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C O N T E N T S

	PAGE
THE VITA TRIPARTITA OF ST. PATRICK. <i>Eoin MacNeill</i>	1
STORIES FROM THE LAW-TRACTS. <i>Myles Dillon</i>	42
THE ADVICE TO DOIDIN. <i>Roland M. Smith</i>	66
VARIA. <i>M. A. O'Brien</i>	86
NOTE ON A GLOSS OF O'DAVOREN. <i>Mary E. Byrne</i>	94
ON THE PUNISHMENT OF SENDING ADRIFT. <i>Mary E. Byrne</i>	97

THE VITA TRIPARTITA OF ST. PATRICK

I. LATER ACCRECTIONS

IN the Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland I have published three consecutive studies based on the material relating to St. Patrick in the Book of Armagh. In the first of these, 'The Earliest Lives of St. Patrick' (June 1928), I draw the conclusions that the poem *Génair Pátric i nNemthur* was composed by Bishop Aed, who died A.D. 700; that Muirchu's history was written later, but still in the lifetime of Bishop Aed; and that the Breviarium, as the author calls it, of Tirechan was written later still, but not much later, for Tirechan was contemporary with Aed and Muirchu. In this paper, also, I adopt the view of the editor of the Book of Armagh, Dr. John Gwynn, that the chapters in Irish relative to Leinster in that Book were written by Bishop Aed; and I form the conclusion that the 'Notulae' in the Book of Armagh 'were compiled originally by Tirechan as preparatory notes for a more complete account of the acts of St. Patrick than he had been able to put together in the Breviarium'. The second paper, on 'The Dates of Texts in the Book of Armagh relating to Saint Patrick', shows that the Irish of the Book of Armagh exhibits two clearly distinguishable strata of spelling and phonesis, an earlier stratum characterizing the Irish forms written by Muirchu and Tirechan, and a later stratum showing changes which had taken place between the time of Muirchu and Tirechan and the time of Ferdomnach, scribe of the Book of Armagh—we may say between A.D. 700 and 800. It is further shown that these two strata are found in every section of the material, pointing to the conclusion that all the material was transcribed from originals of the time of Muirchu and Tirechan. The later spellings show the usage of the time of Ferdomnach :

ae diphthong < *ai*.
oe diphthong < *oi*.
ia diphthong < *e*.
ua diphthong < *o*.

In unstressed, chiefly final, syllables :

a- < *o-*, *e-*.
-d < *-th*.

and, perhaps graphic mainly :

ai-, *ui-*, < *i-* after non-palatal consonant.
-ai < *-i* in final syllable.
-ae < *-e* „ „ „

ÓMáille, Language of the Annals of Ulster, has dated most of these changes early in the eighth century. The Book of Armagh shows them taking place within the eighth century. In the same paper, I show by further evidence the association of the Notulae in authorship with Tirechan's Breviarium, and I show that the Breviarium was written in the vicinity of Crua-chain, the ancient seat of the kings of Connacht.

Already Hogan, in *Documenta de Sancto Patricio ex Libro Armachano*, and the editor of the Book of Armagh in his annotations, had shown that a large number of the Notulae were represented by passages in the Tripartite Life; but the close and direct relation only becomes apparent when the words of the two texts are set side by side. Miss Mulchrone, in her study of the Tripartite Life (ZfCP. xvi), had shown that this text, extant in a Middle Irish redaction, must have been written in the Old Irish period. I began to examine the Tripartite Life, expecting at most to find in it traces of the more complete work projected by Tirechan and prepared for by the Notulae. In the outcome, I found abundant evidence that the Tripartite Life, in its original form, was Tirechan's work, written in Irish with a mixture of Latin, at latest very early in the eighth century, for Tirechan was a pupil of St. Ultan, who died in the mortality of the years 665-8.

In a third paper in the *Journal aforesaid* (vol. lix, part i), on 'The Origin of the Tripartite Life of Saint Patrick', I have set out the proofs of Tirechan's authorship, except as regards the linguistic evidence. A summary here may be of service. There is the close and direct relation to the Notulae, many of which are made intelligible only through the words of the Tripartite Life. The same order of statement of the acts of St. Patrick, topographical not chronological, characterizes the three documents, the Breviarium, the Notulae, and the Tripartite Life. The Tri-

partite Life in various passages reflects a leading motive of the Breviary, the defence of 'Paruchia Patricii' against the usurpations of various monasteries. The Breviary and the Tripartite Life were written in the same locality, in the vicinity of Cruachain. Both show the same special interest in Cruachain and the region immediately surrounding it. The homeland of Tirechan's kin was in the district of Fochoill, near Killala. The author of the Tripartite Life shows a minute acquaintance with the topography and traditions of that district. Where the Breviary tells a story of Bishop Brón and St. Patrick's tooth, the author of the Tripartite Life says that this story came to him not from the Breviary but by oral tradition—'audivi ab alio'. The most notable evidence of common authorship is found in the story of Tirechan's ancestors, Ende and Conall. This story is a marked feature of the Breviary. In the Tripartite Life it is almost completely recast and expanded into a saga.

In its extant condition, the Tripartite Life bears evidence of having suffered successive redactions, importing linguistic changes sufficient to leave Whitley Stokes under the notion that it had been originally written in Middle Irish. The Book of Armagh exemplifies, as shown in my second paper aforesaid, how later became substituted for earlier forms, in that case probably at the first transcription. In the Tripartite Life, the final redaction had the practical purpose of turning the texts into three homilies for use in preaching, and the tendency, otiose at best, to reproduce archaic forms must have been minimized. Nevertheless a considerable number of spellings characteristic of the early eighth century have survived. The lists which follow here do not claim to be exhaustive.

ói, ái, diphthongs before a neutral consonant, later óe, áe:

32, 19, etc. Loigaire. 34, 16 forcoimnacuir. 46, 9 coica. 52, 27 móithóccalach. 62, 15 sóirad, dóirad. 68, 31 oínach. 70, 30 óinaig. 76, 20 coímcloiset. 78, 9 cróib (*gen. pl.*). 82, 23 oín. 90, 12 atoibad. 94, 28 Oíngussa. 102, 23 co coimsam. 102, 25 oínbrat. 106, 2 óin. 106, 20 cóica. 110, 19 oín. 126, 10 chóimnacair. 126, 30 Óingus. 156, 24 Echu Caich. 162, 3 soirchaithir. 166, 4 maila. 166, 25 Coil[both]. 182, 20 cóicait. 200, 4 Cainchomrac. 204, 12 daiscairsluaig. 208, 19, 20 fot-roiraig, fon-roiraig. 220, 20 sáibthaid. 224, 9 saigul. 234, 28 Failain. 242, 11 dál (*for* dóil

nom. sg.). 250, 1 Oinaich. Ogham CAIRATINI is represented by Cairthinn, 158, 4, 168, 12, 168, 18, 174, 26, 176, 2, 176, 6.

ó, later úa :

34, 25 docóos. 86, 4 thos. 90, 14 dochótar. 98, 3 and 5 Rodán. 104, 16 docótar. 108, 7 Croch-Cule (the island now called Cruach na Caoile). 110, 6 Conu. 122, 16 Tog. 132, 15 ochtar. 136, 11 Ochtair (*but* 136, 22 Uachtair). 182, 26 dochotar. 196, 11 lóog. 198, 5 Ochtur. 198, 8 dootar. 202, 5 dochótar (*variant* docodar). 246, 3 doas.

é, later ía :

I find only one instance, 162, 1 Ném.

Old unstressed short vowels preserved :

28, 15 nue. 54, 10 rochoteg. 68, 4 brāthir. 78, 8 rube. 80, 14, 23 Dabonne. 82, 10 Dar Erce. 82, 18 dus·n-arrith. 84, 29 anfeth. 94, 12 Conleng, Erc leng. 94, 12 Erce. 106, 19 do·dechód. 106, 23, 24, 28 and 108, 8, 9 Selce. 110, 19 Uiscon. 110, 20 Corre. 110, 25 Luctheus [*for* Luchteus = Luchta 110, 23]. 112, 5 ineth. 126, 16 Echoch. 130, 14, 23 Rechred, Roéchred. 132, 17 orbe. 134, 11 Énde. 134, 24 Oenadarce (134, 18 Oenadarcae). 138, 18 rig·lie. 140, 1 Macc Erce. 140, 3 Macc Erce. 154, 27 Senchue. 156, 21 Éndi. 162, 3 -chaithir (*for* -chathir). 162, 10 brāthir. 166, 6 orte. 166, 7 Echdich (*for* Echich). 166, 10 Cathich. 166, 13 brāthir. 168, 12 bráithir. 174, 13 Frossig. 182, 6 Omne Rende. 190, 11 Fiachri. 250, 11 Calrigi. 252, 2 Dar Erce.

Unstressed -th :

10, 25 gemrith, int[ša]indriuth. 10, 52 teinith. 12, 22 ·digseth. 14, 25 conduth. 16, 1 ·taiselbath. 16, 27 ·herbath. 54, 2 ·tor-molath, biath. 54, 8 ·accath, ·gēnath. 56, 29, 118, 18 teneth. 56, 32, 84, 28 arrath. 58, 15 ·rónath. 58, 21 ·loisceth, 82, 18 ·arrith. 84, 29 anfeth, bethaith. 86, 4, 96, 1 dorónat[h]. 90, 24 donuiniuth. 92, 7 ·chuireth. 96, 14 techeth. 112, 5 ineth. 128, 17 ·léicet[h]. 142, 18 dorigēnsait[h]. 156, 8 Choelbroth (*r*, Chóilboth). 180, 5 ·airbereth. 188, 3 nā biath. 220, 26 Choimdeth. 222, 17 bethath. 246, 16 taidlith (imperative 2 pl.). 248, 15 chuindchith.

The Book of Armagh shows that by its time (807-8) the change of unstressed -th to -d had already taken place. Against

two instances of *-th*, it has twenty-three instances of *a* substituted.

The article *inna* (later *na*). L. Arm. has three instances of *inna*, one of *na*.

56, 16. 68, 11 and 27. 82, 12 and 23. 84, 20. 86, 11, 15, 20. 90, 12. 92, 4, 6, 24, 31. 100, 4. 104, 8, 10. 120, 7. 126, 30. 130, 7, 26, 27. 160, 18. 176, 25. 180, 8. 188, 21, 29. 192, 17. 198, 23. 206, 19. 212, 24. 214, 21. 222, 17, 26. 232, 13, 22. 236, 12. 238, 2. 260, 6.

Various early forms :

32, 9 'Hevernenses omnes, et reliqua.' A loose traditional version of the 'Vox Hiberionacum' of St. Patrick's Confession. At 128, 8 'Hibernensés omnes clamant ad te pueri, et reliqua'. Cf. 'Evernas gentes' of the Hymn of St. Secundinus, and 'tua Evernilis patria' of Adamnan. 192, 11 *már* (later *mór*).

When VT is studied in relation to the Breviary, no one who recognizes that the author of the Breviary proclaims himself a descendant of Conall, son of Ende, son of Amolngid, of the Wood of Fochaill, and who observes the role attributed in both documents to Ende and Conall, will doubt for a moment that VT in its original form was written by Tirechan. I cite the linguistic evidence to show that VT is likely to have been written at first in Irish, with passages here and there, sometimes only half-sentences, in Latin, so that it is not likely to have been a translation into eighth-century Irish from a Latin original, except in those parts where it takes over bodily the material of the Breviary and of Muirchu's history. It may be noted that when the Breviary and Muirchu are translated, the Irish is distinctively of the earliest.

On the other hand, VT contains a number of passages having reference to historical events of later date than Tirechan. There need be no hesitation in pronouncing these to be late accretions to the original work. The Ráth Airthir episode may belong to the time of the original or a little later. The verses are partly unintelligible to Stokes and to me. The word *inna* may be the old form of the article. In the other passages referring to events later than Tirechan, I find only one early spelling *maila*. They do not contain a single instance of the article *inna* or of *-th* in unstressed auslaut, which are both frequent in other parts of the text.

Ard Breccáin, where Tirechan studied under St. Ultan, was not far from the district of Taltiu. I have already pointed to the probability that the Lommán chapter in L. Arm. came to Tirechan from Ard Breccáin. The Ráth Airthir story may also have come thence, verses and all. It seems to have been just patched in as received.

P. 70. An anecdote is told of two sons of Cerball, son of Mail Odor, son of Aed Sláne. Cerball died in 694. (*In lóech* means 'the layman' here, not 'the hero', the point being that a layman, with whom the sons of Cerball were at feud, had taken refuge in the church of Ráth Airthir, where he was surprised by them in his sleep early on a Sunday.) *Dodeochatar*, 'they came', probably indicates that the anecdote was supplied by a person living near Ráth Airthir. The story is given as explaining the phrase which introduces it, 'quod impletum est', referring to a supposed prophecy by Patrick that only one slaying would ever be on the sod of Ráth Airthir. Obviously the prophecy was invented after the event. The wording of the anecdote is such as would not have been used to relate an event of distant date. It takes for granted a knowledge who Bressal was, whose son was killed. I think it likely that he was the Bressal who was killed in 695, along with his father, Fínnachta, king of Ireland: both events belonging to the complicated feuds between the descendants of Aed Sláne. Though the anecdote may have been written not long before or after the year 700, it does not form a consecutive part of the original VT. The text has just related how Conall, brother of Lóiguire, granted to Patrick the site for the church of Domnach Mór, measuring it with his own feet, and how Patrick foretold a short and feeble reign for any of Conall's descendants who should take away from it. Then abruptly: 'When he measured Ráth Airthir, this——' followed by the quatrain relating the prophecy. On the other hand, the materials of which the text is composed at this place have not been fitted together in good order—still another indication of incompleteness. Patrick comes to Taltiu, 68, 30; then to Domnach Pátraic, 70, 6; then comes the story of Ráth Airthir, 70, 17; then Patrick blesses Taltiu, 70, 30; then finds a church at Áth Da Laarg, 72, 6, and a church at Druim Corcorri, 72, 11; then goes from Domnach Pátraic to Tara, and blesses Conall son of Niall aforesaid, 72, 15, and leaves some of

his household at Domnach Pátraic, 72, 23; then goes to Tara, 74, 4. This sequence shows separate items collected and thrown roughly together, and the story of Ráth Airthir is possibly a contribution from a local source used in this rough and ready way by the original compiler.

The last reference to Domnach Pátraic is accompanied by a story of Cinaed, son of Írgalach, ending with his death in the battle of Druim Corcain, which was in 728. This passage is in Old Irish, but does not contain any of the distinctive seventh to eighth-century forms.

The second reference to Taltiu is accompanied by a reference to the reign of Donnchad, 769-97. This passage also is in Old Irish but without any distinctive early forms.

It thus appears likely that the breaches of sequence on pp. 70 and 72 are due in part to interpolation.

P. 94. Patrick prophesies to Hono, son of Macc Erce of Corcu Ochlann: 'He shall not be king whom thou wilt not accept and wilt not ordain.' And this, says VT, 'has been fulfilled; the kin of Macc Erce is the mightiest and firmest in Connacht, only they do not rule as overkings.' This section is original. It preserves the old spellings *Conleng* and *Ercleng*. The Book of Armagh has these, and beside them the later spellings *Conlang* and *Erclang*. I know of nothing to show that the chiefs of Corcu Ochlann continued long so powerful as the text indicates.

P. 126. 'Lotar maicc Amalgado do Temraig in xii curribus sed in Libris Patricii invenitur quod exierunt in iudicium tantum septem fratres de [e]is.' The Latin is obviously interpolated. It refers to Tirechan's Breviarium.

P. 140. The verses may have been interpolated at any time of their period. They belong to a characteristic genre in Irish poetry. Their vogue is attested by the freely variant version in LL.

P. 148. Muirgus, son of Máil Dúin, son of Scannlán, is named in the Notulæ, l. 5. Máil Dúin †666.

P. 148. Domnall, son of Aed, son of Anmeri. He died in 642.

P. 152. Luid Patraic, etc. This paragraph and the accompanying verses are probably of late accretion.

P. 166. A prophecy is fulfilled by Scandal, king of Dál Araidi, and by Cú Chúaran, and once more by Eochu, son of

Bressal. Scandal †646, Cú Chúaran †708, Eochu †733. I take it that the story of Olcán was added late, with the purpose of removing the reproach of Patrick's curse from Sárán and his descendants. It is written, however, in Old Irish, probably in the eighth century.

P. 174. A prophecy fulfilled in Connacán, son of Niall Fros-sach. 'Quod probavimus' may mean that the event was remembered by the writer. The event should be late in the eighth century or early in the ninth.

P. 182. The story of Bishop Victor and the lighted brake is apparently a variant of the story of the angel Victor's apparition in a burning bush, related by Muirchu. In both cases Victor is a duplicate of Victoricus, as the bishop is named in the Breviary.

P. 194. 'The reign of Feidilmid and Conchubar.' Fedilmid, king of Munster 820-47. Conchobur, king of Ireland 819-32. The second prophecy introducing Gáithíne is of later date.

P. 196. 'Till the time of Cenn Gécán', deposed in 901. Here we have clear evidence of accretion. The older text has the prophecy that no successor of Oingus will die a violent death. This was written before the death of Cormac in 908.

P. 214. I can find no Dúngalach king of Cashel, no Dúngalach son of Fáilgus, and no Dúngalach of the posterity of Failbe Fland. The poem is evidently an interpolation, as is the poem on p. 216, which has to be introduced by making Patrick bid a second farewell to Munster. The Dúngalach poem belongs to the advocacy of Paruchia Patricii, and may have been composed at Armagh. It does not fit into any part of the text, and so was pushed in at the end of the Munster section. Fáilgus, son of Nat Frúich, who was grandson of Failbe Fland, had a son named Donngal, who, however, did not become king of Munster—at least his reign is not recorded in AU, in the Annals of Innis-fallen, or in the Laud Synchronisms, a Munster compilation—he was an ancestor of Cellachán and the MacCarthaigh line. It is possible that Donngal was petty king of Eoganacht Chaisil. The author of the poem may have thought that he had been king of Munster. As Donngal is known to me only from the genealogies (BB 176, cols. 5 and 6),¹ I can only date him ap-

¹ Headed 'Cland Failbe .i. Cland Dungaili', but in the pedigrees *Dond-gaile*, genitive, 6 times.

proximately. His *floruit* should be a century later than the reign, 665 to 678, of his greatgrandfather Colgu, king of Munster. The poem should thus date in the ninth century at earliest. Its author may have had a confused knowledge of some infringement of the *Lex Patricii* by a king of Eoganacht Chaisil.

II. TOPOGRAPHICAL IMPORTANCE.

The topographical sequence in which the Tripartite Life arranges its narrative of the acts of St. Patrick, while it has no historical validity as regards St. Patrick, has this especial historical value, that it presents us with a description of the political divisions of a large part of Ireland in the time of the author. Though VT contains many accretions of later date, the original topographical framework is preserved, and this reflects the political geography of Ireland in the latter part of the seventh century, more than two centuries earlier than the description found in the Book of Rights. In this respect, VT is a historical document of very great importance.

I have traced the authorship of the Tripartite Life in its original form to Tirechan, and this implies that the *Notulae* likewise are the work of Tirechan. His *Breviarium*, as the name which he gives to it indicates, is a preliminary essay, not a finished work. It was followed by the *Notulae*, drawn up in preparation for a supplementary work. The original text on which the Tripartite Life is based, as its relation to the *Notulae* shows, is the supplementary work undertaken but not completed. That it was left unfinished is shown by various incoherences in the text and by the fact that many of the *Notulae* cannot be found represented in it.

It follows that all three, the *Breviarium*, the *Notulae*, and the basic text of VT, are to be regarded as successive stages of one work. Hence the evidence of VT for the political geography of Ireland in the author's time, the second half of the seventh century, must be considered in conjunction with the evidence of the *Breviarium* and the *Notulae*.

The first book of the *Breviarium* has this ending: 'Finit liber primus in regionibus Nepotum Neill peractus.' It deals with the territories of the Southern *Ui Neill* in *Brega* and *Mide*, and, like VT, it shows no demarcation between *Brega* and *Mide*.

The circuit begins on the coast of Brega. In the middle of the Brega section there is a list of bishops, priests, and deacons, said to have been ordained by Patrick, and in the middle of the lists of priests an account 'of the names of Patrick's Franks', of whom three are said to be bishops and one a deacon. These lists are clearly not in the place which the author intended them to occupy in the completed work. They are likely to have been written on loose leaves and wrongly placed by the scribe. They are followed by a list of eight churches founded by Patrick in Mag Breg. These are numbered I to VIII. The story of the foundation of the eighth leads to a digression regarding Patrick's conflict with the druids at Tara.¹ Then the circuit is resumed with the words 'Prima feria venit ad Taltenam', as though the author at this stage proposed to relate events day by day. So, at the beginning of the circuit, Patrick lands on the coast of Brega at sunrise and comes in the evening to the home of Benignus. At Taltiu, 'fit agon regale ad [= Irish *oc*] Coirpriticum filium Neill, qui voluit eum occidere. . . . Quapropter . . . Patricius . . . dixit ei: Semen tuum serviet seminibus fratrum [tuorum], et non erit de semine tuo rex in aeternum.' This is partly repeated, partly translated, in VT. I take it to mean that in Tirechan's time a depressed sept of Cenél Coirpri dwelt at Taltiu. It is a commonplace, especially with Tirechan, to make Patrick's prophecies account for the ups and downs of the posterity of princes. In this instance, Tirechan seems to have forgotten that no fewer than three distinct dynastic septs which sprang from Coirpre, son of Niall, held rule until his own time, one in the kingdom of Coirpre Laigen, on the borders of Leinster, a second in the kingdom of Coirpre Gabra, in the district of Granard, a third in the kingdom of Coirpre Dromma Cliab, in north-eastern Connacht. In the last-named, Coirpre himself, who is 'the enemy of God' in the Breviarium and VT, appears in a contemporary document in the Book of Armagh

¹ Having related the miraculous death of the druid Loch Letheus, Tirechan says: 'Et est lapis illius in oris australibus orientalibusque [meaning 'on the south-eastern side of Tara', the Latin showing an attempt to render the Irish 'in airtherdesciurt'] usque in praesentem diem, et conspexi illum oculis meis.' Ard Breccáin, where Tirechan was educated, is about six miles from Tara.

(17ba) granting the royal rights, *regnum*, to Patrick over lands which the owners had given to Patrick.

The circuit comes next 'to Conall, son of Niall, to his house which he founded in the place in which to-day is ecclesia Patricii magna'. Father Hogan makes this church 'hodie Donagh Patrick in Midia'. Donaghpatrick is close to Taltiu 'Telltown', Donaghmore is about four miles distant, near the Boyne, below Navan. Patrick, continuing the prophecy, said to Conall: 'Semen fratrum tuorum tuo semini serviet in aeternum', and further: 'Si diminuatur ecclesia ista, non erit longum regnum tibi et firmum.' VT applies the last prophecy to Conall's descendants. This shows that in Tirechan's time a dynastic sept of Conall's posterity held rule in the district of Taltiu. Niall had two sons named Conall, Conall Gulban, ancestor of the Tir Conaill dynasty, and Conall Eirr Breg ('chariot-rider of Brega'), also called Conall Cremthainni, probably signifying that he was fostered by the sept of Cremthainne. The last-named Conall is here in question. His grandson, Diarmait Derg, was king of Ireland in the sixth century, and from Aed Sláne, son of Diarmait, came the later line of the over-kings of Brega. The grandsons of Aed Sláne were Tirechan's contemporaries; one of them was Finnachta, king of Ireland, who died in 695. The reference in the Breviarium and VT is rather to a long-established local dynastic sept, and there was only one such sept descending from Conall Cremthainne, from his son Ardgall. It is named Cenél nArdgail, or more often simply Ardgall, and its territory is a kingdom in the Book of Rights and in the annals for the eighth and ninth centuries. Onom. Goed., having remarked that the territory is not located by O'Donovan in his notes to the Book of Rights, goes on to say: 'but is located by Cell Delga, Cluain Accuir, Raith Mac Stiallain, Tuath Luigne, Laogaire, Bregia, and Ard Scannlaighe, which are in it—*v. supra* and those place-names.' When we follow this instruction we find that Cluain Accuir, Raith Mac Stiallain, and Ard Scannlaighe are in Ardgall, but otherwise unknown. Tuath Luigne is an error, a very common one, for Tuath Luaigne, one of the Aithechthuatha, which was spread over a large range of territories, including Ardgall. Laogaire, Lóiguire, was not in Ardgall. Bregia is the Latinized name of Brega, of which Ardgall was part. There only remains Cell Delga,

identified with 'Kildalkey, four miles north-west of Trim'; but see also Onom. Goed., s. v. Cenn Delgt[h]en. Cenél Ardgail disappears from the Annals of Ulster after 837, the neighbouring territory, Cenél Lóiguiri, keeps its dynasty till the Norman invasion. I think it likely that Ardgail included both Cell Delga and Taltiu, but was absorbed in time by Lóiguire Breg. The pedigrees in BB seem to accord with this view. The pedigree of Cenél Lóiguiri (86 a) comes down to Cu Ulad Ua Caindelbáin, killed in 1157; the pedigree of Cenél Ardgail to Flannacán, three generations later than Dúnláing, son of Dúnchú, that is to say, it comes down to about 850.

The next chapter begins thus: 'Pascha quoque clausa, finita prima feria, exiit ad Vadum Molae (glossed by [Áth]Broon), et ibi ecclesiam fundavit.' This shows the design of a diurnal record continued. In the above-mentioned list of eight churches founded by Patrick in Mag Breg, the eighth is 'super Argetbor', apparently the name of a stream, 'in qua [fuit] Kannanus episcopus, quem ordinavit Patricius in primo Pascha hi [= in] Ferta Virorum Feicc'. Tirechan does not relate this celebration of the first Easter of the Irish Church, because it has already been related by Muirchu. The meetings with Coirpre and Conall take place on the 'prima feria', therefore in the scope of a day's journey. From this onward, the plan of a diurnal record is relinquished.

Patrick then goes to visit Lóiguire, the high-king, at Tara, and (evidently in the vicinity of Tara) he founds two churches, at Carric Daigri and at Mruig Tuaithe. Mruig Tuaithe I take to be the ancient name of 'Ratoath', about six miles from Tara. About four miles from Tara south-westward, on the way to Summerhill, is 'Derrypatrick old church', which may possibly be identified with Carric Daigri. Onom. Goed. cites from the 'Taxation' of 1302-6 the name 'Derpatrick' (= *Daighir Phádraic?).

After the visit to Tara, Tirechan relates a list of foundations by Patrick without reference to their territorial location, as far as Uisnech Mide. There he finds a son of Fiachu, son of Niall, who kills certain foreigners (peregrini) of Patrick's following, evoking from Patrick the customary prophecy: 'Non erit de stirpe tua rex, sed servies semini fratrum tuorum.' The son is not named. In VT there is a different version of the story.

The curse is averted from Fiachu and Ende, sons of Niall, by the intervention of Sechnall. The territory of Cenél Fiachach is not a kingdom in the Book of Rights, and the chief of the sept is called *tigernae*, 'lord' not king, in the Annals of Ulster, A.D. 739.

Next, two foundations, unidentified, are related 'in regionibus Roide', i. e. in the country of Corcu Roide, which is not a kingdom in the Book of Rights or in the Annals of Ulster. The modern barony of 'Corkaree' extends to within about eight miles of Uisnech.

Thence, Patrick 'venit per flumen Ethne in duas Tethbias', Tethba Tuaiscirt and Tethba Descirt. The river Ethne, 'Inny', forms the north-western boundary of Corkaree, separating it from the barony of 'Moygoish', Uí Maic Uais. The latter territory is either passed over in both texts or included in Tethba. In VT, but not in the Breviary, the two Tethbas are distinguished territorially. Tethba Descirt is the country of Mane, son of Niall. The Annals of Ulster, under A.D. 588, have 'Aedh mac Brendain rex Tethba mortuus est', and under 594 the duplicate entry 'Quies Aedha mc. Brenainn'. This Bréainn was son of Brion, son of Mane. See *Zeitschrift f. Celt. Phil.*, viii. 324, 'De genealogia Fer Tebha i. Claindi Maine'. Among the names there given of Mane's descendants, in addition to Aed aforesaid, are: Bécc (ri Tethbae †771), his son Diarmait (rex Tethbae †791), Conaing (rex Tethbae †823), son of Congal, Mael Chiarain, son of Conaing (rex Tethbai, in clericatu vitam senilem finivit, 880), and his son Lachtnán (rex Tethbai †894).

Tethba Thuaiscirt, Northern Tethba, in VT (90) is the territory of Coirpre, 'the enemy of God' aforesaid, son of Niall; and Granard is granted to Patrick by the sons of Coirpre. This kingdom of the sept of Coirpre, under the designations Cenél Coirpri, Coirpre Mór, and Coirpre Gabra, figures in the Annals of Ulster during the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries, and not later. At some later time, which, so far as I know, has not been determined, the kings of Conmaicne Réin became rulers of a territory known as Anghaile, from which the county of Longford was afterwards formed and which included Tethba Tuaiscirt and a large part of Tethba Deiscirt. Connected with this change may be the fact that the kings of Western Breifne, of

the Ua Ruairc line, get the title, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, of 'king of Conmaicne'.

