ÉRIU

FOUNDED AS THE JOURNAL OF THE SCHOOL OF IRISH LEARNING

DEVOTED TO IRISH PHILOLOGY AND LITERATURE

VOL. XII—PART II

Price
NINE SHILLINGS

CONTENTS

TOCHMARC ÉTAÍNE

THE *Tochmarc Étaíne* or Wooing of Étaín [1] is the principal
tale of the mythological cycle which is concerned with Midir,
king of the elfmounds of Brí Léith. It is included in the
ancient classified lists of prime stories. Three distinct tales
bearing this title have been handed down. They were tran-
scribed into *Lebor na Huidre* (c. 1100), where, however, owing
to loss of leaves, only the second is preserved entire. The first
(p. 129 a–b 19; ed. 10636–10707) lacks the commencement, and
the third (p. 130 b 19–132 a 45; ed. 10790–10915) the middle and
end portions. In a lexicographical tract in H 3. 18, Trinity
Coll. Dubl. (p. 605), a few isolated passages of these defective
tales are preserved in the form of lemmata with glosses. They
have been edited and translated by L. C. Stern (ZCP v. 522 ff.).
The complete text seemed irretrievably lost until recently
another copy of the three tales, happily perfect, came to
light in a section of the Yellow Book of Lecan, which had lain
all unsuspected among the Irish manuscripts in the Phillipps
collection at Thirlestaine House, Cheltenham (MS. 8214). These
have since been acquired by the National Library of Ireland.[2]
The section comprises ten leaves (cols. 959–98), and is the direct
continuation of the main volume in the Library of Trinity College.

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[1] The modern spelling is Éadaoin.

[2] See ' Report of the Council of Trustees, 1930–31,' pp. 15 ff. The other
contents of this interesting section are: (1) Mesca Ulad, (2) Caithréim
Cellaig meic Eogain Bel, i.e. Life of Cellach, (3) Anecdote of Finn, and
(4) Anecdote of St. Patrick. The section, according to the columnar numera-
tion, follows the verso of cols. 957, 958 (Facsimile, p. 216), which is not
numbered, though it contains several entries, and fragments in long lines, in
great part obliterated. The columnar numeration is clearly by Edward Lhuyd
(1660–1709), the well-known antiquary, to whom the volume once belonged,
according to J. H. Todd (Miscellany of Irish Archaeological Society, I,
pp. 112 ff.). This can be verified by a comparison of the figures in T.C.D.
H 5. 20, a collection of papers in Lhuyd's autograph.

The handwriting is apparently that of Gilla-Ísa mac Donnchaidh Móir mic
Fhir Bhisigh, c. 1381 (Cp. Facs. Introd., p. 1). It is uneven, occasionally
smaller and more compressed, at times freer. The concluding poem (III,
§ 23) is in a more elegant script. The two anecdotes with which the section
ends are written by one Aed Óg.

L

The numeration had been partially erased in order to conceal the fragmentary nature of the gathering. Another copy of the second tale, long familiar in the edition published by Windisch from LU (129 b 20—130 b 18; ed. 10709-10788) in his Irische Texte (I. 117 ff.) also occurs, strangely enough, in the main volume (Facs. 175 a 17; cols. 876-7). It is here printed (for the first time) integrally, and for convenience under the Phillipps copy.

A later and much inflated version of this second tale is contained in Brit. Mus. Egerton 1782 (205 a ff.).[1] The episode of the love-sickness has also been utilized in another tale, *Aislinge Óengusso*, which, however, belongs to the Old-Irish period.[2]

With the aid of the excerpts in H 3. 18 Stern (pp. 523 ff.) was able to fill some of the gaps in the first tale;[3] in this he was followed by Alfred Nutt (RC XXVII. 325-39). Windisch, in his edition of the first fragmentary tale, had drawn attention to certain obviously interpolated passages, and after him Zimmer, in his monograph 'Ueber den compilatorischen charakter der irischen sagentexte im sogenannten Lebor na hUidre' (Z. f. vergl. Sprachforsch. XXVIII. 585 ff.). Lucius Gwynn added materially to the discussion by his discovery that the poem ascribed (erroneously[4]) to Cináed úa hArtacáin in the Book of Leinster (209 b 24) was a retelling of the first tale, considerably modified, however. For his edition and translation of the poem, see ÉRIU VII (210 ff.). Finally, R. Thurneysen, in his Irische Helden- und Königsage (589 ff.), submitted all three tales to a fresh examination, pointing out additional interpolations, while rejecting several of Zimmer's inferences as to the recension of the

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[1] Also ed. by Windisch (*op. cit.*). See L. Gwynn, 'The two versions of Tochmarc Étaíne' (ZCP IX. 353 ff.).

[2] Ed. and tr. E. Müller (RC III. 342-50) and by Francis Shaw, S. J., Dubl., 1934. For a parallel of this episode and that in Plutarch's Demetrius, chap. 34, see H. Gaidoz, 'Le mal d'amour d' Ailill Anguba' (Miscellany presented to Kuno Meyer, 1912, pp. 91-101. See also Sarah Michie, 'The Lover's Malady in Early Irish Romance' (Speculum, XII. 306 f.).

[3] As nothing is cited from the missing portions of the third tale, presumably the scholiast had a defective copy before him, for these also, as can now be seen, furnish matter for comment. But there are a few citations in a Glossary further on in the same MS., p. 624. O'Clery also cites a few phrases in his Foclóir nó Sanasan núa, Louvain, 1643. Cp. O'Davoren, 362.

[4] See Thurneysen, Helden- und Königsage, p. 608.

text. To this critical analysis the reader is referred for the literature and for a general discussion of the saga.

These tales— the first and third at least—are in the nature of foretales (*remscéla*) to the historic cycle of Conaire Mór, as represented in the well-known *Orgain Brudne uí* (or *Dá*) *Dergae*, 'Destruction of úa Derga's Hostel'. This is expressly stated in a passage in *Lebor na Huidre*, concluding that saga (99 a 11 ; ed. 8005),[1] extracted from the lost Lebor (or Cín) Dromma Snechta : ' Slicht Libair Dromma Snechta inso. Orgain Brudne uí Dergae trá iarna remscélaib .i. iar Tesbaid Étaíne ingine Ailello 7 iar Tromdáim Echdach Airemón 7 íar nAisnéis Síde Meic Óic do Midir Breg Leith ina síd . . .' It is not apparent to what degree the three tales in question are embodied in Tochmarc Étaíne.[2] Zimmer was of opinion (*loc. cit.* 594) that the first Tochmarc was not a *remscél*, as *Tesbaid Étaíne* might equally refer to Étaín's disappearance with Midir from Eochaid's house [Tochmarc III]. It would seem as if the compiler of Lebor (Cín) Dromma Snechta was unacquainted with a Tochmarc Étaíne as such. Thurneysen (*op. cit.* 598) remarks that this title applies only to the second part of I, further that the tale as it has come down to us is a retelling (' Verarbeitung ') of the second half of the eleventh century, in other words, of the LU period, though linguistically it belongs to the ninth century, as likewise the fragment on the distribution of the elfmounds by the Dagda, *Gabáil in tsída* (ed. and translated by Vernam Hull, ZCP XIX. 53–8).

Tochmarc II is an episode in III, when Étaín was living with Eochaid Airem, before Midir claimed her and carried her off in the shape of a swan to Síd ar Femuin (or Síd Ban Find). The narrative then is briefly as follows :

I. Part I. [§§ 1–10] The Begetting of Aengus (in Mac Óc)[3] by the Dagda or Eochaid Ollathair on Eithne or Boand, wife of Elcmar

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[1] Ed. and tr. Whitley Stokes, 1902, p. 162 f. (= Rev. Celt. XXII. 401 f.). Cf. Nettlau, ' On the Irish text *Togail Bruidne Dá Derga*' (Rev. Celt. XII. 229 ff., XIII. 252 ff., XIV. 137 ff.).

[2] *Tesbaid Étaíne* would apply to the third part of I and to III generally. *Tromdám Echdach Airemóin* is certainly III. *Aisnéis Síde Meic Óic* is more difficult to place : perhaps = I, §§ 13–26.

[3] Otherwise Macc ind Óc. For explanations of the name, see R. Thurneysen, *op. cit.*, p. 598, and T. F. O'Rahilly, The Goidels and their predecessors, 1936, p. 37 f.

of Brug na Bóinne.   How the Dagda acknowledged Mac Óc, who was fostered by Midir, as his son, and instigated him to obtain by a trick (Night and Day) his Brug from Elcmar ; Part II. (§§ 11–14) the Wooing of Étaín Echraide daughter of Ailill, king of Northern Ireland, by Mac Óc, on behalf of Midir, and the tasks imposed on him by Ailill—Clearing of the great Plains— which he accomplished with the aid of the Dagda, so that Midir obtained Étaín ; Part III. [§§ 14–26], the Jealousy of Midir's wife Fuamnach, her metamorphosis of Étaín by magic spells, the disappearance of the latter, and her rebirth a thousand years later as the daughter of Étar's wife, of Inber Cíchmaine in Ulster.   Fuamnach slain by Mac Óc at the house of the druid Bresal Etarlám.

II. Étaín is the wife of Eochaid Airem, king of Tara, whose brother Ailill falls in love with her, and wastes away because of it.   He is healed of his love sickness.   The reappearance of Midir, who seeks to regain Étaín, and confesses that it was he who had inspired Ailill with his passion.

III. Reappearance of Midir before Eochaid Airem on the terrace of Tara.   They play at chess for stakes.   Eochaid defeats him and lays heavy tasks upon him—the clearing of plains, etc., such as Ailill had laid upon Mac Óc in Tochmarc I. The elves enable Midir to accomplish these tasks.   In the final game the stake is Étaín.   Midir wins, and carries her off in the shape of a swan to Síd Femin (or Síd Ban Find) ; [§ 16] the men of Ireland go in pursuit and raze the Síd and also the royal stronghold of Midir, Síd Breg Léith.   Midir comes forth and bids Eochaid pick out his wife from among the women of the Síd.   Eochaid embarrassed chooses one resembling her, who he learns afterwards is Étaín's daughter.   When she bears him a daughter, he puts the infant away.   The child is brought up by the herdsman and his wife, and afterwards (as Étaín) becomes the wife of Etarscél, and the mother of Conaire Mór.   After- wards, Eochaid's stronghold Dún Frémainn is burned and he himself slain.

Such is the tale.   It has given rise to various minor stories, dindshenchas, &c., prose and verse, in which there is much variation ; for example, Tale I : the dindshenchas of Bóand and Brug na Bóinde ; Tale III : that of Rath Esa, in which the order of events is slightly different (see E. J. Gwynn, Metrical Dind-

shenchas, II. 2 ff., III. 26 ff., V. 98).   In the light of the full text
now recovered, it is hoped that the whole saga may be made the
subject of further study.

Where the text rests on a single manuscript, in which there
are many obscure passages, a critical edition could not well be
attempted.   We have followed the method adopted in our
edition of *Lebor na Huidre* as regards extension of abbreviations
and separation of words, and have noted only such variant
readings as seemed necessary to elucidate the text.   In the second
YBL version of Tochmarc II, which is available in Facsimile,
abbreviations have for the most part been extended silently.
Here, however, commas and capital letters have been introduced.
Marks of length, which throughout the Yellow Book, are often
otiose or misplaced, e.g. over *dó mó* ' to, thy, my ', &c., are,
notwithstanding, retained.   On the other hand, the acute accent
over *i*, which most often serves the purpose of a dot, has only
been retained where the vowel is naturally long.   In preparing
this text we have consulted the various editions and translations
referred to above (p. 138).[1]   There are many erasures and inser-
tions of letters, as throughout the main volume, both by the
scribe and by a corrector.   In our tale the scribe was frequently
in difficulties, struggling perhaps with a defective exemplar.
For some of the more perplexing passages, such as the rhetorics,
the present editors have no satisfactory solution to offer, and
in some instances their renderings are more or less tentative.
Thanks are due to Miss Eleanor Knott for many corrections
and useful references.

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[1] Also the edition and translation by A. H. Leahy, Heroic Romances of
Ireland, I-II, 1705-6, the linguistic notes to which were supplied by John
Strachan, who also revised the translation.   Thurneysen's translation of
Tochmarc II in Sagen aus dem alten Irland, pp. 77 ff. has also been utilized.

I

(YBL col. 985.)

Incipit do Thochmarc Edaine

1. Bai ri amra for Eirinn do T[h]uathaib De a c[h]enel, Eochaid
Ollathar a ainm. Ainm n-aill do dano an Dagda, ar ba hé
dognith na firta 7 conmidhedh na sina 7 na toirthe doib. Ba
head asbeirdis combo dé asberthe Dagda fris. Bai ben la
hEalcmar an Broga .i. Eithni a hainm. Ainm n-aill di Boand.
Atacobair an Dagda dó a cairdeas collaidi. Aroét an ben on[1]
Dagda acht nibad oman Ealcmaire, ar med a c[h]umachtai. Faidis
an Dagda iarum Ealcmar n-uad for turus co Bres mac nEalathan
co Mag nInis,[2] 7 dogeine an Dagda tincheadla mora for Ealcmar
oc dul nuad,[3] cona tisad i fairthi .i. a muichi, 7 diuchtrais[4]
dorcha n-aidchi aire, 7 argart gortai 7 itaid de. Dobert imor-
chora[5] mora fair, co torchaidh .ix. mísa fri haenla. Fo bhith
asbertsom conicfad ider lá 7 aidchi dia thig afrithisi. Luid an
Dagda co mnai nEalcmair coléig[6] co mbert[6] mac dó .i. Aengus a
ainm, 7 ba slan an bean dia galar ar cind Ealcmair, 7 nir
airigistair[7] fuirri a bine .i. teacht a coibligi an Dagdai.

2. Birt an Dagda a mac coleigh[8] for altrom do[9] tig Midir i
mBrig Leith i Teathbai. Alta Aengus i ssuidiu[10] co cend .ix.
mbliadna. Cluichemag már la Midir i mBrig Leith. Tri .l.a
mac ann do maccaemaib thiri Erenn, 7 tri .l.a ingin d'inginaib
thiri Erenn. Aengus bá toiseach doib uili ar med a grada la
Midir, ar caime a delba 7 ar suíri a ceneoil. Ainm do dano an
Mac Ócc, a n-asbert a mathair : ' Is óc an mac doronad i tosach
lai 7 ro geinir etir 7 fescur.'

3. Fearais Aengus deabaid fri Triath mac Feabail ł Gobair
do Feraib Bolc, ba leaththuiseach don cluichi 7 ba dalta do
Midir. Nibo menma la[11] Aengus a acal[l]aim do T[h]riath, co
n-epert : ' As imnead dam mac an mogad dom[12] acallaim '—
ar doruimin [col. 986] Aengus co sin robo Midir a athair, 7 ba

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H = H 3. 18 (p. 605).

[1] don H. [2] ninais MS. a *add. below line later.* [3] *sic for* huad. [4] r *add.
above line*; díthrachtais gl. dithrachta .i. dealbha nó cur H. [5] *first* or *add.
above line*; .i. mearaighthe H. [6-6] *interl.*; 7 ruc H. [7] ráthaigh H.
[8] *sic.* [9] leig *expuncted after* do. [10] *first* s *add. below line.* [11] do MS.
with la *above line.* [12] dom MS. *with* a *add. below line.*

I

Here begins the Wooing of Étaín.

1. There was a famous king of Ireland of the race of the Tuatha Dé, Eochaid Ollathair his name. He was also named the Dagda [i.e. good god], for it was he that used to work wonders for them and control the weather and the crops. Wherefore men said he was called the Dagda. Elcmar of the Brug had a wife whose name was Eithne, and another name for her was Boand. The Dagda desired her in carnal union. The woman would have yielded to the Dagda had it not been for fear of Elcmar, so great was his power. Thereupon the Dagda sent Elcmar away on a journey to Bres son of Elatha in Mag nInis, and the Dagda worked great spells upon Elcmar as he set out, that he might not return betimes (that is, early) and he dispelled[1] the darkness of night for him, and he kept hunger and thirst from him. He sent him on long errands, so that nine months went by as one day, for he had said that he would return home again between day and night. Meanwhile the Dagda went in unto Elcmar's wife, and she bore him a son, even Aengus, and the woman was whole of her sickness when Elcmar returned, and he perceived not her offence, that is, that she had lain with the Dagda.

2. The Dagda meanwhile brought his son to Midir's house in Brí Léith in Tethba, to be fostered. There Aengus was reared for the space of nine years. Midir had a great playing-field in Brí Léith. Thrice fifty lads of the young nobles of Ireland were there and thrice fifty maidens of the land of Ireland. Aengus was the leader of them all, because of Midir's great love for him, and the beauty of his form and the nobility of his race. He was also called *in Mac Óc* (the Young Son), for his mother said: 'Young is the son who was begotten at the break of day and born betwixt it and evening.'

3. Now Aengus quarrelled with Triath son of Febal (or Gobor) of the Fir Bolg, who was one of the two leaders in the game, and a fosterling of Midir. It was no matter of pride with Aengus that Triath should speak to him, and he said: 'It irks me that the son of a serf should hold speech with me,' for Aengus had believed until then that Midir was his father, and the kingship of

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[1] *reading* díthrachtais H.

toich do rigi Breag Leith fadeisin, 7 ni fidir a chairdeas frisin
Dagda an tan sin.

4. Friscart Triath co n-epert: 'Ni ferr liumsa,' or se, 'in
t-amus dona fes math*air* ł ath*air* dom acallaim.' Luid Aengus
iar*um* for cai 7 dubai docu*m* Mid*ir* iarna athaisiug*u*d do Triath.
'Cid sin?' ol Mid*ir*. 'Triath rom c[h]ain, 7 dorrubai[1] frim
eneach nad fil math*air* na hath*air* lium.' 'Is gó,' ol Mid*ir*.
'Cei*st*,' ol Aengus, 'cia mo math*air*, can dom ath*air*?' 'Ni
h*annsa*. Eocha*id* Ollathar do ath*air*', ol Mid*ir*, '7 Eithni ben
Eal*c*mair an Broga do math*air*. Misi dot[2] alt fó clith ar
Ealcma*r*, arnabad[3] toc*r*ad do denam dia chind.' 'Tairsu
liumsa,' ol Aengus, 'conomm ardama m'ath*air*, arnach rabasa
fo clith ba sire fo aithisib Fer mBolg.'

5. Docomlai Midir iar*um* 7 a dalta leis do agallaim Each*ach*,
co mbad*ur* i nUisneach Midi a medon Er*enn*, ar ba hann bai
teach nEach*ach*, daig ba comfadai uad for cach leth ind Eiriu
fodeas 7 fotuaid, sair 7 siar. Co fairrnechtar Eocha*id* ara cind
a ndail. Congair Mid*ir* in rí[g] leis for leith do agallaim in
me*i*c.[4] 'Cid is ail don oglaech[5] sa nach tainig riam?' 'Is ail
do a aidide dia ath*air* 7 ferand do tabairt do,' ol Mid*ir*, 'ar ni
comadais do m*a*csu can ferann 7 t*u*sa a righi nEr*enn*.' 'Is fo
chean dó,' ol Eocha*id*, [6] is m*a*c dam. An ferand dut*r*acarsa dó
ni folam fos.' 'Cia ferand sin?' ol Mid*ir*. 'An Brud fri Boind
atuaid,' ol Eocha*id*. 'Cia fil i suidug*u*d[6]?' ol Mid*ir*. 'Eal*c*-
mar,' ol Eocha*id*, 'in fer fil and. Ni hail dam a crad ni bus mo.'

6. 'Cei*st*, cisi comairli dobe*r*i[7] don m*a*c sa?' ol Mid*ir*.
[8]'Tatham dó,' ol Eocha*id*. 'Tiad dia[8] Samna isin mBruig,
7 tuicead[9] gaisgead fair. La side 7 cai*n*comraic[10] sin la firu
Er*enn*, 7 ni bi neach a fuath[11] a cheili and, 7 bied Ealcma*r*
a Cnuc Side an Broga cen gaisced fair acht gablan findchuill
ina laim, 7 a brat diabal i*m*i, 7 dealg n-oir ina brutt, 7 tri .l.
isin cluichimuigh ara belaib oca cluichi, 7 teis Aengus chuici,

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[1] conrubaidh .i. tubhaidh H. [2] = rot. [3] na *add. above line later.*
[4] Fearus Eochaidh esemain (.i. failti) fris 7 isbert *add.* H. [5] do noglaech
MS. g *corr. from* t. [6] *sic* = i suidiu. [7] dobe*r*id MS. [8-8] *apparently
in ras.* [9] tucadh H. [10] cai*n*comraic, m-*stroke* MS. [11] a *subscr.,
add. later.*

Brí Léith his heritage, and he knew not then of his kinship with the Dagda.

4. Triath made answer and said: 'I take it no less ill that a hireling whose mother and father are unknown should hold speech with me.' Thereupon Aengus went to Midir weeping and sorrowful at having been put to shame by Triath. 'What is this?' said Midir. 'Triath has defamed me and cast in my face that I have neither mother nor father.' ''Tis false,' said Midir. 'Who is my mother, from whence is my father?' 'No hard matter. Thy father is Eochaid Ollathair,' said Midir, 'and Eithne, wife of Elcmar of the Brug, is thy mother. It is I that have reared thee unknown to Elcmar, lest it should cause him pain that thou wast begotten in his despite.' 'Come thou with me,' said Aengus, 'that my father may acknowledge me, and that I may no longer be kept hidden away under the insults of the Fir Bolg.'

5. Then Midir set out with his fosterling to have speech with Eochaid, and they came to Uisnech of Meath in the centre of Ireland, for 'tis there was Eochaid's house, Ireland stretching equally far from it on every side, to south and north, to east and west. Before them in the assembly they found Eochaid. Midir called the king aside to have speech with the lad. 'What does he desire, this youth who has not come until now?' 'His desire is to be acknowledged by his father, and for land to be given him,' said Midir, 'for it is not meet that thy son should be landless while thou art king of Ireland.' 'He is welcome,' said Eochaid, 'he is my son. But the land I wish him to have is not yet vacant.' 'What land is that?' said Midir. 'The Brug, to the north of the Boyne,' said Eochaid. 'Who is there?' said Midir. 'Elcmar,' said Eochaid, 'is the man who is there. I have no wish to annoy him further.'

6. 'Pray, what counsel dost thou give this lad?' said Midir. 'I have this for him,' said Eochaid. 'On the day of Samain let him go into the Brug, and let him go armed. That is a day of peace and amity among the men of Ireland, on which none is at enmity with his fellow. And Elcmar will be in Cnoc Síde in Broga unarmed save for a fork of white hazel in his hand, his cloak folded about him, and a gold brooch in his cloak, and three fifties playing before him in the playing-field; and let Aengus go to him and threaten to kill him. But it is meet that he slay

7 doṁaithi do [1] dia marbad, 7 is tacar do nin rubai ⟨.i. nir gona⟩[2] acht coro ingealla [3] a réir dó, 7 bá[d] sí riar Aengusa rigi laí co n-aidchi isin Bruigh, 7 ní leicisiu a ferand do Ealcmar co targha mo reirsea, 7 bad ed tacra Aengusa iar tiachtain is i mbithdisli dorochair do a ferand ar anacal Ealcmair arnach ro marbad, 7 is rigi laí co n-aidchi conatechoir, 7 ' asbeirsom ' is laib 7 aidchib dochaiter an doman.'

7. Dochomlai Midir iar sin dia crich 7 a dalta lais, 7 gabais Aengus gaisced immon Samain sin ar cind, 7 doluid isin mBruig, 7 foceird Aengus eisce im Ealcmar co n-ingeall [4] do dia anmain rigi lai co n-aidchi ina ferand.   Anais in Mac Óc ann a lla n-isin fo cetoir 7 in n-aidchi d'adhaig a rigi an tiri 7 muindter Ealcmair dia reir.   Doluid Ealcmar arabarach do faedredh a feraind don Mac Óc, 7 bages bada [5] mora occa.   Asbert in Mac [6] Ócc ní leicfed a ferann uad conid reilgedh a reir an Dagda ara mbelaib fer nErenn.

8. Fogellat iarum an Dagda.   Concertasidhe cor [7] caich amal a indell.   ' Is lasin n-oclaech sa a feacht sa a ferand as da reir seo ', ol Ealcmar.   ' Is deithbir ón,' ol an Dagda ; ' ro slecht do [8] baegholsa o [9] llo sidhe 7 caíncomraic.   Tartais [10] do ferann ar th'anacal, ar ba caime lat do ainim oldas do thír, 7 rot biasu tír limsa chena nábó hingoiri duit oldas an Brug.'   ' Cia hairm son ? ' ol Ealcmar.   ' Cleiteach,' ol an Dagda, ' cusna tri tirib fil ime, [col. 987] do macraid gach día isin Bruig ar do belaib oca cluichi, la hurthorad Boindi do thomailt duit asin ferann sa.'   ' Is maith,' ol Ealcmar, ' dogentar samlaid,' 7 beirthi i n-imirghi a Cleitech.   Iar sin dognith dún and lais, 7 anais an Mac Óc isin Bruig ina ferand.

9. Iar sin doluid Midir dia bliadna do aithreos a daltai don Bruig, co [11] fairnic an Mac Óc for [7] duma Sidhe an Brogha a llau na Samna, 7 na dí macraid ara belaib oca cluichi isin Bruig, 7 Ealcmar fora duma Cleitich alla andes oca ndeicsin.   Astui debaid itir na macu issin Bruig.   ' Nirod gluaisea,' ol Midir

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[1] sic; om. H.   [2] gl. interlined.   [3] ghealla H.   [4] n add. below line; go ngeall H.   [5] = bága.   [6] in marg.   [7] letter erased after r. [8] o in ras.   [9] o corr. to a.   [10] taetais H.   [11] condo- H.

him not, provided he promise him his will. And let this be the will of Aengus, that he be king a day and a night[1] in the Brug; and see that thou yield not the land to Elcmar till he submit himself (?) to my decision; and when he comes let Aengus' plea be that the land has fallen to him in fee simple for sparing Elcmar and not slaying him, and that what he had asked for is kingship of day and night, and ' said he, ' it is in days and nights that the world is spent.'

7. Then Midir sets out for his land, and his foster-son along with him, and on Samain following, Aengus having armed himself came into the Brug and made a feint at Elcmar, so that he promised him in return for his life kingship of day and night in his land. The Mac Óc straightway abode there that day and the following night as king of the land, Elcmar's household being subject to him. On the morrow Elcmar came to claim his land from the Mac Óc, and therewith threatened him mightily. The Mac Óc said that he would not yield up his land until he should put it to the decision of the Dagda in presence of the men of Ireland.

8. Then they appeal to the Dagda, who adjudged each man's contract in accordance with his undertaking. ' So then this land accordingly belongs henceforth to this youth,' said Elcmar. ' It is fitting,' said the Dagda. ' Thou wast taken unawares on a day of peace and amity. Thou gavest thy land for mercy shown thee, for thy life was dearer to thee than thy land, yet thou shalt have land from me that will be no less profitable to thee than the Brug.' ' Where is that?' said Elcmar. ' Cleitech,' said the Dagda, ' with the three lands that are round about it, thy youths playing before thee every day in the Brug, and thou shalt enjoy the fruits of the Boyne from this land.' ' It is well,' said Elcmar; ' so shall it be accomplished.' And he made a flitting to Cleitech, and built a stronghold there, and the Mac Óc abode in the Brug in his land.

9. Then Midir came on that day year to the Brug on a visit to his fosterling, and he found the Mac Óc on the mound of Síd in Broga on the day of Samain, with two companies of youths at play before him in the Brug, and Elcmar on the mound of Cleitech to the south, watching them. A quarrel broke out among the youths in the Brug. ' Do not stir,' said Midir to the

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[1] *lá* in Irish = ' day' as distinguished from ' night', a division of twelve hours; *lá co n-aidchi* ' day and night' = the full day of twenty-four hours, *lá aicinta*; see Thurneysen, ZCP XIV. 350.

frisin M*a*c Óc, ' fo dháig Ealcmair, arnara torbara a mmagh.
Ragadsa do edargairi etaru.'   Luid iar*u*m Mid*ir*, 7 níbó reidh
dó a n-edarscarad.   Doleicidh [1] bir cuilind do Mid*ir*, co tobert a
lethŝuil asa chind o*con* edargairi.   Doluid M*i*d*ir* 7 a lethŝuil ina
durn docom an M*ei*c Óic, 7 asbert fris : 'Ní má tu[d]c[h]adhsa
do ḟis scel uait, conam fil fo athais, sech ní rochim fon ainim
a tir doroacht do imchaisin, 7 a tir oa tu[d]chadh ní róás in
fecht sa.'

10. ' Bidh gó son,' ol an M*a*c Óc.   ' Raghasa có Dían Cecht
co tudchaid dot íc, 7 bid lat do ferand fodein 7 bid lat an ferand
sa, 7 bid slan do ŝuil cen athais cen ainim airi.'   Luid an M*a*c
Óc co Dian Cecht ' co ndeachaidis [2] liumsa,' ar sé, ' do tesarcain
mo aidi ro cailled dia Samna isin Bruig.'   Doluid Dían [Cecht]
7 icais Midir corbó slán.   ' Is maith mó turas ifeachtsa,' ol Mid*ir*,
' o rom icad.'   ' Bid fir ón,' ol in Mac Ócc.   ' Ansu sund co
ceand mbli*adna* co n-aicter [3] mo fiallachsa 7 mo muind*ter*sa 7
mo theglach 7 mo ferand.'

11. ' Nocho n-anab [4],' ol Mid*ir*, ' acht mina[m] bé a lógh airi.'
' Cid logh ón ? ' ol an M*a*c Óc.   ' Ni *hannsa*.   Carpad b*u*s
fiú .uii. cumala,' ol Midir, ' 7 deichealt mo dingmala, 7 ingen b*u*s
ailldem a nEirind.'   ' Ata liumsa on,' ol an M*a*c Óc, ' an carpat
7 in deichealt b*u*s dingmala duit.'   ' Atá do*no*,' ol Midir, ' in*n*
ingen doroscai [5] di ingenaib Er*enn* ar chruth.'   ' Cissi airm i tá ? '
ol an M*a*c Óc.   ' Atá la hUltaib,' ol Mid*ir*, ' ingen Aile*l*la,
Edain Echraidi, ingen ríg na raindi airtherthuaiscertaighi na
hEr*enn*, is i as cainem 7 is minem 7 is morailldem a nEr*inn*.'

12. Luid in M*a*c Óg dia cuinchidh co mbaí a Muigh Inis og
tigh Aile*l*la.   Ferthai failti friss, 7 anais teora haidchi and.
Raidhis a aitheasc 7 sluindti ar cenel.[6]   Asbert ba do chuind-
chid Edaine doluid.   ' Nis tiber [7] deit,' ol Aili*l*l, ' dáigh ní rochaim
bá fort ar suiri do cheniul,[8] ar med do cumachtai 7 cumachta

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Mac Óc, 'because of Elcmar, lest he come down to the plain.[1] I will go myself to make peace between them.' Thereupon Midir went, and it was not easy for him to part them. A spit of holly was thrown at Midir as he was intervening, and it knocked one of his eyes out. Midir came to the Mac Óc with his eye in his hand and said to him : 'Would that I had not come on a visit to thee, to be put to shame, for with this blemish I cannot behold the land I have come to, and the land I have left, I cannot return to it now.'

10. 'It shall in no wise be so,' said the Mac Óc. 'I will go to Dian Cécht that he may come and heal thee, and thine own land shall be thine and this land shall be thine, and thine eye shall be whole again without shame or blemish because of it.' The Mac Óc went to Dian Cécht. '[. . .][2] that thou mayest go with me,' said he, 'to save my foster-father who has been hurt in the Brug on the day of Samain.' Dian Cécht came and healed Midir, so that he was whole again. 'Good is my journeying now,' said Midir, 'since I am healed.' 'It shall surely be so,' said the Mac Óc. 'Do thou abide here for a year that thou mayest see my host and my folk, my household and my land.'

11. 'I will not stay,' said Midir, 'unless I have a reward therefor.' 'What reward?' said the Mac Óc. 'Easy to say. A chariot worth seven cumals,' said Midir, 'and a mantle befitting me, and the fairest maiden in Ireland.' 'I have,' said the Mac Óc, 'the chariot and the mantle befitting thee.' 'There is moreover,' said Midir, 'the maiden that surpasses all the maidens in Ireland in form.' 'Where is she?' said the Mac Óc. 'She is in Ulster,' said Midir, 'Ailill's daughter Étaín Echraide, daughter of the king of the north-eastern part of Ireland. She is the dearest and gentlest and loveliest in Ireland.'

12. The Mac Óc went to seek her until he came to Ailill's house in Mag nInis. He was made welcome, and he abode three nights there. He told his mission and announced his name and race. He said that it was in quest of Étaín that he had come. 'I will not give her to thee,' said Ailill, 'for I can in no way profit by thee, because of the nobility of thy family, and the

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[1] Cp. tusfúabart, LU 11037 ; in torpartar an mag, TBC(Y) 3100 ; dofarfobrit, *ib.* 3220. [2] *something om.* (?).

th'ath*ar*. Cach a dénai frim [1] ingin do meboil ni rochar fort
itir.' 'Níba hedh ón,' ol an Mac Og, 'nois ciursa [2] díttso fó
chetoir.' 'Rod bia son,' ol Ail*i*l. 'Findamni uaitsiu,' ol an
Mac Og. 'Ni *hannsa*,' ol Ail*i*l. 'Dá magh dég do ṡlaidhi
uaidsiu damsa im ferandsa do neoch fil fo dithraib 7 fedaib, co
rabad do grés fri geilt do ceithrib 7 fri trebad do dainib, fri
cluichi 7 ceiti, fri dala 7 dunadha indtib.'

13. 'Dogentar,' ol in [3] Mac Óg. Dothaet dia thig, 7 caínis
a imnead frisin Dagda. Dognither la suide .xii. mag do ṡlaidhi
a n-aenaidchi a ferand Ail*e*lla. It e anmanda na muigi an*n* so
.i. Mag Macha, Mag Leamna, Mag nItha, Mag Tochair, Mag
nDula, Mag Techt, Mag Li, Mag Liné, Mag M*ur*themné. O
doronadh tra ind opair sin lasin M*a*c Óg, [col. 988] luid dochum
Ail*e*lla do chuindchid Édaine. 'Níis bera,' ol Ail*i*l, 'co ruga
da primus*ce* déc asin ferand sa docum mara do neoch fil a
tibradaib 7 mointib 7 seiscnib, do thabairt thoraid o muirib do
thuathaib 7 cenelaib, do thirmugudh thiri 7 talman.'

