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KELTEN UND GALLIER.

Die 'Keltenfrage' erfreut sich von jeher des Rufes ganz besonderer Schwierigkeit. Es hat sich im Laufe der Zeit das gläubig hingenommene Dogma herausgebildet, dass auf keltischem Gebiet die Schwierigkeiten, die jeder Urgeschichtsforschung nun einmal eigen sind, potenziert und durch anderwärts unbekannte vermehrt auftreten. In gewissem Sinne ist das auch zutreffend. Allein die Momente, die die Erkenntnis erschweren, sind grösstenteils nicht organisch, nicht in der Natur des Forschungsobjektes begründet, sondern sind erst hineingetragen worden. Die Tradition der Meinungen, um einen Ausdruck Virchows zu gebrauchen, hat hier mehr als irgendwo anders dazu beigetragen, die That-sachen zu verdunkeln. Das hängt wieder damit zusammen, dass alles, was mit wirklichen oder vermeintlichen Kelten zu thun hat, eine ganz eigentümliche Anziehungskraft auf Dilettanten und Unberufene aller Schattierungen ausgeübt hat und noch ausübt. Die Rückwirkung auf die ernst zu nehmenden Forscher ist nicht ausgeblieben. Die Frage war zeitweise derartig verrufen, dass die Keltomanie in Keltophobie umschlug; eine nüchterne Auffassung schien unmöglich. Das ist nun freilich alles viel besser geworden. Die Erforschung der keltischen Sprachen und die sachgemässe Behandlung der Angaben der antiken Schriftsteller über die Kelten haben die Gemüter wesentlich beruhigt und das Chaos der widerstreitenden Ansichten gelichtet. Man hat erkannt, dass die 'Keltenfrage' im Grunde keine andern Schwierigkeiten aufweist als die 'Germanenfrage' oder die 'Griechenfrage'. Aber noch schleppt man sich mit mancher überkommenen Lehre, die vor einer strengeren Kritik nicht

bestehen kann, mühsam herum oder glaubt gar an ihr einen Schatz zu besitzen. Ein derartiger Besitz von zweifelhaftem Werte scheint mir die von Alexandre Bertrand (*Revue archéologique* I, 1 ff., *Archéologie celtique et gauloise*² 415) in die Welt gesetzte Lehre, dass zwischen 'Kelten' und 'Galliern' ein tiefgreifender Unterschied bestanden habe. Sie soll mit ihren Konsequenzen geprüft werden.¹⁾

Hekataeus von Milet eröffnet den Reigen der griechischen Autoren, die uns von den *Κελτοί* und der *Κελτική* berichten. Er nennt *Μασσαλία* eine *πόλις τῆς Λιγυστικῆς κατὰ τὴν Κελτικὴν* (fragm. hist. graec. I, s. 2, fragm. 22). Laut Stephanus von Byzanz macht er ferner eine *πόλις Κελτικὴ Νύραξ* namhaft, die mit Ed. Meyer vermutlich in Spanien gesucht werden muss. Etwas später kennt Herodot die *Κελτοί* an den Pyrenäen. Die bekannte Stelle II, 33 lautet: *Ἰστρος τε γὰρ ποταμός, ἀρξάμενος ἐκ Κελτῶν καὶ Περσῆς πόλιος, ῥέει μέσῃν σχίζων τὴν Εὐρώπην. οἱ δὲ Κελτοὶ εἰσι ἕξω Ἡρακλείων στηλέων, ὁμονόεονσι δὲ Κυνησίοισι etc.* (die zweite Stelle IV, 49, vgl. auch Aristoteles meteorol. 1, 13, p. 350 b 2). Es war, nebenbei bemerkt, Al. Bertrand vorbehalten, aus dieser Stelle herauszulesen, dass die Kelten damals in der Gegend der wirklichen Donauquelle, also im südwestlichen Winkel Deutschlands, sassen (Les Celtes dans les vallées du Pô et du Danube 12). Im Anfang des vierten Jahrhunderts machten die Römer unliebsame Bekanntschaft mit keltischen²⁾ Scharen, die

¹⁾ Selbstverständlich haben sich viele Gelehrte von B.'s Hypothese niemals blenden lassen. Da diese aber entweder eine vornehme Zurückhaltung beobachteten oder, wie z. B. d'Arbois de Jubainville, auf die Argumente der Gegner nicht genügend eingingen, oder wie Lefèvre (*Bulletins de la soc. d'anthropologie de Paris* VI, 330 ff.) und Mortillet (*Formation de la nation française* bes. 92 ff.) Wahres und Falsches durcheinander mischten, musste die Irrlehre viele Opfer unter denen fordern, die an den Urgeschichtsproblemen gleichfalls arbeiten, aber den historischen und linguistischen Dingen ferner stehen. Die gemeinsame Arbeit der Historiker, Linguisten, Prähistoriker und Anthropologen kann sich aber nur dann gedeihlich gestalten, wenn ein wirklicher Austausch stattfindet. Für dieses grössere Publikum, an das sich B.'s Arbeiten wenden, ist auch diese ihre Kritik bestimmt. Ohne Wert ist eine deutsche Monographie über die Kelten, die 1891 in der Festschr. z. 50jähr. Jub. d. Ver. d. Altertumsf. im Rheinl. S. 62 ff. erschienen ist und H. Schaaffhausen zum Verfasser hat.

²⁾ Im Hinblick auf die Viedeutigkeit des Wortes 'Kelte', über die seinerzeit Broca herzbewegliche Klage geführt hat (*Revue d'anthropologie* II), bemerke ich, dass für mich ein 'Kelte' schlechthin der Träger eines durch

sich über Italien ergossen, um nach Eroberung Roms das Land nördlich des Apennin mit Beschlag zu belegen. Es waren *formae hominum invisitatae* (Livius V, 35). Die Römer nannten sie *Galli*. Dies ist für alle Zeiten die spezifisch römische Bezeichnung für alle festländischen Kelten mit Ausnahme der Belgen geblieben. Niemals werden die britannischen Kelten *Galli* genannt, obwohl ihre enge Verwandtschaft mit den *Galli* nicht verkannt wird. Etwa ein Jahrhundert nach der Schlacht an der Allia und dem Falle Roms tauchten die Kelten in der griechischen Kultursphäre auf.¹⁾ Die Griechen, die bis dahin nur den Namen *Κελτοί* gekannt hatten (die keltischen [oberitalischen] Söldner der Syrakusaner werden von Plato, die norditalischen *Galli* von Ephoros *Κελτοί* genannt), bezeichneten die kriegerischen Scharen, die bis Delphi vordrangen, als *Γαλάται* (vgl. zu diesen Balkan- kelten und ihren Zügen Garofalo, Revue des études grecques XIII, 450 ff.). In der Folge blieb dieser Name an den im Balkan und weiter östlich sitzenden Kelten haften. Das ältere *Κελτοί* diente weiter teils als Gesamtname, unter den auch die Germanen fielen, teils im engeren Sinne als Bezeichnung der italischen, spanischen, französischen Kelten. Griechen, die über römische Geschichte schrieben, passten sich jedoch bis zu einem gewissen Grade dem römischen Sprachgebrauch an und nannten die italischen etc. Kelten *Γαλάται*, weil eben die Römer *Galli* sagten und beide Wörter (*Galli* und *Γαλάται*) offenbar für identisch galten. Durch Caesar wurde schliesslich das alte griechische *Κελτοί* gewissermassen neu entdeckt, allerdings in etwas abweichender Form, als *Celtae*. Die *Celtae* sind nach ihm die Bewohner des Landes zwischen *Garumna* und *Sequana*. Dies in grossen Zügen der Thatbestand. Welchen Anteil haben an dieser Buntheit einerseits der griechische und römische Sprachgebrauch, andererseits etwaige keltische Stammesverschiedenheiten?

Al. Bertrand glaubt nachweisen zu können, dass *Κελτοί* und *Γαλάται* bei Polybios zwei völlig verschiedene Völker sind. Unter

lautliche etc. Eigentümlichkeiten (Schwund von *p*, *e* > *i*) scharf charakterisierten idg. Idioms ist.

¹⁾ Natürlich hatten schon vorher Berührungen stattgefunden. Diodor nennt XVII, 113, 12 unter den Völkern, die Gesandte an Alexander in Babylon schickten, auch die *Γαλάται* (Arrian: *Κελτοί*), ὧν τότε πρῶτον τὸ γένος ἐγνώσθη παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν.

Κελτοί soll Polybius die Ureinwohner des südlichen Frankreichs und des nördlichen Italiens verstehen, unter *Γαλάται* dagegen die kriegerischen Scharen, die Rom eroberten. Eine solche reinliche Scheidung besteht in Wirklichkeit nicht. Häufig genug wechseln bei Polybius die Namen *Κελτοί* und *Γαλάται* in einer Weise, dass man sieht, sie sind für ihn gleichwertig. Die *Γαλάται*, die laut II, 16, 2 Rom mit Ausnahme des Kapitols eroberten, heissen II, 18, 6 *Κελτοί*, aber 8 wieder *Γαλάται*. Die keltischen Völkerschaften Oberitaliens (also die *ἀπολειφθέντες τῆς στρατίας*, wie sie bei Scylax peripl. 18 genannt werden) heissen bald *Κελτοί*, bald *Γαλάται*, die *Γαισάται Γαλάται*, die unter ihren Königen *Κογκολιτάνος* und *Ἀνηροίστος* aus dem Rhonethal den italischen Stammesgenossen¹⁾ zu Hilfe kamen, II, 22, 8 *Κελτοί*, die vereinigten Gaisaten, Boier und Insubrer heissen in den folgenden Kapiteln überwiegend *Κελτοί*, doch auch *Γαλάται* (26, 4). In K. von Beckers im übrigen ganz verfehlter Schrift 'Versuch einer Lösung der Celtenfrage' wird S. 16, 17 der nicht unebene Gedanke ausgesprochen, dass Pol. nur da *Γαλάται* gebraucht, wo er aus einer römischen Quelle schöpft (ebenso Holder, Altcelt. Sprachschatz I, 892). Die Frage gehört vor das Forum der Quellenforschung (vgl. bisher über die Quellen der Polybianischen Darstellung der gallischen Kriege Niese, Hermes XIII, 410 ff., Nitzsch, Die römische Annalistik 271 ff.), vorläufig scheint es mir jedoch wahrscheinlicher, dass dem Historiker beide Namen gleich geläufig waren, und er je nach Laune bald diesen, bald jenen bevorzugte.²⁾ Verhängnisvoll für die Folgezeit ist vor allem Bertrands Auffassung von Pol. II, 15, 1 ff. und 17, 9 ff. geworden. Aus beiden Stellen liest B. einen schroffen Gegensatz zwischen friedlichen, hochkultivierten Kelten und kriegerischen Galatern heraus (Bertrand et Reinach, Les Celtes dans les vallées du Pô et du Danube S. 29). 15, 1 ff. entwirft P. eine begeisterte Schilderung der gesegneten Poebene und des trefflichen Menschenschlages, der sie bewohnt. Er hat die Verhältnisse seiner Zeit im Auge. An der späteren Stelle hingegen beschreibt er die Vorfahren der oberitalischen Kelten

¹⁾ II, 15, 8 werden die *Γαλάται Τρανσαλπῖνοι* im Rhonethal namhaft gemacht, 9 heisst es dann: *Τρανσαλπῖνοί γε μὴν οὐ διὰ τὴν τοῦ γένους, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν τοῦ τόπου διαφορὰν προσαγορεύονται.*

²⁾ Auch andere griechische Schriftsteller gebrauchen *Κελτοί* und *Γαλάται* promiscue.

des zweiten Jahrhunderts, die streitbaren Gesellen also, die den Römern zweihundert Jahre früher den gallischen Schrecken eingejagt hatten. Bei denen sah es freilich noch anders aus: ὅκουν δὲ κατὰ κόμας ἀτειχίστους, τῆς λοιπῆς κατασκευῆς ἅμοιροι καθιστῶτες. διὰ γὰρ τὸ στιβαδοκοιτεῖν καὶ κρεαφαγεῖν, ἔτι δὲ μηδὲν ἄλλο πλὴν τὰ πολεμικὰ καὶ τὰ κατὰ γεωργίαν ἀσκήν ἀπλοῦς εἶχον τοὺς βίους, οὐτ' ἐπιστήμης ἄλλης οὔτε τέχνης παρ' αὐτοῖς τὸ παράπαν γνωσσομένης. ὑπαρξίς γε μὴν ἐκάστοις ἦν θρέμματα καὶ χρυσὸς διὰ τὸ μόνον ταῦτα κατὰ τὰς περιστάσεις ῥαδίως δύνασθαι πανταχῇ περιγαγεῖν καὶ μεθιστάναι κατὰ τὰς αὐτῶν προαιρέσεις. Wenn wir auch an beiden Stellen jedes Wort für buchstäblich wahr halten, kann der Abstand zwischen einst und jetzt, wie ihn Pol. darlegt, keinen Unbefangenen befremden. Zwei Jahrhunderte sind an den bildungsfähigen Kelten natürlich nicht spurlos vorübergegangen. Tüchtige Krieger waren sie immer noch, aber sie überliessen es den Gaisaten, nach der Väter Sitte nackt in der vordersten Reihe zu kämpfen (II, 23, 8), was diesen übel bekam. Bertrand hält es für unmöglich, dass an beiden Stellen dasselbe Volk gemeint sei: es hat nach ihm in Italien friedliche Kelten gegeben, lange bevor die Galater einbrachen. Polybius weiss davon nichts, ebensowenig ein anderer Schriftsteller des Altertums. Eine ganz andere Frage ist es, wann und in welcher Form die keltische Invasion in Italien erfolgt ist. Bekanntlich giebt es über die Zeit des Einbruches eine zwiefache Überlieferung, die meisten Gelehrten haben sich für das spätere Datum (ca. 400) entschieden, doch findet auch das frühere (ca. 600) noch Verteidiger (zuletzt M. A. Pernice, Sui Celti e la loro immigrazione in Italia, vgl. dazu Revue Celtique XX, 576 ff.). Es scheint mir ausgemacht, dass die grosse Expansion der norditalischen Keltenstämme, die die Macht der Etrusker brach und Rom erschütterte, in die Wende des fünften Jahrhunderts fiel. Zu dieser Zeit mögen wirklich die meisten erst die Alpen überschritten haben. Es ist aber nicht einzusehen, warum nicht schon viel früher vereinzelte Scharen, kleinere Haufen, sich fast unbemerkt in der Poebene, deren Zustand damals natürlich ein wesentlich anderer war als einige Jahrhunderte später, eingefunden haben sollen. Man neigt dazu, sich grosse Völkerverschiebungen als einmalige Züge vorzustellen, während sie doch viel häufiger durch Summierung vieler kleiner Bewegungen zu Stande gekommen sind; äusserst lehrreich sind

die Ausführungen Ratzels (Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. W., phil.-hist. Kl. 1898, 1 ff.), der diese Dinge mit dem weltweiten Blick des Anthropogeographen ansieht. Die Sage weiss zu berichten, dass ein Helvetier Helico, der in Rom das Schmiedehandwerk ausübt habe, mit Proben italischer Bodenerzeugnisse in die Heimat zurückgekehrt sei. Das habe den Anstoss zum Einbruch gegeben. Der Sagenform entkleidet hat die Erzählung ihren guten Sinn.

Auch anderen antiken Schriftstellern entnehmen Bertrand und seine Gesinnungsgenossen ihre Beweise. Diodor sagt an der bekannten Stelle V, 32, 1: *Χρήσιμον δ' ἐστὶ διορίσαι τὸ παρὰ πολλοῖς ἀγροούμενον, τοὺς γὰρ ὑπὲρ Μασσαλίας κατοικοῦντας ἐν τῷ μεσογαίῳ καὶ τοὺς παρὰ τὰς Ἄλπεις, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰδε τῶν Πυρηνναίων ὄρεων Κελτοὺς ὀνομάζουσι, τοὺς δ' ὑπὲρ ταύτης τῆς Κελτικῆς εἰς τὰ πρὸς ἄρκτον (Text νότον) νεύοντα μέρη παρὰ τε τὸν Ὠκεανὸν καὶ τὸ Ἐρκύνιον ὄρος καθιδρυμένους καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἕξῃς μέχρι τῆς Σκυθίας Γαλάτας προσαγορεύουσιν.* Also nördlich von den *Κελτοί* und den *Κελτική* wohnen die *Γαλάται* am Ocean und am hercynischen Gebirge bis zu den Skythen (Slaven) hin. Hier hat einmal Holtzmann recht gehabt, wenn er unter *Γαλάται* die Germanen verstanden wissen wollte. Nur auf diese passt die Angabe über die Ausdehnung der *Γαλάται*. Germanen und Gallier warf man ja in älterer Zeit durcheinander. Die populäre römische Auffassung, der die bekannte Stelle des Strabo VII, 1, 2 Ausdruck verleiht, sah in den *Germani* '*germani Galli*' (vgl. auch O. Hirschfeld im Festgr. f. H. Kiepert). Zur Zeit Diodors war dieser Irrtum von den gut Unterrichteten überwunden, aber er klingt bei ihm eben in dem Gebrauche des Wortes *Γαλάται* nach. An der Stelle V, 32 tritt somit die Erkenntnis von der Verschiedenheit der Germanen und Kelten in ganz eigenartiger, archaischer Verkleidung auf, etwas anderes darf in ihr nicht gesucht werden. XXV, 13 berichtet derselbe Diodor zum Jahre 225: *Κέλται δὲ μετὰ Γαλατῶν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων πόλεμον ἀθροίσαντες συνῆξαν λαὸν μυριάδας.* Es handelt sich um den Krieg, den die norditalischen Kelten im Bunde mit transalpinen Stammesgenossen, den Gaisaten, gegen die Römer führten. Es sind mehrere Auffassungen möglich. Der Grieche konnte die transalpinen Kelten mit denen des Balkans verknüpfen und demgemäss *Γαλάται* nennen, während er den ihm ferner stehenden italischen Kelten den älteren, gewissermassen unpersönlicheren Namen beilegte. Oder aber die *Γαλάται* sind auch hier mit

Germanen zu übersetzen. Bekanntlich erscheinen die unzweifelhaft in der Hauptsache keltischen Gaisaten in den kapitolinischen Fasten vom Jahre 222 als *Germani* (O. Hirschfeld, Hermes IX, 98, XI, 161, Mommsen RG. I, 555 Anm., Kossinna PBB. XX, 273 ff.). Dort sind sie deutlich durch spätere historische Spekulation hineingekommen. Vielleicht ist auch Diodor von dieser Ansicht beeinflusst. Darüber müssen die Historiker füglich das letzte Wort sprechen. Zu beachten ist übrigens noch, dass Diodor an der zuletzt angezogenen Stelle die Form *Κέλται* = lat. *Celtae* verwendet.

Sehr häufig ist ein Dialog des Sulpicius Severus in der Keltenfrage verwertet worden, von Bertrand Archéologie² 416, Penka Origines Ariacae 106, Rhys Transactions Phil. Soc. 1891—1893, S. 116, Rhind Lectures on Archaeology S. 7, um nur einige der neueren anzuführen. Bei Sulpicius Severus I, 26 sagt ein Gallier zu einem fein gebildeten Aquitanier: *Sed cum cogito me hominem Gallum inter Aquitanos verba facturum, vereor ne offendat vestras nimium urbanas aures sermo rusticior.* Der Aquitanier Postumianus antwortet darauf: *Tu vero vel Celtice aut si mavis Gallice loquere, dum modo Martinum loquaris.* Von einem Gegensatz zwischen Keltisch und Gallisch ist nicht die Rede. Postumianus sagt, um seine Worte etwas zu paraphrasieren, folgendes: Vor deinem schlechten Latein fürchte ich mich ganz und gar nicht. Ich will dir im Gegenteil noch eine weitere Konzession machen. Sprich meinetwegen keltisch oder gallisch, falls du diese Bezeichnung vorziehst; die Hauptsache ist, dass du von Martinus sprichst. Keltisch und gallisch sind gleichwertig, etwa wie czechisch und böhmisch, wälsch und kymrisch u. dergl. Diese Deutung der Stelle, die allen Hypothesen den Boden entzieht, findet sich schon bei Windisch in Gröbers Grdr. d. rom. Phil. I, 297 f.

Rhys hielt sich besonders an den vermeintlichen Gegensatz zwischen keltischer und gallischer Sprache und beutete ihn auf seine Weise aus. Die keltischen Sprachen teilen sich bekanntlich in der Behandlung der idg. labiovelaren Tenuis in zwei Gruppen. Die eine, ihr Hauptrepräsentant ist das Irische, hat idg. *kʷ* zunächst beibehalten (*cruth* aus **kʷrtu-* Verf. KZ. XXXV, 253 ff.), dann zu reinem *c* werden lassen. Die andere hat *kʷ* zu *p* gemacht. So das Britannische (kymr. *pryd pedwar pwy*) und in sehr zahlreichen Fällen das Keltische des Kontinents (*Epona*,

Petrucorii etc.). Doch muss es auf dem Kontinent einst auch Vertreter der ersten Gruppe gegeben haben. Von jeher war der Name der *Sequana* und der *Sequani* ein Stein des Anstosses für die, denen das festländische Keltisch schlechthin als ältester Repräsentant des britannischen Zweiges galt. Rhÿs hat nun die Beispiele zu mehren gesucht. Vieles, was er vorbringt, ist unrichtig oder doch zum mindesten unsicher.¹⁾ *Arquius* ist auf der pyrenäischen Halbinsel mehrfach belegt. Aber *Apilus Arquii* CIL. II, 2433 macht uns schon an der Kelticität des Namens irre, da die Namen von Vater und Sohn (*Apilus* dürfte keltisch sein) verschiedenen Dialekten angehören würden. Dass spanische Namen wie *Aluquius* (neben *Allucius*), *Doquirus*, *Docquiricus* keltisch sein müssen, kann ich nicht einsehen. Die Iberer waren doch auch noch da. *Equabona* kann eine hybride Bildung sein, falls es überhaupt richtig überliefert ist. Ins Gewicht fällt *Quarquerni*, *Querquerni*, der Name eines Stammes der keltiberischen *Callaici* (zum Wechsel *e:a* vgl. Kossinna, IF. II, 181 f.), besonders wenn man das karnische *Quarqueni* Plin. III, 130²⁾ und andererseits *Perperna*, den Namen des berühmten Unterfeldherrn des Sertorius, daneben hält. Dagegen ist es wieder nichts mit *Quassauna*, das Rhÿs aus Oberitalien ins Feld führt. In *Tiniatius Quasaunai* CIL. V, 3463 ist gewiss der erste Name venetisch (ven. *Tineh*, freilich auch etrusk. *Tinia*, *Tinu* auf der Inschrift von Voltino), wahrscheinlich auch der zweite. Auch *Querra* dürfte den Venetern angehören, der Anklang an irisch *Querai* (Ogam, vgl. J. R. S. Antiq. of Ireland 1899, S. 402) ist bedeutungslos. Durch sein Suffix verrät sich *Equasia*, vgl. ven. (illyr.) *Calsasia* CIL. V, 2414, *Audasius* V, 3503. Die *Quariates* CIL. XII, 80 sind Ligurer; dass diese ein *qu* besaßen, bezeugt der echt ligurische Name *Quiamelius* mit der charakteristischen Bildung (vgl. Müllenhof, DA.² III, 183 f.). *Veiquasius* sieht wieder venetisch aus. Es ist allerdings aus Piemont belegt, also westlich von der eigentlichen Venetersphäre (der Name der *Venisami* auf dem Bogen von Susa (CIL. V, 7231) klingt zwar stark venetisch, vgl. *Venixama* CIL. III, 3825, ist aber sicher ligurisch),

¹⁾ Vgl. auch d'Arbois de Jubainville, RC. XII, 477 f.; Loth im Krit. Jahresb. rom. Phil. IV, 1. Teil, S. 44 ff.

²⁾ Nicht ganz sicher, vgl. jetzt Holder, Sprsch. II, 1057. Dort noch einige weitere ganz unsichere Fälle von *qu*.

doch fällt das bei einem Einzelnamen nicht allzu schwer ins Gewicht. Dass schliesslich die ahd. Glosse *Chorthonicum uualholant* (Steinmeyer-Sievers III, 610) auf ein kontinentales Land Bezug habe, ist gänzlich unerweislich und unglaublich. Es ist klar, dass mit dem von Rhÿs zusammengetragenen Material nicht viel anzufangen ist. Auf festem Boden befindet man sich dagegen bei den Sequanern, über deren Sprache der 1897 gefundene sogen. Kalender von Coligny (vgl. Thurneysen, Zs. f. celt. Phil. II, 523 ff.) doch wenigstens einiges Licht — es ist leider wenig genug — verbreitet hat. Zu dem Namen *Sequani* gesellt sich der Monatsname *Equos*¹⁾ und das freilich dunkle *inquimon*. Wenn neben diesen *prinni*, *petiux* mit offenbar aus *qu* entstandenen *p* liegen, wird man das Auskunftsmittel Thurneysens S. 542 nicht verschmähen können. Die Sprache der Sequaner hätte somit weder zur *qu*- noch zur *p*-Gruppe, sondern zu einer dritten vermittelnden gehört. Es geht aus all diesem hervor, auf wie schwachen Füßen die Annahme Rhÿs's steht, dass die Kelten des Festlandes gleichfalls in eine *qu*- und *p*-Gruppe zerfallen seien. Wenn er aber vollends die *qu*-Gruppe mit den *Celtae*, die *p*-Gruppe mit den *Galli* identifiziert und aus der Severusstelle den Schluss zieht, dass damals beide Sprachen noch im lebendigen Gebrauche waren, so wird ihm darin kein Besonnener folgen.²⁾

Wie zu erwarten war, haben sich auch die Prähistorie und die Anthropologie der Lehre vom Gegensatz der Kelten und Gallier bemächtigt. So hat ein ursprünglich auf die Polybiusinterpretation beschränkter Irrtum immer weitere Kreise gezogen und mit der Zeit das Bild von der vorgeschichtlichen Besiedelung nachmals keltischer Länder in unverantwortlicher Weise verfälscht. Da erfahrungsgemäss die Resultate der Prähistorie und Anthropologie von solchen, die in beiden Wissenschaften nicht selbständig mitarbeiten, meist mit vollkommener Skepsis oder aber mit gläubiger Ehrfurcht aufgenommen werden,

¹⁾ *Epomanduodurum* hiess eine Stadt im Lande der S., heute *Mandeure*, Dép. Doubs. Dies *Epo*- darf natürlich nicht gegen die oben ausgesprochene Anschauung geltend gemacht werden, da es einem Nachbardialekt, bezw. einem 'vorsequanischen' Dialekt angehört haben kann.

²⁾ Rhÿs hält auch im Report of the Royal Commission on Land in Wales and Monmouthshire (London 1896) S. 66 an seiner Lehre fest, desleichen in dem Buche 'The Welsh People' S. 4.

so ist nicht ausgeschlossen, dass die falsche Lehre auf diesem Umwege noch einmal wieder Geschichte wird. Da hätten wir den völligen Kreislauf der Dinge. Ein tüchtiger Ansatz dazu ist z. B. schon bei Rhys in dem eben citierten Report S. 66 zu spüren. Dort wird die prähistorische Archäologie zum Zeugen dafür aufgerufen, dass die Kelten von den Galatern-Galliern sich durch die Bestattungsweise und Bewaffnung unterschieden. Die Kelten seien vielfach die Vorläufer der Galater-Gallier gewesen, welche im sechsten Jahrhundert der bis dahin keltischen Welt ein anderes Gepräge gegeben hätten. Die Kelten seien besonders im Alpengebiet, an der Donau und in Norditalien zu Haus, die Galater in Deutschland und Belgien. Wenn man hier überall die Namen weglässt, kommt schon eher etwas Vernünftiges heraus. Die Funde setzen uns in den Stand, gewisse Kulturkreise zu bestimmen, übrigens meist auch nur dann, wenn ein Einzelobjekt zum Kriterium erhoben wird; der wertvollere Fall, wo die Abgrenzung auf Grund mehrerer Momente, vielleicht des Totalcharakters, stattfindet, ist bei weitem seltener. Aber selbst eine einheitliche materielle Kultur hat durchaus nicht ein einheitliches ethnisches Substrat zur Voraussetzung. Die Fundkarten ermöglichen es uns also nicht einmal die Grenzen anonymer Völker festzulegen. Die Namen vollends kann natürlich nur die Geschichte liefern; wo diese versagt, bleibt die Prähistorie namenlos. So steht es in unserem Fall. Also fort mit allen Trugbildern!

Die Anthropologie ist eingestandnermassen kaum jemals in der Lage, ein historisches Problem, das sich an bestimmte Namen knüpft, zu lösen. Speziell in der Keltenfrage ist ihre Mitwirkung nicht von Segen gewesen. Die früher allgemein geteilte Ansicht, dass man in Frankreich und anderwärts zwischen kleinen, braunen, brachycephalen Kelten und grossen, blonden, dolichocephalen Galliern zu scheiden habe (z. B. Broca *Bulletins de la société d'anthrop. de Paris*, erste Serie, V, 457 ff.; *Revue d'anthrop.* II, 577; Lagneau, Artikel *Celtes* im *Dictionnaire encycl. des sciences médicales*; Penka, *Origines ariacae* 123), darf in dieser Formulierung als überwunden gelten (vgl. Collignons Ausführungen im Anschluss an den früher citierten Vortrag von Lefèvre), wenn auch z. B. Sergi (*Atti della società Romana di antrop.* III, 160 u. ö.), Humbert Molière (*Introduction à l'histoire des Gaëlois, Proto-Celtes, Celtes et Galates*, S. 69)

und Penka (Mittel. d. anthrop. Ges. z. Wien XXVII, 18 ff.) daran festhalten.

Die Frage ist somit wieder auf dem Punkte, wo sie vor Bertrand war. Einen festen Anhalt scheint die bekannte, von Strabo, Livius, Plinius, Mela, Ammian wiederholte Angabe Cäsars zu bieten, dass die Bewohner des Landes zwischen Garumna und Sequana-Matrona in ihrer eigenen Sprache *Celtae*, auf lateinisch *Galli* hiessen (vgl. Wilkens, Quaestiones de Strabonis etc. fontibus, Marburger Diss. 1886, S. 31). Ob Cäsar diese Bemerkung aus seiner persönlichen Kenntniss des Landes schöpft, ob er sie einer litterarischen Quelle, etwa dem Posidonius, entnimmt, wissen wir nicht. Wir müssen sie einfach hinnehmen. Cäsar sagt *Celta*, Pl. *Celtae* gegenüber gr. *Κελτός Κελτοί*. Ist *Celta* bloss richtiger als *Κελτός* oder von diesem verschieden? Miller, Strabos Quellen über Gallien und Britannien, S. 13 und Wilkens a. a. O. neigen sich letzterer Ansicht zu. Wenn man bedenkt, wie unbestimmt die erste Kunde gewesen sein mag, die vom Keltenvolke zu den Griechen drang, wird man die Möglichkeit, dass das richtige Geschlecht unterwegs abhanden gekommen ist, nicht rundweg ablegnen. Männliche *ā*-Stämme besass das Keltische ohne Zweifel (Holder I, 3, Stokes BB. XI, 154). Die Form *Celta*, die Cäsar einführt, flösst uns somit grösseres Zutrauen zu der Richtigkeit seiner Angabe ein. Müllenhoff (DA. I, 2167) geht in der Skepsis entschieden zu weit, wenn er daran zweifelt, dass die Kelten oder Teile derselben sich je selbst so genannt hätten. Er glaubt sogar, dass *Celtillus*, der Vater des *Vercingetorix*, seinen Namen nur den engen Beziehungen zu Massilia verdankt habe. Es fehlt nicht an inschriftlichen Zeugnissen für Namen, die *Celt*- enthalten. *Celtillus* ist aus Kaiser-Augst, *Celtilla* aus dem Rhonedelta überliefert, *Celtinus* aus dem Dép. Loire, *Cello* aus Haute Savoie, *Ciltius* aus Grenoble und Puy du Dôme. Die spanischen *Celtiberi* und *Celtici* sind sicher Kunstprodukte, aber *Celti* ist ein Ort auf dem rechten Ufer der Baetis, das Cognomen *Celtitanus* (zur Bildung vgl. Hübner, Ephem. epigr. II, S. 35) ist auf Inschriften und Münzen bezeugt, *Celtus*, *Celta*, *Celtius* sind mehrfach überliefert. Aus Italien liegen *Celtus* und *Celtilia* vor. Ein bekannter Ulsterheld heisst *Celtchar macc Uthechair*. Völkernamen werden zur Bildung von Personennamen verwendet, vgl. *Boiorix*, *Boiocalus*, ahd. *Angilbreht*, *Werinheri*, *Wentilgér*, die kyprischen *Αριστόκνυρος*, *Τιμόκνυρος*,

Ὀνασιχίπρα u. s. w. Also *Celt-* gehört zu *Celtae*, -*char* natürlich zu *carim* 'liebe', sodass sich *Celtchar* genau mit *Φιλόχυρος* der grossen Inschrift von Edalion deckt. Über die genaue Bedeutung des *Celt-* wissen wir freilich nichts. Immerhin dürfte erwiesen sein, dass der Name *Celtae* mit echt keltischem Sprachgut zusammen hängt. Ob er jemals die Gesamtheit des keltischen Volkes bezeichnet hat, darf füglich bezweifelt werden. Solche Gesamtnamen pflegen sich verhältnismässig spät im Gefolge politischer Einigung oder doch festeren Zusammenschlusses einzustellen. Weshalb der Name *Celtae* gerade an den Bewohnern des Landes zwischen Garumna und Sequana haftet, wird niemals aufgeklärt werden, wenn uns nicht der Boden eines Tages eine Überraschung bereitet. In der Erwartung eines derartigen Fundes müssen wir uns darauf beschränken, den Beziehungen sprachlicher und anderer Art nachzuspüren, die zwischen den *Celtae* und den übrigen Kelten bestehen.

Es kann keinem Zweifel unterliegen, dass die italischen Kelten sich selbst den Namen *Galli*, die Donau- und Balkankelten den Namen *Γαλάται* beilegen. Mit ziemlicher Sicherheit dürfen ferner beide Namen identifiziert werden. *Γαλάται*, gebildet wie *Γαισάται*, *Ἐχονυριάται*, *Ναυτονάται*, weiterhin *Caeracates*, *Sontiates*, *Vellates* u. dgl. gehört, wie man längst erkannt hat, zu *mir. gal* 'Tapferkeit', *air. irgal* 'Waffe', *dégal* 'Rache' und bedeutet vermutlich 'Krieger, Held' (verwandt ist deutlich der Name der preussischen *Galindai* und der illyrischen *Γαλάβριοι*). Ein Boierkönig des dritten Jahrhunderts hiess *Γάλατος* (Pol. II, 21, 5); der Stammesname **Galatini*, in kymrischer Form *Galedin*, ist für England nur durch eine Triade bezeugt (Diefenbach, *Celtica* II, 72), für die Geschichte fällt in der Erzählung von den *gwyr Galedin*, welche *yn y llongau mochion* nach der Insel Wight kamen, nachdem ihr Land unter Wasser gesetzt war, nichts ab. Wie sich zu *Γαλάται* lat. *Galli* verhält, ist nicht mit Sicherheit auszumachen. Man kann daran denken und hat daran gedacht, dass **Galati* im Munde der Italiker zu *Galli* geworden sei, aber abgesehen von der Unwahrscheinlichkeit eines solchen Vorganges überhaupt, wird dieser spezielle Lautwandel durch die Lautgesetze keiner einzelnen italischen Sprache gerechtfertigt. Es müsste also der Name von einer Sprache zur andern weiter gegeben worden sein, was ja möglich ist, und dabei die Umformung erlitten haben. Der Name kann aber auch schon im

Munde seiner keltischen Träger die historisch überlieferte Form angenommen haben. *Galli* wäre dann als Kurzform von *Γαλάται* aufzufassen.

Die Identität des Namens der italischen und der Donau-Balkan-Kelten ist gewiss nicht zufällig. Die Einfälle in Italien und im Balkan stimmen nach Zeit und Charakter so genau zu einander, dass man hier wohl von einem ursprünglich einheitlichen Strome sprechen darf, der sich in zwei Arme geteilt hat. Hier erhebt sich nun gebieterisch die berühmte Frage, woher diese Menschenmassen gekommen sind. Allbekannt ist die Erzählung des Livius V, 34 und die Diskussion, die sich daran geknüpft hat und auch heute noch nicht zu völligem Abschluss gebracht ist. Livius leitet die italischen Kelten aus dem Lande der cäsarischen *Celtae* her. Sein Bericht enthält offenbar die heterogensten Bestandteile, die im einzelnen zu sondern auch der scharfsinnigsten Kritik nicht gelingen wird. Niese (Die keltischen Wanderungen, Zs. f. deutsches Altertum XLII, 129 ff.) bemisst den Wert der livianischen Erzählung sehr gering, er glaubt nicht einmal, dass in ihr eine echte (insubrische) Tradition verarbeitet worden ist, wie dies schon Müllenhoff angenommen hat. Nach Niese sind die Donauländer nördlich der Alpen die Heimat der *Galli*. Er geht, wie mir scheint, über die Namen der gallischen Völkerschaften etwas zu leicht hinweg. Faktisch sitzen doch im cäsarischen Gallien *Lingones* (Langres) und *Senones* (Sens) neben einander wie in Italien. Die Namensgleichheit allein will wenig besagen, sobald aber das geographische Moment hinzutritt, darf sie nicht mehr ohne weiteres beiseite geschoben werden. Der Fall kehrt ja beständig wieder. Ob die norwegischen *Hørðar* mit den *Χαροῦδες* in Jütland und den *Harudes* des Ariovist mehr als den Namen gemeinsam haben, ist ungewiss; dass aber die Angeln, Sachsen und Jüten Englands mit denen des Kontinents genetisch zusammenhängen, unterliegt keinem Zweifel. Die *Cenoman(n)i* stellen in Frankreich eine Unterabteilung der *Aulerci* dar; bei ihnen, die nicht unmittelbare Nachbarn der Senonen sind, kann man schon eher an eine zufällige Namensgleichheit mit den italischen *Cenomani* denken.¹⁾ Was es mit der Angabe des Plinius (N. h. III, 130) *Cenomanos*

¹⁾ Die Verbindung wäre freilich hergestellt, wenn man die italischen *Carni* mit den französischen *Carnutes* identifizieren dürfte.

iuxta Massiliam habitasse in Volcis (auctor est Cato) für eine Bewandnis hat, ist unklar.¹⁾ Nun liegen freilich zwischen dem Galliereinfall in Italien und der Erschliessung des Landes der *Celtae* mehrere Jahrhunderte, während welcher die verschiedensten Völkerverschiebungen stattgefunden haben können. Wir wissen also nicht, ob die Senonen und Lingonen schon lange da ansässig gewesen sind, wo sie Cäsar angetroffen hat. Wir wissen aber auch nichts, was eine solche Annahme unmöglich machte. Aus der Notiz Cäsars, BG. II, 4 (s. u.), folgt, auch wenn sie zuverlässig ist, keineswegs, dass Senonen und Lingonen einst im nachmaligen Belgien gesessen haben. Die Gallier, von deren Austreibung an der Cäsarstelle die Rede ist, können sich mit Verlust ihrer eigenen Stammesnamen unter die vom Belgiereinfall nicht betroffenen keltischen Völkerschaften an der Seine und Marne gemischt haben. So viel ist sicher, die Erzählung des Livius gewinnt ein wesentlich anderes Gesicht, wenn man sich die Lagerung der gleichnamigen Stämme hüben und drüben vergegenwärtigt. Es könnte doch sein, dass sie einen guten alten Kern enthielte. Seien wir doch ehrlich; wir wissen ja so wenig von den Völkerverhältnissen West- und Nordeuropas zur Zeit der Keltenzüge, dass es vermessen ist, sich mit Sicherheit für oder gar gegen den Bericht des Livius zu entscheiden. Hier kann einmal die Archäologie rettend einspringen. Mit den Galliern kam die La Tène-Kultur nach Oberitalien, charakterisiert vor allem durch den ganz eigenartigen Schwerttypus (vgl. Polybius II, 33, 3). Derselbe erfährt im Verlauf kleine Modifikationen. Das Schwert der Früh-La Tène-Zeit unterscheidet sich von dem später im ganzen Norden verbreiteten durch eine scharfe Spitze der Klinge. Solche Schwerter der ältesten La Tène-Zeit finden sich einerseits in der Champagne und im Nahe-Saargebiet, andererseits in Marzabotto (Tischler, Ber. üb. d. in d. physikal.-ökon. Ges. z. Königsberg geh. Vorträge, 1884 (XXV), S. 23).²⁾ Wenn die Zukunft an diesem

¹⁾ Vgl. Müllenhoff, Deutsche Altertumsk. II², 260.

²⁾ Die Gräber der Champagne, die von Morel in seinem Werke 'La Champagne souterraine' beschrieben werden, stimmen überhaupt in ihrem ganzen Mobiliar auf das genaueste zu den gallischen Nekropolen, wie sie vor allem in und bei Bologna von Zannoni, Gozzadini und Brizio freigelegt worden sind; vgl. Brizio, Tombe e necropoli galliche della provincia di Bologna Bertrand et Reinach, Les Celtes 171 ff.; Montelius, La civilisation primitive en Italie I, 356.

Sachverhalt nichts ändert, fällt er schwer zu Gunsten der französischen Herkunft zum mindestens eines Teils der italischen Kelten in die Wagschale. Von dem Eigen- und Ortsnamematerial erwarte man keine Aufschlüsse. Alte Sonderbeziehungen treten in ihm nicht mehr zu Tage. Der sonstige Wort- und Formenschatz der italischen Kelten ist uns ja so gut wie unbekannt. Er giebt nur zu einer Bemerkung Anlass. Auf der Bilinguis von Todi erscheint zweimal eine Verbalform *karnitu* etwa in der Bedeutung *congressit*. Ihr gesellt sich das pluralische *karnitus* der Inschrift von Briona bei Novara im Gebiete der Insubrer. Eine entsprechende Bildung findet sich sonst nur auf einer patella aus Bavai, dem alten *Bagacum* der Nervier, die die Inschrift trägt: *uritu Escingos* (Mowat, Comptes rendus d. séances de l'Ac. des inscr. et belles-lettres, 4^e série VIII, 250 ff.). Dies bedeutet offenbar 'Excingus fecit', *uritu* zu sonstigem *ieuru*, wobei auch die neukeltische Wortstellung zu beachten ist. Diese Übereinstimmung zwischen italischem und belgischem Keltisch ist an sich ein wichtiges Indicium, das allerdings durch den kläglichen Stand unserer Kenntnis des kontinentalen Keltisch überhaupt im Werte stark herabgesetzt wird. Was für Stämme sich sonst noch an dem italischen Zuge beteiligt haben, ist mit unseren jetzigen Mitteln nicht zu entscheiden. Eine der bekanntesten Begleiterscheinungen jeder grösseren Völkerbewegung ist das Mitgehen ursprünglich unbeteiligter Massen, die von dem Strome aus ihrem alten Zusammenhang losgerissen werden. Es widerspräche jeder Erfahrung, wollte man sich die Leute, die sich mit einem ad hoc angenommenen Gesamtnamen *Galli Γαλάται* nannten, einheitlich vorstellen. Für die Ethnographie ist aus diesem Namen ebenso wenig zu gewinnen, wie aus dem der *Γαισάται* oder, um einen Sprung über einen Kontinent und zwei Jahrtausende zu wagen, der südafrikanischen Matabele.

Sicher scheint auch mir, dass der grosse Einbruch um 400 von Norden her erfolgt ist, nur suche ich im Gegensatz zu Niese den Ausgangspunkt anderwärts. Vermutlich hat nördlich der Alpen die Trennung der *Galli* und *Γαλάται* stattgefunden, jene gingen nach Süden, diese schwenkten nach Osten ab. Über die Herkunft dieser östlichen Galater sind wir zumeist völlig im Unklaren. Mit dem Namen der kleinasiatischen Tectosagen ist nichts anzufangen, dagegen können die *Μέλδοι* in der Gegend von Sofia mit dem Vorort *Meldia* sehr wohl mit den *Meldi* im

Dép. Seine-et-Marne zusammenhängen. Diese sind in einer Gegend ansässig, die im dringenden Verdachte steht, zu dem Zuge nach Osten Mannschaft geliefert zu haben. Sonstige Namensanklänge (vgl. die pannonischen *Lingaustrî* : *Lingones*, *Belgites* : *Belgae*, *Teurisci* : *Turonos*) sind für die geschichtliche Erkenntnis ohne jeden Wert.¹⁾ Bekannt ist die Angabe des h. Hieronymus, *Galatos propriam linguam eandem paene habere quam Treviros*, die man sich nicht durch allzu kritische Bedenken verleiden lassen darf. Sie beweist jedoch nicht, dass vom Gallischen just die Sprache der Trevirer dem Galatischen am nächsten verwandt war, näher als etwa die alte Sprache der Pariser oder der Bewohner von Lyon. Hieronymus kannte entweder die Mundart von Trier besser als jede andere, oder er konnte nur sie vergleichen, da in Frankreich die alte Landessprache bereits ausgestorben war oder doch nur in Schichten

¹⁾ Dass Kelten schon im fünften vorchristlichen Jahrhundert in Osteuropa, nördlich der Karpathen, gesessen haben (Bremer, Pauls Grdr. d. germ. Philologie² III, 781), ist unerweislich. Die Gleichung *Nεργοί* (Herodot): *Norici* ist einer von den Einfällen, die die Sprachforschung bei den von anderen Disziplinen ausgehenden Urgeschichtsforschern nicht ganz ohne Grund in Misskredit gebracht haben. Bremer verlegt die Berührung von Kelten und Ostgermanen, deren sprachlicher Niederschlag die keltischen Lehnwörter im Gotischen (vor allem *kelikn* 'Turm') sind, zeitlich in das 5. oder 4. Jh. und örtlich in das Gebiet der oberen Weichsel. Er thut dies deshalb, weil nach seiner Ansicht die illyrisch-pannonischen Kelten längst romanisiert waren, als die Goten auf ihren Wanderungen ihr Gebiet passierten. So sicher ist das aber nicht. Nach dem oben angeführten Zeugnis des h. Hieronymus hatten die wahrlich stark exponierten Galater ihre heimische Sprache im 4. Jh. noch nicht eingebüsst. Aber davon ganz abgesehen wissen wir ja gar nicht, wie weit einst diese keltischen Lehnwörter im Ostgermanischen verbreitet waren. Die Goten können sie von verwandten Stämmen erhalten haben, die sie ihrerseits von Teilnehmern des Segovesuszuges — um mich der Terminologie des Livius zu bedienen — bezogen hatten. Im Gebiet der wandalischen Silingen scheinen keltische Ortsnamen vorzukommen, *Βονδόριον* angeblich = Brieg, *Καρρόδορον* = Krappitz. (Was in den Niederlaus. Mitteil. IV, 230 ff. über keltische Ortsnamen bei Görlitz vorgetragen wird, erinnert an die schönsten Zeiten der Keltomanie). Ptolemaeus erwähnt II, 11, 10 die *Καλοῦκωνες*, die er ἐπὶ τοὺς Σίλλυγας wohnen lässt. Da es auch in Raetia *Calucones* giebt, kann man hier an einen keltischen Stamm denken, der nur zum Teil den Übergang über die Alpen mitmachte. Alles dies zeigt, dass wir hinsichtlich einer Bezugsquelle für die keltischen Lehnwörter des Gotischen keineswegs in Verlegenheit sind, dass vielmehr weit eher ein embarras de richesse zu konstatieren ist.

der Bevölkerung gesprochen wurde, mit denen der Mann der Kirche nicht in Berührung kam.

Die bisherigen Erörterungen hatten den Zweck, nachzuweisen, dass zwischen *Celtae* und *Galli Galátai* durchaus keine Kluft gähnt. Wie steht es nun mit den *Belgae*? Nach Cäsar zerfiel, wie bekannt, Gallien in drei Teile, die durch die *Aquitani*, *Celtae* und *Belgae* gebildet wurden. *Hi omnes lingua, institutis, legibus inter se differunt*. Richtiger sagt wohl Strabo IV, 1, 1: *Οἱ μὲν δὴ τριχῇ δέηρον, Ἀκυιτανοὺς καὶ Βέλγας καλοῦντες καὶ Κέλτας, τοὺς μὲν Ἀκυιτανοὺς τελέως ἐξηλλαγμένους οὐ τῇ γλώττῃ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ἐμφερεῖς Ἰβηροὶ μᾶλλον ἢ Γαλάταις, τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς Γαλατικοὺς μὲν τὴν ὄψιν, ὁμογλώττους δ' οὐ πάντας, ἀλλ' ἐνίους μικρὸν παραλλάττοντας ταῖς γλώτταις· καὶ πολιτεία δὲ καὶ οἱ βίοι μικρὸν ἐξηλλαγμένοι εἶσιν*. In sprachlicher Hinsicht werden Seine und Marne keine Grenze gebildet haben, hüben und drüben sprach man gleich, und erst die in beiden Richtungen entfernter Wohnenden unterschieden sich merklich. Deshalb konnte dennoch aus andern Gründen der Reisende, der die Flussgrenze passierte, den Eindruck erhalten, er befände sich in einem neuen Lande. Man denke etwa an Deutschland-Holland. Wir wissen ja nicht viel von der Sprache der *Belgae*, aber was wir wissen, berechtigt uns nicht, sie von der der *Celtae* zu trennen. Der Name *Belgae* hängt mit den pannonischen *Belgites* und dem spanischen *Belgida* zusammen, die *Caturiges* und *Centrones* kehren in Savoiën wieder, die *Suessiones* erinnern an die spanischen *Suissetani*. Besonders deutlich sind die Beziehungen zu Britannien. Wie bekannt, haben Belgien und Südengland eine ganze Reihe von Stammesnamen gemein. Die *Belgae* selbst sind jenseits des Kanals bezeugt mit den Städten *Venta*, *Iscalis*, *Aquae Sulis*, ferner die *Atrebates*, die *Catuwellauini*. Der Name der *Condrusi*, die allerdings schon zu den linksrheinischen Germanen gehören, hat ein Seitenstück an dem britannischen Eigennamen *Condraussius*. *Correus* und *Commius* sind belgisch-britannisch; *Andecombogius* ist sonst nur aus der Inschrift von Briona bekannt, deren *karnitus* ja nach Belgien weist. Der Gott *Camulus* scheint besonders in Belgien und Britannien Verehrung genossen zu haben. Keltisch *duro-* bildet im allgemeinen in Zusammensetzungen den zweiten Teil, aber in Belgien und Britannien erscheint es an erster Stelle, vgl. *Durocortorum Remorum* und **Duroboium*.

Durbuy auf dem Festland, *Durobrivae*, *Durocornovium*, *Duro-lerum* in England. Wenn Holder in deutlichem Bemühen, etwas für die Sprache der *Belgae* charakteristisches herauszufinden, den Ortsnamen *Bratuspantium* (im Gebiete der Bellovacer) 'mit noch nicht erklärtem *sp*' herausgreift (I, 374), beweist er keine glückliche Hand. Der Eigennamen *Atespatus* zeigt ein analoges *sp* auf echt 'celtischem' Boden (dép. de l'Allier). Wenn *Bratuspantium* unerklärt ist, so ist es doch nicht unerklärlich. Es ist vermittelt des Suffixes *-io-* von einem Eigennamen **Bratuspantos* abgeleitet, der seinerseits wie *Carantos* participiale Bildung verrät. **Bratuspantos* führt auf das Participium eines denominativen Verbs zurück, dessen Ausgangspunkt etwa ein **bratuspo-* war. Dies zerlegt sich sofort in **brātu-* = air. *bráth*, k. *brawd* 'Urteil' und *-spo-*, die schwundstufige Kompositionsform der 'Wurzel' **seku-* 'sagen' (*inseque*, mk. *heb*), vgl. air. *athese* 'Antwort', wozu das oben angeführte *Atespatus*, *cosc*, kymr. *cosp* 'Zurechtweisung'; **brätuspo-* also 'Urteilsprecher' oder 'Urteilspruch', ein Wort von tadelloser Kelticität. Nun ist freilich die Ansicht vielfach verbreitet, dass das Keltentum der Belgen nur eine Tünche sei, unter der sich eine von Haus aus ganz verschiedene Volksart verberge. Diese Ansicht stützt sich auf die ja unzweifelhafte Thatsache, dass belgische Stämme, besonders die Nervier und Trevirer, sich ihres 'germanischen' Ursprungs rühmten, und dass die Völkerschaften der *Eburones*, *Condrusi*, *Caeroesi* u. s. w. sich direkt zum Gesamtnamen '*Germani (cisrhenani)*' bekannten. Das rauhe, kriegerische Volkstum der Belgen, die der eindringenden römischen Kultur viel weniger Konzessionen gemacht haben als die Gallier, würde gut zu der Annahme eines verschiedenen Substrates stimmen. Nun ist garnicht daran zu zweifeln, dass diejenigen Keltenstämme, denen die Grenzwehr gegen die Germanen (in unserem Sinne) zugefallen war, einen gewissen Prozentsatz germanischer Elemente aufzuweisen hatten. Wo auch immer auf der Welt Völker bei einander wohnen, findet eine Abgabe des einen an das andere oder ein Austausch statt. Dass also die Belgen so manchen keltisierten Germanen zu den ihren gezählt haben, sei unseren Germanisten ohne weiteres zugegeben. Eine ganz andere Frage ist es aber, ob die alte Tradition vom germanischen Ursprung der Belgen wirklich dies besagen wollte, mit anderen Worten, ob die heutigen Germanisten recht daran thun, in *Germani* einen von

den Kelten für die Deutschen — man gestatte mir in diesem Zusammenhang den Ausdruck — geprägten oder doch aufgegriffenen Namen zu erblicken. An der Aufhellung des Dunkels, das über dem Germanennamen liegt, ist auf germanistischer Seite mit unendlicher Mühe und grösstem Scharfsinn gearbeitet worden, ohne dass ein entsprechender Erfolg erzielt worden wäre. Wenn nicht ganz neues Material auftaucht, wird man über unsichere Aufstellungen nicht hinauskommen. Weder die berühmte Tacitusstelle, deren hoffnungslose Unklarheit oder Verderbtheit aller Anstrengungen spottet, noch irgend ein anderes der bekannten Inventarstücke der Germanenforschung vermag hier zu helfen. Thatsache bleibt, dass Stämme mit keltischen Namen westlich des Rheins den Gesamtamen *Germani* führten, dass der Atrebate *Commios* Münzen mit der Legende (C)*Garmano(s) Commios* schlagen liess, dass die Abstammung von den Germanen ein Ruhmestitel war, dass Belgen und linksrheinische Germanen in älteren, einfacheren Zuständen lebten als die eigentlichen Gallier. Diese Data fügen sich verschiedenen Deutungen, vor allem immer noch der älteren, wonach *Germani* der Name der ostrheinischen Kelten oder doch einer bestimmten Gruppe derselben gewesen wäre. Es mag auch dem verfeinerten und sonst wohl zum Spotte über altväterische Sitten geneigten Gallier dunkel bewusst gewesen sein, dass die beste Kraft des Keltenvolkes in den streitbaren Stämmen lag, die unverdorben genug waren, sich ihrer Herkunft aus dem römischen Einfluss entrückten Lande rechts vom Rhein zu rühmen. Aber auch dies ist nur eine Hypothese. Nach Cäsar haben die Belgen in den neuen Sitzen westlich des Rheins Gallier vorgefunden und vertrieben. Man darf daraus schliessen, dass nicht immer Seine und Marne die Grenze der *Celtae* bildeten. Fassen wir Cäsars *expulisse* (BG. II, 4) wörtlich, so folgt daraus, dass die Belgen ihre unzweifelhaft keltische Sprache schon vom rechten Rheinufer mitgebracht haben. Die blosse Nähe der Gallier hätte unmöglich die Keltisierung der Belgen (und der linksrheinischen Germanen) bewirken können, deren Deutschtum somit immer nebelhafter wird. Gesetzt den (wahrscheinlichen) Fall, Cäsars *expulisse* sei nicht auf die Goldwage zu legen, sprechen dennoch alle Analogien dafür, dass die Belgen nicht erst westlich vom Rhein die keltische Sprache angenommen haben. Es darf bezweifelt werden, dass die Gallier trotz ihrer etwas höheren

Kultur im Stande gewesen wären, das deutsche Volkstum ihrer Bezwingen mit Stumpf und Stiel auszurotten. Wo auch immer deutsche Eroberer inmitten eines ihnen an Kultur überlegenen Volkes ihre Nationalität und Sprache verloren haben, in Italien, Frankreich, Spanien, hat der Amalgamationsprozess, um von anderem zu schweigen, im Namenwörterbuch deutliche Spuren hinterlassen. Grade in vornehmen Geschlechtern sind deutsche Namen heimisch. Nichts entsprechendes findet sich bei Belgen und linksrheinischen Germanen. Auch die führenden Persönlichkeiten tragen unzweideutig keltische Namen.

Über die ethnische Stellung der britannischen Kelten sind wir nur sehr unvollkommen unterrichtet. Bekannt sind die Beziehungen zwischen Südengland und Belgien, die einst in der Vereinigung unter einem Herrscher, Diviciacus, ihren Ausdruck gefunden haben. Ob die *Parisii* zwischen Humber und Tees von denen an der Seine abstammen, lässt sich nicht entscheiden, ebensowenig ob die irischen *Μαράπιοι* mit den niederrheinischen *Menapii* zusammenhängen. Andere Namensanklänge verdienen keine Erwähnung. Die von Plinius n. h. IV, 104 angeführten festländischen *Britanni* bestätigt das Dorf *Bretagne* an der Mündung der Somme, doch ist sehr wohl denkbar, dass diese wie später die Bretonen erst durch eine rückläufige Bewegung auf das Festland herüber gedrängt worden sind. Ein eigentümlicher Missbrauch ist mit einer Stelle aus Prokops Gotenkrieg (IV, 20) getrieben worden. Prokop erzählt dort von einer Insel *Βριττία*. Diese liegt der Rheinmündung gegenüber zwischen Britannien und Thule. Drei Stämme bewohnen sie, die *Ἀγγίλοι*, *Φρίσσονες* und *Βρίττορες*. Vor Alters haben die Bewohner der Insel eine Mauer gebaut, die sie in zwei Hälften teilt und zwar so gründlich, dass Luft, Boden und alles übrige in beiden verschieden ist. Es folgt darauf eine stimmungsvolle Sage von der nächtlichen Überfahrt der Toten. Natürlich ist diese Insel *Βριττία* weiter nichts als Britannien, *Βριττία* = bret. *Breiz* die einheimische Namensform. Der von Rhÿs, Celtic Britain² 212, halb gebilligte Versuch de Vits, *Βριττία* mit Jütland als der Heimat der *Brittones* zu identifizieren, ist keiner ernsthaften Erwägung wert. Dem byzantinischen Historiker kann man schon weit eher verzeihen, dass er aus *Βριττία* und *Βριττανία* zwei verschiedene Länder machte.

In der Frage nach der Besiedelung Irlands und Englands

durch die Kelten vertritt Rhÿs noch heute (Rhÿs and Brynmor Jones, *The Welsh People* 34/35) die Anschauungen, die uns aus seinen früheren Arbeiten (*Report of the Royal Commission on Land in Wales and Monmouthshire* Cap. VII, *Rhind Lectures*, *Celtic Britain*²⁾) geläufig sind. Darnach hätten wir mit zwei Invasionen zu rechnen. Im sechsten oder fünften vorchristlichen Jahrhundert wären die dem *qu*-Zweige angehörigen Goidelen eingewandert, dreihundert Jahre später die Britten, die einen *p*-Dialekt sprachen. Zu diesem Ergebnis wird Rhÿs durch eine Wahrscheinlichkeitsrechnung geführt, die, wenn die in Betracht kommenden Faktoren etwas anders bewertet werden, ebenso gut ein völlig entgegengesetztes Resultat liefert. Der Umstand, dass die Goidelen den am weitesten nach Westen vorgeschobenen Posten der Inselkelten bilden, berechtigt noch keineswegs zu dem Schlusse, dass sie die ersten Ankömmlinge gewesen sind. Man kann ihre Sitze auch bei der Annahme verstehen, dass sie als die zuletzt gekommenen die dem Festlande näher liegenden Gegenden bereits okkupiert gefunden haben und daher am weitesten gewandert sind, ehe sich für sie ein Platz bot. Man denke an die Senonen in Italien. Zudem wissen wir nicht einmal mit Sicherheit, dass Irland seine keltische Bevölkerung ausschliesslich auf dem Wege über England erhalten hat. Alle Argumente, die man aus der Länge des Seeweges zwischen Frankreich und Irland u. dergl. zu schöpfen versucht sein kann, werden durch einen Hinweis auf die Besiedelungsverhältnisse in der Südsee erledigt. Die ganze Betrachtungsweise Rhÿs' leidet an dem bekannten Schematismus, der die Einheitlichkeit eines gegebenen Zustandes auch für seine Entstehung voraussetzt. Die Sonderung von *qu*- und *p*-Kelten ist eine Thatsache der Sprachgeschichte, welche Rolle sie in der Besiedelungsgeschichte gespielt hat, ist unbekannt. Es ist nicht abzusehen, warum nicht *qu*- und *p*-Kelten gelegentlich gemeinsam gewohnt haben und gewandert sein sollen. Die Not schweisst noch weit widerstrebendere Elemente zusammen. Gestehen wir also ehrlich ein, dass weder über die Art noch über die Zeit der Besiedelung Englands und Irlands irgend etwas Sicheres ausgesagt werden kann.

Ich breche diese kursorischen Ausführungen hier ab, denn der rote Faden, der sich durch sie hindurch zieht, ist nachgerade so dünn geworden, dass es Mühe macht, ihn überhaupt

wahrzunehmen. In der keltischen Ethnographie ist recht vieles dunkel. Es begegnen uns da Gesamtnamen aller Art, deren Entstehung und Bedeutung wir nicht erraten können. Wenn es aber zwei Namen giebt, von denen wir mit gutem Gewissen sagen können, dass sie keinen alten Gegensatz enthalten, so sind es die, mit denen man ein so gewaltthätiges Spiel getrieben hat: Kelten und Gallier.

Berlin, Friedenau.

E. ZUPITZA.

ÜBER EINE IN STEIERMARK GEFUNDENE GALLISCHE INSCRIFT IN NORDETRUSKISCHEM ALPHABET.

Es ist C. Pauli gelungen, in seinem verdienstvollen Werke „Die Inschriften nordetruskischen Alphabets“ (= Altitalische Forschungen I, Lpz. 1885) nachzuweisen, dass die Inschriften, welche im sogenannten nordetruskischen Alphabet abgefasst sind, mehreren verschiedenen Sprachen angehören. Nach Pauli lassen sie sich auf vier verschiedene Sprachen verteilen, und zwar die folgenden: 1. Gallisch, 2. Salassisch-lepontisch, eine Sprache, welche zwar keltisch ist, aber vom Gemeingallischen in mehreren Beziehungen abzuweichen scheint, 3. Etruskisch und 4. Venetisch.

Nur über zwei Inschriften (Pauli Nr. 38 und 99b) wagt Pauli nicht sich näher auszusprechen. Er vermutet, dass sie entweder in einer Mischsprache abgefasst sind, oder dass sie, weil aus den Gegenden herrührend, wo die Euganeer einst gewohnt zu haben scheinen, diesem Volke zuzuschreiben sind (Pauli p. 121 ff.).

Die eine Inschrift (Nr. 38) ist auf einem bei Verona gefundenen Metallstreifen eingeritzt und lautet nach Paulis Lesung:¹⁾

ganiniuqikuremieshiisqasuvahhikvepisines.

Die zweite der fraglichen Inschriften (Nr. 99b) ist diejenige eines Bronzehelms, in Negau südlich von Radkersburg in Steiermark gefunden. Nach Paulis Lesung lautet sie wie folgt:

ʒuqniqanuagi.
5 10

¹⁾ Vgl. Stokes, Bezzenbergers Beiträge XI, 120 f.

Der Negauer Helm hat auch eine zweite Inschrift, von Pauli mit *a* bezeichnet, während er die oben gegebene *b* nennt:

siraku : χurpi : iaršeisvi.

Eigenartig sind die Verhältnisse, unter denen der Helm gefunden ist. Wie der genaue Fundbericht angiebt, stiess man in Negau auf ein ganzes Dépôt von Helmen — in allem 25 —, welche einer in dem andern steckten. Zwei von diesen Helmen waren mit Inschrift versehen, derjenige, welcher oben erwähnt ist, und einer, der nach Pauli (p. 44—46) eine sicher südetruskische Inschrift trägt: *harinastiteiva* (*tite* Vorname, *harinas* Gentilname im Nominativ). Es ist somit Grund anzunehmen, dass wir in diesen Helmen das Dépôt eines fahrenden Händlers vor uns haben, welcher seine Waren in verschiedenen Gegenden zusammengekauft hat.

Die beiden Inschriften unseres Helmes weichen in mehreren Punkten von einander ab. Während in *a* die Linien eingeritzt sind, sind sie in *b* bloss punktiert. Ein wesentlicherer Unterschied ist es, dass *a* als Interpunktion drei Punkte verwendet, während sich in *b* Worttrennung nicht findet. Über das weitere Verhältnis zwischen beiden Inschriften bemerkt Pauli (p. 123): „Das Alphabet von *a* ist bestimmt das nordetruskische von Bozen, wofür entscheidend sind das $\Gamma = p$, $\mathbf{M} = s$, $\overline{\text{—}} = v$ und $\uparrow = \chi$; das Alphabet von *b* kann gleichfalls nordetruskisch sein, es kommen aber grade keine charakteristischen Buchstaben in der Inschrift vor. Über die Sprache beider Inschriften lässt sich zur Zeit nur soviel aussagen, dass die Formen in *a* nichts enthalten, was dem Nordetruskischen entgegenstände, während *b* mit seinem häufigen φ an die Formen des Blechstreifens von Verona erinnert.“

Was Pauli hier zur Stütze der Ansicht anführt, dass Nr. 99b und Nr. 38 in derselben Sprache abgefasst seien, kann nicht entscheidend sein. Um so bemerkenswerter scheint es dagegen, dass beide Inschriften dieselbe Silbe *gan* (Buchstabe 5—7 in Nr. 99b, B. 1—3 in Nr. 38) enthalten. Aber dessenungeachtet sind wir nicht befugt, die beiden Inschriften als derselben Sprache zugehörig zu betrachten. Aus der Inschrift selbst werden wir den Versuch machen Nr. 99b zu erklären.

Diese Inschrift beginnt mit einem Zeichen \S , über welches Pauli (p. 36) sich folgendermassen ausspricht: „Das \S zu Anfang von *b* ist wohl nur Zierat oder Interpunktion.“ Beides scheint

sehr zweifelhaft zu sein. Es ist wenig wahrscheinlich, dass man unmittelbar vor einer Inschrift als Zierat ein Zeichen angebracht hätte, das von derselben Grösse wie die folgenden Buchstaben ist und übrigens grosse Ähnlichkeit mit einem wirklichen Buchstaben verrät. Als Interpunktionszeichen gefasst würde ꝯ ganz vereinzelt dastehen. Warum hätte man nicht : wie in *a* gebraucht? Vergebens wird man auch einen Buchstaben suchen, aus welchem ꝯ verschrieben sein könnte.

Es scheint somit die Annahme näher zu liegen, dass wir in dem Zeichen ꝯ eine Hausmarke vor uns haben. Es kann nicht mehr Wunder nehmen, unter den Völkern Norditaliens Hausmarken zu finden, als unter den Messapiern und den Griechen (vgl. die Tafeln von Herakleia) im südlichen Italien. Von messapischen Hausmarken handelt W. Deecke, *Rheinisches Museum* 36, 577: „Ein . . . höchst interessanter Punkt ist das Vorkommen stenographischer Zeichen, teils in Reihen neben messapischen Texten, in einer Art von Bilinguen, teils allein in Gruppen oder vereinzelt. Die Einzelzeichen erinnern an Handsiglen oder Hausmarken, wie sie auch begegnen, z. B. Dreizack, Anker, Henkelkreuz, Zweig u. s. w.“

Aus dieser Erklärung des Zeichens scheint hervorzugehen, dass die Inschrift den Namen des Besitzers enthält, was ohnehin aus anderen Gründen wahrscheinlich ist; denn einmal erscheint dies durch die Natur der Sache geboten, und weiter hat es eine genaue Parallele in dem zweiten mit Inschrift versehenen Helme von Negau, auf welchem Pauli die (süd)etruskischen Namen *tite* und *harinas* wiederfindet (vgl. oben p. 24).

Bei der Deutung der venetischen Inschriften nimmt Pauli (*Altitalische Forschungen* III, 234 ff.) als Ausgangspunkt die richtige Voraussetzung, dass die verschiedenen Völker, welche ein und demselben Kulturkreise angehören, wie dies mit den italischen Völkern der Fall ist, für die einzelnen Kategorien der Inschriften sich ähnlicher Formeln bedienen. Diese Annahme hat ihn auch in den Stand gesetzt, für das Verständnis der venetischen Inschriften einen sicheren Grund zu legen.

Für 'Besitzinschriften' findet er (l. c. p. 237 f.) in den italischen Sprachen folgende drei Formeln belegt:

I. Formel *sum* oder *hoc (est)*, z. B. lat. *Epaphroditi sum*, osk. *luciies cnaiviies sum* 'Lucii Gnaevii sum', etr. *mi alfinas hoc [est] Albinii*.

II. blosser Name im Genetiv, z. B. lat. *M. Valeri Albinnerici*, osk. *venileis* 'Venili', etr. *afnas* 'Abonii'.

III. blosser Name im Nominativ, z. B. *Caius*, osk. *arafis vibis* 'Arbius Vibius', etr. *velusna* 'Volusinius'.

Wir dürfen dann annehmen, dass auch unsere Inschrift eine von diesen Formeln verwendet.

Es ist hier hervorzuheben, dass die Inschrift in einigem Abstände vom Ende eine Silbe hat, die auf denselben Vokal (-i) ausgeht wie die letzte Silbe, und dass dieser Vokal nur in diesen zwei Silben vorkommt. Dies scheint kein Zufall zu sein. Wir werden daher gewiss nicht fehlgehen, wenn wir daraus den Schluss ziehen, dass die Inschrift zwei derselben grammatischen Kategorie zugehörige Wörter enthält:

ꝫ *uqmi qanunqi*.

Durch diese Betrachtung wird der folgende Deutungsversuch von der oben gegebenen Erklärung des zweifelhaften Zeichens ꝫ ganz unabhängig gemacht.

Da die Inschrift aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach eine Besitzinschrift ist, scheint es sich hieraus ganz natürlich zu ergeben, dass die zwei Wörter, welche derselben grammatischen Kategorie angehören können, die Namen des Besitzers sind, oder der Name des Besitzers, von einem andern Namen in demselben Kasus regiert. Wir erwarten daher in der Inschrift Formel II oder III wiederzufinden: Vorname + Gentil- oder Beiname entweder im Genetiv oder im Nominativ (oder der Name des Besitzers im Nominativ oder Genetiv, durch einen zweiten Namen im Genetiv näher bestimmt).

Es liegt kein Grund vor, *uqmi* und *qanunqi* für zwei Nominative anzusehen. Dagegen empfiehlt es sich wegen der Gleichheit des lateinischen Gen. auf -i und des gallischen auf -i, auch das auslautende -i der beiden Wörter als die Endung des Genetivs zu betrachten.

Es ist somit wahrscheinlich gemacht, dass die Inschrift b des Negauer Helmes in einer indogermanischen Sprache abgefasst ist, welche einen Genetiv auf -i besitzt.

Wir haben nun weiter zu bestimmen, in welchem Verhältnis die Sprache der Negauer Inschrift zu den übrigen indo-

germanischen Sprachen steht. Haben wir es mit einer selbständigen indogermanischen Sprache zu thun, und sind wir somit dazu befugt, auf der bunten Sprachkarte Norditaliens noch eine Farbe hinzuzufügen? A priori scheint dies wenig ansprechend. Oder ist die Sprache unserer Inschrift mit einer der uns sonst bekannten indogermanischen Sprachen identisch? Auf diese Fragen werden wir erst dann die Antwort geben können, wenn uns die etymologische Deutung der Inschrift wenigstens zum Teil gelungen ist.

Bevor wir aber zur sprachlichen Erklärung der Wörter *ugni* und *ganuagi* übergehen, wird es notwendig sein, einige epigraphische Bemerkungen voranzuschicken.

Da in der Inschrift keine charakteristischen Buchstaben auftreten, kann es nicht ausgemacht werden, ob sie im nordetruskischen oder im gemeinetruskischen Alphabet abgefasst ist. Es beruht wohl nicht auf einem Zufall, dass in unserer Inschrift weder für die Medien noch für *o* besondere Zeichen belegt sind. Darin stimmt sie mit dem gemeinetruskischen Alphabet überein; aber auch dem nordetruskischen Alphabet von Bozen fehlen die Medien und das *o* (Pauli p. 54), und im Alphabet von Este sind sowohl die Medien als das *o* aufgegeben, das *o* ist aber später wieder recipiert worden, was durch seine Stellung im Alphabet, ganz am Ende desselben, hinlänglich erwiesen wird (Pauli p. 51 f.).

Nichts scheint daher der Annahme entgegen zu stehen, dass das V (*u*) der Inschrift auch *o* hat bezeichnen können.

In den nordetruskischen Alphabeten wird *u* teils durch \wedge (Alphabet von Este), teils durch \vee (Alphabete von Bozen und Lugano) bezeichnet. Letzteres Zeichen hat sich durch römischen Einfluss eingebürgert. Auf Rechnung des Einflusses römischer Schrift ist es auch zu setzen, dass im Alphabet von Lugano — dem Alphabet, in welchem nach Pauli lauter keltische Inschriften, darunter die bekannten gallischen von Todi und Novara, abgefasst sind — \vee (statt des \sqcap) als *v* gebraucht wird.

Wir dürfen es darum für möglich halten, dass in unserer Inschrift \vee vor einem Vokale *v* bezeichnet habe.

R. Thurneysen (Wochenschrift f. klass. Phil. 1892, p. 291) nimmt mit guten Gründen für venet. *χ*, *φ*, *z* die Aussprache resp. *g*, *b*, *d* an: „Da die Laute [*χ*, *φ*, *z*] ursprünglichen Mediae

entsprechen [z. B. venet. *voltixench*, zur idg. Wurzel *gen-*], da sie die Mediae der benachbarten Gallier wiedergeben [z. B. venet. *Ɔohiios* = gall. *Boius*], da später die lateinische Schrift sie durch ihre Mediae bezeichnet [z. B. venet. *vhouxont-* : lat. *Fugonia*], sehe ich keinen Grund zu zweifeln, dass *Ɔ*, *χ*, *z* einfach als die venetische Schreibung wirklicher Mediae *b g d* zu betrachten sind.“

Da auch dem Alphabet, in welchem die Negauer Inschrift abgefasst ist, die Medien gefehlt zu haben scheinen, hat man, wenn die Sprache die gemeinen Medien *b*, *g*, *d* besessen, dieselben durch *Ɔ*, *χ*, *z* bezeichnen müssen.

In genauerer Umschrift wird unsere Inschrift darum vielleicht die folgende:

Ɔ obni banvabi.

Da die beiden Wörter der Inschrift an den idg. Genetiv auf *-i* erinnern, und da dieser Genetiv nur in zwei idg. Sprachen, und zwar im Lateinischen und Keltischen (Gallischen) vorkommt, sind wir bei der etymologischen Erklärung der Inschrift auf eine von diesen Sprachen hingewiesen.

Es ergibt sich leicht, dass mit dem Lateinischen nichts anzufangen ist. Höchst überraschend und ganz alleinstehend würde es auch sein, wenn wir unter den Inschriften nordetruskischen Alphabets eine lateinische wiederfänden. Von gallischen Inschriften, in diesem Alphabet abgefasst, ist uns dagegen schon lange eine kleine Anzahl bekannt. Es empfiehlt sich darum aus dem Gallischen einen Erklärungsversuch zu machen.

Auf gallischen Bronzemünzen kommt ein Mannsname *Obnos* vor (vgl. Holder, Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz II, sp. 822: 'Muret-Chab. 6310: OBNOS. 6311, pl. XIX: SOMRO'). Den Genetiv dieses Namens könnten wir in dem ersten Worte unserer Inschrift *obni* wiederfinden. Der Name *Obnos* ist formell mit dem altirischen Appellativ *omun* 'Furcht' identisch, welches Wort wir auf urkelt. **obno-s* zurückführen dürfen (cymr. *ofn* m. 'metus, timor, formido, terror', corn. *own*, bret. *aoun*). Ausserhalb des Keltischen scheint got. *abrs* 'stark, heftig', *bi-abrjan*

‘sich entsetzen, staunen’ hierher zu hören (Bezzenberger bei Fick, Idg. Wb.⁴ II, 50; Brugmann, Grundriss² I, 518).

Gall. **obno-s* findet sich auch als Kompositionsglied in zusammengesetzten Namen, wie *Exobnus*, *Exomnus* m., *Exomnu* f. (= altir. *es-omuin* ‘furchtlos’, cymr. *ehouyn*, m. bret. *e-haffn*), *Exomnaci*, *Exomnianius*, *Exomnius*, *Exomnia*. Zu diesen Komposita möchte *Obnos* als Koseform anzusetzen sein. Unmöglich ist es jedoch auch nicht, dass *obni* ein *io*-Stamm wäre, dessen Nominativ also **Obnios* lauten sollte. Vgl. die gall. Kurznamen *Toutus* *Toutius* zu *Touto-bocio*, *Toutio-rix*. Bemerkenswert ist es auch, dass wir sowohl *Exomnus* als *Exomnius* belegt finden.

Was das zweite Wort der Inschrift, *banvabi*, wie wir es in der Umschrift geben, betrifft, so müssen wir gestehen, dass seine Etymologie nicht so am Tage liegt, wie es mit *obni* der Fall war. Doch lässt sich auch dieses Wort aus dem Gallischen erklären.

Da die keltischen Sprachen ein Suffix *-abo-* (*-aba*, *-abi-*) neben *-ib**, *-ob**, *-ub** besitzen (vgl. Zeuss-Ebel, Gr. Celt.² 788 f.), liegt es nahe anzunehmen, dass dieses Suffix in *banvabi* vorliege, um so mehr, als nichts uns dazu berechtigt, dieses Wort als ein Kompositum anzusehen. Es ergiebt sich somit, dass *banv-* der Stamm ist, welchen wir mit kelt. **banvo-s* ‘Schwein’ identifizieren dürfen: ir. *banb*, cymr. *banw* m. ‘porcus, porcellus, nefrens’, corn. *banew* (gl. sus), bret. *ban*, *bano*, *banv* (Fick⁴ II, 161). Ausserhalb des Keltischen ist das Wort nicht erwiesen.

Wir wagen es nicht auf die Bedeutung von *banvabi* und sein syntaktisches Verhältnis zu *obni* näher einzugehen. Nur dürfen die verschiedenen Möglichkeiten, welche bei einer solchen Erklärung in Betracht kommen könnten, nicht unerwähnt bleiben:

1. *banvabi* könnte der Genetiv eines Namens **Banvab(i)os* sein und von *obni* abhängig. Mit demselben Suffix ist z. B. der Mannsname *Arabus* gebildet. Also: ‘[Est] Obn(i)i, Banvab(i)i filii’. Ähnliche Wendungen finden sich in mehreren gallischen Inschriften, z. B. *Doiros Segomari* (Dijon), *Martialis Dannotali* (Alise).¹⁾

2. Man könnte annehmen, dass *banvabi* der Genetiv eines Patronymikons **Banvabios* sei, durch das Suffix *-ios* vom Vaters-

¹⁾ Stokes, Bezzenbergers Beiträge XI, 131 f.

vornamen **Banvabos* abgeleitet. Vgl. z. B. *Σεγομαρος Ουιλ-
λωνεος* (Vaison I),¹⁾ *Εσκιγγορειξ Κονδιλλεος* (Nîmes III),²⁾
Βιμμος Αιτουμαρεος (St.-Remy I),³⁾ *Ουριτακος Ηλουσχοριος*
(St.-Remy II).³⁾ — Zu übersetzen wie unter 1.

3. *banvabi* könnte als Zuname zu **Obn(i)os* zu fassen sein.
Vgl. z. B. CIL. II, 2869: *Madice[n]us Calabius Ambati f.* — Zu
übersetzen: '[Est] Obn(i)i Banvab(i)i'.

4. Vielleicht dürfte man einen Ortsnamen, z. B. **Banvabum*
(was das Suffix betrifft, vgl. z. B. *Cenabum*) voraussetzen, wovon
**Banvabios* abgeleitet sein könnte, wie z. B. *Alisios* von *Alisia*.
Dieses vorauszusetzende **Banvabum* wäre von gall. **banvo-s*
'Schwein' gebildet, wie der alte Name Irlands *Banba* wahr-
scheinlich mit ir. *banb* in Zusammenhang steht. Vgl. auch den
gael. Ortsnamen *Banff*. — 'Est Obn(i)i Banvabensis.'

Hoffentlich wird eine gründlichere Kenntnis der gallischen
Sprache, durch Vergleichung der gallischen Inschriften unter
einander erworben, uns in den Stand setzen, zwischen diesen
und anderen Möglichkeiten, welche in Betracht gezogen werden
könnten, zu entscheiden.

Wenn wir in dieser Untersuchung in der Hauptsache das
Richtige getroffen haben, dann ist die zweite Inschrift des
Negauer Helmes eine willkommene Vermehrung der nicht be-
trächtlichen Anzahl gallischer Inschriften, die in etruskischem
Alphabet abgefasst sind.

Da die Inschrift, wie Pauli hervorgehoben hat, wahr-
scheinlich 'verschleppt' ist, so ist es natürlich, dass sie bei der
Beantwortung der Frage über die Verbreitung der Gallier von
keinem Belang sein wird. Doch dürfen wir uns auf der anderen
Seite für schadlos halten durch den schönen Einblick, welchen
uns die drei aus einem und demselben Funde herrührenden süd-
etruskischen, nordetruskischen und gallischen Inschriften in den
Verkehr zwischen den Völkern Italiens gewährt.

¹⁾ Stokes, Bezenbergers Beiträge XI, p. 122 f.

²⁾ Stokes, ib. p. 126.

³⁾ Stokes, ib. p. 127.

MITTHEILUNGEN AUS IRISCHEN HANDSCHRIFTEN.

V.

Aus Egerton 1782.

Diese Handschrift ist zu Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts geschrieben worden, wie aus folgender Schreibernotiz auf dem unteren Rande von fo. 24a hervorgeht:

Poll in Móintigh¹⁾ mo log graifnid oidchi féli Moling.²⁾
Añ. d. 1. 4. 19.

Auf dem untern Rande von fo. 53a findet sich folgendes:

ar údighe (*id est a benedicionis*) don fír dothrácht na tri
raimisi dún .i. Iárnán mac Seaáin mic Thorrna húi Maoilconuiri
mo derb mbleoghan budhessin.

Und auf fo. 56a:

Mescae na cær cárthainn oc a rúamnad fom detaib is cintach
ré dul tar in riagail dam ar medón. lá aipchi na n-uili thorad
immarach .i. la Lughnasad *id est* satharn.

*Auf fo. 86b steht zur Erklärung der Lücke in der Kopie
der Táin Bó Fráich (vgl. unten § 22) von anderer Hand:*

Mo mhallacht forsan laim nó forsan ainbhfis rogerr in
leathanach sin ar is mór do dhuadha in seceóil fúarus da³⁾ ath-
sgribadh conuige in merugud sin. Trocaire o Dia go bhfhaghadh
in fer thug iasacht in leabair dhamh .i. Michæl o Broin. Misi
Ualentín ua Hanluain.

¹⁾ Ich kann den Ort nicht identifizieren. Pollymount ist der heutige
Name eines townlands in der Grafschaft Roscommon.

²⁾ Der 17. Juni.

³⁾ daat mit Punkten unter at.

fo. 120b m. inf.:

Is dimdach mé don macṛasáṛ (i. Aéd mac Diarmata Ruáid) lenb tuc in caide sin tuás arin mbillin. Tri sechtmaine omárach la lughnasa. Tech mór húa Maolconaire mo log scribind.

Táin Bó Fráich.

Ich nehme keinen Anstand, diesen wichtigen Text, eine der ältesten unter den uns erhaltenen Profanerzählungen,¹⁾ nach der Handschrift vollständig abzdrukken. Die wichtigsten Varianten der Version des Gelben Buchs von Lecan (SS. 55b—60a) (Y), des Buches von Leinster (SS. 248a—252b) (L) und der mit letzterer fast völlig übereinstimmenden Edinburger Handschrift XL (SS. 37b—45b) (E) füge ich hinzu und schalte das in Egerton fehlende Stück aus L ein.

[fo. 82b] 1. [F]ræech macc Fiduig²⁾ di Chunnoctuib. Mac side do Uhebinna a sídib. Deirbhíur sídib do Boinn.³⁾ Is hē læch is aillium⁴⁾ robúi di feruib Hērinn 7 Albun, acht nī rop⁵⁾ suthuin nammā.⁶⁾ Dobert hi máthair dī bā .x. dō assíduib,⁷⁾ 5 ate finno ándergo. Pūi trebad⁸⁾ oeco gu cenn secht⁹⁾ mblíadan gin taubuirtnā chuco. Cōica mac rīg, rub ē līn a htegluid, comóeso cutrummu frissium¹⁰⁾ uili itir cruth ocus chēll¹¹⁾ 7 ēccusc.¹²⁾

2. Carthui¹³⁾ Finnabair ingiun Ailello 7 Medbv asa¹⁴⁾ 10 hairsgeluib. Atfíador dō-sum oco thích innīsin.¹⁵⁾ Ropu lán Hēriu 7 Albu dia alluth agus dia sgēluib. Iar suidiu dochorustar fair dul do accalluim ina hinginiv. [fo. 83a] Imroráith¹⁶⁾ íarum fria muinntir innīsin. ‘Tíagar úait didiu’ ol a muinntir, ‘got fíar,¹⁷⁾ co tuethar nī do ētuch¹⁸⁾ duit 7 do escrimimm¹⁹⁾ sídib úaidi.’

15 3. Luid íarum co hstair gu Bōuinn, co mbúi hi Maig Breg 7 dobert cæco²⁰⁾ mbrat ndubgormm²¹⁾ húaide²²⁾ 7 ba cosmuil gach

¹⁾ Vgl. Strachan, *Ro*, 5. 3.

²⁾ Idaith *L*. Idhaig *E*.

³⁾ Bofinn *E*.

⁴⁾ aille *E*.

⁵⁾ ba *LE*.

⁶⁾ om. *LE*.

⁷⁾ assin tsíd *LE*.

⁸⁾ maith *add. L*.

⁹⁾ ocht *LE*.

¹⁰⁾ comáis comchutrumma fris *LE*.

¹¹⁾ sic *Y*. ocus chēll om. *LE*.

¹²⁾ chose *L*.

¹³⁾ carthair (sic) *E*.

¹⁴⁾ ar *LE*.

¹⁵⁾ om. *LE*.

¹⁶⁾ sic *Y*. immaroraid *L*. immaraig *E*.

¹⁷⁾ co siar do mathar *LE*.

¹⁸⁾ ingantach *add. LE*.

¹⁹⁾ de ascdaib *LE*.

²⁰⁾ coicait *LE*.

²¹⁾ ngorm *LE*.

²²⁾ om. *LE*.

æe fria druimni dúile¹⁾ 7 ceteōro hōu dubglas for cech mbrat²⁾
 ocus mīlech dergōir ba cech mbrat 7 cæco³⁾ lēni mbāngeal⁴⁾
 gu tūagmīluib ōir impo ocus cæcoit⁵⁾ sgīath gu mbilib⁶⁾ ōir
 impu, ossīat budēin d'arcut⁷⁾ 7 cainnil⁸⁾ rīghthigi hillaim cech
 fir⁹⁾ 7 cæco semunn finnbruine¹⁰⁾ ar gach āi 7 cæco toruct di
 5 ōr forlosce[th]i im¹¹⁾ gach āi. Eirmiuda¹²⁾ di charrmogul fouib
 innīs 7¹³⁾ do lecuib lōgmaru¹⁴⁾ imderntai¹⁵⁾ a n-aurīairinn¹⁶⁾
 nolastis inn-oidchi amail¹⁷⁾ ruitni grēni. 7 cæco claideb n-ōrduirn
 leō 7 gabur dubglas¹⁸⁾ fo suidi gach fir 7 bellgi ōir friu huli.¹⁹⁾
 Moaillind ōir 7 arceait²⁰⁾ gu cluigīnib²¹⁾ ōir 7 argait fo brāguir
 10 gach e[i]ch dīb²²⁾ 7 cōica crann²³⁾ corcri gu snāithip arcuit estib
 7 gu siblannuib²⁴⁾ ōir 7 arguit 7 gu cennmiluib ōir ingantaig
 foruib²⁵⁾ 7 cæco echlusg findruni co mbaccānuib²⁶⁾ ōrdo for cinn
 gach echluisci²⁷⁾ ocus secht milco[i]n²⁸⁾ gu²⁹⁾ slabrathuib ōir 7
 aircit 7 ubull n-ōir for³⁰⁾ gach āi. Brōgu criedumae im gach
 15 fer dīb.³¹⁾ Nocha raib dath³²⁾ nāt mbeth issnaib conuib.³³⁾
 Mōrfeisiur cornuiri leō go cornuib ōir 7 aircit³⁴⁾ 7 co n-ētuigib³⁵⁾
 illdathachuib, co munguib ōrduib finnbude ocus³⁶⁾ gol-lēntib³⁷⁾
 ētrachtuib impuib.³⁸⁾ Batar³⁹⁾ trī drūid⁴⁰⁾ reimib co minnuib
 airedigib fo dīōr for a g[c]ennuib.⁴¹⁾ Sgēth gu fethluib⁴²⁾ con-
 20 dūalo la gach n-āi 7⁴³⁾ go cīrbachluib⁴⁴⁾ foruib 7⁴⁵⁾ co n-esna-
 duib crēdumo iarna tōebuib. Trīar cruiti⁴⁶⁾ co n-ēcuse rīg im
 gach n-æe for a comuir.⁴⁷⁾

1) sic Y. ri findruine ndóile LE.

2) brutt L.

3) om. LE.

4) lénti bāngela LE.

5) cōica LE.

6) n-argdide co n-imlib LE.

7) oir — arcut om. LE.

8) caindel LE.

9) æ LE.

10) findruine LE.

11) in LE.

12) eirmitiuda LE.

13) is add. L.

14) logmairib LE.

15) imdentai Y. om. LE.

16) a n-airiarn LE.

17) betis add. LE.

18) bogglas LE.

19) om. LE.

20) muillind ó. 7 a. Y.

maelland arggait LE.

21) cluciniu L. cliocinida E.

22) om. LE.

23) acraun LE.

24) siblaib L. siublaib E.

25) oir i. f. om. LE.

26) baccán L. baccana E.

27) æ LE.

28) milchoin LE.

29) i LE.

30) etir LE.

31) impu LE.

32) noco rabi dath L.

33) intib L.

34) órdaib 7 argdidib L.

35) sídbudib L. siadbuidib E.

36) om. L.

37) lennaib LE.

38) om. LE.

39) bátir L.

40) drúith L.

41) for a c. om. LE.

42) fethul LE.

43) om. LE.

44) sic Y. cīrbaccanaib E.

45) foruib 7 om. LE.

46) cruittire L.

47) for a c. om. L.

4. Docomlat iarum¹⁾ do Crūachnaib gosaín ēcuse sin leō. Dusndēco in dercuid don²⁾ dūn intan dodeochatar³⁾ im-Mag Crūachan. 'Dīrim atchīu-so don dūn' ol sē, 'inallīn. Ó gabais⁴⁾ Ailill 7 Medb flath, nīcustānīc rīam 7 nīconusticfo⁵⁾ dīrim bus 5 cāimi nā bus āine. Is cumma lem bid i tultumo fiono nobeth imo⁶⁾ cenn lassīn ngāeth dothōet tairrsibh.⁷⁾ Abuir 7 abrasī⁸⁾ dognī in t-ōglach fil ann, nīcon facuso rīam a chutruma. Focēird a bunsuig rōut n-aurcharo uād. Rīasīu dofāethsat for⁹⁾ talmain, nusgabed¹⁰⁾ na secht milcoin gusna secht slaprathuib 10 arcuit bātar ina comuir.¹¹⁾

5. Lasodain doñtiagut¹²⁾ in tslúag i ndūn¹³⁾ Crūachan dia ndēiscin. Imusmuchutd in dōine iarum,¹⁴⁾ conidapatar¹⁵⁾ .xui. fir dīb oca ndēiscin. Tairlencuit i ndorus in dūine. Sguirsit ind-eochu ann¹⁶⁾ 7 lēcit a miolcono. Dosennat¹⁷⁾ secht n-aide¹⁸⁾ 15 do rāith Crūachan 7 secht sinnuig¹⁹⁾ 7 secht mīolu muigi 7 secht turco alto, conrubatar²⁰⁾ ind oīcc issind aurlainn in dūine. Is²¹⁾ iarsin tra focertat a²²⁾ miolcoin aitherruch²³⁾ bedg [fo. 83b] issin mBreit.²⁴⁾ Gabuit secht ndobarchoina (sic) inde²⁵⁾ 7 dosinmbertatar (sic) leō²⁶⁾ dochum na hardo cētno²⁷⁾ i ndorus ina prīmraitha.

6. Deisitar²⁸⁾ hi suidiu. Dotiagar ōnd rīg dia n-accalluim 20 7 imchomuircet²⁹⁾ sgela dōib dūs³⁰⁾ cīa ba³¹⁾ chan dōib. A ndosluinnet³²⁾ ina³³⁾ sluinntib firuib, a n-usmbertatar iarum:³⁴⁾ 'Frāech mac Idhuidh inn so', ol set. Raidti³⁵⁾ innī sin frissind rīg 7 frissind rīgnai. 'Fochen dūib sunn!'³⁶⁾ ol Ailill 7 Medb.³⁷⁾ 25 'Tōet isind les!' Dollēcther dōib iarum cethruimthiv in tigi.³⁸⁾

7. Ed a ēcuse in tigi³⁹⁾ hīsin.⁴⁰⁾ Secht n-imdadae⁴¹⁾ ōrdoi

1) ass L.

2) din L.

3) dodechatar L.

4) gabaib MS.

5) nicosticfa L.

6) mo YL.

7) tairsiu L. tairrsium E.

8) abras 7 abairt LE.

9) siu cotrí ri LE.

10) nosgaibet LE.

11) batar ina c. om. LE.

12) dothiagat L.

13) a dun L.

14) issin dūn LE.

15) conapthatar LE.

16) scoirit a n-eochu L.

17) na add. L.

18) aige L.

19) sinnchu L.

20) condarubatar LE.

21) om. LE.

22) in LE.

23) om. LE.

24) i mBrei LE.

25) om. LE.

26) deissiter L.

27) imchomarcas L.

28) scēla d. d. om. LE.

29) bu L. bo E.

30) nodasloindet iarum YLE.

31) iarna LE. iar Y.

32) a n-asmbertatar i. om. LE.

33) ráite L. raitte in rachtaire E.

34) om. LE.

35) is óclách án fil and, ol Ailill, add. L.

36) taige LE.

37) om. LE.

38) imdai L.

ann ō thenid go fraigid¹⁾ issin tig imma gcūairt. Airinnuch do²⁾ crēdumo for gach imdaid.³⁾ Aursgartad do dergibur⁴⁾ fo mbretrad cāin⁵⁾ huili. Trī stēill crēdumo i n-aulaid gacha himdo. Sect stēill humuidi⁶⁾ in damdabuid⁷⁾ co clēthe isin tig. Do gius dognīthi i⁸⁾ tech 7 ba tuga slinntech⁹⁾ būi fair dianechtair. 5 Batar .xui. senestrecha¹⁰⁾ isin tig 7 comlui humai ar gach sinestri.¹¹⁾ Cuing humai tarsa forlē. Cetheōrai¹²⁾ ochtgai humai for imdo Ailello 7 Medba. Imdernad side¹³⁾ do umo crēdo ule, ossī hi certmedōn.¹⁴⁾ Dā airinach arguit impi fo dīorad airgit. As in airinach rosaded¹⁵⁾ midlissa in tige 7 tim- 10 chilled¹⁶⁾ in tech imageūairt ōn dorus dialaili immedōn.¹⁷⁾

8. Airacbat¹⁸⁾ a ngaisceida issin tig sin 7 setait¹⁹⁾ ann²⁰⁾ 7 fertair failte friu. 'Fochen dūib ēm!'²⁰⁾ ol Ailill 7 Medb. 'Is ed dorochtamar', ol Fræech. 'Nī bad aurasa bāig ōn',²¹⁾ ol Medb ēm.²⁰⁾ Imbrid Medb 7 Ailill fi[d]chill collēc²⁰⁾ iarum.²²⁾ 15 Geibid Fraech didiu²³⁾ imbert fi[d]chilli fria fer dia muinntir. Ba cāinside iarum in fi[d]chell²⁴⁾ i. clār findruine ann co ceteōraip auiþ 7 huilnib ōir. Cainniul do līg lōgmar²⁵⁾ og fursannad dōib. Or 7 arceat ind fairind būi forsin gēlār. 'Aurngaib biad dona²⁶⁾ hōguib!' ol Ailill. 'Nī ed is accobar lemb', ol Medb, 'acht tect²⁷⁾ 20 do imbert na fi[d]chilli tall fri Fræech.' 'Is maith limmb-so ēm', ol Ailill, 'cīa thēsi dō.'²⁸⁾ Tēt go Fraech iarum Medb 7²⁹⁾ imbert a fi[d]chiull³⁰⁾ iarum ocus Fraech.

9. Būi a muinnter-side³¹⁾ gollēc og fuini na fiadmīl.³²⁾

1) fraig *LE*.

2) di *L*.

3) imdai *L*.

4) dergibair *L*.

5) mrechtrun cain (*sic!*) *LE*. brecht imchain *Y*.

6) stialla umai *LE*.

7) on damdabaich *LE*. ó damdabaig *Y*.

8) de gius dognīth a *L*.

9) slinned *LE*.

10) senistri *LE*.

11) ar cech n-ái *LE*.

12) cetheor *LE*.

13) immdernide de chredumu *LE*.

14) in taige *add. LE*.

15) fo diór. Flēsc argait isind airinniuch rosaiged *LE*.

16) timchellad *LE*.

17) *om. LE*.

18) arrochat *L*. arochat *E*. ardotochat *Y*.

19) sedait *L*.

20) *om. LE*.

21) nibad úrais araigbaig ón *LE*. ni ba turus ar urbhaig *Y* (*sic leg.*)

22) iarsin *LE*.

23) iarum *LE*.

24) cainide fidchella *LE*. ba cāine side cach fichthill *Y*.

25) logmair *LE*.

26) donaib *LE*.

27) dul *LE*.

28) eirgg dó, is maith lim-sa, ol A. *LE*.

29) tēt — 7 *om. LE*.

30) imberat in fidchill *LE*. imbrit *Y*.

31) side *om. L.*, aber zwei Punkte über munter, die auf zwei andere unter Fróech hinweisen.

32) romarbsadar riam *add. Y*.

‘Sennuit do cruiti¹⁾ dūn tra gollēc!²⁾ ol Ailill fri Fræch. ‘Sennuid dono!’³⁾ ol Fræch. Crotbuilg⁴⁾ do croicenib dobarchon impu cona n-imdenum do fpartuing. Imdenum⁵⁾ di ōr 7 arccat. Bīan fērbbad⁶⁾ impuib⁷⁾ ammedōn, ba gilithir snecta. Stella⁸⁾ 5 dubglasso impu⁹⁾ 7 bruit līn. Gilithir fūan ngēisi ina¹⁰⁾ tēta.¹¹⁾ Crota di¹²⁾ ōr 7 arccut 7 findruine co n-delbuib nathrach 7 ēn 7 milcon di ōr 7 arccut. Amail noglūaistis na tēta sin, imrethitis na delba sin iarum inna¹³⁾ firu imagcūairtt. Sennuit dōib iarum co n-apatar¹⁴⁾ .xii. fer do muintir Ailello 7 Medba¹⁵⁾ la cūi 10 7 toirsi.

10. Ba¹⁶⁾ binn iarum in trīar so 7 bātir cāin¹⁷⁾ hūaitni in sin. Is hē in trīar airdirc. Trī derbrāthri¹⁸⁾ a trīur .i. Gentraige 7 Golltraige 7 Sūantraige. Bōunn¹⁹⁾ a sīduib a māthair a trīur 7 is din cheól sin [fo. 85a] sephuin Hūaithe 15 cruit in Dagdo²⁰⁾ anind ainmnigther a trīar. 7 is din cheól²¹⁾ intan mbūi in ben²²⁾ og lamnad, ba gol 7 mairce²³⁾ lee gēri²⁴⁾ i na n-idan iss tossach;²⁵⁾ ba gen 7 gāire 7 fáilte ara bith²⁶⁾ ar medōn ar imoltain inda mac do brith;²⁷⁾ bao sūan 7 ālgeni arapete in mac dēgenuch²⁸⁾ ar thrumma ina brithi, conid de 20 rohai[n]mnigiuth trīan in chiūil. Dofussaisg iarum asin sūan in Bōuinn. ‘Aurfōim-siu’ ol sī, ‘do trī maccu, a Hūaithe lānbrothai, fobith fili sūantraige 7 gentraige ocus golltraige²⁹⁾ ar būaib sceo mnāib dothōethsat la Meidb 7 Ailill. Atbelat fir la clūais ngesa³⁰⁾ dōib’.

25 11. Anad³¹⁾ don tšenmāim iarsind³²⁾ rīgtig. ‘Is sēgonnd donfainice’,³³⁾ ol Fergus. ‘Fogluith dūn i mbīad tainice isa

1) sendaiter na cruiti Y. chruttiri L.

2) tra collēc om. LE.

3) sennat ém L. seinnit em E.

4) crottbolg LE.

5) foa n-imdenam L. fon imdenum E.

6) biann n-erbbad LE.

7) impu LE.

8) sella L. sealla E.

9) inna medon aide LE.

10) inna YL. ima E.

11) sin add. L.

12) Crota-sin om. LE.

13) inna L. ina E.

14) conidaphthar L. conapdatar Y.

15) da fēr dēc dia muintir LE.

16) cāin 7 ba add. LE.

17) cāini LE.

18) derbrathir L.

19) Boind LE.

20) Dagdai YLE.

21) 7 — cheól om. LE.

22) bena MS.

23) golmairgg LE.

24) la gúri YLE.

25) i tossuch LE.

26) fáilte ar bith LE.

27) do brith om. LE.

28) dedenach L.

29) suantride 7 gentride 7 goltride L.

30) ngléssa LE. la luas ngesa Y.

31) anait L.

32) iarsain issind LE.

33) dofanic L.

tech!' ol Fræech.¹⁾ Doching Lothar for lar in tige. Fodaili
 dōib i mbíad n-ísin. For a dernuind iarum norannad gach
 n-āgho cona claidium 7 nī aithleth feōil nā tunn²⁾ dó.³⁾ Ó
 gabuiss ronnairect, nī airehiuir bīad fo a lāim rīam og ruinn.⁴⁾
 Bātar trī lā ocus teōra hoidchi iarum oc imbirt⁵⁾ fí[d]chilli Medb 5
 7 Fræech la himiuth⁶⁾ na līag lógmar hi tegluch Fræich. Iarsin
 adnglādustar⁷⁾ Fræech inní Meidb. 'Is maith rogabus friut tra',
 ol sē, 'nī biur do thochaill,⁸⁾ nā beth⁹⁾ meth n-enig duit and.'
 'Ó 'tú-sa issin dūn sa', ol Medb, 'is ed laithi inn so is sīaam
 limb ann rīam.'¹⁰⁾ 'Dethbir ōn ēm', ol Fræech, 'atāt trī lā 7 10
 teōra haidchi iarum oc imbirt na fí[d]chilli.'¹¹⁾

12. Lasoduin atraig Medp suas.¹²⁾ Ba mebul lē bith¹³⁾
 dona hōguib gan biad. Luid Medb iarum go hA[i]lll ocus raíti
 friss. 'Mōrgnīm dorigensum', ol sī, 'ind oīce innechtair gin biad
 dotimbirt fí[d]chilli.' Aspert Ailill:¹⁴⁾ 'Ní derban ind fodail dia 15
 muintir-sim sethnu in tige'. 'Ataat trī laa 7 teōra haidchi ann',
 ol sī, 'acht nād [ai]rigamar¹⁵⁾ in oidchi la bānsōillsi na leg lógmar
 issin tig.' 'Abraid friu tra', ol Ailill, 'anait dona cāinib dognīat,¹⁶⁾
 co fordāilter¹⁷⁾ bīad¹⁸⁾ dōib.' Fodūilter dóib iarum a mbíad¹⁹⁾
 7 ba maith romboth friu 7 ansuit ann trī laa 7 teōra haidchi 20
 forsín fíedugud sin.²⁰⁾ Iarsin tra conacerad²¹⁾ Fræech isa tech
 n-imacallmo²²⁾ co hAilill 7 co Meidb²³⁾ 7 imcæmsus²⁴⁾ dōu cid
 donuco.²⁵⁾ 'Is maith lemb ēm' ol sēside, 'cēilide lib-si.' 'Nī
 holcc ēim laisin²⁶⁾ teglach for ngnāisi',²⁷⁾ ol Ailill. 'Is ferr²⁸⁾
 for tormach oldaas for ndigbail.' 'Anfīm-ne lib didu, ol Fræech 25

¹⁾ foddid dūn, ol Fróech fria muintir, a mbíad. Tucaid isa tech, *L*.

²⁾ toinn na feōil *LE*.

³⁾ *om. LE*.

⁴⁾ oc rainn *om. LE*.

⁵⁾ na *add. LE*.

⁶⁾ immed *L*. ⁷⁾ adgladar *YL*.

⁸⁾ dind fíthchill *add. LE*.

⁹⁾ raib *YLE*.

¹⁰⁾ ann rīam *om. LE*.

¹¹⁾ *Statt* iarum — fídhilli *hat L* and.

¹²⁾ *om. LE*.

¹³⁾ buith *LE*.

¹⁴⁾ annechtair donnácatar fo bith cen biad. Diliu duit imbeirt fídhille,
 ol Ailill *LE (sic leg.)*.

¹⁵⁾ nat aichenmar *Y*. nadánairigmer *L*.

¹⁶⁾ anat dina cúinib *LE*.

¹⁷⁾ fodailter *YLE*. ¹⁸⁾ *om. LE*.

¹⁹⁾ a mbíad *om. LE*.

²⁰⁾ *om. LE*.

²¹⁾ conacerand *E*.

²²⁾ immacallamæ *LE*.

²³⁾ co A. 7 co M. *om. LE*.

²⁴⁾ imchoimras *L*. imcæmrus *E*.

²⁵⁾ dodnucai *YLE*.

²⁶⁾ lassa *YLE*.

²⁷⁾ ngnás *LE*.

²⁸⁾ Bid mo *Y*.

nach sechtmuín n-ale.¹⁾ Anuit iarum go cenn cōigtigis issin dūn 7 toíphunn gach laí²⁾ dōib dochum in dūine.

[fo. 85b] 13. Dosaigtis Connachto iarum.³⁾ Ba himned la Fræch dono nempacallam⁴⁾ ina hingine. Sech ba hē less dodm-
5 bert⁵⁾ sainruth.⁶⁾ Laithe ann adraiss dead⁷⁾ oidche do innlot a lām don tiprait.⁸⁾ Is ē tan doluid sī⁹⁾ d'innlot allām 7 a hinuilt don tiprait cētna.¹⁰⁾ Gaibid sium lasoduín¹¹⁾ al-lāma-si.¹²⁾ 'An frimb accallaim!' ol sē. 'Is tū dorochtamar.' 'Is fochen lim-so',¹³⁾ ol in ingen, 'mād conissuinn.¹⁴⁾ Nī cumguimb nī duit.'
10 'Ceist, ind ēlife¹⁵⁾ lim-so?' ol Fræch. 'Nī ēlub ēm', ol sī, 'ūair im¹⁶⁾ ingen rig 7 rīgna. Nī fil dano did dai[d]bri-siu nach-iméta-so ōm muntir, 7 bid ē mo thoga-su dano dul chucat-sa, ar is ed¹⁷⁾ rocharus, 7 beir-si let ind ōrnaise si', ol ind ingen, '7 bid ē comart[h]a bes etruinn dogrés.¹⁸⁾ 'Dorad¹⁹⁾ mo mǣthair
15 dam-so' ol sī, 'hi²⁰⁾ taiseith 7 itbér²¹⁾ iss cor roslāus²²⁾ im-mudo.'

14. Tētd iarum²³⁾ cectar de ao lethi²⁴⁾ iarsin. 'Atágur-sa ēm' ol Ailill, 'ēlūd ina hingene ugat la Fræch.' 'Cē dobertha do ēm,²⁵⁾ nī pa amudu',²⁶⁾ ol Medb, '7 dothaisiudh inar ndochum
20 cona ceithri do chobuir dūn occin tām.' Dothæt iarum Fræch cucca isitech n-imacallma. 'In fil cogur²⁷⁾ lip?' ol Fræch. 'Cid coccur,²⁸⁾ dothuillfe-si ann²⁹⁾ cētamus',³⁰⁾ al sē³⁰⁾ Ailill. 'In tipra³¹⁾ dam-so for n-ingen?'³²⁾ ol Fræch. Immanaiccet in tslúaig iarum.³³⁾ 'Dobérthar ēm³³⁾ doid',³³⁾ ol Ailill, 'dīa
25 tuccuid a tinnscra³⁴⁾ dam amuil asbér.³⁵⁾ 'Rodbīa ēim',³⁶⁾ ol

¹⁾ om. LE.

²⁾ cech ōenlá LE.

³⁾ dia ndécsin L. dia ndechsain cech lai Y. ⁴⁾ cen acallaim YLE.

⁵⁾ nodmbert LE. ⁶⁾ om. LE.

⁷⁾ n-and atraig deud L. diud E.

⁸⁾ do inlut don abaind LE.

⁹⁾ ōn add. LE.

¹⁰⁾ 7 a hinailt do indlut L.

¹¹⁾ om. L.

¹²⁾ allám-si YL. ¹³⁾ ém add. L. duid dono add. Y.

¹⁴⁾ ma chotissind L. ma co tisainn E.

¹⁵⁾ éláfa LE. elasu Y.

¹⁶⁾ or issam LE. ¹⁷⁾ tu LE.

¹⁸⁾ bid etronnd do chomarthu L.

¹⁹⁾ dosrat LE.

²⁰⁾ dia YLE.

²¹⁾ asbér L.

²²⁾ rodallāus L. rola Y.

²³⁾ dano L.

²⁴⁾ a leth LE.

²⁵⁾ om. LE.

²⁶⁾ ninmadæ LE. ²⁷⁾ in cocur fil L.

²⁸⁾ cid cocur om. LE.

²⁹⁾ dotallfa-su indi LE.

³⁰⁾ om. LE.

³¹⁾ tiberaid L. tibertai Y.

³²⁾ ingin L.

³³⁾ om. LE.

³⁴⁾ dia tucca tinnscra L. dia taibre a tinscra Y.

³⁵⁾ asbérthar L. frit add. Y.

³⁶⁾ om. LE.

Fræch. 'Trī *fehīt* ech ndubglass dam-so', ol Ailill, 'cona mbelgimb ōir 7 arcait¹⁾ friu 7 dā laulaig²⁾ dēc ō mel[g]tar ōl n-aiss *cóica*[t] gach aī³⁾ 7 tuidecht linn⁴⁾ cod līn uli 7 cot æs ciuil do tain bō Cuailnge.⁵⁾ 7 dobért[h]ar m'ingen-si duit acht go tīsum don tslúaigid.⁶⁾ 'Dotong-si em⁷⁾ darm sgīath 7 darm claidim⁸⁾ 7 darm trelum', ol Fræch, 'nī tibur-so⁹⁾ in tinnsra sinee cid ar Meidb Crúachan feissin.¹⁰⁾

15. Doching hūaidib iaram asin tig ammach.¹¹⁾ Imus-naicillet iaram Ailill 7 Medb dia ēis isin tig co n-ebartatar.¹²⁾ 'Forbeba¹³⁾ sochaide imunn¹⁴⁾ do rīga 7 tigernuigi Herinn,¹⁵⁾ 10 dīa ndoruccad¹⁶⁾ som ind ingin. Annī is maith ann', ol in slúag,¹⁷⁾ 'foipremm ina ndeguid¹⁸⁾ 7 marbam fochétóir rīasiu forroma bine forn.¹⁹⁾ 'Is liach ōn', ol Medb, '7 is meth n-einig dūinn inni sin.²⁰⁾ 'Nī ba meth n-enigh²¹⁾ ol Ailill, 'tucht ara ndalfar-so.²²⁾

16. Dotæt Ailill 7 Medb ina rīgtech.²³⁾ 'Tiagam as tra hi fecht si',²⁴⁾ ol Ailill, 'co n-accomur na milconu og tofphunn gu medōn lāi 7 gu mbat scithe.' Tiaguid as²⁵⁾ iaram dochum na habunn²⁶⁾ dia fothracud. 'Adfiadar dam' ol Ailill, 'at maith-si ind-uscī, a Fræch', ol sē. 'Tair isind lindid²⁷⁾ si co 20 n-acamar do snām.' 'Cinnas na linni si?' ol sē. 'Nī fetamar nach ndoduingg [fo. 86a] inne',²⁸⁾ ol Ailill, '7 iss coimtig fothracad inne.²⁹⁾ Gatuid Fraech a ētach nde iaram ocus tēt issin linnid³⁰⁾ 7 faguib³¹⁾ a criss tūas for tīr.³²⁾ Assolgi³³⁾ Ailill iaram a bosān dia ēis 7 fageb inn ornuaisecc³⁴⁾ ann 7 atageōin 25 Ailill iaram. 'Tair ille cein',³⁵⁾ ar Ailill, 'a Medb!' Dotæt Medb iaram co hairm a mbūi Ailill 7 tōguib ind ornaise dī.³⁶⁾

1) 7 arcait *om. LE.* 2) laulgaich *L.* lulgaig *Y.*

3) ōl n-aiss ó cech æ 7 læg find óiderg la cech n-æ *add. L.*

4) limm *L.*

5) do thabair[t] inna mbó a Cuailngiu *L.*

6) co tīs *L.*

7) dothongusa *L.*

8) chlaideb *L.*

9) tibérandsea *Y.*

10) nī thibrind i tindsera cid Meidbi in sin *LE.*

11) *om. L.*

12) dia eis — ebartatar *om. LE.*

13) farbbiba *LE.*

14) imuig *Y.*

15) de rīgaib Hérenn *L.*

16) dia ruca *LE.*

17) ann — slúag *om. LE.*

18) inna degaid *L.*

19) frinn *E.*

20) innī sin *om. LE.*

21) dūn *add. LE.*

22) dailiub-sa *Y.*

23) issar-rīgthech *L.*

24) *om. L.*

25) nīlī *add. LE.*

26) dond abain[n] *LE.*

27) linni *LE.*

28) inti *LL.*

29) facbaid *LE.*

30) for tīr *om. LE.*

31) oslaigid *L.*

32) bóī ind orndnasc *L.*

33) tair chi *L.* che *E.*

34) co — dī *om. LE.*

'In aithgein sin?' ol Ailill. 'Athgiuin ēcin', ar Medb.¹⁾ Focerd²⁾ Ailill isind abuinns. Roairigestar Fræch iarum inni sin. Co n-aco ní, dolebluing ind écne ar a cenn 7 gabsus ina uhēolu. Focerd iarum Fraech bedg gusind ēcne 7 gaibid 7 brissis a
5 geolbach 7 tucc lais dochum tiri³⁾ 7 domber im-maigin diamuir i mbrūach⁴⁾ na habunn. Dotæt iarum do htecht⁵⁾ assind usci.

17. 'Nā tair assind usci', ol A[i]lill, 'go dtuco cræib dam don chairthend tall fil imm-brūach⁶⁾ na haband. It ailli lemb a choera. Tēt sium ass iarum go rāinicc in carthenn sin⁷⁾ 7
10 brisis gēscō don chrunn sin 7 dombeir fria ais tarsind usci for cūla.⁸⁾ Ba hed iarum athesc Finnabrach nach n-āluinn atchid, ba haille lē Fræch do faiscin tar duiblinn imm-Bræ⁹⁾ .i. in corp do rogili 7 in folt do roāilli 7 in agaid do chumtachta ocus in tšuil do roglaisi, ossē¹⁰⁾ mæthōelach gin locht, gin ainimm co
15 n-aghaid fōchōil forlethuín, osē¹¹⁾ dīriuch dīainimm. In cræeb gusna cæruibh¹²⁾ itir in mbráguid¹³⁾ ngil. Is ed sin adberiuð Finnabair: 'Nico n-acco ní rosaisiud leth nó trian dia cruth'.

18. Īarsine¹⁴⁾ docuirither¹⁵⁾ dōib assind usci. 'It sēgda 7 it ailliu ana cæra. Tug tormmuch dam¹⁶⁾ dīb!' ol Ailill.¹⁷⁾
20 Tēid ass iarum¹⁸⁾ co mbūi immedōn in linni.¹⁹⁾ Gaibt[h]i in bóist assind usce. 'Domiciuth claidem ūaib!' ol Fræch. 'Romgab in uhéist!' ol sē.²⁰⁾ Nī raibi forsin tīr²¹⁾ rolamud claidim²²⁾ dó ar omun Ailello 7 Medba. Īar sin tra gatuid Finnabair a hētach dī²³⁾ 7 focēird bedg issinn usci cona claidim
25 dó.²⁴⁾ Dolēci Ailill²⁵⁾ sleg chōigrinn²⁶⁾ dī inūas rōut n-orchuro, co ndechaid²⁷⁾ tria a dī trilis 7 condorogaib Fræch ina lāim in slig. Foscuiri sūas for tīr²⁸⁾ in slig 7 in mīl ina choib (*sic*) gollēig.²⁹⁾

¹⁾ aithgen, ol si *L.* ²⁾ fosceird *L.* fosceird *E.*

³⁾ focēird bedg cucai 7 gaibid a óilech 7 dothæt dochum tiri *LE.*

⁴⁾ brúch *L.*

⁷⁾ go — sin *om. LE.*

⁹⁾ i mBre *om. LE.*

¹²⁾ dergaib *add. LE.*

¹⁴⁾ iarsain *L.*

¹⁶⁾ dún *L.*

¹⁹⁾ ind usci *L.*

²¹⁾ fer *add. LE.*

²³⁾ *om. LE.*

²⁵⁾ a hathair *LE.*

²⁸⁾ fosceird side issa tīr sūas *L.*

²⁹⁾ am-mīl inna thæb *L.* in peist ina thæb coleicc *Y.*

⁵⁾ thuidecht *L.*

¹⁰⁾ iss he *L.*

¹⁵⁾ na cræba *add. LE.*

¹⁷⁾ ol A. *om. LE.*

²⁰⁾ romgab — se *om. LE.*

²²⁾ nolamad a thabairt *L.*

²⁴⁾ cossin chlaidiub *L.*

²⁶⁾ sleig cóierind *LE.*

²⁷⁾ colluid *LE.*

⁶⁾ bruch *L.*

⁸⁾ for cūlu *om. LE.*

¹¹⁾ is é *L.*

¹³⁾ 7 in n-agid *add. LE.*

¹⁸⁾ atherruch *L.*

Léid son forgabal¹⁾ cinéle n-airberta²⁾ gaiscid la hōga,³⁾ gu luid triasin *tlacht* corera 7 triasin léniu búi im Aillill. Laissin gonēget⁴⁾ ind oig imm⁵⁾ Ailill. Dotæt Finnabair asinn uscī iārum 7 facuib⁶⁾ in claidim⁷⁾ la⁸⁾ Fræch 7 am-mīl doigsin (*sic*) a chenn de⁹⁾ gu mbúi for a thōib 7 dombert im-mīl leis dochum 5 thīri. Is de atā Duiblinn *Frāich* i mBrē¹⁰⁾ hi tīrib Connacht.

19. Tēt Ailill 7 Medb ina ndún iārum. 'Mōr in¹¹⁾ gnīm dorigensum', ol Medb. 'Is ar n-aithrech'¹²⁾ ol Ailill, 'a ndorigensam frissin fer, ol nī cinntach. Inn ingen tra', ol sē, 'at-bēluit¹³⁾ [fo. 86 b] a beōil-side immārach do agaid¹⁴⁾ 7 nī ba cin 10 mbrethi in claidim mbethir dii. Dēntar fothracud lib tra don fir so!' ol Ailill, 'i. ēnbraithi ūrsaili¹⁵⁾ 7 carna samaisce do imarcain fo thal ocus biail¹⁶⁾ 7 a thabuirt issin fothracud.' Dognīther¹⁷⁾ amail aspert side.¹⁸⁾

20. A chornuiri iārum rīam-som¹⁹⁾ dochum in dūini. 15 Sennuit idi,²⁰⁾ conidapad *tricha* fer do sainchæmaib Aillello 7 Medba ar sīrachti.²¹⁾ Dotæt iārum isin dūn 7 tēt issin fothracud dognīth 7 dobreth ass²²⁾ 7 cotnērig²³⁾ in banchuri imbi oc in dabuig dia mblith 7 dia foletad²⁴⁾ a chinn²⁵⁾ iārum 7 dognīth dērguth dō.²⁶⁾ Co gcūalatar an golguiri for Crūachnuib ina 20 farrad²⁷⁾ co facus na trī cōicait ban cona n-inaruib coreraib, gu cenbarruib huánidib gu mílechaib arcait for a ndóitib. 'Tiagur²⁸⁾ chuco do fis sgél cid rochæinsit. 'Fræch mac Idhaidh eim', ol in uhen, 'mac dreitill²⁹⁾ rī³⁰⁾ side Hérinn. Laissin docluinethar³¹⁾ Fræch in gol sin.³²⁾ 'Domócbaid!³³⁾ ol sē fria a muinntir. 25 Gol mo máthar-si in so 7 na mban³⁴⁾ mBóinni.' Tecabar³⁵⁾

1) léciud ón co forgabail *L.* leicid *E.*

2) n-imberta *LE.*

3) fene *add. Y. om. LE.*

4) coteirget *L.*

5) la *L.*

6) facbaid *YL.*

7) claideb *L.*

8) illáim *L.*

9) 7 comben (doneiscend *Y*) a chend den míl *L.*

10) i mBreib *LE.*

11) *om. LE.*

12) issinn aithrech *LE.* is aithreach lind *Y.*

13) atbélat *LE.*

14) imbarach dadaig *YLE.*

15) n-ūrsaille *LE.*

16) domdarggain fo thál 7 béuil *LE.*

17) dognīth uile anisin *LE.*

18) som *LE.*

19) remi-sium *L.*

20) di *LE.* suide *Y.*

21) sírechtai *LE.*

22) dognīth — ass *om. LE.*

23) coneraig *L.*

24) fólud *YLE.*

25) dobreth ass *add. LE.*

26) *om. LE.*

27) ina farrad *om. LE.*

28) tiagair *L.*

29) dreittel *YL.*

30) rīg *L.*

31) rochluinethar *L.* rochluinithir *E.*

32) a ngolgaire *L.*

33) domthócbaid ass *LE.*

34) bantrochta *L.*

35) tocabar *Y.* tocabair *LE.*

himach lasoduin 7 berar¹⁾ chuco immach.²⁾ Dotiaguit na mna imbi 7 berduit hūaidib hissin gCrūachuin.³⁾ Co n-aiccit im trāth⁴⁾ nōna arnabārach dotæt chuco⁵⁾ 7 cæco ban uimme, ossē⁶⁾ ōgslān gin on, gin ainim, gin esbuid,⁷⁾ comoesu comdelba com-
 5 crotha comalli⁸⁾ co n-ēcuse ban sīdi impo, co nā būi aichneo⁹⁾ neich secha araili dīb. Bec nāt muicht[h]e¹⁰⁾ dūini impu. Scaruit¹¹⁾ i ndorus in liss. Adagad¹²⁾ a ngol foa¹³⁾ ac dul hūad, gurcorustar na dūine bātar isin lis dar a cend.¹⁴⁾ Is de atā golgairi mban sīdi la hāes ciūil Hērinn.

- 10 21. Tet sium iarum issin dūn. Atregat¹⁵⁾ in tslūaig huili iarum ar a chenn 7 feruit huili fāilti friss amail bīd¹⁶⁾ a doman aili tīsid.¹⁷⁾ Atraig Ailill 7 Medb 7 dognīat aithrige dō do neoch dognīat¹⁸⁾ friss 7 dognīat lānchōri friss.¹⁹⁾ Gaibther leō iarum dadhaidh fledugud ina rīgtig. Congairther²⁰⁾ Frāech cuigi²¹⁾
 15 ōglach²²⁾ dia muintir 7 ispert friss:²³⁾ ‘Ēirg’²⁴⁾ ol sē, ‘gusin maigin i ndeochusai²⁵⁾ issind uscī. Ēcene forfagbusa ann, donuc do Finnabair 7 erbad fodeisne²⁶⁾ fair 7 fonuigther²⁷⁾ in t-ēcne lee gu maith 7 atā ind ornaisce²⁸⁾ immedōn ind iaich.²⁹⁾ Is dōich lem co ndechar chuecat³⁰⁾ indocht. Gaibthis³¹⁾ mesco
 20 iarum innī Ailill 7 Meidb³²⁾ 7 aruspētīt³³⁾ ceōlu 7 airfītiuth.³⁴⁾

22. Aspert Ailill fria a rectaire:³⁵⁾ ‘Tucthar dam-sa mo hseōit³⁶⁾ huili co n-acor’.³⁷⁾ Dobretha dō iarum a hseōit uile³⁸⁾ co mbātar ar a uheluib. ‘Amra n-amra³⁹⁾ inn so!’⁴⁰⁾ ol each

¹⁾ berair *L.*

²⁾ om. *LE.*

³⁾ issid Cruachan *L.*

⁴⁾ co n-accatar ní in trāth *L.*

⁵⁾ om. *LE.*

⁶⁾ iss é *L.*

⁷⁾ cen esbuid om. *LE.*

⁸⁾ comaili comchāini comchórai comchrotha *L.*

⁹⁾ aithgne *L.*

¹⁰⁾ muchtha *LE.*

¹¹⁾ scarsat *L.*

¹²⁾ atnagat *L.*

¹³⁾ om. *LE.*

¹⁴⁾ chend *MS.* tar cend *L.*

¹⁵⁾ ataregat *L.* ataragad *E.*

¹⁶⁾ bad *L.*

¹⁷⁾ thissad *L.*

¹⁸⁾ ndó dondes doringensat *L.*

¹⁹⁾ dogniat chóri *L.*

²⁰⁾ congair *YL* (*sic leg.*)

²¹⁾ om. *L.*

²²⁾ gilla *L.*

²³⁾ 7 — friss om. *L.*

²⁴⁾ airg ass *L.*

²⁵⁾ i ndeochad-sa *L.*

²⁶⁾ irbbad fessin *L.*

²⁷⁾ fonaither *YL.*

²⁸⁾ in dordnasc *L.*

²⁹⁾ éicni *L.*

³⁰⁾ co ndessar chuca *L.*

³¹⁾ gabthus *L.*

³²⁾ iarum — Meidb om. *L.*

³³⁾ aruspēttet *L.*

³⁴⁾ airfīti *L.*

³⁵⁾ fria rechtaire om. *L.*

³⁶⁾ tucaid mo šeótu dam-sa *L.*

³⁷⁾ om. *L.*

³⁸⁾ a šeoit uili om. *L.*

³⁹⁾ amra *L.* is amra *Y.*

⁴⁰⁾ inn so om. *LE.*

uili sethnu in ríghthe.¹⁾ 'Gairid dam-so tra Finnabair do maig!²⁾
 ol Ailill. Dotæt Finnabair chuco³⁾ 7 cæco ingen d'ingenuib rīg
 7 tigernad⁴⁾ impi di Connacht.⁵⁾ 'A ingen tra!' ol Ailill, 'ind
 ornaisce óir dombiurt⁶⁾-so⁷⁾ [LL. 251 a 16: inuraid in mair latt?
 Tuc dam condaccatar ind óic [namá Y]. Rotbīa-su iarum.' 'Nī 5
 fētar', ol sī, 'cid dernad de.' 'Finta-su ém', ol Ailill. 'Is
 ēicen⁸⁾ a cungid nō th'anim do dul as do churp.' 'Nīcon fiu
 [sin do rád Y]', ol ind óic, 'atá mór di maith and chena.' 'Nī
 fail⁹⁾ ní dom sētaib-se nād tēi dar cend na hingine [duid-siu Y]',
 ol Fræch, 'daig ruc in claideb dam do giull dom anmain.' 'Nī 10
 fuil lat do sētaib ní nodottain,¹⁰⁾ mani aisce úadi ind ordnaise',
 ol Ailill. 'Nīcomthā-sa cumang dia tabair[t]', ol ind ingen.
 'An rochara dagnē dīm-sa.' 'Tuīgu dīa tōiges mo thúath,¹¹⁾
 atbelat do beóil, meni aisce úait', ol Ailill. 'Is aire condegar
 chucut, úair is decmaing [deit Y]; ar rofetar-sa co tīsāt na dóini 15
 atbathatar ō thossuch domuin, nī thic assin magin in rolád.'
 'Nīcon tiefa ri móin nō adlaic thra' ol ind ingen, 'in sét con-
 negar and. Tīag-sa condatuc-sa, úair is tricc condegar.' 'Nī
 rega-su [cetusa Y]', ol Ailill. 'Tæt nech úait immorro dia tabairt.'
 Fóidis ind ingen a inailt dia tabairt. 'Tóngu-sa do dīa thoiges 20
 mo thúath, dīa faigbither, nīcon bēo-sa fot chumachta-su ba sire,
 dīa ndumroib forsarol mo greis.' 'Nīcon geb-sa ón dīt-su,¹²⁾ cid
 cossin n-echaire¹³⁾ théisi, mā fogabthar¹⁴⁾ ind ordnase', ol Ailill.

23. Dobert iarum ind inailt in méis issa ríghthech 7 in
 t-éicne fonaithe¹⁵⁾ fuirre, is é fuillechta fo mil dognīth lassin 25
 n-ingin co maith, 7 bōi ind ordnase óir forsind ēicni anūas. Dos-
 féccai Ailill 7 Medb. Da lēi co ndercar ar Fræch 7 doéccai¹⁶⁾
 a bossán. 'Indarlemm is la teist forācbus mo chriss', ol Fræch.
 'For fir do flatha', ol Fræch, 'apair cid dernais dind ordnaise.'
 'Nī chēltar orut ón', ol Ailill. 'Lem-sa ind ordnase robái¹⁷⁾ it 30
 bossán 7 rofetar is Findabair dorat duit. Is iarum¹⁸⁾ rolāsa issin
 duiblinni. For fir th'ainich 7 t'anma, a Frōeich, asndith¹⁹⁾ cia

¹⁾ uili — ríghthe *om. LE.*

²⁾ do maig *om. YL.*

³⁾ asteg cuici *L.*

⁴⁾ d'ingenaib — tigerna *om. LE.*

⁵⁾ *om. LE.*

⁶⁾ in dordnasc doratusa duit-siu *YL.*

⁷⁾ Hier endigt fo. 86 b mit der oben (S. 31) angeführten Randbemerkung.

⁸⁾ eicend *L.*, mit punctum delens in der Schleife von d. eicin *E.*

⁹⁾ fil *E.*

¹⁰⁾ nodottain *E.*

¹¹⁾ thuatha *E.*

¹²⁾ Hier setzt *L.* noch einmal ón, *E.* hat: nicongebsa ditso on.

¹³⁾ n-eachair *E.*

¹⁴⁾ fogabthair *E.*

¹⁵⁾ fonaigthi *E.*

¹⁶⁾ dechai *E.*

¹⁷⁾ rodbai *E.*

¹⁸⁾ airi *Y.*

¹⁹⁾ apair *Y.*

cruth arralad¹⁾ a thabairt ass.' 'Nī céltar fort-su', ol Fráech. 'A cétlá fosfuar-sa ind ordnaise i ndorus ind liss. Rofetar ropu sét²⁾ cæim. Is airi dosroisecht-sa³⁾ colléir im bossán. Rot-chúala-sa al-laa dochōad⁴⁾ dond uisciu ind ingen rodlaa⁵⁾ immach 5 oco iarmoracht. Asbert-sa frie: 'cīa lóg rombīa latt ar a fagbail?' Asbert sī frim-sa dombérad seirc mbliadna dam-sa. Ecmairnecmar-nī co comairnecmar oc tabairt in chlaidib issind abai[n]d im láim-se. Iar sin atchondarc-sa intan raoslaici-siu⁶⁾ 10 in mbossán 7 rollais ind ordnaise issin uisce. Atchonnarc in n-éicni dorroebiaing ar a chind, conidgab inna beōlu. Rongabusa in n-éicni iarum cotnócaib issin mbrat,⁷⁾ darolus il-láim na hingine. Is hé in t-éicni sin iarum fil forsin méis.'

24. Gaibthir admilliud 7 adamrugud na scél sa is tegluch. 15 'Nī fóichur-sa mo menmain for óclach n-aile i nHérinn it [d]iadsiu', ol Findabair. 'Arotnaisc⁸⁾ dó!' ol Ailill 7 Medb, '7 tair chucunni cot búaiib do tháin na mbó a Cuailngiu 7 intan doregasu cot búaiib anair doridisi, fibaid sind⁹⁾ in n-aidchi sin dadaig 7 Findabair.' 'Dagén-sa aní sin', ol Fráech. Biit and iarum co 20 arnabārach. Gabais Fræch immi cona muntir. Celebraid iarum do Ailill 7 Meidb.

25. Documlát da críchaib iarum. Ecmōng rogatá a bæ calléic. Tānic a máthair chuce. 'Nī beóda do fechtas' ar sī, 'dochōas. Fofirfe mór n-innid duit. Rogatta do bai 7 do trī 25 meicc 7 do ben condafail oc Sléib Elpæ. Ataat teōra bæ dīb i nAlbain tūascirt la Cruthnechu.' 'Cest, cid dogēn-sa?' ol sē ria máthair. 'Dogēna nephthecht dia cungid. Nī thaibrea th'amain¹⁰⁾ fórru!' ol sī. 'Rotbiat bai lem-sa chena', ol sī. 'Nīmthá sōn', ol sē. 'Dochōid for m'inech 7 for m'anmain airec¹¹⁾ co Ailill 7 30 co Meidb co mbúaiib do tháin na mbáu a Cūalngiu.' 'Nī rochebthair' ol a máthair, 'a condaigi.'¹²⁾ Tēiti úad iarum lasodain.

26. Dochumlái som ass iarum trīb nōnbaraib 7 fidehūach 7 cú lomna leū. Colluid hi crīch ūHulad. Co comarnaic ri Conall Cernach oc Bennaib Bairchi. Rádíd a cheist friside. 'Nī bu 35 sírsan duit' ol sēside, 'aní ardottá. Ardottá mór n-innid', ol sē,

¹⁾ arolais Y.

²⁾ séd E.

³⁾ dosroiscidsa E.

⁴⁾ dochodh E.

⁵⁾ rodola Y.

⁶⁾ ronoslaisiu E.

⁷⁾ port Y.

⁸⁾ arotnaisced Y.

⁹⁾ faifidsi far ndis Y.

¹⁰⁾ anmain Y.

¹¹⁾ tairec Y.

¹²⁾ rogebthar did tra frisandnísín conaigi Y.

‘cid and dobeth do menma.’ ‘Dommáir-se’, ol Fræch ri Conall, ‘co ndichis¹⁾ lemm nach ré conarnecmar.’ ‘Ragat-sa ém’, ol Conall Cernach.

27. Documlat ass a trīar tar muir, [252b] tar Saxain²⁾ tūascirt, tar muir hIcht co tūascert Longbard,³⁾ corrancatar sleibte 5 Ealpæ. Co n-accatar fracnatain oc ingairiu chairech ar a cind. ‘Tiagam ar ndis’, ol Conall, ‘a Fróich, co n-acaldam in mnai thall *ocus* anat ar n-ōic sund!’ Lotar iarum di[a] acaldaim. Asbert si: ‘Can dúib?’ ‘Di feraib Hērenn’, ol Conall. ‘Nī pu širsan do feraib Hērenn ém tichtain in tíri se. Do feraib 10 Hērenn ém mo máthair-se.’ ‘Domfair’⁴⁾ [fo. 87a] ar Conall Cernach, ‘ar chonnailbi’. ‘Aisnid ní dam⁵⁾ diar n-imtechtaib! Cinnas in tíre⁶⁾ donāncamar?’⁷⁾ ol sē. ‘Tír ndūaig n-ūathmuir⁸⁾ ém’, ol si, ‘c[o]n-ōcaib⁹⁾ andsaib amandsib.¹⁰⁾ Segait¹¹⁾ for gach leth do thabairt bō 7 ban 7 brat’, or sisi. ‘Cid is 15 nūidem tucsat?’ ol Fræch. ‘Bāi Fræich maic Idhuidh a hiarthur Hērinn 7 a trí mic 7 a ben’, ol si. ‘Huinnsi a ben sunn¹²⁾ laisin rī ina dūn.¹²⁾ Ondat a bai *dono* isin tír ar uhar mbēlaib.’ ‘Donfairni im cobraid’,¹³⁾ ol Conall. ‘Is bec mo cumang acht ēolas nammā’, ol si. ‘Is hē Fræch inn so im chomuir-si’,¹⁴⁾ ol 20 Conall, ‘7 it hē a bāi 7 a ben 7 a micc¹⁵⁾ tuctha ann.’ ‘In tairisi lib-si in uhen?’ ol sē.¹⁶⁾ ‘Cid tairisi linn ém intan doluide hūainn, bēs nī tairisi¹⁷⁾ iar tīachtuin sunn’,¹⁸⁾ ol Fræch. ‘Is fir ém’, ol sisi. ‘Is gairde a sesga ban.¹⁹⁾ Ben tathai^{ge} na mbō,²⁰⁾ ērgid a dochum, eprid fria for toich.²¹⁾ Do feraib 25 [Hērenn]²²⁾ a cenēl, do Ultuib intāinnriuth.’²³⁾

28. Tiagait co suidiu dano 7 ardogaibed 7 nodosluinnet dī 7 ferus²⁴⁾ fáilte friu. ‘Cichib foruireth?’ ol si. ‘Fonroireth mōr n-imniudh’,²⁵⁾ ol Conall. ‘Lenn robūi na bāi²⁶⁾ 7 na

¹⁾ co tichis Y.

²⁾ Saxanu E.

³⁾ Longbairt Y.

⁴⁾ Hier setzt Eg. fo. 87a wieder ein.

⁵⁾ dūn L. duinn E.

⁶⁾ tíree MS. (Zeilenende). Cf. sincee S. 39, Z. 7, ebenfalls Zeilenende.

⁷⁾ dorancamar L. donancamar L.

⁸⁾ n-uathmar LE.

⁹⁾ co n-ōcaib LE.

¹⁰⁾ om. LE.

¹¹⁾ regait L. conegat Y.

¹²⁾ om. LE.

¹³⁾ do chobair LE. im chobair duind Y.

¹⁴⁾ im chomair-si om. LE.

¹⁵⁾ a ben 7 a maice om. LE.

¹⁶⁾ sí LE. (sic leg.).

¹⁷⁾ ní tarissi LE.

¹⁸⁾ om. L.

¹⁹⁾ is — ban om. LE.

²⁰⁾ taithiges na bú sin Y. taithigi na báu L.

²¹⁾ toisc LE.

²²⁾ sic LE.

²³⁾ intāindrud L.

²⁴⁾ ferais YLE.

²⁵⁾ fonroireth imned L. imnid E.

²⁶⁾ lem na bai L.

maccu¹⁾ 7 in ben tuctha don dún sa',²⁾ ol Conall Cernach. 'Nip'³⁾ sirсанд dūib ēm' ol sī, 'anní sin'⁴⁾ dol fo dīrim na mnā. Annsa dūib gach rēt' ol sī, 'in nathuir fil oc imdeguil in dūini.'⁵⁾ 'Nimthirim frissin mnaí sin',⁶⁾ ol Fræch, 'a tairisi linn.'⁷⁾ Ro-
5 fétamair-ne nī mera,⁸⁾ hūair⁹⁾ is di Ultuib dūinn.'¹⁰⁾ 'Can do Ultuib dōib?' ol sī. 'Conall Cernach him farrud sunn',¹¹⁾ ol Fræch, 'læch is dech fili'¹²⁾ la hUltu', ol sē. Focēird iarum dī lāim im brāgit Conaill Chernaig. 'Resi'¹³⁾ in orguin hifechta',¹⁴⁾ ol sī, 'hūaire donānice-si,¹⁵⁾ a Chonaill, oir is do suidi dorairn-
10 gered orguin in dūini si. Tiagu-sa'¹⁶⁾ as tra' ol sī, 'dom thaig'¹⁷⁾ 7 ni dingēn bleogan¹⁸⁾ na mbō inocht etir 7 atbér is deol rodentar¹⁹⁾ in lōig 7 fuicēb-sa inn less obēla ar bar cinn-si, dec²⁰⁾ is mē nodnīado²¹⁾ dogrés gach n-oidchi.²²⁾ Tiastai-si²³⁾ isin dūn, acht comtabeitd oic in dūine',²⁴⁾ ol sī. 'Is annsa dūib
15 nammā²⁵⁾ in nathir fili²⁶⁾ oc in dūn. Dolēcthar illth[ūath]a²⁷⁾ dī', ol sī. 'Regma amin tra', ol Conall, 'cibed bīas nde.'²⁸⁾

29. Fopred iarum in dūn trāth di aidchi.²⁹⁾ Focēird bedg ind [n]athir co mbūi a cris Conaill Chernaig ina cotlud.³⁰⁾ Orgait in dūn iarum fochétoir. Doesarcāt³¹⁾ iarum in mnāi 7 na trī
20 maccu 7 doberat in is dech sēt in dūine leō 7 lēcid Conall in [n]athraig³²⁾ asa chris iarsin 7 nī dergene nectar n-ai³³⁾ ole fri anali.³⁴⁾

30. Ocus lotar³⁵⁾ iarsin hi crīch Cruithintuaithe,³⁶⁾ co tuc-

¹⁾ 7 na maccu *om. L.*

²⁾ fil issind liss *L.*

³⁾ nī bu *YL.*

⁴⁾ aní sin *om. L.*

⁵⁾ ind liss *YL.*

⁶⁾ nimthír ainm *LE.*

⁷⁾ nī tairissi limm a tarisisiu limm *LE.*

⁸⁾ ninmera *YL.*

⁹⁾ uaire *L.*

¹⁰⁾ duit *LE.*

¹¹⁾ huinse C. C. sund *LE.*

¹²⁾ *om. LE.*

¹³⁾ reiss *LE.* roiurthar infechtsa in orgain *Y.*

¹⁴⁾ hifechtsa *L.*

¹⁵⁾ dondanic *sede L.* donainec Conall *Y.*

¹⁶⁾ tiag-sa *YLE.*

¹⁷⁾ dom thaig *om. LE.*

¹⁸⁾ nī beo fri mblegon *L.* nimbeo fri bleogan *E.*

¹⁹⁾ rodinetar *LE.*

²⁰⁾ *om. LE.*

²¹⁾ noniada *LE.*

²²⁾ dogrés cach n-oidchi *om. LE.*

²³⁾ tistai-si *LE.*

²⁴⁾ acht cointalat *L.* comtholad *E.*

²⁵⁾ *om. LE.*

²⁶⁾ fail *LE.*

²⁷⁾ dolleicetar iltuatha di *LE.* dolectar *Y.*

²⁸⁾ cibed — do *om. LE.*

²⁹⁾ fuabbrait in less *L.*

³⁰⁾ ina cotlud *om. LE.*

³¹⁾ tessairgit *LE.*

³²⁾ nathir *YL.*

³³⁾ nechtar de *LE.*

³⁴⁾ fria chéile *LE.*

³⁵⁾ dothiagat *L.*

³⁶⁾ Cruithentuath *Y.*

satar¹⁾ as trī bā dia mbó[aib]²⁾ [fo. 87b] bātar ann, co tulatar
 ass anair sech Dūn Ollaich maie Briuin dar muir anair³⁾ i
 nAird hūa nEchtach.⁴⁾ Is annsin atbath Bice⁵⁾ mac Loegaire
 gilla Conaill Chernaig oc timain na mbō sin tairis anair. Is de
 atā Inber mBici⁶⁾ oc Bennchur hUlad. 7 co tucsat a mbū tairis 5
 ille. Et iss annsin rolasit⁷⁾ a n-adarco dīb oc trācht Benneuir,
 conid [d]e atā Trācht mBenneuir annsin.

31. Luid Frāech as iarum dia crīch fēn 7 a uhen 7 a micc
 7 a bāi.⁸⁾ Luid dono Conall Cernach dia comairge connarruith
 Ailill 7 Meidb hi Tailltin og brith na mbō a Cūailngiu. Conid 10
 é tres ndirími na tāna in romarb Conall hi Tailtin himmalle fria
 hAmorgene. Atberat inn eolaig immorro nī tānuice Conall anair
 annsin, acht iss ann bīi ar in orguin tair oc Slēib Elpo immalle
 fri Frāech gen romboth ar in tāin bō Cūailngi i nHerinn. Finit.

¹⁾ tuca *L.* tucsad *Y.*

²⁾ teora bú día mbuaib assaide *LE.*

³⁾ co tullatar do Dūn Ollaich m. B. friu co mbatar *LE.* tudcadar *Y.*

⁴⁾ nEchach Ulad *Y.* nEachdach *E.*

⁵⁾ Bice *YLE.*

⁶⁾ mBice *YLE.* ⁷⁾ rolasat *LE.*

⁸⁾ laiss *add. LE.* Darnach haben *LE* nur noch: co luid (conadluid
E) la Ailill 7 Meidb do tháin na mbó a Cualngiu. Finit. Finit. Amen.

ON THE LANGUAGE OF THE MILAN GLOSSES.

In working at an edition of the Milan Glosses for the *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus* which is in course of publication by Dr. Whitley Stokes and myself, I put together a quantity of notes on the linguistic peculiarities of the text. At one time I intended to incorporate these notes in the introduction to the text, but they have turned out to be too bulky for that purpose. As they seem likely to be of some interest to fellow Celtists, I now publish them here separately. My attention has been directed chiefly to points where *ML*. differs from *Wb.*; for the comparison of the two *Pedersen's Aspirationen i Irsk* and its continuation in *Kuhns Zeitschrift XXXV* have been of much service. I have also noted anything else that seemed to be of interest. I do not flatter myself that I have exhausted the subject, but I trust at least that I have put before the reader the salient features in the language of these Glosses. It must be borne in mind throughout that the text of *ML*. is very corrupt, and that it is not always easy, or indeed possible, to decide whether a particular irregularity is not a mere scribal error.

The vowels.

Non-final vowels.

a = *u*: *asidrubartsa* '3 a 15, 66 c 1, if they be not scribal errors.

a = *o*: in the proclitic *ac* = *oc* 22 a 5, 55 c 19, 82 d 11.

$o = a$: *totnugud* 43 a 11, *ois* 33 b 15, cf. *ous* 83 b 15, *-moilh* 110 d 10.

In the last instance *m* may be the cause, cf. *mór* from *már*.

$\bar{o} = oi$. Sometimes in Ml. \bar{o} is written for the diphthong *oi*, which became in the later orthography *ao*: *donib* 31 c 3, 56 a 13, *donachtae* 16 a 3, *donacht* 16 a 4; *dóri* 82 c 6, cf. 125 a 9, 125 b 7, 125 c 2; *sortha* 45 b 2; *-modi* 49 c 13, cf. 72 c 1; *óntu* 137 c 13; *-connactar* 76 a 7; probably in *inrograinn* 26 b 24, cf. 30 b 2, *forrochain* 68 b 8; *dofonussa* 47 a 19 is possibly for *dofoinussa*.

In Wb. *-connactar* 8 a 14 is probably a mere scribal error.

In Ml. *oi* is confused with *ai* in *dairi* 92 c 7, *dáini* 121 c 12, 134 d 2.

$u = \bar{o}$: *nu* = *nó* 38 b 7, 75 a 4, 137 c 7.

So in Cod. Cam. 37 d. In Mod. Ir. *nō* is dialectically *nū*, cf. Henebry, *Sounds of Munster Irish* p. 31; Finck, *Die Araner Mundart* p. 31.

\bar{o} , $\bar{u}a$. For the relation of $\bar{u}a$ to \bar{o} in Ml. see Zupitza, CZ. III, 278—9.

\bar{e} , $\bar{i}a$. \bar{e} appears only in the borrowed *pen* 16 a 6, used once for the common *pían*.

In Wb. *conéchta* 4 a 22, *pén* 15 a 16. In 19 a 4 the meaning of *is fech* is not clear.

$ea = e$: *conrusleachta* 53 d 11, *coineas* 102 a 23, *erladigear* 106 c 6.

This is the regular representation in later Irish of *e* followed by a non-palatal consonant.

$e = i$. *e* is written for the usual *i* in: *teget* 48 d 14, *dleged* 50 d 2, *fichet* 2 d 2 (error due to neighbouring *fichet*?), *diten* 85 a 4, *seichfed* 89 c 5, *tentathig* 2 a 2, *egept* 46 b 26, 29; *fresmacht* 90 c 27, *fren* 115 d 5; cf. also *breth* 36 c 21, 37 a 10; *epert* 51 a 19, 92 c 4, cf. 94 a 2, *múimbert* 33 d 8 (cf. also *tabart* 54 b 22).

In Wb. *cretfed* 1 a 3, *sóirfed* 32 d 13, *-pridched* 33 d 1, cf. CZ. III, 55; *epert* 22 a 4.

$i = e$. *i* is written for *e* in: *deichtriba* 66 c 8, cf. 66 d 9, 72 d 2, *dethribo* 72 d 1; *risiu* (in pretonic syllable) 38 c 9, *foirinn* 33 a 8, *remcaissin* 122 d 10, *latir* (?) 102 d 12.

$i = iu$: *trib* 34 d 6, 13, 16, 20, *deichtrib* 72 d 1; *bith* 38 d 17 *rith* 81 b 11; *gin* 68 b 12; *imnid* (dat. of *imned*) 53 b 8; in the future *no[t]prithchib* 45 a 8, *niconainibsa* 53 b 8, *fodalibsea* 78 a 10.

In Wb. *airbertis* *bith* 10 b 8, 10 d 18.

iu = *i*. *iu* is written for *i* in *taicniudsiu*, 96 d 1, and *dombiursiu* 111 c 13, where there is also *iu* in the following syllable; *mliuchtaib* 100 b 15 = *mlichtaib* 100 b 21. Peculiar is *deithbiur* 38 d 4 from *deithbir*. The adverb is regularly *indeithbir*, *indnephdeithbir*, and it is not likely that in this solitary instance there is a change of declension.

In unaccented syllable there is further weakening than in Wb., e. g. *comrorcan*, 2 a 6, *comrorcain* 14 a 7, *comtuarcan* 34 a 27, *comnessam* 36 a 1, *forcaill* 46 c 24, *forcan* 91 a 21, *arasc* 55 a 13, *sochaidi* 56 b 9, *cétbaid* 61 a 7 etc., *domain* 125 b 7, *domaindi* 43 a 23. Most remarkable is the development of *ingreimm*. In Wb. it is *ingreimm* or *ingrimm*, nom. pl. *ingremmen* etc. In Ml. we have *ingrain* 56 c 7, 57 c 5, cf. 26 d 12, 30 b 2, 66 d 22, *ingrainme* 18 d 23, cf. 29 d 8, *ingrainmim* 38 c 14, 74 a 10, 74 a 12, 74 b 13, 87 c 1, *ingrainmaim* 33 a 8, *ingrainmen* 77 a 12, *ingrainman* 18 d 17, 38 d 12, *ingrainmanaib* 75 b 6 (in the verb *e* > *a* in *ingrainned* 44 a 13, cf. *ingraintid* 54 b 19, 130 c 4), *ingramman* 20 b 12, 39 a 13, 54 a 12, 63 c 8, *ingrammanaib* 63 b 15, 95 d 5, 38 c 13 (MS. *ingrammaib*). So from *foglenn*- *foglaimme* 42 c 2. The latter word appears in later Irish as *foglaimm*, the former as *ingreim* Atkinson, Pass., *inghreim* in Keating. Is the difference determined by the different timbre of the preceding vowels? Cf. *bemmen* Ml. 39 c 17, *ceimmen* 22 a 7, but *anman* 48 c 34, *totman* 19 d 4. In any case between *ingreimm* of Wb. and *ingreim* of later texts the Ml. forms are strange. It is true that in the later language *ingreim* seems to be a learned word, but that hardly explains all the difficulty.

It may be remarked that Ml. has *immelle* 53 b 15, 68 d 9, by *immalle* 61 b 23, 79 b 9, 87 b 17, 102 a 19, 115 a 14. Wb. has *imelei* 10 a 6, *immalei* 4 b 16, *immallei* 10 a 4, 27 c 35, *immalle* 9 b 17, 13 a 5, 13 b 26, 17 d 2. In Ml. *immelle* is obviously a literary survival. So Ml. has *immetar* 26 b 20, 27, cf. GC.² 614.

In unaccented position, in the particles *ro* etc. *u* often appears in Ml. for *o*, cf. my paper on the Particle *ro*- in Irish (Trans. Phil. Soc. 1896) pp. 99 seq.

A pretonic vowel is lost in *tracennsom* 27 c 4, *trachénn* 101 a 3.

Final vowels.

Cf. Rev. Celt. XX, 303—4.

In MI. it is common to write *-ae*, *-ai* after a non-palatal consonant, where Wb. has usually *-e*, *-i*.

In Wb. *irgnae* 3 a 1, 14 a 12, *torbae* 11 b 17, 14 a 35, *rucae* 13 c 17, *doróntae* 16 a 23, *cenelae* 17 d 3, *madae* 19 d 16, *censae* 20 c 3, *corae* 20 d 1, *forbae* 20 d 16, *indocbae* 23 c 29, *lánc* 26 d 3, *diglae* 32 c 4.

-a = *ae*: *ansa* 53 c 14, *menma* 53 c 18, *trachta* 67 d 20, *mraithemnachta* 91 c 14, *fortachta* 93 d 4, *erchissechta* 98 c 8, *tehta* 102 c 5, *innambiasa* 121 d 8. In composition *nua-sligi* 2 a 6, *ana-deinmid* 42 b 17. Before an affixed pronoun: *cungabthasiu* 84 c 3, *soirasiu* 61 c 15, *arfemasiu* 68 d 13, *conccласiu* 101 a 1, *derlagasiu* (leg. *derlegasiu*) 74 d 13. But *-ae* is here more common: 3 a 15, 19 a 1, 35 c 33, 43 a 20 etc. Peculiar are *atroidfeasiu* 134 d 3, *arberæesiu* 133 d 8.

In Wb. *diagmani* 3 a 15. In 4 a 6 *cerudglanta* seems to be, as Thurneysen has suggested, a scribal error for *cerudglantae*.

-a = *-ai*: *belra* 31 b 13 b, *chumtachta* 84 a 10, *cúimrechta* 46 a 27, *durósca* 115 b 18, *tinolta* 145 d 1. In 59 b 13 *étu* appears for *étai*; probably *u* is a scribal error for *a*.

-ai = *-ae*: *tragdai* 77 a 19, *conosnai-ssiu* 70 c 3. In 85 a 4 *muntairai* = *muntire*. In *gabmai* 32 a 4 there may be confusion between the non-relative and the relative form, see below p. 67.

-ae = *-ai*: *encae* 24 a 19, *tuatae* 37 b 2, *ocae* 41 d 3, *soscelae* 42 b 7, *rucae* 87 d 9, *cetnae* 115 a 14.

-ae = *-a*: *gnimae* 44 a 23.

-a = *-u*: In the proclitics *ciasa* 34 d 6, *masa* 108 c 16, 118 a 5. Further: *degnima* 81 d 1, *drochgnima* 99 d 1, *tintuda* 107 a 2, *arda* 23 d 23. From the similarity between *a* and *u* it is not improbable that these are simply scribal errors.

In *romsa* 'thou hast been' 96 d 1, 108 a 4 apparently, as Thurneysen has suggested, *romsa* was extended from the first person to the second because in the perfect these two persons were the same.

-u = *-a*: *sceulu* 95 a 10, if it be not a scribal error.

-a = *-ea*: *athrani* = *aithreani* 97 a 3.

Isolated peculiarities: *deichthrebu* = *deichthrebo* 66 d 9, *roech-trannaigtho* = *-thea* 66 d 1, *foto* = *fotae* 60 a 10, *fresciso* = *fres-cisiu* 69 b 3.

-ea = e: *cairdea* 93 c 17; in 46 a 16 *doirsa* is probably a scribal error.

In Wb. *aidlea* 18 c 11, *foirbthea* 19 a 11.

-e = -i: *esse* 60 a 12, 113 d 2, 131 c 14 (*essisi* 85 c 14), *huáde* 58 b 4 (but *huadi* 133 c 10), *insce* 44 b 29, *comfoiride* 64 c 4. On *lassin uile talmáin* 89 d 18, *uile cuaird* 25 a 8 cf. Rev. Celt. XX, 304.

In Wb. 15 a 27 *núiednise* must be a scribal error for *núiednisi*.

-i = -e: *tríndoti* 2 d 2, *esngabthi* 22 d 9, *fetarlaici* 24 d 24, *ardi* 51 b 10, *tairngeri* 108 b 17, *tiri* 121 b 2, *aili* 144 d 6.

-i = -iu: *huli* 53 a 2, *duni* 49 b 8; *suacbairi* 62 b 10, *failli* 126 b 9.

In Wb. *duini* 4 b 3, *aili* 13 a 26, *imráti* 1 d 7; more strangely after a non-palatal consonant *ceneoli* 3 b 25, *tigerni* 8 d 20. In Ml. 46 d 6 *pecthi* is a blunder for *pecthu*.

-iu = -i: *duguidiusiu* 22 a 5, *du luithiu esærgiu* (a manifest blunder for *essergi*) 45 d 7, *du recht núiadnisiu* 64 b 10 (likewise a blunder).

dau = *dó*: 32 d 3, 35 a 13 (?).

Initial *a* of a possessive pronoun sometimes fuses with the final *o* of a preposition:

ho = *hoa*:- 17 b 7, 20 b 3, 33 c 17, 36 a 1, 37 b 25, 39 c 26, 57 b 5, 85 d 11. Similarly *horaili* 2 a 6 = *ho araili*, in which the accent fell on the second syllable.¹⁾

fo = *foa*:- 35 b 18, 19, 89 c 8, 89 d 15, *foní* 35 a 9, 35 b 16, 18.

This will explain *fomamaigter* 26 a 8, for *foammámaigter*, so 85 d 10, 113 c 6.

oco = *ocoa*:- 19 d 5.

Lengthening of vowels.

In Mod. Ir. vowels are lengthened before certain combinations of consonants, cf. Pedersen, *Aspirationen* 80 sq., Henebry, *Sounds of Munster Irish* 80 sq., Finck, *Araner Mundart passim*. Instances of lengthening in Wb. have been noted by Pedersen, *Aspirationen* p. 83. In Ml. the ^ˆ is often added without any

¹⁾ Cf. *innaldíl* Wb. 12 a 10, where the double *nn* points to an accentuation *innaldíl*, cf. Pedersen, *Aspirationen* 119.

apparent reason, e. g. *dómes* 15 d 3, *esámain* 27 d 8, over *i* it seems sometimes to serve, as in later MSS. as a diacritical mark, e. g. *níme* 106 a 3, *arfodba ní* 92 d 2, *hille* 47 d 6, *ingraimmím* 87 c 1. But the following cases may be noted, though all of them are not certain:

óll 20 a 3, *cháill*¹⁾ 104 b 5, *cáld* 62 b 16, *cálddi* 62 b 13, *gélđae* 80 a 11, *nudachéiltis* 61 a 2. In an unaccented syllable: *ubáll* 100 c 21, *imtimcélfamni* 24 a 7, *acáldad* 108 b 9, *coniepéltais* 99 b 2, *comálnabadar* 46 c 20.

áirc 83 a 4, *árcae* 82 d 1, 104 c 2; *dedárntui* 48 a 11.

liúm 106 b 6, *ímđae* 62 b 23, *ámminn* 83 c 3, *cindríim* 78 b 3.

ara cénn 60 d 5, cf. 101 a 3, 118 a 15, *chínn* 84 c 24, *dubríinn* 81 c 14, *adgréinn* 54 b 23, *innúnn*²⁾ 27 d 15, 47 d 6, 100 d 6, 111 c 13, 139 a 5, *inúnn* 101 c 4, *ráin*³⁾ 16 b 15, *chldáinn*⁴⁾ 91 b 17, *ásénnad* 63 a 11, *echtráinn* 63 a 18, 119 a 14, *ánd* 68 c 7, *lónđas* 18 a 10, *mínd*⁵⁾ 18 d 14, 129 c 5; *téntide* 96 b 17; *nóndammētar* 79 d 3, *doroslúind* 58 a 11, *erríndem* 56 b 22, *matíndae* 79 c 7. In *fulungáin* 86 c 18 is the mark intended for the preceding syllable?

sléchtas 115 a 3; *lósc* 45 c 26.

As to *inréith* 48 d 3, cf. *meith* 20 a 20, *féith* 126 a 1 etc., was a vowel followed by *th* lengthened under any circumstances in a final accented syllable?

The consonants.

g, d, b = Mod. Ir. *g, d, b*.

From the combination of certain consonants there arose sounds expressed generally in Old Irish by *c, t, p*, in Mod. Ir. by *g, d, b*; see Zupitza, KZ. XXXVI, pp. 202—244. In Ml. *g, d, b* are written in a number of cases.

¹⁾ But *koil'*, *koł'*, Finck, Wörterbuch, but *kíltə*, Henebry, Sounds of Munster Irish 16.

²⁾ *ēma* Mac Alpin, *imū* Finck.

³⁾ *ənūn*, Finck. ⁴⁾ *rīn*, Finck.

⁵⁾ For this Finck gives *klān*.

⁶⁾ *men*, Finck.

g: *foragab* 30 a 9, *foragabsat* 95 a 12, *-foigebat* 69 a 8, *cumgabthi* 43 d 7, cf. 84 c 3, *cumgabál* 79 d 5; *fordiuguilsiter* 84 d 2; *chosgarthai* 128 b 5; so in the borrowed *Gregaib* 3 a 15, Mod. Ir. *Gréag*, *Gréagach*. This sound is expressed by *cg* in *conuiegbthar* 64 b 8, *ecguisti* 65 b 2, 90 c 7.

In Wb. *asgnam* 1 c 18.

d: *erdachtaib*¹⁾ 130 b 10; *cumdubairt* 37 a 10, 43 d 20; *cdardad* 98 b 8.

In Wb. *cumdubart* 4 d 28, *asdud* 29 a 15, *doradad* 23 c 16. For *t* arising from *d* + *d* of a pronoun is written *d* in *adcomla* 3 c 13, *adbeir* 5 a 11, *adsode* 10 a 9, *adobragart* 19 b 5. Another orthography in *cotdice* 5 b 40, *cotddúith* 7 d 4, cf. *fotdáli* 12 a 8.

b: *ebert* 35 c 27, cf. 40 c 6, 94 a 2 (with *etbert* 83 a 5 cf. *ætgnythe* Wb. 1 b 14); *adobartar* 60 b 17, *adrobartatar* 14 a 16, *edbairt* 73 a 10, cf. 87 b 6, 8, 9, 92 b 9; *diubarar* 112 a 4, *diubarthu* 54 d 18; *frebaid* 58 a 4; *abelaichthi* 74 a 6; so *scribthurib* 25 d 13.

In Wb. *conidbarat* 1 b 20, *adobarar* 10 c 3, 11 b 12, *idbart* 10 d 17, cf. 15 d 20, 22 b 12, 13, 23 c 32, 24 b 19, 20, 30 d 11, *idbarthide* 11 b 23; *combart* 2 c 23, *tiubrad* 9 d 20, *abstíl* 23 a 10, etc.

Sometimes *t* is written for unaspirated *d*: *manitentis* 35 c 18, *anastech* 37 d 3, *frisna torus* 46 a 11, *a toiri* 46 a 17, 105 d 10, 122 c 1, *fortige* 75 b 16, *fortechtai* 81 c 15, *cu túthrachtach* 102 d 1, *airtbidib* 116 d 4 (contrast 49 a 25), *descertdach* 98 a 9.

In Wb. *na tiubrad* 9 d 20, *ní ténat* 24 a 25.

Eclipsis.

Cf. Zimmer, KZ. XXVII, 449—468.

c > *g*: *chogud* 103 d 5; *-rúgat* 75 b 3; *slogait* 123 d 3; *tárrgud* 72 b 10; *togad*²⁾ 39 d 16; *thuasulgud* 116 c 2. *ingcert* 61 b 15.

In Wb. *roslogeth* (pr. m.) 13 d 24; *táirged* 23 c 13.

¹⁾ Cf. Sarauw, Irske Studier 83, note.

²⁾ = *tocad* (cf. *so-dead*, *do-dead*) W. *tyngned*. Corresponding to the Welsh word the *g* is regular, but this is the only case in which I have found it written; O'Reilly gives *tocadh*. But the word seems to have gone early out of use, and *tocadh* must be an archaic spelling of a word found only in early texts. O'Reilly gives from Shaw *dogadh* 'mischief', which, if it be a genuine word, one would be tempted to identify with *dodead*, but I have no further evidence of its existence.

t > d: *comaidecht* 72 b 18; *derbdae* 42 b 14, *sluinde* 37 a 12, *soirdae* 75 a 3, *gélldae* 80 a 11, *coinde* 86 d 1, 126 d 5, *rendae* 120 d 1, *isligde* 136 a 11; *loiscde* 141 b 2; *adordais* 36 d 16, *nonglandis* 119 c 2, *-andais* 133 b 4; *nadedbardar* (= *nád-n-tedbartar*) 19 c 18, *-fe[n]dar* 39 d 7; *roleldar* 96 c 13; *naimdea* 138 a 6; *a deilciud* 118 d 11, *a dothaim* 131 b 4, *dia díchtin* 90 c 22; *in degdais* 61 b 22; *dara-dochtaised* 78 a 4; *condarbastar* 95 b 6, cf. 101 a 6, *adardad* 77 a 7, 98 b 8; *nícondét* 53 a 17; *nad desta* = *nád-n-desta* 94 c 10; *amal dete* 93 b 12.

In Wb. *arandathidis* 21 d 11; *imdidnibt[h]er* 15 c 25; *induccatar* 9 b 19; *adanicc* 3 c 27, *adised* 25 a 6, *condartar* 4 a 18, cf. 20 c 24, 28 b 31, 5 b 11, 21 a 8; *intan diagmani* 3 a 15, *dathar* 21 c 9, 28 d 4.

b > m: *mcc* = *m-bec* 40 a 20; *ocmanadar* 54 a 12; also in copula forms *romatar* etc., see my paper on the Substantive Verb ll. 1181 sq., 1236 sq., 1313, 1383, 1443, 1471, 1555 sq.

In Wb. in some copula forms, Subst. Verb ll. 1238, 1444, 1461, 1463, 1472, 1545 sq.

Assimilation of consonants.

ln has become *ll*: *commallaid* 106 a 2 etc., cf. Ascoli, Gloss. CXLVII; *eilled* 137 c 5, *roheilled* 127 a 13, *runcillestar* 63 a 14, *éillidi* 63 a 16, *druilidi* 76 a 4; *follatar* 77 b 4, cf. 82 d 5 and 46 b 18 (contrast 90 a 9, 18 a 4). The historical spelling *ln* is also found.

The spelling *-reildisem* for *-reillisem* (= *-reilnisem*) 63 d 15 could be most simply explained on the supposition that *ld* had become *ll*; of this change I have no further proof in Ml.

nd has become *nn*:

(a) *chldáinn* 91 b 17, *rinn* 145 d 3, *dilgiunn* 33 c 5; with *n*: *crúin* 18 b 4, *chlain* 23 d 12, *dorosloin* 58 a 11.

(b) Before a consonant: *innaide* 42 c 23 (contrast 42 c 22, *indnide* Wb. 4 a 19); *tinnagat* 93 a 20, *thinnachtae* 126 d 12, *doinnasatar* 30 c 17 (but in the verbal forms more often *doind-*, *tind-*), *tinnacul* 93 d 6, 96 d 6, 97 a 7, 9, 10, 105 d 10, 124 c 11, 126 d 11, 128 d 14 (*tindnacul* 15 d 6, 137 b 5). As to *minc[h]echt* 28 d 15 (by *mindchecht* 22 d 1), *angaid* 31 a 14 (by *andgid* 56 c 18), loss of *d* between *n-g* and *n-ch* is also found in Wb.

(c) Before the accent: *annu[n]dacomart* 36 d 9 = *an-du-n-da-comart*; *innamdimithe* (MS. *innandimithe*) 107 d 1 = *in-dam-*

dimithe; *innid* 42 c 4 = *indid* in Wb.; in the article *dúnn imchomurc* 77 a 15. Reduced to *n*: *dunamema* = *du-n-dam-ema* 87 d 11, *hovid* 51 c 2 = *ondid* in Wb.; *trisansoirthae* = *trisin-dan-soirthae* 124 a 8; often in the article, see below p. 58.

That *mb* had become *mm* is indicated by *mec*, above p. 55, for *m-bec*. Cf. further *ambus* 75 d 8, apparently for *ammus* cf. 91 c 6; *imbechtrachu* is written 145 c 11, *imblisen* 39 c 3, 6, 7 by *imlisen* 39 c 22.

Singling and doubling of consonants.

l.

Final *l* for *ll*: *céil* 22 a 4, 95 a 1, 129 c 15, *chel* 37 a 10, *cial* 88 b 11, 95 a 9; *huail* 43 a 13, 51 a 16, *hual* 57 c 13; *tal* 42 b 4. In the interior of a word *fuilem* 36 a 30, *olaigthe* 88 a 14. In unaccented syllable: *tadal* 25 a 2, *forcal* 42 d 4.

For examples in Wb. see Pedersen, *Aspirationen* pp. 113—4.

Doubling of pretonic unaspirated *l*: *fullos* 58 c 12, *rollaad* 29 c 1; cf. *innallathar* 91 d 7. In *focull* 125 a 11 final *l* is doubled.

r.

Final *r* for *rr*: *asber* 37 a 18, 110 d 16, *duber* 77 d 3, *imber* 131 a 2, 142 d 1. Before an enclitic: *fersom* 24 c 1. In unaccented syllable: *asrobar* 17 b 23, *docomar* 23 d 5, *-tabar* 54 a 2.

Doubling of pretonic unaspirated *r*: *arranethe* 55 a 2, *for-roiblang* 107 d 13, *forruleblangatar* 129 c 21.

For examples in Wb. see Pedersen, *Aspirationen* 118, KZ. XXXV, 346, 347.

m.

m for *mm*: *trumai* 20 a 19, 50 d 8, *truim* 63 b 7, *trom* 100 a 10, *domataid* 56 b 25, 26. In a final unaccented syllable *mm*, so far as I have noted, regularly becomes *m*. In a few cases *imm-* becomes *im-* before a vowel: *imaircide* 2 b 6, *imacubur* 34 b 10, *imaisndisi* 40 b 7. Before the accent *imimgaib* 22 c 11, *imimforlaingise* 38 d 18, *imimmthimerchellsat* 44 c 25.¹⁾

For Wb. see Pedersen, *Aspirationen* 101 sq.

¹⁾ It is to be noted that in these last instances the following syllable contains *m*.

Pretonic *mm* for *m*: *commallaid* 106 a 2; *innammraithem-nachtae* 31 b 3, 31 d 13, 133 a 2, *innammithuile* 33 d 3, *innammessidechtae* 41 a 11, *innammaraisndisen* 64 d 2; *innammundeclu* 27 d 3, 28 c 7, *innammessu* 38 c 23, *frisnammachabdu* 67 b 22, *innammaccu* 104 d 5, *innammerbi* 113 b 8, *trisnammoltu* 115 b 2, cf. 115 b 3, *inna ingnea mmoitha* 87 b 11, *innammaldachta* 110 c 9, *innammaini* 43 d 18, 98 a 6, *innammaige* 48 d 12, *innammúcnai* 95 c 5; *innammedon* 45 d 14; *ciammeit*¹⁾ 25 c 4, 26 a 10, 138 c 12 (*ce méit* Wb. 33 a 1, 34 a 5)²⁾; *dimm æs* 23 d 9, *huamm óintaid* 118 a 2; *frimmaccu* 43 d 1, 78 b 11, *lammaccu* 49 a 20, *lammeit* 91 c 19, 95 d 13; *nammebuil* 49 d 3; *banimo* 86 d 6, *bammadach* 135 a 9; *dommathi* 18 c 7, *dommuinfide* 40 c 17, *fummenatar* 43 a 16, *dommuinetar* 49 b 7, 113 d 11, *dummessursa* 78 a 11, *dummidethar* 82 a 3. In the infixed pronoun *-mm-* regularly before a vowel, except *dumemaese* 55 b 2, *dumemse* 72 d 11, *conúicttha* 74 c 16, *dumimmerchell* 108 a 122; *nachamindarbanarsa* 56 a 22; so *-damm-*, except *indamerbain* 29 d 5, *dunamema*²⁾ 87 d 11.

For Wb. see Pedersen, Aspirationen 107, and add *rommunus* 24 b 17, 18. In 24 d 11 *nammuinne* is rather gen. sg., and in 18 d 13 *innam muisea* is acc. pl.

n.

Final *n* for *nn*: *ráin* 16 b 15, *rain* 16 b 16, 24 c 2, *cruín* 18 b 4, *chlain* 23 d 11, *archiun* 67 d 8, *ciun* 74 b 1, *tón* 129 d 5, *fodglein* 37 b 12, *liun* 89 d 6. In unaccented syllable: *coitchen* 14 d 12, 27 b 13, 37 a 19, 53 b 27, 54 a 20, 56 b 41, 73 d 7, *cocran* 37 d 17, *colain* 38 c 9, *echtran* 14 a 7, *forcan* 91 a 21, *dorosloin* 58 a 11, *tororansom* 29 b 8.

For Wb. cf. Pedersen, Aspirationen 111 sq.

n for *nn* before the accent: *dunamema* 87 d 11; *n* often in the article for *nn* or *nd*: 19 a 2, 25 b 9, 30 b 7, 23, 32 a 25,

¹⁾ Pedersen, KZ. XXXV, 430, has pointed out the discrepancy between *ciammeit* with unaspirated *m*, and Mod. Ir. *ca mhéad*. But for Scotch Gaelic Gillies, Elementary Gaelic Grammar, p. 81, gives *cia meud*, of which instances may be found in Mac Innes, Cómraidhean (Oban 1892) pp. 19, 20, 32. Mac Alpin has *co meud* and *co mheud*. For *quantus* the High Soc. Dict. gives *cia mór*. Does the aspirated form contain a neuter possessive *a*? Cf. O. Ir. *nied a mēt* 'non tantum'.

²⁾ It will be observed that in the majority of these instances the following syllable contains *m*.

37 b 27, 45 b 20, 49 b 7, 54 c 28, 56 a 24, 72 b 9, 85 c 5, 90 c 11, 92 d 12, 102 c 7 (?), 108 b 2, 127 c 12, 136 d 10, 138 c 3; further *ina aicsin* 51 d 14; cf. also *ina menmain* 54 a 29.

In Wb. *trisin intamail sin* 5 b 20; *iarcentaib* 33 b 21. In Wb. 26 a 8, according to Prof. Chroust, the MS. has *inapid*.

Final *nn* for *n*: *talmann* 40 d 16; *persainn* 72 c 10 a, 110 d 7, 115 a 2 (bis), 129 b 8, 132 a 1, *persinn* 91 d 3, *persann* 90 a 12 (in *persannaib* 25 d 13 the doubling has spread to the interior); *lécuinn* 55 c 1. After a consonant: *sathairnn* 112 c 11; *suirnn* 121 c 14; *dedairnn* 44 a 2, 48 c 4, cf. *dedarnni* 97 b 3, so 57 a 6. Note also *-soirainni* 93 d 10.

Cf. Pedersen, Aspirationen 111—113.

Pretonic *nn* for *n*: *conneta*¹⁾ 32 d 15, cf. 33 b 5, 37 b 15, 54 d 17, 61 d 1, 91 a 19; *inn echaib* 43 d 3, cf. 26 b 7, 30 a 4, 46 b 28, 69 b 5, 69 c 7, 115 b 7;²⁾ *innimruimdetar* 105 a 1, cf. 126 c 17; *rinnanaímtib* 44 a 18; *lannech* 31 a 6, 42 c 13; *frinnech* 23 c 20, cf. 75 a 9; *fonna inni* 37 a 14; *cennabec* (?) 51 a 5, *rennagabail* 47 b 16; *anní* 90 b 13; *fonnitfea* 17 a 4, *dunníc* 69 a 20; *nonnoduimussaigtis* 136 b 5; *dmminnimdibataini* 83 c 3. Before a consonant: *inngnim* 128 d 11; *dianndergeni* 69 c 7, *trídnndrochgnimu* 84 c 14, *diann-damnad* 140 b 11, *conngestais* 131 d 13; *innsin* 44 c 10. After the accent *ingainnti* 116 c 4. In the infixed pronoun of the first person plural: *dunnucsat* 92 d 1, *dunnemtharni* 127 c 7, *codunnais-silbtheni* 110 c 4, but *doneimni* 110 d 9, *arúnutangar* 135 a 2; before a vowel *-dann-* is regular.

In Wb. the pronominal *-n-* is also found doubled, Pedersen, Aspirationen 119, and add *nonnertarni* 14 b 13.

8.

In Ml. the reduction of *ss* to *s* has gone much further than in Wb. (for which see Pedersen, Aspirationen 91—101): e. g. *dufesatar* 24 b 19, *nutesed* 29 d 9, *mese* 31 c 28, cf. 31 d 8, 36 a 17, 51 c 21, 55 d 11, 94 b 8, *dufesed* 33 b 12, *mesa* 34 a 5, *asardae* 35 b 8, *asar* 35 b 24, *esartaib* 36 b 17, 37 b 29, *esuirenea* 51 b 21,

¹⁾ For *nn* *nd* is written in *condetaitis* 125 a 4, cf. *conderbailt* Trip. Life 14, l. 30, and the like.

²⁾ This *inn* is in later MSS. written *ind*, e. g. *ind ifernid*, Trip. Life 92, cf. *indaidechi* Ml. 42 c 23?

ascesar 44 a 4, *tosach* 44 b 10 etc., *tresa* 49 a 18a, *ngesar* 51 a 17, *duaisilbi* 51 b 12, *duesemar* 56 a 13, *fosisefar* 58 c 17, *cosaigthi* 146 a 8, *esamnu*, *esamnae* Ascoli Gloss. CXXVI; *clais* 2 b 7, 136 a 8, *nges* 39 b 3, *fes* 51 b 7, cf. 80 b 11, *les* 2 a 6, 3 a 14, 35 b 25, 36 c 10, 58 d 5, 97 d 7, *lius* 34 b 6, *mes* 30 d 25, 31 d 6, 38 d 1, 47 a 5, 54 b 2, 94 b 7, 103 c 8, 106 c 11, *tes* 42 c 29, 97 c 4; *les* ('with him', down to fol. 60) 30 b 11, 33 b 21, 33 c 17, 34 c 17, 36 a 14, 36 d 12, 37 c 16 c, 42 b 7, 44 d 6, 46 c 3, 47 a 8, 14, 49 a 27, 50 b 12, 54 a 12, 55 c 1, 10, 56 b 31, 58 d 16, 60 a 7, (*less* 35 d 24), *lesom* 18 c 6, 23 b 12, 30 d 19, 44 b 17, 45 c 9, 47 c 16, 17, 50 b 10, 50 c 20, 50 d 6, 53 a 17, 54 c 35, 56 a 20, 56 b 32, 37, 57 a 9, 59 b 10, 60 a 4, 60 c 5 (*lessom* 40 a 14, 47 c 5, 47 d 2, 54 c 3, 40 a 14, 56 b 1, 60 c 2). For *fris*, *mesc* etc. I have no collections. Pedersen (p. 96) notes the exceptional treatment of *hiress* in Wb.; ML. has *hires*: 14 b 15, 14 c 6, 15, 16, 19, 26 b 1, 31 a 5, 85 d 8; so *iresaig* 31 a 3, *amairis* 97 d 10, 13, *amiresach* 30 d 28, cf. 48 a 16; but *hirisse* 14 c 10. It may be noted generally that in ML. reduction of *ss* is more complete at the end than in the interior of words.

ss for *s*: *dussceulat* 83 b 8, *fusscannain* 96 a 4, *frissuidi* 127 d 14, *frisorcaissiu* 44 b 31, *conosnaissiu* 70 c 3, *assreud* 48 c 33.

c.

oc is written in those cases in which Wb. writes *occ*, except *occa tuididin* 86 a 1 (cf. *occurobae* 98 d 8), cf. Pedersen, *Aspirationen* 118, Zupitza, KZ. XXXVI, 209. For the general statistics of single and double *c*, *t*, *p* reference may be made to Zupitza's paper.¹⁾

Aspirated *s* and *f*.

In ML. *f̃* and *s̃* are not found. The aspirated letter is sometimes left unwritten:

f: *-ruresscet* 34 c 11, *nephrescastaib* 40 b 10, cf. 56 d 1, *teroehraic* 36 a 32 etc., 115 d 6, 127 a 12, 13, *athuisti* 40 a 8, *nephis* 58 a 20, *nephrepthae* 58 a 17, *nephreptanaigthe* 76 a 17, *roeeth* 126 a 6, *chrosigill* 138 a 2, *rinn* 54 a 3, *allethe rissan* 30 b 2,

¹⁾ It may be noticed in passing that, as appears from Zupitza, reduction in *macc* is rare except where the *c* is palatal. Similarly in Tur., where note also *sacaird* by *sacardd*, *camull* by *g. camul*.

re 44 b 4; *moisitiu* 46 b 12, *menlae* 47 c 4, *tortachtæ* 108 a 1. Note the spelling *nufiadnisse* 24 d 24 for what is usually written *nuiadnisse* = *núe-fiadnisse*. In *thufortucht* 44 c 20 *f* is written etymologically.

In Wb.: *arllithi* 1 a 3, *indaetsa* 3 a 7, 3 c 22, 4 a 10, 4 d 3, *ginecht* 3 b 3, *orcital* 8 b 13, *anadliular* 27 a 10, *ara laith* 30 d 4.

s: *intesselbeck* 63 b 8 (bis), *síraigligi* 78 c 12.

Miscellaneous notes.

d written for *th*: *pechdachu* 26 d 14, *-chadraig* 66 c 14, *duairndredat* 81 b 2, *findsine* 81 c 6, *comchadugud* 112 b 5, *frith-chadaigthe* 114 b 19, *idi* 124 c 8, *bendachdai* 138 a 1.

In Wb. *duiract* 3 b 21, *deilir* 3 b 30, cf. 6 a 8, 12, 9 c 10, *adramail* 6 d 6 (*adthramail* 9 a 14, 23 c 27), *aidbrech* 9 b 20, *adlaig* 9 c 11, *ailchomarcaib* 9 d 14, *aidchrochad* 11 d 7, *bede* 13 a 9, *maíramil* 13 d 10, *fridoirced* 14 a 27, *áidlea* 18 c 11, *ledchollbe* 23 d 31, *foraidmet* 24 c 2.

n = *ng*: *forgairib* 66 c 3, cf. 67 b 8, 101 c 6, 103 d 27, *tair-giriu* 33 d 22, *dundrairgiurtsa* 109 c 9.

In Wb. *tairgiriú* 19 c 3. In Wb. 10 d 37 *infolngithi* for *infolgithi* indicates that *lng* and *lg* had fallen together.

bf written for *b* (= *v*): *cobfodlus* 22 b 1, *cobfodlaid* 86 d 5.

f written for *bf*: *atrefea* 36 a 18 b, 107 a 15, *atoifea* 114 c 2.

In Wb. *cotoputainesi* 8 c 16, *soifitir* 26 a 21, *atrefea* 30 b 18.

pf written for *f* (from *sr*): *andunlasepfainn* 36 d 17.

b written for *bf*: *atrebea* 35 b 24.

f written for *b*: *amal fid* 34 b 11, 37 b 22, *chétfaid* 53 b 20, *findfadach* (= *find-bethach*) 56 b 44.

th for *t* (= *-th-t*): *rethæ* 68 b 10, *frithéirisse* 83 a 11, *noreithis* 129 d 4, *dungaithar* 54 a 30.

Cf. *immeraither* Wb. 14 c 22.

d written for *t* (= *-dt-*): *nundedais* 83 b 3, *nodedais* 102 d 14.

