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VOL. XXIX

EDITED BY
DAVID GREENE AND PROINSIAS MAC CANA

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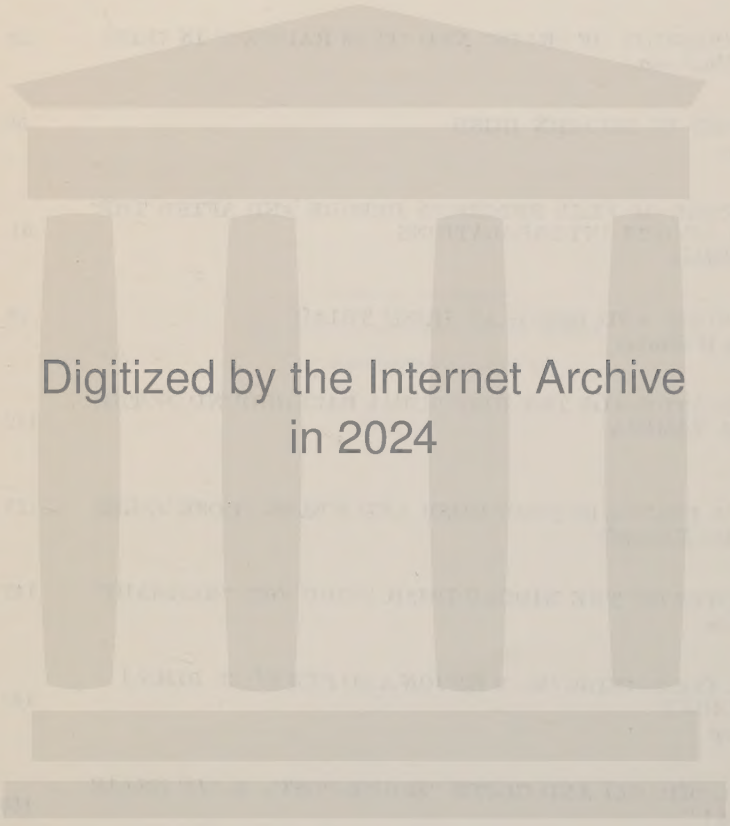

OLD IRISH VERBAL-NOUNS*

1. It is almost universally assumed that most non-finite verb forms in the Indo-European (IE) languages are historically derived from substantives. In particular, infinitives and supines are generally taken to reflect regrammatized abstract action nouns (e.g., Brugmann 1906 II/1:630 ff). Old Irish (OIr) (and Celtic in general) lacks a genuine infinitive. A class of forms generally termed *verbal-noun*, but mistakenly identified with infinitives by some pre-modern Celtic scholars,[1] is used in a wide variety of complement type constructions which occur in Old Irish in lieu of the kinds of complex sentence constructions which are customarily associated with IE languages.

Verbal-noun constructions appear in Irish to the exclusion of propositions which include participles, gerunds, and genuine infinitives, and in some situations where finite subordinate clauses might be expected elsewhere in IE. With every Irish verb there is associated one, or in some cases two, verbal-nouns. However, the forms themselves are clearly nominal. They are fully inflected, govern genitive objects, and can generally occur in any syntactic contexts associated with nouns.

There appears to be a traditional assumption concerning the origin of OIr verbal-nouns that they are etymologically related to the forms which are termed infinitives and supines in the other IE languages, and that the fundamentally nominal character of these forms reflects a striking archaism in Old Irish. (It might be noted here that I am using Old Irish as representative of general Celtic, at least of Insular Celtic). Remarks in the literature concerning OIr verbal-nouns and verbal-noun constructions by noted Celticists, such as Windisch (1878:74 ff.), Vendryes (1914) and Lewis and Pedersen (1937:315) take for granted this assumption which, incidentally, has

*The research presented in this paper was in part supported by grants from the American Philosophical Association, and the College of Humanities of The Ohio State University. I wish to express my sincere gratitude to the School of Celtic Studies in the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, and especially to its former Director, Prof. David Greene, for arranging my appointment as Visiting Research Associate during the 1974/75 academic year. The opportunity to pursue concentrated study in Celtic linguistics while at the Institute was instrumental in permitting me to expand the scope of my research on Indo-European non-finite verbals and complementation to the Celtic branch. This paper has benefitted greatly from discussion with Professors Greene, E. Gordon Quin, Proinsias MacCana and Dr. Anders Alqvist in Dublin, and with Eric Hamp. Of course, I am solely responsible for any errors of fact or judgment in this paper.

An earlier version of this was read at the 50th Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Society of America at San Francisco, California, on December 28, 1975.

1. See, for example, Pedersen (1913) and Fraser (1912:219 et passim) on the presence of a 'proper infinitive' in Old Irish.

never been critically examined. It is notable, however, that Delbrück (1893–1900: III/2:946) was convinced that the OIr verbal-noun was an innovation, and that Gagnepain (1963:339) has more recently made a similar claim without reference to Brugmann's remarks. Unfortunately, neither scholar presents the specific evidence on which his position is based. Yet there do exist significant indications of a lexical, morphological, and syntactic character which suggest strongly that the OIr grammatical category *verbal-noun* represents a dialect specific development, as do the syntactic constructions with which it is associated.[2]

In this paper I will first detail most of the evidence which suggests to me that the OIr grammatical category *verbal-noun* and most of the syntactic constructions in which such forms appear are lately developed. Secondly, I will present a context in which this innovation (or set of innovations) might have taken place which will relate such a change both to more general developments in Irish, and to broad issues of syntactic structure concerning the nature of universal grammar.

2. In a recent article (Jeffers 1975), I pointed out that it is a strikingly restricted set of Proto-Indo-European (PIE) nominal derivational types that is attested cross-dialectally as regrammaticalized infinitives and that, hence, apparently shows an inherited tendency toward morpho-syntactic reanalysis as verbals. The most archaic set of derivatives associated with infinitival development includes forms with suffix final **m-* ~ *u̯-*, *s-*, *t-*, and heteroclitic *r/n-*. These may appear either as simple suffixes, i.e., *em-* ~ *eu̯-*; *es-*; *et-*; *er/n-*, or the heteroclitic suffix may form a compound with any of the others, i.e., *men-* ~ *wen-*; *sen-*; *ten-*. A later, and dialectally restricted, set of infinitive suffixes are derived from nominal forms with the suffixes *-tu* and *-ti* (and from radical stems).

If the situation in Old Irish represents a stage in the prehistory of the more widely attested non-finite verbals of IE, we would expect a noticeable correspondence between the morphological make-up of OIr verbal-nouns and that of those PIE verbal nouns which tend to develop as infinitives and supines. Yet, this is emphatically not the case. In Irish, there is a class of verbal-nouns reflecting almost every derivational type which the language has inherited from PIE.

2. It must be emphasized that the category *verbal-noun*, as it is traditionally termed in discussions of Irish grammar, is not to be equated with the more general notion *verbal noun* as used in the linguistic literature to refer to a deverbative noun. Some, but not all etymological verbal nouns may be characterized as Irish verbal-nouns. Moreover, many underived forms are included in this well-defined class. Membership in the Irish grammatical category is dependent on paradigmatic association with a specific verb, and on the potential for such a form to appear in a specific set of complement constructions (see Section 5 for a partial catalogue of such constructions).

Consider for example the list in Thurneysen's grammar (1946: 445ff). Any morphological correspondence between an OIr verbal-noun type and some IE infinitive must be considered superficial. It is an incidental consequence of the diversity of derivational types which are identified with the category *verbal-noun* in Old Irish.

3. One formal correspondence between an OIr verbal-noun and an IE infinitive which is almost universally noted (e.g. Thurneysen 1946, §723) is that between OIr forms with a *-d* suffix (e.g., *mórad* 'the act of praising') from IE nominals in *tu-*, and the IE derivative infinitives and supines formed with this same etymological suffix which occur productively in Indic, Balto Slavic, and Latin, (i.e., Vedic: *-tos, -tave, -tavai, -tum*; Lith.; *-tu*; Slavic: *-tŭ*; Latin: *-tum, -tūi, tū*). As I pointed out in the above-mentioned article, this formation is associated with a very late stage of infinitival development in IE, and is highly restricted geographically. The emergence of an infinitive in *-tu* in the above-named dialects may, indeed, represent parallel development. In Vedic, the actual historical development from nominal to verbal can be followed in the text for infinitives in *-tu* (Jeffers 1975: 136ff), while in Latin the supine (*-tum*) appears to be superimposed onto an older system (Jeffers 1975:146). Infinitives derived from *-tu* suffixed nominals represent very poor candidates for archaic status from a general IE point of view. If we turn our attention to Old Irish, the superficiality of the correspondence becomes even more apparent.

OIr verbal-nouns formed with suffixes which reflect the PIE formative *-tu* are almost exclusively attached to denominative verbs, which, for the most part, are Irish creations (Watkins 1956). Consequently, the success of this suffix as a verbal-noun formative must be seen as a language specific development, possibly resulting from the analogical extension of a pattern established for one or some small set of primary verbs in *a-* to which a verbal-noun in *-tu* came to be attached.[3]

4. The very nature of the processes through which infinitives develop in IE creates difficulties for the position that OIr verbal-nouns represent an archaic stage in the development of IE infinitives. For the most part, infinitives are products of a formal identification of IE verbal-nouns with finite verbs. Deverbative nouns of the type given in column I of Table I are reinterpreted as verbal forms (column II) on the analogy of morphologically related finite verb forms or verb

3. The analogical explanation for the spread of the suffix *-d* in Irish can only be speculative at this point, considering the difficulty in establishing the verb or verbs which might have served as a source for the pattern extension.

stems (column III). (See Jeffers 1975:142, fn. 15 et pass. and 1976a, forthcoming.)

Table I

	I	II	III
Lat.	*douk-es+i (loc. sg.)	*douk-e+si (>dūcere 'to lead')	douk-e+t (3 sg.) (>dūcit)
Gk.	pher+en (loc. sg.)	phere+n ('to carry')	phere-te (2 sg.)
Skt.	dā-tu+m (acc. sg.)	dā+tum	√dā

The kind of formal identity which necessarily exists between a given verb and its infinitive, and which explains the historical transition from nominal to verbal is often absent in the case of Irish verbal-nouns. In fact, an Irish verb and its verbal-noun may be lexically distinct, and for some verbs more than one verbal-noun is possible. Consider the sets of forms in Table II.

Table II

3 sg.		vn.	
tongid	'swears'	luige	'the act of swearing'
do-fich	'attacks'	togal	'the act of attacking'
(caraid	'loves'	serc	'the act of loving')
téit	'goes'	techt/dul	'the act of going'

It is interesting to note that the simplex *-gal* of the suppletive verbal-noun *togal* apparently does not occur as a genuine verbal noun. *gal* is an underived form meaning 'fury, warlike ardor'.[4] The forms for 'love' are given in parentheses because *serc* similarly may not represent a full-fledged verbal noun, as is noted by Binchy and Bergin in their translation of Thurneysen's grammar (Thurneysen 1946: 683). Like *gal*, *serc* does not occur in the full range of verbal-noun complement constructions, a kind of constraint which does not, in general, affect genuine infinitives.

4. The verbal-noun *dígal* 'avenge' also occurs. Historically, *di+fich* 'avenge' and *to+fich* 'destroy' fall together as *do-fich* as a consequence of deuterotonic accent. The prototonic verbal-noun forms maintain the distinction, hence *dígal* and *togal*. Cf. also the negative expressions *ní dich* (<**di-fich*) and *ní toich* (<**to-fich*).

For some OIr verbal nouns which are morphologically related to their paradigm, the derivative relationship which universally obtains between an IE verb and its infinitive is essentially reversed. Recall that infinitives are verbal nouns which are regrammaticalized on the basis of a formal identification with finite verb forms. In Old Irish the verbal noun for many denominative verbs is the very abstract noun from which the verb is formed. Consider the examples in Table III.

Table III

ásaid	'grows'	ás	'the act of growing'
íc(c)aid	'saves'	íc(c)	'the act of saving'
rímid	'counts'	rím	'the act of counting'

The historical character of the formal relationship which obtains between verbs and those verbal-nouns which come to be reinterpreted as infinitives in languages like Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit is simply not to be compared with the kind of historical relationship which appears to exist between verbs and verbal-nouns in Old Irish.

5. Let us then turn our attention away from the forms themselves to the syntactic constructions in which OIr verbal-nouns occur. OIr verbal nouns are used in a far wider range of syntactic contexts than what might be expected for IE derived nominals. Consider the sentence types in IV.

Table IV

i. cach ro-t-chechladar oc precept (Wb. 28d16)
everyone who shall hear you preaching
(lit.) at preaching cf. IE participle

ii. a. hícc sochuide tre precept iarna(r) sóirad (Wb 14c7)
(lit.) saving of multitude through preaching after our saving
(i.e.) to save a multitude through teaching after our deliverance

b. íarnar n-imchosait do Bricrend (LU 8080)
(lit.) after our stirring up by Bricriu
(i.e. after (when) Bricriu has stirred us up)
cf. IE participle/absolute constructions

iii. is oc precept soscéli attó (Wb 21c19)
(lit.) it is at preaching of the gospel that I am
(i.e. I am preaching the gospel)
cf. IE periphrasis with participle

iv. ní date leu in comdiu do chrochad (Wb 8a6)
(lit.) it is not agreeable to them the Lord (nom.) for crucifying
(i.e. it is not agreeable to them that the Lord be crucified *or* to crucify the Lord)
cf. IE finite clause

v. cocarad chaingnimu du denum (Ml. 14a8)
(lit.) that he loved good deeds (acc.) for the doing to be done
cf. IE ?gerundive
(i.e. that he loved to do good deeds.)

vi. indíi adchobra-som do hícc (Wb. 28b1)
those whom he desires to save
(lit.) for saving cf. IE infinitive

vii. is do immarchor chóre dotíagat (Wb. 5a5)
(lit.) it is for the carrying of peace that they come
(i.e. they come to bring peace)
cf. IE Infinitive/Purpose Complement

viii. is do thabirt díglae berid in claideb sin
(lit.) it is for the giving of punishment that he bears that sword (Wb. 6a13)
(i.e. he bears that sword to inflict punishment.)
cf. IE Infinitive/Purpose Complement

It will be recalled that Old Irish does not make use of many of the standard IE complement constructions, and it has often been pointed out (e.g. Pedersen 1937:315–6) that verbal-noun phrases of the type given in IV appear in situations in which other IE languages might use participial, infinitival, gerund, gerundive, and finite adverbial clauses. The embedded sentences of *i* and *ii*, for example, might be expressed by standard or absolute participial constructions, or through the use of a gerund elsewhere in IE. *iii* seems to compare with the kinds of periphrastic constructions which also include a participle. The verbal-noun construction in *iv* would correspond to a complement sentence with a finite verb in most IE languages, while *v*, if one analysis is correct (that, e.g. given in *DIL* D 2 175 and suggested by the translations given here), might be identified with a sentence incorporating a gerundive. In any event, the types of nominal constructions which occur in IV are unique to Celtic within the IE language family. Like Old Irish, PIE was certainly characterized by a diverse system of deverbative nouns, but the evidence from the non-Celtic dialects offers little or no indication that PIE derived nominals participated in syntactic constructions like those examplified in IV.

It is particularly interesting to consider the fact that in those types of complement situations where IE verbal nouns come to be re-grammaticalized as infinitives, Old Irish shows complement constructions which are unique to Celtic within IE. Whereas the IE construction is 'nominal object + verbal-noun', the likely OIr correspondent is of the form 'prep (usu. *do*) + verbal-noun + nominal object'. Consider the purpose complements in *vii* and *viii*. The correspondence between OIr constructions like these and Vedic constructions like *somasya pītaye*, 'the drinking of Soma', to which scholars like Windisch (1878:74) and Vendryes (1914) have called attention is by no means exact.[5]

It should also be noted that, although the syntactic patterns to which I've called attention in IV are demonstrably non-IE, many are characteristically Irish. Compare, for example, the expression of the logical subject as object of the preposition *do* in other non-personal constructions like the impersonal and impersonal passive sentences in V.

Table V

i.	ó thánic dóib co dergud	(FB §80)
	(lit.) when there was a coming by them to make up the couch (3 sg. pret.)	
	(i.e. when they came to make up the couch)	
ii.	imberthar fidcella dún	(SC §3)
	(lit.) let there be a playing ?chess by us (3 sg. pres. subj. pass.)	
	(i.e. let us play chess)	

6. A final and striking distinction between infinitives and many of the forms that are termed verbal nouns in Old Irish is that they serve a dual role in the grammatical system. The same form may, at once, function as the abstract action noun attached to the paradigm of some specific finite verb, and as a straightforward concrete noun. *rím*, e.g. is the word for 'number', but serves also as the verbal noun to *rímid* 'counts'. Likewise, *dliged* means 'right' and is the verbal noun to *dligid* 'has a right to'. Moreover, a given word which has a potential use as a verbal noun, when functioning as a simple noun (e.g. subject of a sentence) may show all of the syntactic attributes associated with any noun, such as modification by adjectives. When that same word functions as a verbal noun, e.g. in complement constructions like those in IV, nominal modifiers do not occur.

5. For a discussion of IE verbal noun constructions of this type in Vedic, and of their development as infinitives see Sgall 1958 and Jeffers 1975.

7. How then might such a situation arise in a language? Consider the following hypothesis which might explain the dual character of many Old Irish verbal-nouns, as well as a number of the other features unique to Celtic within IE, which I have been discussing here: At some point in the prehistory of Irish (or probably Celtic), nominal forms which were semantically, although not necessarily, or only partially, morphologically related to those verbs were called upon to function in innovative syntactic contexts as a result of the elimination of several inherited syntactic patterns. Such an hypothesis would suggest that forms which have a dual function reflect their usage before the period of innovation as well as the results of this secondary extension. We would assume that the sentence types exemplified in IV have actually replaced IE constructions with participles, gerunds, etc., and perhaps even genuine infinitives (Gagnepain 1963:339).[6] Once this tendency to attach specific nouns to specific verbs becomes established, productive patterns for the formation of verbal-nouns would develop (hence, the productivity of *-d* suffixed verbal-nouns), and some less productive, yet entirely innovative forms, might be coined to fill the role of verbal-noun for certain verbs.

8. The crucial question, however, still remains: why should such a massive restructuring affect the morpho-syntactic system of a language like Irish? Consider, however, that the Celtic languages (at least the Insular Celtic languages) are the only IE languages to have undergone a typological shift toward Verb + Subject + Object (VSO) structure. Might it be possible that the expansion of nominal complementation is associated with the general shift to VSO structure?

Despite the considerable research currently being pursued in the field of syntactic universals (e.g. Greenberg 1963; Lehmann 1973a, 1973b, 1975; Vennemann 1974; Fredrich 1975), little attention has been given to issues concerning the types of complement structures that are associated with languages of a given type. A perusal of descriptive grammars suggests that relationships of this kind might exist, and particularly in the case of VSO languages, there appears to be a clear proclivity toward the widespread use of nominal complement constructions of the type which characterize OIr syntax.

6. Actual relics of PIE non-finite verb forms do occur in Old Irish. The perfect (passive) participle in **-to* has been incorporated into the system of the finite verb as a third person preterite passive. Moreover, individual lexical items like *carae* 'friend' <**karant-s* attest to the earlier occurrence of present participles in **-nt* (Thurneysen 1946, p. 372). The only potential example of an IE non-finite verbal which is retained productively as a non-finite form in Irish is the so-called 'verbal of necessity', e.g. *buithi* 'it has to be'. *-ti, -thi, -di* is generally taken to be cognate with the verbal noun suffix **ti* in the dative, which appears, e.g., as a Vedic infinitive ending *-taye*.

Consider Ancient Egyptian, one of the VSO languages used in Greenberg's (1963) pioneering study of language universals. Like Old Irish, Ancient Egyptian is strikingly characterized by a syntactic system favoring nominal complementation at the expense of non-finite verb forms. Like the Irish preterite passive participle, the Egyptian participle is an adjective, and as Gardiner (1957) states in his grammar 'the Greek and English (and I might add, general IE) use of the participle as equivalent to a clause of time or circumstance is alien to Egyptian (270).'

Like Irish, Egyptian makes extravagant use in complement constructions of a nominal form, traditionally, but unfortunately termed an infinitive. The correspondence between Irish and Egyptian is remarkable. The so-called infinitive in Egyptian takes object genitive.[7] It shows inflection (such as it is in Egyptian), and is distinguished in its nominal and verbal use, being qualified by an adjective only in its nominal function, like OIr verbal-nouns. Again as in Irish, the subject of an infinitive is expressed with the help of a specific preposition (*'in*). And the infinitive itself occurs with a range of prepositions in constructions which correspond to participial constructions elsewhere. Compare, for example, the function of the preposition *ḥr* + infinitive in VI.i, with OIr oc + verbal-noun in IV.i, or of the preposition *r* + inf. in VI.ii with the Irish construction *do* + verbal-noun to express purpose or result in IV.vi and vii.

Table VI.[8]

i. ist hd·n ḥm·f ḥr h3k dmiw
lo went northward his Majesty plundering towns
(on plundering of towns)

ii. wd3 ḥm·f m hd r shrt Mntn Stt
proceeded his Majesty to north to overthrow the Bedouins of Asia

While differences, of course, exist between the Ancient Egyptian infinitive and the Old Irish verbal-noun, they clearly represent grammatical categories whose functions are fundamentally the same. This parallel structural feature, and the fact that both languages are VSO in structure may well be more than coincidental. Other VSO languages such as Squamish and Tahitian show complement structures of strikingly similar types. (For a more extensive discussion of the relationship between VSO structure and nominal complementation see Jeffers 1976b.)

7. That is to say that the infinitive and its object are in *status constructus*, a noun + noun construction equivalent to genitive constructions in IE.
8. Egyptian examples are after Gardiner 1950 : 304; some diacritics omitted.

It should, of course, be noted that comparisons between Celtic and Afro-Asiatic have been made since the time of John Rhys and John Morris Jones (see J. Rhys and D. Brynmor Jones, *The Welsh People*, 1900, especially Morris Jones 'Pre-Aryan Syntax in Insular Celtic'). Up to now, however, these comparisons have been in the context of attempts to establish a theory which explains differences between Celtic syntax and the syntactic systems of other IE languages on the basis of a Hamitic or Semitic substratum. (For a brief discussion of the history of this theory see Greene 1963, and for the most recent discussions which promote the 'Hamitic hypothesis' see the writings of H. Wagner on the subject, in particular *Das Verbum in den Sprachen der britischen Inseln*, 1959, and *TPS* 1969 p. 208 *et. pass.*) The comparison with Egyptian offered here is in no way meant as support for any substratum hypothesis; it is offered solely for the purpose of establishing a typological parallel.

9. If my suggestions about the relationship between nominal complementation and VSO structure are borne out, we have, at least, a partial explanation for the Celtic innovations which resulted in the Old Irish employment of verbal-nouns. Of course, any explanation of a linguistic change dependent on facts about language universals is incomplete. It offers a general context in which general tendencies of change and specific innovations might be understood, but the mechanisms through which any significant restructuring of the type I am claiming for Old Irish is realized must be explicated in detail before the development can be considered fully explained. My purpose here has been simply to establish conclusively that the Old Irish grammatical category *verbal-noun* and the syntactic constructions associated with it are Celtic innovations. The facts about linguistic typology which I have discussed, if valid, serve at once as an explanation, i.e. a first cause for the changes, and as an argument on behalf of the position that this sub-system of Old Irish syntax is a genuine Celtic novelty within IE.

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THE ORIGIN OF THE *F*-FUTURE: AN ALTERNATIVE EXPLANATION*

In *Ériu* xx 67–81 Watkins has summarized and examined the literature on this formation. There have been two main schools of thought about its origin. The obvious temptation has always been to equate the Irish *f*- or *b*-future with the periphrastic Latin future in *-bo*. Watkins and Thurneysen, however, have contested this view both on phonetic and morphological grounds, and hold that the *f* of the future cannot go back to an older **bh* but must be explained as the lenition-product of an original **sw*. For Watkins the problem has been one of finding an origin for this **sw*, and this he sees in the forerunner of the Sanskrit adjectives with suffix *-su* based on the desiderative stems of verbs (*iyakṣú-* 'wishing to obtain' based on *íyakṣ-ati*, 79). To this would have been added, as is well in keeping with subjunctive/future relations in old Irish, the **ā* of the Irish *ā*-subjunctive, giving **swā*, in lenited unstressed form *-fa-*. If the equation of the Irish reduplicated future with the Sanskrit desiderative is accepted (and Watkins does accept it, 76) we are left with an Irish future system based entirely on the Indo-European desiderative, and this part of the verb turns out to be unitary.

It is not my purpose here to criticize this theory, but rather to suggest a different one. In general I shall be arguing in favour of a return to a comparison with Latin forms, not only with phonetic and morphological justification, but also for the general reason that a late periphrastic formation seems more likely than the type of derivation suggested by Watkins, depending as it does on very ancient procedures in old primary verbs (81). Some less basic points of disagreement will of course emerge during the course of this article.

The idea of an Italo-Celtic unity has been so severely criticized since it was first suggested (for the latest discussion see Watkins, 'Italo-Celtic revisited' in *Ancient Indo-European dialects*, 1966) that one feels apologetic about mentioning it. Nevertheless the first place where one looks for a cognate for a Celtic form, and this applies particularly to the verb, is in Latin. One thinks of the merging of the aorist and perfect (here one may quote Watkins himself—'In Anbetracht der allgemein anerkannten nahen Beziehung zwischen Italisch und Keltisch ist es nicht überraschend, dass der Zusammenfall von

* The theory put forward in this article has been aired on two previous occasions, once in a paper read to the Royal Irish Academy (13 May 1968) and once at a Tionól of the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (11 March 1977). I am very grateful for their comments to speakers to both of these papers, and in particular to David Greene, who has also read and commented on the present article.

Aorist und Perfekt in ein neues Präteritum auch im Keltischen . . . stattfand', *Indogermanische Grammatik* III 1 155), the *ā*-subjunctive, the creation of a past tense of the subjunctive, derivative *ā*-verbs, unreduplicated perfects, and so on (some though not all of these features are of course shared by Germanic). On the other hand the comparison of the Irish *s*-future with the Sanskrit desiderative is at best precarious and isolated, and has been contested by at least one scholar (see Wagner, *ZCP* xxxii 279).

The objections to the comparison with the Latin future are two, one phonological, the other morphological. I hope to show that neither can be fully sustained. We may deal first with the phonological problem.

Watkins (68–72) discusses in some detail the various attempts to equate the Irish *f* with Latin *b*, and concludes—'all efforts to derive Ir. *-f-* from I.E. *bh* have met with failure.' The problem is in the first place one of the relationship between Ir. *f* and lenited *b* (*β*). Both Thurneysen (*Gramm.* 398) and Watkins reject the possibility that in the *f*-future an original *β* might have been devoiced to *f* where a voiceless consonant preceded, and that *f* was further extended from these cases. Though indeed Thurneysen (78) admits that 'in Ml. and later sources *β* in syllabic anlaut sometimes becomes *f* even after voiced consonants.' As Pedersen points out (*Vergl. Gramm.* i 270) '*f* und *v* (geschrieben im Air. *b*) gehen im Ir. in Anlaut proklitischen Wörter durcheinander.'

Evidence for the development of *f* to *β*, required by Thurneysen and Watkins for the explanation of the *f*-future, is clear and undeniable. Thurneysen (*Gramm.* 83) cites *felsub* 'philosophus' and *angraib* 'antigraphum'. The *β* of 2 pl. *sib* and the infixed pronouns is clearly from **sw* via *f* (*cf.* W. *chwi*), though note that in the infixed pronoun *f* is by no means rare. The same applies to *merball* (*mer* with *sel* from **swel*, We. *chwil*, see Vendryes, *Lex. Étymol.* M 40), where the form *merfall* is also found and survives to give the modern /m'arəhəl/, with treatment of the consonantal group much as in the later development of the *f*-future. O.Ir. *forfess* (with *f* from **w*, see Watkins 77) later appears as *forbais*. The compound **to-ad-fiad* regularly gives *do-adbat*, though oddly enough there is a strong tendency for *-f-* to be retained after the *-r-* of the perfect (in perf. pass. throughout except for *doárbas*, Wb. $3^{a}21$. On these complicated forms see Armstrong, *Ériu* xxvii 50–1). The preposition *for* appears twice in Wb. as *bar* ($17^{b}18$, 20) and also in LL (*DIL* F 294.9). This may have been the first stage in its formal coalescence with the preposition *ar*. O'Brien's posthumous explanation of *fadeissin*, *budéin* and ultimately *féin* as beginning with **swo* 'self' is mentioned again below. He also suggested (*ZCP* xiv 309–11) that *neph-* (assuming this and not *neb-* to be the

original form) was from **ne* and **su*, the IE laudatory prefix (see Vendryes, *Lex. Étymol.* N 5).

We must now consider the opposite process, by which an original *β* gives *f*. Except in one case, which is however crucial, examples are isolated and do not form a system but they at least show the possibility of such a change.

The word *cuindbech* is explained in native glossaries as 'empty', and has been analysed by Meyer in *ZCP* xiii 186 as **com+díbech*. It occurs as *cuindfiuch* in Corm. Y 387.

The word *búanbach*, the name of a (board?) game, is explained by Thurneysen (Heldensage 84) as 'dauerndes Schlagen?' Here Thurneysen is obviously thinking of the *-bach* of words like *tobach, combach, taidbech*, etc., all of which contain the root of the verb *bongid*. A form *búanfach* is quite frequent.

The rare word *cuilebad* 'liturgical fan', a calque on Lat. *musci-fugium*, may contain the element *bath* 'death.' A form *cuilefaith* occurs at *RC* ix 20 § 17.

The verb *fo-aitbi* (**fo-ad-tibi*) shows a number of forms where *b* (*β*) gives way to *f-*:*-faitfed* (imperf. 3 sg.), *Trip.*² 229, *faitphed* (vn.), *Lism. L.* 4538, *faithfed* (*-t-*, v.l.), *TTebe* 2514, *fáitfe[da]*, *O'Dav.* 698, though here the devoicing could be due to the preceding *-t*.

The verb *do-inben* 'cuts', where *b* alternates with *m*, shows one example with *f- rothinfis*, LB 233ª57.

The word *úathbás* 'terror', which has some late forms in *-fás*, looks on the surface like a compound of *úath* and *bás*, but this seems difficult semantically, and I suggest an original *úathbas*, a derivative in *-as* (*-us*) of the *u*-stem *úath* (see *DIL* U 40, F 462). For the treatment of the *u*-suffix in derivatives compare *célm-aine, círm-aire, deogb-aire, lésb-aire, tesb-ach*. The second syllable has no doubt been influenced by *bás*. Compare also the parallel *lúthbas*. In both words the devoicing could of course be ascribed to the preceding *-th-*.

Thurneysen (*Gramm.* 83, 560) explains the adverb *cammaib cammaif camaiph* as a compound of *camm* and *oíph*. No convincing etymology for the second word has as yet been produced (see Vendr. *Lex.* O 14), but though the spelling *oiph* occurs (once) in Wb. the weight of the evidence (*cf.* also *oíbell, oíbind*) is in favour of an original *oíb*.

In *Ériu* iii 85 Bergin derives *úailbe* 'fickleness, restlessness' from the adjective *ualib* (*indualib* gl. *inquiete*, Wb. 26ᵇ22). The word can hardly be separated from *fúailfed*, with the same meaning, though no cross-reference is given in *DIL* F 452.

The second element in the compound *tulchuba* has not been explained. At all events the usual form with *-b-* is replaced by *taulchufa* at *TBC*² 1072 (*-chuma*, LU 5553).

For *crotball* the form *crotfall* occurs at *Acall.* 4441. The devoicing is no doubt due to the preceding voiceless *t*.

We may note here two cases of *f* replacing lenited *m*.

Two forms of the future of the verb *ro-laimethar* (*DIL* L 43) occur in Old Irish, one reduplicated, the other an *ē*-future. The latter is presumably the later; it does not occur in the Old Irish glosses, the earliest example apparently being *-lémaither, LU* 5185 (*TBC*) = *-lemaiter, ZCP* ix 138.39. The reduplicated form was no doubt originally *lilm-* without lowering of the reduplication-vowel *i* as in *gign-, didm-* (Thurn. *Gramm.* 402), as against the more frequent type *cechn-, -gega-*, etc. The stem *lilm-* has been altered in various ways. The form in *ní lib matar*, Ml. 69^{b}3 has been dealt with by Strachan in *Thes.* i and *ZCP* iii 482, in the latter being described as a 'corrupt' form for *-lilmatar*. The *b* in the facsimile of the Milan Codex has a slightly unusual look, and there is a possibility that an *l* was written originally. On the other hand if we accept the *b* this may be considered either as an assimilation-product in relation to the following *m* or as a dissimilation in relation to the initial *l*. The same applies to the later *-linfaithir, TBC*^{2} 706 (= *lémaither, LU* 5185 cited above), *-linfadar, Táin* 4782 (*-lindfadar, LL* 12278). For the *-n-* compare *rolin*, Ml. 54^{a}7, emended in Thes. to *rolil*, though here there may be influence of the present-stem *len-*.

The phrase *mochen* 'welcome' is explained in *DIL M* 154 as 'probably compd. of 1 s. poss. pron. and *cen* 'love, favour'. But the latter word does not seem to exist apart from this expression, and the phrase can hardly be other than a development of *mad-chin* (*cinid, DIL* C 193). The form *fo-chen* has not been recorded in *DIL*, though it is frequent enough (*Fraech* 62, 79, *ScM*^{2}. 15, *LU* 3382, etc.). There may here be influence of either *fo* 'under' or *fó* 'good'.

The foregoing are sporadic instances pointing to a possible development of lenited *b* and *m* to *f*. A number of them are relatively late, nor does it seem possible to formulate any general rule for them. We turn now to the case where devoicing of lenited *b* to *f* occurs with some frequency and in environments for which structural rules seem possible. This concerns the element usually reconstructed as **bhw(ā)* from the IE root **bhewə*, which gives Old Irish most of the forms of the copula and substantive verb. The actual change of lenited *b* to *f* is beyond doubt. To what extent it depended on the presence in the root of the sound **w* need not really concern us here (see Sommerfelt's theory in *MSL* xxii 230 ff. and *Synchronic and diachronic aspects of language* 311–13 and Watkins' criticism in *Ériu* xx 70). A few of the cases mentioned below are given in Thurn. *Gramm.* 78.

The most important proclitic in old Irish is the copula, and for this we have the lenited forms *amal fid* from Ml. 34^{b}11 and 37^{b}22 (but

amal bid, 23c9 etc.), *ciafa*, 36a32 (but *ciaba*, Wb. 6c9, 18a7), *fer fas sruithiu*, *Thes.* ii 258.31. In these examples the initial of the copula was lenited after conjunctions and in the relative. It is less easy to see the reason for lenition in *fa fá ba bá* in alternative questions (Thurn. *Gramm.* 291). It is tentatively explained by Thurneysen as due to the influence of *no* 'or', but the wide extension of *fa fá* in the later language as preterite of the copula suggests that it may have originated in leniting relative clauses (see *DIL* I 318.56 and compare modern Irish *is* with neutral *-s*, no doubt a continuation of the old-Irish relative form *as*). Contrast non-relative *pa*, *Trip.*² 1956, *K. and H.* 1, *ZCP* xx 401.3. In explanation of these interrogatives Binchy, *Celtica* v 94, expresses a preference for a connection with Sanskrit *vā* (IE **wē*).

Pedersen (*Vergl. Gramm.* i 270–1) refers to these phrases (citing *im-b i-céin fa in accus*, Wb. 23b41 and *fa-nacc* 'or not') as 'kleine Relativsätze', and would include *fa dess* and *fa thúaith* (he explains *sa d.*, *sa th.* as due to the analogy of *súas*, *sís* and *sechtar*, ii 187), and here it is worth noting that this *fa* later appears as *bu(d)*, *bo*. The form *sa-* would seem to indicate that the prefix, whatever its origin, was not felt as the preposition. Pedersen would similarly explain *fo-chétóir*, citing *ni po hetóir*, Wb. 4c35 (emended to *nifochetóir*, following Thurneysen, in *Thes.* i 522), and also *beos* (ultimately *fós*), the second element here being *foss* (though the Ml. form *beus* looks more archaic than the *beos* of Wb.).

O'Brien's explanation of the word for 'self' was published by Greene in *Ériu* xxi 93–4. According to O'Brien it is an original **swo* (Latin *suus*, etc.) together with the dative singular of the word *deisen* 'right hand'. This is an attractive if perhaps over-ingenious explanation, but it should be noted (as Greene points out) that **swo* is not otherwise attested in Irish, and that the usual *-a-* (*fa- ca-*) of old Irish is not accounted for. The later forms in *ba- bo- bu-* suggest at any rate influence of the copula, and would support Pedersen's contention (ii 153) that the first element is in fact this verb. The rest of O'Brien's explanation no doubt stands. The various theories about the form in *ca-* (see *Ériu* xxi 94, *Ped.* ii 153, *DIL* C 163.67 ff.) need not concern us here.

Thurneysen (*Gramm.* 250) takes *fo fu* in *fo dí*, *fo thrí* etc. as the preposition, and this is borne out by the later language. Phrases like *co fo*, *co ba*, *co ma* (*DIL* F 172.51), however, suggest the possibility that we here again have the copula.

A similar change is to be found in a number of forms of the substantive verb in unstressed position, *i.e.* in compounds of various types. The verb *ceta-bí* 'feels' is one such compound. The verbal noun of this verb is usually *cétbuid* (*-aid*), with *-chetfaid* at Ml. 53b20.

The form with *-f-* later becomes the usual one, and in Middle Irish we find *-chetfaid*, SR 4995, *cétfaid*, LU 4332, etc. For the finite verb we have (with influence of *benaid*) *-cetfanad*, *Trip.*² 163, etc. The decompound with *con-* appears as *concéitbani*, Wb. 1ᶜ9, *-cocéitbani*, 10, *cotchétbanam*, 15ᶜ21, with verbal noun *comcheitbaid*, Ml. 103ᵈ13. But note *comchetfan*, PH 1342. Though *cétbuid* is in old Irish inflected as an *i*-stem (*gs. -butho*, Sg. 25ᵇ7).the verbal noun of the substantive verb was no doubt originally *both* ā, f., the nom. sg. more normally appearing as *buith*. At all events we have in the forms quoted a clear case of lenited *b* becoming *f*. The resemblance of the form *cétbaid -faid* to an *f*-future is very striking. In its modern form it even has the devoicing characteristic of the verb in this tense, appearing as /kʹeːtə/ (see *Ériu* xxi 32 ff.). Perhaps the oddest thing of all is the palatalisation of the *-t-* in some examples of the decompound, a feature of the *f*-future which is dealt with at a later stage in this paper.

The second element in the compound *findbad* 'bliss' is doubtful. In Thurn. *Gramm.* 78 following Strachan, *RC* xxviii 204 it is given as *bith* 'world', the Welsh parallel being *gwynfyd*. The forms in the old-Irish glosses are *findbuth*, Ml. 128ᵈ18, *gs. inna findbuide*, 14ᵇ4. The derivatives are *findfadach* ref. to *beatus*, 56ᵇ44, *findbadaig*, 114ᵇ7, *findbadaigetar* 'make happy', 39ᵈ10, *-findbadigtis*, 14. In later sources we find such forms as *findbiuth*, *Ériu* ii 144 § 159, *findfiud*, 108 § 25, where the second element is obviously felt as *bith*. In the old-Irish forms we can of course assume depalatalisation in accordance with Thurn. *Gramm.* 98. But the *gs.* in *-buide* cited above and the fem. gender point at least to the influence of *both buith* if not indeed to this as the original second element. Strachan's **windo-bitus* (*loc. cit.*) is supported by *isfind a bethu*, Wb. 2ᶜ2 (We. *gwyn y fyd*) and the later *findbethach*, Alex. 960. No doubt there has been conflation here (one is reminded of Vendryes' 'étymologies croisées', *ÉC* viii 298 ff. So also Carney, *Ériu* xxiii 47). But whether from **gʷ* or **bhw* the old-Irish lenited *b* shows in these forms a tendency to develop to *f*.

The syllable *-bad-* in the foregoing examples raises the question of the frequent collective suffix *-bad -fad*, which gives feminine *ā*-stems (Thurn. *Gramm.* 170). Thurneysen gives the examples *fidbad*, *ócbad*, *clothbad*, and takes the suffix as 'presumably' related to *both buith*. So also *VKG* ii 14. Both nouns in *-bad* and adjectives and nouns in *-badach* show frequent forms in *-fad* and *-fadach*.

The forms cited thus far as coming from **bhewə* and its variants have one thing in common—they are unstressed (*cf.* Pedersen cited above), being in the case of copula constructions proclitic, and in that of the substantive verb (in compounds of various types) enclitic. As pointed out by Thurneysen and Watkins there is no ordinary development from lenited *b* to *f* in Irish, and one must therefore seek a reason

(if not indeed a rule) which would account for at any rate the more certain of the changes referred to above. The key to the puzzle must lie in the idea of juncture, a term which for our purposes may be taken as referring to the special treatment of the initial of words occurring as the second element in compounds. This of course does not quite fit the case of the copula examples I have quoted, but that of the substantive verb, where we indeed have compounds, is more relevant to our purpose. Here, in the tendency for lenited *b* to change to *f*, we find a development which is foreign to lenited *b* as an ordinary element in a unitary word. The examples quoted by Watkins (*Celt. Verb* 148–9) show an extension of this principle 'where a derivational suffix is treated as though it were the second member of a compound.' This applies more closely to what I have to say about the *f*-future itself, but Watkins' examples may be quoted here in illustration of the general principle. Thus the *h* of the Welsh subjunctive in *-ho-* is from **s* (which would normally disappear between vowels). So also the *h* in the superlative in *-ham*, the equative in *-het* and the denominative in *-ha(g)*. The Irish example quoted is the 'irregular' reduplication in *selas* (instead of **sellas*), future of *slaidid*.

I shall argue on morphological grounds that the formans of the *f*-future is a form of the IE root **bhewə*. That this is possible phonetically seems to emerge from what has already been said—briefly, that an original lenited *b* from **bh(w)* was tending in Old Irish, in juncture position and intervocalically, to become *f*. The realisation of this process varies in date with different words, as is shown by the fact that in the old-Irish glosses *f*-forms of the words so far cited are in a minority, while for the *f*-future the opposite is the case.

The forms of the *f*-future occurring in the old-Irish glosses have been collected by Kieckers in *IF* xxvii 325 ff. His findings are briefly as follows. Where the personal ending consists of or begins with a vowel the suffix, if it immediately follows the root, shows *f*. Here we have two instances (in Ml.) after the vowel of the stressed root, 107 after the final consonant of the stressed root, and 50 after the final consonant of an unstressed root. There are 5 examples, however, of *b* after a stressed syllable ending in a consonant (3 after *s* in Ml., 1 after *r* in Ml., 1 after *c* in Wb.). In intervocalic position the proportion of *b* to *f* is 3 to 2 (the full figures are 21 to 14). Before endings beginning with consonants only *b* occurs. In final position (1 sg. conj.) the suffix always has the form *-b*.

In cases of this kind one tends to look for complementary distribution. Making due allowance for inconsistencies in spelling, and apart from the intervocalic position, we get a reasonably clear picture—*f* between root and vocalic ending, *b* before consonantal endings and in final position. For the intervocalic position the

Thurneysen/Watkins view is that an original *f* is in process of being voiced to lenited *b*, a process which is more than half completed. The alternative is to take it that the juncture-process postulated above was partly inhibited in intervocalic position, a totally voiced environment. Futures with intervocalic formans are, it should be noted, a disappearing category. It may further be added that if, as I maintain, the formation is a late rather than an early one, the lack of regularity not only here but (to a lesser extent) in the other positions is understandable.

A few forms call for special mention. In Ml. 36^{a}19 (MS.) 107^{a}15 and Wb. 30^{b}18 the form *atrefea* occurs, while at Ml. 114^{c}2 we find *atoifea* (*ad-toíbi*) and at Wb. 26^{a}21 *sóifitir* (*soíbid*). These contain roots ending in lenited *b*, which before a suffix beginning with the same sound should give unlenited phonetic [b] (Thurn. *Gramm.* 87). The treatment of lenited *b* and following *f* (assuming that this was the original consonant of the suffix) as [f] is, as noted by Thurneysen (*loc. cit.*), an exception to the general rule. So that in either case one must envisage the possibility of levelling, which has such a large part to play in the development of morphological systems in Irish. Thurneysen's suggestion (88) that the reason why the result was *f* was that a phonetic [p] did not exist in the language raises chronological problems.

The form *cotnerba* gl. *confidet*, Ml. 112^{a}3 is taken both by Thurneysen (*Gramm.* 262) and Pedersen (ii 513) as a future, following the Latin. It is perhaps to be analysed as *-erb-ba*, giving an additional example to the five listed above where the *b*-form is used after a stressed syllable ending in a consonant. On the other hand we may here have a present subjunctive in a nasalising relative clause used for a purely lexicographical purpose, though this device is usual only where a Latin infinitive has to be dealt with. A future *atrebea* occurs at Ml. 35^{b}24. If this is not a mere scribal error the *-b-* may be phonetic [b]. In *DIL* A 74.59 the form has been taken as subjunctive present. But the *-ea* with preceding palatal *-b-* almost certainly indicates a future (see below). Kieckers (328) sums up this type of context as follows: 'Wo *b* im Auslaute der Verbalwurzel mit dem futurischen *f* durch Synkope zusammenstiess, findet sich, wenn dem *b* der Wurzel ein Vokal vorausgeht, *f*, *b* und *bf* geschrieben . . . Im ganzen also siebenmal *f*, einmal *b*, zweimal *bf*. Geht dem die Verbalwurzel schliessenden *b* ein Konsonant vorauf, so begegnet zweimal *b*, einmal *bf*.' For the latter he cites *cotnerba* (above), *ádsélbem*, Thes. i 6.1 and *-mairbfe*, Ml. 77^{a}15.

From this brief examination of the forms of the *f*-future in old Irish we may turn to some wider morphological considerations. Schmidt in *Stud. Celt.* i 25–6 (see also *ZCP* xxxiii 37 and Wagner *ibid.* xxxii

279) lists numerous cases from IE languages where subjunctive and future are identical or where the subjunctive has quite simply become a future. Thus in Armenian (together with the neighbouring Georgian languages) there is an undifferentiated subjunctive/future. In Tokharian we find the subjunctive used in a purely future function. In Vedic Sanskrit the subjunctive often appears in the sense of a future, and this is continued in the 1 sg. imperative, a subjunctive in origin, in classical Sanskrit. In Latin the isolated *erit* as well as the regular type (3rd conjugation) *aget* are found, while in Greek we have such forms as *édomai* and *píomai*, all belonging to the IE subjunctive. Note that in Vedic, Latin and Greek futures of this type occur side by side with futures of quite different formations.

In old Irish the future *regaid*, originally an *ā*-subjunctive, shows precisely the same development as *erit* and *édomai*. Further, the verb *at-etha* has no future as distinct from the present, which means simply that the *ā*-subjunctive, here identical with the indicative, is used as a future. On the modern Irish future of the substantive verb from the Old Irish subjunctive see Bergin's illuminating analysis in *Ériu* ii 46–8. The process, according to Bergin, begins in Old Irish with 1 pl. *nobemmis*, 3 pl. *nobetis*, which are both subjunctive and conditional, though the reason may lie somewhat deeper than this kind of accidental falling together of certain forms. In other verbs we have in the first place a group of verbs where subjunctive and future are not distinguished, and the more conditioned case where an *s*-subjunctive with more than one preverb does not show reduplication in the future. For these see Thurn. *Gramm.* 409–11.

In the literature we find such forms as *dochostis*, *TBC*² 894 (*docóestis*, LU), which is imperfect subjunctive in the sense of the conditional, translated 'they would have been able to go' in *Par. and Gl.* 91; *dothīasar fair* 'it will be come upon', *TBC*² 1136, *ba nert leiss a menma, 7 tíasad i nóenach* . . . 'he would have gone,' 1843; *nícon béosa* 'I will not be', *Freach* 281. It is perhaps worth noting that the opposite (future/conditional for subjunctive) also occurs—*dianom riri E.* 'if E. sell me', *Ériu* xii 184.10 (TE²); *condribuilsed* 'till he should jump to it', *TBC*² 737 (for this see *Stories from the Táin* 94, where the form is parsed as past subjunctive, though the following explanation shows clearly that it is conditional and adds that we probably 'have here confusion of the s-future with s-subjunctive, such as is common in Mid.-Ir.'); *mar bad do chloich . . . rochíulaitís (glenaid)*, *TBC*² 1905. It is clear, then, that in Irish as in other IE languages the relationship between future and subjunctive is a close and fluctuating one.

Watkins (*Ériu* xx 72) has reported Thurneysen's convincing explanation of the (late) Latin *b*-future on the basis of a purely Latin

equation *eram : erō : : amābam : amābō*. This excludes any direct relationship with the Irish *f*-future. What I take to be the real clue to the elucidation of the Irish formation is found in an apparently chance remark in Thurn. *Gramm.* 398—'Nor does the Irish flexion with *-ā-* correspond to that of the Latin future (*but only to that of the imperfect*)' (my italics). The sentence quoted is not in the *Handbuch*. See also Meid, *Indogermanisch und Keltisch* (Innsbruck 1968) 13). I suggest that the Irish *f*-future is in fact to be referred to the Latin imperfect in *-bā-*.

The phonetic aspect of this equation has been dealt with. It remains to account for it morphologically and semantically.

In an article 'The Irish modal preterite' in *Hermathena* cxvii (1974) I have listed a large number of examples from all stages of Irish (and some from Hiberno-English) where preterite and perfect verbal forms are used in a variety of non-historic meanings (this phenomenon is also, more briefly, dealt with by Wagner in his *Das Verbum in den Sprachen der britischen Inseln* (1959) 29 and 116, a fact I had unfortunately overlooked when compiling my article). The commonest case is that where a preterite acquires the force of a conditional—*ro chaoinsiot . . . dia bfesdaois* 'they would have mourned . . . had they known', Blathm. 67. In other examples the sense moves in the direction of a kind of graphic present—*boí ní bad toisigiu dún* 'I (lit. we) have more important things to attend to', *Trip.*² 117. The remaining examples have some of them more or less the force of a present subjunctive—*níptu libsi intórdso* 'this practice should not be yours', Wb. 91c7, others that of a future, or rather a *futurum exactum*, the most striking one here being—*mos memdatar do di suil it chiund* 'soon your two eyes will burst (will have burst) in your head,' *Vita Br.* 17.

In the article in question I have suggested that this phenomenon supports and is supported by Watkins' explanation (*Celt. Verb*) of the old-Irish *s*-subjunctive as a modal use of the IE sigmatic aorist in a restricted number of verbs. Further that the *ā*-subjunctive of Irish and Latin is similarly to be explained. This involves the abandoning of Benveniste's theory that the subjunctive (referred to by Benveniste as an optative) is the earlier use, a view adopted by Watkins but later rejected by him (see *Hermathena* cxvii 59). In the same article I have given references for the general view that subjunctives are specialised ('neutralised', Watkins) preterite forms. There is further support for this by Holmer in *Språkliga Bidrag* vol. 3 N:r 13, 5, where the modal suffixes **oi* and **iē/ī* are taken as originally belonging to the imperfect and parallels are adduced from Finno-Ugrian and the equivalence of Gothic *baírau* and Baltic preterite forms such as Lith. *vedžiaŭ* 'I brought'. On the other hand Cowgill, in his 'Italic and

Celtic superlatives' (*Indo-European and Indo-Europeans*, Philadelphia 1970) p. 141 refers to the optative as a 'shared innovation of Italic and Celtic' (one wonders whether a distinction subjunctive/optative is really valid at the level of Italic and Celtic). For the more general aspects of the question see Szemerényi, *Einführung in die vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft* p. 242 and for examples from modern languages Gonda, *The character of the Indo-European moods* pp. 181 ff.

Taking it then that the *-ā-* of Italic and Celtic is to be referred to the preterital *ā*-formations of Balto-Slavonic I assume here that the *ā*-subjunctives of Latin and Irish are originally modally used historic tenses. From this it follows that Latin *-bā-* in the Latin imperfect (periphrastic) has been preserved in its original function. It is used in this way in verbs other than *esse*, where its use would have been tautological. In this verb we have **ā* added directly to **es* to give *erat*, and again preserved in its original historic function (the modal use in *erat iustum* 'it would have been just' and so on is a later development, but testifies to the persistence of the general tendency). Once the element *-bā-* was established as the mark of a periphrastic imperfect old forms in *-ā-*, which the periphrastic formation replaced, were free for use in a different function, here the modal use. It is entirely in agreement with usual procedure that in a mass shift of this kind one item (and that in a frequently used verb) should be 'left over' in its original function.

It is generally agreed that in Irish the form *ba* in the present subjunctive is simply a modal use of the preterite *ba* (see Thurn. *Gramm.* 488, *Celt. Verb.* 151). This is of course original **bhwāt*. I now suggest that the element **bhwā* was further added periphrastically to (mainly) weak verbs to give forms identical morphologically with the Latin imperfect but in function transferred through the subjunctive to the future, forms like *-léicfea* from **lēgī-bhwā-t* comparing on this basis with Latin *mone-ba-t*, *audie-ba-t*, etc.