From the two Tethbas, Patrick passes in the Breviarium to Mag Réin, that is, to the territory of Conmaicne Réin, not mentioned in VT. I think Mag Réin signified the plain of the river now called Rinn; in Irish the name should be Rén, later Rian, but it is not found in Onom. Goed. It would be identical with the name of the river Rhine. From Mag Réin, Patrick sent Methbruin, 'Barbarus Patricii' and of his own kin, named Mabran in VT, to Fossa (= Ráth) Slecht. In VT, 'Patrick went over the water to Mag Slecht'. The water should be the 'Woodford river', which flows through Garadice Lake and Ballymagauran Lake, the latter on the boundary between the counties of Leitrim and Cavan. Fidnacha Maige Réin, 'Fenagh', is near this river, which appears to have formed in part the boundary of Conmaicne Réin. Mag Slecht was in Breifne. Neither the Breviarium nor VT brings Patrick into touch with any other place in Breifne or with the rulers of Breifne, but both indicate clearly that Conmaicne Réin and Breifne were not reckoned parts of Connacht. The same tradition is found in the Book of Rights, pp. 246-7. There the king of the Ulaid, 'rí in Chóicid', still makes shadowy claims to the territorial powers of the king of Emain: Cenél nEogain and Cenél Conaill must follow him to the field; the king of Airgialla must give him hostages and accept his *tuarastal*; Conall [Cremthainni], typifying Brega north of the Boyne, owes him suit of court; the kings of Ui Briuin and Conmaicne take *tuarastal* from him—these represent Breifne and Conmaicne Réin, and O'Donovan's note on Ui Briuin, which he takes here to mean Ui Briuin Archaill, a sub-kingdom of Airgialla, is evidently at fault. In the time of Tirechan the kingdom of Ui Briuin Breifni, a branch of the sept Ui Briuin which shared with Ui Fiachrach in the overkingship of Connacht, was too modern to change the ancient tradition which made the Shannon in those parts the eastern boundary of Connacht. The last common ancestor of Ui Briuin Aí, the ruling sept in Connacht, and Ui Briuin Breifni is Fergus, son of Muiredach Mál, son of Eogan Sreb, son of Daui Galach, son of Brion (a quo Ui Briuin), brother of Niall Noigiallach. Eochu Tirmcharna, son of Fergus, is progenitor of the Connacht sept; Fergna, son of Fergus, is progenitor of the Breifne sept; their

floruit should be about the middle of the sixth century. The earliest distinct evidence that I have found of the dominance of Uí Briuin east of the Shannon is the defeat of Conmaicne by Dubindrecht, king of Connacht, in 766. The place of battle, Sruthair, is identified by O'Donovan with 'Shrule' or 'Abbey-shrule', on the river Inny in Co. Longford, but this was in Southern Tethba, apparently too far south, and Sruthair is a frequent name in Irish topography.

In the Breviary, Patrick goes from Conmaicne into Mag Ái in Connacht, crossing the Shannon at Snám Dá Én. Onom. Goed. places Snám Dá Én near Clonmacnois, but this is very far away from Conmaicne Réin and Mag Ái. The proper location should be at 'Drumsna' = Druim Snámha, which is between these two territories. This crossing begins the narrative of Patrick's acts in Tirechan's 'liber secundus in regionibus Connacht peractus'. So also VT: 'Luith iarsin Patraic i crích Connacht for Snam Dá Én tar Sinainn.'

As regards Connacht, VT for the most part reproduces the Breviary, sometimes in close translation, sometimes in paraphrase, but there are additions, omissions, and distinct versions of particular acts.

After a contest with druids in Mag Ái, Patrick went to Mag Glass. But between the visit to Mag Ái and the visit to Mag Glass both texts relate an event which raises a question of topography:

Breviary: *Et venierunt per alveum fluminis Sinnae qui dicitur Bandea ad Tumulum Gradi.*

VT.: *Ocus do dechatar tar Sinaind co Duma Graid.*

Stokes here, as elsewhere, fails to recognize that the sense of 'go' in an Old Irish verb is changed to 'come' by prefixing *to, do*. The distinction is important. I have shown, both as regards the Breviary and VT, that the author's standpoint is in the neighbourhood of Tulsk, to the south of Elphin. In Mag Glass, Patrick founded a church, *Cell Mór Maige Glaiss* in VT, *Cellula Magna* in the Breviary. From this church is named the parish of Kilmore, which occupies the angle of the Shannon south of Drumsna. The name Mag Glass, 'Moyglass', is preserved by a townland and hamlet in the southern end of this parish, about two miles from Strokestown. Mag Glass must thus be regarded as part of Mag Ái. We are not to

suppose two crossings of the Shannon to be intended in both texts. The author had in mind that Patrick was stayed at the Shannon by the magic darkness caused by the druids. Bande, 'goddess' (cf. *Deva*), appears to have been the name of a number of Irish rivers, and is here apparently the name of a particular part of the Shannon—note that 'qui dicitur' refers to *alveus*, not to *flumen*. Duma Graid must have been within the parish of Kilmore.

VT: 'Deinde venit in fines Corcu Ochland.' B has *Corcu Chonluain*, a scribal error, substituting the name of a sept which appears to have belonged to the Pictish region in Eastern Ulster. VT defines the location of *Corcu Ochlann*, between *Badbgna*, 'Slieve Baune' and *Ui Ailello*, 'Tirerrill', *Ail Find* 'Elphin' being within the territory.

The next stage in B and VT is *Ui Ailello*, which seems to correspond closely to the barony of Tirerrill, *Tír Ailello*. This name is not likely to have changed its signification as to the extent of the territory, for the sept *Ui Ailello* disappears from the annals after the eighth century, owing to the encroachment of their kinsfolk *Ui Briuin*; it disappears likewise from the genealogies.

From *Ui Ailello*, in both texts, Patrick came southward to *Cruachain*.

Thence he went to *Tir Cairedo* (VT), *Mag Caireth[o]* (B), seemingly to the south of *Cruachain* and near it.

Here both texts have a curious passage: (B) *Et exierunt cum Cethiaco sancto episcopo ad suam propriam regionem*; (VT) *Ocus docótar la Cethecho epscop dia tır*. *Cethech* was of *Ui Ailello*. The passage, to which biographical particulars about *Cethech* are attached, bespeaks an unfinished plan. The visit to *Ui Ailello* with *Cethech* has no incidents, and no reason is suggested for Patrick's return to that territory. *Ui Ailello* was hard to bring into the continuous topographical arrangement, and this passage appears to show an alternative device, neither adopted nor rejected, for bringing Patrick's route to that territory. A third visit to it is related later in B.

Patrick next passes into the territory of *Ui Maini* and sounds therein the church of *Fidarta* (VT)—*Fidard* in B is a scribal error—the English form is 'Fuerty', between the town of Roscommon and the river Suck. The territory of *Ui Maini* was

probably the largest petty kingdom in Ireland. Its extent is roughly indicated by drawing a line north and south through the town of Athenry; *Ui Maini* comprised all of Co. Galway east of such a line and all of Co. Roscommon lying directly eastward of Co. Galway. Patrick's foundations in all this region, as related in *B* and *VT*, are confined to a small area in the district between the towns of Roscommon and Castlerea. Both texts were written in a neighbouring district, near Tulsk. I think it likely that *Clonmacnois* was a successful rival of Armagh in the greater part of the territory of *Ui Maini* and over southern Connacht generally, and that *Tirechan* was not able to collect material there for that reason. He tells us that his material was obtained 'a senioribus multis', 'ab antiquitis peritissimis', but that there were others, 'dissertores et archiclocos', whatever that may mean, who 'odio habent Paruchiam Patricii, quia substraxerunt ab eo quod ipsius erat, timentque quoniam, si quae-reret heres Patricii Paruchiam illius, potest pene totam insolam sibi reddere in paruchiam'. By 'dissertores' we may understand those who side-tracked *Tirechan's* quest for information, recognizing that traditions of Patrick's work in their localities were likely to be used as evidence in support of the claims of Armagh. *VT* says expressly that Patrick did not visit *Tuadmuma* and *Iarmuma*, but neither *B* nor *VT* says that he left unvisited southern Connacht or that part of Munster now comprised in the county of Cork, yet they give no account of his work in these regions.

According to O'Donovan, *Book of Rights*, p. 106, the sept *Ui Maini* settled in their Connacht territory in the reign of *Duach* (*recte* *Daui*, *Dui*, of which *Duach* is genitive) *Galach*, in the latter part of the fifth century. If so, *B* and *VT* are in anachronism when they speak of *Ui Maini* occupying this territory in St. Patrick's time and converted by him—'baptizavit Nepotes Maini', 'robaitsi Huu Maine'. Further, O'Donovan says, citing the same authority, that *Ui Maini* did not obtain 'the territory lying between the rivers *Suca* (*Suck*) and *Sionainn* (*Shannon*) till about the beginning of the ninth century', this territory having till then been possessed by *Dealbhna Nuadhat*, *Delbne Nódot*. The evidence of *B* and *VT* shows that *Ui Maini* held territory east of the *Suck* in the seventh century. O'Donovan's statement is to be corrected by his note on p. 105,

where he says that Dealbhna Nuadhat was 'nearly all included in the barony of Athlone', which is only a fraction of the Ui Maini territory east of the Suck. Again his statement that Dealbhna Nuadhat was 'vanquished and enslaved by the celebrated warrior Cathal, son of Oilioll, king of the Ui Maini', about the beginning of the ninth century, appears to come from imaginative saga. Cathal, son of Ailill, died in 846. In 818, 'bellum actum est in regione Delbnae Lodot, i. cath Forath, ubi Nepotes Mani cum rege eorum, id est Cathal mac Murchado, et alii plurimi nobiles, prostrati sunt'. The victor was Diarmait, king of Connacht.¹

From Ui Maini, the itinerary in both texts returns towards Cruachain, visiting Selca, Mag Selce, Duma Selce, where Patrick blesses the sons of Brion a quo Ui Briuin. It was here, in the territory of Ui Briuin Ái, that both texts were written.

Thence, Patrick went into the territory of Gregirge (B), Grecraide Locha Teget (VT)—read Grecirge Locho Dechet. Loch Dechet is now Loch Ui Ghadra 'Lough Gara', and the Grecirge or Grecraige territory appears to be represented by the adjoining barony of Coolavin, in Co. Sligo.

Thence Patrick went to the Sons of Erc at 'Ath Macc nEirc. They stole his horses, and he cursed them, saying: 'Your seed shall serve the seed of your brothers.' Their country should have adjoined Grecraige on the east. Ess Macc nEirc, later named Eas Ui Fhloinn 'Assylin', is a cataract on the Boyle river about a mile west of Boyle. I have not been able to find any record of these Sons of Erc in the annals or genealogies, and the prophecy shows that in Tirechan's time they had come under the power of others regarded as being of the same original kin.

The circuit here again turns towards Cruachain, coming to the district of Airtech, between Cruachain and Loch Dechet. Tirechan's intimacy with the region around Cruachain, near to which he dwelt and wrote, causes him to work it out in great detail, and he does not find this practicable in the form adopted for his general scheme, the form of one continuous circuit. Even when the circuit lies in some distant region, B finds occasion to introduce incidents relating to the neighbourhood

¹ The spellings *Lodot* (= *Nuadat*) and *Forath* in this entry show that the changes exhibited in the Book of Armagh had not taken place uniformly throughout the language.

of Cruachain. To the same motive may be ascribed the prominence which he gives in various parts of his narrative to Céthech, 'Cethiachus', whose church of Uarán Garad was in that neighbourhood.

From Airtech, the circuit passes to Cérrige, Ciarraige. First to Drummut, identified with the townland of Drummad in the parish of Tibohine (= Tech Báithín), in the district of Frenchpark and Loughglinn, in the northwest of Co. Roscommon. Next through the 'Diserta' of Cérrige to 'the Southern Plain, i.e. of Nairne'. Here we are assisted in the topography by a chapter of detached material preserved in the Book of Armagh, where it occupies the first column of folio 17. It does not seem to be a misplaced fragment of the Breviarium, from which it differs somewhat in treatment, but is likely to have been a separate chapter written in advance by Tirechan with a view to working it into his ultimate projected history of the acts of Patrick. This chapter deals with the 'Campus Aquilonis' = Mag Nairni Tuaiscirt 'inter Gleoir et Ferni'. These last should be the names of rivers in the barony of Costello, Co. Mayo, but they do not appear to have been identified. Gleoir was certainly not, as Onom. Goed. supposes, the river in Tireragh barony, Co. Sligo. Having recounted several grants of land 'in regione Ciarrichi', the chapter says: 'Has omnes oblationes (= *idparta*, the technical Irish word for grants to the Church) Ciarrichi superni eorum reges Patricio per aeterna saecula obtulerunt.' 'Superni' may imply that there were no kings of the Ciarraige sept. In the Book of Rights, there are tributes from the Ciarraige, but no king of theirs accepts *tuarastal* from the king of Connacht. For the extent of the Ciarraige territories at some undefined period, see O'Donovan's note, Book of Rights, p. 102. The limits there stated correspond with those indicated in B and VT in so far as they make the territories extend from Airtech to Conmaicne Cúile Tolad.

'Perrexit ad regionem Conmaicni hi Cuil Tolat.' 'Roescomlai iar sin i tir Conmaicne hi Cúl Tolaith.' The territory of Conmaicne Cúile Tolat is identified by O'Donovan with the barony of Kilmaine, Co. Mayo.

Mag Ceri, Mag Cerae (VT), is the next region. Ceara, the barony of 'Carra', adjoins the barony of Kilmaine on the north.

Mag Foimseñ comes next in both texts. Then the well Stringille (Stringle VT), in disertis B, isin dithrub VT. Then Mag Raithin (B, omitted in VT). Then Fines (= Crích) Humail (B) = Fir Umaill (VT), in which is Ached Fobuir 'Aghagower'. Mag Foimseñ and Mag Raithin should be the names of small districts in the barony of Carra.

Crích Umaill, Fir Umaill: this territory, the kingdom of Ui Briuin Umaill, extended all around Cuan Modh, Clew Bay. It included Ached Fobuir and Mons Egli (Aigli VT) = Cróchán Aigli, now called Cruach Phádraic.

Corcu Temne, also named Temenrige, is the next stage. It is said later in B to be 'i Ceri contra solis occasum', i.e. in the west of Cere 'Carra'—probably near Castlebar.

Regiones Maicc Ercae (B), Maige Maicc Ercae VT. 'Cenel Meic Earca i. Fir Cheara, robo leathan a ferand i. Crich Meic Earca, gonastallsat Cland Briain uatho i n-eiric Briain bocheair la Fiachra i geath Damc[h]luana' BB 107a 2: 'Cenél maicc Ercae, i.e. Fir Cherai, their land was wide, i.e. the territory of Cera, until the sons of Brion took it from them as *eric* for Brion, who fell by Fiachra in the battle of Damchluain.' Our texts refer evidently to a more limited district, which must be located in the northern part of the barony of Carra, bordering on the barony of Tirawley.

At this point, both texts have a remarkable breach of sequence, indicating that both belong to an unfinished scheme. In B, Patrick's journey is transferred without explanation back to the other side of Connacht, to Ui Maini, apparently because the story of a man long dead and buried, but brought to life by Patrick, in Crích Maicc Ercae, suggested a similar story belonging to the territory of Ui Maini—another of many evidences of a work in the growing stage, for there is no visible reason why the latter story should not have been told in the topographical order. In VT, a large section from Muirchu's history is here introduced, apparently from the same motive, for it embodies the story of a dead man who spoke from his grave to Patrick. It affords further evidence of common authorship.

After these digressions, in both texts Patrick comes to Tír Amolngado, 'Tirawley'. In B, 'Per Muadam vero venit,' in VT, 'Luit Patraic tar Múed co Au[u] Amolguda'. The crossing of the Moy shows that Tirechan has here patched together

two sections of his work which he had composed separately, for he had already brought Patrick to the western side of the Moy, and no crossing was necessary to bring him into Tír Amolngado. In VT, however, as if by afterthought, the crossing of the Moy receives a kind of explanation. Having brought Patrick into the land of Amolngid and having introduced the sons of Amolngid, VT enters on the story of the litigation of these men at the court of the high-king in Tara, presenting, however, a version of this story differing in nearly every particular from the version in B. The account of the lawsuit is left unfinished, and Patrick and the sons of Amolngid set out from Tara in chariots to come to Tirawley. VT represents the territory of the sons of Amolngid as forming a kingdom, over which one of them is king.

From Tirawley, Patrick crosses the estuary of the Moy eastward. In B he comes to a district named Muiresc Sam (or Sain), in VT 'hi crích Oá Fiachrach la muir', into the territory of Ui Fiachrach along the sea. Muiresc was part of this territory.

In B, Patrick goes next 'trans Litus Authuili in fines Irai'. Tráig (or Trácht) Authuili, 'Trawohelly' is the strand at the southern end of Ballysodare Bay, Co. Sligo. Fines Irai = Crích Irai, in which was Caissel Irre (or Irroe), apparently identical with Cell Epscuip Bróin, 'Killaspugbrone' to the west of Sligo town. Crích Irai should thus be the peninsula between Ballysodare Bay and Sligo.¹ VT has here a story telling how Patrick blessed the river Slicech, that is, the river of Sligo.

B: 'Et exit trans montem Filiorum Ailello, et fundavit ecclesiam [read ecclesias] ibi [= in regione Filiorum Ailello = in Tír Ailello] i.e. Tamnach et Echenach et Cell Angle et Cell Senchuae.' B had already related a visit to Tír Ailello and the foundation of Tamnach. Here again we see evidence of accretions while the work is in progress. We may note that the Notulae, consisting of headings for a supplementation of the Breviary, begin with Senchuae, followed by several headings which are represented in the same page of the Breviary. This may indicate that additions were made to the Breviary from material freshly acquired. VT does not contain this later visit to Tír Ailello, but has in the corresponding position an anecdote

¹ See also Onom. Goed. s.v. Cúl Ira.

regarding Bishop Rodán, whom Patrick left in Cell Epscuip Rodáin in Muiresc Aigli, the district of Cruachán Aigli and still called Muireasc. Rodán had been already mentioned in VT as an *nasalsacart* whom Patrick left in Tír Ailello, and this anecdote is a further example of added material used while the work was in progress, or perhaps added later by the author in marginal or other space. The barony of Tirerrill immediately adjoins the district which is identified above with Crích Irai, and the identification is thus confirmed.

VT follows with an anecdote regarding the Calraige sept of Cúl Chernadan. OG has citations locating the Calraige of Cúl Chernadan on the east side of the estuary of the Moy in the barony of Tireragh; also the Calraige of Cúl Cherna in the parishes of Attymass and Kilgarvan, barony of Gallen, in a district of Co. Mayo projecting into Co. Sligo, to the east of Ballina. These seem to be the same Calraige, see OG. s.v. Cul Cernadha. Either the anecdote in VT is misplaced or the defining term Cúle Cernadán is wrongly given. The branch of the Calraige sept which gave its name to 'Calry' parish on the eastern side of Sligo town seems to be intended in VT. See OG s.v. Calraige Droma Cliab, C. Laithim, and C. Locha Gile.

VT has another story which brings Patrick [from Tir Ailello] over Bernas Hua nAilella into Mag Luirg. OG gives a confused account of Bernas Ua nAilella, showing it to be first 'a pass in the Curlieu Mountains between Tirerrill, Co. Sligo, and Mag Luirg, Co. Roscommon'; then also 'not the glen between Collooney and Ballysodare, as O'Donovan says, but that from Loch Gill to Ballintogher through Sliabh Dá Eun'. The context in VT shows plainly that the pass in the Curlieu Mountains (Corrshliabh) is intended.

VT (p. 144) next tells that 'Patrick went into the district of Mag Luirg, and his horses were forcibly taken by Cenél Macc nEirc'; duplicating a story already told (p. 108). In the author's plan, the topographical circuit leaves the over-kingdom of Mide, the realm of the southern Ui Neill and enters Connacht at Mag Aí, the region of Cruachain, in the south of which both texts were written, then goes to the west of Connacht, then turns eastward through northern Connacht and passes out of Connacht into western Ulster, the realm of the Northern Ui Neill. Between

the line of entry and the line of exit lay the territories of Cenél Macc nEirc in Mag Luirg, the district of Boyle in the north of Co. Roscommon, and Tír Ailello in Co. Sligo. Both texts show uncertainty as to the place which these territories should occupy in the order of narration.

Callrige Tremaige (so B, not C. *Trí Maige*): at this point both texts come into accord, relating briefly the foundation of the church [and monastery] of Druim Leas (B), Druim Lias (VT), on a site formerly named Druim Daro. A distinct tract or chapter giving a history of this foundation occupies a column of the Book of Armagh, 17ab. This tract or its content is not likely to have been known to Tirechan when he wrote the Breviary. Its minute description of the bounds of the grant show a local origin. The place retains its name, 'Drumlease', and is at the eastern end of Loch Gile and about two miles north of Dromahaire, in Co. Leitrim. Near it, in the lake, is the meeting-point of the baronies of Tirerrill, Carbury, and Dromahaire. The tract aforesaid, with regard to the granted lands, says: 'liberavit rex Deo et Patricio,' but whether a king of Callraige Tremaige or of some larger region including it is meant, there is nothing to show. OG locates 'Calraighe Tri Maige' in the barony of Tirawley, Co. Mayo—there is 'Glencolry' in the north-western angle of that barony. At Drumlease, OG locates Calraighe Ailmage. From various data in these texts, in the annals, and in OG, I am inclined to think that all the northern part of Co. Leitrim, before the occupation of Breifne by the Ui Briuin sept, of which there is no evidence in B and VT, was Calraighe territory, and that the king referred to in the aforesaid tract was the king of Calraighe. The Annals of Ulster have the obit of Cathmug, king of Calraighe, in 791 (r. 792), and it is worth noting that their first mention of a king of Breifne is in the same year, Cormac, son of Dub Dá Crích.

From Druim Lias, in B, Patrick went to the plain of Ailmag, and founded there a church, Domnach Ailmage, represented in name, according to OG, by Donaghmore townland, in the parish of Cloonclare, in Co. Leitrim, bordering on Loch Macnean and Co. Fermanagh. This was also Callraighe territory, 'Ailmag la Callraighe' OG. VT calls the district 'na Glinne eastward [from Druim Lias] where Cenél Muinremair is to-day'.

Following this in B, 'perrexit ad Campum Aine et posuit

ecclesiam ibi'; in VT, 'Patrick went past Druim Cliab from Caisel Irre by the Rosses eastward along Mag Ene. He built Domnach Mór of Mag Ene.' Here, in VT, is another trait of the tentative and unfinished structure that is common to both texts. We should expect that the route would pass directly from Ailmag to Mag Ene, as in B. Instead, without explanation, Patrick is brought back to Irre, west of Sligo town, thence through the coastal district north of Sligo, still known as the Rosses, by Druim Cliab, 'Drumcliff', to Mag Ene, the district of Co. Leitrim bordering on the sea between the rivers Dub ('Duff') and Drobés ('Drowes'), which are named in both texts.

B next has: 'Et versus est Evoi et in Campum Cetni.' The wording is probably defective. Evoi seems to denote Mag Eba, Machaire Eba, 'Magherow', which is on the coast of Co. Sligo, westward of Mag Ene. The reason for diverting the route in this direction is doubtless to explain how the river Dub earned Patrick's curse. Mag Cetni is the district adjoining Mag Ene, between the rivers Drowes and Erne.

The Drowes, from time immemorial down to the present day, is the limit in that direction of Cóiced Connacht. The end of the circuit in Connacht is duly marked in VT: 'He was seven years preaching to the Connachta. He left a blessing with them and bade them farewell.' A similar indication appears at first sight to be missing from B. It will be found misplaced, following instead of preceding the next paragraph: 'Pervenit Patricius per Sinonam tribus vicibus et septem annos complevit in occidentali plaga.' These words break the sequence: 'Et exiit ad Campum Tochuir . . . et de Campo Tochuir venit in Dulo Ocheni.' The scribe must have found them in the margin of his exemplar and transcribed them into the wrong place. The author of B originally intended his second book to end here; his heading is 'Incipit [liber] secundus in regionibus Connacht peractus.'

B and VT alike name no over-king of Connacht in Patrick's time. Both alike exclude the notion that Amolngid was king of Connacht or was alive in Patrick's time; and this must be taken as representing the tradition of Amolngid's descendants, one of whom was Tirechan; of Tirawley, with which Tirechan was minutely familiar and of which he was probably a native; and of Cruachain, in the neighbourhood of which both texts

were written. Both show the daughters of Lóiguire dwelling at Cruachain. Both therefore take for granted that Lóiguire, while dwelling in Tara as high-king, was at the same time king of Connacht. In confirmation it may be noted that one branch of Lóiguire's descendants was settled in a district west of Loch Erne. OG questions this (s.v. *Cenél Laegairi*), but references to the location of this sept are found in the genealogy of Lóiguire's descendants, BB 87, cols. 4 and 6.

Except for Mide and Connachta, the Breviary pays little regard to territorial geography, and for other regions we have mainly to consider the topographical evidence presented in VT. In VT, as in the Breviary, from Connacht the circuit passes into the territory of the Northern Ui Néill. The boundary is clearly indicated in VT as in the Breviary. When the circuit reaches the river Drobés, VT says: 'Seven years he was preaching to the Connachta. He left a blessing with them and bade them farewell.' The dominance of ancient tradition in these earliest Irish writings is a striking trait. One might expect to find the territory of Coirbre Droma Cliab regarded as belonging to the Ui Néill group of territories, since it was ruled by the sept of Coirbre son of Niall. On the other hand, in the seventh century the fact that the Ui Néill were themselves an offshoot of the Connachta is likely to have been fully recognized, and so a territory under their rule, which was formerly Connacht territory, is distinguished from the land which they had won by conquest in western Ulster.

IV (146-50). Tír Conaill. This does not include Tír Endai (the Raphoe district) or Inis Eogain.

V (150-60). Tír Eogain. In view of the gradual expansion of the rule of the sept of Eogan over the ancient territories of the Airgialla, the bounds indicated by VT for the seventh century are of special interest. They are clearly applicable to that time and not to St. Patrick's time, for Eogan and Conall were brothers of Lóiguire, and the Ui Néill territories in Ulster must have been at their minimum extent in St. Patrick's time. The territory of Tír Eogain in VT comprises Mag Itha (the Raphoe district), Ailech (seat of the chief kingship of the Northern Ui Néill), Daigart (a name preserved by 'Dart' mountain on the border of the counties Londonderry and Tyrone), Mag Dola ('Moyola' in the south-east of Londonderry county), the river

Fochaine or Ochaine ('Faughan' in the same county), and Both Domnaig ('Bodoney' or 'Badoney' in the north of Tyrone county). The last is the only place in Tyrone which appears in VT to belong to the Tír Eogain of its time.

At this point there is a digression in VT occupying just two pages, 156, 158 of the edition by Stokes. The digression is clearly indicated at the beginning of page 160, where Patrick 'goes out of Daigort and Mag Dola', in which we find him at the end of page 154. The intervening narrative brings him back northward to Tír Eogain na h-Inse (= Crích Fergusa in a gloss), now called Inis Eoghain. There and in the adjoining district of Brétach he founds a number of churches, among them Domnach Mór of Mag Tóchair. Beyond doubt, this digression belongs to the original of VT, written by Tirechan. An anecdote connects the church of Domnach Mór with Ess Macc n-Eirc, later known as Eas Ui Fhloinn, near Boyle, Co. Roscommon, and this leads to two further anecdotes relating to the district of Airtech, north of Cruachain, in the neighbourhood of the place in which Tirechan wrote.

VI (160). Cianacht. There is nothing in VT to show expressly whether Cianacht Glinne Gemin was regarded as within the domain of Cenél nEogain. The suzerainty of the kings of Ailech appears to have been extended eastward as far as the river Bann by the victory of Móin Dairi Lothair in 563, and the author's tacit treatment may imply hesitation between tradition and contemporary fact.

VII (160). 'Lei east of the Bann.' This formerly Pictish territory became subject to Ailech in 563—see the statement in the Annals of Ulster (562). I think it likely that VT contemplates both Cianacht and Lei as parts of the over-kingdom of Ailech. OG shows that Lee was a territory west, not east, of the Lower Bann, being the country lying between Cianachta, now the 'barony of Keenaght' and the Bann and north of the Moyola river. In VT, *airthir* is thus probably a scribal error for *íarthir*. The Bann separated Lee from Eilne.