Peculiar is *faissine* 25 b 5 for *fáithsine*, which developed regularly into *fáitsine*, later *fáistine*, cf. Pedersen, *Aspirationen* 161.

amal not *amail*: written in full 90 a 10, 107 c 8, 118 d 13, 137 c 13. So far as I have observed, Ml. has *intan* not *intain*, except 27 d 10, 140 c 9.

As *de* in *MI.* has often become *do*, so conversely *de* is written for *do* in 21 c 3, 33 a 5, 44 c 6, 55 c 1, 56 b 1, 72 b 5, 134 a 3.

So in *Wb.* 17 a 11, 24 d 10.

Aspiration.

In *MI.*¹⁾ aspiration is found in a number of cases where it is absent in *Wb.*, cf. *Pedersen*, *KZ.* XXXV, 330, etc. Such are:

(a) *indate chlaiddib* 77 a 6, *indaas chumachtai* 26 b 6, *núdat chummai* 115 b 3.

(b) *biid chiall* 56 b 33, *nibi chondumu* 35 d 17, *na bith chiniud* 87 a 3, *ní bíth chomldidnad* 62 b 6, *combed chiall* 67 d 24, *robói chocad* 137 c 8, *cinid fil chairi* 30 a 2, cf. 55 d 25 (otherwise 30 b 2, 57 c 5).

(c) *maní déne chathu* 37 c 15, cf. 56 c 16, *cocarad chaingnimu* 14 a 8, cf. 95 a 5, *dorignius chomgnimu* 47 a 20.

(d) *fritcurethar cheill* 41 d 16, *frecur cheill* 43 a 2, 106 d 3, but usually unaspirated.

(e) *contoat chucai* 46 c 1; cf. *rissan-* 30 b 2, *rinn* 54 a 3, *re* 44 b 4.

(f) Aspiration of initial consonant in relative forms: *chanas* 24 d 14, so 29 b 4, 30 c 3, 114 b 7, 122 a 12; *amal chonnoscaighther* 38 d 16, *amal chondegamni* 107 c 8; *chontarchomraic* 57 a 14. In 94 a 21 *thrach[t]ith* is strange, as it is not the proper relative form.

After *cia* the relative form is sometimes found, *cia gabthar* *Wb.* 29 b 5. This may explain *cia conchela* 106 c 14, *cia duthluiched* 124 d 9.

(g) After *ar*: *ar chomallaibitir* 109 c 9, cf. 42 c 8. But this is exceptional.

¹⁾ As aspiration is sometimes found in *MI.* where it is clearly wrong, some of these instances may be scribal errors. Instances are the following; *suwischelaichthi* 45 a 3, *tinthuda* 57 a 9, *fochethoir* 126 d 9, *frithorthai* 132 b 1, *aitherrech cheitbada* 98 b 5, cf. 98 d 2a, *forthacht* 93 c 15, *incha[th]raig* 54 c 26, *incheil* 129 c 15, *achethardae* 97 a 7, cf. 133 b 5, *inna chenel* 67 b 24, cf. 103 d 14, *chettlaidib* 61 d 5, cf. 119 d 3, 125 a 2, *for chenn* 44 d 29, *fricheill* 56 b 33, *iar chétlaid* 68 c 14, *ara chénn* 60 d 5, *a chretem* 97 b 2, *a chonucbais* 58 c 2, *nudachelat* 54 c 9, cf. 61 a 2, *niba chian* 56 d 7. In many of these cases the mark of the long vowel seems to have been mistaken for the mark of aspiration.

(h) The following may simply be noted as irregular: *duth-luchedar* 38 d 1, *co duthlucher* 49 d 10, *duthluchimse* 71 c 20, *fucheillfea* 90 c 15, *adchess* 96 d 1, *risiu adcheth* 38 c 9. Cf. also p. 67 sq. below.

In Wb. *rochrochsat* 5 c 11, *co forchongramni* 11 b 16.

Aspiration is sometimes wanting where it might have been expected. But as aspiration is often left unexpressed in MI. these are in part at least clerical errors. It will be sufficient to refer to the following:

(a) After *-bu*: 34 c 17, 53 d 6, 100 b 22.

(b) After *-bad*, *-bed*: 46 a 27, 65 d 5, 137 c 12.

(c) *issi cetbaid*: 36 a 1, cf. 74 c 21, 74 d 13, 101 c 6.

(d) In relative forms: *dutiagat* 103 b 16, *dutéigtis* (?) 108 b 1, *ducltar* 111 b 11.

Declension.

The article.

In the article *d* is often etymologically written before *s* where *t* would be correct: *isind saltair* 2 d 2, *ind sailm* 24 d 22, 26 a 2, *isind salm* 50 d 4, 70 a 1, 77 b 11, 101 c 6, 103 b 10, 108 b 16, 109 b 2, 128 d 15, 17, 133 b 16, *asind salm* 103 d 16, *dund salm* 110 d 6, *dund sil* 44 a 10, *hond soinnichi* 48 c 16, *dund soirad* 68 d 4, *huand sechmall* 70 b 3, *huand soud* 118 c 1, *ind sainredach* 124 d 14, *ind solam* 131 b 5.

In Wb. I have noted *ind soscéli* 18 c 6, *ind senduini* 27 b 8.

Before *s* *in* is rare: *in sailm* 25 a 6, *in suin* 37 a 10, *issin salm* 54 c 4 (cf. *insuidigthi* for *int-suidigthi* 'institutá' 146 a 4, cf. *insamil* Wb. 30 a 25): For *n* for *nd* or *nn* before a vowel see above p. 58.

Conversely *t* is sometimes written for *d*: *isint aimsir* 14 b 13, *dunt foirbthetaid* 14 c 8, *dunt imluad* 15 a 17, *isint epistil* 26 a 3, *isint erchru* 30 d 27, *isint faithsini* 35 b 18, *int aithisc* 35 c 23, *int atlaigthi* 36 b 19, *iarsint intliucht* 37 a 8, *int huile talam* 45 d 8, *int atlaichtho* 66 c 5, *int ithclair* 137 a 2.

Cf. *dontlathur* Wb. 5 c 16.

With the preposition *for-* *for* sometimes appears for *fors-*:

foran- = *forsan-*: *fora faciem* 122 c 6, cf. 126 c 11, 131 c 14.
So with the relative: *forarobae* 38 c 4, 64 a 12.

In Wb.: *foratuit* 4 d 15, *foranidparar* 5 b 6, *forataibre* 29 a 23.

forind = *forsind*: *forin gnim* 94 b 11, *forind nim* 120 d 7;
cf. *forincanoin* 60 b 14.

forna = *forsna*: *forna tíre* 69 a 11, *forna naimdeca* 138 a 6.

fornaib = *forsnaib*: *fornaibriathraib* 27 d 22.

Cf. *fornaib gnímaib* Wb. 5 a 5.¹⁾

In the nom. pl. *inna* sometimes appears for *ind*: *na testimni* 38 c 9a, *inna testimni* 38 c 9 (contrast 38 c 8), *inna leomain* 80 a 10. Cf. *innahí* (sc. *pecthí*) 46 b 28.

Cf. *na tri recte* Wb. 29 a 16, cf. Idg. Forsch. X, 77.

In the dative plural there appear by the usual forms:

(a) *honai*: *honai doinmechaib* 34 c 1, *honai gabalaib* 54 b 25.

(b) *dona-* etc.: *donahi* 46 c 7, *donahisin* 57 c 1; *cosna coic anmanib* 38 b 2; *huana cumgaib* 41 a 7, *huana fochaidib* 54 a 18, *hona mainénaiib* 69 c 5; *isna fochaidib* 74 d 5, *isna noiib* 122 a 3.

In Wb. the only peculiarity that I have noted is *arnab* 2 a 15, 21 a 13, *dinab* 13 d 33, *donaballaib* 12 b 2.

The noun.

In the gen. sing. *in tomáis* 20 a 21 is peculiar. In the nom. and acc. plur. of neut. *o* stems where the noun stands by itself the longer form always appears, e. g. *tercitla* 19 b 10, *dligeda* 35 b 1 etc. The short form appears only with the article *inna* (except *sechalaili dliged* 18 c 11), e. g. *inna imned* 21 c 3, with which the longer forms are also found, e. g. *na beula* 19 c 9; if my observations be correct, the former are slightly more numerous (20 : 17). (In Wb. of the shorter form I have noted only *nacha arm* 22 d 14). The adjective has always *a*.

¹⁾ Before the negative *ná-* we have *for-* in *forna fil* 56 a 13. In the Laws I think I have seen *forsna-*, but unfortunately I cannot find the reference. The rule would seem to be that with *nā s* is present after prepositions with which it appears in the forms of the article: *forsnā-* and *forna-*, *lasnabi* Ml. 50 d 2, *asnachatucaid* Ml. 125 b 7, *dinaconbi* Ml. 85 b 7, *donarobu* Ml. 129 d 3, *oendáchfil* LU. 36 b 5.

From neuter *i* stems may be noted *na rind* 2 a 14, *tarsna mure* 122 a 3, from a neuter *u* stem, *na torus* 46 a 12, by *doirseá*, cf. Idg. Forsch. X, 76.

The adjective.

In *ciaptar mora a pecthai* 98 c 5 *móir* has been replaced by *móra*. So in the acc. *lucu arda* 23 d 23 for *lucu ardu*, if it be not a scribal error.

Cf. *maicc cóima* Wb. 27 b 16.

In 78 b 19 *daingni* is strange; *daingnea* might have been expected.

From *-i*-stems may be noted:

(a) nom. pl. neut.: *inna huaíslí* 48 b 7, *inna íslí* 7 *inna cob-saídi* 81 c 15, *dochraídi* 68 d 2, *inna fudumnai* 81 a 4, 138 d 9 (but in Wb. substantivally *fudumne* 5 c 17, cf. 8 b 6).

(b) gen. pl.: *sonairt* 51 b 3, *innandoine nangaid* 31 a 14, *innannaimtine ñ deithbir* 38 d 2, *innan damán nallaid* 59 d 1; *diut* 74 c 3. Substantivally *inna comailte* 27 c 2. From Wb. I have no examples of the case.

(c) Noteworthy further is the n. pl. *deeth* 120 b 3 by *deedi* Acr. 39.

Peculiar to Ml. is *-imem*, *-amam* in the superlative, see Solmsen, Idg. Forsch. XI, 223 sq.

The pronoun.

Personal pronouns.

By *issnisni* 30 a 20, 102 b 15, 127 c 2, Ml. has *issisni* 78 a 1, 92 c 2, *is sinni* 63 c 15, 138 c 11 b, *is níni* 43 d 5, *is nínni* 93 d 4.

For *dom* Ml. has regularly *dam* (35 times); but *dom* 47 c 4, 55 a 19, 118 a 5.

Wb. has *dam* once, 4 b 29.

For *duit* Ml. has regularly *dait* (28 times); but *duit* 44 b 23, 44 c 19, 92 a 20; *deit* 91 b 16, 129 d 22.

Infixed pronouns.

1 and 2 sg. and pl.:

Peculiar to Ml. are *-am(m)-*, *-dam(m)-*, *-at-*, *-dat-*, *-an-*, *-dan(n)-*, *-ab-*, *-dab-*. For the instances see Sommer, CZ. I, 183 sq.

In 78 c 6 Sommer would correct *-dun-* to *-dan-*. In Wb. there is only the doubtful *indatbendachub* 33 d 11, cf. CZ. I, 189, which is, however, supported by *dam* above.

Isolated peculiarities are: *indaroncomairlecis ni* 77 d 6 (cf. CZ. I, 187, the form is hardly a mere scribal error); *cotoscaigther* 55 b 3, *cotnessiusa* 126 c 17, cf. CZ. I, 191.

With regard to the longer forms of the first and second persons, and also *-da-* of the third person, the following may be noted:

After *for-* Wb. has regularly *d* . ., whether the form be non-relative or relative, 7 a 12, 19 d 27, 31 c 16, 3 b 23, 9 a 16 (of *-da-* of the third person I find no instance). Ml. has regularly *t* . ., where the form is non-relative, or where relative *-n-* is not obligatory: *fortanroichan* 22 c 3, *fortattetsu* 43 b 11, *fortacomai* 29 a 3, *it he fortanroichechnatar* 63 b 1, *fortacongair* 59 c 11; *fordacain* 30 d 12 is an exception. Where the infixation of *-n-* is the rule, we have *amal forndacongair* 94 b 3, but *fortandiucuilsetsa* 44 c 32, *fortanbristisni* 135 d 4, both dependent subjunctives. With *con-* the rule is that *cot* . . is used, except where a relative *-n-* is to be expected, in which case we find *cond* . ., Thurneysen, Rev. Celt. VI, 321, cf. Sommer, CZ. I, 194. Exceptions are *cotamoscaigse* 29 d 3 (which Sommer vainly tries to get rid of), *iarsindi cotannairlic* (leg. *cotanrairlic*) 125 a 9.¹⁾

In the other persons the following points may be noted:

Infixed *-d-*, *-da-* in *nicondrobae* 41 a 5, *nicondabia* 69 a 9.

fritcurethar for *frissidcurethar* 41 d 16.

aras-: *arascelaitis* 26 b 19, cf. 36 a 18, CZ. I, 206.

-s- before a vowel: *immusacaldat* 131 c 19, cf. CZ. I, 206.

-ta- in *cofotabothad* 33 b 16.

-s- in a relative form: *corrup leir roscomallathar* 129 b 2, cf. Wb. 9 c 11, BCr. 10 b 10.

Extension of *t* (= *-d-* *d-*), after the fashion common later: possibly in *atindided* 123 b 15 (though not improbably it is to be corrected to *ataindided*), and *atrim* 49 a 11. In *ised duducai immedon* 27 d 23 the *d* is peculiar; perhaps we may compare the relative use of *d* in Middle Irish, e. g. LU. 8 b 16; cf. also *is debe tintuda duduic?* 67 a 3.

¹⁾ Cf. *iarsindi ronan* Ml. 126 b 1, *iarsindi etiringén* 94 b 12.

In Wb. instances of extended *t* are *atruirmed* 2 c 6, *atroillisset* 4 c 15, *atrotlreb* 26 d 3.

The infixed pronoun appears in what is an irregular position according to the Old Irish rule in *arrotneithius* 46 b 20, cf. 46 d 14, *ní rumchomarleicis* 76 d 5, cf. 105 a 6, *forrumchennadsa* 127 c 10.

So in Wb. *dorondonadni* 16 b 17, *conromiccad* 28 a 10.

Demonstrative pronouns.

From *side* *suidib* sometimes appears for acc. pl. *suidiu*: *censuidib* 20 d 3, *frisuidib* 31 a 18, 126 b 7, *tri suidib* 56 b 15.

So in Wb. 6 b 17, 8 a 12, 9 c 2, 17 d 11, 21 b 11.

-sem for *-som* in *lesem* 50 b 10; cf. *doibsem* Wb. 28 d 19.

inse for *inso*: 86 c 3, 114 a 1, 115 c 1, 128 d 9.

For *inso* and *insin* appear sometimes *so* and *sin*, with loss of the unaccented syllable.

so: *trachtaid so sis* 55 c 14, *is he so sí* 34 b 8, *issí so sí* a *chíall* 51 d 6, cf. 65 a 3, 88 d 6, 114 c 7.

In Wb. *ciaso demnithir so* 28 c 14.

sin:¹⁾ *is peccad sin* 43 a 10, *ised nobiad sin* 32 d 5, *ní samlaid sin* 44 b 23, cf. 57 c 12, 75 b 7, 90 b 10, 120 d 3, 131 d 12, *asber sin* 127 d 15, cf. 127 d 14.

In Wb. *daghiusa sin* 14 d 26, *is samlaid sin* 28 b 17, *creitmech sin* 28 d 23.

In Wb. and Sg. *cach* prevails, in Ml. *cech*; for the occurrences see Ascoli, Suppl. Per. Arch. Glott. Ital. 1900, pp. 92—96.

In the neuter *nach* seems to be used for *na* in *nach* quod 101 a 5.²⁾

¹⁾ From this must be distinguished *sin* with prepositions e.g. *arsin* Ml. 136 c 11 etc., *asin* Ml. 59 a 21 etc., *cossin* Wb. 15 d 30, *disin* Ml. 37 b 24, *duisin* Ml. 43 a 17, *fosin* Ml. 42 c 24 etc., *frisin* Wb. 12 d 41, *issin* Wb. 12 d 5, Ml. 130 b 8, *iarsin* Wb. 13 d 18, 19, *resin* Ml. 102 d 7, *trisin* Ml. 60 b 15, which is like *se* in *cenmítha se* Wb. 8 a 2, *cosse* Wb. 17 a 12 etc., *hisin* Wb. 17 b 13 (also *siu* without preposition Wb. 13 b 21 etc.), *desin* Sg. 71 b 2.

²⁾ In Ml. 44 b 19 Ascoli (p. 90) would change *ní árburt nach* to *ní árburt nech*, and he translates 'nihil dixi', but that would require *ní*, the declension of the independent neuter being: nom. and acc. *ní*, gen. *neich*, dat. *neuch*. The text should be emended to *nách ar mu peccad doratad form*.

The verb.

Relative forms.

In the 1 pl. the non-relative form is used for the relative in *nied amet demnigmini* 35 b 1, similarly 15 a 4, 22 e 5, 24 a 18, 31 b 15, 32 a 4. Conversely *labrainme* 31 b 16. Cf. Pedersen, KZ. XXXV, 376.

Extension of relative forms: *rongnitha* 93 a 3; *issamlid insin asmbertar* 23 a 12, *issamlid insin immetét* 45 e 9; sic *done-semar* 56 a 13, sic *rundgabsat* 67 d 14, sic *ailessom* 104 b 5, (contrast sic *fognither* Wb. 27 b 9), sic *follintar* 123 a 10 (cf. KZ. XXXV, 391); *resiu dondichsitis* 104 e 5 (cf. KZ. XXXV, 389);¹⁾ *amal is ho imratib gnaither* 38 a 5, *ni fris ruchét* 64 a 13. In Wb. we find *isamme atáa* 6 a 19, cf. 12 d 7, *mad amne labrar* 12 e 36, but in Ml. *is amne as coir* 114 a 9; in Wb. we have *massu ammin ataam* 13 e 12, but in Ml. *is ámin as cert* 62 e 7.²⁾ Pedersen has pointed out the contrast between *cech rét runecat les* Ml. 57 b 4 (cf. *nad rancatar les* 97 d 7) and *sechihed rúi a less* Wb. 7 b 3; obviously the explanation is that *roiccim less* has become fused together and is treated as a single word. Here attention may be called to the irregular position of the infixed *n* in *frittatniarrsu* 93 a 15.

Omission of relative *-n-:*³⁾

intan dober 49 b 7, *intan robói* 71 e 15, *intan dobera* 90 e 14; for omission in copula forms cf. Substantive Verb, pp. 68, 69. Owing to the corrupt state of the Milan Glosses it is hard to say how far we have here the beginning of the later omission of relative *-n-* (cf. CZ. III, 412), or how far we have merely scribal blunders. In 36 d 16 *annudacomart* should in all proba-

¹⁾ In Ml. 65 b 6 it is hard to believe that *nundnerbai* is for *nudnerbai*. Pedersen, KZ. XXXV, 393 seems to be right in suggesting that the conjunction *an* 'when' is to be supplied in thought.

²⁾ In KZ. XXXV, 391 Pedersen calls attention to some other alleged irregularities. In 53 a 1 *dtrachtid* is hardly anything but a scribal error for *trachtid*; in 56 c 11 *ducad* seems to be a scribal error for *duucad*, similarly *duic* 25 d 8, *duiesem* 111 b 15; on *ni lib matar* 69 b 3; cf. CZ. III, 482.

³⁾ It does not seem to have been noted that, when the short forms of the infixed pronouns of the first and second persons appear in relative use, relative *-n-* is not inserted before them, e. g. Wb. 24 c 4, *electionem i. dobrograd* 'wherewith ye have been called', Ml. 103 c 15 *iarsindí doibroigasa* leg. *dobroigasa*).

bility be corrected to *annundacomart* = *an-du-n-da-comart*. In the subjunctive which renders a Latin infinitive compound verbs shew regularly infixed *n*; hence *fuduidechestar* 36 b 10 should be emended to *funduidechestar*, *asnidiset* 23 a 19 to *asnindiset*, and in Wb. 9 a 7 *dodnindnastise* to *dondnindnastesi*.³⁾

Noteworthy further are *cid dían* 7 *cían nothéisinn* 41 d 9; *is mó ruicim less* 22 c 14, contrast Wb. 21 d 9, 32 a 25; *acht immethinchellat* 68 d 3, contrast *acht rondasaibset* 24 d 24; *is denithir sin arachrin* 57 c 12, *fobithin arachiurat* 59 b 9, but *intan aracrínat* 73 c 2 (cf. KZ. XXXV, 406).

With *amal* 'as if' we find both *amal nongnetis* 30 a 4, cf. *amal nombenmmis* Wb. 9 a 3, and *amal duberad* 55 d 11, cf. *amal doberithe* Wb. 11 c 12; different is *amal immechomairsed* 63 c 9, with relative *imme* and aspiration; *amal immeradad* 68 c 18 is ambiguous.

For *ar-* *ara-* appears in relative forms, cf. KZ. XXXV, 377. In Wb. *ar-* is sometimes found before *ro-*: *amal arrograd* 9 b 13, *arrodbaid* 11 a 19, *arrudérgestar* 4 c 13. The only other instance that I have to hand is *arthá* 30 d 13.²⁾ In Ml. *ar* is frequent before *ro-*: *anarrubart* 42 b 6, cf. 33 c 14, 53 a 12 (contrast 108 a 2, 125 d 5, 131 a 11, 136 b 3); *arruáig* 54 b 29; *arrugenisiu* 'gessisse' 72 b 20; *lasc arroneith* 50 b 8, *arruneid* 'expectasse' 68 a 6 (contrast 46 d 4); *arroisestar* 'innisum' 18 d 16; *arruthroith* 38 d 7; *anarróet* 16 a 4, cf. 17 c 3 (contrast 17 a 8, 25 d 10). But *ar-* appears also elsewhere: *arégi* g. conquirentis 29 d 10, cf. (contrast 29 b 3); *arossa* 96 a 11 (contrast 134 d 7); *indi ardibdai* 48 c 33; *arutaing* g. reficiens 64 c 20. In 53 c 9 *armberthar* is irregular for *aramberthar*. In 136 a 8 *araruichiur* is non-relative. With *cia* a relative form is sometimes found, *cia gabthar* Wb. 29 b 5. That would explain *ciararubartatar* 91 b 1, *mararubart* 112 b 5 (cf. *maimmidarnactar* 17 b 19).

So *imme-* appears relatively, KZ. XXXV, 379. But in Ml. also *imm-*: *immaire* 74 d 13 (cf. KZ. XXXV, 405); *imradad* 41 a 4. In 66 d 18 *animdaig* should probably be emended to *animdaaig*, cf. *indaimgaib* 38 a 3, *indaimgabam* 35 d 19, *imnimgaba* 15 b 12 (but *immenimgaib* 29 d 2, cf. 35 d 1, 41 a 6). Non-relatively *immesfrecreat* 58 a 11 (bis).

¹⁾ Isolated and peculiar is *mitnimret* 74 b 22, if it be not an error for *mí-n-imret*.

²⁾ As to *arfolmas* Wb. 21 a 2, it is quite obscure to me.

Compound verbs.

Sarauw, after Thurneysen, has in his *Irske Studier* 61 sq. (cf. CZ. III, 601 sq.) pointed out certain variations of prepositions in compound verbs. In ML. we have innovation in *adidroillifet* 61 a 20, *adidroillisset* 61 b 17; further in *-aiperr* 14 d 13, *-aipred* 33 c 17, *míaipir* 56 d 16, *aipert* 50 b 8; *-aipled* 85 d 8, *-apail* 91 d 2, *aipleat* 104 b 2, *apaltu* 30 d 14, by the side of the regular forms.

Conjugation.

Present indicative.

In 2 sg. of verbs of radical verbs ML. has *dubir* 110 d 13, cf. 111 c 13, 63 c 13, *confoirsiu* 114 c 2, *doneimni* (or *ipv.*?) 110 d 9, *fortéig* 44 b 32; but *asrenai* 44 a 6, *frisorcai* 44 b 21, *fodaimi* 55 d 14, cf. 55 d 11, *arafoimi* 68 a 8, *-eclainni* 64 a 4, *durigi* 108 d 8, *conrigi* 119 b 8.¹⁾

Imperfect indicative.

In 53 d 6 *asberad* appears for *asbered*; so *iarmindochad* 58 c 7, where *iarmindoched* might have been expected. In the 3 sg. of the past *-s-* subjunctive *-ad* sometimes appears for *ed*: *notesad* 34 d 6, *chotabosad* 18 a 7, *frisnorrad* 124 d 8.

Preterite indicative.

(a) Reduplication: *forrudeduchsa* etc. cf. Particle *ro-* in Irish (Trans. Phil. Soc. 1896), p. 105, *fortanroichechnatur* etc. ib. In *inrograinn* 26 b 24, *forrochain* 68 b 8 *o* may be written for *ói*, see above p. 49. In *foroiblachta* 58 d 6, *doroigad* 123 a 14, *citaroichet* 44 b 4, *ói* has spread analogically from the active to the passive. Note also *rocachain* 48 b 11; *fororaid* 51 a 23, cf. Trans. Phil. Soc. 1900, p. 414.

(b) Transition from perfect to *s* preterite: *arrumuinsset* 90 a 1 (I have no other instance of the preterite of this verb), *foruraitnminset* 135 a 1, *nirufrescisset* 72 c 13, cf. 34 c 11.²⁾

Cf. *arróimsat* Wb. 26 a 23.

¹⁾ Cf. *arafoemi* Stowe Missal 66a.

²⁾ In 46 b 28 *roguid* seems to be an error for *rogaid*, and in 54 d 7 *rolin* for *rolil*.

(c) From *dogniu* shorter forms *dorignis* etc., Particle *ro*-pp. 23, 24; *ni dernus*, *nach derni* ib.

(d) By *conoitechatar* in Wb. 8 a 14 we have *conaittechtatar* in ML, cf. Thurneysen, KZ. XXXVII, 57.

Future.

In *-fuidema* 56 c 9 we have transition from the reduplicated future to the *ē* future, cf. CZ. III, 482.

Infinitive.

From *águr* Wb. has *áighthiu*, ML. *aigsin* 51 d 12, by *aichthiu* 82 d 8; from *ad-ro-sli airiltiu* is peculiar to ML., Ascoli Gloss. LXXXI.

In the infinitive, from the frequent use of the dative with *do*, there is a tendency for this case to replace the nominative, cf. Zimmer, Gött. Gelehrt. Anz. 1896, p. 379. Instances of this in ML. are: *aicsin* 44 c 6, 116 a 1, *deicsin* 56 d 15; *taidbse* 90 b 14; *ditin* 108 b 12; *tabairt* 27 c 21, 42 c 13, 76 b 7, 103 b 13; *gabail* 60 a 12, 95 d 13, *imgabail* 14 c 12; *gait* 70 a 5 (cf. *gat* Laws III, 240, *gaiti* Laws III, 230).

In Wb. *tabairt* 10 c 5, 10 d 12, 22 c 10; *gabail* 19 d 3, *imgabail* 9 d 6, 19 a 8.

Substantive verb and copula.

Among the Old Irish Glosses the forms *indaas*, *indate*, *imbói* are peculiar to ML.; ML. has also *oldaas* etc. but much more rarely. The occurrences may be found in my paper on the Substantive Verb (Trans. Phil. Soc. 1899), pp. 4, 5, 16.

In ML. *file* is proportionately rarer than in Wb. or Sg., cf. Substantive Verb, p. 57. Further *-fail* appears thrice in ML., never in Wb.

For *robói* ML. has once *robui* 93 c 3.

In the future Wb. has *bied* and *bieid*, *biet* and *bieit*; ML. has only *bieid* and *bieit*. Cf. Substantive Verb, pp. 18, 19.

In the copula the relative forms *at*, *et*, *bat* are, in the Glosses, peculiar to ML., cf. Substantive Verb, pp. 31, 38. Peculiar to ML. also is *bata* by *beta*, Substantive Verb, p. 41.

Further peculiarities are: *isat dilmainsiu* 55 d 21, *cota beu* 44 c 11, *nit* 128 d 1, *con-rubu* etc., Subst. Verb, ll. 1209—1212.

Adverb etc.

For the old adverb with *ind*¹⁾ the formation with *co* is found: *commór* 38 c 12, 61 b 17, *commenic* 39 a 11, *co cóir* 69 d 12, 77 a 7. Note also *dí leir* 68 a 15.

Wb. *commaith* 7 b 15.

ar = *ol* 'inquit': *ar Crist* 38 c 12, *ar Duaid* 44 c 20.

nach 'nor', 46 a 14, cf. YBL. 7 b 14 = LU. 26 b 28, Salt. na Rann 3124.

¹⁾ Cf. Thurneysen, *Miscellanea Linguistica* in onore di G. Ascoli.

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REMARKS ON THE VERBAL SYSTEM OF MODERN IRISH.

The oldest printed representation of the Irish verbal system, apart from the few and quite insufficient remarks and paradigms in O'Molloy's *Grammatica Latino-Hibernica*, Romae 1677, and the translation of this book in Lhwyd's *Archæologia Britannica*, Oxford 1707 (p. 303), is that contained in Mac Cuirtin's *Elements of the Irish Language*, Louvain 1728, reprinted in connection with his English-Irish Dictionary, Paris 1732. This representation is not only interesting from a historical point of view, in as much as it conveys the genuine Irish tradition as to the forms of the language, but valuable in itself, being in some essential points more correct, or, at least, more conservative, than what is taught in the grammars of the nineteenth century.

According to Mac Cuirtin, the finite verb has the following moods and tenses (Dict. p. 698):

- the present, preter, and future tenses of the indicative mood;
- the pretertense of the consuetudinal mood;
- the potential mood (i. e. the conditional);
- the imperative mood;
- the deprecativ mood (Irish: *itche*);

to these he adds, with some reserve, two tenses of the conjunctive mood (Irish: *suighiudhadh*), 'which seems to be but a Mood of Moods'. — It will be seen at a glance that by identifying, as we ought to, the deprecativ mood with the present tense of the conjunctive mood we get for the Irish language of

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Mac Cuirtin's time the very same system as we find in Old Irish. So I need not use many words to prove that Mac Cuirtin did not do his work at random.

It seems to me to be of some interest to make out from what reasons this system was not adhered to by later grammarians, more especially, how it came to pass that the conjunctive mood was entirely dropped, and that even the deprecativ was unknown to Haliday and O'Donovan.¹⁾ Whether that was due to the negligence of the learned authors, or to the gradual change of the language. But this question is connected with some other points, which it will be right to settle first.

'In the Conjugation of Verbs', Mac Cuirtin says p. 698, 'a Negative much alters the termination from what it was when affirmative; and therefore to every affirmative, a negative ought to be put in the Conjugation, especially when they are dissonant in themselves, as *fad* makes *abh* in the negative, as *gonfad*, *ní ghonabh*.' — This is making rather short business, but still it is a reasonable way of dealing with a grammatical peculiarity, which, as we know now, is a most essential, if not the most essential, feature of the language, namely the distinction between the two series of forms which are now commonly called ortho-

¹⁾ Of Vallancey's Grammar (Dubl. 1773) I shall say but little, for it is neither pleasant, nor at all necessary, to kill a dead man. These are his own words (p. 64): 'The modern Irish grammarians have, in conformity to the Grecians and Romans, twisted their verbs into certain inflexions analogous to their potentials, subjunctives, etc., which are omitted in this grammar'; and (p. XXIX): 'All the moderns, Molloy excepted, have warped the regulars into inflexions (in imitation of modern tongues) which do not exist in the language'. Vallancey rejected not only the deprecativ and the conjunctive, but also the consuetudinal past (or imperf. ind.) and the conditional!

Though not mentioned by Stewart, a deprecativ is used in the Gaelic version of the Bible (*Tiomna Nuadh*, Edinb. 1767), for instance Luc. 10, 5 *gu'n raibh sìth don tigh so*; 10, 11 *gu'n tigeadh do rioghachd*; Marc. 11, 14 *nìor ithheadh neach sam bith toradh*; 14, 36 *nìor b'è an nì as toil leamsa*; Rom. 6, 2 *nar leigeadh Dia (μὴ γένοιτο)*; Math. 21, 19 *nìor fhàsadh toradh gu brath ort*; cf. Manx (*Conaant Noa*, Lond. 1810): Math. 21, 19 *nar aase mess er bee ort's*; Marc. 11, 14 *nar ee dooinney erbee mess jeeds*; Luc. 10, 5 *shee dy row gys y thie shoh*; Luc. 11, 2 *casherick dy row dty ennym, dy jig dty reeriaght, dty aigney dy row jeant ery thalloo*. The Gaelic form in *-eadh* looks like the imperative. I regret that I have no time to go any further into this subject.

tonic and enclitic.¹⁾ It can be seen at p. 684 that Mac Cuirtin was aware of this distinction in the irregular verbs too (*do ghlín, ní dhéanaim*), where it is of greater importance. The idea that this could be called a distinction of moods did not occur to Mac Cuirtin, but seems to have been first put forth by Stewart, who speaks of a Negative or Interrogative Mood, then by Haliday, who calls the enclitic form the Subjunctive Mood, then by O'Donovan, who follows Haliday. At last, in 1855, Charles Wright protested,²⁾ and now this wrong theory seems to be abandoned.

Mac Cuirtin might have mentioned one more case of the same kind, namely the distinction, prevalent in the 17th and 18th centuries, between these two forms of the present indicative of regular verbs: *cuiridh sé, ní chuirionn sé*, which is stated, at least implicitly, by Haliday p. 74—75. But Haliday at the same time makes the form in *-nn* part of the consuetudinal or habitual mood, and in this dilemma his successor O'Donovan, most unluckily, took the wrong side, putting forth the theory that *cuirionn* is a consuetudinal present, differing in sense from *cuiridh*. In this grave error he was followed by others, for instance by Bourke (Grammar p. 60, 71), and even by Ebel (Gramm. Celtica p. 1096), and the matter is still taught in that way in Ireland, although Prof. Atkinson, in the grammatical appendix to his edition of Keating's *Three Shafts of Death*, Dublin, 1890, p. XVII, corrected the mistake, and pointed out the old rule.

The consuetudinal or habitual present was not admitted by the ancient Irish grammarians; at least, Mac Curtin says (p. 702) that the consuetudinal mood 'wants the present and future tense, and has only the pretertense'. It was introduced by Haliday, and can be traced back, it seems, to Stewart's grammar, which

¹⁾ This, of course, is not quite the correct way of putting it, because the difference between *-faid* and *-abh* originally depended on something else; still, for the modern language, it is pretty near the mark nevertheless.

²⁾ Wright says: 'Mood is a variation of the verb as to signification' (Grammar p. 28); this was misunderstood by Bourke (Grammar 1856, p. 58—60), who introduced a subjunctive mood, sounding the same as the indicative, but differing in sense. The truth is that *mood is a variation of the verb as to form and signification taken together*, in such a way that a difference of sense is expressed by means of a difference of form.

exercised a strong, though not absolutely good, influence on the Irish grammarians of the 19th century, who were not sufficiently aware of the differences between Irish and Scotch Gaelic. Haliday (Grammar of the Gaelic Language, Dubl. 1808, p. 72) states, most correctly, that the form *bídhim* 'I usually am, or I use to be' is the present of the consuetudinal mood, but what he says (p. 75) about this form in regular verbs ('like the present subjunctive', i. e. negative etc., and thus differing from the indicative) is not a fair representation of facts, for the Irish language has no distinct form for the consuetudinal present outside of the verb 'to be', and *cuiridh* and *cuirionn* mean exactly the same thing.

In Scotch Gaelic the old future has disappeared, and the original present (*buailidh*, *cha bhual*; *beiridh*; *ní*, *dean*; *thèid*; *bheir*, *tabhair* or *toir*; *thig*; *chi*, *faic*; *gheibh*, etc.) signifies partly the future time, partly 'that an action or event takes place uniformly, habitually, according to ordinary practice, or the course of nature' (Stew., Elements of Gaelic Grammar, Edinb. 1812, p. 98). Thus, it is used in proverbs 'to express a general truth'. Stewart, of course, held the future to be the original sense, and the habitual sense to have been derived therefrom; but in that I don't agree with him; for the use of the present in habitual expressions dates from the oldest times of our race, and has simply been kept up in Gaelic. In the verb 'to be' the forms *ta* and *bheil* have retained their present sense, whereas the form *bithidh*, *cha bhi*, which even in Old Irish was, and in Modern Irish still is, a consuetudinal present, is used in Scotch Gaelic, like the rest of the old presents, partly in its old sense and partly as a future. To denote 'that the action is going on, but not completed', the Gaelic language uses the periphrase *tha mi ag bualadh* 'I am striking' (Stew. p. 99); this usage does not differ much from what is called by Bourke (p. 72) 'the continued form of the present tense' in Irish, which is made up of the same elements; still the Gaelic form has a wider range, as can be seen for instance by comparing the Irish and Gaelic Versions of the Bible.

The language of the 17th and 18th centuries used for the 3rd sg. of the *regular* prs.ind. the form in *-idh* whenever the verb was orthotonic; but, when enclitic (after *ní*, *nach*, *go*, *dá* etc.), the form in *-nn*, which also, contrary to the principal rule, stood

after the conjunction *mā*. These rules are kept in the Irish version of the Bible (*Tiomna Nuadh*, Dubl. 1602), in MacCuirtin's Dictionary (Paris 1732), and in Donlevy's Catechism (Paris 1742). But even MacCuirtin sometimes uses the form in *-nn* in the orthotonic position (260 *ārduigheann an fion croidhe an duine*; 183 *ionntuigheann*; 44 *tarraingean tū*; 125 *ōrduigheann*; 182 *imi-gheann*; 414 (574, 252) *taithnigheann sē liōm*),¹⁾ and in the course of the 18th century (probably) the alteration took place through which the form in *-nn* came to be used in both positions, and the form in *-idh* disappeared. This new rule we find carried through in Sullivan's translation of Thomas a Kempis (Dubl. 1822), in Kane's edition of the New Testament (Dubl. 1858), and of course in the spoken language of the present day.²⁾

It will be right to quote a few instances of the 3rd sg. ind. of the present tense from the books just referred to, that there may be no doubt as to these facts.

Tiomna Nuadh 1602: *Matha* 17, 1 *beiridh Iosa . . . agus treor-ruighidh sé iad*; 17, 15 *tuitidh sé a dteine*; 18, 5 *gabhuidh sé*; 12, 43 *siobhluidh sí*; 13, 19 *fuaduighidh sé*. — Instead of these forms, Kane writes: *beirion*, *treoruighion*, *tuition*, *gabhan*, *siúbhlan*, *fuaduighion*. — On the other hand (1602): 17, 24 *an iocann bhur maighisdir si an didrachma?*; 19, 9 *gu ndénann sé adhaltrannas*; 21, 23 *as a ndénann tusa*; 22, 16 *gu dteagascann tú, ní fhéchan tú*; 22, 20 *cia ré a mbeanann an sgríbeann so na timcheall?*; 26, 8 *créd du bhfoghnann*; — 18, 13 *ma theagmhann gu bhfadhann sé i*; 18, 15 *ma fpeacuigheann do dhearbhráthair*; 18, 15 *má éisdeann sé*; 18, 19 *má theagmhann*; 21, 21 *má bhíonn*; 5, 23 *má thugann tu*.

MacCuirtin 1732: 260 *cuiridh so lúthgháir ar mo chroidhe*; 261 *rithidh a theangaidh go róluath*; 292 *sgríobhaidh sé, labhruidh sé*; 264 *imighe tú, gabhaidh tú an taobh buinsgionn*, etc. — 266 *nach bhfuicionn*; 271 *nach leanann*, etc. — 110, 196 *má theagmhann*;

¹⁾ On the other hand, MacCuirtin now and then, rather from carelessness, it would seem, uses the form in *-idh* for the enclitic prs. ind. I have found the following six or seven instances: 529a *bealach tre a ngabhaidh neach*; ibid. *tre ngluaisidh*; 479 *antan nach labhraidh neach*; 52 *ní chodromaigh*; 72 *leabhar na ceuiridh . . . da ttigidh*; 222 *dá labhraidh*; he often writes *ní ghnidh* (450, 628, 16, 58, 79a, 115, 133, 189, 247), but that is a different case.

²⁾ Whether the old distinction is still kept up in any part of Ireland, I can't tell; if it is, that will not interfere with the conclusion we shall presently arrive at.

194 *má fhéadann sé*; 206 *má thuitíonn*; 208 *má ghabhann*;
 368 *madh chuiríonn se*; 119 *ma luighíonn*; 253 *má mheasann*;
 419 *má mhairíonn tú*, etc.

Sullivan 1822: 8 *is minic mheallann ar mbaramhail féin sinn*; 9 *labharann na huile nídthe*; 9 *ní thuigeann 7 ní bhreith-nídheann aon neach*; 10 *réir mar bhídheann aon neach*; 10 *is é thuigeann*; 14 *deunann beatha dheaghriartha duine eagnach*, etc.

And now for the conjunctive mood!

Mac Cuirtin gives the following paradigms for the deprecativ and conjunctive:

deprecativ	conjunctive	
1 <i>gur ghonar</i>	<i>sul ghonar</i>	<i>sul do ghonainn</i> (: -amh)
2 <i>gur ghonair</i>	<i>sul ghonair</i>	<i>sul do ghontá</i> (: -thá)
3 <i>gur ghonaidh</i>	<i>sul ghonaidh</i>	<i>sul do ghonadh</i>
1 <i>gur ghonam</i>	<i>sul ghonam</i>	<i>sul do ghonmaois</i>
2 <i>gur ghonaidh</i>	<i>sul ghonaidh</i>	<i>sul do ghonadh sibh</i>
3 <i>gur ghonaid</i> (: -adh)	<i>sul ghonaid</i>	<i>sul do ghondaois</i> .

The deprecativ and the first conjunctive are, of course, identical with the O. I. present of the conjunctive; the latter conjunctive is the imperfect. The conjunctive forms stand after 'the conjunctions *sul* 'before', *gidh* 'although', *dá* 'if'; the adverb *ghidh-chuín* (: -um; *geachuín* 713; cf. O. I. *ciachuín* gl. quando, Ml. 18 a 2, 61 b 9) i. 'if when' or 'at any time', and sometimes by certain verbs, the article *go*, or *gu*, or its negative *nach* intervening.... *gidhchuín* has 2 negations, viz. *na agus nach*, and *sul* has none. *gionga* is the negation of *ge*, or *gidh*; and *muna* the negative of *dá*' (p. 703, cf. p. 713). 'The deprecativ article is of two sorts, viz. *gur agus go*' (p. 702) — after stating which, he goes on to say, it seems, that *go* is used when the *r* is contained in the body of the verbal form: *gu ndearna*, but the print is very bad just here.

Of this fair description we find not a single trace left in the works of Mac Cuirtin's successors. What Stewart calls subjunctive is the relative form of the verb for the present tense, and thus really the indicative; and for the preterite, a form which is, morphologically speaking, identical with the imperf. ind. (cf. especially the form *biodh* 'were'), one stray form of the old conditional, namely *rachainn*, having been adopted into this category. Haliday and O'Donovan say never a word of the

conjunctive nor of the deprecativ, and only the latter form was rediscovered by Bourke, who calls it *optative*, and gives most correct paradigms p. 67, 72, etc. — Later on, Prof. Atkinson, in his *Three Shafts*, pointed out several specimens of the conjunctive in Keating's language, for instance p. XXVIII: 'there is also a form *déarna* [should be *deárna*, for the vowel was short originally], in use apparently as a pres. subj.; but he seems to look upon these forms rather as fossils, putting them into brackets; in his synopsis p. XIV this mood is not given, and his dealing with the conjunction *dá* p. 346 shows very clearly that he did not understand the conjunctive form of the regular verb. — In Joyce's *Grammar* (1896) the optative is again omitted.

Now, the truth is that the deprecativ or optative is still regularly used by Irish speakers, for I heard plenty of such forms in Kerry in 97; and the conjunctive was in regular use, not only in the 17th and 18th centuries, but far down through the 19th century, so that even Kane's *New Testament* from 1858, which rejects the indicative in *-idh* of the older Bible text, teams with conjunctive forms.

We have seen that the 3rd sg. pres. ind., according to the old rule, ended in *-idh* when orthotonic, and in *-nn* when enclitic. Now, if we find enclitic forms ending in *-idh*, these will be conjunctives. Modern spelling, which uses, or omits, a quiescent *dh* (*gh*) as final, without regard to the history of the language, makes the conjunctive form rather obscure: it would be correct, from a philological point of view, to write *molaidh sé, cuiridh se* in the old indicative, and *go mola sé, go gcuire sé* in the conjunctive; but these forms are spelt in a variety of ways, without any attempt to distinguish the moods. So the (enclitic) conjunctive looks just like the old orthotonic indicative, and that is why the grammarians have failed to recognise it. It is, however, very clear from the Munster pronunciation that the conjunctive should not be spelt with the *dh*, for it is here sounded *mola cuire*, whereas the indicative *molaidh cuiridh*, if it still survived, would be *molaig, cuirig* in Munster, just as the future *cuirfidh* is pronounced *cuirthig (cuirhig)*. — As for the rest of the persons in the synthetic conjugation, they have the same endings in the two moods; still, in the Kerry dialect, one or two more differences are to be noted: the indicative of the 1st sg. is *cuirim*, the conjunctive (optative) *go gcuiread*; and the

2nd sg. is *go geuirir* in the optative, but in the indicative the analytic form is always used (as far as I know): *cuireann tú* or *cuireas tú* — the latter form being, no doubt, descended from the relative form *chuireas tú* ‘which you put’; in the rest of the persons, the relative form *chuireas* is nearly extinct in that dialect nowadays. Still greater differences may be found in irregular verbs, for instance ind. *tagann tú* ‘you come’, conj. *go dtír* ‘may you come’.

The imperfect conjunctive sounds quite the same as the indicative (or consuetudinal past) in the regular verb, indeed, it did so even a thousand years ago; but still it should be kept distinct from that form in grammatical descriptions, for in the verb ‘to be’ it does not agree with the indicative (*bíodh*), but is mixed up with the conditional, *biadh* being the original conditional, and *beath*, or *beith*, the old conjunctive. Even in Old Irish, it is not possible to distinguish these two categories in the rest of the persons in this verb, so it is only natural that *beath* or *beith*, and *biadh*, should at last have come to be used indiscriminately. The remedy which Prof. Atkinson (Three Shafts p. VIII) much regrets that he has not applied, namely to write *dá mbíodh* for ‘if he were’, would have introduced into Keating’s text a palpable error, for that would not be Irish at all. In the spoken language of our own day, *dá* takes the conditional of any verb, which may be the direct consequence of that very confusion of forms in the verb ‘to be’.

In the following lists of instances, which will show the correctness of the above statements, 1602 means the *Tiomna Nuadh*, *Dubl.* 1602; 1732 MacCuirtin’s Dictionary; 1742 Donlevy’s Catechism; 1822 Sullivan’s translation of Thomas a Kempis; 1858 Kane’s *Tiomna Nuadh*; and 1897 my own unprinted collections from Ballyferriter in Kerry.

I have not found instances of all the conjunctions given by MacCuirtin as governing the conjunctive, and *sul* does not govern that mood in the texts I have looked through; but MacCuirtin was right so far as *resiu* in the old language does take the conjunctive.

dá ‘if’ w. prs. conj.

1602 Matha 5, 13 *dá mbé an salann gan bhlas*; 6, 23 *acht dá raibh do shúil go hól, biaidh do chorp uile dorchá*;

12, 11 dá dtuite si; 21, 24 dá ninnisdi dhamh é; Luc. 16, 30 dá ndeacha duine chuca, do dhéndaís aithrighe; Eoin 3, 12 cionnus chreidfídh, dá nabra me...; 8, 51 dá gcoimheda neach ar bioth mo bhriathar sa.

1732 150 dá léigidh eagla dhamh a radh mur sin, 'if I may dare to say so'; 431 neach dfágbháil an achrann, agus cead aige teacht as dá bhféadaigh.

[1858 Matha 5, 13 má chaillfhean; 6, 23 má bhíon; 12, 11 dá dhuiteach; 21, 4 má iníson sibh; Luc. 16, 30 dá dtéigheach; Eoin 3, 12 má abraim; 8, 51 gidh b'é choiméad-faigh.]

dá 'if' w. ipf. conj.

1602 Matha 11, 21 dá madh a Tírus 7 a Sídon do déntuidhe na miorbhuile; 16, 26 dá ngnodhuigheadh se an domhan uile; 18, 12 dá mbeith ceud caora; 24, 43 dá mbheth a fhios; 23, 30 dá mbemís...ní bhemís...; Eoin 4, 10 dá mbeath fíós; 5, 46 dá gereideadh sibh do Mhaoisi, do chreideadh sibh dhamhsa; 6, 62 dá bhfaiceadh sibh; 8, 16 dá mbeirinn brath; 8, 19 dá mbeath eolus...do bheith eolus; 8, 39 da madh clann sibh; 9, 41 da mbeath sibh dall, ní bhiadh...; 11, 21 (11, 32) dá mbeithéa sa; 11, 25 da mbeath gu mbiadh se; 14, 28 dá ngrádhuiheadh sibh; 21, 25 dá mbeathdaois.

1732 49 dá mbeadh agum; 105 dá mbeithéa sa; 110 dá tteagmhadh dom; 160 dá mbiadh (sic) fhios; 78 da mbeinn; 659 dá mbeinn, dá mbeithéa sa; 75b, 139, 286, 413, 418, 442, 477, 489, 520 dá mbeith; 386 dá ccurthaói an dá shluagh ageann a chéile; 398 dá ccuireadh Dia aicíd orn; 401 dá bhfuigheadh sé...do léimfíodh sé; 236a dá bhfuigheadh...go bhfuigheadh; 443 dá bhíafraigheadh neach; 450 dá léigthídhe dhamh; 450 dá mféidir é; 476 dá mbeidís; 478 dá niarrthá é; 492 dá ndéinghinn (sic) mo dhíchioll; 500 gan amhras acht dá tigeadh sé; 511 dá tteighinn...ní bhiadh; 513 dá tigeadh se aon uair amháin chuige sin; 581 dá mbeidís...budh maith; 646 dá mbeidís na neidhe le na ndéanadh fá dhó, do bhiadís na huile críonna; 664 I wish to God you had done it, dá madh áil le Dia go ndéanfádh é; 293 dá tteagmhadh, da ceineadh go ttiocfadh sé; 293 dá tteagmhúinn air; 293 dá néagadh sé; 304 dá ttugainn; 338 dá ttigtheá níos taosga; 97 dá ndíongnainn se (bis).

1822 *dá machtnaidhmois air ar bhfeile-bheartaibh féin, ní bheidh slighe*; 81 *dá dtagadh Iosa ... badh lionmhar ...*; 90, 105 *dá dtagadh leat*; 204 *dá dtagadh liom ... níor bhfurus ...*; 11 *dá dtugadh daoine an oiread aire ... ní bheidh cortha na ndaoine chomh trom*.

1858 Matha 11, 21 *dá madh ... do dhéanfuidhe*; 16, 26 *dá mbuadhach sé*; 18, 12 *dá mbeach*; 24, 43 *dá mbeach*; 23, 30 *dá mbeidhmís*; Luc. 16, 30 *dá dtéigheach*; 16, 31 *dá néirighioch*; Eoin 5, 46 *dá gereideach sibh ... do chreidfeach sibh*; (6, 62 *má chídhion sibh*); 8, 16 *dá mbeirinn*; 8, 19 *dá mbeach*; 8, 39 *dá mbudh*; 14, 28 *dá ngrádhui gheach sibh*; 21, 25 *dá mbeithdís*.

[1897 *dá ndéarfá le hasal é, bhuailfeach sé speach ort*; *dá mbeifá déanamh éinni neimhmhíntach, déarfaidhe leat ...*]

muna 'unless' w. pres. conj.

1602 Matha 5, 20 *muna sáruighidh bhur bhfréntacht sa*; (10, 13 *muna fhú, ind.?*); 6, 15 *muna maiththí si*; 12, 29 *muna gceangluadh sé ar tús an duine láidir*; 18, 3 *achd muna fhillti 7 muna bheithí mar leanbána, nach rachdai ...*; 18, 35 *achd muna maithe gach aonduine agaibh*; 18, 16 *muna éisde sé*; Marc. 3, 27 *muna chuibhrighe se*; Luc. 10, 6 *muna raibh*; 13, 5 *muna ndearntaoi si aithrighe*; 13, 9 *muna dtuga*; 13, 3 *muna ndéantaoi aithrighe*; 16, 31 *muna néisdid siad*; Eoin 3, 3 *achd muna gheintear duine*; 3, 5 *achd muna raibhe neach ar na gheineamhuin ó uisge ... nach éidir leis*; 3, 27 *ní héidir ... achd muna raibhe sé ar na thabhairt dó*; 4, 48 *muna fhaicthí (2 pl.) ... ní chreidfíde*; 5, 47 *achd muna chreidtí dha sgríbhceannuibh súd*; 6, 44 *achd muna thairrge an tathair hé*; 6, 53 *achd muna ithí ... 7 muna ibhthí*; 6, 65 *nach éidir ... achd muna raibhe sé*; 10, 37 *muna ndéunaim oibreacha mhathar*; 12, 24 *muna fflagha an gráinne ... bás*; 13, 8 *muna ionnla me thu*; 15, 4 *muna ana sí, muna antaoi*; 16, 7 *muna imthighe mé*; 20, 25 *muna fhaice meise ... 7 muna gcuire mé ... 7 muna chuire mé*.

1732 71 *muna bhféada tu cagnadh, ná tesbeán tfiacla*; 268 *muna nimíge tú ar nuair*; 338 *munab go toilcamhuil 'if not contentedly'*; 338 *munab é is romhó*; 368 *muna ttigidh grasa Dé chugainn*; 508 *is iongna mhuna ndéana sé é*; 665 *ní dhiongnaigh sé é, muna labhraigh tusa ris uime*.

1742 478 *muna dtugaidh.*

1822 77 *muna gcoisgidh tú ón bpeacadh; 101 is mór é suaímhneas d'aighe muna gceimídh do chogus féin tú; 109 muna dtarraingídh Dia thu; 141 muna neartaídh do ghrása 7 do thrócaire liom; 158 meallfar an bhuidhean . . . muna leanadh siad; 174 muna ngeillídh duine; 40 ní bhéidh suaímhneas ar a aighe muna númhlaídh sé i féin; 41 muna númhlaídh sé a chroíde; 227 muna mbeidh duine saor . . .*

1858 Matha 5, 20 *muna sáruighig; (6, 15 muna maithfidh sibhse); 12, 29 muna gceangluídh sé; (18, 3 muna bhfilleadh sibh agus muna mbeidh sibh); (18, 35 muna maithfe); (18, 16 muna néisdfigh sé); Marc. 3, 27 muna gceangluighe sé; Luc. (10, 6 muna mbeig); 13, 5 muna ndeinigh sibhse; 13, 9 muna dtugadh; 13, 3 muna ndeinigh sibhse; (16, 31 muna néisdfid siad); Eoin 3, 3 muna mbeirtheas; 3, 5 muna mbeidh duine; 3, 27 muna raibh sé; (4, 48 muna bhfaicfidh sibh); (5, 47 muna gceidfidh sibh); 6, 44 muna ndeinig . . . tharraint; 6, 53 muna nithídh sibh, muna nóladh sibh; 6, 65 muna raibh sé; 10, 37 muna ndeinim; 12, 24 muna bhfaighídh; 13, 8 muna níghídh me thu; 15, 4 muna bhfanadh sé, muna bhfanadh sibh; 16, 7 muna nínthíghídh me; 20, 25 muna bhfaicídh mise . . . agus muna gcuirídh me, agus muna gcuirídh me.*

[1897 mara mbeir a mbaille an bhíg, bí 'nsa bhaille lena thaoibh; mara mbeig agut achd pocán gabhair, téirigh go lár an aonaig leis; mara dtaitheann an ceol leat, iompaig do thón leis.]

muna 'unless' w. ipf. conj.

1602 Matha 24, 22 *muna ngearruighthí na laithe úd, ní rachadh feoil ar bith as; Eoin 9, 33 muna bheath; 14, 2 muna bheath sin marsin; 15, 22 muna bheith gu dtáinig mé; 15, 24 muna dhearnuinn oibreacha . . . ní biadh peacadh orra; 18, 30 mun bhudh fhear . . . hé; 19, 11 acht muna tugthaoi duit hé.*

1732 56 *muna bheith soin; 104 muna bheith . . . do bhíadh; 198 mun bheith; 286 muna mbeinn se um amudán; 286 muna mbeithéa sa; 338 muna bheathá sa.*

1858 Matha 24, 22 *muna ngearruighthí; Eoin 9, 33 muna mbeach; 14, 2 muna mbeach; 15, 22 id.; 15, 24 muna mbeach gur dhein me; 18, 30 muna mbeach sé 'na fhear; 19, 11 muna dtugthaidhe.*

Concessive clause:

1732 8 *tar cheann go mbeith substaintíoch ann féin*, 'not withstanding'; 638 *though*] *ar son go mbeith sé mur soin* (cf. *ibd. ar son go bhfuil tú*, *prs. ind.*); 32 *appeal*] *do thabhairt ar aithéisdeacht...tar cheann go ttiobhradh* (*sic*) *breitheamh ba céimíste breith san ccúis roimhe sin.*

1822 179 *de bhrígh nach uadh an Spiorad Naomh thagann an uile mhian, gidh go mcasadh duine é bheith díreach*; 183 *gidh go mbeidh uile-mhaitheas na cruinne ad sheilbh dhílios féin, ní fhéadfadh bheith sásda*; (187 *gidh go bhfuil...*); 27 *gidh go mbeidh ár n-inntinn.*

Various clauses w. ipf. conj.

1602 *Matha 13, 28 an áill leat gu ndeachmaoisne 7 gu geruinnidhemís iad?*; 26, 24 *do budh maith do nach beirthí é*; *Eoin 4, 11 ní fhuil ní agad le dtairrengthaoi*; 18, 39 *an áill libh gu sgaoilinn sí.*

1732 298 *ba mhaith liom go sgríobthá*; 327 *ba maith leám go ttugtha fá deara a réir do dhéanadh*; 413 *dobair go ndearmudainn é*; *dobar go gcurthaoi an ruaig ar an rann clí don tsluagh*, 'had like to have been routed'; 426 *dobair go ccailtí an tiomlán*; 481 *do bhféidir go ngabthaoi é mur duine chéillídhe*; 663 *do bfearr leám go nimighinn*; 669 *do bfearr leám go mbeith sé pósda*; 26 *dobar go mbeith sé fágtha*; (56 *I should be, cóir go mbeinn?* cf. 164 *níor chóir go gcuirfíodh nídh sinn...*).

[1858 *Math. 13, 28 go nimeodhmaoisne agus go geruineodhmaois*; 26, 24 *na rugach*; *Eoin 4, 11 gléas tarranta*; 18, 39 *go sgaoilfinn.*]

gu, no gu 'until' w. prs. conj.

1602 *Matha 5, 18 no gu ndeachaidh neamh agus talamh thort, ní rachaidh...nó gu gcoimhlíontar gach uile ní*; 5, 26 *nó gu níocaidh tu*; 10, 11 *no gu bhfágthaoi hí*; 12, 20 *no gu dtuguidh sé breitheamhnus do chum buadha*; 22, 44 *no gu gcuiri mé*; 26, 36 *suidhigh si annso gu ndeacha meisi* (ἕως οὗ); *Marc. 6, 10 no gu nimdhighthé*; 12, 36 *no gu gcuire mé*; 14, 32 *suidhidh annso gu ndearna me urnaighthe*; *Lue. 13, 8 no gu romhraidh me 7 gu gcuire mé.*

1732 413 *is cóir dhuit anamhuin go ttigidh mise tar mais*; 422 *ní fada go ttigidh sé*; 423 *as fada leam go ttigidh*

sé; 448 is gearr go bhfoglumaídh tú an teangaidh se; 639 na corraigh go ttigídh mise.

1822 196 de brígh nách féidir le mo chroídh bheith suaímhneach ná sásda, chum go néirghídh sé ós cionn gach-nídh cruthaidhthe 7 go gcóimhnídh ionnatsa; 198 ní éisdfead ... chum go bhfillídh do ghrása 7 go labharair le mo chroídh; 233 is gearr go mbeidhir air aithearrach aigne; 88 oilearach do nách féidir suaímhneas dfughail go dtáidhthídhthe ar é go hinmheadhanach le Críost; 148 ní féidir leis bheith sásda go gcóimhnídh se a nDia; 64 ag feitheamh le trócaire an tíarna, go nimthigh an amsir so an ancheirt tarainn agus go sloigthe ar ...; 25 is gearr go mbéidh deireadh air ár gerdáibheacht; 170 ní fuláir í chomheud fá chruadh-smacht chum go mbristear gach an-riantacht, 7 go bhfoghlamaídh sí bheith sásda; 198 táim roanacrach go dtugair sí fortacht orm; 221 ní fuláir dhamh ... a bhuidhe le Dia go nglacfaínn go foigheadeach iad, go nimthídhheadh an tanfa tarann agus go bhfillídh an ciúinas.

1858 Matha 5, 18 (nó go reidhig, fut.), nó go gcóimhlíontar; 5, 26 nó go ndíoladh tú; 10, 11 nó go bhfágadh sibh; 12, 20 nó go dtuguidh sé; 22, 44 nó go gcuirídh me; 26, 36 go dtéigh mise; Marc. 6, 10 go nimthíghé sibh; 12, 36 nó go gcuire me; 14, 32 go ndéuna me; Luc. 13, 8 nó go rómhraídh me ... agus go gcuirídh me.

[1897 ná caith amach an tuisge s'lach, go dtiogfuig an tuisge glan asteach; ná tabhair breith air an gcéadscéal, go dhiogfuig an tarna scéal ort.]

gu 'until' w. ipf. conj.

1602 Matha 14, 22 no gu léigeadh sé an pubal uaidhe; 18, 30 (18, 34) no gu níocadh sé na fiacha.

1732 209 do chuaídh se go Toiriongton áit annar mheas sé anmhuin go ttigíodh a lón suas, nó go madh éidir ...

1858 Matha 14, 22 nó go léigeadh sé; 18, 30 (18, 34) nó go ndíoladh sé.

gu(r), nár w. prs. conj. (optative).

1602 Rom. 6, 2 nár léige Dia sin; Matha 10, 13 mas fiu an teagh soín é, gu bhfoghnúigh bhur mbeannughadh dhó; agus muna fhiu, gu bhfillídh bhur mbeannughadh chugaibh féin arís; 21, 19 nár fhása toradh gu brách ort;

26, 49 *gu mbeannuighthea dhuit, a mhaighisidir*; 27, 29 (28, 9) *gu mbeannuighe Dia dhuit*; Marc. 11, 14 *nár ithe duine*; 14, 36 *nárab é an ní bhús toil leamsa*; Luc. 10, 5 *gu raibhe stóthcháin don tigh se*; 11, 2 *gu naomhthar hainm, gu dtí dho rioghachd, go ndéantar do thoil*; 13, 14 *gurab, nárab*; Eoin 8, 7 *gu má hé ceadduine*; 19, 3 *gu mbeannuighe Dia dhuit*.

1732 65 *go tteagmhuidh mísheun duit ad chroíde*; 169 *go ndearnaidh mórán maithiosa dhaoibh*; 208 *go raibh séan maith ort*; 230 *go gcoisgidh Dia soin*; 258 *go ttugaidh Dia*; 264 *go raibhe Dia ad chomhlúadar*; 266 *go sábhálaidh Dia thú, go raibhe Dia maille riot, go ngnoghuidh Dia dhuit, nár léigidh Dia*; 298 *go ccúmhdúidhe Dia thú*; 406 *go bhfuíghead (1 sg.) bás muna fíor é*; 269 *go ndéarnaigh sé maith mhór dhuit*; 307 *mur sin go gcongnuidh Dia liom*; 308 *go bhfóiridh Dia ormsa*; 67 *go tteagmhuidh olc dhuit*; *gur ba measa bhias tu*; 419 *ná rabhad sa beo má bhíonn sé mar soin*; 457 *go ndearnaidh no go ndéanaigh sé maith mhór dhuit*; 480 *'with a murrain to you', conach go raibh ortsa*; 578 *go ttugaidh Dia comhsanadh dá anam*; 580 *go ttugadh Dia luach do ghníomh dhuit*; 592 *go sroighthe (i. e. go s-roiche) tú slán chum d áruis, 'I wish you safe home'*; *go gcúmhdúighe Dia slán tú*; 594 *go sabhála Dia an rígh*; 601 *go ttuga Dia go mbiadh sé go maith*; 619 *go ccuire Dia ar a leas é*; 638 *go mbeireadh an droichspiorad leis an drung do chuir thusa 7 mise re chéile*.

1822 199—200 *go molaidh 7 go mór-bheannaidh mo theanga...thu*; 220 *go mbeannaidhthea d'ainm, a Thiarna*; 220 *go ndeonaidhir, a Thiarna*; 150 *go sealbhaidh do ghradh me*; 167 *go dtagadh liom do réir a dheunadh*; 181 *go raibh mo thoil do réir do naomh-thola sa 7 go reightídhid lé chéile go hiomlán*.

1858 Rom. 3, 4—6 *nár léigidh Dia san*.

1858 Rom. 6, 2 *nár léigidh*; Matha 10, 13 *go dhigig (sic), go bhfillidh*; 21, 19 *nár fhása*; Marc. 11, 14 *nár itheadh*; 14, 16 *nár ab'*; Luc. 11, 2 *go dhigidh*.

1897 *nár dheine Dia bean dealbh ná baintreabhthach díot*; *nár éirghe do bhóthar leat*; *nár fheicir do cheann liath*; *nár fheicir aon radharc air Dhia achd mar tá an fhírinne agut*; *go dtuga an diabhal coirce dhuit*; *nár éisidir léd*

shaoghal; ná robhmíd choidhche téamuis; go néirghe do bhóthar as do chosán cómhgair leat; go dtuga Dia bliadhain fé mhaise dhuit; nár fheice aon drochshúil tu; gor a seacht fearr a bhe sibh [or 2 sg. a bheir] air mo theacht aríst; go gcuire Dia fiabhras as aicid na bliadhna tharuibh gan dochor gan díoghbháil; ná robhthaoi choidhche gan bhur ndóthain aguibh; go leaga Dia an rath oruibh; ná robhthaoi choidhche gan clúid na hoidhche; nár bheire do namhaid go deo ort; nár bheire bhur namhaid air muir ná air tír oruibh; go dtuga Dia slán ós gach aon bheárnain bhaoghail sibh; go gcuire an té is fearr an rath air bhur saothar; go gcuire an té is fearr rod maith ad threo; ná robhair choidhche gan capall agus teachtaire leanfuidh é; go dtuga an té is fearr deoch on trócaire dhot anam; go dtuga Dia fuarthan agus fuascailt dosna hanmanacha chuaidh bhuaít á iarraidh; go dtuga Dia grásta na foighne díbh féin as dúinn féin; go mairir se bhad; go dtír slán beo; slán go robhair; gob amhlaidh dhuit.

About the imperative mood Mac Cuirtin remarks (p. 701a): 'The Irish Grammarians do differ from the Latins, who do not allow of the first person singular in this Mood'. In his paradigm, he gives the form *gonar*, 'let me wound'. As the first singular of this mood is not mentioned in any other Irish grammar I know of — though Stewart gives the form *buaileam* 'let me strike' (p. 77) — I shall here point out two instances of it occurring in Mac Cuirtin's Dictionary: 619 let me have a speedy answer, *fágaim freagra gan mhaill*; 387 let me know first, *fágam se (sic) a fhios ar ttús*.

Whether this form is in use any more, I can't tell. In the Old Irish glosses, a few instances have been found: *tiag sa* 'let me go' ML. 58 c 6, and *indiad* (*ind + fiad*) gl. inquam 35 d 11, 103 b 11 'let me say'; the latter form is plainly accentuated as an imperative. It is perhaps not likely that many instances should occur in the texts of any period, but the existence of the form cannot be doubted.

Copenhagen, February 1901.

CHR. SARAUW.

THE GAELIC DIALECTS.

The aim here is to study the living language familiar to me since childhood in the Highlands; to follow out the sounds themselves and as far as possible to systematically describe them. But ere entering on the more technical exposition I must say something as to the number of dialects. A definite numerical classification of Gaelic dialects cannot be made without overlapping. Every test breaks down though some characteristic test sounds are more widely diffused than others. It is best to record the characteristics of the various sound-areas under the systematic treatment of the individual sounds themselves. I base my study upon Sweet's *Primer of Phonetics*.

Legend has it that long ago five groups or dialects had been recognised by Féníus Farsaidh, the mythical Gaelic grammarian. For Gaelic Ireland in more recent times a dialect has been claimed for every province:

Tá blas gun cheart ag an Muimhneach
Tá ceart gun bhlas ag an Ultach;
Ní fhuil ceart na blas ag an Laighneach
Tá ceart agus blas ag an g-Connachtach.

‘The Munsterman has correct accent but not correct idiom; the Ulsterman correct idiom but not correct accent; the Leinsterman has neither correct accent nor correct idiom; the Connaughtman has both.’ The word rendered accent properly includes the entire sound-system although it literally means ‘taste, sweetness’.

The above obviously was an attempt at a rough classification; it takes no account of the numerous sub-dialects. A bare enumeration of dialects is of course of subordinate value. The best method is to investigate the sounds themselves and to note where they occur. Some classifications have been attempted for Scottish Gaelic. The Rev. John Forbes, a former minister of Sleat, Skye, seems to have been the first to attempt a definite enumeration. In the preface to his Gaelic Grammar he gives a Northern, an Interior, and a Southern dialect, assigning to each of these the following characteristics:

- Northern: (1) o for a e. g. coll, Goll *for* call, Gall.
 (2) -adh, -agh final pronounced as -uv, e. g. pasgubh, deubh *for* pasgadh, deagh.
 (3) n after i has a soft double liquid sound e. g. in duine 'man'.
 (4) c and r dry and hard; in general, a narrow, sharp and arid pronunciation.
- Interior: (1) Generally free from Northern peculiarities.
 (2) Like the Northern it has ia *for* eu.
 (3) Thick sound of c in mac 'son' (maxq).
 (4) Genitive singular of some nouns in -nn or -thann, e. g. eno, cnothann; lurga, lurgann; piob, piobunn.
 (5) char, chàr 'went' *for* chaidh.
 (6) Initial d in Skye with a weak flat sound not heard on the mainland.
- Southern: (1) o *for* a e. g. gobh, go *for* gabh 'take'.
 (2) -adh, -agh scarcely audible after a broad vowel e. g. glana(dh) tagha(dh).
 (3) eu *for* ia of the North.
 (4) The Athol diphthongs he specially refers to, the characteristic of that Perthshire district being, as Forbes describes it, 'ore rotundo loqui'.
 What he means I shall explain later.

The above statement is neither exhaustive nor exact. It is partially erroneous; as to the Southern, questionable; as to the Northern, it does not hold good, for Craignish and Knapdale have bh, i. e. v, *for* -dh; as to the Interior, his own dialect, it is inadequate.

I find there are as many dialects almost as there are glens, if not more, that is, if all minor peculiarities, however trifling, be attended to. It is convenient to draw attention to certain main groups. On any numerical basis cross division cannot be avoided. But 'we are quite safe in speaking of our Gaelic tongue as branching off into two main dialects, a Northern and a Southern. The differences in pronunciation, diction and idiom which prevail within the respective bounds of these two divisions are very marked, though in particular localities they shade into each other. The boundary between the two is a varying line, but, roughly speaking, it may be described as passing up the Firth of Lorne to Loch Leven, then across country from Ballachulish to the Grampians, thereafter the line of the Grampians. The country covered by the Northern dialect was of old the country of the Northern Picts. The portion of Argyllshire south of the boundary line, with Bute and Arran, formed the kingdom of Dalriada. The Gaelic district south of the Grampians belonged to the Southern Picts. This two-fold division has very probably an historical basis, as well as a very distinct geographical boundary. It owes its origin to the settlement of the Dalriadic colony in South Argyll and its continuance to the greater influence of Irish literature within the Southern district.'¹⁾

I. The diphthongisation of long open *e* is carried much further in the North than in the South. It pervades the country formerly covered by the Northern Picts, e. g. bial 'mouth' for Argyll bèul (long open *e*), O. Ir. bél. This distinction is found out of Scotland. At Killarney it occurs precisely in such words as it occurs in North Inverness-shire as I discovered to my surprise when conversing with an Irish woman, a native of Killarney. Again in a volume of Munster tales (*Sgeulaidheacht Chuige Mumhan* by Pádraig O Laoghaire, Dublin 1895) which I read with a native Munsterman I marked the occurrence of *ia* in the pronunciation of such words as dhéanfadh, phléasg, bréun, céadna; parts of Munster in this respect outstrip North Inverness-shire for there we keep the *e* sound in pleasg 'noise, crack', breun 'foul', but always the diphthongized form *dian* for *dean* 'do'; North Invern. *cianda*, (Munster *ciannə*) for *ceudna* 'same' from *ceud* 'first'. So far as the *ia* sound was concerned, the same

¹⁾ Prof. Mackinnon's paper On the Dialects of Scottish Gaelic, pp. 7—8.

Munsterman pronounced *mīar* 'finger', O. Ir. *mér*; *sgīal* 'story', O. Ir. *scél*; *fiar* 'grass', O. Ir. *fēr*; *nīal* 'a faint, swoon, cloud, hot sunshine', O. Ir. *nél*; *bīal* 'mouth', O. Ir. *bél*, just as I did. I noted the diphthongized *ia* in the Munster phrase *ag léasadh* 'smiting', but here I could make no comparison as I do not use the word. Enough has been said to show the diphthongization is not confined to the Northern dialect of Scottish Gaelic.

In Scotland *ceud* 'hundred' is universally diphthongized, except perhaps with some speakers in Arran who stick to the long open *e*. Even in Rob Donn's poems, which represent the Reay dialect, *ceud* must as a rule be read as *cīad* though it is not so written; often in Rob Donn it rhymes with *rian*, *fial*, *dhìot* but the pronunciation with long *e* occurs as an exception where *ceud* rhymes with *spréidh*, *léir*, *féin*. Within the same dialect and with the same speaker two pronunciations occur, but the form diphthongized as *cīad* is the predominant one in all dialects. The exigencies of poetic assonance may have helped to keep both forms available, but the so-called *ia* test-sound is not carried out in this instance, for the South has *cīad* like the North; *cianna* for *ceudna* 'same' is also common in Argyll, like *cīand* in the North. The same holds true of *diag* '-teen' which predominates, except in a few Southern areas, yet in Rob Donn *deug* rhymes with *féin*, *léir*, *cléir*. Lyric verse has many exceptions. The poet knows the two forms are used. From the local point of view there are many manufactured rhymes.

Observation. Though *meadhon* 'middle' is met with in Rob Donn as requiring the *ia* sound, the South long open *e* becomes most frequently long *a*; one has to discard what his editor, Dr. Mackintosh Mackay, wrote, for *briadh*, i. e. *brèagh* of the South, rhymes with *slan* 'whole'; *sgial*, *sgeul* 'tale, story', with *gàire* 'laugh' and there is some attempt made to point this out by writing it *sgèala*; *deànadh* 'doing', North Inverness-shire *dianamh*, rhymes in Rob Donn with *dānaibh*; *beal* for *bial*, 'mouth' with *blāir*; *sgeul* 'story' with *sār*, elsewhere with *ārd*, 'high'; *iad* 'they' with *ārd* 'high', a widely extended pronunciation of the pronoun 3 pers. pl. (Colonsay, Loch Hourn, Uist &c.). In Rob Donn too *neul* 'cloud' rhymes with *feàrr*, *àill*, *càrn*, and on the editor's orthography it should be written *neàl*; *feur* 'grass' should be *feàr* or *feàrr*, to give the touch of the Reay country which emphasizes the second element of the diphthong.

Likewise we find *deànadh* going with *nādur* 'nature', *breugach* with *fāgail*.

The same sound which is represented in O. Ir. by *é* appears in Modern Gaelic as

- (1) long open *e*.
- (2) *īa*.
- (3) *ea*, properly *ā*.

Thus the *ia* test-sound, though the most widely extended perhaps of the dialectal group-characteristics, cannot be elevated into a universal canon.

The pronunciations of the diphthong ia are two in number. It is the timbre of the second constituent of the diphthong that alters. When *ia* of the Northern dialects corresponds to the long open *e* of the Southern the pronunciation is the high front narrow + the mid-back-wide (*ia*). The vowel originally was short and open, and when it became long by compensatory lengthening it maintained its open timbre. There are some words with compensatory lengthening which do not have *ia* in the North, e. g. *deud* 'tooth'; *eud* 'jealousy', but the current Northern form always is *iadach*; *mélich* 'bleat' never has *ia*; *éug* 'death' has had compensatory lengthening, but it never becomes *īag*; nor does *céus* (long close *e*) 'crucify' become *cīas*, while *cèus* (i. e. with long open *e* in the South) 'a bit of wool' is *cīas*. Etymologically, both of these words seem to show compensatory lengthening, if the Gaelic word for crucify be cognate with Lit. *kenczù* 'suffering', and that for 'ham, poples' with Lit. *kenkle* 'hough, bend of the knee'. The words with long close *e* do not therefore fall under this heading. *Leugh* 'read' from Latin *legere* has no compensatory lengthening, yet it is (liia) in North Inverness-shire, while in the South it is lɛɛɜ or lɛɛv i. e. lèagh of the script; a Ross pronunciation is also (leev). That the change or diphthongization is due to compensatory lengthening as such rather than to the open timbre of the vowel, is not capable of proof. Close *e* does not give *īa*, nor open *e* originally long as in *sèimh* 'mild, placid' (lɛɛv); *breun* 'putrid' O. Ir. *brén*, W. *braen-u* 'to rot' does not become *brian* in the North, for it has a close *e*, though it does exhibit this change in some parts of Munster; *meadhon* 'the middle' is (miian) in the North, but here the *e* was originally short and inferentially also open as it

is in Argyll to-day; mèith (long open *e*) 'fat, sappy', O. Ir. méth, W. mwydo 'soften' becomes (mīa) in North Inverness-shire, though it has had no compensatory lengthening. This word might with equal correctness be spelt *mēath* in Scottish Gaelic. On the whole it is clear that the diphthongization follows upon the originally open *e*. Mr. Macbain's statement (Gaelic Dictionary, p. XVIII) 'The crucial distinction consists in the different way in which the dialects deal with *é* derived from compensatory lengthening, in the South it is *eu*, in the North *ia*, e. g. *feur* against *fiar*, *breug* against *briag* &c.' requires to be limited and corrected in the light of the above.

Result. Long open *e* diphthongizes almost universally in the North; close *e* hardly ever. Exceptions *geur* 'sharp' which is *giar* in the North, and perhaps also, to a limited extent *féin* 'self' in Reay.

Further examples with *ia* in the North where the South has long open *e*, (written in the usual script *eu*, though sometimes marked *èa*).

North Inverness-shire.

fīar 'grass'
 bīal 'mouth'
 brīag 'a lie'
 dīar 'a tear; drop'
 drīachd 'office'
 cīa 'cream'
 sīa 'six'
 sīam 'enjoin'
 rīab 'to tear, wound'
 dīachainn 'trial, attempt; affliction'
 fīach 'try'
 īasgaidh 'willing'
 grīasaich 'shoemaker'
 bīac 'squeal'
 mīar 'finger'
 mīad 'size'
 mīanan 'a yawn'

Argyll.

feur
 beul
 breug
 deur
 dreuchd, drèachd
 cè, ceath
 sè, sèa
 seum, sèam
 reub
 deuchainn
 feuch
 easgaidh
 greusaich
 beuc
 meur
 meud
 mèanan

NB. In Colonsay and Islay this word is mèaran 'yawn', i. e. *n* becomes *r*.

*North Inverness-shire.**Argyll.*

l̃iadh 'breadth'

l̃eud, l̃ead

l̃ias 'a torch, light'

l̃eus

l̃ialadh 'to stalk deer, creep'

euladh, èaladh

s̃iadh 'hero'

seud

NB. seud 'jewel' keeps long close *e* in the North.

l̃iag 'precious stone'

l̃eug

d̃iān 'do'

d̃eān

sg̃iāl 'a tale'

sg̃eul, sg̃eal

sg̃iān 'a fright, wild look'

sg̃eun

NB. sg̃iān 'knife' sometimes has *ia* but more often (*iia*, *iiã*); bian 'a hide' has always *ia* nasal, not *ia*, *iā*.

br̃iagh 'fine, handsome'

br̃eagh

f̃iasag 'a beard'

feusag

sm̃iār (1) bramble, (2) anoint

sm̃eur

sp̃iāclar } 'spectacles' fr. Latin; in Argyll speuclar has a close *e*.
sp̃iāclan }

sp̃iāc 'a branch' fr. Sc.

speuc

p̃iartag 'a partridge' fr. Sc; in Argyll peurdag has a close *e*.

p̃iān 'pain' fr. Lat. poena. Argyll here has p̃iān; all over the Highlands it is the same.

p̃iāta 'pet' (local). Argyll usually has a close *e*, in p̃eta 'pet'.

As an offset to this, the North has r̃esan 'reason' while in Argyll it is r̃iāson.

s̃iāp 'sneak off'

s̃eāp

s̃liagaire 'a sly dodger'

s̃leugaire

Another South form is s̃liġeadh.

s̃liachd 'to smooth down' E. Ir. s̃liachtad

sg̃liāt 'a slate' fr. E.

sg̃l̃eāt

sg̃riāmh 'a squeal'

sg̃reamh

S̃iāmas 'James'. In Argyll it has a close *e* e.g. S̃ēmas. The vocative is 'Sh̃ēmais whence the English Hamish, a personal name.

ñiāl 'a cloud; faint'

neul

ñiārachd 'happiness'

ñeārachd; ñèrachd

(Colonsay, with nasal *e*)

g̃iādh 'goose'

geadh

f̃iānaidh 'a peat cart'

feun; f̃ēn 'cart' Colonsay.

- Obs. (1) reul 'star' though it shows compensatory lengthening (E. Ir. *retla*, *retglu*) does not become rial. It has long close *e* all over
- (2) mèin, mèinn (long open *e*) 'ore, mine', although E. Ir. shows *mianach*, is never *mīan* in the Highlands.
- (3) iad 'they' has in North Inverness-shire generally a long open *e* (ɛɛtʰ); sometimes as in Uist it is *ād* (aatʰ); the quality of the *t* changes also, and when the vowel in unstressed position is quite short, the sound is (ɛtʰ), of which more anon.
- (4) eud 'jealousy' I have noted for the island of Barra as *iād*. This is by analogy.
- (5) rīasladh 'mangling, lacerating' has *īa*, but some speakers affect a different quality of *a* (*īa*, *īæ*).
- (6) *īa* occurs in North Inverness-shire in *tiachaidh* (tfiiæxij) 'sticky'; *tiaruinnte* may be heard, in the Aird tfaariñtʰ is most common; also the somewhat uncommon word *tiadhan* 'testicle' (?)
- (7) *mīan* 'desire' has *ia* North and South.
- (8) *mīas*, *mīos* 'basin, dish' (South and North); *mīs*, *mīos* 'month' (South). In North Inverness-shire there is hardly any difference in pronunciation between the word for basin and that for month. Both are diphthongized.

The preceding sound in the Reay Dialect.

In Rob Donn such words as *brīagh*, *sgīal*, *bīal*, *ñīal*, *fīar*, *dīan* have *eaa* or *jaa* instead of *īa*, in other words the group is uttered with increasing force so that the first element becomes palatalized while the second element receives the stress and quantity of the first: i. e. (brjaa, sgjaalʰ, bjaalʰ, ñjaalʰ, fjaarr, cjaan) respectively. Some uncertainty exists even in Reay for *dēan* 'do', *fēur* 'grass' may be heard as in Argyll. Further, a group of words of this class preserve in Reay long open *e* as in Argyll e. g. *seud*, *breug*, *meud*, *leus*, *geug*, *feuch*, *beuc*, *eud*, *seun*, *eun*, and I think *gleus*. This peculiarity does not extend to the (*īia*, *īiæ*) group treated of in the following section. The ordinary Gaelic treatment is to dwell on the first element. The Reay dialect merely carries out in the case of some words with

open e the tendency to palatalization so common in North Inverness-shire. It is exemplified in Icelandic where *hertu* becomes *heartu* which becomes *hjarta* where *hj* is one single sound. This is how we have Modern English *am*: O. E. *eom* became *eám* (Northumbrian) which became *am*; cf. the French *je* 'I': Latin *ego* became *eo* (io, dialectal); through being unaccented this became *jo* which, passing through the *gy* sound in Hungarian 'Magyar', became *dʒə*, *ʒə* through the dropping of the *d*. It may be held that the change is in all likelihood normal only before *-l*, *-n*, *-r* and parallel to N. *já* from *ia*. I would attribute this tendency of the Reay dialect to Norse influence.

NB. *geug*, *seud*, *seun*, have close *ɛ* in Colonsay and Islay. *gleus* 'trim' has a close *ɛ* in Colonsay whereas in the same isle *gleus* 'glance, polish' has an open one.

(2) Where *ia* arises from a proto-Celtic diphthong *ei*, or through vocalisation of an intervocalic consonant, it is common to North and South, and the timbre of the second constituent of the diphthong, though narrow, varies between the mid-back narrow (a) and the short low-front-narrow round with mid-rounding (œ). Compensatory lengthening does not occur here nor do the southern dialects have long open e in corresponding cases. The *a* of *diag* '-teen' may not belong here, for where *e* is pronounced it is long close e (*dɛug*); if this word is connected with W. *deng* 'ten' one would expect (*ia*). I now give one or two examples of words with (*ia*) or (*iiæ*) in both dialects, e. g.

biadh 'food'; *fiadh* 'deer', where I should write *ia* phonetically as (*iiæ*) in both cases, long vowels being here represented by doubling. In *grìan* 'sun', *cian* 'remote' where the diphthong is nasal there is a tendency at least in North Inverness-shire to pass to *ia*. This is specially noticeable in *grìanan* 'sunny place; delight'; *cianail* 'lonely'. The diphthong in the following words varies between (*ia*) and (*iiæ*): *fiar* 'crooked' where the *ia* is quite different to that in *fiar* 'grass' (*fiiar*); *iasg* 'fish'; *mial*, *mìol* 'louse, animal'; *nìata* 'courageous'; *rìabhach* 'brindled', which with *bh* elided becomes (*riiæx*); *strìach* 'to notch'; *rìach* 'to cut the surface'; *rìadh* 'interest; drill of potatoes'; *rìamh* 'ever' apparently for *a riamh* as the *r* is not trilled (*riiæ*); *riar*

'will'; riatanach 'necessary'; riasg 'dirk-grass'; sgiath 'shield, wing'; sliabh 'moor' (sliæ); sliasaid 'thigh'; siabunn 'soap' (fiiæpən); siar 'westward, glide-eyed' (fiiær); triath 'chief'; triall 'going'; dia 'God'; diabhul 'devil'; dias 'ear of corn', which is hardly to be derived from *steipsa, L. stipes, E. stiff; iarunn 'iron'; iadh 'encompass'; iall 'a thong'; iarla 'earl'; liath 'gray'; liagh 'ladle'; diciadaoin 'Wednesday'; cīad 'first; hundred'; dīallaid 'saddle'; etīach 'gullet'; fiach 'worth, value'; ciar 'dusky'; ciall 'understanding'; diarras, diorras 'stubbornness, a vehement zeal or emulation'; diasg, diosg 'barren, yeld'; briathar 'word'.

- Obs. (1) The etymology of briathar is not clear. Dr. Windisch has suggested (Grammar § 78) Greek (F) *ῥάττα*; Bezzenberger O. H. G. *chweran* 'sigh', which is far fetched; Macbain's Dictionary gives *brêtrâ, brê ablaut to brâ of brâth. This if it were correct ought to give a present pronunciation (iia) which is not current.
- (2) bliadhna 'year' has been referred to *bleidni. Stokes gives the Idg. as ghleidh whence E. glide, with a reference to 'labuntur anni'. So far as the vowel sound is concerned the present pronunciation is not against this.
- (3) *Cha'n* often carries a nasal sound into the word following where it would not of itself occur, e. g. *cha'n fhiach e* (xan̄ 'iiæx-e) 'it is not worth'; this same principle explains the slight nasality in some districts in the word *oidhche* (oiçə) 'night'; when the article is prefixed we naturally get (an øijçə).
- (4) Words strongly nasal, such as *rīan* 'order'; *dīan* 'hasty, impetuous'; *trīan* 'a third'; *tiamhaidh* 'gloomy, eerie' should be phonetically written with (iia). The nasality changes the quality of the latter part of the diphthong.
- (5) Some words with iō such as *fīon* 'wine'; *crīon* 'hard-fisted, mean'; W. *crintach* 'sordid' are sounded in North Inverness-shire with (iia). But when no nasal is present the second constituent is (oe) = *crīoch* 'end' (*krijœx*); *cīoch* 'a woman's breast; pap' (*cjiœx*).

These two words have long *ī* in Argyll, whereas I diphthongize them in North Inverness.

II. Another test sound is that of the vowel *ao*.

(1) In North Inverness-shire, as representing old North Pictland, in all words which represent Idg. and O. Ir. *oi* this sound is now pronounced as high-back-narrow and is generally long. For this dialect the high-back vowel is a distinct test in words like *aon* 'one', O. Ir. *oin*, *oen*, written in the 9th and 10th centuries *ain*, *aen*; in the 14th century *aon*. This sound extends as far North as Gairloch, Torridon, parts at least of Sutherland, and, in the other direction, eastwards to Strathspey. It is very persistent and does not readily admit of change with any other vowel. It may be due to a non-Gaelic element in the population. It is in itself an unmusical sound and is a barrier to poetic rhymes; nor should I omit to add that the word *ceolmhar* 'musical' means over most of this area simply 'funny, queer, strange'. In North Inverness-shire this high-back-narrow sound occurs as long in the following words: *aon* 'one'; *aois* 'age'; *aonach* 'moor &c.'; *aolach* 'dung'; *aol* 'lime'; *aoir* 'satire'; *braon* 'rain'; *caorunn* 'rowan'; *caol* 'narrow'; *caomh* 'tender'; *craobh* 'tree'; *daor* 'enslaved', O. Ir. *dóir*; *daor* 'dear, costly' from Middle English *deere*, *deore*; *faobhur* 'edge'; *faosaid* 'confession'; *faol-chu* 'wolf'; *faoin* 'vain'; *faotainn* 'getting'; *faothachduinn* 'relief'; *gaoir* 'shout, cry'; *gaoth* 'wind'; *gaoisid* 'horse-hair'; *glaoth* 'cry aloud, shout'; *gaol* 'love'; *gaoid* 'flaw'; *laogh* 'calf'; *maol* 'bald'; *plaosg* 'husk'; *raon* 'field'; *saobh* 'false'; *saor* 'free'; *saothair* 'labour, trouble'; *sgaoth* 'swarm'; *slaod* 'to trail'; *sraon* 'rush violently'; *saoil* 'deem, opine'; *taobh* 'side'.

(2) With some exceptions the usual pronunciation of the vowel in the above words in Argyll is with the low-front-wide-round with mid-rounding.

(3) In Mid-Argyll, as in North Inverness, the high-back vowel occurs in *maoin* 'wealth' O. Ir. *máin*; *maoth* 'tender, soft', O. Ir. *móith*; *naomh* 'holy' O. Ir. *nóib*, *nóeb*, *nóem*; *naosg* 'a snipe'; *smaoin* 'think'.

(4) In Mid-Argyll *ao* has two distinct sounds; it agrees with the North in having the high-back-narrow in a whole group of words, e. g. *aon*, *caomh*, *Dihaoine*. In another group of

words among which are caol 'narrow'; laogh 'calf'; faoin 'vain'; braon Mid-Argyll has the mid-front-wide-round, almost lost in the North in the same group.

(5) In North Inverness aon 'one', both in stressed and unstressed positions, occurs with mid-rounding

a ·hœn; a ·hœ-nøn.

(6) traogh 'to ebb' besides the usual high-back-narrow has in North Inverness long ā as if it were in the usual script tràgh; E. Ir. tráгим.

(7) caoin 'weep' is invariably sounded with long close o (koon), O. Ir. cóinim, cáinim. This and the previous are instances of old sounds preserved in North Inverness.

(8) aog 'death', though it has often the high-back-narrow, is equally often eug (eek').

(9) In North Inverness ao derived from privative prefix an + consonant group has the high-back-narrow sound:

as aonais 'without it' (as ʌʌnĩf); aotrom 'light, not-heavy' (ʌʌtrəm), O. Ir. étromm. The long close e sound is also heard in this word in poetry. Aodomhain 'shallow, not-deep' (ʌʌdɔĩn'); aodionach 'non-watertight' (ʌʌdzɔnax). In the three last examples ao sounds like open e in Argyll; also the word aodann 'face' in the next list.

(10) In North Inverness we have the high-back-narrow in ao derived from O. Ir. é originally followed by n + consonant.

<i>North Inverness.</i>		<i>O. Ir.</i>	
aodach 'cloth'	(ʌʌtʌx)	étach	*ant-ac-os
aodann 'face'	(ʌʌtʃĩn)	étan	*ant-ano
aogas 'mien'	(ʌʌkas)	écosc	*in-cosc
faod 'may'	(fʌʌt')	fétaim	*sventô
maodal 'paunch'	(mʌʌtʌl')	métail	*mand-to
saod 'state'	(sʌʌt')	sét	*sento-s.

(11) Also in loanwords treated like those from oi, ai in (1):

α) Latin loans.

<i>North Inverness.</i>		<i>O. Ir.</i>
aoine (jejunium)	*ʌʌĩə	oine
saoghal (saeculum)	*ʌʌʌ-al'	

*North Inverness.**O. Ir.*

staoín (stannum)	ˈsqʌʌñ	
maor (major)	ˈmʌʌr	(Book of Deer) máir
laoch (laicus)	ˈlʌʌx	
plaosg (pilucius*)	ˈplʌʌskʲ	

* Ernault's derivation.

The last 5 examples have an open sound in Argyll.

β) English loans.

snaoisean 'snuff'	snʌʌʃan	(E. <i>sneezing</i> pouder).
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γ) Norse loan.

staoig 'steak'	(sqʌʌcʲ)	From N. <i>steik</i> , K. Meyer.
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(12) North Inverness agrees with Argyll (with some few exceptions) in giving *ao* the low-front-narrow-round sound (œ) with mid rounding, when *ao* arises from *a* or *o* + *dh* or *gh*. It then occurs both long and short; when long it may in Argyll be heard as low-front-wide-round (æə) with mid rounding, e. g. *saor* 'free' (sæərr); *saoghall* 'world' (ˈsæə.əlʲ).

aobhur 'cause' (œœvar), O. Ir. *adbar*; *aoradh* 'worship, adoration' (ˈœœr-ʌʒ), O. Ir. *adrad*; *aobrunn* 'ankle' (ˈœœb-rʌŋ), O. Ir. *odbrann*; *aorabh* 'constitution' (ˈœœrəv); *adhaircean* 'horns' (œœrcæn), O. Ir. *adarc* 'horn'; *adhalthrach* 'adulterous' (ˈœœəl-trax), O. Ir. *adaltrach*.

Obs. (1) Also by analogy in loan words, e. g. *gaorr*.

(2) *foghlum* 'instruction, learning' in North Inverness is (fœœlʌm), but in parts of Argyll (fœəʒˈlʌm); in Gairloch (fœəlhəm).

(3) In the combination *a* + *dh* + *l* diphthongization is usual in North Inverness and elsewhere, e. g. *adhlaic*, 'bury' is pronounced (aʌlʌk); (aʌlʌcʲ) *adhlaic*, O. Ir. *adnacul*. The *n* still preserves its nasalizing influence though it itself has gone.

Exception. In Morven, Argyll, I never heard any nasality in this word though I watched for it. The natives pronounced it (œœlʌk).

(13) *baobh* 'a wicked woman; the mermaid (Strathglass)', E. Ir. *badb*, regularly follows the above; (bœœ); a diphthongal

form is also current with the same speakers in North Inverness (bæ-ūg); saobhaidhean 'fox-dens' (sœævi-ən); daobhaidh 'perverse' (dœævi), a word which is frequent on the mainland and not limited to the Hebrides as marked in Mr. Alex. Macbain's Gael. Dict., the common word traod 'one wasting off in sickness' (trœæt') seems akin to *traothaim* 'I wear out, am weary' v. Keating's Three Shafts ed. Atkinson.

(14) The high-back-narrow ao occurs short in the word *raotal* (rrahtal'), 'the Ruttle Wood', name of a forest behind Fanellan, by the Beaully River; cf. O. Ir. róed 'a forest'. Further, in some compounds, e. g. caora 'a sheep' (kappaara), but caora-mhaol 'a hornless sheep' (kappaara.vaaal').

(15) In Reay, Gairloch, Harris, ao rhymes with u.

This is more frequent in poetry, where ao is attenuated near enough to rhyme; Rob Donn makes *taobh* 'side' rhyme with *lúb*, *cúis*, *Grúidi*, *dù-bhreith*, *cliù*; *aon* 'one' rhymes in Rob Donn with *cúinneadh*.

For Harris I have pointed out instances in my edition of Iain Gobha's poems.

(16) ao has the high-front-wide sound in Lewis, Kintail, and likewise in Reay. In Lewis and Kintail *saoghal* 'world' may be heard as (sīivəl'). I have noted 16 instances from Rob Donn's poems where ao rhymes with i; not all of these words are attenuated in colloquial pronunciation to i, but they pass by easy gradations to it; *saoghal* 'world', *faodaidh* 'may' and some others usually exhibit this attenuation in Reay.

(17) At Pirnmills, Isle of Arran, I heard *aon* 'one' pronounced (æɛn); at Lamlash, Arran, as (iɪn) like the Lewis and Kintail pronunciation of *saoghal* (sīivəl') 'world'.

(18) A Cintire and Gigha pronunciation of *aon*, *saoghal* respectively are (ɛɛn), ('see-al'); these districts do not often attenuate ao as far as i.

(19) In Harris where *aon* : *saoghal* : *sgrìobhta* form good rhymes, ao is not always distinguishable from the high-mixed-wide.

(20) ao in poetry in the word *aonar* often sounds as a long open o: (oənar) i. e. the long-mid-back-wide-round a little nasalized.

(21) Sometimes ao has the mid-front-narrow sound where it rhymes with é of the script. Rob Donn rhymes *saobhaidh* : *chéile* : *léine*; *foghlum* : *chléir* : *treigsinn* : *geur*. As to *foghlum*;

in North Inverness, in the usual script it would have to be *faoghluim*, the vowel being the low-front-narrow-round with mid rounding.

(22) Rob Donn rhymes *daobhaidh* : *leughadh*.

In North Inverness the former is (ðœœvi), the latter (hiia-ək'), so that there it is impossible to form such rhymes.

(23) In the Hymns of Alex. Cook (1794—1865), a native of Arran, in the edition published by William Murray, 80 Gordon St., Glasgow 1882, *ao* has the mid-front-narrow sound; *saoghal* : *déigh*; *saor* : *féin* : *Eiphit*; *Dé* : *Saoghal* : *treud*, are made to rhyme. Cook was a native of Kilmory where the same class of words still prefer the mid-front-narrow sound.

(24) In parts of Argyll *ao* is sometimes the high-mixed-wide-round; *caomh* 'tender, dear' is in Colonsay (küüv); *aon* 'one' in Colonsay (üüñ); *maoin* is (müüñ), but in the same island *faoin* 'vain' is (fœœñ) whereas in North Inverness it would be fAAñ.

(25) At Pirmills, Arran, *aobhar* 'cause', and that class of words above treated of, are pronounced with œ (œœvər) as in North Inverness. Reay has a pronunciation (aurr) of this word, with which compare the Munster *aur* i. e. *adhbhar* 'cause' in the sense of 'the makings of, the materials for'.

Obs. (1) The Gaelic interchange of œ and ee is an exact parallel to the provincial pronunciations of middle and south Germany where the mid-front-narrow-round vowel is replaced by its unrounded correspondent, e. g. *schön* 'beautiful' (fœœn) becomes (feen). I have observed, further, that it is a characteristic of Croatian and Slav pronunciation of German.

(2) *ī*, (ii) for older *ae*, *ai* existed in the 15th century Irish; *fianbhrat* of LL. 114a27 is *fainbrat* in Harleian MS. 5280 (British Museum 15th cent.), *faonbrat* in H. 3. 18 (16th cent. MS. v. Windisch's *Irische Texte* I, 108). The Fernaig MS. (Kintail, 1688) has *sivill* for *saoghall*, e. g.

Corrigh di chor i hivill
Lain di charrū bavihill
Sivill nach bouyn bla
Hivig dhūin nj dlifhir.

III. Aspirated l before broad vowels. This is a good dialectal test. This sound is described under the consonants. It is a characteristic feature of the dialects of Gairloch, Lorne, Tiree, Kintail; it occurs sporadically still in Uist and in Lewis. It was a feature of the dialect of Glendale, Skye, but with speakers of the younger generation its place is taken by simple l more or less stressed; in other words, the voicelessness may be preserved, but the position of the tongue is that of the interdental l with the 'tongue-spreader' (||); cf. Sweet's Phonetics. The aspirated lh is the older form and it is uniformly absent in East Inverness-shire and Ross-shire, where the population is not so purely Gaelic. It is wanting in some of the isles. For the island of Tiree I noted its occurrence in the following words. I put the l in question in italics:

an àite seòlaidh; liagh-lom; bas-luath; bualadh; le lùs ghlae
geal; fo aon ghluasad; romh dà ghualainn; balgain-fhala; tulgadh
a sparras a' chaol-bharc ghiùbhsaich; air chùl àlaich; na cuar-
tagan cul-ghlas; gun sgios gun airteal.

I have not noticed this sound in -lt, -lp combinations.

IV. Another dialectal test is str initial which prevails all over the North where Argyll prefers *sr*.

struth 'stream' versus *sruth*; stròn 'nose' versus 'sròn'; strìan 'bridle' versus 'srian'; strath 'strath' versus 'srath'. It has been suggested that the Northern fondness for t in this instance may be due to Norse influence. In a loan-word like *sràid* 'street' the t might be expected, yet the E. Irish is *sràit*; in *strath* cognate with Latin strātus one would expect a t; E. Welsh has *strat*, but O. Ir. has *israth* 'in gramine'. 'Struth' can scarcely be due to analogy in the North; the O. Ir. is *sruth*, which still holds good for Colonsay and Argyll, where to the present day the *sr* is used continually. And as O. Ir. has *sr* consistently, there surely must be some reason for the *str* in the northern dialects.¹⁾

V. The oxytonization characteristic of the North Inverness and Kintail dialects (v. sub Verb § 4) is absent in Reay as it is also in the South.

¹⁾ Mr. Craigie, Oxford, objects and adduces the Athole *str* in Stroy, a place-name, from Eas-ruadh and not due to Norse influence. But by analogy.

VI. In North Inverness short (æ) passes by a process of unrounding into (e) short close e; in North Inverness *oilean* 'breeding' sounds exactly like *eilean* eilean 'island' (elan).

VII. Another North Inverness feature is the use of open (ɛ) for the diphthong (ai), treated of in its place. It has curious features of syntax, of verbal and pronominal forms, and local phrases and words.

Thus far concerning test-sounds.

Manse of Edderachillis
Scourie, Sutherland
North Britain.

GEORGE HENDERSON.

(To be continued.)

QUELQUES REMARQUES AU GLOSSARIAL INDEX DES IRISCHE TEXTE, IV. 1.

aithfir, cf. gall. *adfeirio*, reprocher, blâmer (Silv. Ev.).

anfial, cf. gall. *anwyl*, id.

carpat, cf. breton *carran*, mâchoire (pris au sens métaphorique; gall. *carfan*, au sens propre); *gorfant* est composé de *gor* et de *mant*, mandible, jaw-bone.

cennbécc. Il me semble que ce mot est métaphorique. Il y a dû y avoir quelque chose de semblable en français; pour *fausset* qui signifie *voix de tête*, *aigue* et *cheville pour barrique*. Quand on tire une boisson par le *fausset*, il se produit un bruit aigu qui explique l'évolution de sens. C'est ainsi que la *clef* de la barrique s'appelle ainsi dans tout l'Ouest de la France *chantepleure*. *Cennbécc* me paraît avoir le sens métaphorique du français *fausset*. *Bécc* = gall. *boech*, a sudden scream (Silvan Evans).

corr-aball; cf. *cor-afallen* crab, dwarf apple-tree (Silvan Evans).

deg, cf. gallois *deaint*; objet précieux: *goreu deaint daioni* (Prov. ap. Silvan Evans).

erb, kid; cf. gallois *erfaî*, brisk, lively?

erc, vache; cf. gallois *erch*, de couleur sombre ou brune (cf. *Leabhar na h-Uidhri*).

faîl, bracelet; cf. breton *gwalen*, bague sans chaton (il y a dialectalement un *gwalen*, verge, qui vient d'une confusion avec *gwialen*, vraisemblablement).

fordorus, cf. gall. *gwarddrws* lintel, and *gorddrws* latch, wicket.

glas-muir; cf. gall. *glasfor*, id.

macc-ġlaith. La composition du breton *machtiern* serait la même; il s'ensuivrait que le mot serait emprunté aux Gaëls. Cela ne paraît pas probable. Le mot est gallois et cornique également avec le sens de *chef*, *seigneur*, sans aucune idée semblable à celle qui a donné *macc-ġlaith*. De plus, en armorique, *machtiern* a plutôt le sens de *chef inférieur*, *dépendant d'un autre*. Dans le Cartulaire de Rhedon, des *machtiern* sont appelés *vassi dominici* (cf. J. Loth, *L'énvigation bretonne en armorique* p. 218—220). Le mot me paraît formé de *mach*, caution, et de *tiern*, à moins qu'il n'y ait la même composition que dans *matez* = gall. *machtaith*, corn. *mayteth*.

sir-rechtach; *an-recht* viendrait de *an* + **rapto* (lat. *rapio*). Cette étymologie est fortifiée par le gallois *anrhaith*, butter, rapine. *sesc*, sedge; cf. gall. et breton *hesg* (herbe coupante). Je croirais plutôt à l'origine *sec-sca* (cf. latin *seco*, je coupe).

so-brónach, cheerful = gall. *hyfrwyn*.

spéis, fondness. L'hypothèse d'un emprunt latin *pensus* (valued, dear) est fortifiée par le gallois *pwys*; gwr *pwys*, époux, gwreic *bwys*, épouse (Elucidarium, ed. Rhŷs-Jones p. 49, 50); cf. *Gweithiau Iolo Goch*, ed. Ashton, p. 487, v. 39: *Gwnaethpwyd o'r Gair gwenith-bwys* Gnawd glan . . . (cf. Nov. Test. Joh. 1, 14: *A'r Gair a wnaethbwyd yn gnawd*).

tormán, noise or sound: cf. gallois *tyrfain*, tumulte?

Rennes.

J. LOTH.

WELSH VERSIFICATION.

The work of M. Loth,¹⁾ which deals with the bardic metres of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, is intended as an introduction to the study of the Black Book of Carmarthen and the old Welsh poems. The system of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is very fully explained by the grammarians of the latter century; and their explanations, as M. Loth remarks, may be tested and verified by the actual works of the bards themselves. This system has grown out of the metrical forms of the earlier bards, and some knowledge of it is essential to the understanding of those forms. The present volume contains an exposition of the later system only: M. Loth's application of it to the elucidation of earlier verse will appear in the second volume.

But this volume aims at being much more than a mere introduction to the Black Book. It not only deals with the late bardic system at much greater length than appears necessary for that purpose, but also treats of the more recent free metres, which have no bearing whatever upon medieval verse. It purports, in short, to give a full account of Welsh versification from the fifteenth century to the present time.

The versification of the fifteenth century certainly deserves more attention than it has hitherto received from Celtic scholars, quite apart from the light it may throw upon earlier verse. Each of the twenty-four metres has a fixed number of lines; each line has a fixed number of syllables; every line of more

¹⁾ La Métrique Galloise. Tome premier: La métrique galloise du XV^e siècle jusqu'à nos jours. Paris 1900.

than four syllables is required to be in *cynganedd*, an elaborate arrangement of consonants and internal rhymes, whose rules are so rigorous and so strictly observed by the bards of the period, that, when properly understood, they enable us to ascertain accurately the exact pronunciation given by the bards to practically all the words they use. The orthography of the manuscripts varies, and is often corrupt; a fifteenth century poem is oftener than not found sprinkled with debased seventeenth century forms. But a thorough knowledge of the *cynganedd* renders its possessor independent of the scribe, and puts him, as it were, in direct communication with the bard himself. Such a knowledge cannot be gained from this book: M. Loth himself has but the vaguest notions of *cynganedd*, and seems to have no idea at all of the absolute stringency of its laws.

The old treatises on the subject, which have appeared in print in one form or another, are the following:

Dosparth Edeyrn Dafod Aur, edited by Ab Ithel (Llandovery 1856), contains the following: I. The so called *Dosparth Edeyrn*, an old work, printed from a late MS.; II. *Y Pum Llyfr Kerddwriaeth* or Simwnt Vychan's Grammar.

Dosparth Byrr by Dr. Griffith Roberts (Milan 1567; facsimile reprint, Paris 1870—1883). The metres and *cynganedd* are discussed from p. 203 to p. 386 of the facsimile.

Cambrobrytannicae Cymraecaeve Linguae Institutiones by Dr. J. D. Rhŷs (London 1592). The prosody extends from p. 129 to p. 304.

Bardhoniaeth neu Brydydhiaeth by Captain William Middleton (London 1593, reproduced in *Flores Poetarum* 1710, which was reprinted in London 1864).

Cyfrinach Beirdd Ynys Prydain, containing the rival system of Glamorgan (Abertawy 1829; Carnarvon, *N. D.*). It also contains the metrical part of Simwnt Vychan's *Pum Llyfr*.

M. Loth is acquainted with all these works; but the importance he attaches to them is in almost inverse ratio to their value. Griffith Roberts had no special knowledge of the subject, as he himself admits over and over again. Every intelligent Welshman had in his head some rough classification of the different kinds of *cynganedd*, deduced from his observation of internal rhymes and the recurrence of consonants; otherwise the bards could have had no audience but themselves. This was

Griffith Robert's case; he had received no instruction in the art; a bard whom he had consulted had declined to enter into details (fac., p. 273), for 'they say they are sworn to teach no one these secrets' (p. 274). Thus Roberts's rules are his own deductions and surmises, uncorrected by the accumulated experience and traditional teaching of the school of bards. He sets them forth in an original manner, and largely in terms of his own invention; but he has not been able to avoid the pitfalls which beset the path of the uninitiated. In many of his examples, apparently composed by himself, the *cynghanedd* is faulty; and some of his metrical forms exist nowhere out of his book. Yet to M. Loth, this is a work of the first importance.

J. D. Rhŷs's work is a compilation; it contains most of Simwnt Vychan's treatise, and examples from the older *Dosparth Edeyrn*, together with fresh material furnished by Wm. Middleton and other contemporaries. But the compiler himself had little understanding of the matter; his contributions to the work consist chiefly in the lines and diagrams intended to mark the correspondence of consonants. M. Loth reproduces pages of these lines, which is sheer waste of paper. The correspondences pointed out by them are usually obvious; but J. D. Rhŷs has gone wrong wherever it was possible to do so, and M. Loth meekly follows him. Thus in the short verse

Didarf Dudur,

lines are drawn from *D* to *D*, from *d* to *d*, and from *r* to *r*. Now *r* has nothing to do with the *cynghanedd*, as any tyro knows; for the two words should end differently, and

Didol Dudur

would form even a better *cynghanedd*. As, however, *rf* is different from *r*, the line as it stands is correct; but the *r* contributes nothing to its correctness. To join the two *r*'s is to point out a correspondence where there is none to be, where a full correspondence would be actually a fault. This is reproduced by M. Loth on p. 64, and there is a similar one on p. 76. Again in the line

Gael tadog o glod Tewdwr

the most important correspondence is the *d* of *tadog* with the *d*

of *Tewdwr*. J. D. Rhŷs omitted to draw the line connecting these two *d*'s; and so, of course, does M. Loth (p. 79). J. D. Rhŷs's work, on account of the quantity of material it contains, is perhaps the most valuable single work on the subject; but it is a very unsafe guide in the hands of the inexperienced.

Simwnt Vychan on the other hand, knew exactly what he was writing about. He had been regularly instructed in bardism, and received the highest degree of *Pencerdd* (chief of song) at the Caerwys Eisteddfod of 1568. His work is thoroughly trustworthy, and contains scarcely anything that is debateable or doubtful. It is the highest authority on the subject; but M. Loth makes little use of it except indirectly through J. D. Rhŷs. Indeed he says (p. 13) 'on serait tenté de regarder Simwnt Vychan comme un abrégiateur de Rhŷs (!) si on n'avait pas à l'encontre de cette supposition, d'incontestables autorités'. M. Loth's idea of the value of the book is only equalled by his idea of the value of the printed editions. Ab Ithel's edition is printed from a copy made in 1606 by John Jones of Gelli Lyfdy, or Sion Wiliam ap Sion (*Dosp. Ed.* p. xiii) from a copy made by Rissiart ap Sion of Scorlegan in 1578 (p. xlvii) from Simwnt's own book. 'Quant au manuscrit original', says M. Loth, 'il paraît avoir disparu. L'original a été terminé vers 1606'. By the 'original' he therefore means John Jones's copy. But John Jones's original, the Scorlegan MS., exists; it is Peniarth MS. 159. Not only that, but the first original, *in Simwnt Vychan's own handwriting* is preserved in the Jesus College Library, now kept at the Bodleian; it is Jesus College MS. xv. Mr. Gwenogfryn Evans has shewn,¹⁾ that this is the very book from which R. ap Sion of Scorlegan made his copy. Considering that Ab Ithel's printed text is from a copy of a copy, it agrees remarkably well with Simwnt's manuscript, the chief differences, besides obvious misprints, being a few modernisations like the plural *cynganeddion* for Simwnt's *cynganeddau*; *rh* for Simwnt's *rr*; and *ei*, 'his', for Simwnt's *i*. In the text printed in the *Cyfrinach* the grammar and rhetoric are omitted, and only the metrical part included; the arrangement differs slightly from that of the corresponding matter in Ab Ithel's text, but otherwise the two are in almost verbal agreement. M. Loth ought therefore to

¹⁾ Report on Peniarth MSS., p. 946.

have seen that neither text departs substantially from the original. But he did not take the trouble to compare them, for he had been led astray by R. I. Prys's *Hanes Llenyddiaeth Gymreig* (a wretchedly uncritical book) whose author says (p. 311) that he has a transcript of Simwnt's treatise made by one Hugh Roberts in 1772, and proceeds to shew, by comparison with this, how imperfect John Jones's transcript of 1606 must be. The transcript of 1606 reckons only 24 letters in the alphabet, including among them such 'foreign letters' as *k, q, v, x*, and excluding *ch, dd*, etc., whilst the transcript of 1772 gives the recent alphabet of 27 letters, fully and in correct sequence as taught at the present day. These are the arguments which sufficed to convince M. Loth that the transcript of 1606 printed by Ab Ithel is very defective!

Captain Middleton's *Bardhoniaeth* is safe as far as it goes; but it is a mere sketch, and not to be compared in importance with Simwnt Vychan's work. Hence M. Loth makes much more use of it.

For the history of the development of the bardic metres the treatise now called *Dosparth Edeyrn Dafod Aur*, which gives its title to Ab Ithel's volume, is, without exception, the most valuable document we possess; but M. Loth robs it of all value by attributing its composition to the sixteenth century. In order to shew the significance of this work it will be necessary to recount the chief events in the history of the metres in the fifteenth and subsequent centuries. At the Carmarthen eisteddfod of 1451, Dafydd ab Edmwnd was awarded the chair for his re-arrangement of the metres; from that time his system became the authorised one, and the metres described by the sixteenth century grammarians are the twenty-four metres of Dafydd ab Edmwnd. A section of bards from Glamorgan, under the leadership of Gwilym Tew, rebelled against the decision of the eisteddfod,¹⁾ and set up a school of their own,²⁾ which ultimately produced the system of metres set forth in *Cyfrinach Beirdd Ynys Prydain*.³⁾ M. Loth does not

¹⁾ *Barddas* II, p. 60; *Cyfrinach Beirdd* p. 240, 2nd ed. p. 128; and pp. 9, 10, 2nd ed. pp. 13, 14.

²⁾ *Cyfrinach* p. 3, 2nd ed. p. 11.

³⁾ The title *Cyfrinach Beirdd Ynys Prydain* was first given to a Welsh grammar with Latin examples, of which the earliest known copy is in

seem to be aware of any of these things; he says nothing at all about the eisteddfod of 1451, an event which marks an epoch in the history of the metres. Various records of it existed in manuscript, of which Iago ab Dewi made a collection which was published in the *Greal* (London 1805—6) and in the early numbers of the *Brython*. One of these¹⁾ contains the following two statements, which the reader should bear in mind: 1. the system in use *before* 1451 had twenty-four metres, and Dafydd ab Edmwnd simply retained the number; but 2. he substituted for two disused metres two new metres of his own called *cadwyn ver* (properly *cadwynfyr*) and *gorchest y beirdd*. Simwnt Vychan also states that these two metres were invented by D. ab Edmwnd to replace the old ones;²⁾ and Meurig Dafydd, a Glamorgan bard, in his letter to Siôn Mawddwy, takes D. ab Edmwnd's authorship of them for granted.³⁾ In fact these two metres were the bone of contention, and are constantly spoken of as such by the Glamorgan bards. Yet M. Loth says (p. 16) that the invention of *gorchest y beirdd* 'est *peut-être à tort* attribuée à Dafydd ab Edmwnd!' And this is his only reference to the matter.

The bards of Glamorgan not only objected to D. ab Edmwnd's innovations, but wished to retain in the authorised system all the old metres they could discover: Gwilym Tew's *Awdl i Fair* given by J. D. Rhŷs (p. 235) and in *Cyfrinach* (p. 213, 2nd ed. p. 113) contains many of these disused metres. The search for old metres became a craze; when no more could be found, why, they could be invented, just as a demand for old furniture gives rise to a brisk trade in its manufacture. Thus the 'old metres' of Glamorgan multiplied enormously in course of time; but the traditional number of standard metres was twenty-four, hence the bards of Glamorgan conceived the idea of dividing their multitudinous metres into twenty-four *classes* of metres. Thus was formed the Glamorgan system as finally adopted at the 'gorsedd' of Bewpyr in 1681. Its authors arrogated to it the title of 'the ancient system', while that of

the MS. of Guttun Owain mentioned below. It is not a metrical grammar. The bards of Glamorgan appropriated the title for their metrical work.

¹⁾ *Y Greal* p. 60.

²⁾ Dosp. Ed. p. lxxiii.

³⁾ *Y Greal* p. 209.

D. ab Edmwnd they called 'the new system'.¹⁾ His metres, except his *cadwynfyr* and *gorchest*, were undoubtedly old, for are they not contained in the 'ancient' system? but he is accused of wrongly classifying them, e. g. including the *proests* among the *englynion*,²⁾ and of giving them improper names of his own, as *unodl cyrch* for *triban Morgannwg*;³⁾ his *byrr* a *thoddaid*, *cyrch a chwta*, *gwawdodyn byr*, *gwawdodyn hir* were all mis-nomers.⁴⁾ They called his system 'the system of twenty-four stanzas',⁵⁾ thereby implying that 'metre' properly meant not a single form of stanza but a species of stanzas. Iolo Morgannwg goes so far as to say that no one before D. ab Edmwnd ever dreamt of twenty-four metres in the sense of twenty-four forms of stanza.⁶⁾ Iolo succeeded in convincing Gwallter Mechain, among others, of the antiquity of the Glamorgan system; and Gwallter wrote a treatise on the subject, which gained a prize at the eisteddfod of 1819, and which shews how Dafydd ab Edmwnd stole his metres from the 'ancient system', and tried to disguise his theft by mis-naming them. This was the view taken by most Welsh writers on the metres in the nineteenth century, under the influence of Iolo and the 'bardic gorsedd', the sham-druidic institution invented by the Glamorgan bards for the purpose of investing their system with a fictitious authority.

M. Loth, however, though he says nothing of the origin and growth of the Glamorgan school, has not been deceived by its pretensions. He sees quite clearly that the 'ancient system' is not older than its so-called compilers, Meurig Dafydd and Llywelyn Siôn in the sixteenth, and Edward Dafydd in the seventeenth century. He points out what has been pointed out before, that the great majority of the examples of their metres are by seventeenth century writers, and most of the remainder by writers of the sixteenth. This is decisive and final; and no more need be said about the claims of the 'ancient system'. But this, after all, does not dispose of the charges brought

¹⁾ *Cyfrinach* p. 8; 2nd ed. p. 13.

²⁾ *Cyfrinach* p. 151; 2nd ed. p. 80.

³⁾ *Cyfrinach* p. 101, 2nd ed. p. 57.

⁴⁾ *Cyfrinach* pp. 143—148, 153, 154; 2nd ed. pp. 76—78, 81.

⁵⁾ *Cyfrinach* p. 240, 2nd ed. p. 128.

⁶⁾ *Cyfrinach* p. 177 footnote; 2nd ed. p. 93 footnote.

against D. ab Edmwnd; nor does it shew how far the authorised system of twenty-four metres was itself faithful to the traditions of the art.

M. Loth is sceptical about the connection of D. ab Edmwnd with the twenty-four metres. The bards of the sixteenth century were, he says, the 'disciples, *suivant l'opinion courante au seizième siècle*, de D. ab Edmwnt' (p. 18); that is, they *thought* they were, — an opinion which he evidently does not share. He appears to think that the twenty-four metres cannot be as old as the eisteddfod of 1451; for he says (p. 16) of *Dosparth Edeyrn* 'ce traité n'a pu être rédigé, sous sa forme actuelle, avant le commencement du seizième siècle . . . Mais la doctrine de ce traité est certainement, dans son ensemble, plus ancienne que celle dite de Simwnt Vychan. Il n'y est pas question des vingt-quatre mesures.' The only possible inference from this is that the twenty-four metres did not exist as a system at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Now, Llanstephan MS. 28 (formerly Shirburn MS. 119, I. 26) written by Guttun Owain, and dated 1455, 1456 *in his hand*, contains on leaves 6, 7, 8 examples under their several names of the twenty-four metres according to the doctrine 'dite de Simwnt Vychan'.¹⁾ The doctrine, then, obtained in 1455 or 1456; any further doubt as to its date and origin is surely absurd.

Of M. Loth's three remarks on *Dosparth Edeyrn* quoted above one is right, the other two are wrong. Its doctrine is certainly older than that 'dite de Simwnt Vychan', and therefore older than 1451. M. Loth discovered that seven or eight of the examples in it are as old as the fourteenth century. If he had any knowledge of the growth of the *cyngghanedd*, he might have seen that most of the others *must* be as old. But it is not necessary to have recourse to such a round-about way of proving the age of this treatise, which, according to M. Loth (p. 11) 'a été réellement composé au seizième siècle'. The treatise, all except the introduction which attributes it to Edeyrn, *is contained in the Red Book of Hergest*, cols. 1117—1142, and must therefore have been composed before the end of the *fourteenth* century. The only reason given by M. Loth

¹⁾ Guttun Owain's example of *gorchest y beirdd* is incorrect; this may mean that he had not at that time been fully initiated into the bardic art.

for placing it in the sixteenth is that it contains a *cywydd* couplet attributed by Chancellor Silvan Evans to Tudur Aled. How Mr. Silvan Evans came to attribute it to him is a mystery to me; no one with the least knowledge of Tudur and of his *cynganedd* could possibly think it his. The couplet is in the *Red Book*, col. 1134. But in spite of Mr. Silvan Evans's slip, M. Loth has really no excuse for his ignorance; for Ab Ithel prints in his preface (p. xiii) the following note: 'This occurs ... in the Red Book of Hergest pp. 1117, &c. &c., says Iago ab Dewi'. Even the number of the column is correctly given, though entered as page. To publish such a statement and at the same time to print the text from a fourth-hand copy of a seventeenth century transcript is only what we should expect from that egregious quack Ab Ithel; but it was *not* to be expected that M. Loth, with the statement before him, a statement so vital to his conclusions, should pass it carelessly by and utterly neglect to verify it.

It is generally believed that Dafydd ab Edmwnd was the first to propound a system of twenty-four metres; it would therefore not be surprising if M. Loth were right when he says of the older *Dosparth Edeyrn*, 'il n'y est pas question des vingt-quatre mesures'. But curiously enough, even here he is quite wrong: it is his second error in the three sentences above quoted. The treatise, it is true, does not explicitly mention 'twenty-four metres'; but the number of metres it defines is actually *twenty-four*, as the following list, extracted from the printed text, will shew:

- | | |
|---|---|
| I. <i>Englynion</i> . Tri rhyw Englyn Unawdl: 1. Uniawn; | |
| 2. Crwcca; 3. Cyrch (p. xxv) | 3 |
| Tri rhyw Englyn Proest: 1. Proest Dalgron; | |
| 2. Lleddf Broest; 3. Proest Gadwynawg | |
| (p. xxvii) | 3 |
| Englyn o'r Hen Ganiad: 1. o dri geir byrrion; | |
| 2. o bennill hir a phennill byrr (p. xxviii) . . | 2 |
| II. <i>Awdlau</i> . Pump mesur a fu o'r dechrenad: 1. Todd- | |
| aid; 2. Gwawdodyn; 3. Cyhydedd hir; 4. Cy- | |
| hydedd ferr; 5. Rhupunt (p. xxviii) | 5 |

Carried forward 13

	Brought forward	13
Gwedy hymny pedwar eraill: 1. Byrr a Thoddaid;		
2. Gwawdodyn Hir; 3. Cyhydedd Naw ban;		
4. Clogyrnach (p. xxx).	4	
Tri mesur eraill: 1. Hir a Thoddaid; 2. Cyrch a		
Chwtta; 3. Tawddgyrch Gadwynawg (p. xxxi) .	3	
III. <i>Cywyddau</i> . 1. Cywydd Denair Hirion; 2. Cywydd		
Denair Fyrion; 3. Awdl Gywydd; 4. Cywydd		
Llosgyrniawg (p. xxxii)	4	
	Total	24

M. Loth simply did not count them. Indeed he only looked at them in the most casual manner; he says, for instance ‘il n’y a qu’un genre de *gwawdodyn*’: a glance at the table will shew that there are *two*. This is how he deals with the most valuable historically of all his texts. To a writer discussing D. ab Edmwnd’s metres merely for their own sake it would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of this treatise, since it describes the old system of which D. ab Edmwnd’s is but a modification: to M. Loth it was trebly important; firstly for the reason just mentioned, as he treats in this volume of D. ab Edmwnd’s system; secondly, because its system forms the connecting link between the metres of the medieval bards and those of D. ab Edmwnd, and as his purpose is to proceed from the latter to the former, this treatise was the very thing he required; thirdly, because it contains valuable historical matter such as the grouping of the twelve *awdl* metres in the order in which it was believed in the fourteenth century that they had been introduced. The treatise is as if it had been providentially preserved for the special benefit of the inquirer along the path on which M. Loth has set out; but he failed to see its worth, and cast it aside as a useless thing.

In the present paper we are concerned with *Dosparth Edeyrn* only for the first of the reasons named. If we compare its system with that of D. ab Edmwnd, we find that the two statements quoted above from the memorandum concerning the 1451 eisteddfod are substantially correct: 1. the system in use before that eisteddfod *had* twenty-four metres, and 2. D. ab Edmwnd substituted his own two metres for the two forms of

englyn o'r hen ganiad. There is, however, one other change; instead of three kinds of *englyn proest* D. ab Edmwnd counts only two — a more logical division; this enables him to include the *rhupynt hir* in his twenty-four metres. But it is quite possible that that had been done before his time, since *rhupynt hir* was a favourite metre in the fourteenth century, the Red Book containing several examples, among which is (col. 1286) 'Mi a baraf' by Iorwerth ab y Cyriawg, the poem which has supplied the most popular specimen of the metre. It is therefore possible that the memorandum is not only substantially but absolutely correct. We find on the other hand that the accusations brought against D. ab Edmwnd are baseless. The system in use before his time *was* one of twenty-four *stanzas*, not twenty-four classes of stanzas; its classification is the same as his — the *proests* are *englynion*; its metres, except two, are those of his system, and are called by the same names: all the misrepresentations of the Glamorgan bards are exposed, and D. ab Edmwnd's system, not theirs, is proved to be in the direct line of the bardic tradition. Now the relation of the system of twenty-four stanzas, authorised in 1451, to the earlier system, and the allegations with which its authority has been impugned are the main questions which we should expect a writer on the metres of the period to discuss; but M. Loth, so far from discussing them, has apparently never heard that there were any such questions to be discussed. In short, the only thing he sees clearly is that the Glamorgan system is not older than it looks; most of his other conclusions are hopelessly wrong, and the important matters are entirely passed over. His book cannot therefore be said to have any value from the historical standpoint.

But the greater part of the work consists of an exposition of the twenty-four metres, and of the principles of *cynghanedd*. The descriptions of the metres — the number and lengths of the lines in each metre, and the position of the chief rhymes — are mostly taken from J. D. Rhŷs, and are set forth lucidly and accurately. In one case M. Loth has been misled by Gr. Roberts: the second example of *gorchest y beirdd* on p. 109 is not a *gorchest y beirdd* at all.

M. Loth has paid much attention to the lengths of lines; and as each line must have a fixed number of syllables, he has

by counting them discovered the number of syllables in certain words and combinations, to discover most of which no Welshman would think any counting necessary. Thus six pages are devoted to examples shewing that such forms as *i'm*, *i'th*, *a'i*, *o'n*, *a'ch*, *a'r*, *sy'n* are monosyllables. The table of examples of final non-syllabic *w* on pp. 258—9 is more useful; but M. Loth has not discovered that the final *w* is necessarily syllabic in *hwnnw* (like the *o* in *honno*), and in *acw* (medieval *racko*). Referring to the following line from L. G. Cothi, 83,

Gwr yw ac-w o Gruc-aith,

he reckons *acw* rightly as dissyllabic on p. 259, and wrongly as monosyllabic on p. 258; the two references are to the same *acw* in the same line. He mis-counts in quite a number of cases: the *i* is given as syllabic in

Llei-a *i* barch ym mhob lle byth (7 syll., p. 250),

Na liw-ier yw-a *i* le-as (7 syll., p. 251),

where it forms a diphthong with the preceding *a*. In other cases he counts correctly, but draws a wrong inference; the Welsh reader will be astonished to find on p. 183 the footnote 'Lisez *rybuddwyd*' referring to *rybuddiwyd* in the text. The explanation is to be found on p. 265: 'Les verbes au prétérit dit passif, écrit *-iwyd*, sont, en réalité, en *-wyd*: je n'ai pas trouvé une seule exception (*darniwyd*: prononcez *darn'wyd*)'. M. Loth does not see how *-iwyd* can be one syllable; he evidently thinks that the *w* is a consonant, and that *iwyd* must be *i-wyd*. But the *w* in *-wyd* is a vowel, forming a diphthong with the non-syllabic *y*; and when *-wyd* is added to a weak stem the final syllable is necessarily *-iwyd*; thus *can-af*, *can-odd*, *can-wyd*, but *darn-iaf*, *darn-iodd*, *darn-iwyd*, all dissyllables, and so pronounced, with no loss of *i*, at the present day. When however *-wyd* is added to a stem ending in vocalic *i*, the *i-wyd* is dissyllabic; thus from the noun *gwe-ddi* we have the verb *gwe-ddi-af*, *gwe-ddi-odd*, *gwe-ddi-wyd*; and when M. Loth says he has found no single exception to monosyllabic *-iwyd* he has overlooked the following line of Tudur Aled (*Gorch.* p. 233):

Awr ddu er a we-ddi-wyd (7 syll.).

Again, as examples of the elision of the 'particule verbale *a*' rendered necessary by the length of the line, he quotes *efe biau*, *Pwy mwy biau*. M. Loth probably knows that the 'particule' is the relative pronoun; he evidently does not know that the relative in *piau* is *pi*, and that no other relative is ever used with it in good Welsh; e. g. *ef bieu* (*R. B. Mabinogion* p. 27) *y gwrda bieu* (do. 174), *y gwr bieu* (do. 221), *y nep pyeyfo* (*Anc. Laws* I, 196). There is no loss of *a* before *pieu* except to one who is unenlightened enough to expect it.

The section on rhyme is not much more satisfactory. In the bardic metres an unaccented may rhyme with an accented syllable. In the final syllables of the lines of a *cynwydd* couplet, such a rhyme *must* be used; and M. Loth, noticing in this connection such rhymes as *ydycw* and *yw*, *ydycnt* and *ynt*, says 'l'accent, au moins oratoire, était probablement sur *yd*.' Why 'probablement'? The accent *is* on the *yd*, in ordinary everyday speech; and there need be no speculation about it.

Y in monosyllables and final syllables has now the same sound as *u*; but they were originally different. From J. D. Rhŷs's descriptions we gather that *u* had the sound of the French *u*, while *y* had its present sound. These two sounds, though produced quite differently are similar in their effect upon the ear, and have exactly the same pitch;') they must therefore have been early liable to confusion. The bards sometimes rhyme *u* and *y*, thus confusing the sounds; sometimes they form *proests* with them, thus distinguishing between them, for a *proest* requires *different* vowels with the same final consonant. This inconsistency puzzles M. Loth; but the explanation is fairly simple. In final unaccented syllables the sounds were confused as early as the fourteenth century; thus we have in D. ap Gwilym such rhymes as *Prŷdydd Môrfudd*; *bydd* *Grŷffudd*; *yfôry du*; but in accented syllables the difference was preserved down to the end of the sixteenth century, otherwise J. D. Rhŷs could not have defined it with such accuracy and evident truth. For this reason, *u* and *y* are seldom or never rhymed in *two* monosyllables. M. Loth among his examples, p. 174, gives three which seem to disprove this. In the first *dyn lun*, *dyn* is probably a mis-reading for *fun*; the second example, *dyn fun*, is

1) Sweet, *Primer of Phonetics* § 62.

not a rhyme at all but a *proest*, and occurs in a stanza of *proest cyfnewidiog*, actually so named in the margin! (*Gorch.* 120): it is astonishing how frequently M. Loth is guilty of this fatal carelessness; the third *hyll dull* is really *hyll nãwdull* (L. G. C. 281), which is quite a different thing.

Some apparently irregular rhymes are to be explained, as M. Loth says, by the pronunciation of the time; but he does not seem to see that in most cases this is the pronunciation of all times. Examples are given (p. 173) of the rhyming of *-yw* with *-iw*; but all of them consist of words in *-iw* rhyming with *ydyw* or *heddyw*. Of course these words were then pronounced *ydiw*, *heddiw*; but they are still so pronounced, and were so pronounced and written in the fourteenth century (*ydiw*, *Llyfr Ancr* 22, 25; *hediw*, *Mab.* 17; *Bruts* 40, 96; *Llyfr Ancr* 13, 19, 57). On the same page we have several examples of such rhymes as *dig tremyg*; *dig tebyg*. The *-yg* is a mere modern unphonetic spelling; in the fourteenth century they were written *tremic* (*Mab.* 28) *tebic* (do. 164, 213), and to-day the ultima is sounded *-ig* not *-yg*. But M. Loth may be aware of this, though he does not say it. In many cases however he has clearly not been able to check the tampering of editors with their texts: thus he quotes *ni cydwely* from L. G. C. 139. The latter word (in the text *Cydwely*) is not *cydwely* at all, but the place-name *Cydweli* which never had a final *y*: in the Red Book it is written *Ketweli*; see *Bruts*, index.¹) Again he gives *gwenwyn gerwin* from L. G. C. 180 as an example of *-yn* rhyming with *-in*. But in *gwénwyn* the ultima is not *-yn* but *-îwyn*, and *gerwin* is a mere error for *gérwyn* (*-îwyn*). As an example of false rhyme is given (p. 176) *gŵydd* : *newydd*, where *gŵydd* is a mis-writing of *gwŷdd*. He also fancies rhymes where none are meant: surely *rhwydd rhydd* (to which no reference is given, p. 176), is no more intended for a rhyme than *swydd sydd* marked as a rhyme on p. 109, or *lys lwys* so marked on p. 216.

But the least satisfactory part of the book is that which deals with the most important part of the subject, namely the laws of *cynghanedd*. Metre is but the external form, the measurement of the mere dimensions of a stanza: *cynghanedd* is

¹) The Modern spelling *Kidwelly* is English, in which *ll* = Welsh *l*; *y* = Welsh *i*.

its internal structure, the anatomy of its substance. M. Loth devotes about twenty pages to the rules of *cynganedd*, and about eighty to examples, consisting of poems reprinted from the published works of bards from D. ap Gwilym to Eben Fardd, with the correspondences of sound marked in heavy type. These markings shew that M. Loth does not understand the significance of even the rules he gives. The choice of pieces also shews that he knows nothing of the growth of the *cynganedd* and the various times at which restrictions were introduced: thus on p. 216 he quotes from the *Gorchestion* (p. 168) as the work of Deio ab Ieuan Du, a poem which contains a large number of lines in *cynganedd bengoll*. Now Deio ab Ieuan Du flourished about 1480, while this form of *cynganedd* fell into dis-use about a hundred years earlier. The poem is by Davydd Bach vab Madawg Wladeidd, and occurs in the Red Book of Hergest, col. 1255.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and later three kinds of *cynganedd* are in use: 1. *Croes*, with its sub-variety *Traws*; 2. *Sain*; 3. *Llusg*.

In *cynganedd groes* the line is divided into two parts, and the consonants of the first part are repeated in the same order in the second part; but the endings of the two parts, if similarly accented, must be different; thus

Teg edrych | tuag adref: *t g dr ch | t g dr f*.

All the consonants from the beginning of the first part must be repeated; but if the *first* consonant be an *n* it may be passed over, as

Ni bu'n frith | bin o'i frethyn: *n b n f r th | b n f r th n*;
Anllywodraeth | a lledrad: *n ll dr th | ll dr d*.

But any number of consonants may stand unanswered at the beginning of the second part; as

C'awn gerdd | pe cawn un gair: *c n n g rdd | p c n n g r*;
Ganu dim | os Gwen a dau: *g n d m | s g n d*;
Blin ei gwrs | rhwng blaen ag ol: *b l n g rs | rh ng b l n g l*;
Bygwth | y mae'r gloew bigau: *b g th | m r gl b g*,

This kind of *cynghanedd* is called *traws*, because the consonants in the middle are passed *over* in seeking the correspondence. Writers on *cynghanedd* often mark these off from the rest of the line by another stroke. This is convenient; but it is advisable, when it is done, to denote the caesura by a double stroke, as follows:

Canwn gerdd || pe | cawn un gair: *c n n g* rdd || p | *c n n g* r;
Bygwth || y mae'r gloew | bigau: *b g* th || m r gl | *b g* .

M. Loth gives these rules, but does not appear to realise that they were at all binding. He thinks that the parts may be mixed up, or that the line may be divided into four instead of two parts; thus he marks (p. 184)

Rhed fry rhod a thy ei thad,

where the *th* of the first succession comes after the *rh d* of the second, or where there are *two* successions, which of course is absurd. The line is a *cynghanedd sain*, and the repetition of *rh d* is a pure accident, which would not be noticed by any one who knows *cynghanedd*. Again he thinks that any consonant may be intruded into the succession in one part, and that the second part may end long before the end of the line; thus, on the next page, he marks,

Rhown ni ar y paun diwarth,

where a *p* comes between the *r* and the *n* in the second part, and this part ends before *diwarth*. This again is absurd. The line is a *cynghanedd lusg* and there is no correspondence of consonants at all in it.

Moreover, though he gives (from Middleton) the rule admitting unanswered *n* at the beginning, he does not see that its very admission implies that no other consonant is admitted; for he says on the same page (48) that the answering consonant in the first part of the following line is the *second r*, and marks it thus:

O'r awr | y'th welais | erioed.

The first *r* therefore stands unanswered. Now what would be the use of explicitly admitting *n* into this position if *r* or any other consonant can stand in it? He repeats his rules mechanically, without himself taking in their meaning.

The correspondence of consonants is purely phonetic, and was made by ear alone. Thus when one word ends in *d* and the next begins with *h*, the *d h* together are pronounced as *t*, hence they correspond to *t*; thus

Gair teg || a wna | gariad hir. (*Gorch.* 213.)

Similarly *d d* = *t*; and therefore *d h* = *d d*:¹⁾

Nid diofal | un tafod. (T. Aled.)

Taled Duw || ni bydd | tlawd hwn. (Gutto'r Glyn.)

In the same way *b h* = *b b* = *p*; *g h* = *g g* = *c*. A hard and a soft consonant correspond to a hard; thus *t d* = *d t* = *t*, and so for the others, mutes and spirants:

Amrant du || ar f|emrwn teg. (D. ap G.)

I fendith^h Duw | fynd o'i thy. (T. Aled.)

Two similar spirants or nasals coming together count as one; and *h* does not necessarily count. These correspondences M. Loth understands, and explains satisfactorily; but it would be better if he had omitted J. D. Rhys's table (p. 50) which is not accurate throughout, and tends to confuse the learner.

All diphthongs, and nonsyllabic *w* and *i* count as vowels. This M. Loth does not understand so well. He marks a correspondence of *w*'s even when one is a vowel; thus

Canu oedd well | cyn ei ddw̃yn (p. 191.)

Dyrnod gw̃nn | drwy enaid gwawd (p. 191.)

Gwen i neb || pa | gw̃yn a wnaid (p. 187.)

Now the *w* in *ddw̃yn*, in *gw̃nn* and in *gw̃yn* is a pure vowel, and how can a vowel form part of a correspondence of *con-*

¹⁾ These two *d*'s coming together in different words are not to be confused with *dd* written together in a word and forming the symbol for the spirant *ð*.

sonants? It is however true that *w*'s may form a correspondence when both are consonantal.

But, after all, the correspondence of consonants is only half the matter; even more important, if possible, are the rules which determine the accentuation and the disposition of the consonants at the end of each part of the line, and M. Loth has not even suspected that such rules exist. They were undoubtedly taught by ear; and are not given in a direct form in the grammars, but infringements of them are included in the 'prohibited faults', chiefly under the head *Crych a Llyfn¹* (*Dosp. Ed.* p. xcvii). Gr. Roberts wrote that he did not understand these faults, which was very true — he didn't; M. Loth in quoting this remark (p. 9), evidently thinks that, since Gr. Roberts — to him the highest authority — did not understand them, they were incomprehensible, perhaps a sort of calculated nonsense intended by the bards to mystify outsiders. In this he is mistaken; and by his mistake he has neglected the study of the only things from which he might have learnt something about the niceties of *cynganedd*.

The grammarians of the nineteenth century, like their predecessors, teach the rules of accent only indirectly; but they may be stated in a direct form as follows, using ' to denote an accented, and ~ an unaccented vowel.

There are three forms of *croes* or *traws*, which may be named as in the following paragraphs:

1. The *symmetrical accented*. In this form the two parts end in an accented syllable, and all the correspondent consonants must come *before* the accented vowel; thus (from T. Aled, *Gorch.* 249; reprinted, Loth 190):

Saer nid òes | eisiau'r un dŷn: *s r n d ' s | s r n d ' n*;
 Cyfryw ddŷn | cyfarwydd òedd: *c fr dd ' n | c fr dd ' dd*;
 A fai lès | i fil o wŷr: *f l ' s | f l ' r*;
 Penllad || ar bob | pennill òedd: *p n ll ' d || r b b | p n ll ' dd*.

It is seen that in the first example the *r n* come together in the first part and are separated by a vowel in the second; and

¹) Also under the more general heads of *twyll gynganedd* and *cam ossodiad*.

so the *fr* in the second example, and the *nll* in the fourth. The third example also shews that the last consonant of the series need not come immediately before the accented vowel: Simwnt Fychan (*Dosp. Ed.* p. xcvi) gives, as an example of dissimilar vowel arrangement in a perfectly correct line, the following, also from T. Aled:

Byw ar dri | broder o Iâl: *b r dr ' | br d r ' l*.

It does not matter how the consonants come, if they come in the same sequence, and all before the accent. In fact all are as it were grouped together so closely that the interconsonantal spaces are not observed; and the *cynganedd* culminates in the last consonant and the accented vowel; thus, in the first example given above, the force of the *cynganedd* is felt in ... *dò* ... | ... *dÿ* ..., the *d* being heard more than any other consonant in the line. Simwnt Fychan's example of an error (*crych a llyfn*) in a line of this form is

Huw Konwy frÿ | hy kawn fârn: *h k n fr ' | h k n f ' rn*.

But such a fault never occurs in the work of any standard poet; the rule is observed with absolute strictness. M. Loth, as will be seen, has not dreamt of it.

2. The *symmetrical unaccented*. Both parts end in an unaccented syllable; all the consonants before the last accented vowel must be the same; and there must be the same consonant or consonants between it and the last syllable; thus (from the same poem as the four examples above):

Bwrw Dêulwÿn | y brawd ôlăf: *b r d ' l ~ n | b r d ' l ~ f*

Gwarchae ũstŭs | gorchêstjŏn: *g r ch ' st ~ s | g r ch ' st ~ n*

Bwrw ddœ'n ũnmëistr | bardd Nānmŏr:

b r dd n ' nm ~ str | b r dd n ' nm ~ r.

Although *unmeistr* in the last example is in the original text printed correctly as the *cynganedd* requires, M. Loth, in ignorance of what it requires, prints *un meistr*. So in many other cases; as *Seisnîgwledd* (L. G. C., 389) which he prints *seisnig wledd*, departing from the correct text, and spoiling the *cynganedd*.

In this form the consonantal combination between the last two syllables is even more important than the consonant before the accent. When there is no consonant (all diphthongs counting as vowels) between them in one part, there must of course be none between them in the other:

Mewn llëwīg | am Wenlliän: *m n ll ' ~ g | m n ll ' ~ n*;
 Dwr a dàeär | dri diäu: *d r d ' ~ r | d r d ' ~*;
 Dwrn deäu | dyrnod àwën: *d r n d ' ~ | d r n d ' ~ n*;
 Ar ei ddiwëdd | i'r ddàeär: *r dd ' ~ dd | r dd ' ~ r*.

Here the most important correspondence is not a consonant at all, but a hiatus or the absence of a consonant; and so here J. D. Rhŷs's lines, which only join consonants, are a miserable failure. See his figuring of the first example above, quoted by M. Loth, p. 82. The other three examples are from poems reprinted by the latter, pp. 190, 192, 197. Of course, he too has no way of indicating the non-consonantal correspondence. He has not discovered that *cynghanedd* is not so much a repetition of consonants as a recurrence of similar *syllables*. Indeed, we may have a line of this form without a single repeating consonant; the following is cited as an example by Simwnt Vychan (*Dosp. Ed.* p. lxxviii):

Iëuänc || a hael yw | Ýwäin: ' ~ nc || h l | ' ~ n.

L. G. Cothi has a few lines in the symmetrical unaccented form with a faulty disposition of consonants: the stock example given by Simwnt is from him (*Dosp. Ed.* p. xcvi):

Am Röländ || Aber | mårläis: *m r ' l ~ nd || b r | m ' rl ~ s*.

In the poet's works (p. 145) this has been corrected as follows:

Am Örlänt || Aber | Mårläis: *m ' rl ~ nt || b r | m ' rl ~ s*.

But he probably wrote the incorrect form, as he is guilty of the fault more than once. In other bards it is extremely rare: in such a line as the following (*Gorch.*, p. 138):

Ydyw'r àchös | a'i dÿrchäif: *d r ' ch ~ s | d ' reh ~ f*,

the fault is the editor's, not the poet's; for the latter undoubtedly pronounced *drychäif*, making his line correct.

The symmetrical forms of *croes* are called *croes rywiog*, of *traws*, *traws gyferbyn*; but no distinct names have been given in Welsh to the accented and unaccented forms.

3. The *unsymmetrical*. The first part ends in an accented, and the second in an unaccented syllable. The same rule applies as to the last form, so that this is like the last form without the final unaccented syllable of the first part. Examples (from T. Aled, as before):

Gwael fu wýdd | y gelfýddýd: *g l f ` dd | g l f ` dd ~ d*
 Gwnai fýdr || am | gae neu fòdrwý: *g n f ` dr || m | g n f ` dr ~*
 Fynwes gwàwd | fy nysg ýdöedd: *f n s g ` d | f n s g ` d ~ dd*.

In the last example as in many similar cases, M. Loth prints *yd oedd*. If he had known the rule he would not have done so, nor should we have found him hesitating with a 'probablement' about the accentuation of *ydoedd*.

The only difference between this and the symmetrical unaccented form as regards the repetition of consonants is that in this unsymmetrical form, if the accented syllable of the first part ends in two consonants, the second of these *need* not be repeated, but may be regarded as being carried on to the second part, forming a sort of *traws*; thus (from the same poem):

Ar goed àwd||l neu | 'r gwawdòdýn: *r g d ` d || l n | r g d ` d ~ n*.
 Praffa dàd||l | proffwyd ýdöedd: *p r ff ` d ` d || l | p r ff ` d ` d ~ dd*.

The example given by Simwnt Vychan of the fault *crych a llyfn* in the unsymmetrical form is (*Dosp. Ed.* p. xcvi):

Yn y dŵrn | yn dirýnnŷ: *n d ` rn | n d r ` n ~*.

Tested by J. D. Rhŷs's connecting lines or M. Loth's heavy type, such a line would pass as correct, which shews that these methods of indicating the *cynganedd* leave out of account the essence of the matter. They do not point out the *syllabic* resonances.

The unsymmetrical form is called *croes* or *traws ddis-gynedig*.

The above are, stated shortly, the rules of accentuation of the *croes* and *traws*. They are observed with almost unfailing accuracy by the bards, and every *croes* and *traws* is to be read in conformity with them. For example, compounds of *di-*, negative, may be accented in two ways, as *di-fài* or *dî-fâi*; now, the following line (*Flores* 33, 2nd ed. 32) is clearly a symmetrical accented *croes*, and must be read:

Gwr di-fài | o grud i fèdd: *g r d f ' | g r d f ' dd*;

but the following (*Flores* 16, 2nd ed. 16) is as clearly a symmetrical unaccented *traws* and must be read:

Difâi || gennyf | ei dÿfjäd: *d ' f ~ || g n f | d ' f ~ d*.

In the *Flores* the first is printed *di fai*, and the second *difai*, for the compiler well understood the rule.

Of course, these rules also determine in all cases the position of the caesura. An interesting form of *cynghanedd* is that which is called *croes o gyswllt*, in which the second part begins before the first ends; thus (*Iolo Goch* 212, *Loth* 185):

Y gwr a ddüg | arwydd iäch: *g r dd ' g | r dd ' ch*.

The *g* of *ddug* which ends the first part (differing from the *ch* which ends the second part) is also the beginning of the second part, corresponding to the *g* of *gwr*. Such a line is sometimes, for clearness' sake marked thus:

Y gwr a ddü|g arwydd iäch: *g r dd ' |g r dd ' ch*.

But this can only be done in the simplest forms; sometimes the two parts overlap to the extent of one or two syllables. It is better to mark always the end of the first part (here after the *g*) than the beginning of the second (here before the *g*). Gr. Roberts calls this *g* '*dau-wynebog*', 'two-faced', and M. Loth adopts the term. But more than one consonant may be *dau-wynebog*, and in such cases M. Loth marks none of them. On the same page as the line just quoted we have

Rufain dwg eirf | yn dy gylch: *r f n d g ' rf | n d g ' lch*,

in which he leaves the *r f* unmarked in both positions; in fact, in this ingenious line he discerns nothing more than a correspondence of *d* and *g*. In other cases he imagines a *croes o gyswllt* in an ordinary *croes*; thus (p. 188) referring to the line

O deffry aed i offrwm,

he says in a footnote '*d de aed est dauwynebog*'. He fancies that the caesura comes after *aed*, and goes out of his way to say so. Verily he 'darkeneth counsel by words without knowledge'. The line is a plain symmetrical unaccented *croes*:

O dëffrÿ | aed i ôffrŵm: *d* ` *ffr* ~ | *d* ` *ffr* ~ m,

and there is no other possible way of reading it. The *d* is not *dau-wynebog* at all, but belongs wholly to the second part.

J. D. Rhÿs usually marks the caesura wrongly in the *traws*, and M. Loth reproduces his wrong markings; he gives, for example, on p. 82, the following, which is only one out of three in the same four-lined stanza:

Mae Rhys heb gael | mwy o'r hun.

The line is, of course,

Mae Rhÿs || heb gael | mwy o'r hùn: *m rh* ` s || b g l | *m r h* ` n.

In his own eighty pages of markings he does not indicate the caesura in any *croes* or *traws*; in many cases he shews that he has no idea of a caesura at all. Over and over again in *cynganedd draws* he marks some of the consonants which are to be passed over after the caesura; thus to take only two examples, he has

Udo 'r wyf mor fud yr aeth (p. 187);
Pair rannu er nas prynan (p. 189).

The lines are symmetrical *traws*, thus:

Udo'r wÿf || mor f|ud yr àeth: *d r* ` f || m r f | *d r* ` th;
Pair rànnũ || er nas | prÿnän: *p r* ` n ~ || r n s | *p r* ` n ~ n.

M. Loth has gone about seeking what consonants he might mark; and he has marked them — with no rule or principle to guide him.

There is no simpler rule than that which determines the placing of consonants in a symmetrical accented *croes* or *traws*, a rule observed unerringly by the bards; and there is no rule through ignorance of which M. Loth has committed more blunders. As above stated, the consonants must all come *before* the final accented vowel, and the *next* before it is the most important. This consonant alone suffices if none precedes it: *cynganedd* is not a jumble of repeated consonants placed anyhow, as M. Loth's markings suggest; one consonant, if properly placed, will do; thus, from D. ap Gwilym (III, IV):

Ar iàwn || i Wynedd | yr wŷf: *r* ' n || n dd | *r* ' f;
 I'w lŷs || yn cael gwin | o'i làw: *l* ' s || n c l g n | *l* '.

Now the word *eriòed* is a dissyllable accented on the ultima, and the following line is plainly of the same form as the above:

O'r àwr || y'th welais | eriòed: *r* ' r || th l s | *r* ' d;

it would be just as correct if written

O'r ùn || a welais | eriòed: *r* ' n || l s | *r* ' d.

But M. Loth not only marks the wrong *r*, but states in so many words (p. 48) '*R de o'r n'est pas accentué; l'allitération est entre awr et erioed*'! Here he suspects some law of accent; he hazards a guess at it, and a very bad guess it is. The *r* of *o'r* comes *before* the accent, which is what this form of *traws* requires in a repeating consonant. We have seen for another reason that the first is the repeating *r*. The above is only one out of a number of lines similarly marked by M. Loth; another is (p. 269)

O bur wir || ni | bu air wàeth: *b r* ' r || n | *b r* ' th,

where he marks as the repeating consonant the *r* of *wir* instead of the *r* of *bur*, and ignores the latter.

Again on p. 186 he prints from Iolo Goch:

Cwncwer walau cwn Caerludd,

with the consonants duly marked; but *Caerlùdd* is accented on the ultima, hence the *l* of the first part should also come before the accent, which of course it does not in *wàlau*. The line is printed correctly in Ashton's text from which M. Loth has taken his:

Cwncwer wal àu | cwn Caerlùdd: *c n c r l ' | c n c r l ' dd*,

where *au* is the mutation of *gau* 'false'.

Another inept emendation appears on p. 188, where M. Loth prints

Nos da itt nis dywaid honn;

and in a footnote, 'Texte *i ti*: *t*' est en rapport exact avec *t = dh*'. It is true that here, as usual, *d h = t*; but why did M. Loth change *i ti* into *itt*? He evidently did not see that *da i* could be one syllable, so he thought the line too long, and took out the *i* of *ti*, which can be done without harm to the sense, but which simply destroys the *cynghanedd*. In the 'texte' the line was perfectly correct:

Nos da i ti | nis dywaid honn: n s d t ' | n s d t ' n.

The accented vowels are second in importance only to the consonant which precedes them; the syllabic correspondence *tì | tò* is the very life of this *cynghanedd*, and M. Loth snuffed it out. The counting of syllables did the mischief here. If he is still in any doubt as to *da i* forming one syllable, let him count the syllables of the following line, which, being in a *cywydd*, should have seven; it occurs in *Gorch.* 177:

Nos da i walch o-nest y Waun;

or of this *cywydd* line printed by himself (p. 271):

Llys da i gla', llys di-au glod.

A slight acquaintance with the modern literature of the subject might have saved him from this bad bungle, for the line which he mutilates is actually one of the two examples given in Bardd Nantglyn's *Gramadeg* (3rd ed., 1826, p. 152) of contraction giving a line of right length.

There is one other point to be noticed in connection with M. Loth's markings of *croes* and *traws*. The underlying principle of *cynghanedd groes* is the repetition of the same consonants with varying vowels.¹⁾ The repetition of the same vowels is as far as possible avoided; if a symmetrical unaccented line has the vowels in both the accented and final unaccented syllable repeated, it counts as a fault called *rhy debig*; thus,

Byd rhyfedd | yw bod rhyfel.

If the repetition occurs in the accented syllable only, it is called *tebig*; and though not a fault is still a weakness. Before the accented syllable it is not noticed. Now, wherever M. Loth sees, or fancies he sees the same vowel in the same position in the two parts of a *croes* or *traws*, he marks it as a correspondence; as

Debre'n iach | da wybren w̃yd (p. 184);

Trwy wylt dan || a'r | tair rhwyll dŵr (p. 185).

In the second example the vowel is *not* the same, for in *wylt* the vowel is *y*, in *rhwyll* it is *w*. Huw Morus (17th century) has a few in the accented syllable:

Gwaith ðfer || im | gaeth ðfyn (p. 270);

Cyfiawnder f̃ynni | cyfan derf̃ynau (p. 274).

These vowels are marked by M. Loth *as part of the cynghanedd*; in the second line *nder fyn* is all marked in both parts. Thus a failing is exalted into a virtue; and the blind is led into the ditch.

The second kind of *cynghanedd* is called *cynghanedd sain*. In this, the line is divided into three parts; the ends of the first two parts rhyme; and the second and third part together form a *croes* or *traws* whose caesura coincides with the end of the second part; thus:

Gwrês | mynych lês | Mon achlân.

¹⁾ 'Kyd atdeb kydsseiniaid a chyfnewid bogaliaid.' S. Vychan, *Dosp. Ed.* p. lxxiv.

Here *gwrês* rhymes with *lês*; and *mynych lês* | *Mon achlân* is a symmetrical accented *croes*. In this example all the consonants except the last of the second part are repeated in the third as in the two parts of an ordinary *croes*; but in a *cynghanedd sain* the rule is not so exacting; of the consonants coming before the accent it is not necessary that more than the *last* should be repeated:

Angall | fal *dall* | a *dŵyllŵr*;
A minnau | ar y *gàu* | *gŷnt*.

The first part of a line of *sain* may end in an accented or an unaccented syllable quite independently of the second and third parts.

The short *croes* in the last two parts may have four forms, two symmetrical and two unsymmetrical, as follows (the examples being taken from poems reprinted by M. Loth):

1. *Symmetrical accented*; as

Yr awr hon | dros y frôn | *frŷ* (p. 182);
Saer drycin | ym min | y *môr* (p. 184);
Gwae fi | pan roddais i | *sêrch* (p. 184);
Er hyd | yn y bŷd | y *bŵyf* (p. 184).

2. *Symmetrical unaccented*; as

Yr wybrwynt | *hêlŷnt* | *hŷlŵw* (p. 182);
Cyhuddgwyn | *wênŵyn* | *wênŷ* (p. 183);
Seithug | *eisingrŷg* | *songrŷ* (p. 183);
Gobrudd | ar *Fôrŷudd* | *fêurfêrch* (p. 184).

3. *Unsymmetrical unaccented*, so naming it from the character of the last syllable of the line; as

Gwyr yr eglwys | *lŵys* | a *lŷsŷr* (p. 224);
A'r bugail | *di sâl* | *dŵys hôlŷr* (p. 224);
Aml rhyngom | och *drôm* | *drâmâwr* (p. 224);
Gwr hyborth | i *bôrth* | *abêrthâwg* (p. 227).

4. *Unsymmetrical accented*; as

Dy hynt | *ogleddwŷnt* | y *glŷn* (p. 183);
Sych natur | *creâdŷr* | *crâŷ* (p. 183);
Seuthydd | ar *forëddŷdd* | *frŷ* (p. 183);
Yn y wledd | *rhŷfëdd* | *barhâu* (p. 190);
Saith long | a saith *gânllong* | *gwŷch* (p. 185).

No names have been given in Welsh to these four forms. The first three are the same as regards accentuation and the disposition of consonants as the three forms of the ordinary *croes*; the fourth form is not admitted except in *sain*. In this fourth form it is only necessary, as shewn in the fifth example, that the last consonant before the accent should be repeated, though in such combinations as *gl*, *cr* the two are usually repeated. This form therefore requires no more consonantal correspondence than the first (or symmetrical accented) form; it is easier than the latter because there is a greater choice of polysyllables than of monosyllables with the proper ending for the rhyme, and the requisite consonant before the accent; hence it will be found that this fourth form is the commonest form of *sain*.

But in the fourth form the consonant *after* the accent *may* also be repeated (as it *must* be in the third form); thus

Rhuad | *blin* dðriäd | *blaen* dâr (p. 183);

Hauwr | *dylùdŵr* | *dail* wÿd (p. 184).

though it is perhaps doubtful that these final consonants should be regarded as part of the *cynghanedd*.

M. Loth of course knows nothing of these things. He usually marks the rhyme and the corresponding consonants in his examples, but does not mark the caesura or the accent. Where it was possible to go wrong with the latter he has done so; for instance, he prints *saith gan llong* instead of *saith ganllong* in the line quoted above. It is needless to say that Ashton's text, which M. Loth professes to reproduce, and also the *Gorchestion* text which he compares, have both *ganllong*. In this line he also marks *saith* and *saith*, and one (!) *l* of *llong* to correspond presumably to the *l* of *long* at the beginning of the line. As if a simple sound like *ll* could be divided into two halves and one of these be equated with another and a different sound! Is it confusion of thought, or mere ignorance of Welsh phonetics? A similar absurdity is mentioned below p. 136, footnote.

In many cases he does not see the rhyme of the *sain* at all. Thus on page 189 he has these two lines, marked as follows:

Gorau perchen a'r wên wiw;

Fe borthai yn ei dai da.

In the first the consonantal *w*'s are marked correctly; but under what conceivable rule the two *r*'s are marked the writer cannot guess. In the second line the rhyme is missed, but there did not happen to be an accidental repetition of consonants to be ridiculously marked. The lines are

Gorau per**chen** | a'r *w***èn** | *w*iw.
Fe borth**ai** | yn ei *d***ài** | *d*à.

In some cases M. Loth imagines a *sain* where no *sain* is meant; as in the following *traws* (p. 197):

O'r *b*ỳd || ond fy *h*yd | o'r *b*èdd.

Here he marks *byd* and *hyd* as a rhyme. It is indeed a rhyme, but a purely accidental one, for who ever heard of a *sain* in which the correspondence of consonants is between the first and third parts? It would be tedious to quote examples of all M. Loth's wrong ways of marking the *sain*; but it may be noted that here also as in the *croes* he marks vowels as part of the *cynganedd* where their repetition tends rather to impair than to improve it; as (p. 190),

Y Cymro *r*oddo ar ol.

Here the rhyme is missed, and the accented vowel marked because it is unfortunately the same in the two parts. The line is

Y Cymro | *r*òdd**o** | ar òl.

It would be better if it were

Y Cymro | *r*èd**o** | ar òl.

Thus where a correspondence is not wanted M. Loth marks it; where it is essential he leaves it unmarked.

There is a by-form of *cynganedd sain* called *sain gadwynog*. In this the part after the first rhyme is a *traws* whose caesura does not coincide with the second rhyme; thus

Morfudd | mèrch bedydd | Mài.

The caesura of *mêrch* bedydd *mài* comes of course after *mêrch*. This form is somewhat rare in the fifteenth century. I have noticed only one example in M. Loth's reprints, and in that he does not mark the rhyme. It is

Son **am** | *bÿs* Wili**am** | *bêis*ir (p. 193).

The third kind of *cynganedd* is called *llusg*. In this the line is divided into two parts. The second part must end in a word of more than one syllable, the last being unaccented; and the final syllable (accented or unaccented) of the last word of the first part must rhyme with the accented penult of the second. There is *no* correspondence of consonants at all in *cynganedd lusg*. Thus:

Fe a borthes | yr lêsŷ;
Y wledd a gad | yn âdail;
Mwy'r wyl | nag yn y ddwylŷs;
Arall | a wnaeth Caswâllawn;
Ugain mil | o fwystfilëdd;
Ar bob allawr | yr âwrân;
Pe bai gan mil | yn ddilŷs;
Pe bai'r ddaear | yn fâră.

All these are from the same *cywydd* reprinted by M. Loth (pp. 189, 190); and all are unmarked by him. There is another in the same *cywydd*, which he marks:

A'i fwtler | yw'r pedwêrŷdd.

It might be thought that the omission to mark the other eight is due to mere carelessness. Even if that were true it would be rather a sorry excuse; but it is clearly not true. M. Loth has not seen the rhyme, and has cast about for consonants to mark. In the first example given above, he marks the *r* of *borthes* and the *r* of *yr*! In the second he marks the two *d*'s; in the third he marks the two *l*'s; but not the rhyme at all. Again he has not seen the rhyme in

Bwrw brawd**wr** | y gerdd**wr**ăeth;

and so has set about marking the consonants, and prints the line thus (p. 191):

Bwrw brawdwr y gerddwriaeth.

What sort of a *croes* is this? Where is the caesura? How can *d* correspond¹⁾ to *dd* (= *ð*)? There is nothing in the line but the rhyme *wr*, which M. Loth does not mark. No one acquainted with *cynghanedd* would notice any consonant in the line, or would dream of looking for *cynghanedd* in the conglomeration of sounds marked by M. Loth.

But even when he does see the rhyme of the *llusg* he marks any consonants he can find accidentally repeated in it. For example in the line

F'athro Gruffudd | o'th guddiwyd

he marks the rhyme, but also marks the *th* and the *g* which happen to be repeated (p. 197), though in one part there is an *r* between them and in the other not. Wiliam Llŷn, who wrote the line, certainly never saw this correspondence of consonants which M. Loth marks.

There is, it must be repeated, no correspondence of consonants beyond the rhyme in *llusg*; the correspondence in *croes* and *sain* is not a hap-hazard repetition of consonants mixed up with others not repeated; all repeating consonants must be arranged with reference to the accented syllable strictly in accordance with the rules given above.

Enough has been said to shew that M. Loth does not understand the elements of what he professes to teach. He marks only consonants and rhymes; he constantly marks fortuitous repetitions and leaves indispensable correspondences unmarked. But even if all his markings were correct, they are of little use. They ignore the important features of *cynghanedd*, and shew nothing more than an ill-informed reader could easily see for himself. Anyone can copy out a *cwydd* from a printed book and underline any consonants that appear to be repeated. But consonantal *cynghanedd* is more than a repetition of consonants; the varying vowel is just as necessary a part of it,

¹⁾ In the line Hiraethog ddoeth | o doeth | d'oes, M. Loth marks *one d* of *dd* to correspond to the other *d*'s. Now, no correspondence is required in the first part of a *sain*; and if it were required how could one half of a spirant (*dd* = *ð*) correspond to a mute? Why does not he see that *cynghanedd* is for the ear, not for the eye?

especially the accented vowel round which the consonants are grouped, and which gives point and meaning to the whole series. M. Loth's markings do not indicate the end of any series, or any of the important inter-consonantal spaces, and so do not really exhibit the *cynghanedd* at all. He did not know that anything coming *between* the consonants was of any significance. In Algebra, *a b c x y z* are no doubt important, but they have no meaning apart from the signs placed between them: M. Loth writing on *cynghanedd* is as one who should undertake to write a book on Algebra before discovering that + and — mean anything in particular.

To be of any use to the student, the marking of *cynghanedd* should include not only rhymes and repeated consonants, but caesuras and essential accents. The kind and form of *cynghanedd* should also be noted in the margin. We might use C. for *croes*, C. g. for *croes o gyswllt*, T. for *traws*, S. for *sain*, and Ll. for *llusg*; and the numerals 1, 2, 3, 4 for the forms of *croes* and *sain*; thus adopting the order given above, C. 1. would mean a symmetrical accented *croes*; T. 2. a symmetrical unaccented *traws*; S. 4. an unsymmetrical accented *sain*. Thus, in the first lines of Wiliam Llŷn's *cywydd* (*Gorch.* 293) reprinted by M. Loth (p. 195), the *cynghanedd* might be indicated as follows:

Y bardd bàch uwch beirdd y bŷd, . . .	T. 1.
Och, nad ÿdŷch yn dwèdŷd! . . .	C. g. 2.
Gruffudd bràff, graffaidd bröffŷyd, . . .	C. 3.
Gweddw yw'r iàith, ai 'm guddio 'r wŷd? . . .	T. 1.
Ba dir hŷnt, o baud yr hàwg, . . .	C. 1.
Bwrdd yr iàith, bardd Hiràethàwg? . . .	C. 3.
Dewi 'r bèirdd ni d o air bòst, ¹⁾ . . .	T. 1.
Dyblwr iàith Duw, ble 'r àethöst? . . .	C. 3.
Os i ryw daith drùdfaith drò, . . .	S. 4.
Ond hìr yr wyd yn tàriö? . . .	T. 3 (<i>dh = t</i>)
O Duw dèg od ydwyd iàch . . .	T. 1.
Ddi-bàll pam na ddoi bèllàch? . . .	T. 3.
Os claf broffwyd bràf ei brŷd, . . .	S. 1.
Claf yw àddŷsg celfŷddŷd . . .	C. 2.

¹⁾ The old authorities usually regard such a line as this as a *croes* with initial *n* passed over in the *second* part.

Od àethöst i le dèthöl,	T. 2.
Y gwawd a'r dÿsg aed ar d'öl	C. g. 1.
Hiraethog ddoeth o ddoeth d'òes	S. 1.
Hiràethög fydd rhai wÿthões!	T. 2.
Ni welais gàm o'th dràmŵy	Ll.
Er ys mis nac er ys mŵy;	T. 1.
Gelwais àrnäd gloes òerni,	C. 2.
Och Fàir, na ateb ych fi	T. 1.

In the following lines from D. Nanmor's *cywydd* (*Gorch.* 149), reprinted by M. Loth (p. 190), the *cynganedd* is more varied:

Pe bai gan mîl yn ddilÿs	Ll.
O erydr rhif ar dir Rhÿs,	C. 1.
A thrichan gwinllan a gwin	S. 4.
Ag yn màlû gan mèlîn; ¹⁾	C. 2.
Pe bai'r ddaear yn fârä,	Ll.
Neu flas dŵr fâl osai dà, ²⁾	C. 1 (—n).
Yn y wledd rhÿfedd barhau	S. 4.
Dwr a dæär dri dïäu	C. 2.
Pan fo'r tri llû 'n dygnüäw ³⁾	Ll.
Ar drôm farn Olifer dräw, ⁴⁾	T. 1.
Y tëlir er nas tâlŵyd	T. 2.
I Rys fäint a roes o fŵyd	C. 1.

If *cynganedd* were a lost art; and if M. Loth, by a study of extant examples and the obscure direction-books of the old craftsmen, were laboriously recovering for us its forgotten principles, we might be grateful for his book, though his astounding carelessness in a work demanding mathematical accuracy could not escape us. But *cynganedd* is not a lost art: it flourishes

¹⁾ The *Gorch.* text has *melyn*, which M. Loth reprints, shewing that he did not understand the line. It also affords another example of his carelessness, for the misprint in the *Gorch.* is corrected in its list of *errata*.

²⁾ *Minus n* (—n) may be adopted as a convenient formula to denote initial *n* passed over; see above p. 120.

³⁾ A better reading is *llu'n* | *dihunaw*, as in Mostyn MS. 136.

⁴⁾ M. Loth did not see that *Olifer* is a proper name — Mount Olivet; and so prints it with a small initial.

very vigorously at the present time, and scores of living bards practise it. The chair of the National Eisteddfod is still awarded every year for a poem in its metres; from twelve to twenty poems are usually sent in, sometimes more; to say nothing of the numerous shorter pieces which the minor competitions attract.¹⁾ In addition to the National Eisteddfod, dozens of local eisteddfodau and literary meetings are held every year, in almost all of which a prize is offered for at least an *englyn* in strict *cynghanedd*. I have before me some notes which I wrote for an adjudication in a competition at a local eisteddfod held at Llangefni some years ago on a *cywydd* on the subject of *Y fellten*, 'the lightning-flash'. A few lines may be quoted to shew how modern ideas, and even good poetry, are now expressed in the best *cynghanedd* of the sixteenth century. One of the competitors wrote:

Dal y fellten | wèñ | i wàith. . . S. 1.
 A'i ffrw̃ynŏ | a pheirìanwäith . . C. 2 (*ff* = *ph*).
 All dyfais dyn; | èñfyn | hi . . . S. 4 (*nè* | *nli*).
 Trwy ddistàwrŵydd | a'i stòrĭ . . C. g. 2.

'Man's invention can control the white lightning for work, and curb it with machinery; he sends it in silence with his story.'

The last line is a *croes o gyswllt* in which the two parts overlap to the extent of two syllables. The first part is

Trwy ddistàwrŵydd: *t r dd st ` r ~* dd;

the second part is

-tawrwydd a'i stòrĭ: *t r dd st ` r ~*.

The practised ear readily catches the *t r dd* which play a double part in the line. But the line may also be read as a *sain*, for a rhyme in *cynghanedd* may be formed by bringing forward an initial consonant, since in speech there is no pause between words; thus:

Trwy dd|istàwrwydd | a'i stòrĭ. . . S. 2.

¹⁾ There are nearly always more entries in the chair, than in the crown competition (the latter being awarded for a poem in the free metres), as is seen by a list in the current (July) number of *Cymru*. The present year (1901) is no exception.

These miracles of *cynganedd* are the commonplaces of present-day verse. The following are a few lines from the *cywydd* which was awarded the prize:

Hon yw'r fölltiög glae r felltën . . .	T. 2 (—n).
A'i dreigiöl n\y'd rwyg ael nèn . . .	C. g. 1.
Yn agenmau hölltau hÿf, . . .	S. 4.
A'i chlöddiö fel a chlēddÿf . . .	T. 2.
Cymyl yn ei hÿmyl hì . . .	S. 4.
Wna 'n garpiog wlànog lènnĩ . . .	S. 2 (nn = n).
.	
Mesürä bob ge m sèrën . . .	T. 2.
Ac fe'u pasia gÿda gwèn . . .	S. 4.
.	
Ar un naid eangd er nèn . . .	T. 1 (nn = n).
All wthiö dan ei llathën . . .	T. 2.
Y lem, seth, wÿllt ff lamsaeth wèn . . .	T. 1.
Dery sòbrwÿdd dros wÿbrën . . .	C. 2.

'This is the dart-like brilliant lightning which with its dragon's rage rends the brow of heaven in rifts and bold clefts, and hews it as with a sword. Clouds near it it makes into tattered woolly palls . . . It measures every gem-star, and passes them with a smile . . . At one bound it can press the expanse of heaven under its measuring-rod. The keen, straight, wild, white arrow of flame strikes terror through the welkin.'

The author of these lines died a few months ago. He was a common letter-carrier, who went by the bardic name of Dewi Glan Teifi.

M. Loth takes Dewi Wyn and Eben Vardd as representing the bards of the nineteenth century, and states that their *cynganedd* is imperfect, being frequently marred by such faults as *proest i'r odl*. This statement, like so many of M. Loth's is groundless; there is really no such thing as *proest i'r odl* anywhere in Dewi Wyn or Eben Vardd. The *cynganedd* is probably even more popular now, and a knowledge of it more widely diffused than in the time of Eben and Dewi sixty or seventy years ago.

The description of *cynganedd* given in this article contains nothing which is not implied by the common practice of living

writers. Recondite questions have been necessarily avoided, and only main principles known to every eisteddfod bard are dealt with. Of course, the formulation of them is new; the classification of *croes* into three and *sain* into four forms according to accentuation has not before been explicitly made, nor have the rules for the disposition of consonants with respect to the accented syllable been explicitly stated. But implicitly every writer of *cynganedd* knows all these things perfectly well, and acts upon them. He writes by ear rather than by rule; he has read thousands of lines in the bardic metres, and his ear has impressed their forms upon his mind. The lines themselves may be forgotten, but the impressions of their forms remain, and become the moulds into which the bard pours his new molten metal. He takes first one and then another as they happen to suit his purpose; but though he uses them all, he may not have classified or even counted them. In time, of course, he learns the rules, which he easily understands, as they only enunciate more definitely what he already knows; but he no more begins by studying rules than he begins to speak by studying grammar. The analogy may be carried a step further: the principles of language when reduced to grammatical rules appear so artificial that it would be difficult to believe, did we not know it to be a fact, that they are instinctively observed by every ordinary speaker; in the same way, *cynganedd*, when set forth as a series of rules appears much more artificial than it really is. An average reader of Welsh poetry, with a fairly quick ear but with no special knowledge, could detect such faults as some of M. Loth's emendations, though he could not give the why and wherefore, just as he might recognise a faulty sentence without being able to give a grammatical reason. In both cases he perceives that it is not what he is accustomed to: his ear tells him that it is wrong.

M. Loth's ear tells him nothing about *cynganedd*. The chime of similar syllables, which (and not mere recurring consonants) constitutes the main element in its music, is an effect which he has never heard even in imagination; so that *cynganedd* properly speaking does not exist for him at all. He has read the rules in the old text-books; but those rules were written for men to whom the thing itself is a reality. They abound in technical terms, most of which M. Loth does not

comprehend; and yet he had the assurance to sit down and write a book on the subject. The disdain with which he has ignored every modern work on the subject has kept him entirely unaware of the extent to which the art is still known and cultivated; and the complacent assumption that what he did not understand must necessarily be nonsense prevented him from seeing that while he was engaged with the husks of *cynghanedd* the kernel of the matter was hidden from him.

POSTSCRIPT. Since the above article was put in type, the first part of the second volume of *La Métrique Galloise* has appeared, dealing with the system of the ninth to the fourteenth century inclusive. This volume stands upon a different plane from the first. In the first volume the author endeavours to expound a known and still current system, he himself being much in the dark about it, and apparently imagining everybody else to be equally benighted: the result is ludicrous; if the volume had been written in Welsh it would be the laughing-stock of intelligent letter-carriers who dabble in poetry. But in the second volume he deals with an obsolete and little known system; and his mistakes will not at any rate call forth the derision of the ordinary reader. The work is divided into two sections: *metres* and *cynghanedd*. In the first volume we found the section on metres satisfactory; in the second volume also, his analysis of metrical forms is fairly accurate. The *cynghanedd* of this period being looser, the section devoted to it too is, as far as it goes, more adequate. But in both divisions of the subject there is little or no attempt to trace the development of the earlier system into that of the fifteenth century, such as we had been led to expect by his remark in the first volume that he starts from the latter system in order to proceed from the known to the unknown. There is no ordered progression from one to the other. The reason is, in the case of the metres, that he loses sight of the most important step in the development, as furnished by the Red Book treatise; in the case of the *cynghanedd*, that the later system is not properly known to him. To proceed from the known, the first requisite is that it be known.

Bangor.

J. MORRIS JONES.

FLED BRICREND NACH DEM CODEX VOSSIANUS.

Jerome Stone, der erste, der in der Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts in England die Teilnahme für gälische Dichtung zu wecken suchte, hat eine schottische Ballade aufgezeichnet, die er *a' chios chnàmha* betitelt. Sein von Prof. Mackinnon (Invern. Soc. 14, 346) veröffentlichter Text ist mit einem von J. F. Campbell abgedruckten (Leabhar na Féinne p. 166 b) im wesentlichen gleichlautend. Den Gegenstand dieses Gedichtes vom 'Knochen-tribut' bildet ein Streit, der unter den Fianna zwischen Goll mac Morna und Cairell, einem Sohne des Finn mac Cumail, über das Ehrenstück der Tafel, den Markknochen, entbrannte. Dieser gebührte als *cìos treunfhir* von Rechts wegen dem starken Goll, und viel erkühnte sich der junge Kämpfe, da er ihn so leidenschaftlich für sich beanspruchte.

Ge be bheireadh uaim an smior,
a chionn is nach b' ann dom' dheòin,
breiteach bheirinn ris a' chnàimh,
gu là bhràth nach blaisinn feòil.

'Wenn einer mir das Mark wegnimmt', ruft er aus, 'wofern es nicht mit meinem Willen ist, so schwöre ich bei dem Knochen, dass ich niemals wieder Fleisch kosten will!' Es kommt zu einem scharfen Kampfe, der nach Duncan Kennedys freier Nachdichtung (denn die Ballade ist nicht vollständig erhalten) für den Schwächern einen tödlichen Ausgang gehabt hat. Das Volkslied nennt den Ehrenpreis '*cnàimh an dàimh aillidh 'san tshabh*', aber nach umlaufender Erzählung bestand er vielmehr

in einem köstlichen Gerichte, über das Kennedy das Nähere weiss: es war ein ausgesuchtes Schnitzelstück, gehackt, mit Mark gemengt, mit Kräutern gewürzt, und hiess *mirmora* oder richtiger, wie er hinzufügt, *mircorra*.

Dieser Heldentribut der Fianna ist nichts anderes als das *curathmír* 'das Heldenstück', das beim Festschmause der Ulter im Hause jenes Erzschehms Bricre eine so wichtige Rolle gespielt hat. Unter den Helden der Ultersagen kam es Cúchulainn zu, der der 'fortissimus heros' seiner Zeit war. Auch diese Märe ist wie so manche andere Züge von dem ältern Kreise um König Conchobar auf den jüngern ossianischen übertragen worden. Was in der Erzählung, die nach philologischer Schätzung aus dem 8. Jahrhundert herrühren möchte, nach irischer Gewohnheit ins Gigantische und Unglaubliche gezeichnet ist, nähert sich in der Ballade wieder dem Menschlichen und Natürlichen, ja man darf sagen dem Historischen.

Denn schon bei den Celten, die uns Griechen und Römer nach dem Leben geschildert haben, war es Brauch, dass beim gemeinsamen Mahle das *curathmír* dem Stärksten zugehörte, so wie es beim Athenäus heisst, *ὅτι παρατιθέντων κολήρων τὸ μῦθον ὁ κράτιστος ἐλάμβανε*. Schon damals kam es bei der Zuteilung zu Kampf und Todschlag, und was uns Fled Bricrend in der mittelirischen Sage und 'der Knochentribut' in der ossianischen Poesie darstellen, beruht so gewissermassen auf einer uralten Überlieferung.

Durch neue Beiträge angeregt, die in den letzten Jahren das Verständnis des Textes im allgemeinen und im einzelnen gefördert haben (ich erwähne R. Thurneysens¹⁾ Übersetzung), wendet man sich gern wieder der Fled Bricrend zu. Zur Lösung der mancherlei Fragen, die im Verlauf über die Sprache und die Fassung des merkwürdigen Denkmals aufgeworfen wurden, möchte in ihrem Zusammenhange auch die zweite Recension dienlich sein, die zwar in sprachlicher Hinsicht gegen die erste im Leabhar na huidhri unendlich zurücksteht, die aber in der Anordnung der Teile vor jener den Vorzug verdient. Dazu hat sie doch auch nicht selten eine ältere Sprachform und hier und dort eine bessere Lesart bewahrt. Das veranlasst mich nun, für die Leser der Zeitschrift den Leidener Codex, der zwar nicht

¹⁾ Sagen aus dem alten Irland, Berlin 1901, S. 25 ff.

vollständig, aber mit 82 Kapiteln von den drei Exemplaren der zweiten Recension der umfangreichste ist, ganz zu edieren.

Der Codex Vossianus lat. qu. 7 steht der Zeit nach vermutlich zwischen Egerton 93 im Britischen Museum und H. 3. 17 im Trinity College zu Dublin in der Mitte. Sein Text der Fled ist im allgemeinen von diesen Handschriften des 15.—16. Jahrhunderts nicht verschieden und umfasst die folgenden Abschnitte:

	ed. Windisch Cap.
A. <i>Fled Bricrend</i>	1—7
B. <i>Curathmír Emna Macha</i>	8—16
C. <i>Briatharchath ban Ulad</i>	17—32
D. <i>Tochim Ulad do Chruachnaib Ai</i>	42—56
Bewirtung und Spiele in Cruachan	63—65
(Ailill und Medb)	58. (59—62)
(Ercol und Samera, etc.)	(66—73)
Die Becher	73—74
E. <i>Cúrói mac Daire</i>	33—41
Prüfungen in Cúróis Stadt	79—90
F. <i>Cennach ind ruanada</i>	91—98.