All theories of this kind have their weak points, and that formulated here is no exception. It is supported, however, by one or two further considerations. The most important of these is the fact that the *f*-future is found predominantly with what are generally called weak verbs (see Schmidt, *Stud. Celt.* i 25–6, *ZCP* xxxiii 37–8). Though 'weak' in this context by no means always means 'secondary' (*marbaid*, *saíbid*, *foilsigidir*) as against 'primary' (*creitid*, *léicid*), and a number of strong verbs also form this future (*-eim*, *-icc*) (Kieckers' 120 or so verbs with *f*-future are a very varied collection), the formation has every appearance of being a relatively late one. As a periphrasis with the verb 'to be' it would of course be isolated in Irish, but the existence of such a periphrasis seems at least as likely as the spread of a formation from three primary (and very ancient) verbs as

envisaged by Watkins (81, 93), and there may be support for it as a tendency in the frequency of forms of *bot* in Welsh 'irregular' verbs (see Evans, *Grammar of Middle Welsh* 130 ff.).

A second consideration is here advanced with some diffidence. The curious palatalisation of the root final in some *ā*-verbs (*ainfa, mairbfe, géillfit*, etc.) and of the initial of the suffix in a dozen or so forms cited by Kieckers (*-tellfea, noibfea*, etc.) has so far not been explained (see *Ériu* xx 68). This raises the question of the form of the first element in the periphrasis, more exactly that of the nature of the vowel before **bhwā*. Watkins (68) for his explanation assumes **a* in *ā*-verbs, with possible spread of palatalisation from *ī*-verbs, Wagner (*ZCP* xxxii 278) a form **bu̯ia* (Lat. *fia-*) for the suffix.

The following facts perhaps offer a more tempting possibility. In a well-known article 'Les correspondances de vocabulaire entre l'indo-iranien et l'italo-celtique' (*MSL* xx (1918) 265–85) Vendryes collected together a large number of terms in support of his theory of a relationship between these groups in the areas of religion and politics, pointing out in conclusion that 'ces quatre pays sont les seuls du domaine indo-européen à posséder des collèges de prêtres' (285). He had in fact been preceded by Kretschmer in his *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache* (1896) 125 ff. with a somewhat shorter list of terms, and has been followed recently by Dillon in his *Celts and Aryans* (1975) 35–6. The examples quoted are not all equally probant, but there is a sufficient kernel of striking cases to render Vendryes' theory worthy of consideration. The example of *rāj-, rēg-, rí̆g* 'king' is of course well known, but for our purposes here the curious resemblances in verbal forms are the important ones. The following are worth quoting—

The unique compound Skt. *śrad-dadhāmi*, Lat. *credo*, Ir. *cretid*.

Skt. *avati*, Lat. *auēre*, Ir. (*con-*)*oí*.

The reduplication and further phonetic changes in Skt. *pibati*, Lat. *bibo*, Ir. *ibid*.

The non-radical nasal in Skr. *inddhe*, Ir. *andaid* as against Gr. *aíthō*, etc.

The root-vowel reduplication in Skt. *śuśrāva* (etc.), Ir. *cúalae*.

Whatever the implications of these correspondences they may well be supported by one further and no less striking one.

In Indo-Iranian and Latin there is a well-known adverbial formation in which an element *-ī-* is added to certain nouns and adjectives followed by forms of the verbs 'to be' and 'to do'. For a detailed account see Wackernagel's article 'Genetiv und Adjektiv' in *Mélanges*

de linguistique offerts a M. Ferdinand de Saussure (1908) 125 ff. In Latin the commonest type is that with the verb *facio* (*multī facio*). For Sanskrit I quote from Whitney, *Sanskrit grammar* 357: 'Any noun or adjective is liable to be compounded with verbal forms or derivatives of the roots *kṛ* and *bhū* . . . in the manner of a verbal prefix . . . Examples are: *stambhībhavati* 'becomes a post'; *ekacittībhūya* 'becoming of one mind', *upahārīkaroṣi* 'thou makest an offering'; *nakhaprahārajarjarīkṛta* 'torn to pieces with blows of the claws'; *śithilībhavanti* 'become loose'; *kuṇḍalīkṛta* 'ring-shaped'.'

The resemblance of the kind of future formation I have postulated above to the Sanskrit formation with *bhū* is striking. Thus *-mairbfa* can be derived from **marwī-bhwāt*, closely paralleled by Sanskrit *stambhī-bhavati*, the only difference being in the form of the verb. On the semantic side, however, there is the difficulty that the old-Irish *f*-futures recorded are predominantly transitive (transitive to intransitive verbs are in Kieckers' lists roughly in the ratio of 5 to 1). This being so one would have expected the suffix to go back to a root meaning 'to do' rather to one meaning 'to be'. In Sanskrit and Latin both are found in well-defined transitive and intransitive meanings. For Irish one can only suggest that there as been generalisation of the form in **bhwā* after the original force of the element had been lost sight of. At all events there seems to be a possibility that we have in the Irish *f*-future another item to add to the verbal resemblances listed by Vendryes.

The palatalisation just dealt with is of course sporadic in old Irish, *-marbfa* occurring side by side with *-mairbfa*, and so also in other verbs. The lenited *b* and *f* of our future are due to lenition between vowels before syncope. The group resulting from the syncope comes under the rules formulated by Thurneysen (*Gramm.* 98–9). Going by these ('palatal plus neutral becomes palatal') we expect such forms as the attested *-cheillfea* (Ml. 90°15). Forms of the type *ainfa* (Wb. 14ª8) are to say the least curious. Here it may be pointed out that Thurn. *Gramm.* 396 ff. gives but a small idea of the diversity of the verbal types which take the *f*-future. The final *-a* and *-i* of the 3 sg. conjunct indic. pres. have a number of origins apart from the straight-forward one in derivatives like *marbaid, soíbid, -ciallathar, foilsigidir*. Phonetic change, analogy and levelling have brought a variety of other verbs into the 'weak' categories, as a glance at Kieckers' lists will show. We must then see the *f*-future, whatever its origin, as an increasing formation which, once established, tended everywhere to replace older procedures.

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THE DATIVE SINGULAR OF OLD IRISH CONSONANT STEMS

Most masculine and feminine consonant stems in Old Irish decline in the singular according to the following basic scheme: Nom. -ø, Acc. -C′ or -ø, Gen. -C, Dat. -C′ or -ø. The stem consonant appears regularly in the gen. sg. and throughout the plural, but is absent from the nom. sg. In the acc. and dat. sg. zero forms (which are not necessarily identical with the nom. sg.) occur alongside the forms with final palatalized stem consonant. For convenience these alternative forms will be termed 'short' and 'long' respectively.

This article sets out to investigate the relative frequency of these 'short' and 'long' forms in Wb., Ml. and Sg.[1] in the hope of shedding some light on the origins of the dat. sg. of the consonant stems.

The only relevant formations which are at all common in the glosses are masculine dental stem abstracts in *-tu* and feminine *n*-stem abstracts in *-t(i)u*. The evidence afforded by these will inevitably be crucial to the argument.

GOI gives the following singular paradigm for the masc. abstract *óintu* 'unity'[2]: N. *óintu*, A. *óint(a)id/óintu*, G. *óintad*, D. *óintu/óint(a)id*, with the comment that 'the ending of the dat. sg. is usually *-tu* in Wb., *-t(a)id* being less frequent, whereas in Ml. the converse is found.' This is something of an understatement about Wb., as the table below makes clear.[3]

Source	Dat. Sg.		Acc. Sg.	
	-tu	*-t(a)id*	*-tu*	*-t(a)id*
Wb.	21	4	2	22
Ml.	15	29	5	36
Sg.	1	4	0	7

[1] The Ml. evidence has been assembled by Hessen, *IF* 30, 1912, 225–44, who gives full statistics for the *-tu* dental and *-t(i)u* *n*-stem abstracts, as well as the neuter *n*-stems, in Wb. and Sg. also. I have made my own collection for Wb., but have relied upon Hessen for Ml. and Sg.

[2] §322.

[3] References in Hessen, 229–30. A further example of the acc. sg. is *oéntid* in Wb. 12b12. Hessen takes all forms in Wb. after the preposition *ar* as acc., but I prefer to take those in *-tu* (6c19, 6c20, 24b21, 27a1, 31b21) as dat. and those in *-t(a)id* (13c11, 15b28) as acc. None of these examples contains a decisive form of the definite article, and the procedure adopted here seems to be justified by the generally clearcut distribution of these endings in Wb. and by the fact that *ar* seems to take acc. or dat. at random,

The datives in *-t(a)id* are even more restricted in Wb. than the statistics alone suggest. They are confined to the expression *in oéntid* 'in unity' (15^{a}12, 27^{a}4, 27^{b}13, 27^{b}23), as against *in oéntu* once (9^{c}28).

Wb. thus shows the barest beginnings of the penetration of *-t(a)id* into the dative and of the reverse process whereby *-tu* spread into the accusative. Clearly it is not far from a stage when the dat. sg. was always *-tu* and the acc. sg. always *-t(a)id*. Later the latter form spreads rapidly in the dat. at the expense of the *-tu* ending, as Ml. and Sg. show. This subsequent preference for the 'long' form seems to have aborted the spread of *-tu* in the accusative.

The fem. *n*-stem abstracts have the following paradigm in *GOI*, illustrated by *toimtiu* 'opinion' and *tíchtu* 'coming'.[4]

N.sg.	*toimtiu*	*tíchtu*
A.sg.	*toimtin/(-tiu)*	*tícht(a)in/(-tu)*
G.sg.	*toimten*	*tíchtan*
D.sg.	*toimte/toimtin/(-tiu)*	*tícht(a)e/tícht(a)in/(-tu)*

Thurneysen remarks that 'in Wb. the dat. sg. in *-te* is much commoner than that in *-tin* or *-tiu*, whereas in Ml. *-tin* has become the usual ending'—a slight overstatement of the frequency of *-te* in Wb., to judge from the table.[5]

Source	Dat. Sg.			Acc. Sg.	
	-(a)e	*-(i)u*	*-(a)in*	*-(i)u*	*-(a)in*
Wb.	13	9	9	1	18
Ml.	7	1	62	1	34
Sg.	4	1	8	0	9

The general position is similar to that in the previous category. Taken together, the two 'short' dat. forms preponderate over the 'long' form by about 5:2 in Wb. The 'long' form is thus better established

e.g. *mirabilia do·rígeni día ar maccaib israhel* (11a28) 'the wonders which God has performed for the sons of Israel', but *inna hi do·rigeni día ar maccu israhel* (11a30) 'those things which God has performed for the sons of Israel'. In Ml. and Sg. the spread of the 'long' dat. deprives us of any firm criterion, and I have simply repeated Hessen's statistics. No doubt he took such forms as acc. unless there was a form of the article to decide matters.

[4] §328.

[5] References in Hessen, 235–6. I have arbitrarily followed Hessen in treating *ar a thíchtin* (Wb. 14d2) as acc., but it could equally well be dat. In Ml. *ar ind frescissin* (53b22) and *ar ind remcaisin* (50c22) must be dat. because of the form of the article, but *ar in remcaissin* (122d9), taken as dat. by Hessen, is presumably indecisive.

than in the dental abstracts, and obtains an overwhelming ascendancy in Ml.

Of the two 'short' forms of the dat. that in *-(a)e* is isolated and must be inherited. As these stems had ablaut, with lengthened grade **-i̯ū* < **-i̯ō(n)* in the nom. sg. and full grade **-i̯on* of the suffix elsewhere,[6] the *-(a)e* dat. is to be derived from an endingless **-i̯on*.

By contrast the *-(i)u* dat. must be analogical, and a model is not hard to find. The dental stem abstracts in *-tu* are based upon a suffix **-tūt-* without ablaut,[7] whence nom. sg. *oíntu* < **oino-tūs* < **-tūt-s*, dat. sg. *oíntu* from an endingless **oino-tūt*. The inherited identity of nom. and dat. sg. in this class of abstracts seems to have influenced the *n*-stem abstracts: *oíntu* (nom. sg.): *oíntu* (dat. sg.) = *toimtiu* (nom. sg.) : x (dat. sg.) (x = *toimtiu*).

This proportion will only work after the loss of final consonants. It is, moreover, improbable that a new 'short' form of the dat. would have been created and spread at a time when the manifestly productive 'long' form *-(a)in* was already in existence (one may note the correlation in Ml. and Sg. between the demise of the *-(i)u* dat. and the spread of the *-(a)in* form). Thus we may envisage three stages after the loss of final consonants: (1) Exclusively the *-(a)e* dat. in these stems, (2) Development of the *-(i)u* dat., (3) Spread of the *-(a)in* dat., already fairly well established in Wb.

The fact that only the *-(i)u* form penetrated the acc. sg. strongly suggests that the acc. only had the ending *-(a)in* before stage (2).

This, of course, accords with the comparative evidence. The acc. sg. ending of consonant stems is reconstructed as **-en* < **-m*,[8] which yields the 'long' forms, e.g. *-t(a)id* and *-(a)in* < **-tūt-en* and **-i̯on-en* respectively. The 'short' accusatives cannot be explained as inherited forms.

Once we leave the above two categories the evidence of the glosses becomes rather meagre, as can be seen from the list below.[9]

(1) *Stems in a lenited dental.*[10]

tene 'fire'.Dat. *te(i)n* 1x (Ml.31d4), *tenid* 3x (Ml.48c33, 104b5 twice).

cin 'fault'. Acc. *cin* 1x (Wb. 9b10), *cinaid* 2x (Ml.54b27, 54d16).

traig 'foot'.Acc. *traig* 1x (Sg. 130b2), *traigid* 1x (Wb. 23c4).

coimdiu 'lord'.Dat. *coimdid* 4x (Wb.8b1, 27c18, Ml.129c7, 131c14). Acc. *coimdid* 11x.[11]

[6] *GOI* §330.
[7] *GOI* §258, *VKG* II §386.
[8] *GOI* §315.
[9] Since Hessen's collection of the Sg. minor types is incomplete, the citations from Sg. here are also defective.
[10] *GOI* §§322–3.
[11] Wb. 25b25, 27c14, 27c15, Ml. 36c2, 42b28, 46c20, 53c14, 68a13, 125d13, 129a2a, Sg. 29b13.

cré 'clay'.Dat. *crie(i)d* 2x (Ml.44c1, 102d9). Acc. *crieid* 1x (Ml.85c14). *fili* 'poet'.Dat. *filid* 1x (Sg. 140a1).

ap 'lord'.Acc. *apid* 1x (Wb. 26a8). *míl* 'soldier'.Acc. *mílid* 1x (Wb. 24a17).

(2) *Stems in a lenited guttural.*[12]

cath(a)ir 'city'.Dat. *cath(a)ir* 3x (Wb. 13b1, Ml.74a13, Sg. 28a8), *cathraig* 5x (Ml.35b24, 66c14, 68a13, 72b6, 131c3).Acc. *cathraig* 10x.[13]

rí 'king'.Dat. *rig* 6x (Ml.46a17, 73a16, 89c2, 90a9, 115d12, Sg. 64a1a). Acc. *rig* 5x.[14]

Unlenited guttural: lie 'stone'.Dat. *lia(i)c* 1x (Sg. 65a1).

(3) *Stems in a nasal.*[15]

talam 'earth'.Dat. *talam* 11x (Wb. 7c8, 9b19, 21a13, 21d4, Ml.30c5, 44c1, 45d13, 51d11, 68c4, 106a3 twice).Acc. *talmain* 9x.[16]

brithem 'judge'.Dat. *brithemain* 1x (Ml.26c11).

feichem 'creditor'.Dat. *feichemain* 1x (Ml.36a29).[17]

fiada 'witness'.Acc. *fiadain* 1x (Ml.38d11).

menm(a)e 'mind'.Dat. *menmain* 10x.Acc. *menmain* 7x.[18]

brú 'breast'.Dat. *brú* 4x (Wb. 9d1, Ml.71c12, 71c15, 75d9). Acc. *broin* 1x (Ml.44a10).

In the case of *cin* and *traig* the 'short' acc. form must be taken to imply the existence of a corresponding 'short' dat., even if it is not directly attested in the glosses.

Cath(a)ir is important as showing the existence of 'short' datives in the lenited guttural stems. Despite the paucity of examples we seem have the common situation of the 'short' dat. being the norm in Wb., whereas the 'long' form gains the upper hand in Ml.

Talam and *brú* seem to distinguish rigorously between 'short' dat. and 'long' acc., even in Ml.

[12] *GOI* §§318–21

[13] Ml. 48d14, 54c18 twice, 54c20, 54c23, 54c26, 67d8, 73d3, Sg. 31b5, 32b6. Sg. 31b2 *cath-* could be expanded to *cathraig* or *cathair*.

[14] Ml. 34a9, 55c1, 95a12, 116b5, 120d2.

[15] *GOI* §§327–33.

[16] Ml. 44d1, 51d3, 55c1, 67c8, 75d7, 84a2, 89d18, 115b14, 131b4. *tal-* in Wb. 33d4 and Ml. 113c2 could be expanded to *talmain* or *talam*.

[17] The dat. *comorbain* 'heir' in Ml. 23d15 is clearly corrupt, and should probably be emended to *comorbamain*, although the form could be an error for *comorbam*.

[18] *Dat.* Ml. 2d5, 43a7, 51a1, 54a5, 54a25, 54a29, 65b10, 66d1, 89b7, 118a10. *Acc.* Wb. 3d13, 13a12, Ml. 21a8, 24c13, 96a6, 101b5, 115c6. *Menma*, followed by a tear in the margin, in Wb. 2b16 is dat., and is presumably to be restored as *menmain*, since a 'short' form might be expected to be **meinm*.

Since the preference of Ml. and Sg. for 'long' dat. forms has been established with reference to the *-tu* and *-t(i)u* formations, it is inadmissible to conclude that a 'short' form did not exist earlier if the evidence for a particular word is confined to those sources. Out of the above list only *coimdiu* seems fairly likely to have had only the 'long' dat. at the time of Wb., but even here we have only two examples to go on.

Given the general tendency of 'long' forms to supplant 'short' forms during and after the Old Irish period, 'short' forms in later manuscripts are not, on the whole, likely to result from innovations. Forms found in such material can be used to supplement the rather patchy evidence of the glosses.[19]

The Blathmac poems,[20] dated by Professor Carney to about the same period as Wb., are valuable, despite the lateness of the MS, because the metrical nature of the text provides a useful check on the forms. The following 'short' dats. are fixed by rhyme: *druí* (l. 27) 'magician' (len. dent. stem), *aitite* (l. 396) 'recognition' (*-t(i)u* abstr.), *brú* (l. 631), *talam* (l.744), and *crí* (ll. 817, 933) 'clay'. So too the 'long' dats. *brithemain* (l. 32), and *troich* (l. 478) from *trú* 'doomed man'. Also worth noting are a 'long' dat. *coimdith* (ll. 728, 755), a 'short' dat. *cathir* (III, stanza 6, 1.2), which are not guaranteed by rhyme, and a rhyming 'long' acc. *teinid* (l. 958).

The rather scattered evidence adduced in this section does not seem to be incompatible with the hypothesis advanced on the basis of the better attested *-tu* and *-t(i)u* formations, namely that the dat. sg. originally had only a 'short' form, and the acc. sg. only a 'long' form. Accordingly I suggest that this distribution once applied to the lenited dental, guttural and *n*-stems in general, although some forms, such as *coimdiu* and possibly *menm(a)e*, the *brithem* type and *rí*, seem to have generalized the 'long' dat. form rather earlier than others.

Turning now to the neuters, the singular paradigm of the *s*-stems is given in *GOI* for *slíab* 'mountain'[21] as: NA. *slíab*, G. *sléibe*, D. *sléib*. The obvious derivation of the dat. sg. of these stems is from an endingless **-es*,[22] e.g. **slēb-es*, with similar phonetic developments to

[19] In addition to extra evidence for 'short' forms of some of the words discussed above, probable examples of 'short' acc. and/or dat. forms may be found in the *DIL* entries for *seir* 'heel', *tengae* 'tongue' (len. dent. stems), *brithem* 'judge', *ollam* 'chief poet' (*n*-stems), *brí* 'hill', *saíl* 'willow', *scé* 'whitethorn', *trú* 'doomed person' (len. gutt. stems). Also worth noting is *dú* 'place', apparently found only as a petrified dat. used adverbially in the earliest records and cognate with Greek χθών/χθονός etc. The form is, of course, a 'short' dat.

[20] *The Poems of Blathmac Son of Cú Brettan*, ed. J. Carney (1964). For the dating see especially pp. xiv and xix.

[21] §337.

[22] *GOI* §339, *VKG* II §442.

those usually assumed for, say, the 2 sg. pres. ind. act. conjunct *·bir* < **ber-es*. A derivation from **-esi*[23] is unnecessary and phonetically doubtful.

The paradigm of the neuter *n*-stems, typified by *ainm* 'name', is given in the singular by *GOI*[24] as: NA. *ainm*, G. *anm(a)e*, D. *anm(a)im(m)*/*ainm*. The glosses offer the following statistics.[25]

Source	Dat. Sg.	
	-ø	*-(a)im(m)*
Wb.	1	5
Ml.	5	20
Sg.	1	16

[23] Cowgill, *Flexion und Wortbildung* (ed. Rix, 1975), 50–51 and 57, argues that forms like *tig* and *·bir* should be derived by a regular phonetic development from **tegesi* and **beresi* respectively. This cannot be disproved, but it remains far from certain what the Old Irish reflex of **-esi* would be and I am still inclined to think that the above starred forms would have yielded OIr. **tigi* and **biri* respectively. I still accept Holmer's (*Lg.* 23, 1947, 128–32) hypothesis that Proto-Irish *e* was raised to something at least approaching *i* before *s* and that *-*es* consequently caused raising of a preceding stressed *e* or *o*. Some support for this may be found in Ogam TOVISACI, gs. of the word appearing in OIr. as *toisech* 'leader'. This word seems to be a compound of *to* and the root **wedh* found in OIr. *fedid* 'leads', plus a **-tako-* suffix, and so it should originally have been **towessako-*. If we are to assume that *e* was raised to something like *i* before this secondary *s(s)*, it seems reasonable to assume a similar raising before original *s*.

Pokorny (*KZ* 70, 1952, 114) made the attractive suggestion that the 2sg. 'nota augens' *-s(i)u* owed its form to contexts like *do.bir-siu* < **to=beres-tū*, which also seems to be a reason for reconstructing **beres*.

There is doubt as to whether raising took place over *rt*, cf. *GOI* §76, but it is difficult to see why 3sg. abs. *t*-preterite forms like *birt* (see *GOI* §684) should have been remodelled from **beirt*, and it seems necessary to regard these forms as showing regular raising over *rt*. Apparent exceptions like gs. *neirt* (Ml. 48c15) without raising must then be due to paradigmatic pressure from cases with regular unraised vowel, e.g. nom. sg. *nert* 'strength', and the problematical *t*-preterite 3 sg. relative *berte* (*GOI* §684) is presumably due to the fact that **-iia* became **-eia* before raising, as is indicated by the rel. copula *as* for **asa* < **ess-eia* < *-iio*.

If it is accepted that raising took place over *rt*, it seems that Cowgill would need to posit that *-*es* caused raising anyway, since his theory (op. cit.) of the absolute endings would imply the setting up of a proto-form **berstes* to account for *birt*, and also **estes* for *is*.

Cowgill's (op. cit., 51) strongest argument for deriving *tig* etc. from **tegesi* rather than **teges* is morphological, based upon justified doubts as to whether an endingless locative could have entirely ousted an *-*i* locative in these stems, but this objection does not apply to the explanation advanced at the end of this article.

At this point I would like to thank Professor Cowgill for reading a first draft of this article and supplying a number of helpful criticisms, although naturally I must accept full responsibility for any remaining shortcomings. My thanks are also due to Professors Greene, Ó Buachalla, Szemerényi and Morpurgo-Davies for their reactions to the first draft.

[24] §328.

[25] References in Hessen, 241–2. Hessen excludes the dat. sgs. *cindruim* (Ml. 78b4) and *cindrummaim* (ib.), *fordiuclaim* (Ml. 19d5, 75b4) and *fordiuclaimmim* (34b6) from his statistics, but I have included them in mine. Doubts about the former are justified because the simplex *druim* was a neuter *i*-stem, but the long form seems to be decisive

'Long' forms seem to predominate markedly here throughout the Old Irish period, and are already well established in Wb. However, they cannot possibly be inherited, since a 'long' form going back to before the loss of final syllables would have become -*(*a*)*in*(*n*). Furthermore, as *n*(*n*) occurs throughout the plural of this class, there could be no reason to remodel *-(*a*)*in*(*n*) to -(*a*)*im*(*m*).[26]

It therefore seems necessary to assume that only the 'short' form, based upon an earlier endingless dat., e.g. *ainm* < **anmen*, was inherited.

Whereas other neuters, basically the *o*-, *i̯o*- and *s*-stems, distinguished the dat. from the nom./acc. sg., these would have been identical in the neuter *n*-stems. The result seems to have been pressure towards the creation of a distinct dat. sg., but there was no precise model. A *u*-infected dat. of the *o*-stem type was hardly applicable, nor was the *s*-stem opposition of neutral/palatal consonance in the nom./acc. and dat. sg. respectively directly relevant, since the *n*-stems had palatal consonance in both. The solution seems to have been the creation of an extra syllable -*VC'*. After the loss of final syllables *n*(*n*) was only associated with the plural in these stems and did not appear in the singular, and so it was the *m*(*m*) of the root that was repeated in the extra syllable.[27]

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evidence that the compound was inflected as a neuter *n*-stem in Ml. For the possibility of a compound developing a different inflection from the corresponding simplex cf. the dat. pl. *húasalathrachaib* (Wb. 30d1). Since there can be no doubt about the neuter *n*-stem inflection of *fordiuclaim* and the similarly formed *eclim*, the 'short' dat. of which in Sg. 17a6 Hessen does include, I find Hessen's omission of these forms inexplicable.

[26] See Ferrell, *Actes du X Cong. Int. des Lings.*, 1969, IV, 639–40, whose argument is basically followed here. However, I do not see how the -(*a*)*im*(*m*) dat. could have arisen before the loss of final syllables, as Ferrell seems to suggest.

[27] This explanation is not entirely satisfactory, insofar as it is hard to discern a powerful motivation towards the creation of a separate dat. sg. form in these stems, and Professor Cowgill points out to me that the neut. *i*- and *u*-stems do not have a dat. different from the NA sg. However, these are infrequent and may be taken as marginal members of a larger class consisting mostly of mascs. and fems., whereas neut. *n*-stems are a large class in their own right and have little inflectional affinity with the masc. and fem. *n*-stems. For this reason I feel that the behaviour of the *i*- and *u*-stem neuters may have been irrelevant to the central issue here.

Professor Cowgill also draws my attention to a note dated 19.11.64 in his copy of *GOI* where he speculated that an old dat. pl. -**ambis* < IE **n̥-bhis*, having been replaced in its original function by the thematized type **anmanobis* yielding OIr. *anmannaib*, might have lingered on and been reinterpreted as a singular, whence *anmaimm*. This seems to be an improvement on *VKG* II §456, which simply suggests a proto-form **n̥-bhi*, as though **-bhi* could originally have been an instr. sg. morpheme. The parallel with early Greek, e.g. Hom. -*φι* used both as sg. and pl., is deceptive, since the use as a sg. cannot be original and is due to the early demise of the **-bhi*(*s*) instr. pl. there and confusion as to its usage in later survivals. These conditions did not exist in prehistoric Irish, where **-bi*(*s*) continued in full use as a (dat.) pl. Cf. further *GOI* §332, where Thurneysen's objection that the spelling *mb* never occurs in OIr. is probably not fatal, if we assume that in unstressed syllables as in proclities (e.g. *im*(*m*) 'around' < **embi*(*s*)) *mb* was assimilated to *m*(*m*) early.

There are difficulties in the semantic aspects of Cowgill's suggestion, but it may serve as a possible alternative to my own. It too would imply that the 'short' form was the only directly inherited dat. sg. in the neuter *n*-stems.

Thus here too the 'long' dat. seems to be based upon developments after the loss of final syllables, although sufficiently early for it to be well established by the time of Wb.

In all of the categories examined so far it has been either necessary or reasonable to postulate an earlier stage, after the loss of final syllables, when the dat. sg. only had 'short' forms, and 'long' forms were confined to the acc. sg. of masc. and fem. formations. The 'long' accs. have been derived from a pre-apocope ending -**en*, and the 'short' dats. from pre-apocope forms without ending.

However, the *r*- and *nt*- stems show no trace of a 'short' form, and only have 'long' forms in both acc. and dat. sg., as the *GOI* paradigms for *ath(a)ir* 'father' and *car(a)e* 'friend' respectively show.[28] N. *ath(a)ir/car(a)e*, A. *ath(a)ir/car(a)it*, G. *athar/carat*, D. *ath(a)ir/car(a)it*.

It is significant that the stem consonant in each of these classes is one not liable to loss in absolute auslaut at the time of the general apocope.[29]

If the nom. sg. *ath(a)ir* can be derived from pre-apocope **atīr* < **pətēr*,[30] with the *ī* palatalizing the final *-r*, then the identical dat. form can be from an endingless pre-apocope **ater*, with a similar palatalization of *-r* after a front vowel.

An endingless dat. sg. in the *nt*-stems would have given a post-apocope form with neutral final consonance and so identical with the gen. sg., e.g. **carat* < **karānt*. Such a form would conflict with the general Old Irish declensional pattern whereby the gen. sg. is distinct from the nom., acc. and dat. sg., and this would be likely to lead to analogical remodelling of the dat. sg. on the pattern of the similarly inflected *r*-stems, whence the early introduction of a dat. sg. with palatal final, e.g. *car(a)it*.

However, the rule whereby *-r* is palatalized by a preceding front vowel is anomalous in Irish, where palatalization is generally caused by a following vowel. Consequently the *r*-stems may originally have had non-palatal *-r* in the nom. and dat. sg., resulting in forms identical with the gen. sg. and liable to restructuring similar to that assumed above for the dat. sg. of the *nt*-stems.

In the *ā*-, *i̯ā*-, *i*- and *u*- stems acc. and dat. sg. were identical, and the *r*- and *nt*- stems would have followed this widespread pattern by simply replacing the unacceptable **-ar* and **-at* dat. with forms in a palatal final identical with the acc. sg., whence *-(a)ir* and *-(a)it*. A further replacement of **-ar* by *-(a)ir* in the nom. sg., following the

[28] §§334 and 324 respectively.
[29] *GOI* §175.
[30] Cf. *VKG* II §450.

i- and *u*- stems, where nom., acc. and dat. sg. were the same, would have left a distinct gen. sg. in *-ar* in the *r*-stems.[31]

Whatever the precise mechanics, once the *-(a)it* dat. sg., identical with the acc. sg., had become established in the *nt*-stems, the stage was set for the interchange of acc. and dat. sg. forms in the similarly inflected lenited dental, guttural and non-neuter *n*-stems. Given the model of the *nt*-stems, it is hardly surprising that it was the 'long' acc. sg. form which tended to be spread to the dat. rather than the 'short' dat. sg. form to the acc.[32]

This development seems to have proceeded at a somewhat varied pace in the different formations. In *coimdiu* a 'long' dat. is already the norm in Wb. In the *-t(i)u* abstracts 'long' dats. occur in Wb., but are not as common as the 'short' forms, and then become the norm in Ml. In the *-tu* abstracts 'long' dats. are hardly attested in Wb., but have become commoner than the 'short' forms in Ml. *Talam*, and probably *brú*, maintain the distribution 'long' acc./'short' dat. even in Ml.

(The creation of a 'long' dat. sg. in the neuter *n*-stems was independent of these developments, as argued earlier.)

If no 'long' dat. sgs. existed in the consonant stems at the time of the loss of final syllables, as this hypothesis suggests, one must assume that at that time these stems only had endingless dat. sg. forms. How are these forms to be explained?

The above findings make the traditional explanation of OIr. 'short' datives in terms of IE endingless locatives, which was always questionable,[33] virtually untenable. Endingless forms of the loc. sg. appear to have been confined to ablauting consonant stems in IE.

[31] In fact, Cowgill in *Festschrift für Konstantin Reichardt*, 1969, 33, has made this very suggestion that palatalization in the nom. sg. of *r*-stems cannot be regular and probably arose secondarily to differentiate nom. and gen. sg.

[32] Professor Cowgill doubts whether the *nt*-stems were sufficiently common to be a model for the interchange of acc. and dat. sg. forms in the other consonant stems, and suggests that the *ā*- and *i̯ā*-stems, with identical acc. and dat. sg. in palatal consonant/front *i*-vowel respectively, were another important model. I would accept that the formulation above is too restrictive and that the interchange of acc. and dat. sg. forms belongs in a wider analogical nexus, but I still feel that the *nt*-stems were particularly important, despite their comparative rarity, because of very close resemblances between their inflection and that of other consonant stems.

[33] For the traditional explanation see *GOI* §315, where Thurneysen notes that lenition after the 'short' form is 'due to the analogy of other datives'. Similarly *VKG* II §445, but Pedersen was obviously troubled by the wide distribution of the endingless forms: 'die Gleichheit des D. mit dem Nom. ist im Ir. übrigens sicher analogisch verbreitet worden.'

Ferrell (op. cit., 643), while prepared to accept that endingless locatives survived in the OIr. neuter *n*-stems, was sceptical about deriving the dat. sg. of *s*-stems from **-es* and proposed that the 'short' forms in other stems were late analogical formations: from a relationship of the type gen. sg. *saichtheo*, dat.-acc. sg. *saigid* 'seeking' in polysyllabic *i*- and *u*-stems a dat.-acc. like *cathir* 'town' could have been formed to the gen. *cathrach*. This analogy seems improbable enough anyway, and is totally refuted by the statistical evidence that 'short' dat. forms are older than 'long' datives in the consonant stems of Old Irish.

They are well attested in the *i*- and *u*-stems, which do not concern us here, and Vedic has both an endingless and an *-i* loc. in free variation in ablauting *n*-stems (e.g. *rājan/rājani* to *rājā* 'king'). Various petrified forms in the attested IE languages indicate that they also originally occurred alongside ***-i*** in the *r*- and *s*-stems.[34]

Within the paradigm, however, the various IE languages understandably generalized the more highly characterized and widespread ***-i*** form, and significantly this is precisely what happens in the *n*-stems in later Sanskrit. The reverse process of generalizing the restricted and weakly characterized endingless forms, as envisaged for Insular Celtic, would be quite unparalleled.[35] Since at the stage of case syncretism the endingless loc. form would further have had to oust a more strongly characterized inherited ***-ē*** dat. sg. ending[36] in the new combined case, improbability now verges upon impossibility.

If, on the other hand, we begin by assuming that within Celtic, as in other IE languages, the ***-i*** ending was generalized in the loc. sg., and that later during syncretism with the dat. this ending ousted the old dat. ***-ē***[37] (just as loc. *-i* replaced dat. *-ei* in post-Mycenaen Greek consonant stems, e.g. dat. ποδί to πούς 'foot', ἄκμονι to ἄκμων 'anvil'), a far more plausible solution offers itself.

Cowgill[38] has argued that the first step towards a satisfactory solution of the problem of absolute and conjunct endings in Old Irish verbs lies in the assumption of an early apocope of ***-i*** in 3sg. and pl. verbal endings in Insular Celtic, and points to a similar apocope, under as yet obscure conditions, in Italic. If we apply this apocope to the consonant stem dat. sgs. in *-i*, the result is endingless forms across the board. The later stage of the general loss of final syllables then gives us the attested Old Irish 'short' forms, e.g. *oíntu* < ****oinotūt*** < ****-tūti***, *toimte* < ****tomenti̯on*** < ****-i̯oni***, *brú* < ****brunn*** < ****brunni*** < ****brusni*** (or

[34] Ferrell (op. cit.) argues that there is convincing evidence for endingless loc. sgs. in IE consonant stems only in the *n*-stems. While it is true that the evidence for the latter is far better than for the other stems, doublets like Gk. ὑπέρ, Skt. *upári* 'above' and Gk. (Doric) αἰές, (Ionic) αἰεί (< ****-esi***) 'always' certainly look like petrified endingless and ****-i*** locatives of old *r*- and *s*-stems respectively, while the admittedly isolated Hittite loc. *nepiš* 'in heaven' (*KUB* XXXIII, 111, 8), as against normal *nepiši*, looks like a survival of an endingless form in the *s*-stem paradigm.

[35] Ferrell, *To Honor Roman Jakobson*, 1967, I, 645–61, has convincingly refuted the traditional view that the *-e* loc. sg. of Slavic consonant stems is based upon an earlier generalized endingless form, and suggests instead the remodelling of an earlier loc. in ****-ĭ*** < ****-i*** as a result of pressure within the paradigm.

[36] From IE ****-ei***, cf. Szemerényi, *Einführung* 148–9.

[37] Celtiberian seems to have a dat. sg. *-ei* in consonant stems, but also seems to retain a distinct loc. In Gaulish, where syncretism of dat. and loc. does seem to have taken place, there is evidence that *-i* became the dat. sg. ending in consonant stems: *Epadatextorigi* (Dott. 48), followed by a word divider, must be dat. sg. of a name with *-rīks* 'king' as last element, as must Μαγουρειγι (Dott. 11) if the word division is correct.

[38] *Flexion und Wortbildung*, 40–70.

< **brusen* < **-eni*?), *ainm* < **anmen* < **-eni*, *cath(a)ir* < **katerik* < **-iki*.

In view of this wider application of the notion of an early apocope of **-i* in Insular Celtic, it must be asked whether we must still assume, as Cowgill did, that this apocope was sporadic as, apparently, in Italic, or whether we can now posit for Insular Celtic a quite general apocope of **-i*. This, of course, involves examining the OIr. reflexes of other likely instances of **-i*, but before this is undertaken a point of methodology is worth making. In the case of Italic we are dealing with attested apocopated forms, and the fact of apocope has to be accepted, even though the precise conditions cannot be formulated. However, it is a far more dubious procedure to use sporadic phonetic developments as a tool of reconstruction applied to unattested stages of languages.

It has long been recognised that OIr. dat. pls. of the type *feraib* are based upon old instrumentals, but there was no criterion for deciding whether the ending was **-bi* or **-bis*.[39] If we wish to postulate a general apocope of **-i*, only the latter will give the attested forms, since **wirobi* etc. would have become **wirob* and finally **fer*. The positing of **-bis* accords well with the lack of lenition after the dat. pl. in Old Irish.

Neuter *i*-stems in Old Irish[40] have a palatal final in the NA sg. apparently resulting from retained **-i*. In IE these neuters had no ending, which would indicate a proto-form **mori* for OIr. *muir* 'sea'. However, if apocope of **-i* at an early period were regular, the resultant form would be **mor* not *muir*. Since these neuters are rare in comparison with the very similarly inflected masc. and fem. *i*-stems, the **-i* in the neuters might have been restored or its loss impeded on the model of its retention in nom. sg. **-is*, acc. sg. **-in* (appearing as **-i* after the loss of final consonants) in the mascs. and fems. Alternatively, one might argue on the basis of nasalization after neut. NA sg. *i*-stems in Old Irish that the ending **-i* was remodelled to **-in* early following the pattern in the much larger class of *o*- and *i̯o*-stem neuters with NA sg. in **-(i̯)on*, and consequently was not liable to apocope. We can then derive, say, *muir* quite regularly from **morin*. Nasalization could, of course, have been introduced here at more or less any time before the Old Irish period, but at least there appears to be no difficulty in assuming that it is due to rather early analogical developments. Whichever of these explanations is adopted, it seems

[39] Cf. *GOI* §286. IE seems to have had doublets with or without *-s*, e.g. Skt. *-bhiḥ*, Gk. *-φι*. This duality can still be observed in Continental Celtic dat. pls., where Gaulish has *-bo* (also *-bi* in Dott. 33) and Celtiberian *-bos*.

[40] See *GOI* §§299–308 for the nouns, §§356–9 for the adjectives.

likely that the *i*-stem adjectives will have played a significant part in triggering the analogy.

There remains one major obstacle to assuming that the early apocope of **-i* was quite regular in Insular Celtic, and I am greatly indebted to Professor Cowgill for pointing it out to me. The word *inn-uraid* 'last year', stressed on the second syllable, must contain a form of the (proclitic) article as its first element, and the *uraid*part can be safely equated with Greek πέρυσι, Skt. *parút*, both meaning 'last year'. This old locative was presumably already fossilized as an adverb in late IE, and could have been inherited in Celtic in either the **-i* or the endingless form. If we apply an early apocope of **-i*, both would have given **erut* and the expected OIr. reflex, after the addition of the article, would be **inn-ur*. Since the form had no paradigm it is difficult to see how such a form could have been remodelled to *inn-uraid*. If, on the other hand, an early apocope of **-i* is denied (which seems to be virtually impossible, given the evidence adduced earlier for the dat. sg. of consonant stems and the advantages of this hypothesis vis à vis the absolute/conjunct opposition in verbs) or assumed to have been sporadic, under as yet unclear conditions, we only need to postulate **eruti* in Celtic to arrive at *inn-uraid* quite straightforwardly on the assumption that in this case at least **-i* was retained.

However, once we admit an apocope of **-i*, there are strong methodological reasons for applying it as a regular development for the purposes of reconstruction, and it becomes doubtful whether a single word, albeit a highly significant one because of its paradigmatic isolation, should be allowed to invalidate this hypothesis. Accordingly it seems justified to seek even an 'ad hoc' explanation which may at least cast doubt on whether *inn-uraid* must be based upon a form in which **-i* for some reason did not undergo early apocope.

In Old Irish *inn-uraid* belongs to a small group of temporal expressions, all stressed on the second syllable, notably *indiu* 'today', *innocht* 'tonight', *indossa* 'now' and *indé* 'yesterday'. In the case of both *indé* (article plus *dé* < **des*, cognate with Greek χθές 'yesterday' etc.) and *innuraid* the article can hardly be old (for the former cf. Welsh *ddoe* 'yesterday', with no trace of a demonstrative unlike Welsh *heddiw* 'today' and *heno* (OW *henoid*) 'tonight'), and must have been due to the model of the other three.[41] Accordingly we can set up a

[41] Watkins, *Trivium* 1, 1966, 102–20, discusses 'day' in Celtic thoroughly. He argues convincingly (109–12) that the Welsh type *heddiw, heno* is based upon an old compound of the demonstrative stem **se* with, in the former at least, an old (petrified) endingless locative and is structurally parallel to Lat. *hodie* and that this must have been the original type of formation in Celtic. However, his attempt to derive Irish *indiu, innocht* from similar compounds with initial **sen* or **sin* and stress on the second syllable developed

stage in Proto-Irish, which would be later than our assumed apocope of **-i*, when these would have had the forms **sindū diiū*, **sindī noxt* and **sindū wossū* respectively. The adverb **erut* would then have been assimilated to this group by being endowed with a demonstrative, presumably the form **sindī* used with the similar **noxt*. Once the latter had lost its full paradigm in favour of the word appearing in OIr. as *adaig* 'night', both **noxt* and **erut* would be completely isolated forms occurring only in these expressions and would no longer be taken as endingless dat. sgs. of consonant stems. That being so, it would seem to be quite natural for them, on the model of **sindū diiū*[42] and **sindū wossū*, to take over the dat. ending of the preceding article, whence **sindī noxtī* and **sindī erutī* resulting in OIr. *innocht* (with *cht* resisting palatalization and impeding raising of *o* in the stressed syllable[43]) and *inn-uraid*. However, the isolated **des* can be assumed to have received an article rather later than **erut*, perhaps after the loss of final syllables, when it would have tended to fall together with *dé*, the acc. and gen. sg. of *día* 'day' appearing in various adverbial expressions, and consequently to have avoided remodelling to **sindū desū* or the like.

Despite its 'ad hoc' nature, it is hoped that the explanation offered tentatively above may at least serve to cast doubt upon the decisiveness of *innuraid* as evidence against assuming a general apocope of **-i* in Insular Celtic.

In conclusion, the fact that the hypothesis of an early apocope of **-i* can be applied successfully to two such diverse problems of Old Irish morphology as the absolute and conjunct verbal endings and the 'short' datives of consonant stems seems to constitute a strong argument for its validity. Moreover, it now appears that we should regard this loss of **-i* as at least the normal, and quite possibly the regular, development in Insular Celtic.

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later on the model of types like *imbárach* 'tomorrow', where the first element is presumably the (proclitic) preposition *i(n)*, is not convincing. Loss of *s-* only occurred in proclitics in Irish, and so there would be little affinity between **sindiu* and *imbárach* to serve as a basis for remodelling the former. It seems more likely that old **sediiū*, **senoxt* were simply replaced by forms with an inflected demonstrative at a stage in Proto-Irish when the 'day' word and **noxt-* still had a full paradigm, whence **sindū diiū*, **sindī noxt*.

[42] Whatever its origins, **diiū* would by this stage almost inevitably have been taken as a *io*-stem dat. sg.

[43] Greene, *TPS* 1973, 132, draws attention to spellings in the glosses which indicate that the *t* of the *cht* cluster was palatalized, and is inclined to think that this was the original state of affairs. However, he admits that 'perhaps the better formulation would be that palatalization of */xt/* took place only under paradigmatic pressure'. There certainly seems to be no reason to think that raising could take place over *cht*.

ON THE EXPRESSION OF "RAIN" AND "IT IS RAINING" IN IRISH

1. 0. INTRODUCTION[1]

The words which regularly conveyed the meaning of "rain" and "it is raining" in the major periods of the Irish language have been brought together in this study with a twofold purpose: the investigation of their synchronic semantic alignment and the tracing of diachronic trends in lexical repositioning. Etymological analysis will be important for the latter, especially as regards prehistoric developments. Although the Old and Middle Irish evidence forms the nucleus of the paper, consideration has been given to the testimony of the modern language. An *apologia* for an approach to semantic research within the general framework of the word-field theories of Jost Trier and Leo Weisgerber cannot be attempted here.[2] One may note, however, that the discussion of lexemes, which are inter-related in meaning, serves as a welcome check on the study of individual words. While the treatment of a word in isolation is prone to special pleading, and leads all too often to mere etymological speculation, the members of a semantic field can be contrasted with one another, and their relative position in the greater unit delineated. Definite patterns of

[1] I wish to express my thanks to Professor David Greene and Professor Proinsias Mac Cana for their stimulating criticism of an earlier draft of this article.

The abbreviations employed here are in the main those of the Royal Irish Academy's *Dictionary of the Irish Language* (*DIL*) as well as *Bibliographie*. Other abbreviations are introduced in brackets after the first reference to the publication concerned. Standard works are frequently cited through the author, thus:

Buck	C. D. Buck, *A Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages*. Chicago 1949.
Dinneen	P. Dinneen, *Foclóir Gaedhilge agus Béarla*. Dublin 1934 etc.
Dwelly	E. Dwelly, *The Illustrated Gaelic-English Dictionary* (6th ed.), Glasgow 1967.
Lewis-Pedersen	H. Lewis and H. Pedersen, *A Concise Comparative Celtic Grammar*. Göttingen 1961.
Macbain	A. Macbain, *An Etymological Dictionary of the Gaelic Language*, Stirling 1911.
Pedersen	H. Pedersen, *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen*. Göttingen 1909–13.
Pokorny	J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Bern 1959–69.
Romanze	*Die Romanze von Fróech und Findabair. Táin Bó Froích* (ed. W. Meid). Innsbruck 1970.
Stokes	W. Stokes, *Urkeltischer Sprachschatz*. Göttingen 1894.
Vendryes	= *Vendr. Lex.*
Walde–H.	A. Walde and J. B. Hofmann, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*.[3] Heidelberg 1930–56.
Walde–P.	A. Walde and J. Pokorny, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen*. Berlin and Leipzig 1927–32.

[2] Many of the most significant articles on the theory of the word-field have now been collected in *Wortfeldforschung. Zur Geschichte und Theorie des sprachlichen Feldes* Lothar Schmidt (ed.), Darmstadt 1973 (= *Wege der Forschung* Band ccl).

semantic development can be established, and these may allow otherwise problematic words to find their place in the overall scheme.

2. o. OLD IRISH: *FLECHUD*; *FLIUCH*

There are three common substantives for "rain" in Old Irish, viz., *bráen*, *flechud* and *folc*.[3] Of these, *flechud* occurs most frequently. Semantically, it is the least marked. Old and Middle Irish variants of *flechud*, o, m., are *fleuchud* and *fleochud*, showing the regular insertion of *u* after *ĕ* in a stressed syllable, where that syllable ends in a *u*-quality consonant; between *e* and *ch* the *u* may be replaced by *o*.[4] For the variant *flechod* see *GOI*. 64. In *DIL* F 162, *flechud* is explained as "orig. 'wetting' hence 'rain, rainy weather' ". The sense in Old Irish was in fact "rain, rainy weather". However, the phonological resemblance of *flechud* to *fliuch* "wet", an adjective which was quite productive and an earlier form of which was the source of *flechud*, contrived to maintain the word within the general semantic ambit of "wetness".

Flechud glosses Latin *pluvia*, the normal word for "rain" in the classical language, and one which is continued in the Romance languages:[5]

(i) *a fleuchud sin* gl. (*pluiam*), "that rain" Ml. 83 d 9. and

(ii) *co rosnig flechud mór isin talmain sin* gl. *gravis pluvia accederat in tota patria*, " it poured great rain on that ground" *Lat. Lives* 17. *Flechud* had an elemental quality comparable to that of "wind, heat, cold, thunder, and lightning":

(iii) ⁊ *nín farraigh gaeth na fleochadh na tes na fuacht isan maighin seo*, "and neither wind nor rain, neither heat nor cold, bears down on me (lit 'us') in this place"[6] *ICM*[2] 172. 6–7 = YBL 389. 25–6. and

(iv) *Du fuburt gœth 7 flechad 7 torann 7 saignen*, "Wind and rain and thunder and lightning set in". *Vita Br.* §48 = *Ir. Texts* i. 16 §48. where *flechud* occurs in a description of a storm. It can also accompany *doinenn* "foul or stormy weather" e.g.

[3] The ascribing of the sense "rain" to OIr. *frass* in *GOI* 131 seems to have been influenced by comparative and etymological considerations. In Old Irish *fras(s)*, *fros(s)* meant "a shower (primarily of rain, snow etc.): a quantity, number, swarm, (of missiles), a shower, discharge, volley" etc.; (cf. *DIL* F 402). The primary sense in Modern Irish, Scottish Gaelic and Manx is similarly "shower (of rain, hail etc.)"; (cf. Dinneen, 487; Dwelly, 454; *LASID* iv 185 s.v. "shower"; T. F. O'Rahilly, *Irish Dialects Past and Present*, 139).

[4] *GOI* 57.

[5] Cf. Buck, 67–8.

[6] Dr. H. P. A. Oskamp, following W. Stokes in *RC* x 91, translates "And neither wind, nor wet, nor heat, nor cold, affects me in this place", *ICM*[2] 173.

(v) *fleochad 7 donenn.* "rain and stormy weather" *Ann. Conn.* 1236 §16. From these examples we conclude that, as well as signifying semantically unmarked "rain", Lat. *pluvia*, *flechud* was used of steady rain falling over a period and could be heavy. In the latter instances it was frequently accompanied by the adjective *mór*, occurring as *flechud mór* "great rain", as in citation (ii).

Flechud is contrasted with *drúcht* "dew", e.g.

(vi) *ni boí fleochad ra ré acht drucht*, "there was not rain during his kingship, rather dew". LL 8 a 12 = *fliuchadh* BB 30 a 3.

When functioning adjectivally, *fliuch* meant "wet" and (vii) glossed Lat. *madidus Ir. Gl.* 675. Semantically it was opposed to OIr. *tirim, tirim* "dry":

(viii) *conach siccus, connach tirim, acht mad fliuch do gres*, ". . . it is not *siccus*, it is not dry, but always wet". *Laws* i 48. 15.

(ix) *sín fhliuch* "wet weather" occurs in *Betha Muire É.* §7 (*Ét. Celt.* i 84.) As a substantive, *fliuch* meant "damp, wet weather", e.g.

(x) *Tart aile, .i. donither isin tart, 7 tuitid isin fliuch*, "Drought-fence i.e. a fence which is raised in the drought and which falls in the wet". *Laws* v 270. 28. *Comm.*

Fliuchad, vn. of *fliuchaid* "wets, formed from *fliuch*, occurs relatively late in the sense "rain":

(xi) *no con fuair bainni fliucaid isin log sin riam*, "a drop of rain has never got into that place". *IT* ii² 103. 4 (BB 496 b 45).

Derivatives such as *fliuchaide*, io, iā, "damp moist," the substantives *flichidecht*, *fliuchaidetu*, "wetness" and *fliuchnus*, m., "wet, wet weather" illustrate the continuing productivity of *fliuch*.

Among the many cognates of *fliuch* in the other Celtic languages are OW. *gulip*, Mod. W. *gwlyb* "wet", OCorn. *glibor* gl. *humor*, Mod. Corn. *glēb* "wet", OBret. *roguliþias* gl. *oliuauit*, MBret. *gloeb*, *glueb*, Mod. Bret. *gleb*, *gloeb* "wet". For these one may postulate Celt. **u̯lik^{w}*; cf. Stokes, 285, Pedersen, i. 59–60, Lewis-Pedersen, 11, *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* (*GPC*), s.v. *gwlyb*, 1685. Further derivatives from this root are W. *gwlith*, MBret. *gluiz*, Mod. Bret. *gliz*, *glih* "dew" < **u̯lik^{w}-ti*, (cf. Pedersen, i. 60, *GPC* 1684). and W. *gwlych* "wetness" < **u̯lik^{w}-so* (cf. Pedersen, i. 128). On the possible relationship of the Celtic forms to Lat. *liquidus* see Stokes, 285, Walde-P. ii. 397, Buck, 1074, and especially Walde-H.³ (1938) i. 82. Pokorny does not include *fliuch* etc.

2.1. OLD IRISH: *BRÁEN*

DIL translates *bráen*, o.m., "rain, moisture, drop(s),". *Bráen* occurs in glosses on Lat. *imber* "rain, heavy or violent rain" and Lat. *pluvia* "rain":

(i) *braen aimsire* gl. *imber*, "rain [lasting] for a period" *Ir. Gl.* 1048.