14. Doluidside dono dochum an Dagda do chaíniud a imnid
fris. Dognith la suidhi da primus*ce* déc do dirghiudh dochum
mara a n-aenaidchi iar sin. Ni naicesa [4] and riam co tici sin.
It e anmanda na n-us*ce* .i. Find 7 Modorn*n* [5] 7 Slena 7 Nas 7
Amnas 7 Oichén 7 Or 7 Banda 7 Samair 7 Lóche. Ó ro
scachadar tra na hop*ra* sa, doluid an Mac Og do acallaim Ail*e*lla
do c[h]uindchid Etaine chuici. 'Niss bera conda dergle, ol niam
biasa ní di maith na hingine iarna breith daitsiu acht a rr*us* fo
cedoir.' 'Cid condaighi chucum a fecht sa?' ol an M*a*c Óg.
'Condaigim', ol Ail*i*l, 'comthrom na hingine damsa de ór 7 argad,
ar [is] i sin [6] mo chuid dia lóg; an ndoirignisiu co sé, dia claind 7
dia c*h*enéol [7] a torbai.' 'Dogentar,' ol in M*a*c Óg. Fochres
for lar thigi Ail*e*lla, 7 dobreth a cutromu airi [8] dé ór 7 argad.
Forfacbad [9] and índmasin [9] la hAil*i*l, 7 b*ir*t M*a*c Óg Edain lais
dochum a thighi.

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[1] a ndénaidh frisin H.   [2] r *add. later over* s.   [3] in *add. below line later*.
[4] *sic* = haicesa.   [5] Mogorn*n* MS. *with* ł d *over* g.   [6] iṡi MS., i *subscr.*
[7] *sic*.   [8] = airre *f.*   [9-9] *sic* = in t-indmas sin.

greatness of thy power [1] and that of thy father. If thou put any shame on my daughter, no redress whatsoever can be had of thee.' 'It shall not be so,' said the Mac Óc. 'I will buy her from thee straightway.' 'Thou shalt have that,' said Ailill. 'State thy demand,' said the Mac Óc. 'No hard matter,' said Ailill. 'Thou shalt clear for me twelve plains in my land that are under waste and wood, so that they may be at all times for grazing for cattle and for habitation to men, for games and assemblies, gatherings, and strongholds.'

13. 'It shall be done,' said the Mac Óc. He returns home and bewailed to the Dagda the strait he was in. The latter caused twelve plains to be cleared in a single night in Ailill's land. These are the names of the plains: Mag Macha, Mag Lemna, Mag nÍtha, Mag Tochair, Mag nDula, Mag Techt, Mag Lí, Mag Line, Mag Murthemne. [2] Now when that work had been accomplished by the Mac Óc he went to Ailill to demand Étaín. 'Thou shalt not obtain her,' said Ailill, 'until thou draw out of this land to the sea twelve great rivers that are in wells and bogs and moors, so that they may bring produce from the sea to peoples and kindreds, and drain the earth and the land.'

14. He came again to the Dagda to bewail the strait he was in. Thereupon the latter caused twelve great waters to course towards the sea in a single night. They had not been seen there until then. These are the names of the waters: Find and Modornn and Slena and Nas and Amnas and Oichén and Or and Banda and Samaír and Lóche. [3] Now when these works were accomplished the Mac Óc came to have speech with Ailill in order to claim Étaín. 'Thou shalt not get her till thou purchase her, for after thou hast taken her, I shall have no profit of the maiden beyond what I shall obtain forthwith.' 'What dost thou require of me now?' said the Mac Óc. 'I require,' said Ailill, 'the maiden's weight in gold and silver, for that is my portion of her price; all thou hast done up to now, the profit of it goes to her folk and her kindred.' 'It shall be done,' said the Mac Óc. She was placed on the floor of Ailill's house, and her weight of gold and silver was given for her. That wealth was left with Ailill, and the Mac Óc brought Étaín home with him.

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[1] 'Power' here means, perhaps, as often, 'magic power'; cf. § 15.
[2] Nine only are named.   [3] Ten only are named.

15. Ferais Midir failti frissin daim sin.   Foidh Etaín la Midir
in oidchi sin, 7 dobreath dechelt a dingmala 7 a carpad do
arabarach 7 [1] buidech dia dalta.   Anais iarum bliadain lain isin
Bruig a fail Aengusa.   Dochoid Midir dia c[h]rich dia bliadna do
Brigh Leith, 7 birt Edaín leis.   Asbert an Mac Óg fri Midir in
la luidhi uadh : 'Faitchius [2] duit frisin mnai na mbere lat fo
diach na mná uathmairi amaindsi fil ar do chind co meid fis 7 éolus
7 cumachtai feib ro ngab a cenel,' ol Aengus.   'Sech ata mo
briatharsa 7 mo comairghi fria ar Tuatha Dé Danann ' .i. Fuam-
nach bean Midir di claind Beothaig meic Iardanel.   Ba gaeth 7
ba trebar 7 ba heolach hi fis 7 cumachtai *Tuath De Danann*, ar
bá Bresal drui rod[a] alt co n-arnas do Midir.

16. Feraisi failti fria a fer .i. fri Midir, 7 raidis an ben már di
brian friú.   'Tairsiu, a Midir,' ol Fuamnach, 'coro thaispenar [3]
duit do tech 7 do thechta feraind cona dá cathair ingen in [4] rig
dom aithis.   Dorochell Midir la Fuaimnig a ferand n-uili, co
tarfaid do a dliged 7 do Edain, 7 dobert Édain dorisi fri Fuaim-
nigh iar sin.   Luidh Fuamnach reimib isa teach cotalta i codlad,
7 asbert fri hEdain : 'Suide somna i tudchadh.'   Amal dofeisigh
Edain isin cathair for lar an taigi nos ben [5] Fuamnach co fleiscc
caerthinn corcrai [6] co nderna [7] lind n-usci dí for lar in tighi, 7
dothaed Fuamnach coa [8] haite, co Bresal, 7 do leic Midir in tech
don usciu dorigni do Édain.   Baí Midir iar sin cen mnaí.

17. Doghni tes in tened 7 ind aeoir 7 combruith na talman
imfortacht ind usci co ndernai cruim din lind ro baí for lar in
tighi, 7 dogní iar sin cuil corcrai don chruim sin.   Ba meid
ceand fir as chaineam ro baí isin tír.   Ba bindi cuslendaib
7 crotaib 7 cornairib fuaim a foghair 7 easnad a heiti.   Doaitnidis
a suili amal lega loghmara isnaib reib doirchib.   Arghaireadh
itaidh 7 gortaidh [9] do neoch a boladh 7 a blath ima teighedh.
No ícadh saetho 7 gallra 7 teadmanda fursitin na mbraen
foceirded dia heitib dinni imma theighedh.   Coneitged 7 im-
thiged [10] la Midir sechnoin a feraind [11] aní ro theigedh.[11]   Arbia-

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[1] *Supply* ba.   [2] *second* i *subscr.*   [3] thaispenar MS., ar *add. later below*
line.   [4] in *add. below line by later hand.*   [5] ber MS.   [6] *between cols.*
[7] cornderna MS.   [8] a *add. below, later.*   [9] *sic, for* gortai.   [10] = im-
téiged.   [11-11] *sic, read* amal no téiged, *which is translated.*

15. Midir made that company welcome. That night Étaín sleeps with Midir, and on the morrow a mantle befitting him and a chariot were given to him, and he was pleased with his foster-son. After that he abode a full year in the Brug with Aengus. On that day year Midir went to his own land, to Brí Léith, and he brought Étaín with him. On the day he went from him the Mac Óc said to Midir 'Give heed to the woman thou takest with thee, because of the dreadful cunning woman that awaits thee, with all the knowledge and skill and craft that belongs to her race,' said Aengus, 'also she has my word and my safeguard before the Tuatha Dé Danann,' that is, Fuamnach wife of Midir, of the progeny of Beothach son of Iardanél. She was wise and prudent and skilled in the knowledge and magic power of the Tuatha Dé Danann, for the wizard Bresal had reared her until she was betrothed to Midir.

16. She made her husband welcome, that is Midir, and the woman spoke much of . . .¹ to them. 'Come, O Midir,' said Fuamnach, 'that I may show thee thy house and thy meed of land . . .² Midir went round all his land with Fuamnach, and she showed his seizin to him and . . .³ to Étaín. And after that he brought Étaín again to Fuamnach. Fuamnach went before them into the sleeping chamber wherein she slept, and she said to Étaín: 'The seat of a good woman hast thou come into.' When Étaín sat down on the chair in the middle of the house, Fuamnach struck her with a rod of scarlet quickentree, and she turned into a pool of water in the middle of the house; and Fuamnach comes to her fosterfather Bresal, and Midir left the house to the water into which Étaín had turned. After that Midir was without a wife.

17. The heat of the fire and the air and the seething of the ground aided the water so that the pool that was in the middle of the house turned into a worm, and after that the worm became a purple fly. It was as big as a man's head, the comeliest in the land. Sweeter than pipes and harps and horns⁴ was the sound of her voice and the hum of her wings. Her eyes would shine like precious stones in the dark. The fragrance and the bloom of her would turn away hunger and thirst from any one around

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¹ Cp. brian .i. briathar ut est Tochmarc nEtaine, H, p. 624.   ² Read perhaps, *conda accathar . . . dom aithis* 'so that the king's daughter may see them as a reproach to me' (or *do maithis* 'thy wealth'); but the passage is obscure.   ³ Something apparently omitted here.   ⁴ Read perhaps *cornaib*, which is translated.

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thad sluagu i ndalaib 7 airechta i n-[1] [col. 989] dunadaib clostecht
frihae 7 a deicsiú. Rofidir Midir rop si Etain ro boi isin richt
sin, 7 ni thuc mnai cen ro boi an chuil sin ina comaidecht, 7
arambiath[ad]som a deicsiu. Contuiled fria fogur, 7 dofusced in
tan dotheighedh chuici nech nachad caradh.

18. Doluid Fuamnach do athreos Midir iar tanaib, 7 dolodar
na tri dei Danand lé dia comairghi .i. Lugh 7 Dagda 7 Oghma.
Ferais Midir athcosan mor fri Fuamnaig, 7 asbert fria na ragadh
uadh mane beith nert na comairghi dodoucsat. Asbert Fuam-
nach nabad aithrech le in gnim doghene, ar ba ferr lé in gnim
maith di fein oldás dia seitché, 7 cebedh si maigen a nÉre a
mbeith, ni biadh acht oc aimles Édaine cen no mbeith a mbíu,
ciabadh hé richt a mbeith. Dobertsi dicelta mora 7 tecosca[2] ... ndé[3]
o Bresal Edarlam on drai do indarba 7 focrai Edaine o Midir, air
rofidirsi an chuil chorcra ro baí ic airfidedh Midir rob sí Édain,
fo dhaigh ná rochar Mid*ir* mnaí in tan atchidh an chuil corcrai,
7 níba sam ceól na hól na longadh in tan nach aicedh 7 nach
cluinedh a ceol 7 a foghar. Fógluaisi Fuamnach gaeth
n-a*m*mais 7 druidechta co tarfaided Édain o Brig Leith,
cona hédadh barr na bili na tulach na dingna[4] forsa n-airs*ed*
i nÉre co cend .uii. mbli*adna*, acht for cairgib mara 7 for
trethnaib tond 7 imsnam an aeoir, conda tarla dia .uii. mbli*adna*
for ibel[5] i n-ucht an M*ei*c Oic for duma an Broga.

19. As i airm asbert in M*a*c Óg: .r.[6] ' Fo chen Edain imtechtach
imnedhach adrualaidh mórgaibthiu[7] la gaithi Fuaimnighi. ní
fuair fos na subae do thaebu tairisi fri Midir muindteras me fein
fomruair gnimach co sluagaib sochaidhi slige dithrebé diupa ná
domna imorchraid n-indbaissa Ail*el*la ingini is digbal dimuin
conid do dibel truag domainig iar tain fo chean f.o.c.e.n.

20. Ferais an M*a*c Óg failti frisin n-ingin .i. frisin cuil corcrai
7 dosnimthasa i llai a broit fria bruindé. Nó beir[8] docom[9] a
thaige 7 a grianain co seinistrib soillsib fri teacht as 7 ind, 7

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[1] 7 MS., *repeated next col.* [2] . . ca *in ras. later hand.* [3] *two letters erased,*
seemingly aí. [4] ding na MS. *for* dindgna. [5] *sic,* =(?) imbel. [6] *in marg.*
[7] atrual morn gaibthi H. [8] *sic for* nos beir. [9] LU begins here
f. 129 a (ed. 10636).

whom she would go.   The spray of the drops she shed from her
wings would cure all sickness and disease and plague in any one
round whom she would go.   She used to attend Midir and go
round about his land with him, as he went.   To listen to her and
gaze upon her would nourish hosts in gatherings and assemblies
in camps.   Midir knew that it was Étaín that was in that shape,
and so long as that fly was attending upon him, he never took
to himself a wife, and the sight of her would nourish him.   He
would fall asleep with her humming, and whenever any one
approached who did not love him, she would awaken him.

18. After a time Fuamnach came on a visit to Midir, and along
with her as sureties came the three gods of Dana, namely Lug
and the Dagda, and Ogma.   Midir reproached Fuamnach ex-
ceedingly and said to her that she should not go from him were
it not for the power of the sureties that had brought her.
Fuamnach said that she did not repent of the deed she had done,
for that she would rather do good to herself than to another, and
that in whatsoever part of Ireland she might be she would do
naught but harm to Étaín so long as she lived, and in whatsoever
shape she might be.   She brought powerful incantations and . . .
spells from Bresal Etarlam the wizard to banish and warn off
Étaín from Midir, for she knew that the purple fly that was
delighting Midir was Étaín herself, for whenever he saw the
scarlet fly, Midir loved no other woman, and he found no pleasure
in music or in drinking or eating when he did not see her and
hear the music of her and her voice.   Fuamnach stirred up a
wind of assault and magic so that Étaín was wafted (?) from Brí
Léith, and for seven years she could not find a summit or a tree
or a hill or a height in Ireland on which she could settle, but
only rocks of the sea and the ocean waves, and (she was) floating
through the air until seven years from that day when she lighted
on a fringe (?) on the breast of the Mac Óc as he was on the
mound of the Brug.

19. There it was that the Mac Óc said, 'Welcome, Étaín,
wanderer careworn, thou that hast encountered great dangers
through the cunning of Fuamnach. . . .[1]

20. The Mac Óc made the girl welcome, that is, the purple
fly, and gathered her to his bosom in the fleece of his cloak.   He
brought her to his house and his sun-bower with its bright
windows for passing out and in, and purple raiment was put on

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[1] rhetoric, untranslated.

dobreth tlacht corcrai uimpi, 7 [1]no himchuire[1] in grianán sin
lasin Mac Óg cach leth no theigedh, 7 ba hand contuiled cach
n-aidchi oca comaidecht[2] do airic menman, conda thainic[3] a
sult 7 a feth, 7 no línta an grianan sin o[4] luibib boladhmáraib
ingantaib, combo dhe do *fór*bredsi[5] do bolad 7 blath na luibhi
sainemla loghmairi sin.

21. Adcuas do Fuamnaig a ngrad 7 an miadh doradad di
lasin Mac Óg. Asbert Fuamnach fri Midir : ' Congarar deit do
dalta co ndernta[6] corai frib dib línaib, 7 co ndechas for iarair
Édaine.' Dothaed techt co Mac nÓc o Mid*ir*, 7 luidis[7] dia
acallaim, 7 doluid Fuamnach timcheall colleic co mbaí isin
Bruigh, 7 dobert an[8] athaig cedna fo Édain *con*do bert asan[9]
grianan foran imluamain[10] forsa roibe ríam, co cend .uii. mbli-
adna fo Er*inn*, conda timart athach gaithi ar troige 7 lobrai 7 [11]
conda chorastar[12] for cleithe thighe la hUlltu i mbatar ic ól, co
torchair issin n-airdigh n-óir ro baí for laim mna Édair in
cathmiled o Inbér Chichmaine a coiced Concob*uir*, condo
sloicsidhe[13] lassin dig bai isin[13] lestur coimperta[14] di ṡuide foa
broind combo hingen iar tain. Dobreth ainm dí .i. Edain ingen
Édair. Di bli*adain* déc ar mili tra o gein tuiseach Edaíne o
Ail*i*ll[15] cosin ngein[15] déigenach[16] o Edar.

22. Alta iar*um* Édain óc Inbiur Chichmuine la hEdar 7 .l.a
ingen impe di ingenaib tuiseach, 7 ba heiseom nodo biathad 7 no
eidedh[17] ar comaidecht Édaine do grés. La n-and doib a
n-ingenaib uilib isind inbiur oca [col. 990] fothrucadh co
n-acadar in marcach isin[18] magh chucu don us*ciu*. Ech dond
tuagmar forran[19] forlethan casmongach caschaircheach foa suidé.
Sidhalbrat uaine i filliud immé, 7 lene fo deirgindledh uime, 7
eó oir ina brat rosaidhed[20] a gualaind for cach leth. Sciath
airg[d]idhi co n-imiul[21] oir imme fora muin. Sciathrach airgid
and, 7 tul n-oir fair, 7 slegh coicrind co fethan oir impé o

[1-1] imchuirthe U.   [2] chomaitecht U.   [3] *sic for* táinic.   [4] do U.
[5] *letter* a *erased after* si ; forberedsi U, do *om.*   [6] nder*n*sai U.   [7] l *add.*
above line; luidsi U.   [8] in n- U.   [9] asa U.   [10] l *add. above line* ;
fúamain U.   [11] *om.* U.   [12] *sic.*   [13-13] lasa loim gabais asind U.   [14] com-
be*r*tai U.   [15-15] sin *add below line*, e*in add. later above.*   [16] ndedenach U.
[17] n-eted U.   [18] isa U.   [19] *one* r *add. later above line.*   [20] = rosaiged U.
[21] n-imbiul U.

her ; and wheresoever he went that sun-bower was carried by the Mac Óc, and there he used to sleep every night by her side, comforting her, until her gladness and colour came to her again. And that sun-bower was filled with fragrant and wondrous herbs, and she throve on the fragrance and bloom of those goodly precious herbs.

21. Fuamnach was told of the love and honour that was bestowed by the Mac Óc on Étaín. Said Fuamnach to Midir, 'Let thy fosterling be summoned that I[1] may make peace between you both, while I myself go in quest of Étaín.' A messenger comes to the Mac Óc from Midir, and he went[2] to speak to him. Meanwhile Fuamnach came by a circuitous way until she was in the Brug, and she sent the same blast on Étaín, which carried her out of her sun-bower on the very flight she had been on before for the space of seven years throughout Ireland. The blast of wind drove her along in misery and weakness until she alit on the rooftree of a house in Ulster where folk were drinking, and she fell into the golden beaker that was before the wife of Étar the champion from Inber Cíchmaine, in the province of Conchobar, so that she swallowed her with the liquid that was in the beaker, and in this wise she was conceived in her womb and became afterwards her daughter.[3] She was called Étaín daughter of Étar. Now it was a thousand and twelve years from the first begetting of Étaín by Ailill until her last begetting by Étar.

22. After that Étaín was brought up at Inber Cíchmaine by Étar, and fifty daughters of chieftains along with her, and he it was that fed and clothed them to be in attendance on Étaín always. On a day it befel that all the maidens were bathing in the estuary when they saw from the water a horseman entering the plain towards them. He was mounted on a broad brown steed, curvetting and prancing, with curly mane and curly tail. Around him a . . . green mantle in folds, and a red-embroidered tunic, and in his mantle a golden brooch which reached to his shoulder on either side. A silvern shield with rim of gold slung over his back, and a silver strap to it and boss of gold thereon. In his hand a five-pronged spear with bands of gold round about it from haft to socket. Bright yellow hair he had reaching to his forehead. A fillet of gold against his forehead so that his

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[1] *following* U. [2] *reading* luidsi[de] ; *cp*. U. [3] The meaning is clear, but the text corrupt ; for *coimperta*, read perhaps *conbreth* or *co mbreth*.

irlonn co cro ina laim.   Folt findbuide fair co edan.   Snithi oir
fria édán conna teilgeadh a folt fo aghaidh.[1]   Assisithar[2] sist
forsin purt oc déigsin na hingine, 7 ro charsad na hingena uile.
Conad an*n*[3] asbertsom in laid seo :

23.   Etain andiu sund amné.
       óc Sídh Ban Find iar nAilbe.
       eter m*a*cu beca[4] dí.
       for bru Indbir Chichmaini.

       Is í ro ícc suil an rígh.
       a topor Locha Dá Licc.
       is si asibedh sin digh.
       la mnaí Edair a hairdigh.[5]

       Is tria hagh dosib in ri.
       inna eonu di Theathbaei.[6]
       7 baidfidh a dha each.
       i lind Locha Da[7] Airbreach.

       Biat imda coicthe ili.
       triat agh for Echaidh Midhi
       beidit togla[8] for sidhib.
       7 cath for ilmilib.

       Is i ro laigedh[9] is tír.
       is si arcosnai in rígh.
       is i Be Find friss doghair.
       is i ar nEdain hí[10] iar tain.   E. t. ain.

Dochuaid uaidib in t-oclaech iar tain, 7 ni fedadar can
dodechaidh ı̄ cid dochoidh iarum.

24. O rainic an M*a*c Óc do acallaim Midir ní *for*nic Fuamnach
ara chind Mid*ir*,[11] 7 asbert fris : ' Bréc dorat an bean imond, 7
dia n-ecastar di Etain do bith i nEre 7[12] raghaidh do denum
uilc fria.'[13]   'Ata Etain isin Bruigh ocom thighse o cíanaib isin
deilb a tarfas uaitsiu 7 bes as chuici forobairt an bean.'

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[1] adhaigh MS.   [2] assisedar U, atsisithar gl. arsisithar .i. do an H.
[3] *add. below line.*   [4] maccaib beccaib U.   [5] hi tromdig U.   [6] Thethbí U.
[7] *add. above line.*   [8] (b)íaid togal U.   [9] loited U.   [10] *om.* U.
[11] = *gloss on* asbert (*as in* U), *here incorporated out of place.*   [12] *sic* ;
also U.   [13] Domuiniur is dóig bid fír, ol Mac Óc *add.* U.

hair should not fall over his face. He halted a while on the bank gazing at the maiden, and all the maidens loved him. Thereupon he uttered this lay :

23. This is Étaín here to-day
    at Síd Ban Find west of Ailbe,
    among little boys is she
    on the brink of Inber Cíchmaine.

    She it is who healed the King's eye
    from the well of Loch Dá Líg;
    she it is that was swallowed in a drink
    from a beaker by Étar's wife.

    Because of her the King shall chase
    the birds from Tethba,
    and drown his two steeds
    in the pool of Loch Dá Airbrech.

    Full many a war shall be
    on Eochaid of Meath because of thee;
    there shall be destruction of elfmounds,
    and battle against many thousands.

    'Tis she that was sung of (?)[1] in the land;
    'tis she that strives to win the King;
    'tis she . . .[2] Bé Find,
    She is our Étaín afterwards.

The warrior departed from them after that, and they knew not whence he had come or whither he had gone.

24. When the Mac Óc came to confer with Midir, he did not find Fuamnach there, and he (Midir)[3] said to him : 'The woman has played us false, and if she be told that Étaín is in Ireland and[4] she will go to do her ill.' ['Methinks 'tis likely so,' said the Mac Óc.][5] 'Étaín has been at my house in the Brug since a little while in the shape in which she was wafted (?) from thee,[6] and perhaps it is she that the woman is making for.'

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[1] *reading* laided.   [2] Text corrupt here.   [3] *a gloss* U.   [4] Something apparently dropped here in both MSS.   [5] *add.* U.   [6] Cp. § 18, tarfaided.

25. Dothaet an M*a*c Óc dia thigh fora chulu co fairnic a
grianan glainidhi cen Édain and. Imsosoi[1] an M*a*c Óc for
slicht Fuamnaigi, co tarraidh for Aenach Bodbgnai og tigh
Breasail Edarlaim in druadh. Fosnopair an M*a*c Óg 7 benaid a
cen*n* dí, 7 dobert lais an ceand sin co raibi for brú an Brogha.

26. Acht cena is *ed* islicht[2] a˙ n-inud aili conadh la Manandán
ro marbsat[3] a ndís .i. Fuamnach 7 Mid*ir*, a mBrig Leith, dia
nd-ebradh :

<div style="margin-left:2em">

Fuamnach baeth bá bean Mid*ir*.

Sigmall is brig[4] co mbilib.[5]

a mBrig Leith, ba lathar lán.

ro loiscet[6] la Manan*n*án.   F.I.N.I.D.

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[1] *sic*, Immasoí U.   [2] islicht U *also*, = is slicht.   [3] ro marbait U.
[4] Brí LL 11 b 20.   [5] cen binib LL.   [6] t *add. below line* ; loiscthe U, ro
loisc*ed* H.

25. The Mac Óc returns home and finds the crystal sun-bower without Étaín in it. The Mac Óc turns upon Fuamnach's traces and came up on her at Aenach Bodbgna at the house of the druid Bresal Etarlám. The Mac Óc attacked her and shore off her head, and he brought that head with him until he was on the brink of the Brug.

26. Howbeit, this is the version elsewhere, that they were both slain[1] by Manannán, namely Fuamnach and Midir, in Brí Léith, whereof was said:

> [2] 'Fuamnach the foolish one was Midir's wife,
> Sigmall, a hill with ancient trees,
> in Brí Léith, 'twas a faultless arrangement,
> they were burned by Manannán.'

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[1] *following* U.   [2] Cp. III, § 21.

II

(YBL col. 990)

Tochmarc Edaine and seo beos

1. Gabais Eochaidh Airium rigi nEr*enn*.[1] Airgiallsat coic
coicidh Er*enn* do 7[2] ri cach coicidh. Batar hé a rígh an tan
sin .i. Concob*ar* m*ac* Nesa 7 Mes Geghra[3] 7 Tigernach Téd-
bandach 7 Cu Rui 7 Ail*ill* m*ac* Mata Muirisci. Batar eat duine
Echdach .i. Dun Fremand[4] a Midiu 7 Dun Fremand[4] a Teath-
bai. Fremand[4] Thethbai ba hinmaine[5] lais do duinib Er*enn*.

2. Airfoccarar o Eoch*aid* for firu Er*enn* feis Temra do denum
an bli*adain* iar ngabail righi fri comus a mbesa 7 a císa doib co
cean*n* .u.[6] mbli*adna*. Ba hinand aithesc[7] la firu Er*enn* fri
hEoch*aid*. Ni theclomdais[8] feis Temra do rig cen rigain lais, ar
ni raibi rigan i fail Ech*ach* an tan do gab flaithius. Faidis
Eoch*aid* techta cach coicidh uadh fa Er*inn* do chuindchid mna

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[1] 7 add. U.   [2] .i. U, *which is translated.*   [3] g *corr. to* d.   [4] Fre-
main U.   [5] inmainem U.   [6] u *corr. to* iii. MS.; .u. U.   [7] *letter erased
after* s ; c *corr. to* g.   [8] theclaimtís U.

II

(YBL col. 876 ; Facs., p. 175).

Tochmarc Etaine[1] andso.

1. Gabais Eoch*aid* Airium rigi nEr*enn* 7 ro giallsad coicead-
aigh Er*enn* do 7 Badar iatside .i. Concob*ar* m*ac* Neasa 7 Meiss
Geadra 7 Tigearnach Tetbandach 7 Cu Rai 7 Oilill m*ac* Mada
Muirisci. Badar iad dui*n*ti Echach .i. Dun Freman*n* a Mide 7
Dun Fremand a Tetba. ba hinmaine lais tra Dun Freman*n*
Tetba oldas cach dun.

2. Furocarthar o Eoch*aid* for firu Er*enn* feis Temrach do
denam in bli*adain* iar ngabail rigi dó fri comus a mbesa 7 a
cisa doib co cean*n* coic mbl*iadna*. Ba hinan*n* aitheasg la firu
Erenn fri hEoch*aid*. Ni teaclomtais feis Teamrach do rig cen
rigain lais ar ni raibe rigan a fail Each*ach* in tan ro gab flaith-
(ius).[2] Faidhis Eochaid teachta *in* cach coicead uad fó Er*inn*

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[1] d *add. above* t *later.*   [2] ius *erased.*

II

The Wooing of Étaín this again.

1. Eochaid Airem took the kingship of Ireland. The five Fifths of Ireland submitted to him, that is a king of each Fifth. These were their kings at that time : Conchobar son of Nesa and Mess Gegra and Tigernach Tétbannach and Cú Ruí and Ailill son of Máta Murisc. Eochaid's strongholds were Dún Frémainn in Meath and Dún Frémainn in Tethba. Frémainn in Tethba was the one most dear to him of the strongholds of Ireland.

2. Eochaid, the year after he became king, commanded the men of Ireland to hold the Festival of Tara, in order to assess their tributes and taxes for five years. The men of Ireland made the same reply to Eochaid, that they would not convene the Festival of Tara for a king that had no queen: for Eochaid had no queen when he took the kingship. Thereupon Eochaid dispatched envoys to every Fifth throughout Ireland to seek out

ł ingine bad aildeam no beith a nEre[1] do. Al asbert ní biad
ina farradh acht bean nad fesad fer do feraib Erenn riam.
Fofrith dó oc Inbir Chichmaine .i. Édain ingen Edair, 7 dosbert
Eochaid iarom, ar ba comadhais dó ar cruth 7 deilb 7 cenel, áine
7 oitidh 7 aerdarcus.[2]

3. It é tri meic Find meic Findlogha meic na[3] rigna[4] [col.
991] .i. Eochaid Feidlech 7 Eochaid Airem 7 Ailill Anguba.
Carais Ailill Anguba iarom Etain ic feis Temrach iar feis dí
la hEochaid.[5] Fo dhaig dognith apairt dia sirsilliudh, uair is
deascaidh[6] seirci sirsillidh. Cairigis a menma[7] Ailill don
gnim sin dogéne 7 niba cabair dó. Ba treisi tol aicnidh.
Focheird Ailill a sirg[8] dé fo dhaigh[9] nara thubaidhi[10] fri nech[11]
7 nach erbart frisin mnaí fodeisin.

4. Dobreth Fachtna liaig Echach dia imchaisiu an tan ro gab
céill for écaib. Asbert fris in[12] liaig: 'Acht nechtar[13] na da
idhan marbtha duine nath ícad legho .i. ida seirce 7[14] idu[15] eoid,

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[1] nEré U.   [2] e add. later below line.   [3] erased.   [4] e add. later
under g.   [5] iarna naidm do E. H.   [6] gl. tosac H.   [7] aicned H.
[8] serg U, sirglighi H.   [9] dhaidh MS.   [10] narothubaidh H.   [11] fria énech U.
[12] add. above line.   [13] cechtar H.   [14] nó H.   [15] letter erased after d.

---

do cuindchid mna no hingine no mbiadh a dingbala 7 isbert ni
biad ina farrad acht ben nat fes[1] fer do feraib Erenn riam.
Fofrith dó ocmnai i nIndbir Cichmaine .i. Etain ingen Etair
7 rosuc Eochaid iaram ar ba comadais dó ar cruth 7 deilb
7 cinel[2] 7 ainee 7 airdercus.

3. It e tri meic Findgaill 7 Finde na rigna .i. Eochaid Feid-
leach 7 Eochaid Airim 7 Ailill Angaba.[3] Carais Oilill Angaba[3]
iaram Etain oc fes Temrach iar feis di la hEochaid fo daig a
ndogníd dia silliud uair is desgaid seirci sirsilliud. Cairigis a
menma Ailill don gnim sin dogeini 7 niba chobair dó. Focheard
Oilill a serg de fó dáig ni dubairt fria nech 7 nach[4] ebairt frisin
n-ingin fodesin.

4. Dobreath Fachtna liaigh Eachach dia indsaigid in tan
ro ngab ceill for ecaib. Adbert in liaigh: 'Acht nec[h]tar
na da idhan marbta duine na hicat leaga .i. idu seirci 7 idu

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[1] over e what looks like i.   [2] cinet MS.   [3] over second a, ł u.   [4] letter
erased after h.

for him the fairest (woman or) [1] maiden in Ireland.   For he said
that none should be his wife save a woman that none of the men
of Ireland had known before him.   There was found for him at
Inber Cíchmaine, Étaín daughter of Étar, and Eochaid wedded
her then, for she was his match in beauty and form and lineage,
in splendour and youth and fame.

3. The three sons of Find son of Findlug, the queen's sons,
were Eochaid Feidlech and Eochaid Airem and Ailill Ánguba.
Ailill Ánguba came to love Étaín at the Festival of Tara, after
she had lain with Eochaid, for it was his wont to gaze at her
continually, and such gazing is a token of love.   His heart re-
proached Ailill for the deed that he had wrought, but it availed
him in no wise.   Desire was stronger than character.   Ailill fell
into a decline lest his honour [2] should be stained, nor had he
spoken of it to the woman herself.

4. When he expected death, Fachtna, Eochaid's physician, was
brought to see him.   The physician said to him, 'One of the two
pains thou hast that kill man and that no physician can heal, the

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[1] In the exemplar *ł ingine* was evidently a correction of *mna*.   [2] *reading*
enech.

it é fil indudsu.' Ní árdamar Ail*i*l do, ar ba mebal lais.
Foracbad iar*o*m Ail*i*l a Fremaind Teathbai fri bás, 7 luid
Eoch*ai*d *for* cuaird nEr*enn*, 7 foracbadh Édain hi fail Ail*ell*a co
nderndais a thiugmaine lé .i. cora clasta a f*er*t, coro hagtha a
guba, coro hortha [1] a chethr*a*i.

5. An tech a mbith Ail*i*l a ngalar dotheigead Etain [2] cach
dia dia athreos,[3] 7 ba lugaide a galarsom ón do suidiu, 7 cein
no bith Édain isin maigin sin no bithsom oca deicsin.
Rathaighis Edain anni [4] sin 7 focheird a menmain aire. Asbert
Edain frissom la n-and a mbatar ina tigh dib línaib, cid día
mbai fochonn [5] a galair [6]do Ailill.[6] '*Ata* [7] dit seircsiu,' ol
Ail*i*l. 'Dirsan a fad co n-erbort,' or sisi. 'Ropsat [8] slan o
chianaib dia fesmais.' 'Cid andib [9] badam slansa mad ail
duitsiu,' ol Ail*i*l. 'Bid ail ecin,' or si.