VIII (160). Dál Riata. Stokes has here introduced, from the E. version, and has adopted, the words in brackets: 'Luid Patraic autem [i nDail Araidi ocus] i nDáil Riata.' Later, however (162), both versions have 'Luid i nDáil nAraithi íarsuidiu'. The bracketed phrase is a Middle-Irish interpolation, based on

the fact that Dál Araidi extended northward between the Ailech territories and Dál Riata. The topographical sequence in VT ignores here the narrow strip of territory between these, called Eilne, and extending only from the river Bann to the river Bush, but introduces it later as part of Dál Araidi, dealing thus with it because the sequence proceeds by territorial units and required Dál Riata to be brought in either before or after Dál Araidi, which separated it from the rest of Ireland. Onomasticon Goedelicum has two citations showing Cúil Raithin, Coleraine, in Eilne, to have been in the territory of Dál Araidi, and VT represents Nat Slúaig, son of Cóilub, promising Cúil Raithin as a site to Patrick. The passage shows a trait of Tirechan's authorship in an argument devised to prove that Cúil Raithin belonged by right to Paruchia Patricii. Not content with stating the promise aforesaid, it says that Coibre, [first] bishop of Cúil Raithin was Patrick's 'grandson', having been ordained by Brucach who was ordained by Patrick. Modern books show much confusion as regards the ancient extent and limits of the kingdom of Dál Riata in Ireland, and this confusion has unfortunately been continued by Onomasticon Goedelicum, which cites Usher and Colgan as authorities for identifying Dál Riata with the district named 'an Rúta', 'the Route'. In the Annals of Ulster, the latter name is found for the first time under date of 1357 in the form 'Rút Mic Uidhilin', under later dates in the form 'an Rúta'. I take this name to have been introduced by the feudal colonists and to represent the French *route* applied to the most northern section of the ancient main road, Slige Midluachra, which ended at Dún Sobairche, Dunseverick. Neither etymologically nor topographically is there any identity between Dál Riata and Rúta. The Route is a district in the north-west of Co. Antrim, and is still so named, its market centre being Ballymoney. Dál Riata is the north-eastern district of the same county, but extended as far west as the river Buas, Bush. The river Fregabal, now called in English the 'Ravel Water', appears to have formed part of the southern boundary; it now forms part of the boundary between the barony of Kilconway and the baronies of Lower Antrim and Lower Toome. Further east, Dál Riata, in the topography of VT, did not extend to the river of Glenarm, for VT places in Dál Araidi the church of Gluare, founded by Patrick. The site in 'the Glore', on the

west side of the Glenarm river, is occupied by an ancient cemetery called 'the Old Church'. VT locates Gluare in a district named Latharne, later Latharna, a name now represented by that of the town of Larne and Larne Glen, about nine miles distant from the Glore: one of many instances that show the risk of facile assumption in seeking to fix topographical bounds for any period by the topography of another period. The kingdom of Dál Riata in the seventh century should thus have extended no farther than from the Giant's Causeway to Glenarm Bay. Onomasticon Goedelicum makes it extend about twelve miles farther southward, to Glenn Indechta or Gleann Finneachta, identifying this with the valley of Glynn, about two miles south of Larne. VT, however, places Glenn Indechta in Dál Araidi, naming it immediately after Gluare and Latharne aforesaid. It would thus appear that, at a time later than the topography of VT, Dál Riata gained territory southward along the coast.

IX (162). Dál Araidi. We have seen above that this territory extended northward on its western side to the sea-coast between the rivers Bann and Bush, and on its eastern side to the valley of Glenarm; and that the river Fregabal formed part of the boundary separating it from Dál Riata. Of the southward extent of Dál Araidi, which reached to Newry and Warrenpoint in Co. Down, VT has no indication. It brings Patrick's circuit no farther southward than Ui Erca Céin, a sept located somewhere near Belfast. Among Patrick's foundations in Dál Araidi, it mentions Domnach Combair, which Hennessy and Stokes identify with Comber, Co. Down; and the editor of the Book of Armagh accepts this identification. I find no evidence that the territory of Dál Araidi at any time extended to Comber, and I think it more likely that Domnach Combair was at Mag Combair, 'Muckamore', near the town of Antrim.

AIRGIALLA.¹

X (168). Ui Tuirtri. 'Patrick went out of the territory of Dál Araidi over Fertas Tuamma into Ui Tuirtri.' Fertas

¹ So far as I have observed, the nominative of this name, which should be Airgéill, has not been found. A further peculiarity is that the second syllable preserves a long vowel. If the name is as old as the first half of the fifth century—and that it is so, there is no reason to doubt—we should expect to find this vowel shortened: cf. Sechnall < Secundinus, &c. The long vowel

Tuamma is the crossing at Toome on the river Bann. This fixes the territory of the *Ui Tuirtri* in the seventh century on the western side of the Bann and to the south of the Moyola river (see VII above). We may note that this territory as yet is not regarded as part of the over-kingdom of Ailech. The first place in *Ui Tuirtri* named in VT is *Findobuir*, between *Loch nEchach* and *Sliab Calland*. Also named are *Domnach Fainre* = 'Donagherry', close to Stewartstown, Co. Tyrone; *Domnach Riascad* (*Riascaig*, *Riascaich*) = 'Donaghrisk', south of Cookstown, Co. Tyrone; *Domnach Fothirbe*; *Domnach Rigduinn*; *Domnach Brain*; *Domnach Maeláin*; *Domnach Libuir*. The located names suffice to show that the territory of *Ui Tuirtri* bordered on *Loch Neagh* and comprised the districts of Magherafelt, Moneymore, Cookstown, and Stewartstown.

At a later time, the kings of *Ui Tuirtri* displaced the kings of northern *Dál Araidi* in the region east of the Bann and north of *Loch Neagh*, themselves apparently having been displaced from their older territory by the encroachment of *Cenél Eogain*. I have found no particular event in the annals to account for this change. As to its time, the best indication that I find is the association of the kingship of *Cenél Eogain* with *Telach Óc*, *Tulach Óg*, which is midway between Cookstown and Stewartstown. The earliest clear evidence of this association found in the Annals of Ulster is under date of 1011, *recte* 1012. In that year, *Flaithbertach*, king of Ailech, invaded *Tir Conaill* and north-eastern Connacht. 'In their absence', *Mael Sechláinn*, king of Ireland, invaded 'Tir Eogain' and burned *Telach Óc*. By that time, the ancient territory of *Ui Tuirtri* had come to be regarded as part of *Tir Eogain*.

XI (170). *Fir Gabrae*. Possibly the name *Gabair* is preserved in *Mulnagore*, about midway between Dungannon and Pomeroy, Co. Tyrone. VT shows that *Fir Gabrae* had already been dispossessed in his time: 'Patrick said that . . . alien kindreds would take their land. *Quod impletum est*.'

indicates a continued conscious advertence to the sense of the component parts of the name, which should mean 'the eastern subjects (lit. hostages)'. Since the *Airgialla* were a branch of *Dál Cuinn*, the dynastic sept of *Cruachain* and *Tara*, their name with this meaning should have come into use before the kindred branch, the *Ui Neill*, had been established in *Mide* and *Brega*.

XII (170). Fir Imchláir. In their territory was the church of Cruimther Colomb, at Ross Glanda, Domnach Mór Maige Imchláir, 'Donaghmore', about two and a half miles north-west of Dungannon.

XIII (174). Ui Briuin in Tuaiscirt. No doubt identical with Ui Briuin ar Chaill (= 'east of the wood'), a sub-kingdom of Airgialla in the Book of Rights. Colgan sought to identify the territory with a district called Muintir Bhirn in Tyrone, in the angle of the Blackwater to the south-west of Dungannon, apparently basing his identification on the resemblance between Birn and Briuin. This resemblance is more one of letters than of sound. Muintir Birn, however, was a sept of Cenél Eogain, descendants of Bern, who was fourth in descent from Aed Allán, king of Ireland (+743): see BB 68b 52 and 71b 35. A branch of this sept, bearing the surname Ua Murchadha, englashed 'Murphy', are still called 'na Beirnigh'. Their pedigree is given by the Dall Mac Cuarta in the prose accompanying his poem 'A sheanchloch usasal'. Colgan (see Book of Rights, p. 247, footnote) is further in error in stating that the sept-name Ui Briuin is derived *a Briuno filio Muiredachi Meith*. The eponymous ancestor is Brion, son of Fiacc, son of Daig Dorn, son of Rochaid, son of Colla Fochrí (BB 111a 24, 116a 17). The topographical sequence of VT suggests that the territory of Ui Briuin should be located in the middle of Tyrone, between Pomeroy and Omagh, a region not otherwise accounted for either in VT or in the Book of Rights. VT names only two places in Ui Briuin, Domnach Airthir Maige and Telach Mane. Neither has been identified. Onomasticon Goedelicum strangely confuses the former with Airthir Maige 'Armoy' in Dál Riada, and omits this Telach Mane, perhaps confusing it with another Telach Mane in the Galeng territory, named later in VT, p. 248. Domnach Airthir Maige may possibly be identical with Domnach an Eich 'Donaghanie', in the parish of Clogherny, near Beragh.

XIV (174). Hui Cremthainn. An alternative form of this name is Cremthainne, which shows the older singular collective form of sept-name adopted when the plural form had already come into use. Cremthann (also written Crim-, Craum-, Craim-, Crum-, and with *n* single or double), the eponymous ancestor, is the father of Eochu or Echu (genitive Echach, accusative Echaig, confused by Stokes with Eochaid—the same confusion is

frequent in Middle-Irish manuscripts), of whom VT has much to tell. In the genealogies, Cremthann is brother of Brion (a quo *Ui Briuin* aforesaid), son of Fiacc, son of Daig Dorn, son of Rochaid, son of Colla Fo Chrí. Eochu, son of Cremthann, was father of Coibre Dam Argait, whom Patrick converted (VT 176), and who, according to the Annals of Ulster, was king of Airgialla, and died in 514. From the sons of Daiméne, son of Coibre, was named Clochar Macc nDaiméni, 'Clogher', Co. Tyrone. Other sons of Coibre were ancestors of the principal septs of *Ui Cremthainn* or *Cremthainne*:

Cormac, ancestor of Cland Chormaic, of which a sub-sept was Cland Lugán, to which belonged the family of Mag Uidhir 'Maguire', the later dynastic line of Fir Manach.

Nat Sluaig, ancestor of Fir Fhernmaige, the dynastic sept of the kingdom of Fernmag. To this sept belonged the family of Mac Mathghamhna 'Mac Mahon', seated in Dartraighe 'Dar-tree', in the west of Co. Monaghan. The Annals of Ulster, under date of 817 (= 818), show that at that time 'the lakes of Erne' were considered to separate 'the lands of Connachta' from 'the land of *Ui Craumt[h]ain*'. The tract on the Aithech-thuatha (BB 256a 24) locates Tuath Chonraig[i] in a number of territories including Fir Luirg and 'the two Cremthainne', thus showing that Lorg, between lower Loch Erne and Tyrone, was not part of Cremthainne. Cremthainne or *Ui Cremthainn*, as a territorial denomination, would thus appear to have comprised the southern and western parts of Co. Monaghan, the Clogher district in Tyrone, and so much of Fermanagh as lies between these and the Erne. O'Donovan in the Book of Rights, and MacCarthy in the Annals of Ulster, have been content to follow Colgan in locating *Ui Cremthainn* in the barony of Slane, Co. Meath.

XV (176). Lemain. From Clochar 'Patrick went next into Lemain'. See Onom. Goed. s. vv. Lemain, Fir Lemna, and Mag Lemna. There he converted Coibre Dam Argait. Lemain should thus be near Clochar and part of Cremthainne.

XVI (180). *Ui Méith Tíre*. In it was Tech Táláin, variously englashed 'Tehallon, Tyhallon, Tyholland' &c., in Co. Monaghan, east of Monaghan town. The territory was part of Airthir, 'Orientales' in the Latin of the Annals, wrongly limited to Orior in the index of the Annals of Ulster, &c.

XVII (182). Mugduirn. 'Omne Rende on the border of Mugduirn and *Ui Méith*.' Domnach Maigen in Mugduirn = 'Donaghmoyn', in the barony of Farney, Co. Monaghan. Farney represents in name, but not in extent, the ancient kingdom of Fernmag. See *Archivium Hibernicum*, vol. ii, p. 81.

XVIII (182). Fir Rois. Bordering on Mugduirn. Verses in VT 184 speak of Fir Roiss 'from Lerga to Léire'. Lerga is a frequent word, and the place here named is not identified. Léire = Lann Léire, 'Dunleer', Co. Louth. Fir Roiss are thus located partly in Co. Monaghan, partly in Co. Louth.

XIX (184). Fir Cúli = *Ui Segáin*. In the northern angle of Co. Meath. This ends the list of territories in Airgialla. VT has already dealt with the adjoining region of Brega. Here it relates the foundation of a church at Bile Tortan 'which now belongs to the community of Ardd Brecain'. On the strength of this phrase, various editors repeat that Bile Tortan was at Ardbraccan, but so far as VT locates it, it could be anywhere between *Ui Segain* and the border of Leinster at that time. VT and Tirechan's *Breviarium* show a number of instances of churches subordinate to monasteries at a great distance. I take the account of the foundation of Domnach Tortan to be an after-thought of Tirechan, who had been educated by St. Ultan of Ard Brecain. Less excusable is the effort to locate *Ui Dorthainn* by the place-name Tortan—see *Archivium Hib.* ii. 81.

LAIGIN.

The territorial sequence is not quite so expressly indicated for Leinster as for Airgialla

XX (184). [*Ui Dúnlinge*.] At Nás, 'Naas', Patrick baptizes two sons and two granddaughters of Dúnlings.

XXI (186). *Ui Garrchon*. This was the dynastic sept of Fortuatha Laigen. The seat of the king was at Ráth Inbir, not identified. The territory lay within Co. Wicklow, but its bounds are not ascertained. *Ui Garrchon* was a sub-sept of Dál Messe Corb.

XXII (186). Mag Lippi. Part of *Ui Dúnlinge*. In it were Cell Usailli, close to Naas, and Cella Culind, 'Kilcullen', in Co. Kildare.

XXIII (186). Iarhar Lifi. In it were Lóigis Maicc Find, Móin Choluimb, *Ui Ercán*, Bile Macc Crúaich = Forrach Pátric.

Stokes renders Móin Coluimb by 'Columb's bog', but Móin has ói diphthong and does not mean 'bog'. See Onom. Goed. s. vv. Maen (Main, &c.) Columcille = Moone Old Church, about three miles east of Athy. Forrach Pátric = 'Narraghmore', about midway between Athy and Kilcullen.

XXIV (186). *Ui Ceinselaich.* Here VT apparently departs from the notion of a continuous circuit, beginning the account of Patrick's doings in *Ui Ceinselaich* with the words 'Doluid Patraic o Temraig' 'Patrick *came* from Tara'. For *came* Stokes has *went*, wrongly, and the distinction here is of importance. The text is borrowed, largely verbatim, from a detached chapter in the Book of Armagh (18 *ab*). This chapter is ascribed by the editor, Dr. Gwynn, to Bishop Aed of Slébte (+700), and the use of *dulluid* 'came', not *luid* 'went', gives support to this ascription. The borrowing of this chapter by VT shows the phrase *suis locis narranda*, Book of Armagh 16 *ab*, carried into operation. VT adds a section (192, l. 7) on the exile of Fiacc and his brothers, where Stokes wrongly inserts 'the Hui Ercáin'. They were of the sept *Ui Bairrche*, and this added section is an expansion of the section of the Notulae, five lines beginning with *oibair*, for *Oi Bairrche*. The territory of *Ui Ceinselaich* lay mainly within the counties Wexford and Carlow.

XXV (192). [Lóigis.] The section relating to the foundation of Domnach Mór Maige Réta and the construction of Ráth Baccáin breaks the sequence both of narrative and of topography. The locality is in Lóigis, between Maryborough and Portarlington. The section is followed by an account of Patrick's farewell to *Ui Ceinselaich*. It is accordingly an interpolation, and a reference to the reigns of Conchobur in Tara (+833) and Fedelmid (+847) gives an anterior limit of date, but the section is in Old Irish.

XXVI (194). Osraige. 'He went by Belach Gabran into the land of Osraige', that is, he passed from *Ui Dróna*, a part of *Ui Ceinselaig*, into Ossory—a further indication that the section on Lóigis is interpolated. VT has no details showing the extent of Osraige, but, like other ancient texts, it does not regard Osraige as part of Laigin. Before entering Osraige, 'Patrick left a blessing . . . with all Laigin'.

MUMA.

XXVII (194). [Eoganacht Caisil.] 'Patrick went next into the territory of Muma, to Caisel of the Kings.'

XXVIII (196). Múscreige Breogain. In it is Cell Fhiacula, 'Kilfeacle', about four miles east of Tipperary town.

XXIX (198). Arai Chliach. In it is Óchter Cuillenn in Ui Cuanach. The territory of Arai Chliach seems to have extended to 'the side of Cláre', unless this is a topographical digression. Between Ui Cuanach, from which Coonagh barony is named, and Sliab Cláire to the south, lay the territory of Eoganacht Áine.

XXX (202). Ui Fidgente.

XXXI (206). Tuadmuma. Patrick did not enter it but blessed it from the south of Luimnech (the Shannon estuary). Thus in VT Tuadmuma is limited to the modern county of Clare.

XXXII (208). Iarmuma. This region corresponds at least approximately to the modern county of Kerry. VT says that Patrick did not enter it. His route turns back eastward or southward to the Déis Deiscirt.

XXXIII (208). In Déis Deiscirt. Stokes renders this by 'the southern Déisi', as though it denoted the region of Déisi Muman, in the south-east of Munster, in the modern counties of Waterford and Tipperary. Onom. Goed. cites Keating, O'Donovan, and O'Brien (Irish Dictionary) to the same effect, and gives no other authority or information. All these appear to have been misled by the term Deiscirt. That the author of VT had a different region in view is made evident. The first place named in the Déis Deiscirt by VT is Ard Pátraic, 'Ardpatrick', south of Kilmallock and near the southern border of Co. Limerick. VT goes on to show that the territory was separated by the mountain of Cenn Febrat from Fir Maige Féne, which was to the south of the mountain. Hence it is clear that the Déis Deiscirt is to be identified with the territory also named 'in Déis Becc' (in both instances Onom. Goed. wrongly substitutes the plural Dése, Déise) except that this latter name, 'the Little Déis', is likely to have arisen later and to denote a more restricted territory. O'Donovan (see Onom. Goed.) equates the Déis Becc with the barony of Small County, the district of Bruff, very far distant from Ardpatrick and the border of Fir

Maige Féne. Onom. Goed. cites this equation without query, but also shows that the territory included Kilmallock. Evidently the Déis Deiscirt of VT comprises all the south-eastern part of Co. Limerick, approximately contained in the baronies of Small County, Coshma (= Cois Mágha 'the side of the Maigue'), and Coshlea (= Cois Sléibhe 'the side of the Mountain'). It would thus have been a continuous extension of Déisi Muman, part of which, now the barony of 'Iffa and Offa West' (named, from the Déisi sept, *Ui Fothaidh* or *Ui Fathaidh*), borders on the barony of Coshlea.

In Déis Deiscirt 'the Southern Déis' is so named in relation to In Déis Tuaiscirt 'the Northern Déis'. As regards the latter, Onom. Goed. again relies on late authorities, Keating, O'Brien, and O'Donovan, and identifies the Déis Tuaiscirt with that part of Déisi Muman which is contained in the county Tipperary. It is obvious, however, that we must look for the Déis Tuaiscirt to the north of the Déis Deiscirt. The Déis Tuaiscirt was in fact an ancient synonym of Dál Cais.

BB 172a 29. 'Cormac Cas a quo Dail Cais 7 in Deis Tuascirt.' For '7' read 'i.'. The scribe made the substitution, being out of touch with the ancient nomenclature, like Keating and the modern editors.

BB 174a 18. 'Ise rand Cormaic Cais a Cliu Mail o mullach Claire co Bernai Tri Carbad o[c] Carn Fearadhaigh, ocus oda Cenn Abrad fothuaidh cach ndirech co Fochormagh, ocus la taeib Maige anair co Luimneach fothuaidh, ocus ota Temrach [r. ó tháib Themrach?] co Firt Sceinidhe, ocus o Fochormaigh co Dun nEchlais sair og Imlech Ibair ocus o Dun Eachlais fothuaidh co Cathair Cairnn Riabaig ocus o sin sairtuaidh tar tuaiscert Slebe Eblinde co Gaethigh i. in abann edir Araib ocus Muscraide Thire co hairm a d[t]eid a nDergdheirc, ota Bernai Tri Carbad uero fothuaidh co Fid Cedmis ocus co Fidhnaidh mBera, ocus otha in Bhoroime anair co Leim Con Culainn siar. Tuatha Fer nOlnecmacht robadar forsin tir sin ar tus. *Lugaid* Mend mac Aengusa Tirigh meic Flir Corb meic Moga Corb meic Cormaic Cais is eiside roduselaigh ocus rogab in tir sin ar eigin. *Inde dicitur* Garbhferand Lugdhach, ocus ni deachaidh a n-airem roinde o Fheraibh Muman do Dail Cais in tir sin, ocus ni dligh aen-ri a nErinn cis na bes na giall na coimidecht don tir sin acht ri Dail Cais a aenur.'

'The following is the share of Cormac Cas in Cliu Mail: from the summit of [Sliab] Cláire (one of the summits between the baronies of Coshlea and Fermoy) to Berna Tri Carpat at Carn Feradaig ("Cahirnarry"—in this name "Cahir" is a false etymological expansion of "Car[n]"), and from Cenn Abrat (otherwise Cenn Febrat, south of Ardpatrick—see above) straight northward to Fochormag (otherwise Eocharmag: see Onom. Goed. s. v. Dun Eochair Maigi, identified with Bruree) and by the east side of the Máig northward to Luimnech (the Shannon estuary), and from [the side of] Temuir (i. e. Temuir Érann, near Cláire and Cenn Abrat) to Fert Sceinide (not identified), and from Fochormag eastward to Dún Echlais at Imbliuch Ibuir (Emly), and from Dún Echlais northward to Cathair Chairn Riabaig (unidentified), and from that north-eastward over the north of Sliab Eblinne ("Slieve Phelim": possibly the line indicated is preserved approximately in the present boundary between the counties of Limerick and Tipperary to the north of Emly) to Gaethech, i. e. the river between Arai and Mús craige Tíre, to the place where it enters Dergdeirc (Loch Derg: evidently the river flowing westward about a mile north of Nenagh); moreover, from Berna Tri Carpat northward to Fid Cetmis (unidentified) and to Fidnach Bera (Finavarra, in the north of the barony of Burren, at Galway Bay), and from [the ford of] the Bóram (at Killaloe) from the east to Léim Con Culainn (Loop Head) westward. That land (the modern Co. Clare) was occupied at first by the tuatha of the Men of Olnemacht (Connaught). Luguid Menn, son of Oingus Tírech, son of Fer Corb, son of Mug Corb, son of Cormac Cas, it was he who overthrew them and took that land by force. Inde dicitur "the Rough Land of Luguid"; and that country did not go into the reckoning of a share [given] from the Men of Munster to Dál Cais, and no king in Ireland is entitled to cess or custom or hostage or escort from that country but the king of Dál Cais alone.'

BB 174^b 10. 'Isi dno comaiddh Da[i]l Chais eturro fein i. in Deis Tuaiscirt ocus in Deis Deiscirt i. gach ni do choitc[h]ind fil eturru, in tan is atuaidh righi Caisil ocus a ferdhes ocus a dliughed do righ na nDeisi Deiscirt i. tric[h]a samaisce gach forbha gacha treas bliadhan do. In tan na bi ri do nechtar de i Caisul, a ech ocus a dechelt in rig atuaidh don righ andeas. Ite .iiii. saidbri saidhbhri [sic] foretadh in rig teas i. ri Hua

nEchach ocus ri Dail Chais ocus ri Hua Conaill ocus in *cóiced* rig Ua Cairpri, dleagar dib sochraide uaidibh ocus na roibh æra ocaibh.'

'This too is the alliance of [the two divisions of] Dál Cais between themselves, i. e. the Déis Tuaiscirt and the Déis Deiscirt, i. e. all that is in common between them: when the kingship of Cashel is [filled] from the north . . . and his place on the right hand (?) and his dues to the king of the Déis Deiscirt, i. e. thirty heifers in bearing from each estate in every third year for him. When there is not a king of either of them in Cashel, the horse and the raiment of the king from the north to the king from the south. These are the four rich men who aid (?) the southern king, namely, the king of the Ui Echach [Muman] and the king of Dál Cais and the king of Ui Conaill [Gabra] and the fifth [read fourth] the king of Ui Cairpri [Aebdai]—suit of court is due from them and that there be no refusal by them.'

The first king of Dál Cais in history who became king of Cashel, i. e. over-king of Munster, was Mathgamain, in 961 or 962. Divested of honorific theory, the foregoing passage implies a close relation on terms of equality between the kings of the Déis Tuaiscirt and the Déis Deiscirt. An account of the conditions when the southern king became king of Cashel has probably been omitted by parablepsis.

Lecan 458. 'De Uib Rosa i. in Deis Deiscertach andso sis. Ceithri meic Aengusa Tirig i. Eogan o'tait Hi Luain ocus Dub Rois o'tait Hui Dub Rois ocus Sescaid o'ta Cland Aircellaich uli ocus Lubaid [read Luguid] o'taid Dail Cais ocus na coic Delbna. Dub Rois mac Aengusa, ceithri rig dec dia sil forsin Des¹ Bicc i. do Uib Rosa ocus *coica* naem rogenir dia shil, cennmot[h]a diarmidhí do espocaib ocus do fhearaib legind ocus do anmchairdib de, cosin neoch ro athaid i Saingil, Brenaind rus beandaich ocus forfhacaib buada imda doib air cheana.

Saerbrethach m. Sluagadaich m. Suairlich m. Siadail m. Aillilla m. Duib Da Leithi m. Indrechtaich m. Fir Chorb m. Onchon m. Ronain m. Saithgil m. Duib Rosa m. Aengusa Tirich.

Aengus Aith o'tait Cland Chuain ocus Cland Ailella meic Threichni.'

¹ Des supplied in margin.

‘Of *Ui Rosa*, i.e. the Déis Deiscertach, the following. The four sons of Aengus Tirech, namely Eogan from whom are *Ui Luain*, and Dub Rois from whom are *Ui Duib Rois*, and Sescaid from whom is *Cland Airchellaich* all, and Luguid from whom are *Dál Cais* and the five *Delbna*. Dub Rois, son of Aengus, fourteen kings of his seed over the Déis Becc, i.e. of *Ui Rosa*, and fifty saints were born of his seed, not to mention innumerable bishops and rectors of schools and confessors, including him who dwelt in *Saingil*, *Bréainn*, who blessed them and left them many boons besides.

Saerbrethach, son of *Sluagadach*, &c.

Aengus Aith, from whom are *Cland Chúáin* and *Cland Ailella meic Threichnī*.’

The foregoing is from a great collection of genealogical material; one might call it a genealogical kitchen-midden, consisting largely of ancient scraps of genealogy which did not find place in the artificial synthetic scheme known to Dubhaltach Mac Fir Bhisigh as the *Seanchus Coitcheann*. In that scheme, *Dál Cais* is said to be a branch of the *Eoganachta*, springing from Cormac Cas, son of Ailill Aulomm, son of Eogan Taidlech. In the passage given above, *Dál Cais* has quite another origin. It is of the same kin as the Déis Bécc or Deis Deiscertach, and both are connected in ancestry with the dynastic septs of Déi Muman, the Déi commonly so-called. The common ancestor of these septs is Art Corb—see the eighth-century story of the Déi, *ÉRIU*, vol. iii, part ii, p. 135, and BB 150a, col. 3. Rus, son of Brecc, son of Art Corb, is the eponymous ancestor of the sept *Ui Rosa*, holding rule in the Déis Deiscertach. The fragment quoted above does not give the descent of Aengus Tirech from Rus. In the *Senchus Coitcheann*, Aengus Tirech is son of Fer Corb, son of Mug Corb, son of Cormac Cas, and he has the same four sons as in the Lecan fragment: ‘From Eogan and Dub Rois and Seascaid is the Déis Beg.’—BB 182a 3.

It is evident that the genealogists have set aside an ancient tradition which regarded *Dál Cais* as akin to the Déis Deiscirt and to the Déi of south-eastern Munster and of Brega. I do not suppose that the older tradition has any basis in fact other than political kinship. All these septs belonged to a class for which the common designation was Déis. The original signifi-

cance of this term, so used, was forgotten, and Déi was thought of merely as the proper name of certain septs and the population subject to them, and so induced a notion of consanguinity. Déis signified the community subject to the rule of a lord. This is its meaning in the early law-tracts, and this meaning was present to the mind of the writer of the eighth-century story referred to above. Having given an account of fifty septs who took part in the Déi migration, he writes (ÉRIU, iii. 141): 'It is these migratory parties (*loirgi*) who are [properly] named Déi, for it is they [meaning their descendants] who are under *deis*-ship and duty and cottier tenancy to the lords (flathaib), i. e. to Dál Fiachach Suigde [the dynastic sept of Déi Muman], and these latter are not [properly] named Déi.' The alternative genealogical origin of Dál Cais may likewise be considered to have a political outcome and significance. The Book of Rights shows that in the ninth century the kings of Dál Cais were free of tribute to the kings of Munster. In the underlying theory of the Book of Rights, freedom from tribute to an over-king belongs to subordinate dynasties which are branches of the sept of the over-king. Thus Dál Cais, having its genealogical origin attached to the Eoganacht stem, had its freedom from tribute placed on a recognized legitimate footing, and the fiction 'saved the face' of the Eoganacht over-kings, who would otherwise appear to yield a distinctive right.