(ii) *amal bróin nailgen*[7] *sniges hi cnai* gl. *et discendit sicut pluvia in uellus*, "as the gentle rain that droppeth into a fleece" Ml. 89 c 15. A most illuminating passage is to be found in *Airne Fíngein:*

(iii) *Is amlaid íarum buí flaith Chuinn, cen chreich, cen gait, cen chron, cen galar, cen chuil, cen ghrebar, cen choirrmil, cen fleochad, cen rogháeith, cen tsnechta, acht an tréidhi si namá .i. drúcht 7 bráen 7 céo*, "this is how Conn's sovereignty was, without plundering, without robbery, without crime, without sickness, without a fly, without a gadfly, without a midge, without rain, without great wind, without snow, but only these three things i.e. dew and light rain (drizzle) and mist." *Airne F.* 337–42. Here a clear distinction is made between *flechud*[8] and lighter forms of precipitation, among which *bráen* is included; "light rain" or "drizzle"would suit the context. When used in the plural the translation"showers" seems appropriate, e.g.

(iv) *co Ross ṁBrocc na mbróen*, "to Ross mBrocc of the showers" LL 38026 and

(v) *fo bróenaib* (*:nóebaib*), "in showers [of tears]" *Fél. Ep.* 346. *Bráen* may modify *flechud*, cf.

(vi) *7 in braen fleochaid do ferad ann as ed no gabad isin tibraid*, "and the rain-water that poured there was kept in the well" (Stokes) *RC* xxvi 164 §54. The context of an ideally bestowed island suggests "moderate amount of rain".

In some later examples, *bráen* seems to refer to heavier rain:

(vii) *romt[h]uairg bráoin in Echtga úair*, "the rain of chilly Aughty beat on me" *Buile S.* 118 §61.

(viii) *braon trom dhá chor um Chruachán*, "heavy rain falls on Cruachán" *O'Hara* 4053. and perhaps this instance from the present century:

(ix) *Fearthainn 'na tuilthí thar a bhfeaca tu riamh, . . . Oirfidh an braon so dos na barraí go binn.* "Floods of rain exceeding anything you ever saw before . . . This rainfall will be very good for the crops". *Cainnt an tSean-Shaoghail* (ed. A. Ussher) §7.

In the absence of a more firmly established pattern, these latter three instances of *bráen* should perhaps best be regarded as semantically marked variants, in which litotes is intentionally employed for stylistic purposes.

Bráen frequently denotes "drop(s) of blood", e.g.

[7] Evidently a stock comparison; see *DIL* B 151. 70 ff. for examples.

[8] J. Vendryes, *Airne F.*, 68, Glossary, has *braen* "a drop, rain" and, 77, *fleochad* "wetting".

(x) *gae . . . co mbráen fola dara faebor*, "a spear with drops of blood across its blade" LU 11876 (TBC).

It is also used of the water of baptism:

(xi) *braen batis báin* "water of fair baptism" LU 2998 = *SG* 235. 16. Clearly no great quantity of liquid can be intended in citations (x) and (xi). The thought is rather of "drop(s), sprinkling". And so we have to do with a word *bráen*, which on the one hand usually meant "light rain, drizzle", on the other hand "drop(s), sprinkling" (of blood etc.). *Bráenach*, o, ā, "shedding drops; wet, moist; well-watered" is used both in a sense equivalent to "rainy", e.g.

(xii) *neolla braenachu*, "rainy clouds" *CCath.* 3921.

and of land, e.g.

(xiii) *Bethrach, broenach, brogach, bras / tir . . .* "watered (?), moist (dewy) rich in lands, great/country . . ." *SR* 977–8 (of *Pardus* "paradise"). The evidence of the deverbative *bráenaid* is even more telling:

(xiv) *cia broína-sa do brattán*
nī hé mo maccān chaíne
"though you wet your cloak (with tears), it is not my dear son you are mourning". *Fing. R.* 191–2.

(xv) *co tanic topur usci assind inud sin corrobroen fo agid*, "and a well of water came from that place and he sprinkled it over his face". *Thes.* ii 338. 30–1.

Citations (xiv) and (xv) are unambiguous examples in the sense "sprinkles". The occurrence of *bráen* as a fanciful personal name may also be noted:

(xvi) *Sé dáilemain ríg Temrach in sin .i. Húan 7 Broen 7 Banna, Delt 7 Drúcht 7 Dathen*, "Those are the six drink-servers of the king of Tara i.e. Froth and Drop(s) and Drop, Delt and Dew and Light (?)". *BDD*² 1153–5.

In so far as their etymology is clear, these names are based on terms for various small amounts of liquid, or light precipitation. (*Dathen* 'Light' is an apparent exception).

Stokes, 271, originally linked *bráen* to W. *gwirod*, Corn. *gwiras* "strong drink, wassail, liquor, spirits" and further Skt. *vâr, vâri* "water" Gk. οὖρον "urine, Lat. *ūrīna* "urine", etc., proposing **vroen-*, **veróenā* with a query as to the earlier form of the Irish, and seeing the origin of these words in IE **veraō* "ich regne". Stokes' withdrawal of this etymology for *bráen, Bezz. Beiträge* xxi (1896) 134, has not always been adverted to in later discussions. His phonologically unsatisfactory suggestion has been rightly rejected by

Macbain, 46–7, Walde-P. i. 268, and Buck, 67–8, 672–3. No promising new lines of approach emerge from the three works, Macbain's comparison with Eng. *brine* notwithstanding. Pokorny does not include *bráen*. As Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, i. 267, finds the traditional equation of Gk. βρέχω "to wet, get wet, to rain, send rain" with Latv. *merguôt* "to rain lightly", *merga* "light rain" semantically unconvincing, it is best to seek a root other than IE **meregh-* "to moisten, sprinkle, drizzle", Pokorny 738, or the like, for OIr. *bráen*.

Welsh has a verb **beraf: beru* "to flow, drip", *GPC* 273, with derivatives *diferaf: diferu* "to drop, drip, trickle, drizzle, leak" (from *di-* + **beraf: beru GPC* 980) and *diferion* "drops (of liquid)", *GPC* 980–1. These Welsh words can be readily linked to OIr. *bráen*, their semantic range corresponding well to the nuclear senses of the Old Irish.[9] Both the Irish and Welsh forms would go back to one of the IE roots **bher-* postulated by Pokorny, 128ff. This section of Pokorny's work, with its seven roots **bher-* and numerous expansions stands in urgent need of revision.[10] The source of OIr. *bráen* etc. is doubtless to be sought among his 1 **bher-* "to bring, carry", 2 **bher-* "to bubble up, boil up, to move (oneself) violently" and 6 **bher-* "to boil etc." Whereas Welsh continues the full grade of the root the Irish word shows zero grade. A close semantic parallel outside Celtic is to be seen in Albanian *borë* "snow", which Pokorny derives from 1 **bher-*.

2.2. OLD IRISH: *FOLC*

Folc, o, m., is rendered by *DIL* as "heavy rain, wet weather". It could occur in, at least, the three seasons of autumn, winter and spring:

(i) *Folc mor isind[f]oghomur*, "great heavy rain in the autumn"[11] *AU* [878].

(ii) *folc ind erraig 7 folc in gemrid*, "the heavy rain of the spring and the heavy rain of the winter" *ZCP* iii 245 §55.

Folc accompanies a storm in:

[9] The precise affinity between these and OIr. *inber, indber* o, m. (earlier a) "rivermouth, W. *aber* m., f. "rivermouth, confluence", OIr. *commar* o, W. *cymer* m. "confluence (of rivers, etc)", etc. remains to be investigated.

[10] Prof. E. Hamp, *BBCS* xxvi. 309 announces a study of the "IE root(s) **bher-*".

[11] Influenced by the preceding *ascolt mor for cethraibh isind erruch*, the editors misunderstood this and translated "Great profusion in the autumn."

(iii) *tainic doinenn 7 falc fertana an uair sin ann* "there came a storm and a heavy downpour just then" *BNnÉ* 208 §61.

As well as thus modifying the more general sense of Mid. Ir. *ferthain*, discussed below, *folc* can render *flechud* more specific, e.g.

(iv) *mar rugais cach falc flechaid*, "as thou hast brought down every downpour of rain" (rather than O'Donovan's "every moistening shower") *Hy. Fiachr.* 286. 7.

The instances collected by *DIL* under *foilc* "wet, rainy" belong here:

(v) *feis aidhchi foilcc foghamhair ria ngeim il-Leitrechaibh*, "to feast on an autumn night of heavy rain before winter in L."[12] (a thing prohibited to the king of Munster) *BR* 4. 10.

(vi) *i n-aimsir foilc*, "in wet weather" *TTr.*[2] 1695. and

(vii) *na ceatha failci fliucha*, "the rainy, wet showers" *IGT* Decl. ex. 65. *DIL* tentatively suggests that *foilc* is in origin the genitive singular of *folc*. This may well have been so, the genitive *foilc* being re-interpreted as an adjective. One should also bear in mind that a lexeme could, not uncommonly, function both as a substantive and as an adjective in Old Irish; cf. *fliuch* above. The form *foilc* is no doubt influenced by the process of palatalization of the auslaut recorded for the stem of OIr. *folcaid* in the Middle Irish period; cf. *DIL* s.v. *folcaid*, F 267.

Folcaid (orig. ī?) with vn. *folcud*, u, m., means "washes" (usually specific of washing the head). Both explicit and implicit references to the washing of the head are regular in the early period.

It will be useful to survey the cognates of OIr. *folc* and *folcaid*, *folcud* before discussing their semantic relationship to each other.

From among the Celtic languages we can compare W. *golchi* < **gwolchi(f)*, Corn. *golhy*, MBret. *guelchi*, Mod. Bret. *gwalc'hi*, all meaning "to wash, rinse" etc. These would be derived from a Celtic **u̯olk-*.

OIr. *folc* cannot be directly compared to the Welsh substantive *golch* m., f., "a washing or cleansing with water, an act of washing oneself", which is first recorded in the 16th. century (*GPC* 1446) and is evidently a back-formation.

Pokorny, 1145, links the Celtic words to Latv. *valks* "wet, damp" and OHG *welh* "moist, soft, withered", postulating the IE root **uelk-* "wet, damp" and a variant **uelg-*, which gave OHG *welc* "moist, soft, withered" and probably OHG *wolchan*, n., *wolcha*, f., Anglo-Saxon *wolkan* "a cloud", Lith. *vìlgau, -yti, válgyti* "to moisten", and *vìlkšnas* "moist." (For explanations on the same lines see Pedersen,

[12] O'Donovan: "to feast by night in the beginning of harvest before Geim at Leitreacha".

i 34, 59, Lewis-Pedersen, 2, *GPC* 1446, *Romanze* 186, H. Hessen, *ZCP* ix 36. and Macbain, 159, 167.)

The semantic development may be traced in several ways. Only the Celtic languages show specialization in the sense "to wash (the body)". This may have been the meaning of the Celtic etymon, in which case the Irish "to wash (the head)" would be a further specialization. On the other hand, one could postulate a development within Brittonic similar to that of Irish in the historic period, where *folcaid* has come to mean "to wash the body, to have a bath". The sense-transfer to "heavy rain, wet weather" could have come about from either semantic starting point. Of course, in a steady downpour the head is the most immediate sufferer. Although *folc* and *folcaid* each had its own range of connotations, they would undoubtedly have been interconnected in the mind of a speaker of Old Irish.

Both Modern Irish and current Hiberno-English furnish instances of the same semantic development. The Irish word concerned is none other than *folcadh* "act of bathing, washing":

(viii) *Fuaireas folcadh fiormhor ag teacht abhaile dom*, "I got a really great drenching (from rain) when I was coming home". *Cìn Lae Amhlaoibh* (ed. T. de Bhaldraithe) 949. and

(ix) *Fuair me folcadh ón mbáistigh*, "I got drenched in the rain" *Caint an Chláir* (ed. S. Mac Clúin) i. 457.

Phrases such as the following, recorded by the writer, can be heard in Dublin on very wet days:

(x) *Are you washed* and

(xi) *L. now will be washed when she comes in.*

In both examples "washed" is used in the sense of "drenched, soaked".

3. 0. OLD IRISH: *FERAID FLECHUD:* MIDDLE IRISH: *FERTHAIN*

"It is raining" is expressed in Old Irish with the aid of the verb *feraid: feraid flechud.* A separate study would be necessary to delimit the semantic range of this verb and to record the pattern of development which resulted in its many-sided application. *DIL* maintains that 'the primary sense of *feraid* is "grant, afford, supply" and this is implicit in later development', and classifies the senses thus:

I "grants, supplies".

(a) "suffices, furnishes enough for"

(b) with acc. of thing "supplies, provides"; in wider sense "gives, yields, pays"

II 'gives forth, pours"

(a) in lit. sense "pours, showers, sheds" esp. of natural phenomena (rain, etc.)

(b) by extension "pours out (cries, lamentations, etc.), vents, gives expression to (a feeling, etc.)"

(c) esp. with obj. like *cath, comlann,* etc., of giving battle

(d) in wider sense with abstr. or vn. as obj. "does, performs, executes".

Nevertheless we are informed, somewhat ambiguously, that the distinction between categories I and II "is mainly for convenience of reference". While a perusal of the citations quoted in *DIL* gives good grounds for accepting the proposed shift from sense I to sense II, the relationship of both of these to II(d) "does, performs, executes" requires elucidation, particularly as examples of the latter occur quite early. However, there is no difficulty in accepting the use of a verb "gives (forth), pours" with reference to "rain", "snow", etc. In this sense *feraid,* a, was originally transitive, and used impersonally or with a reflexive pronoun; later it was often transitive:

(i) *tech innā fera flechod,* "a house within which it does not rain" *Thes.* ii. 294. 15.

(ii) *Dogena dam-sa mo rí*
ní firfe flechad choidchí
"My king will do it for me/It will not rain till night"[13] *Vita Br.* §48.

Feraid was similarly used with *snechta* "snow", e.g.

(iii) *ferais snechta mór forru co fernnu fer 7 co drochu carpat,* "it poured great snow on them up to the girdles of men and to the wheels of chariots" LU 4777. and with *derdan, dertan* "storm, squall, bad weather", e.g.

(iv) *feraid dertain,* "a storm arises" *IT* iii. 67. §2.

The Middle Irish verbal noun of *feraid, ferthain,* i, f., "giving forth, pouring", continues many of the senses of the conjugated verb, but examples of "pouring, showering" in the physical sense predominate, e.g.

[13] Translated "never" by *DIL* C 24, but cf. M. A. O'Brien, *Ir. Hist. Stud.* i. 134: "My king will do this for me/rain will not fall till the night".

(v) *.xl. lā . . . ro buī in dīliu ic ferthain*, "forty days the flood was pouring" *Rawl.* 70 a 13.

(vi) *cith cloicsnechta do ferthain a Cuircne*, "a shower of hail poured in Cuircne" *RC* xviii 297 26 (*Tig*).

It was undoubtedly the frequent application of *ferthain* to *flechud* which led to *ferthain* itself being invested with the sense of "rain", a semantic development we shall again encounter. *Ferthain*, later *fearthainn*, occurs frequently in the Middle and Modern Irish periods; like *flechud*, which it ultimately replaces, it is essentially a semantically unmarked member of the group of words for "rain":

(vii) *fertain* gl. *pulma* (= *pluvia*), "rain" *Auraic.* 4220.

Ferthain and *flechud* are synonymous in an early 17th. century text:

(viii) *tic gne fleachaidh 7 fherthana issin aimsir*, "the appearance of rain and rainfall comes on the weather" *Fl. Earls* 64. 13.

And, as is often the case in Irish, "rain" and "bad weather" are taken as occurring together:

(ix) *ní raibhe fearthain ná doinionn re a linn*, "there was no rain nor bad weather during his time" *Keat.* i. 198. 4–5.

Fearthainn is contrasted with *clagairneach*, f., "downpour":

(x) *Gan amharas is í an fhearthuinn thuitios anúas go mín ceannsa is fearr, et an chlaguirneach thig d'urchar loitionn sí na guirt 7 na garruighthe.* "The rain which falls down softly and gently is without doubt the best, and the downpour which comes suddenly (it) destroys the fields and the gardens". *Párl. na mB.* 1185–8.

Ferad, u, m., the Old Irish verbal noun of *feraid* had the specialized meaning of "excrements, faeces". This meaning is retained throughout the Middle Irish period, where we thus have a morphosemantic split, *ferthain* "giving forth, pouring, rain" v. *ferad* "excrements, faeces". This distinction is not maintained by Céitinn who writes:

(xi) *gur ḟear firmeint fearadh fras*, "and the firmament gave forth a downpour of showers" *Keat. Poems* 1230.

As stated above, *feraid* in the sense "pours" is secondary. Therefore comparison with Skt. *vár, vári*, n., "water", Lat. *ūrīna* "urine", ONorse *ūr* "light rain", etc. and derivation from IE **(a)u̯er-* "water rain, river" (so Stokes, 271, Walde-P. i. 268, Buck, 67–8, and Macbain, 169) is semantically untenable.

Pedersen, ii. 518, holds *feraid* to be etymologically identical with OHG *werēn, giwerēn, giwerōn*, Mod. German *gewähren* "to grant, concede, offer". Pokorny, 1166, in his treatment of these and cognate verbal derivatives of the IE root **u̯er-, u̯era-* "Freundlichkeit (erweisen)" makes no mention of the Irish word. These two approaches are noted without comment by W. Meid, *Romanze*, 133. Failing a more

attractive and better documented alternative comparison, Pedersen's suggestion seems fairly plausible.

3. 1. MIDDLE IRISH: *BĂISTECH*

A second word which came to the fore in the Middle Irish period is the somewhat elusive *băistech*, ā, f., "rain". At first it is poorly attested:

(i) *le haghaid na baistighe 7 na doininne*, "exposed to the rain and the storm" (of book left open) *BNnÉ* 209 §62.

Later, the vowel of the first syllable is indicated as long, e.g.

(ii) *teist na báistighe air*, "the torrents of rain . . . bear witness to it (are a sign of the evil)" *Hackett* xxxix. 65 (= M. Ní Cheallacháin, *Filíocht Phádraigín Haicéad*, 30. 65.; cf. *DIL* T 123, s.v. *teist*).

The same word is probably to be seen in

(iii) *imrásium . . . tar baitsechaib būana belaide*, *Aisl. MC* 85. 16–9 (published in 1892) where Kuno Meyer translates "we rowed . . . by perpetual pools of gravy". However, in Meyer, *Contribb.* (publ. 1906) 169, citing this occurrence as his only instance, he translates *baitsech* as "(lit. baptism) a shower". On the same page, under *báistech*, he equates *báistech* with *baitsech*.

Báiste(a)ch becomes frequent only in the later period; for this see 4. 0., 4. 1., and 4. 2.

Attempts to secure an etymology for *băistech*, *baitsech* fall into two groups:

(A) It is held to be connected with *bait(h)sid*, *baistid* "baptizes", vn. *bait(h)sed*, *baisted*, u, later o, m., and the word from which these are derived, namely *baithis*, *baithes*, *bathais*, m. and f., (a) "baptism", (b) (by association) "crown of the head". The latter is a loan from Lat. *baptisma*. The metathesis of *-ts*[14] to *-st-*, in itself quite regular,[14] would thus be part of a pattern involving related lexical items.[15]

(B) Derivation is postulated from the stem of *báidid*, also *bádaid*, *báithid*, *báthaid*, "submerges, drowns", to which the suffixes *-st-* and *-k-* have been added, thus *báid/ba*:δ′/+**stikā* > *báidsech*, with metathesis of *-ds-* and delenition of *d*/δ′/> *báisdech*>*báistech*.[16]

[14] Cf. Pedersen, i. 488–9, Lewis-Pedersen, 124, *GOI* 88, D. Hyde, *Gadelica* 79, and T. F. O'Rahilly, *ibid.* 292.

[15] So Meyer, *Contribb.* 169, Buck, 67–8, *DIL* B 20–1. For the borrowing from Lat. *baptisma* see Pedersen, i. 220, *DIL* B 20.

[16] So Pedersen, i. 488–9, ii. 21, Hyde, *Gadelica* 79, O'Rahilly, *Irish Dialects Past and Present*, 73, and by implication, B. Ó Cuív, *The Irish of West Muskerry, Co. Cork*, 127.

The same formation is attested in *ráidsech*, ā, f., "talk, prate, chatter", nearly always in plural, which is derived from the stem of *ráidid*, ī, in OIr. occasionally treated as ā stem, "speaks, says, tells". Semantic support is to be found in the current Ir. *fliuch báite* lit. "drowned wet" i.e. "soaked, drenched to the skin", with which one can compare the colloquial Dublin use of English *nearly drownded*. Furthermore, where a distinction is drawn between the various lexemes for "rain" in Modern Irish, *báisteach* appears, as we shall see, to signify "heavy rain". (B) therefore appears to be the more likely explanation.[17]

3.2. OLD IRISH: *SNIGID*

A second relevant verb in Old Irish and later is: *snigid*, i, and vn. *snige*, occas. spelt *snaige*, "pours down, flows, drips, drops". This verb is frequently used of rain:

(i) *snigis fleochad a muig Life*, "it rained in the plain of Life" *IT* i. 41. 36.

(ii) *coro snig flechud mór isin talmain sin*, "so that great rain fell on that land" *Trip.*[2] 1420–1. (= 2. 0. citation ii).
In the same way, *snigid* can refer to snow:

(iii) *cene snigess snechta finn*, "although fair snow pours not" *O'Mulc.* 110. We have a very interesting example in:

(iv) *snigid gaim*, lit "winter pours" LU 852.

As the semantic prehistory of *snigid* is intimately connected with that of OIr. *snechta(e)*, io, Mod. Ir. *sneachta* "snow", it is intended to discuss them together in a future article on "snow" and "it is snowing". The formal cognates of these words are well-known and derived from IE. **sneig^{u}h-*, *snig^{u}h-*, *snoig^{u}ho-s*.[18] On the other hand, the meaning to be assigned to the IE. etymon has been increasingly in doubt[19].

3.3. EARLY MODERN IRISH: *SILID*

Silid, intrans. "drops, flows, drips", trans. "sheds, pours out, causes to flow is used of "rain, snow" in the later language, as is its verbal noun *siled*, u and o, m.:

[17] Dwelly, 61, affords a possible parallel from Scottish Gaelic for (A): (obsolete) *baistidhe*, n. pl, "drops from the eaves of a house, raindrops."

[18] Cf. Pokorny, 974, Pedersen, i. 85, *Vendr. Lex* S 153, *Romanze* 139, W. Meid *Germanische Sprachwissenschaft*, iii. 57, 60.

[19] Cf. E. Benveniste, ΜΝΗΜΗΣ ΧΑΡΙΝ (= *Gedenkschrift Kretschmer*) i. 35–9, and K. Hoffman, *MSS* xviii 13ff.

(i) *cor' silset 'na cethaibh 7 'na frasaibh 7 'na tólaibh tromferthana for tíribh na hEspaine*, "so that they poured as (1) showers and (2) showers and floods of heavy rain on the lands of Spain"[20] *CCath.* 2336.

(ii) *a sil a innibh an aieoir/d'fhearthain lionmhair* . . . "what flows from the inmost parts of the sky of plentiful rain" *DDána* 110. 48.

Mod.Ir. *sileán* "act of shedding; a rivulet drain or channel"[21] is a derivative of this verb.

Pedersen, ii. 623, traces *silid* to IE **swel-* "to turn", but Vendryes, S108, and Pokorny, 889, prefer, respectively, IE **sil-* (*si+l*) and IE **sei-, soi-* "to drip; moist". Both Vendryes and Pokorny, however, allow for interference from IE **suel-* (*swel-*) in order to explain the forms of the reduplicated future, whose stem is to be seen in 1 sg. pres. subj. *go ro śiblur*, and preterite 3 sg. *siblais*. Vendryes, S-108, compares Swed. *sila* "to strain; to trickle, filter". In this, as in other features of his treatment of *silid*, Vendryes has been able to draw on the earlier work of J. Loth, *RC* xliii 141–3, where Loth in turn has had the benefit of C. Marstrander's opinion.

4.0. MODERN IRISH: INTRODUCTION

Although an exhaustive survey of the words for "rain" and "it is raining" in Modern Irish lies outside the scope of the present investigation, an attempt is made to depict the general position in the current language. The data collected by Professor Heinrich Wagner in his monumental *Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish Dialects* will serve as a convenient major source for this purpose, with the answers to questions 270 "it is beginning to rain"

846 "it rained; it will rain"

847 "don't be out in the rain!"

848 "a rainy day"

896 "it was raining all night"

together with the various vocabularies providing the bulk of the material.

The map headed "it is raining", *op.cit.*, i 221, shows *fearthainn* and *báisteach*, the two forms which arose in the Middle Irish period, in complementary areal distribution as verbal nouns in Munster and Connacht, while Ulster is represented by another verbal noun, *cur. Tá sé ag báisteach* and closely related variants predominate in counties Cork and Kerry (an exception is pt. 15 with *fearthainn*) and in the

[20] "And they poured in their rain-showers and hailstorms and heavy sleeting floods on the lands of Spain", W. Stokes.

[21] Cf. Dinneen, 1028,

south Connacht region. *Tá sé ag fearthainn* is to be found in east Munster and the more inland portions of Connacht. Co. Mayo provides a typically complex picture as *tá sé ag cur* occurs there as well as both *tá sé ag fearthainn* and *tá sé ag báisteach*.

The map (based on Q. 846; see ii, p. xvii) necessarily summarizes the actual linguistic situation. That its evidence can only be regarded as approximate is shown below in the case of Munster (excluding Co. Clare) from a collation of the responses to the questions connected with "rain", and the usage of other sources. Further research will no doubt fill out the range of possible idioms and terms with their individual nuances for many of these points. A similar study may be made for Connacht and Ulster etc.

4. 1. MUNSTER

Volume ii of *LASID* includes the following material which considerably augments that of the map printed on p. 221 of Volume i:[22]
Points 1–7 (= Map, i. 221 *tá sé ag fearthainn*)

pt. 2. *fliuchán* (Q. 847)

pt. 4. *lá báistí* (Q. 848)

pt. 5. *lá báisteach fearth(a)nna* (Q. 848)

pt. 7. *dhein sé fearthainn ar maidin*; *beidh sé fliuch amárach* (Q. 846)

Points 8–21 (= Map, i. 221 *tá sé ag báisteach*, variants from this map for points 9, 13, 15, 16, 18, are incorporated here).
pt. 9. *do dhein sé báisteach inniu* (Q. 846)
(*tá sé fliuch*, the primary form on the map is not recorded in reply to the relevant questions.)

pt. 10. *do bháistigh sé*; *báisteoidh sé* (Q. 846)
lá fliuch (Q. 848)

pt. 11. *do bhí an mhaidean fliuch*
déanfaidh sé báisteach
báistfidh sé
} (Q. 846)
fliuchán (Q. 847)

pt. 12. *do bhí sé fliuch an mhaidean-sa* (Q. 846)
bhí sé ag cur bháistí feadh na hoíche (Q. 896)

[22] As this is primarily a lexical study, it has seemed convenient to transliterate the phonetic transcription of Wagner into the orthography of the standard language, due allowance being made for recording significant dialectal variation The source of each quotation is given in brackets, e.g. (Q 847) = (the reply elicited by Question 847).

pt. 13. *fliuchadh* (Q. 270)
do fhliuch sé; *beidh sé fliuch/fliuchfaidh sé amárach* (Q. 846)
tá sé cur bháistí (Vocab.)

pt. 14. *tá an fearthann ag teacht anuas* (Q. 846)
bhí sé ag cur bháistí ar feadh na hoíche (Q. 896)

pt. 15. *fearthainn* (Q. 270)
fliuchfaidh sé (Q. 846)
clagar, *fearthainn*, *fliuchra* } (Q. 847)
lá fliuch (Q. 848)
bhí sé fliuch feadh na hoíche (Q. 896)
dhein sé fearthainn (Vocab).
(*báisteach* is not recorded in the replies for this point)

pt. 16. *clagar* (Q. 270)
bhí sé ag déanamh clagair/bhí sé ag déanamh báistí (Q. 846)

pt. 17. *do dhein sé báisteach* (Q. 846)
lá fliuch (Q. 848)
[*bhí sé*] *ag clagar* [*feadh na hoíche*] (Q. 896)

pt. 18. *do fhliuch sé*; *fliuchfaidh sé/déanfaidh sé báisteach* (Q. 846)
bhí sé fliuch i gcaitheamh na hoíche (Q. 896)
fearthainn "bad weather" (i.e. *gaoth ard is báisteach agus fuacht*, "high wind and rain and cold") (Vocab.)

pt. 19. *lá fliuch* (Q. 848)
bhí sé fliuch feadh na hoíche (Q. 896)

pt. 20. *fhliuch sé ar maidin*; *fliuchfaidh sé* (Q. 846)
bhí sé fliuch feadh na hoíche (Q. 896)

pt. 21. *dhein sé báisteach*; *báisteoidh sé/déanfaidh sé báisteach* (Q. 846)
bhí sé fliuch feadh na hoíche (Q. 896)

We may now summarize the results for Munster (excluding Co. Clare):

"it is raining" expressed by

I Verb "to be" + preposition *ag* + vn. *fearthainn/báisteach*: All points except 15, 18.

II Verb "to be" + preposition *ag* + auxiliary verb + *fearthainn/báisteach:*

(a) *déan* "make, do" etc. as auxiliary: points 7, 9, 11, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21.

(b) *cuir* "put" etc. as auxiliary: points 12, 13, 14.

III Verb "to be" + adj. *fliuch* "wet": points 7, 9, (so Map, i. 221, but see above), 11, 12, 13, 15, 18, 19, 20, 21.

IV Inflected verb "it rains" based on *báisteach:* points 10, 11, 21.

V Inflected verb "it rains" based on *fliuch:* points 13, 15, 18, 20.

VI (Verbal) nouns other than *fearthainn/báisteach* meaning "rain" etc.:

(a) *fliuchán* points 2, 11.
fliuchadh, point 13.
fliuchra, point 15.

(b) *clagar,* points 15,16, 17.

Both *báisteach* and *fearthainn* are recorded at points 4, 5, 14, 18.

Further research will no doubt increase the diversity of this picture. Texts from West Kerry contain examples of *fearthainn* and *clagarnach* as well as *LASID báisteach,* e.g.

(i) *Níor thug sí brat riamh léi ó bhrothall ná fhearthainn,* "she never took a cloak with her for sultry or rainy weather" *An tOileánach,* Tomás O Criomhthain, (ed. Pádraig Ua Maoileoin) 73.

(ii) *Bhí an uain go breá ach ní raibh aon staonadh ag dul ar an bhfearthainn.* "The weather was fine but the rain showed no sign of stopping" *ibid.* 237. and

(iii) *san am ar thit an chlagarnach, splancacha agus toirneacha, ná feicfeá soir seachas siar,* "when there came violent rain, flashes of lightning and claps of thunder so that you couldn't distinguish east from west". *ibid.* 228.

Apart from *báisteach, Cnósach Focal ó Bhaile Bhúirne* (ed. B. O. Cuív) has *lá fearthainniúil,* "a rainy day" (p. 106) and *clagar, claigearnach clagarnach* "heavy pelting rain" (pp. 57–8).

Further investigation can be expected to demonstrate that the words connected with the expression of "rain" in a particular dialect or sub-dialect area carry somewhat different connotations. An example such as the following, heard by the writer in Muiríoch, West Kerry, with *báisteach* opposed to *cith* "shower", shows that *báisteach* is used of rain falling over an extended period:

(iv) *Ní dhéanfaidh sé aon bháisteach ach beidh ceathanna ann* "It won't rain but there will be showers".

The frequent use of *"bhí sé fliuch . . ."* in reply to question 896 "it was raining all night" is evidence that *fliuch* too refers to a long period of rain or wet weather. *Clagar, clagarnach* etc. doubtless mean "heavy rain, a downpour.[23]

[23] Cf. 3.0. citation x.

Among the wealth of meteorological observation to be found in the diary of Amhlaoibh Ó Súilleabháin is an interesting list which grades the various types of precipitation in ascending order of intensity and severity:

(v) *Is iomdha focal sa nGaeilge chum titim uisce do rá, mar atá, drúcht, ceobhrán, nó ceobhraon, mionfhearthainn, meánfhearthainn, mórfhearthainn, báisteach, clagairneach .i. an fhearthainn is troime. Deirtear doineann le haimsir fhliuch* . . . "There are many words in Irish to express the fall of water, viz. dew, (1) mist or (2) mist, drizzle, rain which is not too heavy, great rain, heavy rain, torrential rain, that is the heaviest rain of all. Wet weather is called *doineann*.". *Cín Lae Amhlaoibh*, (ed. T. de Bhaldraithe) 777–780. A. Ó Súilleabháin also uses *clagadh* (cf. lines 1269 and 2816) in the same sense.

4.2. *CUIR* AS AUXILIARY

The restricted distribution of *cuir* "put" etc. as an auxiliary verb with *báisteach* and *fearthainn* to express "it is raining" is especially noteworthy as this is the form most favoured by non-native speakers of Irish and the restoration movement in general. Typically, it is given precedence in the standard *English-Irish Dictionary*, ed. T. de Bhaldraithe, 575, s.v. *rain*.[2]

Tá sé ag cur bháistí is recorded for points 12, 13, 14 in Co. Cork. According to the map, i. 221, *tá sé ag cur báiste* occurs at points 53, 54, *tá sé ag cur báisteach* at point 56, all in Co. Mayo. This statement for pt. 56 is in agreement with the reply to Q. 896. However, I cannot find support in *LASID* for the idiom stated to be at ptt. 53, 54. For pt. 53 we read *tá sé ag toisiú ag cur* (Q. 270), *bhí sé ag cur ar maidin inniu, cuirfidh sé amárach* (Q. 846), and *bhí sé ag cur ar feadh na hoíche* (Q. 896). The prevailing idiom, on the strength of this evidence, is *tá sé ag cur*. The position at pt. 54 is much the same, *tá sé ag cur* (Q. 846) actually being recorded; here, however, *chuir sé báisteach inniu* (Q. 846) occurs as a variant. Again, the map affords the only evidence for either *tá sé ag cur* or *tá sé ag cur fearthainn(e)* at pt. 64, Co. Cavan. The Vocabulary, iv. 2, s.v. *fearthainn*, has *b'fhéidear go mbeadh fearthainn ann*. That the restricted distribution of expressions with *báisteach*, and presumably *fearthainn*, dependent on *tá sé ag cur* may well be the result of relatively recent developments in Northern Irish is indicated by the dominance of *tá sé ag cur* "it is raining" in Co. Donegal, and its occurrence at points 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 55a, 57, 58 in Co. Mayo, 67, Rathlin Island, and 68, Inishowen. The coexistence of examples, both with and without *báisteach* at points 51 (see Q. 846) and 54 is particularly instructive. *Tá sé ag cur* is no doubt a shortened

form of *tá sé ag cur bháistí* /[*f(h)earthainne*]. The dropping of the (verbal) noun for "rain(ing)" as redundant, and its subsequent semantic regeneration by the (auxiliary) verb originally governing it has been a recurring feature of Irish. The *flechud* of OIr. *feraid flechud* gave way to Mid.Ir. *ferthain* in the same sense. Now *fearthainn* itself and *báisteach* have shared an identical fate over a major part of the northern dialect area. One may summarize thus:

OIr. *feraid flechud*

→ Mid.Ir. *oc ferthain*

→ Mod.Ir. *tá sé ag cur b(h)áistí, f(h)earthainne*
tá sé ag cur.

Yet another example of this tendency from Modern Irish is *tá sé ag stealladh* "it is pouring", where the reference to rain is merely implied, cf.

(i) *Chrom sé ag stealladh orm ag Garraí an Phíopa,* "It started to pour when I was at Garraí an Phíopa" *Cín Lae Amhlaoibh,* 2888–9. and

(ii) *Do lean sé air ag stealladh báistí orm ó Gharraí an Phíopa go hÁth Choiléir.* "Rain continued to pour down on me from Garraí an Phíopa to Áth Choiléir" *ibid.* 2905–6.

as opposed to

(iii) *Béidir gur ag stealladh fearthainne a bheadh sé.* "Perhaps it would be pouring rain" *Cainnt an tSean-Shaoghail* §14.

From within the Celtic languages we may compare Mod. Welsh *mae'n bwrw* (*g(w)law*) "it is raining" (lit. "it is casting, pouring rain"), with *g(w)law*, the actual word for "rain" being optional; this is the form in use in south as well as in north-west Wales. Otherwise *mae'n g(w)lawio/g(w)lowio/glywio* is to be heard.[24]

Parallels in other languages are not difficult to find:

Mod. English	*it is pouring* (rain)
	it is lashing (rain) (colloquially)
	it is spilling (rain) (colloquially)
Mod. German	*es gießt,* "it is pouring"
	es schüttet, "it is pouring"
Mod. Swedish	*det öser ned,* "it is pouring down"

Fearthainn "rain" is to be found throughout the area where *tá sé ag cur* is the regular equivalent of "it is raining". It is hoped to

[24] Cf. Alan R. Thomas, *The Linguistic Geography of Wales,* 127.

discuss *cur*, earlier *cor* "act of throwing, casting" etc., vn. of *fo-ceird*, again in the projected article concerning "snow".

4.3. SCOTTISH GAELIC; MANX GAELIC

Among the variants at pt. 56 in Co. Mayo are *déanfaidh sé uisc(e) amárach*, "it will rain tomorrow" (Q. 846) and *ná bí amuigh faoin uisc(e)*, "don't be out in the rain!" (Q. 847). A similar sense-development of *uisce* "water" is recorded for pt. 67, Rathlin Island, e.g. *ná bí amuigh ansan tuisce*. (Q. 847); and it is general in the sense "rain" in Scottish Gaelic where a second word *sileadh* also occurs. *Uisge* or a by-form may also serve as a verbal noun in the phrase "it is raining":

tha e ag uisge (Sutherland; by-form: Benbecula, Wester Ross) occurs as well as *tha(an) duisge ann* (Mid-Argyll, Lewis, Wester Ross; by-forms: Kintyre, Benbecula). Otherwise *tha e ag sileadh* is used (Arran, Kintyre, Becbecula). The verb *sil* may be inflected in the sense "rains" (Arran). "A rainy day" is generally *lá fliuch*, but also *lá bog* (Wester Ross) (Q. 848). "It was raining all night" is *bha e fliuch feadh na hoíche* in Arran (Q. 896). For these see *LASID* iv 189–282. (Appendix i).

Manx (pt. 88 of *LASID* iv, 183) has *flágha* "rain" and *ta e ceau* "it is raining".[25] The traditional Manx orthography for the former is *fliaghey*, m. Manx appears to maintain a formal distinction between *fliaghey* "rain", *fliaghagh* "raining", given to rain or showers, pluvial or pluvious", etc. and *fliugh* "wet" and its derivatives *fliughey* m. "wetting, making wet; a wetting", *fliughys*, m., "wetness" etc.[26] *Fliaghey* goes back to OIr. *flechud*, the vowel of the first syllable developing similarly to that of OIr. *snechta(e)* which gave Manx *sniaghtey*. *Ceau* "wear, cast, upbraid, spending; raining; casting past"[27] corresponds to OIr. *caithem* ā, f., also m., Mod.Ir. *caitheamh* "act of spending consuming, using up, act of casting, shooting missile" etc. *Ta e ceau*, lit. "it is casting, throwing", has no doubt arisen in a manner identical to that of Mod.Ir. *tá sé ag cur* and the similar idioms described in 4.2.; semantically, *ta e ceau* is paralleled exactly by Mod.Ir. *tá sé ag cur* and Mod.W. *mae'n bwrw*.

LIAM MAC MATHÚNA

Coláiste Phádraig, Baile Átha Cliath

[25] Cf. J. J. Kneen and R. L. Thomson, *English-Manx Pronouncing Dictionary* (1970) 58.

[26] Cf. A. Cregeen, *A Dictionary of the Manx Language*, 67, *LASID*, iv. 188.

[27] Cregeen, *op. cit.*, 34.

THE *É*-FUTURE IN MODERN IRISH

The following notes are intended as comment on Jackson's comprehensive study in *Celtica* xi (1976) 94–106, which is the first serious attempt to deal with the problem since Bergin's pioneering article in *Ériu* ii (1905) 36–48. Page references are to these two articles.

1. The rise of the *-eó-* future

The problem can be stated simply: at least as early as the twelfth century *-eó-* began to replace *-é(a)-* in unstressed syllables of the Middle Irish *-é-* future stem. The dating rests on three kinds of evidence. Firstly, the fut. 1 sg. conjunct form *-digéon*, LU 6134; this is in the hand of H, which can now be dated to the early part of the twelfth century, see Ó Concheanainn, *Éigse* xv 284. Secondly, the fact that *-eó-* regularly appears as a permitted variant to unstressed *-é(a)-* in the future stems listed in the Verbs section of the Irish Grammatical Tracts; it is generally accepted that the linguistic norm described in these tracts is based on the language of the twelfth century. Thirdly, the shift can be observed in texts which, on other criteria, are allotted to the twelfth century, such as *Acallam na Senórach* and *In Cath Catharda*. This last kind of evidence is cumulative in bulk, but uncertain in detail; for example, *indeósus*, *CCath.* 69, is the reading of H against *adfet* S and *atfet* F, which probably preserve the older reading.

The first question we must ask is: where, in the earlier history of Irish, do we find an alternation between *-é(a)-* and *-eó-*? The answer is obvious; the alternation arose in Early Old Irish, as a result of the vocalisation of spirants before resonants which had become word-final after the apocope. The main evidence is provided by monosyllabic substantival *o*-stems such as *scél*, which show gs. *scéuil* and ds. *scéul*. Originally the *-éu-* variant was confined to word-final position; as Thurneysen noted (GOI §55), it does not occur in paradigms which have no forms where it would arise in final syllables. A comparison of *do-génai* 'he did' with *do-scéulai* 'he explores' shows that the diphthong in the latter is secondary, being patterned on imperative 2 sg. **toiscéuil* and pret. 3 sg. conjunct *-toiscéuil*. The normal Old Irish patterning can be structurally defined: where the diphthong occurs in a word-final syllable, whether stressed or unstressed, it will also occur in paradigmatically associated stressed syllables. A typical pattern is:

Final Unstressed	:	*-toiscéuil*
Stressed Non-Final	:	*do-scéulai*
Unstressed Non-Final	:	*taiscélad*

Well before the end of the Old Irish period, the sound which was originally written *éu* shifted to *eó*, by which we are to understand something like [ɛo:]; this shift had certainly taken place by the time LU was written, and the placing of the length-mark is arbitrary and irrelevant. This phonetic shift did not affect the paradigmatic alternation pattern, which we may now write *é* ~ *ɛo*.

We can point to an early example of the introduction of this alternation into an environment in which it did not historically occur. The perfect 3 sg. of *do-aisféna* 'shows' must have been **do-airfén* in OIr, cf. 1 sg. *do-airfenus*, Wb 18[d]7; *ro taisfen*, LU(H) 9777, shows the expected Middle Irish continuation. But also in LU, and in the hand which Best called M, we find (8181–3) the following passage: *Ardopetet iarom a n-áes ciúil 7 airfite céin both oc taisbenad na flede dóib. O ro taisfeóin iarom Bricriu in fled* . . . Here we find the diphthong historically justified in preterites such as *-toisceóil* or *ad-geóin* extended to the Middle Irish verb *taisfénaid*; the Old Irish pattern of alternation is precisely reproduced, and the unstressed *é* remains unaffected. The necessary requirement for the shift is that there should be an *-é-* followed by a resonant, since it was normally in that environment that *-é-* alternated with *-eó-*. We can confidently place this isolated example in the eleventh century.

With this to help us, we can return to the consideration of the early twelfth century *-digéon*, which we can safely rewrite as *-digeón*. This differs from *-taisfeóin* inasmuch as there is no Old Irish form on which it can have been directly modelled, for *u*-infection played no part in the formation of the *é*-future, nor of the reduplicated preterite; *do-gén* 'I will make' and *ad-gén* 'I recognised' are well-established Old Irish forms. But Bergin's perception (37) that the *u*-infection seen in the conjunct 1 sg. of the *s*-future (*-gigius*) and of the *f*-future (*-carub*) has something to do with the case should not be lightly set aside, any more than Strachan's insight that *-digeón* is the 'starting point' of the *-eó*-future. The introduction of the alternation here belongs to the Middle Irish period, and is to be ascribed to the desire to have a distinctive future 1 sg. conjunct form; it is thus strictly comparable to the addition of *-ub*/*-abh* seen in such examples *noco ririub* 'I will not sell', LU(H) 10778, or *ní eibreabh* 'I will not say', listed as an alternative to *-aibéar* and *-aibeór* at IGT Verbs §6. Our isolated *-digeón* is thus the solitary survivor of a state of the language in which *-eó-* had been introduced only at this point in the paradigm,

while *-é-* was retained in all the other forms derived from the future stem. It is to be assumed that all other *-é-*future stems ending in a resonant followed the same pattern, so that e.g. *-coideól* and *-aibeór* were evolved at the same time. We must also assume that, in a later development, *-eó-* penetrated to unstressed syllables of the same structure. As we know, this had happened sporadically even in Old Irish; Thurneysen, GOI §55, lists some examples, such as dat. sg. *cenéolu*. By the Middle Irish period, examples are much more numerous; gen. sg. *inneóni*, LU 6395, shows the same development as the verbal noun *indeónadh* 'roasting', well attested from Classical verse. Even more striking are the alternative verbal noun forms *taisbeónadh* and *taiseónadh* listed in IGT Verbs §66 beside *taisbénadh* and *taisénadh*.

The establishment of the alternation *é* ~ *eó* before resonants in non-final syllables had of course the effect of depriving *-eó-* in final syllables of its function as marker of the future 1 sg. conjunct. Presumably the popular speech extended the distinctive ending *-ad* to all future 1 sg. forms, whether absolute or conjunct; this is not recognised in the Classical norm, but appears in prose texts of the Early Modern period, cf. *ní ionnsōchat-sa arís é*, Stowe Táin 2504. As to the question why the *-eó-* did not spread to stressed syllables also, there are two observations to be made. Firstly, from a purely structural point of view, there is nothing surprising about stressed syllables being treated differently from unstressed syllables, nor is there any reason why the patterning which was productive in the Old Irish period should remain unchanged in Late Middle Irish. Secondly, while we know that in general the alternation does not spread to stressed syllables at this period, there is at least one exception: the 1 sg. present form seen in *atgeon-sa isat filid* 'I recognise that you are a poet', *FDG*[1] 599 = *FDG*[2] 719 = YBL 323[a]43. Dillon would place this text in the eleventh century; while that may be too early we can at least say that it belongs to the period of transition from Late Middle to Early Modern Irish. The form *atgeon* shows the spread of *-eó-* from the 3 sg. *atgeóin*, and is therefore the outcome of a process different from that which gave *-digeón*; however it provides an isolated example of stressed *-eó-* in a 1 sg. form, though admittedly not of the future.

We cannot say whether the admission *-eó-* to unstressed *é*-future stems ending in a resonant was a matter of local dialect or of popular speech. It is clear, however, that, once it was established before resonants, it would soon become nothing more than a permitted variant of *-é-* and would therefore spread to all unstressed stems of the *é*-future; this is the picture presented by our twelfth-century texts, and by the Grammatical Tracts. Jackson has given a very clear

account of the way in which it gradually ousted *-é-* during the Early Modern Irish period.

2. The *-ea-* future stems

Five articles in IGT Verbs list future stems with stressed *-ea-* as an alternative to stressed *-éa-: do-ghéba, do-gheabha*, §22; *gébad, geabad*, §23; *lémhad, leamhad*, §24; *démhad* .c. *deamad .l.*, §25; *geadad, gédad*, §29. The long *-éa-* stems are those inherited from the earlier language; the short-vowel stems are not attested outside classical verse, though it is possible, as we will see, that *geabh-* and *leamh-* are continued in the modern spoken language. The alternation *éa* ~ *ea* cannot be accounted for inside the conjugations in which these stems occur. It is, however, regular in verbs like Old Irish *ceilid*, which has subj. 3 sg. *celaid* and fut. 3 sg. *célaid*. Now, bearing in mind Bergin's remarks about the evolution of the future indicative from the subjunctive in the prehistory of Irish, and his demonstration of the repetition of this process during the historic period in the case of the substantive verb (46), we must consider the possibility of the type *celaid* coming to be specialised as a future in the late Middle Irish period when the non-palatalised stem form was no longer distinctively subjunctive; IGT Verbs §28, for example, lists *gé chuin cheilear* and *gé chuin chealar* as permitted alternatives, though it condemns 1 sg. preterite *do chealas*. This article, however, lists only *ceilfead* and *célad* as future forms.

But there is a distinct possibility that a future stem *cel-* did in fact exist at one time. My colleague Liam Breathnach, who is preparing a new edition of *Tochmarc Lúaine*, has taken up again the question of the rhyme *ní chel : Noesen*, first raised by Meyer in *Ériu* vii 12; Meyer proposed reading *ní chēl*, and cited this example as one of a number in which a long vowel followed by a consonant rhymed with a short vowel plus consonant. His arguments on this point were refuted by Bergin, *Ériu* viii 168, and by Thurneysen *ZCP* xi 36; the latter took *ní chel* here to be a subjunctive. Breathnach, to whom I am indebted for permission to quote, objects that this common cheville is normally in the future tense and, further, that in a text of this date we would expect *ní chelur* in the subjunctive. He concludes, therefore, that we should take *ní chel* here as an example of the short-vowel future stems under discussion, even though it is not listed in IGT Verbs.

While it would be better to have more than one example, Breathnach's argument meshes very well with Jackson's observation that IGT Verbs §23 lists preterite *do geabas* as an alternative to *do gabas*, and his suggestion that the short-vowel future stems 'are perhaps

based on the presential forms *geibh-* and *do-gheibh*, with depalatalisation of the *bh'* (99 n. 21). The verbs *geibhidh* and *ceilidh* had large areas of rhyming forms; if *ceilidh* had in fact alternative future stems *céal-* and *ceal-*, the evolution of *geabh-* beside *géabh-* is readily comprehensible. Admittedly, some difficulties remain: why was *ceal-* not admitted to the classical canon, and why did the alternation spread further to the small number of stems listed above, and not to others? The only answer is that we can never hope to explain all the details of the formation of the classical language; the tentative explanation offered will at least account for the alternation *géabh-* ~ *geabh-*.

3. Munster Irish *geód* and *leomhfad*

As Jackson remarks (99 n. 22), Bergin was ambiguous about the origin of Munster Irish *geód*, etc.; his statement was (38) that 'the future *géabhad* has become *geobhad*, although the *é* was stressed. This may be due to the labial spirant *bh*; but the influence of analogy has probably been felt'. He did not develop the latter suggestion, but Jackson (99) points to the possible influence of compounds of *gaib-*, giving future stems such as *coingeóbh-* and *dígheóbh-*. Bergin's other remark (37) that, apart from *béar-*, *déar-*, and *déan-*, *é* has been modified to *eō* or *ō* in all other cases seems to show that he thought of a shift from *géabhad* to *geóbhad*, and this is the view taken by two scholars whom Jackson appears to have overlooked. Both Breathnach, *The Irish of Ring* §424 (a), and Ó Cuív, *The Irish of West Muskerry* §283 'Further exceptions' (3), describe the process as *géabhad* → *geóbhad* → [g'o:d], implying a shift from *-é-* to *-eó-* in the stressed syllable; Ó Cuív confirms to me that that is what he had in mind at the time of writing, and adds that he stands by that explanation. This would also apply to the future stem seen in West Munster *leómhfad* 'I will dare', mentioned, though not discussed, by Bergin. It should be noted that this differs from *geód* in being what Bergin called a mixed future, realised as [l'o:həd], like *déanfad*; in fact it is synchronically a simple *f*-future, for the stem *leómh-* has been generalised in the rest of the verb, presumably because of the fact that the conditional is so common.

Jackson (99) seems to prefer to assume a process *geabhad* → *geobhad* → *geód* and, in support of this, we should note that the only two verbs in which we find stressed *-eó-* are stems ending in a labial spirant; *béar-*, *déan-* and *déar-* end in resonants, and to these we can, as Breandán Ó Buachalla informs me, add *méal-*, from Oileán Cléire. But, as Jackson admits, *gheabhad* would give [jaud], a form actually attested from Cois Fharraige. Furthermore, endings beginning with

-th- would be expected to give a short vowel, and this too occurs in Cois Fharraige, where the alternative 1 sg. future form [jofəd] has the stem proper to [jofər] from *gheobhthar*. Other Connacht dialects have similar forms; it is not until we reach Ulster that we find [jo:d], as in Munster, and it seems most unlikely that a distinctively Ulster sound-change could have penetrated into Munster without leaving traces in Connacht. The balance of evidence is in favour of assuming that *geód* and *leomhfad* do in fact derive directly from *géabhad* and *léamhfad*, with an exceptional penetration of *-eó-* into the stressed syllable. In that case, the isolated *at-geón* noted above may be a less artificial form than would appear at first sight.

