dobur and Irrdobur in Scotland (e.g. Keating, ed. Comyn, I. 186) it seems that their movements were confused with those of Iobath of the Tuatha De Danann. I can also read *amach .i. clanna Ib(aid) meic Beothaig 7 clanna (Semeoin) meic Sdairn . . . dolod(ar) . . . (g)o tir . . . (de sath)airn dosonnrad rofagsat . . . roa(sc)nadur in Espain . . . go riachtadur (Erinn?)*. The remainder of the page certainly recorded the arrival in Ireland of the Tuatha De Danann.

¹ That is, the Tuatha De Danann.

² O'Clery, p. 33 ff., BB. 27a, Lc. 276r^oa.

³ So *scioithsemracha*, O'Clery *ib.*, *fo sgoth sheamoir*, BB. 27a37, *fo scothaib*, LL 6b; cf. Hy Mani 180v^oa.

⁴ *No is iad liberna rig Grec dogadsad leo do thecht in Erinn, amail isbert Cin Droma Sneachta*, Lc. 276r^oa. The date is fixed: *Dardan mac Ioib do gobail rigi na hAisia Bici in tan sin. ib.*

⁵ *Ar cind trichid bl. ar da cet . . . iar togail t. c. tangadur FB . . . i nErinn*, acc. to Lc. *ib.*, a confusion with the date of the arrival of the Tuatha De Danann.

Erinn dorise clanna Semeo[i]n meic Sdairn, 7 clanna agmara oirrdere (I)srahel a hEgipt d'iarraig tíre trebargloine (tairngi)re, 7 clanna Gaidil Glais meic Niu[i]l meic Fen(ius)a Farsaig anes ar nelod tuaithe De, 7 (ar) mbathad Foraind, co riachtadur in Sciatia uair nimgairb.

11. Fri re in da cet bliadan siñ roforbset co n-imclannaig-edur clanna Semeo[i]n meic Sdairn co mbadur i nilmilib, comdar sluaga setrecha sirc(al)ma iad. Re himad in fognama 7 re derm-(aire) na dairse, roimraidset acu imgabail (anforl)aind, 7 airtriala elotha 7 ascnam docum Erenn.

12. [916.] Doronsad barca dia mbolgaib 7 tallsat ní do lestraib 7 do libernaib, do curchaib gasraide¹ Greg. Rob iad rurig 7 rodaine, cind 7 taisig 7 cuingid in coblaig sin .i. coig meic Dela meic Fortecht meic Tribaide, amail asbert:—

Coig meic Dela meic Loich luind
do indsaigset Ere uill,
Rudraige Genann is Gann
Slainge sleghach is Sengann.

13. Ro elógadur i nurtosach aidche as in crich sin, 7 rolinsad a longa isin calad inar curid on cet lo. Roagaill sinnser na sochaide iad .i. Slainge, 7 as e ba brethem da braithribh, 7 asbert:

Fedm fresdal friteolamh
fairge fraecda forglaise
comluth cechtar caemc/zoblaigh
imgabail uilc etualaing
garbha Greg fri gnathugad²
aimdes Ere iathmaighrec/z
a faghail as fedm. Fedhm.

Tabraid da bar nuid 7 do bar naire bar ndochur 7 bar ndochraide, bar Slainge. Is maith in cuigiur atamaid i g[c]omlud in c/zoblaig.³ Is comlunn cet cach aenfer againd. Is fíir sin am, ar siad, 7 digailter gu maith againd ar in crich si in daeircís tugadar oraind. 7 romarbad leoson cach aen rob inmarbtha da ndainib ara rugadar, 7 ro hairgead in crich fa comfogus, 7 tucsad tromrith tinedh tar in tir asa haithle, 7 tucsad a nairgne 7 a netála co⁴ hairm a rabadur a longa 7 a laidenga 7 a curaig blaithe belduba doronsad da mbolgaib 7 da melogaib, a Traig Tresgad do sonrad.

¹ gasraige MS.

² gnathudag MS.

³ coblaid MS.

Conaing's Tower till the return of the children of Semeon to Ireland. It was at the same time¹ that the famous warlike children of Israel were leaving Egypt in search of the happy land of promise, while the descendants of Gaidel Glas moved up from the south after the escape of the people of God and the drowning of Pharaoh, and came to cold, rugged Scythia.

11. During the two hundred years after the taking of Conaing's Tower the children of Semeon multiplied till they numbered many thousands, forming strong bold hosts. On account of the severity of the labour and the heaviness of the bondage imposed on them they determined to flee from persecution, endeavour to escape and make their way to Ireland.

12. They made boats of their sacks, and stole some of the vessels, boats, and galleys of the soldiers of the Greeks. The lords and leaders, heads, chiefs and champions of that fleet were the five sons of Dela, according to the poet:

To noble Ireland there set out the five sons of Dela son of Loth the impetuous, Rudraige, Genann, Gann, Slainge of the spears, and Sengann.

13. They made off at nightfall, and manned their ships in the harbour where they had first landed. Slainge, the elder of the company, who was judge among his brothers, harangued them as follows:

'Now is the time for exertion, care, and watchfulness; fierce and grey with foam is the sea; each fair fleet sets forth to escape from intolerable wrong; the tyranny of the Greeks is unaccustomed; the plains of salmon-bearing Ireland we must strive to win.

'Give heed to and observe the wrong and injustice you suffer. You have in us five good men to lead the fleet, each of us a match for a hundred.'

'That is true,' his followers replied. 'Let us make the people of this land pay in full for the servitude and the heavy tribute they imposed on us.' And so they killed every one of the Greeks worth killing that they got hold of, and wasted the neighbouring land and made a devastating incursion over it and burnt it. They then brought their plunder and spoil to the place where their ships and galleys were and the smooth, black-prowed boats they had made of their sacks and bags, that is, to Traig Tresgad.

¹ *Clanna Israel for fecht sind aimsir sin a hEgept 7 clanna Gaidil Glais dochom Scithia for longaís, D. iv. 3, f. 9r^a, BB. 29a; Fir Bolg dochum nErind 7 indarba cloindi Gaeidil asin Sceithia na re, Lc. 276r^a.*

14. Deich longa fíched ar cet ar míle is ed tangadur amach
amail isbert :—

Dech longa fíched ar cet
7 míle, nocho breg,
is e lin tainig anoir,
Genann mor guna mhuintir.

Rob imda Fir Bolg gan breg
ag toidecht¹ doib asin Greg,
maith drem narba malla amach
nochar ba chranda in cablach.

De Cetain dochuadar siar
ar muir tromlethain Torrian;
remes tri la ar bliadain bain
nogo riachtadur Espain.

Asiden co hErind ain,
seolad ingar a hEspain,
ní hegen do cach a chleth
remes tri trath is a dech. Dech.

15. Rosiachtadar gusan Esbain. Rofiarfaighsed da faidhibh²
7 da ndraithib etar[g]nud 7 aithní ar n[a] gaethaib le seolfaidis gu
hErinn don chur (sin). Do sheolsadar lesin ngaith aniairdhes gach
ndirech gu facadar Ere uathaib. Is ann sin roerig³ an ghaeth
ard adhbul gur chuir gairbhten na gaith[e] tonna tromaidbhli⁴ re
bruinne na mbarc gur dedladh⁵ in loinges [s]in na tri loingsib
lanmora .i. Gaileoin 7 Fir Bolg 7 Fir Domnann. Rogabastair an
sinnser ag Inbir Shlainge a cuiged Gailian; rogab Rudraige⁵ a
Tracht Rudraigi⁵ a cuiged Ulad; rogab Sengann a nInbir
Domnann. Roghrod gaeth 7 roimluaid⁶ anfad .i. Gann 7
Sengann gur gabhsad a nInbir Dubglaisi a comrag Corcamruadh
7 Corcabaisginn.

16. [92a] Lodar a tir ann gunid e sin cetinad a tucad cairigh
a nErind, gunadh Ard na Caerach ainm an inaid sin. Dia Sathairn
do sunnrad a Kalainn Agaist⁷ rogabh Slainge a nInbir Shlaingi; dia
hAine rogabh Gann 7 Genand a nInbir Domnann; de Mairt rogab

¹ toigeacht MS.

⁵ Rughraigi MS.

² faighibh MS.

⁶ roimluaig MS.

³ roerid MS.

⁷ abaist MS.

⁴ tromaibhli MS.

⁸ degladh MS.

14. One thousand one hundred and thirty was the number of ships that put out, according to the poet:

‘One thousand one hundred and thirty ships—that, without falsehood, is the number that accompanied Genann and his people from the East.

Numerous, indeed, were the Fir Bolg when they left Greece, a stout company that set out vigorously on their voyage, but not in a fleet built of wood.

On Wednesday they put out to the West over the wide Tyrrenian sea, and after a period of a full year and three days they arrived in Spain.¹

From there to noble Ireland they made a speedy voyage; all may proclaim it, they took a period of thirteen days.’²

15. So they came to Spain. They asked of their seers and druids for information and direction concerning the winds which should next carry them to Ireland. They sailed onwards before a south-west wind till they saw Ireland in the distance. But at that point the wind rose high and strong, and its violence drove huge waves against the sides of the ships; and the fleet separated into three great divisions, the Gaileoin, the Fir Bolg and the Fir Domnann.³ Slainge put to shore at Inber Slainge in the fifth of the Gaileoin; Rudraige landed at Tracht Rudraige in Ulster; and Genann⁴ in Inber Domnann. The wind freshened, and the storm drove Gann and Sengann till they put in at Inber Douglas, where Corcamruad and Corcabaisginn meet.

16. There they landed, and this is the first place to which sheep were brought in Ireland, and Sheep’s Height is its name.

It was on Saturday, the first day of August,⁵ that Slainge put into Inber Slainge; Gann and Genann put into Inber Domnann

¹ *Lotar inntib* (their ships) *asa haithle do ascnamh na hatharda órluidset a sinnsir. Ní haithrister a nimthechta for muir, acht nama do riachtatur Erinn a naoinsechtmain*, O’Clery, p. 33.

² These verses, with minor variations, occur in copies of the *Leabhar Gabhála*, cf. Keating (ed. Comyn) I. 192.

³ *Batar saine a sloinnti don chur sin ag toidhecht doib .i. Gaileoin, Fir Bolc et Fir Dhomhnann. . . . Gaileoin tra do Slainge cona muintir do goirthi Gaileoin enih .i. gailfhian* (cf. Van Hamel ZCP. x. 163. Another etymology is given in BB 29b, *Gaileoin ona gaib rohainmnigeadh .i. gailin .i. ar lin a ngae*). . . . *Fir Bolc dano do Gann et do Senghann cona muintir. . . . Fir Domnann ó tochailt na húire asrubrad .i. fir in domain fhuinn .i. fir no doimhnigheadh an talomh, do Rudraighe 7 do Ghenand cona m. do goirti* (cf. Van Hamel, ib.) *et ba i nInber Domhnann roghabsat port. Acht chena is díles Fir Bolc do gairm co coitcheann díobh uile, uair as i mbolcaibh tarrúdh na húire tangatar tar ler co hErind*, O’Clery, p. 34. Cf. for the names, Bk. of Hy Mani, f. 180v^{ab}.

⁴ In the text the names of the chiefs have been confused.

⁵ *A naen tsheactmhain roghabsat gia bad-sa i naenlaithe. Dia Sathairnd for Callaind ughaist roghabh Slainge a nInbhear S*, H.2.15, p. 153, BB. 29b.

Rudraige¹ 7 Sengann a Tracht Rudraige,¹ 7 ba galar leo dala Fer mBolg, an tangatar a nErinn no nach tangadar. Rocuired fesa uat^haibh fo Erinn do t^hinol gacha toracht dibh a nErinn gu heninad .i. gu Raith na Righ, gu Temraig. Doriachtatar uile gu heninadh. Bermit a buide² dona deib, ar siat, do rochtain arisi a Ere. Roinnter Ere etrainn, ar siat, amail as choir. Tabhar an fireolach Finntan c^hugain^d, 7 roindter Ere da rer.

17. Is ann sin do roind Findtan a cuig rannaib Ere. O Inbir Colpt^ha go Comar tri nUisce cuiged Slainge meic Dela ; mile ba he a lin. Gann o Comar tri nUisce go Belach Chon Glais. Sengann o Belach co Luimnech. For da cuiged Muman a ndis. Genann for cuiged Medba. Rudraige for cuigedh Chonchobair, amail asbert :—

De Sat^hairn, ba s^én go rath,
doriacht Slainge³ Erinn aird ;
ag Inbir Slainge co fir
do bo tosach da gnim garg.

Ac Inbir Dubglaisi dub
gabsat in da c^hurach ann⁴
isin tir nar beg a blad,
Sengann do gab 7 Gann.

Rudraige is Genann co rath
dia hAine gabsat a tir.
is iad sin uile, na cel,
7 is iad na cuig righ.

O Inbir Colpt^ha re roinn
co Comar tri nUisce, is fir,
cuigedh sein Slainge na slegh,
mile fer ba hedh a lín.

O Chomor tri nUisce noll
co Belach Chonglais go ngloir,
rob e cuigedh Gainn na cnedh,
is mile fer rob e a t^hoir.

Sengann, o Belach Chon Glais
co Luimnech, ba lais dar lem,⁵
ar mile d'feraib ro an
in tan ba debaid ma c^henn.

¹ Rughraige MS.² buige MS³ Slaingi MS.⁴ ain MS.⁵ lim MS

on Friday; and Rudraige and Sengann at Tracht Rudraige on Tuesday. The latter were anxious as to whether the Fir Bolg had reached Ireland or not, and sent messengers all over Ireland to gather all of them that had arrived in Ireland to one place, that is, the Stronghold of the Kings in Tara. All of them assembled there. 'We give thanks to the gods,' said they, 'for our return to thee, Ireland. Let the country be divided equitably between us. Bring hither the wise Fintan, and let Ireland be divided according to his decision.'

17. It was then that Fintan made five portions of Ireland.¹ From Inber Colptha to Comar Tri nUisce was given to Slainge, son of Dela, and his thousand men; Gann's portion was from Comar Tri nUisce to Belach Conglais, Sengann's from Belach Conglais to Limerick. Gann and Sengann, thus, had the two Munsters. Genann was put over Connacht, and Rudraige over Ulster. The poet describes the division thus:

'On Saturday, an omen of prosperity, Slainge reached lofty Ireland; his bold career began at Inber Slainge.

At dark Inber Douglas the two ships of Sengann and Gann touched the glorious land.

Rudraige and prosperous Genann landed on Friday. These were all of them, and they were the five kings.

From Inber Colptha to Comar Tri nUisce Fintan made one division; that was the portion of Slainge of the spears. His host was a thousand men.

From Comar Tri nUisce to famous Belach Conglais was the fifth of wound-dealing Gann. He had a following of a thousand men.

To Sengann, methinks, was given from Belach to Limerick. He was at the head of a thousand men when strife threatened.

¹ *Ise a (Slainge's) cuiged o Inber Colpa gu Comar tri nUisce. Mile do dainibh a lin. Et dogabsat in trian ele a nInber Dubhglaisi .i. Gand 7 Seangand. Da mili a lin sidein. Gand o Comar tri nUisci gu Bealach Conglais, Seangand o Belach Conglais gu Luimneach .i. for dha cuigid Muman. Genand 7 Rudraige gu trian in tshluaig dogabhsad a nInber Domnand, 7 is iad Fir Domnand, 7 is uaidhibh ainmnightheair in tinbear. Ise robo righ for cuigid Meadhba 7 Oilella, 7 Rudraige for coigeadh Chonchobair. Da mile fos a lin sidhe, 7 is iad sin Fir Bolg 7 Fir Domnand 7 Gaileoin, BB 29b, Lc. 276r^oab.*

Genann roba ri co red
 ar cuigedh Medba co Máig.
 Rudraige ar Ultaib, tren fer,
 da mile re hedh in áig.

Rudraige i[s] Sengand na slegh
 Fir Bolg roslen, is breth rel.
 Gaileoin ma Slainge go li,
 ba maith in ri robo lia.

Tangadar Erinn anes
 amail dobo des ag Dia. D.

18. Cuig mna na cuig taisech sin .i. Auaist, Liben, Cnucha,
 Edar, Fuat, amail isbert:

Fuat ben tSlainge ni cam lib,
 Edar¹ ba ben Gaind co ngail,
 Auaist² ben Sengaind na slegh,³
 Cnucha ba ben Genaind glain.

Liben⁴ ben Rudraige in roidh,⁵
 muintir c~~h~~umraide ar cuairt,⁶
 Rudraige ruire na reb,
 do c~~h~~uala⁷ dob i a ben Fuat. F.

19. Rogabsat Fir Bolg Erinn. Tricha bliadhan fat a flaithesa.

20. Imthusa Tuaithe De Danann, roforbredur co clos a scela fa
 (t~~h~~)irib in talman. Robi dia drai[d]echta acu fen, Eochaid Ollathir
 .i. in Dagda mor, uair ba daigdia e. Robadur ta(isig) trena talcara
 acu 7 fir caineladnacha gacha (cei)rde. Doimraidsedur acu fen
 Ere dindsaigid. (Is ann) rogluaisedur grede gadamla gaisgid
 in domain 7 (f)ireolais 7 foglama na hEorpa a hindsib tu-[92b]-
 aiscerta in talman co Dobur 7 co Ordobhur⁸ co Si . . . 7 co
 Tibraid nGenaind meic Triuin. Robadur⁹ iii (bliadna) isna
 hinadaibh sin. Nuada¹¹ mac Eghtaigh meic Etarlaime a nairdrihe
 fortha re toidhecht¹² a nErinn. Rot~~h~~inoiletar na curaidh sin a

¹ Altar ben in Genaind gu ngail BB, Etan ben do Gand congail LL, Altar ben do Gand co ngail Lc, Eudar ba ben Gainn co ngoil O'C, Edar ba ben in Gaind glain H.2.17. ² Anaist BB.Lc, Anust LL, Anast O'C. ³ Slig. .i. na sleg nó ro hernaiddm lais í O'C. ⁴ Libean BB., Liber LL.Lc.O'C, is í ben H.2.17.

⁵ róit LL, Ruadraidí ruaid Lc, ier O'C. ⁶ ar á cuairt Lc, ní cúach LL, ní cuacc O'C, om, H.2.17. ⁷ docha lem robi BB, docho lem isi LL.O'C, d.l. nirbi Lc.

Cf. Bk of Hy Mani 95r^ob, 97v^ob. ⁸ codubobur co Si . . . , MS. Cf. Lc. 276r^oa, co tobar 7 co hirtobar a tuaiscert Alban, ib. 278v b, oc tobar 7 oc cirtobar, O'C. p. 42, dobur 7 iordobur So H.2.5p. 158, BB. 32a. ⁹ Repeated in MS.

¹⁰ Cf. Lc. 278v^ob, badar iv bl. intib 7 Nuada mac Eghtaid na rig forro=BB. 32a. ¹¹ Nuagha MS. ¹² toighecht MS.

Genann was undisputed king of Connacht to the Maigue. Heroic Rudraige was king of Ulster; his were two thousand men in the hour of battle.

Rudraige and Sengann of the spears were, it is certain, the chiefs of the Fir Bolg.¹ The Gaileon followed glorious Slainge. A good king were he that had a more numerous host. They entered Ireland from the south, as God saw fitting.

18. The wives of these five chiefs were² Auaist, Liben, Cnucha, Edar, and Fuat, as the poet says:

'Fuat was the wife of Slainge as you hold, Edar of the warrior Gann, Auaist of Sengann of the spears, Cnucha of fair Genann.

'Liben was the wife of Rudraige the Red—they made a pleasant company on a visit. However, as for Rudraige, the feat-performing king, I have heard that his wife was Fuat.'

19. The Fir Bolg then occupied Ireland, and were masters of it for thirty years.³

20. As for the Tuatha De Danann, they prospered till their fame went abroad over the lands of the earth. They had a god of wizardry of their own, Eochaid Ollathir,⁴ called the Great Dagda, for he was an excellent god. They had bold, hardy chiefs, and men proficient in every art; and they determined to go to Ireland. Then set out those daring chiefs, representing the military prowess of the world, and the skill and learning of Europe. They came from the northern islands to Dobur and Irrdobur, to S . . . and Genann's well. There they stayed for four years, and at their coming to Ireland Nuada, son of Echtach, was king over them.⁵

¹ But see p. 13, n. 3.

² *Cuic mna Fer mBolg .i. Anaist no Aerest, Liber, Cnucha, Fuad, Edar no Ealtar*, Hy Mani 95r^b. Cf. *ib.* 97v^b, 98r^a, *Libear . . . bean Rudraige romoir ruaid*.

³ The Tuatha De arrived in Ireland thirty years after the Fir Bolg, Lc. 278v^b.

⁴ *Eochaid Ollathair diarbo hainm an Daghdha mac Ealathain meic Dealbaath meic Néit*, O'Cl. p. 48.

⁵ According to the version of the story followed by O'Cl. p. 42, the Tuatha De retired to Dobur and Irrdobur after their defeat by the Philistines, and remained there for seven years. So H.2.5. p. 158. In Keating's version (ed. Comyn, i. 176), it is Briotan Maol that goes to Dobur. In a third variation, Lc. 276r^a, BB. 27a, after the taking of Conaing's Tower, Matan (in BB. Matdach), Ergland and Iarthacht go *co Tobur 7 co hIrrdobur a tuascert Alban*. Here they are distinct from the Tuatha De. But in the account followed by Lc. 278v^b, the Tuatha De, after coming *asa Grec sceitheacda, rogabsad crich 7 fearand a tuaiscert Alban .i. oc Tobur 7 oc Irrdobur, 7 badar iiii bliadna intib, 7 Nuada mac Echaig na rig forro*. So too in BB. 32a.

cablacha gu heninadh gu rabhadar tri cet long ag luamairecht don laechraid.¹ As annsin doraidset² an t-aes dana re sairferaib in t-sluaig ca long a raichdis .i. Cairbri 7 Aed 7 Edan. Molam luing Fiac~~h~~ra meic Delbaid. Molait 7 tiagait innti. Cuirit cach a longa amach tri la 7 tri haidchi³ 7 tri bliadna gur ghabsat a tracht mara moirlethaip Mugha⁴ a niathaibh Ulad dia Luain do laithi⁵ sec~~h~~tmaine a tosach mis Mai. Ar torachtain immorro do T~~h~~uathaibh de Danann a nErinn as ann tadhbas fis 7 aisling do Eochaid⁶ mac Erc meic Rinnaill d'airdrig⁷ Erend. Ba sochtadh 7 ba snim, ba machtadh 7 ba meragud menman les he, 7 do innis da drai aisling d'aisgin do. Cidh amh atch~~h~~onnarcas? ar an drai, ar Cesard. Atch~~h~~onnarcas amh, ar ri Erenn, elta mor d'enaib duba do t~~h~~iachtain a himdoimnib in aigen chugainn gur desedar forainn ule, gur chumaisgedar ar feraib Erenn. Romesgatar 7 romillset sinn. Dar lim tall nech uainn bem don eon ba huaisle dib gur ben a sgiathan de 7 a Cesard erg a muinigin t'fhesa 7 t'eolais, 7 tabair a fis duinn cred sin. Doch~~h~~uaidh immorro Cesard a muinighin a fesa, 7 do foillsighedh dosam tre imluad adharta⁸ 7 tre etargnad eolais, 7 adubairt.

Scel lem duib, oic dar muir
mile laech linfas ler
barca breca bruigfidid⁹
basa uille aisnedit
aes cach¹⁰ dana dich~~h~~edal
siabra dotru (?) saibsicne
senfait traigti¹¹ sithcura
cacha tresa maidfitit. Scel.

21. Is faisdine namad a crichib ciana comaigt~~h~~echa do t~~h~~echt (anair) a nErind, ar Eochaid mac Erc.

22. Imthusa Tuath nDe Danann doriachtadur Ere uile, roluat~~h~~brisedur a longa 7 a lugbarca 7 roloiscedur iad co ler,

¹ laechraig MS.

² doraigset MS.

³ hoighthi MS.

⁴ mā MS.

⁵ laighti MS.

⁶ Eochaig MS.

⁷ -ri MS.

⁸ imluag agharta MS.

⁹ bruigfid MS.

¹⁰ cacha MS.

¹¹ sithcura traigti MS.

Then those warriors gathered their fleets to one place till they had three hundred ships under way. Thereupon their seers, Cairbre, Aed, and Edan asked the chiefs of the host in which ship they should sail, recommending that of Fiachra. The chiefs approved and went on board. Then they all set sail, and after three years and three days and three nights landed at wide Tracht Mughu¹ in Ulster on Monday of the first week in May.²

Now, on the arrival of the Tuatha De Danann in Ireland, a vision was revealed in a dream to Eochaid, son of Erc, high king of Ireland. He pondered over it with much anxiety, being filled with wonder and perplexity. He told his wizard, Cesard, that he had seen a vision. 'What was the vision?' asked Cesard. 'I saw a great flock of black birds,' said the king, 'coming from the depths of the Ocean. They settled over all of us, and fought with the people of Ireland. They brought confusion on us, and destroyed us. One of us, methought, struck the noblest of the birds and cut off one of its wings. And now, Cesard, employ your skill and knowledge, and tell us the meaning of the vision.' Cesard did so, and by means of ritual and the use of his science the meaning of the king's vision was revealed to him; and he said:

'I have tidings for you: warriors are coming across the sea, a thousand heroes covering the ocean; speckled ships will press in upon us; all kinds of death they announce, a people skilled in every art, a magic spell; an evil spirit will come upon you, signs to lead you astray(?); . . . they will be victorious in every stress.'

21. 'That,' said Eochaid, 'is a prophecy of the coming to Ireland of enemies from far distant countries.'

22. As for the Tuatha De Danann, they all arrived in Ireland, and immediately broke and burnt all their ships and boats.³ Then

¹ FM. 941. In BB. 32a, *gabsat for sliab Conmaicne Rein la Connachtaibh*; LL. 9a, *gabsad sleibh Conmaicne Rein*. Cf. Hy Mani, 210^ra. So, infra, § 22, *Sliab Ren* is the camping place of the Tuatha De.

² So O'Cl. p. 42.

³ Why they did so is explained in Lc. 279^ra.

7 do seoledar rompo asa hait/le co Slebtib Ruada Ren i crichil Brefne a noirrt/er c/luigid Connacht. Rogabad sosad 7 longport leo and. Is andsin roatlaisget a naigenta 7 a nimraiti ar torachtain a forba 7 a feraind fen.

23. Do hindised immorro d'F/eraib Bolg in dam sin do t/lorachtain a nErind. Isi sin dam is soc/raide 7 is aille, is ferr delb 7 errad 7 ededh, ciuil 7 airfided, indtlais menman 7 aigenta tainig a nErinn riamh. Isi sin dam is mo grain 7 gaisged, eglá 7 adfuath ar cach, uair do derscnaigedur Tuatha De Danann do feraib in betha i ndigaind¹ cachá eladna.

24. Adubradar Fir Bolg: Is dith mor duinn, ar siat, an slogud can fis gan c/loistecht can as a tangadar no ca hinad a nimraidit oirise. Ergedh Sreng mac Sengaind ann sud, ar siad, uair is fer mor agarb aindiut e, ar siat, fri silled ar slogaib 7 fri agallaim echtrand . . .² aduathmar e re faigsin. Roerig Sreng ar sin 7 rogab a sciath drolach d(ain)g(en) [93a] doinnderg 7 a da c/ruisigh c/rannreamra 7 a c/laideb contarrach 7 cathbarr cuanna cethereochair 7 a loirg nimt/ruim niarnaide. Rogabh roime gu Sliab Ren ar sin. Do c/lonncadar Tuatha De Danann c/luca an fer nuat/mar³ nardmor. Enduine annsud c/ugainn, ar siad, 7 d'iafraigid scel tig dinn. Teged nech uanne da agallaim. Is annsin doch/uaidh Bres mac Ealadain⁴ na agaid da agallaim 7 da fegad as an longport amach, 7 a sgiath fair 7 a cloideb⁵ ina laim 7 a da sleg dimora lais. Dodruid cach dochum a c/ele dib gu nach raibe acht edh imagallma etarra. Sochtais 7 sirfegais cach dibh a c/ele. Ba hingnadh amh re cach arm 7 egosg aroile aca; ingnad amh le Sreang na slegha romora atc/honnaire, 7 saithis a sgiath a tuinighthi in talman ar comair a c/uirp 7 ar sgath a gnuisi. Sochtais Bres fon cuma cedn[a], 7 saithis⁶ a sgiath. Bennaigis Bres do Shreang, 7 bennaigis Sreng dosan fan cuma cedna, uair ba hinann berla doibh, ar ad brairthi a mbunuda,⁷ 7 dorine cach dib a ait/ni 7 a fir-sloinnedh d'aroile, 7 adubradar eatarra:

Tibis m'[fh]eoil is m'irrlabra
red berla suaire solasta
febh rosloinnedh romhainne
o Nemedh anall.

¹ ndigaing MS.

⁵ cloigem MS.

² l. .amed MS.

⁶ saigis MS.

³ uamtar MS.

⁷ mbunuga MS.

⁴ ealagain MS.

they proceeded to the Red Hills of Rian in Brefne in the east of Connacht, where they halted and encamped. And at last their hearts and minds were filled with contentment that they had attained to the land of their ancestors.

23. Now it was reported to the Fir Bolg that that company had arrived in Ireland. That was the most handsome and delightful company, the fairest of form, the most distinguished in their equipment and apparel, and their skill in music and playing, the most gifted in mind and temperament that ever came to Ireland. That too was the company that was bravest and inspired most horror and fear and dread, for the Tuatha De excelled all the peoples of the world in their proficiency in every art.

24. 'It is a great disadvantage to us,' said the Fir Bolg, 'that we should have no knowledge or report of where yon host came from, or where they mean to settle. Let Sreng set out to visit them, for he is big and fierce, and bold to spy on hosts and interview strangers, and uncouth and terrifying to behold.' Thereupon Sreng rose, and took his strong hooked reddish-brown shield, his two thick-shafted javelins, his death-dealing (?) sword, his fine four-cornered helmet and his heavy iron club; and went on his way to the Hill of Rain.

The Tuatha De saw a huge fearsome man approaching them. 'Here comes a man all alone,' they said. 'It is for information he comes. Let us send some one to speak with him.'

Then Bres, son of Elatha, went out from the camp to inspect him and parley with him. He carried with him his shield and his sword, and his two great spears. The two men drew near to each other till they were within speaking distance. Each looked keenly at the other without speaking a word. Each was astonished at the other's weapons and appearance; Sreng wondered at the great spears he saw, and rested his shield on the ground before him, so that it protected his face. Bres, too, kept silent and held his shield before him. Then they greeted each other, for they spoke the same language—their origin being the same—and explained to each other as follows who they and their ancestors were:¹

'My flesh and my tongue were gladdened at your pleasant cheerful language, as you recounted the genealogies from Nemed downwards.

¹ Bres, the representative of the Tuatha De, evidently opened negotiations by explaining that his people were the descendants of Beothach, grandson of Nemed. Semeon, according to the usual genealogy, was Nemed's great grandson. The report of the conversation begins with Sreng's reply.

At brat/zri ar mbunudas
na tuatha gu ruibemar
sil Semeo[i]n ar senathair
ar cinel sar clann.

Is uair/coir don c/heimnegudh
mas inann/sil soinemail

fola is feola libh,

Isligid bar naigenta
dluthaigidh bar croidedha
cuimnigidh ¹ bar mbratharsi
na millter bar fir.

Is/arda na haigenta
is mora na menmana
at borba re'r mbi[d]badaib
ni hisligter lib.

Da comraigned aenaige ²
bid dail bruite soc/kaidhe
gi be dan bad oirfidedh
ni ba ris rostib. T.

25. Fáise, ar Bres, in sciath o c/omdhiden do c/uirp 7 t'aigthi, co tucmais tuarasgabail do delba lind do T/luathaib de Danann. Dogentar am, ar Sreng, uair is [ar] egla na sleghe slindgere sin doc/oirges etrom 7 tusa e. Togbais in sciath suas. Is nua nemnech na slegha sin mas iad indell bar narm uile, bar Bres. Taisbensa na hairm, ar Bres. Taisbenfad, ar Sreng. Dobenasdur Sreng a cengal 7 a cuibrige da c/raisechaib crannremra. Cindus am letsa na hairm sin? ar Sreng. Atc/iu amh, ar Bres, airm mora maela troma tiubremra uille eochairgera.

Mairg forsa mbenfaidis
mairg forsa laifidher
mairg forsa srainfiter
bid adbur anforlainn.³

Is bas a morbuillea
is nem a naentuitim
is cneda a cruadc/omairt
is mor a ngrain.

26. Caide a nanmanna sin agaibse? ar Bres. Cruisecha catha sin, ar Sreng. Is maith na hairm sin, ar Bres. Is com-ludh ar corpaib iad, 7 is fulrad ar feolaib, 7 is comairt ar cnamaib

¹ cuimnige MS. ² aenach MS. ³ anburlainn MS.

‘By origin our two peoples are as brothers; our race and kin are descended from Semeon.’

‘This is the proper time to bear it in mind, if we are, in flesh and blood, of the same distinguished race as you.

‘Humble your pride, let your hearts draw nigher, be mindful of your brotherhood, prevent the destruction of your own men.’

‘High is our temper, lordly our pride and fierce against our foes; you shall not abate it.

‘Should our peoples meet, it will be a gathering where many will be crushed; let him who will bring entertainment, ’tis not he that will amuse them.’

25. ‘Remove your shield from before your body and face,’ said Bres, ‘that I may be able to give the Tuatha De an account of your appearance.’ ‘I will do so,’ said Sreng, ‘for it was for fear of that sharp spear you carry that I placed my shield between us.’ Then he raised his shield. ‘Strange and venomous,’ said Bres, ‘are those spears, if the weapons of all of you resemble them. Show me your weapons.’ ‘I will,’ said Sreng; and he thereupon unfastened and uncovered his thick-shafted javelins. ‘What do you think of these weapons?’ he said. ‘I see,’ said Bres, ‘huge weapons, broad-pointed, stout and heavy, mighty and keen-edged.

‘Woe to him whom they should smite, woe to him at whom they shall be flung, against whom they shall be cast; they will be instruments of oppression. Death is in their mighty blows, destruction in but one descent of them; wounds are their hard plying; overwhelming is the horror of them.

26. ‘What do you call them?’ said Bres. ‘Battle javelins are these,’ said Sreng. ‘They are good weapons,’ said Bres, ‘bruised bodies they mean, gushing gore, broken bones and

7 is scailedh ar sciathaib. Is cneda cindti 7 is uthar urlam. Is bas 7 is bithainim a mbemenna. Is aithger 7 is naimdemail nemnech bar nairm, a Bres. [93*b*] 7 ata forran fingaile i naigen-taib in [f]iallaig isa hairm sin, 7 isbert: dogenamne cumann 7 caradradh. Doronsat andsin, 7 dochomfaigsig cach go c/ele dib. Rofiarfaig Bres: Ca hairm a rabais arer, a Sreng? Ic imlican urgna na hErenn, ic raith na rigraide¹ i Temraig, ait a fuilit riga 7 flaithe Fer mBolg, 7 airdri² Erenn .i. Eochaid mac Ere meic Rindail. Tusa dono can asa tanagais? As in t-shliab amne, on longport linmar lethanmor ata ar an lerg ut thall, airm atait Tuatha De Danann 7 a nairdri² .i. Nuada mac Eghtaig meic Eturlaim, tangadur a tuaiscert in talman ina ndluim ciach 7 ina fert/zain draidechta³ d'indsaigid Erend 7 feraind na fuinedach. Nir c/ered immorro conad amlaid sin tangadar. Is annsin adubairt Sreng: Is imcian uaimse, 7 is mithig⁴ dam imt/echt do denam. Dena, ar Bres, 7 ag sut indara slegh tucusa lim duit, 7 ber let a comart/ha na narm fuilet ag Tuathaib De Danann, 7 tuc son indarna craisig tuc les do Bres a comart/ha arm Fer mBolg, 7 indis d'Feraib Bolg, ar Bres, ni gabait in lucht sa gan leth Erend no gan chath. Is briathar damsa, bar Sreng, gu mad ferr lim leth Erenn daib ina beith ag frit/teolam bar catha. Roscarsat fo sith 7 rosnaidm cach a caradrad dib for a c/ele.

27. Roimthig Sreng reme co Temraig, 7 rofiarfaigedh scela in sluaig da ndechaid d'agallaim de. Roindis Sreng scela doib: Is mor a miledha, it ferrda fosaight/zi a fir, at croda cathc/lesacha a curaidh, at firmora firdaingne a fodailsceth, at sithgera slindcruaide a slegha, at cruaide claislethna a cloidme. Is doilig cath doib 7 is cora comroind cubaid criche doib 7 leth Erenn mar iarrait. Ni tiubram am, ar Fir Bolg, uair da tucam bid leo uile in c/rich.

28. Rosiacht Bres da longport, 7 do fiarfaigedh de cindus an fir da ndechaid d'agallaim, 7 cindus a arm. Fer mor fraechda fornertmur, 7 airm aidble ingantacha aige. Fer agarb imdoc/zair e fos, gan eglá gan urumon aenduine fair. Adubradar Tuatha De Danann aca fen: Na bim sunn acht tiagam gu hia[r]thar Erenn, gu hinadh imdaingen egin 7 fregam cach⁵ as. Roimgedar

¹ rigraige MS.² -rig MS.³ draigechta MS.⁴ mithid MS.⁵ an leg cath?

shattered shields, sure scars and present plague. Death and eternal blemish they deal, sharp, foe-like, and deadly are your weapons, and there is fury for fratricide in the hearts of the hosts whose weapons they are. Let us make a compact and covenant.' They did so. Each came nigh to the other, and Bres asked: 'Where did you spend last night, Sreng?' 'At the hallowed heart of Ireland, in the Rath of the kings in Tara, where are the kings and princes of the Fir Bolg, and Eochaid, High-king of Ireland. And you, whence come you?' 'From the hill, from the crowded capacious camp yonder on the mountain-slope where are the Tuatha De and Nuada, their king, who came from the north of the world in a cloud of mist and a magic shower to Ireland and the land of the west.' (However, he did not believe that it was thus they came).¹ It was then Sreng said: 'I have a long journey, and it is time for me to go.' 'Go then,' said Bres, 'and here is one of the two spears I brought with me. Take it as a specimen of the weapons of the Tuatha De.' Sreng gave one of his javelins to Bres as a specimen of the weapons of the Fir Bolg. 'Tell the Fir Bolg,' said Bres, 'that they must give my people either battle or half of Ireland.' 'On my word,' said Sreng, 'I should prefer to give you half of Ireland than to face your weapons.' They parted in peace after making a compact of friendship with each other.

27. Sreng went on his way to Tara. He was asked for tidings of the people he had gone to parley with; and he told his story. 'Stout are their soldiers,' he said, 'manly and masterful their men, bloody and battle-sure their heroes, very great and strong their shields, very sharp and hard of shaft their spears, and hard and broad their blades. Hard it is to fight with them; 'tis better to make a fair division of the land, and to give them half of Ireland as they desire.' 'We will not grant that, indeed,' said the Fir Bolg, 'for if we do, the land will all be theirs.'

28. Bres reached his camp, and was asked for a description of the man he had gone to parley with, and of his weapons. 'A big, powerful, fierce man,' he said, 'with vast, wonderful weapons, truculent and hardy withal, without awe or fear of any man.' The Tuatha De said to each other: 'Let us not stay here, but go to the west of Ireland, to some strong place, and

¹ Cf. Hy Mani 210r^a, *Iarsin tangadur anall tuatha delbadha Danand i ndluim ciach*; BB. 32a, *is amlaid tangadur gan eathra gan nethe i nellaib dorcaibh osin ær tre neart druighdeachia*. So Lc. 279r^a. But others say *conadh a morloingis tangadur TDD a nErinn*, BB. ib. Cf. LL. 9a.

in forenn sin siar dar iat/iaib 7 dar inberaib gur rec/tadar gu Magh Nia meic Nemid, 7 gu cenn Duibslébe risa nabar Sliab Belgadain. Ar torachtaín doib gurigi sin doraidset¹: Is maith in t-inadh sa amh, ar siad, as daingen dit/hoglaide² e. Denam ar crecha 7 ar cogad as, 7 cinnem ar cat/ra 7 ar coimerge. Is annsin do badar, ut dixit:

O Shliab Belgadain don Benn
ard in benn imarbaigem,³
da mullach rogabsat grem
Tuath De Danann ar Erinn.

29. Is ann sin doc/uaidh Badhbh 7 Macha 7 Morrigha gu Cnoc Gabala na nGiall 7 gu Tulaigh techtairechta na tromsluagh, gu Temraig, 7 do feradar cetha doilbthe⁴ draidechta⁵ 7 cithnela cothaiget/ra ciach [94a] 7 frasa tromaidble tened, 7 dortad donnfala do shiltin as in aeer i cennaib na curad, 7 nir legset scarad na scailedh do Feraib Bolg co cenn tri la 7 tri naidche. Adubradar Fir Bolg: Is olc draidecht⁶ ar ndruadne o nach dingbaid dinne draidecht Tuath nDe Danann. Dingebmait, ar draithe Fer mBolg .i. ar Fathach 7 ar Gnathach 7 ar Ingnathach 7 ar Cesard. Rocurset sin draidecht Tuath nDe ar cula.

30. Ar sin trath dorinded tinol ag Feraib Bolg go riachtadur a sluaig 7 a soc/raide co heninad 7 co henndail. Doriachtadur ann am cuigedhaigh Erend. Tangadur ann re cach .i. Sreng 7 Semne 7 Sithbrugh, tri meic Sengaind meic Dela meic Loith go tinol cuigidh Con Roí.⁸ Tangadur tri meic Buain meic Rudraige .i. Esca 7 Egconn 7 Cirb go sluagaib cuigidh Conchobair. Tangadur cet/ri meic Gaínd .i. Alla 7 Emón 7 Ingaeth 7 Aithriu co sluagaib cuigidh Echdach meic Luchta. Tangadur ann cet/ri meic Slainge meic Dela meic Loich .i. Mella 7 Ese 7 Ferb 7 Faebur go soc/raide cuigidh Galeoin. Tainig ann in t-airdri⁹ .i. Eochaid mac Erc meic Rindail co sluagaib cuigidh Connacht. Tangadur rompo Fir Bolg o Themraig co rangadur co cenn Muige Nia meic Nemid. En cath dheag ba hedh a lin. Dogabadur Tuatha De Danann i cind in maige tiar do sonnrad. Seacht catha doib sin. Is annsin asbert Nuada re Tuathaib De Danann: Tegaid techta uain d'innsoidh Fer mBolg, 7 tairgthur leth Erend uathaib, 7 dentar comroind criche etraind. Cia rachas risin? ar cach. In t-aes

¹ doraidset MS.
⁵ draigechta MS.
ex Conaire MS.

² ditoglaige MS.
⁶ draigecht MS.
⁹ -righ MS.

³ imarmaigem MS.
⁷ ndruagne MS.

⁴ dolfe MS.
⁸ Connacht corr.

there let us face whosoever comes. So the host travelled westward over plains and inlets till they came to Mag Nia, and to the end of Black Hill, which is called Sliabh Belgadain. On their arrival there they said: 'This is an excellent place, strong and impregnable. From here let us wage our wars, and make our raids, here let us devise our battles and hostings.' Their camping there is mentioned by the poet in the lines:

'From the Hill of Belgadain to the Mountain—lofty is the mountain round which we wage our contests. From its summit the Tuatha De laid hold of Ireland.'

29. It was then that Badb and Macha and Morrigan went to the Knoll of the Taking of the Hostages, and to the Hill of Summoning of Hosts at Tara, and sent forth magic showers of sorcery and compact clouds of mist and a furious rain of fire, with a downpour of red blood from the air on the warriors' heads; and they allowed the Fir Bolg neither rest nor stay for three days and nights. 'A poor thing,' said the Fir Bolg, 'is the sorcery of our sorcerers that they cannot protect us from the sorcery of the Tuatha De.' 'But we will protect you,' said Fathach, Gnathach, Ingnathach, and Cesard, the sorcerers of the Fir Bolg; and they stayed the sorcery of the Tuatha De.

30. Thereupon the Fir Bolg gathered, and their armies and hosts came to one place of meeting. There met the provincial kings of Ireland. First came Sreng and Semne and Sithbrugh the three sons of Sengann, with the people of the provinces of Curói.¹ There came too Esca, Econn, and Cirb² with the hosts of Conchobar's province; the four sons of Gann with the hosts of the province of Eochaid son of Luchta; the four sons of Slainge with the army of the province of the Gaileoin;³ and Eochaid, the High-king, with the hosts of Connacht. The Fir Bolg, numbering eleven battalions, then marched to the entrance of Mag Nia. The Tuatha De, with seven battalions, took up their position at the western end of the plain. It was then that Nuada proposed to the Tuatha De to send envoys to the Fir Bolg: 'They must surrender the half of Ireland, and we shall divide the land

¹ The MS. seems to have *Conaire*, with *Connacht* written over it. Gann and Sengann were kings of Munster, v. § 17, and for Cú Rói cf. Tochm. Étaíne (Wind.) § 1, *Curúi mac Dáire ri choiccid Muman*, and Lc. 278v^a, *O Belach Chonglais graindi coiced Chonrai mic Dairi*; for Eochaid m. Luchta, v. Silva Gadelica, l. 478; this portion of Munster is more often called the 'fifth' of Eochaid Abhradhruadh, cf. BB. 278v^a, *O Chomur tri nUisce nuar coicead Echdach Abhradhruaid*.

² Grandsons of Rudraige, king of Ulster, § 47.

³ Leinster, cf. TBC. ed Windisch, p. 50, n. 3.

dana, ar in rí, .i. Cairbre 7 Ai 7 Edan .i. Edan ingen Dian Cecht 7 Cairbre mac Edaine 7 Ai mac Ollaman meic Delbaith.

31. Do ergedur rompo go rangadur pupall in airdrig Echdach meic Erc, 7 nir fíarfaigedh scela dib no go tucad seoit 7 maine doib. Rosaigit scela asa haithle orrtho. Is aire tangamairne, ar siad, do *ch*uindgid comronna criche 7 f[er]aínd 7 leth Erend go cubaid. Docluinit maithe Fer mBolg? ar Eochaid. Ma cluinmit, ar siad, ní tibrem gu bruindi bratha. Cuin cindti bar catha, mas edh? ar in t-aes dana. Imfurech dligt~~her~~, ar maithe Fer mBolg, uair regar a les againde slegha do *ch*órachan 7 luirecha do lesugud 7 cathbairr do *ch*umdach 7 cloidme do aithiugud 7 edaige dilse do denam. Tucad lucht a nordaig[th]e sin *ch*ucu. Tairgid sceth re dechmaid 7 cloidme fri cuigid 7 slega re tres. Tairgid a regmait a les diblinaib. Regmaitne a les bar slegha do denam againd. Regt~~h~~aise a les ar cruisechne do *ch*uma agaib. Tucad (co)bla ar tir frisin, acht ge derar nach rabadur na slega ag Feraib Bolg dorigned ag Rindal (mac Gennain .i.) ag senathair Echdach meic Erc. Dorinded airisem acu frisin, go tangadur a trelma, gumdar ullam a (nudama),¹ 7 gu mbad cindti a cath.

32. Roriachtadur a ndraide ar amus Tuath *n*De Danann, 7 do indisedur a scela o t~~h~~us co dered, gu nar fæ(msa)d Fir Bolg comroind criche² na feraind, na (co)ma na cairdine doib. Rocrith-naig in scel sin co mor Tuatha De Danann.

33. Is annsin edla Ruad mac Mogairn anair tri naenbur³ macaem do macaib Miled mormenmna[i]ch i cenn Maige Nia do fogra imana ar Tuathaib De Danann. Tangadur tri nonbur ele na [94~~b~~] nagaid.⁴ Ro togbad imain acu. Robenasdur (im)ad bemen ar luirgnib 7 ar rigt~~h~~ib co nderna comairt combruiti da cnamaib (co n)dorcradar ar foidib 7 ar faenlaigib gur dichenn in (cluiche) conad Carn in *C*luiche⁵ in carn ag ar comraigset 7 Glenn Carne (?) Aillem in t-inad rohadnaiced.

¹ *n* may be *r*, and last letter is possibly *d*.

³ naenmar MS.

⁴ adaig MS.

² criche7 (7 *in ras*) MS.

⁵ cluithe MS.

between us.' 'Who are to be our envoys?' the people asked. 'Our poets,' said the king, meaning Cairbre, Ai, and Edan.

31. So they set out and came to the tent of Eochaid, the High-king. After they had been presented with gifts, they were asked the reason of their coming. 'This is why we are come,' they said, 'to request the dividing of the land between us, an equitable halving of Ireland.' 'Do the nobles of the Fir Bolg hear that?' said Eochaid. 'We do,' they replied, 'but we shall not grant their request till doomsday.' 'Then,' said the poets, 'when do you mean to give battle?' 'Some delay is called for,' said the Fir Bolg nobles, 'for we shall have to prepare our spears, to mend our mail, to shape our helmets, to sharpen our swords, and to make suitable attire.' There were brought to them men to arrange those things. 'Provide,' said they, 'shields for a tenth, swords for a fifth, and spears for a third part. You must each furnish what we require on either side.' 'We,' said the envoys of the Tuatha De to the Fir Bolg, 'shall have to make your spears, and you must make our javelins.' The Tuatha De were then given hospitality till that was done. (However, though it is said here that the Fir Bolg had no spears, such had been made for Rindal, grandfather of their present king.)¹ So they arranged an armistice till the weapons arrived, till their equipment² was ready, and they were prepared for battle.

32. Their druids went back to the Tuatha De and told their story from beginning to end, how the Fir Bolg would not share the land with them, and refused them favour or friendship. The news filled the Tuatha De with consternation.

33. Thereupon Ruad with twenty-seven of the sons of courageous Mil sped westwards to the end of Mag Nia to offer a hurling contest³ to the Tuatha De. An equal number came out to meet them. The match began. They dealt many a blow on legs and arms, till their bones were broken and bruised, and fell outstretched on the turf, and the match ended. The Cairn of the Match is the name of the cairn where they met, and Glen Carne Aillem the place where they are buried.

¹ For this remark of the commentator, cf. Lc. 278r^b, *corfas Rindal ní baí rind aco for arm a nÉrind; for gaib garba cen cleith coin, acht a mbeith na fidhchran-naib*=LL. 8a, BB. 31a.

² For *udama* (if that is the reading, for the word is almost entirely illegible), cf. Mod. Ir. *ughatín* 'harness.'

³ A pleasant method of varying the tedium of waiting for the completion of their equipment. So in the Second Battle the Tuatha De and the Fomorians match their dogs, *ar iss ed ba bes isin aimsir-sin slog tegeg a n-oirecht alale cumcluiche no cocluiche do tocchaul*, ed. Stokes, § 43.