Von dem Texte ist ein Blatt mit Cap. 58—62 und 66—73 verloren gegangen, und ausgelassen sind in dieser Recension das Abenteuer mit den Wildkatzen in Cruachan (Cap. 57 LU.) und das mit dem Riesen Uath mac Immomain (Cap. 75—78 LU.). Auch einige andere Sätze in LU. werden durch diese Version der Sage als eingeschoben erwiesen.

Die Orthographie des Leidener Codex ist bereits beschrieben worden (RC. 13, 27). Der irische Schreiber konnte im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert den allgemeinen Sinn der alten Texte gewiss noch richtig erfassen, aber das genaue Verständnis der Wortformen ging ihm ab. Je mehr sich die Bildung des Neuirischen befestigte, desto grösser ward bei ihm die Unsicherheit in der alten Grammatik, so dass man ihn beständig zwischen mittelirischen und neuen Formen und Endungen schwanken sieht. Daraus entstehen für die Umschrift des an Abbiaviatur reichen Textes allerlei Schwierigkeiten, und wie gewissenhaft und gleichmässig man auch verfahren möchte, so kann doch die Umschrift

niemals die Photographie ersetzen, die von menschlichem Sehen und Sinnen unabhängig ist.

Es sollte der Grundsatz gelten, dass nur das mehrdeutige Schriftzeichen durch kursiven Druck wiedergegeben wird, wovon aber der Strich über dem Buchstaben, wenn er zweifellos *n* bezeichnet, ausgenommen werden kann. Die Compendia für *er*, *ur*, *ra*, *ri*, *us*, *con* u. a. sind bekannt und können nicht mehr verlesen werden als jeder andere Buchstabe; doch wenn sie gelegentlich eine andere Bedeutung haben, wie wenn das *er* für grammatisch notwendiges *ir* oder *ar* steht, so mag die kursive Letter berechtigt und nützlich sein. Das *b* der Copula ist mehrdeutig. Es steht wohl ursprünglich für das korrekte *bad* (wie z. B. Cap. 8. 10. 25), aber es kommt auch für *bid* (46. 87. 92) und für *bit* (21) vor. Da nun *b* neben ausgeschriebenem *bud* erscheint (54), da *b-déin* für *budéin* (12. 15) und *b-destai* für *budechtsa* (42) geschrieben wird, so muss man es wohl durch *bud* wiedergeben. Darin wird man durch das neuirische *budh* bestätigt, das nicht nur für das Futurum (*bid*) und den Conditionalis (*bad*) der Copula, sondern sogar auch für das Präteritum (*ba*) im Gebrauch ist.

Die Partikeln *dā* und *dī* scheinen verschiedenen Ursprungs zu sein, da sie im allgemeinen nicht mit einander vertauscht werden. Jenes, *dā dna dno* und plene *dana dano daniu daneu dono* oder auch *no* geschrieben (GC. 700. 1005), heisst 'nun' (vermutlich von *no*, *vú*, *vív*, *nunc*) und scheint schwächer zu sein als *dī* d. i. *didiu didu diu* 'dann', neben dem wieder das stärkere *disudiu*, *iarsudiu* 'darauf' steht. Die Variante *dīo* in der Edinburger Handschrift der Fled (c. 97. 98 ed. Henderson; cf. SW. 1, 216) ist jedesfalls gleichbedeutend mit dem daselbst ebenfalls vorkommenden *dōo* (98, 16). Aufklärung über das alte Wort ist von einem Schreiber, der 97, 2 auch *dīo* für *dona* 'von den' bietet, nicht zu erwarten.

Im, dessen Bedeutung die Sigla *ā*. 'nero' und *h*. 'hautem' andeuten, hat nach dem Zeugnisse des Buches von Leinster im Mittellirischen die Aussprache *immoro* (LL. 238 a 40) oder *um-moro* (LL. 257 b 13), wofür sonst auch *imoro* (O'Grady, Catalogue p. 5), *imuro*, *imora*, *imoru*, *imorro* vorkommen. Das Wort ist wohl zweifellos das altirische *immurgu*, *imurgu*, das man für eine verbale Form, die 1. Sg. praes. (wie *tongu* 'ich schwöre', *togu* 'ich wähle', *dogniu* 'ich thue') wird erklären dürfen. Die Bedeutung 'jedoch, ich gebe zu, ich schränke ein', lässt sich

leicht aus dem Verb *orgim* 'ich bedränge, bringe um, zerstöre' herleiten, dessen Grundbedeutung in Zusammensetzungen wie *frithorgim* 'afficio', *inorgim* 'irruo', *timmorgim* 'coerceo' durchsichtiger ist.

Accente setzt die Leidener Handschrift wenige, doch sind auf den ersten Seiten manche später hinzugefügt. In der kleinern Hand, die auf Bl. 7 a 1 beginnt, fehlen sie fast durchaus ausser über *í*, wo sie bedeutungslos sind.

Unter den Anmerkungen, die sich auf die Schreib- und Lesarten beziehen, sind die wenig bekannten Glossen zu Fled Bricrend aufgenommen, die sich in dem Codex H. 3. 18 T. C. D., Bl. 607 a ff., unter der Überschrift 'Fledh Bricne sunn sisina' befinden. Zwar leider nicht nach dem Dubliner Originale, sondern nach der Abschrift O'Currys in seinen Transcripts p. 1319—1326. Auch in einigen andern lexikalischen Sammlungen dieses Codex finden sich einzelne aus der Fled entnommene Stellen.¹⁾ Diese Glossen betreffen die Wörter *aicinta* cap. 9, *arait* 37, *archena* 5, *assoing* 25, *bagh* 74, *bí* 13, *bó-thuir* 9, *breg* 61, *bri* 27, *bro* 27, *cia* 11, *cles* 32, *cluas* 25, *connart* 2, *comuaill* 56, *conacrad* 56. 58, *conécid* 7, *conrotacht* 1, *cor* 25, *cosaid* 5, *croich* 9, *cuaird* 55, *cuir* 44, *data* 11, *débi* 13, *díblinaib* 4, *erradh* 4, *fene-main* 25, *foigdech* 9, *formna* 12, *foruaisle* 39, *fuamain* 53, *gaisced* 55, *imagallaim* 6, *imchosait* 5, *ime* 56, *iurthund* 61, *laimthenach* 33, *leoit* 53, *lethghabar* 47, *lichtiu* 9, *mbuad* 52, *mebul* 14, *menadach* 9, *meraige* 9. 13. 61, *muinbech* 10, *reim* 7, *riastrad* 27, *sgrudan* 62. 58, *samail* 44. 52, *siabra* 61, *sucut* 14, *suasmhael* 27, *tairmchellsat* 55, *timchell* 20, *tincor* 4, *triamhain* 26. Der Glossator hatte, wie sich schon aus der Reihenfolge seiner Bemerkungen ergibt, einen Text der zweiten Recension, und seine Lesarten stimmen mit dieser in der Regel überein.

¹⁾ Von den Glossen dieses Codex sind abgedruckt die zur Táin bó Flidais (SW. 2, 255), zur Táin bó Regamain (2, 256), zu Copur in dá muccida (3, 276). Es finden sich darin ausserdem solche zur Táin bó Fráich (O'Curry, Transcripts p. 1309), zu Genemain Conchobair (p. 1311) und zum vollständigen Tochmarc Étaíne (p. 1312—1318).

Fled (Bricrend) 7 cosnamh an curadmir(e) 7 cendach an ruanadha.

(Fled Bricrend.)

1. Bai *fled* mar la Bricrinn Nemthengai do Conqhu^{par} mac Nessa 7 di Ulltaib uili. Bliadain lan do ac tinol na *fledi*. Doronadh ierom tegdais cumtacht¹⁾ lais fri fritailim tomhalta na *fledi*. Conrotacht¹⁾ ierom a tech sin la Bricne i ndun Rugraide fo cosmailes na Craebruadi i nEmhain Macha, *acht* namma roderscaiche stair an tech so iter adbar 7 eladain, *eter* coimet 7 cumdachta, *eter* uaitni 7 airinighi, *eter* ligradh 7 lógmairi, *eter* sochraidi 7 suaichnidi, *eter* irscartad 7 imdorus di thighib ina haimsire sin uili.

2. Is amlaid tra doronad a tech sen: suidiugud tighi Midcuarta fair; .ix. nimgada and o thein co fraich; tricha traiged a nardai cechae airinigh credumai co ndíorad friu uili. Conrodacht rigimdae ann ierom di Conqhu^{par} a nairinech ind rigthighi uas imhdadaibh an tiche uile, co ngemaib loghmaraib 7 ligrad 7 ór 7 arcud 7 carrmoccail 7 datha cecha tiri, co mba comsolus la 7 adaigh indi. 7 conrotachta dano dá imda .x. in da erred dec Ulad impi. Ba comhnart²⁾ ierom innus an gnimusae sin dobreth do denam an tighi sin. Sesrech (oc tabairt) cecha clethi 7 moirsheser di trenferaib Ulad ac cor cecha hoenslaiti, 7 .xxx. soer de primshoeraib Erend oc a denam 7 ac a ordcud.

3. Dironad ierom grianan la Bricrind fodessin fúa comardus imdai Concopair 7 ina lath ngali. Conrodacht ierom an grianan sen [do imd- 7] do imdenmhaib 7 do cumdaigib sainamhraib, 7 rosuidhigthi fenestri glainidi as for cech leth. Conrotacht ierom fenister dib huas a imdaidsim fodesin, co mba foidere dosom imchisin an tighi mair uaid as a imdai; dáich rusfidirsom, ni lecfidis Ulaid occuib isan tig.

4. In tan tra ba hurlom la Bricrind denam an tigi mair 7 a grianan, 7 a nerrad³⁾ diblinaibh di brotrachaib 7 do brecánaib

¹⁾ *Conrotacht* i. rocumdaigheadh no dorinded, ut est: *Conrotacht* iarum teach la Bricne a ndun Rudhraidhe fó chosmailis na Craebhruaidhe a nEamain Mbacha. Ocus adeir: *Conrotacht* rig-imdai do Conchubar a nairenach in righthighi i. rocoraidh no rocumhdaig. O'Curry, Transcripts p. 1319.

²⁾ *Connert* i. calma, 7 *innus* i. écosc, ut est: Ba *connart* iarum *innus* in ghnima sin 7 an adhbhair. O'Curry, Tr. p. 1319.

³⁾ *Erradh* i. acarradh, 7 *dibhlinaibh* i. uile, ut est: In tan tra ba hurlamh la Bricne denam a thighi mair 7 a grianain, 7 a *nerradh* *dibhlinaibh*

7 coile[i]thib 7 cerchaillib, 7 a tincar [eter coilethib 7] do lind 7 biadh, 7 nad raibi ni ba tesbhaidh uaidh eter de intrub 7 comhadbair na fledi, ditaed iarsin co torracht Eamain Macha ar cend Concobair co mma- [fol. 3 a 2] ithib fer nUlad immbi.

5. Ba headh la ann¹⁾ sin bó oenach la hUltu a nEmain Machai. Ferthar failti fris ierom 7 difesidh for gualaind Conco-pair. Atgladhathar Concobar co nUltaib arcena.²⁾ 'Táid limsa', ol .vi., 'co tormailidh fhleid lim.' 'Maith limsa', ol Concobar, 'mad maith la hUltu.' Prisgart Fercus mac Roich 7 mati Ulad, co nepertatar: 'Ni ragam', ol séad, 'ar bid lia ar marú oldát ar mbii ier nar nimcosaí³⁾ di Bricrind, dia tisam dá tomhailt.'

6. 'Bid mesom doib', ol sidhe,⁴⁾ 'a ndogensa, ceni tísad lim.' 'Cid digenusai disuidi', ol Concobar, 'ceni tísad Ulaíd let?' 'Digensa em', ol Bricriu, 'imcosaí and rich 7 ina tóisech 7 ina lath ngaili 7 na noctigernn, co mbaromarbha doib, mani tiaster lim d'ol mo fledhi.' 'Nocha⁵⁾ dingnem aradsa sin', ol Concobar. 'Immacosaitiubsa eter in mac 7 an tathair, co-macomairfi doib. Mani fetar sin dano, immacosaidiub eter an .i. 7 an máthair. Mani fetur sin dano, imcosaídiub di cích cacha mna do Ultaib, co-mmacomthuairefi doib, co mbrenfad 7 co-llofad lasodain.' 'Es ferr a techt', ol Fercus mac Roich. 'Bid fir sucut', ol sé. 'Denaíd imacallaim',⁶⁾ ol Sencha mac Ailella, 'bi cach no úatadh do deg-dainib an coicidh, mad maith liph.' 'Co nbiaíd ole nde', ol Concobar, 'cin co dentar comairli fris'.

do brothraichaibh 7 breacanaibh 7 coilethibh ocus cerchaillib, 7 a tincor (i. a ndoithin) do biud 7 do linn. O'Curry, Tr. p. 1319; vgl. *tinchor* .i. timceallad no timchuart, O'Dav. p. 120, *tincur* p. 69 s. v. cur.

¹⁾ Das MS. hat *am*.

²⁾ *archena* .i. uile no o shin amach. O'Curry, Tr. p. 970.

³⁾ *Imchossait* .i. cogadh, no imarbaidh, no imrisin, ut est: Luid Bricne co hEmain Mhacha da chur na fleidhi ar Concobar go maithibh Uladh archena. Raidhsit Ulaíd na raghdais, ar ba lia a mairbh naíd a mbí iar na *nimchosaít* do Bricne, dia ndechdais do thomail a fhleidhi. Ocus tuille air: *Imcosaídiubhsa* edir in mac 7 a athair comamuirbhfe doibh. Mana fétar sin dana, ar se, *imchosaídiubh* etir an ingin 7 a máthair. Ocus adeir a ninadh eile: Atú a *cosaíd* fri Dia, .i. i cocadh. O'Curry, Tr. p. 1319 f.

⁴⁾ *sí* MS.

⁵⁾ *l'-a* MS.

⁶⁾ *Imagallaim* .i. comairle, ut est: Dénaigh *imagallaim* din, ol Sencha mac Aililla, uathadh do dhaghdhainibh Ulad, ma maith libh. Tiaghait maithi Uladh uile a *nimagallaim*. O'Curry, Tr. p. 1320. — Dieselbe Bedeutung hat *imacallaim* nach dem Glossator (p. 1312) an der Stelle LL. 106 a 45. 49.

7. *Tiagait ierom mati Ulad imbi a nimacaldaim. Ba si comairli dobeurt Senqu doib ina nimacullaim: 'Maith tra, atib-ecin techt la Bricrind, togaid aitari dee 7 suididigh ochtur claidbhech immi im dol do asin tig ammach, acht co tairfena a fleid doib.'* Docoid *Furbaidi Ferbend* mac *Concobair* lasin aithiuse sin, co necid do *Bricrind* in *imacollaim* uili.¹⁾ 'Maidh lim', ol *Pricriu*, 'a denam samlaid.' Tochomlat as iarom ó *Emain Machai*, *cach drong ima[d] righ*, *gech rem ima ruirig, cach buiden ima tóisech.*²⁾ Ba *halaind ierom* 7 ba hamrai a tochem ronucset in trenfhir 7 in láth gaili docum and richtighi.

(Curadmír Emna Macha.)

8. *Immaroraid iarom Bricriu ina menmain, dus cinnus no-ragad ar imcosaíd Ulad, ó dodechatar aitari na treinfer tar a cend. O rogle iarom a imrádadh 7 a scrutan uili ina menmain, doluid co mbui am buidin Loegairi Buadaig maic Connaid maic Iliach. 'Maith sidhe tra', ol Bricriu, 'a Loegairi Buadaig, a balcbuilligh Breg, a brathbuillig Midi, a bethir [fo. 3 b 1] breoderg, a buaid oce nUlad! Qid doitsi na bud lat[h] an curadmír Emhna do gres?' 'Bad ferr liummsae, bud lim em', ol .uí. 'Rigi loech nErend det uaimse', ol Bricriu, 'acht co nderna mo comairlesiu.' 'Doghen immoro', ol Loegairi.*

9. 'Mad lat em cauradmír mo tighisi, bid lat curadmír nEmna do gres. Is coir cauradmír mo taighi de chosnam', ol .vi., 'ni cauradmír tighi meraighi.'³⁾ *Atá dabach a tallai triar and di laithib gaili fer nUlad ier na linadh di fhín aicinta a tiribh Franc. Atá torc .uíi. mbliadan and; ó robo leo orc mbec, ní dechaid ina beolai acht lichta lemhnochta 7 menadhuch and erruch, 7 fireroich 7 firlemnacht a samrud, etne cno 7 fireruith-*

¹⁾ Dochoidh Furbaidhe Ferbenn mac Concubair laisin aithesc sin *conecid* (i. co naisneide, no co ninnisi) do Bricne an imagallaimh. O' Curry, Tr. p. 1320.

²⁾ Dochomhlat ass iarum Ulaid o Emain Macha, *cach drong ima righ, cach reim ima ruirigh, cach buidhen ima tuiscech. Dethbir eturru sin.* O' Curry, Tr. p. 1320. — *Reim* i. buiden, ut est: *gach reim ima ruirech*, ib. p. 965.

³⁾ Is coir curamhir mo thigisi do chosnamh, or Bricne, ni curamir tighi *mearaige* (i. aneolaigh, no daidbir) curamir mo thigesi. *Ata dabach a talla triar ann do lathaib gaili fer nUlad iar na linad do fin aicinta* (i. diles) a tiribh Franc. O' Curry, Tr. p. 1320.

*necht*¹⁾ hi foghamur, beoil 7 enbruithi a ngaimrud.²⁾ Ata botuir ann dinad at lana a .vii. mbliadna; ní dechaid fraech na faigdech ina beola, *acht* firleimnacht 7 luigfer glaisfer 7 arbur.³⁾ Atad .u.xx. bairgen cruithnehta and ier na fuine trie mil; .u. meich .xx. tra ised dopronnad frisna .u. fichtiu bairgen sin, 7 cetri bairgena in cech miach. Issed sin iarom curadmir mo tighe', or Bricriu. 'Huair is tusa loech is dech fail la Hultu, is det is coir a tabairt 7 isat donutracarsa. In tan iarom bus erlum tais(b)enadh na flithi díud lai, erged do arussai suas, 7 ba do doberthur a cauradmir.' 'Betid fir marbhai ann, no dogentar samlaid', ol Loegairi. Faitbister lasodain, 7 pa maidh leis a menma.

10. O rosaich do imcosaid Loegairi Buadaig, dolleici am buidin Conaill Cernaig maic Aimircin. 'Maidh sin, a Conaill Cernaig', ol Bricriu, 'is tu laech na cern 7 na comramh. At mora na cerna 7 na comrama dit sech óco Ulad olchena. In tan tiaghta Ulaid for crichai echtrann, uidi tri la 7 teora naidci detsiu⁴⁾ for átha 7 iládha. Tu dano dar a nesi doridisiu oc tiachtain ass, cona torcethur sechut na treod na torad. Cid ditsiu ierom, na bud lat an cauradmir Emna Machai do gres?' Ger ba mor tra in muinbech⁵⁾ dirad im Laegaire, dorat a da cutramma im Conall Cernach.

11. Iar nimcosaid Conaill Cernaig do amal robo data⁶⁾ les, dolleici am buidin Conculaind. [fo. 3 b 2] 'Maith sin, ol .ui. 'a

¹⁾ *cruithness* MS.

²⁾ Ata torc secht mbliadan ann, órbó leó ore bec, ní dechaid ina bheólu acht *lichtiu* leamhnachta (i. bridican [buidican? *marg.*] ar leamnacht) 7 *meanadach* (i. garbhán) a nearrach, 7 *firchroich* (i. uactar) 7 firleamnacht i samrad, 7 eitne de cno 7 firchruithnecht i foghmar, feoil 7 enbruithi a ngemred. O'Curry, Tr. p. 1320. Vgl. *croich* i. uactar bainne, O'Dav. p. 68.

³⁾ Ata bó *thuir* (i. biadhta no méith) diana lana a secht mbliadhna ann, orbo laeg bec ní dechaidh fraech na *foigdeach* (i. aítend) ina beolu acht firleamnacht 7 luighfer glaisfheoir 7 arbar. O'Curry, Tr. p. 1321.

⁴⁾ Es fehlt *remib*.

⁵⁾ *Muinbech* i. cealg, ut est: Ger mhór in *mhuinbech* dobert Bricne im Laeghaire Buadach, dorad a dha choibheis im Conall Cernach. O'Curry, Tr. p. 1371. — *Muinbech* i. moladh no luathair breigi, ut est: Gér mhor in *mhuinbech* dorinne im Laeghaire Buadach, dorinne a dha chutruma im Conall Cernach. Ib. p. 1321.

⁶⁾ *Data* i. mian no maith, ut est: Iar nimchossait Conaill dó, amail roba *data* lais, doléigi a mbuidin Conculainn é. O'Curry, Tr. p. 1322. Vgl. *data* i. dathamhail, O'Cl.

Cuculaind, a catbuadaig Bregb, a ligbrataig Line, a mactretill Emna, a lendain ban 7 ingen nUlad 7 Ereud! Ni lesainm dit anú *Cuculaind*, uair is tussa qu urbaga faili la Hultai, doemh a morgresai 7 a moregalai 7 saighius a chert da gac aen uaidib, 7 ni nad roichet Ulaid uli, rosaigesi t'aenur, 7 adaimed fir Ereud uili do gail 7 do gaisced 7 do gnima-s.¹⁾ Cid doid-si iarom an curadmir do lecadh di neoch aile²⁾ la Hulta? uair ni tualaing nech de feraib Ereud a cosnam frit.' 'Tongusa a toing mo tuath immoro', ar *Cuculaind*, 'bid cia³⁾ gan cend anti ragus dia cosnam frimmsae!' Scaraid dano Bricriu friu arsin 7 tet a comhaidecht an tsluaig, amal na denadh eter a nimcosait.

12. Lotar ierom docum an tighi, co-rrogaib cach a lepaid ann eter rig 7 righdamna 7 airich 7 octighern 7 maccoema. Leth an tigi ierom do Concobar co-llaithip gaili fer nUlad immi, et alleth naild di bantrachtaib Ulad am Mugain, mnai Concobair. Batir éad iarom batar imm Concobar a nairinuch an tighi, Fergus mac Roig 7 Celtchar mac Guthechair 7 Eogan mac Derthacht 7 dá mac and rig .i. Fiacha 7 Fiachna, Fergna mac Finncaimhi, Fergus mac Leti, Cuscraid Mend Machai mac Concobair, Sencha mac Ailella, tri mic Fiachna Rus 7 Dairi 7 Imchad, Muinremar mac Eirgind, Eirgi Echbel, Amorgen mac Ecit Salchadae et Mend mac Salcadai, Feraduch Find Fechnach, Feidlimid mac Ilair.c.aigh, Furbaidi Ferbenn, Rochad mac Faithemain, Laogairi Buadach, Connall Cernach, *Cuculaind*, Connadh mac Morna, Erc mac Fedlimthi, Illand mac Ferchusa, Finntan mac Nell, Cethern mac Finntain, Fachtua mac Senchada, Dubthach Doel Ulad, Conlai Saeb, Aikill Miltengai, Bricriu budein 7 formna⁴⁾ lath ngaili fer nUlad olchena 7 a maccaemh 7 a noes dána.

13. Ardopetid iarom a noes ciuil 7 airfidig, cen both[a] oc tas(b)enadh na fledi doib. O thairfeoin iarom Bricriu an fleid co na himtormaigibh, forocrad iarom do Bricrind facbail an tighi de inchaib na naitiri. Atra[ra]chtatar na haitiri lasodain 7 a claidmi ina lamaib dia indarba asin tich. Tet iarom Bricriu co na teclach asan taigh a ndocum in grianan. Oc techt do fo debi and rich-

¹⁾ *gnimās* MS. statt do *gnima* úassaib LU.

²⁾ *ái.* MS.

³⁾ *Cia* .i. nech no fer, ut est: Tongusa a toing mo thuath imorro, ar Cúchulainn, bi *cia* gin cheim inti doragha do chosnam in churamir frimsa. O'Curry, Tr. p. 1321; vgl. *cia* .i. fear, O'Cl.

⁴⁾ *Formna* (.i. uaisle) laech nErenn. O'Curry, Tr. p. 1318.

tighi, as and asmbert: 'An cauradmir ucút', ol .uí., 'amal rohergnad, ní curadhmír tighi meraighi.¹⁾ Laech bus dech lib, a Ullta, domberaidh doa.' Fofacuib lasodain. [fo. 4 a 1]

14. Atarregad lasodain na rannairi di roinn an bid. Atre iarom arai Laegairi Buadaig .i. Seglang mac Rianganbra, co nepert risna rannairib: 'Dale sechut', or se, 'an cauradmir nucut do Loeachairi Buadach, uair is e nodlig sech óca Ulad arcena.' Atraigh dano Id mac Rianganbra, aru Connall Cernaig, co nepert a cedno. Atræ dano Loeg mac Rianganbra, co nepert a cedna risna randairib: 'Tucad do Co(i)neulaind sucut',²⁾ ol .uí., 'ní mebul do Ultaib uili', ol se, 'is e gaiscedac is dech fil dib.' 'Ní ba fir sin', ol Connall Cernach 7 or Laegaire Buadach.

15. Atfreacat for lar tiche 7 gabdait a sciathu foraib 7 taurlingid a claidmi a triar. Immanesaire doib, co mba nemh teniudh indala leth don tech lasna claidbiu 7 lia foebra na ngai, 7 comma henlaith glegel an leth naid de chaile ina sciath. Focerd airmgrith mor ar-rigthech lassodain, rocrithnaicset an lath gaili 7 rofercaicestar Concobar budén 7 Fercus mac Roich oc aicsin an ettualaing 7 and anfir, .i. an días imon ainfer, .i. Connall 7 Loecairi Buadach im Coinculaind. Ní raba la Hultu fer nola-mhad a netergairi, co nepert Senca fria Concobar: 'Eterscar na frú!' Ar is e dia talmanda rusbui oc Ultaib an inbaid sin Concobar.

16. Dolluide Concobar 7 Fercus etorra ierom. Dillecid a-llamhai lia toeb-focetoir. 'Denaidh mo rerse', ol Senchai. 'Digenaimni', ol siad. 'Essii mo riarsa didiú', ol Senchai, 'an cauradmir ucút', ol .uí., 'do fodail fon slog nuli andocht 7 techt immi arsuidiu a rer nAilella maic Magach; ar bid aingces laa Hultu an dal so do brethugad no do gleod, mani brethaichter i Cruachnaib.' Fodailter iersuidi biad 7 lind doib, 7 tairmcellai dail-tenidh leo, 7 gabais mescai 7 batár failtich.

¹⁾ Oc techt do Briene fo *dhé bi* in righthighi is ann isbert: In curamir ucat, ol se, amail rohurnam, ní curamir tighi *meraighe* (.i. laig no dhaibhir); 7 in *fódebi* in righthighe inann sin 7 in fordorus 7 in tairrsech, uair is iat sin in da chrann tar a téd na bí amuich 7 amach; is aire sin atberar *crainn bí friu*, uair adeir isin Bretha nemhe: itir crand mbi 7 in chainnell. O' Curry, Tr. p. 1322 f. Vgl. Meyer, Contributions p. 212, s. v. *bí*.

²⁾ *Sucut* .i. annsud, 7 *meabhul* .i. nair, ut est: Tucad do Coinculainn *sucut* in curamir, or Laegh, ní *mebhul* do Ultaib uile, is e gaiscedach is dech fil díbh. O' Curry, Tr. p. 1323.

(Briatharchath ban Ulad.)

17. Bricriu dano ina grianan 7 a rigan, ba fodhirc doa asa imdai suidiugud an rithighi, amal romboth and. Roseruit ina menmain, cinnus noragad for imcosait ina mban, amal deroine imcosait ina fer. An tan ierom roscach do Bricrind a scrutan ina menmain, amal dorragad airi, ba si sin uair dilluidii Fedilmm Nócrídi .i. mban asand rightigh ammach ier truime oil. Atachí Bricriu sece. 'Maith sin', [al Bricriu,]¹⁾ 'anocht, a ben Laogairi Buadaig! Ni lesainm dit dano Fedilm Noicridii ar febus do crothai 7 do celli 7 do ceniul. Concoabar ri coicid Ulad do athair, Loegairi Buadach do celi, acht namma nirbo ró leam det, cona tisad ben do mnaib Ulad riut hi tech Midhecuarta, [fo. 4 a 2] 7 commad doit iarsala nobeth bantracht Ulad uili. Ba tu tés isan tech ar tuss anocht, doróimli co aidne ais banrignacht uas bandtrachtaib Ulad uili.' Ted as Fedilm lasodain tar teora futh-airbi on tigh.

18. Tic ammac ierom Lendabair ingen Eogain maic Dertocht, ben Conaill Cernaig. Atgladustar dano Bricriu, co nepert: 'Maith sin, a Lendabair', ol se; 'ni lesainm duid an Lendabair, ad bannlennan 7 ad menchomarc fer ndomain uili ar do aine 7 t'inracus 7 t'irdercus. An nedh ruc do celi do ocaib domain ar gaisciud 7 cruth, rucaisi do mnaib domain 7 Ulad.' Gid mor tra a muinmech dorat- im Fedilmm, dirad a dha cutramma im Lennubair fon innus cetno.

19. Dolluidi Emer amach fosadain .i. mb(an). 'Slan ses, a Emer ingen Forcaill Monach!' ol Bricriu 'a ben ind fir is dech and Eri! Ni lesainm dit an Emer Foltcain, is huairredh do rigaib 7 rigdomnaib Erend imad. A nedh ruc cian do rennuib nime, rucuse do mnaib domain uili ar crut 7 cell 7 ceniul, ar aide 7 aine 7 airdercus, ar alludh 7 ergnai 7 aurlabra.' Cia ba mor tra a muinbech dirat im Lendubair, dorat a di cutrama im Emir.

20. Tiagait ass ierom na tíura buidhne, co mbatar a noenmaigin .i. teora fuithirbi on tich, 7 ni fidir nech dib a imcosaid do Bricrind. Totegad dia tich lasodain. Tochim fosaid ninmallai nalainn isin cetno futhirui, is ing ma rouc nech ndib a cois sech aroilie. Ind fuithairbe tanasi immoro ba miniu 7 ba

¹⁾ Um dem fehlerhaften *a Bric*. einen Sinn zu geben, hat eine spätere Hand ein *l* über das *a* gesetzt, sodass *al* als *ol*, *or*, *ar* 'inquit' zu verstehen ist.

luaithi a nimtecht isuidiu. An fuithairbe ba nesai den tich, is amlaid ruc cec ben die setei ar ecin et tuarcabsed i lenti commeldaihbh inda laarc do imcosnam dul isan tech ar tus; uair ised adubairt Bricriu rie cech ai timchiul¹⁾ aroili, is hi roba bannrigan an coicid uili anti ced a targad isan tech. Ba si mét a fotrann tra oc imtecht oc imcosnam tosaich each aei riana celi, amal bid fotrann .l. cairptech tised ann, co forchroth a rightec nuili 7 co roeblangatar an laith ghaili dia ngaisciud, co folmustar cac dib a celi isan tich.

21. 'Anaid', ol Senchai, 'nidat namaid tancotar ann, acht is Bricriu dirad imcosaid eter (na) mna decotar amach. Tong- a to- [fo.4 b1] ingi mo thuath', ol .uí., 'mani iadhtur an tech friu, bud lia ar mairb inaid ar mbi.' Iadaid na dorsaidi ina comloid lasodain. Russaidh Emer ingen Forcaill Monach, ben Conqu- laind, ar lúas riesna mnaibh aili, co tard a druim risan comloid 7 co narlusstar uaidhi na dorrsaide riesan mbantracht arcena, co nergit- a firu lasodain isan tich, gac fer dib de foslucud ria(na m)nai, comadh a ben tisedh isan tech ar tus. 'Bid olc in adhaich', ol Concobar. Benaïd a cloua narcit rusboi ina laim risan nuaitni creduma ina imdæ, co ndesiutar na sluaig uli ina suidii. 'Anaïdh', ol Senca, 'ni ba cath co ngaisciud digentar ann, acht bid cath co mbriathraib.' Lasodain doluid cech ben fo coim a celi, conad²⁾ ann sin doronsat an briatharchath ban Ulad.

22. Isbert Fedilm Noeridi, ben Laegairi Buadaigh:

.R. 'Codumberts a bru soer sruith dim cloinn comeineoil
cinsiu do curp rigna sceo rig richt forcaine costud
conid cruth buidech bertar uaim noithim crut cain.
Consert la febha feniú fogart gensiu genuss
luchdonn laimderce Loecairi
lin bemand mbalc mbuada berus ar iath nUlad
arslig ericha commamat.
Imusdich immusdecrathar imgoín
airri airdercai laechaib Laegairi
lin a tuadhai bias os cech laech.
Cid na budsí in Feidilmsi Findcoemh crutbuaduch buageltach
cichsed ria cech mnai hi tech medrach Midcuarta?'

¹⁾ *Timchell* .i. a negmais, ut est: Tuargabhsat na mna a leinti co meallaibh a dha ladharg do imchosnam dhul isin tech ar tús, uair adubairt Bricne fri cach ae *timcell* (.i. a negmais) araile, is í roba bhanrighan in cuicidh uile intí dibh céd a raga istech. O'Curry, Tr. p. 1321.

²⁾ So im MS. statt *conid*.

23. Ismbert Lendubair ingen Eogain maic Derthacht, ben
Connaill Cernaig maic Aimerigin:

.R. 'Ar is mesi cruth cell congraim
coblethar ceimb erut cain curcastai
a tech medrach Medquartai righ ria mnaib Ulad.
Ar is mo celi coem Conull coscurach credmair
coblethar cem nard nadguidhe
i nuchtai ergal errind ria cach.
Cain tinnu cucum co cernaib co cennaib
con rucai calcae cruaidii comraicthi Ulad.
Arsaidh cech nath conid dia tul targlai
arslaith a natha arfich a ngrcsæ
commaich laeich ar a bi lecht liac
laimethar mac ain Aimirgin acollaim.
Ar is Connall ar lin a cern cingius ria cech læch.
Qid na budsi an Lendobairsi li sulaie caich
cichsid ria cech mnai a tech rice?'

24. Asmbert Emer ingen Forcaill Monach, ben Conculaind:
[Denum ar cuid a scol¹⁾] [fo. 4 b 2]

.R. Cotumgabusa cem cruth cell congraimm
cobhlī buadhai bát-kīr cech delū cain cucom
conid mo rosc saer setæ doine dom gnuse gne.
Ni frith cruth na coire na congruimim
ni frit goes na gart na genus
ni frit lud serce soerlidii
na celi conumticesi.
Ar is immamsa ochsadhur Ulaid uili
is me a cnu eridi.
Is gle diembesi boeth fiad etarlam
nimarb-i²⁾ ben uaidib lia celi
on tratsai co laili.
Is Cuculaind mo celi ni cu³⁾ ces
erithir folai for a crund
cubur folai for a claidip
cain forondor a cru a curp
crechta ina caoinenis
alta ina toeblius.
Cainfeth a rosc rochem inna cind siar⁴⁾

¹⁾ Hier unterbricht der Schreiber seine Arbeit und wendet sich an den
Scholarburschen (*scoloc*) mit der Aufforderung: 'Lass uns unser Essen machen!'

²⁾ Dieser Buchstabe ist von neuerer Hand eingefügt.

³⁾ *cu* MS., mit einem Zeichen ähnlich einem griech. ω über dem *u*.

⁴⁾ *siar* steht über der Zeile.

cain fualoingfider glaine sair.
 Sirdere a seallai
 ogderg a fondad
 forderce a fortcai.
 Arfich ó uib ech 7 análaibh¹⁾
 foherd ioch nerred inn aoib.
 Atetha cles nonúair cles donn cles dall cles neoin
 immaligh lúai usqi atetha cles nonbair.
 Conboing catha cro combagh
 falgadh betha borr-buidne
 brisid huath netergnai.
 Is fer sérgui sith²⁾ allidii
 is cron cutmai quairidii.
 Is i richt mna sinil segdai Ulad uli
 corrice mo celisiu Coinculaind
 cron donn gle sin samlaitir.
 At salaig nanainn³⁾ ath anann crisalaich
 at gairb caithlig at crona cutrammai
 at crothli garmanline am buanann bodelbæ.
 Is i rechtaib bo 7 daum 7 ech
 sedda mna Ulad uli conummticesi.'

25. Lasodain dono ba edh dogensad an fir batar isin tich,
 Laegairi Buadach 7 Conall Cernach, o rusleblaing a luan laich
 ier cluais⁴⁾ imacallmai na mban: robristii cleth do cletaibh an
 tichi righdoi fo a comardus amach, conid si sin conuir dilotar
 a mna cuqui isa tech. Cuqulaind immoro turcaib a tech ina
 comair a immdai, comtar fodercai renna nimir fon fraicidh amach
 aníos, conid si sen conair diluidh a bensom 7 na tri .l. mban
 immailli fria, i. a .l. ban budén 7 .l. ban cechtar de na da ban
 oili, cona bud cutrommas disi frisna mnáibh aili, uair niruo
 cutrommus dia frisi fria cach. Tolleci Cuqulaind ir-rightec sis

¹⁾ Zwischen *óuib* und *ech* ist von späterer Hand ein *l* übergeschrieben.
 Unpassend, denn der Emendator verwechselt das Kunststück (*cles*), um das es
 sich hier handelt: *arfich ó aib ech 7 analaib fer* (LU.) 'er kämpft über den
 Ohren der Pferde und dem Atem der Männer' (cf. *buid uas aib 7 analaib*,
 LU. 113 b 37) — mit der Redensart *dofich uiblich tened 7 analaich* (FB. 51
 und LU. 122 b 16), die von den Wangen Cuchulinn's gesagt wird: 'er eignet
 des Feuers und der Lohe Glut'.

²⁾ *sith* ist über der Zeile hinzugefügt.

³⁾ Dies Wort steht über der Zeile.

⁴⁾ *cluas* i. cluinsin, ut est: Ba bronach in teghlach oc a *cluais*. O' Curry,
 Tr. p. 1364; vgl. *cluais* i. cloisdin, O' Cl.

iersuidiu, co ndechotar .uii. fercubaid do senamain¹⁾ an tichi a ntalmain, co foreroth an daun uili 7 co-rtrascair grianan Brierend fri laur talman, co torchair Bricriu [fo. 5 a 1] budein 7 a rigan, co mbatar isand otrach cacai eter [na] na conaib. 'Aill amai', ol Bricriu, 'tancatar namaid i ndun', la hérci suas co hobann. Co-rrola cor²⁾ immar-richtech, co nfacai amal rocloenudh, co ntarlae for a beolu uili. Adsoire a bossai lasodain 7 lecthi isan teg iersuidii, 7 ni rabai la Hultu fer rusaithgned amail rus-salchad, conid asa labrad atgenatar.

26. Esbert Bricriu ierom di lar an tichi: 'Nimatarcomlusai fhleid daib tra, a Ultu', ol se. 'Is annsa limmsa mo tech oldas mo trebad uili. Es ges daib tra', ol Bricriu, 'ol na longud na codlud, co farcaib sib mo tecsá, amal fodarnecebabair ar úar cinn.' Atarecat laith gaili Ulad uli isin tich lasotain 7 doberad trianmi³⁾ din tich, 7 ni turcaibset cid co tisiudh gáedh eter é 7 talmáin. Robo ces dano for Ultu anni sen. 'Nochonamtasae⁴⁾ samlaid daib', ol Senchai, 'acht an fer fodracaib cloen, aidcid fris a facbail diriuch'.

27. Atmbertatar Ulaid fria Coinculaind iersuidi a tech do dirgiud, 7 asmbert Bricriu: 'A ri laech nErend', ol se, 'mani dirgese corub coir, nicon fil isan domun nodirgi.' Doradsad Ulaid uli impidi fair im tuaslucud na cesta. Atraigh Cuculaind lasodain, na bedis lucht na fledi cin ol, cen tomait. Dorat ierom Cuculaind trianmi don tich die turcaib 7 forémidh.⁵⁾ Rorias-trad⁶⁾ ime iersuidii, robai bandoi folai a mbun cech finnai doa,

¹⁾ *Fenemáin* in tighi .i. cret in tighe, ut est: Doléigi Cuchulainn in righthrech sis iar suidiughad, co ndechaidh secht firchubait do *fenemáin* in tighe i talmáin, co forchroith in dún nuile. O'Curry, Tr. p. 1321; vgl. *fenamain* .i. fighi mín .i. cur slaiti, O'Dav. p. 85.

²⁾ *Cor* .i. cuairt, ut est: Rolá Briene cor iman righthrech, co naca, amail roclaenadh co ntarla for a lethbeólu uile. *Assoirge* Briene a bhassa lasodain .i. buailidh. O'Curry, Tr. p. 1321.

³⁾ *Triamhain* .i. nert no suinnen, ut est: Atraghat laithghaile fer nUlad uile isin tigh lasodain 7 doberait *triamhain* don tigh 7 ni thurgaibsit cidh go tised gaeth edir é 7 talam. O'Curry, Tr. p. 1322.

⁴⁾ *l-amtasae* MS.

⁵⁾ Atraigh Cuchulainn iarum 7 dorat triamain dia turgbhail 7 forfheimidh. O'Curry, Tr. p. 1322.

⁶⁾ *Riastradh* .i. fearg, 7 *suasmhael* .i. folt suas asa chinn co direch, 7 *bri* .i. ferg, 7 *bro* .i. brut 7 deismirecht orro. Amail atbeir: *Roriastradh* im Coinculainn iarsuidhiu, robhai bannanna fola a mbun cach finna dó, 7 rosuigh a fholt ina chinn, gurbha *suasmhael* cas cirdhubh robhai fair, 7 roghabh a

7 russuidh a folt inda *ceud*, co nderna suasmoel cas cirdub dia raba fair, 7 rongab am bri-bro 7 rosiniu iersuidii, co taldfed fertroich fer-oclaig *etir* cech da asnai.

28. Dituarcaib a tech iersuidii 7 forruirim co-rróacht a dirgiu cednai. Iersin tra coiscter an *sluag*.

29. Beridh Senqhu *breth* do na mnaib .i. Emer ar tus isa tech 7 in di mnai ali *gualaind* fri *gualaind* ind. Rofas dano in imarbaidh *cetna* do na mnaib isin tich ier *riachtain* an donaid. Batar iarom inn fhir do mifostud 7 anfed lasodain, co nerracht Senchae: 'A cosc na mban', ol .ui., 'na be olc *eter* na firai.

.R. Cotaimsechaim (for se) a laichiusai ana urdarcai airecdai Ulad
 anat for mbagbriatra na banaicter fergnuisiu
 i curad-comraicthib tria uailli agh.
 Ar is trie cin mban bid ferna ferdlochtain
 fir i nurgalaib immad mar galgat com- [fo. 5 a 2] lut fercloindii
 ar is dia mboesaibh brigaib bes doib
 dofurebad nadriccad immsuidiud nadrancet.'

30. 'Dethfir damhsai, a Senchai', ol Emer, 'bam bensai curad cain comramaich, cotngabus cruth cell o rodammad a forcetal can dicheld, *eter* cles for análaib 7 uballcles et siabur-cles et cles cuair et cles caid et derccfildiud erred nair et gai bulcae et bai braise et bruth ngene et sían curad et rothcless et foeburcles et drem fri fogaisd et dirgiud creti for cach nai.

Ni fhuigbidir fer and conmesdur
 a oes 7 a fhas et a ainis 7 a urlatra
 a ceneol a guth a gaes a gal a gaisced
 a bruth a buaidh a buaidris
 a foraim a fhoimhsidhe a fianchoscur
 et a deni co clius nonbair
 fri Coinculoinn comcosmail.'

31. 'Fir, a ben', or Connall, 'taed ille in gildai clesuch sen, co comairsim.' 'Náidi', ol Cuculaind, 'am scit annossai, cond esar biad 7 co rocodlur.' Ba fir dosom anni sen, fodaigin ised la insin immacomrainic dosom frisan Liadh Macha a toib Linde in

bhri bró 7 roshin iarsuidhiu go tulle for fertraigh fir óglaich edir each dá easna dó, 7 tuargaibh tech mBriene, gu roacht isin dirigh cedna. O' Curry, Tr. p. 1322.

Leth. *Rosealaig Cuchulaind* cuci, co tarad a di laim ima bráigit, co-rrustairmceld tir n*Erend* fon indus sin, co toracht in adaich sen co na eoch rietai les co tech m*Bricrend* a ndaun Rudraige.

32. Is and asmbert *Cuculaind*: 'Rosirius andú morbrughi *Herinn*', ol se, 'Bregha Midii, Muiriuse Murteme Machae Magh Medútai, Cuirech Cletech Cernai, Aidne Aidli Asul, Lia Linde Locharna, Fea Femen Fercnaie, Corunn Umald Irruss, Cerai Maonmag Mucraime, Tenmagh Tulcai Turedai Tedba Tlachtgai Tailtiu Temair, Cualai Cernnaie, Rocrogeo Roscre Innu. Ferr limm cech cles codlud, dili lim longad oltas cech ní. Tongi di dia toingi mo tuad, mad am saithiuch bidh 7 codulta, is cles¹⁾ limm 7 is cluichi daum comrac fria hoinfer.' 'Maidh', ol Concular, 'is lor a fod atathai, acair imdell *Bricrend*. Tuctar biadh astech', or se, '7 coiscter an imforrain, co tair an flihd.' Dericnet samlaid 7 ba saim doibh iersuidiu co cend tri laa 7 teourai naidhce.

(Tochim Ulad do Chruachnaib Ai.)

42. Toichim Ulad do Cruachnaib Ai budestai. [fo. 5 b 1]²⁾ Dia tri la 7 teorai naidhce iarom dolotar Ulaid uili a mbretimnus n*Ailella* maic Magach co Cruchnai Aei iman curadmir 7 im imarbaig ina mban. Ba cain 7 ba haibinn 7 ba sochraid a-rrem ronucset do Cruachnaib. Anais immoro Ququlaind coleic di eis Ulad ac airfithid ban nUlad .i. nai nubla-clis 7 .ix. cletini-clis 7 noi scenai-clis, 7 ni tairmiscad nach ae a celi.

43. Luid Loech mac Riengabrai ierom, a arasom Conculaind, co hairmb a mboi oc na cliussaib dia accallaimsom, co nerbairt fris: 'A cloenan truaigh', al se, 'roseaith do gal 7 do gaisced, dicoidh uaid an curadmir, rosiechtatar Ulaid Cruachna in tradsae.' 'Ni rorataichsem edir em, a Laigh, indel dun an carbat tra', ol .ui. Inlis Loeg an carbat 7 lotar for eram. Russiech(t)atar Ulaid Mag mBreg an tansa olcena. Rusbui di luas and ermo

¹⁾ *Cleas* .i. aibhnus no maith, ut est, amail atbert Cuculainn: Toingi do Dia toingi mo thuath, mad am saithech bidh 7 cotluda, is *cleas* lium 7 is cluiche damh comrac fri haenfhear. O'Curry, Tr. p. 1323.

²⁾ Über dieser Seite steht die Glosse: Eol .i. gnath ut est Ranic co eol fein an fer tar gach ler co nilar nglood. Besser geschrieben findet sie sich in Harl. 5280 wieder. Vgl. K. Meyer. Voyage of Bran p. 41. Den Gegensatz zu eól 'Heimat' bildet *aneól* .i. ferann anaithnigh, O'Curry, Tr. 1375.

Conculaind tra o Dun Rudraige ier na grisad die [n]araid tucht imruid in Liath Machai 7 an Dub Saiglenn fon carbut tar fod coicid Conqubair 7 dar Sliab Fuaid 7 dar Magh mBreg, conid se an tres carbat ceda-rainic¹⁾ Cruacna Aii.

44. Lasa-rem 7 lasa mborrfad tra ronuesad laith ghaili fer²⁾ nUlad imm Concopar 7 imon rigraid oleenae do Cruachnaib Aei, rolai airmgrit mor do Cruachnaib, co ntorcratar na hairm asna fraichtib, co rabatar for talmain, 7 rusgeb cridh sluaga an dunaidh uili, conid samlaid rusboi sluag an duine uili amal curcuss fri sruth. Ismbert Medb lasodain: 'Cusandiu dono', or si, 'o gabsusai Cruachnai,³⁾ ni colusai in torainn een na niula and cusanosai.' Luid Findabair ingen Ailella 7 Medbha, co mbai isan grianan for fordorus an duine, co nderbert: 'A matharnaid', ol si.⁴⁾ 'Cur i samlaid⁵⁾ foair', ol Medb, 'a cruth a héuscce a congraimm, delú an fir, dath a ech, tocin a carbait.'

45. .T.⁶⁾ 'Atciusai em', ol Findabair, 'na da ench filet fon carbut, dá ech bruthmurai brecglasai, comdatha comcrotha com-maitli combuadai comluathai coimlemnechai biruich, airdeinn aicimhair allmair, gablaich goibchuil, dualaich tuillethain, forbrea foshengai forlethnai forranchai, casmongaich caschairchig. Carbat fidgrind fethandai, da ndroch dubai tairchise, da nall naebdai imnaisi; fertse cruaidhe [fo. 5 b 2] coiledirgi, cret noithech noiglinde, qzing druimnech dronarcaid, da nald ndualcai ndronbuidi. Fer findchas foltleubor isin carbut; folt ndualach tiara ndathae foair, folt find fri tuind cinn, croderg ar medon, mind noir buidii ardoidhethar; rollasad tri immsretha imma cend cocoirse cech ai a toib alaili. Fuan coir corcrae immee, coicroth oir airedidhe. Sciath baile bemnech, bil ban findruine. Sleg cuach coicrind ar a durn derglasaid. Anbluth nen netegnaidh uas a creit carpaid.

¹⁾ ceda-rainic wie ceda-targad, in Cap. 20 so zu lesen.

²⁾ Lasasrein und f (statt fer) MS.

³⁾ cfaí MS.

⁴⁾ Vor der Anrede fehlt: Atchiusa cairptech issam mag, LU.

⁵⁾ Cuir .i. tabhair, 7 samail .i. tuarascbáil, ut est: Atchiusa carpat isa magh, a mhathair [ar], or Finnabhair. Cuir samhlai fair, ol Medbh, a chrut, a ecose. O'Curry, Tr. p. 1323. — Das i im Texte steht wie oft für a 'sein'.

⁶⁾ Dies am Rande stehende .t. scheint eine Abkürzung des Wortes túarascbáil 'Beschreibung' zu sein; denn eine solche folgt. Sie ist zugleich mehr oder weniger rhetorisch d. i. allitterierende Prosa, wie denn z. B. eine ganz ähnliche Beschreibung LL. 120a als .R. d. i. retoric bezeichnet wird.

46. 'Atgenumair asa hamlaid an fer sen', ol Medb.

'Gred rig seinrectaid buadhai
 barc bodbai pruth pratha
 breo digla drech curad
 cuinse churaid cride ndracan.
 Altfad mbethreoch buadhai forduintibh
 ind luchdonn laimderce Laeccairi
 luth lan foebrae foltchip tonn fri talmáin tartbem.

Toncusai a toing mo thuath', ol Medb, 'massa co ferce 7 co mbaraind debtha dotoed *Loegairi Buadach* cucaind, amal *benur* folteip fri laur talman co naltain aith, búl si sin glice an airlich dombera forn lin atam a *Cruachnaib*, mani foichlieter a bruth 7 a prig 7 a borrfad fo a réir fodein co tlathugud a debtha.'

47. 'Atciusai dano caurpat naili isam magh, a mátharnait', ol in ingen, '7 ni mesai dotoet sidii.' 'Cuir i samluid', et rel. 'Atciusa em', ol si, 'indala nech fil fúan carbut gabur cenann crondatha cruaid, dian daigerdhai, bedgach baislethon uchtlethon, berus builli balc buada tar atha tar inberai tar raitiu tar imraitiu tar moighi tar midglinde, co ndosaidh ier mbuaid midise i samlaib én eturluamain; nisfeth mo rose ran inniud for a riadh rochem ráin édruth. Araili ech derce tullethan drondualach druimlethan, fosheng feochair fonna fortren forrengach; atechtai iadh netarmaighi iter mothrai 7 aimreide. Ni fogaib and imm-doraid iter omnaip riadh rot. Carpat fidhgrind fethaidhi, dia ndroch findai humaidii, sithbi finnarcaid, cret urard dresachtach, quing druimnech drondualach, dia nald dualcai dronbuidhei. Fer find forchas [fo. 6 a 1] foltleobor isan carput. Drech lethderg lethgabur¹⁾ lais, fuamman finn fuinechda, brat gormm cronchorcrae. Sciath donn telbuidi .i. bil co ncondual credumhai. Luchair derg daigerdai ar a durnn derceclassaidh. Anbluth nen netighnaid uas a cret croncarpait.'

48. 'Atngnhenamuir asa shamlaid an fer side.

Oxad leoumain londbruth loghai lith cain cernnai
 cern eter craetaib cuirethar cruaid
 cend ar cend glonn ar glonn gleo ar gleo²⁾.

¹⁾ *Lethghabar* .i. letheach, ut est: Fer finn forchas foiltleabhar isin carpat, dreach derg, *lethghabar* lais. O' Curry, Tr. p. 1323.

²⁾ Oxud leomhain lonnbruth logha lia chain cernna cenn (crann?) eter creathaibh cuirithar curaid cenn ar chenn, glonn ar glonn, gleo ar gleo. Tuic. O' Curry, Tr. p. 1323.

Gle nodonselne [—]ssladhar feasc bec for gairb *deirg*
 dia mbi fergi fúasnathar *mac* Findehaimi frinn.

49. 'Atciusai *carpat nali*', 7 rel. 'Atciusai *em*', al in *ingen*,
 'indala hech fil fuan *carput*, ech liath leslethon lonn luath luaim-
 nech ludhmar ludlemnech lebormongach, maignech, toirniuch
 trodmár tuadmongach, airdcend uchtlethon, lasaid fódd fonn bras
 fochuirsiu fochruaidh fo chruib coluth *cethardai* dogrend helma
 enlaithi luaith buadai, berid a rith tria sed foscain huathai end.¹⁾
 nanailche, aibliuch *teneth* tricemrúadi taitned a craes glomarcin(d).

50. Araili ech cirdub cruaidcend cendcruind coelcosach
 crualetthon cobluth, dian dulmhar dualach druimlethon dron-
 chóchech, maghnech aigneche, bairnech balccemnech, lebormongach
 casmonguch, scuablebor grinn imaaigh iar nith aig ech a niat,
 moscing sreatha, sredid *sergie*, sethid moige midglindi. Carbat
 fethgrind fethaine, dia ndrog ernbuidi iarnai; sithfi co fethan
 finndruine, cret credae croimglinde, cuing druimnech dronordai,
da nall dualcha²⁾ dronbuidi.

51. Fer broeniuch dub isin carbud is aildiumh d'feraib
Erend. Fuan cain coir corerae imme. Heo oir inndlaise uas a
 ban bruindechur ina hathurslocad fri bemen³⁾ luatha lanbuilli.
 Hocht ngemma derccai dracuntai for laur a dha immlesan. Da
 ngruaidh ngormgelai crodergui, dofich aibliuch 7 *analaich*. Fo-
 cherd hich nerred nindai, cles nuadh nonbair huas a err(id) oen-
 charbait. Is banda fri frais on tra', or si.

52. 'Athgenumair assa *hamlaid*⁴⁾ an fer sin', ol Medb.
 [fo. 6 a 2]

Broa mara bara bledmaill blog dereteneth
 tonn mairnech mathruamdha
 morbruth borrr-biasta
 brisius muadh morcatha.
 Cing tar eccraid necomlund
 allbach mpratha brogene
 bruth mathgaman for mincetraib⁵⁾ murtcet for crechaib
 cuirethair glond ar glonn cenn ar cend.

¹⁾ Dieses Wort steht über der Linie.

²⁾ Das MS. hat *dualk*.

³⁾ Das MS. hat *ben*, mit dem Haken für *m* über dem *b*.

⁴⁾ Atgenamar (as)a *shamlaihb* in fer sin, ol Medhbh, .i. aithnighim asa
 tuarascbail. O'Curry, Tr. p. 1324.

⁵⁾ *gaman for mincetraib* ist nachträglich übergeschrieben.

Caind cur¹⁾ cóir coscrach eridimhuil
 fri Coinculaind comcosmail.
 Cotunmelai amal melius muilend muadh²⁾ mraich.

‘Toing 7 rel., mas co mbaraind³⁾ do totoet Cuchulaind qucainn, amal meiles muilend .x. norcel mraich racruaidh, is amlaid cotunmelā an fer sen a oenur ar uir 7 grían, cie nobetis fir in .uid uili immond, mani foiclethur a bruth’, 7 rel.

53. ‘Et a bechtsa cinnus ditiagat?’ ol Medb. ‘Doíd fri doid’, or ind ingen, ‘leoid fri leoid, fuamain fri fuamuin,⁴⁾ guala fri gualaind, bil fri bil, tusfuil uili, a buidmathair, fid fri fid, fondad fri fondadh, carpat fri carpat.

Comluth marc mbuadha maidm toronn tollclethe
 tretan trom ainbtinee all-cliu fri himalldai
 forthacrith in nirind imtren⁵⁾ tromtuinsit.’

‘Mna finna fórnóchtá friu’, ol Medb, ‘aurciche aurnóchtá éttrochta, co-llíon ningen nurlum nincomraic, lis aursloicthi, buirg fhoenbelai, dabcha úarusce, dergadha indlithi, biadh nglan imdai, mrachlind muadh mescmair maith, fene fothath, fochen an cach dothoet bes ninorthar taris.’

54. Lassodain dilluidi Medb for dorus an lis ammach 7 tri .l. ingen le 7 teorai daúchai húarusce den triar lath gaili do-tainic riasan sluag do tlathugud a mbrotha. Rollath rogaí doib iarsuide, dus in bud tech for leth do gach duine dib no in bud aointech. ‘Tech ar leth da gac áen’, ol Cuchulaind. Iersuidiu lotar⁶⁾ a tig co ndergotaib sainamrib, 7 an robo dech do na tri .l. ingen dobretha doibh, 7 dobreth Findabair do Coinculaind sech cach isan aracul i raba, 7 tancotar Ulaid uili iersuidiie. Luid iarom Ailill 7 Medb 7 a teclach uili, co-rrofersad failti fri Hulltu. Frisgart Senca mac Ailella: ‘Es maith lind’, ol .uí.

¹⁾ cur ist nachträglich über der Zeile hinzugefügt.

²⁾ Mbuad .i. cruaidh, ut est: Gotanméla Cuchulainn sibh, al Medhbh, amail mhelis muilenn mbuadh braith. O’Curry, Tr. p. 1323.

³⁾ Die Worte mas co mbaraind do stehen über der Zeile, ebenso meiles.

⁴⁾ Leoit .i. uille, fuamain .i. taebh, ut est: In feicidh cinnus do tiaghat, ol Medhbh. Dóit fri dóit, or in ingen, leóit fri leóit, fuamain fri fuamain, gualainn fri gualainn. O’Curry, Tr. p. 1323.

⁵⁾ is ist von ziemlich später Hand übergeschrieben (imistren).

⁶⁾ Die Worte lot- a tig- cō von später Hand hineinkorrigiert.

55. Tiagaid iarom *Ulaid* uili isan dun 7 dolecter ar-riethech ndoib amal dorimthiur, .i. uíi. cuardai ann 7 *secht* nimhdhaidai o ten go fraigh.¹⁾ Airenech credhuma . . . a tulaich [fo. 6 b 1] in toighi. Tech ndaruch co tuigi slindiudh. Dí shenistír dec ann co com-ladaibh glain(i)de friu. Imdai *Ailella* 7 *Medba* a medon an tighé. Airinig aireddi impi²⁾ 7 stell creduma 7 flesc aircid a na nairinech ar belaib *Ailella*, adcoimhced midlisiu an tiche di cose an teglaig do gres. Tairmchellset³⁾ gaiscid úer n*Ulad* óin dorus di aroili dond rightigh 7 ardupetid a naes ciuil, cen both ac aurnom bid doib. Bai tra de fairsengi an tighi hi tallustar formna lath ngaili an coicid uli am Concobar. Concobar v̇ 7 *Fercus mac Roigh* a nimdai *Ailella* 7 nonuar do lathaib gaili an cuicid maille friu. Tusnarnectar fledui morai iarsuidi. Botar and iarom co cend tri laa 7 tiara naidhce.

56. Ba iersuidiu tra conaccrad⁴⁾ *Ailill* doa Concubur co nUlltaib imme. Dorrímhe Concobar no Senca iarom in caingin ima tancatar, ‘Imm comuaild an trir curad imman cuoramhíur 7 im comuaild inda mban imma toisigeacht im na fleduibh,⁵⁾ uair ní rodmaither a mbrethucud an nach baili aili acht axat-sa.’ Soctais *Ailill* lasodain 7 ní ba failid a menma. ‘Nirba cucumsai em’, ol se, ‘robbo coir dal ina courad sen do tabairt, muna taburtir ar mescais.’ ‘Ní bá fer bus ferr nodglefe emh’, ol .uí., ‘atau-siu.’ ‘Maith⁶⁾ liumsae re scrudain⁷⁾ dam ris’, ol *Ailill*. ‘Recamne a les em ar couraid’, ol Senqu, ‘ar is mor do mid-lachaib a-llogh.’ ‘Lor limsa dano tri la 7 teora haidce frisso-

¹⁾ *Cuaird* .i. buidhin, 7 is buidhen ar chath sunn, ut est: Tiagait iarum *Ulaid* uile isin dun i Cruachain 7 do leicedh in ritheach doibh ambail dorimthar .i. secht cuarda ann 7 secht nimdha ó thein co fraigh, 7 is iat na secht cuarda .i. secht cata *Ulad*. O’Curry, Tr. p. 1324.

²⁾ Das MS. hat *impni*.

³⁾ *Tairmcheallsat* .i. timsaigit no srethnaighit, ut est: *Tairmchellsat gaisced* (.i. airm) fer n*Ulad* on dorus diaraile don rítech 7 ardupeted a náes ciuil, cein both oc aurgnam doib. O’Curry, Tr. p. 1324.

⁴⁾ *Conacrad* .i. roiarfaidh, ut est: Bádar *Ulaid* a Cruachain gu ceann tri lá 7 teora naidhchi. Ba iarsuidiu tra *conacradh* *Ailill* sgéla do Concubar co n*Ulaid ime* .i. amaille ris. O’Curry, Tr. p. 1324.

⁵⁾ *Comuail* .i. commortus, ut est: Dorime Sencha iarum do *Ailill* in chaingin ima tangatar, .i. im *comuail* in triur curad iman curamhíur 7 im *comuail* na mban ima tuisigeacht isna fledhaibh. O’Curry, Tr. p. 1324.

⁶⁾ *Malith* MS.

⁷⁾ Antais in triar amaille rimsa re *sgrudan* dam dan, or *Ailill*, .i. re tuicsin no re fechain mo chomairle. O’Curry, Tr. p. 1324; cf. p. 1346.

dain', ol Ailill. 'Ni foreraid carde son', ol Sencha. Timgartatar Ulaid celiubrad iersuidiu 7 batar buidiḡ 7 dombertatar beandachtain dond rig 7 din rigain 7 dobertatar mallachtain do Brierind, uair is e fhuair i nimcosaid, 7 lotar dia crich iersuidiu, 7 facabad Laegairi Buadach 7 Connall Cernach 7 Ququlaind dia mbrethugud leo. Dobretha a Cruachain iad 7 scorther i neich.

63. Dobretha rogha [fo. 6 b 2] doib, cid biadh noragad di nechaib. Isbert Connall 7 Loegairi airthend da bliadna do tabairt dia nechaib. Gran eorna immoro rotoḡ Cuculaind dia eocharb. Feotar and an oidhce sin. Rainnter in bandtracht etorra a tri: dobret Findubair 7 .l. ingen impi a tech Conculaind, dobreth Sadb Sulbair ingen ali Ailella 7 Medba 7 .l. ingen impi i farrad Connaill, dobreth Concend ingen Cet maic Magach 7 .l.a ingen a farrad Loegairi Buadaig. Notathuiged Medb fesin co menic a tech a mboi Ququlaind.

64. Atragad ierom matain moc iarnamaruch 7 tiagait isan tech a mboi an macrad oc cor rothclesai. Gebthi Loegairi iarom in roth 7 ruscuir i narda, co ranic midlis in tigi. Tibit an macrad im sodain 7 doberaid gair do; ba do cuidbiud Loegairi on, indar la Loegairi ba gair buadui. Gebti Connall dano in roth 7 ba do laur 7 focheard iarom in roth co hochtaig ind rie-thigi. Focerdar [an] in macrad gair foa, indar la Connall ba gair commaidmi 7 buada; gair cuidbetha immoro lasin macraid inni sin. Gebti dano Cuculaind in roth 7 ba heturbuas tárraid e. Focerd dano i nardui in roth, go rolai a hoichtaich don ticc, co ndechaid an roth ferchubad a talmáin fria lis anechtair. Tibit an macraid gair commaidme 7 buada im Co(i)nculaind. Indar la Co(i)nculaind ba gáir cuidbetha 7 fanamaid focheardad in macrad im sodain.

65. Tic Cuculaind do saigid an bandtrachta 7 berid a tri .l. snathad uaidib 7 nusdibaire na tri .l. snathad cach dib a ndiaid araili, co tarla cach snathad dib a crou a ceili,¹⁾ co mbatar ina line fon samail sin. Tic iarom dia saigid dorise 7 dusber a snatad fen i-llaim cech enmna dib doridisi. Molsat an oic dano im sodain.

58. Luid iarom Ailill in(a) arucul folet fri scrutain a mbreth-aigthi 7 domber a druimm fri fraigid 7 ni ba saim a menma 7

¹⁾ *cú* MS.

ba aingces les an dail donfáinec 7 ní rochodail 7 ní roloingti co cend tri laa 7 teora noidqi, conid ann ismbert Medb: 'Is milaechda (no táí', ol sí).¹⁾

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73.
[fo. 7 a 1] 'Ni ba la r cío.' Afraig side suas lasoduin. 'Ni tucsaidh comartha taircius curudhmír daoit', ol .ui., 'an rig cussa rancubair tollem ecradei frip tinn i tionn. Ni moo dano a cion priph oldas (a tucsaid uad). Bid liomsa dano in curadmir', or se, 'huair is me tucc comartha suaicnid sech cach.'

74. Dotrae suas lasodain an cuach ndercoir 7 en do liic logmair for a lár 7 cutraime hi sula di draccain, dotnacatar Ulaid uili im Concubar mac Nessa. 'Is me ierom dligius a curadmir, mina brister fior fer form.' 'Cotmidium uili', ol Concubar 7 Fercus 7 ol maithi Ulad uili, 'is let an curadmir a brith uAilellai.' 'Tong a toing mo tuath', or Loegairi Buadach 7 ol Connall, 'ní cuach ein cec dit an cuach tucuis. In rusboi di hsetaiú 7 di moiniú it hseulba, tucais airi di Ailill 7 Meidb, ar na rucetha dou bhag²⁾ it cend, na tarta in curadmir di neoch aili ar do bhelaibh.' 'Tong a toing mo tuath', or Connall, 'ní ba lat, 7 ní ba breth an breth donucad ann,³⁾ 7 ní berai an curadmir.'

¹⁾ Zu dem fehlenden Texte hat H. 3. 18 die folgenden Glossen. Zu Cap. 58: Ba hannsín tra conacrad (i. rofhíarfaidh) Laegaire do Mheidhb iar sgrudan (i. iar fechsín) a comhairle. — Zu Cap. 61: Breg i. cealg, 7 meraighi i. duine bor no oinmhít, ut est: Fuidhis Medbh techtaire uaithi dochum Cuculainn 7 isbert fris dul d'agallaim in ri 7 na rigna. Is dom chuidbhiudh ón, or se, suris [lies: furis] dobertha breg im nach meraighi. Vgl. mearaidhe i. amadáin, O'Cl. — Zu Cap. 61: Iurthund i. orgain, 7 siabhra i. ferg, ut est: Aill amai, ol Medb, iurthund Cuculainn, ol sí, dia siabraithir imme. At-fraigh Medbh lasodain 7 luidh go rainic Cuculainn co tard a di laim ina bhraighit. Tabair breig im nach naile, or Cuculainn. O'Curry, Tr. p. 1325.

Nach der Lücke von einem Blatte der Handschrift ist das Folgende, von Bl. 7 a 1 an, etwas kleiner und mit blässerem Tinte geschrieben, vielleicht von anderer Hand.

²⁾ Bagh i. buaidh, ut est: Toing a toing mo thuath, or Laeghaire Buadach 7 or Conall Cernach, ní cuach gan creic duit in cuach tugais, uair a roibhe do setaibh 7 mainibh it sheilbh is edh doratais aire do Ailill 7 do Meidb, ar na rucetha do bhag it chenn, na tarda in curamir do neoch eile ar do bhelaibh; no na habartai goma chathugadh egóir dait a ndernais, is aire tugais ar na beith a fhala it chenn, is aire doratais, uair is inann bagh 7 cath. O'Curry, Tr. 1325.

³⁾ añ MS.

Cotnerigh cac diibh di araili liasotain cusna claidhbí nochtaib.
Totaot Conqubar 7 Fercus etorra iersuide. Dillecid a-llama sis
fo *cétóir* 7 doberaid a claidbí ina truaildib. 'Anaídh', ol Senqu,
'denaid mo reir-se!' 'Dogenum', ol ied.

(Cúrói mac Daire.)

33. 'Issi mo rer-se daoib', ol .iui., 'huairi nach fetor¹⁾ uar
mprethucud inn nac baili aili, arcid co Coinrui mac Dairi. Is e
notolemhathar for mbrethuccud in for naigid.' Conid ann esbert
Senphu:

'Ailid an fer concerta Qurai mac Dairi
con clecht fir forcoll nat fri goi gepiter
fer find firian formaith mormenmnach
bruceaid ar brucehus
laech ar laimtincus²⁾
airdri ar airechus
con certfa fíor foruib fedm airce ailfius.' Ailid.

34. 'Faomuim, foemuim', ol Cuchulaind. 'Ced liom', ol
Loegairi. 'A dolai', for Connall. 'Gaútaíre h'eich didiu, a Connaill',
ol Cuchulaind, '7 indiltir di carpat.' 'Cid amai', or Connall.
'Écé', for Cuchulaind, 'forfidir cach aimglioci h'echrada, admoildi
th'innill, immtrom con cengaind do carpat, con tocúann clódh
cechtor a dá roth di ro[th]carpait, conid slicht suaichnid [fo. 7 a 2]
fri hedh oll bliadna do ocbaid Ulad cec rot riattus do carbat, a
Connaill.'

35. 'Adcluine sud, a Loegairi?' for Connall. 'Fe amae',
ar Loegaire. 'Nacaam-ail, nacam-imderce, a Connaill!' for
Cuchulaind.

'Ni³⁾ escidee for athu for ilatha
co hucht irgaili re nocuib Ulad.
Ni cuir formsa remtus riarigh
con clechtaimsi cairpteoracht
re harguib re herr(ed)uibh re hoencairptib
a ndoiligib a ndroúelaib a coilltib a coicerichaib
nad clechta cirr aon[r]carpait do imluadh ar mesi.' Si am esc.

¹⁾ Das MS. hat *huairi n̄ fetor*; vgl. c. 41, wo *uairi non fedomair* steht.

²⁾ *Laimtenach* i. tren no calma, 7 *cert* i. breath, 7 *foraib* i. etraibh,
ut est: Sencha ac tabairt thuarusebala Conri doibh co nebhairt: Brugaid a
bhrughachus, laech ar *laimhthenachus*, airdri ar airechus, concertfa fir *foraibh*.
O' Curry, Tr. p. 1325. Vgl. *laimthinach* i. derbthach, p. 1422; lámh *laimthinach*
i. lámh chintach, no lochtach, p. 1475; *laimhthionach* i. mianghasach, O'Cl.

³⁾ Verschrieben für *am*, wie der Schluss zeigt.

36. *Lasodain immoro* rogabuid a eic di *Loegairi* 7 dohindled a carbat 7 roleplaing ind. Bretais an tarui brot for in echraid hoc techt focétoir, co tancotar tar Mag da Gabal pri Hulta, dar Berna na Forairi, dor Ath Carpaít Fercusa, dor Ath na Morrignai, do coerthonn Cluana da Dam, a Clitair Fiduidhe, a Comur cetrísligte, tar slightib Dúine Delga, tar Mag Slicech siar a sliab mBreg mbrathsolus. Is annsin atracht doimell trom tiug doborada duibciac dorco doeolais. Es nann ispert fria a aruidh: 'Toirnid an carpat', ol .ui., '7 scuir na heochai, co-rrodiglui an ceo don-fainic.' Dognit(er) samlaid. Russcuir in gilla na heochai isan fergort bó a comfocus ndo 7 rusgair ca forairi 7 ca forcoimed.

37. Ni cian boi ann co nfaco an scáilfer mor dia doqum, osse mullachlethon, belremhor bolshuilech, granna grindednach grucanach, adheidig dur dosmailgioch. Ba duibitir gual cech nalt 7 cech nága de ó muldach co a bonn. Ba samalta fri herball fíadheich an mong gaisedeach greliath consuiged tar a formna siar sechtair. Suili duibliatha linducha lai(s). Ba medi-githir clar fítheillie cech ded glasbuide boi a cechtar a di drant. Ba samalta co rachad long fo a lanseolaib tar a gincraoss foslaieti. Srón qam quasanuch leis, fethiuch brec ingaluir aici. Nuscerd fi salannmeich do tuluib a lurgan bfiar bfoquham. Hoirene mellechai grebanchui foi. Slioasta sacachai sithquama leis, se adhpronnach (lethantsluaistech),¹⁾ se glumhlár tónchoir glaisingnioch. Ba egrutha examuil [fo. 7 b 1] an baclach sin. Ba dub teimnidhe, ba fuachda firgranda, ba hansuaire anaobda (túaruscáil) ind fir sin. Esse immoro ba moom di feruib domain co na madán magluircie fadbuidi dron denmaide, co foreraid for delgan do fri aglend a dhi ghualann. Araili araid²⁾ muschidhi bhreclachtna co na imlib iarnidib uimpi, sí imtrom fri himtecht, si adhuar fri hanadh, si hetig fri hairechtus, átlh aonbruit na haraidi sin roboi immon mbaclach.

38. Iarsin fiarfoidis an taithioch do araidh Laogairi Buadaig, can do 7 cuich a tigerna. 'Ni ansa', ol in tara, 'Loegairi Buadach mac Connbuide maic Iliach mo tigernussai.' 'Is gilla degtigerna on', ol an scal, 7 is amlaid adbert anni sin 7 dotocaib a madan magluirci 7 dobreth bem do o cluais có a caraidh. Cnetais 7

¹⁾ Eine Lücke im MS. gelassen, die aus Eg. ergänzt ist.

²⁾ Aráith .i. brat, ut est: Araile arait múscaidhe bhreclachtna ime. O'Curry, Tr. p. 1326.

iachtais 7 eghmis an gilla iar factail an moirimmid 7 an ecomm-lainn. 'Fé amae', or *Laegairi* ac cloisdin facta an arad. Lasodain atracht *Loegairi* focetoir co na armgaiscead dia foiridhin. Immacomrainic doih 7 dano ní raibi ba do sotain di *Loegairie*. Tocuid an scal a madan magluirci 7 dobreth beim do o a cluais co a (c)araid co-rtoitset a airm uaid cin comus. Techis *Loegairi* Buadach iersin fo melui 7 fo mebail, co ranic Eomain Macha ier facuhail a hech 7 a arudh 7 a airmgaisceid.

39. Niruo cian iarsin co nterracht Connall Cernach iarsan sligid cetnoi cusin maigin i turcaibh an duibceou draigeichta for *Loegairi* reme. Artraigis an ceo cetna for Conall, conar cungain nem no talmáin. Tairlingis iersen 7 tairntir a carpat 7 scoiris an tarui a eocha isan fergort cetno, fep roscuirid eich *Loegairi* Buadaig. Niruo cian din araid co naco in fer cetna cuici 7 iarfaigis do, cia 'gam mboi se ale, or .ui. 'Hoc Conall Cernach', ol in tarau. 'Mait in fer', or an scal lia tocuail a madain magluirci boi ina laimh, la tabairt bemin de co riacht an tarai. Atcluín Conall sin 7 ergis focetoir, immacomrainic do 7 don scal. Niruo ferr son do dano. Roforuaisligeth¹⁾ 7 teichid, co riacht Eamain Macha ier fácuail a arm 7 a ech 7 a aradh.

40. Dolluid .á. Ququlaind ina carput ier niamadh a fuil 7 ier na sleamhoncíradh ar an sligid cetna, fep docotar cach do etergleo an imresna 7 erruid Ulad immon curadmir, conustarraid an duibciach draigeichtac cetno, amal tarraid an luchd remi, co ruslion an cobes dimhain diqlui iter nemh 7 talaumh. [fo. 7 b 2] Tairlingis Cuchulaind isan maigin sin 7 chuiris Loeg a eocha isan fergort cetno. Niruo cian boi ann co naco an fer cendgarb corprenur quici co na madán magluirge ina laim, amal ticed remhe. 'Cia tussa, a gilla', ol se co handiarraid. 'Ní me ata cin ticernai', for Loeg, 'Cuchulaind mac Subaltain.' 'Maith on an cach fil ann', ol in toclach, 7 tocuaid fair an madan 7 dobreth (beim) do o a cluais co a (c)aruidh. Garthis Loeg. Atetha Cuchulaind a gaiscet 7 focerd cor niach nerred nde docum an scail 7 di foridin Loigh. Dercuis cach hi celi dib. Ba feig immoro 7 pa forgranna an fegadh 7 an frithailiom dorat cach

¹⁾ *Foruaise* .i. tarcaisne, ut est: Imacomraic do Conall 7 don scal, ní ba ferr són dna, *foruaislithar* Conall feibh roforuaisligthi Laegaire Buadach riam 7 teichid, co riacht Eamain Macha iar fagbail a arm 7 a each 7 a ara, 7 rl. O' Curry, Tr. p. 1326.

dib for a celi, *Cuchulaind* 7 an *scal*. Immacomhtuairc doib iersin 7 doberid *Cuchulaind* da beim im gach mbeim dossom, .i. tathbem 7 bem co comus, co roforuaislig *Cuchulaind* a bruth 7 a brig an scail, co-rrodislig na heocha 7 an aruid, 7 co ruc eoche 7 arudhai an lochta oili uaid, .i. *Conaill* 7 *Loegairi*, fo an cuma *ce*tno. Luid *Cuchulaind* remi cou *Heomain Macha* a ndiaid an lochta¹⁾ oili 7 dobretha a neoucha 7 a narudha doib.

41. 'Es latsa an *curadmir*, a *Cuchulaind*', or Briene. 'Ni ba fíor anni sin', ol *Connall* 7 *Loegairi Buadach*, 'uairi nicon fedomair, cia do chairdib sidhi *Conculaind* tanic do imbirt a cumachta foruind, 7 ní cert an *curadmir* do prith luainde aire.' Feidmid *Ulaid* a nedirgleod. 'Innsaigid Coinrui', ol *Senchui*, '7 na hanuid la bretir naili, co ristai uair lem for bur netergleod in uar fiadnusi.'

79. Dolotar isin maitin iernamaruch a triur *curad*, .i. *Cuchulaind* 7 *Conall Cernach* 7 *Loegairi Buadach*, co catraic Conroi. Scoirit a cairphti a ndorus ana catrach 7 tiacaid isin rigtech, 7 fernis *Blatnad ingen Mind*,²⁾ ben *Conrai*, failti rú; 7 ní raibi *Curai* a buss ar a cinn an *adaig* sin, 7 ra(fí)tir ricfaitis, 7 forfhacaib comarli lasan mnai im reir na *curad*, co tísad don turus, ari ndechaid soir a tiribh na *Sciattia*. Fouith ní-rroderg *Curoi* a claideb a n*Erind*, o rogab gaisced co ndechaid bas, 7 ní dechaid biad *Erend* ina beolui, cen ronboi ina betaid, o ropdar lana a secht mbliadna, uairi ní rotallustar a uaid nach a allud nach a airechus nach a borrfad nach a med nach a calmatus in n*Erind*. Boi immoro an ben diaa reir co folcud 7 fothracad 7 co-llendaib la inmescaib³⁾ 7 co ndergodaib sainemlaib, comtar buidhig.

80. O thanic doib iarom [fo. 8 a 1] co dergad, asmpert an ben rú iersuidi, cech fer dib a aidqi di faire na catrach, co ntisadh *Quri*, hi fairi doib ier noesaiú. Cipe haird di airdib an domain a mbet, dincanud for i catraic, co mbo limithir proin muilind, cona fogtaithi i dorus iar funet ngreini do gres.

81. Luid ierom *Loegairi Buadach* an cet adhaigh di fairi na catrach, uair itte ba sinnser doib a triur. Rusbui isan tsuidhe faire iersuide co dereth aidhci, co nfaco in scath quci indiar

¹⁾ Das MS. hat *lossa*.

²⁾ *M7* MS.

³⁾ Vermutlich für *hinmescaib* verschrieben.

radarc hi sulai don farci. Ba dimor 7 ba granna 7 ba hathuath-mar lais a med an scaith, ar i indus lais co nriacht conuici ethiar a airdi, 7 ba foderc do foles na fairci fo a gabul. Is amlaid tanic 7 laun a di glac leis do lomanuib daruch, 7 dobi oiri quingi sesrigi in cec lomcrann dib, 7 nir aitherracht bem do buain craind dib acht aon beim di claidiub. Doleg gecan dib fair, lecthi *Loegairi* secha. Caomelaid fo di no fo tri 7 ni ranic enes no sciat do *Loegairi*. Dolleici *Loegairi* gai fairsiom 7 ni ranic.

82. Roictisim a laim co *Loegairi*. Boi tra dia fod na laime co nruact tar na teora futoirtii bo etorro hoc imdiprocud, conid iersodain rogab ina glaic. Ciar uo mor 7 cier uo hairegda tra *Loegairi*, tarlustar a noenglaic in oclaig donfanic, fep tallad mac bliadna, 7 condamalt eter a di phois iersuidi, amal tairid-niter fer fitheilli for tairidin. Trat ba lethmarb iarom ind innus sin, dodleici ercor disude tar caithir amuich, co nboi for in otrach a ndorus an ritighi, 7 nir hosluiced an catir and etir. Dorummenaiter ind fir tra 7 muinte na catrach uili, ba leim roleabluingscom tar an catraig amuich dia facuhail for na feroib aili.

83. I mbatar co diaid lai co trath na faire, luid Connall Cernach isan suidi fairi, uairi ba sine oldass *Cuchulaind*. Fo an innus cetno dno amal tarlui di *Loegairi* uili an adaidh cetna toisich. In tres aidei dno luid *Cuchulaind* isan tsuide fairi. Ba si sin adaigh rudsalsad na tri Glaiss Seschinn Uairbeoil, tri Buai-deltaig Bregb 7 tri maic Dornmhair Ceoil di orcain inna catrac. Ba hi dano adhaidh roboi hi tairrngiri don peist roboi issin loch hi farrud na catrach fordiuchlaim lochta in puirt uili eter doine 7 innile.

84. Bai *Cuchulaind* didiu hoc fritairi na hoidechi 7 batar mitúrussa imdha foair. Trath ba medon oidei do ierom, co qualui in fotrann cuci. 'Alla alla', or *Cuchulaind*, 'cia fil alla? Masad caruid, condosnadaid; mas dod namhoid, condomralaid.' Gairm nannus fair [fo. 8 a 2] lasodain. Concloich *Cuchulaind* foraib ierom, conid marb tarraidh talumh a nonbor. Addaig an cendailocco isin suidhe nfaire. Modh nad modh indesid inna suide, congair in nonuair aili airi. Rusmarb tra na tri nonuairi fo an innus cetna,¹⁾ co ndernoi oencarn dib eter cendail 7 fadhb.

¹⁾ .1o.na MS., statt .1oo.na.

85. *Amal* ronboi ann iersuide co *deret* aidei, ba seith 7 ba toirsech 7 pa mertnioch, co cuala comgabail ind airdi, *amal* bud fotrann farci dimoiri. Ni fordamair tra a bruth cecha raba do med a *turse* cin techd do dextrin in delma moir roneola, co naco in coimergi dorine in *pest*. Doicc lais dono roboi .xxx. cubat di uas an loch. *Dusnuarcuib suas* iarsuidi isan aier 7 rusleablaing docum na catrach 7 adrolaicc a beola, co ndechsad aon na rigtiche ina craos.

86. Forraithminedar lasodain a forumclis 7 lingthi a nairde, coruo luaithidir retid fuinnemna imon pesd imma cuairt. Iadaid a di glaic immoa braigit iersuide 7 roding a laimh conici a gualainn inna gineraes, co tarfaig a eride eisti, co ndoralui uaid for talum. Imbeir *Cuchulaind* in claidib fuire, co nderno minmirenda di, 7 donbir a cend co raibi acco isan tsuide fhairi hoc an cendail aili.

87. Trat romboi ann iersuidii 7 se athbrisde trog isan degoil, co naco an scath cuici aniar dond farci. 'Bid olc ind adaid', ol uí. 'Pud meisemh duidse', olsa Cu. Lasodain dolleici gecan foair. Leicid *Cuqulaind* seochau. Coemcloid fo di no fo tri, ni ranic cnes no sciath di Coinculaind. Dolleici *Cuchulaind* gai fairsiom 7 ni ranic. Sinis a laimh co Co(i)neulaind iersuide dia gabail ina glaic, *amal* rogabh na firui aili. Foucercd *Cuchulaind* cor niach nerrad nde lasodain 7 raithmenadar a forumhelis, 7 a cloidebh nocht¹⁾ huas a mulluch, coruo luaithidir fiamhain et-arbhuas imme imma cuairt, con nderna retarbuara. 'Anmain an anmain, a *Chuchulaind*!' or se. 'Mo tri drindruisc dam!' ol *Cuchulaind*. 'Rotbia', ol se, 'feib dotissad lia t'anail.' 'Rigi loec nErend dam o an tratsa, an curadmir cin cosnom frim 7 tos dom mnaí ria mnaib Ulad uili.' 'Rodbia', ol esiom lasodain fo .10.oir. Ni fhitir, cia arluid uaid[i] anti boi oc a acollaim.

88. Immadraidiu ina menmain iersuidi a-lleim docotar a oes cumta tar an catraic, ar ba[d] mor 7 pa hard 7 pa lethon a-lleim, 7 ba doich laiseom, ba do leim docotar an lath gaili tairsiu. Domidethor fo tri dia lemim 7 forrémtius. 'Mairec domrommalt a nimned domromaltsai cus trasda immon curadmir', ol *Cuchulaind*, '7 a techd uaimb [fo. 8 b 1] la fedmedh an leime docotar ind fir naill.' Pa si tra boethar dogene *Cuchulaind*. No-

¹⁾ nost MS.

cinged for a cula etorbhuass fod norchora on catraig. Docinged dono etarbuas doridise asin mbaili hi tairised, co mbenadh a tuilcend risan catraic. Nolinged a nairde fecht naill isan talom connici a glun ar truma a protha 7 a neirt. In fecht aili ni ti(s)ceid a druchd don feor ar denmne an aienid 7 lútighi an lathoir 7 med na gaili. Lasan siabrad rosiabrad uime, fecht noen ann cingtisom tar in catraig amoig, co raibi tall a medon na catrach a ndorus an rigtigi. Ata inad a da traiged isan liic uil for lár na catrach, úaili a raibi a ndorus an rigthigi. Teid isan tech lasodain 7 dolleic a osnaid ass.

89. Ismbert Blathnod ingion Mind, ben Conrui: 'Ni hosnadh iar meabul emh', or si, 'acht is osnaid iar mbuaid 7 coscur.' Ronfidir *ingen* rig Innse fer Falga i ndoraid doiruid *Coinculaind* isan oidhchi sen. Niruo cian dono iarsin, co n(a)ccotar Coinrai cuco isan tech, 7 bratgaisced[na] na tri nonúar romarb *Cuchulaind* lais 7 (a ci)nna 7 cenn na piasda. Espert lasodain iar cor na cenduili do assa ucht for laur an tighi: 'Ba gilla comhadus do fhairi duine rig do gres', ol .ui., 'an gillai dian comrama so an enoidhchi uili. Anni imma tudcabhair am rersi', ol .ui., 'immon curadmir, is la *Coinculaind* iar firinde ar belaið hocce nErend uili. Cia uleth bus calma ann', or se, 'atás ni fhuil rossia coimlion comruma pris.' Es i breth ruce Qurai doib iarsuide, an curadmir do *Coinculaind* 7 lathus gaili Gaidel uili 7 tus dia mnai ria mnaib Ulad uili a dtech noil, 7 dombert .uií. cumhala do ór 7 arcet dó i-llogh an gniomaoi oenoidhchi dorine.

90. Celiprait ierom do Coinrui 7 dollotar, co ndecotar Eomain Macha a triur ria ndeug lai. Trath ann doib iersuide co roinn 7 dail, rogabsat and rannaire an curadmir co na fotha do linn [ria] riasan roinn, co raibe occaib forleth. 'Is derb lind tra', or Dubthach Doeltengau, 'ni fhuil imcosnom lip anocht imon curadmir. Rolamair bur mbrethuchud anti rancopair.' Isbert an fiallach aili fria *Coinculaind* iarsuide, ní tardhud an curadmir do neoch dib sech a celi. Mad in robretaighestar immoro Curai doib a triar, ni ardamadhair ní de itir do *Coinculainn*, o rancotar Eumain Macha. Ismbert Cuculaind lasodhain, narúo sanntach-som fair curadmir do cos- [fo. 8 b 2] nomh idir, fobithin naruo mo a solumh donti dia tibartha oldas a doludh. O shen ni roroinneth curadmir ann, co tanié (cennach) an ruanada a nEumain Macha.

(Cennach ind ruanada.)

91. *Fecht* nann do Ulltaib a nEmain Macha iar seis aonaig 7 cluici, dolluid Concopar 7 Fercus mac Roich 7 maithi Ulad archena asan cluichimuigh a nEmain, co ndesitar tall isan Craeb-ruaid Concubair. Ni raibi Cuculaind ann na Conall Cernach na Loegairi Buadach an aduid sin. Batar immoro lath gaili fer nUlad ann olcena. Amal robatar and trath nona deog lai, co nacotar bachlach mor forgranna cuco isan tech; ar indar leo ni raibi di Ulltaib lath ngaili rosasad leth medi fair. Ba huathmor 7 pa granna a indus ind oclaig. Sencodhal fria cneass 7 brat dublactna imme 7 dos-bili mor fair, med gaimhlias hi tallad .xxx. ngamnoi. Suili ciochardha buide ina cinn, med coire rodaimh cechtar na da sula sin fria cinn anechtair. Remithir doid laimhe neich oili cech mer diau meruib. Cep ina laimh cli a raibi oiri .xx.7 cuingi, baiil ina laim deis a ndeocatar .uú. bruthdamna, boi feidm cuingi sesrige ina samhtaig.

92. Dolluid fón eccuse sin, co mboi fo bun na gablu ronbui a cinn na teneth ina tsesomh. 'In cuimci an tighi doid?' or Dubthach Deoltenga frisam bachlach, 'an tan nad foghba inad naili nann acht befh a mbun na gablui; munid caindleoracht an tighi is ail doid do cosnomh, acht namaa budh moam bus loscad don tig oltas úus soillsi don tegluch, 7 comad loscud don tig.'

93. 'Acht nama', ol .uú., 'ni he mo dan do gres, atad dana eli liom cenaue. Inni dia tudheuid chuincid .ú.', ol .uú., 'nocan fhuar ind Erind nach ind Alpuin nach in Eoruip nach in Afraicc nach an Aicia co Grecia 7 co Scetia 7 Innsie Hore co Columnuib Hercoil, co Tor mBreogain 7 Indsie Gaid, nech nocomaildfed fir fer frimb uimme. Uair roucsaidsi for nUlltaib', ol se, 'do sluagaib na tire sin uili ar grain 7 greid 7 gaisced, ar oirechus 7 uaill 7 ordon, ar feli 7 indracus 7 febus, fogabhar ann uaib ainfer comalndus brethir an ceisd immatu.

94. 'Ni coir emh oinech cuigid do breth araí oinflhir do-tesbaid dib hoc díden a noinich, 7 bes nib nessamh ecc dossuidhe oldas doidse.' 'Ni¹⁾ hoc a imghabhail dono atussa anní sin.' 'Findamair tra do cheisd', ol Fercus mac Roig. 'Acht co rodamthar fir fer daumh', ol se, 'addober.' [fo. 9 a 1] 'Is coir em fir fer do comalndud friutsa immoro', ol Sencuo mac Ailella, 'ar ni

¹⁾ Das MS. hat *INi*.

fir daum do *sluag* mor muindtriomuil prised for oinfer nanaichnid netorrui. Et ba doiech linn', ol Senchui, 'mad cus trasdoi fua-gebta ainfer do dinguaiui sunn.' 'Faccuaimse dono Concupar fria laim', ol .ui., 'daig hi rigi, et facuim *Fercus mac Roich* daich a coitechta, 7 cibe dib', ol .ui., 'rismadseidir¹⁾ cenmotháa hin dioas sin, toet co ntallursau a *cend* de *hinocht* 7 co talla mo cenn diomsa himbaruch d'adhuich.'

95. 'Is deuru tra hi fechtsau', or Dubtuch, 'ni fuil ann nech ulus fiou lueat dirioacht- a ndegaid na desi sin.' 'Bed cossa hinossa', ol Muinremhar mac Gercinn; dosceinn side for laur hin tiehi lasodain. Ba he tra calmotus hin Muinremair hisin, nert *cet* cathmiled ann 7 nert *cet* cedluid *cechtar* a da righid. 'Tair sios, hi bachluich', or se, 'co tallursa do *cend* díot anochd 7 co tallussa diomsa amaruch d'adhuig.' 'Fogebainnsi hin cech bailie anní sin, diamadh hed iudh ail dam', ol in bachlach. 'Amail rocinnsenmh', ol .ui. 'is amlaid dognem: mesi do gaid do cinn diotsa hinocht, tussa dia gaid diomsau himaruch d'adhuigh dia dighail.' 'Toing a toing mo tuath', ol Dubthach Doeltengau, 'ni hail doid ég samhlaid, an fer muirfe anocht dot marbud²⁾ himbaruch d'adhuigh. Is hocudsa t'oenur, ma ata do cumochta do marbod cech noidei 7 do dighail iarnamaruch.' 'In comarli emh orrotaidhse uili', ol in bacloch, '7 is ingnad lib domgensa.' Fonaiscidh for a celi iersuidi a fhior, or ni gaibthiur him comulndud a dalui fris arna[r]maruch d'adhuich.

96. Lasodain gebthi Munremar an mbail hi-llaimh an bach-laich; .uii. traicti ider dí ul an bíala. Adaich an bachlach iersuidi a braghaidh tar in cep, dobeir Munremar beim do biail tar a bragaid, co nrogaib an cep fris anios, co roshescuind a cend, co ra- [fo. 9 a 2] ibi hi mbun ina gablui, co mba laun an teallach don cru 7 don fuil. Atfraig suas iersin 7 tecmallau a cenn 7 a cep 7 a biail ina uchd, 7 is amhlaid docuaid uaidhib asan tiech himmac, 7 sredach na folui asan meidi, co-llinad an Craobruaid for cech leth. 7 doboi grain mor for Ultuib uili isan tiech ar a ingontus leo an sceoil dufarraidh. 'Toing et r.', ol Dubthach Doeltengau, 'dia tí in mbachlach so himaruch d'aduig ier na mharbad andochtt, ni fuicfi fer mbethud lia hUlltui.'

¹⁾ *lasmisétar* LU., *lasmeit* Eg., *lasmasetir* Ed. Hierin scheint ein alter Schreibfehler zu stecken, etwa für *roslemathar*. Vgl. Cap. 33.

²⁾ Die Edinburger Handschrift hat hierfür *dia lil fort*, was ohne Zweifel für *dia dighail fort* verschrieben ist.

Tarmehuir tra an bachlach iernamharach d'adhoig 7 luid Munremar for a imgabail. 7 gabais an baclach occ a eliugud cin comallnad a brefhri fris. 'Ni fior em', ol .uí., 'do Muinremar cin comollnad cennaich frimsa.'

97. Boi didin Loegairi Buadach hi fos an oidei sin. 'Cia do na curaduib cosnus an curadmir', ol .uí., 'firfhus cennuch friumsa anocht? Caiti Loegairi Buadach?' ol .uí. 'Atu sunn, a ùachlaich', or Loegairi. Fonaisci fa an innus cetna 7 ni tanic Loegairi. Tice dono iernamuarach 7 innaiscid do 7 Conull, 7 ni tharnacair Conall Cernach.

98. Tic dono an cetramad adaig 7 ba lonn 7 ba uechell fair isodain. Tairnegtair mna Ulad uili an adaig sin di dextrin an sceoil ingnathaig, tegad isan Craobruaidh cech noidhe. Boi dono Ququlaind a fos an adaig sin. Rusbab an bachlach grisad lasodain. 'Roscaich uar ngal 7 uar ngaisciod, a Ulta', or se. 'Mor menmai uar curad imma curadmir, 7 n(i)dod tualaing a cosnomha', ol .uí. 'Caiti an siabarta cloen truag ud, frisa nabortur an Cuchulaind? in ba ferr a briatra oldas an fiallach naid?' 'Ni hail dam cennuc frit, a bachlaig, eter', or Cuchulaind. Doicc liom', ol .uí., 'a cuil truagh, is mor adaghaictir écc.' Dosceinn Cuchulaind cuigi lasodain, 7 rel. Addaig side bem ndó don biail corben a cend nde fri clethi na Craobruaidi, co nderno slierig 7 minbruar nde. Afraig suas iersuidi, 7 rel.

99. Iarnamarach tra bottar Ulaid oc forecomedus Conculaind, duss an raghadh for imgabhail an baclaig, [fo. 9 b 1] (amail do-cuatar an fiallach naid)

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Der Schluss der Erzählung auf der verwischten letzten Seite der Leidener Handschrift ist mir auch bei erneuter Prüfung, mit dem Edinburger Texte des *Cennach ind ruanada* zur Seite, unlesbar geblieben.

Berlin.

LUDW. CHR. STERN.

BEMERKUNGEN ZU DEN BERNER GLOSSEN.

Gleich unter den ersten photographischen Nachbildungen alter Handschriften, deren Ausgabe man der Anregung, Förderung und Leitung des verstorbenen Leidener Bibliothekars W. N. du Rieu und seines wohlverdienten Nachfolgers S. de Vries verdankt, befindet sich ein ehrwürdiges Denkmal irischer Kultur.¹⁾ Ob zwar gelehrte Forschung uns längst damit bekannt gemacht hat, so betrachten wir es doch nun gern in aller Musse und versagen dem Fleisse, den H. Hagen auf die ausführliche Einleitung dieses Berner Codex Bongarsianus 363 verwendet hat, unsere Anerkennung nicht. Der irischen Sprachkunde steht der Verfasser freilich fern, wie er denn die Glossen, durch die der Codex unter uns berühmt ist, angelsächsische nennt und in den Eigennamen Cormac und Comgan Verba 'animadvertendi vel recordandi' vermutet.

Diese Handschrift wichtiger Werke der römischen Litteratur, vor allem des Kommentars des Servius zum Virgil und der Gedichte des Horaz, ist in Norditalien, vielleicht in Mailand, entstanden, nicht früher, wie einige zeitgenössische Gedichte gegen Ende lehren,²⁾ als um die Zeit da Tado Erzbischof von Mailand war (er sass 860—868), und, wie es scheint, kaum später als

¹⁾ Augustinus, Beda, Horatius, Ovidius, Servius, alii. Codex Bernensis 363 phototypice editus. Praefatus est Hermannus Hagen Bernensis. Lugduni Batavorum, A. W. Sijthoff 1897. (Codices Graeci et Latini photographice depicti duce Scatone De Vries, Tom. II.) LXXI + 394 pp. 4^o.

²⁾ E. Dümmler im Neuen Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde 4, 317 (1879).

die Kaiserin Angelberga oder Engilberga¹⁾ lebte, die Gemahlin des römischen Kaisers und Königs von Italien Ludwigs II., eine Tochter Ludwigs des Deutschen, und sie wird noch 896 als die Äbtissin des von ihr gegründeten Klosters S. Sisto in Piacenza erwähnt.²⁾ Zweimal gedenkt ein alter Annotator des Codex Bongarsianus der hohen Frau. Das erste Mal, wo es in des Servius Kommentar (p. 90a) heisst: '*Consuetudinis regiae fuit, ut legitimam uxorem non habentes aliquam licet captivam tamen pro legitima haberent, adeo ut liberi ex ipsa nati succederent*' — wird am Rande an die Königin Angelberga erinnert. Diese hatte ihrem Gemahle eine Tochter, aber, so viel man weiss, keinen Sohn geschenkt, und wir haben Nachrichten, dass gelegentlich andere Frauen in der Gunst Ludwigs den Platz der Kaiserin einnahmen. So berichtet Hincmarus Remensis in seinen Annalen a. 872 von dem kaiserlichen Zuge von Rom nach Benevent: '*Et quia primores Italiae Ingelbergam propter suam insolentiam habentes exosam, in loco illius filiam Winigisi imperatori substituentes, obtinuerunt apud eundem imperatorem, ut missum suum ad Ingelbergam mitteret, quatenus in Italia degeret, et post illum non pergeret, sed eum in Italia reversurum expectaret. Illa autem non obaudiens illius mandatum, post eum ire maturavit.*' (Monumenta Germ., Scriptores 1, 494.) Dies oder ähnliches mag dem Glossator im Sinne gelegen haben. Das andere Mal (Bl. 186a) führt derselbe zu Horazens Worten (Serm. I. 2, 123), wo er von der Geliebten spricht, die ihm gefallen könnte:

'Candida rectaque sit: munda hactenus, ut neque longa
Nec magis alba velit, quam dat natura, videri' —

die Königin Angelberga als ein Beispiel an; er fügt dadurch einen weiteren Zug in ihr Bild, indem er der herrschsüchtigen Fürstin von kleiner Statur, wie es scheint, eine Vorliebe für hohe Hacken und Schminke nachsagt. Das könnte sich sehr wohl auf Thatsachen und Vorkommnisse beziehen, die um 872 das Gespräch der Leute bildeten. Aber dennoch genügen diese Angaben nicht, um das Alter unseres Bongarsianus danach mit völliger Sicherheit zu bestimmen. Denn die zweite Note ist von

¹⁾ H. Zimmer, *Glossae Hibernicae* p. XXXIII.

²⁾ J. F. Böhmer, *Regesta imperii* I, ed. E. Mühlbacher, p. 699.

dem Schreiber wahrscheinlich aus dem ihm vorliegenden Codex lediglich abgeschrieben und enge in die horazischen Verse eingefügt worden. Auch andere Zusätze sind, wie man bemerkt hat, in den fortlaufenden Text des Servius geraten, namentlich der auf Bl. 128a, der von einem Iren herrührt. Wenn sich also mit grosser Wahrscheinlichkeit ergibt, dass der Codex bis in die siebziger Jahre des 9. Jahrhunderts annotiert worden ist, so bleibt die Möglichkeit, dass er erst gegen Ende dieses oder gar im Anfange des 10. Jahrhunderts abgeschrieben wurde. Die Frage ist nicht von Belang; denn der Codex ist mitten aus dem 9. Jahrhundert hervorgegangen und für die irischen Kulturzustände dieser Zeit eine unvergleichliche Urkunde.

Damals wanderten irische Mönche auf dem Kontinente weit umher und liessen sich in Deutschland, Frankreich¹⁾ und Italien nieder. Irische Klöster blühten in Oberitalien und waren Stätten klassischer Bildung. Dass der Schreiber des Codex Bongarsianus Ire war, zeigt seine Schrift; aber auch einige lateinische Zusätze am Rande lassen es erkennen. Bl. 104b sagt Servius zur Aeneis 3, 607: 'Physici dicunt esse consecratas numinibus singulas corporis partes, ut aurem memoriae; frontem genio, unde venerantes deum tangimus frontem; dexteram fidei; genua misericordiae, unde haec tangunt rogantes.' Dazu der Ire am Rande: 'de flexu genuum ut Scotti faciunt.' Das erinnert an Walahfrids († 849) Worte über die Schottensitte des Kniebeugens: 'Quamvis autem geniculationis morem tota servet ecclesia, tamen praecipue huic operi Scotorum insistit natio, quorum multi non solum pro peccatis deplorandis, sed etiam pro quotidianae devotionis expletionem studium istud frequentare videntur.' (Dümmler, Ostfränkisches Reich² 3, 656). An einer andern Stelle (Bl. 138a) bemerkt der irische Glossator zu des Servius Angabe, dass das Klima den Menschen nur teilweise verändern könne (zur Aeneis 6, 724): 'de Scottis qui moriuntur in aliena regione'. Zu solcher Bemerkung fühlte sich gewiss nur ein irischer Schreiber veranlasst, der selbst in der Fremde lebte.

Den irischen Schreiber des Codex verrät auch manche Eigentümlichkeit seines lateinischen Dialekts: er verwechselt

¹⁾ Von Iren im Kloster von Laon wird 819 und 875 berichtet (Dümmler, Ostfränkisches Reich² 3, 656). Dem 9. Jahrhundert wird auch das Iadonenser Psalterium Stae Salabergae angehören, von dem CZ. 3, 444. 625 die Rede gewesen ist.

mitunter z. B. die Vokale *i*, *e* und *a*, oder *o*, *a* und *u*; er spricht *b* statt *p* (*rabidos* statt *rapidos*) und *v* (*albeo*, *ignabus*), oder *v* statt *b* (*uis*, *travalis*), *c* statt *g* (wie *Alcido*) und *g* statt *c* (wie *regens* statt *recens*) oder *d* (*gauges* statt *gaudes* — in so frühe Zeiten scheint die Verwechslung des *dh* mit dem *gh* zurückzugehen); er schreibt *cs* statt *x* (*mercs*), er aspiriert *Melphomene* (statt *Melpomene*). Er war indes des Lateinischen nicht allzu mächtig: *sacer nunc* (statt 'secernunt'), *dulcis opere* (statt 'dulci sopore'), *audi rest opere* (statt 'audire est operae') und andere Missverständnisse laufen in seinem Texte mit unter.

Von einem Landsmanne des Schreibers ist der Codex gründlich durchgearbeitet, wahrscheinlich aber schon in dem Archetypus oder den verschiedenen Handschriften, wovon der Bongarsianus eine Abschrift ist. Nach damaliger Gelehrtensitte hat dieser unbekannte Leser die Ränder mit einer Menge von Noten, Buchstaben und Merkzeichen versehen, sei es zur eigenen Erinnerung, sei es zur Anweisung von Schülern, wie wenn er sagt: 'lege semper' (*l. s.*) oder 'quaere semper' (*q. s.*) oder 'hic incipe' oder 'hic lege' oder auch *dial.* (*dialectica*) oder *alleg.* (*allegoria*) und ähnliches, was keinerlei Wichtigkeit hat. Auch auf einzelne Personen verweisen diese Marginalien, italienische, deutsche, irische, unter denen einige bekannte Autoren, andere aber heute vergessen sind. Unter den Deutschen finden sich der Ketzer Goddiscalus von Orbais, Herminfridus, Raigimbodus, Rathramnus, Ratoldus, Staginulfus und aus späterer Zeit Godescalc und Volcbrecht. Manche Namen kommen auch in dem Codex Boernerianus vor, der nach L. Traubes Vermutung¹⁾ von Sedulius selbst geschrieben wäre, so namentlich der hier wiederkehrende Giso. Die Iren, denen wir auf den Rändern des Bongarsianus begegnen, sind ausser den vor allen häufig citierten gelehrten Johannes Erigena und Sedulius Scottus, die in der Mitte des 9. Jahrhunderts blühten, Cormac (kaum Mac Cuilennáin, der Erzbischof und König von Cashel, † 903), Comgan, Dungal, Fergus, Macc Longain, Colggu († 794), *Dubthach* und *Drugan* (?).

Jene Nota 'Lege hic librum fabularum Robertai' (Bl. 128a.) hat Zimmer besprochen (ZDA. 33, 327), sie ist versehentlich in des Servius Text zur Aeneis 6, 121 aufgenommen, wo die Sagen

¹⁾ Abhandlungen der Münchener Akademie, philos.-philol. Klasse 19 (1891), p. 348.

von Castor und Pollux, Theseus und Hercules berührt werden. Man kennt das Fabelbuch Robertachs, vermutlich ein lateinisches, nicht; aber es mag daran erinnert werden, dass nach den irischen Annalen ein Robertach 'episcopus et sapiens' von Finglas im Jahre 867 und dass ein Robertach von Durrow, der 'scriba' genannt wird, 872 starb (Three fragments p. 174. 196).

Dem 9. Jahrhundert scheint auch ein Name anzugehören, der Bl. 131b zu der Geschichte der Sibylla von Cumae erwähnt wird. Die erythräische Sibylla, heisst es beim Servius, verliess ihre Insel und ging nach Cumae 'et illic defecta corporis viribus vitam in sola voce retinuit', bis sie dann gegen Apollos Gebot in einem Briefe ihrer Landsleute ein Stück ihres Heimatlandes wiedersah und starb (Comment. ed. G. Thilo et H. Hagen 2, 55). Dazu steht am Rande, wie man es gelesen hat, 'sicut Mac Ciadáin', nach Hagen aber 'Mac Ciallaín'. Es sei bemerkt, dass der erste bis auf den Rest eines Querstriches weggeschnittene Buchstabe des zweifelhaften Namens möglicherweise *C* oder auch *F* (oder *S* oder *R*?) gewesen ist und dass das mittlere Zeichen sehr wohl *d* oder *cl* sein kann, aber auch Hagens *ll* scheint möglich, sodass man zwischen Ciallaín, Fiallaín, Ciadáin, Fiadáin, Fiacláin zu wählen hätte. Es handelt sich m. E. um einen Mann, dessen Name auch in den irischen Annalen nicht ganz fest steht, nämlich um jenen Niall *mac Giallain*, einen heiligen Priester, der nach der Überlieferung 30 Jahre gefastet haben soll und nach den Vier Meistern 854 oder 858 starb. Er wird auch *Mac Fiallain* genannt und die Annalen von Ulster sagen a. 859 von ihm: 'Niall *mac Iallain*, qui passus est paralisin 34 annis et qui versatus est visionibus frequentibus, tam falsis quam veris, in Christo quievit'. Die Gesichte des Diacons Niall standen um die Mitte des 9. Jahrhunderts weit und breit in hohem Ansehen und ein gewisser Peltred hatte ihren Ruhm auch in England verbreitet, was der Bischof Egred von Lindisfarn in den vierziger Jahren beklagt, indem er von Peltred sagt: 'qui stulta falsitate refert Nialum diaconum septem hebdomadas mortuum fuisse, et iterum revixisse, nihilque alimentorum postea percepisse, aliaque perplura quae idem Peltredus, sive per se sive per Nialum vel alios falsiloquos, de veteri ac novo Testamento delirando mendaciter prompsit.' (Councils and ecclesiastical documents, ed. Stubbs 3, 615). Der Bericht Peltreds findet sich in einer angelsächsischen Homilie, die den Brief Christi über die Sonntags-

heiligung mit den Visionen Nialls in Verbindung bringt. Danach erzählte Niall nach seiner Wiedererwachung viele wunderbare Dinge, die er in der andern Welt gesehen habe, und die Leute konnten in seinen Worten nur die Wahrheit erblicken. Was alles von R. Priebisch in den *Otia Merseiana* 1, 144 gelehrt dargelegt worden ist. Es bleibt wohl nicht zweifelhaft, dass der Mac Fialláin des Berner Codex eben dieser Diacon Niall ist.

Zu den Worten des Servius (Bl. 94b), die Stoa und die Akademie lehrten, 'ea quae contra naturam sunt, non fieri, sed fieri videri: unde magica ars omnis exclusa est' ist *Taircheltach* geschrieben (nicht *Turcheltach*, wie Hagen liest). Es ist, wie Stokes gesehen hat (*Academy* 1886. II, 228), der Eigenname des Zauberers *Taircheltach mac na Cearda* oder *mac Aenchearda*, der nach O'Donovan in irischen Erzählungen mehrfach vorkommt. Dieser *Taircheltach* soll 858 den König Cerball von Ossory bezaubert haben, sodass er nicht kämpfen konnte, als er gegen den irischen Oberkönig Maelsechlainn im Felde stand (*Three fragments* p. 136).

Cathasach (Bl. 179b) könnte zur Not, mit Beziehung auf Horaz *Od.* III, 23. 10, 'streitsüchtig' bedeuten. Viel wahrscheinlicher ist es der häufige Eigenname, der in O'Casey fortlebt. Ein Mann des Namens *Cathasach* starb in Armagh 854, ein anderer 880.

Ganz ähnlich und von derselben Hand geschrieben steht auf Bl. 186b am obern Rande über den Worten 'concha satis pure' (statt 'salis puri') das Wort *Ruidgal*. Da es sich nicht einleuchtend, weder als 'concha' (*Goidelica*² p. 56), noch als 'satis pure' (*RC.* 2, 450) erklären lässt, so halte ich es für einen Personennamen auf -gal, wie *Riangal* (*Gorman*, aug. 1, gl. 8), *Dungal*, *Fergal*, *Congal* u. a. m., dergleichen *Al. Macbain* (*Inverness Soc.* 20, 301) verzeichnet hat. *Gal* wird als 'Tapferkeit' gedeutet und des Compositus erstes Glied erinnert an *a fir rudi*, womit *Cúchulinn* angeredet wird (*LU.* 47 a 11). *Ruidgel* (oder *Ruidgal*?) heisst ein Bischof und Abt von Imlech-Ibair, der nach den Vier Meistern 878 starb.

Die wenigen sprachlichen Glossen des Codex sind in der Ausgabe so deutlich, dass man über ihre Lesung kaum noch unsicher bleibt. Bl. 31b *togluasacath toglúaset chombairt gl. praegnantes eorum* (sc. castorum) *odore abiciunt et egerunt partum*, wonach *togluasacht* wie sonst (*PH.* 5165) 'abortus' be-

deutet. Bl. 34a *criathar atho* gl. cribrum areale, 'das Sieb der Tenne'. *Atho* kann kaum Genitiv zu *ith* 'Getreide' sein (statt *etho*, RC. 2, 449), sondern ist Genitiv zu *áith*, dem die Bedeutung 'Tenne, Darre, Trockenofen' zukommt.¹⁾ Die Länge des Vokals, die *áith*, *átha* sonst hat, bleibt oft genug unbezeichnet. Möglicherweise hat das Wort ursprünglich eine allgemeinere Bedeutung als die im Irischen und Welschen (*odyn* 'kiln') erhaltene, und vielleicht ist *ráth*, *ráith* 'Erdwall' ebenso wie lat. *pratum* eine Zusammensetzung mit *pro* (ir. *ro*) und *áith* 'das was vor der Tenne ist'. Bl. 37b *loman aeorse* gl. speras funium (Hagen falsch *lonan vel loman eorse*), d. h. 'Strickgewinde', indem Servius zu Virgils 'imposuere coronas' (Georg. 1, 304) sagt: 'aut revera coronas, aut spiras funium'. Bl. 104a *slíab Gargain* gl. Gaurus — irrtümlich, da das Irische vielmehr Garganum, mons sancti Michahelis, ist.

Bl. 129a *corr[] ne[]* gl. necromantia et sciomantia (i. e. divinatio per umbras), von Stokes l. l. wahrscheinlich richtig zu *corrquinecht* ergänzt, d. i. 'Zauberei', dergleichen O'Davoren p. 63 (cf. p. 66) beschreibt: 'mit einem Fusse, einer Hand und einem Auge den satirischen Zauber *glám dicinn* auszuführen'. Das entsprechende nomen agentis ist *corrquinech* 'Zauberer' RC. 12, 76. 90. Die Worte, die dem Iren das *corrquinecht* erklären soll, lauten bei Servius zur Aeneis 6, 149 wie folgt: 'Est et alia opportunitas descendendi ad inferos, id est Proserpinae sacra peragendi. Duo autem horum sacrorum genera fuisse dicuntur: unum necromantiae et aliud sciomantiae; in necromantia ad levandum cadaver sanguis est necessarius, in sciomantia vero, quia umbrae tantum est evocatio, sufficit solus interitus'. Bl. 133b *rón* gl. focam.

Die von Hagen von Bl. 34b angeführte Glosse *t etum* zu 'area cum primum aequanda cylindro 7 uertenda manu' ist keine irische, sondern eine lateinische, nämlich die buchstäbliche Angabe der Lesart, die der Schreiber von den drei letzten Worten (Georg. 1, 179) in seiner Vorlage hatte: *et u. m.* (d. h. *et uertenda manu*). Wohl aber ist dem altirischen Sprachschätze hinzuzufügen *tení* oder *teni-* gl. carecta (Virg. ecl. 3, 20) loca caricis plena, Bl. 10a. Im Luibhleabhrán p. 75. 94 wird das Wort angeführt

¹⁾ Denselben Genitiv *átha* hat das Neurische: 'do chuirinn mo choigiol i gceillín na hátha', sagt Brian Merriman. Alte Belege des Wortes bezeichnet K. Meyer in den Contributions p. 71.

als *teine*, engl. 'furze' d. i. Stechginster, Pfriemenkraut, *ulex europaeus* L. Da dieses aber im Irischen sonst *aiteann* und seltener *conasg* heisst, so wird *teine* wie altir. *tenī* vielmehr 'das Rietgras', *carex* (*herba est acuta et durissima, sparto similis*), bezeichnen, engl. 'sedge'.

Eine neue Wortbedeutung giebt auch die Glosse *clu* gl. *oculorum impositio* (Bl. 42b), die Okulierung unfruchtbarer Bäume. Servius sagt zu Georg. 2, 69, die *insitio* sei doppelter Art: 'Nam aut *insitio* dicitur, cum, fisso trunco, surculus fecundae arboris sterili inseritur, aut *oculorum impositio*, cum, inciso cortice, libro alienae arboris germen inserimus'. Das Auge oder die Knospe, die eingesetzt wird, heisst demnach *clu* oder *cla* (?), eig. Nagel, Pflock; denn die Knospe wird in einem spitzen Schilde ausgeschnitten, das einem Nagel nicht unähnlich ist.

Die barbarische Glosse *muoralach* gl. *bufo rana terrestris nimiae magnitudinis* (Bl. 34b) hatte schon Stokes l. l. in *mac salach* verbessert; Hagen, der übrigens *simiae* (für *nimiae*) verliert, hat *muc* (vel *mac*) *salach*. Kaum bezeichnet der Ire die Kröte als *muc salach* 'ein schmutziges Schwein' wie ähnlich von ihrer Gestalt einige Fische (*muc mora*, *muc bhiorach*, *muc lochaidh*, *muc ruadh*) und *muc-shneachda* 'Schneeball'. Seltsam ist ja auch der Name *mac salach*, aber er bildet gewissermassen einen Gegensatz zu *mac coem* 'Kind' (man sagt *mac caem*, *ingen caem* SW. 1, 230, aber auch *maccaem mná* 'ein schönes Weib', etc.) und könnte immerhin 'eine schmutzige Brut' ausdrücken. So könnte *mac-samail* 'Ähnlichkeit', Genit. *macsamla* MR. 72, aber auch *macca samla* SW. 1, 14, eigentlich 'gleiche Brut' bezeichnen; denn die Ableitung des Wortes vom altnord. *māki* 'mate, match' (RC. 12, 461) erscheint mir zweifelhaft, und O'Reillys *maca* 'the like, equal, an emblem' ist wohl das englische *make*. Die übertragene Bedeutung des *mac* 'Sohn' ist übrigens ja sehr häufig, z. B. *macc tíre* 'Wolf'; *mac leabhair* 'Kopie'; *mac an luinn* 'Fingals Schwert', die Nachbildung von Celtchairs *luin*; *mac menmna(n)* 'die Phantasie, ein Erzeugnis des Geistes'; *macc alla* 'der Sohn des Felsens, das Echo', das der Araber *ibnat al-gabal* 'die Tochter des Berges' nennt (G. W. Freytag, *Arabum proverbia* 2, 665); u. v. a.

Die Worte Brigittens Bl. 117a rühren vermutlich von einem betagten Schreiber her, dem die irische Orthographie schon einigermaßen fremd geworden war. Sie bilden eine Strophe,

die nicht ganz fehlerfrei zu sein scheint, und stehen Zeichen für Zeichen (jedoch ohne Versabteilung) so da:

Isel fri art

tailciud . fri gargg . cáich a uuair.

cachóin . dodgéna samlid

bid reid riam cach . namreid.

Die Lesart *caith*, die Hagen hat (auch Zimmer ZDA. 35, 139 ist für *th*), wird durch die Photographie m. E. nicht bestätigt. Auch kann nur jene bekannte Redensart für 'jeder einzelne' hier gemeint sein, die *cech fochaid a húair* ML. 39 c 31, gewöhnlich aber *cách ar úair* RC. 10, 214. 12, 92. 13, 377. 393. LU. 126 a 36 oder auch *cách ar núair* LU. 47 b 7 lautet, da das Pronomen und die Präpositionen *ar* und *iar* in ihr abwechseln.

Das ist der Vorteil, den so vorzügliche Reproduktionen gewähren, dass sie jede Frage über Schrift und Text, die sich aufdrängt, ohne weiteres gleichsam vor dem Denkmale selbst zu entscheiden ermöglichen. Bei dem dermaligen Stande der photographischen Kunst möchte man wünschen, sie käme den celtischen Studien mehr zu statten, als es bisher der Fall gewesen ist, und dass namentlich die altirischen Handschriften, die man in ihren Bibliotheken zwar benutzen, aber nicht erschöpfen kann, nachbildlich vor allen Fährlichkeiten der Zukunft bewahrt blieben und zu einem gemeinsamen Besitze würden. Man hat mit der Veröffentlichung der Codices simulati nur erst begonnen. Es steht daher zu hoffen, dass auch die Glossen in Würzburg, Mailand und St. Gallen uns über kurz oder lang in einer Edition zugänglich werden, gegen die es kein Misstrauen und keinen Widerspruch giebt.

Berlin.

LUDW. CHR. STERN.

ERSCHIENENE SCHRIFTEN.

Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus, A Collection of Old-Irish Glosses Scholia Prose and Verse. Edited by Whitley Stokes and John Strachan. Vol. I. Biblical Glosses and Scholia. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1901. XXVIII + 727 SS.

Das Erscheinen des ersten Bandes dieses monumentalen Werkes bezeichnet eine Epoche in der Geschichte der celtischen Sprachwissenschaft. Fast fünfzig Jahre nach dem Erscheinen der *Grammatica Celtica* haben sich zwei hervorragende Gelehrte vereinigt, um das gesamte Material, aus dem Zeuss die irische Grammatik aufbaute, in zwei Bänden übersichtlich und mit vollem kritischen und erklärenden Apparat zu ordnen. Dieses Werk wird auf lange Zeit hinaus ein dem Anfänger wie dem selbständigen Forscher gleich unentbehrliches Handbuch, der Ausgangspunkt für alle weiteren Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der Sprache sein. Mag auch im einzelnen noch manches hinzuzufügen oder zu bessern sein (wie denn schon jetzt zwölf Seiten Addenda et Corrigenda von inzwischen vermehrter Kenntnis Zeugnis geben), dass die wissenschaftliche Leistung dem heutigen Stand der Forschung entspricht, dafür bürgt uns der Name der Herausgeber. Indem wir uns hier darauf beschränken, ihr Werk willkommen zu heissen, fügen wir den Wunsch hinzu, dass ihnen Kraft und Musse vergönnt sein möge, es bald zu Ende zu führen und durch den dritten Band, der das langersehnte altirische Wörterbuch bringen soll, zu krönen. Der Universität Cambridge aber gebührt unser Dank, dass sie Mittel und Wege gefunden hat, ein so grossartiges Unternehmen zu befördern.

The Wife of Bath's Tale, its sources and analogues. By G. H. Maynardier (Grimm Library XIII). London, D. Nutt, 1901. XII + 222 SS.

Dies ist eine umfassende und sorgfältige Untersuchung der Quellen von Chaucers bekannter Erzählung, deren letzten Ursprung der Verfasser in den irischen Sagen von überirdischen Wesen findet, welche die

Herrschaft von Irland (*flaithes Érenn*) personifizieren. Vgl. dazu noch *Baile in Scáil* § 8 (Zeitschr. III, S. 460). Studien über die weitere Verbreitung der Sage und ihre Beziehungen zu anderen Sagen schliessen sich an. Der nächste Band der Sammlung soll eine Ausgabe des gesamten irischen Materials von Prof. F. N. Robinson bringen.

Henri Gaidoz, *La Réquisition d'amour et le Symbolisme de la pomme*. École Pratique des Hautes Études. Annuaire 1902. Paris 1901. (p. 1—33.) 8°.

Anknüpfend an die bekannte irische Sage von Condla Rúad weist der Verfasser die Sitte der Übersendung oder des Zuwerfens eines Apfels als Liebesbotschaft bei den Iren, Griechen und Römern, ferner auch bei den Antipoden nach, bespricht die 'Vierge à la Pomme' der christlichen Kunst und protestiert im Schlusskapitel dagegen, stets nur von Symbol und Symbolismus zu reden, wo nichts weiter vorliegt als eine 'pratique familière et populaire', bei welcher 'il n'y avait pas plus de symbolisme, à l'origine, qu'il n'y en a chez le peuple d'aujourd'hui (par exemple en Angleterre) à lancer, à un orateur ou à un politicien qui déplaît, des pommes cuites ou des œufs (pourris, de préférence)'.

An Bhoramha Laighean or The Leinster Tribute. Put into Modern Irish by T. O. Russell. With Appendix and Vocabulary. Dublin, Gill and Son, 1901.

Der Versuch, Texte der älteren irischen Litteratur in die heutige Sprache zu übertragen, ist zuerst von dem verstorbenen O'Growney mit *Inram Máiledúin* und *Inram Snedgusa acus Maic Riagla* gemacht worden. Herr Russell hat jetzt die *Boroma* nach dem Texte des Buches von Leinster ebenso behandelt, wobei er sich auf die Ausgaben von Stokes und O'Grady stützt. Doch hat er manche alte Form missverstanden. So müsste es doch auf S. 39 statt *freascu* (altir. *fresciu*) jetzt *freisgim* heissen; *ága* und *bága* sind keine Adjectiva, sondern Genitive von *ág* und *bág*; *Lífiu* (S. 31) ist keine Erfindung des Reimes wegen, sondern der alte Dativ von *Lífe* u. s. w. Auch würde wohl grammatisch in der Übersetzung manches anders zu fassen sein, wie es z. B. statt *rachfaidh* auf S. 16 *rachfas* heissen müsste (*ni bheidh neach eile rachfas*).

K. M.

H. Zimmer, Keltische Kirche in Britannien und Irland. (Sonderabdruck aus der Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche, Band 10, S. 204—243). 1901. gr. 8^o.

Wie das Christentum im 3. Jahrh. in Britannien und von dort aus im 4. Jahrh. in Irland Eingang gefunden hat, wie sich die Legende des Britten Sucat, der mit Palladius derselbe wäre, bemächtigt und ihn zum Apostel der Iren Patricius erhoben hat, wie die Bekehrung im 5. Jahrh. nach Nordbritannien vordrang und die keltische Kirche im 6. bis 8. Jahrh. die Höhe ihrer Entwicklung erreichte, um sich in der Folge mit der römisch-katholischen ganz zu vereinigen, dies wird hier mit Gelehrsamkeit dargestellt und mit Scharfsinn geprüft.

R. Thurneysen, Sagen aus dem alten Irland übersetzt. Berlin, Wiegandt & Grieben, 1901. XII + 152 pp. 8^o.

Eine Übersetzung von 14 der wichtigsten mittelirischen Erzählungen, namentlich auch mehrerer aus Windischs Irischen Texten, mit gefälliger Sorgfalt ausgeführt. Knappe Einleitungen zu dem Ganzen und zu den einzelnen Stücken fassen das Wissenswerteste über die Welt der Iren von ehemals zusammen und bereiten die weitem Leserkreise, in die das Buch gelangen wird, in sachkundiger Weise vor.

—, Altirische Adverbien. (Estratto dalla Miscellanea linguistica in onore di Graziadio Ascoli. Torino, E. Loescher 1901). 4 pp. kl. fol.

Die altirischen Adverbien auf *ith*, *id*, wie *in-chorpdid* 'körperlich', werden als eine irische Neubildung aus *samlid* 'so', dem das w. *hefyd* 'gleichfalls' nahe zu stehen scheint, erklärt.

—, Irisches. (Zeitschrift für vergl. Sprachforschung 37, p. 423 bis 427).

Der Verf. führt ir. *dét* 'Zahn' auf ein Neutrum *dýt* zurück, gestützt auf LU. 131, 31. An dieser Stelle wird *múi na táí* als 'weder mein noch dein' übersetzt, so dass es dem w. *meu, teu* entsprechen würde. Weiter bespricht der Verf. die Ableitung der Präposition *la*, *le* aus dem Substantiv *leth* 'latus'.

—, Anzeige von W. Meyer-Lübke, Die Betonung im Gallischen 1901. (Separatabdruck aus dem Literaturblatt für germ. und rom. Philologie 1901, Nr. 5.) 2 pp. fol.

Die Anzeige erkennt an, dass die französischen Ortsnamen die durchgehende Betonung der ersten Silbe im Gallischen nicht wahrscheinlich machen.

Otia Merseiana. The publication of the Arts Faculty of University College, Liverpool. Vol. II, 1900—1901. London, Theod. Wollleben. 147 pp. 8^o. (10sh. 6d.)

In diesem zweiten Bande der Otia Merseiana (über den ersten s. CZ. 3, 195) setzt K. Meyer die Mitteilung von Erzählungen und Gedichten

aus mittellirischen Handschriften fort. Ediert und übersetzt werden der Text über die schöne Müllerin Ciarnat aus Egerton 1782 (cf. BB. 351 b 18 ff.), das dem Ruman zugeschriebene Gedicht über das Meer aus Laud 610, die Erschlagung des Königs Niall Nógíallach aus Rawlinson B 502 und Colgus Gebet betitelt *Sciap chrábaid* aus einer Brüsseler Handschrift 4190—4200 mit Vergleichung der übrigen Texte in YBL., LB. und zweier andern Codices aus Löwen. In einem Aufsatze, den H. Sweet zu dem Bande beige-steuert hat, werden die Principien festgestellt, die man auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen für das comparative Studium genommen hat, und seine fernern Ziele ins Auge gefasst, namentlich wird die Möglichkeit erwogen, die Forschung auf andere Sprachstämme auszudehnen.

- S. Bugge, Norsk sagafortaelling og sagaskrivning i Irland. Kristiania 1901. (Saertryk af 'Norsk historisk Tidskrift' 1901.) 160 pp. 8°.

Der Verf. vergleicht mit den nordischen Überlieferungen die Darstellung, die die irischen Sagentexte und Annalen von den Norwegern geben. Es werden behandelt die Schlacht von Clontarf und Ross na rí; die Vikinger, die mit dem Grafen Ottar kamen; die 'rote Jungfrau'; die isländische Brians-Saga; die Braavalla-Schlacht und die Brians-Schlacht. Das Werk ist noch nicht abgeschlossen und wird fortgesetzt werden.

- G. Dottin, La littérature gaélique de l'Irlande. (Revue de synthèse historique, tome III, no. 7, p. 60—97). Paris, L. Cerf 1901. 8°.

Die irische Litteratur, deren Umrisse, verzeichnend oder berichtend, die Werke der O'Reilly, O'Curry, D'Arbois de Jubainville, Hyde skizziert haben, ist im Einzelnen besonders erst durch die Arbeiten der letzten beiden Decennien näher bekannt geworden. Schon fällt es schwer den Überblick zu behalten. Der Verfasser liefert sachlich geordnete und genaue biographische Nachweise aus dem weiten Gebiete, unter denen man kaum etwas Wichtiges vermissen wird.

- Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness. Vol. XXII. 1897—98. Inverness 1900. XV + 348 pp. 8°.

Der Band enthält einen genauen Bericht über das Gälische von Perthshire von C. M. Robertson, Überlieferungen über die Dichterin Mary M'Leod von A. Mackenzie, Folklore von A. Polson und J. MacRury, einen Aufsatz über die alten gälischen Personennamen in den Hochlanden von Al. Macbain, gälische Gedichte aus MacLagans Sammlungen von J. Kennedy und aus Badenoch von Th. Sinton mitgeteilt und eine Übersetzung der in dieser Zeitschrift 1, 174 erwähnten Abhandlung über 'die ossianischen Heldenlieder' von J. L. Robertson.

- J. Loth, La métrique galloise depuis les plus anciens textes jusqu'à nos jours. Tome II: La métrique galloise du IX^e à la fin du XIV^e siècle. Première partie. Paris,

Alb. Fontemoing, 1901. (Cours de littérature celtique, tome X). XIX + 373 pp. 8°.

Der vorliegende Band des Werkes behandelt die Sätze mit durchgehendem Reim und die eigentlichen Strophen, wie sie sich bei den alten Dichtern finden, und erörtert namentlich die vokalische *cynghanedd*, die sie gebrauchen. Der Schluss dieser welschen Verslehre und ihre Vergleichung mit der Metrik der übrigen celtischen Sprachen ist für den zweiten Teil vorbehalten.

Ferd. Lot, Etudes sur Merlin. I. Les sources de la vita Merlini de Gaufrey de Monmouth. Rennes 1900. (Annales de Bretagne, avril et juillet 1900.) 55 pp. 8°.

Der Verf. analysiert das zuletzt von A. Schulze edierte lateinische Gedicht über den Zauberer Merlin, das Galfridus Monumetensis 1148 bis 1149 verfasst hat. Er vermutet die Quellen zu dieser Dichtung über Merlinus Ambrosius oder Silvester (denn beide sind eine und dieselbe Person) in verloren gegangenen welschen Gedichten.

Willh. Meyer, Fragmenta Burana. Berlin, Weidmann 1901. 190 pp. 4° mit 15 Tafeln.

S. 161—163 bespricht der gelehrte Verfasser, was er 'das älteste keltische Sprachdenkmal' nennt. Es sind einige Worte aus dem Martyrium des heiligen Symphorian von Autun (c. 180 n. Chr.), das nach seinem Urteil spätestens im 5. Jahrh. verfasst ist. Als der Heilige zum Richtplatz geführt wurde, rief ihm seine Mutter 'voce gallica' von der Mauer aus zu: 'Nate nate Synforiane memento b&oto diuo hoc est memorare dei tui' (so nach dem Cod. monac. lat. 4585) oder 'Nati nati Synforiani, mentem obeto dotiuo' (so nach dem Turiner Codex D. V. 3). Kein Zweifel, dass dies keltisch ist, aber die Worte sind vielleicht selbst in den erwähnten beiden Handschriften, die dem 9. Jahrh. angehören, ein wenig entstellt. Zu *nate* erinnert der Verf. an die Glosse *nate* 'fili' in Endlichers Glossar (KZ. 32, 231. 237). Dem *memento* oder, wahrscheinlich unrichtigen, *mentem*, d. h. 'memorare', scheint die Wurzel des lat. *memini* zu Grunde zu liegen, die im altirischen *cuman* und *menme* erhalten ist; eine keltische Form kann es aber nicht wohl sein. Die Formel *betoto diuo* oder, weniger gut, *obeto dotiuo* enthält, wenn man eine Erklärung wagen darf, deutlich das ir. *do dia*, w. *dy duw* 'dein Gott' (vgl. gall. *Diwo-durum*, *Diwo-genus* etc.); und da eine Variante 'in mente habe deum vivum' als Übersetzung giebt, so liegt es nahe in *beto* das ir. *betho* 'das Leben' zu vermuten. Es scheint aber, als sei das vorhergehende *to* von *memento* zu trennen und als Pronomen possessivum (= ir. *do*, *t'*, w. *dy*), zu *beto* zu ziehen, also *to beto* 'dein Leben'. Dann möchten die Worte *to beto to diuo* 'dein Leben ist dein Gott' einen gallischen Segen ausgedrückt haben. Er kommt nicht genau so, aber doch ähnlich im ältern Irisch vor, nämlich als *Dia do betho* 'Gott sei dein Leben', d. h. 'Heil dir!' oder 'Sei gegrüsst!' — die Übersetzung des lat. Ave (vgl. Meyer, Contributions p. 210).

J. Leite de Vasconcellos, *Onomasticon lusitanien*. (Extrait de la Rev. Lusit., vol. VI, fasc. 3). 4 pp. 8^o.

Der Verf. sucht zwei alte portugiesische Namen aus dem Celtischen zu deuten, nämlich den Flussnamen *Tejo* (span. *Tajo*, lat. *Tāgus*), den er mit *stag-num*, bret. *ster*, *staer* 'Fluss' zusammenstellt, und *Endo-vellicus*, den Namen eines Gottes, dessen Sanctuarium man in der Provinz Alemtejo aufgedeckt hat.

H. Zimmer, *Pelagius in Irland. Texte und Untersuchungen zur patristischen Litteratur*. Berlin, Weidmann 1901. VIII + 350 pp. 8^o.

Der Kommentar des 'Britten' Pelagius zu den paulinischen Briefen, von dem eine Überarbeitung unter den Werken des h. Hieronymus steht, war den irischen Gelehrten bis ins 9. Jahrh. wohl-bekannt und ist in dem St. Galler Codex 73 erhalten, der nun nach Zimmers gründlicher Untersuchung nicht mehr 'incerti auctoris' ist.

Celtia. A Pan-Celtic Monthly Magazine. Vol. I. Dublin 1901. 4^o.

Diese Monatsschrift, die eben den ersten Jahrgang abgeschlossen hat, widmet sich der lebenden celtischen Sprache und pflegt den Zusammenhang der fünf Volksstämme, die ihr noch angehören. Sie giebt auch Nachrichten von dem panceltischen Kongress, der im August d. J. in Dublin tagte, und enthält die Übersicht, die Prof. K. Meyer in einer der Sitzungen über die celtischen Studien der Gegenwart gab. Mit Genugthuung liest man, dass bei dieser Gelegenheit ein wichtiges Desideratum von Prof. Zimmer zur Sprache gebracht und einstimmig zur Berücksichtigung empfohlen wurde, nämlich eine celtische Bibliographie, in der die erschienenen Schriften mit Verleger- und Preisangabe von Zeit zu Zeit vollständig verzeichnet würden. Am Gelingen einer solchen Publikation nehmen wir lebhaften Anteil. St.

ZU IRISCHEN TEXTEN.

1. Die Überlieferung der Fled Bricrenn.

Durch Sterns Abdruck der Fled Bricrenn nach der Leidener Handschrift (Cod. Vossianus lat. qu. 7) in dieser Zs. 4, 143 liegt jetzt eine von *LU* abweichende Recension der Sage im Zusammenhang vor. S. 145 bemerkt der Herausgeber, durch diese Version würden einige Abschnitte in *LU* als eingeschoben erwiesen. Er scheint also die von Zimmer (KZ. 28, 649) vor fünfzehn Jahren ausgesprochene Ansicht zu billigen, wonach die verschiedenen erhaltenen Recensionen nicht eine aus der anderen hervorgegangen, sondern selbständige Compilationen ähnlicher oder gleicher Grundtexte wären. Auch Henderson hat sich in seiner Ausgabe (Irish Texts Society II) die Zimmersche Hypothese zu eigen gemacht. Demgegenüber habe ich in meinen 'Sagen aus dem alten Irland' S. 26 bemerkt, dass die von *LU* abweichenden Fassungen nur Versuche darstellen, in diesen schlecht zusammengefügteten Text einige Einheit zu bringen, so dass sie zur Bestimmung der Gestalt der zu Grunde liegenden Quellen — abgesehen von Lesungen einzelner Wörter — keinen selbständigen Wert haben. Da diese Ansicht nicht unmittelbar zu überzeugen scheint, möchte ich sie hier etwas ausführen.

Die eine Version liegt bekanntlich nur in *LU* vor. Eine zweite in Egerton 93 (*Eg.*) und in der Leidener Handschrift (*L.*); doch fehlt in *Eg.* der Anfang, in *L.* durch Ausfall eines Blattes § 58 Mitte — 62 und 66 — 73 Mitte (also $\delta^3 \epsilon^2$ und Anfang ζ^1 nach der unten verwendeten Bezeichnung). Eine dritte Version wäre endlich nach Zimmer in der Handschrift des Trinity College

H. 3. 17 (*H.*) vorhanden, die mitten in § 40 abbricht. Das in allen diesen Handschriften zufällig fehlende Ende ist in Edinburgh, Gaelic Ms. XL (*Ed.*) erhalten, das den Schlussabschnitt von § 91 an für sich allein bringt. Doch stellt diese Handschrift nicht etwa einen selbständigen Text dar, wie er vor der Einverleibung in die Compilation bestanden hätte, sondern ist erst aus einer Fassung wie *LU* losgelöst. Das zeigt schon der Satzsatz: *7 it desin ata cauradmir n-Eamna dogress 7 an briaturcath bhan Ulad 7 ceandac an ruanado ind-Eamuin Maca 7 totem n-Olad do Chruachnaib Aiea* (Rev. Celt. 14, 454), verglichen mit der Überschrift in *LU* 99b: *Incipit fled Bricrend 7 curathmír Emna Macha 7 in briatharchath ban Ulad 7 tochim Ulad do Chruachnaib Ai 7 cennach ind ruanada i n-Emain Macha.*

Zunächst muss ich kurz die Anordnung in *LU* (= *A*) einerseits und in *Eg. L.* (= *B*) andererseits, sowie die in *H* (= *C*) ins Gedächtnis zurückrufen. Die arabischen Zahlen bezeichnen die Paragraphen bei Windisch und Henderson, die römischen die Abschnitte Zimmers (KZ. 28, 623).

A. α^1 . Bricrius Gelage in Dun Rudraige. Streit der drei Helden um das Heldenstück, beschwichtigt durch die Aussicht auf Ailills Schiedspruch (1—16, I II). — α^2 . Streit der Frauen um den Vortritt, dadurch vorläufig beendet, dass jeder Held seine Frau durch eine andere Öffnung ins Haus lässt (17—28 Anfang, III). — α^4 . Friedliche Ruhe (*sám*) in Dun Rudraige; Frauenkatalog (28, III Ende u. IV). — β . Ein neuer Streit der Frauen kommt nicht zum Austrag, weil Cuchulainn zu müde nach Emain Macha gekommen ist, um den angebotenen Zweikampf mit Conall zu bestehen (29—32, V). — γ . Neuer Streit der Männer; Cu-Roi soll entscheiden; die Fahrt zu ihm durch den Mann im Nebel vereitelt; Rückkehr nach Emain Macha (33—41, VI VII). — δ^1 . Alle Ulter und die drei Helden fahren von Dun Rudraige nach Cruachain; Rückkehr der übrigen Ulter nach drei Tagen (42—56, VIII). — δ^2 . Die Nacht mit den Zauberkatzen zu Cruachain (57, IX). — δ^3 . Medbs verdeckte Entscheidung mittels der drei Schalen (58—62, X). — ϵ^1 . Fütterung der Pferde der Helden. Nacht in Cruachain; Radwerfen; Cuchulainns Nadelkunststück (63—65, XI). — ϵ^2 . Die Helden von Medb zu Ercoil geschickt; Entscheidung durch Samera; Rückkehr nach Emain und Cathbaths Spruch (66—71, XII). — ζ^1 . Die Ulter von Sualdaim bewirtet. Das Zeugnis der Schalen verworfen und

neuer Streit (72 — 74, XIII). — ζ^2 . Bei Bude. Uath, der Mann, der sich den Kopf abschlagen lässt (75—78, XIV). — η . Neuer Streit der Helden. Entscheidung durch Cu-Roi. Sie wird nach der Rückkehr nach Emain Macha nicht anerkannt (78 Ende—90, XV). — ϑ . Der Mann (Cu-Roi), der sich den Kopf abschlagen lässt, in Emain Macha (91—102. XVI).

Version B: α^1 u. α^2 , Streit der Helden und ihrer Frauen, wie in A. — α^3 (fehlt in A). Sencha entscheidet über den Vortritt der Frauen (Ende 28, Anfang 29). — β . Ein neuer Streit der Frauen kommt nicht zum Austrag, weil Cuchulainn zu müde nach Dun Rudraige gekommen ist, um den Zweikampf mit Conall zu bestehen. — α^4 . Friedliche Ruhe (*sám*, 32 Ende; den Frauenkatalog hat diese Version nicht). — δ^1 . Alle Ulter und die drei Helden nach Cruachain; Rückkehr der übrigen Ulter nach drei Tagen. — ε^1 . Fütterung der Pferde der Helden. Nacht in Cruachain; Radwerfen; Cuchulainns Nadelkunststück. — δ^3 . Medbs verdeckte Entscheidung mittels der drei Schalen. — ε^2 . Die Helden von Medb zu Ercoil geschickt; Entscheidung durch Samera; Rückkehr nach Emain und Cathbaths Spruch. — ζ^1 . Die Ulter von Subaltam bewirtet. Das Zeugnis der Schalen verworfen und neuer Streit. — γ . Cu-Roi soll entscheiden; die Fahrt zu ihm durch den Mann im Nebel vereitelt. — η . Neue Fahrt zu Cu-Roi und seine Entscheidung; sie wird nach der Rückkehr nach Emain Macha nicht anerkannt. — ϑ . Der Mann, der sich den Kopf abschlagen lässt, in Emain Macha.

Version C geht zunächst genau wie B: $\alpha^1 \alpha^2 \alpha^3 \beta \alpha^4$ (ohne Frauenkatalog) δ^1 , schliesst aber hieran unmittelbar δ^3 , lässt dann die Helden direkt nach Emain Macha zurückkehren (62 Ende), wo sich ζ^1 abspielt (von 72 Mitte an); daran reiht sich γ (wie in B), in dem die einzige Handschrift aber bald abbricht.

Ohne weiteres ist klar, dass A nicht aus B oder C umgestaltet sein kann; der Redaktor müsste geradezu absichtlich Verwirrung gestiftet haben. Denn B und C sind viel einheitlicher als A. Auch Zimmer S. 651 erkennt an, dass den Verfasser (von C, das er für älter hält als B) 'künstlerische Gesichtspunkte leiteten, d. h. das Bestreben, eine möglichst einheitliche Erzählung herzustellen'. Es fragt sich also nur, hat der nach Einheitlichkeit strebende Redaktor ganz dieselben Materialien, aus denen A kompiliert ist, selbständig geschickter zusammengestellt,

oder hat er einfach die auch uns vorliegende Version *A* nach künstlerischen Gesichtspunkten umgestaltet. Lässt sich *B* leicht als aus *A* entstanden erklären, so fällt die kompliziertere andere Hypothese von selbst dahin.

Ein arger Widerspruch in *A* ist, dass zunächst (α) eine Entscheidung des Streits durch Ailill in Aussicht gestellt wird, dagegen, noch bevor Ailill darum angegangen worden ist, in γ die Entscheidung durch Cu-Roi in Vorschlag gebracht und versucht wird. Erst dann findet in δ die Fahrt zu Ailill statt und noch später (η) kommt es zur wirklichen Fahrt zu Cu-Roi. Das nächstliegende Mittel, dem abzuweichen, war, γ herauszunehmen und direkt vor η zu stellen, wie dies *B* (und *C*) thun. Ferner kommt in *A* zweimal die gleiche Episode von dem Manne vor, der sich den Kopf abschlagen lässt (ζ^2 u. ϑ); in *B* und *C* ist sie das erste Mal unterdrückt. Der Streit, durch den sie in *A* veranlasst wird, führt nun bei der Umstellung von γ von selbst zu Senchas Vorschlag, die Entscheidung bei Cu-Roi zu suchen (γ 33). Endlich noch ein Drittes. Nachdem die anderen Ulter von Cruachain heimgekehrt sind, bringen die drei Helden allein eine Nacht dort zu und bestehen das Katzenabenteuer (δ^2). Nach drei Tagen entlässt sie Medb mit den Bechern (δ^3). Dann lässt sie sie jedoch aufhalten und zurückführen, um ihnen eine Probe aufzuerlegen. Zunächst verbringen sie aber wiederum eine Nacht in Cruachain (ε^1), bevor sie abermals Abschied nehmen und von Medb zu Ercoil geschickt werden (ε^2). Diese zwei Nächte sind in *B* vermieden, indem die zweite (ε^1) an die Stelle der ersten (δ^2) gerückt worden ist. Medb sendet so direkt nach der Überreichung der Becher die Helden zu Ercoil. Also alle die grösseren Abweichungen von *B* gegenüber *A* erklären sich ohne jede Schwierigkeit aus dem Bestreben, einige besonders augenfällige Widersprüche und Dubletten zu entfernen. Ein grosser Künstler ist allerdings auch der Redaktor von *B* nicht gewesen, da immer noch genug Ungereimtes stehen geblieben ist.

Bestätigen die Einzelheiten diese aus dem Ueberblick über das Ganze gewonnene Anschauung? — Wir beginnen mit dem Aufenthalt in Cruachain ($\delta \varepsilon$). Zimmer (S. 634. 647) betrachtet die Reihenfolge $\delta^1 \varepsilon^1 \delta^2$, die *B* bietet, als die ursprüngliche. Aber ε^1 kann hier nicht alt sein. Die drei Helden sind bei ihrer Ankunft in drei verschiedene Häuser gebracht worden (δ^1 54); sie sind drei Tage und drei Nächte dageblieben (55); und jetzt

erst sollten sie gefragt werden, was für Futter man ihren Pferden geben solle? Die hätten also bisher gehungert? Die Frage kann natürlich nur gleich bei der Ankunft, beim Abschirren der Pferde, gestellt werden. In der That hat auch Recension *B* in Hs. *L* (S. 166) vorher den Satz: *Do bretha a Cruachain iad 7 scorthar i n-eich*, 'sie wurden nach Cruachain gebracht und ihre Pferde ausgespannt', ganz wie *A* § 62 Ende: *berta[ir] hi Cruachain iat ocus scurtir a n-eich*. In *B* hat er aber gar keinen Sinn, da die Helden Cruachain nie verlassen haben; erträglicher ist er in *A*, wo Medb vorher einen nach dem andern verabschiedet hatte. Er war also in *B* aus einer Vorlage wie *A* herübergenommen; die Hss. *Eg.* und *H.* haben ihn begreiflicherweise weggelassen.

Ferner wird die in *B* fehlende Katzenepisode nach der Abfahrt der übrigen Ulter in *A* durch den Satz eingeleitet: 'Man brachte jedem der Männer jede Nacht eine Mahlzeit für Hundert.¹) In dieser Nacht wurde ihnen ihr Anteil gebracht und wurden die drei Kätzchen aus der Höhle von Cruachain darauf losgelassen' etc. (§ 56 Ende, 57 Anfang). Auch Redaktion *B* hat jenen Satz in Hs. *Eg.*: *Ocus do breth praind .c. do gach fer dib cech n-oidche*.²) Er steht in *Eg.* vor der Frage nach dem Futter für die Pferde und vor der Verteilung der Jungfrauen von Cruachain unter die Helden (63), der Dublette zu 54. Dagegen hat ihn *L.* als wenig passend unterdrückt. Er weist deutlich darauf hin, dass auch in der Quelle der Redaktion *B* die Katzenepisode und zwar an dieser Stelle vorhanden war. Zimmer S. 634 meint freilich umgekehrt, d² passe in *A* nicht an seinen Platz, weil die Helden in drei verschiedenen Häusern wohnen, das Katzenabenteuer sich aber in éinem Hause abspiele. Das ist jedoch ein Irrtum. Conall und Loegaire flüchten sich *for sparrib na tigi* 'auf die Sparren der Häuser'; es wurde also in jedes Haus eine Katze gelassen. Unrichtig ist auch, dass Conall und Loegaire nach der Katzenepisode einen neuen Zweikampf verlangen (Zimmer S. 635; Henderson p. XXXVII); sie

¹) Ich habe mich leider in den 'Sagen aus dem alten Irland' S. 44 durch Windisch und Henderson verleiten lassen, *praind .c.* in *praind cetna* aufzulösen. Es ist natürlich *cét* zu lesen; *cetna* wird nicht ohne Artikel gebraucht.

²) Ebenso liest *H.*, col. 703 Z. 3 v. u.: *7 do b-thi praind .c. do cach fer cach n-aidehi* (nach einer freundlichen Mitteilung Atkinsons).

erkennen nur dieses Abenteuer nicht als Grundlage eines Spruchs an. Dass Ailill aber überhaupt auf Grund einer einzelnen Probe sein Urteil sprechen soll, ist nirgends angedeutet, so angenehm es ihm natürlich sein müsste, wenn sie ihr Verhalten den Katzen gegenüber als Entscheidung annehmen wollten und ihn so eines eigenen Urteilsspruches enthöben.

Haben wir den deutlichen Beweis in Händen, dass diese Teile der Redaktion *B* die uns bekannte Fassung *A* voraussetzen, so erklären sich auch ihre anderen Abweichungen leicht von diesem Standpunkt aus. Die Episode γ ist in *B* (und *C*) stilistisch etwas ausgeschmückt (Zimmer S. 653f.). Die Veranlassung bot die Beschreibung des Kerls in *A* 37, die nur weiter ausgeführt ist. Die Verbesserung sodann, dass der ermüdete Cuchulainn β 31 in *B* nicht wie in *A* *co Emain Macha* kommt, sondern *co tech m-Bricrend i n-Dun Rudraige Eg. L. (co Dun Rud-H.)*, wurde durch den Text selber beinahe aufgedrängt, da alles frühere sich bei Bricriu abspielt und auch die in *B* folgende Fahrt nach Cruachain von dort ausgeht. Die Ruhe (*sám*), die in *A* nach dem ersten Frauenstreit eintritt (28), versetzt *B* (und *C*) hinter den zweiten Frauenstreit, in die Lücke, die bei der Transposition von γ dort entstanden wäre; es lässt, nachdem endlich alle Streitigkeiten in Dun Rudraige vorläufig beendet sind, die Ulter — nach einer in diesen Sagen stereotypen Zeitbestimmung — drei Tage und drei Nächte schmausen, bevor sie nach Cruachain (δ) aufbrechen (32 Ende, 42 Anfang). Doch hat es dabei den Frauenkatalog (28) weggelassen, der schon in *A* dem Männerkatalog (12) bedenklich nachhinkt, und der das hier noch viel mehr thun würde. Zwischen die beiden Frauenstreite schiebt es dafür α^3 ein: 'Dann wird die Menge zur Ruhe gewiesen. Sencha fällt den Frauen das Urteil: Emer [soll] als erste ins Haus [treten] und die beiden anderen Frauen Schulter an Schulter'. Das ist also eine Neuerung. Sie wird dadurch hervorgerufen sein, dass in der Kompilation *A*, wie sie nun einmal vorlag, fast jeder Streit durch eine — freilich nie anerkannte — Entscheidung oder doch durch die Aussicht auf eine solche beendet wird. Dagegen der erste Frauenstreit wird dort nur gewissermassen symbolisch entschieden dadurch, dass die drei Helden ihren Frauen auf verschiedene Weise den Eintritt ins Haus verschaffen; ein wirklicher Spruch wird weder gefällt noch ausdrücklich auf die Zukunft verschoben. Dass

der Redaktor von *B* gerade Sencha als Schiedsrichter fungieren lässt, kommt daher, dass Sencha sowohl den Beginn des Frauenwettkampfs angekündigt hat (21) als auch in dem gleich darauf ausbrechenden zweiten Streit die Frauen zur Ruhe weist (29).

Dass weiter *C* nicht die Grundlage von *B* bildet, wie Zimmer meinte, sondern dass umgekehrt *C* aus *B* gekürzt ist und zwar nach einer Hs., die *Eg.* nahe stand, ergibt sich aus dem Vorhergehenden ohne Weiteres. Der Grund der Kürzungen ist denn auch durchweg ganz klar. Der Verfasser stiess sich, wie wir, an der späten Fütterung der Pferde in ϵ^1 , wohl auch an der Dublette der Versorgung der Helden mit Jungfrauen (63 = 54) und übersprang daher den ganzen Abschnitt ϵ^1 , der in seiner Quelle (*B*) δ^1 von δ^3 trennte. Ebenso störend war für ihn, wie für uns, dass Medb, nachdem sie alle drei Helden mit den Schalen verabschiedet hat, sie nun doch noch zu Ercoil sendet, und dass durch die Ercoil-Samera-Geschichte die beiden Episoden mit den Schalen δ^3 und ζ^1 übel getrennt werden. Er schied jene daher aus und verband die beiden zusammengehörigen Abschnitte direkt mit einander, indem er ζ^1 deutlicher in Emain Macha vor sich gehen liess, als das in *B* der Fall war (s. u.), weil die ganze Folge $\gamma - \theta$ diesen Schauplatz voraussetzte. So ist *C* auf dem Wege zur Einheitlichkeit noch bedeutend weiter vorgeschritten als *B* und bildet eine leidlich zusammenhängende Erzählung.

Es ist ein oft beobachteter Fehler, dass man mittelalterlichen Verfassern oder Redaktoren zu wenig Selbständigkeit bei der Umarbeitung ihrer Quellen zutraut. So habe ich im Literarischen Centralblatt 1898 Sp. 197 darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass Windisch (Ir. Texte III, 2) mit Unrecht die drei verschiedenen Fassungen von Tochmarc Ferbe auf verschiedene Quellen zurückführt, während immer die eine direkt aus der anderen umgebildet ist. Ebenso hat Wollner irrigerweise in den zwei Gestalten der Vision von Mac Conglinne zwei Parallelversionen sehen wollen; die längere ist einfach eine freie Wiedergabe der kürzeren.

Eine ganz andere Frage ist die, aus welchen Bestandteilen das in *LU* überlieferte Sagenkonglomerat sich zusammensetzt. Ich gehe kurz auch auf sie ein, um bei dieser Gelegenheit ein Versehen zu berichtigen, das ich mir wohl in den 'Sagen aus dem alten Irland' habe zu Schulden kommen lassen. Bei meinem

Versuche, eine der Erzählungen, aus denen *A* zusammengewachsen ist, wieder herauszupräparieren, habe ich die zweite und die dritte Cu-Roi-Episode (η und ϑ) von der ersten (γ) getrennt und mit der Dun Rudraige-Cruachain-Version ($\alpha \delta \zeta^1$) verknüpft. Dazu führte mich vor allem die Rolle, die in ζ^1 und in ϑ Dubthach Doeltenga spielt; vgl. 72 und 90, 92, 95, 96. Diese Gestalt hat ihre Berechtigung nur in der Dun Rudraige-Cruachain-Version. Nach dieser hat der Streit der Helden in Bricrius Palast und durch Bricrius Schuld begonnen; die Ulter haben ihn darum verflucht (56). Es ging daher nicht an, ihn kurz darauf, als die Ulter beim Gelage versammelt sind, wieder mitten unter ihnen sitzen und das grosse Wort führen zu lassen. Brauchte der Verfasser dieser Version eine ähnliche Figur, die den Streit um das *curadmír* nicht einschlafen liess, so musste er sich eine neue schaffen. Er that es, indem er *Dubthach Doel Ulad*, wie dieser Mann sonst heisst (§ 12; Ir. T. II, 1, 174; III, 2, 398), in *Dubthach Doeltenga* 'Schwarzzunge' umtaufte und ihn so als Parallelfigur zu *Bricriu Nemthenga* 'Giftzunge' kennzeichnete.¹⁾ Bildete aber die Cu-Roi-Episode ϑ mit γ eine andere Version der Sage, so war hier kein Grund vorhanden, diese Gestalt zu erfinden. Nicht bei Bricriu, sondern in Emain Macha war nach γ der Streit entstanden; Bricriu oder, wie *LU* an der Stelle schreibt, Bricni hatte nur das *curadmír* am Ende der ersten Episode (γ 41) Cuchulainn zugesprochen, war also, wenn der Erzähler eine böse Zunge brauchte, noch weiterhin als solche verwendbar. Wenn nun doch in ϑ immer Dubthach Doeltenga statt seiner auftritt, so glaubte ich das dahin deuten zu sollen, dass ϑ und also auch das eng damit verbundene η zur Cruachain-Version, nicht zu γ gehört hatten, dass also diejenige Cu-Roi-Episode, die in der Quelle die Fortsetzung von γ gebildet hatte, in *A* keine Aufnahme gefunden habe. Dazu schien Hendersons Nachweis (p. LII. LVI) zu stimmen, dass die Episode γ einen jüngeren Sprachcharakter zeigt als η und ϑ ; vgl. *do rat dia fiadnaib fein iat* 40 *LU*. und die Verbalformen auf -nn: *con cingenn* 34

¹⁾ In dem Gedicht in der Táin bó Cualnge *LU*. 81 b 10 = *LL*. 79 a 40 heisst er gleichfalls *Dubthach Doeltenga*, wohl eben nach unserm Text, aber in den einleitenden Worten *LU*. 81 a, 2 v. u. = *LL*. 79 a 20 wie gewöhnlich *Dubthach Doel Ulad*. Eine spätere Variante ist *Dubthach Doelulach* Ir. T. II, 2, 149.

LU Eg. L. H. und *nos tuarcend* 40 *LU*, wo *Eg. L.* etwas anders lesen. Solches findet sich in η und ϑ nicht, denn 81, wo *LU* *ní ráníc hé* 'er traf ihn nicht' hat, steht in *Eg.* und *L.* das ältere *ní ráníc*, wie auch *LU* an der Parallelstelle 87 liest; das *hé* stammt also nicht aus der Urhandschrift der Kompilation *A*, sondern fällt nur dem Schreiber von *LU* zur Last. Darum habe ich in meiner Übersetzung η ϑ von γ getrennt und an ζ^1 angeschlossen.

Doch wage ich heute nicht mehr, das in *A* mit ζ^1 fest verbundene ζ^2 von ihm loszulösen, zumal ζ^2 zu keinem anderen Bestandteil nähere Beziehungen zeigt. Vielmehr macht schon die Wiederkehr des seltenen Ausdrucks *do unsi béim* δ^2 57 und ζ^2 77 wahrscheinlich, dass diese beiden Abschnitte denselben Verfasser haben. Ich bezweifle daher nicht mehr, dass ζ^2 ursprünglich den Schluss der Dun Rudraige-Cruachain-Version gebildet hat (vgl. Zimmer S. 647).¹⁾ Sind nun η und ϑ von dieser Version fern zu halten, so wäre es doch wohl zu kühn, sie gleichwohl von γ zu trennen, das doch die Expedition zu Cu-Roi vorbereitet. Das führt zu der Annahme, dass der Kompilator von *A* im Schlussteil ϑ überall den Namen Bricriu oder Bricni durch Dubthach Doeltenga ersetzt hat, um den Einklang mit dem Vorhergehenden herzustellen. Ein solches Verfahren dürfen wir ihm sehr wohl zutrauen. Denn wenn ihm auch sonst mehr an der möglichst vollständigen Aufnahme aller in den verschiedenen Versionen vorhandenen Sagenzüge als an der Einheitlichkeit der Erzählung liegt, so hat er doch — auch ausser den vermittelnden Übergangssätzen — leichte Mittel nicht gescheut, dieser nachzuhelfen. Ich erinnere an die von ihm ein-

¹⁾ Nicht sicher ist, ob auch der Ort, an dem ζ^1 und ϑ vor sich gehen, verschieden ist. Das letztere spielt im Craebuard zu Emain Macha (91). In ζ^1 72 bewirtet Sualdaim (Subaltam *Eg.*) die Ulter; aber wo? Es wird erwähnt, dass Conchobars Fass *aradach* für sie gefüllt worden ist. Das kann doch nur gleichfalls in Conchobars Residenz geschehen sein, da dieses Riesenfass nicht wohl transportabel ist. Auch hat Medb 59 Loegaire befohlen, seine Schale erst im Craebuard zu zeigen, was ζ^1 73 geschieht. Bewirtet also Sualdaim die Ulter in Conchobars Halle, wie das Bricriu Ir. T. II, 1, 173 thut? Oder hat hier der Kompilator etwas in Verwirrung gebracht? Ist etwa die Bewirtung durch Sualdaim nur ein Einfall von ihm, um Abwechslung hineinzubringen? Man beachte, dass in *Eg.* die Sätze, die vom *aradach* und von Sualdaim-Subaltam handeln, in anderer Ordnung stehen als in *LU*; vielleicht war der eine ursprünglich eine Randnote.

gefügte Erwähnung von Lugaid Reoderg im Serglige Conculainn 10, um später (21 ff.) die Wahl dieses Jünglings zum König daran anknüpfen zu können. Eine andere Möglichkeit wäre die, dass dem Verfasser der Cu-Roi-Version die Cruachain-Version bereits vorlag, so dass er ihr den Dubthach Doeltenga und seine Funktion entnehmen konnte. Wie der Sprachunterschied von γ und $\eta \vartheta$ zu erklären ist, weiss ich freilich nicht sicher zu sagen; vielleicht war bereits in der Quelle von *A* ein älterer Text durch ein jüngerer Stück erweitert worden.

Die Kompilation *A* lässt also zunächst zwei längere Erzählungen als Hauptbestandteile erkennen. Vollständig erhalten, mit Ausnahme der Bindeglieder zwischen einzelnen Episoden und wohl eines Schlusssatzes, ist

Version I: Streit der Helden und der Frauen bei Bricrius Gelage in Dun Rudraige. Fahrt nach Cruachain und Medbs verdeckte Entscheidung durch die drei Schalen. Abweisung dieses Zeugnisses (eher in Emain Macha als bei Sualdaim). Expedition zu Bude mac Bain und endgiltige Entscheidung durch Uath mac Imomain ($\alpha^1 \alpha^2 \alpha^4 \delta^1 \delta^2 \delta^3 \zeta^1 \zeta^2$, § 1—28. 42—62. 72—78 Mitte; vgl. Zimmers in einigen Punkten abweichende 'Recension *a* α ' S. 647).— Als Einschübe des Kompilators lassen sich ausser den Flicksätzen am Ende und Anfang der Episoden deutlich erkennen: Erstens der Männerkatalog in § 12. Er knüpft zwar äusserlich an § 2 an, wonach rings um Conchobars *imda* an der Vorderwand des Hauses 12 *imda* für die 12 *errid* erbaut werden; aber statt 12 Namen werden 34 aufgezählt, darunter Bricriu selber, also offenbar alle, die der Schreiber überhaupt aufzutreiben wusste. So wird auch der Frauenkatalog in § 28 von ihm herrühren, mit dem er den ersten Abschnitt dieser Version schliesst. Wie unter den Männern Dubthach in § 12 den Beinamen *Doel Ulad* führt statt *Doeltenga* (72), so heisst hier Loegaires Frau *Fedelm Foltchain* und hat eine Schwester *Fedelm Nóicrothach*, während sie in *A* 17. 22 *Fedelm Noic(h)ride* genannt wird (Zimmer S. 659). Vermutlich rührt auch vom Kompilator die Notiz in ζ^2 77 her, dass nach anderen Büchern Loegaire und Conall den Handel mit dem Kopfabschläger zwar eingingen, aber ihm dann auswichen; sie verweist eben auf die andere Version, die er dann selber 91 ff. bringt.

Version II [Der Streit hat sich in Emain Macha erhoben]. Conchobar sendet die Helden zu Cu-Roi zur Entscheidung. Auf

dem Wege dorthin werden Loegaire und Conall von dem Kerl im Nebel zur Flucht nach Emain Macha genötigt; Cuchulainn besiegt ihn zwar, kehrt aber gleichfalls dahin zurück (dieses Stück [in jüngerer Sprache]. Bricni (Bricrui) spricht ihm deshalb das *curadmír* zu. Da die beiden anderen das nicht gelten lassen, werden sie abermals zu Cu-Roi geschickt¹⁾, der nun wirklich nach bestandener Probe das Urteil fällt. Weil es aber die Unterlegenen nach der Rückkehr nach Emain Macha nicht anerkennen, kommt Cu-Roi selber in Gestalt des Kopfabschlägers dahin und verschafft ihm definitive Geltung ($\gamma \eta \vartheta$, § 33—41. 78—102). — Die Notiz in § 80, dass in Cu-Rois Abwesenheit sich seine Stadt jede Nacht wie ein Mühlrad dreht, rührt, da sie schlecht in den Zusammenhang passt, wohl vom Kompilator her.

Es bleiben so zwei Abschnitte übrig, der zweite Streit der Frauen β 29—32 und die Ercoil-Samera-Erzählung $\varepsilon^1 \varepsilon^2$ 63—71. Letztere ist deutlich ein Stück einer dritten Variation der Sage. Der Streit scheint auch hier in Emain ausgebrochen zu sein, da man dorthin zurückkehrt (69. 70). Die drei Helden haben sich zum Urteilsspruch allein mit ihren Burschen nach Cruachain begeben. Mit dem Füttern ihrer Pferde und mit ihrem Übernachten in Cruachain (63) beginnt das Bruchstück. Früh am anderen Morgen zeichnet sich Cuchulainn im Radwerfen aus und macht sein Nadelkunststück (64. 65). Dann setzten sie wohl im Grundtext Ailill und Medb den Zweck ihres Kommens auseinander, falls das nicht gleich bei der Ankunft geschehen war. Der Kompilator musste es unterdrücken, weil er es schon nach Version I berichtet hatte. Er lässt statt dessen in Anlehnung an 60. 61. 62 die Helden vom König und von der Königin Abschied nehmen (65 Ende). Ailill und Medb lehnten nach dieser Version offenbar die Entscheidung für ihre Person ab. Medb schickt sie zu ihrem Pflegevater Ercoil, der sie zunächst weiter an Samera verweist; dieser spricht ihnen das Urteil (66—68). Nach den darauf folgenden Einzelkämpfen mit Ercoil, kehren Loegaire und Conall besiegt, Cuchulainn als Sieger nach Emain Macha zurück, wo Cathbath das Endergebnis festlegt (69—71). — Dass Ercoil jeden der Helden noch nach dem Spruch Sameras zum

¹⁾ In 41 ist wohl zu lesen: *Femdit tra Ulaid ocus Concobur ocus Fergus a n-etergleod, no[co] ro curtis do saichtin Con Roi etc. (noco 'bis' curtis Praet. Conj. Pass.)*

Zweikampf herausfordert, ist freilich unnötig, berechtigt aber noch nicht, diese Partie wieder auf zwei Quellen zurückzuführen, wie das Henderson p. XXXVIII thut, sondern zeugt nur von einem ungewandten Erzähler. Die Version ist sprachlich sehr jung, vgl. *fóidis Samera iat* 66, *nos cerband ocus nos bruend iat* 67, *nos cengland* 70; sie hat wohl Version I zum direkten Muster gehabt. Auffällig ist in diesem Bruchstück nur der Satz 63 gegen Ende: *No thathiged Medb fessin immorro co gnáthach (co menic L. Eg.) 'sin tech i m-bói Cuculainn*. Die Helden haben hier für die einzige Nacht, die sie in Cruachain zubringen, jeder 50 Jungfrauen mit einer der vornehmsten Connachterinnen erhalten. Ein Satz wie 'Medb selber pflegte aber häufig Cuculainn zu besuchen' passt nicht hierher, sondern nur in eine Erzählung, wo die Helden mehrere Tage und Nächte in Cruachain weilen, wie das in I der Fall ist. Er scheint also vom Kompilator her-zurühren. Diesen mochte es stören, dass Cuculainn hier keinen solchen Vorzug vor den anderen Helden genoss wie in § 54, wo er über das gemeinsame Teil hinaus noch Findabair erhält. Der Besuch Medbs war dem Interpolator durch 61 an die Hand gegeben. Durch die Wiederholung des Satzes: *Feótar and ind adaig sin* (63 Ende, LU) milderte er dann den Widerspruch, der zwischen seinem Einschub und dem folgenden bestimmten *iarna barach* besteht.

Wohin gehört nun der zweite Frauenstreit β ? Natürlich nicht zu I, schon weil Emain Macha der Schauplatz des Streits ist wie in II und III. In A folgt unmittelbar die erste Cu-Roi-Episode γ darauf, und Zimmer (S. 647) hat β in der That mit unserer Version II zu seiner 'Rezension B' vereinigt. Allein der Uebergang von β zu γ ist ganz unmöglich. Cuculainn ist todmüde nach dem Einfangen und Zähmen seines Pferds Liath Macha nach Emain Macha gekommen. Erst wenn er gegessen und ausgeschlafen habe, glaubt er sich wieder zum Kampfe befähigt; vorher lehnt er den Zweikampf mit Conall bestimmt ab. Also an diesem Abend nahm er sicherlich keinen wiederholten Streit um das *curadmir* auf. Aber § 33 (Anfang γ) fährt ganz harmlos fort: 'Es begab sich nun, dass sie abermals den Streit um das *curadmir* erhoben. Conchobar und die anderen Edeln von Ulster trennten sie, bis ein Urteil über sie gefällt wäre' usw. Der Kompilator könnte natürlich seine Vorlage gekürzt haben; aber einen neuen Streit um das *curadmir* hätte er gewiss nicht hier ein-

geschoben, wenn er nicht in seiner Quelle stand. So prallen an dieser Stelle offenbar zwei verschiedene Versionen auf einander.

Kann β zu Version III gehören? Hierfür scheint mir in der That Verschiedenes zu sprechen. Zunächst ist der Frauenstreit, namentlich die Rede Emers mit der Aufzählung der *cless* (30), ebenso deutlich eine Nachahmung von Version I (24), wie das Uebernachten in Cruachain (63) oder wie das Kunststück Cuchulainns vor den Frauen (65, vgl. 42); und zwar ist die Nachahmung minderwertig, weil der Verfasser die alte Dichtersprache nicht mehr zu handhaben weiss. Vgl. die unmöglichen Verbalformen *ní faigbistar* (*fuigbestar* Eg.) als passives Futurum 'es wird nicht gefunden werden' oder *cot n-gabtus* (*n-gabus* Eg. L.) 30 nach *cotom gaba sa* 24. Ferner haben die Helden in der Ercoil-Episode 69 nur je ein Pferd, das sich mit Ercoils Pferd misst, sind also wohl als Reiter gedacht; Cuchulainns Pferd Liath Macha erringt den Sieg. Das Einbringen eben dieses einen Pferdes, nachdem es aus dem See gestiegen ist, schildert unser Bruchstück (31. 32). Allerdings steht in *LU* am Ende von § 31: 'Auf dieselbe Weise fand er auch [sein zweites Pferd] Dub Sainglend aus Loch Duib Sainglend'. Aber das ist deutlich ein Einschub, da es in die Erzählung gar nicht passt. Wann sollte er dieses Pferd gefangen haben? Der Satz fehlt in *Eg. L. H.*, so dass unsicher bleibt, ob es eine Interpolation, vielleicht eine Randnote, des Kompilators von *A* war, die der Redaktor von *B* dann als unpassend wieder ausschied, oder ob es nur vom Schreiber von *LU* oder seiner direkten Vorlage eingefügt worden ist. Gegen das Reiten in Version III wird man nicht § 63 geltend machen wollen, wo Cuchulainn Gerste für 'seine Pferde' verlangt. Denn diese Änderung lag für den Kompilator gar zu nahe, da er kurz vorher die Helden gemäss Version I zweispännig nach Cruachain hatte fahren lassen. Im Wettrennen (*grafand*) dagegen, das die Helden 66 bei Cruachain abhalten, dürfen wir sie uns ruhig als Reiter denken. So sehe ich nichts, was dagegen spräche, dass β 29—32 und $\epsilon^1 \epsilon^2$ 63—71 zu einer Version III gehört haben. Freilich wie und wann sich der Streit zwischen den Helden und zwischen den Frauen nach dieser Fassung erhoben hat, lässt das kurze Bruchstück β nicht mehr genau erkennen. Der Erfinder dieser dem 11. Jahrhundert angehörenden Variante, dem, wie bemerkt, Version I als Muster gedient hat, geht auf Etymologien von Ortsnamen aus; die Namen Lind Leith,

Snam Rathaind und Uaig Buana sollen durch seine Erzählung erklärt werden (31. 69. 70). Sie gleicht darin der *noinden Ulad*, die Windisch in den Berichten der Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss., ph.-hist. Kl. 1884, 338 herausgegeben hat; auch diese Geschichte ist ja nur erfunden, um den Namen Emain Macha zu erklären. Es sind das, wie mehrere Gedichte gleichen Inhalts, unmittelbare Vorläufer des Dinnsenchas, das denn auch unsere Version III benutzt hat (Rev. Celt. XVI, 57).

Der Kompilator von *A* hat also die ihm vorliegenden Versionen folgendermassen verarbeitet. Er gab zunächst den Streit der Helden und Frauen, der eine auswärtige Entscheidung verlangt, nach I (α) mit einem kurzen Zusatz aus III (β). Dann den missglückten Versuch, zu einer Entscheidung durch Cu-Roi zu gelangen, nach II (γ). Hierauf die nur halbe Entscheidung durch Medb nach I (δ). Und nun alle wirklichen Entscheidungen: die durch Samera und Cathbath nach III (ϵ), die durch Uath mac Imomain nach I (ζ), die durch Cu-Roi nach II (η ϑ). — Dass freilich dieser Kompilator Flann Mainistrech gewesen sei, scheint mir Zimmer S. 678 aus ganz unzureichenden Indizien geschlossen zu haben. Gewiss hat dieser Historiker und Antiquar auch die Heldensagen gekannt und benutzt. Aber alle die Produkte, als deren Autor er direkt bezeugt ist (s. O'Curry, Manners and Customs II, 149 ff), zeigen ganz andere Gestalt; ausführliche Wiedererzählung von Heldensagen in Prosa dürfen wir ihm darnach wohl nicht zutrauen.

2. Zum Gedicht von St. Paul II.

In der Festschrift für Stokes S. 23 habe ich *áthius* V. 6 als einen Irrtum des Schreibers für *athis* 'Beschimpfung, Schmach' erklärt. Strachan bemerkt mir mit Recht, dass man es einfacher als Abstraktum zu *áith* 'scharf, eifrig' fasse; denn wenn ein solches Substantiv bis jetzt nicht belegt ist (das Abstraktum heisst vielmehr immer *áithe*), so ist doch die Bildung an sich ganz unbedenklich (Gramm. Celt.² 788) und konnte von einem Dichter im Reime jeden Augenblick gewagt werden. Die Verse:

*O ru biam — scél cen scís — innar tegdais ar n-oendís,
taithiunn dichrichide clius ni fris tarddam ar n-áthius*

hiessen dann etwa: 'Nachdem wir zwei allein in unserm Hause sind — eine Erzählung, die nicht ermüdet —, haben wir getrenntes

Spiel, etwas, gegen das wir unsere Schärfe richten können' oder 'etwas, dem wir unseren Eifer zuwenden können'. Nur könnte man fragen, ob man richtig *ni* 'etwas' als Apposition zu *dichrichide elius* fasst, ob nach der irischen Verstechnik nicht eher letzteres als vorgeschobene Apposition zu *ni* anzusehen ist. Für den Sinn ist das ohne grosse Bedeutung.

Freiburg i. B.

R. THURNEYSEN.

UNE VERSION GALLOISE DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT PAR LES CARTES.

Dans un récent No. de la *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* T. XI (1901), p. 376 et suiv., M. J. Bolte a traité avec une grande érudition le thème d'un conte demi-édifiant et demi-amusant répandu depuis deux siècles, par la littérature du colportage, dans l'Europe occidentale. Il s'agit d'un soldat, ou d'un domestique, illettré, et se servant d'un jeu de cartes, comme livre de messe chez les catholiques (ceci est sans doute plus ancien), comme livre de piété ou comme almanach chez les protestants. Il est dénoncé à son colonel — ou à son maître — et il se justifie par une explication tropologique (comme on dit en théologie) des figures et des nombres des cartes: l'as est Dieu, deux est l'ancien et le nouveau testament, trois est la Trinité, etc. M. Bolte a réuni de très nombreux exemples et variantes de ce petit conte, plus ou moins simples ou plus ou moins développés: on pourra faire à cette liste des additions bibliographiques, mais sans grande importance.¹⁾

¹⁾ Richard, comme nom du soldat, nous paraît indiquer une origine anglaise dans certaines rédactions françaises et, par celles-ci, dans la version portugaise. Dans le fastidieux volume d'Hadin, en 1811 (*B* de M. Bolte), on trouve même la faute d'impression *Richard Midaleton*. — Comme version française récente, je signalerai *Le Bréviaire du Soldat*, formant les p. 3-4 d'un petit livret du colportage, vieux sans doute d'un demi-siècle et intitulé *La lanterne magique parisienne*... par le capitain [sic] H. Demanet [sic], Paris, chez Durand... s. d., 14 p. in-18. Cette plaquette fait partie d'un volume factice de la Bibliothèque de l'Université de Paris, sous la cote L. F. p. 480, in-12. Cela se réimprime peut-être encore dans les bas-fonds de notre

C'est un sujet que je me proposais de traiter: M. Bolte m'a dispensé de ce travail en le faisant plus complet que je n'aurais pu le faire; mais il me paraît utile de le compléter ici par une version galloise. Mon ami M. Llywarch Reynolds, sachant que je m'occupais de ce sujet, m'avait signalé cette version dans le *Cydymaith diddan* 'le compagnon agréable' par David Jones, de Trefriw,¹⁾ et imprimé à Chester en 1766.²⁾ Le récit en question forme le début du volume où il occupe les pages 1—10: il est intitulé *Defnydd difrifol o'r Cardiau*, c. à. d. 'Emploi sérieux des cartes'. Ce volume étant devenu rare, M. Reynolds a bien voulu m'en fournir une copie que je reproduis ci-dessous en laissant son orthographe à l'auteur du XVIII^e siècle. M. Reynolds, en revoyant l'épreuve de cette copie sur le volume original, en a aussi assuré la correction.³⁾

Il s'agit ici d'un *gentleman* gallois, *justice of the peace*, (on l'appelle *Mr. Hedd*, abréviation de *Heddynad*), qui a beaucoup de serviteurs: on lui a rapporté que l'un d'eux, Jean, est joueur et joueur de cartes. Celui-ci, appelé, se défend: il ignore ce que c'est que des cartes à jouer; ce dont on parle est son almanach et il en donne l'explication. — L'auteur a trouvé là un cadre pour instruire ses lecteurs, en les amusant, [sur le calendrier, la géographie, l'histoire sacrée et aussi l'histoire profane], les faits de curiosité; c'est en un mot, toute une encyclopédie en

littérature du colportage, quoique celle-ci disparaisse rapidement devant l'invasion des journaux illustrés et bon marché.

Je possède également la version anglaise *The Perpetual Almanack* dans une feuille de quatre pages in-4 sur trois colonnes, portant, comme titre principal, *Jane's Songster*; — et la version italienne *Difesa di un soldato prussiano* avec cette signature d'imprimerie: *Bassano 1891, Prem. Tipo-litogr. A. Roberti*.

¹⁾ Sur cet écrivain voir R. Williams, *Eminent Welshmen*, p. 253.

²⁾ Voir W. Rowlands, *Llyfryddiaeth y Cymry*, édition Silvan Evans, Llanidloes, 1869, p. 491.

³⁾ Depuis 1766 ce texte a été réimprimé une fois, mais sans mention du nom de l'auteur, David Jones. C'est dans le *Brython*, revue littéraire rédigée et publiée il y a une quarantaine d'année par Isaac Jones à Tremadog, au tome III (1860), p. 341—343. Le titre est changé d'un mot *Defnydd hynod o'r cardiau*. *Hynod* 'remarquable' [au lieu de *difrifol* 'sérieux' et le texte contient quelques modifications sans importance. Dans une préface de quelques lignes, l'éditeur parle des écrits des anciens Bretons (!) comme contenant des choses encore intéressantes, et le récit suivant, malgré son antiquité, doit être, dit-il, une nouveauté pour le grand public.

forme de mnémotechnie numérale. Il serait fastidieux de la résumer: notons seulement, au passage, ce qui a trait au Pays de Galles ou à l'Angleterre, et aussi quelques légendes du temps où écrivait David Jones;

Les 13 comtés de Galles.

Les 365 fenêtres de l'église de Salisbury, à ce qu'assure le poète Jean Prichard; — et les 365 enfants de la fille de Florent IV, comte de Hollande, nés d'une seule portée et qui moururent aussitôt baptisés!¹⁾

Les 52 comtés de l'Ile de Bretagne.

'Les 10 navires qui s'en allèrent avec Madoc, fils d'Owen de Gwynedd, en Amérique, en un endroit qui s'appelle Mexico (1170)'²⁾

'Les 13 bijoux royaux de l'Ile de Bretagne, qui étaient conservés à Caerlëon sur l'Usk et qui partirent avec Merlin dans la maison de verre'.

'Les 20 000 Saints qui allèrent dans l'île d'Enlli'.³⁾

Les 24 chevaliers de la cour d'Arthur; — et leurs noms suivent dans une cohue hétéroclite!