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THE STRUCTURE OF *FLED BRICRENN* BEFORE AND AFTER THE *LEBOR NA hUIDRE* INTERPOLATIONS[1]

Fled Bricrenn, "Bricriu's Feast," has been edited twice, first by Windisch in 1880 from *Lebor na hUidre* with readings from Egerton MS 93 and Trinity College MS H.3.17, and most recently by George Henderson in 1899 who included readings from the remaining manuscripts, the Leiden Codex Vossianus and Edinburgh Gaelic MS XL which contains only the Champion's Bargain episode.[2] The Egerton, Trinity College and Leiden manuscripts are late 15th or 16th century texts; the Edinburgh manuscript also dates from the 16th century and while it only has the Champion's Bargain, it is the only manuscript to preserve it completely. Naturally, the two editors based their editions on the 12th century *Lebor na hUidre* text, but neither were aware of the different scribes at work on this manuscript, in particular the intrusions of the interpolator we have come to call H upon the work of Mael Muire, the scribe responsible for the main body of the *Fled Bricrenn* text.[3] Despite the keen analysis of Henderson in his introduction to his edition and the various analyses of Thurneysen,[4] our perception of *Fled Bricrenn* has been largely determined by an uncritical acceptance of the Book of the Dun Cow text as the primary narrative; and this narrative is a very queer one indeed, redundant and illogical. We are rather used to narrative incoherence in early Irish saga; but in this case recent work by Oskamp and Powell on the

[1] An earlier form of this paper was delivered at the Celtic Section of the Kentucky Foreign Language Conference, April, 1977. Moreover, I should like to thank the librarian of the Royal Irish Academy for allowing me to consult photostats of *Lebor na hUidre* and arranging for a microfilm of the manuscript.

[2] See Ernst Windisch, ed. "Fled Bricrend. 'Das Fest des Bricriu.' " *Irische Texte mit Wörterbuch*. (Leipzig, 1880), pp. 254–303 and George Henderson, ed. and trans. *Fled Bricrend*, Irish texts Society, 2 (London, 1899). The Leiden manuscript was edited separately by Ludwig Stern, "*Fled Bricrend* nach dem Codex Vossianus," *Zeitschrift fur celtische Philologie*, 4 (1903), 143–172; and the Edinburgh fragment was treated by Kuno Meyer, ed. and trans., "The Edinburgh Version of the Cennach ind Rúanado," *Revue Celtique*, 14 (1893), 450–491. Of course, we have the fine edition of the Book of the Dun Cow, R. I. Best and Osborn Bergin, eds., *Lebor na hUidre: The Book of the Dun Cow* (Dublin, 1929), hereafter cited as LU. Only Egerton MS 93 and Trinity College MS. H.3.17 have not been separately edited.

[3] R. I. Best determined the three hands in LU. See R. I. Best, "Notes on the Script of *Lebor na hUidre*," *Ériu*, 6 (1912), 161–173. This view was recently challenged by Professor Tomas Ó Concheanainn, "The Reviser of Leabhar na hUidre," *Éigse* 15 (1974), 277–288 and defended in turn by Hans P. A. Oskamp, "Mael Muire: Compiler or Reviser?" *Éigse*, 16 (1976), 177–182. Even if we accept Ó Concheanainn's suggestions, the general thrust of this article is not affected. Personally I am convinced by Oskamp.

[4] See Rudolf Thurneysen, "Zu irischen Texten. Die Überlieferung der Fled Bricrenn," *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, 4 (1903), 193–206 and *Die irische Helden- und Königsage bis zum Siebsehnten Jahrhundert* (Halle, 1921), 447–467.

Lebor na hUuidre manuscript along with comparisons to the other manuscript versions can help us to perceive a basic coherence to the story and restore some of our confidence in Irish story-telling ability.[5] The crux of the matter is that the Egerton, Leiden and Trinity College manuscripts preserve a much more logical and natural structure, and this observation leads us to consider why *Lebor na hUidre* does not.

The order of major narrative incidents in *Lebor na hUidre* is summarized by Table I. The paragraphs refer to those used by Windisch and Henderson who numbered their paragraphs identically. It is convenient to retain this number system; but the paragraphs and their numbers are, of course, editorial creations and correspond only roughly to narrative themes.[6]

TABLE I

The Episodes of *Fled Bricrenn*
following *Lebor na hUidre*

1–28	The dissensions and contests in Bricriu's hall.
28	The catalogue of women (in LU only).
29–32	A *rosc* by Emer; how Cú Chulainn obtained his horses.
33–41	The encounter with the giant in the mist.
42–56	The procession to Crúachan and arrival there.
57	The attack of the Crúachan cats.
58–62	Medb decides the hero's portion and awards the cups to the heroes.
63–65	Further tests at Crúachan.
66–71	Ercol, Samera, the witches and return to Emain Macha.
72–74	The heroes display their cup-tokens.
75–78	Budi, Úath and return to Emain Macha.
79–90	The adventures at Cú Roí's house and return to Emain.
91–102	The Champion's Bargain.

Table II follows Henderson[7] and shows the order of these themes or incidents—by paragraph numbers—in the four manuscripts, also indicating the material in *Lebor na hUidre* written by Mael Muire and by H respectively. We need not consider the Edinburgh manuscript here. The black lines of the table indicate that the section formed no part of the manuscript in question.

[5] See H. P. A. Oskamp, "Notes on the History of Lebor na hUidre," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 65, C, No. 6 (1967), 117–137 and Roger Powell, "Further Notes on Lebor na hUidre," *Eriu*, 21 (1969), 99–102 and chart.

[6] The word "theme" is used here in the technical sense developed by Milman Parry and Albert Lord as "the groups of ideas regularly used in telling a tale . . .." See Albert B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960), 68.

[7] Henderson, p. xxxi.

TABLE II

The Order of Incidents in the
Fled Bricrenn Manuscripts

LU		*Eg*	*L*	*T*
M	*H*			
1–24	25–27	. . . 13–27	1–27	1–27
	28	—	—	—
	29–32	29–32	29–32	29–32
	33–41			
42–56		42–56	42–56	42–56
57		—	—	—
58–62	62			
	63–65	63–65	63–65	—
		58–62	58 . . .	58–62
	66–71	66–71		—
	72–74	72–74	. . . 73–74	72–74
	75–78	—	—	—
		33–41	33–41	33–40
	79			
79–94		79–94	79–99	

Armed with this helpful paraphernalia, we may begin by affirming Thurneysen's observation that all the manuscripts derive from a common original. Between corresponding episodes verbal identity is extremely close with few exceptions. All four manuscripts lack the conclusion of the saga, although the Leiden Codex extends farther than LU. The Egerton manuscript breaks off at the same point as LU while the Trinity manuscript is defective long before. The lack of the last five paragraphs in all four manuscripts is the more surprising as the titles of the texts which preserve the opening unanimously mention the Champion's Bargain. The lack of a Champion's Bargain complete outside of the Edinburgh manuscript which preserves only that passage suggests that there was a common exemplar which also lacked the ending, perhaps *Lebor na hUidre* itself. In any case, the major discrepancies among the manuscript versions are the episodes each includes and the order of these episodes.

It is clear from Table II that the Egerton and Leiden manuscripts share the same order of events and that the two manuscripts differ from the Trinity College manuscript in that the latter does not include the further tests at Crúachan nor the Ercol-Samera episodes. The omission of this material in no way alters the thrust of the story.

Thurneysen felt the episodes were interpolations. Labelling them interpolations prejudices their provenance, but it is fair to say that they are not skilful additions to the tale. Even so, in LU the placement of the further Crúachan tests is positively grotesque. They occur after the decision of Ailill and Medb has already been made, a glaring and unmotivated anti-climax. In Egerton and Leiden these tests have some rationale. The Ercol-Samera episode is a gratuitous theme in the tale. If Medb had passed judgment in paragraph 62, there seems to be no immediate reason why the heroes should seek judgment elsewhere until Medb's deception had been revealed in paragraphs 72 through 74.

There are two other glaring narrative discontinuities. The Budi mac Báin and Úath episode in LU is a beheading test which does not occur in the other manuscripts. The other oddity of LU is the encounter with the giant in the mist which occurs in the other three manuscripts on the way to Cú Roí but in LU is placed before the journey to Crúachan where it makes no sense.

Any attempt to understand the relationships between these manuscripts and in particular the relationship between the three later manuscripts and LU must try to picture the development of the LU manuscript itself. Our interest involves not only dealing with omissions and additions, but the great difficulty of an often radically different sequence of events. Looking at Table II, we see that H has made considerable inroads upon Mael Muire's text. The excellent study of LU by H. P. A. Oskamp sheds a great deal of light onto what took place.[8] Table III, based on Oskamp's work, demonstrates in more detail the make-up of *Fled Bricrenn* in LU. The problem here has two aspects: what alterations did H make in Mael Muire's text and how did M's original text differ from the other manuscripts? Oskamp's study helps us immeasurably in reconstructing M's text. "In *Fled Bricrenn*," he writes, "we find two leaves intercalated by H; pp. 103–104 and 109–110 are fresh leaves and 105–108 show an erased surface."[9] Specifically, columns 105a, 108a at the bottom only, and 108b have been erased. Columns 105b and most of 108a are in M's hand. Moreover, a study of the quiring of this portion of the manuscript by Roger Powell shows that it is highly unlikely that H removed any leaves that M had written on or that any were lost beyond the conclusion.[10] Therefore, M's text up to the missing signatures at the end must have consisted of only twenty-one columns. Since columns 99b through 102b are in M's hand consecutively, the first question to arise concerns H's intercalated leaf 103–104. What portion of M's

[8] Oskamp, "Notes," op. cit.
[9] Ibid., p. 126.
[10] See Powell, op. cit.

text did H copy and what did he add? Whatever he copied could only have fitted on one column, 105a, which H erased.

TABLE III

Fled Bricrenn in *Lebor na hUidre*

Page and column	*Paragraph*		*Hand*
99b	1–5		M
100a	6–9		M
100b	9–11		M
101a	12–15		M
101b	15–19		M
102a	19–22		M
102b	22–24		M

The last two lines of 24 are carried over onto the next page and are thus in H's hand.

103a	25–27		H
103b	27–29	intercalated	H
104a	30–33		H
104b	34–38	leaf	H
105a	38–41	erased	H
105b	42–45		M

The title and first few lines of 42 are included in this column in H's hand.

106a	45–48	M
106b	49–53	M
107a	53–56	M
107b	56–59	M
108a	59–62	M

H inserts a few lines about three-quarters of the way down the column and is responsible for the concluding few lines as well.

TABLE III (Continued)

Page and column	*Paragraph*		*Hand*
108b	63–66	erased	H
109a	66–68		H
109b	69–72	intercalated leaf	H
110a	72–75		H
110b	75–79		H
111a	79–83		M
111b	84–88		M
112a	88–91		M
112b	91–94 . . .		M

Five signatures are lost.

Oskamp writes, "It is quite impossible that the text we find on p. 103a and 103b 1–3 [paragraphs 25–28], written by H, was originally written by Mael Muire on p. 105a, unless M's version was a shorter one. An indication of a shorter text by M could be the fact the lines 8401–17 (in the edition of Best and Bergin) are wanting in Egerton."[11] These lines are the catalogue of women which is wanting in all other manuscripts and is, according to Thurneysen,[12] an interpolation. So it would seem to be; for if we examine the texts of the other manuscripts, we see that paragraphs 25 through 28 *would* fit into column 105a. Therefore, the passage starting from the catalogue of women through paragraph 41 (the giant episode) was never a part of M's text, at least in that position in the story.

M's hand is not interrupted again until the bottom of p. 108a, where H's second erasure begins. The erasure begins at the end of paragraph 62 in which Cú Chulainn receives the cup token from Ailill and Medb. It is clear that H needed to construct a transition to paragraph 63, which begins on 108b. It is just as obvious that this material was never a part of M's text. Understanding requires working backwards from column 111a. This column opens in the middle of paragraph 79, and it is safe to assume that the beginning of 79, in which the three heroes set off for *cathair Conroí* was at the bottom of p. 108b. Only a limited amount of text fits between the bottom of 108a and 108b and, logically, it must have been the passage included

[11] Oskamp, loc. cit.
[12] Thurneysen, *Heldensage*, p. 447.

in paragraphs 72 through 74 in which the heroes show their tokens received at Crúachan and the resolution to seek Cú Roí is made. The transitions here probably resembled those in the Trinity manuscript. Nothing more would have fitted in this column. Therefore, M's text of *Fled Bricrenn* included at least the following episodes: the dissensions and contests in Bricriu's hall; the procession to Crúachan and arrival there; the attack of the Crúachan cats; the awarding of the cups to the heroes; the return to Emain Macha and display of the cups; the adventures in Cú Roí's house and the return to Emain; the Champion's Bargain, whether or not complete. This *Fled Bricrenn* is a tidy narrative with no awkward or inconsistent passages. It is also the core of every other text of the tale, excluding the Crúachan cats episode. Excepting this passage, there is every reason to believe that the common text underlying all manuscripts looked like M's text. There is also no reason to doubt that, except for some transitional material, H recopied what he erased of M's text accurately.

The manuscript which most closely resembles M's text is the Trinity College manuscript. Trinity contains two episodes lacking in M's text: Sencha's reprimand to the women with Emer's reply and the story of Cú Chulainn's horses (paragraphs 29–32), and the encounter with the giant in the mist (paragraphs 33–41). The first passage occurs after a paragraph 28 which lacks the catalogue of women and which, then, resembles M's version. It contains a number of *roscada*, difficult enough to interpret, but far easier to understand than the *Briatharcath*. The *roscada* are different in quality while clearly an attempt to pick up and expand on the dispute among the women and to emphasize Emer's pre-eminence among them. The ensuing tale of Cú Chulainn's horses is poorly motivated and certainly seems gratuitous. It is intended to explain why Cú Chulainn must refuse combat with Lóegaire and Conall. Since the Trinity version does not contain the chariot race at Cúuachan nor the horse-fight episode, Cú Chulainn's horses are of no further interest in this manuscript. The passage is a dead end. At the end of paragraph 32 the Ulaid celebrate Bricriu's feast for three days and three nights in peace, and we are prepared for the journey to Crúachan to follow.

The second passage occurs after paragraph 74, and Trinity's text breaks off before it can conclude. The Crúachan journey has not stopped the quarrelling over the hero's portion, tempers flare again and again Sencha silences the assembly. In this manuscript and Egerton and Leiden, paragraph 33 is perfectly in line with paragraph 74, as Sencha sends the heroes to Cú Roí. No seams show at all. Of course, the journey to Cú Roí is interrupted by the giant and the heroes return to Emain after this adventure and must start out all over again for Cú Roí, a somewhat clumsy procedure. It is also odd that it is Bricriu

who awards the champion's portion to Cú Chulainn at the end of this passage. His reappearance in the tale is unexpected and unprepared for. There is no reason to believe, however, that the manuscript tradition that Trinity represents is a conflation of two written accounts. Where M and Trinity agree in incident, they agree verbally, allowing for the occasional errors of scribal mechanics and interpretation. Where we find added episodes in the Trinity manuscript, we may regard them as a kind of separate performance.[13]

Thurneysen treated the Egerton and Leiden manuscripts as two copies of a single, separate redaction of *Fled Bricrenn*.[14] This judgment was based entirely on the episodes which each shares to the exclusion of the other manuscripts. This fact allows us to treat them together, but, strictly speaking, where there is a question of a verbal reading, Leiden agrees more often with Trinity and Mael Muire in LU against Egerton. Clearly, Egerton and Leiden represent the same "version" of the tale, but all the manuscripts do to a certain degree. In effect, to the text we find in Trinity two more episodes are added in the Leiden and Egerton texts. The further tests at Crúachan are added before the cups are awarded, as mentioned above. These tests make narrative sense here, providing, as it were, some basis for Medb's judgment. After Medb awards the cups, the Ercol-Samera passage is added. There is no particular motivation for it. It interrupts the natural conclusion of the Crúachan move. Moreover, it has a certain literary cast to it. Still, the horsefight with Ercol does provide a natural conclusion to the story of Cú Chulainn's horses in paragraphs 31 and 32. And if the other material seems somewhat unnecessary to the development of the story, it does not disrupt its basic coherence.

When we turn back to *Lebor na hUidre*, however, we find that H's additions to M's text have produced a very incoherent narrative indeed. According to Oskamp, LU was damaged sometime after Mael Muire completed his work and before H began his.[15] Although it is possible that the manuscript was damaged since then, judging by the number of texts missing either beginnings, endings or both, it is fair to say that H was not really concerned with a restoration of the manuscript. He appears to have regarded the actual material he found there as sacrosanct,[16] and the material he did not find there in the same way.[17] Rather his concern was to add material which he could

[13] See my "Evidence for Oral Composition in Early Irish Saga," Harvard Diss., 1977 for the nature of scribal "performances," especially Chapter Two. See also my forthcomieg article 'Scribes and Fixed Texts', in *Éigse* 17.

[14] Thurneysen, loc. cit.

[15] Oskamp, p. 135.

[16] *Contra* Oskamp, loc. cit.

[17] A study of the entire manuscript is beyond the scope of this paper, but I would suggest that H's interpolations seldom if ever delete any of A's or M's text.

see the original lacked. There is nothing to lead us to believe that H made any attempt to fill the lacuna at the end of Mael Muire's *Fled Bricrenn*. Nor is it possible, since the quiring is intact, that any of M's text was internally damaged when H received it. His motivation, then, was not to restore what was lost or rewrite what had been written, but to add to what was already there.

To M's text, which he found internally coherent and intact, H added the catalogue of women of paragraph 28, not found elsewhere; Emer's *rosc* and the story of Cú Chulainn's horses of paragraphs 29 through 32, found in the other manuscripts; the encounter with the giant of paragraphs 33 through 41, found in the other manuscripts but in a different position in the tale; the further tests at Crúachan of paragraphs 63 through 65, in Egerton and Leiden but in a different position; the Ercol-Samera passage of paragraphs 66 through 71, found in Egerton and presumably at one time in Leiden; and the story of Budi and Úath of paragraphs 75 through 78, which along with the catalogue is the only material lacking in the other manuscripts. The Budi-Úath episode, in fact, concludes at the end of intercalated leaf 109–110, leaving just enough space for H to start paragraph 79 which melds into M's text on column 111a. Reconstructing back, we can assume that the part of paragraph 79 which is in H's hand is a close copy of M's text as there is no break of continuity. The suggestion that comes to mind is that paragraphs 75 through 78, the Budi-Úath passage, are an invention by H with no previous precedent in LU; and since this passage is absent from the other manuscripts, it may have no previous precedent anywhere. A number of internal features bear out the possibility of H's authorship. The allegorical nature of Úath, "Horror," and the unusual name of Budi mac Báin, "Yellow son of White," are unlike anything else in the saga and rather unusual features in early Irish saga as a whole. These names are closer to the spirit of some of the 12th century Finn cycle stories.[18] Moreover, the climax of the episode with Uath is a beheading test, a separate *cennach ind rúanada*. Thematic repetition does not usually operate so that the ultimate in a series of tests is a repetition of a previous test. It is not good literature, written or oral. These considerations lead us to conclude that the Budi-Úath episode was H's work from first to last.

We may even speculate as to H's reasons for the interpolation. If Oskamp is correct in dating the damage done to the manuscript before it came into H's hand, then most likely the pages containing *Cennach ind Rúanada* were lost before H received the text. It is not unreason-

[18] See especially Maud Joynt, ed. *Feis Tighe Chonáin*, Mediaeval and Modern Irish Series, 7 (Dublin, 1936).

able to assume that H knew that a beheading test was an inherent part of the story. His instincts did not lead him to write a new ending but to insert at what seemed to him the likeliest place another beheading test. He could not insert a beheading test at any point after paragraph 79 since this material is concerned with Cú Roí. He would be disturbing a basic theme of the saga. H's outlook was paratactic: he could not insert a move of his own into another move Mael Muire had provided. Under these constraints H's only option was to intercalate a leaf in such a way as to cut into M's paragraph 79 (the beginning of the Cú Roí adventures) as little as possible while writing in the Budi-Úath episode. At the same time, he had a number of alterations to make in order to fit the beginning of his leaf onto page 108. He also had to provide a transition into his added move. H erased a few lines of column 108a and all of 108b and added his leaf.

However, it is necessary to keep in mind that H had other material to add, not only the catalogue of women but the episodes that H's portion of LU shares with the other manuscripts. It was necessary for him to add this material at the same time as he was adding the Budi-Úath passage and substantially preserving M's text. H had to synthesize this material as best he could, but his best seriously disrupted the narrative.

At this point a summary of the likely situation is in order. Column 105b, which almost begins a new move (the visit to Crúachan), is in M's hand. At the end of column 105a, H has obviously copied M directly to begin the journey-to-Crúachan passage, just as the beginning of paragraph 79 on column 110b must be a close copy of M. Columns 105b through 108a are all in M's hand in M's order. H has erased some bits of column 108a. He erased all of column 108b and added pages 109–110. Except for a transition between paragraph 62 on column 108a, where Medb awards the cups, and paragraph 63 which is out of place in LU, there is substantial verbal agreement among the manuscripts up to paragraph 75 where the Budi-Úath passage starts. They all clearly had the same text in mind. However, where H has inserted the Budi-Úath passage, the other manuscripts have paragraphs 33 through 41, the encounter with the giant. Moreover, the giant episode certainly belongs here. The heroes are sent to Cú Roí to decide the hero's portion. They do not arrive at Cú Roí's house; the passage is not part of the Cú Roí theme. However, it is tangential to it and is meant to precede it. H, though, has inserted the Budi-Úath episode at the point where the other manuscripts and the logic of the narrative calls for the giant episode. His reasons for inserting the beheading test at this point are clear enough; indeed, the logic of the narrative makes any other place in the story, other than the conclusion, unacceptable. But H also removed the encounter

with the giant from its proper place in the saga and transferred it between paragraphs 32 and 42, directly before the journey to Crúachan. In order to accomplish this transferral it was necessary to intercalate another leaf, provide the proper transitions (which H did poorly) and fit his text within the context of M's. This second intercalation required, in turn, a series of erasures and alterations to make it work.

The question poses itself here, why did H not insert the encounter with the giant *after* the Budi-Úath passage? We may hypothesize three answers to this problem. First of all, H had not only to add the Budi-Úath episode but the further tests at Crúachan of paragraphs 63 through 65 and the Ercol-Samera passage of paragraphs 66 through 71. Now the Crúachan tests should logically come before Medb awards the cup tokens, as they do in Egerton and Leiden.[19] H should have inserted them after paragraph 57, but that would have meant erasing half of column 107b and all of 108a. A reluctance to erase this much of M's work is understandable on both technical, aesthetic and, perhaps, emotional grounds. H *had* to erase the bottom of 108a and all of 108b to begin with. Occasionally in LU, H has erased an entire page,[20] but he seems to have been unwilling to go farther than that. Therefore, he inserts the further tests after Medb's decision, knowing, of course, that the heroes have yet to be tested a number of times more anyway. H erases the bottom of column 108a to provide a proper transition. Then follows naturally the Ercol-Samera episode, by which point H is onto his intercalated leaf. Following this passsage, H must restore what he erased from M on column 108b, the display of the cups at Emain Macha. Having done this, he is now hard pressed to get in his Úath addition. In fact, columns 109b, 110a and 110b show the fourth, third and highest number of words to the column in the LU version of the saga.[21] So H could only have added the giant episode by adding a leaf. But this episode takes up only a little over two columns, which means that almost a whole page would be left blank—a waste that H was apparently unprepared to accept, especially since a more frugal possibility was open to him.

A second reason for transferring the giant theme is less cogent but possible. H may have been reluctant to follow a passage involving a *siriti*, "sprite," of a monstrous sort with a theme involving an encounter with a *scáilfer mór*, "giant," especially since a theme involving a *bachlach*, "lout," immediately follows. These figures have an unquestionable thematic similarity, including some specific

[19] The Trinity College manuscript lacks these tests, as presumably M's version did.
[20] See LU 127a, l. 10456, p. 316.
[21] Column 109b has 430 words, 109b has 452 and 110b has 498.

verbal repetitions in their descriptions.[22] H may have felt that three uncouth ogres in a row was one ogre too many.

Finally, H knew that he had to intercalate another leaf between the present pages 102 and 105. He intended to add Emer's *rosc* and how Cú Chulainn obtained his horses, paragraphs 29 through 33. This section does appear in the other manuscripts and, like paragraphs 63 to 71, it was material H felt belonged to the tale. However, this material by itself takes up just over a column. H had three columns to fill. It was, from the scribal point of view, logical to move the giant episode up to this part of the manuscript where it was clearly needed.

We must suppose that our account of H's rationale behind his treatment of *Fled Bricrenn* is close to the truth. It makes sense of the text to suppose that his actions were first of all motivated by his decision to add the Úath passage where he did and that this decision more or less determined how he had to fit in the rest of his additions. From column 99b to column 102b the text is in M's hand and the various manuscripts agree. H then intercalated pages 103–104. He did not intend to omit any of M's work but to add the extra material he had encountered, presumably in another manuscript, which follows upon the contests in Bricriu's hall, as well as the giant episode he had to omit when inserting the Úath passage. Therefore, to quote from Oskamp, "the whole recto of [the leaf (page 103)] contains the same version as M's original work,"[23] which H erased from column 105a. This argument ties in with Thurneysen's conclusion that H's interpolation begins on column 103b in paragraph 28.[24] The significant difference between the manuscripts at this point is the catalogue of women. It seems probable that H added this catalogue thinking ahead to the space he had to fill on the rest of his own leaf and the erased column. If he was thinking in this way, he erred; while following the catalogue his text is in *general* agreement once again with the other manuscripts, the verbal agreement is not as close as before. In fact, it gets worse and worse. H must have realized then that it would be impossible to add paragraphs 29 through 41 without serious alterations, and he began to abbreviate his exemplar.

The incorporation of the giant episode takes place on column 104a. At the end of the preceding story of Cú Chulainn's horses, Egerton, Trinity and Leiden share a passage which, we must assume, H deliberately suppressed. It effectively concludes this move of the story, and H obviously needed to continue the move to motivate the giant episode. All the verbal differences between the three later manuscripts

[22] Ba dímor 7 ba grainni 7 ba úathmar laiss in scáith . . . LU, ll. 9059–60.
Bá úathmar 7 bá granni a innas in bachlaig . . . LU, l. 9185.
[23] Oskamp, p. 126.
[24] Thurneysen, op. cit.

and LU occurring at the end of paragraph 32 and the beginning of 33 are to be explained in part by differing transitional requirements. However, the most significant variations between manuscripts at any point in the saga, other than entire omissions, take place in paragraphs 36 through 41. Paragraph 36 begins in the middle of the last column of H's intercalated leaf. It must have been clear to him that the text would not fit in properly, even with the planned erasure of column 105a. Therefore, beginning with Lóegaire's journey in paragraph 36 and most drastically in the description of the giant in paragraph 37, H began to make cuts. It is difficult to understand why the texts of Egerton, Leiden and Trinity all agree in having much more extensive and clearly the same treatments of this episode without interpreting H's work in this way unless we suppose an exemplar for these three manuscripts unknown to H. However, this passage is the only one which varies to such a significant degree. Along with the fact that the passage makes narrative sense in the three manuscripts and does not in LU and the previous suggestion as to the origin of the Budi-Úath episode, H's work here is at least explicable. To put it another way, Egerton, Leiden and Trinity preserve the exemplar they share with H better than H does. Nor is there any reason to suppose separate recensions. H's technical problems explain the discrepancies.

Future editors of *Fled Bricrenn* will have to realize that the text of LU is not sacrosanct, even if it is the earliest manuscript. The order of events which it preserves is a result of special problems facing the interpolator as scribe; the narrative which the interpolator had as an exemplar is better preserved both in terms of thematic syntax and, occasionally, in terms of verbal accuracy by Egerton, Leiden and Trinity. As a result, two points seem worth emphasizing. First of all, whatever the provenance of the exemplar, the evidence of the surviving manuscripts sugests that there *was* an exemplar. To a very great extent the variations among manuscript versions of *Fled Bricrenn*, especially between LU and the other manuscripts, are to be seen as the result of mechanical problems. Certainly we have strong justification, if not a philological imperative, for reordering the narrative as we find it in *Lebor na hUidre*. On the other hand, while the actual omissions or additions of narrative elements in the various manuscripts are in part due to lacunae—easily enough determined—, other variations are a function of scribal creativity. It is impossible now to determine to what degree each addition to and omission from the bare but coherent narrative that M's text represented depended upon another manuscript recension. There is no evidence that a number of *Fled Bricrenn's* were floating about Ireland through the sixteenth century. On the contrary, based on the reconstruction of H's behaviour, as well as general observations we can make about the

Irish approach to fixed texts, the evidence suggests that scribes felt free to add or omit themes, even to reorder them in special circumstances without manuscript precedence.

TABLE IV

A Reconstructed Order

Paragraphs	
1–28	The dissensions and contests in Bricriu's hall.
28	The catalogue of women.
29–32	A *rosc* by Emer; how Cú Chulainn obtained his horses.
42–56	The procession to Crúachan and arrival there.
57	The attack of the Crúachan cats.
63–65	Further tests at Crúachan.
58–62	Medb decides the hero's portion and awards the cups to the heroes.
66–71	Ercol, Samera, the witches and return to Emain Macha.
72–74	The heroes display their cup-tokens.
[75–78	Budi, Úath and return to Emain Macha.][25]
33–41	The encounter with the giant in the mist.
79–90	The adventures at Cú Roí's house and return to Emain.
91–102	The Champion's Bargain.

Turning back specifically to *Fled Bricrenn*, we can now reconstruct a narrative, one rather like that found in the Egerton or Leiden manuscripts and similar to the reconstructed order of Table IV, that is generally coherent, well structured and logical. If we reread it in this way, we shall find it to be the finest extended piece of early Irish fiction.

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[25] With a Champion's Bargain episode extant, this episode is obviously redundant.

THOUGHT, WORD AND DEED: AN IRISH TRIAD

IN MEMORY OF KATHLEEN HUGHES

Medieval Irish and Welsh texts present traditional native lore for the use of bards, lawyers, moralists and others in the form of triads with such frequency that the triad may justly be described as a characteristically, though not exclusively, Celtic mnemonic form.[1] Early Irish exegetical works display a similar liking for triadic (and other) enumerations, to an extent surprising even by medieval numerological standards, perhaps because the mnemonic techniques of the secular learned classes were borrowed for the presentation of religious material.[2] The *Cambrai Homily* provides two well-known early examples of such religious triads.[3] In view of this predilection for triads, Celticists are likely to wonder whether the triad of *word, thought, deed* in the Irish allegorical commentary on the mass found in the *Stowe Missal*, and much later in the *Leabhar Breac*, is not an Irish formulation:

> Na .iii. chemmen ciṅges infergraith forac[h]úlu 7 tociṅ afrithisi ised atrede inimruimdethar cachduine .i. himbrethir hicocell hiṅgním 7 ised .iii. tressanaithnuigther iterum 7 trisatoscigther dochorp crist.[4] ('The three steps which the ordained man steps backward and which he steps forward again is the triad in which every man sins, that is in word, in thought, in deed, and it is the triad through which he is renewed again and through which he is moved to the body of Christ.')

The part of the *Stowe Missal* in which this commentary occurs was written about the turn of the eighth century, possibly between 792

[1] On the use of triads elsewhere see e.g. Archer Taylor, *An Annotated Collection of Mongolian Riddles*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Soc. n.s. 44, iii (Philadelphia, 1954), pp. 364–6 and 407–8; Robert E. McNally, *Der irische Liber de Numeris*, Inaugural-Dissertation (Munich, 1957), pp. 23–5; Alan Dundes, *The Study of Folklore* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1965), pp. 133, n. 4, and 140, n. 26; J. Gonda, *Triads in the Veda* (Amsterdam, 1976).

[2] It is unlikely that the influence was *vice versa*, for although later triads show Christian influence (especially 'Y Trioedd Arbennig', ed. M. E. Owen, *Bull. of the Board of Celtic Studies* 24 (1970–2), 434–50), the early triads (e.g. *The Triads of Ireland*, ed. Kuno Meyer, Todd Lecture Ser. 13 (Dublin, 1906)) are remarkably free from both Christian and Latin influence.

[3] Ed. R. Thurneysen, *Old Irish Reader* (Dublin, 1949), p. 36, line 10ff and line 21ff; *Thes.* II, 246–7. Cf. *ibid.* p. 419; Bernhard Bischoff, 'Turning-Points in the History of Latin Exegesis in the Early Middle Ages', *Biblical Studies: the Medieval Irish Contribution*, ed. Martin McNamara (Dublin, 1976), p. 103; R. McNally, 'The Imagination and Early Irish Biblical Exegesis', *Annuale Mediaevale* 10 (1969), 24–5, and references.

[4] *Stowe*, 66r; *Thes.* II, 253 (different foliation); *Leabhar Breac* facsimile (RIA, Dublin, 1876), 251a; B. MacCarthy, 'On the Stowe Missal', *Trans. of the RIA* 27 (Polite Lit. and Antiquities) (1877–86), 250 and 263. In the *Leabhar Breac* the order is thought, word, deed. See also *Thes.* I, 580 (Wb 12d39).

and 811–12 at Tallaght.[5] By this period, or shortly afterwards, the triad appears to have become widespread in western Christendom, and it was subsequently given greater, and permanent currency by its inclusion in the *Confiteor* of the mass ('quia peccavi nimis cogitatione, verbo et opere');[6] earlier, however, it is less common, and occurs chiefly in texts with Irish connections, the earliest of which is either the *Antiphonary of Bangor*, written at Bangor in Ulster between 680 and 691,[7] or else the description of Mac Cuill in a kind of Latin *roscad* (arranged as verse in the *Book of Armagh*) in Muirchú's *Life of St Patrick*, which was written between 661 and 700:[8]

cogitationibus prauus,
uerbís intemperatus,
factís malignus,
spiritu amarus,
animo iracondus,
corpore scelestus,
mente crudelis,
uita gentilis,
conscientia immanis.[9]

Since the great majority of seventh- and eighth-century texts containing the triad which I have found and arranged below under 'explicit statements', 'liturgical allusions', and 'allusions in private prayers', were written in Irish centres, or in regions under Irish influence, or contain internal indications of Irish influence, it seems probable to me that the triad was disseminated on the continent through the Irish and Hiberno-Saxon channels already well-known to students of the period, for instance through the penitential movement.

The Irish did not, however, invent the triad *thought, word, deed*; it can be found in Zoroastrianism, and later in some of the Christian Fathers. It occurs in Avestan texts back to the time of Zoroaster himself,[10] and the Zoroastrian profession of faith still current includes a forswearing of those who do harm by thoughts, words and deeds, and a pledge to the well-thought thought, the well-spoken word and

[5] *CLA* II. 268. The dates depend on the identification of 'Maile Ruen' in the diptychs, which has been disputed: see Edmund Bishop, *Liturgica Historica* (Oxford, 1918), p. 92, n. 1.

[6] *L'Ordinaire de la messe*, ed. B. Botte and C. Mohrmann (Paris-Louvain, 1953), p. 60. See further below, pp. 00–00.

[7] Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, C 5 inf. *CLA* III.311. See below, pp. 88 ff.

[8] L. Bieler, 'Muirchú's Life of Patrick as a Work of Literature', *Medium Aevum* 43 (1974), 220.

[9] Whitley Stokes, *The Tripartite Life of Patrick*, Rolls Ser. (London, 1887) II, 286.

[10] B. Schlerath, 'Gedanke, Wort und Werk im Veda und im Awesta', *Antiquitates Indogermanicae: Gedenkschrift für Hermann Güntert*, ed. M. Mayrhofer *et al.* (Innsbruck, 1974), pp. 201–21. The triad does not in fact appear explicitly in the Vedic texts.

the well-performed act.[11] As far as I know there is no evidence of any Zoroastrian influence on the Christian use of the triad.[12] In the patristic passages known to me, which are all concerned with the theme of judgment, the triad seems rather to arise by a natural elaboration of the idea of answering for every idle word in *Matt.* XII, 36 (quoted by Gregory below) and the common biblical theme of the judgment of deeds. The first of these patristic texts is the homily *De Exitu Animi et De Secundo Adventu* of Cyril of Alexandria (d. 444): When we are judged whatsoever we have done, said and determined[13] will be presented publicly and visibly; the Devil will examine all we have committed in deed and word, knowingly and unknowingly;[14] angels and demons will bring forth the soul's good and evil deeds in words, deeds, thoughts and intentions, as it trembles as it is judged by its own actions, deeds and words.[15] This homily was not known in the Latin West,[16] but was very influential in the Eastern churches.[17] According to a later treatment of the theme of judgment in a sermon variously attributed to Ephraem Syrus and to Anastasius of Sinai, but categorized as 'de basse époque' by the chief authority on the Greek Ephraem,[18] when the soul leaves the body it is confronted by aerial inquisitors who profer its sins and *cheirógrapha*, written records of its sins, in youth and age, willing and unwilling, in deeds, words and thoughts.[19] Another sermon 'de basse époque',[20] attributed to Ephraem and to John Chrysostom, speaks of every man giving an account of word, deed and thoughts before the Judgment-seat.[21]

Latin translations of some of the Greek works ascribed to Ephraem circulated early, the oldest extant manuscript belonging to the end of

[11] Mary Boyce, *A History of Zoroastrianism* (Leiden-Cologne, 1975–) I, 253–4.

[12] The triad survived into Central Asian Manichaeism (Schlerath, p. 219; W. B. Henning, *Selected Papers* I (Téhéran-Liège, 1977), p. 494, note on line 662), but this still leaves a problem of transmission westwards.

[13] ἐπράξαμεν καὶ ἐλαλήσαμεν καὶ ἐβουλευσάμεθα, *PG* 77, 1072C.

[14] ἐν ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ 1073B. But cf. *PG* 96, 156C.

[15] διά τε λόγων καὶ ἔργων καὶ λογισμῶν καὶ ἐννοιῶν . . . . ἐκ τῶν πράξεων καὶ τῶν ἔργων καὶ λόγων αὐτῆς, *PG* 77, 1076B.

[16] Cf. Albert Siegmund, *Die Überlieferung der griechischen christlichen Literatur in der lateinischen Kirche* (Munich, 1949), pp. 61–4.

[17] T. Batiouchkof, 'Le débat de l'âme et du corps', *Romania* 20 (1891), 12 and 40; Martin Jugie, *Theologia Dogmatica Christianorum Orientalium* (Paris, 1926–35) IV, 24.

[18] D. Hemmerdinger-Iliadou, 'Éphrem grec-Éphrem latin', *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* IV (1960), cols. 813 (no. 44) and 815. J. Rivière ('Rôle du démon au jugement particulier chez les pères', *Revue des sciences religieuses* 4 (1924), 51–2) thought this a genuine work of Ephraem and therefore earlier than Cyril's homily.

[19] *Sancti Ephraem Syri Opera quae exstant . . . Graece et Latine*, ed. J. S. Assemani (Vatican, 1732–46) III, 266 and 276; *PG* 89, 1200C (τὰ δι' ἔργων, τὰ διὰ λόγων, τὰ δι' ἐνθυμήσεων).

[20] Hemmerdinger-Iliadou, col. 813, no. 45.

[21] Assemani III, 309D; *PG* 60, 735 (ἀπολογουμένην ὑπὲρ λόγου, ὑπὲρ ἔργου, ὑπὲρ ἐννοιῶν). The sermon contains an extended treatment of the 'ubi sunt?' *topos*.

the sixth century.[22] One of the works translated was the sermon *De Judicio et Compunctione*, one of a number of Greek metrical works whose relationship to Syriac sources is still uncertain.[23] The Latin version, which forms part of a collection of Ephraemic *opuscula* attested from the seventh century onwards,[24] translates the Greek version of the triad as follows

> Nec quicquam nobis prodesse poterit in illa iudicii die, nisi conuersatio sancta et bona opera, quae hinc detulerimus nobiscum. Futurum est nanque vt vnusquisque nostrum et actus suos, et cogitationes ante tribunal tremendi iudicis deferat. Contremiscit cor meum, et renes mei resoluuntur, quotiescunque recogito, quod reuelandae sint *cogitationes et sermones atque actus nostri* in die iudicii.[25]

De Resurrectione, another of these opuscula, whose Greek source is extant, contains a similar passage:

> Praeparemus ergo nos, sine macula inueniri in illo terribili Christi examine, in quo omnes *actus nostri, cogitationes et eloquia* arguentur. Nam et pro operibus et pro sermonibus ociosis et pro dedecorosis et inhonestis aspectibus, et omnibus actibus vel manifestis vel occultis, quae ab origine mundi cogitata vel gesta sunt, et pro meritis suis singuli iudicium sument et rationem singuli reddent.[26]

Possibly 'Ephraem' was known to Gregory the Great (d. 604), the only western Father I have found using the triad. Commenting on *Luke* XIX, 43 in his *Homilia XXXIX in Evangelia* he says:

> Maligni quippe spiritus undique animam angustant, quando ei non solum operis, verum etiam locutionis atque insuper cogitationis iniquitates replicant, ut quae prius per se multa dilatavit in scelere, ad extremum de omnibus angustetur in retributione.[27]

Continuing the theme Gregory states:

> Constat enim quia omnes qui de carnis delectatione concepti sunt in eorum procul dubio vel actione, vel locutione, vel cogitatione aliquid suum princeps huius mundi habuit.[28]

22 Paris BN lat. 12634 (*Sermo Asceticus*). See *CLA* VI, p. x, XI.**646, and *Suppl.* p. 55.

23 Hemmerdinger-Iliadou, col. 805, no. 10.

24 *Ibid.* cols 815–6; Siegmund, pp. 67–71.

25 *Sanctissimi Ephraem Syri Opuscula Omnia quae apud Latinos Reperiri Potuerunt* (Cologne, 1547), fo. 72a. Cf. *Opuscula Quaedam Divina Beati Ephraem* (Dillingen, [1563]), fo. 31b. The Greek is printed by Assemani, II, 50 (. . . Τρέμει γὰρ ἡ καρδία, καὶ νεφροὶ ἀλλοιοῦνται, ὅταν γένηται ἐκεῖ πράξεων φανέρωσις, λογισμάτων καὶ λαλιῶν ἀκριβεῖς ἐξετάσεις).

26 1547 edition, fo. 47b; 1563 edition, fos 4b–5a (order of last two clauses reversed).

27 *PL* 76, 1296.

28 *Ibid.* 1299.

The triad also occurs in the *Expositio in Librum Primum Regum*, which is now believed to be based on Gregory's oral exegesis,[29] in the course of an interpretation of the name *Magmas* (the Philistine encampment of 1 *Sam.* XIII, 5) as *humilitas*:

> Hinc ergo colligere possumus, quantum a saeculo actu, uerbo et cogitatione fieri longe debeamus. Verba quippe nostra, cogitationes et opera plana et humilia sunt, quando saecularia. Per haec quidem ibi sumus, ubi occultorum hostium castra libere ponuntur, ubi tanto facilius capi possumus, quanto nulla munitionis arce subleuamur. Quis enim iam fidelis nesciat, quia culpas uerborum, cogitationum et operum nostrorum maligni spiritus colligant et ad accusationem nostram in aduentu uenturi iudicis seruent? Vnde et hunc humilem atque despectum locum Magmas fugiendum nobis esse dominus insinuat dicens (*Matt.* XII, 36): *Omne uerbum otiosum, quod locuti fuerint homines, reddent de eo rationem in die iudicii.* Locus ergo hostium humilis dicitur, ut profecto nobis insinuet, quia uerbo, cogitatione et opere semper sublimes esse debeamus.[30]

These patristic texts make it impossible to regard *thought, word, deed* as an Irish invention. Instead it must be classed with the 'Irish symptoms' identified by Bischoff, such as the opposition *vita theorica*: *vita actualis*, which, though originating with the Fathers, are used by Irish authors with a characteristically greater regularity.[31] My impression that this triad was used much more frequently in Irish works is founded on a search which could not, of course, be exhaustive, though it has covered a wider range of sources (not only Irish!) than have proved fruitful. As far as liturgical sources are concerned, I have been able to check my conclusions, using all the seventh- and eighth-century Gallican sacramentaries as a control, against the thorough lexical studies of *cogitationes, verba et facta* in the liturgy by Bishop and Manz.[32] The examples given below show that whereas the Fathers seem to have used the triad in a fairly casual way in connection with the theme of judgment, not as a traditional scheme, Irish authors used it in a wide variety of contexts, self-consciously as a triad *qua* triad.

[29] Cf. C. Lambot, *Revue Bénédictine* 75 (1965), 180–1.

[30] CCSL 144, 455–6. Cf. p. 454: 'innumerabilia sunt, quae *cogitando, loquendo,* uidendo, gustando et audiendo et *operando* committimus'.

[31] Bischoff, 'Turning-Points', p. 86; McNally, *Diss.* pp. 39–40. Cf. C. Stancliffe, 'Early "Irish" Biblical Exegesis', *Studia Patristica* XII, i, Texte und Untersuchungen 115 (Berlin, 1975), pp. 361–70.

[32] Edmund Bishop, 'Liturgical Note' in *Cerne*, pp. 245–6, no. 11; Georg Manz, *Ausdrucksformen der lateinischen Liturgiesprach bis in elfte Jahrhundert*, Texte und Arbeiten I, Beiheft 1 (Beuron, 1941), pp. 113–14, no. 167.

Explicit statements

These are mostly later than the early texts where the triad is implicit. As the wording and order of the three categories vary I shall quote the texts in full.

In the rare commentary on the *Song of Songs* by Aponius, which is first attested in an eighth-century English manuscript and is mentioned by Bede, the triad occurs once:

> Ut sicut diabolus per malas cogitationes per mala verba, malignaque opera conspiciebatur in ea (i.e. the Church): ita e contrario per sanctam cogitationem, per casta verba, bonisque operibus, lux Dei Patris, splendor Filii, candorque Spiritus Sancti relusceat in ea.

According to Baxter and Grosjean, Aponius was a seventh-century Irishman; but the usual and more likely view is that he was an early-fifth-century Roman of Syrian extraction. That might explain his use of the triad.[32a]

The following glosses on the *Epistle of James* III, 16–18, appear in the probably Irish commentary by pseudo-Hilary (690–708), which was also known to Bede: '*Inconstantia* est in uarietate operum, ut cogitatione et uerbo et opere peccent . . . *Fructus iustitiae*, uerbum et opus'. In the Codex Fuldensis text of *James* I, 8–15, Glossator B, who certainly knew pseudo-Hilary's work, and may have been an assistant to Boniface (d. 754), comments: '*in uiis suis:* hoc est in cogitationibus et in uerbis et operibus . . . *concupiscentia cum conceperit parit peccatum:* conceperit in cogitatione pariet in uerbo et in opere mala inlicita'. [32b] The 'Hiberno-Saxon channels' by which the triad may have passed are particularly obvious here.

A large number of instances may be found in insular and continental expositions of the story of the Magi which Bischoff and McNally have identified as Irish on quite other grounds. In Chapter 2 of a commentary on Matthew, probably composed in Ireland itself in the second half of the eighth century, but now preserved only in Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek M. p. th. f. 61 (in Irish minuscule, s. viii–ix)[33] the following exegesis occurs:

[32a] *PL* Suppl. I, 971. The triad 'baptism, penitence, martyrdom (905 and 957) may lie behind the 'Septem modis redimitur anima' mentioned below, p. 86. The Aponius controversy is discussed in my article 'An Unpublished Seventh or Eighth-Century Anglo-Latin Letter', *Medium Aevum* (forthcoming).

[32b] *Tractatus Hilarii*, ed. McNally, CCSL 108B, p. 71; *Specimen Codicis Novi Testamenti Fuldensis*, ed. E. Ranke (Marburg, 1860), pp. 21–22. Cf. M. Parkes, 'The Handwriting of St Boniface', *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 98 (1976), 161–79. The triad does not occur in the commentaries by the Scottus Anonymus and Bede.

[33] B. Bischoff and J. Hofmann, *Libri Sancti Kyliani* (Würzburg, 1952), p. 99; Bischoff, 'Turning-Points', p. 124.

> Unusquisque tria offerunt: per aurum, conscientia pura; per thus, oratio recta; per myrrham, mortificatio voluntatum. Item, tria munera: cogitatio sancta, verbum bonum et opus perfectum.[34]

This passage also occurs, with some insignificant variants, in the pseudo-Jerome *Expositio IV Evangeliorum*, the work of an anonymous Irish exegete which was well-known on the continent in several recensions in the last half of the eighth century[35] but may have been written a century before.[36] A *Liber questionum in Evangeliis* which 'is marked by those characteristics which are generally associated with the Irish tradition' and 'probably dates from the middle quarters of the eighth century' gives almost the same tropological exegesis:

> Munera, iii sensus Scripturae, historia, anagogen, tropologia. Moraliter vero iii munera a nobis offerenda sunt: aurum, scientia pura; thus, oratio recta; myrra, vera carnis mortificatio . . . (Orléans, Bibl. munic. 65[2] (s. ix med.), p. 37).[37]

'Thought, word and deed' are clearly implicit here. A different, but related exegesis appears in a commentary on Matthew in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, lat. 940 (s. viii–ix), 'doubtlessly executed on the continent, probably in the [Irish] Salzburg circle':

> . . . Et aliter. Aurum, id est probatissimum opus; thus, id, mundissimam cogitationem; myrra, id est, invidiosam sermonem detulerunt. Unusquisque autem trea inseparabiliter offert munera quae res cotidiana deposcit in ecclesia Christi. Non alius enim pro alio refert rationem operis et verbi et cogitationis, sed unusquisque propria sua immolat Christo. Et Paulus ait (2 *Cor.* V, 10): *Oportet nos stare ante tribunal Christi, ut refert unusquisque propria sua, quae gessit.*[38]

The allusion to a daily liturgical reference to *opus, verbum, cogitatio* or *opus, cogitatio, sermo* is interesting. Two sources in question-and-answer form show how the Magi form of the triad might be presented in a teaching situation. The first is a late-eighth-century Irish commentary on Matthew in the Irish 'Reference Bible' preserved in Paris, BN lat. 11561 (s. ix med.–ix²):

[34] R. E. McNally, 'The Three Holy Kings in Early Irish Latin Writing', *Kyriakon: Festschrift Johannes Quasten*, ed. P. Granfield and J. A. Jungmann (Münster, Westf. 1970), II, 681. Unless otherwise indicated, I have taken dates straight from McNally.

[35] *Ibid.* p. 676, quoting *PL* 30, 537–8 (*sic leg.*). Almost the same text under the name of Strabo, *PL* 114, 866.

[36] R. E. McNally, *The Bible in the Early Middle Ages* (Westminster, Maryland, 1959), pp. 106–9; *Diss.* pp. 141–2; Bischoff, 'Turning-Points', pp. 88–9.

[37] McNally, 'The Three Holy Kings', pp. 683–4.

[38] 28v, McNally, 'The Three Holy Kings', pp. 677 and 680. *Immolare Deo* is an hibernicism according to P. Grosjean, 'A propos du manuscrit 49 de la Reine Christine', *Analecta Bollandiana* 54 (1936), 119; but cf. W. Davies, *Jnl of the Soc. of Archivists* 4 (1970–3), 466.

> Item. Utrum tria munera obtullerunt Magi, an tria unusquisque? Alii dicunt quod unusquisque unum donum pro tribus obtullit, ut tria reputantur unicuique dona, sicut unicuique Christiano convenit offerre Deo bonam cogitationem et verbum et opus.[39]

The second is the closely related and contemporary *Interrogationes vel responsiones tam de veteri quam novo testamento*, an Irish Biblical primer compiled from patristic and other sources:

> Interrogatur: Utrum tria munera obtulerunt inter [se] tres Magus an tres unusquisque obtulit? Respondetur: Alii dicunt quod unusquisque donum pro tres obtulit, ut tria adreputantur unicuique dona. Sic et unicuique Christiano convenit offerre Deo bonam cogitationem et verbum et opus (Lyons, Bibl. de la Ville 447 [376] (s. ix), 141r–v).[40]

An interpretation of the gifts of the Magi similar to those already cited may be found in the *Conférences monastiques irlandaises* in Cracow, Cathedral Chapter 43 (Italy, s. ix in.), so-called because of their clear Irish affinities:[41]

> Quod fecerunt magi nos toti debueramus facere, querere Dominum et munera offerre ei; non toti possunt invenire illa munera que portaverunt magi sed unusquisque potest invenire ad semedipsum trea munera plagabilia domino, munda cogitationem in corde, purum verbum in ore, perfectionem fidelitatis in opere . . .[42]

Finally, the *Catéchèses celtiques* in Vatican, Regin. lat. 49 (Brittany, s. ix),[43] whose Irish character is marked,[44] continue a very similar tradition of exegesis:

> Aduentus quoque III magorum cum III muneribus ab oriente uenientium nos docet uenire per babtismum in fidem trinitatis cum sancta cogitatione et uerbo puro atque opere perfecto; sic inueniemus dominum Ihesum Christum. Sicut namque illi magi cum IIIbus muneribus uenientes deum inuenerunt stella eos ducente, ita, si cogitatione et uerbo et opere perfecti fuerimus, gratia spiritus sancti nos ducente eum inueniemus in regno caeli,

[39] 143v, McNally, 'The Three Holy Kings', pp. 675–6: cf. Bischoff, 'Turning-Points', p. 97.
[40] McNally, 'The Three Holy Kings', pp. 673 and 675.
[41] Cf. Bischoff, 'Turning-Points', p. 95 and n. 124.
[42] P. David, 'Un recueil de conférences monastiques irlandaises du VIIIe siècle', *RB* 49 (1937), 74. The triad also occurs on pp. 77 and 83–4. Text *sic*!
[43] Date: Bischoff, 'Turning-Points', p. 82. Wilmart preferred s. x[1].
[44] Grosjean, 'A propos du manuscrit 49'; and 'Le "Liber de Gradibus Caeli" attribué à S. Grégoire le Grand', *AB* 61 (1943), 99–103.

> cum eo habitabimus in beatitudine regni caelestis absque ullo fine in saecula saeculorum amen.[45]

The published portions of the *Catéchèses* show very frequent use of the triad, mostly in moral interpretations of Scripture—such as (in an account of the Creation) 'herba, idest increpatio bonorum operum in cogitatione, in opere et (in) verbo', or the interpretation of the three-measure jars of *John* II, 6 as 'bona cogitatio, bonum verbum, bonum opus', as well as the Trinity, etc.[46] As the manuscript is rather late I shall not quote these texts.