34. Tainig in Ruad sair (7 indisid) scela d'Eochaid, 7 dobo maith le hEochaid macraid Tuath nDe Danann do marbad. Eirig siar, a Fat¹haig, ar in t-airdri,¹ ar Eochaid, 7 iarfaig do maithib Tuath nDe Danann cindus cuirfider in cath isin maidin se amarach .i. in ar aenlo no ar laithib fo sech. Rainig in file² 7 do iarfaig do maithib Tuath nDe Danann cindus dobert³ha in cath .i. do Nuada 7 don Dagda 7 do Bres. Is ed adermait, ar siad, cath fo comlin do t⁴habairt doib. Roim⁵t⁴ig in file 7 do indis d'Feraib Bolg in raga rucadur Tuatha De Danann. Robo dubach Fir Bolg ar olcas leo in raga rucadur Tuatha De Danann. Is i comairle dorindedur Fir Bolg techta do c⁶zur ar cenn Findtain [in]dus gu tucad comairle doib. Tainig Findtan da soigid. Roclai[d]edh rigraith ac Feraib Bolg .i. Raith Cuanartach ona cuanartaib robadur ar na habaigib³ a haithle in c⁷hatha, no Raith Crofartach ona portaib cro robidis⁴ ag in aes athgaetaige ag midenmhus a crecht do cach. Dorined lochtobur legis leo, do leges na lath ngaile da cnedhaib. Rolinadh do luibib e. Roclaidedh rigraith ele ag Tuathaib De Danann .i. Raith Forain⁸d ona forannaib⁵ rofaidis asin cath. Rocl(aid)ed lochtobur ice acu do slana-
chan a cned. Roforbsat na hurobra risin fedh sin. Cá can daibse? ar Cirb mac Buain. Cest in catha amarach foraib. Rachadsa a tus in catha amarach, 7 Mogarn mac Buain 7 Ruad mac Mogairn, Laige mac Senaig 7 Senach mac Buadaig. Rach-maitne cethri catha na cenn.

35. Caecis ar mis do samrad 7 m(edon) do raithe in la cindti docured in cath. Roergedur na sluaig a tus in laithe sin re togbail do ruithin rogrene. Rogabsat sceth dathacha degden-masacha (ar) dromannaib deglaech 7 slegha secda sit⁹/rig(ne) 7 cruisecha catha a comdesaib curad 7 cloidme (com)glana a com-lannaib taidlecha re taithnem na greine glansoillse re clasaib comart¹⁰hacha na cloidem. Rogluaised fon indus sin na catha cruaide cengailte re ferg foburtaig na curad cathcalma a cenn

¹ -rig MS.² fili MS.³ habaidib MS.⁴ Repeated in MS.⁵ fer— MS.

34. Ruad turned eastward, and told his tale to Eochaid. The king was glad of the killing of the Tuatha De's young soldiers, and said to Fathach, 'Go to the west, and ask of the nobles of the Tuatha De how the battle is to be fought to-morrow—whether it is to be for one day or for several.' The poet went and put the question to the nobles of the Tuatha De, that is, Nuada, the Dagda and Bres. 'What we propose,' they said, 'is to fight them with equal numbers on both sides.' Fathach went back, and reported to the Fir Bolg the choice of the Tuatha De. The Fir Bolg were depressed, for they disliked the choice of the Tuatha De. They decided to send for Fintan to see if he could give them some counsel. Fintan came to them.

The Fir Bolg had entrenched a great fort. (It was called the Fort of the Packs, from the packs of dogs that preyed on the bodies of the dead after the battle, or the Fort of the Blood Pools, from the pools of gore that surrounded the wounded when the people came to see them.¹) They made a Well of Healing to heal their warriors from their wounds. This was filled with herbs. Another entrenched fort was made by the Tuatha De. (It was called the Fort of the Onsets, from the onsets directed out of the battle.) They dug a Well of Healing to heal their wounds.

When these works had been finished, Cirb asked: 'Whence come ye, and whither go ye?'² The care of to-morrow's battle be yours. I will lead the attack with Mogarn and his son Ruad, Laige and his father Senach.' 'We will meet them with four battalions,' was the reply.

35 Six weeks of the summer, half the quarter, had gone on the appointed day of battle. The hosts rose on that day with the first glimmer of sunlight. The painted, perfectly wrought shields were hoisted on the backs of brave warriors, the tough, seasoned spears and battle-javelins were grasped in the right hands of heroes, together with the bright swords that made the duels dazzle with light as the shining sunbeams shimmered on the swords' graven groves. Thus the firm, close-packed companies, moved by the compelling passion of their courageous

¹ For *midenmus* cf. *midemuin*, TBC (ed. Windisch) 5410, Cath Catharda (Stokes), Gloss. Perhaps, 'as the others examined their wounds.' *Portaib cro*; 'presumably we are to think of the pools of blood as enclosed within banks of bodies.'

² Up to this point the Fir Bolg, as had been arranged above, § 31, had left the Tuatha De undisturbed. Cirb's question is to be taken to mean: 'Now that the armistice is over, what are to be your movements?' *Rachmaitne*, &c., I take to be the Tuatha De's answer.

Maige Nia do *c*hur re Tuathaib De Danann. Is ann tainig Fathach file Fer mBolg i remthus rompo go mbeth ag faisnes a ferg 7 ig sca(iled) a scel. Rotogad cairthi cruaid congbalach les ro-saithedh aige for lar in maige, 7 desid¹ Fathach a druim fris, 7 ise sin cet cairt*hi* rotogad isin maig .i. Cairthi Fathaig a ainm o sin ale. Roc*h*aiesdur Fathach annsin frasa dichra der truagh-nemelach co tromt*h*oirre,² 7 isbert ann :

Tairptech mar tegait uaidh
egrait Mag Nia co nert cruaidh.
Tuath De Danann tegait ann
7 Fir Bolg na mbreclann.

Bid buidech in Badb derg dib
do comragaib cath atc*h*im.
bid imda a cuirp tolla t*h*oir
da turus a Turedmoig.

Bid im . . . ibreo in drem
[95*a*] do scarad na laech luaidem.
mor cenn cuirfidter ar leth
go tenn 7 go tairptech. Ta.

36. Go figsedur Tuatha De cath dluith degarmach ar na come gur do caemlaithib catha 7 ar n-a ndiancorugud d'armaib nemnecha 7 do sciathaib cengalta. Do sgib cach d'indsoigid araile dib re bordbiledhaib a sciath 7 ar bolganaib a slegh 7 ar imdornaib a cloidem, gur crecht*na*ig cach a *c*hele dib. Rogab in Dagda ac dithugud na cath co rucasdur bern .c. 7 .l. tresin cath siar sechtair. Is annsin roghab Cirb mac Buain meic Rudraige ar dithlaithriugad Tuath *n*De Danann, gur *c*huir ara mora ar na sluagaib, go ruc bern .c. 7 .l. tresin cath. Rosiacht in cath ar comragaib 7 ar comlannaib, gur dithaigit degsluagh re hedh in aenlaithe. Imariacht comrag eter Aidhleó mac Allai do T*h*uathaib De Danann 7 Nertchu hua Semeoin d'Feraib Bolg. Rosrengait a sceth asa nglaethaib comdlut*h*a, roclaiit a cloidme i nindsmadaib a nurdorn, rosinit a slegha ga semannaib. Adrochair Aidleo do laim Ner[t]chon.

37. Romuid⁴ rem catha ar Tuathaib De Danann re dederdh don laithe co riachtadur a longport. Nir lenad dar in sreb⁵ catha iad. Impaid Fir Bolg go subach da sosadh. Tucadar cloch 7 cenn cach fhir leo a fiadhnaisi Eochdach meic Eirc, 7 doronsat carnn mor dibh. Ratocbadh cairthi ag Tuathaib De Danann .i. Cairthi

¹ desid MS. ² co tromt, truagh*n*. MS. ³ ga MS. ⁴ romuig MS. ⁵ reib MS.

commanders, advanced towards Mag Nia to give battle to the Tuatha De. It was then that the Fir Bolg poet, Fathach, went forward in front of them to describe their fury and spread the report of it. He had raised up and planted firmly in the midst of the plain a pillar of stone, against which he rested. This was the first pillar set up in the plain, and Fathach's Pillar was its name thenceforth. Then Fathach in utter anguish wept floods of fervent, melancholy tears, and said :

'With what pomp they advance ! On Mag Nia they marshal with dauntless might. 'Tis the Tuatha De that advance, and the Fir Bolg of the decorated blades.

'The Red Badb will thank them for the battle-combats I look on. Many will be their gashed bodies in the east after their visit to Mag Tured.

' . . . will be the host after parting with the warriors I speak of. Many a head shall be severed with vigour and with pomp.'

36. The Tuatha formed a compact, well-armed host, marshalled by fighting warriors and provided with deadly weapons and stout shields. Every one of them pressed on his neighbour with the edge of his shield, the shaft of his spear, or the hilt of his sword, so closely that they wounded each other. The Dagda began the attack on the enemy by cutting his way through them to the west, clearing a path for a hundred and fifty. At the same time Cirb made an onslaught on the Tuatha De, and devastated their ranks, clearing a path for a hundred and fifty through them. The battle continued in a series of combats and duels, till in the space of one day great numbers were destroyed. A duel took place between Aidleo of the Tuatha De and Nertchu of the Fir Bolg. The glued seams of their shields were torn, their swords wrenched from their hilts, and the rivets of their spears loosened. Aidleo fell at the hands of Nertchu.

37. By the close of the day the Tuatha De were defeated and returned to their camp. The Fir Bolg did not pursue them across the battlefield, but returned in good spirits to their own camp. They each brought with them into the presence of their king a stone and a head, and made a great cairn of them. The Tuatha De set up a stone pillar called the Pillar of Aidleo, after the

Aidhleó ainm an *chéit* fir romarbadh dibh. Do *táinoilidur* lega Tuath *nDe* Danann .i. Miach 7 Airmed 7 Dian Cecht 7 Edabar. Tucad a lega *chun* Fer mbolg .i. Dubga Dubcosach 7 Coban Concisnech 7 Fingin Fisegda 7 Maine Mingresach 7 Aengus Ilc~~h~~le-sach. Tugait losa legis leo. Rocomlid 7 rocrathait na losa ar barruachtar tonn 7 tibrat gomdar *barrtroma* barruaine na huisce logmara legis da nesi. Tucad a lucht cned isin tibra sin gomdar slana na diaid.¹

38. Tainig maiden in lae arnamairach fai sin, 7 *dochuaid* in t-airdri² .i. Eochaid a enur d'indlat a lam don tibra. Intan bai 'gan³ urobair sin, is ann at~~h~~onnaic osa *chind* tuas triur alaind uallach fa sciath armgaigid. Rofogradar comrag ar in airdrig. Comosad dam *sā*, ar in ri, co ndechos d'iarraid m' arm. Ni tibrem edh na athaid ri sin, acht comrag anosa. An tan robi in ri isin egen sin, is ann roerig etorro, Eochaid 7 na hoglaig, aenfer og escaid⁴ 7 tuc a agaid⁵ forro. Dogebtai comrag uaimse ar cind in rig, ar se. Tuargbadur a lama a nen[f]echt. Roslaid cach a *chele* dib co ndorcradur comtuitim. Do riachtadur Fir Bolg fo dered in imbuailli da nindsaigid. At~~h~~onnacur na firu, 7 do indis in ri doib amail tangadur *chugi* iad, 7 amail dorine in t-ainfer comrag ar a *chind*. Tucad acasan cloch cach fir na *chend* isin tobur, 7 dogníd carn mor fair, conad Carn in Enfir a ainm o sin alle, 7 Tulach in Trir ainm na *tulcha*. Is iad tanig annsin tri legha tri meic Esairg meic Neit, tri braithri do Dian Cecht .i. Oll 7 Forus 7 Fir. Tangadur do *táiscelad* ar lucht legis Fer *mBolg*, go fuaradar [95b] Eochaid in rig⁶ a aenur ag indlat a aigthi.

39. Rocoraiged catha Tuath *nDe* Danann isin mag anoir cach ndirech. Tangadur Fir Bolg isin mag aniar ana nagaid.⁷ Is iad taisig roergedur re Tuathaib De Danann isin lo sin .i. Ogma 7 Midir 7 Bodb Derg, 7 Dian Cecht 7 Aengaba na hIruaithe. Rachmaitne lib, ar na hingena .i. Badb 7 Macha 7 Morigan 7 Danann. Do ergedur d'Feraib Bolg na nagaid⁸ Mella 7 Ese 7 Ferb 7 Faebur, cethri meic Slaingi. Do ben[ad] bem borbadbaldona cathaib cechtarrdha a cenn a *chele* gur ba combrised do *táulaib* na sciath re dic~~h~~racht na deghfregra, 7 re fichdacht na fenned 7 re calmacht na curad. Rosníd⁹ a slegha re sirthuargain. Roc~~h~~ruaidbrisit a cloidme a cnamc~~h~~omach a comlannaib in

¹ diaig MS. ² -rig MS.
⁶ rí MS. ⁷ nadaig MS.

³ gun MS.
⁸ adaig MS.

⁴ escaig MS. ⁵ nadaig MS.
⁹ rosnigid MS.

first of them to be killed.¹ Their physicians then assembled. The Fir Bolg too had their physicians brought to them. They brought healing herbs with them, and crushed and scattered them on the surface of the water in the well, so that the precious healing waters became thick and green. Their wounded were put into the well, and immediately came out whole.

38. Next morning Eochaid, the High-king, went to the well all alone to wash his hands. As he was doing so, he saw above him three handsome, haughty armed men. They challenged him to combat. 'Give me time,' said the king, 'to go to fetch my weapons.' 'We will allow not a moment's delay for that; the combat must be now.' While the king was in this difficulty, a young active man appeared between him and his enemies, and turning to the latter, said: 'You shall have combat from me in place of the king.' They raised their hands simultaneously, and fought till all four fell together. The Fir Bolg came up after the struggle was over. They saw the dead men, and the king told them how they had come upon him, and how the solitary champion had fought with them in his stead. The Fir Bolg brought each man a stone to the well for him, and built a great cairn over him. The Champion's Cairn is the name of the cairn, and the hill is called the Hill of the Three. The strangers were Oll, Forus, and Fir, three physicians, brothers of Diancecht, and they had come to spy upon the physicians of the Fir Bolg, when they came upon Eochaid alone washing his face.

39. The battalions of the Tuatha De were straightway drawn up in the plain to the east; and the Fir Bolg came into the plain against them from the west. The chiefs who went out in front of the Tuatha De on that day were Ogma, Midir, Bodb Derg, Diancecht, and Aengaba of Norway. The women, Badb, Macha, Morrigan and Danann offered to accompany them. Against them came of the Fir Bolg, Mella, Ese, Ferb, and Faebur, all sons of Slainge. Strong, mighty blows were dealt by the battalions on either side, and the bosses of shields were broken as they vigorously parried the blows, while the men-at-arms showed their fury, and the warriors² their courage. Their spears

¹ *Eidhleó mac Adlai na n-all cet fear do Tuaith De Danann dorochair i nErinn oigh do laimh Nearchon ua (sic) Semeoin*, BB. 35a, cf. LL. 9a, Lc. 10r^oa, 279v^oa.

² The great variety of names for 'soldiers,' *curaid*, *lúich*, *degdaine*, *big*, used throughout is due to the desire to secure as many alliterating pairs of nouns, or nouns and verbs, as possible. They are difficult to deal with unless the translation is to be as rhetorically debased as the original.

catha sin. Rosrengait ollbaige uathmara na naesmar re himad na h(eg)ma. Ba himluath aight^{hi} na nog re himad na necht impo da gach aird. Rocrithnaigedh na curaid re comairt na cloidem, re hairde na himt^hogbala 7 re hescaidecht¹ na himlaide,² uair ba hemech in uraicill sin, 7 ba ferrda in frit^heolam, 7 ba luath na ledurtha. Tainig Nemid mac Badraí ar cimais catha Fer mBolg. Do ergedur oga uime and. Dorala *chu*ige isin irgail Slainge Find mac Echdach meic Erc. Rocursed na curaid a cenn a *che*le. Robo snim da sleghaib sin 7 robo crith da cloidmib,³ roba scoltad da sciathaib 7 robo comairt da corpaib. Acht ata *che*na, adrochair Neemd mac Badrai re Slainge. Roclai[d]ed a lia 7 rosaithed a cairthi conad lia Nemid a ainm^o sin ale. Rosinedur cet^hri meic Slainge meic Dela in cath a cenn Tuath *n*De Danann. Do *che*om-raigedur meic Cencail do Tuathaib De riu .i. Callad 7 Tallad 7 Morann 7 Merugud. Roesairgedur an ogbaid araile co ndorcradur cet^hri meic Cencail re claind Slainge. Tarladur cuig⁴ [meic] Lodain Luaith a cenn in *che*thrair *che*dna sin .i. Morann 7 Cairbre, Collamain, Riarach 7 Raga. Torcradar cuig meic Lodain frisin cet^hrar cedna. Rogab Aengaba na hIruaithe a[c] cirrud caich 7 a[c] combuaidred na cath. Do *che*ualaid sin Ruad mac Mogairn. Tanig fo na cathaib. Tarladur tri meic Dolaid do .i. Cian 7 Toirbi 7 Toirbertach. Do imir a ferg forro, co ndorcradar les. Tarla *chu*ige a cern ele in *che*atha tri meic *Th*elle meic *Ch*ait .i. Caithir 7 Nechtain 7 Enna Ard. Do *th*uitidar re Ruad imon cor cedna. Do *th*uitidar da mac *Ch*aelchon .i. Lamh re Dolam 7 Cos ar Conaire re Slainge Find do lethtaeb in lacha. Rosaithid a secht leca deg re taeb in lacha uair robo maidm goruige in loch orro.

40. Imariacht do Ruad mac Mogairn 7 d'Aengabainn na hIruaithe. Tuc cach sciath re *che*le dib. Rogon cach cathmilid dib a *che*le co riachtadur cethri crehta fiched on Ruad ar Aengabainn na hIruaithe. Acht roben in (Ruad) a cenn de, 7 rochuir a *che*uit catha go haid^{che} da eise.

41. Rogab Ogma mac Ethlenn ag slaide na slog g(o mbi)dis na

¹ escaigecht M; *supra* MS.

² imlaige MS.

³ cloidmid MS.

⁴ cethri (no u.

were twisted by the continual smiting; in the hand-to-hand combats the swords broke on splintered bones; the fearsome battle-cries of the veterans were drowned in the multitude of shouts.

Briskly the young men turned about for the number of the exploits around them on every side. The warriors blenched at the clashing of swords, at the height of the heaving, and the fury of the fall. Well-timed was the warding there, and gallant the guarding, and rapid the rending blows. Nemed, Badrai's son, approached the flank of the Fir Bolg. Then men closed round him, and in the conflict Eochaid's son, Slainge the Fair, made towards him. The two warriors attacked each other. There was straining of spears and shivering of swords and shattering of shields and battering of bodies. However, Nemed fell at the hands of Slainge; they dug his grave and erected a pillar for him, and the Stone of Nemed is its name to this day. Four sons of Slainge, son of Dela, urged the fight against the Tuatha De. On the side of the Tuatha De the four sons of Cencal battled with them. They harassed each other till the sons of Cencal fell before the sons of Slainge. The latter were then set on by the five sons of Lodan the Swift, and the five sons of Lodan fell at their hands. Aengaba of Norway began to mow down the enemy and confuse their ranks. Ruad heard this, and rushed into the fray. The three sons of Dolad met him, and he wreaked his anger on them and they fell before him. From another quarter of the battle the three sons of Telle met him, and were slain by him in the same way. Lamh Redolam and Cosar Conaire were killed by Slainge the Fair by the side of the lake. Of those seventeen the gravestones were planted by the side of the lake, for they had been driven back as far as the lake.

40. Ruad and Aengaba of Norway met; they raised their shields against each other, and kept wounding each other till Aengaba had twenty-four wounds inflicted on him by Ruad. In the end Ruad cut off his head,¹ and after that went on fighting till nightfall.

41. Ogma, son of Ethliu, made an attack on the host, and his

¹ In spite of this, Aengaba is resuscitated in § 48, and appears as one of the most prominent figures in all the subsequent fighting to the end of the piece. Perhaps here, as in the Second Battle of Moytura (ed. Stokes, § 123), and in their battle with the Philistines (Keating, ed. Comyn, i. 202), the Tuatha De had an effective method of neutralising their casualties. But there is no explicit reference in the text to the Wells of Healing being used to restore the dead to life, and the revivification of Aengaba may be an accident.

lindti fola forderge da ese. Doriacht Cirp mac Buain [96a] meic Rudraige fon cath anoir, 7 rogab ag slaide na slog co ndorcradar tri cet do T~~h~~uathaib De Danann les.

42. O tainig in adaig rosrainid Fir Bolg dar in sreb catha, 7 gidedh rucsat cloch 7 cenn cach fir i fiadnaise Echdach. In oraib romuid¹ in cath aniu,² a oga? ar Eochaid. Is oraind am, ar Cirb, 7 ni maite doib sin.

43. Sreng 7 Semne 7 Sit~~h~~brug robo leo dul re Feraib Bolg in la sin, 7 Cirb mac Buain araen ríu. Roergedur a mucha arnamarach 7 dorined scell sgiamda da sgiathaib os a cennaib, 7 fidbaid³ coimremur da craisechaib catha. Roergedur rompo na turt~~h~~a cat~~h~~a sin. Adchonn~~h~~cadur Tuatha De Danann Fir Bolg c~~h~~uca fon indus sin a cenn an maige,⁴ anoir. As tairpteach tecar isin magh cugaind ag na turthi cat~~h~~a tig ann, conadh ann sin tugad Magh Turead fair.

44. Adubradur Tuatha De Danann cia no ragad a cenn catha rompo in la sin. Mise, ar in Dagda, uair is me is daigdia daib. Is annsin roerig in Dagda guna maicne 7 cona braithrib. Rosaitid Fir Bolg a colamna 7 a coirtheda a talmain. Rocoraigetur na catha sin ar lar Muige Nia, 7 robo Mag Turedh o sin amach. Roscib cach go c~~h~~ele dib. Rodithlaitrig Sreng mac Sengaind na sluagha. Rogab in Dagda ag crathad na cath 7 ig srained na slogh 7 a[c] cur na cath asa cathlait~~h~~rechaib 7 ag a clod asa cothaig[th]ib. Tainig Cirb mac Buain fon cath anoir gur esaigr degoga 7 degdaine ann. Atc~~h~~ualaid⁵ in Dagda crathad Cirb ar in cath. Atc~~h~~ualaid Cirb dianbuille~~h~~da in Dagda. Roscib cach co c~~h~~ele dib. Robo dic~~h~~ra in debaid sin ac dichar na ndeglann, ba ferrda na fir ic fosugud na fert~~h~~raigt~~h~~ech, ac fregra na fedmann. Dorochair Cirb fo deoid⁶ fri dianbuille~~h~~da in Dagda. Srainid Sreng mac Sengaind in cath asin cathlat~~h~~air catha. Tarladur tri meic Cairbre Cais do T~~h~~uathaib De Danann do, .i. Ogma 7 Fas 7 Fiamain, 7 tri meic Ordain meic Ruaid .i. Bedg 7 Redg 7 Rinde. Dorochradur tri meic Cairbre Cais re tri macaib ind Rua[i]d cona tri cairt~~h~~ib risin srained tucasdair Sreng ar na slogaib. Ba raen reme cach conair. Rofás in irgail ara ése.

45. Ar tuitim in chat~~h~~miled Cirb romuid⁷ ar Feraib Bolg gonuige a longport, 7 nir lenadur Tuatha De Danann dar in

¹ romuig MS.

² aniu MS.

³ fidbaib MS.

⁴ muide MS.

⁵ atcualaid MS.

⁶ deoig MS.

⁷ romuig MS.

track was marked by pools of crimson blood. From the east side Cirb entered the fray and made an onslaught on the hosts, and three hundred of the Tuatha De fell before him.

42. When night fell the Fir Bolg were driven across the battlefield. However, they brought each a head and a stone to Eochaid their king. 'Is it you that have been beaten to-day?' said the king. 'Yes,' said Cirb; 'but that will not profit them.'

43. Next day it was the turn of Sreng, Semne, and Sithbrug, along with Cirb, to lead the Fir Bolg. They rose early in the morning. A flashing penthouse of shields and a thick forest of javelins they made over them, and the battle-props then moved forward. The Tuatha De saw the Fir Bolg approaching them in that fashion across the plain from the east. 'With how much pomp,' they said, 'do those battle-props enter the plain and draw towards us.' And it was then that the plain got its name of Mag Tured, the Plain of Props.

44. The Tuatha De asked who should lead them on that day. 'I will,' said the Dagda, 'for in me you have an excellent god;' and, thereupon, he went forth with his sons and brothers. The Fir Bolg had firmly stationed their props and columns, and marshalled their battalions on the level of Mag Nia (which, henceforth, was called Mag Tured, the Plain of Props). Each side then sprang at the other. Sreng, son of Sengann, began to dislodge the hosts of the enemy. The Dagda set to breaking the battalions and harrying the hosts and dislodging divisions and forcing them from their positions. Cirb, son of Buan, entered the fray from the east and slaughtered brave men and spirited soldiers. The Dagda heard Cirb's onset, and Cirb heard the Dagda's battering blows. They sprang each at the other. Furious was the fight as the good swords fenced, heroic the heroes as they steadied the infantry, and answered the onslaughts. At last Cirb fell before the Dagda's battering blows.

Sreng, Sengann's son, was pressing back the hosts from their places when he came on three sons of Cairbre Cas of the Tuatha De, and the three sons of Ordan. Cairbre's sons with their three columns fell before the sons of Ordan, as Sreng drove in the hosts. The enemy fell before him on every side, and the fury of the combat grew behind him.

45. After the fall of Cirb the Fir Bolg were driven into their camp. The Tuatha De did not pursue them across the battlefield, but they took with them a head and a stone pillar apiece

[s]reb catha iad, acht rucsat cenn 7 cairthi' each fir leó, 7 cenn Cirb maille friu, gur adnacad a Carn Cind Cirb é.

46. Nir forasta forbailid Fir Bolg an aidhche sin. Gid iad Tuatha De Danann, immorro, dobo dubach dobronach. Doriacht Findtan cona maicne in aidche sin dindsoigid Fer mBolg. Rob [f]orfailid uile iad roime uair robo maith engnam cehtarde dib.

47. Tainig in maiden fon medair sin. Roergedur Fir Bolg maiden in lae sin ar lergaib lethanmora in longpuirt re casmer-taib a curad. Ba gresacht gaidh 7 guasachta aca ann. Tainig in t-airdri¹ amach .i. Eochaid mac Ere [96b] 7 Slainge Find a mac 7 amhais 7 esuraid cuigid Connacht (cucu). Tangadur tri meic Sengaind co sluagaib 7 go sochraide cuigidh Con Rai meic Daire do lethbrollach in chatha. Tangadur cethri meic Gaind go curadaib cuigid Echdach meic Luchta a mbrollach in chatha chedna. Tangadur da mac Buain .i. Esca 7 Egconn go curadaibh cuigid² Conchobair da lethtaebh ele. Tangadur cethri meic Slainge co sochraidhe cuigid Galeoin ar landeredh in chatha chedna. Dorinedh cro gaile inon airdrig, im Eochaid, ar larmedon in chatha sin do feraib fuilecha forderga 7 do cathchlesuib curad 7 do drongaib digraisi in domain. Tucad tri meic deg Findtain a fiadnaise in airdrig. Robdar fromtha na fir sin re debthaib do degfulang. Robo bro aiblech illdathach ilchlesach craibderg³ cloidmech comramach sleghach garglann gothmanaisech agarb ainmin uat/basach comt/henn cengalta comtnuthach cim-sach echtach ilertha in cath in la sin. Rucastur cat/hrem croda coscurach fon cuma sin go cenn Muige Tured siar each ndirech gusna cairt/zib cothaigt/echa 7 gusna turt/zib gaile robi etorro 7 Tuatha De Danann. Roergedur Tuatha dianaigentacha De Danann erge dian dasachtach ina cethernaib cengailte ar a narmaib nemnecha. Dorined aencath ard imderg aca fo scia-thaib bordderga brecdathacha dromlanacha degdaingne. Ro-

¹ -rig MS.

² Add. marg.

³ An leg. *croiderg*? (Bergin.).

including the head of Círb, which was buried in the Cairn of Círb's Head.

46. The Fir Bolg were neither happy nor cheerful that night, and as for the Tuatha De, they were sad and dispirited. But during the same night Fintan came with his sons to join the Fir Bolg, and this made them all glad, for valiant were both he and they.

47. In this cheerful mood the morning found them. The signals of their chiefs roused them on the spacious slopes of their camping-ground, and they began to hearten each other to meet danger and peril. Eochaid, the High-king, with his son, Slainge the Fair, and the soldiers and chiefs of Connaught, came forth to join them. Sengann's three sons with the hosts of Curoi's province, took their place at one side of the line. The four sons of Gann with the warriors of Eochaid's province marched to the centre of the same army. Buan's sons Esca and Egconn ranged themselves with the men of Conchobar's province on the other wing. The four sons of Slainge with the host of the Gaileoin brought up the rear of the army. Round Eochaid, the High-king, they made a fold of valour of battle-scarred, blood-becrimsoned braves, and juggling jousts, and the world's trustiest troops. The thirteen sons of Fintan, men proven in courageous endurance of conflict, were brought to where the king was.

A flaming mass was the battle on that day, full of changing colours, many feats and gory hands, of sword-play and single combats, of spears and cruel swords and javelins; fierce it was and pitiless and terrible, hard-packed and close-knit, furious and far-flung, ebbing and flowing with many adventures. The Fir Bolg, in the order told, marched boldly and victoriously straight westwards to the end of Mag Tured till they came to the firm pillars¹ and props of valour between themselves and the Tuatha

¹ *Coirthi* means 'stone pillar,' used to mark a grave, &c., in §§ 35, 37, 39, 47. In at least two passages the word seems to refer to a stone, forming part of the soldier's equipment, which he planted on the ground to rest against in fighting, cf. *rosaitid F.B. a colanna 7 a coirthea a talmáin*, 44, *rugusdair . . . cathbeim catha ar ceangal a corp do clochaib ceanngarba*, 47, *rosaitset a cairtedha ar daig nach teched nach uaitib noco techtis na clocha*, 48. This is presumably the kind of *coirthe* referred to in 44, *dorochnradur trí meic Cairbre Cais . . . cona trí cairtib*, and in 45, *rucsat cenn 7 cairthi cach fir léb*. Here *coirthi* has apparently the same meaning as *coloman*, Meyer *Fianaighecht*, § 24; for *c. cothaigtechta*, cf. *cuvaid cothaighthi*, 47. If we are right in taking *cairthi* in this sense, cf. Δ333, *οἱ δὲ μένοντες ἔστασαν ὀπίσθω πύργῳ Ἀχαιῶν ἄλλος ἐπελθὼν Τρώων ὀρμήσειε*. *Tuir* in *turta catha*, *turthi c.*, 40, and *turtib gaille* above means 'chief,' a meaning based on that of 'prop' for which Dr. Bergin refers to Cormac No. 1224, and Misc. C. Soc. 156.

cured in cath ag na curadaib. Rolinaid lethbuid 7 lethtosaig in catha sin do liathaib luathgonacha. Tucad fir aesmara ag frestal 7 ag fritheolam a lenmain na liath sin. Tucad oig armacha a farrad na forosda firnemnecha sin. Tucad na galgada¹ 7 in gillannraid i niarmoracht na nog. A fisig 7 a fireolaig ar cairt^hib 7 ar foradaib fis ag denam a ndraidechta,² a filidh ag aiream a necht 7 ag scribad a sgel. Nuada imorro³ a nairdmedhon an *chat^hha*. Tangadur a codnaigh 7 a curaid cothaighthi⁴ uime, 7 da mac deg Gabrain as an Sgeit^hia, macraid Nuadad .i. Tolc 7 Trenfer 7 Trenmiled, Garb 7 Glacedh 7 Gruasailt, Duidri 7 Fonnarn 7 Foirisem, Teidm 7 Tinnargain 7 Teascad. Ni blaised betha nech aru fuil[g]dis. Is iad sin romarbsad meic Finntain, 7 is iat meic Finntain romharb iadsan. Rugusdair fon inus sin cathbeim catha ar ceangal a corp do *chlochaib* ceanngarbha 7 do glasaib iarnaide. Doriachtadur co crich cinnti an *chat^hha*. As ann tainig Fathach file Fer mBolg conuigi a *chart^hha* fein, 7 rogab ag fegad na slog anoir 7 aniar 7 adbert:

Teinnusnach tucaid na sluaig,
eagraid Magh Nía co neart cruaid,
[97a] Tuath De Danann tegait ann
7 Fir Bolg na mbreccclann.

Derb lem bid dithaige de
Fir Bolg ara mbrathairse
bid imda a colla sa cind
sa taib tolla ar na tuitim.

Ge tuitit sin as gach alt
bid garb, bid cruaid a comrag,
ge tuitit tuitfider leo,
traisgertar laich da luathgleo.

Traethis Fir Bolg taethsat ann
re taeb a sciath is a lann,
ní tiber taeb re nert ne[i]ch
gen ber a nErinn anbt^hae[i]ch.

Is me[se] Fathach file
tren romtimaig mait^hznige;
tar es Fer mBolg, delm gan dath,
damber fo tedm tennesnach. Te.

¹ *corr. ex* galgarda.² draigechta MS.³ ū MS.⁴ cothaidhthi MS.

De. The passionate Tuatha De made an impetuous, furious charge in close-knit companies with their venomous weapons; and they formed one mighty gory phalanx under the shelter of red-rimmed, emblazoned, plated, strong shields. The warriors began the conflict. The flanks and the wings of the van were filled with grey-haired veterans swift to wound; aged men were stationed to assist and attend on the movements of those veterans; and next to those steady, venomous fighters were placed young men under arms. The champions and serving men were posted in the rear of the youths. Their seers and wise men stationed themselves on pillars and points of vantage,¹ plying their sorcery, while the poets took count of the feats and wrote down tales of them. As for Nuada, he was in the centre of the fight. Round him gathered his princes and supporting warriors, with the twelve sons of Gabran from Scythia, his body-guard. They were Tolc, Trenfer, Trenmiled, Garb, Glacedh, Gruasailt Duidri, Fonnám, Foirisem, Teidm, Tinnargain and Tescad. He would have no joy of life on whom they made a gory wound. ('Twas they that killed the sons of Fintan, and the sons of Fintan killed them.) Thus they delivered their assault after fastening their bodies to rough-edged stones with clasps of iron; and made their way to the place appointed for the battle. At that moment Fathach, the poet of the Fir Bolg, came to his own pillar, and as he surveyed the armies to the east and west, said:

'Swiftly advance the hosts marshalling on Mag Nia their resistless might; 'tis the Tuatha De that advance and the Fir Bolg of the speckled swords.

'Methinks the Fir Bolg will lose some of their brothers there—many will be the bodies and heads and gashed flanks on the plain.

'But though they fall on every side (?), fierce and keen will be their onset; though they fall, they will make others to fall, and heroes will be laid low by their impetuous valour.

'Thou hast subdued (?) the Fir Bolg; they will fall there by the side of their shields and their blades; I will not trust to the strength of any one so long as I shall be in stormy Ireland.

I am Fathach, the poet; strongly has sorrow vanquished me, and now, that the Fir Bolg are gone, I shall surrender to the swift advance of disaster.'

¹ Cf. Windisch, TBC, p. 110, n. 6.

48. Rogairsed badba 7 bledlochtana 7 amaite aidgill co clos a nallaib 7 a nesaib 7 i fothollaib in talman. Robo comcosmail re hidnaib uathmara in laithe dichra dedenaig¹ ag dedail² na droinge duineta o dirim in domain se. Tangadur a tus in c~~h~~atha le Tuathaib De Danann .i. in Dagda Mór 7 Ogma 7 Alla 7 Bres 7 Delbaeth, cuig meic Eladain meic Delbaith, 7 Bres mac Eladain meic Néd do fine Fomra, Aengus 7 Áed 7 Cernad Caem 7 Midir 7 Bodb Derg 7 Sigmall 7 Abartach, Nuada in t-airdri,³ tri meic Turenn Bigrenn .i. Brian 7 Iuchair 7 Iucharba, tri meic Cainti, Cú 7 Cían 7 Cethen, Goibnenn Gaba 7 Lucraidh Saer 7 Credhne in cerd 7 Dian Cecht in liaig 7 Aengaba na hIruaithe, na tri rigna .i. Ere 7 Fotla 7 Banba, 7 a tri bantuathacha .i. Badb 7 Macha 7 Morigan, Be Chuille 7 Danann a da mbuime Rosaithset a cairt~~h~~edha ar daig nach teched nech uait~~h~~ib noco techtis na clocha. Roindsaig cach a ~~c~~hele dib tar na sleghaib aithe imgera gur sniit a sléga sit~~h~~remra re hanfostacht a fened im a faebraib. Rocloait a cloidme re cailcib na cromsciath. Rofoibred na fiarlanna isna lennaib fichecha a slessaib na saerclann. Robo cruaid coigedal na cruisech ag scoltad na sciath, fot~~h~~romh 7 fidhren na fer ag cirrad corp 7 a[g] comairt enam a culaib in catha. Tallsat sreba fichecha na fola a radarc a rosgaib rindglasa na curad comthend. Is annsin tainig Bres mac Eladain meic Delbaith fo cath Fer mBolg co ndorcradur tri coicait laech les dib, co tard a naoi mbemenna a sciath Ehdach in airdrig, 7 dobert Eochaid a naoi ngona fair sen. Is ann tuc Sreng mac Sengainn a agaid⁴ ar cath Tuath ~~n~~De Danann gur marb tri coicait laech dib, gu tuc a naoi mbemenna a sciath Nuadhat in airdrig, 7 dobert Nuada a naoi ngona fair sen. Doben cach dib bailcbemenna bratha 7 ruadgona⁵ romora ar cnes a ~~c~~hele goma brisgidir re barraib feda ag a tesgad do ~~t~~huagaib a lamaib mor~~h~~alma mogad slegha 7 seeth, cind 7 cat~~h~~bairr fo c~~h~~lasaib a cloidem. Rolubait na laich [97~~b~~] da lethtaebaib, rot~~h~~imcill cach a ~~c~~hele dib ag iarraid baegail beme ar araile. Roergedur na herrada aigh a nairde doridise o biledhaib na mbrecsciath. Ro[f]oirbredur na haigenta gur bad stuaga⁶ sesmacha na fir niata nemnecha. Rolaiset na lama go lanard ris na lannaib, 7 dogníd echrais nimluaith im ~~c~~hennaib na curad do ~~c~~hruaidbrised cathbarr. Robdar tursig na curaid do comluth corp, rolaised na laechu da lat~~h~~rechaib. Rosrainsed na sloga selad as a seckinadaib, ro(crit~~h~~)naigit na catha ga comfegad amail cuire

¹ degenaig MS.² degail MS.³ -rig MS.⁴ adaig MS.⁵ About five letters erased after ruad.⁶ stuada MS.

48. The furies and monsters and hags of doom cried aloud so that their voices were heard in the rocks and waterfalls and in the hollows of the earth. It was like the fearful agonising cry on the last dreadful day when the human race will part from all in this world. In the van of the Tuatha De advanced the Dagda, Ogma, Alla, Bres, and Delbaeth, the five sons of Elatha, together with Bres, grandson of Net, the Fomorian, Aengus, Aed, Cermad the Fair, Midir, Bodb Derg, Sigmall Abartach, Nuada the High-king, Brian, Iuchar and Iucharba, the three sons of Turenn Bigrenn, Cu, Cian and Cethenn, the three sons of Cainte, Goibnenn the Smith, Lucraidh the Joiner, Credne the Craftsman, Diancecht the Physician, Aengaba of Norway, the three queens, Ere, Fotla and Banba, and the three sorceresses, Badb, Macha and Morigan, with Bechuille and Danann their two foster-mothers. They fixed their pillars in the ground to prevent any one fleeing till the stones should flee. They lunged at each other with their keen sharp spears, till the stout shafts were twisted through the quivering of the victims on their points. The edges of the swords turned on the lime-covered shields. The curved blades were tempered in boiling pools of blood in the thighs of warriors. Loud was the singing of the lances as they cleft the shields, loud the noise and din of the fighters as they battered bodies and broke bones in the rear. Boiling streams of blood took the sight from the grey eyes of resolute warriors. It was then that Bres made an onset on the Fir Bolg army, and killed one hundred and fifty of them. He struck nine blows on the shield of Eochaid the High-king, and Eochaid, in his turn, dealt him nine wounds. Sengann's son, Sreng, turned his face to the army of the Tuatha De, and slew one hundred and fifty of them. He struck nine blows on the shield of the High-king Nuada, and Nuada dealt him nine wounds.

Each dealt dire blows of doom, making great gory wounds on the flesh of the other, till under their grooved blades shields and spears, heads and helmets broke like the brittle branches hacked with hatchets wielded by the stout arms of woodsmen. Heroes swayed to this side and that, each circling the other as they sought opportunity for a blow. The battle champions rose again over the rims of their emblazoned shields. Their courage grew, and the valiant virulent men became steadfast as an arch. Their hands shot up with their swords, and they fenced swiftly about the heads of warriors, hacking their helmets. For a moment they thrust back the ranks of the enemy from their

coire a uisce co himc^hian uad dar a bordaib re himarcraid fichidh, no amail cuireis sluagh es abann 7 uisce dar bordaib conad indula da mbandaib é da ési. Is amlaid sin rorédiged riglathair dona rigaib sin, gur legsed na laich a laithreacha leo, gur fhagsad na hescaidi¹ a ninaid aca, gur innarbaid na hoig uaithibh, gur thechsid² a ngillanraid³ re ngrain. Ro an an irghal orra na naenar. Roba t^heand rotuairgeadh an talamh fa t^hroighthibh na laech gur ba boga na foite agarba⁴ foit^hibh. Tug gach caithmílid dhibh tricha crecht ar araile. Dobert Sreang bem cloidimh don airdrigh⁵ .i. do Nuadhaid gur theasg bile an sgeth 7 an laimh ndes ac a ghualaind, gu ndroch^hair an lamh gu triun an sgeth le for talmáin. Is and dobert an t-airdri⁶ a iachtadh egcomlainn os aird. Odchuala esen Aenghaba na hIruaithi tainig isin comhland ar inchaibh an airdrigh. Rob ainmin easmuindterrdha in fritheolamh dobertadar ar araile. Tuc cach dibh coimhlin crecht ar a chele, acht ni ba choimeasda le clac^hlodh ar ba sonairti sargona Sreng le slinnlethne a shleghe⁷ 7 le crainnremra a chroind. Otc^huala an Dagdha coigedal na cloidem a coimn[e]rt in c^homlainn, tainic ina lesglemeanta 7 ina buinne dighair degesa gu hinadh na hurrlaide.⁸ Imgabais Sreng comlann in da ch^huradh, acht gen gu torchair Aengaba na hIruaithe isin inadh sin, is do nem in c^homlainn sin atroc^hair iar dain. Doriacht in Dagdha gu raibe os cinn in airdrigh Nuadat,⁹ 7 dorignedh comairle ag Tuathaib de [Danann]. Tucad coica laech les ma leg^haibh 7 do togbad as an cath leo e. Rotocbadh in lamh ar an cro ngoile a ninad in righ .i. cro do c^hlochaib robi fan righ. Is air d[o]shil fuil laime Nuadat.

49. Rocongbad¹⁰ in cath gu cruaidh nertmar ag Tuathaib De Danann a ningnais in airdrigh. Tainic Bres mac Ealadain¹¹ fo ch^hath Fer mBolg do digail a righ. Rosiacht gusan inadh a raibe Eocha[id] mac Erc ac cothagudh in ch^hatha, 7 ag nertachudh na n[d]egdaine, 7 ag gresacht na ngalgat, 7 ac tennadh na trenfer, 7 ac cinnedh na comlann. Tuc cach sciath re sciath da chele dib gur crecktnaigit na cuirp ina ninadhaib eslinne. Ramesgait na milidh re fraec^hdhacht na ferg 7 le med [98a] na mbuillidh. Atrochair Breas fa deoidh re hEochaidh mac Erc. Tangadur na

¹ hesgaigh MS.² the^htsid MS.³ -raigh MS.⁴ agharba MS.⁵ -ridh MS.⁶ righ MS.⁷ slethe MS.⁸ urrlaige MS.⁹ nuagat MS.¹⁰ -congmad MS.¹¹ ealagain MS.

places, and at the sight of them the hosts wavered like the water flung far over its sides by a kettle through excess of boiling, or the flood that, like a water-fall, an army splashes up over a river's banks, making it passable for their troops behind them. So a suitable space was cleared for the chiefs; the heroes yielded them their places, and agile combatants their stations; warriors were dislodged by them, and the serving-men fled for horror of them. To them was left the battle. Heavily the earth was trodden under their feet till the hard turf grew soft beneath them. Each of them inflicted thirty wounds on the other. Sreng dealt a blow with his sword at Nuada, and, cutting away the rim of his shield, severed his right arm at the shoulder; and the king's arm with a third of his shield fell to the ground. It was then that the High-king called aloud for help, and Aengaba of Norway, hearing him, entered the fray to protect him. Fierce and furious was the attack Aengaba and Sreng made on each other. Each inflicted on his opponent an equal number of wounds, but they were not comparable as an exchange, for the broad blade of Sreng's lance and his stout spear-shaft dealt deeper, deadlier wounds. As soon as the Dagda heard the music of the swords in the battle-stress, he hastened to the place of conflict with deliberate bounds, like the rush of a great water-fall. Sreng declined a contest with the two warriors; and though Aengaba of Norway did not fall there, it was from the violence of that conflict that he afterwards died. The Dagda came and stood over Nuada, and, after the Tuatha De had taken counsel, he brought fifty soldiers, with their physicians. They carried Nuada from the field. His hand was raised in the king's stead on the fold of valour, a fold of stones surrounding the king,¹ and on it the blood of Nuada's hand trickled.

49. The Tuatha De maintained the conflict keenly and stoutly, after their king was gone. Bres made his way into the ranks of the Fir Bolg to avenge his king, and came to the spot where Eochaid was urging the battle, and fortifying his fighters and exhorting his heroes and encouraging his captains and arranging his combats. Each of them then made for his opponent, and wounds were inflicted where they were undefended. Before the fierceness of their fury and the weight of their blows, soldiers were thrown into confusion. At last Bres was slain by Eochaid;

¹ Above the *cró gaille* is spoken of as if composed of the chiefs who stood round the king.

braithri .i. an Dagdha 7 Ogma¹ 7 Alladh 7 Dealbaeth do digail² a mbrathar ar Eochaid .i. Bres. Robhi Eochaid ag cot/aghadh in c/atha, ag tendad 7 ag timsaghadh na trenfer, ac dingin 7 ac dluthaghadh na ndeaglaech, ac fuireach 7 ac fosaghadh na fenedh. Roshlaidsid³ an slogh⁴ rompo an cethrar sin ac iarraidh Eochdach gunuigi in bail a cualadar e ag cothaghadh in chatha. Tarrladur cethri meic Shlainghi na naghaidh⁵ .i. Mealla 7 Esi 7 Ferb 7 Faebhar. Rothuairg cach sgiath a chele dhibh. Rofothaigheadh an irghal sin re comhluth a cloidem.⁶ Ro [f]iairthesgaid na fulta d'[f]aebhraibh a fiarlann. Adroc/radur cethri meic⁷ Slainghi frisin cethrar eli, guna Leaca Mac⁸ Slaingi ainm an inaidh⁹ inar adhnacht. Tangadur cethri meic Ghainn isin cath. Tarrladur chuca sin Goibhneann Gobha 7 Lucraidh¹⁰ Saer 7 Dian Cecht 7 Aenghabha na hIruaithi. Roba ghraineamhail grith na ngalghadris na harmaibh nemhneacha. Rochothaigheadur na caithmilidh sin an comland acht adroc/radur cethri meic Ghainn frisin cethrar eli, cona Duma Mac nGainn ainm an inaidh inar adhnacht.

50. Tangadur tri meic Orrdain .i. Beadhg 7 Readhg¹¹ 7 Rinne a cath Thuaithi De Danann, gur c/rithnaigheadur na catha da comlann. Tarrla chuca sin tri meic Chainti gur sgithedur ar sgis an c/omhlainn tri meic an druadh cona Duma na nDruadh ainm an inaidh inar adhnacht.

51. Tangadur tri meic Thuirinn Bigreand .i. Brian 7 Iuchair 7 Iucharbha fa chath Fer mBolg. Tarrla na naghaidh¹² sin da mac Buain meic Rudhraide 7 Cairbri mac Den. Rotraet/aid mic Bhuaire de sin re macaibh Tuireann Bigrinn, guna Leca Mac Buain na lechta gar adhnacht, 7 fert Cairbri leath amuigh¹³ dona lechtaibh.

52. Tainig Eochaid mac Erc 7 Slainghi Find a mac fon c/ath gur dithaighidh dronga diarmhe do T/uaithaibh De Danann, 7 asbert Eochaid: Rodithaighidh ar ndeghdaine 7 romudhaighidh ar muindter 7 as coraide duinn calmdhacht do denamh. Tangadur tresan cat/ arisi gur faenmharbhaid fir leo, 7 gur mudaighidh miledha, 7 gur slaidedh sloigh,¹⁴ 7 gur combuairedh na catha da com/lannaibh. Rogabh robhar itan in t-airdrigh 7 imarcraid¹⁵ sgisi a hait/li na himlaide imc/ene. Tabair Sreng c/ugainn, ar Eochaid. Tugadh. Cungaibh an cath 7 Slaingi Finn, ar Eochaid, gu ndeachaind d'iarraidh mh'aindigi 7 innuaraighthi mh'aighthi,

¹ Odma MS.

⁵ adhaidh MS.

⁹ inaiigh MS.

¹³ amuidh MS.

² didail MS.

⁶ cloidimh MS.

¹⁰ Lucraigh MS.

¹⁴ slويد MS.

³ -shlaigsid MS.

⁷ mec MS.

¹¹ Radhg MS.

¹⁵ -craigh MS.

⁴ sloth MS.

⁸ .i. MS.

¹² adhaigh MS.

and the Dagda, Ogma, Alla and Delbaeth attacked the latter to avenge their brother. Eochaid was urging the fight, collecting and encouraging his captains, making close and compact the ranks of the soldiery, holding his fighting men firm and steadfast. The four brothers, in their search for Eochaid, drove the hosts before them to the place where they heard him urging the fight. Mella, Ese, Ferb and Faebur, sons of Slainge, met them and each struck at the other's shield. Their swords clashed and the conflict grew, and the edges of the curved blades cut gory wounds. The four sons of Slainge fell before the other four; and the Gravestones of Slainge's sons is the name of the place where they were buried. The four sons of Gann then entered the fray. Against them advanced Goibnenn the Smith, Lucraid the Joiner, Dian Cecht and Aengaba of Norway. Horrible was the noise made by the deadly weapons in the champions' hands. Those combatants maintained the fight till the four sons of Gann were slain; and the Mound of the Sons of Gann is the name of the place where they were buried.