Vers la fin, des calculs amènent l'auteur, parlant de la vie de l'homme, à nommer Thomas Parr 'du comté de Shrewsbury' qui vécut 152 ans et 9 mois et Henry Jenkin, du comté d'York, qui vécut 169 ans. Et les dernières paroles, qui viennent du maître, forment une conclusion tout-à-fait pieuse à cet édifiant et instructif dialogue:

'Oh! Jean, je voudrais de tout mon cœur que toi, et moi, et les autres de la race d'Adam, nous fussions à jouer ainsi des

¹⁾ Notre Gallois cite son autorité. L'histoire était du reste courante et citée, à titre de *lusus naturæ*, comme cas de fécondité extraordinaire. La *Chronique Médicale* dans son No. du 1^{er} août 1899, a reproduit, p. 531, une vieille gravure représentant cet accouchement (cf. *ibid.* p. 399, No. du 1^{er} juin); et on y réfère, pour une explication de la légende, au *Magasin Pittoresque*, année 1843, p. 96.

²⁾ Allusion à la prétendue découverte de l'Amérique au XII^e siècle par le prince gallois Madoc, et à laquelle bien des gens croient encore en Galles, par tradition. Mais pour les esprits instruits et critiques, la légende a été détruite par Th. Stephens: voir son livre posthume, *Madoc*, publié par les soins de M. Llywarch Reynolds, Londres, 1893.

³⁾ L'île d'Enlli figure sur nos cartes sous son nom anglais de Bardsey 'l'île des Bardes', à l'extrémité de la péninsule du Carnarvon méridional. C'était un lieu célèbre de pèlerinage, et l'on croyait que 20 000 saints y étaient enterrés.

cartes ou de l'almanach, de l'enfance à la tombe! Je commande à vous tous mes serviteurs, et à ton accusateur, de lire le sermon de Christ sur la montagne ou d'écouter les chapitres 5, 6 et 7 de Matthieu, et alors, tu comprendras mieux ce que tu dis. Que Dieu nous rende tous tels, tels que nous désirerions être à l'heure de la mort. Amen.'

Cette version galloise est bien devenue indigène et *racy of the soil*, car il ne s'agit plus ni de messe, ni même de service divin dans une église; le domestique (qui s'appelle Jean comme dans des versions suédoise et danoise M, N, O, de M. Bolte) est simplement accusé de jouer aux cartes, accusation plus grave en Galles que partout ailleurs.

Defnydd Difrifol o'r *Cardiau*.

Fal i'r oedd Gwr Bonheddig o Gymro yn berchen llawer o Weision; ond fe achwynwyd Wrtho fod un ô'i Weision ef yn chwareydd (CARDIAU mawr) y Gwr Bonheddig a alwodd y gwàs i gyfri; am hynny ebr MEISTR wrth i Was tyred yma, SION.

Mr. Hedd. Mi a glywais dy fod yn Chwaryydd mawr ar y *Cardiau*?

Sion. Rhynged bodd ich anrhydedd ebr ef, pwy a achwynodd hynny Wrthyeh?

Yr wyfi yn Siwr mai Mynegiad Celwyddog yw.

M. Nid oes niweid yn hynny, ond a ydych chwi felly?

Sion. I'r wyf cyn belled o fod felly, nas gwn i beth i feddwl am un *Card*.

M. Ar Gwr a alwodd ar yr achwynwr, ac a ofynodd iddo, oni ddywedasoch i mi fod Sion yn Chwaryydd mawr ar y *Cardiau*?

Ar achwynwr atebodd, (Canys felly i gelwid ef) Rhynged bodd ich anrhydedd, i mae ef yn gymaint a nemor un, ac os gwelwch yn dda, ei chwilio, chwi a gewch *Gardiau* yn i ganlyn ef yr awr hôn, ac fe gaed y *Cardiau* yn canlyn *Sion*.

M. Oh! *Sion*, yr ydych chwi yn ddyn diras a digywilydd, am wadu y peth, Pedfuasit yn Cyfaddeu ond odid na fuaswn yn maddeu i ti?

Sion. Rhaglydded bôdd ich Mawrhydi, nid *Cardiau* i byddaf yn eu galw hwy, ac nid wyf yn gwneud mor defnydd hwnw o honynt.

M. Pa ryw ddefnydd yr ydych yn i wneud o honynt?

Sion. Hwynt hwy yw fy Almanac: ac wrthynt hwy byddaf yn gwybod rheol y flwyddyn, &c.

M. Os doi di ac ateb Cymhedrol, pa fodd yr wyt yn gwybod hynny, ni byddaf ddig wrthynt o hyn allan?

Sion. Yn y lle Cyntaf, i mae pedair *Siwt* neu Efeilliaid o honynt, yn dangos mae pedwar chwarter sydd mewn Blwyddyn; yn dwyn ar gôf i mi bedair rhan y Ddaear; Sef *Europa*, *Assia*, *Affrica* ac *America*.

I mae triarddeg ymhob *Siwt*, yn dangos mae 13 Wythnos sydd mewn Chwarter Blwyddyn: ac a ddwg ar gôf i mi dair Sir ardddeg

Cymru. Mae ynddynt ddeuddeg o *Gardiau* Brithion, yn dangos mae 12 Mis sydd mewn Blwyddyn: gan ddwyn ar gôf i mi y 12 Apostol. I mae ar y *Cardiau* [onid 5, neu 6, ar Flwyddyn naid] yr un rhifedi o lygatau ac sydd o Ddyddiau yn y Flwyddyn: Sef pump a thriugain a thri chant. (Rhifedi y 5. Sýdd uwchlaw'r hif y *Cardiau* a dddwg ar gôf i mi fod 5 mil o oed y Byd wedi myned heibio, a phan ddelo y 6. Y Flwyddyn Naid, i daw im cof am y Jubil Sabathaidd sy ar ddyfod) Yr unrhyw rifedi sydd o Ffenestri ar Eglwys *Salisbury* yn *Wiltshire*, fal tystia'r Brutanaidd Fardd:

Am bob Dydd dedwydd doedan, heb luedd,	} Ffenestri 365 } <i>Ioan Prichard</i> } 1670.
Fod mewn Blwyddyn gyfan;	
Tyst Welir Ffenestr Wiwlan,	
Ar un Eglwys loyw lwys lân.	

Dyddiau'r Flwyddyn dyn dynnant, i chwê awr
A chwech oes a Gerddant;
I ddau a thriugain ydd ant,
A thri uchod, a thri chant.

Dafydd Nanmor, 1460.

I Ferch *Florent* y 4. *Iarll Holland* y bu, 365, o blant ar unwaith! fe ai bedyddiwyd yn Eglwys Leasdunun, gan Don *William*, Gwasanaethwr dan Esgob *Utrecht*, y bechgin oedd *Sion*, ar Merched oedd *Elizabeth*: hwy a fuant feirw yn fuan ar ol i bedyddio ai mam hefyd! I mae'r ddau gawg llei bedyddiwyd hwy ynddyt yn yr Eglwys honno etto: i mae'r peth yn wir ddiau medd y Dr. *Heilyn*, (Anno 1276.) Vide *Geogra. Gram.* ynghylch Parthau *Germany*. *New Help to Discourse. A Golwg ar y Byd*, 128.

Mae ô'r *Cardiau* oll Ddeuddeg a deugain, yr hyn sydd yn dwyn ar gôf i mi fod Sul am bob *Card*, dros Flwyddyn, a Chlymmaint a hynny sydd o Siroedd o fewn ynys *Brydain*, 52.

M. Da iawn *Sion*, ai nid ydych yn gwneud dim ychwaneg na hynny o ddefnydd ô'ch *Almanac*?

Sion. Ydwyf Sr. ychwaneg o lawer.

M. Yr wyf yn fodlon i hynny a ddywedaist, dywed i mi beth ychwaneg, yr wyt yn ei Wneud ô'ch *Almanac*?

Sion. Y *Card* cyntaf yr wyf fi yn i alw, yw y *Brenin*, yr hwn sy'n dwyn ar gof i mi y Parch sydd ddyledus iw fawrhydi ef; a hefyd am gwyp *Adda*, ym'mharadwys. Gen. III, 23.

Yr ail yw'r *Frenhines*, sy'n dwyn ar gôf i mi y Parch sydd ddyledus iw Mawrhydi hithau, ac am *Fair* forwyn, mam ein Jachawdwr, JESU GRIST, *Luc*. I, 28.

Y trydydd yw y *Dêg*, sydd yn dwyn im Côf, y Deg Gorchymmyn, ar dêg Llong a aeth gyda *Madog* ap *Owain Gwynedd*, i *America*, mewn lle a elwir *Mexico*, 1170, gwél hanes y Ffydd, 1677, t. d. 193.

Y Pedwerydd yw y Naw llygad, sydd yn dwyn ar gôf i mi y Naw Miwsic, sef, *Calliope*, *Clio*, *Erato*, *Thalia*, *Melpomene*, *Terpsichore*, *Euterpe*, *Polyhymnia*, *Urania*: ar Naw Gorchfygwyr, sef, *Hector*,

Alexander, Jwl Caisar, 3, o'r Cenhedloed. *Josua, Dafydd, Judas*, 3. iddew, *Arthur, Charles, Godfrey*, 3 Christion, fal hyn y dywawt y Bardd.

Arthur, Sioswy bur Siarls bydd, a Godffrey,
Gwaed ffrîw Suwdas gelfydd;

Sesar, Alexander sydd,

Difai, Hector, a Dafydd.

Yr wyth, sydd yn dwyn ar gôf i mi, yr wyth fyd neu Uchelderau, y ma'e'r Astronomyddion yn Crybwyll am danynt, sef, Lleuad, Mercher, Gwener, Haul, Mawrth, Iau, Sadwrn, Ffurfafen y Sêr, ar wyth Nŷn yn yr Arch. *Gen. VII, 7, Dreselius* 295. 1661.

Y Saith sydd yn dwyn ar gôf i mi 7, ryfeddod y Bŷd. Y *Twr Gwylïad, Pyramides, Mausolœum, Caerau Babilon, Colosius o Rodes*, a Saf-ddelw *Jupiter Olimpïus*. Ar 7 Gysgadur, sef *Maximinian, Malchus, Marcianus, Dorinus, Joan, Constantius, a Serapion*.

Y Chwech sydd yn dwyn ar gof i mi Weithio chwe' diwrnod, a Sancteiddio y Seithfed, ac am 6 Sir *Gwynedd*.

Y Pumed sy'n dwyn ar gof i mi y pum Synwyr a roes Duw i Ddyn, sef *Teimlo, Clywed, Gweled, Aroglï, ac Archuwaethu*. Vide Golwg ar y Byd, 152. A phump Llyfr *Moses, Genesis, Exodus, Lefiticus, Numeri, a Deuteronomium*.

Y Pedwerydd sydd yn dwyn ar gôf i mi y pedwar Efangylwyr, S. *Matthew, S. Marc, S. Luc, S. Joan* ac am bedair merch y Drindod *Heddwch, Trugaredd, Cyfiawnder, a Gwirionedd*, Ps. lxxxv, 10.

Y Trydydd ir wyf yn dal Sulw, y Tri Pherson y Drindod, Sef y *Tâd, a'r Mab, a'r Yspryd Glân*, a'r tri Brenin o Gwlen, *Maelsior Brenin Nubia, ac Arabia*, Essay 49, 6, 7. *Baldasar Brenin Blodau a Saba*, Essay 60, 6, 9. *Siasbar Brenin Tarsis*, ac ynys *Gresdulæ*, Ps. lxxii, 10. Y rhai a Offrymmodd, Aur, a Myrr, a *Thus*, yr hwn yw *Frankincence*, y Siasbar hwn oedd *Ethiopus*, a lliw dŷ, *Megis Blowman*. Essay 68, 29.

Y ddau sydd yn rhoi yn fy meddwl y ddau Sacrament; ar ddau Leidr ar y Groes; a darfod i un ofyn trugaredd, a chael addewyd Sicer, ar llall nis Ceisiodd, *Lue* xxiii, 39, 40.

Yr As, yw un llygad ar y *Card*, ar rhif hwnnw sy'n rhoi yn fy meddwl Wasanaethu un Duw, ac nid yr un ychwaneg.

M. Gwrda *Sion*, ond fe ddartu i chwi fethu un *Card*?

Sion. Pa un oedd hwnnw?

M. Oni ddoliais i Sulw arnoch yn tynnu allan rhwng y Frenhines ar Dêg; ai ni ddaeth y *Cnâf* yn eich meddwl?

Sion. Yr oedd gennyf 'wllys i anghofo hwnnw; o hyn allan pan Welwyf y *Cnâf*, fe ddaw i'm Côf yr *Achwynur* yr ydych yn i gadw, ac hefyd am y *Cnâf* gan *Satan*, a dwylodd ein rhieni yng'ardd *Eden*. 2 *Cor.*, 11, 3. a 1 *Tim.*, 11, 14.

Wele ebr Mr. *Hêdd* wrth *Sion*, Da iawn y dywedaist am dy Almanac, neu dy *Gardïau*, a fedri di ei lliosogi hwy?

Medraf ebr *Sion*. Pan welwyf ar Ddau *Gard*. 11 fe ddaw i'm Côf, S. *Barnabas*, a elwid ar y Cyntaf *Joses*, neu *Joseph*, Mis Maihafin, 11 ei ddydd Gwyl ef, Vide Nelson 325, 1712. E. Sam. 251, 1704. Ac am

yr un fil ar ddeg, o ferched Ifainc a aeth gyda *Maren* Weledig i *Lydaw*, gwêl Drych y Prif oesoedd lxx, 1740.

Pan welwyf ddeuddeg, Cofio a wnaif am y 12, Apostol. *Mat.* x, 2, 3, 4 ac am 12, Mis y Flwyddyn.

Ac am dri ar ddeg, Cofio byddaf am y 13, Canon. Sy'n erchi iawn gadw Sul a gŵyl, ac am y 13, o Frenindlysau *Ynys Brydain*, y rhai o gedwid ynghaer lleon ar Wysg, a aethan gyda *Merddin* ir Tŷ Gwydr. M. S.

Pan edrychwyf ar y Pedwerydd ar ddeg, fe ddaw i'm Cof am yr Ympryd a fu ar *S. Paul*; ac eraill a fu gyd ag ef yn y Llong *Act.* xxvii, 33, 37. Ac am ŵyl y Grôg, y dydd i cadd *Elen* luyddog y Groes i bu ein Jachawdwr yn dioddef arni yn *Jerusalem*. Drych y Prif. 64, ac oes Lyfr. 63.

Pan welwyf Bymtheg, fe ddaw im Cof ddull yr Adgyfodiad oddiwrth y Meirw, 1 *Cor.* xv. &c. ar Pymtheg arwydd medd *Dafydd Nanmor*, a Welir cyn y Jubil Sabbathaid. 1. Môr yn codi. 2. Gostwng y Môr. 3. Llef y Pysgod. 4. Môr yn llosgi. 5. Coed yn Chwysu'r gwaed. 6. Cwmpo adail y Bŷd. 7. Creigiau yn Curo. 8. Crynnu'r Ddaiar. 9. Cyfyd Pawb o'r Beddau. 10. Y Byd yn dân goleu. 11. Bydd Meirw Pawb. 12. Syrth y Sêr ar Creaduriaid ôll. 13. Llosgi'r Ddaiar ar Nef. 14. Esgyrn pawb yn dyfod ynghyd. 15. Nef newydd a Daiar. M. S.

Pan edrychwyf ar un ar bymtheg. Fe ddaw i'm Cof yr Efengyl am y Glwth goludog, a *Lazarus* dylawd, *Luc.* xvi. 19, ac am Bechod gwedi bedydd, Articl. 16.

Pan welwyf ddau ar bymtheg: fe ddaw i'm Cof y 17. Articl. Sydd am Ragluniaeth ac Etholedigaeth, ac am y Flwyddyn wedi Geni Crist, 17. Y bu *Gwrydr* ap *Cynfelyn* yn Frenin, yn i amser ef i bedyddiwyd, ac i dioddefodd Angen ar y Groes, ef a deyrnasodd 28. Flwyddyn, gwêl oes Lyfr 65.

Pan welwyf ddau naw, fe ddaw i'm Cof y *Galileaid*, a *Thur Siloam*, *Luc* xiii. 1. 4. ar Colect am y 18 Sul wedi'r Drindod.

Pan dremiwyf ar bedwar ar Bymtheg daw i'm Cof y Salm. 19, ac am y 19. Ben. o Eccl.

Pan welwyf ugain: byddaf yn meddwl am yr 20. Mil Sainet a aeth i ynys *Enlli*, ac am yr 20. Darn o arian a Gafwyd am *Joseph*, Gen. xxxviii, 28, ac medd *Gád* 30, o *Gilderne*, ac medd *Joseph* 80 o Goronau Aur, gwêl i Testament hwy.

Pan welwyf yn y rhif Triphlŷg, un ar hugain fe ddaw i'm Cof, *S. Thomas*, yr hwn a Ferthyrwyd a Saethau, a Cherrig, ag a Gwaywffon, ei wyl Rhagfyr, 21, *Nelson*, 53, E. Sam. 210, ac am yr 21, Bennod o Job, Darllain hi oll.

Pan welwyf ddau ar hugain, im Cof y daw *Mair Magdalen*, Gorphenaf 22, ei gwyl, Mor Salw ydoedd y peth a roddodd hi, i draed ein Jachawdwr! oh! leied yr amser y bu hi yn Gwneuthur hynny! Ac er hynny fe âi Cyhoeddir, trwy'r holl fyd, *Mat.* xxvi, 13. Rhai eraill (ysgattydd) a fuasai yn rhyfedd ganddynt bethau eraill oedd ynddi, ei gwrîd Côch, ei hwynepryd hardd: Bloden hyfryd lwys ei hieuengetid,

ei hawddgarwech anaml ei fâth, ei Chyfoeth mawr, ei Mwynder, ai Chymmwynasgarwech, ar Cyffelyb. Nid y rhain oedd y Pethau a ganmolodd Crist ynddi; eithr y gwasanaeth a gyflawnodd hi iw draed of oedd y peth. Nid oedd y peth o honaw ei hun yn fawr: ac er hynny modd ydoedd ef iddi hi, i gael Gogoniant trag'wyddol, a byth anfarwol urddas, hyn yw tystiolaeth Crist; fe a'i Pregethir trwy'r holl Fyd, *Drexelius* 72. A Diweirdeb *Gwenfrewy*, ferch *Temic* ap *Elwedd*, yn y Flwyddyn, 636, *Drych* y Prif. 280, a Chywydd *Tudur Aled* iddi, gwél ef, ei gwyl yw Maihafhin, 22.

Pan welwyf Dri ar hugain, fe ddaw im Côf mai ar y 23 o Fawrth y Creuad, neu luniwyd *Adda*, ar 23, bennod o *Job*, fal ir oedd ef yn hiraethu am fyned gerbron Duw, &c.

Pan welwyf bedwar ar hugain, fe ddaw i'm Côf, S. *Bartholemeus*, yr hwn a ddioddefodd ei flingo, ac wedi hynny ei Groeshoelio, yr hyn a wneid yn yr *Aipht*, ac ym *Mherisia*, Nelson 380, Diweddnod i bererindod ef oedd *Albania*, neu *Albanopolis*, Dinas ar fin môr *Caspium*, ei wyl Awst 24. Mae'r Dr. *Cave* yn dywedyd mai Dinas o *Armenia* ydoedd, E. Sam. 193. Ac hefyd am y 24 Marchog oedd yn Llys *Arthur*. Sef oedd i hennwau. 1. *Menw* ap *Teirgwaedd*. 2. *Tristan* ap *Talwch*. 3. *Eiddilig* or. 4. *Nasens* fab brenin Llychlyn. 5. *Medrod* ap *Llew* ap *Cynfarch*. 6. *Hywel* fab *ynyr Llydaw*. 7. *Lleas* fab Jarll Llychlyn. 8. *Cadawg* ap *Gwnlliw* farfog. 9. *Pedrog* ap *Baladrddellt*. 10. Morfran ap Tegid. 11. *Sanddef* bryd Angel. 12. *Glewlywd Gafaelfawr*. 13. *Cyno* fab *Lydno* Euddun. 14. *Caron* ap *Cynfarch*. 15. *Llywarch* hên, ap *Eliidr* Lydanwyn. 16. *Gwalchmai* fab *Llew*. 17. *Drudwas* ap *Tryffin*. 18. *Eliwlad* fab *Madog* ap *Uthur*. 19. Vwrt fab Bwrt. 20. *Predur* ap *Efrog*. 21. *Lanslod Lás*. 22. *Cadur* Jarll Cernyw. 23. *Galaeth* ap *Lanslot*, *Lâc*. 24. Ac Ywain ap Urien. D. Prif. 131, M. S.

Pan edrychwyf ar Bymyp ar hugain, Fe ddaw i'm Côf ferthyrdod, S. *Marc*. i, Lysgo gerfydd i draed hyd le Carregog, ai losgi wedi hynny, *Nelson*, 227, *E. Sam*. 242, Ebrill 25, a S. *Jago* y mwyaf, a ddioddefodd dorri ei ben yn *Jerusalem*, *Nelson* 365, *E. Sam*. 165, Gorphenna, 25, a Dydd Nadolig ein Jachawdwr, Jesu Grist, Rhagfyr 25.

Pan welwyf Chwech ar hugain, ê ddaw im Côf, S. *Joan* yr hwn oedd yn 26 oed pan alwyd ef ir Swydd Efangylaidd, Medd Mr. *Samuel*, 176, Mo'r cwbl 30, Medd *Nelson* 88. Ef a dafwyd i Badell fawr o olew berwedig, ond Duw a'i gwareddodd oddiwrth y farwolaeth honno, hyd onid oedd ynghylch deg a Phedwar ugain, Ac ar y 26 o Rhagfyr y Merthyrwyd S. *Stephan*.

Pan welwyf Saith ar hugain, Fe ddaw i'm Côf y 27 o Efengyl S. *Matthew*, am Ddioddefaint Crist. Ac am y 27, Salm.

Pan edrychwyf wyth ar hugain, i'm cof y daw, y *Gwirioniad* Sanctaidd, a ddioddefodd ferthyrdod er mwyn Crist, dan *Herod*, eu rhif oedd pedair mil ar ddêg! Medd Eglwys y *Groegwyr*, ac Eglwys yr *Abyssiniaid* o *Ethiopia*, *Nelson* 104. Ac 28, Sydd yn mis Chwefror, ond y Flwyddyn Naid.

Pan graffwyf ar Naw ar hugain, y daw im cof, S. *Michael*, ar holl Angylion, Medi 29. Ac am y Salmau sydd ar y dydd hwnnw.

Pan ganfyddwyf Ddeg ar hugain, I'r wyf yn Cofio am y 30, Arian a gafodd *Suddas* am ein Jachawdwr: hynny yw medd y *Ficcer Prisiard*, Hanner Coron, gwél Bywyd a Marwolaeth Crist, Edrych i Lyfr ef, os 30, o Geiniogau (ym mysc yr *Iuddewon* ar *Rhufeinaid*) Saith geiniog a dimai o Arian Brutanaidd oeddynt: Gwel pwyll y pader 178, Medd Mr. *Tho. Evans*, Rhif y 30, hynny yw 18s. 9d. ond tyb Mr. *Edward Samuel*, yw 30, o hanner Coranau, rhif hwnnw yw £3 . 15s. tair punt a phumtheg Swllt, Edrych buchedd *S. Matthias* 233.

Mr. *Hedd*. Da iawn *Sion*, A fedri di ddywedyd dim ychwaneg?

Medraf ebr *Sion*, Ond cael un *Card* im llaw wele ebr Mr. *Hedd*. *Sion*, Cymmer dy ddewis.

Ebr *Sion*. Nis gallaf gael ond un, a honno yw âs, Sef un argraff ar *Gard*. a 4, or *Cardiau* i'm Llaw, y rhain sydd yn dwyn ar gof i mi bedair oes Dŷn. Sef *Mebyd*, *Jeuenctid*, *Gwroliaeth*, a Henaint, a diwedd Cyfartal. Imae rhyw gyfnewyd ar fywyd Dyn, yn gyffredinol o fewn pob Saith Mlynedd, Felly os Cawn ni, fi, a chwithau, Mr. *Hedd*, fyw eiu dau, i fynd yn 108, ar llall yn 109, dyna ddigon o oes i fyw mewn Byd enbydus nid oes ond ymbell un yn dyfod i'r oed hwnnw, er's talm, fe fu yn o ddiweddar (ac etto mae rhai) Mr. *Thomas Parr*, o Sir y Mwythig, yr hwn a fu fyw 152, a 9 Mis. Ac hefyd Mr. *Henry Jenkin*, o Sir Iorc, yr hwn a fu fyw 169, gwel golwg ar y Bŷd 164, a *Johannes de Temporibus*, a fu fyw 361, Hist. Remarques 153.

Ebr Mr. *Hedd*. Oh! *Sion*, mi a ddymunwn o ewyllys fy 'nghalon dy fod, Ti, a minnau ac eraill o hil *Adda*: yn chwarae'r fâth yna o *Gardiau*, neu Almanac, o febyd i fêdd. Rwy'n gorchymmyn i chwi fy nheuлу oll; ath dithaur'r Achwynwr am ddarlain (Bregeth Crist ar y Mynydd) neu wrando y 5, 6, 7, Bennodau, o *Fatthew*, ac yna, ti a ddealli yn well pa beth a ddywedi. Duw a'n gwnelo ni oll yn gyfryw, ac i dymunem ein bod yn awr Angeu. *Amen*.

[Cydymaith Diddan, gan Dafydd Jones,
o *Drefriw*, Caerlleon: 1766. p. 1—10.]

Le récit que conservent encore les livres du colportage comme conte, n'est qu'une sorte de laïcisation du genre homilétique. L'enseignement moral tiré des cartes à jouer remonte plusieurs siècles plus haut, et M. Bolte en a cité des exemples depuis le XVe siècle. J'y ajouterai une anecdote française, quoique ce soit plutôt une allusion au jeu de cartes dans la chaire chrétienne. Un des prédicateurs les plus célèbres à Paris au commencement du XVIIe siècle était le Père André Boullanger, dit le petit Père André, qui aimait le langage familier et les comparaisons triviales. 'Il compara, dit-on, dans un de ses sermons les quatre docteurs de l'Eglise aux quatre rois du jeu de cartes. St. Augustin était le *roi de coeur* par sa grande charité; St. Ambroise le *roi de trèfle* par les fleurs de son éloquence; St. Jérôme le *roi de*

pique par son style mordant(!); et St. Grégoire-le-Grand le *roi de carreau* par son peu d'élévation(!).¹⁾

Mais pourquoi ce symbolisme homilétique s'est-il attaché aux cartes à jouer? par ce qu'il existait avant l'invention du jeu de cartes et qu'il a été transporté des dés, ce jeu si ancien et si répandu, au jeu nouvellement inventé. Nous ne pouvons citer ici de série aussi complète que pour l'enseignement par les cartes, mais il nous reste des allusions et des fragments assez caractéristiques pour mener plus haut la généalogie de notre récit. M. Bédier, dans son livre sur *Les fabliaux* (Paris, 1893) trace (p. 359) le portrait du jongleur, il décrit sa vie de vices et de misères et sa passion pour le jeu. A cette époque, quand on parlait de la passion du jeu, il s'agissait des dés, comme il s'agit aujourd'hui des cartes.

'Certes, il les déteste [les dés] de male haine. Que d'imprécations n'a-t-il pas rimées contre eux! C'est le diable qui a ordonné à un sénateur de Rome, lequel lui avait vendu son âme, de fabriquer un petit cube d'ivoire et d'y peindre des points: la face du dé qui porte un seul point signifie le mépris de Dieu les deux points, le mépris de Dieu et de la Vierge; les trois points, le mépris de la sainte Trinité; les quatre points, le mépris des quatre évangélistes; les cinq points, le mépris des cinq plaies du Sauveur; les six points, le mépris de l'oeuvre des six jours...'. Il est probable que la satire en vers, résumée ici par M. Bédier,²⁾ est la parodie, amusante par l'introduction du Diable, d'une mnémotechnie édifiante, connue alors de tous. Et les dés fournissent encore le point d'attache d'une semblable moralité dans un autre poème français, du XIV^e siècle, sur les propriétés des choses³⁾ — Et puisque j'ai nommé le Diable, je dirai que dans un proverbe du Harz, le jeu de cartes est appelé, par métaphore et antithèse, son livre de prières⁴⁾.

¹⁾ *Nouvelle Biographie Générale* de F. Didot, T. VII (1855) p. 9. — Le P. André Boullanger, né en 1578, mourut en 1657.

²⁾ Elle est intitulée *Du jeu de Dez*, et publiée dans A. Jubinal, *Nouveau Recueil de Contes* etc. T. II (1842), p. 229.

³⁾ Publié par M. G. Raynaud dans la *Romania* T. XIV (1885), p. 468; cf. p. 452.

⁴⁾ Ein Spiel Karten ist des Teufels Gebetbuch. W. Lohrengel, *Altes Gold, Deutsche Sprichwörter*, Clausthal, 1860, Nr. 242 de l'Oberharz.

Les dés ont disparu de l'Europe, ou peu s'en faut, supplantés comme ils sont par les cartes. Mais ce qui n'est plus mode chez nous, est encore mode en Afrique, sur le Zambèze. Un missionnaire protestant français, écrivant de Séshéké, disait¹⁾:

Il y a quelques jours, un de ces vendeurs, après avoir reçu le prix de son grain, sortit de sa poche un shilling à l'effigie du Président Krüger, et en même temps, laissait tomber quelque chose de sa poche, des dés de service. 'Je ne fais rien de ton argent, lui dis-je, mais qu'est ceci?' en lui montrant dans ma main les quatre petits morceaux d'ivoire, ses dés! Il eut l'air ennuyé. Il m'expliqua cependant leur emploi. L'un représentait Dieu, le suivant la femme de Dieu et le troisième le fils de Dieu, le quatrième la femme du fils. Toute la fortune du devin tourne autour de ces quatre osselets; si en les jetant, les deux osselets représentant les deux femmes tombent sur face, c'est très mauvais signe, s'ils vont entreprendre un voyage il sera malheureux; si on les consulte pour un malade, il mourra. Au contraire, si ce sont les faces de Dieu et du fils qui apparaissent, l'augure ne pourrait être meilleur, etc.

Je ne continue pas la citation de M. L. Jalla quoiqu'elle pût être intéressante pour l'histoire de la divination chez les non-civilisés du Zambèze. Mais j'ai peut-être tort de parler ici de non-civilisés, car ce que nous constatons dans cette pratique de sauvages, c'est la déformation ou la transformation d'une pratique reçue de civilisés, Européens ou Arabes, Chrétiens ou Musulmans.

Comme l'a montré M. Bolte, le récit dont nous avons donné la version galloise n'est que l'application, à un jeu, du catéchisme numéral commençant par la question: *dic mihi quid sit unus?* M. Bolte en a dressé une bibliographie extrêmement riche: je pourrais l'allonger encore, mais *non est hic locus*. Ce ne sera pourtant pas sortir du cadre de cette revue que de faire deux remarques de littérature celtique.

La première est pour montrer les rapports de la littérature irlandaise avec la littérature générale du moyen-âge. La version irlandaise du *Dic mihi quid sit unus* est la plus ancienne sans doute des versions européennes, car le manuscrit qui l'a conservée, le *Leabhar Breac*, est du XIV^e siècle. M. Bolte la trouvera dans *The Vision of Mac Conglinne, edited with translation*, by Kuno Meyer, London, 1892, p. 48. Il s'agit encore là d'une adaptation plaisante, comme dans l'histoire citée des dés du jongleur.

¹⁾ *Le petit Messager des Missions Évangéliques*, Paris, Octobre 1901, p. 237.

Ma seconde remarque aura trait au nom breton d'une des variantes, *Gousperou ar Raned* 'vêpres des grenouilles', raillerie populaire sur la parodie d'une récitation religieuse. Or, un hymne du *Rig-Veda* (VII, 103), en l'honneur des grenouilles qui se réjouissent du retour de la pluie après une saison de sécheresse, les compare aux brâhmanes récitant leurs prières.¹⁾ Max Müller voyait là autrefois une satire des brâhmanes: on y voit aujourd'hui plutôt une incantation pour obtenir de la pluie, et le folk-lore donne des exemples à l'appui de cette interprétation. Mais que les grenouilles soient comparées aux prêtres ou les prêtres aux grenouilles, la rencontre dans la métaphore est amusante, comme la métaphore elle-même.

¹⁾ Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, T. V. p. 435.

Paris.

H. GAIDOZ.

Anhang.

Es ist anziehend, dem Ursprunge einiger der Legenden, die in dem von H. Gaidoz mitgetheilten welschen Texte berührt werden, nachzuforschen. So erinnern die 365 Fenster in der Kirche in Salisbury an das, was Maqrizî († 1441) in seinen *Chîṭaṭ* (1, 233 ed. Bulaq) über den Tempel von Dendera in Ober-ägypten erzählt. 'Er hat 180 Luftlöcher oder Fenster', sagt er, 'und jeden Tag tritt die Sonne durch eines ein, bis sie an das letzte kommt und dann wieder dahin zurückkehrt, wo sie angefangen hat.' Dies hat schon S. de Sacy in seinen *Observations sur le nom des pyramides* p. 35 angeführt. Da die Zahl 180 die Hälfte von 360 ist, so mag sie mit den Tagen des ägyptischen Jahres, ohne die 5 Epagomenen, im Zusammenhang stehen.

In einer irischen Handschrift, die die Geschichte Keatings enthält (cod. Gotting. hist. 773), findet sich die Notiz: 'Anno 1310 Margareta Hollanda comitissa uno partu edidit 360 filios vivos, qui omnes baptismi characterem susceperunt, uti refert Baptista Fulgosus.' Allerdings erwähnt der Doge von Genua c. 1487 gegen Ende des zweiten Buches seiner *Memorabilien* das Ereignis kurz mit ziemlich denselben Worten, nur dass er

es vielmehr unter dem Jahre 1314 giebt. (Bap. Fulgosii Factorum dictorumque memorabilium libri ix, Parisiis 1585, Bl. 52 a). — Nach einer spanischen, zuerst von Timoneda aufgezeichneten Romanze aus dem 16. Jahrhundert (A. Duran, *Romancero general* 2, 392 ed. 1851), hat sich das Wunder in Irland ereignet. Als nämlich eine arme Frau, die viele Kinder hatte, madama Margarita, 'princesa, dicen algunos, que fué de Irlanda', um ein Almosen ansprach, wunderte sich diese über den reichen Kindersegen, und als die Frau versicherte, dass sie alle von Einem Vater seien, konnte die vornehme Dame ihre Zweifel nicht unterdrücken.

Respondióle: 'Es imposible,
antes cierto es de pensar,
que ellos son de muchos padres,
y esto no puedes negar.'

Über diese Verdächtigung entrüstet, stösst die arme Frau eine Verwünschung aus, infolge deren die Prinzessin dann selbst 360 winzig kleine Kinder gebären musste, 'chicos como ratoncillos'. Sie starben bald darauf, nachdem sie von einem Bischofe in einem silbernen Becken getauft waren, das man noch 'unserem Kaiser Karl' in der Kirche gezeigt hat, jedesfalls doch also nicht in Irland, sondern in Holland. Sehr achtbare Gewährsmänner haben die Thatsache überliefert, schliesst die Romanze.

Uno es Baptista Fulgoso,
Enrico, con Algozar,
y el gran doctor valenciano
Vives, que no es de olvidar.

Von den in dem welschen Texte erwähnten 13 Kleinodien der Insel Britannien haben Edw. Jones und Lady Guest Listen veröffentlicht (vgl. CZ. 1, 305). Aus Handschriften des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts weist sie J. Gwenogvryn Evans nach (Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh language 1, 401. 439. 572. 995).

L. CHR. STERN.

ON THE COPENHAGEN FRAGMENTS OF THE BREHON LAWS.

The Royal Library at Copenhagen possesses a parchment codex of Brehon Laws and a commentary thereon, consisting of six leaves in small folio and double columns. To judge from the handwriting and the marginal notes, it seems to have been written in the fifteenth or sixteenth century in one of the law-schools of the Mac Egans, or in that kept by Domnall O'Davoren at Burren in the county Clare. It appears to have been given by General Vallancey to the Iclander Thorkelin, after whose death it was acquired by the aforesaid library. The codex was noticed by O'Donovan and Reeves in the *Archaeological Journal* XVI, London 1859, pp. 249—252, by Henri Gaidoz in the *Revue Celtique* VI, 111, and recently by L. C. Stern in this *Zeitschrift* II, 324, 325. But these notices are so meagre that the following extracts, made from a good photograph of the whole MS., will probably be welcome to Celtic students. The text is printed in a type larger than that of the commentary. Extensions of the numerous contractions, which are not indicated in the official edition of *The Ancient Laws of Ireland*, will here be represented by italics. English translations of most of the passages quoted will be found in vols. II and V of that publication, Dublin 1869, 1901.

The codex begins with an extract from the *Cain Aigillne*, the law of base-stock tenancy.

[Fo. 1a, col. 1.]

Cach cor (= Ancient Laws II, 292, l. 29.)

i. ceilsine i. do coraib 7 do cunnarthaibh. NO cunnrad doniatt na memair mata cend andara de ag tiachtain faoi 7 ni denann *acht* foeighim fuaitertha is imclaecló[d] dona *sétaib* dogres.

Mas indarba dogni in *flaith* is imclaeclodh dibh co *dechmaid* 7 dilsí na *sét* o *dechmaid* amach d'fir in fuaitirtha i dualgus inarbtha 7 aithgin a thsét fein dó cen toiched 7 dia lecthar elo a thoicheda is aithgin do *cona* lethgabail diabulta.

Mema[i]r fotecur cora so 7 anecmais a cind doroíne cunnrad friu.

Cach cunnrad doniatt na memair inecmais na cend dia fuaidri[g]thir fochétoir is claeclód dib co *dechmaid*. dia fuirgither tar *dechmaid* is dilsí in *dá* cunnrad. dia troise[th]er impu co *dechmaid* is dilsí an *dá* cunnrad.

Madh iar ndechmaid troiscther impu is dilsí a cunnartha fein do 7 cunnartha in fir *aíli* 7 diablad 7 enecclann.

Gach uail na torracht a *sét* a laimh an duine 7 na fuil aige ini (*sic*) indarbus nocha n-eicin do *acht* toithed do tabairt ima *sétaib* 7 da lecthar eló is eiric élaoi d'íoc ann 7 cuic seoit 7 enecclann.

Ma tar sarugud na cend ina freenarcus is tre diablad. munub sarugud is imclaeclómó[d] dona *sétaib*. Ma dia foxlad uadha fochétoir madh co troscad dobósa is tre diablad ria ndechmaid 7 tre diablad iar ndechmaid cen troscad, madh co troscad immorro is tre diablad 7 cuic seoit.

The MS. then proceeds with the commentaries on *Cach cor* 'every contract' (Ancient Laws II, 294, 17 and 294, 28), and *Cach innell* 'every compact' (ibid. II, 296, 5 — 298, 8).

At fo. 1a2, line 15, the MS. deviates from the edition, II, 298, 9, and proceeds thus, in accordance with the edition II, 298, l. 18, and the commentary II, 290, l. 28, 292, l. 1 et seq.

Cach aodhnacal [leg. idhnacul]

i. fuilliuma no do cumainibh 7 d'aisgedaib 7 d'urgais. Na seoit fuillema *acht* mas foeigim uil and secib cend doné an foeigim is nemhfastad in fuillema dogres 7 imcloechlód dona *sétaib* 7 don fuillium antan damur dlíged umpu.

focertar forsna hurgartasa [Laws II, 290, ll. 18, 19].

i. *cuirethar risin lucht ro hurgairest[ar] dlíged cunnr[ad] do denamh.*

*Muna forngaire*¹⁾ *i*²⁾ *cenn* [Laws II, 290, l. 19].

i. *muna rabat a cinn aca forcongru.*

i[t] dilsí seoit caich i ndocoraib cuirethar [Laws II, 290, ll. 19, 20].

i. *a dualgus innurbai a forba dechmaide no fochétoir no tar sarugud.*

dicinn gach memair micoraí[g] [Laws II, 290, ll. 20, 21].

i. *is dó is díles íat, 7 ní don memur i. doní drocheurad i. as in meamur dogní micor.*

indilsí a seoit som mad riasaither [Laws II, 290, l. 21]

i. *mádh día tarustar íat.*

*nad atheuirethar*³⁾ [Laws II, 290, ll. 21—22].

i. *amuich iar n-urfocra.*

*iar n-aurforocra*⁴⁾ [Laws II, 290, l. 22].

i. *diablad iar n-elod madh ro leic elód umpu.*

*is co fiachaib gaite, gait cach tothlod for a memraib inecmais a cinna*⁵⁾ [Laws II, 290, l. 23]

is fiach gaite bes o dechmaid amach no iar troscud fochétoir for inti thothélas a crodh ona ceilib í inecmais a cenn i. is amail gait im indilsí cach ní berur ona memru inécmáis i cenn.

cach fuasnad iarmotha sin [Laws II, 290, l. 24].

i. *cach fo osnadh cen innurba i. fuasnad do daoinaib ceilsine cenmo (sic) motha amail isrubartmur dona hurgurthaibh roimainn*

¹⁾ leg. *munab a forngaire.*

²⁾ for *e = a* 'their'.

³⁾ *tatheuirithur*, Laws II, 290.

⁴⁾ *iar na urfocra*, Laws II, 290.

⁵⁾ leg. *cenn, gen. pl.*

suas. Fuasnad ceilsine sochenéla do daóinaibh daora .i. genmotha sét. fo eighim im chora. Fuasnadh ceilsine cema [leg. chena] annso do thsaoraib cenmotha fuasnad cor na n-urgartha .i. gach fuasnad no cach fuaidri ceilsine iarum asa haithli sin, uair fuaidri cor 7 cunnartha aderamair roimhainn. Foeghim mna s...

cen innarba [Laws II, 290, l. 24].

.i. do beth ann .i. is inann 7 dogne in t-innurba madh eigin foruáir gan a denumh.

acht madh ecumang ardibdai (.i. im in aithgin) slan¹⁾ 7 fuillium (.i. diabladd) 7 meath (.i. in cumal) 7 somaoine (.i. biadh 7 manchuine) fuillema [Laws II, 290, l. 24—26].

.i. ata acht lium ann conad inann do 7 doné hí in inbuid na caomhnacur a dhenumh .i. is inann do 7 dogne in n-innurba mad eigin an denumh 7 dia cuit iothar an diabladd.

Foegium (.i. do dhenamh doibh) cin indarba arsaigh aithgin [Laws II, 300, l. 21].

.i. cid innarba bhes ann noch a mbiadh ní dibh sin don flaith .i. tarustar aithgin ó fer foghéme²⁾ dogres 7 ní fuil fastad.

Some one has then written, in an English hand, Fragment D, which suggests that Fragments A, B and C may yet be found in Dublin, where the Irish MSS. have never been properly catalogued.

[fo. 1 b 1] ar ní diubarar nach tidnacul adaimther di colln(aib) sct n-aithgena [Laws II, 300, ll. 21, 22].

.i. ar no diubartar inti aithnither do tidnacul ratha cen aithgin collna ratha d6³⁾

¹⁾ MS. eqmangur dibdaislan.

²⁾ MS. fódh émh ad.

³⁾ In marg. [7] desmirecht [air].

Gairit a remis farior rl.
gingo fuil ort [a] ingnim
acalann nabi go bras
noch a ní nacham a blas

ar adaim nad indarban. nid indarban nad apainn
co n-athechur 7 indarba 7 dingbail co comrae indilsi
for seotu co dichumaing. [= Laws II, 300, ll. 23—25]

i. is inann do 7 do beth ina aititin muna derna innarba iar dain
i. muna be turbad denait an innarba i. cein turbad do beth do
ar neck diob, uair dia roibe saorfaid é i. in fir dia tabartar no
in aighi fine i. e na caomnacair in gabail inann do 7 doné no
antan gebhis foegim grem innarba do nocha n-eigin do aithgin
do foc.

The commentary continues to the end of the column, ending
thus: is a n-ioc do ma docuadur a mugud = Laws II, 304, 20—21.

Then three lines are added on the margin: Cach ni
dorormacht aitidi(?) for fer n-aititen 7 gach ni rodilsi indarba
d'fir innarbltha aich(?) sin ó bibdaid intan tarrustar bibdaid.

[fo. 1 b 2]

Cach fuasnad iarmothasin [Laws II, 298, l. 15].

i. each fuaidri ceilsine iarum asa haithle sin, uair fuaidri cuir 7
cunnartha roimainn.

Mas foegim o flaith 7 aititin o fine is[s]lan don flaith 7
diablad o fine.

The commentary continues for eighteen lines to Madh innarba
uadaib indis is dilis doib iar ndechmaid 7 is ria mbiathad na
flatha dogníther = Laws II, 300. lines 19, 20.

Then come thirteen lines of commentary beginning with
INTan is foegem o flaith, and ending with iocaid aithgin fer
foegme. They correspond with Laws II, 306, l. 32—308, l. 9.

is diabul n-aithgina adacuirethar [Laws II, 308, l. 10].

i. is aithgin adhcuirethar cona diabul on fine 7 aitidiu nil acud
ann no is aithgin cona diabul síana dia rabat in fine ina roaititin
otha inré reisi ticfatiss fo coraib no fo cunnarthaibh co tí
aimsir biata 7 (fa)sta ceilsine o ticfus aimsir biata.

madh rodhma fine [= Laws II, 130, l. 8].

i. ma dia roibe in fine in(a) roaititin reisin re ara roich diabul
orru i. muna thainic aimsir biata 7 dia tí, ní cumhgit sium
fuaidri 7 conecait co sin 7 slan doib frí re in mis, acht aithgin
a ratha don flaith amach cia beth sium ina aititin. aithgin cona
diabul uadha o tsin amach dia mbe i n-aititin co aimsir biata.

ar as a cuít fine teit ní nad atann flaith sofoltach
[= Laws II, 308, l. 16].

.i. ar is í in fine icus [fo. 2 a 1] an cuít rosoich orru reis na flathaib
ilarda is [e]chtrann doib intan na bidh an flaith tue degfolad
doib artus í n-aititin.

is aithgin inn feib ron-errthar [= Laws II, 310, l. 15].

.i. ar us aithgin atairghither o fer foegme dogres fo feabhus ro
heirned 7 foegem uil ann.

Ma foegem o flaith 7 o fine is aithgin nama.

Ma foegem o nechtar de is dublad namá isin rath.

Mad innarba uadhib andis is diles doib andis iar ndechmaid.

tolaich ainreb obaill. [= Laws II, 310, l. 7].

.i. munab ar obloirecht diné an innarba .i. nochan ar fuach
tholtanach diné sim in obloirecht sin isna firreibh sin acht do
dichur na sét no nocha ar guach toile dirat se apad acht di
dichur .i. nocha n-ar focul toltanach nech aile done-sium sin .i.
in furocra no in innarba tre fosiubal isna firreibh acht ar
daigin maithusa riu badein.

muna fornglana flaith a foltaib na sêta indligthecha
ernis [= Laws II, 312, ll. 14, 15].

.i. mun firglana in flaith deghfoltach amach na seotudh ro ernad
amuich co hinndligthech biadh an dilsí don lucht miuigh [leg. í
miuigh] no tall a dualghus innarbtha o bias innarba orra .i.
asta[d] for ceile 7 a foghnamh dib, 7 it lais a seoit indilsí cen
innarba on flaith .i. in flaith dirat in folad.

Dilse seoit caich indocuirithar inndliged. ma iar
n-urfogru cach faonlegach¹⁾ fine fo c[o]raib techta[ib]
[= Laws II, 288, ll. 3—5].

The rest of this column is occupied by 27 lines in the
small character used for the commentary. They begin with the
words: Na seoit fuilliuma cidh be cenn dib fein dogne ín fuaitred
is tiachtain faói dogres mana raib acht fuaitred ann nama.
I have not identified this passage with anything in the edition.

¹⁾ leg. foendledach?

The Copenhagen MS. then takes up the subject of *fála* or legal bars, and, first, the bar of the man who buys land for an insufficient price:

[Fo. 2a, col. 2.]

Fal fir chreanus i mbeaglog¹⁾ [= Laws V, 502, l. 22].

.i. in ime dogni in fer cendaighes an ferann ar logh mbec .i. fal dontí cendaighes mor ar logh mbecc²⁾ dia thoirce (in) mor-sen for culadh don tí ó tucad geibid gr[e]im trebaire in tairgsin cona dilis ó cethre uaire *fichit* amach ontí día thairgither.

dofairgi arrofera ar a ferthar fris nach etar³⁾ [= Laws V, 502, ll. 22, 23].

.i. tarcaid iní ro eirnustar air do targaid amuig aris, 7 nochar ar féta⁴⁾ a faghbail dó nó in sét i mbaoi a diubairt .i. ar logh mbec ro cendaiged annsin 7 ata an fer or cendaiged aga agra .i. a diubarta, 7 adeir antí o ro cendiged, ní tiubarsa duit, ar se, *acht* tabhair mo seotu fén damh ma mairét. Et mun mairét tabair a cutrumus do sétaib aile, 7 mun tuctar is fal sin. Et mata trebaire a dilsí uile o ceithre huairé *fichat*, 7 muna fuil is dilis a trin ar ceithrí huairé *fichat* 7 adá trian ar *dechmaid* et is fal sin.

INTÍ reacus sét mor ar logh bec mata sidhe a cuinngi a diubarta 7 taircid in fer aile a sét bec do gabail 7 a thsett mor do thabairt dosumh, 7 ní geibhsium, is diubairtt fesa co trebaire no cen trebaire do riagail ris, 7 is and ata sin antan mairét an dá sét no cen co mairenn an sét bec tairgisium a cutrumus do sétaib aile do gabail.

The commentary (corresponding with Laws V, p. 504, l. 20—506, l. 9) continues to line 42 of col. 2. Then the text is resumed: (= Laws V, 506, l. 10).

Fal udhbarta i mbelaib uasal neimhed.⁵⁾

.i. in ime doní o belaib in [n]eimhe uasail da tabar in udbairt o tair in ecaire do gabail.

¹⁾ leg. mbeeclog

²⁾ MS. mbhec

³⁾ For this sentence the edition (vol. V, 502) has the following gibberish: do farguid a rera ar a fertair, fris na cheda. Compare O'Davoren's glossary s. v. fearthar, p. 92, l. 1.

⁴⁾ leg. nochar'féta

⁵⁾ leg. uasalneimhid

IN *fer* amuich ata ag iarraid a diubarta [leg. udbarta?] air in eclais 7 ata iu eclais ac iarraid a hecnairce airsium 7 mun tucthar is fal sin ileth reisin *fer* imuich 7 noch cumaing a diubairt d'acra, 7 ce no tairgisium ecnaire aile noch a n-amail tarba

O tair in ecnaire di gabail ata in fear i muich ag iarraid a diubarta, 7 ata sium ag a radh fo [fo.2 b 1]-gabar damhsa m' ecnaire gusan cantain tucus fein fuirre 7 man fagar is fal sin 7 is fastad.

Fal tire a toruinde do flaith iar n-elodh [= Laws V. 506, ll. 10, 11].

Then eleven lines of commentary beginning .i. in ime dogni an flaith di roinn in feraim iar lecai (*sic*) eloithi in celi. 'the bar which the chief makes by dividing the land after allowing the tenant to abscond'.

Fal fir fosaidhther¹) daghnadhmand co sorathaib 7 sofiadnaib [= Laws V, 506, l. 11].

The meaning is: 'The bar of a man, who supports valid contracts with good guarantors and good witnesses'. Then two and a half lines of commentary beginning: .i. in ime dogni an flaith no an fer aca fosaither deghfonaidm trebare.

ar is and te[i]d fual for trebare antan tathbongar cuir tar enech fear [= Laws V, 506, ll. 11—13].

'For 'tis then that urine comes on a surety, (i. e. that a surety is disgraced), when contracts are broken in violation of men's honour'. Then four lines of commentary beginning: .i. ar is and teit salchur fo enech na cor intan taithmi[g]ther na cuir 7 enighi fer re an dilse, ar is inndlige a thaithmech.

Fal anfaithesa is éside²) is ed sidhe tinntaither iardain, ar ni diles sidhe [= Laws V, 508, ll. 19, 20].

Then ten lines of commentary beginning: .i. in ime dogni anti acna bi faitceis ceille co comlan, in mac bec, 'the bar

¹) leg. fosaigither

²) MS. is eside ised sidhe. Some such word as *cundrad* must be understood — the meaning being 'Bar due to mental incompetence (infancy, idiocy or lunacy), 'tis this contract that is set aside afterwards, for it is not lawful'.

made by him who has not completely the vigilance of reason (e. g.) the little boy'.

Atait tri tire frisna *concobair mac na raith na dilsí*. is goairecht a n-astad¹⁾ digaib di logh n-enech airech nodaseghad [Laws V, 510, l. 1--3].

Then four lines of commentary beginning: atait tri ferainn 7 nochó cobhfoirenigenn²⁾ mac nascaire na raith trebaire iat .i. o briathraib 'there are three lands, and neither son (as) binder nor surety (as) guarantor relieves them, i. e. by words'.

tir fomic dina tabair logh ce doberad fine [Laws V, 510 ll. 3, 4].

Three lines of commentary beginning: .i. ferann in mic bic .i. mac cleb 7 ní renait a tir secha, 'the land of the little boy, i. e. the boy in the cradle, and they sell not his land over his head.'

ar ní techta cunn na ciall fomic intan [fo. 2 b 2] nascar isan ecnaire menman [= Laws V, 510, ll. 415].

Then forty-four lines of commentary beginning: .i. is a n-ecmuís a celle codhnaig bis intan doberar, 'he is wanting in the sense of a person *sui iuris* when it is conveyed'.

The MS. then takes up the Heptads [Laws V, 118—373], and first of the seven kinds of Deposit (*aithne*), which need not be restored (or paid for) though they be injured, destroyed or stolen while in the bailee's possession:

[fo. 3 a 1]. Atait secht n-aithne la Fene na dlegad a taisic cia ro briathar, cidh dorodmuither. cid ro fuirmither. cid dosrobruither.

aithne for muir.

aithne berar lat indile fadesin cen elguin. cen dithehell.

aithne a tech loisces sraiftine do nimh.

aithne foxail ria slog.

¹⁾ MS. anfastra

²⁾ cobhfoiritnigenn, Laws V, 510.

aithne eich i treas.

aithne eich do teachtaire fri himrim leasa.

[fo. 3 b 1]

aithne *con* do seguine dia breth fo réd. [= Laws V, 190, ll. 13—19].

The above articles are translated in Laws V, 191, and also in the Archaeological Journal XVI, 250, from the corresponding part of H. 2. 16, a MS. in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, and each of them is followed by a commentary. Text and commentary fill fo. 3a of the Copenhagen MS. and the first half of fo. 3 b, col. 1. The commentary on *aithne for muir* is: .i. IS [s]lan a breith for feith a n-ecmais nó for anfeith a fiadnaise 'it is safe to take it (*a boat*) in a calm in (the owner's) absence or in a storm in (his) presence.' But the following seven deposits must be restored, though there be no bond to that effect:

Atait .uiii. n-aithne dlegait¹⁾ a taisce²⁾ ce ni ronasaither.

aithne lama do laim.

aithne tsula di thsuil.

aithne mbréthre³⁾

aithne n-aititin.

aithne fuirmeda.

aithne conae cain mimaise.

[fo. 3 b 2]

aithne nascar. [= Laws V, 196, ll. 1—4]

Then follow twenty lines of glosses and a commentary beginning .i. (fo. 3 a 1, l. 24) Falla um coiméd a rugsat na séotadh síosana, 7 a n-aithghin do íocce⁴⁾.

The next four passages I have not identified with anything in the edition.

A micainugud cotbiattaither i n-uidib anfis. . ni aithne nad aithnither na eth. . fear fiadnisi.

Then eight lines of commentary.

¹⁾ MS. dleag do

²⁾ MS. taisacc

³⁾ MS. mbr. rith

⁴⁾ The *cc* are added to fill up the line.

Nonbur dona haithnither a tuaith.

Then twenty-five lines of commentary ending in the middle of fo. 4 a 1, and beginning thus: .i. na deoraighi 7 na murchuirthi 7 na daoir 7 na fáondlegha[ig] 7 na hurfocra[ig] 7 na mic goir 7 na mic ingoir 'the foreigners and the seaborne and the serfs and the vagabonds and the proclaimed persons and the dutiful sons and the undutiful sons' — where two of the 'nine persons (*nónbur*) for whom there is no deposit by a tribe' seem lacking.

[fo. 4 a 1] Ni fuithe na n-aithne cen urfail cen airetin cen tai[d]bsi cen taiseilbe. do treba dia ngaba dianad madia n-uraoma. fociallathar tigradhus mad foraomha caoin comath. . uait aithne cach bic 7 cach mor. m'atbalad adghenither uait diabul diambi taidhe.

The rest of col. 1, the middle of col. 2, and the first six lines of fol. 4 b 1 are occupied by a commentary beginning: IN aithne nach facus leis inunn *no* ciatces les inunn muna facus taréis tall i.

[fo. 4 b 1, l. 7] Ar as cach aithne cona coingi. cach oin cona taisce, cach rath cona somaoine con-aithe, cach aithi iar mblíadain munab do dagdamna do sētaib a siolathar. ar as siol for cl . . . h cor fri mac gaire na gaib sealb na saincron. na bi suide la hath . . na la flaith na la fine forcongair nad urgair ernid . . . damarad raith manaig no bothaig dia mbat beolaither.

Then twelve lines of commentary beginning: Nad in aithne .i. na tarda ar aithne é, and ending with the scribe's blessing: Mo bendacht ar an anmain ara ndentar m'óighi .i. Sean mac Aodhgain 7 tabra intí leghfas.

Atait .uii. treba la *Fene* aruscuille coir [urnadma] aithne
[= Laws V, 160, ll. 1, 2].

Then twenty-five lines of commentary beginning: Eir(?) in ndethbiri na n-inadh so is aire is dilus na haithnedha so, uair [ro fitir] intí ro aithnístar gomo conaire do dith na n-aithedha na trebaib so 7 mana [f]iter is aithgin dó d'fir in tighi 'for he who made the deposit knew that in these abodes there was a path to the destruction of the deposits: and if he knew not, there is compensation to him from the owner of the house.'

fo. 4 b 2, ll. 1—16, continue the commentary.

[fo. 5 a 1]

The fragment then mentions the seven kinds of loan which need not be restored or paid for if injured while in the borrower's possession:

Ataat .uii. n-ona odhar¹⁾ la *Fene* na dlegat a taisic na aithgin cia robriathar a *s'c'aib* ona.

oin næ for muir.

oin fir adbaill.

oin airm i r[ó]e.

oin eich i treas.

oin eich ag ar for bla cia robriathar *ocu*.

oin *con* fri tafonn.

oin tsalainn, ar is ed andsin atboill ar oin.

ni oide nech na *seota* so cen fonaidm a tais[e]ac no a n-aithgina. ar otha sin *dligid* each oin a taisic ce ní ronasar. [= Laws V, 278, ll. 1—8].

The rest of this column, and the whole of column 2, are occupied by commentary. Fo. 5 a 2, ll. 6—20, correspond with Laws V, 278, ll. 13—280, l. 9,

The next four passages I have not identified.

[fo. 5 b 1] Firtriun taithmech fo[f]uatach fo thuaith tlenar dlighi de cethre(?) mad i tirib toith trian fo rathanach.

The rest of this page and the first 14 lines of fo. 6a, col. 1 are filled with commentary beginning: doboing .g. a crich imdeirg is neasa do cethre(?) loigh neich doboing is *ed* dlighis trian ar thobach. i treas crich leth ar thobach as *gach* maigin otha treas crich *gach* leath *sechnoin* Erenn uile.

[fo. 6 a 1, l. 15] mberda [e]achtrand.

The rest of this page and col. 1 of fo. 6b are filled with commentary beginning: tar muir is *dilis* 7 ni fuil iarmoirecht fair do aes sealb . .

¹⁾ MS. oghar

[fo. 6 b 2] *Leath secht cumain eisce.*

Then forty-six lines of commentary, beginning: .i. *leth coirpdiri 7 leth aithgin 7 leth eneclann do each urrad.*

For . . . *nach duine rola eisce*¹⁾ *im araile sechtmad secht cumain ind.*

With *bi bí sin ar eagla Dhia*, (which seems a scribe's note) this fragmentary, but valuable, MS. ends. Needless to say that, like the two oldest Brehon-law tractates, Caratnia's Wrong Decisions and the Five Paths of Judgment (Rawl. B. 502, a Bodleian MS. of the twelfth century), it has not been utilised for the official edition of the ancient laws of Ireland.

¹⁾ *eisce* (from *ex-secio-*) here means 'cutting off', 'wounding': see Ann. Ult. 1019. From the cognate verb we have *eiscis a dá cend déc dib*, LL. 80 a 42, *ce no eisged a cinnu*, LU. 60 a 35.

MITTHEILUNGEN AUS IRISCHEN TEXTEN.

V.

Aus Egerton 1782.

[fo. 45 a 1.]

Seissir is cóir ind-ecluis, adōn airchinnech ocus seecnabaid,
fer léighinn ocus coig, fer tecuisc ocus fer timthirecta.

Cidh is cóir da gach āi? Nī *hansa*. Genus i n-aircindech,
ainmne a secnabaid, coibnius hi fer léighinn, gartt hi geoig,
fáilte hi fer tecuisc, solma hi fer timthirecta 7 rl.

Geistliche Sprüche.

Cid is nesa do Dīa? Nī *hansa*. Intī nonnimráidhinn co
menice.

Cid dīan congnamaidh¹⁾ Dīa? Dontí dognī maith.

Cid i n-aitrebann Dīa? Isintí bīs gin peccoth.

Teōra brīathra isbeir duine .i. brīathar betha, brīathar báis,
brīathar espa.

.4. hifirn in centair: seanda 7 doma, galar 7 docraidhi.

.4. flatho nime .i. áenta 7 soma, sláinti ocus sochraidí.

Dā áit ind léime .i. áit ard ocus áit íseal. Áit ard dia legar
nech i n-iffirn .i. i ndimus; áit ísil dia legar nech in-nim .i. ind-
umalóit. Et cetera.

[fo. 49 b 1] *Dūan in chōicat²⁾ cest innso sīs.*

1. Iarfaigid lib cócait cest do clár Temra cen tairmesc,
cip hē for talmuin na tor, diadá inn-dán³⁾ a fúasloccod.

¹⁾ congnamuigh MS.

²⁾ .i.a MS.

³⁾ inúdán MS.

2. Fír *ocus* ní brég in bágh, a comann críhid comlán:
sochaide fágbus a brat icon *cōicait* imchomarce.
3. Tairleam na cesta cóema, nídat espa anáebda,
iarfaigíð uain huili amach da cach duini dageólach.
4. Cía lín na n-arcaingel n-án¹⁾, cid arnaid dún a n-imräd,
cía lín d'agmenuib aingel maróen la cach n-árcaingel?²⁾
5. Cuiciur in cuinchet dún fuilet ic coimét *cōic* ndúl,
hic coimétt tened,³⁾ talman,⁴⁾ aeoir,⁵⁾ uscí,⁶⁾ ard-anman.⁷⁾
6. Cía *spírut* fil hi ngréin glain⁸⁾ *ocus* ind-éscu inmain?⁹⁾
éscu *ocus* muir (modh nā tais), caide fáth a n-óentachais?¹⁰⁾
7. Cía hairm atát trī topair súgait muir ngairb 'na ñglotain?¹¹⁾
cía muir is milli¹²⁾ nā mil?¹³⁾ *cía* muir nā tráighenn itir?¹⁴⁾
8. Cía lín na cenél ule itir míl *ocus* duine?¹⁵⁾
inn innisit aicnead ógh fil hi *secht* rannaib Gabón?¹⁶⁾
9. Cía lín fochraic fil hi nim?¹⁷⁾ *cía* lín pían íffirn aighthigh?¹⁸⁾
cía brón fil i nim glan gurm?¹⁹⁾ *cía* fálte fil i n-íffurn?²⁰⁾
10. Cía hairm fil íffern na n-ed?²¹⁾ *cía* delb hi fil Lucifer?²²⁾
ceti *secht* feda (fír sain) rosäersatar síl Adhaim?²³⁾
11. Ádam athuir fer ndomain *cía* cétguth ro cétllobair?²⁴⁾
cid adconnaire tria nél cíach²⁵⁾ dar mullach slébe Protíach?²⁶⁾

¹⁾ i. *secht*: Michael, Panahel, Raphael, Ramuél, Sintasuél, Gabriél, Uriel. ²⁾ i. cúic *fíchit* in cét, *deich* cét in mīli, [*deich* mīli] in leigieon, *deich* leigieoin in cuma, *deich* cuma im-mares, *deich* mares in caterua, *deich* caterua in ex[er]citum, *deich* n-ex[er]citus in turba, *deich* turba in agmine, *deich* n-agmine lín gach arcaingil. ³⁾ i. Uriél. ⁴⁾ i. Sariél. ⁵⁾ i. Panahél. ⁶⁾ i. Rapael. ⁷⁾ i. Michael. ⁸⁾ i. *spírut* aingil cui nomen solaris. ⁹⁾ aingel alí cui nomen est lunáris. ¹⁰⁾ usce cechtarde 7 una natura inter se id est amaritudo l. l. ¹¹⁾ i. in acquilone 7 haec sunt nomina eorum i. astrafons in caelo, marefons in mare, indefons in terra. ¹²⁾ i. d'ól 7 deis parrthais. ¹³⁾ mare quod est a dextris paradisi. ¹⁴⁾ i. muir marb mortunum (*sic*). ¹⁵⁾ i. lxx.ii. do anmannaib éxsamlaib itir mīl 7 duine super terram i. talam. ¹⁶⁾ i. cen chúmscuchud i ndomnuch 7 na huili chíúil do chloisecht eisib i. ós insib Sab. ¹⁷⁾ i. lxx.ii. do fochraicib écsamlaib. ¹⁸⁾ i. lxx.ii. bēos do píanaib écsamlaib. ¹⁹⁾ i. Helí 7 Énóc nā cumgat etigal la hēnu a parrthus. ²⁰⁾ i. anmann arsáilet fochraic íar mbráth. ²¹⁾ i. a trīan a n-aeór 7 a trīan hi talmain 7 a trīan hi muir. ²²⁾ i. delb pésti dianad ainm Prothimeon i. cēt cenn fuirri 7 cēt dant cach einn. ²³⁾ i. pailmm fofúair Ádam 7 crand sechim i. fíð na háirce 7 fíð amígala i. flesc Máisi *ocus* cethri fedha na croiche i. cupriss, cedir, giús, beithe. ²⁴⁾ i. adoro uel adiuro te domine i. guidim thú, a thigherna.

²⁵⁾ i. atconnaire in grían nó int aingel.

²⁶⁾ i. slíab atā hi parrthus.

12. Aprat na heólaig abús chlaind Ádaim rīa n-imarbus,¹⁾
cīa cēt-mac rug Euha án?²⁾ cīa hairm fil a chlann chomlán?³⁾
13. Cīa mac d'Ádam dorat grád do mnái a bráthar, cīarb innár?⁴⁾
cīa hingen d'Ádham far tain triasa torchair a bráthair?⁵⁾
14. Cīa 'coa ndernad cathir chain tall hi tosúch in domain?⁶⁾
cīa 'ca ndernad trebad trom?⁷⁾ cīa 'coa ndernad in chēt-long?⁸⁾
15. Na dá cholamain cōemu dorónsat clanna cáema,⁹⁾
aprat eólaig bethad binn cīa díb romair iar ndilinn.¹⁰⁾
16. Cīa corp nā fil i n-inud? in innister hil-liubar?¹¹⁾
cid ara nderna in snám seang in fer maith Hierusalem?¹²⁾
17. Ainm sāeir na haircí¹³⁾ is eól dam ocus ainm a degathar:¹⁴⁾
cīa rolocht rē ndul ō hait dorigní i[n] sār 'sin degh-aire?¹⁵⁾
18. Catí trī tūatha tair tall nā robáidh díliu drech-mall?¹⁶⁾
cīa dāl fil i n-ilur cīach i mullach Slēbi Parthíach?¹⁷⁾
19. Cīa fot rīa ndílínn dāmaigh ar rochuir spirut Ádaim?¹⁸⁾
cīa ben dorigne fighe rīa cach mnái co míngile?¹⁹⁾
20. Cīa sægul tucad do Shēm, in fail úaib 'coa mbeth in scél?²⁰⁾
cairdis mac Caim cuindghid suin do chlainn Chāin
miscadhaigh.²¹⁾
21. Anmann trī rann in domain can asa filet foráib?²²⁾
cīa rogab in Affraic n-áin do chiniud airdirc Abráim?²³⁾

¹⁾ i. Seir mac ruc Eua d'Ádham rīa n-imarbus, is úad Seiri ocus Seiria, mar aderit dáeine. ²⁾ i. Cáin nó Seir mar adeir in stair. ³⁾ i. itir inn India 7 in Scithia. ⁴⁾ i. Pennán dorat grád do Phihib do mnái Chāin. ⁵⁾ i. Pibp ingin Adhoim ben Chāin is trethe dorochair a bráthair Pennán. ⁶⁾ i. Cáin dorigní in céathraig 7 tuc ainm a maic prímgenni fuirri i. Enoch i. Enoch ainm na cathrach. ⁷⁾ i. Cáin dorigní cēt-ar 7 cēt-búain. ⁸⁾ i. is é bēos dorigní in cēt-luing. ⁹⁾ i. colamu álda 7 colomu légda co romartaiss a scēla indtib iar ndilind. ¹⁰⁾ i. in hí in colama áelda nō ledda? i. in choluma áelda éim romair ann. ¹¹⁾ i. huili chruinde na ndúl nó comad sí in maiss ēcruthach. ¹²⁾ i. dia thérnám dar muir Chaisp, is airi doróine in cétsnám sin. ¹³⁾ i. Silgebus macc Tubalchāin. ¹⁴⁾ i. Tubalchāin fodeissin. ¹⁵⁾ i. clār ein tairnge do fágbaíl inti do bādudh Noé cona muntir, co ro-faillsiget aingil Dē do Noe. ¹⁶⁾ i. na Seiríca 7 lucht na haircei 7 na bratána. ¹⁷⁾ i. comdál anmann firian síl Ádhaim hí Slíab Cailliaph. ¹⁸⁾ i. dā bliadain ar fichit ar decaib ō éc Ádhaim co dílinn. ¹⁹⁾ i. Eua rofig duilli na pailme nō Cata Flauia i. Olinána bean Iáfeth. ²⁰⁾ i. cuice cēt bliadan, rop hedh seg (sic) sægul Séim. ²¹⁾ i. do clainn Chāin máthair mnā Caim, conad a[i]re nā rānic rígi o claind Chaim. ²²⁾ i. Eoraip 7 Affraic 7 Assia. Eorops rī na Sicormada, is úad Eoraibp. Nō Eoraip ainm mnā. Assia immorro ō Aiss ingin Neir 7 Neptun tuc dī ina tochra a ainm forsin tres raind. ²³⁾ i. Affer mac Cethura ocus Abráim, iss é rogab in Affraic ar tús.

22. Cía lín ríog rogab Tibir ria Romal ruidhit filid?¹⁾
 cía rí dorochair tall tair ic inbir srotha Caphir?²⁾
23. Cadeat trí gáire in domuin finnat ma sencaidh soraid?³⁾
 cía gáir is trumma díb-sin mād aidhlice lib íarfaighid!⁴⁾
Iarfaighid.

Was ein fili wissen muss.

Das hier folgende Gedicht findet sich auch im Book of Rights (S. 236), wo es dem Dubthach mac húi Lugair zugeschrieben wird.

- [fo. 66 a.] 1. Ní dhligh cúairt nō cennaighect,⁵⁾
 ar nī fili fíreólach
 hi feidm eoluis ilcrothaigh,
 manip co feigh fessara
 cīsa tenna is tūarustla,
 corbat huili éirnithe
 iar n-urd eoluis hilehlannaigh
 o thossach co déidh.
2. Ní dlig cúairt a cāinchōiccid
 a⁶⁾ cōicedhaib Ollbanu⁷⁾
 nach ha himchuáirt oéntuaithe,
 mā dia fēghthar fírinne,
 file nach dron dechraighfes
 sochur dochur dílmaine
 drēcht cech tíre thic.
3. Is and is súii hsenchada
 in tan léghas léirghnúmo
 Innsi Héibir hūais.
4. Is ann is ail ollaman
 amail ail cin indscuchad,
 intan tuccus tuárus[t]la,

¹⁾ i. fiche rí i. Ianus Saturnus Punus Latinus Ascanius Silinus Aeneas Siluius Latinus Albanus Sil— Egiptus s. Carpentus s. Tiberius Agripa s. Arémus s. Anentinus s. Pchas s. Anrelius (*sic*) s. Munutor. ²⁾ i. Iulian Cesair romarbad lasin nAffer ic drochut Inuilib. ³⁾ i. gáir mac nÍsraél ic a tennad im-Muir Rúaid, gáir íffirn oc a arcain do Chríst. ⁴⁾ i. gáir in brátha hic deilinghad na firián frissna pectachaib. ⁵⁾ Cf. Ní dligh dano cuairt no cennuighecht in file nó in tsúi tsencoitha na fiasara adha 7 aurgarta na rígh sa. Eg. 1782, 36 b 1. ⁶⁾ Lies do (BR). ⁷⁾ Lies cloth-Banba (BR).

la císá gan chuntabairt,
 conus uile innise
 in gach airecht ard.

5. Nārbat soithiuch senárusc¹⁾
 ar chroth nō ar chairdine,
 ar ní sluinnfe seinbretha
 fer co córus coindircele.
 Nī rob nárach nóisedhuch
 ar míad nó ar mār-aiccmi.
 Mainip samlaid sainighiss,
 a sochru nī dligh. Ni. dligh.

VI.

Aus dem Stowe MS. D. 4. 2.

Von dieser im Jahre 1300 in dem heutigen Frankford in King's County geschriebenen Pergament-Handschrift habe ich in der Revue Celtique VI, SS. 173 ff. und in der Vorrede zu meiner Ausgabe des Merugud Ulíx Kunde gegeben.

[fo. 61 a 2.] *Sgél in Mhínaduir annso.*

- 1 Báí rí amra oiregda²⁾ i n-Inis Creit .i. Minosa a ainm-sidhein.
 Búi ríghan chám chruthach leis-sidhein .i. Paisibe a hainm-sidhe
 7 tucustair grádh ndermair do Ioip mac Sátuirn. Boi *immorro*
 tarb ndermair suaichnidh soineamail accon rí sin, ac Minosa.
 5 Tuc *immorro* Paisibe grádh do-sidhe, ar bá doigh lei-sidhe gurb
 é Iop robói i richt in tairb, amail táinic Iop fecht ele a richt
 tairb do saigid³⁾ Eorptha ingine Eghnoirís.

- Boi *immorro* ollam cerda accon rí .i. ac Minósa. Rogairmthea
 lé-si in cerd 7 atbert a comrád fris, in fuigbi⁴⁾ airice di, tresa
 10 roised in tarb do comæntugud fria.⁵⁾ Atbert in cerd co fuigbed.⁶⁾
 Is í airig forfuair in cerd .i. bó cranda do dhénium dhí 7 Paisibe
 do cur isin deilb cranda sin, co nárbhudh léir acht a hiarthar
 aisti. Tucthá iarum in tarb a ndochum na bó co roæntaig fria

¹⁾ 'an old rusty vessel', O'Don. anstatt 'a vessel of old saws.'

²⁾ oir7a ³⁾ saidhi ⁴⁾ fuidhbi ⁵⁾ fris ⁶⁾ fuidhbedh

7 rotoirchid [fo. 61 b 1] Paisibe de sin 7 robói *nói* misa torrach, 1
 amail is dí. Rotuismedh araili ainmidhi adhuathmar cumusedha
 ó dhuine 7 ó tharb .i. cend tairb fair 7 corp duineeda aigi .i.
 Mínaduir a ainm. 7 ó rosill in rí fair, romhisnigh é fachétóir
 co narbodh ail leis a faicsin. 7 rogairmedh ón rí in sær .i. Dedhail 5
 ainm in tsær 7 isber[a]t araili co ndernadh teagdhais¹⁾ ndodaingin
 do, ar nach fétfadh toidecht. Ar dá fáthai^b rohordaigedh in
 tegdais²⁾ si accon rí don Mínaduir .i. ar mét 7 ar truma a foghla
 for dáini^b 7 ceth[r]i^b na críchi 7 an fáth *aile* dono, ba nár leis
 duine beó dia faicsin, ar bá dóigh leis cor hé féin athair in 10
 Mínaduir.

Roairic³⁾ in sáer iarsin in uaim n-aineolaidh seachranda 7
 rocuired in Minaduir innti iardain. Gach duine *immorro* dogníth
 cinta *nó* pudar frisin rí[g] rotidhnaicedh don Minaduir co n-ithedh
 fachétóir 7 dobertha móirseisiur cacha bliadna do maccaib 15
 særchlann na Gréci don rí[g] .i. do Mhinosa acum⁴⁾ a athar 7
 doberdis iat-sidhe don Mínaduir conusithed iat. Uair is iat
 Grécaigh romarb athair⁵⁾ Minosa.

Is amlaid doníthea sin .i. crannchur doníthea eturra 7 gibé
 da roiseadh, a tabairt ar tús don Mínaduir. Dobertha dó é 7 rosiacht 20
 a los crannchair do Théis mac Eig mic Neptuin mic Io[i]p mic
 Satuiri in fer fadheoid.⁶⁾ Ar ba hé in sechtmad fer robói isin
 ngiallaigeacht 7 tuc *ingin* bóí accon rí[g] grádh do-sidhe .i. do
 Théis 7 is ed isbert in ingen fris: 'Is duit-siu rosiacht *dono* do
 thidnacul don Minaduir' 7 roráidh: 'Cia luagh noberthá dontí 25
 notsærfad?' Atbert Téis dia mbeith 'na comung maith isin tal-
main, doberadh uadh ar a særadh. 'Atá *immoro*,' ar in ingen.
 'Abair é!' ar Téis. 'Mo thabairt-si,' ar sí, '7 mo *beth* d'ænmnáí
 agad.' Atbert Téis: 'Céin bemaíd aræn beó doghebud-su sin, dia
 tisadh mo særad-su de.' 'Doticfa,' ar in ingen. 30

Dobeir in ingen certli dlúta do 7 cloidhem a hathar 7 itbert
 in ingen: 'Cengail cend in snáithi do dorus na huama⁷⁾ 7
 tuinnmi lat in ceirtli it láim noco roisir in Minaduir 7 díchend
 é iarsin.' Rosiacht san tra dochum in Mhinaduir 7 dochathaig
 fris co rusdíchenn é 7 táinic iartain a lenmuin in tsnáithi cétna 35
 7 ní hinnister nech do thiachtain esti dia ndechaid innti acht
 eisin ina ænur.

¹⁾ teadhais ²⁾ tegais ³⁾ roairigh ⁴⁾ leg. a cin? ⁵⁾ aith-

⁶⁾ fadheoid ⁷⁾ huadma

- 1 Iarsin tra rofergaigedh in rí .i. Minósa frisin cerd, uair is é rofairig in mboin cranda robói ic Paisibé. Rogabad in cerd 7 a mac 7 rofobhair a marbad. Rob i tra comairli a muintire do, a fuirech 7 gresa 7 cumdaighi in rígh do dénum dóib 7 rocuiredh
- 5 i tech foriata iat 7 senistri anuas fair 7 robhátar isin tigh sin ic dénum gressa [fo. 61 b 2] 7 cumdaigh in rígh. 7 araili fecht bátar macrad in rígh amuich ic imain 7 robuail araili mac díb in liathroit a n-airdi co tarla anuas gach ndírech tar seinistir tighi in cerda 7 roghab in cerd in liathroit tall isin tigh 7 táinic
- 10 in fer rosbuail ina diaidh.¹⁾ Rogab in cerd uimpi. Tánacatar in macrad uili iarsin do iarair na liathroiti 7 ráidhis in cerd nach tibrad uaidh in liathroit noco tuctais in macrad a breath féin dó. Ocus is i breth roiar forro .i. lán glaici gacha fír dib do eitib én do thabairt dó cech lai co cenn nói mis 7 doratadh
- 15 dó-san sin tar cenn na liathroiti 7 dorighni-sium dá énceanaigh dona heitibh sin .i. dó féin 7 dia mac .i. do Iacair mac Dedail 7 roeloidhetar iartain isna hénchennachaib sin tar muir Torrian aleith 7 atbert in cerd fria mhac co nach dighsedh suas co roard uas gáith ná síis co roisil, ‘acht len in firmamint medónach!’
- 20 Ní dernaidh sium sin, acht dochuaidh suas co roard, co rolegh in céir robi a congbaíl na n-eitedh re teas na gréine, co torchair iarsin isin muir 7 is é ainm na mara²⁾ sin ó sóin aleth Muir Iacair .i. Iacair mac Dedhail dothuit innti. Rosiacht dono in t-athair³⁾ imslán tar in muir co riacht Magh Campain 7
- 25 dorighni tempul do Apuill ann 7 is é sin senchas in Mínaduir 7 a oidhedh.⁴⁾ Finit.

1) diaigh 2) mhara 3) aith- 4) oighidh

EINE ALTIRISCHE HOMILIE.

Die $\frac{23}{P.3}$ signierte Pergament-Handschrift der Royal Irish Academy, im Jahre 1467 geschrieben,¹⁾ ist fast ausschliesslich eine Sammlung von Texten religiösen Inhalts, von denen bisher nur wenig veröffentlicht ist. Darunter findet sich folgende Homilie über die Wohlthaten Gottes und die Belohnungen und Strafen des Jenseits, von der mir kein zweites Exemplar bekannt ist. Dass dieselbe ursprünglich in altirischer Zeit aufgezeichnet ist, darüber lässt die Sprache keinen Zweifel zu, die selbst in dieser späten Abschrift die alten Formen gut bewahrt hat. Ich brauche nur auf Verbalformen wie die Deponentia *atluachathar* (§ 2), *adluigethar* (ib.), *atlochumar* (§ 1), *atlóch[a]tar* (ib.), *cotamidethar* (ib.), *atanúigethar* (*ath-da-núigethar*, ib.), das Perfekt *dodorathciuir* = *do-da-rathciuir* (ib.) usw. hinzuweisen. Da der Text mit Ausnahme einiger wohl korrupter Stellen leicht verständlich ist, füge ich keine Übersetzung bei. Die §§ 4 und 6 finden sich in anderem Zusammenhang im Lebor na hUidre 32b und im Buch von Leinster 371a wieder.

1. [fo. 17 b 1] *Atlochumar buidhi do Dhía huilechumachtach do Choimidid*²⁾ *nimi 7 talman ar a tröccaire 7 ar a dīlgadhchi, ar a dheirc 7 ar a deghmāine dorat dūinn a nim 7 hi talmāin.* Is di suidiu asbeir in fáidh: Confitentur tibi Domine omnia opera tua et sancti 7 rl. i. *atlóch[a]tar duit-si, a mo Choimhdhiu, th' uile gnīmratha 7 t'uile nōem.* Ar dlega[i]r dona huilibh dhūilibh atlugud buidhi do Dhía 7 a bennachad amail isberar: Benedicite omnia opera Domini Domino i. *bennachaid-si gnīmratha in Coimhdhedh.* Air cit in *pecdaig nīsdīubair Día dīa deghmāinib, amail isbeir in scribhdūir: Bonus est Deus qui dat iustis et non iustis bona terre in commune i. is dūthrachtach Día 7 is*

¹⁾ Unten auf fo. 11 b 2 findet sich folgende Notiz: Issed is ais don Tigerna i. *secht mbliadna 7 tri fichit.* .g. an liter domhnaig 7 a hocht in nvimir oir. Uilliam mac an legha qui scribsit bona morte peribit. ²⁾ choimthe MS.

- [s]ainem^{ail}. Is ēisidhe do^{beir} dona maithibh 7 dona holcaib feba in talman hi coiteindus, air is ēiseam ind ōenDía sainem^{ail} fil cen tosach, cen foircem. Is é dorosat na huile 7 roc^{ruthaig}est^{ar} 7 fodoloing ó nirt a cumisel (sic), donail 7 cotaóí 7 nodofailtiget[h]ar, 5 nodosorcaideth^{ar} 7 cotamideth^{ar} 7 dodorathciuir 7 atanūiget^{har} na huile. Isidhe nosnerbat, issé frisnaicet, ar is é is Rí na rīg 7 is Coimmdiu na coimded, tuistid nimi 7 talman, crut[h]aig^{theōir} aingel, forcētlaid faidi, [maigist^{ir} apstal, tidnactaid rechta, bríathar fer mbethad. Is airdiu nime,¹⁾ is īslu talmannaib, is leithi muirib.
- 10 2. Dlega[i]r didu altugud a degmūine don Coimdi[d] sin, ar is tempull 7 iss atreb do Día ind anim buidech atluachathar do Dia a deolecht, amail isbeir Petar: Animam gracias agentem [...] ac familiarem sibi facit Deus .i. an duine adluiget^{har}²⁾ buidhi a deg^hmāine do Dhía, is ferann saindfíles sidhe do rī[g] na n-uile.
- 15 An duine dīmdach immorro di deg^hmāinib Dé is tempul 7 is aitreab do diābhal amail isbeir Petar: Ingratam animam malus posedet demon .i. sealbaig^{id} 7 aitreba^{id} in deman ole anmain an dīmdaig 7 nāt atlaiget^{har} a deg^hmāine 7 don atlugud sin isberat: Tibi gracias agunt animae nostrae pro inuisibilibus
- 20 beneficiis tuis Domine .i. gniit ar n-anmann-ni³⁾ atlaigt[h]i buidhi duit-si, a mo Coimdiu, ar do deg^hmāinib dīarmidib⁴⁾ a nim 7 a talm^{ain}.

3. Bennacht tra Coimdhedh nime 7 talman for each ōen tarnecamar, for a techtmaige⁵⁾ 7 taighi, for a mbēoduil 7 a
- 25 marbdhuil fri cāch fodognī 7 conetet. Dorata in talam a toirthiu, dorata in t-ær a brēnu, dorata in muir a hīascrada for oirbriuth 7 blicht 7 mil 7 cruithnecht do chāch [fo. 17 b 2] asa sēthar 7 as a dūthracht domelam. Dorata⁶⁾ Día a cé^{te}udruna dó isin talmuin si 7 flaith nime iar rīachtu anunn. Ar inti arfuim muinnt^{ir}
- 30 Críst, is Críst arfuim ann, amail isbeir som fesin: Qui uos spernit me spernit .i. inti ardo[b]fuim-si, is misi ardofuim, inti cotib^{nissi},⁷⁾ is missi conessai ann. Ata^{at} dano cosmailius [ifrinn] flatha nime isin bith so.⁸⁾ Cosmailes ifreinn cētamus ann geimredh 7 snechtai, sīn 7 ūacht, æs 7 críne, galar 7 bās. Cosmailes flatha nime
- 35 immurgu samradh 7 soinnenn 7 blātha liliu,⁹⁾ āldiu 7 ōetiu 7 fegha¹⁰⁾ 7 tomolta 7 soinnige¹¹⁾ 7 imut cach^a mait[h]iusa.

¹⁾ leg. nimib ²⁾ atluidethar MS. ³⁾ arnachmainni MS. ⁴⁾ diarm-bitib MS. ⁵⁾ thechtmaighe MS. ⁶⁾ doratha MS. ⁷⁾ cotibrissi MS. ⁸⁾ isin bith si nō isin bith so MS. ⁹⁾ sic MS. an leg. ili? ¹⁰⁾ an leg. feba? ¹¹⁾ soinnmidhe MS.

4. Is docum ifrinn chartfus in Coimdiu¹⁾ [n]a pec[th]achu il-laithi brátha a n-asmbéra²⁾ friu: Ite maledicti ignem in eternum qui praeeparatus est diabolo 7 cetera. Eirgiu, a lucht na mallachtnu, isin teine tsuthain, is ī sin foruireg do diabol cona dhæscarslúag. Mairg frisin-aibéra in Coimdiu³⁾ i laithi brátha bithaitrebh i 5 n-ifirn co n-ilar a mórpīan. Ar⁴⁾ [is] ísel a suidiugud, is daingean a timcheall, is dorcha a crō, is dubach a comaitriub, is mór a brénta, it suthain[i] a bhīasta, is crindel hi talmāin, is neam-dortad ar lár, is alt do timurgud, is carcair do choimēt, is brēo do losgud, is lín do fástad, is [s]rogall do esargāin, is fæbar do 10 athc[h]uma, is adaig do erdallad, is dé do muchud, is croch do pīanad, is claidheb do dhīgail.

5. Is aire tra atá ingabtha na pīana sa tria lubair 7 lēgenn, tria aine 7 irrnai[g]thi, tria umaloit 7 genus, tria fīrinne 7 trōccaire, tria iris 7 dheirc. Ar intí comailfess ina timna sa 15 coitgéra in Coimdiu⁵⁾ cucai il-laithiu brátha a n-asmbéra⁶⁾ friu: Benedicti patris mei, possidete regnum quod uobis paratum est ab orig[i]ne mundi. Tæt, a bennachta m'atharda-sa,⁶⁾ aitreab in flaith foruirec dibh ó thosach domuin.

6. Is⁷⁾ cosnaidhi tra in flaith nime, ol suidhi is ēsamail 20 frisin flaith ndōendai in betha frecnaire. Is iad sin⁸⁾ carta in righ talmhanta. Ardadalla amail cēo, marbaid amail collud, at[h]euman amail rainn, iterdiben amail fæbar, lasfaid amail teinidh, badha[id] amail muir, sloicfe amail cuithi, fordiuglann amail peist. Nī samlaid immorro in flaith atcosnait a[n] nóibh 25 7 in fireōin. Is bláth lighda ar a erghlaine, is riarmora(?) ar a ere[h]āine, is nem caindlech ar a firsóillsi, is lí súla ar a sǣraildiu 7 ar a melle[h]ai, is long ar a soc[h]raiti, is cruit⁸⁾ ar a cēo[l]binne, is fledhōl ar a finmuire, is finboth ar a fírghile. Cenmair rífe in flaith airm i fil Dīa u[o]deisin, rí mār cáin 30 cumachtach trén nōebglan feig [fo. 18 a 1] forsaid⁹⁾ trōccar dērcach degmhāinech senōc ecna ūasal, indocbhāil cen tosach, cen forcenn, cen urchra. Rōisim hi flaith in rí[g] sin, atarollem, ataroaitrebham in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

¹⁾ coimdedh MS. ²⁾ anbusbera MS. ³⁾ coimdhedh MS. ⁴⁾ Von hier an vgl. LU. 33 b 6 ff. ⁵⁾ arasmbéra MS. ⁶⁾ matardhasa MS. ⁷⁾ Von hier an vgl. LL. 371 a 28: Is co[sn]aide chenaind flaith nemda &c. ⁸⁾ leg. is í-side (LL.) ⁹⁾ cuirt MS. ¹⁰⁾ forsaig MS. (i. e. arsaid).

THE GAELIC DIALECTS.

(Continuation.)

II.

Preliminary.

The voiced stops of Gaelic script are voiceless consonants followed by a vowel glide; in absolute initial position they may be phonetically transcribed *kg*, *td*, *pb* respectively; in medial position the voiced glide goes; in final position they are always followed by a slight escape of breath.

Though the front stops exist in Gaelic, as in Hungarian and in Russian, there is a tendency to replace them by sounds which resemble them but are yet different in formation, viz. *tf*, *dz*, which are single sounds.

The point-teeth consonants have the spreader (*||*) and back-modifier as in the Irish-English rim-stop pronunciation of English (*ṭṡṡ'*, *ḍḡḡ'*). In addition, that is, to forward position, the point-tongue is spread out like or gums together with the point, the back of the tongue being a fan so that the whole of its rim is brought against the teeth slightly raised at the same time. v. Sweet, § 212.

The combinations *mn-*, *cn-*, *gn-*, *tn-*, become, save in one or two localities in Argyll, *mr*, *cr*, *gr*, *tr* respectively, with nasalization of the following vowel.

The slight breath-glide which exists after final voiceless stops is transliterated (*ˊ*); as is also the devocalization indicated in the Sweet system by the breath-modifier.

In the case of *-ll'* final this devocalization suggests to the ordinary English ear that a *d* or *t* follows which may explain how Gaelic *Dòmhnall* (*td̪d̪oll'*) 'Donald' has come to be in Latin

The vowels.

-narrow (= close).

1 high-back a laogh	7 high-mixed —	13 high-front i fir	19 high-back —	25 high-mixed ĩ is	31 high-front ĩ piob
2 mid-back a agus	8 mid-mixed ə eile	14 mid-front e = ɛ fén	20 mid-back a athair	26 mid-mixed ē Gaidheal	32 mid-front ɛ seimh
3 low-back —	9 low-mixed —	15 low-front —	21 low-back v òl	27 low-mixed —	33 low-front —

-narrow-round.

4 high-back u gul	10 high-mixed —	16 high-front —	22 high-back u uchd	28 high-mixed ü eimhne	34 high-front ũ bliochd
5 mid-back o robh	11 mid-mixed —	17 mid-front æ aobhar	23 mid-back ɔ òg	29 mid-mixed ö sonn	35 mid-front ə saoghal
6 low-back —	12 low-mixed —	18 low-front —	24 low-back q	30 low-mixed —	36 low-front —

-wide-round.

In the transcripts, length is indicated by doubling the vowels; nasality by a mark underneath the vowel ().

The consonants.

Voiceless.

	Throat	Back	Front	Point	Point-teeth	Blade	Blade-point	Lip	Back-lip	Lip-teeth
Open	—	x	ç	rh	—	s	f	—	—	f
Side	—	—	—	lh	—	—	—	—	—	—
Stop	—	k, c (kh, hk, k _g)	cc (or ti)	t	t (t̪, h̪, t̪i)	—	—	p (ph, h̪p, pb)	—	—
Nasal	ŋh	—	—	nh	—	—	—	m'	—	—

Voiced.

Open	—	ð	j	r, r'	ð	z	z	—	w	v
Side	—	—	l, ll	l	j, ll	—	—	—	—	—
Stop	—	g, f	ej, j (or dz)	d	q	—	—	b	—	—
Nasal	ŋ	n	ñ, ññ	n	ñ, ññ	—	—	m	—	—

e = forward position of k; j = forward position of g.

Donaldus, whence the present English form, caricatured in some writers as Tonalt.

In North Inverness *l* in final position in infinitives tends to be given up, a slender or weakly palatalized *l* being substituted.

r final in most infinitives and nouns in North Inverness passes into slender point-modified *r*. The *r*'s are always somewhat trilled; a strong trill I indicate by doubling. Here, instead of 'voiced' it would often be necessary, in accordance with variation of stress, to say half-voiceless, so that it would suffice to distinguish between *r* voiceless and *r* voiced, with a trilled and untrilled variety of each. v. sub Consonants, *r* § 5.

I shall not here take special characters to indicate tenseness (A) and looseness (v).

In *rt* combinations the voiceless glide after *r* develops into the voiceless blade-point *f* before the *t*, the *r* itself becoming a flap-consonant which is a pure glide. We get the resultant sound by putting the tongue into the *f* position and then retracting it into that of *r*, the tongue-point being loosely set against the arch. It is thus a retracted *f* and a single sound in reality. I do not mark it as of typical occurrence in Arran, Knapdale, Reay. Harris has developed it in words like *bōrd* 'table', *ōrd* 'hammer', in words, that is, where it would not be generally used on the mainland, though it may be heard I am certain in Knapdale.

Note specially that Gaelic *s* is strongly hissed, thereby differing very noticeably from the English.

Organic Basis.

Gaelic like every other speech possesses an individuality resting on the general tendencies which control its organic movements and positions. These are to a large extent the reverse of what constitutes the organic basis of English. Among other features which make up its organic basis the following may be noted.

The tongue is advanced upon the teeth, and the point consonants have an ambi- or inter-dental modified character.

It is rich in palatals as well as in gutturals and is very varied in its use of liquids and nasals, which latter make their

presence felt in the vowels even if they themselves are not pronounced. Its abundant use of palatal and point consonants impart to it the variety of Slavonic speech; in its use of gutturals it resembles German. Its gutturals, nasals, palatals and dentals are harmoniously blended and with truth it can be described as possessing all the qualities which make a powerful, impressive and melodious speech. Vocalic infection has weakened the language and has caused a gain in softness at the expense of strength. I might add that to my ear this is much more the case in the dialects of Ireland which have not such strongly determined interdental consonants.

Gaelic makes much use of lip-action and has thus the front-round vowels which are lacking in English but which exist in French and in German. Its vowel system is wealthy, and it preserves a sharp distinction between nasal and non-nasal consonants. The Highland ear is very sensitive on this point upon the whole; a modification, as with some Yankees, of all vowels indiscriminately is to it particularly odious.

A further characteristic of its vowels system is the possession of the high-back vowel sound, said to exist also in Armenian, and to have existed formerly in some parts of England. This sound does not however exist in all the Gaelic dialects, but seems to exist rather in the more Pictish districts. I have not heard it in Ireland. It makes rhyme difficult and though it may to an ear unaccustomed to it seem an ugly sound it gives a not unpleasant variety in the mixed stream of speech.

The neutral position is the mid-mixed narrow-round. Finally, the use of on- and off-glides is so distinct and peculiar a feature of the language that the glide itself comes to be heard as an independent element. Sweet notes that 'in this way the Irish-English, Danish and Sanskrit aspirates are formed' (Phonetics § 129).

Obs. English when spoken upon a Gaelic organic basis tends to reveal Gaelic sound-characteristics, sometimes in popular books roughly represented by deviations from ordinary English spelling. Good instances may be met with in the extremely amusing skit by a former Sheriff of Inveraray, entitled 'But The Queys Was Goot'. Instances are:

1. 'a bit of *fesh*', 'a little *checcan*', where E. i in fish and chicken is replaced by the high-front narrow vowel, frequently

also, if not more commonly, by the mid-front narrow-round (æ), *thua fæf* for fish; another example of the high-front-narrow is: 'its a fine *speerit*, the Talisker', the allusion being to the Talisker whisky,

2. 'Prandy is a very (should be fery) goot trink, there is no toubt and I like it ferry well.' Here, the English voiced stops are unvoiced and in 'toubt' an on-glide is audible before the final t. Phonetically it would be (thouht').

3. 'They are to pe telivered in Clasgow in Octoper'. Here again voiced stops are unvoiced. On a line with this a word like E. 'dog' is hard as (tok'); E. 'did' as (tit): 'he was a real chentleman and tit as we tit, — ferry tœcent man, Tonalt'. In the last sentence the sound of E. s in 'was' would be voiceless whereas the actual English is voiced e.g. ðə wəz wans = there was once.

4. The North Highland pronunciation of E. 'law, all, small, fall, lad, water' misses the E. sound, the low-back narrow-round (No. 6 in table of vowels) and uses instead the low-back wide *ɒ* (No. 21) as in Swedish *mat*; in E. 'was' it may be heard but more often the mid-back narrow as in E. 'but', is used, yet this may be from older Sc. For example (ji mi a liitəl wəʔhar) (give me a little water); here there is nasality in the i of 'give' due to the following m; the pronunciation of 'water' has two peculiarities, viz. the first *a* being the low-back-wide in place of the low-back narrow-round, and the ambi- or inter-dental *t̪* followed by a glide; the i in little is the high-front narrow but some speakers use the mid-back narrow, others the high-mixed wide; the i is also lengthened as is shown by doubling. English vowels are not pronounced by Highlanders from within the area embraced by North Pictland, quite so long as in standard English. This is the case too in the English spoken in parts of the province of Moray. Other examples are; *vəl* fiils *ʃintərɛstit'* *ʃin it'* (all feel interested in it); *t̪ɛl* as *vəl* *apouht'* *it'* (tell us all about it): *t̪ɛr iis nɔ̃ touht'* *at' vəl*, *at' vəl* (there is no doubt at all, at all); in this last the Eng. point-teeth in 'there' is replaced by the point-teeth-stop with the interdental modification and off-glide but it may also be heard replaced by the voiceless open blade s; e.g. the judge (si tʃatʃ) for (ðə dʒadz).

5. In Gaelic loan words from E. such as 'rum' (the liquor) in place of the indistinct vowel the Gaelic u is substituted and

it approximates to Eng. 'room' which as borrowed into Gaelic sounds 'rruwm', the doubling of the initial letter representing a slight trill.

6. Gaelic lacks *gw*; consequently such a word as 'language' is often pronounced by some Highlanders *lan̩az*: acquisition -aki'sifən.

7. Sometimes whole phrases may be taken over into English and their original Gaelic connection obscured e.g. *məsə'fear* (as in common pronunciation of E. 'fear') from Gael.: *mas a 'fior*, if it be true.

8. Though final epithetic *t* is frequent enough in Gaelic, e.g. *rithist*, *dorust*, *umhailt* for *ris* (again), *dorus* (door), *umhail* (obedient), I am not aware of it in Highland English. In Ireland it occurs as is illustrated in Jane Barlow's *Irish Idylls* (*twyst*, 172, 216; *wanst*, *passim*; also *chanst* = a chance). In Cockney English it is an independent development.

NB. The slight escape of breath after the Gaelic consonants in final position tends to be retained in Highland English: e.g. it is *not*^h in place of simple *not*.

9. The conjunction *is* 'and' is frequently used in the Gaelic sense of 'for, since, seeing that, inasmuch as'. This idiom, which is Gaelic, is used by Burns:

How can ye chant ye little birds
An' I sae weary, fu' o' care?

Leig leam s mi tinn (let me alone, for I am ill) is in the Lowland Scots: Let me alane *an'* me nae weel. *An' me*, *an' I*, *an' it*, as used by the Lowland Scots, are Gaelic idioms. For other features which may be due to Gaelic see Murray's *Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland* (1873).

NB. Only once have I heard a Highlander use 'she' for 'he'; this from the lips of an Inverness-shire woman who said 'she's a fine preacher'. Lately I heard another genuine instance from Lewis. What can have originated the blunder is doubtful. It has always been much rarer than one would imagine from some writers.

Contrary to the general usage of Gaelic itself, the feminine pronoun is used sporadically as in Lismore in the phrase:

Tha i 'cur an t-sneachda (it is snowing)
 literally (she is s.) = ha i kurr ən'trɛxkə.
 cf. Cymric: Y mae hi yn bwrw eira heddyw
 She is snowing to day.

Palatalization.

Front vowels communicate their own articulation to many preceding consonants but in different districts in different degrees of frequency according to the nature of the consonant. In Colonsay, for instance, palatalization is specially weak; it is strong in Arran and Badenoch; it is absent in Lochaber and Rannoch; present in Strathhtay and at Blair; in Jura and in Islay, in both of which islands it occurs, it is not usual after m; in N. Inverness r; f, f, v, m, p. b always before e, often before i, arch the tongue into the i position (= j-) to such an extent that without otherwise modifying their original proper articulations the vowels e, i > j. In other words the consonants preceding what I may term the j- diphthong ea, eō, io, iu become palatalized in the case of r this is here indicated by marking it front slender (r̥) before front vowels. Examples:

seachd	seven	fjæxh'
seōrsa	sort	fjœrfa
feōraich	ascertain	fjœrɪç

In N. Inverness this word has always a slender r, in Cintire it is fiafraigh, very much the same as Ir. fiafruighim, O. Ir. iar-faigim.

a bheachd	his opinion	a vjæxk'
a bheoil	of his mouth	a vjœl
a' mheoir	of the finger	a vjœr
meōraich	meditate	mjœrɪç
mionnan	oaths	mjüñan pl. of mionn (mjüñn)
meall	deceive; a lump	mjæʷll'
meal	enjoy	mjæ!'
meadhg	whew	mjœæk,

There is an Argyll pronunciation (mœook).

meadhrach	joyous, blithe	{mjœɜræx mjœ"ræx
meann	a kid	mjæʷnn'

peothair	forester	pjəhɪr
peacadh	sin	pjəxka
piuthair	sister	pju-ɪr

NB. mac mo pheathar 'my nephew, my sister's son' = mɔxk mɔ 'fɛ-ɪr.

beachd	opinion	pbjəxk'
beannaich	bless	pbjəniç
bealach	a pass	pbjəɫəx
bealltuinn	May-Day	pbjəʊɫtɪn̩n̩

- Obs. Even in N. Inverness it is absent in words such as beul 'mouth' (pbeɫ'); beathaich 'nourish &c.' (pbehiç);
- (1) tha th gle dhi-beathichte 'thou art very welcome' = ha u çlee jɪpbehtfə.
 - (2) Di do bheatha Mhoire mhoighdeann = Hail thou Mary Virgin dʒi dɔ 'vɛha vɔrə vɔɪdʒənn̩
 - (3) Se lān dī do bheatha = you are very very welcome fɛ ɭaan 'dzii dɔ 'vɛha.

It is clear that the old Gaelic phrase *Dia do betho* = 'God be thy life' has become stereotyped.

In sp-, sg- before front vowels initial s does not become f as in Ireland and in the Isle of Man.

Words which have the stress on the second element of *ea*, *iu* combinations palatalize the first element in North Inverness but this does not affect sp-, sg-

speal	scythe	sp'jal'
spionnadh	strength	sp'jūna, sp'jūnak
sgealb	splinter	sɟjaləp

st initial when followed by *e*, *i*, changes to f i. e. sh.

steall	a down-pour &c.	fdzəʊɫ', fdzəʊɫ'
steud	a steed	fdzeet'
a steach	in, into	a fdzax

A common N. Inverness form for 'in the house, at home, in' is stɛh, written *staigh* and pronounced with diphthong *ai* in Lochaber, &c; in N. Inv. *ai* > an open *ɛ*; the *t* is followed by a back vowel and of course there is no palatalization. Another N. Inv. variant is stoigh (stɔij), in the current script appearing as 's tigh, stigh in the house, versus fdzax, steach

Med. Ir. isatech, into the house. It is to be noted that Gaelic *taigh* differs from Ir. tigh, tech. It points to a former different vowel gradation.

With the point nasal ñ, with ç, cc, j, ł, çj palatalization is fully carried out. The consonant and the front vowel following are formed exactly in the same place, the point of the tongue not being employed at all.

Palatalization of initial ea is a feature of N. Inverness. It exists whenever both elements are sounded, with the stress on the second; when *a* is silent as *easbuig* 'bishop' (epic) it is absent. It is due to 'breaking'.

each	horse	jax		
earnaiss	furniture	jaarnaftf'		
earlas	arles	jaarłs		
earaic	wedding-present	jaric'	earrach the spring	jarrax
ēala	swan	jalə	eachdruidh history	(1) jaxkri
earb	roebuck	(1) jarəp'		(2) jahrti
				Strathglass
		(2) earahəp		(3) .eah-tar-i
				Kintail

Obs. Though isolated and not quite parallel, one may recall Sc. jen = one (wan); dialectal E. gjeet, gate; gje'tn = gotten, v. Ellis's English Dialects, 46, 65, 339, 344. Mr. Staples (in his paper on Semi-Vowels pp 8—9) cites Fr. jeer = hier, bjœ = biens; ljə = lieu; vjæ = viens, which come respectively from Latin heri, bene, locus, venio; the French dialect of Ezy-sur-Eure, as noted by Passy with jo = Fr. eau; pjo = peau; Spanish siempre from L. semper. I think too of Bohemian ě = je after b, f, m, p, v. e. g. ofěra = ofjera 'offering'.

Quantity.

Gaelic distinguishes three degrees of quantity, long, short, intermediate or half-long. Long quantities I mark by doubling. As a general rule unstressed vowels become short, but according to the degree of stress they may remain half-long. The original

quantity of a vowel is ascertained in stress positions. Intermediate quantity goes along with medium stress and may remain unmarked. E. g. take pronoun 2 sg.

- (1) Is that you? = an tu-s' tha sin
an ðus ha .finh'
- (2) It *is* you = is tū
is; tūu
It is felt as half-long in such a phrase as
- (3) Cha bu tu mī s cha bu mhī an cu
You're not I and I am not you
xa pba :tu .mii s xa pba .vii aη .kuu
- (4) Chunnaic mis' thu = *I* saw thee
xuníc ;mif -u
- (5) an d'thainig thu = did you *come*?
an ;daanic -u
- (6) tha thú = yes, you are
.haa .uu
- (7) tha thu ann = you're there!
ha -u ;aunh'

Mac Curtin, whose Elements of the Irish Language I perused after writing the above, also recognises three quantities, long, short, and intermediate or middle quantity as in tonn 'wave', corr 'odd or a crane'. He adds (p. 24): This middle quantity is peculiar only to ll, nn, rr or ng; for though this last be not a double consonant but two link'd together, yet it sounds long or rather middling in the latter end of any syllable as *long* 'a ship'. v. Diphthongization. Short vowels before long consonants -mm, -nn, -rr, ll, and grouped consonants lm, rb, rd tend to receive some increase in length and they are sometimes written as if really long; am 'time'.

Result. Long vowels unstressed become short; with the stress they remain long or half long.

mi .heen mi fhéin 'myself'

fen .aai;-a fein-àicheadh self-denial.

Gradation.

Since quantity varies with the accent some words necessarily have two sounds, one with a long, the other with a short vowel, the shortening being the result of weak stress.

Stress is of four kinds: weak (—), which may be left unmarked

medium (:)

strong (.)

emphatic (;)

a.a stress may also be left unmarked.

Some examples of words having long and short sounds:

- (1) The personal pronouns. (v. sub. Quantity for exs of
1st and 2nd pers. sg.)
ē he, commonly pronounced in Scourie as eef; in Uist
and many other districts as aa.
ī she.
iad (iiať, εť, εεť, εcť and εεťf. aatť atť are all in
use) they.

(1) cha'n eil e aig an tigh (taigh) = he's not at home
-xan :el -ε -ec -an 'ťε.

(2) Tha e = he is

.haa ;εε

Thā, gu dearbh fhéin = he is, indeed!

:haa kgu dzarev ;heen

(3) an i th'ann = is it she

-aň .ii ;hgunň'

(4) Gu dearbh 'se i-fhéin a th'ann = indeed, it is

-kgu 'dzara -fε -i ;heen -a -han [herself

(5) Dh'fhalbh iad = they went off?

ʒaʎa εť'

(6) Is iad a dh'fhalbh = that they did

= it is they that went,

iis 'εεť a 'ʒaʎa

NB. sinn 'we' has a strong (fijññ) and a weak form (fiñ').

an sibh tha sin? Is sinn = Is that you? Yes.

-an :fij -ha ;finh'? s 'fijññ

sinn fhin = we ourselves (-fiñ·hiñ)

These examples show that diphthongization is partially
dependent on the accent. v. sub. Diphthongization § 2 and § 3.

- (2) We meet with three forms of the same word in North
Inverness in such cases as

1. glé mhath = very good :kglee 'vah

;kglei :vāh

cairid friend *kaɾitʰ* pl. *kaaɾtʰən*
 But *laav* lamh 'hand' pl. *la-ən* lāmhan

- (7) Further examples of words ordinarily long which become short when unstressed.

- (1) an robh thu air an t-sraid? = wert thou on the street?

-an :rrow -u -er -an ;tɾaaɾtʰ

- (2) bha mi air an t-sraid ard = I was on the High street
 -va -mi -er -an -tɾatʰ ;aaɾtʰ

- (3) air mo lāmh = by mine hand (a form of asseveration)

-er -mo 'lhaav. (N. Inv.)

air laimh t'athair s do sheanair = by thy father's and grandfather's hand

-er :lhai 'tha-ir -s -dho 'hen-ar

lāmh -laidir oppression, lit. strong hand -lav
 'laaɾdzɪr

- (4) an teid thu liom (leam) = wilt thou go with me?
 -an -dzetʰ -u ;lijuwm'?

théid yes, lit. I will go heetʰ

- (5) bha daor an éiginn aig air = he suffered
 va 'dAAr -aã 'eeciñ ec 'er'

u! bha = that he did! (corroborating foregoing speaker)

uə 'vaa

- (8) ban-, bana- 'she, female' and sean 'old', when followed by dentals, have a long or diphthongized form, bann, seann.

banamhaighstear mistress 'pbana-vaɪtʰɪr

bantrach widow 'pbaun̩tɾax

from E. Ir. bantrebthach, ban+trebthach (farmer)

Obs. In the Aird a widower is banntrach dhuine but Dr. Macintosh Mackay as representing Sutherlandshire uses for widower the simple word e. g. oran do fhear a thainig greis mhor d'a aois agus a bha na bhantraich (Rob Donn, small ed. p. 171).

ban-righ queen 'pbaun̩ -rij

tha e gle shean he is very old ha ê 'kglee 'henh

'se fìor sheann duine th'ann he is a very old man
-fɛ 'fijər ; hjaunn -dunə -hanh

- (9) The adjective nuadh 'new' has a side form *nodha* in the phrase

ūr nodha	'split new'	uur 'nœ
Baile Nodha	Newton	pbale 'nœ
Caisteal Nodha	Newcastle	khafthal 'nœ

dā two has also a side form dō

dō-bliadhnach a two-year old 'dɔɔ -vləɲax.

Colonsay, which has *da-bliadhnach* in this case, has a word trao-ghamhanach trœ -ʒavanax a cow 2 years farrow.

- (10) The prepositional pronouns da 'to him', di 'to her', have strong and weak sounds according to stress.

thug mi sin da = I gave him that kuk mi ; sin da
sin a thug mi dhā-s' = that's what I gave to him
fin a huk mi ʒaas'

thug mi sin di = I gave her that huk mi ; finh dzi
thug mi dhith a cuid aodaich = I took her clothing
off her huk mi ; jii a khutʃ ʌdiɔ.

- (11) Certain numerals have two sounds
a h-aon 'one' a 'haan ; also like the article, save that there is a 'breaking' in the vowel.

Cha'n eil aon ann 'there is none there'

xan el 'œ-ən aɲ

Cha'n eil aon ann an 'there's none there for certain'

xan el 'œən aɲɲ' œnh

Cha'n eil aonan ann 'there's none there'

xan el 'œn-ən aɲɲ'

These varieties occur colloquially and if one were to put more emphasis on we would have

cha'n eil aon aonan ann 'there's none at all there'

xan el ; ʌan 'œnən aɲɲ'.

da fhichead 'forty' ; da 'içət'

a dhā 'two' -a ʒaa

tri fichead 'sixty' : tri 'fiçət'

a trī 'three' -a 'triɪ

sia diag	'sixteen'	·fia ;dʒiik (when one speaks deliberately, otherwise)
		;fiia -dʒək
sia fichead	six 'score'	fə ;fiçəʔ (when not spoken de- liberately)
a sia	'six'	a ·fiia
naoi diag	'nineteen'	;nʌʌ -dʒek -nʌ ·dʒiik
a naoi	'nine'	-a ·nʌʌʒ

NB. Parts of Argyll would differ both in diphthong and in use of dental ɲ (aɲ ·ɲui).

uair 'hour' uuar

aon uair diag a stoidhch' = 11 p. m., eleven o'clock
at night

·ʌʌn -ar :dʒiik a stooijə

dā uair dhīag = 12 o'clock dā uuar jiiak
dā rreek (common collo-
quial N. Inv.)

Diphthongization.

(1) The short vowels a, o in stressed monosyllables are in North Invernessshire diphthongized before -ll, -nn, -m into ou, au. The second part of these diphthongs are parasitic additions due to the consonants following.

dall 'blind'	dhaull'	donn 'dun'	dhounn
poll 'mud'	phoull'	tonn 'wave'	thounn
toll 'hole'	thoull'	ann 'in, in it'	aunn
	moll 'chaff'	moull	

When such syllables get a weaker stress the diphthongization ceases; in other words, there is no diphthongization where an unstressed syllable follows

dalladh 'blinding'	dʌʌ	connadh 'fuel'	{ kɔɲa
donnalaich 'howling'	dɔɲʌʌʃ		{ kɔɲək

Examples before m (long):

cam 'crooked, one-eyed'	kaumm	tom 'hillock'	ʔoumm
crom 'bent'	krroumm	am 'time'	aumm
trom 'heavy'	troumm		

NB. The short vowel in *am* comes out in the genitive, an *ama* 'of the time' an *amə*. N. Inv. lengthens and diphthongizes this word, and it appears as *àm* in the script.

(2) Neither Islay, Jura nor Colonsay diphthongizes the above, least of all the words ending in *-m*. Colonsay has more of the nasal.

(3) Over the greater area the vowel is made fully long by diphthongizing it, but the Gaelic script is not very consistent in marking this with the sign (ˊ) in some words and leaving it out in others. In some districts, particularly in Argyll and some of the Isles the original short vowel here is only half-lengthened and no diphthongization takes place. In such districts the final consonant is usually shorter than in North Inverness, and compensation is made by lengthening the vowel and this is often what is attempted to be shown by marking the vowel with (ˊ). This has misled some into thinking the *a* in *am* really long. Some writers put this mark (ˊ) on words like *at* 'swell' where it is meant to indicate the strong on-breath-glide before an original double consonant after a short stressed vowel.

Obs. Not parallel altogether with the above is what takes place in Manx where 'tromm' now written 'trome' (heavy) is pronounced, says Rhŷs (Manx Phonetics p. 143), in a way which sometimes strikes one as being *troum* and sometimes *trobm* or *trubm*, with a sort of precarious *b*; and similarly with other words such as *kione* 'head' which becomes *kioun* or *kiodn*, and *lhong* 'a ship' which becomes *logng* or *lugng*. Rhŷs points out that in O. Cornish *camm* 'crooked', *gwyn* 'white' are *cabm*, *gwydn*, and refers to the Sc. dialect of Caithness where O. Norse *steinn* > *steidn*. My own ear cannot find a trace of a similar *b* or *d* in the Highlands.

(4) The vowel *e* may be said to be similarly treated: O. Ir. *fell*, now *feall* 'treachery' is *fjaull̪ˠ*. E. Ir. *mell*, now *meall* 'lump, hill' is *mjaull̪ˠ*. As the *e* > *j*, i. e. palatal, it may be said that for the rest we have here only a case of the vowel *a* as above.

(5) In N. Inverness *o* before *ng* in long 'ship' > *ou*, *ow* with no decided nasality which in many cases N. Inverness strives to get rid of. long 'ship' *l̥low*; the *o* is half-long as is the *u* in *tungaidh* 'damp' *tuw̥i*; *umaidh*, *umbaidh* 'a boor' *uwm-mi* long in Argyll sounds *looŋkg*, with gen. *luing* often as *luicə*. The collective form *loingeas* is wrongly used in N. Inverness with article nom. pl. as the regular pl. of *long*.

(6) Some instances of diphthongization as partially dependent in N. Inverness on the accent:

- (1) *is coma leam co dhiubh tha na nach eil ach thug mi leam e* I care not whether or no, but I brought it with me.

is koma l̥m kə :juu 'ha na nax 'el ax huk mi ;lluwm ε

- (2) *is neōnach leam sin* = that seems to me strange

is 'n̥əonax l̥m fin'

- (3) *ar liom (leam) gu bheil e sin* = methinks it is so

ar ;lluwm kgu vel ε finh

If unstressed we have

ar l̥m kgu vel

- (4) *ach thug mi leam e* = but I brought it with me
ax huk mi ;l̥εm ε (Colonsay). This is an instance of the Colonsay tendency to nasalize rather than diphthongize

NB. The initial consonant *l* tends to be prolonged in stressed position.

- (7) In N. Inverness and generally, except in S. Argyll, there is distinct diphthongization of the glide approach to *r* and *n*
fior 'true' *fiar* *fion* 'win' *fiian*

This is not the case whenever there is group-stress to prevent it

fior mhath 'exceedingly good' *'fiir-vəh*

This diphthongizing is present before -*ch* e. g. *cīoch* 'breast' *cjiæəx*

- (8) The diphthongization is preserved in disyllables before the combinations

-n̥nd-, -n̥nt-, -mp-, (-mb-)

- (9) By 'group-lengthening' (cf. Sweet's O. Eng. Reader, xxiii · 16) in stressed monosyllables

i > *ij*, properly a crescendo diphthong, before *ł̥*, *n̥ñ*

till 'return' *t̥ijł̥* tinn 'sick' *t̥ijn̥ñ*

In these cases there is no diphthongizing in Argyll, simply half lengthening. Before long m the vowel is lengthened when stressed e. g.

im butter, E. Ir. imb, is sounded iim. cf O. E. wōrd, āld, lōng.

(10) A like diphthongal effect exists in words of the following type:

fionn 'fair' fijuwn̄; a chionn 'because' ə 'cijuwn̄; os cionn 'above' etc. əs cijuwn̄.

Obs. In Argyll the u in these examples is often the half-mixed-wide-round as in E. *value*.

(11) In Colonsay, which does not always follow the mainland of Argyll, we have

feall 'deceit'	fɛau̯ll	ceonn 'head'	ceüu̯n̄
fionn 'fair'	fiüu̯n̄	meall 'lump etc'	mɛüu̯ll̄

But donn 'dun' as dou̯n̄ whereas the island of Islay sounds it dou̯n̄ by way of exception.

Obs. (1) cf. the Aran isles, Galway where there is no diphthongization but purely vowel lengthening. Mr. Pedersen (Asp. i Irsk p. 81) writes k'āN, in my notation caann̄ = O. Ir. cenn 'head'; lomradh 'clipping' Lūmrə (lūumrə); fionnfadh 'hair' Gael. fionnadh, as fīNə. If by this be meant *full* prologation of the vowel in place of our half-long it suffices to say that such is not the case in Scotland save under the exigencies of bad metre. According to Mr. Macfarlane the o of lom, tom in S. Argyll is simply the o in tog 'lift'. He says: 'Those who do not add the labial contraction linger longer than usual on the following consonant when the word is a monosyllable. In the districts of Cantire and Cowal the practice of adding the labial contraction is not followed'.

(2) The dialect of Munster shows diphthongization before ll, nn, m so far as the vowels a, o are concerned. E. Munster resembles N. Inverness; Connaught is more in accord with S. Argyll.

(3) The loan words paidhir 'pair'; paipear 'paper' while diphthongized in most Gaelic dialects are not so in Inverness; they are sounded there phæɪ, phaahpəɪ.

- (4) non-diphthongization occurs in òran 'song' oorán yet N. Inverness, Sutherland and Perth have also auran = amhran.
- (5) Northern ia for long open e of Argyll, due to 'breaking' has been already referred to.
- (6) 'Through the same principle o long has become in Gaelic and Irish ua; hora, uair; glossa, gluas; slogh, which we still use occasionally, has become sluagh; . . the first syllable in Boadicea is buaidh; the Clota of Ptolemy is now Cluaidh (Clyde)'.
- (7) 'The Strathspey people have a simple vocalic sound before the liquids where in Badenoch a secondary sound may be heard. Thus, in Strathspey the à of càrn is simply the Gaelic a long but in Badenoch the passage from the à to the r is bridged by a u sound; as a consequence the sound might be represented by an English *cawrn* or a phonetic *caurn*' — Macbain.
- (8) 'In Rannoch and Glenlyon it appears with *rn*, *rd*, *rt* even when a slender vowel (i) intervenes' as in aird (au'rd), càirdean (cau'rdean), goirt (gou'rt) — Robertson.
- (9) 'a, o, (never long a and long o) turn into au, and ou in certain combinations. Examples are *bonn*, *rann*, *lom*, *cam*, *am*, into *bounn*, *raunn*, *loum*, *caum*, *aum*. This feature is true of the Reay country. But when *a* is flanked by *rn* as in *carn* (cart) we do not diphthongize as they do in some northern districts' — Gunn.
- (10) N. Inverness, unlike Badenoch and Glenlyon, does not diphthongize before *rn*, *rd*, *rt*, and therein it agrees with Reay.

Result. Diphthongization is not universal over the Highlands. It is usual in North Inverness (part of old Pictland) save before *rn*, *rd*, *rt*; it is infrequent in Argyll which allows it before -ll, -nn in the *northern* districts (for Argyll is here divided, as it is in the case of ia from long open ē); I should have inserted this qualification, to which Prof. Mackinnon drew my attention, when contrasting N. Inverness and Argyll. The part of Argyll north of the Firth of Lorn, including Iona and Mull, takes the *ia* side. The upper part of Appin and Glencoe is naturally somewhat mixed; before -ll, -nn it occurs in the

Book of the Dean of Lismore. It is rare in S. Argyll before -ll, -nn, hardly known in Islay, and rare in Cintyre, Cowal, Arran, where the double consonant is reduced a half and the short vowel is made half long. It is unknown at Strathtay and at Blair according to Robertson (i. e. for part of Pictland); it is unknown in Strathspey, but exists in Badenoch to a greater degree than in North Inverness or Reay and is the rule except before m and -rr in the dialects of W. Perthshire which tend, too, to diphthongize long open ē into ia. It is a question whether and to what extent, if any, it has racial significance.

Stress.

(1) Word-stress always falls upon the first syllable of words which are felt as non-compounds. Some borrowed retain their original stress e. g. E. receipt is in Gaelic *rə'seɪtʃ*.

(2) In compounds felt to be compounds the stress is in accordance with logical principle and falls upon the definitive word. This is invariably uneven stress (a'a or aa) and combines the two elements. If, however, each member of a compound is felt as a separate word, the stress is even (a'a).

(3) Even stress occurs in deliberate answers; *tha mi* ('haa mii) yes, lit. I am; in exclamations *ūbh ūbh* ('uuv uuv) well! well! But if a more hasty degree of surprise is to be indicated the stress passes entirely to the latter element and the vowel quantity of the first element is shortened as the stress is entirely removed from it; *-uv uuv*. Proper names deliberately uttered have even stress ('Ijəsa 'Krijəstʃ), *Iosa Crīost*, Jesus Christ; to this word when used as a form of asseveration or exclamation the article is prefixed in N. Inverness, but *an t-* is simply d; hence *Diosda Crīosd* with the preponderating stress on the first part ('dziəsda :Krijəstʃ).

Uneven stress a'a.

Occurs in the following combinations:

(1) noun + noun.

athair céile	father-in-law	ahɪr 'chəələ
uisge beatha	whisky	uɪcə 'pbəhə
craobh ubhal	apple-tree	kra 'uwaɪ

(2) article + noun

am fear ^o	the man	am 'fɛɾ
a bhean	the wife	a 'vɛn

NB. In the Aird the current vocative of 'bean' is
a 'vɛn-ə as if it were a bheano.

(3) article + noun + adj.

an t-sraid ārd The High Street -an-ʈratf aa rʈ'

(4) noun + adj.

duin'-uasal	gentleman	-dun 'uuasal'
lon-dubh	black-bird	lon 'tɬu

NB. 'lɔn 'dubh would be a 'black swamp'

(5) adv. + adj.

ro mhath	very good	rə 'vah
fior mhath	exceeding good	fior 'väh
gle dhorch	very dark	kgle 'ʒorəxə

cf. cha'n eil 'rös agam air = I don't well know
(Reay) i. e. ro + fhios = cha'n eil 'for agam air (Uist).

If we emphasize the degree the stress is on the first element which then preserves its original long vowel; *ro* occurs as long in Ross of Gairloch's poems: air mheangain ārd nan rō-chrannaibh; am barraibh rō-chrannaibh suas.

In fìoruisg spring-water 'fijrufe the two elements are not felt separately as such. Under sentence-stress, owing to antithesis implied comes

cha'n eil ann ach	{	duine 'cōir
		tigh 'beag
		tigh 'mōr

Here too,

gu 'math s gu ;ro-mhath well and very well!

(6) noun + art + noun

Druim-na-drochaid' Drumna-drochit. The English form has the stress on the latter element always; in colloquial Gaelic it sounds as -dʀəm -na -drəhtf'

corc a chāil Tom Thumb -kərk -a 'xaal.

(7) prep. + noun

gun mbonaid¹⁾ without consciousness kgun ·vənatf
 air do dheagh shlaìnt thy very good health

-er -dò :jœɜ ·lhaãntf

air ur slaint your health -er -ar ·sllãntf

NB. air na slaint (Aird) = your health! er na ·sllãntf
 So too Badenoch. v. pronouns

Often in idiomatic stereotyped phrases: ann an tairg = pretty well, moving about (-aŋ -ən ·t̪ɛɾɛc); bha i ann an tairg mhath laghach = she was ordinarily well (-va :i -aŋ -ən ·t̪ɛɾɛc -vah ·l̪œ-ũx), i. e. middling, from *t-air-érge 'rising from bed' (Edderachilles); in Perthshire a ·niarraidh 'middling',

(8) all compound prepositions

air ·son, an ·deidh, mu'n ·cuairt

(9) all adverbial phrases

an ·dé 'yesterday'; gu ·bráth 'for ever'; a ·muigh
 'outside'; ann an ·sin 'there'

(10) the conjunction *gidheadh* 'nevertheless, although',
 sounded as -kga ·jœɜɜ; alto (cɟɛ ·jœɜɜ)

(11) in place names the first element in words compounded with Glen-, Strath-, Inver- (Jqr-), Aber-, Dun-, Beinn-, Sgūr-, Cnoc-, Tom-, Alt- is unstressed or at most has a weak stress, while the second element has a strong stress. Where the mode of composition is noun + noun in the genitive the accent is on the qualifying epithet. This stress is usually retained in the local pronunciation of Scottish place-names, and is continued on the lips of those who know little or nothing of the original language.

Dun ·keld	Dun Chailinn	t̪d̪un ·xãlĩn
Dun ·barton	Dun Bhreatunn	t̪d̪un ·v̪ɾẽh̪t̪ãn
Dun ·oon	Dun odhain	t̪d̪un ·õh-ĩn
Dal ·more	Dal Mór	t̪d̪al ·moor

So too Dal ·whinnie, Dal ·ry, Dal ·keith where *dal* is native Gaelic; where *dal* is the second element in a place-name it is from the Norse and is unstressed

¹⁾ common phrase in the Aird.

e. g. ·Eskadale (on the Beaully River) ·efcjadal·
Occasionally erroneous pronunciations occur as ·Dal-
cross for Dal ·cross

Aber ·deen	Obaireadhoin	} -opərr·eɔn'
	Obair ·(dh)e(v)oin ?	
Loch ·More	Loch Mór	ləx ·moor
Loch ·Inver	Loch Inbhir	ləx ·inüvər
	also :ləx-əñ ·in-aʔ-r	

Strath ·peffer	Strath Pheothbheir	} strah ·fjə-əʔ
	Pheofhair	
Dingwall	Inbher Pheothrain	-inər ·fjəh-aran
Strath ·Glas	Strath Ghlais	-strah ·ʒlaf
Loch ·aline	Loch Aluinn	-ləx ·aalĩñ

English tourists say -ləx-a-lin

Glen ·Urquhart	Gleann Urcha(r)dainn	-kglaun ; urux :at-ĩñ
Glen ·Orchy	Gleann Urchaidh	-kgləñ ·uraxi
Tom na ·hùrich	Tom na h-iubhraich	:təm̃ -na ·hjuu rĩç
Tir ·ee	Tiriodh	tĩr̃ ·ijũž

iodh as in iodh-lann corn-yard

Loch ·Hourn	Loch Shubhairn	-ləx ·hu-ĩñ
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eddir seili is sowyrnni — Book of Dean of Lis-
more i. e. between (Lochs) Shiel and Hourn. cf. Severn.

Aber ·nethy	Obair Neithich	-opər̃ ·ñe-ĩç
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‘tha na neithichea a’tighinn’ said when the
waters are coming in spate, a phrase reminiscent of
river divinities of the olden time, perhaps.

Inver ·ness	Inbhir nis	-inar̃ ·nĩf
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Another form is Jonar-nis which in the Aird
becomes by metathesis Jorn ·nis = -ijər̃ ·nĩf which
is a common pronunciation¹); (-jũr̃·uuic = Wick);
(-inar̃ hœrfa = Thurso)

Kil ·tarlity	Cill talorgain which > Cill ·taraglan	cijl̃ ·tharək-lan
Lin ·lithgow	Gleann Iucha	kgləñ ·iuxa

This pronunciation is that of Ann Henderson,
Morvern, and, whatever its origin, may be taken as

¹) cf. iutharn ‘hell’ (ju-ər̃n) from L·infernus, also ifrionn which in
in S. Uist > ·ĩr̃-ũñ

current among Highlanders who half a century ago
flocked at harvest time to the Lowlands.

Strathearn	Strath Eirionn, Eireann	stra 'eer-ŭn
Strathnairn	Strath Nairionn	stra -n'ar-ŭn

- Obs. (1) On this principle we get the current accentuation of Irish place names e. g. Bel·fast (from *fearsad*, estuary, whence Fersit; an Fhearsaid); May·o (Magh + eō); Done·gāl (Dūn-nan-Gall).
- (2) Sometimes we get a medium stress (:) on the first element. :Glen-strath·farrar :kglan-strah·arrər
- (3) Sometimes the stress is unsettled and thus we hear ·Ferintosh as often as -Ferin·tosh (An Toiseachd); (·Dalcross), (·Badcall) but in Gaelic always (-sa-vat·xall), fər vat·xoiʃl̩.
- (4) *Dal* which forms the first part of place names when it is from the Celtic and has a·a stress is likewise unstressed when it is from the Norse, in which case it comes last in place names. (·Eskadale) on the Beaulieu River is (·efc̥aɖal̩) i. e. Uisce + dale.
- (5) Dunsinane, a Perthshire place name which occurs several times in *Macbeth* with the accent on the last syllable

I will not be afraid of death and ·bane
Till Birnam wood be come to Dunsin·ane
scans once with the stress a·a

Mac·beth shall never vanquished be until
Great Birnam wood to high Dun·sinane hill

Shakespeare very probably never heard the word pronounced as he does not stick to one pronunciation, especially since he uses the right one but once.

- (12) Personal names, nick-names and clan names, the names of the days of the week and of feast days, have the stress on the second element. If the article intervenes it is of course unstressed.

(a) Mac·rae (maxk·rrah); Mac-Cowan (maxk·koo-an = Còmghain; (maxk·kuatl̩) Mac Quoid = Boyd; (maxk̂·kru-ər̩ also maxk·ru-er) Mac Cruar, Mac Gruer, (lit. son of the Brewster) a sept merged mostly in the Frasers and other clans; (maxk

·kuna-il) Mac Cuail or Mac Thuathail¹⁾ (name of a few persons in Glenorchy who now pass under the name of Macdonald); (maxk-a ·fjūkar) Mac-a-Bhiocair = Mc Vicar; (maxk ·u-ic) Mc Cook; (bō ·xan-an) Bochanan, for Mochanoin; (maxk ·vaadzī) Mac Bhaidi (in Duncan Bān's Coire Cheathaich) Mc Wattie, a branch of the Buchanans; (maxk ·varraf) Mac Bharrais, Mac Varrais, a name in Alex. Macdonald's poems and still met with in Moidart but is being merged in the Macdonalds; possibly for Mac Mhanuis, son of Magnus, Magnus-son, and = Mc Venish, Mc. Vanish, a surname in Ross and Inverness. (maxk ·kumratf) Mac Cuimrid = Mont·gomery; maxk ·kala-mañ Mac Calmain, often for Murchison; (maxk ·kalp ·hiñ)²⁾ Mc Alpine, and in Patrik *Mac Calphuirn* (Stern); (maxk ·feētraf) Mac Pheadrais, Paterson; maxk-a ·ferfōñ Macpherson; Mac Cuilcein = Mc Wilkie; Mc Kimmie = Mac Shimi lit. son of Simon = Lovat (maxk ·cimi)

(b) (t̪d̪ə-a-l̪ ·k̪g̪ə-ə-rəm) Domhnall Gorm; *Dubh ·Choill* nic ·Aonghais, the name of the lady Mac Innes of Morvern who built the old castle at Lochaline called Caisteal an ìme (lit. castle of the butter), when her lord was at the crusades. cf. *Dubh ·Sìth* Mac ·Cūis (an Uist name, otherwise known there as a sept of the Mc Mhannains, Mc Mannain); Mac ·phee = Mc Duibhsithi, (max-a ·fi-ij Black of Peace).

(c) (dzi ·luuan) Di luain (lit. day of the moon) = Monday; (dzi ·c̪iāt-añ) lit. day of the first fast = Wednesday; (dziṛt̪ ·ΛΛΛ) Di-r-d-aoin, lit. day between the two fasts = Thursday; (dzi ·hΛΛΛ) Dihaoin = Friday.

(t̪d̪ənax khaa-īfc̪) Domhnach Càisg = Easter Sunday, Pasch; otherwise, (dzi ·t̪d̪ənic̪; khaa-īfc̪) Di-domhnaich Càise.

(t̪d̪ənax ·th̪uurnaf) Domhnach Tùrnais, (known otherwise as Di-domhnaich Crom Dubh, after the pagan idol of the Gael) = last Sunday in July. (Garland Sunday?)

(:l̪a -el̪ə ·faɾc̪) La Fheille Faire (for Faile, 'lave') Epiphany, (Strathglass.)

(fel̪ə ·rr̪əət̪f) Feille Ròid (a fair held at end of September)

NB. In *Poll a Ròid*, near Lentrán, we have a different word, ròd ·sea-weed cast on the shore'.

¹⁾ whence Ir. O'Toole, Toole; name of abbot of Dunkeld (9th cent.)

²⁾ r̪ tends sometimes to be simply syllable-forming and drops out when unstressed; (l̪a-ñə ·vaarax) for *la iar na mhàireach* 'the morrow'; ùrlar floor (uwl̪ar).

(d) It should be mentioned that in a very few cases the stress in the anglicized form differs from that in the Gaelic.

·Macintosh maxk-an ·thəʃiç

·Macintyre maxk-an ·tʌɪr

·Ferintosh, the place already mentioned is another case in point, v. above.

(e) note how mac 'son' is unstressed in surnames

·maxk' ·xəniç = the son of Kenneth; but

maxk' ·khəniç
ma ·khəniç { Mackenzie

·maxk' ·xalan = Mac Chlain = Colin's son

maxk' ·khalan = The Mac Calain i.e. Argyle = Mac Cailein

·maxk' ·ʒəniç Donald's son Mac Dhomhnuill

maxk ·təniç The Macdonald or Lord of the Isles = Mac
Dòmhnùill, for which an Islay pronunciation is maak ·əniç
Mag (Dh)omhnuill

(f) certain names which take the suffix -ach are preceded by the article.

An Siosalach (an ·fisalax). The Chisholm of Chisholm, sometimes distinguished from the Chisholms of the Borders as

An Siosalach Glaiseach -an :fisalax ·kɣlax = The Chisholm of Strathglass.

An Caimbeulach Campbell (aɣ ·kaim-būlax), when speaking of ordinary members of the clan; seemingly at first an epithet applied by neighbouring clans on account of moral if not of physical traits: a poem by Iain Lom's son speaks of luchd nam beul fiar' (Sinclair's Gaelic Bards, III).

Am Frisealach Fraser (am ·frisalax, when speaking of an ordinary member of the Clan Fraser; Fräser in Gaelic is Friseil; the English sound has ā as long open (ē) = Fræzar; the Gaelic is short i; which points to a strong and weak form of an adjective *frēsjaz, frisjaz, whence German frise 'curly hair', Anglo-Saxon Frēsan, O H G. Frieson, E. frieze coarse wollen cloth, frizz to frizzle (cf. R. Much's Deutsche Stammsitze, p. 150). If we regard the Frasers as having come from Friesland we may find here a case of a tribal epithet continued as a clan- and surname. cf. the surname English in England. The type representatives of the old Fraser stock had a massive

physique, light red curly hair and blue eyes. The so-called etymon from French for 'strawberry plant' may safely be set aside; real names are older than the attempts to explain them by armorial bearings. As to Frisians see Procopius.

(13) interrogative particle + verb

an 'abair mi (-an 'aper :mi)?

All particles are unstressed before the verb; quantity varies with stress. The assertive form of the verb 'to be', viz. 'is' is never stressed but in such a sentence the stress follows the chief logical pause.

(14) Verbal infinitives

ag 'òl	ak 'òl'	a' drinking
a dh'òl	a 'òl'	to or for drinking

The periphrastic tenses of the verb have a form of this stress but regulated by the musical tempo.

-tha-mi-a 'bualadh
-bha-mi-air-mo 'bhualadh

(15) The emphatic 'fhéin' 'self' added to the personal pronouns.

{ mi 'fhìn	
{ mi 'fhéin	v. Pronoun
ε 'fhéin	

NB. When verbs are used idiomatically with the prepositional pronouns the stress is usually on the latter with rising inflexion of voice

Chaidh agam 'air I managed it (him) xaij akem 'er'
Gabh 'air Thresh him kgav 'er' (also 'kga-er')
Gabh 'aige Put it in good order kgav 'ec'
Ghabh mi aig I took service with him, 'zami-ec'

One might mention combinations of verb + noun, where we have an infinitive followed by noun in genitive, which may, however, come under sentence stress.

cha'n ann toirt biutha dha tha mi 'it is not finding fault with him that I am, I'm not chiding him' i. e' xan 'an-tər ;biu-ŭ :za 'ha mi) -Scourie.

(16) Phrases with the indefinite pronouns *eile*, *gach*, *bith*, and *cuid* when used with the genitive plural for 'own'

fear ·eile	another one &c.
muinntir ·eile	other folks
gach ·neach	every one
gach ·fear	each man
air ·bith	at all
fear sa(m) ·bith	'anyone, whosoever'
cuid ·eile	'others'
a chuid ·daoine	'his men'
a cuid ·mac	'her sons'

(:intensive emphatic phrase, stronger than a mic = her sons)

NB. The ·aa stress is used in

·cuideigin	'some one'
·feareigin	'some one'
a ·huile-fear }	'every one'
a ·chuile-fear }	

Unless 'fear' is made emphatic these are treated as one noncompounded word.

(17) Numerals without the noun:

a h ·aon	'one'
a ·dhà	'two'
a ·tri	'three'
aon ·diag	'eleven'
dà ·fhichead	'forty, two score'

But ·dà ·fhichead = *two* score; (·tri ·ficat) 'sixty' &c. v. sub *Gradation*.

(18) Combinations of names which form titles &c.

Maighstir ·Seoras	(noun + noun); Father, Rev., Mr. G.
an Dotair ·Dòmhnallach	(noun + adj.): Dr. Mc. Donald
Fear ·Eiscadaill	(noun + noun in genitive): The [Laird of Eskadale.]

(19) *ars* (ar/), *os* (os) 'quoth, said' being enclitics, are unstressed: (os εf) 'said he'; likewise *mo* 'my': *do* 'thy'; *cha'n* 'not'.

Uneven stress ·aa.

(1) When the two elements of a compound have ceased to be separately felt, or when both are used to express a single idea, the stress is ·aa. The qualifying epithet comes first.

·banaltrum	nurse
·banfh(igh)ich	weaveress
·banamhaistir	school mistress
·bithbhuantachd	eternity
·Dū(bh)ghall	Dūgald
·ceannfhionn	white-headed (of animals)
·bailgionnach	pie-bald; white spotted
·baintighearn	(·pbaĩññdzarn) lady
·caisbheart >	caiseart (·kaf-art)
·ard-dorus	main or outer door
·ceithir-chasach	four-footed
·tri-dhuilleach	trefoil
·far-iasg	spent fish
·far-ainm }	nick-name
·fri-ainm }	
·fri-rathad	a bye path
·meanbh-chuileag	midge
·seann duin	old man
·seanamhathair	grandmother
·droch rud	rascal, devil
·mór-chuis	conceit
·michiatach	disgraceful
·éilthireach	pilgrim, sojourner
·diomasach	haughty
·eucoireach	guilty
·easantas	disagreement &c.
·athbharrach	last year's crop; second crop
·athaodach	new clothing
·atharrach	alien
·atharnach	second crop; lee or unploughed shift of land
·dō bhliadhnach	two year old beast
·diochain,	forgetfulness; = diūchin in the Aird (dzuuxiñ)
·dich(uimh)neach,	forgetful
·cosalachd,	similitude
·seanair	grand-father

NB. michiatach, dichain, dichainneach (forgetful), cosalachd in some dialects and in pulpit Gaelic have the a·a stress, and with it the last three words eep the full nasality in the second vowel. All trace of this nasality is lost with the ·aa stress. This is owing to the

accent being on the first syllable and is on a par with what took place in Latin loan-words when L. *sacerdos* became *sácart*; L. *eclésia*, E. Ir. *éclis*, gen. *écailsè* (Ml. 65 d), *écolsò* (Wb 13 a, 3), *écolsà* (Wb 11 d, 6) where *i*, *ai*, *o* are but different representations of the obscured unaccented irrational vowel.

NB. (a) When attention is directed to the negation as such, even stress is used; *·eu·còir* non-kind, unkind, but *·eucoir*, wrong, *·neo ghlan* 'not clean' (*ñeoḡlan*) impure *·mī·mhodhail* but also *miomhail*; *mi·chiallach* but also *·michiollach*.

(b) some words with like prefixes receive different treatment which can be learned from usage: *·anacriosd*, antichrist, but *ana·creidimh*, disbelief *ana·caitheamh*, prodigality.

(2) In a large number of compounds both members are felt as separate words and are stressed accordingly

	as <i>·creidimh</i> ,	disbelief
	eas <i>·ùmhlaichd</i> ,	disobedience
But in Colonsay	<i>·easumhlachd</i>	
	eas <i>·ùmhailt</i> ,	disobedient
	ath <i>·leasachadh</i> ,	reformation
	ath <i>·lheothachadh</i>	rekindling
	neo <i>·mhathle</i>	reckless
	neo <i>·chaochlaideach</i>	unchangeable
But	<i>·neochiontach</i>	guiltless
	do <i>·dhianta</i> ,	impossible

(3) greetings are stressed *·aa*

	<i>·fàilte dhut</i>	hail!
	<i>·slàn leat</i>	adieu
	<i>·latha math dhuibh</i>	good day to you
	<i>·oidhche mhath dhuibh</i>	good night to you
	<i>·maduinn mhath dhuibh</i>	good morning to you

In the last three examples if the *a·a* stress is used and the prepositional pronoun dropped, a sense of assertion is conveyed.

is equivalent to *feasgair·briagh*
tha feasgir briagh ann
 (*ha :fesgar ; pbr̥iia -an̥*)
 it is a fine evening.

(4) Certain names, as in

(a) A'Mhoroich (a·vərrəç) 'Lovat'; Tomas na Moroich — Thomas of Lovat (or of Beaufort); the idea being 'Sea-field' from *muir* 'sea', Gaulish *mori*- + *mag* 'a plain.'

(b) Morai(bh) (·morrəi) 'Moray'; Early Gaelic Moreb, from *mor* 'sea' (dative pl.) idea being fairly parallel to that in Seeland, Zealand; Seafield.

(c) morghath (mərraz) 'fishing spear', *mor* + *gath* = sea-spear.

(d) Morbhairn (·mərraiñ) as spelt in the 'Gaelic Messenger', Morvern, in ancient times called Kinelbadon after Baedan of Lorne, now often spelt in English Morven after Macpherson's Ossian, a spelling in disaccord with every variety of the Gaelic pronunciation, which is also (·mərřəvaiñ) (·marraiñ); Morvarne, in charter of 1476; from *mor* 'sea' + *bhearn* 'cleft, breach, chasm', after the wide breach, caused by sea-action in the past, between Loch Aluinn and Loch Suinart. cf. Seacombe. The short vowel points to Old-Gaelic *muir*, gen. *mora*, Gaulish *mori* rather than to *mór*, *már*, 'great'. The territories bounding Morvern on the North are called Na Garbh Chrìochan = The Rough Bounds, of old Garmorvarne, Garmoran, from Suinart to Loch Hourn.

NB. I note a double trilled *r* in these cases as in their *dhomh e* (hərr ·ov-ε); *mar uidh*, *mar astar* (at a distance of . . . from), *Eàdar-dha -chaolais* (eṭarra·xñilif), *Edde-rachilles*; also in Gaelic for Aberdeen. v. Uneven Stress a·a (11).

Manse of Edderachillis

Scourie, Sutherland
North Britain

GEORGE HENDERSON.

(To be continued.)

BETHA COLUIMB CILLE.

(Continuation. Cf. vol. III, p. 516 ff.)

65. Fectus eli do taisbein Axal aingel é fen do C. c. 7 adubairt ris. Togh fen cred iad na tinnlaicthe 7 na subaltaidí dob' ail let d' fhagbáil o día 7 dogeba tu iad. Togaim, ar C. c. i. óghacht 7 ecena. 7 do frecair an t-aingel é 7 ised adubairt. Ise an spirad naem fen tue ort an togha romaith sen do denamh, 7 ar son mar dorindis hí dobera dia tuilled tinnluicthi duit leo sin. Oir dobera se spirad faidhedórachta duid indus nach tainec romhad 7 nach tiucfa ad diaidh faid bus fer ina thú. Do frecair an macam bendaigthe sin don aingel 7 assed adubairt: Doberim gloir 7 buidechus do día 7 ní fhedar cred dober dó ar son na tindluiceadh 7 na tuarastal mor-sa tucc se damh, 7 gan me *acht* am serbfhogantaid dimain midhingbala; 7 o na fuil agam doberaind do ar a shon sin *acht* me fen, timnaim 7 idbrium me fein iter corp 7 anum do ara shon. (fo. 7a)

66. Ar nimthect don aingel ó C. c. andsin do taisbenatar triar maighden roóg roalaind rosciamach rodelradach nach faca se a n-innamail riamh, iat fen dó, 7 do iadh gach bean acu a lama fa n-a braighid, 7 tucatar tri poga dó. Tucc fer grada na genamnaidhecta .i. C. c. drochgnuis 7 drochagaidh dona maighdenaib andsin, 7 do diúlt a poga mar poga truailidhe neamglana, oir do saeil se gorub docum pecaid do batar dó. Do fiarfuighetar na maigdena de an raibe aithne aice orra fein, o nach raibe se ag gabáil a pog nó a ngrada uatha. Adubairt C. c. nach raibe, 7 adubratat-san gorub é a n-athair fen do pós ré C. c. iad, 7 cor triur deirbsethar iad da celi. Do fiarfaig C. c. cia dob athair

The life of Columb Cille.

65. The angel Axal shewed himself another time to Columb cille and said to him: 'Choose thyself the endowments and graces which thou wouldst like to obtain from God and thou wilt get them'. 'I choose' said Columb cille, 'virginity and wisdom'. And the angel answered him and said: 'It was the Holy Ghost himself that induced thee to make this very good choice, and because thou hast made it God will give thee further endowments along with those. For he will give thee the spirit of prophecy so that there came not before thee nor will there come after thee a greater prophet than thou'. That holy boy answered the angel and said: 'I return glory and thanks to God and know not what I may return him for those great gifts and rewards which he has bestowed upon me who am only a vain, unworthy servant; and as I have nothing wherewith to recompense him but myself, I bequeath and offer myself both soul and body to him in return.'

66. Upon the angel withdrawing from Columb cille then, there appeared to him three young, beautiful, bright and radiant maidens, the like of whom he had never seen before, and each woman of them clasped their hands around his neck and gave him three kisses. That darling of chastity, to wit Columb cille, turned a scornful face and visage upon the maidens thereupon, and refused their kisses as corrupt and unclean, for he thought sin was their concern with him. The maidens asked him if he knew themselves, for not accepting their kisses or their love. Columb cille said that he did not; and they said it was their own father that had espoused them to Columb cille and that they

doib, 7 adubratar san gorb é an tigherna issa Cr[ist] cruthaigeoir nimhe 7 talman dob athair doib. Adubairt C. c. is roúasal barn athair 7 camuid barn anmonna dumm. An óghacht 7 an eгна 7 an fháidhedóracht ar n-anmonda, ar siad, 7 bemaíd ad comhaidecht-sa an inadh triar ban posda cod bás, 7 biaidh do gradh ar marthain 7 ar coimhéd againn gan claechlodh go bráth.

IS andsin adubairt C. c. Doberim gloir 7 buidechus mor do dia cumachtach do congail 7 do pos me fen 7 gan me acht am serbfhogantaigh bocht anúasal, dá thríar *ingen* uasul fén.

67. Fecht eli tainec an taingel cedna adubhramar romhainn dindsaigid C. c. 7 adubairt ris: Togh fein an bas as ail let dfhaghail 7 na hinaidh 7 na reighidhoin inar b'ail let do beatha do tabairt ass god bas. IS andsin adubairt C. c. Togaim bas dfaghail tareis dimais na hoige do dul taram 7 sul beres misduaim na harsuidhecta gomor orum. Oir is esláinte 7 as misduaim 7 as galar an *arsaidhect* fein 7 ní heidír lesin duine bis arsaidh no an aeis móir gan beatha maith sódhamail dfhaghail 7 ní hail lemsa beatha maith dfhagail dom corp fein go brath. Et toghaim an bas sin dfhagail tré ghorta toltanaigh 7 tresan aibstinuis cuirfed dom deóin fein oram, 7 gan galur nó eslainte eli do beith oram a ponc mo bais *acht* sin fen. Et togaim fos an bas sin dfaghail an oilethre suthain a bfhecmáis mo tíri 7 mo talaimh 7 mathardha duthcais fen maille re tuirsi 7 re haithrighe romhóir. Oir is tuirsech duine ó beith ar deoraidhect 7 is urasa dó gan neithe dimhainecha do beith ar a airi. IS andsin adubairt an taingel re C. c. Creid fen 7 na bidh amarus agad air go bfuighe tu na neithe sin uile ó do día fen. Tucc C. c. buidechas doarmidhe do día andsin 7 do linad ó grassaib an spirda *nacim* é, 7 do coimlinadh gach ní dar íarr C. c. andsin amail derbhóchus an beatha ó so amach.

68. Mar fuair umorro C. c. na haiscedha 7 na tidhluicthe móra-sa ó dia do gab se cead ga oide .i. ag Cruithmechan, dul do denamh leighim docum na maighistrech bud ferr ecna 7 eolas dogebadh se an *Erinn*; 7 do fagaib a bendacht aige 7 do leic an toide a bendacht lesin. 7 gé do bi C. c. linta do grasaib an spirda *nacim*, 7 ge fuar se eolus an diamraib an scribthuir an uair

were three sisters. Columb cille asked who was their father; and they said that it was Jesus Christ, creator of Heaven and Earth, who was their father. Columb cille said, 'right noble is your father, now tell me your names'. 'Virginity and Wisdom and Prophecy are our names' said they, 'and we shall be as three wives a-keeping thee until thy death, and we shall keep alive and foster love of thee without change for ever'.

Then Columb cille said: 'I return glory and great thanks to God almighty, who joined and married me, who am but a poor, lowly servant, to his own three noble daughters.'

67. Another time the same angel which we have mentioned already came to visit Columb cille, and he said to him: 'Select thyself the sort of death that would please thee as well as the places and regions in which thou wouldst desire to pass thy life until death'. It is then Columb cille said: 'I elect to die after the pride of youth has passed from me and before the trouble of old age has entirely overtaken me. For old age itself is an illness, a misery and a sickness; and an old man or one at a great age cannot avoid spending a good, easy life, but I desire not to secure a good life for my own body for ever. And I choose to die that death through voluntary hunger and through the abstinence which I shall practise upon myself of my own will, there being no other sickness or soreness on me at the hour of my death but only that. And I choose besides to die that death in perpetual pilgrimage far from my own land and country and natural inheritance, in very great sorrow and penitence. For one is weary for being in exile and it is the easier for him to keep his mind from vain things'. It is then the angel said to Columb cille: 'believe thou and make it not matter of doubt that thou wilt get all those things from thine own God'. Then Columb cille gave untold thanks to God and he was filled with the graces of the Holy Ghost. And each one of those things that Columb cille craved then was granted, as the Life will show from this out.

68. When Columb cille had received these great gifts and graces from God he took leave of his tutor, viz. Cruithnechan, to go and study with the best masters for wisdom and knowledge that he could find in Ireland. And he said farewell to him and the tutor bade him farewell. For though filled with the graces of the Holy Ghost, and though he received know-

sin, nirbh ail les a gloir dimain do beith dó fen go mbeith ecna nó eolas gan mebrugad gan foglaim marsen aige, *acht* dochuaid do denamh fogluma mar duine na fuighedh na subaltaidhe sin ó dia.

69. Docuaid C. c. iarsin dFhoglaim ecna 7 legind 7 do denamh eolais sa sribtúir cusan *espoc* naemtha .i. go Finden Muighe bile. 7 aimser airithe da rabatar afochair a celi ruc sairi uasal orra 7 do uillimaig Finden é féin do rádh a an aifrind. 7 ar ngabáil culuidhech an aifrind uime dó, adubratar lucht fritholma an aifrind etorra fen nach raibe fin acu, 7 do bi sin na cas mor orra. Oir nir leic ecla Findein doib an uiresbaidh sin do bi orra dindisin dó 7 nír urasa leo a leicen dó an taifrend do tindscna 7 gan fin aige. Ar na cluinsin sin do C. c. do glac an cruibhed ambídh fin nanairind do gnath 7 ruc les é docum srotha airidhe do bi laimh ris 7 do chuir a (fo. 7b) lán duisce and 7 do bendaigh 7 do coisrig sé an tuisce sin indus go tainec do brigh an bendaighte-sin C. c. gor claechlodh an tuisce a nadúir díles fen 7 conernadh fin de. 7 do fill tarais iarom docum na heclaisi 7 do cuir an cruibhéd ar an altóir 7 do indis do lucht fritholmha an aifrind go raibe fin and. 7 ar crichnugadh an aifrind dFhinden les an fin sin do fiarfaidh dá lucht fritolma ca fuarutar an fin romaith sin le andubairt se an taifrend. 7 adubairt nach facuidh se a commaith dfin riam. Et do indesiter an lucht frithoilte dó mar tarla doibh ó tus go deredh timcell an fina sin. Ar cloisdin na mirbaile moire sin dorinde C. c. dFinden do mhol se dia go himarca tré med do foillsigh se a grasa 7 a subaltaide fen a Columb cille. 7 tuc se buidechas 7 moladh mor do Columb c. fen ar a son. 7 do las se fen 7 gach nech eili da cuala na mirbaile sin angrad C. c. ó sin amach, gor morad ainm de 7 *Columb* c. de sin. IS follas asin sgel-so nach eadh amhain do cuir dia C. c. a cosmailes risna huasalai-threchaib 7 risna faidhib 7 risna naemhaib eli tainic reime *acht* cor cuir sé a cosmhuiles ris féin é anuair dorinde se fin don uisce ar an mbanais sa Galile.

70. Ceilebrais Columb c. dFhinden iarsin 7 docuaid go German maigesdir do denam leighind mar an cedna. Uair airidhe

ledge in the mysteries of Scripture at that time, Columb cille did not wish to indulge the vainglory that he should have wisdom or knowledge thus without rehearsing and studying, but went to learn as one who had not received those graces from God.

69. Thereupon Columb cille went to learn wisdom and study and to acquire knowledge in Scripture to a holy bishop, to wit, Finden of Mag bile. And once of a time as they were together there befell a major festival and Finden prepared himself to say Mass. And when he had donned the Mass vestments the Mass servers said amongst themselves that they had no wine, and that was an occasion of great trouble to them. For their fear of Finden would not permit them to explain to him the need in which they were, nor did they think it easier to allow him to begin Mass without wine. When Columb cille heard that, he took the cruet in which the wine for the Mass was always kept and brought it to a certain stream that was near by, and he filled it with water and he blessed and consecrated that water, so that it came about by virtue of that blessing of Columb cille that the water changed its own proper nature and became wine. And he returned afterwards to the church and placed the cruet on the altar, and told those who served Mass that there was wine in it. When Finden had finished Mass with that wine he asked his servers where they had procured that very good wine with which he had said Mass. He said he never saw such good wine. And the servers told him what had happened to them from beginning to end with regard to that wine. Having heard that great miracle which Columb cille had wrought Finden praised God sincerely for having shewn so much of his own graces and gifts in Columb cille. And he thanked and praised Columb cille exceedingly for that. And he and everybody who heard that miracle became enflamed with the love of Columb cille thenceforward. And God's name and Columb cille's was magnified thereby. It is evident from this recital that God compared Columb cille not alone to the Fathers, Prophets and Saints who came before him, but that he put him in comparison with himself when he made wine of water at the wedding in Galilee.

70. Then Columb cille bade farewell to Finden, and went to Germán the teacher to study in like manner. On a certain

dosan 7 do German fare celi go facutar maighden og dá nindsaiged 7 duine drochbertach do bi sa tir na ruaig uirre docum a marbtha; 7 dochuaid si ar comairce C. c. 7 Germain reimhe. 7 do bi do mhéd a hecla go ndechaid si fa n-an édach a folach do teithed reimhe an duine sin. Ar tect co lathair don óclaeach gan fechain do cumairce C. c. ina Germáin tuc sé sathadh slege ar an maighdin gor marbh acéldóir hí. Do mallaig C. c. tríd sin é, 7 do iarr ar dia bas do tabairt fa aimsir girr do. Do fhiarrfaidh German do Columb cille ca fad go ndigheoladh dia ar an óclaeach an gnimh adhuathmar sin dorinde se. Frecruis C. c. é 7 assed adubairt: Anuair ticfaid aingle de acoinde anma na maigdine ud da breith go flaithemnus do haithem na gloiri suthaine ticfaid diabuil ifrind acoinne anma an drochduine ut da breith a pianuib ifrind go siraidhe suthain. 7 ar in ponc sin féin fuair se bás ina fiadhnuisse tre mallachtain C. c. amail fuair Annías bas a bfiadhnuisse Petair, gor moradh ainm de 7 C. c. de sin.

71. Ceiliubrais C. c. do German iarsin 7 teid go Finden Cluana Hiraird do denum legind. 7 do fhiarfaid sé dFhinden cait andingned a both. Adubairt Finden ris a denam andoras na heclaisi. Dorinde Columb cille a both iarom 7 ní ag an dorus do bi ar an eclais an uair sin dorinde se hi; 7 adubairt gumadh annsan áit anderna se a both do bíadh doras na heclaise na diaidh sin. 7 do fíradh sin amail adubairt C. c. 7 do bi moran do naemuib Erenn ar an sgoil sin Fhinnéin. IS amlaid do ullmaighedís na clerich naemtha sin a cuid i. gach clerech aca do mheilt a coda doib a bróin gach re n-oidhce 7 an oidhce do roichedh a meilt sin do Columb c. do tighedh aingel ó dia do meilt ar a shon. 7 ba hí sin onóir doberedh dia dósan ar a uaisle 7 ar a shocenelaige 7 ar a saerclanndacht tar cach.

72. Fectas dorinde espoc na talman sin araibe C. c. coindel-báthad air ag suidhiugad pecaidh marbtha air nach derna se. 7 asse dob adbar doib cuige sin tnuth aca ris fa méd na tindluicedh doberidh dia dó tarrsa fen (mar do bi ag Caim mhac Adhaim re hAibel), 7 ar med a ecna 7 a eolais, 7 fos dimgha aca air fa na mince do cuired se an ainbflhis 7 a pecad fein nan agaid, amail do bi ag Iubhalaib ar Isu Críst an uair do

time that he and Germán were together they saw a young maiden approach them, being hunted for her life by an evil man of the district, and she claimed the protection of Columb cille and Germán against him. And so great was her fear that she went under their clothes aside, to escape from that man. When the young man came up he cast a spear at the maiden and killed her on the spot without heeding the protection of Columb cille or Germán. Columb cille cursed him for that, and entreated God that he might die in a little time. Germán asked Columb cille in what time would God avenge on the youth that hideous deed he had committed. Columb cille answered him and said: When the angels of God come for the soul of that maiden to bring it to Heaven for the enjoyment of the glory perennial, the devils of Hell will come for the soul of that wicked man to bring it into the pains of Hell for everlasting eternity. And in that same instant he died in their presence by the malediction of Columb cille, just as Ananias died in the presence of Peter. And God's name and Columb cille's was magnified thereby.

71. After that Columb cille bade farewell to Germán and went to Findén of Cluain Hiraird to study. And he asked Findén where he should build his bothy. Findén told him to build it at the door of the church. Then Columb cille built his bothy, but not at the door of the church as it was then did he build it; and he said that wheresoever he should build his bothy there would the door of the church be afterwards. And so it befell as Columb cille had said. And there were many of the saints of Ireland at that school of Findén's. This is how those holy clerks used to prepare their supper, viz. each one of them used to grind (materials for) their supper in a quern a night in his turn, and whenever the night came for Columb cille to grind there came an angel from God to grind for him. And that honour God used to show him for his reverence, nobility and gentle breeding beyond all others.

72. Once the bishop of the district, wherein Columb cille was, excommunicated him, attributing to him a mortal sin which he had not committed. And their motive for that was their envy of him for the multitude of gifts God used to bestow upon him beyond themselves (as that of Cain mac Adam of Abel), and for the greatness of his wisdom and knowledge, and besides their spite against him for so frequently upbraiding their own

chuiretar docum bais é. *Et* da derbad gor breg doibhsivn an-dubratar re C. c. andsin, ata Ádhamnan naemtha ga mebhru^{ga}d sa dara caibidil don tres lebar do decht se fein do beathaid C. c. nach derna C. c. énp^{en}ecadh marbtha riam, 7 dá mad eidir enmach do clannaib na mban do beith gan pecadh sologha air go mad é Columb c. é. Ar na cloisdin do C. c. go ndernadh coindelbáthad air dochuaid mar araibe an teaspo^{ic} 7 a caibidil. *Et* do erigh Brenaim Birra (fo. 8a) do bí sa caibidil faris an easpoic roimhe, 7 tucc pog dó, 7 dorinde raiberians 7 onoir do. *Et* arna faicsin sin don caibidil docuatar do monmar ar Brenaind fa poice do thabairt donti ar andernatar fein coindelbathad. Freccrais Brenaind iad 7 issed adubairt: Dá bhaicedh sib na neithe docondarc-sa ag dia ga ndenamh ar C. c. ní denad sib coindelbathad air; 7 as moide a luaighidecht 7 a coróin o día gac scainder da tugthai go bregach dó. *Et* adubratar-san narb flúir sin do reir ughdairáis an scribtuir neoch ader: Quodcumque ligaris super terram erit legatum 7 in celis, 7 e contra; .i. gebé ní ceingeolair ar an talmainse biaid sé cengailte a flaithes de, ar Crisd fen re Peatar ag tabairt cumhacta eochracha na heclaise do, 7 a contrárdha sin gebé sgailfe tú ar an talmain-si biaid se scailte a fiadhnaisi de. Freccrais Brenaind iad 7 issed adubairt, corub amlaid bud coir an tughdaras do tuicsin dona dáinibh do ceingeoltai as a cairthibh fein 7 maille re cuis dlesdenaig no resunta. Oir ni tucadh cumacta cengail no sgailte don eclais acht an uair nach denadh sí sechrán on riagail airithe tugadh di. 7 adubairt go rabhotar san ag denam sechrain 7 meraighte moir .i. go rabadar ac cur pecaidh breige an agaid C. c. nach derna enp^{en}ecadh marbtha riam, 7 fos adubairt go faca sé fein peler tendtighe ria C. c. ag denamh tsolais ar an tsligid do 7 aingle de gacha taebha de ga coimidecht ag tect dó docum an inaidh arabatar-san. 7 fos adubairt anti araraib e an cin sin ag dia air nar coir doibhsivn coindelbathad do denamh air. 7 arna cloidsin sin doibhsin ni headh amhain nach dernatar coindelbáthad ar C. c. acht do batar lán do grád 7 donóir air ó shoin amach. 7 nir labair C. c. moran ar a shon fen rív ar fedh an comraidh sin uili. Oir dob ferr les duine eli do labairt ar a son ina sé fén. 7 ge do fhéd^{ad} se a clai ó ecna 7 o eolus 7 o udarás an scribtuir dob fherr leis a clai ó fhírinde 7 ó umhla iná sin.

ignorance and sin, like that of the Jews against Jesus Christ when they put him to death. And as proof that they lied in all they alleged against Columb cille on that occasion, Saint Adamnán relates in the second chapter of the third book of the Life of Columb cille, which he himself composed, that Columb cille never committed a mortal sin, and that if it was possible for anyone of the children of women to be free from venial sin that one was Columb cille. When Columb cille heard that he had been excommunicated, he went to where the bishop and his chapter were. And Brenainn of Birr, who was in the chapter with the bishop, rose before him and kissed him, and did him great reverence and honour. Upon seeing that the chapter began back-biting Brenainn for kissing the man whom they themselves had excommunicated. Brenainn answered them and said: If you saw the things that I have seen being done by God for Columb cille you would not have excommunicated him; and for every defamation that you falsely bring upon him, his merit and crown will be the greater from God. And they said that was not true according to the authority of Scripture which says: *Quodcumque ligaris super terram erit ligatum et in coelis, et e contra*; that is, whatsoever thou shalt bind upon this Earth it will be bound in the kingdom of God, says Christ himself to Peter when giving him the power of the keys of the Church, and contrariwise, whatsoever thou shalt loose upon this Earth it will be loosed before God. Brenainn answered them and said that thus it was proper to understand the authority, viz. of persons who were bound for their own crimes and for just and reasonable cause. For the Church received not the power of binding and loosing only on condition that she should not wander from a certain rule that was given to her. And he said that they were wandering and in notable error for that they were falsely accusing Columb cille of sin who never committed a mortal sin. And he said besides that he saw a fiery pillar before Columb cille giving him light upon the way, and angels of God on each side of him accompanying him as he came to the place where they were. And furthermore he said they did not right in having excommunicated one for whom God had so great affection. Having heard that, not only did they not excommunicate Columb cille but they were filled with love and honour for him from that out. And Columb cille did not speak much to them in his

73. Ceilebhruis *Columb cille* dFhinden Cluana hiraird iarsin 7 docuaid go Glend naiden, uair do bi deichnemhar 7 da .xx. ag denam leigind andsin ag Mobi clairenech, 7 do bi Cainnech 7 Comghall 7 Ciaran ar in scoil sin. *Et* don taeb tiar dabhainn batar ambotha 7 aneclas don taeb toir dabuinn. Tarla uair airithe gor erigh tuile mor san abainn 7 cor benadh clog iarmerge na cilli 7 nir fhédatar na naimh dul tar in abuin, 7 nir fech C. c. don tuili *acht* docuaidh trithe. IS andsin adubairt Mobi: is laidir teid ua Neill an tuile. Fedaigh dia ar C. c. an saethar-sa do cose dínde, 7 ag techt doib tar in eclais amach san oidhce *cedna* fvaratar ambotha re taeb na heclaisi don taeb toir don abhainn le breithir *Columb cille*.

74. Fect and tarla meid ecin imresna *nach* roibe urchóid mor indte iter C. c. 7 Ciaran mac an tshaeir. IS andsin tainec an taingel cuca 7 tuc se tuagh 7 tal 7 tarathar leis 7 adubairt sé re Ciaran gan beith ag coimes nó ag imresain re *Columb cille*, 7 nar treicc se ar dia acht an culaidh tsháirse sin do bi ga athair 7 gor treig C. c. righacht Erind air. Oir fa dual do o duthcas 7 o folaidhecht hi 7 do tairgedh dó fen go minec hi 7 do dhiult se ar son de hí 7 is mar sin do reidigh an taingel etorra. 7 is follas as an sgel sa go raibhe cin mór ag dia ar C. c. tar cleir eli Erend 7 Alban 7 iarthar *domain* vile.

75. Fect and dorindedh eclas ag Mobi 7 do batar na clerich ga smuainedh cred é an lan bud ferr le gach naem acu do beith aige san eclas. Do badh maith lem fen ar Ciaran a lan do dainibh naemta agam do mholad de. Do *badh* maith lemsa ar Caindech a lan do lebraib díaghachta agom do medugad sherbhisi de. Do *badh* maith lemsa ar Comghall a lan do galar 7 deslainte do beith oram de *traethad* mo cuirp. Do *badh* maith limsa ar C. c. a lan dór 7 dairgead agam, 7 ní do gradh indmais sin ar se *acht* do chumhdach minn 7 mainesdrech 7 da tabairt dontí do rigfed do les é ar son de. IS annsin adubairt Mobi: is am-

own favour during all that discourse. For he had rather that another than himself should speak for him. And though he might have overcome them by wisdom and knowledge and the authority of Scripture he preferred rather to do it by truth and humility.

73. Columb cille bade farewell to Findén of Cluain Hiraird then, and went to Glend naiden, for there were fifty studying there with Móbí the featureless, and Cainnech and Comgall and Ciarán were of that school. And upon the western side of the river were their booths, and the church on the eastern side. Once of a time there came a great flood in the river and a matin bell of the church was rung and the saints could not cross the river. Columb cille did not regard the flood but went through it. It is then Móbí said, 'powerfully ua Neill crosses the flood'. 'God can save us this labour' said Columb cille: and on coming past the church that same night they found their booths beside the church on the eastern side of the river at the word of Columb cille.

74. Once of a time there arose some contention, in which there was not much harm, between Columb cille and Ciarán mac an tsaeir. Thereupon an angel came to them bringing an axe, an adze and an auger, and told Ciarán not to compare or contend with Columb cille, for whereas Ciarán had forsaken for God only that suit of serge which his father used to have, Columb cille had abandoned the kingship of Ireland for him. For that was his due by right of blood and breeding, and to him it was offered many a time but he refused it for God's sake. And so the angel composed their quarrel. It is evident from this story that God had a great affection for Columb cille beyond the other clergy of Ireland and Scotland and the whole western world.

75. Once of a time a church had been built by Móbí, and the clerics were considering what fill of the church each saint of them would prefer to have. 'I should like' said Ciarán, 'to have its fill of holy men for the praising of God'. 'I should like' said Caindech, 'its fill of theological works for the greater increase of the service of God'. 'I would like' said Comgall, 'that the full of it of sickness and ill-health were upon me to chastise my body'. 'I should like' said Columb cille, 'to have its fill of gold and silver, and that not for love of wealth' said he, 'but to make reliquaries and monasteries and to give it to

laid bias, ar se. *Bud* saidbri muinntir C. c. ina muinter gach naimh eli an Erinn 7 an Albain. 7 adubairt *Mobi* rena sgoil iarsin (fo. 8 b) he fen dfhagbail 7 sgaileadh ó celi, 7 go mbeith esláinte *gránda* sa baile-sin arabutar fo aimsir ghirr .i. an buidech condaill a hainm .i. an buidech ar dath an condlaigh. 7 adubairt sé re *Columb cille* gan ferand do gabhail nó go tucad se fen ced dó a gabhail. 7 do sgail an sgol o celi iarsin. 7 dochuaid C. c. da thir duthaig fein .i. a tir Conaill do teched roimh an plaidh-sin adubrumar romhainn, 7 rainec gonuice an abhainn danadh hainm Bir. IS annsin do bendaigh C. c. an abhand, 7 do iarr ar dia gan an plaid-sin da leannmhain ar in sruthsin, 7 fuair se sin o dia. Oir ní dechaid si tairís 7 tainic si conuice é. 7 is bithbeo na mirbuili-sin, oir ní teid an plaidh nó an buidhech conaill tar an abuin-sin ó sin alle tresan mbendugad-sin tucc C. c. uirre; gor morad ainm de 7 C. c. de sin.

76. Fectas docuaidh C. c. do gabail *gráidh* sagairt docum espoic naemtha do bi a Cluain foda a feruib Bili a Midhe. 7 mar rainec C. c. don baile do fhiarfaidh ca raibe an tespoc. Ata se ag trebad ar deredh a seisrighe fen, ar nech do muindtir an baili. Teid C. c. gusan espoc 7 fuair mar sin he. IS eccoirdoit, ar a muindter re *Columb cille*, techt diarraidh graidh ar duine mar súd; oir ní hespog é acht oireamh sesrighe. IS andsin adubairt C. c. na beridh breth don taeb amuig air go finda sib cred na subáltaide ata don taeb astig o dia aige. *Et* do labair C. c. ris an espoc 7 do indeis do gorab do gabail *grádha* uadh tainec se. 7 ní tuc an tespoc frecre air 7 ní mó do coisc se don trebad. Benaíd an tiarand asan crand, ar C. c. ré a muinntir, go mbeith an tsesrech ina tost da fis in bad moide doberadh an tespoc frecre oraind e. 7 ger maith le C. c. fregra dfhagbail on espoc ní dá fagbail uile adubairt se sin acht tarcuisne do mothuig se gá muindtir fen ar an espoc 7 do bi a fis aige go ndenadh an tespoc mirbuile na fiadnuisi tríd sin indus nach beith amharus nó tarcuisne acu air o sin amach. 7 do bi a fis aige go tiubrad dia *grása* dó ar a shon fen, 7 do guidh se dia ar a shon fan tarcusne sin do cor ar cul. Oir nírb ail le serbfoghantaigh diles dé 7 lesinte do togh sé a

anybody that might require it for God's sake'. Then Mobi said, 'It is so it shall be' said he, 'Columb cille's convent of monks will be richer than the convent of any other saint in Ireland and in Scotland'. And Mobi told his school to leave him then and to scatter apart for there would be an ugly ailment in that place where they were in a short time, viz. the buidech condail, that is, the jaundice of the colour of stubble. And he told Columb cille to take no land until he himself gave him permission to take it. And then he dismissed his school. And Columb cille went to his own fatherland, to Tír Conaill, fleeing from that plague we have already mentioned, and he came [to the river that is called the Bir. Then Columb cille blessed the river, and he asked of God that the plague might not follow him upon that stream; and his request was granted. For it went not past it though it came as far as it. And those miracles persist still, for the plague, or the buidech conaill, does not cross that river ever since by virtue of the blessing that Columb cille bestowed upon it. And God's name and Columb cille's was magnified thereby.

76. One time Columb cille went to a holy bishop that was in Cluain foda amongst the men of Bile in Mide, to receive priests' orders. And when Columb cille reached the place he asked where was the bishop. 'He is ploughing behind his own team,' said one of the community of the place. Columb cille goes to the bishop and found him so. 'It is wrong for thee' said his community to Columb cille, 'to come seeking orders of such a man, for he is not a bishop but a ploughman.' Then Columb cille said, 'pass no judgment upon his exterior until you discover what interior graces he has from God.' And Columb cille spoke to the bishop and told him that it was to receive orders from him that he had come. But the bishop answered him not, nor did he cease his ploughing. 'Take the coulter out of the beam,' said Columb cille to the community, 'that the team may be silent, to see if the bishop would be the nearer of giving us an answer'. And though Columb cille wished to obtain an answer from the bishop, it was not altogether for the purpose of getting it he said that, but he felt that the bishop was contemned by his own community, and he knew that he would perform a miracle in their presence on account of it so that they might not harbour doubt or disdain in his regard

mbroind a mathar .i. le Columb cille tarcusne do beith ag na dainib ar oclaeach eli de. Oir dob ail les a mirbuile dfoillsiugad air. 7 do benadh an tiaram asan crand 7 nir misde do bhi an tseisrech ag trebad é. Bentor capall asan tseisrig, ar C. c. 7 do benad iarom, 7 do cuir an tespoc fa umla ar dam allaid do bi sa coill ren a taeb techt cuige an inadh an capaill-sin. Tainec iarom 7 do bi ag trebad mar gach capull eli don tshesrigh, 7 nir seuir an tespoc do trebad no go tainec an tam fa sguiredh se gach lai eli. 7 do leic a sesrech iarsin, 7 do lig an fiadh docum a coille fein 7 ferais failte re C. c. 7 ger maith an tespoc and fen is ar son guide C. c. do foillsig dia na mirbuiledha mora-sin dó. 7 adubairt go tibred se gradha arna mharach do C. c. IS andsin adubairt C. c. dá madh aniugh ambain doberthea gradha damsa do beind im airdespoc os cind cleri Erenn 7 Alban, 7 os amarach doberi damh iat ní bia dínite go brath san eclais agam bus mo ina beith am ab 7 am shagart crabaid. 7 gedheadh dodena dia an uiret-sa do dighaltos ortsa do cind gan gradha do tabairt aniugh damh. Oir ní ticfa énduine díarraid gradha ort fen re do beo nó at cill tar heis go bráth ó so amach. Et as maith liumsa, ar C. c., gan cúram is mo ina sin do beith isin eclais oram fen go bráth. 7 ní biadh an curam-sin fen oram munabeith gorab mo an luaighidecht dam beith fa umla uird ag denamh crabaid ina beith ag denamh crabaid a modh eli. 7 do firadh an faidhedóracht-sin C. c. aleith re gach ní dandubhramar romaind. 7 tucad gradha sagairt dó arna marach 7 tainec reimhe iarsin go Doiri Calgaigh.

77. Dob e an baile-si Doiri do bo baile dAedh mac Aimmirech an uair-sin. Targaidh Aedh an baili do C. c. 7 do diult Columb cille an baile ó nach raibe ced Mobi aige fana ghabáil. Ag techt do Columb cille asin dúmadh amach tarla dias do mhuimnter Mobi dó, 7 cris Mobi leo cuige tareis báis Mobi fein. 7 do cuir se an cris 7 ced feraind do gabáil leo dindsaigid

from that out. And he knew that God would give him graces for himself, and he prayed God for him that that contempt might be taken away. For a faithful servant of God and one whom he chose in his mother's womb, viz. Columb cille, did not like that people should condemn another of God's henchmen, for he wished that His miracles might be shown upon him. And the coulter was taken out of the beam, but the team ploughed none the worse for that. 'Let a horse be taken from the team' said Columb cille. And he was taken out, but the bishop caused a deer that was in the wood beside him to come to him instead of that horse. And he came and ploughed like the horses of the team. And the bishop ceased not his ploughing until it was the regular time for unyoking. Then he unyoked his team and allowed the deer to escape to its own wood and welcomed Columb cille. And though the bishop was good himself, still it was for Columb cille's prayer that God shewed him those great miracles. And he said that he would confer orders on the morrow upon Columb cille. Then Columb cille said, 'if thou wouldst only confer orders upon me to-day I would be an archbishop over the clergy of Ireland and Scotland, but as it is to-morrow thou conferrest them I shall never enjoy a higher dignity in the church than that of an abbot and a pious priest. However, God will wreak this much vengeance upon thee for not having conferred orders upon me to-day, for nobody shall ever come to seek orders at thy hands while thou art alive, nor at thy churchyard after thee from this out for ever. And I like it well' said Columb cille, 'never to have a greater care than that upon me in the church. And even that care would not burthen me, were it not that a greater merit would accrue to me through practising virtue in obedience to rule than by practising it in any other way'. And that prophecy of Columb cille with respect to everything we have mentioned was fulfilled. And priest's orders were conferred upon him on the morrow, and then he came to Doire Calgaig.

77. That town of Doire was the stead of Aed mac Ainmi-rech at that time. Aed offers the town to Columb cille, but he refused it since he had not Mobi's permission to accept it. As Columb cille came out of the mansion there happened to meet him two of the community of Mobi, bearing Mobi's girdle to him after the death of Mobi himself. And he had sent by

C. c. Mar do glac C. c. an cris as and adubairt: Maith an fer ga raibe an cris-so, ar se, oir nir hoss- (fo. 9a) luicedh docum *cráis* riamh e 7 nir hiadhadh fa breic é. *Conad* and dorinde an rand-sa:

Cris Mobi

nibdar sibne am lo

nir hosluigedh re saith

nir hiadadh im go.

Gabais C. c. an baile o Aedh iarsin 7 do loise an baile andiaidh a fagbhala do *cona* raibe and uili. Do scriss oibrech na ndaine saegalta ass da dislingad do dia 7 dó fein. As espach sin, ar Aedh, oir muna loiscthi an baile nibiadh uiresbaid bidh no edaigh ar duine dambeith and go brath, 7 is baegal gombia uiresbaid and ó so amach, bar Aedh. IS andsin adubairt C. c. dogeba gach duine dambia and a rigen a les o dia. Do bi do med na teinedh 7 na lasrach gor fobair di an doiri coille do bvi sa baile do loscad, *conderna* C. c. an imann-sa danacul an doiri:

R. Noli pater indulgere tonitrua cum fulgare
né frangamur formidine huis atque uridine
te deum timemus terribilem nullum credens similem
te cuncta canunt carmina angelorum *per* agimina
teque exultent culmina celi uagi *per* fulmina
o ihu amantisime o rex regum rectissime
benedictus in secula recta regens regimine
iohannes corum domino athuc *matris* in utero
repletus dei gracia *pro* uino atque sisare
elesabet sdacarias uirum magnum genuit
iohannem bautistam *per*cursorem domini mei
manet in meo corde dei amoris flamma
ut in argensio uase aurio ponitur gema amen.

Et adeirter inn imon-sa anaghaid gach tenedh 7 gach toirnishe o sin alle, 7 gebe gabhas hi ag luide 7 ag erghe aincid an nonbar is ail les ar theinigh 7 ar toirnishe 7 ar teindtigh.

78. Arngabail imorra gradha rouasail roonoraig na sagar-tachta do C. c. 7 arna toga dá nemtoil na ab manuch ndub sa

them the girdle, and permission to accept land, to Columb cille. As Columb cille took the girdle he said: 'Good was the man who had this girdle' said he, 'for it was never opened for gluttony, and never closed upon a lie'. And he made this quatrain:

The girdle of Mòbì
was not rushes around water(?),
it was not opened for a fill,
it was not shut around a lie.