An earlier attested presentation of the triad occurs in Karlsruhe, Bad. Landesbibliothek Cod. Aug. perg. 254, 165r, a miscellany written at the turn of the eighth century in a north Italian, or possibly Swiss, centre, and published as 'Fragments retrouvés d'apocryphes priscillianistes'.[47] While casting considerable doubt on its Priscillianist origin, various scholars, most categorically M. R. James, have argued for its Irish or partly Irish origin, without reference to the triad.[48] This follows three other numerical items: 'Septem scala sunt quibus ascenditur ad regna celorum'; 'Septem modis redimitur anima'; and part of the *De XII abusivis saeculi*, which is a well-known Irish work.[49] De Bruyne noted that the triad, and the passage following it, recurs in Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, Rheinau 140, a miscellany written in the second half of the eighth century, probably at St Gall[50] [collated in parentheses]:

> Trea sunt que deducunt hominem ad profondum inferni: id est cogitatio immunda, uerbum alienum, opus prauum. Item alia trea sunt que deducunt [ducunt] hominem ad regna celorum [celestia]: id est cogitatio sancta [+ et], uerbum bonum, opus perfectum. Trea sunt que non remittuntur nec hic nec in futuro [remetuntur hic et in futuro]: qui blasphemat [plasfehma] deum,

[45] *Analecta Reginensia*, ed. A. Wilmart, *Studi e testi* 59 (Vatican, 1933), pp. 78–9.

[46] *Ibid.* pp. 43, 57–8 (cf. K. Hughes, 'Some Aspects of Irish Influence on Early English Private Prayer', *Studia Celtica* 5 (1970), 50–1), 63, 67, 68 and 76; also the extract printed only by J. Loth, 'Une glose brittonne inédite du IXe–Xe siècle', *Revue Celtique* 50 (1933), 360.

[47] D. De Bruyne, *RB* 24 (1907), 330. *CLA* VIII.1100; Bischoff, 'Turning-Points', p. 95 and n. 126.

[48] M. R. James, 'Irish Apocrypha', *Jnl of Theological Studies* 20 (1918–19), 16; *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford, 1924), pp. 480 and 556. See the detailed discussion by D. N. Dumville, 'Biblical Apocrypha and the Early Irish: a Preliminary Investigation', *Proc. of the RIA* 73 (1973), Sect. C, 325–8. Any Priscillianist connection is dismissed by Henry Chadwick, *Priscillian of Avilla* (Oxford, 1976), p. 109.

[49] As is pointed out by J. N. Hillgarth, 'The East, Visigothic Spain and the Irish', *Studia Patristica* IV, 2 Texte und Untersuchungen 79 (1961), p. 449. See M. L. W. Laistner, *Thought and Letters in Western Europe, A.D. 500 to 900*, 2nd ed. (Ithaca, 1957), pp. 144–5. De Bruyne notes that on fo. 193 all three items recur (p. 328).

[50] *CLA* VII.1021; L. C. Mohlberg, *Katalog der Handschriften der Zentralbibliothek Zürich, I. Mittelalterliche Handschriften* (Zürich, 1951), pp. 228–30. On St. Gall see *IMSG.*

> et qui disperat [dispera] de misericordia dei, et qui non credit resorrectionem [resurrectionem].

Another version of this text, not known to De Bruyne, occurs in the eighth-century *Bobbio Missal* (Paris, BN lat. 13246) in a hand which Lowe thinks may be the informal hand of the scribe of the missal itself.[51] Whether or not the *Bobbio Missal* can be assigned to Bobbio itself, it shows so many signs of Irish liturgical influence that it must have been written in a centre under Irish influence.[52] The indications are thus in favour of an Irish origin for this little collection of triads. This conclusion is confirmed by their appearance in the unpublished *Liber de Numeris* (III, 40–41), which was 'compiled by an unknown Irish writer some time after the middle of the eighth century in south-east Germany, probably in the circle of Salzburg'.[53] Later versions occur in a version of *Adrianus et Epictitus*[54] and, in Irish, in London, BL Egerton 1781 (*c.* 1484–7) and Dublin, RIA, 24 P 25 (s. xvi).[55]

The Irish *Liber de Numeris* uses the triad in at least two other places. In its section on Noah's ark (VIII, 1) it states:

[51] A. Wilmart, E. A. Lowe and H. A. Wilson, *The Bobbio Missal: Notes and Studies,* HBS 61 (1924 for 1923), pp. 71–73. On these additions see Wilmart, *ibid.* pp. 10 and 42. Interpolated after the first sentence of the text (*Bobbio,* 293v–294r, §583) is a note on the six sins of Adam, also found in Paris, BN lat. 3879, 104v (s. ix), which derives ultimately from Augustine, *Enchiridion,* I.45 (*PL* 40, 254). See H. Quentin, *Les martyrologes historiques du moyen âge* (Paris, 1908), p. 137; Wilmart, *The Bobbio Missal: Notes and Studies,* p. 42. Another copy occurs in a penitential (*Poenitentiale Vallicellanum II*) said to be of ninth-century date (manuscript s. xiii) which is printed by F. W. H. Wasserschleben, *Die Bussordnungen der abendländischen Kirche* (Halle, 1851), p. 552; here it *follows* the 'tria . . . quae non remictuntur'. See also Walther Suchier, *L'enfant sage,* Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur 24 (Dresden, 1910), p. 270; and cf. the seven sins of Adam in the *Liber de Numeris* VII 2 (McNally, *Diss.* pp. 109–10) and the pseudo Bedan *Collectanea* discussed below (*Opera* (Basel, 1563) III, 667–8; *PL* 94, 556). It may be significant that in *Bobbio* the triads follow a version of the 'Seven orders of Christ' which belongs to the recension (ABCD) popularized by the Irish, according to A. Wilmart, 'Les ordres du Christ', *RSR* 3 (1923), 307–9. Cf. McNally, *Diss.* pp. 118–9.

[52] E. Bishop, 'Liturgical Note', p. 239 and *passim; Liturgica,* pp. 58, n. 3, 90–92 and 178–9; Wilmart, *The Bobbio Missal: Notes and Studies, passim;* 'The Prayers of the Bury Psalter', *Downside Review* 48 (1930), 198 and 202; Manz, *Ausdrucksformen, passim;* J. Hennig, 'Studies in the Liturgy of the Early Irish Church', *Irish Ecclesiastical Record,* 5th ser. 75 (1951), 326–7. None of these writers mentions the evidence of §583.

[53] McNally, 'The Three Holy Kings', p. 670. See McNally, *Diss.* pp. 64–5, who further cites Munich, Clm. 22053, 45r (s. ix in.) and 28135, 86v–87v (s. ix); on these cf. p. 206 and Bischoff, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit, I. Die bayrischen Diözesen,* 2nd ed. (Wiesbaden, 1960), pp. 18–20 and 93. Another point in favour of Irish origin is perhaps the phrase *hic et in futuro,* favoured in the Irish and Spanish liturgies. See Bishop, 'Liturgical Note', no. 37, and Manz, *Ausdrucksformen,* no. 404; but for non-liturgical Roman examples see A. Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélasien* (Tournai, 1958), p. 172. Cf. Isidore, *PL* 83, 867.

[54] Suchier, *L'enfant sage,* p. 269, nos. 76–8 (Cf. L. W. Daly and W. Suchier, *Altercatio Hadriani Augusti et Epicteti Philosophi,* Illinois Studies in Lang. and Lit. 24, 1–2 (Urbana, 1939), pp. 37, 71 and 80); W. Suchier, *Das mittellateinische Gespräch Adrian und Epictetus* (Tübingen, 1955), p. 36, nos. 93–5 (cf. p. 40).

[55] S. H. O'Grady and R. Flower, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1926–53) II, 543; *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy* (Dublin, 1926–), p. 1247.

> Tricentorum cubitorum numerus in archa: Trinitatis confessio corporibus et animabus et spiritibus, in verbis et factis et cogitationibus perfectissimis.[56]

Another section (III, 9) begins:[57]

> Tribus [tantum] modis uera fides ostenditur .i. corde, ore, opere (BL Royal 6 A. xi, 128v; Harley 2361, 79r).

There is, finally, an isolated presentation of the triad in the *Excerptiones Patrum, Collectanea, Flores ex Diuersis, Quaestiones et Parabolae* printed in the 1563 Basle edition of Bede from a manuscript since lost:

> Per tria ordinatur anima: per cogitationem bonam, per sermonem rectum, per opus iustitiae.[58]

This collection of Irish or, according to Mario Esposito, Anglo-Saxon origin appears to contain no quotations from writers later than the eighth century.[59] In the opinion of McNally (who does not refer to this passage) it was 'probably put together about the middle of the eighth century, possibly somewhat later' and 'if not actually of Irish provenance, certainly reflects and parallels early Irish thinking'.[60] It is full of numerical and other material which overlaps with known Irish works.[61]

Liturgical allusions

The earliest extant Irish attestation of the triad may be that in the seventh-century *Antiphonary of Bangor*. In fact this contains two instances of it. The first is in a *Collectio ad Secundum*, which does not recur elsewhere and is presumably an Irish composition, perhaps from Bangor itself:

> Custodi, Domine, cogitationes, serm[o]nes, opera, ut possimus placere in conspe[ctu] tuo . . .[62]

It may be noted that the wording here is the same as in the Vienna 940 commentary and the pseudo-Bede *Collectanea*, and the order the same as in the latter. It is not impossible that the liturgical reference

[56] McNally, *Diss.* p. 130. The London manuscripts add 'in ecclesia' at the end.
[57] Cf. *ibid.* p. 54.
[58] *Opera,* III, 648; *PL* 94, 541.
[59] E. Dekkers and A. Gaar, *Clavis Patrum Latinorum,* 2nd ed. (Bruges, 1961), no. 1129, and Grosjean, 'Liber de Gradibus Caeli', p. 102, n. 6, quoting Esposito. But see Martin McNamara, *The Apocrypha in the Irish Church* (Dublin, 1975), pp. 134–5. See also Daly and Suchier, *Altercatio,* pp. 36–7 and 80, and Suchier, *Das mittellateinische Gespräch,* p. 92, n. 21.
[60] 'The Three Holy Kings', p. 669. Cf. *Diss.* pp. 32–3.
[61] Cf. McNally, *Diss.* p. 142.
[62] *AB* 17v (no. 16). On the *Antiphonary* see above, p. 79.

in Vienna 940 noted above is to this very prayer. The form of Office introduced on to the continent by Columbanus is known to have been similar to that in the *Antiphonary of Bangor*.[63]

The second Bangor instance comes in an exorcism headed *Collectio super hominem qui habet diabulum*, which follows the *Versiculi familiae Benchuir*:

> Domine, sancte Pater, omnipotens aeterne Deus, expelle diabulum et gentilitatem ab homine isto, de capite, de capillis (etc. through all the parts of the body) . . . de ossibus, de venis, de nervis, de sanguine, de sensu, de cogitationibus, de verbis, de omnibus operibus suis, de virtute, de omni conversatione eius, hic et in futuro . . .[64]

The appearance of the triad after a list of purely physical categories is striking. In his note on this exorcism the editor draws attention to three later versions of it:[65] in the *Stowe Missal*, which has 'de cogitationibus, de uerbis, de operibus et omnibus conuersationibus hic et futuro' in place of *de ossibus*, etc.;[66] under the heading 'Super demonicum' in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, lat. 1888, a late tenth-century copy of a mid-tenth-century Ritual from Mainz, a version with only the third member of the triad ('de ossibus, de venis, de nervis, de omnibus operibus malis, de virtute, de omni conversatione, et in futuro . . .');[67] and among the prayers 'super energumino baptizato' in the Lotharingian portion of the eleventh-century *Leofric Missal*, a version with only the first member of the triad ('de ossibus, de uenis, de neruis, de sanguine, de sensu, de cogitationibus, de omni conuersatione . . .').[68] At least three more continental versions of the exorcism can be added to these, one of them earlier. This occurs without title in the Collectar-Pontifical of Baturich, bishop of Regensburg 817–48, and preserves the triad ('de ossibus, de uenis, de neruis, de sanguine, de sensu, de cogitationibus, de uerbis, de omnibus operibus suis, de iuuentute, de omni conuersatione eius hic et in futuro . . .').[69] Virtually the same text reappears in a collection of

[63] G. S. M. Walker, *Sancti Columbani Opera*, Scriptores Latini Hiberniae 2 (Dublin, 1957), pp. xlvii–xlviii.

[64] *AB* 30v (no. 96).

[65] *AB* II, 71–2, where he gives the texts parallel.

[66] *Stowe*, 47r.

[67] Printed by M. Gerbert, *Monumenta Veteris Liturgiae Alemannicae* (Saint-Blaise, 1777–9) II, 132. Cf. A. Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen im Mittelalter* (Freiburg im Br. 1909) II, 608. On this manuscript see below, p. 93, n. 90.

[68] *The Leofric Missal*, ed. F. E. Warren (Oxford, 1883), p. 235: 'Alia'; the section begins on p. 233.

[69] Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vindob. ser. nov. 2762, 74v–75r; ed. F. Unterkircher, *Das Kollektar-Pontifikale des Bischofs Baturich von Regensburg*, Spicilegium Friburgense 8 (Freiburg, Switzerland, 1962), p. 128, §547.

exorcisms for those 'qui a demonio uexantur' in a tenth-century Collectar from the Bavarian monastery of Schäftlarn,[70] and in a section 'Benedictio super energumen' in the twelfth-century Ritual of St. Florian (upper Austria).[71] It seems clear to me that the versions containing the whole triad are more primitive than the two without it; in any case it is significant that the two Irish texts contain it. The dates and distribution of the manuscripts mentioned above speak in favour of an Irish origin for the exorcism and its dissemination on the continent through Irish or, more generally, insular channels.[72] This conclusion is supported by the survival of a fragment in the virtually illegible Irish liturgical palimpsest Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F. 3. 15, fos. 54–65, which is written in eighth-century Irish majuscule.[73] In some unpublished notes kept at the Bodleian Sir Edmund Craster deciphered part of a prayer on 56v and 63r as follows [my conjectural completions in parentheses]:

> a]b hom[ine ist]o de capite de capil
> lis de uertice de cerebro [de front]is de oculis
> de auribus de naribus de ore[74] de pectore de
> corde

This is clearly a fragment of the same exorcism, textually closest to the Stowe version.[75]

The enumerative style[76] and the exhaustive listing of the parts of the body[77] also suggest that this exorcism is an Irish composition. Among early Irish, or at any rate Hiberno-Saxon, prayers and charms showing the same characteristics one may cite the prayer 'Pro beata cruce custodi caput meum; pro benedicta cruce custodi oculos meos . . .' which first occurs in the Mercian prayer-book, London, BL

[70] Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 17027; printed by Franz, *Benediktionen*, II, 601–2.

[71] St. Florian, Cod. XI 467, 127v–128r; ed. A. Franz, *Das Rituale von St Florian aus dem zwölften Jahrhundert* (Freiburg im Br. 1904), p. 118.

[72] Thus for the Regensburg text, note the strong Irish element in the Regensburg prayer-book, Munich, Clm 14248 (s. ix²): see M. Frost, 'A Prayer Book from St. Emmeran Ratisbon', *Jnl of Theological Studies* 30 (1928–9), 32–45, and Bischoff, *Schreibschulen*,, p. 193. In the Vienna text the exorcism immediately follows two prayers first found in the English prayer-book, London, BL Royal 2 A. xx (s. viii²): see below, p. 00.

[73] *CLA* II. 232 (S. C. 3511).

[74] The other texts all insert matter here. Note also that they have *de fronte*, not *de frontis*.

[75] Only the Stowe, Regensburg, Schäftlarn and St. Florian texts include both *pectore* and *corde*, and the last three omit *cerebro*.

[76] For enumeration as an Irish characteristic, see Bischoff, 'Turning-Points', p. 86; Bishop, *Liturgica*, p. 148; Wilmart, *The Bobbio Missal: Notes and Studies*, p. 34; *Cerne*, pp. xix–xxx. Chavasse points out that an accumulative style is not unknown in the early Roman liturgy (*Le sacramentaire gélasien*, p. 147, n. 22); it is, however, very rare.

[77] This feature has often been described as Irish: see Gougaud, *Loricae*, pp. 103–6, and K. Hughes, 'Some Aspects of Irish Influence', pp. 52–7.

Royal 2 A. xx (s. viii²)[78] and seems to have been the model of the Irish *lorica* by Mugrón (fl. 964–80);[79] the charm 'Caput Christi, oculus Isaiae . . .' which is added, with Irish directions, to St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 1395, p. 419 (s. ix) (a fragment of an eighth-century Irish Gospel Book) and to Dublin, Trinity College 1336 (s. xv–xvi),[80] and also occurs in the Anglo-Saxon *Book of Nunnaminster* (s. viii–ix);[81] and innumerable prayers of the insular tradition which either ask for protection for each limb, as in the *loricae*, or confess to sinning through them.[82] Perhaps the earliest of these, the *lorica* plausibly attributed to Laidcenn (d. 661) in the oldest manuscripts,[83] contains a long anatomical list starting from the top of the head which is very reminiscent of the exorcism. M. Herren has argued that Laidcenn derived his list from the section *De homine et partibus eius* in Isidore's *Etymologies*, or from glossaries compiled from it.[84] The exorcism also shows some similarity to Isidore as well as to Laidcenn, as may be seen from the following table:

[78] 45v, printed in *Cerne*, Appendix, p. 221. *CLA* II.215. Later copies of this prayer are noted by A. Wilmart, 'Prières médiévales pour l'adoration de la croix', *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 46 (1932), 24, n. 3, 51–2 and 56 (cf. *ibid.* p. 422), and by L. Gjerløw, *Adoratio Crucis* (Oslo, 1961), pp. 128–9 and 161 (cf. O. Heiming, 'Ein benediktinisch-ambrosianisches Gebetbuch des Frühen 11. Jahrhunderts (Brit. Mus. Egerton 3763)', *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 8 ii (1964), 325–435, no. 31).

[79] *EIL*, no. 14. On Mugrón see *ibid.* pp. 186–7, and C. Plummer, *Irish Litanies*, HBS 62 (1925 for 1924), p. xxi. Cf. Gougaud, *Loricae*, p. 108.

[80] *Thes.* II, 248–9; *IMSG*, p. 76 and pl. XXVI; *CLA* VII.988; H. Gaidoz, 'Une incantation énumérative', *Mélusine* 5 (1890–1), 225–8; R. I. Best, 'The St. Gall Incantation against Headache', *Ériu* 8 (1916), 100, and 'Some Irish Charms', *ibid.* 16 (1952), 27–8; T. K. Abbott and E. J. Gwynn, *Catalogue of the Irish Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin* (Dublin, 1921), p. 139 (H. 3. 17, col. 658d marg.).

[81] London, BL Harley 2965, 40v; printed by W. de G. Birch, *An Ancient Manuscript formerly belonging to St. Mary's Abbey, or Nunnaminster, Winchester* (Hampshire Record Soc. 1889), p. 96. *CLA* II.199. The parallel with the St. Gall charm was noted by E. Hull, 'The Ancient Hymn-Charms of Ireland', *Folk-lore* 21 (1910), 445; but she did not note that the two versions share a significant lacuna.

[82] E. g. the prayer *Mane cum surrexero* and the Basel A VII 3 *apologia*, both referred to below.

[83] See L. Gougaud, *Loricae*, pp. 267–8, and 'Le témoignage des manuscrits sur l'oeuvre littéraire du moine Lathcen', *RC* 30 (1909), 37–46; M. Herren, 'The Authorship, Date of Composition and Provenance of the So-Called *Lorica Gildae*', *Ériu* 24 (1973), 35–51. The *Book of Nunnaminster* is the oldest manuscript. See also the text, translation and commentary in J. H. G. Grattan and C. Singer, *Anglo-Saxon Magic and Medicine* (London, 1952), pp. 69–70, 130–147 and 210–11. In the table below I use the same line numeration as Herren, to facilitate comparison.

[84] Herren, pp. 46–9; further, 'Some Conjectures on the Origins and Tradition of the Hisperic Poem *Rubisca*', *Ériu* 25 (1974), 75–7. See *Isidori Etymologiarum sive Originum Libri XX*, ed. W. M. Lindsay (Oxford, 1911), XI, i. A mid-seventh-century Irish fragment of just this section of Isidore survives in St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 1399. a. 1: see J. N. Hillgarth, 'Visigothic Spain and Early Christian Ireland', *Proc. of the RIA* 62 (1962–3), Section C, 182–5. Anatomies like that in the *lorica* occur in a hymn to St Áed of Killare (manuscript s. ix in.), ed. C. Blume, *Hymnodia Hiberno-Celtica Saeculi V.-IX.* Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi 51 (Leipzig, 1908), no. 238, and in the *Leiden Lorica* (W. M. Lindsay, *Early Welsh Script*, St Andrews University Publications 10 (Oxford, 1912), p. 60. On *cum decem fabrifactis foribus* see McNally, *Diss.* pp. 33–4, in addition to the references in my forthcoming article on riddles in *Studia Celtica* 12 (1978), 105, which shed some light on *Bretha Déin Chécht*, §2A (*Ériu* 20, 24).

Isidore XI.i.	*Antiphonary of Bangor*	*Laidcenn*
§25	de capite	v. 38
28	de capillis	37
26	de vertice[85]	37 and 83
61	de cerebro	39
35	de fronte	39
36	de oculis	39
46	de auribus	41
47	de naribus	42
50	de labis	40
49	de ore	45
51	de lingua	45
59	de sublingua	46
56	de faucibus	44
58	de guttore	45
60	[de gula][86]	—
60	de collo	48
74	[de pectore][87]	67
118	de corde	70
14 and 17	de corpore toto	—
85	de omnibus . . . compaginibus	78
82	membrorum suorum	79 and 84
—	intus et deforis	84 (foris intus)
66	[de manibus][88]	—
112	[de pedibus][88]	—
86	de ossibus	58
121	de venis	74
83	de nervis	58
122f.	de sanguine	59
13 and 18	de sensu	81

Of course many similarities in wording and order result from the subject-matter; nevertheless they are sufficient to show that the exorcism probably derives from the same glossary-steeped milieu in seventh-century Ireland as Laidcenn's *lorica*. Since it seems to have been intended for use in a baptismal rite,[89] it may also be

[85] Scribal marks after *de capillis* and before *de uertice* (see facsimile) show that this is the order intended, as in the other manuscripts.

[86] Vienna 1888 only.

[87] Oxford, Stowe, Regensburg, Schäftlarn and St. Florian texts only.

[88] *Stowe* only.

[89] In *Stowe*, 47r, it is headed *ordo babtismi*, though not in the original hand, and on the blank last page of the previous gathering (46v) a contemporary, or slightly later, scribe (Moilcaích) added another exorcism which specifically relates to baptism under the heading *incipit ordo babtismi*. (This exorcism is related to that prescribed for the last 'scrutiny' before baptism in the 'Gelasian' sacramentary, ed. L. C. Mohlberg, *Liber*

profitably compared, or rather contrasted, with the exorcisms and prayers prescribed in the early continental liturgical books for baptismal and pre-baptismal ceremonies. Although these contain a marked physical element,[90] there is nothing to compare with the detailed anatomical enumeration which gives our exorcism its Irish character.

The triad recurs in an entirely different liturgical context in a fragment of a ritual for the consecration of virgins written in eighth-century Irish minuscule 'presumably in Ireland'[91] and now bound in Zürich, Staatsarchiv A.G. 19, fo. 57. The legible part of this fragment consists of four formulae. L. C. Mohlberg has been able to identify continental parallels to all except the third.[92] In view of the abundance

Sacramentorum Romanae Aecclesiae Ordinis Anni Circuli (*Sacramentarium Gelasianum*) (Rome, 1960), §419). Evidently both these scribes regarded our exorcism as part of the *ordo babtismi*. Yet the blessing of water which follows it (47v) is designed not for baptismal water (cf. *ibid.* §446, Franz, *Benediktionen* II, 663) but for water to be sprinkled in a private house. (It recurs in the *Gelasianum*, §1556, also in an Irish fragment (s. viii²) in St. Gall 1395, p. 423; *LRCC* 184, *IMSG*, p. 76 and pl. XXVIII, *CLA* VII.988). However, all the following prayers relate to baptism and the ceremonies preceding it (they can mostly be paralleled in the *Gelasianum* and elsewhere). The blessing of water on 47v can be explained by the hypothesis that the users of *Stowe* were accustomed to bless water for sprinkling in houses at the same time as the font water (perhaps the same); the recurrence of the same blessing, with a prayer for use when the water was sprinkled (also in the *Gelasianum*, §1558), on fo. 52, sandwiched between prayers relating to the catechumenate and baptism, supports this hypothesis. The exorcism was also intended for baptismal use in all probability, then. The reference to *gentilitas* in *AB* and *Stowe* ('expelle diabulum *et gentilitatem* ab homine isto'), absent in the later texts, implies that the exorcism was designed (or adapted?) for Christian initiation: cf. references in *Stowe* to *error gentilitatis* (48r) and *error gentilium* (51v, also in the *Gelasianum*, §601, and *Bobbio*, §231), to *error gentilis* in Ildefonsus of Toledo, *De Cognitione Baptismi*, XXIX (*PL* 96, 124), and to *opprobrium gentilitatis* in *Bobbio* §229. The relationship between baptismal exorcisms and exorcisms of energumens in the early Church is debated; cf. P. Lundberg, *La typologie baptismale dans l'ancienne Église* (Uppsala, 1942), pp. 47–48, who thinks the former gave rise to the latter. It may be significant of this exorcism's baptismal origin that the concluding phrase 'hic et in futuro' occurs in early Roman liturgy only in the 'Gelasian' rite *ad caticuminum ex pacano faciendum*, ed. Mohlberg, §600 (Bishop, 'Liturgical Note', p. 258); but this idiom may rather be an indication of Irish composition (see above, p. 87, n. 53).

[90] E.g. the rite 'effeta' in the *Gelasianum:* 'Inde tanges ei nares et aures de sputo, et dicis ei ad aurem: *Effeta, quod est adaperire, in odorem suauitatis. Tu autem effugare, diabule, adpropinquauit enim iudicium dei.* Postea uero tangis ei pectus et inter scapulas de oleo exorcizato, et uocato nomine singulis dicis: *Abrenuncias satanae?*' (ed. Mohlberg, §§420–1; cf. §602). The most detailed early continental anatomy is in the rite *ad christianum faciendum* in Vatican, Reg. 317 (s. vii–viii, Church of Autun): 'Signo te in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti, ut sis christianus; *oculos,* ut uideas claritatem dei, *aures,* ut audias uocem domini, *nares,* ut odoris suauitatem Christi, [*linguam*] (?), conuersus ut confitearis patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum, *cor,* ut credas trinitatem inseparabilem' (*Missale Gothicum*, ed. L. C. Mohlberg (Rome, 1961), §254). Anatomical enumerations similar to that in the Bangor-Stowe exorcism are more widespread later on, but this may reasonably be ascribed to ultimately insular influence. See e.g. the tenth-century Ritual, Vienna 1888, already mentioned (Gerbert, *Monumenta*, II, 131 and 136; Franz, *Benediktionen*, II, 477–8 and 605–6), the tenth-century Schäftlarn Collectar, Clm 17027 (*ibid.* II, 602, §9; also in Cologne, Dombibliothek 15 (s. ix), *ibid* II, 594–5; cf. II, 509), and the eleventh-century English 'Lacnunga', BL Harley 585, 148v–149r (Grattan and Singer, *Anglo-Saxon Magic and Medicine*, pp. 124–7; cf. p. 70).

[91] *CLA* VII.1012.

[92] References in *Katalog der Handschriften der Zentralbibliothek Zürich* I, 313. The third does not occur in the table of *initia* in R. Metz, *La consécration des vierges dans l'église romaine* (Paris, 1954). Bishop and Manz overlooked this example of the triad.

of surviving continental texts for the rite it seems probable that the unique formula is an Irish composition. Characteristically, it introduces the triad:

> Conserua domine istius d(e)o uotae pudorem castitatis dilectionem continentiae in factís in dictís in cogitationibus: per té Christe Iesu, qui cum patre uiuis.[93]

I have found no other example of the triad in the remains of early Irish liturgical books; but considering how meagre these are, this is not surprising.[94] However one more Irish liturgical instance may be embedded in the Mercian private prayer-book, BL Royal 2 A. xx (s. viii²). It has not been noticed that this book contains a number of liturgical prayers adapted for private use by the alteration of pronouns, etc. Since it, and the group of English prayer-books of which it is the earliest, are known to contain a good deal of Irish, or Irish-influenced, material, it is likely that some of these adaptations come from Irish liturgies. In particular, a prayer on 13r, 'Benedicat me dominus . . . et det mihi pacem et sanitatem', is adapted from Moses' blessing, 'Benedicat tibi Dominus . . . et det tibi pacem' (*Num.* VI, 24–6), which was widely used as a liturgical benediction;[95] but the only other text I can find which adds 'et sanitatem' is a benediction in the rite for the visitation of the sick added (s. viii/ix) at Tech-Moling (St. Mullins, Co. Carlow) to the *Book of Mulling*.[96] Royal 2 A. xx contains another piece of this kind on 19v–20r which concludes:

> Fiant merita et orationes sanctorum in diebus et in noctibus in uerbo in facto in cogitatione. Toto tempore commendo me sub potestate trinitatis sacrae.[97]

With *tecum* before *in diebus*, and *te* for *me*, this prayer recurs in a number of continental liturgies, mostly for the visitation of the sick,

[93] F. Keller, 'Bilder und Schriftzüge in den irischen Manuscripten der schweizerischen Biliotheken', *Mittheilungen der antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich* 7 (1853), 88 and pl. XIII, 3 (trans. W. Reeves, *Ulster Jnl of Archaeology* 8 (1860), 299, without facsimile). The facsimile has *do uotae*, which Keller transcribes as *douotae* (*sic*) and *LRCC* 23 silently emends to *devotae*.

[94] The example in the twelfth-century *Drummond Missal* is no doubt too late to be significant: *Missale Drummondiense*, ed. G. H. Forbes (Burntisland, 1882), p. 90 ('omnia peccata nostra quecunque cogitatione, locutione, operatione').

[95] See already Isidore, *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis* I, xvii (*PL* 83, 754).

[96] Dublin, Trinity College 60 (A. I. 15), 49v–50r. *CLA* II.276. Date of addition from J. F. Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland: Ecclesiastical*, revised L. Bieler (New York, 1966), p. 703. Printed *LRCC* 172. An exception to the above statement, which is late and doubtless coincidental, is a benediction in an *Ordo Sponsalium* in Vatican, Borghes. lat. 49 (Naples region, s. xiii); ed. Michel Andrieu, *Le Pontifical romain au moyen-âge* I, Studi e testi 86 (Vatican, 1938), p. 301.

[97] *Cerne*, Appendix, p. 209. The punctuation varies substantially in the later versions.

from the tenth century onwards.[98] The first of these, and no doubt the progenitor of most of the others, is the *Romano-Germanic Pontifical*, which originated in Mainz in the mid-tenth century. It is significant that it is here preceded by a prayer which first occurs in Royal 2 A. xx, 13r–13v ('Sanet te Deus pater omnipotens, qui te creavit in carne . . .').[99] Moreover in Vienna 1888, which is known to have been copied from a lost mid-tenth-century Mainz Ritual used by the compilers of the *Romano-Germanic Pontifical*,[100] it is not only preceded by the same prayer, but also followed by the anatomical exorcism discussed above.[101] In view of this, and Mainz's well-known insular connections, there can be little doubt that the prayer just quoted in the Royal 2 A. xx 'private' version is an Irish, or at least insular, liturgical production.

The evidence so far suggests that the triad was disseminated on the continent by Irish and, later, Anglo-Saxon agencies, gaining a general currency in the ninth-to-tenth centuries. However one has to take into account two eighth-century examples of the triad in Gallican and Roman sacramentaries which do not fit into this pattern, at least at first sight. The first is from a *Praefatio Missae* in a palimpsest sacramentary of the Gallican type, Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, M 12 sup., pp. 144–5:

> Non aemulatio nos adurat, non inflet ambitio, non pompa delectet. Sed fideliter *dicto factoque cugitatione* correcti, quaecumque pia sancta caelestia *meditemor*, *loquamor*, *operemor*, per dominum nostrum.[102]

This is a very early example, for Lowe dates the uncial to s. vii–viii, Gamber to *circa* or before 700.[103] Unfortunately it has not been

[98] Texts and references in: C. Lambot, *North Italian Services of the Eleventh Century*, HBS 67 (1931 for 1928), p. 42; W. von Arx, *Das Klosterrituale von Biburg*, Spicilegium Friburgense 14 (Freiburg, Switzerland, 1970), §312; C. Vogel and R. Elze, *Le Pontifical romano-germanique du Xe siècle*, Studi e testi 226–7 and 269 (Vatican, 1963 and 1972), II, 253–4, §CXXXIX, 28; E. Martène, *De Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus* (ed. nov. Venice, 1783) I, 323–4 (I, vii, iv, xv) (= Vogel and Elze, III, 67, MS P); and below, n. 101.

[99] *Ibid.* §CXXXIX, 27. For other texts see: von Arx, §§282, 304 and 312; Franz, *Rituale von St. Florian*, pp. 81, 84 and 115–16; J. Morinus, *Commentarius Historicus de Disciplina in Administratione Sacramenti Poenitentiae* (Paris, 1651), Appendix, p. 22; Martène I, 323 (cf. previous n.); Grattan and Singer, p. 128; Andrieu I, 273; and below, n. 101.

[100] C. Vogel, *Introduction aux sources de l'histoire du culte chrétien au moyen âge* (Spoleto, 1966), p. 192.

[101] Gerbert, *Monumenta* II, 132; Franz, *Benediktionen* II, 608.

[102] *Das Sakramentar im Schabcodex M* 12 *sup. der Bibliotheca Ambrosiana*, ed. A. Dold, Texte und Arbeiten I, Heft 43 (Beuron, 1952), pp. 18*–19*. Unfortunately Bishop did not discuss this passage in his 'Liturgical Note', though it had been printed before, e.g. in C. E. Hammond, *The Ancient Liturgy of Antioch and Other Liturgical Fragments* (Oxford, 1879), p. 52.

[103] *CLA* III.354; K. Gamber, *Codices Liturgici Latini Antiquiores* (Freiburg, Switzerland, 1968), no. 205.

localised: Lowe describes it simply as 'origin unknown',[104] while Gamber assigns it to 'Südfrankreich'. Provisionally the appearance of the triad could be explained in two ways. First, it may be an isolated liturgical trace of the triad independent of Irish influence, derived from Gregory, for instance. Second, it may be due to influence from one of the Irish centres in France or Italy, comparable to that found in the basically Gallican liturgy of the *Bobbio Missal*.[105] In view of the absence of the triad from all the other Gallican sacramentaries, and from the closely related Spanish liturgies,[106] the latter explanation is perhaps the more probable; but there can be no certainty about it.

The 'Roman' exception appears in the so-called Gelasian sacramentary, Vatican, Reg. lat. 316, a northern French manuscript written about 750, probably at Chelles.[107] In the opinion of the majority of liturgists this sacramentary was compiled in France, chiefly from pre-eighth-century Roman materials.[108] The prayer containing the triad, §367 in Mohlberg's edition,[109] comes in one of the orders for public penance, that headed *Reconciliatio paenitentis ad mortem*. It is a close variant of the first prayer under this heading (§364). The origin of this section has been the subject of a bewildering variety of uncoordinated comment by liturgists. Bishop argued from the style that it was a non-Roman interpolation.[110] Similarly C.

[104] *CLA* III.354. It was acquired by the first Prefect of the Ambrosiana, possibly on a literary tour c. 1606. The upper script is bound with a Kalendar (s. ix), apparently from Herford in Westfalia.

[105] Dold notes (p. 18*, n.) that the opening of the *Praefatio* quoted recurs in *Bobbio*, §§139 and 166.

[106] Manz does not record any example of *cogitationes, verba et facta* before the eleventh-century *Liber Ordinum*, ed. M. Férotin (Paris, 1904), cols. 113, 396 and 411. The first is in the burial ritual, which Bishop describes as having undergone late revision (*Liturgica*, pp. 183 and 186, n.). The others (variants of each other) occur in masses for the dead, and appear to echo the passages in the *Gelasianum* (§§364 and 367) discussed below, pp. 97 ff.

[107] *CLA* I.105; VI, p. xxii, citing Bischoff's study.

[108] Most liturgists would not accept the hypothesis that the *Gelasianum* was compiled in England, which would easily explain away the presence of the triad. For this hypothesis see C. E. Hohler, 'Some Service-Books of the Later Saxon Church', *Tenth-Century Studies*, ed. D. Parsons (London, 1975), p. 61. (On Chelles' English connections see P. Sims-Williams, 'Continental Influence at Bath Monastery in the Seventh Century', *Anglo-Saxon England* 4 (1975), 1–10).

[109] Above, n. 89.

[110] 'Liturgical Note', p. 245. His statement that §367 does not occur in the eighth-century revision of the *Gelasianum* does not apply to all sacramentaries of this type; for references see J. A. Jungmann, *Die lateinischen Bussriten in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (Innsbruck, 1932), p. 110, nn. 397 and 399; C. Vogel, *La discipline pénitentielle en Gaule des origines à la fin du VIIe siècle* (Paris, 1952), p. 186, n. 25; also O. Heiming, *Das Sacramentarium Triplex* I, Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen und Forschungen 49 (Münster, Westf. 1968), §1176. An unnoticed quotation of the passage containing the triad occurs in a *Confessio* found in many manuscripts from s. ix in. onwards, often attributed to Alcuin, probably correctly in Wilmart's opinion. See *PL* 101, 526A and 1405AB; *Liber Precationum* of Charles the Bald (858), ed. F. Felicianus (Ingolstadt, 1583), pp. 15–16; A. Wilmart, *Precum Libelli Quattuor Aevi Karolini* (Rome, 1940), pp. 24, 56 and 75; 'The Prayers of the Bury Psalter', pp. 210–11; *MPJG* 282, n. 5; *LP* 163.

Vogel has argued from the inconsistent use of the *cursus* that the Gelasian rituals for public penance are Gallican adaptations of Roman models.[111] Jungmann maintained that §364 was a sixth-century Roman prayer and that §367 is a Spanish doublet of it, composed before 580, on the basis of versions of both prayers in the eleventh-century Spanish *Liber Ordinum*, the second of which has been held to refer to Arian heresy.[112] Manz[113] and Brou,[114] on the other hand, have independently concluded that both these prayers originated in Spain. Chavasse has ingeniously explained the anomalous duplication within the single rite of *Reconciliatio paenitentis ad mortem* as the result of an erroneous displacement of this heading from before §367 to before §364, which would originally have belonged to the previous section, which is headed *Item ad reconciliandum paenitentium;*[115] he argues that 'dans la formule [§367] . . . nous avons un remaniement de la formule [§364], destiné à l'adapter à la réconciliation des mourants'.[116] Chavasse also maintains that the prayers for the reconciliation of penitents are 'incontestablement d'origine romaine';[117] but this can hardly be said to have been proved in every case. In short, then, the provenance of the Gelasian prayer which contains the triad is still uncertain. Textual considerations suggest that the triad is not an integral part of it, in any case; whereas the relevant part of §367 runs:

> Renoua in eum, piissime pater, quod *actione, quod uerbo, quod ipsa denique cogitacione* diabolica fraude *uiciatum* est,

the corresponding sentence in §364 lacks the triad:

> Renoua in eo, piissime pater, quicquid *terrena fragilitate corruptum est, uel quicquid* diabolica fraude *uiolatum* est.

There would be no reason for the remanieur to alter the wording of §364 to 'l'adapter à la réconciliation des mourants'. It seems most

111 *La discipline pénitentielle*, pp. 182–92; *Introduction aux sources*, pp. 170–1. On this criterion cf. *ibid.* p. 51, n. 160; and Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélasien*, pp. 146–7.

112 *Die lateinischen Bussriten*, pp. 109–12. He equates §§364 and 367 with Férotin's cols. 92 and 103–4 respectively. But 103–4 is really a version of §364 until the end, after the passage on heresy, where it follows §367 (or else a hypothetical earlier version of §364 containing this coda); while 92 mostly corresponds to §367, but with some readings peculiar to §364.

113 *Ausdrucksformen*, pp. 10–13 and 113–14; criticized by Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélasien*, p. 153, n. 31.

114 L. Brou, 'Encore les "Spanish symptoms" et leur contre-partie', *Hispania Sacra* 7 (1954), 468–9; cf. J. Janini, *ibid.* 17 (1964), 158, n. 17.

115 *Le sacramentaire gélasien*, p. 151. This is a plausible scribal error, since §§364 and 367 have the same *incipit;* but it cannot have originated in Vatican, Reg. lat. 316 itself, since other sacramentaries of the class show the same misdivision (see above, n. 110).

116 *Ibid.* p. 151. Cf. p. 154.

117 *Ibid.* p. 153. But the alleged parallels between the *reconciliatio paenitentis ad mortem* and papal letters (p. 152) are slight. On these letters, cf. Vogel, *La discipline pénitentielle*, pp. 47–54.

likely that the words *actione* etc. were deliberately substituted for *terrena* etc. or else that both these clauses were later additions to a shorter common original. In either case a wish to include the triad would seem to have been a guiding motive for altering the text. This conclusion is supported (or, at the least, not contradicted) by the *Liber Ordinum;* whereas the Spanish version of §364 agrees essentially with the Gelasian:

> Renoua in eum, pissime (*sic*) Pater, *quidquid terrena fragilitate corruptum,* quidquid diabolica fraude *uiolatum* est,[118]

its prayer which corresponds more closely to §367 lacks the triad:

> Renoua in eum, piissime Pater, quicquid diabolica fraude *uiolatum* est.[119]

This, if it is not merely contaminated by §364, which is possible,[120] appears to preserve an earlier, triadless version of §367 (note also *uiolatum,* not *uitiatum*). Possibly *terrena* etc. has dropped out, through an easy haplography (*quicquid . . . quicquid*); but it would not be easy for *actione* etc. to drop out through scribal error. It is improbable that the Spanish text would have deliberately omitted the triad. One can conclude, therefore, that the triad in the Gelasian version of the prayer may not go back much further than the date of the Vatican manuscript (*c.* 750). In view of this, and the complete absence of the triad from the rest of the sacramentary, and from the 'Leonine', 'Gregorian', and other early sacramentaries of the Roman type,[121] it is not unlikely that we have here an instance of the 'Old Irish mania for amending, after a fashion, liturgical texts which are quite good in themselves' frequently noticed by Edmund Bishop.[122]

[118] *Liber Ordinum,* ed. Férotin, col. 104.
[119] *Ibid.* 92.
[120] Cf. above, n. 112.
[121] According to Manz, the next occurrence in a 'Roman' type book is in the 'eighth-century Gelasian' Sacramentary of Angoulême (Paris, BN lat. 816, 124r; s. ix in.): 'Da huic familiae tuae fidei calorem, continentiae rigorem, fraternitatis amorem, abstinentiae uirtutem; et *si* (*MS* 'sic') quicquid dicto, facto, uel cogitationibus peccauerunt, pietas ac benignitas clementiae ac misericordiae tuae resoluere ac indulgere dignetur' (*Le sacramentaire gélasien d'Angoulême,* ed. P. Cagin (Angoulême, 1919), §1818). This episcopal benediction (a non-Roman genre) also appears in the Sacramentary of Gellone (BN lat. 12048; s. viii ex., *CLA* V.618) and later manuscripts (see E. Moeller, *Corpus Benedictionum Pontificalium,* CCSL 162– (1971–) I, no. 909). It employs the phrase *antiquus hostis,* which was favoured by Irish liturgical writers (Bishop, 'Liturgical Note', pp. 251–2, no. 23, and 281; Manz, *Ausdrucksformen,* no. 408). I hope to show elsewhere that lists of virtues introduced by *Da* (*Dona*) were an Irish speciality.
[122] *Liturgica,* pp. 82, n. 6, 86, n. 19, and 105; Wilmart, *The Bobbio Missal: Notes and Studies,* p. 57, n. 1; N. Abercrombie, *The Life and Work of Edmund Bishop* (London, 1959), p. 287.

Allusions in private prayers

The eighth-century Mercian prayer-book Royal 2 A. xx, mentioned above, gives several indications of the place of the triad in private prayers in the Hiberno-Saxon tradition (no early Irish prayer-books survive). Possibly the earliest of these is the *Oratio sancti Hygbaldi abbatis*, almost certainly the Lincolnshire abbot of this name who flourished in the last quarter of the seventh century.[123] If the attribution and identification are correct, this prayer is the first evidence for the triad in England. There must have been many opportunities for Englishmen to hear Irish prayers at this period, but it is interesting to note that Bede records that Hygbald visited Ireland.[124] The style of his prayer reminds one of André Wilmart's description of Irish liturgical style: 'à la fois biblique et énumératif'.[125] The relevant part runs:

> Deum omnipotentem patrem deprecor . . . ut dimittat mihi omnia peccata mea atque crimina quae feci a conabulis iuuentutis meae usque in hanc aetatis horam, in factis in uerbis [in cogitationibus] in uisu in risu in gressu in auditu in tacto olfactoque uellens nollens sciens nesciensque in spiritu uel in corpore delinquens commisi (17r).

The scribe originally omitted *in cogitationibus*, perhaps because it did not rime; but he or a near contemporary interlined it, and this interlineation is supported by the other surviving copy of the prayer.[126] The rhythmic list of the senses which follows the triad has obvious affinities with the Irish anatomical lists discussed above,[127] and can be paralleled in later prayers of the *lorica* type such as the

123 K. Hughes, 'Some Aspects of Irish Influence', p. 57. See also the reference to him in the (Mercian) *Old English Martyrology*, ed. G. Herzfeld, Early English Text Soc., ordinary ser. 116 (London, 1900), pp. 220–1.

124 *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. and trans. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969), pp. 344–5 (iv. 3).

125 *The Bobbio Missal: Notes and Studies*, p. 34. Bishop notes that one of the texts used by Hygbald was a favourite in Irish liturgies ('Liturgical Note , p. 248, no. 15).

126 *Cerne*, no. 34. Exactly the same error occurs in a prayer to the Baptist in the Würzburg Psalter (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. lat. 96 (Tegernsee, s. xi^2), 242r); the scribe omitted, or found omitted, *cogitationis* in the phrase 'congruentem abstinentiam cibi et potus, *cogitationis*, locutionis et operis and interlineated *cogitationibus* (!). Cf. another copy (s. x), ed. K. Gamber, 'Fragment eines *Libellus precum* in München', *Sacris Erudiri* 16 (1965), 453–4, and that in the Nonantola psalter, Vatican lat. 84 (s. xi), ed. G. Bianchini (Blanchinus), *Venerabilis J. M. Thomasii Opera Omnia* (Rome, 1741) I, part 2, p. 527 (= *LP* 67).

127 K. Hughes ('Some Aspects of Irish Influence', p. 57, n. 1) compares the list in the exorcism in Harley 585, mentioned above, p. 93, n. 90. This includes the words 'nec in gressu, nec in uisu nec in risu, nec in tangendo'. Isidore (XI, i, 18) and Laidcenn (v. 81) refer to the five senses; the pseudo-Bedan *Collectanea* (*PL* 94, 542D) and many Irish exegetes refer to ten. Cf. Bischoff, 'Turning-Points', pp. 86, and n. 66, 102, 134, 136 and 143; McNally, *Diss.* pp. 32, 34 and 94; also above, n. 84.

Lorica of St Brendan[128] and in confessions beginning with those in the early ninth-century books in the insular tradition—the English *Book of Cerne*,[129] the so-called *Fleury Prayer-Book* (Orléans, Bibl. munic. 184), written at the beginning of the ninth century in the diocese of Passau (Bavaria), possibly at Mondsee,[130] and the *Cologne Prayer-Book* (Cologne, Dombibliothek 106), written *c.* 805 at Werden or Cologne.[131] The *visus-risus* pair occurs twice in the tract *De sobrietate et ebrietate*, which is believed to have been written in Ireland about 700.[132] One is reminded, too, of the rhythmical passage in Muirchú's *Life of Patrick* quoted at the beginning of this study. There can be no doubt of the Irish inspiration of Hygbald's prayer.

Royal 2 A. xx also contains the earliest copy of a widespread morning prayer, listed by Gougaud among the prayers 'qui, sans être de vraies *loricae*, nous fourniront d'assez nombreux points de comparaison' and described by Wilmart as 'une des plus remarquables prières de la tradition celtique'.[133] It seems to have been the model for the poem *A Choimdiu, nom·choimét* ascribed to Máel Ísu (d. 1086).[134] It begins:

[128] *Acta Sancti Brendani*, ed. P. F. Moran (Dublin, 1872), p. 42. The attribution is late medieval. According to Wilmart ('The Prayers of the Bury Psalter', p. 213) the relevant portion first appears in eleventh-century manuscripts; but an earlier text (attributed to Gregory!) aspears in the pseudo-Alcuinian *Officia per Ferias* in Paris, BN lat. 1153 (Saint-Denis, *c.* 850), 72v: 'haec omnia . . . sint scuta, sint galeae, sint sanitates, sint suffragia, sint loricae animae meae, et spiritus mei, et corporis mei cum omnibus personis meis intus et foris, a planta usque ad verticem: visui, auditui, odoratui, gustui, tactui, carni et sanguini cum omnibus ossibus, et nervis, et visceribus meis, venis, medullis, compagibus, artubus meis, cuti, meatibus meis' (*PL* 101, 585–6. Cf. *MPJG* 263, n. 2, and 290, no. 71). Cf. another *lorica*-like prayer in the same collection, 45v–46r (*PL* 101, 557). See also *LP* pp. 147, 153, 154, n. 133, 163, n. 166, 181–3.

[129] *Cerne*, no. 8: 'Confiteor quae . . . oculis meis uidi uel auribus audiui uel manibus tetigi uel pedibus ambulaui'. An anatomy follows.

[130] See M. Coens, *Analecta Bollandiana* 77 (1959), 373–91; Unterkircher, *Das Kollektar-Pontifikale des Bischofs Baturich*, pp. 38–9; R. E. McNally, *Traditio* 21 (1965), 169 and n. 11; M. B. Parkes, *Anglo-Saxon England* 1 (1972), 213, n. 4. Text in *PL* 101, 1386D: 'Pollutum est cor meum et labia mea, et visus meus et auditus, gustus, odoratus, et tactus, et omnimodis cogitatione, locutione, sive actione perditus sum'. (For later copies see: Frost, 'A Prayer Book from St. Emmeran', p. 37; *PL* 101, 546; Wilmart, *Precum Libelli Quattuor*, p. 89; *MPJG* 291, n. 5; Heiming, 'Ein benediktinisch-ambrosianisches Gebetbuch', no. 1; *LP* 278 and 399). Cf. the Alcuinian (?) *Confessio* at col. 1404B mentioned above, n. 110.

[131] Wilmart, *Precum Libelli Quattuor*, p. 56: 'Peccavi in verbo, in facto, in cogitatu, in voluntate, in gressu, in motu (visu *al. man.*), in auditu, in gustu, in odoratu et tactu, et in opere'. Cf. Bianchini p. 522 (= *LP* 37).

[132] *PL* 83, 1298–9; R. E. McNally, 'Isidorian Pseudepigraphia in the Early Middle Ages', *Isidoriana*, ed. M. C. Díaz y Díaz (León, 1961), pp. 313–4; *Diss.* pp. 43–4 and references.

[133] Gougaud, *Loricae*, pp. 274–5; A. Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels et textes dévots du moyen âge latin* (reimpr. Paris, 1971), p. 575, n. 1. A more or less contemporary copy appears in another Mercian prayer-book, Harley 7653, 2v–3v (printed *AB* II, 84–5). For later copies see: *Cerne*, no. 6; *PL* 101, 490–1 and 1385–6; *MPJG* 275, n. 3; *Liber Precationum*, ed. Felicianus, pp. 6–8; Wilmart, *Precum Libelli Quattuor*, pp. 10–11 and 38; Heiming, 'Ein benediktinisch-ambrosianisches Gebetbuch', no. 12; *The Portiforium of Saint Wulstan*, ed. A. Hughes, HBS 89–90 (1958–60 for 1956–7) II, 7–8; *LP* 135 and 276; *Antemurale* 2 (1955), 138.

[134] *EIL* no. 24; Hughes, 'Some Aspects of Irish Influence', pp. 54–55.

> Mane cum surrexero[135] intende ad me domine et guberna *omnes actus meos et uerba mea et cogitationes meas* ut tota die in tua uoluntate transeam (22r).

Further on the manuscript contains a morning hymn, *Ambulemus in prosperis* (25r), which has generally been regarded as Irish, and is at any rate strongly influenced by Irish writing—part of it is very reminiscent of the *Lorica of St Patrick*[136] and a prayer in the *Stowe Missal* (fo. 38). There are later copies in the *Book of Cerne* and in the *Troyes Prayer Book* (Troyes, Bibl. Munic. 1742), which was written at Tours about the time of Alcuin's death (804).[137] The seventh stanza runs:

> In bonis semper *actibus*,
> In *formis* spiritalibus,
> In divinis *sermonibus*,
> In benedictionibus.

If *formae* can mean 'ideas' here, the triad is present. Certainly it is given explicitly in a prose adaptation of this hymn in the *Fleury Prayer-Book* . . . ut nomen tuum sit semper in cogitationibus, in verbis, et in operibus nostris.[138]

An interesting further instance in Royal 2 A. xx occurs in an *Oratio sancti Augustini* beginning 'Deus iustitiae . . .', which also occurs in the *Book of Cerne* under the title *Oratio penitentis*:[139]

> Ego ore, ego corde, ego opere, ego cogitatione, ego omnibus uitiis coinquinatus sum (48r).