50. Bedg, Redg and Rinne, the three sons of Ordán, set on the Tuatha De, and the ranks shook before their onset. The three sons of Cainte met them, but they wearied of the fray; and the Mound of the Wizards is the place where they were buried.

51. Brian, Iuchar and Iucharba, the three sons of Turenn Bigrenn, set on the Fir Bolg host. They were opposed by two sons of Buan, and Cairbre son of Den. The sons of Buan were overcome by the sons of Turenn Bigrenn, and the Gravestones of Buan are the gravestones that cover them, and Cairbre's tomb is beside the gravestones.

52. Eochaid and his son, Slainge the Fair, now joined in the fray, and destroyed innumerable companies of the Tuatha De. 'Our best men,' said Eochaid, 'have been destroyed, our people slaughtered, and it befits us to acquit us valorously.' So they made their way across the battlefield once again, and mowed down men and slaughtered soldiers and hacked hosts, and confused the ranks with their onsets. After this long-continued effort Eochaid was overcome by great weariness and excess of thirst. 'Bring Sreng to me,' he said. That was done. 'You and Slainge the Fair,' said Eochaid, 'must maintain the fight till I go in search of a drink, and to bathe my face, for I cannot

uair ni [f]uilgim in shoidethbhir¹ itan a fuilim. Coingebthar gu maith, ar Sreng, gid uathadh duinn ar h'esi ga chur. Tainig Eochaid as an chath 7 cet fer narmthach d'amsaibh uime, 7 roleanadh iad ag Tuathaib De Danann 7 rogairadh forra.

53. Tainig Slainghi Finn mac Echdach² re huchd in tsloigh³ 7 do fer comhrag friu, 7 nir leg a ndegaidh⁴ an airdrigh⁵ iad. Tarrla chuigi san irghail Lugaidh⁶ nertmhar mac Nuadhad, 7 do feradur comhrag amhnas agarbh innsaighthech crechtach cneadhach croileadairthi. An uair do airigh cach gur ba tresi dho Slainghi [98b] do c/ungnadur re Lugaid co ndorcradar comt/uitim ann, conadh Lia Lugdach in lia gar hadlaiced Lugaid, 7 Duma Slainghi ainm in duma gar hadnaiced Slainge.

54. Othconncadur draithi Tuath nDe Danann righ⁷ Erenn isin allscoth itan a raibe, do cheledur srotha 7 aibne Erend fair co riacht co Traig Éothoile. Tangadur tri meic Nemid meic Badrai ina degaid tri coicaid laech. Imariacht doib ar in traig co ndorcradur sochraide cechtarde re chele. Tarla ann sen Eochaid 7 meic Nemid. Robo nemnech i nirgail meic Nemid. 7 rob aairsid⁸ i nécomlann Eochaid. Rocurset a comlann comdar cirrti a cuirp. Rob adbal in imlaide gomdar oslaicti na hurbruinne. Robo difulaing ruathar in rig ag tesgad na trenfer gan fuarad co ndorcradar Eochaid 7 tri meic Nemidh, conad Carn Eachdach in carn gar hadnaiced Eochaid, 7 is fris raiter Carn Eothaile, 7 Leca mac Nemidh a cenn iart/harach na traga.

55. Imthusa Sreng meic Sengaind, robí lá co naidche⁹ a[c] cur na cath ar és caich gu narba tualaing cechtarde indsaigid ar araile. Rolagad a luathbemenda re himad an air, roísligid a naigenta re himad a nolc, romertnigid a menmanna re haidble na nécht. Rodedail¹⁰ cach re chele dib. Roimth/igsed Tuatha De Danann asen go com[s]osad Cind Slebe 7 co Fan-glenn na Fola, 7 go Duma na nDér, 7 adubhairt in Dagda na briat/hra and:

Mescad gan mes milide
imad crecht ar curadaib
cirrsed bar cuirp cruadcloidme
Fir Bolg robdarbaidhesdur¹¹
forba ferb ma ferandaib
milide romesc. m.

¹ shoidebhthir MS. ² Ethach MS. ³ sloidh MS. ⁴ dedaidh MS.
⁵ -ridh MS. ⁶ Ludaiddh MS. ⁷ ri MS. ⁸ aairsig MS. ⁹ aidhce MS.
¹⁰ -degail MS. ¹¹ ? -baighesdur.

endure this consuming thirst.' 'It shall be maintained right well,' said Slainge, 'though we are but few to wage it in your absence.' Eochaid then went out of the battle with a guard of one hundred of his soldiers. The Tuatha De followed them, and shouted at them.

53. But Slainge the Fair advanced to meet the host, and offered them battle, and prevented them from following the High-king. He was attacked by powerful Lugaid, son of Nuada, and the two fought a cruel, fierce, strenuous fight, in which there were wounds and bruises and gory gashing. As soon as the rest saw that Slainge was prevailing they gave their support to Lugaid. Lugaid and Slainge fell together; and Lugaid's Grave is the place where Lugaid was buried, and Slainge's Mound the mound where they buried Slainge.

54. When the Tuatha De wizards saw how the king of Ireland was suffering from a burning thirst, they hid from him all the streams and rivers of Ireland till he came to the strand of Eothail. Three sons of Nemed, son of Badrai, followed him, with a hundred and fifty men. They fought on the strand, and a number fell on either side. Eochaid and the sons of Nemed met in combat. Venomous in battle were the sons of Nemed, and tried in fighting against odds was Eochaid. They fought till their bodies were torn and their chests cut open with the mighty onslaughts. Irresistible was the king's onset as he ceaselessly cut down his opponents, till he and the three sons of Nemed fell. Eochaid's Cairn is the cairn where Eochaid was buried (it is also called the Cairn of Eothail), and the Grave-stones of the Sons of Nemed are at the western end of the strand.

55. As for Sreng, son of Sengann, he continued fighting for a day and a night after his fellows, till in the end neither side was capable of attacking the other. Their swift blows had grown feeble through all the slaughter and their spirits had fallen through all their ills, and their courage faint through the vastness of their disasters; and so they parted. The Tuatha De retired to the fastness of Cenn Slebe and to the sloping Glen of Blood, and to the Mound of Tears. There the Dagda said:

'Soldiers slain without measure, many a wound on heroes; cruel swords have torn your bodies. The Fir Bolg have overcome you (?) . . . about their lands.'

56. Caidet bar nesbada isin cath dedenach¹ sa, ar Nuada frisin Dagdai. Do indis in Dagda do, 7 atbert:

Indisfed, a Nuada nair
athsgela in c~~h~~atha go ngrain,
a uile sa echta ar ~~sh~~in
indisfed, a meic Echartaig.

Torcradar ar maithe ann
re Feraib Bolg na mbemenn,
re méd ar nesbada, a fir,
ni sochaide rusfidir.

Tainig ann Bres, ba tuir laich,
mac Elathan meic Delbaith
fo chath Fer mBolg, báigh² co mblaidh,
no gur [marb] se tri coicait.

Tug naoi mbem, ba borb in bret~~h~~,
a sciath imlethan Echdach,³
tuc Eochaid, ba mor in modh,
naoi ngona ar Bres gan baegal.

Tainig Sreng, ba lor a méd,
gur marb dar cathne tri cet,
tuc naoi mbemenna gan go
at sciat~~h~~sa fen, a Nuadó.

Tucais, a Nuada, go mor
naoi ngona ar Sreng co sobron,
doben Sreng, a laich luind,
do lam des dit ót gualaind.

Togais iachtaig go ngluaire,
doriacht fer na hIruaithe,
scemgal tenn ar na toga
fogni Sreng is Aengoba.

Doriachtusa co tenn tenn
fo iachtaig⁴ in Aengabann.
imgabais Sreng sind ar ndis
o torachtsa gan athscis.

¹ degenach MS

² báidh MS.

³ Eoth MS.

⁴ Aengab. MS.

56. 'What have been your losses in this last battle?' said Nuada to the Dagda. The Dagda told him in these words:

'I will tell, noble Nuada, the tales of the dread battle, and, after that, its calamities and disasters I will tell, O son of Echtach,

'In it fell our nobles before the violence of the Fir Bolg; so great are our losses that few know of them.

'Bres, son of Elatha, a warrior like a tower, attacked the ranks of the Fir Bolg, a glorious fight, and killed one hundred and fifty of them.

'He dealt nine blows—savage was the deed—on the broad shield of Eochaid, and Eochaid dealt Bres nine blows.

'Huge Sreng came and slew three hundred of our host. He dealt nine blows on your shield, Nuada.

'You, Nuada, coolly dealt Sreng nine mighty blows, but Sreng cut off your right arm, impetuous hero, at the shoulder.

'You raised a loud cry for help, and he of Norway came up. Sreng and Aengaba fought with a will a well-contested fight of clashing weapons.

'As Aengaba cried for help, I came up speedily; when I arrived, still unwearied, Sreng refused a contest with both of us.

Mella 7 Ése 7 Ferb
 7 in Faebur forderg
 torcradar linne gan gó
 ar lar in c~~h~~atha c~~h~~etno.

Torcradur cethri meic Gainn
 re Goibnenn risin nGabainn,
 re hAengabainn [in]na necht,
 re Lucraidh is re Diancecht.

Bedg 7 Rinde 7 Redg
 tri meic Ordain na caemcerd,
 torcradur co cindti de
 re macaib caema Cainti.

[99a] Eochaid mac Erc, luaiter lat,
 7 Slainge Finn a mac,
 torc~~h~~air leo morlaech nar gann
 san cath do T~~h~~uaith De Danann.

Rogab fta in rig¹ co rath
 Eochaid mac Erc isin cath,
 nocho n-[f]uair dil a dig[e]
 co riacht co Traig Éothoile.

Rucsat air ar in traigh táí,
 tri meic Nemid meic Badrai,
 a comrac ar in traig tenn
 co ndorcradur com~~h~~uitim.

Lugaid mac Nuadat, dar lim,
 atorcrair re Slainge Find,
 torcrair Slaingi, ger tenn tall,
 san cath re T~~h~~uaith De Danann.

Brian Iucharba is Iuchair ann,
 tri meic do T~~h~~urenn Bigrenn,
 torcradur leo, go tenn de,
 Esc[a] is Éconn is Airbe.

Sreng ar sin doc~~h~~uir in cath,
 sochaide dar c~~h~~laec~~h~~lo dath,
 re tri trath risin tres te
 can c~~h~~lo aisen na oirne.

¹ ri MS.

‘Mella, Ese, Ferb and blood-red Faebur fell before us in the same battle.

‘The four sons of Gann fell at the hands of Goibnenn the Smith, of Aengaba of the exploits, of Lucraidh and of Diancecht.

‘Bedg and Rinde and Redg, the three sons of Ordan of the crafts, were slain surely by the fair sons of Cainte.

‘Eochaid and his son, Slainge the Fair, slew in the battle a great number of the heroes of the Tuatha De.

‘In the battle thirst overcame king Eochaid, and he got not the draught he sought till he came to the Strand of Eothail.

‘The three sons of Nemid overtook him on the silent strand, and there they fought till they all fell together.

‘Lugaid, Nuada’s son, methinks, was slain by Slainge the Fair; and Slainge, though so fierce before, was killed in fighting with the Tuatha De.

‘Brian, Iucharba and Iuchar, the three sons of Turenn Bigrenn, slew Esca and Econn and Airbe.

‘After that ’twas Sreng that ruled the fight—and many were those that changed colour—for three days, but neither he nor we turned in the struggle.

Toirirsech sind ann leth ar leth,
 scarrthain do cach dob e ar mbreth,
 comrac cach fir ann co becht
 amail fuarus indisfed. Ind.

57. Robo truag torrsech tretholl tromait/berach Fir Bolg an aidche sin. Roadnaic cach dib a *chomfialusa* 7 a *chomuilidhe*, a *chumthach* 7 a *choigne* 7 a *chomalta*, 7 dorinit ann sen duma for na degdainib 7 leca ar laechaib 7 ferta ar na fenedaib 7 cnuic ar na curadaib. Asa haithle sin immorro focresa cro comairle 7 cindti comraid ag macaib Sengaind .i. Sreng 7 Semne 7 Sit/brugh. Tri cet do sochraide dobadur ann. Doraidset cid bad choir doib do denam, inn í Ere do fuicfidis no in cath fo *chomlin* do fogerdais no in comraind criche do *chuinge*bdais. Is ed doronsad cath fo *chomlin* do fogra ar Tuathaib De Danann, 7 atbert Sreng na briathra ann:

Dith ar feraib fosugud
 cindti cath roc/hursemar
 comairt cloidem cruadarmach
 luth slegh re slis saerch/urad
 scitlim scell ar sciath.
 Ere iathach imnedach
 olc ba fedaib fuaramur
 drem degfer do dith. D.

58. Rotogbadur sceth drolacha daingne 7 slegha sarnemnecha 7 cloidme gera gormfaebracha. Ro ergedur fon indus sin ina ruba rindger ruadar(ma)ch 7 ina toindti tromaidblech tenntige 7 ina sidhis roger rodluith 7 ina sithbe lasamain loinnfergach ris-ar cuma gach egen 7 gach imnedh d'fagail. Fograid Sreng ann sen comrag 7 comlann enfir ar Nuada, amail roc/omraigedur isin cath roime. Atracht Nuada co nertchalma, amail dobeth slan, 7 atbert fri Sreng: [99b] Masa comlann comadais cuindge, cengailter luth da laime desi uair nach fuil sin oramsa, uair is amlaid is comadais ar comrag. Ni tormaig sin fiacha etir oramsa, ar Sreng, uair robo comt/hrom ar cetc/omrag. Dorindemar fen frestal na falad sin. Focresa comairle ag Tuathaib De Danann, 7 rob i in *chomairle* a roga aenchuigid a nErinn do Sreng 7 sith 7 comand 7 cairdine do denam etorro. Sithaigit fon samla sin, 7 berid Sreng cuigidh Connacht do rogain. Do tinoilid Fir Bolg chuige as gach aird. Rogabad in cuigedh leó i nagaid¹ Tuath

¹ adaig MS.

‘Weary were we now on either side, and we resolved to separate. Each man’s combats, as I heard, so shall I exactly tell of.’

57. Sad and weary, wounded and full of heavy reproaches were the Fir Bolg that night. Each one buried his kinsfolk and relatives, his friends and familiars and foster-brothers; and then were raised mounds over the brave men, and gravestones over the warriors, and tombs over the soldiers, and hills over the heroes. After that Sreng, Semne and Sithbrug, the sons of Sengann, called a meeting for council and deliberation to which three hundred assembled. They considered what it was their interest to do, whether they should leave Ireland, or offer regular battle, or undertake to share the land with the Tuatha De. They decided to offer the Tuatha De battle, and Sreng said :

‘Resistance is destruction for men; we resolutely gave battle; there was clashing of hard swords; the strong plying of spears on the sides of noble warriors, and the breaking of buckler on shield; full of trouble are the plains of Ireland; disaster we found about its woods, the loss of many good men.’

58. They took up their strong, hooked shields, their venomous spears and their sharp swords with blue blades. Thus equipped they made a keen, murderous charge, a wild fiery company, with their spears close-pressed in the onset, cutting their way in a flaming fire of fury to meet any hardship and any tribulation. It was then that Sreng challenged Nuada to single combat, as they had fought in the previous battle. Nuada faced him bravely and boldly as if he had been whole, and said : ‘If single combat on fair terms be what you seek, fasten your right hand, as I have lost mine; only so can our combat be fair.’ ‘If you have lost your hand, that lays me under no obligations,’ said Sreng, ‘for our first combat was on fair terms. We ourselves so took up the quarrel.’ The Tuatha De took counsel, and their decision was to offer Sreng his choice of the provinces of Ireland, while a compact of peace, goodwill, and friendship should be made between the two peoples. And so they make peace, and Sreng chooses the province of Connacht. The Fir Bolg gathered round him from every side, and stubbornly and trium-

„De Danann co haindiuid aithesach, 7 tugadur Tuatha De Danann rige do Bres mac Eladain meic Neid, co raibe secht mbliadna a nairdrige, co fuair bas ag Sliab Gamh ag selg, ar nibe dige do and, gur erig Nuada a leges a lamha gur gab rige nErend. Conad é Cath Muige Tuired Cunga conuige sin. Finit. Amén.

Is ann roscribad sin a Muig⁴ Ethne ingine in Scail, 7 Cormac O Cuirrnin do scrib e do Sheaán O Glaimín, da c~~h~~ompanach fén, 7 is aghar lind ar tregan dó in tan rachas imtherec uainn.

phantly¹ took possession of the province against the Tuatha De. The Tuatha De made Bres their king, and he was High-king for seven years. He died after taking a drink while hunting in Sliab Gam, and Nuada, his missing hand having been replaced, became king of Ireland. And that is the story of the battle of Mag Tured Cunga.²

This was written in the Plain of Eithne, the Goblin's daughter, by Cormac O'Cuirnin for his companion Sean O'Glaimhín. Painful to us is his deserting us when he goes from us on a journey.

¹ Their triumph would be due to their having secured the High-king's province. This may explain *i nagaíd Tuath d.d.*, which might seem strange as the TDD had themselves made the arrangement. Or the reference may be to a later event, for tradition makes the Fir Bolg escape after the battle to the islands and Britain, BB. 30a, 32b, Lc. 276v^b, 279r^b. After their return to Ireland they were given land in Connacht by Medb and Oillil, Keating (ed. Comyn), I. 201.

² For the name cf. *Cath Muighe Tuiredh Conga i conmaicne chuile toladh Connacht etorru*, O'Cl. p. 43. Cf. O'Grady, SG II. 89.

I. INDEX OF RARER WORDS

[The references are to sections.]

- abach *entrails*, abagib, 33.
 aidgell *destruction*, -ill, 48.
 aindiuit *stubborn*, 24, 58.
 airtriall *undertaking, plan*, pl. airtriala, 11. Cf. T. Tr. Index.
 aitrebtach *inhabitant*; aitrebtaige, 7.
 allscoth, all. itan, 54, *a burning thirst*, cf. elscoth, Wind.
 alt, as gach alt, 47, ? *side, direction*.
 anforlann *oppression*, g. sg., 11, 25.
 anfosta (lit.) *unsteady*, hence, *hard to live in*, of land, 7.
 anfostacht *unsteady motion*, 48.
 armgaiscid, fo sciath armgaiscid, 38, seem to mean *fully armed*.
 athgaetaige *wounding*, ? collective; aes a. *the wounded*, 33, cf. athgoite : athgonim.

 baidhesdur, 55, apparently *have overcome*; ? baighesdur.
 bantuathach, -a, 37, Badb, Macha and Morrighan the witches of the TDD.
 breclann, 35, *decorated swords* also described as *comartacha*. The epithet refers to the carving on the blades.
 brollach catha, 47, *front of the battle*; so lethbr. ib. synonymous with lethtaeb, lethbuird, *the flank(s)*.
 brisgidir, 48, equative of brisg, *brittle*.
 bruinne, 48, *swift motion*, : bruinnim, *Contr.*

 cathlathair, 44, -laithreachaib ib. *position* taken up by a body of men in battle.
 clas, clasaib, 35, the ornamental *groves* on the blade of a sword.
 cobla, *hospitality*, cobla ar tir, 31, *permission to remain on the land*.
 coimeasda, 48, : commess, *of equal value, comparable*.
 comdhidiu, -en, 25, *protection*, cf. comdidantaid, *Contr.*
 comlin, 34, cath fo c. seems opposed to c. ar comlannaib, a fight in which all the forces on both sides are engaged.
 contarrach, 24, epithet of sword, perh. *destroying*.
 combuaidrim, -ed, 39, *confuse altogether*.
 comfial, -u, 57, *relations*.
 com(f)uilidhe, 57, *blood relations*.
 coigne, 57, *friend, relative*. This word has no connection with *coicle*, but is synonymous with the preceding, coigne**com-cen-ios* : *cenél*.
 coigedal, 48, of the *singing* of spears.
 comesgaim, cumaisgedar, 20, *brought trouble on*.
 cró gaile, 47, 48 v.p. n. cro comairle, 57, *a deliberative council*.
 croledairthi, 53, : ledrad, *with gory wounds*.

 degsuaite, 9, *well-sown* : suainem *thread*.
 dithach, compar. dithaige, 47, : dith *want*.
 dotru 20 (?), 'will come over you,' fut. 3 sg. of to-rochim. The reading is very doubtful.

dromlanacha, 47, an epithet of shields; ? < drom-lann—with scales on the back; or a corruption of drolmacha?

echrais, 48, here seem to have much the same meaning as in *Cath Cath.* ed. Stokes, 5932, *rapid movement*.

écomlann, the opposite of comrag comtrom, errada e., 7, *warriors capable of sustaining a fight against odds*, iachtad e., 48, *a cry for help against odds*.

emech, 39, cf. Windisch, TBC, 842 n. 1.

errad, 23, is ferr delb 7 e., cf. erriud 7 étgud, TBC (Wind.), 4061.

fáise, 25 = fóidh-se.

faiirthesgaid, 49, *cut aslant*.

fuinedach, 26: fuined *sunset*.

gadamaíl, 20, *daring*: gádh.

gairbhten, 15, g-na gaeth, *violence*; ? = g-tenne, but cf. tein, Meyer, *Fian.* p. 20, 33, ten, *Betha Colmain*, Index.

glaeth, -aib, 36, *glue*, hence the seams of the shields fastened with glue.

gluaire, 56, *brightness*: gluar, co ng. of a cry, *clearly*.

gothmanaisech, 47: goth, manais, two kinds of spears.

griangainmech, -a, 7, of sandy soil, cf. grian, soil, Meyer *Betha Colmain*, Index.

grith, 49, cf. armgrith *clang of arms*.

imlican, 26, *navel*, hence of Tara as the political centre of Ireland, cf. γῆς ὀμφαλός, of Delphi. See Loth, *Rev. des Études anciennes* xvii. 193 ff.

imtherec, 58, cf. imderc faíge, Meyer, *Fian.* p. 32, where the editor doubtfully suggests imthecht, but the form should stand.

indtlais, 23, i. menman, ? *mental gifts*, cf. the same phrase *Ag. na Sen.* ed. Stokes, 5099, a ceol 7 a i.m. where O'Grady transl. *recreation of spirits*. Here i.m. seems to go closely with aigenta, rather than with ciuil 7 arfided.

laideng, -a, 13, *galleys*, cf. Index to Stokes' *Ag. na Sen.*

lasamain, 38, *flaming*, cf. lasamuín *flaming, fierce*, Meyer, *Fian.* Index.

lethbord, -buid, 47, = lethbrollach.

lethbrollach, 47, v.s. brollach.

maitnige, 47, cf. Stokes, *Ag. na Sen.* Index, and Hogan, *Ir. Nennius*, Index.

melogaib, da m., 13, of their bags, but the form of the word is not clear; ? = da mbelogaib: bellec, *Contr.*, or Mod. Ir. *mealbhóg* (Bergin).

midenmhus, 47, v. note p. 31.

nem, n. in comlainn, 48, *stress, ferocity*, hence the adj. nemnech applied both to men and weapons.

reb catha, 37, 45, properly *battle-feat*, should doubtless be corr. to sreb c. as in 42.

ruadar(ma)ch, 58, possibly, ruadar(a)ch, *impetuous*, : ruathar.

ruba, 58, *rush*, with the same stem as sithbe : benim.

saibsicne (?), 20; possibly pl. of *sigen*, sign.

scemgal, 56, the clashing of weapons.

setrech, 11, *strong*.

sighis, 58, apparently = sithbe, cf. side *charge*, Windisch, Index to TBC.

sithbe, 58, *assault*. *Sith-* seems to have simply an intensive force, cf. sithrigin, 35, sithremar, 48.

slanachan, 34, *healing*. For form cf. córachan, 31.

sobron, 56, ? *cheerfulness*, cf. sobrónach.

sodethbir, 52, *urgency*, cf. Meyer, *Betha Colmain*, Index.

toga, ar na toga, 56, ? *according to their choice.*
 toindti, 58, *company*, = tuinte, *Cath Catharda*, Index.
 trebarglan, -glaine, 10, perpetual epithet of tír tairngire, cf. Stokes, *Ag. na Sen.*
 7268 n.
 tuinighthi, 24. Cf. *Cath Catharda*, Index.
 urgna, 26, = airgna.

II. INDEX OF NAMES OF PERSONS

- ABARTACH, TDD, 48.
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 Bedg m. Ordain, FB, 45, 50.
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 Bledlochtana seem to have been goblins of the same nature as the badba and the amaite aidgill; 48. Cf. a similar reference to them quoted in Meyer's *Contr. s.v.*
 Bodb Derg, TDD, 39, 48; in *Oidhe Chloinne Tuireann* a king of Con-naught.
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 Danann, 48, described as the foster-mother of the TDD. Cf. BB. 33a, Badbh 7 Macha 7 Morrighan 7 Anand diata di chich Anand i lLuachair tri hingena Earmmhais na bantuathaighe, 7 isi Danand sin mathair na ndee.
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 Tinnargain m. Gabrain, TDD, 47.
 Toirbertach m. Dolaid, TDD, 39.
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 Tole m. Gabrain, TDD, 47.
 Trenfer m. Gabrain, TDD, 47.
 Trenmiled m. Gabrain, TDD 47.

ADDENDUM

It should be mentioned that the MS. of the above text is due to at least two different scribes. This accounts for the inconsistency in the spelling of certain words, and forms.

A POEM ON IRELAND

THE following poem is here printed from the Stowe manuscript B. IV. 2 (ff. 120-121), now deposited in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, and the Book of Leinster, facs. p. 31. Variant readings, not mere orthographical, are given from five other manuscripts, which are as follows:

Y=the Yellow Book of Lecan, facs. p. 413a.

E=23 E 16, p. 317, R.I.A., eighteenth century.

Q²=23 Q 9, p. 68, R.I.A., early nineteenth century.

Eg.=Egerton 1782 Brit. Mus., a vellum manuscript in various hands of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Our poem occurs on folio 56b, and bears the heading:
Flann Fino mac Ossa cecinit do besad na hErenn.

N=23 N 4, p. 135, R.I.A., early nineteenth century.

Q=23 Q 1, p. 23, R.I.A., also early nineteenth century.

On folio 123b of B. IV. 2 there is the following entry: *as Leabar na hUachongbála i ccill dara i mainistir na mbrathar do scriobadh na naoi nduanta sin a mi October na bliadna sa 1627* 'out of the Book of Uachongbáil in the friars' monastery at Cill dara these nine poems were transcribed in the month of October in this year 1627.' Of the nine poems so transcribed ours is one, and the original whence they were taken is the present Book of Leinster. The first four stanzas of the poem on Ireland are now missing in that manuscript, and the left margin of page 31 is damaged. The copy has, therefore, been used where the original is defective.

B, LL, Y, E, and Q² represent one recension of the piece, Eg. a different and shorter one, while N and Q represent a third. Eg. omits nine stanzas found in the first group, namely, ll. 1-24, 45-48, 89-96. On the other hand, it has some verses not found in the other recensions. Two of them come after l. 40 of our text, and run as follows:

Roddet a hiarthur Mide
fir aebda co narmgrinni
fognitis cen boiglaírg mblat
fri coigcrichchi clu Connacht.

Roddet a tur thiuimm tonoir
fir co mbesaib borrrhoraith
fir co ngaes is co ngallacht
co craes is co cennaghacht.

The remaining two come after l. 32 of the text printed below.
They are as follows :

Roddet a Ráith Lini lóir
dia clannsat fáil finia foir
flaithius Gaoidel glúair gaili
i cclannaib rúaidh Rudhraidhe.

Roddet dAirgiallaib cen fhell
rechtus righi righ nErenn
nocho tabrat cáin no cert
do rigraidh Fáil feib rodhet. Rodet.

The NQ recension differs considerably from both the others.
Two stanzas are peculiar to it. They occur after ll. 44 and 36
respectively :

Rodhet ó Aroinn co gle
a ttir áloinn Osraighe
miolla milseach uall mor smacht
flanna fíora fidchiollicht.

Rodhet na haoisí na anosa
fíneast an taois seanchusa
gach maith gach tarbha gom ceatt
isin Bhanbha ro sloinneas. Rodheat.

The following table shows the sequence of the lines in the
various versions :

BLLYEQ ²	Eg.	NQ
1-24	omitted	1-24
25-28		omitted
29-32		
33-36	33-36	
37-40	37-40	omitted
	Two stanzas peculiar	

BLLYEQ ²	Eg.	NQ
41-44	41-44	
45-48	omitted	omitted
49-56	49-56	omitted
57-60	57-60	57-60
61-68	61-68	omitted
69-72	69-72	69-72
73-84 ¹	73-84	omitted
85-88	85-88	85-88
89-96	omitted	omitted
	25-28	omitted
	29-32	29-32
Two stanzas peculiar		
		37-44
		Stanza peculiar
		33-36
		Stanza peculiar

It would thus appear that the original poem has been handled independently by three different redactors. Possibly the first has modified it least, while the others have omitted particular stanzas and inserted new ones at will.

Flann Fína, to whom the poem is attributed, is the Irish name for Aldfrith, son of Osswy, a Saxon king who died about 704. Certain proverbial sayings are also ascribed to him; see Thurneysen, *Zu irischen Handschriften und Litteraturdenkmälern*, I. 21.

The tentative translation printed below follows the manuscripts B and LL, unless the contrary is indicated. The readings of the later manuscripts E, Q², N and Q were supplied to me some time ago by Prof. Marstrander.

A text of the NQ version was printed in Hardiman, *Irish Minstrelsy*, II. 372, and a translation of this was made by John O'Donovan in the *Dublin Penny Journal* for 1832-3, p. 94.

PAUL WALSH.

¹ In Q² ll. 77-80 come immediately before the last stanza commencing *It eat sin moda co mbuaid*.

FLANN FINA CECINIT.

AR NA SCRIBADH SO AS LEABAR NA HUACHONGBALA.

[B. IV. 2, f. 120.]

Roddet a hinis find Fail
in hErind cen immarbaigh
imbad ban ni baet[h] in bret[h]
4 imbat laec[h] 7 clerech.

Roddet in cach coiciudh ann
do coicedaibh na hErend
etir chill is tir co fraig
8 imbad bid 7 etaig.

Roddet or is argat decht
roddet mil roddet crut[h]nec[h]t
roddet muirn ic dainib de
12 roddet cuirn roddet cruithne.

Roddet i n-Ard Macha mass
cennacht ecnaí airechass
aínech aibhda ro mmac nDe
16 sruithe saera sonaide.

[LL. 31a.]

Roddet] in cach cill cháid
etir tír is tuind is tráig
foglaim [e]cnaí crábud Dé
20 lubair cretra commairge.

1. a n-i. YEQ²NQ 2. iar n-i. YEQ², re NQ 3. bres NQ 4. 7]
imat YEQ²NQ 6. do cóic coicedaib Erenn YE, cóic om. Q² a ccuig cuigid
Erenn NQ 8. 7] imad YEQ²NQ 9. airgeadacht NQ 10. for
the second roddet, acus NQ 11. muir ni cáineab de YEQ², ag daoine De NQ
12. cuirn] cruind Y, cruith EQ², cuirn NQ; cruithne] caithre NQ 14. cenn-
sacht NQ 15. aibhda is in the left margin in B, ainbechaib doro mac nDe
YEQ² 17. leg. co cáid; co cáigh YEQ², gach eaglais uill NQ 18. traigh
is tuinn NQ 19. ecna Y 20. liubair B, lubar YEQ², luthghair NQ; comh-
a irce EQ²

Roddet o] manchaib na túath
 erniud na n-almsan co llúath
 is] a n-ecor immalle
 24 in screpol issin cendfáthe.

Roddet] a hadbai Ailig
 ríg amrai 7 ardairig
 greit [g]ascid gil clu co nílail
 28 nad fétat fir fulactain.

Roddet] a hadbai Ulad
 bregus buaid is brigbunad
 br]ath bruth baide bág im gus
 32 cath cruth cáime calmatus.

Roddet a] baire moir Mide
 fiannus feile forsinge
 gal [g]art amra.caini drend
 36 fortallus for iath nhErend.

Roddet a] crich Breg bulid
 amais aille tuirc turid
 br]ithemain baird cète cross
 40 snam selg mete marcachos.

Roddet i] lLaignib dom deóin
 ótá Etar co hIndeoin
 fiala [bi]d beoda bladaig
 44 ciúni ceolda cormfledaig.

21. manchadh *with* o om. NQ 22. eair nalmsan co roluath NQ 23. ann
 eagair NQ 24. on ceannaighe YEQ², in scriptuir sin gan aithche (i. bodach-
 amhlacht Q) NQ 26. riga amra ardairig YEQ², fir co n-amra arddainig Eg.
 27. grete gaiscid clu co mbail Eg. 28. ná YEQ², fétat *gl.* fu . . . et, *probably for*
 fuigbet Eg. 29. a cuicidh Ulad Eg., a gcoiceadh NQ 30. brec as buaid brig
 is bunad YEQ², briugus buaine brigh bunadh Eg., breigius buan a mbrigbunadh NQ
 31. bruthbhrad baoighe ingas NQ 32. caine Eg., calamantus NQ 33. a
 haircc Eg., a pá(i)rc EQ², a bpuirt NQ 34. feile fir grinne Eg., firinne NQ
 35. cumra caine dream YEQ², glan gartamlus glere gell Eg., galgart amla gleire
 greann NQ 36. fortamlus YEQ², fartamlus tréne hErenn Eg., fortamhla tíre
 Eireand NQ 37. bunuid Eg., Breg om. buileach NQ 38. turid] . . .
 ruidh Eg. (*doubtful letters may be ca or tu*), i amhuis aille seach NQ 39. tete
 Eg., aird cein de aros NQ 40. riam sleigh maithe marcus NQ; 41. o Laighen
 NQ; dom deoin] lith ngle Eg., lithge NQ 42. o Ath cliath co Sliab Mairge
 Eg. NQ 43. téile um biadh YE (Q² om. ll. 41-44), in. la bid Eg., *for* ll.
 43-44, buain moille diudhius ratt gallacht cruaidhe cennuighecht NQ

Roddet a] lLaignib buan blad
 7 don tslúag o thomar
 cr]echad Cuille slicht dar Siúir
 48 7 builli dar Indiúin.

Roddet d]o chlaind Chrimthaind chaiss
 do síl Labrada lanmais
 ca]lmatus dar fini fer
 52 armdattus grinni Gaedel.

Roddet a] rRaighni ruanaid
 fir áilli co n-ollbuadaib
 be]ndacht cech nóeb cona chet
 56 is for Ossairgib roddet. R.

Roddet] a mMumain cen chess
 drong ríg rigna is rígéices
 c]en indsaigid ar Niall nert
 60 sonus sama sadailecht.

Roddet a] Desmumain duind
 forbflathius os hErind uill
 gleire gensa [im] gním ngle
 64 feile febsa firinne.

Roddet a] Tuadmumain truimm
 flaith saerda síl Aulaim
 ti]dnacal mór mó cech rath
 68 do síl Conuill maic Lugdach.

Roddet a] crich Connacht cóir
 aná mblechta uall honóir
 f]eile brig buafad is blad
 72 a crích Cruachan na corad.

46. ótomar YEQ² 50. s do síl Eg. 51. tar finni Eg. 52. armatus
 YQ²Eg., armathus E 54. co n-ilbuadaib YEQ² 55-56. hermigh cecheich
 nahaghat denmig dal iss derbcharat Eg., cett B 57. gín geiss Eg., gan gheis NQ
 58. rig rigda Y, rígradha EQ², is om., righth eígis NQ 59. le nert YEQ²,
 acht na seghat for Niall nertt Eg., iar mheasga dana co ceart NQ. 60. samadh
 YEQ², samcha Eg., saimhe NQ 62. for nErinn Eg., ós Erinn uail EQ²
 63. cendsa EQ² um ginn gle Q² 66. do tsíl YEQ², flaithius seada síl
 Aulaimm Eg. 70. ana umla uail anoir Y, anumhla E, umla Q², ana lachta coa
 lannoir Eg., ana lachta co lán mhor NQ, ana lachta coa lannoir Rev. Celt. xx. 250
 71. buanfadh YEQ²Eg. NQ, buafad RC. l.c. 72. curad YEQ²NQ

Roddet a h]iarthur Connacht
fir garga géri glonnacht
ferba [do] thlathi cech thúir
76 beca blathi a tidnacuil.

Roddet d]o síl Muiridaig maiss
flathius Medba inoramnais
fi]r bláthi bithi borba
80 trebthaig *cech* trenforbba.

Roddet a tuasciurt Connacht
tascid tríri dar trommalt
fir [bu]ada bronnait a mbaill
84 tomait tuara síl Conaill.

Roddet a] crich Conaill chaiss
curaid chroda claidebglais
fir] garga co cáini drend
88 retlanna árdda hErend.

Fla]nd find Fína mac Ossa
ardsíu hErend eolossa
ar brú [sro]tha Rein arrecc
92 fuair a réir mar rolándét. R.

It ea]t sin moda co mbuaid
dlegair as cech thír ar uair
on]d lo ro gab Níall nár nert
96 is cian mór o radamdec. R.

74. co ngerglonnacht Eg. 75. fer (*fer* E, *firi* Q²) ba tothlaithe cach tuir
YEQ², frebba dothlaithe Eg. 76. beccda Eg. 77. do *om.* YEQ² 79.
beodha borba Eg. 80. gacha YEQ², cacha Eg. 81. o thúasciurt Eg.
86. cauraid chalmo chlaidhumbglais Eg., conglais NQ 87. fir fornerta caeini
ddenn Eg., caoimhe deann NQ 89. Frand E, mac Cosa YE 91. rén Y, reann
EQ² 92. iréir Q², do rodead YEQ² 94. arnuair BYEQ² 96. mór Y,
orodomded Y, o dom dead EQ².

TRANSLATION.

There were yielded out of fair Inis Fail,
in Ireland, without contention,
many women—not silly the judgment—
4 many laymen and clerics.

There was yielded in each province there,
the provinces of Ireland,
in church and land and house,
8 much food and raiment.

There was yielded gold and pure silver,
there was yielded honey, there was yielded wheat,
there was yielded affection in people too,
12 there were yielded cups, there was yielded valour.

There were yielded in fair Armagh
supremacy of learning, headship,
fair honour to the ¹ Son of God,
16 and noble, prosperous sages.

There were yielded in every holy church,
on land and water and beach,
learning of wisdom, piety to God,
20 ecclesiastical duty, relics, and protection.

There were yielded from the monks of the tribes
quick bestowing of alms
and disposal of them also,
24 a *screabal* in the bequest.

There were yielded out of the house of Ailech
famous kings and high princes,
valour of bright deeds, fame, and bravery,
28 which men cannot withstand.

¹ *ro* is for *re*; cf. ZCP. VIII. p. 264.

There were yielded out of the house of Ulaid
 fairness, victory, and a powerful stock,
 ardour and rage, gentleness, contention, and a deed,
 32 battle, beauty, comeliness, and bravery.

There were yielded out of the stronghold of Meath
 military service, generosity, plenty,
 bravery, great hospitality—fair battles—
 36 strength over the land of Ireland.

There were yielded out of the comely land of Bregia
 fine soldiers, princes, lords,
 brehons, bards—an assembly at a cross—
 40 swimming, hunting, size, and horsemanship.

There were yielded in Leinster to my pleasure
 from Etar to Indeoin,
 plenty¹ of good enlivening food,
 44 and repose, with music and ale-feasting.

There were yielded out of Leinster—lasting fame—
 and from the host of Tomar
 despoiling of Cuille, a trace beyond the Siuir,
 48 and blows beyond Indiuin.

There were yielded from the race of Crimthann Cas,
 from the seed of full-fair Labraid,
 bravery beyond that of excellent² men,
 52 the armed fighting men of the Gaedhil.

There were yielded out of strong Raigne
 beautiful men with great qualities;
 the blessing and leave of every saint,
 56 it is on Ossory it was bestowed.

There were yielded out of Munster—without gloom—
 a host of kings, of queens, and of royal poets,
 no attack on strong Niall,
 60 happiness, peace, comfort.

¹ *féile* of YE is translated.

² *finni*, the reading of Eg., seems required by the corresponding *grinni* in the next line.

There were yielded out of brown Desmond
supremacy over great Ireland,
brightness of chastity—a glorious deed—
64 modesty, excellence, truth.

There was yielded out of rich Thomond,
the noble principality of Aulom's race,
great bestowing, greater than every gift,
68 by the seed of Conall son of Lugaid.

There were yielded out of the just land of Connacht
abundance of milk with the cow,¹
modesty, power, playing, and fame,
72 from the land of Cruachain of the weirs.

There were yielded out of the west of Connacht
violent men, keenness, great deeds . . .
76 . . .

There were yielded out of fair Sil Muiredaig.
the kingdom of harsh Medb,
men comely, effeminate and fierce,
80 holders of every strong inheritance.

There were yielded out of northern Connacht
treasures of a land . . . ,
victorious men who . . . their limbs,
84 and eating of the food of Conall's race.

There were yielded out of the land of curly Conall
brave heroes with blue swords,
rough men—fair battles—
88 the lofty stars of Ireland.

Fair Flann Fína, son of Osswy,
the chief sage of knowledge in Ireland,
on the brink of the river Rhine . . .
92 he got his wish, as was fully granted.

¹ *coa lannoir* Eg. is translated; *lannoir* .i. *bo* RC. xx. 250.

These are the victorious deeds
which are proper to each land in turn,
since the day that noble Niall got power,
96 it is long since it was given to him.¹

¹ *leg.* ro-dan-det, which is translated.

IRISH *OCHA*, *OCHANN*

THE earliest version of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, edited by Strachan and O'Keeffe, mentions *Ochá*, or *Ochann*, as lying on the route taken by the Connacht hosts on their way to Ulster. This place has never been identified, and as it is referred to frequently in Irish literature, it will be of interest to scholars to have its location indicated here.

The text of the *Táin* reads: *issed dollotar . . . for Cúil Sibrinni for Ochuind fadess* 'the way they went was by *Cúil Sibrinni*, by *Ocha* (or *Ochann*) to the south,' ll. 81-108. The exact position of the first place here referred to is known from the same text, l. 284, which has a gloss: *i Cúil Sibrilli .i. i Cenannus. Cúil Sibrinni* (or *Sibrilli*)—the names are equivalent—was, therefore, at Kells, co. Meath. Between south and south-west of this town lies the remarkable hill called Faughan, by far the most conspicuous object in the neighbourhood, and visible for many miles in the surrounding country. It lies in the parish of Martry, south of the Blackwater, and distant about three miles from the famous *Tailtin*, or Teltown, which is to the north of that river. The hill gives name to the townland of Faughan-hill, and is certainly the *Ocha*, or *Ochann*, of the ancient *Táin* story, which not inaccurately describes it as south of the place last mentioned. Phonetically *Ochann* and 'Faughan' correspond exactly, except that the English name has initial prosthetic *f*. In the same way Irish *Othain* is represented by English 'Fahan' in Inishowen, co. Donegal.

Ochan was supposed to have been the burial-place of Niall of the Nine Hostages, who reigned just before St. Patrick's time. The tradition is as old as the tenth century, for it is embodied in a poem of Cinaeth ua hArtacán, who died in 974. The king was slain beyond the seas, and his dead body was brought by his followers to Ireland:

Westwards from *Teamhair* went
the band of his powerful retinue,

then there was, after sorrow,
great lamentation of Niall's people.

Then, after the burial, and the freeing of his hostages :

In high *Ochan*
everyone bade farewell to the others,
men of Leinster, of Munster,
of Connacht, of LÍ, and of Lorg.
(Gwynn, Metrical Dindshenchus, II. 39.)

The same story is found in the prose Rennes Dindshenchus, *Revue Celtique* xv. 295, and also in the *Leabhar na hUidhre*, p. 51a, which says: 'Niall was buried in *Ocháin*, and the hill is named *Ochain* from *och cáini*, that is, the sighing and weeping the men of Ireland made lamenting Niall there.'

In the Annals of the Four Masters at the year 1168 there is an entry which says a convention was held at *Ochann* between Ruaidhri O Conchobhair, king of Ireland, O Ruairc, lord of *Breifne*, O Cearbhaill, lord of *Airghialla*, and others. When the business of the meeting was concluded, the king of Ireland and the men of the northern half celebrated the Fair of *Tailtiu*—the last celebration on record—and so gorgeous was the assembly that, in the words of the annalists, 'they extended their horse-racing and cavalry from the hill of *Aidi* (now 'Lloyd' beside Kells) to that of *Tailtiu*.'

The only forms of the name occurring in the passages discussed are *Ochan(n)* and *Ochain(n)*—for *Ocháin* in *Leabhar na hUidhre* is spurious, and constructed to make the explanation given seem plausible. A much more primitive form, however, is found in the Annals of Ulster at the year 482: *bellum Oche in quo cecidit Ailill Molt*. This name has been separated by Hogan in his *Onomasticon* from that referred to in the texts quoted above, but they are identical. *Oche* is the genitive singular; it, as well as the other cases, became *Ocha* later. Next the word passed into another declension, thus: nom. *Ocha*, g. *Ochann*, d. and acc. *Ochainn*. The older form survived beside the new in the phrase *cath Ocha*.

There is no evidence that I know of for putting the place of the battle of *Ocha* outside Meath. O'Donovan, *Four Masters*, I. 150, quotes a Life of Brigid to the effect that it was near Tara. Faughan is ten miles north-west of that place. The Life of

Ciarán, also, has the following passage concerning Crimthann, who won the battle: *ipse in graui bello Oche in regione Midhi occidit Aillill Molt regem Hibernie*, Plummer, Vitæ Sanct. Hib. I. 225. Compare too: *cath Ocha for Ailill molt insin, isin chath dheidenach dorochair Ailill molt la Crimthann mac Ennai*, Silva Gadelica, I. 370, a passage which has been mistranslated by O'Grady, and misquoted by Hogan.

PAUL WALSH.

THE BOOK OF THE O'CONOR DON

MY friend and neighbour the O'Conor Don has kindly permitted me to catalogue a valuable paper manuscript in his possession, consisting of poems of the fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, and early seventeenth centuries. This manuscript is the biggest and most valuable collection of bardic poems I have ever met with.

The size of the page is about $8 \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ inches. The volume contains an Index of first lines bound in with it, on ff. 31-33, and in a different handwriting from that of the text, but apparently contemporaneous. From a close examination of this Index I deduce that the volume consisted originally of 422 folios and no more. Of these, 30 folios¹ were either blank or missing when the Index was made, since no poems are attributed to these folios in the Index. It is also evident that since the Index was made, several of the folios which were then in existence have been lost. The lost folios that contained poems are those numbered 26, 28 (only one poem is ascribed to the latter in the Index), and 40, as well as all the folios from 414 to 422, both inclusive, and also one, or perhaps two, of the folios 234-6, it is uncertain which.

The number of poems still preserved is 342, of which one is later than the rest of the collection, and does not belong to it, and of which five or six are duplicates. The number of lost poems appears to be 28, of which a good number appear to have belonged to the missing folio 26, this part of the manuscript being written in so small a hand that a single page contained 42 quatrains. It is a pity that these poems in this minute writing are lost, for they seem of a less formal and more occasional nature than the others, and consequently more interesting. The usual number of quatrains on a page is from 13 to 15, each quatrain occupying two lines.

The manuscript was written at Ostend (Oistin) in 1631, for

¹ They are the following:—20, 21, 28, 34 to 42 inclusive, 92-96 inclusive, 108, 154, 211, 212, 233-236 inclusive, 287, 288, 309-312 inclusive, 335 and 336.

a certain Captain Samhairle or Sorley [MacDonnell?], no doubt the same soldier-scholar for whom the *Duanaire Fhinn* was compiled. There is a colophon in red ink on fol. 149 at the end of a poem by Tadhg Dall which runs: 'Do sgríobhas do réir mar fuaras do chaipín Samhairle mise Aodh.' The words 'Caipín Samhairle,' which occur twice in the book, are in both cases deliberately but, luckily, not completely erased. 'Mise Aodh' is partly erased also, but this must be the reading, for on fol. 238a I find the following cryptic words at the close of the well-known poem *Maircc fheuchas ar Inis Ceithlenn*, namely 'mng sng bhsddh ddl sgrngobh,' a kind of consonantal 'Ogam' writing which occurs in another manuscript in my possession, and which, transliterated, reads, 'Mise Aodh do scríobh.' Who Aodh was there is nothing in this manuscript to show.

The bulk of the volume was written by this same scribe 'Aodh,' but eleven folios (97 to 107 inclusive) seem to be in a different hand, and on ff. 98 and 99 some lines in the middle of the poem beginning 'Fuighioll bennocht bru Muire,' are written in a third hand, bad and shaky like that of an old man, which hand is also occasionally seen in the ascription of authors to poems. This hand sometimes erases the name in red ink given by the original scribe and substitutes another, which last must consequently be accepted as contemporaneous and to some extent authoritative. I examined carefully the handwriting of the *Duanaire Fhinn* in the Franciscan Library, and I am pretty sure that, though it is much fresher and larger than that in O'Conor Don's Book, it is really the same. If so the scribe was Aodh Ó Dochartaigh, and Caipín Samhairle for whom he wrote was Captain MacDonnell. Both manuscripts were written in Ostend, and there are only four years between them. The handwriting is beautiful and scholarly. The names of the poets, the first word of each poem when repeated at the end, and the first letter of each rann, are written in red ink.

The number of poets whose names are given is 85 in all, of whom 22 were unknown to Dr. Kuno Meyer when he compiled the valuable list in his *Primer of Metrics*. The collection being evidently a northern work, although it represents all Ireland, gives a predominant place to the northern poets, though, strange to say, the O'Clerys are hardly represented. Fergal óg Mac an Bhaird has 30 poems ascribed to him, Eochaidh Ó hEóghasa has 25, Tadhg dall Ó hUiginn has 24. After them come Eóghan Ruadh Mac an Bhaird with 11 and Tadhg óg Ó hUiginn with

10. Most of the poets have only two or three poems to their credit.

The volume is obviously divided into two parts by the compiler. The first 125 folios are mostly taken up with didactic and religious poetry. Then on folio 126 begins a series of political, historical, racial, and miscellaneous pieces, many of them addressed to reigning chiefs, and relating to the O'Neills, O'Donnells, Maguires, O'Briens, Magennises, &c.

When the manuscripts of old Charles O'Connor of Belanagare were brought to Stowe by the younger Charles, this MS., with one or two others, was evidently overlooked, and so continued in O'Connor Don's family. The late O'Connor Don had it bound, for up to then I fancy it was in a very bad condition and was falling to pieces.