Under date of 743, *recte* 744, the Annals of Ulster record 'the devastation of Corcu Mu Druad ("Corcomroe") by the Deiss.' The translation has 'by the Deisi'. It is evident that the Déi Tuaiscirt, Dál Cais, is here signified.

'The share of Cormac Cas in Clui Máil' described above (BB 174a) appears to comprise the ancient territory of the Déi Deiscirt and also the territory of Ara. Reading this description along with the topography of VT, we may infer as probable that in the seventh century the Déi Deiscirt was bounded by the river Máig, the mountain ridge south of Ardpatrick, and the present eastern boundary of Co. Limerick; on the north-east by an undefined line separating it from Ara, which includes the barony of Coonagh. The sequence in VT is Ara, Ui Fidgente, the Déi Deiscirt, and this indicates that Ui Fidgente extended eastward to the western bounds of Ara, and so came between the Déi Deiscirt and the Shannon estuary. The barony

of Small County may have been the most northern part of the Déis Deiscirt. In the Book of Rights there is no longer a kingdom of the Déis Deiscirt. It has disappeared under the encroachments of the Eoganacht septs, *Ui Fidgente* and *Ui Éndai*, the latter being known as the Eoganacht of Áine.

XXIV (208). *Na Déisi*. The reference to the river Siur shows that Déisi Muman in south-eastern Munster is intended. The king of the country is Fer Gair, son of Russ. 'Da *mac Rosa* i. *Cormac* ocus *Fear Cair*', BB 150a, col. 3. Fer Gair was ancestor of the sept *Ui Fir Gair*, a sub-sept of *Ui Rosa* (BB 150a, col. 1), branches of which, according to the tradition above cited, held rule also in the Déis Tuaiscirt and the Déis Deiscirt.

XXV (210). *Múscraige Tíre*. There is no indication of bounds or extent, except that this is the last territory of Munster named in the circuit: 'After that, Patrick founded churches in Munster . . . He bade them farewell after this and left a blessing with them. After this he went to Brosnacha,' followed by a concourse of the people of Munster. Thence he went to *Ui Failgi*. The omission of Éli is noteworthy, as the territory lay between *Múscraige Tíre* and *Ui Failgi*.

XXVI (217). *Ui Failgi*. The circuit of Ireland ends here. No doubt *Ui Failgi* was omitted by oversight from the Leinster section. VT makes 'Foilge Berraide' king during Patrick's visit, but the annals show Failge Berraide winning a battle in 510 over the *Ui Neill* and losing the plain of Mide to them in 516 or 517. VT has the story how Foilge slew the charioteer Odrán instead of Patrick, then 'died at once and went into hell'. There was another Foilge, named Foilge Ross. Patrick blessed him and 'his children are in the land to-day' and rule it for ever. The author of VT appears to have picked up scraps from chronicles and genealogies and to have worked them into his narrative without regard to chronology. In the genealogies Russ Failge is the eponymous ancestor of *Ui Failgi*, but lives before St. Patrick's time. In the introduction to the *Senchus Mór* (Ancient Laws, i. 4), the story of the charioteer Odrán is given. There his slayer is Nuadu Derg, brother of the high-king Lóiguire. VT places the event near Brí Dam. The two versions of the story may have arisen from the fact that there were two places named Brí Dam, one in *Ui Failgi*, the other

—not located by OG—in the eastern part of Brega. One of the places, according to Tirechan's Breviarium, in which Patrick founded churches after he had been at Ostium Ailfine, the mouth of the 'Delvin' river, in the north of Co. Dublin, and before he reached Tara, was 'Bri Dam in qua fuit sanctus Dulcis'. This should be Clochar Dúiligh 'Saint Doolagh's', between Dublin city and Malahide. The Annals of Ulster, under 599, record the slaying of Suibne at 'Bri Dam on Suane i. rivulus', and Flann Manistrech (Archivium Hibernicum, ii. 87) locates the event 'in the east at the wave-bright brine'. Suane should be the stream now called the Main which flows past St. Doolagh's into the estuary of Portmarnock. For Brí Dam in Brega, see also MacLiac's poem on Carn Conaill in the Metrical Dindshenchas, Todd Lectures X (R.I.A.), p. 440, and the note, p. 550, where the identification with Geashill is to be corrected accordingly.

The remainder of VT is occupied with a collection of anecdotes mainly regarding the Ulaid territory and the church of Armagh.

EÓIN MAC NEILL.

STORIES FROM THE LAW-TRACTS

THE stories here published occur in the well-known Trinity College manuscript H. 3. 17 (1336), 662. 1-670 *b* 10. Nos. VII, VIII and XII are also in H. 4. 22 (1363), pp. 3, 8-24, 62 *b* 1-33, 62 *a* 1-14 respectively. In the latter MS. there follow ten shorter fragments to the end of p. 63. All the stories are to be found in the reproductions of the transcripts of the Ancient Laws of Ireland made by O'Donovan and O'Curry: O'D. 945 = H. 3. 17, and C. 1945, 2051 = H. 4. 22. The text of H. 3. 17 has been translated by O'Curry (C. 1405 of the manuscript translations deposited in the library of the Royal Irish Academy; see Best, 'Abstract of Minutes', R.I.A. Mar. 16th, 1909). The passages from H. 4. 22 are not translated, reference being given for the first to the parallel version. I have compared my rendering with that of O'Curry, which I found a valuable help. Sometimes, when in doubt, or when the text was quite obscure to me, I have given his rendering in a footnote.

Part of IV and the fragment XIV have been published by Meyer, ZCP. vii. 300. I reprint the latter as there are a few inaccuracies in his transcription. The text of V was printed by Best, ÉRIU, v. 72, so that only the translation is given here. A free rendering by O'Curry appears in his Manners and Customs, ii. 329. An independent version of IX occurs in Cormac's Glossary, 1018 s.v. *orc*.¹

The stories serve to illustrate legal formulae, many of which occur in a difficult text, Brit. Mus. Nero A. vii. 140 = O'D. 2201. The first begins with an apostrophe of Morann, the lawgiver, which is cited by O'Davoren, 1535, and also repeatedly in the B.M. text. The formulae which I have identified as recurring in the Nero MS. are those of Nos. I, VIII, IX. (See O'Grady's Cat. i. 142 f.)

¹ Also printed by Meyer, Fianaigecht, p. xix. For a translation of the Bodleian text, see Stokes, Phil. Soc. Trans. 1891-4, pp. 175 ff. Where not otherwise stated reference to Cormac's Glossary is to Meyer's edition, Anecdota from Irish Manuscripts, iv.

Unfortunately the point of the story is often obscure, the phrase which would convey it being either unintelligible or incomplete. III, VI, VII, and VIII are clear, V is a mere anecdote. The actual story of IX is unimportant, but it conveys a legal notion which is further explained in XII. However, they all have an interest as they stand, and they may help to explain other law-texts.

For proper names and some common words the spelling has been normalized, that of the MS. being given in a footnote. As regards lenited *b*, *d*, *g*, *m*, the MS. is followed in all cases: where omitted, [*h*] is supplied after *p*, *t*, *c*. In some cases two spellings have been allowed to stand: e.g. *dia* and *dá*, *a* and *i* for the preposition, &c. Where there is no doubt, contractions are silently extended, *ocus* being printed for *ȝ* of the MS. Accents are supplied. For Nos. VII, VIII, and XII variants are given from H. 4. 22, and are marked B.

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MYLES DILLON.

I

A Morainn, a Maínaig, a Mochda co trebar rl.

Is é scél foraihmenadar *hic* Bresal briuga cétagh i. cét cach dine lais. Ba foglach a indili fri cach coná étaithi main dia indili ara foglaige. Coínsi Bresal anísín fri Neri. 'Caínfet-sa fri Morann,' ol Neri,¹ *ocus* asbér fris do lesu amal bid leam fén in c[h]eist *ocus* bid as mo p[h]ersain fén da-aicer, *ocus* co tís a llá so sainrud.' Dogníther són. Asbeir Neri¹ fri Morann i lló na dála ar Bresal: 'A Morainn, a Maínaig, a Mochda.' Asbert Morann fri Neri: 'Ardu arusc asbér frit. Treba Bresail ní mo bera arraith.'

i. mo 'moch', *ocus* desmirecht airi:—

Dia luid Fer² Muman a tir Connacht co cuala in fer fria c[h]eli ag an³ iasacht:

'Inn esar dam do há?'

'Tó, maini má mo há.'

'Ara tairi mó ha mó?'

'Mani má do há, tó.'⁴

¹ MS. Neiri.

² MS. fear.

³ MS. un.

⁴ See Corm. 70, and Phil. Soc. Trans. 1859, 189, s.v. *mo*, where the text runs: indiasar dam do a.

Is forsán c[h]uairt sin rocuala Fer¹ Muman in godra² isin c[h]aill i coicrích Ua Néll ocus Laigen. Faíd Fer Muman Noinn mac Becáin uad isin caill dús cid rombíd³ ann. 'Cia fairneac?' ol Fer Muman.⁴ 'Cuileand co mboin coll cona dib daur condla co n-uidib co trib triar fear fearsait mol muil uas boin blosair con.'

II

Foruachtatar máta mo t[h]uinde.⁵

Is é scél fora[ithmenadar *hic*] . . . *lacuna in MS.* . . . fofua-[bair] in milc[h]u na muca. Fofuaibret na muca in coin, ocus dosendar in cù co Baemnaigh. Atluí in cù. Cirrit na muca Baemnach co fárgbat *coícait* fuili fair conid i clíab rosimaircthea.⁶ Breatha a fuigell sin a réir Coirpri Lifechair. A n-asbert in fer ata muca: 'Foruachtatar máta mo t[h]uinde', as ann asbert Coirpri: 'Dibruther cethramtha ina chét chinaid.' Co cuala Cormac in mbreith sin, ocus asbert oc cairigud C[h]oirpri⁷: 'Aill, mo C[h]oirpri! clú már.'

Baemnach Bec Buta ainm in maic i. mac side Ferdomain Fortriúin maic Niad Nárgresaig maic C[h]olla Churudhchinn, fergnia Temrach la Cormac Ua Cuind. Ba é a mac-side aduatar na muca.

III

Ruchtaid ruib⁸ rl-.

Is ed⁹ scél foraihmenait[h]er *hic*: Baí¹⁰ fer soma la Ultá, Mugna a ainm. Baí¹⁰ mac caém la Maine. Ua side Mianáin.¹¹ Atuatar muca Mugna mac Maine, ocus ní baí mucaid oga mucaib. Raringset na muca conidfordáilset etarru.¹² Dobert Maine muca Mugna i tech fithe forcháí ro baí i fáithchi in lis dia comdech¹³ fria cinta. Baí mac dá bó isin tigh fá iadad. Aduatar na muca in laégh. La Mugna side dano. Conaitecht Maine cert n-ime i. imon mac. Conaitecht Mugna cert co Maine imon laégh dethatar na muca. Lotar i fuigell Sencha. Luid-

¹ MS. fear.² read cobra?³ read romboth?⁴ MS. fear mhuman.⁵ Corm. 876, O'Dav. 1223, AL. iv. 178. 17.⁶ O.I. do-immaircthe.⁷ MS. Corpri.⁸ Corm. 1097, O'Dav. 1368.⁹ MS. issed.¹⁰ MS. bui.¹¹ MS. mianan.¹² MS. eturu.¹³ read comge?

side d'f[h]ochmarc a brithe co Conc[h]obur¹ co n-érbert fris: 'Ruchtaig ruib .r.' rl. Frisgart Conc[h]obur¹ co n-érbert: 'Maine Maín' rl. im íc a maic fris, 'Maine anmain' i taba[i]rt na muc forsin laég.

IV

[ZCP. vii. 300. 12-24. Bái rí . . . suidhigud ocus rl. *Add.*]

Is ed rádessom inso: Secht flescaig foc[h]erta[t] flesc tar nái fótú, ocus cethóra baí ar cach flescach, secht fir midboth, mac fichtech cach ae, secht mbaí lóg cecha fir díb, is friu dofuiiltear cacha corutai, corop trícha. . . .² Secht cumala la sein don ríg a díre n-eneclainde amal cach duine ndligthech. Is ed³ ráides Foachtach ifechtso les Cernodon a ríg, cia rod aéradsom riam. **Collud Cochta Cernodon.** Is ed³ ráides sund secht n-uingi airgit ocus leth n-uinge ocus secht mba finda eóderga, da c[h]umal insein, brat corcra secht n-uingi airgit, léne cona dagc[h]ulpait bes fiú da screpall . . . [rest of column blank].

V

See ÉRIU, v. 72.

VI

Aengus fo aiblib imuis.⁴

.i. Aengus mac Fiachrach Fobricc nó Aengus mac Ailella Glais. .i. mac do Bresal Bricc mac Fiachrach Fobricc, ocus ríg Érenn é, ocus is é in tríchatmadh ríg ro gab Érind do Laignib hé. Ba mór trócaire in ríg gur smachtadh leis gib ed gell no beth ag neoch go ngabtha uadh hé. No teigdis i mudhu na gella urc[h]raide .i. in biadh ocus int édach ocus na neichi-sin romaind, ocus ba trom re daínib a n-aithgin⁵ ocus a tintúd for cílu. Ro chairigset ríga ocus brethemain Érenn anísin⁶ iar n-égaib Aengusa⁷ ná fedatar cidh dagéndais fris, uair ba hole leó na neichi nár ba c[h]óir do gabáil a ngell, ocus darónsat maithi Érend comairli, ocus is sí comairli darindset a c[h]ur ar amus na filed gu nderndais faillsiugudh imais cindas ro baí⁸ Aengus⁹ iarna égaib isin ngúbreith anfóit ruc, ocus gu ndernsatsum

¹ MS. Concubur.

² Half line left blank.

³ MS. issed.

⁴ Imbas forosnae is defined, Corm. 756.

⁵ MS. annaithgin.

⁶ MS. inisin.

⁷ MS. Oengusa.

⁸ MS. boi.

⁹ MS. Oengus.

faillsiugudh in fhírimais, ocus is amlaid ro faillsiged dóib hé iar tabairt leth-indechda air arin trócaire darinde ag gabáil na ngell n-urchraidi ro biadh ac neoch i. a leth i teinid ocus a leth fri teinidh annechtair conadh ann adrubaibh in fili : **Ni mo tir co himbad.**

VII

Tochmarc Cotreibe cian co dil.

Baí¹ rí amra for Ultaib², Conc[h]obur a ainm. Baí¹ drúth ag³ Conchobur, Cotrebe⁴ a ainm. Cethri hingena la Cotrebe i. Find ocus Femna, Findan ocus Caradan. Ro baí¹ *dano* fili amra i ferund⁵ Conchobuir Argamain a ainm. Ingen chaém la suide ocus ro bádar uili aga⁶ mothugudh ar f[h]ebus a delba. Taidell ainm na hingine. Doluidh Cotrebe⁷ go ruc in ingen leis aill ar áis aill ar égin. Dochuadar⁸ i fuighell tShencha immi co n-epert Sencha ceithri hóga i n-aithgin⁹ n-éillnide ar cach tresi na toirsed taieltaidh Taidell¹⁰ i. ar cach tresi na toraig Taidell dia thaig, ocus cid ní is mó bes and is *amlaid* bias i. laithi aicenta ocus da laithi soérda isin tresi sin, ocus ban-eladnach issi ocus *cethóra* mná gen eladhain ar son aithgina a gníma conadh amlaiddh sin rosoichit a *cethóra* hingena ó Chotrebe¹¹ arin tresi¹² sin i. ar dá laithi nó *dano* cach ar immad i. arna tresib imdha, ocus dá lá déc ro baí¹³ immuigh hí, ocus nem-eladnach issi and, ocus ben gen eladain ar son aithgina a gníma gach laé.¹⁴ Cadh é deithbir etarru¹⁵ sin, in bail itá **Bert Baetán** Brig ba siúr Barrinde bádar dá c[h]umail i cumma gníma, go fuiled ceithri hógha andso ?¹⁶ Is é¹⁷ in fáth, aen lá ro baí¹⁸ thall gen a torachtain immuig ocus dá lá sund, ocus ban-eladnacha iad i cechtar de, ocus mná cen eladain ar son aithgina a ngníma.¹⁹

¹ B. boi.

² MS. ultu, B. ulltaib.

³ B. ac.

⁴ B. coitrib.

⁵ B. farradh.

⁶ B. aca.

⁷ MS. -eibe, B. coitrib.

⁸ B. docodhar.

⁹ MS. innaithgin.

¹⁰ B. ná toraig dia tigh Taidhel.

¹¹ MS. chotreibi, B. coit-.

¹² MS. tressi.

¹³ MS. and B. bui.

¹⁴ *read* tresi ?

¹⁵ MS. atarru.

¹⁶ B. ca deithbir eter sin ocus in baili ata bert baetan brig ba siur baruind bert di cumail comgnime ocus co ful .iiii. hogha annso.

¹⁷ MS. isse.

¹⁸ MS. bui, B. boi.

¹⁹ B. ocus .iiii. mna cen eladain ar son ara aithgina a gníma. *Finis.*

VIII

Co berar i fine fer anfine.

Baí¹ ríg amra la hUltu,² Conchobur a ainm. Baí fili amra i ferund Conchobuir .i. Trusc mac Tregamain³ a ainm. Luid in Trusc⁴ co raibi for cuairt gemridh a farrudh rígh Osraigi. Mac Rethi⁵ ainm in rígh. Baí⁶ ingen álaind la Mac Rethi⁷ ocus co raibi in fili aga hiarraidh. ‘Ragaidh duitsiu hí,’ ar Mac Rethi,⁷ ‘acht co tuchtar cuir ocus ratha ocus nadmann⁸ di fri hairitin a clainde.’¹⁰ Is é is taísech⁹ ar m’ acmi-si Lugaith Lámfhada, ocus ní ba tairmesc dár ndálaib-ni sin’, ar Trusc mac Tregamain.¹⁰ ‘Atá taísech trícha cét isin tir sea d’Ultaib¹¹ for loinges ria Conchobur .i. Laégaire Buadach mac Condaid¹² maic Iliach, ocus adfiada-su i raith Laégaire uaimsea insen,’ ar Trusc. [Cindid a curu ocus naidmid a ndála ocus faídís in Trosc]¹³ la mnáí.¹⁴ Luid Laégaire dia thír, ocus dorigni síth re hUltu, ocus ro¹⁵ aithnestar Mac Rethi¹⁶ a ingen i lláim Laégaire cip cuin rosoissedd chuigi. Ba torrach ben Truisc¹⁷ annsin .i. ingen ind rígh, ocus berthar mac dó .i. Indua mac¹⁸ Truisc maic Tregamain a ainm. Ba marb Trusc¹⁹ iar sin, ocus baí Indua trícha[i]t mbliadna imalli fria máthair, ocus luidh iar sin dochum a f[h]inechais, ocus nír gab Lugaith Lámfhada mac Truisc²⁰ maic²¹ Tregamain hé no co tuctha fir leis, ocus dochuaidh a máthair ocus fine a máthar leis,²² ocus ‘atá raith Laégairi rimsa’, ol Indua, ‘fria m’airitin tria bithu’. Conadh and adubairt Lugaith Lámfhada²³: ‘Deil lond Laégaire (.i. díreach obond Laégaire lath gaili rl.-), ocus cidh lond cid f[e]ochair cidh cruaidh cid²⁴ garg²⁵ Laégaire, rot bia nert ocus cert ocus bág limsa. Ní mac in mac ocus ni raith Laégaire cén baí²⁶ for

¹ MS. and B. bui. ² B. for ulltaib.

³ MS. treagmain, B. trosg mac tregaim. ⁴ MS. trusg.

⁵ MS. reithi, B. reithe. ⁶ MS. bui, B. baoi. ⁷ MS. nd B. rethe.

⁸ B. ratha urnadma. ⁹ MS. taissech.

¹⁰ B. ‘dobertar’, ar trosc mac tregaim. ‘ata taiseach aicmi liumsa’, ar trosc mac treagaim, ‘ucus ragaid sin oramsa, ocus dobertar dano riutsa he’.

¹¹ MS. ulltaib. ¹² B. mac conuill buidi.

¹³ Omitted in MS. Supplied from B.

¹⁴ B. add .i. laisin n-ingin. ¹⁵ MS. ra. ¹⁶ MS. reithi, B. reithe.

¹⁷ MS. truiscc, B. bean troasca. ¹⁸ MS. m. ¹⁹ MS. trosc.

²⁰ MS. troisc. ²¹ MS. mic. ²² MS. les. ²³ MS. fhoda.

²⁴ MS. gid. ²⁵ B. garb. ²⁶ MS. bui, B. in cein do bai.

loinges.' Lodar iar sin i réir Shencha. Ruceside deichenbur ar *fhichit* dá fastud innund *amal* áirmes leabur, ocus nugun f[h]-agabar lucht lán-f[h]íra a n-urradus acht sin, ocus tuaidh¹ a nUlltaib² ro hastad hé, ocus dámadh tes a nOsraigib³ robad a leth sin ro biadh and.⁴

IX

Cuaille feedha i feilm n-airgit.

Is é scél indister sund: Lomna, druí Find *maic* Cumaill, atc[h]onairc lá and⁵ ben F[h]ind ag dul a conni fir eile. 'Maith sin, a ingen,' ar Lomna. Asbert in ingen: 'Gairther Lomna cugaind,' ar sí, 'ocus tabram lógh dó ocus gan ar n-indisi nó marbhar lind hé.' Gairit chucu Lomna ocus atbertsat fris: 'Ná hindis do neoch in ní atc[h]onnacais.' 'Nát[h]o,' ar Lomhna i. amnas leis a cleith ar F[h]ind, ocus ba scíth leis⁶ in gó da rádh. Oén da lá ann gabais Find mac na mná ina ucht. Dobert Lomna flesc i lláim Find, ocus dosórni in liudh sa inti:

Cualli feda i feilm n-airgit.^a Aith i fochlucht mac mná drúithe dlúthar i n-iarfine ucht.^b Acht mad iarna chóir c[h]omadas comráiter is drúth-laéch la féiniu foircthe.^c

^a *amal* is adéitig in cualli feda i fighi in airgit lium is am-laidh is adéitig so.

^b *amal* aithaba isin fochlucht^d mac na mná drúithi diluither a n-ucht na hanfine.

^c i. *amal* ra cotaimsigedh a astad do réir chóir. Is laéch drutha ar in f[h]erund co fírc[h]indti in sacairi nó in taman filed.

'Is fir sin,' ar Find, 'mu ben-sa do báí⁸ ac fir ele.' Atchuala in ingen sin, ocus ro innis do Chorpri⁹ sin i. do mac rígh Laighen¹⁰ Lomna du dénum sceoil orro, ocus doluidh Corpri cona t[h]rí nónbur d'airrc[h]eist ar Lomna gur marbsat hé. Ocus tic Find ina iarmóracht C[h]orpri¹¹ gusin uarboith ar marbadh Lomna, ocus fogeibh in fhuil de, ocus fogeibh in choland gan cend, ocus is and asbert Find: 'Duine gusnarlig nocon trebaig nicon teirgrid nicon rubha torc nicon turgra nírbor tá ligi Lomna.' Imthigidh

¹ B. atuaidh.

² MS. ulltaib.

³ MS. annosraigib.

⁴ B. add rl-, a cairpri dar líum ní maith ader tu sin.

⁵ MS. ann.

⁶ MS. les.

⁷ MS. foicht.

⁸ MS. bui.

⁹ MS. choirbri.

¹⁰ MS. luighin.

¹¹ MS. coirbri.

Corpri¹ ocus a t[h]rí nónbur co riachtadar in corand ocus co facadar in corand² lán d'iasc ar a cind, ocus berait leo ní don iasc ocus fuinit dóib hé, ocus furmit in cend ar lár i céin ro bádar ac roind ocus ní tucsat ní don c[h]ind ocus is and³ asbert in cend: 'Orcc brecc brond find brúctas di magur fo muiribh. Ni labar rithe do torc nadnerce roimisi ro rannais raind nach cert a C[h]orpri.⁴' Ro suighidsetar in biadh ina mbrodmuccaib ocus nír tarcsat ní don c[h]ind. Asbert in cend iar suidhiu: 'Ro roindis roind⁵ fon ele⁶ n-athroind ar maigh Meadhba. Bid a drochmír dodngaba, bid leó a sealba.' Daruacht Find mana himráitibh sin 'na n-iarmóracht ocus atchualaid in cend aca rádh sin .i. ac glámadh na n-óg. 'Bid fir ón,' ar Find, ocus congart Find dóib ocus ro marb Corpri cona t[h]rí nónbur a ndighail Lomna, ocus ní cuailli gen scél in cuailli de sin.

X

In Cochall Clothrand.

Nocun é in cochall ro baí⁷ ac Clothraind ac ingin Eathach Feidlig aderim du gabál a ngell, nó nocun é in cochall ro baí⁷ ag Clothraind ag ingin Ocha Cerda aderim du gabháil a ngell .i. ór a indech .i. airget fuí, acht ba duine ba cù ba hech. Is é in tres sét suirghi is fearr fuair Find riam hé.

XI

Nís raé Brecc Bras Mic C[h]on co cathaib cocrann.

As mór do scélaib fil sund ocus is liach gan a fíis. Nasc Niad .i. laéch amra Mac Con .i. ba nia ba rígh ba mac rígh ocus ba fili .i. no bídh a sciath im chois Maic C[h]on, ocus ba hór in nasc no bídh as, ocus secht slabraidd as ocus nia a cind cacha slabraidd credhuma díb .i. ó c[h]omus aice ocus ag eile dochum in chatha. In tan conriticthea cach comlunn no bídh in nasc sin ocus na secht slabraidd as ar ná digsed nechtar de a n-inadh araile, ciamadh tressiu nechtar de araile, dáig a tairrngeála for cúlu. Ní gell iarom in nasc sin. Is de asbert in fili: 'Nís raé Brecc Bras' rl-.

¹ MS. coirpri.² MS. coran.³ MS. ann.⁴ MS. coirbri.⁵ Spelling as in MS.⁶ Y fond n-aile Hy. fonail.⁷ MS. bui.

XII

Is Fraéch for ualaind¹ Luigne.²

.i. Lugaid Laigde ro ráid so³ .i. Uilland² dingna fil ina uachtur Fer Cualand i tuaiscirt Breag, cocrích do Feraib Cualand⁴ ocus do Luighnib,⁵ míín (l dind)⁶ réd álaind ann uair léir as cethóra tuatha Luighne cona fortuathaib olc[h]ena. Baile turchomraicc dála ocus aénaigh in tulach sin. Nicon ro fhás fraéch na aiten na fidh fuirre. Ba liach dano fraéch ocus anfed forsin tulaig sin ar lia scotha cacha blátha no bídh fuirre. Imtha samlaid na saerc[h]lanna ocus na daerc[h]lanna. Ní comadais⁶ a cumasc nach a mbrechtrád (re maccaib na merdreich) NÓ's **fraéch for ualaind luigne**⁷ (.i. bualenn ro loited and). As é scél indister andsin: Dia táncatar Maic⁸ Mílead Easbáine a hÉgípt isinn aimsir ro báidheadh Forann cona sluagaibh for Muir Robuir, dolodar iarom lucht ceithri mbárc for muir sair do innsibh De-profaine. Amal ro bádar lucht ceit[h]ri mbárc for imrum fo chomaigh co n-acadar in brat n-ergel forin tuind. Nos lécat lucht na ceit[h]ri mbárc isin muir da shaighidh in bruit. Luigne mac Érimon is é cétna-rócht in brat a nnirt a thet[h]na itir a dá láimh riasiu rosoisead cách. Fogeallsat imme i fuigell Aimirgin .i. [ro] ráid Aimirgin do Luigne dilsí in bruit ar ba séid ruanada hé ná fes can doluid, ocus ní fes cindas inne ti clam garotich. Acht namá ba gilithir snechta ocus ba maéthiu iná cach maéth, ba míniu iná cach sról ocus cach siric. Baí⁹ in brat sin dano ac muintir Luigne. Sét timna ocus udachta insein. 'Ba liach didiu,' ar Lugaiddh Luigde, 'fraéch fola arin mbrat sin.' Is amlaid sin clanna imshéna ocus méirdrech. Ní cóir a cumasc side fri cenél nó fri claind na mban ngenmnaidh. Is cuaille feada i n-airbe¹⁰ airgit inísin.¹¹

¹ B. ualand.

² Cf. Corm., p. 87, l. 22 = Phil. Soc. Trans. 1891-4, 176.

³ In B. this follows IX and reads here: mac la hanfine lugaid luígdí ro raid seo.

⁴ MS. cualann, B. cualand.

⁵ B. ocus magh.

⁶ B. add lium.

⁷ Cf. O'Dav. 210.

⁸ MS. meic.

⁹ MS. bui.

¹⁰ MS. innairbe.

¹¹ MS. innisin.

XIII

Co tagaib nech ní adella.