6. Doteged iar sin cach dia do folcad a c[h]ind 7 do [10]ti*n*bi
a c[h]odach[10] dho 7 do urgabail usce fora lamaib. Día teóra nomad

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[1] a *add. below line, later.* [2] *in ras.* in *add. below by later hand.*
[3] forroma .i. fisrugadh H. [4] an imnedh H. [5] *letter erased at end,
apparently* a. [6-6] *in ras.*; *om.* UY[2]. [7] *in marg. later hand.* [8] ropadat
U, roba H. [9] dib *in ras.*, indiu U. [10-10] thinmi bíd U.

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eoit it é fil indatsu.' Niro adai*m* Oilill dó ar ba meabal lais.
Foracbad iar*a*m Ailill a Fremaind [1] Tethbai fri bas 7 luid
Eochaid for c*h*uairt [2] nErenn 7 foracbad Étain i fail Ail*ell*a co
nderntais [3] a tiugmaine lé .i. coro clasta a fert 7 coro ferta a guba.

5. In teg a mbith Ailill a ngalar doteigead Etain cach día dia
uthras 7 ba lugaiti a galarsom on eside 7 cen nobith Etain issin
maigin sin ro bith som oca deiscin. Rathaigis Etain inni sin 7
foceard a menmain air. Atbert Etain friseom laa n-an*n* a
mbadar ina tigh dib linaib cid dia mbai fochonn a galair. 'Ata
dot seircsiu,' ol Oilill. 'Dirsan a fod co n-ebortaiss,' ar si;
'robadat slan o chianaib dia fesmais.' 'Cid andiu [4] badam
slansa mad ail duitsiu,' ol Oilill. 'Bid ail eicin,' ar si.

6. Doteigead*h* iar sin cach dia do folcad 7 do tinbi bid dó 7 do
urgabail uisqi fora lamaib. Día teora nomadh iar*a*m ba slan

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[1] i *subscr. later.* [2] *aspiration mark add. later.* [3] n *add. later below
line.* [4] d *add. later below* u.

pain of love and the pain of jealousy '. Ailill did not confess to him, for he was ashamed. Then Ailill was left in Frémainn Tethba dying, and Eochaid went on a circuit of Ireland. And Étaín was left with Ailill that his last rites might be paid by her—that is, his grave dug, his lamentation made, his cattle slain.

5. Every day Étaín used to come to the house wherein Ailill lay sick to speak with him, and thus his sickness was alleviated, and as long as Étaín remained there he would be gazing at her. Étaín observed this, and pondered the matter. One day as they were together in her house, Étaín asked him what was the cause of his sickness. ' It is from love of thee,' said Ailill. ' Pity that thou hast been so long without telling it,' said she. ' Had we but known, thou shouldst have been healed a while ago.' ' Even this day shall I be whole again if thou be willing.' ' I am willing indeed,' said she.

6. Every day then she would come to bathe his head and to carve his meat and to pour water on his hands. After thrice

iarom ba slan Oil*i*l.   Adbe*r*tsom fri hEdain : ' *Ocus* a testo dom
iccsa cuin rom bia ? ' [1]   ' Rod bia amarach,' ol si, ' acht niba
isin tsosudh [2] na firflatha dogentar an col.   Dotuisiu ambarach
am dailseo cusan tulaigh uasin liss.'

7. Bai Ail*i*l ac frithaire ʼna haidche.   Contuili trath a dala.
Ni dersaig [3] co trath teirt ara barach.   Luid Etain ina dailseam,
co n-acai in fer ara cind co cosmailis crotha Ail*el*la, 7 caínis
inlobrai a gal*air*.   A n-aithesc rop ail do Ail*i*l iss *ed* ro raid-
seom. Dof*u*sce Ail*i*l trath teirti.[4]   Fota fécais for toirrsi trath
dodeochaid Etain isa teach. ' Cid dodgni toirrsi*ch* ? ' or si.   ' Do
[5] faid*iu*d [6] duitsiu [5] am dailsi, 7 ni ranac ar do cind, 7 dorochair
codlad form, conam earracht anos.   Is suachnid ni rodchadh [7]
mo iccsa.'   ' Ni ba son,' ol Etain, ' ata la i ndegaid aloili.'
Gaibthi frithaire na haidc[h]e sin 7 teine mór ara belaib 7 us*cc*
na farrad da tabairt fora [8] ṡuilib.

8. Trath a dala dotaet Etain ana dhail co n-acai an fer cedna

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[1] uaitsiu, ol Ailill *add.* U.   [2] tsosugh MS. *first* s *add. below line.*   [3] der-
said*h* MS.   [4] teirt U.   [5-5] dofoídiudsiu U.   [6] d *add. later above line.*
[7] . . dch . . *in ras.* ; rrodchad U.   [8] foa U.

Ailill dia othr*us*.   Adbertsom fri hEtain :[1] ' i*n*a [2] testo dom icsa,'
ol se, ' cuin rom bia ? '   ' Rot [3] bia amarach,' ol si.   ' Taetsu
ambarach im dailsi cusin du uasin lis.'

7. Bai Oilill oc frithaire na haidchi sin.   Cotlaid iar*a*m trath
a dala 7 niro duisigh co t*r*at[*h*] teirt arna barach.   Luid Etain
ina dailsi*n* [4] co fecais [4] in fer ara cind co cosmail*ius* crotha
Oil*el*la 7 canais fria in aithesc rob ail do Oilill.   Do moscail
Oilill t*r*ath teirti.   *Con*-is tard a toirrsi moir. dodeachaig
Etain isin teach iar*a*m. ' Cidh dogní toirsech ? ' ar si.   ' Do
faideadsu im dail,' ol sé, ' 7 na ranac ar do chind 7 dorochair
cotdl*ad* [5] form conom erracht anosa.   Is fir na rom icadsa fos,' ar
se. ' Niba fír son,' ol Etain, ' ata lá a ndedaig [6] alaile.' [877]
Gabaidseom oc frithaire na haidchi sin 7 tene mor fora belaib 7
uisqi na farrad dia tabairt fó suilib.

8. Trath a dala dot*h*aet Edain ina dail co n-acca in fear cetna

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[1] *a few letters erased after* Etain.   [2] i*n*a *in ras. by another hand.*
[3] t *add. below line later.*   [4-4] *add. later below line.*   [5] *sic.*   [6] *first* d
add. above line later.

nine days Ailill was healed. He said to Étaín: 'And when shall I have from thee what is still lacking to cure me?' 'Thou shalt have it to-morrow,' said she; 'but not in the prince's dwelling shall he be put to shame. Come to me to-morrow on the hill above the court.'

7. Ailill watched throughout the night. But at the hour of his tryst he fell asleep, and did not wake until the third hour on the morrow. Étaín went to meet him, and saw a man awaiting her like unto Ailill in appearance, and he lamented his weakness due to his ailment. The speech that Ailill would have wished that is what he spoke. At the hour of tierce Ailill awoke. He began to be sorrowful for a long while (?) when Étaín came into the house. 'Why art thou sad?' said she. 'That I should have sent thee to a tryst with me and was not there to meet thee. For sleep fell upon me, and I am only now arisen. It is manifest that I have not yet attained (?) my cure.' 'That matters not,' said Étaín, 'one day follows another.' He watched that night with a huge fire in front of him and water by his side for bathing his eyes.

8. At the hour of her tryst Étaín comes to meet him and saw

am*al* Ail*i*l. Luid Etain dia tigh. Fecais Ail*i*l oc cai. Doluid Etain co fo tri 7 ní fairnicc Ail*i*l a dail. Co *for*necsi an fear cedna. 'Ni fritsu,' ar si, 'ro dalasa. Ciasu tu [1] dodeac[h]aid im dail? An fer frisro dalusa ni ar c[h]ul ꞁ aimleas tia*cht* [2] ara c[h]ind, acht as ar cuís [3] tesairgne domnai rig Er*enn* don galar fotrubai.' ' Ba tocha duid toidheacht cucamsa, ol an tan rupsa Etain Echraidhe i*n*gen Ail*el*la ⌈col. 992⌉ ba misi do cetmui[*n*]dt*er* 7 ba iar do ṡarlugaib [4] do primmuigib Er*enn* 7 uiscib 7 or 7 air*get* co tici do chutruma do facbail dar [th']eis.' 'C*eis*t,' ol sisi, 'cia h'ainmsiú?' 'Ni *hannsa*, Midir Brig [5] Leith,' ól sé. 'C*eis*t,' ol sisi, 'cid rodn [6] édarscar'? ' Ni *hannsa*, fithnaisi Fuamnaige 7 brechtai Breasail Edarlaim.' Asbert Midir fri hEdain: 'An ragasu liumsa?' 'Nitó,' ol sí. 'Noco ririub ri[g] nEr*enn* ar fer na fedar cla*inn* na cen*e*l dó.' ' Is misi em,' ol Mid*ir*, ' dorat *for* [7] me*n*main Ail*el*la do ṡeircsiu co torchair a fuil 7 a feoil dé, 7 is m[e]si thall cach n-ocobar [8] collaidhi

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[1] *add. at end of line by another hand*; so thú U. [2] ticht U. [3] accuis U.
[4] *letter erased after* r, *apparently* s; sárlúag U, shairluáaibh (lua .i. cennach) H. [5] Breg U. [6] ronn U. [7] fó U. [8] =n-accobor U.

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am*al* Ailill. Luid Etain dia tig. Feicis Ailill oc cai iaram. Doluid Etain co fo tri 7 ni airnic Ailill a dail. Co n-accasi in fear ce*t*na. Iss*ed* co n-ebairt: ' Ni fritsu,' ar si, ' ro dailisa. Cia tu dodeachaich im dail? In fear frisro dailisa ni ar ulc na ar aimles tanac for do chind acht is ara chuis tesairgni damna righ Erenn don galar fotroibi.' ' Ba tocho duit tuidhecht im dailsea,' ol in t-oclaech, ' uair in tan robsad Etain Eachraide ingen Ailella fa mesi do chetm*uinter* 7 fa iar sarluach do prim-muigib Erenn 7 uiscib 7 or [7] arg*at* co tici do chutruma do facbail ar th'es.' 'C*eis*t,' ol sisi, ' cia hainmsiu?' ' Ni *hannsa*, Mider Breg Leth.' 'C*eis*t,' ol sisi, ' cid ron ed*ur*scar?' ' Ni *hannsa*, fithnaisi Fuaimnigi 7 brechta Bresail E*dur*laim.' Asbert Mider fri hEdain: ' In ragasu limsa?' ' Nato,' ol si, ' Nocho rairaibsa rig Erenn ar fear nach fed*ur* clann no cenel do.' ' Is misi em,' ol Mid*er*, ' dorad fo menmain Ail*el*la do sercsu co fata co torchair a ḟuil 7 a ḟeoil de.'[1] 7 is misi tall de [2] cach n-ocobar

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[1] de *in ras.* [2] tall *in ras.*, de *in marg.*

the same man like unto Ailill. Étaín returned home. Ailill fell to weeping. Three times Étaín came and Ailill did not keep his tryst. She found ever the same man. ' 'Tis not with thee that I have trysted,' said she. ' Who art thou that hast come to meet me? The man with whom I have made a tryst, 'tis not for sin or hurt that the tryst has been made with him, but that one fit to be king of Ireland might be saved from the sickness that has fallen upon him.' ' 'Twere more fitting for thee to come to me, for when thou wast Étaín Echraide, daughter of Ailill, 'tis I that was thy husband. I had paid thy huge brideprice in great plains and rivers of Ireland, and had left in place of thee thy weight of gold and silver.' ' Tell me,' said she, ' what is thy name?' ' No hard matter, Midir of Brí Léith,' said he. ' Tell me,' said she, ' what was it that parted us?' ' No hard matter, the sorcery [1] of Fuamnach and the spells of Bresal Etarlám.' Midir said to Étaín, ' Wilt thou go with me?' ' Nay,' said she, ' I will not barter the king of Ireland for a man whose kindred or race I know not.' ' It was I,' said Midir, ' that put love for thee into Ailill's mind, so that his flesh and blood fell away from him. And it was I that took from him all carnal desire, so that

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[1] fithnaise .i. dráoidheacht, O'Cl.

n-aire, na beith mill*iud* einich [1] duitsiu and.   Acht teisiu liumsu
dom c[h]rich día n-apra Eoch*aid* fritt.'   ' Maith lium,' ol Édaín.

9. Tig iar*om* [2] dia tig [2].   ' Is maith ar comrac ', or Ail*il* ; ' sech
rom ícadsa in fechtsa, ní fil *imm*lot [3] n-einig duitsiú and.'   ' Is
amra amlaidh,' ol Édaín.

Tainic Eoch*aid* día chuaird iar tain, 7 atlaigest*ar* beathaid a
brath*ar* 7 buidighthe [4] fri hEdaín co mór a ndórigné co
tainicsom.

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[1] enech U.   [2-2] *in ras. by another hand.*   [3] eim lot (.i. milled) H .
[4] buidighthe hé MS.

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collaidi air na beith milliud einig duidsiu an*n*.   Acht taedsu
liumsa dom c[h]*r*ich dia n-abra Eochaid frit.'   ' Maith lium,' ol
Edain.

9. Tig iar*am* dia t*h*ig.   ' Is maith ar co*m*[rac],' ol Oilill,
' seach rom icadsa in feachtsa 7 ni fil lot [1] ar [2] n-enig duidseo
and.'   Tanic Eochaid dia chuairt iar tain 7 atlaigestair a [3] beathaig
a brathar 7 buidigthi fri hEdain co mor a ndorigni.   Finit Amen.

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[1] lo *in ras.*   [2] *add. above line by later hand.*   [3] a *add. later under* b.

thine honour might not suffer therein. But come to my land with me if Eochaid bids thee.' 'Willingly,' said Étaín.

9. Then she comes to her house. 'We are well met', said Ailill. 'Now am I healed, and yet thine honour has not suffered.' 'It is well thus,' said Étaín. After that Eochaid returned from his circuit, and rejoiced that his brother was alive, and Étaín received thanks for what she had done until he had come again.

III

YBL col. 992.

Tochmarc Etaine beos

1. Fechtas[1] n-aili asraracht[2] Eochaid Aiream ri Teamrach la n-alaind a n-aimsir tsamrata, 7 fosrocuib for tsosta[3] na Teamrach do imchaisiu Muighi Breg. Bai fó a ile[4] 7 fo blath cach datha. A n-imracachai[5] n-imbé[6] co n-acca in occláech n-ingnad forsin tsosadh[7] inna c[h]omair. Fuan corcra[8] imbé, 7 mong orbuide fair co brane a dha imdáe. Rosc caindleach glas ina[9] chind. Sleg coicrind ina laim. Sciath tuilgel ina laim co ngemaib oir furri. Sochtais Eochaid, ar ni fidir a bith isin Temraig in aidchi riam, 7 ní foslaici[10] an lis an trath sin.

2. Doluid ar inchaib Echach[11] iar sin. Asbert Eochaid iar sin[12]: 'Fó c[h]en don ócláech[13] nad athgenamar'. 'Is ed dorocht-amair,' ar in t-óclaech. 'Nit athgenamar,' ol Eochaid. 'Atot-génsa chedus,' ol in t-oclaech. 'Cía th'ainmsiu?' ol Eochaid. 'Ní hairdirc son,' ol sé, 'Midir Breg Léith.' 'Cid dotróacht?' ol Eochaid. 'D'imbirt fidchilli fritsó,' ol sé. 'Am maithsi eim,' ol Eochaid, 'for fidchill.' 'A fromadh dún,' ol Midir. 'Ata,' ol Eochaid, 'an rigan ina codladh. Is lé in tech ata ind fidchell.' 'Ata sund chena,' ol Midir, 'fidhchell nad mesum.'[14] Ba fir ón, clar n-airgid 7 fir óir, 7 fuursundadh cacha hairdi furri[15] di líc logmair, 7 ferbolg di fighi[16] rond credumae.

3. Ecraidh Midir ind fidchill iar sin. 'Imbir,' ol Midir. 'Ní immeór acht dí giull,' ol Eochaid. 'Cidh geall bías and?' ol Midir. 'Cuma lium,' ol Eochaid. 'Rod bia limsa,' ol Midir, 'madh tú beras mó thoceall .l. gabar ndubglas, it é ceindbreca croderca biracha[17] bruindlethain bolgroin coscháela combrasa faeburdha femenda urarda aignecha[18] sostaide sogabaltai,[19] cona caecaib[20] n-all cruanmoithni. Tairgebat am trath teirti[21] arna barach.' Atbert Eochaid an cetna frisium. Imrid iar sin. Berar tochell Midir. Téid uad 7 beris a fidcheall lais.

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[1] Fecht U. [2] a erased after as .. [3] first s add. above line; sosta U. [4] lí U. [5] intí erased after imracachai; intí Eochaid add. U. [6] imbi U. [7] s add. later below t; tossad U. [8] a suprascr.; final a erased. [9] in ras. [10] orslaicthe U. [11] Eochoda U. [12] iarom U. [13] láech U. [14] messo U. [15] ri in ras.; forsin clár U. [16] fidhi MS. [17] biruich U. [18] in ras. later hand and partly in marg. [19] LU breaks off at so .., lacuna in MS. [20] sic. [21] final i subscr. later.

III

The Wooing of Étaín again.

1. Another time on a lovely summer day Eochaid Airem king of Tara arose and climbed the terrace of Tara to gaze over Mag Breg. It was radiant with bloom of every hue. As Eochaid looked round him he saw a strange warrior on the terrace before him. A purple tunic about him, and golden yellow hair on him to the edge of his shoulders. A shining blue eye in his head. A five-pointed spear in one hand, a white-bossed shield in the other, with golden gems thereon. Eochaid was silent, for he was unaware of his being in Tara the night before, and the courts had not been opened at that hour.

2. Thereupon he came up to Eochaid. Then Eochaid said, 'Welcome to the warrior whom we do not know.' ' 'Tis for that we have come,' said the warrior. 'We know thee not,' said Eochaid. 'I know thee, however,' replied the warrior, 'What is thy name?' said Eochaid. 'Not famous,' said he, 'Midir of Brí Léith.' 'What has brought thee?' said Eochaid. 'To play chess with thee,' said he. 'Of a truth I am good at chess,' said Eochaid. 'Let us make trial of it,' said Midir. 'The queen is asleep,' said Eochaid, 'and it is in her house that the chess-board is.' 'I have here,' said Midir, 'a chess-board that is not inferior.' That was true: a silver board and golden men, and each corner thereof lit up by a precious stone, and a bag for the men of plaited links of bronze.

3. Thereupon Midir arranges the board. 'Do thou play,' said Midir. 'I will not play save for a stake,' said Eochaid. 'What shall the wager be?' said Midir. 'It is all one to me,' said Eochaid. 'Thou shalt have from me,' said Midir, 'if thou win my stake, fifty dark grey steeds with dappled blood-red heads pointed-ears, broad-chested, with distended nostrils, slender limbs, mighty, keen . . . , huge, swift (?), steady, easily yoked with their fifty enamelled reins. They shall be here at the hour of tierce to-morrow.' Eochaid said the same to him. Thereupon they play. Midir's stake is taken. He goes off taking his chess-

A n-asracht Eoch*aid* arabarach doluid for sostai na Temrach
im turcabail ng*réi*ne, co n-acca a cheile chuicé iarsind tsosad [1]
ina arrud [2] cheana.   Ni fidir cidh dochuaid ꞁ can [col. 993]
dodeochaid, co n-acca in .l. n-ech ndubglas cona srianaib cruan-
maithne friú.   'Indraic sin,' ol Eoch*aid*.   'Is fiach ní dlomthar,'
ol Midir.

4. 'In imberum fidcheall?' ol Midir.   'Maith lium,' ol
Eoch*aid*, 'acht ro be gell and.'   'Rod bia liumsa,' ol Midir,'
.l. torc trichem, at é casbreca foliath forglasa, co cruib eich
foraib, 7 lothar draigin fordo talla uile.   In fecht n-aili .l. claidem
n-ordoirnn.   In fecht n-aili .l. bó find n-od*erg* co laegaib
findaib od*erg*aib leó 7 nasc credumae for cach laeg dib.   In
fecht n-aile .l. molt nglas ceindd*erg* trichen*n* t*r*ebennach.   In
fecht n-aili .l. colg ndéd.   In fecht n-aile [.l.] brat breiclighach.
Acht ba cach .l. díb a lá.'

5. Frithcomraic [3] a aidi inti Eoch*aid*, 7 asbert fris can dombert
a marindmas.   Asbert fris, 'Amin, insceoil inní sin.'   'Amné
eim.   Is beite duit me*n*ma fris, as fer mórcumachtai dotainic.
A m*a*cain, tabair dec*r*ai mora foraib ⟨ꞁ fair⟩ [4] ' ol se.   Is iar*u*m
dothaet a ceili chuice 7 for*r*uirim Eoch*aid* fair na mórchesta
urdharca .i. dichlochad Midhi, luachair tar Tethbai, tochar tar
Moin Lamraide, fid tar Bréifne.   Conad de sin asbert an fili
na rundu sa :

> Is hé seó in ceatharda
>   adroega Eoch*aid* Airem.
> for [5] ilar ndrong ndreachardha [6]
>   co lín sciath 7 claidem.
>
> Tochar dar Moin Lamraidhi
>   fidh dar Breifne cen decrai [7]
> dichlochadh mas mórMidi
>   7 luachair tar Tethbai.

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[1] *first* s *subscr. later.*   [2] *letter erased after second* ꞃ, *apparently* i.
[3] = friscomairc.   [4] *interlined.*   [5] co n- Dinds.   [6] drecharda Dinds.
YS, drechferda *cet.*   [7] feochra Dinds. LL, feachra BB.

board with him.   When Eochaid arose on the morrow he came on to the terrace[1] of Tara at sunrise, and he saw his opponent close by coming towards him along the terrace.[1]   He knew not whither he had gone or whence he had come, and he saw the fifty dark grey steeds with their enamelled reins. ' This is honourable,' said Eochaid. ' What is promised is due,'[2] said Midir.

4. ' Shall we play at chess ? ' said Midir. ' Willingly,' said Eochaid, ' so it be for a stake.' ' Thou shalt have from me,' said Midir, ' fifty young[3] boars, curly-mottled, grey-bellied, blue-backed, with horse's hoofs to them, together with a vat of black-thorn into which they all will fit.   Further, fifty gold-hilted swords, and again fifty red-eared cows with white red-eared calves and a bronze spancel on each calf.   Further, fifty grey wethers with red heads, three-headed, three-horned.   Further, fifty ivory-hilted swords.   Further, fifty speckled cloaks, but each fifty of them on its own day.'

5. Eochaid's fosterfather questioned him, and asked him whence he had brought his great wealth.   He said to him, ' That is indeed fit to relate (?).'[4] ' Verily indeed.   Thou must take heed of him ; it is a man of magic power that has come to thee, my son, lay heavy burdens on him.'   After that his opponent came to him, and Eochaid laid on him the famous great tasks, namely to clear Meath of stones, to put rushes over Tethba, a causeway over Móin Lámraige, and a wood over Bréifne.   Concerning which the poet uttered the following staves :[5]

These are the four things
that Eochaid Airem imposed[6]
on many a manly-visaged[7] throng
with many a shield and spear :

A causeway over Móin Lámraige,
a wood over Bréifne, without difficulty,[8]
a clearing of stones from the hillocks[9] of great Meath,
and rushes over Tethba.

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[1] Meaning of *sossad* uncertain.   [2] Cp. fiach ní ro dlomthar do flaithib . . . .i. is fiachach aní aisnéither no ráiter do gelladh dona gradaibh flatha, H. 3. 17, col. 523.   [3] On *trichem*, a three-year old pig, see Thurney-sen, ZCP XIV, 350, 352 ; XVI. 208.   [4] Cp. LU 5407 : Ameind . . . amne.
[5] These quatrains are taken from the Dindshenchus of Rath Esa (ed. Gwynn II. 6).   [6] Lit. ' chose '.   [7] *reading* drecharda YS, *or* drechferda, *cet*. (Gwynn).   [8] *read perhaps* dechrai (: Tethbai).   [9] Or, ' *Bottoms* ' (Gwynn).

6. It e sin tra gealla 7 ánchesa *for*uirmithé and. ' Romór a
ndobeiri orm,' ol Mid*ir*. ' Ní denaim chena,' ol Eoch*aid*.
' Rom bithsa itghe 7 ailghes uait iarom. Nach ní rosia do
cumachtai, ni roib ben na fer and fria tech anechtair co t*ur*cbail
ngreine ambarach.' ' Dogentar,' ol Eoch*aid*. Nis n-imdhech-
aidh duine in monai sin riam.

7. Erpais Eoch*aid* iar sin a rechtaire fri deiscin ind feadma
dobertatar do dénam an tochair. Luid dī in rechtairi issin
monai. An*n*dár leis batar fir betha o turcbail greine co fuinedh
tancadar in monai. Dogensat uile oendumae dia n-édaigib, 7
luid Midir forsin dumae sin. In fidbadh cona bun 7 cona
fremaib, is *ed* sin dobe*r*dis a n-ichtar an tochair. Midir ina
sesum ag gres*acht* [1] an tsloigh for cach leth. Andar lat batar fir
betha adaigdis breisim foé.

8.[2] Iar sin doberar uir 7 grian 7 clocha [3] forsin monai. Fri
hetnu dam da*no* batar [4] fedmanda [5] la firu Er*enn* cusin n-aidchi
sin. Co n-aices la lucht an tsídha fora *for*mnaib. Dognith
samlaid la hEoch*aid*, conid dé ata dosom Eoch*aid* Airem, ar is
aice toisech tucad c*h*uing [6] for muinelaib dam do feraib Er*enn*.
Is *ed* do*no* and focal ro baí a mbelaib an tsluaig o[c] denum an
tochair :

.r.[7]   ·Coire a laim, tochra i laim, urdhairc damrudh, trathaib
iar fuin, *for*trom ailges, ní fes cuich les cuich aimles de thochar
dar Moin Lamruide.

Ni biad isin bith tochar [8] bud ferr mina beithi ocá deiscin.
For*f*acbad de lochtai [9] an*n* iarom. Iar sin doluid in rechtaire co
hEoch*aid* 7 adfed scela dó in morfedma atcon*n*airc fiadai, 7
isbert nad roibé for fe*r*tais [10] an betha cumachtai doroisce [11] de.
[col. 994].

9. A mbatar fora mbriathraib co n-accadar Mid*ir* chucu.
Ardchustal 7 drochgné fair. At*r*aigestair Eoch*aid* 7 ferais
failte fris. ' Iss *ed* dorochtamar,' [12] ol Mid*ir*. ' Is torcdo 7 is
dicheill nó taí frim mórdhecrai 7 mórainchesa do thobairt form.
Atethaind ní badh maith lat chena acht is bairnech mo menma
frit.' ' Ni bara fri buiri daitsiu ón, dogighnestair do menma,'

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[1] *letter erased before* g ; *a subscr. later between* s *and* s̄.   [2] LU resumes,
l. 10815.   [3] clocho MS.   [4] *letter erased after second* a.   [5] fedmand U.
[6] cuing U.   [7] *in marg.*   [8] *letter, seemingly* i, *erased after* a.   [9] bochtae U.
[10] fertas U.   [11] dodoroiscé MS., dodrósce U.   [12] ro *add. below line later.*

6. These then are the pledges and the hardships that were imposed. 'Thou layest too much upon me,' said Midir. 'I do not indeed,' said Eochaid. 'Then do thou grant me a request and a boon. As far as thou holdest sway let no man or woman be out of doors until sunrise to-morrow.' 'It shall be done,' said Eochaid. No one had ever trodden that bog before.

7. Then Eochaid commanded his steward to watch the effort they put forth in making the causeway. The steward went into the bog. It seemed to him as though all the men in the world from sunrise to sunset had come to the bog. They all made one mound of their clothes, and Midir went up on that mound. Into the bottom of the causeway they kept putting a forest with its trunks and its roots, Midir standing and urging on the host on every side. One would think that below him all the men of the world were raising a tumult.

8. After that, clay and gravel and stones are placed upon the bog. Now until that night the men of Ireland used to put the strain on the foreheads of oxen, (but) it was seen that the folk of the elfmounds were putting it on their shoulders. Eochaid did the same, hence he is called Eochaid Airem [i.e. ploughman], for he was the first of the men of Ireland to put a yoke upon the necks of oxen. And these were the words that were on the lips of the host as they were making the causeway: 'Put in hand, throw in hand,[1] excellent oxen, in the hours after sundown; overhard is the exaction; none knoweth whose is the gain, whose the loss, from the causeway over Móin Lamraige.'

There had been no better causeway in the world, had not a watch been set on them. Defects (?) were left in it then.[2] Thereafter the steward came to Eochaid and brings tidings of the vast work he had witnessed, and he said there was not on the ridge of the world a magic power that surpassed it.

9. While they were speaking they saw Midir coming towards them, his loins girt (?) and an evil look on him. Eochaid was afraid, but bade him welcome. ''Tis for that we have come,' said Midir, 'It is fierce and unreasonable of thee to lay such hardship and infliction upon me. I would have wrought something else to please thee, but my mind is inflamed against thee.' 'Thou shalt not get wrath in return for thy rage;[3] thy mind shall be set at ease,' said Eochaid. 'It shall be accepted then,' said

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[1] The meaning is no doubt, 'put there, put here'. [2] This is apparently the sense, though the text is uncertain. [3] búra .i. ferg...ol Eochaid H (p. 51).

for Eoch*aid*. 'Gebthar dī,'[1] ol Midir. 'In imberum fidchill?'
for Midir. Cidh geall bias an*n*?' for Eoch*aid*. 'Gell adc[h]obra
cechtar dá lína,' for Midir. Berar tochell nEch*ada*[2] an lá sin.
'Rucais mó tochell,' for Eoch*aid*. 'Madh ail dam do[3] beraind
o cíanaib,' ol Midir. 'Ce*ist*, cid adcobrai formsa?' for Eoch*aid*.
'Di laim im Étaín 7 póc dí,' ol Mid*ir*. Sochtais Eoch*aid* la
sodhain, 7 isbert: 'Tís dia mís oniú; dob*er*thar duit aní sin.'

10. In bli*adain* ria tiachtain[4] do Midir co hEoch*aid* do imbirt[5]
na fidchille baí oc tochmarc Édaine, 7 nís n-édadh leis. Is *ed*
ainm dobered Midir dí Bé Ḟind, conid [de][6] isbert fria

A Bé Ḟind, in ragha lium.
a tír n-ingnadh i fil rind.
is barr sobairci folt and.
is dath snechta[7] *for* corp slim.[7]

Is an*n* nád bí muí na tuí.
gel[8] ded and dubai a[9] brai.
is lí sula lín ar sluag.[10]
is dath síon and gach gruadh.

Is corcair muighi cach muín.
is lí sula ugai luin.
cidh cain deicsiu Muighe Fail.
anam[11] iar ngnais Muigi Mair.

Cidh caín[12] lib coirm Insi Fail,
is mescu cuirm[13] Thiri Mair.
amrai tíre tír asber.[14]
ni théid óc an*n* ré sén.[15]

Srotha téith[16] millsi tar[17] tír.
rogha dé[17] midh[17] 7 fín.
daine delgnaide cen[17] ón.[17]
combart[18] cen pecadh cen chol.

Atchiam cach for cach leath.
7 nícon aice nech.
teimel imorb*uis* Adaim
dodonarcheil ar araim.[17]

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[1] da*no* U.   [2] nEochada H.   [3] no U.   [4] tuidecht U.   [5] b *add. above line later.*   [6] [d]e U.   [7-7] corp co ind U.   [8] gela U.   [9] *om.* U.   [10] sluaig U.   [11] annam U.   [12] mesc U.   [13] *add. above line.*   [14] asbiur U.   [15] siun U.   [16] *read* téit (*or* téit-millsi).   [17] *retraced.*   [18] coimpert H.

Midir; 'Shall we play at chess?' said Midir. 'What shall the
stake be?' said Eochaid. 'The stake that either of us shall
wish,' said Midir. That day Eochaid's stake is taken. 'Thou
hast taken my stake,' said Eochaid. 'Had I wished I could have
taken it before now,' said Midir. 'What wouldst thou from
me?' said Eochaid. 'My arms around Étaín and a kiss from her,'
said Midir. Eochaid was silent. 'Come a month from to-day
and that shall be given thee.'

[1] 10. The year before Midir came to play chess with Eochaid
he was wooing Étaín, but he could not win her. The name by
which Midir called her was Bé Find, and he spake to her:

> O Bé Find wilt thou come with me
> to the wondrous land wherein harmony is,
> hair is like the crown of the primrose there,
> and the body smooth and white as snow.
> There, is neither mine nor thine,
> white are teeth there, dark the brows.
> A delight of the eye the number of our hosts,
> every cheek there is of the hue of the foxglove.
> A gillyflower (?) [2] is each one's neck,
> a delight of the eye [3] are blackbirds' eggs,
> Though fair the prospect of Mag Fáil,
> 'tis desolate [4] after frequenting Mag Már.
> Though choice [5] you deem the ale of Inis Fáil,
> more intoxicating is the ale of Tír Már.
> A wondrous land is the land I tell of;
> youth departs not there before eld.
> Warm sweet streams flow through the land,
> the choice of mead and wine.
> Stately (?) folk without blemish,
> conception without sin, without lust.
> We see everyone on every side,
> and no one seeth us.
> It is the darkness of Adam's transgression
> that hath prevented us from being counted.

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[1] An interpolation, cp. p. 171.   [2] *corcair maige* (Ɨ lossa U), a crimson or
purple flower of the plain, unidentified.   Cp. LL 266 b 1 (Mesca Ulad p. 30).
[3] *Is li* (Ɨ is dath U) *sula* is apparently an error in the parent MS., inadver-
tently repeated from the preceding quatrain.   [4] On *annam*, see Gwynn,
Hermathena, XLVIII. 145, especially FA 15 (= LU 2077).   [5] *mesc* 'intoxi-
cating' U, may be the true reading, *cid cáin* being repeated from the
preceding quatrain.

[   ][1]

mil fín[2] laith lemnacht la lind

rod bia lium and, a Bé Find.   a.B.é.F.

Asbert Édaín : ' Matumchotaise om aiththighi[3] ragasa chucad ; minam[4] édai, ní ragh.'