The following is a list in alphabetical order of the initial lines of the poems, with the authors to whom they are ascribed. In the case of poems ascribed to 'an fear céadna' the author's name is here given with an asterisk prefixed.

My friend Miss Eleanor Knott, who possesses an almost unique acquaintance with Irish bardic poetry, has been kind enough, with my catalogue before her, to go over the entire manuscript again with the greatest care, checking and verifying my list of poets, the number of poems ascribed to them, the list of opening lines, and adding the number of stanzas. She has corrected several mistakes of omission or commission into which I had fallen in my original draft, and her help and collaboration have been most valuable.

DOUGLAS HYDE.

INDEX OF FIRST LINES¹

1. Abair riom a Éire ógh. 47 stanzas, Maol Muire bacach Mac Raith.	fol. 296a
2. Ab an aonuigh caruid Dé. 9 stt., headed Marbhna Abad an aonuig	„ 27b
3. A bhen croidhe companta. 6 stt. (defective), *Eochaidh Ó hEóghusa	„ 24b
4. A bhen doni an truagpeacadh. 6 stt., Eochaidh Ó hEóghusa	„ 24a
5. A bhen fuar an falachán. 5 stt. (acephalous)	„ 27a
6. A bhen fuair faill ar an ffer. 39 stt., *Eóghan ruadh Mac an Bhaird	„ 186a
7. A bhraige atá a ttor Lonndan. 30 stt., <i>same</i>	„ 200a
8. A Bhriain Meg Uidhir éist roinn. 13 stt., Ó hEóghusa .i. Eochaidh	„ 228b
9. A chláirseach Chnuic Í Cosguir. 10 stt.	„ 14a
10. A chóigidh chaoín Chairbre chruaidh. 37 stt.	„ 383b
11. A chroinn arar toirling Dia. 50 stt., Aodh Mac Aingil	„ 85a
12. A dhúin thíos atá at énor. 34 stt., Maol Muire mac Con Uladh Mic an Bhaird	„ 178a
13. A dhuine chuirios an crann. 4 stt., Giolla Brighde Ó hEóghusa	„ 79a
14. A eolcha Chonuill cheolaigh. 32 stt.	„ 162a
15. A eólcha Éirenn airde. 45 stt.	„ 384b
16. A fíir croidhe caruimsi. 5 stt., *Eochaidh Ó hEóghusa	„ 24b
17. A fíir iomtnuidh (nó imthu <i>written above</i>) an aois téid. 6 stt., <i>same</i>	„ 24b
18. A fíir téid go fiadh bfuinigh. 34 stt., Maol Muire Ó hUiginn, a later hand adds: .i. eardasbug Tuama	„ 410a

¹ Fol. 22 is occupied by an acephalous piece, apparently satirical, in the style of 'The Tribes of Ireland,' each stanza being addressed to an individual. It seems to be directed against the poetic profession. The first line of the fragment, probably the third of the first stanza, is: *agus fós cnu na hédan.* E. K.

19. A fir treabhas an ttulaigh. 3 stt., Maol Muire
Ó hUiginn airdeasbag Tuama . . . fol. 79a
20. Ag so an t-eslán dáríribh. 14 stt., Maol Muire
Mac an Bhaird . . . „ 57a
21. Aisling ad connaire Cormac. 47 stt. . . „ 330a
22. Aisling do chonnarc ó chianaibh. 14 stt., Giolla
Brighde Albanach, altered by a later scribe
to Giolla Brighde Mac Con Midhe . . . „ 294a
23. Aithin mé dod t' oide a Eóin. 19 stt. . . „ 112a
24. A leabhráin ainmníghtheas d' Aodh. 15 stt.,
Eóghan ruadh Mac an Bhaird . . . „ 206a
25. A liubhair ata ar do lár. 17 stt., Flann File (added
by Chas. O'Connor) . . . „ 156a
26. A lucht chumas brég sa dán. 11 stt. (3 and 4
defective, An Persún riabhach . . . „ 15a
27. A mhacaimh mhaoidhes do slad. 8 stt., Eochaidh
Ó hEóghusa . . . „ 24b
28. A mhic na meabhraigh éigsi. 13 stt., Mathghamh-
ain Ó hIofarnáin . . . „ 403a
29. A Mhór cuimhnigh an cumann. 49 stt., Tadhg
dall Ó hUiginn . . . „ 277a
30. A Murchaidh fuirigh re cách. 18 stt. . . „ 289a
31. An ail libh senchus síol cCéin. 80 stt., Tadhg
dall . . . „ 396b
32. An ccluine mé a mhacaimh mná. 7 stt. . . „ 25a
33. An folt sa dhuit a Dhé Athar. 8 stt. . . „ 79b
34. Anocht as uaigneach Éire. 12 stt., Ainnrias Mac
Marcuis . . . „ 413b
35. Anocht sgaoilid na sgola. 30 stt. . . „ 371a
36. Anois díolaim an dechmhadh. 18 stt., Tadhg mac
Dáire Mhic Bruaideadha . . . „ 293a
37. Anois rárag ríoghacht mh'aigne. 10 stt. . . „ 239b
38. An tú ar ccédaithne a charracc. 39 stt., * Eochaidh
Ó hEóghusa . . . „ 394b
39. An tú arís a ráith Temhrach. 56 stt., Aonghus
ruadh Ó Dálaigh . . . „ 316b
40. An tú m'aithne a falluing donn. 8 stt. (1, 2 and
3 defective). . . „ 27b
41. An tusa an bhen do bhí sunn. 20 stt., * Tadhg
dall . . . „ 400b
42. An tú tháinig go Tadhg dall. 17 stt., Cormac óg. „ 401b
43. An ullamh fós feis Temrach. 35 stt. . . „ 127a

44. A ogáin ón a ogáin. 9 stt. fol. 76b
45. Aoibhind an lása a Lonndainn. 14 stt., Tadhg dall „ 16b
46. Aoidhe mo chroidhe cenn Briain. 49 stt., Giolla
Brighde Mac Con Midhe „ 143a
47. Aoidhidh meisi ag mathair Dhé. 28 stt. . . . „ 111a
48. Aoidhigh ó Cais na crích féin. 10 stt., Tadhg
mac Daíre „ 299a
49. Ard do sgél a mic na ccuach. 64 stt., Flann mac
Lonáin ollamh Connocht „ 165b
50. Ar iasacht fuaras Aongus. 32 stt. „ 370a
51. Ar tfaosamh damh a Dhé a athair. 24 stt.,
Eochaidh Ó hEóghusa „ 124b
52. A sgríbhíonn luighes tar ler. 20 stt., *Giolla
Brighde Ó hEóghusa „ 409a
53. A Shionann Briain Bhóroime. 7 stt., Ua Briain . „ 375a
54. A Shionann Chuinn chédchathaigh. 13 stt., Tadhg
óg Ó hUiginn „ 375a
55. Atáid trí comraic um chionn. 31 stt., *same* . „ 109b
56. Atám a ccás eidir da combairle. 22 stt., Eochaidh
Ó hEóghusa „ 213a
57. Atam ionchora re hAodh. 11 stt., Giolla Brighde
Ó hEóghusa „ 179a
58. Atá sinn ar slighidh. 21 stt. „ 114b
59. Atá sonn rolla na ríogh. 30 stt. „ 155a
60. Atá sonn senchas nach suaill. 18 stt. . . . „ 156b
61. A thechtaire téid ar sliabh. 22 stt., Tadhg dall Ó
hUiginn „ 351b
62. A thechtaire téid budh dhes. 10 stt., Brian ó
Corc[r]ján „ 229a
63. A theachtaire téid budh thuaidh. 27 stt. . . „ 139a
64. A thechtaire tig on Róimh. 32 stt. (21-23 de-
fective) „ 17a
65. A tegh bheg tiaghar a ttegh mhór. 60 stt., Gof-
raidh fionn „ 289b
66. Athfás fréimhe clann Carrthoigh. 39 stt. . . „ 364b
67. Bámur aghaidh a nÁth Lóich. 40 stt., Guile
Atha Lóich „ 372a
68. Beart chloithe ar Éirinn ég ríogh. 31 stt., Brá-
thair bocht Ó Dálaigh „ 361b
69. Beg nach ttainig mo thérma. 48 stt., Tadhg óg
Ó hUiginn „ 51a

70. Beir oirbhire uaim go hAodh. 16 stt., Eochaidh
Ó hEóghusa fol. 284b
71. Beith ré dán dlighidh ollamh. 50 stt. (the last 8 stt.
are on folio 259), Cú Chonnacht Ó Fialán . . . 246b
72. Bennacht ort a Fhloinn Aidhne. 12 stt. 165a
73. Bennacht uaim siar go hÉirinn. 26 stt., Fearghal
óg Mac an Bhaird 404a
74. Béurad breth na himresan. 24 stt. (206 lines),
Tadhg an Ghadrhuigh Mac Aodhagáin . . . 375b
75. Biaidh athroinn ar Inis Fáil. 53 stt., Uilliam óg
Mac an Bhaird 176a
76. Braon re ndubhadh diomdha Dé. 37 stt. 97a
77. Brathair don iocht an t-oineach. 37 stt., *headed*
Duain Tuathail Í Mhāille 381a
78. Bréghthar ben ré séd suirge. 13 stt. 64a
79. Brian Ó Ruairc mo rogha lennán. 3 stt., Fear-
ghal óg Mac an Bhaird 281a
80. Cairbre Eóghan Enna éimh. 12 stt., *Giolla
Brighde Mac Con Midhe 161b
81. Cairt a síothchána ag síol Ádhuimh. 32 stt. 103a
82. Cáit ar ghabhadar Gaoidhil. 26 stt. 412a
83. Ca síth don cheól do-chuala. 14 stt. Maol Muire
Mac an Bhaird 14b
84. Ca talamh duit a bhrathair. 13 stt. (st. 5 defec-
tive), Tadhg dall 13a
85. Cert gach rí go réil. 72 stt. 146a
86. Cia ar a bhfuil th'aire a Éire. 54 stt. Pádraic
glas Mac an Bhaird 222a
87. Cia a [s] sine cairt ar crích Néill. 43 stt. Domh-
nall mac Dáire 379b
88. Cia doghéubhainn go Gráinne. 25 stt., Tadhg óg
Ó hUiginn (two copies) fols. 23b and 367b
89. Cia ghabhas m'anmuin re a ais. 27 stt. 112b
90. Cian do chuairt a Chú Connacht. 10 stt., *Brian
Ó Corcrán 226b
91. Cia ré bhfáiltigh fian Eirne. 13 stt., Eóghan
ruadh Mac an Bhaird 199a
92. Cia ré bfuil Éire ag anmhoin. 50 stt., Fearghal
óg Mac an Bhaird 254b
93. Cia ré ccuirfinn séd suirghe. 20 stt., Tadhg mór
Ó Cobhthaigh 172b

94. Cia thu a mhacaoimh mhná. 8 stt. fol. 27a
95. Cionnas sin a fír na mbreg. 9 stt. (last three defective) „ 27a
96. Cionnas tig Eire gan Aodh. 51 stt., Conchobhar Mac an Bhaird „ 168a
97. Clú nach ccaitear clú Muire. 18 stt. „ 61a
98. Coimhge Criost fa Coin gConnocht. 16 stt., Brian Ó Corcrán „ 225a
99. Cóir Connocht ar chath Laighen. 50 stt. „ 328b
100. Cóir Dhé edram as Uilliam. 19 stt., *Tadhg dall Ó hUiginn „ 351a
101. Conall coingidh chlanna Neill: táinig a Teamraigh taoibhréidh. 50 stt., Flann Mainistreach „ 157a
102. Conall cuingidh cloinne Neill: mac dob uaisle don airdfréimh. 33 stt., Giolla Brighde Mac Con Midhe „ 141b
103. Congal Cinn Mhaghair maith rí. 7 stt. „ 165a
104. Connradh do cenglas re hAodh. 13 stt. „ 218b
105. Coróin Eirionn ainm I Neill. 55 stt., Ó Gnímh „ 135b
106. Corrach do chodlas aréir. 20 stt. (11-18 defective), Tadhg Ó Cobhthaigh „ 25a
107. Crand do chuir amach Naoi nár. 30 stt., Giolla Brighde Mac Con Midhe „ 104a
108. Creach Gaoidheal eg énduine. 40 stt. „ 275a
109. Créid an t-uamhan so ar féin Ghall. 42 stt., Domhnall mac Dáire Mhic Bruaideadha „ 291b
110. Créid í an aithrisi ó Áth Cliath. 15 stt., Cormac Ó hUiginn „ 333b
111. Créud tarraigh treisi Connacht. 51 stt., Maoil [S]eachluinn na n-uirsgéal Ó hUiginn „ 321a
112. Cuirfiod cumaoin ar chrú Táil. 97 stt., Maoilín Mac Bruaideadha „ 305a
113. Cuirfiod so ionnad a Aodh. 20 stt., Maol Muire mac Con Uladh Mic an Bhaird „ 217a
114. Cuir srian rem corp a Choimhdhe. 16 stt., Tuileagna ruadh Ó Maoil Chonaire „ 56b
115. Cumhaidh focas onóir ríogh. 36 stt. „ 360a
116. Da chuireadh ar cloinn Ádhuim. 31 stt. „ 115b
117. Da mbeith m'énfainne a nÉirinn. 5 stt., Brian Mac Grialusa „ 25b

118. Dána an turas trialltor sonn. 23 stt., Eóghan
ruadh Mac an Bhaird fol. 184b
119. Daoine saora siol cColla. 58 stt., Tadhg dall Ó
hUiginn. Stt. 1-23, fol. 258ab; stt. 24-58. „ 237a
120. Da roinn comtroma ar crích Neill. 49 stt., Mac
an Bhaird „ 130a
121. Deacair foghnamh do thoil da thigherna. 21 stt. „ 119a
122. Decair innremh na hóige. 43 stt. „ 256b
123. Deacair suan ar cneidh ccarad. 17 stt., Giolla
Brighde Ó hEóghusa „ 409b
124. Déna coimhne a Chaisil Chuirce. 42 stt. „ 357a
125. Dénam cunntas a Chathail. 37 stt., Tadhg dall. „ 332a
126. Dfior cogaidh comhuilteir síothcháin. 60 stt.,
Tadhg dall Ó hUiginn. „ 279a
127. Dia do bhetha a Mheic Muire. 5 stt. „ 109a
128. Dia madh meisi budh rí reill. 37 stt. „ 382a
129. Diol fuatha flaithios Éirionn. 58 stt., Eochaidh
Ó hEóghusa „ 190a
130. Diomhaoin gach dan acht dán Dé. 10 stt., *Fear-
ghal óg Mac an Bhaird „ 89b
131. Diomgach me don macthacht ríogh. 23 stt.
*Eóghan ruadh Mac an Bhaird „ 185b
132. Dlegar muinntear ag máthair Dhé. 31 stt.,
Aodh mac Con Connacht Í Ruanadha „ 62b
133. Dliche a dhuine dénamh lóin. 44 stt., Fearghal
óg mac Fearghail Mhic an Bhaird „ 81b
134. Dlighidh ollamh urruim ríogh. 41 stt. „ 299b
135. Do bháidh teine Tír Chonuill. 40 stt., Fearghal
óg Mac an Bhaird „ 209b
136. Do brisios berna ar Brian. 40 stt., Maoil Seach-
luinn na n-uirsgéal Ó hUiginn „ 325b
137. Do caitheadh aoibhnes Uladh. 35 stt., Mac Con
Midhe .i. Conchobhar ruadh „ 239b
138. Do chuaidh mo súil tar mo chuid. 7 stt. „ 24b
139. Do féchadh fulang Ghaoidheal. 43 stt. *Eoch-
aidh Ó hEóghusa „ 253a
140. Do ghabh Éire a huain cumhadh. 33 stt. „ 337a
141. Do geineadh inghean ón umhla. 44 stt. „ 122a
142. Do mheallais misi a cholann. 12 stt. „ 75b
143. Dorn idir dhán as dásacht. 53 stt., Seán mór
Ó Clumháin „ 323b
144. Do tógbadh meirge Murchaidh. 52 stt. „ 386a

145. Do turnadh treisi Ghaoidhiol. 46 stt. Domhnall Mac Dáire fol. 294b
146. Droiched na bpeacthach páis Dé. 30 stt. „ 106b
147. Dún do bhél a Eoghain óig. 10 stt., Maol Muire Ó hUiginn „ 402a
148. Each gan aradhain an ferg. 37 stt., Maoil [S]eachluinn na n-uirsgéal Ó hUiginn „ 327a
149. Earradh cumhadh um Chruachain. 55 stt., Fearghal óg Mac an Bhaird „ 281a
150. Éasca ar nglanadh grás Muire. 12 stt. „ 62a
151. Eisdigh re Conull calma. 22 stt., * Giolla Brighde Mac Con Midhe „ 160b
152. Eisd rem egnach a fíir ghráidh. 26 stt., * Fearghal óg Mac an Bhaird „ 405b
153. Éisd rem faoisidin Íosa. 33 stt. „ 70a
154. Éistt rém fuighlibh a athair. 14 stt. „ 71b
155. Eiseirghe dár éirigh Dia. 35 stt. „ 100a
156. Enna dalta Chairbre cruaidh. 46 stt. „ 163a
157. Fada an ráithesi romhuinn. 44 stt., Tadhg óg Ó hUiginn „ 342b
158. Fada atú a n-aghaidh mh'anma. 25 stt., Diarmaid Mac an Bhaird. „ 102a
159. Fada leicther Emhain a n-aontugha. 28 stt., * Eochaidh Ó hEóghusa „ 250b
160. Fada ó cheile clann fPilib. 50 stt., Ó hEachadhán „ 259a
161. Fada om' inntinn a hamharc. 23 stt., * Eochaidh Ó hEóghusa „ 252a
162. Fada ré hurchoid Éire. 55 stt., * *same* „ 248b
163. Faghoim cert a chlann Éimhir. 36 stt., Tadhg mac Dáire „ 398b
164. Fagus fortacht don taoibh thuaidh. 52 stt., Fearghal óg Mac an Bhaird „ 197b
165. Fa urraidh labras leac Themhrach. 39 stt. „ 366a
166. Feronn cloidhemh críoch Banbha. 67 stt., Tadhg dall Ó hUiginn „ 340a
167. Fíorainim don ghaobhaigh an gubhach. 24 stt., An tAthair Pádraic Ó Coirnín (this piece, composed in 1712, was added by a later scribe) „ 334a
168. Fód codarsna críoch Bhanbha. 46 stt., Eochaidh Ó hEóghusa „ 393a

169. Foraire Uladh ar Aodh. 32 stt. . . . fol. 271b
 170. Foraois na horchra Ibh Eathach. 42 stt., Ó
 Ruanadha „ 273b
 171. Frith an uainsi ar inis Fáil. 39 stt., Eóghan
 ruadh Mac an Bhaird „ 126a
 172. Fuaras féin im maith ó mhnaoi. 8 stt., Tadhg
 dall Ó hUiginn „ 25a
 173. Fuaras iongnadh a fir cumainn. 22 stt.,
 * Fearghal óg Mac an Bhaird „ 405a
 174. Fuaras tri tíodluicthi ó Dhia. 5 stt. „ 79a
 175. Fuar lem an adhuighsi d'Aodh. 19 stt.,
 * Eochaidh Ó hEóghusa „ 248a
 176. Fuighioll bennocht brú Mhuire. 37 stt. „ 98b
 177. Fuilngidh bhur lén a Leth Cuinn. 44 stt., Tadhg
 óg Ó hUiginn „ 352b
 178. Fuirigh go foill a Éire. 45 stt., Gofraidh fionn Ó
 Dálaigh „ 355a
 179. Gabh a Briain liom fam lochtaibh. 26 stt.,
 Fearghal óg Mac an Bhaird „ 285b
 180. Gabh comhairle a críosduighe. 28 stt. „ 123b
 181. Gaoidhil meallta nó mac Néill. 40 stt., Uilliam
 óg Mac an Bhaird „ 150b
 182. Ga sealbh as ferr ar Es Ruaidh. 48 stt., Giolla
 Íosa Ó Sléibhín „ 241b
 183. Geall ré maoinibh moladh Dé. 27 stt., Pilib
 bocht; a later hand adds: Ni he acht Domh-
 nall mhac Dáire Mhic Bruaideadha „ 68a
 184. Gearr go laibheora an Lia Fáil. 29 stt. „ 283a
 185. Glac a chompáin comhairle.¹ 52 stt. (two copies) fols. 1a, 43a
 186. Gluais a thechtaire téid siar. 11 stt., Uilliam óg
 Mac an Bhaird fol. 342a
 187. Grádh fa thuairim tuccas d'Aodh. 24 stt.,
 Donnchadh Mac an Chnáide. „ 152a
 188. Gur mheala an t-armas a Emuinn. 19 stt. (two
 copies), Tadhg dall Ó hUiginn fols. 25b, 392a
 189. Iad féin chinnes ar chloinn Neill. 49 stt., *same*
 (two copies, the second couplet of st. 31 is
 missing in both) fols. 23a, 390b

¹ A translation of St. Bernard's *Formula Honestae Vitae* (Migne clxxxiv, col. 1167).—E. K.

190. In deimhin anos techt don tairngire. 14 stt. . fol. 313a
 191. Iomchuir h'athtuirrsi a Aodh ruaidh. 46 stt.,
 Maol Muire mac Con Uladh Mic an Bhaird . „ 192b
 192. Iomdha agra ar Íbh Eathach. 36 stt. . . „ 269a
 193. Iomdha fath ag feirg an coimhdedh. 29 stt.,
 * Fearghal óg Mac an Bhaird . . . „ 87a
 194. Iomdha sgel maith ar Muire. 29 stt. . . „ 59b
 195. Iomdha sochar ag síol Néill. 52 stt., Tadhg dall
 Ó hUiginn „ 132a
 196. Iomdha uirim ag Ulltaibh. 37 stt., Mac Con
 Midhe .i. Brian ruadh „ 171a
 197. Ionmholtá malairt bisigh. 12 stt., Ó hEóghusa „ 197a
 198. Ionmhuin compán rocharas (acephalous, 15 stt.
 remaining. Cp. TCD. H.4.15, p. 83) . . „ 12a
 199. Ionmuin an fert a bhfoil Brian. 12 stt. . . „ 153a
 200. Ionmhuin sgríbhíonn scaoiltear sunn. 4 stt.,
 Eóghan ruadh Mac an Bhaird . . . „ 188a
 201. Ionmhuin taisi atá a nDoire. 21 stt., Conchobhar
 Mac Con Midhe „ 138b
 202. Ionmhuin tigh ré a ttugas cúl. 25 stt., Eochaidh
 Ó hEóghusa „ 377b
 203. Ionnmhas ollaimh onoir ríogh. 32 stt., Fearghal
 óg Mac an Bhaird „ 195b
 204. Is truagh sin a Chú Connocht. 7 stt., * Brian
 Ó Corcrán „ 227a
 205. Labhair liom a Mhuire mathair. 13 stt. . „ 60b
 206. Lámh derg Éironn Aoibh Ethach. 37 stt., An
 tÓrthóir, altered by a later scribe to Maoleach-
 loinn orrdairc na nuissgéal (*sic*) i.e. Maoil
 Seachluinn Ó hUiginn „ 268a
 207. Leaba charad a cCorcuidh. 42 stt., Maoil
 [S]eachluinn Ó hUiginn „ 230b
 208. Leascc an aghaidhsi ar Es Ruaidh. 34 stt.,
 Eóghan Mac an Bhaird „ 170a
 209. Leath ré Fódhla fuil Uidhir. 43 stt., Fearghal
 óg Mac an Bhaird „ 244b
 210. Lé heunmhnaoi cuirter clú ban. 33 stt., Aodh
 mac Diarmada Mhic an Bhaird . . . „ 229b
 211. Leigfíod Aodh d'fearaibh Éireann. 14 stt., Tadhg
 dall Ó hUiginn „ 218a
 212. Leighios an bhetha bás Dé. 32 stt. (two copies) fols. 5b, 46a

213. Lesaighter libh léine an ríogh. 25 stt., Ó
Dálaigh fol. 322b
214. Liag mo thuirrsi tásg mo ríogh. 27 stt., Donn-
chadh an tsneachta „ 378b
215. Liaigh mo chabhartha an croch naomh. 19 stt. „ 67b
216. Lóchrann soillsi ag síol Ádhaimh. 46 stt. (two
copies), the second copy is headed Donn-
chadh mór Ó Dálaigh fols. 3b, 44b
217. Lubhghort fínemhna fuil Ír. 77 stt., Fearghal
óg Mac an Bhaird fol. 264a
218. Maidean duinn i cCill da Luadh. 38 stt., *Guile
Átha Lóich „ 373b
219. Maighen díoghla Druim Lighen. 45 stt., Tadhg
dall Ó hUiginn „ 174a
220. Mairecc as braighe ar mhachruidh Murbuigh. 23
stt., Eóghan ruadh Mac an Bhaird „ 201a
221. Maírg bheirios díogha da dheóin. 18 stt., Fear-
ghal óg Mac an Bhaird „ 86b
222. Maírg danab oighreacht Éire. 45 stt. (the second
couplet of st. 17 is missing) „ 128b
223. Mairecc danab soirbh an saoghal. 36 stt. „ 113b
224. Mairecc dar compánach an colann. 9 stt., Athairn
Mac Ceóghuin „ 76a
225. Maírg dobeir gradh leatromach. 7 stt., Maghnus
.i. Ó Domhnaill „ 25b
226. Maírg dochuaidh ré ceird dúthchais. 24 stt.
(two copies). fols. 267a, 407b
227. Mairecc do grios Giolla Padraig. 33 stt., Giolla
Brighde Mac Con Midhe fol. 12a
228. Mairecc doní uail as óige. 8 stt., *Athairn Mac
Ceóghuin „ 76b
229. Mairecc duine braithes é féin. 17 stt., Domhnall
mac Dáire Mhic Bruaideadha „ 27a
230. Mairecc féuchas ar Inis Ceithlenn. 36 stt., Tadhg
dall Ó hUiginn „ 238a
231. Maírg iarras-íomlaoid cáinte. 20 stt., Eochaidh
Ó hEóghusa „ 18a
232. Mairecc is fial tar éis Cormaic. 42 stt., Maol
Muire bacach Mac Raith „ 358b
233. Mairecc mheallus muirn an tsaoghail. 41 stt.,
Gofraidh fionn Ó Dálaigh (two copies). fols. 8b, 48b

234. Mairecc nach ttoirtionn a dhéura. 35 stt.,
*Fearghal óg Mac an Bhaird . . . fol. 91a
235. Mairg nach diongnadh dán do Dhia. 32 stt.,
* *same* . . . „ 88a
236. Mairg nach ttuigeand treisi rígh. 32 stt., Cú
Chonnacht óg Mac Ríbheartaigh, altered by
a later scribe to Conchobhar Mac Con Midhe „ 261a
237. Mairecc nech doní derbháile. 34 stt. (two
copies) . . . fols. 24a, 368a
238. Maith agus maithfidhear dhuid. 16 stt. . . fol. 110b
239. Maith an compánach an dán. 14 stt., Ó Cuill . „ 403b
240. Maith an lochd airdríogh óige. 37 stt., Gofraidh
fionn Ó Dálaigh . . . „ 354a
241. Maith an sealad fuair Éire. 91 stt. . . „ 202b
242. Maith do suidhigheadh sioll Neill. 58 stt.,
Fearghal óg Mac an Bhaird . . . „ 133b
243. Maithim d'urra dána acht Dia. 21 stt. . . „ 69a
244. M'anam dhuit a Dhé athar. 43 stt. . . „ 120a
245. Marthain duit a croch an choimhdhe. 48 stt.,
Donnchadh mór Ó Dálaigh . . . „ 64b
246. Máthair chogaidh críoch Bhanbha. 58 stt.,
Eochaidh Ó hEóghusa. . . „ 347b
247. Me ar t'faosamh a ógh. 14 stt., *Fearghal óg
Mac an Bhaird . . . „ 90b
248. Me fein m'énbraidhisi ar Aodh. 22 stt.,
Ó Ruanadha . . . „ 272b
249. Mithidh sin a Raith na ríogh. 22 stt.,
Ó hEóghusa . . . „ 219a
250. Mithidh teacht a Chú Connacht. 17 stt., *Brian
Ó Corcrán . . . „ 226a
251. Mo chaomhna ar chóig créachtaibh an tigherna.
9 stt., Laoiseach Mac an Bhaird . . . „ 72b
252. Mo chen don loingsi tar ler. 16 stt. . . „ 413a
253. Mo chen do thecht a chláirseach. 14 stt., Cian
Ó hUiginn . . . „ 173b
254. Mo cion dot bhronnadh a Briain. 13 stt., *Brian
Ó Corcrán . . . „ 228a
255. M'ocht roinn molta do Mhuire. 8 stt. . . „ 63b
256. Mo ghenor cenglas cumann bainriogna. 12 stt.,
Fear flatha Ó Gnímh . . . „ 118a
257. Mór an feidhm deilbh an dána. 21 stt., Fear
feasa Ó'n Cháinte . . . „ 402b

258. Mór an lucht arthraigh Éire. 39 stt., Fearghal
óg Mac an Bhaird fol. 140a
259. Mór an t-ainm ollamh flatha. 42 stt., Eochaidh
Ó Eóghusa „ 214a
260. Mór atá ar thegascc flatha. 55 stt., Tadhg mac
Dáire „ 301a
261. Mór mo chuid do cumhaidh Taidg. 47 stt., Tadhg
óg Ó hUiginn „ 314a
262. Mo thruaighe mar táid Gaoidhil. 24 stt., Fear
flatha Ó Gnímh „ 411b
263. Muin aithridhe dhamh a Dhé. 33 stt., Tadhg óg
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at st. 29) fols. 11b, 50a
264. Na dén díomus a dhuine. 12 stt., Gofraidh
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266. Naoi roinn do rinneas do triúr. 10 stt. „ 72a
267. Naomhtha an obair iomradh Dé. 45 stt., Pilib
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*Eochaidh Ó hEóghusa „ 395b
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288. Olc iochtar ar luach leighis. 37 stt., Fearghal
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338.	Uaignech sin a Chinn Choradh.	56 stt.		„ 303a
339.	Uaisle cinidh clann tShuibhne.	35 stt.		„ 387b
340.	Uasal an t-ainm Eóin bruinne.	15 stt.		„ 77a
341.	Uasal ferontas Fergail.	39 stt. (stt. 8 and 9		
	defective), Maoil [S]eachluinn na n-uirsgéal			„ 15b

The folios containing the following poems are now (with one exception, see note on p. 81, *supra*), missing from the MS. The first lines are taken from the Table of Contents.

A dhuine chodlas go sáimh.
 A fir doní an t-éd.
 Aithreach damh mo diocoisge.
 Aoibhinn duit a dhuine boicht.
 Aoibhinn duit a dhuine doill.
 Aoibhinn sin a dhamhain duinn.
 A Slaine ni Flanáin.

Beg liom mo bhendacht don bhás.

Cionuidh ca cion robaoi dhuinn.

Dia a n-aghaidh na hionmhuine.
 Dobeirim seal re saobhnós.

Fiamhach liom turas Torna.

Inmuin aisgidh fuair meisi.

Lá dá raibh an tiompanach.

Mairg duine bíos antuigseach.

Maith gac ní a nesurraidh.

Mo bhennacd mar dligim deit.

Mór doníd daoine díbh féin.

Na bi dom buaidhredh a ben.

Ni cluinim sin a clairseach.

Ni saimh sasacht (?) an aoibhnis.

Ni taobhtha damhsa riom fein.¹

Roinn Briain bhallaigh.

Soraidh slán da noidche aréir.

T'aire a cumtha red comhradh.

Tinn lem do mhaoith a Máire.

Tri gártha as gnathach na duana (dhún?)

Truagh do bhruid a bhean.

Tugas gradh don fuath.

¹ There is a copy of this in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, MS. No. LXIX.
17^b. See Mackinnon's Cat. p. 125, where the line is misread.—E. K.

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¹ See O'Reilly's *Irish Writers*, cxi., and O'Grady, *Cat.* p. 359, where the *t* is taken as the initial, and the translation is consequently wrong. The form of the word is established by metre in a poem in the Franciscan collection, No. A34, beginning *Cuimsech sin a Fhearghail óig*.—E. K.

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Dorearúasat

Only two examples are known to me. One occurs in Imram Brain, § 48.

Ticfa tessarcon úasal
 ónd ríg dorearúasat.

The other is in the difficult rhetoric in Death-Tales, p. 12, § 3, *digal duir choirp crochsiti ríg dorearoosat*. Meyer suggests 'who has created us,' but that the dissyllabic *rea* should be an infixed pronoun is out of the question. It is a case of tmesis; *do rea rúasat* = *dorúasat rea* 'who has created the heavens.' For this meaning of *rea*, O. Ir. *ree* 'spatia,' cf. Wb. 22a8, *omnes caelos .i. arnaib réib ilib*. And for the position of the object, cf. *Críst as rúna rindaid*, Féil. Óengusso, Jan. 12.

OSBORN BERGIN.

THE ST. GALL INCANTATION AGAINST HEADACHE

THIS incantation, which has been several times published, is defective in the St. Gall codex, a fact observed by M. Henri Gaidoz.¹ A fuller and better version of it is, however, preserved among the marginalia of the well-known Trin. Coll. codex H.3.17 (col. 658 d, marg. inf.), in which various other interesting Latin spells and charms are to be found. Some years ago I transcribed these, and hope to publish them in a future number of *ÉRIU*. Subsequently I discovered that Whitley Stokes had actually printed (quite inconspicuously) this particular spell, from Siegfried's papers, in the *Phil. Soc. Trans.* for 1867, p. 300, omitting the Irish application. Stokes observed at the time that it was a better version than the St. Gall one; but he apparently forgot all about it, for in the latest edition (*Thes. Palæohibernicus* II. 248-9) it is ignored. Furthermore he did not reprint this portion of Siegfried's *Miscellanea Celtica* in Kuhn's *Beiträge* VI., which may account for its having escaped the notice of later editors on the Continent—Zimmer, Windisch, Gaidoz, and D'Arbois de Jubainville. In H.3.17 it is not a specific formula against headache,² but of general application. M. Gaidoz has pointed out its enumerative character. In the Dublin manuscript it runs as follows:

Caput Christi, oculus Isaie,^a frons Helie,^b nassus Noe, labia Iob,^c lingua Salamonis, collum Mathei,^d mens Benjamin, pectus Pauli, gratia^e Iohandis, fides Abrathe,^f sanguis Abel.^g Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth. Amen.

^h Neam 7 sægul 7 ana donti gebus fo lige 7 erge.^h 'Heaven and long life and riches to him who will sing it, lying down and rising up.'

R. I. BEST.

St. Gall readings: ^a Isaiae ^b frons nassium Noe (*Helie om.*) ^c labia lingua Salomonis (*Iob om.*) ^d Temathe ^e unctus (*iunctus em. Thes. Pal.*) Iohannis
^f Abrache ^{gg} *om.* ^{hh} *om.*

¹ *Une Incantation énumérative* (*Mélusine* v. 225-8, 1890).

² That charms against headache were much resorted to, is borne out by the *Homilia de Sacrilegiis* IV. 15. To my learned friend Dom Louis Gougaud, I am indebted for the following reference: 'Carmina uel incantationes, quas diximus, haec sunt: ad fascinum . . . ad capitis dolorem, ad oculum pullinum, &c. . . .' C. P. Caspari, *Eine Augustin fälschlich beilegte 'Homilia de sacrilegiis.'* *Christiania*, 1886, p. 9. This homily goes back to the sixth or seventh century.

ON THE ANTIQUITY OF THE KINGSHIP OF TARA

IN studying the early pseudo-historical documents relating to prehistoric Ireland, one is constantly confronted with problems of the greatest difficulty. The most interesting document, for instance, the *Lebor Gabála* or Book of Conquests, is a compilation which treats the early history of Ireland from a particular point of view, with a definite policy of bringing into prominence certain families and races. MacNeill has shown that certain families not originally belonging to the Milesian stock succeeded in claiming a Milesian pedigree. Moreover, it was not merely political tendencies of the kind that introduced confusion into the *Lebor Gabála*, but also the manifest endeavour to make the old tradition synchronise with the world history of those times, making different races of Ireland contemporary with different ages of the world and various illustrious personages of sacred history. It is further very difficult to say precisely to what extent medieval and later Roman conceptions are contained in this interesting document. Take for instance the story of Amairgen's poem. The late d'Arbois de Jubainville regarded it as peculiarly Celtic, and sought to find in it ideas corresponding with those of the medieval Irish philosopher Joannes Scotus Erigena.¹ Yet it is equally possible that Amairgen's poem was written under clerical influences. However that may be, it is similar in style to the songs of Taliesin, and is at all events a product of the learned school. But of course this does not imply that the whole tale and the subject of the poem is a learned invention. The principal theme, the new arrival endeavouring to propitiate the local deities, is unmistakably old, and can be directly paralleled in the folklore of certain primitive tribes.

¹ *Cycle mythologique irlandais*, p. 247 ; transl. p. 139.

Take the following, cited by Sir Laurence Gomme from Thomson's *Story of New Zealand* (I. 61): "The Hawaiki fleet reached New Zealand in the summer. To appease the spirit of the land for their intrusion, humiliating prayers were said; one uttered by a chief . . . is still preserved as a modern charm:

‘I arrive when an unknown earth is under my feet.
I arrive when a new sky is above me.
I arrive at this land,
 A resting-place for me.
O spirit of the earth! the stranger humbly offers his
 heart as food for thee.’”

Compare now Amairgen's poem (LL. 13 b 6):

‘Ailiu iath nHerend
Hermach muir [leg. hermach hermach muir]
Mothach mothach sliab
Srathach srathach caill
cithach cithach aub
Essach essach loch.’

Here we have the learned style and a primitive formula side by side.

The above parallel would go to show that the matter and the circumstance of Amairgen's songs were not the invention of a monkish compiler, though indeed the first of his poems appears to be in the pseudo-mystic style. It would seem as if the theme, and some of the verses at least (cf. the above), belongs to the native tradition, modified however to suit the taste of learned bardism, and synchronised. Hence one cannot be too cautious in pronouncing a given composition to be purely native or purely learned.

So too with the controversy concerning the antiquity of Tara. Certain writers are prone to accept without question all the traditions relating to Tara, even the mythical Tea embodying for them some element of historical fact,—matriarchal organization, for instance,—and yet Tea is manifestly a late creation. On the other hand, there are writers who pronounce all tradition to be Milesian forgeries, and regard the supposed supremacy of Tara as of comparatively recent date, intended to invest the seat of the parvenu conquerors with some of the splendour of antiquity. So far as the political supremacy of

Tara is concerned and Tara being the seat of a new dynasty—that of the Milesians—this is quite true; but it leaves out of account that Tara may have formerly been a place of importance, and for this very reason was chosen by the new comers as their seat, the ancient fame of which may well have been an important factor in their successful colonization. The fact of the Milesians having selected Tara as their seat of government is therefore, in my opinion, the best proof that it had already been a place of some importance.

It has been pointed out that the Tara folk play but a very subordinate part in the *Táin Bó Cuailnge*. But this would only go to show that at the time of the *Táin* they were not of much political importance; it does not necessarily prove that they were not previously of importance, politically or otherwise. Again, we must not forget that *Táin Bó Cuailnge* is an Ulster epic, in which everything is regarded from a distinctly Ulster point of view; consequently it may have deliberately ignored the position of prehistoric Tara, because of the unacceptable claims of contemporary Tara. But if the Ulster epic¹ ignores the importance of Tara, not so the southern epic, that of *Conaire Mór*, which is vitally connected with it. It is possible that Milesian interpolation may account for much, their Tara being substituted for that of *Conaire* in the transmission.

Now the whole subject-matter of the *Conaire* story is undoubtedly ancient. The violation of *gesa* (prohibitions) and the ordeals connected with the kingship of Tara clearly belong, as Mr. Lucius Gwynn has remarked, to an older stratum than the *Táin*.² This view is also in agreement with that of the synchronists, who place *Conaire's* death before the events of the *Táin*.

It may now be asked if any clue can be found to the nature of the importance of Tara. To answer this question we must first consider what tradition has preserved of the pre-Milesian kingship of Tara, and what the *Conaire* saga itself contains.

¹ I.e. the Conchobar-Cúchulinn cycle. Cúroi mac Dáire also perhaps belonged to this cycle. In which case Slemish might have been originally the Ulster Slemish (Co. Antrim), and the Munster Slieve Mish (Co. Kerry), the place where he was later (?) localized.

² But not older than *Combert ConCulaind*, etc.

The Conaire saga represents Conaire as the child of the *síde*. He is, according to the Togail Bruidne Dá Derga (§ 7, ed. Stokes), the son of a supernatural bird. He is placed under certain *gesa*, or taboos, and having violated them is slain by his enemies. Although these *gesa* are not identical with the regular *gesa* of the kings of Tara, they have certain points in common. For instance, Conaire may not go right-handwise (*desiul*) round Tara or withershins (*tuaitlhiul*) round Bregia.

Though Conaire's *gesa* are personal to himself (they were put on him by his father), the whole story of his destruction reads like a moral tale of a king who violated his *gesa*. As the provincial kings of Ireland were also under certain *gesa*, it may be argued that the *gesa* of the Tara kings were imitated from the former. But if that were so, the question would arise, what then were these *gesa*, and what their significance? In many instances they point to the fact that the king was regarded as the representative or incarnation of higher powers, and had to observe certain rules lest these powers should suffer injury. Thus, the health of the king is of vital importance to the community, and physical infirmity may lead to abdication or even the death of the king. For the king as the embodiment of a higher power, is held responsible for the weather, the crops, the health of the community, and the fertility of the herds. Where all these characteristics are present (or may be supposed), the king was probably a living fetish.¹ Now, do we find in Ireland any traces of such a conception? Even those with only a superficial acquaintance with the Irish sagas can furnish a positive answer to this question. It is well known that a personal blemish was sufficient to cause the abdication of an Irish king—for instance, Cormac mac Airt, when he lost an eye. It is likewise well known that a good or bad harvest or the fertility of the herds was directly attributed to the good or bad qualities of the king. But, it may be objected, this also applied to the other kings of Ireland, in Ulster also a personal blemish being held a sufficient reason

¹ Cp. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*. Taboo, p. 1: 'The king or priest is often thought to be endowed with supernatural powers or to be an incarnation of a deity, and consistently with this belief the course of nature is supposed to be more or less under his control, and he is held responsible for bad weather, failure of the crops, and similar calamities.' Frazer (*ib.* 34) quotes the *geasa* of the Irish kings from the Book of Rights. Cp. also his Lectures on the *Early History of the Kingship*, p. 34.

for abdication. Nevertheless it would be somewhat strange if, among the oldest epics, the one relating to violated *gesa* should be vitally connected with Tara.

To take the *gesa* of the kings of Tara—they certainly appear to contain some primitive characteristics. First of all we see that the sun and the sunset play an important part, or are connected with the old terminal division of the year, namely, midsummer (our Mayday) and the new year (our All-Hallows).¹ The movements of the king himself seem to be brought into a *nexus causalis* with the movements of the sun, a trait which appears to be of great antiquity and harmonizes well with the king's responsibility for the success of the crops, etc.

There is yet another point of importance. The ancient kings of Tara were obliged to undergo certain ordeals before their election. Conaire Mór had to submit to these also, as is related in Togail Bruidne Dá Derga. Although in his case the main stress is laid on the dream, we read that he actually entered the chariot (§ 14). The recension De Shíl Chonairi Móir (ÉRIU VI. 134) mentions these ordeals more explicitly, which is of particular importance, seeing that this version does not belong to the Milesian tradition:—

Bai carpat rig hi Temair nagabtais de ech oendatha nad ragabaitis riam fon carpat. Inti nad airoemath flaith Temrach, conobath in carpat fris conachmoceth 7 concligtis ind hich fris. 7 bai casal rig isin carbad; intl nad aurimeth flaith Temrach ba romor do in chasal. 7 batar da liaic hi Temuir .i. Blocc 7 Bluigne; inti arfoemtis, arosilctis fris co teged in carpat etarru. 7 bai Fal and, Ferp Cluche, for cind oenig in charbait; inti arfemath flaith Temrach gloedad in Fal fri fonnad in charpait conidcluneth cach . . .

"There was a king's chariot at Tara. To the chariot were yoked two steeds of the same colour, which had never before been harnessed. It would tilt up before any man who was not destined to receive the kingship of Tara, so that he could not control (?)² it, and the horses would spring at him. And there was a king's mantle in the chariot; whoso might

¹ Especially the following: The sun is not to rise upon him in his bed, in the Plain of Tara. He is not to traverse the Plain of Cuillen after sunset. He is not to launch his ship on the Monday next after Mayday. He is not to leave the track of his army on the Plain of Maigin on the Tuesday after All-Hallows.

² So L. Gwynn; but the rendering is very doubtful. Could the verb be *im-ad-cl*?

not receive Tara's sovereignty the mantle was ever too big for him. And there were two flag-stones in Tara: 'Blocc' and 'Bluigne'; when they accepted a man, they would open before him until the chariot went through. And Fal was there, the 'stone penis' at the head of the chariot-course (?); when a man should have the kingship of Tara, it screeched against his chariot axle, so that all heard it . . . " (*ib.* 138 f.).

These ordeals show clearly that the king of Tara was not only an incarnation of higher powers, but at the same time that he had to be acknowledged as such by them. The Ferp Cluche is especially important, as the name points to a phallic fetish; but the whole series of ordeals may point to a pre-animistic conception—for instance, the roaring stone, or Lia Fáil. Current tradition derived the origin of Lia Fáil from the Túatha Dé Danann. In Lebor Gabála (*Book of Leinster*, p. 9 a 13) it is recorded:

Is iat Tuatha De Danann tucsat leo in Fál Mór .i. in lia fis báí i Temraig diata Mag Fáil for Herind. Inti fo ngessed saide ba rí Herenn. Condasellacht Cu Chulaind 7 ní rogeís foe nach fo daltu .i. fo Lugaid mac trí Find Emna; ocus ní rogeís in cloch o sein ille, acht fo Chund nammá. Rosceind dano a chride estí otá Temraig co Taltin conid e Críde Fáil sein. Ecmoing ní hed fodera, acht Críst do genemain issed robris cumachta na n-ídal.

'It was the Tuatha Dé Danann brought with them the Great Fál, i.e. the Stone of Knowledge which was in Tara, from which Ireland is called the Plain of Fál. He under whom it would cry out was the king of Ireland. Cúchulinn cleft it and it did not call out under him or under his fosterling, i.e. Lugaid, son of the three Finds of Emain; nor did the stone call out from that day to this, save under Conn alone. Its heart then burst out of it from Tara unto Tailtiu, so that is the heart of Fál. Really it was not that which caused it, but Christ being born, that broke the power of the idols.'

It may well be the older tradition was, that the stone was put there by *side*, i.e. the Irish *dii terreni*, and quasi-ancestral deities. These *side* would then be the higher powers of whom the king of Tara was an incarnation, and by whom in consequence he had to be so acknowledged. To the influence of the Milesian interpolations is certainly due the account of Conn. Yet it is plain that this is deliberately tacked on to an older tradition,

namely, that in ancient times the Stone of Destiny called out to the rightful king of Tara. The concluding remark of the compiler, referring to the stone (which before is said to possess a heart) as if it were an idol, is also important. The compiler was therefore well aware of the fact that these rites were pagan.

From all this we are led to the conclusion that the king of Tara undoubtedly appears as the incarnation of higher powers, and that the characteristics proving it are an integral part of the southern sagas and of great antiquity, so far at least as the *motive* is concerned. Hence it is difficult to regard these elements as borrowed from the northern cycles, particularly as these also contain references to Tara rites, e.g. the *Tarbfheis* or Bull Feast.

Taking all these facts into consideration, it follows that the kingship of Tara is in its origin a priestly kingship. The king was a living fetish, subjected to special taboos or *gesa*, lest the powers which were incarnated in him should suffer injury. Similar fetishes are to be found in Rome, for instance in the *Flamen Dialis* (cp. Plutarch's 'Romanae Quaestiones') and the *Rex Nemorensis*. But this does not imply that the other Irish kings were not of a like nature. Thus, it was not considered proper for an Irish king to busy himself with the handle of a shovel, a spade or a clod-mallet (*Anc. Laws*, IV. 335), which is paralleled by the *Flamen Dialis* not being permitted to see work done on holy days.

That Irish kings were inaugurated on cairns or stones is plainly due to such conceptions as the *Lia Fáil*.¹ Yet the tradition of the kingship of Tara preserves in a remarkable degree the characteristics of a priest-kingship. Hence we may conclude that there was at one time a priest-king for some part of Ireland.² That the kingship must have been of some importance is shown by the extremely ancient character of the tradition.

To sum up then, what we may regard as tolerably certain is (1) that before the coming of the Milesian race, Tara was anciently a place of importance, and (2) that the importance of the king of Tara was due to his priestly nature.

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¹ See also J. Loth, *Revue des Études anciennes*, XVII. p. 193 ff., esp. p. 202.

² I will not say the whole or the greater part of Ireland.

NOTES ON THE PREVERBAL PARTICLES AND INFIXED ELEMENTS

IT has been pointed out by Thurneysen (ÉRIU III. 18 f.) that pretonic preverbal particles in non-relative clauses caused gemination. He suggested that these particles originally ended in a consonant, which he assumed to have been, as a rule, **s* < *est*, so that the preverbal particles would have originally been **nis*, **ros*, **dos*, etc. The latter suggestion is less convincing; we fail to see how a substantive verb should come to be infixed after the preverb. Perhaps it was on this account Pedersen explains the gemination as due solely to the fact that a pretonic preverb formed with its verb an improper compound. But before this theory can be accepted, he has to account for the Welsh parallels of gemination, namely, for the spirantic mutation sometimes found after preverbs which otherwise cause lenition in their verb. Pedersen seems inclined to explain this mutation likewise as due to improper composition, though the question arises why it is found only in improper compounds and never in the simplex. In relative sentences, as is known, these same preverbs cause lenition, and yet they occur also in improper composition. Accordingly, there seems no alternative but to assume that the pretonic preverbal particles had in non-relative clauses an auslaut distinct from that in relative clauses,—that is, they must have ended in a consonant. Inasmuch as these particles themselves ended in a vowel, the lost consonant must have been an infixed element. The question then is, what was this infixed element? In answering it, it may be useful if we summarize (1) the infixations usual in Irish, and (2) the exact meaning of infixation.

(1) The following infixations are current: (a) pronomina infixa; (b) *-id-*; (c) relative *-a-*; [for (d) *-con-* see Pedersen, I. 465, II. 209 f.].