.i. baí¹ dias galand la hUltu, Laégaire² Buadhach ocus Conall Cernach mac Aimhирgin.³ Dorat gilla do Chonall C[h]ernach Laégaire² Buadhach dia c[h]ind i rrathaiges fri taisec na fiach ar dechmaidh, ocus ní torachtdar co cend mbliadna. Rotinólta ac Ultaib a cind bliadna gu hEmain. Tic Conall ocus Aimhирgin ocus a gilla leó forácaib Laégaire fona rathaib. Tic imach Laégaire a hEmhain ocus áenfhlesc ina láim co facaiddh in gilla .i. itir Conall ocus Aimirghin. 'Is maith sin, a gilla,' ar Laégaire, 'beith duitsiu etir galandaib Ulad iar telcud do rathachais forumsa.' 'Daargadsa cert duit,' ar in gilla. 'Níba cert ám,' ar Laégaire, 'uair damradais fri fiachu dearba ar dechmaid.' Iarsin atetha Laégaire sleg nAimirgin ro baí¹ ara béláib ocus atnaig builli isin ngilla gur marb in gilla fo c[h]étoir. Luid cách díb goraile. Luidh Conchobur ocus Sencha etarru,⁴ ocus fogellsat cert um chaingin in gaí, condebairt Conchobur: **'Co tagaib nech ní adellad'** rl.

XIV

Dubh Duanach.

Is é scél foraithmenait[h]er sunn .i. baí¹ banchoairt mná do Ultaibh,⁵ Duanach a hainm. Ros molastar Athairne. Bádar dídu⁶ secht cét bó, ocus cúc coici ocus cúc banchoici ac cach cét díb, ocus cúc buairghi cacha céta ocus cúc fichit ar trícha d'fichtib ann sin uile di buaibh .i. trícha d'fichtib léi ocus cúc fichit. Cúc banc[h]oici tríchat ocus cúc buairghi tríchat fonaibh buaib condat a dech ar trí fichtib⁷ samlaid. No bídh iarom crand tarsna tarsin tech ocus secht n-inbhi and ocus cúc buairghi im⁸ cach inbhi ocus eadh eturru,⁴ ocus atgnil[n]ed cach banchoic díb a buaraigh. Secht carpait lé dano ocus ceithri heich déc fuithibh ocus seacht n-araidh occaib. . . .

[*Here the text breaks off in the middle of a line.*]

¹ MS. bui.

² MS. Laegairi.

³ MS. Amhairgin.

⁴ MS. atarru.

⁵ MS. ullaib.

⁶ MS. didu.

⁷ MS. xx.

⁸ MS. in.

TRANSLATION

I

O Morann, son of Maín, O Mochda, how—&c.

The story referred to here is as follows: The cattle of Bresal, the hospitaller of hundreds (he had a hundred of each kind), trespassed on every one, so that he did not get a price for them on account of their trespassing. Bresal complained of that to Nerae. ‘I will complain to Morann,’ said Nerae, ‘and will declare thy rights as though the cause were my own, and I will plead in my own person, and do thou come (?) on this particular day.’ That is done. Nerae says to Morann on the day of the trial for Bresal: ‘O Morann, son of Maín, O Mochda.’ Morann says to Nerae: ‘*Ardu arusc asbér frit. Treba Bresail ní mo bera arraith.*’¹

(That is *mo* ‘early’, and here is an example of it: When Fer Muman went into Connacht, he heard one man say to another in contracting a loan: ² . . .

It was on that visit that Fer Muman heard conversation (?) in a wood on the border of Uí Néill and Leinster. Fer Muman sent Noinn son of Becán into the wood to see what was the matter. ‘What didst thou find?’ said Fer Muman. ‘Holly with . . .)

II

Pigs have injured . . .

The story he refers to here is as follows: . . . The greyhound attacks the pigs, the pigs attack the hound, and the hound is chased back to Baemnach. The hound escapes. The pigs tear Baemnach, and they left fifty wounds on him, so that he was held together in a truss. That was submitted to the judgement of Coirpre Lifechair. When the man whose pigs they were said: ‘Pigs have injured . . .’, then Coirpre said: ‘One-fourth fine is taken off each for its being a first offence.’ Cormac

¹ C. 1406 A high (universal) saying I say unto you: the cattle of Breasal, living animals, not early will their profit be obtained.

² C. ‘Will you lend me your cart?’ ‘I will, if you don’t break my cart, if you bring back my cart early.’ ‘If your cart does not break it will come.’

heard that judgement, and said in reproach of Coirpre: 'Alas! my Coirpre, great fame!' Baemnach Bec Buta was the name of the boy. He was a son of Ferdoman the Strong, son of Nia Nárgresach, son of Colla Curadchenn, the champion of Temair under Cormac grandson of Conn. It was his son whom the pigs devoured.

III

Ruchtaid Ruib rl.

The story he refers to here is as follows: There was a rich man of the Ulaid named Mugna. Maine had a comely son. He was a grandson of Mianán. Mugna's pigs devoured Maine's son, and there was no swineherd with them. The pigs tore him to pieces and divided him between them. Maine brought Mugna's pigs into a house of covered trellis-work (?) on the lawn of the enclosure to detain (?) them for their crimes. There was a 'son of two kine' locked in the house. The pigs devoured the calf. It belonged, moreover, to Mugna. Maine sought justice on account of it, that is to say on account of his son. Mugna sought justice of Maine for the calf which the pigs devoured. They went before Sencha. He went to Conchobur to ask his judgement, and said to him: **Ruchtaig ruib. r. rl.** Conchobur answered and said: 'Damages in favour of Maine', &c. as regards compensation to him for his son. 'Damages against Maine' for letting loose the pigs on the calf.

IV

There was a king of Ulster. Cernodon the Chief was the king's name. The king was niggardly to the *filid*. They satirized him so that there came three purple blisters on his cheek. 'Stain and blemish and injury' were their names. There was a *filii* in the company of Cernodon. Foachtach the Keen was his name. Morand asked Foachtach what penalty is paid for blemishing and satire without guilt, and for satires of over-praise. Then Foachtach said: 'Seven ignobly born ones (?)',¹ said he, 'for a — curse² without guilt, on a person

¹ i.e. cumals? C. in a note suggests some connexion with *ancilla* which he says is used to translate *cumal* (C. 1410, footnote).

² For *glím dicenn* see RC. xii. 119.

who has not been satirized before, thirteen ounces of silver for each cumal, a third of silver and a third of tin or copper. That should be in one mass with gold over it, that is thirty-seven ounces of silver, and a third of an ounce¹ added to them.' That is the general legal right for everyone, according to Foachtach, (he appoints, however, his own right), except a king, for that has been fixed, &c.²

This is what he says: seven *flescach*'s who cast a rod over nine sods, and four cows for each *flescach*, seven *fir midboth* (each of them is a lad of twenty), seven cows is the value of each man of them. It is in regard to them that every — is incurred, until it be thirty . . . [= up to the age of thirty ?]. Seven cumals, according to him, is the supplementary payment of honour-price for the king, like every person subject to law. What Foachtach declares here is the legal right of Cernodon, his king, although he was satirized before: 'Defilement of beauty (?) is Cernodon.' What he says here is: seven ounces and a half of silver, and seven white cows with red ears (that is, two cumals), a purple cloak worth seven ounces of silver, a shirt with its goodly hood, which is worth two screpalls . . . [rest of column blank].

V

Vigour of Engraving (?).³

That is, engraving⁴ (*rind*) which has been given quickly (*go luath*). Or an engraving which has been taken from ashes (*luath*). That is to say; A law was made by the Ulaid about the making of silver shields amongst them, and the engraving of each shield was different. Cúchulainn was at that time a pupil of Buanand and Scathach, and he saw the shields being made in

¹ i. e. of gold.

² Reading *ar rosuidiged suide* which, in a MS., might be written *arrosoit suide*. I am indebted to Dr. MacNeill for this emendation, and for a translation of the whole of IV.

³ *luathrinda* glosses plectas (3 Reg. 7. 29) see Thes. Pal. i. 1. 30. This is the story referred to by Macalister, Archaeology of Ireland, p. 145.

⁴ 'engraving' is the sense required for *rind* throughout the story, as though the word for a graver came to be used for the ornament engraved, just as we speak of writing a good 'hand'.

his own country on his return. Cúchulainn went to the artifex,¹ that is to Mac Endge. 'Make me a shield', said Cúchulainn, 'and let there be on no other shield of the Ulaid the engraving that will be on it.' 'I cannot do that', said Mac Endge, 'for I have spent my skill on the shields of the Ulaid.' 'I swear by my weapon', said Cúchulainn, 'that I will kill thee, if thou dost not make my shield so.' 'I am under the protection of Conchobur from thee', said Mac Endge. 'Thou shalt claim the protection of Conchobur', said he, 'and I will kill thee all the same.'

Cúchulainn goes to his house. Great sorrow comes over Mac Endge. As he was there he saw a man approaching him. 'Thou seemest sad', said he to him. 'And I have reason', said the fitter (?), 'for I shall be killed unless I make Cúchulainn's shield.' The man said to him: 'Clear out thy workshop, and sift ashes on the floor till the ashes are equal to a man's foot in depth.' It is done as he said. As Mac Endge was there he saw a man on the skylight [?] ² approaching him, with a fork in his hand with two prongs on it, and he outlines one of the edges (?) ³ in the ashes. Luathrindi is the name of that ornament, as Dubdethba said: 'If I were Mac Endge, it is thus I should engrave.' And he said this, further: 'It is thus Dubdethba does.' And it is that Luathrindi which was cut on Cúchulainn's shield, and Dubán was the name of the shield.

VI

Aengus Under Sparks . . .

That is to say, Aengus son of Fiachra Fobreck, or Aengus son of Ailill Glass, a son of Bresal Brecc son of Fiachrae Fobreck, and king of Ireland. And he is the thirtieth king ⁴ of the Leinster-men who reigned over Ireland. The king's

¹ MS. *gusan elandenmaid*, see ÉRIU, v. 72². Dr. Bergin suggests that *elaiandénmaid* would be quite possible as a literal translation of *artifex*, and this is, no doubt, the correct reading.

² Cf. RC. xxii. 19, 14, 16, 20, 7; Kings' Inns MS. 12. 12^c 2, but C. tr. 'yard wall'. Cf. *airles* 'enclosure' (Meyer, Contributions).

³ *na n-aisell*: Meyer s. v. *aisli*, with example where it is also part of a shield. Cf. ÉRIU, ix. II, Supp., Grammatical Tracts 107, § 54, and I. 1375, *aisell*, where the meaning may be 'edge'.

⁴ or one of the thirty kings. See note.

leniency was great, so that it was enacted by him that whatever security one had should be accepted from him. Perishable securities used to be lost, food and cloth and the things aforesaid, and it was hard for people to make restitution and return them. The kings and judges of Ireland complained of that after Aengus's death, that they did not know what to do, since they thought it bad that things which were not suitable should be taken in pledge. And the nobles of Ireland took counsel, and the counsel they adopted was to leave it to the discovery of the *filid*, so that they should try the revelation by *imas* as to what state Aengus was in after death on account of the judgement, false through carelessness, which he had given. And they tried the revelation of true *imas*, and he was shown to them condemned to half punishment on account of his leniency in accepting the perishable securities anyone had, that is to say, half of him was in the fire and half outside the fire. And it was then the *fili* said: . . .

VII

The Wooing of Cotreibe Long and Lovingly.

There was a famous king of the Ulaid named Conchobur. Conchobur had a jester named Cotreibe. Cotreibe had four daughters, Find and Femna, Findan and Caradan. There was a famous *fili* named Argamain in the territory of Conchobur. He had a fair daughter, and all were amazed at the beauty of her form. Taidell was the girl's name. Cotreibe came and carried off the girl partly by consent partly by force. They submitted to the judgement of Sencha upon it, and Sencha said: four maidens as reparation for violation for every three days that Taidell should not reach . . .,¹ that is for every three days that Taidell does not come to his house. And, even if it be graver matter, it shall be as follows: one full day and two working days in that three-day period, and as she is a craftswoman, four unskilled women in reparation for his act, so that his four daughters come from Cotreibe on account of those three days (that is, on account of two days). Or else, each one for the amount (?), that is for the periods of three days taken singly (?),² and she was

¹ C. that Taidell does not come.

² C. or now, that each stood for many, i. e. for many threes.

away twelve days, and she was an unskilled woman, and an unskilled woman in reparation for his act for each three days (?).¹ What is the difference between them, that where 'Baetán carried off Brigh who was sister to Barrinde' is cited, it was two cumals for the same act,² and here it is four maidens? The reason is that in that case she was one day away without returning, and there are two days here; and they are craftswomen in each case with unskilled women in reparation for their act.

VIII

How is a man not of a family brought into a family?

There was a famous king of the Ulaid named Conchobur. There was a famous *fili* in the territory of Conchobur named Trusc son of Tregaman. Trusc went and was on a winter visit with the king of Ossory. The king's name was Mac Rethé. Mac Rethé had a beautiful daughter, and the *fili* was asking her in marriage. 'Thou shalt have her', said Mac Rethé, 'on condition that pledges and securities and bonds for the reception of her children be given her.' 'The chief of my race is Lugaid Lámhada, and that will be no hindrance to our affair', said Trusc son of Tregaman. 'There is a chief of a cantred of the Ulaid in this country in exile from Conchobur, Laégaire Buadach son of Condad son of Iliu,³ and I declare that on the security of Laégaire', said Trusc. They make their contracts and bind their conditions, and Trusc spent the night with his wife. Laégaire went to his own country, and made peace with the Ulaid, and Mac Rethé entrusted his daughter to Laégaire whenever she should have recourse to him. Then the wife of Trusc, the king's daughter, became pregnant, and a son is born to him named Indua son of Trusc son of Tregaman. Trusc died after that, and Indua was thirty years with his mother, and then went for his birthright, and Lugaid Lámhada did not accept him as the son of Trusc son of Tregaman till testimony should be given of him. And his mother and his mother's family went with him, and Indua said: 'Laégaire is my security that I shall be accepted for ever.' And Lugaid Lámhada then said: 'Deil

¹ C. every day.

² C. there were two cumals in lieu of work.

³ C. Iliach.

lond Laégaire (that is: "straight and sudden (?) is Laégaire,¹ a valiant hero", etc.), and though Laégaire be angry and fierce and hard and harsh, thou shalt have force and justice and contest from me. The son is no son and Laégaire no security, so long as he was in exile.' They went then for Sencha's decision. He awarded thirty men to bind him² in his rights as the book reckons, and no other number than that is found of bearers of testimony in guarantee.³ And he was bound north in the Ulaid country, and had it been south in Ossory it would have been the half of that.

IX

A Wooden Stake into a Fence of Silver.

The story which is told here is as follows: Lomna, the druid of Find son of Cumall, saw Find's wife going to meet another man. 'Well, my girl!' said Lomna. The girl said: 'Let Lomna be called to us, and let us give him money not to tell of us, or let us kill him.' They call Lomna, and said to him: 'Do not tell anyone what thou hast seen.' 'No', said Lomna. That is to say he thought it deceitful to conceal it from Find, and he was unwilling to tell a lie. One day Find took his wife's son in his arms. Lomna gave a rod into Find's hand, and carves this accusation on it:

^a *A wooden stake into a fence of silver, ^b hellebore (?) . . . is the son of a lecherous woman who is pressed to the bosom of a kinsman (?).* ^c *But, if it be said rightly and fitingly, he is a false (?) warrior in the opinion of the well taught Féini.*

^a as I think the wooden stake in the frame-work of silver very ugly, so this is very ugly.

^b like hellebore in the *fochlacht*⁴ is the son of a lecherous woman who is pressed (?)⁵ to the bosom of one who is not akin.

¹ C. straight from his soles is Laeghaire.

² C. He took ten over twenty persons over to confirm himself.

³ C. no party of full compensation is found in the *urradhus* (common law) but that (number).

⁴ See Strachan, Stories from the Táin, vocab.

⁵ diluither *leg.* dlúthar?

^c as though he should attempt to establish himself according to justice (?).

The junior (?) or apprentice poet (?)¹ is certainly a false (?) warrior on the land.²

¹ Cf. AL. i. 105, 10 where these two terms occur, gl. gilla na filed i. gilla urraith i. i cometecht.

² C. 1421 A Wooden stake in a silver fence; *Aith* (white lily-root) in cresses; the son of a lewd woman pressed according (to law) into the lap of a family; but if it be [1422] according to befitting propriety, it is a wilful crime; he is a silly man with the Feine of a certainty. *A Wooden Stake*, i. e. in the same way that the wooden stake in the weaving of the silver is hateful to me, it is in the same way this is hateful. *Whitelily-root in cresses*, i. e., like whitelily-root in the cresses, is the son of the lewd woman, who is pressed (appointed) into the lap of the family by compurgation. *But if it is according to befitting propriety*, i. e., the same as if it were attempted to put him in according to propriety [it is a wilful crime]. *He is a silly man*, i. e., he is a silly man upon the land of a perfect certainty, the *sacaire* and the *taman filedh* [two of the lowest and sorriest orders of poets, and to admit a bastard born by a man's wife to share her husband's and his family's land with the legitimate sons was the same as admitting one of these buffoons or fools to it].

In the margin C. refers to a 'better version', *Curry transcripts*, 2238 (= Eg. 88. 17. a. b. 101). It is in a text entitled 'Bretha for Maicslechta', which begins at C. 2231 = Eg. 88. 16. b. b. 94; and runs as follows: Ocus mar adeir: cuaille fedha a feilm n-airgid i. amail is eitgidh in cuaille a fidhluim in airgid is amlaid is eithedhgedh so.

Athaba a fothlucht. mac mná druithi dluiter a n-iarfine ucht i. mac na mna druithi d'adbul ludh a nucht na firfine anunn i. is fiar a tabairt acht amail is fir acht a coir comaois i. amail is comaois i. go fir ocus go ocus go seotu faosma.

Is druthlach la feinde foircathi i. amail an laoch mear feagur ag in gcleir, in canti, no in taman file i. in fer nach comsaor friu o gin n-jumderga.

Is freoch for bualainn laighne mac la h-anfine i. is fraoch for san leann uaine fuaradar [C. 2238. 102] mic mileadh for sruth buail tucadh do laigne mac eiremoim.

Ocus a deirim nac ferde na mic so raiti na mban mbaoth so da mbreith isin fine. Mar adeir, nis briathra baoitsi bera aithgniu i. ni roberaimsi aithni ar briathra na mban mbaoth.

In the same volume of transcripts occurs a text from the same MS. which seems to begin at C. 2468 (= Eg. 88. 38. a. a.). Taithmech rudartha annso . . . Fuaslaici cach rudhradh &c., cf. AL. v. 496, and contains some of the Heptads of AL. v. The corresponding passage (C. 2479) runs: Ocus mar adeir: Cuaille fedha a feilm n-airgid i. amail is adheitgi in cuaille a fidhluim an airgid, ada i bfothlacht i. amail is adheitge in athghaba a mesc an fothlachta, mac mna druithi dlutha [2480] i n-iarfine ucht i. do tabairt a n-ucht na fine iar bfiar.

‘That is true’, said Find, ‘my wife was with another man.’ The girl heard that, and told it to Coirpre, son of the king of the Luighne,—that Lomna had betrayed them. And Coirpre came with his three times nine to lie in wait for Lomna, and they killed him. And Find comes in pursuit of Coirpre to the hut where Lomna was killed, and finds the track of his blood, and finds the body without a head. And then Find said: ‘A person . . .’¹

Coirpre goes off with his three times nine till they reached the weir. And they saw the weir full of fish in front of them. And they take some of the fish and cook it for themselves, and they place the head on the ground while they were dividing, and they did not give anything to the head. And then the head said: ‘A speckled whitebellied salmon that breaks forth from spawn under seas . . . thou hast made a division that is not just, Coirpre.’² They placed the food in their *brodmuccaib* (?), and did not offer anything to the head. Then the head said: ‘Thou hast made a division at the second division on Medb’s plain. It will be a bad portion for him who takes it (?).³ Theirs will be possession of it.’

At those words Find arrived in pursuit of them, and heard the head saying that, satirizing the warriors. ‘That shall be made good’, said Find. And Find shouted to them, and killed

Is drulach lan fortcha, is fraech for bualann i. mac la h-anbfine i. amail is edeitgi fraoch for gualainn sleibi Luighni, no for gualainn righ Luighni i. anal- so imtha samlaid na saorclanna ocus na daorclanna ni commadhai a cumusg nach a mbrechtradh fri macaib na meirdrech.

Fechaidh fein an siadh baramlacha ar bith o cheile na an baramail so thug an t-ugdar i. cuaille ferna a fidh an airgid, no an t-athabha trid an fothlacht, no an sacaire no an tamhan amaille reis na filidhe, no fraoch tulaigh Luighni, no an brat fuarradar mic Mhile Easbain for an muir, ocus mac do chur a bfine no a fine; na gach dlidged da tugasa eir an raod ó chena.

The last paragraph includes references to four of the stories printed here. What precedes and follows this passage is irrelevant.

¹ C. 1423 It was a person that cut him down, it was not through battle, it was not a spear that reddened him, it was not a boar that gored him, it was not he that slew him, he did not bring to his deathbed Lomna.

² C. cannot make sense of the passage, and suggests in a note that words have fallen out.

³ C. 1424 it is an evil portion you shall take, cf. with this passage ZCP. i. 464, second fragment.

Coirpre with his three times nine in vengeance for Lomna.
And thus the stake is not a stake without a history.

X

The Cloak of Clothru.

It is not the cloak which Clothru, daughter of Eochu Feidlech, had that I say was taken as a pledge. Or, it is not the cloak which Clothru, daughter of Ocha the craftsman, had that I say was taken as a pledge. Its woof was gold, that is to say, there was silver underneath. But it was (?) a man, a hound, a horse.¹ It is one of the three best wooing treasures Find ever got.

XI

May Mac Con's Brecc Bras not go to Battles of Lotcasting.

There are many stories here, and it is a pity that they are not known.

A Champion's Clasp: that is to say, Mac Con was a famous warrior. He was a champion, a king, son of a king and a *fili*. Mac Con's shield used to be about his leg, and the clasp on it was of gold, and seven chains from it, and a champion at the end of every bronze chain of them . . . the battle.² When each combat was entered upon, that clasp and the seven chains from it were so that no one should go in the place of another, though one of them were stronger than another, because he was held back.

That clasp is not a (valid) pledge. Therefore the *fili* says : **May Brecc Bras not go, &c.**

XII

It is (like) Heather on Ualand of the Luigne.

Lugaid Laigde said this. Ualand is a height in the upper part of Fir Chualann in the north of Brega, the boundary of Fir Chualann and the Luigne, a smooth beautiful hill, for the four baronies of the Luigne with their extra territory (?) are visible from it.

¹ Cf. Meyer, *Fianaigecht*, 50. 26, which appears to be imperfectly quoted here.

² C. 1426 he having their strength and their obedience to make the battle (presumably reading a *comus oucus a geile* (?)).

That mound is a meeting place for assemblies and fairs. Neither heather nor furze nor forest grew on it. Heather and roughness (?) on that mound were a misfortune, on account of the multitude of choice flowers which used to grow on it. It is the same with the free and unfree classes. It is not right to mix them nor to mingle them [*in marg.* with the sons of harlots].

Or: It is like a stain (?) on Luigne's Ualand. [*in marg.* a corruption of *bualenn*.] The story which is told there is as follows: When the sons of Mil of Spain came out of Egypt, at the time that Pharaoh was drowned with his hosts in the Red Sea, they went then, as many as filled four boats, eastwards over the sea to the islands of Deprofaine. As they were rowing easily, four boat-loads, they saw a very bright cloth on the water. The crews of the four boats jumped into the sea to catch the cloak. Luigne, son of Erimu, was first to reach the cloak by . . . it between¹ his two hands before anyone (else) reached it.

They submitted that to the judgement of Aimirgin. Aimirgin said the ownership of the cloth went to Luigne, for it was a champion's treasure-trove of which it was unknown whence it came, and it was not known . . .² But it was as white as snow, and softer than every softness, and smoother than any satin or silk. Luigne's people had that cloth. It was an heirloom of will and testament. 'It were a pity,' said Lugaid Luigde, 'a *fraéch* of blood³ to be on that cloak.' It is the same for repudiated (?) children,⁴ and children of harlots. It is not just to mix them with the race or with the children of chaste women. That is 'a wooden stake in a fence of silver'.

XIII

How does one recover his security?⁵

There were two warriors of the Ulaid, Laégaire Buadach and Conall Cernach, son of Aimirgin. A servant of Conall Cernach

¹ C. 1427 by the strength of his *tethna* (swimming?), and he caught it between, &c.

² C. 1428 whether a hand wove it, or whether it did not weave.

³ C. 1428 to see a heath of blood.

⁴ C. repudiated children.

⁵ C. 1428 How does a man recover what he has gone security for?

gave Laégaire Buadach as security for repayment of debts in ten days, and they did not come in till the end of a year. There was an assembly of the Ulaid summoned to Emain a year later. Conall and Aimirgin come, and with them his servant who had left Laégaire liable for his security. Laégaire comes out from Emain with a rod in his hand, and saw the servant between Conall and Aimirgin. 'It is well, boy', said Laégaire, 'that thou shouldst be between the warriors of the Ulaid after having cast thy liability on me.' 'I will give thee justice', said the servant. 'It will not be justice', said Laégaire, 'for thou gavest me as security for true debts due in ten days.'¹ Then Laégaire seizes Aimirgin's spear, which was in front of him, and struck a blow at the servant, and killed the servant outright. They attacked each other. Conchobur and Sencha went between them, and they submitted to a verdict on the affair of the spear, and Conchobur said: 'How does one recover his security?' etc.

XIV

Darkhaired is Duanach.

The story he refers to here is as follows: There was a woman-landholder of the Ulaid named Duanach. Athairne praised her.² There were seven hundred cows, and five cooks and five women-cooks to each hundred of them, and five spancels to each hundred. And that was five score and thirty score cows altogether. That is to say she had thirty score and five score. Thirty-five women-cooks and thirty-five spancels on the cows, so that they thus were seventy. Then there used to be a beam across through the house, and seven pegs (?)³ in it, and five spancels on each peg, and a space between them, and each woman-cook used to recognize her spancel. She had, moreover, seven chariots, and fourteen horses for them, and seven charioteers with them. . . .

¹ C. 1429 for the debts being certainly paid in ten days.

² C. 1430 ftn. 'This was enough to show that she was superlatively munificent, as Athairne, who was a satirical poet of Ulster in Conor's time, was never known to praise anyone else.'

³ C. 1430 notches.