11. Is iar sin doluid Midir co hEoch*aid* 7 damair a thocheall fo cédóir, co mbeith folo ocai do Eoch*aid*. Is aire ro íc na comadha mora, 7 is aire is fó anfis conatigh a ghell, conadh iarsin ngiull adrubradh. An tan tra ro baí Midir cona muint*ir* óc íc comadh na haidchi .i. tochar[5] tar Moin Lamraide[5] 7 dichloch*ad* Midhi 7 luachair tar Teathbai 7 fid tar Breifne 7 is e seó and foclai[6] bai oca muindt*ir* am*al* atb*eir* Leb*or* Droma Snechta :

12. .r.[7] Cuirthe i lland tochre i lland airderg damrudh trom an coibden cluinitar fir ferdi buidne balcthruim crandchuir for-derg saire fedhar sechuib slimprib snithib sciathu[8] lama indro-chad[9] cloena fó bith oenmna duib in digail duib an tromdam tairthim flatho fer ban fomnis[10] in fer mbraine cerpai fomnis diadh dergae fer arfeidh solaid[11] fri ais eslind fer bron fort ier techta in delmnad[12] o luachair *for*[13] di Teithbi dichloch*ad*[14] Midi i*n*d-racht coich les coich aimles.[15]

13. Dailis M*idir* día mís. Fochiallastair ⟨.i. ro tinoil⟩[16] im̄ Eoch*aid* formná laech nEr*enn* co mbatar a Temraigh, 7 an robo[17] deach do fiannaib Er*enn*, cach cuaird im araili im Temraig a medhón 7 aneachtair 7 istigh, 7 in rí[18] 7 an righan i meadhón an taighe, 7 in lis iatai [col. 995] fo glasaib, ar[19] rofedadar co[20] ticfad fer in márcumachtai. Edaín baí ocon dail in n-aidchi sin forsna flaithe, ar ba[21] sain dī[21] disi dail.

14. A mbatar iarom fora mbriathraib co n-accotar Mid*ir* chucu for lar an rigthaighe. Ba caínsom do gress ; ba caíne do*no* in aidchi sin. Tosbert i mmod na sluag[u] adconnairc. Sochtsat uile iarom, 7 ferais an rí[18] failti fris. ' Is *ed* dorochtamar,' ol

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[1] A ben día ris mo thuaith tind | is barr oir bias fort chind U.   [2] muc úr U.   [3] = aithiuch thigi; aithech tigi U, aide H.   [4] *letter erased after* m.   [5—5] om. U.   [6] = a ndo foclaib ; anno foct U.   [7] *in marg.* [8] scítha U.   [9] ind rosc U.   [10] *bis.*   [11] solaig U.   [12] inde (.i. more) lámnad U.   [13] *in ras., repeated in marg.*   [14] dílecad U.   [15] *Tochur* d*ar* cech m*oin* add. U.   [16] *interlined, as in U.*   [17] robobo MS.   [18] *gh erased.* [19] *add. above line.*   [20] doticfad U.   [21—21] saindán U.

[O Woman, if thou come to my proud folk,
  a crown of gold shall be upon thy head][1]
honey, wine, ale, fresh milk, and drink,
  thou shalt have with me there, O Bé Find.

'I will go to thee,' said Étaín, 'if thou obtain me from my husband, if thou obtain me not, I will not go.'

11. After that Midir came to Eochaid, and he yielded his stake at once in order that he might have a ground of quarrel with Eochaid. Therefore it was that he fulfilled the onerous conditions, and it was for that reason he stipulated an unnamed pledge, so that it was afterwards it was named.[2] When Midir and his people were carrying out the terms of the night, i.e. the causeway over Móin Lámraige, and the clearing away the stones from Meath, and putting rushes over Tethba, and the wood over Bréifne, these are the words his people were saying, according to the Book of Druim Snechta:

12. R.[3]   *   *   *

13. Midir made a tryst for a month from that day. But Eochaid mustered the flower of the warriors of Ireland to Tara, and the best of the war-bands of Ireland, each encircling the other around Tara, in the midst, without and within, and the king and queen in the middle of the house, and the courts locked, for they knew that the man of great magic power would come. Étaín was serving the lords on that night, for the serving of drink was a special gift of hers.

14. Thereafter as they were speaking they saw Midir coming towards them in the midst of the royal house. He was fair at all times, but on that night he was fairer. The hosts were astonished[4]. Then silence fell upon them, and the king bade him welcome. ''Tis that we have come for,' said Midir; 'what

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[1] *rendering* U.   [2] *reading* conid iar sin adubrad .i. a ngell, *evidently a gloss incorporated.*   [3] Rhetoric, obscure; cp. § 8.   [4] *lit.* 'it put them in amazement;' what follows is ungrammatical, evidently a gloss incorporated, 'i.e. the hosts beholding him'.

Mid*ir*. 'An ro gellad damsa,' or sé, 'tucthar dam. Is fiach ni[1] atgelltair.[2] An ro gelladh tucus duitsiú.' 'Ní imrordusa,' for Eoch*aid*, 'anní sin co sé.' 'Atrogell Édaín fén damsa,' ol Midir, 'tiacht[3] uaitsiú.' Imdhergthair im Édaín la sodhain.[4] 'Nat imd*ergth*air,[5] a Édaín,' for Mid*ir*. 'Ní drochbanas duitsiú. Atusa,' ol sé, 'bli*adain* oc do (c*h*uingid)[6] co maínib 7 sédaib at ail[d]em a nEr*e*, 7 ní t*h*ucussa[7] comad co(*m*)arlecudh[8] do Eoch*aid*. Ní tria déoas damsa cé dodchotaind.' 'Atrubartsa fritso,' ol si, 'conom riré Eoch*aid* nít rís. Atometha lat ár mó chuit fén dianom[9] riri Eoch*aid*.'

15. 'Nid ririubsa i*m*,' for Eoch*aid*, 'acht tabrad a di laim umut for lár an tighi am*al* ro gaba*is*.' 'Dogentar,' ol Mid*ir*. Ateta[10] a gaisced ina laim clí, 7 gabais án[11] mnaí fó[12] lethoxail deis, 7 fochoislé for forles an tighi. Conerghed in tsluaig imón rí[g] iar melacht forro. Co n-accadar in da éla timcheoll na Temra. Is *ed* ro gabadh do Sidh ar Fem*un*, 7 luid Eoch*aid* co formna fer nEr*enn* ime do Sidh ber[13] Femin[14] .i. Sidh Ban Find. Ba sí comairli fer[15] nEr*enn* fochlade[16] cach sidhe baí a nEr*e* co tisadh a bean do uaidib.

16. Focechladar[17] Sidh Ban Find, 7 doét nech[18] chuca ass, 7 isbreth fris t friu[19] nabú an*n* baí a *m*ben.[19] 'Rí sidhe nEr*enn* an fer robarfainic. Ata do*no* ina rigdún laisin n-ingen. Eirgidh do co risidh.' Tiagaid bothuaid. Gabsad toch*ailt* an tsidhe. Tri mís *for* bli*adain* doib occo. A ndothochlaidis andíu ba comlan arnabarach. Lodar da fiach finda chuco asin tsidh, 7 dolodar da choin .i. Scleth 7 Samair. Lotar fodes aitherrach[20] do Sid Ban Find. Gab*sad* claide in tsidhe. Tic nech chuco afrisi as, 7 asbert fríu : 'Cid nó taí dún, a Eoch*aid*?' or sé. 'Ni tucsam do mnaí. Ní fóruach*ad* frit. Ní lam*ath*ar ní bus aimles do ríg do epert.' 'Ni ragasa uaibsi,' for Eoch*aid*, 'co n-erbaraid frium cia cruth rosis[21] mo mnaí.' 'Beir dallchuilena lat 7 dallchato, 7 fosnacaib. Iss *ed* in opair dogné cach día.' Sóaid ass iarom 7 dognither leo inní sin. Conid samlaid lotar aire.

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[1] i *subscr. and* n *corr. from* m *in ras.* ; ma U.   [2] *first* t *add. above line* ; gelltar U.   [3] ticht U.   [4] gh *corr. to* dh.   [5] ná imdergthar imut U. [6] *Hole rent in membrane, only aspiration mark left* ; chuingid U. [7] ní tucusa U = nít tuccusa.   [8] m-*stroke lost in rent.*   [9] diainom MS.   [10] ateda, *with* t t *suprascr.*   [11] in U, a H.   [12] foa UH. [13] MS. bfer, f *add. later over* b ; ar U.   [14] b *add. later over* F.   [15] b *inserted later before* f.   [16] fochlaid U.   [17] LU breaks off, owing to lacuna. [18] *read perhaps* doeth *and omit* nech.   [19] *sic.*   [20] *second* a *in ras.*   [21] *letter erased after final* s.

has been pledged to me,' said he, 'let it be given to me. What is promised is due. What was promised, I have given thee.' 'I have not thought further of that until now,' said Eochaid. 'Étaín herself promised me that she would come away [1] from thee,' said Midir. Thereupon Étaín blushes. 'Do not blush, O Étaín,' said Midir. 'It is not unwomanly for thee. I have been a year,' said he, 'seeking thee with gifts and treasures the most beautiful in Ireland, nor did I take thee until I had Eochaid's leave. It is not through any...[2] though I should win thee?' 'I have told thee,' said she, 'that I will not go to thee until Eochaid sell me. As for me, thou mayst take me if Eochaid sell me.'

15. 'I will not sell thee indeed,' said Eochaid, 'but let him put his arms round thee in the middle of the house as thou art.' 'It shall be done,' said Midir. He takes his weapons in his left hand, and the woman he took under his right arm, and bore her away through the skylight of the house. The hosts rose up in shame around the king. They beheld two swans in flight round Tara. And the way they went was to Síd ar Femuin, and Eochaid went with the flower of the men of Ireland around him to Síd ar Femuin, that is Síd Ban Find. And this was the counsel of the men of Ireland, to dig up every elfmound in Ireland until his wife should come thereout to him.

16. They dug up Síd Ban Find, and a certain person comes forth and told them that the [3] woman was not there. 'The king of the elfmounds of Ireland, he is the man who came to you. He is in his royal stronghold with the young woman. Set out thither until ye come to it.' They go northwards. They began to dig up the elfmound. They were a year and three months at it. What they would dig up one day would be restored on the morrow. Two white ravens went forth from the mound to them, and there came two hounds, namely Scleth and Samair. They went south again to Síd Ban Find. They began to dig the elfmound. One comes forth to them again and said to them, 'What hast thou against us, O Eochaid?' said he. 'We have not taken thy wife. No injury has been done thee. Beware of saying aught that may be harmful for a king.' 'I will not go hence,' said Eochaid, 'till ye tell me how I may attain my wife.' 'Take blind whelps with thee, and blind cats, and leave them. That is the work thou must do every day.' They turn [4] away, and that is done by them. And in this manner they set about it.

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[1] *reading* tíachtain.   [2] déoas *obscure*; *read perhaps* doēaš = dóenacht?
[3] *lit.* 'their'.   [4] *or* 'He turns'.

17. A mbatar and oc toch*ai*lt Sídh Br*eg* Leith co n-acatar
Mid*ir* chucu. ' Cid nó tai dam ? ' ol Mid*ir*. ' Is anfír a ndoghni
frim. At móra do dec*r*ai form. Ro renais do mnaí frim. Nachim
forraig ta[i]ris,' ol sé. ' Ni bia ocud,' for Eoch*aid*. ' Ní bía,' ol
Midhir. ' Erg do[t] tigh. Roticfa do ben trath teirti ambarach.
Fír na cetnai 7 na n-irradh,' ol M*idir*.[1] ' Nacham *for*ais ather-
rach, madh slán do m*en*ma lat don chur sa uaim.' ' Atumo ' ⟨.i.
faemaim⟩[2] for Eoch*aid*. Naiscis Midir a c*ur*u, 7 téid uaidib.
A mbatar ann trath teirti arnabarach co n-accadar in .l. mban a
n[3]-aendeilb 7 i n[3]-aenécosc uile fri hÉdaín. Sochtsat iarom in
tsluaig. Bai gast glastliath[4] remib. Asber[a]t [fri] Eoch*aid*:
' Togai do mnai din chur sa, no apair fri mnaí díb anadh lat. Is
toich duinde ascnam diar tigh.'

18. ' Cid dogenaidh,' for Eoch*aid* fri firu Er*enn*, 'dón ainches
do*for*fainicc ? ' ' Nochon ta[5] comairle de cia dingnium,' for fir
Er*enn*. ' Atá liumsa,' for Eoch*aid*. ' Mo bensa as deach oc dáil
a nEr*e*. Atagensa ocon dail.' Tochorastair a coic .xx. it a leth
thighi in*n*on*n*, 7 a .u.xx.it a leth [col. 996] a tighi illé, 7 tucad
lestar co lind for lár an tighe. Dothiced iarom ben disiu 7 ben
anall, 7 ni fuairseom Etain an*n* beos. Tainic de cosin di mnai
deidencho.[6] Dalais indala hi[7] a tossach. Adb*er*t Eoch*aid*:
' Etain and so, 7 ni si fodhein.' Is iarum ba comairli leo uili.
' Anais Etain,' ar iat, ' cen cop sí a dal.' Lodar ass na mna arcena.
Mor a imt[h]oltain la firu Er*enn* in gnim sin dogenosom, 7 na
mordrechta na damraidhe do denam leo, 7 tesoirgne na mna do
feraib sidhe.

19. Atraracht Eoch*aid* la n-alaind, 7 bai 7 a righan a n-
imagallaim for lar an lis, co n-acadar Mid*ir* cuco. ' Maith, a
Eoch*aid*,' ol Mid*ir*. ' Maith,' ol Eoch*aid*. ' Ni hindraic[8] ro ba
frim,' or sé, ' na hairddec*r*ai[9] do f*uir*miu[d] form 7 a mbith for
do cul 7 a ndodnuc*ui*ss do cuingid cuc*um*. Ni baí ni *n*achim
tomnathá.' ' Niro renus frit mo mnaí,' for Eoch*aid*. ' C*ei*st, in
tinci do c[h]ubus frim ? ' ol Mid*ir*. ' Noco tegma a n-aill do imgeal-

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[1] *letter erased after* M*idir*.   [2] *interlined*.   [3] m-*stroke* MS.   [4] *sic* H ;
gasatt liath MS.   [5] *aspiration mark over* te*rased*.   [6] deigenco MS.
[7] *sic* ; *read* n-ai.   [8] hindraic*h* MS.   [9] de *add. over line*.

17. As they were there razing Síd Brí Léith they beheld Midir coming towards them. 'What hast thou against me?' said Midir. 'Thou dost me wrong. Thou hast put great tribulations upon me. Thou didst sell thy wife to me. Injure me no more,' said he. 'She shall not be with thee,' said Eochaid. 'She shall not,' said Midir. 'Get thee home. Thy wife shall reach thee at the third hour to-morrow. ...[1], said Midir. 'Injure me not again if thou art contented with me this time. 'I accept,' said Eochaid. Midir bound his covenants and departs from them. As they were there at the third hour on the morrow, they saw fifty women all of like form and raiment as Étaín. Silence fell on the hosts. There was a grey slut[2] before them. They say to Eochaid, 'Choose thy wife now, or bid one of the women to abide with thee. It is meet that we set out for home.'

18. 'What will ye do,' said Eochaid to the men of Ireland, 'because of the doubt that has come upon you?' 'We have no resolve as to what we shall do,' said the men of Ireland. 'I have,' said Eochaid. 'My wife is the best at serving drink in Ireland. I shall recognize her by her serving.' Twenty-five were placed at that side of the house and twenty-five at this, and a vessel filled with liquor was placed in the midst of the house. Then a woman would come from this side and from that, and still he did not find Étaín. It came to the last two women. One of them poured out first. Said Eochaid, 'This is Étaín, and it is not herself.' Then they all took counsel. 'Truly it is Étaín,[3] though it is not her serving.' The rest of the women departed. That deed which he did was a great satisfaction to the men of Ireland, and the high feats the oxen had done, and the rescue of the woman from the men of the elfmounds.

19. One fine day Eochaid arose, and as he and his queen were conversing in the middle of the court, they saw Midir coming towards them. 'Well, Eochaid,' said Midir. 'Well,' said Eochaid. 'Thou hast not played me fair with the hardships thou hast inflicted on me, considering the backing thou hadst and all that ... to demand from me (?). There was naught that thou didst not suspect me of.' 'I did not sell thee my wife,' said Eochaid 'Answer, dost thou consider thy conscience in regard to me?' said Midir. 'Until thou proffer another pledge,

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[1] An asseveration, obscure; lit. 'the truth of the ... and of the ...'
[2] This passage is cited in the glossary in H 3. 18, p. 625 c: gast .i. caill*ech*, unde dicitur, 'baí gast glaslíath rompu'. Cp. Meyer, ZCP XIII. 193; cp. gast .i. cailleach, O'Cl., W. *gast* 'bitch', Bret. *gast* 'femme publique'.
[3] reading *anae is* (E. K.).

lad,' ol Eoch*aid*, ' ni tincubh.' ' C*eist*, an fallán do meanma lat?'
ol Mid*ir*. ' Fallan,' for Eoch*aid*. ' Samhlaid damsa,' for Mid*ir*.
' Torrach do bean an tan rodnucad uait,' for Mid*ir*, ' 7 *ingen*
ronuc, 7 is si fil it c[h]omair. Ata do*no* do bean lium, 7 dotainic [1]
condara leicis uait aitherroch.' Téid iar sin.

20. Nir lamair iarom Eoch*aid* tochailt sida for Mid*ir* doris, ar
boi arach fris. Focerd Eoch*aid* i ces a ben do eludh 7 coiblighi
a ingine fris, 7 ba torrach sidhe uadhasum, 7 bert ingean do.
' A dee eimh,' for Eoch*aid*, ' nimmanaicigi [2] damsa fri hingin
m'ingine.' Teid diass dia muindtir dia cor a cuithe [3] co piastaib.
Adellat leo cu teach Findlama buachalla na Team*ra* bai a Sliab
Fuait i mmedon dithruib.[4] Ni bai neach isin tig. Cathsit biad [5]
n-and. Focerdat in ingin don tsaid [6] cona cuilenaib ro bai issin
cru isin tig. Tiagaid as doridisi. Tic in buachaill dia tig [7] 7 a
seitig [7] co n-acadar istig in mblaiscne [8] ngel isin cru. Dosbert i
mmod [9] inni sin. Dosb*era*t asan cru. Ros n-altsad, cen co
fetatar can dí, 7 ba maith a forbairt dí, am*al* ba hingen rig 7
rigna. Ba druiniu cach mnai. Ni faicdis a suili ni nad edais [10] a
lama dhi dhruine. Alta iarum fon samhail sin la Findlamh [11] 7 a
bainceili, conda [12] acadar muindtir *Eidi*rsceoil la n-and, 7 cor
indisiter don ri[g], 7 co tucadh ar eicin la hEidirscel hi as, 7 bai
ocai iar sin di bainceili. Conad sissidhe m*athai*r Conaire me*ic*
Eidirsceoil.

21. Bai Eoch*aid* Oiream iar sin hi Fremaind Tethbai iar
n-easbaidh Etaíne, 7 ba scith leis a menma. Tainic Sigmall [13]
Cael *ua* Midir .i. mac ingine Mid*ir* .i. Oicnia a hainm sidhe, 7 ro
loisc Dun Frema*nd* [14] for Eoch*aid*, 7 dorochair Eoch*aid* leis, 7
rucad a [15] cend [16] la Sighmall [17] co Sit[h] Nendta a ndighail [18] einig [19]
a senathar .i. Mid*ir*. Acht cena ni fir sin, ar dorochair Sigmall [20]
7 Fuamnach ben Mid*ir* la Manandan a mBri Leith re cian roime
sin a flaitheas T*uath* De D*anann*, dia n-ebairt an fili:

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[1] to t*h*ainic MS.   [2] ni*m* manaicigi*us* MS., *an aspirated* d *erased
after second* i; *after* g *subscr.* i.   [3] e *in ras.*   [4] ditruim*i* MS.   [5] d *add.
above line.*   [6] tsaig MS.   [7-7] *interlined*; seitid MS.   [8] *sic, for* blaicne,
which is translated.   [9] i*n* mod MS.   [10] nad e .. *in ras. later hand.*
[11] find lamha MS.   [12] cundo MS.   [13] Sidmall MS.   [14] Frema*nd* MS.
with i *erased.*   [15] a *erased and add. below by later hand.*   [16] c *in ras.*
[17] Sid*h* mall MS.   [18] ndidhail MS. *first* d *add. below line.*   [19] g *in ras.
and* a *following in marg. later hand.*   [20] side Sigmall; MS. *had at first*
sid mall, *then* e *was added after* d, *and* sig *prefixed to* mall *at beginning
of next line.*

I will not consider it,' said Eochaid. 'Answer, is thy mind at ease?' said Midir. 'It is,' said Eochaid. 'So also is mine,' said Midir. 'Thy wife was pregnant when she was taken from thee, and she bore a daughter, and it is she who is with thee. Thy wife, moreover, is with me, and it has befallen thee to let her go a second time.' Thereupon he departs.

20. After that Eochaid did not dare to dig again an elfmound of Midir's, for there was a bond against him. It grieved Eochaid that his wife had eloped and that his own daughter had lain with him. And she was with child by him and bore him a daughter. 'O ye gods,' said Eochaid, 'I and my daughter's daughter shall never look on one another.' Two of his household go to throw her into a pit among beasts. They visit the house of Findlám the herdsman of Tara in Sliab Fuait, in the midst of a wilderness. There was no one in the house. They ate food therein. Then they throw the girl to the bitch with her whelps that was in the kennel in the house. They go away again. The herdsman and his wife return home and saw within the fair infant in the kennel. They were amazed at that. They take her out of the kennel. They brought her up without knowing whence she had come, and she waxed strong, moreover, being the daughter of a king and queen. She surpassed all women at embroidery. Her eyes saw nothing that her hands could not embroider. In that wise then she was reared by Findlám and his wife, until one day Etarscél's people saw her and told the king, and she was taken away forcibly by Etarscél, and was with him after that as his wife. So she is the mother of Conaire son of Etarscél.

21. After that Eochaid Airem was in Frémainn of Tethba after he had lost Étaín, and his mind was troubled. Sigmall Cael, grandson of Midir, that is, the son of Midir's daughter, Oicnia was her name, came and burned Eochaid's Dún Frémainn, and Eochaid fell by him, and his head was brought by Sigmall to Síd Nennta in vengeance for the honour of his grandfather, even Midir. [1] That is not so, however, for Sigmall and Fuamnach the wife of Midir had fallen at the hands of Manannán in Brí Léith long before that in the reign of the Tuatha Dé Danann, whereof the poet said:

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[1] What follows is evidently an adscript incorporated.

.r.[1]   Fuamnach baeth[1] ba ben Mid*ir*.
Sigmall[2] as bri co mbilib.
a mBri Leith, fa lathair lan.
do loiscead la Manandan.

22. Is amlaidh seo im̄ forcaemnacair bas Each*ach* Oireaman,
am*al* asb*era*t eolaig an tsencasa.[3]

Bai Eoch*aid* a Fremaind Tethbai amail ro raidsium, 7 is inti[4]
no bídh a dunaras 7 a domghnas fo deoid.[5]   Ro fas desidhe[6]
daerchis fognama co trom 7 co dirim for lucht na criche 7 ind
fearaind desidhe[6] tria bith in rígh co gnathach forru, conad de
dogarar seachtmad Er*enn* Tethba, ar ro tuit *secht*mad rand cisa
7 biata in rig forro.   Fir Cul im̄. do Luignib Tem*ra* [col. 997]
is siatt bai a Tet[h]bai in tan sin, 7 is forro doratad in cis sin.
Mormael is e ba ri for Feraib Cul an tan sin 7 ba rechtaire a
Fremaind.   M*a*c máthar doside Sighmall m*a*c Brestine m*ei*c
Midir ri[7] Bendtraige.   Imforgenair iarom comairle leo, 7 iss *ed*
arrícht leo Eoch*aid* do marbad.

23. Lotar iar*o*m dib linaib .i. Beandtraige im Sighmall[8] 7 Fir
Cul iman Mormael, 7 gabsat Dun Fremand for Eoch*aid*, 7 ro
loiscsid in dun fair, 7 ro mar[b]sat Eoch*aid* an*n*.   Dochodar i
Connachtaib iar sin la n-echtaib 7 rucsat ceand Ech*ach* leo co
Sith Nennta iar n-usci, conid dia chuimnigudh in gnima sin
asbert an senchaid an*n* so sis :

Eochaid Oiream sairgeal seang.
airdri oireagda Er*enn*.
sreathais a[9] cis calma[10] cruaidh.
ro siacht fon mBanba mbratruaidh.

Tuatha Tetfa[11] na treas teann.
fuaradar cís rig Er*enn*.
tug an ri reachtmar[12] ros ro*m*
an sechtmad orra a n-aenur.

Tainic toirrsi theand an tsloig.[13]
risin reacht[14] n-adbal n-egoir.
fearg ro hadnad tretha de.
gur marb[ad][15] Eocha Oiream

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[1] *in marg.*   [2] sid mall MS.   [3] *first* s *add. later below line.*
[4] ti *in ras.* MS.   [5] deoig MS.   [6] *sic, omit one or other* desidhe.
[7] g *erased.*   [8] Sidhmall MS.   [9] a *add. below line.*   [10] *first* a *add.
above line.*   [11] t *add. below line.*   [12] e *add. below line.*   [13] l *add. above
line.*   [14] e *add. above line.*   [15] guro marb MS.; *but this verse is un-
metrical.*

R. Fuamnach the foolish one, was Midir's wife,
    Sigmall, a hill with ancient trees
    in Brí Léith, 'twas a faultless arrangement,
    they were burned by Manannán.[1]

22. It is in this wise however that the death of Eochaid Airem
came about, as the learned in ancient lore say :

Eochaid was in Frémainn of Tethba, as we have said, and it
is there was his mansion and his ancestral domain[2] towards the
end. Hence there arose hard tribute of service beyond telling
on the people of the district and the land, because the sustenance
of the king usually fell on them,[3] wherefore Tethba is called the
seventh part of Ireland, for the seventh part of the tribute and
the maintenance of the king fell on them. The Fir Chúl of
the Luigne of Tara were in Tethba at that time, and on them
that tribute was laid. Mórmael was king of the Fir Chúl then
and he was the steward in Frémainn. His mother's son was
Sigmall son of Brestine son of Midir king of Bentraige. A plot
was then hatched by them, and what they resolved on was the
slaying of Eochaid.

23. Then they both set out, the Bentraige under Sigmall and
the Fir Chúl under Mórmael, and they took Dún Frémainn,
Eochaid's stronghold, and burned it, and slew him there. After
that they went to Connacht with their spoils, and bore Eochaid's
head along with them to Síd Nennta iar nUsciu (west of the
water), so that to commemorate that deed the historian uttered
the following :

    Eochaid Airem, noble, fair and graceful,
    eminent high-king of Ireland,
    extended his bold hard tribute,
    it spread throughout Banba of the brown cloaks.

    The folk of Tethba of the stubborn fights
    got the tribute of the king of Ireland.
    The lawgiving king who . . . them, put
    the seventh (part) on them alone.

    Heavy sorrow of the host came
    because of the monstrous unjust law,
    anger was kindled among them because of it,
    until Eochaid Airem was slain.

Cp. I, § 26.   [2] domhgnas .i. athardha no dúthaidh, O'Cl.   [3] lit.
'because of the king being usually on them'.

Tuatha Tetfa [1] fa tren tall.
ro marbsad Eocho Fremand.
nirbo neart [2] gen adbar doib
risi*n* r[e]ac*ht* n-adbal n-egoir.

Mormael riam ba hainm don righ.
lasa ndearrnad [3] an morgním.
Fir Chul ainm Fer Teatfa [4] toir.
da ndeachas [5] dar Dun Freman*n*.

Cia adberar Sigmall na sleag.
guru marb Eocho Aiream.
taisce [6] adbath re reim na cend.
se fein na Eoch*aid* Fremand

Adbath Sigmall na sleg n-aig.
la dreich mingil Manandain.
[e]ad cian anbail gen tlas tair.
ria mbas d'agbail do Eoch*aid*.

Da t*h*Sigmall Side Nennta.
calma a traig tren a teannta
Sigmall m*a*c Cairp*re* na cath.
Sigmall ro bai ag bas Eachach.

Sig*mall* m*a*c Breistine buain.
ri Benntraigi gu morbuaid.
7 Mormael mor don muig.
is leo do baebaid Eochaid.

                                        E.O.C.H.A.ID.

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[1] *second* t *add. above line.*   [2] e *add. above line.*   [3] *first* d *add. below line.*
[4] *second* t *add. below line.*   [5] d *add. below line.*   [6] tais ce MS.

The Folk of Tethba, mighty of yore,
slew Eochaid of Frémaind.
'Twas not strength without cause on their part,
because of the monstrous unjust law.

Mórmáel was the name of the king at first
by whom the great deed was done,
Fir Chúl the name of the men of Tethba in the east
when Dún Frémainn was overwhelmed.

Though 'tis said that Sigmall of the spears
slew Eochaid Airem,
he died himself prior to Eochaid of Frémaind
in the succession of leaders (?)

Sigmall of the battling spears died
by the smooth bright face of Manannán;
a vast long time in the east, without weakness,
before Eochaid met his death.

The two Sigmalls of Síd Nennta,
intrepid their feet, mighty their prowess,
Sigmall son of Coirpre of the battles,
Sigmall who was at Eochaid's death.

Sigmall son of Brestine of lasting [memory],
king of Bentraige with great triumph,
and great Mórmael from the plain,
by them Eochaid perished.

INDEX OF NAMES

INDEX OF PLACES AND PEOPLES

Aenach Bodbgnai, I 25 ; near Brug na Bóinne.

Ailbe, I 23 ; near Síd Ban Find, Slievenaman, 8 m. NE. of Clonmel (Hogan); same as Mag nA. comprising parts of Carlow and Kildare (Gwynn).

Amnas, river, I 14.

Banba, bardic name for Ireland, III 23.

Banda, I 14 ; the river Bann in Ulster.

Bentraige, the, III 22, 23.

Boann, I 5, 8 ; the river Boyne.

Bréifne III 5, 11 ; comprising the counties of Leitrim and Cavan.

Brí Léith in Tethba, I 2, 3, 15, 18 ; III 21 ; west of Ardagh, Co. Longford.

Brug, In, I 1, 5, 6, 18–21 ; i.e. Brug na Bóinne, Newgrange, N. of the B yne.

Cleitech, I 8 ; near Brug na Bóinne.

Cnoc Síde in Broga, I 6, 9 ; near Brug na Bóinne.

Connachta, III 23 ; Connacht.

Dún Frémainn in Tethba, II 1, III 21, 23, Frewin Hill, over w. shore of Loch Owel, Westmeath (Hogan).
— in Mide, II 1.

Find, river, I 14 ; perhaps the Blackwater, Co. Meath (Hogan).

Fir Bolg, I 3, 4.

Fir Chúl of the Luigne of Tara, III 22, 23 ; baronies of Upper and Lower Kells, Co. Meath (Hogan).

Frémainn Tethba, II 1, 4, III 21, 22 ; see above, Dún Frémainn.

Inber Cíchmaine, I 21, 22, 23, II 2 ; in Conchobar's province.

Loch dá Airbrech, I 23 ; Lough Derravaragh in Westmeath (Hogan).

Loch dá Líg, I 23.

Lóche, river, I 14.

Luigne Temrach, III 22 ; in Meath, perhaps bar. of Lune (Hogan).

Mag Breg, III 1 ; plain between the Liffey and the Boyne.

Mag nDula, I 13.

Mag Fáil, III 10 ; = Inis Fáil, a bardic name of Ireland.

Mag nInis, I 1, 12 ; in Ulster.

Mag nítha, I 13 ; perh. bar. of Raphoe, Co. Donegal.

Mag Lemna, I 13 ; near the River Laune in Munster (Hogan).

Mag Lí, I 13 ; on the Bann, Co. Derry.

Mag Line, I 13 ; Moylinny, Co. Antrim.

Mag Macha, I 13 ; near Armagh.

Mag Már, III 10.

Mag Murthemne, I 13 ; in Co. Louth, N. of Dundalk.

Mag Techt, I 13.

Mag Tochair, I 13; bar. of Inishowen, Co. Donegal (Hogan).

Mide, III 5, 11 ; Meath.

Modornn, river, I 14 ; the River Mourne.

Móin Lámraige, III 5, 8, 11.

Nas, river, I 14.

Oichén, river, I 14.

Or, river, I 14.

Samaír, river, I 14 ; the lower Erne (?).

Síd Ban Find, west of Ailbe, I 23, III 15, 16 ; same as Síd ar Femuin

OSBORN BERGIN.
R. I. BEST.

ON THE SYNTAX OF THE VERB IN OLD IRISH

IN Cormac's Glossary, s.v. *prull*, Senchán is challenged to complete a half quatrain, of which the second line is

ceso femmuin mbolgaig mbung

'although I reap blistered seaweed'. The construction has not hitherto been explained. Pedersen, VG ii. 477, takes *mbung* as the form of the compound for the simplex. But the matter is more complicated. In prose we should expect *ce nod bung femmuin mbolgaig*, or, if emphasis and contrast were needed,[1] *ceso femmun bolgach no bung* (or *no mbung*), with *femmun bolgach* in the nom. as predicate after the copula, followed by a relative clause. In the text, however, the copula is out of construction, so that there is really only one clause; the noun is in the acc., the verb follows its object,[2] and it has the conjunct form. This I take to be an archaism for which many parallels are found in the rhythmical portions of the Laws, in the alliterative prose of the 'rhetorics', and in early poetry.

The rule may be stated thus: when the verb does not stand at the head of its clause, particularly when it follows its subject or object, it takes the dependent form, that is, a simple verb has the conjunct ending and a compound verb is prototonic.

It is not always possible to distinguish this construction from the well-known cases of tmesis, in which the verb comes at the end. Indeed both tmesis and the idiom studied here are no doubt survivals from an archaic state of the language in which that was the usual position of the verb. But mere tmesis may be removed by rearranging the words, e.g. *cotom nert naomthrinōit róathar*, ZCP 6, 258, 13 = *cotom-róathar nert naomthrinōit*; *fordon itge Brigte bet*, Hy. 5, 89 = *fordon-bet itge Brigte*. On the other hand, no rearrangement of the words *ceso femmuin mbolgaig mbung* will give the normal O.Ir. syntax. The same applies to *Ēiriu cid rōtbla roa*, ZCP 14, 176, = *cia ro-sá Ēiriu*

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[1] Stokes's translation, Trans. Phil. Soc., 1891, p. 183, 'although it is blistered seaweed that I reap', implies this emphasis and contrast, 'blistered seaweed (and not anything else)', which does not suit the context.