(2) Infixation means that an enclitic particle or an enclitic pronoun comes to stand between the pretonic preverb and the verb itself. Now, the insular Celtic verb habitually came first in the sentence, or was immediately preceded by a preposition. If the verb was preceded by a preverb, the enclitic came to stand after the preverb (or particle), that is, it obtained the second place in the sentence. Now, it has been proved that in the Indo-European languages there was a tendency to place the enclitic second in the sentence,¹ and the Celtic infixation is but the natural effect of this rule,² and of course of the traditional order of words.³ Had the verb stood in the middle or at the end of the sentence, there never could have arisen the type preverb + pronoun + verb, but rather preverb + pronoun . . . verb, that is, constructions such as we find in Greek οὐ κατὰ βούς 'Περίονος Ἡελίοιο ἥσθιον. There are, it is true, in Irish, constructions which correspond directly to the Greek type, e.g. such as *for-don-itge-Brigte-bet* (Thes. Pal. Hib. II. 348, 4);⁴ but it is doubtful whether such constructions held good for the spoken language. If it is a fact, however, that the infixation of the pronoun is due to the tendency of Indo-Eur. enclitics to occupy the second place in the sentence, we must conclude that the verb itself (i.e. without any preceding particle) began the sentence, and the enclitic immediately followed the verb.

That this was really the case, is borne out by the Irish suffixed pronouns, e.g. *tathum* 'mihi est,' *foilsigthi* < *foilsiqid-i*, etc. (for examples, see Sommer, ZCP. I. 223; Pedersen, KZ. XXXV. 418; Sarauw, Irske Stud. 55 ff.). To complete this summary, it might be useful to give a few examples of infixation or suffixation of these enclitics: ⁵

¹ Cp. Bergaigne, Mémoires de la Soc. de Linguistique, III. 177 ff., and Wackernagel, Indogerm. Forschungen, I. 333 ff.

² Cp. F. Sommer, Z. f. celt. Phil. I. 231.

³ This was the usual order of words. In Welsh poetry, however, another is possible, e.g. subject : verb (see Loth, RC. XXXI. 329 ff.). This order has disappeared from Irish, where inversion must take place if the subject or another member of the sentence is to come first, e.g. : *Is hé Hercoil romarbh in choraidh* (Ir. Texte II. i. p. 4); here the stressed member is put predicatively first in the sentence. There is, however, another type where the member is a mere thema, e.g. : *Laeach-brugaid amra robi la Connachtaib* (ib. II. ii. p. 225); here *laech-brugaid amra* is a mere thema. Again, *Cathal mac Finguine, rí maith rogab Mumai* (Mac. Congl. p. 3).

⁴ See also D'Arbois de Jubainville, Mém. Soc. Ling. x. 284 ff.

⁵ Cp. D'Arbois de Jubainville, loc. cit. p. 286, who compares Gr. δέ.

(1) Pronouns, already given above;

(2) relative $a < *o$; (a) infixed, *imme churetar*, Wb 5a5 *ní cheil*. W. *ny gar*, 'who does not love.' (β) suffixed: Ir. *cia-su* < **cia-is-o* = Br. *so*.

(3) *iδ* (a) before infixed pronouns:¹ *attotaig* < *ad-dot-aig*. In Irish there are no instances of suffixed *iδ*; in Welsh there is, however, one, *ys + yδ*.

(β) After copula forms: Ir. *con-id*, etc. W. *nyt yttiw*, etc., *nyt* 'non est.' Suffixed it is found in W. *yssit*, 'there is.'

As to the mutual position of the two enclitics, *iδ* and the infixed pronoun, we find a parallel in that of the Greek personal pronoun, which as a rule stands last, when several enclitics come together, e.g. τότε κέν μιν ἱλασσάμενοι πεπίθοιμεν (Il. I. 100); οἷ κέ με τιμήσουσι (ib. 175); ἦ εἰ δὴ ποτέ τοι κατὰ πíoνα μηρὶ ἔκηα (ib. 40).

Now in the case of (a) *iδ* seems to have ended in a non-palatal vowel, as forms like *nu-dam-chrocha*, *fordonchain*, etc., suggest, whereas in the case of (β) it seems to have ended in a palatal vowel, e.g. *condip follus*, and this would suggest two quite distinct forms of *iδ*. The Brit. dialects also point in the same direction, e.g. *ys-yδ* < **...id...*, but *yssit* < **estit...* and *nyt* < **n'it...*. So we may assume that Ir. *iδ* = W. *j'd* [yδ] (**idā*?) and Ir. *iδ* = W. *yt* [yd] (**iti*?) were in like manner syntactically different. The one was used before an infixed pronoun, the other in dependent copula forms (when the copula was preceded by a conjunct particle). This usage is quite clear in the Welsh copula forms *nyt*, *neut* < **nit...*, **neut...* (I will not venture to decide whether in this instance **iti...* was ever followed by **(e)st*, it may have been a non-verbal form; cp. Ir. *ní* below). The Welsh usage appears also to suggest that **it...* was not originally employed in relative or quasi-relative constructions, as for instance in the relative form of the substantive verb and the copula *y'ss-yδ*.

From this we learn (1) that the infixed elements are either pronouns or particles, but not verbal forms, and (2) that there evidently was an element which was originally used after preverbs in non-relative constructions. Hence the unknown geminating element which has been postulated after preverbs in non-relative clauses would be an infix parallel to *iδ* (β).

¹ In Irish, unstressed *δ* and *θ* would give the same result, namely *δ*.

Welsh, moreover, carries us a stage further. We find in Welsh that *ny* and *o* 'if' appear before vowels as *nyt*, *ot*, doublets like *na* [geminating] before vowels as *nac*, *nac* being the original form, and the consonant *c* causing gemination in the following verb. Therefore we may infer that *nyt*, *ot* are the original forms, and the final *t* would explain why *o* and the originally non-relative *ny* produced gemination in the following verb. This much at least seems tolerably certain, that *nyt* did not belong to the relative *ny*, which causes lenition, and appears as *nwy* with the infixed pronoun of the third person. Neither leniting *ny* nor *nwy* can be explained from *nyt*. *Nyt* must accordingly contain the element (*y*)*t*, which may be identical with *yt* = Ir. *ið*, except that it lost its final vowel at an early period, the remaining consonant causing gemination; cp. *a(c)*: Lat. *atque*, *na(c)*: Lat. *neque*. This **nit* may also be contained in Ir. *nig* 'non est,' which would be originally a non-verbal form; cp. W. *nyt* 'non est,' etc. Alongside this *ny(t)* 'non,' causing gemination, there also existed in Early Welsh a leniting *nit* = **n'iti*.

Accordingly we come to the conclusion that gemination after pretonic preverbs in non-relative constructions is really due to an infixed element, and that this element was in its function analogical to *ið* (β), and was probably its sandhi doublet.

It may be of some interest to consider the question of proper and improper composition in verbal forms. Attempts have been made to apply the rules governing the use of proper and improper compounds (or prototonic and deuterotonic verbal forms) to the investigation of sentence stress and the order of words (for bibliography see Hermann, KZ. XXXIII. 508-9, 527 ff.). Prototonic forms are often considered as equivalents of pre-Celtic: stressed preverb and enclitic verb. Pedersen (I. 258 f.) thinks that it is quite evident that the accent is the original and main factor, and that the different treatment of the compound (i.e. whether it is a genuine compound or not) is in his opinion the result of difference in accent. Yet the Irish accentuation of prototonic forms is simply the normal word-stress following which every word was stressed on the first syllable. On the other hand, the different treatment of compounds must be old because the infixation postulates it: infixation took place whenever the preverb and the verb formed two different words, that is, so far as the

preverb was capable of tmesis. If infixation is required, then improper composition takes place even in cases where we should expect a genuine compound (deuterotonic form *du-m-em-se*, Ml. 72 d 11); so that infixation and improper composition go together. Hence we arrive at the conclusion that the main factor was whether the compound was regarded as a genuine compound¹ or not.

The above view is also applicable to the treatment of double compounds, since we have to infer that whenever a compound was preceded by a preverbal particle or by another preverb, it formed one word, that is, proper composition took place (e.g. *do'biur*, but *nī'tabur*), the pronoun being infixed after the particle and before the compound.

In the imperative, the compound was regarded as a genuine compound, and the forms with infixation were perhaps not the original. In Welsh at all events an augens is used to express the pronominal object, and this may have been the original usage. At any rate, Welsh imperative sentences are distinctly differentiated from normal main clauses: no particle precedes the verb, and the negative particle is *na*. The use of proper composition is therefore probably due to the special character of imperative sentences. And this seems to be borne out by other facts. Welsh emphatic sentences, i.e. those which when positive admit no particle (there is no infix) and when negative employ the negative particle *na(c)*, comprise the following:

(1) Imperative sentences. (The subject of will is generally preceded by *ny*, but in positive sentences no particle is employed unless a pronoun is to be infixed, e.g. *hanpich guell* (*Four Ancient Books*, II. 12, 9).)

(2) Answers to questions and similar sentences, e.g. '*manac . . . y mi pa furyf y gallwyf hynny*.' '*Managaf*,' Mab. 3. '*Eres yw gennyf na uedrut. . .*' '*Na uedreis*,' Mab. 70.

In Irish we find exact parallels to this treatment; for example, *na(d)* is used as emphatic negative (Strachan, 'Substantive Verb,' 54 n., *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1899-1901; viz. also Pedersen's *Vergl. Gramm.* II. 257 n.), and the genuine compound

¹ Although the verb may have been originally enclitic in the prototonic forms it is not, however, quite evident; nor is it quite certain that the old accent and the treatment of the compounds are in *nexus causalis*.

is used instead of a deuterotonic form, e.g. '*Gaið id láim mo fáesom airtho.*' "*Atmu*" TBC(Y) l. 409. (Further instances in Pedersen, *op. cit.* II. p. 249.)

This last illustration bears out our contention, and we may take it that in emphatic sentences the compound verb is a genuine compound, and that this was due to the special nature of this class of sentence. A parallel may be found in the Welsh rule that the emphatic sentence does not admit of any particle.

Finally, there are probably some psychological affinities between the Celtic dependent clauses and emphatic speech. This is borne out by the fact that the dependent negative is in both instances *na* (*nad* is probably a differentiation of *nach* = Brit. *nag* (emphat.); but in Mid.-W. *nad* is used only in an explicatory sense, *quod non, ut non*, i.e. introducing substantive clauses ("Inhaltssätze") and after the majority of secondary conjunctions). The fact that Ir. prototonic forms are sometimes used in relative clauses (viz. Pedersen, *op. cit.* II. 248) points in the same direction, though this is perhaps not old.

Hence we must infer the following habitual types of order of words:

I. Simple verb, followed by the rest of the sentence.

II. Compound verb: (A.) *normal type*: (a) The compound appears as *particle, verb* (and the rest of the sentence), when no other particle precedes.

(β) The compound appears as a genuine compound: when another preverb or particle¹ precedes. (Cp. the Welsh rule that *yð* does not appear after another particle, i.e. negatives, interrogative *a*, certain conjunctions, etc.)

(B.) Emphatic sentence: (*preverb and verb*) [i.e. genuine compound] and the rest of the sentence.

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¹ These particles (or conjunct particles) evidently belong to an older stratum. Some conjunctions (as *cia*, *ma*, etc.), on the other hand, are followed by deuterotonic forms (see A. α) so that we are doubtless right in inferring that the latter did not originally belong to the sentence. These conjunct particles may be paralleled by those Welsh verbal particles which immediately precede the verb, i.e. without *y(ð)*. To these belong negatives; interrogative *a*; *neu* (cp. Ir. preverb *no-*), etc. The conjunctions for the most part are followed by *yð*. This explains also why the inf. pronoun is not infixed after every particle.

LEABHAR GABHÁLA AND THE BOOK OF LEINSTER

IN an article on the redactions of that curious Middle-Irish history of Ireland, the *Leabhar Gabhála*,¹ Professor Thurneysen shows that the original compilation of the work must date from the reign of Rúadrí úa Conchobair. This conclusion is arrived at from the fact that two of the later versions, *B* (Rawl. B. 512) and *C* (BB 49b35), independent re-workings of the original text, end with that high-king. Professor Thurneysen continues: "Further it is possible to shew that version *A* (that of the Book of Leinster) also derives from a list of kings that ended with Rúadrí's reign. The Book of Leinster (which has expanded the list of kings to short Annals) contains, before the nine last entries, which conclude with Rúadrí's death in 1198, the note: *Ruadri mac Tairdelbaig húi Conchobair*. Since, however, the kings are elsewhere only named in the year of their death, unless they are mentioned on the occasion of a battle or such-like, it is clear that the last nine entries together with that of Rúadrí's death are accretions, and that the first notice of Rúadrí represents here too the original conclusion of the entire text."

The copy in the Book of Leinster, therefore, according to Professor Thurneysen, carries the entries down as far as 1199. Such a dating is considerably out of consonance with the generally received date of the MS., which is known to have been in compilation before the year 1160. We need not stop to consider if these leaves were written later: the opening words of the *Leabhar Gabhála*, "In principio fecit Deus coelum et terram," with the immense illuminated initial letter extending half-way down the column, manifestly form the beginning of

¹ *Zu Irischen Handschriften und Litteraturdenkmälern*. Zweite Serie, 1913, p. 3 ff.

the entire volume.¹ The matter is, however, very simply accounted for. Turning to p. 26 of O'Longan's facsimile, it will be seen at once that the last eight lines of column *b* (containing the nine last entries to which Thurneysen refers) are represented as much more closely written than the preceding, and suggest a later addition. This view is abundantly confirmed by an examination of the manuscript itself, from which I have noted the following salient points of difference between the script of the last eight lines and that of the rest of the page:²

(1) The ink of the last lines is darker than the preceding, where it is of a brownish colour. (2) The spacing of the lines on the rest of the page is wider and more regular. (3) The hand of the last lines is perpendicular; that of the rest shows a tendency to slope forward.

Whether these entries were made by another scribe, or by the same scribe at a later date,³ is a question for a skilled palæographer to decide. At least there can be no question that they were added later. The hands resemble each other, but the hand of the later entries is markedly inferior both in character and firmness to the other, as it appears on this page. In the later script I have noted the following differences in the letter forms: (1) M and N are drawn with finer strokes, pointed at each end; (2) the *r* is smaller and of a different shape; (3) the suspension-stroke is not straight, but written with a sort of double flourish.

To sum up then: on column *b*, p. 26, of the Book of Leinster, the eight lines following l. 26, that is, from the words 'Diarmait mac Don-' to 'iCunga,' have been added later, by another scribe. The recension of the *Leabhar Gabhála* in the Book of Leinster was therefore completed during the lifetime of Rúadrí, and from the fact that this compiler does not carry

¹ See Atkinson's Introduction to the Facsimile, p. 1, and, as to the date of the MS., *ib.* p. 8.

² They are not all to be found in the Facsimile, which is only a rough imitation. The first three lines after Rúadrí's name (*Diarmait to comarba Patraicc*) are not, as might seem from the Facsimile, in the original scribe's hand: they are, it is true, in larger script than what follows, but this is due, I think, to the later scribe modelling his script on the writing of the rest of the page.

³ Perhaps in the very year of Rúadrí's death. Mr. Best, who has looked at the passage in the original, also thinks that the hand is not that of the principal scribe, but that it belongs to the period.

his annalistic record further, probably early in that king's reign. This recension is thus of peculiar interest not only for establishing the text of *Leabhar Gabhála*, but also, on linguistic and literary grounds, as a dated text preserved in an almost contemporary MS.; and from this point of view the additions are of as much value as the original matter.

LUCIUS GWYNN

[Mr. L. Gwynn having gone abroad a few days before the proof of his paper arrived, it has had to be printed without the advantage of his final revision. It should have been noted that the colouring of the capital and initial letters in this added portion is identical with that on the rest of the page, and was apparently put in at the same time. The handwriting of the Book of Leinster varies from a bold, well-formed hand to a rough scrawl, as can be seen from the photographic facsimiles in Gilbert's *Facsimiles of National MSS.*, II. pls. 53, 54, and the plate prefixed to the R.I.A. edition. The writing of this added portion is indeed superior to much of the MS. Perhaps, as Mr. Gwynn suggests, the writer was consciously imitating the earlier writing. Dr. Bergin, who kindly examined the page at my request, is inclined to think that a finer pen used at a later date might sufficiently account for the seeming difference in the handwriting.—R. I. B.]

PALÆOGRAPHICAL NOTES

II.—LEBOR NA HUIDRE

IN my Notes on the Script of Lebor na hUidre (ÉRIU VI. 162 f), I remarked that the tradition of this manuscript being the compilation of Maeltuired mac Ceileachair had never been questioned. While this is literally true, I was unaware that the presence of a second hand in the manuscript had not remained undetected. My friend Professor R. A. S. Macalister has since discovered that J. O'Beirne Crowe had actually remarked the existence of a *second hand* in the introduction to his edition of *Siaburcharpat ConCulaind* (Journ. of the Royal Hist. and Archaeolog. Assocn. of Ireland, 4 Ser., Vol. I., pt. 2, p. 372 f., 1871), and has drawn my attention to it. As this work is not generally accessible, it is worth while to quote the passage in full :

We have no means at present to ascertain the date of the composition of the 'Demoniac Chariot'; we may feel certain, however, that it is not the work of Moil Muired, son of Ceilechar, son of Con nam Bocht, who was the compiler of 'Lebor na h-Uidre,' and who died, according to the 'Four Masters,' in the year 1106. This conviction of mine will be sustained by the following facts and considerations. Throughout 'Lebor na h-Uidre' a second hand is here and there distinctly recognisable both in the penmanship and the orthography; and that this hand is not another mode of Moil Muired's is rendered certain from an entry by him on the top of fol. 45. This entry reads in English—'A trial of the pen of Moil Muired, son of the son of Mac Con nam Bocht,' and is in penmanship exactly the same as the general body of the Transcript. Now, in our tract the second hand begins with the 35th quatrain of the poem; and, while running through to the end, betrays a want of acquaintance with Irish history, which could not reasonably be charged to Moil Muired. The writer, or the scribe, says it was great power in Patric to resuscitate Cu Chulaind, after having lain for *nine hundred years in earth*. But Cu had been scarcely half that time in earth—from about the beginning

of the first to the middle of the fifth century; and of this Moil Muire could not be ignorant. From these considerations and facts, we can safely infer that Moil Muire neither wrote nor transcribed the portion which I have assigned to the second hand; and we can also infer that he is not the author of that portion which is written in his own hand. Were the latter to be the case, he would scarcely allow a man, who has shown himself to be so innocent of Irish history as our second scribe has done, to take part with him in the composition of an Irish historical romance.

Our tract, then, was not composed either by Moil Muire or any of his contemporaries. It must have been copied from an older manuscript, and that copy instead of the *.ix. cét*, 'nine hundred,' above referred to, had probably *.ix. é*, that is, *noi cóicat*, 'nine fifties,' which would be quite in harmony with the deliverances of Irish history. . . .

The hand referred to is, of course, that of the interpolator, whom I had designated **H**. It will be seen that Crowe, who made this announcement quite casually for the mere purpose of exposing a faulty reading in the MS., regarded the hand as that of a fellow scribe of Maelduire. He had previously published two texts from *Lebor na hUidre* written by the same hand without drawing attention to it: (1) *Scéla na hEsergi*, 1865; (2) *Aided Echach*, 1870; nor did he observe that the *Amra Choluimb Chille* published by him in 1871 was by still another hand (A). The sole text in Maelduire's hand actually published by him was *Echtra Condla*, in 1874. Crowe, however, in a statement with which he concludes his edition of the *Siaburcharpat*, claimed to have edited and translated one-half of the entire *Lebor na hUidre*, and he must therefore have been thoroughly familiar with the manuscript. It is much to be regretted that he did not go further in his discrimination of a *second* hand, and recognise its real character as that of an interpolator. Such a discovery would, so far back as 1870, have had fruitful results. It is not surprising, however, that Crowe's statement of a second hand should have failed to arouse any interest, so many Irish MSS. being the work of several hands. Neither Stokes¹ nor Zimmer, both of whom used his edition of the *Siaburcharpat* and criticized some of his renderings, had their attention arrested by it. In Stokes it is less remarkable, as he had himself,

¹ *Remarks on the Celtic Additions to Curtius' Greek Etymology*, Calcutta, 1875. App. A, Mr. Crowe's publications.

in 1861, transcribed a portion of the original manuscript,¹ including all the hands, without noting anything peculiar. But Zimmer had actually re-edited and translated the Siaburcharpat,² and had moreover shortly before published a series of important studies on the compilatory nature of the Lebor na hUidre sagas;³ one might then have expected that so fertile an imagination would have been led by Crowe's remark to investigate the nature of this second hand. It has remained accordingly for Professor Thurneysen⁴ to turn to good account the subsequent discovery of an interpolating hand.

R. I. BEST

¹ Letter to Sir John Gilbert, 1869, in *Life of Sir John Gilbert*, 1905, p. 179.

² Zeitschr. f. deutsches Alterthum, xxxii. 249 ff.

³ 'Ueber den compilatorischen Charakter der irischen Sageptexte im sogenannten Lebor na hUidre' (KZ. xxviii. 417-689, 1887).

⁴ 'Die Ueberlieferung der Táin Bó Cúailnge' (ZCP. ix. 418 ff., x. 205 f.).

PROGNOSTICATIONS FROM THE RAVEN AND THE WREN

THE following two scraps of early Irish folklore, relating to the raven and the wren, are written by a late scribe into blank spaces left in the well-known codex H.3.17, preserved in the Library of Trinity College. The first, *Fiachairecht*, on col. 803 f., the second, *Dreanacht*, on col. 831, where the *Tochmarc Ailbi* ends. These short tracts were first referred to by O'Donovan, in an interesting note to his edition of the so-called *Lorica* attributed to Columcille,¹ in which the practice of seeking omens from birds, sneezing, clapping of hands, etc., is deprecated :

Ní adraim do gothaib én,
na sreód na sén for bith che,
ná mac ná mana ná mnai.
Is é mo draí Críst mac Dé.

'I adore not the voices of birds, nor sneezing nor lots in this world nor a boy nor omens nor woman. My druid is Christ the Son of God.'² It is from the Picts, six of whom settled in Magh Breagh, that the Irish are said to have derived 'every spell, every charm, every augury by sneezing, voices of birds, and every omen.'³

O'Curry in his lecture on Druids and Druidism (*Manners and Customs*, II. 223 f.) again mentions our two tracts, which, he shrewdly remarks, show that the Irish must have domesticated these birds for the purpose of divination. He translates part of the first on Raven lore, omitting unfortunately those passages where his aid would have been useful.

¹ *Miscellany of the Irish Arch. Soc.*, I. p. 12 f. Cp. also the version of Laud 615, ZCP. VII. 303.

² Cp. Todd's *St. Patrick*, p. 122, and his *Irish Version of Nennius*, p. 144 note.

³ *Irish Version of Nennius*, ed. Todd, p. 124 f.; cp. also p. 144.

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In a tract so inconsequent it is difficult, without the support of a second manuscript, to feel at all sure of one's rendering, and some of these prognostications are decidedly ambiguous. In several instances Dr. Bergin has happily suggested the more likely meaning.

Some interesting lore about these birds, usually of ill-omen, will be found in Forbes's *Gaelic Names of Beasts and Birds, etc.*, pp. 324-8, 347-9, Edinb., 1905, and for Irish omens from birds in general, in Wood-Martin's *Traces of the Elder Faiths of Ireland*, II. 141 ff. Similar prognostications from the howling of dogs occur in Laud 615, whence they have been edited and translated by O'Grady (*Mélusine* v. 85-6, 1890), and the prognostications of the first day of January in Egerton 1782, edited with translation by Meyer (*ib.* x. 113, 1900).

The language of the tracts is Middle-Irish; note the neuter *tormach mbidh*, the red. fut. with inf. rel. *d.*, *nodbébhús* (for O.-Ir. *nodbeba*), the subj. form *dodeocha*.

FIACHAIRECHT ANDSO SIS

(H.3.17, col. 803, l. 12)

Madh *congaire* an fiach os imdha comdluthta a medon an tighe is ardgres liath no chlerig ticc cucad, acht ata *deithbir* eturru .i. mad laoch clerech is bacach *adeir* an fiach, madh fer graidh is gradh gradh *congaire* 7 is fo do do ló *congaire*. Madh gresa oclaic[h] no caintidh ticc and is graacc gracc *congaire*, no as grob grob 7 i *lleith* ad diaigh *congaire* 7 as as tecaíd na gressa. Mad gracc gracc *congaire* fordhighthir na hoicc dia ngair. Mad mna tic [col. 804-5]¹ and is foda *congaire*. Mad *congaire* don aird aniartuaidh don tigh meirligh ar ti na n-each do ghaid. Mad ar dorus an tighe *congaire* coimighthi no amhuis ticc ann. Mad os dorus *congaire* cainti no gresa do lucht comaitechta righ tic ann. Mad os imda in *fir* maith *congaire* airm a mbia a gascidh 7 se ac dul for fecht ni ticfa slan 7 minab eadh ticfa imslan. Madh í in ben *nodbébhús* is andsan adhart *congaire*. Mad a cosuibh imdha in *fir* *congaire* ticfa a mac no a brathair no a chliamain don tigh. Mad a *forimel* na cuiled airm a mbi an biadh inti *congaire* is *tormach mbidh* don *leith* asa ngair .i.

¹ The writing runs across the page, which is numbered as though there were two columns.

carna no *cetbleghon* bo. Madh *ider* an cuilidh 7 tene a aighidh, aidhigh *combind*¹ ticc don tigh. Mad nesu do mnai an tighe airm a mbi na suidi it le na greasa .i. clíamuin no cara. Mad fri cuilid andes *congair* altrum no gresu a céin ticc don tigh. Mad guth *bec* asberu .i. err err no úr úr galar for *nec[h]* isin tigh no for ni dia ceathra. Mađ coin ticc fona caorchaib as don cru caorach *congair* no a n-urcomuir na mna maithi 7 is edh adeir carna carna grob grob coin coin. Mad *congaire* do chleith an tighe an tan bithter ag longud caithid an longud sin. Mad do c[h]loich *congair* tasc athaigh sin. Mad do *chrund* ard *congair* tascc oigtigerna indsin. Madh do chleith in craind tasc ri[g] no méic saorcheneoil. Mad dia ndech leat for *feacht* no romat 7 mad failidh fair bidh maith do *thurus* 7 doberthar úrcharna duit. Mad tuat[h]bil dotes 7 *congair* fort belaib is tru² forsa ngair amlaid no *fordergadh* for neach don foirind. Mad for do belaib ac dul docum dala coimeirghi³ inti. Mad tuaithbel dodeocha marbthar nech don coimeirghe sin. Mad *congair[e]* de chuil na n-each meirlig fora ti. Mad dia soa foen ocai 7 dia n-abra grob grob gadtar ni dona hechaib 7 ni fuidhbiter 7 rí.

DREANACHT ANDSO SIS

(ib. col. 83 I, l. 12)

Mad *congaire* an ceanandan duit anair turus daine craibtheach cucad *co* n-agairbe fort. Madh anairdes gaires an drean druith uallcha doroith. Mad aniar esurraidh⁴ dobi *cucaib*. Mad anairtuaidh goires aes lasa mbi cele fesa no mna tic and. Mad atuaidh is inmuin leat anti tic and. Mad aniartuaidh tic aes craibthech tic and. Mad od leith anneas gai(res)⁵ acht minab edrud 7 grian turus inmuin tic *cucaib*. Mad edrut 7 gri(an)⁶ guin duine dil duit no adharc fort budéin. Mad ad cluais cli comrac fri hóg ua cein no fess la mnai óic. Mad ad deaghaidh *gaires* guidhi do mna d'fer ele dod c[h]ind. Mad for *talmain* tis ad *deaghaid* berthar do *ben* uaid ar eigin. Mad anair *gaires* an drean aes dana do thiachtain cuccad no scela uathaibh. Mad andes i[d] diaigh *gaires* taisigh clerech maith

¹ com bind MS.² MS. has *t* with *v*-like symbol suprascript; an *r* following has been erased.³ coim eirghi MS.⁴ es urraidh MS.⁵ *res* smudged and illegible.⁶ smudge here.

nodcífí no tasc athlaoch uasul adcluínfe. Mad aniardhes *gaires* ladraind 7 drochbachlaigh 7 drochmhna do t[h]iachtuin cucad. Mad aniar drochdhaine gail tic *ann*. Mad aniartuaidh *gaires* deghlaoch soc[h]enelach 7 brugadha uaisle 7 mná maithi dothic *ann*. Mad atuaigh *gaires* drochdaine tic *ann*, gidhad oig gidhad clerigh cidad drochmhna 7 aos ocbaid aingidh do rochtain. Mad andes *gaires* galur no coin allta for do c[h]ethruib. Mad do t[h]almain no do c[h]loich no do *chrois* *gaires* tasc duine moir indisis duit. Mad do c[h]rosuib imda *gaires* ar daine sin 7 in lin *fechtus* teid¹ forsin *talmáin* is ed in lin marb dlomus, 7 an *leth* forsa mbi a ghaoid is as dlomus na mairb.

TRANSLATION

RAVEN LORE

If the raven call from above an enclosed bed in the midst of the house, it is a distinguished grey-haired guest or clerics that are coming to thee, but there is a difference between them: if it be a lay cleric (?) the raven says *bacach*; if it be a man in orders it calls *gradh gradh*, and twice in the day it calls.² If it be warrior guests or satirists that are coming it is *gracc* *gracc* it calls, or *grob grob*, and it calls in the quarter behind thee, and it is thence that the guests are coming. If it call *gracc gracc* the warriors are oppressed (?) to whom it calls.³ If women are coming it calls long.⁴ If it call from the north-east end of the house, robbers are about to steal the horses. If it call from the house door, strangers⁵ or soldiers are coming. If it call from above the door, satirists or guests from a king's retinue are coming. If it call from above the goodman's bed,

¹ Between *t* and *e* a letter has been erased.

² *foda* MS. = *fo dō*—‘far in the day,’ O’Curry.

³ This passage is somewhat obscure. [Could *fordighthir* be for *fordingtir*, a 3 pl. pass. formed on *fordingit*, 3 pl. pres. ind. (PH 4303)? The regular O.-Ir. form would be *fordengtar*, cp. *fordengar*, 3 sg. pres. pass., ML. 57d7, gl. *depremitur*, see Pedersen, *Vergl. Gramm.* II. 505.

⁴ *foda* MS., but ? = *fo dō* (O.-Ir. *fo dí*) ‘twice.’

⁵ *comaithech*, ‘a neighbour, stranger, tenant, plebeian’ (*Contribb.*); in *Laws* generally ‘neighbour’ (Atk.), but here probably ‘strangers, foreigners,’ *Mod. coimhighteach* (Dinneen).

the place where his weapons will be, and he going on a journey, he will not come back safe ; but if not, he will come back sound. If it is the woman who is about to die, it is from the pillow it calls. If it call from the foot of the man's bed, his son or his brother or his son-in-law will come to the house. If it call from the edge of the storehouse where the food is kept, there will be increase of food from the quarter it calls, that is, flesh-meat or first milking of kine. If its face be between the storehouse and the fire, agreeable (?) guests are coming to the house. If it be near to the woman of the house, where her seat is, the guests are for her, namely, a son-in-law or a friend. If it call from the south of the storehouse, fosterage or guests from afar are coming to the house. If it speak with a small voice, that is, *err err* or *úr úr*, sickness will fall on some one in the house or on some of the cattle. If wolves are coming among the sheep, it is from the sheep-fold it calls, or from over against the good woman, and what it says is *carna carna* (flesh), *grob grob*, *coin coin* (wolves). If it call from the roof-tree of the house when people are eating, they throw away that food.¹ If it call from a stone, it is death-tidings² of an *aithech*.³ If it call from a high tree, then it is death-tidings of a young lord. If from the top of the tree, death-tidings of a king or a youth of noble lineage. If it go with thee on a journey or in front of thee, and if it be joyful,⁴ thy journey will prosper and fresh meat will be given to thee. If thou come left-hand-wise and it calls before thee, he is a doomed man on whom it calls thus, or it is the wounding⁵ of some one of the company. If it be before thee when going to an assembly, there will be an up-rising therein. If it be left-hand-wise it has come, some one is

¹ *cailhim*, when used in reference to food, means 'to eat or consume it,' which would be pointless as a prognostication here. Bergin suggests that the negative particle may have been accidentally omitted: 'they do not consume that food.'

² *tásc* here and elsewhere I have taken to mean the 'report of a death,' cp. Féil. Oengusso, Jan. 18, *bás (tásc Rawl., etc.) mór máthar Íssu*, and Mélusine v. 85, *tasc fir nó mná don muinntir . . . tasc rígh no is díth naircne*, and O'Grady's note, "'rumour," etc. . . . very commonly any *facinus* giving rise to such rumour.'

³ *aithech*, a class-name somewhat analogous to plebeian (Atkinson, Laws), also a 'peasant, boor, clown.' (Contribb.)

⁴ Either *faillte* should be read, or *fair* omitted.

⁵ *fordergadh* means 'crimsoning' in the sense of a flesh wound, cp. *Acallamh na Senórach*, ed. Stokes, 6625, or 'blushing,' i.e. 'disgrace,' 'shaming' (cp. *Cath Catharda*, Glossary), which is the rendering given by O'Curry. But then he translates *trí* 'coward.'

slain in that uprising. If it call from the corner where the horses are, robbers are about to attack them. If it turn on its back thereat and says *grob grob*, some of the horses will be stolen and they will not be recovered, and so on.

WREN LORE

If the little white-headed one call to thee from the east, pious men are journeying towards thee, with discourtesy for thee (?). If the wren call from the south-east, it is proud jesters that are coming. If from the south-west, ex-freemen¹ (?) are coming² to you. If it call from the north-east, folk with a bedfellow or women are coming. If it be from the north, dear to thee is he that is coming. If it come from the north-west, pious folk are on the way. If it call from the south side of thee, provided it be not between thee and the sun, a fond visitation is coming to you. If it be between thee and the sun, it is the slaying of a man that is dear to thee, or a horn on thyself. If it be at thy left ear, union with a young man from afar, or sleeping with a young woman. If it call from behind thee, importuning of thy wife by another man in despite of thee. If it be on the ground behind thee, thy wife will be taken from thee by force. If the wren call from the east, poets are coming towards thee, or tidings from them. If it call behind thee from the south, thou wilt see the heads of good clergy, or hear death-tidings of noble ex-laymen. If it call from the south-west, robbers and evil rustics and bad women are coming towards thee. If it be from the west, wicked kinsmen are coming. If it call from the north-west, a noble hero of good lineage and noble hospitallers and good women are coming. If it call from the north, bad people are coming, whether warriors or clerics or bad women, and wicked youths are on the way. If it call from the south, sickness or wolves among thy herds. If it be from the ground or from

¹ *urraid* is a freeman or yeoman; for examples see Atkinson's *Glossary to the Ancient Laws*. The only instance I can find of *esurraid* is that in the *First Battle of Moytura* (supra p. 40): *amhais 7 esuraid cuigid Connacht*, where it is rendered 'chieftains.'

² *dobi* is odd. I fancy the scribe has committed here an error of haplology, and that *do thiachtain* should be read. The original had probably *dotisai qcaib*?

a stone or from a cross it calls, death-tidings of a great man it relates to thee. If it call from many crosses, it is a slaughter of men, and the number of times it alights on the ground is the number of dead it announces, and the quarter towards which its face is, from thence are the dead it announces.

R. I. BEST

ON THE FORM *IMPARRÁ*

THIS form occurs in TBC. (LU. 55^a35) ed. Strachan and O'Keeffe l. 24, as a pres. subj. 1 sg.: 'Ansu didiu,' ol int ara, 'co nimparrá in carpat deisel 7 co tí nert int šeūin ara tísam ar frithisi.' On account of the doubling of the *r*, *imparrá* must clearly be distinguished from the Middle-Irish analogical subjunctive form in *-ara*, e.g. 3 sg. *faccara*, *fessara*, *findara*, etc.¹ It is, however, formed on the analogy of compounds of *-so-*, with *ro* infix before the root, e.g. past subj. 3 sg. *ara tintarrad* (Thes. II. 314), where *-intarr-* has regularly developed from *-ind-ro-š-* (Pedersen, Vgl. Gramm. II. 636). Forms such as **tinta*: **tintarra* have accordingly given rise to **impa*: *imparrá*.

ALF SOMMERFELT

DUBLIN.

¹ For these forms cp. Zimmer, KZ. XXVIII. 342 f.

NOTES ON SOME PASSAGES IN THE BREHON LAWS

THE study of all early legal documents is beset with great difficulty. One main reason of this is, as I have said elsewhere, that the written laws 'imply a whole body of unwritten custom. . . . And as this body of unwritten custom is, to a large extent, beyond our reach, it is not surprising that the written law, to which it was the key, should often be obscure' (*Life and Times of Alfred the Great*, p. 122).

In the case of the Irish Laws this initial difficulty is enhanced by the extreme technicality of the texts and the commentaries, and by the unsatisfactory state of the text as preserved in the MSS., none of which are of any great antiquity. Moreover, we cannot be sure how far these tracts and commentaries embody a uniform system, or how far they represent different tribal customs, or varying schools of legal interpretation. Again, the commentary is often a hindrance rather than a help to the understanding of the text. The commentators' knowledge of their own language may be judged by the fact that they regard every word compounded with the preposition *imb* as containing the adjective *eim*, 'quick' or 'ready'; every word compounded with *com* as containing the adjective *cdin* or *cdem*, 'beautiful'; while the prepositions *air* and *ess* in composition are always interpreted as meaning 'high' or 'noble,' *úasal*, *uais*, etc. And the other etymological glosses are on the same level of absurdity. But again, these difficulties are multiplied a hundredfold by the unsatisfactory nature of the printed texts and translations, which teem with every conceivable kind of mistake. In the texts the mistakes are often due to misreadings of the MSS., wrong expansions of contractions, etc. But often they are mere misprints, due to inefficient proof-reading, as is shown in some cases by the fact that the

translation is quite correct, though the text is wrong. One very common form of error is wrong division of words, and wrong conjunction of elements belonging to different words. This is a cause which ruins many passages both of text and translation. In the translations the mistakes are often due to the blind following of the unsatisfactory explanations of the commentators, but often they are of a very elementary kind, confusion of words somewhat similar in form, of deponent and passive, etc. ; while no attempt is made to preserve uniformity of rendering even in sentences in close proximity to one another. Atkinson in turn seems unable to free himself from the trammels of the translators, and often in the *Glossary* gives meanings of words derived from them, which a little independent criticism would have shown to be impossible. His *Glossary* is very far from perfect. Judged from an absolute standpoint, it deserves most of the things which Stokes, not very generously, said of it. But in justice it ought to be remembered that by its collection of references under the principal words, it has for the first time made possible the inductive study of parallel passages ; and it is along this line that our best hope of progress lies.

It is only by many students working independently that light can be gradually brought into these obscure texts. Any contribution, however humble, to this desirable end may be welcomed ; and therefore I venture to lay the following notes before the readers of *ÉRIU*.

I give first of all a few simple cases where the translation needs revision.

1. ' *Tidnaig sen do sen* ' .i. *maigistar do deisgipal*, 7 *is eiside nì imacomai do nach ailiu* .i. *cuinne cumaide do bí ac in dá sen, ac Sen mac Aige 7 ic Sencha mac Ailella ; ite in da sen imraithe sund, uair deiriud febtana Sin mic Aige tarraid Sencha mac Ailella ; is 'nt risi rditer Senchas Sin* (L 36, 22-27).

I do not discuss the misprints or misreadings which Stokes corrected. The translation of the sentence ' *uair deiriud . . . mac Ailella* ' may be given as a curiosity : ' For it was the philosophic knowledge which Sen mac Aige had when an old man that Sencha mac Ailella learned. ' Atkinson in the *Glossary* sees that this is nonsense, but he does not suggest anything better. The whole passage may be translated : ' Senior hands down to Senior, i.e. master to disciple ; and it is this which

preserves it (*imb-com-o-*) to another ; i.e. the common memory which the two seniors had. . . . These are the two seniors who are mentioned here, for Sencha mac Ailella overlapped (i.e. was contemporary with, lit. overtook) the end of the life-time of Sen mac Aige ; this is what is called Sen's Senchus.'

Febtana is genitive of *feb-tan*, a compound of *tan*, 'time,' and *feb*, *feib*, 'life' ; *feib .i. saogal fota*, O'Clery ; cf. *Fintan co feib úasle*, Féil. Jan. 3 ; *airm i finntar feib 7 reimes cach duine*, C. Cath. 4222.

The same verb in the passive is used in the same sense of being 'overlapped' in time in a passage concerning possible trespasses created by the illegal erection of enclosures. The legality of a fence may be established : *fri cuimne seanchad indraice do[no] doairrither in ime, co clandad léo in ime fa tri cen sena* (IV. 140, 31. 32) ; i.e. 'by the memory of respectable antiquaries then the fence is overlapped (i.e. within whose time the fence was erected) that it was planted by them three times without objection being made.'

2. Patrick abolished the magical practices of *imbas forosnai* and *teinnm. laegda* employed by the poets, because they were steeped in heathenism, but he left them the *dichetal do cendaib* and also their judicial functions. The text continues :—*Ro facaib insin oc na filedaib ; 7 adubairt Patraic nach catu forfogain doib a nErinn intan dognitis a treidi remepertai da tabairt doib iarum* (I. 46, 17-19). This is translated : 'Patrick told them to resign whatever honour they received,' etc. But it means the very opposite : 'Patrick said that whatever honour accrued to them in Erin when they used to perform these three things, should still be paid to them.' In other words, their official privileges were not to be diminished in consequence of the suppression of the two practices condemned.

3. A few lines lower down is mentioned : *in briugad ocambi in coire ainsicc .i. ica neirnither ceta imda*. The latter sentence is translated : 'by whom a hundred beds are kept.' It means 'to whom many hundreds are paid' (as stock).

4. Fergus, king of Ulster, encountered in Loch Rudraige a horrible monster, the sight of which caused a permanent distortion of his features, constituting a blemish which would disqualify him for the kingship. His counsellors tried to conceal this disfigurement from the populace, and from the

king himself. One of the precautions which they took was this: *folcad faen dó dogres, ar nach aiced a scath i nuisce* (I. 72, 30). This is translated: 'That a muddy bath should be always prepared for him, that he might not see his shadow in the water.' And Atkinson in the *Glossary* accepts this. But *fáen* has its usual meaning 'supinus,' 'lying on the back,' opposed to *cláen*, 'pronus,' 'face forwards.' The king was always to bathe lying backwards, that he might not see his own reflexion in the water.

5. *ingert bruthcan .i. ag bruith in neich is cain do losaib 7 co* [read *dó*] *eolusaib do neoch bis a ngalur* (I. 300, 14. 15). This is translated: 'Preparing medicine for the sick, i.e. boiling useful herbs and plants for one who is in sickness.' First of all we should divide *in gert-bruthcan* = 'milk pottage.' The commentator etymologises *brothcan*, 'pottage,' as *bruth cain*, 'fair boiling'; *eolus* is the regular word for magic knowledge, in the concrete a spell or charm (very common in Scotch Gaelic). The whole, therefore, runs thus: 'The milk-pottage, i.e. boiling what is good in the way of herbs together with charms for a sick man.' The translator has destroyed the meaning of a very interesting passage.

There is a parallel passage in V. 260, 12. 13: *bo brothcain .i. bo bis ac bruith ineich is cain do losaib 7 d'eolusaib*. Here *eolus* is translated 'prescription,' which is better, but still misses the point.

6. *mad cethra .c. cintach* (II. 182, 6). Translated: 'If it be wicked cattle'; ignoring the .c. = *cét*. But this is of the essence of the passage, which refers to cattle that do injury for the first time, and whose viciousness was therefore not previously known, as opposed to *ruip . . . fa mbithbinche* (II. 180, 10), also mistranslated, i.e. beasts of habitual criminality, whose viciousness was well known. The liability of the owner is naturally different in the two cases.

7. *tinne tri mer a mbun laime, ar is isin alt medonach cach tomus cose anall* (II. 250, 2. 3). Translated: 'for this is the average of every measurement hitherto mentioned.' Rather: 'A flitch of three fingers (thickness), (measured) at the root of the hand, for every measurement (by fingers) given hitherto was taken at the middle joint (of the fingers).'

8. In a passage on compensations for various bodily injuries: *nae scripaill isin mer fata isin laim deis, no isin mer*

midaig isin laim cli (III. 350, 28. 29). Here *mer midaig* is translated 'middle finger,' but this would be identical with *mer fata*, 'the long finger.' It is 'the leech's or mediciner's finger'; the 'digitus medicinalis' or *third* finger (see Ducange, s.v. *digitus*).

9. I give next some passages where text, as well as translation, requires emendation, though in some cases the emendation required is merely the restoration of the correct division of words. *Seanchus .i. cúis is sain frisna hoscraib, ar ní tuicait acht eolaig .i. caing cain ingena .i. cas caingine, cuisa neitens* (I. 30, 29. 30).

The translation and glossary give *caing*, 'question,' and *ingena*, 'loveable'; but I have found no other instance of either word. Read perhaps: *caingin, caingena, .i. cas caingine, 'causa nitens.'* This only involves the transposition of two letters *in* and yields a possible sense: *Senchus*, 'i.e. a cause which is special (specially difficult) to the ignorant, for only the experts understand it; i.e. law cause (or) causes, that is a case of fair birth, *causa nitens.'* (In V. 504, 14, for *a caingi a diubarta* we should read, as Atkinson has seen, *a caingin diubarta*, 'in an action for fraud.')

10. *hi comardaib trath* (I. 102, 25); translated 'at the proper hours,' probably means 'at the recurring periods,' *comardaib* being bad writing for *cuardaib*; the pronunciation being nearly the same. The gloss on the passage is *iar cae uird na trath* (p. 104, 21); and *cae uird*, 'path of order,' is a constantly recurring etymological gloss on *cuaird*, e.g. I. 50, 17; III. 78, 23, and (in the plural) *cuardaib .i. iar cae uird* (III. 26, 6. 11).

11. *ise bes aen ciniuda inso foloing, as a miad* (II. 234, 2. 3). Translated: 'This is the food-rent by which one of the tribe is sustained according to his dignity.' Read, *folongas a miad*, and translate: 'This is the food-rent of a single tribe, which supports its dignity.'

In the gloss (ib. II. 12) *ise biad . . . imfuiluges . . . fon aisliataig*, read *fo uaisliataig* = *uaisletaid*, 'which supports in honourable estate.' Cf. II. 256, 25: *is e bes foloing aen cinnid* (read, *ciniud*); II. 386, 11: *airmitiu no uaisliatu*.

12. In II. 254, 9-11, in a list of dues, occurs the following passage: *Ceithri inglaici laime toimsi techta, ocus a do do glas cainnind, ocus a do do borrlus dos a mbes; muc nae nduirn a*

fot, da mer dia derg cum, ma i ngenrid; dos a mbes is translated 'with its fruit,' *cum* is ignored, and *ma i ngenrid* is translated 'if in winter.' Read: *ceithri . . . techta, a do do glas-cainnind, 7 a do do borrlus, do sam-bes; muc . . . dia derg; cumma i ngenrid.* And translate: 'Four handfuls of average measurement, two of them being of green garlick, and two of leeks, as a summer food-rént; a pig nine fists in length and two fingers (thick) in the lean; and the like in winter.'

This is a good instance of the way in which an interesting text is ruined by wrong division of words.

Other passages may be discussed in later articles, if the readers of *ÉRIU* are not tired of the subject.

CHARLES PLUMMER

ON TÁIN BÓ FLIDAI

THE tale known as Táin Bó Flidais has come down to us in two versions—one long and detailed, the other much abbreviated. Copies of the latter are found in Leabar na hUidri (LU.), the Book of Leinster (LL.), and Egerton, 1782, whence they have been edited by Windisch (*Irische Texte* II. part 2). Three copies of the longer recension are known: one in the Glenmasan MS., a sixteenth-century vellum in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh; one, incomplete, in the Yellow Book of Lecan (YBL.); and a third in a paper MS. of the seventeenth century in the Royal Irish Academy, B. IV. 1, fol. 127 ff. The Glenmasan MS. has been edited, with variants from YBL., and translated by the late Professor Mackinnon in the *Celtic Review* (Vols. I.-IV.). The editor was, however, unaware of the copy in B. IV. 1, which supplements and completes the Glenmasan MS. in many important particulars. A new edition based on all the manuscripts is desirable. In the meantime, as this tale contains so many hitherto unrecorded place-names, and has so much bearing on early forts and earthworks in Connacht,¹ I have transcribed and translated, from B. IV. 1, several important passages which bear on these, and also fill up lacunæ in the Glenmasan MS. They are as follows:—

A—A passage wholly missing from the Glenmasan MS. (see *Celtic Review* I. pp. 131 and 208).

B—A short passage containing some important place-names (*ibid.* p. 300).

C—A passage illegible in the Glenmasan MS. (*ibid.* p. 314).

D—An important list of Connacht place-names, for pur-

¹ For a full discussion of *Táin Bó Flidais* from the archæological point of view, the reader is referred to Mr. T. J. Westropp's articles on the Promontory Forts and Early Remains of the Coast of Co. Mayo (*Journ. of the Roy. Soc. of Antiq.*, XLII. and particularly XLIV. 148 ff.).

poses of comparison with the same list in the Glenmasan MS. (ibid. III. p. 126).

E—A full version of the story of Certan the steward (ibid. IV. p. 18).

My best thanks are due to Miss Eleanor Knott for her great kindness in collating the transcripts and revising the text and translation.

A

[B. IV. 1, fol. 127 (124) a.] A haithle Chloinne hUislenn do mharbhadh ar slánaighecht Férghusa mhic Róigh táinic bhúdhéin go hEamhain Mhacha, 7 ód¹-chualaidh Clann Uislech do mharbhadh nō do thuitim la Conchubhar, 7 ní rug ar Conchubar a nEamhain an ionbaidh sin, 7 ro bhúi an baile fás folamh ar a chionn, 7 ní ffuair échta nā aithes bu feirdi leis isin bhaile, 7 táinic ós cionn Cloinni hUislech 7 do-rinne nuallghubha mór ós a gcionn.

Is iad sidhéin lucht na slánaighechta do chum Ferghus .i. Cormac Conluinges mac Conchubhair 7 Buinne Borbruadh mac Fergusa 7 Iollonn Fionn mac Fergusa 7 Dubhthach mac Carbadh 7 Aongus mac Aonlámhe Gáibhe 7 Biorrdherg mac Ruaidh 7 Dubhthach Daol Uladh 7 Oilill Milltenga 7 Éadar mac Édghaoidh 7 Fiacha mac Fir Eabha 7 Ghoibhnenn mac Luirgnigh 7 Suanach mac Sálghobhann 7 Lughaidh Lámderg² mac Deghadh 7 Síthar³ mac Édghaoidh 7 dream eile nāch áirmhighther sunn. Do chreach 7 do chróligh Fergus in críoch go coitichionn 7 do gabh féin tigernas in tíre ré bhliadhna go ffuilleadh. Agus adberat aroile go raibhe Ferghus go cenn secht mbliadhan a ríghí nUladh 7 nár éirigh grian tar uillinn laochmhúir na hEmhna, gurab dubh-flaithes Férghusa ainm na ríghesin 7 búi Conchubhar ar ionnarbadh⁴ ris in rē sin.