NOTES

The language of the stories is a mixture of Old and Early Middle Irish. From the proportion of old forms it is safe to say that, except perhaps for the fragment X, it goes back to an Old Irish original.

p. 43, l. 24. For Morand see LL. 126b 6 ff., Stokes, Ir. T. iii. 1, 188; Thurneysen, ZCP. xi. 56, xii. 271; Smith, *ibid.* xvi. 305, xvii. 407. Smith (xvi. 306), following Stokes, translates *trebar* 'are secured'.

p. 43, l. 29. *arusc*. See AL., Glossary, = 'stipulation'.

p. 44, l. 23. *tech fithe forchait*. Cf. RC. xxii. 19, 13. *fortcha* is vn. of *fortuigethar*, and *fige fortcha* could be used of a wooden framework covered with clay. If this is right, we should expect O.I. *tech figi fhortcha*, or perhaps better *tech fichthe fortcha*, as the *f*- of *fortcha* is not marked lenited.

p. 45, l. 5. *flescaig*. See MacNeill, 'Law of Status' (Proc. RIA. xxxvi, Sect. C. 16), p. 277¹.

p. 45, l. 15. I have not found this Aengus in the verse or prose genealogies in LL., nor in AU., FM., or Keating. Bresal Brecc son of Fiacha F. son of Ailill G. appears in the Leinster genealogies, see LL. 311b 20, 318b 56, Keating iv. 39, 41, 74.

p. 45, l. 17. This repetition of the pronoun recurs on p. 49, l. 19, and is a mark of lateness, perhaps not earlier than the twelfth century. Dr. Bergin has kindly given me some references on the point: LU. 101a 39 = FB. 14 *is é gaiscedach as dech fil dib hé*, which is written by M. and therefore not later than 1106; but cf. ZCP. iv. 153, where the Leyden text reads *is e gaiscedac is dech fil dib*. Similarly, TBC. 4560 *issé mo lennán é*, but Lc. *asbert . . . ba he a cetserc*. In PH. three different constructions occur: 189 *corb e metrapolitan na prim-chathrach he*, 1636 *ba hairchindech na n-apstal he*, 1639 *is e ind ail forsa fothaigend in eclais, is e eochair na flatha némdai, is e apstal is moo dorat grád ocus seirc do'n choimidid*.

p. 46, l. 20. *ro bat immuigh ht.* This construction recurs on p. 47, l. 5, and is regular in Middle Irish. Dr. Bergin has again supplied me with information. From a passage in the unpublished tract on syntax in RIA. 24 P 8 (see Irish Grammatical Tracts, p. ii; ÉRIU, viii. 1 Supp.) at p. 241, it appears that it is confined to intransitive verbs. For examples cf. LL. 217b 33, 222b 26; AL. iv. 42. 2, 134. 13; AS. 6034, 6040; Vit. Trip. 392. 9.

p. 46, l. 22. *Cadh é deithbir*, &c. The syntax of this sentence is noteworthy, where the second clause, *in bail itá*, &c., is in parenthesis.

p. 47, l. 15. *ba torrach*, cf. l. 17, inf. *ba marb*. It is, perhaps, worth calling attention to this common use of the copula with an adjective in Irish where English would use a verb. *ba marb* means not merely 'he was dead', but 'he died'.

p. 47, l. 19. *nír gab*, &c. Here *mac Truisc* is apparently predicative, as in Thes. Pal. ii. 242. 21 *gabsi cadessin abbaith* 'he took him himself as abbot'. Cf. ZCP. xvi. 348f.

p. 48, l. 6. Lomna drúth ('jester, fool') figures in *Togail Bruidne Dá Derga*, see Thurneysen, Helden u. K.-sage, index, and RC. xxii, §§ 72, 78, 79 ff. In our story *drúth* has become *drúi*.

p. 48, l. 22. *ra cotaimsigidh*. This form is evidently a perfective subjunctive of *conmidethar*. Cf. AL. iii. 336. 5 *conmeser* 'thou shalt measure'.

astad. See Windisch, Wbt. s. v. *adsaiter*.

p. 49, l. 1. *nónbur* is here treated as indeclinable, cf. l. 13, *infra*.

p. 49, l. 7. *brodmuccaib*. Cf. Tochm. Befcola (RIA. MSS. Ser. I. i), 178. 1 = SG. i. 86. 3, and AL., Gl. s. v. *baile*.

p. 49, l. 8. *tarcsat*. The quantity of the first *a* seems doubtful, see Ped. ii. 553. In Modern Irish it is short.

p. 49, l. 10. *dodngaba*. O.I. *nod ngaba?* A compound *dogaib* is not recorded in Old Irish.

p. 50, l. 4. *fortuathaib*. This may refer to the district in Co. Wicklow called *Fortuatha Laigen*, see MacNeill, Celtic Ireland, 93, 126.

p. 50, l. 6. *fraéch ocus anfed*. Cf. Tadg Dall, 106. 11 *mínigh fraoch anfaidh an fhir*.

p. 50, l. 13. Deprofaine. Cf. AS. 229, 2774, ZCP. ii. 300. 8 (Maundeville) η Ταπροβάνη: Ceylon.

p. 50, l. 25. *imshéna*. See AL., Gl. Read *imshénta?* But cf. AL. i. 202. 16.

p. 51, l. 1. *Co tagaib*. A verb *dogaib* is not attested (see, however, p. 49, l. 10, *supra*); nor have I another instance of *adella* in this sense.

p. 51, l. 5. *ro tinólta ac Ultaib*. The construction is puzzling, though the meaning is clear. We should expect in Old Irish: *tinólad la hUltu*. *tinólta* may be a Middle Irish pass. sing. impers. with the absolute ending instead of the conjunct. A similar form occurs in SR. where the active meaning is required: 1215 *lasin flaith fabmretha i fos*.

p. 51, l. 10. *daargad-sa*. This is taken to be a Middle Irish 1st sing. fut. of *doairci* 'he offers'.

THE ADVICE TO DOIDIN

OF the text here edited only one copy, that in the British Museum manuscript Egerton 88, fol. 40b, is known to exist.¹ It is of interest for a number of reasons: it adds one to the collection of early Irish *tecosc*-texts already known and edited;² it supplements Thurneysen's admirable legal studies, particularly those on surety;³ it reveals the source of fifteen quotations in O'Davoren's Glossary not identified by Stokes in his edition.⁴

Little is known concerning Doidin mac Nine, to whom the instruction is addressed. His name occurs twice in the published Laws. In the introduction to the *Senchus Mór* (AL. i. 24, 2) he is mentioned as one of the chief authors of the *Senchus* before the time of Patrick, his name appearing in the manuscript as Doidin mac Nin;⁵ in the text *Din Techtagad* (AL. iv. 18, 17 ff.) he is once more the recipient of instruction, this time in the procedure of making an entry on land.⁶ The advice is here put into the mouth of Doidin's mother, Nin, as also in H. 3. 17, col. 315:

Doidin ara feisiur besa tellaig .i. a Doidhin, ar si Nin re

¹ It is not noted by O'Grady, Catal. of Ir. MSS. in the Brit. Museum, i. 99, where it should be inserted between Nos. 50 and 51 (= O'C. 2486-89).

² For an account of these texts, see 'The *Speculum Principum* in Early Irish Literature', *Speculum: A Journal of Mediaeval Studies*, ii. 411-45.

³ Thurneysen, 'Die Bürgschaft im Irischen Recht', *Abhandl. der preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1928; on *ráth*, see pp. 35-56.

⁴ *Archiv für Celt. Lexicog.* ii. 197-504. The materials of this invaluable glossary are preponderantly of a legal nature. I have found sources or parallels, largely from unpublished texts, for more than 450 of the entries not located by Stokes, which I expect to make the subject of a forthcoming article.

⁵ H. 3. 17, col. 9; misprinted *Uin* in the edition.

⁶ MS. E. 3. 5, p. 7b, l. 20, beginning *Doighin ara feisear tellaigh*, to be rendered 'Doidin, that you may know the methods of making entry'. The instruction given to Doidin follows. AL. iv. 2, note 1 should read: 'O'D. 1254-92 (E. 3. 5, pp. 6b-11b).'

Compare the formula so frequently found in the Book of Aicill in the instructions of Cormac to his son Cairpre, *A meic ara feiser* (cf. AL. iii. 84, 9-13).

mac, re Doidin, co roibe fis acad ba fis gnae no aeibhind in *techtaighthi*; *no* Doidhin ainm in breithemhun. Ban comorba so, *7 beiridh* in ferunn uili co fuba *7 ruba* re re, *7 a leth* doib cen fuba cen ruba. (Compare AL. iv. 20, note 2.)

But in MS. H. 3. 18, which represents an independent and frequently more reliable tradition, the adviser is Doidin's father, named Nine, a wise man of Ulster (p. 386a, line 2):

Dodin, aru feser besa *tellaig*. Nine asrubairt in *brehir* so: *fer* gaeth di Ultaiph adrubaирt ria mac i. Dodin, do incoisc gaisi do; *co n-epert*, A Dodhoin, olse, ru feser besu *tellaig* la *Feine*. Cia dlidet asbeir sund. Ni *hannsa*: dlidet ellaig selbe. Cair, caidi a *techta* side. Ni *hannsa*: *fer* lais mbi a thir conruidther do ellaig asboinn dlidet do fiad fiadnaib innraacaib. *Etc.*¹ (Compare translation AL. iv. 21, note.)

The scribe of E. 3. 5 was aware of this tradition and awkwardly confused the two in the gloss at AL. iv. 20, 11: *Nin* [Doidin's mother] *do raid annso fri Doigin* i. *fri mac fir gaith d'Ulltaib*. Thus spake the mother to the son of her unnamed husband! On the face of the evidence it seems more than likely that Nin (or Nine) was at once the father of Doidin and the 'wise man of the Ultonians'.² One is almost tempted, in spite of his association with the Feini, to identify him with the Ninne mac Matech of an earlier passage in the *Din Techtagad*,³ who appears in the parallel text in H. 3. 18⁴ as Nin mac Magach, and who certainly had ties of friendship, if not of blood, with the Ultonians.

The *tecosc* delivered to Doidin is closely related to the connected Heptads XXX-XXXII, dealing with *ráth* and *aitire* and *gell* of an invalid or unprofitable nature.⁵

As the text contains a number of rare and problematical

¹ The same text, unglossed, appears again in H. 3. 18 (following a different order) at p. 429b, line 6.

² Nin occurs elsewhere as a man's (not a woman's) name; cf. Nin son of Bel (Pel), the 'first emperor of the world', Curry's R.I.A. Catal. 781, 898, 1027.

³ H. 3. 17, col. 312, line 4 (= AL. iv. 4, 27).

⁴ p. 384b, line 10.

⁵ Cf. AL. v. 222, 30: *Inann na secht ratha 7 na secht n-aitiri 7 na seacht n-gealla*. These terms and their application in Irish law are discussed at length by Thurneysen, Die Bürgschaft, 33 ff.; for Heptad XXX, see p. 47 f.

words, it is not surprising that it was made use of by O'Davoren for his Glossary; indeed, his interest in unusual words may well account for the fact that our only extant copy of the text is in the hand of one of his scribes.¹ It is to be observed that of the fifteen citations in O'Davoren, a number, where the lemmata have the same initial letter, are consecutive: 316, 317, 318; 402, 403; 460, 461.

One particular group of words calls for special attention. This is the group which classifies the various kinds of *drúth* or fool (§ 7). Fortunately we are enabled to arrive at a partial understanding of these terms by their re-appearance in two other places: (1) at the end of a short unglossed tract in Egerton 88, fol. 6a, entitled *Do druthaib 7 meraib 7 dasachtaib*; (2) in a brief paragraph in H. 3. 18, p. 423a. The latter will be found in the note to § 7; the former is given *in extenso* here:

Do druthaib 7 meraib 7 dasachtaibh.

Cisne tri horba do ranaiter la *Feine* ar belaib a comarbu nach comrannat crich, *acht* at ratha conoat a cobrainn fri saegal fir, fri tinol gaire 7 fri hinnchreic a orbu do neoch nach dena a gaire.

Orba druith, 7 orba fir fris ro scar[ad] a chond,² 7 orba fir bes mithig do thoiscige.³ Noch is i, for *cūic* setaib ro suigead eataim gaire gach druith la *Feine*, la hinncreic a n-orbu do neoch nach dena an gaire; for deich setaib ro suigead eataim gaire gacha mire. Isead ara moom⁴ eataim a gaire side fobith nada fotha sealb. Gach druth lais na bi orba as coibeis eataim a gaire fri mir.

Cond fine *luaides*⁵ gaire no a ma[i]thre⁶ is lasuidiu trian a dire. Otha suidiu is la rig fallnathar tua[i]th.

Cach rig laisa fuachar fris: airchealla side⁷ a dire naire; *acht* is go flatha do cen a trian dia fine.

¹ A scribal note at the bottom of the folio immediately follows the text; see O'Grady, Catal. of Ir. MSS. in Brit. Museum, i. 123 (52).

² Cf. AL. v. 234, 22; 268, 28.

³ Cf. *fria taiscedhi*, AL. iv. 338, 21.

⁴ Read *arind mb(a)*?

⁵ *Luaides* is evidently the *luaes no laeas* of O'Dav. 1182; but in citing his text O'Davoren seems to have skipped several lines below to *lui* (= *lai*, Eg. 88). See p. 69, note 1.

⁶ Cf. AL. i. 274, 19.

⁷ Read *sin*?

Cach ri nad lai othrus druith :¹ dia torgabthar fris in a chean-dagaid, ni go flatha do neoch gaibeas torad fris cu ro h-íca in fiach sin teora cumala² fri tuaith ⁷ ceniul ;³ seach in ti gaibes torad a flatha fris bes a h-ai in fiach sin, na cobranda neach fris o tuaith.

Bean chodnach beres mac do druth dleagar di a altrum cu díaltra.⁴ Noch as eadh treas idnaigi in sin fil la *Feine for* orbu ar cinn cineadu collna, mad codnach an idhnaigi ;⁵ anaill dono ar cinn comaltair itir fine an idnaide ; anaill do⁶ fri h-idnaide a gaire.

Bean mear *bereas* mac do druth *con* alur itir fine maithre ⁷ aithre, ní íca fine a chnaid *acht* a toiscid ⁷ comrainn.

Druth salach cetamus : a chin ⁷ a c[h]athach for fine.

In caeptha, finelog baoth gaoth insin :⁷ nad i fulangar⁸ a chinta co tabair *secht* cumala as do righ. Benaid sid[e]⁹ caep ind re cach, diles do cach a caepad iarum. Muna ro gaphad¹⁰ rig, bith a c[h]in for fine, ⁷ conoat orba do.

In rindenach dno : is eiside in meallach suirig : is for fine bis a c[h]in sidhe.

In rig druth dno : a c[h]in side ⁷ a c[h]oland eric do gach at go, nò a c[h]in for [cach] dot-nurgair.¹¹

Mad orgain airrleach[ta]¹² ro hoirg¹³ nech,¹⁴ na bid neach do-n-urgaire, cia for suich¹⁵ isuidiu, is teachta gach druth in a c[h]inta.¹⁶

¹ Quoted O'Dav. 1182, s. v. *luaes* : *nach rí* (F) *nad lui othrus druith* ; see O'Davoren's gloss.

² Cf. AL. v. 178, 16.

³ *ceinel* MS.

⁴ Cf. AL. ii. 288, 6 ; Aib. Cuigni § 1, 46 (ZCP. xvii. 54).

⁵ In the MS. *Mad codnach an idhnaigi . . . a gaire* constitutes a separate paragraph ; the rearrangement is necessary.

⁶ Read *dono* ?

⁷ andsin MS.

⁸ Read *na di-fulaing* ?

⁹ Read *sin* ?

¹⁰ Read *ro gaba*.

¹¹ Cf. *fer turgaire druith*, AL. iii. 156, 4, and Laws Gloss. s.v. *toirriachad*.

¹² For earlier *airſlechta* ?

¹³ Read *ro h-orr*.

¹⁴ This passage is the source of O'Dav. 115, q. v. ; it was obviously not understood by the scribe, as Stokes surmised. O'Davoren reads *madh orgain ardslechta ro oir nech*. Cf. O'Dav. 1328.

¹⁵ Read *fo-ruich*.

¹⁶ With this paragraph, cf. AL. iii. 158, 8-10 : *orgain airlechta in druith . . . is techta cach druif[h] ina cinaid*.

TRANSLATION

Of fools and madmen and lunatics.

What are the three lands that are divided among the Feini in opposition to their heirs who do not divide a territory, but whose portion is held by sureties¹ during the lifetime of a man, for collecting maintenance and for withholding his land from one who does not perform his maintenance?

The land of a fool, and the land of a man from whom his reason has departed, and the land of a man whom it is time to maintain. That is, at five *sets* has been fixed the fine for non-maintenance of every fool among the Feini, with withholding of their land from those who do not perform the maintenance; at ten *sets* has been fixed the fine for non-maintenance of every madwoman. The fine for non-maintenance of the latter is greater because no property supports her. Every fool who has no land has equal fine for non-maintenance with a madwoman.

The head of a family who undertakes maintenance, or (the tribe) of the mother, receives a third of his *dire*. From that point on, it (i. e., two-thirds) goes to the king who rules the *tuath*.

Every king in whose territory he (the fool) is injured: that one (the king) takes the *dire* in his stead, but it is unrighteousness in a king (not to give) a third of it to his (the fool's) family.

If a king does not undertake sick-maintenance of a fool: if (an offence) has been committed (?) against him (the fool) in his (the king's) territory, it is not unrighteousness in the lord for any one who withholds the benefits (lit., fruit; of lordship) from him until he has paid the debt, i. e., three cumals, to the *tuath* and the *cenél*; but the one who withholds the benefits of his lordship (i. e., due to a king) from him has that debt, (and) no one of the *tuath* shares it with him.²

¹ Lit., 'but there are sureties that hold his portion', &c.

² This and the next two paragraphs are far from clear; my translation is largely guesswork.

A sane woman who bears a son to a fool is obliged to foster him to the completion of fosterage. This is one of three maintenances upon land¹ among the Feini for the child of her body, if it be a sane person who maintains (lit., of maintenance); the second for co-fosterage² between the families which maintain;³ the third for the maintenance (or, awaiting?) of his *gaire* (?).

A madwoman who bears a son to a fool: (fosterage) is performed between the family of the mother and (that) of the father.⁴ The family does not pay for his (the son's) crime, but for his necessities and his dividing (?).

The *salach drúth* (unclean fool), first of all: his crime and his trespass (shall be) on his family.

The *caeþtha*, i. e., the *finelog baeth gaeth*: who is unmaintainable on account of his crimes until he has given seven cumals to the king. (If) he throws a clod at him before every one, it is lawful for any one to throw afterwards. Unless the king has taken him, his crime shall be on his family, and they hold the land for him.

The *rindenach*: he is the *mellach suirig*: his crime is on his family.

The king-fool: his crime and his body-éric to every one who chooses him, or his crime is on every one who incites him.

If it be a fatal assault⁵ one has committed, and there has been no one to incite him, whatever he has damaged in this case, it is lawful (to take) every fool for his crimes.

Of particular interest in this connexion is the explanation of *drúth* given in Cormac's Glossary, No. 472:⁶ *Drúth i. oinmit*,

¹ The *idnaigi for orbu* would seem to refer to the maintenance of the son by the mother upon the inherited land of the father or *drúth*; the text has to do with *orba druith*. Professor Thurneysen suggests that each of the three *idnaigi* has to do with the maintaining of a son on land not his own: the first on the land of the mother, the second on that of the two families concerned, and the third likewise on land not his own, being the maintenance of an adopted son (in order to receive *gaire* from him later).

² Cf. *tri comaltuir . . . mad a mnaib meraib*, AL. i. 190, 30 f.

³ Lit., 'between the family of maintenance (of the mother and that of the father)', as in the following paragraph, q. v.

⁴ But compare the gloss in O'Dav. 1119.

⁵ Lit., 'assault of slaughter', misrendered in AL. iii. 158, 8 and 202, 5.

⁶ Anecdota from Ir. MSS. iv. 39.

quasi di-raith, cen fiach fair ina chintaib, 'Druith, i. e., fool, quasi "without surety", without a debt on him for his crimes', to which the *Duil Droma Ceta* adds *acht aithgin*,¹ that is, he has no *dire* but he has *aithgin*, 'restitution'. Compare in the *Crith Gablach* (AL. iv. 352, 28 f.): *oinmit . . . Ni dlig dire in fer sin.*

The fragmentary character of Egerton 88 must be taken into account in explaining certain vagaries of the text, such as the inclusion of the unrelated § 12 in its very midst. Following a couple of quotations from the *Bretha Nemed*, which have nothing to do with surety, a number of short difficult passages dealing with persons not to be accepted as surety immediately precede our text:

Atboind ratha *rechtaido* na crenaim caom espoc .i. nochā cendaim ni ar scath einigh na trebairi. cruimt[h]er caom file eir triar. trebar fiac[h]ach fir druith tre tegosc. goba sui suthtengt[h]aidh so-ges daor do-fer dochra. dall di-oirb druth os ar eitge eithech adboinn .i. obaim.²

It is apparently to *atboind*, the first word in these *dicta*, that the *adboinn* at the end of § 13k refers the reader. The advice to Doidin is introduced by the words *Ocus mar adeir*.

I should like here to acknowledge the assistance given me by Professor Thurneysen, with his customary helpfulness, in interpreting some of the knottier portions of the text which follows, as well as the text *Do druthaib*. Of considerable aid also has been the valuable Card Catalogue of the late Charles Plummer, which is now deposited in the Royal Irish Academy.

¹ H. 3. 18, p. 69 c; ed. Stokes, Trans. Philol. Soc. 1859, p. 184.

² Cf. O'Dav. 89; AL. iii. 478, 17.

TEXT

Mo cosc duit, a Doidhin mic Nine.

1. Ni urfaomxa righ na righ-domna hi rathaighes friut, ar ni tualaing imgona friut im a n-anfir.

2. γ ni urfaomxa gobaind na briughaidh na brethemain, ar ní saigh a rathaighes for a comarbaib dia n-eis.*

3. γ ni bi \dagger raith friut mac beo athar na aithir gosingaibh \ddagger a gaire, ár is tualaing cechtaur na[i] as-rob curu arailz.¹

1. .i. ffr fo scris § cor a ceile.

4. γ ni bi raith friut fer loighi tire,² ar is díthir cach [fer?] loighi iar fuaslucad a c[h]oibche aire.³

2. .i. ferand cennaidh do comarbaib trearaib trebaraib.

3. .i. ar is amail fer gin ferand aigi an fer aga mbí an ferand cennaigh iar na uatuaslacad uadha.

5. γ ni bi raith friut eigs na bard na cainti, ar-nat-aorat dligud sseo inndligud,⁴ ar is rechtaidh gach ae a tengad.

4. .i. ar na haorait tú γ tú ar dligud γ iatsom ar inndligud.

6. γ ni bi raith friut fer fola⁵ na seirg⁶ na sinnser aoisi iarmotha na ocht mbliadna ochtmoghat, ar narab 'fortaidh for chru' duit ria n-aimsir tobaig for biu.⁷

5. .i. for a fertar croli.

6. .i. galur fada.

7. .i. for chomharba .i. ar narab ann rabus|| ag agra ar in tiu mortain ria siu tí aimsir tobaig for biu.

7. γ ni bi raith friut bobre⁸ na buice⁹ na boicmell,¹⁰ ar ni tualaing incoiscet a cuimni.¹¹ γ inann in bobre γ in buicmeall γ in meallach suirig γ in righ druth γ in rinnainech γ in druth go rath.¹² Inann in buicne γ in caoptha γ in fineloighi baoth gaoth γ in fer leth cuinn.¹³ Inann in salach druth γ an mer gin rath. \P

8. .i. epertaigh na mbo.

9. .i. an ceo do buaic .i. in fer leth cuinn.

10. .i. fo a mbit na mill buic fo bragaid.

11. .i. nocha cuimnech iat um teagosc caich.

12. .i. druth go rath sin.

13. .i. fer leth cuinn sin.

* dia ndeis MS.

† Read, §§ 3-10, *ni be*; cf. Die Bürgschaft, p. 31, § 84.

‡ Read *as-ingatb.* § Read *focras.* || Read *rabe*

¶ MS. adds: γ mer gin rath (dittography).

8. Ni bi raith friut tailcenn¹⁴ do-t-iucfa,¹⁵ ar do fuaslaice alle arach,¹⁶ ar dic[h]etlaib dianaib dubaib díc[h]ennaib.¹⁷

14. .i. toilginn.

15. .i. an lucht da togbann cach a c[h]enn, na cleirigh.

16. .i. uair uatuaslaice in t-aillé luighi uil acusan, an t-arach trebairi.

17. .i. adhbul cetal n-dian n-dorchá bes aca cen cenn uirre.

9. 7 ni bi raith friut fer* ro ísal na ro uasal, ar ni tualaing toimoirgna † ar nech madh ro ísal. Ni tiumorgar for nech bes ro uasal.¹⁸

18. .i. nochá cuimgech thu tiumargain íce tar cenn [neich?] an tí is ro uasal.

10. 7 ni bi raith [friut] flaith bunaidh, na briugaid, na fili, na felmac for a n-iada re foirchetail a n-aimsir duire do fithir.

11a. 7 ni nais for droch raith fora feiser droch bescna,¹⁹

b. bes daor,²⁰

c. bes dochraíd,²¹

d. bes dít[h]ir,²²

e. bes daighbir,²³

f. bes dinnba,²⁴

g. bes combrasul,²⁵

h. bes anfosaigh traigh,²⁶

i. bes amnertach righ,²⁷

19. .i. braithemnecht 7 eisinnracus.

20. .i. a c[h]enel.

21. .i. díchairdech.

22. .i. fa ferand.

23. .i. do marb-dilib no d'innili.

24. .i. ag na bi ba ar thulchaib.

25. .i. as bras oc sithladh urlabtra tria na ulcha.

26. .i. im techt.‡

27. .i. im beim.

12. Ar a fuirgли neich.

13a. Is essomain noillach.²⁸

b. Is lesc fri h-inbleogan.²⁹

28. .i. is es somaine é ag tabairt luighi na dechaid inn, no lasomain ag tabairt luighi.

29. .i. fri híc cinad n-inbleogain.

* *raith* (r.) MS.; I have supplied *fer* from the parallel passage in H. 3. 18. See note.

† Read *timoirgna*.

‡ teithi MS.

- c. *γ* is coltra fri h-imrisan.³⁰
- d. Is truagh fri saighidh.³¹
- e. Is dinnba fri h-eiric.³²
- f. Is altlethan conaire.³³
- g. Is caol minnegh.
- h. Is eitgi dala.³⁴
- i. Is cuthal airachta.
- j. Is umgona* fethamnasa.
- k. Is dinsi[de] dimes.³⁵

30. *i.* is secdha é ag imrisan na firinne.

31. *i.* fann ag innsaighi ar an mbiu[d]bha.

32. *i.* ni bit ba aigi re híc n-erca.

33. *i.* is lethán a tegh ar in conair.

34. *i.* is droch-tengach é is na dala.

35. *i.* gin eneclann, gin daimh, iath,† *γ* fine.‡

14. Gab so dot ae friut *fer* selba bona :

- a. Beo a ceithir-fine.³⁶
- b. *Cuic* dorn a sciath.
- c. *Sé* duirn a claidem.
- d. Midhach teora com.³⁷
- e. Connail a mét.³⁸
- f. Aurraic a scoth.³⁹

36. *i.* isé fein in *cuicidh fer* *i.* geilfine a mathar.

37. *i.* iar terna ó tri comracaib.

38. *i.* ní beg ní mór.

39. *i.* a briathar.

15a. Ní dlegar dé dechde a buar :⁴⁰ bo aire fir, in cétna bo aire.

- b. Beo a c[h]uimne.⁴¹
- c. Saighi[dh], asren, ní ditoing.

40. *i.* ní dlegar dhé ni is mó na deich do buar aigi.

41. *i.* bethaigh ní do neoch a c[h]uimne.

TRANSLATION

My advice to you, O Doidin son of Nin :

1. Do not accept a king or a prince as surety for you, for it is not possible for you to fight with him § in the event of his unrighteousness.

* Read *imgona*. † *lath* MS. ‡ MS. here adds *Adboinn*.

§ Lit., 'it is not able (for him) to be fought against for you'.

2. And do not accept a smith or a hospitaller or a judge, for their suretyship does not attach to their heirs after them.

3. And let not be surety for you the son of a living father or a father who is exempt by his maintenance,* for either of them is capable of setting aside the contracts of the other.¹

1. i.e., who truly denounces the contract of the other.

4. And let not be surety for you a man who has sold his land,² for landless is every man who has sold (land) after the contract with him has been fulfilled.³

2. i.e., land sold to powerful warranting heirs.

3. i.e., for like a man without land is the man who has land that has been sold, after it has been severed from him.

5. And let not be surety for you a poet or a bard or a satirist, lest they satirize you (when you are in the) right and (they are in the) wrong,⁴ for each one of them is master of his tongue.

4. i.e., (lit.) that they may not satirize you and you in the right and they in the wrong.

6. And let not be surety for you a wounded man (lit., a man of blood)⁵ or a man in decline⁶ or a man old in age or eighty-eight years of age, that you may not be giving 'evidence against a dead person'[†] before the time for enforcing payment from the living.⁷

5. i.e., on whom a severe wound is inflicted.

6. i.e., long disease.

7. i.e., from the heirs, i.e., that you may not be suing the dead (lit., against the death) before the time comes for enforcing payment from the living.

7. And let not be surety for you a *bobre*⁸ or a *buice*⁹ or a *boicmell*,¹⁰ for their memories‡ are not reliable.¹¹ And the *bobre* and the *boicmell* and the *mellach suirig* and the king-fool and

8. i.e., having the behaviour of the cow.[§]

9. i.e., (who has) the mist in his head, i.e., the man of half-sense.

10. i.e., under whose neck are the soft lumps.

11. i.e., they are not mindful concerning the instruction of anyone.

* Lit., 'whom his being maintained makes an exception of (takes out)'.

† Lit., 'that it may not be (a case) of "deposing against a death" for you'. See note.

‡ Lit., 'not competent is the way in which their memories inform'.

§ Following Stokes's rendering, O'Dav. 316; *sic* Plummer, Card Catal., s.v. *-abartach* 'behaving in a particular manner'. But 'lowing (i.e., speaking) like a cow' seems to me equally acceptable.

the *rindainech* and the fool with a talent¹² are equal. The *buicne* and the *caeptha* and the *fineloighi* (?) half-foolish (and) half-wise and the man of half-sense¹³ are equal. The *salach druth* and the madwoman without a talent are equal.

12. i. e., that one (is) a fool with a talent.

13. i. e., that one (is) a man of half-sense.

8. Let not be surely for you a *tailcend* ('adze-head')¹⁴ who shall come to you,¹⁵ for the hymn of praise would invalidate the bond,¹⁶ on account of (their) swift dark headless chantings.¹⁷

14. i. e., 'hasty-head' (?)

15. i. e., the people to whom everyone lifts up his head, (i. e.) the clergy.

16. i. e., for the hymn of praise dissolves the oath they have sworn,* (i. e.) the bond of security.

17. i. e., the great swift dark chant without an end to it.

9. And let not be surely for you a man who is too low or too high, for one is not able to constrain a person if he is too low. Any one who is too high cannot be constrained.¹⁸

18. i. e., you are not competent to force payment from any one who is too high.

10. And let not be surely (for you) a hereditary lord or a hospitaller or a poet or a pupil who is apprenticed to instruction during the period of submission to his tutor.