[2] It is so closely connected with the preceding acc. sg. that its initial is nasalized.

rótbla, and to *cessa fri fiansa forbair*, ZCP 9, 203, = *for-beir fri cessa fiansa*.

The chief source of my examples would be the early Laws, if only the text were trustworthy, and if I were sure of the meaning. However, there are enough clear instances to show that the idiom was in full force at the time when these Laws were composed. Dr. Binchy has kindly supplied me with references to the Brehon Law transcripts by O'Curry and O'Donovan, and has identified several of the citations in O'Davoren's Glossary.

I begin with Bretha Crólige, § 19, p. 16 above, *minub is[n]a fiachuib eirce airberna* (sic leg.), and § 64, p. 52, *nach fuil druith dinnap inna ramot techtai torai*. The regular construction would be *mani airberna isnaib fiachaib éirce* and *dinā tora inna rámot téchta*, or, if emphasis and contrast were needed, the final verbs would be *ar-berna* and *do-roa*.

From the published volumes of Ancient Laws I take the following :

  i. 10, 6. *cenibad i n-olc n-aill n-aithirsed*; cf. ZCP 3, 44 n.

      78, 14. *cuicthe fri cond cuindegar* (*cuindiger*, 264, 8 ; *cuindeghar*, O'D. 492).

      106, 3. *conad fria cend cuindrigther* (*gonadh ara cend*, etc., O'D. 48 ; *gonad ara cend cuindrigter*, O'D. 496).

      84, 10. *conid fri rosc ruirther* (*conad fria rosc ruirither*, O'D. 492).

  iii. 414, 23. *tri coin fogla fomnaiter* (sic leg. ; *fomnaither* O'D. 2226 ; *fogail fomnaither*, AL).

      536, 10. *aithgin ōgh ind āragar* (sic leg., cf. the gloss *airgiter comlaintius na aithgina ann*, 538, 9).

  iv. 38, 14 ff. *Fintiu for cul cuindegar* (sic C 856, *cuinneagar* C 1597, *cuinnegar* C 2297, *cumchither* AL).

      trenib fine fodlaither (*fodluiter* C 856, *fodhlaigter* C 1597, *foglaigthear* AL).

      mad di cuicthe tormola.

      muna cuic treaba toirbeanadar (*torbanat* C 857) = *manib i cuig trebaib torbenaiter* AL v. 514; cf. Ir. Recht, 63 n. 7, 70. One would expect the subj. *torbaiter* with the usual trisyllabic ending.

      44, 7. *sil a feola fodlaigtear* (= *fodlaither*).

      344, 20. *conid iarna durn toindither*.

v. 448, 1. *diam la fo fuiristar* (sic leg.) = O'Dav. 826 *diam la firu fo fuirestar*. Thurneysen, Ir. Recht, 5, n. 5, prefers the reading of H 3. 18, *diam la fio fo·riasatar*, but rhythm and alliteration are in favour of the prototonic form.

Two lines in the poem beginning *Tochombaig Ciannacht cianbruige*, AL iv. 8, may be explained in the same way; *comdar ferba fulachta*, p. 14 = *co fulachta ferba*, and *comdar fearba falguide*, p. 16 = *co falguide fearba*. The verbs are pret. pass. pl. of *fo-loing* and *fo-álaig*, and the copula does not count.

Among the unpublished law-texts I have noted

> *gnimaib coraib cuimrither*
> *ratha trena tuimithar*, C 1087.
> *conad fasach fír fuirglither*, O'D. 2214.
> *o gach dernaind deragar*, C. 2483.

dianub go ndigluib dianuib dirgib derustar, O'D. 2210, cf. O'Dav. 594.

Dr. Binchy has given me the following examples, the first three from *Bretha Nemed*:

> *ar us for ailcib fírinne fothuither ae eclasa adamra*, O'D. 2221.
>
> *manib fri fasach fuirmider sceo fursantar fir féine*, ib. 2223.
>
> *diam orc i fonduid fotlethur*, ib. 2225, corrupted in O'Dav. 847 to *Dia mor cia fonnadh fotlethar*.
>> *Ni timna De taithbestar*
>> *cidh for cul[u] cuinntestar*

with gloss .i. *nocha taithmither amuich in cunnradh do reir timna De o doberar luige ris ge chuingi e for cul*, Eg. 88 fol. 31 a 1 (C 2397).

From Eg. 88, fol. 38 a 2 (= C 2471) and H 3. 18, p. 236 a (= C 436).

> *manab coitcenn comaiter*[1]
> *Ni asta rudrad rugnassa*
> *manab a fira foltaib*[2] *foghbatar*
> *manab ar mainib firenaib faillsib*[3] *foghbatar*
> *manab for ailchib udhpart astaiter.*

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[1] comathar H.   [2] i firfoltaib H 236 b.   [3] sic H, faillsigh E.

Among O'Davoren's excerpts are the following:

465 *caidh ni nabi fri fiadnaise forbair.*

488 *diam frithe fogba, fo thuathaib comairser* (sic leg.).[1]

768 *oenchairde fon Eilg n-āragar.* Stokes emends to
n-a[d]ragar, but though *ad-ragar* is a possible Mid.Ir.
spelling of *ad-regar*, rhythm and alliteration and nasali-
zation are all against it.

1301 *iath n-aithre n-ārdat* (sic leg.) 'the land of fathers
has been acknowledged'; cf. *adrodat*, ZCP 8, 314, 1.

In the archaic 'rhetoric' in Aided Con Culainn, LL 123 b 2 ff.
there are several examples of this construction:

ba sodursan napu dib lamaib comlánaib comarnic.
apraind nach Conchobor claidebruad comairlestar.
Dursan nad Eirrge Echbel arnic.
Dursan nach Fiacha Foltlebor fallnastar.
Apraind nach Eogan Alaind acillestar.
Dursan nach Fergna mac Findchaeme forcmastar.
Apraind nach Fergus mac Lete luid.
Apraind nach Feidlimid Faeborderg forcachai.
Dursan nach Munremur morglonnach miadaigestar.
Apraind nach Amargin urdaircaigestar.
Dursan nach Rochad Rigderg rathaigestar.
Dursan nach Cōnall Cernach cobrastar.
Apraind nach Celtchar Comrach cuala.
Dursan nach Loegaire Buadach báigestar.
Apraind nach Fergus mac Rossa roacht.

Here *napu* is certainly part of the copula, and *nach*, *nad* are
best so understood. The compound verbs are all prototonic,
and, while some of the simple verbs have the same form as the
relative, the meaning cannot be 'alas that it was not so and so
who came, who helped', &c., but 'alas that so and so did not
come', &c.

Even in the late 'rhetoric' in the Fer Diad episode in Wind.
TBC 4007 ff., in which the verbs are not in the dependent form,
the natural sense is non-relative: *bá dursan dait nach nech*

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[1] Stokes fears that the MS. reading *diam fri tinfoba* (*de fogba*, F) is hope-
lessly corrupt. The emendation is due to Dr. Binchy, who has since found
the opening words *diam frithe fogba* cited in O'D. 834. The meaning is
evidently 'if thou find a waif, thou shalt inquire throughout the territories'.

dind fiallaig ... ra acallais, &c. The old construction had been forgotten, and the word *cobrastar* in *Ba dirsan duit nach Conall caem coscarach commáidmech cathbuadach cobrastar comairle ar comaltais*[1] suggests that the whole passage is a poor imitation of the above older 'rhetoric'.

If the text of the early 'rhetorics' had been well preserved they would doubtless show many other examples of this construction, e.g. *Mag Murthemni atharda iba srúaim sruthborr*, LL 119 b 41:

> *Cim a Fresib*[2] *frithbera.*
> *bati Longbaird loingsigther*, LU 8901.

In Meyer's Alt. Ir. Dicht. ii. 13 we read *macne Ailb airme*, 'die Söhneschar Albs, die wir aufzählen'. By a curious slip Meyer takes *áirme* as 1 pl. rel., as though it were a simple verb and *-me* the personal ending;[3] 'whom we enumerate' would, of course, be *ad-rímem*. Read *áirmi* (*airmi* B), 2 sg. prototonic.[4] As instead of *ailb* two MSS. have *nailb*, and one *nalim*, we may safely take *macne*[5] as acc., and translate 'thou reckonest the sons of Alb'.

Amra Choluim Chille has two good examples:

> *Ar mind nAxal n-acallad*, LU 941 = RC 20, 266 = *ad-gládad ar mind Axal*. Stokes wrongly translates the verb as a relative.
>
> *Fri aingel n-acallastar*, LU 1148 = RC 20, 404 = *ad-gládastar fri aingel*.

In Audacht Moraind, ed. Thurneysen, ZCP 11, there are some instances which are distinct from the usual tmesis:

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[1] The last three words erroneously repeated from l. 4010.

[2] *Freisin*, Eg., ITS ii, p. 86. For the collocation cf. *Fresin, Longbaird*, ÄID i. 31, § 48 ; 55, § 30.

[3] Stokes makes the same slip in Mart. Gorm., pp. 14, 32, 140, and even translates *áirim* 'whom I reckon', p. 149.

[4] Ib. i. 41, § 32 apparently has a deuterotonic form : *Omungnad dorognad, domnais fuil Fuidbech*. The text cannot be sound. Meyer was mistaken in thinking that *dorognad* could be an archaic form of *do-rónad*, and in any case the perfect is out of place. So far Marstrander's strictures are justified, but his emendation to *dorogbad* (ZCP 12, 443), while palaeographically admirable, does not make good sense or metre ; *do-rogaib* 'commits a crime, an offence' would not be used in praise of a conqueror. I suggest *omungnath, dorargnath*, 'accustomed to terror, accustomed to battle'. This gives the requisite alliteration with *domnais*.

[5] *or* maicni, *sic* B. The word is fem. in Mid. Ir.

p. 81, § 10 b, *mortlaidı móra di dóenib diṅgbatar*.

§ 17, <u>*co ndathlí súla segaiter*</u>\[1]

p. 82, § 19, *nadbi*\[ ] *co fássaigib firinne fossaigedar a breith.*

§ 22, *mīla mina*\[2] *mōra for trāchtaib*\[ ] *dērgetar.*

p. 87, § 49, *cach flaith nadbi*\[ ] *co firbēssaib firinne follnathar.*

In Fél. Óengusso there are two examples. One I regard as certain :

Ep. 277 *Drong úasa¹nóeb ṅÉrenn*
la Pátric as ardam,
Columb cille <u>congaib</u>
co ṅdrongaib nóeb ṅAlban.

Stokes, misunderstanding the construction, translates : ' The troop of the noble saints of Erin, with Patrick who is highest : Columb cille, who sets up with the troops of the saints of Alba.' Prototonic *congaib* cannot be relative, and there is no break after the second line. The meaning is : ' The troop of the noble saints of Erin . . . includes Columb cille with the troops of the saints of Alba.' Here *congaib* follows both its subject *drong* and its object *Columb cille*.

The other, April 4, is less clear :

Cain Tigernach credal
ar Chríst cech inbáis breuis,
asa inbrūcht srúaim soïs
Clúana álne\[3] *hEuis.*

Stokes translates the second line ' for Christ's sake he\[4] vanquished every lust '. The last word of the second line has variants *inbreuis*, *inbruais*, *bruis*, and *inbruis*. The nasaliza-

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\[1] Should we read *Is tre fīr flathemon cach tlachta dianime dechmo-rómnaiter, condat lí súla segaiter*, ' through the righteousness of the ruler all spotless garments are best coloured, so that delights (?) of the eye are attained ' ? But I do not know whether *lí* occurs elsewhere as plural.

\[2] *sic leg.*

\[3] Not a genuine form, and certainly not gen. sg. m., as stated in Index. *álle*, *áille* < *áilde* is gen. sg. f. Read *álaind* with F. Cf. Ó Máille, Lang. of AU, § 109.

\[4] If *Cain* (*Caín* ?) in the first line is an adj., *Tigernach* is the subject, but this will not affect the construction, as in any case the object comes before the verb.

tion is what one would expect in a verb immediately following its object, an accusative singular. It must be a disyllable, riming with *hEuis* (var. *heois*, *eoais*). The early form of the last word in the quatrain is *Auis*, *Auiss*, in LA and AU. However, it is not always possible to find perfect rimes for proper names. Stokes indexes the verb under *brúim* (*breuim* ?) ; the second form is doubtful, the former is common, and its pret. abs. 3 sg. is *bruuis* in Ält. Ir. Dicht. i. 41, 27. Can the poet have used the absolute form for metrical reasons ? Or was there a denominative *bruïss-*, *breuiss-*, cf. Welsh *briwsyn*, *briwsion*, 'crumb, fragment' ? *-bruissitis*, SR 3968, may be a scribal error for *-brissitis*.

In his preface to the Martyrology of Gorman, p. xxx, Stokes notes among relics of very early syntax 'the occasional position of the noun before the governing verb'. The Martyrology is barren ground for the study of syntax, but the archaism is commoner than he recognized, for he often needlessly assumes relative construction. By the middle of the twelfth century the O.Ir. verbal system had been transformed, and, while dependent forms at the end of a line seem to be the rule, the distinction between absolute and conjunct is obscured. The archaism is a matter of word-order rather than morphology. Sometimes the verb follows even the Mid.Ir. independent pronoun : *a morshlóg mé béraid*,[1] 'its mighty host will bring me', Oct. 31; *Apronián ind fethid*,[2] 'Apronianus watches over us', Feb. 2 ; *Appoloin ind fōred* (sic leg.),[3] 'may Apollonius help us', Ap. 18.

In simple verbs we cannot always be sure that a dependent form is intended, for the difference between absolute and conjunct endings is sometimes very slight, and it tends to disappear in Mid.Ir. Thus in Longes mac nUsnig, IT i. 69, the reading of LL,

> *fri dath snechtai samlamar*
> *sēt a détgni dianim,*

may be an instance of the old construction, but, of course, *samlamar* may be merely Mid.Ir. for the absolute *samlaimmir*.

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[1] Wrongly taken as 2 pl., pp. xxv and xxvii.
[2] *indfethid*, 'bear ye in mind', Stokes, but this is unmetrical.
[3] *ind fored*, 'of the help', Stokes.

In ÄID ii. 10

> *Mōin ōin, ō ba nōid, nī bu nōs ardrīg,*
> <u>*ort rīga* . . . .</u>
> <u>*Lāithe gaile Galiān gabsat inna lāmaib laigne,*</u>

Meyer reads *oirt* and *gabsit*, against the MSS., but it may be that the scribes were right.

In Mid.Ir. verse I have noted

> *Fergus Foga fubaid gail*
> *tiugflaith Ulad i nEmain*
> *cōiced rī dēc dedail dron*
> *gab Emain iar Conchobar,* LL 21 b 13–14.

This looks like an example of the rule; in prose we should expect *gabais*. But just as *gabsit* gives way to *gabsat*, and the latter to *ro gabsat*, these two being used indifferently in verse, it is possible that *gab*, so far from being an archaism, is merely used *metri gratia* for *ro gab*.

In the imperfect of simple verbs dependent construction is marked by the omission of the particle *no*. Examples like these may come under the rule:

> *Bá ó Fothud 'na huthair* [1]   *bertis co hūair dorochair,*
> <div align="right">Fianaigecht 10 § 7.</div>

Meyer translates : ' Men were wont to bear away (gifts) from Fothad (who is now) on his bed of death to the very hour in which he fell.' I think the meaning is : ' From Fothad wounded men were wont to be borne away to the very hour ', &c.; *ind othair bertis = no bertis ind othair.*

> *Issac fri deäd n-aīssi*
> *gleäd gnīma glangaïsse,* SR 2829–30.
> *Ārōn ba amru cech n-ail*
> *saided 'sin tabernacuil,* 4513–4.

In other cases, however, relative construction is implied. At least it seems that in the earlier language forms without *no* do not begin sentences.[2]

When a simple verb stands at the end of a clause, we often

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[1] leg. *ind othair.*
[2] In Hy. ii. 26 *pridchad, baitsed, arniged,* should probably be emended to *pridchid, baitsid, ar-neget.* For *Beired Fainche emnu,* Rawl. 155 b 36, read *Beirid,* &c.

find a suffixed pronoun attached to it, even when the object is already expressed. This is sometimes needed for clearness. A conjunct pret. *gab* would be indistinguishable from the ipv. 2 sg., and *glan* might be an ipv. or an adj. Hence:

libru Solman sexus, LU 818 = RC 20, 254.
tuil a cuirp cuillsius, LU 1044 = RC 20, 276.
Nūadu Fuildon ... dagrīg[a] domuin dōensius, Ä.I.D i. 40.
Longsech fian flaith Goidel gabsus, ii. 10.

In the same way we may explain the use of the pronoun suffixed to the 3 pl. in Im. Br. § 41

Cluche n-óimin n-inmeldag
aigdit fri fín n-imborbag.

If *cluche*[1] is the object, a pronoun referring to it is added to the verb (*aigdit* = *agddait*, *agtait*).

Of special importance is the construction of the interrogative and indefinite pronoun *cia*, *cid*. These are normally found only in the nominative, as predicate with copula expressed or implied; any other verb belongs grammatically to a following relative clause, Thurneysen, Hdb. § 453. But there are traces of an older construction in which the meaning was expressed by a single clause. The pronoun as subject or object, or as predicate with the copula, precedes the verb, and the latter accordingly is in the dependent form.[2]

INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN AS SUBJECT

Cia beir búar o thig Temrach? LL 12 b 46; *cia rét Brega?* LU 9306, for the normal *cia rédes*, cf. *cia suides*, *cia aires* in the following clauses; *cid dernad*, LL 251 a 18; *coich boi*, *coich bía beo?* LU 873 = RC 20, 260.

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[1] Meyer, Contt., takes this as neut., apparently on the strength of this example. Thurneysen and Pedersen also mark it as neut., but without references. Hogan does not mention it in his Irish Neuter Substantives, Todd Lect. IV and VI. I have no examples to establish its gender in O.Ir. If it is masc. here, as usually in the later language, it must be acc. preceding its governing vb., but if Meyer is right it may, of course, be a *nominativus pendens*.

[2] Pedersen, VG ii. 673, puts it differently: the interrogative pronoun acts as a preverb. I treat this as a particular instance of the general rule for verbs preceded by the subject or object.

As Object

Ce róich, Sg. 26 a 11; *cia roich eneclann?* AL iii. 536; *cia roig dire?* Ir. Recht 13, § 14; *cia fairneac?* Ériu xi. 44; *cia acca?* LU 7135, 7157, 7174, &c.; *cid dernais?* LL 251 a 49.

Indefinite

Cia tormala cechtar da lina, AL ii. 342; *cia tormala dia fuillium*, v. 520; *cia tarta . . . cia imarbara*, ii. 350; *cib* (recte *cid*) *dergona daon*, O'D. 2199 = *cid dergoine daon*, O'Dav. 585, 'whatever offence (in the technical sense of *díguin*) a man may have committed'.

The same construction is found with interrogative adverbs.[1]

Cia Ulto ána acca? LL 116 a 11 (here the verb follows its object); *cía deochatar*, LL 290 a 27; *co india* gl. *cia cruth innisfes*, RC 20, 160; *co ecuas, co acci, co bbia*, Meyer, Contt.; *co ellangar*, Bürgschaft, 22, § 65; *cu-du-foirgla, cu-du-len*, &c., ib. 20, § 60.

In some cases these may represent old accusatives.

Pedersen, VG ii. 206, is probably right in deriving the conjunction *cia* from the indefinite pronoun. But as conjunction it has the construction of *má*, with which it is often almost identical in meaning; it lenites[2] and is followed by absolute or deuterotonic forms.[3] I have not found this with *cia* 'whatever'. The phrase *cia beith*, LL 260 a 49 = IT i. 73, 9 is translated 'was auch sein mag', Windisch, Wb. 422; so Pedersen; 'was aber auch werden mag', Thurneysen, Sagen 15, but the context favours the ordinary meaning: '*Biaid olc de*', *ar ind óic*. '*Cia beith, noco bia-so fó mebail céin bemmit-ni i mbethaid*'. Expressed in full the concessive clause would be *cia beith olc de*. Lit. 'There will be evil from it . . . Though there be (evil from it), thou shalt not be in disgrace while we are alive'.

Similarly, Pedersen takes *cia* as the pronoun = quodcumque, 'as long as' in *cia ba beo, bid do precept anme Crist*, Wb.

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[1] Cf. Stokes, KZ 36, 275.

[2] In Mid. Ir. it sometimes nasalizes the copula: *ciambad airc duit*, LL 285 a 6. This is modelled on *diambad*; cf. Early Mod. *gémadh*, TSh.

[3] The prototonic form seems unnatural in *cia ruibdither in flaith*, 'though the lord has been fed (has received food-rent)', O'Dav. 1385; ZCP 15, 248; 16, 212. Read *ci ar-ruibdither*, perfective pres. subj. pass. of *ar-biatha*.

23 b 29. This is unlikely. The natural expression would be *céin ba mbéo*; cf. *céin bas mbéo*, Wb. 10 b 23. Besides, the text on which it comments, *magnificabitur Christus in corpore meo, sive per vitam, sive per mortem*, &c., suggests that we have here the conjunction introducing the first of two alternatives (= *sive*), cf. *ce non molid ce non airid*, Wb. 16 a 1. Again, the idiom in *ge beith d'febas a delba*, Wind. TBC 3500, &c., is also found with the conjunction *má*, *má beth tra do hūaite ind aessa gráid*, Ériu i. 220, see R.I.A. Dictionary, i. 155.

In Bürgschaft, § 59, Thurneysen translates *ci ad·cæstar, cia for curu sen siastar* 'obschon berichtet (ausgesagt) wird, obschon Verträge der Alten (Verstorbenen) betrieben werden'. Similarly, O'Brien, Ériu xi. 155, renders the second clause, 'though contracts of the deceased may have been enforced'. But surely *siastar* is fut. ind., not pf. subj. ? If we take *cia* as 'how ?' the syntax is regular : 'how shall the contracts of the deceased be enforced ? '[1]

In Bürgschaft, § 74 c, he translates *ci·as·comrae* 'was er auch bezahlt hat'. More literally it may be rendered 'although he has paid', referring to the *éraic* just mentioned.

On the other hand *cé roïs al-lechtu*, Fél. Ep. 146, is translated by Stokes 'though thou shouldst repair to their graves', and in his Glossarial Index, p. 358, he takes *roïs* as subj. sg. 2 of *ro-sagim*. But in that case *cé roïs* would mean 'whatever thou mayest reach'. It is, of course, *cé ro-ís*, subj. sg. 2 deut. of *ro-ic*.[2]

One must not deny the possibility of confusion between the various constructions. For occasional relative forms after *cia* 'though', under the influence of the interrogative, see Strachan, ZCP 4, 68, and Thurneysen, Hdb., § 899. In Mid.Ir. the conjunction sometimes takes dependent forms : *cia anam*, 'though

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[1] The opening words of this sentence, *INbat la comorbu cuimne*, cannot be right. Thurneysen emends to *NIbat*, but translates *Ní biat*. O'Brien retains *INbat*, supposing this to be the copula with *in*. In that case we should have *imbat*, and he, too, translates the substantive vb. Read *I mbiat*, 'when heirs have (only) memories'. Or, *I mbaat*, 'when memories die among the heirs' (?).

[2] In the next line he translates the fut. *ní foigbe* 'thou wouldst not find', supposing it to be subj. (p. 331). The real subj. *ní fogbae* would mean 'do not find'.

we remain', TFerbe 829.   Similarly, *cía bé céin co pé rí and*, 'whether a king be there or not', LU 7066＝BDD § 73.   Here the first verb may have been assimilated to the second.   In O.Ir. we should expect *cia beith, ceni bé*, and that such was the original reading is suggested·by the variant *cia beth cen co rab* in Eg.   For the older language the general distinction holds good : *cia* 'though' takes independent forms, *cia* 'whoever, whatever, whither, wherever, how, however' takes dependent forms.

CIA as Predicate

Here the construction is worthy of special investigation, for the archaic syntax has left its trace in the modern language.

Interrogative

Cia taisiu, LU 6307; *cé taísiu*, 6083; *cia taid*, Ériu i. 8, n. 4; *cia bátar do bésa*, Tec. Corm. 7; *cia bátar do gníma*, 8.

Indefinite

The true analysis of the common *cipé*, *cibé*, &c., is not obvious. It is generally explained as the copula *cip, cib* (*cia* with 3 sg. pres. subj.) followed by the pron. *é*, 3 sg. masc.   Atkinson, PH, p. 899 b, in a note on *ci-p ed ní rista a less*, 1520, says : ' This form with *ed* proves that the final *é* in *cipe* is the pronoun.'   As *ní* is neuter the argument is plausible, but further investigation shows that it is inconclusive.   In *ciped mac díb no gabad gasced*, TBC W. 1089, *ed* cannot be neuter agreeing with *mac*.   In *cip e uair*, PH 616, and *cipe conair*, Lism. L. 1119, we should expect a fem. pron.[1]   In Ml 25 d 11 and 12 *cip hé ade asberam, cip e asberam*, we should expect a neut., or possibly in the former a fem. referring to *deacht*.

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[1] For the fem. pron. cf. *cip sí áitt*, Rawl. 127 a 44.   *Cip sí* not followed by a noun occurs in AL 4, 92, *airlim n-ēicne cip sí*, 'trespass (of cattle leaping over a fence) owing to violence, whatever it may be', gl. *cibedh ēigen* .i. *torunn no tene saignēn*, 'whatever might be the violence, i.e. thunder or lightning'.   In the Mid.Ir. *dindṡenchas* of Loch Riach, RC 16, 274 ＝ LL 170 a 24, *Atbertsat cipsi magen i ferfaithe in cath*, 'they asked in what plain (*recte* place) the battle should be delivered', *cipsi* contains the interrogative, not the indefinite, with past ind., not subj.   *cepsi cruth*, BB 22 b 13, is for earlier *cip cruth*.   There is no *cib t* in the later language ; modern dialectal *cébi ＝ cé ar bith* is not confined to the feminine.

When we find *cipé* and *ciped* used before nouns of any gender, the natural explanation is that the second syllable is not a pron. They consist of *cia* with the 3 sg. pres. and past subj.,respectively, of the copula.   There can be no doubt as to the analysis in the two examples in Ml, *cia bé a mmēt adae*, 'whatever be the greatness of that', 61 b 28,[1] and *cia bed a mmet inna fochaide*, 'whatever the greatness of the tribulations might be', 39 a 13.

An interesting example of the ipf. ind. is found in Monast. Tall. 129, 19 '*nicon ibdis bandai cormmai i tir Cualand, cia bīth ara tecmainged doib*, 'they used not to drink a drop of beer in Tir Cualand, whomsoever they might happen to meet', more lit., 'whoever it used to be that they used to meet'.   The omission of *no* marks *bīth* as dependent, just as it does the past subj. *bed*.   Here we have a rare, if not unique, instance of the construction referring to repeated action in past time.   The other countless instances referring to the indefinite future are in pres. or past subj.   If this clause were turned to express the regulation and not the actual result, we should have *cia bed (ciped, &c.) ara tecmoised doib*.

It may be objected that the spelling *ciphé ade*, Ml 25 d 11 and 26 a 1 implies that the scribe was thinking of the pron. *hé*, but elsewhere the latter combines with the anaphoric pron. as (*h*)*éside*, while both *side* and *ade* are found suffixed to verbs. Besides, the Irish scribes were not grammarians.   From their point of view it would be idle to ask whether one should divide *cip é* or *ci bé*, for there is no pause between the words, the two phrases sound exactly alike, and *cia bé* differs only by a slower tempo which leaves the first word unreduced.[2]   Cf. the spelling *rophé* for *ro bé* in LL 285 a 2, *corop th'ainm rophé, a chlerig, fair*; and the variation *ma beith nech bes maith diib . . . manipé* (= *mani bé*) LA 17 a.   In Vita Trip. *cibbe, ciphe*, and even *cidphe*, ZCP 16, 448, represent the same sounds.

The form *cipia* occurs occasionally in Mid.Ir.: *cipia frisa ferthar tnú*, LL 125 b 13; *cipia no chathed*, 166a 43.   This shows the conjunct future *-bia*, confused with the pres. subj.[3]

Cf. *úair nāt ágammar Mac ṅDé, cia bé, ní āgammar ní*, 'whatever it be, we fear nothing', LL 308 b 40.

[2] Modern *cibé*, with the contracted form *pé*, beside *gibé*, like the conjunction *cé* beside *gé*, may be influenced by the interrogative *cé*.

[3] Cf. *dá mbia*, TSh. xx.

Naturally there is no pron. *ia*. And when *cia* is doubled, i.e
cibed chia díb no marbtha, RC 3, 183 = LL 122a 9; *cid bé cia
thú* (var. *cia bé tú*) TTebe 4720, the pronouns *ed* and *é* are
excluded.

In fact, the insertion of a pronoun after the copula is not
essential in O.Ir., even before a definite noun. Thus clauses
like *cip aided admbela* (sic leg.), Cáin Ad. § 42, *cib cenél diaro
scríbad*, Wb. 3 b 20, are normal. So we may construe *ci-ped
mac dib no gabad gasced*, 'whoever the lad might be that should
take arms', and when a verb follows, as in Wb. 12 d 41, *ci-ped
techtas nech*, take the past subj. as more indefinite than the pres.
ci-pé, 'whatever it might be that one possesses'.

In some cases the analysis *cip é* may possibly be right, just as
in *sechiphé dán tra doberthar*, Wb. 13 a 3, the presence of the
pronoun is supported by the parallel *sechib sí fochaid i mbé
nech*, Ml 53 b 1, yet here, too, it is not essential, cf. *sechib grád
i mbether and*, Wb. 10 a 18. An example of the pronoun is
found after the interrogative in Wb. 9 c 24, *hoc .i. opus .i. nibu
chumme díib cebad hé frisa ndénte*, 'it were not the same to
you who he might be to whom you should do it', i.e. 'you
deliberately choose to wrong the brethren'.[1] For examples of
the pronoun after the indefinite see *cebedh si maigen* and
ciabadh hé richt above, p. 154, § 18, 6 and 8.[2]

As the copula is normally proclitic, it is distinguished from
the substantive verb by the usual reduction of proclitics. When
it is stressed, the distinction is only a matter of syntax. Thus
cia bé (*cipé*), *cia bátar*, beside *cip*, *ceptar*, may be compared to
the stressed forms *ol-daas*, *ol-inboi*, *cid druailnide inbes*, &c.
So we may explain *is uera pictura ro bai sin*, ' that was a *uera
pictura*', Thes. Pal. ii. 6, 31, as a more emphatic way of saying

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[1] The translation in Thes. Pal., 'It were not the same for you that ye
should do it to him' is inaccurate; *ce-* is taken as the conjunction, and the
gloss translated as though it were *cid fris dagnethe*. The editors had misread
the lemma *sed uos iniuriam facitis et fraudatis et hoc fratribus* (MS. *fratri*
with *b.* over *-ri*; *fratribus*, Vulg.). Cf. Pedersen, VG ii. 201. For the
idiomatic use of *nibu chumme* cf. *Nír bhó cuma lá haon do na criostuidhibh
... cia haca las a mbeith ball dia bhallaibh*, 'the Christians ... contended
with each other, to see which of them should have one of his limbs', FM
vi. 2370.

[2] Cf. *cipad* < *cia biad*, interrog. with sec. fut. in Wb. 25 b 27, *innani
asbertis cipad a déne ind hesséirgi*, ' of those that used to say (=ask) what
would be the swiftness of the resurrection '.

robo uera pictura sin. Cf. *bá harget a n-as mencu bítis*, LL 201b56.

In Mid.Ir. *cia bé* (*cia bia*) is sometimes found apparently in the sense 'however it be'.

> *Cuailnge, Cualo, Blad, cia bé,* LL 4 a 43.
> *Bladaltach Berba, cia bia,* Rawl. 137 a 38.
> *do-rochair dar bord cia bé,* LL 128 b 37.

In Later Mid.Ir., under the influence of the neut. *cid*, the spelling *cidbe, cidhbe,*[1] becomes common. So often in AL, where the older MSS. (Senchas Már, facs.) have *cipé.* In the N.T. of 1602 the form is *giodh bé,* before plural as well as singular: *giodh bé háit ar bioth an a rachdáoi a sdeach a dtigh,* Mark vi. 11 ; *giodh bé neithe do ní seision,* John v. 19. It is interesting to note that in its latest development, down to the current colloquial *pé,* we still have a relic of a construction that was archaic in the eighth century.

The reason for introducing the meaningless copula in *ceso femmuin mbolgaig mbung,* &c., can only be conjectured. Evidently from the earliest period of which we have any information such conjunctions as *cia, ma, mani, dia n-, co n-,* cannot stand alone ; they must be followed by a verb. In the archaic period the real verb could be separated from them, but then its place was taken by the copula, a temporary substitute, too vague and colourless to affect the syntax. Possibly the idiom started with *ní,* when this had come to mean both 'non' and 'non est'. If we had records dating back to the time of Early Goidelic, we should probably find the simple negative in sentences of the type *ni mmo guin immgabaim,* 'I do not shun my death', LL 119a34, and *ni hollam[ain] n-ard cuicedh nAilella m[a]ic Mata móra,* 'the province of Ailill son of Máta does not magnify the high ollamh', AL iv. 358, ÉRIU i. 213. But without dogmatizing about the syntax of prehistoric Irish we may ask how such sentences were analysed by speakers of O.Ir. Those who follow Pedersen in deriving *ní* in all cases from IE *ne,* the copula being simply omitted when a noun or pronoun follows, may treat these as examples of tmesis, and account for the pro-

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[1] Cf. the past subj. in *cid beadh de folluigius* (sic leg.) AL ii. 72, 16 ; *cid bed bes and,* ITS vi. l. 443 = quidquid id est, Aen. ii. 49.

totonic and conjunct verbs as due to the negative at the head of
the clause. The syntax will be normal, and only the order of
words archaic. Thurneysen's etymology, ÉRIU iii. 19 and Hdb.
152, according to which the simple negative has been blended with
the negative followed by the copula, gives a more satisfactory
explanation of the vocalism of *ní* and of the gemination that
follows. It is to be noted that in this idiom, when there is
a distinct form of the copula, this is regularly inserted, *ceso*,
conid, *comdar*, *diamb*, *mad*, *manib*,[1] and it is reasonable to
assume that had there been a distinct form for the pres. ind. 3 sg.
with neg. it would have been used here. Whatever its origin,
ní h- certainly functions as neg. of *is*, and I see no objection
to the theory that by the archaic O.Ir. period *ní mmo guin
immgabaim* was felt to contain a (meaningless) copula, and I would
include such examples under the rule. If I seem to be arguing
in a circle, explaining *ceso*, &c., by the analogy of *ní h-*, and
taking *ní h-* in this idiom to be a form of the copula, on the
analogy of *ceso*, &c., the fallacy is only apparent. I hold with
Thurneysen that the original simple negative corresponding
with IE *ne*, disappeared, as in most languages; that its place
was taken by a stronger form, originally containing the copula,
which functions as simple negative before verbs, but as nega-
tive + copula before other parts of speech.