Then Columb cille took the town from Aed, and, after Aed had left it, burned it together with all that was in it. He tore out of it the works of worldly men, to devote it to God and to himself. 'That is foolishness' said Aed, 'for only that the town was burned whosoever would be there would never want food nor clothes, but I fear there will be want there from this out' said Aed. Then Columb cille said, 'whoso will be there will get what he requires from God'. So great was the fire and the flame that it almost burned a grove of trees that was in the place, and Columb cille made this hymn to protect the grove:

Noli Pater indulgere tonitrua cum fulgure
ne frangamur formidine huius atque uridine.
Te Deum timemus terribilem nullum credens similem,
te cuncta canunt carmina angelorum per agmina.
Teque exultent culmina coeli uagi per fulmina,
o Jesu amantissime o rex regum rectissime,
benedictus in saecula recta regens regimine.
Joannes coram Domino adhuc matris in utero,
repletus Dei gratia pro uino atque sicera.

Elisabeth Zachariae magnum uirum genuit,
Joannem Baptistam praecursorem Domini.
Manet in meo corde Dei amoris flamma,
ut in argenteo uase aurea ponitur gemma. Amen.

And this hymn is said against every fire and every thunder from that to this, and whoso recites it on lying down and rising, it will protect any nine he wishes from fire and thunder and lightning.

78. Columb cille having received the very noble and honourable order of priesthood, and having been unwillingly

baili-se Doiri, 7 arna bendugad do, 7 arn denam connuidhe do ann, do gab se do laim *céd* do dainib bochta do shasadh gach lai ar son de. 7 do bidh duine áireidhe uaid re hadhaidh an bidhsin da tabairt dona boctaib. 7 la eicin *tareis* namboct do dil tainec duine boct eli diarraid *déire* air, 7 adubairt óclach *Columb cille* cor dil se an uimhir do gnathuighedh se do dil gachlai, 7 adubairt se risan duine mboct tect an la armaruch 7 go fuigbed se *déire* mar gach mboct eli. 7 ni tainec se an la arnamarach no gor diladh na bocht uile, 7 do iarr deire mar an *cedna* 7 ni fuair acht an fregra *cedna* ó oclach C. c. 7 tainec an tres la diarruid na deirce *tareis* nambocht do dil 7 ni fhuair acht an fregra *cedna* ó oclach C. c. IS annsin adubairt an duine bocht, eirig mar a fuil C. c. 7 abair ris munab uadha fen dogeib se gach ní dobeir se dona bochtaib gan beith ag cuma re *céd* do sasadh gachlai. Teid an toglach mar a raibe C. c. 7 do indis comradh an duine boicht do. 7 arna cloisdin sin do *Columb cille* do erigh go hoband 7 nír an rena brat no rena brogaib, acht do lean an duine bocht 7 rug *acédoir* air san inadh renabarthar an timpodh desivl don taeb tiardhes do thempoll mór Doire. 7 do aithin gorb e an tigherna do bi and, 7 do leg ar a gluinib na fiadhnuisi e 7 do bi ag comrad ris o bel go bel 7 do linadh do grasaib an spirda *naeim* e, 7 iter gach *entinnluca* da fuair sé o día andsin, fuair se eolus in gach uile ní diamrach da raibe sa sgribtuir, 7 fuair se spirad fáidhedorachta indus nach raibe ní sa bith dorchá air da taineg no da ticfaid. 7 ó sin amach ní raibe sé ag cuma re *céd* acht na tindluicthe mora fuair se o día gan misúr doberidh se uadh amach gan misúr iad ar son dé. *Et* do fhoillsiged do cach fis ruin 7 indtinde piásd na fairge 7 fis ceilebraid énlaithe an aieóir. *Et* da derbad sin ata peist adhuathmar sa fairge darab ainm rocuaidh 7 anuair sgeithes sí 7 a haged for tír is dual gombía galar 7 gorta in gach uile talmain an bliadain sin. 7 anuair sgeithes sí 7 a haged suas as dval gombia doinend mor and an bliadain sin 7 mortlaith mor ar enlaith an aieoir, 7 anuair sgeithes sí 7 a haged fuithe sa fairge bídh mortlaid mor ar iasgach 7 ar piásdaib na fairge an bliadain sin. Do indisedh C. c. tré spirad fáidhedórachta naduir na piásda sin do cach indus gombidís ar a coimhed uirri.

chosen an abbot of black monks in this town of Doire, and having blessed it and made his settlement there, he began to feed a hundred poor people every day for God's sake. And there was a certain man of his for distributing that food to the poor. And one day after having served the poor there came another poor man to ask an alms of him, and Columb cille's spencer said that he had served the number he was accustomed to serve each day, and he told the poor man to come on the morrow and that he would get an alms like every other poor person. And he came not on the following day until all the poor had been served, and he asked an alms again and received the same answer from Columb cille's spencer. And he came the third day to seek an alms after the poor had been served and he received but the same answer from Columb cille's spencer. Then the poor man said, 'go to where Columb cille is and tell him that unless it is from himself he gets everything he gives to the poor not to confine himself to the feeding of a hundred every day'. The server goes to where Columb cille was and related to him the conversation of the poor man. When Columb cille heard that he arose suddenly, waiting not for his cloak nor his shoes, and followed the poor man and overtook him immediately at the place which is called the Right Turn to the south-west of the great temple of Doire. And he found that it was the Lord that was there, and he threw himself upon his knees in His presence. And he spoke with Him by word of mouth, and he became filled with the graces of the Holy Ghost; and amongst the gifts given to him by God at that time he received knowledge of every dark thing that was in Scripture, and he received the spirit of prophecy so that there was nothing in the world, past or future, that he did not know, and thenceforward he limited himself not to a hundred, but the great gifts which he had received without measure from God those he used to bestow without measure for God's sake. And it was shewn unto him to know the mind and intent of sea-reptiles and to understand the singing of the birds of the air. In proof whereof there is a frightful serpent in the sea called Rocuaidh, and when it vomits to landward it is a sign that there will be sickness and disease in every country that year. And whenever it vomits upwards it is a sign of great storms and severe mortality on birds of the air that year. And whenever it

79. Fect eli do *Columb cille* an Doiri 7 do chuir cuid airithe dá *manchaib* do buain *fidhaigh* do *chumdach* (fo. 9b) eclaisi indte ar coill duine airidhe don *popul*, 7 tugatar lan an arthruig do bi acu leo. 7 ar tect mar a raibe C. c. doib do indisetar dó co raibe doilghes mor ar tigerna na coilled fa med do benad di. 7 arna cloisdin sin do C. c. do *furail* ar na *manchaib* sé tomhais eorna do chor *dinnsaigid* an *oglaich* o tucatar an *fidhach*. 7 as hi aimser do bi and an uair sin dered an *tshamraidh*. 7 do rinnetar na manaig mar adubairt C. c. riu 7 docuatar *dindsaigid* an *oglaich* 7 rugatar an eorna cuige, 7 adubratar ris mar adubairt C. c. ris. 7 adubairt an *toelach* riú-san ná *bud* eidir go *tibrad* an sil do *cuirfide* san aimsir-sin *torad* óna tes 7 ona mhéd do cuaid tairis dí. Adubairt a ben risan *oclach*, dena comairli an naoin, ar sí, oir dobheir día dó gach ní dá niarrann air. 7 adubratar na tectaireda tainec lesin *tshil dindsaigid* an *oglaich* *condubairt* C. c. ris a dóchus do cur an dia fan gort do tect, *acht* ge do *cuirfide* go mall e gombewith abaidh inbvana a tosach na *céd* mís *dfoghmar*. 7 dorinde an toglach mar adubairt C. c. ris 7 do firadh gach ní de sin, 7 is mar sin do cúitig C. c. digbail a coilledh risan oglach. 7 do móradh ainm de 7 C. c. de sin 7 is e fa hainm don oglach-sin ler leis an choill 7 ara ndernadh an mirbaile-sin .i. Findchan.

80. Fect eli tainec C. c. do buain adhmaid docum eclaisi Doiri ar an coill darab ainm an *Fidbad*, 7 tancutar daine eladhna cuige diarraid spreidhe air. 7 adubairt *sesivn* riú nach raibe spreidh aige doib andsin, 7 dandechdais leis don baile go *fuigbed* siad spreidh. 7 adubratar-san nach rachdais 7 *mvna* faighdaís *spreidh* annsin fen úadh go cáinfidís é. Mar docuala C. c. an taes eladhna ag bagar a cainte 7 gan ní aige doberadh se doib andsin do gab náiri imarcach é, 7 do bi do mhéd na naire-sin go facaid a raibe do lathair an *dethach* do erigh dá chind,

vomits downwards in the sea there will be a great mortality on fish and sea-reptiles that year. Columb cille used to tell the nature of that reptile to everybody through his spirit of prophecy in order that they might be on their guard against it.

79. As Columb cille was in Doire another time he sent a certain number of his monks to cut wood for the building of a church there to the wood of a certain man of the congregation. And they brought back with them the full of their vessel. And when they came to where Columb cille was they told him the owner of the wood was very sorry that so much of it had been cut down. When Columb cille heard that he caused the monks to send six measures of barley to the man from whom they had taken the timber. And the time of the year then was the end of summer. And the monks did as Columb cille had said to them; they went to the man and took him the barley and told him Columb cille's message. And the man told them it was not possible that seed sown in that season could give increase on account of its heat and for the amount of the season that was already past. His wife said to the man 'do the Saint's bidding' said she, 'for God gives him everything he asks of Him'. And the messengers who had come with the seed to the man told him Columb cille had desired him to trust in God that the garden should grow, and that though it had been sown late it would be ripe for reaping in the beginning of the first month of harvest. And the man did as Columb cille had told him, and it was fulfilled in every particular. And so it was that Columb cille compensated the man for the injury to his wood. And the name of God and Columb cille was magnified thereby. And the name of the man to whom belonged the wood, and for whom that miracle had been wrought, was Findchan.

80. Another time Columb cille came to cut wood for the church of Doire to the wood which is called Fidbad. And certain poets came to him seeking a boon. And he told them he had no gift at hand for them there, but that if they came with him to the homestead that they should receive a gift. They said they would not go, and that if they did not receive a gift from him upon the spot they would satirize him. When Columb cille heard the poets threatening to satirize him, whereas he had nothing to give them there, he was seized with great

7 do cuir allus imarcach dá agid, 7 do cuir a lamh fána agid do bvain an allais-sin de *et* dorindedh tallann oir don allus-sin ar a bois 7 *tuc* sé an tallann sin don aeis eladhna. *Et* is mar sin do fhóir dia náire C. c. 7 nír ingnadh dia dfurtacht na haigthe-sin C. c. Nir cruthaigedh riamh a fecmais daendachta Crisd aghaid budh nairidh iná (a)n aged-sin C. c. 7 is mó tug amach decla a cáinte 7 a imdergtha, 7 nír mill sin enní da cogús nó dá tregenas nó dá fhuirechrus nó da urnaidthe uime.

81. *Fectus* do *Columb cille* an inad airithe iter Oilech na righ 7 Doiri Calgaig 7 tainec cliar mor do dainib eladhna na cend 7 do iarratar spreidh 7 biad air. Tigid lem don baile ar C. c. 7 dober sin daeib. Ni racham, ol siad, 7 muna fagham gach ní dib sud andso fein aorfam 7 cainfem tú. As urasa le día mesi do saeradh oraib, ol C. c., masa toil les fen. 7 do gab náire mor he. Oir nír gened 7 ní genfidher a fegmais daendachta Críst neoch bud fheli 7 bud nairidhe ina sé. 7 do guidh día go duthrachtach fana fhurtacht on cas-sin a raibe se. *Et* assed adubairt: a tigerna 7 a Isu Crisd, ar se, os ar fhighair fein do crutuighis mesi na leic náire dhagail don fidhair-sin anois. 7 ata a fhis agad féin da mbeith a furtocht agamsa go fuirteochaind ar do son-sa hí, 7 ní fiu mesi himdergadh trim fen. Teid C. c. go dóchusach iarsin dindsaighid tobair fhruisce do bi san inadhsin 7 do bendaig 7 do coisric an ainm Íssu Críst e 7 dorinde dia maith mór air andsin, uair do claechlodh sé an tuisce a fin do réfedh uaire do lo, conadh maith ainm an tobair-sin. 7 do bo náir le C. c. gan soithighe aige asa tibred se an fin-sin don cler 7 do cach arcena. 7 do foillsig an taingel dó go rabhatar cuirn do folchatar sendaine ainmser fada roimhe-sin a cladh na ratha romóire bui láim ris. 7 fuair sé na cuirn san inadhsin adubairt an taingel a mbeith. 7 do bi raith eli do cóir an inaidhsin, 7 ruc se an cliar 7 gach duine eli do bi faris les indte, 7 tug se fledh mor don fin-sin doib; gor morad ainm de 7 C. c. de sin. Gonad raith na fleidhe ainm na ratha-sin ó sin alle.

shame, and so grievous was that shame that those present saw smoke arise from his head. And his face did sweat exceedingly, and he put his hand to his face to take away that sweat, and that sweat became a talent of gold in his palm, and he gave that talent to the poets. And so it was that God saved the shame of Columb cille. And it is no wonder that God should succour that face of Columb cille's. For there never was created, with the exception of the case of the divinity of Christ, a face more shamefast than that face of Columb cille's. And much he bestowed for fear of blame and reproach, but that detracted nothing from his conscience nor his abstinence nor his vigils nor his prayers.

81. Once of a time as Columb cille was in a certain place between Oilech na righ and Doire Calgaig there came to him a great concourse of poets who besought him for gifts and food. 'Come with me to the homestead' said Columb cille, 'and I will give you that.' 'We will not go' said they, 'and if we get not every one of those things here upon the spot we will satirize and reproach thee.' 'It is easy for God to save me from ye' said Columb cille, 'if He so wills it.' And he became greatly ashamed. For outside the case of the divinity of Christ there was never born and never will a person more modest and shamefast than he. And he prayed earnestly to God to save him from that hard press in which he was, and he said: 'Lord and Jesus Christ' said he, 'as it is according to Thine own likeness Thou didst create me, do not allow that likeness to be put to the blush now. For Thou Thyself knowest that had I the means of protecting it I would protect it for Thy sake, and I am not worthy that Thou shouldst be reproached on account of me.' Then Columb cille went with confidence to a well of spring water that was in that place, and he blessed and consecrated it in the name of Jesus Christ. And thereupon God did him a great good, for He changed the water into wine that ran an hour in the day: so that Maith (i.e. good) is the name of that well. And Columb cille was ashamed that he had no vessels to help the poets and all besides to that wine. And an Angel shewed him that there were cups in the rampart of the great rath beside him which men of old had hidden a long time before that. And there was another rath of the properties of that place, and he took the poets and everybody who was with them into it and made them

82. Fectas dochuaid C. c. ina aenar ó Doire go Carraic Eolairce os ur Locha fíralaind Febhail, 7 ba gnath leis dul don inadh-sin do denamh duthracht do día. Oir ba halaind uaignech é 7 ba rominec do tigdis na haingeil do comradh ris and. 7 ar *críchnugad urnaigthe* faide dó docond- (fo. 10a) aire se manach da *manchaib* fen cuige, 7 do bendaighetar dá celi 7 do fíarfaig C. c. sgela de. Ata drochsgel agam, ol an manach, .i. do bráthairse 7 do dalta spirdalta dhagbail bais .i. Maelcabha mac Aedha mic Ainmirech mic airdrigh Ereenn. Truagh sin, ol C. c. Fíir ón, ol in manach, do hiachtadh 7 do hacainedh an sgel-sin go mor le fíir Ereenn uile. 7 docuaid C. c. os cind cuirp an macaim iarsin, 7 do leig ar a gluinibh é 7 adubairt nach eireochadh dona glúinibhsin coidhce nó go fagadh se aiseg *anma* a dalta fen o día. 7 do gab teora saltoir andsin 7 do bi ag guidhe de go roduthractach mailli re cáí 7 re toirsi moir 7 do ben cros dia bachaill ar *ucht* an macaim maille re dochas laidir 7 adubairt do guth mór ris erghe an ainm Isv *Crríst* o marbaib. Ro erigh an macam a *cédóir* le breithir C. c. amail do ereochad as a codladh. 7 an dolás 7 an tuirsi do bi ar rig Ereenn 7 ar Erendchaib uile reimhe-sin fa bas Mailcabha do linadh ní budh romhó ina sin iad do luthgair 7 do sholas fana hatbeougad doib. 7 do molatar día 7 C. c. go himarcach tresan mirbail-sin. *Et tuccad tricha* bo 7 *tricha* brat 7 *tricha* da gach uile crodh do día 7 do C. c. ar ashon-sin. 7 tuc Maelcoba fen an cís-sin dfhir inaidh C. c. ar a *slicht* fen ina dhíaig go brath uair gacha bliadna. 7 do fhagaib se comerghe ag mindaib 7 ag *muntir* C. c. ar a *slicht* fen gach menci vair do rachdais a cenn duine dib coidhce. 7 do bi Maelcobha deich mbliadna ina righ Ereenn iarsin 7 do lec an righe de 7 dochuaid a *crábud* gor naemadh fa deoigh é. As follus duzn as an sgel-sa corab mogenair ga mbí C. c. na chara. Oir níir lór les an cara-sa do bi aige dathbeougad gan maithes saegalta do tabairt dó 7 flaithes de fa deoigh.

a great banquet of that wine; so that the name of God and Columb cille was magnified thereby. And The Rath of the Banquet is the name of that rath ever since.

82. Once upon a time Columb cille went alone from Doire to Carraic Eolairce above the brink of lovely Lough Febhail; for he was accustomed to go to that place to perform his devotions to God. Because it was sweet and retired and that angels used to come very often to converse with him there. And having finished a long prayer, he saw one of his own monks coming towards him. They saluted each other, and Columb cille asked tidings of him. 'I have bad news' said the monk, 'the death of thy own kinsman and spiritual fosterling, viz. Maelcabha mac Aedha mic Ainmirech son of the high-king of Ireland'. 'Woe is me' said Columb cille. 'That is true' said the monk, 'that story was sadly lamented and bewailed by all the men of Ireland'. And Columb cille went thereupon over the body of the youth and knelt down and said that he would not arise from that kneeling posture forever until God reimbursed him the life of his own foster-child. And then he conned the psalter thrice, and he kept praying God fervently with weeping and very great woe, and he traced the sign of the cross upon the breast of the youth in all confidence, and he said to him with a loud voice, 'arise in the name of Jesus Christ from the dead'. The youth arose at once at the word of Columb cille, as he should arise from sleep. And for all the grief and sorrow by which the king of Ireland and all the Irish were affected previously upon the death of Maelcabha they were filled much more than that with joy and gladness at his being revived for them. And they praised God and Columb cille exceedingly through that miracle. And there were given thirty cows and thirty cloaks and thirty of every kind of cattle to God and to Columb cille in return for it. And Maelcabha himself imposed that stipend upon his own seed after him forever payable to Columb cille's successor once a year. And he further enjoined that the treasures and convent of Columb cille should enjoy the right of protection from his own race as often as they had recourse to one of them for ever. And Maelcabha was king of Ireland for ten years afterwards when he abdicated and became a religious so that finally he became a saint. It is clear to us from this story that happy was the man who had Columb

83. Ni hurusa a bfaisneis a tug dia dfhertaib 7 mirbuilb do C. c. rena ndenamh an Doire 7 in a lan dinadaib eli gacha taebha do Loch Feabail. An uair tra tighedh aeidhedha nó aes eladna a cenn C. c. 7 gan biadh aige daib do cuireadh fa umla ar iasc Locha Feabail techt cuige go ríaradh leis iad, 7 do cuireadh brígh fína 7 blas lemmochta an uisce an locha céadna daib amail atbert Báithín mac Uánach ga derbadh so is na rannaibh-se sis:

An uair bui a Carraic Eolaire *Columb cille* gan mebul
do geibhedh iasc gan doimnme dá choindmhíbh a Loch Feabail.

IS é dia rodelbhusdair raidim-si rib go tuicse
doberthai blas lemmochta is brígh fhína na uisce.

84. Fectas eli do C. c. an Doire 7 céd do dáinib naemtha maille ris 7 tainec Brenainn *céd* eli do dáinib naemtha na cend. 7 ní tarla do biadh ag C. c. ar a ceann an úair-sin *acht* nai mbairghena 7 nai noirdne eisg. 7 do gabh naire mor C. c. uime sin. 7 do bendaig se an meid bidh-sin 7 táinec do brígh an bendaighthe-sin C. c. go raineac bairgen 7 orda éisc a laim gach enduine da raibe do lathair andsin. *Et* ní *hed* amain act dá tighedh a raibe na comhghar isna tírthaib cuca doghebdais an díl aráin 7 eisc an oidhce-si(n), 7 do batar na *nai* mbairgena 7 na nai noirdne ésc imlan arna mharach. As follus assin seel-sa nar lór le dia C. c. do chur a cosmailes risna huasalaith-rechaib 7 ris na naemhaib eli tainecc reime acht gor cuir se a cosmailes ris fén é an uair do shás se na cúig míle ar an bhfásach lesna *cúig* aránaib 7 lesan dá íasg.

85. Fect eli do C. c. an Doire 7 tainec cerrbhach 7 duine bocht dá indsoigid. 7 tuc se bonn don cerrbhach 7 pinginn don duine bocht. 7 doba roingnadh le cach gorab mo tug se don cerrbach ina don duine bocht. 7 do foillsig dia do C. c. cach dá chur sin an ingnad air. 7 adubairt se re dáinib airithe da raibe

cille for a friend. For he did not think it enough to bring this friend of his back to life, but he also gave him worldly wealth and the kingdom of God at last.

83. It is not easy to tell all the wonders and miracles God gave Columbcille to do in Doire and in many other places upon both sides of Loch Febhail. Thus whenever guests or poets came to Columbcille, if he had no food to offer them, he used to order the fish of Loch Febhail to come to him and used to serve his guests with them. And he used to put the virtue of wine and the flavour of new milk upon the water of the same lake for them, as Báithin mac Cúanach said in proof of this in those verses following:

When in Carraig Eolairc Colum cille without deceit
 he used to catch fish without trouble for his guests in
 [Loch Febhail.
 It was God that so shaped it, I say to thee with sense,
 the taste of new milk was put upon its water and the
 [nature of wine.

84. Another time as Columb cille was in Doire with a hundred holy people, there came Brenainn to him with another hundred holy people. And it happened that Columb cille had no food before them at that time but nine loaves and nine morsels of fish. And great shame came upon Columb cille on that account. And he blessed that amount of food, and it came about by virtue of that blessing that there was a loaf and a morsel of fish in the hand of every person that was there present. And not only that, but if there should come all that was in their neighbourhood in the districts to them they would get their just portion of bread and fish that night. And the nine loaves and the nine morsels of fish were intact on the morrow. It is clear from this story that God did not deem it enough to make Columb cille like the patriarchs and other saints who came before him, but that he made him like Himself when He satisfied the five thousand in the desert with five loaves and two fishes.

85. Another time as Columb cille was in Doire, there came to him a gambler and a poor man. And he gave a groat to the gambler and a penny to the poor man. Everybody wondered that he gave more to the gambler than to the poor man. And God revealed to Columb cille that people were marvelling at

do lathair andsin an cerrbach 7 an dvine bocht do lenmhain da fechain cred doghendais risan airged-sin tuc se doib. 7 fuaratar an cerrbach a taibeirne ag ól luacha an buind 7 se ga tabairt dá gach duine rainec a les é da tainec cuige. 7 as amlaid fuaratar an duine bocht marb ar an sligid 7 an pingind-sin tuce C. c. do 7 cúig marg eli fuaighte na édach. 7 tangatar lesna sgelaib-sin dindsaigid C. c. IS andsin adubairt C. c. do foillsigh dia damh-sa nach roibe do shaeghal ag an duine bocht ud ní dob faide ina sin, 7 dá mad fada a saegal nach cuirfedh sé a tarba dó fein nó do duine eli enní dambeith aige acht a taisgid mar dorind risna cuig marg. 7 gerbh ole an cerrbach and fein ní hé taisgid abfuair se dorinde acht do tshás se é fein 7 daine eli ara raibe riachtanas a les re luach a buinn, 7 ar an adhbhar-sa tucas-sa ní bud mó dó ina tucas don duine bocht. (fo. 10b).

86. Fectas eli do C. c. an Doire 7 tugad lenabh becc dá baisded cuige, 7 ní raibe uisge angar do an uair-sin. 7 tuc C. c. comarta na croiche ar in carraig cloiche do bi na fhiadhnaise gor leig srut fruisce eisde 7 do baisdedh an lenab ass. Conudh tobar C. c. ainm an tobair-sin ó sin alle. IS mor 7 as ingantach a tuc dia dfertaib 7 do mirbhulib do C. c. rena ndenamh an Doire. 7 do fhágaiB C. c. clerech maith bud combrathair geinelaig dó fein a comhorbacht Doire .i. clerech do cenel Conaill. 7 do fhagaib uaisle 7 onoir 7 tigernus tuaithe an baile-sin 7 na tuath na timchell ag cenel Conaill go brath.

87. Fectus da tainecc C. c. na aenar o Doire go Carraice Eolairg os ur Locha forlethain Feabhuil diarraid uaignis do guide de 7 do radh a trath 7 a urnaigthe. 7 ní cian do and an uair docondaire se an taenoglach alainn ingantach tríd an loch dá indsoigid amail nobeith se ag siubal tíri nó talman, 7 ass oir fana chois, 7 an coss do benad re lar aige is uimpe nobidh an tass. 7 ar tect go lathair dó assed adubairt: gor bennaighe na dee adhartha duit a Coluimb cille, ar sé. Cía thusa fen doní an bendugad-sin, ar Columb cille, nó ca tír nó talam asa tanec tu, nó cia is ri nó as tigerna duid, nó ca dia da creidend tu? Me fein as tigerna damh, ar se, 7 is dona deeib adhartha chreidim. IS ingnad lem dá madh ri nó mac righ tu do beith ataenar mar

him for that. And he told certain persons who were present there to follow the gambler and the poor man to see what they would do with the money he gave them. And they found the gambler in a tavern drinking the groat's worth and giving it to everyone he met that needed it. And the condition in which they found the poor man was dead on the road with the penny which Columb cille had given him and five marks besides sewn in his clothes. And they returned with that tidings to Columb cille. Then Columb cille said: 'God revealed to me that yon poor man had no longer than that to live, and if he had a long life that he would never put to profitable use for himself or for anybody else whatsoever he might have, but store it up as he had done with the five marks. And though the gambler was bad in himself, still he did not store what he got, but satisfied himself and other folk who were in need with his groat's worth; and therefore I gave him more than I gave the poor man.'

86. Another time as Columb cille was in Doire, a little child was brought to him to be baptised. And there was no water by him at that time. And Columb cille made the sign of the cross upon a boulder that was before him, and it spouted a stream of spring water, and the child was baptised with it. And Columb cille's well is the name of that well ever since. Great and wonderful is the number of signs and miracles God gave Columb cille to do in Doire. And Columb cille left a good clerk who was a blood relative of his to succeed him in the incumbency of Doire, namely a clerk of the tribe of Conall. And he bequeathed the primacy and honour and lordship of that town and of the surrounding districts to the tribe of Conall for ever.

87. Once upon a time Columb cille came alone from Doire to Carraic Eolairc above the brink of broad Loch Febhail seeking retirement to pray to God and to say his office and his prayers. And he was not long there when he beheld a beautiful youth of wonderful aspect coming to him upon the lake as if he were walking the land or ground. And he had a golden sandal upon his foot; and whatever foot he put down, it is upon it the sandal used to be. And upon coming nigh he said: 'May the gods of adoration bless thee, Columb cille' said he. 'Who art thou who makest that salutation' said Columb cille, 'or from what land or country hast thou come, or who is thy king or lord, or in what god dost thou believe?' 'I am my own lord'

sin, ar C. c. Ataei-si fen ataenur, a clerigh, ar in toclach, 7 bid a fhliss agat-sa dá *mad* áil lium-sa go mbeidis *fiche céd oclach* am coimhidecht annso, ol *se*. 7 indisim duit-si gorab me fen Mongan mac Fiachna .i. mac righ Ulad, 7 corab do coimes fhesa 7 eolais rit-sa tánag. INnis duinn ní don fhlis 7 don eolass morsin ata agat, a Mongain, ol C. c. INdeosat, ar se, oir ní fhuil on cormiltoig co rige an mil mór bethadach *nach* teigim-si na richt. 7 as eola me ar moran do tírthib 7 dindsib agas doilenaib díamhracha in domain, 7 go hairithe as eola me ar *tri coicait* oilen ata do taeb tiar dErinn sa fairge. 7 ata *tri uired Erenn* in gach oilén dib. Cia aitreblus na tírtha 7 na talmana-sin nach cualamar *cus* anigh? ar *Columb cille*. Aitrebaid innta, ar Mongan, daine onóracha is maith delb 7 denamh iter fhir 7 mnai, 7 atáid ba finda eóderga indta go laegaib a comhdatha maille riu, 7 ataid cairig finna go himarcuch indta 7 is siad sin is spreid 7 is airnes doib. As mor an fis 7 an teolus enduine sin, a Mongain, ar C. c., 7 gidh mór é as bec é ag fechain an eolais 7 an fesa ata agam-sa, oir is eóla mé a nimh 7 a talmain 7 an ifernn. As maith an teolach ar talmain me, ar Mongan, 7 docuala me ifirn 7 ní fhedar cred é flaithes de 7 cia is ri nó is tigerna ar in nemh-sin adeiri a clerigh, ar sé. Día nan uili chumbacht .i. cruthaigtheoir nimhe 7 talman 7 ifrind 7 nan uile creatúir is rí and, ar C. c., 7 go saera se tusa, a Mongain, ar an merugad 7 ar an sechrán creidmhe ata ort. 7 as truagh liumsa fer hfesa 7 teolus-si do beith coimhainbfhesach 7 sin and. IS mor test 7 tuaruscbail an oclaig-sin as aendía and agat-sa, ar Mongán, et ar onoir do daendachta 7 ar grád an aendía-sin beir mesi dfechain flaithesa de 7 ifirn 7 gabaim do comuirce-si fam roghain do tabairt damh dibh ar mbreith eolais orra. Tair-sa cugam-sv andso amárach ar maidin 7 dober fhreccra ort im gach ní da fhuile diarraid orm, ar C. c.

said he, 'and I believe in the gods of adoration.' 'I marvel that thou art thus alone if thou be a king or king's son' said Columb cille. 'Thou art thyself alone, cleric' said the youth, 'and know that if I wished it, there would be two thousand youths accompanying me here' said he. 'And I tell thee that I am Mongan son of Fiachna, i. e. son of the king of Ulaid, and that it was to compare wit and knowledge with thee I came.' 'Tell me some of this great wit and knowledge of thine, Mongan' said Columb cille. 'I will tell' said he, 'because there is not from the gnat to the whale an animal whose shape I do not assume. And I have knowledge of most of the countries and retired islands of the world, and particularly I have knowledge of the thrice fifty islands that are in the ocean to the West of Ireland. And each island of them is thrice the size of Ireland.' 'Who dwells in those countries and lands that we never heard tell of until to-day?' said Columb cille. 'There do dwell in them' said Mongan, 'honoured folk of good shape and make, both men and women, and there are white cows with red ears there having with them calves of the same colour. And there are white sheep in plenty there; and these sort are the cattle and gear they have.' That is a deal of wisdom and knowledge for one man, Mongan' said Columb cille, 'but though great, it is small compared with the knowledge and wisdom I have, for I am learned in Heaven, in Earth and in Hell.' 'I am right learned on the Earth' said Mongan, 'and I heard of Hell, but I do not know what is the kingdom of God, or who is king or lord of that Heaven thou speakest of, clerk', said he. 'The God of all power, to wit, the creator of Heaven and Earth and Hell, and of all creatures, is king there' said Columb cille. 'And may He save thee, Mongan, from the erring and wandering from the Faith that affects thee. For I deplore that a man of thy wisdom and knowledge should be so ignorant of Him.' 'Thou hast a good testimony and account of that youth who is the one God' said Mongan; 'and for the honour of thy kindness and for the love of that one God, take me to see the kingdom of God and Hell, and I crave thy warranty to allow me to take my choice of them after I shall have attained to a knowledge of them.' 'Come thou to me here to-morrow morning, and I will answer thee in every thing which thou now seekest of me', said Columb cille.

Do gabatar ced gá cheli an oidhce-sin 7 teid Mongan remhe dá sithbrogaib fein. Oir ba himarcach a cumhachta an drúighect 7 an díabhuldánacht. Et teid C. c. remhe go Doire 7 do gabh se ag guidhe de go duthrachtach an oidhche-sin fa Mongan do leigen les dfechain gloire flaithesa de 7 péine ifínd. 7 tice an taingel cuige 7 assed adubairt ris: gach ní as ced leat-sa a talmáin as ced le día ar nímh é 7 is ced les tussa do breith Mongáin dá fechain sin. Teid C. c. iarsin ar maidin go Carraic Eolaírg 7 ger moch dochnaid and fuair se Mongan ar a cind 7 do benduighetar dá celi. IS andsin adubairt Mongan: in cumháin let-sa an gellad tucais damh-sa ané, a C. c. ? ar sé. As cumáin, ar Columb cille, 7 tabair do cenn fa beinn mo bruit 7 docífe tú gach ní dá bfhuille díarraidh. Cuiris Mongan a cend fa brat C. c. 7 do foillsiged ifernn cona ilpianaib do. 7 do éigh go hard arna fhaicsin sin, 7 assed adubhairt: (fo. 11a.) O a Choluimb cille, guidhim tu a hucht an día da creidinn tú an taispenadh tugais damh do ceilt orm, oir is lor lim a bhaca de. Do tog C. c. a brat do cend Mongáin 7 do fíarfaidh de cred hi an aitreb-sin doconnaic sé. Ni hurassa dam a tuarascbail do tabairt uaim, ar Mongán, oir dambeith míle teanga am cenn 7 saegal go la na breithe agam ní fhedfaínd uile duad uile an tighe ud 7 na haitrebhe dindisin. Acht amháin dá bfechdaís sil Ádhaimh ar an endiabul is lugha gráin indte dogebdaeis bas fo cedóir. 7 is deimhin co bfhuigindse bas co hobann munabeith do coimhet-sa orum. Et beir dfechain flaithesa dé anos me. Cuir do cenn fam coim, ar C. c. Cuiris Mongan a cenn fa coim C. c. 7 do foillsighedh flaithes de dó cona gloir 7 cona aibnes 7 cona ilceolaib. 7 do tuit a codlad air lesna ceolaib-sin, 7 mar dob fhada le C. c. do bi Mongan na chodlud tocbais a brat da cinn 7 do moscail Mongan iarsin. 7 do fíarfaig C. c. de cred hí a bhreth ar an taisbenadh-sin tuccad dó. Ni heidir limsa breth do breith air, ar Mongan, oir dambeith míle cenn orum 7 míle tenga in gach cenn dibh ní thicfed dím an gloir is lugha a bflaithes de dindisin duit. 7 gabaim do comairce-si, a Coluimb cille, fam cuid don glóir-sin do tabairt go suthain damh iarmbas. Dober-sa sin duit, ar C. c. 7 dena fein maith 7 bud tú an tres mac ochta beis am ucht-sa la na breithe got anacul ar tenidh mbratha .i. tú fen 7 Maelumha mac Báodáin 7 Suidemháin mac Samháin. Ceiliubruis cach da cele dib 7 bi Mongán na oclach maith do día 7 do Columb cille ó sin amach gáa bás 7 iarmbás.

They took leave of each other that night and Mongan went to his own fairy mansions. For great was his power in witchcraft and devilment. And Columb cille went to Doire and he began to pray God earnestly that night that Mongan might be permitted to accompany him to see the glory of the kingdom of God and the pain of Hell. And an angel came and said to him: 'Whatsoever thou desirest on earth God desires in Heaven, and He desires that thou bring Mongan to see that.' Thereafter upon the morrow Columb cille went to Carraic Eolaire, and though he went early there he found Mongan before him, and they saluted each other. Then Mongan said:

'Dost thou remember the promise thou gavest me yesterday, Columb cille?' said he. 'I do' said Columb cille, 'and put thy head under the edge of my cloak and thou wilt see everything thou seekest'. Mongan put his head under Columb cille's cloak and Hell with its many torments was shewn to him. And he cried aloud on seeing that and said: 'O Columb cille, I beseech thee for the sake of the God whom thou believest, hide from me the vision thou gavest me, for I have seen enough of it.' Columb cille raised his cloak from the head of Mongan and asked him what manner of dwelling he had seen. 'It is not easy for me to describe it' said Mongan, 'for if I had a thousand tongues in my head and life till the day of judgment I could not tell all the torment of that house and dwelling. But however, if the seed of Adam could but see one devil the least horrible there, they would die at once. And it is certain that I should die suddenly but for thy keeping of me. And take me now to see the kingdom of God.' 'Put thy head into my bosom' said Columb cille. And there was shewn to him the kingdom of God with its glory and its happiness and its many harmonies. And he fell asleep at that music; but as Columb cille thought it long that he slept, he raised his cloak from his head and thereupon Mongan awoke. And Columb cille asked him what he thought of that vision that had been given him. 'I am not able to define it' said Mongan, 'for if I had a thousand heads, and a thousand tongues in each head of them, I would not be able to tell thee the least glory in the kingdom of God. And I exact thy assurance, Columb cille, for the getting of my share of that glory for ever after my death.' 'I shall give thee that' said Columb cille, 'do thou well and thou wilt be one of the

88. *Fectus* do C. c. ag techt timchell reilge an Duibregleis an Doire .i. an duirrthech ambidh ag radh a *tráth*, 7 do leic se ar a gluinibh é 7 tuc a aighidh soir gach ndírech 7 do thogaib a lama suas *amail* do beith ag esteacht *aifrind*. 7 arnerge dó dá glúinib do fhiarfaig manach airidhe día mhanchaib fen do bi maille ris de cred fánderna an umla-sin 7 cred é an taisbenadh *tucad* dó an uair-sin. Frechraís C. c. é 7 *assed* do raid: An papa, ol se, .i. *Gridhoir* beil oir do bí ag rádh *aifrind* ar altoir moir tempaill Petair sa Roim anois, ar se, 7 an uair *doconnare-sa* an corp naemtha gá thogbail aige do leces ar mo gluinib me 7 as dó tucas an umla ud. 7 do mórad ainm de 7 Columb cille de sin.

89. Do bi an oired-sin do gradh ag Columb cille ar Doire 7 do doilgess aige fan doire choilledh do báí and do buain no do gerradh, (mar nach fuair se inadh don duirrtech renabarthar an Duibreigles anigh an uair do bi sé ga denamh ar cor gombeith edan na haltora de san aird soir le dlus na coilledh 7 narb ail lei(s)-sin an coill do gerradh, gorab é a thaeb do fhurail sé do tabairt san aird soir. 7 da dearbudh sin is ana thaeb ata an altóir *aranabrad* se fein an *taifrend*, 7 is follass do cach gorab é sin *suidhiugad* an duirtige sin anigh). 7 an crann do tuitfed uad fen *nó* do legfadh an gaeth sa baile-sin do fhagaib se mar aithne ag lucht a inaidh na diaig gan a gerrad co cend nomhaidhe 7 a roinn andsen ar dainibh maithe 7 saithe an baile, 7 an tres cuid de do chur a tigh nan aidhedh fa comhair nan áided fen 7 a *dechmail* do roind ar na bochtaibh. 7 ata an rann dorinde se fen *tareis* a dul ar deoraidhect an Albain do ga derbadh nach raibe sambith ní ris nar chomhole les coill doire Doire do gerradh:

Acht gidh ecail lem gan fhell an técc 7 an tífirnn
as ecclaidhe lem gan cleith fuaim vtaidhe tíar an Doire.

90. *Fectus* do C. c. san inadh renabartar Cluaine a port Doire Calgaidh don taeb tsoir do loch Feabail 7 do bendaig se

three darlings upon my breast the day of judgment for thy protection against the fire of doom, namely thyself and Mae-lumha mac Báodain and Suidenhain mac Samhain.' They bade each other farewell, and Mongan was a good servant to God and to Columb cille from that out till his death and after his death.

88. Once of a time as Columb cille was coming around the church-yard of the Dubregles in Doire, i. e. the oratory in which he used to say his office, he knelt down with his face due East and raised up his hands as if he were hearing mass. On arising from his knees a certain one of his own monks who was with him asked him why he had made that reverence, and what was the vision that had been vouchsafed him then. Columb cille answered him and said: 'The Pope' said he, 'Gregory of the golden mouth it was that was saying mass upon the high altar of Peter's church in Rome now' said he, 'and when I saw him elevate the sacred Body I cast myself upon my knees, and it was for that I made that reverence.' And the name of God and Columb cille's was magnified thereby.

89. Columb cille so loved Doire and was so adverse to the cutting or felling of the grove of wood that was there — for he could not find a place for the oratory that is called the Dubregles to-day, when he was a-building it, of such a kind that the front of its altar might be to the East, on account of the nearness of the wood, so that it was its side he ordered to be turned to the East. And in proof of that the altar on which he used to say mass is on the side, and it is clear to everybody to-day that such was the ordering of that oratory. And he imposed it as a law upon his successors after him not to cut a tree that fell of itself or was blown down by wind in that locality until nine days had elapsed, and then to divide it amongst the people good and bad of the townland, one third portion of it to go to the guest-house for the guests themselves, and a tithe to be shared amongst the poor. And the stanza which he made himself after having gone into exile in Scotland is proof that there was nothing soever he disliked so much as to cut the grove of Doire:

Though I fear, without deceit death and Hell [Doire. .

I fear more, without concealment the sound of an axe back in

90. Once of a time as Columb cille was in the place that is called Cluaine at the landing-place of Doire Calgaidh upon

an inadh-sin 7 dorinde tempul and. 7 do labair tre spirvid faidhedorachta 7 assed adubairt: Ticfa espoc gallda a cenn aimsire faide amdiaid-se san inadh-sa 7 scailfid an tempul-sa dorinde mesi do denamh oibre eli da clochaib san inadh renabartar Bun sentuinne sa baile-se fen. Conadh and dorinde an rann-sa:

Mo thruaidhe ticfaid goill do Clúaine
7 beraid mo tempoll go Bun sentuinde fuaire.

7 do fíradh sin uile amail is follas do cach aniugh .i. Tain- (fo. 11b) ig espoc gallda go Doire darb ainm Nicól Bastún 7 isse do scaeil an tempul-sin do denamh cúirte de. 7 nír crich-naiged an cuirt-sin fós 7 is demin leamsa corub do mirbuile C. c. tainec gan crich do chur uirre lesna clochaib-sin a tempuil fen.

91. Do bendaig 7 do cumhdaig C. c. Rath mboth iarsin 7 do baithed a saer do bi ag denamh mhuilind sa baile-sin a lind an muilinn fein. 7 arna indesin sin do C. c. docuaidh os cind a cuirp arna togbail asin lind 7 do leig ar a glúinib é 7 do cuir urnaigthe duthractach docum dia fana athbeougad dó, 7 ar crichnugad na hurnaigthe-sin do C. c. do erich na shesamh go dóchusach 7 do bean crois da bachaill ar ucht an tshaeir 7 adubairt ris erghe beo ar a chossaib fen an ainm Isv Crisd. Do eirigh an saer acedoir le breithir C. c. amail do éireochad se as a chodlud, gor morad ainm dé 7 Coluimb cille de sin.

92. Fectas eli do C. c. a Rath mboth 7 docuaidh iarand na sesrighe amugha o na hoireamhnaib 7 dobendaigh C. c. lam macaimh oig do bi na fhochair nach derna goibhnecht ríam roimhe sin .i. Fergna a ainm. 7 do farr air iarann do denamh an inadh an iarainn-sin dochuaid amugha. Dorinde Fergna sin go maith amail do beith re goibhnecht ríam conuice sin. 7 ba saei gabonn ó sin amach e do brigh an bendaighthe-sin C. c. 7 ní he sin an Fergna rer cuir se an failte ambroind a máthar.

93. Gabuis Feidlimm mac Fergassa cendfoda mic Conaill Gulpain .i. athair Coluimb cille rigacht Ulad 7 armbeith do athaidh

the East side of Loch Febhail, he blessed that place and he built a church there. And he spoke in a spirit of prophecy and said: 'There will come an English bishop a long time after me to this place and he will destroy this church which I have built to make another work of its stones in the place which is called Bun sentuinne in this same townland.' And it was then he made this stanza:

Alas! the English will come to Cluaine
and bring my church to the Bun of the cold old woman.

And all that was verified as is clear to everybody to-day. Thus: There came an English bishop to Doire whose name was Nicolás Bastún, and it was he that destroyed that church to make a palace of it. And that palace has not been finished yet; and I am sure it was through the miracle of Columb cille it came about that it was not finished on account of using the stones of his own church.

91. Columb cille blessed and built Rath mboth afterwards. And the wright who was making a mill in that stead was drowned in the pool of the mill itself. Upon that being told to Columb cille he went over the body after it had been taken out of the pool, and casting himself on his knees he prayed earnestly to God to revive him for him. And when Columb cille had finished that prayer he arose with confidence and traced the sign of the cross upon the breast of the wright and told him to arise living upon his own feet in the name of Jesus Christ. And the wright arose at once at the word of Columb cille as he should arise from sleep. And God's name and Columb cille's was magnified thereby.

92. As Columb cille was another time in Rath mboth the iron of the plough went astray from the ploughmen, and Columb cille blessed the hand of a little boy that was with him who had never done smith-work before that, viz. Fergna. And he asked him to make another iron instead of the one that was lost. Fergna did so as well as if he had been a smith all his life until then. And he was a mastersmith from that out by virtue of that blessing of Columb cille's. And that is not the Fergna he saluted while in his mother's womb.

93. Feidlimm mac Fergossa cendfoda mic Conaill Gulbain, to wit Columb cille's father, enjoyed the kingship of Ulaid. And

fada sa rige-sin 7 ar téct a áisi 7 a arsaidhecta go mor légiss an righe de 7 roindis ar a braithrib í. 7 assiad so anmonda nambraithrech-sin .i. Brenaind 7 Nindigh, Fiachaidh 7 Fidruidhe, Cathrand 7 Loarn 7 Sedna an mac fa hoige dib. 7 dorindedh fleghe mór iarsin le macuib Ferghossa san inadh renabartar Both brain a tir Fergussa anigh a termonn Cille mic Nenain. 7 do bi *Columb cille* an uair-sin a cuigedh Laigen ag bendugad cell 7 eclus. *Et* ro foillsig aingel dé dó corléic Feidlimm .i. a athair an rige de 7 gorroindetar na braithre adubramar romainn a ferand etorra fen.

IS andsin teid *Columb cille* remhe bud thuaidh gussin inadh a raibe a athair .i. go Cill mic Nenain 7 nir cían dó and an uair tancatar techta a braithrech ar cend an tsenóruch .i. Feidlimthe dá breith do comórad na fleidhe. Assed adubairt Feidlimm nach rachad se andsin 7 go raibe sé arsaidh egeruaidh 7 adubairt riu C. c. do breith leo do bendugad na fleidhe. Teid C. c. lesna techtaib-sin go Boith mbrain 7 arndul don baile dó tarla Sedna mac Fergassa cendfoda do ceddainib dó 7 ba rofhailid remhe he. *Et* do fhíarfaig C. c. de narroindetar a braithri 7 se fen ferand re cele. Do roinnemar, ar Sedna. Nar gabadh dechmad an ferainn-sin lib? ar *Columb cille*. Nir gabad, ar Sedna. IS ced limsa masa ched le dia he, ar C. c., gan an roinnsin do beith ar bail nó do dul a soirbes etraibh no gongabtar dechmad an feraind lib. Do riar deit, a clericc, ar Sedna .i. an cuid ronda rainec mesi don ferann doit ar son na dechmaide. Gonadh é sin Termonn cille mic Nenain anigh. Dober-sa luach ar a shon-sin duid-si, ar *Columb cille*, oir dobér cendus 7 tigernas deit ar do braithribh is sine na tú fen. *Et* is ar do tslicht beid rigraidh 7 tigernada slecta Conaill Gulbain go brath aris. IS andsin tancatar an cuid eli do macaib Ferghosa a coinde C. c. 7 do fersad failte fris. Fiarfuighis C. c. dib ó do fuair se dechmaid an feraind o Sedna anbfuigedh se dechmaid na fledi 7 gach neich eli as ar imcubaid dechmad do gabáil o sin amach uatha san. Do éstetar uile fris. Freccraid C. c., ar Sedna, 7 na hesdigh ris am énní dáníarrand oraib. Oir is dó is coir burndechmaidhse .i. do mac burnderbhbráthar .i. an clerech as ferr an Erind. Tabraid bur ndechmaid do C. c., ar Loarn mac Fergasa .i. an dara mac roboige do cloind Fergussa cennfhoda. Fada gorlabrais, ar

after a long time in that kingship and when age and debility greatly oppressed him, he abdicated the kingdom and divided it amongst his relatives. And these are the names of those relatives: Brenaind and Nindigh, Fiachaidh and Fidruidhe, Cathrand and Loarn, and Sedna the youngest son of them. And a great feast was made by the sons of Fergus in the place that is called Both brain in the land of Fergus to-day, within the ecclesiastical boundary of Cill mic Nenain. And Columb cille was at that time in the province of Leinster blessing cells and churches. And an angel of God shewed him that Feidlimm his father had abdicated the kingdom and that the relatives already mentioned had divided his land amongst themselves.

Then Columb cille fared northwards to the place where his father was, viz. to Cill mic Nenain. And he was not long there when messengers came from his cousins for the old man Feidlimm to bring him to celebrate the feast. Feidlimm said he would not go there, that he was old and weak, and so he told them to bring Columb cille with them to bless the feast. Then Columb cille went with the messengers to Both brain, and upon going to the stead Sedna was among the first persons to meet him, and he welcomed him gladly. And Columb cille asked him if himself and his relatives had not shared land with each other. 'We have' said Sedna. 'Have ye not taken tithes of that land?' said Columb cille. 'We have not' said Sedna. 'It is my desire if it is God's', said Columb cille, 'that that division be not fortunate, nor turn out lucky for you until ye shall have set apart tithes from that land.' 'I give thee thy will, clerk' said Sedna, 'namely the portion that fell to me of the land I give to thee as tithes.' And that is the Termon of Cili mic Nenain to-day. 'I will give thee a reward for that' said Columb cille, 'for I will give thee primacy and lordship over thy brothers who are elder than thee. And the dynasts and lords of the race of Conall Gulban will be of thy seed for ever.' It was then the other sons of Fergus came to meet Columb cille. And they bade him welcome. Columb cille asked them since he had got tithes of the land from Sedna, whether he would receive tithes of the feast from them, and of everything else from which it was fitting to collect tithes. They were all silent to him. 'Answer ye Columb cille' said Sedna, 'and do not keep silence to him concerning anything he asks of ye. For to him is due your

C. c. 7 dán [fo. 12a] abartha mo riar ní *bud* luaithe ina sin, a Loairn, do beidis righti 7 tigernadha an *Erinn* fen ar do tshlicht, 7 o nach dubruis mo riar *acht* co mall, ar se, ní beid righti an *Erinn* ar do slicht 7 beid righti an Albain do tslicht. Conadh ar slicht an Loairn-sin mic Fergosa do batar cland Maeil Colaim mic Donchada a rigacht *Alpan* aimser fhoda. 7 do fíradh gach ní dandubairt *Columb cille* an uair-sin.

94. *Fectus* dAedh mac Ainmirech san inadh renabartar Druim cliab a Cairpri *Connucht* aníug 7 do baithed ingen dAed ar abainn Droma cliab .i. ar in Methadaigh conudh Lind ingine Aeda ainm na lindedh inar baithed í ó sin alle. Do bí C. c. a comghar doib an uair-sin 7 cuiris Aodh techta ar a cend. Tic C. c. lesna tectaibh-sin 7 iarrais Aedh air a ingen daithbeougad do. Benais C. c. crois da bachaill ar ucht na hingine 7 tathbe-óuigheis hí, gor móradh ainm de 7 *Coluimb cille* de sin. *Et* marbais Aedh an ferond-sin do dia 7 do C. c. Bendaighis *Columb cille* an baile-sin iarsin cor cumhdaig ecluis and 7 do fhágaib clerech da muinntir a comarbacht an baile-sin .i. Motharen Droma cliab a ainm. 7 do labair *Columb cille* tré spirud faidhedórachta 7 adubairt comad le cenel Conaill uaisle 7 onóir an baile-sin 7 na tuadh na timchell go brath. IS andsin do fhiafraich Aed mac Ainmirech do C. c. ga med do righaib *Erenn* nó dá tigernaib do slanaigh día rian a lind fein. Ní derna gan purgadóir romoir *acht triúr* amhain, ar *Columb cille* .i. Daimhín daimh airgid ri Oirgiall 7 Oilill in banna ri *Connacht* 7 Feradhach mac Duach ri Osruidhe ar feabhas angnim leth re día sa saegul-sa. IS andsin do fiafraidh Aedh do C. c. an slaineochad dia é fen fa deóidh. Ní dingna, ar *Columb cille*, muna derna tu aithrighe romhor atpecadh 7 deghoibrigthe o so amach. LArais Aed iarsin mar athcuinge ar *Columb cille* buaid do breith ar Laighnib do bí ag cogadh fris 7 gan é fen do toitim leo. Ní heidir lem, ar *Columb cille*, oir is do Laighnib mo máthair 7 tancotar cugam go Durmhuig etar shen 7 og 7 do íarratar athcuinge mic tshethar oram .i. gan righ eli do breith buaidhe orra. 7 do ghellasa sin doib acht combeith an coir acu. Gidhedh dobér mo cochall

tithes, to him who is your brother's son and the best clerk in Ireland.' 'Give your tithes to Columb cille' said Loarn mac Fergossa, the second youngest son of the children of Fergus cennfoda. 'It was long before thou didst speak', said Columb cille, 'and if thou hadst said my will sooner than that Loarn there would be kings and lords of thy seed in Ireland, but since thou didst speak my will only after delay,' said he, 'there will not be kings in Ireland of thy seed, but there will be kings of thy seed in Scotland.' So that the children of Mail Columb mac Dondchada who for a long time enjoyed the kingship of Scotland, were of the race of this Loarn mac Fergus. And everything that Columb cille said then was verified.

94. Once of a time as Aed mac Ainmirech was in the place which is called Druim cliab in Cairpre Connacht to-day, the daughter of Aed was drowned in the river of Druim cliab which is the Methadach. And the Pool of the daughter of Aed is the name of the pool in which she was drowned, from that out. Columb cille was in their neighbourhood at the time, and Aed sent messengers for him. Columb cille came with the messengers, and Aed asked him to revive his daughter for him. Columb cille traced the sign of the cross with his crosier upon the breast of the girl and raised her to life. And the name of God and Columb cille's was magnified thereby. And Aed gave that land in mortmain to God and to Columb cille. Columb cille blessed that townland afterwards and built a church there, and he left a clerk of his own convent in the succession of that place; his name is Motharen of Druim cliab. And Columb cille spoke through a spirit of prophecy and said that the cinél Conaill were they who should have the lordship and honour of that townland and of the surrounding districts for ever. Then Aed mac Ainmirech asked Columb cille how many of the kings of Ireland or of its lords had God saved before their own time. 'He only saved three without grievous purgatory' said Columb cille, 'to wit, Daimhin daimh airgid king of Oirgiall, and Oilill in banna king of Connacht, and Feradach mac Duach king of Osraighe for the excellence of their deeds with respect to God while in this life.' And then Aed asked Columb cille whether God would save him at last. 'He will not' said Columb cille, 'unless thou do very great penance for thy sin, and good works from this out.' Aed then asked it as a request of Columb cille

doidsi 7 ní muirfidher tú an cein bias umad. 7 do bi an briathar-sin *Coluimb cille* ar comhall no gondechaidh Aedh aimser iarsin ar sluaiged alLaighnib 7 cor dermaid a cochall 7 go marbad a cath *Belaig* Duinbolg le Laignecha é.

95. *Fectus* tucatar a oidedha Domnal mac Aedha mic Ainmirech ar cuairt mar araibe C. c. 7 se na macamh og an uair-sin 7 do iarratar air a bendugad. Ní aniugh ata andan damh a bennugad, ar *Columb cille*, acht a cend aimsire faide ó aniugh bendachus me é san inadh re ráiter Druim Cet a *Cianachta* Glinde Gemhin airm ambeid fir *Erenn* 7 *Alpan* idir laech 7 clerech an aininadh am Aed mac Ainmirech .i. am righ *Erenn* athair an lenib-sin fen. 7 adeirim ribse a coimet co maith 7 biaid se na rig roclumar an Erind iarsin aimser fada 7 biaid se os cend a braithrech fen uile 7 ní beraid a naimhde nó a escharaid buaid go brath air 7 dogebha se bas maith na tigh féin a fiadhnaisi a carad 7 a muindtire fein 7 rachaid a anam do caithem na gloiri suthaine. Do firadh sin mar adubairt C. c. amail indeósas an leabur-sa an inadh eli a mordail Droma Cet.

96. Docuaid C. c. na diaid-sin a crich Tefa 7 tuc rí an tíre-sin ferond do .i. an tinadh a bfuil *Durmach* aniug gor cumdaiged eclus les ann. An *Durmaigh* imorro do bi C. c. an uair do bendaigh sé an cloidem do *Colman* mór mac *Diarmada*, 7 dobí buaidh an cloidhim tresan mbendugad-sin gan bás ar bith dfhagáil dont í aga mbeith se. Do iarr duine airidhe do báí an eslainti iasacht an cloidhim-sin 7 do cuir *Colman* an cloidhem cuige, 7 do bi se bliadain aige 7 ní fuair bas risan ré-sin. 7 docuaid se an égruth romhor 7 arna thuicsin da cairdib narb ail le dia aisec a slainti do tabairt dó 7 corab é an cloidhem do bi ga congabail na beathaid rucad an cloidem uadh 7 fuair bas fo cedóir, go mórad ainm de 7 *Coluimb cille* de sin.

that he might gain the victory over the Leinster men who were at war with him, and that he might not fall by them himself. 'I cannot' said Columb cille, 'for my mother is of the Leinster people, and they came to me to Durmach both young and old and asked a boon of me as a sister's son, namely, that no other king should gain the victory over them. And I promised them that, but only that they should be in the right. However I will give thee my cowl and thou shalt not be killed as long as it is upon thee.' And that saying of Columb cille's was being fulfilled until one time Aed went of a hosting amongst the Leinster folk, and, having forgotten his cowl, he was killed by the Leinster-men at the battle of Belach Duinbolg.

95. Once upon a time his tutors brought Domnall mac Aeda mic Ainmirech, when he was a little boy, upon a visit where Columb cille was, and they asked him to bless him. 'Not to-day is it fated that I should bless him' said Columb cille, 'but a long time from to-day I shall bless him in the place that is called Druim Cet in the Cianachta of Glenn Gemin, where the men of Ireland and Scotland both lay and cleric will be assembled together with Aed mac Ainmirech king of Ireland and father of that very child. And I say to you, keep him well for he shall be a renowned king in Ireland for a long time hereafter, and he will be over all his own brothers. And his enemies or his unfriends will never gain a victory over him, but he will die a good death in his own house amongst his own friends and people, and his soul will go to enjoy the eternal glory.' All that fell out as Columb cille had said, in the synod of Druim Cet, as this book will narrate in another place.

96. Afterwards Columb cille went to the country of Tethba. And the king of that country gave him land, namely the place where Durmach is to day, and a church was built by him there. It is in Durmach Columb cille was when he blessed the sword for Colman mór mac Diarmada. The virtue of the sword through that blessing was that the person who had it could in no wise die. A certain man who was sick asked for the loan of that sword, and Colman sent him the sword. And he had it by him for a year and did not die for that time. And he became exceedingly weak, and his friends, understanding that God did not wish to return him his health, and that it was the sword kept him alive, took the sword from him and he died imme-

97. Fectas eli do *Columb cille* an *Durmaigh* 7 *tuccad* ubla *cvige*. 7 *tarla* uball searb drochblasta amesec nanuball air 7 do *fhiairfaig* C. c. cait abfrith an tuball-sin. *Adubratar* cach ris corab abhall airithe do bí san aballgort 7 corb e sin (fo. 12 b) bud blas da hublaib do gnath. Arna cloistin sin do *Columb cille* teid san abullgort 7 bendaighis an aball-sin 7 *assed* adubairt: bendaigim tu 7 cuirim ort a *hucht* endía uilecumbachtaig a aball ud an nadúir serb miblasda do bí agat go trasda do chlaechlod 7 naduir milis degblasda do gabail cugad anoiss. 7 dorinde an duil balb amail adubairt C. c. ria an uair-sin fen *indus* gorub íad a hubla ubla budh millsi 7 dob fherr blas 7 baludh dá *facutar* cach riam reime sin. 7 as follus as sin nach edh amháin *tuc* dia cumachta ar duil an uisce do C. c. leth re fin do denamh de *acht* *tuc* sé cumachta dó ar duilib na talman mar ataid croind 7 clocha 7 luibenda 7 gach duil talmaide ó sin amach.

98. Dochnaid C. c. na diaid-sin gusan inadh renabarthar *Cenannus* aniuig .i. baile righ *Erenn* an uair-sin é .i. baili *Diarmada mic Cerbaill*. 7 do *congbad* C. c. amuigh an *dorus* an baile-sin. IS andsin docuaidh C. c. do denamh faidedorachta don baile 7 adubairt na *bud* buan an baili ag an muinntir-sin do bí and. *Et tarla* Bec mac de do .i. *dráí* *Diarmada mic Cerbaill* 7 dob faidh maith é. Adubairt C. c. ris: a Big mac de, *dena* faistine don baile-si cindus bias se, an rigthi nó an clerig bias and. Clerigh co deimin bias and, ar Becc, ó so amach 7 *bud* tusa cend na clerech-sin 7 ní *bud* baili rig co brach arís é. Oir ní raibhe an ri and an uair-sin 7 tainic se don baili (i)arsin 7 *tuc* se an baili uile do C. c. an eraic a *congbála* amuigh ann 7 *tuc* Aedh Slaine mac *Diarmada* a ced cuige sin. Do bendaigh C. c. an baile ina diaidhsin 7 dorinde se faidhedóracht dAed Sláine 7 adubairt gombeith se na righ *Erenn* 7 gomad maith a crích muna dernad se *fungail* nó fell 7 dander-nadh na *bud* fada a shaeghal na diaid. 7 do bendaigh C. c. cochall dAedh Sláine mac *Diarmada* 7 adubairt ris nach *dergfad* arm air an fad do beith an cochallsin uime. Doróine Aedh Slaine *fungail* tar comairli C. c. ar Shuibne mac *Colmain* moir .i. mac a derbh-brathar fen. Docuaid Aed Slaine ar sluaiged a cinn *cethre*

diately. And the name of God and Columb cille was magnified thereby.

97. As Columb cille was another time in Durmach apples were brought to him. And he chanced upon a bitter, ill-tasting apple amongst them. And Columb cille asked where that apple was found. They all told him from a certain apple-tree in the orchard, and that its apples always tasted so. When Columb cille heard that he went to the orchard, and he blessed that apple tree and said: 'I bless thee, and I charge thee by the One God almighty, O apple-tree, to change that bitter nauseous nature which thou hitherto hast had and take to thyself now a nature sweet and savoury.' The dumb creature did that very time as Columb cille had told it, for its were the sweetest apples and those of the best smell and flavour that anybody had ever seen before. It is evident from that that not only did God give Columb cille power over the creature of water to the end he might make wine of it, but that also He gave him power over creatures of the Earth, that is to say, trees and stones and herbs and every other earthly creature.

98. Columb cille went afterwards to the place that is called Cenannus to day, the stead of the king of Ireland at that time, namely of Diarmuid mac Cerbaill. And Columb cille was kept outside the door of that place. And Columb cille proceeded to make prophecy for the stead, and he said that the people who had it would not have it long. And Bec mac Dé met him. He was the druid of Diarmuid mac Cerbaill and a good prophet. Columb cille said to him, 'Bec mac Dé, make a prophecy for this stead. How will it be? Shall kings or clerics inhabit it?' 'Clerics to be sure' said Bec, 'from this out; and thou thyself wilt be head of those clerics, and it will never be a kingly stead again.' For the king was not there then, and when he came home afterwards he gave all that stead to Columb cille in requital for having kept him outside, and Aed Slaine mac Diarmada acquiesced in that. Then Columb cille blessed the stead, and he made a prophecy for Aed Slaine, and he said that he should be king of Ireland, and that his end would be happy, unless he committed fratricide or treachery, but that if he did his life afterwards would not be long. And Columb cille blessed a cowl for Aed Slaine mac Diarmada, and told him he should never be wounded by weapons as long as he wore that cowl. Aed Slaine

mblíadan ón uair-sin 7 do dermaid se a cochall mar dob ail le día 7 le C. c. 7 do marbadh isin ló-sin he. *Et* ac denum na faidhedorachtasin do C. c. tuc a adhaigh siardes 7 do gab gen gairi 7 subaltaige mor é. Do fhiarfaig Baithin adbhar a subaltaige. Do freair C. c. é 7 issed adubairt: bertar, ar se, *deichenbar* 7 da *fichid* san enbaile-si thiar anocht 7 bud muindter dileas do dia iad 7 budh iad sin an macraid Cille Sciri. 7 gach faidhedoracht danderna C. c. andsin do comhaill día go firindech iad.

99. Do cumdaig C. c. moran cell ar fud *criche* Breg 7 Midhe 7 do fhagaib comarbada 7 minna uadha fen innta .i. do fágaib se Oissin mac Cellaig a Cluain moir bfherr narda. Docuaid C. c. iarsin go Mhainistir Buide mic Bronaig. IS andsin do ben bachall C. c. risan soithech ngloine do bi a laimh Buide an aimsir a bais 7 do clos a foghar fon cill uile 7 do foillsigh C. c. annsin an tinadh inar hadluiced Baide. 7 do coisric a cell 7 do cumdaigh a taisi mar do ghell Buide fen an aimsir a bais ag tairrngire C. c.

Do chumdaig Columb cille eclus a Rachraind oirthir Breg 7 do fágaib Colman deochain indte.

100. Fectus eli dochuaid C. c. ar cuairt mara raibe a maigestar fen .i. Finden. 7 arna fhaicsin dFinnen chuige adubairt reraibe do latair: An é nach faicí-si C. c. cugaind 7 aingli de maille ris ga coimidecht? 7 arna cloisdin sin daraibe do lathair do lasatar angrad C. c. 7 is na laithib-sin fen docuaidh Columb cille go Britain 7 dá manach déc mailli ris do silad an creidim 7 tucc móran docum creidme 7 crabuid isna tírib-sin.

101. Gabais C. c. iarsin dá oilithri go Toirinis Martain 7 docuaidh se ar in lec fá ar hadluiced Martain 7 do tócaib se an lec don tumpa 7 fvair sé leabar na soiscel ar muin Martain sa tumba 7 do bi Martain 7 an leabar-sin céd bliadvín remhe sin a talmáin 7 do coimhéd dia an leabar an fad-sin fa comhair C. c. indus narb fherr an céd lá é ina in uair-sin. 7 tuc C. c. do toil de 7 Mhartain an leabar-sin les go Doiri amail do tairrngir Martain fen an aimsir a bais go tibrad sé les hé.

did fratricide against the counsel of Columb cille, upon Suibne mac Colmain móir, upon his own brother's son. Aed Slaine went a-hosting four years after that and forgot his cowl, as God and Columb cille desired it, and he was killed in that day. And in making that prophecy Columb cille turned his face to the South-West, and he smiled and was very joyful. Baithin asked the cause of his joy. Columb cille answered and said: 'Fifty will be born in this one town to the West to-night' said he, 'and they will be God's proper people, and it is they will be the household of Cill Sciri.' And every prophecy that Columb cille made then, God fulfilled it truly afterwards.

99. Columb cille built many cells throughout the country of Breg and Midhe, and he left successors and treasures of his own in them. To wit, he left Oissin mac Cellaig in Cluain mór of the tall men. Columb cille went then to Mainister Buide mic Bronaig. It is there that the crosier of Columb cille touched the glass vessel that was in the hand of Buide at the time of his death and its sound was heard throughout the whole church. And Columb cille then pointed out the place in which Buide was buried. And he consecrated his cell and enshrined his relics as Buide himself had promised at the time of his death when prophesying of Columb cille.

Columb cille built a church in Rachra in the East of Breg, and he left Colman a deacon in it.

100. Another time Columb cille went on a visit to where his own master was, namely Finden. And when Finden saw him he said to those who were present: 'Do ye not see Columb cille coming towards us, and angels of God accompanying him?' When those who were present heard that they burned with love for Columb cille. And it was in those same days that Columb cille went to Britain with twelve monks to sow the Faith there. And he brought many in those countries to Faith and piety.

101. Then Columb cille went of a pilgrimage to Toirinis of Martin. And he went upon the flag under which Martin had been buried, and he raised the flag from the tomb and found the book of the Gospels upon the neck of Martin in the tomb. And Martin and that book had been a hundred years in the earth, but God had kept the book so long for Columb cille so that it was as good then as the first day. And by the will of God and Martin, Columb cille took that book with him to Doire

102. *Fectus* and do bí C. c. 7 Comghall 7 Cainnech maille ris san inadh darub ainm Sord aniugh. Adubairt Comghall re C. c. an *taifrend* do radh. Tinn- [fo. 13a] senais *Columb cille* an *taifrend*. IS andsin doonnaic (Caindech colamhan tendtíge os cinn C. c. 7 do indís Caindech sin do Comghall 7 doconnatar re céle sin. 7 do cumdaiged eclus andsin le C. c. Gonadh é Sord C. c. sin aniugh, 7 do fagaib C. c. fer maith da muindtir na comarba and .i. Finan lobar. 7 do fagaib an lebar aifrind do scrib sé fén ann.

103. Do bendaigh C. c. Sord 7 do bendaigh tobar Suird .i. Glan a ainm 7 do fhágaib cross and. Oir fa bes do *Columb cille* crosta 7 lebair 7 gach uile chulaid eclaisi do cumhdach 7 dfhagbail in gach baile dambendaiged sé.

104. *Fechtus* eli do *Columb cille* 7 do Caindech re taebh fhairge 7 do bí anfad mor ar in fairge. A *Columb cille*, ar Caindech, anbfuil a fhis agat cred adeir an tonn? Ata a fis sin agam-sa, ar C. c. Adeir sí go fuil do muindtersí anguasacht mór ar an bhfairge 7 gobfuair duine dib bás 7 dobera dia eugainde sa port-sa iad sul tí maidín amáruch. 7 do fíradh an faidhedórachtsin C. c. amail fa minic les.

105. *Fecht* eli do C. c. 7 do nech naemtha eli darb ainm Baithín ag siubal re taeb fairge an inadh airithe 7 doconnatar long aga báthad. 7 do fhiarfaig Baithín do *Columb cille* cred farfulaing dia an long do bathad. Enpecach do bí indtí ar C. c. 7 do ceadaigne dia lucht na luíngí do bathadh cuige. Dar lind, ar Baithín, dorinne dia écoir ar lucht na luíngí. 7 do leic C. c. sin tairis 7 ní tuc se frece an uair-sin ar Baithín. 7 do tinoil se lan a lamhainde do bechaib 7 tuc da coimed do Baithín hí. 7 tainec bech asan lamhainn 7 do cailg sí Baithín go ger indas gor gortaig sí go mor é 7 tainic do bríg an gortaige-sin tuc an bech air go marb se a raibe do bechaib sa lamaind uile. Cred far marbais na beich? ar *Columb cille*. Bech dib do gortaig go ger me, ar Baithín. Bidh a fis agad, a Baithín, ar C. c. amail do cailg an bech tusa gorab amlaid sin cailges an duine dia ina pecadh. 7 amail do marb tusa lan na lamainde do bechaib as gortugad na henbeiche gorab amlaidh sin fuilnges dia bas morain do dainibh ar son pecaidh enduine, amail as follus mar

as Martin himself at the time of his death had promised that he should.

102. Once of a time Columb cille with Comghall and Caindech along with him, was in the place that is called Sord to-day. Comghall told Columb cille to say mass. Columb cille began the mass. Then Caindech saw a fiery column over Columb cille's head, and Caindech told that to Comghall and they both saw it. And a church was built there by Columb cille; and that is Sord of Columb cille to-day. And Columb cille left a good man of his convent as successor there, to wit, Finan the leper. And he left there the missal which he had copied himself.

103. Columb cille blessed Sord and he blessed the well of Sord that is called Glan (i. e. pure), and he left a cross there. For it was a custom of Columb cille's to make crosses and books and all other kinds of church furniture and leave them in every place that he used to bless.

104. Another time as Columb cille and Caindech were by the sea-shore there was a great storm in the sea. 'Columb cille', said Caindech, 'dost thou know what the wave is saying?' 'I do that' said Columb cille, 'it says thy household are in great danger upon the sea, and that one of them died. And God will bring them into this port before to-morrow morning.' And that prophecy of Columb cille's was fulfilled as often before.

105. Another time as Columb cille and another holy man of the name of Baithin were walking by the sea in a certain place they saw a ship a-drowning. And Baithin asked Columb cille why God had permitted the ship to be drowned. 'One sinner that was aboard of her' said Columb cille, 'and God permitted the ship's crew to be drowned on account of him.' 'I think' said Baithin 'that God was unjust to the ship's crew.' Columb cille let that pass and he did not answer Baithin at that time. And he collected the full of his glove of bees and gave it to Baithin to keep. And a bee came out of the glove that stung Baithin bitterly and wounded him sore. And by reason of the bee wounding him so, he killed all the bees there were in the glove. 'Why didst thou kill the bees?' said Columb cille. 'One of them it was that stung me sore' said Baithin. 'Know then, Baithin', said Columb cille, 'that as the bee stung thee so does man sting God in his sin. And as thou didst kill the full of the glove of bees in punishment for the stinging of

do fulaing se lucht na luinge do báthad ó chianaib ar son an enpecaid do bí indti. Tuigimsi, a athair naemtha, ar Baithin, gorab maith do cuireadh sin an esimláir dam 7 ní cuirfe mesi oibrigthe de an ingnad ó so amach 7 ní rach do disporacht orra fedh mo bethad nísá mó.

106. *Fecht* eli do C. c. a Cluain mic Nois 7 tainec mac bec dá indsaigid. 7 do tarraing róinde becc as a brut gan mothugad dó fen. 7 do foillsig dia sin do Columb cille 7 do fhech ar an mac beg 7 do labair ris 7 dorinde faidedóracht dó 7 adubairt gomad eacnaidh 7 comad saí clerigh na diaid-sin e. Do fíradh an faidedóracht-sin C. c. uair dob é sin Iarnán Cluana deochrach.

107. *Fechtus* do Brigíd ag intecht Muighe Lifi 7 mar doconnaire an naemogh an uair-sin an magh alaínd na fiadhnaise adubairt dāmádh le comus an magha co tibrad sí do dia cumachtach e. 7 do foillsiged an smuainedh bendaigthe-sin Brigde do C. c. 7 é na regles fein a Sord 7 adubairt sé ó guth mór: As inand don banóigh an smuainedh-sin 7 an magh do tabairt uaithe, ol sé.

108. Docuaidh C. c. iarsin a cóicidh Laigen 7 do cumdaigh moran do cellaib and. 7 do gab iaram go Cluain mic Nóis 7 imann dorinde se do dia leis da taisbenadh do Cíaran Cluana. Oir fa gnath les dia do mholad go menic a Laidin 7 a Gaidilg 7 as gach tengaid oir tucad cuma 7 tuicse dó in gach tenga.

Docuaid Columb cille iarsin tar Es ruaidh 7 do bendaig 7 do cumdaigh se moran do cellaib 7 declasaib a Tir Conaill. 7 do gabh go Gartan iarsin 7 dorinde comhnaidhe and.

109. *Fechtus* dó-san san inadh airithe renabartar Gort na leci anGartán don taeibh tiar don inadh arucad é fen .i. do Raith enó, 7 tainic duine airithe don popul na cend andsin ónabfhuair moran dá cairdib 7 dá dainib muindtire bas 7 do bi tuirsi 7 dobrón mór air in andiaid. 7 do bi do med a cumadh corb ferr les bas dfhagbáil iná .beith beo in andiaidh. *Et* arna fhaicsin do Columb cille do gab truaighe mór uime é 7 do bendaigh sé lec cloiche do bi laim ris [fo. 13 b] 7 tuc se ar an duine-sin

one, so does God suffer the death of many people for the sin of one; as is evident, seeing He permitted the drowning of the ship's crew a while ago for the sin of one that was a-board of her.' 'I admit, O holy Father' said Baithin, 'that that has been well exemplified for me, and I will not marvel at the works of God from this out, nor dispute about them any more during my life.'

106. Another time as Columb cille was in Cluain mic Nois there came a little boy to him. And he pulled a little rib out of his cloak without his perceiving it. But God revealed that to Columb cille, and he looked upon the little boy and spoke to him and made a prophecy concerning him. And he said he would be a wise and learned clerk afterwards. That prophecy of Columb cille's was fulfilled, for he was Irnan of Cluain deochrach.

107. Once of a time Brigid was going over Mag Lifi. And as the holy virgin saw the beautiful plain before her then she said if she had the disposal of the plain she would give it to Almighty God. And that holy thought of Brigid's was shewn to Columb cille as he was in his own abbey church at Sord, and he said with a loud voice: 'That thought is as good for the virgin as to bestow the plain' said he.

108. Columb cille went afterwards into the province of Leinster and he built many cells there. And he went after that to Cluain mic Nois having with him a hymn he had made to God for the purpose of showing it to Ciaran of Cluain. For it was his custom to praise God often in Latin and Irish and in every tongue, for there was given to him power and knowledge in every tongue.

Columb cille went then over Ess ruad, and he blessed and built many cells and churches in Tir Conaill. And he went to Gartán afterwards and lived there.

109. Once, as he was in a certain place that is called Gort na lece in Gartán to the West of Raith cnó, where he himself was born, there came a certain man of the congregation to him there whereof a great many of the friends and relatives had died, and he was sad and sorry after them. And so great was his sorrow that he preferred death to life after them. And when Columb cille saw him he was moved to pity for him. And he blessed a flag-stone that was beside him, and caused

iad fein do bendeochad Torach 7 gomadh acu fen bud ail leo a uisce dól di condechaid a cumha ar cul, gor morad ainm de 7 Coluimb cille de sin. 7 do fhaccaib C. c. mar buadhaib ar an lec-sin ge be nech ar ambeith cumha do íbhadh uisce dí ó sin alle a cumha do dul de. 7 ata sin ga firad ó sin, 7 lec na cumadh ainm na leice aniugh a cuimhniugad na mirbaile mor-sin.

110. Fechtus do C. c. ag techt ó Gartan ag gabáil laimh risan cend oirtheruch do loch Bethach go facuidh duine airithe darb ainm Cránthann ó Coinneannta na rith tairis. Ag sin an toglach na rith docum fhóid a bais, ar Columb cille, 7 gabthar lib he 7 na leiccidh dindsaigí an foid-sin é. Do gabatar muindter C. c. an toclach an uair-sin 7 mar nar léigedh siubal dó docondcatar an fod cuca na rith 7 tainec se fa cosaib an óclaig 7 ní luaithé ráinic se fáí ina fuair an toclach bas. IS andsin adubairt C. c. bidh a fis agaib, a daeine, corab mar esimláir tue díá an taisbenadh ud dá cur a ceill nach éidir le henduine dar gab corp dáenda uime fod an bhaís do sechna. 7 bid a fhís agaib, ar C. c., go bfuilid tri foide and nach éidir do aennech a sechna .i. fód a gheine 7 fod a bais 7 fód a adhnacail. 7 adubairt an rann-sa:

'Tri fodain nach sechantar mar aderid a mór-fhocuil
fód a gene fód a bais 7 fod a adhnacail.

Et ina diaigh-sin do guid C. c. díá fan oclach daithbeougad indus go ndernadh sé aithrige na pecad 7 gombeith sé na óglach maith do díá 7 dó fein ó sin amach. 7 fuair se sin amail do iarr. 7 ata ula san inadh andernadh sin mar comardha mirbaile do díá 7 do Columb cille. 7 do athbeaigh sé duine eli san inadh cedna-sin .i. Beglaech o Beclaidhe a ainm.

111. Teid C. c. remhe iarsin a Tuathaib Toraidhe 7 tainic an taingel cuige 7 adubairt ris dul san oilen darb ainm Torach 7 a bendugad 7 eclus onórach do denamh ann. 7 teid ar enoc ard dabfhaca se Toruch uadha renabartar Belach an adhraid aniug. 7 do batar na naeim eli do bí faris ga rádha comadh

the man to drink water from it, so that his grief left him. And the name of God and Columb cille was magnified thereby. And Columb cille left it as a property of that flag that whoso should drink water from it in sorrow, his sorrow should leave him from that out. And that is being proved true ever since. And the name of that flag to-day is the flag of the sorrows in commemoration of that great miracle.

110. Once of a time Columb cille was coming from Gartan, and as he was passing by the eastern end of Loch Bethach he saw a certain man whose name was Crimthann ó Coinneannta running past him. 'There is a youth running to the sod of his death' said Columb cille, 'so let ye catch him, and do not allow him to meet that sod.' Columb cille's people caught him then, and as he was not allowed to go, they saw the sod coming running towards them, until it came under the feet of the youth, and no sooner was it under him than the youth died. Then Columb cille said: 'Know, O people, that it was as an example God gave that vision, to signify that it is not possible for anyone who has assumed a human body to escape the sod of his death. And know that there are three sods that nobody may shun: the sod of his birth, the sod of his death and the sod of his burial'. And he said this stanza:

Three little sods that are not shunned as they say in a proverb (?)
the sod of his birth, the sod of his death and the sod of his burial.

And thereupon Columb cille prayed to God to bring the young man to life again so that he might do penance for his sins and be a good servant to God and to himself from that out. And that was granted him as he had asked. And there is a station-stone in the place where he did that as a token of a miracle for God and Columb cille. And he raised to life another man in that same place, Beglaech ó Beclaidhe was his name.

111. Columb cille proceeded afterwards to the tribes of Torach. And an angel came to him and told him to go into the island named Torach to bless it and to build a noble church there. And he went upon a high hill that is called Belach an adraid to-day, from which he saw Torach in the distance. And the other saints who were with him were saying

beith. Maith mar dodenamne sin, ar C. c., teilgem ar trosdáin ría 7 geb é againn dá toileocha dia a trostan do chur indti bidh an toilen aige 7 ainmnighter uadha é. Doronsad amlaid 7 teilgis C. c. a trostan 7 dorindedh ga nó fogha ar sinbal anairde de 7 rainec se san oilen, conadh Lacc an fogha ainm an inaidh inar ben se aniug. 7 as deimin go raibe Torach feadh radaire uadha as an inadh inar chaith sé an trosdán-sin 7 ní rainic trostain na naemh ele sech na hoilenaib ata iter Toraigh 7 tir mor. Teid C. c. reimhe iarsin a Toraig 7 fuair a trostan na fogha isin inad-sin adubramar romainn. Toebais na laimh he iarsin 7 dorindedh trostán de amail do bí ó tús comluath 7 do glac sé é. *Et* ní raibe an tigerna ler les an toilen an uair-sin .i. Oilill mac Báedain ag légen do C. c. a bendugad nó áitiugad do dénamh and. LAIRais C. c. air lethed a bruit don oilén do tabairt dó o nach fuair sé ní bud mo ina sin uadha. Dober, or Oilill, oir ní digbail lim sin do tabairt duid. Cuiris C. c. a brat de 7 do sín ar lár é 7 do leath an brat tar an oilén uile. Arna fhaicsin sin dOilill do lín ferg adbulmor e 7 tuc cu neime do bi aige cuige 7 ní ticcedh duine nó beathadhach uaithe gan marbad re lighí hí, 7 gresaighis re Columb cille hí. Arna fhaicsin sin do C. c. cuiris sighnum na croiche iter se 7 sí 7 cuiris fa umla ar in coin fuirech na sesamh ar a comair 7 gan techt ní bud ghoire iná sin dó 7 bas dfhagail ar an ponge-sin fen. Fuair an cu neimhe-sin bás fo cedóir le breithir C. c. 7 do fhagaib mar aithne gan choin nó madraig do tabairt san oilén-sin go brach aris ag cuimniugad na mirbhaile mor-sin. Ar faicsin na mirbaile-sin dOilill do leicc ar a glúinib é 7 do creid do dia 7 do Columb cille. 7 tucc sé an toilen uile do. Bendaighis C. c. an toilen iarsin 7 dorinde se eclais onórach and 7 do fhagaib se clerech maith dá mvintir fen a comarbacht an baile-sin .i. Ernan Toraidhe.

[The quatrain quoted in § 110 reads thus in the Royal Irish Academy MS. ²³ P. 3 fo. 18 a 2.]

Trí fódáin nach séchaintir cia toisceit na habrochtair
fót in ghene fót in bháis ocus bhót in adhnaeuil.

K. M.]

it was themselves who should bless Torach, and that they would like to have it for themselves. 'That will be as it will be' said Columb cille, 'let us cast our staves towards it, and for whomsoever of us God shall deign that his staff reach it, let the island be his and let it be called after him.' They did so, and Columb cille cast his staff. And it became a spear or dart soaring on high until it reached the island. And the Hollow of the Dart is still the name of the place where it struck. And it is certain that Torach was as far as the eye could see away from the place whence he cast that staff; and the staves of the other saints did not reach farther than the islands that are between Torach and the mainland. Columb cille proceeded then into Torach, and found his staff turned into a dart in the place which we have already mentioned. Then he took it in his hand, and it became a staff as it was before as soon as he touched it. And the lord to whom the island belonged at that time, namely Oilill mac Báedain, was not for letting Columb cille bless it or make a dwelling in it. Columb cille asked him to give him the width of his cloak of the island seeing that he would not get any more than that from him. 'I will give it' said Oilill, 'because I think it no harm to give thee that much.' Columb Cille took off his cloak and spread it upon the earth, and the cloak spread out over the whole island. Upon seeing that Oilill became dreadfully angry, and he called a venomous hound that he owned to him (and man or beast against whom she was sent never escaped her) and set her at Columb cille. On seeing that Columb cille made the sign of the cross between himself and her, and caused the hound to remain standing before him and to come no nearer than that to him, and then to die upon the very spot. That venomous hound died immediately at the word of Columb cille. And he commanded that no hound or dog should ever be brought into that island again, in commemoration of that great miracle. Upon seeing that miracle Oilill cast himself on his knees and believed in God and Columb cille, and he gave him the whole island. Columb cille blessed the island afterwards, and he built a noble church there, and he left a good clerk of his own convent in the ecclesiastical succession of that place, to wit, Ernan of Torach.

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Colorado.

RICHARD HENEBRY.

DR. MAC CARTHY'S LUNAR COMPUTATIONS.

In the Introduction to the Annals of Ulster (vol. iv, 1901) new views respecting the Paschal lunar cycle employed by St. Patrick and St. Columba have been advanced, and certain definite conclusions have been arrived at. Some of these conclusions depend upon the learned editor's particular methods of lunar computation quite as much as they do upon the corrections and interpolations he has found it necessary to introduce into the text of his primary authority, which is the Munich Computus. These emendations are the results of highly technical analysis and the whole essay displays very diligent industry and wide, though not exhaustive research. It is not, however, with the more abstruse part of Dr. Mac Carthy's attempt that I wish to deal, but with mistakes in quite elementary computations, such as the calculation of the age of the moon by Alexandrine methods, and the calendar-dating and identification of eclipses. These mistakes are three in number: the first is a serious one made in identifying a lunar eclipse; the second is repeated several times and argues want of preparation on Dr. Mac Carthy's part, being due to the fact that he is not aware that the computistical day is a *νυχθήμερον*; and the third class springs from the tacit belief that the Alexandrine Paschal method is identical with that of Dionysius. The need to correct these elementary mistakes arises from the fact that they are numbered among the proofs asserted by Dr. Mac Carthy to be historical, and adduced by him in support of his arguments.

I. On p. lxxix of the *Introduction* the lunar eclipse assigned in the Chronicle of Marius, bishop of Aventicum, to the 19th year after the consulship of Basil, is cited to prove that Marius used

the same cycle of LXXXIV. (14) that St. Patrick, so it is alleged, carried out of Gaul into Ireland. Marius's report runs:

'P. C. Basilii Anno XIX. Indictione VIII.

Hoc anno serenitate coeli inter stellas splendor
obscurata est luna xvi. ut vix conspici posset.'

Having quoted these lines Dr. MacCarthy goes on to say that two lunar eclipses occurred in A. D. 560, viz., on May 25 and November 19, and that the incidence of the first of these in the Eighth Indiction proves it to be the one intended. Both these lunar eclipses, however, were total ones (*vide* the 'Art de Vêrifier les Dates', i. 305), and if Dr. MacCarthy had paid attention to the criterion 'vix conspici posset' he would not have selected either of them, because the total lunar eclipse of May 25, 560, was not visible at Avenches, nor indeed anywhere else on this side of the Rocky Mountains. A lunar eclipse is not visible in the daytime and though the middle of this particular one is dated at 9.30 A. M., that, of course, is relative time, being calculated for the meridian of Paris only, and not for those parts of the earth's surface whence the eclipse really was visible.

The Eighth Indiction began on September 1, 559, and the only partial eclipse of the moon that fell in it occurred on November 30. The middle of this eclipse coincided with 9.30 P. M., when only about three-eighths of the moon's disc was unobscured — a circumstance which tallies with the second criterion, viz., 'vix conspici posset.' The third criterion is the age of the moon of the Tables, and this, taken in conjunction with the two others, is quite conclusive as to identity. The year 559 had the golden number IX. in the Dionysian cycle of XIX., and the epact of the IXth year is 28 days, while the lunar regular of December 1 is 18. If, then, we add the lunar regular to the epact and divide by 30, according to rule, the remainder will be the age of the moon on the lunar day of the eclipse. (This lunar day began at sunset on November 30, and bears the date of December 1; see paragraph II., below.) This remainder is 16, and as Marius's report agrees with it, and does not agree with any cycle of LXXXIV., it is clear that he used the lunar method of Dionysius. Hence Dr. MacCarthy can derive no assistance from Marius of Aventicum in establishing his hypothetical cycle of LXXXIV. (14).

The other historical proofs that Dr. Mac Carthy relies on are equally unsatisfactory. (1) The first (p. lxxv) is clearly erroneous, for Dr. Mac Carthy's report that the Athanasian Chronicle states that the Easter of 349 fell on moon 19, March 25 (which was not a Sunday), is not borne out by the passage itself, which he gives in a footnote, and which says — 'VII. Kal. April, (luna) 17.' (2) The Catacomb inscription of February 25, moon 12, 397 (p. lxxiii), indicates that March 1 fell on moon 16, and the reduction of that lunar date by 9, the regular of March 1, yields 7 days of epact. This epact goes with the golden number XVIII. which marks the year 397, named already. This inscription, therefore, reflects purely Alexandrine computation. (3) The third proof (p. lxxix) is provided, we are assured, by the data of the Nativity as calendared by the Chronographer of 354 (*cf.* p. lvii, note 3). These data denote a year that began on Saturday, moon 13. It ended, therefore, on Saturday, moon 23, and the preceding Sunday, the alleged day of the Nativity, should have been *luna xvii.*, and not *xv.* The obvious omission of *ii.* should have been detected. (4) As for the doubtful Catacomb inscription which bears no consular datum it is admitted that it is not known whether it was carved in the IIIrd century, or in the IVth, so we can hardly be expected to attach much importance to it. (5) Two instances are adduced from the Easter List of the Chronographer of 354— 'in confirmation of the luni-solar calculation' of LXXXIV.(14); but we are not instructed how the lunar calculations of one computist who effected the *saltus lunaris* seven times in 84 years, as this chronographer did, can confirm the calculations of another who only effects it six times in that period. Neither is the agreement in the two instances relied on a very real one. The years 317 and 330, the cases in point, have respectively 1 and 25 as the moon's age on January 1 in the List of the Chronographer of 354; but in the hypothetical LXXXIV.(14) the corresponding years 21 and 34 have moon 30 and moon 24 allotted to them respectively on that day. This initial discrepancy does not augur well for subsequent harmony and if the matter be examined it will be discovered that the alleged agreement in 317 is due to an error in computation made by Dr. Mac Carthy, while that alleged to happen in 330 is due to another made by the Chronographer which Dr. Mac Carthy has not detected. In the former case

Dr. Mac Carthy has only given 29 days to the lunation of March in the years 2, 21 and 40, the result of which is that the moon of April is 'kindled' one day too soon. In the year 330 the Chronographer miscomputed the age of 'XIII. Kal. Maias' (= April 19) as moon 14. He should have written *luna xv.*, because the moon's age on January 1 was *xv.* This exhausts all the proofs that Dr. Mac Carthy has grouped together as historical, and numbered from 1 to 6.

II. I just now referred the lunar eclipse of November 30 to the lunar day dated December 1. The reason is that the lunar or ecclesiastical day is a *νυχθήμερον*, the evening of which bears the ecclesiastical weekday-name of the following morning, and also the Julian calendar date and the lunar calendar date of the same. In exact computation these three dates are all changed either at sunset or at vespers. The following half-dozen instances will make this point quite clear. (a) In the Chronicle of Idatius the lunar eclipse the middle of which coincided at Paris with 7.30 P. M., on our September 26, A. D. 451, is dated 'XXVIII. Valentiniani Imp., V. Kal. Octobris' (= September 27). (b) In Symeon of Durham's 'Historia Regum' the lunar eclipse on our November 23, 755, at 7 P. M., is dated 'VIII. Kal. Decembris' (= November 24). (c) In the Saxon Chronicle the lunar eclipse on our January 15, 800, at 8.30 P. M., is dated 'XVII. Kal. Februar.' (= January 16). (d) In the same Chronicle the lunar eclipse on our April 4, 1121, at 9.30 P. M., is dated 'Nonis Aprilis' (= April 5). (e) In Eginhard's Annals the lunar eclipse on our December 25, 809, at 7 P. M., is dated 'VII. Kal. Januar.' (= December 26). (f) In the same Annals the lunar eclipse on our June 20, 810, at 7.45 P. M., is dated 'XI. Kal. Juli.' (= June 21); and the lunar eclipse of the same year, on our December 14, at 6 P. M., is dated 'XVIII. Kal. Januar.' (= December 15). (g) Lastly, in the Annals of Loch Cé, i. 24 (ed. Hennessy, 'R. B. SS.', No. 54, 1871), the lunar eclipse on our January 9, Wednesday, 1023, at 8 P. M., is dated 'IIII. id. Enáir, dia Dardaoin, xiiii. ésgai Ienáir', (= January 10, Thursday, moon 14).

The nature of certain mistakes made by Dr. Mac Carthy shews that he is not acquainted with this important computistical principle. *E. g.*: in the Annals of Ulster the eclipse mentioned

last is recorded in identical terms and of course quite correctly, but Dr. Mac Carthy, who knows what a modern writer ought to have said, alters the date in his Index (iv. 140) to Wednesday, January 9, and thereby introduces confusion. Computation gives January 9, 1023, to moon 13, but this difficulty is ignored and the statement of the annalist miscorrected without any comment whatever being made. Similarly, a lunar eclipse on our December 17, 921, at 7 P. M., is dated in the same Annals 'XV. Kal. Januar.' (= December 18), which is systematically correct. Dr. Mac Carthy alters this also, without explanation. Again — in the *Introduction*, p. ciii. note 4, we read — 'A lunar eclipse took place on April 16 (702), at 10.30 P. M. The Alexandrine Easter was consequently held on the 22nd of the moon! The Irish Easter (April 16) was astronomically correct.'¹) This is all very erroneous. As the eclipse took place on our April 16 at 10.30 P. M., the lunar day it happened on was that dated *ante diem XV. Kalendas Maías* = April 17. Consequently April 23 was not moon 22, and the alleged date of the schismatic Irish Easter was not astronomically correct because the moon was not full on that day.

The most serious error, however, of all those that are due to neglect of the principle of the *νυχθήμερον* is the one made in dating the obit of St. Columba. Dr. Mac Carthy says (p. lxxviii, l. 1) that 'Tigernach states that St. Columba died on Pentecost Eve, June 9, 596.' Two out of the three data in this remarkable report are not to be found in Tigernach whose real statement has been altered out of all knowledge. What that 'most trustworthy and ill-used of Irish chroniclers' really does say is as follows: K. iiii. Quies Coluimcille in nocte dominica Pentecostes, V. id. Iuni.

This means that St. Columba died on the night of Whitsunday, June 9, in a year that commenced on a Wednesday, if 'iiii' be correct, or on a Saturday if we have a misreading of *vii* to deal with. Tigernach does not state, therefore, that the obit occurred in 596, which began on a Sunday; and where he says 'in nocte dominica Pentecostes' he means *on the night of Whitsunday*, and not on 'Pentecost Eve'. Dr. Mac Carthy is

¹) The note of exclamation is Dr. Mac Carthy's, and there are more than 60 others scattered about in the letter-press of his *Introduction*.

compelled to render the words of the ill-used Tigernach in this way because, for a reason that is unknown to me and unexplained by him, he has selected the year 596 as that of the obit, and in that year June 9 fell on a Saturday. That his view is quite wrong is clear from what Adamnan tells us about the doings of Columba on the last Saturday of his life on earth, and especially from Columba's prophecy — 'hac sequenti media venerabili nocte patrum gradiar viam.' The following passages in Adamnan prove that Columba did not die until after midnight:

Ad vespertinalem dominicae noctis missam ingreditur ecclesiam: qua continuo consummata ad hospitium revertens in lectulo residet pernox: tum proinde media nocte pulsata personante clocca festinus surgens ad ecclesiam pergit.

Dr. Mac Carthy must have forgotten these passages, and he has attempted to settle the question without reading Adamnan again. St. Columba, it is certain, died very early on a Sunday, which Tigernach says was Whitsunday, and which fell on June 9. Now in 597 Whitsunday could not fall on June 9 in any system of Paschal computation, so that arguments based upon 'proleptic attribution' must fall to the ground with regard to this year. The incidence of Sunday on June 10 rejects the year Dr. Mac Carthy has selected, and consequently deprives the hypothetical cycle of LXXXIV.(14) of any support that its author's unrestrained emendations of Tigernach might be supposed to have purveyed for it.

III. In many places Dr. Mac Carthy writes and argues as if the decemnovennial computation of the Alexandrines was identical with that of Dionysius. This view is not correct and the undermentioned differences exist: (a) the Alexandrines made the years II., V., XIII. and XVI. years of embolism; Dionysius made them common years and inserted III., VI., XIV. and XVII. in their place.¹⁾ (b) In years of embolism the Alexandrines gave 31 days to the lunation of March and only 29 to that of April; in such years Dionysius gave 30 days to both lunations. (c) In

¹⁾ The two series of embolismic lunar years are given in the *Dissertation sur les Dates* in the 'Art de Vérifier les Dates', 1818, tome 1, p. 67, but by some oversight the Alexandrine series is referred to as if it were the Dionysian.

the Alexandrine embolismic years II., V., XIII. and XVI. the Paschal term fell on March 26, March 23, March 25 and March 22, respectively, owing to the retardation of the new moon due to the cause mentioned just now; in these years Dionysius allowed the Paschal term to fall one day earlier than the Alexandrine dates. Dr. Mac Carthy knew nothing of these differences ten years ago (*vide* The Academy, December 24, 1892, p. 592) and unfortunately he was still unaware of their existence when he wrote the *Introduction* to the Annals of Ulster. The want of computistical preparation has caused him to pass some strange judgements on the relative value and authority of different cycles; and the constant misuse of the terms 'epact' and 'golden number' is especially vexatious. With Dr. Mac Carthy any lunar datum which serves as a key to lunar computations is an 'epact', and no cycle is too insignificant and faulty for the numbers that connote its years to be styled 'golden'.

When dealing with the letter of St. Athanasius respecting the Easter of A. D. 346 Dr. Mac Carthy says (p. lxxvi) that March 23 was the Alexandrine Easter Day in that year. But the golden number of 346 is V. and, consequently, Athanasius computed the Paschal term on March 23, Sunday, and of course would not keep the Feast on that day. He kept it on Pharmuthi IV. = March 30. Similarly, in the letter written by Pope Innocent I. respecting the Easter of 414, which year has the golden number XVI., the data of Theophilus's List of 100 Years, presumably March 29, moon 21, were rejected and the Pope asserted that the Feast ought to be kept on March 22, which he believed was moon 16.¹⁾ A third instance is supplied by the Paschal schism of 441, the golden number of which year is V. In this year the Easter of Theophilus was dated March 30, moon 21, but some of the Latins celebrated on March 23, which in all probability they computed as moon 16. The last three Easters were occasions of schism and they are included in the lists of Paschal schisms compiled by the Maurist Benedictines in the 'Art de Vérifier les Dates', tome 1, Annual Tables, at foot.

¹⁾ Pope Innocent's Paschal Letter to Aurelius is in Bucher, p. 480.

WHERE WAS THE DUN OF FINN MAC CUMHAILL?

The Hill of Allen and Knock Awlin are in the County Kildare, and only eight miles apart. Both hills can be reached from Newbridge, on the Great Southern Railway. The Hill of Allen is four miles from Newbridge, and Knock Awlin about six. Both hills are about the same height, that is, between five and six hundred feet above the level of the sea.

Both tradition and history seem to agree in making the Hill of Allen the whilom residence of the celebrated Finn MacCumhaill. The *Leabhar na h-Uidhre* states plainly that the Hill of Allen was his 'dun arus',¹) and states how he became possessed of it. There seem, however, to be grave doubts if he ever had his *dún* or his dwelling on the Hill of Allen. Not a vestige of earth-works, or ancient remains of any kind are to be seen on or around the Hill of Allen. The most minute search reveals no monument of antiquity. The marks of tiny ridges are still traceable on the top of the hill, showing that it was once cultivated; but any cultivation that could have been made on such a poor, rocky, sandy spot as the summit of the Hill of Allen, could hardly have obliterated *all* traces of earthworks or fortifications, if they ever existed on it. John O'Donovan's remarks on this matter are most interesting. They may be seen in one of his unpublished letters in the Royal Irish Academy, when he was employed on the great survey of Ireland in 1837. Here is an extract from one of his letters, dated Nov. 28th 1837:

¹) See LU., page 42b, facsimile. 'Dun arus' means a fortified dwelling. 'Arus' seem a mistake for 'aruis', the genitive form of the word.

'I visited the hill of Allen... Its sides are covered with furze, but on the top there is a level area on which some forts could be advantageously erected. There are, however, no traces of forts nor of any other monuments, excepting one small mound, called *suidhe Finn*, or Finn's chair, which occupies the highest point of the hill. On every side of this mound there are faint traces of field-works, but so indistinct that I could not with any certainty decide whether they are traces of forts or of recent cultivation, for the hill was tilled on the very summit. I traversed all the hill but could find upon it no monument from which it could be inferred that it was ever a royal seat like Tara, Emania, Maistean, Raoireann, or any of the other places of ancient celebrity whose localities have been identified. And still, in all the Fingallian or Ossianic poems, this hill is referred to as containing the palace of the renowned champion, Finn MacCool, who seems to have been a real historical character that flourished here in the latter end of the third century... The antiquary may draw his own conclusion from the non-existence of a Dun on the Hill of Allen. It is possible that there were forts on it a thousand years ago, and that the progress of cultivation has effaced them; but it is strange that these alone should disappear, while those of Tara, Emania, Aileach, Cruachain, Naas, Maistean, Raoireann &c. remain in good preservation.'

Knock Awlin, or Aillinne, as it is usually written in ancient MSS. has on it the largest dun or fort in Ireland. According to O'Donovan, the circular enclosure is 100 yards in diameter, and consequently contains about 24 statute acres. The ditch or moat surrounding it is still in some places four or five feet deep, and the earthen embankment ten or twelve feet high. The ancient roads leading up to the dun are still well marked, with embankments still five or six feet high on each side. Some remains of inner forts are still visible. The fosse encircles the whole top of the hill, and no traces of cultivation are extant within it. Dun Aillinne is one of the most interesting places of its kind in Ireland, and the view from it is very fine. O'Donovan was so struck by the prospect from Dun Aillinne that he wrote a poem in Irish on it. As the poem has never been printed save in my little all-Gaelic book 'Teanga Thioramhuil na h-Eireann', which but few readers of the 'Zeitschrift' may

have seen, it is given here in the antiquated language in which it was written by O'Donovan:

*Tar chuirrech na g-carbad ndian,
Triallam (o shoillsighidh an ghrian)
Le déine co Sliabh Chuillind,
D'fhéghain for mhór mór Aillind,' —
Ráth ríghdha na g-clas ndomhon,
At uargbad fri Mesdelmon,
Gel-ghrianán aoibhinn, dlaind
'Na raibh Frithir a's Aillend;
Adhbha árd na rígh 's na d-triath
'Gar cherset mór-laeich i ngliadh; —
Sen bhrugh ghrianach rígh Ghailiain,
Rígh-dhind Bresail Bregamain;
Forradh na ndegh laech 'sna ndruadh,
Aenach n-ainder a's n-óg-shluagh;
Dún fairsing Fhergais fairge,
Or dhere for dhrech Sleibh' Mairge.
For mór muigh Líphi a's Ailbhe,
For Berbha sruth na bailbhe,
For shliabh bán-liath Suidhe Laighean,
For Almhain 's for Eo Cualann.
Aoibhinnamharc ó Ail Ail'ne,
For thulchaibh for maghaibh áilne
'S for shléibhtibh co geochlaibh céo
Mairfidh an t-amharc am' mebhair co deó.'*

The above poem is given *exactly* as it was written by O'Donovan, who wrote it in the old characters. I have followed exactly his orthography, accentuation and punctuation, although the two last seem to want correction.

The question to be settled is, on which of the hills, Allen or Aillinn, was the dun or stronghold of Finn son of Cumhall? The written testimony of old MSS. is overwhelmingly on the side of the hill of Allen; but the total absence of any remains of antiquity on the latter hill, and the similarity of both names when in the genitive, lead one to think that confusion has arisen about them. In the *Leabhar na h-Uidhre*, facsimile p. 42, the nominative of Allen is *Almu*, the dative and accusative,

Almain; the genitive does not occur in the tract (Fotha Catha Cnucha), but it would almost certainly be *Alman*. But later on, another genitive seems to have been formed for it, namely, *Almaine*; see Book of Leinster, p. 296. The names of both hills in the genitive, namely, *Almaine* and *Allinne*, are so much alike, and both hills are so near each other, that confusion of their names might easily have occurred, so that the hill of Aillinn, the modern Knock Awlin, *may* have been the hill on which Finn MacCumhaill had his dun.

There is a curious poem at page 49 of the facsimile of the LL. beginning with the line, 'Slan seiss, a Brigit co mbuaid'. The following quatrain occurs in it, treating of Brigit and of Knock Awlin, or *Ailend* as it is written in MS.:

*Gáir áinaig iar cech mbuaid,
Im Chudáil claideb cumtaig drend,
Bríg a Fían fri indna ngorm,
Gloim a corn for cétaib cend.*

A call of gathering after every victory,
About Cuáil a protecting sword of battles,
The might of his Fians with blue spears,
The clashing of their goblets over hundreds of heads.

The question is 'who was Cuáil?' Could it have been that the scribe intended to write *Cumall*, but instead of putting the circumflex stroke over the *u*, to denote the omitted *m*, he wrongly put an accent over the *a*?¹⁾ In the facsimile the accent is wrongly placed over the *u* in the word Chudáil. Is there any mention in Irish history or legend of any Cuáil, or of any Cumhall except the father of Finn? It would seem from many passages in the LL. that neither the hill of Allen nor Knock Awlin has been a royal seat since the time of Finn. In the Féilire of Oengus it is said in the Prologue, page XIX, that Aillinn was uninhabited at the time the poem was written, namely, at the latter end of the eighth century, or the beginning of the ninth:

¹⁾ [Aber *Chúail* ist durch die Assonanz mit *búaid* gesichert.

Broc Aillinne uallach
Atbath lia shlóg bágach
Is mór Brigit buadach
Is cáin a ruam dálach.

Thus translated by Mr. Whitley Stokes:

Aillin's proud burgh hath perished
 With its warlike host;
 Great is victorious Brigit;
 Fair is her multitudinous city.¹⁾

It seems strange that Oengus should have mentioned Aillinn instead of Almu, the reputed stronghold of Finn Mac Cumhaill; for wherever he had his dun, would, one might naturally suppose, be the most celebrated place in the locality, and the one to which Oengus would be most likely to refer when speaking of the desolation of Pagan strongholds caused by the introduction of Christianity.

It would be interesting if it could be found out from ancient writings if Dun Aillinne was inhabited by the kings of Leinster since the third century. If it had been their stronghold, some mention of it as such would have been made in the tract on the Leinster Tribute, or Boramha, in the LL.; but nothing in it leads one to think that Dun Aillinne was inhabited by the kings of Leinster from the second to the seventh century, A. D. In the poem from the LL. on Brigit and on Dun Aillinne, from which a quatrain has been quoted, Aillinn or Alend is styled a '*dún fás*', or a desolate stronghold. Here again the difference in the spelling of the ancient name of Knock Awlin leads to still more confusion, for *Alend* might have been intended as a genitive of Almu.

The hill of Allen seems to be the only place in Ireland which history or tradition mentions as the stronghold of ancient Irish kings or chiefs on which no relic or trace of antiquity is to be seen. It would be most interesting to know what caused the disappearance of all vestiges of antiquity on the hill of Allen, if they ever existed on it.

¹⁾ The city must have been Kildare, now only a village.

There is not any other place in Ireland from which such a quantity of legend and folklore has emanated as from the dwelling-place of Finn, whether it was on the hill of Allen or on Knock Awlin. Fully three fourths of those legends and folk tales in which Finn was the principal figure and the hill of Allen the most frequently named place, have been lost with the loss of the language in which they were enshrined. The fame of Finn and his dun penetrated to the very most northern part of Gaelic Scotland. In the Dean of Lismore's collection of Highland Scotch folk lore, made in the early part of the sixteenth century, Finn's residence is, according to the index of the book, mentioned no less than twenty eight times under the names of Allen, Almhuin, Alve, Alvin, &c.; Finn himself is mentioned sixty nine times, and his Feine, or soldiers, are mentioned forty six times.

It is to be hoped that some of the many Gaelic savants that, happily, now exist, will try to solve the mystery of the hill of Allen; and if it really was Finn's stronghold, find out the cause that has denuded it of all monuments of antiquity.

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MISCELLEN.

1. Lateinisch *a* in irischen Lehnwörtern.

Dass in einer älteren Schicht lateinischer Lehnwörter im Irischen betontes *ă* zu *ō* wird, ist schon öfters bemerkt worden. Als Beispiele führt z. B. Sarauw, *Irske Studier*, S. 7 *ochsall* > *axilla*, *mocoll* > *macula*, *proind* > *prandium*, *Cothraige* > *Patricius* auf. Dass aber vor Labialen eine Verdumpfung über *au* zu *ū* eintritt, ist meines Wissens noch nirgends hervorgehoben. Wir haben dafür folgende Beispiele.

bauptaist > *baptista*.

Dúid (i. e. *Duid*) > *David*.

lubar 'Arbeit' > *labor*. Im Cod. Cambr. 38b findet sich der Dativ *laubuir*; auch sonst kommt das Wort häufig in der älteren geistlichen Litteratur vor, so z. B. in der *Regula Choluimb Chille* § 17 (Ztschr. III, S. 29) in der seltsamen Schreibung *lubfur*¹⁾; in der *Stair Manach nEipte* (Ashmolean MS. 1763, fo. 57a): *oc lubar* 7 *oc ernaighthi*. In der späteren Sprache findet sich der Nominativ *lubair*, z. B. *ernaighthi* 7 *lubair* 7 *légund*, Ztschr. III, S. 29, § 16; *lubair*, *cretra*, *commairge*, LL. 31 a 2. Das Wort ist feminin: *is í lubair as dech la Dia dogníther i talum*, RC. XII, 428, § 20. *mád dogníther lubair*, ib. § 21.

pupa 'Papst' > *papa*. *Pupa* oder *Pupu Airne* 'Papst von Arann' war der Ekelname *Nem's* oder *Cailbe's*, Bruders von *Ciaran*, wie die Glosse zum *Féilire Oenguso* (14. Juni) und LL. 373 marg. inf. berichtet. Wir haben es hier sicher mit einer alten Form zu thun, die nicht etwa, wie *Stokes* (*Fél. S. CII*)

¹⁾ Ebenso gelegentlich *merbfall* statt *merball*.

möchte, in *papa* zu ändern ist. *Bobba* im Trip. Life (*a bobba Pátraic!* S. 218, 4) und das aus den Sagen bekannte *popa* wären dann spätere Formen desselben Ursprungs.

pupall 'Zelt' > *papilio* ist hinlänglich bekannt.

uball 'Apfel' > *abella* neben dem späteren Lehnwort *aball* 'Apfelbaum'. Die Frucht war längst durch den Handel bekannt, ehe die ersten Apfelbäume nach Irland kamen.

2. Der Name Tnugdalus.

Der Name des Helden der durch Bruder Marcus ausgezeichneten Vision ist in der Weltliteratur in der Form Tundal bekannt geworden, die über Tungdalus aus dem ursprünglichen Tnugdalus entstanden ist. Dass Tnugdalus die Latinisierung eines irischen Namens sei, ist gewiss immer angenommen worden; nur war ein entsprechender Eigenname im Irischen meines Wissens bisher nicht nachgewiesen. Es scheint mir nun zweifellos, dass Tnugdalus den öfters vorkommenden Namen *Tnúthgal* wiedergeben soll. Derselbe findet sich z. B. in den Annalen von Ulster A. D. 783 (bei den Vier Meistern, A. D. 771); ferner in den Genealogien des Buchs von Leinster, S. 324 a 19. Der Genitiv ist *Tnúthgaile* LL. 320 d; 320 e 1. Auch die Form *Tnúdgal* kommt LL. 323 b vor. Im latinisierten Tnugdalus liegt dieselbe Metathese der Spiranten vor wie im irischen *lugbort* (statt *lubgort*), *bídba* (statt *bidbu*), *debthir* (BB. 316 a 37 statt *dethbir*) u. s. w.

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KUNO MEYER.

ERSCHIENENE SCHRIFTEN.

Glossary to Volumes I.—V. of the Ancient Laws of Ireland.
Compiled by Robert Atkinson, LL.D., President of the
Royal Irish Academy. Dublin, 1901.

Whatever may be their intestine discord, Celtic scholars are agreed on two points, first, that the official edition of the Ancient Laws of Ireland, with its inaccurate texts, guesswork translations, and pathetically feeble notes,¹⁾ is, for philological purposes, almost worthless, and, secondly, that within the last ten years Celtic, especially Irish, philology has made a remarkable advance. This being so, the obvious duty of one who undertakes to make a glossary to these laws is, first, to collate the printed texts with the MSS., and, secondly, to master the recent discoveries of Ascoli, Thurneysen, Zimmer, Zupitza, Osthoff, Strachan, Pedersen, Sarauw, Lidén, Loth, Victor Henry, and other scholars. Dr. Atkinson has done neither. His glossary is not only incomplete, but swarms with non-existing or misspelt words and forms, linguistic monstrosities which a collation with the MSS. coupled with some knowledge of Old-Irish, would have enabled him to avoid or correct. He constantly gives oblique cases as nominatives. He does not mention the conjugation of the verbs, or the gender and declension of the nouns. His insertion

¹⁾ As to the first four volumes see the opinions of Prof. Rhŷs, Prof. Mackinnon, Dr. S. H. O'Grady, Dr. Norman Moore, Prof. Kuno Meyer, and Geheimrat Windisch in *The Academy* Nos. 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 706, 707. I have not collated vol. V.

or omission of marks of length is arbitrary. He sometimes separates the same word and confounds different words. The meanings which he assigns are often wrong or vague, and, lastly, his etymologies, as a rule, belong to the prescientific era. I make these remarks with regret, for he has identified many of O'Davoren's law-quotations, and there is some other good work in his glossary. But their justice will be admitted by every one who peruses the following imperfect lists.

I. Words and forms omitted.

ach for *acht* 'but, save' Laws II. 32, 16, O'Dav. 66, s. v. *coneitis*, YBL. col. 919, and O'R.

adapail V. 450, 12 'perishes' (*ad-ad-bail*).

adbal 'huge' I. 54, 21, where the edition has *adb*

ad-idn-giallna 'serves him' IV. 322, 18, where the edition has *A did ngiallna*.

ai 'law'? I. 258, 10, where it is misprinted as part of the preceding word, *gnim*.

aen-[s]luasat I. 170, 1, 'one paddle', lit. 'one shovel'.

ag allaid 'a deer', pl. *na haighi alta* IV. 120, 3.

airba 'breaking' = *aurba* I. 168, 4, where the edition omits the word.

aitherrigim 'I change, relapse' (pres. ind. sg. 3 *ait[her]rig* II. 188, 11 (*s*-subj. sg. 3, *aithirsed* I. 10, 6) should come under *aitherrach*, p. 49.

aoilechair 'dung', IV. 136, 14, where it is misprinted *aoilech*.

arachet I. 46, 17, 'was sung'.

ara corad I. 46, 17, (where it is misprinted *ar a cor*) 'was walled'.

ardrach 'sovrán', *timna n-ardrach* I. 10, 3, 'sovrán command', translated by 'will of the supreme king'.

ardrarc muige (sic MS.) I. 192, 21. For this the edition and Atkinson give *ardrac m*. I do not understand *ardrarc*.

ar-fethim 'I precede', *ar-id-feit* IV. 300, 17.

ar-da-labraithar I. 268, 16; 302, 30, 'who speaks for it'. Atkinson gives only the corrupt *ardolabraidtur* of V. 436, 1.

atsuiter I. 172, 26, an orthotonic form, whence the enclitic *astaiter* I. 30, 27.

aurbiatar I. 230, 23 (misprinted *aurbiathar*), pres. ind. pass. of *airbiathaim*.

- biathfathar* IV. 236, 23, *b*-fut. pass. of *biathaim*, 'I feed'.
- bibdad* gen. pl. IV. 234, 25, should be mentioned at *bidba*.
- brechtán* i. *im ur* 'fresh butter', O'Cl., but *brechtán úrimme*, Aisl. 162; gen. *brechtain*, IV. 118, 7, where it is misprinted *bresain*.
- buith* 'to be' IV. 302, 6. Cymr. *bod*.
- caindill* 'candelam' IV. 380, 5 (where it is printed as *ced*) is lacking at *caindell*, p. 119. Cymr. *canwyll*.
- cechtair* gen. sg. IV. 338, 16, is lacking at *cechtar*.
- ciato-imargaet* I. 150, 13, 'was first fought' (lit. 'mutually wounded').
- cetharde* 'four things' IV. 306, 25, where it is misprinted *cethraime*.
- concobraim* 'I relieve': *frisna concobair mac* 'which a son does not relieve', V. 510, where the phrase is misprinted *fris nacon cobair mac*: '*cobair* seems used as a verb', Atkinson VI, p. 144.
- comadh* 'adjustment', I. 264, 7, cogn. with *comadas* = Cymr. *cyfaddas*.
- con-berbaim* 'I boil together', *conberbar* I. 140, 36. Verbal noun *comberbad* Aisl. 107. Cymr. *cymerwi* 'to concoct'.
- con-gníim* pres. ind. pl. 3 *congníat* I. 136, 9, where it is misprinted *cong mat* and rendered 'they make good'. The pret. sg. 3 *ro cungain* and the verbal noun (*cungnam*) are quoted in VI, p. 207.
- con-grennim* 'I collect' (?), 3. sg. pres. ind. act. *congreinn* I. 194, 24, which Atkinson puts under *congraim* 'I shout', and translates by 'proclaims'. The pass. *congren[n]ar* is in YBL. col. 718. Rev. Celt. XXII. 22, 412.
- corp caich a fine* IV. 374, 20, 21 (where the phrase is given as *cosp ca crich a fine*) is omitted at *corp*, p. 184.
- crod* 'cattle' I. 106, 35, 36, dat. *crud* I. 46, 24. Cymr. *cordd*. See Ir. Texte IV, 392.
- cú allaid* 'wolf', pl. n. *coin allta* IV. 120.
- deac* 'ten' IV. 338, 21, leg. *déac*, the Old-Irish form of *déc*, VI. 218, see Idg. F. XII. 188.
- deichde* 'tenfold' IV. 306, 24.
- do-agim* omitted under *d*, is to be found under *ag*, p. 21.
- do-aitnigim*: *do-ro-aitniged* tr. 'was adjudged' I. 54, 1.
- do-biadach* 'inhospitable' I. 42.

dochus, gen. sg. *ardmes dochusa* 'arbitration' IV. 94, 26. Here for *dochusa* the edition has the misprint *do usa*, which Atkinson, s. v. *usa*, would emend to *do usa*[*id?*] 'to the usage'!

don 'place' II. 68, 15: where *fordón* should be *for don*: see ML. 38 a 8 and Idg. F. XII. 189.

doris IV. 338, 15 gen. sg. of *dorus* 'door', nom. pl. *dorais* I. 130, 19.

dotuartet I. 246, 6: *teora pinginne déc 7 lethpinginn is ed dotuartet* 'thirteen pence and a halfpenny, this is what remains': cf. *dofuarat* 'remanet' Sg. 12 a 3, *diurat* ML. 72 b 17, *diurad* 'remnant', et v. Sarauw, Irske Studier p. 57 n.

dualcus 'right, due' I. 80, 33, where the edition has *dualtus*, and I. 94, 1, where the edition has *dualus*.

(*ara n*)-*ecmai* I. 82, 30, where the edition has *ara n-ecmia*.

eiscim 'I cut out' pres. indic. pass. sg. 3, *asa n-eiscither a mbiada coiri do cach* I. 46, 27.

farcha 'mallet', *beiminda do farcha* IV. 76, 25, where the edition omits *do farcha*. The variant *forcha* occurs in the Glossary VI, p. 400, where *beime anna* is a misprint for *béimeanna*, pl. of *béim* 'a blow'.

feisi 'sows' I. 140, 37, pl. n. of *feis* = Corn. *guis* (gl. *scroffa*), MBr. *gues* 'trueie'.

fir-epi 'true cutting' I, 236, 6.

flaith athig V. 207, 9.

focrenar 'is rewarded' IV. 372, 6, where it is misprinted *focrena*.

fofetar I. 10, 23; translated by 'it is known'.

fagabar I. 48, 11, where it is misprinted *fogabar* and translated 'would be found'.

forcur 'rape', dat. sg. I, 162, 26, where it is misprinted *forcar*.

gaim-biad 'winter-food', IV. 308, 24; 312, 5.

geimhnidhe I. 28, 32, 'made of hide' (*geimen*).

innarbtar IV. 374, 'is expelled': *ní hinnarbtar* IV. 374, 26, where the edition has *ní hinairbtar*, translated 'shall not be expelled', as if the *b* was the sign of the future.

ithed I. 56, 10, verbal noun of *ithim* 'I eat'.

labra 'speaking' I. 302, 31, where the phrase *is é fethem* [rectius *fechem*] *bias ag labra tara cenn no ime* ('he is the law-

agent who will be speaking on his behalf or about him') is thus edited: *is e fethem bias a dal a brathar a cenn noime*, and thus translated: The law-agent by whom it was taken at the end of the stay'.

lestrae 'vessels, hives', dat. sg. *lestrai* V. 390, 24, acc. sg. *lestrai* IV. 178, 11, a fem. collective, from *lestar*.

lias 'sheepfold', dat. sg. *caire a lias* IV. 96, 26, where for *lias* the edition has, wrongly, *lais*.

mbrogaid IV. 48, 12, perhaps a mistake for *inbrogaid*, as in II. 320, 2.

momamugud I. 106, 30. See O' Don. Supp. s. v. *momamu* 'service, business'.

mrugfer IV. 316, 7, see *bruigfer* VI, p. 112.

neichi nom. pl. I. 92, 6, *na huili neichi* I. 144, 2, where the edition gives us *Ha huile nei chi*.

nesam 'nearest' I. 186, 16, where for the *imm flaith nesam* of the MS. the edition has *imm flaith*. [*In smacht*.]

ni 'does', for *doní*, *dogní* I. 58, 24.

occus 'and' I. 262, 1, 4: *ogus* I. 302, 37.

orb 'heritage' I. 184, 18; 202, 3 is a by-form of *orbe*, though Atkinson adorns it with one of his ironical notes of admiration. Cf. *comhoirb*, gen. sg. of the compound *comh-orb*, which occurs in Harl. 5280, fo. 42 b, *com-oirb* O'Dav. 66, s. v. *comairb*.

raot 'thing' IV. 466, 10, where it is misprinted *saoth*. This is the Old-Ir. *rét*.

rígfilí 'king-poet' I. 4, 13, gen. *rígfiled* I. 6, 19, where it is misprinted *rígfilid*.

ro-máinech 'affluent' IV. 374, 32.

rochar pres. ind. pass. sg. 3 of *roichim*, I. 284, 30.

saorgiallna 'free-service' IV. 382, 12, where it is misprinted *faor giallna*.

scélugud 'tale-telling' I. 44, 20, where the edition has *cclughadh*.

screpall I. 212, 16, where it is misprinted *screrall*.

so-biathach 'hospitable' I. 42, 9, where it is misprinted *dobiathach*.

tarsand 'condiment' (?), the dat. sg. *tarsunn*, IV. 324, 26, is lacking in VI. 700. (In IV. 324, 25 it is misprinted *tassunn*).

tighernais IV. 379, 13, gen. sg. of *tigernas* 'lordship' = Cymr. *teyrnas*.

tnú 'fire' I. 140, 37, where it is printed *tna* and joined to the preceding word: see infra, s. v. *nebron*.

tuirem 'a numbering', dat. sg. *tuirim* I. 292, 35.

tuislech 'stumbling', a deriv. of *tuisel* 'fall' I. 54, 8, where it is misprinted *tuisledach*.

urairgne I. 266, 21 (where the edition omits the words *no urairgne*), I. 298, 18 (where *urairgne* is misprinted *urairne*), gen. sg. of *ur-* (*air-*, *er-*) *orgun* 'plunder'.

II. Non-existing or misspelt words.

abaid, *apaid* 'ripe'. The word meant is *apaig*, from **ad-bagi*, see Ascoli Gloss. pal. hib. liii. Aisl. 158: cogn. with *φώγω*, and *bake*.

accomallain 'I adjoin', should be *adcomlaim*. (The *accomailter* cited by Atkinson is an enclitic form.)

ad 'cow' should be *ag*, just as *aide* 'deer', p. 24, should be *aige*.

adantaig 'candle-lighter' should be *adantaid*.

adb-eibertech 'apparently' (says Atkinson) = 'pompous talker'.

For *adb* the MS. (Harl. 432, fo. 4 a 2) has *i. adbal*.

adchobraim 'I desire', should be *adcobraim*, the verb not expressing relativity.

adfoirichin 'relief'. *adfoirithiu* is the nom. sg. (*ad-fo-ret* . . .).

aich (?) in the phrase *ni fiacuil foraiçi aos* 'it is not the tooth of age that is worth it', where the edition (IV. 376, 20) has *ni fiach for aich aos*. See *foraiçi* VI. 398.

aidrinne 'calf', cited from O'Dav. 48, with the remark 'I have not met it'. Spelt *aithrinni*, it occurs in the Bodleian Amra Choluimb chille, Rev. Celt. XX. 158. It is a late metathetic form of *athirni* *i. lóeg*, LU. 8 a 25. See too the Forus Focul 69, Bezz. Beitr. XIX. 21, and H. 3. 18, pp. 63b and 638.

aindeilg 'pointed stake', leg. *aindeilge*, gen. pl. of *aindelg*.

airiga 'charioteer', given as Irish, is only a misspelling of Lat. *auriga*.

aisdinecht 'divination' V. 90, 28, where we find *in aisdinecht* 'the divination', i. e. *in fäisdinecht*, the infected *f* being omitted after the fem. article, though it is here in the acc. sg.

am 'time', read *anm*.

amuga 'astray, lost', a corruption of *im-mudu* LL. 64 a 28, 185 a 12: cf. *mudu* Wb. 16 d 4.

arathain 'reins' I. 34, 12. The MS. has *arathar* 'plough-gear'.

ar-labraidtar p. 76. This should be *ar-labrathar* (cf. *ar-dalabrathar* I. 268, 16; 302, 30), pres. ind. sg. 3 of the deponent *ar-labrur* 'I speak for one'.

broth-gal 'vapour of boiling' (!) is manufactured by Atkinson from *comroth gal* I. 300, 7, where *comroth* is = *comrud* 'struggle', Wb. 5 d 38. The cognate verb is *con-rethim* p. 181.

buacdtair s. v. *buadaigim*. The MS. has *buadtair*.

buithib (? *bith-uidib*), VI. p. 99, l. 22, p. 114, l. 33. The edition (IV. 190, 15) has *in mbuithib* glossed by *indbaidh*. For *mbuithib* we should of course read *inbuidib*, dat. pl. of *inbuid* 'time'.

cain 'neck' (?), is forged from the verb *fo-cain*: *cloc focain cethra* I. 126, 3, 'a bell which cattle sound'.

caoil 'wood', VI. p. 4 s. v. *accaill*: *caill* or *coill* is probably meant.

carru na laith, VI. 123, l. 28, is not Irish. Read *carru na tuaithi* (better *tuaithe*), as it is in the MS. and also in the edition (I. 228, 3).

cerchai is given at *cerdcha* VI, p. 130, as in I. 32, 13. The MS. has, rightly, *cerdchai*.

cet 'race-course', read *cete*.

ceta III. 156, 29 is quoted as the gen. sg. of *cét* 'hundred'!

chuaisim 'I move'. The *cenco chuaistea* III, 282, 12, from which Atkinson invented this verb, is only a mistake for *cenco gluaistea*. See *gluaisim* VI. 451.

coibdelaig is given as the gen. sg. of the fem. *coibdelach*. The MS. has *coibdelaige*. Cf. the dat. sg. *ar chobdelaich* (gl. pro cognato) Sg. 40 a 2.

com-frichnam 'co-service' IV. 17, read *comfrithgnam*.

comidubart IV. 178, 14. 'Perhaps', says Atkinson, 'the word should be *co n-a tabairt ass*'. The context shews that it should be *conid-dibairt* 'so that he expelled him'.

conad is given, s. v. *connad*, as gen. pl.? The MS. has *achonnaid* 'of his fuel', gen. sg.

con-scarad 'destruction'. In support of this impossible noun Atkinson refers to IV. 146, 7, 8, where we find only the orthotonic verbs *conscara*, *conscaratt*. Their verbal noun is *coscrad*.

cor I. 46, 17 (?), see *cora* 'stone-wall'. The MS. has *aracorad* 'it was walled'.

do cualaidh p. 193, cited from I. 4, 23. The MS. has *ro cuala*, perf. sg. 3 of *cluimim*.

cumán 'hurling-stick'. The word meant is *cammán*, spelt *caman* in II. 146, 16, a derivative of *cam* 'bent'.

na dairt cited from I. 190, 3, where the MS. has rightly *na dairti* 'the young heifers'.

dala, *dara* are made out of a wrong analysis of *indala*, *indara*, i. e. *ind-ala*, *ind-ara*.

dan 'therefore'. The MSS. have always *dano* or *dana*, *dono*, *dno* or *dna*, for which the siglum *dā* is usual.

deilim 'I lie down', is forged out of *acht na deilset* IV. 78, 19, where *deilset* is, not as Atkinson supposes, an *s*-preterite, but the *s*-subj. pl. 3 of *delligim*: cf. *dellechuir* Trip. Life 240, pl. *dellgetar* LL. 43 b 22, *noco lessed lige*, LL. 153 a 6, and O'Davoren's *dellach* .i. *luighi*. Atkinson makes a similar mistake s. v. *tuitim*, where the pres. subj. pl. 3 *torthaisset* is described as 'pret. 3. pl.'.

dian-tsarugh 'forcible violation' should be *dían-śárughudh*.

disruigend cited under *De-sruithim*. The MS. has *disruidend*.

din = igitur. The MSS. have *didiu*, *didu* or *din*, for which the siglum *dī* is usual. See Aisl. 172.

dithchur, *dithfogail*, mere misspellings of *díchur*, *dífogail*.

dithmanda cited VI, s. v. *dithim* from I. 262, 25. The MS. has *dithmand*, O. Ir. *dithmann*.

didimus cited s. v. *dithmim*, from I. 272, 3. The MS. has *dithmus*.

di-toirechta. The MS. has *ditorachta*.

dlomain 'I speak'. *Dlomain* is intended. So *Fuirmin*, p. 432, should be *Fuirnim*, and *Gairmin*, p. 440, should be *Gairnim*. So at *forfagbaim* p. 402, *fo-gabain* should be *fo-gabaim*, and at *formaigin* p. 405, *tormaigin* should be *tormaim*.

dorchetu 'darkness'. The MS. has *dorchaidetu*: cf. *dorcaidetu* O'Dav. s. v. *abra*.

drim (?) cited s. v. *Dreim* 'climbing'. The MS. has *turim*, dat. sg. of the verbal noun of *do-rímim*, encl. *tuirmim* 'I reckon, tell'.

-druigset (?) p. 280, invented from the corrupt *gé redruigset sidhe lam* of I. 24, 36, rectius *cé ro-d-ruigset sídī láim* 'though they stretched out a hand'. For the *d* after *cé*, *cia*, see Strachan, Rev. Celt. XXI. 412. The verbal noun is *rogud*. Ascoli, Gloss. CCXVII.

ecnadach I. 174, 29, cited s. v. *ecnach*. The MS. has *ecndach* 'satirizing' (better *écndach*).

eimfuachnaiged I. 154. 4. The MS. has *heimfuachtnaiged*.

endga cited s. v. *ennae* 'innocent' from I. 140, 18, where the MS. has *ennca*.

etach (?) 'wings', assumed from the corrupt gen. sg. *edaigh* IV. 118, 30. The word meant is *ettach*, gen. *ettaig*, a collective, cognate with *ette* 'wing', Sg. 67 a 7, *ettech* 'winged', and Cymr. *aden*, Lat. *penna* from **petna*, Germ. *fitlich*, KZ. XXXVI. 202.

etaim sloiga (?) cited from I. 162, 11. The MS. has .i. *etaim sloiged*.

etar-scarain should of course be *etarscarthain*.

et-tenga 'tongueless'. The hyphen is wrongly placed and the mark of length omitted: read *é-ttenga*.

firda cited from I. 68, 20. The MS. has *ferda* 'manly'.

ar ní bfuiglithar cited from I. 82, 15. The MS. has *frisimbfuiglithar*.

ni fáelais cited from I. 264, 9. The MS. has *ni foelais* 'thou shalt not tolerate'.

forbrata cited from I. 188, 11. The MS. has *forbrat* 'overcloak'.

forbrisiud do cheili I. 162, 8, translated 'injury done by thy tenant'. The MS. has *forrbrisiud for do céili* 'injury done to (lit. on) thy tenant'.

frais 'rain' V. 100, 13, a clerical error or misprint for *frass*, cognate with Skr. *varṣa*, Gr. *ἔρση*, *ἔρση*.

frisbruim 'I oppose'. The word meant is *frisbruid*, of which the 3d sg. pres. indic. act. is *frisbruid*, misspelt *frisbruig* III, 28, 12: cf. *frisbrudemor* (gl. *aporiatur*) Wb. 15 b 22.

gemnaide 'adorned with gems' (?), is cited from I. 28, 32, where the MS. has *ina trenbrat geimhnidhe* 'as a mighty mantle made of hide'.

glainni cited from I. 2, 2 under *glaine* 'purity'. The MS. has *glaini*.

gleitir cited under the non-existing *gle(ith)im* 'I settle, decide', from I. 192, 14, is a scribal error for *glé itir*. The context is *co ro gle itir maithre 7 aithri* 'until it is decided between the mother's tribe and the father's tribe'. Cf. *co ro glé dam*, Wind. Wtb., where also this verb is intransitive.

glon-snaithe 'line, norm', cited from III, 88, 15. If this is really in the MS. it is a scribal error for *gló-snáithe*, Trip. Life, pp. 60, 256, dat. *glosnaitiu* ML. 35 d 10, acc. *doringni glónáthi airchetail seo iarsin*, LL. 254 a 9.

goistib dat. pl. III. 488, 10, translated by 'gossips', must be a mistake for *goistibib*, pl. dat. of *goistibe*, MR. 134, 9, which Atkinson misprints *goistib* e.

graithfne 'horse-racing', misspelling of *graihfne*, deriv. of *grafand* (ex **graiǵ-svend-*, Henderson). A similar misspelling is the *ithfern* 'hell' of the MS., which the edition (I. 6, 13) gives as *ithfrin*, and which Atkinson silently corrects to *iffern*. So O'Davoren s. v. *airnecht*, has *Sdethfaine* for *Stephani*.

greg 'steed, horse', made by Atkinson out of *grega* I. 162, 22, gen. sg. of *graiǵ*, as *ega* is gen. sg. of *aig* 'ice', and *dega* is gen. sg. of *daig* 'fire'.

idfeit. This vox nihili is made out of *ar-id-feit il-luga* IV. 300, 17 ('who precedes him in swearing'), where *id* is an infixed pronoun and *ar-feit* is the 3d sg. pres. ind. act. of *arfeithim*, a verb omitted by Atkinson and cognate with *dofethet*, *dofaith*, *docuaid* (**de-co-fáith*).

imarna 'he commanded', made out of *doimarna* V. 478, 1, the orthotonic form of the pret. act. sg. 3 of the enclitic *tim-marnaim*.

imceimnigind 'act of stepping over'. This is probably a misprint for *imchéimnigud*: cf. *eimceimnigud* II. 352, 22.

imcu 'act of making a fence', *imcuaim* 'I make a fence'. It is certain that these are voces nihili, though I cannot divine their origins. The forms *co n-imcua*, *co n-imcuad* cited by Atkinson seem s-subjunctives.

inbiurb (?) IV. 310, 8, an obvious scribe's mistake for *inbirib*, pl. dat. of *inbir*, the horizontal bar from which caldrons etc. are suspended over a fire. Rev. Celt. XXII, 425.

inne 'wealth' should prob. be *indme* or, better, *indbe*: cf. *doreir a n-uaisle* 7 *a n-indme fein*, Maundeville § 192, *innbea* O'Dav. 56, s. v. *buas*, and *dindba* O'Dav. 76.

innis cited under *inis* 'island' from I. 16, 6. The MS. has *inis*. *isboind* 'proclaims', a scribal or editorial error for *asboind*. So *iscomren*, *isitren* should be *ascomren*, *asidren*.

iundius 'ashtree' IV. 146, 21, where it must be a misprint for *uindius* = *uindes*, Rawl. B. 487, fo. 67 a 1. *unnius* LL. 200 a 10, 16.

lebruig 'it leapt, sprang' (sic Atkinson) I. 24, 27, where the edition has *no lebruig*, but the MS. doubtless *rolebruig*, i. e. *rol-eb-ruig*, where *rol* is from *ror*, Celt. Ztschr. III, 471. The edition rightly renders this verb by 'expanded'. The nasalised root *rong* is cognate with *reg-* 'distend, dilate', as to which see Ascoli, Gloss. pal. hib. CCII. For the ablaut *eg*: *ong*, cf. the roots *beg*, *bong* 'break'; *beg*, *bong* 'levy'; *leg*, *long* 'support'; *teg*, *tong* 'swear'; Strachan, Sigmatic Future, p. 8.

lesoc 'welfare' I. 104, 6, where the MS. has *lesu*, acc. pl. of *les* 'good, advantage, profit'.

leth-ri (?) rendered 'side-line' in the edition, the text of which has *leithri* 'a leathern thong', derived from *lethar* (Strachan).

liancur 'clement'; should be *lianchar*, as in O'Davoren's glossary.

lith (?) 'dismay, terror', made out of *co lith cain* IV, 354, 8, where the MS. must have *colith* (better *collith*) *cain* 'he violates law'; cf. *fer coillis cain* V. 236, 13.

loinid 'churn-stick'. The word meant is *loinnid* or *luinnid*, a derivative of *lunn* 'churndasher', O'R., which Bugge brings from O. N. *hlunnr* 'a roller for launching ships'.

mell 'happiness' (?), should be *mella*, from *melde*, a derivative of *meld*.

no-mesemnaighther cited from I. 212, 10. The MS. has *no mesem-naiged*.

mimairc is given from I. 184, 11. The MS. has *mimaise*, gen. sg. of *mimasc*.

min (?), IV, 378, 22, rightly rendered by 'dignity', for the MS. has *m̄* i. e. *miad*.

muga, *mugaigim* should be *mudu*, *mudaigim*.

naime 'holiness' should be *nóibe* (gen. sg. *noebe* LL. 164b), a derivative of *nóib* = O. Pers. *naiba* schön, gut, Zimmer, KZ. 24, 210.

nebron (?) I. 140, 37. Atkinson luckily has not translated this vox nihili, which stands for *i n-ebbrón*. The corrupt passage from which he cites it, and which he does not correct, is thus given in the edition:

Conberbar bracht
Nebron bru feisi cin lucht
Ninfortna.

Had he looked at the Dublin MS. H. 3. 18, p. 615, or at O'Davoren's Glossary 94, s. v. *gle*, he would have seen that this passage is a quatrain, and should be corrected thus:

Conberbar bracht
i n-ebbrón brú,
feisi cin lucht,
mennán for tnú.

'Let meat-juice be boiled on a fire in a belly of iron, together with milkless sows, (and) a kid'. For *ebbrón* 'iron' (= *eabhlron* a pan, caldron, O'Br. and O'R.) see Corm. and O'Dav. 81.

nur (?) I. 126, where for the *na nur* of the edition, the MS. has *l. iuri*.

ó 'raw', see *óm*. No such word as ó 'raw' s. v. *óm* or elsewhere.

raithiu (?) mere bad spelling of *raithe* 'the quarter of a year'. *mad raithiu chua* IV. 314, 11, which Atkinson fails to translate, means 'if it be the winter quarter'.

rathmaige (?) 'rath-builder', IV. 354, 9, a corruption of *ráthbuige*, where *buige* seems borrowed from ON. *byggja*.

redruigset in the phrase. *gé redruigset* I. 24, 36, is a scribe's error for *ro-d-ruigset* 'they stretched out'. For the infixed *d* after *gé* (O. Ir. *cé*, *cia*) see Strachan, Rev. Celt. XXI, 412.

reithigin VI. 611 should be *réidigim*, Salt. 5037, LL. 176 a 36, a denominative of *réid*.

ruidmethar I. 262, 1, where the MS. has (*frisi*-)*ruimidhther*, a corruption of *-ruimidter*, the enclitic form of *ro-midter* 'are adjudged'. Atkinson contents himself with 'see *im-ruidmithe*', which he explains (VI, p. 486) by 'sin, transgression'. It does not appear what sin has to do with the four things by which 'proof, pledge, payment and fulfilment' are regulated.

sainrad, *sainradach* should be *sainred* (Cymr. *hanred*), *sainredach*. *samit* II. 326, 7, is explained as 'a collation of curds, butter and milk given in summer'. If so, read *sam-ith* or *sam-ithed*, a compound of *sam* 'summer' and *ith* 'corn', or *ithed* 'eating'.

sechta seotu, VI, p. 76, s. v. arg, and p. 297, s. v. eirim, is not Irish. The MS. (Harl. 432, fo. 9a = I. 134, 9) has .iii. *s*, i. e. *secht seoit* 'seven valuables'.

seir 'food'. The word intended is *séire* or *sére*, as in Wind. Wtb. *slis* '(wash-)beetle, scutching handle', cited from I. 142, 28, where the MS. has, rightly, *in tslisiu gretli*.

smeithed 'winking at, beckoning' I. 240, 22. The MS. has *smeited*; cf. *ic smetiud for in mac leginn* 'winking at the student', Rawl. B. 502, fo. 57a.

snomad 'stripping off bark' should be *snobad*: cf. *snob* (gl. liber, gl. suber) Sg. 64 a 10, Philarg. 124, which Lidén connects with the Old Icelandic *náfr* 'birch-bark'.

taisidecht, *tuisidecht* 'leadership', should be *tóisigecht* (Cymr. *tywysogaeth*), as in Wb. 28 b 28 and ML.

tarm-soillse 'eclipse'; I. 6, 11. The MS. has *tarinsoillse* 'over the light'. The Irish word for eclipse is *erchra*, Tigernach 1023.

toirched 'act of getting a woman in child', I. 176, 1, where the MS. has, rightly, *toirched*, a deriv. of *torrach* 'pregnant'. So *toirches*, *toirchesach*, *toirchim* VI. 735 should be *toirrches*, *toirrchesach*, *toirrchim*.

tuad 'axe'. The word meant is *túag*; cf. Ir. *tocht* 'piece' and Skr. *tuj* 'to strike'.

uaid (?). The *rohuaid* V. 368, 18, from which Atkinson got this vox nihili, is only a misspelling of *ro húaig*, pret. act. sg. 3 of *úaigim* 'I stitch, sew'.

urdlaid 'separations'. The word meant is *urdluige*, cognate with *dluigim*, *indlung*, *indlach*. *ferna urdlochta* 'cloven shields', Rev. Celt. XXI, 401.

urfeichem II. 306, 13, should be *urfeithem* 'expecting, awaiting'.

III. Oblique cases given as nominatives.

adantaib (?) 'stopping-places, pauses', dat. pl. of *ad-anad*.

adfoirichin 'relief', dat. or acc. sg. of *adfoirithiu*.

aided 'guest', should be *óged*, gen. sg. or pl. of *ógi*.

almsain 'alms' I. 52, 9, where it is the dat. sg. of *almsan* = Cymr. *elusen*.

ambuain 'not good', gen. sg. of *ambuan*.

arba 'corn', O. Ir. *arbe*, Wb. 10 d 6, gen. sg. of *arbar*, KZ. XXXVII, 254.

ban-bidbad, gen. sg. of *ban-bibdu* 'female defendant', with metathesis of *b*, *d*.

brothcháin (misspelt *Broth-cain* V. 260, VI. 110) is the gen. sg. of *brothchán* 'pottage', Wb. 33 c 15, acc. sg. *brothchán*, LL. 286 b 32.

buaín 'good', gen. sg. of *buan*, which occurs with the meaning of 'a good woman' in IV. 62, 15, where the word is declined like a neuter substantive.

bunchuir IV. 76, 22, tr. 'by bands of interwoven twigs', nom. pl. of *bunchor* or *bunchar*.

cein-mair 'long ago' I. 34, 27. This is the dat. abl. sg. of *cían már*, governed by the prep. *ó*.

cennda (?) 'tame'. This is the acc. pl. of *cennaid*. The context is *amail na cona cennda* IV. 114, 15.

cliora (?) 'bag', is nom. pl. of *clior*, a corruption of *criol*, 'creel', pl. *crela* I. 148, 4.

cluinsin 'act of hearing'. The MS. has the nom. sg. *cluinsiu*, of which *cluinsin* is dat. acc. sg.

cul-fiaclaib 'back-teeth', dat. pl. of *cúl-fiacuil*.

cull, which Atkinson renders by 'testicle', II. 238, 10 and 244, 24, is the dat. sg. of *coll* 'castration' = Cymr. *coll* 'loss, damage'.

dáil 'assembling, meeting'. dat. acc. sg. of *dál* = O. Cymr. *datl*, now *dadl* 'debate'.

dercnait 'flea', dat. acc. sg. of *dercnat*.

dibuirsín 'dripping, dropping', dat. sg. of *dibuirsín* = *tepresín*
Wind. Wtb. Cymr. *dyferiad*.

digail 'vengeance', dat. acc. sg. of *dígal* = Cymr. *dial*.

drinn-roisc 'choice', nom. pl. of *drinnrosc* 'an urgent request'
(*dru-ind-ro-sq* . . .).

echmarta I. 144, 5; III. 558, 25, Dinds. of Loch Gabar, Rev. Celt. XVI, 58, gen. sg. of *echmairt* 'horsing' (of a stallion)
O'Don. Supp., where *-mairt* seems cognate with *mer* 'mad',
and perhaps with *μαραινω*, *μαρός*.

Faíl 'Ireland', leg. *Fáil*, gen. sg. of *Fál*.

feit 'pipe, tube' I. 144, 3, dat. acc. of *fet* Sg. 3 a 7, cognate with
Cymr. *chwyth*, *chwythell*.

feith 'a calm', leg. *féith*, dat. sg. of *féth*, Ml. 125 d 11, misspelt
feich V. 190, 25; V. 456, 23; 470, 35.

fogerrtha gen. sg. of *fo-gerud* 'heating', the verbal noun of
fogeir, *fogera*, Cambray sermon, GC.² 1005, and the *t*-pret.
fo-sn-gert, LU. 63 a 36. The root *ger* is also found in *ingert*
'a boiling' I. 268, 4. The same root-vowel is in the cognate
Gr. *θέρω*, *θέρμη*. The phrase *fír fogerrtha* means 'ordeal
of heating' (*iudicium aquae calidae*) and is synonymous
with *coiri fír*, Ir. Texte III, 191, 225. The *rr* in *fogerrtha*,
which led Atkinson to invent his root '*gerr*', is only an
instance of the common duplication of *r* before a consonant.

gaedilge 'the Irish language' I. 34, 24, is gen. sg. of *gáidalg*,
better *góidele*.

gais 'sprig', IV. 150, 13, gen. sg. of *gass* LL. 186 a 30.

gliad 'feat of battle', gen. sg. or pl. of *gleo* 'battle', Féil. Apr. 19,
acc. pl. *gliada* Laws I. 66, 30.

gnais 'custom', leg. *gnáis*, dat. acc. sg. of *gnás*, Cymr. *naws*.

iarraith 'fosterage-fee', is one of the genitives of *iarrad*: cf.
iarrad frisa ro-altar, Harl. 432, fo. 11 a 1, a passage omitted
in the edition, I. 168, 1, and, of course, by Atkinson.

imdeirg (?) tr. 'unfriendly', dat. sg. fem. of *imderg*.

imlinn 'navel' IV. 166, 5, acc. sg. of *imbliu*, ὀμφαλός.
incoisc 'act of instructing', gen. sg. of *incosc* II. 154, 3.
itha (?) tr. 'grease', gen. sg. of *ith*, Aisl. Maic Congl. 183.

leigniuda 'scholars' IV. 356, 13, a corruption of *léignidi*, acc. pl. of *léignid* 'student', LL. 201 b 42, a derivative of *légend*.

lochad III. 296, 9 means according to Atkinson 'act of mousing'. It is the gen. sg. of *luch* 'a mouse': see also LL. 289 b 24, 27, 28, 29: pl. dat. *lochdaib*, acc. *lochtha* LL. 289 b 14, 17. Cymr. *llygod*.

lochta 'people', gen. sg. of *lucht*.

lubair 'work', dat. acc. of *lubar*, borrowed (like Cymr. *llafur*) from Lat. *labor*.

maigin 'place', dat. acc. of *maigen* = Cymr. *man*.

mire 'female lunatic' I. 54, 2 : 134, 10 : 176, 2, is gen. sg. fem. of the adj. *mer*: *mire* means 'lunacy', O'Dav. 74, s. v. *doalaigh*.

ríg 'king', is gen. dat. acc. of *rí* = Cymr. *rhi*, Lat. *rex*.

ruithin 'splendour' II. 396, 26, dat. acc. of *ruithen*, which is not from *ro-tene* 'great fire', as Atkinson supposes, but from the synonymous *ro-then*.

senórach 'old man', gen. sg. of *senóir*, borrowed from an oblique case of Lat. *senior*.

slisen 'chip', gen. sg. of *slisiu*. Cogn. with Eng. *slice*, *slit*.

sluasait 'shovel', dat. acc. sg. of *sluasat*.

tecmaisin 'act of happening', dat. acc. of *tecmaisiu*.

teckta 'messenger' I. 20, 11, pl. nom. of *techt*, cogn. with Cymr. *taith*, *teithydd*.

tellraig 'ground', dat. acc. sg. of *telluir*, a loan from an oblique case of Lat. *tellus*.

toirsi 'sadness' I. 74, 1, where the MS. has *toirrsi*, acc. sg. of *toirrse*.

uig 'egg', dat. sg. of *og*. Aisl. 190. Atkinson's *ug* does not exist.

uptha 'a charm', gen. sg. of *aupaid*, *upaid*, *epaid*, Aisl. 175, pl. nom. *aipthi* (gl. *ueneficia*) Wb. 20 b 20.

IV. Wrong omissions and wrong insertions of marks of length.

'*a* voc.' (i. e. interjection), should be *á* = Gr. *ᾠ*, Lat. *ō*.

ad-agor 'I fear', read *ad-águr*, and see Strachan, Deponent 5.

adetge 'loathsomeness', read *adétge* or *adéthe*, dat. *adétchi*, LH. 8a.

atod 'kindling', read *atód*, verbal noun of *atóim*, KZ. XXX, 99.

ael 'fleshfork', read *áel*, Sg. 37 b 15, LL. 300 a 49. Aisl. 156.

aen, *aentu*, *aenur*, O. Ir. *óen*, *óentu*, *óenur*.

aer 'air', *aer* 'satire', read *áer* (= Lat. *aer*) and *áer* or *áir* (from *aigr* . . .). Aisl. 156.

aicbeil 'dangerous', *aicbeile* 'dangerousness'; read *aicbéil*, *aicbéils*.

aige 'joint of meat' should be *áige* = *áge* LU. 79 b 36.

ailech 'dung'. The *ai* is a diphthong: cf. *aoilechair* Laws IV. 136. 14, which Atkinson omits.

airem 'number' etc. should be *áirem* = *ad* + *rím*.

aithfegaim, *aithfegad*, compounds of *fégaim*, *fégad*.

alad 'wound' should be *álad*: see Wind. Wtb.

am 'in truth' etc., O. Ir. *ám*, Sg. 109 a 3.

arus 'habitation', should be *árus* (from *ad* + *rus*), LL. 227 a 7.

as 'growth', *asaim* 'I grow', should be *áss*, *ássaim*: Asc. Gl. XXX.

berla 'language', should be *bérla*, O. Ir. *bélre*.

brud 'act of breaking', should be *brúd*, *bruud* Ml. 34 a 27: *bruud* *n-immais* LL. 187a. Verbal noun of *bruim*.

cainim 'satirize', should be *cáinim*. Bezz. Beitr. XX, 6.

der 'tear', should be *dér* = Cymr. *dagr*, Gr. *δάκρυ*.

díre 'fine', should be *díre* = Cymr. *dirwy*.

elaim 'I abscond, evade', should be *élaím*, the enclitic form of *ass-lúim*.

eraim 'I refuse', should be *éraím*.

Ériu 'Ireland', should be *Ériu*, gen. *Érenn* = Cymr. *Iwerddon*.

esca 'moon', should be *ésca*, Bcr. 3d.

é- for *en-* neg. prefix, is lacking in *etechta*, *etig*, *etoil*, *etrebaire*, etc.

fesoc 'beard' should be *fésóc*, O. Pruss. *wanso*.

fo 'good', should be *fó*, as in LL. 188a (bis) and Corm. Tr. s. v. *fochen*, etc.

grad 'grade', read *grád*, a loan from Lat. *grādus*, with lengthening of the vowel, as in *légain*, *nát*.

ídu, *ídna*, read *ídu*, *ídna*: cf. *ídu gaili* 'cramp in the stomach', O'Grady Cat. 194.

inde 'yesterday', should be *indé* = *ind-hé* Sg. 148 a 13.

laidir 'strong', *laidire* 'strength', should be *láidir*, *láidire*.

legaim 'I read', *legend* 'study', should be *légain*, *légend*.

lith 'festival': read *líth*, as in LU. 85 b 13, gen. *lítha*, LL. 56 a 1. *log*, *logaim* should be *lóg* (or *luag*), *lógaim* (or *luagaim*).

min-tír 'level-land', leg. *min-tír*, and see Wind. Wb. s. v. 2. *mín*.

no conj. 'or', read *nó*.

o prep. 'from' etc. should be *ó*.

scel, *seclugad* should be *scél* (Cymr. *chvedl*), *scélugad*.

tanaise 'second', should be *tánaise*; and so on in the case of many other words.

To make up for these omissions, Atkinson puts marks of length on at least five words, where they are wrong, viz. *ár*, 'act of ploughing', *com-ár* 'co-tillage', *én* 'water', *íd* 'chain', *ón*¹⁾ 'blemish' and *úr* [*ór*] 'edge, border, brink'.

V. Separations of the same word.

adnacal 'grant, gift' and *adnacal* 'burial' are separated (VI. 15), though the latter is only a euphemistic use of the former.

caire toll V. 414, *longa caire* V. 412, are separated from *caire* (better *coire*) 'caldron'.

cleithe 'ridge of house', *cleithe* 'high'. The second *cleithe* is only the first used metaphorically.

ercailed 'definition', *erchuilind* 'decree'. Both are misspellings of *erchoilind*.

feraim 'I indict' and *feraim* 'I give' are the same verb, primarily meaning 'I pour', and cognate with Skr. *vāri*.

¹⁾ Windisch (Wtb. 722) also errs in writing 1. *ón* schande. *On* rhymes with *con* RC. 13, 460, and with *galor* YBL. p. 315, and is cognate with *ὄνομα*, *ὄνοστός*.

rama 'spade' (leg. *ráma*, Cymr. *rhaw*) and *rama* 'oar' (leg. *ráma* LL. 12 b 26, pl. gen. *cét rāmæ*, Sg. 36 a 7) are obviously the same words. Atkinson wrongly omits the mark of length over the former vowel.

VI. Confusions of different words.

accobar 'desire' is confused with *conidn-acobair* I. 252. 8 'that he may bind it', where *-acobuir* is for *accomuir*, the enclitic form of the *s*-subj. sg. 3 of *adcumrigim*, Ascoli Gloss. CCXIV. *admad* 'timber' and *atmat* (for *ad-d-mad*) 'let him acknowledge it', are put together.

ad-rodad 'he was condemned' is placed (p. 12, l. 35) under *ad-daimim* 'I acknowledge' etc. *Ad-rodad* seems to come from a root *rod* in ablaut-relation to *rād*.

adsuidet and *arsaid* are placed under *saigim*.

aire (leg. *áire*) 'cursing' is placed under *aer* 'satire', of which it is said to be the plural!

aithech tige, the Irish reflex of *δεσ-πότης*, is placed under *aithech* 'vassal, plebeian'.

as (leg. *áss*) 'growth' (Lat. *pāsko*, *pastum*) and *as* 'milk' (leg. *ass*, root [*p*]at, Gr. *πατέομαι*) are confounded.

cach and *cach* (leg. *cách*), p. 115. No distinction is made between these pronominal adjectives.

caire 'sheep', a collective in *iā*, is placed under *caera*, and regarded as its nom. plural.

cert-fuine 'baking-stone', is placed (p. 130) under *cert* 'right'. But see Bezz. Beitr. 25, 253.

cir-dub 'jet black' is placed in p. 136 under *ciar*, and in p. 139 under *cír* 'comb, crest'.

co prep. 'with, up to'. Here the prep. *co-n* 'with' (= Cymr. *gwn* in *gwnaf*) and *co* 'up to' (= Cymr. **pw*, *bw* in *bwy gilydd*) are confounded.

demes 'scissors' (KZ. 37, 256) and *días* 'a pair' (Bezz. Beitr. 25, 253), IV. 310, 12 where *días fidchrann eipit*¹⁾ *aicced fognama*

¹⁾ This is right, as the nom. *fidchrann* is in the gen. pl. Atkinson, not seeing this, at *ebim*, p. 285, adds to the pl. *eipit* one of his ironical notes of admiration.

cacha raithe means 'a pair of wood-axes which cut implements for every quarter's work'. Atkinson has here been misled by the erroneous punctuation of the edition. *dúnad* 'act of fortifying', is confounded with *dúnad* I. 216, 4, 'a multitude, host', Féil. Jan. 23, July 22, Nov. 6. LU. 55b, 57a. The passage in I. 216, 4 refers to a share in the kiln of a mill belonging to brothers, and is rightly rendered in the edition, though Atkinson italicises and queries the rendering.

Under *eraim* (leg. *érim*) 'I refuse', Atkinson puts *dian-d¹*-*as-era i cumtuch* 'if [he] give them in a cover' IV. 318, 13, where the edition has *dian da sera²*) *i cumtach*. But *era* is the subj. sg. 3 of the verb (= Gr. *περάω*?), whence *r-a-era* Wb. 25 a 31, *ro-erthar* 18 b 23, *ro-erthe* 27 a 16, *ro ír* 17 b 13, *ro-nn-ír* 20 d 11, *ru-irtear* Laws V. 430, 5, and perhaps the compd. verb *as-rethar* (for *as-erthar*?) II. 126, 28. See, too, Sarauw, Irske Studier, p. 126, where *ro-ratha*, Fiacc's h. 50 (and Laws II, 338, 19) and the compounds *eb-arthi* Ml. 46 b 12, *eb-arthir* Wb. 32 a 27, are quoted.

feb 'distinction, excellence'. Under this Atkinson tells us: 'The acc.-dat. case *feib* is used as a conjunction 'just as'. But the noun *feb* is from **vesvā*, cognate with Skr. *vásu*, and the conjunction *feib* is = Goth. *svasvê*.

feimmor 'help' (?) ... [*favour*?]. Comment is unnecessary.

fo-bach 'breaking up land'. 'Hence prps.', says Atkinson, 'the form *fodbach* [leg. *fót-bach*] 'sod-cutting'.

forgellaím and *fortgellaím* ('with an unexplained *t*') are treated as the same word, though the former is compounded with *for* and the latter with *fort* = Cymr. *gwrth*, Corn. *gorth*, Mer. 3394. See Wb. 4 b 27, Ml. 23 c 15, Aisl. 179.

¹) The *d* after *dian* seems an example of infixed *d* in conditional sentences, as to which see Strachan, Rev. Celt. XXI, 412.

²) Atkinson adopts this blunder, printing it *dian·da·sera* 'where the root *fera* seems to have been contemplated'. His collection of Irish roots would be curious. He gives us 'root *guid*-' p. 16, *√ast-ad* p. 17, *√boing* p. 85, *√ithim* p. 299, *√ren* p. 316, *√eth* p. 317, 'the root *fo-boing*' p. 371, 'the *√gerr* p. 384, *√tiag* p. 423 n. '*fúaslaic*- is used as an independent root' p. 424, 'this root *√nak*' p. 469, *√reth* p. 483, *√vah* p. 691, *√reth* p. 699, *√stiag* p. 715, *√chàn*, *√ciu* p. 720.

lá 'day' (gen. dual *co cend nomaide no da lá* I. 44, 9) and the synonymous *laithe* are placed together. See KZ. 37, 258.

min 'small' and *mín* 'smooth' (in *mincorthar* IV. 378, 17) are confounded at VI, p. 571.

riadaim 'I torture (?); I train (horses)'. Here Atkinson confounds *riagaim*, a denominative of *riag* 'torture', with *riadaim*, a denominative of *riad* 'faring, riding'.

sall-carna 'salt meat', is put under *sál* 'salt' (Atkinson omits the mark of length). *Sál* is = Lat. *sál*, Gr. ἅλς, while *sall* (ex **sald* . .) is = Goth. and Eng. *salt*.

sáire IV. 154, 20, a derivative of *saer* 'wright', is placed under *sáire* 'freedom' (better *sóire*), a derivative of *sóir* 'free'.

VII. Wrong or vague meanings.

althain 'absolution' (?), it really means 'death', 'perdition'; *apthín* Wb. 32 c 16, verbal noun of *atbath*.

ro hadair di 'he paid respect to it', means 'he adhered to it', Ir. Texte IV, 375.

aibillteoir 'hermit': it means literally 'sparkler', one who quasi per *scintillam* seu breviter elucidat, Ducange: see Lismore Lives 397, s. v. *óeibelteoir* and *aoibill ina teoir*, H. 3. 17, cited in O'Don. Supp.

aithinne 'coal', it means 'spark'.

aniar s. v. *tair* p. 684, is rendered by 'in the West'. It means 'from the West', *an* see Urkelt. Sprachschatz 4.

ath-laoch 'lay recluse'. It means a layman who becomes a monk in his old age, KZ. XXXV, 150. In Keating it denotes a very old man, a dotard. See *Three Shafts* ed. Atkinson, p. 315.

bir-crand 'wooden spike'. It is a synonym of *inbir coire*, LU. 88a, 97b, 'randle-tree', the horizontal bar from which caldrons etc. are suspended over a fire.

bochtan 'poor man'. The gen. sg. *bochtain* occurs I. 106, 2, where, as Atkinson says vaguely, 'it appears to be the name of a small vessel'. The vessel was 'equal to twelve

- eggfuls', as O'Donovan annotates *bochtan de chormaim no medgusce*, Reeves on the Culdees, p. 85.
- bracht* 'fat' (?). It is glossed by *sugh*, H. 4. 22, p. 37 a, and means 'juice' (of flesh etc.).
- caecdach* 'name of a grade of scholars'. Read *cóictach*, as in Laud 610, fo. 92 b 1, where it is explained.
- cairde* 'amity', O. Ir. *cairte*, Aug. fo. 17 b. It means 'alliance', or 'compact'.
- carr coil* [leg. *cóile*], IV. 336, 24, is rightly rendered in the edition 'a cartload of firewood', (*cual* p. 193). Atkinson (p. 150) corrects thus: 'evidently just *coal*, car of coal'.
- cerr* 'cripple'. It means 'left-handed, wrong', and is cognate with Lat. *cerritus*.
- ó cianaib* 'long ago' (p. 136, s. v. *cian*). It means 'a short time ago, just now'. O'Don. Gr. 268; Ir. Texte III, 543; Rev. Celt. XIV, 42; III, 179 (where it is wrongly rendered). Aisl. 165.
- cin . . . do crandche* is rendered (VI. 187) by 'fault of the stakefence'! It means 'fault of thy stakefence'.
- cleth* 'top (of oar)' IV. 112, 30. It means 'stake, shaft'.
- ni ro* (sic MS.) *coibintiged doib* 'the thing that is estimated as of equal value with them', *amlaid ro coibintiged* 'it was stipulated'. The first of these phrases means 'the thing that has been agreed to by them', the second, 'so it has been agreed'. Atkinson ignores Zimmer's discovery (KZ. 36, 463) of the special force that *ro* gave to the preterite.
- crand fir* IV. 140, where it is rightly rendered by 'test-tree', more literally 'tree of ordeal' (*fir*), as in *Coiri fir* 'caldron of ordeal', Ir. Texte III, 191: 'prob. fir tree', says Atkinson, who actually seems to think that Ir. *fir*, *cual* and *feimmor* are respectively cognate with Eng. *fir*, *coal* and *favour*.
- croichet* (?) 'some part of the flesh of a cooked animal'. It means 'chine', and is derived from *croch* 'cross'; cf. the German *Kreuz*, Ir. Texte III, 188, 223.
- cruan* 'name of some reddish material, copper' (?). It means 'red enamel' *haematinum*, Ir. Texte IV, 393. Rev. Celt. XIV, 344, 345.
- cuile* 'kitchen'. It means 'pantry' or 'store-room': cf. *cuile finda* (gl. uinaria cilla) Sg. 35 a 2, *culi cessachtaig* i. *cen biad intib*, LL. 188 b. Skr. *kulāya*, Gr. *καλία*.

cuislennach 'flute-player'. It means 'piper'.

corr, gen. pl. is rendered (s. v. *currach* VI. 209) by 'cranes'. It means 'herons'.

dairbri 'oaklings' IV. 148, 24: it is not a diminutive, and here means 'oaks': *dairbri bega* 'small oaks'.

indala deiscipul sechtmogat = 'the 72nd disciple' VI. 214, s. v. *dala*. The phrase is rightly rendered in the edition (I. 71) 'one of the seventy-two disciples'. See Ir. Texte IV, pref. XIV, Celt. Archiv I, 1322; and add to the instances there cited *huandi as nomen as ochtmath rann in insci* 'since the noun is one of the eight parts of speech', Sg. 71 a 5. *Hia . . . issed indala n-ainmm déc on dingarar Crist la Hebraib* 'this is one of the twelve names by which Christ is called by the Hebrews', Corm. s. v. *Hia. in cethramad cath* 'one of the four battalions', Rev. Celt. XIII, 56.

deorad 'stranger' — 'a more suitable rendering (says Atkinson) would be *outlaw*'. But it glosses *aduenā*.

dia mis IV. 318, 7, V. 402, 23, does not mean 'every month', but 'this day month'. So *dia mbliadain* I. 118, 18, *dia bliadain* IV. 172, 11, does not mean 'after a year', but 'that day year'. See S. H. O'Grady, *The Academy* No. 706, p. 324.

dias 'pair of shears': it means in Old-Irish a pair of persons and in Middle-Irish (as in Scottish Gaelic, *dithis*) sometimes also 'a pair of things'. So *triar* sometimes means a triad of things, and *coiciur* (LL. 194 b 41) a pentad of things. Celt. Ztschr. III, 432.

disertach 'pilgrim'. It means 'hermit, (Aisl. 173) one having a *disert* 'hermitage'; from Lat. *dēsertum*.

éipiltneach 'dangerous, in a dying state'. The former meaning is wrong, this adj. being derived from the base of *éipiltiu* 'death'.

eisert 'deserter'. It means a landless (*es-ert*) person, and is cognate with *co-airt*, *coairte* and Goth. *airþa*.

s. v. *fonnad* 'king', Atkinson cites a gloss from O'Davoren, p. 91, meaning 'judgments move with the king so that they are not different (*cona dat saini*) in each district', i. e. so

that uniformity of decisions is preserved. Atkinson renders *conadat saini* by 'so that they are different'. For *cona* 'that not' see Wb. 8 b 4, 16 c 24, 21 a 8, 30 b 8.

gamain 'skin, hide'. Under this word Atkinson cites *bo cona gamaind*, which means, not 'a cow with its hide' (*gaimen*), but 'a cow with her yearling calf', *gamaind* being miswritten for *gamain*.

gann 'small' I. 74, 12. It means 'scant'.

gnae 'beautiful'. *cno gnoe* V. 408. 17, 'evidently cocoa-nuts' (!).

imbed 'increase': it means 'multitude', 'abundance'.

oc impud na bairgine (rightly rendered 'turning the cake', I. 143, 39) is mistranslated by Atkinson, VI. 484, 'tossing the (pan)cake'. So *fo muirib*, rightly rendered 'under the seas', I. 73, 12, he mistranslates (VI. 487) by 'beneath the sea'.

inbleogan 'kinsman'. Its etymology points rather to 'Milchbruder, frère de lait, fosterbrother': cf. *sobleogain* O'Dav. 115, *sobleognach* Laws V. 344, 26.

ingert bruthcan I. 268, 4, Atkinson, VI. 509, renders by 'boiling herbs': the phrase means 'boiling (or heating) pottage' (*bruthcan* for *bruthcháin* gen. sg. of *bruthchán* = *brothchán*) Wb. 33 c 15, LL. 286 b 32.

istoda IV. 340, 19, see (says Atkinson) *astud*, *fastud*. But these words mean 'settling, confirming', and *istoda* is nom. pl. of *istud* = O. Ir. *etsud* 'treasure', Aisl. 183.

ledb 'leather'. It means a strip, thong or patch of leather.

loingim 'I eat: tear (of a dog)'. Atkinson got the latter meaning from O'Davoren 103, 104, where, as sometimes happens, that glossographer blunders, not having seen that *conid loing* is for *conid-dloing*, 'so that it splits', and that *dian-loing* is for *dia ndloing* 'from which scatters': cf. *as-dloing* (gl. dispergentis) Ml. 48 c 32. *in-dlung* (gl. findo) Sg. 15 a 5.

nomad 'moment' I. 44, 9, where the gen. sg. *nomaide* is translated by 'minute'. It means a period of nine days and nights; but see Aisl. 190.

oin 'loon', should be *óin* 'loan'.

pecthach 'simple': it means 'sinful' = *pecach* i. *cintach*, H. 4. 22, p. 61 a.

ronn 'wire': it means 'chain' and is spelt *rond* in Wind. Wtb.

scoth 'obvious'(?): it means 'word', Rev. Celt. XIII, 227.

toirches 'childbirth', p. 84, s. v. *at-bel*, is rightly rendered 'pregnancy', p. 735.

urchoimdim 'I fail' [?]; 'find a difficulty'. This verb means 'I make an excuse', O. Ir. *aur-* (or *er-*)*choitnim*. The verbal noun *aucuidbed*, *urchoimded* Laws I, 56, 13: 236, 10, etc. is O. Ir. *irchoimted* Wb. 26 a 23, *aur-* (or *er-*)*choitmed*, Trip. Life 184, 25, acc. sg. *foisitiu cen erchoitmed* 'confession without making excuse', Rawl. B. 512, fo. 37 a.

So much for the mistranslations in the Glossary. In his Index of names are two similar errors. Atkinson calls '*Dachoc*' an ancient fort, and speaks of the 'demolition' of '*Daderg*'. Surely he knows, or ought to know, that *Dá Choc(a)* and *Dá Derg(a)* are the names, not of forts, but of the owners of the palaces or hostels in question.

VIII. Wrong Etymologies.

ad-gladur. Here the enclitic form *er-glas* is brought from *àd-ro-glas*. It comes from *áith-ro-glas*.

adig, *ataig* in the phrase *cathair adig*, *cathair ataig* 'city of refuge', a name for a church containing a bishop, a *fer léigind*, and an *airchinnech*¹⁾, Laws V. 54, 10, 19, are only misspellings of *attaig*, gen. sg. of *attach* 'refuge' (*ad-tech.*): cf. *ind ataig* (gl. *effugii*) Ml. 107 d 1, and *sé cathracha attaig* 'six cities of refuge', Salt. na Rann 5195. Atkinson, with commendable modesty, says (V. 55, note b) 'I can make nothing of *adig* or *athaig* [*sic*] after *cathair*, unless it be an attempt at *cathedr-aticus*; cf. however, p. 20, l. 7, *flaith athig*'. What *flaith athig* 'a chief whose father has not

¹⁾ Cf. *Deim pecthach an eclais* 'the church protects the sinful' IV. 234, 15.

been a chief', II. 200, 21, has to do with the matter is not apparent.

'*athcuma* = *aith-com-back*, *boing*'. dat. sg. *ath-chum-bu* Stowe Missal. The root is *be-n*.

bach i. *saigim no indsaigim*. 'It can hardly (says Atkinson) be anything else than some form of *boingim*.' It stands for *bágh* 'let me declare', 1st sg. imperative of *báigim*, cogn. with Gr. *βάζω*, *βάξις*: see Sarauw, Celt. Ztschr. IV. 76, and add *bach* [i.] *sechim*, O'Dav. 56.

cesc is said, p. 131, to be an error for *ceist*. It is a common by-form, *-st* becoming *sc* as regularly in Manx.

araclais I. 46, 17 is treated as a verb s. v. *claidim*, p. 140, and the *clais* is treated as acc. dat. of the noun *clas*, p. 141. It is the pret. pass. sg. 3 of the verb *araclaidim*.

comathar 'is protected' is placed under *cométaim*, and said to be 'apparently deponent'. It is an enclitic form (*nad comathar*) of the passive, and belongs to the verb *con-ai* p. 174, which should be *con-ói*. See Ascoli, Gloss. CIX. So does *mani-scoma* I. 84, 10, where the edition has *manis* [*comtheit*]. Cf. *is é adcomad cach cael* 'tis he, Christ, who used to protect every small one', Todd Lecture Series VII. 22, where it is translated 'He it is that lacerated every belly'.

doroirbe 'he prevented' is explained as from *do-ro-for-ben*. It comes from *to-ror-benim*, where *ror* is = *ρορορό*, Skr. *prapra*, Celt. Ztschr. III, 471.

do-, as prep. prefix to verbs; 'if', says Atkinson, 'the accent is to be on the initial syllable of the verb, the intensified breath brings the media to a tenuis.' What he should have said is: *do-* as prep. prefix to verbs is the pretonic (unstressed) form of two prepositions, one *de* (*di*) = Lat. *de*, the other *to*, which seems peculiar to the Celtic languages. When the first is stressed the *d* remains; when the second is stressed the *t* remains. In the noun and nominal prep. *do-chum* the *do* (= Goth. *du*?) is unchanged.

eolusa made out of *eolusaib* I. 300, 15, V. 260, 13, 'prps.' says Atkinson, 'only a cpd. of *-lusa* 'herbs'. It has nothing to

do with *lusa*, *eolusaib* being dat. pl. of *colas* 'peritia', 'guidance', here meaning the prescription of a medical man, a recipe.

esce, *eisce* 'cutting', 'wounding'. Atkinson brings this from *as-gen-(-guin)*? It comes from **es-sece*, **ex-secio*- cognate with Lat. *seco*, etc.

escup 'name for a large vessel of wine' III. 426, 25, 'no doubt', says Atkinson, '= *epscop* 'bishop'. It is a loan from Lat. *scyphus*, just as *esbicul* Wb. 32 d 4, is from *scyphulus*. See Vendryes *De hibernicis vocabulis* etc., p. 196.

fetairlaicthi I. 38, 14 (MS. *petairlaicthi*) is given as the genitive of the substantive *fetarleic* 'the Old-Testament'. It is the dat. sg. of an adjective, 'Old-Testamental' (sit venia verbo!). *fochnitbed* 'mockery', is brought from *fo-co-√tib-*. The second prep. should be *con-*.

forosnaim 'I enlighten'. Atkinson prints this verb as *fo-ro-snaim*, adding '[*fo-ro-√sen*]'. He does not explain his *√sen*, which would have lost its *s* after *ro*. *Forosnaim* really comes from *for-ód-sonnaim*, as we see from the verbal noun *fúrsunnud* V. 460, 25, *fúrsunduth* IV. 316, 15, LL. 288 b, *fúrsundud* V. 498, 3. It is cognate with the *sonno-cingos* 'Sonnenschrift' of the inscription of Coligny, *Sunno-vira* C. I. L. XIII, 3159, the Goth. *sunna*, *sunno*, Ags. *sunne*, Engl. *sun*. The *fursunnadand* I. 42, 35, — which Atkinson accepts and explains from an imaginary inf. *fúrsnad* with irrational vowel *fursanad*, whence a new root-form *fursand* „ is mere editorial gibberish. The MS. has *fursannand*, which in Middle-Irish is quite regular.

gelestar, translated, IV. 279, 31, by 'cooling-pond' (for cattle in heat), is similarly explained by Cormac, who says that it also means the driving (*iomain*) of the cattle into the pond. Atkinson calls *gelestar* 'plainly a Germanic word, viz. OHG. *gelstar*¹⁾, Goth. *gilstr*, used in Rom. XII. 6 φόρονς²⁾ [τελειτε], which the Vulgate renders *donationes*.' He also asserts that *iomain* is 'only the common word *imna*' gift, donation,

¹⁾ rectius *ghēlstar*.

²⁾ Atkinson probably means that *gilstra*, the acc. pl. cf. *gilstr*, is used to translate φόρονς.

bequest, suggests that a tax was 'laid on the neighbouring farmers to provide this cattle-pond, and prps. a 'donation' of such a pond may have from time to time been made as of tanks in India.' But the trisyllabic *gelestar* could not come from a disyllable such as *gelstar*, and *iomain* could not possibly be *imna*. If the muddy *gelestar* were really a Germanic loanword, the Ags. *gillister* 'sanies', (Cockayne, Saxon Leechdoms, II. 388) would be a likelier origin. But it seems genuine Hiberno-Celtic, cognate with the Ir. dat. sg. (*sír*)*gail* 'long cold' Rev. Celt. XX, 256, Lat. *gelu*, *gelidus*, Lith. *gelumà*, Engl. *chill*, *cold*, Germ. *kalt*, etc., and with the same suffix as *lestar*, *soilestar*. As to *iomain* (= *immon*, YBL.) it is only a bad spelling of *immáin*¹⁾, which Atkinson in his glossary p. 471, spells *im-áin* and rightly explains as 'the act of driving cattle'. Compare *tarb do boin*, *áin do geliustar* 'a bull to a cow, driving to a cooling-pond' (are permitted on Sundays) Cáin Domnaig, Harl. 5280, fo. 38 b. Another example of *gelestar* is in H. 4. 22, p. 61 b: *Foirgidh geilestar geilt innraic*.

imde, for *imthe*, the *s*-subj. of *imthiagu*, is referred to *indichim* 'I protect'. The context is *mani n-imde treisi no cuicthi no dechmad* 'unless three days or five days or ten days have lapsed by him' (lit. gone round him).

ingairiu 'more convenient' III. 154, 7. Atkinson compares it with *goiriu* (gl. *magis pius*) Sg. 40 b. But it is obviously connected with *gaire* 'proximity' I. 2, 6, a deriv. of *gair* 'near'.

ithir 'cornland'. Under this Atkinson quotes with a query I. 140, 15, where *itir* (leg. *i tír*) *na linne* means 'in the land of the millpool', and has nothing whatever to do with *ithir*.

máithre 'mother's tribe' I. 192, 14 is given by Atkinson VI. 555, as the plural of *máthair* 'used in a peculiar manner'. But, like *aithre* I. 192, 14 = *πατριά* 'father's tribe',²⁾ Lat. *patria*

¹⁾ Cf. *iunaire* for *immaire* 'ridge of land', Corm. s. v. *edarge*, cited by Atkinson p. VI. 472, and *iunurchur* II. 168, 18, *iuntaithmech* V. 368, 1.

²⁾ Nom. pl. *πατριά* Hdt. I. 200, omitted by Leo Meyer, Handb. d. griech. etym. II, 498. Another example of *aithre*, *máithre* is in Rawl. B. 512, fo. 132 b 1: *Caipre Lifechair i. rochar Life*, *ar* is a *Life conalt idir a mathri 7 a aithri*.

‘fatherland’, it is a feminine collective in *iā*, the acc. sg. of which is in the Cóir Anmann § 194 (Ir. Texte III, 368): *gu rus-aitreb la maithri iarsin*. For the suffix cf. also Ir. *caire* ‘sheep’ Laws IV. 96, *croibe* ‘claws’, dat. *croibi* O’Dav. 65, s. v. *cruibne*, *lestrae* ‘vessels’ Ml. 18 b 4; ‘hives’ Laws IV, 178, Gr. *γοαργία*, O. Slav. *bratija*, and Welsh plurals in *-ydd*.

nae or *nei* = ‘woman, wife’ O’Dav. p. 108, is said by Atkinson to be ‘a poetic word, prps. swept up in the migration-period, cf. Hungarian *nő* „wife“’. Here again comment is unnecessary.

odbach ‘some kind of cattle-disease (*od* (?) + *breaking*) III. 65’. But the word is not a compound — only a derivative of *odb* = Cymr. *oddf* ‘excrescence, knob’. Its gen. sg., or the gen. sg. masc. of a cognate adjective, occurs in the Bodleian fragment of Cormac’s Glossary, s. v. *prúll*: *nipsa eola imnid odbaig*.

orba, *aurba* ‘cutting of land’ is brought from ‘*for* + *√ben*’. The prepositional prefix is here *air-*, *aur-*, not *for-*.

sceo ‘and’. Atkinson calls this ‘a most extraordinary conjunctive particle, whose origin is quite unknown.’ It is a very ordinary conjunction, and its origin, thanks to Victor Henry (Lexique étymologique du Breton moderne, p. 109), is now well known. It is = Cymr. *heibio* ‘by, beside’, M. Bret. *hebiou* now *ébiou*, ‘auprès de, au dessus de’, derived from the root *seq* ‘to follow’; cf. Lat. *sub-sequus*.

uagtir II. 344, 21, ‘apparently’, says Atkinson, ‘comparative of *óg* ‘pure’. The context is one of the absurd etymological glosses which occur so often in the Laws. *eclas* [i.] *uag clas*, *clas uagtir* [leg. *úaigthir*] *ar cach in eclais*, that is, ‘*eclas* (‘the Church’) i. e. *uag-clas* ‘stitch-class’, the Church is a class which is stitched for every one’: cf. *in-u[a]igter dana* LL. 186 b. The translation of *uagt[h]ir* — ‘purser’ — adopted by Atkinson, shews that he is unaware of Ascoli’s discovery that the Old-Irish adjectival forms in *-thir*, *-dir* are equatives (*pareggiativi*) not comparatives.

Enough has been said to justify the preliminary remarks. It is sad to think of the labour and public money that have been wasted on this unlucky publication. To me especially it is no pleasure to point out for the second time¹⁾ the shortcomings of one who, as professor of comparative grammar in Trinity College, Dublin, and president of the Royal Irish Academy, should be a *πρόμαχος* for Celtic philology. But every earnest student has two duties, one productive, the other destructive. 'God grant that we may always belong to those who follow and further the truth, who crush and expose that which is false and wrong!'

So said Albirúiní.

¹⁾ See the review of Dr. Atkinson's *Passions and Homilies* in Bezenberger's Beiträge XVI, 29—63. See also Revue Celtique XX, 31 n.

London.

WHITLEY STOKES.

Liadain and Curithir. An Irish love-story of the ninth century, edited and translated by Kuno Meyer. London, D. Nutt, 1902. 30 pp. 8^o.