Cid tráth acht attrachtadar [*sic*] cogadh coitcionn a nUlltaibh re lionmhuire a slua^{gh} 7 a ffeadhnach, gurbhó malartach millte mughaihthe míchóirighthe in Cúigedh re [a] linn. Do thionóladar Ulaidh uile annsin .i. Clanna hAimerghin 7 Clanna hIliach 7 Clanna Durrthachta 7 ollamhain Uladh uile 7 adubairt Aimerghin 7 Cathfaidh an comhrádh:

Ní cubaidh riotsa, a Férghuis, 7 orchra gréine for do

¹ Perhaps we should read *ad*-, or omit the preceding 7?

² láinderg ms.

³ read Ith?

⁴ *dh add.* later.

ghnúis, 7 atā a fíos againne an t-adhbhar im nāch ēirghenn grian re do linn .i. loighead na codach comhronna fil agad d'Ēirinn, or níorb fúráil duiti Ēire uile agad, 7 ní cubaidh riot ríge athusach agat, acht as mō a nós 7 a orrdarcas duit rogha na ríoghdamna do rádha riot inā a bheith ag cuideochadh (?)¹ don Cūiged. Acht geibh éruic Mac nUisnech 7 combada móra óir 7 airgit 7 seóidi finí na hairdríge 7 rogha iomdhaigh a nEamhain Macha cona hégoscc órrdha fuirre 7 a tlacht ríoghdha ró-mhaiseach uirre 7 cona huathnedhaibh do lig lōgmair 7 co ndealbhaibh ubhall aghfractha² uaistibh 7 go n-ionad caoga laoch it h'urthimchioll innte a n-égmais fíledh 7 ollamhan 7 mhacaomh go n-olltrian in ríghthoighe sin duit féin 7 dot' theghlach 7 gē madh fada do bheithá na fégmairs nāch lamhaigh cara nā comhuighthach a taghall dot' h'éis 7 do churaidhmhír do chongmháil duit ina chertus 7 ina chóraidh 7 cuairt timchill duit féin 7 dot' theghlach 7 do príomhchuid a nEamhain do grés. Ba hí so in príomhchuid sin .i. seacht ndabhcha 7 secht n-oighe 7 secht bpríomhthuiric 7 bethadhach dá gach fiadhmhiol 7 corn an curadh Conchubhair do dháil fort.

Gurab dá dherbhaid sin adbert in rann :

Secht muca. . . .

B

[Fol. 130 (127) a.] Tógbhais *Bricni* roimhe ó Cruachain siar 7 is í so slighe ina ttáinig cona bhuidhnibh .i. láimh sgéith re Ráith Fionnchaoimhe, ris a ráiter Crích Airtigh aniu, 7 tar Sliabh na Fairgsiona, risin n-abartar Lugho, 7 tar iarthar Críche Lughna mic Fir Tri, ris a ráiter Iarthar Chorainn aniu, 7 tar Colbha Chríche Céin, risin n-abartar Críoch Ghailionn, 7 tar Sál Srotha *Deirg*, risin n-abarthar merbhuinne Muaidhe, 7 láimh re Loch Con, 7 re Loch Cuillinn, 7 d'ionnsaighe dhúnaidh Átha Fén, ris a ráiter Caorrthannán in tansa .i. go dúnadh Oiliolla Finn mic Domhnaill Dualbhuide .i. rígh gusmar gairgbheódha na Gamanraighe.

¹ *cuid* comes at the end of the line ; a *gcuid Eochach* is a possible reading.

² Reading doubtful.

C

[Fol. 131 (127) b 31.] Agus ní bfuil rí nā ruire¹ nā ró-thigearna 'sa domhan is fearr do thabhairt tuarustail do neoch nā *Fergus*, ór is é do-bheir deich céd ar fichit céd each, 7 deich céd ar fichit [céd] carbat, 7 deic céd ar fichit céd cloidheamh, 7 deich céd ar fichit céd earradh² breac-dhathach,² 7 deich céd ar fichit céd sgiath, 7 deich céd ar fichit céd cathbharr órrda, deich céd ar fichit céd slegh n-imrinn ffoda, 7 deich céd ar fichit céd ionar n-ioldathach dona deich céd ar fichit céd rígh 7 ruirech, curadh 7 cathmhiledh, laoch 7 láth ngoile Chlainni Rudhraighe fuilid ina fóchair; 7 is é do-bheir na tuarastail nāch ttug aon duine roime riamh do mnáibh amhus 7 óglaoch, mac ríogh 7 ruirech Chlainni Rughraighe fil ina farradh .i. deich céd ar fichit céd iorna dergóir do chumhdach a n-édoigh d'imdēnamh maisi ar chena.

Is iad so mogha fíre *Fergusa* fo neart 7 fo ghníomhradh a gcath 7 a gcomhlannibh .i. diongbāil secht céd cathmhiledh a gcró catha ann, 7 in tan no bhíodh i nEmhain do bhiathadh gnāth-theghlach Conchubair gacha sechtmadh oidhche go mnáibh 7 go macaomhaibh 7 go n-ollamhnibh Uladh 7 na hEmhna ar aon-rian, gurab dā deimhniugadh sin ro chan an senchaidh in sen-rann so síos and:

Teaghlach Conchubair 7 Uladh
go líon céd agus curadh,
do bhiathadh Ferghus miadh³ nglē
iad gacha sechtmadh oidhche.

Móirseiser ban a acobhar lānamhnus nō go ttāinic go Cruachain 7 do-ní mōr-thadhall *Medba*⁴: ionadh in mhóirseisir sin dó 7 secht gcuaich-mhéich fluichadh a chaoimh-chinn aga fholcadh: acobhar móirseisir a sáith bídh, díol nōnbhair a dhíol dighe.

Do briseadh an uired-si [do] *chathibh* la *Fergus* .i. cath Inbhir Thuaidhe, inar thuit Niall *Niamh*-ghlunnach mac Rughraighe, 7 cath Chairrge Eóluirg, ina ttorchair Ruire¹ Ruadh in cath-mhilidh, cath eile Chairrge Eóluirg, ina ttorchair Eólorg⁵ mac Sdairn .i. airdrí⁶ Lochlann, 7 cath Inbhir

¹ ruir[†] MS.³ mbiadh MS.⁵ éoloirg MS.² -dathach MS.⁴ .m. MS.⁶ airdrig MS.

Uaithne, ar Breadhaibh, ina ttorchar Fionn mac Inneónaigh, rí Temhrach, 7 cath eile Chairrge Eóluirg, ina ttorchar Échtach, in bhanghaisgedhach, 7 cath Maisden for Chlannaibh Rosa, 7 cath Mhullaigh Dhuibh Rosa, 7 cath Macha for Choncubar, 7 cath Cepda for Chlannaibh Durthachta 7 cath Luachra for Chlannaibh Deaghadh, 7 cath Dūin dā bhenn, 7 cath Boirche, 7 mōrán eile nāch āirmhighther sonn.

D

[Fol. 138 (135) b4.] Ód-connaire Oilill Finn sin tugadh a theghlach 7 a t[h]rom-chomhairlidi chuige, 7 do cindedh comhairle aca 7 is í so comhairle do ordaigedar .i. techta do cur ar cenn na Gamanraige 7 lā do ghabháil risin tsluagh: agus tugadh a dhā phríomh-eachlach chuige .i. Eangán as in Dún, 7 Édair as Glenn Édair 7 do cuir sē Édair bhudh thuaidh do thionól 7 do thiomsughadh na Gamanraige¹ ó Éirne anall cois fairrge, óthá sin go hIorrus Domhnann, 7 do-chuaidh Eangán fon taoibh eile 7 go Ros Inbhir dá ēgonn, risa rāiter Es Ruaidh in tan sa; Toich[es]tal tāna bó Flidh[a]lisi ann [so] síos: go dhá mac Cornáin Chos-duibh .i. go hAonghus 7 go hAodh; go macraid Muighe hEine, 7 go mÍledhaibh Muighe gCéinne, gusna secht mBreislennibh Bréifne cona trí céd curadh comhanmann eter sliabh 7 muir le rāiter Dartraighe in tan sa, go Cornán Cos-dubh, go druimnibh Sligigh, go Darta na Dībheirge cona macaibh .i. gus in dā Ruadh, go hÉchtach mac nÉttarbha, go Dúnadh Chinn Chunga, go Dáil 7 go hAnainn go dā ingin Ghuill Oiligh, go brughadhaibh Muige hOiligh, go haos grādha Oiliolla Finn cona šecht céd curadh coimhleanamhna, go Gamain¹ na Síthghoile, go Dúnadh Chinn tsléibhe, cona trí céd Gaman re ngreasacht, go Dubhán mac Con Gamhna, go Dūn Droighin, gusna secht bFosghamhnaibh Iorruis, go Gamain¹ Ruadh na Réé, go Dún Dá Os, gusna secht nÉochaidhibh, go Magh Imrinn, go Dūn an Aoinfir, go Fer Caogatt, go secht nÁrchonaibh Oiliolla Finn, co Dún Inbir Dá Os, go hÉttarbha mac nUathaigh, go a dhún, go hIolar nUathach mac nÉadarbha gó a ghleinn.

Tāngadar rompa ina cathibh 7 ina gcóirighthibh 7 ina

¹ .G. ms. It is often difficult or impossible to decide whether the contractions .g., gam, stand for *Gamain* or *Gamanrige* (E. K.).

gcair chomhloinn dochum Oiliolla Finn, or ba hiad sin a lucht tuillmhe 7 tuarastail 7 tachair 7 troda a n-aimsir a *ēigín*.

Ro chuir Eangán in rī-eachlach in dara fecht siar ar cenn na blodhe eile bhu dhes don *Gamanraige* d'fóirighthin Oiliolla Finn: go hAodh mac Échtaigh, go Dún Coirrléibhe, go Cairbre in chomhloinn, go mac Dubhthaigh, go Dún Croimghlinne, go Muiredhach Menn mac Oiliolla Finn, go dúnadh Sléibhe Móir, re rāiter Magh Sliabh, go Fiodhach Foltruadh, go Dún Leitreach, go Mancha, go Magh Linne, go hAonghus mac Échtaigh, go hÁrainn, go Ros meic Roghamhna, go Boirinn iarthair, go hUgha nÉchtach mac Finn, go Boirinn oirthir, go Rod mac Rosa, go *Sliabh* Rod, go Mongach Milidh, go Dún Inbír, go hAonghus mac Oiliolla Finn, go Dún gCláire, go secht macaibh Iobhair Chaoin, go Glenn Easa, go Failbhe, go Ros mac Duibh Dā Thonn, go Ros Nár, go Fraoch mac Fiodhaigh, go Port Cachais, go hÉttarbha mac nUathaigh, go Dún Chinn Chunga, go hEabha inghin Éttarbha, go Glenn Cuidbhigh, go Beg a Boirinn, go hIollann mac nÉchtaigh, go Leitir Fionnchuill, go Genann mac Faobhair go Leitir nGenainn go Ruadh na Réé go Dún Osra, re rāiter Cruach Phāttraic, go Cobhthach Chinn¹ tSáile, go Dún Oirthir, go Conn Cimidh, go Mogh Miodhíosiol mac Duibh, go Caoinbreathach mac Finn, go Dún Mhaghrois, go hUamnach ingen Iobhla, go Dún Inbír Dhá Thonn, go secht Macaibh Iobhra, go hAcaill, go Goll Eacla, go secht nDubhánaigh, go hInis Caoin oirthir, go secht nArchonaibh Oiliolla Finn a hOilēan Muighe Maoin, go secht nArchonaibh Innsi in Sgáil, go secht bhFionnaibh a hInis Fionnáin, go hEithne nÓigdheirg, go Dún Treathain, go Tuaidh, go Leitir mBealaigh, go Fiacha Fionn mac Fáobhair, go Dún Fiachach, go trí Fosghamhnaibh, go Dún Mōr, go Fer nDerg mac nDolair, go Dún in Deirg, go Dubhthach Dubhgha, go Dún an Aoinfir, go Domhnall Dualbhuidhe go rī [gh] na *Gamanraige*, go Dún Tuaidhe, go Fer Dia[dh] mac Damháin, go Dún na gCéd, go Guas 7 go Gossa, go dā mac Fir Dhiadh, go Flann Fada mac Fiodhaigh, go Cathair Cruinntsléibhe, go Muinchenn Milidh, go Dún ós Loch, go Dáire Derg, go Dún Dáire, go Gabuin[n] Ghlas, go Fionnchadh na fFert, nō na bFollt, go tTarta na Dīberge.

¹ *tsléibhe* follows, with deletion marks.

E

[Fol. 144 (141) b13.] Agus do thógaibh Oilill Finn air ina dheaghaidh sin gan fuiliughadh gan fordergadh tresan sluagh siar 7 rāinic roimhe fón réim sin ar toradh a engnamha 7 a eisiomail go Cenn Trágha Tursgair, re rāiter Trāigh Chinn Chertáin aníú, agus fuair sé Certán Cerda 7 a long aige roimhe isin chuan criosleathan. Ód-connaire Oilill Finn sin ro gabh menma mór-adhbhal chuige 7 iarrais in long do chur chuige. ‘Aca ámh,’ ar Certán Cerda, ‘atā diomdha 7 oirbhire agumsa ort 7 nī bhfuarus a mbaoghal ariamh thu gus anois 7 digheólad ort é.’ ‘Innis damh do diomdha,’ ar Oilill Finn. ‘Mo bhainchéile ag feis letsa tar mo cheann féin,’ ar Certán. ‘Is briathar dhamhsa,’ ar Oilill Fionn, ‘nāch dernusa in gníomh sin ariamh lē. Acht atā nī chena, do-bérsa a éraic sin duitsi amail 7 mar do-dhénuinn é, mar atá céd cuach 7 céd copán, céd corn 7 céd cloideamh, céd cathbharr 7 céd sgiath, céd slegh 7 céd cutún, céd lúirech 7 céd each srian-breac sruth-lúthmar, céd loilgeach cona laoghaibh, céd láir cona lāin-treabhadh, céd cráin cona crú, céd damh druim-leathan, céd molt molt-chárna, céd bruithne do dherg-ór farris sin anuas, génmhothá mh’ionmuine féin.’ ‘Do-beirimsi mo briathar, ar Certán, go mbérsa mo long lem tar a hais arís.’ ‘Is truagh sin,’ ar Oilill Finn, ‘ór nīor chubaidh tigearna mar misi d’fágbail re caladh 7 mé a mbaogal ag mo nāimdibh.’

Tógbhais Certán an long leis ó thír 7 fhágbhais Oilill Finn ar in trácht. Mar do-chonnaire Oilill sin cuiris cloch ina cranntabhaill 7 buailis Certán a ccomhrac a chinn 7 a ramhar an mhuiníl gur theilg in cenn dā choluinn, conadh ón gcenn sin sloinnter in tráigh sin ó thoin .i. Trāigh Chinn Chertáin aníú. Beiris *Fergus* ar Oilill Finn annsin 7 tug Oilill a aghaidh ar fearaibh Ērenn an uair sin, 7 adeirid leabhair na haimsire sin nāch bhfétar a sgríobadh ar thuit d’fearaibh Ēirenn do lāim Oilíolla Finn annsin, 7 nā raibhe maith ag Certán ar a son, 7 mo mhallachtsa 7 mallacht Oilíolla Finn leis.

TRANSLATION

A

After the Children of Uisle had been slain while under the safeguard of Fergus son of Rógh, he himself came to Emhain Macha, and heard that the Children of Uisle had been slain, or had fallen by Conchobhar; and he did not come upon Conchobhar in Emhain then, but the place was empty and bare before him, and he found therein no deeds or triumphs which he deemed the better, and he came (and stood) over the Children of Uisle and lamented greatly for them.

These were Fergus's guarantors: Cormac Conluinges son of Conchobhar, Buinne Borbruadh son of Fergus, Illann Finn son of Fergus, Dubhthach son of Carbaidh, Aongus son of Aonlámh Gáibhe, Biorrdherg son of Ruadh, Dubhthach the Chafer of Ulster, Oilill the Honey-tongued, Édar son of Édghaoth, Fiacha son of Fer Ebha, Goibhnenn son of Lurgnech, Suanach son of Sálghobha, Lughaidh Redhand son of Dedha, Síthar (?) son of Edghaoth, and others not reckoned here.¹

Fergus plundered and slaughtered throughout the country, and he himself assumed lordship over the land for more than a year. Some say, however, that Fergus was in the kingship of Ulster for seven years and that (during that time) the sun did not rise over the edge of the warlike rampart of Emhain, so that that kingship is called 'the black reign of Fergus,' and Conchobhar was in banishment for that period. However, a general war arose among the Ulstermen on account of the abundance of their armies and their companies, so that the Province was unsettled, wasted, destroyed and disordered during his time.

Then all the Ulstermen assembled, namely the Children of Amergin, the Children of Iliach, the Children of Durthacht, and the learned men of Ulster, and Amergin and Cathbhaidh spoke as follows:

'It does not befit thee, Fergus, that the sun should be

¹ Fourteen names of guarantors are given, ten being those of Ulster heroes of the Táin cycle, one Munster, Lughaidh son of Deda, and two Leinster, Édar and Síthar (?) sons of Édghaoth. I have no other reference to Lughaidh or Síthar, but Édar was apparently well known. Benn Étaí was called after him. Biorrdherg is unknown to me.

eclipsed before thee, and we know the reason why the sun does not rise in thy time: it is because of the smallness of the share of Ireland that thou holdest, for all Ireland were not too much for thee to hold: and it is not fitting that thou shouldst have a disgraceful reign: rather wouldst thou attain more fame and honour by being entitled the best of the princes than by taking a share (?)¹ of the Province. But take the eric of the Sons of Uisnech, and large indemnities of gold and silver, and hereditary (?) treasures of the high-kingship, and have in Emhain Macha the apartment of your choice with gilt facing and regal and elegant drapings and pillars of precious stone, having carvings of . . . apples above them, with space therein for fifty warriors around thee, as well as poets and learned men and youths, and have the great third of that palace for thyself and thy following, neither friend nor foeman daring to touch it in thy absence, even if thou shouldst be for long away from it, and have thy hero's portion kept for thee, with accuracy and justice, and a circuit for thyself and thy household, and thy prime share in Emhain perpetually. This prime share was as follows: seven vats, seven deer, seven prime boars, one beast of every kind of wild game and the drinking-horn of the hero Conchobhar to be dispensed to thee.' And to confirm that he recited the verse:

Secht muca. . . .²

B

³ Bricne set out westwards from Cruacha, and this is the way he and his companions went: keeping on their left Ráth Fionnchaoimhe, which is now called Crích Airtigh, across Sliabh na Fairgsona, which is called Lugho, across the western part of Crích Lughna mic Fir Tri, which is now called western Corann, over Colbha Críche Céin, which is now Crích Ghaileang, over Sál Srotha Deirg, which is called the swift stream of the Moy, along by Loch Con and Loch Cuillinn, and up to the fort of Áth Fén, which is now called Caorthannán, that is, to the fort of Oilill Finn, son of Domhnall Dualbhuidhe, the fierce, vigorous king of the Gamanrighe.

¹ Or by having Eochu's share; see note on text, *supra*.

² Cf. *Celtic Review*, I. 131, 208.

³ *Ibid.* I. 300 ff.

C

¹ There is not in the world a king or a ruler or a great lord who is better than Fergus in giving hire to anyone, for it is he that gives three thousand steeds, three thousand chariots, three thousand swords, three thousand variously coloured suits, three thousand shields, three thousand gilt helmets, three thousand sharp (?) long spears and three thousand many-hued mantles to the three thousand kings, rulers, champions, soldiers, warriors and heroes of the race of Rudhraighe that are about him: and it is he that gives the stipend none ever gave before to the wives of the mercenaries, fighting men, kings' sons and rulers of the race of Rudhraighe that are with him, namely, three thousand *íorna*² of red gold to ornament their dresses (and) for other adornment.

These are the true deeds³ of Fergus as regards strength and deeds in battles and combats, namely, in the fold of battle⁴ he was the equal of seven hundred soldiers: and when he was at Emhain he used to feed Conchobhar's customary household every seventh night, and the women, youths and learned men of Ulster and of Emhain in the one way, and to confirm that the historian uttered this verse:

The household of Conchobhar and the Ulstermen,
to the number of a hundred and . . .
Fergus used to feed them, conspicuous honour,
every seventh night.

Seven women were his desire in wedlock,⁵ until he came to Cruacha and sojourned with Medhbh, accommodation for that seven was assigned to him: it took the full of seven bushels to bathe his fair head when washing, his fill of food was what would satisfy seven, his complement of drink was what would satisfy nine.

Fergus gained the following number of battles: the battle

¹ Cf. *ib.* I, 314 ff.

² *íorna*, 'skein or spindle of yarn,' O'R.; cf. *folc cass buidi fair amail írna d'br* (Br. Dá Derga, App. § 99) where Stokes leaves the word untranslated, and suggests a scribal error for *dirna*=a large weight or measure (Contribb.), but O'Reilly's meaning would suit in both instances (R. I. B.).

³ *moga*=*moda*; cf. Ac. Senorach ed. Stokes, 7255.

⁴ Cf. Cath Catharda, *Glossary*, p. 483.

⁵ Cf. Scéla Conchobair, Ériu, IV, 26, § 13.

of Inbher Tuaidhe,¹ in which fell Niall Niamhghlunnach, son of Rudhraighe; the battle of Carrag Eóluirg, in which fell Red Ruirech, the soldier; another battle of Carrag Eóluirg, in which fell Eólorg son of Sdarn, high-king of the Lochlanns; the battle of Inbher Uaithne, against the Bregians, in which fell Fionn son of Inneónach, king of Temhair; another battle of Carrag Eóluirg, in which fell Échtach, the woman-warrior; the battle of Maistiú, over the tribe of Ros; the battle of Mullach Dubh Rosa; the battle of Macha, over Conchobhar; the battle of Cepda,² over the tribe of Durthacht; the battle of Luachair, over the tribe of Dedha; the battle of Dún Dá Bhenn; the battle of Boirche, and many others not reckoned here.

D

³ When Oilill Finn saw that, his household and his great council were summoned to him, and they determined on a plan, and this is the plan which they arranged, to send messengers to the Gamanrighe, and to appoint a day for the hosting: and his two chief horsemen were brought to him, namely, Engán from the Dún, and Édar from Glen Édair: he sent Édar to the north to gather and assemble the Gamanrighe from the Erne hitherwards, by the sea, and thence to Irrus Domhnann, and Engán went on the other side and to the point of Inbher Dá Égonn, which is now called Eas Ruaidh. This is the muster for the driving of the kine of Flidhais: to the two sons of Cornán Cosdubh, Aonghus and Aodh, to the youths of Magh Eine, to the soldiers of Magh Ceinne, to the seven Breslenns of Bréfne, with their three hundred equally named champions between mountain-side and sea, which is now called Dartrighe, to Cornán Cosdubh, to the ridges of Sligech, to Darta of the Brigandage, with his sons, the two Reds, to Échtach son of Édarbha, to Dúnadh Cinn Chunga, to Dáil and Anainn, the two daughters of Goll of Oilech, to the yeomen of the plain of Oilech, to the officers of Oilill Finn with their seven hundred attendant champions, to Gaman of Síthghal, to the fortress of Cenn Slébhe, with its three hundred Gaman, to

¹ Cf. Caithréim Conghail Cláiringhnigh, p. 60 ff. (Ir. Texts Soc.).

² Mackinnon took *cepda* as an adjective. It seems to be a place-name, Cappagh, a parish in Co. Tyrone; see Hogan's *Onomasticon*, s.v. Cepach.

³ Cf. *Celtic Review*, III. 126. ff.

stir them up, to Dubhán son of Cú Ghamhna, to Dún Droighin, to the seven Fosghamhain of Irrus, to Gaman Ruadh na Réé, to Dún Dá Os, to the seven Eochaidhs, to Magh Imrinn, to Dún an Aoinfir, to Fer Caogad, to the seven War-hounds of Oilill Finn, to Dún Inbhir Dá Os, to Édarbha son of Uathach, to his fort, to Ilar Uathach son of Édarbha, to his glen.

They proceeded in battalions and regiments,¹ and in a war-like glowing mass to Oilill Finn, for those were his mercenaries and stipendaries for conflict and combat when he was in distress.

He sent Engán, the chief messenger, back on another journey southwards to fetch the rest of the Gamanrighe to come to the aid of Oilill Finn: to Aodh son of Échtach, to Dún Coirrsleíbhe, to Cairbre of the contest, son of Dubhthach, to Dún Croimghlinne, to Muiredhach Menn son of Oilill Finn, to the fortress of Sliabh Mór, which is called Magh Sliabh (Maighsliabh, mountain plateau, or level moorland?), to Red-haired Fidhach, to Dún Leitrech, to Mancha, to Magh Linne, to Aonghus son of Échtach, to Ára, to Ros son of Roghamain, to western Boirenn, to Ugha Échtach son of Finn, to eastern Boirenn, to Rod son of Ros, to Sliabh Rod, to Mongach the Soldier, to Dún Inbhir, to Aonghus son of Oilill Finn, to Dún Cláire, to the seven sons of Iobhar Caoin, to Glen Easa, to Failbhe, to Ros son of Dubh Dá Thonn, to Ros Nár, to Fraoch son of Fidhach, to Port Cachais, to Édarbha son of Uathach, to Dún Cinn Chunga, to Ebha daughter of Édarbha, to Glen Cuidbhech (?), to Beg from Boirinn, to Illann son of Échtach, to Leiter Finnchuill, to Genann son of Faobhar, to Leitir Genainn, to Ruadh na Réé, to Dún Osra, now called Cruach Phádraig, to Cobhthach of Cenn Sáile, to Dún Airthir, to Conn Cimidh, to Mugh Miodhísiol son of Dubh, to Caoinbhréthach son of Finn, to Dún Maghrois, to Uamnach daughter of Ibhar, to Dún Inbhir Dá Thonn, to the seven sons of Ibhar, to Acaill, to Goll of Ecaill, to the seven Dubháns, to eastern Inis Caoin, to the seven War-hounds of Oilill Finn from the island of Magh Maoín, to the seven War-hounds of Inis in Sgáil, to the seven Finns from Inis Finnáin, to Eithne Óigdherg, to Dún Trethain, to Tuadh (?), to Leiter Bealaigh, to Fiacha Finn son of Faobhar, to Dún Fiachach, to the three Fosghamhain to

¹ Cf. *Caithréim Conghail Cláiringhnigh*, p. 168.

Dún Mór, to Fer Derg son of Dolar, to Dún in Derg, to Dubhthach Dubhgha, to Dún an Aoinfir, to Domhnall Dualbhuidhe, to the king of the Gamanrighe, to Dún Tuaidhe, to Fer Diadh son of Damhán, to Dún na gCéd, to Guas and to Gossa, to the two sons of Fer Diadh, to Flann the Tall, son of Fidhach, to Cathair of Cruinnšliabh (?), to Muínchenn the Soldier, to Dún ós Loch, to Dáire Derg, to Dún Dáire, to Gobha (?) Glas, to Finnchadh na bhFert (or na bhFollt), to Darta of the Brigandage.

E

And after that Oilill Finn¹ betook himself back through the host unwounded, unscathed, and he proceeded on that course, by means of his skill and valour, to Cenn Trágha Tursgair, which is now called Trágh Cinn Chertáin, 'the Strand of Certán's Head,' and he found Certán Cerda there, with his ship in the broad-spaced harbour. When Oilill saw that he took great courage, and asked for the ship to be sent to him. 'No, indeed,' said Certán Cerda, 'I have a cause of discontent and reproach against thee, and I have never found thee in peril till now, and I will avenge it on thee.' 'Tell me thy discontent,' said Oilill Finn. 'That my wife should be in thy company instead of mine,' said Certán. 'On my word,' said Oilill Finn, 'I have never committed that deed. But, however, I will give thee the eric, as if I had done it, that is: a hundred bowls, a hundred cups, a hundred horns, a hundred swords, a hundred helmets, a hundred shields, a hundred spears, a hundred jerkins, a hundred hauberks, a hundred stream-swift (?) steeds with variegated bridles, a hundred milch cows with their calves, a hundred mares with their full plowing, a hundred sows with their sties, a hundred broad-backed oxen, a hundred fleshy wethers, and, besides that, a hundred ingots of red gold, as well as my own affection.' 'I give thee my word,' said Certán, 'that I will take my ship back again.' 'That is woeful,' said Oilill Finn, 'for it were not seemly to leave a lord like myself in harbour when in peril from my enemies.'

Certán took the ship away from land and left Oilill Finn on the beach, and when Oilill saw that he put a stone in his

¹ Cf. *Celtic Review*, IV. 18 ff.

staff-sling and struck Certán in the base of the head, and in the thick part of the neck and smote the head from the body, so that it is from that head the beach has been named ever since, that is, 'The Strand of Certán's Head' is its name to-day.

Then Fergus overtook Oilill Finn, and Oilill turned on the men of Ireland, and the books of the time say it is impossible to write down the number of the men of Ireland that fell by the hand of Oilill Finn there, and no thanks to Certán for it (? or however), and let him take my curse and the curse of Oilill Finn.

INDEX OF PLACE-NAMES¹

Cathair Cruinntsleibhe, D.—In north-west Mayo. From the context it seems likely to have been near Carrowmore Lake.

Cenn Tragha Turrscair, E.—Also known as 'Traigh Chinn Chertain' and 'Cuan Tragha Ceartan' (see Hogan). Now Trakirtaan, an inlet in east shore of Broadhaven. Not only does Trakirtaan preserve the name of Certan, but a ruined fort to the north is known as Duncarton. It is of interest to note that a spot on the seashore close to the fort is called 'Lugnafulla, the bloody hollow.' While the general drift of the story implies that Oilill Finn fell at Trakirtaan, it stated that 'he and his sons fell round the Dun and on the beach' (see *Celtic Review*, iv. p. 22). Now no trace of any fort has been noticed at Trakirtaan, but Duncarton, round to the north, is a conspicuous fort-ruin. Possibly Lugnafulla marks the spot really associated with the final stand of Oilill and his sons. There is another point of interest in connexion with Trakirtaan: Hogan gives a name 'Cuan Cúile ó Chaithir' as identical with Cuan Trágha Ceartan. Cúl Caichir was the site of an early battle (see Keating, ed. Dinneen, II. p. 106) not hitherto identified. If Trakirtaan be Cúl Caichir we have one more place-name cleared up. Caichir, who fell in the battle, is said to have built a fort in the west of Ireland, Dun Ardinne, not yet identified. According to Borlase (*Dolmens of Ireland*, I. p. 110), there is a large dolmen in Lugnafulla close to Duncarton. Dolmens belong to the earliest Bronze Age. I conjecture that Duncarton may stand on the site of Dun Ardinne. The tradition of Caichir may be based on some local memory of 'great men before Oilill Fionn.' As Caichir was an invader, his fort and death-place would naturally be on the coast.

Colbha Criche Céin, B.—This name for Crich Gaileang (East Mayo) was hitherto unknown.

Crich Lugna mic Fíir Trí, B.—This name for West Corann (West Sligo) dates from third century A.D. Lugna mac Fíir Trí was contemporary with Art Aoinfear, Cormac mac Airt and Eochaid Gunnat (see Book of Lecan, 194 b, and Keating, II. p. 352). The reference indicates that he was a Connacht chief. I know no other reference to him except that in *Cóir Anmann*, 237.

Dunadh Atha Fén, B.—Thanks to B. IV. 1, this place can now be identified.

¹ Places identified by Hogan in his *Onomasticon Goedelicum* are not included. For a description of the places mentioned in the tale, see T. J. Westropp's paper on the Promontory Forts of Co. Mayo, already referred to, particularly part iv.

The Glenmasan MS. omits the statement that it is the same as Caorrthannán, a well-known spot, now Castle Hill on the western shore of Loch Con (see Hogan). Its location is of great importance in the study of Táin Bó Flidais.

Dunadh Chinn Chunga, D.—Impossible to identify, as the name is given twice, namely, in the list of places 'to the north' and also in the list 'southwards.' It is one of the details showing confusion in the transmission of the 'Roll-call.' It is worth noting that in the Glenmasan MS. the 'Roll-call' in verse agrees with B. IV 1, while the prose one omits Dunadh Chinn Chunga from the southern list.

Dúnadh Sléibhe Mbir, D.—As Achill is included in the list, this is probably the fort-site on Slievemore in Achill, known as Cathair a'tSleibhe. The fort is destroyed, but Mr. Westropp (*loc. cit.* XLIV. p. 299) locates it on a level plateau on the mountain-side, which would exactly explain the curious alternative name, 'Magh-sliabh.'

Dún an Aoinfir, D.—The promontory fort of Dunaneanir on the west coast of the Mullet, Co. Mayo. It is close to several other forts mentioned in the list (see Westropp, *loc. cit.* XLII. p. 205).

Dúnadh Chinnsleibhe, D.—In northern list, placed after Magh Oilich in the Mullet.

Dún gCláire, D.—In southern list. Unidentified. Possibly on Clare Island?

Dún Corrsleibhe, D.—First name in southern list. Probably on Corslieve Mountain, north of Nephin Beg.

Dún Croimghlinne, D.—Second name in southern list, followed by Achill name. Probably between Corslieve and the coast.

Dún Dáire, D.—Last name in southern list. Unidentified.

Dún in Deirg, D.—The promontory fort of Dunadearg on west coast of Mullet, near Dunaneanir (see Westropp, *loc. cit.* XLII. p. 209).

Dún Dá Os, D.—Probably the same as Dún Osra, for following reasons: in the northern list we have 'Gaman Ruadh na Rée of Dún Dá Os'; in the southern list, 'Ruadh na Rée of Dún Osra.' The prose in Glenmasan MS. agrees with this, but the versified list gives only one entry:

‘Gaman Ruadh na Rée riam
go Dún Dá Os os risliab’ (*Celtic Review*, III. p. 132).

I conjecture that the prose lists are later than the verse, and that in transcription 'os ri' was mistaken for a fort-name. Why it was placed in the southern list away from Dún dá Os, is difficult to say, unless its identification with Croagh-Patrick was felt to require this transference. Should Dún Dá Os then be located on Croagh-Patrick? The poem merely places it 'os risliabh, on a royal mountain.' The point is doubtful.

Dún Droighin, D.—Mr. Westropp thinks this is Dundragon Mount, three miles south of Ballycastle, Co. Mayo, marked on O.S. map as 'the Dragon's grave'!

Dún Fiachach, D.—The promontory fort of Dun Fiachrach on west coast of Mullet. In the Glenmasan MS. the name is written Fiachrach (see Westropp, *loc. cit.* XLII. 197).

Dún Inbir, D.—In southern list. Omitted in verse list in Glenmasan MS. There is an Inbir on Broadhaven, but Mr. Westropp mentions no fort-remains there.

Dún Inbir Dá Os, D.—In northern list. The Glenmasan prose version gives Dún Inbir Dá Es. The list in verse omits it. Unidentified.

Dún Inbir Dha Thonn, D.—May have been on north coast of Achill, having belonged to Uamnach ingen Iobhra, and following immediately we find 'go secht macaibh Iobhra go hAcaill.' The name Duniver is still given to part of the north coast of Achill. It seems likely, therefore, that here stood Dún Inbir Dha Thonn, in the territory of the Clann Iobhair.

Dún Leitreach, D.—In southern list. The old name of Carrowmore Lake was Loch Leitreach. Possibly Dún Leitreach was near it.

Dún Mhaghrois, D.—In southern list. Is mentioned just before the Achill names, but cannot be identified.

Dún Mór, D.—In southern list. It precedes Dún in Deirg and Dun an Aoinfir, both Mullet forts. Mr. Westropp thinks it is Dunnamo, the largest promontory fort in the Mullet, and just north of the two forts named (Westropp, *loc. cit.* XLII. 201).

Dún na gCed, D.—In southern list, but cannot be located. So far as I know this is the only reference we have to Fer Dhiádh's fort. It is here placed after Dún Tuaidhe, i.e. Dundonnell in Glencashel, and may have been in that neighbourhood.

Dún Oirthir, D.—In southern list. Unidentified.

Dún Os Loch, D.—In southern list. May have been near Carrowmore Lake, as its owner, Muinchenn, was keeper of the cow, the Maol Flidais. In the story Flidais and her cow are always at Rath-Morgan, west of Carrowmore Lake. Also the river Muinchenn flows out of the lake at this point, so Muinchenn and his fort were probably identified with this neighbourhood.

Dún Osra, D.—See Dún Dá Os.

Dún Treathain, D.—In southern list. Hogan gives a Dún Cind Treathain, now Donaghintran in Templeboy, Co. Sligo. If they are the same, Dún Trethain should appear in the northern list. It may, however, be another place farther west.

Dún Tuaidhe, D.—Dundonnell in Glencashel between Carrowmore Lake and Blacksod Bay (Westropp, *loc. cit.* XLII. 137, XLIV. 155). Local legend as late as 1840 declared this to be the fort of Domhnall Dualbuidhe, though the name, Dún Tuaidhe, has not been preserved. Its situation with relation to the other places in the story makes the identification certain.

Glenn Cuidbigh, D.—In southern list. Not in the versified list in Glenmasan MS. Unidentified.

Glenn Éasa, D.—In southern list. In the Glenmasan prose version the name is Glenn Esa Caoin, and in the verse, Druim Essa Caoin. Unidentified.

Glenn Édair, D.—Unidentified.

Inis Caoin Oirthir, D.—One of the two islands of Inishkea, off the Mullet, probably the northern one. Glenmasan MS., both prose and verse, gives two islands, Inis C. west and Inis C. east. Though the orientation seems at fault, the southern island could be said to lie more to the west.

Inis Fionndin, D.—Unidentified.

Inis in Sgáil, D.—Unidentified.

Leitir m-Bealaigh, D.—In southern list. As it is followed by Dún Fiachach, it may be in the Mullet.

Leitir Fionnchuill, D.—Unidentified.

Leitir nGenainn, D.—Unidentified.

Lugho, B.—Probably the same as Sliabh Lugha near Lough Gara in counties Sligo and Roscommon (see Hogan).

Magh hEine, D.—In northern list. Same as Magh Ene in the district near Sligo Bay (see Hogan).

Magh gCeinne, D.—In northern list. Same as Magh Cétni north of Sligo (see Hogan).

Magh Imrinn, D.—In northern list, but is followed by Dun an Aoinfhir, a Mullet name. It is not in the Glenmasan verse list. Unidentified.

Magh Linne, D.—In southern list. Glenmasan MS. has Moidghlinn, Moi Glin. It is followed in the list by Arann. Unidentified.

Magh hOiligh, D.—The land on east coast of Mullet round Elly Bay and Ardely Point.

Oilean Muighe Maoin, D.—In southern list. It is named after Inishkea island, so may be another island off the Mullet.

Port Cachais, D.—The Glenmasan reading, 'Port Eoruis,' seems the true one. Mr. Westropp thinks it may be the largest promontory fort in the Mullet, Porth (*loc. cit.* XLII. 210), or Portacloy in Erris (*ibid.* p. 122). Its connexion with Fraoch mac Fidaigh is interesting (see *Tain Bó Fraoich*, Eg. 1782).

Rath Fionnchaoimhe, B.—Our manuscript (B. IV. 1) is here defective. Rath F. is *not* Crioich Airtigh. The Glenmasan ms. shows that it was later called Rath Cind Faolaidh, and that Bricriu's route was by Beola Coilledh to 'Crich Cuire now Crich Airtich.' Beola Coilledh is Ballycullia, Kilcorkey, near Castlereagh (see Hogan). Rath F. should be looked for between this place and Rathcroghan.

Ros n'Ár, D.—In southern list. Not in Glenmasan verse list. As it is named before Port Eoruis it may be in or near the Mullet.

Ros Inbhir Da Égonn, D.—This older name for Es Ruaidh is found also in Cath Cumair (23 K 37, R.I.A.). [It is common in sixteenth-century bardic poetry (E. K.).]

Sliabh na Fairgsiona, B.—From the context this must have been west of Loch Gara, and in Co. Sligo. It seems to be the same as Sliabh Lugha (see Hogan). I can find no hill of either name in the maps. It may have been the ancient name for Largan Hill.

Sliabh Rod, D.—In southern list. Cannot be located.

Traigh Chinn Chertain, E.—See Cenn Tragha Turrscair.

Tuaidh, D.—In southern list. It seems to be a genuine name, not merely a point of the compass. The Glenmasan verse list evidently gave the name of some one who lived there, and mentions two women of Tuaidh. Unidentified.

MARGARET DOBBS

QUIDAM SCOTIGENA .I. DISCIPULUS BOËTHII

OR

BOËTHIUS AND THE FOUR CONDITIONS
OF A TALE

THAT unknown genius, the author of the *Vision of MacConglinne*, a man steeped to his finger-tips in the methods of the schools—of which the work is one long parody—begins his tale in the traditional manner of Irish scholarship: Cethardai as cuintesta da cach elathain, issed as cuintesta don eladain se .i. locc (ocus persu) oculus aimser oculus fath airicc. ‘The four things that are to be asked of every composition,¹ that is what must be asked of this composition, to wit, place and person and time and cause of invention.’

An example of the sort of thing he was parodying here may be given at once from the secular literature. In the Egerton manuscript, 1782, a copy of the *Táin Bó Cuailgne* has prefixed to it the legendary account of the origin of the epic in its earliest recorded shape. This account begins thus: Cethardo connadur da gach eladuín is cuincesta don eladuín si na Tano. Loc di cetamus lige Fergus mac Roich aitt inronadnucht ar Mag n-Ai. Tempus autem Diarmato mic Ceruail in regno Hibernie. Perso quidem Fergus mac Roich ar is he rothircan dona hexib archena. A tucait sgribinn dano dia ndechaid Senchan Torpest cona tri.L. rigeicius mnaib macuib sceo ingenuib leo do saigid Guaire ri Connacht. ‘The four things that are asked of every composition are to be asked of this composition of the *Táin*. And first its place was the grave of Fergus mac Roich wherein he was buried on Mag Ai. Its time was when Diarmait mac Cerbaill held the kingdom of

¹ *Elada* in passages of this type translates the technical word *ars* employed in the sense of ‘commentary’ or ‘dissertation.’

Ireland. Its person was Fergus mac Roich, for it is he that recited it to the poets. Its occasion of writing was when Senchán Torpest went with his thrice fifty king-poets, women, lads, and maidens, to Guaire, king of Connacht.'

This and many another of its like is the kind of exordium parodied by the author of the *Vision*. No one will suggest that this style was borrowed from the manner of Fergus. It is one of the things most certainly non-Irish in the Irish tradition of story-telling. The scholastic trick of it is clear. Where did the Irish get it from? I suggest from Boëthius. Boëthius, in the sixth book of his commentary on Cicero's *Topics*, quotes a passage of his author to the following effect: 'Quaestionum duo sunt genera, alterum infinitum, definitum alterum. Definitum est quod ὑπόθεσιν Graeci, nos causam; infinitum, quod θέσιν illi appellant, nos propositum possumus nominare. Causa certis personis, locis, temporibus, actionibus, negotiis cernitur, aut in omnibus aut plerisque eorum.' (Migne, *Pat. Lat.* LXIV. col. 1170.)

These distinctions of the old Rhetoric he uses again in his *Locorum Rhetoricorum Distinctio* (*op. cit.* col. 1221): 'Persona est quae in iudicium vocatur; negotium, factum dictumve personae, propter quod in iudicium vocatur persona: et negotium suggerere argumenta non possunt; de ipsis enim quaestio est. Faciunt autem fidem negotio ea quae sunt personis et negotiis attributa. Persona quoque facit negotio fidem; sed non in eo quod persona est, sed in eo quod ex attributis personae quamdam suscipit qualitatem. Circumstantiae sunt, quae convenientes substantiam quaestionis efficiunt. Nisi enim sit qui fecerit, et quod fecerit, causaque cur fecerit, vel locus tempusque quo fecerit, modus etiam facultas si desint, causa negotiumque non stabit.'

Thus these details of person, place, time, cause are necessary in the pleading of a cause to establish the credibility of the evidence produced. It is clear then that in the literary narration of any history these same details will give a great air of verisimilitude to the facts related. This is interestingly exemplified by the remark of a Gospel commentator in the comment on St. Matthew ii. 1, in a Gospel-book written at Armagh in 1138 (Harley MS. 1802, fol. 10 b). 'In diebus Herodis, etc. Personam et locum et tempus commemorat ad confirmandam historiam.'

Ad confirmandam historiam—that indeed was the purpose of this rhetorical device, and it was very greedily adopted by the Irish, perhaps because they felt how desperately necessary it was to obtain some sort of confirmation for some of the wild histories they had to relate. It succeeded wonderfully, and even down to our own day their skilful use of such confirmatory details has won credence for the wildest historical inventions. They will begin a tale, with the detached air of a modern folklorist, with a description of the customs of the Irish *oenach* or the arrangement of a *bruiden*, and suddenly diverge into some monstrous history of gods and men and all the rush and turmoil of the barbarian world. We are far indeed here from the manner of Boëthius, though not so far maybe from the manners of the Goths, among whom he lived and who brought him to his death.

The use of these methods in the redaction of the native sagas was probably preceded by their proper employment in commentaries, where a logical division of matter was so convenient. In that manuscript of the ninth century in St. Paul in Carinthia, which contains the delightful poem relating the exploits of the cat Pangur Bán and his scholar-master, there is a fragment of a commentary on Virgil. It begins thus: 'Locus, tempus, persona in hac arte Aeneidos quaerendi sunt et causa scribendi.'

Here, again, is the formula of MacConglinne and of the introducer of the Táin. And following this trail we are brought back to Boëthius again. In a manuscript in the Laurentian Library, a page of which is given in facsimile in Vitelli and Paoli, *Facsimili Paleografici*, I. pl. 4, there is to be found a copy of Boëthius's *Consolations of Philosophy* with an elaborate commentary, and some introductory matter. It would seem to have been written by an Irish scribe in the twelfth century. Amongst the introductory matter is a *Vita Boethii* with the heading: Quintus Fabius (.i. consul) fecit hunc prologum usque "Boethius ipse," vel quidam scotigina (.i. discipulus Boethii). A note of Johannes Scotus (Eriugena) is also given. Both of these are printed by Peiper in his edition of the text. Another note, however, has not been printed except in Vitelli and Paoli. It runs: Primitus querendum est tempus · locus · causa · et persona · nam tempore quando Teotricus rex Simachum martirizavit · cuius filosofiam Boetius habuit · tunc Boetius istum

librum edidit . postea Boetium occidit . persona . Boetius . locus . Roma . causa . consolans in carcere se.

Being thus used in commentary it was naturally associated by the Irish with everything to which the method of commentary was applicable. A glance at the Book of Hymns will show how they applied the method. And our examples show how it was employed in the secular literature—ad confirmandam historiam.

We may spend a little more time in the company of Boëthius before we thank him for his assistance and, with a blessing, take our leave.

The *Féilire* of Oengus was one of the outstanding productions of the early Irish church. It is a work that cries out for a commentary. And in due course a commentary it received. This commentary begins to pattern: Cethardai condagar da cech elathain .i. locc 7 aimser 7 persa 7 fath airic. Is fisid cid ar mad locc conesta ar tus 7 aimser isin lucc tanaise 7 persa isin tres lucc 7 fath airicc in fine. Is aire is locc ar tus ar is fri cathardu 7 eclaisi domiditer luicc .i. primluic 7 cadus doibside. Fri rigu 7 tuathu didiu domiditer aimsera. Locc tanaise do suidib. Persa immorro isin tress lucc ar is a heclais no a tuaith aircthid cacha helathan. Tucait post ara frith fath remtechtsais dona filedaib archena meretrix. 'Four things are asked of every composition, to wit, place, time, person, and cause of invention. The question is, why placé should be asked first and time in the second place and person in the third place and cause of invention last. This is why place is first, because places are reckoned by monasteries and churches, that is, they have the chief places and the honour. By kings and states are times reckoned. Therefore they have the second place. Person is in the third place, for the author of every composition is either of church or state. Cause is last, because the cause of the precedence that poets have is a harlot.'

Stokes in the second edition of the *Féilire* saw the reference here, but does not explain it. It is based upon a passage in the beginning of the *Consolation of Philosophy*. Boëthius is there revealed with the Muses (uneasy chamber-companions!) dictating a poem to him. To these enters Philosophy, and the matter proceeds thus: Quae ubi poeticas Musas vidit, nostro assistentes toro fletibusque meis verba dictantes, commota

paulisper ac torvis inflammata luminibus: Quis, inquit, has scenicas meretriculas ad hunc aegrum permisit accedere?

The argument of our commentator is clear. It is based on a classification of society into the three orders: the Church, the State, and the Poets. The category of place comes first, because ecclesiastical establishments are of highest dignity. That of time is second, because we date by regnal years. Person is third, because every author must be either a cleric or a layman. The cause is last, because in the opinion of Boëthius the Muses from whom the poets draw their inspiration are but stage-struck harlots dispensing to their votaries what St. Augustine calls the *vinum daemonum* of poetry. It is clear that the composer of this exordium was a cleric, not a poet.

Thus does the philosopher of the Dark Ages play his part in the evolution of Irish literary form. I do not know that Boëthius was distinguished by a great sense of humour. But, surely, if, where he sits in the Shades with King Alfred, Notker, Jean de Meun, Chaucer, Queen Elizabeth, and the rest of the multitude of his adaptors and translators, some rumour should reach him of how the Irish had dealt with his lendings, the austerity of his philosophy would be melted into a smile. And if he desired information on the nature of these Irish, Queen Elizabeth could tell him much out of the depths of her experience. For to her both Boëthius and the Irish were known.

R. FLOWER

WHY MONGÁN WAS DEPRIVED OF NOBLE ISSUE

THIS little story about Mongán may be compared with those already published by Meyer in *The Voyage of Bran*, I. pp. 42-56. It apparently belongs to the same period of composition. Here we see the mysterious youth availing himself of his protean gift (*Silv. Gad.* I. 361) to play practical jokes on the most notable Irish poet of his time. Eochaid Rígéices is referred to in the Introduction to *Amra Coluim Chille* as one of the poets who were banished at the time of the proscriptions (RC. xx. p. 42). The reference in Meyer's *Primer of Irish Metrics* (p. 38 n.) calls for correction: 'YBL. 135a' should rather be 'Atkinson's note on YBL. 135a.' It is not stated in the text that Eochaid was identical with Dallán Forgaill.¹ The other Eochaid Rígéices given in the *Primer* (*loc. cit.*²) was nephew of Forgg, or Forggu, king of Ulaid, who reigned, according to the list in LL. 330b, eighty years after Fergus Dubdétach. This Eochaid, then, flourished early in the fourth century, and cannot be confused with the poet in the following story.