It looks as though Stokes, as long ago as 1884, was on the
point of discovering this rule. In RC 6, 281 he says: ' The
acute accent may be placed optionally on the first syllable of
a compound verb, not only when it expresses the relative
without the aid of pronoun or conjunction, but also when it does
not stand in its normal place, viz. at the head of the sentence.'
Similarly, p. 282. Unfortunately his examples were not conclu-
sive; *túatha Hérenn tairchantais*, Hy. ii. 19, need not fall
under the rule, for *tairchantais* could begin a sentence, and so
of all verbs compounded with *to-* followed by a vowel; he had
mistaken the accentuation of *chon-tarchomraic*, *chon-daigi*, *to-
cing*, and taken *chomallfas* for a compound verb. His gravest
error was the assumption that a prototonic form could of itself

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[1] Thurneysen, in his edition of Scéla Mucce Meicc Datho, p. 25, emends
the faulty line *Manip do Chonchobor berthair*: 'Originally perhaps *Mani
Conchobor bera* with poetical division of *mani·bera*.' I would keep *Manip*;
cf. the examples on pp. 198–9, above.

express the relative.[1] Apparently he lost interest in the subject, for *Columb cille congaib* (p. 290) is still misunderstood in his second edition of Félire Oengusso (1905).

There is a different construction in which the verb does not stand at the head of the sentence. I do not refer to cases in which the copula introduces some other part, with emphasis and contrast, the main verb following in a relative clause. This needs no explanation. But equally common at all periods is the placing of the logical subject at the head of the sentence, out of construction, as a *nominativus pendens*; e.g. *ind foisitiu i ngiun imfolngi in duine slán*, 'the confession in the mouth maketh the man sound (or, a sound man)', Wb. 4 d 33 ; *a druid fri Lóegaire tichtu Phatraicc ni cheiltis*, Hy. ii. 21, lit. 'his druids, from Lóegaire, the coming of Patrick, they used not to hide it'. Such a nom. may refer to a gen. in the following clause, as in the modern *duine gan stór ní mór a charaid san tsaoghal.*

O'Donovan writes in his Grammar (1845), p. 361 : 'In poetry, or poetical prose, the natural order of sentences is sometimes inverted, and the nominative case placed before the verb.' He cites, in a modern version, part of a poem ascribed to Torna Éigeas :

> *Eire, Fodhla,*[2] *ocus Banba,*
> *Trí h-óg-mhná áilne amhra,*
> *Táid*[3] *i g-Cruachain*, &c.

and a quatrain by Tadhg mac Dáire, ending

> *Diombuadh catha, gairbh-shíon, goid,*
> *Tré ainbhfí[o]r flatha fásoid.*

But these are simply examples of the common construction with *nominativus pendens*, already referred to on p. 357 of the Grammar : ' But, according to the genius of the language, when

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[1] For sporadic instances of prototonic forms in relative clauses see Pedersen VG. ii. 248. But *is hed foirfea*, Wb. 11 d 3 is regular ; deut. *fo-irfea = fo-firfea* ; cf. non-rel. *fo-firfe*, ZCP iv. 44, 24.

[2] recte *Fódla.*

[3] *Ataid*, Tribes and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach, p. 28. The Mid.Ir. version of this quatrain, LU 2827–30, is

> *Eriu 7 Fotla is Banba*
> *tri ócmná aile amra*
> *céin cor chaithsetar a feib*
> *is i in Cruachu nodas ceil.*

the noun is placed before the verb, it does not immediately connect with the verb, but rather stands in an absolute state.' O'Donovan, like other scholars of his time, apparently regards grammar as a branch of logic and philosophy, and he adds, quite unconscious of the fallacy: 'such construction, though unquestionably faulty, is often adopted by the best Irish writers for the sake of emphasis. . . . Sentences so constructed cannot be considered grammatically correct, unless we suppose a sudden interruption of the sentence, and, after that, an abrupt renewal of it; or unless we suppose some word equivalent to the English *as to*, or the Latin *quoad*, or *secundum*, to be understood.'

By grammatically correct O'Donovan, no doubt, understood correct according to the standard of Latin literature, and of the literatures modelled on it. Such constructions are common everywhere in speech. That they are freely used in Irish prose and poetry has been attributed by Pokorny, ZCP 16, 385, to the influence of a non-Indo-European substratum in Ireland. The suppressed premiss in this argument is that IE was a literary language, like that elaborated in the Greek and Roman schools of rhetoric. It seems more reasonable to suppose that in this respect the written language in Ireland kept closer to the speech.

To return to the archaic idiom: the numerous parallels to *ceso femmuin mbolgaig mbung* given above suggest that the normal order, *sligid Níall slógu*, has replaced an earlier *Níall slógu slig* (or *sligthius*). The use of dependent forms in the earlier type supports Pedersen's explanation of the absolute verbal endings as formed from the older conjunct endings by means of suffixed pronouns. As in Welsh also the verb normally stands at the head of its clause, and Old Welsh has traces of a distinction between absolute and conjunct endings, the origin of the new order and construction, to borrow Thurneysen's words, Ériu iii. 19, on another phenomenon common to the Celtic of Britain and Ireland, ' dates back to a time of which we have no information '.

<div align="right">OSBORN BERGIN.</div>

VARIA I

1. Welsh lluched and toreth

For *lluched* Ascoli, Gloss. 176, postulates LOUCSET-; Pedersen, VG ii. 37, prefers **leuqs-i-tā*; Walde-Pokorny, 410, **louk-s-itā*. But these are at best only figments. In etymology preference should be given to real words. I suggest that *lluched* comes from O.Ir. *lóchet* 'lightning', ZCP v. 20, later *lúachet*, *lúachat*, LU 7420, 2422; cf. the adj., dat. *luaichtidiu* gl. *fulgida*, Ml 40 d 4. The word is also found in Corn., *luhet*, later *luhes*, and in Bret., *luc'hed*, but there is no reason why it should not be an old loan-word in Brythonic.

In Arch. Camb. 1895 (cited in RC 17, 104) Rhys derives *toraeth* from O.Ir. *toracht* 'success'. But the true form is *toreth*, and this can only come from archaic O.Ir. **toreth* 'produce, fruit', of which the etymology is clear. It is true that the nom. sg. in the O.Ir. glosses is *torad*, but where syncope has taken place, as in nom. pl. *toirthi*, and in the adj. *toirthech*, the voiceless spirant remains, while the *o* and the palatal group *-rth-* point to the lost *e*. Cf. the development of *tocad*, Early Mod.Ir. *tagadh*, IGT ii, § 17, but adj. Mid.Ir. *toicthech*. Here the archaic *toceth* is quotable, ZCP iii. 52. We may safely assume that **toreth* was the seventh-century form of *torad*.

2. O.Ir. ecguth

In LL 123 a 10, in a passage of archaic 'rhetoric', are the words *tria chumachta naterglond. nadecguth. naderbur.* The first and last verbs, *naterglond = nad ērglunn (ess-ro-gliunn)* and *nad ērbur (ess-ro-biur)*, are evidently 1 sg. pres. ind. with *ro* of possibility. The second (*nad*) *-ecguth* must be similar. I take it to be a mistake for *-ēcgut = éciut (en-co-fiut)* prot. 1 sg. of *ad·fét*, *in·fét*, with infixed *co*; cf. the corresponding subj. *-ēcius*, LU 5769 = *-ēiges* TBC (YBL) 1299. The meaning of the phrase is, 'through His power [1] which I cannot search out, which I cannot tell, which I cannot say'.

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[1] Or 'through power', with Mid.Ir. *tria = tri*.

3. Mid.Ir. **fáid**, ' prophet '

This form, Mod.Ir. *fáidh*, is found from the Early Mid.Ir. period : *fáid*, LL 7 a 1, 18 a 14 ; np. *fáde*, LU 1990 (M), *fádi* LL 91 b 44 = TBC 4545 ; gs. *fáda*, LL 8 b 51, &c. It finally prevails, though the variants *fáith* and *fáidh* are allowed in verse ; cf. IGT ii, § 112, *fáithi* (: *táithi*) ex. 1842.

The voicing of -*th* after an accented vowel must be analogical. I take it to be influenced by the *nomina agentis* in -*id*, *fisid*, *gessid*, &c. Zeuss-Ebel 792 and 836 equates this -*id* with Welsh -*ydd*, and Pedersen, VG i. 23 and ii. 17 holds that the Irish suffix is borrowed from Welsh. But this view fails to account for the frequent spelling -*ith*, *fissith*, Sg. 52 a 2, 90 a 8 ; *anmnith*, Thes. ii. 232, 12 ; *múntith*, Wb. 1 d 11, &c., and also for the apparent lack of syncope that always marks these nouns in gs. and pl., *cimbetho* ZCP 8, 306, 29 ; *cimbidi*, Thes. i. 498, 35. Thurneysen's identification of -*id*, -*ith*, with Welsh -*iat* (now -*iad*) < *i̯ati̯*-, Hdb. § 267, accounts for all the forms.

4. **berr**, ' short '

In addition to the example cited by O'Brien, ÉRIU xi. 89, the word is found as an epithet in the genealogies : *Lugaid berr*, LL 324 b 42 = *Lugberr* BB 143 f 47. It occurs also as a proper name, doubtless hypocoristic : *Berr*, Mart. Tall., Dec. 21 ; *Berrān*, July 11 ; cf. the sept *Huí Berráin*, Rawl. 119 b 46, LL 312 c 7.

5. **aurfaomaidsi**

This occurs in a gloss in O'Mulc. 327 : *mad ed do claind nama doruaraid ann ingen aurfaomaidsi gnima a fir*. Stokes, Arch. i. 233, regards the word as ' unmistakeably Middle-Irish '. MacNeill, ÉRIU xi. 115, calls it a scribal modernization of *arfóimi*, though what the 2 sg. pres. ind. is doing here he does not say. Apart from the spelling the gloss is O.Ir. *aurfaoma(i)dsi* is 3 sg. ipv. of *ar-fóim*, with emph. pron. 3 sg. f. ; cf. the 2 sg. *aurfóim-siu*, LL 249 a 38 = TBF 118. In Wb. 6 d 4 it is written *íroimed* (mark of length probably intended for the second syllable) with palatal -*m*- ; cf. the variant quality in the subj. *arna arroímat*, Wb. 14 d 37 and *maní eroimet*, Ml. 30 d 13. Read : *mad ed do chlaind nammá do-ruair and ingen, aurfói-mad-si gnímu fir*, ' if the only child remaining be a daughter, let her accept the duties of a man '.

The lemma is obscure. Meyer, Wortkunde, 181, reading *Diam dēistenaib athar āendān arafen fergnīma*, translates tentatively: ' Wenn bei den nachgelassenen Kindern eines Vaters Eine Kunst sich erhalten hat, welche männliche Ausübung ausschliesst.' But there is nothing in the original to correspond with ' sich erhalten hat ' ; *Diam* contains a mere copula, and the real verb of the protasis has apparently dropped out.

6. lie, lia, ' stone '

Windisch, Atkinson, and others confuse this with *lecc*, ' flag-stone '. Pedersen, VG ii. 100, distinguishes the two words, but adds erroneously that they must have sounded alike in the ap. *lecca*. The *cc* of *lecc*, < *kk*, cf. W. *llech*, is still voiceless in Mod.Ir. *leac*. The *c* < *nk* of gs. *liac*, etc., was voiced, and often in Mid.Ir., always in Mod.Ir., it is written *g*. The spelling *legga* in LL 227 a 33, indicates the sound unmistakably ; *ropa lassamna lánálli na llegga dara línait na laechdorais* = TTroi 741–2, where Stokes mistranslates ' blazing and beautiful were the flags wherewith the hero-gateways were filled '. The reference is to the precious stones with which the gates were inlaid. In AL v. 450 *tri leaca robaid* is translated ' three durable rocks ', and is cited in the Glossary under *lec*, ' stone '. But *lec* does not mean ' rock ', and *robaid*, despite the gloss *robuana*, is gs. of *robad*, ' warning '. *leaca* here like *legga* above is ap. used as np. of *lia*. Similarly *i lecaib*, translated ' in inscriptions ' 1, 38, does not belong to *lec* ; inscriptions were cut on the edges of upright stones, not on flagstones. For examples with *g* in AL, as. and ds. *līg*, gp. *liag*, see Glossary. Cf. as. *lig*, TBC 5530 (St.), gs. or gp. *Bellum Achaid Liag*, AU 775.

When *liac* (*liag*) became monosyllabic, the two stems *liac-* (*liag-*) and *lec-* (*leg-*) were declined independently. Thus, on the one hand the analogy of the gp. *liac* (*liag*) gives nap. *liaga lóghmhara*, TSh. 9455, dp. *liagaib* CCath. 3150, and ns. *Líag Buidhe meic Muiredha*, RC 15, 292 = BB 354 a 48. On the other hand forms such as *legga* above, *lega lógmara*, PH 4873, and dp. *lecaib* (= *legaibh*), give rise to a gp. *na leag*, Ó Heodhasa, Teag. Cr. 3. In the sense of ' precious stone ' the ns. is *leag*, declined as a fem. *a*-stem, IGT ii, § 39. This must be old, to judge by *órlec: Crónbec*, Gorm. Ap. 6 ; cf. *findlec*, conso-

nating with *cobrat*, May 11, *cóemlec* with *álmeit,* Jul. 3, *mórlec* with *riarmait*, Jan. 10.

7. ríge

This old neuter becomes feminine in Mid.Ir.: *ērmach rīghe roghlaine* (sic leg.), FM ii. 572 = TFrag. 222 ; *maidm na ríge ar cind in meóir*, LL 146 b 37 ; *cáir oirchill na ríghi riamh*, Sc. Gael. Studies iv. 138. In the vocabulary to Stories from Keating's History of Ireland, third edition, I have wrongly marked *ríghe* as masculine.

8. Saiglenn

This name, found only in the gen., ÉRIU xi. 107–8, may be cognate with the Gaulish *Sagillius, Sagillus, Sagillia,* Meyer, Wortk., § 24. Cf. the varying suffixes in *Magalos, Magilos, Magilius, Magillius,* and *Magilo,* Holder, Altcelt. Sprachschatz. *Saiglenn* would develop regularly from **Sagilonos,* gen. of a hypocoristic **Sagilō.*

9. féulae

Among the fem. *i*-stems with gs. in -*e*, ZCP 16, 278, Thurneysen includes *féuil.* But *féulae* is more likely to be gp.: *erbert biuth m'eulae,* gl. *ut edant carnes meas,* Ml. 47 c 4 ; *todlugud inna feulae,* 97 c 10 (' pl. vel sg.' Ascoli, 303). The plural often occurs : *bit líb na feola,* Rule of Tall. 66, 8 ; *co caithdís feola mucc,* PH 6569 ; *in toméla na fcola-sa,* 6579 ; *im thomailt na fheoland,* 6547 ; cf. IGT ii, § 149.

10. Lenition after nom. sg. masc.

This has been noted for *Cú* in proper names, *Cú Chulainn, Cú Chalma, Cú Chríche,* &c. Original vocalic ending is so rare in masc. nouns that *cú* became associated with the *ā*-stems, which regularly lenite, and changed its gender. It is always fem. in Mod.Ir., at least in some dialects. An early instance is the acc. *coin móir* LU 5702 = TBC (Str. O'K) 1229.

Lenition is also found after a number of hypocoristic forms with *Mo* in Rawl. B. 502.

Mo Chua chain	93 b 44	*Mo Lasse chrotta*	93 d 42
chairem	45	*chraebi*	93 e 3
chael	50	*Mo Chumma chredal*	93 f 9
choel	93 c 19	*cherr*	15
find	35	*chadain*	16
Mo Lua chairp-[1]	93 d 3	*chuarain*	17
chraibdech	4	*chonoc*	19
chlam	10	*Mo Chonna choicc*	43
chroibe	20	*chressen*	50
		thulach	51

In the corresponding lists in LL 367–8 and BB 227–8 the lenition is often, though not always, marked. Other examples are *Mo Bí chlarainech*, AI 10 b 35 (and Fél. 222 z, with wrong punctuation): *Mo Cholla chaemh chruthgel*, Gorm. March 23 ; *Mo Chua chaerem*, June 3.

11. fetar

In answering questions where we expect dependent forms (Pedersen, VG ii. 249, 7), it seems that this verb does not require the preverb *ro*. Cf. *in fetarsu ... Fetar*, RC 26, 48–50 = Rawl. 112 a 28. In his edition of Aislinge Óenguso, § 8, F. Shaw reads: ' *Cuich ind ingen sa, a Buidb ?*' ol Óengus. '*Ro-fetar écin*', ol Bodb. Here I think *ro-fetar* is a needless emendation of the MS. *fetar*.

Similarly, we find: *In āigther éc, a Bren*ainn? ... *Āgur ém, ar Br*enainn, LL 371 a 11. Otherwise in absolute construction the verb is *ad-águr*.

12. águr

There is another use of *águr* in ÉRIU i. 68 :
<p style="text-align:center">águr, áigde Fiada fó.</p>

Meyer translates, ' *I* dread, dread *thou* the good God ', taking *águr* as 1 sg. pres. ind. This would be possible (for *ad-águr*) in Mid.Ir., but here I think it is 1 sg. ipv. ' let me dread '. In the 1 sg. and pl. the ipv. has the form of the dependent ind., conj. in simple verbs and prot. in compounds. Cf. the common

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[1] corp- LL 367 g 53, cairpreach BB 227 d 41.

tíag, and *fuircim*, ' let me find ', Bürgschaft, § 44. The 1 pl. ipv. of *ad-ágathar* is found in

> *nā hágumar olc nā hág*, LL 308 b 17,

and

> *nā hágam[ar]· úath nā héc*, ib. 38.

O'Grady, SG i. 389–80 wilfully alters to

> *ná hágam olc iná hág*,

and

> *ná hágamne uath ná héc.*

13. anocht

This word appears in lists of faults to be avoided by poets. The lists are not methodically arranged. Some of the faults are metrical, others grammatical, others merely breaches of conventional etiquette. Besides being a general term, *anocht* came to be used as the name of a particular fault ; cf. *anuchd* IGT i. 2, 29. It was natural that the word should be associated with *nocht* ' bare '. In Aur. 5230–1 the couplet

> *Torc atchiu argair gabair*
> *fiu Corc no Lorc no Lugaidh*

is given as an example, and the commentator remarks that *argair* has nothing to correspond with it, so that it is bare (*nocht*). Thurneysen, ZCP 17, 291, takes this to refer to a grammatical error, the commentator wrongly supposing *gabair* to be nom. sg. I think it is a metrical fault. In H 1. 15 (T.C.D), 636–40, there is a copy of an Early Mod. tract on *lochda*. As an example of *anochd* is given

> *Nocho ghabham ar mo ghol*
> *ón ló nach marann Murchadh.*

The fault here is that, while *marann* : *ghabham*, *ló* is left without a rime. So in the couplet from Aur. above, *torc* : *Corc* and *Lorc*, *atchiu* : *fiu*, but *argair* is left ' bare '.

14. foilge

In TBC, LU 5769 and Y 1299, Nad Crantail says to Cú Chulainn : *Tiagasa (Tiagso) co n-ēcius dóib a fil lim di foilgib (do foilgib)*. Strachan, GJ 167, 604, took the last word as dpl. of *folach*, ' hiding, hidden treasure ', comparing *is ann adfead dí cach folach forfolaich dia tharbugud in maic*, BB 260 a 26.

Thurneysen, Held. 160, renders it 'Armringe' (bracelets). The declension of O.Ir. *foil*, 'armillam', Sg. 64 a 17 is uncertain. In Mid.Ir. it is a guttural stem, np. *failge* LU 7635 (H), gs. *falach*, AL (Comm.), so that *foilgib* or *failgib* is a possible dpl. of *foil*, *fail*. But is Strachan's interpretation to be rejected?

In Imm. in dá Thuarad, RC 26, 46, § 234, is the passage *frithi cen torbai, foilge cen moene, mormathi cen doene*, which Stokes translates: 'Estrays without profit: hiding-places without treasures: great goods without men (to consume them).' Stokes omits the gloss on the second clause *.i. cen a moinigud do neoch na foluch*, Rawl. B. 502, 111 b 33, lit. 'without his enrichment for any one in their concealment', that is, no one will grow rich by hiding treasures, for his cache will be robbed. The glossator evidently connects *foilge* with *folach*, and indeed 'bracelets without treasures' would make little or no sense. The phrase *foilge cen moene*, together with the citation from BB, seems to me decidedly in favour of Strachan's interpretation.

Examples are lacking to show the gender and declension of *folach*, 'hiding', in O.Ir. It was probably one of the neut. *o*-stems which have heteroclite plurals (*s*-stems), Thurneysen, Hdb., § 279; Pedersen, VG. ii. 95. Some of these may be old, others analogical formations. The other *folach*, v.n. of *fo-loing* is apparently neut.,[1] like *combach*, *cumtach*, &c. The archaic form of this is *folog*, Wb. 17 b 23 (*a prima manu*), cf. *folag*, O'Mulc., but as early as Wb. it had been assimilated to the verb *fo-loing*, thus conveniently distinguishing *fulang*, 'support', from *folach*, 'concealment'.

Possibly the two words were at one time identical. Pedersen connects *fo-loing, im-folngi, fo-lugi*, and *do-lugi* with *laigid*, 'lies' (**legh-*), suggesting that perhaps *do-lugi* is connected with *legaid*, 'melts' (**leg-*). Hessen, ZCP 9, 46-7, brings the first two from **leug-*. Semantically it is easy to associate the notion of 'laying (lying) down (under)' with those of 'concealing' and 'supporting', so that one can see how *folog, folach* could function as v.n. both of *fo-lugi* and *fo-loing*, though in time it was found necessary to make a formal distinction in the noun as well as in the verb. At all events I would postulate a neut. sg. **uo-logo-n* (< **upo-logho-m*) > *folach*, 'hiding, hiding-place', with

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[1] Examples with nasalization, *folach n-othrusa*, occur only in the acc.

a pl.* *ụo-legesa* > *foilge*. The *s*-stem in the pl. would naturally have the *e*-grade of the root, like Gk. λέχος, pl. λέχεα.

As etymologists have busied themselves with the relation of these words and their cognates (W. *golo,* 'burial' = Ir. *folach,* and so on), I may add a further suggestion. Sk. *rahas* 'solitariness, secrecy', is brought by Walde-Pokorny from IE *reĝhos*, with no European cognates. As Sk. *r* is ambiguous, why should it not come from *leĝhos* = Gk. λέχος? The leading notion of λέχος is 'lying down', while in the cognate λόχος 'ambush', differing in ablaut and suffix, the leading notion is 'hiding', 'secrecy'. But this notion belongs to the former also; λέχος is opposed to publicity; cf. Eng. 'retire' = 'go to bed'. So Sk. *rahita-,* 'abandoned' = *loghito-,* 'laid aside'. If this etymology is not convincing, at least it is as good as the great mass of etymologies.

15. fo-retar

In VG ii. 676 Pedersen takes this to be a compound of *finn-* with *fo-ro-,* 'to know something that should be secret or is hard to discover'. His examples are:

(1) *forfetarsa in lín dochuatar sechund na sluaig,* TBC 657.

(2) *foritir cach anglicu t'echrad,* LU 8491 (H).

(3) *foretammarni conid áen di chardib sidchairechta dos-fanic,* LU 8553 (H).

(4) *foretatarsom in t-imned mór anam-uil-sea,* TBC 2461 ; cf. LU 6301.

Other instances are:

(5) *Tainic rath forettarsa . orm o righ na ruaime,* Anecd. ii. 20.

(6) *Forfetamairne sin,* RC 21, 318, § 44.

(7) *forfetar co fil fodord mor ⁊ inntlecht ocna Iudaidib fritt,* LB 146 c 15.

(8) '*Forfinnfat*' *ol Finn,* RC 5, 203, § 27.

None of these occurs in an O.Ir. text. (2) and (3) in LU are in the hand of the interpolator, probably thirteenth century. (4) is in the late section of TBC (*In carpat serda*). (2), so far from connoting secrecy or difficulty, describes a matter alleged

to be of common knowledge: *forɪtir cāch*, 'every one knows', and the same may be said of (7). As for (8) from the Late Mid.Ir. Macgnímartha Find, it does not support Pedersen's theory. The youth asks Fiacuil to let him go with him. '"I do not wish thee to go with me," says Fiacuil, "lest thy strength should fail thee." "I shall find out," says Finn'—translation by Meyer, ÉRIU i. 189. Though (1) refers to a problem difficult for ordinary people (but not for Cú Chulainn, cf. the corresponding passage in LU 4790) there is, we shall see, no need to postulate a special verbal compound here.

Whatever be the etymology of *forus*, which Pedersen connects with *fo-retar*, when the word is applied figuratively to knowledge it does not connote secrecy or difficulty: *is cian o tá hi fís 7 hi forus*, LU 1811 (H). For the meaning of *forus* in the Laws, and the phrase *ailid fir foirrse*, mistranslated by the editors, see Thurneysen, ZCP 16, 270. For other meanings see Gwynn, Misc. K. Meyer, 183. *Forus*, a much older word than *fo-retar*, is apparently a neut. *u*-stem like *dorus*. In Wb. 15 d 34 it has been mistranslated. The text has *in scientia (.i. spiritalium mistiriorum)*, and on the next line *in longanimitate (.i. í forus cen oclatid)*. Zeuss-Ebel 257 translates '*in explanatione sine amaritudine*', Stokes and Strachan 'in knowledge without pride (?)'. But the second gloss has nothing to do with *in scientia*. The meaning probably is 'in firmness without boldness'.

The true explanation of *fo-retar* is not far to seek. It is a Mid.Ir. transformation of *ro-fetar*, which came into existence when the O.Ir. verbal system was breaking down, and compound verbs had *ro* sometimes infixed and sometimes prefixed. To find *-fetar* treated as a compound, and *ro* infixed (*fo-r-etar*), is not more surprising than to find *ro* infixed in denominative verbs: *do-r-ígal = ro dígal*, AU 941, *fo-r-othaig* by *ro fothaig*, &c. Trip. (see ZCP 16, 70).

16. tráchtaim

According to Pedersen, VG i. 229, the *ā* of Mod.Ir. *tráchtaim* is probably due to the medieval school pronunciation of Latin, for O.Ir. *trachtaim* shows no trace of the original long vowel of *trāctō*. But was the *a* really short in O.Ir.? Cf. *tráctad*, Sg. 4 b 11; *attráchtad*, 189 a 8; *tráctairecht*, 145 a 4.

17. dardaín

The statement in R.I.A. Dictionary, Fasc. I, col. 102, that 'the
accent falls on the ultimate' is correct, but the example given,
from RC 20, 164, is inconclusive:

> *Teged Colomb cundil cáin.*
> *i teg a Ríg cech dardain.*
> *glacc tonngel ic tescad moṅg.*
> *mac ochta in Choimded Colomb.*

There is nothing in the metre against stressing the penulti-
mate in the second line, in fact the rime between stressed and
unstressed syllables is the normal usage in *debide*.

A better example would be the following from LB 262 b 26:

> *Sarial aingel uaimm*
> *co daingen im dáil*
> *dom dín cech dardaīn*
> *ar cech ngním co ngráin.*[1]

Here a monosyllabic ending *-daín* is required, consonating
with *uaimm*, *dáil*, *gráin*.

In a grammatical tract in 24. P. 8, p. 209, a couplet is cited to
show that both elements may be stressed—

> *Beag nar an an áoine féin*
> *ina féil cháoine ōn dar-dáoin.*

in which *dar* rimes with *an* and alliterates with *dáoin*.

Eochaid Ua Floind uses the longer form *dar-daíne*, BB
36 b 40:

> *Seachtmadh dĕg dia dar-daīne*
> *do-frīth fechtmadh fear Fēne*
> *gabsad i tallaind tīre*
> *i calaind Maī mís grēne.*

Here *-daīne* consonates with *Fēne*, *tīre*, and *gréne*.

18. Augaine

This name, Mid.Ir. *Ūgaine* (: *clūmhaighc*, BB 37 a 55) seems to
be the Irish equivalent, whether cognate or borrowed from
British, of Welsh *Owein*, earlier *Ywein*, *Eugein*, *Ougen*, Loth,
Mab. ii. Pedersen, i. 73 and 212, and J. M. Jones, Gram. 102,
equate *Owein* with Ir. *Eogan*, and both with Gk. Εὐγένιος.

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[1] co gráin, *wrongly, Misc. K. Meyer*, 255, § 12.

Owein and *Eogan* sound somewhat alike in the modern pro-
nunciation, the latter being reduced to *ōn*, and often made *Owen*
in English, but *Eogan* is an *o*-stem, and the earlier forms
Eugen, *Iogen*, and Og. gen. *Ivageni*, from *iva-*, ' yew ', show
that it is of different origin.

19. The Imperfect Indicative of the Copula

Strachan in his paper on the Substantive Verb in the Old-
Irish Glosses, Phil. Soc. Trans., 1899, p. 33, notes that there are
no specifically imperfect forms of the copula. This is true of the
Glosses. There are none in VT, K. Mulchrone, ZCP 16, 450,
§235; none in PH (of Atkinson's eight instances of the ' secondary
present ', p. 900b, seven are past subjunctive, ' shortened into
(*p*)*tís* ', not for *co mbitis* but for *co mbetis*, and one is secondary
future), and Ó Máille, ÉRIU vi, has none from AS. The reason
why a proclitic form corresponding to *-bíth* of the substantive
verb went out of use is clear ; it would have been indistinguish-
able from *bid*, the future corresponding to *bieid*, and easily con-
fused with the secondary future and past subjunctive forms
corresponding to *-biad* and *-beth* (*-bed*).

There are, however, in Mid.Ir. a few examples of the 3 pl.
ipf., which may have survived from proclitic forms of *-bítis*.
Atrian rocharsa[t] Coinculainn batís (d)aill[1] *cotacallaim*,[2]
*atrian rocharsat Conall Cernach batis clóin cotacallaim, atrian
rocharsat Cuscraid batis guit cotacallaim*, RC 8, 60 = LL 117 a
7–10. Stokes translates ' they used to be blind ' (*recte*, ' one-
eyed ') . . . ' used to be cross-eyed . . . used to be dumb ' (*recte*,
' stammering ').

> *Mīle Fomoir fortrēn*
>   ' *na longport for leith,*
> *Cīgloisti 'na comair,*
>   *nībtis omain neich*, ZCP 3, 38, § 6.

I take the last line to mean ' they used not to fear any man '
(*omain*, predicative gen.), though formally it might be 2 fut.,
' they would not fear '. In PH 1786, *co tíbred aingliu condai i
m'agaid-si, 7 ni-bdís aingil diada*, both verbs are 2 fut., the ipf.
would give no sense.[3] The last clause can only mean ' and they

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[1] guill LL.   [2] On this form see Thurneysen, ZCP 8, 76.
[3] Ó Máille classifies the verb correctly, but prints *nibdais* with wrong
reference, ÉRIU vi. 18.

would not be angels of God '. Atkinson omits 7, and translates
ni-bdís as though it were *níptar*, 'They were not angels
of God '.

intan batis mesca, RC 25, 30, § 15 = Rawl. B. 502, 134 a 44,
LL 271 a 42, may be ipf. ind„ but the verb may be past subj. ;
cf. Strachan, Subjunctive Mood, § 54, Trans. Phil. Soc., 1897.

There are plenty of examples of *comtis* (*comtís*) as past subj. ;
I have noted only two instances of the ind. corresponding to *co
mbítis*: *Daíg dabertis Tuatha De Danand lubi 7 lossa ícce 7
slansen for glassib 7 aibnib crichi Conailli Murthemne, do
fortacht 7 do forithin Conculaind, comtís brecca barruani na
srotha díb*, TBC 4210–13. After the ipf. *dabertis* in the first
clause, the last must mean 'so that the streams used to be
speckled and green-surfaced from them '. The same argument
applies to *Imrethitis a da thraigid 7 a n-adbrond comtís
luathidir ruathar funemda*, ÉRIU iv. 30, 2 = LL 107 a 34.
The ambiguous form is replaced by the stressed *co mbítis*
(= ipf. ind. 3 pl. of the substantive verb) in TBC (Y) 502; cf.
LU 4991, Eg. ZCP 9, 133, 31.

In TTebe there are twelve instances of *comtis*, *comdis*, or
comdais, indexed as ipf. subj., but most if not all of them are
ind., e.g. *frecrais 7 frithailis int arnaid Ampiaraus iat o
brathbuillib mera mileta comtis fadba fiarletairthe cuirp
chaema chnesgela na curad*, 2883 ; *atconairc-si altoir* (sic)
Dean, comdis fliuch (sic leg.) *iad do deraib, 7 rouai aga
[n]glanadh*, 3711, = Theb. ix. 635–6, Dixit, fletuque soluto,
Adspicit et niveae saxum maduisse Dianae. As they appear in
dependent clauses after preterites, they may be taken as false
archaisms for *comtar*.

20. Hembae ?

In the O.Ir. poem on Colum Cille published by Meyer in
ZCP 8, 197–8, the last couplet has *cléirech neamba* (: *buadhach
tenga*). Meyer emends to *nemdae*, and, as the lines are connec-
ted throughout by alliteration, says that *imbed*, the first word of
the last line, should be a word beginning with *n*. But *nemdae*
and *tenga*(*e*), in modern spelling *neamhdha* and *teanga*, cannot
rime. *neamba* may be miswritten for *heamba*. Can *Hembae*
(: *tengae*) be the name of the island called Hinba (v.l. Himba) by
Adamnán ? This would give the required alliteration with *imbed*.