Mit gewohnter Sorgfalt wird eine hübsche und sprachlich alte Geschichte aus zwei jüngeren Hss. herausgehoben und übersetzt. Wie in manchen dieser Erzählungen, bei denen das Hauptgewicht auf den eingefügten Gedichten liegt, ist die Prosa mehr als knapp; sie vergisst sogar ein Hauptmoment zu erzählen, dass Curithirs Geliebte Liadain den Schleier nimmt. Wenn K. Meyer bemerkt, diese Knappheit falle nur dem Schreiber, nicht dem ursprünglichen Erzähler zur Last, so weiss ich nicht, ob man dem unbedingt zustimmen darf; näher liegt die Annahme, dass die Erzählerkunst manches Fili nicht so entwickelt war wie seine Verskunst.

Der Reim *mithig—tig*, der p. 14, 20 f. angenommen wird, geht nach der irischen Poetik kaum an, die nur betont mit unbetont reimen lässt, nicht umgekehrt; vielleicht: *A thopuir fil fiad a tig | nech donised ba mithig*. — S. 20, 7. *ind adaig ni archriad* heisst wohl: 'Die Nacht würde nicht zu Grunde gehen', d. h. 'würde nicht ungenutzt verstreichen', zu *ara-chrin*. — Ebend. 18 l. *na-selo[s]-sa*; das Ganze ist Rede Curithirs: 'Für ihn ist es gleich, wie er stirbt. Wenn er gesteht, werd' ich ihn erschlagen'; *-selos* wohl eher Futurum zu *slaidid* als zu *sligid*, das *-silus* (*-silius*) erwarten liesse. — S. 22, 18. Bei der Strophe *Cen dinus* etc., die sich in den Verslehren als Beispiel findet, kann man fragen, ob diese sie aus unserem Text genommen haben, oder ob umgekehrt der Verfasser eine bekannte Strophe benützt hat; vielleicht weist auf das zweite, dass der Dichter den durchgehenden Reim der Endsilben nicht beizubehalten vermochte, sondern sich begnügte, ihn in der Schlussstrophe nachzuahmen. R. Th.

Wh. Stokes, Togail Bruidne Dá Derga, The Destruction of Dá Derga's Hostel, edited with translation and glossarial index. Paris, E. Bouillon 1902. XI + 199 pp. (8 fr.)

Die Zerstörung des Gehöfts des Dá-Derga, in dem der irische König Conaire Mór mit seinem Gefolge von seinen Milchbrüdern im Bunde mit dem britannischen Piraten Ingcél überwältigt wurde, gehört zu den merkwürdigsten Sagen der mittellirischen Litteratur, wie aus O'Currys und Zimmers Analysen des Textes allgemein bekannt ist. Obwohl als Ganzes andern mittellirischen Dichtungen nachstehend, ist diese doch durch die an Bildern überreiche Sprache und eine Fülle Einzelheiten mythischer Art ausgezeichnet. Die vorliegende Ausgabe, die auf Grund der erhaltenen 8 fragmentarischen Handschriften hergestellt und übersetzt und mit einem Glossar des reichen Wortschatzes versehen ist, lässt die Sorgfalt des bewährten Herausgebers aufs neue erkennen, und man wird die wichtige Arbeit, die zuerst in der Revue Celtique, tome XXII, erschienen ist, gern in einer Sonderausgabe besitzen wollen.

E. Ernault, Etudes sur la langue bretonne. L'épenthèse des liquides. Saint-Brieuc, René Prud'homme 1901. (Extrait des Annales de Bretagne.) 58 S. 8°. (2 fr.)

—, Notes d'étymologie. Saint-Brieuc 1901. (Extrait des Annales de Bretagne.) 96 S. 8°. (2 fr. 50 c.)

Vielleicht keine der lebenden celtischen Sprachen ist durch die Unart der nachlässigen Aussprache oder durch die Verdunkelungen der Volksetymologie so entstellt worden als die der Bretonen. Zur Aufklärung trägt der Verfasser bei, indem er an zahlreichen Beispielen nachweist, wie die Einfügung eines bedeutungslosen *r* oder *l* im Armorischen um sich gegriffen hat, wie wenn man *martelot* statt 'matelot' und *heilz* statt *heiz* (w. *haidd*) spricht. Diese Erscheinungen sind der Gegenstand einer ersten Abhandlung. In einer zweiten ist eine grosse Zahl armorischer Ausdrücke besprochen, deren Ursprung zum Teil sehr versteckt ist. Es sind Vorarbeiten, wie man vermuten darf, zu dem armorischen Wörterbuch, das von dem Verfasser zu erwarten ist.

H. Gaidoz, Le grand dieu Gaulois chez les Allobroges. Opuscule dédié à Anatole de Barthélemy. Lutèce des Parisiens. Mai 1902. XIX S. 8°.

In der Darstellung einer zuerst von Blavignac bekannt gemachten männlichen Figur, die, wie er angiebt, einst neben einem Simson die Genfer Hauptkirche geschmückt hat, erkennt der Verfasser den gallischen Dispater bei den Allobrogern. Die sitzende Gestalt war mit den beiden Attributen des Gottes versehen: in der erhobenen Rechten hielt sie das poculum und mit der Linken vor der Brust den Hammer. Dieselben Attribute zeigt eine vom Verfasser in Abbildung mitgeteilte bronzene Statuette im Genfer Museum, die vor Jahren in Viège oder Vispach an der Rhône aufgefunden wurde, ein stehender Jupiter Serapis, wie er sonst in jenen Gegenden angetroffen worden ist. (Mélusine I, 327. 354.)

Mélusine, recueil de mythologie, littérature populaire, traditions & usages (fondé par H. Gaidoz et E. Rolland, 1877—1887), publié par H. Gaidoz. Tome I, 1876 — Tome X, 1900—1901. Paris, E. Rolland.

Das Programm dieser Zeitschrift, wie es in ihrer ersten Nummer aufgestellt war, ist ein sehr mannigfaltiges gewesen: die Welt der alten und neuen Mythologie, Legenden jeder Art, Erzählungen, Balladen und Lieder der französischen und der fremden Litteraturen, Sprichwörter, Rätsel, Gebräuche, Überlieferungen, Aberglauben und dergleichen mehr. Nachdem sie ein Vierteljahrhundert hindurch geforscht, gesammelt und belehrt und mit dem X. Bande einen, wir wünschen nur vorläufigen Abschluss erreicht hat, möchte ein Rückblick auf ihre erfolgreiche Thätigkeit vielen erwünscht und hier am Platze sein. Denn wenn Mélusine sich zunächst an die Länder des celtolatinischen Stammes gewendet hat, so ist auch der verdiente Begründer der Revue

Celtique ihr Leiter gewesen und seine Bekanntschaft mit den celtischen Sprachen und Litteraturen dem Unternehmen zu statten gekommen.

Wertvolle Beiträge zur Mythologie und den Volksvorstellungen der Celten finden sich denn auch manche in diesen Bänden zerstreut. Erwähnt seien die Aufsätze über den Regenbogen (1, 502. 2, 9 u. s.), über den grossen Bären oder den Wagen (2, 31), über die Milchstrasse (2, 121), die bretonischen Meergeister *morganezed* (2, 290. 378), die Namen des Teufels im Armorischen und Welschen (6, 63. 79).

Aus irischen Handschriften hat Mélusine bemerkenswerte Mitteilungen. Da sind die Prognostica auf das Jahr aus dem Wetter des 1. Januar *cailleóracht*, die K. Meyer aus Egerton 1784, Bl. 43a, abdruckt, unter Hinweis auf seine *Hibernica minora* p. 39 (10, 113); ein angebliches Gedicht Columbkilles über die Vorbedeutung des Hundegeheuls *donal con* aus Laud 615, p. 129, von St. H. O'Grady (5, 85); eine Legende über den Namen Doborchú aus dem Buche von Lismore 45 b 1 von demselben (4, 297); König David und der Bettler aus Egerton 92, Bl. 26, und dem Buche von Lismore 69a von demselben (4, 163); die drei Geistlichen und die Katze aus LL. 283 a 14 und dem Buche von Lismore 84 b 10 von H. Gaidoz (4, 5); die Erklärung der lateinischen Zauberformel im St. Galler Codex (GC. 949) von demselben (5, 225); die irische Version der Legende vom Judenknaben nach dem Pariser Cod. celt. 1, Bl. 28b, von demselben (4, 39); und über die Bedeutung des Freitags aus derselben Handschrift 29b von demselben (4, 204); endlich Rätselfragen aus dem cod. Mus. Brit. add. 4788 von K. Meyer (6, 38) — sie erinnern an die Fragen Finns an Ailbhe, die in J. F. Campbells *Leabhar na féinne* p. 140 f. und in der *Stewarts Cochrinneacha*, Duneidin 1804, p. 545 abgedruckt sind. Aus O'Donovans *Three fragments* p. 10 wird ein Stück mitgeteilt, das die seltsam übertriebene Verehrung des Königs Aed für die Geistlichen illustriert (4, 109). Die beiden in einander gewachsenen Bäume über dem Grabe Deirdres, von denen irische Texte berichten, bilden den Ausgang für mehrere Artikel, in denen die Verbreitung der Sage bei Skandinaviern, Romanen, Slawen, Griechen, Armeniern u. a. verfolgt wird (4, 12. 60. 85. 142. 5, 39).

Aus dem Bereiche der welschen Litteratur ist wenigstens J. Loths Interpretation der *Lorica Kyntaw geir a dywedaw* im Schwarzen Buche von Carmarthen p. 41b zu erwähnen (4, 62).

Die meisten Beiträge betreffen indes das Bretonische oder Armorische. Hier standen dem Herausgeber so namhafte Mitarbeiter wie F. M. Luzel, L. F. Sauvé, L. Havet, A. de la Borderie, F. Cadic, P. Laurent und E. Ernault zur Seite. Eine ganze Reihe bretonischer Märchen in französischer Sprache mit Bemerkungen von R. Köhler bringt gleich der erste Band. Die Zahl der armorischen Volkslieder, die zum Teil mit ihren Melodien mitgeteilt werden, beträgt über 70 (1, 73. 193. 319. 461. 533. 550. 2, 498. 3, 235 f. 453 und Band 3—9). Die meisten hat Ernault geliefert, und von ihm sind auch zahlreiche Sprichwörter in der Zeitschrift veröffentlicht (4, 494. Band 9—10); seine Sammlung ist nach französischen Schlagwörtern alphabetisch geordnet,

aber erst bis zur Hälfte erschienen. Die Inschrift der Abtei Bon-Repos in Cornouailles wird gleichfalls von Ernault erklärt (3, 92). Es finden sich ferner Sprüche um den Regen zu bannen (1, 319. 502. 2, 123) und solche gegen den Rheumatismus (4, 258). Die bei den Iren wohl verbürgte Sitte 'gegen einen zu fasten' (4, 8) wird auch aus der bretonischen Redensart *me iuno warahan* nachgewiesen (4, 41; cf. 4, 365. 7, 56).

Wir haben nur das Nächstliegende aus Mélusine angeführt, aber sie bringt des Wissenswürdigen viel. Wer sich z. B. mit dem Thema der Behexung und Vorbeugung zu befassen hat, wird gut thun, J. Tuchmanns gründliche, doch noch unvollendet gebliebene Forschungen darüber in Band 2—10 nachzulesen. Der Herausgeber der Mélusine hat einen weiten Blick, *ἐπὶ παντὸς ἰδέας ἐσφέρον*, aber er warnt auch gelegentlich vor den Verkehrtheiten der Methode.

Wenn in dieser Zeitschrift ein grosses und verschiedenartiges Material aufgehäuft ist, so hat sie es in der Hauptsache doch nur auf das Folklore abgesehen, womit ein engerer Begriff als mit unserer Volkskunde verbunden ist. Denn die Volkskunde ist das Korrelat der Landeskunde, wie die Völkerkunde das der Erdkunde ist. Folklore hat es nur mit dem Volkstümlichen, Unwillkürlichen, Ungeschriebenen, ewig Namenlosen zu thun. Dazu gehört der Volksglaube, die Volksweisheit, der Volkswitz, die Volksmärchen, die Volkspoesie, der Volksbrauch, wenn wir uns an K. Weinholds Definition halten (Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde 1, 4), 'die inneren Zustände' des Volks. Darf man den Begriff eines 1810 von L. Jahn eingeführten, der Grammatik zum Trotz nun eingebürgerten Wortes auf das geistige Leben der Allgemeinheit beschränken, so könnte man diese Disciplin die Volkstumskunde nennen. Es ist beklagt worden, dass ihre Pflege vielfach in den Händen von Dilettanten liegt, die nicht auf der Höhe einer Wissenschaft stehen, die Schwierigkeit einer Sache nicht erkennen und sich von Verantwortlichkeit frei fühlen. Indessen werden die ersten Schritte auf diesem Gebiete in der Regel von Ungelehrten gethan; denn es handelt sich zunächst um die Aufzeichnung, die man vor allem zuverlässig wünscht. Das Verdienst solcher Mitteilungen ist nicht zu unterschätzen; aber wissenschaftlich wird die Volkstumskunde erst, wenn sie nach Ursprung und Bedeutung der Thatsachen forscht. Sie verlangt die vielseitigsten sprachlichen, litterarischen, geschichtlichen, naturwissenschaftlichen Kenntnisse und, mehr als alles andere, kritischen Sinn. Es sind also keineswegs leichte Aufgaben, die diese junge Wissenschaft stellt, und Mélusine hat ihre höhern Ziele immer vor Augen gehabt.

St.

TWO FRAGMENTS OF AN IRISH ROMANCE OF THE HOLY GRAIL.

The following short fragments, the existence of which was long ago pointed out by Nettlau,¹⁾ are preserved in the Franciscan library at Dublin on two stray leaves of parchment, probably dating from the fifteenth century. I made a copy of them in the summer of 1901, when looking up various Irish romances in the Dublin libraries, and it seems worth while to have them printed for the convenience of any scholars who may hereafter be occupied with Irish versions of the story of the Holy Grail.

So far as I know, only two other Irish texts on this subject have been cited:²⁾ that in MS. Stowe 992 (now R. I. A., D. 4. 2), from which Nettlau printed excerpts in the *Revue Celtique* X, 185 ff., and that in MS. Rawlinson B. 512, which is briefly described by Stokes in *The Tripartite Life of Saint Patrick*, p. XXXVIII. The relation of these to each other and to the fragments printed below remains to be investigated, though in Nettlau's opinion the Franciscan and Stowe texts 'probably represent the same translation'. The exact determination of the source of the Irish Grail romance, or romances, must also be deferred until the longer copies have been published. In the

¹⁾ *Rev. Celt.* X, 187. In his brief examination of the leaves Nettlau failed to observe that they form not one continuous fragment, but two with a gap of one leaf (apparently) between them. He also read them in the wrong order, and they have since been bound up so as to perpetuate this mistake. I consequently print as the 'First Fragment' the contents of the second leaf.

²⁾ Cf. Zimmer, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1890, p. 503.

mean time the following pages will serve very well as a specimen of the language and style of the translation. The episode here related is the same as that treated in the French prose romance *La Queste del Saint Graal* (edited by F. J. Furnivall, 1864), pp. 157—160 and 165—168; and somewhat more briefly in Malory's *Morte Darthur* (Sommer's edition), pp. 676—683. For the corresponding passage of the Welsh redaction, 'Y Seint Greal', see Williams's *Selections from the Hengwrt MSS.*, vol. I, pp. 102—110.

My copy of the Irish text is intended to be exact. There are in the original numerous inconsistencies, not to say errors, in the matter of initial mutations, accents, spelling, and the like; but no attempt is made to correct them. The translation is rather literal, sometimes following the Irish more closely than is consistent with good English sentence structure.

It gives me much pleasure to acknowledge the courtesy with which the privileges of the Franciscan library were extended to me by the reverend custodian, Father O'Reilly.

First Fragment.

(page 1) *Don taibh eile de ridire óc ildelbach 7 ainner alaind ilcrothach ica h-ecniuchudh aici, 7 si ac guidhi Muire imma furtacht 7 ima h-oighe do coimet. Otcondaircc in maighden Sir Boos¹⁾ secci, ro gáir 7 ro grech fair dáigh co tisedh dia cobair ria siu no coilltea a h-oighi 7 a h-æntuma. Ro boi Sir Boos eter da trom indsin; uair dia n-digsedh hi fortacht a brathar, ba derb lais nach beradh for in inghin cen truailledh a h-oighe; 7 dia m-badh hi in ingen no indsaighfedh cetus, ba h-ecal lais cen breith for Liuinél beo doridhisi. Is fair ro chinn Sir Boos dul a fhortacht na maigdine fortus, 7 rogab for guidhe in coimdedh co dicra cen bas d-fhagbail do Liuinél nocu toirsédh-som for cula doridhisi dia furtacht. Ro greis Sir Boos in t-ech andegaidh an ridire, 7 o rainic i n-imfhoicsi do ro fhuacair*

¹⁾ Nettlau expanded this into *Bo[rt]*. But *Boos* is written out plainly several times in these two fragments, and the form is also found in Stokes's citations from MS. Rawlinson B. 512 (*Tripartite Life*, p. XXXVIII) and in Nettlau's own excerpt from the Stowe MS. 992, fol. 41 (Rev. Celt. X, 185). In the translation I have adopted Malory's form *Bors*.

comrac fair, mina fhacbad an inghin. Ro tindta in ridire fri Sir Boos, 7 ro léic in inghin uadha, 7 ro comhraic fris, 7 ni fatta ro ansat a comtrom comraic, uair ro chinn Sir Boos fair-seom co tarat aladha doimne dilegis fair, co ro leac dia eoch he co raibe ina fænlighi foithi. O ro furtachtaiged in inghen, ro gaidh Sir Boos ima cur imach isin maighin o tucadh hi. Is ann sin ro thócaibh Sir Boos in maighdin for ech in ridire gonta, 7 ro fhacuibset in ridiri ic snighe a fhola indsin, 7 ro imtighset rompa for iul na h-ingine; 7 ro fhiarfacht Boos scela don ingin .i. coich in ridire ro imbir anforlann 7 ecen furri. 'Is brathair focus dam-sa he co demin', or in ingen, '7 dia n-dernadh in gnim ro fhuapair, ro curfithé u. c. ridire fo gin gai 7 claidibh hi cinaidh mo sharaigthi-si ria cenn sechtmhaine, 7 no h-imbertha oighedh esanorach fair uadein, 7 no ragadh a anum i pein shuthain ifirnd tria bitha. A m-batar for a n-imraitib confacatar dá ridire dec armdha edighi a n-docum for lurg na h-ingine fiarlait na foraisi; 7 ro forbailtighset rempi co mór iarna faicsin, 7 ro erail in ingen forru-som onoir 7 armitiu dethidech do tabairt do Sir Boos ar in fhoiridin dorat furri-si. Doronsat na ridire sin amal is dicra ro fhétsat, 7 ro gaidhset he con dighsed leo daig co fagbhadh anoir 7 dethiti ocu-somh, 7 co ronadmtais a cumann 7 a catach fris. Ro gaid Sir Boos forru-som imdecht do lecadh do, uair nir¹⁾ bo mian lais arisem tria bithu no go fhagbhadh in ni robói ica iarraidh .i. in soidech noib. Rochedaigset na ridire do Sir Boos imdecht, osedh ba tol do, 7 rocuirset a m-bennachtain lais; 7 rogaid in ingen fair toighecht dia fis doridhisi cipe tan tísad for culu on t-shoidech noib. Ro gell Sir Boos disi sin acht co roisedh lais, 7 ro imtigh iarsin 7 do dechaidh for iarraidh a brathar .i. Liuinél, 7 ro gab ic fegadh secha i cetaraírd na foraisi dia fhis in fhaicfedh he 7 o nach facca ro gab ic estecht for cech leth de dia fhis in cluinfedh Sir Liuinél ica malaírt 7 ica mudhugudh i cuil ecin din forais; 7 o nach cuala is edh (page 2) [bai nach]²⁾ faigbedh a scela tria bithu.

Ro gab Sir Boos remi in co [ar] a remhi, 7 ni cian do dechaidh in tan itchondairce senoir foir [.....]

¹⁾ *nir* is written above the line.

²⁾ The writing is badly obscured in the upper left-hand corner of this page.

crabaidh for eoch dub dia indsaigidh, 7 rofhiafacht scela do Sir Boos .i. [cinus . . . oi] occai *no* can do uadhein. Ispert-som ba he Sir Boos de Frangeaib he, 7 is [ic iar]raidh a brathar .i. Sir Liuinél ro boi, uair itcondarcc he eter dis ridire [ica] malairt 7 ica mudhugudh o chianaib, olse. 'A Sir Boos', ol *in* senoir, 'nir [ba] coir duit dogra na diprocoit fort, uair is derchaine do neoch doilghius fair *im* na [h]esbadhaib sæghalla, uair is *ed* is coir do cechoen a taccradh dfulang ar seirc *in* coimdedh. Occus ata ni aile fos', olse, 'itber-sa fritt .i. inní atai iarraidh fagebha a fhiss ocam-sa co *m*-ba soleir duit o shuilib corpardha he.' Otcuala Sir Boos na haithesca-sain, ba derb lais conid bas foruair Sir Liuinél, 7 ba moiti a thoirrsi 7 a truaighnemeli an airet-sain dia scela dfhaghbhail, 7 ro boi sist cen labra cen ermasin¹⁾ ar uaman *in* sceoil. O ro ermais labhra fa deoigh ro gaidh Sir Boos for *in* senoir corp a brathar do taiselbad do, masa marbh ro boi, a comhair a adhnaicthi do-som co *n*-anoir co *n*-ermhitin amal uadh chubaidh fri h-uaisli a chineil 7 fria degairilliudh fein. 'Déch sechat', ol *in* senoir, 'dia fhis cret itcife.' Ro dech Sir Boos secha 7 itcondaircc araile corp marbh ina fhænlighe ina fhiadhnasi, 7 sé nuachrechtnaigthi fuillrigthi amal bid an uair-sin fogabadh bas; 7 indalle Sir Boos ba hi delb Sir Liuinél ro bui fair. Ro nuidhigh a cuma 7 a toirrsi ica fhaicsin-sin for Sir Boos co ro thoit [hi]²⁾ taisi 7 tamhneoill fair, co *m*-bói fri h-athaidh fhota sinti fri lar amal cech marb aile. O ro eraigh asin neoll-sin ro fhiarfacht don t-senoir coich ros-marb Sir Liuinél, ardaig a digalta do-som, 7 ni ro indis do. Ro gab Sir Boos ic accáine co mor andegaidh a bhrathar 7 is *ed* itberedh: 'Uch, a Liuinél, a bhrathair inmhain 7 a choceile carthanaigh, dursan duit amal rom-facbais am-ænar, uair ba tú mo coimedaig *in* cech ecendail gabaid, 7 ba tu mo cumthach tairisi an duintib righ *in* tan teghmis for cuairt amsaine a cathraig Camaloit hi crích echtarcheineoil, conidh aire-sein is deg hail cuirp fri h-anmain lim-sa scaradh frít a cein no marmais dib linaibh; 7 on lo ro deghlais frim ni fhuil do snimh form acht coimet mo anma fein

¹⁾ I am doubtful about the exact translation of *ermasin*. If it is the same word as *ermaissiu* discussed by Atkinson, *On Irish Lexicography*, p. 25, it is used here in a sense somewhat different from the meanings it bears in the passages there cited. Professor Meyer has called my attention to other instances of its use quoted in his *Contributions*, under *airmasiu*.

²⁾ *hi*, instinctly written above the line.

o sund immach.' Asa h-aithli sein ro tócaib Sir Boos in corp eter a dibh lamhaib 7 ro chuir an dillait an sdeda he, 7 ro ataig for an seanoir a seoladh co aroile mainistir ecin inan adhnaic-fedh corp a brathar. Ispert in senoir friseom boi deirtech bec ina comfhocus 7 ba tai[tt].¹⁾

Translation.

On the other side of him a knight, young and very handsome, and a damsel, fair and very comely, suffering violence at his hands and begging Mary to help her and preserve her purity. When the maiden saw Sir Bors going past, she called and cried aloud to him to come to her aid before her purity and her virginity should be lost. Then was Sir Bors between two difficulties: for if he should go to the help of his brother, it was clear to him that he would not find the maiden with her honor unsullied; and if he should go first to the maiden, he had fear of not finding Lionel again alive. Sir Bors determined to go first to the help of the maiden, and he began to pray to the Lord fervently that Lionel might not meet death before he should come back again to help him. Sir Bors spurred his horse after the knight, and when he came very near he offered him battle, unless he would leave the maiden. The knight turned to Sir Bors, and released the maiden, and fought with him; and not long did they remain in equal combat, for Sir Bors overcame him and inflicted deep, incurable wounds upon him, so that he fell from his horse and lay supine beneath it. When the maiden was rescued, she asked Sir Bors to take her to the place whence she had been brought. Then Sir Bors lifted the maiden upon the horse of the wounded knight, and they left the knight bleeding there, and proceeded upon the maiden's course; and Bors asked news of the maiden, namely, who the knight was that had used force and violence upon her. 'He is a near kinsman to me', said the damsel; 'and if he had accomplished the deed he attempted, five hundred knights would have been slain at the point of spear and sword on account of my insult before the end of a week, and dishonorable death would have been inflicted on him himself, and his soul would have gone into

¹⁾ Perhaps *taig*-. The word seems to be incomplete.

the everlasting pain of hell forever.' While they were discoursing, they saw twelve knights, armed and equipped, approaching in pursuit of the maiden through the forest; and they rejoiced greatly at the sight, and the maiden bade them show honor and careful respect to Sir Bors because of the help that he had brought her. The knights did this as heartily as they could, and they begged him to go with them that he might receive honor and care at their hands, and that they might pledge their comradeship and alliance to him. Sir Bors begged them to give him leave to depart, for he did not wish to delay long before finding that which he was seeking, namely, the Holy Grail. The knights granted Sir Bors leave to go, since it was his wish, and they gave him their blessing; and the maiden begged him to come to see her again whenever he should return from the Holy Grail. Sir Bors promised her this, provided that he should attain his purpose, and then he set forth, and went to seek his brother, namely Lionel; and he began to look about him in the four quarters of the forest to learn if he could see him; and when he did not see him, he began to listen on every side to see if he could hear Sir Lionel being hurt and disabled in any corner of the forest; and when he did not hear, this [was his fear], that he should never get news of him.

Sir Bors went on his way and he did not go far before he saw an old man [in religious guise(?)] approaching on a black horse, and he asked news of Sir Bors, namely, what [was his business(?)] and whence he came. He said that he was Sir Bors of the French, and that he was seeking his brother, Sir Lionel, because he had not long since seen him between two knights who were wounding and disabling him, said he. 'O, Sir Bors', said the old man, 'sorrow and lamentation are not fitting for thee, for it is despair to anyone if he grieves for the losses of this life, since it is fitting for everyone to strive to endure them for the love of the Lord. And still one thing more', said he, 'I will say to thee: the thing thou art seeking, from me thou shalt have knowledge of it, so that it shall be clear to thee with thy bodily eyes.' When Sir Bors heard these answers, it was clear to him that Sir Lionel had met his death, and the greater was his sorrow and his pitiable anxiety at that time to get news of him, and he was a while without speech and without strength(?) for fear of the

report. When at last he recovered speech, Sir Bors begged the old man to show him his brother's body, if dead he was, in order that he might bury him with honor and respect as befitted the nobility of his race and his own good deserts. 'Look yonder', said the old man, 'to see what you behold.' Sir Bors looked, and saw a dead body lying prostrate before him, freshly wounded and bleeding, as if it had that hour met death; and it seemed to Sir Bors that Sir Lionel's form was upon it. Sorrow and grief again came upon Sir Bors at the sight, so that he fell in a faint and a death-swoon upon him, and for a long time he lay stretched on the ground like any other dead body. After he arose from this swoon he asked the old man who had killed Sir Lionel, in order to avenge him, and he did not tell him. Sir Bors began to lament greatly for his brother, and it is this that he said: 'Alas, Lionel, dear brother and beloved companion, it was sad for thee to leave me alone, for thou wert my defender in every dangerous conflict, and thou wert my faithful protector in the king's castles when we went on a course of military service from the city of Camelot into the bounds of a strange race; so that it was the parting of soul from body to me to be separated from thee so long as we both were alive; and from the day when thou didst leave me, I have had no care but for the saving of my soul from this time forth!' After this Sir Bors raised the body in his two hands and laid it on the covering of the horse, and asked the old man to direct him to some monastery in which he might bury his brother's body. The old man told him there was a small oratory in the neighborhood, and there was —

[Here the fragment abruptly ends at the bottom of the page.]

Second Fragment.

(page 1) '— [cin-]iudha¹) dóendai ; 7 is e an crann etoir tech forsa raibhe .i. an sægul roboi cen credem cin riaghail ealsa riann-gein Crist, acht sil Adhaim uile ic dul an ifern a cinaidh a sinnser, uair rop iat-sein na h-eoin marbha co ro doirt

¹) The bracketed letters probably stood on the previous page. The word, which Nettlau restored, is made practically certain by the recurrence of *in ciniudh doendai* below on page 388.

in t-en uasal .i. Isu Crist, a fhuil isin croich cesta dia taith-beodhadh, uair atbathatar a n-Adham fri remius chóic n-aimser cósin. Occus ro taispen duit-si isin cruth-sin he fein ar daigh nach beath grain na adhuath ocat-sa fri fulang bais 7 trebhlaithi dar a cenn-som, amal ro fhulaing-séin dar do cenn-sa. Occus asa h-aithli-sein ro sheol tu airmb i m-boi in righan óc ica raibi righe Amans¹⁾ ica buain ar ecin di icon t-sénrighain. Is í righan oc tuicther indsin ica h-indarbadh icon t-sénrighain .i. in eclais noeb fil ica h-inghreim do gres. Occus fos is í an t-sénrighan .i. in senrecht ro boi isin domhan ria n-gein Crist, uair atá-sein cech lai ic fortamlugudh forsán n-eclais noib conid airi-sein ro fhóidh in coimdhis²⁾ tusa do cathachudh dar cenn na h-ealsa do gres. Occus ro accain in righan oc frit-sa in anforlann ro-himredh fuirri 7 ro gabais do laim a cobair 7 a furtacht amal badh accmaing duit; 7 is amhlaidh tainic cucat fós an erradh dorchai .i. i fhigair cumhadh 7 tuirsi. Is amlaidh sin bis an eclas co m-bron 7 accaine n-dermair ic cuingidh díghla do gres for lucht a saraighthi, uair is clann spirutallai don eclais noib in cinuidh doéndaí uili cen co-p anoir 7 airmitiu mathar doberat di. Rogabh baigh 7 coinnirele tu-sa frisín righain oig la mét in amfhorlainn ro h-imredh furri. Is amlaidh-sin atái frisín n-eclais, uair cech eeen 7 cech doccomail itchi furre is erlam tu-sa dia cobair, a Sir Boos', ol in t-ap.

'An da én itchondarcais fos isin aislingi', ólsé, 'ata ní aile is coir do tucsín estib. An t-en dubh cetus ro raidh frit, ciar bo solus taitnemach dellrad in eoin aile nir ba h-uaisle a gníma oldaat a gníma uadein; is e-sein Isu Crist, uair ciar bo bocht dereoil a shéta isin bith freccnairec i fus, is lethan 7 is fair-siung³⁾ iat fadeoigh i fhlaithes nimhea i n-oentaídh na noeb trin-noiti, Athar 7 maic 7 Spiruta Noib. Occus fos', ólse, 'ciar bo dereoil inísel nech isin t-sægul, bidh moiti a anoir 7 a airmitiu illeth fri Dia. Is e in t-én gel tainic cucat fos', ol in t-ap, 'i

¹⁾ Cf. the French: 'la dame a qui li rois amans auoit baillie sa terre a garder'. The name in Malory is 'King Aniaus'.

²⁾ Read *coimdkiu* or *coimdkid*? Or perhaps *coimsid*?

³⁾ There seems to be a reminiscence of scriptural language here. Cf. Atkinson, *Passions and Homilies*, p. 152: 'Is ac aisneis in t-séta-sin atberar is-in scriptúir: is lethan 7 is fairsiung in sét idnaices na heccraibdechu cos-in malaírt 7 cus-in etarthuitinim suthain, cumung imorro sét na bethad doenna i comallíud thimna De'.

cosmailes ulchobchain,¹⁾ i. diabhal, uair cid solus taitnemach in t-ulchobchan don leith amuigh, is dubha a ghnima 7 a oibrighi don leith astigh; conidh amlaid sein bít lucht in fhuarcrabaidh bis²⁾ ic cuingidh (page 2) a molta o dhainibh uair ní dlegait fiach o Dia o nach do doniat a sæthar. Occus in diabul itcondarcais isin aidchi, is e³⁾ doralá frít isin lo i fhigair crabaidh i cosmailes fir an fhuarcrabaidh, 7 ro demnigh duit bas do brathar i. Sir Liuinél; 7 ba bréc do-sum sin uair mairid sein beos; acht rop áil la diabul do brécad-sa a micredemh 7 a n-dercaine, 7 ro erail fort doridhisi faiesedain⁴⁾ frisin righain itrubramar tuasana, 7 dia fhæmtha-su in gnim-sain no raghadh in soidech noib dit cen faicsin tria bithu, a Sir Boos', ol in t-ap, '7 o nach dernais eim, is ed is erdalta duit, beith for burd in t-soidech noib ic caitem na fledhi ro thuiretar(?) do shobesa 7 do chaingnima fein duit i cumaidh na ridiredh n-uasal aile, i. Sir Galaad 7 Sir Persaual 7 rl —.'

'An aisling aile itcondarcais', ol in t-ap, 'fogeaba a fis amal cech ní aile. An aimhidhe galair⁵⁾ itcondarcais cen nert cen cumachta, is e-sein Sir Liuinél, uair ata din imat a peccadh 7 a dualach co ro h-ellnigedh 7 co ro truailledh he inntib, co nach coemnacair faisiti na aithrige do denam do chuinghid dilguda o Dia. Ocus in da luib uaisle itchondarcais i n-imforrun fria aroile, it iat-sin in ridire oc 7 in maigdine⁶⁾ doralá frít-sa;

¹⁾ This departs from both Malory and the Roxburghe French text, which describe the bird as a swan: 'ki t'aparut en samblanche de chisne' (p. 167). So also the Welsh: 'yr alarch'.

²⁾ bis is inserted above the line.

³⁾ is e is inserted above the line.

⁴⁾ The translation is not literal here. I am not sure whether *faiesedain* can mean 'resting, staying, abiding' (cf. O'Reilly's *foisite*), or is rather to be taken as the familiar *foisitiu*, 'confession'. The earlier episode, if we had it in its Irish form, would probably make the passage clearer. The Roxburghe French text reads: 'mais il le dist pour che qu'il te vaut faire entendre a folie et a luxure'.

⁵⁾ The Irish seems to differ here from the French, the Welsh, and the *Morte Darthur*. The French has: 'Si couient que iou te deuisse la senefianche del fust pouri et des flours'. The Welsh, similarly: 'Y prenn coch drewyedic'. Malory reads: 'Also the drye tree and the whyte lylle, the drye tree betokeneth thy brother Sir Lionell'. Just before this Malory's version speaks of a 'Third foule', which 'betokeneth the strong bataille against the faire ladies which were all divels'. This does not appear in any of the other three.

⁶⁾ Read *maigden*?

7 is *ed* ba h-aíl do luib díb a blath 7 a dellradh do buain don luib aile, is amlaidh-sin ba h-aíl don ridire óc sin blath 7 dellradh na h-oghhdachta robui forsin maighdin do buain di; 7 amal ro thesaíre in senoir noeb itrubramar in da luib for araile, 7 roleic in ainmide n-galair cen tarrachtain, 7 ro ráidh frit-sa condernta aithgin in neith doróine cipe tan no tecmudh frit amal dorala do-som. Doronais-si amlaidh sin in tan itcondarcais Sir Liuinél ica malairt icon díis ridire 7 in maigden ica sarachudh icon ridire; is a fhurtacht na maigdine do dechadais-si for tus, uair ro dermaitis do gradh nadura¹⁾ for an n-grad spirutalla ro boi ocut do Dia. Nir bo comáin cen cuittechadh²⁾ sin, uair ro shær Día Sir Liuinél o bás 7 ro marbait na ridiredha ro fuapair a marbadh, 7 is follus aire-sin cipe leces a furtacht 7 a cobhair illeith in coimdedh fein amal doratuis-si tæb [fri Dia] d-furtacht Sir Liuinél, conid erlam he fein fri foiridhin cech doccamhuil 7 cech ingrema lecar na leith; 7 ro imtigh Sir Liuinél iarsin andegaidh a³⁾ cuidechta .i. teglach cing Artur for eoch ridiri dona ridiribh ro fhuapair a mhalairt, 7 ní cian fos co tecema frit-sa he, a Sir Boos', ol in t-ap. 'Occus fos', ol-se, 'is e in toradh itcondarcais ic fas forsna luibibh uaisli sin .i. an slicht socenelach genfes for leith on ridiri 7 on maighdin sin, uair bid imda ridire croda 7 dáini særa socenelcha genfes uadha diblinaib. Occus mani badh in edrain doratais-si forru no truallfithi iat aræn im an oghdachta [... ni] uadh buidech Dia díb 7 ní biadh sil na comarbadha dílsi dia n-es, 7 ropad if[írn ...] a crích deghinech. Is ari-sin tuicmit-ne conid mæd díles Isu Crist tu-sa, uair dia m-bad ridire talmandai tu is e in grad nadura⁴⁾ ro cuimnechta, 7 is e do brathair no furtachtaighfíthea.'

Translation.

'— [the races] of men; and this is the barren tree upon which it was, namely, the world that was without faith and

¹⁾ *nadura* (or perhaps *nadurdha*, adj.) is a conjecture. The MS. has ^a_n in both instances when the phrase occurs. The French text has: 'et meistes a redos toute naturel amour pour l'amour de ihesu crist'.

²⁾ Is this a proverbial expression?

³⁾ The MS. appears to have *u*.

⁴⁾ MS. ^a_n as above.

without rule of church before the birth of Christ, but the whole race of Adam going to hell on account of its ancestors; for the birds were dead until the noble bird, namely Jesus Christ, shed his blood on the cross of suffering to revive them, for they had died in Adam for the space of five ages up to that time. And he revealed himself to thee in that form in order that thou shouldst have no fear or terror at enduring death and tribulation for his sake, as he endured them for thy sake. And after this thou didst go to the place where the young queen was who held the kingdom of Amans and from whom it was being violently taken away by the old queen. By the young queen, whom the old queen attacked, is meant the holy church, which is persecuted ever. And furthermore, this is the old queen, namely the old law which was in the world before the birth of Christ; for it is every day attacking the holy church, so that on this account the Lord sent thee to fight ever on behalf of the church. And the young queen complained to thee of the violence that was used against her, and thou didst lift thy hand in aid and succor as was fitting for thee. And again it is thus that she came to thee in dark clothing, that is, in the guise of grief and sorrow. In the same way the church with sorrow and great complaint is ever asking revenge upon the people who insult her, for the whole human race are her spiritual children, but without paying her the respect and honor of a mother. Thou didst take up battle and combat for the young queen proportioned to the force that was brought against her. It is thus that thou art on the side of the church; for [in] every need and every danger that thou seest come upon her, thou art ready to aid her, o Sir Bors', said the Abbot.

'The two birds, furthermore, whom thou didst see in the vision', said he, 'there is something else to be understood by them. The black bird who spoke to thee first, though bright and shining the splendor of the other bird, not nobler were its deeds than the deeds [of the first]; this (i. e. the black bird) is Jesus Christ, for though poor and weak are his ways here in this present world, they are broad and spacious at last in the kingdom of heaven in the unity of the Holy Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Ghost. And furthermore', said he, 'though anyone be weak and humble in this world, the greater shall be his honor and regard with God forever. The white bird, moreover,

who came to thee in the form of in owl', said the Abbot', is the Devil; for though the owl is outwardly bright and shining, inwardly its deeds and works are dark; and such are the hypocrites who seek praise from men, for they deserve no reward from God, since it is not for him that they do their work. And the devil whom thou didst see in the night, it is he who came to thee in the day in the guise of religion in the form of a man of hypocrisy, and announced to thee the death of Sir Lionel, thy brother; and that was a lie for him, for he [i. e. Lionel] is still alive; but it pleased the devil to deceive thee into unbelief and despair, and he enjoined it upon thee to return to the queen of whom we spoke above, and if thou hadst undertaken this deed the Holy Grail would have departed from thee without ever being seen, O Sir Bors', said the Abbot; 'and since thou didst not, truly it is destined for thee to be at the board of the Holy Grail, eating the feast which thy virtues and fair deeds obtain (?) for thee, along with the other noble knights, Sir Galahad, Sir Percival, etc.

'The other vision thou didst see', said the Abbot, 'thou shalt have knowledge of it as of everything else. The sick beast that thou didst see without force, without strength, this is Sir Lionel; for it is from the number of his sins and his vices that he has been corrupted and defiled, so that he cannot make confession or repent in order to beg forgiveness of God. And the two noble flowers that thou sawest striving with each other, these are the young knight and the maiden who came to thee; and [as] it was the desire of one of the flowers to take away the blossom and the beauty from the other, just so it was the desire of the young knight to taken away the flower and beauty of virginity that was upon the maiden. And just as the holy old man rescued the two flowers from each other, and left the sick beast without attention, and told thee that thou shouldst imitate what he had done whenever it should happen to thee as it had come to him; likewise didst thou when thou sawest Sir Lionel ill-treated by the two knights and the maiden insulted by the knight: first thou didst go to the help of the maiden, for thou didst forget thy natural (?) love because of the spiritual love that was in thee for God. That was not a favor without return, for God saved Sir Lionel from death, and the two knights were killed who sought to kill him, and it is clear from this that

if anyone [lit. whoever] commits his aid and help to the Lord himself, as thou didst depend [on God] to help Sir Lionel, He himself is ready to help [in] every trouble and difficulty that is committed to Him. And Sir Lionel proceeded then after his company, namely, the household of King Arthur, upon the horse of one of the knights who had tried to disable him, and it will not be long before he will meet thee, O Sir Bors', said the Abbot. 'And furthermore', said he, 'this is the fruit thou didst see growing upon those noble plants, namely, the gentle offspring that shall be born from the knight and the maiden, for there shall be many bold knights and free, noble men who shall spring from them both. And if it had not been for the separation which thou didst make between them, thou wouldst have deprived them both at once of their purity [. . . and(?)] God would [not] have been pleased with them, and there would be no seed or beloved heirs after them, and [hell would be] their last abode. It is from this that we understand that thou art a beloved steward of Jesus Christ, for if thou wert an earthly knight, it is natural(?) love that thou wouldst have remembered, and it is thy brother thou wouldst save.'

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THE VISION OF MERLINO.

The following curious eschatological allegory is an example of a type of stories popular in the Middle Ages, of which — leaving out the literary form in which the genius of Dante has clothed the motive — the best known examples are the *Visio Sancti Pauli*, *Saint Patrick's Purgatory*, and the *Visions* of Tundal, of Thurkill, and of the Monk of Eynsham. The Irish Ecclesiastics seem to have had a special penchant for this genre of fable, as is attested by the popularity among them of such pieces as the *Fis Adamnáin* and the *Porgadóir Patraic*: a popularity shared by the present tale, to judge by the number of MSS. good, bad, and indifferent — principally indifferent — which I found available.

The immediate origin of the present tale is not known to me. From the names occurring in its course it would appear to have had an Italian source; and we may perhaps hazard a guess that the hero is simply a distortion of Merlin. Merlin's name was well-known in Italy in the Middle Ages: and he is sometimes associated with Vergil, who of course is Dante's *cicerone* under similar circumstances. Thus he appears (under the name 'Milino') as a pupil of Vergil in *Aliprandina*, a Mantuan Chronicle written about 1414 by Bonamenti Aliprandi (see Muratori, *Antiquitates Italicae Medii Aevi* V. 1078). Vergil sends for his magic book

'— uno discepolo valente
che *Milino* per nome si dicesse —'

and in the English edition of the *Seven Sages* Merlin is substituted for Vergil in the Emperor's reply to the Fourth Sage; where

the stories of the fire and mirrors, attributed to Vergil in other western recensions, are ascribed to Merlin. Unless the name Verino be some sort of corruption of Vergil — which seems unlikely — I have been unable to trace the other characters; nor do the incidents, apart from their general character, compare exactly with those in similar stories. [The notion that the view of Paradise is the worst torment of Hell reappears in a French Metrical Version of the *Visio S. Pauli* (B. M. Add. 15, 606)]. The framework of the present story is very simple. Merlino is introduced as a malefactor who is desirous of testing the truth of a sermon he has accidentally heard upon the future states. By a device not wanting in ingenuity he is transported through a door which he thinks will lead him to a castle that he wishes to plunder, but which really conducts him to an Inferno luridly described with all the wealth of a perfervid Celtic imagination. The penalties attached to the seven deadly sins are set forth in detail. Of some interest in this portion of the story is the interpolation of metrical stanzas in order to make the tale conform to the common method of Irish romancers. It will be noticed that a different device for bringing in the stanza is employed on each occasion, though the author was rather 'hard put to it' for novelty when he was obliged to make the lost souls carry 'books' containing the verses applying to them! After some trivial details concerning the subdivisions and government of Inferno, patiently set forth in detail by the Heavenly Guide in answer to Merlino's questioning, the latter is conducted to Purgatory and thence to Heaven, after which the story ends as a matter of course with the return of Merlino to earth and with his conversion from his former sinful ways.

To the student of Celtic Folklore this story offers some points of especial interest. The words *ó chianaibh*, for example (§ VIII) imply one of those mysterious lapses of time to which we are accustomed in reading romances dealing with the Other-world. Noteworthy also is the touch tabu (§ XXVIII) which is very common in folk-stories: as the first parallel instance that comes to hand I may refer to the Scottish story *An Long a chaidh do dh'America* (Mac Innes and Nutt, 'Waifs and Strays' vol. II, pp. 176-7, end of first paragraph). The Vision of Heaven is a charming description of a Land of Pleasure, partly adapted from the Apocalypse, but in many details apparently reminiscent

of the ancient Dreamlands of Celtic legend with which Mr. Nutt has made us all familiar.

The following is a list of the MSS. I have collated or examined:

A. In my own collection, 26 pp. 8 ins. \times 6 ins., a fragment of a larger volume (paged 191—216), written by a man calling himself *Seón mac Solaidhe* at Stackallen, Co. Meath, in the year 1718. This is the best and oldest MS. known to me, and I have used it as a standard text. The variations of the other MSS., verbal and otherwise, are complex and almost bewildering, as will appear by the *variae lectiones* detailed in the footnotes.

B. (R. I. A. 23 A 45). A thin MS., 6 \times 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ ins. written by one Maurice McGorman, 1745. Contents; entirely verse except the present tale.

C. (R. I. A. 23 L 24). A fine MS., 577 pp., 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ \times 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ins. written by *Diarmuid o Mulchaoinne*, 1766, Contents; Bruighean Charthuinn, Eachtra Thaidhg Dhuibh, Saints' lives, Ecclesiastical matter, Patrick's Purgatory, Battle of Ventry, Miscellaneous Verse.

D. (R. I. A. 23 C 5). A fragment, 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ \times 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ written by John O'Connel, 1767. The opening is lost down to *an bhfuil a fhios agat*, § XV. Contents; Religious texts, Women's Parliament, Life of Fionán, &c. 'Merlino' occupies the present first 15 pp.

E. (R. I. A. 23 L 29). Fragments of a book written in different hands, 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ \times 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ins. Date 1796. A good MS., but in a crabbed hand full of contractions. 'Merlino' occupies pp. 247—256.

F. (R. I. A. 23 L 12). An excellent MS. 318 pp., 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ \times 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ins. Written by Patrick Den of Modeligo, 1800. Contents; mostly religious prose. 'Merlino' occupies pp. 226—253.

G. (R. I. A. 23 M 21). A fragment of 96 pp., 8 \times 6 ins., written by *Seumas o Glosainn*, 1801. Contents; Battle of Ventry, Life of St. Margaret, and some verse. 'Merlino' occupies pp. 71—86.

H. (R. I. A. 23 Q 18). A collection of fragments bound together, in all making 422 pp. of MS. 12 \times 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ ins. Written by *Eamonn o h-Oorrochodh*, 1817. Contents; Toirdealbach mac Stairn, Ossianic Verse, Rann na muc, &c. 'Merlino' occupies pp. 253—268. This copy shares many peculiarities with B, and is clearly not independent of that MS.

K. (R. I. A. 23 B 8). A poor MS. of about 100 pp., $7 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ ins., written by *Patrick o Donaich*, 1821. Contents: Colloquy of Soul and Body, other verse, and English translation of *Laoidh an Seilg*.

L. (R. I. A. 23 K 17). A MS. of 144 pp., $7 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ ins., written by *Micheál o hÓunreachdine*, 1830. Contents: *Laoidh na mná móire*, Prose Version of Battle of Gabhra, Battle of Ventry, and miscellaneous verse. This text is full of peculiar readings and interpolations, and the orthography is very bad.

M. (R. I. A. 23 A 44). A MS. of about 320 pp., irregularly numbered, 6×8 ins.: some blank. Written by *William na hAbhan* in Tipperary, 1857, after an example of Owen Clooney of Limerick. Contents: Saints' lives and religious matter.

N. (R. I. A. 23 M 41). MS. of 70 pp., $8 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ ins., several blank. No date, probably early 19th century. Contents; mostly religious. 'Merlino' occupies pp. 25—39. The end of 'Merlino' is lost; the MS. breaks off at the words '*gan crioch gan foir-chionn oir*' in § XXV.

P. (R. I. A. 23 B 25). A neat MS. of 84 pp., 7×6 ins., the first six lost. Contents; mostly religious prose and verse. 'Merlino' is here a fragment beginning with *chím anois go ccaithfe* § XII.

Q. (B. M. Eg. 140) a badly written and almost worthless abstract of the story.

I had not time in Dublin to collate verbally all the MSS. of the story: I had to content myself with simply reading through the versions in C, D, E, F, M, P, and noting the more important variants. I have however compared B, G, H, K, L, Q, which happened to be the MSS. I examined first, word for word with A. The variants which simply consist of unimportant transpositions of the words of a sentence, misspellings, omission of the particles *do*, *ro*, &c. the use of the analytic for the synthetic conjugation, and obvious scribes' blunders are not noticed in the lists of *variae lectiones*; to detail these would occupy much space that the editors of the *Zeitschrift* could more profitably fill with other matter. I may mention that in the first draft of this edition I had a register of fifty places where variants occurred in section I. By leaving out trivialities this has been reduced to twenty-seven. I have so far as possible introduced uniformity in the orthography except in the citations from L. the eccentric spelling of which I have thought worth preserving as a general rule.

The Vision of Merlino.

I. ¹⁾Do bhí ²⁾feacht²⁾ ³⁾n-aon 'na chómhnaidhe³⁾ i rioghacht na Bohémia¹⁾ duine ⁴⁾áirighthe⁴⁾ dar bhudh chómhainm Merlino ⁴⁾Maligno⁴⁾: agus ⁵⁾is ⁶⁾is amhlaidh do bhí an ⁷⁾t-óglach⁷⁾ sin, 'n a ⁶⁾dhuine mhillteach mhallaighthe: óir ní raibh cadhas aige ⁸⁾i⁸⁾ gcill no ⁸⁾i⁸⁾ dtuaith, ⁸⁾i⁸⁾ gearaidh no ⁸⁾i⁸⁾ námhaid; acht ag slad 's ag⁹⁾ marbhadh daoine ar a leapachaibh, agus ag deanamh gacha uile ¹⁰⁾¹¹⁾agus gacha urchóidhe¹⁰⁾ ¹²⁾budh measa¹²⁾ d'a mb' fhéidir le duine no le diabhal do thionsgnamh ¹³⁾ná smuaineadh¹³⁾: mar an gcéadna, do chuir a ionad cómhnuightheach ¹⁴⁾agus a phalas ¹⁵⁾peacamhail¹⁵⁾ i bhfad ó dhaoineibh, ¹⁶⁾ó chaitreamh agus ó chómhluadhar ¹⁷⁾gacha aoine; eadhon, ¹⁴⁾¹⁶⁾¹⁷⁾i ¹⁸⁾ndiamhair¹⁸⁾ coillte ¹⁹⁾móinte curraighthe¹⁹⁾: ²⁰⁾ionnus nach raibh cumus ag lucht stiurtha dlighe Dhé no an tsaoghail ar¹¹⁾ chómhairle do thabhairt dhó, no fós ²¹⁾smacht²¹⁾²²⁾ ar bith²²⁾ do chuir ²³⁾air de thaobh a ghníomhartha²³⁾: mar do chongaibh é féin²⁴⁾ go laith-eamhail²⁴⁾ insna h-ionadhaibh uaighneacha²⁵⁾ ²⁶⁾allta²⁶⁾ réimhraidhe²⁷⁾ i bhfad ó na h-uile sheórt dhaoine.²⁷⁾

II. Tharla do²⁸⁾ 'n duine ²⁹⁾urchóidheach²⁹⁾ so go raibh [sé]²⁸⁾ ³⁰⁾uair áirighthe³⁰⁾ ar ³¹⁾siubhal³¹⁾, ³²⁾d'iarradh³²⁾³³⁾ uile agus³³⁾ dibheirge do dheanamh³⁴⁾, ³⁵⁾go tharla é³⁶⁾ i measg áite³⁵⁾ iona³⁶⁾ raibh poball mór daoine ³⁷⁾cruinn³⁷⁾, do bhí ag eisteacht ré seanmóir do bhí ag diadhaire agus ag duine ro-naomhtha d'a dheanamh ³⁸⁾dóibh³⁸⁾. Agus ar dteacht i measg ³⁹⁾an cóimhthionóil³⁹⁾ dhó, níor léig ⁴⁰⁾a⁴⁰⁾ náire dhó an tseanmóir do sheadhnadh; agus fós d'eagla ⁴¹⁾aithne de⁴¹⁾ bhréith air, no go mbeartaoi do láthair an dlighe⁴²⁾ é; agus ar na hadhbhraibh sin, agus ní de ghrádh bréithre Dé ⁴³⁾do chlos,⁴³⁾ do léig ar a

I. ¹⁾ Léigtear ar, *Q*. ²⁾ athach *GK*. ³⁾ anail *BH*. ⁴⁾ *om. L*. ⁵⁾ ar aingioll no sprid eolais do thaisbéan radharc Iffrinn, Porgadoir, agus Parrthais dhó. Do bhí an fear so 'na chómhnuidhe i rioghacht na Bohémia, agus added *Q*. ⁶⁾ bo, *L*. ⁷⁾ fear, *B*. ⁸⁾ do, *BH*. ⁹⁾ buadh[r]aigheacht, ag added *BH*. ¹⁰⁾ *om. BG*. ¹¹⁾ do bhi aitreabh agus aras aige i ndiamhairaibh coillte agus currach, áit nach mbiadh tathadh neimh-cheacht ag lucht stiurtha dlighe Dhé no an tsaoghail air *BH*. ¹²⁾ eile, *L*. ¹³⁾ *om. AGKLN*. ¹⁴⁾ *om. K*. ¹⁵⁾ ghráineamhail, *Q*. ¹⁶⁾ *om. G*. ¹⁷⁾ na ndaoine, *L*. ¹⁸⁾ iathar, *L*. [láthair]. ¹⁹⁾ *om. A*. ²⁰⁾ i bhfad ó chómhluadar saoghalta added *K*. ²¹⁾ sionnus, *G*. (probably a misreading of *smacht* in a previous

The Vision of Merlino.

I. Once on a time there was a certain man living in the kingdom of Bohemia, whose surname was Merlino Maligno. In this wise was that kerne, a man hurtful and accursed; for he recked naught of churches nor lordships, friend nor foe: but would rob and slay human creatures on their beds and would do all ill and all evil, the worst that man or devil could devise or imagine. Further, he put his dwelling, his palace of evil, far from men, from intercourse and converse with any, in the heart of a wood full of moss-hags; so that they who guided the laws of God and men could not counsel him, nor yet reward him for his evil doings: for he held himself every day in the wild and desert places aforesaid, far from people of every kind.

II. It chanced to this evil man that he was on a time going in search of wrong and robbery which he might commit; and that he came into a place wherein was a great crowd of people assembled, hearing a sermon that a godly and holy man was delivering unto them. And when he came into their midst, he could not, for shame, avoid hearing the sermon: moreover for fear of being recognised, lest he should be brought to justice — for those causes and not for the love of hearing the word

exemplar). ²²⁾ *om. AGKL.* ²³⁾ *om. AGKL.* ²⁴⁾ *de ghnáth, L.* ²⁵⁾ *o'n uile dhaoinibh é G.* ²⁶⁾ *om. AGK.* ²⁷⁾ *om GKL.*

II. ²⁸⁾ *om. BK.* ²⁹⁾ *arrachtach G, mallaighthe L.* ³⁰⁾ *lá BH.* ³¹⁾ *triall L, imtheacht Q.* ³²⁾ *chum G, d'fonn L.* ³³⁾ *om. BH.* ³⁴⁾ *ambail bo ghnáith leis added L.* ³⁵⁾ *go h-áit BDH, go tharla go h-ionad G.* ³⁶⁾ *do iona thrial an áit áirighthe a, L.* ³⁷⁾ *om. ABGHH, ag chruinniúghadh, L.* ³⁸⁾ *om G.* ³⁹⁾ *cháich BGHN, an phobail L.* ⁴⁰⁾ *an ghnúis BH: om. GL: a eagla ná K.* ⁴¹⁾ *go dtogfaidhe cómharta nò aithne Dé, is go mbéarfuidhe é L.* ⁴²⁾ *mur an éistfeadh leis an dteagasg do bhí dá chraobhscaoileadh do'n pobal sin added L.* ⁴³⁾ *om. ABN.*

ghluinibh féin ¹⁾mar chách ¹⁾ é, ²⁾agus d'éist an tseanmóir ó thúis go déireadh. ³⁾Agus do bhí annsin²⁾, ag éisteacht³⁾ an tseanmóntaidhe bhinnghlórach sin, ⁴⁾do bhí⁴⁾ ag foillsíngadh agus ag faisneis aoibhneas agus úrghairdeas na glóire ⁵⁾⁶⁾suathaine⁶⁾, agus na coróine⁷⁾ glórmara⁵⁾⁷⁾ do bhí ⁸⁾ullamh ag Dia ⁸⁾⁹⁾fa chómhair⁹⁾ na ¹⁰⁾druinge ¹⁰⁾do ní A thoil agus toil na h-eaglaise¹¹⁾ agus leas na comhursan:¹²⁾ agus ¹³⁾mar an gceadna¹³⁾ na pianta ¹⁴⁾¹⁵⁾siorrdhaidhe¹⁵⁾ do bhí ¹⁵⁾ullamh ¹⁵⁾¹⁶⁾fa chómhair¹⁷⁾ lucht¹⁸⁾ an uabhair ¹⁷⁾agus na hantola.

III. Acht ¹⁹⁾cheana, thug Merlino d'a aire go mór ²⁰⁾an²⁰⁾ mhéad do labhair an ²¹⁾tseanmóntaidhe ²¹⁾²²⁾in aghaidh lucht ²²⁾²³⁾na gadaigheachta agus lucht²³⁾ briste an dlíge ²⁴⁾Dé²⁴⁾, agus santaighthe coda a gcómhursan; agus olcus na háite do bhí ²⁵⁾ullamh²⁵⁾ ²⁶⁾fá n'a gcómhair²⁶⁾. ²⁷⁾Ciodhtracht, ²⁸⁾iar gcríochnughadh na seanmóra do'n diadhaire, agus iar sgrúdadh briathar Dé dhó go ²⁹⁾soiléir,²⁸⁾²⁹⁾ agus iar nochtadh ³⁰⁾agus iar bhfoillsíngadh ³⁰⁾na bpian ³¹⁾agus na ³²⁾bpeanaidh ³¹⁾³²⁾ do bhí ³³⁾fá chómhair lucht³³⁾ na mallacht dhó, do sgaoileadar cách go ³⁴⁾coitichionn³⁴⁾ ³⁵⁾agus do chuaidh gach aon díobh d'a ³⁶⁾ait³⁶⁾ féin.²⁷⁾³⁵⁾

IV. Dála Mherlino,³⁷⁾ ar n-irgheadh ó'n tseanmhóir dó, do smuain aige féin nachar bhfhéidir³⁸⁾ go mb'fhirinneach³⁹⁾ é ar aon chóir:⁴⁰⁾ 's nach raibh 'san méad adeireadh an eaglais d'a thaoibh ⁴¹⁾sin,⁴¹⁾ acht cluain ⁴²⁾⁴³⁾agus mealladh⁴²⁾ agus cleasaidheacht⁴³⁾ d'a chur⁴⁴⁾ ar na Criosdaidhaibh dochum beatha na h-eaglaise do bhuain díobh. ⁴⁵⁾Tar a chionn sin,⁴⁵⁾ ní raibh lá na oidhche ó sin amach nach raibh briathra an tseanmóntaidhe⁴⁶⁾ ag teacht in a ⁴⁷⁾cheann, agus in a⁴⁶⁾⁴⁷⁾ chuimhne, agus ag ⁴⁸⁾buaidhreadh a inntinne go ⁴⁹⁾mór:⁴⁹⁾ ⁵⁰⁾agus is amhlaidh⁵⁰⁾

¹⁾ i measg cháich *G.* ²⁾ *om. GK.* ³⁾ An tan do chuala *L.* ⁴⁾ *om. A.* ⁵⁾ *om. GQ.* ⁶⁾ siorruidhe *L.* ⁷⁾ *om. L.* ⁸⁾ *om. GKQ.* ⁹⁾ i gcoinne *L.* ¹⁰⁾ muintire *B.* ndaoine *H.* druinge sin *K.* ¹¹⁾ reir ceart *added G.* ¹²⁾ tug aire eisteacht do ar mhodh gur ghaibh na mheabhair agus iona chuimhne go beacht na briathra sin *added L.* ¹³⁾ *om. B.* ¹⁴⁾ agus na peannais *added L.* ¹⁵⁾ *om. K.* ¹⁶⁾ aige *added H.* ¹⁷⁾ na druing sin na huail agus na hantola *K.* ¹⁸⁾ na mallacht agus na mí-ghníomh(a *B*) agus (i gcuinne lucht *BH*) *BHL.*

III. ¹⁹⁾ atá a ní *added B.* ²⁰⁾ dá *K.* ²¹⁾ diadhaire *K.* ²²⁾ na dhiaigh *H.* ²³⁾ *om. L.* ²⁴⁾ *om. ABHKL.* ²⁵⁾ ullmaighthe *K.* ²⁶⁾ dhóibh *G.* ²⁷⁾ agus an dochar agus an dían-iarsma bhí le h-imirt orra do ghlac agus do mór; an tán do chríochnadh an diadhaire an tseanmoir, ionar sgrúdhag ionar nocht ionar craobhsagail agus ionar fhoillsigh agus ionar fhaisneis

of God, he knelt like them all, and heard the sermon from beginning to end. And there he was, hearkening to the preacher of melodious voice, as he revealed and bore testimony to the pleasure and delight of eternal glory, and to the glorious crowns which were ready with God for those who wrought His will, and the will of the church, and the good of their neighbours; and in like manner the eternal pains ready for the sons of pride and of lust.

III. Howbeit, Merlino gave great heed to all the words of the preacher that he spoke against robbers and those who break the law of God and envy the goods of their neighbours: and the evilness of the place prepared for them. However, when the holy man's sermon was finished, and when he had expounded the word of God with clearness, and when he had exposed and revealed the pains and penalties prepared for the sons of wrath, the whole multitude separated and each one went to his own abode.

IV. As for Merlino, when he rose from the sermon, he thought within himself that it could in no wise be true: and that in all that the church spake upon that matter there was naught but fraud and treachery and trickery which she imposed upon the Christians, to the end that the living of the church might be extorted from them. Yet withal from thenceforward there was no day nor night wherein the words of the preacher came not into his mind and recollection, and greatly troubled

bréithre Dé do taobh uile agus maithiusa, do sgaip an pobat agus do thriall gach aon dóibh d'a arus ná d'a ionad cinnte féin. *L.* ²⁸⁾ chriochnuig na s. leis an diadhaire 7 iarr sgor dó briathara Dé gan glan (*sic*) *K.* ²⁹⁾ glan *BH* grinn *GN.* ³⁰⁾ *om. BH.* ³¹⁾ *om K.* ³²⁾ dtóirintadh *BH,* peannais *K.* ³³⁾ ullmuinthe *added K.* ³⁴⁾ cómhchoitchionn *G.* ³⁵⁾ *om GK.* ³⁶⁾ bhaile *BH.*

IV. This paragraph omitted in *CFKQ.* ³⁷⁾ annso *added H.* ³⁸⁾ gur bhfior a-ndubhairt an seanmóntaidhe, acht cheana do smuain aris níorbh fhéidir *added L.* ³⁹⁾ gach a ndubhairt an seanmóntaidhe (no nar bheith *B*) acht atá an ní chéadhna do smuain in inntinn nár bhfirinneach *added BH.* ⁴⁰⁾ a ndubhairt *added F.* ⁴¹⁾ morán neithe *L.* ⁴²⁾ callaoi *L* [callaid]. ⁴³⁾ mill-seacht agus cumhann *B, om. H.* ⁴⁴⁾ eagla agus dállchiach *added L.* ⁴⁵⁾ Gan feachainn do sin *BH,* Gidheadh *L.* ⁴⁶⁾ 'na mheabhair agus 'na *L.* ⁴⁷⁾ *om. BH.* ⁴⁸⁾ deanamh *added L.* ⁴⁹⁾ ró-mhór dó *L.* ⁵⁰⁾ *om. L.*

do smuain ¹⁾aige féin:¹⁾ Da mbadh toil le Dia é go mbadh fearr leis no maitheas na talmhan ²⁾go h-uile²⁾ aon amharc amháin ³⁾d'fhágghail³⁾ ar Iffrionn,⁴⁾ ionnus go mba⁵⁾ fios do an bréagach a ndubhart⁵⁾ an diadhaire lá na seanmóra. Agus do bhí ⁶⁾an smuaineadh sin ⁷⁾ag sioir-⁷⁾ theacht⁸⁾ in a chionn de ghnáth, agus⁴⁾ ag cómhbhuaidhreach a inntinne go mór.⁶⁾

V. Lá ⁹⁾n-aon⁹⁾ 'na dhiaigh sin, do rinne Merlino ionad cuinne ré compánach do bhí ¹⁰⁾aige, dar bh'ainm ¹¹⁾Verino,¹¹⁾ ¹²⁾do bhíodh ag cuidiughadh ¹⁰⁾leis ¹³⁾gadaigheacht¹³⁾ ¹⁴⁾agus gach olc eile¹⁴⁾ do dhéanamh:¹²⁾,¹⁵⁾ agus is é áit iona ndearnadar ionad cuinne ré chéile, ag eadarsgaradh dhá bhealach. Agus is é Merlino bhudh túisge 'sa ionad cuinne: agus ní fhada do bhí ann an tan do chonairc sé Verino ¹⁶⁾¹⁷⁾d'a ionnsuidhe. Agus ar dteacht i láthair dhó, do shuidh i bhfocair Merlino, 's do bhadar ag tracht ar an turus do bhí rompa, agus ag deanamh comhairle ca conair ¹⁸⁾iona ngeabhaidís.¹⁸⁾ As ¹⁹⁾é do chríochnaigheadh¹⁹⁾ leo, dul go cathair ²⁰⁾atá²⁰⁾ 'san mBohémia darab ainm Bragansa, mar a raibh aonach mór ag chruinniughadh, agus ²¹⁾in dóthchus²¹⁾ go bhfuighidís eadail adhbhal ann.¹⁷⁾

VI. Ar mbeith ar an gcómhairle sin dhoibh, do choncadar ²²⁾d'a n-ionnsuidhe ²²⁾²³⁾ins an ²⁴⁾tslighe ²³⁾²⁴⁾²⁵⁾an iomadh²⁶⁾ de ²⁷⁾mharcshluaigh ²⁷⁾²⁸⁾mhór-mheanmnaigh²⁵⁾²⁸⁾ mhór-aigheantaigh, ²⁹⁾cóistidhe, carbaid,²⁹⁾ agus ³⁰⁾mórán³⁰⁾ d'eachaibh áille ³¹⁾³²⁾eagsamhla,³¹⁾ agus éadaigh ³³⁾lán-mháiseacha ³⁴⁾leó, lán ³⁴⁾d'óir agus d'airgiod, agus de pearlaidhibh ³⁵⁾uaisle,³⁵⁾ agus

¹⁾ *om. BH*; fós tré ghoibh an bhuaidhreach dá bhí briathra an tseanmóntaidhe a oibhriughadh uaigneach *L.* ²⁾ *om. H.* ³⁾ d'fheicsin *BH.* ⁴⁾ d'fheicsin *added A.* ⁵⁾ dearbhaig aige nar bhfior (no nar mbréagach *H.*) briathra *BH*; fios aige ciaco bréag ná firinneach adubhairt an diadhaire *L.* ⁶⁾ sin mar an gcéadna ag cur buaidhreach air *L.* ⁷⁾ *om. BH.* ⁸⁾ de shíor-ghnáth iona inntinn *L.*

V. *CF* have the following very inferior reading: Dála M., trialas roimhe gus an gcurrach mar a raibh ionad combnaighthe agus a chompánach dar bh'ainm Urino, agus tharladh Spiorad de muinntir Dé Uile-Chumhachthaigh ars an slighe i riocht U. Do chonradh chómhairle eatorra, &c. *Q* reads Annsin thug M. aghaidh a saoghail budh gnáthach leis, agus ní fada cheana(?) an uair tharla Spiorad de Mhac Dé leis an riocht a chómpánaigh féin budh gnáth 'na chuideachtain roimhe sin, dar bh'ainm V. Do labhradar ré chéile da feachaint cá dtabairfidís anaghaidh dá eadail éigin d'fhaghail, agus do coinnibh leo dul go Brugetia, eadon atá 'san mB. mar araibh aonach móir andoigh go bhfágdis éadail iomurcach ann. ⁹⁾ áirighthe *H.* ¹⁰⁾ *om. H.* ¹¹⁾ Urino *always BLN.* ¹²⁾ *om. H.* ¹³⁾ goid *AGHKLN.* ¹⁴⁾ *om. BH.*

his soul: and thus he thought within himself: Would it were God's will that it were better for him than all the good things of this world to get but one sight of Hell; that he might know whether the holy man spake truly or falsely on the day of his sermon!' And that thought recurred time and again to his mind and greatly troubled his soul.

V. On a certain day after that, Merlino made a tryst with a comrade he had, named Verino, who was his companion in robbery and all other evil; and the place where they made their tryst was at the parting of two passes. It was Merlino who was first at the tryst, and he was not long there before he saw Verino approaching him. And when he was come into his presence, he sat down by Merlino and they discussed the journey before them, and took counsel as to the road they should follow. It seemed good to them at last to go to a city that is in Bohemia called Braganza, where there was a great fair gathering together, and where they hoped they would get much plunder.

VI. When they were taking this counsel, they saw approaching them in the way a number of horsemen proud and spirited, chariots, coaches, and many divers beautiful horses; full-comely raiment upon them, full of gold, silver, and precious stones; and

¹⁵⁾ go minic roimhe sin *added B*; do greas *added H*. ¹⁶⁾ ag teacht *added L*.

¹⁷⁾ do comhradh ag comhairle eatorra cionnus nó créad an mód a bhfaigdis críochnughadh an lae sin, eadhon eadail mór do chruinninghadh leo: agus dul go cathair atá annsa mBohémia darab [ainm] Bragetia mar araibh aonach mór aig cruinniughadh, an dothchus go bhfaighdis eadail mhór ann *H*. Agus do chríochniamh comhairle eatorra cionnas no ca an módh abhfaoighdis an lá sin eadail, as an é críochnaigh leo, dol go cathair, &c. *K*. ¹⁸⁾ ná slighe ionar bhfearr dóibh gabháil *L*. ¹⁹⁾ í comhairle do cinneadh *BHL*.

²⁰⁾ do bhi *L*. ²¹⁾ *om. B*

VI. ²²⁾ chúca *L*. ²³⁾ *om. L*. ²⁴⁾ ród *BH*. ²⁵⁾ mórshluagh mór-mheanmnach *L*. ²⁶⁾ umhlacht *added Q*. ²⁷⁾ mharcachaibh *GK*. ²⁸⁾ móra mianathasach *K*. ²⁹⁾ agus do c. c. *BGH*; *om. AN*; air mhuin eachra áille eagsamhlacht *L*. ³⁰⁾ *om. BGHK*. ³¹⁾ earmaidheacha *B*, earmalach *H*. ³²⁾ líontadh bréaghta lánmhaiseacha lóchtaighthe óir agus péalaidhe úaisle air gach taobh díobh *Q*. ³³⁾ bréaghta *added GK*. ³⁴⁾ lán *BH*, léo *G*.

³⁵⁾ óir *AGN*, óir agus airgíod *K*, orrdha *BH*, íompa *L*.

eagsamhlacht ¹⁾gacha ceóil d'a chantain rompa, agus 'na ndiaigh, agus ar gach ²⁾taobh²⁾ díobh¹⁾ ³⁾.

VII. 'A chompánaigh ⁴⁾grádhaigh⁴⁾ ar Merlino, 'an ⁵⁾bhféidir tú ⁶⁾cia⁶⁾ h-íad an ⁷⁾mór-shluagh⁷⁾ ⁸⁾so chugainn⁸⁾ ⁹⁾'s an ród?⁹⁾

¹⁰⁾'Do fhéadar¹⁰⁾ ar Verino; ¹¹⁾'eadhon,¹¹⁾ iarla mór ¹²⁾atá 'san gcríoch so, darab ainm Plutando; agus do ¹³⁾rinne ¹⁴⁾cuireadh¹³⁾ mór fa chómhair an rígh agus an prionnsa 'san ríoghacht so.¹⁴⁾ Agsud cuid ¹⁵⁾de muinntir an rígh¹⁵⁾ ag dul ¹⁶⁾go¹⁷⁾ ¹⁸⁾cathair¹⁸⁾ an iarla.¹⁹⁾

²⁰⁾'Maiseadh', ar Merlino, ²⁰⁾²¹⁾'nachar bhfearr duinne dul 'na measg ²²⁾no in áit éile²²⁾ ²³⁾ag iarraidh eadala?²³⁾ Oir ²⁴⁾dochím²⁴⁾ go bhfuil saidhbhreas agus ²⁵⁾maoin²⁵⁾ ²⁶⁾'na dtim-chioll; agus ²¹⁾an eolas dhuitsi ²⁷⁾baile²⁷⁾ an iarla?' ar sé.

'Is eolas go deimhin' ar Verino.

²⁸⁾'Maiseadh,²⁹⁾ deanamaoid 'na measg,²⁸⁾ agus ³⁰⁾bímaoid ag éisteacht ris an gceol agus ris an ³¹⁾mór³¹⁾-aoibhneas úd atá ³²⁾aca,³²⁾ go ³³⁾ndeacham³³⁾ go baile an éarla.³⁴⁾

Do ³⁵⁾chríochnaigheadh³⁵⁾ an chómhairle sin leo, agus do ghluaiseadar³⁶⁾ i measg na nuasal, 's do bhadar lán d'aoibhneas³⁷⁾ 'na ³⁸⁾bhfochair,³⁸⁾ no go rangadar ³⁹⁾cathair³⁹⁾ an iarla.

VIII. ⁴⁰⁾⁴¹⁾Cíodhtracht⁴⁰⁾ do ⁴²⁾chonarcadar⁴²⁾ ⁴³⁾⁴⁴⁾mórán⁴⁴⁾ de dhaoinibh bochta ⁴⁵⁾uireasbacha⁴⁵⁾ 's⁴¹⁾ an ⁴⁶⁾tslighe⁴⁶⁾ sin, ⁴⁷⁾dar bh'eighean⁴⁷⁾ an bealach do sheachnadh; oir níor ⁴⁸⁾fhuilingeóchadh⁴⁸⁾ na ⁴⁹⁾lucht⁴⁹⁾ coistidhe na ⁵⁰⁾an eachraich⁵⁰⁾ ⁵¹⁾⁵²⁾mór-uallacha⁵¹⁾ ⁵³⁾⁵⁴⁾árd⁵⁴⁾ -aigéantacha⁵²⁾ ⁵⁵⁾ná na daoine uaisle⁵⁵⁾

¹⁾ gear taobh dhóibh *G*; gacha taoibhe díobh *N*; do gach seóid ar gach taobh dhóibh *K*, gach ceóil rómpa, gach taobh agus 'na ndiaigh *B*. ²⁾ leath *L*. ³⁾ líontadh bréaghtha lánmhaiseacha lóchtaigte óir agus péalaidhe úaisle air gach taobh díobh *Q*.

VII. ⁴⁾ ghradhmar *GL*. ⁵⁾ bhfuil [a *Q*] f[h]ios agat *GKQ*. ⁶⁾ cread *B*. ⁷⁾ marshluagh *BH*. ⁸⁾ sud chugham *G*. ⁹⁾ *om. ABGHLN*. ¹⁰⁾ atá *LN*; atá fhios agam ce iad *G*; Ro fh. sin *H*. ¹¹⁾ a fhios agam cia biad sud: ata *L*. ¹²⁾ onórach caithréimeach *added L*. ¹³⁾ rinne feasta *GK*, rinn sé flead agus feasta *L*. ¹⁴⁾ cuirm mór i gcoinneagus i gcomhdail ríghthe agus ro-thighearnadh na ríoghacht so *BH*. ¹⁵⁾ dhíobh *BH*. ¹⁶⁾ ar cuireadh *added BH*. ¹⁷⁾ ar choire an fheasta sin go *L*. ¹⁸⁾ baile *BH*. ¹⁹⁾ mhóir-se, ar *V*: agus caith fios nar mhaith an áit dhuinn dul d'iarraidh eadala 'na measg *added B*; . . . fios car bhearr duinn áit a rachamaidis d'iarraidh &c. *added H*. ²⁰⁾ Ca bhfios *GKL*. ²¹⁾ *om. Q*. ²²⁾ *om L*. ²³⁾ *om. K*. ²⁴⁾ de bhrígh *G*. ²⁵⁾ maoin mór *GL*, ionnus *BHKN*. ²⁶⁾ agus aoibhneas *added K*; á dhhéil *added B*. ²⁷⁾ cathair *GKQ*.

every kind of music a-playing before them, and behind them, and on each side of them.

VII. 'Dear comrade' said Merlino 'dost thou know who are this great company approaching us on the road?'

'I do' said Verino. 'It is a great earl of this country, by name Plutando; and he has invited a great feast for the king and prince of this kingdom. Yonder are some of the attendants of the king going to the castle of the earl.'

'Well' said Merlino, 'were it not better for us to go with them than to any other place, seeking plunder? For I see that there is much riches and treasure around them: dost thou know the bailey of the earl?' said he.

'I surely know it' said Verino.

'Then let us go into their midst, and be hearkening to the music and those delights that they have, till we come to the bailey of the earl.'

They agreed to this; and went straight into the midst of the nobles; and they were full of pleasure among them till they reached the castle of the earl.

VIII. Howbeit, they saw a crowd of poor and humble people in that way, who were obliged to leave the path; for the people in the chariots and horses, proud and spirited, and the nobles

²⁸⁾ *om L.* ²⁹⁾ *ar Merl. added K.* ³⁰⁾ *ma theagmaid 'na measg súdh added BH.* ³¹⁾ *om. Q.* ³²⁾ *orra K.* ³³⁾ *racham GK, rangamaoid Q.*
³⁴⁾ *i. Plutando added Q.* ³⁵⁾ *chinneadh L, choimeadh Q.* ³⁶⁾ *rompa added L.*
³⁷⁾ *agus do sport added B; agus do sholas added L.* ³⁸⁾ *measg BL.* ³⁹⁾ *go cathair G; go baile HL; baile B.*

VIII. ⁴⁰⁾ *Ag triall dóibh go baile an iarla reimhraidhte L; om. Q.*
⁴¹⁾ *Do bhí mórán de dhaoineibh bochta uireasbacha tháinig ar G: Agus do bhí . . . bochta uirisiol tháinig ar K.* ⁴²⁾ *rangadar AN.* ⁴³⁾ *mar an gceadna added Q.* ⁴⁴⁾ *iliomad BH.* ⁴⁵⁾ *uirisle thainig rómpa A; uir-easbacha [do H] tháinig BH.* ⁴⁶⁾ *ród BH.* ⁴⁷⁾ *gidheadh do bh'eig. dóibh L.* ⁴⁸⁾ *sic L; the rest have fhuingeadar.* ⁴⁹⁾ *only in L.* ⁵⁰⁾ *na h-eachraidhe BH, a' mórshluagh L, na heachaibh GKQ.* ⁵¹⁾ *mear-uallacha K, mór-uaibhreacha B, mear-uaisle H.* ⁵²⁾ *om. Q.* ⁵³⁾ *sin do bh'ard-aigeantach agus na ndaoine uaisle lán taoiseacha na bochtain do K.*
⁵⁴⁾ *mór- N.* ⁵⁵⁾ *om. BH, aon duine L.*

dhóib⁵³⁾ siubhal in a measg: óir ba mór an ¹⁾masladh¹⁾ leo orra féin, ²⁾daoine cómh úirisiol ³⁾cómh³⁾ droch-eadaighthe leosan ⁴⁾do-shiubhal⁴⁾ in aon tslughe leo.⁵⁾ ⁶⁾De bhrígh sin, ⁶⁾ do bh'éigíon do na daoineibh bochta⁷⁾ bealach eile do ghabháil,⁸⁾ do bhí lán de ⁹⁾dhriseachaibh coganta creimneacha¹⁰⁾ [creimeacha] agus de ⁹⁾chlochaibh ¹¹⁾cirgheur¹¹⁾ agus de 'n uile dochar eile: ar mhodh go raibh a gcosa, ¹²⁾a gcnamha¹²⁾ agus a gceicionn ¹³⁾ar na ngearradh agus ar na gceachnughadh;¹³⁾ ¹⁴⁾¹⁵⁾agus¹⁴⁾ go rabhadar lán ¹⁶⁾d'ocras¹⁶⁾, de thart agus ¹⁷⁾de ceasnaoil [ceasnaighil] ¹⁷⁾¹⁸⁾a h-aithle na conaire ¹⁹⁾tuirsighe ¹⁹⁾sin ²⁰⁾do bh'éigean dhóibh²¹⁾ do ghabháil.¹⁵⁾¹⁸⁾²⁰⁾²²⁾

IX. Dála Merlino agus a chompánach, ²³⁾²⁶⁾do bhadar²³⁾ i gcuideachtáin ²⁴⁾na n-uasal ins an tslughe réidh, ²⁵⁾ro-fhairsing,²⁵⁾ go ²⁶⁾dtangadar go ²⁶⁾²⁷⁾cathair²⁷⁾ an iarla.²⁸⁾ ²⁹⁾Agus fa h-áluinn ur-aobhinn i dtimchioll an bhaile do'n ³⁰⁾taoibh³⁰⁾ amuigh: ³¹⁾óir fa h-iomdha magha mín-áille³¹⁾ lan de luibhionnaibh agus de bhláthaibh agus de ³²⁾thorrthaibh taitheamhacha, de ghortaibh agus d'airgheachaibh, agus de ³³⁾neithibh ro-sgiámhacha, agus ³³⁾de gach³³⁾ uile nídh do bhudh taitheamhach le súil daoine d'fhaicsin. Agus fós fuaradar coistidhe agus carbaid agus ³⁴⁾eachraidhe ³⁴⁾³⁵⁾agus ionmhus ³⁵⁾na dtigearnaidhe agus na n-uaisle ³⁶⁾ar fheadh an mhacaire ³⁷⁾gan airidh ³⁷⁾gan ³⁸⁾araidh, no neach ar a n-amharc no d'a gcumhdach:³⁸⁾ agus na h-uaisle,³⁹⁾

¹⁾ naire *G.* ²⁾ eadhon added *BDL.* ³⁾ om. *BH.* ⁴⁾ dul *G.*; do sh. 'na measg *KL*; do bheith ar *Q.* ⁵⁾ oir ba mhór an tair agus an taircuisne an masla 's an dimeas leo ortha féin daoine comh uirisiol comh droch-chreatach leo-sin do shiubhal 'na measg ná 'n aon-tslughe added *L.* ⁶⁾ om. *K.* ⁷⁾ uirisle sin *L*; so *H.* ⁸⁾ from here to end of section om. *B.* ⁹⁾ om. *H.* ¹⁰⁾ manntach added *G.* ¹¹⁾ cuiricárd *G.*, cir-gharbha *H.* ¹²⁾ om. *GHKQ.* ¹³⁾ creachtuighthe *Q.* ¹⁴⁾ go mór *G.* ¹⁵⁾ gan bhiaidh gan digh le iomór agus aotais ans 'a bealaigh[ibh] garbha sin *Q.* ¹⁶⁾ om. *G.* ¹⁷⁾ d'imshniomh *G*; de gach anródh *K*; de gabh gortha agus de gach aindeinse eile *H* de dhoghmoisnighe [dó-mheisnigh] *L.* ¹⁸⁾ om. *L.* ¹⁹⁾ a dtuirsidh *MSS.* om. *GK.* ²⁰⁾ om. *K.* ²¹⁾ bealach eile added *G.* ²²⁾ 'Is mor an uaill aigne do chuir sin' ar *M.*, an Fan do chonaire na bochtáin d'a ndíbhirt as an mbealach added *L.*

IX. ²³⁾ ar mbeadh dhóibh *A*: i measg na gcoistidhe 's na mórshluagh onóireach sin gan tair ná tarcuisne d'a thabhairt dhóibh *L.* ²⁴⁾ ar mbeadh i measg *K.* ²⁵⁾ sin *G.*, om. *Q.* ²⁶⁾ om. *G.* ²⁷⁾ baile *AHL.* ²⁸⁾ i. Plutando added *Q.* ²⁹⁾ agus do bhí lán de luibhibh [agus *H*] de thorrtaibh agus de [bhláthaibh *B*, lúibhibh *H*] taitheamhach [dar bhféidir *B*] ré súilibh daoine d'fhaicsin. Agus [do *H*] bh' áluinn ur-aobhinn an baile sin [re na

would not suffer them to walk in their midst; for these had great contempt that they, so lowly and so ill-vested as they were, should walk in the same way as themselves. Wherefore the poor men had to take another road, full of biting, bitter thorns and of sharp pointed stones and of every other wretchedness: so that their feet and their bones and their skin were torn and tortured; and they were full of hunger and thirst and anxiety because of that weary road wherein they had to walk.

IX. Now Merlino and his comrade went in the company of the nobles, in the smooth and wide road, till they reached the castle of the earl. And it was beautiful and very pleasant about the bailey outside; for there were many swards smooth and fair, full of flowers and blossoms and pleasant fruits of gardens and pastures, and of things most fair to see; and of all that was pleasing to the eye of man to behold. Moreover they found the chariots and coaches and horses and treasures of the lords and and nobles spread over the ground, unwatched and uncared without any to see to them or to guard them; and the nobles,

fhaicsin *B*] do'n taobh amuigh; [fuarader fos *B*, fos fuaradar *H*] coistidhe &c. *BH*: Agus geataighe úr-auibhinn timchioll an bhaile sin amuigh: óir fa iomdha morstraitibh [*sic*] lán de luibhionnaibh agus de bhláthaibh agus de neithibh ro-sgiambhacha, agus de gach uile &c. *G*: Agus do bhí talamh úr-auibhinn taithneamhach timchioll an bhaile, fíor-hónta de luibhionnaibh, de thorrthaibh taithneamhacha, de dhuilli[*bh*] úr-ghlasa deithbholatha, de dhraoitibh daoradha agus gach uile níd ro-sgiambhach, comh mhian radharcach is bo taithneamhach le súil daonna d'fhaicsin. *L*: Do chonarcadar fatha bhreagha 'aluinn 'ur-auibhinn ar a dtaobh amuigh do'n mbaile sin, agus iomadh bhudh taithneamhach le súil duine d'feicsint: agus do fuaradar cóistidhe carabhaid agus eachra na ríghthe, na bprionsaidhe, na dtighearnaidhe agus na uasal. Do chonarcadar roimhe sin a triall air a bhfeasda ar fud an mhachaire gan aird gan faire gau aon neach air a bhfaire na d'a gcumhdach agus iad idir fear agus mraoi ag dul asteach go padhlocht (*sic*) Plutando *Q*. ³⁰) leith *K*. ³¹) agus orsa ionadaibh mion-aíne *K*. ³²) *om. K* t. t. de ghroithibh agus airdheachaibh *MSS*. ³³) de 'n *K*. ³⁴) eachaibh *GK*. ³⁵) *om. GK* agus i. uile *L*. ³⁶) réimb-raidhthe added *L*. ³⁷) *om. K*. ³⁸) [aon *K*] neach ar an amhare ná d'a gcoiméad *KL*; faire agus gan aon neach d'a n-amhare no d'a gcoimhdeacht *BGH*. ³⁹) féin added *B*.

idir fear agus mhnaoi, ¹⁾ghilla agus ¹⁾leacaidh, ²⁾ ar ndul isteach, ³⁾'san phalas sin ³⁾Plutando. ²⁹⁾

X. Is annsin do ⁴⁾labhair ⁴⁾Merlino agus ⁵⁾is é ro radh. ⁵⁾
'Dar liom féin, a chompánach' ⁶⁾ ar sé 'ní ⁷⁾bhfuigmis ⁷⁾
⁸⁾uain no ⁸⁾am ⁹⁾budh fearr no so le ⁹⁾¹⁰⁾ní ¹¹⁾do bhreith linn:
óir dochím ¹²⁾eachraidh agus ¹³⁾ionmhas ¹²⁾¹³⁾na n-uasal annso
gan aon neach d'a ¹⁴⁾gcumhdach no d'a ¹⁴⁾gcoimhead. ¹⁵⁾

¹⁶⁾'Ní h ¹⁶⁾-amhlaid ¹⁷⁾ ¹⁸⁾is cóir ¹⁸⁾ ar Verino ¹⁹⁾'acht
teighmid ¹⁹⁾ i measg cháich no go ²⁰⁾bhfagam ²⁰⁾ ar gcuid de 'n
²¹⁾²²⁾chuir, ²²⁾ agus go ndeachaid na n-uaisle fa dlígh agus fa
chómhól: ²¹⁾ agus is annsin is fursa dhúinn, ²³⁾ fáill agus am
d'fhagháil ²⁴⁾ agus ²⁴⁾ ar dtoil ²⁵⁾fein do dheanamh. ²⁵⁾

Do ²⁶⁾chriochnaigheadh ²⁶⁾ an chomhairle sin leo, agus do
²⁷⁾chuadar ²⁷⁾ isteach do 'n ²⁸⁾chuir ²⁸⁾ agus an áit ionar shaoil
Merlino ²⁹⁾ól agus ²⁹⁾aoibhnios, ceol agus ³⁰⁾cuideachta, ³¹⁾meadar
agus macnas, ³¹⁾ agus ³²⁾ an uile cómhluadar ³⁰⁾ d'fhagháil. ³²⁾

XI. Is amhlaidh fuair an ³³⁾áit. ³³⁾ ³⁴⁾Fa ³⁵⁾h ³⁴⁾-iongantaigh
agus fa ³⁵⁾h-uathbhásaigh ³⁶⁾³⁷⁾le súil ³⁸⁾d'fhaicsin, ³⁹⁾ le cluas ⁴⁰⁾
d'eisteacht, ⁴⁰⁾ no le h-inntleacht ⁴¹⁾ dhaonna ⁴¹⁾ do ⁴²⁾shmuineadh
ná ⁴²⁾⁴³⁾thuigsin: ³⁷⁾ ⁴³⁾⁴⁴⁾mar do bhí ⁴⁴⁾ tinne teannalacha agus
lasrach, ⁴⁵⁾caorthacha uird ⁴⁵⁾ ⁴⁶⁾agus urlaidheacht: ⁴⁶⁾ ⁴⁷⁾garrtha,
⁴⁸⁾sgreadacha ⁴⁸⁾ agus geur-ghol, greadadh, ⁴⁷⁾ pianta agus searbh-
ghorta ⁴⁹⁾na n-anmann ⁵⁰⁾ndamanta, ⁵⁰⁾ agus ⁵¹⁾úrghráin agus
uathmhan ⁵¹⁾ na ⁵²⁾ndiabhal agus na ⁵²⁾ ndeamhan ⁵³⁾ndath-
ghrána ⁵³⁾ ag freasdal 's ag fritheóladh na bpian ⁵⁴⁾adhbhal ⁵⁴⁾

¹⁾ *om. GH.* ²⁾ teachtaire *N*; leanabh *K.* ³⁾ go phalas, *G.*

X. ⁴⁾ *om. G.* ⁵⁾ adubhairt *GQ*, is amhladh adubairt *H.* ⁶⁾ ghrádaigh
added B; ghrádhmar *added K.* ⁷⁾ bhfuighiom *BH*; bhfuighmhaoín *N.*
⁸⁾ *om. K*; uair ro *N*; no *BH.* ⁹⁾ *om. G.* ¹⁰⁾ *ar added L.* ¹¹⁾ agus
eadail *added L.* ¹²⁾ mór-shaidhbrios *Q.* ¹³⁾ platoigh agus aoibhneas *K.*
¹⁴⁾ *om. BH.* ¹⁵⁾ agus na nuaisle in a bhfochair a chéile *added K.* ¹⁶⁾ as *L.*
¹⁷⁾ sin *added N.* ¹⁸⁾ dheantar *B*, indeanta *H.* ¹⁹⁾ dul ar dtúis *L.*
²⁰⁾ bhfuighmis *L*, bhfuighmuid *HK.* ²¹⁾ fhleadh agus do'n fheasta atá
ollamh rómpa andanarus an iarla, agus atáid uile anois asuidhe agus ag
socrughadh chum a chaite; agus fan am na rachaid na h-uaisle ar mearbhughadh
le meisge agus le craos, agus luchd an teaghlaigh uile ar reamhaireachais
neithe ar bith ó úrghardachais ceól agus gach uile aoibhneas *L.* ²²⁾ chuire *GK.*
²³⁾ ar bhf. *HB.* ²⁴⁾ ar *G.* ²⁵⁾ *om. G.* ²⁶⁾ chnóchniamh *G*, chinneadh *L.*
²⁷⁾ thiaghaid *B*, theidhid *H.* ²⁸⁾ mbruighin *B*, gcuir, agus 'san gcuir
áluinn-si *H.* ²⁹⁾ *om. G.* ³⁰⁾ meadhar agus an uile shubhailceas *K.*
³¹⁾ meadhar meanmna *G*; *om. BH*; macanas agus comhludhar *L.* ³²⁾ gach

gentles and ladies, servants and lackeys, going into that palace of Plutando.

X. Then Merlino spoke and thus he said:

‘Assuredly, my comrade’ said he ‘chance nor occasion better than this we could not find to take something to ourselves. I see the horses and the treasures of the nobles here with no one to guard or protect them.’

‘Not so’ said Verino: ‘let us rather go among them all, and take our share of the feast, till the nobles are stupefied and drunken: then can we easily take the occasion to do our own will.’

They agreed on this counsel, and entered the court, the place where Merlino thought to find wine and delight, music and companionship, merriment and wantonness and every kind of intercourse.

XI. In this wise he found the place. It was too wonderful and horrible for the eye to see, for the ear to hear, or for the mind of man to conceive or to understand. Burning and flaming fires, sounds[?] of slaughter[?] and conflict; cries, shrieks and bitter weeping, horror, pains, burning and the bitter hunger of lost souls, and the terror and awfulness of devils and of demons of hideous colour, allotting and apportioning those great insufferable pains to those lost souls, one and all. When he saw that, Merlino spoke in this wise:

gardachas meannmhar eile *L.* From ¹⁸⁾ to the end of the paragraph *Q* reads: do radh an compánach .i. V.; ‘achd dul i measg na nuasal úd agus a faghail ar gcuid do’n chuireadh, agus anuair do racfaid fa coiling agus os air dig sin an tan is fuiris duinn foill d’fhághail air ar dtoll fein do dheanamh.’ Do choinnibh an chómhairle sin leo, agus do chuadar isteach go padhlacht *P.*, agus an áit ar shaoil *M* aoibhnios agus sódhlacht agus deaghuideachta d’fhaghail imeasg na comhluadair.

XI. ³⁸⁾ nid *HK.* ³⁴⁾ an tan do chuadar isteach; nid dobh’ *L.* ³⁵⁾ *om. K.* ³⁶⁾ mb’fheidir added *K.* ³⁷⁾ leis da bhfacaigh no da gcualaigh ariamh *BH.* ³⁸⁾ duine added *KL.* ³⁹⁾ no added *K.* ⁴⁰⁾ do chlos *Q.* ⁴¹⁾ *om. LQ.* ⁴²⁾ *om. AGKLN.* ⁴³⁾ thionsgnadh *L.* ⁴⁴⁾ eadhon *BGHN:* ar ndul isteach dóibh, secad radharc fuaireadar *L.* ⁴⁵⁾ *om. L;* uird *ABHK.* ⁴⁶⁾ *om. Q:* agus uireadhamh agus *H;* agus lán-urluidheacht *G.* ⁴⁷⁾ *om. H.* ⁴⁸⁾ *om. B.* ⁴⁹⁾ loisgre *Q.* ⁵⁰⁾ *om. K.* ⁵¹⁾ imghráin uaimhin uathbháis fearg-ghnaoi agus fiúr *L.* ⁵²⁾ *om. H.* ⁵³⁾ *om. H,* neimhneach ndáthgharbh *B.* ⁵⁴⁾ ngráineamhail *L.*

ndofhulangaighthe ¹⁾do na h-anmannaibh damanta¹⁾ sin go coitchionn. Ar na faicsin ²⁾sin do Merlino ³⁾is é ro ráid.³⁾

‘A chompánaigh ghrádaigh’ ar se ‘cread ⁴⁾is ciall do’n ⁴⁾áit so ‘na dtangamar? Agus madh bhí eolas agatsa air? Is cosamhail gur fheallais ormsa tre mo tharraing ⁵⁾ann;⁵⁾ ⁶⁾agus⁶⁾ dar liomh ⁷⁾féin,⁷⁾ ní’l air ⁸⁾mo⁸⁾ chumus ⁹⁾dul tar m’ais⁹⁾ go bráth.¹⁰⁾

¹¹⁾‘Do bhí ¹²⁾gan amhras¹²⁾ eolas agamsa ¹³⁾ann’ ar an compánach; ‘agus¹¹⁾ ¹³⁾an té do shaoil túsa do bheith agat’, ar an compánach ‘ní h-e atá agat, acht¹⁴⁾ spiorad de ¹⁵⁾mhuinntir¹⁵⁾ Dé Uile-Chumhachtaigh mé: do chuir se do d’ionnsuidhe-si mé do thaisbeanadh na neithe¹⁶⁾ do bhí an do mheanmain ¹⁷⁾i gcómhnaidhe,¹⁷⁾ eadhon, amharc d’fhaicsint ar Iffrion agus ar na ¹⁸⁾pianta atá fa¹⁸⁾ chómhair lucht na mallacht. ¹⁹⁾Agus ag so Iffrion’ ar se.¹⁶⁾¹⁹⁾

XII. ‘O is truagh sin’ ar Merlino. ‘Ag sin an nidh nar chreid²⁰⁾ mise ariamh ²¹⁾gus anois:²¹⁾ ²²⁾agus ²³⁾do shaoileas nach raibh ²⁴⁾acht ²⁵⁾cealgaireacht²⁵⁾ ag na diadhairibh agus ag na seanmóntaidhibh do bhí ag teagasg sin ²⁶⁾dhuinn:²⁶⁾ agus ²⁷⁾foirior,²⁷⁾ dochim²⁴⁾ anois²²⁾ go gcaitfe mé ²⁸⁾fuireach i measg²⁹⁾ druinge damanta ³⁰⁾so go siorruidhe, ³¹⁾mura ndeana Dia d’A mhór-ghrásaibh, d’A mhór-thruaghmháile, d’A mhór-thróchaire agus aimsir do thabhairt dhom anois féin, chum leór-ghníomh agus aithrige do dhéanamh ó m’ lochtaibh, ma’s níd é is féidir a dheanamh. Mo nuar, ní thoill ³¹⁾aon duine³²⁾ annso pianta ³³⁾³⁴⁾d’fhaghail³⁴⁾ ná mise féin, de brígh ³⁵⁾nach dhearna³⁵⁾ me aon níd³⁶⁾ ³⁷⁾do réir thóla Dé ³⁸⁾riamh,³⁸⁾ acht gach uile níd³⁷⁾ in aghaidh a thóla.’³⁷⁾

¹⁾ cómh choitchionn *BH*, *om. N.* ²⁾ na bpian *added Q.* ³⁾ [is amhlaidh *H*] adubhairt *H.* [From this point *Q* becomes a bald abstract whose omissions and deviations are not worth recording]. ⁴⁾ *om. L.* ⁵⁾ iona leitheide do bhall *K.* ⁶⁾ óir *G.* ⁷⁾ ongin *L.* ⁸⁾ ar gc. *L.* ⁹⁾ [ta *B*] faghbáil *BH.* ¹⁰⁾ arris *added K.* ¹¹⁾ *om. LN.* ¹²⁾ *om. BGHK.* ¹³⁾ ann, ar *V.*, agus *K:* ann, ar an t-aingioll, agus *G:* ar an compánach *B;* ann *LN.* ¹⁴⁾ [gidheadh *B*] ní [me *B*, mise *H*] an compánach do shaoileas tusa do [bheith *B*, bhí *H*] agat, acht *BH:* ní mise an te shaoileas [tusa achd *K*] *BK.* ¹⁵⁾ dream *B.* ¹⁶⁾ iongantacha so dhuit, ionnus go mbudh feumhuraidhe thu aitridhe dheunamh iad ag an amharc an If. agus na pianta atá faoi chómhair lucht na mallachta *K:* do bhí ar do mheanmoin ghnáith ó eisteacht seanmhóir an diudhaire is cuimhin leat, do theagmhuig ort ‘sa tsilighe an lá eile: is dé bhrígh nár gheillis go rabhadar a bhriattera ná a chraoibhsgaoileadh ar dhlighe ‘s ar bheacht Dhé firinneach,

‘Dear comrade’ said he ‘what meaneth this place whereto we have come? And hadst thou knowledge of it? It seemeth that thou hast deceived me in bringing me here; and I am certain that it will be impossible for me ever to go back.’

‘I surely had knowledge of it’ said the comrade. ‘He whom thou thoughtest with thee, that am not I; but a spirit from the attendants of God Almighty. He hath sent me to thee, to shew thee the things that were in thy mind continually, namely, a sight of Hell, and of the pains prepared for the sons of wrath. This is Hell’ said he.

XII. ‘Oh, that is sad’ said Merlino. ‘There is what I never believed till now: I thought it was nothing but a trickery of holy men and preachers who were teaching those things to us. And alas! I see that I must spend my time for ever in the midst of this army of the lost; unless God by His great grace, His great compassion, His great mercy, give me now time to make restitution and to repent of my faults if it be a thing possible to do. Alas, not one of those here deserves these pains more than I do, because I never did one action in accordance with God’s will, but have done everything against it.’

agus go raibh mian ort an radharc sin d’fhaghail d’fhaisneis na firinne cinnte dhuit, ata combachta agamsa ó Dhia Uile-Chumhachtach radharc Iff. do thaisbeanadh dhuit anois *L.* ¹⁷⁾ dé ghnáth *BH.* ¹⁸⁾ piantabh Iff. do bhi a *BH.* ¹⁹⁾ *om. G.*

XII. ²⁰⁾ agus nar ghaill *added L.* ²¹⁾ roimhe so *BGL,* roimhe *K.* ²²⁾ *om. N.* ²³⁾ go firinneach *added L.* ²⁴⁾ ag na doctuiridhe diadhachta agus ag na diadhairidhe agus ag na seanmóntaidhe acht cealgaireacht gan eifeacht *K.* ²⁵⁾ cleasuidheacht agus cealg *B,* cluain cleasuidheacht *L,* ceall draoideachta *G.* ²⁶⁾ do na ndaoine *G.* ²⁷⁾ *only in L.* ²⁸⁾ féin *added B* ²⁹⁾ agus i bhfochair *added L.* ³⁰⁾ agus na ndiabhal *added L.* ³¹⁾ *only in L.* *The rest have* ní mó [do *BK*] thuill; ní mor gur mo do thuill *G.* ³²⁾ da bhfuil [ag fulang pianta *L*] *added HL.* ³³⁾ agus piannais *added L.* ³⁴⁾ *om. BH.* ³⁵⁾ *om. H.* ³⁶⁾ a raibh (*for ariamh*) *added H.* ³⁷⁾ ariamh acht anaghaid thola Dhé *B.* ³⁸⁾ *om. H.*

Ni ¹⁾fuireach air do 'n dul-sa'¹⁾ ar an ²⁾Spiorad Eolach:²⁾ ³⁾'acht do bheara mise dochum an tsaoghail thú arís: acht go dtaibbheanadh mé cuid de phiantaibh Iffrionn ⁴⁾ agus na druinge damanta⁵⁾ úd.⁴⁾ ⁵⁾

XIII. Annsin do chonnaire Merlino sluagh ⁶⁾lionmar⁶⁾ de dhaoinibh ⁷⁾mór-phriosanachaibh⁷⁾ ⁸⁾d'a ionnsuidhe, agus eadaigh ⁹⁾dhaol-dhathacha orra: ¹⁰⁾agus drágún teinntirigh ¹¹⁾¹²⁾mar each¹¹⁾ faoi ⁹⁾gach aon ¹³⁾dhiobh:¹³⁾ lasair ghraineamhail¹²⁾ ¹⁴⁾as beal ¹⁵⁾agus as sroin¹⁵⁾ gacha aoin dhiobh amach; agus ¹⁷⁾diabhal dubh i bhfochair gacha ¹⁶⁾aoin aca,¹⁶⁾ agus sguirse i láimh gach diabhal diobh;¹⁷⁾ ag ¹⁸⁾sguirsaíl¹⁸⁾ agus ag suisteadh na druinge damanta ¹⁹⁾sin tré teinntibh agus tré lasrachaibh greadacha geur-nimhneacha agus go habhadh na bpian ¹⁹⁾²⁰⁾maslamha;²⁰⁾ agus ²¹⁾na druinge²¹⁾ ²²⁾bhochta²²⁾ damanta sin ag ²³⁾garrtha²³⁾ agus ag geur-ghol agus ag ²⁴⁾sior-sgreadaigh²⁴⁾ ar an mbas, agus an bas ag ²⁵⁾theitheadh rómpa.

'An ²⁶⁾bhféidir tusa'²⁶⁾ ar an Spiorad Eólach 'cia hiad an ²⁷⁾drong²⁷⁾ ²⁸⁾úd dochí tu d'a bpianadh²⁸⁾ ²⁹⁾mar²⁹⁾ súd?'

'Ni ³⁰⁾fhéidir'³⁰⁾ ar Merlino 'acht ³¹⁾³²⁾ro-fhéadar³¹⁾ liom gurab mór na pianta úd orra.'³²⁾

'Atá pianta is mó ³³⁾no a bhfaicion tu³³⁾ orra' ar an Spiorad Eólach; 'agus¹⁰⁾ ag súd³⁴⁾³⁵⁾an rígh³⁵⁾ agus na prionnsaidhe ³⁶⁾agus na h-iarladh³⁶⁾ do chonnaire tú ³⁷⁾ó chianaibh anns na coistibh agus anns na carbadaibh, ³⁷⁾³⁸⁾lán de mhórdháil agus de dhuail an tsaoghail. Na ³⁹⁾magha aille ³⁹⁾⁴⁰⁾do chonaire tú i dtimchioll na cuirte-si⁴¹⁾ amuigh, ⁴²⁾ag sin an⁴²⁾ saoghal cealgach⁴³⁾ ⁴⁴⁾mealbhach⁴⁴⁾ do mheall an ⁴⁵⁾muintir⁴⁵⁾ úd,' ar se, 'agus na neithe lé a r' mhealladh iad, mar atá óir, airgid,

¹⁾ fhanfair an chuaird so iona measg *L*, fuireach do dheanfair [do'n turus so *G*, o'n dulsa *K*] *GK*. ²⁾ t-aingioll *here and elsewhere substituted for these words in G*. ³⁾ sin, do chuir Dia d'ionnsuidhe *M*. i riocht a chom-pánaigh *L*. ⁴⁾ *om. L*. ⁵⁾ *om. G*, atá in Iffrion *B*.

XIII. ⁶⁾ *om. BH*. ⁷⁾ mór phearsanacha *GL*, mór phianaidhe *H*. ⁸⁾ ag teacht *added L*. ⁹⁾ dath-ghranna orm: agus gur ghlonnmhaire an t-eadaich sin no éadach mná taireis a tuismidh, dragún teinntirigh faoi *H*. ¹⁰⁾ *om. B*. ¹¹⁾ *om. K*. ¹²⁾ *om. G*. ¹³⁾ *om. K*, mar each *H*. ¹⁴⁾ ghóimh-theach *added H*. ¹⁵⁾ *om. GHK*. ¹⁶⁾ duine damanta *H*. ¹⁷⁾ diabhal *L*, diabhalaihb dubha *K*, diabhal dubh *H*. ¹⁸⁾ sguirseadh *H*. ¹⁹⁾ seal [eile *N*] da ruagadh [gus an *HKN*, go *G*] loch nimhe do bhí [bealaibh *HK*, ar beal *NG*] na tineadh agus o'n loch [gus na tintaibh sin arís agus go habhadh na bpian *N*, sin no teine ris go habainn na bpian *GHK*] *GHKN*.

‘Without delay thou shalt return’ said the Spirit of Wisdom. ‘I shall carry thee myself to the world again; but I shall shew thee some of the pains of Hell, and of yonder lost ones.’

XIII. Then Merlino saw a great host of people, in heavy bonds, approaching him, with sad coloured raiment upon them: and a fiery dragon like a horse under every one, with hideous flames coming from the eyes and nostrils of each of them: and a black devil beside every one, with a scourge in the hand of each, scourging and flailing that crowd of the lost through fires and through awful sharp-poisonous flames, to the dungeon of ... [?] pain: and those poor lost multitudes howling and bitterly weeping and shrieking long for death, while death kept far from them.

‘Knowest thou’ said the Spirit of Wisdom ‘who is yonder company which thou seest in those pains?’

‘I know not’ said Merlino ‘but I know well that great is that pain which is on them.’

‘There are pains greater than those thou seest on them, said the Spirit of Wisdom. ‘Those are the king and the princes and earls thou sawest long since in their carriages and chariots, full of the glory and pride of the world. Those fair swords thou sawest outside around the court, they are the deceptive, cheating world that has destroyed yonder folk’ said he: ‘and the things that have destroyed them, gold, silver, treasure, and

Seal eile beartuige go loch nimhe do bhi an gar do'n teine ud, o'n loch gus an teine aris as sin as so amach go habain na bpian *L.* ²⁰⁾ *om. G.* ²¹⁾ an drong *GL.* ²²⁾ *om. GHKLN.* ²³⁾ dearchaoi *H.* ²⁴⁾ sgreadaigh *L,* sior-ghairm *H.* ²⁵⁾ sior- *added G.* ²⁶⁾ bhfuil fios agat *GK.* ²⁷⁾ dream *L,* here and elsewhere. ²⁸⁾ piantar *L.* ²⁹⁾ sic *GH;* rest have mór. ³⁰⁾ 'l fios agam *G.* ³¹⁾ eidir me *K,* ata a fhios agam *L.* ³²⁾ is ortha na pianta romhóra *G.* ³³⁾ iona chidh *K.* ³⁴⁾ ar se *added GH,* ar an S. E. *added B.* ³⁵⁾ na ríghthe *BGHKL.* ³⁶⁾ *om. D,* agus iarladh *L,* agus na hardflaithibh *BH.* ³⁷⁾ *om. BH.* ³⁸⁾ agus ar a n-eachra *added L.* ³⁹⁾ magh-aibh eile *BH,* maithibh aille *GK.* ⁴⁰⁾ agus gach neithe taithniomhach eile *added L.* ⁴¹⁾ ar a dtaobh *added L,* do'n leith *added K.* ⁴²⁾ atá 'san *G.* ⁴³⁾ mealtach *added BGH,* mealtach cleasach *added L.* ⁴⁴⁾ *om. G.* ⁴⁵⁾ dream *GK.*

agus ¹⁾ionmhas,¹⁾ agus na heich ²⁾aile²⁾ ³⁾do chonaire tú,
gur³⁾ fhágbhadar ar an tsaoghal ⁴⁾⁵⁾féin⁵⁾ ⁶⁾ag daoinibh⁶⁾ eile
⁷⁾iad,⁷⁾ ⁸⁾agus gan aon uidh d'a dtairbe aca féin,⁹⁾ acht pianta
siorrtaigh,¹⁰⁾ ar an adhbar go bhfuaradar féin bás i bpeacaidhibh
an dímheis. Agus an eiric na neadaigh ¹¹⁾liógha¹¹⁾ lán-mháiseacha
do bhí orra, ¹²⁾as a ndearnadar¹²⁾ ¹³⁾naill¹³⁾ agus ¹⁴⁾uabhar,¹⁴⁾
atáid na héadaigh ¹⁵⁾dubha diabhlaidhe¹⁵⁾ úd orra: ¹⁶⁾bhías¹⁶⁾
d'a gcuradh¹⁷⁾ agus d'a ¹⁸⁾ngreadadh¹⁸⁾ agus d'a ¹⁹⁾bpianadh an
feadh bhías Dia ag caitheamh 'na ghloire —

²⁰⁾I n-eiric an árd-aignidh Is an leathrom na masla
Is an mhí-mheas do bhí aca Ar daoinibh uirisle —

— agus ar an ²¹⁾muinntir²¹⁾ do dhoirteadh iad féin ar ²²⁾Dhia²²⁾
²³⁾ag fulang ar a shon²³⁾ ²⁴⁾do shior:²⁴⁾ agus ²⁵⁾atáid²⁵⁾ na diabhlaidhe
úd dochí tú ar a ²⁶⁾nguailibh²⁶⁾ comh trom ré ²⁷⁾sliabh²⁷⁾ ar a
²⁸⁾muin,²⁸⁾ d'a mbruidheadh agus d'a ²⁹⁾mir-mhaslúghad.²⁹⁾
³⁰⁾Agus béid ag³⁰⁾ fritheoladh na bpian ndo-flhualaing ³¹⁾úd
orra³¹⁾ tré shaoghal na shaoghal. ³²⁾Agus ag sin críoch luchtá
an ³³⁾uabhair³³⁾ ar sé.³²⁾

XIV. ³⁴⁾Go grod ³⁵⁾da eis³⁵⁾ sin³¹⁾ do ³⁶⁾chonarc³⁶⁾ Merlino
³⁷⁾³⁸⁾sluagh mór de mhnáibh³⁸⁾ damanta ³⁹⁾⁴⁰⁾chuige⁴⁰⁾ ó ⁴¹⁾adh-
bhaibh⁴¹⁾ na bpian; agus ⁴²⁾iomdha de piasta dubha⁴²⁾ diabhlaidhe
ar a ⁴³⁾raibh⁴³⁾ mong ⁴⁴⁾chiordhubh,⁴⁴⁾ agus go madh
geire gach aon ruainne ⁴⁵⁾rinn-fhaobhrach⁴⁵⁾ ⁴⁶⁾do'n muing⁴⁶⁾
sin, no rinn snathaidhe caoile: agus ⁴⁷⁾gach⁴⁷⁾ piast ⁴⁸⁾neimhe⁴⁸⁾
dhóibh casta fo bhraghaidh agus fo muineál gacha aoin
diobh:⁴⁹⁾ agus ⁵⁰⁾dhá⁵⁰⁾ dhiabhal ⁵¹⁾chreinmeacha chiordubha

¹⁾ aobhneas K. ²⁾ ailne K, eile H. ³⁾ agus gach saidhbhreasa eile, d' L. ⁴⁾ iad added GK. ⁵⁾ om. GKLN. ⁶⁾ ag gaoghal agus ag cómhguis agus ag gach duine L. ⁷⁾ om. BGHL. ⁸⁾ 'tá dá chaithiomh agus da sgaipse anois gan súim na bpian: agus nach trúaigh an sgeal do duine ar bith amháin d'fhaghbhail ar ionntaobh duine eile agus feasca na bochtáin bhochta so de chrionaibh an tionmhathas úd mar sud: 's gan added L. ⁹⁾ anois, agus cia bhi a sholas dimbúan atá dolas bithbuan an eiric aco, mar atá added L: anois added BGN. ¹⁰⁾ Ifrinn added L. ¹¹⁾ riogha G. ¹²⁾ agus an eiric ndearnadar B: agus in eiric an L. ¹³⁾ duail G. ¹⁴⁾ duathmar G. ¹⁵⁾ om. H, dubha daoldhathacha K. ¹⁶⁾ agus beidh [siad G] GH. ¹⁷⁾ go bráth added BH. ¹⁸⁾ ndodhadh BH, ngeanadh G. ¹⁹⁾ ngnathph. added H. ²⁰⁾ this stanza is given as prose in all MSS. and variously corrupted. The second line omitted, BK. ²¹⁾ dream GK. ²²⁾ son Dé G. ²³⁾ om. G:

the fine horses thou sawest, they have left them on the earth to others and have profited naught therefrom save eternal pains, because they died in the sin of Pride. And in recompense for the precious fine raiment that was on them, wherein they had pride and vanity, are those black devilish garments they are now wearing: they will be torturing and tormenting and paining them so long as God is in glory.

In recompense for proudmindedness
And the heaviness of contempt
And the oppression of despite
For men of low degree,

and for the people who shed their blood for God, suffering long for His sake. And those devils which thou seest on their shoulders are as heavy as a mountain, and are crushing and humbling them. And they will be portioning those insufferable pains to them world without end. And that is the end of the sons of pride', said he.

XIV. Quickly after that Merlino saw a great crowd of lost women, coming towards him from the dungeons of pains: and many black devilish snakes with black hair upon them, and with a sharper point on every slender-tipped hair than the point of a fine needle: and every poisonous snake among them twisted round the necks of the women and two dreadful, black devils

leis a aithridhe, ag ful. ar a son de bhrigh gur fulang Dia ar ar son uile *K.*
²⁴) *om. K.* ²⁵) *om. G.* ²⁶) *ngluinibh K.* ²⁷) *luagh G.* ²⁸) *ndruim G.*
²⁹) *ndear-mh. L., mór-mh. GKN.* ³⁰) *ré G.* ³¹) *dóibh H.* ³²) *om. B:*
 ag [sin *GN* so *KL*] críoch &c. *GKLN.* ³³) *diomais G, diomais agus*
uabhair KH.

XIV. *This paragraph and XV transposed, BH.* ³⁴) *om. H.* ³⁵) *na*
dhiaigh GL. ³⁶) *dhearc G, chí H.* ³⁷) *as a haithle sin added H.*
³⁸) *This clearly correct reading only in F sluagh, A &c. sl. mór G: sluagh*
d'anmannaibh H, drong eile d'anmannaibh B. ³⁹) *dubha diabhlaidhe dath-*
ghbranna added A. ⁴⁰) *om. H.* ⁴¹) *abhainn L.* ⁴²) *piast dubh H, piasta*
dubha GLN. ⁴³) *bhfuil G.* ⁴⁴) *garbh gráineamhail G.* ⁴⁵) *om. H.*
⁴⁶) *d'a mungaibh L.* ⁴⁷) *om. H.* ⁴⁸) *om. GH.* ⁴⁹) *om. L.* ⁵⁰) *om. G.*
⁵¹) *grannda added GN.*

ag sughadh agus ag diul chiocha ¹⁾gacha ²⁾mná²⁾ diobh: agus⁴⁾ a suíle ar luath-lasadh in a ³⁾gceann, agus nimhir ⁴⁾do-áirimhthe⁴⁾ de³⁾ deamhnaibh ⁵⁾damanta⁵⁾ 'na dtimchioll, agus sgiursaidhe ⁶⁾teinintrigh⁶⁾ i láimh gacha ⁷⁾deamhain⁷⁾ dhiobh: ⁸⁾⁹⁾agus iad⁹⁾ ag sgiursail agus ag suisteadh na ¹⁰⁾mban¹⁰⁾ sin:⁸⁾ agus iadsan ag sgreadaigh ¹¹⁾agus ag¹²⁾ sgreachaidh ¹¹⁾¹²⁾¹³⁾agus ag¹¹⁾ garthaidh ¹³⁾¹⁴⁾ar theaghlach thinntidhe na bpian.

'An ¹⁵⁾bhfuil fhios agat¹⁵⁾ ar an Spiorad Eolach 'cread fa bhfuil ar ¹⁶⁾druing¹⁶⁾ úd d'a bpianadh mar sud?'

'Ni ¹⁷⁾fios¹⁷⁾ ar Merlino: 'acht níor chreid mé riamh gur chuir Dia do phiantaibh Ifrinn uiriod agus dochím ar aon anam amhain ¹⁸⁾aca sud.¹⁸⁾

¹⁹⁾'Ag ¹⁹⁾sud' ar an Spiorad Eolach ²⁰⁾'an drong²⁰⁾ do fuair bás i bpeacaidh na drúisi: agus ²¹⁾atáid na h-aithreacha²¹⁾ nimhe úd dochí tu casta fo ²²⁾bhragaid gach aoin diobh²²⁾ i n-eiric na ²³⁾sgabhal agus na slabhradh agus na n-ornasg do chuiridis ²⁴⁾da na²⁴⁾ muineál do mhealladh fear na mban bpósda.²⁵⁾ ²⁶⁾Agus na ²⁷⁾diabhail bhforcuil(?)²⁷⁾ agus ²⁶⁾an lasair úd dochí tu as a suilibh, atá i n-eiric na n-amharc²⁸⁾ claon máiliseach do bheiridis ar ²⁹⁾fearaibh²⁹⁾ ³⁰⁾neamh³⁰⁾-phósda.³¹⁾ Agus na diabhail creinmeacha úd dochí tu ag súgh agus ag diúl a gcioch, atáid i n-eiric na glacaireacht thrúailidhe d'fhulaingeoidis a dheanamh orra ar a geuirp agus ar a geroicionn. Agus na diabhail úd d'a sgiursadh agus ag fritheóladh na bpian dhóibh, atáid i n-eiric na druinge le n-dearnadar ³²⁾na peacadh³²⁾ ³³⁾ghranna.³³⁾ Agus béid d'a ³⁴⁾bpianadh³⁴⁾ amhladh sud an fad a bhias Dia ³⁵⁾i siorruidheacht.'

Agus ag so na briathra do bhí i mbéal gach aoin dhíobh:

I n-eiric pheachaidh na drúisi D'a bhfaghmais duil is taitneamh 'Tá gach diabhal ³⁶⁾dubh³⁶⁾ ³⁷⁾mar dhaola³⁷⁾ ³⁸⁾Ag creim ar [dtaobh 's ar gceadfadh.³⁸⁾

¹⁾ agus uchta *added H.* ²⁾ aon *H.* ³⁾ *om. H.* ⁴⁾ *om. G.*
⁵⁾ *om. H.* ⁶⁾ *om. N.* ⁷⁾ aon *L.* ⁸⁾ *om. G.* ⁹⁾ gach diabhal dóibh *H.*
¹⁰⁾ nanmann *H.* ¹¹⁾ *om. GL.* ¹²⁾ garthaidh *H.* ¹³⁾ *om. H.*
¹⁴⁾ grathail *G.* ¹⁵⁾ bhféadar tu *H.* ¹⁶⁾ dream *G.* ¹⁷⁾ bhfuil *G.*,
fheidir *H.* ¹⁸⁾ da bhfaiciom *H.* ¹⁹⁾ *om. N.* ²⁰⁾ na mnáibh *G.*
²¹⁾ ata an t-athair *GH.* ²²⁾ na thraghaidhibh *L.* ²³⁾ druinge na *added G.*
²⁴⁾ na mbrághadaibh agus fa na *H.* ²⁵⁾ agus gau phósadh *added L.*

sucking at the breasts of each of them and their eyes blazing in their heads; and a countless number of demons around them, with a fiery scourge in the hand of each: and they were scourging and flogging those women, who were screaming and shrieking and crying out on the fiery hearth of pains.

‘Knowest thou’ said the Spirit of Wisdom ‘wherefore yonder multitude is pained thus?’

‘I know not’ said Merlino: ‘but I never believed that God shaped as many pains in Hell as I see upon each single soul.’

‘Yonder’ said the Spirit of Wisdom ‘are they who died in the sin of Lust: and the poisonous adders thou seest twined on the necks of each are in recompense for the cloaks(?) and chains and ornaments they placed on their necks to lure husbands to destruction. And the devils ...[?] and the fire thou seest out of their eyes are in recompense for the evil looks they cast on unmarried men. And those terrible devils thou seest sucking their breasts are in recompense for the wickedness they suffered to be done on their persons. And those devils scourging and serving pain to them are in recompense for those with whom unspeakable sin was wrought. And they will be in pains like to those yonder so long as God shall be in eternity.’

And these are the words which were in the mouth of each one of them:

‘In recompense for the sin of lust
Wherein we found delight and pleasure
All the black demons, like chafers,
Are fretting our sides and our senses.’

²⁶⁾ *om. L, agus G.* ²⁷⁾ *bhfear cuill N.* ²⁸⁾ *added except in GHLN.*
²⁹⁾ *na fir H.* ³⁰⁾ *om. L.* ³¹⁾ *agus gan phósadh, d'a dtarraingt chum mian mí-órduighthe na drúisi added L* ³²⁾ *om. G.* ³³⁾ *gráineamhla H.*
³⁴⁾ *bpacaigh H.* ³⁵⁾ *na Dia added H.* ³⁶⁾ *diobh L.* ³⁷⁾ *om. G.*
mar dhaolaibh MSS. ³⁸⁾ *D'ar gcreim, d'ar leadradh, agus d'ar ngearradh L:*
ag creime ar a gcroidhtheach H.

XV. ¹⁾A h-aithle¹⁾ na druinge sin do ²⁾chonnaire²⁾ Merlino ³⁾drong³⁾ eile d'anmannaibh damanta d'a ionnsuigh ⁴⁾as adhbhaidh⁴⁾ na bpian; agus craos gach aoin dhíobh foscailte. agus ⁵⁾lasair⁵⁾ gráineamhail as ⁶⁾beal agus as sróin agus as súilibh gacha aoin dhíobh:⁶⁾ agus il-iomad de phiasdaibh dubha ⁷⁾dathghrána ag⁷⁾ teacht amach agus isteach thríd⁸⁾ ⁹⁾an lasair sin:⁹⁾ agus leabhair i láimh gacha aoin aca, agus ¹⁰⁾linte dubha sgriobhtha ionnta: ¹¹⁾agus ag so na briathra do leighdis is na leabhraibh sin:¹⁰⁾ ¹¹⁾

¹²⁾'Is iad¹²⁾ so na pianta adhbhla Do bheir na garrtha cinnte
[? an g. caoinnteach]

Is orrann atá mead gach dochair Trom-pheachaidh na sainnte'.

'An ¹³⁾bhféidir tú'¹³⁾ ar an Spiorad Eolach, 'cia h-iaid an drong úd dochí tú anois?'

'Ní ¹⁴⁾bhféidir'¹⁴⁾ ar Merlino, 'acht is orra atá na pianta dofhuilingthe.'

'Ag sud' ar an Spiorad Eolach 'an ¹⁵⁾drong¹⁵⁾ a fhuair bás i ¹⁶⁾bpeacaidh¹⁶⁾ na sainnte: mar atá lucht dlíge do thagradh i gcas na heagcora mar gheall ¹⁷⁾ar¹⁷⁾ óir agus ar ¹⁸⁾iomhas:¹⁸⁾ agus ¹⁹⁾gach drong ²⁰⁾ainmhianach²⁰⁾ ²¹⁾eile do²¹⁾ ²²⁾shantaigheas²²⁾ cuid a gcomharsan, agus ¹⁹⁾do ²³⁾ní²³⁾ leathrom na n-anbhfann ²⁴⁾²⁵⁾agus na²⁵⁾ ndileacht agus na ²⁶⁾ndaoirseacht,²⁴⁾²⁶⁾ mar gheall ar shaidhbhrean diombuan an tsaoghail ²⁷⁾do tharraing²⁷⁾ ²⁸⁾orra²⁸⁾ féin' ²⁹⁾ar an Spiorad Eolach.²⁹⁾

XVI. ³⁰⁾As a h-aithle sin ³¹⁾dochí³⁰⁾ ³¹⁾Merlino sluagh³²⁾ mór ³³⁾eile³³⁾ ³⁴⁾ag teacht³⁴⁾ ³⁵⁾³⁶⁾as abhaidhibh³⁶⁾ na bpian, ³⁷⁾agus dhá³⁷⁾ athair nimhe casta fa bhun sróna gacha aoin ³⁸⁾díobh:³⁸⁾ agus ³⁹⁾gath³⁹⁾ teinntigh ag gach athair nimhe ⁴⁰⁾aca⁴⁰⁾ saíte ⁴¹⁾in gach súil d'a súilibh,⁴¹⁾ ⁴²⁾ag radh — ⁴²⁾

XV. ¹⁾ Ar imtheacht L. ²⁾ chí H. ³⁾ dream L. ⁴⁾ ó abhain L. ⁵⁾ lasracha L. ⁶⁾ a mbéalaibh as a srónaibh agus as suilibh L: beal agus as suile agus as sroin G: beal . . . suil gach spioradh deamhnadh dathgranna H. ⁷⁾ diabhlaidhe H. ⁸⁾ árd H. ⁹⁾ na lasracha sin G. ¹⁰⁾ na leabhar sin cómh dhubb le ghúal, agus gach aon aco ag léamh na mbriathra so L. ¹¹⁾ om. H. ¹²⁾ ag L. *This stanza is greatly corrupted in the MSS; in H it is given as prose. Several (even A) read sinnsire for sainnte in the last line.* ¹³⁾ bhfuil fios agat here and in similar passages G. ¹⁴⁾ bhfuil here and in similar passages G. ¹⁵⁾ dream here and elsewhere L. ¹⁶⁾ sic GHL: rest have bpeacaidhibh. ¹⁷⁾ ár L. ¹⁸⁾ aoibhneas G.

XV. After that multitude Merlino saw another multitude of lost souls approaching him from the dungeons of pain, each with his mouth open, and hideous flame issuing from the throat and nose and eyes of every one of them: and swarms of black hideous-coloured snakes coming in and out through the flame: and books in the hand of each, with black lines written therein: and these are the words to be read in those books:

‘These are the mighty pains
Which bring the appointed cries (?) [? cries of lamentation]
On us is store of every trouble
From the heavy sin of greed.’

‘Knowest thou’ said the Spirit of Wisdom ‘what is yonder multitude that thou seest now?’

‘I know not’ said Merlino: ‘but ’tis on them are pains not to be borne.’

‘Yonder’ said the Spirit of Wisdom ‘are they who died in the sin of Greed: such as those who plead in an unjust cause for the sake of gold and wealth: and all other lustful men who coveted the goods of their neighbours, who oppressed the weak, the orphan and the captive, that they might draw to themselves the vain wealth of the world.’ So spake the Spirit of Wisdom.

XVI. After that Merlino saw another great multitude coming from out the dungeons of pain; two poisonous adders twined beneath the nose of each, and a poisonous sting to every serpent among them thrust into each of their eyes, with these words:

¹⁹⁾ *om. H.* ²⁰⁾ *om. L.* ²¹⁾ *uile L.* ²²⁾ *thaitighneas G.* ²³⁾ *sic GHL:*
rest have módh. ²⁴⁾ *om. N.* ²⁵⁾ *eadhon G.* ²⁶⁾ *ndesaighibh H,*
n-uireasbach L. ²⁷⁾ *’s i do bheith H.* ²⁸⁾ *aca H.* ²⁹⁾ *om. GHL.*

XVI. ³⁰⁾ *Ni fada ’na dhiaigh sin go bhfeaca L: om. H.* ³¹⁾ *dhearc G.*
³²⁾ *adhbhal added H.* ³³⁾ *uile L.* ³⁴⁾ *chuige H.* ³⁵⁾ *amach L.*
³⁶⁾ *[as L ó G] abhainn GL.* ³⁷⁾ *om. L.* ³⁸⁾ *aco L.* ³⁹⁾ *gadh L.*
⁴⁰⁾ *diobh GH.* ⁴¹⁾ *a súile na druinge damanta chéadna; agus ag so na*
briathra ann a bhfuil an lasar nimhe H: as gach . . . suilibh, agus iad L.
⁴²⁾ *om. H: ag r. na briathra so L: agus ag so briathra do gach aon diobh G.*

'Ag so na súile mallaghthe Iona bhfuil an lasair nimhe,
Ag so súile an tnútha Do bheir d'ar gcúradh sinne'.

¹⁾'An fhéadar tú cia h-íad sud?' ar an Spiorád Eolach.

'Ní fhéadar' ar Merlino.¹⁾

'Ag sud' ²⁾ar an Spiorad Eolach ²⁾'an drong a fhuair bás i bpeachadh an tnútha; agus in eiric na n-amharc ³⁾ sanntach do bheiridis ar chuid a gcomharsan, atáid na ⁴⁾diabhail ⁴⁾ úd saíte iona súilibh, agus biaidh an feadh bhias Dia ⁵⁾ag caiteamh 'na ⁵⁾ gloire ⁶⁾maille ⁶⁾ ré gach pian eile da bhfuil orra.'

XVII. ⁷⁾As a haithle sin ⁷⁾ feachus Merlino ⁸⁾seacha, ⁹⁾ agus dochí ⁸⁾ loch mór iona raibh uisge ar dhath an domblais: agus as é fa h-ainm do'n loch sin, Loch na bPian: óir an mhéad do chruthaigheadh ¹⁰⁾ ar dhruim na talmhan do ¹¹⁾mhair-bheochaidh ¹¹⁾ aon bhraon amháin d'uisge an locha sin uile iad, tré ¹²⁾ro-mhéad fluachta. ¹²⁾ ¹³⁾Agus moran ¹³⁾ daoine 'na suidhe ¹⁴⁾ann go nuige a ¹⁵⁾smeig, ¹¹⁾ ¹⁵⁾ ¹⁶⁾agus il-íomadh de bhiadha taithneamhacha ag snámh ar an uisge 'na bhfiadhnuise, ¹⁶⁾ 's gan ar gcumas dhóibh an biadh sin do bhlaiseadh: oir do bhadar a gcosa agus a lámha ¹⁷⁾ceangailte ¹⁷⁾ i nglasaibh na bpian, agus iad ag ¹⁸⁾tairgsin síothadh do thabhairt ¹⁸⁾ ar an mbiadh ¹⁹⁾sin le na mbealaibh, 's gan tairbhe dhóibh ann: agus ¹⁹⁾ ag so na briathra do chanaidis:

'In eiric an bhid ²⁰⁾nar locus ²⁰⁾ Agus oleus do ²¹⁾nidhinn ²¹⁾

[trosgadh

Ta gorta mhór is iota ²²⁾'Na ²³⁾mbiam ²³⁾ ²⁴⁾choidhche ²²⁾ ²⁴⁾

[d'ar losgadh.'

'Ag sud' ar an Spiorad Eolach 'an drong a fhuair bás ²⁵⁾i bpeacadh an chraois; agus ²⁵⁾ in eiric an bhidh bhlasta mhillis, agus ²⁶⁾bhriste an troisge, agus ²⁶⁾ na h-antola do thugadar do 'n geolann ainmhianaigh ar an tsaoghal, atá an biadh úd in a bhfiadhnuise 's ²⁷⁾gan ²⁸⁾ar a gcumas ²⁸⁾ a bhlaiseadh go bráth:

The stanza is written as prose and mutilated in various ways by all the MSS. except B.

¹⁾ om. BH. ²⁾ om. A. ³⁾ claon added G tnúthach added L.

⁴⁾ gathaibh G. ⁵⁾ in H. ⁶⁾ mar aon L.

XVII. ⁷⁾ Annsin L. ⁸⁾ timchioll air agus do chonnarc L. ⁹⁾ dhé added N. ¹⁰⁾ Dia [do dhaoine H] GH. ¹¹⁾ fheursach G, mhuirfeadh H.

¹²⁾ nimh agus tré fuacht L. ¹³⁾ Do chonnarc M íomadh A. ¹⁴⁾ ar a bhruach ag nighe a sgéimh H. ¹⁵⁾ smigáil L. ¹⁶⁾ san loch sin, agus

‘These are the eyes accursed
Wherein is the flame of poison
These are the eyes of envy
Which we carry to our torment.’

‘Knowest thou who yonder are?’ said the Spirit of Wisdom.

‘I know not’ said Merlino.

‘Yonder’ said the Spirit of Wisdom ‘are they who died in the sin of Envy: and in recompense for the covetous eye they cast on their neighbours’ goods those devils yonder are thrust into their eyes; and so long as God is in glory they will be there, with every other pain that is on them.’

XVII. After that Merlino looked aside, and beheld a great lake wherein was water of wormwood colour; and the lake was called the Lake of Pain, for one single drop of the water of the lake would destroy all the creatures on the surface of the earth by the bitterness of its chill. And many people were sitting therein up to the chin; and stores of pleasant victual swimming on the water before them; yet it was not in their power to taste the food. For their feet and their hands were bound in fetters of pain, and they were trying to snatch at the food with their mouths, but it availed them not: and these are the words they were singing:

‘In recompense for the food we refused not (?)
And the evil of our keeping (= neglect of our) fasts
Great hunger and thirst
Is ever on us to our consuming.’

‘Yonder’ said the Spirit of Wisdom ‘are those who died in the sin of Gluttony: and in recompense for the sweet-tasting food, and the neglected fasts, and their lustful indulgence of the flesh on the earth, yonder food is before them without their ever having power to taste it; and in recompense for their intemperance

il-íomadh diabhalaihbh ag snámh 'san loch; gach uile chineal bidh ag imtheacht ar uachtar an locha *L.* Agus a molamadh do bhi taithniomhach ar an saoghal ag snámh ar an uisce *C. G* likewise has amolamadh. ¹⁷⁾ creapúilti *BH.*
¹⁸⁾ tabhairt iarracht *H.* tabhairt tairgsin *G.* snapadh *L.* ¹⁹⁾ amhail madraoi; agus an biadh ag teithe uatha *L.* ²⁰⁾ agus na ndeochann *L.* ²¹⁾ ghnidhmis an *L.* ²²⁾ agus mbiam go cinnti *H.* ²³⁾ bpian *L.* ²⁴⁾ om. *G.*
²⁵⁾ om. *G.* ²⁶⁾ an chredis, agus in eiric added *G.* ²⁷⁾ om. *H.* ²⁸⁾ cumas dóibh *G.*

agus⁴⁾ as i is deoch dhóibh i n-eiric na póite agus na misge agus na h-antola ¹⁾tugadar dóibh féin,¹⁾ domblas ²⁾agus mor-monta;²⁾ agus in eiric na leapacha sasta, ³⁾⁴⁾agus laghadh an chrádh do bheiridis d'a gcorpaibh ⁵⁾ainmhianacha,⁴⁾⁵⁾ ⁶⁾biaid ⁷⁾an tuisge úd dochí tusa d'a ⁸⁾ngreadadh⁸⁾ le nimh⁶⁾ gheir-loisge ⁹⁾¹⁰⁾fhuair an locha ina bhfuilid agus ¹¹⁾ina mbiaid,⁷⁾¹⁰⁾ an fheadh bhias Dia ¹²⁾ag caitheamh na gloire.'¹¹⁾¹²⁾¹³⁾

XVIII. ¹⁴⁾Feachus ¹⁴⁾Merlino ¹⁵⁾seacha,¹⁶⁾ agus ¹⁷⁾do chonaire¹⁵⁾¹⁷⁾ drong do-airimhthe d'anmannaibh damanta ar theaghlach ¹⁸⁾na bpian¹⁸⁾ dteinntighe, ¹⁹⁾agus teine ²⁰⁾ghrodach²⁰⁾ gheur-nimhneach ar¹⁹⁾ buan-lasadh 'na dtimchioll; agus ²¹⁾sluagh adhbhal mór ²²⁾de dhiabhlaibh ²³⁾uathmhara²³⁾ ²⁴⁾aithmheile²²⁾²⁴⁾ ag fodógh²²⁾ agus ag fritheóladh na tinneadh sin riu, agus d'a ²⁵⁾gcongabhail²⁵⁾ ar theaghlach ²⁶⁾agus ar urlár²⁶⁾ na bpian: agus iad féin ag ²⁷⁾tarraing agus ag tuargain²⁷⁾ a chéile ²⁸⁾ins an teine sin: ²⁸⁾agus ag so na briathra bhí i mbeul gacha aoin diobh:

'I n-eiric na feirge fuathmhaire An ²⁹⁾pheachadh²⁹⁾ lear
[truailleadh sinne

Ni fhaicfom Dia go cinnte Acht d'ar bpianadh i dteintibh.'

³⁰⁾'Ag sud' ar an Spioradh Eolach 'an drong a bhfuair bás i bpeacadh na feirge: ³¹⁾agus in eiric ³²⁾dhasachta³²⁾ na feirge agus ³³⁾neamhcheansachta³³⁾ na h-inntinne, agus na h-easumhlachta³²⁾ agus na h-easurrama, béid an drong úd d'a gcuradh agus d'a ngreadadh go ³⁴⁾³⁵⁾geurnimhneach³⁵⁾ ar urlár na bpian, agus na diabhail úd ³⁶⁾ag fritheoladh³⁴⁾ na pian orra ³⁷⁾gan chrích gan foircheann³⁶⁾ tre saoghal na saoghal.'³⁷⁾³⁸⁾

¹⁾ *om. LN.* ²⁾ *om. G.* ³⁾ *clumula clutara arda shoera gan loithne gaoithe na fuachta d'a n-iomlaisg a bhfocas luighad an crabhnais bheiridis d'a gcorpaibh added L: tintean na bpian ar dearglasadh óir ni chuiridis cradadh troisgthi no urnaigh d'a geuraibh added H.* ⁴⁾ *om. H.* ⁵⁾ *amhail iongantach G.* ⁶⁾ *'s gan truadh ná taise ná reint le bochtaibh beigan tuasgadh da gcíadh agus d'a loisge le nimh added L.* ⁷⁾ *adhuil suid N.* ⁸⁾ *ngearradh H.* ⁹⁾ *an added A and others.* ¹⁰⁾ *om. H.* ¹¹⁾ *biaidh ann go siorruidhe B.* ¹²⁾ *ar neamh L.* ¹³⁾ *suthaine gan chríoch gan fhoircheann gan fhurtacht gan fhaosamh added H.*

XVIII. ¹⁴⁾ *Nior bhfada. 'na dhiaigh sin go bhfeaca L.* ¹⁵⁾ *om. L.* ¹⁶⁾ *de added GNH.* ¹⁷⁾ *do dhearc G, dochí H.* ¹⁸⁾ *om. H.* ¹⁹⁾ *om. L.* ²⁰⁾ *ghreadach H.* ²¹⁾ *diabhul uathmhar adhbhal G.* ²²⁾ *om. H.* ²³⁾ *ath-*

and drunkenness and immoderateness is gall and wormwood given them to drink; and in recompense for their slothful beds, and the little pain they gave to their lustful bodies, that water yonder which thou seest will be tormenting their bodies with the sharp-burning poison of the cold of the lake in which they are and shall be so long as God is in glory.'

XVIII. Merlino looked aside and beheld a countless throng of lost souls on the hearth of burning pain, and a swift sharp-poisonous flame ever burning around them: and a mighty host of hateful demons of destruction forcing and apportioning those flames upon them and constraining them on the hearth and floor of pain: and they were dragging and beating one another in that flame: and here are the words that were in the mouth of each of them:

'In recompense for hateful anger
The sin whereby we have been defiled
We shall not see God certainly
Except to our hurt in the flames,'

'Yonder' said the Spirit of Wisdom 'are they who died in the sin of Anger: and in recompense for the fierceness of anger and ungentleness of mind, and their pride and disobedience, yonder multitude shall be on the floor of pain, worn out and burnt with sharp venom, and those devils will be apportioning the pains to them to all eternity, world without end.'

uathmhara *L.* ²⁴⁾ so all the MSS: perhaps *aidhmhilleadha* is intended.
²⁵⁾ gcoinneamhail *G.* ²⁶⁾ om. *H.* ²⁷⁾ treaghdadh *H.*; tarraing agus ag
tartaire *G.* ²⁸⁾ 'san áit *H.* ²⁹⁾ phiasd nearly all the MSS.: clearly a
misreading of a common contraction. The stanza is as usual much corrupted:
the curious reading of *P.* is alone worth giving briathra do bhi
i mbeal gach aoin díobh i neiric na feirge fuathmhaire: An phiasd lear
truailleadh sinne | Ní fhaicfom Dia go cinnte | Acht d'ar bpiana i dtintibh
tineadh | Innte ar georp bhochta sinnte. ³⁰⁾ 'An aithne duit si an dream úd'
ar an S. E. 'Ní haithue ar M. added *L.* ³¹⁾ om. *G.* ³²⁾ rachta *L.*
³³⁾ neamhchainteachta *H.* ³⁴⁾ geur *N.* ³⁵⁾ geur *GH.* ³⁶⁾ ag a foirthint *L.*
³⁷⁾ go críoch an saoghail *G.* ³⁸⁾ dochí tu, ar an S. E. le M., luach saothar
na feirge, na drochurma neamhumhleachta agus neamhcheansachta added *L.*

XIX. Feachus Merlino seacha,¹⁾ agus ²⁾do chonaire²⁾ drong eile ³⁾i seomraidhibh⁴⁾ dorchá 'na luidhe⁵⁾ ann³⁾ a leapachaibh caoile ⁶⁾ciar-dhorchá,⁵⁾ ⁶⁾⁷⁾ i ngeibhionnaibh agus i ⁸⁾nghlasaibh agus i ⁹⁾geruadhchuibhreachaibh;⁷⁾ ⁹⁾ ¹⁰⁾agus na leapacha ¹¹⁾sin ar caorlasadh¹¹⁾ 'na dtimchioll;¹⁰⁾ agus go mbadh breine an seomradh sin no cuirp mharbhtha ¹²⁾tar eis ¹³⁾morgaidh¹²⁾ ó¹³⁾ theas na greine;¹⁴⁾ agus ¹⁵⁾a lán aithreacha nimhe agus ¹⁵⁾¹⁶⁾piasda ¹⁷⁾grannda¹⁷⁾ ¹⁶⁾eagsamhla¹⁸⁾ eile,¹⁶⁾ ag creim agus ag ¹⁹⁾tolladh¹⁹⁾ na druinge damanta sin: ²⁰⁾agus iad i nghlasaibh teinntidhe an diabhail:²¹⁾ agus ag so an cronán do bhi aca d'a chantain:²⁰⁾ ²¹⁾²²⁾

²³⁾'I n-eiric na leisge ²⁴⁾lionta Is Aifrionn Iosa do chailleamh
'Tamaoid i²⁵⁾ lasracha²⁵⁾ teinntighe²⁶⁾ ²⁷⁾Is teinn²⁸⁾te²⁸⁾ futain²⁸⁾
[²⁹⁾ar lasadh.²⁷⁾ ²⁹⁾

'Ag sud' ar an Spiorad Eolach 'an drong a fhuair bás i bpeacadh na leisge,³⁰⁾ agus d'fanadh o Aifrionn agus o seanmhoir agus o sheirbhis Dé air leisge;³¹⁾ do threigeadar an uile maith-³²⁾ ghníomhartha agus le ³²⁾leisge³¹⁾ do cheangladar iad fein leis an diabhal i nghlasaibh³³⁾ agus i ngeibhionnaibh agus ins na gcuibhreachaibh³⁴⁾ úd d'a losgadh, d'a ndothadh, ³⁵⁾agus d'a ngreadadh,³⁵⁾ ³⁶⁾an fad a bhias Dia ag caitheamh na glóire,³⁷⁾ gan d'fhagail fuasgalta orra.'³⁷⁾

XX. Aduhart ³⁸⁾³⁹⁾fear³⁹⁾ da ⁴⁰⁾raibh⁴⁰⁾ ⁴¹⁾d'a phianadh⁴¹⁾ ar urlár na bpian:³⁸⁾ 'Uch a Dhia na ⁴²⁾bhréithe⁴²⁾ ⁴³⁾firéanda'⁴³⁾ ar se ⁴⁴⁾'is truagh ⁴⁴⁾⁴⁵⁾nach bhfuilim⁴⁵⁾ féin ⁴⁶⁾ceathramh ⁴⁷⁾na ⁴⁷⁾huairé im' cholainn daonna ar an tsaoghal ⁴⁸⁾aris!'⁴⁸⁾

Do fhreagair spiorad ⁴⁹⁾damanta é agus ⁵⁰⁾is é ⁵⁰⁾aduhart: 'A spiorad ⁵¹⁾dhamanta'⁵¹⁾ ar se 'cread an sochair dhuit a bheadh⁵²⁾ ceatramh na ⁵³⁾huairé ⁵⁴⁾ar an tsaoghal, agus do teilgion

XIX. ¹⁾ dé added GH. ²⁾ do dhearc G, dochí H. ³⁾ om. H. ⁴⁾ dubha added LN, dubha daor- added H. ⁵⁾ om. H. ⁶⁾ cruadhchorecha B, neamhcheansachta iad L. ⁷⁾ agus geibhinn glas agus cruadhchuaibhreach orra G. ⁸⁾ om. L. ⁹⁾ sic L: the rest have geruadhchuibhreach orra except H, which omits orra. ¹⁰⁾ om. H. ¹¹⁾ ar chómhlasa L. ¹²⁾ om. N. ¹³⁾ moran gaoithe GL. ¹⁴⁾ no gaoithe added H. ¹⁵⁾ om. H. ¹⁶⁾ piastaibh H. ¹⁷⁾ om. L. ¹⁸⁾ eagsamhlachta L. ¹⁹⁾ polladh H. ²⁰⁾ om. L. ²¹⁾ ag rádh na mbriathra so G. ²²⁾ ag fásga asladhraibh agus a nghlasaibh an diabhail added L. ²³⁾ Ag so added G. ²⁴⁾ om. G. ²⁵⁾ nghlasaibh H. ²⁶⁾ Iffrinn added G. ²⁷⁾ om. G. ²⁸⁾ Iffrinn L. ²⁹⁾ fa mharaig L. ³⁰⁾ do sheun Iosa Criosd agus a chreidheamh, agus, added K. ³¹⁾ agus an tan

XIX. Merlino looked aside and saw another multitude in dark rooms, lying on narrow black beds, in fetters and in manacles and hard bonds; and those beds were flaming about them; and that chamber was fouler than a dead body when putrefied in the heat of the sun: and it was full of poisonous adders and divers other hideous snakes biting and fretting that lost multitude, and they were in the fiery fetters of the devil: and this is the burden of their crooning:

‘In recompense for sloth indulged
And the mass of Jesus which we passed over
We are in fiery flame
And fire is under us to our burning.’

‘Yonder’ said the Spirit of Wisdom ‘are they who died in the sin of Sloth, and neglected mass and sermon and God’s service for sloth: who deserted all good works; and who by sloth bound themselves to the devil in yonder fetters and manacles and bonds to their burning and scorching and consuming, so long as God is in glory, without any escape for them.’

XX. In this wise spake one tortured on the floor of pains: ‘Alas O God of true judgment!’ said he ‘’tis a grief that for one quarter hour I am not on the Earth again, in mine own human form.’

A lost soul answered him, and spake thus:

‘Thou lost soul’ said he ‘what profit were it for thee to go one quarter hour on the earth, and to be cast here again

do rinneadar sin, agus do chartuigheadh ann o na lochtaibh gan aithrighe luath na mall *L.* ³²⁾ -ghniomh ar *H.* ³³⁾ an diabhail *added G.* ³⁴⁾ a bhfuil, dochidh tú iad anois *added L.* ³⁵⁾ *om. H.* ³⁶⁾ agus beid mar sud gan faighal fuasgal orra *added L.* ³⁷⁾ *om. L:* g. d’fh. furtachta no foirighin no fuasgladh go déo orra *H:* gan d’fh. fuasgl. no foirhint orra *G.*

XX. ³⁸⁾ Anam bocht diobhain *L.* ³⁹⁾ spiorad *H.* ⁴⁰⁾ bhi *G.* ⁴¹⁾ *om. H.* ⁴²⁾ bhreatha *H.* ⁴³⁾ firinnigh *HL.* ⁴⁴⁾ *om. H.* ⁴⁵⁾ nach faghaim *L,* gan mé *G.* ⁴⁶⁾ aon *added H.* ⁴⁷⁾ na h-aon h- *L:* *om. H.* ⁴⁸⁾ *om. H.* ⁴⁹⁾ diabhlaidhe *added except in GHL:* eile *H.* ⁵⁰⁾ *om. L.* ⁵¹⁾ diabhlaidhe damandha *H:* truadhanta damanta *L.* ⁵²⁾ i gcollain daonna *added L.* ⁵³⁾ aon *added L.* ⁵⁴⁾ sin *added L.*

annso arís, ad' mhealladh theinntigh thineadh ¹⁾go¹⁾ h-²⁾adhbhadh²⁾ na bpian, gan taisi, ³⁾gan truaighe,³⁾ gan tróchaire?'

⁴⁾'Ni h-amhla atá' ar an ⁵⁾fear⁵⁾ damanta: ⁶⁾'dá mbeinn an mo cholann ⁷⁾daonna⁷⁾ arís, fuaisgeoltaidh ó na bpianta ⁸⁾siorradh⁸⁾ so ⁹⁾mé: oir⁹⁾ dhoirtfhinn mé féin ¹⁰⁾comh mór sin, ¹¹⁾go bhfuighinn tróchaire: de bhrígh nach bhfuil Dia ¹²⁾d'¹²⁾iarradh ar an bpeacach, acht aithrígh fhirinneach. ¹³⁾Agus is deimhin dá mbadh peacadh ¹⁴⁾dhá bhfuil ar ¹⁴⁾dhuine ar bhith, mad iarann tróchaire, ¹⁵⁾go bhfuighidh ¹⁶⁾se tróchaire.¹³⁾¹⁵⁾¹⁶⁾

'Maiseadh' ar an dara ¹⁷⁾fear,¹⁷⁾ 'aithreachas i n-antráth ní ¹⁸⁾dean maith:¹⁸⁾ ¹⁹⁾agus is ²⁰⁾i n-am²⁰⁾ na tróchaire bhudh coir tróchaire d'iarradh, 's gan Dia do threigion ar maithios dhiombuan an tsaoghail, ²¹⁾tre ar teilgeadh thusa go hIfirion dot' dhoth, agus dot' losgadh, saoghal na saoghal,²¹⁾ gan fhurtacht gan fhoirighthin, ²²⁾tré bith síor.'¹⁹⁾²²⁾

XXI. ²³⁾²⁴⁾Is²⁴⁾ annsin²³⁾ ²⁵⁾do labhair²⁵⁾ Merlino ²⁶⁾leis an Spiorad Eolach, agus ²⁷⁾is é ro rádh:²⁶⁾²⁷⁾

'Madh 'tá dúil ag an ²⁸⁾spiorad damanta²⁸⁾ úd ²⁹⁾a bheadh²⁹⁾ i gcolann daonna arís, ionnus go ³⁰⁾ndeanamh aithríghe, agus go³⁰⁾ bhfuigheadh sé tróchaire,²⁶⁾ cread ³²⁾an t-adhbhar³²⁾ nach deanuinnsi ³³⁾aithríghe, ó 'táim in mo cholainn ³⁴⁾fós, ionnus nach ³⁵⁾dtabhair³³⁾³⁵⁾ ³⁶⁾Dia³⁶⁾ bhreith dhamanta orm, da mbeidhinn ar an tsaoghal arís?'

'Ní bhfuil contabhairt annsin' ar an Spiorad Eolach: 'oir ní ³⁷⁾iarann³⁷⁾ Dia acht an aithríghe fhirinneach, maille le run ³⁸⁾diongballta³⁹⁾ gan tuitheamh annsna peacaidh⁴⁰⁾ arís go bráth.'⁴¹⁾

XXII. ⁴²⁾'An mór leat na pianta so?' ar an Spiorad Eólach.

¹⁾ gan *H.* ²⁾ abhainn *GL.* ³⁾ *om. GH.* ⁴⁾ Na h-abair sin added *L.* ⁵⁾ cead spiorad *L.*, spiorad *H* t-anam *G.* ⁶⁾ óir added *G.*, do labhar ar Dia added *L.* ⁷⁾ *om. H.* ⁸⁾ *om. L.* ⁹⁾ *om. G.*, me: do *HL.* ¹⁰⁾ do Dhía added *H.* ¹¹⁾ nach bhfuil comtabhairt added *GH:* ar Dhía added *L.* ¹²⁾ ag *B.* ¹³⁾ *om. H.* ¹⁴⁾ *om. L.* ¹⁵⁾ na faghan diultam *L.* ¹⁶⁾ i, *G.* ¹⁷⁾ h-anam bocht *L.* ¹⁸⁾ bhfaghan tróchaire ná maith éile *L:* dhearnuis maitheas *G.* ¹⁹⁾ see appendix *I.* ²⁰⁾ anam *A* and other MSS. ²¹⁾ *om. G.* ²²⁾ *om. GH.*

XXI. ²³⁾ *om. H.* ²⁴⁾ *om. GL.* ²⁵⁾ adubhairt *G.* ²⁶⁾ *om. G.* ²⁷⁾ adubhairt *L.* ²⁸⁾ anam *G.* ²⁹⁾ dul *L.* ³⁰⁾ *om. G.* ³¹⁾ ar ndeanamh aithríghe dhó added *G.* ³²⁾ contabhairt *L.* ³³⁾ *om. G.* ³⁴⁾ dhaona

to thy fiery destruction into the dungeon of pains, without mercy, pity or compassion?’

‘Not so’ said the lost man: ‘were I in my human form again I would find release from these pains: for I would weep so bitterly that I would find compassion: because God requireth nothing of the sinner but true repentance. And ’tis certain that whatever sin may be on a man, if he seek mercy he shall find mercy.’

‘Nay’ said the second man ‘repentance at the wrong time profits naught: ’tis in the time of mercy that it were right to seek mercy, and not to spurn God for the fleeting good things of the world, whereby thou hast been cast into Hell to be burnt and consumed world without end, without comfort or succour, to all eternity.’

XXI. Then Merlino spake to the Spirit of Wisdom, and these were his words.

‘If yonder lost soul long to be in human form again, that he might repent and obtain mercy, why should not I repent (for I am still in my body) so that God might not pass condemnation upon me if I were in the world again?’

‘There is no fear of that’ said the Spirit of Wisdom: ‘for God seeks nothing but true repentance, and the firm resolve not to fall into sin again.’

XXII. ‘Dost thou think these pains great? said the Spirit of Wisdom.

added HL. ³⁵⁾ dtiubhathaidh *H.* ³⁶⁾ om. *H.* ³⁷⁾ iarrthach *G.*
³⁸⁾ fhirinneach *added L.* ³⁹⁾ seasbhach *added H.* ⁴⁰⁾ céadhna *added H.*

⁴¹⁾ acht foraoir, ní bhfuil sin an dán do’n spiorad Iffrionach úd ag labhairt mar na fuil breith air an aithrige ó sgurfus an bas anam agus corp re chéile, gan dul go hIffrionn. Ma’s a bpeacadh marbhtha do gheibh bás no go porgadoir go dtuga sasamh accann air bith eile fa bhun an peacadh mharbhtha, gidheadh atá flathas De anairighthe go luaith no go mall ag an anam do reachus go porgadoir, agus ge mór leatsa na piannta so agus gach gré uile peine da bhfeacnigheas, inneosfad dhuit piannta is mo ghoilleas air anmnaibh damanta na iad uile. Ní mheasaim-se, air *M.* gur bhfeidir *added L.*

XXII. ⁴²⁾ om. *L.*

‘Dochím’ ar Merlino, ‘nach féidir⁴²⁾ le ¹⁾teanga¹⁾ d’innsinn, no le peanna ²⁾do sgríobadh,²⁾ no le ³⁾chroidhe dhaoine do smuaineadh,³⁾ an ⁴⁾ceadughadh⁴⁾ cuid ⁵⁾d’a bhfuil ⁶⁾de phiannaibh⁵⁾ ⁶⁾ar ⁷⁾an te⁷⁾ is lugha ⁸⁾pianta⁸⁾ an Iffrinn.’⁹⁾

¹⁰⁾‘Maiseadh’ ar an Spiorad Eolach ‘atá pianta is mo no bhfaicion tusa ¹¹⁾ar gach aon dhíobh.’¹¹⁾

‘Cionnus is féidir sin?’ ar Merlino: ‘oir ní fhéidir gur chruthaigh¹⁰⁾ Dia ¹²⁾pianta is mo no dochím¹²⁾ ¹³⁾ar gach aon aca.’¹³⁾

‘Go deimhin’ ar an Spiorad Eolach: ‘do chruthaigh an pheacadh ¹⁴⁾a míle oiread¹⁴⁾ adus dochi túsa: ¹⁵⁾eadhon,¹⁵⁾ racht ¹⁶⁾na¹⁶⁾ feirge d’a dteachtadh agus d’a bplúchadh ¹⁷⁾go siorradh suathain’ ar sé.¹⁷⁾

‘Cread ¹⁸⁾an¹⁸⁾ ¹⁹⁾t-adhbhar¹⁹⁾ eada ²⁰⁾²¹⁾atá aca’²¹⁾ ar Merlino, ‘an tráth nach bhfuil ²²⁾d’ fhághail²²⁾ furtachta ²³⁾²⁴⁾no foirirghthine aca²⁴⁾ go bráth?’²³⁾

XXIII. ²⁵⁾‘Atá’, ar an Spiorad Eolach ‘an ²⁶⁾tráth²⁶⁾ thugadh ²⁷⁾chum an bhreitheamhnais iad, fuaradar²⁵⁾ ²⁷⁾amharc ar ²⁸⁾fhlaithreamhnas²⁸⁾ Dé: ²⁹⁾do chonarc siad²⁹⁾ glóir agus aoibhneas na caithreacha in a ³⁰⁾bhfuilid³⁰⁾ tri Pearsanna³¹⁾ na Trinoide, ní bhudh dealraidhe ³²⁾no míle grian,³²⁾ ³³⁾’na suidhe ós cion na ³⁴⁾slogh,³⁴⁾ agus na h-aingil ag ministrálacht, ³⁵⁾na fáide³⁵⁾ ag moladh Dé, agus ³⁶⁾na h-absdal³⁶⁾ ag tabhairt buidheachas do’n Athair, do’n Mac agus do’n Spiorad Naomh. Ag ³⁷⁾so an ³⁸⁾tadhbar ³⁹⁾a dtolltar³⁷⁾ ³⁹⁾croidhe ⁴⁰⁾agus cliabh⁴⁰⁾ na bpeacach ag smuaineadh ar an aon amharc ⁴¹⁾sin do chonnarc siad. ⁴²⁾Ag so⁴²⁾ an tadhbar eada atá ⁴³⁾anois aca,⁴³⁾ an amharc⁴¹⁾ na ndiabhal a d’fhuadhaigh go hIffrinn iad.⁴⁴⁾ ⁴⁵⁾An saoiltear leat an peachach⁴⁵⁾ bocht an tráth ⁴⁶⁾chonaire⁴⁶⁾ amharc

¹⁾ ceann *G.* ²⁾ a sgríbhinn *L.* ³⁾ h-aon duine d’a dtiocfa no d’a dtáinig *L.* ⁴⁾ ceathramhad *G.* ⁵⁾ do na piannta *G.* ⁶⁾ *om. L.*
⁷⁾ anam *L.* ⁸⁾ *om. G.* ⁹⁾ is mo iad na bhfuil de thromphiannta ar an saoghal suas *added G.* ¹⁰⁾ do léir mheis, agus de bhrigh sin, na tuigim gur órda *L.* ¹¹⁾ orra madh thruadh *G.* ¹²⁾ riamh ní bus mo phianta na chidhim *G.* ¹³⁾ agus do chonaire air gach drong damanta da bhfeaca annso *L.* ¹⁴⁾ amhlaidh súd, gan oiread *G.* ¹⁵⁾ ’s é sin *L.* ¹⁶⁾ eada agus *GHL.* ¹⁷⁾ tre éad *L.* go siorradh an Iffrionn *G.* ¹⁸⁾ é *N.* ¹⁹⁾ fáth *GHL.* ²⁰⁾ i n-Iffrion *added HL.* ²¹⁾ dóibh *G, om. H.* ²²⁾ snil aca le *L.* ²³⁾ *om. N.* ²⁴⁾ d’fhaghail *L.*

‘I see’ said Merlino ‘that tongue cannot tell, pen cannot write, man’s heart cannot conceive, the hundredth part of the pains that he who suffers least in Hell endures.’

‘Yet’ said the Spirit of Wisdom ‘there are pains greater than thou seest, upon every one of them.’

‘How is that possible?’ said Merlino: ‘for God cannot have created pains greater than those I see on each one of them.’

‘In very truth’ said the Spirit of Wisdom ‘sin has created a thousand times as much as thou seest: namely the passion of wrath which enslaves and obsesses them for ever’ said he.

‘What cause of jealousy have they?’ said Merlino ‘since they have no hope of succour or help for ever?’

XXIII. ‘This’ said the Spirit of Wisdom. ‘When they were brought to judgment, they obtained a sight of God’s Heaven: they saw the glory and delight of the city wherein are the three Persons of the Trinity, brighter than a thousand suns, sitting over the Host; and the angels ministering, the prophets praising God, the apostles giving thanks to the Father, to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit. This is the cause wherefore the heart and breast of the sinners are fretted: the thought of the glimpse which they obtained. This is the cause of the jealousy which holds them now, the sight of the devils who forced them into Hell. Dost thou think that the poor sinner, seeing a glimpse

XXIII. ²⁵⁾ *om. N.* ²⁶⁾ *tan a, H.* ²⁷⁾ *breitheamhnas ar an anmann,*
do tughadh an *G.* ²⁸⁾ *fhlaithas A.* ²⁹⁾ *agus do chonarcadar G: agus*
ó fheicsin L. ³⁰⁾ *raibh A.* ³¹⁾ *treasghlórmar added K.* ³²⁾ *na na*
millte G. ³³⁾ *na nglan-lúnra added L.* ³⁴⁾ *neasball G.* ³⁵⁾ *agus G.*
³⁶⁾ *om. G.* ³⁷⁾ *sin na hadhbhair dhiabhálta G.* ³⁸⁾ *níod fá air mo lo*
dó péin an radharc sin d’faghail agus sgaramain leis na na pianta atáid
d’fhuillang i measg na ndiabhal air an modh na bhfeacair iad agus ní h-iongna:
an tan no an tráth do chonaire an peacach bocht a athair L. ³⁹⁾ *le bpoll-*
tar H. ⁴⁰⁾ *om. G.* ⁴¹⁾ *om. G.* ⁴²⁾ *as é sin H.* ⁴³⁾ *om. H.* ⁴⁴⁾ *ag*
sin an adhbhar eada croidhe an peacach added G. ⁴⁵⁾ *om G, an saoiléann*
tu an p. H. ⁴⁶⁾ *do bheir B.*

ar a athair,³⁵⁾ ¹⁾ ar a mhathair,¹⁾ ar a ²⁾ghaol,²⁾ ar a chomhursan,³⁾ agus ar a chompánach i nglór siorraidhe,³⁾ agus é féin ar na fuadacht ⁴⁾le diabhlaiibh duha⁴⁾ ⁵⁾dathghrannda, ⁶⁾o 'n aoibhneas sin⁵⁾⁶⁾ go ⁷⁾h-Iffrionn, ⁸⁾iar sin⁸⁾ gabhus racht ⁹⁾agus ead⁹⁾ ris an druing bheannaighthe:¹⁰⁾ ionnus gurab mó an phian agus an racht¹⁰⁾¹¹⁾ ¹²⁾radhare na¹²⁾ gloire¹³⁾ do chaill ¹⁴⁾sé¹⁴⁾ ¹⁵⁾tre¹⁵⁾ aon peacadh amháin, no a bhfuil do phiann-taibh an Iffrionn go h-uile.

XXIV. 'Agus do bheara eisiomplair duit leis ¹⁶⁾sin'¹⁶⁾ ar an Spiorad Eolach. ¹⁷⁾'Da mbadh¹⁸⁾ rígh cumhachtach'¹⁹⁾ ar sé 'ag a mbiadh duine uasal aige,¹⁹⁾ ²⁰⁾²¹⁾lán do ²¹⁾²²⁾mhuirn²¹⁾²³⁾ agus ²⁴⁾d'²⁴⁾onóir, agus go mbiadh ²³⁾grádh agus²³⁾ meas ag an rígh air,²⁰⁾²⁴⁾ thair gach duine eile: da dteagmadh do'n duine uasal sin coir gráineamhail ²⁵⁾do dheanamh anaghaidh an rígh sin, agus go dtiubhradh ²⁶⁾an rígh²⁶⁾ fo n-deara a theilgion i bpriosiun ²⁷⁾dhorcha ²⁸⁾glasrach,²⁷⁾ agus²⁸⁾ ²⁹⁾glasgheibhionn²⁹⁾ do chuir air, agus go nglacfadh se duine eile ann a áit, agus go bhfaicfeadh an ³⁰⁾priosúnach an duine³⁰⁾³¹⁾ 's an ³²⁾muirn³²⁾ agus 's an onóir do bhí aige féin, ³³⁾agus d'fheadfadh do bheadh aige³³⁾ muna mbeadh a dhrochiomchar leis ³⁴⁾féin:³⁴⁾ do líonfadh de racht é agus ³⁵⁾d'fheirg leis fein, ionnus go mbadh mó an dochar do bhiadh iona chroidhe o nimh ³⁶⁾na feirge fuathmhaire no ó na ³⁷⁾gheibhionn nó ó na³⁷⁾ ghlasaibh ³⁸⁾coit-chionn.³⁸⁾ Mar sin atá an drong damanta, iar bhfaicsin na gloire do caill siad agus gan ³⁹⁾súil³⁹⁾ aca le ⁴⁰⁾sióthchain an Rígh Neamhdha ⁴¹⁾d'fhaghail⁴¹⁾ go bráth ⁴²⁾no iar mbráth'⁴²⁾ ar ⁴³⁾an Spiorad Eólach.⁴³⁾

XXV. 'Agus ⁴⁴⁾atá piannta eile nach bhfaicionn tusa orra'⁴⁴⁾ ⁴⁵⁾ar sé.⁴⁵⁾

¹⁾ is *L.* ²⁾ chompánach agus *G.* ³⁾ i nglór siorraidhe *G.*: ag caithreim i gcaithir na gloire agus na sheilbh le saoghal na saoghal *L.*
⁴⁾ leis an diabhal [dubh *H.*] *GH.* ⁵⁾ *om. L.* ⁶⁾ *om. L.* ⁷⁾ fioriochtar added *H.* ⁸⁾ *om. G.*, is annso *H.* ⁹⁾ eada iad *G.* ¹⁰⁾ tré bheith 'san ngloire agus 'san aoibhneas sin, agus é fein bunas cion leo, is mo leis *L.*
¹¹⁾ bhias orra ar son an added *G.* ¹²⁾ smuainteamh ar an *H.* ¹³⁾ sin dob' fhéidir added *L.* ¹⁴⁾ siad *G.* ¹⁵⁾ la *GL.*

XXIV. ¹⁶⁾ an ní so *L.* ¹⁷⁾ maiseadh added *G.* ¹⁸⁾ duine uasal ag *H.* ¹⁹⁾ *om. H.* ²⁰⁾ air a mbeadh grádh agus taithniomh ag an rígh sin *G.* ²¹⁾ fá *L.* ²²⁾ uirim *L.* ²³⁾ *om. H.* ²⁴⁾ sin go romhór added *L.*

of his father, his mother, his kinsman, his neighbour, his partner, in eternal glory, and himself snatched by black hateful-coloured devils from those delights, would thereafter [not] entertain passion and jealousy against the host of the blessed? Thus greater is the pain and passion of the glimpse of the glory he lost through one single sin than are all the pains of Hell.

XXIV. 'And I will give thee an illustration of this' said the Spirit of Wisdom. 'If there were a powerful king' said he 'who had a noble with him full of love and honour, and if the king had affection and esteem for him beyond every other, and if it happened that that noble wrought some dreadful crime against the king, and that the king should give him at last to be flung into a dark fast prison, and put manacles upon him, and should take another noble in his place: and if the prisoner should see the other in the love and honour that was his and would still have been his were it not for his misbehaviour; he would be filled with passion and wrath against himself, so that greater would be the misery in his heart from the poison of the hateful anger than from all the fetters or locks together. So it is with the lost, when they see the glory they missed, and have no hope of making peace with the Heavenly King till the Judgment Day or after it.' So said the Spirit of Wisdom.

XXV. 'And there are other pains that thou seest not on them' said he.

²⁵) feill no míaruichuis *L.* ²⁶) *om. GH.* ²⁷) daingion dochrach *H.*
²⁸) *om. G.* ²⁹) glas agus geibhionn *GHL* to which *L* added cruaidh. ³⁰) cead
duine an tarna duine *G.* ³¹) nuadh sin *L.* ³²) bhfoirm *G.* ³³) agus
gan mbeadh se fa seasamhach *G.* ³⁴) anaghaidh an righ *G.* ³⁵) d'ead
agus *G.* ³⁶) agus fuica *L.* ³⁷) *om. H.* ³⁸) agus o na gheibhionnaibh
do bhi air *H:* coitchionn, iona raibh se *N:* coitchionn, iona raibh ceangailte
cruadhchuibhraithe *L.* ³⁹) duil *A.* ⁴⁰) foirthint na *L.* ⁴¹) *om. GHL.*
⁴²) *om. GHL;* ar mbrath *N.* ⁴³) *om. L.*

XXV. ⁴⁴) fós is mo abpíanta na adubhart fos *L.* ⁴⁵) *only in H.*

¹⁾ 'Cread iad na piannta sin?' ¹⁾ ar Merlino.

²⁾ 'Atá' ²⁾ ar an Spiorad ³⁾ 'réimhfheachain na siurruidheacht;
⁴⁾ amhail mar do bhiadh ⁴⁾ roth choisde ³⁾ ⁵⁾ no carrtacha. ⁵⁾ ⁶⁾
 Oir mar ⁷⁾ atá an roth ⁶⁾ ⁷⁾ gan críoch gan foircheann, ⁸⁾ ⁹⁾ is
 amhladh sin atá an tsiorruidheacht. ¹⁰⁾ ¹¹⁾ Ionamhail agus ¹¹⁾
 bhias an roth ag iompogha agus an chuid ¹²⁾ do chuaid thart ⁸⁾
 dhé ag teacht tart arís go nuaidh, is mar sin atá an tsiorruidh-
 eacht. ¹⁰⁾ Óir an tan a theid deich míle million de bhliadnaibh
 thart, ní bhfuil acht ¹³⁾ tuis ¹³⁾ a bpeine annsin ¹⁴⁾ do'n lucht atá
 i nIffrionn; ¹⁴⁾ agus ¹⁵⁾ an uair a theid ¹⁵⁾ deich míle ¹⁶⁾ million ¹⁶⁾
¹⁷⁾ eile ¹⁷⁾ thart, ní bhfuil ¹⁸⁾ an lucht ceadhna ¹⁸⁾ acht ¹⁹⁾ a dtuis ¹⁹⁾
 a bpeine; ²⁰⁾ de bhrígh go mbionn an aimsir do chuaidh thart
 ag teacht ²¹⁾ tharsadh, amhail fainne no roth. Agus mar sin, ²¹⁾
 go bhfuil ²²⁾ piantadh Iffrinn agus glóir ²²⁾ flaitheamhnais ²³⁾ Dé ²³⁾
 gan críoch gan foircheann: óir d'a dtaghadh éan beag i gcionn
 gacha bliadhna agus lán a guibh do bhreith ²⁴⁾ as au bhfairrge
 leis, ²⁴⁾ da mbiadh ²⁵⁾ súil ag ²⁵⁾ ²⁶⁾ muinntir ²⁶⁾ Iffrinn go bhfuighdís
 fúrtacht ²⁷⁾ an uair ²⁷⁾ do ²⁸⁾ thoirmeochaidh ²⁸⁾ ²⁹⁾ an t-ean ²⁹⁾
³⁰⁾ beag sin an fairrge, ³⁰⁾ ní bhiadh ³¹⁾ cas no ³¹⁾ ceist orra anns
³²⁾ na pianta atá orra. ³²⁾ Acht ³³⁾ is amhlaidh ata ³⁴⁾ sé aca: ³⁴⁾
 ní thainig agus ní thiucfaidh ³⁵⁾ an ³⁵⁾ uair in a bhfuighid furtacht
 no ³⁶⁾ fuasgailt; ³⁶⁾ de brígh an ³⁷⁾ uair ³⁷⁾ do chruthaigh Dia Iffrionn,
 d'eagla go ³⁸⁾ ngabh taisé no truaighe é ³⁹⁾ do dheanamh ar ³⁸⁾ ³⁹⁾
 an druing damanta é, d'ordaig ⁴⁰⁾ [sé] gan gul no garrtha, pianta
⁴¹⁾ no ⁴¹⁾ dochar, da bhfuil in Iffrionn ⁴²⁾ d'eisteacht ⁴²⁾ no d'fhaisin

¹⁾ cionnas dob' fhéidir sin abheith *L.* ²⁾ is feidir *L.* ³⁾ Eolach,
 'ní bhfuil pianta do thruime agus do threine biomartha orra an Iffrion nar
 bhionan leo iad agus neamhnídh seoch radhare na glóire úd do fuairadar aon
 uair amhain agus do chailleadar mar an gceadna: nior shuim leo piannta ná
 dochar ar bith da bhfuilid d'fhulang an Iffrion seoichis reimhfheicsin is bith-
 smuainíomh na siorruigheacht, de bhrígh go bhfuil fhios aco na fuil adeirle
 teacht go mbeid féin da bpiandh ar feadh na siorruigheacht.' 'An bhfuil fios
 a gcaillíomhna mar sin ag na hanmannaibh damanta' air M. 'ata gan chon-
 tabhairt' ar an S. E. 'Oir an tan smuainid ar an siorruidheacht úd amhail
 do bheadh roith coiste *L.* ⁴⁾ oir is amhlaid atá an tsiorruidheacht, mar
 bheith *GH.* ⁵⁾ *om. G.* ⁶⁾ *om. L.* ⁷⁾ do bhiad *L.* ⁸⁾ is ar sheilbh
 na gloire na bhfuairadar a h-amhare agus dob' éigíon dhóibh athreigíon is
 goibhe leo sin do phein ná na piannta is do chairde do fhuillaingaithe,
 d'fhuillaingid ameasg abhfuil do dhiabhalaibh an Iffrionn.' 'Conas is cosam-
 hail an tsiorruidheacht le roithe coiste no cathaoireach?' ar Merlino. 'Ineos-
 fadsa sin dhuir' ar an S. E.; 'is amhla bhios roith no fos fáine gan tuis gan
 deire, as é naduir an roithe bheadh ag iompoghadh agus na híompaighthe

‘What are those pains?’ said Merlino.

‘The prospect of Eternity’ said the Spirit of Wisdom. ‘It is like a carriage or chariot-wheel. For as the wheel is without end or termination, so is Eternity. As the wheel goes round and the part that is passed returns anew, so is Eternity. For when ten thousand million years have gone the pains of those who are in Hell have only begun; and when another ten thousand million years have gone those same people are only commencing to be plagued: because the time that is past returns again as in a ring or a wheel. So is it, the pains of Hell and the glory of God’s Heaven have no end nor termination. For if a little bird were to come at the end of every year, and bear away the full of its beak from the sea with it, and if the lost had hope of getting succour when that little bird had exhausted the sea, they would have no anxiety nor doubt in the pains they suffer. But this is their case: the hour of their succour or release has never and will never come: because when God created Hell, for fear lest He should feel compassion or sorrow for the multitude of the lost, He ordained that none of the weeping or crying, pain or sorrow that is in Hell should ever come to His hearing or his sight.

thein thort’ *L.* ⁹⁾ acht an chuid a chuaidh thart ar ball teacht thart arís added *H.* ¹⁰⁾ om. *H.* ¹¹⁾ Eadhon mar *G.* ¹²⁾ don roith added *G.*
¹³⁾ tosach ar *N.* ¹⁴⁾ om. *H.* do’n dream damanta i nÍff. de gnáth *L.*
¹⁵⁾ ar geriochnughadh *L.* an uair rachus *GH.* ¹⁶⁾ om. *H.* ¹⁷⁾ de bliadh-
nuibh eile *B:* uile *L.* ¹⁸⁾ ann *L.* om. *GH.* ¹⁹⁾ tosach *G.* ²⁰⁾ mar an
gceadna added *L:* do lucht ceadna added *G.* ²¹⁾ thort go nuadh arís air
módh fainne roth, agus mar sin *G;* thort arís go nuadh ar an módh sin *L.*
thart go cinnte ’na gcoinne amhail . . . mar sin *H:* thart amhail . . . mar
sin *N.* ²²⁾ om. *G.* ²³⁾ om. *ALH.* ²⁴⁾ an gradh *G:* as an gradh, eadhon
loch *C.* ²⁵⁾ duil *A.* ²⁶⁾ an dream *G;* na hanamaibh damanta atá in *L.*
²⁷⁾ an tan *L.* ²⁸⁾ bhearfeach *L.* ²⁹⁾ fairge leis an éun *H.* ³⁰⁾ beag
sin *H:* gach uile braon do’n fhairge leis an bhraon agus na bhraon mar sin
na na bhraon is na bhraon uair gach uile bliadhain *L:* beag an gradh *G.*
³¹⁾ om. *G.* ³²⁾ a bpianta d’fhuiling *L.* ³³⁾ foirior added *L.* ³⁴⁾ om. *H.*
³⁵⁾ do’n *L.* ³⁶⁾ foirithin *GH.* ³⁷⁾ tan *L.* ³⁸⁾ nglacadh taise na truagh
do’n *L.* ³⁹⁾ om. *H.* ⁴⁰⁾ annsin tre cheannradhair na diadhachta added *G.*
⁴¹⁾ dana *G.* ⁴²⁾ do chlos *GL,* do chluisdion *H.*

1)go bráth¹⁾. Oir 2)da bhfaiceadh Dia²⁾ mead 3)na³⁾ bpianta 4)atá orra,⁴⁾ ní bhiadh cumus 5)aige⁵⁾ o mhead agus o lionmhaireacht a thrócaire, gan taise agus 6)7)truaighe⁷⁾ do 8)ghabhail⁸⁾ dóibh uair eigin agus trócaire do dheanamh orra. Acht is é do rinne, a gcur as a chuimhne go siorradh 9)suathain⁹⁾ i, agus mar atáid muintir Iffrinn dearbltha¹⁰⁾ de sin, is mo 11)phianus¹¹⁾ 12)neamhfhaicsin¹²⁾ na siorruidheachta 13)iad¹³⁾ no mead an dhochair de thaoibh eile.'

XXVI. 'Is 11)truaighe¹⁴⁾ an sgéal sin d'innsios tú 15)dhamh¹⁵⁾ no 16)gach¹⁶⁾ sgéal eile' 17)ar Merlino:17) 'agus 18)an bhfuil sócamhail 19)pianta¹⁹⁾ ag duine 20)seacha²⁰⁾ 21)duine eile²¹⁾ i n-Iffrionn?' 22)ar Merlino. 22)

'An te is lugha pianta i n-Iffrionn' ar an Spiorad Eolach 'atá 23)dochar agus 23)dothain 24)ar 24) 25)chruthaigh Dia riamh air d'a roinntídh orra é:25) gidheadh, is mo 26)pian²⁶⁾ an 27)chriosdaidhe²⁷⁾ 25)go mór²⁸⁾ ná 29)pian an 29)phagánaigh 30)agus an hanchriosdaidhe,³⁰⁾ 31)32)33)ge³³⁾ 33)go mbrisionn 34)siad an dligh³⁴⁾ go laitheamhail:³⁵⁾ 36)de bhrígh nach bhfuil a bhfios ag an bpagánach no ag an n-anchriosdaidhe;³⁶⁾ agus dá mbiaidh 37)go 32)gcóimhlionfaidh 38)39)leo iad³⁹⁾ ní bus fearr, 37)no⁴⁰⁾ mar do níd 40)na criosdaidhe: agus de bhrígh sin is mo pianta an chriosdaidhe no pianta an phaganaigh.⁴¹⁾

XXVII. 'Aithris 42)damh' 42) ar Merlino 'an 43)bhfuil⁴³⁾ cumhachta no uachdaránacht ag diabhal 44)thair⁴⁴⁾ dhiabhail eile i n-Iffrionn?'