Many points in the text are obscure to me. For some Professor Bergin has suggested explanations, others must for the present be left with a query.

ELEANOR KNOTT

¹ In a footnote to RC. xx. p. 35, Stokes assumes that the identification of Eochaid Éices and Dallán Forgaill was a blunder of Reeves' (*Adamnan*, 17, note f.), but see Keating, III. I. 1480, where the identity is explicitly stated. The question is whether Eochaid Éices and Eochaid Rígéices were identical.

² LL. 3300 is a misprint for LL. 330c.

YELLOW BOOK OF LECAN

Col. 800 (Facs. p. 135a34)

Eochaid Rígeiges ardfili na Hērend, robāi Fiachna mac Boetān oc a chured chucai do ēicsi dō, ar ba rī Ulad in Fiachna 7 ba di Ultaib in tEochaid. Nīcon beōsa it farrad or Eochaid, sech cach rīg do rīghaib Ērend, ar atā macān lat .i. Mongān mac Fiachna. Issē mac dian lia eōlas i nĒrind, biaid sē oc scēlaib 7 oc eōlas, do-bērat in drochdaïne fair frithtuid-eacht frimsa, do-bērsa miscaid fair, bid debaid latso frimsa an nī sin. Nathō, or Fiachna, acelaitsi¹ mo mac co nā tī fritso, isē bus mīne fritso isin teaglachsa. Maith, or Eochaid, do-gēntar, bid ammin co cend mbliadna.

Baiseom laa n-ann oc indisin eōlais. Olc duid, a Mongān, ar na gilla, cen ēleghad in bachlaig oc rād na góa. Maith, or Mongān.

Luid Fiachna for cuairt rīg 7 Eochu lais. A mbātar laa n-and for a n-ēraim conacatar sē choirthi cloichi mōra ar a cind 7 cethrur maic- [col. 801] clēireach im na coirthi. Cid do-gní[d] andsin, a chlērchi? or Fiachnaī. Atāum sund oc cuindchidh fīs 7 eōlais: do-n-uc Dia dūnd iarum rīgēices Hērend .i. Eochaid dia glēodh dūs cia nošāith na leca sa 7 cia ro-s-aralta.² Amain, or Eochaid, nīcon fil for menmain damsa sin uile: ba dōich lim bad Cland Deadhaid do-n-uargaibset do dēnam Chathrach Chon Raī. Maith, a Eochaid, ar fer dīb, atberad na maicclēirich immo-t-ralasū. Nā cairigh,³ or araile. Bēs is anfis dō, ar a chēle. Is anfis dō, ar araile. Maith, or Eochaid, oculus sibi, caidi bar n-edirglēodsi diib? Is hē ar n-eōlaisnī, ām, trī līc andso niathbuidne 7 trī liic lāthbuidne: Conall Cernach ro-da-lā la Hilland mac Fergusu ro marb triar sund dā cētgaiscid: atraī a lechta (?)⁴ do turcbāil ar a oīti, co-nda-thuarcaib Conall Cernach leis, ar ba bēsad do Ultaib āit a ndēndais a cētgaiscid turcbaitis a corthi ind līn a

¹ Professor Bergin suggests *acēlatsa*, 'I will speak to,' which would suit the context.

² Cf. *araralad*, Ir. Texte, I. 78, l. 6, and *aridralastar*, Thes. II. 31, l. 3.

³ *nā cairigh* for *nāch c.*?

⁴ *atraī a lechta*: the reading is uncertain. The ms. has *at* with a mark over the *t* like the compendium for *ra*, then, apparently on erasure, *alsa* with a horizontal stroke over the *s*.

romarbdais, agus aircseo, a Eochaid, lat ainfluss. Nī bad imdergad lat, a Eochaid, or Fiachna, cubaid¹ let na scolaige.

Tiagait fora rēmim in chētna. Conacadar in aelrāith mōir [ar] a cind, 7 cethror ōclāch co n-ētaigib corcraī ar a dorus. Taidlig Eochaid in lis. Maith, or Fiachna, cid as āil duib? Āil dūn a fis ō Eochaid cisī rāth so 7 cia robaī indi. Sochaide lasa ndēntar rātha, or Eochaid, co nāch talla for menmain. Lēic uait, or is anfis dō, ar a chēle. Cade bar n-eōlas didiu? or Fiachna. Nī *ansa* ām:

Cian ō do bī meadar mas
oc ōl meda a curn glas—

isin imscing ar [a f(?)aithchi, 7 nī thucais a hainm iar suidiu, a Eochaid. Maith didiu, or Eochaid.

Tiagaid ass iarsin. Conacadar rāith aile ar a cind 7 cethror macām ina dorus oc imresain. Is firu damsa! Nī firu duidsiu! Cid tāthaī, a maccu? or Fiachna. Oc imresain atām dūs cissī rāth so 7 cia las roclassa ind rāith so: do-fuc Dia dūn iarum in fer cen anfis itir diā rēlad dūn. Nāch-an-imderg, ar a chēle, is anfis dō. Cade didiu bar fisse? or Fiachnai. Nī *ansa* immurgu:

Cian ō thessaigthe in tslatt
do fīr rocheachlaid Rāith Imgatt,
Immgatt ainm na mnā ro-da-gart,
ingen Buise mic Didracht—²

Rāith Immgat a ainm iarum, a Eochaid, 7 nī bo sirsan duid a ainbfis. Rohimdergad iarum inti Eochaid. Cuma duid, a Eochaid, or Fiachnai, nī ba lugaidi do grād.

Tiagaid iarum dia mbaile feisin. Moṅgān cona muintir istaig ar a cind. Maith, or Eochaid, tusu do-rōnne suut, a Mongāin, ro-[col. 802] fētarsa. Is tū atrubairt, ar Moṅgān. Nī faigebtha maith didiu, or Eochaid, faicebsa ailig fort dar a ēisi: in t-ānius romōr tuargabais fort bethir cen ānius dar a ēisi: nīcon bia acht eachbachlaich³ uait, 7 nī ba mōr itir faicebtha athgabāil, 7 nīcon festar tarad de fen.⁴

Issed sin dono tall degiartaige ō Mongāin (*sic*) mac Fiachnai.

FINIT

¹ Under *cubaid*, and over *in chetna*, *na bad* is written. I cannot say where it should be placed in the text.

² These lines are corrupt.

³ The *z* is added beneath.

⁴ *tarad de fen*, the reading is uncertain.

TRANSLATION

Eochu Rígéigeas, chief poet of Ireland, Fiachna, son of Boetán was inviting him to him to make verse for him, for Fiachna was king of Ulaid and Eochu was of the Ulaid. 'I should avoid thy presence,' said Eochu, 'more than that of any of the kings of Ireland, for thou hast a young son, Mongán, son of Fiachna. He is the most learned youth in Ireland, he will be relating tales and giving instruction, evil¹ people will set him to contradict me, I shall curse him and thou wilt quarrel with me on that account.' 'Nay,' said Fiachna, 'I shall speak to (?) my son that he contradict thee not, it is he will be the most civil towards thee in this household.' 'Well,' said Eochu, 'it shall be done. Let it be thus until the end of a year.'

One day he was relating lore. 'Evil of thee, Mongán,' said the boys, 'that thou dost not challenge the lying clown.' 'Good,' said Mongán.

Fiachna went on a royal visitation, accompanied by Eochu. One day on their journey they beheld six large pillar-stones before them, and four young clerics by the stones. 'What do you here, clerics?' said Fiachna. 'We are here seeking knowledge and instruction. God has brought to us, however, the king-poet of Ireland, Eochu, to reveal who planted these stones and how (?) they were arranged (?).' 'Well,' said Eochu, 'I do not remember all that. I should think the Children of Deda upreared them, to build the City of Cú Roí.' 'Well, Eochu,' said one of them, 'the young clerics say thou art astray (?).' 'Do not blame him,' said another. 'Perhaps he does not know,' said his companion. 'He does not know,' said another. 'Well,' said Eochu, 'and you, what is your explanation of them?' 'This, then, is our information—these are three stones of a champion-band and three stones of a warrior-band. Conall Cernach placed them, along with Illand, son of Fergus, who slew three here in his first prowess. He was unable to uprear the pillars on account of his youth, and Conall Cernach raised them with him, for it was the custom of the Ulaid, wherever they performed their first act of valour,

¹ 'evil people': possibly *drochdatne* is used in the sense of 'common people,' 'the vulgar,' just as *degdatne* means 'gentlefolk.'

to raise pillar-stones to the number that they slew,—and be off, Eochu, with thy ignorance.’ ‘Do not be ashamed, Eochu,’ said Fiachna, ‘the scholars are a match (?) for thee.’ They proceed on their way as before, and they perceived a large limewashed castle in front of them, and four youths in purple raiment before the door. Eochu approached the enclosure. ‘Well,’ said Fiachna, ‘what do you want?’ ‘We want to hear from Eochu what castle this is, and who lived in it.’ ‘So many build castles,’ said Eochu, ‘that they do not all find room in the memory.’ ‘Let be,’ said the other, ‘for he does not know.’ ‘What is your information, then?’ said Fiachna. ‘Not difficult, indeed—

a while since he was merry,
drinking mead from a green goblet—

in the garden on its lawn, and yet thou hast not remembered its name, Eochu.’ ‘Good,’ said Eochu.

Then they proceeded, and they saw another castle before them, and four youths quarrelling in front of the entrance. ‘I am right!’ ‘Thou art not right!’ ‘What are you at, boys?’ said Fiachna. ‘We are contending as to what castle this is, and by whom it was built. God has brought to us, however, a man without any ignorance to reveal it to us.’ ‘Do not shame him,’ said his companion, ‘he does not know.’ ‘What do you know about it?’ said Fiachna. ‘Not difficult, indeed—

. (?)
for the man who dug Ráth Imgat;¹
Imgat was the woman who named (?) it,
daughter of Buise, son of Didracht.

Ráth Imgat, then, is its name, Eochu, and it is not fortunate for thee that thou art ignorant of it.’ Then Eochu was put to shame. ‘It is all the same to thee, Eochu,’ said Fiachna, ‘thou shalt not be thought the less of.’

They go home then, and find Mongán and his following within. ‘Well,’ said Eochu, ‘thou hast done that, Mongán, I know.’ ‘Thou hast said it,’ said Mongán. ‘It shall not profit thee, then,’ said Eochu, ‘I shall leave a reproach on thee in return for it. The great sport thou hast made for thyself,

¹ Ráth Imgatt : in Hogan’s ref. (Onom.) LL. should be corrected to YBL.

thou shalt be¹ without sport in consequence of it. Thou shalt have no issue save horseboys, and thou shalt not leave any great inheritance (?),² neither shall . . . (?).

Thus was Mongán, son of Fiachna, deprived of noble issue.

FINIT

¹ The form *bethir* which I have translated as fut. sg. 2, may be the impers. fut. ; cf. O. Ir. *bethir*, impers. pres. subj.

² Perhaps for *faicebtha* we should read *faigebtha*, and translate: 'thou shalt not acquire great possessions.' Cf. CA. 31, and Meyer's note, *ib.* p. 43.

OLD-IRISH *conmberad*

THE form occurs in Tur. 62, *Thes. Pal.* I. 488: *intan asrobrad frie mberad macc* 'when she had been told that she would bear a son.' Pedersen, *Vergl. Gr.* II. 464, takes the verb as 2 fut., but with a query; Thurneysen, *Handb.* II. 28, treats it as a past subj., for he leaves the quantity of the *e* unmarked; both of them regard it as part of the simple *berid*. The translation given in *Thes. Pal.* suits the context perfectly, and the *o* may stand, as often, for *co*. But indirect speech, as such, does not require the subjunctive, and is not usually introduced in O. Ir. by the conjunction *co n-*. There will be no difficulty if we analyse the word as *con-m-bērad* 'that she would conceive,' 2 fut. of *con-beir* 'conceives,' with relative infix marking indirect speech. Indeed *con-beir* appears to have the force of *berid* in Laud 610, fo. 96^a2: *asbert fria ar thūs ropad rīgdrúth hĒirenn mad isin chētlā conbertha* (ZCP. VIII. 309, 19).

OSBORN BERGIN

METRICA

I.—NOTES ON MEYER'S PRIMER OF IRISH METRICS

PAGE vi. 15. The theory that 'if *dh* and *d* come together they have between them the value of *t*' is erroneous. For *marbh^hnadh Dé* we should read *marbh^hnat Dé*. The four forms *marbh^hnadh*, *marbh^hnad*, *marbh^hnath*, and *marbh^hnat* are recognized variants. An example of the last is given in MS. 24. P. 8 (R.I.A.), p. 82 :

See ERIV, i

Ni *marbh^hnat* gan fhachuin í,
mo rí is m'athair *daghmhac Dé*.

p. i. 13. No evidence has been given to show that the metres of the *amhrán* and the *caoineadh* arose 'probably under the influence of English poetry.' Take such a common type as Keating's

Óm sceól ar árd-mhagh Fáil ní chodlaim oidhche,

with its sequence *ó á á o í* throughout the whole poem. What was there in English poetry of the Tudor period from which the Irish could have adapted such a metrical scheme? And the same may be said of other Early Modern rhythmical measures. Their true origin is to be sought in the development of the song metres, combined with a free use of *bruiling-eacht* and *comhardadh briste*. This is a subject that will repay investigation. It will take us back some centuries earlier than the sixteenth.

p. 4. 3. Alliteration of *f* with *f*, 'an alliteration merely for the eye.' The example given, '*do féiss la Feirb*,' would be more convincing if it were taken from a poem in which alliteration is regular. But in the 156 lines of this poem more than 70 have no trace of alliteration, even for the eye.

p. 4. 5-18. The examples are all open to objection. SR.

1577 *déna mo thinchosc di sáin* : if *thinchosc* here alliterates with *sáin*, what about the next line *a mo thigernai*, a *Adaim*, or the preceding line *ní diar cintaib, diar tarntecht*? In fact, in the ten lines before l. 1577 and the ten following, there are fourteen without alliteration. So of the Book of Fenagh: if the line quoted necessarily contains alliteration, what of *dligim do Molaisi na cell* and *screball óir gacha bliadna* in the same quatrain? Of the twenty-five other lines on the same page thirteen have no alliteration. So of the other examples in this paragraph. They prove nothing. Apart from metrics this alleged alliteration of *th* and *s* is of some importance for the history of the language, as it implies the reduction of initial *th* to *h*, and it would be interesting if that could be established for the period of SR. *gēbtait in tīr thūaid da šīl* is not to the point, for the alliteration is between *tīr* and *thūaid*. Similarly *is ē sin senchas cach šin* (l. 17), *sin* and *senchas* alliterate, not *senchas* and *šin*.

p. 4. ll. 19 and 26. The laws of alliteration are here said to have been fixed after the period of lenition, but before that of nasal eclipsis. The mention of *p* is doubtless a slip, for its changes are analogical: there were no words beginning with *p* until well after the introduction of Christianity. At all events we know nothing about the metres in use at the period or periods to which these changes belong. I cannot accept Meyer's explanation of the various kinds of alliteration. There is, to my mind, a simple explanation which accounts for the peculiar treatment of certain consonants, and agrees with the theory and practice of the schools; but this must be reserved for a later paper.

p. 4. 33. A better example might have been chosen, for in strict verse *duit* is not an *íarmbérta*.

p. 7. 7. Examples are wanted of the riming of the diphthong *ōi* (*ōe*) and *ōⁱ*, and the diphthong *āi* (*āe*) and *āⁱ* in later O. Ir. Such rimes do not seem to have been tolerated in Mid. Ir.

p. 8. 9. For 'unstressed' read 'stressed,' in accordance with Meyer's later discovery, ÉRIU VI. 103 ff.

p. 9. 9. For 'long vowel' read 'long final vowel,' cf. pp. 168-9 *infra*.

p. 11. 15. This is not a good example. If the initial vowel of *adteoch* be elided, the line will be too short. It is

quoted from a poem printed in ZCP. VIII. 231-2—the reference might well have been given—and the context shows that the metre is 6^2+6^2 . It is true that the first verse here is hypermetric, but whether that can be remedied by shortening the next is a question not touched on in the Primer.

ib. 16. The Mid. Ir. text in ÉRIU has *suide*: *guide*. The former is here turned into O. Ir., and then, to rime with *śudiu*, *guide* is made *gudiu*, which does not look like the Irish of any period.¹ The elision of the initial of *im* and *in* might have been marked.

ib. 26. Examples of *ánd-sin* are to be desired. In the later *dán díreach*, as far as my reading goes, the *sin* is always stressed, as in the modern spoken language.

p. 14. 13. The quatrain referred to (RC. 20. 404) is:

IS sin. téte in mal ina teg rig
i ndechiult cen chassair trit. co nduibciunn ina desscip.

This is not *rannaigeacht*, but a variety of *debide*.

ib. § 9. The quatrain quoted is not an example of *cas-bairdne*. *cruaid* and *ugra* are separated in the facsimile; so are *muaid* and *Mugna*, which alliterate. The same quatrain, with two others, is quoted FM. II. 570, and Chron. Scot. 182, and the whole poem of twelve quatrains is given in *Three Fragments*, 216 ff. It is in the metre *ae freslige*, and belongs to p. 20, § 41.

p. 15. 10. Read *meic*: *deit*. *m̄c* should be extended *maic* only in O. Ir.

ib. 11. Read *a m̄llid a M̄lainn*, 'O warrior from Mála.' See Hogan, Onom. 536.

ib. 20. Read *meic*: *gleic*. Cf. *gleic*, *cóir*; *gleac*, *lochdach*, H.2.17, 265b.

p. 16. 18. 'Silva Gad., p. 117.' The reference is wrong, for the poems on the page are in *rindaird* or *debide*.

ib. 27. 'All *scáilte*' is inaccurate. The quatrain in LL. 297a31 reads:

Rotfiasu i mBroccross, a Find inn ága,
mónaind na móna saill muicce Slánga.

Here the third verse consonates with the second and fourth, and such consonance is common throughout the whole poem,

¹ Of course *ac du gudiu sin*, ML. 22a5, is a scribal error.

though most of the quatrains are *aicclech*. The third quatrain—

Fulocht Chind Tíre, fásc Inbair Fēile,
feóil daim Chnuicc Cláre, saill bruicc a Bérre—

so far from being *scallte*, is *cetharchubaid*.

p. 17. 17. *Óp-sa . . . gabsus*. The variants *obu*, *obo*, *obsa*, and *gabais*, *gabus* (IT. III. 37 and 68) point to a reading *Ó bu becān gabais gleith*, 'since he was small he grazed.'

p. 19. 4. For 265a read 265b8. But the LL. version is :

Masat cethra co ndath chethra ní himmirgi oenbó
ata fer borbertas broengó ar druim cach a oenbó,

which gives at all events the consonance of *broengó* and *oenbó*. Meyer's version is probably taken from his edition of *Aided Conrói*, RC. VI. 188.

ib. 8. For *Ib.* read 265a16.

ib. 11. '*Dechnad mór*, $8^2 + 5^2$.' The example does not agree with the description, for the second and fourth verses are not 5^2 but 6^2 . The metre is the same as that described in the preceding paragraph, *dechnad fota* and *dechnad mór* being alternative names. The error in classification is doubtless due to the fact that in IT. III. 152 a very corrupt quatrain from LL., described as *dechnad mór*, apparently counts $8^2 + 5^2$. The correct text edited in *Zu ir. Handschr. u. Litt.* I. 75 has of course $8^2 + 6^2$. Meyer, adopting Thurneysen's earlier classification, but discarding the unintelligible example from LL., has replaced it by an example of the real *dechnad mór*, overlooking the discrepancy. §§ 32 and 33 should be combined.

ib. 17. Omit 45b39, for the poem referred to is in the metre *rindaird*.

ib. 25. For *rannaigecht* read *carnrannaigecht*. (Cf. p. 20, § 38.)

p. 20. 2. The reference cannot be right, for the text of LL. is :

Fail and étach meic ind Ríg assa cés for cach n-óen
fail and is amru cach mbríg a fuil fir assa thoeb,

and this is not an example of $7^1 + 5^1$. In fact, the whole poem in LL. is irregular.

p. 21. 8. The reference is out of place. It belongs to § 38 on the preceding page, for the poem in Tochmarc Ferbe is in $7^1 + 3^1$.

p. 22. 13. For *dogntthi* read *donitthi* (O'Molloy, p. 210, has *donithi*). It alliterates with *nemdaide* (*nemhdhuidhe*, O'M.). In artistic examples of *seudna* the first two verses of the quatrain are regularly connected by alliteration. Meyer here makes the poet guilty of the metrical fault called *lorga brisde*. As a point of grammar it may be noted that *do-gní* must have lost its *g* in the Early Mid. Ir. period: cf. the spelling *doní*, LU. 119a32 (twice), Atk. PH. p. 665, *donethe(a)* CRR. §§ 14, 15 (see Thurneysen, Ind. Forsch. XXXIII., Anz. 34). In bardic poetry the forms with *g* (*gh*) are exceedingly rare. From the thirteenth century on we find almost invariably *do-ní*, etc., alliterating with *n-*. Of course the change of *do-gní* to *do-ní* is not a purely phonetic one, for in all other cases *ghn* before the accent remains to the present day, e.g. *do ghntomh*, *do ghndth*. It is due to the analogy of the prototonic *déni*, etc. Recently the archaizing tendencies of editors, such as Atkinson in Keating's *Three Shafts*, have reintroduced the spelling *doghni* and obscured the historical development.

ib. 17. *Olbairdne*, $4^2 + 8^3$. It should be noted that in Goffraidh Ó Clérigh's poem the commoner arrangement is $4^1 + 8^3$, and there is one case of $8^3 + 4^3$: the twelfth quatrain should evidently be printed thus:

Cindus rachad 'sa Róimh re snechta síndeórach ?
mellaid in tsráid gel gríanánach fer frímeólach.

This gives alliteration in the third verse, and connects it by internal rime with the fourth and by consonance with the second and fourth.

ib. 24. '*a maic Muire ingine*' is a syllable short. Read:

am lat uile is tú Mac Muire ingine,

'I am all thine: thou art the Son of the Virgin Mary.' See IT. III. 11. This gives the requisite number of syllables, with the internal rimes *lat*: *Mac* and *uile*: *Muire*. The reading of H. *a meic maith muiri ingine* would also give the eight syllables.

p. 23. 13. 'Silva Gad., p. 160; ib. 214.' These are not further examples, merely other copies of the poems referred in the preceding line to Stokes's Acall. Delete.

ib. 14. 'Zeitschr. vi. p. 271.' Another version of the poem on the canonical hours for which we have just been referred to Acall. l. 2956 ff. and SG. 160. Delete.

ib. 18. The reference to *Mag Léna* is not of much value, for, owing doubtless to scribal corruptions, not a single quatrain in the edition fits any metrical scheme.

ib. 19. ' $6^3 + 5^1$, SG. i., p. 384.' There is no such metre on the page. Probably the poem referred to is the one beginning :

I nanmair na trínóite · trínóit cáta nem,

but that is in the metre $7^3 + 5^1$, and should have been mentioned in § 62 above.

ib. 28. 'Lismore Lives, p. xviii. l. 9.' The quatrain referred to is :

Ocht n-ærigh na dualuch
don-roichet for rith
indagaid na sualach
dia ndíchur don bhith.

This is the beginning of a 'religious poem in sixty-six quatrains.' The sixty-first quatrain has already been mentioned three times in § 62, as an example of $7^3 + 5^1$. The error by which the first quatrain is here taken as $6^2 + 5^1$ is due to reading *dualach* and *sualach* as dissyllables. Similarly throughout the tract in ZCP. III. 24-28 Meyer wrongly prints *dūalchae*, etc., as if the words contained the diphthong *ua*. But *su-álaig* and *du-álaig*, compounds of *álaig*, are trisyllabic, and retain the quantity of the simplex. Cf. SR. 2213 :

Ar dílgud d'anmain Ádaim
dia phechtaib, dia duálchaib.

In Mod. Ir. the *ā* is still long in *dubháilce*, *subháilce* ; O'Reilly wrongly omits the accent ; so does Atkinson in his edition of *Three Shafts*, where the MSS. have *-ā-*, and Dinneen follows suit, in spite of the pronunciation. Ó Máille (ZCP. IX. 347) strangely expresses doubts as to the relation of the modern and the earlier forms, regarding the change of *lch > lc* as 'not sufficiently authenticated.' But the spelling *subháilche* is common in O'Hussey's *Teagasg Críosaíde*, secunda editio 1707.

ib. 28. 'A metre $6^3 + 5^1$ occurs in Silva Gad., p. 384.' A duplicate of the statement made in l. 19 above. Delete.

p. 25. 7. 'Rev. Celtique, xv. p. 203.' Strictly, this should have been put under the 'other arrangements,' for, though

the first part of the stanza, omitting the opening word of *IS inmain in gabalsa*, corresponds with the description, the scheme of the second part is $2 \times 6^3 + 4^1$.

ib. 9. This line should be deleted. The poem referred to is an example of *ochtfoclach mór*, the metre dealt with in the following paragraph, and the same reference is given again, this time in the proper place, in l. 26 below.

ib. 11. The scheme of the verse in Aisl. Meic Congl., p. 81, 19, is $3 \times 7^3 + 5^1 \parallel 2 \times 7^3 + 5^1$.

ib. 25. Delete 3309. There is no verse in this part of TBC.

ib. Rev. Celt. xv. 319. The reference is out of place, the metrical scheme of the stanza being $3 \times 7^3 + 5^1 \parallel 3 \times 7^3 + 5^1$. It should follow l. 10 in the preceding paragraph.

ib. 26. RC. xxiii. 426, 48. Here again the second part of the stanza is shorter than the first, the scheme being $2 \times 6^2 + 5^1$.

ib. 29. For $2 \times 4^2 + 3^1 \parallel 2 \times 4^2 + 3^1$ read $4^2 + 4^1 + 3^1 \parallel 4^1 + 4^1 + 3^1$.

p. 26. The example of *droigneach* has suffered much in the editing, and its author Seaán óg Ó Dálaigh would blush to acknowledge the authorship. As it stands there are metrical faults in three out of the four lines. The first line has no alliteration, and the internal rimes between the first and second, and between the third and fourth, are spoiled. *fíorthobar* (!) should be *órthóir* (*sic* 23 F 16, p. 195), which alliterates with *fíoroinigh* and rimes with *chróchshlóigh* 'saffron host' (*sic leg.*, MS. *cróchshlōidh*; O'Grady's *crlochshlóigh* 'territorial host' is meant to rime with the impossible [*st*] *íorthóir*). In the third line the O'Gara MS. rightly has *ua na ccaithbheodhamh* (: *flaithleoghan*) 'descendant of the battle-vigorous heroes' (lit. 'stags'). In this metre, with the exception of the first words of the first and third lines, technically called *urlanna*, every word not an *íarmbér* rimes with one in another line.

II.—THE ALLEGED RIMING OF LONG WITH SHORT VOWELS

In ÉRIU VII. 12 Meyer suggests that in *debide* 'long monosyllables ending in a consonant may rime with short unstressed syllables. . . . Similarly with rhyme-words of two and

three syllables.' If this theory were sound it would invalidate what has hitherto been regarded as a criterion of quantity: cf. *Contribb.* 37, note. Not one of Meyer's twelve examples will stand the test of a critical examination. I had dealt with them in the present paper, but I find that I have been anticipated by Thurneysen, *ZCP.* XI. 36 ff. I give here a few points in which my view differs from Thurneysen's or supplements his conclusions. The numbers refer to Meyer's examples.

1. It is not even necessary to emend the text. The obviously right reading *mac hui conchobair ulltain* was given by Stokes in his first edition of the *Félire*, p. cxlii. from LB. p. 95. 11, marg.

2. *gáir : dīgáir* (*sic leg.*) is not a case of long and short syllables riming; cf., quite apart from *debide*, the rimes *dioghdir : príomhfáidh*, *Buile Suibhne*, 18, 29-30. So in the Irish Grammatical Tract II, metrical citations, l. 239:

Ní gellfadh fíegra don *fírimhfáidh*
d'egla ar tengthadh *ndígáir* ndoirb.

4 and 6. The rimes *daib : Ebraib* and *duib : buadaib* are quite normal; only the addition of the macron in *dāib*, *dūib* is erroneous. A form *duib*, with the vocalism of the sg. *duit*, is common in poetry, and is expressly recognized in the grammatical tracts. It is not confined to *debide*-rime. Thus, 24 P 8, p. 193 gives as alternatives *duibh*, *dúibh*, and *dáoibh*,¹ and as an example of the first quotes on p. 196, 1:

Gairm *dhuibh* anall ar ibh Néill,
fa phéin a *bhfuil* tall 'na títir.

8. The rime *bail : mórchéil* is so peculiar as regards the quality and quantity of the vowels that, even if it occurred in a carefully written MS., I should call it a scribal error rather than a poetic licence. But we have it here only on the authority of LL., and Meyer himself (*ZCP.* VI. 245-6) has described the texts of this MS. as swarming with every kind of inaccuracy. In the very poem from which the rime in question is taken there are several quite unmetrical lines, some of which Windisch has emended. It would be easy to emend the

¹ Another form common in Mod. Ir. is *díbh*. This goes back to the Mid. Ir. period, as is shown by the phrase *ceinnechutsa fín lógmar . . . díb*, 'I will purchase for you precious wine.' LB. 139a51 = Todd Lect. VI. 72. In the R.I.A. Dictionary this example is classed under the prep. *de*, and two inconsistent and erroneous explanations of it are given; see coll. 138, 63 and 152, 40.

couplet quoted, though, considering the blunders made by the scribe of LL., where we can test him with the aid of other copies, we cannot expect to restore the original reading with any certainty.

10. *roddēt : ndēēc*. It is simply assumed that the *e* of *roddet* is long. But it rimes with a stressed *ē*, *chet : roddet*, p. 69 supra, lines 55–6; cf. *cert : rodhet*, p. 65, 14–5. And the spelling *rodead* of YBL. 413a1, 44 points to a short vowel.

11. *athair : derbrāthair*. The edition reads:

Ropsa altra dia aithair · am aiti da derpraithair.

Immediately above is the last couplet of the preceding quatrain:

am fer cumtha dia aithair · am dalta dia hsenaithair.

Doubtless the scribe's eye wandered, and he copied *dia aithair* twice. Read *dia máthair*.

12. *grāddai : barbardai*. For *grāddai* Thurneysen would read *gargdai*. I should prefer *garbdai*, which occurs elsewhere in the poem, ll. 1958, 3397 (*garbda*), 5797 and 7995.

OSBORN BERGIN

THE BATTLE OF AIRTECH

THE *Cath Airtig*, or Battle of Airtech, is one of the few remaining tales of the Conchobar-Cuchulinn cycle that have not yet been edited. It is preserved, so far as I am aware, in only two manuscripts: (1) Book of Lecan, fol. 169 v (p. 342a) in the Royal Irish Academy, and (2) H.3.18, T.C.D., in the paper section (sixteenth century), p. 724 ff., bound up with Part II. In the latter MS. the tale immediately follows that of *Bruiden Dá Chocae*, of which it is the natural sequel, being prefaced by a reference to Cormac's death at the Hostel, the steps taken to appoint his successor, the lamentation for the dead king, and finally the Instruction or *Teccosc* usually given to the newly elected Prince, which would seem to have been part of an inauguration ceremony. All this prefatory matter (§ 1-3), necessary to explain an otherwise unusually abrupt opening, is omitted from the Book of Lecan. This is a misfortune for the editor, as the *Teccosc* contains not a few cryptic passages, which render translation from a single copy extremely hazardous. Thus the tale—laid aside for a long time, in the hope of more satisfactory solutions presenting themselves, or of another copy of the *Teccosc* coming to light—is now published. To others must be the task of improving upon renderings at best only tentative. In some of the difficult passages of this *Teccosc* I had, when I first took up the text, the benefit of Dr. Meyer's advice, and latterly of Dr. Bergin's, both of whom made fruitful suggestions. But of course neither must be held in any way responsible for my failures.

The tale itself is interesting (1) for the particulars of the partitioning of Ulster at this early period, which may embody a real tradition; (2) for the cause of the battle, namely, the territory of Fir Maland, which Medb disputed with the Ulid

(§ 9), maintaining that it was made over only to Conchobar himself in compensation for those of his people that had fallen around him on the Táin Bó Cúailnge; and (3) the consequent overthrow of the great vassal race, the Fir Domnann (§ 18).

It is scarcely possible from the vague particulars of the division here given to fix even approximately the limits of the Ulster tribal territories; there seems to be some overlapping, especially when the later boundaries are compared. Even the bounds of Crích Fer Maland, which was the cause of the war, have yet to be traced.

That the historical background of the Conchobar period is perfectly maintained, notwithstanding the late transmission, would argue in favour of some antiquity for our tale, as also would the brief and unadorned narrative,—for the account of the actual combat (§ 14) is a palpable interpolation in H.3.18. Indeed *Cath Airtig* is hardly a tale in the ordinary sense, as *Bruiden Dá Chocae* for instance, being more in the nature of a chronicle.

The Battle of Airtech is recorded in the so-called Annals of Tigernach (Rawl. B.502), where, however, it is an interpolation in the handwriting of H, the interpolator of Lebor na hUidre, see Ériu VII. 114. The entry is made between the lines and in the margin, immediately after Conchobar's obit, 'cui successit filius ejus Causcraid qui regnauit in Emain annis tribus.' No mention is made of Cormac's short-lived reign, which is quite in keeping with the saga tradition, as he was on his way back to Ulster to be crowned (*dia rígad*), when disaster overtook him at Da Choca's Hostel. The entry by H may be repeated here: fol. 10 v (Facs. p. 20b22) 'Cath Artig for coiced Ol nEcmacht la Cuscraid mac Conchobair. Cuscraid obit la Mac Cecht. Mac Cecht do thutim fo chetóir la Conall Cernach ic Cranaig Maic Cecht. Glasni mac Conchobair .ix. annis regnauit.'

From this entry it would appear as if Cuscraid fell in the Battle of Airtech, but it is not so recorded in our tale. His death is, however, recorded in Cinaed úa Artacáin's poem on the tragic deaths of some Irish nobles, § 16, ed. Stokes, RC. XXIII. 303 ff. For *fo chetóir* above, the poem has *iar tain*. He was slain with the *luin* of Celtchar.

I have thought it more convenient to print the two texts side by side than to overload the page with variant readings.

The translation follows the Book of Lecan copy so far as it goes.

R. I. B.

CATH AIRTIG SO¹

H.3.18 (p^s 724)

1. [D]oronad² comtinol oc Ultaib ier tain ier ndith Corbmaic i mBruidin Da Cocæ & dibertsat fou cumus Conaill Cernaig a rige & tairget do fein a rige. 'Ac amh,' for Conald, 'ni gebsa hi, acht tabraid dom daltæ .i. do Chuscraid Mend Macha, ar dochuaid ar mo luth & ar mo lamhchairi, acht nech *conroinfe* comled fergnim & imdorægæ³ caill & mag remib i llo 7 ind oidchi ind áth eislind ind *agaid* for namhot, ar it ilorda in gach airm ietside, is eside is incubaid daibsi di taisich imgona ocaib.'

Ro gairedh⁴ gairm rig do Chuscraidh ieromh 7 nascaside a gialla foraiB, & as ann isbert Conall na briathrasa oc egaine Concobair, 7 *immorro*⁵ Teguscc Cumscaidh :⁶

2. 'Atomrolscai (.i. ata com loscad) athgubai
nom credbad⁷ ceo trommchumad
do dith mo ruirech ruanadæ
in mind mail⁸ (.i. is ferr ict 7 alaig tainic) mochtaide
Concobair coemainich
clothrig clothEmnæ
ni fil mo niachus (.i. mo nert) dar aindir liuin seolæ
am dithracht am dimain d'eis sarglond sarEmnæ
ni follscaid feithe mo chuirp
ce itcloathar⁹ gnimh n-ard n-amhræ
bad n-e¹⁰ mo erthoghæ
cotom artad irt eter mo comchoicle
cona rudind mo gnimæ eter sirriti glaislaithe¹¹

¹ L, om. H

² The opening lines *Doronad* to *Conaill* are repeated, by a second hand, in both instances with a space left blank for initial capital D.

³ im do rægæ MS.

⁴ ..iredh on erasure, in green.

⁵ H, the Irish symbol for *autem*.

⁶ m-stroke added in green.

⁷ read nom credba.

⁸ mindmail MS.

⁹ ce it cloathar MS.

¹⁰ bad ne for bad hē, as often in late MSS. cp. § 3, l. 9, *fri n-oithib*.

¹¹ glais laithe MS.

i n-urd fian^{sæ} macruidhe
 mo chorp is crechtach
 am dillid dimain dootair¹
 d'éis aindreind ardUlad
 conid ed atomrollscai.'

Atomrollscai.

3. 'Artotroi (.i. elrig) a Chuscraid coemainigh
 comheirig fri set soerathar
 bat *men*ci do dalai im cert coicrichais
 fri turcomracc ndegdaoine
 5 teta (.i. taidled) gnim gart (.i. einig) digruaide
 fri hirad fearbbai [725] ceo² gabrai ailcedæ setaibh (.i.
 seoit imda do tioldnaccul).
 Pat³ *seirtid*⁴ rechtgæ flaithemhain
 Bat comaltach ferbbai fri n-oithib (.i. ba *ma*t[h] do
 briat[h]ar ic comlaige fri cech oen fristibre).
 Bid dluithi rechtge do dliged⁵ naro ercoillet do mifoltæ
 (.i. do mignim) tromtortha na tuath *for*ollat (.i. atat)
 for do *gre*iss.
 Bat eolai in gech berlæ ar narbat ainfis i nnach dan
*con*ruidfe a fritacra friut. (.i. *con*raidfi nech frit).
 Bat firen firbrethach cen forbrisiu n-indsciu *etir* tethrai
 tren 7 trug.
 Niba conda midcuairt.
 Morad maithe is toirr⁵ (.i. is dir) duit. Doerad anflathi. *Di* . . .
 Dith bithbinech.
 Bat err tnuthach tairptech dalach diubartach coc[th]ach,
 cosnamach fri hailecrichæ fri ditin do marcrich.
 Bad⁸ frialmach debtha deine duiri doergairge arna
 tormastar *fort* iliuna len lighe
 narotiasat narotethrat ar docloathar do tromliunna. iss
ed atomrua.'

Artatroi.

¹ a *subscr.*

² = sceo.

³ = bat.

⁴ s-*tid* MS.

⁵ i *subscr.*

4. [H] Ro fodail Cuscraid a f erann doib ier tain .i. dorat do Conall o tuaith Inbir co Cobae .i. Cailli Conaill. Forbaid FerBend for d  Tethba .i. Teathba tuascirt 7 Tethbai deisceirt. Fir Malann 7 Fianclar na Bretch  oc Glaisni mac Conchobair. Irial Glunmar for Gull 7 Irgull .i. ferann Geirg mic Ebardirdil. Follamain hi Fernmaig .i. Follamhuin oile ro marbad for Tanaid. Maini um lochaib Erne. Lamai for Lamraige. Bend  for Corcai Oichi. Conaing for Mudorn. Fiacha for Ailiccrichi Dirat Tir Lietmuine do Corc mac Dubthaig Doeltengaidh 7 di Conri dia mac n-aile.

5. Ro fodail coiced nUlad di maicni Concobair & do cloinn Rudraige amhail ba techt  fon samla sin.

6. Batar maithe Ulad ica radha ba techta doib Feargus mac Roich do tabairt chuc  & a sid do denam armad treisiti a nert ind aghaid a namhat, ar batar mifolt  vfer nErend co mor friu, 7 bator ica n-oircnib 7 ica cerbad 7 aca mbret dh¹ di cech aird. occus rainicc dno in fis co Fergus 7

4. [L] Ro fodail thra Cumsraid Meand Macha mac Concobai[r] a f erand dia braithrib .i. di claind Rudraide 7 do cloind Chonchoba[i]r air cheana amal so. [169d] Dorad do Chonall Cearnach o thraid Indbir Colpa co Coba .i. Cailli Chonaill Cernaig a ainm iar tain. Furbaidi FearBand for dib Tefa .i. Tefa thuaisceirt 7 Tefa deisce[i]rt. Fir Maland 7 Fianclair na Bredcha do Glaisne mac Concoba[i]r. Hirial Glunmar for Gull 7 for Irgull .i. fearand Geirg meic Febardil. Fallamain mac Concobair i Fearnmaig. Maine mac Concoba[i]r for Loch nErne. Lama mac Concobair for Lamraide. Beanna mac Conchobair for Corco Oichi. Conaing mac Concobair for Mudornaib. Fiacha mac Concobair for Aileachthir. Fearand Dubthaig Daeltengthaig 7 a da mac .i. Corc 7 Conrai .i. Tir Liathmaine 7 in bail ita Loch nEachach aniu.

5. Ro fogail tra coicead Ulad do cloind Concobair iar sin iar cenmair 7 badar techta fon samla sin.

6. Badar maithi Ulad oga rada ba techta doib Feargus mac Roig do thobairt chucu 7 a sith do denam ar comad tresiti iad i n-agaid a namad, ar badar mifolta fer nErind co mor friu, 7 badar oca n-argain 7 oca cerbad 7 oga marbad do cach taib. Ranic dono in fis [s]in co Feargus 7 dorindi a chora

¹ mbret dh MS. '

doḡnÍ side coræ fri hUlltaib 7 naiscis cach diobh a comarach for araile.

7. [H] Boi Medhbh ic tairmesc Fergusæ arna digsed i nUlltaib 7 icfad sí cumalo a mac ro marbadh for bruigin fris .i. Fiachræ Caoch 7 Illonn Find.

8. [p. 726] Luidh Fergus a morimmirci sair co hUlltæ 7 Flidais lais. 7 is hi iarom tir conaitecht Fergus .i. ferond Sualdaim meic Roich & ConCulaind .i. crich Cuailngne 7 Muirtemne & crich Rois & in Brug mná Elcmair. Tucad dosom dono in feronn sin & boisim intib side i n-aitreib corbó marb Flidais occai occ Traig Baile meic Buain, conid deiside dicoidsim¹ ier toin co hOillill & Meidb ar nirbo maith a trebad dar eis Flidhaisi, conid deiside fuairsim bas tier di enet Oilella meic Matai.

9. Ro fas morcoccad mor andaide iter Oillill & Meidb 7 Ultu im crich Malond ar doradad di Concobar i hi cinaidh indeich ro milled uime di sluaighed Thanu. Asbert Medb na tucç imdillsi a ferainn acht di Concobar namái. Isbertator

fria hUlltaib 7 naiscis cach dib a chomchadach fri araili .i. Feargus 7 Cuscraid.

7. [L] Bai Meadb oc tairmeasc Féargusa arna ticsead i nUlltaib 7 ro icfadsí a meic do marbad ar bruidin fris .i. Illand Find 7 Fiachna Caech.

8. Luid thra Feargos a moirimirci soir co hUlltaib 7 Flidais a bancheli lais. Is i iarum tir conaitecht Feargus .i. fearand Sualaim meic Roig 7 ChonCulaind meic Sualdaim .i. crich Cuailgne² 7 Mag Murthemne 7 crich Rois 7 Brud mna Ealcmairi. Tucad doson in fearand sin 7 baisin i n-aitreib indsin corbo marb Flidais aice og Traig Baile meic Buain conad de sin dochuaidsiun iar sin co hOillill 7 co Meidb uair nirbo maith a aitreb thoir tar eis Flidaisi. Conad de sin fuairsiun bas tre ened Ailella meic Magach.

9. Ro fas cocad mor iter Ailill 7 Meidb 7 coiced Concobair andside im crich Maland, ar do Choncobar dorad hi hi cinaidh ineich ro millead uime ar sluaighed Thana bo Cuailgne.² Asbert Meadb nach tuc disli a fearaind acht do Chonchobar nama.

¹ di coid sim MS.

² read Cuailngne.

Ulaíd na leicfidis uathadh é acht muna cosantai i rróí catha friu é.

10. [H] Ba hadbal & ba dirim in cocad ro fas etorra deiside. Mor *tres tren* & mor d'echtaib *occus* d'aidbenaib & mor loech londguinech atrochair din cocad sin. Is don cocad sin aroet maithe Ulaíd di tuitim im Chuscraid 7 im Conall Cernach 7 im Aimirgin mac Eicet & im Follamain & im Forbaide di mac *Concobair*. Is de ro fas bas Ceit *meic* Magach *occus* Doiche 7 Moga Corb *occus* Scandail & Ailella mac Mata *occus* Meic Cecht 7 Belcon Breifne *cona* macaib.

11. Tarcomlad morsluagad mor la hUltai *desidhe* i coiced Ol nEgmacht *occus* gabait for indred in tire rempu orancator crich nAirtigh.

12. Ro tinolsat *dono* teora *Conachta* ind *agaid* .i. Domnandaíd *occus* Fir Craoibe & Tuathæ Taitin. Hit¹ iat so na hairigh chatha ro batar oc feraib Ol nEgmacht .i. Mac Cecht, Cet mac Magach, Maine Aithremail, Sanb mac Ceit, Maine

Adbeartadar Ulaíd uile nach licfidis uaithib in fearann mina cosainte do rai chatha friu he.

10. [L] Ba hadbal 7 ba dirim *immorro* in cocad ro fas eaturru de sin. Mor tromthreas tren 7 mor do echtaib aidbli 7 mor do laechaib londguineacha dorochair don chocad sin. Is don chocad sin araet Ulaíd do thoitim im C[h]uscraid 7 im Chonall Cernach 7 im Aimirgin mac Egalsa gabann 7 im Fallamain 7 im Furbaide im da mac Chonchobair. Is de ro fás *dono* bas Cheit *meic* Magach 7 Doichi 7 Moga Corb 7 Scannail 7 Ailella *meic* Magach 7 Ailella *meic* Ceit *meic* Magach 7 Cheit bodesin 7 Belchon Breifne *cona* macaib.

11. Darcoimlead morsluaiged mor la hUltu de sin i coicead nOl nEgmacht. ro gobsad for indrad in tiri rompo co rancadar [170a] crich Airtig Uchtleathain *meic* Thomantin *meic* Fir Choga do Domnannchaib.

12. Ro thinoilsead *dono* teora *Condachta* .i. Fir Domnann 7 Fir Craibi 7 Tuatha Taiden. At ead² ann so *immorro* na hairigh chatha ro badar ac fearaib Ol nEgmacht .i. Mac Cecht 7 Ceat mor garg mac Magach 7 Maine Aithremail 7 Sanb mac Ceit 7 Maine Maithremail 7 Ailill Brefne 7 Loingseach Lacha Ri

¹ hi tiat MS.

² Four letters erased here.

Maithrimail, Oíll Breifne, Loingsich Lochai Ri, Aongus Fer mBolcc, FerDeichet mac FirDiad meic Damain, Oengus mac Oilella Find, Níat mac Guill elech, Trogæ occus Flatri¹ dá mac Fraoig meic Fidaigh, Imchad mac Lugdach.

13. [H] Is iad so na hairig chatha [p. 727] batar ic Oltaib .i. Conall Cernach mac Aimirgin, Aimerigin file, Maicne *Concobair*, Fiacha mac Fergusa, Fergus mac Eirgi Echbeoil, Soach mac Sencha, Fiacha mac Ilguine ri Fer mBolcc, Gula mac Geirg meic Ebordil.

14. [H *only*] Nir leicsit dono fir Ol nEgmacht Ailill no Medb léo isin cath. Digniet ierom catha commoræ comardæ dib cechtor dilina² occus ro indsaigh cach i³ cheile dibh i rrói cath occus imbualtæ. Ro comraicsit iarom ocus ro gab cách dib *for* truastrad i³ ceili ocus *for* trencuma. Ba hacgarb ba haithighe ro ferad in gleo eter firu Ol nEgmacht ocus Ulta. Bai tnuth 7 miscais ocus miduthracht oc cach dia cheile dibh. Bui muirnn occus seselbi isin cath chechtordæ .i. buirfedach na fer, iachtad na miled, cnetu 7 osnadhach na trenfer, beimnech occus blesbarnach na cloidem, síanu 7 scretu na sleg ocus na soicchet, occus becedach & golbemnech⁴. na carruc n-adba/mor n-anbforustai oc beim fri sciathaib ocus luirechaib occus cathbarraib na n-arcon occus na n-arsed. Ba mor tra ocus ba hadbal in muir sin, ar ní rabatar o sin anall loeich i lletheti loech na haimsire sin ar luth occus lathor 7 lamach, ar med ocus mai si 7 miadomla, ar crodacht ocus calmacht occus coscraide. Ba mor dono occus ba hadbal muirn ocus mellgul, fuaim occus fothram & tairmcritth in talman fo traighthibh na trenfer, slaitredach na fer fortren ferdu gua tromtrasrad dicum lair ocus lantalman. ro gab chach a comlond isin cath ier sin.

7 Aengus ri Fer mBolg 7 FearDeichead mac FíirDiad meic Damain 7 Aengus mac Aililla Find 7 Mata mac Guill eileac 7 Troga 7 Flaithri da mac Fíraich meic Fídaig 7 Imchad mac Luigdeach.

13. [L] At iad so immorro na hairig chatha badar ac Ulltaib .i. Conall Cernach mac Aimirgin 7 Aimerigin file 7 Maicne Chonchobair 7 Fiac mac Feargusa 7 Fergus mac Eirgi Eachbeoil 7 Sothach mac Sencha meic Aililla 7 Fiacha mac Laidgin ri Fer mBolg 7 Guala mac Gerig meic Fíabargil.

¹ Several letters erased after Flatri.

³ i=a.

² = díblínaib.

⁴ g,ol,,bemnech ms.

15. [H] Dorochair Ailill Ardagach¹ 7 Scandal da mac Magach la Conall Cernach. Dorochair Oilill Breifne *ocus* Loingsech Lochai Ri leis beus. Dorochair Oengus Fer mBolcc *occus* FerDeichet mac FirDiad la Chuscraid mac *Concobair*. Dicer Oengus mac Oilellæ la hAimergeren mac Ecetsalaigh. Dicer Niet mac Guill elech la hIrial nGlnmar.² Diceratar Troghæ *ocus* Flaithroi da mac Fraich *meic* Fidaigh la Glaisni mac *Concobair*. Dicer Imchad mac [p. 728] Lugdach la Guala mac Geirg.

16. Cid Ulaid dno dirochrator co mor isin cath. Diraipetor la Cet *occus* la Mac Cecht, Conuing 7 Fiechæ da mac *Concobair*. Dicer Corc mac Dubthaig la Sanb mac Ceit. Ro bith Gerc la Maine nAithremail. Dirochrator comtuitim isin cath .i. Bendu mac *Concobair* *occus* Cecht mac Ailella 7 Medba.