21. O.Ir. téit

Early attempts to explain this as a compound are rightly rejected by Sarauw, Irske Studier, pp. 94–5. It is, as he shows, a simple verb. He holds the root to be different from that of *tíagu*, but confesses that he has not the least idea what its origin is.

Thurneysen, Hdb., p. 447, thinks of a possible connexion with *fedith*, suggesting that **féit* may have been transformed to *téit* under the influence of *tíagu*, but he admits that it is uncertain whether *fedith* could regularly contract to **féit* (with *t = d*).

Pedersen, VG ii. 647, maintains that *téit*, modern *téid*, comes from **tégid*, originally the proclitic form before adverbs such as *immach*. The explanation is unconvincing. No evidence is adduced to show that the verb was proclitic in the 3 sg., and the treatment of the final *d*, or rather *th*, for the archaic form should be **tégith*, is unparalleled. Also the conj. *-tét* is left unexplained.

If we accept the doctrine of two roots in the pres. ind., and bring the 3 sg. from *ten*, 'stretch', the phonetic development is regular. Athematic *ten* with secondary ending would give conj. *tét* < **ten-t*, and abs. *téit* < **tent is*; cf. VG ii. 343.

There is, however, an objection to postulating such a form in the present tense, for the root is aoristic, and the present is elsewhere formed by special suffixes: Gk. τείνω (= **tenįō*) τανύω (**τάνῡμι, cf. athematic τάννυται = Sk. *tanuté*); Sk. *tanoti*; with reduplication Gk. τιταίνω; cf. Lat. *teneo* and *tendo*. If such was the case in Celtic there is no objection to taking *téit* as an old root aorist. In narrative the historic pres. *téit* and the pret. *luid* are used almost indiscriminately.[1] If *téit* was originally a pret. the forms abs. *téit*, rel. *téte*, conj. *-tét* would be parallel to *birt*, *bert(a)e*, *-bert*. The conj., which is the oldest form,

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[1] The hist. pres. is, I think, not used after *ní* or *co n-*. Cf. the two constructions in the LU version of TBC: (a) *téit ass 7 berid*, 5416; *fónérig ... 7 be(n)naid*, 4939; *dolluid ... 7 be(n)naid*, 5148; *gontai 7 be(n)aid*, 5268; but (b) *téit ... 7 ni fuaratar*, 5097; *bentai ... 7 ni forbai*, 5675; *focheird ... 7 ni airigestár*, 5749; (c) *lécid ... co mbert*, 5242; *lingid ... co mbi*, 5776–9; *tíagait co rrancatár*, 5101. Hence *légid ... co lluid*, 5766; *gaibthi dó co lluid*, 6235; *doberat ... co llotár*, 5310. In the tract on verbs in H 2, 17, C. I. 3, and E. IV. 1, to the neg. (*diúltad*) of the pres., *ni thabair, ni théid*, &c., the neg. of the past, *ni thuc, ni deachaid*, is regularly added as *diúltad célle*. Cf. Strachan, Subj. Mood, § 12.

would be the O.Ir. equivalent to Vedic *átan* (**e-ten-t*). Hitherto
no instance of a *t*-preterite from roots in -*n* has been recognized
(Thurneysen, KZ 37, 111).

The same root is found in the pres. ind. 2 pl. in the compound
for-téit, Wb. 14 c 3 ; the simplex does not occur. It is also
found in the ipv. 3 sg. *tét*, and 2 pl. in the compound *tait*[1]
(< **to-téit*). These forms are quite isolated in the language.
They may be survivals, ipv. 3 sg. from IE injunctive **ten-t*,[2]
and 2 pl. ind. and ipv. from **ten-te* or **tn̥-te*. The ipv. 3 sg.[3]
would be supported by the ind. 3 sg. conj. -*tét*, for *tíag*, *tíagam*,
and *tíagat* are all both conj. ind. and ipv. ; 2 pl. ind. -*téit* and ipv.
*téit by the analogy of the regular verb, in which the 3 sg. pres.
ind. abs., *berid*, *benaid*, &c. is identical in form with the 2 pl.
conj. and the 2 pl. ipv.

Semantically the development of meaning from ' stretch ' to
' go ' is obvious. It is needless to discuss examples from Latin
like *quo tendis ?* In Greek τείνω gets as far as the meaning
' hurry on ', οἱ δ' ἔτεινον ἐς πύλας (Euripides), and there is an
idiom τείνει ἐς σέ, ' it applies to you ' (Herodotus), ποῖ τείνει καὶ
εἰς τί (Plato), which has a curious parallel in Ml. : *is do ruccai
7 melacht tēit . . . is do dīgail tēit*, 27 c 10, cf. 72 d 12 ; *is du
Israēldaib hulib tēit*, 101 c 4, &c. In Sanskrit, one of the
meanings of *tanoti* is ' directs one's way towards '. In Mod.Ir.
sínim, ' I stretch ', occasionally means ' come, go ' : *go ro shin
aingel da díden*, Beth. Naem nÉrenn, i. 137, 11.

The root *ten-* has long been recognized in *tét*, ' string, rope ' =
W. *tant* < **tn̥tā*. I suggest that *téit* belongs to this root, that it
was either an athematic present or a *t*-preterite in constant
association with historic presents of other verbs, and that it

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[1] The spelling *tatt* is ambiguous. The final consonant may have been
palatal, whereas in the 3 sg. ind. and ipv. it cannot have been so ; cf. the
variant spellings *táet*, *toet*, and O'Clery's *taod*.

[2] The regular ipv. 3 sg., *bered*, &c., is doubtless an injunctive with middle
ending, Fraser, ZCP 8, 289 ; here an active **bheret* would have become **beir*,
indistinguishable from 2 sg. *beir* < **bhere*.

[3] In Mid. Ir. the 3 sg. becomes *tíat*, LU 5834 (H), under the influence of
tíag, &c. ; similarly ind. *tíat*, 5775 (M). The usual ipv. 2 sg. is *eirg*, but *na
téig*, 6023 (M). Here, as elsewhere, the tract on verbs supplies a complete
paradigm ; sg. 1 *eirger*, *eargar*, 2 *eirg*, 3 *eirgeadh*, *eargadh* ; pl. 1 *eirgem*,
eargam, 7 *mar sin sis* ; impers. *eirgther*, *eargthar*, but exx. are cited only
for 2 sg. *eirg* and 2 pl. *eargaidh*.

became attached to the present system of *tēg-* from similarity of
form and meaning.

22. atnuarat

This word, in the phrase *atnuarat Ferchess di gai mór*,
'Ferchess struck him with a great spear', RC 13, 436, 3=
LL 288 a 39, is pres. ind. 3 sg. of a compound of *reth-* with
two preverbs. The second preverb is evidently *oss*; the first,
which combines with the 3 sg. m. inf. pron., might be *ad* or *in*
(*ind*); *aith* and *ess* would not suit, as the meaning must be
something like 'runs into him'. The most likely of these is *in*
(*ind*); cf. *in-oss-tiag-*, 'enter'. The pret. occurs in ÉRIU iii.
136, 10: *atnuarith side din tsleig. Conluith triit*, though
here also the hist. pres. may have been the original form. The
Rawl. copy of the Expulsion of the Déssi, Y Cymmrodor xiv.
104 = Rawl. 131 b 30, reads *atroeraid Oengus [d]in tsleig
triit.* The incomplete and corrupt copies in Bk. of Húi
Maine (f. 91 a 11) and Lib. Flav. Fergusiorum (f. 56 d 6)
read *aduair sighéin dan sleig condaluid trid* and *aduar
sidhein don tsleidh condluidh trit.* In Meyer's supplement to
Pedersen's Verbalverzeichnis, ed. Pender, ZCP 18, 334, § 797,
atroeraid, the reading of Rawl., is treated as a compound of
reth- with *ad* alone, but the word is doubtless a corruption of
atnuaraid or *atnóraid.*

23. sochenéuil, &c.

In Hdb. § 345 Thurneysen gives a list of adjectival *i*-stems
formed from *o*- and *a*-stems by prefixing indeclinable particles
such as *so-*, *do-*, or a preposition. An example of the plural of
such an adjective is *inna clanda docheneulai*, Ml. 122 d 1.
Some of these have always been treated as adjectives, *saidbir*,
daidbir, *sonairt*, *decmaicc* (*decmaing*),[1] &c. But a number of
the compounds were indistinguishable from the gen. sg. of
a noun preceded by *so-*, *do-*, &c., and in the later language they
are treated simply as attributive gens.: *saersloinnti soicheneoil*,

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[1] *decmach* in *nochon robai ni ba decmach do denam*, Tenga Bith. 16, is not
a genuine form. Stokes emends to *decmaic*, and translates 'there was
nothing that was hard for Him to do', which would require *decmaic [dó] do
denam*, and *ba* should be subj. Read *nochon robai nī bad ēcmach[t dó] do dēnam*,
'there was nothing impossible for Him to do'; cf. *is écmacht doib dēnum
neich condegar cuccu*, Ml. 48 a 7.

MR 96, 9; *öicc echtarchiniul* (v.l. *echtairceniuil*), RC 10, 222,
127; *daíne dochla díchumaing*, LU 3472; *totim la hóga
ainiūıl*, Fian. 10, 4; *i tírib aineoil*, BB 500 b 46; *fona minnaib
sliptha soradhaircc*, ZCP 1, 366; *sé muca mieinigh*, Anecd. ii.
62, 15; 63, 5; *drēchta dāna dofuiling*, ZCP 6, 46, 4; *ualuighe
troma doiomchuir*, NT 1602, Matt. xxiii. 4; *drong do dhaoinibh
doitheagaisg*, TSh. 554.

<h3 style="text-align:center">24. †dansmacht</h3>

It is time that this ghost-word should be removed from Irish
dictionaries. It first turns up in Fr. MacErlean's edition of
Keating's poems, where it is a mistake for *d'ansmacht*:

> *Táinig d`ansmacht Gall, mo nuair-se,*
> *Ar Inis Fáil na n-árdmhagh n-uaine,*
> *Gur thréigsead nós is seol na suadh-fhlaith*
> *I ngníomhaibh gaiscidh 's i n-aithris Guaire.*

'Alas! through the oppression of the English over Inis Fáil of
the high green plains, it has come to pass that they have
forsaken the custom and the guidance of the wise princes in
deeds of valour and imitation of Guaire.' In the vocabulary
dansmacht is translated 'barbarous sway, tyranny'. Hence it
made its way into Dinneen's Dictionary, then into the Dictionary
of the Royal Irish Academy, where it is explained as 'orig. *sway
of the Danes "Danaveldi"*'; cf. Marstrander's Bidrag til det
Norske Sprogs Historie i Irland.

To add, as Marstrander does, R.I.A. Dict. 96, 'Not = d'anns-
macht' is sinning against the light. For it is pronounced
exactly like *d'an(n)smacht* [daunsmaxt], and the first syllable
rimes with *Gall* [gaul].

Before we recognize †*dansmacht* as a real word we have to
assume that it was a hybrid compound put together in the
Norse period, but so rare that it left no trace in the literature,
until in the seventeenth century Keating suddenly decided to
use it, and used it in a context where a hundred per cent. of his
readers and hearers would inevitably take it as a familiar
expression. For *ansmacht Gall* cf. E. O'Rahilly, ITS iii. 6:

> *Tír fá ansmacht Gall do traochadh.*

Neither in the sound nor in the spelling—for in Keating's time
the apostrophe was not used—is there anything to indicate its

presence. We must then assume that the word disappeared again until the year 1900. It might well disappear, as, on its first and only appearance, it must have been only too successfully disguised. But the first assumption is absurd. Keating was not a fool; he meant to be understood. There have, indeed, been Gaelic writers who cultivated obscurity, like Seán mac Torna Uí Mhaoil Chonaire, whose ode to Brian na Múrtha, Hardiman, Ir. Minst. ii. 286 ff., is packed with hard words taken from glossaries. Keating wrote the plain literary language of his time. †*dansmacht* must go.

Whether the parallel *danloingeas*, 'a Danish fleet or squadron', P. O'C., *dánaloingios*, 'a fleet or squadron', O'R., is genuine remains doubtful in the absence of citations.

25. Luchte

This name is connected by Mac Neill, Ériu xi. 131, with the gen. *Lugutti*, a hypocoristic form of one of the compounds of *Lugu-*. The doubling of the *t* in *Lugutti* may have no significance. In his Notes on Ir. Og. Inscriptions, p. 362, he has identified the name *Curcutti* with the gen. of *Cuircthe* L. Arm. (*recte* Trip. 198). If the latter identification be correct, it would seem that a single *t* was intended. It is hard to see how **Lug-utios* could give *Luchte*. One would expect **Luigthe*; as *Lugudeccas* gives *Luigdech* (later *Lugdach* under the influence of *Lugaid*), the group would be palatal, and against the delenition are cases like *ro plágtha*, *ro rígtha*, Fél. Óen., Prol. 234-5, and the innumerable verbal forms in *-igthe*, &c.

Pedersen, VG i. 421, does not mention the group spirant *g + th*,[1] but he maintains that after *ch* spirant *d* and *th* are delenited. His examples are *-digtith*, Wb. 9 b 19 (for the etymology see Thurneysen, IF 33, Anz. 36, and for the tense my note in ZCP 17, 223), *-dichtim* LU 5180, *inna fochtaide*, gl. *tribulatorum*, a derivative of *fochid*, Ml. 141 c 1, *cechtar* and *nechtar*. The first three are not very convincing, as lenition is often not expressed in writing; cf. *-digthim*, SR 3203, *-díchtheth*, LU 4797. *fochtaide* may be a mistake for *fochthaide*,[2]

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[1] The isolated form *-derlaichta*, Wb. 33 b 8, is not sufficient to attest delinition in this group, and Strachan rightly annotates it 'rectius *derlaichtha*', Thes. Pal. i. 709.

[2] Ascoli, p. 341, s.v. *fochthide*, assumes a derivative in *-ide* (*fochth-ide*),

or for *foachtaide*, a derivative of the participle *foachtae*.
Thurneysen, Hdb. 85, cautiously hints at scribal inaccuracy, but
Pedersen holds his examples to represent the normal develop-
ment, and the great mass of instances of -*chth*- to be due to
analogy.   His strong point is doubtless the unlenited *t* of *cechtar*
and *nechtar*.   But *cechtar* is modelled on *nechtar*, VG ii. 213
and Hdb. 293, so only the latter remains, and it is not free from
suspicion.   For Pedersen a vowel has been lost after the *ch*.
For Thurneysen, on the other hand, the unlenited *t* of *nechtar*
shows that there was no such vowel, and this view is more likely
to be correct.   The fact that *na*, the proclitic neut. of *nech*, does
not lenite, but geminates, shows that it ended in a consonant,
and even Pedersen, VG i. 243, 245, assumes that this neut.
*ne-$k^{u}od$ or *ne-$k^{u}id$ (ii. 212) had in proclitic position lost the
final -*od*, -*id*, before the normal loss of final syllables (and
a fortiori before the period of syncope).   There is thus no
objection to assuming that the form used in composition was
nek^{u}- (neq^{u}-), and that the following *t* was never lenited.
The phonetic development of -*chth*- and -*gth*- to -*cht*- has not
been established.

   It is doubtful whether *Lugutti*[1] has left any trace.   There is,
however, a name which may be connected with it.   The ancestor
of the Eoganacht of Cashel, father of Conall Corc and Cathub,
is called *Luigtheg*, ZCP 8, 314, 29 ; cf. *Corc mac Luigthig*, 305,
27, *muimme Chonaill Chuircc maic Luigthig*, Anecd. iii. 57,
in righ Luigthig, ib., all from Laud 610.[2]   This may be con-
sidered correct, as the Notulae in LA 19 a have *Ailil m. Cath-
bad m. Lugthig*.   In other documents the name does not
often occur in this form.   Rawl. 150 a 20 has *m. Ailella m.
Cathbath m. Luigdech* ; Trip. 198 has *Ailill m. Cathbad m.
Lugdach* ; the nom. is *Lugaid*, Rawl. 148 a 18 (but *Lugdech*,
LL 319 c 17).   Similarly, *Corcc mac Luigdech*, Rawl. 148 b 3,

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not in -*tid* (*fochth-tid*), 'quoniam de "tribulatis" agitur, non de "tribula-
toribus"'.   But it seems more likely that the glossator should have supposed
tribulatorum to be the gp. of *tribulator*, and formed a *nomen agentis* with
the common suffix -*id* (*fochth-id*), than that he should have hit upon a form
exactly representing the ambiguity of the Latin, for -*ide* and -*id* would be
identical in the gen. pl.
   [1] With this Macalister, Ir. Epigraphy, ii. 83, identifies *Logitti*, which
would argue carelessness on the part of the stone-cutter.
   [2] Also *Luigthech Lāmfota*, Fian. 36.   Cf. *Cainnech m. Lugthig m. Lug-
dach*, LL 348 h 18 = *Coinech m. Luigthig m. Lugdech*, LB 16a5.

&c. Here we have confusion between two names, the common *Lugaid*, g. *Luigdech*, replacing the obsolete *Luigthech*, g. *Luigthig*. *Luigdech* also occurs as a nom. Five times in Meyer's Ält. Ir. Dicht. i. 53, 59, and 60, the father of Corcc is referred to in the phrase *Cain laech Luigdech*. Meyer reads *Cāinlæch* and takes *Luigdech* as appositional genitive, p. 56. I believe it is nom., like *Lugdech*, LL 319 c 17. Among the *noe meic Coirenn* (only eight are mentioned) in Rawl. 160 a 39 we find both *Lugaid* and *Luigdech*. This nom. *Luigdech* is simply a mistake for *Luigthech*. The latter could come from *Lugutiācos, a derivative of *Lugutios (or from *Logitācos, *Logitiācos, if *Logitti* is genuine), with the hypocoristic suffix found in *Tigernach*, compared with the full names *Tigerno-maglos (Bret. *Tiernmael*), *Lugthigern*, *Echthigern*, &c., and *Fidach* < *Viduācos, cf. W. *Gwyddawc* = *Fidgenid*, *Fidgnáth*, &c. In fact *Lugutios may be formed from *Lugutigernos like Gk. Κάλλιτος = Καλλί-τιμος.[1] Hypocoristic names in Greek, Germanic, and Slavonic are often formed without regard to the etymological division of the compound, and the same may be postulated for Celtic, though it is not easy to find Irish parallels. Perhaps *Comgán* from *Comgell*, and *Findchán*[2] = *Findchad*, *Findchú*, &c. are examples of such forms.

In ÉRIU xi. 131, however, Mac Neill holds that the *t* was geminated, that the ending was *-ittios*, *-ttios*. Here one would expect it to remain unlenited, though there is nothing to show what form *Luguttios would have taken by the O.Ir. period. But he mentions *Luchte* only casually, to support a new etymology of *Setanta*. This is ingenious, and may be true. At the same time one would like more examples of the alleged *-ittios*, *-ttios*, as an ending of boy-names. Also the change of *Sétnaitte to *Sétante* needs more support. The parallel with *cotulta* (< *cotlutho < *kontulitōs) is unsatisfactory, for here what was originally the third syllable is syncopated on the analogy of forms like *molad*, *molto*, &c. There are no certain examples of the treatment of *n* + vowel + *tt*, but from cases of regular syncope in syllables containing *n* or *l* before palatal *ss* or *t*, such as *comainse* < *com-nesse, *comailte* < *com-mlāthe, &c. we should

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[1] See Brugmann, Grundriss II.[2] 119.
[2] Unless *Findchán* is a secondary formation from *Findach, like *Senchán* from *Senach*.

expect that if *Sétnaitte were assimilated to forms like Caílte, the result would be *Sétainte.

He shows the difficulty of identifying Setanta with Setantios, but does not face all the alternatives. If the spelling Σεταντίων λίμην gives the true quantity of the first vowel, and if Mid.Ir. scribes are correct in occasionally writing Sétanta, the names are, no doubt, distinct. He is wrong in arguing that ' if Setantios had come into Irish much earlier [than St. Patrick's time] nt would have changed to d (written t in Old Irish), and the second syllable would have disappeared : *carantion became cairte or cairdde. Setantios would accordingly become Sette, not Setanta.' For cairdde is not a loan-word, it was in the language from the beginning. At an unknown date IE and Celtic nt became dd in Goidelic. Later on, when the group nt no longer existed in Irish, it was replaced in loan-words by the familiar nd, cland, W. plant < planta, just as nk became ng in unge < uncia. The period of the introduction of words like sant, W. chwant, is unknown. The change of nt to d (dd) in loan-words is an unwarranted assumption.

Mac Neill has not considered the possibility of the name being borrowed not from outside, but from one of the non-Gaelic peoples settled in Ireland, the Domnainn, the Érainn, the Part-raige, the Cruithentuath, &c. These did not adopt the language of their conquerors all of a sudden. The Partraige retained the non-Goidelic P in their name ; cf. the modern place-name Partry. Mac Neill says of the name Predae, gen.: ' This name found in East-Ulster genealogies is probably Pictish or British ', ZCP 8, 417. It is certainly not unique in that respect. According to Pedersen, VG i. 22, Irish is flooded with British loan-words. He suggests that they may have come in through the Irish colonies in Wales. But O'Rahilly, in his Rhys Memorial Lecture, ' The Goidels and their Predecessors ', shows that numbers of them were evidently picked up from the subject races in Ireland. I hold no brief for Setantios, but Setanta may have been a non-Goidelic name.[1] If it reached the ruling classes about the close of the fifth century the question of leniting the first t, and syncopating the second syllable would probably not arise. But

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[1] This applies also to the name Caílte. The epithet in Caílte Bolgc, gen. Caílti Builc, Rawl. 128b 50, 54, suggests that the name belonged to the Builg or Fir Bolg.

I deal with it here to show that it must not be used to explain *Luchte*, for *Setanta* itself is obscure. It has no history. It is applied only to the young Cú Chulainn. Middle-Irish writers derived it from *sét*, ' way ': *donnuc for set Sétanta*, LU 10625 ; *donanicc set Setanta* (sic leg.), IT i. 141, 16 ; *donfuc for séd sédana*, ZCP 5, 503 ; ' *Is coir Sedana foir*' ar Ceat, ' *ar in séd ara·tám ne, is annso ata a anadh*', Thurneysen, Zu ir. Hdsch. i. 44.

> *As-bert cách : ' Frīth sund sét*
> *ic nad anta dun glangéc.*'
> *As-bert Conchobor trēn trā :*
> ' *Dan-rat for sét Setanta.*'   LL 144 b 16-17.

But these etymologies are not to be taken seriously.

Before leaving the problems raised by *Lugutti*, &c., I may mention the name *Luigith*, *Lugith*, often confused with *Lugaid*.[1] It occurs several times in The Expulsion of the Déssi, ÉRIU iii. 105 ff., from Laud 610.[2] It is written *Lugíth* in Rawl. 155 a 20, probably with reference to the fanciful etymology found in BB 198 b 2 : *Luigīth dano .i. Īth robo lughu nā athair uair rob Īth ainm gach fir dīb.* Above this sentence the gen. occurs in BB in the title *Do senchus claindi Lugdach* ; in the preceding column it is *Luigdech* ; so in Rawl., *m. Lugdach m. Ītha*, 162 g 52 ; *sīl Lugdach m. Ītha*, 155 a 2 = LL 325 e 41. But the old gen. is found in *Lugeda m. Themin*, Rawl. 150 b 55 = LL 320 e 57 (*Lugada* 351 b 3) ; *Lugida*, Mart. Tall., March 9 ; *Luigida meicc Coelboth*, AI 10 c 33. *Luigith* could come from **Lugiatis* or **Logiatis* ; whether it is a hypocoristic form of *Lugaid*, or a different name, I cannot say.

Finally, I suggest that *Luchte* is a hypocoristic form of some name like Gaulish *Luxterios* (in which *x* has its late Gk. value). The termination of this name reminds one of *Coirpre* < **Cor-berios* or **Corbirios*.

<div align="right">OSBORN BERGIN.</div>

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[1] The need of a general index to the various genealogical tracts is illustrated by a remark of Mac Neill's, Notes on Ir. Og. Inscr., p. 345. On *Luguv-vecca* = *Lugach* he says : ' *Lugach* seventeen times BB 216-223.' In one instance, *Espc. Lugach*, 222 g 33, the form is genuine ; cf. LL 352 c 17 ; *Lugech sancti*, 364 e 32 = Mart. Tall. Oct. 6. A comparison with the Catalogues of Saints in Rawl. B. 502, LL, and LB, shows that the rest are misspellings of *Lugdach* or *Luigdech*.

[2] Also, from the same MS., *Luigit[h]*, *Luigid*, Fian. 28 and 30, but with gen. *Luigdech* and np. *Luigdig*.

VARIA II

1. O.Ir. *súas, sís,* &c.

The Old-Irish adverbs of direction used after verbs of motion, &c. in answer to the question 'whither?' have never been satisfactorily explained. The forms which occur are, as given by Thurneysen, Hdb. § 477, *súas, sís, sair, síar, sadess fades, sathúaid fathúaith.* Thurneysen does not discuss the origin of these forms.

Pedersen, VG ii. 187, sees in the *s-* of these forms an accusative of the demonstrative stem **so-.* He regards *fathúaith* and *fades* as being quite different in origin and sees in the *fa-* of these some form of the copula, VG i. 271. *Sadess* and *sathúaid* would then be formed analogically.

But it is, I think, quite clear that all these forms go together, and that in the prefix which appears under the various forms *s-, sa-,* and *fa-* we have to deal with one and the same particle.

The occurrence of the two forms *sa-* and *fa-* immediately suggests a particle beginning with **sv-,* and I therefore suggest that here we have an original **svo-* from Ind.-Eur. **supo,* a form parallel to **upo* and cognate with Latin *sub*; Irish *fo,* Latin *sub,* Sanscrit *úpa,* Avestic *upa* all having the general meaning of 'towards'.

An Irish form commencing with *sv-* would normally develop into a form beginning with *s-,* but under certain sentence conditions (when the preceding word originally ended in a vowel) would appear with *f-.* Such forms seem to be kept in *fathúaid, fadess,* which would seem to suggest the ordinary preposition *fo.* **Fíar, *fís,* &c., would, on the other hand, drop out. Perhaps we have, however, an example of one of these in *fuas,* which occurs in the Old-Irish Song on Summer (Four Old-Irish Songs, p. 11) *lingit fainnle fanna fuas,* and in the other example quoted by Meyer, ZCP i. 105, 9, *leth fuas de.* Compare also *etarbúas,* the older form of which seems to have been *etarfōs* (cf. O'Mulc. 476), if it is not simply from **etar-vo-ōs.*

2. O.Ir. *engach,* (1) 'noisy', (2) 'variegated', &c.

The Royal Irish Academy's Dictionary, fasciculus II, p. 138, brings together as *engach* nos. 1 and 2, two words which I think

should be under different headings as they represent different pronunciations.

Engach 2, which is derived from *eang* (Mod.Ir. αŋ) 'strip, patch' stands for *eŋaχ*. This is obvious from its etymology and also from the rime with *reandach* in the example from MR. *Engach* 5 is really the same word used as a substantive. The mark of interrogation is scarcely necessary as the word is quite common in Modern Donegal Irish (αŋaχ) for 'net'.

Engach 1, on the other hand, stands for *eŋγaχ*. This is, I think, obvious from the following facts:

1. The word is spelt with *gh* in O'Cl. and in the glossary in H 3. 18.

2. It is hardly to be separated from *enchache* of Wb 22 b 18 which could not be a spelling for *eŋaχ′æ* but might well stand for *eŋγaχ′e* = later *engaige*.

3. O'Mulc. gives *en-guach* as an etymology. This suggests *nγ* rather than *ŋ* as being the sound of *ng* in the word.

4. The word is never found riming with a single consonant. All the examples quoted (*engacha : dedgarcha*, SR 8125; *engaig : cloen Temraich*, ZCP viii. 264. 19; *n-engaig : sechtdelbaig*, SR 7111; cf. also ZCP iv. 468, § 1, *lebrach : engach*) show the word riming with words having two or more consonants. Cf. also Irish Texts, II, 69, v. 4:

> *tuir do gaínedh re tæbh Temrach.*
> *do scaíledh Aedh Enghach ass.*

See also *Aodha Eanghaigh*, IGT Decl. ex. 136. The epithet is explained in Baile in Scáil, § 62, as .i. *en fiachach* .i. *en uisci*, *nō quod verius est .i. labar.* The first explanation seems based on a spelling *enchach*.

3.   Some unnecessary emendations.

(a) TTr.[2] 1324 : *focher dat ule a ngai fair co nderna criathar focha de.* Stokes suggested reading *fotha* for *focha* and translated : 'they all cast their spears at him, so that of him was made a mill-sieve'. No emendation is necessary, however ; *focha* is gen. sg. of *foich*, 'wasp', *criathar focha*, 'a wasp's honeycomb'. Compare the English expression *honeycombed* = pierced with numerous holes.

The same expression is found in the story Fingal Rónáin, RC xiii. 394, 12 : *Nodgoin int Aed co nderna criathar focha de.*

(*b*) Mon. Tall., p. 131, l. 17 : *nipá pene na régi.* The translation given would demand three textual emendations, as we should have to read : *ní bet píana na ríaga.* No emendation, however, is necessary, but translate : 'Let me not be a prey of punishment or torment.' Compare Vita Trip. 116, 26 : *nách óen gébas do immun . . ., nibá péne na réigi,* 'whoever shall sing thy hymn, will not be a prey to punishment or torture'. For further examples of this construction with the predicative genitive, cf. Thurneysen, KZ 48, 62.

(*c*) Mart. Tall. Feb. 26 : *Cornani sancti Glinni Esa.* Dr. Best proposes to read *Cronani* for *Cornani* and on that account omits *Cornán* from the Index of Irish names. But *Cornani* is to be kept; cf. Mon. Tall., § 10 : *Cornan alaili cuislendach robói ind deisciurt Lagen, os hé anchore. Cornan glindi (.i. esa) leosom, fer corrath . . . aprit si fri Cornan.* The name occurs once in the genealogies in Rawl. B 502 ; 145 d 15 : *maic Cornain maic Taidgc,* cf. also *Carn Cornán,* LU 3084. *Cronán* is a much commoner name (there are seven instances in the genealogies in Rawl. B. 502) and on this account was substituted for *Cornán* in Fél. Gorm. and Mart. Don.

(*d*) Tripartite Life, 38, l. 12 : *Annocnited ocus annoesed issed rorade.* Stokes suggested reading : *Annocneted ocus annoosnaiged.* This is far too great a corruption to impute to any scribe. No emendation is necessary. *annoesed = a nno-esed* where *no-esed* is the imperfect sg. 3 of the rare verb *cissidir,* 'begs, prays', only two forms of which have turned up in the literature. The verb was synonymous with *guidid.* Cf. RIA Dict. Fasc. E s.vv. 1. *eis; eised, eisid, eissidir.*

(*e*) Monastery of Tallaght, p. 149, l. 4 : *Aos duanat foibdi a tolx.* The editor proposes to read *foibthi* for *foibdi* and in a note explains *foibthi* as the past participle of *fo-benim,* but admits that the meaning assigned is doubtful. No emendation, however, is necessary, *foibdi* is the nom. pl. of the adjective *fobaid,* 'swift, eager, excited'; cf. O'Cl. *Fobhaidh .i. luath no*

ésgaidh.   See also Kuno Meyer's note on the word in Bruch-
stücke der älteren Lyrik, n. 44 and SR 4195, 4555, 7189.[1]

(*f*) O'Mulc. 310.   The text in explaining the word *dîbech* has
'*ar is it fa sainti in dibech*'.   Both Stokes and Mac Neill (ÉRIU
xi. 128) regard the text as corrupt, the former suggesting *ar is
fa sainti in dibech* as the correct reading.   But as Mac Neill
points out (l.c.) the omission of *fa* does not amend matters.   The
passage is, however, correct as it stands, with *itfa* taken as one
word.   *itfa* seems to mean 'glutton', cf. Triads 231, as one of
several fictitious names for cup-bearers, *itfa eserni*, where *eserni*
is the gen. sg. of *ésarn*, 'year-old wine'.   Tec. Corm., § 16, 16
(of women) *itfaide toile*.   *sainti* in the passage from O'Mulc. is the
gen. sg. of *sant*, 'covetousness, desire', used adjectivally.   The
passage may be translated : ' for the churlish one is a covetous
glutton '.

4. The Future of *airim*, ' I plough '.

In the Second Battle of Moytura, § 160, RC xii. 106, a text of
the early ninth century, we have the following passage: *co
conebrad, co silfad, co chobibsad fir Erenn. . . . Abair friu
Mairt a n-ar, Mairt hi corad sil a ngurt, Mairt a n-imbochdt*.
The sense of the passage is quite clear, ' how shall the men of
Ireland plough, how shall they sow, &c.'.   Stokes suggested
that *conebrad* was a scribal error for *con-airfet*, the b-fut. plur.
3 of *airim*.   But *con-ebrad* is probably to be retained.   Just as
ailim formed an analogical future stem *ebla-*, so *airim* probably
formed *ebra-* ; *ebla-* being modelled on the future stem of *agid*,
ebra on that of *ernaid*.

Cocon in the above phrases is probably related to the ordinary
co (followed by prototonic form of verb) as *nîcon* is to *nî*.

5. Second Battle of Moytura, § 132.

Ocus rurassa Unnsenn hi crobaiph bidbad annside.

This has been translated by Stokes as ' and then the river
Unnsenn ran in the corpses of foes '.   The whole passage is
found again in the version of the Battle of Magh Rath published

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[1] In the Mod.Ir. version of the above text published in Hermathena
no. XLIV (second supplemental volume) the word *capraigh* (?) occurs (p. 4,
notes) as a gloss on *buaidren*.   The word almost certainly stands for
cáthbhruith (pronounced in Donegal : *ka* : *fry*), 'flummery'.

by Marstrander in ÉRIU v (sometimes with better readings than those of the Harleian MS.). The passage in question runs (ÉRIU v. 238, 101), *7 rorósa uinsend i crobaib bidbad and*, translated by Marstrander, 'and . . . of ash in the hands of foes there'.