'Atá go deimhin' ar an Spiorad Eolach. 45)Oir⁴⁵⁾ atá 46)dá rígh i⁴⁶⁾ n-Iffrionn aga bhfuil 47)uachdaránacht 47) agus cumhachta ar na 48)diabhlaibh eile go coitchionn,⁴⁸⁾ 49)eadhón⁴⁹⁾ Lucifer agus

1) *om. G.* 2) *om. G.* 3) *a H.* 4) *om. GH.* 5) *om. L.* 6) *gan added G.* 7) *trócaire L.* 8) *thaisbeanadh H, dheanamh G.* 9) *om. L.: iad G.* 10) *deimhneach added L.* 11) *piantadh H.* 12) *rheimhfhaicsin LH, re fheithiomh G.* 13) *dochí siad G.*

XXVI. 14) *truaidhmheilighe L.* 15) *om. G.* 16) *aon L.* 17) *om. G.* 18) *inis dom added L.* 19) *om. HL.* 20) *tar H.* 21) *a chéile o phiantuibh L.* 22) *om. HL.* 23) *om. H, a FG* 24) *air FG.* 25) *om. FG.* 26) *piannta FG.* 27) *chráidhe F, and so throughout the section.* 28) *om. FGL.* 29) *pianta GL, om. F.* 30) *om. FG, no an anch. L.* 31) *de bhrígh go raibh fios dlígh Dé agus aitheanta ag an gcriosdaidhi, agus nach raibh ag (an) anchriosdaidhe added L. ar an adhbhar go bhfuil fios dlígh Dé ag an gcriostaidhe added G. ar . . . fios aige an chráidhe added F.* 32) *om. H.* 33) *agus FG.* 34) *thrid F. om. G.* 35) *é added G.* 36) *om. FG.* 37) *fhios ag ar bpagánach*

For if God saw the multitude of pains that are on them, from the abundance and fullness of His mercy He could not choose but feel compassion for them some time, and extend mercy to them. But He has ordained to put it from His memory for ever: and since the folk of Hell are assured of this the pains of eternity that cannot be seen are greater than the sorrow of the other kinds.'

XXVI. 'Sadder is that tale thou hast told me than any other tale' said Merlino. 'Now, are the pains of some easy in comparison with others in Hell?' said Merlino.

'He whose pains are least in Hell' said the Spirit of Wisdom 'has sufficient of the sorrow which God created to appportion to them. However, the pain of the Christian is much greater than the pain of the Heathen and non-Christian, though they break the law daily: because the pagan and non-Christian have no knowledge: if they had they would fulfil it better than the Christian: and on this account the pains of the Christian are greater than the pains of the pagan.'

XXVII. 'Tell me' said Merlino 'if devil have power or principality over devil in Hell?'

'Assuredly' said the Spirit of Wisdom. 'For there are two kings in Hell wo have authority and power over all the other devils together, namely Lucifer and Beelzibub: and there are

added G. a fh. ag an bp. added F. ³⁸⁾ dlighe agus aithinte Dé ní bhfearr *L.*
³⁹⁾ é *G. iad F.* ⁴⁰⁾ om. *FGHL.* ⁴¹⁾ Atá fós socamhail piannta ag an te
 is lughad no is . . (?) peacuidhe seoch an tí is mo sa troime curtha ata mar
 an gceadna socamhail ag an ti is mó do dhéanfas carthanacht agus deaghoibh-
 reacha eile seoch an tí nach deanfadh achd beagan aco agus ag gach naon ag
 a mbeadh an rún maith agus an fon do réir acfuine no achumuís, gidheadh
 tuilliom peaca marbthach ar bith Iffrion, agus gach naon do gheibh bas an
 as e Iffrion oighbreacht, fós ní bhfuil ann acht aon Dia aon chreidheamh agus
 aon bhaiste, agus go so fhivineach chum iad sin do ghreamughadh, ní ball
 eo bhallaibh De é achd de bhallaibh an dhiabhail *added L.*

XXVII. ⁴²⁾ dhuinn *G.* ⁴³⁾ om. *G.* ⁴⁴⁾ om. *G.* ⁴⁵⁾ om. *L.*
⁴⁶⁾ dhá righthibh i, *G* dhiabhal *H.* ⁴⁷⁾ impirdhi *H.* ⁴⁸⁾ diabhail eile *H.*
⁴⁹⁾ mar atá *HL.*

Belsibub: agus atá deug riogachta ¹⁾i n-Iffrionn,¹⁾ agus ag so ²⁾a n-anmanna, i Laidion agus i n-Gaoidhilig,²⁾ ³⁾mar ndiaig³⁾

Lacus Mortis .i. Loch an bhaís
 Terra tenebrosa .i. Tír an dorchadais
 Infernus .i. Iffrionn iochtarach
 Stagnum ignis .i. Currach na teineadh
 Tartarus .i. Tír an huamháin
 Orcus .i. An loch nach líontar
 Barathrum .i. Tír an hamhgar
 Chasma .i. Adhbhadh na bpian
 Gehenna .i. An tinne nimhe
 Terra oblivionis .i. Tír an dearmuidh.

‘Agus ⁴⁾⁴⁾is⁵⁾ amhlaid atáid na rioghachta so:⁴⁾ dá mbeatha ⁶⁾d’a⁹⁾ shiubal⁷⁾ go ⁸⁾bráth,⁸⁾ ní bhfuigthea críoch no foircheann⁹⁾ aon ¹⁰⁾rioghachta aca;¹⁰⁾ agus ní ¹¹⁾bhfuil pian no dochar i n-aon rioghacht ¹²⁾dhióbh¹²⁾ nach ¹¹⁾bhfuil ar gach aon nduine¹³⁾ i ¹⁴⁾n-Iffrionn:¹⁴⁾ agus atáid ¹⁵⁾cuig¹⁵⁾ Ríoghachta ¹⁶⁾fa chumchachta¹⁷⁾ Bhelsibub ¹⁸⁾dhióbh,¹⁸⁾ agus ¹⁹⁾atáid¹⁹⁾ ²⁰⁾cuig Ríoghachta²⁰⁾ eile fa chumhachta Lucifer: agus cuiridh an diabhal ²¹⁾os²²⁾ cionn agus i gcoinne ²¹⁾gach²³⁾ aoín ²³⁾peacaidh²⁴⁾ os cionn an criostaigh ²²⁾ar an tsaoghal d’a mhealladh agus²⁵⁾ ²⁶⁾do chur cuthaigh air:²⁶⁾ agus muna dtigidh leis an diabhal sin an duine do mhealladh, agus a tharraing leis go n-Iffrionn, ²⁵⁾na pianta²⁷⁾ do bhi ²⁸⁾i gcoinne²⁸⁾ an duine, ²⁷⁾dublaighthe²⁹⁾ ar an diabhal ³⁰⁾sin³⁰⁾ iad, ³¹⁾maille³¹⁾ ³²⁾le a raibh air³²⁾ féin roimhe.’

¹⁾ om. L. ²⁾ mar ainmnithir iad L. ³⁾ mar leanus H.

The list of kingdoms is very variously given in the MSS, both in name and in order. The order here adopted is from A, with the addition of the last two, which are omitted from that list and supplied from H. Leaving out of account differences of order, which are unimportant, the following are the principal varieties in name I have noticed — Terra tenebrosa = an tír dorchá K. Infernus apparently = Iffrionn uachtarach L, but this MS. does not give the Latin names. Stagnum ignis = teallach na teine H.; cuire n. t. L.; cruach n. t. G. Tartarus (Tactanus in G.) = an loch nach líontar GK. Orcus = an teine nimhe KL. Barathrum (Barth in K.) = tír an uaignisi G., teine an amhgair K., Chasma (Cosma in K.) = amhain (abhain) na bpian K. Gehenna = tír an mhughair G. Terra oblivionis perhaps corresponds to Iffrionn iochtarach L. For Gehenna K. substitutes Regnum Spiritus Pro-

ten Kingdoms in Hell, and here are their names in Latin and in Irish, as follows: —

Lacus Mortis .i. Loch an bháis (Lake of death)
 Terra tenebrosa .i. Tír an dorchadais (Land of darkness)
 Infernus .i. Ifrionn iochtarach (Lowest Hell)
 Stagnum ignis .i. Currach na teineadh (Marsh of fire)
 Tartarus .i. Tír an huamhain (Land of dread)
 Orcus .i. An loch nach líontar (Unfilled lake i. e. Bottomless pit)
 Barathrum .i. Tír an hamhgar (Land of tribulation)
 Chasma .i. Adhbhadh na bpian (Dungeon of pain)
 Gehenna .i. An teine nimhe (Fire of poison)
 Terra oblivionis .i. Tír an dearmuidh (Land of oblivion).

‘And in this wise are these kingdoms: wert thou to walk for ever thou wouldst not find end nor boundary of one of them: and there is no pain nor sorrow in one of them that is not on every person in Hell. And there are five kingdoms under the power of Beelzibub and other five under the power of Lucifer; and a demon set over every sin is assigned to each Christian in the world, to destroy and to bring anger upon him: and if the demon cannot destroy the man and drag him with him to Hell, the pains prepared for the man are doubled on the demon, in addition to the pains he had before.’

cellarum = Righeach lasair na stoi[r]meach. *C. adds in the margin.* ‘Ag Lucifer’ against Terra Tenebrosa and ‘Ag Belzabub’ against the remaining nine. This is at variance with the details in the following paragraph: but the reading of *C.* is modified: see ¹⁵⁾, ²⁰⁾ below.

⁴⁾ om. *L.* ⁵⁾ om. *H.* ⁶⁾ ag *L.* ⁷⁾ na rioghachta sin added *L.*
⁸⁾ bráthach *G.* ⁹⁾ ag added *H.* ¹⁰⁾ dóibh *H.* ¹¹⁾ om. *H.* ¹²⁾ aco *G.*
¹³⁾ d’a bhfuil added *L.* ¹⁴⁾ d’a mbí ann *H.* ¹⁵⁾ om. *CG.* ¹⁶⁾ diobh added *L.*, aco added *CG.* ¹⁷⁾ an diabhail d’a ngoirthear added *L.* ¹⁸⁾ om. *HL.*
¹⁹⁾ om. *GH.* ²⁰⁾ an cuid *CG.* ²¹⁾ om. *H.* ²²⁾ om *GL.* ²³⁾ gné *H.*
²⁴⁾ diobh added *H.* ²⁵⁾ na ndaoine agus d’a dtarraingt go hÍff. leó, agus *L.*
²⁶⁾ an duine *G.* ²⁷⁾ dlighthear do’ n anam do tharangionn *L.* ²⁸⁾ i geoir *G.*
²⁹⁾ cuirtheair added *G.* ³⁰⁾ om. *G.* ³¹⁾ mar aon *L.* ³²⁾ le’n a chuid *G.*

XXVIII. ¹⁾‘Anois’ ar an Spiorad Eolach, ‘do chonnaire tu na neithe bhí mian leat d’fhaicsin, ²⁾eadhon, ²⁾ amharc ³⁾ar piantaibh eagsamhla Iffrin. ¹⁾ Agus anois lean mise, go mbeara mé as an áit-si thú, ⁴⁾agus na bain le h-aon ⁵⁾rud ⁵⁾da bhfaicfe tú no go ⁶⁾ndeachair as so.’ ⁴⁾ ⁶⁾

Do ghluais an Spiorad ⁷⁾roimhe ⁷⁾agus ⁸⁾Merlino ‘na dhiaigh: agus ⁸⁾do chonaire Merlino ⁹⁾ar a laimh dheis ¹⁰⁾áit adhbhal ¹¹⁾aibhseach, ¹¹⁾lán ¹²⁾de ghul, de gharthaibh, de phiantaibh agus de mhór gacha piannais, amhail mar do chonaire roimhesin: agus cuid d’a raibh d’a bpianadh ann ¹²⁾ag radh na mbriathra so sios: ¹³⁾‘O Thighearna agus a Dhia, ¹⁴⁾ca fad a bhiam ¹⁵⁾is ¹⁵⁾na bpiantaibh so’: ¹³⁾ agus cuid ¹⁶⁾eile ¹⁶⁾ag rád ‘A cháirde ghrádhachta atá ar an tsaoghal, is truagh ¹⁷⁾an maineachtaigh ¹⁷⁾do ní sibh ¹⁸⁾fa ghuidhe, fa urnaighthe agus fa dheire do dheanamh, agus do thabhairt ¹⁹⁾ar ar n-anmannaibh, ¹⁹⁾ionnus go bhfuighmaois ²⁰⁾furtacht agus ²⁰⁾fuasgladh ó na piantaibh-si i bhfuilmid.’

XXIX. ²¹⁾Do labhair Merlino agus is é adubhairt ris an Spiorad Eolach: ²¹⁾

‘Nach dubhairt tu ²²⁾riom’ ²²⁾ar ²³⁾sé ²³⁾‘nach raibh ²⁴⁾súil ²⁴⁾ag muinntir Iffrin re ²⁵⁾furtacht ²⁵⁾no re foirighthin go ²⁶⁾bruinne an bratha? ²⁶⁾ Agus ²⁷⁾cread fa ²⁸⁾bhfuilid ²⁸⁾an drong damanta so ag ²⁹⁾garrtha ²⁹⁾ar Dhia no ar a gcáirdibh ³⁰⁾³¹⁾amhlaidh sud?’ ³¹⁾

‘Ni de muinntir Iffrin iad sud’ ar an Spiorad Eolach: ‘acht sud ³²⁾dream ³²⁾Porgadoir; ³³⁾agus ³³⁾an drong a fhuair bás ar slíghe ³⁴⁾shlánaigh, agus ³⁴⁾nach bhfuil ³⁵⁾glan, ³⁶⁾do theidhidh d’a nglanadh ³⁵⁾go Porgadoir agus a tabhairt diolaigheachta agus ³⁷⁾sasaighthe ³⁷⁾do Dhia an ³⁸⁾gach ³⁸⁾ní nach dear-nadar loirghniomh ar an tsaoghal ³⁹⁾ar a shon. ³⁹⁾ Agus atáid pianta Porgadoir ⁴⁰⁾comh ⁴⁰⁾cosamhail le piantaibh Iffrin, acht

XXVIII. ¹⁾ *om. H.* ²⁾ *mar atá L.* ³⁾ *d’fhághail added L.* ⁴⁾ *om. L.* ⁵⁾ *nídh G.* ⁶⁾ *bhfaigfeadh tú an ait-so H.* ⁷⁾ *om. AGH.* ⁸⁾ *do lean M. é, L.* ⁹⁾ *ag triall rómpa dóibh added L.* ¹⁰⁾ *eadhon added G.* ¹¹⁾ *nathbháiseach HL.* ¹²⁾ *gorta golla agus gártha agus pianta ann H.* ¹³⁾ *Och a Dhia na beatha firinne, an fada bheithmaoid annsna piannta do-fhulang so G.* ¹⁴⁾ *na tróchaire added H.* ¹⁵⁾ *a fuillang L.* ¹⁶⁾ *aco GL.* ¹⁷⁾ *an faillighe L, om. G.* ¹⁸⁾ *orainn added G.* ¹⁹⁾ *le ar n-an. L, m’anam G.* ²⁰⁾ *om. H.*

XXVIII. 'Now' said the Spirit of Wisdom 'thou hast seen the things thou desiredst to see, namely, a sight of the various pains of Hell. Follow me now, that I may conduct thee from this place, and touch nothing that thou seest till thou art gone from here.'

The Spirit went on, followed by Merlino: and Merlino saw on the right a great and terrible place full of weeping, of cries, of pains and of every kind of penalty, as he had seen before. And some of those who were in pains there were saying these words 'O Lord and O God, how long shall I be in these pains?' and others were saying 'Dear friends on the earth, 'tis pity that ye neglect the offering of prayers, petitions, and alms, and offerings for our souls, that we might obtain succour and release from the pains in which we are.'

XXIX. Merlino spoke, and said these words to the Spirit of Wisdom.

'Saidst thou not to me' he said 'that the folk in Hell had no hope of help or succour for ever? And why is this lost multitude crying to God or to their friends in this wise?'

'Yonder are no folk of Hell' said the Spirit of Wisdom, 'but the host of Purgatory. They who died on the way of Salvation, but who are not clean, have come to Purgatory for their cleansing, and to pay penalty aund satisfaction to God for all things that were not requited on the earth. And the pains of Purgatory are like to the pains of Hell, except that the folk of

XXIX. ²¹⁾ *om. L.* ²²⁾ *roimhe so G.* ²³⁾ *M. leis an S. E. L.*
²⁴⁾ *om. G. súil na dóchas L.* ²⁵⁾ *fuasgladh L.* ²⁶⁾ *bráth GL, bráth no iar bráth H.* ²⁷⁾ *dá mbeadh sin firinneach added L.* ²⁸⁾ *a mbéidir G.*
²⁹⁾ *iarradh G.* ³⁰⁾ *grádhach(a) added G.* ³¹⁾ *ag aitheint an ghuidhe agus an urnaighthe 's an deirc ar a shon G.* ³²⁾ *om. AHL.* ³³⁾ *eadhon G.* ³⁴⁾ *om. H.* ³⁵⁾ *faghail fuasgladh orra go dteid d'a nglanadh fein G.*
³⁶⁾ *o salachar a bpeacuighe L.* ³⁷⁾ *sasamh H.* ³⁸⁾ *om. H.* ³⁹⁾ *om. L.*
⁴⁰⁾ *om. L.*

1) amháin 1) go 2) bhfuilid 2) mhuintir 3) Phorgadoir 4) 5) dearbhtha 4) go 2) bhfuighid 5) 6) tróchaire 7) 8) agus 6) 8) slanughad 8) agus fuasgladh 9) as a bpiantaibh 7) 9) uair eigeán, agus 10) fos go dtug 10) an guidhe agus trosgadh 11) agus urnaighthe agus maithghníomhtha 12) a gcáirde 13) agus 14) 'na 14) bhfrein 13) ar an tsaoghail 15) aithghearracht 15) 16) pianta dóibh. 16) Agus 17) uime sin atáid ag garrtha 18) ar a gcairdibh. 19)

XXX. 20) Adubhairt 21) fear d'a raibh 21) i bPorgadoir 'Do shaoil mé 20) 22) fein 22) nach dearna Dia bréag ariamh gus anois: oir 23) do gheall 24) damh, anuair 25) do 23) theilgeadh 25) do Porgadoir me, 26) nach 27) biainn 27) acht cuig lá ann, 28) agus 29) ní 29) h-ámhladh atá: 28) atáim 30) ré cuig mhíle bliadhain ann!' 30)

'Cread fá ndearna Dia bréag ris an bhfear úd?' ar Merlino.

'Ní dhearna Dia bréag ariamh' ar an Spiorad Eolach: 'acht méad 31) dóchair do-fhuiling 32) agus greadadh 32) na bpian 33) atá 33) air, 31) ionnus go saoiléann sé go bhfuil sé 34) cuig mhíle bliadhain ann. 35) Agus ní bhfuil se fós cuig lá ann: 35) 36) óir 36) ag gcríochnughadh na gcuig lá, 37) rachadh do flaitheas Dé gan moill.'

XXXI. 38) A h-aithle an chómhraidh sin, 38) do 39) ghluais 39) an Spiorad Eolach 40) 41) roimhe 41) as 42) Porgadóir, 42) 43) 44) agus do lean Merlino é: 43) agus ar dteacht amach dhóibh 44) do chonarc Merlino 45) 46) ní 46) fa h-iongantaigh leis no a bhfacaidh roimhe sin: eadhon, 47) cathir agus 47) palast ríogha ro-alainn 48) iongantach, 48) 49) bhudh 49) h-aille 50) agus bhudh h-aoibhne 50)

1) *om. L.* 2) bhfuighid *G.* 3) ata i bP. *added G.* 4) deimhne-athach surailte *L.* 5) *om. G.* 6) *om. L.* 7) *om. G.* 8) *om. H.* 9) agus tróchaire *L.* 10) tug *G:* fos dtagaid *L.* 11) deirc *added G.* 12) eile *added L.* 13) *om. L.* 14) a *H.* 15) isteach acht *G:* cungnamh furtacht fuasgladh agus maithinghadh *L.* 16) o na piantaibh *H.* 17) is *added L.* 18) agus ag gul *added H.* 19) amhail sud *added G:* amhail siud: gidheadh ní h-eíd [théid] aon duine i bPorgadóir do gheibh bás i bpeacadh mharbh, dé bhrigh na bhfuil fágghail fuasgladh ar na tairbhe ar bith guidhe do dhéanamh ar a son, deirc na urnaighthe ná maithghníomhartha ar bith eile, mar na bhfuil fágghail fuasgla ó Iffrionn air aon anam do theighion ann. Agus is ionnann do na millte peacadh marbhthach agus aon pheaca amhail [amháin] marbhthach chum a dhamanta ar feadh na siorruidheachta, acht amhail da lionmbaireacht na peacuidhe gur truimidhe na pianta e. *added L.*

XXX. 20) Ar sín do labhair an mbocht [anam bocht] i bpianta phur-

Purgatory know that they will have mercy and salvation and release from their pains some time, and moreover that the prayers and fasting and petitions and good deeds of their friends and of the righteous on the world shorten the pains for them. For this cause are they calling on their friends.'

XXX. One of those who were in Purgatory spake.

'Methought till now that God never made a lie. For He promised me, when He cast me into Purgatory, that I would be here but five days, but it is not so, for here I am for five thousand years.'

'Wherefore did God deceive yonder man?' said Merlino.

'God never deceived' said the Spirit of Wisdom. 'But the sorrow he has suffered, and the horror of the pain that is on him, are so great that he thinks he has been five thousand years there. He has not yet been five days there: and when the five days are accomplished he will go to Heaven immediately.'

XXXI. At the end of that conversation the Spirit of Wisdom went out of Purgatory and Merlino followed him. When he went outside, Merlino saw a thing more wonderful than he had seen before: to wit, a city and royal palace, very beautiful, fairer, pleasanter, lovelier than the eye of man could

gadoireacht, agus as é adubhairt 'Do shileas *L.* ²¹⁾ fear de'n mhuintir do bhi *H*; duine de dream [*written* dmmm, *i. e.* dtrí m] *G.* ²²⁾ *om. G.H.*
²³⁾ *om. L.* ²⁴⁾ Dia *added H.* ²⁵⁾ d'ordaigh mo theilgion *H.* ²⁶⁾ do mheasas *added L.* ²⁷⁾ raibh me ann *L.* ²⁸⁾ gidheadh *L.* ²⁹⁾ is *H.*
³⁰⁾ ann anois mar is barbhúil liom é le chúig mhíle bliadhain *L.* ³¹⁾ na pianta atá re greada diacrach do-fhulaing orra, agus ar sud do labhar ann *G.*
³²⁾ *om. H.* ³³⁾ fa ndeara do'n anam úd na briathra adubhairt *L.* ³⁴⁾ ann le *added L.* ³⁵⁾ *om. H:* gidheadh ní bhfuil sé ann le cuig lá fós *L.*
³⁶⁾ agus *L.* ³⁷⁾ i bPorgadóir *added L.*

XXXI. ³⁸⁾ *om. L.* ³⁹⁾ thriall *L.* ⁴⁰⁾ agus Merlino *G.* ⁴¹⁾ *om. G.*
⁴²⁾ sin *L.* ⁴³⁾ *om. G.* ⁴⁴⁾ *om. H.* ⁴⁵⁾ agus e ar dteacht amach *added H.*
⁴⁶⁾ radhare *L.* ⁴⁷⁾ *om. L.* ⁴⁸⁾ *om. HL.* ⁴⁹⁾ agus cathir mar an gcéadna a ní fhaca cathair na palas dob' aille *L.* ⁵⁰⁾ *om. H.*

agus bhudh deisi ¹⁾d'ar bhféidir le súil dhaonna d'fhaicsin; oir is amhladh ²⁾do bhi, mur agus ballaidh na caithreacha ²⁾ sin ¹⁾ arna ndeanamh de chriosdal, ³⁾⁴⁾⁵⁾de thopais, d'oinics, de mhar-garet, ⁴⁾d'iaspar, d'emerale, de deamand ⁵⁾ agus de ⁶⁾n ⁶⁾ uile chinéil ⁷⁾pearlaid, agus ³⁸⁾ de ⁷⁾ ⁸⁾chlochaibh ⁸⁾ uaisle, ionnus ⁹⁾gur ⁹⁾ leor mar fhlaithreamhnas ¹⁰⁾ ¹¹⁾ agus mar aoibhneas ¹²⁾e ¹¹⁾ le h-angiol ná le duine ¹²⁾ d'ar chruthaigh ¹²⁾ agus ariamh ¹³⁾ a bheadh ¹⁴⁾d'a fhaicsin no ag feacain, ¹⁴⁾ ar an lonnradh agus ¹⁵⁾ar ¹⁵⁾ an dealradh do bhi ag teacht o ¹⁶⁾mhúiribh ¹⁷⁾ agus ó ¹⁶⁾ bhallaidhibh ¹⁷⁾ agus ó chlochaibh ¹⁸⁾ fíor-uaisle ro-aille ¹⁸⁾ na ¹⁹⁾ caithreacha sin. ²⁰⁾ Agus do chonaire ²¹⁾ sruth d'fhíor-uisge ²²⁾ fíor ²²⁾-aluinn, ²³⁾²⁴⁾ agus go mbadh ²⁴⁾ samhailta re fíon ²⁵⁾ fíor-²³⁾²⁵⁾²⁶⁾ gan truailleadh ²⁷⁾ an boltanus ²⁷⁾²⁸⁾ do bhi ag teacht do na srothaibh sin; agus ²⁹⁾iomad de chrannaibh aille eagsamhla, idir na srothuibh sin, agus go madh ²⁹⁾ leor ³⁰⁾d' ³⁰⁾aoibhneas agus ³⁰⁾d' ³⁰⁾urghairdheas a bheith ag feachain ³¹⁾ na dtorrtadh ³¹⁾ ³²⁾ agus ³³⁾ na ³³⁾ mblathaibh ³²⁾³³⁾ do bhí ar ³⁴⁾ na ³⁵⁾ crannaibh sin. ³⁵⁾³⁶⁾ Agus ein aille ³⁷⁾ eadrochta i mbarr na gerann sin ³⁷⁾ ag cantain ceóil; agus oirfidhe, ³⁸⁾ luit, orgain, ³⁹⁾ agus instrumhint ⁴⁰⁾ cheoil na cruinne ⁴¹⁾ d'a gcurtaoi ⁴¹⁾ d'a gcómhsheim ⁴²⁾ iad, go ⁴²⁾ madh binne guth agus glór aon ein amháin ⁴³⁾ díobh ⁴³⁾ sin no iad uile.

XXXII. Mar ⁴⁴⁾ an gceadna do chonaire ⁴⁵⁾ Merlino iomadh de ríoghthaibh, de ⁴⁴⁾ prionnsaidhibh agus de dhaoineibh ⁴⁶⁾ ar a raibh ⁴⁷⁾ eadaigh ríogha ⁴⁸⁾ líogha ⁴⁸⁾ ⁴⁹⁾ lánmhaiseacha, ⁴⁹⁾ ⁵⁰⁾ agus ⁵¹⁾ coroin ⁵⁰⁾ dealraigheacha ⁵²⁾ de phearlaidhibh, ⁵³⁾ de gheimhaidhibh ⁵³⁾ ⁵⁴⁾ agus de charbuncle ⁵⁴⁾ ar cheann gach aoine ⁵⁵⁾ díobh, agus ⁵¹⁾ go mbadh ⁵⁶⁾ deallraidhe no an ghrian ⁵⁷⁾⁵⁸⁾ gharrtha ⁵⁸⁾ an lonnrad agus an ruithneadh do ⁵⁹⁾ nídís; ⁵⁹⁾ agus ⁵⁵⁾⁵⁷⁾ ionadh de maighdeánaibh ngruadhchorera ⁶⁰⁾ ngealghnuiseacha, ⁶⁰⁾ agus de

1) cuma na iad L. 2) om. H. 3) agus do chrisolit H. 4) om. G.
5) om. L. 6) gach L. 7) om. L. 8) chloch HL. 9) go madh GH.
10) e added G. 11) om. L, agus gur ionmhus G. 12) no le h-aonduine H.
13) Dia ariamh H: om. L. 14) ag amharc L; da feacain H; da fhaicsin G.
15) om. H. 16) om. G. 17) om. L. 18) om. HL. 19) righ-ch. added H.
20) d'fheachus M, tar mballaidhibh na caithreacha [sin B] added BH.
21) Merlino added L. 22) ro- L. 23) om. G. 24) bo L. 25) uasal H,
ro-uasal L. 26) maiseamhail; fíor-uasal added G. 27) om. G; an bolamh
H; an bolaith L. 28) na mbillighe added G. 29) go mbadh G; om. L.
30) mar GH. 31) orra L. 32) om. G. 33) ar L. 34) om. L.

see: for thus it was: the wall and ramparts of the city were made of crystal, of topaz, of onyx, of pearl, of jasper, of emerald, of diamond and of every sort of pearl and precious stone, so that it was sufficient for dominion and for pleasure for the angels or for the man created whosoever should come to see or to look upon the light and glory coming from the walls and ramparts and truly precious lovely stones of that city. And he saw a stream of pure water, very beautiful, like to truly exquisite wine untainted by the scent coming to those streams; and many divers beautiful trees among those streams, and it would be sufficiency of pleasure and joy to watch the fruits and flowers that were on those trees. And beautiful birds were manifest on the tops of those trees, singing songs; and were the viols, lutes, organs and instruments of music of the world set with them and making harmony with them, sweeter would be the voice and the sound of one single bird than all of these.

XXXII. Likewise he saw many kings, princes, and people, wearing royal, fine, glorious raiment, with a sparkling crown of pearls, of gems, and of carbuncle on the head of each; and brighter than the glorious sun was the glitter and the sparkling they made. And he saw many maidens goldenhaired, white

³⁵) crann *L.* ³⁶) do bhí tiomchioll na catharach sin *added L.* ³⁷) iol-dháthach *H.* ³⁸) trumpuighe clarsuighe, beilinde *added K.* ³⁹) spinnets, timbrels *added K.* ⁴⁰) lucht *added L;* agus *added H.* ⁴¹) an domhain uile *L.* ⁴²) ar aon bhall, gur *L.* ⁴³) aco *L.*

XXXII. ⁴⁴) do bhí *G.* ⁴⁵) Merlino *added L.* ⁴⁶) eile *L.* ⁴⁷) gnúis agus *G.* ⁴⁸) *om. GH.* ⁴⁹) romhaiseach *GH.* ⁵⁰) *om. G.* ⁵¹) *om. L.* ⁵²) lán *added GH.* ⁵³) agus *H, om. G.* ⁵⁴) *om. H.* ⁵⁵) aco *G.* ⁵⁶) breághtha an *added L.* ⁵⁷) Do chonarc fós *L.* ⁵⁸) *om. H.* ⁵⁹) bhí ag teacht de ghnúis agus d'eadhaigh gach aoin aca *H.* ⁶⁰) gealghruagach *H.*

leanbhaibh oga, ¹⁾ar a raibh gnuis, ²⁾geala glé-ghlana geal-ainglidhe. ¹⁾²⁾³⁾

XXXIII. 'Mo chumairce ort' ar Merlino: 'agus inis damh ⁴⁾cia ⁵⁾h-i ⁴⁾⁵⁾ an áit ⁶⁾aoibhinn úd ⁶⁾ ⁷⁾idchim comh gar so do ríogacht Iffrinn?' ⁷⁾

⁸⁾'Ní h-amhladh atá' ar an Spiorad Eolach ⁸⁾ ⁹⁾'is fada ó ríoghacht Iffrinn ¹⁰⁾i, ¹⁰⁾ ge nach ¹¹⁾saoilíonn tusa ¹¹⁾ e: ¹²⁾agus ag so' ar se 'Parrthas Neimhe, ¹²⁾ ¹³⁾áit ¹³⁾ iona bhfuil ¹⁴⁾lucht dheanta ¹⁵⁾thola Dé, in aoibhnios ¹⁶⁾suathain. ¹⁶⁾ Agus na srotha fíor-¹⁷⁾áille ¹⁷⁾ úd do chonaire tu, ¹⁸⁾uisge na beatha ¹⁹⁾sin, ²⁷⁾agus ge be ²⁰⁾fheachus an t-uisge úd, ²⁰⁾ ní bhfuigh bás go bráth, agus ní bhiaid tart no ocras ²¹⁾ air, ²²⁾agus ní luidhíonn aois no ²³⁾urchradh ²³⁾ air, ²²⁾ acht biaidh ²⁴⁾lán d'²⁴⁾aoibhneas ²⁵⁾go síorrdadh ²⁶⁾suathain. ²⁶⁾ Agus ²⁷⁾ na ²⁸⁾h-ein ²⁸⁾ do ²⁹⁾chua-ladh ²⁹⁾ tú ³⁰⁾ag cantain cheoil, eadhon, ³⁰⁾ Aingle Neimhe iad ³¹⁾sin ³¹⁾ atá ³²⁾de ghnáth ³³⁾ag cantain cheoil agus ³²⁾³³⁾ ag moladh Dé. ³⁴⁾ Na ríghthe ³⁵⁾agus ³⁵⁾ na príonnasaidh ³⁶⁾³⁷⁾do chonnaire tú, ³⁸⁾as iad sin ³⁷⁾³⁸⁾ na ³⁹⁾bochta ³⁹⁾ ⁴⁰⁾uirisle ⁴⁰⁾ do sheachain an bealach fhairsing ionar ghabhadar ⁴¹⁾coisididhe, carbaid, ⁴²⁾eachraidhe, ⁴²⁾ agus daoine ⁴³⁾⁴⁴⁾mór-uallacha ⁴⁴⁾ ⁴⁵⁾an tsaoghail-se; ⁴³⁾ agus do ⁴⁶⁾ghlac an bealach ina raibh an uile dhochar agus ⁴⁷⁾dhoilghios; ⁴⁷⁾ maille re deirc, re trosgadh, re h-urnaighthe, agus ris an uile chrabhadh ⁴⁸⁾eile, ⁴⁹⁾le ar ghnothughadar ⁴⁹⁾ ⁵⁰⁾an choroin ⁵⁰⁾ ⁵¹⁾ghlómhar ⁵¹⁾ do chonaire tú ⁵²⁾orra ⁵²⁾ ⁵³⁾i n-eiric gach anróid ⁵⁴⁾⁵⁵⁾agus gach ⁵⁵⁾ansóigh ⁵⁵⁾ da bhfuadar: ⁵⁴⁾ ⁵⁶⁾agus biaidh ag moladh Dé agus ⁵⁷⁾an ⁵⁷⁾ amharc na Tríonoidhe, go ⁵⁸⁾suathain. Na mháighdeana ⁵⁹⁾gruadh-

¹⁾ snúadhainglidhe *L.* ²⁾ gléagal *G*; ainglidhe *F.* ³⁾ 7c added *A.* Ag siubhal leis an Uan Tróchaireach added *M.*

XXXIII. ⁴⁾ cread *G.* ⁵⁾ om. *HL.* ⁶⁾ i so *L* : i sud *G.* ⁷⁾ ata comh fogus do Iff. *H* : Agus níor shileas go raibh áit comh alainn comh taith-neamhach leis an ríoghacht Iff. *i.* Is mart an barbhúil bheir tu air na fuil air an *S. E. L.* : no ann do ríoghacht Iff. *i?* *B.* ⁸⁾ om. *L.* ⁹⁾ oir added *BG.* ¹⁰⁾ an áit so *L* : tu *G.* ¹¹⁾ amhla is dóigh leatsa *L.* ¹²⁾ acht palas agus Parrthus Neimhe é, an *G* : Oir ag súd *P. N.*, an *L* : Agus so ar an *S. E. Palas Neamhdha H.* ¹³⁾ om. *H.* ¹⁴⁾ agus a mbéidh *L.* ¹⁵⁾ na mathasa *L.* ¹⁶⁾ síorraidhe *L.* ¹⁷⁾ aoibhne *G.* ¹⁸⁾ eadhon added *GH.* ¹⁹⁾ iad added *HL.* ²⁰⁾ bhlas as é *H.* ²¹⁾ no fuacht *H.* ²²⁾ om. *G.* ²³⁾ arsaigheacht *H.* ²⁴⁾ le h- *G.* ²⁵⁾ agus d'urghaideas added *H.* ²⁶⁾ om. *GH.* ²⁷⁾ om. *L.* ²⁸⁾ eanlath *L.* ²⁹⁾ chonarc *GL.* ³⁰⁾ om. *L.*

visaged: and young children with white, pure, bright angelic faces.

XXXIII. 'My protection on thee' said Merlino. 'Tell me what is that pleasant place yonder that I see, so near the kingdom of Hell?'

'Not so' said the Spirit of Wisdom: 'far is it from the kingdom of Hell, though thou thinkest it not. This' said he 'is the Paradise of Heaven, the place where those who do the will of God are in eternal pleasure. The lovely streams yonder thou sawest are the water of Life: and whoso seeth that water shall never die, nor shall thirst nor hunger be upon him, nor the weight of age nor misery: but he shall be full of pleasure to all eternity. The birds thou heardest singing melody are the Angels of Heaven, who are ever singing melody and praising God. The kings and princes thou sawest are the poor lowly men who left the broad way wherein went the carriages, chariots, horses, and proud worldly men, and took the way wherein was every suffering and difficulty; who practised as well almsgiving, fasting, prayer, and all other devotions, by which they have earned the glorious crowns thou sawest on them, in recompense for every oppression and every misery they suffered; and they will be praising God and gazing on the Trinity for ever. The golden-haired maidens thou sawest are

³¹) sud *L.* ³²) agus do bhias *L.* ³³) om. *GH.* ³⁴) de ghnáth *L.*
³⁵) om. *L.* ³⁶) agus na daoine uaisle eile added *L.* ³⁷) om. *G.* ³⁸) ag
sud *L.* ³⁹) bochtáin *L.* ⁴⁰) om *L* : do chonarc tu *G.* ⁴¹) ar na
added *G.* ⁴²) agus na h-eachaibh *G.* ⁴³) om. *G.* ⁴⁴) mear uaisle *H*
: uaibhreacha *L.* ⁴⁵) ar *H.* ⁴⁶) gaibh go toilteanach aonteachach le na
mboachtanach le na ndochar agus le na ndoibhios, agus fós do rin trosgadh
deire agus urnaighthe, agus do ghnóthuig crabhad eile; an choroin *L.*
⁴⁷) do dholas *G.* ⁴⁸) diadha added *GH.* ⁴⁹) om. *G.* ⁵⁰) agus added *G.*
⁵¹) ghloire *H.* ⁵²) ar cheann gach aon díobh *G.* ⁵³) an a luach saothar
added *L*; atá added *G.* ⁵⁴) fuairéad *G.* ⁵⁵) om. *H.*, agus gach anfa *L.*
⁵⁶) ar an tsaoghal added *H.* ⁵⁷) ag *G.* ⁵⁸) siorruídh added *H.* ⁵⁹) grádh-
mhara *G.*, corera *H.*

chorcra⁵⁹⁾ do chonarc tú, ¹⁾eadhon¹⁾ ²⁾an drong²⁾ ³⁾nar³⁾ tru-
aileadh le ⁴⁾peacadh na⁴⁾ druisi. Agus na leinibh ⁵⁾⁶⁾ do
chonaire tu⁶⁾ ⁷⁾ar a raibh gnúisi ainglidhe, ⁸⁾eadhon⁷⁾⁸⁾ na
leinibh do⁵⁾ fuair bás tar eis a mbáistighe, agus nach dearnaidh
peacadh ariamh.'

'Is truagh'⁹⁾ ar Merlino 'nach bhfuilim¹⁰⁾ aon uair amhain
astigh annsud.'

'Ni féidir duit sin' ar an Spiorad Eolach:¹¹⁾ 'oir ni théid
aon nídh ¹²⁾isteach¹²⁾ annsud acht ¹³⁾glaine¹³⁾ agus ¹⁴⁾fiorean-
tacht.¹⁴⁾ Agus ¹⁵⁾anois¹⁵⁾ do ¹⁶⁾chonaire¹⁶⁾ tú na neithe bhí
mian leat d'fhaicsin; agus fagfad¹⁷⁾ anois thú agus beannacht.¹⁸⁾
¹⁹⁾Óir¹⁹⁾ atá tu ar an tsaoghal,²⁰⁾ agus ²¹⁾dean²¹⁾ amhail²²⁾ mar
is ²³⁾toil²³⁾ leat o so ²⁴⁾suas.²⁴⁾²⁵⁾

XXXIV. Iar sin thig²⁶⁾ ceo mór i dtimchioll Mherlino;
agus ar sgaoileadh do 'n ceo²⁷⁾ fuair é fein ²⁸⁾'na sheasamh²⁸⁾
ar an áit²⁹⁾ ina dtáinig an Spiorad Eolach chuige, ³⁰⁾eadhon
ag cómhraich an da bhealach. Agus annsin³⁰⁾ do smuain ar
³¹⁾a dhrochbheathaidh féin, agus ar³¹⁾ gach³²⁾ taisbeanadh d'a
³³⁾bhfacaídh:³³⁾ ³⁴⁾agus as e do rinne: a arm agus earradh³⁴⁾
do theilgion ³⁵⁾dé,³⁵⁾ ³⁶⁾agus imtheacht³⁶⁾ go h-áit ina raibh
teampoll ³⁷⁾³⁸⁾coisrighthe:³⁸⁾ ³⁹⁾agus³⁹⁾ do bhi ⁴⁰⁾abhann⁴⁰⁾
laimh ris an teampoll, ⁴¹⁾⁴²⁾agus theid ⁴³⁾se anns an⁴³⁾
abhann,³⁷⁾⁴²⁾ 's do leig ar a ghlúinibh⁴⁴⁾ ⁴⁵⁾innte é,⁴⁵⁾ agus do
bhí an tuisge ag eirigh⁴⁴⁾ fan ucht; agus do bhi ar an modh
sin go tráthnóna, ⁴⁶⁾agus an t-aedhear ag cur shneacht agus ag
sioc air.⁴⁶⁾ ⁴⁷⁾Agus ag⁴⁷⁾ teacht ⁴⁸⁾na h-oidhche, teid⁴⁸⁾ do 'n
teampoll ag nochtheadh a chuirp, agus ag luidhe ar an talamh⁴⁹⁾
lomnocht: ⁵⁰⁾'s⁵⁰⁾ do bhi ⁵¹⁾cian d'aimsir⁵¹⁾ ag guidhe ⁵²⁾agus
ag sgreadaigh ar Dia, no⁵²⁾ gur ⁵³⁾éisd Dia re⁵³⁾ na ghuidhe,

¹⁾ om. HL. ²⁾ na mna geanaimnaighe L. ³⁾ a G. ⁴⁾ om. G.
⁵⁾ om. G. ⁶⁾ om. H. ⁷⁾ ag sud L. ⁸⁾ om. H. ⁹⁾ sin added G.
¹⁰⁾ féin added G. ¹¹⁾ an feadh bhias colainn dhaonna ort no do thim-
chioll H; an faid bhios tu i gcolainn dhaonna G. ¹²⁾ ar bith H.
¹³⁾ glóire L. ¹⁴⁾ firinne GH. ¹⁵⁾ om. G. ¹⁶⁾ dhearc G. ¹⁷⁾ féin
added G. ¹⁸⁾ leat added GH. ¹⁹⁾ om. G. ²⁰⁾ aris added L.
²¹⁾ om. A. ²²⁾ agus added A. ²³⁾ mian GH. ²⁴⁾ suas H. ²⁵⁾ L
here inserts a long passage which will be found in an appendix to the
present edition.

XXXIV. ²⁶⁾ an t-aingioll added G. ²⁷⁾ is amhail added L. ²⁸⁾ 'na
suidhe L: ar an saoghal G. ²⁹⁾ céadna added GL. ³⁰⁾ agus G: annsin
L: agus annsin H. ³¹⁾ atharach a bheatha do ghlaca dho G: a choirtharbh

they who were uncorrupted by lustful sin: and the children thou sawest with angel-faces are they who died after baptism, and never committed any sin.'

'Alas' said Merlino 'that I am not in yonder just one hour!'

'That cannot be' said the Spirit of Wisdom 'for nothing goeth inside yonder but purity and righteousness. And now thou hast seen the things thou desiredst to see; and I shall leave thee now with a blessing: for thou art on the world, and do as thou wilt from now henceforth.'

XXXIV. Then came a deep mist around Merlino, and when it lifted he found himself standing on the place where the Spirit of Wisdom came to him, at the meeting of the two passes. Then he thought on his evil life and all the visions he had seen; and thus he did: he cast his arms and armour from him, and went to a place where was a consecrated church: and there was a river hard by the church, and he went into the river, and went down on his knees there; and the water rose to his breast, and thus he remained till evening, and the air was dropping snow and frost upon him. And when night was come he went to the church baring his body and he lay on the ground naked; and a long time was he praying and crying aloud to God, till God

fein agus ar *L.* ³²⁾ nith agus *added L.* ³³⁾ bhfuir se *G.* ³⁴⁾ *om. L.*
³⁵⁾ uaidh *H.* ³⁶⁾ do thriall *L.* ³⁷⁾ *om. G.* ³⁸⁾ Aifrionn *K:* beannaigh-
the *L.* ³⁹⁾ do theilg arm is eide dé gan moill *L.* ⁴⁰⁾ i bhfad *L.*
⁴¹⁾ sin *added L.* ⁴²⁾ *om. L.* ⁴³⁾ *om. H.* ⁴⁴⁾ an abhain do bhi laimh
leis an teampoll é féin gach lá go sruitheach an t-uisge *L.* ⁴⁵⁾ é féin *G.*
⁴⁶⁾ *om. HL:* agus an tteghear aig fheartuinn uisge agus sneachta air, sioc
agus sneachta a tuitim go minic ar leacoighratha ionar *G.* ⁴⁷⁾ *om. G.*
⁴⁸⁾ do'n hoidhche do thigheadh tarais *L.* ⁴⁹⁾ gan leaba gan eadach codhlata
acht úir na talmhan faoi a chnuis *added L.* ⁵⁰⁾ *om. L:* 's an modh *H.*
⁵¹⁾ aimsir fada *G:* timcioll cian d'aimsir air an mód sin *L.* ⁵²⁾ *om. H.*
⁵³⁾ dean Dia éisteacht *L.*

agus ¹⁾gur¹⁾ chuir²⁾ an ³⁾Spiorad³⁾ ⁴⁾ag tabhairt furtachta dho,⁴⁾ ag radh na mbriathra ⁵⁾millse⁵⁾ so leis: —

XXXV. ⁶⁾'Eirigh,⁶⁾ a Mherlino'⁶⁾ ⁷⁾ar se,⁷⁾ 'd'eisd ⁸⁾Dia⁸⁾ re d'urnaighthe: agus de bhrígh go bhfuil aithreachas⁹⁾ ort ¹⁰⁾fa¹⁰⁾ ndeara tu d'olc agus go bhfuil rún fírinneach agat gan¹¹⁾ teagbhail anns na peacaidhibh ¹²⁾ceadhna ní ¹³⁾sa¹³⁾ mhó, ¹⁴⁾do chonaircus ¹⁵⁾dochum¹²⁾ ¹⁴⁾¹⁵⁾ tróchaire do dheanamh ort. ¹⁶⁾D'aithneadh¹⁶⁾ dhíot imtheacht ¹⁷⁾¹⁸⁾ar¹⁷⁾ feadh¹⁸⁾ na bpúibleach ag teagasg agus ag foillsiughadh ann gach ¹⁹⁾ionad ina ngeabhair¹⁹⁾ ²⁰⁾na neithe²⁰⁾ do chonarcais.'

²¹⁾Is annsin²¹⁾ d'éirigh Merlino ²²⁾²³⁾²⁴⁾amhail d'aithnigh²⁴⁾ an Spiorad ²⁵⁾Eolach²⁵⁾ ²⁶⁾dhó,²⁶⁾ ²²⁾ agus do bhi ²⁷⁾ó sin amach ar feadh ²⁸⁾a bheatha²⁷⁾ ²⁹⁾'na bhuabhall²³⁾ ²⁸⁾ bhinnghlorach, ³⁰⁾ag teagasg³⁰⁾ agus ag tarraing na gcríosduidhe³¹⁾ dochum³²⁾ De Uile-chumhachtach: go bhfuair bas³³⁾ naomhltha beannaighthe, ag tabhairt glóire agus siorbhuidheachas do 'n Athair, do 'n Mac agus do 'n Spiorad Naomh.³⁴⁾ Amen. Finit.

¹⁾ do *L.* ²⁾ Dia *added G.* ³⁾ t-aingioll *here and always G.*
⁴⁾ Eolais, da ionnsuidhe ag fuisneis do go raibh furtacht agus foirthint le faghail do *L.* ⁵⁾ *om. GHL.*

XXXV. ⁶⁾ A ghrádh *M. B:* Geabhadh a *M., K:* a Mherlino, *L.*
⁷⁾ *om. G.* ⁸⁾ an tighearna *H.* ⁹⁾ fíor *added L.* ¹⁰⁾ tre a *G.* ¹¹⁾ tuitim no *added L.* ¹²⁾ go bráth arís, agus do gheall Dia *L.* ¹³⁾ bhus *G.*
¹⁴⁾ agus do gheall *Dia G.* ¹⁵⁾ do Dhía *H.* ¹⁶⁾ agus d'ordaigh [*se G*] *GL.*
¹⁷⁾ *om. AL.* ¹⁸⁾ measg *L.* ¹⁹⁾ ní *H:* [ionad agus *L*] ann gach ait

Appendix I.

The following passage is substituted for § XX, last paragraph, in *L.*

'Maiseadh' ar an dara fear, aithreachas i n-antráth ní dean maith: agus an t-am budh cóir an aithrighe a dheanamh, ní dhearnuigheas i, agus dá ndeanta, ní raibh contabhairt ar an dtrócaire. Agus is minic do chualais, agus mise leat ar an tsaoghal diombuan bréagach úd ionar thuilliomuis teacht annso, nach raibh fuasgladh as Iffrionn. Gidheadh neimhbhrígh agus fanamhaid, gáiridhe agus súgradh, do rinneamar dé. Do ghradh-

heard his prayer and sent the Spirit to give him comfort, saying these words of sweetness:

XXXV. 'Rise, Merlino' said he: 'God has heard thy prayer. And because thou hast at last repented of evil, and hast a true resolve not to fall again into the same sins, He hath promised to have mercy upon thee. He commandeth thee to go among the people, teaching and revealing in every place to which thou comest the things thou didst see.'

Then Merlino rose as the Spirit of Wisdom commanded, and from that out throughout his life his was a melodious trumpet-voice, teaching and drawing the Christians to God the Almighty: till he died a holy blessed death, giving glory and long thanksgiving to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit. Amen. Finit.

[agus an gach ionad *G*] [iona ngeabhar *L*] *LG.* ²⁰⁾ *om. H.* ²¹⁾ Annsin *L: om. H.* ²²⁾ *om. F.* ²³⁾ agus do chuaidh as sin amach i measg na bpuibleacha go *G.* ²⁴⁾ ar comhairle agus ar threoirughadh *L.* ²⁵⁾ *om. H.* ²⁶⁾ do chuir Dia chuighe do thriall roimhe *L.* ²⁷⁾ *om. H.* ²⁸⁾ na bpuibhloch go *F.* ²⁹⁾ ag imtheacht ó áit go h-áit *L.* ³⁰⁾ chumhachtaid *G.* ³¹⁾ ó shlaibhraibh an diabhail *added L.* ³²⁾ créidimh *added G.* ³³⁾ 'na dhuine *added L.* ³⁴⁾ le saoghal na saoghal *added L.*

Appendix I.

'Nay' said the second man 'repentance at the wrong time profits naught. The time when thou shouldst have repented, thou didst not: hadst thou repented there were no fear of not obtaining mercy. And thou didst often hear, in my company, on that fleeting, false world whereon we earned our coming hither, that there was no escape from Hell. However, it is contempt and derision, laughter and mirth, that we gave to it.

muir [? ghradhugheamar] an diabhal 's a mhealltóireacht, an saoghal cleasach diombhuan is aoibhneas na collann ariamh, ta ain-mhianach lán duirinneadh [do rinneadh] de luaithreadh na talmhan. Piast bhrean, dicheadfadh, conblach, bracach [? conbhaileach, bréagach] beatha, daol agus cnumh, ag sud an triur do leanamhair i gcomhairle [? i gcoinne]. Do chuireadh an diabhal daidhe agus náire orrann ar bpeacaidhe d'fhaoisdín, chum sinn do ghréamúghad dó féin [ar] an saoghal; d'ar dtarraing chum a shólás diombhuan fein an collainn; d'ar ngriosughadh chum aire tabhairt d'a bheartaibh — d'a rádh leis an súil feachaint go claon mailiseach, cóimhéad agus fáire dheanamh ar mhnaoi, ar chuid 's ar mhaoín saoghalta uile na comharsan, chum bheith rompháirteach iontar [? ionnta]; an cluas, ag eisteacht leis an monatar, ag tabhairt mí-chlú, tarcaisne, di-mheas, agus taire; an teanga, ag ithe, ageara [? ag iarraidh] agus ag cognadh feóla fuaire chách:¹⁾ an blas, ag soinnghadh [? sonnadh] beatha an chuirp: an mothughadh, ag tabhairt taithníomh agus aontadh do na drochsmaintibh an croidhe [*sic* MS.], d'a dtaltúghadh an intealacht, d'a dtreórúghadh an meabhair, d'a gcóimhéad agus d'a geuimuisg [geuimsiughadh] i geuimhne; an lámh an cos agus baill uile an chuirp 'na gcomhluadar ag cuideadh le chéile chum na n-olc, agus d'a dtabhairt doréir na toile agus antola; d'a riarughadh mar is mian le féin. Ag so na slíghthe do leanuise; níor chuiris suim 'san bpearla: eadhon, an tanam; níor iarrais is níor shaothrúighis an trócaire. An am do threigis Dia ar mhaitheas diombhuan an tsaoghail iona rabhais tamall gearr, do fuairis agus do gheabais an luach saothair 's a' tuarasdál do thuillis. 'Se sin, do [se sindeadh MS.] theilgion annso, do d' dhóigh do d' losgadh 's do d' phianadh tré saoghal na saoghal.

Appendix II.

The following passage is interpolated in *L* at the end of section XXXIII.

'Agus guidhim-si Dia do threórughadh chum aithrighe fhirinneach [thú]: agus má dheinn tú i mar is coir na bi an

¹⁾ Apparently corrupt.

We ever loved the devil and his deceit, the treacherous, fleeting world and the pleasures of the flesh, which is lustful, full(?) and was made of the dust of the earth. The serpent of life, foul, senseless, clinging(?), lying(?), the chafer and the worm, are the three we have followed together. The devil put difficulty and shame upon us of confessing our sins, that he might seize us for himself on the world; to induce us to his own fleeting pleasure of the flesh, to cause us to give heed to his words — which he says to the eye that casts evil and malicious glances, that watches and gazes at the wife, at the property and at all the worldly goods of neighbours in order to be a sharer therein: to the ear, that hearkens to the monitor speaking scandal, contempt, despite, and uncleanness: to the tongue, that eats, seeks, and chews . . . flesh: to the taste, that presses on(?) the life of the body: to the perception, that finds pleasure and agreement in the evil thoughts of the heart, to lull the intellect, to guide the memory, to be kept and recorded in the recollection: to the hand, foot and all other members of the body in general to work together for evil and to devote themselves to carry out wilfulness and lust; to regulate them in accordance with his will. These are the ways thou hast followed: thou hast put no value on the pearl: that is, the soul. Thou hast neither asked for nor earned mercy. When thou didst desert God for the fleeting good things of the world wherein thou wast a short time, thou didst get and obtain the wages of labour and the pay thou didst deserve; that is thy casting here, to be consumed and burnt and pained to all eternity.

Appendix II.

‘And I pray God to lead thee to true repentance: and if thou repent as is fitting, have no doubt that thy Saviour Jesus

ceadóchas air bíth na go nglacadh d' shlanaightheoir Iosa Crist tú go cathair na gloire, óir ní maith le Dia bás an pheacaigh.

'As é bás adeirim annso, an damnuhadh siorruighe: agus dá mbeadhais peacaidhe an domhain uile air aon peacach amháin, ní chuirfeadh Dia suas do má dheinn an aithríge. Gidheadh foirior, ata bás an chuirp suráilte 's an uail neamhshuráilte: agus fós an aithríge mhall contabhairtach go speisialta: an tan thigean galar an bháis is mo goilleas géire agus taoma an tinneis air¹⁾ an uair sin ná an aithrígh, agus fós dá fhaid do chaithiom anns na peacaidhe is lughaidhe ar suim a dtréigion é.

'Agus as é leighios bo coir do dheanamh ar sin: an tan do mhothaid²⁾ duine an t-anam creachtaighte, an lot do thasbaint do cara³⁾ an anama; is é sin an t-oide⁴⁾ faoisidine. Gidheadh, ma cuirthear an leighios air cairde, dallaidh, cnéadh an corp, dubhthaidh an lot, agus breanfaidh, liathfaidh, chum bhur ndochar. Agus is cead air aon a bhfaighthear gereidim [greim?] leigeas go bráth air: mar an gceadna do peacadh marbhthach, an tan chreachtas an tanam. Muna ndibhirthear bhur luit agus othrais ann, do b'fheidir do'n bhás teacht sul do bheadh sé leighiste, go sgarfeadh leis an gcorp é gan leighios — 'se sin an aithríge ná leórghniomh.

'Cread do dheanfar leis annsin? Glacfeadh an diabhal a sheilbh agus teilgfear le ceartbhreithiomhnas Dé [é], go h-Iffrionn úd do chonarc tú fiacsá anois, a Mherlino, gur bhfuirís an cneadh úd do leighios an anam agus le na chuir air cairde, go mbeidir ná raibh a leighios le déanamh go bráth.

'Dé bhrígh sin, a Mherlino, atá dóchas agamsa go mbearfuirse an leighios firinneach do d' chreachtaibh féin anois gan mhoill gan cháirde: agus ge go bhfuilid i bhfad air slighe, ní bhfuil contabhairt no go mbearfeadh an leighios coir gereidhim orra, an nidh guidhim-se tre thoil Dé dhuitse, agus do gach othar eile mar thú. Agus go dtugadh Dia d'a mhór grásaibh do drong slán na creachta do nochtadh mar is coir: agus má's mian leo so, do gheabhaidh congnamh.'

¹⁾ The MS. reads *orm*, which must be wrong.

²⁾ *moitheoch* MS.

³⁾ This is a conjectural emendation of my transcript which reads *do tra an anama*.

⁴⁾ *taoide* MS.

Christ will take thee to the city of Glory, for God loves not the death of a sinner.

‘And the death of which I speak is eternal perdition. And were all the sins of the world on one single sinner, God would not bring it against him, if he repent. But alas! the death of the body is certain, and the hour uncertain: further, slow repentance is especially dangerous: when the sickness of death cometh the sharpness and fits of the sickness oppress him at that time more than repentance, and also the longer he has spent in sin the shorter the time that remains to him.

And this is the remedy that it is right to apply: when a man perceives his soul scarred, to show the hurt to a confessor: confession is the foster. However, if the healing be applied with delay the wound of the body is blinded, the hurt blackened, and it festers and mortifies to your misery; and it is a hundred to one if a taste(?) of healing is obtained; and it is so with mortal sin when it scars the soul. Unless your hurts and diseases are driven out, death may come before the soul is healed, so that it sunders it from the body without healing — that is, repentance or requital.

‘What will then be done with it? The devil will take possession of it and will cast it with the righteous judgment of God into that Hell which thou sawest just now, Merlino. So thou shalt find that the wound to be healed in the soul, which thou delayedst to heal, perhaps has no healing for ever.

‘Wherefore, Merlino, I hope thou wilt apply the true healing to thine own wounds now, without delay or hesitation: and though thou art far on the way there is no fear that thou cannot apply the right healing of faith to them, which I beseech for thee by the will of God and for every other sufferer like unto thee. And may God of His great grace unite thee to the multitude who are whole, who revealed their wounds as is right to do; and if this be His will, thou shalt obtain help.’

‘Do b’fhearr liom na maitheas ar bith’ ar Merlino ‘go mbeadh air mo chumas an tracht so do chraoibhsgaoile dom’ cháirdibh agus do gach duine eile do thiocfeadh an shlighe dá má dóigh liom go gcreidfeidhdis me.’

‘Tiocfeadh leat sin do dheanamh’ ar an Spiorad Eolach ‘i mbriathradh ’s i sgríbhinn, agus atá luaidhiocht dhuit a dhéanamh: agus gach aon nach geillfeadh dhuit biaidh sin air féin chum freagra ar a shon; agus muna sabháilaigh Dia féin a anam, ní shabháilaig aon neach eile é: agus na chuirse do leis féin ar a thoille.¹⁾ Cáirde is mo bheannacht leat.’

¹⁾ Apparently corrupt.

‘Better were it than all other good’ said Merlino ‘could I tell this tale to my friends and to every other man who should come in my way, if it were certain that they would believe me.’

‘Thou shalt be able to do so’ said the Spirit of Wisdom, ‘in words and in writing, and ’tis a merit for thee to do so. And everyone who believeth thee not ’twill be incumbent upon him to answer for himself, and unless God Himself save his soul, no other shall save it [and He has not undertaken this in accordance with His will?]. Friendship and my blessing with thee.’

Jerusalem.

R. A. STEWART MACALISTER.

LA MORT VIOLENTE DE FERGUS MAC LETE.

En 1892 M. Standish Hayes O'Grady a publié et traduit dans sa *Silva Gadelica*, pages 238—252 du volume de textes, et pages 269—285 du volume de traductions, la pièce intitulée *Aidedh Fergusa*, 'Mort violente de Fergus'. Suivant ce document épique le Fergus dont il s'agit était fils de Leite, fils lui-même de Rudraige, *Fergus mac Léite mhic Rudraige*; il était roi des *clanna Rudraige*.

L'*Aidedh Fergusa*, édité ainsi par M. Standish Hayes O'Grady, nous a été conservé 1^o par le Ms. Egerton 1782 du Musée britannique, — or ce Ms. a été écrit à des dates diverses entre les années 1419 et 1517, — 2^o par deux autres manuscrits du seizième siècle.

La mort de Fergus aurait été le résultat d'un duel entre ce roi et un monstre marin, un mammifère femelle, *sinech*, une baleine probablement, dans la Dundrum Bay, qui est une sorte de pénétration de la Mer du Nord dans les côtes irlandaises, en Ulster au comté de Down; le nom irlandais de cette baie, sorte de lac, communicant avec la haute mer par un canal plus étroit, est *Loch Rudraige*, c'est-à-dire lac de Rury.

Rudraige qui se prononce Rury est le nom d'un monarque suprême d'Irlande qui aurait été grand-père de Fergus. Suivant les Annales des quatre maîtres, Rudhruighe, — c'est ainsi que ces annales écrivent le nom de Rudraige, — aurait régné de l'an du monde 4912 à l'an du monde 4981, c'est-à-dire de l'an 288 à l'an 219 avant J. C.¹⁾ La date de l'avènement de Rudraige serait

¹⁾ Suivant les quatre maîtres Jésus Christ serait né l'an du monde 5200.

suivant Keating 184 avant J. C., et ce roi, dont le nom est écrit Rudraidhe par Keating, serait mort trente ans plus tard en 154, la première date correspondant à l'an du monde 3850, la seconde à l'an du monde 3880¹⁾. Rudraige ou Rudraidhe était fils de *Sithrige*, nous disent les quatre maîtres et Keating. Telle est la doctrine irlandaise au dix-septième siècle.

Dans le document intitulé *Flathiusa Erend* nous lisons que Rudraige, fils de Sithride, était ancêtre, suivant les uns, des deux héros épiques d'Ulster Conall Cernach et Fergus mac Róig, suivant d'autres, du roi épique d'Ulster Conchobar²⁾. Les *Flathiusa Erend* attribuent à *Rudraige* soixante-dix ans de règne³⁾; comme les quatre maîtres et comme Keating, ils le mettent dans la liste des rois suprêmes d'Irlande.

Les *Flathiusa* sont, comme le Livre de Leinster, qui nous les a conservés, un document du douzième siècle. A la même date remontent les deux listes des rois d'Ulster contenues aussi dans le Livre de Leinster, p. 330, col. 1. L'une comprend ceux des rois d'Ulster qui furent en même temps rois suprêmes d'Irlande: on y trouve le nom de Rudraige. L'autre est une liste complète des rois d'Ulster à partir de Cimbaeth et jusqu'au fameux Conchobar; on y lit: Rudraige, mac Sirthi, maic Duib, 'Rudraige, fils de Sirthe, fils de Dub.' *Sirthi* est une notation moderne et défectueuse de *Sithrige*.

Le texte le plus ancien où il soit question du monarque suprême Rudraige est le poème commençant par les mots *Eriu ard inis na rig* 'Noble Irlande, île des rois' (Livre de Leinster, p. 129, col. 1, l. 16; cf. Livre de Ballymote, p. 47, col. 2, l. 18, où le nom de personne dont il s'agit est écrit *Rugraidi*). L'auteur de ce poème est Gilla Coemain, mort en 1072. Suivant Gilla Coemain, le règne de Rudraige aurait duré non pas soixante-dix, mais dix-sept ans seulement.

De Rudraige passons à son petit-fils.

Fergus mac Lete mhic Rudraige apparaît dans la liste des rois d'Ulster donnée par le Livre de Leinster, p. 330, col. 1 et 2, il y est appelé *Fergus Leta mac Rudraige*. Suivant cette liste

¹⁾ Suivant Keating Jésus Christ serait né l'an du monde 4034.

²⁾ Rudraige tra mac Sithride, senathair Conaill Cernaig maic Amairgin, ocus Fergusa maic Róig. Atherat dana araile is Conchobar mac Cathbath maic Rosa maic Rudraige. Livre de Leinster, p. 23, col. 1, lignes 1—4.

³⁾ Livre de Leinster, p. 23, col. 1, ligne 24.

il est le huitième successeur de Rudraige. De la mort de Rudraige à l'avènement de Fergus, il se serait écoulé cent dix-neuf ans:

Rudraige, *mac Sirthi, maic Duib*, LXX.
 Cormac Lathig, *mac Conchobair Mael*, XXVII.
 Mochta, *mac Murchaid*, III.
 Enna, *mac Dáire, maic Conchobair*, III.
 Eochu Salbude, *mac Lot*, XXX.
 Bresal Bodibad, *mac Rudraige*, XII.
 Congal, *mac Rudraige*, XIV.
 Factna Fathach, *mac Cais*, XXX.
 Fergus Laeta, *mac Rudraige*, XII.

De ces rois d'Ulster prédécesseurs de Fergus, deux figurent dans les annales de Tigernach, mort comme on sait, en 1088; ce sont: 1^o Mochta, *mac Murchaid* (Tigernach écrit Murchorad), qui aurait régné trois ans, comme le dit la liste, et qui aurait été contemporain de Jules César; 2^o Echu Salbude, *mac Lot* (Tigernach écrit Loch), dont le règne aurait duré trois ans au lieu de trente et aurait commencé deux ans après la mort de Jules César, c'est-à-dire l'an 42 avant notre ère: Vient ensuite, en l'an 39, Fergus qui, dit-on, livra bataille à la bête dans le Loch Rudraige et qui s'y noya après un règne de douze ans:

'Fergus, *mac Leti*, qui *confligit contra bestiam hi Loch Rudraige et ibi demersus est, regnavit in Emain annis XII*'¹⁾.

Cette légende existait déjà au dixième siècle. On la trouve dans le poème composé sur la mort des principaux héros d'Irlande par Cinaed ua Artacain qui est mort en 975: 'Fergus, fils de Lete fut un héros. Il alla au devant du monstre, ce fut un saut inepte, car ils tombèrent ensemble dans la tourbillon rouge de Rudraige,' c'est à dire de la Dundrum Bay:

Fergus, *mac Léite, ba laech,*
luid cosin m-béist, — ba bidg baeth, —
co torchratar immalle
*for fertais ruaid Rudraige*²⁾.

¹⁾ Annales de Tigernach, édition de M. Whitley Stokes, *Revue Celtique*, t. XVI, p. 403—404.

²⁾ Edition de M. Whitley Stokes, *Revue Celtique*, t. XXIII, p. 304, 318, 323, 331. Je traduis *fertais* par 'tourbillon'; cf. Whitley Stokes, *Urkeitscher Sprachschatz*, p. 273, au mot *vert*, '*drehen*', en français 'tourner'.

Le monstre marin dont il s'agit ici est un être légendaire bien connu: dans le 'Festin de Bricriu' il est tué par le héros Cúchulainn¹⁾; c'est plus anciennement le $\kappa\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$ auquel suivant Apollodore Andromède fut exposée et qui l'aurait dévorée s'il n'eût été mis à mort par Perseus²⁾; c'est l'Hydre de Lerne à laquelle Héraclès ôta la vie³⁾; c'est la Chimère, qui apparaît déjà dans la littérature homérique, et dont la terre fut délivrée par le courage de Bellérophon⁴⁾. Cet animal fantastique apparaît aussi dans la littérature hagiographique du moyen âge. Tel fut en Irlande le monstre, *péist*, qui habitait le lac de Cime, aujourd'hui Lough Hacket, comté de Galway en Connaught; il avala un guerrier d'une seule bouchée, mais ensuite saint Mochua rendit inoffensif ce terrible animal⁵⁾. Nous citerons encore le monstre effrayant *péisid*, *béisid*, qui s'était établi dans une île,⁶⁾ et qui en sortit, ne faisant désormais plus de mal à personne, grâce à l'intervention de saint Senán⁷⁾.

Comment est-on venu à imaginer le combat de la bête contre Fergus mac Lete? Voici l'origine probable de ce conte:

Le *Senchus Mór* débute par le récit d'un procès imaginaire: Un certain Cond a tué un individu nommé Echu et surnommé *Bélbuide*, c'est-à-dire 'aux lèvres jaunes' autrement dit mort, puisque au début de l'affaire il est défunt. Fergus, parent d'Echu, réclame à Cond les dommages intérêts qui sont de droit:

¹⁾ Windisch, *Irische Texte*, t. I, p. 297, 298; Ludwig Christian Stern dans la *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, t. IV, p. 173; George Henderson, *Fled Bricrend*, p. 106—109.

²⁾ Apollodore, *Bibliothèque*, l. II, c. 4, § 2—6; C. et Th. Müller, *Fragmenta historicorum graecorum*, t. I, p. 131; cf. Hygin, *Fabulae*, 64, qui traduit $\kappa\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$ par *cetum*; Decharme, *Mythologie de la Grèce antique*, 2^e édition, p. 641—642; Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, t. I, col. 344—346.

³⁾ Apollodore, *Bibliothèque*, l. II, c. 5, § 2; C. et Th. Müller, *Fragmenta historicorum graecorum*, t. I, p. 136; Hygin, *Fabulae*, 30; Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexicon*, t. I, col. 2198, 2199, 2224, 2243; Decharme, *Mythologie de la Grèce antique*, 2^e édition, p. 519.

⁴⁾ *Iliade*, VI, 179—183; Pindare, *Olympionicae*, XIII, 90; cf. Decharme, *Mythologie de la Grèce antique*, 2^e édition, p. 626, 627; Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexicon*, t. I, col. 893—895.

⁵⁾ Whitley Stokes, *Lives of saints from the Book of Lismore*, p. 140, 284.

⁶⁾ Scatterry Island, comté de Clare en Munster, Whitley Stokes, *Lives of Irish Saints from the Book of Lismore*, p. 379, au mot *Inis Cathaig*.

⁷⁾ Whitley Stokes, *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*, p. 66, 213.

En vertu d'une convention qui a fait donner à Cond le surnom de *Cétchorach* c'est-à-dire 'au premier contrat', Fergus reçoit 1^o une femme nommée Dorn qui était libre et qui est réduite en esclavage, 2^o un pâturage où il fera paître ses vaches, et en conséquence il est surnommé mangeur de pré, *Fér-glethech*. Dorn trouve que Fergus est laid, elle le lui dit. Fergus irrité la tue. La famille, *fine*, de Cond, défunt à cette date, prend les armes pour venger ce meurtre. Cette famille est représentée dans le récit du *Senchus Mór* par un personnage appelé *Finech*, mot dérivé de *fine* 'famille'. Fergus, d'abord le plus fort, tue Finech dans le Loch Rudraide. La famille de Cond répond à ce meurtre par une saisie, de trois vaches d'abord, de six ensuite; et finalement un jugement arbitral condamne Fergus à restituer à l'héritier de Cond le pâturage que le dit Fergus avait reçu en dédommagement de la mort violente d'Echu aux lèvres jaunes, *Bélbuide*.

Les glossateurs imaginèrent que Cond et Fergus étaient des personnages historiques. Ils dirent que le Cond Cétchorach du *Senchus Mór* était identique à Cond Cétchathach, qui régna sur une partie de l'Irlande au deuxième siècle de notre ère, qui suivant Tigernach fut contemporain de l'empereur romain Commode, 180—192,¹⁾ ou qui d'après les Annales des quatre maîtres serait mort en 157²⁾. Echu Bélbuide aurait été le frère de Cond Cétchathach³⁾, dont le surnom veut dire 'qui combat seul contre cent guerrier' et n'a comme sens aucun rapport avec Cétchorach 'celui qui a fait le premier contrat'.

Quant à Fergus Fér-glethech, 'mangeur de pré' les glossateurs l'identifièrent avec Fergus mac Lete, 'Fergus fils de Lete', qui aurait régné en Ulster, de l'an 39 à l'an 27 avant notre ère, qui par conséquent serait mort plus de deux siècles avant Cond Cétchathach, suivant la chronologie de Tigernach; sa mort aurait eu lieu près de deux siècles avant celle de Cond Cétchathach, si l'on adopte la chronologie des quatre maîtres. Il est impossible que Fergus mac Lete et Cond Cétchathach aient jamais pu se rencontrer en Irlande.

¹⁾ Annales de Tigernach, édition de Whitley Stokes, *Revue Celtique* t. XVII, p. 8.

²⁾ Cf. *Flathiusa* dans le Livre de Leinster, p. 24, col. 1, lignes 12, 13.

³⁾ *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Ireland*, t. I, p. 68, lignes 6—8; cf. p. 66, lignes 34—35.

Les transformations de Férglethech en mac Lete et de Cétchorach en Cétchathach ne furent pas les seules que les glossateurs firent subir au texte du *Senchus Mór*. Ils changèrent le masculin *Finech* dérivé de *fine* 'famille' en un féminin *sinech* dérivé de *sine* 'mammelle' et signifiant mammifère, probablement ici baleine femelle¹⁾.

Telle est l'origine de la légende qui fait livrer bataille par Fergus mac Lete à un monstre marin dans la Dundrum Bay.

Suivant la rédaction primitive Fergus a dans la figure un défaut, *sich*, que l'esclave Dorn lui dit et Fergus irrité tue Dorn. La rédaction publiée par M. Standish Hayes O'Grady est bien plus jolie. Fergus va prendre un bain au Loch Rudraige, il y rencontre la bête; celle-ci a un souffle si puissant qu'il met à Fergus la bouche par derrière; — Fergus ne s'en doute point, — ce n'est pas une esclave, c'est la reine elle-même qui prévient Fergus. Fergus irrité répond à la reine par une coup de poing dans la figure et lui brise une dent. La reine lui reproche cet exploit peu galant contre une femme et lui dit qu'il ferait mieux d'aller exercer la vigueur de son bras contre la bête du lac. Fergus y va, tue la bête, mais après avoir reçu d'elle des coups mortels; c'est à peine s'il a le temps de jouir de son triomphe, il expire presque aussi tôt.

¹⁾ *Sinech*, à l'accusatif et au datif *sinig*: *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, t. I, p. 68, lignes 22—23. Le mot *sinech* veut dire 'vache', p. 66, ligne 9. Voir Atkinson, *Glossary to Brehon Laws*, p. 660.

Paris.

H. D'ARBOIS DE JUBAINVILLE.

ORMESTA.

The meaning of the word *ormesta* has not yet been made out satisfactorily. It appears first in connexion with the MSS. of Orosius's 'Historiarum Libri VII. aduersus Paganos'. The oldest of these is in the library of Milan Cathedral, *D. XXIII. superior* (cited by Mommsen, 'Chron. Minor.', iii. 22, note), and it was written in or about the year 700. Another MS. which contains the word is not quite so ancient and is now at Berne, no. 160 (cited by M. Ch. Cuissard, *Revue Celtique*, 1883, v. 458). It is entitled 'Orosii presbiteri in Ormesta Mundi'. This MS., M. Cuissard points out, belonged once to the monastery of Fleury, on the Loire, and the knowledge, therefore, of the word *ormesta* may have been spread abroad in Brittany from that foundation. Be that as it may, in the Life of St. Paul of Leon, compiled by Wermonoc of Landevenec in A. D. 884, the word is used to indicate the historical work attributed to St. Gildas — 'liber ille artificiosa compositus instructione quem Ormestam Britanniae vocant'; edd. Fr. Plaine, *Analecta Bollandiana*, 1882, i. 215; and Cuissard, *u. s.*, p. 421).

In consequence of the appearance of the word in a work written by a Breton some Celtic scholars have equated it with the Welsh *gormes*, 'oppression, violence, encroachment', almost *excidium*, in short. But this equation would appear to have been suggested by the fact that the 'Ormesta Britanniae' is the 'Excidium Britanniae'. Moreover, the final syllable *-ta* has not been accounted for, and the equation has really very little to be said in its favour.

Now, among the Latin books that Leofric, bishop of Exeter from 1050 to 1072, presented to his cathedral church was a volume entitled 'liber oserii'; see 'The Leofric Missal', ed. F. E. Warren, p. xxiii. Mr. Warren says that this is probably a

mistake for Liber Orosii, and I think there can be no doubt but that he is right, and I believe the misplacement of the value of the *r*-stroke in 'oserii' indicates the direction in which we should seek the explanation of the ghostword *ormesta* applied to Orosius's book.

I give half-a-dozen instances of the misreading and misplacement of the *r*-stroke. (The symbol :: stands for 'misrepresenting'.)

arminiis [with *ii* :: *u*] for *marinus*; 'Hist. Britt.', Durham MS., *scr.* XIIth cent.; p. 152, l. 5;

curbia [with *c* :: *e*] for *Eburia* (= *Eburacum*?); Muirchu's Life of Patrick, Brussels MS., *scr.* XIIth cent.; 'Trip. Life', p. 272, note;

bdora for *Borda*, the Forth; and *durbis* for *Dubris*; 'Ravennas', p. 438, ll. 5, 18;

cair leiridoin [with *ri* :: *er*, and *d* :: *g*] for *Cair Leigerion*; 'Hist. Britt.', Dublin MS., *scr.* XIVth cent.; p. 212, l. 2. Cf. 'Legra, ceaster' in annal 918 in the Abingdon (Saxon) Chron., *B* written at the end of the Xth cent.;

βοδελια [with *ερ* :: *re*] for *Boredia*, the Forth, according to Ptolemy;

mons graupius [with *ra* :: *ar*]. This ancient crux in the 'Agricola' of Tacitus appears to me to be simply *Guparius*, *i. e.*, Cupar in Fife. Whether the IXth century MS. of the 'Agricola' recently found in a private library in Italy and about to be collated by Prof. Cesare Annibaldi will throw light upon this point I do not know.

In these words and many others like them one syllable has been misplaced before the consonant towards which the *r*-stroke may be presumed to have been originally directed; in the case of *ormesta* two syllables appear to have been misplaced. *ormesta* = *orinesta* = ^{*ori*}_{NESTA}, *i. e.*, ^{*ori*}*Nestoria* [with *N* :: *H* and *e* :: *i*] for *Historia*. Hence 'ormesta mundi' is simply a misreading of *historia mundi*.

Hornsey, Middlesex.

A. ANSCOMBE.

Corrigendum.

¹P. 334, l. 14 from the bottom, after 'as', insert *according to Dr. Mac Carthy*.

ORIGINE DE L'EMBLÈME DE L'ÎLE DE MAN.

Dans un manuscrit latin d'Auxerre¹⁾ du XIII^e siècle, se trouvent, sur le verso de la première feuille de garde, les quatre figures suivantes:



¹⁾ No. 7 du Catalogue des manuscrits des bibliothèques de France, Départements, tome VI, p. 8.

Autour des images mêmes, entre les deux cercles, se trouvent inscrites les explications suivantes:

Dans la première figure: Tr[es] pisces munit capud unum se tribus vnit.

Dans la seconde: Distribuas ita cuique suas aures ut earum
Constituas non cuique duas set queque
duarum.

Dans la troisième: Sic in communi sint aures vna quod vni
Sit sua quodque due sint quasi cuique sue.

Dans la quatrième: Est hac pictura capud unum in trina
figura.

Ces inscriptions sont en vermillon ainsi que le fond des figures I, II, III. Elles se trouvent répétées au-dessus des figures, également en vermillon, sauf celle de la quatrième figure; la première a disparu presque entièrement dans la rognure de la page.

Il n'y a là évidemment que des expressions graphiques ou des illustrations des problèmes théologiques dont le plus célèbre est celui de 'unum in tribus' ou 'unitas in trinitate', et dans lesquelles se délectait la subtilité des moines.

Or, un autre scribe a tracé sur la page en face la célèbre figure des trois jambes agenouillées qui sont l'emblème de l'île de Man. Mais tandis que dans l'écusson de l'île de Man ces jambes sont armées, elles sont nues dans la figure ci-dessous empruntée à notre manuscrit:



Au-dessus le scribe a tracé cet hexamètre:

Subtili cura sunt insimul hic tria crura.

Nul doute que l'origine de l'écusson de l'île de Man ne soit théologique ou monastique. Aux celtologues de nous dire, si l'adoption du symbole de 'l'unité dans la trinité' correspond à la part que les religieux de l'île ont prise, à une certaine époque, dans la célèbre controverse dogmatique.¹⁾

¹⁾ Cf. A. W. Moore, *A History of the Isle of Man*, p. 136—138.

Paris.

V. H. FRIEDEL.

MITTHEILUNGEN AUS IRISCHEN HANDSCHRIFTEN.

Aus dem Stowe MS. D. 4. 2.

(Fortsetzung.)

[fo. 61 b 2] Robōi rī amra for Geistedhaib .i. Cainnill a ainm 7 doriacht teidm n-adhúathmur a n-aimsir in rīgh sin gusna Geistedhaibh 7 ba hī ernail tedma tucad forro .i. neam adhbul¹⁾ i n-usci &c. *Eine mir sonst unbekannte Erzählung, in welcher ein König der Inder namens Proiss (Porus?) auftritt, den seine Frau Algdha, eine Tochter des Königs von Thracien, aus dem Reiche vertrieben hat, weil er die wunderschöne Tochter des Königs von Afrika, Tabuile mit Namen, auf der Jagd genotzüchtigt hatte. Dieser landet mit fünfzig Schiffen und giebt dem König der Geisteden den Rat, zur Abhilfe des furchtbaren Wassermangels im Lande sämtliche Priester, Druiden und Weissager den erzürnten Göttern als ein Opfer zu schlachten. Die Geschichte endet auf fo. 62 b 2.*

[fo. 64 b 2] Boui rechtaire diumsach occ rīg Alban 7 dorala gnīm n-ingnad n-indligthech dō .i. mag²⁾ boui occi 7 ar dā šesrach déac esiden, conid ed rob āil don rechtaire ar in muighe³⁾ sin i n-ōenlō 7 a būain a n-āenlō. Roharad in mag²⁾ 7 rolaad sil cruithnechta ann iarsin. Intan iarum rob āil don rechtaire būain in guirt 7 commad a n-āenlō nobenad, is annsin atconnaire cucci ōenmac leginn cona gilla &c. *Dieselbe Geschichte findet sich im Gelben Buch von Lecan, S. 212 b.*

¹⁾ adhbuil MS.

²⁾ mad MS.

³⁾ muidhe MS.

[fo. 55 b 1]

1. Dlegaidh rí¹⁾ a rīarugud doréir na légenn lebrach,
dlighit flidh²⁾ fiadhugud, ferr éstecht indá hengach.
2. Dlegair cned do cnesugud, ferr éstecht indá gáire,
dlegair leathar lesugud, lécair mór ar scáth náire.
3. Dligid idna airilliud, dligid each cenn do chuiiudh,
dligid sóethrach slániniudh, dligid fial fes ar fuiniud.
4. Dligid suitech sírglaine, dligid each sochla slúaghréim,
dligid máthair míngaire, dligid athair a úaghréir.
5. Dligit amais ænechu síth fri mnáibh bláithe binne,
dligit cléirigh cráibdechu techt fa guth clocán cilli.
6. Dligid fidh bale bláith bocc-altach³⁾ bith for or abha úaire,
dligid tonn trom toccartach dréim risna cairgi crúaidhe.
7. Dīam[b]-sa rí co rindgile, notráethp[h]ainn ulca is úatha,
nocoimétfaind m'fírinde, ní furgébaind mo thúatha.
8. Dia mbadh mé bud óctigern, nīmgébadh mīadh ná māidhem,
dogénaind⁴⁾ mo trebaire, dobéraind mo thech n-óighedh.
9. Diam[b]-sa mac féigh feramail, doghénaind gníma grádha,
snám, léim, līathroit lenam[a]il, guin, cuirces, cluiche cnáma.
10. Doghénaind⁵⁾ mór d'áibinnius, diam[b]-sa ingen find fáthach,
gním, gres, gliccus, glé-binnius, menma re múnadh máthar.
11. Fuil tréde mhīn maitighthir do curp is d'anmain ármhigh:⁶⁾
assa im cois, deoch timdibigh, almsa do char[a]it cráibthigh.
12. Fuil déde dia taithighthir, dia tic credbadh a colla,
is bec la cāch caithidir saland secda, fer soma.
13. Fuil déde mín magistir ecse⁷⁾ uagh, ecna umal,
cech athig athighthir⁸⁾ 'montē nombir co bunadh.
14. Forcha breth breth ollaman, dāna cāch co roich lugha,
lāch cach fer co forragar, forācbad uāill re cuma.
15. Cart[h]air ben ar somáine, ce doghné drūis nó dérach,
roindig serc fri somáine, seagar cach fássach férach.
16. Ferr sídh etir sochlachu, nochu slúagh nech 'na ænur,
cia and doná tochradar bēt nó bine nó bæghul?
17. Ní ba hard nó ordnidhi, ní ba súi salm gach sétach,
ní ba cendmīl muinntiri nech nach fulaing a hécnach.

¹⁾ righ MS.²⁾ filigh MS.³⁾ Eine Silbe zu viel; bale ist auszulassen.⁴⁾ dodénaind MS.⁵⁾ dodhénaind MS.⁶⁾ ármhídh MS.⁷⁾ esce MS.⁸⁾ Eine Silbe zu wenig.

18. Dimdach cách dia *bethamnus*, bid ard úasal *cach* umal,
cāin *cach* lúachair lethanglas *noco* raithter a bunad.
19. Ní cara nā *cumnighe*, noco ba rí nā riagfa,
fogeib miscais airbiri, atcota *serc* bláith-briathra.
20. Is [s]aiget i sircorthe, is gairm i n-agidh gáithi,
is *cumma ocus* míchorthe menma maisse mná báithe.
21. Banna suithe sentighe, sith[s]jelladh ruisc réil rebghlain,
briathra míne merdrighe, nī mac[h]in millit menmain.
22. Ní garit in t-imram sa dar tonnaib Torrian trilsigh,
ní marat a comarlidh ach[t] nach mairit a sinsir.
23. Ní maith cenn cen comarli, ní maith *dērgudh* cen adart,
is *ed*¹⁾ *cummas* na conaire, cách and do thigh a charat.
24. Athair find na fírinde *nocum léicfi* i ndáil cinadh
il-ló thall na dílinde tráth imrádhfes a *dliged*. Dlig.

[fo. 64 b 1]

Mairecc chuindges ní for carait minab lainn l[e]is a tabairt,
Is é déde nostá de, miscais *ocus* oirbire.

Derselbe Spruch findet sich im Buch von Fenagh (Hennessy's Ausgabe, S. 33), welches statt nostá die Lesart nosbia hat.

¹⁾ *Leg.* 's ed.

ON THE LANGUAGE OF THE ST. GALL GLOSSES.

In pp. 48—71 of this volume I dealt with the language of the Milan glosses. Here I propose to treat in a similar way the language of the third great collection of Old Irish glosses, the glosses in the St. Gall Priscian. The material will be arranged in the same order as before, so that comparison will be easy.

The Sg. codex was written in the middle of the ninth century (KZ. XXXIII, 93 n.).¹⁾ The date of the glosses themselves has been much disputed, and opinions have varied according as attention has been directed to one point or another. Thus Thurneysen, *Rev. Celt.* VI, 318, was inclined to put Sg. between Wb. and Ml., but later, KZ. XXXVII, 55, he arrived at the conclusion that it is not improbable that the language is in harmony with the date of the codex. That in some points the language of Sg. is later than the language of Ml. admits of no doubt. Such points are the reduction of final-*ae* to -*a* (p. 477), aspiration of the initial consonant in relative forms (p. 487), the use of *adrubartmar* for *asrubartmar* and the like (p. 491). But if the language of Sg. as a whole be compared with that of Ml., it will be seen that it has undergone less change; in an isolated point like the use of *forsa-* not *fora-* it seems to be more archaic than Wb.

If then Sg. appears to be both earlier and later than Ml., what is the solution of the problem? If I mistake not, the explanation is that the glosses in Sg. are not homogeneous but heterogeneous, coming from different sources and being of varying antiquity. That the activity of the Irish glossator had begun as early as the seventh century can be shewn from the glosses

¹⁾ Cf. also Traube, *O Roma nobilis* pp. 346sqq.

in their present form. Not infrequently the technical terms *briathar*, *dobriathar* are expressed by the abbreviations *breth̃*, *dobrē*, *dobreth̃*. At the time when these abbreviations came into use, the full forms must have been not *briathar*, *dobriathar* but *bréthar*, *dobréthar*; when the change of *ē* to *īa* had taken place, the abbreviations *breth̃*, *dobrē*, *dobreth̃* lived on traditionally. So then starting at the latest in the seventh century a corpus of Irish glosses gradually grew. That in the course of transmission the language was liable to suffer change is *a priori* probable; in some cases this can be demonstrated from comparison of Sg. with other Irish glosses on Priscian. Thus in 22 a 6 Sg. has *tuithlae* where Pcr. has *tuthle*, in 32 a 9 Sg. has *huataat* where Pcr. has *hotaat*, in 32 b 10 Sg. has *colchelda* where Pcr. has *cholchedde*, in 32 b 11 Sg. has *gredda* where Pcr. has *grecede*, in 150 b 2 Sg. has *hūaneut̃* where Pcr. has *honeut̃*, in 153 a 1 Sg. has *huabreth̃* where Pcr. has *ó breth̃*. The innovation, however, is not always on the side of Sg. Thus in 20 a 4 Sg. has *nephadnachte* where Pcr. has *nephathnachda*, in 31 b 4 Sg. has *doforsat in cathraig* where Pcr. has *dorosat ciuitatem* (the variants might be explained from an older form of the gloss *doforsat ciuitatem*), in 49 b 13 Sg. has *cliab* where Pcr. has *gliab*, in 93 a 1 Sg. has *foilenn* (= Pld. *foilenn*) where Pcr. has *failen*, in 151 a 3 Sg. has *écríchdae* where Pcr. has *éccrichtha*, in 157 b 2 Sg. has *inna rainne dedenche* where Pcr. has *inrainne didencha*, in 159 a Sg. has *casaldae* where Pcr. has *casalda*.

Apart from general considerations is there any specific evidence that the collection of glosses in Sg. has come from different sources? Such evidence may, I think, be got both from a comparison of the Irish glosses in Sg. with those in other MSS. of Priscian, and from an investigation of the language of Sg.

If we compare the Irish glosses in the Carlsruhe and Leyden codices and the Ambrosian fragment with those in the St. Gall codex, we find that, while each of these codices, and in particular the Carlsruhe codex, has Irish glosses peculiar to itself, a great proportion of the glosses is found also in Sg.; in the case of the Leyden codex nearly all the Irish glosses are shared by Sg. Further we perceive that no two of the other three codices have glosses common to one another which are not shared by Sg.; in fact the only gloss common to Pcr. and Pld. is *failen* Pcr. = *foilenn* Pld. These facts indicate clearly that there were different

collections of Irish glosses on Priscian, and further that different collections have been united in Sg.; on no other theory could the divergence of the other codices among themselves and their agreement with Sg. be explained. The mutual relations of the codices would probably become clearer from an examination of the Latin glosses. Professor Thurneysen, to whom I communicated my opinion of the composite character of the Sg. glosses, writes: 'Ich habe jetzt auch den Priscian von Carlsruhe hier; manche der irischen Glossen in Sg. sind nur Uebersetzungen lateinischer in Cr. Aber beide haben auch selbständige Glossen, sowohl lateinische als irische. Der Mischcharakter dieser Glossen tritt also deutlich hervor.'¹⁾

With regard to the language of Sg. I wrote in Rev. Celt. XX, 303: 'It is possible that a careful examination might detect differences in different portions of Sg.' And this is indeed the case. My investigation started with the endings *-o* and *-a* from *-i-* and *-u-*stems. These endings are, I found, distributed in different proportions in different parts of the codex.

pp. 1—40. *o* and *a* are almost equally balanced. *o*: *denmo* 2 a 7, *gotho* 3 b 1, *chéthbutho* 25 b 7, *inntsliuchto* 26 a 9, *fedo* 33 b 6, 35 b 12, *srotho* 35 b 7. *a*: *immognama* 2 b 3, *intluchta* 3 a 3, 4, 8, *nihelsa* 6 b 5, 14 a 2, *digamma* 14 a 6, *gnima*, *césta* 26 b 15, *gona* 37 b 20.

pp. 50—150. *o* is rare, *a* common. *o*: *sotho* 65 a 6, *dúlo* 76 b 7, 8, *ainmnedo* 92 a 2, *fíno* 122 a 2, *ferso* 136 a 1, 2, *chesto* 140 a 5, 140 b 4, *gnimo* 149 b 7. *a*: *hetha* 51 b 6, 64 a 9, 67 b 20,

¹⁾ By way of illustration Professor Thurneysen has kindly sent me a transcript of Sg. 149 b = Cr. 57 b with the glosses (but omitting the Greek words in the Latin text).

'St̃ tñ alia q̃^a) ŕ coniugatione motant significationem¹⁾ ut mando²⁾ mandas mando³⁾ mandis. fundo⁴⁾ fundas. fundo⁵⁾ fundis. obsero⁶⁾ obseras. obsero⁷⁾ obseris.⁸⁾ appello⁹⁾ appellas. appello¹⁰⁾ appellis. uolo¹¹⁾ uolas. uolo¹²⁾ uis. consternor¹³⁾ æsternaris. consternor¹⁴⁾ consterneris. Nam¹⁵⁾ légo légas etc. . .

a) om. Sg. 1. i. itellectū Cr. intell̃ Sg. 2. mitto Cr. i. im tréinigim Sg. 3. i. edo Cr. i. ithim Sg. 4. i. fundamentū pono Cr. fundamentum pono Sg. 5. i. dudálim Cr. dodálim Sg. 6. i. frisdúnaim Cr. fescrigim Sg. 7. i. asindiut i clandaím Cr. clandaím Sg. 8. seminas Cr. (Glosse von anderer Hand). 9. alloquor Cr. adgládur Sg. 10. eiicio Cr. inárbenim Sg. 11. follúur Sg. (Cr. ohne Glosse). 12. adcobraim Sg. (Cr. ohne Glosse). 13. i. fobothaim, Cr. fobothaim Sg. 14. fómálagar Cr. fommálagar Sg. (i foalgim von anderer hand). 15. non dico hoc non enim solum coniugationem 7 intellectum motant nerum etiam tempora . . , Cr. i. ar atá dechor naimsire hisuidib lacumscugud coib̃ ñ sic f̃dic̃ Sg.'

69 b 3, 70 a 1, *buana* 62 b 10, *réta* 70 b 6, *renda* 73 a 12, *gníma* 77 a 7, *cesta* 77 a 7, *foxlada* 78 b 3, *fersa* 101 a 2, *fedá* 121 a 1, *gníma* 140 b 4, *chesta* 142 b 1, *gníma* 142 b 1, *césta* 143 a 3, *gníma* 144 b 1, 145 b 4, 147 a 1, 148 b 13, *chesta* 148 b 14, *fersa* 148 b 15, *gníma* 148 b 18.

pp. 150—202. *o* is common, *a* rare. *o*: *gnímo* 153 a 2, 153 a 3, 154 a 4, *lino* 162 b 2, *chésto* 178 b 1, *gnímo* 178 b 1, *gnímo* 188 a 28, *immognomo* 188 b 1, *gnímo* 188 b 2, 194 b 1, *chésto* 194 b 1, *gnímo* 196 b 2, 197 a 11, *forgnúso* 198 a 4, *aitrebthado* 198 a 12, 13, *gotho* 200 a 6, *attaircedo* 200 a 11, *aitrebthado* 200 b 9, 10, *ainmnedo* 201 b 1. *a*: *dénma* 184 b 3, *intliuchta* 198 b 4.

pp. 202—210. *a* is more common. *o*: *aitrebthado* 204 a 1, 2, *ainmnedo* 209 b 11, *gnímo* 209 b 28. *a*: *forgnúsa* 203 a 2, *foxlada* 207 a 1, *chésta* 208 b 14, 209 b 28, *ainmneda* 209 b 28, *intslíuchta* 209 b 30, 210 a 5, 210 b 2.

pp. 215—216. *o* only: *ainmnedo* 215 a 9, *togarthado* 215 a 9, *gnúso* 215 a 12, *forognuso* 216 b 3.¹⁾

¹⁾ For the sake of comparison the occurrences in Wb. may be given. *o*: *betho* 1 a 3, 10 b 3, 15, 11 a 19 (*beotho*), 13 c 7, 14 b 10, 29 a 8, 31 b 18; *brátho* 25 d 20 (bis) 29 c 2; *césto* 3 d 24, 32 d 3; *colno* 3 d 1, 23, 30, 4 a 9, 6 b 4, 19 a 17, 20 c 20, 21 b 11, 22 d 13, 31 d 3; *cotulto* 25 c 12; *crochtho* 8 a 5; *cumsanto* 33 b 7; *dáno* 27 d 10; *datho* 5 c 19; *dilgotho* 2 c 17; *drognímo* 27 c 13; *dúlo* 13 b 28; *ecolso* 13 a 3, *æcilso* 22 c 11; *ferto* 12 a 9; *fesso* 14 d 31; *firinnigtho* 3 d 22; *flatho* 9 d 2, 23 d 32, 26 a 5, 10; *fochatho* 17 d 28; *foilsichtho* 12 d 15; *gnímo* 3 c 23, 6 a 8; *imrato* 3 d 5, 6; *oipretho* 3 c 14; *áisso* 29 a 13; *pectho* 3 c 14, 38, 3 d 20, 5 c 8, 19, 9 b 12, 13, 13 d 27, 14 c 19, 14 d 1, 4, 27, 21 b 4, 5, 22 b 21, 25 d 8, 26 a 4, 27 b 10, 29 a 15; *rechto* 1 d 15, 2 b 13, 26, 2 c 15, 18, 3 d 11, 4 d 11, 12, 22, 6 a 27, 7 c 19, 13 d 26, 15 a 20, 34, 19 b 12, 16, 19, 19 c 14, 19 d 11, 20 a 7, 12, 21 b 13, 24 a 7, 26 a 8, 31 b 14, 31 d 1, 4, 6; *rélto* 12 d 15; *sithichtho* 6 a 5; *spírto* 3 d 20, 12 a 11, 23 b 26; *spíruto* 9 c 30; *spíruto* 4 a 7, 12 a 17, 12 b 33, 12 d 21, 14 c 42, 20 b 16, 21 c 2, 22, 21 d 5, 24 c 13, 27 c 28, 29 d 21; *tairmchrutto* 15 b 6; *tairmthechto* 3 d 6. *a*: *anamchairtessa* 12 b 14, *bésa* 28 d 24; *betha* 15 d 9; *brátha* 23 c 29, 26 a 1, 29 a 28; *cáingníma* 20 d 16, 29 a 28; *césta* 26 d 8, 27 c 21; *comdithnatha* 14 b 11; *chrochtha* 26 d 4; *cúrsagtha* 7 d 9, 14 d 6, 26 b 23; *dánigthea* 21 c 22; *deirchóintea* 21 b 1; *dénma* 12 b 21, 31, 15 d 38; *desimrechta* 26 b 18; *dilgutha* 14 c 19, 18 b 20; *éccalsa* 7 c 8, 9 c 7, *ecolsa* 11 d 6, 12 b 18, 13 a 27; *éelutha* 11 c 11; *etarscartha* 13 c 1; *fessa* 26 d 15; *focheda* 25 a 12; *fognama* 10 c 22, 22 b 21; *gníma* 4 d 6, 6 a 11; *gnúsa* 15 a 20; *immormussa* 14 a 15, 29 a 15; *imrata* 3 d 5; *incholnigthea* 27 c 21; *lina* 9 d 5; *liussa* 13 b 6; *messa* 4 c 24; *nebhomalnatha* 14 a 15; *nerta* 31 b 11; *óisa* 8 c 3, 10 c 11, 16 d 7, 22 b 15, 17, 28 d 24; *pectha* 29 a 28, 31 c 22; *rechta* 18 c 9, 21 c 1, 27 a 24, 28 c 23; *sásta* 9 c 31; *smachta* 18 c 18; *srotha* 32 c 16; *testassa* 15 a 3, 16 a 26, 24 c 16; *trátha* 25 c 23.

An investigation of the orthography when a non-palatal consonant is followed by a palatal vowel, e. g. *cosmil* and *cosmail*, did not give an equally clear result, for the reason that no single word of the kind is common in every part of the codex, but the facts point in the same direction. Thus if we take *cosmil* and *cosmail*, we find (a) *cosmilse* 11 b 4, *cosmilius* 163 b 6, *cosmil* 188 a 13, *chosmili* 188 a 15, *cosmilius* 188 b 5, 6, *écsamil* 211 a 14, (b) *cosmail* 10 a 6, *cosmailius* 10 a 6, *cosmail* 11 a 1, 12 b 5, 6, 7, *cosmaili* 28 a 6, *cosmail* 28 a 15, 29 a 9, *cosmailius* 33 a 17, 41 b 8, *chosmaili* 47 b 5, *cosmailigeddar* 56 b 11, *cosmail* (leg. *cosmailius*) 59 a 13, *cosmailius* 71 b 6, 7, 106 b 3, *cosmail* 106 b 6, *cosmailius* 113 a 4, 138 b 8, *cosmaili* 187 b 5, *chosmailius* 198 b 2, *cosmaili* 200 a 13, 14, *cosmailius* 205 a 4, *chosmailigetar* 212 b 2, *chosmailigud* 217 a 6. With *sodin* we have (a) *sodin* 67 a 8, 182 b 1, 184 b 2, 187 a 3, 188 a 12, 198 b 6, 209 b 5, 220 b 3, (b) *sodain* 6 a 9, 6 b 11, 30 a 7, 41 b 1, 7, 65 a 2, 17, 69 a 20, 161 b 6, 187 a 2, 194 b 2, 198 b 6, 202 a 7, 213 a 2, 7. With *dilmin* we have (a) *dilmin* 163 b 4, 185 b 2, (b) *dilmain* 137 b 1, 210 b 3, 215 a 2. But this difference does not hold in every case. Thus we have always *frendairc* (= *frendircc* in Wb.) 150 b 2, 153 b 3, 5, 166 a 5, 167 a 3, 192 a 1, 197 b 4, 200 b 6, 204 a 5, 208 a 4, 211 b 7. It seems as if *i* were especially common in the pages following 180, cf. *fodil* 188 a 11, *afodim* 188 a 31, *techtid* 188 b 5, *folid* 189 a 6, *nephfodlde* 189 b 6, *uadib* 188 a 20, *anmanib* 188 a 27, *dligedib* 193 b 6, 8, *immognamib* 203 a 13.

In the case of many other linguistic phenomena a clear difference is to be seen between the early and the later part of the codex (with the exception of some of the final portion). Sometimes the boundaries cannot be fixed with accuracy owing to the scarcity of the material, sometimes they seem not to be quite the same as in the genitive in *-o* and *-a*. Thus *dd* = eclipsed *t* (p. 479) does not appear between p. 120 and p. 200, but the instances in which it might have been found between p. 120 and p. 150 are few. *anmmán* and the like (p. 482) are rare between p. 108 and p. 210; here the examples are numerous and the difference in the line of demarcation is clear. Further examples of differences in different parts of the codex will be found in the following lists. It may be noted generally that the linguistic phenomena because of which Sg. has been assigned to a late date are rare between about p. 150 and about p. 200.

From purely linguistic evidence it will hardly be possible to go beyond this rough division and to break up the collections into smaller portions of different origin. For these brief glosses stand on a different footing from a continuous text, in which there is the assurance that neighbouring words come from the same source. Moreover in many of the glosses there is nothing in their form to fix their age, and even where there seems to be something, we must remember that these glosses have been exposed to change in the course of transcription, so that the linguistic form is not a certain criterion. Perhaps some light might be thrown on the subject by the publication of the Latin glosses in the MSS. of Priscian.

Here follow what seemed to me to be the most important and distinctive phenomena in the language of the St. Gall glosses. The composite character of the glosses has made it necessary to give long lists of occurrences instead of a brief summary of the results of the investigation.

The vowels.

Non-final vowels.

ō, ūa. *ūa* is the prevalent form. I have noted the following occurrences.

(a) (*h*)*ó*: 2 a 7, 3 b 1, 3 b 19, 6 a 5, 13, 6 b 26, 7 b 18 (*ónd*), 17 b 2, 25 b 11, 27 b 17, 31 b 5, 10, 32 b 2, 33 b 2 (*ón*), 37 b 18, 21, 22, 39 b 3 (*ón*), 40 a 8, 43 a 5, 44 a 3 (*onaib*), 45 a 10, 45 a 10 (*óm*-), 50 a 1 (*ónd*), 50 a 1 (*ó[n]*-), 50 b 17, 52 b 1, 54 a 16 (*ón*), 54 a 18, 54 b 6, 56 b 1, 56 b 8 (*ondí*), 56 b 9, 59 b 13 (*óndí*), 66 a 25 (*ond*), 67 a 16 (*on*), 71 a 18, 71 b 3, 72 b 2, 74 a 2, 74 b 5, 75 a 1, 3, 5, 75 b 2, 98 a 1, 106 a 4, 114 a 5 (= *óa*), 132 a 3 (*ónd*), 149 b 1, 151 b 3, 152 b 3 (*ónd*), 154 a 1, 155 b 1 (*ondí*), 155 b 2 (*ondí*), 156 a 1 (*ondí*), 156 a 2 (*ondí*), 156 a 3 (*ondí*), 156 b 3 (*ondí*), 157 b 4, 163 a 2 (*ondí*), 170 b 2 (*ondí*), 178 a 1 (*ondí*), 181 a 3, 182 a 2 (*ondí*), 183 b 3 (*ond*), 188 b 1, 189 a 7, 191 a 1 (*ón*), 192 b 4 (*ón*), 195 b 3 (*ondí*), 196 b 2 (quinties), 197 a 2 (*óndí*), 198 a 13 (*ond*), 198 a 14, 200 a 6, 200 a 7 (*ond*), 201 b 1, 202 b 3 (*onaib*), 203 b 3, 203 b 4 (*ónd*), 207 b 2 (*ón*), 207 b 3 (*cio*), 207 b 4, 9, 209 b 10, 12, 28, 212 b 3, 213 a 10, 216 b 5, 220 a 3.

(b) (*h*)*úa*: 3 a 5, 3 b 4, 3 b 24 (*húad*-), 9 b 9, 22 b 13 (*uandí*), 25 b 12 (*ualailiu*), 27 b 15 (*húad*), 28 a 21, 29 b 10 (*huan*-), 30 a 1

(*huan-*), 30 a 5, 30 b 4 (*húatuasailcthe*), 30 b 4, 31 a 12 (*huathraib*), 32 b 2 (*huaitherrehtaighthib*), 32 b 7 (*uand*), 32 b 15 (*huam-*), 33 a 23 (*huan-*), 33 a 25, 33 b 8 (*huanaiib*), 36 b 2 (*húad*), 37 a 6, 37 b 19 (*hualailiu*), 39 a 26 (*huan-*), 39 a 31 (*huanaiib*), 40 b 15 (*huandí*), 44 a 4 (*húad*), 45 b 3, 45 b 14 (*hudlailiu*), 45 b 16 (*huandí*), 46 a 10 (*huan*), 48 a 6 (*hualailib*), 49 a 16 (*hualailiu*), 50 a 2 (*huan-*), 50 a 8 (*huandí*), 50 a 9 (*huandí*), 52 b 2, 52 b 7 (*húad*), 54 a 5 (*huandí*), 54 a 11 (*húand*), 59 a 5 (*huandí*), 59 a 10 (*huadib*), 59 a 11 (*húa-*), 61 a 23, 62 b 5, 69 b 8 (*huand*), 71 a 5 (*huandí*), 71 a 6 (*uand*), 71 a 7 (*uand*), 71 a 15 (*uandhí*), 76 b 6 (*huandí*), 77 a 7, 90 a 3, 90 b 3 (*huandí*), 90 b 8 (*huanaiib*), 91 b 2 (*huandí*), 93 a 3 (*úad*), 94 a 1 (*huandí*), 94 a 4 (*húad*), 95 b 3, 100 b 2 (*húad*), 104 b 4 (*uandí*), 104 b 5 (*húad*), 105 b 2 (*uandí*), 105 b 4 (*uándí*), 106 b 1, 129 a 1 (*uand*), 135 b 2 (*uandí*), 136 a 1, 137 b 7 (*uand*), 138 b 7 (*huandí*), 139 a 5, 6, 139 b 4 (*huan-*), 144 a 1 (*huadib*), 148 b 11 (*uan*), 149 a 5 (*huam-*), 150 a 2, 151 b 4, 153 a 1, 154 a 1, 156 a 2 (*huadib*), 156 b 1 (*uandí*), 156 b 2 (*huandí*), 157 b 3 (*hua-*), 157 b 3 (*uadi*), 162 b 1 (*hua-*), 172 a 1 (*huandí*), 181 a 8, 181 b 1 (*huandí*), 183 b 2 (*huan*), 187 b 5 (*uand*), 188 a 20 (*uadib*), 188 a 30 (*huam-*), 192 b 3 (*uam-*), 198 b 3, 199 b 11 (*huanaiib*), 208 b 5 (*huatuaisilcthecha*), 208 b 5, 209 b 12 (*uad*). *oa*: 4 b 1, 45 a 8, 129 a 1. In 32 b 6 *hunaib* should be corrected to *huanaiib*.

(a) (*h*)*óre*: 66 b 9, 197 a 2 (bis).

(b) (*h*)*úare*: 18 a 1, 26 b 2, 16, 29 b 16, 18, 38 a 1, 39 b 9, 40 b 14, 41 b 3, 45 a 9, 45 b 1, 46 b 10, 48 a 8, 12, 48 b 5, 50 a 6, 52 b 1, 64 a 11, 71 a 13, 17, 74 b 8, 117 a 1, 120 a 1, 138 a 4, 139 a 3, 140 b 2, 3, 159 a 3, 4, 163 b 7, 180 b 2, 189 b 2, 196 a 1, 197 a 11 (bis), 198 a 18, 205 a 1, 205 b 2, 208 a 4. In 209 b 10 *ua* is written over *ó*.

óg: 16 a 14 (*ógi*), 25 b 2 (*óge*), 52 a 9, 59 b 10 (*ógai*), 73 b 2 (*hógi*), 75 a 5 (*ógaib*), 75 b 2 (*ogaib*), 75 b 3, 98 a 1 (*ógaib*), 98 a 2, 157 b 4 (*ogaib*), 157 b 5, 6.

(a) (*h*)*óthad*: 41 a 8, 49 a 14 (*óthatnat*), 56 b 3, 66 b 9, 92 b 2, 163 b 6, 198 a 22, 198 b 3, 203 b 9.

(b) (*h*)*úathad*: 38 b 1 (*huatigud*), 51 b 11, 71 b 3, 71 b 12 (*huathati*), 71 b 15, 72 a 1, 4, 90 b 2, 95 b 3, 137 b 2, 162 a 6, 186 a 2 (*uathataib*).

Further examples of *ō* are *óigthidi* 186 b 1, *trogán* 48 a 11, *lochairnn* 24 a 16 (but *luacharnn* 47 a 9), *bóchaill* 58 b 6, *adcóidemmar* 43 a 6, *docoid* 217 b 16.

Sg. has *ūa* in *sluag* 20 b 1, *luach* 41 b 6, *tuag* 107 b 1, *huabéla* 7 b 15, (*h*)*uas* 17 b 1, 3, 40 b 16, 68 b 3. In the remaining instances there is no difference between the usage of Sg. and that of Wb.

ē, īa. *ē* appears in the borrowed *best* 37 b 6, and always in *séns*. Note also *niernetargnu* = *ní iarn-* 197 b 10. The preposition *ré n-* is *ré n-*, not *ría n-*. *breth̃, dobrẽ, dobreth̃* are often used for *briathar, dobriathar* etc. e. g. 27 a 18, 39 a 26, 71 b 6, 8, 12, 162 a 6, 188 a 18, 189 a 9. Here we have a traditional abbreviation dating from a time when *ē* had not yet become *īa*.

e = *i*: *tinfeith* 9 a 13.

i = *iu*: *bith* 3 b 24, 40 b 9, 12, 78 a 1, but *biuth* 148 a 1, 7, 192 b 2. By *giugran* 64 b 1 we find *gigrann* 36 a 5.

In 31 b 21 *diles* for *dilius* is remarkable and in 5 a 11 *re n-airec* for *ré n-airiuc*.

Sg. has *immalle* 40 b 8, 189 b 5, 198 a 2, *immenetor* 28 a 10, *cenmathá* 56 b 13, 71 b 17, but *cenmithá* 58 b 7, 65 a 11, 150 b 3, 179 b 2, 200 a 2, 202 a 1, 211 a 2.

Final vowels.

In Sg. *-ae -ai* are prevalently written after a non-palatal consonant, where Wb. has usually *-e, -i*. But I have made no investigation of the proportion of *-ae, -ai* to *-e, -i* in different portions of the codex.

Sometimes *-æ, -ae* appears for *-e* after a palatal consonant: *huilæ* 25 b 7, *óencheillæ* 27 b 3, *idaltaigæ* 66 a 19, *deirbbæ* 66 b 15.

-a = *-ae*: *timmorta* 3 b 5, *cóica* 4 a 5, *-denta* 9 b 2, *medónda* 10 a 2, *choibedna* 11 a 1, *coibnesta* 11 b 5, *cara* 12 b 7, *immchenda* 14 b 3, *arabda* (with *de* written above in another hand) 16 a 7, *accomolta* 18 a 1, *gredda* 19 b 3, *cenéla* 22 b 10, *anmma* 30 a 2, *octauienda* 31 a 3, *inachda* 31 a 13, *eolensta* 31 b 18, *riagolda* 31 b 21, *colchelda* 32 b 10, *gredda* 32 b 11, *ciclasta* 32 b 12, *troianda* 32 b 13, *sechta* 33 a 27, *cumma* 34 a 5, *finda* 35 a 12, *húrdá* 35 b 3, *rangabalda* 39 a 5, *cúimrechta* 39 b 13, *riagolda* 40 b 2, *airdíxa* 44 b 1, *fergnia* 52 a 10, *rígda* 52 b 9, *tiagta* 54 b 6, *dalta* 55 b 12, *airdíxa* 56 b 4, *troiánda* 57 a 15, *etarscartha* 61 a 6, *digbala* 63 b 5, *dorónta* 65 a 1, *arsata* 65 a 16, *masculinda* 66 b 10, *derba* 66 b 14, *riagolda* 66 b 14, *cruithnechta* 66 b 24, *lia* 67 b 12, *sechta* 67 b 21, *lia* 69 a 19, *chétna* 71 b 12, *cétna* 72 b 5, 73 a 15, 75 b 6, *etarscartha* 75 b 5, *rangabala* 88 a 3, *airdíxa* 92 a 3, *riagolda* 93 b 5,

airdixa 103 a 2, 109 a 5, *dechenda* 113 b 4, *imda* 125 a 5, *eperta* 137 b 9, *anma* 149 a 2, *dana* 156 b 4, *chetna* 157 b 3, *coibnesta* 159 a 3, *etarscartha* 159 a 3, *cobnesta* 162 b 2, *cétna* 168 b 1, *erchra* 169 b 2, *arista* 184 b 3, *airdixa* 187 a 1, *aicneta* 188 a 13, *adrochomolta* 188 a 16, *cétna* 191 a 2, *gredda* 192 b 5, *trabda* 192 b 6, *ranngabála* 193 b 2, *cétna netargna* 197 b 10, *cétna* 198 a 2, 3, 199 b 10, *anmma* 200 a 9, *cétna* 203 b 9, *etarcerta* 207 b 9, *eperta gredda* 207 b 9, *-árbara* 209 b 30, *asbera-su* 209 b 30, *accomolta* 212 a 6, *asbertha* 217 b 15.

-a = -ai: *chetna* 18 b 2.

-ai = -ae: *cumachtai* 3 b 21. Cf. *carthi* 148 a 2, which should translate *amatus*, and *timmarti* 187 a 2, which should signify *correptus* rather than *corripiendus*.

-ae = -ai: *cétnæ* 76 b 4.

In 26 a 5 the adverbial *ind immdae* is peculiar; cf. *in made* Wb. 19 b 10.

-o = -u: *forbo* 151 a 2, *ranndato* 203 b 4, *etarrogo* 205 b 1.

-i = -e: *neimi* 139 b 6.

-ea = ia: *día* 'god' is commonly written *dea*: *bāndea* 53 a 14, 60 a 4, 66 b 24, *isin dea* 161 b 11, *innandea* 162 a 3, *in dea* 162 a 4, but *dia* 65 a 1. In 29 a 7 *bāndea* appears as the genitive.

For *ea* as a stage in the development of *e* see Thurneysen CZ. I, 348, III, 53.

Lengthening of vowels.

The mark of length may be noted in *bāndæ* 53 b 1, *réchtaigim* 60 b 16, *érchintiu* 152 a 4, *úrphaisiu* 100 a 4, *úrfuisin* 100 a 5. The borrowed *carachtar* is written *cácarachtar* in 3 b 27, 9 a 19, 22, 26 a 14. In the case of *ligim* 176 a 1 it is doubtful whether there is really a mark of length; if *ligim* be right, it may be compared with *dlíged* Wb. 10 d 16, cf. Pedersen, *Aspirationen* 83.

The consonants.

g, d, b = Mod. Ir. *g, d, b*.

The only instance which I have noted is *cumdach* 148 a 3. In accordance with the frequent custom in this codex of expressing the unaspirated media by a double consonant we find *caebb* 6 b 15, *abbgitir* 23 b 5, 24 a 10, *cumddubartaig* 104 a 2 (by *cumtubart* 99 a 2), *meirddrech* 113 a 2 (by *mertrech* 68 b 9), *obbad* 90 a 2.

Eclipsis.

c > g: *dofuasailgther* 71 a 19, *ersolgud* 107 a 3.

t > d: *coimdig* (= **com-en-t*?) 198 a 6 (by *comtigiū* 127 b 2, *coimddigiū* 92 b 2), *conducad* 17 a 5, *conducthar* 200 b 13, *ɔdartin* 209 b 26, *ɔndárbastar* 211 a 10. Here, however, *dd* is much more frequent: *gairddi* 5 a 14, *bindigeddar* 10 a 9, *forcomaidder* 11 a 2, *toimdden* 26 b 7, *remisuidigddis* 28 a 9, *doformagddar* 28 b 18, *-dirrudigeddar* 33 a 23, *ɔndelygaddar* 39 a 11, *dechrigeddar* 46 a 9, *cosmailigeddar* 56 b 11, *arcoimddim* 59 a 15, *diddith* 60 b 19, *coimddigiū* 92 b 2, *tiagdde* 104 b 1, 119 a 2, 120 a 1, *foilsigdde* 200 b 6, *adcuireddar* 202 b 3.

By the side of *dd t* is frequent. It will be observed that in a considerable portion of the codex there are no examples of *dd*. In part this may be the result of chance. Between p. 121 and p. 148 the instances in which this change might have taken place are few.

Assimilation of consonants.

Of assimilation of *ln > ll* there is no instance. Note on the contrary *comalne* (= Mid. Ir. *comaille*) 110 b 2, *druálnide* 163 b 7, *druailnide* 202 b 3. For *ln*, however, *ld* appears in the loan words *príd kalde* 220 a 1, *chaldigud* 181 a 9.

nd > nn: *masculinni* 67 a 17; *ansom* = *andsom* 151 a 4.

masculinni is followed in the same sentence by *linni*. Did the scribe's eye wander? How much weight is to be laid on *ansom* is doubtful. On *fin* = *find* 35 b 2 cf. Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus II, 89, note b.

Note *doindnaich* 27 b 12, *tindnacul* 27 b 14, 17, 209 b 24. In 188 a 26 *ind* seems to be written for *inn*. In *inárbenim* 146 b 10 pretonic *nd* is reduced to *n*.

Singling and doubling of consonants.**l.**

Except in one special case final *l* for *ll* is rare: *chial* 146 a 1, *lanchial* 151 b 1, *ilchial* 154 a 1, *in dí cheilse* 209 b 29 (*ciall* and *céill* are frequent); *ail* 162 a 1, 179 a 6, *allail* 209 b 10. The exception is *díall*; in this word *ll* appears regularly after a non-palatal vowel: *díall* 4 b 2, 5, 27 a 9, 14, 53 b 3, 74 b 5, 6, 7, 75 a 1, 3, 93 b 2, 98 a 2, 158 b 6, *diull* 27 a 7, 75 a 6, 90 b 1, 2, 106 a 20, 204 b 7 (but *diul* 97 b 1); *l* after a palatal vowel: *diil* 50 b 17, 77 b 2, 91 b 4, 100 a 9, 104 b 1, 107 a 2, 111 b 2, 187 b 1, 2 (but *diill* 31 b 12).

Doubling of pretonic unaspirated *l*: *fullugaimm* 22 b 4, *rollámar* 171 b 1. In 66 b 23 *conrothinoll* is for *conrothinól*.

r.

Reduction of *rr* in an unaccented syllable, (a) before the accent: *arícht* 197 a 11, (b) after the accent: *aitherechtaighthib* 32 b 14, *echtarecht* 217 b 16.

Doubling of pretonic unaspirated *r*: *dorruairthetar* 18 a 6, *dorrochuirestar* (with the first *r* written over the line) 184 a 2, *dorrignis* 217 a 5.

Doubling of *r* before a consonant: *foirree* 67 b 9.

In *di-sruthaig-*, coined to express *deriuare*, the orthography varies in different parts of the codex: *-dirrudigeddar* 33 a 23, *dirruidiguth* 53 a 11, *dirruidigthe* 56 b 10, 59 b 12, 61 a 1; *diruidigud* 36 b 1, 188 a 4, *diruidigthe* 188 a 12, 13, 16; etymologically *disruthaigedar* 198 b 3; *dirsuidigud* 188 a 4, 8. In 8 b 2 *diaruidigthe* is a scribal error. In 51 a 4 much stress cannot be laid on the abbreviation *dir* against the *rr* which prevails in this part of the codex.

m.

Reduction of *mm* to *m*. Of reduction of *mm* to *m* between vowels in the interior of a word I have noted no instance; before a consonant *mm* has become *m* in *tromchride* 65 b 2. Final *mm* has become *m* in an accented syllable after a long vowel in *béim* 63 a 15, 138 a 7, after a short vowel in *leim* 209 b 30; in an unaccented final syllable in *digaim* 5 b 7, 7 b 17, 18, *digam* 17 a 3 a, *digaim* 17 a 5, 209 b 8, *eclim* 17 a 6. In the dat. sg. *anmmaim* 30 b 4, 35 b 7, 71 a 7, 93 a 2, 104 b 5, 187 b 5, 211 a 11 (*anmmaimm* 27 a 1, 31 b 21, 50 a 1, 54 b 3, 200 a 7, 200 b 10), *togarmim* 207 b 5.

Doubling of *m*.

In some instances Sg. shews *mm* (by *m*) where *m* prevails in Wb.

(a) In the 1. sg. pres. ind. act. in Wb. *-im* is more common than *-imm*, cf. Pedersen, *Aspirationen* 102 sq. In Sg. *-imm* is confined almost entirely to the earlier part of the codex. *-imm*: *athrigimm* 11 b 7, *dofuibnimm* 12 a 1, 22 a 10, *oirdnimm* 22 b 2, *fullugaimm* 22 b 4, *cosecraimm* 24 a 5, *dogáithaimm* 24 a 7, *deme-cimm* 39 b 1, *dudúrgimm* 54 a 3, *cumachtaigimm* 54 a 7, *aslenaimm* 54 a 8, *dotúrgimm* 60 b 10, *doaurchanaimm* 60 b 12, further *fol-caimm* 146 b 3, *goithimm* 190 b 3. *-im*: *arcelim* 9 a 7, *fliuchaigim* 10 b 3, *braigim* 11 a 3, *taortaim* 15 a 3, *cumeigim* 16 b 9, *dainnignigim* 19 a 6, *ualligim* 22 b 2, *todúrgim* 24 a 2, *dogáithaim* 24 a 11, *cumachtaigim* 39 b 2, *cuiligim* 53 a 18, *trisgataim* 54 a 1, *bruth-naigim* 54 b 7, *baethaigim* 56 b 5, 6, *melim* 57 a 2, *arcoimddim* 59 a 15,

réchtaigim 60 b 16, *cosecraim* 138 a 13, *intonnaigim* 144 a 2, *adcuindminim* 144 a 3, *gaigim* 144 b 2, *dlgenaigim* 145 a 1, *fillim* 145 a 1, *atóibim* 145 a 2, *folcuim* 145 a 3, *dogáithim* 145 a 5, *arbiathim* 145 a 6, *arachrinim* 145 b 1, *doscéulaim* 145 b 2, *dofuislim* 146 b 1, *intrénigim* 146 b 4, *ithim* 146 b 5, *dodálim* 146 b 6, *fescrigim* 146 b 7, *clandaím* 146 b 8, *inárbenim* 146 b 10, *adcobraim* 146 b 12, *fobothaim* 146 b 13, *foalgim* 146 b 14, *trebaraigim* 146 b 16, *asagninaim* 146 b 16, *imradim* 155 b 3, *doerdechtim* 155 b 4, *foacanim* 167 a 2, *sercim* 173 a 1, *aslennim* 173 a 4, *fosligim* 173 a 7, *dolinim* 173 b 1, *mùinigim* 174 a 2, *ligim* 176 a 1, *dechrigim* 177 b 1, *gloidim* 181 b 2, *dofuismim* 182 b 2, *fosligim* 183 a 1, *failligim* 183 b 1, *srennim* 185 a 1, *coimchldám* 186 a 1, *saillim* 187 a 5, *gortigim* 187 a 6, *-airmim* 205 a 2, *saigim* 217 a 3.

(b) In 1. pl. deponent *mm* appears not only after a vowel *dorochuirsemmar* 6 b 18, *rocruthaigsemmar* 9 a 22, *fitemmar* 32 b 5, *adcóidemmar* 43 a 6, but also after a consonant *asrubartmmar* 55 b 5, *cosmiligmmar* 211 a 14 (but *-arroétmar* 16 a 8, *asrubartmar* 188 a 29, cf. 197 b 16).

(c) In Wb. *imb-* before a following consonant appears regularly as *im-*. In Sg. for the most part *imm-* is found in the earlier portion *im-* in the later. *imm-*: *doimmthastar* 3 a 3, *timmthastaib* 6 a 17, *immgabáil* 8 b 11, *immchenda* 14 b 3, *immdae* 26 a 5, *immchomarc* 30 a 9, *immcaisiu* 54 a 6, *fotimmthiris* 54 a 17, *immgabthach* 59 a 12, *immgabail* 59 a 13, *immaimmgai* 59 a 13, *coimmchlód* 62 a 4, *immdénom* 70 a 15, *fotimmdiríut* 185 b 3, *immchomairsnech* 203 a 19, *immdogod* 216 b 3. *im-*: *imchlód* 31 b 12, *timdirecht* 35 a 2, *immgabaim* 50 b 8, *coimthechtid* 66 a 13, *imda* 125 a 5, *imdibenar* 143 b 4, *imchomaire* 157 b 7, *imlebor* 159 a 6, *imdugud* 167 a 1, *imthánad* 181 a 6, *fotimdiris* 185 b 7, *coimchldám* 186 a 1, *imdu* 198 a 4, *imcabáil* 203 a 8 (bis), *coimthecht* 208 b 5, *adchoimchladach* 209 b 12.

In the following instances original single *m* has been doubled.

(a) Pretonic *m*: *ammuntar* 32 b 6; *fommdlagar* 146 b 14, *nand mmáa* 150 b 1, *as mmé* 202 a 7.

Sg. 25 b 16 has *cemét* as in Wb.

(b) Before *s*. The doubling here is rare: *aimmserad* 5 a 10, *caimmse* 23 b 4, *aimmser* 25 b 16, *aimmserda* 32 a 8. In *aimmsid* (: *ammus*) 49 b 8 an original *mm* is kept before *s*.

(c) After *r*, rare: *in tairmmthechtas* 7 b 5, *doformmagddar* 28 b 18, *tharmmoreuib* 43 a 5, *tairmmorcinn* 45 b 19, *tairmmorcinn* 62 a 3, *tairmmorcenn* 166 a 1, *tairmmoirē* 166 a 2, *airmm* 70 b 13.

(d) After *n*. Here doubling is common in some parts of the codex, rare in others. The distribution may be illustrated from *ainm* and its derivatives.

pp. 1—50. Both *mm* and *m* are frequent, but *mm* is much more common. *mm*: *deainmmnichdechaib* 2 b 1, *ainmmnichthe* 4 b 4, *anmmae* 4 b 7, *ainmm* 5 a 10, *anmmann* 6 a 6, *ainmm* 6 a 7, *ainmmnidi* 7 b 2, *ainmm* 14 a 6, *anmma* 26 b 11, *ainmm* 26 b 12, *anmmaimm* 27 a 1, *anmmae* 27 a 6, *ainmm* 28 a 7, *anmmann* 28 b 4, *anmmandu* 28 b 9, *anmmann* 28 b 18, *anmmannaib* 28 b 18, *anmmann* 29 a 2 (bis), *ainmmnechthecha* 29 a 9, *déainmmneichthech* 29 b 2, *anmmann* 29 b 8, *anmma* 30 a 2, *deainmmnichthi* 30 a 6, *anmmaim* 30 b 4, *ainmm* 30 b 8, *anmmae* 30 b 16, *deainmmnichthi* 31 a 5, *ainmm* 31 a 6, *anmmann* 31 a 7, *ainmm* 31 b 21, *anmmaim* 35 b 7, *ainmmidi* 39 a 1, 26, *anmmann* 39 b 7, 41 b 11, *ainmmidib* 43 a 5, *anmmann* 45 b 9, *-ainmmnigthae* 50 a 2, *ainmmnigud* 50 a 19, *anmmannaib* 50 b 17. *m*: *anmanuib* 6 b 17, *ainm* 6 b 27, 7 b 19, *ainmnid* 20 b 9, *ainm* 26 b 5, *anmann* 27 a 9, *ainm* 28 a 5, *anmann* 28 b 3, *anman* 28 b 17, *conainmmnichdecha* 29 a 12, *-ainmnigther* 29 b 10, *-ainmnichfide* 30 a 1, *ainmnigud* 30 a 5, *roainmmnichthe* 31 a 5, *anmimm* 31 b 21, *anmann* 32 b 9, 35 b 13, *anmanuib* 37 a 6, *ainmidi* 39 a 4, *ainmde* 41 b 4, *anmimm* 50 a 1.

pp. 51—64. *mm* only: *anmmann* 51 b 10, *anmmaimm* 54 b 3, *déainmmnichthecha* 54 b 6, *ainmmnid* 55 a 2, *ainmmidiu* 56 b 1, *ainmm* 56 b 10, *ainmmnidi* 57 b 6, *anmmann* 59 a 11, *ainmmnigud* 59 b 18, *anmmann* 61 b 3 (bis), *ainmm* 61 b 15, *ainmm* 64 a 1a, *ainmmnid* 64 a 4.

pp. 66—106. *mm* and *m* are almost evenly balanced. *mm*: *ainmm* 65 a 3, 69 a 13, 16, *anmmaim* 71 a 7, *ainmm* 71 b 5, *anmmannaib* 71 b 10, 72 a 8, *ainmmnid* 92 b 4, 93 b 5, *ainmm* 104 b 3, *anmmaim* 104 b 4 (bis), *ainmmnichthecha* 106 b 6. *m*: *ainm* 65 b 4, *anmannaib* 66 a 20, *ainmnid* 71 a 9, 12, *ainm* 73 a 12, *ainmnid* 76 b 1, 4, *ainmnigud* 76 b 7, 77 a 5, *ainmnid* 90 b 2, *anmaim* 93 a 2, *ainm* 95 a 1, *ainmnid* 95 b 3, *roainmnigthe* 106 b 16.

pp. 108—210. *mm* is rare (most frequent on p. 200), *m* common. *mm*: *anmmann* 154 b 2, 156 b 4, *ainmm* 174 a 1, *anmmaim* 187 b 5, *anmmann* 190 b 1, *anmme* 193 b 4, *ainmm* 197 a 2, *anmmae* 200 a 2, *anmmaimm* 200 a 7, *anmma* 200 a 9, *anmmaimm* 200 b 10,

anmnæ 204 a 7, 208 a 6. *m*: *anmanaib* 108 a 3, *ainmnid* 114 b 2, *anman* 119 a 2, *ainmnid* 135 b 1, 138 a 1, *ainm* 147 b 2, *anma* 149 a 2, *ai[n]mnigud* 154 a 1, *ainm* 154 a 2, 156 b 6, 159 a 2, 187 b 1, 2, 188 a 22, *anmanaib* 188 a 27, *anman* 188 a 29, 188 b 3, *aiim* 189 a 9, *ainmnidi* 189 a 10, *anmann* 189 b 4, *anmanaib* 190 b 5, *anman* 194 b 2, *anme* 197 a 1, *ainm* 197 a 1, 197 b 2, *ainmnigthe* 197 b 10, *anmæ* 198 a 9, *ainm* 198 a 11, *anman* 198 a 20, 198 b 2, 200 b 5, *anmæ* 200 b 10, *ainm* 200 b 10, *ainmnidib* 201 a 5, *ainmnedo* 201 b 1, *ainmnid* 201 b 5, 18, 202 a 1, *anman* 203 b 6, *ainmnid* 206 b 1, 207 a 6, 207 b 3, 208 b 1, *ainmnidi* 209 b 3 a, *ainmnid* 209 b 6, *ainmnedo* 209 b 11, 28, *ainmnid* 210 a 10.

pp. 211—216. *mm* is slightly more frequent. *mm*: *anmmaim* 211 a 11, *anmme* 211 b 4, 6, 215 a 9, *ainmm* 215 a 12, *anmman* 216 a 1. *m*: *ainm* 211 a 8, *anman* 212 b 9, *ainm* 213 a 15, *ainmnichthæ* 215 a 9, *ainmnedo* 215 a 9.

n.

nn > *n*.

(a) In an accented syllable before a vowel: *raïne* 25 b 13; final *dún* 151 b 7 (*dúnni* 31 b 17, 207 b 11).

(b) In an unaccented syllable: *coitchen* 28 a 20, 29 a 6, 33 a 10, 50 a 3, 196 b 2, 198 a 14, 199 b 8, 200 a 11, 13, 211 a 5, *coitchena* 5 a 12, 10 a 1, 65 a 11, 72 a 2, 215 a 1, *coitchenas* 208 b 9 (*coitchenna* 190 b 1, *coitchennas* 203 a 16, also before a consonant *choitchennsa* 203 a 15); *giugran* 64 b 1 (*gigrann* 36 a 5); *doinscana* 6 a 4, *intinnscana* 136 a 1, *-tinscana* 157 b 3, 162 b 1 (*nn*-frequent); *tairmorcién* (sic) 65 b 9, *tarmorcín* 202 b 5 (*nn*-frequent); *foirciún* 213 a 13.

inonn appears in the following forms: *issinunn* 75 b 5, *sinunn* 76 a 3, *sinonn* 189 b 2, *hinunn* 56 b 8, 72 a 4, 76 b 5, 144 b 1, 188 a 7 (ter), 12; *hinonn* 61 a 16, 111 a 3, 143 a 6, 188 a 11, 190 a 5; *hinun* 188 a 6; *imun* 188 a 6; *hinon* 208 b 11; *innon* 203 b 9.

Final *nn* for *n*.

(a) After a vowel (only non-palatal *n*): *an(m)mann* 6 a 6, 28 b 18, 29 b 8, 31 a 7, 32 b 9, 35 b 13 (*anmann*), 39 b 7, 41 b 7, 11, 51 b 10, 59 a 11, 61 b 3, 189 b 4; (*an[m]man* 28 b 17, 29 a 2, 45 b 9, 119 a 2, 154 b 2, 156 b 4, 188 a 29, 188 b 3, 194 b 2, 198 a 20, 198 b 2, 200 b 5, 203 b 6, 212 b 9, 216 a 1, 220 b 9, 10); with extension to the interior *anmannaiib* 66 a 20 (but *anm[m]anaib* 6 b 17, 28 b 18, 37 a 6, 54 b 6, 71 b 10, 72 a 4, 108 a 3, 188 a 27, 190 b 5); *cucann* 49 b 15 (*cucan* 68 a 12, 107 b 4); *menmmann* 59 b 16 (*menmman*

178 b 3); *mulenn* 49 b 15. In *persan* *nn* is not found: *persan* 138 a 1, 143 a 6, 157 b 3, 189 a 9, 189 b 2, 190 a 5, 191 a 2, 198 b 11, 199 b 10, 208 b 5, 12, 220 a 8, 9; *persana* 197 a 13, *persanaib* 208 a 9, 11; the reason is that the word happens not to occur in that part of the codex in which such doubling is common.

(b) After *r*: *cilornn* 49 a 1 a, *iffirn* 41 b 12, 53 b 1, *lochairnn* 24 a 16, *luacharnn* 47 a 9; in the interior *airnne* 49 b 17.

Pretonic *nn* for *n*: *frinna* 45 a 16.

Miscellaneous instances: *aslennim* 173 a 4, *chonnso* 59 b 11, *inntsluichto* 26 a 9.

s.

(a) *ss*, *s* in a final accented syllable after a short vowel.
ss: *leiss* 12 b 7, 29 b 12, 13, 19, 33 a 1. 4, 39 a 29, 46 a 15, 61 a 16, 71 b 14, 93 b 8, 148 a 3, *deiss* 17 b 2, *friss* 30 b 4, 39 a 8, 63 a 17, *ness* 36 a 9, *fiss* 33 a 26, *driss* 47 a 8, *less* 67 a 14, *less* 208 a 6, 209 b 28, *andess* 67 b 22, *dubglass* 70 b 12, *piss* 73 a 6, *ass* 148 b 13, 14, *mess* 188 a 19. *s*: *leis* 111 a 3, 202 a 7, *lais* 153 b 7, *fis* 2 a 2, *fius* 209 a 6, 209 b 26, *as* 12 a 3, 136 a 2, 166 a 3, *fris* 30 b 5, 76 b 2, 211 a 8, *dris* 65 a 10, *lius* 106 b 14, *glas* 183 b 2, *les* 198 b 6.

(b) *ss*, *s* in a non-final accented syllable after a short vowel.
ss: *incoissig* 9 a 14, *leissem* 10 a 11, 28 a 18, *lessem* 77 b 6, *laissem* 149 b 4, *fossad* 13 a 5, *assa* 22 b 9, *messa* 42 b 4, *fissith* 52 a 2, 90 a 8, *huisse* 59 b 4, 197 a 11, *essib* 71 a 13, *eissib* 190 a 1, *eissi* 196 b 2, *tossach* 106 b 7, so 203 a 22, 210 a 8. *s*: *lesom* 5 a 10, 162 b 3, *laisem* 158 b 6, *sosuth* 7 a 3, *tosach* 7 a 14, so 3 b 26, 21 b 7, 65 a 3, 202 b 8, 213 a 10, *inchoisig* 9 a 12, so 61 a 4, 71 a 2, 198 a 3, 208 a 9, *indosa* 14 b 2, 159 b 5, *cosaib* 33 b 8, *glasán* 49 b 1, *braisech* 49 b 20, *esartaid* 50 a 22, *esib* 51 b 11, *posit* 45 a 2 and always, *huise* 59 b 5, 6, *dofuisim* 61 a 2, 64 a 14, *dofuisemar* 61 a 2, *esorcuin* 67 a 10, *glasen* 69 a 28, *ase* 104 b 4, *asu* 187 a 3, *desimrecht* 100 a 7, *fosisetar* 140 a 2, *rafesed* 148 a 6, *tuisel* 148 b 8 and always, *eisib* 180 b 1, *dichoisin* 209 b 28, *-feiser* 209 b 30, *arasisedar* 213 b 2. Always *dosom*, *disi*, never *dossom*, *dissi*.

(c) *ss*, *s* in an unaccented syllable after a short vowel. Here *s* is usual, *ss* is comparatively rare: *maithess* 28 b 5, *gutass* 40 b 3, *foluss* 40 b 14, *accuiss* 45 b 3, *richiss* 47 b 5, *sluindess* 75 b 5, *eross* 105 a 2, *demess* 113 b 4, *cinness* 137 b 3, *anfiss* 148 a 6; *tairissem* 50 a 18, 74 b 7, *airissen* 106 b 15. So in a pretonic

syllable *ss* is rare: *assin* 29 a 3, *issin* 30 b 12, 73 a 16, 114 b 4. *iss* *inderb* 66 b 9, *assagnintar* 29 a 3, *assaftud* 221 b 4. Regularly, however, *issi* except 151 a 3, 153 a 8, and *issed* (written, however, *iš* 182 b 3, 190 b 3); in 201 a 3 *issed* might have been expected where the MS. has *ishe*. Pretonic *s* is doubled before a consonant in *issreith* 30 a 12, *nissluindi* 66 b 18.

(d) *ss*, *s* after a long vowel. Here *ss* is rare: *gluaiss* 31 b 17, 63 b 11, *sliassait* 66 b 5, *toissech* 67 a 9, *tuass* 67 a 12, *tarhëssi* 203 a 27.

In the word for 'self' Sg. has the following forms: sg. 1 *leim fëin* 209 b 30; sg. 3 *nì arddu feisin* 161 b 9, *ol Priscien feissin* 40 a 12, *foilsigthi feisin* 211 a 8, *do[n] chrunn fessin* 61 b 8, *don chrunn fësin* 61 b 13, and *feissin* 50 a 2, *trüit fessin* 43 a 3, *trüit feissin* 73 b 7, *lais feisin* 153 b 7, *uad feisin* 209 b 12, *foir feisin* 209 b 12, *a cheniuil feissin* 40 a 6, 7, 17, *a cheneiul fessin* 40 a 8, *a cheneiul feisin* 40 a 18, *a sotho feissin* 65 a 6, *inna aieniud feisin* 209 b 35, *tria fólud feisin* 211 b 5; sg. 3 fem. *sí feisine* 165 b 3, *di feisne* 199 b 6, *aggnim fëisne* 199 a 2, *tresin naimsir feissin* 188 a 26, *ind aimsir feisin* 188 a 26, *trée feisin* 25 b 14, *di fëisin* 199 b 10, *fuiri feisin* 209 b 28, *fuiri fëisin* 209 b 34, *a ainmm fëisin* 6 a 7; pl. 3 *indib cadesin* 150 b 2, *indib cadésin* 188 a 2, *dia luc fadesin* 154 b 1, *inte feisne* 159 a 4, *huadib fëissn(e)* 144 a 1, *inna forciunn feisne* 213 a 8, *nistuaraschat fesin* 7 a 11, *treo fesin* 4 b 4, *leo feissin* 71 b 3, *uadib fesin* 188 a 20, *inna naieniud feisin* 188 a 18.

For Wb. see Pedersen, *Aspirationen* 93.

c, t, p.

For the statistics of the single and the double tenues see Zupitza KZ. XXXVI, 213 sqq.¹⁾ By *occo esorcuin* 67 a 10 we have *oca fogur* 14 a 16, *oca cruthugud* 50 b 17, *oco scribunt* 213 b 4.

g, d, b.

In Sg. *gg*, *dd*, *bb* often express unaspirated *g*, *d*, *b*. Of this some instances have been given already pp. 478, 479. To these the following may be added.

gg: *doommalgg* 23 b 2, *coindeulgg* 25 b 2, *öndelggaddar* 39 a 11, *conrodelgg* 40 a 20, *condeilgg* 42 a 4, *öndelgg* 45 a 9, 16 (but *öndelgatar* 41 b 11, *chondelg* 42 a 6, 43 a 3, 45 a 10, 11); *borggdæ* 57 a 6,

¹⁾ But *acclantæ* 35 a 7 = *a clantæ*, cf. *acumscaigthe* 35 a 9, and *cerriec* 199 b 12 is not 'rock'.

foirggæ 124 a 1; *thecmung* 28 a 21; *coni enggnatar* 209 b 13; *aggním* 199 a 2.

dd: *toddiusgat* 7 a 10; *coldde* 35 b 10; almost invariably after *r*: *ordd* 4 b 9, 23 b 5, 24 a 10, 25 b 4, 49 a 4 (*ord* 159 b 6), *uirdd* 41 b 7, 10, 42 a 2, 215 a 2, 220 b 6, 7, 10 (*uir*d 41 b 7), *urdd* 212 a 2, *cerddchae* 51 b 3, *ardd* 53 a 7, 67 a 11, *arddu* 161 b 9, *sacardd* 54 a 11, *orddu* 68 b 13, *focerddar* 71 a 19; *randdatu* 27 a 12, *inddib* 198 b 3.

bb: *nibbu* 6 a 9, 62 b 2, *robbu* 17 a 5, *manibbad* 17 b 8, *níbbá* 36 b 1, *nibba* 45 a 11, *robbí* 45 b 1, *robbátar* 57 b 1, *níbbad* 58 b 5, *nobbiad* 90 b 2, *robbé* 169 a 1, *robbói* 178 b 3, *conibbé* 199 b 4, *forbbart* 52 a 8. In *deirbbæ* 66 b 15 and *indeirbbæ* 66 b 16, 18. *bb* is curiously used for aspirated *b*.

The unaspirated media is still sometimes denoted by a tenuis: *coindeulc* 3 b 1, *dercaide* 35 b 6, *derc* 37 a 5, *bolc* 37 a 2, *meirc* 52 a 12, *borcc* 57 a 6, *bolcsithe* 67 a 2, *foircce* 67 b 9, *sercim* 173 a 2, *roseircset* 178 b 2, *facheirt* 4 b 6, *sacart* 54 a 12, *indarpe* 10 b 1, 31 b 11, *heirp* 61 a 13, *manip* 20 b 2, 25 b 14, 38 b 3, 188 a 12, *cenip* 68 b 4, *roppad* 111 b 2, *sechip* 138 b 4, *ropat* 199 a 1.

Aspirated *s* and *f*.

In Sg. *s* and *f* are frequent; *f* is likewise left unwritten as in Wb. and Ml. e. g. *immolung* 3 b 5.

Miscellaneous notes.

d written for *th*: *déainmmnichdechaib* 2 b 1, *formúichdetad* 9 b 20, *comainmmnichdecha* 29 a 12, *tuasailcdecha* 30 a 13, *aitreb-dacha* 33 a 22, *timdirecht* 35 a 2, *fotimmdiriut* 185 b 3, *fotimdiris* 185 b 7, *chocda* 64 b 9, *hodid* 66 b 9.

g = *ng*: *forgare* 161 b 6, 8, 11, 12, *-forgair* 161 b 5.

d = *nd*: *aisdís* 197 a 6, *aisdisen* 198 a 10; *dondfoirde* 26 b 12, cf. 203 b 4, 203 b 11; *iardligud* 178 a 3.

The later development forbids us to suppose that *nd* here had become actually *d*.

amal is written once in full 217 a 8. *intain* appears 66 b 10, 14 (bis), 107 b 1, 182 b 3, 196 b 2, 208 b 5, 220 b 9, *intan* 5 a 10, 6 a 1, 6 b 11, 11 a 1, 12 a 3, 25 a 1, 26 a 3, 29 a 3, 54 b 3, 59 b 16, 17, 104 b 5, 107 b 1, 148 b 13. 14, 159 a 2, 162 a 3, 4, 181 a 8, 182 b 3,

190 a 6, 196 b 2, 198 a 2, 198 b 11, 200 b 10, 207 a 7, 208 a 9, 208 b 5, 211 b 4, 212 a 13, 214 a 2, 220 b 1, 8.

Sg. has *ám* 4 b 4, 17 a 3, 109 a 3, 114 b 3, 121 b 1, 140 b 1, 143 a 1, 160 b 3, 197 b 8, 198 b 7, 205 b 1, 211 a 3, but *ém* 201 a 8. *dég* 136 a 1, 197 a 13, 201 b 1.

inge 25 a 1, 75 b 5.

ara chúl in the sense of the usual *iarna chúl* 31 b 21, 112 b 3.

Sg. has always *már*: 2 a 7, 9 a 8, 31 a 9, 39 a 25, 47 b 6, 53 a 7, 73 a 16, 76 a 2, commonly *máa*: *má* 2 a 7, *máa* 40 b 7, 150 b 1, 5, *máo* 45 a 15, cf. *máanu* 45 a 12 (but *móa* 68 b 3, 8, *moo* 197 a 11), always *maam* 147 a 3, 208 b 15 or *mám* 77 a 5.

dí = *dó*: 40 a 11.

Aspiration.

As in Ml. aspiration is found in a number of cases where it is absent in Wb. Such are:

(a) *cíd druailnide mbes chechtar in da rann* 202 b 3, *nandat chomsuidigthi* 201 b 12.

(b) *ataat chetnaidi* 28 a 4, *bíth character* 6 b 11, *citabiat chlíasa* 3 a 1, *amal donadbat chumachte* 6 b 25, *arberr chial* 146 a 1, *ní taet chomsuidigud* 197 a 4, *ní gnáth chomsuidigud* 201 a 5, *gním domsa thindnacul* 209 b 24.

(c) *cenodfil chotarsnataith* 29 b 17, *ní fil chumtubairt* 154 b 2, *ní fail chumscugud* 215 a 2 (contrast 46 a 15, 52 b 1), *file chóimmdith* 29 b 13, *file choibniús* 151 b 7; *nád toírnídet fílad* 25 b 12, *conosciget chenél* 65 b 9, *fodalet chenél* 72 a 3, 4, *ní fodlat chenél* 197 a 21, *fodalet chenél* 198 b 2, *foilsigdde phersin* 200 b 6.

(d) Sg. has the regular *freacor ceill* 106 b 12, *frecoir chéill* 35 a 12.

(e) *asmbiur frit* 151 a 3, *cesu chen remsuidigud* 78 b 2, *ní chen dlíged* 75 a 1, *chen forbæ* 147 b 3, *challéic* 31 b 22, *chenæ* 40 a 11, 140 b 3, 151 b 1, 203 b 1, 212 a 11, 238 b 1.

(f) Aspiration of initial consonant in relative forms: *thec-mongat* 2 a 10, *sluindes* 25 b 17, *thectas* 26 a 6, *thucad* 41 a 7, *thórnther* 59 b 18, *theite* 114 b 2, *thectaite* 179 b 2, *thectas* 221 b 3. In a non-relative form *cesu in er theit* 38 a 1; cf. *is do thucad* 45 b 19, 77 b 5.

(g) After *ar*: *air thechtaid* 18 a 3, *air cheso in us conosna* 206 a 3.

(h) The following may simply be noted as irregular: *rocruthaigsemmar* 9 a 22 (if the dot be meant to indicate aspiration), *camaiph thechtait* 209 b 3 a.

Sometimes the aspiration is not expressed: *do claind* 16 a 2, *in ciclasta* 32 b 12, *don comparit* 40 a 8, *di comparit* 42 b 3, *in comparatit[h]* 44 a 4 (is aspiration neglected in the foreign technical term?), *ótím* 54 a 18 (again in a borrowed word), *treceneli* 66 a 1, *trecoste* 67 b 2, *bad carthi* 148 a 2, *forcongair* 161 b 4.

Moveable *n*.

n is irregularly added in *indegaid ñ guttae* 5 a 2, *indegaid ñ Dé* 101 b 2; regularly *indegaid araile* 7 a 4. In *ní ruba nand* 3 b 28 *n* is again irregular; *nand* has obviously spread from instances like *dobeir t n-and* 3 b 5, *ar atrebthack n-and* 35 b 13. In *o nechtar náí* 37 b 18, *hi cechtar náí* 42 b 5, *do chechtar ñhai* 215 a 2 *n* has spread from the nom. and acc. to the dat.

Noteworthy are *etar ñ di rainn* 2 b 2, *eter ñ dá nulla* 45 b 19, *far nóen deilb* 90 b 3, *for nóin ñ deilb* 201 a 6. In 73 b 1 *tresigné* is undoubtedly for *tresin ñgné*, and in 202 b 3 *frismbiat* is for *frisambiat*. In the same way *etar ñ di rainn* etc. are apparently for *etar in di rainn* etc. with reduction of the article between the preposition and the noun.

Declension.

The article.

ind and *in*. Before unaspirated consonants *in* is found; exceptions are *dind trediu* 3 b 14, *dind deilb* 5 a 5, *int diruidigud* 36 b 1, *ind dærscugud* 40 a 10, *ind telchubi* 180 a 1, *ind tertpersan* 208 a 4. *Ind* appears before aspirated *l*, *r*, *n*, *in* before aspirated *m*, *b*, *ch*, *g*, *int* or *ind* before *s* (except *forsin sech* 168 a 3, *don soilsi* 183 b 3), *ind* before a vowel or *f* (*in echlas* 33 b 5 and *in ungainet* 49 a 11 are accusatives).

For Wb. see Pedersen, *Aspirationen* 75 sqq. The difference in Sg. is that *ind* never appears before aspirated *m* and *b*. In this point Ml. agrees with Sg.

With *for* Sg. has always *forsan*- not *foran*-. *forsa cenélæ* 8 a 13, cf. 145 a 4, 148 a 9, *forsanairisedar* 139 b 1, cf. 161 b 4, 5,

200 a 7, likewise *forsind* not *forind*, further *forsna* 212 a 13, *forsnaib* 207 a 6 not *forna*, *fornaib*.

In the nom. pl. *na* might seem to be used for *ind* in *na compariti* 40 b 14; in later Irish, however, *comparit* and *superlait* seem to have become fem., cf. B. Ball. 321 a 11, 12.

In the dative plural there appear by the usual forms:

(a) *donab* 189 b 9.

(b) *forsna huilib* 212 a 13, *ocna fothaircethib* 217 a 4.

The noun.

In the nom. and. acc. plur. of neuter *o* stems where the noun stands by itself the longer form always appears. With the article the short form is the more frequent: *inna nert* 105 a 1, cf. 184 b 3, 202 a 5, 202 b 3, 217 a 8; on the other hand *inna tóranda* 4 a 1, cf. 26 a 12, 203 a 10. The short form is found with a numeral in *sé tarmmorcenn* 166 a 1; the word is both masc. and neut.

The nom. pl. of *persan* is *persin* 138 a 4, 197 a 15, 203 b 10. *aimsir* 157 b 3 is peculiar; it is possible that in the sense of 'tense' *aimser* formed a nom. pl. *aimsir* like *persin*, but unfortunately the instance is isolated.

From the masc. *-u*- stem *guth* the acc. pl. *ilgotha* (nom. form) 197 a 11 is noteworthy; likewise the pl. *beura* 67 b 11 from the neut. *bir*.

The adjective.

Acc. pl. *rétu nóiba* = *rétu nóibu* 33 a 6.

From *-i-* stems gen. sg. fem. *diuite* 168 a 3, gen. pl. masc. *diuite* 21 b 14, *arside* 178 a 2, 3, 207 a 2; these gen. pl. are all used substantivally without an accompanying noun.

Along with a noun we have *bemmen n-indraice* in an old text, Rev. Celt. XV, 489, by the later form *indraic* 490, 491.

The pronoun.

Personal pronouns.

Sg. has always *dom*, 1 a 6, 90 a 5, 209 b 24, 26.

Sg. has *duit* 173 b 2, 193 b 5, 197 b 10, 208 b 5, 209 b 30, once *dit* 178 b 4, once *daitsin* 2 a 7.

Infixed pronouns.

In Sg. from the nature of the subject the number of examples is small. In *fordomchomaithe* 139 b 2 the form is the same as in Wb. *remi-ta-tét* 'which precedes them' 197 b 5 may be noted.

Demonstrative pronouns.

From *side* *suidib* sometimes appears for *suidiu*: *lasuidib* 4 a 9, 212 b 16, 214 a 3, *frisuidib* 61 a 6.

-*sem* is commonly found for -*som* after a palatal vowel or a palatalized consonant: *indibsem* 5 a 4, *leissem* 10 a 11, -*epersem* 14 a 5, *sluindithsem* 30 a 2, *manubedsem* (sic. leg.) 32 a 1, *asbeirsem* 39 a 25, *cétbuidsem* 40 a 15, *dóibsem* 40 a 15, *doaibsem* 50 a 3, *dobeirsem* 76 b 2, *lessem* 77 b 6, *laissem* 149 b 4, *huadibsem* 156 a 2, *laisem* 158 b 6, *gniúidsem* 199 a 5, -*tabairsem* 202 a 3, *nibisem* 203 a 27, *foirsem* 209 b 12, *dibsem* 213 b 8. Of -*som* in a similar situation the examples are: *lesom* 5 a 10, *roingenairsom* 31 a 6, -*suidigthesom* 27 a 1, *innisom* 59 a 11, *indibsom* 139 a 2, *fondúairsom* 144 b 3, *samlaidsom* 150 b 1, *lesom* 162 b 3, *hesom* 169 a 1, *conétetksom* 197 b 17, *conicsom* 199 b 5, *tritsom* 209 a 1.

In *fuirí sídī* 199 a 5 we have an isolated instance of the use of *side* which becomes common in later Irish.

se = *inso*: 4 b 12, 90 a 7, 201 a 3, 206 a 2. *inso* is common.

sin = *insin*: 7 b 14, 103 a 1, 138 b 2, 147 a 6, 150 b 1. *insin* is frequent throughout the codex.

cach, properly the dat. sg. is used with a plural in *ó cach tharmmorcniú* 43 a 5 (cf. *ML*. 84 b 1); contrast *hí cacha persanaib* 208 a 11.

Sg. has *cía ar neoch* 217 a 5, where *ML*. has *cierniu* 47 b 1, *cierneo* 101 a 4.

neoch is the form regularly in use as the dat. of *ní* 'thing'.

The verb.

Relative forms.

Omission of relative -*n*-. *cenmitha fodailler* 3 b 15 (contrast *cenmitha aranecatar* 65 a 11), *uar recar*¹⁾ 45 b 1, *amal adidchotatsat* 50 a 3, *arindí nadbiat* 39 a 25, *arindí dodúrget* 68 b 9, *amal nobed* 32 a 1, 191 a 5.

¹⁾ *robbaí uar recar less dígbail ind fólaid* 'there may be a time when it is necessary to diminish the substance'. The use of the nom. *dígbail* here

In *rombì* 98 b 2 the reason for the *-n-* is not clear. Can it be meant for *oratio obliqua*, '(he says) that there cannot be'? There is likewise a peculiar use of the dependent *naich* in 20 a 1. In *amal adondfoirde* 26 b 12, if the text be sound, *-n-* is not only infixed but also prefixed.

For *as-* *assa* appears in relative forms (KZ. XXXV, 377). In Sg. *assa-* is sometimes found in non-relative forms: *assagnintar* 29 a 3, *asagnintar* 29 a 3, 197 b 4, 209 b 13, 210 a 10, *asagninaim* 146 b 16, *co asagnoither* 180 b 2, *assafiud* 221 b 4.

Compound verbs.

Sometimes *ad-* appears where, in accordance with the old usage, *ass-* might have been expected (cf. CZ. III, 601): *adru-bartmar* 197 b 16, *adidchotatsat* 50 a 3, *adindchomlat* 212 b 7.

Conjugation.

Deponent forms.

samlaid for *samlaidir* 150 b 1 is remarkable. In the 1. sg. pres. ind. of derivative verbs in *-ig-* the active form is very common in Sg.; the instances will be found in my paper on the Deponent verb p. 99 (Transactions of the London Philological Society 1894). But as Thurneysen has pointed out, KZ. XXXVII, 95, the active is the rule in the absolute form of such derivative verbs.

The infinitive.

The nominative of the infinitive is replaced by the dative in *digbail* 45 b 1, 7, *immgabail* 59 a 13, *imcaisin* 54 a 6, *tuarcain* 184 b 3, *immacaldaim* 200 b 7, *etarceirt* 207 b 9, *taidbse* 211 b 4.

The participle of necessity.

eclastai is found at 27 a 15 for the older *ecailsi* Ml. 15 d 7, similarly *tinfesti* 17 b 7.

Substantive verb and copula.

For *-feil fail* is sometimes found in the earlier portion of the codex 4 a 12, 6 b 2, 25, 26 b 7, 28 a 14, 32 a 1, 37 b 19, 88. 3, and also in 215 a 2.

shews that *roiccim less* has become fused together and is treated as a single word, cf. CZ. IV, 67, *nad recar les* Sg. 198 b 6, *recamni a les ém ar curaid* LU. 107 a 47, *recmait a les súdigud 7 ordugud cach rechta* LU. 118 a 29, *rosnecam a less* LU. 62 a 23, *irrichtain a les* LU. 32 a 16.

Where Wb. has *rongab* etc., Ml. has commonly *rondgab* etc. Sg. has *rongab* 65 b 3, 71 a 11, 12, 71 b 10, 11, 158 b 3, 159 b 5, 172 b 1, *rondgab* 71 a 8, 75 b 2, 190 b 6, 214 b 1.

Sg. has usually *cesu*, *ceso* 21 a 1, 38 a 1, 41 b 10, 59 a 6, 75 a 5, 78 b 2, 90 a 5, 91 a 3, 137 b 2, 158 a 2, 203 a 23, 206 a 3, 217 b 12, but *ciaso* 211 b 7.

For *ba bá* appears 69 a 20, 115 b 1 a, 117 a 5, 185 b 4, as often in later MSS.

Prestwich.

J. STRACHAN.

THE GAELIC DIALECTS.

(Continuation.)

III.

Nasalization.

A nasal consonant, whether it precede or follow, nasalizes a vowel, but in N. Inverness and as far North as Sutherland, nasalization is in some cases wrongly inserted; e. g. a Perth man may easily spot a North Invernessian from the N. Inv. nasalized pronunciation of *uaigh* 'grave' as *uāi* for *ua-i(z)* due to confusion with *uamh* 'cave', which in N. I. either sounds the 'v' final or tends to take the diminutive form *ua-ak* (*uamhag*). In combinations with *cha'n* 'not', *an* 'the' + a word with vocalic anlaut, nasalization is felt e. g. in N. Inv. though not in Colonsay etc. in *fiach* (*fiach*, *feuch*) 'try', *fiachən* (*fiachan*) debts, but *xañ·ijax-ε* (*cha'n fhiach ε*), it is n't worth; *oiçə* (*oidhche*) 'night', but occasionally it may be heard with very faint nasalization due perhaps to *n* of the article: this word for 'night' sounds *ii·ə* (parts of Munster), *iiçə* (Connaught and a great part of Munster) but *oççə* and *oiçə*, with distinct nasalization are pronunciations I have got from an Irishman for Louth and Monaghan; Mr. Staples marks it nasal for Deeside and also for the West Highlands, and for Kerry. In N. Inv. it is distinctly *non*-nasal, but the adverb *an nochd* (*an·noçk*) is always nasal. Whatever nasality is heard in this word is imported into it. The *n* in the Old Gaelic phrase *cach naidche* might account for the slight nasality of some districts; *an·a-iç* tomorrow-night but *an·oiç-a-roir* (*an oidhche romh raoir*), 'the night before last', where nasality is imported into 'raoir' from the preceding 'romh' which is itself elided. So too in the case of *oidhche*, where the Old Gaelic forms *adaig*, *aidche*, *oidche*, have no *n*.

Obs. English as spoken by the elder generation, specially in Sutherland, is perceptibly nasalized on the Gaelic basis: night, knee, keen; so too the Gaelic for Reay Parish (Sgìre Mhìorra), almost vjürra: the oldest written form occurs in Mac Vurich (Rel. Celt. by Cameron II, 176, 3) as morbhair meghrath = Lord Reay. In the same Ms. Mac Vurich writes cáislen mhiogháre = Mingarry Castle. If the suggested etymology of 'the plain of the fort' is to be accepted, on a par with Moyra = Magh Rath, the nasalization, it must be said, is stronger than I should have expected, and the quality of the *m* points unmistakeably to a light vowel having followed upon it.

Reay ìrrün, daughter for *inighean* and the Colonsay (ìorrfi) for *ionnsuigh*, are good examples of nasalization even when *n* has been changed into *r*.

De-nasalization occurs in N. I. e. g. 'so for samh (*sa* or *sav*) smell, odour, perfume, — in N. Inv. not restricted to 'ill-odour'. The etymology is not certain and possibly the word ought never to have nasalization, as is the case with *famh* (*fav*) mole = fadhbh (Lhuyd's Arch. Brit.), Cymric, gwadd. In N. I. it is always 'fah'.

The Morvern (œelica) = adhlaiceadh for N. Inv. (*aulica*), thus preserving the nasality of O. Ir. *adnocul* 'sepulcrum', adhnaiceadh in Keating, is another instance; so too is a pronunciation of Alness (a loan from Norse *andnes*, a point of land or promontory) as (*a-anal*) where the *l* shows the vowel 'breaking'. A very common instance is *anns* 'in' shortened into *as* without any nasal in the following:

(1) as mo (do etc.) dheidh 'after me', O. Ir. *i n-dead* after
Is t'fheara luthmhor astarach
Gun airsneal as do dheidh.

(2) as a deidh 'after her' (*as a dzei*)
— the *e* being half-long.

(3) With *deidh* it is universal and in parts of Uist, Skye, W. Ross, Reay it is used in other words. as a chadal 'in his sleep' for the usual 'na chadal. nam faiceadh duine grund chaorach as a chadal theireadh e gur e na h-ainglean bhiodh ann = if a man saw a lot of sheep in his sleep he would say that they were angels (Eriskay Folklore).

Tha thu nis as Luirg (ha u nif as lʊræ-ic) = thou art now in Lairg.

Tha thu fhathast-ich as duthaich Ic Aoidh = thou art still in the Mackay Country (ha u ; ha-æstic as :du-ic ic ; ï).

Chunna' mi as mo chadal e = I saw him in my sleep (huṇa mi as mō xadal ε).

The last three instances I have heard in the Reay Country and they are at first perplexing, but when one hears anns poll, anns oisinn, anns uaigh, anns Diūirinis, annsa Bail-na-Cille (= in Balnakiel) used in the full form by others where one would use *am*, *an*, 's *an*, *an*, *am* one's self, one sees we have simply a denasalized form of *anns* and no idiomatic use of *as* (= *es*) 'out of' in sense of Latin *ex*.

Ghabh mi as lāimh e = I took it in hand, I undertook it (ʒa mi as lʌi ε).

Mar a chunnaic mi as m'ōige = as I saw in my youth.

In other phrases I have noted *as* preserves the nasal. as a choillidh (*as* a xolī) 'in the wood', versus *es* a xolī 'out of the wood'; air tuiteam as a chlaisidh 'having stumbled in the furrow' (er tʊtʃəm *as* a xlaʃi) Eriskay.

Uist sometimes reduplicates the nasalized form: chuir ise seo na fuaintean ann aʒ talamh = she thereupon put the posts (wooden pins) into the earth.

Inversion.

In most parts of the Highlands save in Arran, in parts of Cintyre in a few words, Sutherland, Lewis *r* in *rt*, *rd* combinations becomes changed into an inverted *s* i. e. *s* with the 'inversion-modifier', the point of the tongue being turned back towards the soft palate as in Portuguese. For N. Inv. I transcribe this as *rf* e. g. ort 'on thee' (orft'); mart 'cow' (mɔrft'). It is in reality one sound. Frequently as in Tiree, Iona, S. of Mull, W. Skye, parts of Uist and Harris it becomes simple voiceless *s*; also in Benbecula: (e ·sən, ·es-ən) for *airson* 'for the sake of'. N. Inverness and Kintail agree with Tiree in such a phrase as *an gest uair* for *an ceart uair* 'this very moment or hour',

locally in N. Inv. 'soon hereafter, shortly'. N. Argyll says (aŋ 'cjarft̪ ar); cf. the colloquial *os* 'quoth' general all over Gaeldom for *ors* (ɔrl̪). The *r* in these cases is trilled and voiceless with a glide after it which develops into *l*. The treatment of the glide in this combination in the districts excepted above is on a par with the treatment of the glides before the *tenuēs* and the lack of diphthongization before *nn*, *ll*, *mm* in these dialects. Inversion may be briefly described as a retracted *s*, the point-tongue being taken from the *s*-position to the back of the arch and trilled, and is met with in Lowland Scottish English.

Obs. Trotternish, Skye, is one of the few Inverness group of dialects that lack this *rst* development of *rt* while it agrees with N. Inv. mainland in eliding medial intervocalic *mh*, *bh*, e. g. (l̪a-an) 'hands' = l̪amhan.

The Consonants.

The **aspirate** (*h*) is got by assuming the position for any vowel and by emitting breath without at the same time producing any voice sound. The Gaelic (*h*) has not the decrescendo effect of English *h*, but is pronounced shortly and in case a vowel follows it is immediately connected therewith. The Gaelic aspirate occurs in the following positions:

(1) In the strong emission of breath which follows the voiceless stops which are thus properly *tenuēs aspiratae* in contradistinction to the simple voiceless stops

tana	thin	thana
tarbh	bull	tharəv, thara
tinn	sick	tfij̥n̪n̪.

(2) In the strong emission of breath which precedes all voiceless stops which represent double voiceless consonants following upon short vowels. In the case of gutturals *h* becomes *x*, *ç*, while before *p* it seems to be developed by analogy

at	swell	aht̪'	O. Ir. att
cat	cat	khah̪t̪'	E. Ir. catt
brat	mantle	pbraht̪'	O. Ir. bratt
slat	rod, twig, yard	slah̪t̪'	M. Ir. slatt
boc	a buck	pbəxk̪'	O. Ir. bocc
mac	son	məxk̪'	O. Ir. macc
sop	a wisp	shəhp̪'	E. Ir. sopp

ceap a block, last chəhp' E. Ir. cepp
(from Latin cippus)

glac to seize kglaxk' M. Ir. glaccad

but also glacaim; due, possibly, to unstressed position or inconsistency on the scribe's part. E. Ir. glacc 'hand, handful' is now glaic (kglaiçc').

NB. Reay, Arran, Cintyre are exceptions to this rule. As to treatment see under the respective stops.

(3) After *na* forms of the article

na h-eōin	the birds	nə hjoən
na h-itean	the feathers	nə hihtfən
na h-aoise	of the age	na hʌʌfa
na h-uile	every, all	na hʊlə

(4) After the negative *ñi* which, however, is now but rarely used in the Highlands, outside of the Scriptures

ni h-eadh	no, it is not	ñi hjæz,
		ñi hez.

(5) After *gu ma* = *gu m-badh*, *gu m-budh*, *co m-bad* where the verb substantive suffers nasal infection, often termed 'eclipsis', and the final elided aspirated consonant is still maintained as an aspirate:

gu ma h-è dha sin = may that be so, so be it, may
that be so to him kgu ma ;hεε ʒa :fɿn
gu ma h-éibhinn duibh = happy may you be kgu ma
;heeviñ :ɸui
gu ma h-ann mar sin a bhios = so may it be! -kgu
-ma :hʌn -mar :fɿn -a ;vi-es.

NB. After the preterite *bha* 'was' the aspirate is not used.

(6) After the imperative particle of negation (*na*) when followed by a word with vocalic initial

na h-abair e = do not say it	na ;hapər -ε
na h-òl e = don't drink it	na ;hœɹl' -ε.

(7) After *gur* in stressed position.

Thuir e gur h-e bh'ann = he said that it was he
hurtl ε kgar ;hεε :vʌnn.

But before the emphatic suffix *fhéin* 'self' the use of the aspirate before the unstressed *e* is optional and it may be dropped.

Thuir e gur e-fhéin bh'ann = he said that it was
he himself hurtl :ε kgar ε ;heen ə :vʌn.

(8) In the preterite tenses of verbs where the usual script has *th* as in last example, as also *sh*-, *fh*-

shaoil mi	I thought	·hΛΛΛ -mi
shaoil liom	methought	hΛΛΛlɔm
fhuair mi	I got	·huuaí -mi.

(9) Always in the emphatic *fhéin* 'self': *mi fhéin* (*mi* ·heen) 'myself'; and in *fhathast* 'yet' (·hah-əst').

(10) Often in words where the script shows *ch* initially

chugam	'to me'	hukəm
cha deach' mi	{ I went not I did n't go	ha ·dzax mi
chunnaic mi		·hupic -mi.

NB. It is noticeable that the usual on-glide is absent before the final consonant of the verb in this last example, which formerly had an *r* before the *c* (adcondare), whereas in other words this glide is present e. g.

ruic	{ frolic obstreperous fun	rruic'
reic	buy	rreic
túainic	loosen, untie	tuʉanic'.

(11) Generally after *an dara*

's an dara h-ait = in the second place san dara ·haatl.

(12) It is absent after *cho* 'as' used in making comparisons.

(13) In the ordinals *a h-aon*, *a h-ochd* used without the noun.

(14) When a noun is used after *a thri*, *a shà*, *a sheachd* &c. e. g.

a thri là gus an diu = three days ago ə hrii lhaə
kgus ən dzu (dzju)

a sheachduin gus an raoir = a week last night
ə hjaxkan kgus ən roir.

(15) In words with initial vowel (a, o, u, e, i) after the feminine personal pronoun *a* 'her'

a h-athair her father *a* ·həhər'
a ·ha -r.

(16) After the masculine personal pronoun *a* 'his' when followed by nouns with *s*, *t* initially

a shùil 'his eye' *a* ·hupl
a thàl 'his adze' *a* hɛɛl.

NB. The case of the liquids *l*, *n*, *r* will be considered in their place.

- (17) After di 'day' in Dihaoine 'Friday' lit. 'day of fast'
-dzi ·hAAnə.

(18) In North Inverness shire in those parts of the prepositional pronouns (viz. 3rd. sg. f. and 3rd. pl.) which lack the p-forms of other dialects and have in lieu thereof a sharp stressed aspirate.

N. Inv.		Current Script	
bhoithe	·vəih-hə	from her	bhuaipe, uaipe
bhuatha	·vuah-hə	from them	bhuapa
foithe	·fəih-hə	under her	foipe
roimhe	·r̥həih-hə	before her	roimpe
romha	·r̥həh-hə	before them	romhpa, rompa.

In the prepositional pronouns an aspirated stressed -se, -siu suffix is combined with the preposition. This is further considered under the pronouns. Many dialects through mistaken analogy wrongly introduce p in *uaipe*, *uapa*, *foipe*, *fopa*.

Obs. Initial Indo-European p is in Old Gaelic often represented by h:

uidh 'a journey', O. Ir. huide 'profectio', cognate possibly with L. pes, Skr. padya, E. foot.

uile 'all', O. Ir. huile, Gr. πολλός 'many'.

uamhann 'fear', O. Ir. hóman, Gr. πῆμα (v. Pedersen, Asp. i Irsk p. 129).

uiridh 'last year', O. Ir. on hurid 'ab anno priore' Gr. πέρυτι.

iodhlann corn-yard, O. Ir. hetho, gen. of hith 'corn', cognate with Skr-Zend pitu.

Éireann, 'Ireland', O. Ir. Hériu, cognate with Skr. pīvarī 'fat', Gr. περία the Grecian seat of the Muses, λίων fat (Stokes).

This transition of p to h Pedersen compares with the corresponding case in Armenian. In Gaelic amharus 'suspicion' O. Ir. amairess = an + hiress 'want of faith' n became m before p as noted in the last edition of Brugmann's Comparative Grammar.

(19) *th* medial often serves only to indicate a disyllable as in *latha* 'day' but it is sounded as h when stressed: *ithidh* 'eat ye', which is the colloquial form in N. Inverness for the

Biblical *ithibh*, sounds as (·ih-i). Also in stressed finals: *ag ith* eating (:əc ·ih) and often (h) becomes ç (əc ·ic); cf. dialects where *-dh* final becomes (ç, x). Medially in stress after short vowels it is invariably present: 'se bhrathadh thu 'tis he who would betray thee (-fɛ ·vrah-aɜ :u).

(20) It occurs before *ann* where it stands for *tha* 'is':

de th'ann 'what is it?, what's up?' dʒe-ə ; haunn.
's e th'ann 'it is he' ·fɛ-ə ; haunn.

But *cha'n eil aon an ann an* a current phrase in N. Inv. for 'there's really nobody, there's not a single soul there'

-xan :el ; ʌʌn ·ɔ̃n ·aɲ ·ɔ̃nh'

(pronounced with a rising inflection of voice marked).

(21) After *le*: trom le h-àl 'heavy with progeny'; àl would have had p in Indo-Germanic if cognate with O. H. G. *fasel* 'proles'

le h-aithreachas with repentance lɛ ·harrax-es (the root being *prek* as in Latin *precor*, Ger. *fragen*).

In some cases usage is unfixed and analogy has been at work. The Bible has *le h-ordaibh* 'with hammers' where the colloquial in N. Inv. and elsewhere is *le ùird*; *le h-iolaich mhoir* 'with a great shout' is, apart from the Bible, *le iolach mor* in N. Inv.; *le h-aoibhneas* 'with joy' is commonly without (h): lɛ ·oivnəs (with the *o* of the diphthong half long).

(22) After *gu* (1) in adverbial phrases: *gu h-olc* 'badly'; *gu h-obann* 'suddenly'; *gu h-iarganach*; *gu h-ainnis bochd*; *gu h-eucoireach*; *gu h-àrd*; *gu h-ìosal*; *gu h-ealamh*; *gu h-iomlan*; *gu h-aingidh*; *gu h-urramach*; *gu h-aithghearr* (-kɜ haic :arr). (2) When a noun follows *gu* the Scripture version keeps the aspirate e. g. *làidir gu h-obair* (laadzir kɜ ·hopar) strong for labour; *na cuir gu h-amhluadh nàire mi* 'do not put me to confusion of shame'.

Its use in these instances colloquially is not essential. Likewise, when *gu* signifies 'motion to' it may be used, but its use is optional

thainig e gu h-Ealasaid = he came to Elizabeth
:haɔ̃nɪc -ɛ -kɜ ; hjaɫa-sadz

gu h-iomall an domhain = to the boundary of the world
-kɜ ·hjaɫmaɫ-an ·dɔ̃h-iɲ

h after *a*, *gu*, *le*, *ri* represents a lost consonant and colloquially is usually absent save after *gu* + adverb with vowel initial.

It is very often absent in such a phrase as *o àite gu àite* 'from place to place' but my own usage is to retain the aspirate here:

-o 'aatfə :kgu ;haatfə.

- (23) It is frequently absent after the preposition *a* 'out of':
a amhghair 'out of distress' ε 'aa-ɜar. Yet it occurs with it.

- (24) In the vocative A Thighearna — O Lord
a 'hiia-ərna.

But in the vocative case (as well as in the accusative) of the 2nd pers. pronoun it is absent.

O Thu-sa dh'éisdeas ūruigh = O Thou who hearest prayer :o ;u-sa ;jeef-dzas :uʀŋ-ij.

- (25) In the dative case of nouns beginning with *t*:
mar theangaidh nathrach = like a serpent's tongue
-mar 'həni 'nahrax.

- (26) In -th final of the stressed prefix *ath* 'again' athchuinge 'supplication' 'ah-xina
also axicə.

- (27) In substantives with initial *t* after *do* 'thy' do thoil thy will tɔ 'həl'.

- (28) After *cia* 'how' followed by adjectives with vowel initial and used adverbially:

t'ainm-sa cia h-uasal ε = Thy name how excellent it is!
'thənəm-sa :chə 'huua-sal' ;εε.

- (29) After *ri* used adverbially: *ri h-uchd gàbhaidh* 'in the breast of danger, encountering or breasting danger'

ri 'huxk' ;kgaavi
uchd ri h-uchd breast to breast ('uxk-ri ;huxk').

Obs. In cases of nasal infection suffice it here to note that the aspirate is absent in phrases such as

gun fhios domh = without my knowledge kguñ
'is 'tɔɔh

o'n fhear a b'òige gu ruige 'n fhear bu shine = from the youngest to the eldest o ñ·er a ;pɔɔi-cə kgu
'rruicə ñ·er pu ;hīnə,

A sentence like the following exemplifies the niceties of aspiration, vowel length and diphthongization:

tha thu ann = thou art there -ha -u 'aun'

tha shūgh ann = it contains its juice, it's juicy -ha
'huu -an'.

Throat-Consonant. The throat-stop-breath (') known as the glottal stop, the 'fester einsatz' which precedes every initial vowel in standard German, I have not put into the table as in Gaelic its pronunciation is confined chiefly to some Glasgow Highlanders who may be influenced by the local Lowland dialect of 'Scotch'. Where it is heard elsewhere it may be regarded as an individual peculiarity, easily produced by closing and re-opening the glottis with an explosion of breath as in a slight coughing, but less forcible. After the pronoun *a* 'his' nouns whose initial is a vowel and which are emphatic, although without the emphatic suffix -sa added to them, seem to have with a few speakers a slight glottal stop or clear beginning to replace the emphatic suffix

thuirt 'athair ris = his father said to him hurtf
'ahir hrif

thug e dhomh 'inc = he gave me his ink huk ε
ʒɔ 'ijnɔ'.

The Tenues Aspiratae. Tenues are of two distinct sorts in Modern Gaelic (1) Tenues Aspiratae, (2) Tenues proper. Initially the Tenues Aspiratae correspond so far as regards their character as 'aspiratae' to the Danish *k, t, p*; Gaelic (p) to the standard German (p) preceding an accented vowel, or final (p) following one, when they are pronounced with a forcible emission of breath, which in Gaelic is yet more forcible; Gaelic (t), so far as regards aspiration, to German (t) in *Thal* 'valley'. German (t) is produced by momentarily pressing the point of the tongue (N. Ger.) or part of the tongue blade (S. Ger.), — the upper surface of the tongue-front immediately behind the point, — against the roots of the upper teeth. In producing the broad-front-dental Gaelic-sounds (ʈa, ʈa, ʈɪ, ʈɪ, ʈɪ, ʈɪ) a *spreading* of the point of the tongue against the upper teeth is necessary with the back of the tongue at the same time slightly raised, and in some dialects the sounds are produced in the *interdental* position. This is the case very distinctly in North Inverness. In Ireland (Connaught) Mr. Lecky found that the peculiar

character of the 'broad' *t* and *d*, though often described as interdental, "could be preserved in the inverted position and seemed therefore to have no necessary connexion with the teeth: it was perhaps due to sideward spreading of the tongue like a fan. A similar formation was found in the 'slender' *t* and *d*, which were not point but outer front consonants. Also in the 'broad' *ll* and *nn*, but combined in these cases with subsidiary action of the back of the tongue. In the 'slender' *ll* and *nn* the front and point actions were equally strong and practically simultaneous" (Philological Society's Proceedings XVIII). The dentals however in N. Inverness have more of an outer modified character than they have in Galway. In this view I am confirmed by a remark of Mr. O'Foharty, author of *Siamsa An Gheimhridh*, who as we were carrying on a Gaelic conversation suddenly remarked to me that I must have been speaking Italian from the quality of my dentals. I perceived the difference between us ere he had remarked on it. Though the peculiar character of these consonants may be approximately preserved in the inverted position in Ireland and also in parts of Scotland, the natural position the tongue takes in N. Inv. and in most of the Scottish Highlands is that indicated by the interdental modifier.

When the negative prefix *eu*, which stands for *an-*, is prefixed to words which as absolute initials would have one of the *tenuēs aspiratae*, the resultant sound is a pure *tenuis*. In the modern script some uncertainty is felt as to how this pure *tenuis* is to be written; e. g. (*ee*kal) or (*ee*kal') as in N. Inv. is written sometimes *eucaìl*, sometimes *eugail* 'disease' from *an* + *càil*. Again (*ee*kør) mischief, evil, fr. *an* + *còir*, *eucoir*, but if the word is felt to be a distinct compound then the original strong breath off-glide is retained: (*ee* ·khør) *eu-còir*, 'non-righteous'; (*ee* ·khòlūnta) *eucomhlionta*, 'non-perfect', 'imperfect'. There is no nasality in the (ə) here in N. Inv.

NB. Mr. Staples writes *c* in *eucoir* 'evil' with a glide before it; it has usually no glide before it after (*eu-*) for (*an-*) while it has the strong off-breath glide after it only when the word is felt as a compound.