This passage is used almost verbatim in an *apologia* in the Irish psalter Basel A VII 3 (quoted below), and the wording of the triad is similar to passages already quoted from the *Conférences monastiques irlandaises* and *Liber de Numeris*. It should, I believe, be regarded as an insular composition. Bishop, however, has pointed rather towards Spain. He observed that the *Deus iustitiae* and a number of related prayers in Royal 2 A. xx and the *Book of Cerne* are closely paralleled

135 Cf. *The Black Book of Carmarthen*, ed. J. G. Evans (Pwllheli, 1907), p. 82: 'Kyntaw geir a dywedaw, *y bore ban kyuodaw:* croes crist in wissc ymdanaw'; but the rest of the poem diverges. Cf. D. A. Binchy, 'Atomriug', *Ériu* 20 (1966), 232–4?

136 *Thes.* II, 355.

137 *Cerne*, no. 7; *Precum Libelli Quattuor*, ed. Wilmart, p. 11, lines 15ff. The Troyes copy was not known to Blume, *Hymnodia Hiberno-Celtica*, no. 224, from whom I quote. For *Anglo*-Latin use of the metre employed see M. Lapidge, *English Historical Review* 90 (1975), 817–8.

138 *PL* 101, 1414C.

139 *Cerne*, no. 49. The apocryphal source quoted below shows that *Cerne* no. 21 is a derivative of no. 49 rather than *vice-versa* (cf. p. xvii). For other versions of no. 21 see: *PL* 101, 478C (cf. Wilmart, *MPJG* 271, n. 8; 'Prayers of the Bury Psalter', no. III; 'Prières pour l'adoration de la croix', p. 56, n. 3), 604A and 553CD (BN lat. 1153), and 1383D–4C (Orléans 184); Bianchini, *Thomasii Opera* I, part 2, pp. 523–4 (Vat. lat. 84); *MPJG* 297, no. 106.

by a prayer in BL Harley 3060, 168v, and argued that the latter was their source.[140] He maintained that Harley 3060, 'though not written in Spain', descended from an earlier Visigothic exemplar, since its *main* contents, apart from Ephraem's *opuscula*, are seventh-century Spanish works.[141] These theories cannot easily be accepted in the absence of any certainty about the date (s. x?) and provenance of Harley 3060, the integrity of its contents, and the textual relationship with the insular prayers; but fortunately the matter need not be gone into here, for the Harley prayer is not related to the passage of *Deus iustitiae* that contains the triad. Bishop subsequently discovered that the *Deus iustitiae* itself occurs in the eleventh-century Spanish *Liber Ordinum*, and he raised the question 'whether some at least of the *Cerne* prayers . . . having affinity with that in Harl. MS 3060 may not have come into England from Spain almost as they stand in *Cerne*'.[142] It seems to me that this is one of the occasions when Bishop, like others after him, was too quick to think of 'Spanish symptoms' in insular texts, rather than of indirect Hiberno-Saxon influence on the extant Spanish liturgical documents, via continental intermediaries; for Spain was always open to external influences.[143] The *Deus iustitiae* was widely disseminated on the continent from the ninth century onwards, beginning with the prayer-books in the insular tradition, the *Fleury Prayer-Book* and the *Troyes Prayer-Book*.[144] In the tenth and eleventh centuries, the period when the *Missa quam sacerdos pro se dicere debeat* which contains it in the *Liber Ordinum* was probably composed,[145] French influence on the Spanish liturgy was particularly strong.[146] This suggests that *Deus iustitiae* may be an insular composition (as Wilmart assumed[147]) which reached Spain via the continental prayer-books. Examination of the text confirms this theory. The following passage of *Deus iustitiae* in Royal 2 A. xx:

> *Da cor* quod te timeat, sensum qui te *intellegat, oculos* cordis qui te *uideant, aures* quae uerbum tuum *audiant* (47v)

[140] 'Liturgical Note,' pp. 278–9.

[141] Cf. *ibid*, p. 278, n. 2; M. C. Díaz y Díaz, *Index Scriptorum Latinorum Medii Aevi Hispanorum* (Madrid, 1959), p. 538. See now *RB* 86 (1976), 227.

[142] *Liturgica Historica*, p. 169.

[143] Brou, 'Encore les "Spanish symptoms" ' 485. p. Cf. Wilmart, 'Prières pour l'adoration de la croix', pp. 25, n. 1, and 28, n. 2 (cf. Brou, pp. 481–2); E. A. Lowe, 'An Unedited Fragment of Irish Exegesis in Visigothic Script', *Celtica* 5 (1960), 1–7.

[144] *PL* 101, 1384–5; *Precum Libelli Quattuor*, ed. Wilmart, pp. 9–10. For an early metrical adaptation see W. Meyer, 'Drei Gothaer Rythmen aus dem Kreise des Alkuin', *Nachrichten von der k. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1916, 664–7 and 675–7; cf. *ibid*. 1917, 606. All three have *ore, corde* and *opere* but not *cogitatione*.

[145] Bishop, *Liturgica Historica*, p. 169, n. 1.

[146] Brou, 'Encore les "Spanish symptoms" ', pp. 483–4.

[147] *MPJG* 293, n. 2; 'Un livret de prières provenant de la chartreuse de Trisulti', *EL* 49 (1935), 40.

is an unnoticed allusion to a prayer in the apocryphal *Acts of St John*:[148]

> *Da* in conspectu tuo omnibus his quos creasti *oculos* ut *uideant*, *aures* ut *audiant*, et *cor* ut magnitudinem tuam *intellegant*.[149]

The secondary character of the *Liber Ordinum* text of *Deus iustitiae* is shown by its omission of the reference to hearing:

> *Da cor* quod timeat, sensum qui *intellegat*, *oculos* qui te *uideant*.[150]

It is significant that it agrees in this omission with all the published French and Italian copies and adaptations of the prayer[151] against the two English prayer-books and the (Bavarian) *Fleury Prayer-Book*.[152]

Many more examples of the triad could be added from prayer-books in the Hiberno-Saxon tradition later than Royal 2 A. xx.[153] One reason for its prominence was, I believe, its dissemination in

[148] This prayer was widely known, including the British Isles (Franz, *Benediktionen* I, 304ff; A. Barb, 'Der Heilige und die Schlangen', *Mitteilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 82 (1953), 9–12).

[149] *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, ed. J. A. Fabricius, 2nd ed. (Hamburg, 1719) II, 577 (Ps.—Abdias); *Apocryphal New Testament*, trans. James, p. 263. It can only be by coincidence that the Ps.-Mellitus text printed by F. M. Fiorentin (Florentinius), *Martyrologium D. Hieronymi Tributum* (Lucae, 1668), p. 135 (repr. Faibricius III, 619) omits *aures ut audiant* (also making nonsense of the beginning of the sentence); the early medieval versions of the prayer, which otherwise follow the Mellitus recension, have the reference to hearing: *Cerne*, no. 61; *Nunnaminster*, ed. Birch, 37v; *Rituale Ecclesiae Dunelmensis*, ed. U. Lindelöf, Publs of the Surtees Soc. 140 (Durham-London, 1927), p. 121; G. Storms, *Anglo-Saxon Magic* (Hague, 1948), pp. 264–7; Grattan and Singer, *Anglo-Saxon Magic and Medicine*, pp. 128–30; *The Irish Liber Hymnorum*, ed. J. H. Bernard and R. Atkinson, HBS 13–14 (1897) I, 91; W. Schmitz, 'Von Himmel gefallene Briefe', *Neues Archiv* 15 (1890), 604, and 23 (1898), 763; and Franz, *loc. cit.*

[150] Ed. Férotin, col. 266 (vars. *qui te timeat; qui te intellegat*). The latter part of *Deus iustitiae* (col. 267) recurs at cols. 249–50.

[151] In addition to the *Troyes Prayer-Book: PL* 101, 598 (BN lat. 1153); Heiming, 'Ein benediktinisch-ambrosianisches Gebetbuch', no. 16. *Adaptations: Manuale Precum Sancti Joannis Gualberti*, ed. Alphonsus Salvini (Rome, 1933), p. 10 (cf. *MPJG* 272, no. 6, and 281, no. 22); Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels*, p. 575 (cf. 'Un livret de prières', p. 40, n. 7; I have checked Laud lat. 96). But the text of the latter prayer in the late medieval pseudo-Augustinian *Liber Meditationum* does have *aures quae te audiant* (*PL* 40, 939; cf. Wilmart, *Auteurs*, pp. 99, 128, n. 1, and 571), likewise the variant quoted *ibid.* p. 575. and St John's, Cambridge 68 (St Alban's, s. xii), 228r. Cf. Gjerløw, pp. 142-3, 146 and 161.

[152] The corresponding part of Harley 3060 reads: 'Da cor quod te timeat, oculos qui te uideant, aures *que* (*over erasure*) te audiant, sensum qui te intelligat, mentem que (*ditto*) te diligat'. Prayers with variations on this type of catalogue are *Cerne*, no. 21 (see above, p. 101, n. 139); *PL* 101, 553B (also in Vat. Reg. lat. 334, I (Sora, s. xii in.), printed Bianchini, *Thomasii Opera* I, part 2, p. 478. Cf. Wilmart, *Auteurs*, p. 574, n. 1 and *MPJG* 294, n. 3); 596–7 (also 1395); and 496C (cf. *MPJG* 287, no. 57). Cf. *Missale Gothicum*, above n. 90. For 553B see also *Spic. Friburg.* 20 (1974), 514-5. For 496c see *LP* 540.

[153] E.g. *Cerne*, nos. 8, 18, 30 = 69, 35, 42, and 50. No. 50 is based on the passage beginning 'Succurre mihi, Deus meus, antequam moriar' in Isidore's *Synonyma* (*PL* 83, 841), often used in private prayers (*MPJG* 289, n. 6); but the triad is an interpolation not in Isidore. It also occurs in a version in the 'Missa Illyrica', composed c. 1030 for the church of Minden, Westfalia (*PL* 138, 1317; Vogel, *Introduction aux sources*, pp. 135–6), and in the Würzburg Psalter (see above, p. 99, n. 126), 251r: 'peccaui enim sepe in uerbo. in facto. in cogitationibus'.

formulae for private confession. Such formulae clearly underlie many prayers in these books; the *Book of Cerne* even contains an unnoticed 'reconciliatio penitentium'.[154] It is now accepted that the practice of private penance, which almost came to supplant the ancient rites of public penance, was spread by the Irish, and later by the Anglo-Saxons. Whereas the triad is entirely absent from the early 'Gelasian' orders for public penance in Vatican, Reg. lat. 316, with the exception of the probable interpolation discussed above, it is significant that it occurs in a number of orders for private penance. As the provenance and dating of the latter are still very confused, it is not possible to elaborate this statement more than tentatively. However, a pattern seems to emerge from an examination of ten orders for private penance listed and provisionally dated between the early eighth and the mid-tenth century by C. Vogel, most of which are of continental provenance.[155] The triad is absent from eight of these. Its absence from the texts ascribed to the first half of the eighth century may signify that it was less current on the continent during the first rise of private penance. The two texts containing the triad both appear to be of insular origin. The first is the apparently Anglo-Saxon *Poenitentiale Pseudo-Bedae*, dated to the second half of the eighth century; after the priest's interrogation, 'ad ultimum dicendum est confitenti: *multa sunt peccata mea in verbis, in factis, in cogitationibus*'.[156] The second is a briefer, but obviously related *ordo ad dandam poenitentiam* in the *Poenitentiale Sangermanense*, ascribed to the ninth century:

> Confiteatur enim omnia peccata sua quantum recordari potest, et dicat his verbis: *multa sunt peccata mea in verbis, in factis, in cogitationibus*, et inclinet se ad genua sacerdotis.[157]

This penitential was printed by Wasserschleben from a seventeenth-century transcript of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 320 (St. Augustine's, Canterbury, s. x²). Copies of this *ordo* not noted by Vogel occur in a Gellone manuscript printed by Martène (alleged by him to be ninth- or tenth-century)[158] and, most interestingly, in view

[154] No. 14.

[155] *Introduction aux sources*, p. 172.

[156] Wasserschleben, *Bussordnungen*, p. 255 (from manuscripts of s. ix and later). Also ed. H. J. Schmitz, *Die Bussbücher und das kanonische Bussverfahren* (Düsseldorf, 1898), p. 683. Cf. G. Le Bras, 'Pénitentiels', *Dict. de théol. cath.* XII.i (1933), 1169, and Vogel, *Introduction aux sources*, p. 105, n. 12.

[157] Wasserschleben, p. 350. The priest's interrogation (further on) begins 'Peccasti in cogitatione aut in verbo et opere?' (p. 350; cf. Morinus, *Commentarius*, Appendix, p. 15: 'Peccasti in verbo, aut in cogitatione, vel opere' (cf. below, p. 00)). On the transcript see Wasserschleben, pp. vii, 25, n., 49, 87 and 182, n. 1; it is clearly identical with CCCC 320, described in the *Catalogue* by M. R. James (Cambridge, 1911).

[158] *De Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus*, I, 283 (I, vi, vii, vi); cf. Jungmann, *Bussriten*, pp. 158–9 and 177, n. 36.

of Fulda's insular traditions, in a Fulda fragment of the early ninth century, in Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, F III 15e, 10v–11r.[159] It was employed later in two penitential orders in the tenth-century *Fulda Sacramentary;* here the confession was worded differently: 'Multa sunt domine, peccata mea et omnimodis cogitatione locutione et actione perditus sum' and 'Multa quidem et innumerabilia sunt alia peccata mea, quae recordari nequeo, in factis, in dictis, in cogitationibus'.[160] Two prayers in private prayer-books, both clearly abstracted from early orders for private penance, support the conclusion that the triad was a feature of the insular *ordines*: a *confessio sancta penitentis* addressed to God 'et animae meae medico' (confessor)[161] begins with sins 'uerbis uel operibus, uel cogitationibus, uel factis' (*Book of Cerne*) and an *oratio quam dicit sacerdos super poenitentem* in the thoroughly Hiberno-Saxon *Fleury Prayer-Book* contains the words: 'Dimitte ei, Domine, facinora, dimitte peccata omnia in cogitatu, in verbo simul et opere'.[162]

The twenty-sixth of the *Conférences monastiques irlandaises*, whose connection with Irish penance and Irish exegesis has already been pointed out by its editor and by Bischoff,[163] throws light on the association of the triad with the practice of penance in Irish circles:

> Ista dua genera [de serpentibus] ad sensum abent similitudinem in hominibus. Illi prudentes homines quando sapiunt aliquid de veneno male cogitationis in corde, mittunt foras bona confessionis de illas malas cogitationis in corde, postea non venit foras in mala verba nec opera peccandi. Non sic imprudentes homines illi; non curant malas cogitationes crescere sed dilectant illas cogitare et veniunt in mala verba et in opera peccandi, et facit illos mori in morte inferni . . . Si homo mala cogitatione habet in corde suo non dimittat leviter post mundare agros cordis sui; sin autem veniat in verbo et in opere, non potest mundare agros cordis sui sine lavore et dura opera penitentie. Inde devet unusquisque dare confessionem ad alterum qui potest discernere inter bonos et malos, aut sapientem, quam coram familie celi et terre in die judicii.[164]

Probably the dissemination of confessional formulae helped to establish the triad of thought, word and deed in the *Confiteor* of the mass. Writers on the *Confiteor* have often found an immediate

159 Printed with an inaccurate reference in *LRCC* 151–2 (cf. Kenney, rev. Bieler, *Sources*, p. 703). I owe all the above details to Dr. Martin Steinmann of the University Library, Basel, who also points out that the hand is Carolingian, not insular.
160 Jungmann, *Bussriten*, p. 179 and n. 39.
161 Bishop, 'Liturgical Note', p. 246; *Cerne*, no. 8.
162 *PL* 101, 1406–7.
163 David, 'Un recueil de conférences', p. 87; Bischoff, 'Turning-Points', p. 128.
164 David, pp. 83–4.

precursor for it in the penitential literature printed by Jean Morin in 1651 under the name of Egbert of York (d. 766).[165] Wilmart has shown that the attribution was mistaken, and that Morin's source was a complex ritual for penitence in a manuscript written at Nonantola about 850, Rome, BN 2081 [Sessorianus 95], 1–49v.[166] This ritual contains numerous examples of the triad.[167] It is followed by the first extant copy of the large and influential collection of private prayers known as the *Liber de Psalmorum usu*, which was probably compiled in an Italian monastery *c.* 850, possibly at Nonantola itself.[168] This collection includes a large number of insular prayers, as well as more recent continental ones; both classes use the triad freely.[169] Thus this Nonantola manuscript testifies to a rapid spread of the triad in the Carolingian period, particularly in a penitential context. In one of its texts, a direction for private penance which occurs in the penitential section of Sessorianus 95 (6r) but as part of the *De Psalmorum usu* elsewhere, and recurs in one of the tenth-century Fulda penitential orders noted above,[170] the outline of the *Confiteor* and some of its wording may already be seen:

> In primis prosterne te humiliter in conspectu Dei in terra ad orationem, et roga beatam Dei genitricem Mariam, ut ipsa intercedat pro te ad Dominum, cum omnibus sanctis apostolis, martyribus, confessoribus et virginibus; ut Deus omnipotens dignetur tibi dare sapientiam perfectam, et indulgentiam veram, et virtutem animi constantem ad confitendum veraciter ex intimo corde peccata tua; et postea surge, et cum fiducia et vera credulitate

[165] Morinus, *Commentarius,* Appendix, pp. 11–22; J. Bona, *Rerum Liturgicarum Libri Duo,* nov. ed. (Augustae Taurinorum, 1747–53) III, 37 (I, ii, 5); Bishop, 'Liturgical Note', pp. 245–6; H. Leclercq, 'Confiteor', *Dict. d'arch. chrét. et de liturgie* III. ii (1914), 2551–3. Leclercq also traces the *Confiteor* to the *Rule* of Chrodegang of Metz (d. 766); but the relevant passage ('Confiteor Domino, et tibi, frater, quod peccavi, in cogitatione, et locutione, et opere; propterea, precor te, ora pro me') appears not in the early version of his *Rule,* but in a recension found in manuscripts of s. x and later, which is believed to have been compiled at the end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century (*PL* 89, 1067; G. Hocquard, 'La Règle de saint Chrodegang: état de quelques questions', *Saint Chrodegang: communications présentées au colloque tenu à Metz à l'occasion du douzième centenaire de sa mort* (Metz, 1967), pp. 60–1. Cf. Jungmann, *Bussriten,* p. 208). The expanded version of this confession in the *Book of Nunnaminster,* 41r (ed. Birch, p. 97) is an addition, s. x[1] (N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957), p. 309).

[166] *MPJG* 266, n. 5. Morin does not print beyond 39v. Only his first two texts can be attributed to Egbert (cf. Wasserschleben, *Bussordnungen,* pp. 231–33). Sess. 95 is described by G. Gullotta, *Gli antichi cataloghi e i codici della Abbazia di Nonantola,* Studi e testi 182 (Vatican, 1955), pp. 304–23.

[167] Morinus, *Commentarius,* Appendix, pp. 13, 14, 15, 17 (thrice), and 18 (thrice).

[168] *MPJG* 262, 265 and 266. Analysed *ibid.* pp. 267–97. The text of a lost manuscript is printed in *PL* 101, 465–508.

[169] See e.g. *ibid.* 475D; 483A; and *MPJG* 294, no. 90. These are all prayers which do not seem to come in earlier books.

[170] Jungmann, *Bussriten,* p. 179 and n. 39*. Wilmart was thus mistaken in thinking that this part of the text was confined to Italy (*MPJG* 288, nn. 3 and 4, and 289, n. 5).

> dic ei, cui confiteri vis peccata tua: *Mea culpa, quia peccavi nimis in cogitatione, locutione et opere.*[171]

Penitential texts such as this will have given the triad a European currency, until it achieved permanency in the *Confiteor* when this prayer gained a place in the mass in the early eleventh century.[172]

Another precursor of the *Confiteor* was the *apologia sacerdotis*, a private prayer interpolated into the mass with increasing frequency from the beginning of the eighth century onwards.[173] The later examples of this genre often employ the triad in their confession of sin; but in the eighth-century examples, which mostly occur in Gallican sacramentaries and all seem to be Gallican compositions, it is conspicuously absent.[174] It is hard to believe that their writers would not have employed it, had they known it. It first appears, to my knowledge, in the first of a series of *apologiae* in the *Fleury Prayer-Book*. This *apologia* is headed 'Confessio inter missarum solemnia recitanda':

> Suscipe confessionem meam, unica spes salutis meae, Domine Deus meus; gula, ebrietate (*etc.*) . . . ac superbia perditus sum, et omnino cogitatione, locutione, actione, atque omnibus sensibus extinct[u]s; qui justificas impios et vivificas mortuos, justifica me et resuscita me, Domine Deus meus.[175]

This *apologia* reappears in numerous later missals and books of private prayer, including the Sessorianus 95 ritual and the *De Psalmorum usu*.[176] In particular, it recurs in a different form in the earliest surviving *ordo missae* (in the *Sacramentary of Amiens*, s. ix^2) in an *apologia* which Jungmann has described as 'une formule où ressortent déjà les principaux motifs de ce que seront plus tard les *Confiteor*':[177]

> Ante conspectum divine maiestatis tue, Domine, his sanctis tuis confiteor tibi Deo meo et creatori meo, mea culpa, quia peccavi in superbia (*etc.*) . . . et in omnibus vitiis que ex his prodeunt.

[171] *PL* 101, 498; *MPJG* 288, no. 59; cf. Morinus, *Commentarius*, Appendix, p. 13 ('mea culpa quia nimis in cogitationibus, locutione, et opere peccaui').

[172] See J. A. Jungmann, *Missarum Sollemnia: explication génétique de la messe romaine*, Théologie 19–21 (Paris, 1956–8) II, 41 and 48–53.

[173] *Ibid.* II, 40 and 47–8; Bishop, *Liturgica*, pp. 137–9; F. Cabrol, 'Apologies', *Dict. d'arch. chrét. et de liturgie* I.ii (1907), 2591–601.

[174] *Das Sakramentar im Schabcodex M* 12 *sup. der Bibliotheca Ambrosiana*, ed. Dold, pp. 21*–22*; *Missale Gothicum*, ed. Mohlberg, §275; *Bobbio* §483; *Sacramentaire d'Angoulême*, ed. Cagin, §964; also *Stowe*, 13r.

[175] *PL* 101, 1407–8.

[176] Morinus, *Commentarius*, Appendix, p. 14; *PL* 101, 501; *MPJG* 289, no. 64 and n. 2; *LP* 326, 423 and n.

[177] *Missarum Sollemnia*, II, 48; ed. V. Leroquais, 'L'Ordo Missae du sacramentaire d'Amiens (Paris, Bibl. nat. ms. lat., 9432)', *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 41 (1927), 440. This formula is related to that in the *Fleury Prayer-Book* quoted above, p. 100, n. 130, and to the tenth-century Fulda confession quoted above, p. 105. The triad recurs further on at Leroquais, p. 442 (also in Charles the Bald's *Liber Precationum*, ed. Felicianus, pp. 112–3, and many later manuscripts).

> Quid plura? Visu, auditu, olfactu, gustu et tactu et omnino in cogitatione, et locutione et actione perditus sum; quapropter qui iustificas impios, iustifica me et resuscita me de morte ad vitam, Domine Deus meus.

The triad is so common in *apologiae* from this period onwards that it would be superfluous to quote examples. Yet an exception must be made for an instructive example in late ninth- or early tenth-century Irish minuscule in the Graeco-Latin psalter, Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, A VII 3, 2v–3r, which was probably written at St Gall.[178] The *apologia* is entitled 'De conscientiae reatu ante altare'. The central section contains a long enumeration of sins in the Hiberno-Saxon manner:

> Tibi humiliter confiteor, domine deus meus, quia peccaui in celum et terram, coram te et coram angelis tuis sanctis, et coram facie omnium sanctorum, tam per negligentiam mandatorum tuorum et quam malefactorum meorum. *Ego corde, ego ore, ego opere, et omnibus uitiis coinquinatus sum.* Peccaui per superbiam et inuidiam (*etc.*) . . . Peccaui per ebrietatem et per otiosas fabulas. *Peccaui in dictis, in factis, in cogitationibus.* Peccaui per contentiones et rixas (*etc.*) . . . (2v).

The other copies of this *apologia*, some of them earlier than the Irish text, lack the italicised clauses, though they have the flanking phrases.[179] This is obviously a case of interpolation by the Irish text, not omission by the others. Evidently, then, the triad was still felt to be *de rigueur* in Irish circles on the continent.

Conclusion

The evidence presented above points to the conclusion that the widespread use of the formulation *thought, word, deed* in exegetical,

[178] *LRCC* 185–7; facsimile ed. L. Bieler, *Psalterium Graeco-Latinum: Codex Basiliensis A. VII.* 3, Umbrae Codicum Occidentalium 5 (Amsterdam, 1960). On the hand see pp. xii–xiii and xix–xx.

[179] See: (i) *Cerne*, no. 10; (ii) 'Confession des péchés attribuée à saint Patrice', ed. S. Berger, *RC* 15 (1894), 155–9, from Angers, Bibl. munic. 18 (*sic. leg.*), 180v ff. This psalter was written c. 840–50 (V. Leroquais, *Les psautiers manuscrits latins des bibliothèques publiques de France* (Maçon, 1940–1) I, 19 and 24) and is not from Tours, as Berger suggested (E. K. Rand, *Studies in the Script of Tours, I A Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours* (Cambridge, Mass. 1929), p. 203); (iii) *Confessio* 'ex ms. codice . . . ecclesiae S. Gatiani Turonensis annorum c. 800', printed by Martène, *De Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus*, I, 193 (I, iv, XII, vii): (iv) *Apologia* 'in antiquo codice Gellonensi' printed by Martène, I, 150–1 (I, iv, VIII, ix)—from the manuscript mentioned above, p. 100, n. 158 ? ?; (v) *Confessio sancti Augustini* in BL Harley 3016, 73v–74r, an early twelfth-century manuscript of works by Hildebert of Lavardin; (vi) Vatican, Reg. lat. 12 (Bury, *c.* 1050): see Wilmart, 'Prayers of the Bury Psalter', p. 204, no. IX; (vii) *Book of Nunnaminster*, 34r–v (ed. Birch, pp. 84–5). I have not been able to consult (vi); and (vii) is defective.

liturgical, devotional and penitential literature from the second half of the seventh century onwards was due to Irish inspiration. It does not appear to figure in earlier Irish works, those attributed to Columbanus, for instance.[180] In patristic sources it had occurred in contexts dealing with the theme of judgment, so probably the Irish first came across it in this context, either through sub-literary channels, or through the writings of Fathers such as Gregory and 'Ephraem'.[181] This supposition is supported by the fact that the triad is still associated with judgment both in several of the Irish passages quoted above, and also, most interestingly, in three passages in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* (731), all retellings of visions. The Irish background of this vision literature is well-known.[182] According to Bede's narrative, Dryhthelm, a late-seventh-century Northumbrian visionary who later retired to the monastery of Melrose, found a distinction between the kingdom of heaven itself, which 'quicumque in omni uerbo et opere et cogitatione perfecti sunt' have already entered, and the paradise where those who have practised good works but are not perfect wait for the day of judgment to enter the kingdom of heaven.[183] According to another story, which Bishop Pehthelm of Whithorn relayed to Bede, a Mercian layman who died in the time of Cenred (704–9) saw from his death-bed angels who showed him a small book containing his good deeds, and demons who showed him a gigantic book containing his sins, 'quem cum legissem, inuenio (*sic*) omnia scelera, non solum quae opere uel uerbo, sed etiam quae tenuissima cogitatione peccaui, manifestissime in eo tetricis esse descripta litteris'.[184] This reminds one of the already-quoted traditions in pseudo-Anastasius that the soul is judged by the chirograph of its sins in thought, word and deed, and in Gregory that it is judged by information on such sins collected by devils. Bede again reflects such traditions about judgment in his retelling of the early vision of Fursa; in Fursa's *Life* the reader would learn 'quanta fraudis sollertia daemones et actus eius et uerba superflua et ipsas etiam cogitationes *quasi in libro descriptas* replicauerint'.[185] The motif of the books of

[180] There is a threefold scheme of mortification in the *Regula Monachorum* attributed to him which could be related: *Sancti Columbani Opera*, ed. Walker, p. 140.

[181] For insular knowledge of the Greek Ephraem see Bischoff, 'Turning-Points', p. 77 (cf. p. 98). Bishop's account of the influence of the Latin Ephraem ('Liturgical Note', pp. 278–80) needs amplification and correction, which I hope to provide elsewhere.

[182] K. Hughes, 'Evidence for Contacts between the Churches of the Irish and English from the Synod of Whitby to the Viking Age', *England Before the Conquest*, ed. P. Clemoes and K. Hughes (Cambridge, 1971), p. 58; Ingo Reiffenstein, *Das Althochdeutsche und die irische Mission im oberdeutschen Raum*, Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft, Sonderheft 6 (Innsbruck, 1958), pp. 24–5.

[183] *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, p. 494 (v. 12).

[184] *Ibid.* p. 500 (v. 13); cf. Bede's comment, p. 502.

[185] *Ibid.* p. 270 (iii. 19). This passage does *not* occur in Bede's source: *Vita Fursei Prima* in *Acta Sanctorum*, Jan. XVI (1643), pp. 36–41.

men's deeds is found in Scripture (notably *Rev.* XX, 12) and was popularized in apocryphal works.[186] Judgment by books containing thoughts, words and deeds in particular does not occur in any extant apocrypha, as far as I know; but the early Irish, who had a marked predilection for this literature, may have found it in an apocryphon since lost. Finally, another insular Latin example of the triad in the context of judgment occurs in a letter addressed to Boniface *c.* 720;[187] Eangyth, an abbess in Kent,[188] mentions among various troubles:

> non tantum recordatio animarum nostrarum, sed, quod difficilius est et multo gravius, universarum commissarum animarum promiscui sexus et aetatis et multorum mentibus et diversis moribus deserviturae et postea ante sublime tribunal Christi rationem redditurae non solum pro manifestis peccatis gestorum sive dictorum, sed simul pro occultis cogitationibus, quae homines latent, Deo tantum teste . . .

It is easy to see why *thought, word, deed* should have become popular among the Irish. It provided ascetical ethics with an analytical tool less cumbersome than Cassian's popular scheme of eight vices, but no less comprehensive. In its introspective emphasis on the subtler (mental and verbal) aspects of behaviour it harmonised with the Irish *Penitentials'* discrimination with regard to the intentional element in sin[189]. Many writers, of course, had distinguished between thought and word, or between word and deed, or between thought and deed, frequently in the context of hypocritical behaviour, following a line of thought which runs back to the Gospels; but the triad had the advantage of uniting these contrasting pairs, and of doing so within the framework of a favourite Celtic mnemonic form. Ironically, while most Celtic triads proved ephemeral, *thought, word and deed* proved so widely popular that its Irish connections soon became obscure.

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[186] See Albrecht Dieterich, *Nekyia,* 2nd ed. (Leipzig-Berlin, 1913), pp. xi and 126, n. 1; C. Plummer, *Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica* (Oxford, 1896) II, 298; Georg Steindorff, *Die Apokalypse des Elias* (Leipzig, 1899), pp. 150 and 152; M. R. James, *The Testament of Abraham,* Texts and Studies 2, ii (Cambridge, 1892), pp. 72 and 124–5; *Apocryphal New Testament,* p. 534; R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (Oxford, 1913) II, 216.

[187] *S. Bonifatii et Lullii Epistolae,* ed. M. Tangl, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolae Selectae I (Berlin, 1916), no. 14, pp. 22–3.

[188] Cf. *ibid* nos. 105 and 117 on her daughter.

[189] E.g. *Excerpta. . de Libro Davidis,* §§8–9, ed. L. Bieler, *The Irish Penitentials,* Scriptores Latini Hiberniae 5 (Dublin, 1963), p. 70; *Penitential of Finnian,* §3, *ibid.* p. 75. (Note also §1 and 4, and cf. the distinction between sinning 'per cogitationem' and 'facto' in Columbanus's *Penitential,* §§2–3, *ibid.* p. 96). Cf. Kathleen Hughes, *The Church in Early Irish Society* (London, 1966), p. 55 and n. 1: McNally, *Diss.* p. 66.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AB = *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, ed. F. E. Warren, HBS 4 and 10 (London, 1892–5).
Bobbio = *The Bobbio Missal*, facsimile and text, ed. J. Wickham Legg and E. A. Lowe, HBS 53 and 58 (1917 and 1920 for 1919).
CCSL = Corpus Christianorum Series Latina.
Cerne = *The Prayer Book of Aedeluald the Bishop Commonly Called the Book of Cerne*, ed. A. B. Kuypers (Cambridge, 1902).
CLA = E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores* (Oxford, 1934–72). References to vol. II are to the second edition of it.
EIL = *Early Irish Lyrics*, ed. G. Murphy (Oxford, 1956).
Gougaud, *Loricae* = L. Gougaud, 'Étude sur les *loricae* celtiques et sur les prières qui s'en rapprochent', *Bull. d'ancienne litt. et d'arch. chrét.* 1 (1911), 265–81; 2 (1912), 33–41 and 101–27.
HBS = Henry Bradshaw Society.
IMSG = J. Duft and P. Meyer, *The Irish Miniatures of the Abbey Library of St. Gall* (Olten, Berne, Lausanne, 1954).
LP = P. Salmon, 'Libelli Precum du VIIIe au XIIe siècle', *Analecta Liturgica*, Studi e testi 273 (Vatican, 1974), pp. 121-94. Figures refer to the numbered items in the Vatican manuscripts analysed.
LRCC = F. E. Warren, *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church* (Oxford, 1881).
MPJG = A. Wilmart, 'Le Manuel de prières de saint Jean Gualbert', *Revue bénédictine* 48 (1936), 259–99.
PG = J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*.
PL = J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*.
RIA = Royal Irish Academy.
Stowe = *The Stowe Missal, MS. D. II. 3 in the Library of the RIA, Dublin*, facsimile and text, ed. G. F. Warner, HBS 31–2 (1906 and 1915 for 1906).
Thes. = *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, ed. W. Stokes and J. Strachan (Cambridge, 1901-3).

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE *HISPERICA FAMINA*

In recent years there has been a resurgence of interest in the *Hisperica Famina*,[1] and the publication of M. W. Herren's edition of the A-text, with translation,[2] should stimulate further Hisperic studies. Herren has shown that the *HF* are of Irish origin,[3] and argued that they derive from a pagan background, or at least are part of a conscious attempt to preserve the remnants of a pagan culture.[4] He has attempted to date the *HF* to the mid-seventh century, using the *HF's* dependence on Isidore as a *terminus post*,[5] and, following Grosjean, Aldhelm's (*ob.* 709) alleged borrowing from the *HF* as a *terminus ante*.[6] Not all scholars will accept the tenuous evidence that Aldhelm knew the *HF*;[7] when Herren goes on to date the *HF* even more narrowly by reference to the *Lorica* of Laidcenn his assertions are unconvincing.[8] For the time being, it is perhaps safer to say that the *terminus ante* is established by the date of the earliest ms. of the *HF* (Vat. Reg. Lat. 81, ff. 1–12),[9] which is probably ninth century, and hence that the *HF* were composed in Ireland sometime between the seventh and ninth centuries. Scholarly attention to date has focused almost exclusively on philological problems in the *HF*, and little attempt has been made to correlate the picture of cultural life given in the *Famina* with information from other contemporary sources. The present article will attempt to examine the *HF* from the historian's point of view, to see if any further evidence may be adduced concerning the milieu in which the *HF* originated.

[1] F. J. H. Jenkinson, *The Hisperica Famina*, (Cambridge, 1908).
[2] M. W. Herren, *The Hisperica Famina, I: The A-text*, (Toronto, 1974).
[3] Ibid, pp. 32–4, and *passim*.
[4] Ibid, pp. 39–44.
[5] Ibid, pp. 20–2.
[6] P. Grosjean, "Confusa Caligo, Remarques sur les Hisperica Famina", *Celtica*, 3 (1956), pp. 65–7.
[7] See discussion by J. Marenbon, "Les sources du vocabulaire d'Aldhelm," forthcoming in *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi* 41 (1979).
[8] M. W. Herren, "The Authorship, Date of Composition, and Provenance of the So-Called *Lorica Gildae*", *Ériu*, 24 (1973), p. 49ff. See also Herren, (1974), op. cit., pp. 36–7. The *HF* and the *Lorica* do share a very few rare words; however, they are not found in the same order, and it is possible that they are both derived from a common source—such as a glossary of Greek and Hebrew anatomical terms. In any case, Herren's argument that the *HF*, as classroom models of Hisperic diction, *must* have preceded the composition of the *Lorica* is not convincing, as it is equally likely that the classroom texts would have been developed in emulation of the style of some prominent author.
[9] A. Wilmart, *Codices Reginenses Latini*, 1–500, (Vatican, 1937–8), I, p. 179.

The *HF* contain much that is of interest to the historian and archaeologist. The section of the A-text entitled *Lex Diei* is particularly valuable for the glimpse it affords us of daily life. It contains several passages where the application of information from other literary and archaeological sources may help to illuminate problems of interpretation; for example, the problem of the Christianity of the *Famina*. Could the groups of scholars described in the preamble and the *Lex Diei* be monks? Kenney,[10] followed by Herren, thought that they were not. Nevertheless, the scholars in the *Lex Diei* clearly have some sort of clerical status: *ageas astrifero statuite infolas sulco*, "raise your holy headdress to the sky" (A233). Herren comments on the absence of any reference to monastic routine, such as the saying of offices, by noting that "there are few references to piety in the whole of the A-text, and those that there are have a curiously pagan ring to them".[11] In fact, he is able to produce only one such 'pagan' reference, A568–70 (B155–6), but this will not stand up to examination.[12] Further, much early Irish hagiography likewise has a 'curiously pagan ring to it': for example, Columba practices death-divination and proves himself a better magician than Bruide's druids; Brigit communes with animals. These certainly were the production of the monastic schools, and Cogitosus, author of the *Vita Brigidae*,[13] may have been a contemporary of the faminators, if we accept Herren's arguments for a seventh-century date.

Herren finds other evidence of active paganism in the references to 'sacred' oaks. He claims that *almus* almost invariably means 'holy' in the *HF*,[14] and sees in the passage A62–3 a reference to the destruction of pagan sanctuaries.

> Utrum *alma* scindis securibus *robora*,
> uti eo quadrigona densis scemicares oratoria tabulatis? (A62–3)
>
> "Do you hew the 'sacred oaks' with axes
> in order to fashion square chapels with thick beams?"

"Is this not", Herren comments, "a clear reference to the destruction of pagan objects of worship by Christian missionaries and priests? We immediately think of St Boniface in the following century cutting down the sacred oak of the Germans".[15] We may think of St Boniface, and if we do, we will also think that neither he nor the

[10] J. Kenney, *Sources for the Early History of Ireland: I, Ecclesiastical*, (New York, 1929), p. 275.
[11] Herren, (1974), op. cit, p. 39.
[12] See below, note 23.
[13] *Vita Brigidae*, Migne, *PL*, 72, cols. 775–90.
[14] Herren, (1974), op. cit., p. 40.
[15] Ibid.

activity Herren regards as analogous have any relevance to the context of the whole passage, in which the speaker is asking the professions, the crafts, of the group he is addressing.

Another passage which allegedly contains a description of the destruction of sacred oaks is A185–9:

Innumerae frondicomum crebro tramite adeunt saltum turmae,
almaque cudunt frameis robora,
erutas securibus torquent astellas,
edictasque strictis scindunt hornos arietum machinis,
refertaque robustis ansportant plaustra iugis. (A185–9).

"Countless throngs approach the leafy pasture along the crowded path,
and mark the 'sacred oaks' with their knives,
they wrench off the uprooted kindling with their axes,
split the appointed ash trees with wedges,
and sturdy teams carry off the laden carts."

If these were really sacred oaks, the peasants would hardly be assaulting them in this manner; in the Irish annals, the cutting of a sacred tree was an act of war by an enemy army.[16] And it is plain that the activity depicted is the gathering of firewood, of which sacred trees would not be a likely source.

Of the twelve occurrences of *almus* in the A- and B-texts, I can find only one where the context would seem to require the meaning 'holy', A567: *almi gibrarum turmis collocat premia throni*, "[God] establishes for masses of men the rewards of His *holy* kingdom". Yet only five lines earlier in the same section it is used in its CL sense of 'benign'. Indeed, it might be that in A567, which is talking of *premia* in heaven, the well-attested CL meaning 'bountiful' would provide a better reading. It is true that *almus* came to take on the meaning of *sacer* or *sanctus*, attested in numerous glossaries,[17] as Herren states, but it is also true that many of the glossaries give *pulcher* and *clarus* as well as *sanctus* as a meaning.[18] As we have seen, it may also be found in its CL usage. The whole argument for pagan customs based on *almus* is, therefore, misconceived.

If the 'sacred oaks' vanish in smoke, there is still the problem of the brightly coloured clothing described in both the preamble and in *De Plurimis*, which Herren sees as pagan. He writes: "Surely no

[16] *The Annals of Inisfallen*, ed. S. Mac Airt, (Dublin, 1951), p. 165, entry for year 982.

[17] Herren, (1974), op. cit., p. 124, commentary on l. 31.

[18] G. Goetz, *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*, III, 509, 61; IV, 307, 46; IV, 471, 30; V, 263, 64.

Christian monastery or school would deck its teachers and scholars in bright finery".[19] However, we find in the *Acta Sancti Fintani* a description of distinct types of dress worn by two monastic fosterlings, the one brightly coloured and ornate, the other simple and austere.[20]

Indeed, it has been argued that Hisperic Latin is, *per se*, "an attempt to keep the pagan tradition alive through another medium", "a self-conscious attempt to create a specialized diction based upon Latin that could be used for non-Christian themes . . . a hieratic language accessible only to the few . . ."[21] Hisperic Latin is obviously an exercise in erudition, but need there be anything particularly 'occult' or 'pagan' about this? The concept of knowledge as something which in its higher reaches is esoteric, a tradition of arrogance in learning (exemplified in the speakers' attitudes in the preambles) may well be a remnant of paganism, though certainly not confined to Celtic paganism. However, it would also be appropriate in any society, Christian or otherwise, in which knowledge and education were the prerogative of a comparatively small number of people. It is not unknown today. By the same token, there is no evidence in these texts of a self-conscious attempt to preserve information that was exclusive or independent of Christianity. Herren finds it significant that the awakening of nature at the opening of the *Lex Diei* is couched in mythological language, but in fact it is no more than a fertile source of synonyms, a free handling of a common literary *topos*. Given that the 'mythological' words are used in a metonymic sense, such as *anfitridis* for 'sea', there seems to be little awareness of their classical pagan connotation, and even if there were, the classical pagan concepts would have been no less foreign to Irish paganism than Christianity was. In any case, the use of mythological terminology is certainly not absent from Christian writings; *Olympus*, for example, is used by many Late Latin Christian authors as a synonym for Heaven.

The *HF* are not religious texts, but it is a mistake to consider anything which does not have a pious didactic intent to be non-Christian. I disagree with Herren's minimization of the significance of the three references to Christianity in the A-text which are outside the two sections specifically concerned with religious subjects. His approach leads him to minimize also the Christian content of the two

[19] Herren, (1974), op. cit., p. 41.

[20] *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae ex Codice Salmanticensi*, eds. C. de Smedt and J. de Backer, (Edinburgh, 1888), col. 405, 24 (W. W. Heist, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae ex codice olim Salmanticensi nunc Bruxellensi* (Bruxelles, Société des Bollandistes, 1965) = Subsidia Hagiographica, 28 p. 204). One is dressed, ". . . in cuculo iacinteine, cum sagittis porporeis, habens in humeris suis ceraculum cum capitibus ereis, et in pedibus suis habebat ficones ornatos de partico et ere". The other was ". . . in cuculo nigro colore ovium, et in tunica brevi et alba cum ora nigra et in calciamentis vilibus".

[21] Herren, (1974), op.cit, p. 43.

specifically Christian sections: *De Oratorio* and *De Oratione*. The latter section, three times longer in the B-text than in the A-text, contains in the B-version (as Grosjean[22] has pointed out) several scriptural references: the crossing of the Red Sea (B143–6), the changing of the bitter water to sweet (B147–8), Moses striking the rock (B149–150), the three children in the furnace, and Daniel in the lion's den (B151–4). The request for a stout ship in which to sail past the baneful judgement is not, as Herren argues, a pagan allusion, but a Christian one.[23]

In general, Herren seems to have much too rigorous and regularized a conception of early Irish monasticism. By the seventh century the church was assimilated into society. The secular and ecclesiastical parties were interlocked and borrowed from one another, as is reflected in the legislation.[24] There was great variation in the type of monastic observance, from the quasi-eremetical life at monasteries such as the one at Skellig Michael, to the large landed monasteries which allowed for a whole spectrum of religious practices. It is clear that there were abuses; two canons, XVII and XXI, from the so-called Second Synod of St. Patrick, attempt to legislate a strict life for monks, and condemn wandering about from place to place. Canon XVII is of particular relevance to the activity depicted in the preamble and the *Lex Diei:*

> "Monks are those who dwell in solitude without worldly resources, under the power of an abbot or bishop. But they are not monks, as they say, but wandering philosophers . . ."[25]

Unfortunately, the text is imperfect at this point, and a passage describing these *bactroperiti* seems to have been omitted.

As to the possibility that these texts were the production of a school of *filid*, it is very difficult to believe that the native poets were so concerned with Latin learning at this early stage that they would have absorbed and utilized the works of (say) Isidore within a century or so of their completion, or that they would have chosen to expatiate on such themes as prayer or churches. In short, unless we ignore the significant portion of the *HF* which contains religious references, there is no justification for the assertion that these texts were non-Christian, or that Hisperic Latin was cultivated in non-Christian schools.

[22] Grosjean, op. cit, pp. 64–5.

[23] For the strength of the *navigatio* metaphor in the Christian tradition, see J. W. Smit, *Studies on the Language and Style of Columba the Younger* (*Columbanus*), (Amsterdam, 1971), pp. 172–89.

[24] K. Hughes, *Early Christian Ireland: Introduction to the Sources*, (London, 1972) pp. 77–9. Also, see her *The Church in Early Irish Society*, (London, 1966), pp. 127–33.

[25] L. Bieler, *Irish Penitentials*, (Dublin, 1963), p. 191.

But if the *HF* do not reveal for us a world of Irish paganism, many of the customs they describe are nonetheless consonant with what we know of early Irish custom. For instance, the *Famina* incidentally depict some Irish agricultural practices. Lines A68–86, in which the speaker insults his opponent by accusing him of being a rustic, suggest a comparison with the native law of farming.

Hinc mirificum tibi ingenioso libramine palo consultum:

proprigenum natalis fundi irruere solum,
ut agrica robusto gestu plasmaueris orgia.
Nam pantia ruptis astant septa termopilis,
pubescentes pecorea depascunt segetes agmina. (A76–80)

"And so with my natural poise I shall reveal to you a marvellous plan:
rush to the soil of your native farm
to perform your field chores with sturdy motion;
for all your fences have broken gates,
your herds of cattle are grazing on the sprouting crops."

The tract *Bretha Comaithcesa*[26] states that a man is required to build and keep his fences in good repair. Any damage caused by animals trespassing because of faulty fences (as in the lines quoted above) is liable to a fine which is assessed according to the circumstances and the amount of damage caused. There are other allusions in the *HF* to agricultural practices which appear to be of the same sort described in this law tract:

Pantes solitum elaborant agrestes orgium:
caeteri tellatas strictis plasmant fossas trullis,
spinosis densant septa prunis,
lapidias saxea mole glomerant macereas. (A178–81).

"All the rustics busy themselves with their usual work.
Some, trowels in hand, dig earthen ditches,
they make their fences thick with prickly thorns
and heap up stone walls of massive rock."

The fences made 'thick with prickly thorns' may possibly be an allusion to the blackthorn crest which was required on top of a fence.[27] Also relevant in this connection is the following passage from the laws: "There are four kinds of fences which might be required—a trench, a stone wall, a strong fence, a '*felmadh*' fence . . ."[28]

[26] *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, (Rolls Series), (London, 1865–1901), IV, pp. 68–159.
[27] Ibid, p. 71.
[28] Ibid, pp. 73, 77.

References to clothing in the *HF* also accord well with what we know from other sources. One passage in particular provides a very thorough description of the clothing worn by the scholars:

Hinc molliformes artate tolibus trabias,
alboreas rudi bisso pelliceis stipate camisas baltheis,
argenteas fuluis figite lunulas stolis. (A192–4).

"So wrap the soft robes around your limbs,
gird your white shifts of rough linen with leather belts,
fasten silver brooches to your brown stoles."

The two basic articles of clothing in early Ireland seem to have been the *brat*[29] and the *léine*. The latter, according to Shaw,[30] was an "inner garment of the shirt or frock type", not unlike the Roman *tunica*. The usual material was linen, and it possibly had a hood, or at least a substantial collar. The *brat* was usually made of wool (cf. A196 *mollesque lanigero amplexu aptate tapetes:* "put on soft wollen garments"), and was a four-cornered outer garment worn over the *léine*, fastened by a pin or brooch at the shoulder or breast.

The scholars wear some sort of clerical headdress, which they are encouraged to display prominently to avoid being attacked by brigands (A232–7). In the *Lex Dei* there is no mention of the brightly coloured vestments described both in the preamble and the section entitled *De Plurimis*. It might be conjectured that the scholars' clothing was not distinct from that of ordinary people, so that they wore some sort of headdress to mark them out. The headdress would discourage attack, possibly out of respect for or fear of sacerdotal office, possibly because the compensation due for the wounding of a cleric was high.

Another object described in the *HF* known from other sources is the book satchel. The scholars in both the preamble and the *Lex Dei* carry book satchels (A71, 213, 262, B54); they are mentioned in *De Plurimis* (A508), and there is a short section describing their construction. The emphasis placed on these objects is noteworthy; book satchels are used not simply to carry books, but also to impress the rustics, as we learn from a passage in the B-text:[31]

[29] Grosjean conjectured that *pratis*, in the *HF* meaning a cover or spread, was derived from the Irish *brat*. Herren's argument for a supposed derivation from Isidore is unconvincing and is further weakened by the faminators' use of *prata*, 'fields', in its normal sense (B165).

[30] In H. F. McClintock, *Old Irish and Highland Dress*, (Dundalk, 1950).

[31] All my transactions from the B-text are, of course, preliminary and conjectural at this stage.

Densas figite curuanas inter vimin⟨e⟩s
Ut linearem alborei vaporis astaverunt in pariete callem:
Repentinum agrestibus colonis incitaverit spectaculum. (B54–6).

Fix your heavy satchels along the [daub and] wattle
So that they form a linear path of white vapour along the wall:
It shall arouse an unexpected spectacle among the rustic settlers.

This passage has a parallel in A262–4. Book satchels also found their way into Irish folk-lore, hagiography, and parody.[32] Three early Irish book satchels survive,[33] two of them possibly dating from the early Christian period. These were apparently stained black, or dark colours, whereas the book satchels in the A- and B-texts are white.

The *Famina* supplement our picture of Irish architecture. The section *De Oratorio* contains a description of a wooden chapel. No wooden churches from this early period have survived, but there exists one other (roughly) contemporary account of a wooden church, in the seventh century *Vita Brigidae* by Cogitosus. He depicts a far more elaborate edifice than the simple chapel of the *HF*.[34] The round buildings with "high-peaked roofs" (A480) and the "round houses of varied construction" accord well with what we know of Irish dry-stone corbelled buildings.[35] As this type of building continued to be constructed up to the modern period, these references do not help us in dating the *Famina*. The roundhouses of A454 are to be found, according to the *HF*, in a massive walled city (A453). Yet we know that there were no cities or even towns in pre-Viking Ireland. It is possible, therefore, that this is a description of a monastic town. Kathleen Hughes has suggested to me that the town to which the scholars return at the end of the *Lex Diei* (A319–22) is also a monastic settlement, and that the *aedituus* (ms. *editum*) is the hospitaller.[36] Earlier in their day, the scholars obtained their lunch in what is also described as a walled town (A247–8). Herren translates *deversorium* as "inn", but this cannot be correct, for there were no inns (in any commercial sense) in early Christian Ireland. There was, in their place, a highly developed system of hospitality, prescribed in the law tracts, whereby people of a certain status had to supply hospitality of a set standard, dependent upon the status of their guests. Failure to provide hospitality to the appropriate standard lay one open to fine

[32] For example, in the *Vision of Mac Conglinne*, ed. K. Meyer, (London, 1892), the book satchel is mentioned frequently.

[33] J. Waterer, "Irish Book Satchels or Budgets", *Medieval Archaeology*, 12 (1968), pp. 70–82.

[34] Migne, *PL* 72, cols. 789–90.

[35] F. Henry, "Early Monasteries, Beehive Huts, and Dry-Stone Houses in the Neighbourhood of Caherciveen and Waterville, (Co. Kerry)", *PRIA*, 58, Section C, No. 3, (Dublin, 1957).

[36] For a discussion of this person and his functions, see C. Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, (Oxford, 1910), I, p. cxviii, and note 6.

or satire. The *possessor* of this *deversorium* (A251, 271) is possibly to be identified with the *briugu*, "a rich landowner . . . In the *briugu's* hostel, situated as a rule on a high road or in some equally accessible position, unlimited hospitality is dispensed to all persons".[37] The walled town of the passage is, then, probably the *briugu's* homestead, or *ráth*.[38] By comparing the *HF* with the laws, we can see how schematized the law tracts were, and how different things must have been in day-to-day life. The opening section of the B-text (which corresponds with the *Lex Diei* of the A-text) illustrates well the gap between the theory and practice of the provision of hospitality.

Venusti huius castelli mormoreo clangore excusant iccole
Nam vagis assiduo impetu gravantur coloni tormis;
Licet tamen exiguam cum vernia largientur epulam. (B71–3).

The inhabitants of this charming 'little castle' protest
with mumbling clangor
for they are weighed down by wandering crowds with relentless assault;
Nevertheless, they hand out a sparse meal with pleasure.