Crob can hardly be anything other than the ordinary word for 'hand'. *Unnsenn* (recte *uinnsinn*) I take to be the plural of *uinnius* = 'ash tree, spear-shaft of ash', a meaning which the word often has.[1] *Rurassa* I take to be the plural passive perfect of *rondaid*, 'he colours, he reddens'. I would translate the passage: 'and then spear-shafts were reddened in the hands of enemies'. For *rurassa, rorósa* cf. ZCP viii. 330; 2 : *7 ba cosmail a dath ri brat ro-ros do Dunchad.*

6. O.Ir. *Abacc*, 'dwarf, &c.'

In his notes to O'Mulconry's Glossary in ÉRIU xi, p. 120, Eoin Mac Neill in discussing this word seems to imply the existence of but one form, namely *abacc* with *cc = g*. This view seems to have also been adopted by the editors of Hessen's Irish Lexicon, as they only give *abac* (= *abagg*) and a diminutive *abggán*. There must, however, have been a form *abacc* (with *cc = kk*). All the modern dialects have *abhac* (usually pronounced *auk* even in Donegal Irish) and, though this form could have come from *abhag* in Donegal Irish (see ÉRIU xi, pp. 165–6), this would be impossible in Munster Irish. The form with *-kk* is also recognized in Bardic Poetry, cf. IGT Decl. ex. 1873 : *Ní háil abhac ní háil bard. ó do-cháidh ramac Ricard.* 'Neither bard nor (jesting) dwarf is desired, since the great son of Richard has died.' Here *abhac* makes *comhardadh slán* with *ramac*. The earlier rime with *-anat* proves nothing as to the quality of the final *-c*.

7. *sreimm*, 'snore'.

In ZCP xvi, p. 410, Pokorny rightly, I think, emends a

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[1] Cf., for example, Mōr of Munster, § 11 : *dresfid uinius ocus fern*, which should be translated : 'spear-shaft and shield will break'. For *fern* = shield cf. Aur. 4264 : *Fern, ut dicitur aireunach fian fern ar is di dogniter na sgeith* ; TE § 79, *fernaib ilib ildlochtaib*, 'with many shields split in several places'. TBC (Str. and O'K.) 3346 : *manais leathanglas fordual altchain uindsenn ina laim*, 'a broad grey fair jointed spear with an ashen shaft in his hand'. Scéla Mucce Meic Dathó (ed. Thurneysen), p. 21 h : *brōenderc toïdlech tar fern flann* 'a gleaming blood-flecked mantle over a red shield.'

passage in the YBL Táin. The correct form, however, is not *srēimm* but *sreimm*. The shortness of the *e* is attested by internal rimes in later poetry, for example IGT Decl. ex. 1374:

> *Filleadh bruit deirg edir dheimhis*
> *re sreim Cuirc is cosmail.*

Here *sreim* makes internal '*comhardadh briste*' with *deirg*. The short *e* is only to be expected, as the parallel verb *grenn*- forms its vn. *greimm*. Dialectically, of course, the *e* may have been lengthened in both *sreimm* and *greimm*; cf. also *crenaid* [v.l. *crennaid* LL], 'gnaws', TBC². 3421, vn. *creimm*.

8. An O.Ir. use of the genitive.

A peculiar use of the Genitive case in Irish has often misled translators and editors. The idiom in question consists in not re- peating the noun—if the same—on which the genitive is dependent, i.e. to express the idea A of X and A of Y and A of Z Irish uses the construction A of X and of Y and of Z. In this usage a pos- sessive pronoun as usual counts as a genitive case. For example, Mon. Tall. § 17, *fer na serre 7 na susti 7 na forchae 7 ind claid* = 'the man of the reaping-hook and the man of the flail and the man of the mallet and the man of the ditch'. Imram Brain, p. 9, § 14, *carpait arggait i Maig Mon, ocus crédumi cen on*, 'chariots of silver in Mag Mon, and (chariots) of bronze without blemish'.

Ériu v. 38, 13: *Batar muinter Feada Duin oc cosnom a cholla 7 Lismoir*, 'The community of Fiddown and (the com- munity) of Lismore were contending for his body'.

In the following cases an incorrect rendering has, I think, been given. Trip. 136, 7: *ba cóir ceniptis arda dochongbalasu ocus doclainde post té*, translated: 'it were right that thy dwellings and thy children after thee should not be exalted'. This translation takes no account of the gen. sg. *doclainde*. Correctly it should be, 'thy foundations and the foundation of thy children'.

Ériu iv. 146, 17: *A Maigib .i. etar Traigi 7 Reocha 7 Lacha* translated, 'from Maige (that is, between Traige and Reocha and Lacha)'. This should, I think, be: 'from the plains, i.e. both from Mag Traigi and Mag Reocha and Mag Lacha'.

Compare also FB. § 98: *im pa ferr a priathar oltas an*

fianlaig naell where *priathar* is not repeated before *an fianlaig*
if we are not to read *an fianlach* and regard it as an example
of the construction referred to Hdb. § 758.

9. O.Ir. *immenessamar*.

O'Mulc. 427 : *Ess o eistin cēne imme nessamar cech lind is
ess a ainm.* Stokes in the glossary appended to his edition
suggests a verb *imm-essur*, ' I quaff ' ? and Thurneysen (KZ 48,
58, l. 21) seems to regard the form *imme-nessamar* as containing
the subjunctive stem of *ithid.* Meyer (Pender) ZCP xviii. 326
also regarded it as a form of *imb-ith* and translated : ' so lange
wir verzehren mögen.' In Corrections to O'Mulc. (ACL i. 479)
Stokes translated : ' a feast at which we may consume any liquor ',
taking the same view of *imme-nessamar* as the above-mentioned
scholars, and seeing in *cene* a borrowing from Latin *coena.*

But *ithid* cannot be used of liquids. *Imme-n-essamar* is the
present passive sing. of *imb-ess-sem-*, ' to pour out ', with infixed
relative *-n-* after *cēne. Eistin* is dative sing. of *eistiu*, the verbal
noun of *ess-sem-.* The vn. of *imb-ess-sem-* is *imsitiu* ; cf. *imsi-
tin* Mon. Tall. § 88 ; Rule of the Céli Dē, § 47 ; *imsitnib*, Tenga
Bithnua, § 27.

The passage may be translated : ' *Ess* is derived from *eistiu* ;
every liquid is called *ess* while it is being poured out.' It is an
attempt to give an etymology of the word *ess*, ' waterfall '.

10. O.Ir. *imb-*.

As is well known, the verbal prefix *ym*, from Celtic *imbe*, has
in Welsh a reciprocal and reflexive meaning, cf. *cusanu*, ' to
kiss ', *ymgusanu*, ' to kiss one another ', &c. A similar use is
well attested in Old Irish, but so far it does not seem to have
been much noticed. We have to distinguish two distinct usages :

(*a*) A personal reciprocal construction. This seems to be
rather infrequent, but the following examples clearly illustrate
the usage :

Wb. 18 d 3 : *imm-un-cualammar nimun-accamar*, ' we have
heard one another, but we have not seen one another '.

Táin Bó Fraích, § 4 : *immusmūchat in doïni*, ' the people
smother one another '. RC xii. 223, l. 53 : *Imusling an tabold
for araili dib cor imnaisced amail feilind im urslait et ni
tualaing a n-im scarad.*

(*b*) An impersonal construction with the preposition *do*. Here we have to distinguish two cases: (1) where the logical subject (in the plural naturally) is expressed by one noun or one pronoun in the plural; (2) where the logical subject is expressed by two words, noun and pronoun or two pronouns, &c. The following examples suffice to illustrate these two usages.

(1) Fled Bricrend, § 6: *Immacossaitiubsa eter in mac 7 a athair co 'mma-muirfe doib ... Mani fetursa sin dano, or se, immacossaitiub da cich cacha oenmna la Ultu co 'mma-tuaircfe doib co mbrenfat ...*, 'I shall raise strife between the father and his son, so that they will kill one another ... I shall cause strife between the two breasts of every woman in Ulster so that they (the breasts) will smite one another, so that they will putrefy ...'; ibid. § 38: *imma-comsinitar doib,* 'they wrestle with one another'.

IT ii[1]. 184, l. 254: *immo-fobair doib isin glinn,* 'they attack one another in the valley'.

ib. 185, l. 286: *ima-ro-chlui diar claidbib, immo-ro brui dia(r) sciathaib,* 'our swords were mutually smashed, our shields were mutually crushed'.

IT ii[2]. 190, l. 21: *is infocus etruinn ceni 'man-aci duind* (YBL) *ceni immon-acai dun,* Eg. 'it is quite near between us, though we both do not see each other'.

Mór of Munster, § 8: *immotaeth doib,* 'they will both fall'. Battle of Mag Mucrime, § 69: *commaragba duin.* This should be translated: 'so that we may settle down together.'

(2) Here the older construction seems to be to introduce the first noun (or pronoun) with *do*, the second with (*f*)*ri*. Second Battle of Moytura, § 75: *Imma n-arladair do iarum fria da brathair,* 'he and his two brothers conversed together'. Ériu iv, p. 132, l. 3; *imotormalt dam-sa riu,* 'they and I mutually enjoyed it'. Similarly, ibid. l. 19: *co' motormalt damsa friu*; LU 8458: *immanarnic dosom frisin Liath Macha.* Battle of Mag Mucrime, § 70, should probably read: *immaranic do fri Saidb.*

The other construction seems to have the preposition *do* introducing both subjects.

Second Battle of Moytura, § 133: *Immacomairnic de Luch 7 di Balor,* 'Lug and Balor met one another'. *Imonarnaicc*

iarum do Chongal 7 do Chonall, ' Congal and Conall met there-
after ', ÉRIU v. 240, 136.   Yet another construction is to be seen
in: LL 286 b w: *ocus connachimminaicced dō 7 a ingen co
bráth*, ' and that neither he nor his daughter might ever see one
another '.   See Pedersen, VG, ii. 311.

In connexion with the above should be noted: (1) The
preverb *imm-* is never accented in these forms, i.e. only deutero-
tonic forms are used, and in consequence: (2) The conjunction
used is not *coⁿ* but *co*, which except in this construction is rarely
found outside the Glosses.

11. *Eo cétnama*

In ÉRIU xi. 86 I explained this as = ' first-run salmon '.   The
expression is also found in AL v. 40, 23 .i. *leth eo cednama*
where the translation ' half a first-bone salmon ' is misleading.

Belfast.   M. A. O'BRIEN.

NOTES ON THE IRISH PENITENTIAL

THE homily on the Deadly Sins, published by Meyer in ZCP iii. 24–8 from Rawlinson B. 512, ff. 39, 40 is made up of a series of extracts from the Irish Penitential which I edited in ÉRIU vii. 121–95. Two other versions of the homily survive, one in RIA 23 P 3, f. 15, the other in the National Library of Ireland, classed as Phillipps 10266, f. 47. The former of these was fully described in my edition of the Penitential; the latter, which was then at Cheltenham, was at the time known to me only by the brief notice in Stokes's Martyrology of Oengus, p. ix. I have now collated it with the text of the Penitential, and note here its readings, disregarding mere differences of spelling.

References give the pages of ÉRIU vii; P=Penitential, C= Phillipps 10266, Q=23 P 3, R=Rawl. B. 512.

p. 138, Cap. ii, § 1 *a*, line 1, in cetna duailchi.
   l. 3, fadeisin no arindí.
   l. 5, saith.

b, l. 2, aigne.
   l. 4, *con*a airither na raet occa.

c, l. 2, dronua *to* dochraiti, *om*. l. 3, cutim hi crinder, *om*.
   l. 4, folta cetlaogh fri sochaidh. l. 5, faill do día.

d, l. 1, roerb*ad* do cathug*ud* frisn dualaigh si. l. 2, i ngen*us*.
   l. 3, fri hanfontai. l. 4, iumradhudh dé feilith aicn*idh*.

e, l. 1, damnadh crais prainn mesḡ mesǧ dige imgabail i mesca.
   ll. 2–5, miscais *to* errnaigti, *om*. l. 6, sochraiti. l. 7, ara n-ascnam.

p. 152, Cap. iii, § 1 *a*, l. 1, ina duailchi tan*ais*e. l. 3, 7 arna*con* taischi as an focerdtar ind imtha gin. l. 5, ní*con* rolin- phaidhe ní*con* taisfed. l. 7 is nathair do leimim. l. 8, is qithi airig aircinnidh.

b, l. 1, asa n-asait . . . in saint *con*i. l. 2, anmanna.
   l. 4, marb*us*. is aire *to* l. 6, badud, *om*.
   ll. 6–7, 7 is fobith dotreget fla*ith* nime *con*a fochraicibh.

c, l. 1.   C like P and Q omits the first nine words of R.   l. 2, innrath.   l. 3, com*us*.   l. 5, truaig.

d, l. 1, suailci roherb*ad* . . . duailaigh.   l. 2, *co n*deir.   ll. 4–6, Aircisecht *to* éccmailti, *om.*

e, l. 1, It e da*no* frepaidh.   nuigedh.

l. 3, remdechsiu.   l. 4, idhnaide mbrī.   l. 5, in b*r*atha.

p. 160, Cap. iv, § 1 *a*, l. 1, ina treissi duailchi.   l. 3, mac nAdaim, *om.*

l. 3, is de romarbsat ind iudaidh.   l. 5, cosin innire.

l. 6, is comor loiscfes.   l. 7, imta.

c, l. 2, atlug*ad.*   l. 3, fria n-airmitin.   ll. 3–4, fria ndimes.

d, l. 1, sualaigh roherb*ad.*   l. 3, do suailchi.   l. 6, p*e*cach.

p. 164, Cap. v, § 1 *a*, l. 1, ina .iiii. duailce .i. am*ail* treghd*us.*

l. 3, na ferca, *om.*

b, l. 1, IS í clann gainith*er.*   l. 2, dencaire.   l. 5, ecnach.

d, IS í annsin.

p. 170, Cap. vi, § 1 *a*, l. 1, ana. u. duail*che* atait dib-atait da gne.

l. 4, bithfailti a mbithbiu.   l. 6, i mbithpéin inferno.

b, l. 1, inna hanma, *om.*

c, ll. 2–3, a ndæn*acht.*   l. 3, ara n-inmaine no fobithin et*ar*-sgartha fria maíne 7 a febha talm*an*da no fobithin.   l. 9, sgartha fria chaiti cia dosri*n*oil *con*a bi cen bron 7 doghailsi cen bus beo 7 co teit iar*um* ar cenn mbithbọr .ī anffearn doq*um* peine suthaine cenach fo*r*cenn.

d, l. 1, 7 genelach, *om.*   l. 2, .i. serbai *to* foichlidi, *om.*   ll. 4–5, foindletha *to* uilc, *om.*

e, l. 1, frepa ina doghailsi.   l. 4, m*e*nm*an* a ndia fri t*e*rc-m*e*nmain.   ll. 5–7, *om.*

§ 2, l. 1, *con*tibi diab*ul.*   ll. 1–2, do dith carat 7 coibdel*ach* no na*ch* raeta .ii.   l. 5, íarmobi issa .xł̄. aithi.

§ 3, l. 1, Ma do demhan be*ith* i mbron.   l. 2, ph*enne*t*e.*

p. 172, Cap. vii *a*, l. 2, ina .ui. duailchi.   l. 3, atbaill foc*e*toir tre indocb*ail* nuaibrich m*an*ib faitich b*eith*er.   ll. 5–6, is indocbail *to* o duinib, *om.*

b, ll. 2–3, airrecht *to* dliged, *om.*   l. 4, cumtach labartha, *om.*

c, l. 1, frepa soerfa dia híc.   ll. 2–3, rede cen sechtai, *om.*   l. 4, eccoscc, *om.*

The conclusions reached in ÉRIU vii. 122–7 as to the relations of C, Q and R with each other and with P may be reconsidered with the help of the above collation.

1. Under Tristitia (vii. 171–2), C has not only the homiletic preface, but the two rules. It is therefore based on a copy of the whole Penitential, not on a simple homily. The same holds good of Q; see p. 127 (*c*).

2. Under Avaritia (vii. 152) C agrees with P and Q in omitting the opening words of § 1 (*c*), which are preserved only by R: *Is sí tra cland 7 genelach genadar ón duálaig-se*. It follows that PQC had a common original (*x*) in which these words were omitted. Further, as PQC all begin with Luxuria, this must have been the case with *x*. Therefore *x* was written after the loss of the first folio of the archetype (X) and the displacement of the second folio: see ÉRIU vii. 122. R on the other hand, which begins with Gula, was based directly on X.

3. Q and C have in Avaritia § 1 (*a*) *is nathair do leimim*, which is clearly correct; P omits *is nathair*. QC are therefore based directly on *x*, not on P.

4. Q has one of the rules under Luxuria (§ 17, p. 142) which is not in C, and C has the two rules under Tristitia (§§ 2, 3, p. 172) which are not in Q: therefore Q and C are taken independently of one another from *x*. The relations of R, Q, and C would be unaccountable if we had not P.

5. Under Ira (p. 164) the opening words of § 1 (*b*) in R are *ISi tra clann 7 geneluch gainethar*; P has *Issi genadar*; Q has *ISi geinethar*; C has *Isi clann gainither*. Probably *x* had *Issí gainethar*, and the scribe of C mended this by inserting *clann*, on the analogy of similar clauses in the earlier chapters.

6. Under Tristitia § 1 (*c*) (p. 170) C like R has the clause *no fobithin etarsgartha fria maine 7 a febha talmanda* which P omits. It stood, therefore, in *x*; P's error was due to the repetition of the words *nó fobíthin etarscartha* in the next clause.

Q comes to an end a few lines earlier, for the reasons given at p. 127 (*d*).

These relationships may be represented graphically thus :

Stemma

```
            X
   ┌────────┴──────┐
            x
            ┴─────┬─────────┐
   R        P     C         Q
```
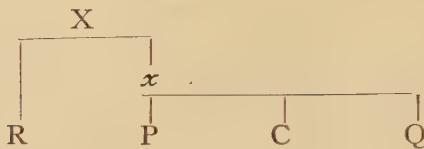
X = the original Penitential   ⎫ no longer extant
x = copy of X in defective state ⎭
P = the Penitential, extant in 3 B 23 (R.I.A.)
R = Homily extant in Rawlinson B 512
C =   „   „   „ Phillipps 10266 (Nat. Lib. Irel.)
Q =   „   „   „ 23 P 3 (R.I.A.)

I add some notes and corrections to the text and commentary of my edition of the Penitential. Many of these are due to the late Charles Plummer, and are marked with his initials.

The Penitential is once referred to in O'Davoren's Glossary, s.v. *rochall* (1389 of Stokes's edition). After a somewhat cryptic explanation of the legal title *Rochall Breth*, the glossator adds: *Ocus dar liumsa is inann 7 utmall andsa Pennadoir* : ' In the Penitential it seems to mean " unstable ".' This presumably refers to Cap. iii, § 1 *c* (Avaritia), *rochall co nderchointiud*, which the glossator apparently understands as meaning ' instability with despair '. I have rendered *rochall* by ' corruption ', taking it as = *ro-choll*; at Laws i. 154, 11, the phrase is *racholl mbreth*, at iv. 36, 5, *roc(h)oll breth*.

In a long glossary in H 3. 18, 623 a seq., several quotations are referred to a ' *Pennatóir* ', but most of these are taken from the Rule of Mochuta, edited by Meyer in Archiv iii. 312–20: some I have not been able to trace to their source.

    p. 136, 13, *tó co toiscide* should be rendered ' silence till there be need (of speech) '; cf. *tascide, taschide*, ' necessary ', Pedersen ii. 611 ; *toiscide*, Hibernica Minora, glossary.

    p. 137, 8, for ' abstinence ' read ' patience ' (C.P.).

    p. 139, *d*, l. 5, for ' generosity ' read ' modesty ' (C.P.).

    p. 140, 16, *amasc* means ' thin beer, swipes '; cf. *amuisce*, ' beer-dregs ', MacErlean's ed. of O'Bruadair, glossary.

    p. 146, Cap. 1, § 3, l. 3, *enche* is genitive of *ennach*, ' scaldcrow '.

p. 150, § 21, for *gauin* read *gamin*, 'skin' (C.P.).

p. 154, 3, keep *cen eslabrai*, and tr. 'without loquacity' (C.P.). See note on p. 172, *infra*.

p. 154, 10, delete note 4, and tr. 'through covetousness and graspingness'; cf. BB 259 a 14, *caíllti 7 galma 7 for-gabhaíl*; Laws, i. 90, *x*, *ina gabáil étechta nó ina forgabáil*, 'forcible taking'.

p. 166, § 6, delete note 5; *togluasti* is genitive of the infinitive, with the force of a relative verb.

p. 168, § 13, *Má roimdergthar* (sic leg.) *a brathair riam nó ma imbántar nó ma rangba crith*: cf. Rawl. B. 506, f. 43 *d*, *nucu n-astann crith* (sic leg.) *na indergad na imbánad*; Eg. 88, f. 33 (34) *d*, *crith no imderga(d) no umbana(d)* (C.P.).

p. 172, 9, *rolabra iar toí*: cf. Irish Litanies, 22, 8, *toe iar n-eslabra*; so, too, L. Breac 260 b 58. This meaning of *eslabra* is not noticed in R.I.A. Dictionary.

p. 180, on Cap. I, § 2. Eating of horseflesh was a standing ground of quarrel between Christian Scandinavian kings and their heathen subjects. See Konunga Sögur (C.P.).

p. 185, on § 6. This section refers to Christ's exhortation to the rich young man, 'sell *all* that thou hast' (Luke xviii. 22); § 5 refers to Zacchaeus' words the *half* of my goods I give to the poor' (Luke xix. 8) (C.P.).

p. 188, on Cap. v, § 2, *com-morfeiser*: cf. Z.C.P. xi. 85 § 38, *Abbair fris, fingal nisnderna . . . Dofechar o Dia co nomad noe*.

<div align="right">E. J. GWYNN.</div>

CONTRA INCANTATIONES

THE following scribal note is from RIA 3 C 19, a copy of an Irish translation of the *Lilium Medicinae*, the *Decem Ingenia*, and *Prognostica* of Bernard of Gordon (for whom see ÉRIU xi. 174 ff.). The translation was made by Cormac Mac Duinn Shléibhe, one of a noted Ulster family of physicians, about the middle of the fifteenth century.

The scribe, Risdeard Ó Conchubhair (Richard O'Connor), came of a well-known family of physicians in Ossory. For other notes by him in this manuscript see Cat. of Irish MSS. in the Royal Irish Academy, pp. 1167 ff., and Father Paul Walsh's Gleanings from Irish MSS., 2nd ed., 123 ff.

The scribal notes in these medical manuscripts are often of very great interest for their valuable commentary on contemporary events and for the information they give us about the kind of people the writers were; the environment in which they lived, their family connexions, and their own personal views on matters of public and historical interest. The earlier scribes of medical manuscripts were physicians—outstanding examples of this are the O'Connors of 3 C 19; and another interesting question arises out of the matter and style of some of the notes: Is it possible that some of these physicians were also in holy orders? The extract quoted below reads as though it might be the utterance not of a layman, but of an ecclesiastic. Certainly it is that of a man with a strong moral sense and a high degree of piety. The period in which Richard O'Connor lived was a difficult one for Irish priests, and it is interesting to consider whether he and other medical men of the Middle Ages in Ireland were not priests, as were many of their professional colleagues in England and on the continent.

Bernard of Gordon himself was a very devout man, e.g. in the Preface to the *Lilium Medicinae*, quoting Galen :

' No one can come nearer to God better than by study in the truth and for the truth. To the honour therefore of the heavenly Lamb who is the splendour and glory of the Father this book, entitled *Lilium Medicinae*. For in the lily there are many blooms and in each bloom seven white petals as it were

seven golden grains.   This book likewise contains seven parts, of which the first will be golden, glowing and shining.   For it will treat of many universal diseases, beginning with fevers . . .'

Cf. the passage in Preface to Rosa Anglica where John of Gaddesden discusses his reasons for calling his book the Rose (ITS xxv. pp. xxi, xxii).   John himself was a priest, perhaps a canon.   He held a stall in St. Paul's Cathedral.

From O'Connor's observations on the subject of his note printed here it is obvious that the trend of his mind was didactic. It shocked him that Bernard did not expressly condemn practices that involved attempts to interfere with the ways of Providence. His style also shows traces of scholastic influences.

The note is inserted into chapter 14 (on the causes and cure of sterility), with a marginal warning that it is the scribe who is speaking (*an sgríbhneoir adeir so*).

<div align="right">WINIFRED WULFF.</div>

RIA 3 C 19, 222ʳ a 21

NA pisseoga *uero* is iongnadh lium nachar orduigh Bernard
enní ina naghaidh annsa *capidel* so o dorinnidh iomrad orra
ina chuisibh, 7 fós nachar chuir *capidel* specialta orra fén, 7 go
mormhor is iongnad lium Cormac da dhenam, acht munab é a
nadhuar ar son nach ed*ir* a leghes, 7 do réir mo bharamhla fen
is cosmail gurob ed*ir* a leghis mar gach aimsiugad 7 gach temp-
tation ele da ttabhair in diabal 7 a mhuinnt*er* arna daoinibh. Oir is
muinnt*er* don dhiabal 7 is diabhail fen go firinnech lucht a
ndenta. Mas edh gid be uias aimrid, dfhior no do mnaoi, na
bith ina eretici 7 *ceter*a, acht creidiodh mar c*r*edes in eglais 7
denad faoisidin mhinic 7 gabad sacram*int* naomhtha na hegailsi
7 estidh briathra 7 tegusc diles Dé, 7 aisigidh na neiti fuair go
holc 7 na bith smuainedh aigi in t-olc cedna do dhenam [222ʳ b]
aris, 7 denad derc 7 urnaighthi 7 aithrighe 7 treghenus, mad
nech fhuilnges a dhenam uias ann. Et iar sin guidhedh in
tAthair trocairech go minic fa chloinn dfhaghail dó. Agus bith
a fhios agad go ufuair Iachim 7 Anna 7 Elizabeth 7 Zacharia,
noch dha roibh Dia buidheach 7 do bi glan o chair, clann o Dhia
rena ghuidhi, 7 ni hedh amhain, acht ni chuirim a gconntabairt
gidh be ar bith athcuinghidh dhiongmala shirfis in cristaidhi
glan ar Dhia do ghnath go ufhuighe uadhi í. *Ergo* et *ceter*a.
Et tuig fos da mbedh gan pisseoga do ueit ann nach lughuidi is
coir so do dhenam. Oir cuiridh Dia eslainti noch doni aim-
ridecht mar dhioghaltas ar in bphecach an uair nach den aithrighi.
Mas edh no go ndíocharthar in pecadh ni *leighesfaidher* (?) in
eslainti tainic trit, 7 no go *leighestar* in eslainti ni ginfidhir
uadhi, *ergo* et *ceter*a. Agus ni córa so do tuicsin isin eslainti
so na in gach uili eslainti ele. Agus dlighidh in liaigh fós ueit
glan o chair sul tionnsgnus a oibrecha.

TRANSLATION

NOW as regards charms it is a wonder to me that Bernard did not prescribe anything against them in this chapter, since he mentions them in his section on causes, and moreover that he did not write a special chapter on them, and more particularly I wonder that Cormac did not [1] do so, unless the reason was that they cannot be cured. And according to my own opinion it seems that they can be cured, like every other trial and temptation that the devil and his followers send on human beings. For followers of the devil and devils themselves are those who use them. If so, whosoever is sterile, man or woman, let him not be a heretic, *etc.*, but let him believe as the Church believes, and let him make his confession often, and receive the Holy Sacrament of the Church, and hear the words and true teaching of God, and restore the things he got wrongly, nor have thoughts of committing the same wrong again. And let him give alms and pray and repent and fast, if he be one who can do so. And after this let him pray the merciful Father often that he may have children, for be it known to thee Joachim and Anna, Elizabeth and Zacharias, with whom God was pleased, and who were free from blame, received children from God through prayer. And not that only, but I have no doubt that whatever fitting petition a good Christian is wont to ask of God he will obtain it, *ergo, etc.* And understand, moreover, that even were there no charms, none the less is it right to do this. For God sends a disease which causes sterility as punishment on the sinner when he does not repent. Therefore until the sin be put away the disease which came by it will not be cured, and until the disease be cured there will be no generation from him, *ergo, etc.* And this ought to be understood in any other disease also. And the physician also should be pure from blame before he begins his works.

---

[1] Reading *gan Cormac*, which seems required.

SOME FERMOY PLACE-NAMES.[1]

From the tract on the ancient territory of Fermoy edited by
J. G. O'Keeffe in Ériu x. 170 ff., and more recently by Canon
P. Power (Crichad an Caoilli, Cork Univ. Press, 1931), we
learn that the *tuath* of Hí Duinnín extended from the summit of
Sliabh Caoin (the Ballyhoura hills) to *Echlasca Mulaga*. Non-
Irish spellings of the latter name are Athlyskmolaga and Athlis-
kemelag, Tax. (pp. 277, 314); Athlyskymelyth, 1295 (JR);
Acheluskemelag, 1307 (*ib.*); and, without the saint's name,
Aghaliske, 1618 (Unpublished Geraldine Documents, iv, pp. 121,
135). Among the lands enumerated in the Roche Rental (Book
of Fermoy, p. 153) is *Baile na nechlusc*, which is evidently the
same place. We may safely identify it with the present town-
land of Ballynahalisk (**Baile na hEachlaisge*), to the north-west
of Glanworth, which appears as Ballenynathliske in a document
of 1611 (PRJ, 209 a). Ballynahalisk is situated in the parish
of St. Nathlash,[2] the name of which evidently represents an Irish
Paróiste na nEachlasg, i.e. *Paróiste Eachlasg Mo-laga*.

Adjoining the parish of St. Nathlash, from which it is separated
by the River Funshion, is the parish of Derryvillane. With this,
I think, we can safely identify the *Daire Faibleinn* of the
Fermoy tract (Ériu x. 174). The second word of this name is
spelled *Faibl-* in the Book of Lismore text, and the correct
reading is evidently *Faibléin*. *Doire Fhoibhleáin*, as the name
would be in modern spelling, would be pronounced very much
as Derryvillane is in English.[3]

The same *tuath* which contains *Daire Faibléin* includes
other place-names which can be identified. *Loch Arda O Cillin*
may be safely equated with the later *Baile an Locha* (Roche

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[1] The following abbreviations require explanation : Tax. = Papal taxation
of 1302-6 in Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland, 1302-7; JR =
Calendar of Justiciary Rolls, 1295–1303 and 1305-7; PRJ = Calendar of
Patent Rolls of James I.

[2] Spelled 'Nathlast' (without the incorrect 'St.') in 1615, Archivium
Hibernicum, ii, 199.

[3] A few non-Irish spellings of the name may be quoted : Derwyllan and
Dirwolan, Tax. (pp. 277, 314; for -*w*- read -*iv*-), Dirriwillane, 1575 (Fiants
Eliz.), Dirrevillane, 1577 (*ib.*).

Rental), written Ballinloghie in 1611 (PRJ, 209 a) and now, more
corruptly, Ballydeloughy. *Liagán Lig Uanach* is beyond doubt,
the same as *Baile an Liagáin* (Roche Rental), written Ballin-
liegane in 1611 (PRJ, 209 a), and now known as Ballylegan, in
the parish of Glanworth. *Carrac in Furnaidi* is represented
by the ruined castle of Carriganoura, built by the Condons,
about a mile to the west of Mitchelstown. There are numerous
references to this place in the Fiants of Elizabeth, as for instance
'Richard Condon, alias M'Maug Condon, of Carrigynunry,
gent.,' A.D. 1585 (Fiant 4752).[1]

In his elaborate edition of the Fermoy tract Canon Power
has missed the correct identification of the above-mentioned
place-names, largely, it would seem, through placing excessive
reliance on what he calls 'the rule of *deiseal*'. He assigns
Derryvillane and St. Nathlash to the *tuath* of Eóganacht
Glennamnach instead of to the *tuath* of Hí Chuscraidh; he
thinks that *Achadh Loiscthi* is the Irish name which has been
corrupted to 'Ballynahalisk' and 'St. Nathlash',[2] and so on.
Daingean Eóganachta he equates with Carrigdownane, though
O'Keeffe had correctly identified it with Ballindangan (*Baile an
Daingin*). Accordingly the boundaries assigned by Canon Power
to the *tuath*s of Hí Duinnín, Hí Chuscraidh, and Eóganacht
Glennamnach, all require revision.[3]

From the Fermoy tract we learn that each of the two *triúcha*s
into which the territory was originally divided included a district
known as *Fonn Timchill* on its northern border (cf. ÉRIU x.
175, 177). One of the districts so named lay between Doneraile
and the summits of the Ballyhoura hills; the other included
Kilbeheny and the hilly country lying to the north-west of that
place.

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[1] The name *Carrac in F[h]urnaidi* means 'the rock of the watch',
'sentinel rock'. The translation 'Bog of the Banquet' quoted by Power
(*op. cit.* 90) is too absurd for comment. (*F*)*urnaide*, 'waiting', was later
metathesized into *funnraide*, which survives as *fiúnraí* in West Kerry, *fiúraí*
in West Muskerry. Like most Munster dialects, the dialect of the Mitchels-
town district appears to have turned -*nr*- into -*r*-.

[2] The mistake of identifying *Achadh Loiscthi* and 'Nathlash' had pre-
viously been made by Canon J. F. Lynch (Journal Cork Hist. and Arch.
Society, xxvi (1920), p. 83).

[3] One is forced to add that the 'Map of Caoille' which he prefixes to his
work abounds in all kinds of errors.

During the century or two following the Invasion a cantred named Fontymchyll (also spelled Fontemel, &c.) is frequently referred to in Anglo-Norman records dealing with County Limerick. Its precise situation has been a matter of dispute ;[1] but the evidence brought forward by Westropp[2] shows plainly that it was a district in the south-east of County Limerick lying around the Ballyhoura Hills. Here we have a third district called *Fonn Timchill*,[3] adjacent to the other two. It seems likely that the name *Fonn Timchill*, which means ' Surrounding Land ', was at one time applied to an unbroken stretch of territory, viz. the land bordering on the triangle of hilly country formed by the Ballyhoura range of hills and the hills to the south and east of Kilfinnane.

<div align="right">T. F. O'RAHILLY.</div>

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[1] See Orpen, Journal R. Soc. Ant. Ir., 1909, p. 37 f.

[2] Proc. R. I. A., xxxiii C, pp. 36–8.

[3] Orpen's conjecture that Fontymchyll, &c., represent *Fonn tSinchill* is untenable, and so is Westropp's belief that the second part of the name stands for ' Michael '.

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