After the definite art. *an* the strong off-breath glide after *t* initial falls away e. g. (ṭhaḷu — N. Inv.; ṭhaḷəv — Argyll) *talamh*, 'earth', but (*aṇ* ṭaḷu) the earth; in the case of *p* a

slight off-breath glide seems to make itself heard: (phiiüp') piob, 'a pipe', but (am piiüparə) am piobaire 'the piper'; here, as also in combinations such as *pl*, *pr* initial (pl̩aai, pr̩aaf) pl̩aigh, pr̩ois, 'plague', 'pride', the escape of breath is very slight and not so strong as in Danish or in standard German. It is equally slight when these *tenues* are followed by a *short* vowel: (pul̩i) pulaidh, 'a turkey'; cuir (kur) imperative = put &c. but in *ag cur* 'putting, sowing', owing to accent stress *k* has got a full strong off-breath glide (a ·khur); likewise in (aŋ ·hōŋni) an còmhnuidh 'always'; (kh̩arəpat̩') carbad 'chariot' but (naŋ ·harəpatav) na'n carbadaibh 'in their chariots'; (aŋ ·haal') an càl 'the kail, cabbage'; when the stress is very slight, however, *ɣh* becomes *kg* i. e. the peculiar Gaelic guttural stop which is neither entirely voiceless nor yet wholly voiced but which begins with breath and ends with voice: (-a :kgōŋni) an còmhnuidh 'always'.

For on-breath-glides before the *tenues* *v. sub* the aspirate (*h*).

Obs. (1) Gaelic (*t*, *d*) resembles Italian where a more decided dental sound than in Eng. is got by thrusting the extremity of the tongue with a sudden movement exactly between the teeth and withdrawing it as suddenly e. g. *tetto* (*v. Volpe's Eton Ital. Gram. 1871*). Gaelic (*t*, *d*) are often inter-, but never less than ambi-dental.

(2) In Dublin it is quite common to hear Eng. *three* as (t̩rij) i. e. the English open or continuant is replaced by the Gaelic stop or explodent.

The Tenues Proper besides occurring in the positions already indicated, and in *tr-*, *tn-*, *cr-*, *cn-*, *pr-*, *str-*, are heard *medially* in *N. Inv.* in words where they are written *g*, *b*, *d*. In Reay the *d* is most frequently an alveolar *d* as in English in place of the usual Gaelic *ḍ* (*v. sub* discussion of *ḍ*)

(saṭaʒ, saṭa, saṭək') sadadh 'a beating' &c.

(maṭaʒ, maṭa, maṭək') madadh 'mastiff'

(maḱaʒ, maḱa) magadh 'mocking'

(akaʒ, akak') agadh 'stammering'

(t̩hokəl) togail 'raising'

(rəpaʀ) robair 'a robber'

(opaʀ) obair 'work, labour'

(m̩ ·p̩'iiüparə) am piobaire 'the piper'.

- NB. (1) For sound of *p* cf. in German (ʼáp) *ab* 'off'.
 (2) *d* in the combination *chd* medially as well as finally sounds (k) with a voiceless guttural spirant before it: (pbəxkan) *bochdan* 'poor people' in Barra *buic*, same plural as for 'bucks'; (jaxkʁi) *eachdraidh* 'history' of which there is another N. Inv. pronunciation (eahʁi, jahʁi). This is a reminiscence of the older pronunciation of O. Ir. *cht* which had here the *t* as a dental tenuis, still preserved in Ireland: O'Growney writes (bŭCHth, t-yaCHth) for *bocht*, *teacht*, 'poor, coming' which in N. Inv. are (pbəxkʰ, tʰaxkʰ); *t* is pronounced still in the Arran Isles, Galway (v. Finck *passim*).

Pure *tenuis* occur also in final positions: (rakʰ, rakgʰ) *rag* 'stiff'; (kapʰ) *cab* 'jaw, gab'; (rutʰ) *rud* 'thing' (futʰ) *siud*, *sud*, 'yonder'. These have a slight breath escape after them which is indicated by (ʰ). This slight escape of breath is invariable also in the case of the liquids e. g. (kʰara ˈvʰʌʌʰ) *caora-mhaol* 'a hornless sheep; hence a blunt witless fellow'.

A strong breath-glide precedes all voiceless stops which represent double voiceless consonants following upon short vowels v. sub the Aspirate § 2 for examples. It occurs also in the following prepositional pronouns of the second person, viz. (dzjööʰ) *diot* 'of thee'; (tʰduhtʰ) *dut* 'to thee'; (lʰehtʰ) *leat* 'with thee'; (uuahtʰ) *uat* 'from thee'; (rhuhtʰ) *riut* 'to thee'. It occurs also in N. Inv. in (tʰuhtʰfəm) *tuiteam*, O. Ir. *tuitim* 'fall' fr. **tod-tim*; (ruhtʰfəx) *ruiteach* 'ruddy' O. Ir. *rutech* from **rud-tiko*; (ahtʰfəʰ) *aiteal* 'breeze, ray, small portion'; (ahtʰfi) *aiteamh* 'a thaw' **aith-tā-m*; also in *ait* 'glad', *boitidh* 'call to a pig', *oiteag* 'a breeze'; *oitir* 'ridge or bank in the sea'; *kguhtʰf* = 'a winnowing sieve' = *guit*. In most of these last (htʰf) represents an old *d + t* which have got assimilated; analogy has also been at work.

Obs. In Ireland this strong on-breath glide is absent entirely, *mac* 'a son' sounds like the Eng. 'mock' to ridicule. In Arran, Cintyre, Reay it is thought to be entirely absent, apparently because there *mac* is thought to sound as in Eng. 'mac' so frequent in Clan names, not as in the rest of the Highlands (maxkʰ). In these districts before *c*, *p*, *t* I detect a *slight* on-breath glide

in the English pronunciation of the older generation who in their youth chiefly spoke Gaelic only. But Highlanders from other districts do not easily recognise this in the *Gaelic* pronunciation as it differs in point of strength though not in quality from their own *strong* breath glide. Further the (h) has not in the three districts spoken of developed into the back-continuant-breath, the *ach* — sound (x) articulated between the back of the tongue and the middle of the soft palate, — which happens easily before the guttural (k) by means of a slight additional stress. In N. Inv. and elsewhere this takes place before vowels e. g. (a xul'ə lə-a) for (a hūl'ə lə-a) a h-uile là 'every day'. Before *t* the reverse takes place as (jaht̪r̪i) for *eachtraidh* usually pronounced (eaxkri). In the Highlands the passing of (hk) to (xk) would be easy through analogy with *-acht* forms which have mostly become (axk). If *t* in *-acht* — forms as in *bocht* 'poor' has been dropped or made to give way to a developed (k) for ease of utterance one sees how *bocc*, buck, pronounced (pbəhk') (i. e. with a strong breath glide before a double consonant as in *att* swell, Mod. Gaelic (aht'), àt of the script) would become *pboxk'*. Double *cc*, as in O. Ir. *accaine* from *ad* + *c* —, may have also risen from assimilation but in Mod. Gaelic it has become *xk* e. g. *axkan* 'moan'. Had the O. Ir. *cc* been a single consonant we should regularly expect a form **mach* to correspond with O. W. map e. g. O. Ir. *cach*, O. W. *pop*; O. Ir. *sech* Br. *hep*.

On reading Pedersen I now find he regards the present Gaelic pronunciation as going back on a double consonant (p. 83). This glide after nasals could readily be nasalized e. g. (kr̥xk) *cnoc*, O. Ir. *cnocc* 'hill' and this may account for the Manx *cronk* 'hill' which might in my notation be written (kr̥x̃k). But in words without nasals the on-breath-glide remains non-nasal. Before the double consonants ll, nn, m(m), diphthongization sets in just as we have strong breath glides before the double tenues. The peculiar pronunciation of these double consonants is testified to by the Ogam inscriptions from the neighbourhood of Dingle, Kerry, which regularly have the genitive *maqqui*; other Ogams, less correctly, have single *q*, some MSS. are equally careless and inconsistent.

Obs. In *-lc*, *-rc* combinations e. g. *olc* 'bad', *torc* 'boar' the *l*, *r* are voiceless, almost everywhere but in N. Inv. and everywhere save in Arran, Cintyre, Reay, the

glide becomes (x, ç) : (əlhxk') olc 'evil', (thərrxk') torc 'boar' : (na chirrçcə') 'of the hen' (arçcə') airc 'distress'; (felə ·farrçc) Feille Fairc, 'Epiphany'.

The Voiced Stops. In N. Inv. the Gaelic voiced stops initially begin voiceless and end with a voiced glide; this may be shown by writing *pb*, *td*, *kg*; *b* too may be described as having a whisper after it initially, but in medials and finals it becomes voiceless with a voiced glide after it i. e. it is the lip-stop-breath heard in German *b* final of *ab* (= 'ap) 'off'. Initially in Sutherland *b* is often the lip-stop-voice, but sometimes a Sutherlander uses *b* voiceless (= *ɸ*), what one might describe as a very weak (p).

In forming these peculiar sounds the glottis is in the position for voice during the stop, but no air is driven in and so the stop is inaudible as in *k*, but voice begins the moment the stop is loosened and the off-glide is therefore voiced; v. Sweet. § 126 (b). These impure voiceless stops + voiced-glides sound to an untrained English ear as *tenués*. Examples occur throughout.

Interchanges of voiced stops &c. N. Inv. prefers (g) for (d) in some words:

(1) ('dzee-iñ) 'shackles' which occurs in Keating as *géisheann* m. 'fetter'; the form *dä ·leum* is used in Skye and elsewhere. It seems a corruption due to folk-etymology. The first man I ever heard use it thus, etymologized it right off as 'lack of leaping power'! Macbain follows this track and this form of the word, and seems not to know my form; Mc Alpine gives *deubh* f. fetters for the fore-feet of a horse and adds *deubhann* for Lewis; he also gives *deubh-leum*. I think it should be written *geimheann*, to be connected with Ir. *gémhiol*, 'a fetter chain', from a root *gem* to fasten; the mod. Gaelic *geimheal* is also used for 'fetter, chain'; cf. Cymric *gefyn* and Eng. 'gyves' a word seemingly borrowed from the Celtic with an added *s* for the plural.

(2) *geal* 'leech', is the only form used in N. Inv. although *deal* is elsewhere current; but both in this case have respective equivalents in O. Ir.

(3) *greallag* (grołak') 'swingle-tree of a plough'. Other dialects prefer the form *dreallag* which in Colonsay means 'a swing for children'; cf. the New England dlory for 'glory'. ἄδρον for ἄγρόν in Cretan.

NB. The N. Inv. colloquialism (ḍrumə mah a-əṭ') = *gun d'robh math agad*, results from contraction.

(4) There are other dialects which show a preference for *g*, e. g. Harris: *bòsgail*, DIG, I, 275, XCI for *bòsdail*, from Eng. boast; *cosgail* for *cosdail*, expensive, from E. cost. No instance occurs to me from the mainland of N. Inv. of *d* for *b*, but Harris has *drùill* for *brùill* 'to baste meat'; e. g.

sìn thugam an spàin 's gu'n drùill mi seo = hand
me the spoon that I may baste this

cf. Ionic β for Δ of other Greek dialects.

(5) If before *buntāta* 'potatoes' (*munāta* in some places) the article be used the word becomes *mutāta*, an instance of nasal infection, greatly prevalent in Lewis, Assynt, Skye &c. e. g.

am bonn	the foundation	a 'moṁṁṁ'
an duine	the man	a 'nuñə
gu ma	may it be, L. 'sit' for gu m-ba	
an doctar	the doctor	a 'nokṭar.

In N. Inv. it is an 'ḍoṣṭar.

Perhaps *bōid* 'vow' the current form in N. Inv. was thus by a reverse analogy formed from *mōid*, the form current in Sutherland, O. Ir. *móit*.

(6) In N. Inv. *d* never stands for *l* as in Islay which in parts has *dāidir* for *laidir* 'strong'; *dāmh* for *lamh* 'hand'; *dā* for *lā* 'day'; *daogh* for *laogh* 'calf'; cf. Latin *lingua* for **dingua*, **tingua* 'tongue'; cf. Bremer's *Deutsche Phonetik* p. XIII as to uncertainty between *d* and *l* in some German villages in words like *bruder*, *feder*, *wieder*.

(7) Alveolar ordinary English *d* prevails in Reay as in *bōrd* 'table'. N. Inv. has alveolar *t* only in *corra-biod* 'tip-toe' (*korra ·bit*), *saighead* 'arrow' ('sai-at) from Latin *sagitta*, *tī* 'tea' in Glen Urquhart and S. and W. Highlands for (ṭhe-ə) of the North.

Back-Continuant-Breath (x). — This sound is the same as the German *ach-* sound and is articulated between the back of the tongue and the middle of the soft palate in the place where the vowel (u) is formed. It is the sound heard in the Sc. *loch*. In Gaelic it occurs:

(1) initially as a sharp voiceless continuant before back vowels: (xuníc) chunnaic, I, he &c. 'saw'; (:xai-mi) chaidh mi 'I went';

(2) medially: (axa, axaʒ, axək) achadh 'field'; (raxa, raxək) rachadh, 'would go &c.';

(3) finally: (māx) mach 'out'; (lax) lach 'wild duck';

(4) as a glide before (k) representing a final doubled consonant: (pbəxkʰ) boc, O. G. *bocc* 'a buck';

(5) as representing O. Gaelic *ch*: (pbəxkʰ) bocht, O. Ir. *bocht* 'poor';

(6) as representing a developed aspirate i. e. (h) become (x): (na xulə ɖuna) = na h-uile duine 'every man' — N. Inv. *for* na h-uile dhaoine. A like transition takes place in *cht* combinations medially: (riaxʈanax and riahtanax) riatanach 'necessary, desirable';

(7) in Colonsay it seemingly may develop out of *th* medial or final e. g. (lɛəxə) leotha 'with them'; (huk iatʰ lɛəx ə) thug iad leoth' e, 'they brought him with them'. M^c Alpine (Dict. XXIX) for Islay writes it lōch-cha; also Sutherland e. g. (graxiçɟ) gnàthaicht' 'wonted';

(8) in some districts in Ireland *th* medial or final becomes *f* e. g. (lɛəfə) leotha 'with them'; (guf) guth 'voice' borrowed into Irish provincial Eng. as 'guff'. In Strathglass in N. Inv. *th* initial in such a loan word as Theodor becomes *f* (·Fɛ-a-ɖar);

(9) in the neighbourhood of Roscommon initial *ch* in *chuidh* 'went' sounds (f): (fuuai) — this I have from Dr. Hyde's pronunciation; cf. Idg. *dh*, *gh* becoming *f* in Latin;

(10) in Munster it is the rule that *dh* final after back vowels becomes (x) unless it is entirely dropped: (pɔsax) pósadh : (ɖosklax) d'osgladh 'was opened'; (ɖaagax) d'fhágadh 'left'; (ɖə bunax na suulə hana asəm ar lefan aʒas ɖa jasgoo fin n̪i vei-əx ungə ɔrəm ɖa munfii aʒ cɛaun̪ [cɛɔun̪?] a ·n̪if dʒm) = do baineadh na súile cheana asam ar seision agus d'á dheasgaibhsin ní bheidheadh iongna orm dá mbaintí an ceann anois diom = 'the eyes are already taken out of me, said he, and after that I should not wonder if the head were now taken off me'. But in Munster I noticed -dh final after front vowels become *g* not (ç) as in Colonsay.

Back-Continuant-Voice, (ʒ) — same sound as (x) but flat and voiced. It is the same as in the German *zogen* (ʰtsô-ʒən)

'drew'. It occurs in Gaelic:

(1) initially: (ʒa, ʒav, ʒau) ghabh 'took'; (a · ʒriian) a'ghrian, 'the sun'; (ʒaa) 'dha, 'two';

(2) medially: (fæʒax) seadhach 'intelligent, sensible'; (fæʒər) foghair 'harvest, autumn'; fœvər (Colonsay);

(3) finally: (pɸuuaɫœʒ) bualadh 'striking'; (ʒavœʒ ε) ghabhadh e 'he would take'. But in N. Inv. this ending *-adh* passes often into (ək) while in Sutherland it becomes (u).

Obs. *gh* in *ghr* + front vowel combinations has no front palatalization; the forward effect (ɾ-) is confined to the *r* in such cases in N. Inv.

Front-Continuant-Breath, (ç) — this consonant is the same as the German *ich*-sound formed between the front of the tongue and the middle of the hard palate in the place where the vowel (i) is articulated. It is heard sometimes initially in Scotland in the English *hue, hew, Hugh*. In Gaelic it occurs:

(1) initially: as a sharp voiceless continuant before front vowels: (çii) mi) chì mi, 'I shall see'; (an tçiir çeen) an tìr chéin, 'in a' foreign land;

(2) medially: (oihçə) oidhche 'night'. I have known an upper — Strathglass pronunciation where in this word (ç) became f; thus (oihfə) 'night'. A like transition is heard in some German dialects where *ich* sounds (if);

(3) finally: (fiiliç) sìthich 'a fairy'; (dɾax aɳ · iɟhiç) dreach an fhithich 'the hue of the raven'; sometimes in final position it is developed in many districts from (th) e. g. ith 'eat' > (iç), bruith 'boil' > (pbruic);

(4) as a glide before (c) in N. Inv. &c.: (miççə) mic, 'sons'. In many words it occurs both initially and finally: (çiisiç) chiosaich 'he, she subdued';

(5) in Colonsay *-dh* final after a front vowel is so pronounced e. g. (xaic) chaidh 'went'; (æ-iç) aghaidh 'front, face'; (kgar · niɟürfiç) gar n-ionnsuidh, 'towards us'. In Colonsay the oblique cases of the *t*-stems are still traceable owing to their being thus preserved e. g. in words of the type *teine* 'fire', O. G. *tene*, g. *tened*. "In the south we say *teinidh* (pronounced *teinich*) in the oblique cases to the present day, *air teinidh*, *r'a theinidh* (on fire) &c. So *lene*, *lened* 'a shirt' is now indeclinable according to our grammars and Dictionaries. But the Argyll shire man works as a *leinidh* (pronounced *léinich*) i. e. literally 'out of his

shirt' and tells you so any summer day" — Mackinnon. Thus *tuilleadh* 'more' is in Colonsay (tʉlɪç) but in Mull (tʉli). N. Inv. has two pronunciations of this last word, viz. one agreeing with Mull while the other shows ɫ (tʉli). In Islay *an deachaidh* 'did he (she, it) go?' is (aɲ ˈd̪a-ɪç) versus (an d̪zaxi) in N. Inv.; as to *bidhich* cf. M^c Alpine for Islay (Dict. XVIII);

(6) in Islay *sc* in *uisce, uisge* 'water' > ç (uɪççə);

(7) often from *th* medial in N. Inv.: (ñɪçən) *nithean* 'things'.

Obs. (1) In Islay, Arran, ç final is dropped, as is also general in Manx

Muilich is Ilich = men of Mull and of Islay
mʉlij is ijlij.

In Colonsay the contrary is the case, for there a phrase like *mac an earraidh*, literally,

'son of raiment' = mæxk aɲ earri

which, however, sounds as *mac an earraich* = 'son of spring'.

(2) The Book of the Dun Cow, circa 1100 A. D., if not a misreading, has once at least *saich* for *sáeth*, soeth 'bad'. In N. Inv. its modern representative is often sounded (sax).

(3) In Jura I have heard *dhuibh* 'to you' pronounced (ʒu-ɪç). This may be an individual peculiarity evidently developed through (ʒu-ij), the general pronunciation of N. Inv. and elsewhere.

Front-Continuant-Voice, (j) — same sound as (ç) but flat and voiced. It may be identified with buzzed Eng. *y* in *yes, yon*. It occurs:

(1) initially as *gh-*, *dh-*, before a front vowel: (jeɛɫ) *ghéill* 'yielded' (jjoʷ) *gheobh* 'will get'; in N. Inv. it is often dwelt upon in initial stressed position; for Argyll one might write it (jev), for some districts (jow); (jɛh) *dheth* 'of him'; (ˈjɪiar ɛ) *dh'iarr e*, 'he asked';

(2) medially: (pbɔɪjæx) *bòidheach*, 'pretty' but in N. Inv. this word is often diphthongized into (pbɔi-ax);

(3) N. Inv. and other dialects in contrast to most parts of Argyll usually develops initial *e* and *e* after the voiced guttural palatalized velar stop (ɟ) and after the voiced labial stop &c. (v. Palatalization) into (j): (jax) *each* 'horse'; (jarnafɫʰ) *airnaist*, *airnis*, 'furniture'; (jærəp) *earb* 'a roe'; (jarrax) *earrach* 'spring';

(jɔrna) eòrna 'barley'; (pbjɔɔ) beò 'alive'; (ɕjɔoi) geòidh, gen. of giadh 'goose' but used in N. Inv. as nom.;

(4) sometimes as a diphthongal glide v. Diphthongization.

Obs. Compare The French dialect of Ezy-sur-Eure where M. Passy notes eau, 'water' as (jo); Sc. (jen) = E. one (wan).

(5) in many parts of the North in words with initial *a* this sound is developed. Thus at Kinlochbervie

cho àirdeil so inventive xə 'jaardzal.

Back-Stop-Breath (k) and **Back-Stop-Voice** (g). In addition to what has been said, suffice it to say that the palatalized velar stops are written here as c, j respectively. As these have a slightly back element (ɨ) predominating I have differentiated them from cc, cj, which latter correspond to the Hungarian ty, gy. Examples are:

ceò mist	cɛɔɔ, chjɔɔ
geal white	ʝaɫ', ʝɛɫ'.

The latter j like the Gaelic g is properly described as a voiceless stop, the second-half of which I determine for N. Inverness to be a voiced consonant, although there may be speakers elsewhere with whom it may be a voiced glide. Anyhow it produces the impression of (c) on a non-Gaelic ear and could be written (cj). Further, it influences the quality of a preceding nasal:

n'an geugan	in their branches	nan cjeekan
nan geug	of the branches	nan cjeek.

After the article and when no special stress is present, the voicelessness almost approaches to full voice and we might write e. g.

an giadh the goose an ʝiia
 although in N. Inverness the usual
 colloquialism is (an ʝɔoi).

NB. This palatal feature is common to many languages e. g. Icelandic *kiaerr* dear, 'carus' for *kaerr*, *giaeta* 'custodire' for *gaeta*; cf. French *cas* (ka) 'casus', *goût* (gu) 'gustus' where k proceeds from the back of the mouth whereas in *qui* (= ci) 'who', *guerre* (= ʝêr) 'war', the k is nearer the front; compare Irish-English (*cyar*) for 'car'.

Obs. N. Inv. and most of the North so far as the g-sound goes, confuses *leag* 'throw down', Ir. leagaim, and *leig* 'let' O. Ir. léicim, léicim, making the g non-palatal in both cases.

Front-Stop-Breath, (cc) — this consonant in Gaelic resembles the Hungarian *ty* in sound though not in formation as it is pronounced in N. Inv. It is produced by bringing the medium front of the tongue against the outer back of the palate (v. Sweet's Phonetics, § 76), often with the outer modifier (ɾ) as in Russian (тетѣба) 'bow-string', Russ. (мать) 'mother'. For the Arran Isles, Finck describes it as formed between 'den mittleren zungenrücken und die mitte des harten gaumens' e. g. Russ. *tebé*, and he uses (c) as a symbol for it. He thus writes Ir. rithist (rísc) which for N. Inv. I should write (rijstf). In N. Inv. as in cuid 'share', slàint 'health', pàirt 'part' it has a strong resemblance to the Danish *t* before *i*, with a hiss after it. This hiss may in Argyll have the character of (ç) e. g. cuid (khuccç) 'share', dhuìt (zuccç) 'to thee', teàrr ccaarr 'tar', when used with the article *an*. In N. Inv. it is a sound of occasional occurrence e. g. in *cuideigin* 'some one' (kuccicən); *an cuid nighean* 'their daughters' (-aŋ -kucc ·ñijən); *cha teid mi ann* 'I won't go there' (xa ccecc mi aunn); *na creid e* 'don't believe him' (-na ·krecc-ε).

N. Inv. however prefers in stressed positions to form it in the position of *tl*. This supplants (cc) save in some phrases. Hence here it is oftenest written (tl): xailł εt' aŋ ·kutf' s an ·dΔΔnə = chaill iad an cuid s an daoine 'they lost their means and their men'; (tlukiñi) tiugainnidh 'come ye'; (tluw) tiugh 'thick'.

The single nature of this sound, palatalized from the very outset, is illustrated by the ease with which in non-initials it undergoes change.

Thus in some parts of Uist and Lorne *na bric* 'the trout' sounds like *brist* 'broken' (pbrifc); *tric* 'often' like *trist* (trifc); *uisg* 'water' like *uist* (uifc); cf. Ionic εσκε for εστε. In Morar *st* after a front vowel sounds in final positions like *sc* in the same position. Thus a Morar priest writes of his cousin in the island of Benbecula that he was stationed in *Uisg* (u-ifc) where he means Uist, Uidhist (written as *Guiste* in Baliol's Ordinance of 1292). So too in Manx *ushtey*, older *uskey* 'water'; *mastey*, older *masky* = Gaelic *am measg* 'among' v. Rhys, 117 and 124.

In Manx *t*, *d* flanked by front vowels occur when 'accompanied' with assibilation or with a certain other after-sound (Rhys Manx Phonology, 110). This other after-sound written by Rhys (:) is "either a whispered form of the \tilde{s} and \tilde{z} (*sh* and *zh*) occurring in *tš* and *tž* (*čh* and *j*) or else of a consonantal form of \tilde{i} ". Further the *t* and *d* in this combination may be described as *mouillé*. The Manx corresponding to Gaelic *caillte* 'lost' is *kailchey* or *cailjey* but where 'as in Manx *bannit* or *bannit* (Gaelic *beannaichte*) 'blessed', the final vowel has been dropped, the absence "led to a difference in the pronunciation of the dental. Where, as in *kailchey*, *cailjey*, we have to set out from *caltia*, i. e. where the final syllable and the semi vowel remain, the assibilation of the *t* into *tš* takes place; but where the vowel, as in *bannit*, from *bannitia* is gone, leaving the semi vowel unsupported, the result as regards the assibilation is not the same. The desinence of *bannit* at the present day may be sounded (t:) or else it may be assibilated into a fully developed (tš); but the latter seems to be an exaggeration rather than the best pronunciation in vogue. If you call a Manx man's attention to such a word as (bănnit:) he will very possibly pronounce it (bănitš) but in unguarded talk he will nevertheless almost invariably say bănit:) and so with other words. In the case of (d:) the after sound of the *d* is some what feebler than in that of (t:)" — Rhys, p. 111. This confirms the existence of two sorts of pronunciations in Manx, exactly as in the Highlands. Colonsay &c. has no touch of the *ch*-sound (č) in this word which is so pronounced in N. Inv. And I think Manx (:) and the Gaelic varieties corresponding to Hungarian *ty*, *gy*, as well as Russ. *t*, *d* as in (*tebě*, *dělo*), may claim to be older historically; cf. (-rt-, -rte) combinations, which in N. Inv. versus Arran, Sutherland and Ireland, > (rft-, rftf).

Front-Stop-Voice, (cʃ, ʃ) — same sound as last but flat and voiced. It is the Hungarian *gy* in 'Magyar' but in Gaelic it has an outer modifier as in Russ. дядя DaDa 'uncle'. Finck for the Arran Isles writes it (j) and compares the Russian *dělo*.

In N. Inv. the first half is a voiceless, the second half is a voiced consonant (not a voiced glide). Hence in analogy with the preceding I should write it (tʃ) but for convenience I adopt (dʒ); *d* + *ʒ* as in E. *dʒadz* 'judge' is a compound sound wherein Eng. *d* is throughout not palatalized whereas the Gaelic sound

is one single sound palatalized from the outset in spite of its being in its first half voiceless, and after the consonant is produced, an escape of voiced breath follows it.

It is only occasionally used in N. Inv. e. g. (aĩ cʒee) an de, 'yesterday'; (aĩ cʒju) an diugh 'to-day'; (-xa :ccec -mi -icʒər :icʒər -aĩ) 'I won't go at all at all'. In point of formation N. Inv. tends to form it in the position for *tf* — though after palatal nasals full palatalization is often retained (xaĩ 'icʒic an 'saahax an ;faŋ') *cha'n fhidrich an sàthach an seang*, 'the wall-fed won't consider the lean'.

Likewise a N. Inv. pronunciation of *naimhdean* 'enemies' as *naindean* (naincʒən, nainjən). But the more common way is (naidzən) in N. Inv.; (navidzən) in Colonsay.

Blade-Continuant-Breath, (s). The tongue-blade, along the central line of which the breath is directed, approaches the gums behind the upper teeth and the breath becomes sibilant owing to the friction it undergoes in passing between the upper and lower front teeth. The tip of the tongue may rest against the lower front teeth. It is usually more forcible than Eng. *s*, the tongue-articulation being closer. Before and after short vowels in stress its effect is stronger and its length is one-half longer than after long vowels but it is unnecessary to indicate this in phonetic transcripts; though it could be shown by doubling. After long vowels and when intervocalic its effect is much weaker and with some speakers it is half-voiced after *ua* diphthongs e. g. in *uasal* 'noble'; this is not the case however when it stands for *ss* in M. Ir. e. g. *asal*, M. Ir. *assal* 'ass'. In monosyllables with long vowels (*cās*, *bās*) *s* is as a rule softer.

Obs. After nasals it is often formed with *half-voice*, (ak juʒzsaxa) *ag ionnsachadh* 'learning'. For Gaelic one might describe it as a voiceless *z*. Its most frequent occurrence is after the article.

Also in unstressed position as in (*az* 'ɛf) 'as es', 'quoth he'. Here too we have but an approximation to a *Blade-Continuant-Voice* which is really more of an idiosyncrasy than anything else.

In final positions the tip of the tongue instead of resting on the lower teeth assumes a supra-dental position. This is indicated in the script in words like *solusd* for *solus* 'light', *dorusd* for *dorus* 'door'. In the word *fathasd* 'yet' the final *d* is heard in all the dialects. The strongly hissed *s* gives the

impression of its being point-tooth; cf. in the 'case of front double ll, *biotailt* 'victuals', E. Ir. *bitáill*; and *miotailt* from E. *metal*. In Irish-English it may also be heard e. g. in Miss Barlow's Irish Idylls, *twyst* for 'twice' p. 172, 216, also *chanst* for 'chance', and *wanst* for 'once', *passim*; cf. Ger.

obst fr. obez
papst fr. pabes.

The blade-continuant-voice (z) occurs in Lewis for front untrilled r; e. g. *ez* (air) 'on'; this change occurs in Manx (Rhÿs: p. 149) e. g. *ynrick* 'upright' = Gaelic *ionnraic*, as (*ȳzik*) in my orthography (*iȳzic*); Manx *Kinry* from *Mac Henry* is (Kinzi) i. e. (Cijnzi); cf. Fr. *chaise*, a Parisian modification of Fr. *chaire*.

In Lewis, however, it may pass into the point-teeth-continuant-voice (ð), as in *E. then*; e. g. (eð) *air* 'on'; (maaðax) *màireach* 'to-morrow'; cf. (zæn) for (ðen) then [children's Eng.]; *boirionnach* 'a female, a woman' *pboðrinax* (Bernera of Harris, — but the r is very slight); *ghuirm* gen. of *gorm* 'blue' (zuðəm) — Bernera of Harris. Thus *athair* 'father' has 4 pronunciations: *ahir* (the general one); *ahið* (one half of Lewis); *ahil* (St. Kilda); *ahij* (parts of Tiree and Outer Isles).

Obs. In (sp-, st-, sc-) combinations the *s* tends to take all the voicelessness.

Teeth-Continuant-Breath, (f) — this differs from the English *sh* in 'shall' in being always rounded; the tongue position is therefore some what relaxed and in some places through vocalic infection (aspiration) as in West Skye (Lonmore) and parts of Uist it passes into the voiceless vowel i. e. the breath-throat-continuant (h): (*aṇṇ* a ;hin) (*aṇṇ* a ;hjəh) for (*aṇṇ* a fin) — [but in North Uist, Harris and Colonsay and Sutherland fɛn] — (*aṇṇ* a fəɔ, fəh) *ann a sin*, 'there'; *ann a seo*, or *so*, 'here'; but (sə, sɪn') in Knapdale and in Strathbran and according to Mr. Gunn at Portskerra, Sutherland. Gaelic (f) for N. Inv. corresponds to Danish *sj* rather than to Eng. *sh*; in English there is no protrusion of the lips and the blade of the tongue is retracted towards the hard palate. In Gaelic the protrusion of the lips increases the resonant hiss caused by breath-friction through the teeth-edges.

Obs. After nasals it may be half-voiced; also after *ll* in *ilse* for *isle* comparative of *iosal* 'low'. I cannot

locate the pronunciation (ijłłzə); in N. Inv. it is (ijfə).
A Strathglass pronunciation of *oidhche* 'night' as (ooizə) has it, but this is perhaps an idiosyncrasy.

Lip-Stop-Voice-Nasal, (m) — as in English *m*. It occurs:

(1) In initials: (mì, mii) m̀ 'I, me'.

(2) In finals where it is half-long, taking the place of (mm) or (mb). In the Fernaig Ms. (1688) in final position it often is written *mb*. In such positions a short preceding vowel is diphthongized in the Northern Dialects (v. Diphthongization). In E. final *mb* > *m* in pronunciation circa 1600: *clim(b)*, *com(b)*, *dum(b)*, *lam(b)*, *wom(b)*; it crept in between *m* + *l* e. g. *thimble*, *bramble*, *rumble*, between *m* + *r* in *timber*, *slumber*; cf. Fr. *humble* fr. L. *humilis*, *nombre* fr. L. *numerus*. In Manx the double *mm* is sometimes represented in the orthography *imm*, *eeym* 'butter'; Manx *drommey* = Ir. *drommo* gen. of *druim* 'ridge' v. Rhÿs: Manx Phon. 132, (2).

Obs. *b* is found in Gaelic after *m* in Arisaig and Moidart.
ann sa chaimb 'in the *cam* or crooked place'; *m* is introduced before *b*, *t*, *p* by reflex action: e. g.

pumpaid 'pulpit' (in Arran)

buntāta 'potatoe'; (*n* before dental)

strūmp 'stroup' (in Arran).

Lip-Stop-Breath-Nasal, (mh) — same as *m* but unvoiced: it occurs in Gaelic in such a phrase as (a ·mhaa-ir) *a màthair*, 'her mother' when subjected to strong stress; also in (mhahir) *m'athair* 'my father', when stressed. The *m* seems to be simply syllable-forming and I might indicate it (m̥); (am ·xree) = a'm' chré 'in my body'.

Point-Teeth-Nasal-Voice, (n, nn) — this letter has no corresponding sound in English; in N. Inv. it is an *n* with the interdental modifier and in its formation the point of the tongue is spread out like a fan so that the whole of its rim is brought against the teeth together with the tongue-point spread, the back of the tongue being slightly raised at the same time. In absolute initials it may be produced by placing the tongue firmly on the back of the upper teeth as in French *non*. The fore-part of the tongue is not hollowed.

N. Inv. does not use it in absolute initials as is still the case in Argyll &c., but it occurs constantly in the article (an) before interdental consonants: (an ·dunə) *an duine* 'the man'.

In final stressed position it is doubled, at the least half-long: (a_unñ) *ann* 'in it'; (fa_unñ) *fann* 'faint'; but *a' fannachadh* (a' fa_naxaʒ) 'a-fainting': (xan el ε; a_unñ :añ ma' haá) *cha'n eil e ann an ma tha* 'it is n't there then'.

Obs. The N. Inv. dialect.

(1) Has not got the liquid mouillé sound ñ in the words *duine*, 'man', *teine*, 'fire', which it has in Gairloch, East Ross, Sutherland, Colonsay &c. (duñə, tɛñə); nor in *aithne*, 'knowledge', (añə) = Gairloch versus ('a-nə) of the Aird; in *mhuin* (*air mo mhuin*, 'on my back'), *eileain* ('of the island'), it abandons the ñ sound which in this case would be used in parts of the west. It distinguishes n and ñ in *aon fhear* ('ΛΛn 'ɛɪ) 'one man', *an fhir* 'of the man, the individual', (-a_u 'iɪ).

Obs. Finck for the Arran isles marks (dinə, dynə) *duine* 'man' without *n* mouillé as in N. Inv.; also (cinə, ceñə) 'fire' shows in his notation that in Arran it is either alveolar or supradental.

(2) Possesses dental ɲ only before dental consonants or where it is written in the ordinary script nn either medial or final. In the phrase *na'n àit'-eiginn* 'or some where' it has alveolar n where as in Colonsay e. g. it would be (nan); *an uair* 'when' *an uiridh* 'last year', *a nall*, 'over', *an nochd* 'to-night', (Gairloch), where in N. Inv. it would be n; but Gairloch and N. Inv. agree in *na_uiññ* (na_uiñ) 'in us', the prep. *ann* (a_unñ) being here combined with the personal pronoun.

n in anlaut or initial ɲ dental followed by a dark vowel, it would appear, is native to the language. The apparent exceptions *na* = (1) 'the', (2) 'than', (3) 'not', may be explained by their having lost an initial syllable or from their having been alveolar aspirates in their original position.

In N. Inv. n in anlaut followed by a dark or broad vowel is alveolar (n), not dental (ɲ) as in many other districts, as in Islay and in Colonsay where 'enemy' is (na_uvitɪ) *namhaid*; *new* (nu_ua) *nuadh*. Before dark vowels followed by a dental consonant N. Inverness may use n or ɲ indifferently, and n or ñ where the consonant is palatal

cūmhnanta	covenant	{	khu _u nnañta
			khu _u nnañta
sláinte	health	{	sł _u añtsə
			sł _u añtɛɟ.

As N. Inv. does not use dental *n* in such words as *nuadh* 'new', *naisg* 'bind', *naomh* 'holy', the aspirated forms of *n* before a dark vowel are not only distinguishable from the unaspirated by a sharper stress but are generally accompanied by voicelessness. Two cases fall to be distinguished:

(1) The preterite tenses of verbs, which have full voicelessness, e. g.

shnamh e *he swam* *hnaq̃ ε*.

(2) The feminines of adjectives, such as *nuadh* 'new', which have a weaker degree of voicelessness or are only half voiceless, e. g. *a' bhean nuadh-phòsda* 'the bride' (-a ·vɛn ·hnuɔ̃a ; fhɔ̃ɔst̪a); *mo nàire* 'shame, fie!' (mɔ ·hnaaɾə); *fan* 'stay, wait' fh̃aɦn. It might be indicated by (·) after the Consonant e. g. (fh̃aɦn·). Before front vowels and in stressed medial position it is more perceptible e. g.

mo neart *my strength* mɔ ·n'ɛrft̪
sin e *that's he* ·f̃iɦn̪ ·ε

cha'n eil fine sam bith 'there is no clan whatever' (-h̃aɦn ·el : fh̃iɦn̪·ə -sam ·bbih).

Further, if in the same dialect we may indifferently have *n*, *ɲ*, or *ɲɲ* in some words, as *banrigh* 'queen' (pbaɲɲɲiɦj, pbaɲɲiɦj, and in the Outer Isles pbaaɦriɦɲ) we may look for a variety of delicate shadings amongst all the dialects. Thus while neither Gairloch nor N. Inv. has *ɲ* in *aon diag* 'eleven' (Λ̃aɦn ɦiɦk, ·Λ̃aɦn-tf̃ɛk), Gairloch has dental *n* in *aon-ghin* (Λ̃aɦn ɦiɦn̪) versus N. Inv. (Λ̃aɦn ɦiɦn̪). Gairloch, again, like many dialects distinguishes *buain* 'to reap' from adjective *buan* (with dental *n*) 'lasting' but N. Inv. does not; *tastan* 'shilling' has *ɲ* in Gairloch, *n* in N. Inv. and it may be added that initial *t* in this word is supradental in Gairloch whereas in N. Inv. it is interdental.

(3) N. Inv. never drops *n* final in *fh̃in* 'self' which is a Colonsay characteristic e. g. *mi ·hee* 'myself', (ε ·hee) 'himself'; but (mi ɦiɦ) in Mull. On the contrary, in N. Inv. *n* final and stressed is voiceless though often but half-voiced.

(4) In N. Inv. *n* in medial sounds or in the grammatical unit before *d*, *s*, *r*, *l*, *n* is often dropped; thus we get the opposite to nasal infection or eclipsis e. g. *an duine* 'the man' a ·ɟunə. In *nr*, *nl*, *ns* combinations the dropped *n* leaves its influence in nasalizing the previous vowel.

A word like *innis* 'tell' is pronounced i_̃-y_̃f, i_̃f, i_̃n_̃f, almost indifferently. Other instances are:

an tãillear	the tailor	a tãa _̃ lar'
annsa	dearer, preferable	a _̃ usa
anns	in the	{ as a _̃ us
anrath	distress	aara
annran	vexation	aaran
annlann	condiment	a _̃ ulan
	(= a _̃ l _̃ an Colonsay)	
na coinnle	of the candle	na ko _̃ l _̃ a
cainnlean }		ka _̃ l _̃ an
coinnlean }	candles	ko _̃ l _̃ an
uinnlean	elbows	u _̃ l _̃ an

(the u being half long).

Compare the disappearance in Germany of n before s without nasalization, however, from the confines of the Netherlands to Posen, and with nasalization in Hesse, Odenwald, Vogtland, Swabia, Alemannia &c. Also in the Swiss dialects of German from the Jura to Vorarlberg n has disappeared before s and f.

NB. (1) nn before s is kept in Islay: ionnsachadh. (2) In some place-names n is wanting in Gaelic e. g.

Gael. Colasa = Colonsay; Colosus in Adamnan; so Orasa for Oronsay, from Norse *Orfiris*-ey, the name of islands which at *ebb*-tide are joined to the mainland.

(5) N. Inv. and other dialects shew n for l

clach- _̃ niarra	whet-stone = clach- _̃ lobharraidh
Ci _̃ n 'tar _̃ aglan	Kiltarlity = Ci _̃ l _̃ 'tar _̃ lakan
m _̃ unachag	kebbok of = m _̃ ulachag
	cheese.

(6) N. Inv. has sometimes n for r, iomachain reflection, blame = iomchoir; (va mi krim_̃æxar) = a'cur iomchoir (Col.) is *minic* (Uist) for *is mairg* 'pity'!

NB. As to the dropping of n final remarked on in (3) I have noted (mi hee) 'myself' = mi-fhéin for a district in Perthshire. A parallel to this is found in Thuringia and Upper Saxony where the n in *mein*, *dein*, *sein*, *kein*, *ein* falls out without nasalization of the vowel, the like process being found with nasalization in Rhine-Frankish exclusive of Lower Hesse.

Front-Nasal-Voice, (\tilde{n} , $\tilde{n}\tilde{n}$) as in Italian *gn* — this is the fully palatalized or *n mouillé* and occurs short or half-long, and long or double. It occurs in ($\tilde{n}ij$) *ni* ‘thing’, not in the verb (*nij*) *nì* for *gnì* ‘will do’; ($\tilde{n}j\grave{a}rft'$ — N. Inv., $\tilde{n}\epsilon\grave{a}rft'$ — N. Argyll &c.), *neart* ‘strength’. In mutation it becomes half-voiced and voiceless e. g. (a $\tilde{n}j\grave{a}rft'$) a *neart* ‘her strength’; (a $nh\grave{a}rft'$) ‘his strength’. With the younger generation one may often hear in many districts only the one sound or the other.

In finals it is doubled, representing old *nd* or *nn*: (*t(h)ijūñ*) *tinn* ‘sick’. But in medial position, even though written *nn*, owing to lack of full stress it is short: (*tfiñas*) *tinneas* ‘illness’; (*p(h)ijūñ*) *binn* ‘melodious’ but (*pbiñas*) *binneas* ‘melody, sweetness of tone’.

n of the article becomes (\tilde{n}) when followed by a front vowel: (*añ ·ijhr*) ‘of the man’, *an fhir* — (the *r* being voiceless or only half-voiced). — I cannot find a decided yod as is the case in Manx (Rhŷs, 135) *yñ* *iaspick* ‘the bishop’. Though N. Inv. is fond of introducing a yod in words with initial *e* (v. sub. Front-Continuant-Voice) it contents itself by assimilating the *e* to a preceding *n* which thus becomes (\tilde{n}); (*fō llaḡi añ espic*) *fō laimh an easbuig* ‘under the hand of the bishop’ (of one ‘confirmed’); (*fōñ ·jalax*) *fō'n eallach* ‘under the burden’ — N. Inv. and Islay. The mutation of (\tilde{n}) initial is the voiceless (*nh*), but strictly a lesser degree of voicelessness (*n'*).

NB. N. Inv. uses the same alveolar *n* in *min* ‘meal’, *mīn* ‘soft’, *minidh* ‘awl’, *féin* ‘self’, *sin* ‘that’, *teine* ‘fire’, *duine* ‘man’, *cuidhnich* ‘remember’, *cruithneachd* ‘wheat’, which, with the exception of *féin*, *sin*, may elsewhere from Arran to Reay be heard with \tilde{n} .

To indicate this palatal \tilde{n} the English script puts in *nz* in several surnames and place-names e. g. Mackenzie (*Maxkōñic*); Menzies (*mεḡñīrax*), in E. (*minīs*); the *z* is often absent in English pronunciation of words where it occurs in spelling, e. g. Monzie; cf. *lz* in Dalziel (*dā-sl*).

Throat-Nasal-Voice, (η) — it is formed between the back portion of the tongue and the middle of the soft palate. It always is associated with back vowels and is generally of intermediate length.

(*aḡ ·hōḡni*) *an comhnuidh* ‘always’; (*lloḡ, lloḡk*) *long*, ‘ship’; (*tfeḡka*) ‘tongue’, *teanga*; (*ijūḡa*) *ionga* ‘nail’. The (η) in N. Inv.

only develops to (k) in strong stress. In N. Inv. for 'tongue' the nom. is (tʃɛŋʒi) with the (ŋ) almost gone save for its nasalization of the preceding vowel, the genitive (na ˈtʃɛŋka) 'of the tongue'; also *ang* final develops in N. Inv. to (ək) e. g. (khuħək) cumhang 'narrow', in Argyll (khuħann) cumhann. In medials ng becomes ʒ with preceding vowel nasalized: mɛʒan, meangan 'branch' in Colonsay (mɛkan); (iüʒar) iongar 'pus' (ikə) Colonsay; *ngl* medial passes through (nʒl) till it is lost in nasalization of the preceding vowel: (mjɛ-aŋlan) meanglan 'a twig' mɛɛlan (Col.); in this way through assimilation with *m* Ir. *congabháil* has developed in Scotland to *cumail* (v. Rhŷs, Manx Phon, 138).

Throat-Nasal-Breath (ŋh) may be heard in stressed positions in rapid pronunciation of the prepositional pronoun 'nan 'm their' + (k) (va ɛtʰ naŋ ˈharapaʲiv) bha iad 'nan carbadaibh 'they were in their chariots' (va ɛtʰ naŋ ˈhonʰ) bha iad 'nan con 'they were dogs' (va ɛtʰ naŋ ˈhatalʰ) bha iad 'nan cadal 'they were sleeping'.

Back-Nasal-Voice, (ɲ) — it is the nasal heard in Eng. 'sing', but in Gaelic it is more palatal; e. g. (fiŋciɪtʃ) singilt, 'single'; (iɲɛ) ing 'ink'; (pbiɲɛ) binc 'a bench'; (əɲˌciɪlʰ) an ciall 'their reason'; (əɲ.ciɲnə frɪfələx) an cinne Friseileach 'the Clan Fraser'. If there be strong stress there is a breath glide e. g. (nanˌchiɪavakan) 'nan ciabhagan 'in their locks' which in N. Inv. is often (hnaˌcɲiɪavakan). It may also be heard in the gen. of *long* 'ship': (na ʎuiɲɛə) na luinge; in N. Inv. however it is (ʎui), in Morvern, Colonsay (ʎɛə); Reay sounds *long* 'ship' as (ʎɛʒ ʎɛə), na luinge 'of the ship' (na ʎuij).

Point-Open-Voice (r and ɾ). There are two kinds; the first (ɾ) is done with the tongue against the alveolus or roof of the mouth which gives it a broad character. It is generally trilled with the tongue-point against the arch; the second (r) is done with the blade of the tongue against the hard upper front gum near the roots of the front upper teeth; it, too, is trilled but to a slighter degree than the former; in quick speech the tongue merely flaps against the gum so that the vibratory trill is lost; on this account, as also from its advanced position, it is easily mistaken, being half-voiceless, in Harris and St. Kilda for *l* associated with front vowels, while in Lewis it passes into a sound which some pronounce as (ð), other as (z); cf. French *chaise* for *chaire* = 'cathedra' and vice versa, Gothic *maiza* Eng. more; Latin *aurora* for *ausosa. Finck for the Arran

isles remarks similarly: 'dem klinge nach kommt í (í in his transcription = r in mine) zuweilen dem stimmhaften s-laute ziemlich nahe'; cf. Manx [Rhÿs, I61 (5)]. Often it becomes a lisp and in Tíree *air* 'on' (er) sounds like eigh (eij) 'ice'. In finals where in the usual script it is *rr* it is always *strongly* trilled e. g. (fjaarr) feàrr 'better' — the strong trill being represented here by doubling. Further it occurs voiceless as in Icelandic and in Welsh e. g. in Gael. (mò rrhònn) mo shròn 'my nose', — the doubling representing a trill; (aunn an 'truh) anns an t-sruth 'in the stream'; (;rhAA an 'au-iññ) thraogh an abhuinn 'the river subsided'. Owing to (r) in N. Inv. being supplanted in non-initials by (r̥) the aspirated form also is (r̥h) in the above examples, if trilled (r̥rh). It may suffice to refer to this distinction once for all so as to avoid the necessity of introducing such a minute difference into the transcripts. This so-called aspirated sound is distinct from the slender sound by being distinctly voiceless, but the slender sound itself is very often so: (a :r̥hii laa kgus añ 'dzu) a thri là gus an diugh, 'three days ago'; but when in answer to the query (nax moor an d̥r̥ox elan a her) nach |mór an droch oilean a th'air? 'is he not very ill-mannered', one says 'he is' in the stressed answer *air* is at the least half-unvoiced e. g. (ha :fin ;er̥h) *tha sin air*. In N. Inv. in initials, before back and front vowels, it is a strongly trilled retracted sound (r) and is always non-mouillé; in aspirated positions as in verbal preterites and in adjectives feminine and after the possessive pronouns (mò) 'my', (dò) thy, (a) his and (a) the sign of the vocative, it is always mouillé (i. e. r̥); (mò, dò, a r̥hii) 'my, thy, his king' but *a rrii* 'her king'. This agrees with West Munster; 'the aspirated sound of r is nothing more than its slender sound. It is unknown in the counties of Kilkenny, Waterford and Tipperary, but strongly marked in the other counties of Munster' (v. O'Don. Gram. p. 53).

The following seems an exception to the above statement that initials have strongly trilled retracted (rr): the prepositional pronoun *romham* 'before me' through all its persons never in N. Inv. has (rr) but always (r̥) i. e. it is treated as if it had an enclitic particle before it. It can't be owing to its having been originally followed by a front vowel, O. Ir. *remam* 'before me', for one says (rraṙ-ər̥) 'fat' = *reamhar* — the final (r̥) for (r) exemplifies the Northern dialect merely; — in the feminine it

> (r̥h) e. g. (p̥b̥ənh̥ r̥h̥ə-aur̥) bean reamhar 'a fat wife'; (rree) réidh 'clear' but (r̥h̥ət̥f̥iç̥ ij̥ əm̥ bb̥oort̥) réidhtich i'm bórd 'she cleared the table'.

NB. In cridhe 'heart' N. Inv. has of course an (r); but Strachan remarks (*Zeitschrift für Celtische Phil.* I, 54) that in Manx my x̥r̥ī 'my heart' a broad (r) stands before a slender vowel; Mr. Staples marks *ch* in *mo chridhe* with forward position as also *gh* in *ghrian* 'the sun' for Argyll: N. Inv. knows nothing of such palatalization of the velar before (r). Uist and some other parts of the Isles and mainland keep a distinction between corc 'knife' (k̥ər̥hk̥', k̥ər̥x̥k̥') and coirce 'oats' (k̥ər̥hc̥ə). The pronunciation of this latter in N. Inv. and as far North as Sutherland is similar to that of the former word.

Manse of Edderachillis

Scourie, Sutherland

North Britain.

GEORGE HENDERSON.

(To be continued.)

Addenda.

(1) **Denasalization.** Here add: — as eugmhais, as easbhuidh, as aonais (= iunais) 'without, wanting', where *as* is for anns.

In S. Uist ḁn̥if̥ t̥al̥av̥ is to be heard often for an̥ as̥ t̥al̥av̥.

Note Gaelic Revised Version 1902, in Micah IV, 2 has: as̥ a shlighean 'of his ways' for m̥'a shlighibh̥ of 1826 Version.

(2) **The Aspirate.** After *is* (assertive form of substantive verb): is h-amadan am fàidh Hosea IX, 7 Gael. Rev. In Milan Glosses *is he* 'it is' occurs. The use of it in this case strikes my ear as novel.

LA PRÉTENDUE PARTICULE VERBALE *A*.

En lisant le récent ouvrage où M. d'Arbois de Jubainville présente au public français *Les éléments de la grammaire celtique*, Paris 1903 (*rectè* 1902), je suis étonné de lire à la page 60 (à propos du pronom infixe *m*): 'en gallois: et en breton cet *m* reçoit une voyelle de soutien qui est *a*: en gallois *a thydi am gwely i* 'tu me verras', littéralement, 'et toi tu me verras moi'; en breton: *diaoul r-am dougo* 'que le diable m'emporte'. Et à la page 63 la même doctrine reparait avec le terme de 'voyelle d'appui', ce qui revient au même. C'est une expression qui me rappelle les 'esprits animaux' de l'ancienne médecine, une théorie au lieu d'une explication concrète.

L'explication de cet *a* me paraît bien simple, et je demande la permission de publier ici celle que je donne depuis de longues années déjà dans mes conférences galloises de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes. Cette explication est simple, surtout pour les Français habitués à des tournures comme 'c'est moi qui suis' pour 'je suis' etc. En effet cette prétendue particule verbale ne s'emploie que lorsque le sujet (quelquefois le régime) précède le verbe, c'est-à-dire dans tous les cas où l'on mettrait, ou pourrait mettre, en français un *que*. C'est tout simplement le pronom relatif, comme il est aisé de s'en rendre compte en consultant la *Grammatica Celtica* de Zeuss (2^e édition, p. 391 mise en rapport avec la p. 341); et les phrases citées par M. d'Arbois de Jubainville se traduisent littéralement, le gallois par 'et c'est toi qui me verras, moi', le breton par 'le diable, qu'il m'emporte'.

Dans le français populaire de Paris, notre *que* est également devenu particule verbale, 'consonne d'appui ou de soutien' dirait sans doute M. d'Arbois de Jubainville s'il écrivait sur notre langue. Dans un récit fait par un homme du peuple chez nous, on peut entendre revenir dans son récit (comme à Berlin *sagt*

er) les formules *kimdi* = 'qu'il me dit' pour 'il me dit', ou *kjidi* pour 'que j'y dis' (où *y* est pour *lui*), c'est-à-dire 'je lui dis'.

Ce qui n'est que sporadique en français est devenu régulier dans plusieurs dialectes béarnais. A l'indicatif du verbe, dit M. Vinson, ces dialectes "emploient le *que*, préfixe explétif appelé pronominal par le prince L. L. Bonaparte: *que souey* ou *you que souey*, 'je suis', *qu'ép saludi*, 'je vous salue'.¹⁾ Et en parcourant un jour la collection des *Κρυπτάδια*, j'y ai trouvé un proverbe béarnais qui me fournit un exemple de cette particule dans un texte populaire. C'est un dicton ou proverbe mis dans la bouche des femmes mariées:

Faute d'autes, marit qu'ey bou, 'à défaut d'autres, un mari est bon'.

La particule verbale *a* du gallois et du breton a donc eu sa signification propre avant d'être oblitérée par l'usage au point que les grammairiens indigènes se sont mépris sur son origine. Th. Rowlands, par exemple, a dans sa grammaire (4^e édition, p. 52, § 205) écrit cette phrase qui étonne un historien de la langue: 'some grammarians consider *a* as a relative pronoun; as in the sentence 'ti yw y ferch *a* garaf', thou art the maid I love. But as *a* in such sentences is really nothing else than the auxiliary adverb, which in affirmative clauses is placed before the verb when the nom. or the objective precedes, it has been thought proper to deny it a place among relative pronouns'. Cf. *ibid.* § 700 et suivants.

Il est à peine utile de remarquer que c'est le même mot que le pronom relatif irlandais, *a*, *a-n*, sur lequel M. d'Arbois de Jubainville — *the last, not the least* — disserte à la même page 95 dans laquelle il déclare que l'*a* gallois et breton est une particule verbale dans les phrases où le pronom relatif est sous-entendu. Aussi est-ce à lui, tout le premier, que je sou mets cette explication différente de la sienne.

¹⁾ Dans la *Revue Critique* du 14. Juin 1880, p. 480, à propos d'un livre de M. Luchaire sur les idiomes pyrénéens. M. Vinson cite là une *Note sur le que pronominal béarnais* du prince L. L. Bonaparte, mais pas de façon à ce qu'on puisse la retrouver, car il ne dit pas dans quelle revue ou publication elle a paru.

HEINRICH ZIMMER ON THE HISTORY OF THE CELTIC CHURCH.

1. *Pelagius in Irland*. Texte und Untersuchungen zur patristischen Literatur, von Heinrich Zimmer. Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1901. 8°. pp. 350.
2. *The Celtic Church in Britain and Ireland*, by Heinrich Zimmer. Translated by A. Meyer. London, David Nutt. pp. 131. The article, *Keltische Kirche*, in the Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche, Vol. X, 3d edition (in progress).

I am eager to express, at the outset, my earnest desire not to overstate points of difference with Dr. Zimmer, because I feel as one dealing not only with a great scholar of vast industry and attainments, but also with a man from whom I have derived great profit and stimulation. Within my modest measure of enquiry, I have frequently felt deeply grateful to him, even when driven at last to disagree, or to find in other writers what seemed to correct and supplement conclusions advanced by him.

Some English readers may, not unnaturally, remark that the second volume is almost too inadequate in dimension for its subject, yet it should be remembered that in its original form it is but an article in an Encyclopedia, though an Encyclopedia conceived upon a scale unusually large. It may seem, in consequence, more a sketch than a history, though a sketch with elaboration of certain details.

Pelagius in Irland is divided into two parts. The earlier part deals with contributions derived from Old-Irish MSS. to our knowledge of the unutilated Commentary of Pelagius and

generally of Patristic Literature from the fourth to the sixth century. It contains eleven chapters or sections dealing with such points as the following.

- (1) The exceptional position of Ireland in relation to the Literature of the 4th and beginning of the 5th centuries, its isolation, the antiquity of its Christian culture, the fate of Irish MSS. on the continent, with an account of those that have an important bearing upon the history of the Commentary of Pelagius. These are the *Book of Armagh* (*Liber Ardmachanus*), now in Trinity College Dublin, written A. D. 807; the *Würzburg Codex* (*Codex Wirzburgensis*) of the Pauline Epistles, belonging to the 8th or 9th century, with its numerous Irish and Latin glosses; the *Vienna Codex* (*Cod. Vindobonensis*) written at the Irish monastery of Ratisbon by Marianus Scottus, who had wandered thither in 1067 from the North of Ireland. Zimmer draws attention to the interesting fact that the epistle to the Colossians, in the first two, stands after the two epistles to the Thessalonians; we may add that the same order holds in the British writer Gildas (*De Excidio Britanniae*).¹⁾
- (2) The Commentary of Pelagius: here we have a history of the work of the Commentaries which Cassiodorus had or knew of, and the important indications of a solution of the questions that cluster round Pelagius' work as obtainable in Ireland. A Pelagian party is treated of as existing in Ireland about A. D. 455; and in North Ireland about A. D. 700, argued from the Canons published by Wasserscheleben.
- (3) Evidences of the unmutilated Commentary of Pelagius are deduced from the *Book of Armagh*, in its Prologues and Arguments prefixed to the different Pauline Epistles. These are given in full, and form altogether an exceedingly convenient and valuable treasury of facts.
- (4) The extracts, 949 in number, made in the Würzburg Codex from the Commentary of Pelagius, from *Epistola ad Romanos* to *Epistola ad Philemonem*, are printed in full (pp. 40—112).

¹⁾ Gildas: published by Cymmrodorion Society; *Additional Note*, p. 98.

- (5) Here follows an important discussion of the different recensions that exist, or are supposed to exist of Pelagius' Commentary, the Pseudo-Jerome, Pseudo-Primasius, &c.
- (6) The evidence of the Notes of Pelagius, 203 in all, found in the Vienna Codex; about 20 pages are devoted to this part of the subject, the extracts are again given *in extenso*.
- (7) Of no mean interest are the facts culled in this section of Mediaeval references; from the ancient Catalogue of St. Gall, for instance, the title: *Expositio Pelagii super omnes epistolas Pauli*, and others equally cogent to the contention that the Commentary was known in many places, and known as the work of Pelagius.

The following sections (8), (9), (10) are devoted to a most thorough discussion of the sources of possible information upon the subjects already named, and section (11) to the relation of culture in Irish monasteries to culture in the monasteries of the continent in the 6th and 7th centuries.

The second part is devoted to an exhaustive account of the Commentary, the unmutilated Commentary, of Pelagius and a full discussion of the grounds upon which Dr. Zimmer believes it to exist now in the St. Gall MS. (pp. 219—450), his own discovery.

The second book named above must of necessity, so far as Ireland is concerned, contain, in part, ground common to it and the larger work. Hence our notice of the subject refers to the two. This second work is divided into three Chapters: Chapter I deals with the Celtic Church, (A) in Britain, (B) in Ireland, (C) in North Britain (Alba).

Chapter II covers the period A. D. 500—800, the Second Period, and gives an account of (A) the British Church in Wales during that time, regarded as the *revived* British Church; (B) The Irish Church in Ireland and North Britain, showing the flourishing state of the Church at that time in Ireland, and, in particular, how North Britain was rechristianized from Ireland, when the 'Roman' mission had almost failed. Now we have Columba's mission to the Picts described, and the founding of the celebrated monastery at Hi (= Iona), after that the work

of Paulinus and its extinction under the heathen Penda, then the new life introduced by Oswald through the venerable Aidan, who has been well named 'the apostle of the North', whose picture in the pages of Bede's History no reader ever forgets. Hardly any period awakens deeper interest than this, of those Irish missionaries from Iona and afterwards from Lindisfarne, who brought it to pass that the back-bone of English Christianity was, for a time, in Northumbria. We are told here how Irish influence and usages yielded to Roman, so that England became, as was held then, again Catholic.

Chapter III carries us over to the Mediaeval Church, (A) in Wales, (B) in Ireland, (C) in North Britain.

The last part — Conclusion — treats in about 24 pages of several important themes, such as the differences which long prevailed between the Celtic Churches and the Roman, the diversity in their computation of Easter, ordination by one bishop, the monastic episcopate, and other points.

A full and adequate notice of these two works would require almost a volume, and no one can be more conscious of inadequacy than the writer of this article; my purpose, therefore, is to limit myself to a few topics in four sections. The first will endeavour to pass in review that part of the subject which is common to the two books; the second will refer to statements made, and conclusions arrived at, by Zimmer respecting the Church in Britain in its earlier period; in the third, I try to see my way as to the account given of St. Patrick and his place in the early Irish Church; with the fourth, I close what I have to say, in commenting on the views taken of the revived British Church in Wales, including also some of the subjects treated of in the *Conclusion*. The remainder of the book I have to leave untouched at present.

I.

From the fact that the first of the two works named above, is closely connected in purpose and matter with the second, the comments which follow will be found to touch on both. Two points, in particular, emerge here, on which Zimmer seems to lay great stress, and which, if true, have a very important bearing upon his argument. First, Pelagius, he takes it, was an Irishman, not a Briton: the fact, in itself, is perfectly

immaterial for all of us now; we have no wish either to claim or disclaim relationship with Pelagius, but Zimmer has built quite a structure of conclusions on the assumption that Pelagius was undoubtedly an Irishman. My contention will be that all his contemporaries, *even St. Jerome*, take him to be a Briton. Secondly, the use of Pelagius' Commentary on the Pauline Epistles in Ireland is held by Zimmer to indicate the prevalence of Pelagianism in the island during the fifth and following centuries. On this second point, again, I hesitate to follow him, inasmuch as the crowd of facts he has accumulated, if they are not, indeed, adverse to his conclusion, seem to me not to support it. Zimmer was for many years, he tells us, convinced that the original Commentary of Pelagius, in its unmutilated form, had circulated in Ireland, perhaps during the lifetime of Pelagius himself; to this conclusion he had been led by his extensive study of Irish MSS., and had prepared an *Excursus* on the subject, or rather on 'die Patricklegende', in the summer of 1894, which, nevertheless, has never been published in print. Afterwards whilst at work on the article in Vol. X of the *Realencyklopädie*, he came to the conclusion that he had discovered the missing Commentary itself in a 9th century MS. of St. Gall. The Title and first page of the MS. had been lost, while the Catalogue gave no closer description of it than: *Glossae incerti auctoris in epistulas Sancti Pauli*; yet the vast industry and keen perception of this indefatigable worker found that what he had long searched for was before him in this very codex. Here was apparently the very Commentary which Pelagius had written before A. D. 410.

Now I shall attempt to give a concise resumé of the facts which Zimmer has garnered in the volume before us, so far as they have a bearing upon the history, as told by him, of the Celtic Church. But I may premise that the learned philologist seems, at the outset, to reach an important conclusion on inadequate grounds. He finds that Pelagius was an Irishman. Every one will allow that the evidence appears to be divided, and Zimmer summarises it in a few words: 'Pelagius is usually spoken of as a *Britto* or *Britannus* by birth, but his chief adversary, Jerome, in two places expressly describes him as Irish'. One would hardly call Jerome his chief adversary: Pelagius since about A. D. 400 had been active at Rome; he wrote

then his Three Books *De Fide Trinitatis* and *Eulogiarum Liber*, both of which are lost: to that period also belongs his Commentary. Before long he succeeded in winning over to his side an eloquent Irishman, named Caelestius, who gave a sharper turn to the problem contained in his teaching and made that teaching more aggressive. The two were obliged to leave Rome, on account of the approach of Alaric, in 409 or 410. Augustine began to write against Pelagius and his doctrine about A. D. 412, and continued to do so in a large number of controversial writings until near his death A. D. 430 (see Loofs' *Leitfaden* p. 209, and the article *Augustinus* by him in *Realenc.* II, p. 281). Jerome began to mention him about 415, and wrote his Three Books of *Dialogi contra Pelagianos* shortly after: Jerome died in 420. These facts tell us something as to who his 'chief adversary' was. The evidence as to Pelagius' birth-place is very generally regarded as conflicting; all his contemporaries who mention the fact call him *Britto* or *Britannus*, except St. Jerome. St. Augustine, Orosius, Marius Mercator and Prosper of Aquitaine understood him to be of British origin, but Jerome, at least, seems, mockingly, to call him an Irishman, sneering at the 'Irish pottage' which made him so heavy. The first of the two well known quotations given by Zimmer is from the Prologue of the Second Book of Jerome's Commentary on Jeremiah, written at a time when, as yet, he had not written anything against Pelagianism as a doctrine.¹⁾ *Stolidissimus Scottorum pultribus praegravatus*, dull because heavy with the pottage of Irishmen; these words *might* be said of him because of too close intimacy with an Irishman.²⁾ But we will judge of this from what follows. Pelagius is a second time mentioned by Jerome in the Preface to Book III of the same Commentary: *Habet enim progeniem Scotticae gentis de Britannorum vicinia*: this is all the quotation generally given, and Dr. Zimmer follows suit. But let us take the *whole* passage, and cumbering difficulties will make our walk to his conclusion slower. Pelagius was accompanied by what some people would call a typical Irishman,

¹⁾ Libri II, Comment. in Jer.: quorum furori respondimus ut potuimus: at, si Dominus vitam dederit, plenius responsuri sumus. This was in A. D. 415 and Jerome died in 420. Cf. Grützmacher, Hieronymus (1901), s. 91.

²⁾ Jerome's contemptuous words respecting the Irish, elsewhere, are quoted by Dr. Zimmer, *Pel.* in *Ir.* s. 20, n.

a man gifted in speech, Caelestius by name. It was he who did the speaking for the silent thoughtful Pelagius, der agitierende Cälestius (so Harnack styles him, quoting in a note from Augustine's *De peccato origin.* 13: *Caelestius incredibili loquacitate*), just as it was bishop Julian of Eclanum that gave system to his teaching. I translate the whole reference as follows: 'He himself (Pelagius) mute, does his barking by means of an alpine dog (Caelestius) huge, big of body, one that can be more furious with its heels than with its teeth: for it has its lineage of the Irish breed, from the neighbourhood of the Britons, which, like Cerberus, according to the fables of the poets, must be smitten with a spiritual cudgel, that it may, along with its master, Pluto, be still with an eternal silence'.¹⁾ Here, apparently, the one that has Irish lineage is he that is also compared to Cerberus; it is the 'dog', Caelestius, *not* the 'master', Pluto, who must represent Pelagius. We thus find a reason for the addition *de Britannorum vicinia*; the dog is an Irish dog, from the neighbourhood of the Britons, whence his master comes.

O! te felicem! *cuius praeter discipulos nemo conscribit libros*, ut quidquid videris displicere, non tuum, sed alienum esse contendat — so writes Jerome in the Third Book of the Dialogues against the Pelagians, implying: 'you are a crafty fellow Pelagius, you let others write and talk, keeping your own tongue quiet.' But if the interpretation of this second place where Pelagius is mentioned by Jerome be correct and it seems to me the only possible one, then the 'Irish pottage' which, according to the first, 'weighs heavy' on dull Pelagius (who was very stout) must also be understood of the aid rendered him by Caelestius. Thus all our evidence respecting Pelagius is uniform; *he was not an Irishman*. St. Augustine in a letter to Paulinus calls him *Brito*; Orosius speaks of him as *Britannus noster* (Liber Apol. § 12, 3), and Marius Mercator as *gente Britannus monachus*: Prosper's Chronicle, completed in 433, refers to the year 410 *eodem tempore Pelagius Brito &c.* I conclude that *all* the contemporary

¹⁾ Ipseque mutus latrat per alpinum canem, grandem et corpulentum, et qui calcibus magis possit saevire quam dentibus: habet enim progeniem Scotticae gentis, de Britannorum vicinia, qui iuxta fabulas poetarum instar Cerberi spirituali percutiendus est clava, ut aeterno, cum suo magistro Plutone, silentio conticescat. Migne P. L. XXIV, 758.

evidence, *including even Jerome's*, leads us to call Pelagius a Briton; then we see that Dr. Zimmer is beating the air when he suggests as on p. 22, and repeatedly in the larger work, that Pelagius, coming 'from a Christian monastery in the south-east of Ireland, would, as a matter of course, take care that his works reached home, in the same way as towards the end of the same century the Semi-Pelagian,¹⁾ Faustus Britto, who lived in Southern Gaul, sent his writings to his native land by his fellow-countryman Riocatus'. Here I fear is 'the baseless fabric of a dream'. It cannot, as I have remarked, concern us a whit whether Pelagius was Irish or Briton, but since the idea of his being from Ireland pervades so many pages of the books we are noticing and shapes their conclusions, it was well to get rid of such an idea at the start,²⁾ seeing that it turns out to have no foundation.

We come back to *Pelagius in Ireland*. Pelagius, after whom the well known heresy was called, wrote a Commentary on the Pauline epistles: its approximate date is supplied by Marius Mercator when he says that it was written before the sack of Rome by Alaric (A. D. 410): in character it consisted of exceedingly good concise notes.³⁾ But copies of the work appear to have circulated anonymously, and, therefore, in time, it appears as a work ascribed to other writers. Without entering here into all the intensely interesting matter garnered in Zimmer's volume respecting the Commentaries which Cassiodorus had, or knew of,⁴⁾ in the monastery of Vivarium in Bruttia, whither, tired of public life, he had retired in 540, we note the following facts. (1) Cassiodorus had one Commentary that showed great acuteness in its concise notes, which was widely known and generally ascribed to Pope Gelasius (492—496); this however

¹⁾ We might call Faustus equally well, as has been remarked by Harnack of these men of South Gaul, 'semi-Augustinian', for he anathematizes Pelagius in strong terms. See his *Sermones*, passim.

²⁾ Compare also the long note on p. 20 of *Pelagius in Ireland*. Daß Hieronymus mit der wiederholten Betonung der *irischen* Herkunft des Pelagius glaubte demselben einen Makel anzuhaften, ist unzweifelhaft. . . . Daß hierdurch der im Text gezogene Schluß, daß Pelagius tatsächlich ein Ire war, bestätigt wird, liegt auf der Hand.

³⁾ Augustine styles the work as *in Pauli apostoli epistolas expositiones brevissimae*. Pel. in Ireland s. 13.

⁴⁾ Pel. in Ireland ss. 202, 206.

he found to be contaminated with 'the poison of Pelagian error' (*Pelagiani erroris venena illic esse seminata*) and undertook a revision of the part on the Epistle to the Romans. (2) He knew also of another with the same character of brief notes (*adnotationes brevissimas*) attributed by some (*a nonnullis*) to St. Jerome.¹⁾ (3) Again, a third ascribed to St. Ambrose is mentioned. This last (3) is convincingly proved to be the well-known Commentary generally known as *Ambrosiaster*,²⁾ the earliest of all Latin Commentaries on the Epistles of Paul (c. 383): we put it aside, and leave the fourth unmentioned. The second Commentary is identified with the so-called Pseudo-Jerome, and is also proved to be a revision of the Commentary of Pelagius (ss. 206, 212). But what of the first named? This in Zimmer's opinion is one printed for the first time under the name of Primasius of Hadrumetum in Africa, but now termed Pseudo-Primasius. Here also we have an expurgated edition of Pelagius, as is very convincingly shown on p. 123: in the Epistle to Philemon, for instance, Pseudo-Jerome has 21 notes, Pseudo-Primasius 19 and of these 16 are word for word identical, 'oder so gut wie wörtlich aus dem Pelagiuskommentar ausgeschrieben'. *The lost original of these is probably found in the codex discovered by Zimmer*: he has only printed the Notes on Rom. I and V, 12—21 in full, along with those on Hebrews, but gives a collation of the whole with Pseudo-Jerome as found in Migne's text. *Pelagius in Irland* also, at great length, shows how the Commentary was widely known in Irish churches and monasteries under its own name. The collection of Irish Canons published by Wasserscheleben³⁾ and which are dated as belonging to the end of the 7th or beginning of the 8th century (i. e. c. 700), gives many quotations from our British Gildas, but also from many of the Fathers, Origen, Jerome, Augustine, Gregory the Great, Gregory Naz., Basil, Lactantius, Ambrose, Faustus, Eucher, Martin, and *along with them* two quotations from Pelagius, both of which are found in the Pseudo-Jerome. Thus, in Ireland, the Commentary was known under its true name, that of Pelagius,

¹⁾ *ibid* ss. 202, 206.

²⁾ This book was known in Ireland under the name of *Hilarius*, and among Irishman on the continent the same name is used. *ibid*, esp. ss. 118, 119.

³⁾ Die irische Kanonensammlung: see esp. ss. XVIII, XIX.

while outside the Celtic Church its representative was the really unknown book going under the false name of St. Jerome (*Pel. in Ireland* s. 25). My reason for italicizing the above words will be made known presently. But again, the *Book of Armagh*, written by Ferdomnach in 807, contains Prologues to the whole of the Pauline Epistles, which it names *Prologus Pilagii*¹⁾ (ss. 26—28), as well as a *Prologus Pilagii in aepistolam ad Romanos*: besides these Prologues, there is an *Argumentum Pilagii* to several of the Epistles separately (ss. 35—38): no Commentary is given, but solely the Latin text of the Epistles. Next Dr. Zimmer refers to a Würzburg MS. of the Epistles in which are written explanatory notes, some Latin some Irish: these are taken from many sources, apparently, but Origen, Jerome, Augustine, Gregory the Great, Isidore, and *Hel.* or *Hl.*, which turns out to be Ambrosiaster,²⁾ are quoted by name. Yet Pelagius far outnumbers all, for the citations made under his name amount to 949.

Without following the crowded pages of *Pelagius in Ireland* any further, it is evident that from about A. D. 700, at latest, both in Ireland and on the continent of Europe, the Commentary of Pelagius was popular with Irish ecclesiastics. The work certainly has real merits that made it attractive, and a certain crisp conciseness which occasionally reminds me of Bengel, so that it became popular, let us say not *because* it was the work of Pelagius, but *in spite of* the prejudice attaching to his name as a heresiarch. The fact that his name occurs among those from whose works citations are made in the early Canons is insisted upon by Zimmer; yet this, by itself, is not the really significant fact but rather that the name of Pelagius occurs and his sayings are quoted side by side with such orthodox Fathers as Lactantius, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, Gregory the Great, Faustus, and some near home such as Gildas, Patricius, together with Vinnianus (Vinnianus = Finian) and Theodore as authors of Penitentials. The Canons are strictly catholic or orthodox in tone and scriptural; they are also Irish and Roman. Now I feel that the use made of Pelagius' Commentary in such a connection could only occur in a church where Pelagianism as

¹⁾ Irish MSS. give frequent instances of *i* for *e* such *senodus* as *sinodus*, *ocianus* for *occanus*, *herimus* for *eremus*, *benivolus* for *benevolus*.

²⁾ *Pel. in Ireland* s. 118, 119.

a heresy was unknown. It is startling at first to read the name of Pelagius (as *Pilagius*) above his Prologues and Argumenta in so orthodox a volume as the Book of Armagh, but to say that the Pelagian heresy was, or had recently been, prevalent in the Irish Church can in no way stand for an explanation of the transcription by the scribe of such matter. Such a fact would be a reason in *his* mind for complete exclusion. I can only explain the peculiar and prominent use made of the Commentary of Pelagius, with his name attached, in the Canons and the Book of Armagh, by assuming that the writers, as well as their countrymen generally, did not know him as a heretic, and much less the heresy named after him.¹⁾ The name 'Pelagius' is one of the commonest; the predecessor of Pope John III was a Pelagius and the next but one a Pelagius. Is it not possible that a Commentary, which in other places, and in quite orthodox circles, whether slightly revised or not, could have been ascribed to Pope Gelasius, or to Jerome or to Primasius, should be regarded by the compilers of the books named as the work of some orthodox Pelagius? With them I would include their compatriots generally.

But what of the letter of Pope John IV, some one may impatiently ask. Zimmer writes as follows: 'One of the most striking features in the history of the Irish Church is the great regard in which the heresiarch Pelagius and especially his Commentary, were held. We see from Pope John's letter to the Northern Irish, partly preserved by Bede that, besides the incorrect observance of Easter, they were chiefly reproached with Pelagianism'.²⁾ The letter itself, besides the name of John, as yet only *electus*, bears also the names of three others, a Hilarus and two other John's: these four are the writers, and in the former part of the letter they accuse the Irish of being quartenarians, which the Irish certainly were *not*. The latter part says: 'This also we know, that the poison of the Pelagian heresy is taking life anew among you, and we, above all, urge that the

¹⁾ The Canons LVII, c. 2 quaintly say: Non ob aliud sunt heretici, nisi quod scripturas non recte intelligentes suas falsas opiniones contra earum rationem pertinaciter asserunt. Also c. 4: *Sinodus* ait, Omnis heresis suadibilis est et valde dulcis, unde quasi ignis vitanda est.

²⁾ Celtic Church p. 19. So also *Pelagius in Ireland* s. 23, where the Latin is given.

poisoned evil of such a superstition be cleared from your minds. For as the accursed heresy itself has been condemned, it ought not to lie hid among you; because, not only has it been effaced for those 200 years, but it is, also, buried by a continued anathema and condemned by us. We urge that the ashes of those whose armour has been burnt should not be raised up among you'. To these Roman ecclesiastics Pelagianism had been dead over 200 years, so that its present appearance in Ireland was, in their view, an unexpected recrudescence. 'The Pelagians', Dr. Harnack says, 'nowhere succeeded in forming a sect or schismatic party';¹⁾ even Prosper of Aquitaine, when writing against John Cassian and his friends, speaks of it as an *extinctum dogma*,²⁾ so that one is strongly tempted to say that a mistake had been made at Rome, and that there was in fact no new outburst of Pelagianism in Ireland. At Rome they were keen enough to fasten on the name 'Pelagius', whose Commentary the Irish were in the habit of quoting, naturally concluding that there must be in this a sign of the *recent* revival of an ancient heresy. The earliest Irish literature, following the date of the Roman letter (A. D. 640), as has been already remarked, shows not the faintest trace of Pelagianism: in the Epistles of Columbanus I can find no mention of Pelagius; no saying of Columba, as recorded in the Life by Adamnan, refers to the heresy: Gildas though he was acquainted with Jerome's 'Dialogues against the Pelagians', and *quotes the book*, is something more than silent as to the absence of Pelagianism in Britain. Again, I contend, there was a 'Pelagius in Ireland' in the sense that his book was popular there, as it was under other names elsewhere, but not in the sense that his doctrine had ever taken root in the island.

II.

Writing as a Briton and a Welshman, I find it difficult not to protest mildly and kindly that the parts devoted to Britain and Wales are so short in this book on 'The Celtic Church in Britain and Ireland'. The reference to the legend of Lucius, for instance, if only from a literary point of view, might

¹⁾ Dogmengesch. III, 169.

²⁾ Quid cineres extincti dogmatis refovendo, deficientis fumi nidorem in redivivam flammam conaris colligere? Contra Coll. ii.

have been usefully expanded from Zimmer's own book on Nennius. Though we all agree, whether we take it in its shortest and earliest form of all in the *Liber Pontificalis*, or in its later development, where Lles ap Coel, or Lleufer Mawr, figures, that it is utterly without foundation, yet we should have felt thankful that an explanation of its origin should have been forthcoming from so competent a pen as that of Dr. Zimmer. Even M. Arthur de la Borderie, when writing of *Les Bretons insulaires*, in his *Histoire de Bretagne* (1896), appears to believe the story, so that merely to say 'that it was invented towards the end of the seventh century by a representative of Rome, in order to support him in his claims against the Britons', is somewhat disappointing, is less, undoubtedly, than the ample fulness we know the author could have furnished us.¹)

It is well we should be made aware of a stern fact, that is to say, 'the utter absence of any tradition of any definite missionary activity' for the first evangelization of Britain, and so 'we must needs conclude that Christianity was brought to Britain by natural intercourse with other countries, Gaul and the Lower Rhine in the first place, rather than by any special individual or missionary effort; we may also bring to mind that Gildas, writing about A. D. 540, seems to have no knowledge of the first advent of Christianity to Britain except what could be stated, in a general way, from the Latin version of the *Chronicon* of Eusebius, or from the *Historiae* of Orosius, respecting the whole world.

It may be doubted whether too much is not asked of us if we are bidden to believe that 'the rhetorical tenor' of a passage in Tertullian is sufficient to brand it as 'unsafe testimony'; if so, the greater part of the writings of that skilled rhetorician, with his trenchant style, can only furnish testimony that is 'unsafe'. Still Britain was much to the fore at that time; one Roman general, Clodius Albinus, had left Britain in 193 to make his daring bid for the title of Augustus, and Tertullian mentions the victory of Severus over him; soon after, the Roman army met with terrible reverses in the North of Britain, and when

¹) Besides the treatment by Zimmer himself in *Nennius Vindicated*, it is instructive to consult the exhaustive remarks of the Editor (M. Duchesne) of the *Liber Pontificalis* Tome I, pp. XCII, 136. He believes Dr. Zimmer's explanation insufficient.

Tertullian was writing (about A. D. 208) the passage mentioned, the emperor Severus himself was either on the way, or had already embarked for Britain, dying at York in 211. In this way, both to Rome and Carthage, news from Britain would necessarily travel and that frequently, between 200 and 208, so that it is quite judicious on our part to take at least this bare fact from the passage in the *Adv. Judaeos* (c. 7), and regard it as very possible that *there were Christians in Britain about A. D. 200—208*.

The spirit of modifying is on the historian when writing this page, perhaps not unnaturally, as it is a spirit almost of denial in the work to which his notes so frequently refer us. He duly states how we learn from Gildas that the Diocletian persecution produced martyrs in Britain, 'St. Alban of Verulam, Aaron and Julius citizens of Caerlleon, and others of both sexes in diverse places, who stood firm with lofty nobleness of mind in Christ's battle', but then adds that this, as a statement based on a sixth century tradition, cannot stand against 'weighty reasons' which 'speak against any noteworthy extension of that persecution into Britain'. Those 'weighty reasons', based upon expressions found in the writings of Eusebius, Lactantius and Optatus of Mileva are fairly well known, but are they weighty enough to leave us with this bare statement? One may almost call it a bare dogmatic statement. That there were no persecutions in Western Europe after A. D. 306 every one will admit, because by then Constantine had been proclaimed, but there was the very name of his father Constantius attached to the fierce edict of 304 which would give the legal right for oppression to any persecuting governor; moreover, before Constantius became Augustus, Maximian had persecuted the Christians over large areas of the West, of which cruel violence Italy and Spain are known to have had sad experience. Why not Britain also? Further, a closer reading of Gildas, in the very edition that Zimmer had before him (the *Chronica minora* of Mommsen), would show that the British writer is far from stating that the people he mentions were put to death in the Diocletian persecution, because we find him, not really knowing the exact time, adding, 'as we conclude (*ut conicimus*) in the above mentioned persecution'. It is said also that this is merely 'a statement based on a sixth century tradition', in utter forgetfulness that

Albanus, if we give credit to the Life of Germanus by Constantius, was known and revered as a martyr as early as A. D. 429.¹⁾ It seems to me that this part of his subject is somewhat hastily passed over; we may yet hold that some one or other of the persecutions, the Decian (251), the Valerian (257) or the Diocletian in its early years, found martyrs in Britain.

All that is narrated about Christianity in Britain as evidenced by the well known facts respecting the presence of British bishops in the Councils of Arles (314) and Ariminum (359), will be read, undoubtedly, by all with the utmost approval.

It is not easy to attach a very definite meaning to some other remarks which immediately follow, while to agree with Zimmer's adoption of 'some important arguments' adduced by Mr. F. C. Conybeare is particularly difficult. That the British Church was 'an active member' of the great Catholic Church of the Empire, and so was drawn into its doctrinal disputes is clear; the very fact that its bishops took part in the Council of Ariminum, as we are told, is good proof of this, but can hardly be proof that it was 'a member of the *Roman Church*'. Such language is misleading because inexact, since the British could only be 'a member of the Roman Church' in the same sense as, from a particular stand-point, it might be maintained that the Church of Constantinople or of Sirminum (where the work for Ariminum was planned before-hand) was 'a member of the Roman Church'. Such however cannot be the meaning in these pages, and Dr. Zimmer gives us a more correct statement on p. 108 where he says that 'the British formed during the fourth century a branch of the Catholic Church of the West'. He approves of the idea that there was Arianism in the British Church: to me Gildas appears in the passage where he mentions the *Ariana perfidia* 'rhetorical' beyond wont, and the history of Arianism in the West, when studied in detail, would seem to discountenance, most decidedly, the idea that the teaching had any hold of Britain. Dr. Zimmer, however, brings forward Mr. F. C. Conybeare as 'having recently adduced some important arguments to show that the British-Welsh Church, even as late as the seventh century, tolerated, if not actual Arianism, yet views far from orthodox regarding the doctrine of the Trinity'.

¹⁾ Vita Germani I, 25.

But we are not informed what these 'important arguments' are: a historical conclusion is thus suggested to readers who may not possess the means of satisfying themselves as to the character of the proofs upon which it is made to rest. Mr. Conybeare's deservedly high name is known in other fields, but I am obliged to confess that his arguments in the Paper referred to¹⁾ seem to me somewhat shadowy. We must examine the Paper itself, and so endeavour to form some judgment whether its arguments and conclusions ought to have the weight accorded them in this volume.

The Paper bears the title 'The Character of the Heresy of the Early British Church'. Now the first page speaks of 'Caelestius the Pelagian at the end of the third and beginning of the fourth century', that is about a century *earlier* than the time of Caelestius' real life; but such a slip is easy, and should not, perhaps, be pressed. On p. 87 we are told that 'the old British writer Gildas says that the British priests, far from shrinking from travel, found their best pastime in sailing over the seas and in wandering over distant lands. And wherever they penetrated, since they made their appeal to the heart and intelligence of their converts, they founded . . . a willing and self-offering people of the Lord'.²⁾ I believe that there is none of this in Gildas; the priests *he* describes as readily crossing the seas, do it wantonly to obtain the ordination which would be denied them in their own country, a very different purpose. On pp. 88, 89 we have a well written account of the coming of Augustine to convert the Angles 'so far as these really needed conversion', but also 'equally to amend the errors which deformed the older Christianity of our islands'. Where in the correspondence between Gregory the Great and Augustine is this second purpose implied? As far as my reading goes, the correspondence, whether as given in *Mon. Germaniae Historica (Epistolae Greg. I)* or in Beda, conveys no implication of a commission to amend errors regarded as 'deforming the older Christianity'. Responsa 2 and 6 refer to the English, and 7 runs: *Brittaniarum vero omnes episcopus tuae fraternitati committimus ut indocti doceantur*,

¹⁾ Transactions of the Cymmrodorion 1897—98, pp. 84—117.

²⁾ The reference is, Haddan & Stubbs ii, i, 70: should it be I, ii, 70? yet p. 70 contains no such passage as is implied above.

infirmi persuasione roborentur, perversi auctoritate corrigantur. It certainly seems that the scholar's imagination is playing tricks with his facts.

'The British clergy', so Mr. Conybeare proceeds on p. 89, 'came from their monastery in Flint, and, according to Bede, had already debated among themselves the point whether or no they should desert their own traditions and accept the preaching of Augustine. Dinoot, their abbot, had given them some shrewd advice in regard to the matter'. The footnote says 'See Plummer's Bede II, 76', that is Dr. Plummer's valuable Notes: but let us first see Bede himself in Plummer's I (Bk. II, 2). There we find that the shrewd advice was given *not* by Dinoot, the abbot, but by 'a certain holy and wise man, who was wont to lead an anchorite life among them'. Others besides Mr. Conybeare have fallen into this mistake.

A very rash statement bearing on this point is made on p. 99: 'And Gregory the First in giving Augustine of Canterbury commission, indicates that the Celtic Church had no form of right belief or right living.' By the 'commission' here mentioned is meant the letter which came with the pallium, dated June 22, A. D. 601, four years after Augustine's arrival in Kent; in it directions are given 'to ordain twelve bishops, all to be subject' to Augustine as metropolitan, 'so that the bishop of London — as successor of Augustine — might always in future be consecrated by his own synod', also to 'send a bishop to York, who is himself to ordain 12 bishops, and act as their metropolitan'. Augustine however is to be supreme over all; 'thy Fraternity is to have, not only the bishops ordained by thee, nor those only ordained by the bishop of York, but also all priests of Britain, subject unto thee, under our God and Lord Jesus Christ, so that from the language and life of thy Holiness they may learn the form of right belief and right living.' Surely this rule, if it does not refer exclusively to the contemplated 24 English bishops, *must include them*. We can hardly find in it the slightest indication of the absence of any right belief or right living in the Celtic Church, as Mr. Conybeare maintains.

All that he says respecting the rebaptism of Irish and British, can easily be explained without resorting to the assumption of heresy among them: the parallel case in the famous Novatian schism, when Cyprian asserted, and the bishop

of Rome denied, the necessity of rebaptism, shows that the question of faith did not enter into discussion; the Novatians were orthodox in faith.

Mr. Conybeare in maintaining that 'the real defect in British baptism was the absence of any invocation of the Trinity', quotes the letter of Pope Zachariah to Boniface (A. D. 748): 'Your first point regards the Synod of the province in which you were born and bred': so does Mr. Conybeare translate, and he explains that 'the synod in question was the very one at Augustine's oak'. This is very unlikely. We look up the letter in *M. G. H., Epistolae III*, p. 356, and read: 'Primum capitulum pro synodo, in qua natus et nutritus es — the Synod in which you were born and bred', with no mention of 'province', and the editor, E. Dümmler, refers us to Boniface's own letter to Zachariah (Ep. 50) and words: 'Quia synodus et aecclesia, in qua natus et nutritus fui (the Synod and Church in which I was born and bred), id est, in *transmarina Saxonia Lundunensis synodus*.' The words next quoted by Mr. Conybeare as giving the decree passed at the Synod, are found in Gratian's Decretum as of a *Synodus Anglorum*: all this plainly proves that the Synod meant could in no way be the conference which Augustine held with the British bishops at the oak. We are also bidden to "notice how careful Zachariah is to use the word 'washed' or 'dipt' *not* baptized of the imperfect British rite'. Surely Mr. Conybeare has forgotten how constantly from the 'laver' of Justin Martyr and the 'we are thrice immersed' of Tertullian,¹⁾ these very phrases are used of orthodox baptism, or the quite distinct assertion by Cyprian that heretics are not 'washed' (*loti*) at all, only *perfusi* (Ep. 69, 12): nay, and worse, he has not observed that the Pope himself further on, in this very letter to Boniface, says 'ut, si . . . invocata trinitate iuxta regulam a Domino positam quicumque *mersus* esset . . . quod sacramentum sine dubio haberet'. The contention that Arian views lived on as late as the year 600, and that proof of this may be found 'in the baptismal formula', seems to rest upon the slightest possible foundation: baptism 'in the name of

¹⁾ T. Mast. A, p. I, 61: καλεῖται δὲ τοῦτο τὸ λουτρὸν φωτισμός. Tert. De Caron. Mil., 3: ter mergitmur. De Bapt., 7: quod in aqua mergimur, spiritalis effectus.

Christ' is vouched for as orthodox in Cyprian's *Epistula* 73, also by his contemporary Stephen, bishop of Rome, by St. Ambrose and others down to, and including Thomas Aquinas. The present digression has been long, but its one object is not trivial, and that is to show how a mere reference to a name that otherwise stands so worthily high, should not be taken as truly vouching for a suggested fact. One is bound heartily to admire the learning displayed in Mr. Conybeare's paper, but we cannot honestly close our eyes to what seems a reckless striving for originality, leading to unsound though plausible conclusions.

Zimmer relates succinctly all that may be said to rest on acceptable evidence about Pelagianism in Britain and the two visits of Germanus, or Garmon *escob*, as the medieval Welsh writers call him, to this island. One is glad to see the pointless surmise as to 'Maes Garmon' in Flintshire passed over, as also the mention of more than one Llanarmon to be described as churches 'dedicated' to Germanus, or Garmon.¹⁾ The statement made that 'Gildas does not mention Pelagianism', might be materially strengthened by our observing that, although silent on this point amid such abundance of other charges, including even schism (c. 69),²⁾ he was acquainted with Jerome's work *Dialogus contra Pelagianos*, and in c. 92 quotes a whole sentence from the Prologue. Gildas' silence is the reticence of one who knows what could be said were it necessary.

III.

Zimmer has devoted 48 pages to the next part of his subject, 'The Introduction of Christianity into Ireland', and here there can be no doubt, he has given strong expression to views which will arouse no weak opposition. My feeling, after trying to read the sources carefully, is that it was well to have the whole question thus set before us in its extreme nakedness, and to find the utmost that can be said against the prevalent and popular views stated with such amplitude of facts. This part of the book, combined with the larger array of material that is provided

¹⁾ In its original form *Llanarmon* would be *Lanna Germani*, as we know of *Lanna Pauli* in the Life of Paul of Leon, which in there interpreted, 'monastery of Paul': *id est, monasterium Pauli*.

²⁾ non ita omnes episcopi vel presbyteri, ut superius comprehensi, quia non scismatis . . . maculantur. This Gildas allows to be true.

so lavishly in the author's larger volume (*Pelagius in Ireland*), will be of value even, if not mostly, for those who dissent from his views. Dr. Reeves in his edition of Adamnan's *Life of Columba* had long ago stated the nature of the difficulties that lie here: 'St. Patrick's Life, and with it the early history of the Irish Church, owes much of its complication and uncertainty to the length of interval which elapsed between his death, and the recording of his acts.¹⁾

This 'complication and uncertainty' is set forth afresh in the strongest possible terms by Zimmer, and for this, every student of history owes him gratitude.

Let us take the native tradition, or 'the Patrick legend', about the introduction of Christianity to Ireland, stripped of all details. It is as follows. 'Until 431 Ireland had been entirely heathen. In that year a certain Palladius was sent by Pope Celestine to convert the Irish, but he returned at once, and died in Britain on his way. He was immediately replaced by the Briton Patricius, who in his youth had been a prisoner in Ireland. In the course of a highly successful missionary activity Patricius converted the whole of Ireland to Christianity. He founded churches all over the country, ordained bishops and presbyters, and died as the universally revered head of this Church, in which he held, so to speak, the rank of a metropolitan, having his see at Armagh in Ulster.' This native view of St. Patrick is controverted by Zimmer: to him Patrick, in his youth, appears as an 'eccentric and somewhat narrow-minded man of defective education', afterwards, at Rome, as one of those 'highly religious people possessed of one idea', yet inclined to 'exaggerate his family's influential position in Britain to the leading ecclesiastical circles' in that city. His native British name *Sucat*,²⁾ which is interpreted in the Notes to St. Fiacc's

¹⁾ The *Life of St. Columba*, Pref. p. v.

²⁾ We had better add in a note that St. Patrick was said to have had four names. These appear in one of the oldest documents, Tirechan's *Collectanea*, as *Magonus*, *Succetus*, *Patricius*, *Cothiriacus* (*Anal. Boll.* II, p. 35). Later accounts inform us that *Sucat* was the name given him by his parents, *Cothrige* the name he bore during his bondage; *Magonius* he was called by St. Germanus, *Patricius* by Pope Celestine at his ordination (*Trip. Life*, p. 412). In the attempt made to connect *Sucat* with the Welsh adjective *hygad* meaning 'warlike', we should remember that the name appears in several forms *Succat*, *Succetus*, *Succet*, *Sochet*, *Suchet*, *Suchat* (*Anal. Boll.* I. c.).

Hymn (8th Cent., the Notes later) as implying *deus belli* or *fortis belli* (*su* meaning 'brave' and *cat* 'war') he changed for *Palladius*. 'Sucat either changed his name on his journey to Italy, or, what is more in accord with his scanty education, he made friends select for him a Roman equivalent for the British *Sucat*.' Dr. Zimmer seems to me at his wildest here. But let us hear him further: 'the somewhat narrow-minded *Sucat* (*Palladius*) . . . considered himself justified in assuming the title *Patricius*, and thus figured in Ireland as *Succat Patricius*, and in his writings simply as *Patricius*'. It is evident that the Irish themselves, as appears in the glosses to St. Fiacc's Hymn and the Tripartite Life, did not know that *Patraic*, or *Patric*, was the older form of *Cothraige*; but as *pascha* and *prebiter* (a popular form of *presbyter*) appear as *casc* and *crubthir*, so *Patricius* was Hibernicised to *Cothrige*. 'Cothrige is the *fifth century* name for the historical *Patricius*', so says Dr. Zimmer, and no doubt rightly, yet there can be in this fact nothing inconsistent with our acceptance of the national tradition, if regarded with those moderating and explicative views which students of popular legends learn elsewhere. The extreme rationalising of popular stories has often struck me as the making of new ones: the St. Patrick of Dr. Zimmer, in the same way, appears almost a fresh myth which we have to substitute for the old, though the latter had, at least, the attractive feature, like Topsy in Uncle Tom's Cabin, of having 'grow'd'.

We have only the evidence of the later Irish writers who explain the name *Cothrige* as implying 'one who served *four* masters', for the statement that *Sucat* was St. Patrick's British name given him by his parents. It is difficult to see why they should be right in the latter explanation any more than in the former. We are thus quite free to doubt that *Sucat* was his original name, and still more to doubt that the name *Palladius* took the place of *Sucat* in Italy. It is quite easy to agree with Dr. Zimmer that 'Palladius the deacon', who was interested in the doctrinal welfare of Britain, was also the *Palladius* sent by Pope Celestine to Ireland in 431, but I fail utterly, after reading the statements of Prosper, to accept the violent guess that *Sucat*, *Palladius* and *Patricius* denote one and the same person. Fairer far is it to assume that there was one man named *Palladius* and another whose name was *Patricius* — one *Palladius* and one

Patrick. It is true that 'the other Patrick' is mentioned in ll. 65. 66 of St. Fiacc's Hymn, who in the Notes is named 'Sen Patric' (Liber Hymnorum I, 103; II, 35), but the explanation given by Loofs, in criticising Skene's theory, seems very natural that 'the other Patrick', or 'Sen Patric', was Palladius as he appeared to Irishmen who wrote long after Muirchu and Tirechan, and had read Prosper's Chronicle.¹⁾

It may be advantageous to take the following order:

- (1) The statements found in Prosper of Aquitaine's Chronicle and his *Liber contra Collatorem*.
- (2) The writings of St. Patrick himself, the *Confessio* and the *Epistula ad Coroticum*, without discarding the *Dicta Patricii*.
- (3) The early Irish records found in the Book of Armagh — the Life by Muirchu maccu Machtheni and bishop Tirechan's Collections or Annotations.²⁾

1. The statements made in Prosper's Chronicle and in his work against John Cassian of Massilia. We may accept the dates given of these two: that part of the Chronicle in which Palladius and the Irish people are mentioned was written about A. D. 433, while the *Liber contra Collatorem*, his name for John Cassian as the author of The Dialogues (*Collationes*), appeared four years later, in 437. Here are the two statements found in these.

- (a) [A. D. 431] Palladius, ordained by Pope Celestine, is sent as first bishop to the Irish believing in Christ. Ad Scottos in Christum credentes ordinatus a papa Caelestinus Palladius primus episcopus mittitur (Mon. Germ. Hist. IX, p. 473).
- (b) With no slow anxiety did he (Celestine) free the Britains from this same disease, when he excluded from that corner of ocean certain enemies of grace who had taken possession of the land of their birth, and having ordained a bishop for the Irish, whilst he endeavoured to preserve the Roman island catholic, made also the barbarian island Christian . . . et ordinato Scottis episcopo, dum Romanam insulam studet servare catholicam, fecit etiam barbaram Christianam (Migne, P. L. 51, 271).

¹⁾ Antiquae Britonum Scotorumque Ecclesiae quales fuerunt mores pp. 42—44. The same view is given by Dr. Todd. Skene's theory and Olden's (*Church of Ireland*) in one part seem identical.

²⁾ It would not be out of place to mention here the list of authorities as given by Loofs in the work already named, pp. 32—35: it seems very full and clear.

‘Can this rhetoric of the year 437’, Dr. Zimmer asks, after quoting the latter statement, ‘suffice to convict the sober chronicler of ignorance concerning what he wrote in 433 about the year 431’. I am unable to see why the words of Prosper in the one place should be dubbed as ‘rhetoric’ while in the other he is termed ‘the sober chronicler’; as to the facts stated in both he is the same man, and even if the Chronicle itself shows, as Dr. Hodgkin observes, signs ‘of haste and inaccuracy’,¹⁾ nevertheless he is, ‘beyond dispute, the chief source of historical information for the first half of the Fifth Century’. It is hardly worthy of the historian to prejudice an assertion of fact, by speaking of Prosper’s panegyric of Celestine, where the assertion occurs, as ‘fulsome’. Prosper lived and died a layman and wrote no doubt sincerely, after the manner of his time. One can but accept the two statements as being of equal weight: what do they imply? In the first place, *there were Christians in Ireland in 431*; this must be accepted fully, and we have to refuse as resolutely as Dr. Zimmer himself all those twistings of Prosper’s words which imply the contrary. Of such are the words found in the British writer Nennius, when he describes Palladius as sent by Celestine, *ad Scottos in Christum convertendos* (*Historia Brittonum* c. 50) or *ad hanc insulam convertendam* in the *Tripartite Life* (II, 272). Yet these Christians were few and probably scattered, as is suggested by the fact that they never had a bishop before Palladius. But in admitting that Palladius was sent to an Ireland in which there *were* Christians we are far from stating, as Dr. Zimmer does, that ‘Palladius went from Rome to *Christian Ireland*’, or that ‘according to the report of Prosper, *the Irish had already turned Christians in 431*’ or, that ‘the Irish were, in 431, already Christians, to the same extent, perhaps that Gaul could be called Christian at the time of Martin of Tours’!²⁾ Such assertions are passing strange.

In the second place, though there were Christians in Ireland in 431, the island was, nevertheless, heathen. The first state-

¹⁾ Italy and her Invaders, Vol. I, p. 705.

²⁾ St. Martin died about 400. Gaul in the persecution had, as the *Acta* show, seen a multitude of martyrs; the Gallic bishops that figure in the Arian Controversy are numerous: Sulpicius Severus tells us that there were 2000 monks in the funeral of St. Martin. How could Dr. Zimmer make so rash a comparison?

ment is no way contradicted by this second, just as though the Christians were numerous in Gaul at the time when Marcus Aurelius published his rescripts of A. D. 177, yet Gaul was a heathen country. Even though we adopt the suggestion that *barbaram* is contrasted, not with *Christianam*, but with *Romanam*, still we have the clear assertion of a contemporary, that by the ordination of Palladius, Celestine *made* the barbarian (non-Roman) island Christian, made it as far as a single ordination could. We have no authentic record of the success or ill-success of Palladius; his failure, or let us say, his apparent failure, is no uncommon thing in the history of Christian pioneers; a successor may have reaped of his sowing unknown to himself. Thus, if Palladius was only partially successful in his mission, Ireland was again, at the time when St. Patrick is *said* to have arrived there, an island with Christians in it, and yet, taken as a whole, a heathen country. There was, under such circumstances, ample room for an 'apostle of Ireland', were such a man forthcoming.

2. The writings of St. Patrick himself. The extreme view respecting these is expressed by Schöll, who wrote the Article *Keltische Kirche* in the previous edition of the *Realencyklopädie*; on p. 77 of his valuable book *De Ecclesiasticæ Britonum Scotorumque Historiæ Fontibus*, he states, after an examination of the *Confession* and the *Epistle* (pp. 68—72), 'the writings ascribed to Patrick are fictitious'. (*Ficta sunt quæ Patricii feruntur scripta.*) But in the Article *Patricius* (*Realencykl.* XI, 292, 296) he has *evidently abandoned that position*: 'Als Resultat der bisherigen Untersuchung ergiebt sich, dass in der *Confessio* und *Epistola*, für sich betrachtet und mit der Zeitgeschichte verglichen, trotz mancher Schwierigkeiten, doch keine erheblichen Gründe gegen ihre Echtheit sich finden'. Dr. Zimmer also in the book before us declares that 'alike on material and linguistic grounds the authenticity of the *Confession* and the *Epistle* is unimpeachable'.¹) For our present purpose there is no need to

¹) The *Confessio* may be read in Dr. Stokes' edition of the 'Tripartite Life of Patrick' pp. 357—375, or in Haddan and Stubbs' *Councils* II, pp. 296—313, and an English translation in a small handy booklet, Vol. VI of the 'Christian Classics Series', with Introduction and Notes by Dr. Charles H. H. Wright, of Trinity College, Dublin. The *Epistula* is also given by Dr. Stokes in the same volume, and in Haddan and Stubbs' *Councils*, so also

discuss, or even hint at, the question of the genuineness of other writings attributed to St. Patrick by men who wrote several centuries after his time. These writings, after the statements culled from Prosper of Aquitaine, are the only records we possess that admittedly go back to the Fifth century, unless, of course, we be drawn to add the *Dicta Patricii*, and the Latin Hymn of Secundinus. Dr. Stokes (*Tripartite Life cxxix*) regards the 'Sayings of Patrick' as genuine, and Dr. Zimmer, though doubtful as to their being really 'memories of the historical personage', makes telling use of two of them in support of his theory. I shall return to this presently, as well as to the surprising fact that Zimmer makes no mention of the Hymn of Secundinus.

'What do these documents prove? Every one who reads them without bias must assent to Schöll's opinion: "If the Patrick whom posterity has extolled to such an extent really wrote the *Confessio*, he was unlearned and altogether most rustic".' Everyone must assent to this: St. Patrick himself in the *Confessio*, which might well be called an *Apologia pro vita sua*, says: 'I have not learned like others who have drunk in, in the best manner, both law and sacred literature, and have never changed their language from infancy, but have always added more to its perfection. For my language and speech is translated into a foreign tongue (i. e. into Latin)'. In perfect simplicity he explains how it had come to pass, that he whose father Calpornius was a deacon and a decurion, whose grandfather held the order of presbyter, was nevertheless so rude and unlearned; 'when a youth', so he says, 'nay almost a boy in words (*adoliscens immo puer in verbis*, or if we read *imberbis*, beardless boy) I was taken captive . . . After I had come to Ireland I daily used to feed cattle . . . before daylight I used to rise to prayer, through snow, through frost, through rain, and felt no harm'. This hard lot, which lasted for six long years, no doubt, contributed some solid factors to the character of the man, but it compelled him to remain, as he himself honestly writes, *Patricius peccator rusticissimus*, *Patricius peccator indoctus*: 'he must have entered the years of manhood', as Dr. Zimmer

by Dr. Wright in the volume mentioned. A full and concise account of the writings ascribed to St. Patrick and the best editions of the whole, as well as of the different *Vitae*, is given in the Bollandist *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*, Fasc. V, Bruxelles 1901.

says, 'with a very inadequate amount of instruction'. Now in two directions I fail to follow the learned author when he draws his conclusions from these facts, stated in the writings named, the *Confessio* and *Epistula*, though fully acknowledging that they are squarely stated by him.

Firstly, I find no adequate estimate in the book before me of the moral and spiritual power which has from time to time manifested itself in rude uncultured men. Culture is not strength: in spite of the want of it some men have exercised a lasting widespread influence. I will only refer to two examples. The monograph by Dr. Grützmacher on 'Pachomius and the Oldest Cloister Life' will serve to show how a Copt, without any learning, cast the spell of fresh vigorous moral strength over such men as Athanasius and captivated them. 'Ohne jeden gelehrten Unterricht ist der Knabe aufgewachsen, da er sich später des Griechischen völlig unkundig zeigt' (s. 36). Grützmacher proceeds on a later page (140), 'so dürfen wir wohl sagen, dass der Kopte Pachomius zu den bedeutendsten und interessantesten Persönlichkeiten der ältesten Mönchsgeschichte gehört'; his personality was something noteworthy and original, such that his significance was felt over East and West, becoming extravagantly magnified after a few generations in impossible legends, parallel with those which have made the story of St. Patrick almost unbelievable. The Copt knew *no* Greek, St. Patrick knew it so badly as to say *Curie lession*, *Christe lession* for *Kurie eleeson*, *Christe eleeson*, yet might not the latter be, in spite of this defect, as the former undeniably was, a man of such force that he would cause legends to arise and testify of his power?

M. Gaston Boissier in his work on 'The End of Paganism', speaking of St. Martin of Tours, says of this man who having been a soldier became a monk, and, though extremely unlettered, a bishop, that he is one who 'reflects our best qualities, and in whom we re-find our race and our blood. France did not as yet exist, nevertheless Martin is a French saint.' 'Cet ancien soldat était fort illettré, ce qui n'empêche pas que toute une littérature soit née à côté de lui et de son inspiration.'¹) The learned and accomplished Sulpitius Severus sat at the feet of this once rude soldier who 'était un homme de petite science, mais de grand

¹) La Fin du Paganisme, Tome II, pp. 61, 62.

sens', and it was that 'grand sens' that led Sulpicius in unbounded admiration to write: 'I shall always, as long as I live, and have wisdom, speak the praise of the Egyptian monks. I shall laud anchorites, shall admire eremites. But of Martin I shall ever make an exception: with no other monk will I compare him, certainly with no one among the bishops'. As I read the *Confessio* of St. Patrick I feel that underneath its rude garb, hidden almost by the self-restraint of its humility, there is that 'grand sens' which drew cultured refined men of Gaul to St. Martin, that power of unconscious patience, unselfishness and holiness which masters all classes of men. Palladius may have been a scholar, may even have been as accomplished in Greek as Dr. Zimmer could wish, yet apparently he failed and probably from the want of what was supplied in the coarser personality of St. Patrick.¹⁾

Secondly, it is difficult to find the real man, when we observe the matter of these two surviving writings of St. Patrick; in the way that Dr. Zimmer represents it, I fail to find that he gives the true meaning to the saint's words. 'Patrick besides his deep inward piety' he remarks 'had also a good dose of that arrogance peculiar to enthusiastic religious persons of little culture. He was especially proud of his alleged aristocratic descent, which, however was not so distinguished as he would make us believe': 'I was born noble, my father being a Decurio; but I have exchanged that privilege of birth (I blush not for it, and I grudge it not) for the benefit of others', he wrote in his *Epistle to Coroticus*; and in the Confession he says: 'that I gave up myself and my noble birth for the benefit of others'. In Britain, nowadays, anyone who knows the world would at once say that even seats of learning are not inaccessible to invasion by this spirit of 'arrogance' attributed here to St. Patrick because of his 'little culture'; but take the whole passage: 'it was not my grace, but it was God that conquered in me and withstood them all, so that I came to the Irish people to preach the gospel, and to suffer insults from unbelievers, so that I should hear reproach about my wandering,

¹⁾ Muirchu Maccu-Machtheni (c. 7), as also the *Vita Patricii* in Nennius (c. 51), explains it by an easy way, though there may have been some truth in it; 'quia nemo potest accipere quicquam de terra nisi datum ei fuerit de caelo.

and endure many persecutions even to chains, and should give up my noble birth for the benefit of others'.¹⁾ When a man has, in the previous sentences, described the distractions and difficulties that beset him, there is in this passage no trace of an arrogant mind when regarded as a description of God's conquest in him. Dr. Schöll supplies a good answer with respect to the charge of arrogance in the Epistle: 'Denn wenn der schwerfällige Stil der *Confessio* in dem Briefe etwas mehr in Fluss kommt, wenn der in seiner Autobiographie so demütig redende Mann dem Coroticus und seinem Raubgesindel gegenüber seine edle Abstammung und die bischöfliche Würde und Macht zur Geltung bringt, so liegt es in der Natur der Sache'.²⁾

Again, Dr. Zimmer represents St. Patrick as 'complaining bitterly of ingratitude, trying to defend himself against the reproach of having presumptuously embraced a calling far above his capabilities and *threatening to turn his back upon Ireland, because he recognises the failure of his work there*'. But turn to the *Confessio* again, and what we really read is the following: 'Wherefore, though I could wish to leave them (the beloved baptized converts), and would with great willingness and preparedness go to the Britains, as to my native country and parents, and not that only but go as far as Gaul, to visit the brethren and see the face of the saints of my Lord — God knows that I was greatly desirous of it — yet am I bound in the Spirit, who witnesseth to me that if I did this, He would hold me guilty; and I fear to lose the labour which I have commenced, and not I, but Christ the Lord, who commanded me to come and be with them the rest of my life'. Certainly there is no 'threat' here, but a holy devotedness constraining him to remain against very natural inclinations. I feel that Dr. Zimmer has in this sadly misunderstood the man of whom he writes.

But he finds in these words something more, which, as I read them, is equally absent with the 'threat' thus introduced. 'But in the existing manuscripts of the latter (the *Confessio*), we have only a vague reference to the stay in Gaul . . . And since the passages about Patrick's sojourn in Gaul . . . are

¹⁾ Ut darem ingenuitatem meam pro utilitate aliorum: Trip. Life p. 368 *ingenuitas* is no strong word to mark one's 'noble birth'.

²⁾ Realencyklopädie XI, S. 295.

supported by a passage in the *Epistle*, there is no reason to doubt the fact of that sojourn.' I have not the slightest reluctance to accept the sojourn in Gaul, or the visit to Rome and ordination there, in themselves, if they be proved, any more than when I accept the sending of Germanus to Britain by Pope Celestine, because of Prosper's explicit statement. But where in the extract given above, and there can be no other, does Dr. Zimmer find even 'a vague reference to the stay in Gaul'? What we *do* find is a strong desire to visit Gaul in order to see the saints (probably, the monks) in that country, but this desire St. Patrick sets aside, that he might abide with his flock 'for the rest of his life'. Of even, this, there is hardly any passage in the *Epistle* that can be construed as a support, unless it be that in c. 7: 'It is the custom of the Roman and Gallic Christians (*consuetudo Romanorum Gallorumque Christianorum*) to send holy and suitable men to the Franks, and to the other nations, with so many thousands *solidi* to redeem baptized captives'. Here we see simply St. Patrick's admiration for the Gallic Christians, which would be a reason for his earnest to see those excellent 'saints of the Lord': it means no more. Zimmer has slipped both *Confessio* and *Epistula*.

That St. Patrick should *feel* he had failed is not unnatural; of him, as of others, it might be possible to say that only in after years does their work draw itself to its true grandeur.

Dr. Stokes includes the 'Sayings of Patrick' among fifth century materials, if not actual reminiscences of him, and Dr. Zimmer refers to two of them in support of all that he concludes from the want of learning in St. Patrick. 'The phrase attributed to Patrick: *Curie lession, Christe lession* fits in well with a picture of a man who had a smattering of Latin, and certainly knew no Greek.' Of our own Shakespeare it is said that 'he had little Latin and less Greek' — still he *was* Shakespeare. But Muirchu's good story is worth telling, as another page of the Tripartite Life gives it, premising that *gratzacham* or *grazacum* (Trip. Life p. 230) is the form that *gratias agamus* (let us give thanks) took among the common people of Ireland.

'A cauldron of copper was given to Patrick as an offering from Dáre (a rich honourable man). '*Deo gratias agamus*' saith Patrick. Dáre asked of his servants what Patrick had said.

They answered, he said 'grazacum (let us give thanks)'. 'That is a small reward for a goodly offering and a goodly cauldron', saith Dáre. He ordered his cauldron to be brought again to him. 'Deo gratias agamus', saith Patrick, and Dáre asked what Patrick had said when the cauldron was brought from him. The servants replied he said the same when it was brought from him. 'It is a good word he hath' saith Dáre: '*grazacum* when it is offered to him, and *grazacum* when it is brought from him.' Here is the 'sterner stuff' that would make any man, not to speak of the rude lord and servants, forget that the possessor of it had 'little Latin and less Greek'. I could with ease pick out, any day, a dozen learned Welshmen, who, though knowing good Latin and equally good Greek, would naturally and easily fall, in conversation with uneducated people, or even among themselves, into using strange Welsh forms of English words. Such must have been the case with St. Patrick; with fine tact, he would choose to speak as the common people spoke, who heard him gladly.

When we spoke of Prosper's two statements respecting Palladius, we ventured the remark that notwithstanding all that is implied in them *there was still room, in the Fifth Century, for an apostle in Ireland*: we may add now, judging from the materials furnished us by himself and by the reminiscences of his contemporaries, *it is possible that the 'historical' St. Patrick was such an apostle*.

Prof. Bury says truly: 'Perhaps it ought to be superfluous to add that the fact of Patrick's existence is unexpugnable until the 'Confession' has been proved spurious, and all attempts to shake its authenticity have signally failed' (Engl. Hist. Review, Apr. 1902).

3. Earliest records of the Church in Ireland. The two earliest sources for our knowledge of native tradition are the following: (1) A Life of Patrick by Muirchu maccu Machtheni, written in 'obedience to the command' of bishop Aed of Sletty, who died A. D. 698.¹⁾ (2) Tirechan's Notes on St. Patrick's life: bishop Tirechan found his materials in a book written, or owned, by his foster father, or teacher (*qui nutrit me*), Ultan bishop of

¹⁾ Trip. Life XCI and pp. 271—301, or Anal. Bollandiana Vol. I, pp. 535, 536 and 548 ff.

Ardbraccan, who died A. D. 656: he also derived some details from bishop Ultan's dictation (*ex ore*), and from many of the older men, *a senioribus multis*.¹⁾

Both records are to be found in the Book of Armagh, the different parts of which were written between A. D. 807 and 846.

Though only a brief sentence, one might place here also the reference to St. Patrick contained in Cummian's letter on the Paschal question to Segene fifth Abbot of Hi (Iona), about A. D. 634, which speaks of him as *sanctus Patricius papa noster*: so also the Irish Hymn ascribed to him, Fáeth Fiada or Loric of St. Patrick (Irish *Liber Hymnorum* I, p. 133), because it is mentioned as well known in Tirechan's Notes: *canticum eius Scotticum semper canere* (*Trip. Life* p. 333): further, Adamnan wrote his Life of Columba about 688, in Praef. II of which he relates the prophecy of St. Mochta 'a stranger Briton, and disciple of St. Patrick the bishop' (*proselytus Brito, homo sanctus sancti Patricii episcopi discipulus*). These imply a familiarity with the story of Patrick somewhat earlier, to say the least, in the seventh century; Cummian's mention of him would have no weight unless he had been regarded with wide veneration *long before* the time of his writing (c. 634) to Segene (or Seghine) of Iona: the attribution of the Fáeth Fiada to St. Patrick and the call to sing it as the fourth honour due to him *per totam Hiberniam*, by Tirechan²⁾ has like implication of a lengthy period during which St. Patrick was known and acknowledged as a personage of importance. We gather the same conclusion from the words of Adamnan, and feel more than reluctant to allow that 'until the beginning of the second third of the seventh century even the name of Patrick appears nowhere'. It is a well known error to regard the date of the first attestation of any fact to be the date of the fact itself; so in the present case we have intimations that the records called by Zimmer the 'earliest' seem to be such simply because they are the earliest that have survived to us. The Life by Muirchu maccu Machtheni and the *Collectanea* of Tirechan are, by their own attestation, survivals of a lost Patrician literature; hence the contention that they are the earliest is true only in appearance. Could

¹⁾ Trip. Life XCI and pp. 302—333: also Anal. Boll. Vol. II, p. 35 ff.

²⁾ This, however, is held to be later than Tirechan by Prof. Bury.

we find the imperfect works which they supplanted, they might turn out to be small candles, but they would light far. Muirchu informs us in his first words how 'many had attempted to set in order that narrative according to what their fathers, and those who were ministers from the beginning had delivered to them', but that, for divers reasons, these fragmentary records 'had not come to a single path of history'. This, and the words 'incertis auctoribus', below, carry the implication that Muirchu had materials for his life besides the writings of St. Patrick himself. Prof. Bury has very fully discussed the question of the probable sources of Tirechan's memoirs, concluding that for the larger part of what the *Collectanea* contains he must have visited the different localities and 'set down all that he could learn from the seniors of the communities'. This in itself suggests a widespread tradition ranging over Meath, Connaught and Ulster of St. Patrick as a veritable apostle, which must have been considerably older than the time of the compiler's journeyings. His authority, for instance, in c. 11 for the fact that Patricius built a church *ad vadum Molae* is *ut senes mihi indicaverunt*; but he had also oral information from bishop Ultan, *mihi testante Ultano episcopo* as well as a book that belonged to him, *in libro apud Ultanum episcopum*, which could not be a copy of Patrick's *Confessio*, as there were to be found in it the four names of the saint. Since he mentions the number of bishops ordained as 450, the partial list supplied might well be taken from some document or other, as well as the list of Franks who followed St. Patrick. At the beginning of Book II, he informs those to whom he writes that most of the facts narrated in Book I took place 'in their land', and that his information was supplied by *seniores multi* and by Ultan. Prof. Bury gives parallel extracts from Muirchu and Tirechan which point out the use by both of a common original.²⁾

¹⁾ Cf. Anal. Boll. Vol. I, p. 543 Praefatio by Father Hogan and p. 545; id. Vol. II, pp. 35, 68, 40. Tripart. Life XCI, pp. 269, 302, 333, 307.

²⁾ English Hist. Rev. Review, April 1902. A still more striking possibility is mentioned by Bury in the October number of the same Review, that on a hill near Lake Selce, Tirechan had seen stones inscribed with the names of St. Patrick and twelve of his followers . . . actually scored by Patrick and his companions' (*scripsit manu sua literas quas hodie conspeximus oculis nostris*).

It is difficult, on such grounds, not to conclude that these two 'earliest' records were preceded by a mass of more or less imperfect writings, as well as a volume of tradition going back to the time, or nearly so, of St. Patrick himself. We have, for instance, credible indications as to this patch of Irish Church history, in the fifth century, vastly superior to anything that could be claimed of historical truth for those years and places of battles, in which, according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the Saxons and Angles invariably conquer the Britons during the same century.

We are reminded by Zimmer with great cogency that 'Finnian of Clonard, the teacher of Columba of Hi and Comgall of Bangor, who died in 548, must have known many contemporaries of Patrick in his youth . . . Columban of Luxeuil, as well as Columba of Hi, were almost as close in time to Patrick as were Colman and his associates to Columba of Hi at the time of the conference at Whitby in A. D. 664'. And yet from none of these do we get any mention of St. Patrick; also 'at the conference of Whitby, though historical arguments were the chief weapons in the dispute, and though the Irish referred to the traditions of their forefathers and to Columba (Beda H. E., III, 25), yet Patrick's name was never mentioned'. Zimmer must be regarded as holding a strong point here, which he knows how to put strongly. Still I have grave misgivings as I read his pages. Of Finnian as writer we only know that he was the author of a Penitential, still extant, and that he was the beginner at Clonard of a great revival in monasticism: of Columba's sayings we have only what Adamnan chose to tell us in the Life which he wrote about A. D. 688. We have, however, writings of Columbanus — letters, a Regula, a Penitential, and short Sermons, but, if I am not mistaken, they were all written after he had left Ireland and settled on the continent.¹⁾ Of these the most important in this connection will be the Letters, but, in looking through them, I can find no reference to any Celtic ecclesiastic whatever except Finnian and the Welshman Gildas, though at no rare intervals we read of *patres nostri* and *maiores nostri*.

¹⁾ Seebass, Ueber Columba von Luxeuils Klosterregel und Bußbuch, and Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte VIII, XV: his Letters I read in Mon. Germ. Hist. Ep. III, pp. 156—186.

Under these circumstances we cease to wonder that such writings make no mention of Patrick. When we turn to the account given of the conference at Whitby, we feel how utterly flimsy and worthless were the 'historical arguments' on both sides; when Colman speaks he is very careful to explain that he stands for the Paschal usage which he received from the *seniores* who sent him to North Britain as bishop (*qui me huc episcopum miserunt*), adding that *omnes patres nostri* had celebrated Easter in the same manner. It was quite natural he should name Columba in North Britain, for Lindisfarne was in the *provincia* of Iona, but *not* that he should single out Patrick. Dr. Zimmer's argument turns out not to be as formidable as it seemed at first, and especially so when we revert to the evidence furnished by the so called 'earliest records' themselves, that are survivals of many other nameless records previously existing, which they used up.

As to where we have now reached, having the two statements of Prosper and the two writings of St. Patrick himself, both sets regarded in a light that differs greatly from that in which Dr. Zimmer regards them, having also, if the position taken in this article be approximately correct, evidence that records and traditions of St. Patrick did exist long *before* 'the second third of the seventh century', I feel tempted to quote words of Dr. Schöll. 'Dagegen finden sich in diesen Schriften (the *Confessio* and *Epistula*), außer ein par summarischen Angaben über das nordwestliche Irland, über den Erfolg der Predigt und die Gefahren und Drangsale des Patricius, keine näheren Nachrichten über den Kreis seiner Tätigkeit, über die Fürsten und Stämme, mit denen er in Berührung kam, die Kirchen, die er gründete, die Schüler, die er bildete u. dgl.'¹⁾ Here, as he remarks, the *Life* by Muirchu and the *Collectanea* of Tigernach come in, and the problem remains of estimating how far these, and other *Lives*, and materials, represent historic truth, in the fulness of detail that is furnished by them. But putting aside the consideration of such a question, the mention of it leads me to remark that for Dr. Zimmer to leave unnoticed the Hymn of Secundinus seems almost unexplainable. This Hymn supplies partly what Dr. Schöll desires after the writings of St. Patrick, in its general tenour. Its genuineness is upheld by most writers

¹⁾ Realencykl., Patricius XI, 297: 2^d edition.

capable of giving an opinion; Dr. Stokes names it among the documentary proofs of the Fifth century after Patrick's own compositions. 'The internal evidence of the antiquity of this Hymn' he says 'is strong. First the use of the present tense (except in one or two stanzas) in describing the saint's actions; secondly, the absence of all reference to the miracles with which the Tripartite Life and other Lives are crowded; and thirdly the absence of all allusion to the Roman mission, on which many later writers from Tirechan downwards, insist with such persistency'.¹⁾ The use of the future, *cum Christo regni celestis possessurus gaudium* (v. 20), *percepturus praeonium* (v. 91), suggests that Patrick was alive when Secundinus wrote the Hymn. The Editors of the *Liber Hymnorum* agree with Dr. Stokes as to the high probability of its being the work of a contemporary, while Irish tradition makes Secundinus, or Sechnall as he is called in Irish, the kinsman of St. Patrick and successor at Armagh. I can well conceive that Zimmer might have regarded the Hymn as a later production, yet it is mentioned by Tirechan, or by the scribe of the *Collectanea* (Gwynne and Bury). One is tempted to put the case more strongly: it would seem that the very general acceptance of this Hymn as a production of the Fifth Century, made it incumbent on Zimmer not to leave his omission of it unexplained. The Hymn is, in fact, important; it supplies a link between the writings of Patrick and those writings in which Muirchu and Tirechan sum up the tradition of their ancestors.²⁾ Its verses cannot be quoted at length in this place, but a few main traits of its contents may be given. It begins,

Hear all ye that love God, the holy merits
Of a man in Christ, the blessed Patrick bishop,
How for his good deed he is like the angels,
And for his perfect life equal to the apostles.

¹⁾ Tripartite Life, CXXIX, CX. The Irish Liber Hymnorum, H. Bradshaw Society, I, 7; also II, p. 96.

²⁾ It seems strange that Prof. G. T. Stokes, in his 'Ireland and the Celtic Church', should speak of the Hymn of St. Fiacc and the Hymn of St. Secundinus together as follows. 'Examine them in conjunction with the *Tripartite Life*. They simply teem with miracle, some of them not very creditable to the temper or the courtesy, nay even the common humanity of the saint.' The Hymn of Secundinus, certainly, stands quite apart, as Dr. Whitby Stokes remarks in the words quoted above.

I give but a free translation: still it serves to show the exalted estimation in which the man was held by a contemporary, and, if we believe tradition, an associate.

- v. 4 The Lord chose him to teach barbarian nations,
 To fish with the nets of his teaching,
 That he might draw believers unto grace,
 And to follow the Lord to His heavenly throne.

We mark that Ireland, according to this verse, was still heathen when St. Patrick, as the elect of God, came to its people: such also is the witness of the following.

- v. 7 Glory he hath with Christ, honour in the world,
 Who by all is revered as the angel of God;
 Whom God sent, as Paul, an apostle to the heathen,
 That he might give men a leading to the kingdom of God.
- v. 12 For greatest shall he be called in the kingdom of heaven,
 Who fulfils by good deeds what he teaches in holy words,
 And excels by good example the character of the faithful,
 And holds his trust in God with pure heart.
- v. 15 Pastor good and faithful of the gospel flock,
 Whom God chose to watch the people of God.
- v. 16 Whom, for his merits, the Saviour promoted to be bishop,
 So that he might admonish the clerics in the heavenly
 warfare.

That later stories should represent this man as going for teaching to Germanus of Auxerre, and for ordination to Amatorex, or to Pope Celestine, 'the Abbot of Rome', and afterwards as metropolitan at Armagh, an office not found in Celtic Britain until the conquest, and, in Patrick's time, only very partially developed in Gaul itself, — that such wild stories, with a host of others should grow about this man, simply echoes what this Hymn modestly and reverently implies. Of Patrick it is, we hold, impossible to say, with Zimmer, that 'he failed to influence the Irish Church', that 'he was soon forgotten everywhere' and 'was, in the seventh century, resuscitated, under the influence of a specific tendency, with the help of his own writings and of documents about him', and thus 'was created apostle to the Gentiles in Ireland'. It has been shown, I believe, that Zimmer has unwittingly read meanings into St. Patrick's writings which

are not there, has not taken due account of intimations evident in the earliest authorities, has demanded from certain writings what in their peculiar circumstances might well be absent from them, has left others unnoticed, and, consequently, while accumulating facts, has drawn wrong judgments without even preserving his deductions within the bounds of sobriety. I am led to speak thus though I admire his deep learning and the extent of his information.

IV.

In this section I would endeavour to pass in review the account given of the Second Period, so far as it concerns the history of the Church in my own country. 'It is in the second third of the sixth century that again we meet with the British Church. By that time the Angles and Saxons had driven the independent Britons into the mountainous districts of the West, and henceforth we can distinguish four separate groups of British nationality: Britons who had fled over to Armorica (the Bretons of to day), Britons in Wales and Britons in Cumberland and Strathclyde. But it is in Wales alone that we obtain a tolerably distinct picture of the Church.' One could have wished that in this place Dr. Zimmer had given us a summary of reliable authorities as to this particular period, though, of course, they appear in the general list of 'Sources' at the beginning of the book.

He does not touch on the isolation which must have ensued when the Roman army was withdrawn from Britain somewhere about 410, and the barbarian invasion of Gaul and Spain which occurred not long after, nor upon other counteracting influences. Certain views of my own that had appeared in a Paper published in the 'Transactions of the Society of Cymmrodorion (1893—94)', it is said, "can only be explained by an insufficient knowledge of the state of things in Britain before and after the 'withdrawal' of the Romans and by a wrong conception of the alleged desertion of Britain". Presently I shall come to the bearing of such 'wrong conception' upon the history of the British Church. In this place I simply observe that I have before me as I write a volume of 'Social England';¹⁾ on

¹⁾ *Social England*, edited by H. D. Traill, D. C. L. and I. S. Mann, M.A., Cassell & Co.

pp. 73, 74 of which, in treating of the 'Fall of the Roman Power', the view is strongly advanced that 'by the final test of history, the Roman government of Britain stands condemned'. Such is the view taken by Mr. F. T. Richards who writes on Roman Britain (43—410); but on pp. 105, 106 quite the opposite view is given by Mr. Haverfield, and the Editors add a note: 'The matter is, of course, purely one of inference from extremely imperfect evidence. The two conflicting views are allowed to stand that he (the reader) may realise that the question is still unsettled among scholars' (p. 74). There *was* a withdrawal of the Roman troops and a great number of others, wives, skilled artizans and traders, dependent upon them, must also have left the island. This would cause a momentous change.

But what I had chiefly in view is the important fact that soon after the dismemberment of the empire, there came into the Church a new power which by way of re-uniting distant and separated countries, proved of immense service. This was monasticism. Soon it was seen that men would wander far to visit places made sacred and attractive by this new powerful idea of ascetic holiness. Jerome and a host of others, travel to Antioch and the desert of Chalcis; afterwards he goes to Bethlehem, where, by the many who travel thither, he held a wide correspondence with western friends; to South Gaul at Massilia and Lerins, such men as Faustus from Britain, Caesarius from Burgundy, Lupus, Eucher crowd, and St. Martin is surrounded at Tours by men from all parts. Hence there were many who ran to and fro, and knowledge was increased. It was in this spirit that St. Patrick yearned to visit Gaul and 'see the face of the saints', by whom he means the monks. Through such travelling monks, Britain and Ireland, were again brought into close intercourse with the continent of Europe, and the two islands with each other. Of such was Riocatus, mentioned by Zimmer, a British bishop and monk (*antistes ac monachus*), who made two visits to his countryman Faustus in South Gaul about 450 (at the very time when the Saxons were arriving as settlers), and carried home with him two of the Abbot's writings.¹)

Monasticism, however, had a deeper significance than this. It was, we repeat, no trivial matter that intercourse and

¹) Apollin. Sidonius, *Mon. Germ. Hist. VIII* 157.

attachment was effected between distant places, in a way, and to a degree, that the regular organisation of the Church could not stimulate. But monasticism by the force of its new ideal made the Church feel young again; out of weakness it waxed strong. This tide came into the British Church certainly before A. D. 450, as we know from the facts mentioned by Apollinaris Sidonius of Riocatus, but probably not earlier than A. D. 400. Zimmer says that 'monasticism had flourished in Britain since the end of the fourth century': there seem to me many reasons to doubt this. St. Augustine did not begin his cloister life in Africa before 391; the monasteries at Massilia and Lerins had not been founded by Cassian and Honoratus until some ten years of the fifth century had passed (cf. Norisius, in Arnold's *Caesarius von Arlelate*, s. 37); St. Martin, by the account of Sulpicius Severus, encountered long and severe opposition, principally from the bishops, before his death in 400. It is difficult to believe that there could be any monks in distant Britain before the fifth century had advanced several years.

In this part Dr. Zimmer criticises certain opinions of mine expressed in the Paper previously mentioned. I may be allowed to state, first of all, that he has not accurately stated the position as stated in the Paper; he says: "Much has been said of late about outside influences proving to be a source of new life for the Church in Wales. Professor Hugh Williams has even tried to show that 'British' Christianity of the sixth century *had little or nothing to do with the Christian Church of Britain during the fourth century*. According to him, the Christian Church of the fourth century comprised chiefly Roman residents in British towns, while the British population in the country remained heathen; and he asserts that soon after the withdrawal of the Romans *and the collapse of the Christian Church of Britain* there arose in its place, *perhaps under the influence of Southern Gaul*, the Celtic Church." The italics are mine, and the statements italicized convey or imply a meaning which I never intended to express. The point in contention is *itself* important, otherwise there would be something unbecoming in my touching upon it here. Let me quote what was written.

The final departure of the Romans, however, is placed about A. D. 410. Prefects and other officials were left behind, and we may take for granted that most of the bishops remained with the weakened churches. Now let us

mark that in Britain, as on the continent, the barbarians broke up the civic life which at that time governed Gaul. Then the Church chose its own way. Taking regard, it may be said, to its own interests, it parted with the Empire. But the interests of the Church were the interests of the human race, and by its care for them it saved the whole world. The Church, with its superior culture and power of administration, was necessary for the new masters. It mingled with them, and succeeded finally in subduing them.

In Britain we find something similar. The new masters were not a swarm of barbarians from a distance. They were the British race, which hitherto had been the subject one, and kept at a distance by the military and oppressive rule of the dominant Latins. Harassed by the pirates on their coasts, the Britons combined in self-defence, but, as Zosimus informs us, ended by 'expelling the Roman prefects, setting up a polity of their own according to their power' (Zosimus VI, 6). The Church in Britain now finds itself placed exactly in the same position as the Church in Gaul. Abandoned by the Empire, face to face with a new power, it fraternised with the heathen Britons, and by its higher culture, by the force of its long tradition, added to the influence of religion, taught them rule and gave them guidance. The new Church *continued naturally, as in Gaul, the ecclesiastical order and doctrine of the old*; but the old carried into the new another potent factor. While the people retained their own tongue in ordinary life, the Church saved the Latin language for worship and teaching. This was, perhaps, inevitable and beneficial on many accounts . . . Christian communities begin to spring up in places untouched, or only very partially touched, by Roman civilization, away from camps, or the places where *castra* had been, away from cities. This was especially the case in Wales. Of this fact we have evidence in the Christian inscriptions. Look at the map in Hübner's seventh Vol. of *Roman Inscriptions in Britain*; Wales is almost a blank. Look at the other map which accompanies his *Christian Inscriptions*, and Wales is there dotted all over with marks indicating places where inscriptions — Christian ones — have been found. With the fifth century there came a new power which produced a marked transformation. This was monasticism. As a mighty current of religious fervour . . . it must have entered the British Church some time before the visit of Germanus . . . The author of the Life of St. Sampson mentions a monastery built by Germanus (*Anal. Boll.* VI, 104) . . . The two questions lead me strongly to look towards the celebrated monasteries that clustered round Massilia and Lerins as the cradle, not only of monasticism, but, with it, of other peculiarities of Welsh Christianity.

Since the above was written much new light has come as to the influence of Gaul on the Liturgy and Creeds of the West generally, but especially of Lerins,¹⁾ all which seems to me to sustain the opinion briefly expressed in the above extract from

¹⁾ I may mention the Rev. A. E. Burn, in 'The Guardian', 'The Expositor', the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* XIX, and in his 'Introduction to the Creeds' (1899).

the Paper I had written in 1893. But it will be plain from this same extract that I never spoke of 'the collapse of the Christian Church of Britain'; much less did I write to the effect that 'the British Christianity of the sixth century had little or nothing to do with the Christian Church of Britain during the fourth century'. I particularly emphasised the *continuity* of the Church with its organization, rites and language, but added that, in the new vigour of monasticism, this *same* Church succeeded in winning to itself the Celtic British. It is this fresh religious life of Wales, with its cloister ascetic rigour, its men of sterner stuff, its morning light of liturgic lore and Scriptural interpretation, that I connected with the influence of Southern Gaul, or of Lerins, so that it must be plain that Dr. Zimmer has, somehow, not understood my meaning when he speaks of my asserting that there was a 'Collapse of the Christian Church' and that there 'arose *in its place*, the Celtic Church'. The 'people' up to such a time, I hold, were heathen, but when the Church that had heretofore existed won over the Celtic population, it became, *in that sense*, a new Church. With some modifications, I still hold as I wrote then.

'Christian churches there were in Britain, from very early times; yet I have been driven to the conclusion that there was no really British Church, *that is, a Church of the native Celtic inhabitants*, before the fifth century. The Church, three of whose bishops attended the Council of Arles, was the Church of the resident Roman population, not of the people of Britain.'

The discovery of remains of churches and Christian mosaics &c., cannot tell against this conclusion any more than the remains of Hadrian's wall in Northumbria. The latter, we know, *was* the work of the Roman army, the former *may* have been the work of Roman Christian provincials; the excavations themselves are, of necessity, silent upon this point.

Dr. Zimmer further says: 'Two decisive facts may still be added: first, the fugitive Britons whom fear of the Saxons drove from South Britain to the coast of Armorica were Christians, and yet spoke *British*, since their descendants have preserved that language to the present day.' Now my contention had been that about the time when the Empire was falling, in Britain as elsewhere, there came a momentous change over the Church in this island. I would fully agree, and the Paper in the Cymmrodorion Transactions implies it, with the closing words of

Mr. Haverfield's Paper in the *English Historical Review* of July 1896: 'We have no reason to doubt the essential continuity of the Church in Britain from its foundation, somewhere in the dim days of the second or third century, till its entry into the full light of medieval history.' What I hold is in no way inconsistent with this. Britain was peopled by men who spoke two languages, and this duality of language was then a greater hindrance than it could be afterwards to the spread of Christianity. Because, what we call Mission work was at that time unknown: in Gaul we have no proof of it until we come to St. Martin of Tours, who found the whole country to which he had come almost completely heathen, yet afterwards saw all places, in his own lifetime, supplied with churches or monasteries.¹⁾ Christianity had spread through individual Christians, so that not until the Church found men conversant with the British tongue, could the conversion of the native British come to pass. The well known case of Gaul, where Roman influence was a hundred-fold more potent than in Britain, leads me to doubt the so-called Romanizing of the Britons: a few would of course experience the change in many parts. (Cf. what is said in Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, 13 ff.) The motive, just as when Aidan came to Northumbria, was supplied by the ideals of the cloister. It is well known how vast the change was in the North during the half-century, or thereabouts, that intervened between Aidan and the death of Cuthbert. Suppose we place the beginning of the change I plead for, when the Church instead of being preponderantly Roman, or Romano-British, begins to be truly Celtic, about A. D. 410—420. We have, thus, an interval, in round numbers, of 80 or 100 years before the emigration to Armorica began. Judging from the names of the earliest leaders, whether princes or bishops, and from the fact that two of the three main divisions of early Brittany bore the British names *Dumnonia* and *Cornovia*, we can fairly conclude that the tide of emigration did not set until after the successes of the West Saxons, we may say, about A. D. 520. It was in the third, *Bro Waroch*, that Gildas settled; other names from South Wales are found

¹⁾ Et vere ante Martinum pauci admodum, immo paene nulli in illis regionibus Christi nomen receperant: quod adeo virtutibus illius exemploque convaluit, ut iam ibi nullus locus sit qui non aut ecclesiis frequentissimis aut monasteriis sit repletus. Sulp. Sev. *Vita Mart.* 13.

connected with it. M. J. Loth puts 'le fort de l'emigration de ces deux peuplades' between 509, when the Domnonii and Cornubii were first compelled to fight for their territory, and 577, the date of the decisive battle of Derham (Deorham).¹⁾ This seems a good and valid conclusion. We have therefore more than double the interval that separated the beginnings of Aidan from the wide success of Cuthbert for the successful evangelization of the Celtic population of Britain. Gildas' five bad kings were Christians, one of them had been a monk, though Gildas is inclined to deny the name Christian to the bishops. Thus Dr. Zimmer's first argument falls to the ground: he speaks of A. D. 509—577, when, there can be no doubt, the emigrants carried their British tongue over the channel, along with their Christian Church, but I was speaking of a time about a hundred years earlier. *Then* that same British people, I mean of course in the mass, were not Christian, the clerics of the churches were *Romani*. It is of no mean significance in this connection that British hagiography goes no further back than the time of Illtud (*Heldutus* or *Ildutus*), and a few shadowy forms, such as Dubricius,²⁾ of the preceding generation; which brings us to about A. D. 490—500. The second argument, I feel, has great force, that 'the missionaries who came from Britain to Christianise Ireland in the fourth century also used British as their native idiom'. Here, in the footnote, we are referred to a former page where the author, a master in Celtic, and especially, Irish Philology, treats of Irish loan words that have presumably come from Latin into Irish not directly, but through British. Dr. Zimmer is of course one to be listened to in all this province, yet the question is one not of pure Philology, but of that special kind where it dovetails into History. Thus the very words 'the missionaries who came from Britain to Christianise Ireland in the fourth century', open, to my mind several questions. Did they come in the *fourth* century? All that we know for certain is that there were Christians in Ireland when Pope Celestine ordained Palladius in the fifth century (431). So far it is easy to agree with Dr. Zimmer.

¹⁾ L'Emigration bretonne en Armorique p. 158.

²⁾ Cf. the account of Samson's ordination by Dubricius in *Vita Samsonis* Anal. Bollandiana, Vol. VI.

Yet this is far from implying that those Christians had been numerous enough, since the fourth century, to cause the importation of Latin words into Irish as used in their own native idiom. The philological facts stated so instructively by Dr. Zimmer would be equally true if placed, so far as date is concerned, in the time of St. Patrick, while that mention of 'the fourth century' assumes the very point in dispute. If I understand Sarauw¹⁾ correctly, he proves that the Irish had already made *p* into *q* (which later became *k* or *c*) at the time of the introduction of Christianity; hence they would of themselves, as they said *cenn* where we in Welsh say *pen*, write *qrmítir* on the Brandon Mountain ogam for *pre(s)byter*, or use *casc* for *pasc*. So also the change from *f* to *s* was not made artificially by British missionaries, but quite naturally in Irish itself. It must be granted, notwithstanding, that British and Gallic latinity told on Irish ecclesiastical Latin words; yet my difficulty is not removed, as I feel that such a process would take time, and that the results we know would be equally explained if this influence began at that time in the fifth century when, according to my belief, the people who spoke the British tongue were becoming Christian. That mere mention of 'fourth century' is not, to my mind, sound reasoning. Gildas is mentioned as still, in the first half of the sixth century calling Latin 'our tongue' (*nostra lingua*).²⁾ This certainly is significant, because his very use of Latin betokens a wide circle of readers also, who understood that language, and illustrates the important place held by the Church's language as the symbol and agent of continuous unity. Yet even here, one cannot forget that Nennius twice employs *nostra lingua* for his own British tongue (cc. 37, 44).

The terms in which this book speaks of Gildas may in a sense be quite true, but they might and ought to be more copious, and so more true. The reader of Schöll's article in the second edition of R.E. feels a difference here. Gildas must have written the *De Excidio* some time about A.D. 540, and he is the only writer we have of this period; as his birth may be placed shortly after the arrival of the West Saxons, or in round numbers before A.D. 500,

¹⁾ Chr. Sarauw, *Irske Studier*, pp. 1—20 (1900).

²⁾ *Nostra lingua* may well mean simply 'the language in which I write', as in explaining *Cuneglasus*, Gildas speaks of *Romana lingua*.

he could have had personal information from men who had been witnesses of the sufferings in the internecine strife between Saxon and Briton. Any one intimate with the book will notice that the narrative of Gildas has, in cc. 22—26, a definiteness of colouring that is elsewhere wanting, and such that makes the rest of his book more intelligible. He seems consciously in a line with Salvian, even with Orosius, and with Augustine in his 'City of God'. Salvian is described as 'a truthful man, enthusiastic, like one of the Hebrew prophets, on behalf of pure living and just dealing'; hence his denunciations of the vices of his fellow-countrymen. 'Our own vices are the sole cause of the downfall of our Empire', such is the sum and substance of his whole treatise *De Gubernatione Dei*, written probably between 440 and 450. We find a true perspective of the time and man if we regard Gildas as imitating Salvian when, witnessing a similar downfall of his own country, he rebukes both avaricious princes of depraved lives, and priests covetous and abandoned to idleness. When his book is termed a 'penitential sermon', one is inclined at first to ask whether the translation is not at fault, but on looking again at the original article, there it is, the same appellation; the work, Zimmer says, is the 'Busspredigt of a man who delights to paint everything in the blackest colours, a man animated by the most rigid monastic ideas, with whom, for instance, *convertere ad Deum* 'means to go into a monastery'. As a small detail, yet showing that words may be used without due consideration, the very passages mentioned in proof of this statement, do *not* mean 'to go into a monastery'.¹⁾ Gildas, it is conceded, might so speak, and in a place not named, c. 34, the very phrase is found, said of Maclocunus when he became a monk — *tua ad bonam frugem conversio*. In his reference to the correspondence between Gildas and Finnian, Columbanus calls a monastery *conversionis locus*. That the monastic ideas of Gildas,

¹⁾ They stand thus: (1) 'Wilt thou (Aurelius Caninus), because of pious deserts an exception to almost all thy family, survive for a hundred years, or be of the years of Methuselah? No. But unless, as the Psalmist says thou *be very speedily converted to the Lord (conversus fueris ad Dominum)*, that king will soon brandish his sword against thee. (2) Wherefore shake thyself from thy filthy dust, and turn unto Him (*convertere ad eum*), with thy whole heart unto Him who created thee.' Several other instances can be given, but in none is there any allusion to the monastic meaning.

again, were *not* rigid, is made very clear by **Fragmenta** III, IV, VII, pp. 86—88 in Mommsen, *Chronica Min. III*, the very book from which the author quotes. When he describes Gildas as ‘a man who delights to paint everything in the blackest colours’, he forgets much. He has not observed that the book is inspired and appropriated by a band of companions, that it is, after ten years of brooding, brought out as a tardy payment of a debt owing to them; he forgets the many passages of tenderest appeals directed to these princes of Britain, and the words in which he describes the life of the ‘few’. The zealot, no less than the cynic, we are bound to admit, is prone to exaggeration, and this is true in the case of Gildas. But it is when we turn to another class that we find the real man; against these, he allows, no charge can be made upon the score of ‘schism or supercilious pride, or uncleanness of life’, yet towards them, the indolent good, he can admit of no lenity, there is a disdainful tone in his indignation against them. An easy-going bishop such as Apollinaris Sidonius, ‘essentially an author or a courtier, and only accidentally a divine’,¹⁾ would have set the ardent soul of Gildas ablaze. I am inclined to call him a revivalist, one of a band of such, probably Dewi Sant, Samson, Paul Aurelian, Cadoc and others. I cannot but infer that Dr. Zimmer has been too hasty, and that, for this reason, his book lacks some significant points of history, which might have been gleaned out of the work of this despised prophet. It would be easy to mention them, but the length to which this article has already grown forbids it except in barest outline. ‘The peace which ensued after A. D. 500’, as our book relates, taking its information from Gildas, was a period when in all likelihood the writings of Jerome, and Rufinus’ version of the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, and probably the Ecclesiastical History of Theodoret, as well as some portions of Philo, became known (in Latin) and read in Britain. In youth Gildas had learnt the Old and New Testament from the Old Latin version, as all the short quotations of familiar Biblical words, made from memory by him, testify: Later in life he became familiar with the new version of Jerome and, *within well marked limits*, gives large

¹⁾ Dr. Hodgkin in ‘Italy and her Invaders’ (Vol. II, ch. 3) gives a long and interesting account of Sidonius.

extracts from it, yet when memory is tasked, even within those limits, it yields only the old version. In his older codices of the Old Testament the prophet Ezekiel occupies the last place, as some old Catalogues also place it; he has preserved for us a text of Job older than the *Hexapla* of Origen; in another field of literary interest, we have from him a fragment of almost, if not actually, the oldest Western Ordinal. We have in his book also good grounds to infer that what is called the distinctively Celtic type of Church, with the cloister as its centre alike of mission and government, must, contrary to the view presented by Zimmer, have been developed subsequently to his time.

We find that the methods of Scriptural interpretation which St. Jerome had derived from the Alexandrians, and had made familiar to the Latin West, were well known in Britain; allegory and type, the symbolical meaning (*tropicus sensus*), the moral signification, *moralis intelligentia*, or *moraliter interpretari*, to be sought in every narrative, are seen in Gildas, so that we may regard his time, notwithstanding the dark colours in which he paints it, as a period of literary and religious activity. The active souls may have been 'the few', yet they appear to have gained the ear of the clergy, for the next generation is progressive.

I read the following pages of Dr. Zimmer's book with genuine appreciation of 'the period of transition' of the 'combination in the seventh century (? 8th or even 9th) of the separate districts into four chief territories, based on the chief monasteries' in them. Can he be correct when he says that 'the tenth century code¹⁾ denotes the seven monasteries of Dyfed as the "seven bishop's houses" of the Bishop of Menevia'? I read as follows: 'Un yw Mynyw yn eistedva arbennic yg Kymry (One is, Menevia, as leading throne in Wales), Eil yw Eglwys Ismael (Second is, the Church of Ishmael) &c., the other five being *Llans* (= monasteries), so that Menevia then, as far as this notice goes, is one of the seven. Lower down (12.), we read, 'whoever draws blood from the abbot of one of the principal thrones (eisteduaeu arbennic) before mentioned &c.' Here is the same implication: each one is a principal throne. Those of us who have read Dr. Zimmer's *Nennius Vindicatus* would

¹⁾ Ancient Laws of Wales Bk. II, c. 24. I have ventured to change Aneurin Owen's rendering 'seat' to 'throne' for *eisteddva*.

wish the last part of this section to have been written at greater length, as we remember the materials collected there. The remainder of the book must be regarded as a most valuable account of the history of the succeeding centuries in North Britain, Wales and Ireland. Though the writer has differed from Dr. Zimmer to a wide extent, on many points, and on others not mentioned, such as, especially, his idea of a 'monastic episcopate', nevertheless he heartily welcomes these two books as those which every student, henceforth, will be bound to read, and abundantly profit by the reading of them.

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ERSCHIENENE SCHRIFTEN.

H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Eléments de la grammaire celtique. Déclinaison, conjugaison.* Paris, Albert Fontemoing 1903. 180 pp. Kl. 8°.

Dieses Buch, mit dem sich der Verfasser zunächst an seine Landsleute wendet, hat die Formen des Urceltischen zum Gegenstande und gründet sich auf das Altirische, zieht aber auch die britannischen Sprachen, hauptsächlich das Armorische, in Betracht. Sichere Ergebnisse können hier nur durch langwierige mikroskopische Untersuchung gewonnen werden. Die Feststellung der sich entsprechenden Bildungen in den celtischen Dialekten muss, wenn man in der Erschliessung der prähistorischen Formen behutsam vordringen will, die nächst erreichbare Vorstufe bilden. Wenn die bisherige Forschung in wesentlichen Dingen ohne Zweifel erfolgreich gewesen ist, so ist sie doch in andern noch nicht abgeschlossen. In dieser Hinsicht kann man mancher Meinung, die der Verfasser ausspricht, nicht beistimmen: z. B. wird der britannische Komparativ auf *ach, oc'h* p. 38, 115 dem irischen auf *iu* gleichgestellt und aus einer Endung *ios* hergeleitet. Wie ist das möglich? Der welsche Elativ auf *et* wird in der griechischen Endung *ισ-τος, τα-τος* wiedergefunden (p. 118), was nicht wohl denkbar ist, da seine älteste Form *het* lautet. Die armorische Endung *omp* der 1. pl. wird aus *mm* gedeutet (p. 145), statt aus *m-ni*, wie doch das phonetische Beispiel im lat. *contem-p-nere* recht nahe legt. Das irische *bín* 'ich bin' soll gleich lat. *fio* sein, während alles dafür spricht, dass es lat. *vivo* ist und zu dem Infinitive *bith* (Wb. 11 c 11), späteren *beith*, und nicht zu *buith* gehört. Das Passiv auf *R* deutet der Verfasser p. 152 aus sanskritischen Formen der aktiven 3. pl.; m. E. ist eine altlat. Bildung wie *potestur* ein besserer Schlüssel. Das welsche *y* in *yth weleis* 'ich sah dich' (p. 60) scheint dem ir. *do* zu entsprechen, da es Suffixe anknüpfen kann, welche Eigenschaft dann auch dem relativen *a* mitgeteilt wurde. In einem Anhang behandelt der Verfasser die in Inschriften vorkommende Formel *dede bratude*, die er nicht für celtisch hält, sondern aus vulgärem Latein als 'dedit merito' erklärt.

Mélanges linguistiques. Offerts à M. Antoine Meillet par ses élèves. Paris, C. Klincksieck 1902. VII + 133 pp. 8°. (5 fr.)

Von den 7 Beiträgen des Bandes berühren zwei die celtischen Sprachen, nämlich G. Dottin, L'évolution de la déclinaison irlandaise, étudiée dans deux dialectes de Connacht (p. 17—48) und J. Vendryes, Réflexions sur les lois phonétiques (p. 115—131).

J. Vendryes, De hibernicis vocabulis quae a latina lingua originem duxerunt dissertationem scripsit atque indices construxit. Lutetiae Paris., C. Klincksieck 1902. 200 pp. 8°. (7 fr. 50 c.)

Die Fremdwörter sind für die irische Sprachkunde von ziemlicher Wichtigkeit, da die Bewohner der grünen Insel zu allen Zeiten zu solchen Entlehnungen geneigt gewesen sind und sich von den Römern, den Skandinaviern und Angelsachsen, den Franzosen und Engländern nicht wenig zugeeignet haben. Die Erkennung der lateinischen Lehnwörter hat bei der nähern Verwandtschaft des italischen und celtischen Sprachstammes ihre besondere Schwierigkeit und in zahlreichen Fällen ist man unsicher geblieben, ob ein urceltisches oder ein fremdes Wort vorliege. Leider besitzen wir vom Altceltischen keine Texte und können daher die Sprache nicht bis in das Altertum zurückverfolgen. Wenn man aber bedenkt, wie viele alte Wörter, die uns teils in Eigennamen und teils in den alten Glossaren überliefert werden, in der ältesten Litteratur bereits abgestorben und unverständlich sind, so ist es von vornherein wahrscheinlich, dass sich die Sprache aus fremdem Schatze ergänzt und bereichert habe. Auch zeigen die Entlehnungen aus dem Lateinischen, über die ein Zweifel nicht besteht, dass die Erneuerung des Vokabulars in erheblichem Umfange erfolgt sein muss. Da sind unter den alten Entlehnungen, an denen zum Teil auch die britannischen Dialekte Teil nehmen, solche Wörter wie: laech *laicus*, cathair : w. caer *castrum*, sacart *sacerdos*, muintir *monasterium*, corp : w. corff *corpus*, intinn *intentio*, béist : w. bwyst-fil *bestia*, asal asan : w. asyn *asinus asellus*, capall *caballus*, carpat : w. cerhyd *carpentum*, srian : w. firwyn *frenum*, buaile *bovine*, long : w. llong *longa*, port : w. porth *portus*, arm : w. arf *arma*, ór : w. aur *aurum*, argat : ariant *argentum*, clúm : w. pluf *pluma*, céir : w. cwyr *cera*, mias : w. mwys *mensa* (engl. dish), fin : w. gwin *vinum*, lebor : w. llyfr *liber*, legim : w. lleu *lego*, scribaim : w. ysgrifo *scribo*, damnaim *damno*, crochaim : w. crogi von *cruix*, eis *census*, cois *causa*, teist : w. tyst *testis*, pósaim *sponso*, dírech *directus*, cert *certus*, secc : w. sych *siccus*, maer : w. maer *maior*, príim : w. prif *primus*, umal : w. uýll *humilis*. Die Iren waren keine Puristen, das Fremdwort durchdringt alle ihre Verhältnisse. Unter den gesammelten Entlehnungen sind allerdings viele gelehrte, die die lateinisch gebildete Geistlichkeit im Altirischen gebraucht oder die Glossatoren im Mittelirischen verzeichnet haben, ohne dass sie in der Sprache jemals ein eigentliches Leben gehabt hätten. Von Bedeutung

sind nur solche Fremdwörter, die durch den Mund des Volkes gegangen und durch seinen Accent gekennzeichnet sind.

Der Verfasser weist zunächst aus der Geschichte nach, wo sich die Iren mit den Römern berührt haben, und legt dann dar, welche phonetischen und phonologischen Betrachtungen man an den Formen der entlehnten Wörter machen kann und welchen Begriffsklassen sie angehören. Daran schliessen sich ein Index der irischen Wörter mit ihren Belegen und ein Index der lateinischen Wörter, die in Frage kommen. Es sind ca. 1100 Wörter, die der Verfasser aus den vorhandenen Glossaren und Listen der bewährtesten Kenner der irischen Sprache zusammengestellt hat. Aber vollständig sind diese Verzeichnisse nicht. So liefert z. B. eine Seite LB. 118a = BB. 240a die Wörter *cinome*, *cinife*, *scinifi* ('ciniphes' Ex. 8, 16), *lugusti* (locustae), *bruchi* (*bruiche* (bruchi), *ficuilne* (ficulnea, wie finemna). Mitunter fehlen echt irische Umbildungen, wie *intsluicht* *intluicht* KZ. 30, 75; *airphortach* 'porticus' SR.; *esconte* 'excommunicatus' Arch. Misc. 1, 128; *cré* 'Credo' (CZ. 2, 567); *finít* d. h. 'explicit'; das alte 'rhetorica' sollte erscheinen als *rethoric*, *retoric*, *rithoiric*, *rithairic*, *retairic*, *rithoirg* und *rithlearg* (CZ. I, 133; O'Grady, catal. 399). Neben *gola* i. e. *cuite*, wenn es wirklich von 'caueola' und nicht vom engl. *gaol* (jail) kommt, giebt es *gola* 'gula', ein lebendes Wort. Ir. *grád* 'Liebe', das schon Cormac als Fremdwort fühlt, scheint nichts anderes zu sein als *grád* 'grádus', die Stufe der Wertschätzung, die man einem giebt. Ir. *brút* bedeutet zweierlei: *bruta* (bestia) RC. 12, 464 und *brutus* (chronica) RC. 13, 505, welches letzteres von dem sagenhaften Brutus der welschen Urgeschichte abgeleitet wird.

Sehr viele Entlehnungen hat der Verfasser mit einem Fragezeichen versehen, aber manche darunter muss man wohl überhaupt streichen. Ich erwähne nur einige. Sehr unwahrscheinlich, dass *aball*, *uball* vom lat. *malum*, *malus* kommt, wenn wir im Deutschen Apfel, im Litanischen *óbúlas* und im Slawischen *ablúko* haben. Ebenso wenig leuchten mir ein *adraim* *adhaereo*, *ard* *arduus*, *caile* *pellex*, *cáidh* *castus*, *caech* : w. *coeg* *cæcus* (cf. *gré* 'græcus'); *cúl* : w. *cil* 'culus', *dóit* 'digitus', *fáilte* 'valete', *fanás* (recte *fánas*) 'vanus', *fás* 'vastus' (cf. *cáidh*), *glam* 'clamor', *sáith* 'satietas', *salach* 'salax'. *Muair* 'morem' stützt der Verfasser auf einen verlesenen Text; *amhain* 'amnis' ist eine schlechte Schreibweise für *abhainn* (von *abha*) und ebenso *aimind* 'amoenus' eine Laune für *aibind*, *aoibhinn* (von *aoibh*); *ub* 'ovum' ist von Rechtswegen *og* zu schreiben; *casán* 'passus' scheint, wenn nicht von *cos* 'Fuss', von *casadh*, *cas* als 'die Windung des Weges' hergeleitet zu sein; die Form *mainchille* 'manicula' (st. *muinchille*) ist meines Wissens nicht nachgewiesen; die Verbesserung von *armchrith* Trip. 46, 5 in *uimchrith* halte ich nicht für glücklich. Auch über *riam* 'coemeterium' und seine Ableitungen habe ich Bedenken. Der Verf. leitet das Wort mit Cormac (*ruam* quasi *róm*) von Roma ab, was man nicht unbedingt verwerfen kann. Dürfte man indes an der Hauptstelle, wo es vorkommt (conutsat ruama, Trip. 34) an Krypten und Katakomben denken, so wäre darin eine Zusammensetzung aus *ro*

und *úam*, also 'grosse Höhle', zu vermuten, so wie *roilbe* 'Gebirge' von *slab*, *róed* 'Wald' von *fid*, *rind* 'Spitze' von *ind* gebildet sind. Andererseits hat das Wort die allgemeinere Bedeutung 'Sanctuarium, (heilige) Stätte' angenommen (nach den irischen Glossatoren *cathair* 'Stadt'), und so trifft man es bei den neuern Dichtern nicht selten: *at róim éiges is aoidiodh*, O'Grady, Catalogue p. 456; *senróimh na naom's na neimead*, p. 466; *a rómh oinigh na nughdar*, p. 435; *senróimh oinig innsi Néill*, p. 507. Hier passt die Bedeutung 'Friedhof' nicht. Gewiss können auch *ruamdae* und *ruamach* von *Roma* (st. *rómanach*) abgeleitet sein und gelegentlich 'römisch') oder allgemeiner 'edel' bedeuten, aber für einen Bären (*math ruamdae*) wäre es ein seltsames Epitheton. Andere Stellen fordern überdies entschieden noch eine andere Bedeutung für den Wortstamm: *forsind rig ruam*, for Saul, SR. 6094, oder in einem Gedichte *Maelpatrics* († 1028): *eidir rí 7 ruamha* (Brüssel MS. 5057—59, Bl. 36a). Dieses *ruam* scheint eine superlativische Bildung von *ro* 'vor' (*pro*) zu sein (in der Form nicht ganz genau dem gr. *πρόμος*, goth. *fruma* entsprechend), so wie *riam* : w. *rhwyf* primus von *re* 'vor' (*prae*). *Romda*, das der Verf. aus *Cath Ruis na rig* p. 56 auch noch anführt, ist wieder ein anderes Wort: *bamar lathi, romda rind* 'wir waren eines Tages, es war für uns zeitig'; es ist offenbar von *rom* 'früh, zu früh' abgeleitet (Windisch p. 747), *rom i. moch nó luath* (O'Curry, Transcripts p. 1286).

Einige der vom Verf. als lateinische Fremdwörter aufgenommenen erklären sich besser aus dem Germanischen. So kommt *min*, wie der Verf. falsch statt *min* schreibt, schwerlich vom lat. *minor*, sondern entspricht dem altdutschen *min* d. h. gering. *Cuisle* 'Ader, Rohr' hat mit dem lat. *pulsus* nichts zu thun, sondern ist, wie ich denke, das ahd. *hulsa*, *hülse*, sowie *cuilen* : w. *celyn* dem deutschen *huls*, *hulst*, franz. *houx*, an die Seite tritt; jenes ist vielleicht das welsche *cors-enn* 'arundo'. *Rót* 'Weg' wird ganz unwahrscheinlich vom lat. *rupta* (it. *rotta*) abgeleitet, da man es längst als das altnord. *rót*, ags. *rád*, engl. *road* erkannt hat. So mag auch *ancoire* : w. *agkyr* : c. *ancor*, zunächst von ags. *ancor*, *ancre* herkommen.

Mehrfach begegnet es dem Verf., dass er neuirische Entlehnungen aus dem Englischen oder Französischen für solche aus dem Lateinischen ansieht. *Cúirt* f. ist das franz. *cour* f., altfr. und altengl. *curt*, *cort* (von *cohortem*), und dass das mir. *cuaird* damit zusammenhänge, ist nicht wohl glaublich; *clampar* ist kaum das lat. *clamor*, sondern das engl. *clamour*; so ist auch *fábharr* das engl. *favour*; *spás* nicht *spatium*, sondern engl. *space*. *Piosa* 'Becher' ist nicht lat. *pyxis*, sondern franz. *pièce* (aus *pecia*), im Niederschottischen *pece*, *pese* 'ein Stück Geschirr,

¹⁾ Möglich, dass sich *ruamdae*, von Personen gesagt, auch auf die Wallfahrt nach Rom (teicht do *Róim*, Goid. p. 182, Lism. Lives p. 335) bezieht. Solche Pilger heissen im Italienischen *romei* 'in quanto vanno a Roma', während die nach Jerusalem pilgern *palmieri* und die Santiago de Compostela besuchen *peregrini* genannt werden. (Dante, *La vita nuova* § 41).

ein Trinkgeschirr, ein Becher', wie Jamieson lehrt. Alb. *munnda* 'beauteous' ist vermutlich eine Variante für *múinte* 'unterwiesen, gebildet' (MP. 1, 76 u. oft) und hat mit lat. *mundus* keine Berührung. Ir. *córda* ist nicht lat. *chorda*, sondern engl. *cord*; *cupa* nicht lat. *cupa*, sondern engl. *cup*; *stábla* nicht lat. *stabulum*, sondern engl. *stable*; *tomba tuama* ist das engl. *tomb*. Der Verf. nennt das auslautende *a* der letzterwähnten Wörter ein Suffix. Das ist es nicht im gewöhnlichen Sinne, sondern es ist der Auslaut der starken Konsonanten im Neuirischen und für die Zeit jener Entlehnungen wichtig. So sagt man auch *balla* wall, *biobla* bible, *bannnda* band, *bhásta* waist, *búcla* buckle, *cárta* quart, card, *clóca* cloak, *cóta* coat, *crúca* crook, *crústa* crust, *cúrsa* course, *dáta* date, *dobhta* doubt, *gárda* guard, *hata* hat, *húda* hood, *mála* mail, *piopa* pipe, *póca* pocket (anord. *póki*), *posta* post, *púca* Puck, *rata* rat, *rúma* room. Diesem *a* entspricht nach schwachen Konsonanten ein *e*, z. B. in *bínse* bench, *trinse* trench, *tóirse* torch u. a. m.

K. Meyer, *Stories and songs from Irish manuscripts*, VII. (Otia Merseiana vol. III, 1903, p. 46—54).

Das Märchen vom Könige Labraid Lore mit den Pferdeohren, von seinem Barbieri, der das quälende Geheimnis einer Weide anvertraut, und von der aus dem Holze dieses Baumes gefertigten Harfe Craiftines, die es aller Welt verrät, steht im Gelben Buche von Lecan 76 a 34 (RC. 2, 197. 507). Darnach erzählt Keating (ed. Haliday p. 378). Die jetzt von Prof. Meyer aus Stowe D. 4. 2 veröffentlichte Version überträgt die Sage auf Eochaid, den König von Hui Failge, und seinen Bruderssohn Oengus mac Dichoime; auch sonst ist sie etwas abweichend, aus der Harfe wird eine Pfeife. P. 53 paenult. ist 'less weak' beschrieben für 'the weaker'.

— Four old Irish songs of summer and winter, edited and translated. London, D. Nutt 1903. 27 pp. 8°.

Das Mailed *Céttemain cáin ré* aus Laud 610 in 14 Strophen, von denen O'Donovan (Oss. 4, 302) die ersten 4 veröffentlicht hat; das Winterlied *Scél lem dúib* im Kommentar zum Amra Choluimbchille (LU. 11 b 20 ed. Crowe 1871 p. 44; LH. ed. Atkinson 1898, 1, 174. 2, 69. 233; Rawlinson B 502 ed. Stokes, RC. 20, 258); das Wintergedicht *Fuitt co bráth* (LL. 208a und Rawl. B 502 ed. Zimmer, GGA. 1887, p. 185) und das Sommergedicht *Tánc sám slán sóer* (Rawl. B 502, ib.) — diese vier poetischen Stücke, denen der Verf. eine Übersetzung und ein Glossar beigegeben hat, sind in einem ganz eigenen knappen Tone gehalten, bestehen zum Teil aus lauter einsilbigen Wörtern, vermeiden den Artikel vor dem Nomen fast durchaus und sind mit Alliteration so gespickt, dass ihr Verständnis nicht leicht ist. Mehr als durch ihren dichterischen Gehalt sind sie uns bedeutend durch den berühmten Autor, dem sie zugeschrieben werden; denn es ist kein Zufall, dass diese vier Lieder von Finn mac Cumail gedichtet sein sollen. Man darf darauf die Vermutung gründen (CZ. 3, 609), dass die Gestalt des Finn mac

Núadha necht (LL. 379a8) zu den Jahreszeiten in Beziehung stand und im wesentlichen dem Elfenkönige Gwynn ab Nudd bei den Wallisern entspricht.

Wh. Stokes, A criticism on Dr. Atkinson's Glossary to Volumes I—V of the Ancient Laws of Ireland. London, D. Nutt 1903. 49 pp. 8°.

Cf. CZ. 4, 347—376. 'In dealing with O'Davoren's numerous law-quotations', sagt der Verfasser, 'I constantly referred to Dr. Atkinson's book, and found therein so many additional errors and omissions that I determined to print an enlarged edition of my review'.

J. Loth, Remarques et corrections au Lexicon cornu-britannicum de Williams. Paris, E. Bouillon 1902. 70 pp. 8°. (2 fr.)

Die Orthographie des Cornischen ist verworren und die Texte nicht immer korrekt, auch hat Williams, dessen Wörterbuch vor 38 Jahren erschienen ist, sich nicht selten versehen. Man wird daher die Bemerkungen des Verfassers zu dem Werke, die aus der Revue celtique XXIII gesondert ausgegeben werden, mit Wertschätzung aufnehmen.

Bleuniou Breiz-Izel. Fleurs de Basse-Bretagne, choix de poésies couronnées par l'Union régionaliste bretonne à Quimperlé. Rennes, Plihon & Hommay 1902. 232 pp. 8°. (1 fr. 50 c.)

Diese von J. Loth und E. Ernault eingeführte Sammlung umfasst 31 Stücke, die sich ganz in der Anschauung der Nieder-Bretagne halten und mehr oder weniger die Art und Weise des Volksliedes treffen. Die bretonischen Dichter, von denen T. Le Garrec genannt sei, besingen die düstere Erhabenheit der Natur, die harte Arbeit des Landmanns, die Gefahren des seemännischen Berufs, aber ihre Betrachtung vertieft sich auch in die reinen Freuden des genügsamen Lebens, in Blumen und Sträucher, den Stechginster, den Hagedorn, den Buchweizen, die Lilie; gottergebener Sinn, Ehrfurcht vor den Heiligen und sanfte Schwermut zeichnen sie aus, und über alles geht ihnen die Liebe zur Heimat und zu der angestammten Sprache. Von den drei benachbarten Hauptdialekten ist das Trécorois am meisten vertreten, aber auch im Dialekt von Vannes sind einige von Ab-Inéan bevorwortete lyrische Gedichte hinzugefügt. So bildet das Büchlein mit seiner französischen Übersetzung in mehrfacher Hinsicht eine passende Einführung in diese neueste armorische Poesie, die hinter der der andern Länder celtischer Zunge keineswegs zurückbleibt. Die öffentliche Ermunterung, die dem Talente zu Teil wird, trägt ohne Zweifel dazu bei.

E. Ernault, Gwerziou, soniou ha marvailhou, brezonek ha gallek, gant toniou, Barz ar Gouët. Poésies bretonnes et françaises avec un conté en prose et airs notés. Saint-Brieuc, René Prud'homme 1903. XXI + 293 pp. 8°. (3 fr.)

Andrer Art ist ein Band bretonischer Gedichte, den man dem 'Barz ar Gouët' verdankt. Unser Mitarbeiter Prof. Ernault hat darin 30 Stücke vereinigt, die zum Teil zuerst in Zeitschriften veröffentlicht sind; Mlle. Zoé Ernault hat das Buch mit hübschen Zeichnungen geschmückt und Mlle. Léa Ernault ist bei der Auswahl der beigegebenen Melodien behülflich gewesen. Es sind vorwiegend Balladen, Schwänke, Märchen und Fabeln, darunter Nachahmungen französischer, englischer, deutscher (namentlich Uhlands). Der Verfasser hat viel Sorgfalt auf die Korrektheit der Sprache verwandt; zur Entwicklung des Léonais empfiehlt er eine diskrete Zulassung der Formen des Dialekts von Cornouaille und Tréguier. Einige Stücke werden aber nicht nur in dieser klassischen Form des Neuarmorischen, sondern auch in venetischer Übersetzung dargeboten, so dass der Philolog zu dialektologischen Studien Anlass und Stoff findet.

Pétition pour les langues provinciales au Corps législatif de 1870 par le Comte de Charencey, H. Gaidoz & Ch. de Gaulle. Paris, Alphonse Picard et fils 1903. 57 pp. 8°.

Diese Petition zu Gunsten der Volkssprachen, die neben dem Französischen in einigen Provinzen Frankreichs fortleben, sollte vor 33 Jahren an die gesetzgebende Körperschaft gerichtet werden und wird nun, wo die Zeiten dazu angethan sind, von Prof. Gaidoz nachträglich veröffentlicht und aufs neue befürwortet. 'Il me paraît à la fois inexact et injuste', sagt er und wir treten seiner Meinung bei, 'de mêler la question de langue aux questions politiques ou religieuses; j'estime qu'on devrait au contraire les distinguer, et respecter les langues que des groupes nationaux parlent non par caprice ou par esprit d'opposition, mais par tradition, par habitude du foyer, par nécessité historique et géographique; j'estime qu'on devrait les respecter comme nous voudrions qu'on respectât notre langue si nous étions annexés à un autre État ainsi que le sont aujourd'hui nos anciens compatriotes de Metz! Ne songer qu'à soi et au présent, disait Labruyère, est une source d'erreur dans la politique. C'est aussi et surtout une injustice.' Einen besondern Wert erhält das Büchlein durch einen Artikel des Herausgebers über die bretonische Kriegspoesie von 1870—1871, der damals in der Revue des deux Mondes erschienen ist. Die in Übersetzung mitgetheilten Beispiele zeigen, dass die Bretonen unter jenen Prüfungen nicht weniger patriotisch empfanden als die Franzosen selbst.

Ed. Halter, Noël d'Alsace, édition française augmentée d'une notice sur le mot Noël, sur le fond gaulois de la langue française et sur l'origine des Gaulois. Strassbourg, J. Noiriel 1902. 30 pp. 8°.

Die Etymologien, die der Verfasser dem elsässischen Weihnachtsfestspiele beigiebt, sind nicht annehmbar. Er erklärt *noël* (natale) aus welsch *no* in *heno* (d. i. ir. *nocht* : w. *noeth* *nox*) und *gwyl* 'Fest' (ir. *feil* 'vigilia') und erblickt in *guirlande* und *grenouille* Ableitungen von dem welschen *gwyr* 'grün'.

- A. C. L. Brown, *Iwain, a Study in the Origins of Arthurian Romance*. Boston, Ginn & Co. 1903. VI + 147 pp. 8°.
(Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature, vol. VIII).

Der Ursprung der Erzählung von der Dame der Quelle und Iwein mit dem Löwen, wie man sie aus Chrétien de Troyes und den Mabinogion kennt, hat die Gelehrten, die sich bemüht haben den Knäuel der mittelalterlichen Sagen von König Arthur und seinen Rittern zu entwirren, viel beschäftigt. Wohl kann man dem letzten Herausgeber des altfranzösischen Gedichtes zustimmen, wenn er den Ring des Gyges und den Löwen des Androclus darin erkennt, aber die Wittve von Ephesus scheint nicht in diese Gesellschaft zu gehören. Nach dem Verfasser, der die einzelnen Fäden beharrlich in das celtische Gebiet leitet, liegt dem Ganzen eine jener Reisen in die Unterwelt zu Grunde, wie sie bei den Iren im Schwange waren, und in der Tat bietet namentlich 'das Krankenlager Cúchulinn's' Berührungspunkte. Weniger belangreich will es erscheinen, wenn auch die Märchen vom *Gilla deacair* und vom *Gilla an fhiugha* einige Züge des Iwein aufweisen, da sie aus einer Zeit stammen, als die Iren mit der 'matière de Bretagne' längst bekannt waren.

- F. N. Robinson, *A variant of the Gaelic 'Ballad of the Mantle'* (Reprinted from *Modern Philology* vol. I, no. 1, June 1903, p. 145—157). 13 pp. 8°.

Die gälische Ballade vom Mantel (CZ. I, 294), deren litterarhistorische Bedeutung auf Grund der Ausgabe durch Th. Maclachlan zuerst Th. Wright gewürdigt hat (*Archaeol. Cambr.* 1863, p. 7 ff.), findet der Verf. noch in irischen Sammlungen ossianischer Gedichte aus dem vorigen Jahrhundert. In dieser modernen Form ist die Ballade auf das Doppelte ihres ursprünglichen Umfangs ausgedehnt und Ossians Frau erweist sich darin als die tugendhafteste unter den Frauen der Fianna. Der mitgeteilte Text aus dem Jahre 1842 ist leider sehr schlecht geschrieben. Die Ballade vom Mantel ist, wie ich vermutete, aus England nach Irland getragen. Fragt man aber nach dem Ursprunge der Sage überhaupt (vgl. Gaston Paris in der *Romania* 28, 219), so wird man in frühe Zeiten zurückgehen müssen und sich an Moranns Halsband erinnern, das den Schuldigen erstickt, den Unschuldigen aber ohne Schaden von oben bis unten umspannt (*Ir. Texte* 3, 190. 208).

- H. D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Le pantalon gaulois* (*Revue archéologique* 1903, I, p. 337—342). 6 pp. 8°.

Der Verfasser weist nach, dass die Perser schon im 6. Jahrh. v. Chr. Hosen trugen; sollte das Wort *ἀραξυρίδες*, für das Aristophanes *θύλακοι* 'Säcke' sagt, ein persisches sein, so haben es die Iranisten noch nicht erklärt. Von den Persern hätten nach dem Verf. die ihnen verwandten Seythen die Tracht und von diesen die Germanen, von denen sie mit- samt der Bezeichnung *brācae* die Gallier aufgenommen hätten; schon im 3. Jahrh. v. Chr. ist sie bei ihnen bezeugt. Nach dem Verf. wäre

sie dem gallisch-britannischen Volksstamme eigen und dem grälischen unbekannt. Aber die neuern celtischen Sprachen haben das Wort nicht überkommen; denn das angeführte arm. *bragez* ist von dem mittellat. *bragae* abgeleitet, während das irische *bróc* (anord. brókr) ebenso wie *assa* (anord. hosa) aus Skandinavien stammt und die Fussbekleidung bedeutet. Die Iren haben die Hosen von den Engländern, wie das Wort *briste* (engl. breeches) zeigt. Es mag aber erwähnt werden, dass es ein einheimisches Wort für diese Kleidung giebt, nämlich das von O'C'ery verzeichnete *fearbholga* 'die Säcke (für die Beine) eines Mannes'. Auch ist der Ausdruck *fir i mbalggai*b, der sich in einem alten Gedichte über die Firbolg (LL. 8 b 3) findet, auf diese Tracht gedeutet worden, als würden damit die *bracati* bezeichnet. Die Tradition scheint den Ausdruck indessen auf die aus Häuten verfertigten Schiffe der fremden Ankömmlinge zu beziehen: nochar bho cranda an cobhlach (Keating 1, 192). Wunderbar, dies scheint mir der Sinn der Legende zu sein, kamen die Firbolg in ihren *bulgae* auf die Insel, sowie nach ihnen ebenso unerklärlich die Tuatha-dé Danann in finstern Wolken (*i nnélaib dorchai*b) oder als Nebelballen (*ina caipaib ciach*). Dass übrigens *Bolg* im Namen der sagenhaften Firbolg nicht ein Kleidungsstück, sondern die Bezeichnung eines Stammes sei, habe ich sonst zu begründen versucht.

Herm. Krabbo, Bischof Virgil von Salzburg und seine kosmologischen Ideen. (Sonderabdr. a. d. Mittheil. des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung, XXIV. Band, 1902). 28 pp. 8°.

Der gelehrte Ire Virgil (*Ferguil*), bis zum Jahre 743 Abt des Klosters Achadh-bó-Cainnigh in Ossory, kam in der Folge ins Frankenreich und mit Sidonius, dem spätern Bischofe von Passau, und seinem Landsmanne Dobdagrec, dem spätern Abte von Chiemsee, nach Baiern und wurde 767 der vierte Bischof von Salzburg, wo er 784 gestorben ist. Er vertrat die Lehre Isidors und Bedas von der Kugelgestalt der Erde, wurde der Apostel der karantanischen Slawen und machte sich als Urheber des Liber confraternitatum vetustior von St. Peter in Salzburg (Monum. Germ. hist., Necrologia II, 6—44) verdient. Der Verfasser hat alle Nachrichten über den bedeutenden Mann, der 1233 heilig gesprochen wurde, gesammelt und mit Kritik beleuchtet.

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