11a. And do not make a contract with a bad surety of whom bad customs are known,¹⁹

b. who is base,²⁰

c. who is unlovable,²¹

d. who is landless,²²

e. who is poverty-stricken,²³

f. who is indigent,²⁴

g. who is over-loquacious,²⁵

h. who is unsteady of foot,²⁶

19. i. e., treachery and unworthiness.

20. i. e., (with respect to) his family.

21. i. e., friendless.

22. i. e., with regard to land.

23. i. e., in dead chattels or cattle.

24. i. e., who has no cows upon hills.

25. i. e., he is skilled in straining eloquence through his whiskers.

26. i. e., with respect to moving (lit., coming).

* Lit., 'that is with them'.

- i. who is weak of arm.²⁷
- 27. i. e., with respect to striking.
- 12. *Ar a fuirgли neich.* (See note.)
- 13a. He is headlong to take an oath.²⁸
- b. He is slow to go surety for another.²⁹
- c. And he is stubborn in contention.³⁰
- d. He is feeble at suing.³¹
- e. He is indigent as to *éric*.³²
- f. He is broad-jointed (?) in (legal) procedure.³³
- g. He is shrill-swearling.
- h. He is mute in a lawsuit.³⁴
- i. He is timid in court.
- j. He is a destroyer of advocacy (?)
- k. He is despised and contemptible.³⁵
- 28. i. e., he is rash at taking an oath (in a matter) he has not been involved in, or, on fire to take an oath.
- 29. i. e., at paying for the crimes of *inbleogan*.
- 30. i. e., he is bold at quarrelling with the truth.
- 31. i. e., weak at suing against the defendant.
- 32. i. e., he has no cows for paying *éric*.
- 33. i. e., his house is broad on the road. (See note.)
- 34. i. e., he is ill-tongued in the courts.
- 35. i. e., without honour-price, without retinue, land, or family.
- 14. Take this man for your transaction: a man of original possession:

 - a. His four families (are) living.³⁶
 - b. His shield (is) five fists (in diameter).
 - c. His sword (is) six fists (in length).
 - d. (He is a) hero of three fights.³⁷
 - e. His size (is) becoming.³⁸
 - f. His speech (is) excellent.³⁹
 - 36. i. e., he himself is the fifth man, i. e., his mother (is) of the *geilfine*.
 - 37. i. e., after he escapes from three conflicts.
 - 38. i. e., he is not small, he is not large.
 - 39. i. e., his word.
 - 15a. He owes not more than ten cows: a true *bo-aire*, the first *bo-aire*.⁴⁰

 - b. His memory (is) active.⁴¹
 - c. He prosecutes, he pays, he does not deny upon oath.
 - 40. i. e., it is not required of him to have more than ten cows.
 - 41. i. e., his memory brings a thing to life for a person.

NOTES

1. Under the first of the closely associated Heptads (XXX) the last of the invalid sureties, *raith ar uais* (AL. v. 224, 6), is glossed *sai, rig, rig damna*. Cf. note on *mellach suirig*, § 7.

Plummer, Card Catal., s.v. *imguin*, cites the explanatory clause in this passage and adds: 'i. e., you can't challenge him to combat if he defaults (this is the passage cited by O'Don. for the meaning "punish").'

2. These three classes of persons are similarly grouped together in O'Dav. 1383: *goba briuga brithem ar dororbenat fuigell 7 imastad 7rl.* and in AL. iii. 272, 14: *co briugaидh, co breithemain, co prim-gobaind* (cf. AL. v. 336, 3-4).

In the Uraicecht Becc it is stated (AL. v. 90, 19) that the *goba* and the *breithem* belong normally to the *daernemed* class; but they can acquire *saernemed* grade through the practice of their professions: AL. v. 14, 31 ff. (in the case of the *goba*), and 100, 16, where the *breithem* has attained the same honour-price as the *aire tuise*. The *briuga* may likewise raise himself from *daernemed* to *saernemed* (AL. v. 20, 14-23), achieving equal rank with the *flaith*, who is *saernemed* by birth (AL. v. 76, 1; 14, 10-16). The *briuga* and the *goba* are further associated in Heptad LX (AL. v. 312, 2: *folach briugaig, folach goband*) and in AL. v. 16, 13-18; 20, 13 ff.

3. Heptad XXX gives *raith ar mac beo athar* as the first of the invalid sureties (AL. v. 224, 3; 226, 2); see also AL. i. 52, 1, where the *cor meic beo athar cen athair* is one of the five contracts 'dissolved by the Feini even though they be perfected'; Heptad L (AL. v. 284, 25): *Atait secht curi foceirid mac beo athar sech a athair*; and Heptad XVII (AL. v. 182, 8; 184, 9-11): *eiric ar mac beo athar*.

I have taken *as-rob* as 3rd sing. subj. of the verb *asbonnaim*, on which cf. Plummer (ÉRIU, x. 127, 51). The *fo scris* of the MS. is to be read *focras*, 3rd rel. of *focraim*, as *fir focras* represents the expected etymological gloss on *urfocras*; cf. *iar fir fogra*, gloss. on *iar n-urfogra* (AL. i. 286, 39).

4. *Fer loighi tire* means literally 'a man of price of land', i. e., who has received the price for his land. Compare the proverbial couplet in *Tecosca Cormaic* 31, 1-2:

Gáeth cách co reic a orba,
Báeth cách co lóg (luag) tíre,

'Wise is everyone till he sells his heritage; foolish is everyone till he buys land.'

The *ferand cennaigh* of the gloss may mean either 'land bought' or 'land sold' (literally, 'land of transaction'). Cf. *cennaigim*, 'I buy' or 'I sell', Meyer, Contribb. In AL. ii. 14, 5 *ferand cennaigh* appears in the sense of 'land bought'. *Da comarba treabar* is rendered in iv. 128, 3 'two solvent landholders'; see further AL. iii. 54, 6 and Thurneysen, Die Bürgschaft, p. 84.

5. An almost identical group, *bard 7 lethcerd 7 cainti*, appears as a gloss on *na aurcuillte Rath[e]*, those prohibited from going surety (AL. i. 86, 1,

q.v.; = v. 226, 36). The *lethcerd* here included is certainly of a lower rank than the *eigis* (a term not entered in the Laws Glossary) of our text. In the Crith Gablach the first-named of the seven grades of poets is *éces*, fantastically glossed (iv. 358, 1); the commentary on the seven grades is immediately followed (360, 10) by explanations of the terms *bard*, *fer cerda* (*ian cheird lasuide*), and *cainte*. The MS. is not defective here, as the note states; it reads: *Cainte fear ara rosar a biad tren ainim aire*. For another occurrence of the above trio, see the note on *mellach suirig*, § 7 below. See also Thurneysen, *Die Bürgschaft*, p. 40, 25 ft.

The explanatory clause occurs in O'Dav. 1349 in the form *uair is rechtaid cach a theng*, of which Stokes was not able to make very much; it is to be emended in the light of this context. It appears also in a glossary in H. 3. 18, p. 416: *Recht i. cumhus, ut est, Ar is rechtaigi cach ae a tengaig*. For another occurrence of *teng*, which Stokes questioned as a possible sister-form of *tenga*, see *fo nach ar mo teing teim* (ZCP. xvii. 269), on which Thurneysen observes: 'Ob *teing* für *tengaid* und *teim* wirkliche Wörter oder nur künstliche Kürzungen sind, ist zweifelhaft.'

6. I have taken *fortaidh* as gen. of *fortach*, verbal noun of *for-tong*. *Fortach for chru*, 'deposing against a dead person', would appear to be a technical term, though it does not occur in the published Laws.

7. Twelve names are given to the fool (*drúth*) in the following isolated paragraph to be found in H. 3. 18, p. 423a:

Tri drúith fil and, 7 da ainm decc fil orro. In bobreith 7 in bocmbell 7 in mellach suirig, an righ druth 7 in rindinech 7 in drúth go rath: se hanmanna sin ar in d[r]uth co rath. [In buic(n)e, 7 (?)] in caepta, 7 in finelogh baeth 7 gaeth, 7 in fer leth-chuind: *ceithre* hanmanna sin ar in fer leth cuind. In salach d[r]uth 7 in mer gan rath: da ainm sin ar in mer gan rath.¹

'There are three (kinds of) fools, and there are twelve names for them. The *bobreith* and the *bocmbell* and the *mellach suirig*, the king-fool and the *rindinech* and the fool with a talent: these are six names for the fool with a talent. [The *buic(n)e* and] the *caepta* and the *finelogh* half-foolish and half-wise and the man of half sense: these are four names for the man of half sense. The *salach drúth* and the madman without a talent: these are two names for the madman without a talent.'

¹ A connexion with the Book of Aicill is suggested by the paragraph which immediately follows this in the manuscript, and which offers a close parallel to AL. iii. 156, ll. 18-21, 27ff.:

Cia hairet cometraighther a ferand cen a chomroind? Co cuicir. 7 i cind *secht* mbliadan ro findter in gaeth *no* in druth é; 7 i cind *cethri* mbliadan déc (MS. dh-) aithinter ce druth dib hé.

'How long is his land kept without being divided? To five generations (of occupants). And at the end of seven years it is known whether he is a sane man or a fool; and at the end of fourteen years it is discovered what kind of fool of them he is.'

Six of these are mentioned in the latter part of the tract *Do druthaib*, q.v. Two appear in the Rawl. 487 version of Heptad VI (AL. v. 144, 1-3), to be emended and rendered as follows:

In druth co sundradach : isi [a] aithne cach a nom[a]dh briathar atbeir do firad, amuil ro bui Conall Clocach ; 7 mellach suirig 7 boicmell ainm aile do. 'The fool with a special gift: he is to be recognized by (the necessity of) verifying every ninth word he utters, as was (the case with) Conall Clocach ; and *mellach suirig* and *boicmell* are other names for him.'

The Laws edition (144, note 1) states that the MS. (H. 3. 17, col. 262) omits *boicmell*, but fails to note the reading in col. 265, under the heading *fuil fearus druth* (cf. 142, 4) :

In druth isi a aithne co sunnraduch .i. gacha nomadh briathur adbeir do fir amuil ro bui Conull Clocuch .i. meallach suirg (sic) 7 boicmeall ainm eile do.

In druth isi a aithne .i. ma gaeth imorro, anud berur res ini do gní ; ma druth imorro, ni deni* ani adberur res, uair tibet cini targartur cainidh † cini craiter.

It is evident that the *druth co sundradach* of the Heptad is a fairly close synonym for *druth co rath*, the general name applied in the H. 3. 18 paragraph to the highest class of *drúth*. In AL. i. 52, 31 a distinction of sex is drawn between the *druth co rath* (.i. fer oinmit) and the *mer cen rath* (.i. in ben mer), the general name applied to the lowest class of *drúth*. In the Senchus Mór (i. 156, 31) *do druith* is glossed *co rath* (cf. also ii. 44, 27-46, 3), but the parallel gloss in H. 3. 17, col. 62, is more specific (cf. 162, note 1) and has reference obviously to the *righ druth* :

Do druth .i. masæ druth ac rig a aonur, *nocha* nfuil urrunus *don* coirp-dire *don* fine in tan sin. Ised is druth ac rig a aenur ro gob do laimh beth fo chintuibh aindsidhe. Ised is druth itir rig 7 tuaithe ann a coimedeacht ac in rig, 7 nochur gobh do laim beth fo chintuibh.

In all the texts cited, the classification of *druith* seems to be well established. The first three names quoted in our text have been excerpted from it by O'Davoren, Nos. 316-18, with similar glosses. For *buice* O'Davoren has *buiceall*, and in the gloss further identifies him with the *cainte* (cf. 5 above) as well as with the *fer lethcuind*. Stokes's later note (Arch. für Celt. Lexicog. ii. 502) that 'buiceall' is from *bocc-ciall*, "soft-witted", does not help explain the form *buice*. *Buicne* seems to be only another variant of *buice*, as it is included among the names for the *fer lethcuind*; it is omitted in the paragraph from H. 3. 18, where the scribe, intending to give four names, writes only three.

The meaning of *mellach suirig* is not clear. O'Donovan rendered this phrase 'seducer of women'. Cf. *suirigh* 'a fool', O'R. Possibly *mellach* is related to *mellaim*, 'I deceive, allure'. Plummer, Card Catal., s.v. *suiri*, cites AL. i. 88, 28, where the nature of the persons catalogued as well as the sentence organization suggest emending to 7 in *suirigh rigdamna*, which

* dein MS.

† caididh MS.

happens to be the reading in the parallel passage in H. 3. 17, col. 34: *In fainleguch 7 in t-urfocruch 7 in bard 7 in lethcerd 7 in cainti 7 in suirigh riddhamnu 7 in macc beo athur is gor.* Even more convincing is the reading a few lines further down the column (parallel to AL. i. 90, 9f.): *7 frecrū do neamdetin diligid ac in bard 7 ac in lethcerd 7 ac in cainte 7 ac in sairig righdhamnu.* But cf. AL. i. 86, 9 and v. 226, 34.

Of *rindainech* (*rindenach*, *rindinech*) I have found no other instances beyond the three already cited here. It would seem to mean something like 'satire-face': O'Dav. 1430 has *rinn i. co cuibdias ina agaid*, 'with harmony in his face', with which compare in Heptad XXXIII, under the seven kinds of satire, the gloss on *eccosc-namat* (AL. v. 232, 9; = O'Dav. 1297) . . . *i. ro cet cen chuibdias*, 'it has been sung without harmony'. See Laws Gloss., s.v. *rind*. Cf. also among the seven kinds of satire *glamugnisi*, 'satirizing of the face' (AL. v. 228, 27), glossed *in glas gabail* (cf. AL. iii. 92, 12), called in H. 3. 17, col. 671 one of the *teora ruidisi ollaman*. Just what might be the special or technical significance of *rindainech* it would be difficult to say. But like the *buice* or *buiceall*, he would seem to have much in common with the *cainte*.

The *caeptha* is glossed in O'Dav. 485 *i. ainm do amadan, ut est, in druth 7 in caeptha*, where the glosses that follow are far from intelligible. See the passage dealing with the *caeptha* in the text *Do druthaib*.

There the *finelach baeth gaeth* is equated with the *caeptha*, as in the H. 3. 18 paragraph. The *finelach* occurs glossed *i. baith no gaith* in H. 3. 18, p. 22 a-b: see Thurneysen, *Die Bürgschaft*, p. 19, ll. 26 and 32f. It appears again in a somewhat similar catalogue in H. 3. 18, p. 20b, where it is omitted by Meyer in his transcription (ZCP. xiii. 23, ll. 26-27) and consequently left untranslated by Thurneysen, *Die Bürgschaft*, p. 11, § 37. The MS. reads: *amail cor for mnaí, for mugh, for doer, for manach, for deoraid, for fuithir, for dithir, for finelaig, for berb (= borb?), for bothach.* In H. 3. 18, p. 631b occurs the following fanciful etymological explanation: *Finech logh baeth gaeth i. sé naech i. bais i. laech baeth indso 7 bith bec do cheill occai.*

Both names for the lowest class of fool appear in the text *Do druthaib*. *Salach druth* may best be rendered 'unclean fool', *salach* being used elsewhere in both the physical and moral senses of 'unclean'. *Mer cen rath* seems to be meant in the second paragraph of *Do druthaib*, where the *druth* without land has the same *etaim gaire* (ten sets) as the *mer*. It is usually applied to women (cf. AL. i. 52, 30; ii. 46, 3f.), although the meaning in the H. 3. 18 paragraph seems to be more general.

8. On *ta(i)lcend* 'adze-head', a nickname given to Patrick on account of his tonsure, see Stokes, *Beitr.* vii. 17. *Toilginn* seems to be an etymological gloss; my rendering 'hasty-head' (*tul+cenn*) is merely a guess.

On *dichelal di chennaib* ('von den Knochen-Enden Absingen'), here, strangely enough, ascribed to the clergy, see Thurneysen, ZCP. xv. 362f. The use of this term, which is applied to the kind of incantation abolished by Patrick (cf. AL. i. 44), may be explained by the postulation that our text pretends to have been composed before the time of Patrick, prophesying

the advent of Christianity: cf. *tailend do-t-iucfa*, 'the cleric who will come to you'. But the use of *a(i)lle*, apparently a loan-word from Lat. *alleluia*, suggests that our text is post-Patrician!

In O'Dav. 169 *arach* is glossed *urrad no trebaire*, with which compare *arach trebairi* of our gloss. Cf. Thurneysen, Cōic Conara Fugill, p. 6; Die Bürgschaft, pp. 83-85.

9. The following isolated paragraph in H. 3. 18, p. 194 a offers another interpretation:

Ni bi raith frit fer ro isal .i. as aire nach gabar in duine dereóil i raith, *oman ethigthe* do denam dó; no dul a mugadh maine bet occa .i. don raith do berar comairle isund 7 do fhechemain. Ar ni tuailing timargain .i. in raith .i. is di ata olc ann ar ícfuidter ceni toibgi ara h-isle.

'Let not be surety for you a man who is too low (i.e., it is for this reason that the insignificant man is not taken in surety: the fear that he will commit perjury. Or, [it would be] loss of property to have him [as surety], i.e., advice is here given to the surety and to the creditor.) For it is not possible to force payment (i.e., the surety: it is bad for him, for payment must be made, even though he cannot exact payment on account of his [the low man's] insignificance).'

With *duine dereóil* above, compare *no diri móir do persain dereóil*, AL. i. 48, 21.

10. The *briuga* has already been considered ineligible as surety above, § 2; that he may attain equal rank with a *flaith* is pointed out AL. v. 76, 1-3. See also the *saer-nemed* enumeration (AL. v. 14, 10): *flatha, filidh, feine*, where *feine* is glossed *br(i)ugaид*.

A close parallel concerning the fourth member of this group is found in AL. ii. 288, 6 (gl. 26): *cach felmac in aimsir daire do fithidir*, who is classified with *gach mac beo athar* as a 'person proclaimed'.

11 a. The formula *ni nais* occurs four times in AL. iv. 36, 1-4. *Droch bescna* would seem to be explained in the text of AL. i. 254, 4ff. as *étorba, anmain, dit[h]echt, anfir, indliged, écert, étechta, écoir, anrecht*, a fuller but less specific list than in our gloss; cf. also AL. iii. 396, 18. The MS. *brait-* may stand for *brathum*: cf. AL. v. 458, 5: *guach cach brathum*, followed in the next paragraph (ll. 21, 23f.) by *aire eisindric; ... dlegar do cach airig indrucus*.

b. With *bes daor bes dochraid* compare *dochraid cach daer*, Aib. Cuigni, 2. 26, ZCP. xvii. 62; Rev. Celt. xlv. 50, 21; and *lochtaib daeraib doch-raidib*, quoted in AL. i. 74, 4.

d. Compare AL. iv. 244, 12: *dithir .i. in ti na techtann innile na tir*; cf. iv. 352, 8, and the next gloss (e).

e. Cf. AL. ii. 340, 3: *daidbir .i. im indile*.

g. This is, as far as I know, the only instance of *combrasul*; it may be for *com+bresual .i. ualglorach*, LL. 315c 3, cited by Meyer, Contribb. p. 256.

12. This clause has obviously no connexion with the text. The fragmentary nature of the matter in Egerton 88 would support the assumption that

it is an isolated quotation from some other legal source. It is quite possible that it is a corrupt version of *ar ni fuirgle nech* (AL. i. 84, 11).

13a. O'Dav. 781 has quoted this passage, with a similar gloss; the F reading *essomuin* is closer to our text. Opposite *essomain* in the margin the MS. has *no la* (i.e., *no lasomain*); cf. O'Dav. 772, where *esamain* is glossed *lasamain*.

Did the glossator intend in *es somaine* an etymological gloss, 'unprofitable'?

b. Cf. *cin inbleogain*, AL. i. 192, 27, where it is doubtfully rendered.

c. More fully glossed in O'Dav. 460; note the etymological gloss in *imbe fri son*. The passage also occurs in H. 3. 18, p. 287: *Is coltra i. isecda, ut est, Is coltra fri imrisain*; again at p. 653; and in H. 4. 22, p. 61 b: *Is coltra i. isecadh, ut est, Is coltra fri imrisin*. Compare Tecosca Cormaic, 19, 16: *ni ba imresnaid fir*, 'be not a wrangler against truth'.

e. This is somewhat differently explained in O'Dav. 672, q.v.

f. O'Donovan rendered this passage, 'who is broad-housed on the road'. And this was the glossator's interpretation. But it is out of place in a legal context, and *conaire* is certainly used in its legal meaning. Meyer, Contribb., has *alt-lethan*, 'having broad joints', and cites Eochaid Altlethan, over-king of Ireland, AM. 4788-4804. But 'broad-jointed' (= 'cumbersome, clumsy'?) is hardly more intelligible.

The passage, without gloss, is quoted in H. 3. 18, p. 287: *Ailt i. tech* (tenh MS.), *ut est, Ailt lethan conaire*, and in H. 4. 22, p. 61 b: *Ailt i. teagh, ut est, Ailtlethan conaire*.

g. O'Donovan translated 'whose private house is narrow'. If this is correct, *minnegh* is to be emended to *a mennat*. But again, such an interpretation means little or nothing in a definitely legal context. I have taken *minnegh* to be an adjective from *mind* 'oath, perjury' (cf. *mindaigim* 'I swear'). Cf. the gloss in H. 3. 18, p. 250: *Mindaug i. ar ulc contuaisid som*. For *caol* 'shril', see Meyer, Contribb., s.v. *coil*.

The rendering 'He is shrill-lying' is also plausible and possible: cf. Corm. Gloss. 893 (*mindech i. brégach*).

Unfortunately, our text gives no gloss, although it is clear that the scribe intended to insert one in the space left in the manuscript.

h. Cf. Laws Gloss, *et-tenga* 'tongue-less, not skilled in legal phrase and procedure, 'of which *eitgi* seems to be a reduced form (Plummer, Card Catal., s.v. *et-tenga*). Cf. H. 3. 17, col. 679a, l. 1: *Cis tir for na téin cin na comlaithri 7rl. i. ni fitir olcc forro i. fer lethcuinn. baeth b. [brigus?] econn. in mac bec. etnge i. o na tuicther co follus.*

Dal is glossed in O'Dav. 586 by *caingin*; in 644 by *airecht* (cf. the next saying).

i. This passage is quoted and glossed in O'Dav. 461, of which Stokes did not make very much. *Coitoll* seems = *cutall* (**con-toll?*) in Meyer, Contribb.

j. I have taken *umgona* (*imgona*) as gen. sg. of *imguin*, depending on an understood *fer*; cf. AL. v. 418, 14: *cach fir imgona*.

k. The MS. reading *lath* is evidently a scribal error for *iath*; cf. *do chuaid si iarum do chind a latha* (AL. iv. 10, 14), where the MS. clearly

has *iathā* (not entered by Atkinson in the Laws Gloss. under either form). The *adboinn* at the end of this section takes the reader back to the beginning of the matter dealing with surety (see p. 72 above).

14. In the Crith Gablach (AL. iv. 350, 17) *fer selba bunaid* appears as a gloss on *bo aire* (see § 15 a below).

a. See AL. i. 260, 1-3; iv. 284, 1-2.

d. This passage is quoted three times in O'Davoren's Glossary, Nos. 402, 564, 1206, in 564 with substantially the same gloss as above. See also *fulfir terna a rae* (AL. v. 362, 17).

e. Quoted in O'Dav. 403 without gloss; O'Davoren explains *cunnail* by *sonairt*, 'strong, firm'.

f. O'Dav. 41: *aurdairc i. maith, ut est, aurdairc a scoth i. maith a briathar*. *Aurraic* should be emended to *aurdairc*. Cf. *urdairc*, AL. i. 238, 17, where it is twice rendered 'proper'.

15 a. The sentence structure in the text is unusual, but the sense is clear. For a similar statement of the rank of the *bo-aire* see AL. iv. 350, 17f. He seems to be called here *in cétna bo-aire* in contradistinction to *in tanaise mbo-aire* (iv. 350, 21). Cf. *bo-aire is ferr*, v. 80, 10; 342, 11, 12, 24; 344, 14.

b. This passage occurs in O'Dav. 228: *beo i. maith, ut est, beo a cuim-nedh*, rendered by Stokes, through lack of context, 'alive (is) her memory'. Emend to *chuimne*.

c. This occurs as a gloss in the bit of text *Cia dech raith*, 'Who is a good surety?' ed. Thurneysen, Die Bürgschaft, p. 41, l. 18. *Asren* here means 'he is able to pay, he is solvent'. Cf. the description of the *bo-aire* AL. iv. 350, 18: *ni thoing luighe acht fo aen a m bliadain*; also the gloss on *beim naillech* (i. 234, 6): *in fir luige i. bo-aire . . . i. naill cinnti . . .* 'the true oath, i.e., of a *bo-aire*', &c.

ROLAND M. SMITH.

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VARIA

1. *Delenition of -m- in Old Irish.*

IN his chapter 'Aufgeben der Lenierung', Handbuch, p. 82 f., Thurneysen seems to have overlooked an interesting case of delenition. In **Corbo-maq^uq^uos* (cf. Ogham CORBBAMAQQI) the *m* would naturally be lenited. On the loss of the vowel of the second syllable this lenited *m* came into contact with the preceding *b* and was de-lenited, giving Old Irish *Corbmac* and later *Cormac*.

The rule given in § 136 might therefore be emended to read: 'Ihre Lenierung verlieren *th* und *ð* nach *l*, *n*, *s* und vor *s*, ausserdem *μ* nach *b*'.

To be compared with this is the modern de-lenition of *bh* after *m*: e.g., *am briathar*.

2. *ZCP. xvi. 185.*

Con roítar occurs as 1st pers. sg. in the *retoric* in LL. 119 a: *cia bam tríu sa nimtharraid cubes, conróetar m'ainech, nim ágar chelad, &c.*

Thurneysen is not quite correct in stating that *comét* functions as verbal noun to *con-ō-*, the real verbal noun being rather *comad*, as may be seen from the following passage from *Cáin Domnaig*, ÉRIU, ii. 204, § 24, which also furnishes an example of the subjunctive of *con-ō-* with deponential inflexion: *nech asa muilend no asa bró is lais a comad. Trian fiach fair mani comathar.* Cf. also Tecosca Cormaic, § 3, 16: *comad caird-dine*, 'keeping treaties'.

3. *Scéla Cano meic Gartnáin.*

Anecdota I. p. 1, l. 13: *Cethrur oc teluch na n-iach cetnama do suas.* Thurneysen (Zeitschr. für Rom. Phil. xliii) proposes to read *cech snáma* for *cetnama*. The emendation is, however, not necessary. Salmon are at their best just when they turn back from their life in the sea to go again up the river. This happens early in spring, and they are called by fishermen of

north-east Ireland and Scotland 'first-run salmon'. In Old Irish this was 'iaich cét-snáma'.

Ibid., p. 1, l. 16: *Forroilged la Gartan dabach illac mara 7 si lan di or 7 di argat*. This is the reading of the manuscript. Thurneysen, however, adopts the emendation proposed by Kuno Meyer and reads *illoch mara* for *illac mara*, translating 'in einem Meeresarm'. This, however, gives little sense. It would be extremely foolish to hide a treasure in an inlet of the sea, for unless the treasure were connected by a rope to a floating buoy, it would be practically impossible to recover it, and the presence of the buoy would of course betray the secret.

The reading of the manuscript is to be retained. It is the modern *lag mara*, literally shallow of the sea, and further used for low tide, and a place where the water is shallow at low tide. This gives perfect sense. 'Gartan had the vat concealed in a part of the sea usually covered by deep water, but shallow at certain low tides'. From such a hiding place the treasure would be easily recovered.

Ibid., p. 4, l. 13: *Rohicobsa na rígu 7 ni bat rigna fotha*. Here Thurneysen proposes to read *ni ba rigne fota*. This is not necessary. As it stands the sentence is clear: 'I shall get to the kings and it will not be queens among them', i.e., 'it will not be a gentle visitation'. This was probably a proverbial expression, like the 'being in a dark house' and 'head in a bag' of the Tenga Bithnua text.

Ibid., p. 4, l. 17: *Manimleicther segaithsi ar eicin 7 nomleicid imach iarum*. Here Thurneysen reads *regaitse ar eicin*, and translates 'wenn ich nicht eingelassen werde, werde ich mit Gewalt eindringen'. *Regait-se* is I think an impossible Middle Irish form. The 1st sg. fut. would be *regat-sa*. But the emendation is not necessary. *Segaith-si* is 2nd pl. ipv. of *saigid*, with Middle Irish vocalism based on 3rd pl. *segat*, just as *geb-* replaces the older *gaib-*. The translation would then be: 'If I am not allowed in, make ye your way in by force and let me out then.' This gives much better sense as there is obviously no possibility of his forcing his way in alone.

Ibid., p. 6, l. 3: *Gesi Cernai mosrubthus*. The latter word Thurneysen alters into *mosrabthus* and translates 'die Schwäne—ich machte sie tauchen', and obviously sees in the word a compound of *bāid-* 'to drown, &c.'. Actually, however, when one

throws stones at swans, they do not dive under, they fly away rather. I would therefore suggest reading *fosrobthus*¹ 'I have frightened them away', from the verb *fo-botha*.