17. Ro srained trá in cath annside tria nertaib laoch *occus* imbualtu 7 fosaighthe for coiced Ol nEgmacht *occus* ro len cac[h] a tograim asin cath. Ro len Aimergerin immorro in da Eghthiar da mac Fergusa *meic* Roig odorchrator comtuitim

15. [L] Dorochair Ailill Ardadach 7 Scandal da mac Magach la Conall Cernach. Dorochair dono Ailill Brefne 7 Loingsech Lacha Ri leis fosin la *cetna*. Dorochair Aengus ri Fer mBolg 7 Fear Teiched mac Fir Diad la Cumscraid mac *Concobair* la rig Ulad. Docher Aengus mac Aililla Find la hAimirgin mac Ecalsach gobann. Dorochair Mat mac Guill eleoc la hIlial³ nGlnmar mac Conaill Chearnaich. Dorochair Troga 7 Flaithri da mac Fraich *meic* Fidaigh la Glaisne mac Conchobair. Dorochair Imchad mac Luigdeach la Guala mac Gefi]rg.

16. Gid Ulaid dono dorochradar isin chath co mor. Dorubairt Fiacha 7 Conaing la Ceat 7 la Mac Cecht. Docheor Corc mac Dubthaich Daeltengthaig la Sanb mac Ceit. Rotbith Guala mac Geirg la Maine Aithremail. Dorochair comthoitim isin chath .i. Beanna mac *Concobair* 7 Ceat mac Aililla 7 Medba.

17. Ro srainead tra iar sin in cath tre neart imbualta 7 imгона for choiced nOl nEcmacht 7 ro len cach a thograim isin chath iar sin. Ro lean Aimirgin in da Eithiar .i. da mac Fergusa *meic* Roig co torchradar comthuitim a nImleach Ai.

¹ ard agach MS.

² nglun mar MS.

³ sic MS.

ind Imliuch Ái. Ro tocbaist Fir Ol nEgmacht mur^derg ind agaid Ulad ier sin, ar ní lentaša ár acht co toccaibti mur friu.

18. [H] Ba se ind cath sin Airtich dia tainic dith Domnannach. Ro soisit Ulaid dia tigh cona morcosccar ier sin. Is din cath sin itbert Genann mac Cathbad: Cath Airtich cuirsim ar lo *et reliqua*.

FINIS

Conad iar sin ro thocaibsed Fir Ol nEgmacht mur derg a n-ágaid Ulad iar sin, uair ní leandais Ulaid ar itir acht co mbeantai mur friu.

18. [L] Is andsa chath sin Airtig do dithaiged Domnannaid fa deoid. Doroised Ulaid dia tig iar sin co morcoscur leo.

FINIT

TRANSLATION

1. After the destruction of Cormac at Da Choca's Hostel an assembly was held by the Ulid, and they placed the kingdom under the control of Conall Cernach, and they offer it unto him. 'Nay indeed,' said Conall, 'I will not take it, but give it to my fosterling, namely, Cuscraid the Stammerer of Macha, for it has surpassed my vigour and my skill of hand; but whosoever will share an equal portion of prowess and will go round wood and plain before you by day and night in the gap of danger against your enemies, for they are numerous in every place, he is the proper person to have as your battle-chief.'

Thereupon Cuscraid was proclaimed king, and he binds them with pledges. And then it was that Conall spake these words lamenting Conchobar, and moreover the Instruction of Cuscraid:

2. 'Great sorrow has consumed me,
a mist of heavy grief wastes me away
for the loss of my mighty sovran
the diadem of a renowned prince,
Conchobar of the comely face,
famous king of famous Emain.

My prowess does not exceed that of a woman in travail.

I am powerless, I am useless after the great deeds of noble Emain.

The veins of my body do not kindle though it hear of a high wondrous deed.

Let this be my choice

that death be dealt* to me in the midst of my comrades that I should not incarnadine my deeds among raw striplings

in the order of youthful championship.

My body is wounded.

I am useless, unprofitable, sickly,
after the fierce one of Ard Ulid,
and that is what has consumed me.'

3. 'Rise up O fair Cuscraid.

arise upon the path of a noble father.

Let thy assemblies be frequent concerning the right of borders,

for meeting of nobles

who go to (?) an act of hospitality and generosity (?)

for bestowing of kine and horses . . . with jewels (?)

Be a follower of sovrán law.

Fulfil the word given on oath.

Let the law of thy rule be consolidated, lest thy misdeeds ruin the heavy fruits of the people that increase under thy protection.

Be thou skilled in every tongue, so thou be not ignorant in any art that one¹ will speak in argument with thee.

Be just and righteous in judgment, not suppressing speech between the *tethra* of the strong and the weak.

Be not brutish in the mead court.

To exalt the good is incumbent on thee, to enslave the oppressor, to destroy criminals.

Be a zealous and mighty champion, holding assemblies, ardent, warlike, contending against foreign lands, for the protection of thy great territories.

¹ *reading* conruidfe nech.

Be heedful of swift obstinate ignoble strife, lest there be added to thy numerous sorrows the sorrows of a sick bed.

May they not attain thee, may they not lay hold upon thee . . . thy heavy sorrows. That is . . .

4. Now Cuscraid the Stammerer of Macha, Conchobar's son, divided his land among his brethren, namely the children of Rudraige and the rest of the children of Conchobar, as follows: He gave to Conall Cernach all from the strand of Inber Colpa to Coba, that is Caille Chonaill Cernaig its name thereafter. To Furbaide Fer Bend, the two Teffas, that is, northern Teffa and southern Teffa. Fir Maland and Fianclair na Bredcha he gave to Glaisne son of Conchobar. To Irial Glunmar, Goll and Irgoll, that is, the land of Gerg son of Faeburdel. To Follamain son of Conchobar, Farney. To Maine son of Conchobar, Loch Erne. To Lama son of Conchobar, Lamraige. To Benda son of Conchobar, Corcu Oche. To Conaing son of Conchobar, the Mugdorna. To Fiacha son of Conchobar, Ailechthir. The land of Dubthach Doeltengthach (Chafér-tongued) and his two sons, namely Corc and Conroi, was Tir Liath Maini and the place where Loch Neagh is to-day.

5. Now in that wise, after a space, he distributed the Fifth of the Ulid among the clann of Conchobar, as was fitting.

6. The nobles of the Ulid were saying that it would be a good thing for them if Fergus son of Roch were brought back to them, and peace made with him, for they would be so much the stronger against their enemies; for the ill-deeds of the men of Ireland were mighty against them, and they were being raided and maimed and slain¹ on all sides. These tidings reached Fergus, and he made peace with the Ulid, and they bound one another with a covenant, that is, Fergus and Cuscraid.

7. Medb sought to prevent Fergus from going back to the Ulid, and offered to pay him the *cumals*² of his sons who were slain at Da Choca's Hostel, namely Illand the Fair and Fiachna the One-eyed.

8. Now Fergus went eastwards to the Ulid, with a great retinue, and his wife Flidais along with him. And the land Fergus demanded was the land of Sualdam son of Roch, and

¹ brétad (H) 'broken up.'

² add. H, om. L.

of Cu Chulinn son of Sualdam, namely, Crich Cuailnge and Mag Murthemne and Crich Rois and Brug Mna Elcmairi. The said land was given to him, and he dwelt there until Flidais his wife died at the Strand of Baile mac Buain, after which he went back to Ailill and Medb, for his householding in the east was not good after Flidais. In this way he met his death, through the one act of jealousy of Ailill son of Mata.

9. A great contention thereupon arose between Ailill and Medb and Conchobar's fifth concerning Crich Maland. For to Conchobar it had been given on account of those that were slain around him on the hosting of Táin Bó Cúailnge. Medb said that she had made over her land to none save Conchobar alone. The Ulid replied that they would not yield up the land unless it were won from them on the field of battle.

10. Awful now and untold was the war that broke out between them because of that. Many a stiff stout fight there was,¹ many the gigantic deeds, and many were the swift-slaying heroes that fell in that war. Because of that war it was the lot of (?) the Ulid² to fall around Cuscraid and around Conall Cernach and around Amergin son of Ecetsalach the Smith, and around Follamain and Furbaide, two sons of Conchobar. 'Twas it brought about the death of Cet son of Magu, and Doiche, and Mug Corb,³ and Scannal, and Ailill sons of Magu, and Ailill son of Cet, Magu's son, and Cet himself, and Belchu of Breifne along with his sons.

11. Because of that a great hosting was gathered by the Ulid in the fifth of Ol nEgmacht, and they fell to harrying the land before them, until they came to the territory of Airtech Uchtlethan (Broad-breast) son of Tomanten, son of Fer Choga of the Fir Domnann.

12. The three Connachts then assembled, namely, Fir Domnann, Fir Craibe, and Tuatha Taiden. Now these are the war lords of the Fir Ol nEgmacht, namely, Mac Cecht, and huge fierce Cet son of Magu, and Maine Aithremail, and Sanb son of Cet, and Maine Maithremail, and Ailill of Breifne, and Loingsech of Loch Ri, and Aengus king of the Fir Bolg, and Fer Deiched son of Fer Diad, Daman's son, and Aengus son of Ailill Find, and Mata⁴ son of Goll Eilech, and Troga

¹ many the deeds and the exploits, H.

² Maccorb, TBC. (Wi.) l. 166 ff.

² nobles of the Ulid, H.

⁴ Niat, H.

and Flaithri, two sons of Fraech, Fidach's son, and Imchad son of Lugaid.

13. These however are the war lords of the Ulid, namely, Conall Cernach son of Amergin, and Amergin the poet, and the sons of Conchobar, and Fiac son of Fergus, and Fergus son of Eirrge Echbel (Horse-mouth), and Sothach son of Sencha, Ailill's son, and Fiachu son of Laidgen¹ king of the Fir Bolg, and Guala son of Gerg son of Faeburdel.

[H. 3, 18] 14. The Fir Ol nEgmacht however did not let Ailill or Medb go with them into the battle. They form battalions then on each side, one as great and lofty as the other, and they make towards one another on the field of battles and of conflicts. Then they encountered, and every man took to smiting his fellow and to hard hacking. Rude and sharp was the fight between the Fir Ol nEgmacht and the Ulid. Envy and hatred and ill-will there was on every side. There was uproar and tumult on both sides of the host, namely, the bawling of the men, the outcry of the soldiers, the groans and lamentations of the strongmen, and clashing and clatter of the swords, the whiz and whirr of the spears and arrows, and the roaring and wailing of the huge tottering rocks as they crashed upon the shields and breastplates and helms of the wardogs and veterans. Mighty and great was the tumult, for never have there been heroes from that day to this like the heroes of that time, for vigour and strength and [spear] casting, for greatness and beauty and dignity, for valour and daring and prowess. Mighty and great also was the tumult and . . . , the noise and the din and the quaking of the earth under the feet of the strongmen, . . . of the mighty virile men as they were being heavily overthrown to the earth and to the ground. After that every man engaged in combat in the battle.

15. There fell by Conall Cernach, Ailill Ardagach and Scannal, both sons of Magu. Ailill of Breifne and Loingsech of Loch Ri fell by him also on the same day. Aengus king of the Fir Bolg and Fer Teiched son of Fer Diad fell by Cuscraid son of Conchobar king of the Ulid. Aengus son of Ailill Find fell by Amergin son of Ecetsalach the Smith. Mata son of Goll Eilech, by Irial Glunmar son of Conall Cernach. Troga and Flaithri, two sons of Fraech, Fidach's

¹ Ilguine, H.

son, fell by Glaisne son of Conchobar. Imchad son of Lugaid fell by Guala son of Gerg.

16. Even the Ulid also fell in great numbers in the battle. Fiachu and Conaing were slain by Cet and Mac Cecht. Corc son of Dubthach Doeltengthach (Chafer-tongued) fell by Sanb son of Cet. Guala son of Gerg was slain by Maine Aithremail. Two fell by one another's hands in the battle, namely, Benna son of Conchobar and Cet son of Ailill and Medb.

17. Now after that the battle went against the Fir Ol nEgmacht, owing to the force of the onset and the slaughter, and every man thereupon followed up his pursuit out¹ of the battle. Amergin pursued the two Eithiars, sons of Fergus son of Roich, until they fell by one another at Imlech Ai. After which the Fir Ol nEgmacht raised a red wall against the Ulid, for the Ulid never followed up a slaughter if only a wall were set up against them.

18. It was in this battle of Airtech the Fir Domnann were finally destroyed. Whereupon the Ulid returned home, bearing great spoil with them.²

IT ENDS

¹ reading *asin* with H.

² H adds: It is of this battle Genann son of Cathbad said, 'The Battle of Airtech we fought by day, etc.' I have been unable to trace this poem.

NOTES

§ 1. When Conchobar died Conall Cernach endeavoured to obtain the kingship for Cuscraid, who withdrew, however, on seeing the Ulid prepared to wage civil war on his account (Br. Dá Chocae, § 1).

lamhchairi 'handiwork,' cp. *tri laich lámchara lánchalma*, Tog. Trói,² 617; and *lámchar* 'dexterous,' Ir. Aeneid, 1099, 3022.

conroinfe comled fergnim. Cp. Br. Dá Derga §§ 83, 96: 7 *conraindfet comgnim*, 'and they will share prowess,' § 135: 7 *conrainnfet báaid fir etarro*, 'and they will share a man's triumph among them.'

§ 2. *atomrolscaí* = *ad-dom-ro-losc-*, from *ess-losc-*, abstract *aelscud* 'longing,' Ml. 56^b26, see Pedersen, Vergl. Gramm. II. 571.

Cp. *mál mind mór mochtaiide*, Long. mac nUsnig, § 3. The gloss runs 'the best as regards race and conduct that has come.' *ícht .i. cinel no cland* (Cormac); *alaig* 'behaviour, practice' (Contribb., Addenda).

niachus = *niathas* 'heroism,' C. Catharda 3; cp. Tog. Trói,¹ 173.

dithracht. Cp. LL. 123^b18: *romdithracht a díbad . am dímain dia éis*, and see Contribb. under *dímdín*.

erthoghadh 'preference, choice' (O'R.).

glasláith 'infantry, raw recruits' (C. Cath. 1720, 5708), see also O'Don. Suppl.

fiannas g. of *fiannas*, see Windisch's note TBC. 830, to which the following examples may be added: *Luidsi didu for fiannas*, Scéla Conchobair § 3 (Ériu IV. 22); *a clairiud caintocaid cacha fiannas*, and *Atno na deo condomtethrad irt . . . i comroi fiannas*, Br. Dá Chocae, H. 3, 18, p. 722.

§ 3. *dillig* 'useless,' Contribb.

dootair, ? = *do-ohair*, a pejorative compound (Bergin).

aindrend, see Contribb. s.v. *an-trend* 'rough.'

artotroi, a Midd.-Ir. formation; Old-Ir. would be *atrae*. The dental form of infixed pronoun spread in Midd.-Irish. Cp. Wi. TBC. 4766: *ardotrái LL.*, *atroi Y*, *attraice St.*

Cp. Tecosca Cormaic § 3: *dála menci*.

Cp. *ibid.* § 3: *terchomrac dagdóine*.

teta gnim gart digruaide. This line is obscure to me. *garta* is the gen. of *gart*; the *di* of *digruaide* is a ligatured character, resembling a capital A with final stroke prolonged below the line, common in this portion of the MS. for *di* as such, and also when standing for *de*, *do*; for *gruaid* cp. *is tánsemad ngrúaid* (Br. Dá Derga, App. § 62, Eg. 1782), and *Is de no geibed Ingcel grúad 7 fir ui Necae* (*ib.* App. § 168, LU. 99a), where the word is left untranslated by Stokes.

ailchide 'stony' (Contribb.), where *casra troma ailchide* 'heavy stony hail-showers,' is cited from LB. 203^a17 (Ériu II. 96). The gloss is 'to bestow abundant jewels,' (?) 'stony with jewels.'

seirtid = *seirthid* 'rear-man, henchman' (Atk. Anc. Laws Glossary). The MS. has *s* with suprascript stroke and dot. The reading was suggested by Dr. Meyer. No doubt from *seir* 'heel.'

fri n-oithib, O. Ir. *fri oethu*, Sergl. Con Culainn, § 25. The gloss is 'Make good thy plight word to whomsoever thou shalt give it.'

forollat, from *fo-ro-od-lín*, see Pedersen, Vergl. Gramm. II. 566. gl. 'who are.'

greiss 'protection.' For *greis* see Betha Colmáin, p. 86, 20, 21; p. 90, 1, 5. MS. has *g* with suprascript stroke.

Bat eolai, etc. Cp. Tec. Corm. § 3, 40, 41: *foglaimm cach dána, eolas cach bér lai*.

Bat firen, etc. Cp. *ibid.* § 3, 15: *cen shorbrisiud trúag*, and l. 28, *bretha fíra*.

tethrai here seems to mean 'paragon.' It occurs in the Annals (AU. 922, FM. 921): *Cucongalt sacart Laine lere 7 tetra Ereenn etir guth 7 cruth 7 soas in pace quievit*, glossed in FM. *.i. cantaire no orator*. Both Hennessy and O'Donovan in this passage leave the word untranslated. The former regarded the gloss as inconsistent with the context, and suggested 'paragon,' or 'most eminent.' In a later annal, 1119 (AU. and FM.) *tetra* occurs again: *Níall mac Domnaill . . . tetra Ereenn ar cruth 7 ar cheill, ar ainech 7 ar ergna*. . . Here both editors render it 'paragon.' But cp. Da Chocae's poem (Hibernica Minora, p. 47): *atcobrai cech tethrai*, gl. *.i. ben*.

conda. Cp. Tec. Corm. § 3, 53: *níba gerthide i n-ailt midchúarto*, and Sergl. Con Cul. § 25: *nírbat dergnat colla coirme hi tig rurech*, and LL. 124 marg. sup.: *nírbát dergnat chormthige*.

mórad maithe. Cp. Tec. Corm. § 2, 6.

Cp. *ceglathar err thrén inuthach*, Fled Br. § 71, and *is err thrén tairptech*, *ib. dalach diubartach*, etc. Cp. *dálach cech cosnamach*, Tec. Corm. § 13, 27.

Bad frialmach, etc. Cp. Sergl. Con Cul. § 25, 1: *Nírbat taerrechtach debtha dene doérgairce*. *frithalmach* occurs in a similar passage in Tog. Trói (LL. 238a 2): *fonmud ferda frithalmach fosta ri feirg fobartaich* 'a manly heedful (?) king, steadfast against aggressive anger,' so Stokes, who derives it from *frithalim* 'attend.'

narotiasat = ? ná ro-t-ísat, which is translated.

rotethrat. Other instances occur in the unpublished verse portions of Br. Dá Chocae in our MS. (cp. RC. XXI. 401, § 65): *rotetraig (.i. roforbair) a nert*, p. 720;

Apraind et bithapraind nachamtethraig brón báis, p. 722; *atno na deo condomtethrad iri* (i. báis) ib. Here *narotethrat* is probably for *narotetrat* < *tetarrrsat*, fr. *to-etar-reth* (Ped. Vergl. Gramm. II. 599), and is so translated.

ar docloathar. -*cloathar* is ordinarily pres. subj. 3 sg. of *rocluínethar*, but the meaning here is not clear.

atomrua. In Br. Dá Chocae (H. 3. 18, p. 722), in the Lament of Fergus over Cormacc, *atamroi* is gl. *domsfainic*: *atamroi amuigh menma*. It occurs again lower down: *Ro topad mo menma muad -atomruad fri mescca mair*. If *saig-* is the verb, the cpd would have to be *ad-* (or *aith-*)*ro-saig* or *ess-ro-saig-*, which do not seem to occur; but it is most likely a Midd.-Ir. form of *domrua* (*to-ro-saig-*) fut. 3 sg. 'that is what will come upon me.' *atamroi* would be perfectly regular if taken from *ess-ro-so-* 'turn back, refuse,' perf. sg. 3, with inf. pron. *ad-dom-roi* > *atomroi*, lit. 'That is what has turned me back,' i.e. 'has been refused me' (Pedersen, Vergl. Gramm. II. 636). But the passage is not clear.

§ 4. *Fir Maland and Fianclár na Bredcha*. In Bruiden Dá Chocae, the Ulid, after defeating Ailill and Medb's host on Magh Derg, halted at Da Choca's Hostel on Sliab Malann. Amairgen objected on the ground that the territory belonged to Ailill and Medb, '*ar is la Meidb 7 la Ailill in crích forsata Da Coccae i. Crích Fer Malonn*.' This must be the territory referred to. As to Fianclár na Bredcha, this is in all probability the Bredach, 'otherwise called Magh Finn, situated on the east side of the River Suck, in the bar. of Athlone' (O'Donovan, Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many, p. 77). It answers well to the description Fianclár, and is in sufficient proximity to Crích Maland. There is another and more extensive Bredach in west Tirawley, in the territory of Uí Fiachrach (O'Donovan, Tribes and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach, p. 228 f.).

Gerg mac Faeburdil. Ebardirdil (H) must be a corruption. Gerg was slain by Conchobar, see Tochmarc Ferbe, ed. Windisch, p. 480.

Follomain son of Conchobar was slain at the head of the boy-corps of Emain, in the Táin (Wi. 2490, YU1838). His inclusion here was therefore felt to be an anachronism by the redactor of H, in which *mac Conchobair* is omitted, and a scribal note incorporated, viz., 'it was another Follomain who was slain on the Táin.' But a Follomain is mentioned later on in TBC., in the Muster Roll of the Ulid (Wi. 4824, YU 3027).

§ 6. *mifolia* 'misdeeds' (Second B. of Moytura, § 24), 'evil deeds, unprosperous actions' (O'Reilly).

§ 8. As to Flidais and Fergus, see Táin Bó Flidais (IT. II. 206 ff.), § 7 (LU.) recounts the settling of Fergus in Mag Murthemni, the death of Flidais, the return of Fergus to Connacht, and his death there as related in our text.

§ 9. *indillsi* (H) *disli* (L). See Atkinson's Glossary to Ancient Laws, under *dlles*. The meaning is 'assignment, forfeiture, transfer of property'; for *indillsi* cp. *inmdillsiugud*, O'Davoren, § 56, lit. 'illegalising,' Stokes. See also Conribb. under *dlle*.

§ 10. *aroet* (H) *araet* (L). (?) for Old Ir. *arroelt* (*air-fo-em-*), perf. sg. 3, 'received'; but I know no other instance of its use in such a construction.

For the story of the death of Cet mac Magach, Belchu of Breifne and his sons, see Meyer, *Death Tales of the Ulster Heroes*, 36 ff. The death of Cet mac Magach is recorded twice in L, and that of Ailill his son is omitted from H, which mentions, however, the death of Mac Cecht. As already remarked (*supra*, p. 171), he was slain by Conall Cernach in revenge for Cuscraid. For that of Ailill son of Magu, see Aided Ailella 7 Conaill Chernaig, ed. Meyer, ZCP. I. 102 ff. As to Ecetsalach the Smith and his son Amairgen, see the tale in Cormac's Glossary, s.v. *Greth*, and in LL. 117b, summarised by Atkinson in his Introduction to the Facsimile.

§ 12. *Tebra Connachta*. The three Connachts, *Fir Domnann*, *Fir Craíbe*, and

Fir Taiden, would in our tale appear to represent the whole of Connacht. In the Annals they are usually under one king (FM. 705, 879). They appear to have been vassal peoples. The Fir Domnann occupied the territories of *Uí Fiachrach* and *Uí Amalgada* in northern Connacht (MacNeill, Early Irish Population Groups, R.I.A. Proc. C, XXIX. 100). *Fir Taiden* was in *Sen Mag Sainb*, which seems between *Cruachu* and *Athlone* (Hogan, Onom.). *Fir Craibe* extended from *Fidhioch* to *Limerick*, and was *Fidach's* portion of Connacht, Keating, Hist. ed Dinneen II., 184. (See Hogan, *op. cit.*) MacNeill, however, regarded the Three Connachts as a small race-group in the north of Connacht, 'probably the remnant of a race which 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 *MacFibris*, until the time of *Eochu Muigmedoin*, father of these men, Connacht was ruled by a dynasty of the *Fir Domnann*, whose home territory corresponded to the later *Uí Fiachrach*.' (ÉRIU III. 48 f.) MacNeill suggests that *na tebra Connachta* represented this dynastic race.

Fir Bolg. Aengus, king of *Fir Bolg*, is mentioned in the *Táin*, Wi. 4847. The *Fir Bolg* here, and elsewhere, appear as an historical Connacht people. As MacNeill has pointed out, the 'name was extended in the Irish history-legend at an early period so as to denote the whole or main population of Ireland before the *Goédil*' (Early Irish Population Groups, p. 99; cp. ib. p. 81). In confirmation of this view, J. Baudiš has recently (Folk Lore, XXVII. 38) drawn attention to a passage in the *Route March* of the *Táin* (Wi. I. 312), where for the place-name *Bolga* (acc. pl.) in LU., LL. has *Badbna*, a mountainous range in the barony of *Ballintobber* north, Co. Roscommon. The *Fir Bolg* were therefore a Roscommon tribe. Cp. *Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many*, p. 90.

§ 14. This paragraph is a manifest interpolation in H. The inflated style, with its stock phrases, is quite out of harmony with the sober narrative of the tale.

truastrad. Cp. *Scél mucu m. Dáthó*, § 18, *truastrad* (Rawl.), *truastad* (LL.); *truastad*, Cath M. Mucrima, § 52; *truastrad*, Second B. of Moytura, § 131, always in the sense of 'striking.' No doubt from *to-scar* 'overthrow.'

muirín 7 sesilbí. Cp. T. Tróí 1964: *muirín 7 sesilbí in tísbig* 'clamour and din,' and see Cath Catharda, Glossary. In his ed. of the B. of Moytura, Stokes has left the word untranslated.

blesbarnach. I have no other example. In Meyer's *Contribb.* this passage is cited in error as from C. Cath., and the word is marked with a query, no meaning being given. Can it be a corruption of **bloscbemnach*, which might mean 'slashing-sound,' or of *bloscbéimnech* 'sounding-blow,' which frequently occurs? For the latter see *Contribb.*, C. Catharda Glossary, and Vendryes in Meyer *Miscellany*, 287.

golbemnech. The ms. has 'g.,ol,bemnech.' Cp. *golgréchach* 'wailing and screaming, C. Cath. 4355, and *golgaire* 'sound of weeping, ib. 914, 2230.

anbforustai=*anforustai*.—*anbforusta* 'unsated,' C. Cath. 5195, and see *Contribb.* *lathor*=*lathar* 'strength'; see for examples Calder, Ir. Aeneid, Vocab.

mellgul. From the context seems to mean 'moaning' or 'wailing.' I have no other example. Perhaps it is a compound of *mell* 'lump, knot, mace,' Pass. & Hom. 8312: *co mellaib dergaib umaide leo ina lámaib* 'carrying red maces of brass in their hands.' Here it would refer to the sound of the maces crashing against helm and shield. Cp. *mellgleó*, TBC, Wi. 4589, 4627, 'Bombenkampf,' O'Grady, 'lump-fight'; rocks and stones were the missiles in this contest. Among the various sounds of weapons described in C. Catharda 6079 is *mell dar malainn miledh* 'ball over a soldier's temporal artery,' Cp. also *mell-galach* 'warlike hill' (?), Ac. Sen. 6708,—a term for a quarrelsome member of a household, Stokes.

slaitredach. Perhaps a derivative of *slattrá* 'daring' (PH), *slattracht* ib. 'daring,

hardihood,' *slatratu* 'bold, strong, brave,' O'Donovan, Suppl. Cp. *slatbrat* 'harrying,' Ir. Aeneid, Vocab.

§ 15. *Ailill Ardagach*. His death here would appear to be an anachronism, as he fell together with Cacht son of Ilguine, by one another's hands, in Bruiden Dá Chocae, see Stokes's ed. § 61.

§ 16. *Cet mac Ailella 7 Medba*. H has Cecht. Cet is, however, the true reading. In *Cath Bóinde*, as Dr. Bergin points out to me, he is given as one of the Maine's, Maine (M)or(g)or, *Lc*, Maine Milscothach, *Rawl*.

§ 17. The encounter between Amergin and the two Eithiars is thus recorded in Cinaed úa Artacáin's poem § 9 (RC. XXIII. 324) Eg. :

Amargin ba garg a gleicc · Eithiér mór is Eithier bec
matan i nImlech Aii · imolle a lecht la haí,

to which is added the gloss, 'i. Aimergin Iargiunnuch isse ro marb da Ethíar i nImlech Ae.' The readings 'eter' of LL. and Laud, and Stokes's rendering 'both with great and small,' should therefore be emended, also his note on p. 333.

§ 18. *Genann mac Cathbad*, or Genann Grúadsolus, was one of the poets (*filid*) of the Ulid. For the part he played in the Battle of Oenach Macha, see Cóir Anmann, § 245.

INDEX OF PLACES AND TRIBES

AILEACHTHIR (L) Ailiccrich (H) 4, seems
Inishowen, Co. Donegal (Hogan).

BREIFNE IO, now counties of Leitrim and
Cavan.

Brug mna Ealcmairi 8, in Meath.

Bruiden Dá Cocae, d.sg. 1, now Breen-
more, in the par. of Drumrany, Co.
Westmeath.

CAILLI Chonaill Cernaig 4, *see* Caba.

Cland Conchobair, 4, 5.

Cland Rudraigi 4 (L), 5 (H).

Coba 4, *i.e.* Cailli Chonaill Cernaig, now
the baronies of Upper and Lower
Iveagh, Co. Down : Uí Eathach Caba.

Connachtach, na teóra 12, *i.e.* Fir Dom-
nann, Fir Craibe, and Tuath Taiden,
see note § 12.

Corco Oichi 4, seems to be in the Mug-
dorna (Hogan).

Crích Airtig 11, now p. of Tibohine, bar.
of Frenchpark, Co. Roscommon.

Crích Maland, *see* Fir Maland.

Crích Cuailnge 8, Cooley, Co. Louth.

Crích Rois 8, comprised portions of Far-
ney, Co. Monaghan, Meath and Louth,
O'Don., *see* Hogan.

EMNAE g. of Emain, 2, now Navan Ring,
2 m. west of Armagh.

FEARAND Geirg m. Febardil, *i.e.* Gull
and Irgull, which *see*.

Fernmaig, d. sg. 4, Farney, Co. Mona-
ghan.

Fianclar na Bredcha 4, East of the River
Suck, bar. of Athlone, *see* note.

Fir Bolg 12, a Connacht tribe near Ros-
common, *see* note.

Fir Craibe 12, one of the Three Con-
nachts, *see* note.

Fir Domnann 12, Domnannaid 12, 18,
Domnannach g. 18 (H) Domnannchaib
d.pl. 11, one of the three Connachts,
see note § 12.

Fir Maland 4, in Westmeath, *see* note.

Fir Ol nEgmacht 11, 12, 14, 17, *i.e.* the
three Connachts.

GULL 4, Rosgull, bar. of Kilmacrennan,
Co. Donegal.

IMLEACH Ai 17, in Artech, *see* Crích
Airtig.

Inber Colpa (Tuath Inbir, H) 4, the mouth of the Boyne.
Irgull 4, Horn Head, Co. Donegal.

LAMRAIGE 4, Mag L. where Conchobar died, was in Fir Ross, which embraced portions of Monaghan, Louth, and Meath.

Loch nEachach 4, Lough Neagh.

Loch nErne 4, Lough Erne.

Loch Rí, g. Lacha (Lachai, H) 12, 15, Lough Ree, on the Shannon.

MAG Murthemne (Crich M., H) 8, the present Co. Louth.

Mudorn (H) Mudornaib, d.pl. (L) 4, baronies of Cremorne and Farney, Co. Monaghan.

TETHBA thuaisceirt (Tefa, L) 4, western half of Co. Westmeath.

Tethba deisceirt (Tefa, L), Co. Longford.
Tír Liathmaine (Lietmuine, H) 4, in Ulster, near Lough Neagh.

Traig Baile m. Buain 8, the strand at Dundalk.

Tuatha Taiden 12, one of the three Connaughts, *see* note.

ULAIÐ, *passim*.

INDEX OF PERSONAL NAMES

AENGUS m. Ailella Find, 12, 15.

Aengus rí Fer mBolg, 12, 15.

Ailill Brefne, 12, 15.

mac Ailella Find, 12, 15, *see* Aengus.

Ailill Ardagach m. Magach, 15 (Ardadach L).

Ailill m. Ceit m. Magach, 10 (L).

Ailill m. Magach (Matai, H), 8; 9, 10 (m. Matai, H), 14.

Aimirgin file, 13, 17.

Aimirgin, *see* Conall Cernach.

Aimirgin m. Egalsa gaband, 10, 15 (m.

Eceð., H) 10; m. Ecetsalaig (H), m.

Ecalsach (L), 15.

Airtech Uchtlethan; Crích Airtig Uchtleathain, 11.

BENNA (Bendæ, H) m. Conchobair, 4, 16.

Belchu Breifne; gen. Belchon, 10.

CET m. Ailella 7 Medba, 16 (Cecht, H).

Cet m. Magach, 10, 12, 16.

Conall Cernach m. Aimirgin, 1, 4, 10, 13, 15.

Conaing m. Conchobair, 4, 16.

Conchobar, 1, 2, 4, 9, 10.

Conrai m. Dubthaig Doeltengthaig, 4.

Corbmac s. of Conchobar, 1.

Corc m. Dubthaig Doeltengthaig, 4, 16.

Cuscraid Mend Macha, s. of Conchobar, 1, 3, 6; Cumsraid (L), 4, 10, 15.

macDAMÁIN, 12, 15, *see* Fer Deichead.

Dóche m. Magach (Mata, H) gen. Doichi (Doiche, H), 10.

meic Dubthaig Doeltengthaig 4, *see* Conrai, Corc.

ECETSALACH, *see* Aimirgin.

Eirge Echbél, *see* Fergus.

Eithiar (Eghthiar, H), in dá, meic Fergus m. Roig, 17.

FAEBARGIL (Ebordil, H), *see* Gerg.

Fer Choga, father of Thomanten, 11.

Fer Deichead (Deichet, H), m. Fir Diad m. Damain, 12, 15 (Teichead, L).

Fer Diad, *see* Fer Deichead.

Fergus m. Eirgi Echbeoil, 13.

Fergus m. Róig, 6, 7, 8.

Fiac m. Fergus, 13.

Fiacha m. Conchobair, 4, 16.

Fiacha m. Laidgin, rí Fer mBolg, 13, m. Iguine (H).

Fiachna (Fiachræ, H) Caech m. Fergus, 7.

Fidach, *see* Flaithri.

Flaithri m. Fraich m. Fidaig, 12, 15.

Flidais, wife of Fergus m. Róig, 8; gen. Flidaisi, 8.

Follamain m. Chonchobair, 4, 10.

meic Fraich, 12, 15, *see* Flaithri, Troga.

Furbaidi Fear Band (Forbaid Fer Bend, H), 4; Furbaide (Forbaide, H), 10.

GENANN m. Cathbad, 18 (H).
 Gerg m. Febardil (Ebardirdil, H), 4;
see also Guala.
 Glaisne m. Conchobair, 4, 15.
 Guala m. Geirg m. Fhaebargil (Ebordil,
 H), 13, 15, 16, Gerc (H).
 mac Guill Eileac (Eleoc), 12, 15, Elech
 (H), *see* Mata.
 mac ILGUINE, 13, *see* Fiacha m. Laidgin.
 Illand find m. Fergus, 7.
 Imchad m. Luigdeach, 12, 15.
 Irial Glunmar, 4, 15, m. Conaill Chear-
 naich, 15 (L).
 mac LAIDGIN, 13, *see* Fiacha.
 Lama m. Conchobair, 4.
 Loingseach Lacha (Lochai, H) Ri, 12, 15.
 mac Lugdach, 12, *see* Imchad.
 MAC Cecht, 10 (H), 12, 16.
 meic Magach, 10, *see* Ailill, Cet, Dóche,
 Mug Corb, Scandal.
 Maine Aithremail, 12, 16.

Maine Maithremail, 12.
 Maine m. Conchobair, 4.
 mac Matai (Magach, L), 8, meic Mata
 (Magach, L), 10, *see* Ailill, Cet, Dóche,
 Mug Corb, Scandal.
 Mata (Mat) m. Guill eileac (eleoc), 12,
 15; Niat, Niet (H) m. Guill elech (H).
 Medb, 7, 8, 9, 14.
 Mug Corb, gen. Moga Corb m. Mata
 (Magach L), 10.

mac RÓICH, *see* Fergus, Sualdaim.

SANB m. Ceit, 12, 16.
 Scandal m. Mata (H) 10 (Magach), 15.
 mac Sencha, 13, *see* Sothach.
 Sothach (Soach, H) m. Sencha, 13.
 Sualdaim m. Róich, 8.

mac THOMANTIN m. Fhir Choga do Dom-
 nannchaib, 11, *see* Airtech.
 Troga (Trogæ, H) m. Fraich m. Fidaig,
 12, 15.

R. I. BEST

THE FLIGHT OF THE EARLS

1607

ONLY three copies of this poem are known to me: (1) the Book of The O'Connor Don (B) f. 413 b, (2) RIA 23 F 16 (F), p. 168, (3) Brit. Mus. Egerton 111 (E). As to B, see *supra*, p. 78 ff. F was written c. 1656, by the friar Fergal O'Gara (see O'Grady, Cat., p. 339). As E is simply a transcript of F no further reference to it is necessary here. Neither B nor F present a perfectly sound text. The present edition is founded upon B, with occasional readings from F. All substantial variants—that is, all that are not merely orthographical—are given in the footnotes. In the text of the edition the spelling has been generally normalized, a process which involved very few departures from the MS. I have to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor Bergin for some useful suggestions.

I have no further reference to the poet. O'Grady (Cat. 343) was probably right in assigning him to the Mac Craith (Mac Raith) family. In these melancholy verses he shows much human and literary feeling, and, unlike many that were his contemporaries and fellow craftsmen,¹ he evidently recognizes the departure of O'Neill and O'Donnell as denoting the close of a period. An analysis of the poem, with an interesting commentary, is given by O'Grady, Catalogue, pp. 397-9.

ELEANOR KNOTT

¹ e.g. Fearghal Óg Mac An Bhaird, who, failing to recognize that the day of his calling was over, attempted to propitiate the incoming powers by a laudatory poem on King James.

AINNRIAS MAC MARCUIS CC.

Anocht is uaigneach Éire,
do-bheir fógra a fírfreímhe
gruaidhe a fear 'sa fionnbhan fíoch,
treabh is iongnadh go huaigníoch.

- 5 Uaigneach anocht clár Connla,
gé lán d'foirinn allmhardha ;
sáith an chláir fionnacraigh féil—
don Sbáin ionnarbthair iadséin.

- Ag triall gan locadh tar lear
10 uainn do roighnibh Mac Míleadh—
gé daoineach don fádbhuig finn—
fágbhuid gan aoineach Éirinn.

- Mór tuirsi Ulltach 'san airc,
d'éis Í Dhomhnuill do dhíobairt,
15 's ní lugha fa Aodh Eanaigh
cumha ar an taobh thuaitheamhain.

- Gan gháire fa ghníomhradh leinb,
cosc ar cheól, glas ar ghaoidheilg,
meic ríogh, mar nár dhual don dreim,
20 gan luadh ar fíon nó ar aifrinn.

- Gan imirt, gan ól fleidhe,
gan aithghearradh aimsire,
gan mhalairt, gan ghraifne greagh,
gan tabhairt aighthe i n-éigean.
25 Gan rádha rithlearg molta,
gan sgaoileadh sgeól gcodalta ;
gan úidh ar faixin leabhair,
gan chlaisdin nglúin gheinealaigh.

3. gruadh F	4. iongnam B	6. cia F	7. saith B maith F; dhion-
nacuigh dhéin B	8. iadséin MSS.	9. a ttriall F	13. tuirsech B; fa
nairc F	14. dhíobhairt F	16. a ttaobh F	17. gan gníomhradh
linbh F	19. nach dual an dream F	20. luagh MSS.; aithfreann F	
25. ruilearcc F; <i>sic leg.</i> ? rádh MSS.	26. sgeóil co. B	27. leabhar F	
28. ghluin ge. B nglún ngeinaladh F			

Ní cluintear 'san chríchsi Bhreagh
 30 gníomhradh chon Mhaicne Míleadh,
 (neart danair ní sruth siobhail)
 nó guth gadhair Ghaoidhiolaigh.

On chruthsa ar cuireadh Gaoidhil
 ní bhiaid feasda forbhfaoilidh—
 35 fada leanus an léan dáibh—
 re sgéal dá feabhus d'fagháil.

Rug orra, ní cóir a cheilt,
 an bhroid do bhí 'san Éigeipht,
 nó an líon fan dTraoi do thionóil,
 40 nó an sníomh do bhaoi ar Bháibhiolóin.

Ó tá an cuan um chrích bhFeimhin
 an bhroid cionnus chuirfidhir
 don fréimh naoi-si chéibhfínn Chuinn,
 'sgan Maoisi i nÉirinn aguinn?

45 Ní fuil díobh fear a hiomchair,
 d'éis ar imthigh d'Éirionnchaibh,
 ríoghradh Bhanbha fa bhroid troim
 ag goid ar n-anma asoinn.

Anocht is

TRANSLATION

1. To-night Ireland is desolate, the banishment of her true race hath left wet-cheeked her men and her fair women; strange that such a dwelling-place should be desolate.

2. Desolate to-night is the Plain of Connla, though swarming with a foreign host; those who sufficed the generous, bright-acred land—they have been banished to Spain.

3. As the choicest of the Sons of Míl are passing without

32. ná F 33. ón ccruthso ar cuireadar F 34. bhiaidh B bhéd F
 36. gan sg. F gan nó re (*suprascr.*) sg. B 37. rucc uirthé F 38. 'sa
 neigheibht F sa neigeipt B 39. nó *om.* F; traói B 41. chrích nimheadh F
 42. cionnus foirfidhthir B cionnus chuirfidhear F 43. do réimh F 45. *sic*
 B di fear a i. F. Alliteration is wanting and it is hard to say how the line should be
 restored. I can only suggest, as a mere conjecture, Ní fuil díon d'fear a hiomchair,
 which would give sense and metre. 47. daor an bhanbha F; troim F.

stay across the ocean, populous as the bright, fertile land may be, they are leaving Ireland without one.

4. Great is the sorrow of the Ulstermen in distress after the banishment of O'Donnell, and no less is the grief in the north for Hugh of Annagh.

5. There is no laughter at the children's play, music is checked, speech is fettered; the sons of kings, such was not their nature, care neither for feasting nor mass.

6. No gaming, no banqueting, no pastime; no commerce or horse-racing or deeds of daring.

7. No reciting of poems of praise, no relating of stories at sleeping time, no interest in consulting books, no hearkening to genealogies.

8. In this land of Brega there are heard not even the deeds of a hound belonging to the race of Míl (the might of the foreigner is no fordable (?) stream) or so much as the barking of an Irish dog.

9. From this state into which the Gaels have been cast henceforth they will have no joy at any tidings, be they ever so excellent; long does sorrow persist with them.

10. They have been overtaken, it is not just to suppress it, by the captivity that was in Egypt, or the army which gathered about Troy, or the sorrow that was in Babylon.

11. Since the sea surrounds the land of Feimhen, how shall the bright fair-haired race of Conn be succoured from captivity, whilst we have no Moses in Ireland?

12. Since these Irishmen have departed there is not one to support her (?), that the lords of Banbha lie beneath heavy bondage is stealing away my soul.

4. *Eanach*: there was a place of this name in Tyrone, see Hogan.

5. O'Grady took *gaoidheilg* to mean 'the Irish language,' but I think the meaning 'language in general,' 'speech' is more likely here. Examples of this usage are fairly common, e.g. 'Ro ling trá reacht romhór isan n-inghin de sin, gur gríosadh a gnuís agus gur rogabhadh ar a gaoidhilg,' 23 K 37, p. 5. See also K. Meyer Misc. p. 245.

luadh: I have taken *luagh* as a misspelling of *luadh* 'mention,' 'discussion,' but *gan luagh ar* might bear the meaning of 'without a price for,' i.e. 'setting no store by.' Cf. also Hy Fiachr. p. 457, x.

12. The first line of this stanza is corrupt in the mss. Adopting the conjectural reading suggested in the notes the translation would be: 'Since so many Irishmen have departed there is no longer any shelter for him who bears her,' 'her' referring to 'soul.'

dreim: *aifrinn*: perhaps F should be adopted here, but as it is possible that *aifreann* has two declensions I have retained the reading of B.

BONAVENTURA O'HUSSEY ON THE
UNCERTAINTY OF LIFE

(*Book of the O'Conor Don*, 79a)

¹ AN BRATHAIR BOCHT GIOLLA BRIGDE ALIAS
BONABHENTURA O HĒODHASA ¹

1. A dhuine chuirios an crann,
cía bhus beó ag búain a ubhall?
ar bfás don *ch*ráoibh ghégaigh ghil,
ré a fhégoín ² dáoibh an deimhin?
2. Gan t'fhuireach ré a bhláth do bhoing
san lubhghort ³ úaine áluinn
smúain, a fhir na ccleath do chor,
mo *ch*reach! ag sin an sáoghal.
3. D'ēis a aibchighthi ⁴ as é ad ⁵ lāimh,
an tú c[h]aithfus, a *ch*ompáin,
blāth garrdha na ngēg solus?
tarra ón ég a n-amharus.
4. Ní críonna *dhuit*, a dhuine,
ga mbí an choille ⁶ chumhraidhe,⁷
th'aire ar fhās na n-abhall lag,
'sgan cás at anam agad.

Ad.

¹⁻¹ *Added in later hand.*

⁴ aibchithi MS.

⁷ *cúmhr*-e MS.

² fhéghoin MS.

⁵ do MS.

³ lúbhgort MS.

⁶ *Read* agá mbí an choill (?).

TRANSLATION

1. O man that plantest the tree, who shall live to pluck its apples? when the bright branching shoot is grown, is it sure to be seen by thee?

2. Think of thy not remaining to pluck its blossom in the lovely green orchard, O thou that art fixing the props—alas! such is the world.

3. When it is ripe and in thy hand, is it thou who wilt eat of it, my friend, that flower of the garden of shining sprays? Death has made even this doubtful.

4. It is not prudent of thee, thou owner of the sweet wood, to watch the growth of the frail appletrees, and not to care for thy soul.

OSBORN BERGIN

IRISH *sirid* 'seeks'

sirid Bcr. 33^d3 is not decisive. The quantity is shown by Mid. and Mod. Ir. rimes, e.g. *sires* : *siles* SR. 1005-6; *dlighes* : *šires* ZCP. VIII. 1152; *siliud* : *siriudh* (*sic* MS.) Arch. III. 234, § 31. Keating assonates *šireas* (*sic* leg.) and *šionnmhuigh*, Dánta, 448, and S. na Ráithíneach, p. 66, has *Mhuire* : *ciste* : *ionad* : *sirim*. The forms with long vowel in dictionaries, glossaries, and printed texts are generally due to the editors. *Shtreas*, TSh. 172w, is a bad reading for *Siris*. In modern editions of the Bible *sir*- has been altered to *str*-. Finck, Arch. II, 121, gives *streas* for Donlevy's *do šireas*. MacBain, Etym. Gael. Dict. 324, draws attention to the shortness of the vowel; we may take it that the vowel was short in O. Ir., and Pedersen's derivation of *sirid* from *str* 'long' must be abandoned.

O. J. B.

REPORT

1914-15

SINCE the last volume of ÉRIU was issued, another session of the School—the thirteenth since its foundation—has been brought to a close. The Summer Course of 1914 was given by Professor Osborn Bergin, Ph.D., of University College, Dublin, one of the Governors of the School. The subject of his lectures was Early Modern Irish, particularly Bardic Poetry. These poems, which are among the most difficult that have come down to us, reflect the social life and history of the country from the thirteenth to the middle of the seventeenth century. They are written in a literary dialect which scarcely varied during a period of five hundred years, and which was common not only to all Ireland but to Scotland also, so that it is almost impossible from the language alone to discriminate either their period or authorship. But few have been edited or translated, and they have not received from modern scholars the attention which they merit. Irish treatises on the poet's art by skilled contemporary writers have fortunately been preserved, and in these the grammar and the metrical rules are elaborately set forth. In the present number of ÉRIU, Dr. Bergin begins the serial publication of the more important of these tracts. The Summer Course was designed as an introduction to the study of this particular school of writers, and to train students for the work of editing and translating. Dr. Bergin lectured two hours daily, Saturdays excepted, from August the 10th to the 28th.

Unpublished poems by Eochaidh Ó Heóghusa, Giolla Bríghde Ó Heóghusa, Domhnall mac Dáire, Tadhg óg Ó Huiginn, Gofraigh Fionn Ó Dálaigh, Fearghal óg Mac an Bhaird, Ó Maoil Chiaráin, Seithfin Mór, were read and interpreted in class. Despite the disturbing influences of the great war, which had just broken out, the course was attended by twelve students, of whom one was from the United States, and two from Scotland.

The Governors and Trustees desire to express their warm

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thanks and appreciation to Dr. Bergin for so generously undertaking, as a labour of love, this arduous course, and devoting to it a good part of his vacation.

In the month of December last, Professor KUNO MEYER resigned his position both as Director of the School and Editor of *ÉRIU*. At a meeting of the Governors and Trustees held on January the 12th, the following resolution was adopted:—

We, the Governors and Trustees of the School of Irish Learning, wish to record the deep regret with which we find ourselves obliged to accept Dr. Kuno Meyer's resignation of his position as Director of the School and Editor of *ÉRIU*, owing to the unhappy circumstances of the present European conflict. He was the originator and founder of the School, and since its establishment twelve years ago he has laboured ceaselessly to promote Irish studies and to bring the School into direct association with fellow-workers abroad. To the School journal *ÉRIU* he lent the prestige of his name, and to his unrivalled knowledge and experience is in great part due the honourable position it now holds. To the workers in the School Dr. Kuno Meyer has been a faithful friend, always ready with encouragement and assistance, and the resolve to secure recognition of a wide-reaching kind for good work done. It is impossible in this time of sorrow to rehearse calmly the very signal services rendered to Celtic learning by Dr. Meyer, and more particularly his rare services to the Irish community of scholars. It is with sorrow that we contemplate this separation as one of the catastrophes of a war which has for a time divided nations and severed natural communications. We still hope that among the reconciling forces of the future none will be more powerful than the loyalty of scholars to one another and to their common service of truth.

The Governors and Trustees beg to renew their grateful thanks to Mr. Thomas Kelly, of New York, for his continued generosity in providing the School with its present rooms; also to acknowledge with thanks the following subscriptions:—Mr. J. C. Ledlie, £1; Captain Bryan J. Jones, West Leinster Regiment, £1; Miss Eleanor Hull, £1; Mr. Charles McNeill, £1. Previous donations have been acknowledged in volumes V. and VII.