In the A-text, too, the larder is nearly empty (A276–7).

Customs of hospitality provide benefits other than meals to the scholars. As soon as they arrive, the scholars wash their feet (A259–61); the first duty of a host was to provide this service for his guests.[39] An old tradition alleges that the first satire ever made in Ireland was occasioned by a host's failure to provide facilities for washing.[40] The scholars complete their toilet before departing by washing their hair:

Quislibet egregiam lento sermonum fluxu exigat editricem
Ut aquifluam cinereo propinaverit letheam levitorio
Quatinus spumanti salsi licuminis fluctu
Crinitas elixauerit iaras;
Nam squalorea abumbrat gigram tricaria
Lixis tamen lota accuat domescas:
Iuba spisa acutum restaurat ingeniculum. (B87–93)

Let someone ask the good woman with a slow flood of speech
that she pour a water-flowing draught on the ashy vessel[41]
so that with the frothing flow of salty liquid
it shall have washed the curly locks;
for a squalid head of hair overshadows the head,
yet when washed with water it will sharpen abilities:
the thick mane restores a sharpened wit.

[37] *Críth Gablach*, ed. D. Binchy, (Dublin, 1941), p. 79.
[38] Other grades of society were under obligation to provide hospitality to groups of clerics and scholars, e.g. the *bóaire*. The people described may also have been of this class.
[39] A. T. Lucas, "Washing and Bathing in Ancient Ireland", *JRSAI*, 95 (1965), p. 68,
[40] Ibid.
[41] Possibly derived from Isidore, *Etym.* XX, 8, 4: *lebes*, a type of vessel.

The parallel passage in the A-text is more compact:

> Quislibet comptam exactor poscat editricem
> ut salsas lixae tripudiauerit per cinerem lithias,
> ut crispantes salsugena spumauerint trices paula. (A292–4)

Herren translates:

> "Let some spokesman ask the charming woman
> to make the salty draughts of water jump over the coals
> that the curling flames may spew forth bits of salt".

He thinks that the activity being described is the dousing of a fire, done with sea-water to conserve the supply of fresh water. However, I think that the same activity is going on here as in B87–93, and would translate:

> Let some spokesman ask the charming woman
> to make the salty rivers of water dance through the ashes
> that the curly hair may foam with salty bits.

Herren takes *trices* metaphorically as "flames", and appears to have used this as the starting point for his interpretation of the passage; but it is simply the Greek θρίξ, 'hair', and there is no need to take it in any but its literal sense. This activity of mixing water with ashes sounds like the process of making lye. The use of lye as a detergent is well attested in many Irish sources,[42] and it is interesting to note that the Old Irish word for a vegetable lye, *folcad*, is the same as the word for a headwashing. A passage cited by Lucas demonstrates the dual meaning of this word: *an luaith do chur ar folcadh fuinnsion agus an ceann d'fholcadh as* "to put the ashes in a lye made of ashtree ash and to wash the head in it".[43]

In addition, a few miscellaneous points might be briefly noted. The practice of attaching iron hobbles to horses at night (A315) is also mentioned in the tract *Bretha Comaithcesa*. The A-text refers to both wooden and metal vessels for storing water and cooking (A326–33). Although there is much literary evidence for the use of metal vessels, there is very little archaeological evidence. There are two types of metal vessels frequently referred to, the *coire* and the *scaball*, but the difference between the two is unknown. The *coire* is usually translated as 'cauldron' and was a bronze cooking pot of large size. It was a prestige possession.[44] This accords well with the vessel in A333.

[42] Lucas, op. cit., pp. 66, 90ff.
[43] Ibid, p. 97.
[44] Ibid, p. 83.

To draw these various points together, there is no evidence to substantiate the argument that the *HF* are the product of a pagan culture; they reveal a Christianized but distinctively Irish culture which, unfortunately for the historian, cannot be precisely dated to the mid-seventh century. This article has attempted to show, on the other hand, that the *HF* are a rich source of information about early Irish culture and that there is more in them to interest scholars than merely curious vocabulary.

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HONOUR AND STATUS IN SOME IRISH AND WELSH PROSE TALES

Most Irish and Welsh prose tales contain incidents which turn upon considerations of honour and status. Some of these incidents are apt to strike the modern reader as strange and inexplicable: men and women behave in ways which appear not merely foolish but unintelligibly foolish; they appear to be driven by forces which have a strength far beyond that which might rationally be allowed. Then, in other incidents, the same considerations of honour and status appear to operate in a straightforward and satisfying way. The temptation is to dismiss the apparently unintelligible as intrinsically irrational, and then to proceed further and regard this irrationality as part of the attraction of the stories: they may be thought to have a strange and primitive charm. I hope in this paper to drive a few nails into the coffin of any such approach to medieval Irish and Welsh prose literature, to argue that these strange incidents are entirely rational, once certain facts about Irish and Welsh society have been accepted and understood, and that the stories themselves gain very considerably in power once one appreciates the social idiom according to which they have been composed or in which they have developed.[1]

The distinction between honour and status, and also the close links between them, must be borne in mind. Honour is opposed to shame: they are the publicly declared valuation put upon a person by those who know him. Honour or shame are not merely two opposing valuations, two opinions of a person generally held throughout his range of acquaintance; they must be publicly declared in some way or another. This may be, but need not be, by verbal praise or satire. It may also be declared by ritual and symbolic action. The public verdict once given, the person upon whom it has been given may be required to mark his recognition of the verdict by conforming his own behaviour to the valuation put upon him. He may be required to act as an honoured or a shamed person. Status, on the other hand, implies a hierarchy of social ranks within which individuals have their place. It implies systematic social differentiation using some general scheme of valuation according to occupation, wealth or whatever it

[1] This paper was read in University College, Dublin, and I am grateful to those who made suggestions for its improvement, especially Próinséas Ní Chatháin and Professor P. MacCana.

may be. Honour and status are distinct, for an egalitarian society may have a strongly developed sense of honour and shame; where they co-exist they are determined by different criteria: for example, sexual conduct, often a crucial criterion of honour, especially for women, is normally irrelevant to status. On the other hand there is also some interaction between honour and status: in an aristocratic society, the nobility may have different standards of honour, either more exacting or based on different criteria. Some occupations may be considered intrinsically shameful and not merely of low status.

There is also one special form of status distinction which is of importance in analysing some Welsh stories: this may be called relative status. A particular situation may imply that two people, who may for most purposes have the same rank, are in a position of inferior and superior in relationship to each other. The relative ranking may last no longer than the duration of the particular incident; it may not be defined in terms of status; but in some societies and some circles it may be so defined.

The first of the Four Branches of the Mabinogi, *Pwyll*, is notably sensitive to relative status. There are three sub-tales in *Pwyll*: first, the story of the insult given by Pwyll to Arawn king of the Otherworld and the reparation done by Pwyll for the insult; secondly, the story of the meeting of Pwyll and Rhiannon and the contest between Pwyll and Gwawl fab Clut for the hand of Rhiannon; and, thirdly the story of the birth and abduction of Pryderi, the false accusation of murder put upon Rhiannon and the discovery of Pryderi's identity by Teirnon and his wife.

The existence of a set of rules governing the use of titles in dialogue and also determining the question of who should speak first is revealed by the conversation between Pwyll and Arawn at their meeting.[2] Pwyll has gone hunting and his hounds have run across another pack in pursuit of a stag. The other pack kills the stag, but Pwyll drives them off and gives the stag to his own hounds. There is probably a point of law at stake here. If hounds give chase to an animal then they have a prior claim to it even if other hounds appear subsequently and succeed in killing it. This prior claim is only defeated if the second pack of hounds belongs to the king.[3] In our case Pwyll's hounds have neither been hunting the stag before the other pack found it, nor have they killed the stag. But they are the hounds of the king. The legal text would not justify Pwyll since his hounds did not kill the stag. Yet the principle that the king's hunting may over-ride the normal

[2] Cf. R. L. Thomson in the introduction to his edition, *Pwyll Pendevic Dyvet* (Dublin, 1957), p. xxi.

[3] *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*, ed. A. Owen (London, 1841) vol. ii, pp. 6–8 (IV.1.19): *Damweiniau Colan*, ed. D. Jenkins (Aberystwyth, 1973), p. 3, §22.

rights enjoyed by his subjects when they are hunting could, if carried a little further than the legal text would warrant, justify Pwyll's action. This is to say, the principle might justify Pwyll if only the owner of the other pack were not himself a king. In that case Pwyll would not have a superior and over-riding claim. But Pwyll, of course, is hunting within his own kingdom of Dyfed and is thus initially entitled to assume his superiority to all other claimants. Once he has been accused Arawn of boorishness, however, the question of relative status becomes crucial, and this is the issue taken up in the dialogue.

Arawn opens by addressing Pwyll as *unben*. It soon becomes apparent that *unben* is a title used by a man who wishes to be courteous but who does not wish to acknowledge superiority of status.[4] Both Pwyll and Arawn use it to each other in the first part of the conversation before Pwyll discovers Arawn's rank. Hafgan uses it to Pwyll when the latter is in the guise of Arawn: Hafgan knows that Pwyll is not Arawn, but does not know who he in fact is. *Unben* is polite but non-committal. "*A unben*" says Arawn to Pwyll in opening the exchange, "I know who you are and I do not wish you well". "Yes," replies Pwyll, "and perhaps you are of such rank that you should not wish me well." It is clear that a rule existed requiring the inferior in rank to greet the superior first. Neither Pwyll nor Arawn greets the other until Pwyll discovers Arawn's rank:

> "I do not know", says Pwyll, "who you are".
> "I am a crowned king in the land from which I come" replies Arawn.
> To which Pwyll's response is to address Arawn as *arglwyd* and to greet him:
> "*Arglwyd*", he says "good day to you".

If *unben* is non-committal *arglwyd* is an acknowledgement of superior rank.[5] His subjects address Pwyll as *arglwyd*; Gilfaethwy addresses his elder brother Gwydion as *arglwyd urawt*, but Gwydion addresses Gilfaethwy as *gwas* or *eneit*. When Pwyll, in the guise of Arawn, has defeated Hafgan and thereby established Arawn's claim to be the sole ruler of Annwn, he is addressed as *arglwyd* and addresses his retainers as *gwyrda*. *Gwas*, *eneit* and *gwrda* are all counterparts to *arglwyd* though they do not all mean the same thing.

As a *brenhin corunawc*, crowned king, Arawn is Pwyll's superior in rank. The only other clear case of a crowned king in the Four Branches

[4] *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi* (PKM), ed. Ifor Williams (Cardiff, 1930), 2.7, 11, 13, 20; 5.25; 6.1; 25.12; 50.2 (references are to page and line).
[5] e.g. PKM 2.24,27; 6.8; 8.7,13; 9.4,18,25; 68.2.

is Bendigeidfran who is *brenhin coronawc ar yr ynys hon, ac ardyrchawc o goron Lundein*, 'crowned king over this island and exalted by the crown of London[6]. A lord of Dyfed, so we may assume, is not a crowned king.

A further notable aspect of this passage is the use of the question *pwy wytti?* "who are you?" The question does not always ask in the first place for a person's name, but for his rank. When Pwyll says to Arawn *ny wnn i pwy wytti* "I do not know who you are", Arawn replies *brenhin corunawc wyf i* "I am a crowned king". His name is only given in response to a further question. When, therefore, Arawn begins the conversation by saying, "*A unben*, I know who you are, and I do not wish you well", he is, first, using a form of address, *a unben*, which is non-committal on the question of relative status, and second, saying that he knows Pwyll's rank and yet will not greet him as an inferior should greet a superior. Hence Pwyll's response is the natural inference: "Yes, and perhaps you are of such rank that you should not", or more literally "that it (the rank) should not".[7] The only natural interpretation of Arawn's opening shot was that it was a claim to superior relative status. The identification of rank and person is shown not merely by the meaning of the question *pwy wyt ti?* but also by the curious expression "perhaps you are of such rank that it should not (wish me well)". A man's rank is his *persona*.

The standard way in PKM to open a conversation is for the inferior to begin with a *kyuarch gwell* and the superior to respond by wishing him *graessaw Duw*.[8] The usual *kyuarch gwell* is "Arglwyd, dyd da it"; and the usual *graessaw Duw* is "Duw a ro da it a graessaw wrthyt". In *Branwen* there is an example of an older formula for the *kyuarch gwell*: "Arglwyd ... henpych guell".[9] This is also the formula found, with typically flamboyant embellishments, in *Culhwch ac Olwen* (WM 458.36–459.9), and it seems to be reflected in the term for such a greeting, *kyuarch gwell*. Apart from the distinction between the two greetings on grounds of status, it may also have been the rule for the guest to begin with a *kyuarch gwell* and the host to respond with a *graessaw Duw* (*Breudwyt Ronabwy*, 3.4). There is no trace of a *graessaw Duw* in *Culhwch ac Olwen*: one would not expect it at WM 477.6–8 or 487.13–14 (Yspydaden and Wrnach are the hosts) but one would

[6] PKM 29.1–3; cf. *Llyfr Iorwerth*, ed. A. William (Cardiff, 1960), p. 59, §90. The assumption seems to be that there were no crowned kings in Wales. The illustration reproduced on p. 751 of vol. ii of Owen's *Ancient Laws* (from Peniarth MS 28) is likely to be a copy of an English portrait of a crowned king.

[7] cf. the variant RM 2.12 and Sir Ifor William's note *ad loc.*

[8] PKM 2.8,24; 12.15; 13.29–14.1; 16.8–11; 35.18; 39.18–19; 61.21–22; 62.17–19; 63.9–10; 70.14–16; 74.23; 78.21–23; 80.14–15; 81.27–28; 85.4–6. Cf. *Breudwyt Ronabwy*, 3.4; 6.21–23; 12.13–20; 13.15–17; 14.13–14; 16.9–10; 17.8–9; *Breudwyt Maxen* WM 185.32–33; 186.17–18; 187.7–8.

[9] 39.18–19.

at 458.36–459.9, where Arthur replies "Poet gwir dyw unben. Henpych gwell titheu". Both sides use the same formula, *henpych gwell*: the distinction in *Culhwch ac Olwen* is thus solely in the order of speaking whereas in PKM it is also a matter of different formulae.[10]

The author of PKM is capable of composing dialogue which is not simply a series of moves in a game whose rules are a system of status. Once Pwyll has discovered Arawn's rank and has got Arawn to explain how he may obtain a formal reconcilation, they both cease to use titles of status in their conversation. Once the situation has been clarified and good relations are in prospect there seems to be no need to mark awareness of relative status.

Furthermore, the author of PKM is also capable of making his characters vary their use of titles according to the niceties of their relationships. This can be well illustrated from the second of the two sub-tales of *Pwyll*, the story of how Pwyll met Rhiannon and the contest between Pwyll and Gwawl fab Clut for her hand in marriage.[11] One of the men of the court says to Pwyll that if a prince should sit upon *gorssed Arberth* he would either suffer hurt or loss or see some strange thing. Pwyll sets off and sits down on the *gorssed*. They then see a woman of noble dress riding along the high road. All efforts to catch up with her and discover who she is fail that day and the next. The third day Pwyll himself tries to overtake her, but though he has chosen the sprightliest of his horses he has as little success as the others. Finally he cries out "*A uorwyn* (he presumes she is unmarried) for the sake of the man you love most wait for me". "I will wait gladly", she replied, "and it would have been better for the horse had you asked some time ago". Pwyll, without having discovered either name or rank, then addresses her as *arglwydes*.[12] She uses no title for him at first until he asks her "Ac a dywedy di ymi pwy wyt", "and will you tell me who you are". She then replies "Dywedaf, arglwyd . . . Riannon, uerch Heueyd Hen, wyfi . . ." "I will tell you, *arglwyd*, I am Rhiannon daughter of Heueyd Hen"[13]. From this point until the end of the conversation Pwyll never again uses the title *arglwydes* while Rhiannon uses *arglwyd* twice.[14] At the beginning of the conversation Pwyll adopts the position of relative inferior, partly perhaps out of courtesy, but also partly out of a recognition that at that particular moment she is on top.

[10] The existence of a clear-cut pair of formulae in PKM suggests that there is something wrong with the text at PKM 78.21–23 and 85.4–6 (cf. RM 69.13; 74.23–24). In the sentence *kyuodi a oruc Aranrot yn y erbyn y raessawu, ac y gyuarch guell idaw*, it looks as though Aranrot acts the parts of both superior and inferior, and in the wrong order.

[11] PKM 8.27–19.10.

[12] 12.13,18.

[13] 12.22–24.

[14] 13.6,9.

A clearer case of the use of titles to mark short-lived shifts in relative status comes a little later in the same story. Pwyll and Rhiannon have fixed a day for the marriage feast at the court of Heueyd Hen. The day has come and they have finished eating when in there comes a young man kingly in appearance.[15] He wishes well to Pwyll and his companions. Pwyll replies, "Cressaw Duw wrthyt, eneit, a dos y eisted", "the greeting of God to you, *eneit*, and come and sit down". *Eneit* is a term of address used by superiors to inferiors when relations are good.[16] The man refuses however, to sit down and declares himself to be a petitioner. He addresses Pwyll as *arglwyd*. Pwyll, open-hearted and unsuspecting, promises him anything in his power to obtain. Rhiannon exclaims in horror, and Pwyll, sensing that he may have blundered, addresses her as *arglwydes* while declaring that he has made his promise in the presence of noblemen. The petitioner then reveals his petition: he asks for Rhiannon as his bed-fellow that night and the marriage feast to be celebrated between her and himself. In the conversation that follows Rhiannon explains to Pwyll just how foolish he has been. In his replies he addresses her as *arglwydes*. She, on the other hand, uses no term of address to him. Not until, eventually, all has turned out well does Rhiannon address him again as *arglwyd*.[17]

If we admit that the author of the Four Branches uses his terms of status with finesse and accuracy, then a particular passage later in *Pwyll* appears puzzling.[18] Teirnon, lord of Gwent Is Coed and his wife are childless. Each first of May he loses a foal which just disappears. One night Teirnon mounts guard. When the foal is seized by a huge claw he hacks at the monster's elbow. The monster flees making an immense row, and Teirnon gives chase. He returns and finds by the door a child. Teirnon and his wife agree to pass the child off as their own but, as he grows older, they hear the story of how Rhiannon lost her child the night after its birth and how the attendant women swore that she had killed it. Teirnon notices the resemblance between the boy and Pwyll. They decide to take the boy back to his parents and so free Rhiannon from the penance which has been enjoined upon her. This penance was to sit by the mounting-block outside the court of Arberth and to tell all who might not have heard of it the story

[15] 13.24ff.

[16] 14.1,8; 15.20, 25; 16.21; 25.17; 42.19,26; 50.4; 57.28; 68.3,10.

[17] Similarly Arawn addresses his wife as *arglwydes* at 7.24 and 8.1 when he has to explain to her who has been sharing her bed for the past year. Llwyt uab Kil Coet makes incessant use of *arglwyd* when talking to Manawydan until he disguises himself as a bishop whereupon Manawydan addresses him, once only, as *arglwyd escop* (note the adaptation of the *kyuarch gwell* at 63.9: "arglwyd escop" heb ef, "dy uendith"). A bad conscience or evil intention is a stimulant to use of *arglwyd*; for another example, Blodeued at 87.9,19,23,25, as she prepares Lleu's death.

[18] 22.1ff.

of the boy and to offer to carry all guests and foreigners to the court on her back.[19]

Now, when Teirnon and the boy reached the court they saw Rhiannon sitting by the mounting-block. She offered to carry them and they refused. The terms Teirnon used to Rhiannon were *gwreicda* and *eneit*.[20] The first corresponds to the term *gwrda* used by an *arglwyd*, such as Teirnon, to his retainers.[21] The second, as we have seen, is used by a superior to an inferior when he wishes to be friendly.[22] When they had entered the court and had been welcomed by Pwyll they told Pwyll and Rhiannon the whole story. Then Teirnon turned to Rhiannon and said, "and you see there your son, *arglwydes*, and whoever uttered a falsehood against you did wrong."[23] Now why is it that Teirnon first addresses Rhiannon as *gwreicda* and *eneit* and only subsequently as *arglwydes*? He is portrayed as a noble and courteous man: and this is borne out by the way he and his wife use the terms *arglwyd* and *arglwydes*. Normally they are quite informal to each other, but at the moment of decision when they decide to take the boy as their own, since she is childless, he begins by addressing her as *arglwydes*, and she uses *arglwyd* to him.[24] In that passage, they combine without tension solemnity and tenderness. Why then does Teirnon use the terms *gwreicda* and *eneit* to Rhiannon? He knows who she is; he knows that she is innocent; and yet he uses language appropriate to someone addressing an inferior. Only when he has publicly proclaimed her innocent does he address her as *arglwydes*.

Rhiannon is not the only woman in PKM to be wrongfully punished. Branwen is driven to act as a cook because Matholwch's foster brothers and councillors took advantage of public whispering about the insult he had suffered from Efnisien to compel Matholwch to put her away and to sever relations with Britain.[25] Eventually she sends a message carried by a starling to Bendigeidfran her brother, and the host of the island of Britain sets off for Ireland. Matholwch's swineherds see the

[19] 21.21–28. On the nature of the penance B. F. Roberts BBCS xxiii (1970) 323-27.

[20] 25.15, 17.

[21] 5.13; 6.3,5; 65.8; 82.12; 92.1. Similarly *gwr*: 9.16; 33.28; 34.13; 41.24; 70.4; 71.12; 76.25. *Gwas* on the other hand is used to a young, presumably unmarried, man or boy: 10.23 to the person described as a *makwyf* at 10.25; 11.25 uncertain but perhaps the same person. *Gwas*, therefore, in this use, stands to *morwyn* as *gwr* to *gwreic* and *gwrda* to *gwreicda*. Note that Matholwch, at least once he has been married to Branwen, addresses Bendigeidfran as *arglwyd* (34.16; 35.1,10; 36.22,25) and is addressed by Bendigeidfran as *gwr* (34.13). I take this to be a relationship established by the marriage: cf. OW *dauu* gl. *cliens* (Ox.1), MW and ModW *dawf* 'son-in-law'. Matholwch has not, at this stage, done homage to Bendigeidfran (cf. 42.2).

[22] Above, n. 16. But at 42.19,26 it is used by a Gwydel to Efnissyen: this I take to be derogatory

[23] 26.2–3.

[24] 23.2,3,6,8,10. On p. 22 they use no words denoting status. At 23.24,28; 24.3, she uses *arglwyd* when making a request.

[25] 37.20 ff.

host approaching and go to warn their king that something strange is on the sea like a great mountain and a forest, all on the move. Matholwch tells them to ask Branwen what it may be. Messengers are sent to her and they say to her: "*Arglwydes*, what do you suppose that is?" She replies, "though I be not an *arglwydes* I know what that is".[26] The humble attitude of the messengers cannot change the situation: she is not an *arglwydes* for she has been dishonoured and has been stripped of the characteristics of high rank[27]. In such circumstances it is boorish flattery to address her as *arglwydes*. Public dishonour cannot be undone so easily. Similarly with Rhiannon: Teirnon cannot address Rhiannon as *arglwydes* until he has publicly vindicated her innocence. Rhiannon is in a position which is intrinsically shameful, and to address her as *arglwydes* in such circumstances would argue moral and social blindness in the speaker.

The author of PKM is using the rules of a complex system of honour and status in which the use of titles of status is responsive to changes in the situation of the speakers. The rules allow for a degree of flexibility in the recognition of status but not for turning a blind eye to uncomfortable fact. In particular, dishonour implies that high status becomes inoperative, without practical consequence, until the dishonour has been undone. Branwen, of course, remains of royal descent, the sister of a crowned king, but she is not an *arglwydes* until her public shaming has been amply redressed. If one remembers the close relationship, amounting at times to virtual identity, between a man's rank and his public persona, so that the question "who are you?" can mean "of what rank are you?", then the devastating consequences of public shame are clear: as shame deprives high status of practical value so does it humiliate a man's whole social personality: he ceases to be the person he was. This emphasises the point of the term *wyneb* "face" as used for honour and *wynebwerth* "face-value", the term for the value put upon honour in virtue of status. This last point requires explanation: *wyneb* is honour and not status: yet *wynebwerth* 'face-value' is determined by status. The reason for this is that public shame destroys the value of status and hence wrongful insult must be compensated according to status.

In some Irish tales there are even more puzzling problems about the effect of honour and status. The most puzzling of all is *Fingal Rónáin* 'the kin-slaying of Rónán'[28]. The main part of the story up to the death of Mael Fothartaig, Rónán's son, proceeds in five stages. In the first, Rónán, king of Leinster, is left a widower, and after a

[26] 40.2–4.

[27] *Cam* and *codyant* have been done to her, 41.11–12.

[28] *Fingal Rónáin and other stories*, ed. D. Greene (Dublin, Med. & Mod. Irish Series, vol XVI, 1955). References are to line nos. of this edition.

long time decides to remarry. His choice is the daughter of Echaid, king of Irish Dál Ríata. Mael Ḟothartaig opposes his choice on the grounds that a young girl is not suitable for an old man, but Rónán has his way and marries the girl. In the second the girl makes approaches to Mael Ḟothartaig by sending her maidservant to ask him to sleep with her. Neither the daughter of Echaid nor her maidservant is named in the story. The maidservant does not dare give the message for fear of being killed by Mael Ḟothartaig and the daughter of Echaid then threatens to have her killed. While Mael Ḟothartaig and his foster brothers, Dond and Congal, are playing *fidchell*, the maidservant again attempts to give her message but is overcome by shame. This they perceive and Mael Ḟothartaig leaves. Thereupon she explains her message to Dond and Congal. Congal replies that she should keep quiet or she would be killed. He will, however, if she so wishes act as intermediary for her rather than for the daughter of Echaid, and so the maidservant becomes Mael Ḟothartaig's mistress. The daughter of Echaid then threatens her again with death, and she subsequently breaks down in the presence of Mael Ḟothartaig and the whole thing comes out. Mael Ḟothartaig swears to protect her and also swears that he would rather be burnt to a cinder than have anything to do with the wife of Rónán.

The third stage now begins with Mael Ḟothartaig going into exile in Scotland in order to avoid the daughter of Echaid. The Lagin receive the news badly, accuse Rónán of having driven his son into exile and threaten him with death if Mael Ḟothartaig does not return. He returns *via* Dún Sobairche, the capital of the Irish Dál Ríata, where they reproach him for not sleeping with their daughter. "It is to you we have given her" they say, "and not to that old boor". Mael Ḟothartaig receives this declaration with gloom.

With the fourth stage matters reach a crisis. Mael Ḟothartaig again sleeps with the maidservant and she is again threatened with death by the daughter of Echaid. She tells Mael Ḟothartaig of the threat. He takes counsel with Congal his foster brother who promises to keep the daughter of Echaid at bay provided that Mael Ḟothartaig gives him the two hounds Doíllín and Daithlend, the best hounds in Leinster. Mael Ḟothartaig agrees without hesitation. Congal's tactics are as follows: he tells Mael Ḟothartaig to go hunting the next day on the side of a mountain, and he expects that the daughter of Echaid will send her companion again to arrange a tryst. Congal will then see her off. Her companion tells her that Mael Ḟothartaig is going hunting on the side of the mountain; and the next day the daughter of Echaid and her servant set off for the mountain. They find Congal barring their way. He proceeds to insult and accuse the daughter of Echaid:

"Where are you off to, you whore?", said Congal.

"It is not honourable for you to go about on your own, unless you go to meet a man. Go to your house and take a curse."[29]

Congal takes her home, but she is not disposed of so easily. She comes out again and Congal again bars the way and is obliged to insult and accuse her more vehemently than before; and then he takes a whip to her and forces her to return to her house. She threatens Congal with death.

In the fifth stage she changes her plan. She is now intent upon revenge. Mael Ḟothartaig remains outside when all have entered the king's hall that evening. Rónán asks after him and she then accuses him of attempting to get her to sleep with him, and Congal of aiding Mael Ḟothartaig in his scheme. Rónán replies:

"A curse upon your mouth, evil woman", said Rónán "you have uttered a falsehood" (*is gó duit*).[30]

Her reply is, in effect, to appeal to an ordeal by verse-capping. Mael Ḟothartaig is to sing a half quatrain and she is to reply by singing the other half. If she can make it into a quatrain which accuses Mael Ḟothartaig, she has succeeded. For a time she does not succeed, but one evening Mael Ḟothartaig comes into the hall and dries his legs by the fire, Congal with him. Mael Ḟothartaig's jester Mac Glass is performing his tricks and he says, for the day is cold:

It is cold up against the whirlwind
for the man who herds the cattle of Aífe.

The cattle of Aífe is the name for the rocks on the mountain-side where Mael Ḟothartaig had gone hunting the day Congal insulted her. She then replies:

"Listen to this Rónán. Sing it again."
It is cold up against the whirlwind
for the one who herds the cows of Aífe.

And she then sings the other half of the quatrain:

It is useless herding,
without cows, without anyone who loves.

And she then interprets the verse:

"That is, not only did I not come, you could not bring the cows with you."

To which Rónán replied:

"*Is fír a fecht-sa*" "It is true this time."

Rónán then gets his champion to kill Mael Ḟothartaig and Congal and he goes on to kill Mac Glass for good measure. Mael Ḟothartaig is sitting on the ground dying and Rónán reproaches him:

[29] 90–92.
[30] 117.

"It was a shameful thing for you, that you did not find a woman to solicit except my wife."
To which Mael Ḟothartaig replies:

"That is a wretched deception, Rónán, which has been put upon you, the killing of your only son for no fault. By your rank and by the tryst to which I go, the tryst with death, I no more thought of having intercourse with her than I would with my mother, and she has been soliciting me from the time she came to this country, to the point that Congal took her back three times so that she might not reach me. Congal committed no offence worthy of death."[31]

Two main questions beg for an answer. First, why did Mael Ḟothartaig feel compelled to go into exile because of the daughter of Echaid? Why could he not just tell her that there was nothing doing? Secondly, why did Rónán accept such a patently absurd method of proof as an ordeal by verse? He had immediately rejected her accusation against Mael Ḟothartaig. Yet he was persuaded by an obscure, riddling quatrain, and a scarcely less obscure explanation, though she had previously failed to provide a verse even as convincing as the one that finally succeeded.

The answer that I propose for both these questions depends upon the supposition that the need to preserve one's honour was, for the intended audience of the story, a consideration of over-riding power. How this might be I shall discuss later.

First, it looks as though the audience can assume that the daughter of Echaid threatens to use means which will more or less compel Mael Ḟothartaig to accept her advances. As Derdriu in *Longes mac nUislenn* and Gráinne in *Tóraigheacht Dhiarmada agus Ghráinne* compel Noísiu and Diarmaid to accept their advances by threatening them with shame and disgrace if they do not[32], so it seems, does the daughter of Echaid threaten Mael Ḟothartaig. It is noticeable that her maidservant runs the risk of being killed if she presents the message to Mael Ḟothartaig, though when she merely reveals what her mistress is intending, after being questioned by Mael Ḟothartaig, she receives a promise of protection.[33] It is one thing to give the message, quite another to reveal what the message would have been had it been delivered. To give the message would, therefore, have been to do something with far more dangerous and powerful consequences than simply informing Mael Ḟothartaig of the daughter of Echaid's desires. The message was not merely the communication of information but rather an act which would decisively alter the possible relation-

[31] 122–152.
[32] *Longes mac nUislenn*, ed. Hull, §6; *Tóruigheacht Dhiarmada agus Ghráinne*, ed. N. Ní Shéaghdha, p. 10.
[33] FR 28–30, 38–39, 51–52.

ships between Mael Ḟothartaig and his step-mother, and hence his father.

It is also noticeable that as soon as the maidservant has told Mael Ḟothartaig what is afoot, the latter resolves to avoid the daughter of Echaid[34]. If he is not to comply with her wishes, he must, so it seems, avoid her presence and so ensure that she cannot say or do anything decisive. It is apparently not open to Mael Ḟothartaig to send the maidservant back with a message to the effect that he will have nothing to do with her, nor is it open to him to reject her in person. It is preferable to go into exile rather than encounter the daughter of Echaid. It is the face-to-face meeting which must be avoided, and it therefore follows that the daughter of Echaid could say or do something to Mael Ḟothartaig which would have disastrous power. It seems probable that this would be something similar to what Derdriu says to Noísiu and Gráinne to Diarmaid, an unavoidable threat to the man's honour.

It can hardly be that Mael Ḟothartaig is only concerned to avoid the shame which would be caused to his father if the daughter of Echaid were to make public advances to her step-son. There is no evidence that the maidservant was expected to deliver the message in public; on the contrary, the daughter of Echaid expects it to be easier for her maidservant to deliver the message once the latter has become Mael Ḟothartaig's mistress.[35] Presumably she means that this would give her the opportunity to deliver the message in private. Admittedly a threat to honour implies a threat of publicity, but publicity would be a threat and not a necessary pre-condition for the delivery of the message. The power of the threat may be a matter of literary convention, but it may also have some grounds in actual custom. It is perhaps relevant that a king cannot himself deny having fathered a child; he must have others to give testimony for him.[36] Yet the king's oath would normally be superior to that of any woman. If a woman's utterance had unusual power here, so also may it have had in the situation which threatened Mael Ḟothartaig.

If this is not an entirely serious threat, the story must fall flat on its face, since it would then have a gaping hole in the plot. Mael Ḟothartaig's reactions would become exaggerated and ridiculous. But the man who gave the story its present form was a master of his trade: this is plain from the deft and powerful cross-references and echoes in the story, above all from the superb stroke by which he has Rónán sing a lament for his son which begins with the very

[34] 54–55.
[35] 42–43.
[36] *Crith Gablach*, ed. Binchy, lines 533–35.

quatrain used by the daughter of Echaid to persuade him of his son's guilt.

There is also one small point before we turn to consider the basis of the story. The references to the Cows of Aífe are not made at all clear in the story itself: apparently the intended audience knew what was meant. I take it that it was a sufficient hint for the daughter of Echaid to be told by her maidservant that Mael Ḟothartaig would be near the Cows of Aífe for her to believe that Mael Ḟothartaig was ready to accept her advances. The Cows of Aífe may be, as the gloss says, rocks on the mountain-side, but probably, if so they were a conventional meeting place for the purpose that the daughter of Echaid had in mind. The text says that the time remaining until the morning seemed long to her once her maidservant had told her where Mael Ḟothartaig would be at that time.[37] So it appears that she must have had good reason to expect that Mael Ḟothartaig might not continue to put up a firm resistance.

So much for that particular problem. I think that an explanation of the two major questions—why should Mael Ḟothartaig go to such lengths to avoid the daughter of Echaid and why should Rónán be persuaded in the way he is—can be given in four stages. First, it is necessary to consider how assertions might be given force; secondly, I shall argue that it was imperative for the continuance of society that it be possible to give assertions very great force indeed; thirdly, I shall turn to the nature of the dilemma which faced Mael Ḟothartaig and the tactics adopted by him and by Congal, and, finally, I shall consider the method used by the daughter of Echaid to convince Rónán of his son's guilt.

First, then, the methods by which a man might give force to his assertion. It seems clear that in any society there must be gradations in the force given to, and recognised in, verbal or other symbolic assertions of fact. One may suggest that something is the case, or just assert it without any riders, or solemnly declare it to be the case, or declare it on oath. No doubt the gradations may sometimes be without clear boundaries, and different gradations may be recognised in different societies, but gradations of some kind there must be. And if there are such gradations then forcefulness should be marked in some way so that the speaker may know how to invest his statement with greater or lesser force and his hearers may recognise the intention of the speaker.

Among the possible marks of force in assertions three seem to be of particular importance. First, the extent and nature of the audience; the greater the publicity given to an assertion of fact and the higher

[37] FR 82–89.

the status of the audience, the greater the force of the assertion. Even a suggestion is one thing in private, quite another in a court of law. Secondly, there should be established forms of words or other characteristics of the utterance itself which signify that the assertion is more or less seriously meant. Thirdly, there should be increasing penalties for false statements as soon as one gets into the upper part of the gradation of assertive force. The existence, and the seriousness, of these penalties will give greater power to an assertion made under their sanction.

The second step in the argument is to examine the place of such methods of giving force to assertions in early Irish society. It is undoubtedly true that early medieval states depended heavily, perhaps even primarily, upon such methods. The importance of the oath and of solemn and symbolic ritual is well known. It is usually held that in the absence of developed administrative institutions, notably of any equivalent to a police force, the cohesion of a society depended upon the stability of corporate groups within society, such as kindred or lordly retinue, and the strength of bonds between individuals. Behind their power stood the sanction of public opinion. So much is common ground. In the absence of powerful government the responsibility for maintaining peace and stability lay almost entirely elsewhere. The function of rulers was as much to exhort as to give orders.[38]

It was important to make everything as public as possible: killing was undoubtedly a great evil, but it was not in the same league of wickedness as secret murder. If a man would only publicly admit to a killing then there were ways of coping with the situation, peacemakers, arbitrators and wise men who might be able to assess compensation, pacify the vengeful and mobilise the forces making for reconciliation. Against secret murder society was almost helpless.

The pressure to make things public and well-known was general. Private undertakings were of little worth beside an undertaking in the presence of an assembly of men. Rights and obligations should, in all common sense, be proclaimed and accepted by an assembly. For this reason local assemblies were essential to early medieval societies: their formal recognition of solemn statements, their memory of what had happened in the past performed many of the functions which we naturally attribute to the state. The wise Cormac recommends to Cairpre 'meeting of nobles, frequent assemblies' as the first thing which may most benefit a *túath*.[39]

[38] This is noticeable in the Carolingian *admonitio*.

[39] *Tecosca Cormaic*, ed. Meyer, §3; cf. the witness of shire and hundred in medieval England.

It is worth recalling the variety of functions performed by the solemn public oath: testimony to fact, as with a witness in court, the establishing of obligations and rights, for example oaths of fidelity to a lord, the creation of social groups, for example peace guilds, the confirmation of royal or imperial authority, as with the general oath-takings under Charlemagne. But there are also other solemn utterances of similar importance: insult which ruptures social bonds and creates feud; the solemn declaration of friendship accompanying the exchange of gifts; ritual boasting; the judicial verdict; praise and satire by poets; the solemn declaration of tradition by the wise man. Without these any medieval society would be inconceivable. There is an OE verb, often used in *Beowulf*, which encapsulates much of it: *maþelian* 'to speak as in an assembly'.

The force of solemn utterance depends, as we have noticed, upon its publicity, upon the use of established forms of utterance and gesture whose significance everyone knows, and upon the penalties which are attached to false statement or unfulfilled undertaking. Without publicity, one should remember, there is little force in the threat of penalties. Moreover, though there are, sometimes, straightforward penalties such as fines and compensations, this whole form of political society functions well only with a powerful public opinion. If everything depends upon publicity a merely passive public opinion will be useless. Therefore, well-developed and vigorously applied concepts of honour and shame—namely the public valuation or judgement of individual character and conduct openly declared—are essential to any such form of society. Without vigorous public judgement any other penalties will only be usable with great difficulty. Hence honour and shame are essential to solemn and forceful utterance; solemn and forceful utterance is essential to any early medieval society and therefore honour and shame are twin foundation-stones of early medieval society. Their importance is self-evident for praise, satire and insult; they are no less essential to oath, verdict and solemn declaration. It is where publicity fails that early medieval societies are forced back upon the ordeal, unless it is used as final confirmation of well-known guilt.

This may seem a long and unduly solemn prolegomenon to an analysis of a short tale, but it is necessary: the story derives its whole meaning from what is an essentially pre-state form of society. We may now turn, however, to the nature of Mael Ḟothartaig's dilemma. This may be stated as follows: for the story-teller and his audience, at least, to reject a presentable woman's advances is a dishonourable act. That is to say, it will expose the man to ridicule, but it is also likely to dishonour the woman. No doubt there were things which, if true of a particular woman, exonerated any rejection of her and were in them-

selves shameful. Hence, to reject any woman might imply that these shameful characteristics applied to her, and this would be deeply insulting. But it was hardly possible to insult a woman without also insulting her husband; the value of her face was dependent upon the value of his.[40] Hence Mael Ḟothartaig could not publicly insult the daughter of Echaid without insulting his father. The circumstances would make no difference; indeed, the existence of such a state of affairs within his family would be profoundly dishonouring to Rónán and might easily make him vulnerable to rivals. Therefore Mael Ḟothartaig must, if possible, avoid her advances, for they will be made by threatening his public dishonour and they can only be decisively rejected in public. Avoidance is not impossible for a time because of the maidservant's sense of honour. But she is threatened with death and that defence fails. Mael Ḟothartaig decides, therefore, to go into exile. This strategem is foiled by the Laigin: Rónán's authority and even life are threatened by his son's exile. Mael Ḟothartaig is obliged to return and new tactics are necessary. He resorts to Congal and the latter evolves a desperate scheme. The daughter of Echaid is to be rejected, but rejected privately. She is lured out onto the mountainside and there Congal faces her and bars the way. She tries three times, and Congal is obliged to insult her more brutally on each occasion. These are risky tactics, a last-ditch defence. The daughter of Echaid must be rejected privately but forcefully, but publicity was a condition of forceful utterance. She must be rejected privately so she need not take it as an unforgivable insult, and yet so forcefully that she will take the rejection as final and definitive. The scheme failed: she refused to accept the rejection twice and the third time Congal's words were too insulting to be endured even though private:

> "Indeed", said Congal, "you desire the shaming of the king of the Laigin, evil woman. If I see you again I shall take your head and put it upon a stake in front of Rónán's face. You are an evil woman intent upon shaming him in ditches and thickets in private meeting with a man". And he took a horse-whip to her and left her in her house.[41]

The daughter of Echaid accepted the rejection but also decided to take revenge for the insult. She could hardly have been expected to do anything else.

The dilemma now faces Rónán. His wife accuses his son of making advances to her, a profoundly shameful act, committed in private. It is an act shameful above all to Rónán. The accusation thus threatens

[40] *Críth Gablach*, 124–25.
[41] FR 94–98.

Rónán's honour. Yet, the honour of a king was the condition of his power and influence. No accusation of such a nature could be shrugged aside unless the accuser was of no consequence: but the status of his wife was dependent upon his own and so of great consequence, above all to him. Rónán's first reaction is to reject the accusation, but this fails because she appeals to an ordeal by verse.

The acceptance of her appeal to an ordeal by verse is explicable because Rónán has no way out of his dilemma: the act of which Mael Ḟothartaig is accused was private and hence not amenable to the usual processes by which a king might discover the truth and keep the peace. The use of the ordeal is a natural expedient. Furthermore, if the daughter of Echaid must be convicted of falsehood, it may as well be in her own way, by the method she has chosen herself. From her standpoint the strategem is eminently reasonable: her unsupported assertion is not enough; she must give it much greater force. It must have the form of an ordeal, of a judicial process appropriate to dark and private evil; it must be given publicity by an effective form; hence it must be in verse, for then it will have both solemn sanction and public memorability.

It is important to realise that it is not open to Rónán simply to act as pacifier, or to conduct a rational inquiry into the facts of the case. The daughter of Echaid has pursued a course of action which has compelled Mael Ḟothartaig, through Congal, to insult her three times with increasing brutality. Although it is conceivable that the daughter of Echaid might have meekly accepted the situation as *fait accompli*, it is only barely conceivable. Meekness is not one of her virtues. Hence she must regard it as an unforgivable result. Once this has happened very little can be done to avoid the tragedy. Reconciliation is inconceivable since without compensation honour cannot be satisfied. Yet, in this situation of an intra-familial feud compensation cannot be paid, nor can one imagine Mael Ḟothartaig paying compensation for an offence he has not committed.

Rónán's next moment of decision comes when the daughter of Echaid claims to have won the ordeal. If one accepts that 'herding the Cows of Aífe' had an accepted significance based upon the use of the place for illicit trysting then her claim becomes reasonable. If an ordeal by verse has been accepted, as it has by both sides, for Mael Ḟothartaig has sung his half quatrains, then it is clear that by the imprudence of Mael Ḟothartaig's jester, Mac Glass, she has won the ordeal. Mac Glass is apparently accepted as a substitute for Mael Ḟothartaig in singing the first half quatrain. His half-quatrain simply means, in effect: "it's a cold and windy day for chasing girls on the mountain-side". Rónán, then, has little option here either. The truth

may be still uncertain, but the proof has been given, and if he has any belief in the justice of the ordeal he may even believe her by this stage.

In any case he had little option. It is not open to Teirnon to call Rhiannon *arglwydes* as she sits by the mounting block even though he knows that she does not deserve her punishment. The situation cannot be ignored. Similarly, Matholwch cannot accept Bendigeidfran's apology and explanation that the insult was committed by the habitual trouble-maker Efnisien.[42] The facts are public: he has been insulted and it is not a time for explanation but handsome compensation. In Rónán's case a public ordeal has been employed, and a public decision reached. Rónán has, therefore, been formally shown to have been insulted by his son Mael Ḟothartaig. Compensation, however, is out of the question: the feud is intra-familial. Rónán must either forfeit his honour or have his son killed.

Mael Ḟothartaig is, however, able to convince Rónán of his innocence as he lies dying. He does so by a solemn oath:

> "You have been wretchedly deceived, Rónán" said the young man, "so that you have killed your only son for no fault. By your honour and by the tryst to which I go, the tryst with death, I no more thought of sexual intercourse with her than of intercourse with my mother; but she has been soliciting me since she arrived in this land, to the point that Congal brought her back three times so that she might not reach me. Congal committed no fault worthy of death."[43]

The oath is not merely solemn, it is adroitly phrased: it is sworn by Rónán's honour, threatened by his wife's schemes, and by the tryst with death: no man, it is suggested, would swear vain and insincere oaths about trysts with women when he goes to the tryst with death. The circumstances and the words chosen give peculiar force to the oath and Rónán is won round again. In the great lament that he sings for Mael Ḟothartaig he gives such compensation as was possible.

If these explanations of *Pwyll* and *Fingal Rónáin* are anywhere near the truth, then they do not merely explain two stories, they demonstrate again for Old Irish and Middle Welsh the indivisibility of history and literature. The force of the stories is obscure to anyone who does not appreciate how early Irish and Welsh society worked, the central place of honour and status, the function of solemn statements of various kinds and of differing force and the impossibility of

[42] PKM 33, 3–9.
[43] FR 146–152.

refusing to recognise the honourable or shameful quality of a situation. The preservation of a people from anarchy depended upon these rules and customs: they could not be abrogated when the going became tough, even when tragedy threatened.

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VARIA I

Notes on the Middle Irish word for 'Mermaid'

ACCORDING to the Royal Irish Academy *Dictionary*, the Middle Irish word for 'mermaid' is *murdúchu*, a feminine *n*-stem sometimes treated as an *o*-stem (nom. sg. *murdúchann*) "perhaps due to association with *dúchann* 'lay' ". (The latter word's range of meaning, as given *s.v. dúchann*, includes 'chant, song, melody; singing, chanting'.) The suggestion had been offered by Kuno Meyer and Whitley Stokes that the word is in fact a compound of *muir* and *dúchann*, meaning 'sea music', but in rejecting it the compilers were following a tradition which had been established by Windisch and concurred in by Vendryes and the editors of *Hessens Lexicon*.[1] Meyer, admittedly, had a foot on each side of the fence: although his glossary to *Cath Finntragha* identifies the word unequivocally as a compound *mur-dúchand*, his notes on the text refer to the "*murdúchu*, mermaid or siren"; later, in the Introduction to *Merugud Uilix Maicc Leirtis*, he has translated a passage from LL in such a way as to imply that the word must be an *n*-stem.[2] Perhaps the *muir* + *dúchann* etymology has been wrongly disregarded, however. The available evidence, linguistic and literary, tends to support the thesis that *murdúchann* was in fact the original form of the word, and that the female creature to whom it was applied came into Irish literary tradition from classical sources.

The great problem with the linguistic evidence, of course, is that most of it tends to be ambiguous. In Middle Irish the plural forms of *n*-stems and of *o*-stems that happen to end in *-n* cannot be distinguished, and in relatively few of its surviving attestations is this word clearly singular. The genitive case presents a further ambiguity, for although *na murdúchann* may be gen. pl. of either declension, it may also be gen. sg. of a feminine *n*-stem. This difficulty is obvious in the passage Meyer has translated from LL. It occurs in a poem by Gilla in Choimded húa Cormaic (12th c.), and as transcribed by Best and O'Brien it appears thus:

[1] Meyer: *CF*, Index Verborum. Stokes: *Arch.* iii (1907), 203. Windisch: *IT* i, *s.v. muir-duchu*. Vendryes: *RC* xlii (1925), 204f. Abbreviations here and below follow the usage of the Royal Irish Academy Dictionary (*DIL*).

[2] *CF* (Oxford, 1885), Index Verborum and p. 77. *Mer. Uil.* (London, 1886), p. xii; this passage is discussed below.

Achilochus Tribonna tall
athair mathair murduchand.

Ulixes tuc céir na chlúais
ra iarraid cu lléir lúathguais
rapa gné soraid co sert.
ras conaig tria chelgairecht. (LL 17813–18)

We can translate: 'Achelous and Tribonna long ago were father and mother of the Sirens. Ulysses put wax in his ears; he earnestly sought swift danger—the appearance was pleasant [*co sert* = ?]—he sought it (or them, or her) through his cunning." But it is also possible to take *murdúchand* as gen. sg. of an *n*-stem *murdúchu* and conclude, with Meyer, that there is only one siren in the poem. (The infixed pronoun in the last line above is no less ambiguous than the noun.) Classical tradition, at any rate, generally represents the Sirens as more than one.[3]

Inevitably, the ambiguity of forms has bedevilled the compilers of *DIL*. Of the seven examples given from Middle Irish sources, five are plural, and four of the five genitive, though the contexts give little support for reading any of them as singular. The other two are nom. sg. in *-ann*: thus clearly *o*-stems.

The *n*-stem declension is plainly evident, however, among the citations taken from Modern Irish. An example from Keating is nom. pl. and thus ambiguous, but the gloss *muruchu* on Lat. *siren* (*Ir. Gl.* 1020) and the dat. sg. *don mhurdhúchuinn* (*IGT Dec.* ex. 433) are not. Three forms are given from Dinneen, *murdhuach, muirdhiúch*, and *murdhúchann*, of which the first two appear to go back to nom. sg. in *-u* rather than *-ann*, and the third may be literary; it did not appear in the 1904 edition of his dictionary.

It is clear, therefore, that the noun has in the course of its existence been both an *o*-stem and an *n*-stem, but the weight of the evidence in my opinion lies in favour of the *o*-stem declension being historically the earlier.

If this word were attested in Old Irish the truth of the matter might be easier to establish, but no such attestation has been found. The word *siren* when it occurs in Priscian is glossed *muir moru* (Sg. 96^{b}5), a word (or phrase) that occurs nowhere else, and one which Pedersen considered a borrowing from Brittonic (cf. W. *morwyn* 'maiden', *morforwyn* 'mermaid': *Ped.* i, 23). One is tempted to infer that the Irish glossator had in his native vocabulary no word that he recognized as a close equivalent to *siren*. And if that is so, it is easy to draw the

[3] In the Odyssey (xii, 52, 185) there are two. For references to Achelous' begetting the Sirens on one of the Muses (Meyer suggests that Tribonna may stand for Terpsichore), see Pauly-Wissowa *Reallexicon* i, 415.36–46.

further inference that the word we find in Middle Irish texts is a native term adapted to what was originally an exotic concept.

By the time the surviving texts of *Lebor Gabála* were written, however, the equivalence *siren-murdúchann* was established. The ancestral Gaels encounter the Sirens—plural in some texts, singular in others—while navigating the Caspian Sea, in what is an obvious petty larceny from Book xii of the *Odyssey*:

> Is é in Cacher druí dorat in leges dóib dia mboí in murduchand oca medrad .i. boí in cotlud oca forrach frisin céol. Is é in leges fuair Cacher doib .i. ceir do legad na cluasaib.[4]

In addition to this, we have also the poem of Gilla in Choimded and the late (15th c.?) gloss *muruchu*, both cited above, to show that this word had come to be regarded as the Irish name for the classical Sirens. None of these references, of course, can safely be dated earlier than the twelfth century; even though the substance of *Lebor Gabála* must be older, it is impossible to say when the episode of the Sirens might have been added to it.

There are some texts in which *murdúchann* is used with a reference which is not necessarily classical, but most of these give us less information than we might wish. The annals contain this bald report: "Scel ingnad i n-Erinn: idon, muirduchon do ghabail d'iasgairibh coradh Lis Arglinn i n-Osraighibh 7 araile ic Port Lairge".[5] In the late 15th-century *Cath Finntragha*, a stormy voyage is described this way: "Is ann sin immorro ro éirgeadar na gaetha 7 ro ardaigheadar na tonna co nach cualadar-san énni acht nuall mear maíthneach na murdhúchann".[6] Neither passage tells us much about the sort of creature the author had in mind, although *nuall mear maíthneach*, in the latter, seems a long way from the seductive singing of Homer's Sirens.

The only text in which we find much detail about the *murdúchann* is the *Dindshenchas* of Port Láirge. Like most *Dindshenchas* texts, it is an accumulation of several layers. The order of their composition cannot be determined exactly, but it is approximated in the following summary, starting with what may be the earliest version.[7]

1. A poem in the archaic *roscad* metre, or a pseudo-archaic imitation of it, on which the rest of the texts may be wholly

[4] 'That Caicher is the druid who provided the remedy for them when the Siren was infatuating them, that is, sleep was overpowering them because of the music. The remedy Caicher found for them was to put wax in their ears' (LL 196–98). For other versions, see *ITS* xxxv, 20, 40–42, 68–70, 100.

[5] 'Another wonderful tale in Ireland: a *murduchon* was taken by the fishermen of the weir of Lis Arglinn in Ossory, and another at Waterford' (1118 AU).