Ibid., p. 8, l. 10: *Saidig an airchedail*. For this Thurneysen proposes to read *gaibid*, &c. It is hard to see how any scribe could make a mistake in copying what is probably the most common verb in the language. Probably what stood here originally was *slaindid*, with the *n* indicated by a faint *n*-stroke. The form occurs p. 11, l. 9 *slaindid in gilla indn airchedal do*. *Stuindid* is, so far as I know, extremely rare in the sense of 'recite (a poem)', and would therefore be liable to be misread by a copyist. The meaning of the passage, however, remains unaltered.

4. *no.*

In Old Irish *no* is always used with the ipf. indic. of simple verbs, not preceded by a conjunct particle.

It has not, I believe, been pointed out before that this rule is often not observed in poetry, especially in that of the archaic period. Following are some examples. *Über älteste irische Dichtung*, i, p. 39:

Lüath hi lo-ngrab lüaided fairggi fuingniaid gäeth rüad ronad for fäebur fulchaid.

Ibid., ii, p. 26: *ri slained slechta.*

Ibid., ii, p. 19: *aui nithaig Nüadat nascad giallu Göidel.*

CZ. ix, p. 464 (from Rawl. B. 502): *d'eis Fergail figed frossa* 'who used to prepare attacks'.

Thes. Pal. ii, 349, l. 3: *in chaillech rēided Currech.*

I have found one example in the Old Irish Glosses: Tur. 136, *air bu ainm leusom maladictus do cech óin bith (hí) croi(ch).*

5. *Berrad Airechta.*

In the introduction to his edition of the text which bears the above title ('Die Bürgschaft im irischen Recht', p. 5), Thurneysen discusses the meaning of the name. He comes to the following conclusion: 'Freilich, was er bedeutet, ist nicht leicht zu sagen. *Berrad* heisst "Scheren" und auch "das Haar" (das, was geschoren wird), *airechta* ist Gen. von *airecht* "Gerichts-

¹ Or *fosrubthus*, with vocalism of vn. *fubhud*.

versammlung, Gericht"; also "die Schur des Gerichts". Doch haben die Verfasser irischer Rechtstexte oft sonderbare Titel gewählt. . . . es lohnt nicht, sich den Kopf darüber zu zerbrechen.' This is quite correct; in the texts which have come down to us from the old Irish period, *berrad* has only the two meanings given by Thurneysen. But these are only limitations of an original and much wider meaning. *Berrad* is itself a denominative verb formed from the adjective *berr* 'short' = Welsh *byr*, and originally had the general signification of 'making short, shortening, abridging' as the corresponding denom. verb *byrhau* has in Welsh down to the present day. The adjective *berr* became early obsolete in Irish, and practically only one example of its use has been signalized. It occurs in the proverbial saying '*berr cach bélaid ben*' 'every stout woman is short', quoted in the glossary in H.3.18 and by O'Mulconry. Cf. Meyer's Contrib., p. 206. As the adjective became obsolete, the derivative verb had not this check on its development, and at a very early period was limited in signification to 'shortening of the hair'. In the title *Berrad Airechta* no doubt we have a survival of the earlier wider meaning. The title would thus mean something like 'synopsis, abridgement of law-court practice'.

6. Old Irish *scāl* 'spectre, supernatural being', Gothic *skohsl*.

The Old Irish *scāl* certainly means 'supernatural being'. This is clearly seen in the well-known text 'Baile in Scāil'.

Although Pedersen (Vergl. Gramm. i. 76) gives the word as masculine, there is hardly any doubt that in Old Irish the word was a neuter *o*-stem. The following examples, which might easily be added to, go to show this. In ZCP. viii. 310, l. 1 the old text from the Laud Genealogies has '*banscal son is moral-dom robui in hEre*', where even the compound with *ban*- meaning 'woman' has preserved the old gender.

LU. l. 7965: *Tadall lat ille a banscál, for Mac Cecht.*

Irish Penitential, ÉRIU, vii. 142: *Sacart dibir pójic do banscal.*

Ibid. *tria dronbe mbriathar no tria faicsin feli banscail.*

Ibid., p. 144: *nech guides banscal.* In this text the word is often treated as a fem. *ā*-stem as in later Irish, but obviously the declension as an *o*-stem is the older.

The neuter gender is clearly seen in Baile in Scāil, § 5: *Et conaccatar a scál fadeissin isin taig ar a ciund inna rigsudiu.*

Various etymologies have already been proposed for this word. Stokes, in his edition of the Metrical Glossary, refers it to an Indo-European form *skatlo- and compares Ir. *Scathach* and Gothic *ga-skathjan*. Pedersen (loc. cit., p. 76) derives it from a form *skadlo- and compares Sanskrit *čhadis* 'cover, roof'.

None of these etymologies are satisfactory, and I prefer to see in *scál* a word corresponding exactly as regards meaning, form, and gender with the Gothic *skohsl*. The latter word translates the Greek *δαιμων* in the Gothic Bible, and its meaning is satisfactorily determined as = evil spirit, demon. Furthermore, like *scál* it is a neuter *o*-stem, and from a phonetic point of view the correspondence is perfect. Both the Irish and Gothic forms can come either from an original *skākslon or *skōkslon.

As the word is probably to be connected with the Irish verb *scuichid* 'to depart, to disappear, to come to an end, to move', perfect *ro-scaich*, which shows *o/ō* Ablaut, the latter form is probably the correct one.

7. Middle Irish *sindad*, Welsh *sen*.

The word *sindad* occurs twice in Fingin mac Flainn's famous satire on the Fir Arddae, edited by Kuno Meyer, ACL. i. 291.

Verse 5 has *fa ma sindadh ocus rindadh rindibh tengadh* 'or shall it be lampooning and satirizing with bitter tongue'.

Verse 8 has: *fri ar laidhi, li do sindadh congon cuibsi*.

Here *sindadh* has also clearly the meaning of 'lampooning', though *li do sindadh*, being a cheville, is difficult to translate.

O'Davoren 1430 has *sinn* i. *cuitbiudh*; no. 1451 *Sinda* (for *sindad*) i. *cained*, and no. 846 s.v. *fal* he gives *sinnadh* i. *aerad*. O'Clery has *sionnad* i. *cáineadh*.

The Welsh *sen* 'reproach, rebuke, censure, taunt, snub', corresponds exactly in form and meaning.

The Welsh word is feminine, and the plural *sennau* shows we have to deal with old *-nd-*. It comes from a form **sindā*, with final *ā* infection of the *i*. Cf. *gwenn* from **vindā*. The form *sinn* in O'Dav. 1430 is the same.

The Irish *sindad* is the verbal noun of a denominative verb formed from the same word, i.e., **sindā-tu*. In Irish *i* remains

unaffected by a following *ā* in the combination *ind*, cf. fem. nom. sg. *find*.

8. *Old Irish* *torbaim* 'I *perturb, confuse*'.¹

In the LU. version of the *Táin Bó Cuailnge* occurs a short passage, which as it contains a hitherto 'unbelegtes' verb, has puzzled commentators. I give the passage as it occurs in the three MSS. of this version.

LU. 1. 5008: *Torbaís Conchobar* *ocus a muinter* *aní sin connarbo etir leo a ngluasacht.*

YBL (Strachan and O'Keefe, 1): *Torbais Conchobar* *ocus a muinter annisin connarbo eiter leo a ngluasacht.*

Eg. 1782 (ZCP. ix. 134, l. 7). *Torbais Conchubor* *ocus a muinter anní sin conarba éterleo angluassacht.*

Bergin in the glossary to the second edition of the Stories from the *Tain* remarks on this: 'a verbal form of which I have no further example. Something like *perceived* would suit the context.' To judge by the second part of the passage 'so that they were not able to move', a verb with the signification 'amaze, confound, confuse' might be expected. Actually we have here the third sg. preterite of a simple verb *torbaim* with the meaning given above and cognate with Welsh *tyrfu* 'to make a noise or commotion', *cynhyrfu* 'to convulse, to agitate, to disturb'. Both the Irish and Welsh words are cognate with (scarcely borrowed from) the Latin *turbare*.

The present indicative, 3rd sg. relative occurs in a hitherto doubtful passage in Sanctan's Hymn, Thes. II, p. 352, l. 4:

ainsium Crist ar cech n-ernbās
ar thein, ar threthan torbas.

'May Christ protect me against every violent death, against fire, and against the sea which agitates.'

The word also occurs, here also used of the sea, in *Saltair na Rann*, l. 2625:

Nibartorbae, ērim n-uag
diliu thromm troeta trenšluag.

¹ Dr. Bergin informs me that Professor Thurneysen sent him this explanation of *torbaim* in the autumn of 1928. As, however, anything which throws light on the *Táin* deserves to be printed, I insert it here with Professor Thurneysen's permission.

In the passage from the *Tain* we should therefore probably read *muintir* (though the use of a nominative joined by *ocus* to other cases is not unknown in Irish) and translate 'that so agitated Conchobor and his household, that they were unable to move'.

9. *Middle Welsh* *cyfyrdan*, *Old Irish* *cobordon*.

In the poem entitled *Kyssul Adaon ynt yr englynion hynn* (Llanstephan MS. 27, 163 b), edited by Ifor Williams in the Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies (B.B.C.S.), vol. ii, p. 118, the word *cyfyrdan* occurs, l. 29. The editor explains this as being '*cyfr-dan*, tan mawr', i.e., 'a huge fire', and rejects Silvan Evans's translation 'discord, variance'. He further gives two other examples of the word.

I think a careful study of these three passages shows that the meaning cannot have been 'huge fire'. The first passage from *Kyssul Adaon*, in which the word occurs, runs as follows:

Na vyd vynych var na chwennych gyfyrdan
Na wna ogan yn yt vych
Kyssul ath rodaf kadw kedwych
Kadw dy bwyll twyll na chwennych.

Here we have a list of moral faults to be avoided, viz., *bar*, *cyfyrdan*, *gogan*, and *twyll*, and one virtue to be practised, viz., *pwyll*. Among these 'cyfyrdan', if it meant 'great fire', would certainly seem out of place.

The second example is:

Pan wnaeth deu deyrn uch kyrn kyfyrdan
Pan fu gyuedach uorach vorran. RP. 172 a 25.

Here the meaning 'great fire' is still more unsuitable. What have two chieftains to do with a fire when more pleasantly engaged in emptying their horns filled with something stronger than water?

The third, from the same source as the latter (Red Book Poetry, 15 b 31), is:

Stauell gyndylan am erwan. pob awr
Gwedy mawr ymgyuyrdan
A weleis ar dy benntann.

Here the occurrence of the form *ymgyfyrdan* almost excludes the possibility of the word having the meaning ascribed to it. What could 'great mutual big fire' possibly mean?

I suggest that the meaning which suits all the above passages is something like 'big talk, boasting'.

Standing by itself this conclusion might be of little value, but we have in Middle Irish a word which exactly corresponds both in form and in meaning. This is the word *cobordon* which occurs twice in the Old Irish text, *Tenga Bithnua* (ed. Stokes, ÉRIU, ii). The meaning of the latter word is clearly 'loud din, confused talk'. Both words are doubtless derivatives of the simple word which occurs in Irish *cobra* 'conversation', Welsh *cyfreu* 'talk, words', Old Breton *cobrouol* gl. *verbialia*.

The second element may well be *-don-* as in the verbs: OIr. *do·donaimm* 'I console'; Welsh *diddanu* 'to amuse', *ym-diddan* 'to converse'.

MICHAEL A. O'BRIEN.

BELFAST.

NOTE ON A GLOSS OF O'DAVOREN

O'DAVOREN (ed. Stokes no. 1062) has this gloss: *Gressa i. comairce, ut est for gruaidib fer folsat gresa i. for gruaidhib na fer forroluiset a comairce: nó imdergad.*

On this Stokes remarks: 'The meaning ascribed to *gressa* is a bad guess. It is the acc. pl. of "insult"'. This is probably true as regards the first part of the quotation (I have not been able to identify the passage), but the explanatory gloss justifies O'Davoren's lemma. The whole translates: 'on the cheeks of men who may bear "gressa", i.e., on the cheeks of the men under whose protection they have put themselves' (lit. on whom they have put their protection), or (alternatively) 'causing a blush'. The verb left untranslated by Stokes is pl. of *ro-la* from *foceird*, with prep. *for* and rel. A close parallel to the phrase is in LL, Facs. 251a 37 (Táin Bó Fraích). Findabair, indignant with her father Aillill for his harsh treatment of her regarding the lost ring, says angrily: *Tongu-sa do dia thonges mo thíath dia faigbither nícon beósa fot chumachta-su ba sire diandumroib¹ forsarol* (forsarolor YBL.), *mo greis*, i.e., 'I swear to the god to whom my "tíath" swears that if it (i.e., the ring) be got I shall not stay (lit. be) in *your* power any longer, if I have any one under whose protection I may put myself'. The sentence has been differently translated, but the meaning is clear from Aillill's retort.² The verb is 1st pres. subj. corresponding to perf. *ro-la*.³ Cf. further: *foceird mo greis forsan creisigh*, i.e., 'Put me under the protection of the pious [Brigid],' ZCP. v. 490 (a poem in B. na Filed). A similar phrase is: *can chur a faísmá foraib no a commairge* TBC. (Wind.), l. 911, i.e., 'Without his putting himself under their protection or safeguard.'

The following passage from *Tochmarc Emire* (Harl. 5280) illustrates the rite or custom (mentioned in O'Davoren *supra*) of seizing a person's cheeks to claim from him protection. It occurs

¹ For examples of this form of the pres. subj. of *attá* already in O.I., see Die Verbalformen der Vita Tripartita (Mulchrone), ZCP. xvi. 443.

² See Ir. MSS. Series, RIA, vol. i. 150.

³ Cf. Wb 7a 4.

ZCP. iii. 252, § 73. During Cuchulainn's absence Forcall Monach has affianced Emer against her wish to the Munster Lugaid mac Nóis. She is brought to him at the marriage-feast: *Digabaid' si a dá ngruad.* 'For fior h'oinich 7 h'anma daum!' ol si, 7 adamair ba Cuculaind carustar 7 for a greiss bui 7 ba coll einigh cibe doberud isse, i. e., 'She grasps his two cheeks. "Under the guarantee of thy honour and life am I", she said, and she confessed it was Cuchulainn she loved and that she was under his protection, and that it would be a violation of honour whoever would take her to wife.' Lugaid accordingly does not dare to claim her, and departs unwedded. Cf. with this a passage from H. 3. 18, 364b 3-8 (= O'C. Transcr., p. 776) about the dwarf of Fergus mac Léide: *Is esside abac dide a ciche-som Fergusa 7 gabais a gruaide inn-airide a anucuil. Isbert Fergus: 'cid ara ndene-siu sin?'* 'Ni hansa' ar in t-abacc. 'Fir fer linne inso.' *Is de ata inniú gabail ciche fer 7 a ngruaide,* i. e. 'He is the dwarf who sucked the breasts of Fergus and grasped his cheeks guaranteeing¹ (?) his protection. Fergus said, "Why do you do that?" The dwarf replied, "This is with us [asking for] fair treatment (?)". Hence to-day is [the phrase] seizing the breasts of men and their cheeks.' The passage is quoted in Meyer's Cont. under *cich*. Cf. further: *Dobretha fir fris i. fir ciche 7 gruaide ... grene 7 esca* Rawl. B. 502, 132a 31 = Tairred na nDessi (Y Cymrodor, vol. xiv).

There are two distinct words: I. *greis* (gress) 'protection'. The *ns.* is uncertain as the word is rare except in the oblique cases. Possibly its *ns.* is found in TBC. (Wind.), l. 4698: *Na bad gress da digail Sualtam.*² II. *gress* a. f. meaning variously (a) an attack, an onset; (b) offence, insult, disgrace (?); (c) an attempt, a bout, a spell (of work). As the violation of a protection constituted an insult or wrong to the protector and entitled him to punish it, it is easy to see how the meanings of I. and II. (b) merge into each other³ and are sometimes confused in glossaries and translations. Probably *gre(i)s*, 'protection' is contained in the foll.: 'Ni dlegam' for Cormac 'sarugud

¹ = *i n-dirithe?* Cf. BB. 471b 39 (Aen. l. 2047) or *ds.* of *airitiu* acceptance, expectation. Cf. Alex. 330.

² As he was an old man and only a fairly good fighter. Cf. ll. 4699-4700.

³ Possibly phrase *dgal gresse* sometimes means 'avenging a [violated] protection'.

Medbae nó a muintire, ar ní for ar ngreis (s.l.?)¹ rohoirced in tir. RC. xxi. 160, § 25 (Bruiden Dá Chocae). Stokes translates 'in an attack upon us', but is not the meaning rather 'the land was not under our protection when it was wrecked [by the Connaughtmen], and therefore we are not entitled [in honour] to attack Medb and her people in retaliation'?

MARY E. BYRNE.

¹ H. 3. 18. 711, l. 26 has here *nḡs* which may read *ngres* or *ngreis*.

*Noted by Robinson in connection with Man of Law's
tais of Constance (Chaucer, p. 798, line 438).*

ON THE PUNISHMENT OF SENDING ADRIFT

CORMAC'S Glossary no. 229 (YBL.) reads :
CIMBITH¹ *quasi cimba i. on noi oensheiched*, i.e., 'Cimbith (a criminal) as if it were a boat, from the vessel of one hide'. The glossator fancifully equates *cimbid*, with late Lt. *cymba* (< Gk. *κύμβη*) 'a ferry-boat', from the association in his mind with the fate accorded to the Irish wrongdoer. The gloss probably derives either from : *hi curach oenseiched*, Trip. Life, i. 222. 10, or from *in navim unius pellis*, quoted (fr. Lib. Ard. 6a 2) ibid. ii. 288. 18. The punishment in its sternest form is described here. The wicked scoffer, unbeliever, and tyrant *Maccuill*, being converted by a miracle of Patrick's, confesses to the saint that he had tried to murder him and asks him to pass judgement. Patrick answers: 'Non possum iudicare sed Deus iudicabit.' He orders Maccuill to go to the sea-shore scantily clad and bearing no food or drink; and that there, his feet having been fettered and the key of the fetter thrown into the sea, he is to be sent adrift in a boat of a single hide without oar or rudder, to go wherever Providence brings him. Trip. i. 222 merely says: 'he went on the sea in a curragh of one hide at the command of Patraic.' How unseaworthy such a boat would be we know from a passage in *Iomramh Churraig Hua gCorra*. It occurs RC. xiv, p. 54, § 66. The outermost of the three hides of their boat being gnawed by worms (?) the younger brothers grew uneasy, but the eldest said: *Na tabrad a snimh sibh-si sin . . . As tualuing Dia ar n-anacul gidh isin aenchoduil bem*, i.e., 'God can protect us though we be in [a boat of] one hide.'²

¹ *cimbith, cimbid*, i.e. 'a criminal, a captive', the former meaning being more common in older Ir. *Aurgabail cimmedae* 'capturing criminals' was one of the labours permitted during the Sabbath rest. Cán Domnaig (Anecd. iii. 22. 5). Cf. also *crocha cen cimbeda* Harl. 5280, 41 b, 'gallows without malefactors', Contribb. (s. v. croch).

² A small oval-shaped boat for one occupant, furnished with a single paddle and covered with a single hide, is still used by fishermen on the Boyne.

In *Cáin Adamnáin* (ed. Meyer), § 45, the punishment in a more humane form is decreed for women who had committed murder or a crime deserving the death-penalty: *cor i nnói oin[š]luaisti for murchreth* (*murcrec v.l.*) *hi fairrge do techt le gaeth di thir*. *Long menathcha do breith lee*. *La Dia brithimnacht furi isin.*¹ The almost illegible gl. on the doubtful word *murchreth* has been partly deciphered by Plummer² with the help of other hitherto unpublished passages, which see *infra*. It reads: *isi im[urro] muirch[reth]*³ *in airt* [*is leir*] *for muir [sciath] gel for [tir]*. This was the legally-fixed distance to which the boat was towed or brought. Cf. foll. references which contain the same modified penalty and tell us what fate was accorded to those whom a favouring wind brought back to land. *Mad mac scrine i. mac so*⁴ *rinne*⁵ *re coibdelaig ina richt budein* *7 isedh dlegar a cur i scrin lethair ar muir in eret bus leir gelsciath ar muir*. *Acht ma sin ferann sin fein dorala aris é is fognum fuidhre uadha do macaib na primmna* *7 a beith amail gach mac indligthech isin fine*.

Mad fer a cliab aen[š]luaisti. *Duine seo curthar a cliab aen[š]luaisti amach for muir ina cintaib anfoit no inndethbiri torbadh in airt is leir geilsciath for muir, lon menaidhe aen aihche lais 7 geann orda tri ndornd ina lain ac dingbail aithide in mara de*. *Acht mas isin crich sin fein dorala e, is a beith amail each mac indligthech isin fine*. H. 3. 18, 227a 23 seq. (= O'C. Transcr. 413).

A tentative translation of the above passages is: 'In the case of a *mac scrine*,⁶ i. e., this son is one begotten on a kinswoman with cognizance of her identity?⁷ the law is that he be put in a leather box out to sea as far as a white shield will be visible

¹ For translation, see Meyer's ed.

² In the MS. Vocabularies, &c., bequeathed by him to the R. I. Academy.

³ *muirchreth* may be a form of *muircrec* 'plunder from the sea', and the allusion may be to some law regarding it.

⁴ *sic.* MS.

⁵ *leg.* *rinne[dh]*.

⁶ Lit. 'a son of a coffer', i. e., one who should be kept concealed, as his origin was shameful, or else one begotten in concealment? Cf. *Tucait Indarba na nDéssi* (Anecd. i. 19) where the druid offers to carry Corc (the offspring of an unnatural union) out of Ireland *co na raib i[n] ainbrial and*.

⁷ Lit. 'in her own form'. Translation doubtful, but cf. the phrase *i richt duine aile*, 'concealed as, disguised as, in mistake for another.'

kenning (fn)

on the sea. But if it is in that same land he chances¹ again he gives the service of a "fuidir" to the sons of the first wife,² and he is like every illegitimate son in the "fine".³

'Regarding a man in a wicker boat of a single paddle, that is a man who is put in a boat of a single paddle⁴ on the sea for his unintentional crimes⁵ and those which though not justified by necessity yet have a certain legal exemption (?)⁶ accorded, as far out as a white shield is clearly visible on the sea; he has with him provision for one night of gruel of meal and water⁷ and a hammer-shaped (?)⁸ (hammer-headed?) wedge three hands long (or broad?) in his hand to keep off large sea-birds?⁹ (Remainder of passage as in preceding paragraph.)¹⁰

In Rawl. B. 506, fol. 27, p. 1, col. 2 (=O'Don. Transcr. 2292-3) is the following. It is in reference to this punishment as inflicted for a *foghal fri neimheddh* or *re hecclais* (i. e., a crime against a privileged place or a church): *Mas a fearann eile dorala he, is a dilse daibh noco tucthar cumal dar a ceann 7 comraind bairce dligthighe ar in cumhail sin.* 'If it is in another land he has chanced to arrive he is forfeit to them until a 'cumhal' is given for him, and the division of a lawful boat [is given] for that 'cumhal'?¹¹ Cf. further Eg. 88. 18b (=O'C. Transcr. 2249) where the same penalty is said to be the fate of one who commits 'fingal', i. e., who slays one of his 'fine'

¹ Lit. 'it has put him', impers.

² i. e., of his father.

³ And besides other disabilities could not inherit? Cf. H. 4. 22. 28 (O'C. Transcr. 1996).

⁴ Cf. Laws, i. 170. 1.

⁵ Cf. Thurneysen, ZCP. xv. 351 n.

⁶ I am uncertain of the meaning here. According to Plummer, vide p. 98, note 2, *turbaid* in legal sense is 'that which is a bar to legal proceedings, delay, exemption'. Cf. *turbaide techta*, ÉRIU, ii. 208, § 32. *An. leg.* here *turbaidh?* MS. has *torbī*.

⁷ *menadach* was an item of penitential diet. Cf. Mons. Tall. §§ 73 and 74; Anecd. i. 75; Cáin Ad. *supra*.

⁸ Possibly an adj. from *ord* (gs. *uird*) 'a sledge-hammer'.

⁹ For *ethaide* 'winged things'? A similar passage in Eg. 88, 18b (=O'C. Tr. 2250) has *aithite in aedhair*.

¹⁰ I have since found above two passages given in part with translation by Meyer, Cáin Ad. p. 43.

¹¹ Cf. Laws, i. 128. 14 (gl.).

intentionally or unintentionally [*cidh tre comraíti cidh tre anfot*].

From the earlier allusions to this punishment it seems clear that it was originally a penalty inflicted by ecclesiastics, and that it is post-Christian in origin. It shows a certain humane shrinking from deliberately taking life, a desire (as the formula included in it states) to leave the question of guilt and the ultimate decision between life and death in the jurisdiction of God. Afterwards it appears to have become a part of ordinary law to punish offences where there was not full criminal intent,¹ or as in the case of a child of an incestuous union to remove from the community the guiltless fruit of another's sin. It was also, at least according to *Cáin Adamnáin*, a punishment substituted for death in the case of women-malefactors, originally out of pity and respect for their sex,² and afterwards perhaps by the common legal fiction that women are not wholly responsible for their crimes, as they always act under the influence or authority of some man. I know no later instances in the Laws of this special treatment accorded to women as a sex. That women were sometimes in earliest times burnt, especially for incontinence, is clear from at least two examples. In *Cath Cnucha* (RC. ii. 90. 7-8 < L.U.), Tadg orders his people to burn his daughter Murni for her relations with Conn.³ In *Eachtra Airt Meic Cuind*⁴ (ÉRIU, iii. 150 seq.), Bécuma had sinned with Gáidhiar, son of Manannán. At first it was decreed to burn her, but Manannán would not permit them, *nach lenadh a cin don tir na díbh fein*,⁵ i. e., 'that her sin might not cleave to the land or themselves'. She is accordingly sentenced to be banished, and she enters a *curach gan frichnum imruma fair ach a legan re coigidil na gaithi*. The translation should be here, I think,

¹ Cf. the chance of ultimate salvation given in the next world in Irish Eschatology to the 'mali non valde'. Seymour, ZCP. xiv. 191 seqq.

² Cf. *Cáin Ad. passim*.

³ She had become his wife against her father's wishes.

⁴ *ed.* Best from Book of Fermoy, pp. 139-45.

⁵ Cf. Of Corc (already referred to in *n. 6 supra*): *lois[es]ther or firu Muman co nā raib in ainbhíal foraind*, Anecd. i. 19. 2. Here the opposite course is advised. The forbearance shown in the later tale from Fermoy is a Christian touch.

'means¹ of rowing' (lit. 'service of rowing'). It is accordingly a reminiscence of the 'navis absque remo'.²

In the preface to the Tripartite Life, p. clxxiv, Stokes states that the same punishment existed in Iceland, where the felon was given 'oars, flint, steel, and a supply of provisions'. He supplies no reference, but he probably found this stated in the Icelandic Laws. As there is no mention of this penalty in Norwegian Law it must show a direct Irish Christian influence on Iceland. There are, besides, many allusions in Icelandic sagas to individual Irish Christians who, during the centuries when Iceland had relapsed into paganism, visited it either directly from Ireland or from the Isles. Most noteworthy of these was Auðr, daughter of Ketill Flatnev and of an Irish mother and wife of Olaf Hriti king of Dublin. In her widowhood she returned with a great retinue to Iceland and died there a Christian.³ Her children relapsed into paganism. She is a genuine historical figure who lived shortly before A. D. 900.

The existence in Ireland of this punishment must have counted for something in the origins of the Christian *Imrama* and *Echtrada* besides the obvious influence on them of the purely pagan *Imram*. The Uí Corra embarked on the sea to expiate their crimes against churches. The *Eachtra Cléreach Choluim-cille* (RC. xxvi) is an instance of this punishment. Three score men and as many women were set adrift⁴ for the crime of

¹ Cf. *galur cin frichnam leigis*, Laws, ii. 166. 1 Comm.; trans. 'medical attendance'.

² It is of some interest that, in a tale 'Bladhmann Mac an Ubhail', published in *Béaloideas*, the Irish Folklore Journal, in June 1928 and taken down in 1927 by its editor from an old man in Kerry, three wicked uncles, illegitimate sons of an old woman, who have with her aid tried to compass the death of the young lawful prince their nephew, are put into a vessel (*soitheach*) of three compartments, and with sixpence apiece to buy them food are towed out to sea and set adrift. So long did a faint memory of the old punishment survive.

³ She it was who in the Laxdoela Saga ordered that as there was no consecrated churchyard in Iceland, she should be buried on the strand with a Christian cross, 'between flood and low water', that the waves lapping her might be to her as holy-water cleansing her from sin. I owe these Icelandic references to Froken Anna Holzmark (of Oslo).

⁴ Probably it was judged to be a *cin dethbire* as the king's tyranny was well nigh unbearable.

killing their king, though it is by the clerics (Snedgus and Mac Riagla) who accompany them as witnesses that the voyage is undertaken. Men's imaginations would naturally be stirred wondering what strange adventures may have befallen those who were set adrift upon the sea, and never returned.

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