[6] 'But then the winds rose and the waves mounted until they could hear nothing but the mad, mournful clamour of the *murdúchainn*' (*CF*^{2}, 49–50 = *CF*, 39–40).

[7] The quotations are taken from my own edition of the text, which I hope to publish at a future date. References to the published editions are given.

or partly based (*RC* xv [1894], 433). The language is obscure, but by means of a few words here and there it is possible to see that it tells roughly the same story as the rest: a hero named Roth mac Cithaing, while travelling, comes to grief on the Sea of Wight (i.e. the English Channel) through the agency of some kind of magical chanting, and the sea carries his thigh to Ireland, where it serves as the origin of the placename Port Láirge (Shore of the Thigh). The word *murdúchann* does not occur in this text.

2. A brief account from the shorter recension that contains only prose (Thurneysen's Recension B—*Folklore* iii [1892], 489f.). It identifies Roth as a prince of the Fomorians, and describes his encounter with the *murdúchainn* thus:

> . . . co cuala inní: dord na murdúchand di Muir Icht. Ro imra forsin fairge co ranic Muir n-Icht. Is ed in fúath at-chonnairc .i in murdúchand fo deilb ingine macdachta; is blaithem cruth ós lind, 7 íchtar brotharluimnech bíastaide foithe fo lind. Co nduatar na bíasta é, co ndaralsat é ina áigib, coro faíde in muir a da laairg cosin port út . . . .[8]

3. A poem found in the earliest collection of *Dindshenchas* verse (Thurneysen's Recension A) which may be based on either or both of the preceding items, or on some other source (Met. Dinds. iii, 190ff.). It tells essentially the same story, although it adds that Roth was erotically attracted to the sea-women, whom it describes this way:

> Caíne, suire fri cach seilb;
> ba cáeme cach nduinedeilb
> a cuirp ós tonnaib tuili
> cona mongaib finnbuidi.
>
> In a mbíd fo uisce díb—
> robo chuiscle cen cáenbríg—
> métither tulaig tendglain
> do muraig, do mórfemnaig.
>
> Tuilfitis slóg in betha
> ria nglór is ria nglangretha;
> nis tibred i mbáig mbíthi
> dáil fria cnes, fria cáemchíchi.[9]

[8] '. . . until he heard something: the chanting of the mermaids of the Sea of Wight. He rowed on the sea until he came to the Sea of Wight. This is the sight he saw, namely, the mermaid in the shape of a grown girl, a most graceful shape above water, and a monstrous, fur-covered lower part beneath her under the water. And the monsters devoured him, and made joints of him, so that the sea sent his two thighs to that shore . . . .'

[9] 'Pleasanter, easier to possess in every way, lovelier than any human form were their bodies above the flood's wave, with their fair blond hair. What there was of them under water—it was a secret of no good power—was as big as a hard, bright hill of shellfish

Roth is killed and dismembered, but there is no mention of his being eaten.

4. A prose account in the integrated verse-and-prose redaction (Thurneysen's Recension C), which also contains both poems (*RC* xv [1894], 432ff.). It follows the earlier prose very closely, differing only in a couple of details (blond hair, no reference to devouring the victim) that seem due to the influence of the second poem.

Because of its obscurity, we cannot speculate with much hope of success on whether the poem in *roscad* metre is in fact the source of any of the other items, but there is a good possibility that the version of the story it represents is earlier than the others. One of its less opaque passages runs as follows:

ceol tuilsi
os Ichtmuir
dord duchand
drecht n-urgarg
dith n-aenmaic
cruaid Cithaing
Roth comainm . . .

This translation may be ventured: "music put him to sleep [?] on the Sea of Wight, droning of songs, a poem (or incantation) raw and harsh, destruction of the only son of hardy Cithang, Roth (his) name." The word *murdúchand* may have been suggested to the later *Dindshenchas* authors (or to someone earlier in the chain of transmission) by a phrase like *dord dúchand*. This would be especially likely to happen if *murdúchann* already denoted some legendary menace which manifested itself to sailors primarily through the medium of sound. However the *roscad*-poet may have imagined the physical aspect of Roth's nemesis (if he conceived it to have any at all), we can find in his poem no decipherable evidence that it was, in whole or in part, either human or female. Perhaps the powerful music by means of which its victims are overwhelmed served his successors as a point of reference by which to identify this creature with the Sirens of Greek and Latin literature, for despite some differences of detail, the *murdúchainn* of the later *Dindshenchas* texts are clearly shown by their underwater aspect as well as their behavior to derive from the classical tradition.

This is easy to see if we compare them with the description found in *Physiologus*, the prototype of popular bestiaries and as good a guide as

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and great seaweed. The host of the world would go to sleep at their voice and their clear outcries; he would not give up union with their flesh, with their lovely breasts, in exchange for modest affection.'

any to what early medieval savants thought they knew about sirens. The so-called Version B of this work goes back at least to the ninth century, and had a wider circulation than most other versions:

> . . . sirens, he said, are deadly animals, who have a human form from head to navel; their lower part, down to the feet, actually has the form of a bird. They sing a certain musical, extremely pleasant, melodious song, so that by sweetness of voice they might charm the hearing of men who are sailing in ships, and attract them toward themselves, and—their ears and wits being [led astray] by the exceeding sweetness of the prolonged measures—put them to sleep. Whereupon, as soon as they see that they have been lulled into deepest slumber, they fall upon them and tear their flesh to pieces, and thus by vocal persuasion they deceive and kill for themselves ignorant and foolish men.[10]

This is exactly the *modus operandi* of the *murdúchainn* in the *Dindshenchas* of Port Láirge. There are, to be sure, some minor differences. The Irish writers do not seem to have regarded the infatuating or sleep-inducing song as necessarily sweet or pleasant to the ear. The terms they use—*dord, muirn, glangretha*—do not connote especially musical sounds: one is reminded of the "nuall mear maíthneach" in Cath Finntragha. Moreover, if the authors of the *Dindshenchas* are typical, Irish scholars appear to have had a rather vague idea of what sirens were like from the waist down. The prose suggests some member of the mammalian order, the verse something like an underwater reef. Nevertheless, the description of their upper half, added to the account of their behaviour, provides sufficient evidence that most of their characteristics originate outside native tradition.

There are, of course, many other references in Irish literature to women who live in the sea, but they are not called *murdúchainn*, and they do not play the siren's role as rather strictly defined here. The huge woman whom the annals say was cast ashore in Scotland (893 AU, 887 FM) may have superhuman proportions, but nothing in the account indicates that any part of her is otherwise inhuman in appearance. She is called simply *banscál*—a giantess.

We do have an example of what was later to become, throughout Europe, the traditional mermaid form in Lí Ban, whose story is told in *Aided Echach Meic Caireda*. Having been caught in the sudden

[10] . . . sirenae (inquit) animalia sunt mortifera; quae a capite usque ad umbilicum figuram hominis habent, extrema uero pars usque ad pedes uolatilis habent figuram, et musicum quoddam ac dulcissimum melodiae carmen canunt, ita ut per suauitatem uocis auditus hominum a longe nauigantium mulceant et ad se trahant, ac nimis suauitate modulationis prolixae aures ac sensus eorum delinientes [*leg.* delirientes?] in somnum uertunt. Tunc deinde, cum uiderint eos grauissimo somno sopitos, inuadunt eos et dilaniant carnes eorum, ac sic persuasionibus uocis ignaros et insipientes homines decipiunt et mortificant sibi. (F. J. Carmody, ed., *Physiologus Latinus, Versio B* [Paris, 1939], pp. 25–26.) On the age and circulation of this version, see Florence McCulloch, *Medieval Latin and French Bestiaries* (Chapel Hill, 1960), p. 25.

upwelling of Lough Neagh, she is transformed into a salmon from either the neck or the waist down: "i rricht íaich acht mo chend";[11] "a leth 'na bratan ro boí 7 a lleth n-aill 'na duni."[12] Having lived under water for 300 years, she is at length caught in a net by some Christian clerics, dies after receiving baptism, and is subsequently honored as a saint. Obviously her story bears no resemblance to that of the mischievous sirens or mermaids; moreover, she is called not *murdúchann* but *murgein* ('sea-creature') and *murgeilt*. (The second element in this latter compound is, of course, the epithet that properly belongs to Suibhne; *DIL*. translates it 'sea-lunatic', but it seems more likely that Suibhne's solitary life in the wilderness is what suggested the coinage. It is also possible, as Professor Carney has suggested to me, that *muirgeilt* is no more than a mistake for *muirgein*.) Other references might be collected, but they would be unlikely to shed any more light than these on the subject of our investigation.

The evidence reviewed above is admittedly more suggestive than conclusive. What it suggests, however, is that the history of the word *murdúchann* followed more or less these lines: (1) Originally a compound meaning 'sea music' or 'sea chanting', the word designated some kind of fabulous menace at sea—perhaps a bodiless sound that lured or lulled mariners into danger, like an auditory equivalent of the will-o'-the-wisp. (2) At some time during the Middle Irish period, translators looking for an equivalent for *siren* adopted *murdúchann* because of the similarity, in locus and effect, between this 'sea music' and the Sirens' song. (3) Gradually the new meaning eclipsed the old one, while at the same time the reference of the word may have been extended to take in other sorts of legendary sea-women, either native or exotic. (4) Eventually, *murdúchann* seemed to apply exclusively to creatures of the female sex, which made its declension as an *o*-stem awkward. Its consequent movement towards the *n*-stem declension, with which it already had the plural forms in common, would have been natural enough.

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[11] 'in the form of a fish except my head' (LU 3002).
[12] 'half of her was a salmon and the other half a human being' (LU 3061).

VARIA II

1. Conjoining os

Binchy has concurred (*Celtica* v, 1960, 79) with O'Brien (*ZCP* xiv, 1923, 311–15) that *os* cannot be an Old Irish shortening of *ocus;* certainly Binchy's added argument that it could not be a new and living contraction when it was regularly glossed with the customary formula for archaisms is a crucial observation. However Binchy sides with Thurneysen (ZCP xvi 275; *GOI* §878) in rejecting O'Brien's suggestion, which he quotes O'Brien as having meantime himself abandoned, that *os/ot* is to be derived from the participle of 'to be' **sonts* pl. **sontes*. It is true that evidence has come to light from the archaic stratum of the legal texts which was not taken into consideration in O'Brien's original presentation of his argument, and which complicates the question; but I do not find this additional evidence sufficient, upon reflexion, to overturn O'Brien's perceptive insight.

It would seem that an important element in O'Brien's reasoning (*ZCP* xiv 314) leading to his reconstruction **sont-* was the fitness of the English translation 'being'; this may of course be taken as a sort of shorthand for the perceived syntax. But there are other considerations in O'Brien's argument which are really much stronger. Ultimately, two aspects of his argument seem to me crucial and persuasive: the accounting in a natural fashion for the singular/plural opposition *os/ot*, and the accomodation of a predicative nominative syntax for the stressed nominative absolute personal pronouns. The status of these pronouns as predicates is certified by O'Brien's clear statement (313–14) of the implications for forms of the copula of noun or adjective predicates, and by their complete accord with the syntax described in *GOI* §406, first paragraph; the final, complicating provision (c) at the end of §406 may therefore be eliminated from the grammar. The rejection of the heart of O'Brien's claim (**es-*) fails to acknowledge that his solution takes account of this clear point of syntax and morphological form. In fact, O'Brien's solution may be viewed not only as a reconstruction (abstractly written) of **Hes-ont-*, but as the recovery of a synchronic underlying element COPULA (which probably also underlies situations (a) and (b) of §406).

Regarding the phonetic differentiation *os/ot* for number, there is to my way of thinking a flaw in the reasoning that has been applied by those seeking an analogical explanation. First, any direct derivation is always to be preferred over one that depends upon analogy; there-

fore, if all facts are explained by O'Brien's reconstruction, his **sont-* is clearly to be accepted until a stronger claimant arises. Now Thurneysen and Binchy, while denying that COPULA underlies *os/ot*, yet resort to it as the model for disambiguation in the third person; there is a gap in syntactic reasoning here. Further, if the syntax is not here predicative the suggestion of analogy is ad hoc and unmotivated so long as it cannot explain why pseudo-verbal concord was not provided for other than the third plural; homophony has certainly been tolerated in other pronominal situations.

On the contrary, if we accept that we do have an underlying COPULA here, we are able to understand immediately and exactly how it came about that the first (and presumably second) plural fail to appear with a plural *ot*.

When expanded along the above lines, I find O'Brien's original solution, so far as it went, impeccable. It may be formalized slightly:

*COPULA-PPL-NUMBER	+ PERSONAL(-NUMBER)	+ [4]COMPLEMENT	
→ *H$_e$es -ont-* (PL)-NOM	*me/tū/snēs/ei/eies*	*marwos, eleies, am-ulākos, marwodii*	
→ *sont-*	*-s*	*me/ei*	*marwos/amulākos*
→ *sont-*	*-es*	*snēs/eies*	*eleies/marwodii*

→ CONJ-COPULA(-3PL)	+ PERSONAL (-NUMB-NOM)	+ ATTRIB (-NUMB-NOM)/COMP	
→ *os*	*(-t)*	*mé/tú/sní/é/é*	(as below)
→ *os*		*mé/(s)ní/é*	*marb/ili/amulach*
→ *ot*		*(h)é*	*marbdai*

(Examples from Ml.49^{c}6; 43^{a}6; BDD 75; Ml.130^{a}3.)

The principal linguistic change here is thus seen to have been the transfer of the topic, or theme, from subject to predicate function with the copula; all the rest follows from the dependencies of Irish grammar. The phonetic changes are really minimal, and quite regular. The emerging conjunction should probably be analyzed as *o-*, to which the copula is enclitic. Later *o-* is overtaken by *agus*. As long as *o-t* lasted, the scribes could scarcely have regarded this conjunction as a reduction of *ocus/agus*.

Now the consideration that seems to have dissuaded scholars of the rightness of this reconstruction is the presence in the law texts of some rare but important instances of *os* conjoining other constructions. (I do not see in any event how the rightness of the synchronic analysis of the above locutions within Old Irish could be

overturned by these additional instances from the legal tracts). One type that has been adduced (e.g. Binchy, *op. cit.* 78) is the function of introducing a nominative absolute: *Os arcoige tēchta, . . .* 'And a lawful hunting-dog, . . .' O'Dav. 100; the noun (*arrchocaid*?) is unfortunately formally unclear. But this seems easily derivable from the same syntactic source as the construction with nominative absolute pronouns: **sonts DOG-NOM tenktios* 'being a lawful dog, as a l.d., vel sim.' The only difference here is that the head noun was originally a predicate complement, and not subject of the copula.

All the other cases adduced involve a following conjunction: *Os ma, os muna* 'and if', *os airm* 'and where'. It is true that these must be at bottom a different construction syntactically. There is however another function for **H$_e$sont-* which had already developed a life of its own in Indo-European, and which has been totally ignored in the discussion of *os* to date. This is established by the equation of Skt. *sánt-*, Avest. *hənt-əm*, ON *sannr*, OE *sōð* 'true, not false, real', and (as I have argued, *American Indian and IndoEuropean Studies: Papers in Honor of Madison S. Beeler*, in press) Lat. *īn-sōns* 'innocent'; further, Skt. *satyá-*, OPers. *hašiya-*, Goth. *sunja* (nom.sg.f.) 'true'. Therefore an adverbial **s(o)nt-(s)* would have been available to prehistoric Irish in the meaning 'truly, indeed'; we cannot tell from the lone *dét* 'tooth' just what an uninflected neuter of this class would have turned out as, and the animate strong state of the stem might easily have been generalized. I therefore take these instances of introductory *os* before conjunction to be archaic continuations of **sont-(s)* 'indeed', which may later have suffered a blanching in sense to a simple resumptive.

Such a syntax for this element would not be isolated or based purely upon speculation without parallel. The adverbial use of OE *sóðe* is well documented and satisfies the requirements for a semantic parallel; however, so far as I can see, it does not show a syntax that would link it closely with this Irish use that was susceptible of being degraded into a resumptive. In Sanskrit, on the other hand, we have besides the neuter noun *satyám* a corresponding adjective which can be used adverbially in the sense 'truly'; phrasal constructions such as *téna satyéna* should also be noted as evidence of the productivity of the semantics. Of particular note is the Vedic juxtaposition of *satyám* with *addhā́* and *itthā́*, both of which carry the value of 'indeed'. The Sanskrit locutions agree closely with what we may presume for the earlier Irish function introducing a clause. It is in such sentence adverbials that we may seek the origins of this function of **sont-(s)*.

Finally, it may not be out of place to suggest that in this element employed in the function described we may seek the origin of the so called exclamatory use of Greek ὡς; certainly, it is not likely that

a satisfactory explanation of this use is to be found in the senses 'as, how' which are derived from relative constructions. A sentence such as Plato's ὡς ἀστεῖος ὁ ἄνθρωπος 'how charming the man is!' could almost be Irish.

We have discriminated two sources for *os(/ot)*, **H$_e$es-* + NOMINAL (noun or personal pronoun) and SENTENCE ADVERBIAL (i.e. adjectival **H$_e$sont-*). It is just possible that we see a representative of the source structure which diverged ultimately into these two syntactic types in a Hittite passage which Calvert Watkins explicated (*Studies in Historical Linguistics in Honor of George Sherman Lane*, Chapel Hill 1967, 192–3) with a somewhat different end in view. From the second Plague Prayer of Muršilis he cites: §10.6. *ammuk-ma-za-kan ŠA ABI-YA waštul tarn[aḫḫun]ašān-at iyanun-at* 'but I confessed my father's sin, (saying): It is (so). I did it.' Keeping the Irish constructions in mind, we can see two eventual readings for *ašān-at* 'being it (subject)' < **H$_e$son(t)-ad:* either 'it being' = *os é*, or 'it (is) true, truly' = *os, satyám.*

2. Gwion and Fer Fí

When one considers this name in its context its original meaning seems pretty clear. The segmentation *Gwi-on* < **-onos* is immediately natural, since in the Taliesin material we are dealing with a mythical stratum of personages comparable to those whom we meet in the Mabinogi. Therefore we have the Celtic suffix *-on-* which characterized supernatural beings; see my remarks *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* 1974–1975, 245. We need then only seek a suitable base to account satisfactorily for *Gwi-*.

If we consult the text (see conveniently Patrick K. Ford, *The Mabinogi and other Medieval Welsh Tales*, California Press 1977, pp. 159ff.) two features are striking. It was on Gwion Bach that the three *drops of juice* fell; these herbal drops were a *poison* strong enough to split a cauldron. Gwion Bach is thus the supernatural embodiment of the plant juice, the poison. If we then reconstruct his name in an obvious fashion we obtain **u̯īs-onos*, with **u̯īso-* as a base. This can be directly compared to OIr. *fí* 'venom, poison' (v. *DIL*, F-*fochraic* 1950, 107), Lat. *uīrus* 'plant juice; sperm of animals; venum, poison', Greek ἰός, Sanskrit *viṣám*, Avestan *vīša-*. We see immediately that we have gained an attestation for an important Indo-European etymon; note too that the Welsh confirms the length of the *i*. This equation also helps to correct the mistaken conclusion which Marstrander drew (*ZCP* 7, 1910, 398–9) for *fī .i. olc;* on the root for 'twist' which Marstrander adduces, see now my remarks *ÉC* 14, 1974, 201–4, and *Ériu* xxiv, 1973, 165.

Once again we find an important principle of literary onomastics at work: The name of the personage is simply the appropriately derived ordinary lexeme that specifies his most notable characteristic(s). Our subject here is called The Little Prototypic Poison/Concoction.

It further turns out that we are not limited to merely explicating this ancient Welsh name, and recovering an Indo-European equation; we also find that we are here in the presence of an archaic fragment of Common Celtic mythic onomastics, and that we can moreover clarify a corner of Early Irish textual corruption. Only a moment's reflection is needed to see that an equivalent of *Gwion*, with a different morphology and internal syntax, is to be found in the Old Irish *Fer Fí* (e.g. LL 27^{b}12 and 14). The equivalence of the suffix *-ono-* and the element *Fer* is itself interesting here.

Now in the same poem (LL 27^{b}5) we find what must be the same personage written *Fer Hí*. Again, we have *Fer Fí* appearing at LL 146^{a}19; yet if we consult Kuno Meyer's edition of this poem *ZCP* 12, 1918, 378–9) we find in Laud 610 the variant *Macc Hii*—a very interesting equation indeed. *DIL* (E 1932) lists *Fer Hí* under the headword 3 *eó* 'stem, tree'. On a textual basis this is surely an error; in *Hí*, or *Í*, we must have an old alternate for *Fí* whose correct grammar has been forgotten. The former must have arisen in syntaxes requiring lenition: At an earlier date one must have said in the nominative *Fer Fí*, in the accusative *Fer bhFí*, but in the genitive *Fir Fhí* = *Fir Hí*. The two conditioned variants later got used out of their original context. The relevant dictionary entries should be adjusted accordingly.

3. iomna and udhacht

These forms for 'testament/decree' and 'dying will/declaration' have been considerably clarified in their semantics by Alan Ward, *Ériu* xxiv, 1973, 183–5. Their etymologies may be refined a trifle further.

Ward reconstructs *iomna* (verbal noun to *imm·ánai*) as **ämbi* + *ad* + *nowo-*. Adducing Lat. *adnuere*, he arrives at PC **ad* + *nowo-* 'injunction, granting'. It should however be made explicit that Celtic and Latin share the old compound **ad* + *neu-*,[1] a significant term in the realm of social and religious notions. We may then

[1] Note that in Latin the simplex scarcely occurs; cf. Ernout-Meillet, 802. The Italic and Celtic formations stand much more isolated and shared than would appear from the handbooks. Pokorny's entry 2. *neu-* (*IEW* 767) needs considerable cleaning up, to which Frisk *GEW* 2.309 s.v. νεύω (NB the stem **neus-* is not an exact agreement) makes a valuable contribution; cf. also Frisk's healthy divorce (op. laud. 329–30) of νύσσω and νυστάζω.

specify the extended Irish compound as *H_e*embhi* + *ad-neu-*, with the semantically reinforcing preverb which I have identified *Ériu* xxiv 165. It may be remarked that here we appear to have a particularly conservative sense of *H_e*embhi*.

tiomna is of course simply the last, with Dillon's "empty" *to*.

For *udhacht* the IE root is wrongly cited, and the etymology is inadequately referenced. The likely pre-form is **ad-ukto-* < **ad-uk^{w}to-*, since **ad-uk^{w}tu-* would show an originally deviant stem type (not *-ti-*) for a compound, and vocalism (not guṇa) for a *-tu-* formation; yet it surely *could* have been revised to **ad-uk^{w}tu-*.[2] The IE base was of course **u̯ek^w-*.[3] For the crucial account of *focal^N* < **u̯ek^w-tlon* one should see Bergin, *Ériu* xii, 1934, 135–6.[4] The Indo-Iranian and Irish meanings are both easily accounted for as divergent nomina instrumenti formed on the base **uek^w-*; the actual Avestan form attested (ignored by *IEW* 1135–6) is the gen. *vaxəδrahyā* Y.29.8.

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[2] For such stem crossings cf. my remarks on *clua(i)s* in *Historical Linguistics* II (edd. J. M. Anderson and C. Jones), Amsterdam 1974, 142–3.

[3] Bartholomae (*Zum altiranischen Wörterbuch* 1906, 217) remarks that the simplex has been lost in Modern Persian, though the Central dialects preserve *wač-* 'speak.'

[4] It should be noted that *GPC* is properly uncertain of the equation of *gwaethl* 'dispute.' The earlier part of Calvert Watkins's reconstruction *(wok-tlom)*, *Celtica* vi, 1963, 243 fn. 6, is not an interstage of known certainty with respect to the IE form.

VARIA III

1. OIr. clí and cleth 'house-post'

Old Irish knows from early times a feminine noun *clí*, apparently indeclinable, in the literal meaning 'house-post, pillar', and used also metaphorically of persons. Early examples are *Audacht Morainn*, ed. Fergus Kelly §16 *is tre fír flathemon cech comarbe con a chlí ina chainorbu-clanda* 'it is through the ruler's truth that every heir plants his house-post in his fair inheritance'; Wb. 33[a]5 *is clí darach Moysi [i]sin tegdais* 'Moses is an oaken pillar in the house'; *Vita Trip.*[2] 1731 *sádis clí and* '(Patrick) set a house-post there'; *Vita Brig.* 1 *anda leu-som nico n-airsitis clí fri alaile* 'they thought they would not find one house-post on another'. For the feminine gender cf. *in chlí Thes.* ii 295.4, *fri clī thige, Corm. Y.* 275 (in the latter *clí thige* 'the post of a house' is probably a fixed phrase, whence the absence of nasalization after acc. *fri clí*).

This *clí* 'house-post' is surely a distinct word from *clí* 'poet of the third highest rank', despite the tentative suggestion in *DIL*. For *clí* 'poet' is masculine (*clī* .i. *ar a chosmaile . . . 'clī* .i. from his similarity . . .', *Corm. Y.* 275), and not indeclinable (gen. sg. *clíi, cliæ, clia DIL* s.v.); it thus differs from *clí* 'post' in both gender and inflexion. This 'etymology' of *clí* 'poet' is in fact Cormac's (ibid.):

> *clī* .i. *ar a chosmaile fri clī thige asrubrad* .i. *is bēsad na cleithe, is balc oc lār, is caol oc clēit[h]e, is dīriuch, doeim doeamhar. Sic clí eter filedaib: is balc a sūire inna crīchaib feisin, is sēimiu i crīchaib sechtair. Amail atcumaic in clí isin tegdais ō lár co clēithi, sic dano adcomaic airechas in grādha so dianad ainm clí ō anrath co fochlagāin. Doeim dano in clī innī besidn-īsle, doemar-som ōnnī besadn-úaisliu. Is dīriug i mbēsaib a dāna.*
>
> '.i. (it is) for his similarity to the *clí* of a house that he is called .i. it is the nature of the house-post: it is firm at the ground, it is slender at the ridgepole, it is straight, it protects, it is protected. So the *clí* among poets: his privileges are firm in his own territories, they are slighter in territories outside. As the *clí* in the house reaches from the ground to the ridgepole, so moreover the rank of this grade which has the name *clí* reaches from the *anruth*-poet to the *fochlocan*-poet. The *clí* moreover protects him who is lower than he, he is protected by him who is higher than he. He is straight in the customs of his craft.'

As traditional material this is first-rate; but as etymology it is pretty far-fetched. Whatever its origin, *clí* 'poet' is a different word

from *clí* 'housepost'. For the traditional material cf. also *AL* IV 358; note in Cormac the archaisms *besidn-isliu/-uaisliu* and the verb *ad-cumaic*, as well as the figure *do-eim do-emar*, as in *Aud. Mor.* (B) §62 *to-slaid to-sladar, ar-clich ar-clechar* etc.

Now beside *clí* 'house-post' there is a feminine *ā*-stem *cleth*, gen. *cleithe*, in the same meaning, both literal and figurative. The form *cleth* is the commoner of the two, and in O'Clery's glossary serves to gloss *clí* itself. As to be expected of the unmarked member, *cleth* has a wider range of meanings, e.g. 'tree', 'spear' (whence *clithem* 'spearman(?)'), and appears freely in composition, where *clí* does not: e.g. *clethchor* 'palisade' (also figuratively, *clethchur fíacal* 'fence of teeth', *LL* 4582, *clethcor ndub ndaelabrat* 'black fence of eyelashes', *BDD*[2] 1020, like Hom. ἕρκος ὀδόντων).

But *cleth* occurs in the identical context as *clí* (v. supra) in the doubtless formulaic expressions 'plant/set a housepost' as a symbolic act: *trī maic B . . . ciata-rochlan[n]sat cletha hi Temuir* 'the three sons of B . . . who first planted houseposts in Tara' *ZCP* viii 313.18; *sáid in cleith lium* 'set the house-post with me' *Silva Gad.* 73.10. The use of *clandaid* with *clí/cleith* can be no older than the borrowing of the word from British Latin, and in fact probably arose or was favored only after the merger of k^w and *k* produced the alliteration in *clandaid clí/cleith*. Despite its textually later attestation the older expression is surely *sáidid clí/cleith*, with the long-vowel iterative-causative **sōd(e)i̯e-* to lengthened grade acrostatic ('Narten-') present **sēd-* 'sit'.

The word *cleth* has been correctly etymologized by Marstrander, *Observations* 43 to the root **k̂lei-* 'lean'; he sets up a **k̂litā* (followed by me in *Ériu* xviii 99). But if the noun were truly old we might expect at least some occurrences of gen. **clithe* from **klitiās*; cf. *breth*, gen. *brithe* 'judgement' (**britiās*), or the pple. *clithe* 'hidden' (**klitias*). I suggest rather that originally we had a single consonant stem of feminine gender *clí*, gen. **cleth*, reflecting **klit-s*, **klit-os*, and that the attested *clí* and *cleth* result from paradigm split. The vocalism *cleth-* was generalized throughout the new *ā*-stem, while set phrases like *clí thige* (v. supra) would have favored the fixation of *clí* and its extension to other cases.

In similar fashion the old root noun *rú*, dat. *roid* 'reddening (*Corm. Y.* 532 *a rú* .i. *a imdergad*); plant for red dye' (Thurneysen, *OIGr.* 207) has engendered a gen. *roide* in place of expected **rod*: original **rudh-s*, gen. *rudh-os*. (Dat. *roid* itself is not regular in its vocalism—we expect **ruid*—and presumably repeats that of gen. **rod*.) The same explanation has been advanced by David Greene (personal communication) for *clú* and *cloth* 'fame': original **k̂lu-t-s*, gen. **k̂lu-t-os*, of identical root structure to **k̂li-t-s*, gen. **k̂li-t-os*.

An oblique case of the consonant stem *clí*, **cleth* may be attested. The last line of the first and last paragraphs of *Audacht Morainn* in Recension B (not counting the introductory prose of §1), §§2, 63, lines 18, 163, is

ate-midiur-sa ar mo chenéuil clith

The spelling *clith* is constant in all four manuscripts of B in both places, save for the vagrant *clieoth* B^2 at line 163. The line does not occur at the beginning of the ALN-Recension, but it is found in §54 of L and N, corresponding to B §63 (A stops at §53): *atamidiur armo chinēl clith*. It is therefore certain that the line appeared in the original text underlying both recensions, and conceivable that it formed or was part of the *dúnad*.

Kelly translates 'I measure them [my words] for the protection of my kin', taking *clith* as dat. sg. of *cleth*, vn. of *celid* 'conceals'. But this *cleth* means basically 'concealing', and the value 'protection' (taken as a separate word *clith* in *DIL*) is a quite superficial extension from 'hiding place'. Nor does the line make very good sense as translated. I suggest taking *clith* as dat. sg. of *clí*; the dat. sg. of *cleth* 'housepost' is always spelled *cleith*.

With *ate-midiur-sa* we would first compare the gnomic *admestar* series of *AM* §32–52, 'let him estimate, evaluate'; the verbs are the same. As Kelly notes, the *ad-mestar* series of *AM* is comparable to the *messer* series of *Bretha Nemed* (*Ériu* xiii, 41.21 ff., reprinted in Kelly 42f.). The formula of *AM* is *ad-mestar* X *asa* Y 'let him estimate X by its Y', that of *BN* with simplex verb and different prepositions) *messer* X *ara* Y or *messer* X *iarna* Y 'estimate (2 sg. subj.) X by its Y'. O'Dav. 1197 has one example of *messer* X *asa* Y, with the verb of *BN* and the preposition of *AM*. The evident equivalence of these expressions suggests the possibility of an **ad-mestar* X *ara* Y, which mutatis mutandis is what I propose to see in *ate-midiur-sa ar mo cenéuil cliath*: 'I estimate them by the house-post of my kin'. The sense of this appropriately obscure asseveration I take to be that Morann values the words of his Testament as he values the very foundations of his kin-group. For the image in *mo chenéuil clith* cf. *Mael Sechnaill . . . de chlethchlaind Chuind Chétchathaig LL* 15931, 17240.

The Indo-European proto-forms of *clí*, gen. **cleth*, dat. *clith* are **klî-t-s*, **klî-t-os*, **klî-t-(e)i*: a *t*-stem to the root **klei-* of Gk. κλίνω, Skt. *śráyati*, Eng. *lean*, etc. (IEW 600). As we shall see, the form **klî-t-* in the meaning 'house-post' is in fact a real Indo-European word, a technical term in the Indo-European vocabulary of construction.

The nominal form *śrit-* from **klî-t-* is attested in the Rig-Veda in the compound *kṛchre-śrít-*: 6.75.9 *pitáro vayodhâḥ|kṛchreśrítaḥ* 'the Fathers, giving strength, a support in need', where we may see the

same figurative use as in Irish (and English). Since *-t-* suffixed nouns from *TER*-roots are highly productive in Vedic as second members of compounds, a *-śrit-* by itself proves nothing for the existence of an Indo-European **klit-* 'house-post'. But, in the Rig-Veda, the verb *úpa śrayati* (**klei-*) is a technical term for setting up a house-post. In the funeral hymn 10.18.12–13 the grave is symbolically likened to a house being built:

(12bc) *sahásram míta úpa hí śrayantām*
té gr̥hấso ghr̥taścúto bhavantu
(13cd) *etấṃ sthūṇām pitáro dhārayantu te*
átrā yamáḥ sádanā te minotu

'Let a thousand house-posts be set up;
let these houses be dripping in ghee.'
(13cd) 'Let the Fathers hold firm this house-post for you;
'let Yama build you a dwelling there'.

For the 'thousand (house-) posts' (*sahásram mítaḥ*) compare Vedic *sahásrasthūṇa-* 'having a thousand house-posts' 2.41.1, 5.62.6, with the commoner word *sthūṇā* = Avestan *stunā-*, *stūna-*. The compound itself may well be Common Indo-Iranian: Av. *nmānem . . . hazaŋrō.stūnəm* Y. 57.21, Yt. 5.101 'house of a thousand posts'. For the notion compare in Middle Welsh *y bop colouyn o cant colouyn oed yn y ty* 'on each column of the hundred columns that were in the house', *Branwen uerch Lyr* (ed. D. S. Thomson) lines 329–30.

Vedic *sthūnā* is likewise used metaphorically; *dhruvá sthūnā . . . drapsáḥ* 'a firm house-post is the soma-drop'. On its formation and etymology see below.

RV 10.18 above is 'eine Sammlung von Totenversen' (Caland *ap.* Geldner), which thus may contain very old traditional material. The 'thousand house-posts' are Common Indo-Iranian, and so indeed is the triple collocation *mítaḥ . . . sthūnām . . . dhāraya-* and a word for *house* of 12bc and 13c: compare from Avestan

Yt. 10.28 *miθrəm . . . yō stuna vīδāraiieiti*
bərəzimitahe nmānahe
'Mithra . . . who holds firm the house-posts
of the high-built house'

In 10.18.12b the object of *úpa śrayati* is *mít-*, a rhyme-form to *(-)śrít-*. The noun *mí-t-* is a derivative of the verb *minóti* (as in 13d above) 'builds, sets (a housepost)'. Compare also the noun *upa-mít-* (like *úpa śri-*) in the same meaning 'house-post' in

4.5.1 *úpa stabhāyad upamín ná ródhaḥ*
'he supports (the sky) as the post the wall'
1.59.1 *sthūṇeva jánāṇ upamíd yayantha*
'like a supporting post you hold men fast'
The last is formulaically related to *sú-mita-* 'well-set' in
5.45.2 *sthūṇeva súmitā dṛṅhata dyáuḥ*
'like a well-set post the sky was held fast'

The formula is again that of the Iranian example Yt. 10.28 cited above: *stunå dāraiia- mitahe* = *sthúṇā-mitā dṛṅh-* (RV 5.45.2), *sthūṇā -mīt yam-* (1.59.1), *mítaḥ. . . sthūṇām dhāraya-* (10.18.12–13). Its Common Indo-Iranian character cannot be doubted.

We have the root aorist of *śri-* 'set up' in the formula *ūrdhvám bhānúṃ* (*ketúṃ*) *savitā devó aśret* 'god Savitar set up his lofty light' in 4.13.2a, 7.72.4c, 4.14.2a. An echoic (or corrupt?) variant *savitévāśret* 'he set up like Savitar' in 4.6.2c is associated with *métar-*, the agent noun from *minóti*: 2d *méteva* 'like a builder, as a builder (sets up a post)'.

Finally we may observe beside the consonant stem *mít-* 'house-post' an *i*-stem *mití-* in the phrase *svárūnām mitáyaḥ* 7.35.7 'settings of (sacrificial) posts'.

Now *mít-* is to *mití* as *śrít-* is to *śritī-*. The latter has the meaning 'entrance' in RV 9.14.6, but its regular Prakrit reflex *sii* has the meaning 'ladder'. The 'ladder' was made of a single log, with notches cut in it; it is thus only a modified house post. The antiquity of the formation, and of the artifact itself, is shown by its preservation in the contemporary Dardic languages of the remote valleys of the Hindu Cush, which to this day preserve the distinct affricate reflex *c* of IE **k̂*, IIr. **ć* (**ć*), Ind. *ś*, Ir. *s*. We have Ashkun *istrī* 'ladder made from a single log', Waigali *c̄ī* 'ladder (similarly made)', both regularly from **crī* < **ćriti-*. See R. Turner, *Comp. Dict. of the Indo-Aryan Lges.* s.v. *śriti-*; I am indebted to Eric Hamp for first calling to my attention the Waigali form, and the nature of the artifact itself.

The existence of a free form **śrít-*, **ćrit-* 'house-post' in Indo-Iranian is thus a plausible inference. Beside Old Irish a third Indo-European language shows a reflex of IE **k̂li-t-*: Homeric Greek. It is as a derivation in *-i̯ā* of IE **k̂lit-* 'housepost' that we must explain an important Homeric architectural term: κλισίη the designation of the well-made (εὔτυκτος, εὔπηκτος)) dwellings of the Achaeans during the ten-year siege of Troy. In this meaning the word is uncommon after Homer, and only in the sense of 'couch' (Od.+) is it a place for lying down or reclining, and a synchronic derivative of κλίνω.

Another and athematic Homeric derivative of **k̂lit-* is δικλίδες always of doors or gates (πύλαι, θύραι, σανίδες), and always verse-

initial (M 455, β 45, ρ. 268). Hom. δι-κλιδ- is for older *δϝι-κλιτ-; cf. Schwyzer, Gr. Gr. 1.507 and Homeric 'Αρτεμιδ- beside Mycenean gen. *atemito* [Artemitos]. The meaning is 'double-posted', which doors or gates of wooden houses or palisades are, necessarily. Note also κιγκλίς, usually κιγκλίδες, the lattice gates of formal entry of the βουλευταί, δικασταί into the . βουλευτήριον, δικαστήριον (Aristophanes etc.), on which cf. Chantraine, Dict. étym., with references; the formation is ambiguous, but the relation with δι-κλίδες is certain. We have also ἐγκλίς. ἡ καγκελλωτὴ θύρα EM 518.22, the *cancelli*, starting gate in racing, as well as καγκελλοθυρίς. κγκλίς EM 513.4.

It is interesting to observe, as my colleague J. Schindler points out to me, that IE **ĥli-t-* 'house-post' from *ĥlei-* enters into a small but morphologically uniform semantic subclass of technical terms in domestic architecture.

We have already seen Ved. *mi-t-* 'house-post' from **mei(h₂)-*, the root in Ved. *minóti*, 'builds, sets (a house-post)', Archaic Old Irish *-tuidmen* 'makes fast, fixes', subj. *do-s-dīme* (pres. **to-dī-mina-*, subj. **to-dī-miā-*), and Lat. *moenia*, *mūrus* 'wall'. The Irish verb also forms pret. 3 sg. **to-de-mī-t* in *ind adaig to-n-demi Corc i-nErinn* 'the night that Corc landed (lit. made fast) in Ireland' *Anecd.* III 59, 13 (Hull, *PMLA* 62, 1947, 897).

We have a pseudo-root **steu-* (*IEW* 1008–9), doubtless a development from **steh₂u-/*sth₂u-* ⇒ **stuh₂-*, as in Ved. *sthūnā-*, Avest, *stunā-*, *stūna-* 'house-post'; from aniṭ **steu-* note **stu-t-* in OEng. *studu*, *studu* (consonant-stem: nom. *-u* is secondary), ON *stod* MHG *stud*, all feminines in the meaning 'house-post, *stud*'. The latter is of course still a technical term in construction.

The root *ĝheu-* 'pour', Gk. χέω is in Homer the technical term for constructing a burial mould or tomb (τύμβον, σῆμα; χυτὴ . . . γαῖα, all *passim*, compare the Rig-Vedic funeral hymn 10.18.12–13 cited above, where the construction of the tomb is overtly identified with the building of a house). From the root **ĝheu-* note **ĝhu-t-* in Hittite nom. *ku-(ú-)uz-za* (KUB XXIX 4 IV 27, IBoT I 36 I 10) gen. *ku-ut-ta-aš* (KBo XIII 1 IV 10) 'wall'.[1]

With the exception of **ĥli-t-*, each is found only in a single family; but *t*-formations are productive nowhere but in Indo-Iranian, and the pattern is inherited. Old Irish *clí* is an ancient word indeed.

[1]The ordinary Hittite expression 'to set up a house-post' is unrelated: *(u)walluš tiya-* 'set up the house posts', KUB XXIX 1 IV 9 (Old Hittite, CTH 414). The verb is from IE **dhehī-* (**dhē-*), and *(u)wallah* apparently a metaphorical use of (uzu)*wallaš* 'leg, thigh': we have a similar metaphor in *iškišana-* 'ridgepole' to *iškiša-* 'back'. Friedrichs dictionary does not give this metaphorical meaning 'post, pillar' for (uzu)*wallaš*, but it is clear from the context.

2. 'In essar dam do á?'

One of the more delightful little pieces of early Irish verse, well-known to Celticists but for some reason never anthologized, is the following, as cited in Cormac's glossary Y 70 to the rare word *á* 'wagon, cart'.

'IN essar dam do ā?'
'Tó, mena má mo á.
Ara taire mo á mó.'
'Mani má do á, tó.'

The word *á* is itself of course a venerable archaism. The form *á* is nom. and acc. in our poem, and a dat. pl. *dunaib aaib* glosses *axibus* at Ml. 96[c] 12; otherwise the word is known only from glossaries. Vendryes' comparison (*Lexique* s.v.) of Ved. *āsá-* 'chariot seat' (sic) is false, since that is IE **ēs-* 'sit', and besides does not mean 'chariot seat' but 'seat, dwelling place; proximity' (*āsát* 'from near' vs. *dūrát* 'from afar'). The root etymology was given already by Marstrander, *Ériu* v (1911), 252: IE **i̯eh₂-* (**i̯ā-*) 'go' of Ved. *yáti* 'goes', Lat. *iānua*, and appearing in Irish in *áth* 'ford' < *i̯ātu-*. Following an oral suggestion of my colleague Jochem Schindler, we may posit most plausibly for *á* an *s*-stem **i̯eh₂-os*. The *s*-stem **bheh₂-os* 'light' from the root **bheh₂-* (**bhā-*) 'shine', Gk. φάος and Ved. *bhás-* (sometimes scanned *bhā́s-*), gives a parallel from a root of the same structure, and Ved. *ánas-* 'wagon' (: Lat. *onus*) affords an exact parallel both in semantics and morphology.

Cormac's full entry is *á* .i. *fén nō carr nō carpat, ut Fer Muman a quibusdam* [*flebilibus* LB] *audiuit in aquilonali parte* .i. *mar do cūalaid Fer Muman don taoib tūaidh de ō dāinib trūaga a*[*c*] *cōine.* (Why the people should be weeping is far from clear.)[1]

The poem was evidently well-known to the early Irish as well; Myles Dillon published an inconsequentially different version in 'Stories from the Old Irish law tracts' in *Ériu* 11, 1930, 42ff., with translation by O'Curry:

Dia luid Fer Muman a tír Connacht co cuala in fer fria c[*h*]*eli ag an iasacht:*

'Inn esar dam do há?'
Tó, maini má mo há.
Ara tairi mó ha mó?'
'Mani má do há, tó.'

[1] Professor D. Greene suggests that in place of *a*[*c*] *cōine* the archetype of the prose introduction to the poem may have had *oc óin*, the verbal noun of *oidid* 'lends', thus corresponding to the phrase *ag an iasacht* in the version cited below. Cf. *oin .i. iasacht* O'Dav. 1312.

'When Fer Muman went into Connacht, he heard one man say to another in contracting a loan: . . . (tr. Dillon)

'Will you lend me your cart?'
'I will, if you don't break my cart,
if you bring back my cart early.'
'If your cart does not break, it will come.' (tr. O'Curry)

While inaccurate in several respects, the great pioneer's translation clearly grasps the essential idea of the poem; see below.

The poem is surely old, to judge from the noun *á* and the hapax *essar*, as well as the ease with which it plays phonetically with *s*-subjunctives and the like. For *essar* read probably *esser*, 2 sg. deponent strong future of a lost verb related to *íasacht* 'lending', *airíasacht* 'leave'; I have nothing to add to this suggestion of the editors in *DIL* s.v. *essar*, save to point out that the form must be reduplicated, and syncopated from **ïasser*, as in pass. *-fïastar* vs. 3 pl. *-fesatar* to *fichid* (*OIGr.* §659). The 2 sg. deponent seems otherwise unattested in the *s*-future, but the form is the same as the *s*-subjunctive. The Celtic root is **eis-* (**ēs-*)/*is-*, perhaps with a lost initial *p*; but I know of no plausible comparanda. A primitive contractual agreement might be 'struck', as in Lat. *foedus ferire*, but it seems to me unlikely that it would be '(s)mashed', as in Ved. *pināṣṭi*, Lat. *pinso* (IE **peis-*).[2]

Unstressed *do* 'your, thy' is surely to be restored as *to*, which yields a perfect (and quite complex) figure of rhyme and alliteration both within and across verse boundary in *to á* (≠) *tó* (≠) beside *mo á mó* ≠. Both phonologically and metrically, unstressed *mó*, *tó* alliterating with stressed *mo*, *to* would argue for a seventh-century date of composition; cf. Fergus Kelly, *Audacht Morainn* xxx; *Ériu* xxiv, 1973, 5; xxvi, 1975, 69.[3]

We may restore the poem as follows. Dillon's punctuation of the third line as a question gives better parallelism, and the line seems to require a 'yes' answer (*tó*). I retain it, with some hesitation since I know of no interrogative use of *ara*^{n}. The conjunction here appears to

[2] John Armstrong raises the possibility that *esser* might represent the future of *oidid*. Two counter-arguments may be proposed. First, a deponent future in an otherwise active verb would be anomalous; Old Irish is not Greek. Second, unlike roots with etymological *o*-vowel (*bongid* : *bibus*; *long-*, *tong-*, *dlong-*, OIGr. 407), roots with etymological *u*-vowel formed their future with reduplication vowel *u*, on the evidence of *as-boind*, 3 sg. fut. *ad-buib* Ériu 13.19.6 (root **bheudh-*, Gk. πυνθάνω). The perfect *ro-ch-úaid* shows that *oidid*, whatever its etymology, reflects a Celtic root **eud-* (*oud-*)/*ud-*, and that its strong future might have lacked reduplication altogether.

[3] Note especially in *Tiughraind Bhécáin* the concatenating alliteration between lines in strophe 16 *finda* **tóeba**/**to**-*gó dánu*; since in 12 he has *dín mo anmae*, 22 in the seventh century ought to read *is ferr* **mo***inib*/**mo** *anam día deis* with unstressed *mo* (Kelly, *m'anam*, MS manam). Restoring *mo* leaves the third line a syllable too long; the difficulty would disappear if in 12 *mo anmae* and 22 **mo a(i)nm* we had 'name' and not 'soul'.

have hortative, quasi-imperative force, as commonly in the glosses: 'may my cart come back soon', perhaps an implied question. The line is a syllable too long for the 6^1 metre, but I hesitate to emend to the possible *ara·tair* against all the MSS. In the translation I retain O'Curry's felicitous Hiberno-English version of *tó*.

'In esser dom to á?'
'Tó, mani má mo á.
Ara tairi mo á mó?'
'Mani má to á, tó'

'Will you lend me your cart?'
'I will, if my cart doesn't break.'
Will my cart come back soon?'
'If your cart doesn't break, it will.'

The poem with its staccato rhymes is a little tour de force in versification, of the sort that immediately appealed to the Irish listener. A characteristic archaic feature is the concatenating alliteration of stressed and unstressed words between each line: ab *to á/tó*, bc *á/ara*, cd *mó/mani*. The first 'jumps' a stressed word, just as alliteration of stressed words can 'jump' an unstressed word. As noted above, these are features of seventh (and sixth, ACC) century Irish poetics. It is not an accident that the early Irish had a word for 'stressed word' (*foccul*) and 'unstressed word' (*íarmbérla*); the distinction was culturally significant in their poetics, in the first instance, not their linguistics.

Thematically and metrically the poem belongs to the class of informal, popular poetry with shorter verse-line (6^1), of the sort I have discussed in *Celtica* 6 (1963) 194ff., especially 238. It is widespread in a variety of older Indo-European poetic traditions, like the Lithuanian *dainos*, Latvian *dainas*. Vedic examples from the language of liturgy are the formulas (*yajūṁṣi*) of Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā I.9 discussed by P. Rolland, 'La litanie des quatre oblateurs,' JA 1970, 261–79: while not strictly metrical, these consist of 'runs' of grammatically parallel lines of 3–6, 4–8, 5–9, and 6–13 syllables each, of the structure 'X (is) Y' (*pṛthivī́ hōtā*), 'X (is with) Y' (*agnír yájurbhiḥ*), or 'X (is) Y's (wife)' (*páthyā pūṣṇáḥ*).

But there exists in early Greek a far more striking parallel to our archaic Old Irish poem, not only metrically but in the very subject matter and the dialogue style. Hesiod in *The Works and Days* 448 ff. tells of the voice of the crane, which gives the signal for fall ploughing: ἦτ' ἀρότοιό τε σῆμα φέρει. It is time to feed up your own oxen, for (453–4)

ῥηίδιον γὰρ ἔπος εἰπεῖν· βόε δὸς καὶ ἄμαξαν
ῥηίδιον δ' ἀπανήνασθαι· πάρα ἔργα βόεσσιν
'For it is easy to say: βόε δὸς καὶ ἄμαξαν
and it is easy to refuse: πάρα ἔργα βόεσσιν.'

We have a poem within a poem; two identical seven-syllable paroemiac lines (∪∪–∪∪–∪) encapsulated after the hephthemimeral caesura of the hexameters:

βόε δὸς καὶ ἄμαξαν."
πάρα (F)έργα βόεσσιν."
"Give me a team of oxen and a wagon."
"There is work at hand for my oxen."

For the introduction of quoted material by the formulaic figura etymologica ἔπος εἰπεῖν (where here the first digamma is 'neglected', the second 'observed') compare the Hittite usage: KUB XXI 27 II 15–16 (CTH 384; cf. Goetze, ANET² 393–4) *ANA* DUMU NAM.LÚ.ULÙ^{LU} *-pat-kan anda memian kišan memiškanzi*: *ḫarnauwaš* SAL-*nī* DINGIR^{LUM} *kāri tiya*[*zi*] 'among mankind they say the following saying: "to a woman in travail the god yields her wish".' The introduction of proverbs as the second hemistich is a commonplace of Homeric and especially Hesiodic style; the latter does it in fact two lines later in 456

νήπιος, οὐδὲ τὸ οἶδ'· ἑκατὸν δέ τε δούρατ' ἀμάξης
'the fool, he does not know this: *there are a hundred timbers to a wagon*

The so-called 'generalizing τε' marks the second hemistich linguistically as a proverb, which it is metrically as well: a canonical 10-syllable paroemiac. But to my knowledge such a case as we have in 453–4, of a poem within a poem, over two lines, is unique in the older hexameter corpus. The identical cadences of the paroemiac and the hexameter give the possibility of the incorporation; but the two are distinct verse forms.

The little poem is complete, as is shown by the ring-composition—Irish *dúnad*—βόε . . . βόεσσιν. The Aeolic dat. pl. is appropriate to a Boeotian quasi-nursery-rhyme. The dual βόε is noteworthy; in the sense of a team Hesiod uses it at op. 436 (βόε ἐνναετήρω/ἄρσενε) and 608 (βόε λῦσαι), whereas in Homer it is confined to a single formulaic phrase occurring once in a simile in each epic: N 703 ἄλλ' ὥς τ' ἐν νειῷ βόε (F)οίνοπε πηκτὸν ἄροτρον / . . . τιταίνετον 'as in fallow land a team of wine-dark oxen strains at the jointed plow', ν 32 νειὸν ἀν' ἕλκητον βόε (F)οίνοπε πηκτὸν ἄροτρον 'through fallow land a team

of wine-dark oxen has drawn the jointed plow'. The dual (F)οίνοπε occurs only here in Homer; otherwise we have always the familiar (F)οίνοπα πόντον, (F)οίνοπι πόντῳ, occupying the cadence. Faced with the formula βόε (F)οίνοπε one cannot help but recall the Mycenean cow's name or epithet *wonok*^{w}*oso*/woinok^{w}-orsos/'wine-dark-arsed'; all this would indicate that the Homeric epithet and its dual have a long prehistory indeed in barnyard Greek.

It would of course be fanciful to talk about the "Indo-European origins" of *In esser dom to á*, and I make no such claim. But in the light of the Greek evidence we can legitimately claim that this was one of the things the Indo-Europeans talked about, and one of the ways they talked about it in their popular poetry. For the methodology in historical linguistics cf. my remarks in "Proto-Indo-European syntax: problems and pseudo-problems", *Papers from the Parasession on Diachronic Syntax* (Chicago Linguistic Society, 1976). In this sense we may speak of a real Indo-European comparative literature.

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